

Buddhism and Hinduism in Champa "Amaravati"  
through the 9th - 13th century: Study of the  
Dong D??ng site and Phong Le site in central  
Vietnam

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ヒンドゥー教：ベトナム中部のドンズオン遺跡とフォンレ遺跡の研究

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# Doctoral Degree Thesis

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on Buddhism and Hindu developed in the “Amaravati” region of Champa, from the 9th to the 13th centuries CE. “Amaravati” was one of Champa polities/principalities, generally identified with what is now Quảng Nam province and Đà Nẵng city in central Vietnam.

Amaravati land can be described as a polity or a “mandala” in Champa history. Champa temple-towers, citadels, and inscriptions remain there. Located between the mountains and the sea, the region lay on rather narrow areas of riverine and coastal plains with difficult access in ancient times except by river or sea due to the rugged terrain.

Based on previous studies and my reconnaissance works carried out in 2017-2018, 69 Champa sites in Amaravati are divided into four riverine groups: Cu Đê river group, Hàn/Cầm Lệ river group, Thu Bồn river group and Tam Kỳ/Trường Giang river group. In my dissertation, site distribution maps of Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng are created by GIS, aiming to use the maps for analyzing the spatial distribution of Champa relics in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng and to reconstruct the spatial structure of Amaravati riverine polity. Along with the maps, site documentation lists are also created, including documentations for temple-towers, citadels, and inscriptions. The lists form an important database, expected to play a role in managing Champa relics in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng.

Regarding Champa history, the famous work “Le Royaume de Champa” by G. Maspero (1928) describes that, after the war with Đại Việt (Vietnamese) in 982, the “Đông Dương dynasty” collapsed and the capital of Champa was transferred from “Amaravati” southward to “Vijaya.” Although Maspero stated that “Amaravati” polity declined through the 10th century and onward,

and his idea has influenced the subsequent scholarly works, it now needs to be reexamined, based on recent advancement of archaeological and historical studies.

To reexamine the history of Amaravati in Champa, this thesis mainly deals with two important religious sites: Đồng Dương and Phong Lệ. Phong Lệ is a large-scale Hindu temple-towers where some Vietnamese archaeologists, including the author, have carried out excavations through the 2010s. The Phong Lệ excavations' results are discussed in detail, which has revealed a part of the overall plan of temple-towers with the architectural features and sculptures. It helps to clarify the role and significance of the Phong Lệ complex, not only in Amaravati but also in Champa.

Subsequently, the focus of discussion shifts to a large-scale Mahayana Buddhist monastery called Đồng Dương flourished through the 9th century. The magnificent architectures and sculptures of Đồng Dương define one specific art style of Champa. The art remains, and inscriptions from Đồng Dương suggest the belief and practice of Mahayana and Tantric Buddhism among Champa royal families and elite classes, mainly dated from the 9th to the 10th centuries. It was a period when Buddhism held a strong position in Champa, especially under the Indrapura dynasty of Champa.

In conclusion, this thesis emphasizes that Amaravati was an essential region in Champa history from the 9th to 13th centuries, even after the crucial event in the 10th century, the collapse of “Đồng Dương dynasty” that Maspero emphasized. During that period, the history of Amaravati can be illustrated by various Champa relics with their significance. In particular, the relationship between Buddhism and Hinduism practiced in Amaravati, represented by the Phong Lệ site and the Đồng Dương site, can be an important key to unraveling the history of Amaravati.

**KEYWORDS:** Central Việt Nam, Quảng Nam, Đà Nẵng, Amaravati, Champa, Phong Lệ, Đồng Dương

## 日本語要旨

この論文は 9 世紀から 13 世紀にかけて、チャンパの「アマラーヴァティー」地域に展開した仏教とヒンドゥー教に注目する。「アマラーヴァティー」とはチャンパの地域政体あるいは侯国の一つであったと考えられ、一般に現在のベトナム中部・クアンナム省とダナン市に比定される。

アマラーヴァティーの地はチャンパ史のなかで一つの「マンダラ」であると述べられることがある。そこにはチャンパの寺院・塔、都城、碑文が残されている。山と海の間であって、アマラーヴァティーは川沿いや海沿いに開けた狭い平野に依拠しており、周囲の山々ゆえに、古代には川や海から近づく以外にはアクセスは困難であった。

先行研究と、私自身が 2017 年・2018 年に実施した踏査にもとづくと、アマラーヴァティー地域で確認されている 69 カ所のチャンパ遺跡は四つのグループに分けられる：クデ川グループ、ハン／カムレ川グループ、トゥーボン川グループ、そしてチュオンザン川グループ、である。本論文では、GIS を利用してクアンナム-ダナン地域の遺跡分布地図を作成した。その地図を利用してクアンナム-ダナンにおけるチャンパ遺跡の空間分布を分析し、アマラーヴァティーという川筋政体の空間的構造を復元したためである。それら地図の作成に伴って、遺跡のドキュメンテーションリストも作成した。それには寺院・塔、都城、碑文のドキュメンテーションが含まれる。そのリストはデータベースとして、クアンナム-ダナン地域のチャンパ遺跡を管理するためにも役割を果たすことが期待される。

チャンパの歴史に関して、G.マスペロは有名な著作『チャンパ王国』(1928 年)の中で以下のように述べた。チャンパの「ドンズオン王朝」が 982 年に大越(ベトナム)と戦った後に崩壊し、都が「アマラーヴァティー」から南の「ヴィジャヤ」へと移された。マスペロは「アマラーヴァティー」政体が 10 世紀以降には衰退したと考え、その

後の研究に影響を与えた。しかし今、近年の考古学的・歴史学的研究の進展を受けて、マスペロの説は再考される必要がある。

チャンパにおけるアマラーヴァティーの歴史を再検討するために、本論文は二つの重要な宗教遺跡に注目する：ドンズオンとフォンレである。フォンレは大規模なヒンドゥー教の寺院遺跡で、ここでは筆者を含むベトナム人考古学者が 2010 年代に発掘を実施した。その発掘の成果は本論文の中で詳しく論じられるが、それは建築遺構と彫刻から構成される寺院-塔の全体プランを部分的に明らかにした。発掘によってアマラーヴァティーのみならず、チャンパ全体の中におけるフォンレの役割と重要性が明示されたのである。

続いて、9 世紀を通して繁栄した大規模な大乘仏教僧院であるドンズオンについて論じる。その壮麗な建築と彫刻群はチャンパの中でも一つの特別な美術様式を画している。ドンズオンに残された美術と碑文は、9 世紀から 10 世紀にかけて、チャンパの王族とエリート階級の間で大乘仏教と密教が信仰されたことを示唆している。それはチャンパのインドラプラ王朝において、仏教が強い位置づけにあった時代であった。

本論文の結論部分で、アマラーヴァティーは 9 世紀から 13 世紀、すなわちマスペロが主張した「ドンズオン王朝」崩壊という深刻な出来事を経た 10 世紀の後も、チャンパ史にとって非常に重要な地域であったことが強調される。その時代のアマラーヴァティーの歴史は、それぞれの重要性をもつ多様なチャンパ遺跡によって例証される。特に、代表的な存在としてフォンレ遺跡とドンズオン遺跡に注目したように、アマラーヴァティーにおいて信仰された仏教とヒンドゥー教の関係は、その地の歴史をひもとく重要な鍵となっているのである。

キーワード：ベトナム中部、クアンナム、ダナン、アマラーヴァティー、チャンパ、フォンレ、ドンズオン

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## NOTE ON VIETNAMESE SPELLING AND NAMES

Without diacritics, many Vietnamese words are either unrecognizable or open to confusion. Therefore, for ease of reading, I have opted to write most Vietnamese words with their full diacritical markings. For place names, including all Champa sites, I have preferred to use the Vietnamese spelling with full diacritical markings, for example, Đồng Dương, Phong Lệ, Mỹ Sơn and so on.

To avoid confusion, where Vietnamese writers have published under their names without diacritics, I have maintained their spelling. Vietnamese authors' names appear in the bibliography, with the standard Vietnamese order in which surnames are followed by given names, without separation by commas, for example, Lâm Mỹ Dung, Đinh Bá Hòa and so on.

## ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
NPHMVKCH	Những phát hiện mới về Khảo cổ học New archeological discoveries
TTBTDSDTQN	Trung tâm bảo tồn di sản di tích Quảng Nam Quang Nam Relics Heritage Conservation Center
BTĐKCĐN	Bảo tàng điêu khắc Chăm Đà Nẵng The Museum of Cham Sculpture in Danang
Pp	Page
Skt	Sanskrit
C.	Champa
CE	Common Era

\* Note: All the illustration without the source make by the author.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Research background

Champa, the name of a kingdom in the history of central Việt Nam, where archaeological vestiges have evolved over a thousand years. Hundreds of monuments, sites and a massive collection of artifacts including more than 200 inscriptions written in Sanskrit and ancient Champa letters show that there was a flourishing civilization.

The current Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng land is recognized as Amaravati polity in the inscription C. 30 A2 (1160), discovered at Po Nagar Champa temple-tower (Golzio 2004: 162-163). This area has played an essential role in the history of Champa, which was the economic center/capital of the kingdom. However, for a long time (1945-1975), Champa sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng were forgotten by Việt Nam war and poverty.

Around 1990, an international team of archaeologists, including Vietnamese, Japanese and British conducted excavations in Trà Kiệu area (Quảng Nam)-the capital of Simhapura, and the concern returned to Champa research in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng (Glover, Yamagata 1995: 145-169). Almost three decades have passed since then, there still are lots of issues that remain to be worked in Champa research in this land, especially on the collection, statistics, construction of relic maps to serve the basic academic research. Because of the inadequate systematization, in recent years, many Champa sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng have been suffered from adverse effects, including even destruction of some valuable sites such as Triền Tranh (2017), Ruộng Đồng Cao (2018) and Trà Sơn (2019), due to the construction process for economic development.

I joined the archaeological research in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng for the first time in 2013, when I was an undergraduate student of Faculty of History, Vietnam National University. Since

then till now, I have carried out excavations and reconnaissance of many archaeological sites of Champa Amaravati. Among them, I mainly focus on Phong Lê and Đồng Dương in this thesis, because my research on these two religious sites, the former was Hindu while the latter was Buddhism, gave me a trigger to tackle on the main issue of this thesis-Hindu and Buddhism in Amaravati.

Phong Lê and Đồng Dương are the sites where I conducted the most intensive research by myself so that the direct and detailed data collected by myself are available. The excavation of Phong Lê site (Đà Nẵng) carried out in 2011, 2012 and 2018, has shown that this is a sizeable Hindu temple-tower. Moreover, for the first time, archaeologists directly discovered the “sacred depot” that created intense scientific controversies. I contributed to decoding and understanding the construction techniques of Champa temple-towers.

Previous researches have revealed that Buddhism also played a vital role in the religious practice in Champa where the Đồng Dương is the essential representation. It is one of the 105 special national monuments in Việt Nam, bearing the highest ranking in our relic catalog. Đồng Dương complex was repeatedly asked to be restored and preserved after it had been destroyed severely during the Việt Nam war (1945-1975). However, little effort has been done by central and local authorities to improve the situation of Đồng Dương. In this site, I have made several times’ reconnaissance works since 2012 up to now, aiming to describe the current status of monuments and architectures; update materials; raise research awareness about relics and art. Along with that, I got particularly interested in the nature of Buddhist practice in Đồng Dương and the relationship with Hindu.

Given the background described above, I decided to choose the issue of “Buddhism and Hinduism in Champa “Amaravati” through the 9th to the 13th century: Study of the Đồng Dương site and Phong Lệ site in central Vietnam” for my thesis theme.

## **1.2. Research questions**

Studies of Champa history have been basically based on the famous work of G. Maspero which stated that after the war against Đại Việt in 982, the Đồng Dương dynasty collapsed and there was a transfer of capital from Quảng Nam to Bình Định. The change in the political center of the kingdom led to a decline in the land of Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng. The new dynasty called Vijaya was founded in what is now Bình Định province, flourishing from the late 10th century to 1471 when the King Lê Thánh Tông of Vietnamese Lê Dynasty attacked and sacked the capital of Vijaya. This view of history proposed by Maspero has served as the basis of Champa history for many years.

In this thesis, I would like to challenge the above-mentioned conventional idea on Champa history, trying to answer the question: (1) Did Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng region no longer develop after the 10th century? Historically, in the light of new works, especially archaeological excavations, this thesis tackles more specific issues such as (2) what types of Champa relics existed in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng region and how is the distribution of these relics?; (3) what is the role of Phong Lệ temple-tower complex in the system of temple-towers in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng?; what are the sacred spots in Phong Lệ, uncovered during the excavation in 2012?; what similar findings to Phong Lệ were in the past?; (4) how did Buddhism play a role in the religious life of Cham people, viewed from Đồng Dương?; (5) what is the relationship between Buddhism and Hindu in the Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng region?.

### **1.3. Research methods**

When conducting the research relating to these questions, I limited the research area to Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng region, with the objective period from the 9th to the 13th century. It is the chronological and spatial framework in which many of Champa temple-towers in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng known down to this day were inactive, represented by two dominant religious centers: Phong Lệ and Đồng Dương.

The research methods and materials upon which this thesis depends are as follows:

-Archaeological methods, including reconnaissance (general survey), excavations, and detailed study on uncovered artifacts. I attended some surveys and excavations conducted by Quảng Nam Provincial Museum and Đà Nẵng Museum of Champa Sculptures in 2013-2018, including Quá Giáng (2014), Ruộng Đồng Cao (2018) and Phong Lệ (2018). In this paper, the results of reconnaissance work made by myself in 2017-2018 are also emphasized.

-Collecting information and data relating to Champa relics in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng based on the previous and recent actions to create an inventory and a distribution map using GIS method. I examine the historical and archaeological sites of Champa, including the ancient temple-tower complexes, the ancient settlements and the production centers in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng, with special attention to the recent Đồng Dương and Phong Lệ excavation/find results. I make an effort to create a new map demonstrating the distribution of archaeological and historical sites of Champa.

-Study of uncovered artifacts including statistics, classification, description of objects, to make comparative chronological studies among Champa sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng. In addition to archaeological methods, for the discussion, history, art, architecture, ethnology, folklore, geology and climate-related study are taken into account.

#### **1.4. Significance of the research**

Trying to find out answers to research questions proposed in 1.2., following the methods explained in 1.3., this thesis, in the end, aims to unravel the significance of “Amaravati” in Champa history. The path that thesis takes towards this final goal is:

1.     Overviewing the significance of Mahayana (Tantric) Buddhism in Champa in the 9th century, in the light of archaeology, art, architecture, and epigraphy of the Đồng Dương monastery site.
2.     Examining the significance of Hindu (Shivaism) in Phong Lê temple-towers from the 10th to 13th centuries, through recent archaeological excavations conducted by the author.
3.     Pursuing the transition from Buddhism to Hindu in “Amaravati” that took place from the 9th to 10th centuries, through comparative studies between Đồng Dương and Phong Lê.
4.     Re-evaluating “Amaravati” in Champa history, with special reference to the issue of “decline” of polity caused by the religious transition.

#### **1.5. Outline of the dissertation**

Chapter 1: includes the research background, questions, purposes, and methods, providing the foundation of the dissertation.

Chapter 2: discusses the history of Amaravati from various viewpoints. The history here especially refers to the origin and development of Amaravati in Champa history, from the Iron Age Sa Huỳnh culture to the annexation into Đại Việt (Vietnam) in 1309. Analyzing the Champa site distribution map created by GIS, the regional system of Amaravati developed along the Thu Bồn river is discussed in detail. In the end, G. Maspero’s conventional theory on a capital's transferring from Amaravati to Vijaya in the early 11th century is reappraised, primarily using the archaeological data.

Chapter 3: discusses the results of Hindu Phong Lê temple-towers' excavations. The author himself was in charge of excavating this site in 2017. The excavations have revealed a part of the overall plan of temple-towers with the architectural features and sculptures. The result and achievement of the author's excavation are reported in detail, which helps to clarify the role and position of the Phong Lê complex in a large-scale Hindu temple system, not only in Amaravati but also in the whole Champa.

Chapter 4: focuses on the Buddhist Đồng Dương site complex, well-known to scholars of various fields. Architectural remains, sculptures, and inscriptions are reviewed in the light of the French archaeological documentation at the beginning of the 20th century, and research done by Vietnamese and foreign scholars from the 1970s until now. The Buddhism practiced in Đồng Dương is analyzed based upon field surveys and literature review, including Mahayana Buddhism with the worship of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, Tantric Buddhism reflected, and the elements of Hindu.

Chapter 5: summarizes highlights of the previous chapters, and states my conclusion.



## CHAPTER II: THE CHAMPA RELICS IN AMARAVATI (QUẢNG NAM - ĐÀ NẴNG)

### 2. 1. Overview of Amaravati (Quảng Nam-Đà Nẵng)

The traditional image of Champa, such as “an Indianized state” of “Chams nation,” is no longer adequate. The scholars have been exploring a large number of Chams manuscripts in southern Việt Nam, which were rejected or unexploited by previous colonial scholars, to reconstruct a new history of Champa kingdom.

In recent decades, in the study of ancient Southeast Asian history, the academia launched the concept of Mandala<sup>1</sup> to indicate the nature of the loose alliance of emirates (in Sanskrit, nagara) with different levels of development to form a new kingdom. Champa in central Việt Nam is considered as a typical mandala. The view considering Champa during its history as “a single united kingdom” is no longer accepted today. Scholars now regard Champa as a federation of small riverine polities/mandala located along present-day central Việt Nam. The most powerful leader in the emirates would have been regarded as the king of Champa (Bronson 1977), (Hall 2011).

The most powerful king of the emirates was called “rajadhiraja,” which means “the King of Kings” (Griffiths (ed.) 2012). Many official documents and historical evidence have demonstrated that Champa kingdom at that time does not apply institution “centralization”; conversely, it is organized as “ruling each region by themselves” pattern because each emirate has autonomous political institutions and the right to secede from the kingdom to build an independent emirate. The remaining Champa cultural heritage sites are scattered over the areas of central Việt Nam and the central highland, and are densely distributed in the five major plains (5 riverine polities/principalities) of the former Champa kingdom, including (Fig 2. 1-2):

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<sup>1</sup> Wolters (2000) proved that Champa, Phu Nam 扶南, Chenla 真臘, even Van Lang 文郎, Au Lac 甌雒 were a coalition block with many cultural similarities of many multi-ethnic states (of course it has ethnic entities).



Fig 2. 1: The five riverine polities in Champa history

Source: (Hall 2011: Map 3.1)

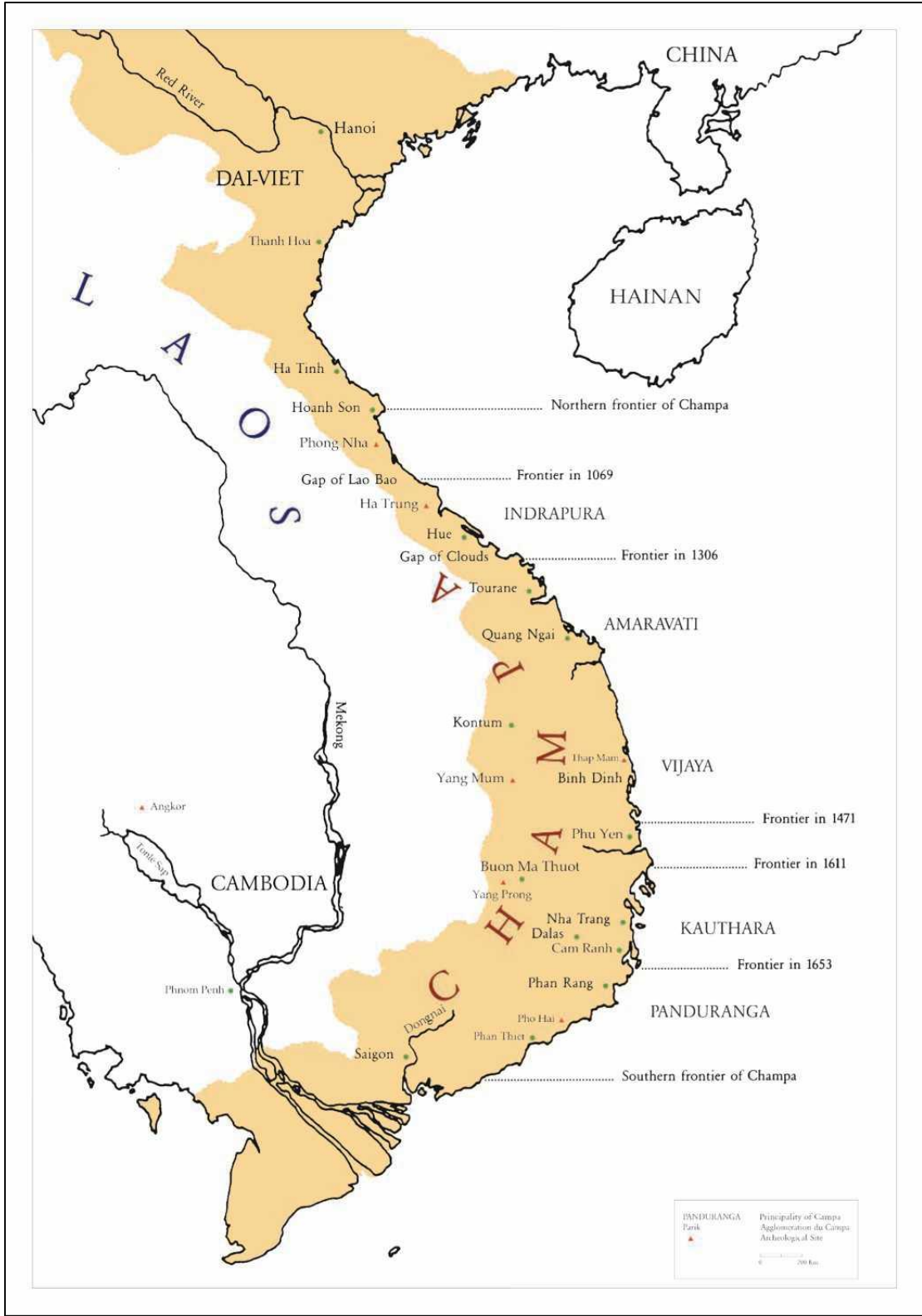


Fig 2. 2: The five riverine polities in Champa history

Source: (Hubert 2005: fig 14)

- Indrapura: The area of Quảng Bình, Quảng Trị, and Thừa Thiên Huế. It includes many Champa architectural ruins listed in the records, such as Cao Lao Hạ and Ninh Viễn citadels, Ưu Đàm pagoda, and the temples-towers of Trung Đôn, Linh Thái, Liễu Cốc, and Mỹ Khánh.
- Amaravati: The area of Quảng Nam province and Đà Nẵng city. This area is well-known as a political, cultural and artistic center through many centuries with architectural structures in Mỹ Sơn, Trà Kiệu, and Đồng Dương. Many intact temples-towers are also found here, including Chiên Đàn, Bằng An and Khương Mỹ.
- Vijaya: The area of Bình Định. It was the capital of Champa during the 11th to the 15th centuries. Here, many architectural remains still exist including Cánh Tiên, Phú Lộc, Bánh Ít, Thủ Thiện, Bình Lâm, Dương Long temples-towers; Đồ Bàn citadel, Thành Cha citadel.
- Kauthara: The Khánh Hòa plain area has the famous Po Nagar Goddess temple-tower.
- Panduranga: the present Ninh Thuận-Bình Thuận provinces. Some of the oldest Champa temples-towers are located in this area, such as the Phú Hải temple-tower complex (Bình Thuận province) of the late 8th century, but also later structures, such as Po Rome temple-tower (Ninh Thuận province) from the 16th to the 17th century.

People living in Trường Sơn mountains and central highlands were also involved in the Champa mandala, though the other mandalas centered in the current Cambodia and Laos, too, sometimes claimed suzerainty over them. In this research focus only on the Champa site in Amaravati from the 9th to the 13th century.

## **2.2. Outline of research history about Champa sites in Amaravati**

During the integration process of Champa into Việt Nam, the cultural heritage left by the Cham people was recognized soon by the Vietnamese as historical work. Over the years, the sites

had attracted the attention of many generations when they extended southward into this land strip. The process of recording and studying the Champa cultural sites in general, the sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng in particular, can be divided into the main phases:

1. In the first phase; Vietnamese historians recorded these sites. Although those records are sketchy, it has large historical significance.

The writings as *Ô Châu Cận Lục*, *Phủ Biên Tạp Lục*, *Thiên Nam Tứ Chí Lộ Đồ Thư*, *Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí*, *Lịch Triều Hiến Chương Loại Chí*<sup>2</sup>, etc. only recorded a few short lines. It can be considered as the original basic document when approaching the Champa cultural sites, set the premise for finding, researching these sites in the later stages.

2. The French colonial period: In 1868, the French discovered the Angkor architectural ensemble in Cambodia). Three decades later, they found the Mỹ Sơn sanctuary of the Cham people in 1898. The wonder of the magnificent Champa temples-towers, and the originality and high artistic value of the stone sculptures made colonial scholars surprised, and they conducted surveys across the provinces from Quảng Bình to Bình Thuận or distant Plateaus.

Based on these necessary investigations, many archaeological excavations were conducted in Đại Hữu, Trung Quán (Quảng Bình), Trà Kiệu (Quảng Nam), Po Nagar (Khánh Hòa), etc.

Among the studies of the first few decades of the 20th century, the most notable are the works of Parmentier with the title of “Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cams de l’Annam:

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<sup>2</sup> All these books written by Vietnamese people in Chinese:

- *Ô Châu cận lục* means “A recent record of Ô territory and environs” (烏州近錄), completed in 1555 by Dương Văn An (楊文安, 1514-1591).

- *Phủ Biên Tạp Lục* (撫邊雜錄), written in 1776 by the Vietnamese Confucian scholar and encyclopedist Lê Quý Đôn (黎貴惇, 1726-1784).

- *Thiên Nam Tứ Chí Lộ Đồ Thư* (天南四至路圖書), published in 1686 by Đỗ Bá.

- *Đại Nam nhất thống chí* (大南一統志) is the official geographical record of Vietnam's Nguyễn dynasty, compiled in the late 19th century.

- *Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí* (歷朝憲章類誌) by Phan Huy Chú (潘輝注; 1782-1840).

Description des monuments” vol.1 published in 1909 and vol 2 in 1918. Besides that, someone who wants to know the Champa culture must mention well-known colonial scholars such as: Etienne Aymonier, Charles Lemire, Camille Paris, George Coedes, Jean-Yves Claeys, Louis Finot, Georges Maspero, etc.

These studies provided the basis for the latter study, so that Stem (1942), Bosselier (1963) and others completed their monographic works, that so far have had no studies to overcome.

In the middle decades of the 20th century, the research and study on Champa were interrupted. During the Indochina War and the Việt Nam War (1945-1975), some Champa important cultural sites including Mỹ Sơn and Đồng Dương (Quảng Nam province) were devastated by war, and the remaining sites located in war zones received little attention.

3. After 1975, Việt Nam was unified, and the study of Champa culture started again. Many surveys were conducted. Especially, some new areas of Champa history and culture developed rather systematically, such as research on ceramics, port system, vestiges of residence, citadels etc, that have gradually offset the lack and shortness of understanding on the material culture of Champa.

4. As a part of the overall view of Champa culture, especially the position of Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng land (Amaravati ancient capital), the Champa cultural sites here with large numbers and large scale, attracted researchers.

The sites here are known very soon with the writings of the feudatory historians such as Lịch Triều Hiến Chương Loại Chí, Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí, Thiên Nam Tứ Chí Lộ Đồ Thư.

When researching and investigating the overall Champa cultural sites in central Việt Nam, the French scholars also paid attention mainly to exist Champa sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng

such as: *Les Monuments du Cirque de Mi-Son* by Parmentier (1904: 805-896), *Notes d'épigraphie: XI. Les inscriptions de Mi-Son* by Finot (1904d: 897-977), etc.

Then Parmentier (1909) dedicated a chapter for describing the Champa sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng. Stern (1942) and Boisselier (1963) mentioned the sites and stated the rule and position of them in the evolution of Champa art.

Especially, after the stage in 1975, together with the research of overall Champa cultural sites, sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng attracted attention. Many of the surveys were conducted, especially, Champa ceramic research area excavated systematically (1990-1994), the ancient buildings interested. Many studies of this stage were published as Champa stone sculpture (Phạm Hữu Mỹ 1994), Champa ancient temples-towers: Reality & Legend (Ngô Văn Doanh 2002), etc... referring to the sites, sculptures in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng. In recent year, any research works of sites here were still interested in studying and being published as Champa sites in Đà Nẵng (Võ Văn Thắng 2014).

From 1975 until now, the study of Champa cultural sites in general, the sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng in particular, have achieved certain results, but that is just the first step. Notably, in the locality of Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng province to date, they have no studies that synthesize the forms of sites comprehensively here and put them into position in the general development process of the Champa culture. This thesis instead focuses on the site distribution of Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng, but also includes a general description of sites with information updated by the survey. I hope this research would play a role to advance the study of Champa cultural sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng.

## **2.3. Overall view of Champa temple-tower**

### ***2.3.1. An outline history of Champa temple-towers***

According to the stele inscriptions C. 72 Mỹ Sơn (Fig 2. 61), which were written in ancient Cham, found in the Mỹ Sơn sanctuary, the first temple-tower of the Hindu God appeared around the 5th century CE. The early temple-towers of Champa were “slight framework temple-towers” (made of lightweight material) so that they should have been burnt down. In the 8th century, according to the inscriptions C. 38A Po Nagar, the temple-towers to the God of Direction (Dispalakas) were built (e.g., Kubera temple-tower-store of wealth) .

The inscriptions inform us that the majority of the temple-towers built before the seventh/eighth centuries were made of wood (Fig 2. 3). These temples were subsequently consumed by fire, and it was only around the seventh/eighth centuries that temples started to be built of burn brick, and later of fired brick combined with sandstone. The only buildings made of brick and stone were temple-towers dedicated to the worship of Champa’s gods. Other structures-including accommodations for the Hindu priests, houses of rest, defensive structures and service buildings-were built of wood and, as a result, no vestiges of them remain (Trần Kỳ Phương, Shigeeda 2002: 41-52).

During the period from the beginning of the 8th century to the end of the 13th century, many towers were built with high-level technique and artistic virtue in Champa. There was a long history of building temple-towers, and it was uninterrupted for more than six centuries.

When the construction technique on the brick in the Champa kingdom has reached to a high level, the Champa temple-tower were built with development. It was a long process and was uninterrupted for more than six centuries (Fig 2. 4). In most of the Champa territory, during the period from the beginning of the seventh/eighth centuries to the end of the thirteenth century, many temple-towers were built with high-level technique and artistic virtue (Nguyễn Minh Khang 2013: 9).



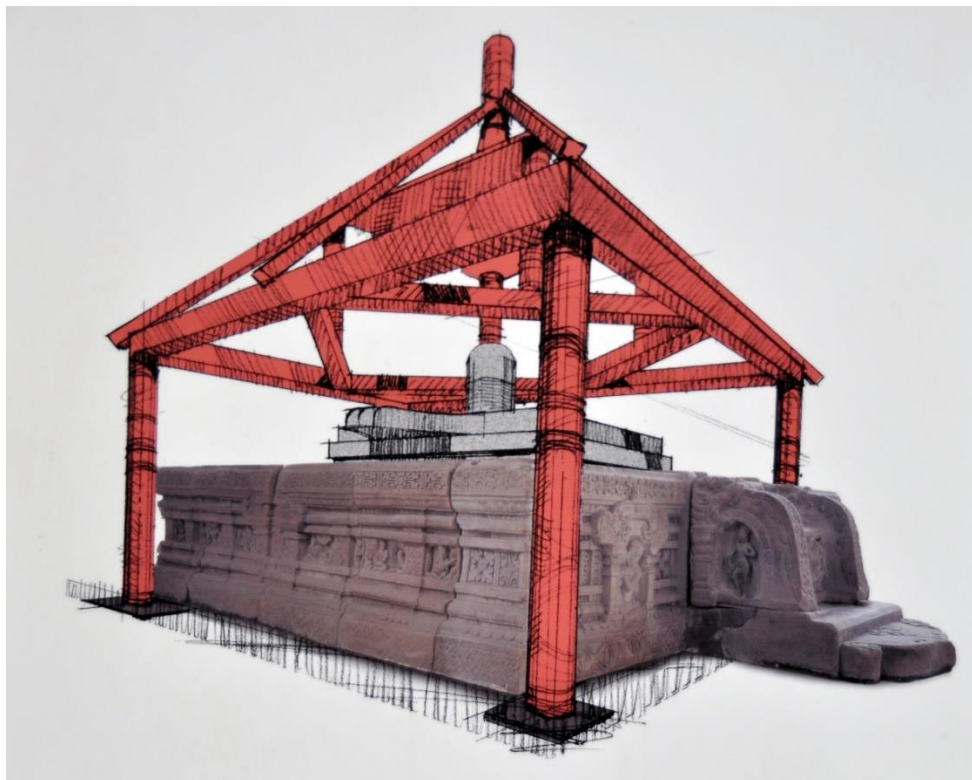


Fig 2. 3: Altar in a wooden shrine, a reconstruction of Mỹ Sơn E1.

Source: (Mỹ Sơn site Museum)

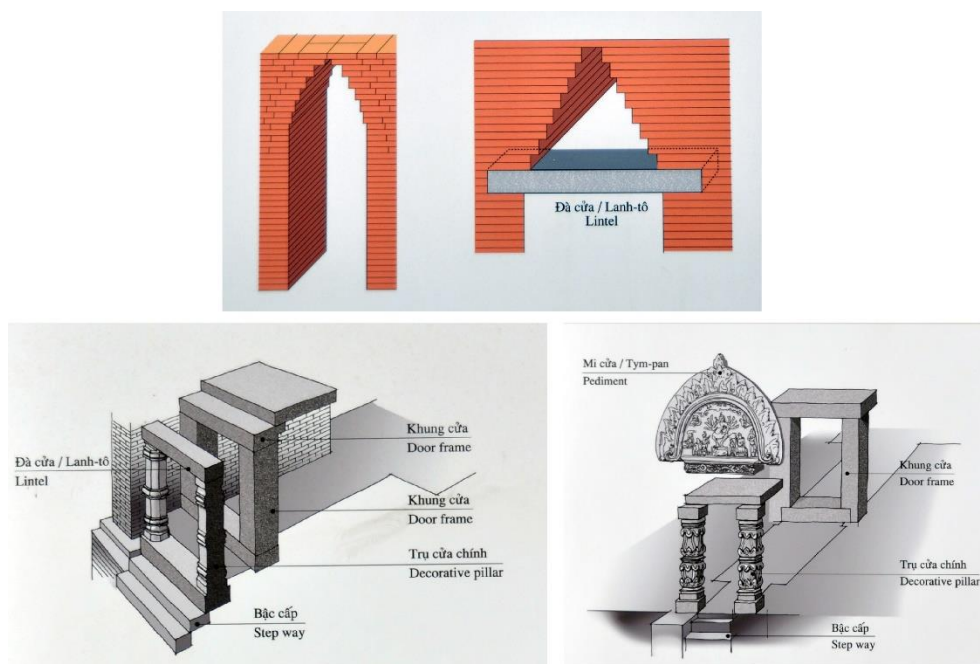


Fig 2. 4: The structural technology of a Champa temple-tower.

Source: (Mỹ Sơn site Museum)

In the first half of the 14th century, a few of Champa temple-towers appeared with the decoration gradually simplified. It had signed the long-term development process. From that time, the Champa temple-towers were built very little because of the prolonged war and the economy depletion. In 1471, Champa-Việt Nam war which was a military expedition launched by Việt Nam Emperor Lê Thánh Tông, and was widely regarded as the event that marked the downfall of Champa. The Champa territory was shrunk and pushed back step by step in the south because of the southward march of Đại Việt. In that circumstance, it was difficult, and even though there were no building conditions. However, some towers appeared in unoccupied zones, but they could not reach the level of technology and aesthetics as a few centuries before.

By the 17th century, due to historical conditions including the North and South (Trịnh-Nguyễn) conflict in Việt Nam, the Champa kingdom regained vitality. In the reign of King Po Rome (1627-1651), a Champa temple-tower group appeared in the Ninh Thuận province (the Po Rome group). It was the last group in the history of the Champa temples-towers. However, this group had used other techniques, since the Champa traditional technique had been lost after nearly 200 years of turbulent history. With the Po Rome temple-tower, the history of the Champa temple-tower had closed. It marked a long way nine centuries of temple-tower construction, including a strong growth phase and continuously for more than six centuries (Nguyễn Minh Khang 2013: 10).

At present, there remain a total of no more than twenty-two groups of temple-tower still standing, all of them located in the region between Thừa Thiên Huế and Bình Thuận provinces (Fig 2. 5-6) (Table 1).

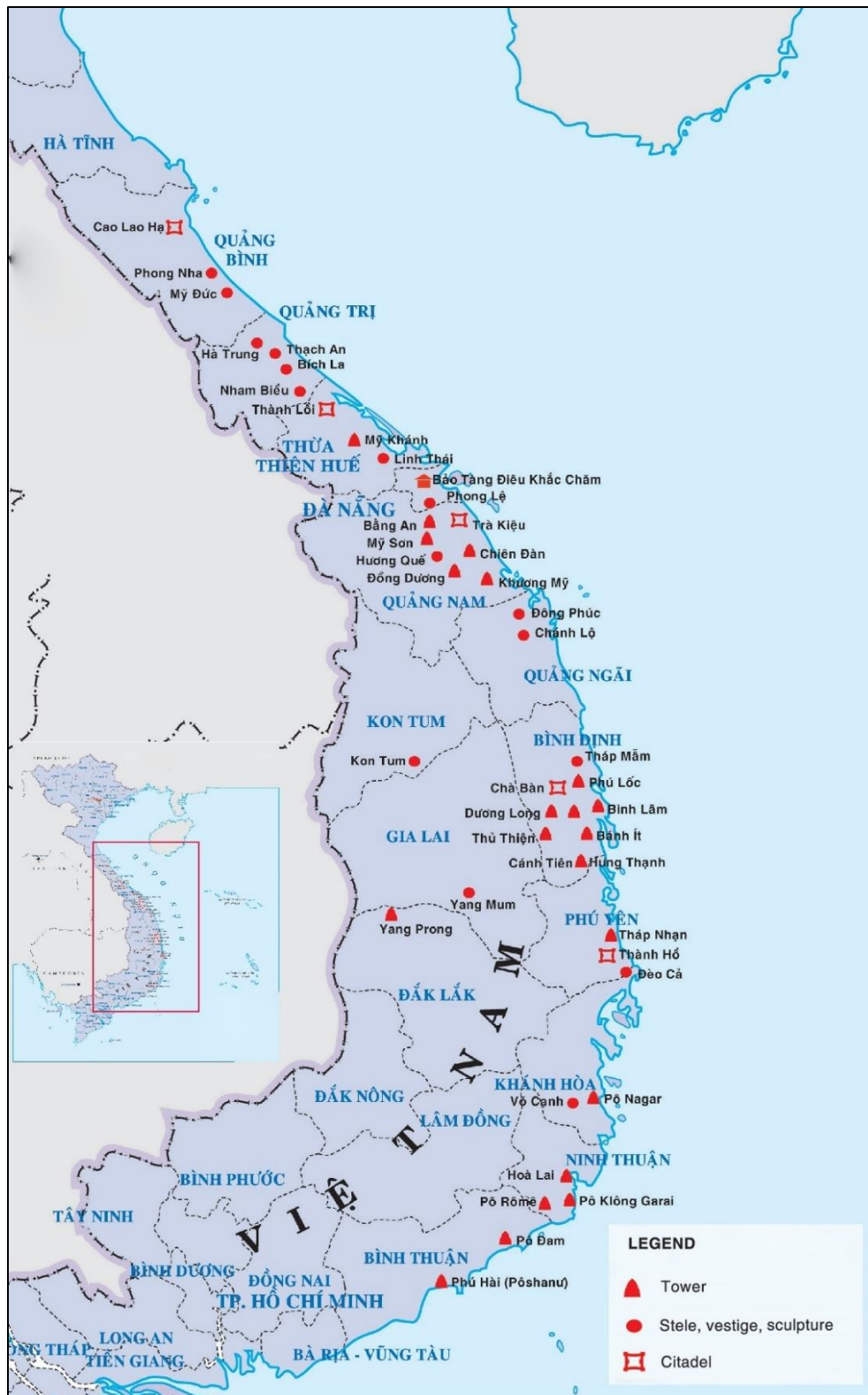


Fig 2. 5: Map of Champa remains in central Việt Nam

Source: (BTĐKCDN)





Fig 2. 6: Map of Champa remains in central Việt Nam.

Source: (Lâm Mỹ Dung 2017)

No.	The temple-tower	Location	Province
1	Liễu Cốc	Hương Xuân, Hương Trà district	Thừa Thiên-Huế
2	Mỹ Khánh	Phú Diên, Phú Vang district	
3	Bằng An	Bằng An village, Điện An, Điện Bàn district	Quảng Nam
4	Đồng Dương	Bình Định Bắc, Thăng Bình district	
5	Mỹ Sơn	xã Duy Phú, Duy Xuyên district	
6	Chiên Đàn	Chiên Đàn village, Tam An, Tam Kỳ city	
7	Khương Mỹ	Khương Mỹ village, Tam Xuân, Núi Thành district	Bình Định
8	Cánh Tiên	Nhơn Hậu, An Nhơn district	
9	Phú Lộc	Nhơn Thành, An Nhơn district	
10	Bánh Ít	Đại Lộc village, Phước Hiệp, Tuy Phước district	
11	Thủ Thiện	Bình Nghi, Tây Sơn district	
12	Dương Long	Tây Bình, Tây Sơn district	
13	Bình Lâm	Phước Hoà, Tuy Phước district	
14	Hưng Long	Quy Nhơn city	Phú Yên
15	Nhạn	Tuy Hòa city	
16	Po Nagar	Nha Trang city	Khánh Hoà
17	Hòa Lai	Tam Tháp village, Tân Hải, Ninh Hải district	Ninh Thuận
18	Po Klong Garai	Đô Vinh, Phan Rang-Tháp Chàm	
19	Po Rome	Hậu Sanh village, Phước Hữu, Ninh Phước district	
20	Po Dam	Tuy Tịnh village, Phong Phú, Tuy Phong district	Bình Thuận
21	Po Sah Inur	Phú Hải, Phan Thiết	
22	Yang Praong	Bản Đôn, Ea Sup district	Đắk Lắk

Table 1: The Champa temple-towers still remain in Việt Nam nowadays.

### ***2.3.2. Typology of art styles and periods***

The pioneer in the field of scientific research on Champa architecture was Parmentier (1909; 1918). He left us monumental works of scholarship, published in the first decades of the twentieth century, which form the basis for research into this religious architecture. Inheriting the results of Parmentier's work, Stern (1942) was based on the variation of seven features (such as arcatures, door pillars, small pillar, pilasters, corner decorations, arch, fringe) to divide the Champa temple-tower into six architectural styles, which are (Fig 2. 7):

- Ancient Style (the 8th century)
- Hòa Lai Style (the first half of the 9th century)
- Đồng Dương Style (the second half of the 9th century)
- Mỹ Sơn A1 Style (the 10th century)
- Bình Định Style (late 11th century to the mid of 13th century).
- Late Style (from the late 13th century to the year 1653).

There are also the transitional periods between the styles; one of those is the transition from the Mỹ Sơn A1 style to Bình Định style (the 11th century). It was taken a long time ago, all of the art elements were evolved slowly, and it could be considered as a style (Stern 1942: 119). Until nowadays, most scholars of Champa art use this style-based typology in their research (Trần Kỳ Phương, Shigeeda 2002: 41-52).

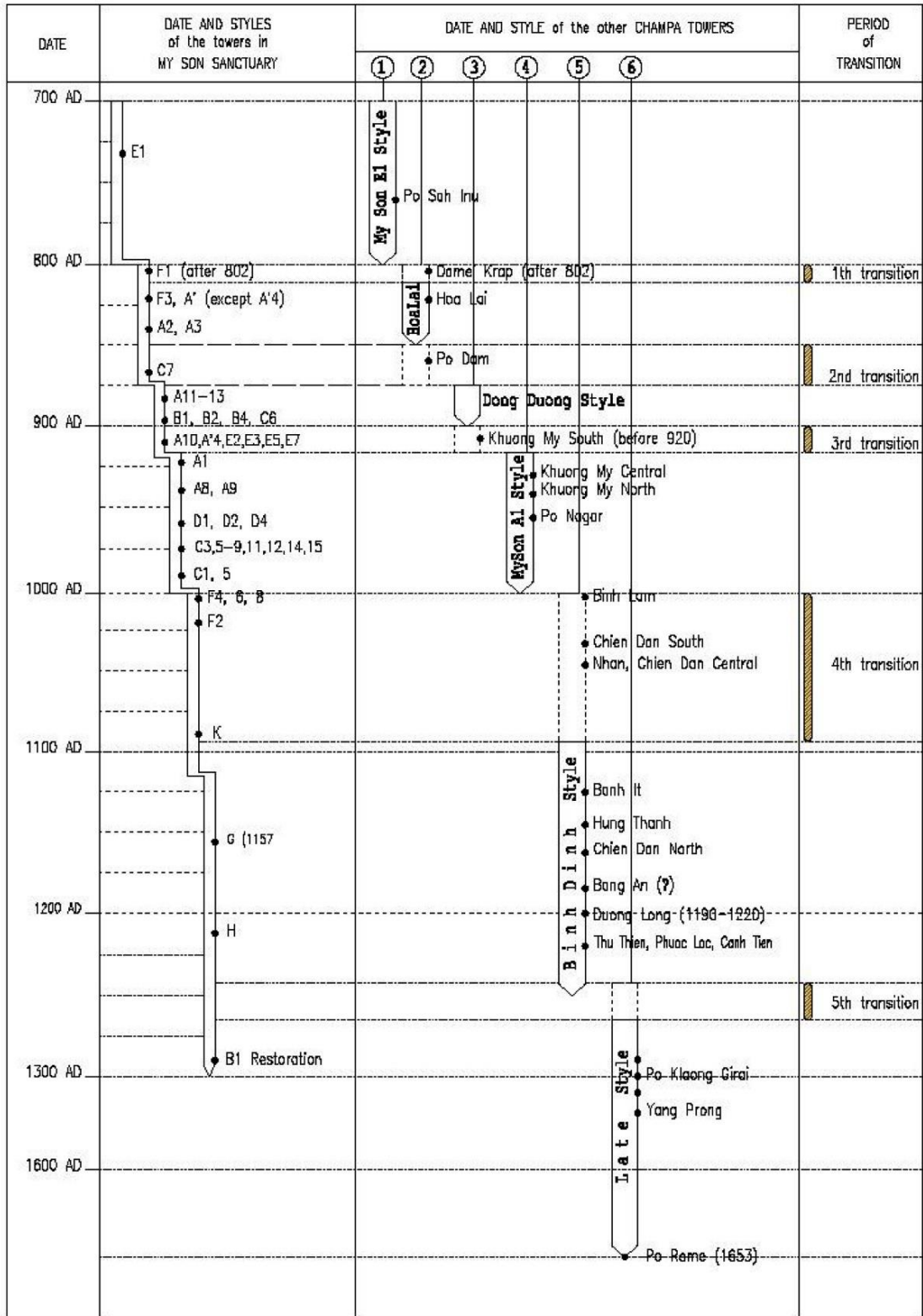


Fig 2. 7: Date and Style of Champa temple-tower based on Stern (1942)

Source: (Nguyễn Minh Khang 2013: 14).

In the 1990s, Japanese architect, Shigeeda Yutaka, has established and published a typology of Champa architecture based on the temple-towers' ground plan. He also classified Champa architectural groups in terms of their geographical location, taking historical events into account (Shigeeda 1999: 180-192).

Shigeeda identified six groups of extant Champa temple-towers:

- the Mỹ Sơn architectural group
- the Quảng Nam architectural group
- the Bình Định architectural group
- the Pô Nagar Nha Trang architectural group
- the Phú Hải architectural group
- the late architectural group.

These two typologies-Stern's (based on art stylistics) and Shigeeda's (based on architectural ground plans)-complement each other in specific ways and offer a relatively accurate chronology for Champa temple-tower architecture (Trần Kỳ Phương, Shigeeda 2002: 41-52).



## 2.4. The system of Champa sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng

Together with Bình Định, Quảng Nam-Đà Nẵng has the highest number of Champa sites in Việt Nam. I attended some surveys and excavations conducted by Quảng Nam Provincial Museum and Đà Nẵng Museum of Champa Sculptures in 2013-2018. This chapter reviews Champa sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng, depending on previous studies and inventory survey made by myself. We have a total of 69 Champa sites in “Amaravati,” including 48 sites in Quảng Nam and 21 sites in Đà Nẵng city (Fig 2. 8-11) (Table 2).

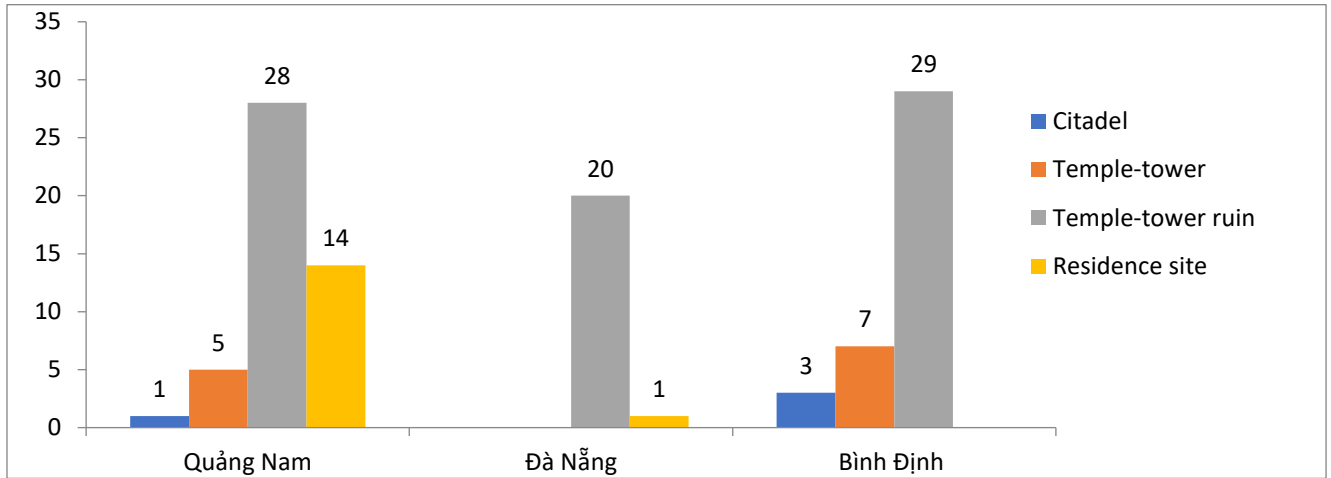


Fig 2. 8: Numbers of Champa sites in Quảng Nam Đà Nẵng and Bình Định

I classified 69 sites into 04 groups: 05 temple-tower with architecture remains; 47 temple-tower ruins, 16 Champa residence sites, and 01 rampart/citadel. While other provinces are difficult for finding the Champa residence sites, the large number of residence sites in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng indicates that the population of Cham people lived in this area was dense. In the field, I did an archaeological inventory survey all of 69 sites and updated the detailed information such as the site distribution, current condition. Most of them are recognized in all level of Việt Nam Heritage as Unesco site (Mỹ Sơn), special National Site (Đồng Dương), National Site (Khương Mỹ, Chiên Đàn, Bàng An) and provincial site. So central and provincial government has the policy to protect, promote and they are rather well preserved. However, most of them are still affected by human activities.

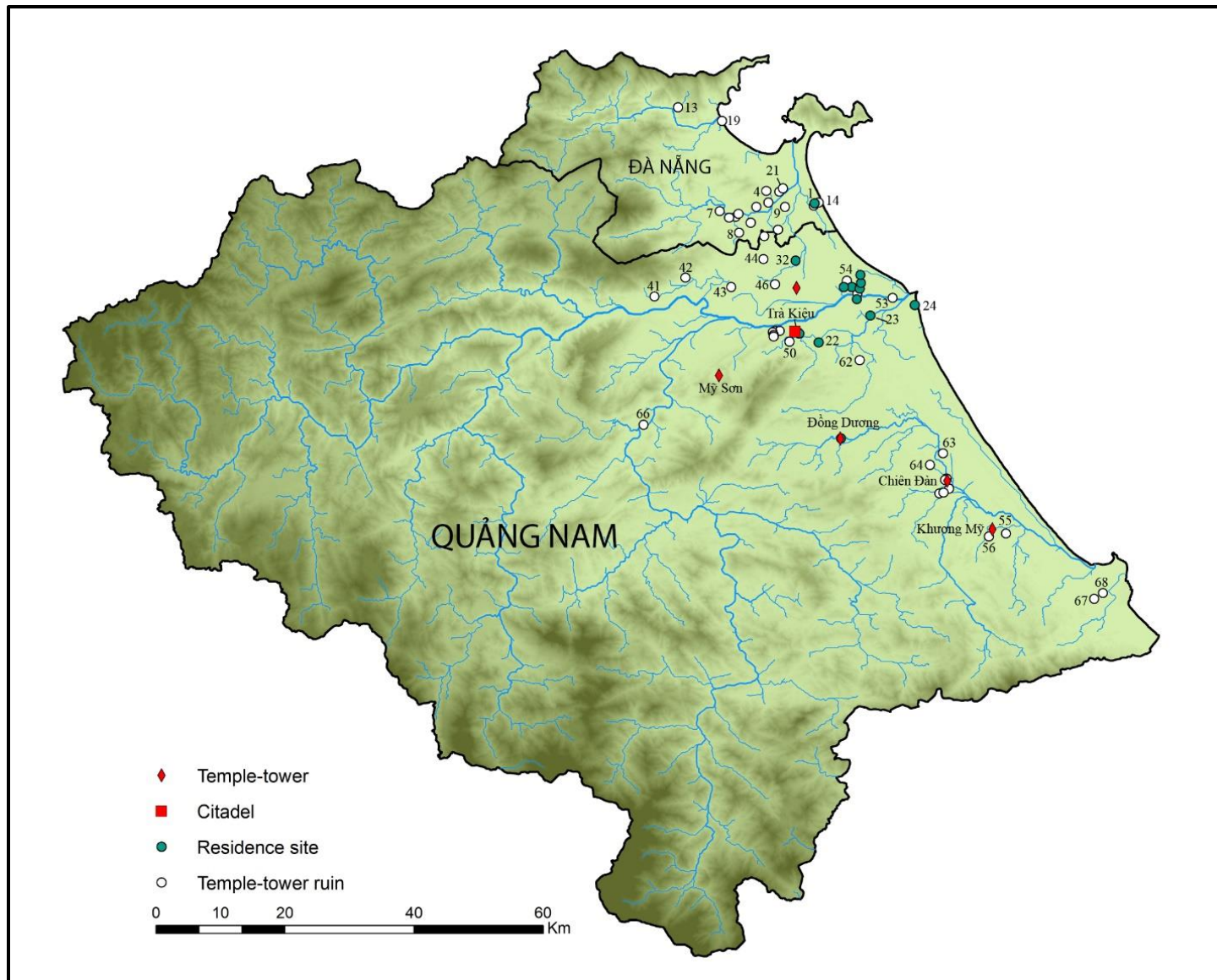


Fig 2. 9: Map of Champa sites in “Amaravati” Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng

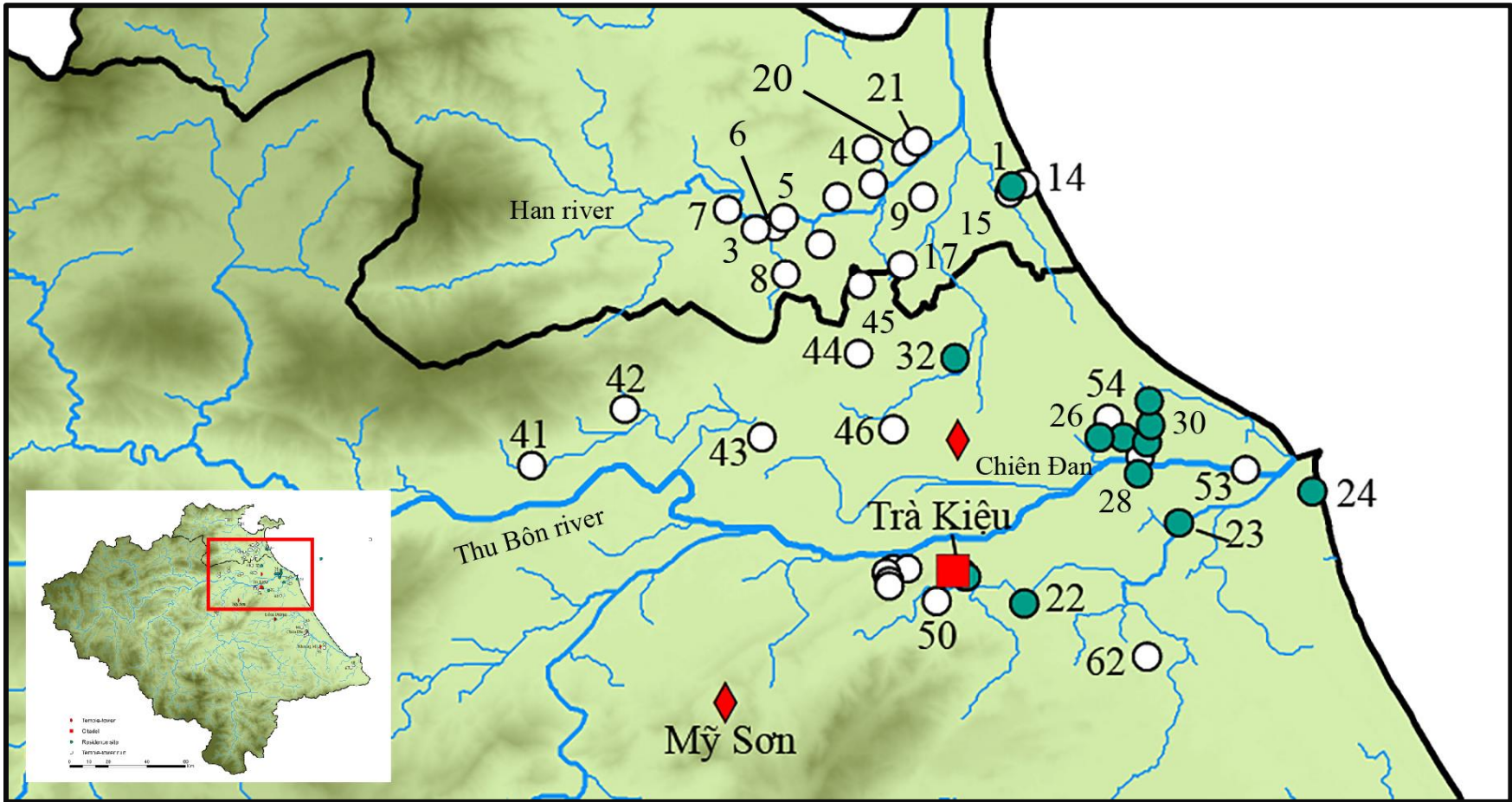


Fig 2. 10: The Champa site along to Hàn river and Thu Bồn river

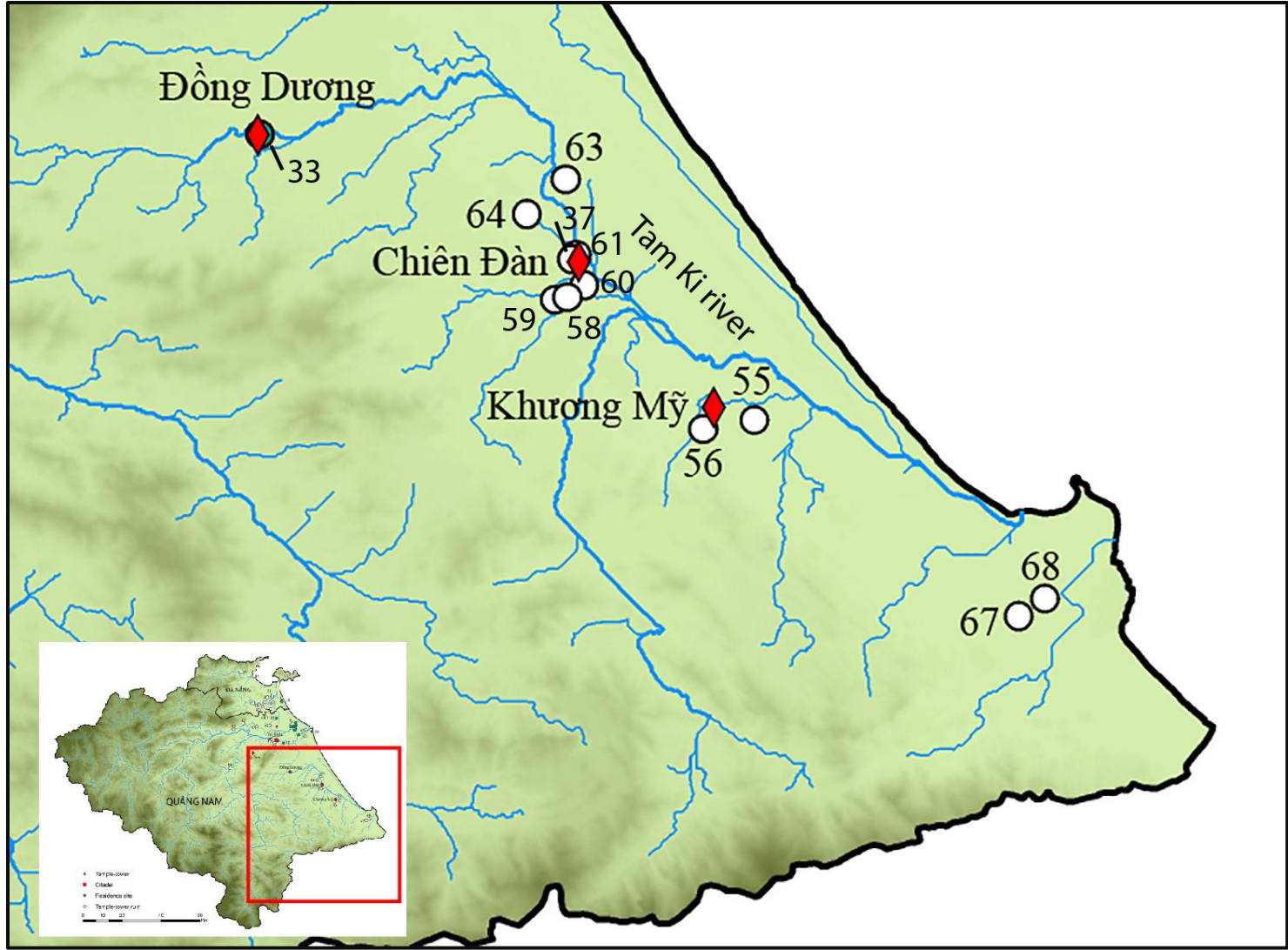


Fig 2. 11: The Champa site along to Tam Kỳ river/Trường Giang river



No	Name	Latitude	Longitude	Type	Location	District	Province
1	Nam Thổ Sơn	16.003	108.258	Residence site	Sơn Thủy, Hòa Hải	Cẩm Lệ	Đà Nẵng
2	An Sơn	16.046	108.737	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa An	Cẩm Lệ	Đà Nẵng
3	Cẩm Mít	15.984	108.148	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Phong	Hòa Vang	Đà Nẵng
4	Cây Quẩn	16.020	108.191	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Phát	Cẩm Lệ	Đà Nẵng
5	Đình Bồ Bản	15.988	108.152	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Phong	Hòa Vang	Đà Nẵng
6	Đình Cẩm Toại	15.983	108.139	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Phong	Hòa Vang	Đà Nẵng
7	Đình Dương Lâm	15.992	108.126	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Phong	Hòa Vang	Đà Nẵng
8	Gò Đùi	15.962	108.153	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Khương	Hòa Vang	Đà Nẵng
9	Miếu Thuận An	15.998	108.217	Temple-tower ruin	Thuận An	Thanh Khê	Đà Nẵng
10	Lăng ông Bình Hòa	15.998	108.177	Temple-tower ruin	Khuê Trung	Cẩm Lệ	Đà Nẵng
11	Lùm Cây Khế	15.976	108.169	Temple-tower ruin	La Bông, Hòa Tiến	Hòa Vang	Đà Nẵng
12	Lùm Giàng	15.998	108.217	Temple-tower ruin	Lỗ Giáng, Hòa Xuân	Hòa Vang	Đà Nẵng
13	Miếu Khe Rằm	16.137	108.068	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Bắc	Ngũ Hành Sơn	Đà Nẵng
14	Chùa Linh Ứng	16.004	108.264	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Hải	Ngũ Hành Sơn	Đà Nẵng
15	Chùa Thái Sơn	16.000	108.257	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Hải	Ngũ Hành Sơn	Đà Nẵng
16	Phong Lệ	16.004	108.194	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Thọ Đông	Cẩm Lệ	Đà Nẵng
17	Quá Giáng	15.966	108.207	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Phước	Hòa Vang	Đà Nẵng
18	Vườn Đình	15.998	108.177	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Thọ Tây	Cẩm Lệ	Đà Nẵng
19	Xuân Dương	16.118	108.129	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Hiệp Nam	Liên Chiểu	Đà Nẵng
20	Khuê Trung	16.019	108.209	Temple-tower ruin	Khuê Trung	Cẩm Lệ	Đà Nẵng
21	Hóa Quê	16.024	108.214	Temple-tower ruin	Khuê Trung	Cẩm Lệ	Đà Nẵng

22	Gò Cẩm	15.809	108.264	Residence site	Tây An, Duy Trung	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
23	Bến Cồn Chấm	15.846	108.336	Residence site	Duy Vinh	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
24	Trung Phường	15.861	108.398	Residence site	Duy Hải	Hội An	Quảng Nam
25	Thanh Chiếm	15.886	108.310	Residence site	Cẩm Hà	Hội An	Quảng Nam
26	Trảng Sỏi	15.886	108.299	Residence site	Cẩm Hà	Hội An	Quảng Nam
27	Ruộng Đồng Cao	15.884	108.321	Residence site	Cẩm Phô	Hội An	Quảng Nam
28	Hồ Điều Hòa	15.892	108.323	Residence site	Minh An	Hội An	Quảng Nam
29	Hậu Xá I	15.869	108.317	Residence site	Thanh Hà	Hội An	Quảng Nam
30	Đồng Nà	15.903	108.322	Residence site	Cẩm Hà	Hội An	Quảng Nam
31	Bãi Làng	15.957	108.508	Residence site	Tân Hiệp	Hội An	Quảng Nam
32	Thanh Quýt	15.923	108.232	Residence site	Điện Thắng	Điện Bàn	Quảng Nam
33	Thửa Vườn	15.675	108.295	Residence site	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình	Quảng Nam
34	Hoàn Châu	15.823	108.235	Residence site	Trà Kiệu, Duy Sơn	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
35	Gò Dũ Dẻ	15.821	108.237	Residence site	Trà Kiệu, Duy Sơn	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
36	Khương Mỹ	15.548	108.506	Temple-tower	Tam Xuân 1	Núi Thành	Quảng Nam
37	Chiên Đàn	15.616	108.443	Temple-tower	Tam An	Tam Kỳ	Quảng Nam
38	Đồng Dương	15.675	108.294	Temple-tower	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình	Quảng Nam
39	Mỹ Sơn	15.763	108.125	Temple-tower	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
40	Băng An	15.885	108.233	Temple-tower	Điện An	Điện Bàn	Quảng Nam
41	Gò Dinh	15.873	108.035	Temple-tower ruin	Hòa Thạnh, Đại Quang	Đại Lộc	Quảng Nam
42	Gò Gạch	15.899	108.078	Temple-tower ruin	Đại Lợi, Đại Nghĩa	Đại Lộc	Quảng Nam
43	Lạc Thành	15.886	108.142	Temple-tower ruin	Lạc Thành, Điện Hồng	Điện Bàn	Quảng Nam

44	Miếu Bà	15.925	108.187	Temple-tower ruin	Bình Bắc, Điện Hòa	Điện Bàn	Quảng Nam
45	Miếu Bà	15.957	108.188	Temple-tower ruin	Hà Đông, Điện Hòa	Điện Bàn	Quảng Nam
46	Miếu Bà	15.890	108.203	Temple-tower ruin	Điện Phước	Điện Bàn	Quảng Nam
47	Chùa Vua	15.825	108.203	Temple-tower ruin	Chiêm Sơn, Duy Trinh	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
48	Gò Gạch	15.825	108.210	Temple-tower ruin	Chiêm Sơn, Duy Trinh	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
49	Gò Lòì	15.823	108.200	Temple-tower ruin	Nam Sơn, Duy Trinh	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
50	Trà Sơn	15.810	108.223	Temple-tower ruin	Duy Sơn	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
51	Triền Tranh	15.819	108.201	Temple-tower ruin	Chiêm Sơn, Duy Trinh	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam
52	An Bang	15.877	108.318	Temple-tower ruin	Cẩm Hà	Hội An	Quảng Nam
53	Lăng Bà	15.871	108.367	Temple-tower ruin	Cẩm Thanh	Hội An	Quảng Nam
54	Miếu Bà Yang	15.895	108.303	Temple-tower ruin	Thanh Hà	Hội An	Quảng Nam
55	Gò Gạch	15.542	108.525	Temple-tower ruin	Tam Xuân 1	Núi Thành	Quảng Nam
56	Phú Hưng	15.538	108.501	Temple-tower ruin	Phú Hưng, Tam Xuân 1	Núi Thành	Quảng Nam
57	An Mỹ	15.605	108.446	Temple-tower ruin	An Mỹ I, Tam An	Phú Ninh	Quảng Nam
58	An Phú	15.598	108.432	Temple-tower ruin	An Thiện, Tam An	Phú Ninh	Quảng Nam
59	Bà Huỳnh	15.599	108.438	Temple-tower ruin	An Mỹ 2, Tam An	Phú Ninh	Quảng Nam
60	Rừng E	15.619	108.442	Temple-tower ruin	Đội 2, An Thọ, Tam An	Phú Ninh	Quảng Nam
61	Rừng Ông Nay	15.617	108.440	Temple-tower ruin	Đội 4, An Thọ, Tam An	Phú Ninh	Quảng Nam
62	Hương Quế	15.784	108.321	Temple-tower ruin	Quế Phú	Quế Sơn	Quảng Nam
63	An Thái	15.654	108.437	Temple-tower ruin	An Thái, Bình An	Thăng Bình	Quảng Nam
64	An Thành	15.638	108.419	Temple-tower ruin	An Thành, Bình An	Thăng Bình	Quảng Nam
65	Gò Gạch	15.817	108.201	Temple-tower ruin	Phú Nham, Duy Sơn	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam

66	Bình Yên	15.694	108.020	Temple-tower ruin	Bình Yên, Phước Ninh	Nông Sơn	Quảng Nam
67	Gò Cẩm	15.451	108.648	Temple-tower ruin	Tam Giang	Núi Thành	Quảng Nam
68	Vuon Thoang	15.459	108.660	Temple-tower ruin	Tam Giang	Núi Thành	Quảng Nam
69	Trà Kiệu	15.824	108.231	Citadel	Duy Sơn	Duy Xuyên	Quảng Nam

Table 2: The list of Champa sites in “Amaravati” Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng



### ***2.4.1. The temple-tower***

The ancient Cham people were talented artisans in brick-making and building brickworks, such as Champa temple-tower. They are the masterpieces of Southeast Asia's architecture. Currently, there are 5 Champa temple-towers group remaining in Quảng Nam. Although most of them are partly damaged, they are good materials for researching the history of Champa civilization. Here, I overview five temple-tower complex one by one. There are main tourist attractions in Quảng Nam nowadays.

#### Mỹ Sơn holy land

Number on the map: 39

Type of the site: temple-tower

GPS Location: 15.763N; 108.125E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú, Duy Xuyên

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Parmentier 1904: 805-896; Finot 1904a: 83-115; Finot 1904b: 897-977; Parmentier 1909; Boisselier 1963; Majumdar 1985:4-8; Jacques 1995: 5-204; Hồ Xuân Tịnh 1998: 102-117; TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 82-83.

Description: In 1885, a group of French soldiers discovered a group of Champa temple-towers covered by forest trees in Mỹ Sơn valley, Duy Phú, Duy Xuyên district, Quảng Nam province. In 1895, Paris, who is the landowner, had it cleared up (Fig 2.12) and in 1898-1899, Finot and Lajonquière, two French scholars, came to Mỹ Sơn to study the inscription on the stele (Finot 1901: 12-25; 1904a: 83-115; 1904b: 897-977). In 1901, Parmentier, an architect-

archaeologist came to study. The first and most basic research works on Mỹ Sơn inscription and architecture were published in EFEO in 1904 (Finot 1904b: 897-977) (Parmentier 1904: 805-896).

Depending on the position of those temple-tower groups, Parmentier (1904: 805-896) divided the architectural remains at Mỹ Sơn into 10 principal groups: A-K, A' to enable a system of labeling sites by capital letter and number (Fig 2. 13-14).

-Groups A and A' (also called Pagoda temple-tower by the local) consist of 17 architectural remains.

-Groups B, C, D (Market group) consist of 27 architectural remains.

-Groups E, F (Hố Khê group) consist of 5 architectural remains.

-Groups H, K (Chess group) consists of 4 architectural remains.

With about 70 architectural monuments built from the 7th to the 13th century, Mỹ Sơn was the most important Hinduist Holy Land of Champa kingdom. In this area, we can find almost architectural styles in Champa art. According to Stern, they can be classified as follows (Fig 2. 17):

-Ancient style or Mỹ Sơn E1 style: (the 7th century to the 8th centuries) consisting of Mỹ Sơn E1, Mỹ Sơn F1 temple-towers.

-Hòa Lai style (the 8th century to first half of the 9th century) consisting of Mỹ Sơn A2, Mỹ Sơn C7, and Mỹ Sơn F3 temple-towers.

-Đồng Dương style (mid-9th century to the early 10th century) consisting of Mỹ Sơn A10, Mỹ Sơn A11, Mỹ Sơn A13, and Mỹ Sơn B4 temple-towers.

-Mỹ Sơn A1 style (the 10th century) comprising Mỹ Sơn A1, Mỹ Sơn B2, Mỹ Sơn B3, Mỹ Sơn B5, Mỹ Sơn B6, Mỹ Sơn B8, Mỹ Sơn C1-C6, Mỹ Sơn D1-D2, Mỹ Sơn D4, and Mỹ Sơn E7 temple-towers.

-Pô Nagar style (the 11th century) consisting of Mỹ Sơn A4 and Mỹ Sơn F2 temple-towers.

-Bình Định style (the 12th century to the 13 century) consisting of Mỹ Sơn B1 temple-tower and temple-tower groups G, H, K.

Temple-towers in Mỹ Sơn were arranged in general:

-The main Temple-tower (Kalan), located in the center, symbolizes Meru mountain in the Hindu concept. It is the center of the universe, where Gods gather-ordinarily, there is a door facing east.

-Gate temple-tower (Gorupa), located right in front of Kalan, has 2 communicative doors facing east and west.

-Mandapa (a longhouse) linked with the Gate temple-tower where pilgrims and offerings were received.

-Next to the main temple-tower, there was a temple-tower with one or two rooms. The door faced north. It was used for holding praying clothes called Kosagraha.

-Besides, there were subordinate temple-towers around Kalan for worshipping Gods of direction (Dikpalakas), Gods of planets (Grahas), or Minor Gods such as Skanda, Ganesa, etc.

The earliest Mỹ Sơn C. 72 inscription (Fig 2. 62) was from King Bhadravarman, who reigned circa 380-413 CE and was called Phạm Hồ Đạt in Vietnamese and 范胡达 Chinese historical records. The C. 72 inscription mentions that the king erected a temple dedicated to God Bhadrésvara (Shiva) and confirmed that the land chosen as the site of the royal sanctuary be located in the south of the valley, on the holy mountain named Mahāparvata/Great God of Mountain (Majumdar 1985:4-8; Jacques 1995:5-204).

Mỹ Sơn is not only known for its architectural monuments but also famous for hundreds of priceless sculptural objects, which date from the seven centuries to the thirteenth centuries.

Champa sculptural art was the selective and creative combination of native elements and Hindu cultures. Although sculptural works were only expressed in stones, Champa talented sculptural workers skillfully changed rough stones into lively and soulful masterpieces. Each art style has its own beauty because the sense of beauty always changes through time (Fig 2. 14-16). In 1999, Mỹ Sơn was recognized by UNESCO as a world heritage listed site.

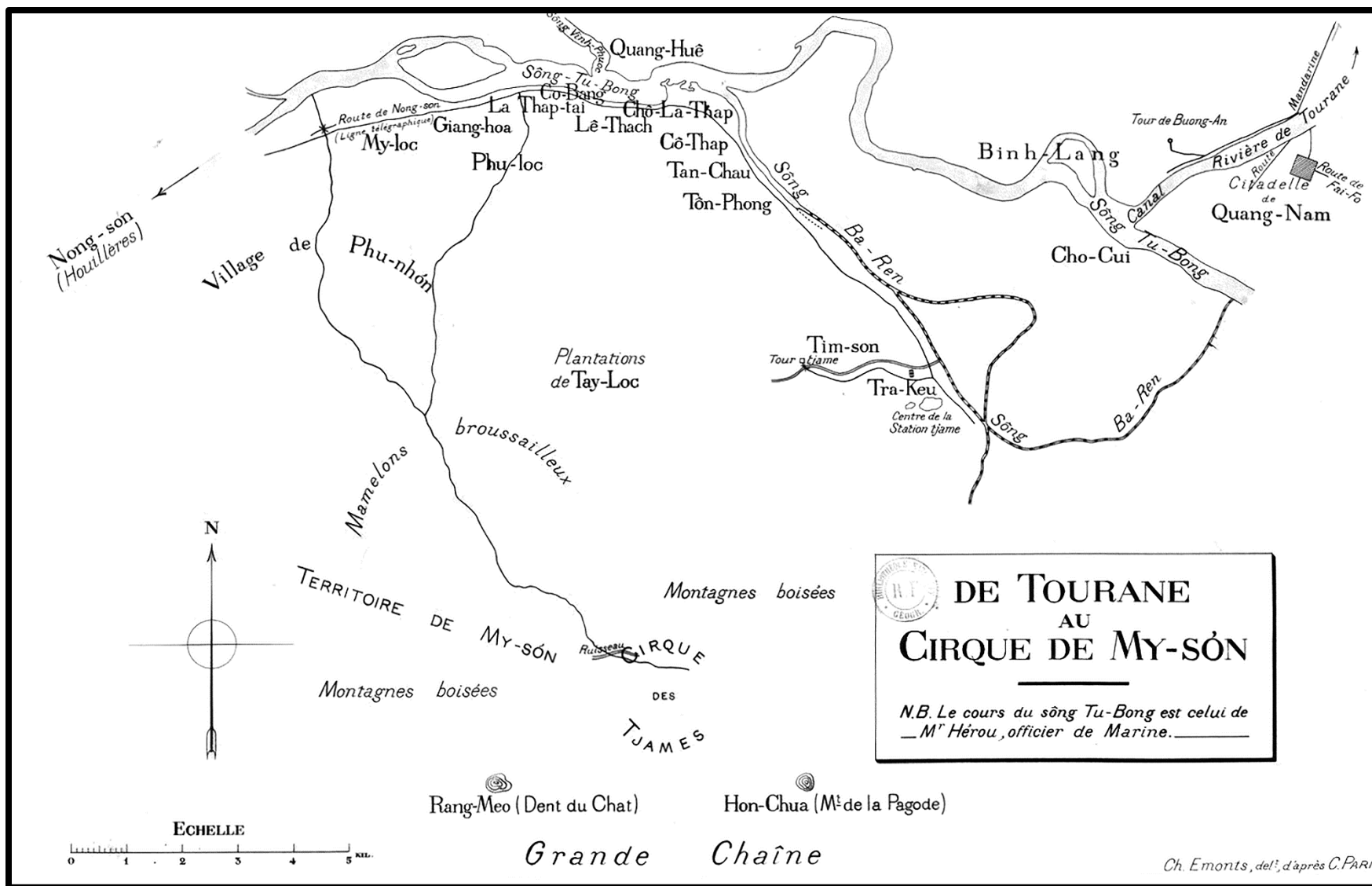


Fig 2. 12: The location of Mỹ Sơn in 1902 by Paris  
 Source: (Bibliothèque nationale de France: GED-4347)

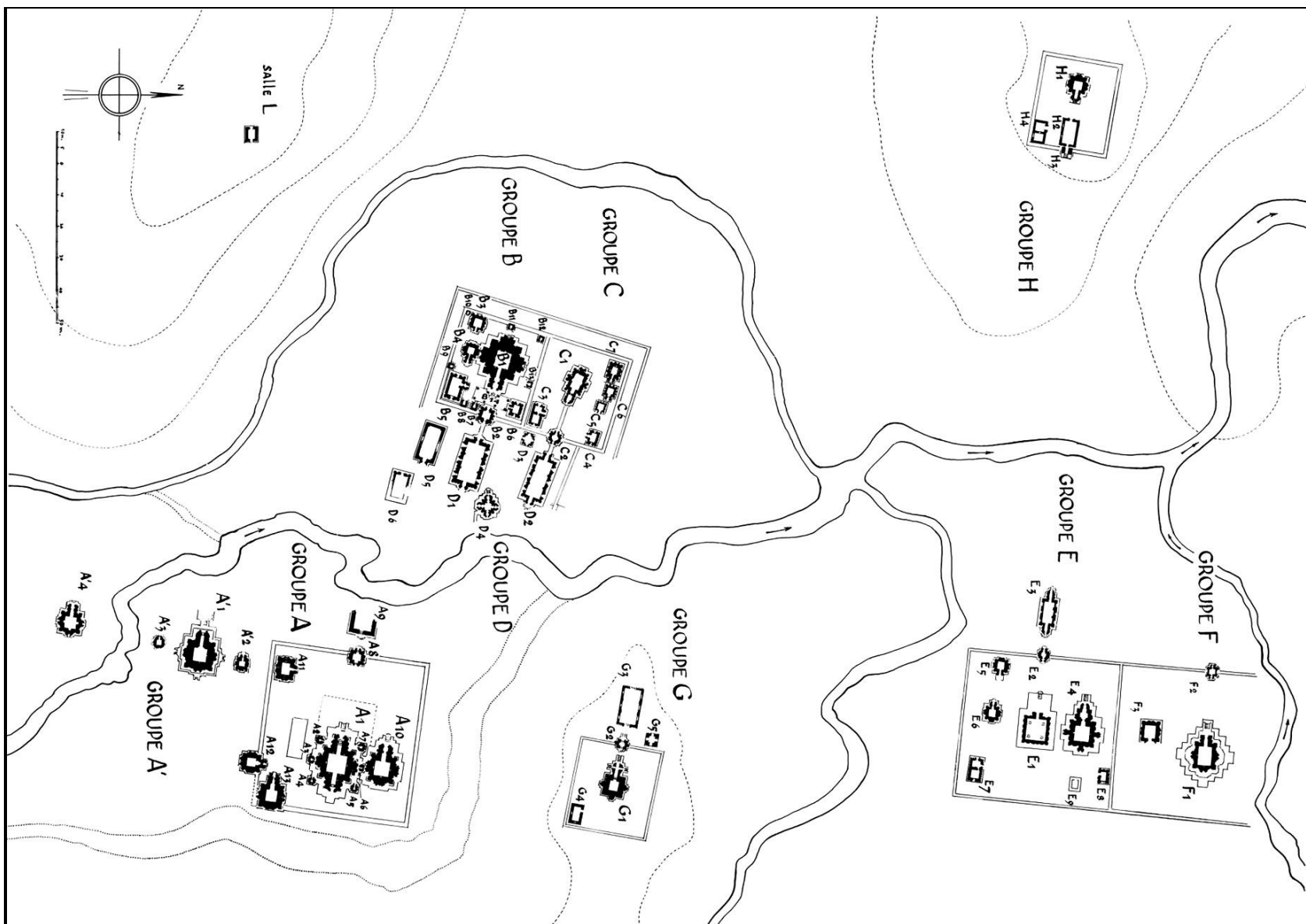


Fig 2. 13: The plan of Mý Son. Source: (Boisselier 1963: Plan C)





Fig 2. 14: The aerial photograph of Mý Son





Fig 2. 15: Mý Son B-C group landscape with Mahāparvata mountain



Fig 2. 16: The decoration of Mý Son B5



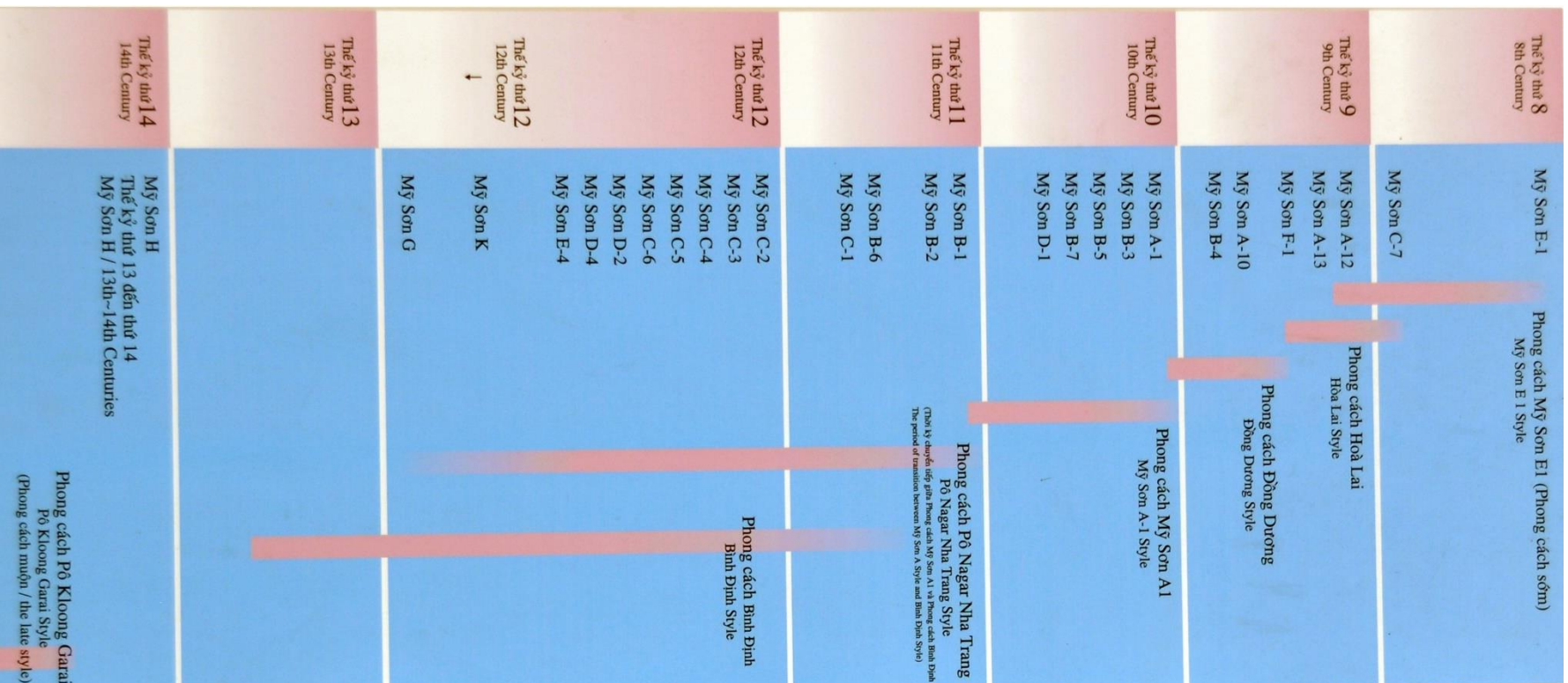


Fig 2. 17: Architectural chorology of temple-towers in Mỹ Sơn.

Source: (Mỹ Sơn site Museum)

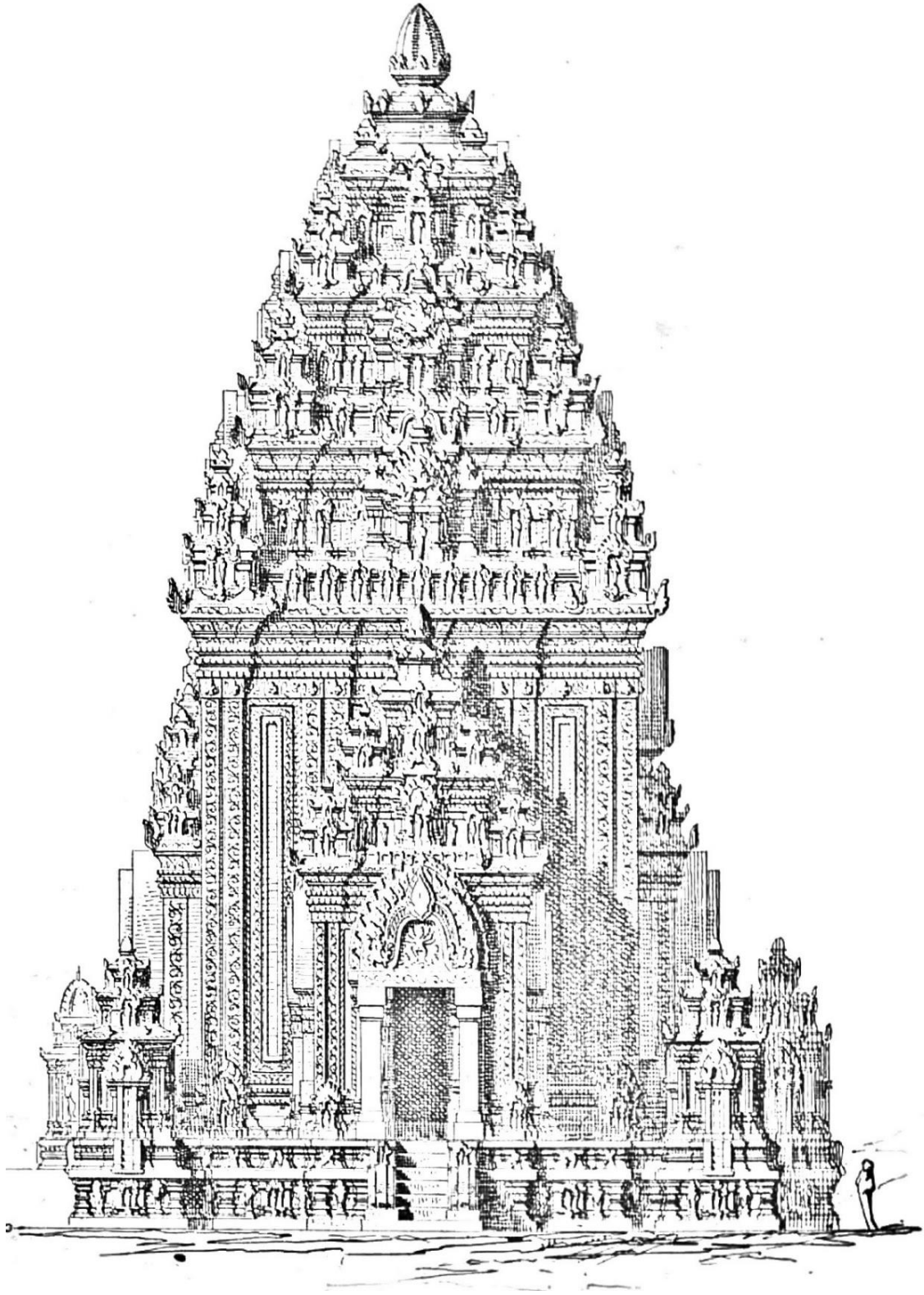


Fig 2. 18: The drawing of Mý Son A1 temple-tower

Soure: (Parmentier 1909: Planche LXXII)

## Khương Mỹ temple-tower complex

Number on the map: 36

Type of the site: temple-tower

GPS Location: 15.548N; 108.506E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Tam Xuân 1, Núi Thành

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Parmentier 1909; Parmentier 1918; Stern 1942; Boisselier 1963; Hồ Xuân Tịnh 1998: 126-128.

Description: Khương Mỹ group consists of 3 temple-towers creating a line on the direction of north to the south, with the front door in the east. They are the types of traditional Champa temple-towers with the nearly quadrangular base, three-story roof, the upper storey is the lessened image of the lower, on top is a sand-stone summit (Fig 2. 19-20)

+ Northern temple-tower: The smallest of all with a front door and five false doors. The vestibule was partly broken down. The vault over the doors are arch-shaped decorated with stylized plant-shaped patterns leaves are carved and twisted on top. In the center of the vault is a bunch of leaves curved in the shape of the fig tree's leaves (Fig 2. 21). There are five pillars for each wall, along the pillars plant shaped patterns were carved in linking S-shapes alternatives with the diamond-shaped decorative motifs relating together from foot to top of the wall.

+ Middle temple-tower: Bigger than the northern temple-tower and fairly intact. It has a front door and five false doors as in the northern temple-tower. The dome on doors was divided into two sections, formed by stylized plant-shaped decorative patterns, curved at both ends, and leaves have deep grooves. On top and bottom of the pillars of the vault carved two rows of stylized

lotus flowers. Each wall has five pillars, carved with plant-shapes decorative patterns twisting into linking S-shapes.

+ Southern lower: The biggest of all, fairly intact. The structure is similar to the two other temple-towers, but each wall has only four pillars. Decorations on pillars and walls were plant-shaped patterns twisting into linking S-shapes, alternative with diamond-shaped decorative motifs.

According to Stern (1942), it was the first time the decorative motifs of Khmer art appeared in Champa architecture, the motif of leaves with deep groove curving on top and linking diamond-shapes formed by diagonal lines and stylized flowers was the typical decorative style of Khmer art in the late 9th century and the early 10th century.

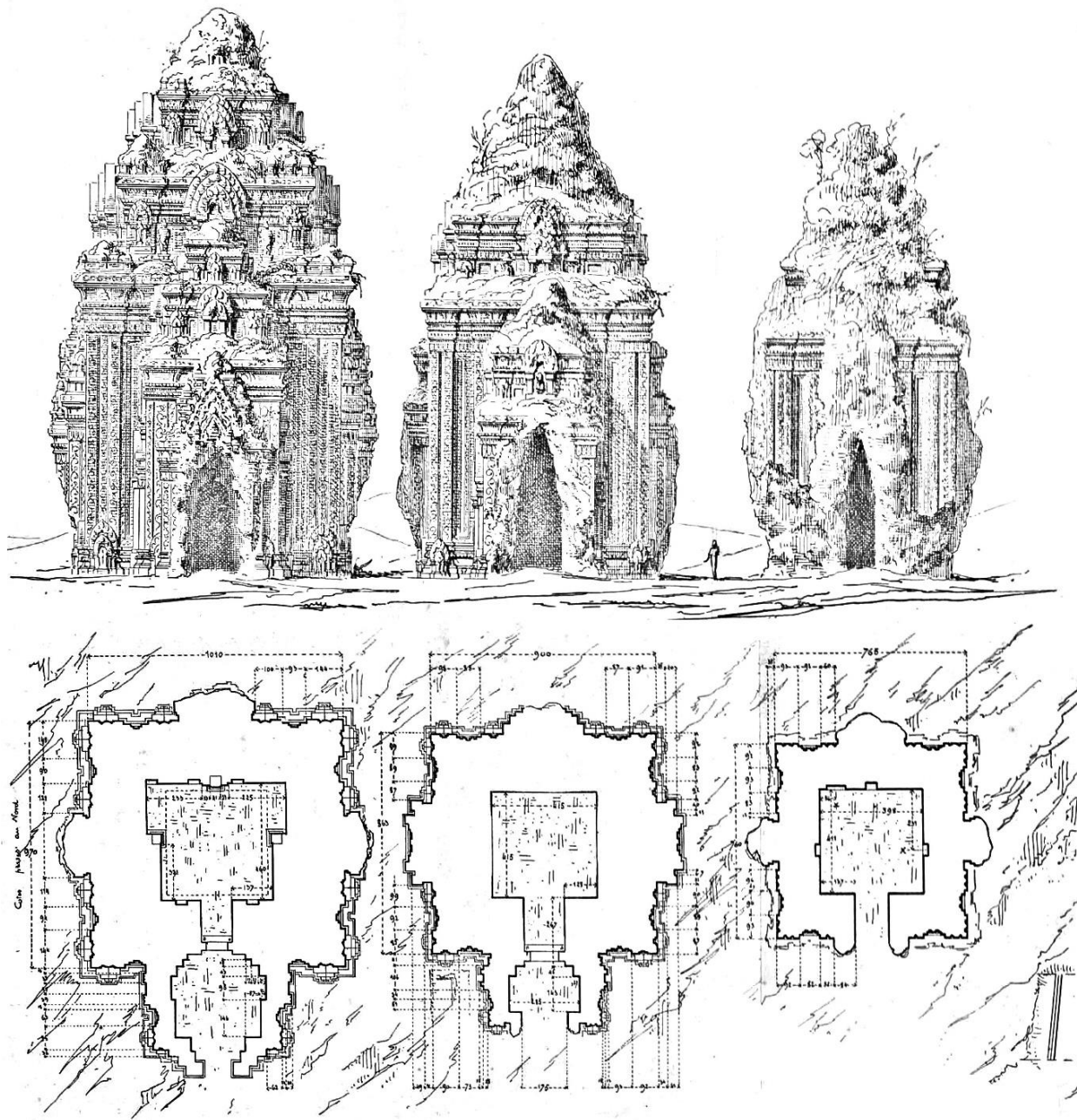


Fig 2. 19: The plan of Khương Mỹ temple-tower  
Source: (Parmentier 1909: planche LVIII, LX)





Fig 2. 20: The picture of Khương Mỹ temple-tower from the west

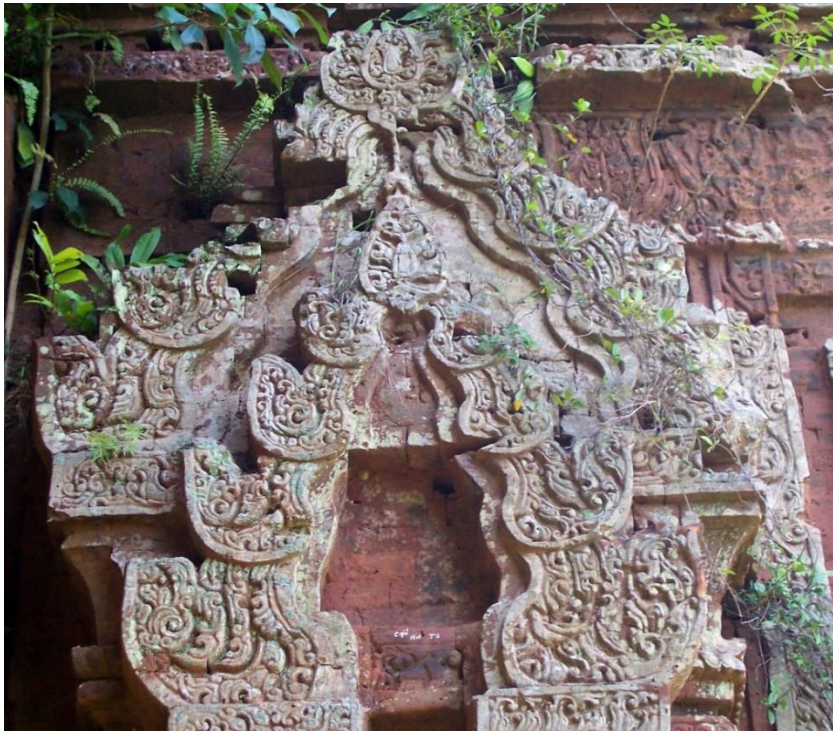


Fig 2. 21: The motif in false doors of Khương Mỹ temple-tower

## Chiên Đàn temple-tower complex

Number on the map: 37

Type of the site: temple-tower

GPS Location: 15.616N; 108.443E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Tam An, Tam Kỳ; about 60 kilometers south of Đà Nẵng.

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Parmentier 1909; Parmentier 1918; Stern 1942; Boisselier 1963; Hồ Xuân Tịnh 1998: 102-117.

Description: It consists of three temple-towers, arranged in a straight line in the north to the south direction, the entrance in the east. The three temple-towers have the same shape as the square foundation. The roof is the stories lessened to top (Fig 2. 22).



Fig 2. 22: The picture of Chiên Đàn temple-tower from East



+ Northern temple-tower: The smallest of all. The summit was completely broken down; the vestibule in the entrance was, too. The vault over the entrance was fairly intact. The false doors were seriously damaged.

+ Middle temple-tower: The biggest of all, it was maintained better than two other towers. Remains a story on the summit. The foot of the vestibule and false doors were broken down. Sandstone top fell behind the temple-tower, including two attached blocks of stone, the upper is octagonal in each side. They engraved a fig tree's leaf on which there is a Kala. The lower is the same but smaller and sharp on top, with a bolt to fit the hole of the topper block. On the summit, the trace of tiny drilled holes and bronze heads of nails remains, may be precious stones were attached here.

+ Southern temple-tower: Smaller than middle temple-tower but bigger than the northern one. The roof of the temple-tower was completely damaged.

There were no decorative motifs on the body of Chiên Đàn temple-tower. The pillar and narrow rectangular edges along the bodies made the temple-tower to be higher (Fig 2. 23-25). On the restoration in 1989, the archaeologist excavated around the temple-tower. They found the system of the base with sandstone decorative patterns on it and hundreds of valuable sculptural objects, such as Holy snake Naga, sacred goode Hamsa, elephant, lion, deer, etc. These statues kept some features of Trà Kiệu art and style in the early eleventh century. In 1997, the stele C. 64 was excavated in Chiên Đàn. The inscription records the victories of Jaya Harivarman I (1149-1167 CE) against the Khmers and the Vietnamese (Fig 2. 103). Therefore, I classified Chiên Đàn temple-tower dates from the 11th century to the 12th century.



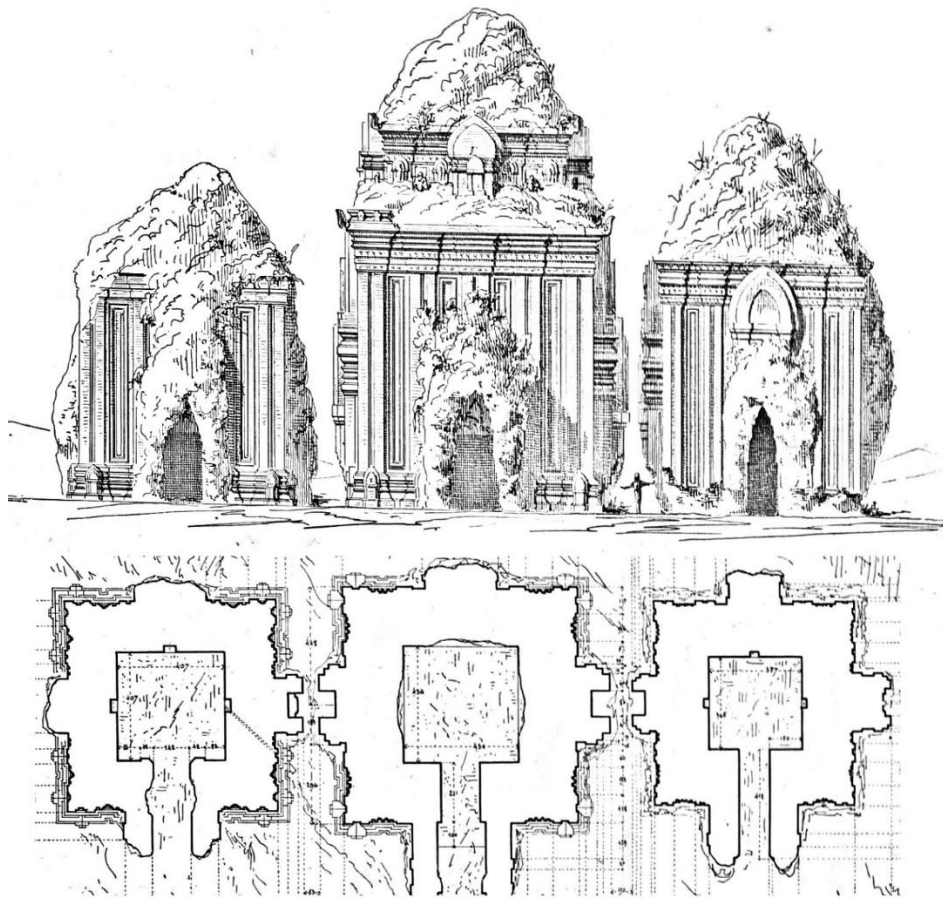


Fig 2. 23: The plan of Chiên Đàn temple-tower  
Source: (Parmentier 1909: planche LX-LXI)

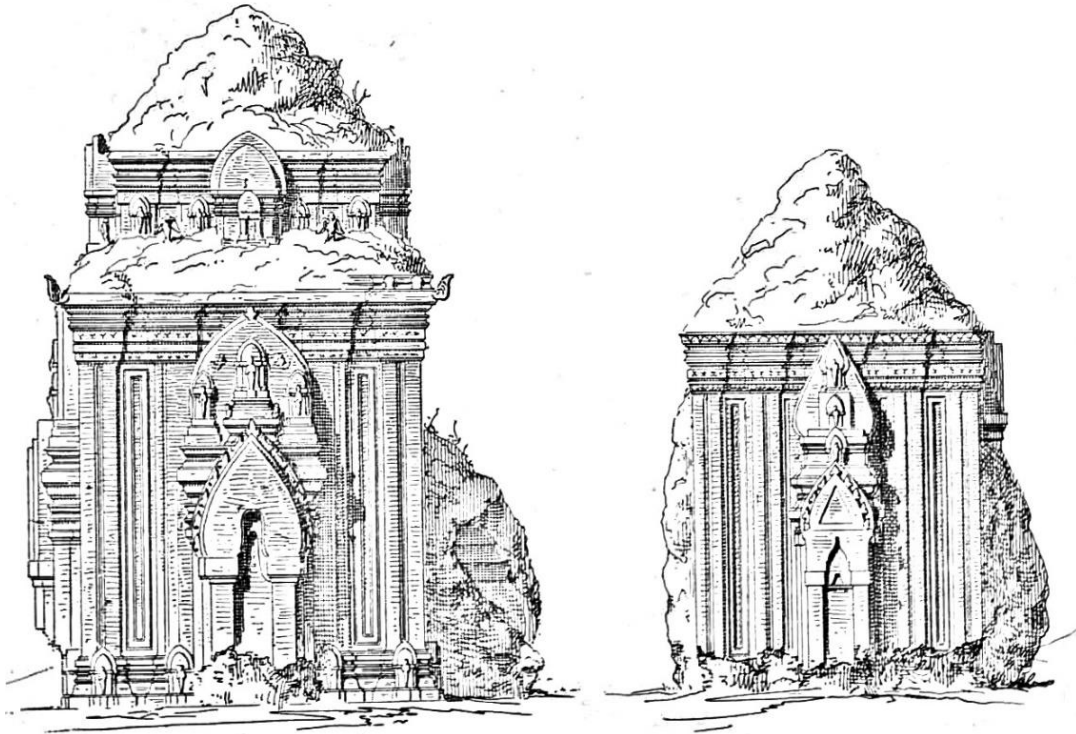


Fig 2. 24: The body of Northern (left) and Middle (right) Chiên Đàn temple-tower

Source: (Parmentier 1909: planche LXII)



Fig 2. 25: The carving in stone base of Chiên Đàn temple-tower

## Bằng An temple-tower complex

Number on the map: 40

Type of the site: temple-tower

GPS Location: 15.885N; 108.233E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Điện An, Điện Bàn; about 17 kilometers south of Đà Nẵng,

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Parmentier 1909; Parmentier 1918; Stern 1942; Boisselier 1963; Hồ Xuân Tịnh 1998: 131-132.

Description: Bằng An was the only octagonal temple-tower remaining (Fig 2. 26). Chánh Lộ temple-tower in Quảng Ngãi province was the same, but broken down a long time ago; therefore, its shape cannot be studied.

The present height of the tower is over 20 meters, the foundation fairly high, the body is octagonal with each side of 4 meters wide. The entrance is in the east. The vestibule is rather long, on both sides of it, there are two minor doors. The wall is plain, without false doors, pillars, and decorative motifs. On foot, geometrical edges are widening to meet the foundation. On top of the wall, the widened geometrical edge supports the cone-shaped roof of the eight sections. On the edges along the root the vestige of sandstone of architectural objects still remains (Fig 2. 26-28).

The damaged vestibule was restored and the minor doors on both sides were replaced by two windows. At present, there are still two statues of Gajasimha outside the temple-tower, the small bell of Bằng An Gajasimha is like the ones in Chánh Lộ and Chiên Đàn (Fig 2. 29). The mane was stylized, the claws were clearly expressed, the trunk short and curved. Based on the Gajasimha of Chánh Lộ style and the octagonal foundation of Bằng An temple-tower, which is

like the one of Chánh Lộ, Boisseilier (1963) thought that Bằn An temple-tower had the same period as Chánh Lộ, the 11th century.

In my opinion, the shape of Bằn An temple-tower is like a huge linga which was erected in the late 9th century to the early 10th century. The octagonal tray of the temple-tower was similar to the octagonal brick columns in Đồng Dương and Po Nagar. Also, according to the content of the C. 141 stele found in Bằn An, king Bhadravarman II built a temple named Linga Paramesvara to dedicate to Isanesvara (another name of Shiva) in 906 (Fig 2. 95). Therefore, the temple-tower dates from the late 9th century to the early 10th century. The Gajasimha statues were erected in the next century when the tower was still used for worshipping Shiva. Maybe it was repaired sometimes but kept the original form.

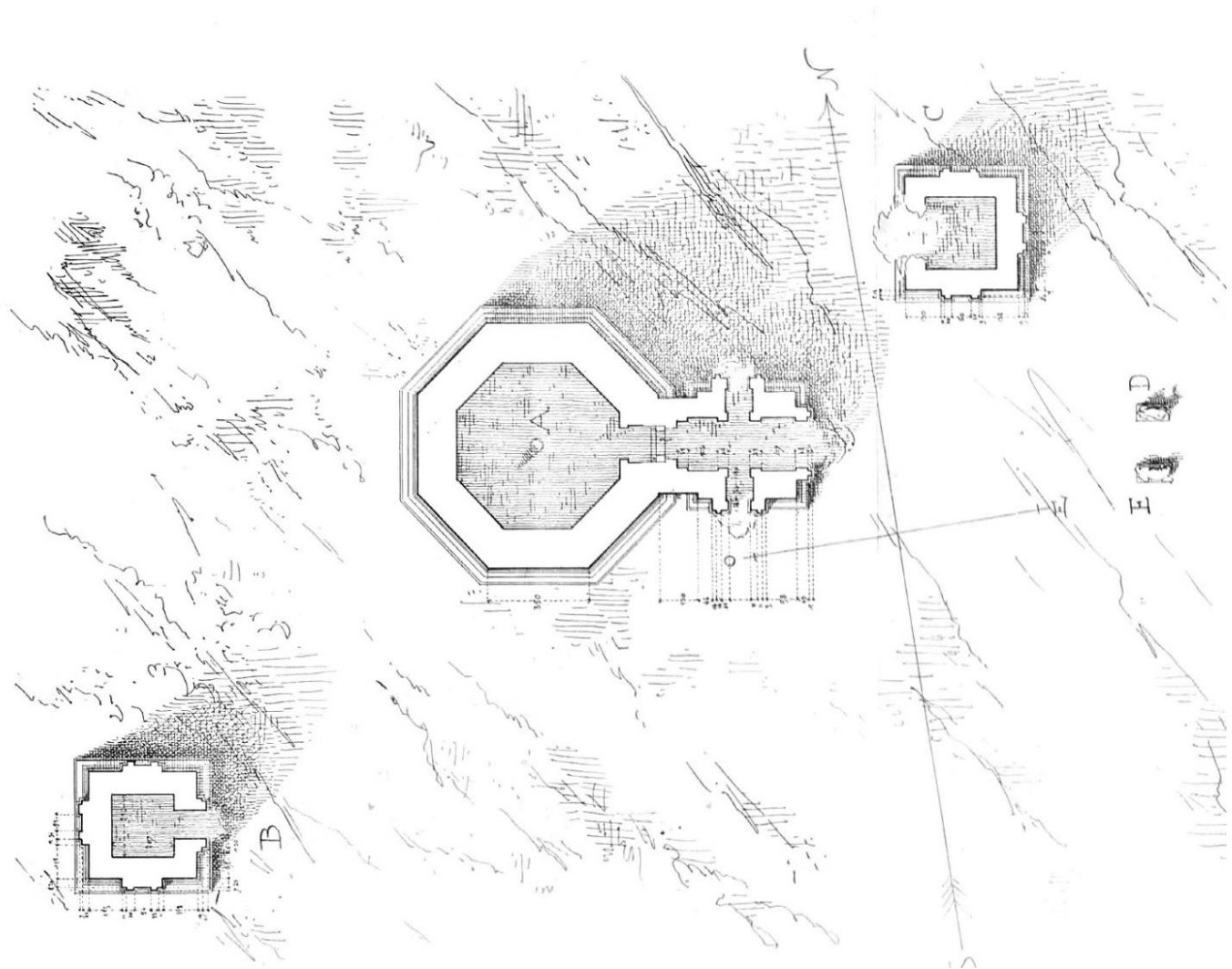


Fig 2. 26: The location of temple-towers of Bàng An group.

Source: (Parmentier 1909: planche LXIV)

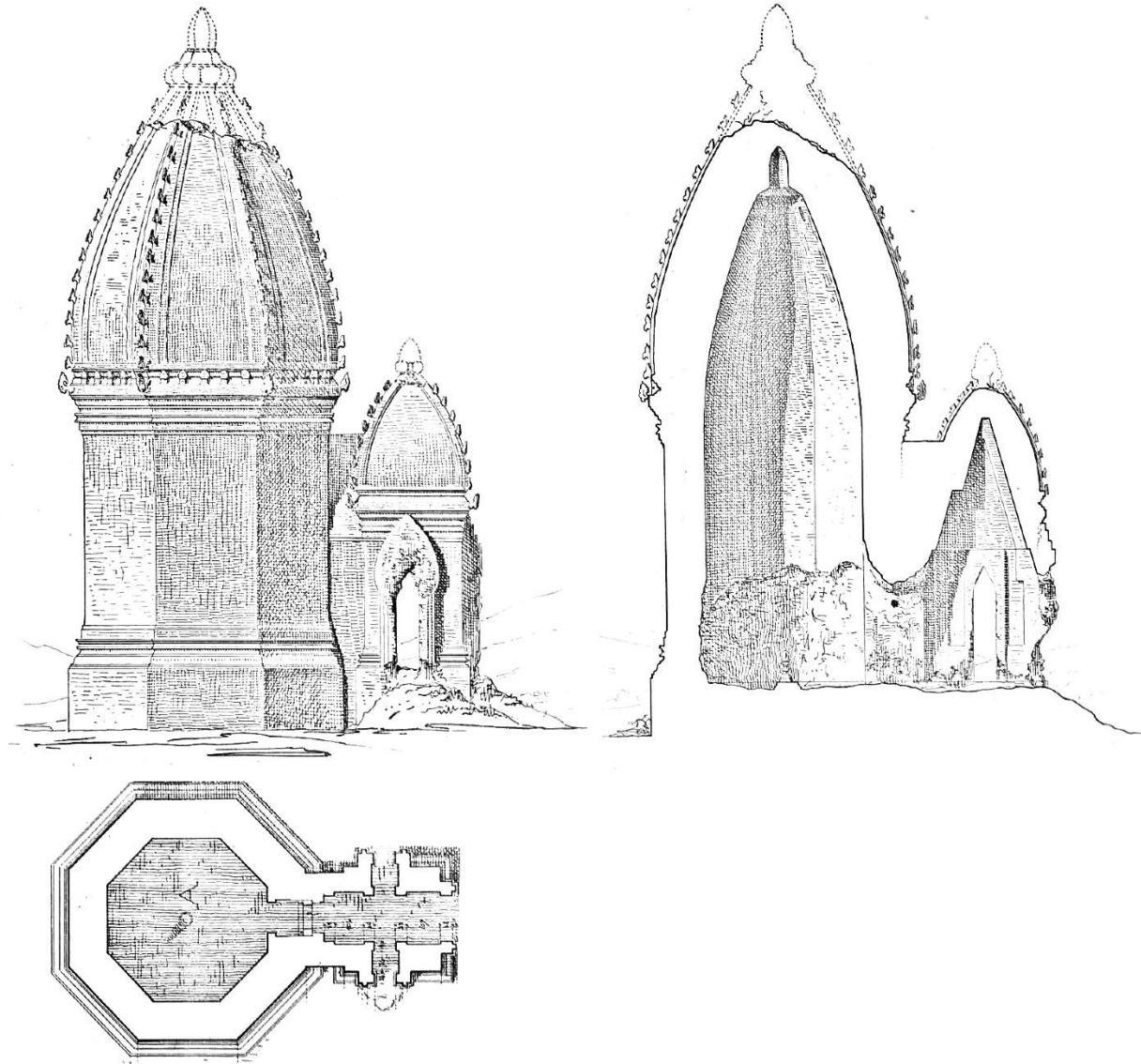


Fig 2. 27: The plan of Bàng An main temple-tower. Source: (Parmentier 19109: planche LXV-LXVI)





Fig 2. 28: The picture of Bàng An temple-tower



Fig 2. 29: Two Gajasimha statues in front of Bàng An temple-tower

#### **2.4.2. The ruin**

As time has gone by for over a thousand years, these imposing architectural works in Amaravati have been seriously downgraded and damaged by harsh nature and vandalism, as well as the unconsciousness of the human and harsh nature.

Once known as Trà Kiệu and Đồng Dương capital of Champa Kingdom together with Mỹ Sơn sanctuary, Amaravati polity has existed 69 Champa evidence for several centuries. Unfortunately, these architectural masterpieces had been ruined by natural and human disasters.

Champa architectural vestiges in Amaravati set up a scientific file in almost the districts of Quảng Nam province and Đà Nẵng city. This research generally introduces some importance to the architectural ruins in this region (Fig 2. 9-12) (Fig 2. 30-31) (Table 2).



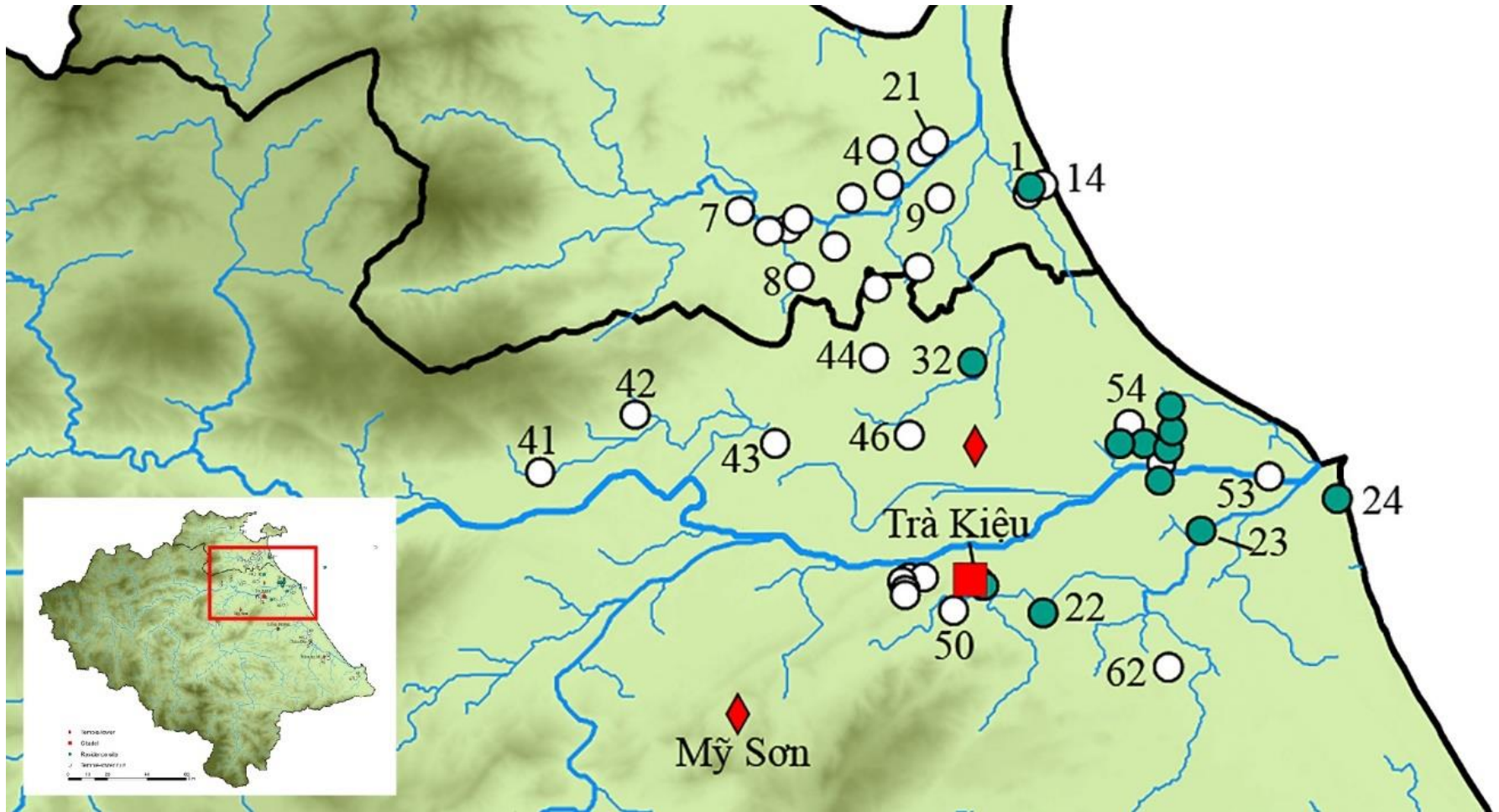
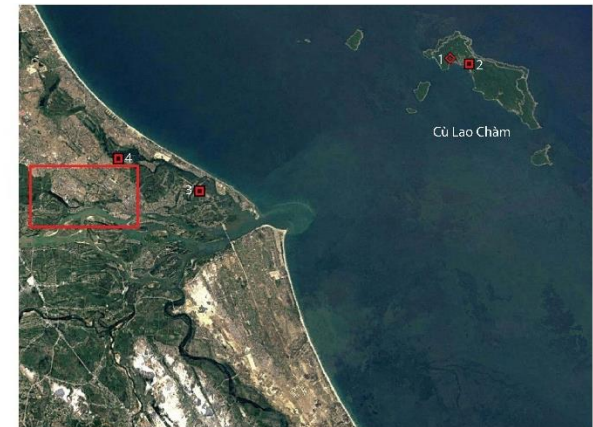


Fig 2. 30: The map of temple-tower ruin in central Amaravati



- Note:**
- ◻ Pre Sa Huỳnh - Champa
  - Sa Huỳnh
  - △ Sa Huỳnh - Champa
  - ◻ Champa
- |              |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Bãi Ông   | 7. An Bang         |
| 2. Bãi Làng  | 8. Thanh Chiếm     |
| 3. Lăng Bà   | 9. Trảng Sỏi       |
| 4. Đồng Nà   | 10. Hậu Xá I       |
| 5. Xuân Lâm  | 11. Ruộng Đồng Cao |
| 6. Hậu Xá II | 12. Chùa Cầu       |

Fig 2. 31: The Champa site in Hội An region

## Lạc Thành

Number on the map: 43

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.886N; 108.142E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Lạc Thành, Điện Hồng

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 82-83; Parmentier 1909: 309.

Description: The paddy fields of 500m<sup>2</sup> surround the vestige. An investigation showed the trace of a foundation and brick wall. According to some villagers, there had been a high mound with several Champa bricks in the middle of the rice field before it was razed to the ground for manufacturing bricks.

The remaining object is a very large four-side stele (C. 107) (Fig 2. 92) engraved with Sanskrit but its characters are worn out, the stele's dimension is 195cm x 100cm x50cm, the base is 26cm x 50cm x 30cm. The stele, the lintel, and some others are now displayed in the precinct of Bằng An temple-tower.

Remarks: It is located about 300m northwest of the road 607 connecting 1 Vĩnh Điện-Ái Nghĩa.

Hương Quế

Number on the map: 62

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.784N; 108.321E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Quế Phú, Quế Sơn

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Parmentier 1909; TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 102-104.

Description: The ruin located on the plain surface of 600m<sup>2</sup> covered with the surrounding field. The vestige collapsed completely and there are now three small Vietnamese temple-towers constructed with lime, Cham bricks, and roofed tiles. An altar and a god statue are worshipped inside. In the middle of the ground building a Phạm family chapel. According to the village elders, these shrines were constructed hundreds of years ago when Vietnamese from the north began their emigration here (Fig 2. 32).

By the temple-tower is a sandstone stele (C. 140) with its dimension of 154cm x 76cm x 47cm engraved with Sankrit on both sides that are still clear (Fig 2. 112). A lot of Cham bricks are scattered on the ground. Here once found the most beautiful sandstone statue and perhaps a masterpiece of Champa sculptural art that usually called Hương Quế Statue (Devi Goddess) and now displayed in Hồ Chí Minh Museum of History (Fig 2. 33).

Remarks: Hương Quế vestige is, about 500m west of Highway 1A





Fig 2. 32: The landscape of Hương Quế site



Fig 2. 33: Hương Quế Devi Goddess which is Việt Nam National treasures

## An Thái

Number on the map: 63

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.654N; 108.437E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: An Thái, Bình An, Thăng Bình

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Rougier 1912: 211-214;

Parmentier 1909; TTBTDSDTQN 2009.

Description: The vestige is in the area of 200m<sup>2</sup> at the foot of An Thái hill near a river (a tributary of Trường Giang river).

Observing from the hilltop, the vestige is

surrounded by luxuriant plants and Champa bricks are scattered on the ground. In the center of the vestige, we found a foundation of brick wall running along from west to east direction. Somebody dug for ancient objects and took them away. The remaining object is a tow-side stele (C. 138) engraved with 22 lines of Sanskrit (Fig 2. 93). According to the local people, formerly it was a dense forest in which not many people knew about. Nowadays, the whole vestige had collapsed completely.



Fig 2. 34: The location of An Thái ruin



## Bà Huỳnh

Number on the map: 59

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.599N; 108.438E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: An Mỹ 2, Tam An, Phú Ninh

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 129

Description: Bà Huỳnh site (also called Gò Gạch), it was a 4m high brick mound which had collapsed completely for a long time. Nowadays, the whole area of this vestige is

400m<sup>2</sup>. There are a lot of Champa bricks scattered on the ground. The clearest trace is 1m high wall damaged gradually. An investigation showed that nothing was found except for a part of square yoni altar which the spout and drain were broken. The three-stepped yoni is carved in the inner miniature. Through the remains, it is possible to say that here once existed at least a structure of Chams people but it had been damaged seriously by war and time.



Fig 2. 35: Cham bricks scattered on the ground in Bà Huỳnh ruin

## Phú Hưng

Number on the map: 56

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.538N; 108.501E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Phú Hưng, Tam Xuân 1, Núi Thành

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Parmentier 1909: 245; TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 130-132.

Description: The vestige is on a low mound of 600m<sup>2</sup>. The actual state showed there are two or three small secondary temple-towers at the surroundings of the main temple-tower. In the early of the 20th century, Parmentier (1909) came to the site and found here some objects such as Makara, Naga, monkey, lion, etc. still display in Đà Nẵng Museum of Cham Sculpture.

In the 1990s, several objects were lost or sold by antiquities traders. In 1993, a statue was taken away by antiquities traders. However, it was taken back and displayed at Quảng Ngãi Museum (Fig 2. 36). Phú Hưng had collapsed completely but now its trace is clearer than the other vestiges.





Fig 2. 36: Phú Hưng statues: male deity (left) and monkey (right)



Fig 2. 37: The Vishnu statues found in Phú Hưng site



## Gò Dinh

Number on the map: 41

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.873N; 108.035E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Hòa Thạnh, Đại Quang, Đại Lộc

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 89

Map used for survey: N15E108

Description: According to the local people, formerly there was a small temple-tower on a high mound in which worshiped a God riding on bull (Shiva?). In 1986, when razing the

mound to the ground for a building, the artifact was moved to Trường An community hall at Núi Lở hill what is now in Trường An hamlet, Đại Quang commune, Đại Lộc district. The remaining object is the lower part of a relief expressing Shiva God on the back of Nadin bull while the upper was disappeared. Its dimension is 70cm x 70cm x 15cm. At present, there is nothing left at the vestige.



Fig 2. 38: The current situation of Gò Dinh ruin

## Gò Gạch Đại Lợi

Number on the map: 42

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.899N; 108.078E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đại Lợi, Đại Nghĩa, Đại Lộc

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 89-90

Description: According to the local people, formerly there have been a high brick mound in the middle of a paddy field then it was razed to the nearby bomb craters for rice cultivation. Especially, in 1986, when digging irrigation system, a lot of objects were found such as human statues, altar and many others. Nowadays, the collection of artifacts stored at Trường An commemorative hall at Trường An hamlet, Đại Đồng commune.



Fig 2. 39: The traces of artifacts at Gò Gạch (Đại Lợi) ruin



## An Bang

Number on the map: 52

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.877N; 108.318E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Cẩm Hà, Hội An

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 91-92.

Description: The total vestige is located on a low mound. According to Hội An center for cultural heritage management and preservation, there existed base of two

architectural remains in 1989. The base is a section of damaged brick wall in the dimension of 33cm x 17cm x 7cm along east-west axis, under the brick layer is the 3-5cm pebbles. It is possible a small architectural work of Chams people.

Remarks: About 500m to the west of Miếu Bà Yang vestige, An Bang was formerly in Thanh Chiếm Xứ, which is now in hamlet 5, Cẩm Hà ward, Hội An city.



Fig 2. 40: The current situation of An Bang site

## Lăng Bà

Number on the map: 53

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.871N; 108.367E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Cẩm Thanh, Hội An

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 92-93.

Description: The total vestige is a plain terrain of 500m<sup>2</sup> near a traffic road. In 1985, Hội An Center for Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation carried out excavating and discovered a part of a short brick wall along East-West direction. Possibly, a base of a small architectural work was formerly built by Chams people. Besides that, there is a stone sculptural of a male deity, Kubera?- God of prosperity. The god is standing on a low pedestal; his left hand is at abdomen height, the right one is absolutely broken, his beard is long. Besides, there is a bar in the window and other objects but they are inconsiderable. Nowadays, local people plant trees.



Fig 2. 41: The Lãng Bà site: male deity statue (above), the excavation pit (bottom)

Source: (Hội An Center for Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation)

## Chùa Vua

Number on the map: 47

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.825N; 108.203E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Chiêm Sơn, Duy Trinh, Duy Xuyên

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 95-96.

Description: The whole area is about 700m<sup>2</sup> on a rather high hill. The remaining trace is some fragments of brick and sandstone in a wide area. There are some objects such as door-step, pedestal, lintel used as stair-steps or paved the path. The locals sometimes picked some sandstone and terracotta objects up off the ground when cultivating such as decorative comers, lotus buds, etc. In 1997, Duy Xuyên District Museum gathered from here a three-storied Linga in the dimension of 150cm x 35cm x 35cm. It is fine and rather intact. Now it is rested on a cement Yoni altar to preserve and display together.

Besides, the museum collected some objects like sandstone or terracotta decorative comers and temple-tower's peaks in different types. At the eastern hill, the trace of this vestige is clearer when a part of the wall (80 -100cm high) was seen at the depth of 1,7m by the locals while they were clearing the hill for housing. It is possible to estimate a big architectural structure once existed here. However, the hill has been used for housing and cultivating so the vestige is not intact to define the center location of the former temple-tower.





Fig 2. 42: The artifact of Chùa Vua site: Linga (above), elephant pedestal (bottom)

## An Thành

Number on the map: 64

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.638N; 108.419E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: An Thành, Bình An, Thăng Bình

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 118-119.

Description: The vestige is a high mound in the area of 100m<sup>2</sup>. The total area is 70m long stretching from East to West. An investigation showed that the vestige consists of three parts: The east part remains a trace of a 9m<sup>2</sup> square foundation. Perhaps it is a gate temple-tower (Gopura). The middle part is

about 30m to the east. There is a trace of a brick architectural foundation in 10m length.

This could be a longhouse (Mandapa). The remaining trace is fairly clear with many Cham tiles in arrow and bull horn shape. The third part is far from the middle 15m. In 2005, the locals razed it to the ground for housing. Formerly many human statues and some sculptural objects existed here but they were taken away for sale or leveled for housing.

Remarks: It is about 500m the west of highway 1A and about 3km to the North of Chiên Đàn temple-tower group.



Fig 2. 43: Cham bricks scattered on the ground in An Thành ruin



## Rừng Ông Nay

Number on the map: 61

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.617N; 108.440E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đội 4, An Thọ, Tam An, Phú Ninh

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 119-120.

Description: Rừng Ông Nay vestige formerly was a collapsed temple-tower mound in the area of Rừng Miếu (the temple was built by

Vietnamese people to worship Gods who bring the peace to the villagers). It once a dense and deserted forest. The total area is about 300m<sup>2</sup>. A great number of bricks with different sizes are scattered on the ground. The vestige collapsed long ago and now it is a pile of brick.

Remarks: It is about 300m to the northeast of Chiên Đàn temple-tower group.

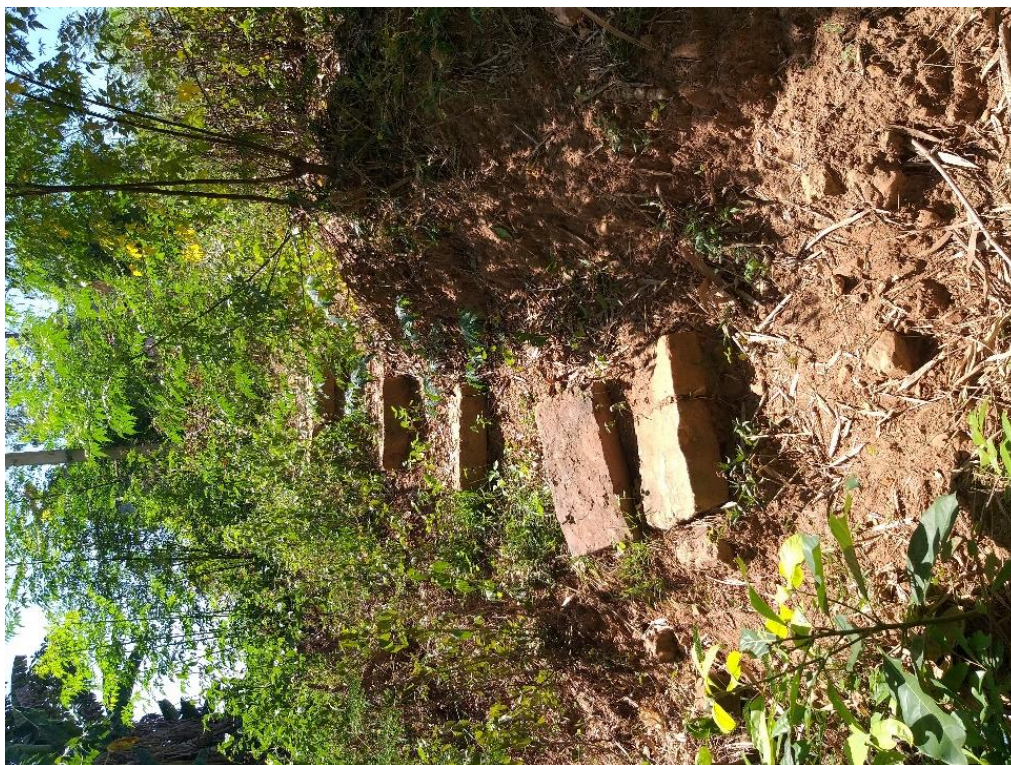


Fig 2. 44: Artifacts scattered on the ground in Rừng Ông Nay ruin

## An Mỹ

Number on the map: 57

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.605N; 108.446E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: An Mỹ I, Tam An, Phú Ninh

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 120-124; BTĐKCĐN 2018.

Description: In restoration, the local people found Champa sculptural statues buried in the same hole. In 1982, when Cẩm Khê canal of Phú Ninh irrigational system was dug through Rừng Đồng Miếu many sandstone sculptural works together with a large number of Cham bricks were excavated.

-The 76cm high Tympan expressing a cross-legged Lakshmi on lotus altar. She holds two lotus flowers in her hands. The head-dress is a Kirita-mukuta, two eyes slightly close, the nose is large and lips are thick, the wide mouth smiles and she wears leech-shaped earrings. The upper of her body is uncovered; the lower wear a simple sampot. The surrounding of tympan is decorated with styled patterns (Fig 2. 45).

-Three half-length reliefs with a male God and two Goddesses are carved on a square stone, etc (Fig 2. 46).

In 2004, about 30m the east of the place where discovered Linga-Yoni altar, the local people found some of Cham bricks while cleaning the irrigation canal. Although An Mỹ temple-

tower collapsed long ago, through the remaining sculptural works, it is a big temple-tower built in the 7th century, restored and continued to build in the centuries later.

Remarks: It is about 1,5km to the west of Chiên Đàn temple-tower group. This area is called Rừng Đồng Miếu because formerly the plants grew densely like a small forest and there were two temple-towers inside.



Fig 2. 45: An Mỹ Lakshmi statue.

Source: (BTĐKCĐN 2018)



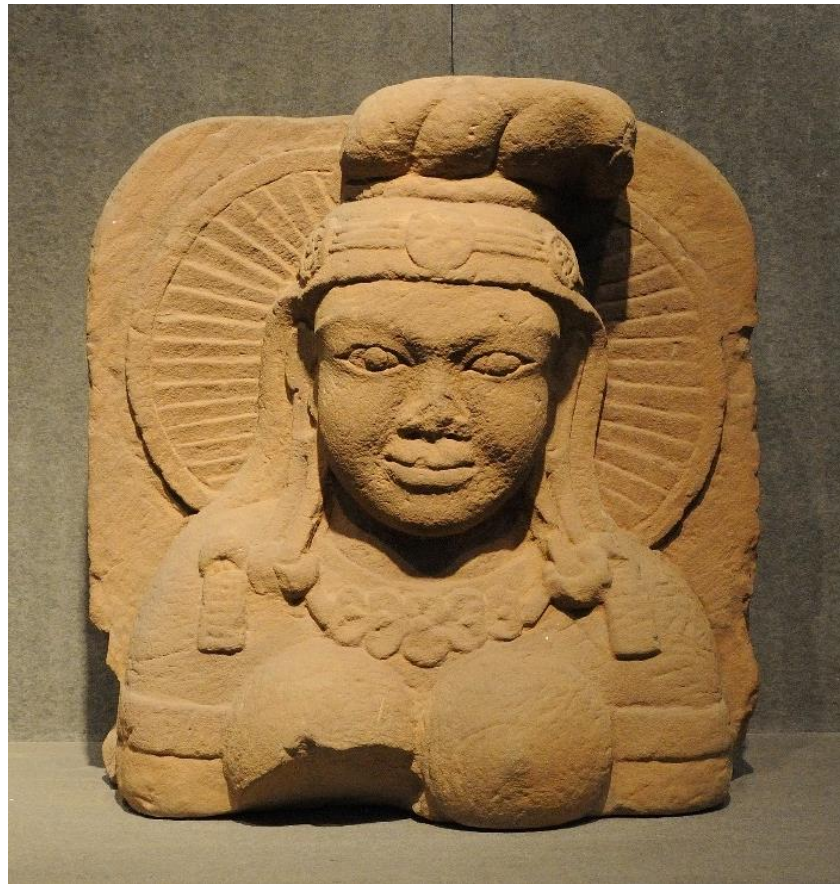


Fig 2. 46: The male and female deities in An M̃

## An Phú

Number on the map: 58

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.598N; 108.432E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: An Thiện, Tam An, Phú Ninh

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 124-127.

Description: An Phú vestige is a large area surrounded by the fields with populated inhabitants, the east is a highway, a big river in the south. Formerly, there had been no Phú Ninh irrigation system, the local people water from this stream for fields of An Phú. In the past, only a high brick mound existed when the first Vietnamese people came to live so named it Lan temple-tower.

In 2003, Quảng Nam Museum carried out excavating and gave information as follows: An Phú vestige is the type of a longhouse, like mandapa in Mỹ Sơn, the plan is a rectangle in 29.6m x 9.80m, the door has two gables narrowed in the vestibule.

Toward the north is the trace of another brick vestige. It is a pity that it is nearly leveled; therefore, there is no clearness about the model as well as the relation with the south temple-tower.

Through the architecture as well as the found objects An Phú vestige dates from the late 10th century and this is the architectural type is few in Champa cultural heritage, except two longhouses (Mandapa) in Mỹ Sơn, almost this architectural type collapsed.

Remarks: An Phú is about 700m north of Chiên Đàn temple-tower group; two sites arranging on the same north-south axis, nearly in a straight line.





Fig 2. 47: The Champa brick on An Phú site

## Rừng É

Number on the map: 60

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.619E; 108.442N

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đội 2, An Thọ, Tam An, Phú Ninh

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 127-128.

Description: It is about to North-Northeast of Chiên Đàn temple-tower group. The ruin lies on a high mound surrounded by rice fields. Formerly, it was a dense forest and now used housing and graveyard by local people. Rừng É stands in a very strange location. If Chiên Đàn temple-tower group is regarded as a center one, the east is Rừng Ông Nay relic; West is An Mỹ, South is An Phú and North is Rừng É. From this disposition, I can outline a regional religious space with five structures in a small area. And how do these architectural works relate with each other in the history and what do the Champa build them near Chiên Đàn temple-tower group.





Fig 2. 48: The current situation of Rùng É site



## Gò Gạch Tam Xuân 1

Number on the map: 55

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.542N; 108.525E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Tam Xuân 1, Núi Thành

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 132-133.

Description: According to the elders, this area used to be a dense forest with many luxuriant wild plants. There are stone pedestal and Cham bricks. For a long-time nobody paid attention to this area until the 1990 years of the 20th century when the antiquities trade made this whole area disorder, many stone sculptural objects were sold or lost. Nowadays, the actual state is clear with a lot of Cham bricks on the large-scale ground. Especially, through the excavation holes, the local people found a foundation of the structure with components of pebble, macadam, and soil.



Fig 2. 49: Bricks scattered on the ground in Go Gạch Tam Xuân 1

## Miếu Bà Hạ Nông Trung

Number on the map: 46

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.890N; 108.203E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Điện Phước, Điện Bàn

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 86-88.

Description: The total vestige covers a mound of 1500m<sup>2</sup>. It is 3m higher than the surface of the surrounding field. There is a small shrine with brick walls and a local tiled roof. In August 1995, the local people found many sandstone statues while razing to the ground such as Shiva God on Nadin bull, an elephant relief, Skanda God. Apart from the above artifacts, many broken architectural and sculptural objects still exist here, especially, Cham bricks and tiles are scattered on the ground.

Remarks: To reach this vestige, from 1A national road take DT 609 road about 5 km to Điện Phước people committee Hall then turn to a 3 km concrete path leading to an irrigation canal where the vestige is 700m away from.





Fig 2. 50: Miếu Bà Hạ Nông Trung



## Miếu Bà Yang

Number on the map: 54

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.895N; 108.303E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Thanh Hà, Hội An

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 90-91.

Description: It is a small shrine; there is a piece of brown flat sandstone without patterns (yoni?). It is difficult to determine whether it is a shrine or a place for gathering the objects to worship. To give exact answers, there should be more excavations in its surrounding areas in order to unveil the secret of this ruin. It has a Champa well (?) in front of the site. The main part of the well is lined with stones from the bottom to the top, surrounded by four walls. Four corners of the wall have four square stone pillars.



Fig 2. 51: The Champa well in Miếu Bà Yang site



## Gò Lôi

Number on the map: 49

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.823N; 108.200E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Nam Sơn, Duy Trinh, Duy Xuyên

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Parmentier 1909; TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 93-95.

Description: This is the trace of a Champa ancient structure, which is now just two parallel laterite lines running from east to west direction. Each line consists of five columns that are 3.5m away from each other. The distance between the two laterite lines is 6m. Based on the size of the column's tenons, a fully constituted column is connected from 2 other shorter columns by around Yin-Yang tenon in the dimension of 30cm x 20cm; the lower column is about 160cm-200 cm high divided into two big and small parts. Its base is relatively square (80cm x80cm) while the upper was lessened in 70cm x 70cm and linked above with another shorter column in 130 cm x 70cm x 70cm. A cross- mortise is near the top of column in 15cm x 30cm or 20cm x 25cm. Each column is 3-3,5m high in perfect connect.

Away 15m to the north is an east-west tongue of land with many broken Cham bricks. This is the trace of a Mandapa (a longhouse similar to Mỹ Sơn D1, D2) but collapsed. Away 25m to the east is a mound of 10m<sup>2</sup> with the trace of a laterite foundation in which the laterites are arranged together in balance. Some Cham bricks are also seen in the surrounding. It is likely to affirm that there once existed at least 2 structures.



Fig 2. 52: The trace of Champa ancient structure in Gò Lòì

## Triền Tranh

Number on the map: 51

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.819N; 108.201E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Chiêm Sơn, Duy Trinh, Duy Xuyên

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 96-97.

Description: The vestige lies on a hillock of 500m<sup>2</sup> at the foot of Úc Đạp mountain to the southeast of Chiêm Sơn Tây valley. The remaining trace now is rather faded except for some bricks and broken sandstone pieces scattered on the ground. In 1997 the locals found a pillar base carved four elephants at four sides in the standing posture, each has two ears perk up, its head turns backward while the trunk laying towards. The right front foot seems to be in heavy and its tail hangs down to the ground. This artifact lively and is now preserved in Duy Xuyên Museum.

Institute of Archaeology excavated this area in 2014. Archeological workers have excavated 27 pits with total 3.000m<sup>2</sup>. The results show that the site plays an important role in the study of Champa culture in the land of Quảng Nam.

Remarks: Triền Tranh vestige is about 200m North of Chùa Vua site and 100m East of Gò Lôi.





Fig 2. 53: The aerial picture of Triền Tranh



## Gò Gạch Chiêm Sơn

Number on the map: 48

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.825N; 108.210E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Chiêm Sơn, Duy Trinh, Duy Xuyên

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 97-99.

Description: It is about 330m to the east of Chùa Vua. The remaining situation is Cham bricks scattered and gum trees planted on. At the top of the mound, there are some holes for ancient objects and bricks that dug by the locals. Presently, all vestiges of Gò Lôi, Chùa Vua, Triền Tranh and Gò Gạch are located at Chiêm Sơn Tây valley. However, is there any relation among these vestiges as well as the scale of a very huge temple-tower complex once existed in history?



## Trà Kiệu

Number on the map: 69

Type of the site: Champa ruin

GPS Location: 15.824N; 108.231E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Sơn, Duy Xuyên

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: Paris 1892: 137-144; Lemire 1894: 401-416; Finot 1902; TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 99-102; Yamagata 2014: 2-3; Đỗ 2017: 70-105.

Description: The Trà Kiệu site has been locally identified as the citadel of ancient capital of Champa, Simhapura and Dianchong of Linyi. The almost rectangular-shaped ramparts surrounding the citadel still remain, and stretch about 1.5km in length (east-west) and about 550m in width (north-south). Today villages are situated on the northern half of the former citadel, whereas, the southern half of the site is covered by paddy fields. From the summit of Bửu Châu (Jade Hill) crowned by a Catholic church, which is located in a central part of the site and about 22m higher than the surrounding plain, one has a panoramic view of the whole area (Yamagata 2014: 2-3).

Traces of wall parts, temple-towers, and sculptural works had attracted French scholars. In the late years of the XIX century, Paris (1892: 137-144) and Lemire collected sculptural works of Trà Kiệu and then Finot (1902) and Parmentier (1909) began their investigations on the trace of wall and structures in the early years of the 20th century. In 1927-1928, Clayes carried out an archaeological excavation on a relatively large scale. The whole foundations of the northern

temple-tower groups, as well as the other ten positions in the citadel, were uncovered with a lot of valuable sculptural works. From this excavation results, Claves had made a sketch of the ancient citadels scale and successfully proved the truth that Tra Kieu was Simhapura citadel of Champa kingdom.

Until now, archaeologists (included Vietnamese, Japanese, British) carried out a lot of investigation and excavation in Trà Kiệu. The excavation at Bửu Châu hill showed that plenty of pottery wares and ritual objects of Chams people. At the last level of the excavation hole, archaeologists found many pieces of pottery similar to Sa Huỳnh one and roughly egg-shaped jars.

Among the remaining parts of the wall, the archaeologists dug across the southern part which is 3m high train the surface of the field. As a result, the foundation is 6m thick, consists of three parts: the outer brick-wall is 130cm, the middle clay layer is 330cm thick, the inner brick-wall 140cm. Its vertical plane is an equal trapezium.



Fig 2. 56: Arial photo of Trà Kiệu citadel

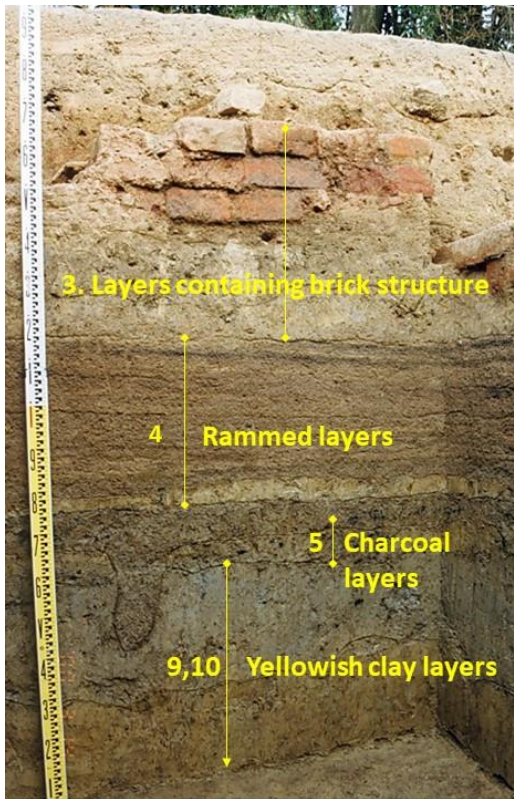


Fig 2. 57: The Hoàn Châu excavation trench

Source: (Yamagata)



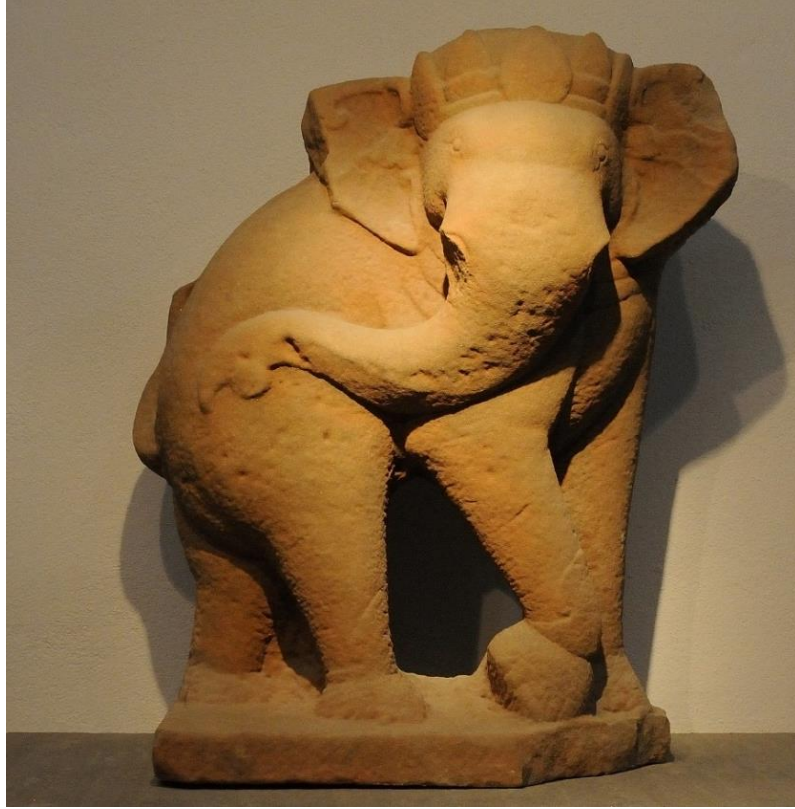


Fig 2. 58: Trà Kiệu artifacts: Elephan (above), Linga-Yoni (bottom)

## Miếu Bà Bình Bắc

Number on the map: 44

Type of the site: temple-tower ruin

GPS Location: 15.925 108.187

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Bình Bắc, Điện Hòa, Điện Bàn

Map used for survey: N15E108

Reference: TTBTDSDTQN 2009: 84-85.

Description: Seen from outside, the actual state is a 2m high mound. Many plants grow

on and Cham bricks different dimensions scattered on the ground. The remaining objects are 12 square stone bars. Presently, the vestige completely collapsed and was filled up. To understand and gain more valuable information, it needs to be cleared of surroundings and the upper part beside the attention of the archaeologists.



Fig 2. 59: The location of Miếu Bà Bình Bắc ruin



### 2.4.3. The inscription

They have a total 91 Champa inscriptions in Amaravati region, including 02 steles of Đà Nẵng and 89 inscriptions in Quảng Nam (Table 4) (Fig 2. 60). The more than 200 inscriptions in central Vietnam, these two provinces have half of the inscriptions. It is classified the importance of this area in history. Mỹ Sơn has 72 inscriptions, the largest number of inscriptions in the Champa relics (Fig 2. 61).

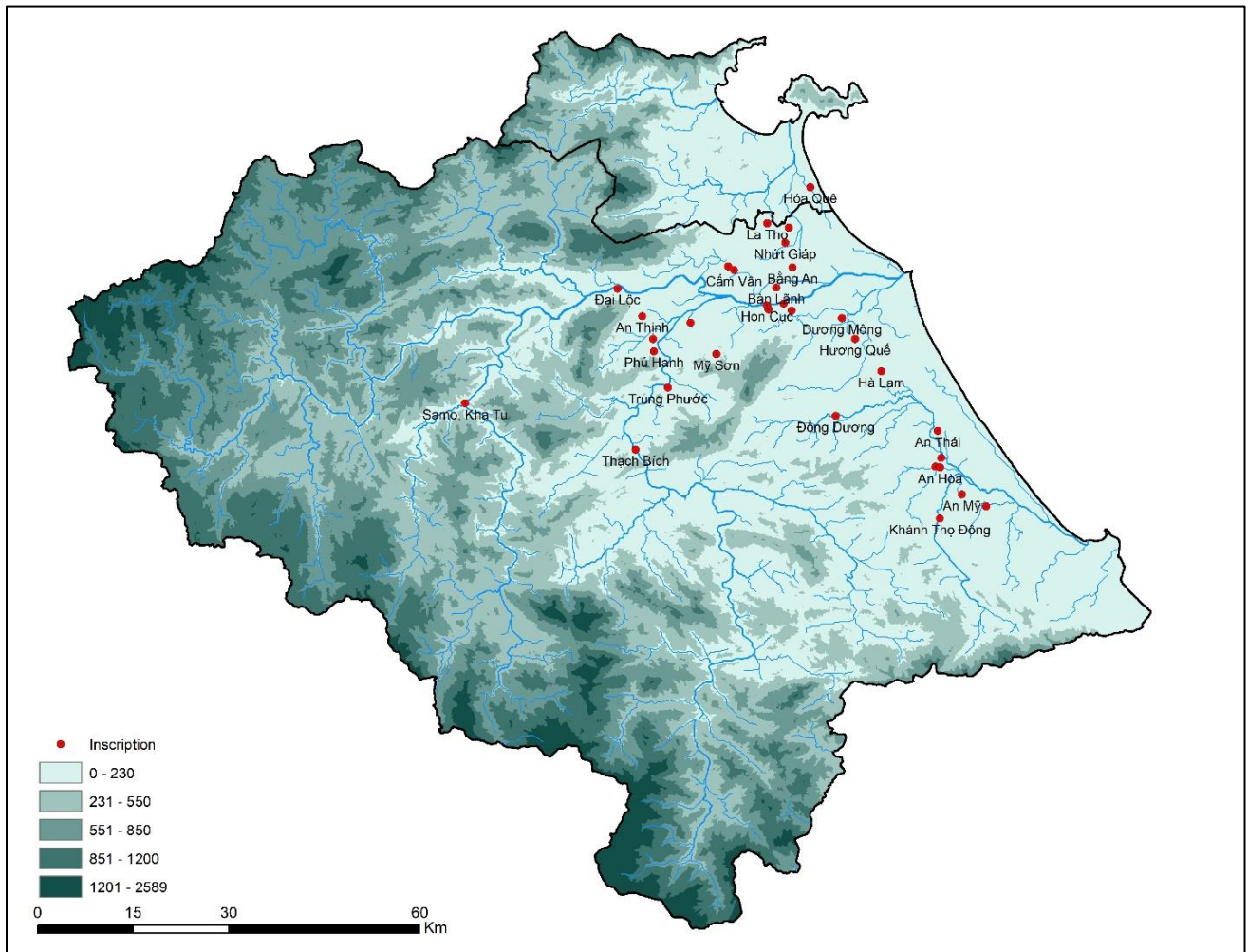


Fig 2. 60: The location of Champa inscriptions in “Amaravati” Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng

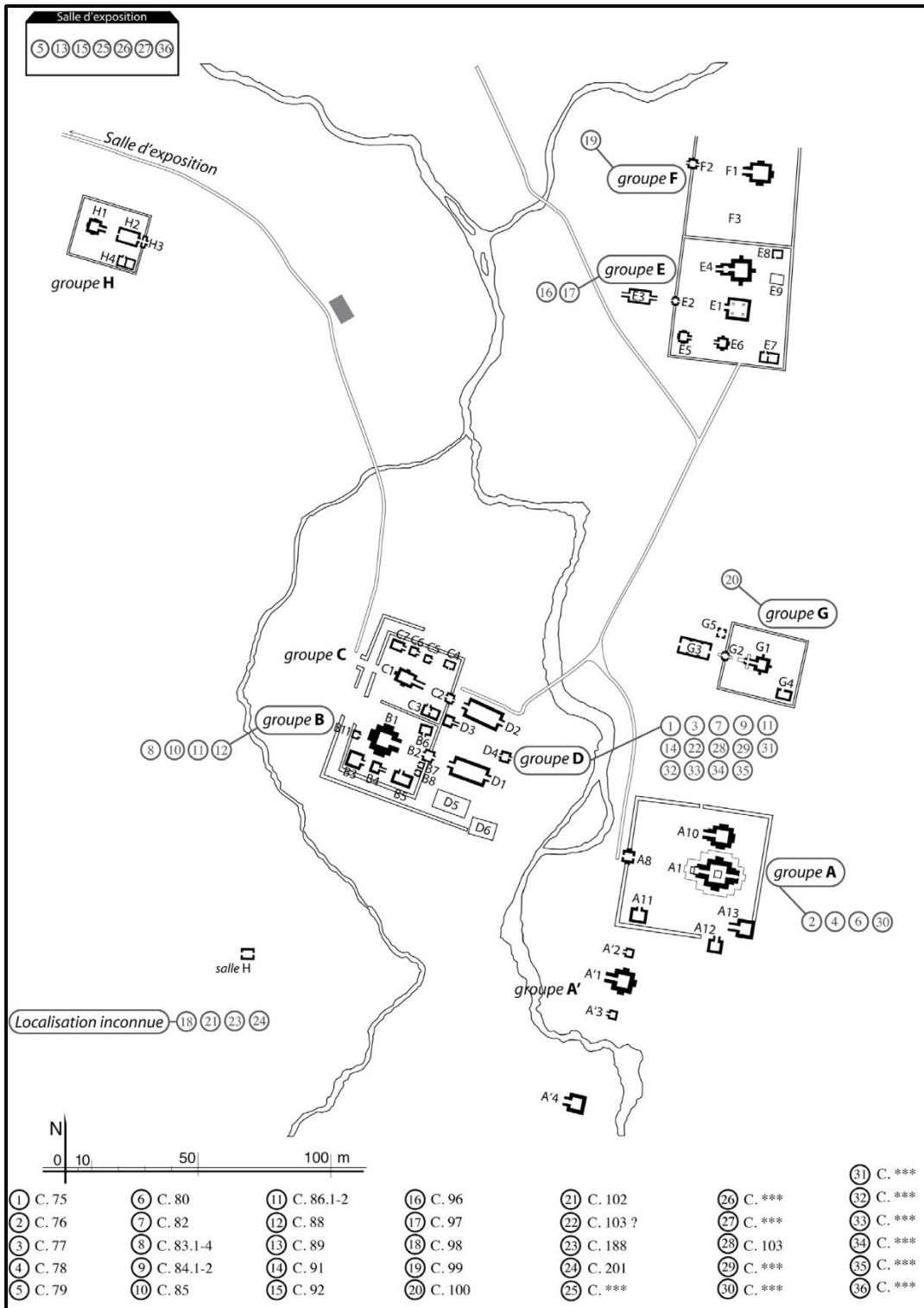


Fig 2. 61: Champa inscriptions located in Mý Son

Source: (Griffiths, Arlo (ed.) 2012: 456)

STT	Number	Name	Form	Type of Character	Dating	King	Latitude	Longitude	Commune	District
1	C. 72	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt	5c	Bhadravarman I	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
2	C. 105	Hon Cúc	Stone	Skt	5c	Bhadravarman I	15.8314	108.1966	Duy Trinh	Duy Xuyên
3	C. 147	Chiêm Sơn	Rock	Skt	5c	Bhadravarman I	15.8251	108.1988	Duy Trinh	Duy Xuyên
4	C. 174	Đông Yên Châu		Skt	5c	Bhadravarman I	15.8338	108.2201	Duy Trinh	Duy Xuyên
5	C. 73A	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt	6c		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
6	C. 79	Mỹ Sơn	Pedestal	Skt	7c	Prakasadharman-Vikrantavarman.	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
7	C. 87	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt 11+12	687	Prakasadharman-Vikrantavarman.	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
8	C. 96	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt	658	Prakasadharman-Vikrantavarman.	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
9	C. 135	Thạch Bích	Rock	Skt	7c	Prakasadharman-Vikrantavarman.	15.6276	108.0113	Quế Lâm	Nông Sơn
10	C. 136	Dương Mông	Pedestal	Skt	7c	Prakasadharman-Vikrantavarman.	15.8132	108.3023	Quế Xuân	Quế Sơn
11	C. 137	Trà Kiệu	Rock	Skt	7c	Prakasadharman-Vikrantavarman.	15.8236	108.2314	Duy Trung	Duy Xuyên
12	C. 173	Trà Kiệu		Skt	7c	Prakasadharman-Vikrantavarman.	15.8236	108.2314	Duy Trung	Duy Xuyên
13	C. 230	Mỹ Sơn			7c		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
14	C. 73B	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt	7/8c		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
15	C. 74	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt	732	Vikrantavarman II	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
16	C. 77	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt	8c		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên

17	C. 80	Mỹ Sơn	Stone	Skt	8c	Prakasadharman- Vikrantavarman.	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
18	C. 81	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt	709-717		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
19	C. 97	Mỹ Sơn	Pedestal	Skt	8c	Prakasadharman- Vikrantavarman.	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
20	C. 99	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt	8c		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
21	C. 66	Đồng Dương	Stele	Skt	875	Indravarman II	15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
22	C. 67	Đồng Dương	Stele	Skt	9c	Jaya Simhavarman I	15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
23	C. 106	Bàn Lành	Stele	Skt/Cham	898	Jaya Simhavarman I	15.8561	108.2098	Điện Trung	Điện Bàn
24	C. 108A,B	Bồ Mùng	Stele	Skt	889/890	Indravarman II	15.9404	108.2274	Điện Thăng Bắc	Điện Bàn
25	C. 108 ABCD	Bồ Mùng	Stele	Skt	9c	Jaya Simhavarman I	15.9404	108.2274	Điện Thăng Bắc	Điện Bàn
26	C. 143	La Thọ	Silver Bowl	Cham	9c		15.9468	108.1969	Điện Hoà	Điện Bàn
27	C. 144	La Thọ	Bowl	Cham	9c		15.9468	108.1969	Điện Hoà	Điện Bàn
28	C. 145	La Thọ	Silver Jug	Skt	9c		15.9468	108.1969	Điện Hoà	Điện Bàn
29	C. 152-157- 166	Quảng Nam		Cham	9/10c					
30	C. 198	Tĩnh Yên		Cham	9c/10c		15.6039	108.4345	Duy Thu	Duy Xuyên
31	C. 205	Đồng Dương	Water Pot	Skt	9c		15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
32	C. 206	Đồng Dương	Water Pot	Skt	9c		15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
33	C. 211	Khuê Trung	Stele	Skt/Cham	899	Jaya Simhavarman I	15.9973	108.2576	Khuê Trung	Cẩm Lệ
34	C. 227+228+229	An Mỹ		Cham	9/10c		15.5645	108.4718	An Mỹ	Tam Kỳ
35	C. 236	Đồng Dương			9/10c		15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
36	C. 75	Mỹ Sơn	Stone	Cham	985	Harivarman II	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên

37	C. 107	Lạc Thành	Stele	Skt	910/911	Bhadravarman II	15.88620	108.1415	Điện Hồng	Điện Bàn
38	C. 138	An Thái	Stele	Skt/Cham	902	Bhadravarman II	15.6543	108.4374	Bình An	Thăng Bình
39	C. 139	Phú Thuận	Stele	Cham	9/10c					
40	C. 141	Bằng An	Stele	Skt	906	Bhadravarman II	15.8845	108.2326	Điện An	Điện Bàn
41	C. 207	Đại Lộc	Silver Bowl	Skt	10c	Bhadravarman II	15.8547	107.9855	Quế Minh	Quế Sơn
42	C. 142	Hóa Quê	Stele	Skt		Bhadravarman II	15.9976	108.2577	Khuê Trung	Cẩm Lệ
43	C. 68	Đồng Dương	Pillar	Cham	11c		15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
44	C. 89	Mỹ Sơn	Stone Slab	Cham	1088/1089	Jaya Indravarman II	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
45	C. 90	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Skt/Cham	1081	Dhanapatigrama	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
46	C. 95	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Cham	1056/1057	Harivarman II	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
47	C. 156	Cẩm Vân		Cham	1053/1054	Jaya Paramesvaravarman I	15.8807	108.1501	Điện Hồng	Điện Bàn
48	C. 94	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Cham	11c		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
49	C. 64	Chiên Đàn	Rock	Cham	11c	Jaya Harivarman I	15.6158	108.4426	Tam An	Tam Kỳ
50	C. 76	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Cham	12c		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
51	C. 78	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar		12c	Jaya Harivarman	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
52	C. 82	Mỹ Sơn	Stone	Cham	1114/1115	Harivarman V	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
53	C. 84A	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Skt/Cham	12c	Jaya Harivarman I	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
54	C. 85	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Skt	1163/1164	Jaya Indravarman IV	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
55	C. 91	Mỹ Sơn	Pedestal	Cham	1140/1141		15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
56	C. 92A	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Cham	1170/1171	Jaya Indravarman IV	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
57	C. 93	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Skt	1181/1182	Jaya Harivarman II	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
58	C. 100	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Skt/Cham	1157	Jaya Harivarman I	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
59	C. 101	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Cham	12c	Jaya Harivarman I	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
60	C. 140	Hương Quế	Stele	Cham	1111/1112	Jaya Simhavarman	15.7837	108.3209	Quế Phú	Quế Sơn



61	C. 83	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Cham	1243/1244	Jaya Indravarman V	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
62	C. 84B	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Skt	13c	Jaya Indravarman V	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
63	C. 86	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar	Cham	1234/1235	Jaya Paramesvaravarman II	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
64	C. 92B,C	Mỹ Sơn	Stele	Cham	1203	Yuvarāja Mnagahna oh Dhanapati	15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
65	C. 215	Chiêm Sơn	Stele	Cham	1443/1444	Sri srindra Viṣṇukirti Virabhadravarmadeva	15.8251	108.1988	Chiem Son	Duy Xuyên
66	C. 63	Khuông Mỹ	Stele	Cham			15.5477	108.5059	Tam Xuân 1	Núi Thành
67	C. 65	Hà Lam	Linga	Cham			15.7382	108.3579	Hà Lam	Thăng Bình
68	C. 69	Đồng Dương	Lintel				15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
69	C. 70	Đồng Dương					15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
70	C. 71	Đồng Dương					15.6753	108.2937	Bình Định Bắc	Thăng Bình
71	C. 88	Mỹ Sơn	Pillar				15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
72	C. 98	Mỹ Sơn					15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
73	C. 102	Mỹ Sơn	Fragment				15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
74	C. 103	Mỹ Sơn	Stone (conical)				15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
75	C. 104	An Thịnh	Rock				15.8158	108.0205	Đại Chánh	Đại Lộc
76	C. 134	Khánh Thọ Đông	Statue	Skt			15.5305	108.4405	Tam Thái	Tam Kỳ
77	C. 154	Phú Nhuận					15.8067	108.0889	Duy Tân	Duy Xuyên
78	C. 155	An Thái					15.6543	108.4374	Bình An	Thăng Bình
79	C. 158	An Mỹ Đông					15.5645	108.4718	An Mỹ	Tam Kỳ
80	C. 159	Thu Bồn		Cham						
81	C. 160	Trung Phước					15.7151	108.0568	Quế Trung	Nông Sơn

82	C. 161	Chiêm Sơn		Cham			15.8251	108.1988	Duy Trinh	Duy Xuyên
83	C. 162	An Ninh		Cham						
84	C. 163	Phú Hanh					15.7664	108.0371	Đại Thạnh	Đại Lộ
85	C. 164	An Hòa					15.6026	108.4410	Tam An	Phù Ninh
86	C. 165	Vĩnh Hình								
87	C. 178	Nhứt Giáp		Cham			15.9193	108.2225	Điện Thắng Nam	Điện Bàn
88	C. 188	Mỹ Sơn		Cham			15.7626	108.1252	Duy Phú	Duy Xuyên
89	C. 197	Phú Hanh Tây		Skt			15.7837	108.0360	Đại Thạnh	Đại Lộ
90	C. 199	Samo, Kha Tu					15.6932	107.7704		Nam Giang
91	C. 228	An Mỹ					15.5645	108.4718	An Mỹ	Tam Kỳ

Table 3: The list of Champa inscriptions in Amaravati

## C. 72 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C.72

Number on the map: 01

Origin: Mỹ Sơn A1 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces of sandstone stele.

Text: The inscription contains 21 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 5th century

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 2: LSb 21165

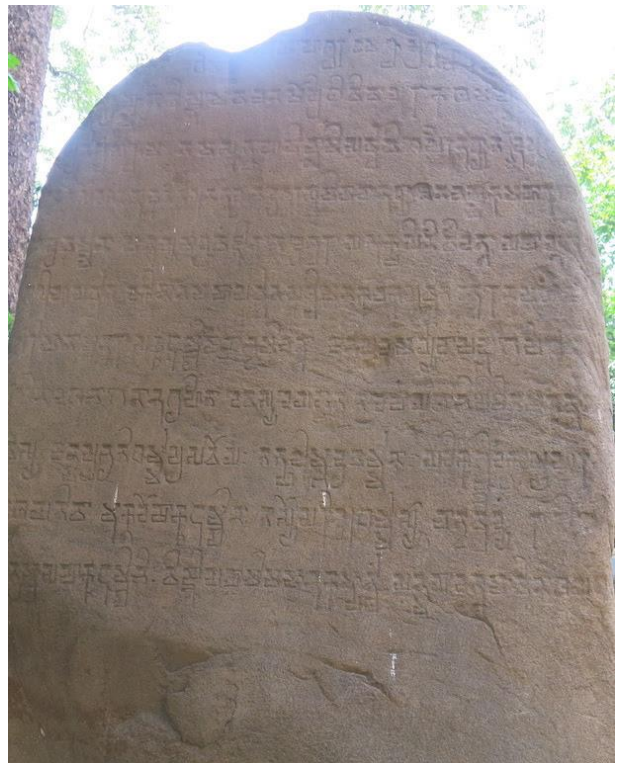
Description: The inscription, engraved on two faces of a pillar in front of the large temple-tower of Mỹ Sơn to the east, contains 21 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is written throughout in prose.

The inscription records the donation of lands to the god Bhadresvara. As the god Shiva is called Bhadresvara, it would follow that Bhadravarman also founded the temple-tower.

Judging from the number and beauty of temple-towers which once surrounded the shrine, and the many endowments that have been made to it by successive kings, the temple-tower of Bhadresvara seem to have enjoyed very high prestige in Champa

Reference: Finot, 1902: 187-191; Finot 1903a: 209-210; Finot 1904b: 917; Finot 1915a: 5; Parmentier 1909: 357; Huber 1911d: 265; Majumdar 1927: 4-8.

Fig 2. 62: C.72 Mỹ Sơn







Face A  
EFEO. VIE00918



Face B  
EFEO. VIE00919

### C. 105 Hòn Cụt

Inscription number: C. 105

Number on the map: 02

Origin: Hòn Cụt hill

Material: The inscription is engraved on the face of a rock.

Language: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: The inscription was engraved on a rock called Hòn Cụt or Hòn Cụt near the village of Chiêm Sơn, Duy Xuyên district.

GPS Location: 15.8314N; 108.1966E

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: unknown

Date of inscription: 5th century

Description: It contains two lines in Sanskrit, and probably belongs to the time of king Bhadravarman.

Reference: Aymonier 1896: 149; Finot 1902: 186-187; Parmentier 1909: 308; Majumdar 1927:9

Fig 2. 63: C. 105 Hòn Cụt. Source: EFEO. VIE0915





### C. 147 Chiêm Sơn

Inscription Number: C. 147

The number on the map: 03

Origin: Chiêm Sơn hill

Material: The inscription is engraved on the face of a rock.

Text: The inscription contains 04 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: The inscription is engraved on a rock, overhanging the Thu Bồn river, a little to the east of Mỹ Sơn.

GPS Location: 15.8251N; 108.1988E

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: unknown

Date of inscription: 5th century

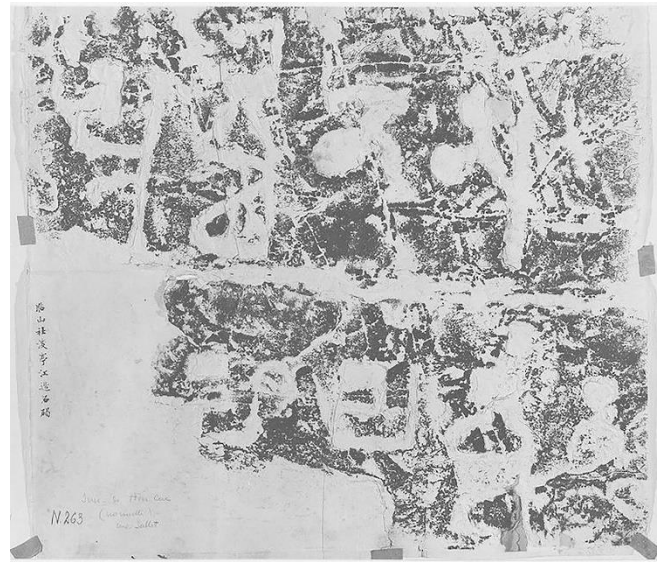
Description: The inscription contains four lines and describes the boundaries of the temple-tower of Bhadresvara. To the east-Sulaha mountain, to the south to the Great mountain, to the west-Kucaka mountain, and to the north to the Grand River (Thu Bồn river). The writing belongs to the period of Bhadravarman.

Remarks: Although similar boundaries are given in two other inscriptions Mỹ Sơn stele inscriptions of Bhadravarman (C.72) and other Sambhuvarman, the northern boundary is given here for the first time. It shows that

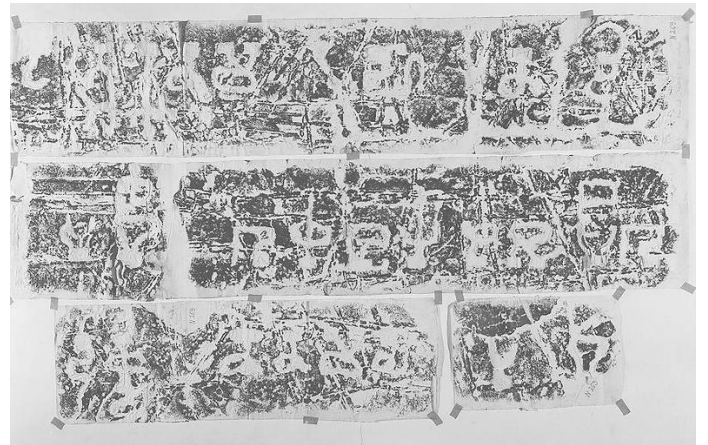
the boundaries given are not those of Mỹ Sơn circle, but of the dominions belonging to the temple-tower.

Reference: Finot 1918: 13-14; Majumdar 1927: 8-9

Fig 2. 64: C. 147 Chiêm Sơn



Part1: EFEO. CAM16978-2



Part 2: EFEO. CAM16979-2

### C. 174 Đông Yên Châu

Inscription number: C. 174

Number on the map: 04

Origin: Đông Yên Châu site

Material: The inscription is engraved on face of sandstone pillar.

Text: The inscription contains 03 lines of writing in old Champa.

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đông Yên village, Duy Trinh commune, Duy Xuyên district.

GPS Location: 15.8338N; 108.2201E

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: unknown

Date of inscription: 5th century

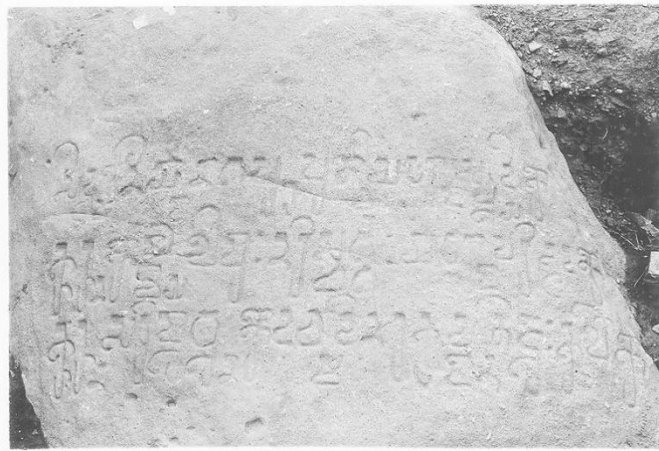
Picture: EFEO. VIE00901

Description: Marrison (1975:53) observes that the language of the text is not that far from modern Champa or Malay in its grammar and its vocabulary. Most of the remaining vocabulary is transparently Champaic.

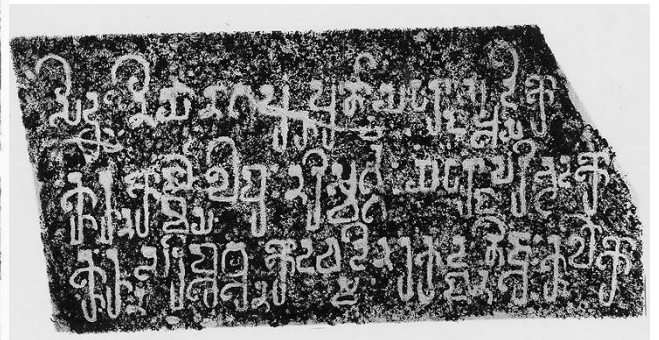
Remarks: from the earliest times, as the oldest Malayo-Polynesian text shows by the presence of Hindu terminology and its Indic script, contact has played a significant role in Champaic.

Reference: Coedès 1968: 48; Marrison 1975: 53; Thurgood 1999: 3-4.

Fig 2. 65: 174 Đông Yên Châu.



Source: EFEO. VIE00902



### C. 73A Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 73A

Number on the map: 05

Origin: Mỹ Sơn A1 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on the face of sandstone stele.

Text: The inscription contains 24 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district.

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition:

Date of inscription: 7th century

Description: The inscription refers to two king's Sri Rudravarman and his successor Sambhuvarman. During the reign of the first, in the year four hundred and. (the tenth and unit figures being lost), the temple-tower of the god of gods, the one erected by Bhadravarman I for Bhadresvara was destroyed by an incendiary. But king Sambhuvarman re-installed the god under the name Sambhu-Bhadresvara (apparently so-called after the original founder of the temple-tower and its restorer).

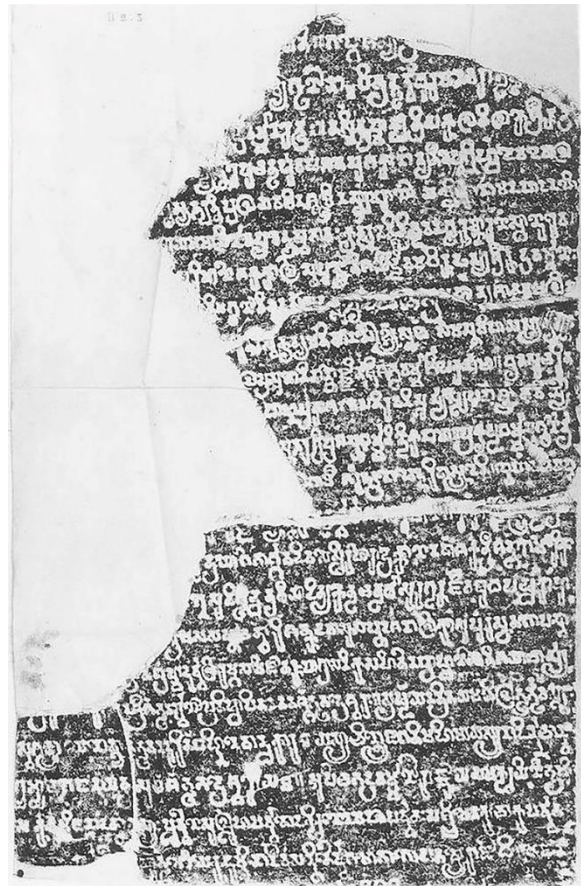
Remarks: The inscription is engraved on a pillar close to the one of Bhadravarman and

is practically a continuation of the latter. The inscription also confirms the grant of land to which was referred in the stele inscription of Bhadravarman (C. 12).

Reference: Finot 1903a: 206-211; Finot 1904b: 917; Huber 1911d: 264; Finot 1915a: 5; Parmentier 1909: 357; Majumdar 1927: 9-13; Chhabra 1965: 65-66; Jacques 1972/73: 630-631

Fig 2. 66: C. 73A Mỹ Sơn.

Source: EFEO. VIE00912-2





C. 79 Mý Son

Inscription number: C. 79

Number on the map: 06

Origin: Mý Son A10 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a low pedestal sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: Prakasadharmā

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: the Mý Son site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSA1.25.

Description: The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple-tower to Kubera, the friend of Mahesvara, by the king Prakasadharmā.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 928; Parmentier 1909: 357; Finot 1915d: 190; Majumdar 1927: 27; Mus 1928: 151; Golzio 2004: 9-10.

Fig 2. 67: C. 79 Mý Son. Source: EFEO. N2079



## C. 87 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 87

Number on the map: 07

Origin: Mỹ Sơn B6 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces of sandstone stele.

Text: Face A bears an incipit and 12 lines; face B bears 11 lines. Both faces are written in Sanskrit.

Date: 609 Saka (687 CE)

The king: Prakasadharmā Vikrantavarman I

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

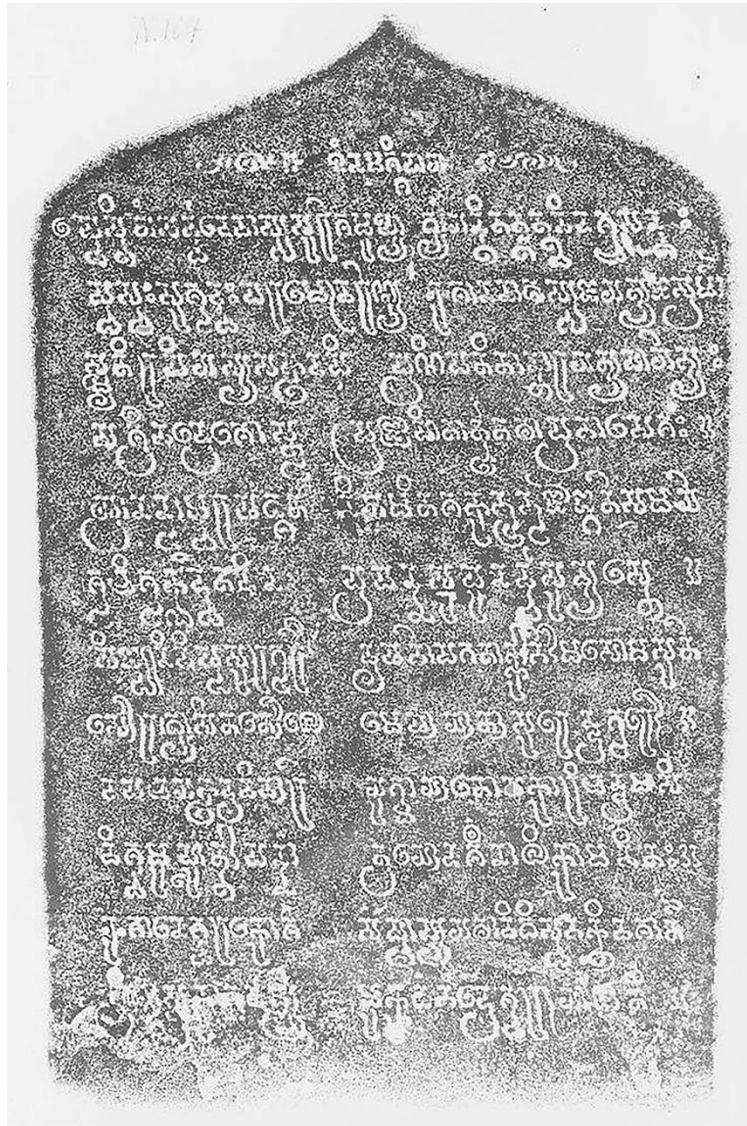
Present condition: Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng number BTC 04/1

Description: The exception of the invocation, the inscription is written throughout in verse. The first eight stanzas are written in the same character, and form one inscription, recording the donation of a Kosa to Isanesvara, and a mukuta to Bhadresvara, by king Prakasadharmā. The last three stanzas, which are written in a different style, record the same donations by king Vikrantavarman.

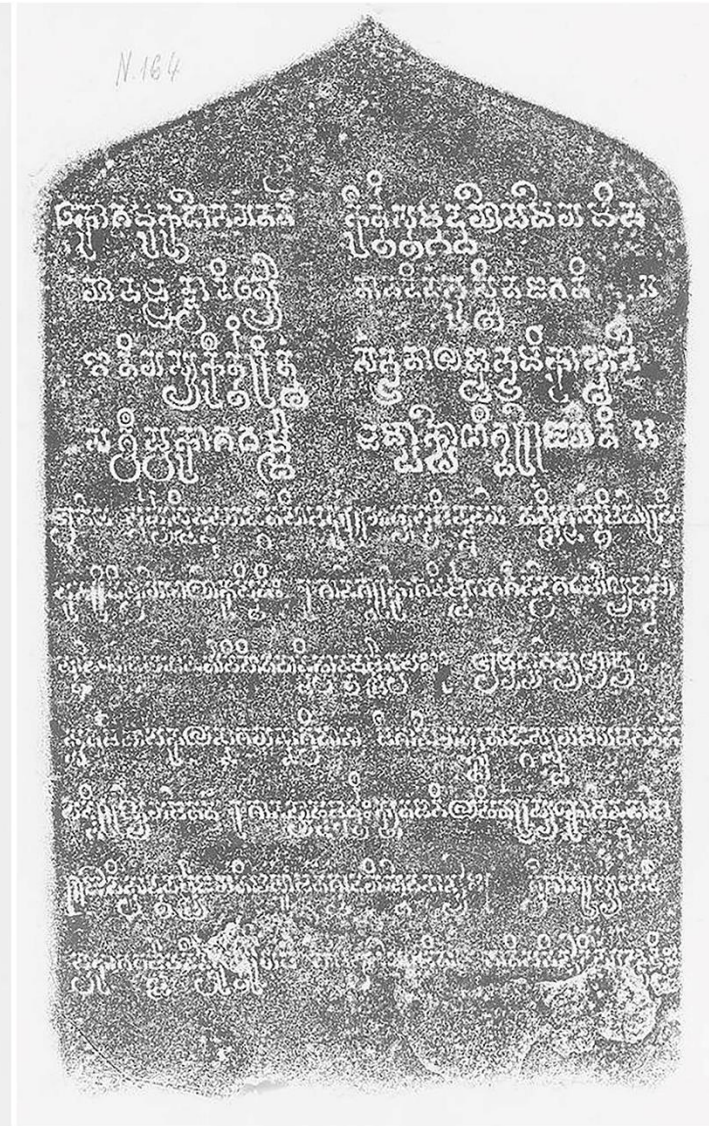
Reference: Finot 1904b: 925-928; Finot 1915d: 190; Parmentier 1909: 381; Majumdar 1927: 28-31.

Fig 2. 68: C. 87 Mỹ Sơn. Source: EFEO. CAM16968-1/2





Face A



Face B

## C. 96 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 96

Number on the map: 08

Origin: Mỹ Sơn E6-E7 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces of pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 55 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 579 Saka (Sunday, 18 February 657 CE)

The king: Vikrantavarman Prakasadharmā

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng number 03MSE: 845 / Đ.731

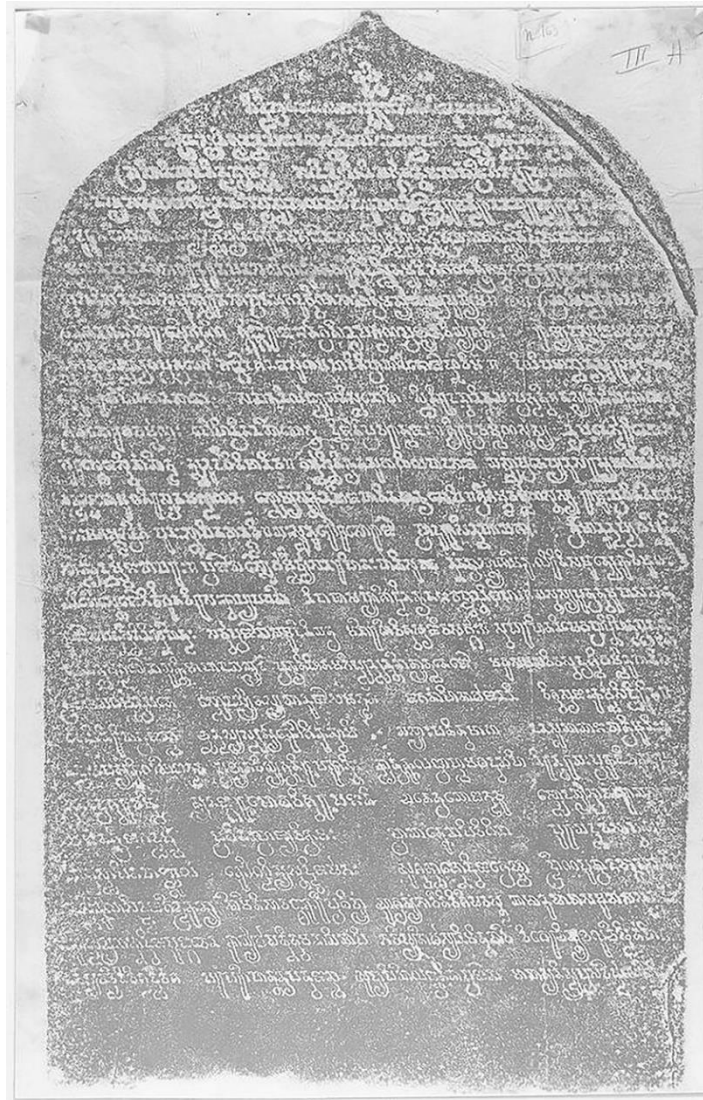
Description: The inscription records the donations made by king Prakasadharmā Vikrantavarman to the gods Isanesvara, Sambhu-Bhadresvara and Prabhasesvara. It also gives the genealogy of the king.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 918-925; Parmentier 1909: 419; Huber 1911d: 264; Cœdès, 1912: 15-16;

Majumdar 1927: 16 - 26; Golzio 2004.

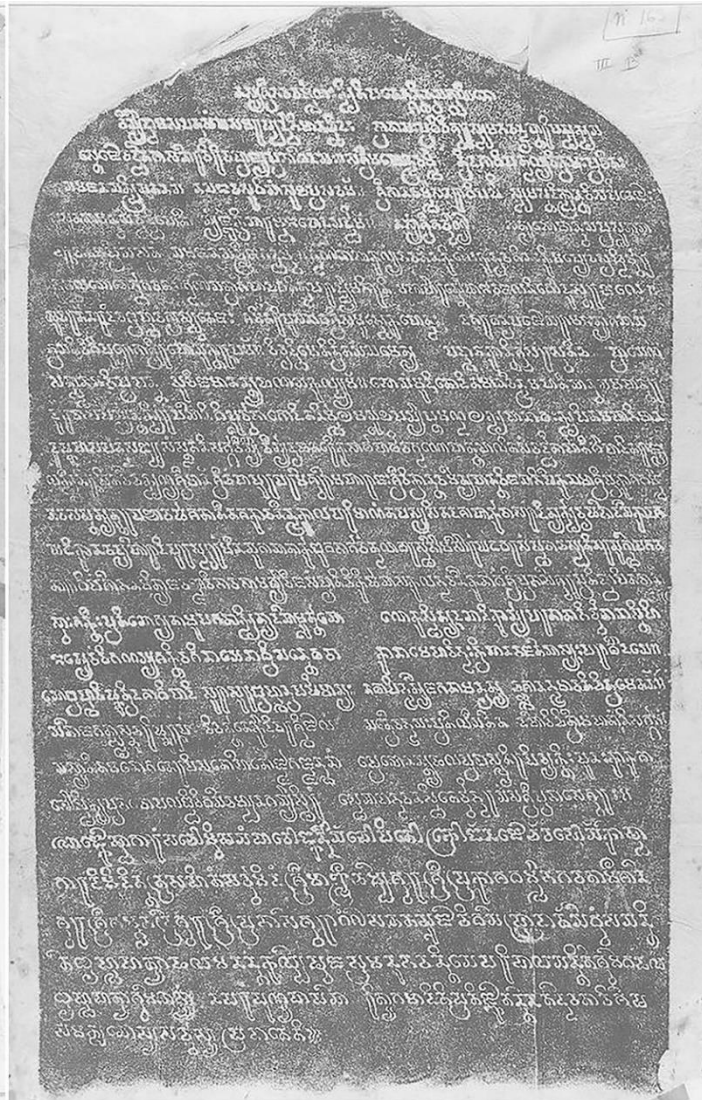
Fig 2. 69: C. 96 Mỹ Sơn





Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16960-1



Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16959-2

### C. 135 Thạch Bích

Inscription number: C. 135

Number on the map: 09

Origin: Settlement of Thạch Bích

Material: The inscription is engraved on a rock wall, emerging above the water only during part of the year, in the bed of the river Thu Bồn.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: Vikrantavarman Prakasadharmā

GPS Location: 15.6276N; 108.0113E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Thạch Bích village, Quế Lâm commune, Nông Sơn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition:

Description: The inscription records the donations made by king Prakasadharmā to the god Amāresa (Shiva).

Reference: Huber 1911c: 261; Majumdar 1927:15; Golzio 2004: 10-11;

Fig 2. 70: C. 135 Thạch Bích

Source: EFEO. CAM16875-2



C. 136 Dưỡng Mông

Inscription number: C. 136

Number on the map: 10

Origin: temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a low pedestal sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE).

The king: Vikrantavarman Prakasadharman

GPS Location: 15.8132N; 108.3023E.

Province/city: Quảng Nam province.

Location: Dưỡng Mông village, Quế Xuân commune, Quế Sơn district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number LSb 21181.

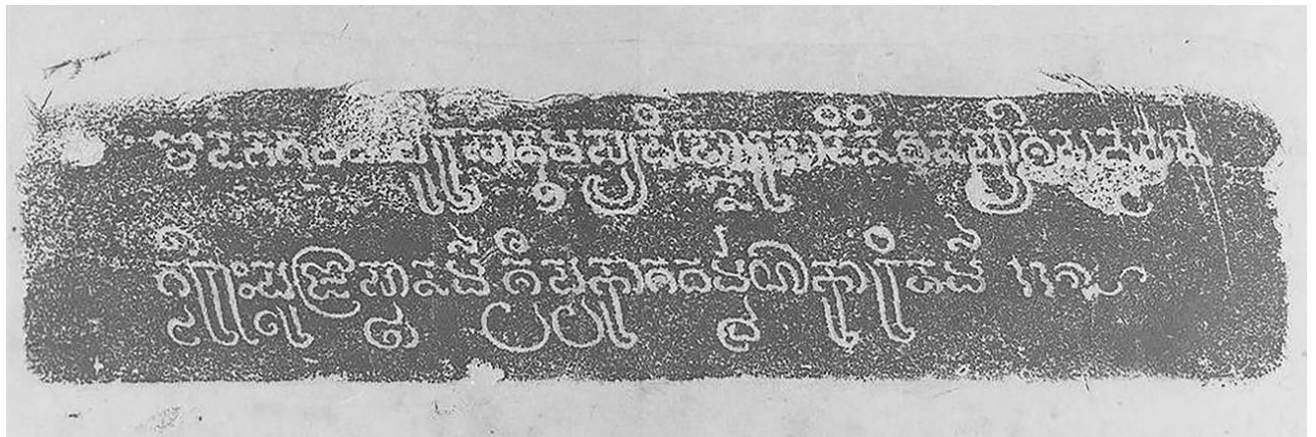
Description: The inscription records the donations made by king Prakasadharmā to the god Visnu Purusottama.

Remarks: The inscription is in prose. It seems to be the only prose inscription issued under Vikrantavarman Prakasadharman.

Reference: Huber 1911c: 262; Finot 1915a: 18; Majumdar 1927: 15; Golzio 2004: 10-11.

Fig 2. 71: C. 136 Dưỡng Mông

Source: EFEO. CAM16979-1





C. 137 Trà Kiệu

Inscription number: C. 137

Number on the map: 11

Origin: Settlement of Trà Kiệu

Material: The inscription is engraved on a cube-shaped pedestal sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 04 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: Prakasadharmā

GPS Location: 15.8236N; 108.2314E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Trung commune, Duy Xuyên district

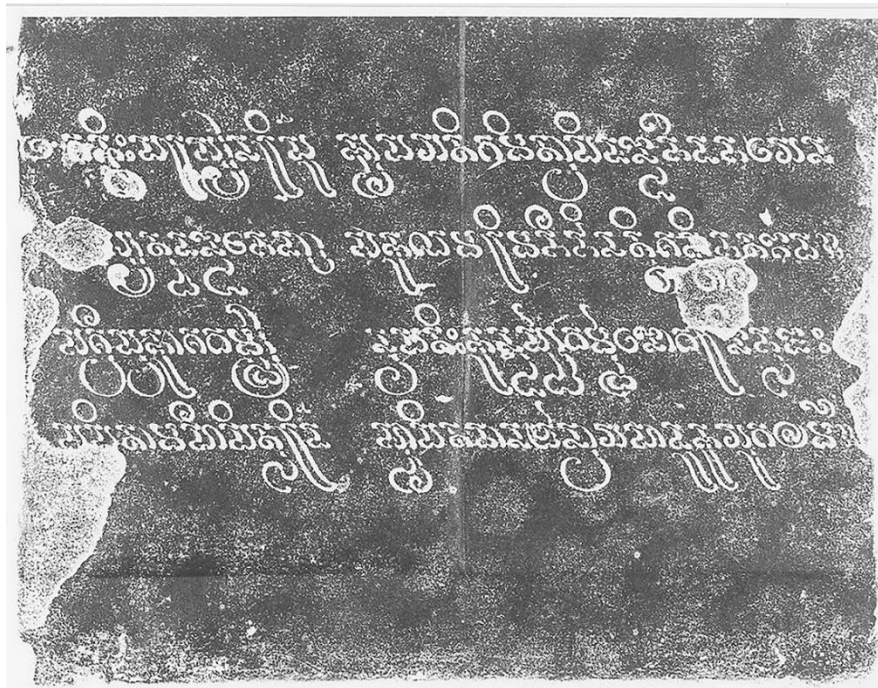
Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number LSb 21182.

Description: The inscription refers to a few gifts by king Sri Prakasadharmā, king of Champa, in honor of king Kandarpadharmā, the father of his great-grandmother (grandfather's mother).

Reference: Huber 1911c: 262-264; Finot 1915a: 17; Majumdar 1927: 13-14; Golzio 2004: 11.

Fig 2. 72: C. 137 Trà Kiệu. Source: EFEO. CAM16969-2



### C. 173 Trà Kiệu

Inscription number: C. 173

Number on the map: 12

Origin: Settlement of Trà Kiệu

Material: The inscription is engraved on a low pedestal sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: Prakasadharmā

GPS Location: 15.8236N; 108.2314E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Trung commune, Duy Xuyên district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

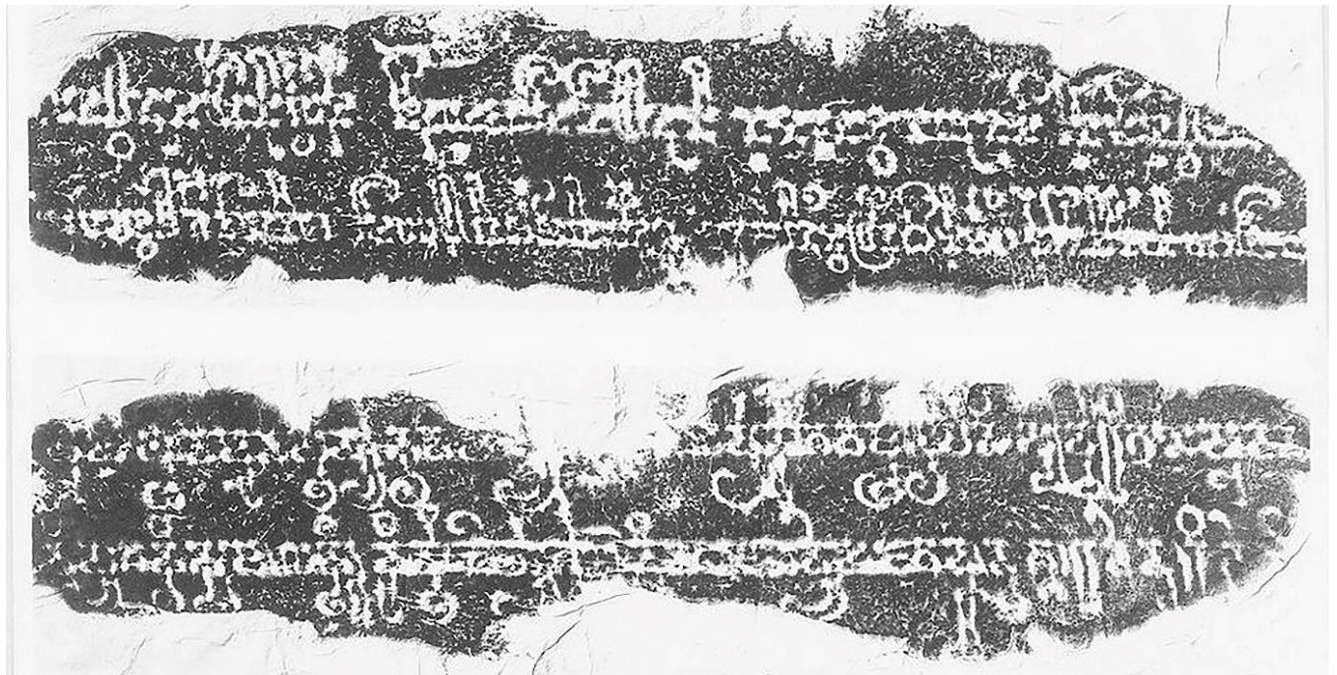
Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number LSb 42277.

Description: The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple-tower to Valmiki (Visnu) by the king Prakasadharmā.

Reference: Claeys 1927: 478; Mus 1928: 147-152; Trần Kỳ Phương 2000: 55-56; Golzio 2004: 11-12; Goodall & Griffiths 2013: 434-437.

Fig 2. 73: C. 173 Trà Kiệu.

Source: EFEO. VIE00900



### C. 230 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 230

Number on the map: 13

Origin: Mỹ Sơn E1 temple-tower

Material: sandstone

Text: not applicable

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district.

The year of discovery: the inscription was extracted from the ruins of the carried out by the EFEO in 1903-1904

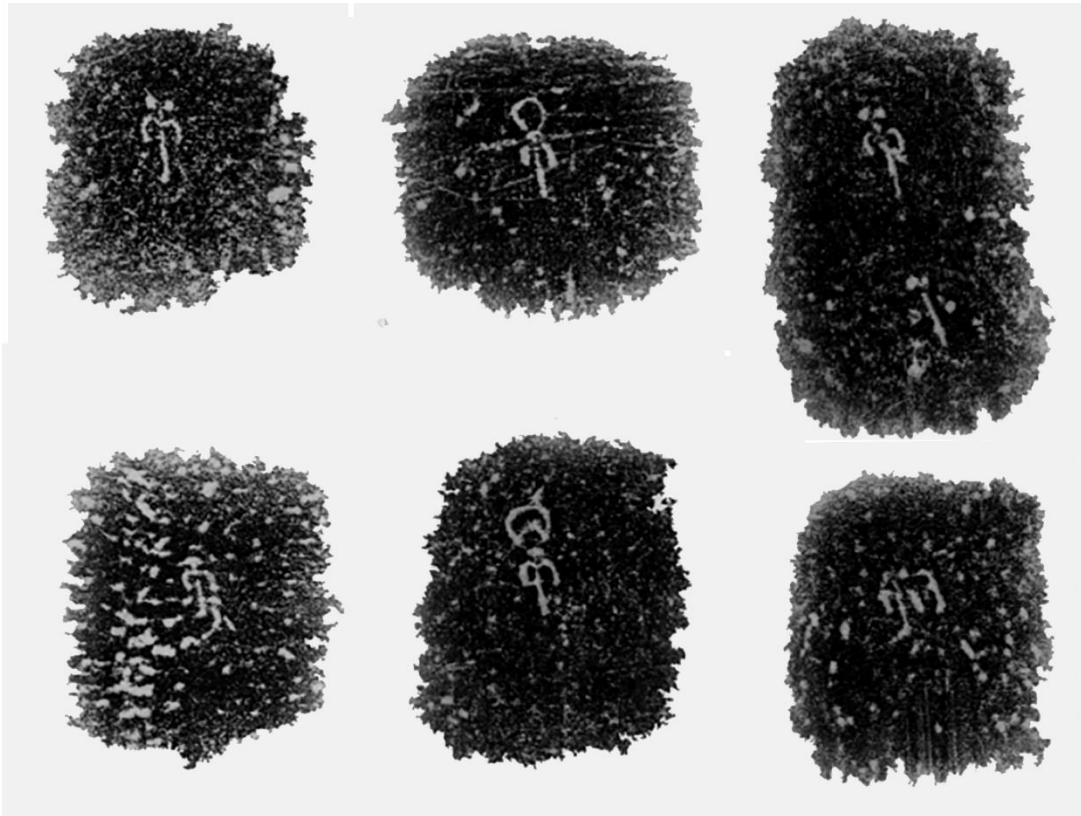
Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng number BTC 06/1-14

Description: These take the form of isolated syllables engraved on the flat upper surface of the blocks, where they would, in the original arrangement, have been hidden by a superimposed architectural layer.

Reference: Parmentier 1904: 869-874; Griffiths (ed.) 2012: 277-279.

Fig 2. 74: C. 230 Mỹ Sơn. Source: Griffiths (ed.) 2012: 167





### C. 73B Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 73B

Number on the map: 14

Origin: Mỹ Sơn A1 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a low pedestal sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: Prakashadharmā

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number LSb 21153

Description: The King Prakashadharmā honors the memory of Kandarpadharmā, his great grandfather with the erection of temple-towers to Vishnu.

Reference: Huber 1911: 262-4; Goodall & Griffiths 2013: 421.

Fig 2. 75: C. 73B Mỹ Sơn.



Source: EFEO. CAM16984-1



## C. 74 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 74

Number on the map: 15

Origin: Group A temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a pillar sandstone.

Text: Face A bears an incipit and 11 lines; face B bears 1Two lines. Both faces are written in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (Monday, 7th January 732 CE)

The king: Vikrantavarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number LSb 21177

Description: The inscription follows an invocation to Shiva. The first six lines of the second face record that Sri Prakasadharmā intended to build a vedi of stone and that this was actually accomplished by one Naravahanavarman, who further covered the stone vedi with silver and gold plates. The lines 8-9 contain a prose passage glorifying the King Vikrantavarman.

Remarks: It is difficult to decide whether Naravahanavarman is identical with Vikrantavarman, the successor of Prakasadharmā, or a new king intermediate between the last two.

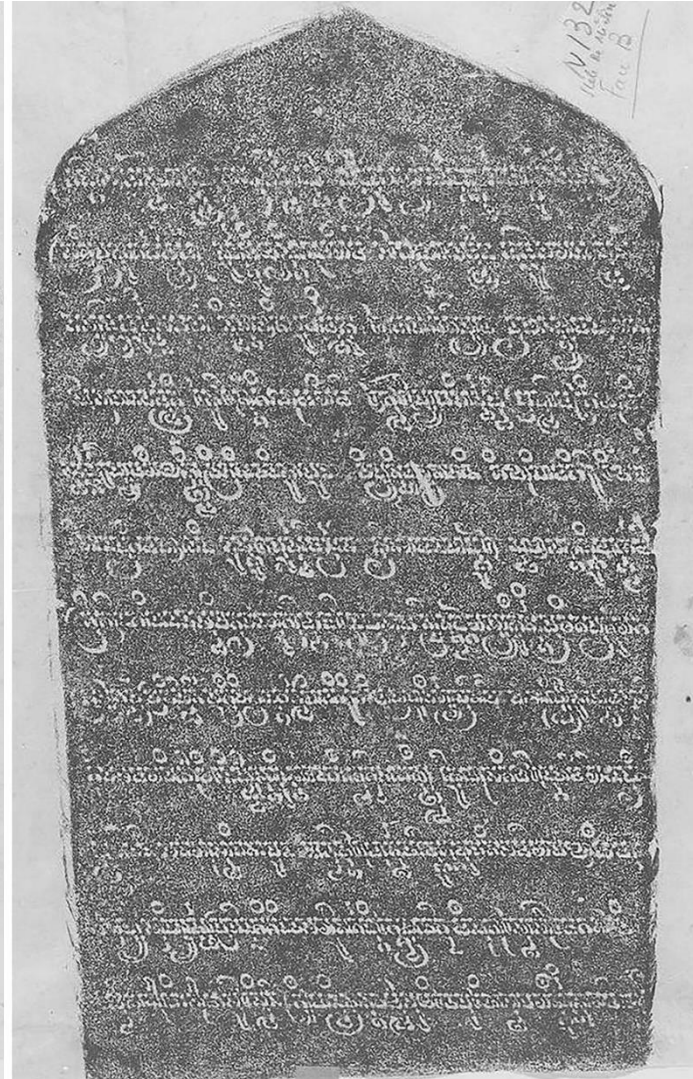
Reference: Finot 1904b: 932-933; Huber 1911d: 265-267; Finot 1915a: 5-6; Parmentier 1909: 357; Majumdar 1927: 38-41.

Fig 2. 76: C. 74 Mỹ Sơn



Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16976-2



Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16977-1

## C. 77 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 77 Mỹ Sơn

Number on the map: 16

Origin: Mỹ Sơn A1 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a fragmentary stele sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: Harivarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: the Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSD317

Description: The object of the inscription is to record the king Vijaya Sri Harivarman restored the ruma.h.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 977; Parmentier 1909: 357; Golzio 2004: 28.

C. 80 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 80

Number on the map: 17

Origin: Mỹ Sơn A10 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a round section of a multi-layered pedestal sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in Sanskrit

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: Prakasadharman Vikrantavarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: the Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSA94

Description: The yellowrith image of Paramesvara (Shiva) was piously erected by Vikrantavarman, king of Champa.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 929; Parmentier 1909: 357; Majumdar 1927: 36; Goodall & Griffiths 2013: 424

Fig 2. 77:C. 80 Mỹ Sơn.

Source: Goodall & Griffiths 2013: 425





## C. 97 Mũ Son

Inscription number: C. 97

Number on the map: 19

Origin: Mũ Son E6-E7 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a low pedestal sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 6th century Saka (7th CE)

The king: Prakasadharman-Vikrantavarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

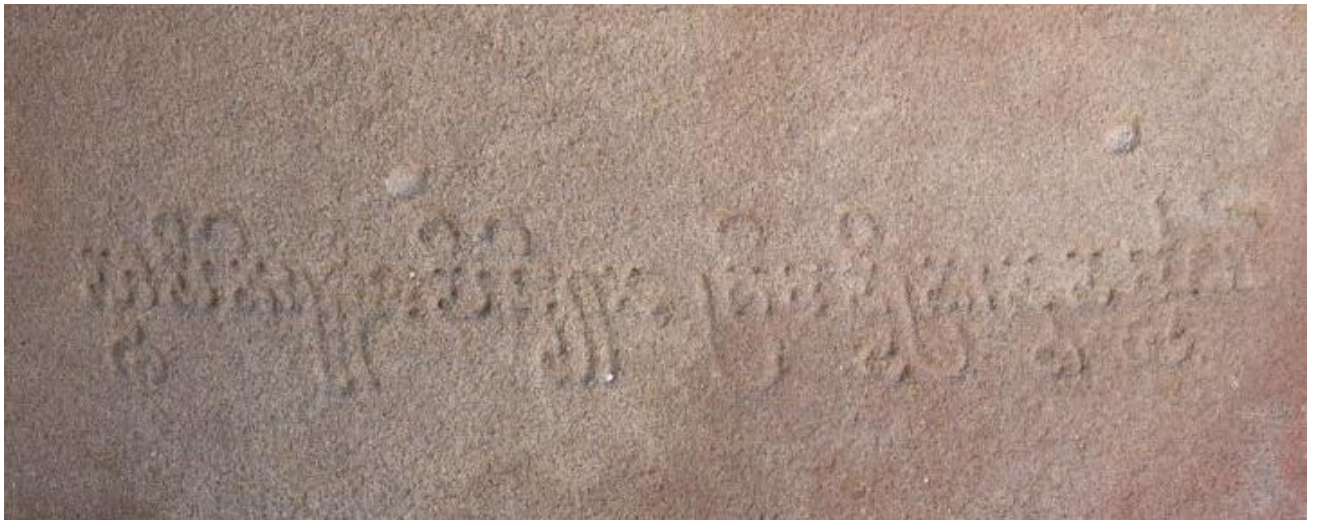
Present condition: Mũ Son

Description: This sheath (kosa) for (the linga of) Vamesvara was placed by the King Vikrantavarman

Remarks: his inscription records the installation of a linga-sheath of a Shiva called Vamesvara. Finot and Majumdar take this name to be no more than a synonym of Shiva.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 930; Parmentier 1909: 419; Majumdar 1927: 36; Golzio 2004: 29.

Fig 2. 78: C. 97 Mũ Son



## C. 99 Mũ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 99

Number on the map: 20

Origin: Mũ Sơn F group temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a stele sandstone.

Text: Face A bears an incipit and 18 lines; face B bears 20 lines. Both faces are written in Sanskrit

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> century Saka (8<sup>th</sup> CE)

The king: Prakasadharman Vikrantavarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

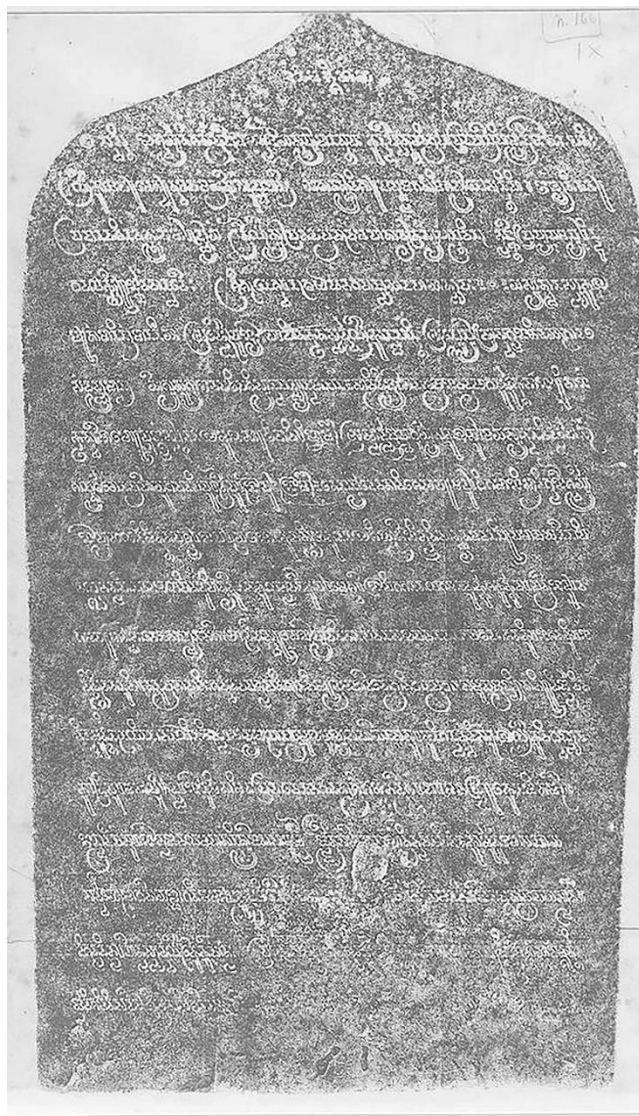
Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Mũ Sơn F1 temple-tower with the Museum number 03MSF970/Đ.856

Description: The object of the inscription is to record the king the names Sambhuvarman and Vikrantavarman. It records an invocation to Shiva.

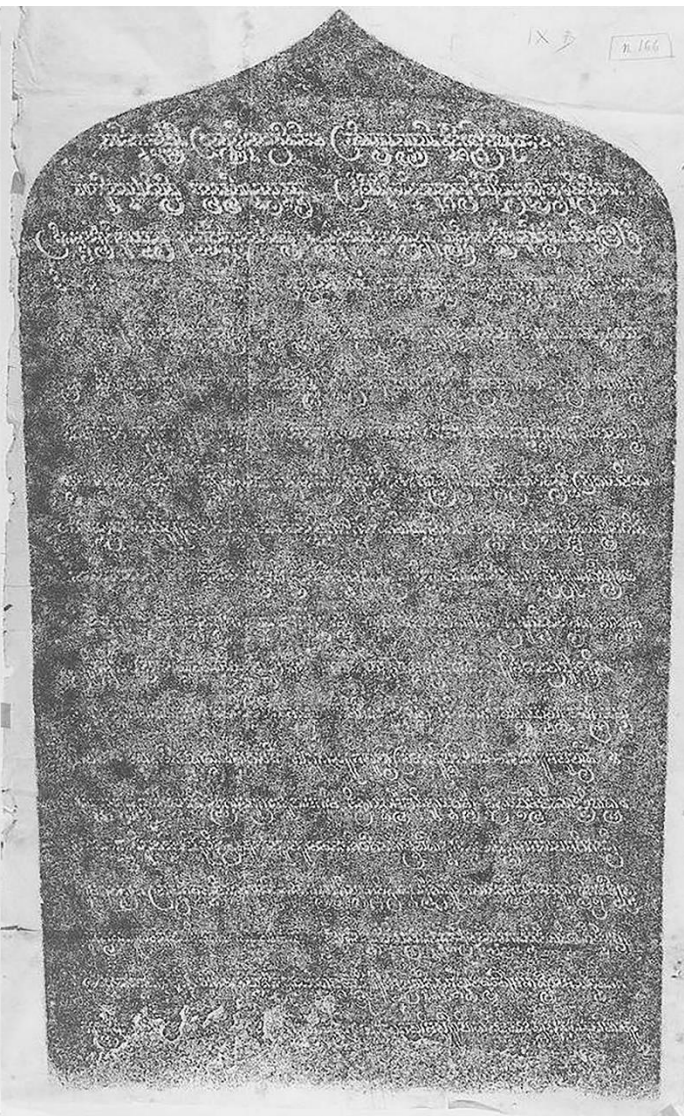
Reference: Finot 1904b: 930-932; Parmentier 1909: 427; Majumdar 1927: 31-35; Golzio 2004.

Fig 2. 79: C. 99 Mũ Sơn



Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16948-1



Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16948-2

### C. 66 Đồng Dương

Inscription number: C. 66

Number on the map: 21

Origin: Đồng Dương temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on the four faces of a stele sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 24, 24, 23 and 31 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the benedictory formula at the beginning and two prose pieces at the end of the second and the fourth, the inscription is written in verse.

Date: 797 Saka (875 CE)

The king: Jaya Indravarman II

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đồng Dương village, Bình Định Bắc commune, Thăng Bình district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

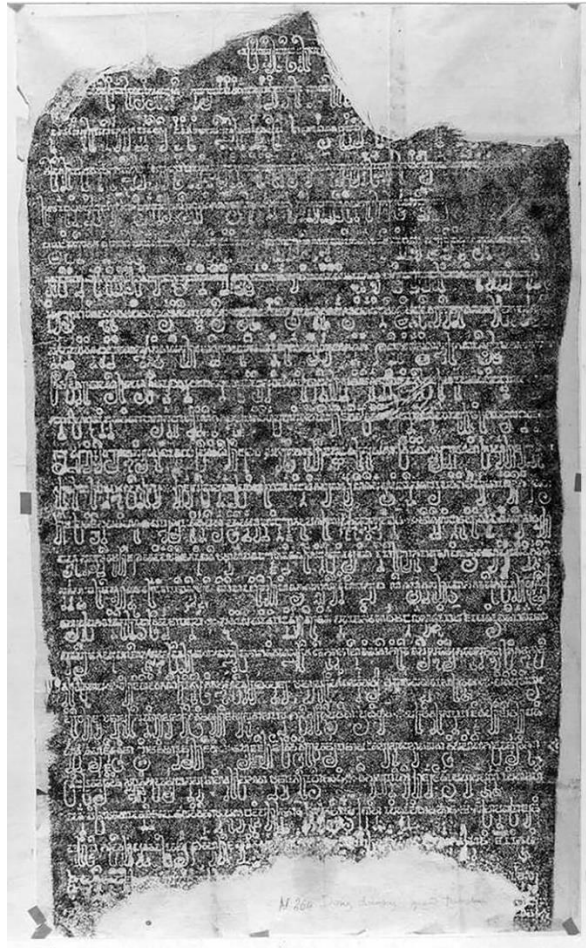
Present condition:

Description: the inscription one learns that King Jaya Indravarman ordered construction of a Buddhist temple-tower and a monastery called Laksmindra Lokesvara Svabhayada.

Reference: Aymonier 1896: 147-148; Finot 1904a: 4-99; Barth 1904: 116-117; Parmentier 1909: 484; Majumdar 1927: 74-88; Golzio 2004: 60-73.

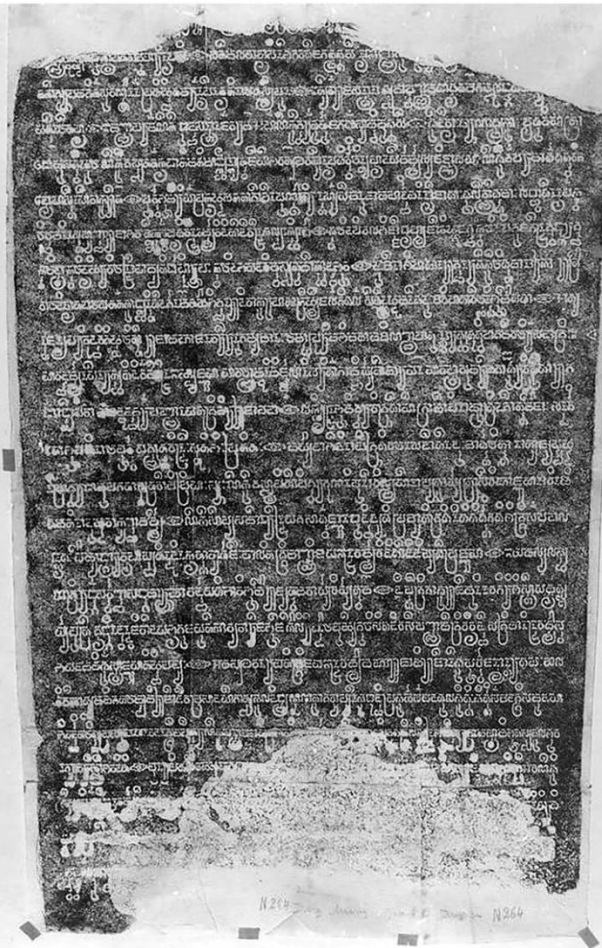
Fig 2. 80: C. 66 Đồng Dương





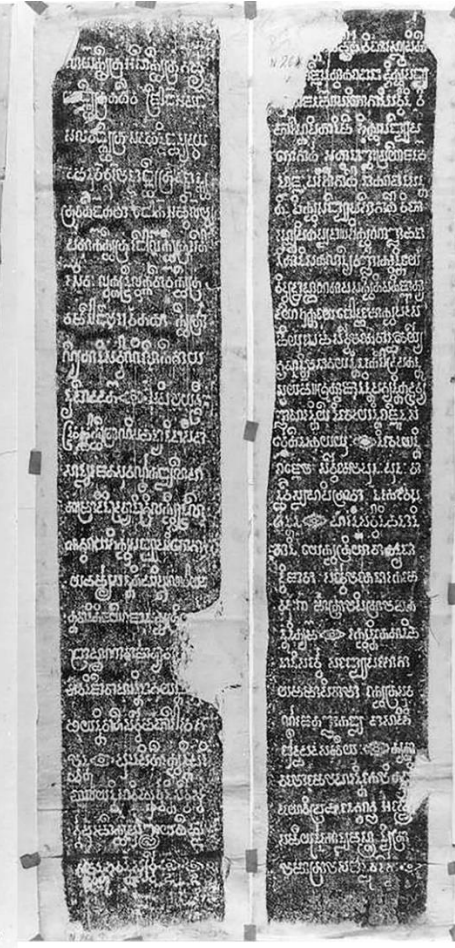
Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16984-2



Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16985-2



Face C

Face D

Source: EFEO. CAM16985-1.

## C. 67 Đồng Dương

Inscription number: C. 67

Number on the map: 22

Origin: Đồng Dương temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on four faces of a pillar found outside the boundary of the temple-tower.

Text: The first face has, besides the invocation, 17 lines in Sanskrit verse. The second face is very much damaged and consists of, besides the invocation, 15 lines in Sanskrit. There are six verses with a prose-piece between verses IV and V. The third face contains 14 lines in Champa besides the invocation. The fourth face has six lines in Champa.

Date: 8th century Saka (9th century CE)

The king: Jaya Simhavarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đồng Dương village, Bình Định Bắc commune, Thăng Bình district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

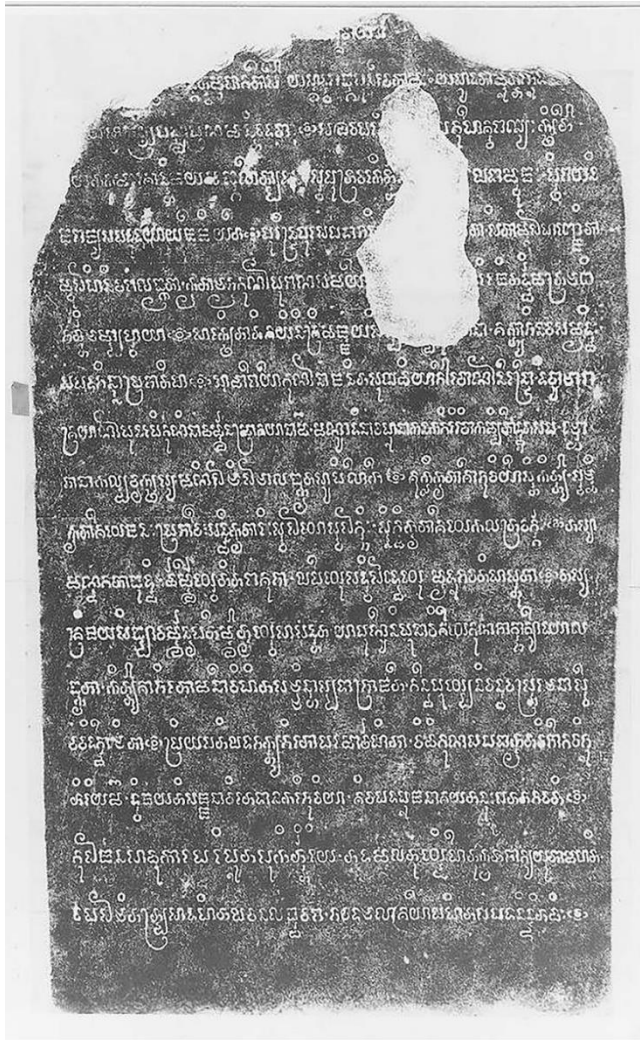
Present condition:

Description: The inscription commences with an invocation in honor of Paramesvara Guhesvara and then follows a eulogy of king Jaya Sinhavarman. It records some pious foundations by princess Haradevi Rajakula, a younger sister of the mother of the king.

Haradevi Rajakula was the widow of a king who had the posthumous name Parama-Buddhaloka. The Abhisekanama of this king is not recorded, but as the god installed in his memory by his widow is called Indraparamessvara, it may be safely inferred that the proper name of the king was Indravarman.

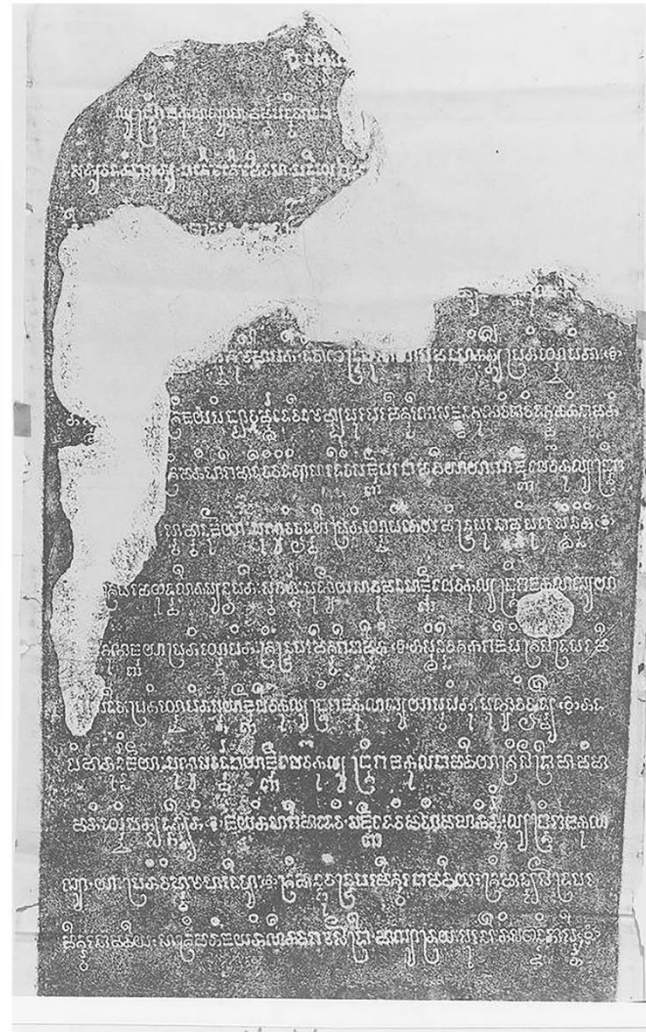
Remarks: This Indravarman is probably no other than the king of the same name referred to in C. 66 (dated 875 CE) and C. 106. We know from C. 66 that he was greatly attached to Buddhism, and this accords well with the posthumous name Parama Buddhaloka. We gather from C. 106 that Jaya Sinhavarman succeeded Indravarman, and it would thus follow that after the death of the latter the throne passed on to the son of the elder sister of his queen Haradevi.

Reference: Aymonier, 1896: 147; Finot 1904a: 105-112; Parmentier 1909: 282; Majumdar 1927:98-105; Golzio 2004: 82-88.  
Fig 2. 81: C. 67 Đồng Dương



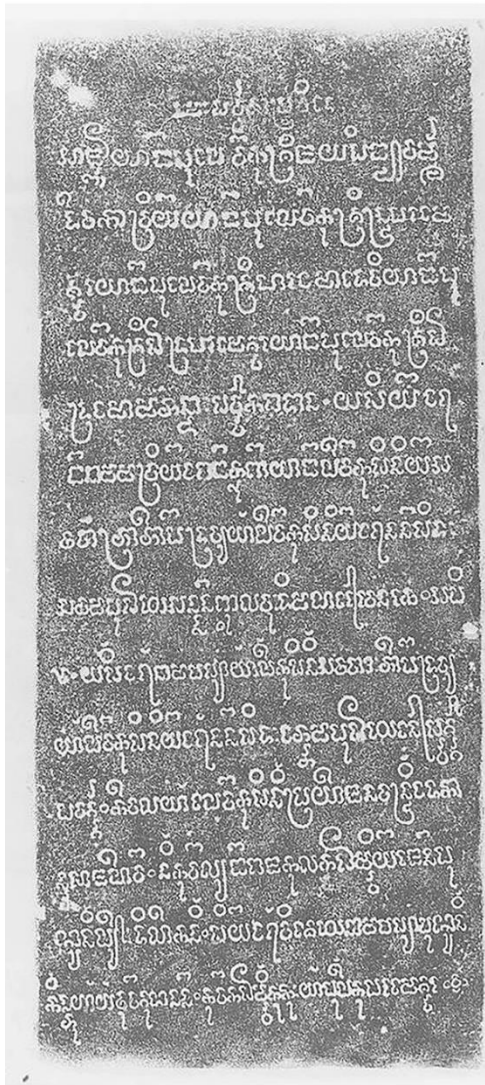
Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16961-2



Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16961-1



Face C

Source: EFEO. CAM16960-2



Face D

Source: EFEO. CAM16962-1

### C. 106 Bàn Lãn

Inscription number: C. 106

Number on the map: 23

Origin: Bàn Lãn temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on the three faces of a pillar which has been removed from its original position.

Text: The first face contains, besides the invocation, 15 lines of writing, of which LL. 1-10 are in Sanskrit and LL. 10-15 in Champa. The second face contains 18 lines: LL. 1-5 in Champa, LL. 5-10 in Sanskrit, and LL. 10-18 in Champa. The third face contains 11 line in Champa. The Sanskrit portion consists of 9 verses and one prose piece.

Date: 820 Saka (898 CE)

The king: Jaya Simhavarman I

GPS Location: 15.8561N; 108.2098E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Bàn Lãn village, Điện Trung commune, Điện Bàn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

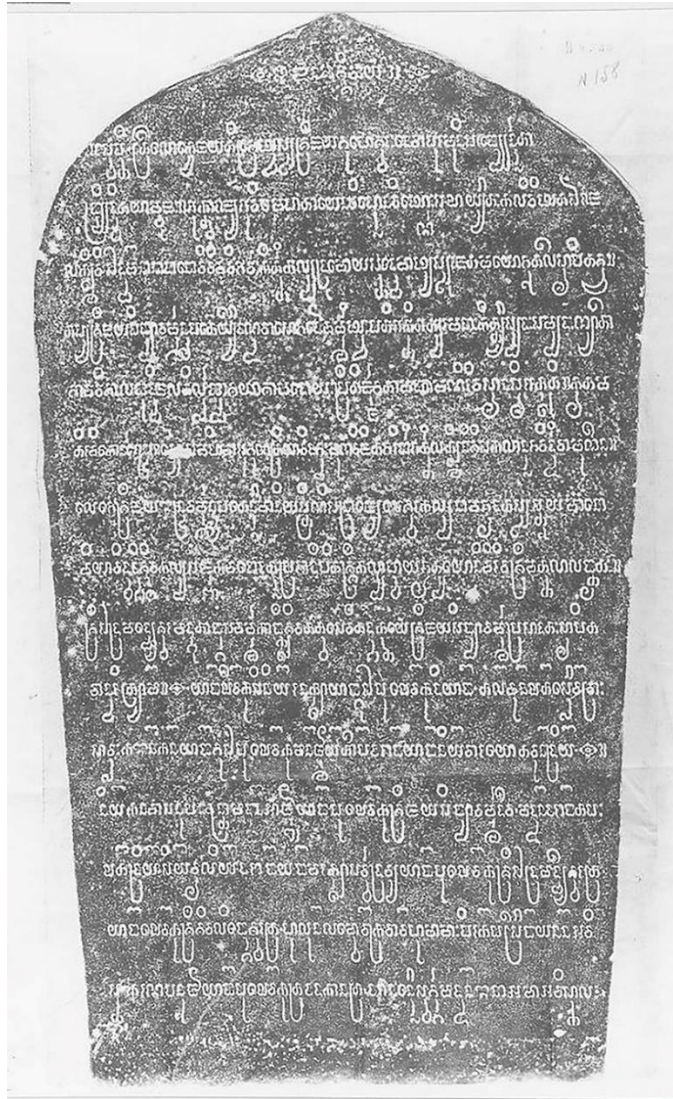
Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 30; LSb 21183

Description: The inscription purports to be a deed of protection and immunity granted by king Jaya Sinihavarman in favor of two temple-towers: a temple-tower of Rudramadhyesvara founded by a royal official called Srikalpa, and a temple-tower of Shivalingesha founded by Muni Shivacarya.

Reference: Finot 1904a: 99-105; Finot 1915a: 17; Parmentier 1909: 308; Majumdar 1927: 94-98; Golzio 2004: 78-82.

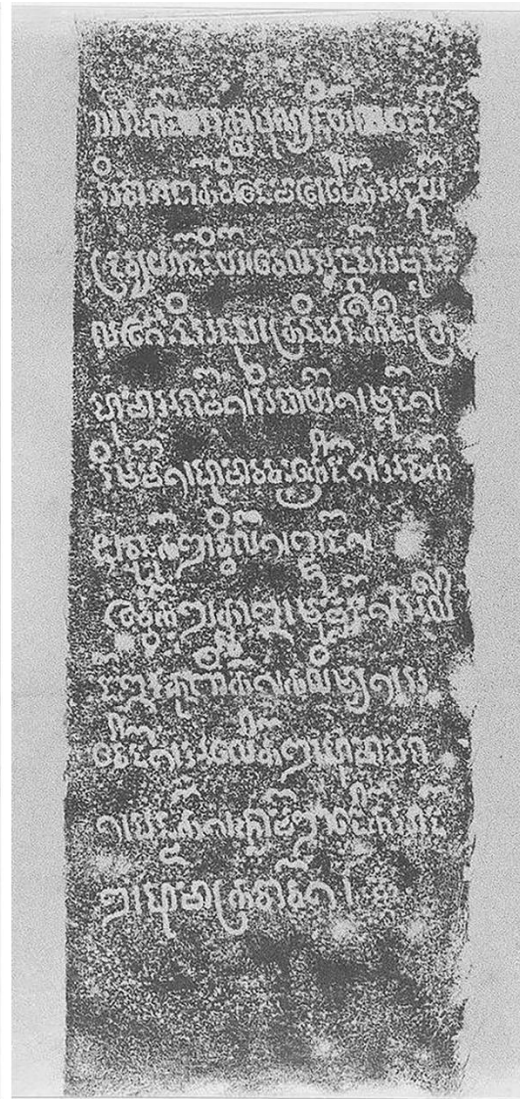
Fig 2. 82: C. 106 Bàn Lãn





Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16966-1



Face C

Source: CAM16966-2

## C. 108 Bồ Mùng

Inscription number: C. 108

Number on the map: 24

Origin: Bồ Mùng temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription consists of 42 lines of writing, the first 14 lines in Sanskrit and the rest in Champa. The Sanskrit portion contains, besides the invocation, seven verses, and one prose text.

Date: 889/890 CE

The king: Indravarman II

GPS Location: 15.9404N; 108.2274E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Bồ Mùng village, Điện Thắng commune, Điện Bàn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 22; LSb 21159.

Description: the inscription one learns that King Jaya Indravarman ordered construction of a temple-tower.

Reference: Aymonier, 1896: 150; Huber 1911: 269-277; Finot 1915a: 12; Parmentier 1909: 316; Majumdar 1927: 89-92; Golzio 2004: 73-76.

Fig 2. 83: C. 108 Bồ Mùng





Face A

Source: EFEO. VIE00850



Face B

Source: EFEO. VIE00852

### C. 143 La Thọ

Inscription number: C. 143

Number on the map: 26

Origin: Settlement of La Thọ.

Material: The inscription is engraved on a silver bowl

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in old Champa.

Date: 9th or 10th century CE. It has been suggested in Schweyer (1999: 348) that the fish-motif is inspired by the art of the Tang dynasty.

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.9468N; 108.1969E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: La Thọ village, Điện Hoà commune, Điện Bàn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Museum of Vietnamese History in Hồ Chí Minh City with the inventory number BTLS 1313.

Description: As relief it depicts two fishes; only the syllable ajna po is readable.

Reference: Rougier 1912: 211-212; Phạm Hữu Mỹ & Vương Hải Yến 1994: 28-29; Schweyer 1999: 348; Golzio 2004: 58; Griffiths (ed.) 2009: 447.

Fig 2. 84: C. 143 La Thọ

Source: William Southworth; Khom Sreymom and Ham Seiharasarann.





### C. 144 La Thọ

Inscription number: C. 144

Number on the map: 27

Origin: Settlement of La Thọ.

Material: The inscription is engraved on the silver bowl

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in old Champa.

Date: 10th or 11th century CE. It is not clear why Golzio (2004: 58) assigns this inscription to the 9th century. The shape of the aksara ra suggests a somewhat later date.

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.9468N; 108.1969E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: La Thọ village, Điện Hoà commune, Điện Bàn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

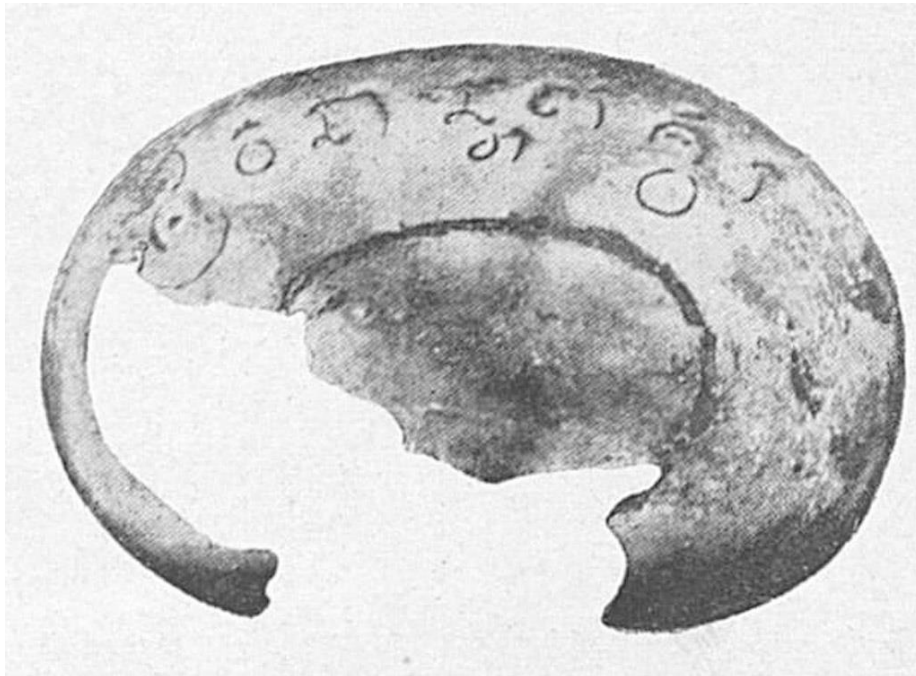
Present condition: Museum of Vietnamese History in Hồ Chí Minh City

Description: The following text was edited by Griffiths (ed.) 2009 “srivanantaresvara”

Reference: Rougier 1912: 212; Majumdar 1927: 227; Phạm Hữu Mỹ & Vương Hải Yến 1994: 28-29; Schweyer 1999: 348; Golzio 2004: 58-59; Griffiths (ed.) 2009: 447.

Fig 2. 85: C. 144 La Thok.

Source: Rougier 1912: pl. VIII





### C. 145 La Thọ

Inscription number: C. 145

Number on the map: 28

Origin: Settlement of La Thọ.

Material: The inscription is engraved on the silver octagonal ewer.

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 9th or 10th century CE. The dating to the 10th or 11th century proposed by Schweyer in Baptiste & Zephir 2005: 297 seems poorly considered.

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.9468N; 108.1969E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: La Thọ village, Điện Hoà commune, Điện Bàn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Museum of Vietnamese History in Hồ Chí Minh City with the inventory number BTLS 1295

Description: the king of Champapura (dedicate) this silver jug to the fortunate Vanantaresvara possessing heavenly glory, with devotion

Remark: Palaeographically, these inscriptions (C. 143, C. 144, C. 145) belong to the group of inscriptions of the so-called Indrapura dynasty.

Reference: Rougier 1912: 211-212; Majumdar 1927: 227; Phạm Hữu Mỹ & Vương Hải Yến 1994: 28-29; Schweyer 1999: 348; Golzio 2004: 59; Baptiste & Zephir 2005: 297; Griffiths (ed.) 2009: 447.

Fig 2. 86: C. 145 La Thọ

Source: taken by Khom Sreymom and Ham Seiharasarann on 13 May 2010



C. 152-157-166 Quảng Nam

Inscription number: C. 152-157-166

Number on the map: 29

Origin: the South temple-tower at Khương Mỹ?

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces a bas-relief sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 9th century to 11th century CE

The king: unknown

GPS Location:

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: village 4, Tam Xuân 1 commune, Núi Thành district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: at the Museum of Champa

Sculpture at Đà Nẵng.

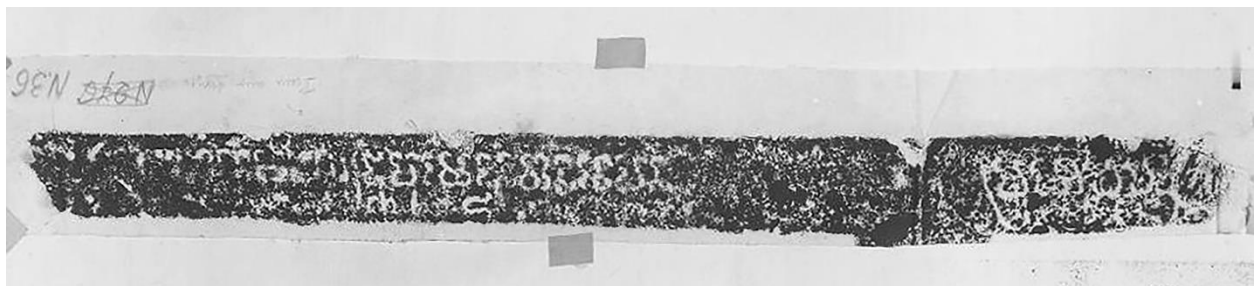
Description: It records that the army of monkeys in the middle of the city of Lañka.hurling

Remarks: The shape of the writing in the two sets of Ramayana captions-the ones at Khương Mỹ and the ones in the museum-seems very similar. For this reason, Griffiths (ed.) (2012: 237-239) infer that it dates from the same period as the construction of the South temple-tower at Khương Mỹ.

Reference: Parmentier 1919: 102-103; Finot 1915d: 192; Cœdès 1923: 96-97; Griffiths (ed.) 2012: 237-239.

Fig 2. 87: C. 152-157-166 Quảng Nam

Source: EFEO. CAM16972\_2.



C. 198 Tĩnh Yên

Inscription number: C. 198

Number on the map: 30

Origin: Shrine of Miếu Thằng Gù, Tĩnh Yên

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces a square slab in sandstone, with lotus ornament at its center.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 9th<sup>to the</sup> 10th century CE

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.6039N; 108.4345E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Shrine of Miếu Thằng Gù, Duy Thu commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: the slab was stored behind the building of the Duy Xuyên Museum of Sa Huỳnh-Champa Culture. It then bore no local inventory number.

Description: unknown

Reference: Parmentier 1909: 285; Parmentier 1918: 243.

Fig 2. 88: C. 198 Tĩnh Yên. Source: EFEO n. 1154



### C. 205 Đồng Dương

Inscription number: C. 205

Number on the map: 31

Origin: Settlement of Đồng Dương

Material: The inscription is engraved around the body of a silver ewer.

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: First half of the 9th century CE.

The king: Sri Rudravarmadeva.

GPS Location: 15.6753N; 108.2937E.

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đồng Dương village, Bình Định Bắc commune, Thăng Bình district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Vũ Kim Lộc informed that the artefact had been donated to the Museum of Ethnology at Hà Nội (ECIC III: 475).

Description: This water pot, made of silver, was given to Sri Rudrasvamyambhuesvara by Sri Rudravarmadeva.

Remarks: This piece was part of the private collection of Mr. Vũ Kim Lộc in Hồ Chí Minh City in 1996 (Lê Xuân Diệm & Vũ Kim Lộc 1996: 82-87) and remained there at least until 1999, when Schweyer published a study of this ewer and two other inscribed objects in the same collection (C. 206 and C. 207; see also C. 208 and C. 209).

Reference: Lê Xuân Diệm & Vũ Kim Lộc 1996: 82-86; Schweyer 1999: 345-355; Golzio 2004: 59-60.

Fig 2. 89: C. 205 Đồng Dương



Source: Taken by Vũ Kim Lộc



### C. 206 Đồng Dương

Inscription number: C. 206

Number on the map: 32

Origin: Settlement of Đồng Dương

Material: The inscription is engraved around the body of a silver censer.

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: First half of the 9th century CE.

The king: Sri Rudravarmadeva.

GPS Location: 15.6753N; 108.2937E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đồng Dương village, Bình Định Bắc commune, Thăng Bình district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Vũ Kim Lộc informed that the artefact had been donated to the Museum of Ethnology at Hà Nội (ECIC III: 475).

Description: And Sri Rudravarmadeva has given this censer here.

Remarks: This piece was part of the private collection of Mr. Vũ Kim Lộc in Hồ Chí Minh City in 1996 (see Lê Xuân Diệm & Vũ Kim Lộc 1996: 88-91) and remained there at least until 1999, when Schweyer published a study of this censer and two other inscribed objects in the same collection (C. 205 and C. 207; see also C. 208 and C. 209).

Reference: Lê Xuân Diệm & Vũ Kim Lộc 1996: 88; Schweyer 1999: 345-355; Golzio 2004: 60

Fig 2. 90: C. 206 Đồng Dương

Source: Taken by Vũ Kim Lộc



### C. 211 Khuê Trung

Inscription number: C. 211

Number on the map: 33

Origin: Khuê Trung temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a stele sandstone.

Text: The text written in Sanskrit and old Cham.

Date: 899

The king: Jaya Simhavarman I

GPS Location: 15.997357N; 108.257658E

Province/city: Đà Nẵng city

Location: Khuê Trung commune, Cẩm Lệ district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng with inventory number BTC 474 = BTĐN 183

Description: The first part of the inscription, written in Sanskrit language, presents the eulogy of the god Maharudra, a form of the god Shiva, and of the king Jayasimhavarman. This part of the text records the foundation of

a monument in honor of this god, in the form of his footprints, in the year 820 of the Saka era. The purpose of the foundation was to secure the protection of the wealth of the people and of the country.

The second part of the inscription, written in Cham language (interspersed with some scattered Sanskrit phrases), contains a list of lands offered to a monastery dedicated to the god Maharudra. It also mentions the donation of slaves. The monastery was made the beneficiary of a tax exemption.

Remarks: This inscription belongs to the reign of the first of several kings named Sri Jayasimhavarman in the history of Champa. The reign of this king, who seems to have ruled only in the northern parts of the land, was unusually productive in terms of epigraphy.

Reference: Edouard Huber 1911: 285-298; Schweyer 2005b.

C. 227+228+229An Mỹ

Inscription number: C. 227+228

Number on the map: 34

Origin: An Mỹ temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a bas-relief sandstone.

Text: The text written in old Champa.

Date: late 9th or early 10th century ad

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.5645N; 108.4718E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: An Mỹ commune, Tam Kỳ city

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng with inventory numbers ĐN 1115=BTC 1408 and ĐN 109=BTC 400

Description: The fragment bearing C. 227 shows text on two faces and is nicely readable, but given the fragmentary state, with not a single line completely preserved, it is nearly impossible to extract any coherent sense out of it. Things are even worse for C. 228 (which is virtually unreadable on the estampages), and the same seems to be true for C. 229.

Reference: Griffiths (ed.) 2012: 273-275

C. 236 Đồng Dương

Inscription number: C. 236

Number on the map: 35

Origin: main temple-tower at Đồng Dương

Nam province

Material: The inscription is engraved on layers composing the staircase of the altar sandstone.

Text: unknown

Date: late 9th or early 10th century AD

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.6753N; 108.2937E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đồng Dương village, Bình Định Bắc commune, Thăng Bình district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng with inventory numbers BTC 168.

Description: The block showing the temporary mark A3 in the photo is engraved with the syllable gni. This is an abbreviation of agni, that is the guardian deity of the Southeast, Agni, or the direction that he oversees.

The block showing the temporary mark A5 bears the syllable. This is an abbreviation of Isana, that is the guardian deity of the Northeast, Isana, or the direction that he oversees.

Remarks: The altar was transported from the site and recomposed in the Museum in 1934 (BEFEO 1935: 458).

Reference: Boisselier 1963: 108-110; BEFEO 1935: 458



C. 75 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 75

Number on the map: 36

Origin: Mĩ Son D2 or B1 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a block of sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 04 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 913 Saka (995CE)

The king: Harivarman II

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSD350

Description: It records the re-installation of the god Sri Jaya Isana-Bhadresvara in 913 Saka, which leads by calculation to the only possible result for a date during the reign of King Vijaya Sri Harivarmadeva II (ca. 989-998 CE).

Reference: Finot 1904a: 113-115; Barth, 1904: 117-119; Finot 1904b: 933; Parmentier 1909: 382; Finot 1915b: 49; Majumdar 1927: 145.

Fig 2. 91: C. 75 Mỹ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16987-2



### C. 107 Lạc Thành

Inscription number: C. 107

Number on the map: 37

Origin: Lạc Thành temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on four faces of the great sandstone pillar.

Text: The text written in Sanskrit and Old Champa

Date: 832 Saka (910 CE)

The king: Bhadravarman II

GPS Location: 15.88620N; 108.14154E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: 5 village, Điện Hồng commune, Điện Bàn district.

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: at the Bằng An temple-tower

Description: It begins with an invocation to Shiva followed by the eulogy of king Bhadravarman.

Reference: Huber 1911: 285; Parmentier 1909: 310; Majumdar 1927: 121.

Fig 2. 92: C. 107 Lạc Thành



### C. 138 An Thái

Inscription number: C. 138

Number on the map: 38

Origin: An Thái temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces of a sandstone pillar.

Text: The inscription contains 22 lines of writing. The last three lines being in old Champa, and the rest in Sanskrit.

Date: 902

The king: Bhadravarman II

GPS Location: 15.6543N; 108.4374E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: An Thái village, Bình An commune, Thăng Bình district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 27; LSb 21155.

Description: The Sanskrit portion contains two prose passages and twelve verses, besides the invocation. The first two verse are almost entirely lost. The inscription records the erection of a statue of Lokanatha by the Sthavira Nagapupa, the abbot of the monastery of Pramudita Lokesvara.

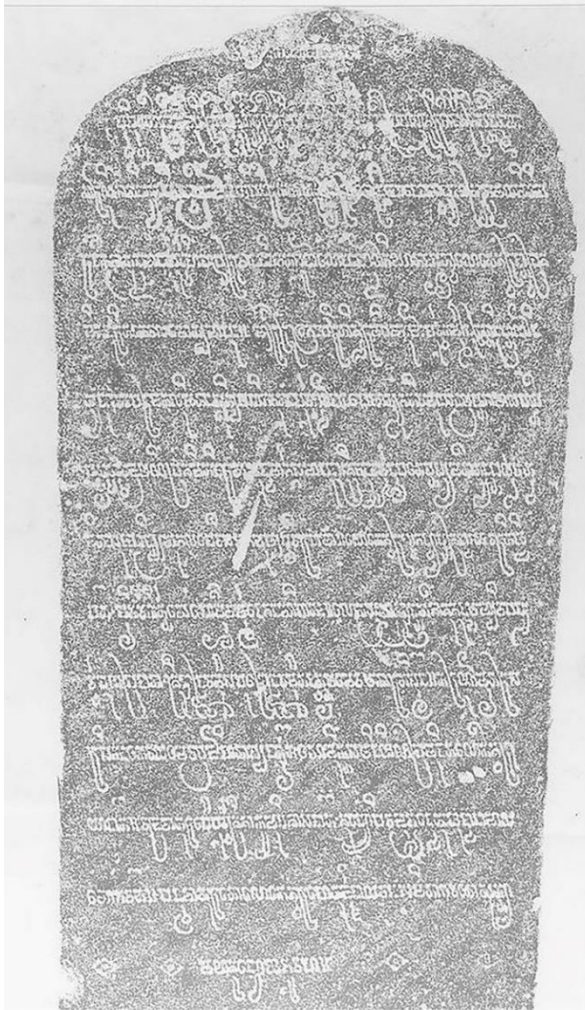
It further relates that the monastery was founded by Bhadravarman II, and confirmed in its possessions by Indravarman II.

Reference: Huber 1911: 277-282; Finot 1915a: 15; Majumdar 1927: 105-109

Fig 2. 93: C. 138 An Thái







Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16952-1



Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16952-2

C. 139 Phú Thuận

Inscription number: C. 139

Number on the map: 39

Origin: Phú Thuận

Material: The inscription is engraved on a bas-relief sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 10 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: On paleographical evidence, the inscription may be referred to the 9th or 10th century CE.

The king: it belongs to the reign of either Indravarman II or Indravarman III.

GPS Location: 15.7156N; 108.2672E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Phú Thuận commune, Quế Sơn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

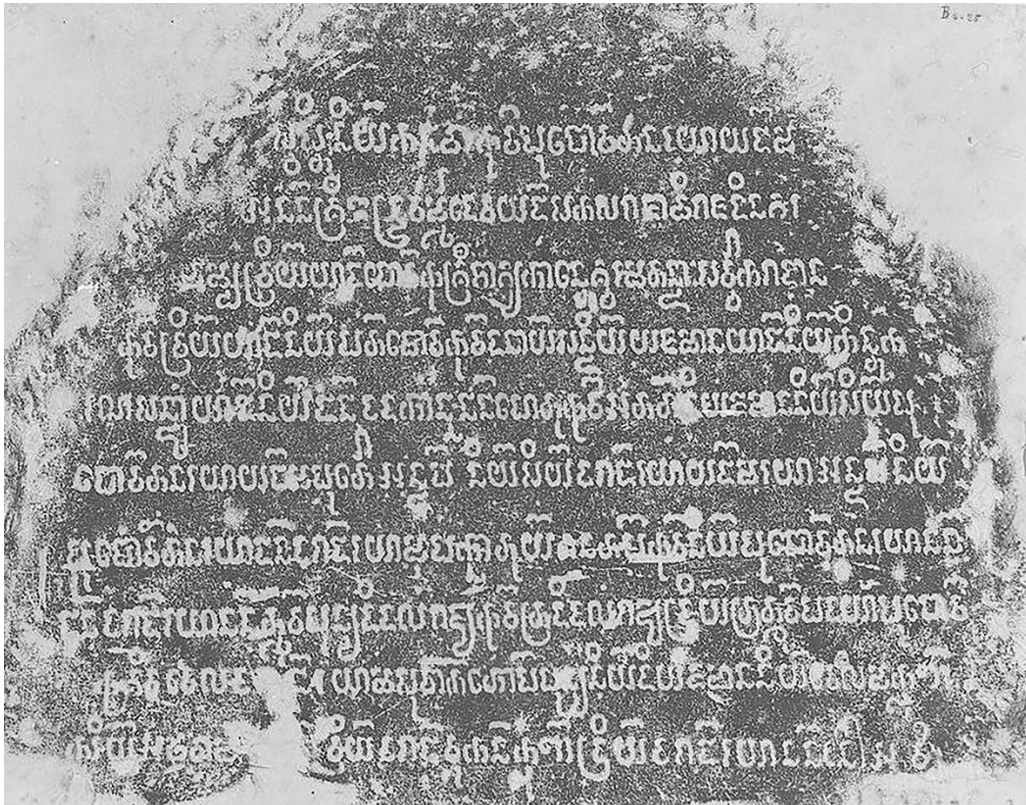
Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 25; LSb 21156.

Description: The inscription records a donation made by king Indravarman to the god Bhagya-Kantesvara.

Reference: Finot 1915a: 15; Majumdar 1927; 92-93.

Fig 2. 94: C. 139 Phú Thuận

Source: EFEO. CAM16947-1





## C. 141 Bằg An

Inscription number: C. 141

Number on the map: 40

Origin: Bằg An temple-tower

Material: The inscription was engraved on a stone pillar.

Text: the two faces of inscription contain 32 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit.

Date: 838 Saka (906CE)

The king: Bhadravarman II

GPS Location: 15.8845N; 108.2326E

Province/city: Quằg Nam province

Location: Địn An commune, Địn Bằn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B.2, 26

Description: The inscription records the donations made by king Bhadravarman.

Reference: Finot 1915a: 15; Majumdar 1927: 125-129.

Fig 2. 95: C. 141 Bằg An



Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16939-2



Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16940-1

C. 207 Đại Lộc

Inscription number: C. 207

Number on the map: 41

Origin: Đại Lộc

Material: The inscription is engraved on a silver bowl.

Text: The inscription contains 04 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 9th or early 10th century CE

The king: Bhadravarman II

GPS Location: 15.8547N; 107.9855E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đại Lộc village, Quế Minh commune, Quế Sơn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Vũ Kim Lộc informed that the artefact had been donated to the Museum of Ethnology at Hà Nội (ECIC III: 475).

Description: The inscription records the donations made by the son of Bhadravarman II.

Remark: This piece was part of the private collection of Mr. Vũ Kim Lộc in Hồ Chí Minh City in 1996 (Lê Xuân Diệm & Vũ Kim Lộc 1996: 82-87) and remained there at least until 1999, when Schweyer published a study of this ewer and two other inscribed objects in the same collection (C. 206 and C. 207; see also C. 208 and C. 209).

Reference: Schweyer 1999: 345-355; Golzio 2004: 120.

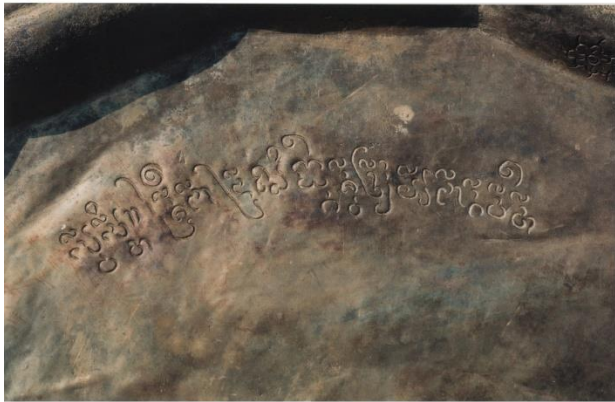


Fig 2. 96: C. 207 Đại Lộc  
Source: taken by Vũ Kim Lộc



## C. 142 Hóá Quê

Inscription number: C. 142

Number on the map: 42

Origin: Hóá Quê temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on the four faces of a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription containing respectively 17, 19, 17 and 19 lines, besides the invocation at the beginning. The inscription on the first three faces is written in Sanskrit verse with three prose texts. That on the fourth face is written in Champa, but it contains a short prose passage and a verse in Sanskrit. There are altogether 27 Sanskrit verses.

Date: 831 Saka (909 CE)

The king: Bhadravarman II

GPS Location: 15.997657N; 108.257758E

Province/city: Đà Nẵng city

Location: Khuê Trung commune, Cẩm Lệ

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 29; LSb 21184

Description: The inscription records the various pious foundations made by three brothers, councillors of king Bhadravarman, and sons of Sarthavaha, brother of the first queen of Indravarman II, in the years 820, 830 and 831 Saka. It further refers to a foundation by Jayendrapati in the year 829.

Remarks: The first of these dates falls in the reign of Jayasihavarman, and the three others in that of his successor Bhadravarman.

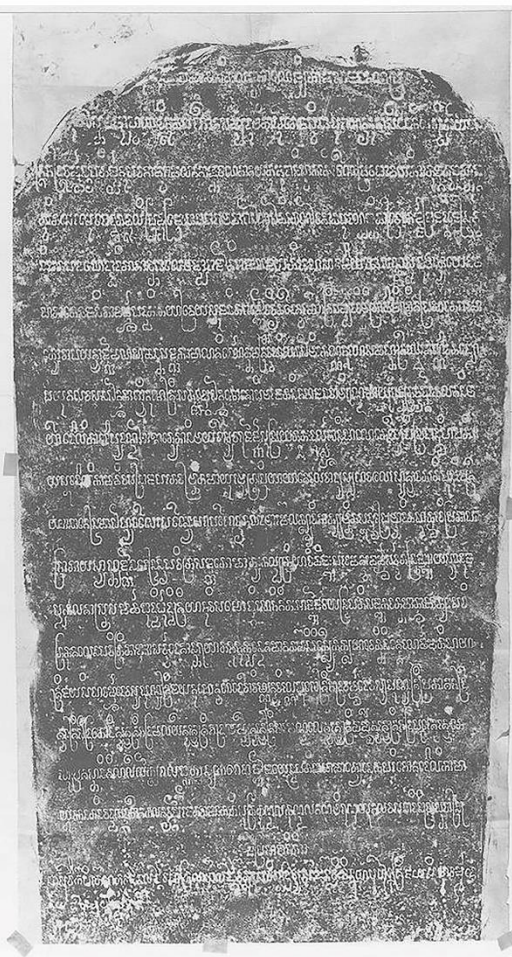
Reference: Huber 1911: 285-298; Finot 1915a: 16-17; Majumdar 1927: 111-121; Golzio 2004: 97-104.

Fig 2. 97: C. 142 Hóá Quê



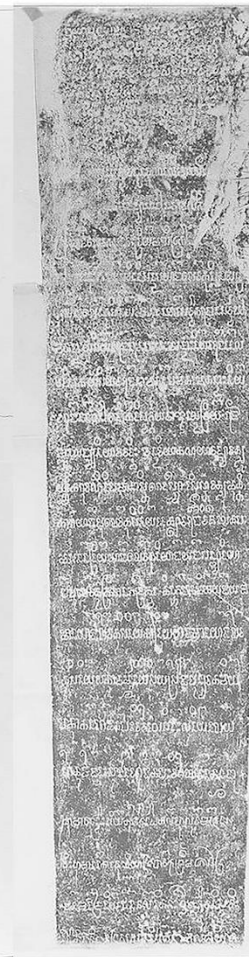
Face A

Source: EFEO CAM16963-2



Face B

Source: EFEO CAM16963-1



Face C

Source: EFEO CAM16962-2



Face D

## C. 68 Đồng Dương

Inscription number: C. 68

Number on the map: 43

Origin: Đồng Dương temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a sandstone pillar.

Text: The inscription contains 02 lines of writing in Old Champa.

Date: 11th century

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.6753N; 108.2937E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Đồng Dương village, Bình Định Bắc scommune, Thăng Bình district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: unknown

Reference: Finot 1904a: 112-113; Jacques 1895: 70 - 71.

## C. 89 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 89

Number on the map: 44

Origin: Mỹ Sơn D group temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on three face of a sandstone slab.

Text: The inscription contains 92 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 1088/1089

The king: Jaya Indravarman II

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

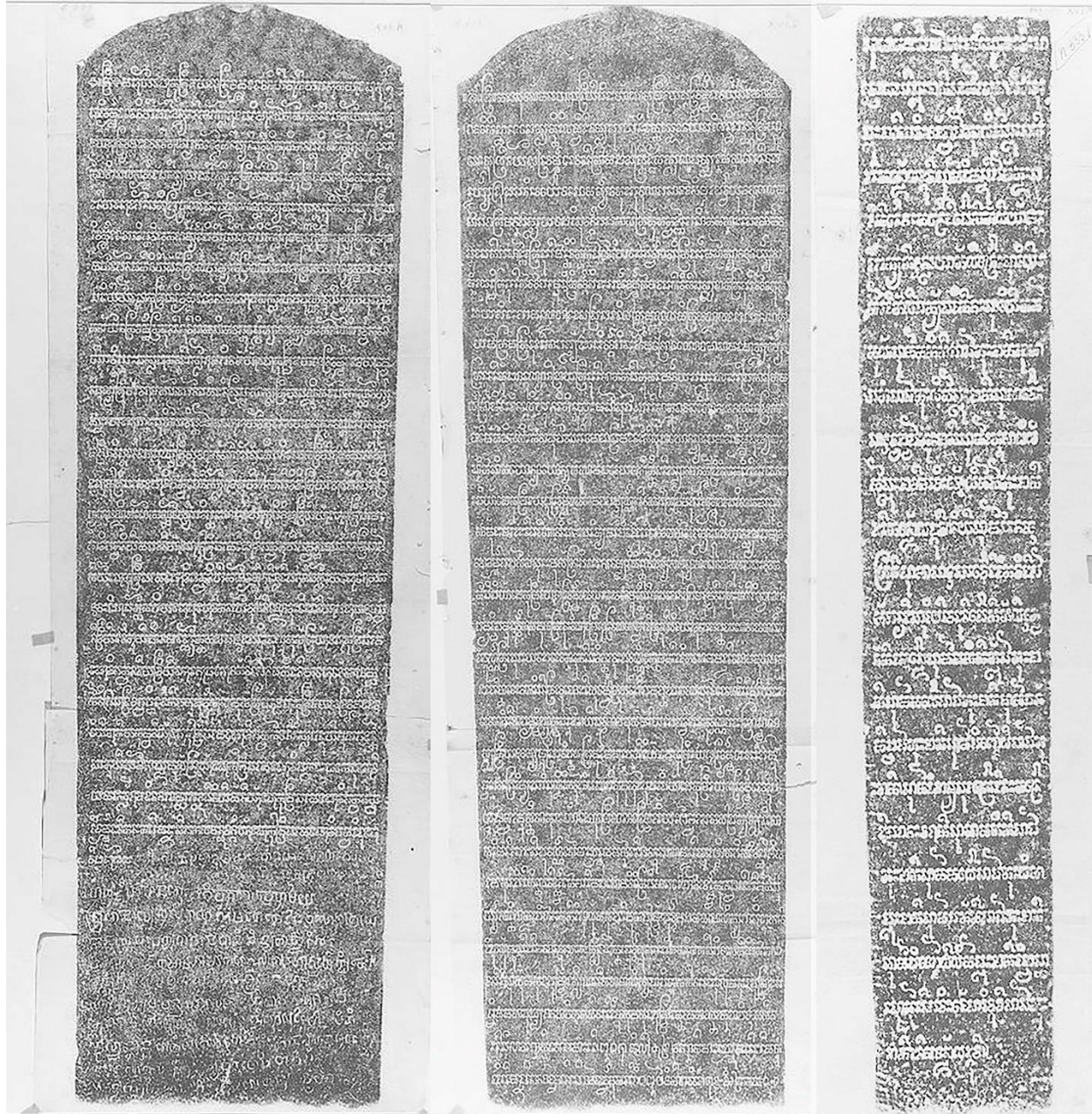
Present condition: at the Mỹ Sơn D group temple-tower

Description: The inscription records the donations made by king Jaya Indravarman II, prince Vak, son of His Majesty sri Harivarmadeva, prince Than.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 946-951; Parmentier 1909:400; Finot 1915d: 191; Majumdar 1927: 169-173.

Fig 2. 98: C. 89 Mỹ Sơn





Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16958-2

Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16959-1

Face D

Source:  
EFEO. CAM16958-1

## C. 90 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 90

Number on the map: 45

Origin: Mỹ Sơn D group temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on four faces of a stele sandstone.

Text: The inscription written in old Champa

Date: 1002 Saka (1080 CE)

The king: Dhanapatigrama

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2: 5.

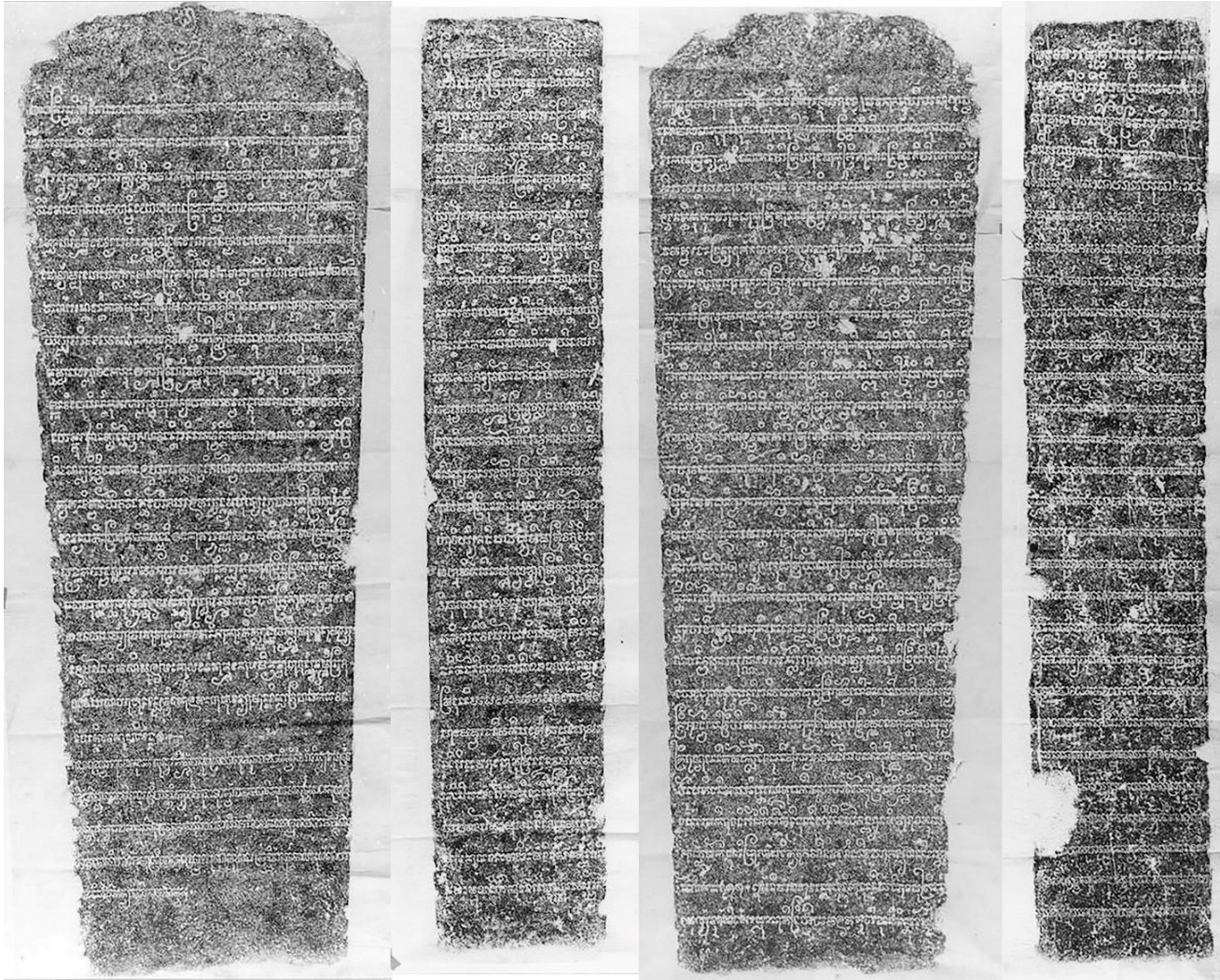
Description: The inscription refers to Prince On Dhanapatigrama who was in the service of the king of Cambodia, e. g. Jayavarman VII.

Remarks: The inscription is engraved on face D of a stele already used in the 11th century. The first four lines efface D belong to that earlier inscription.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 934-940; Parmentier 1909: 400; Jacques, 1972/73: 631-632; 1973/74: 705-707; 1974/75: 915-916.

Fig 2. 99: C. 90 Mỹ Sơn





Face A

Face B

Face C

Face D

Source: EFEO. CAM16982-2

EFEO. CAM16983-1

EFEO. CAM16982-1

EFEO. CAM16983-1

## C. 95 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 95

Number on the map: 46

Origin: Mỹ Sơn E10 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces of a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 22 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 978 Saka (1056/1057 CE)

The king: Harivarman II

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 8; LSb 21173

Description: The inscription records the donations of the Yuvaraja Mahasenapati to the temple-tower of Srisanabhadresvara.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 943-946; Parmentier 1909: 420; Finot 1915a: 7; Finot 1915d: 191;

Majumdar 1927: 155-157.

Fig 2. 100: C. 95 Mỹ Sơn





Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16986-2



Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16987-1

### C. 156 Cẩm Vân

Inscription number: C. 156

Number on the map: 47

Origin: Cẩm Vân temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a bas-relief sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 03 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 975 Saka (1053/1054 CE)

The king: Jaya Paramesvaravarman I

GPS Location: 15.8807N; 108.1501E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Cẩm Vân West village, Điện Hồng commune, Điện Bàn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

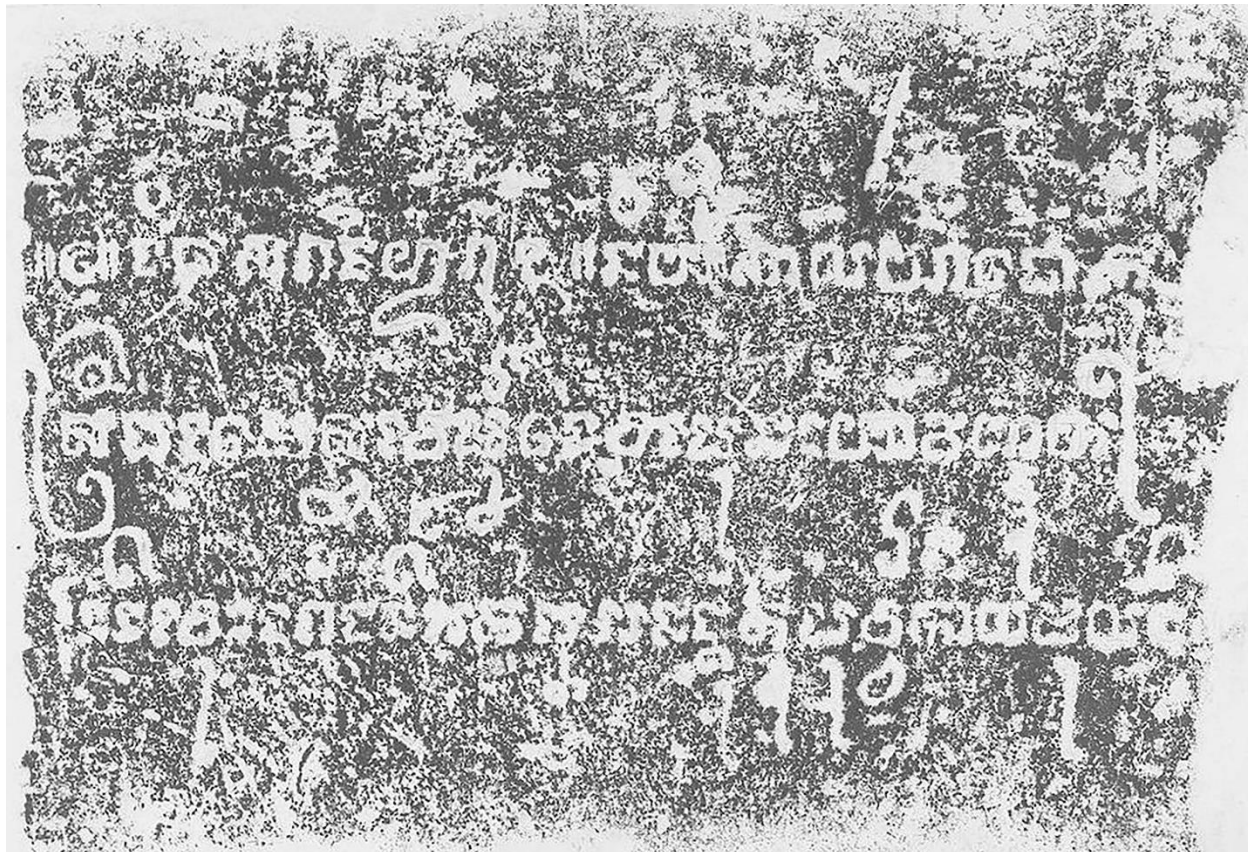
Present condition: at the Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng.

Description: The inscription records the donations of the king Paramesvaravarman.

Reference: Parmentier 1923:273; Golzio 2004: 130

Fig 2. 101: C. 156 Cẩm Vân

Source: EFEO. CAM16888-1



## C. 94 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 94

Number on the map: 48

Origin: Mỹ Sơn E10 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 41 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 11 century CE

The king: Harivarman II

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

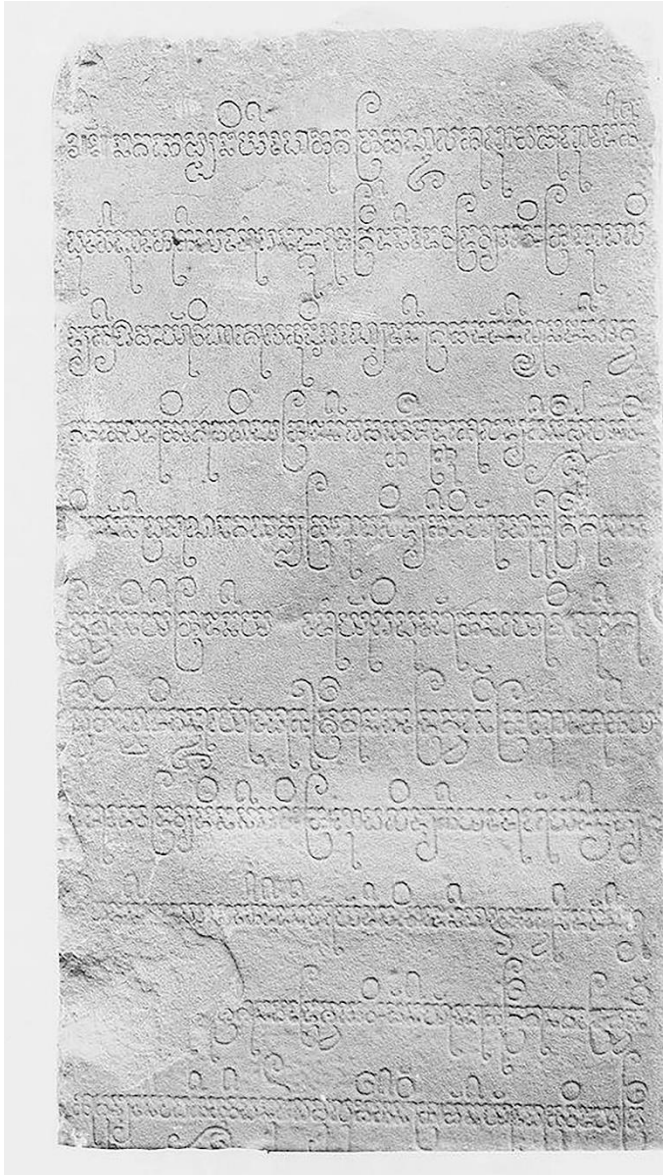
Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 9; LSb 21172

Description: The inscription records the donations of king Harivarman and his younger brother Yuvarja Mahasenapati to the temple-tower of Sri Sanabhadresvara.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 941-943 Pannentier, 1909: 419-420; Finot 1915a: 7; Majumdar 1927: 159-161; Golzio 2004: 136-137.

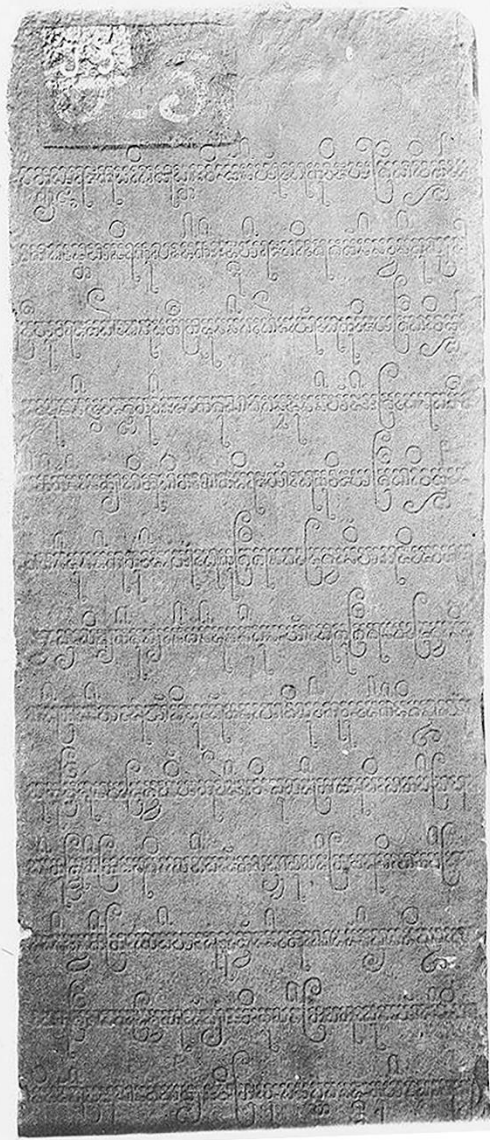
Fig 2. 102: C. 94 Mỹ Sơn





Face A

Source: EFEO. VIE00830



Face B

Source: EFEO. VIE00834



C. 64 Chiên Đàn

Inscription number: C. 64

Number on the map: 49

Origin: Chiên Đàn temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a rock.

Text: The inscription contains 09 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 11 century CE

The king: Jaya Harivarman I

GPS Location: 15.6158N; 108.4426E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Tam An commune, Tam Kỳ city

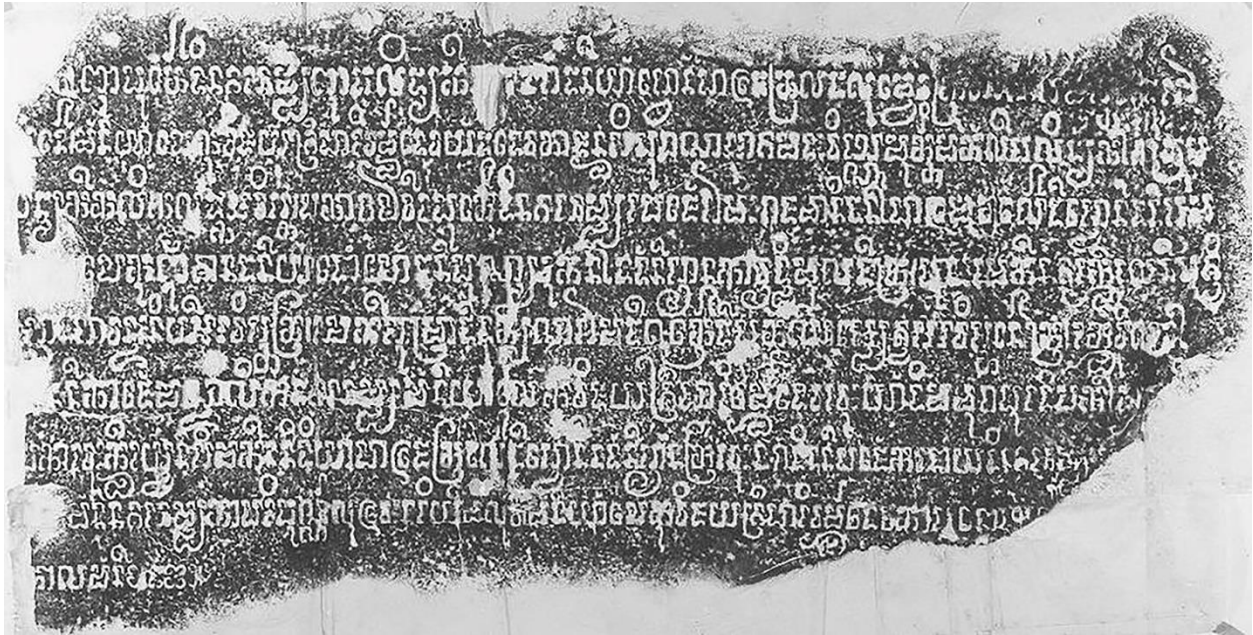
Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng with inventory number BTC 83.

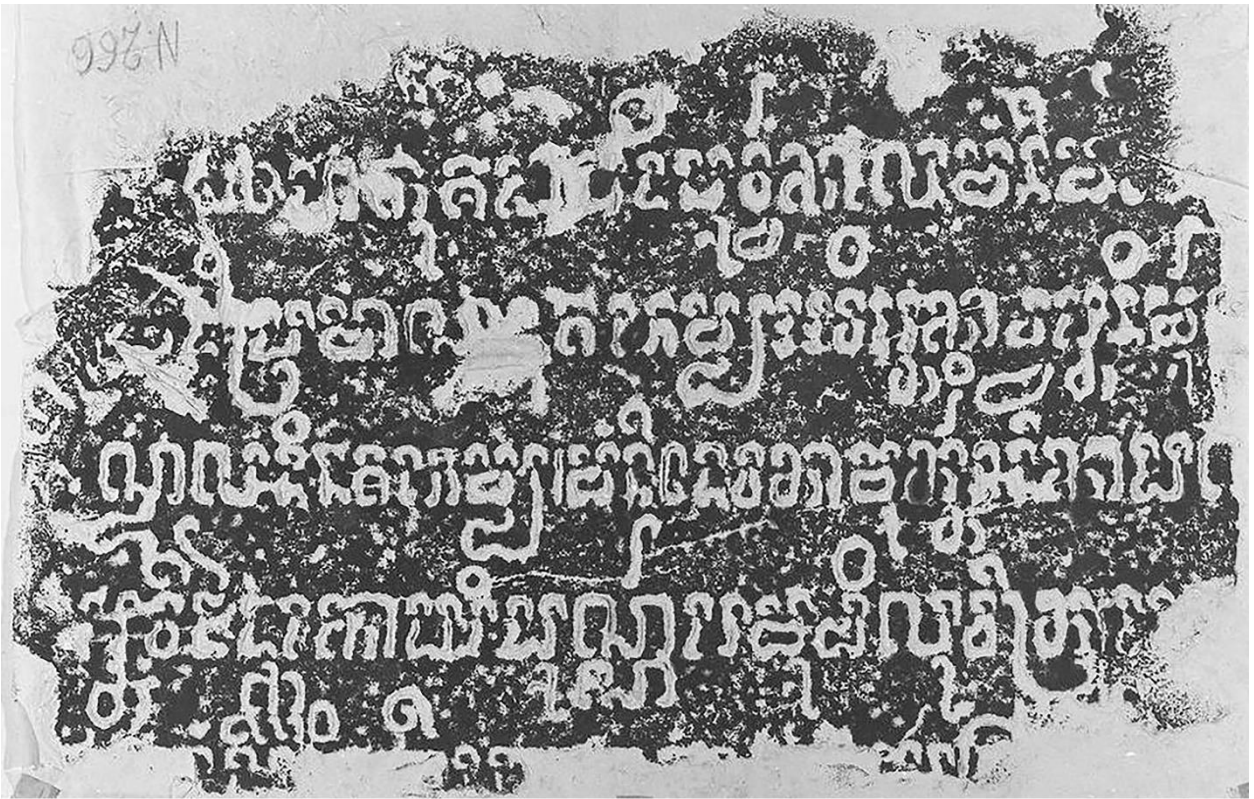
Description: The inscription records the victories of Harivarman against the Khmers and the Vietnamese.

Reference: Paris 1892: 141; Aymonier, 1896: 148; Cœdès 1908: 44; Parmentier 1909: 278; Majumdar 1927: 195; Golzio 2004: 163-164.

Fig 2. 103: C. 64 Chiên Đàn



Source: Face B. EFEO. CAM16886-2



Source: Face A&C. EFEO. CAM16887-2&1

C. 76 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 76

Number on the map: 50

Origin: Mỹ Sơn A group temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a stele sandstone.

Text: The inscription written in Old Champa

Date: 12 century CE

The king: Harivarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: the Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSA132

Description: The inscription records that the temple-tower was restored by king Vijaya Sri Harivarmadeva. Very little is legible: “His Majesty Vijaya sri Harivarmadeva restored the ruma]i”, and in one of the following lines: “Happiness in the other world.”

Reference: Finot 1904b: 977; Majumdar 1927: 195

## C. 78 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 78

Number on the map: 51

Origin: Mỹ Sơn A1 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 03 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 12 century CE

The king: Jaya Harivarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

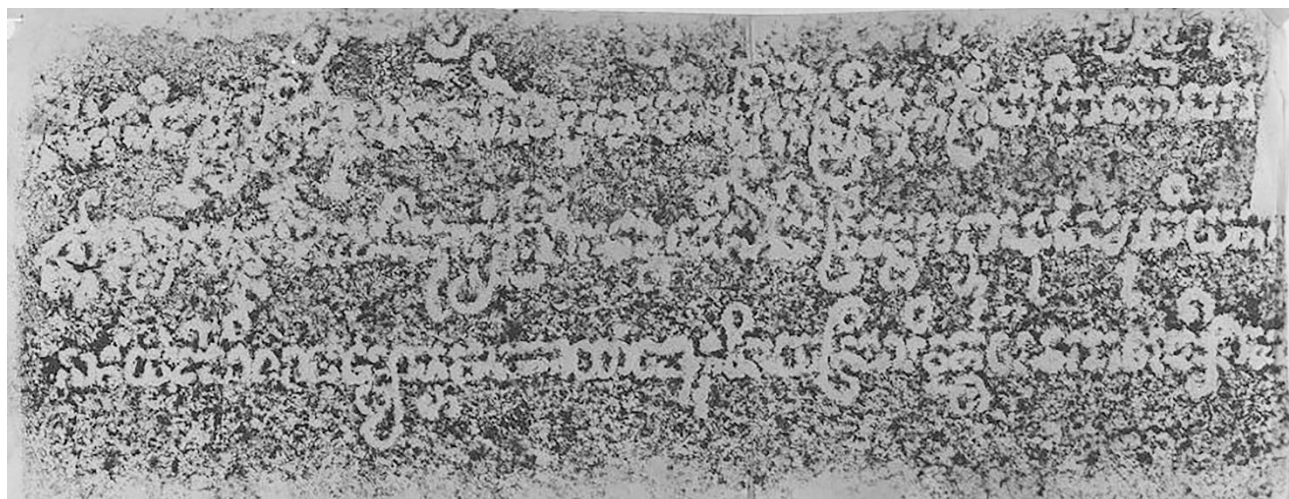
Present condition: the Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSA123

Description: The inscription records that Jaya Harivarman has supervised the construction of that complex.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 977; Parmentier 1909: 357; Golzio 2004: 150.

Fig 2. 104: C. 78 Mỹ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16973-2





## C. 82 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 82

Number on the map: 52

Origin: Mỹ Sơn B1 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a block of sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 8 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 1036 Saka (1114/1115 CE)

The king: Harivarman V

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

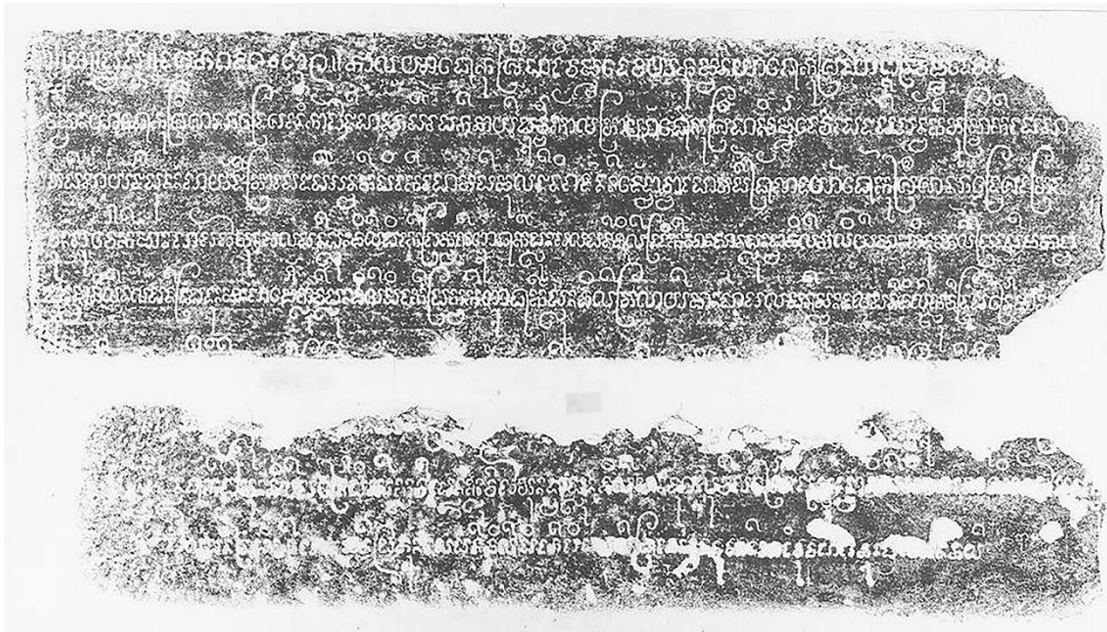
Present condition: the Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSD348 and 03MSD349

Description: The inscription records a donation made by king Sri Jaya Harivarmadeva. In the year of the Sakaraja 1036, during the reign of His Majesty Sri Harivarmadeva, nephew of His Majesty Sri Jaya Indravarmadeva, seeing that the god Sri sanabhadresvara. His Majesty Sri Harivarmadeva made one temple-tower and then another temple-tower.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 951-952; Parmentier 1909: 382; Majumdar 1927: 175-176; Golzio 2004: 149-150.

Fig 2. 105: C. 82 Mỹ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16971-1



C. 84A Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 84A

Number on the map: 53

Origin: Mỹ Sơn B1 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 9 lines of writing. The lines 1-5 being in Sanskrit, and lines 5-9 in Champa. The Sanskrit portion is written throughout in verse with the exception of the invocation at the beginning.

Date: 12 century CE

The king: Jaya Harivarman I

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

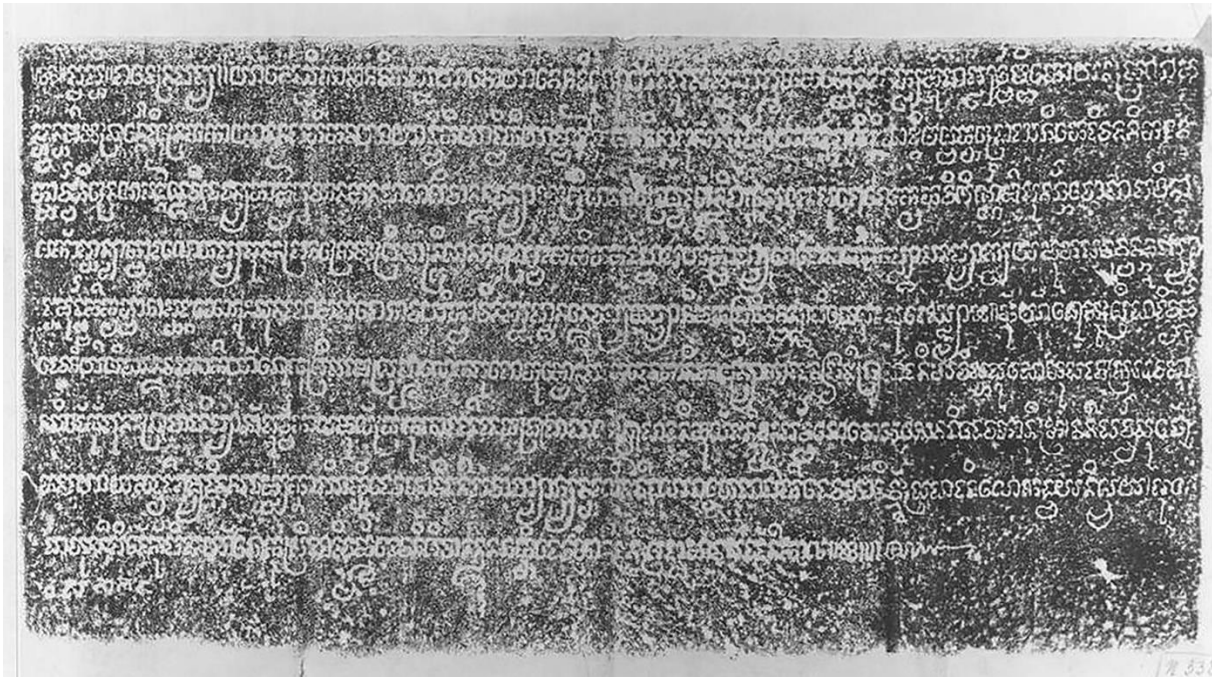
Present condition: the Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSD248

Description: The temple-tower of Sri Sanabhadresvara, the Sun of the temple-towers, formerly made by Uroja, was destroyed by the enemies. The king Sri Harivarmadeva, prince Shivanandana, son of king Sri Paramabrahmaloka, have re-established the temple-tower in its old beauty. And the king has given all the necessary things to this god.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 966-969; Parmentier 1909: 382; Majumdar 1927: 180-183

Fig 2. 106: C. 84A Mỹ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16993-1



C. 85 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 85

Number on the map: 54

Origin: Mỹ Sơn B1 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 19 lines of writing in Sanskrit.

Date: 1085 Saka (1163/1164 CE)

The king: Jaya Indravarman IV

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: the Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSB157

Description: The inscription records a donation made by king Sri Jaya Indravarman, of Gramapura, has given this, like a bejeweled peak, to the god of gods, Srisanabhadresvara.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 969-970; Parmentier 1909: 382; Majumdar 1927: 195-198; Golzio 2004: 170-171.

Fig 2. 107: C. 85 Mỹ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16967-1





## C. 91 Mĩ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 91

Number on the map: 55

Origin: Mĩ Sơn D group temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a Pedestal sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in old Champa.

Date: 1062 Saka (1140/1141)

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

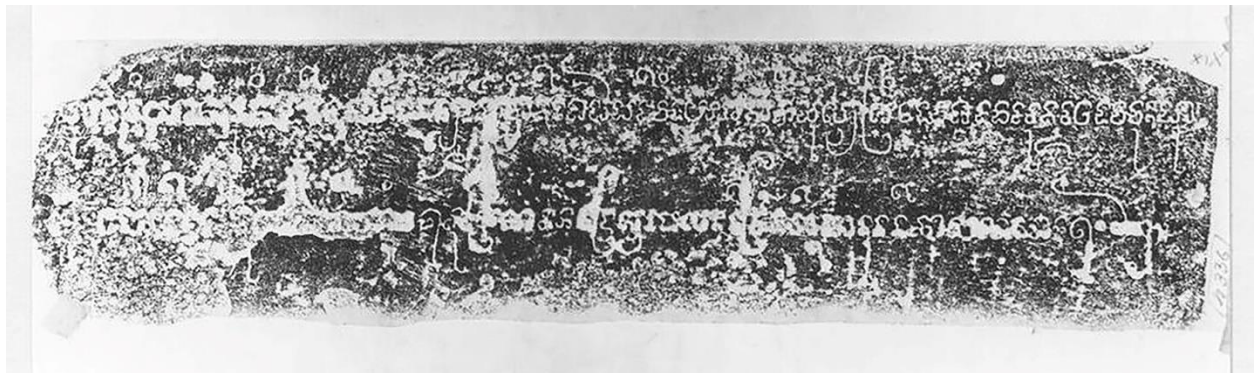
Present condition: the Mĩ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSD305

Description: The inscription records a donation made by prince Dav Veni Laksmĩ Sinyān of Rupan Vijaya, son of Sri Devaraja, prince Sundaradeva gave [slaves] to the god Sri Isanabhadresvara. The merit (of his work) is given to him (his father).

Reference: Finot 1904b: 954-955; Parmentier 1909: 400; Majumdar 1927; 177; Golzio 2004: 152.

Fig 2. 108: C. 91 Mĩ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16994-1





C. 92A Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 92A

Number on the map: 56

Origin: D3 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a stele sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 21 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 1092 Saka (1170/1171 CE)

The king: Jaya Indravarman IV

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: at the Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng.

Description: The inscription records the donations of king sri Jaya Indravarman of Gramapura vijaya to the god Srisanabhadresvara, and the installation of various images by the same king.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 970-975; Parmentier 1909: 400; Finot 1915b: 50; Majumdar 1927: 198-200; 1974/75: 916 Jacques 1975/76: 948-951

Source:

## C. 93 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 93

Number on the map: 57

Origin: Mỹ Sơn E10 temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 19 lines of writing in Sanskrit verse, but mostly illegible.

Date: 1181/1182

The king: Harivarman

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 7; LSb 21174

Description: The inscription begins with an invocation to god Sri Isanabhadresvara. Then it refers to king Harivarman who is said to have restored the old glory of Champa.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 940; Finot 1915a: 7; Parmentier 1909: 419; Majumdar 1927: 168.

Fig 2. 109: C. 93 Mỹ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16989-2



## C. 100 M̃y Sơn

Inscription number: C. 100

Number on the map: 58

Origin: M̃y Sơn G5 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on the three faces of a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 19, 24 and 25 lines. The Sanskrit portion contains 34 verses and three prose pieces, the rest is written in Champa.

Date: 1079 Saka (1157 CE)

The king: Jaya Harivarman I

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

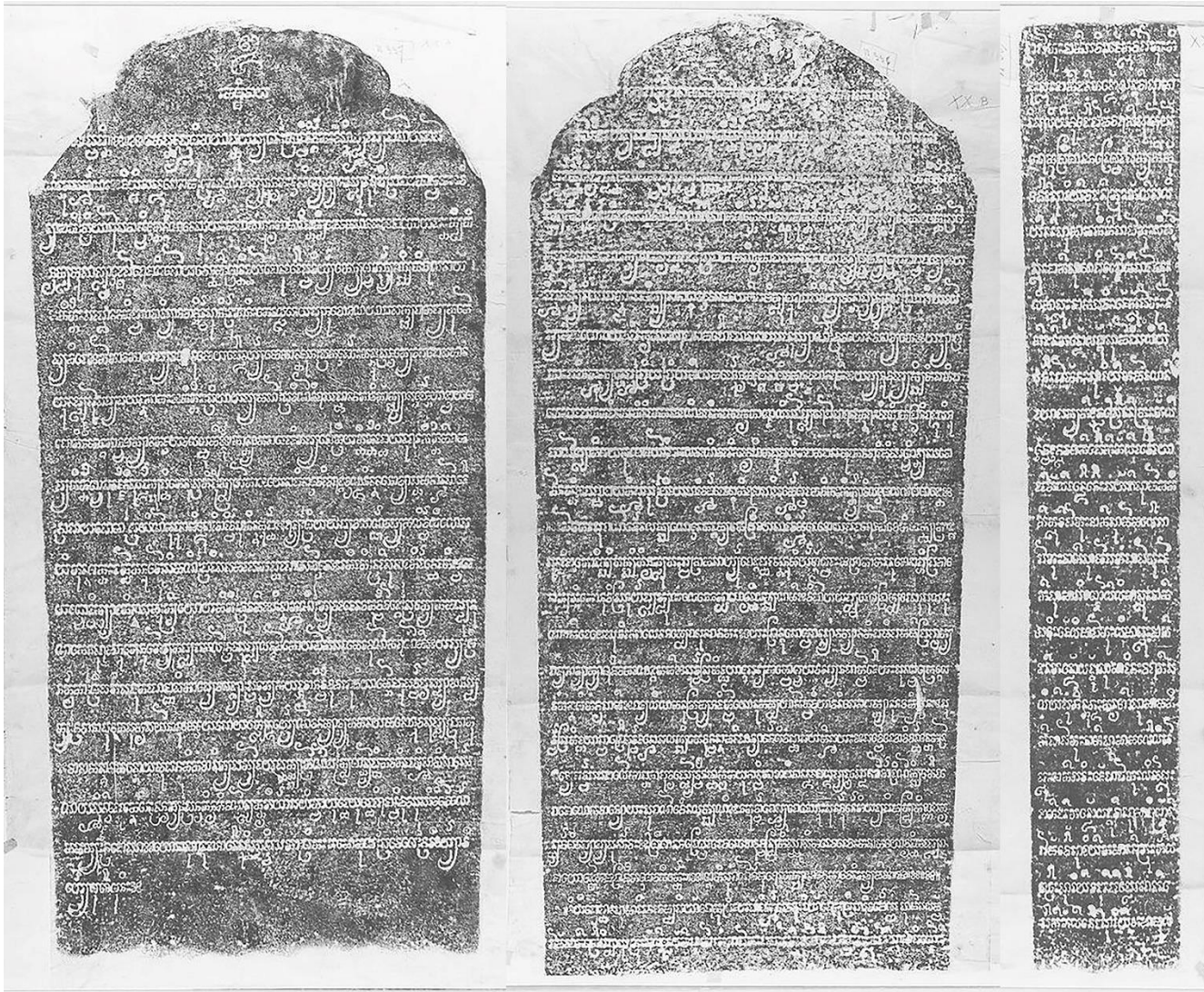
Present condition: G5 03MSG782

Description: The king Harivarman, possessed of supreme glory, installed the god Harivarmesvara. The god of gods Sri Isanabhadresvara, and the god of gods established on the Vugvan mountain, both will be enriched by that king who is a portion of myself longing for the glory of a Shiva.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 955-962; Finot 1915b: 46; Finot 1915d: 191; Parmentier 1909: 433; Majumdar 1927: 183-192; 74 Boisselier, 1963:421; Golzio 2004: 153-161.

Fig 2. 110: C. 100 M̃y Sơn





Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16913-1

Face B

Source: EFEO. CAM16912-1

Face C

Source: EFEO. CAM16912-2



### C. 101 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 101

Number on the map: 59

Origin: Mỹ Sơn G1 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on the three faces of a stele sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains respectively 20, 21 and 9 lines. The language is old Champa

Date: 12 century CE

The king: Jaya Harivarman I

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

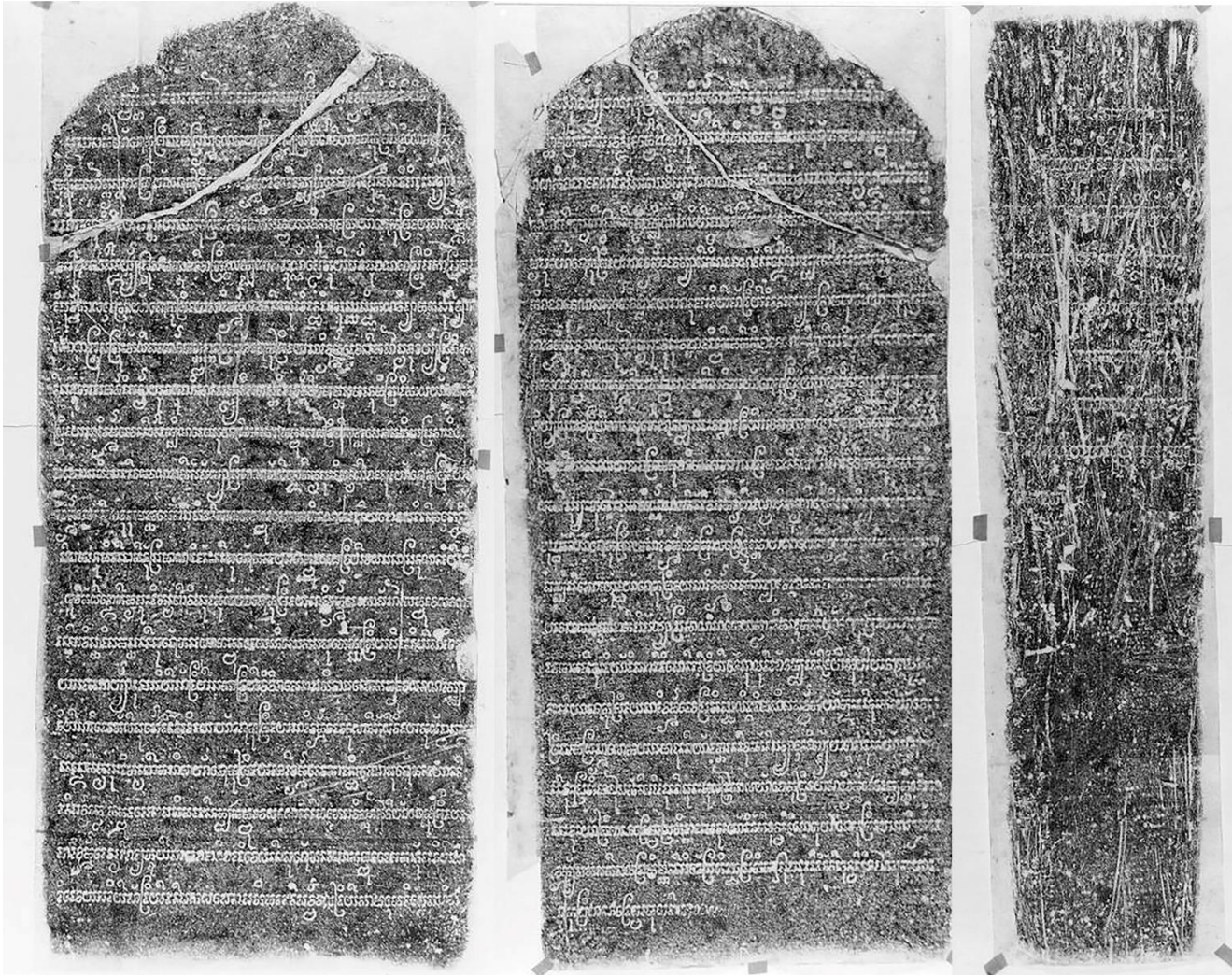
Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 6; LSb 21152

Description: The inscription gives an interesting account of the career of king Jaya Harivarmadeva and records the erection of a temple-tower and statues in honor of the god Sri Isanabhadresvara.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 963-966; Parmentier 1909: 433; Finot 1915a: 6; Majumdar 1927: 178-180; Golzio 2004: 166-168.

Fig 2. 111: C. 101 Mỹ Sơn



Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16988-1

Face B

EFEO. CAM16989-1

Face C

EFEO. CAM16988-2

### C. 140 Hương Quế

Inscription number: C. 140

Number on the map: 60

Origin: The inscription was found at Hương Quế to the west of Mỹ Sơn

Material: The inscription is engraved on two faces of a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains respectively 21 and 25 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 1033 Saka (1111 CE)

The king: Jaya Simhavarman

GPS Location: 15.78374N; 108.32099E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Hương Quế village, Quế Phú commune, Quế Sơn district

Map used for survey: N15E108

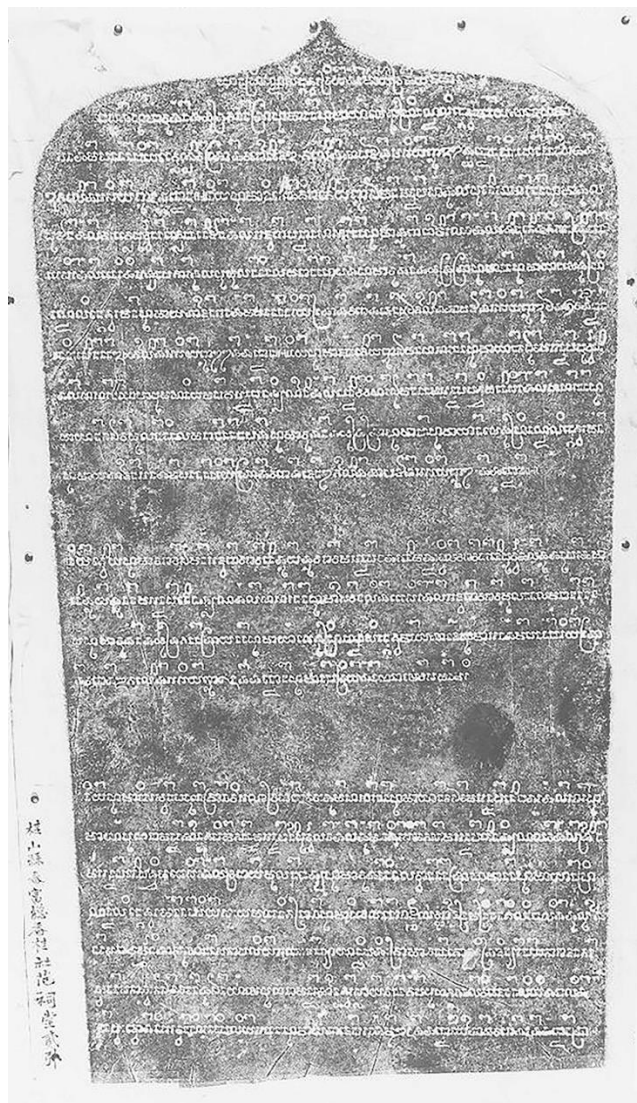
Present condition: at the Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng.

Description: The inscription records the donations of Pu Iyan Sri Jaya Simhavarman to Shiva temple-tower called Harinanda-ligeSvara.

Reference: Majumdar 1927: 175; Golzio 2004: 149

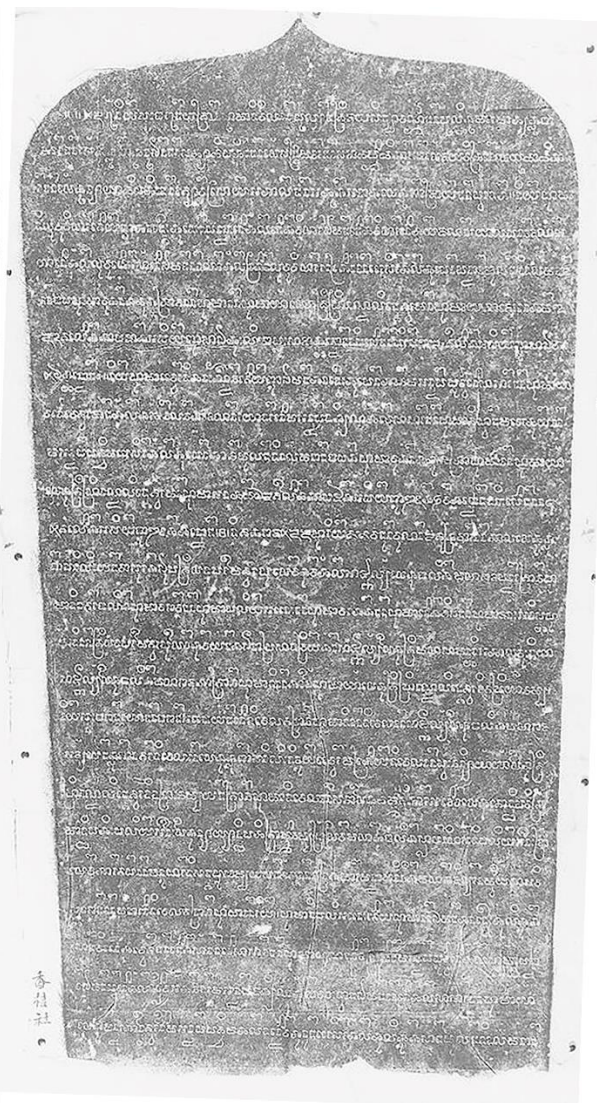
Fig 2. 112: C. 140 Hương Quế





Face A

Source: EFEO. CAM16886-1



Face B

EFEO. CAM16885-2



### C. 83 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 83

Number on the map: 61

Origin: Mỹ Sơn B1 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on an octagonal pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription has six faces of writing. Portion A contains 6 lines and is engraved on faces 1-3, portion B contains 13 lines (mostly illegible) on faces 4-6, portion C 10 lines on faces 5-6, portion D (completely illegible) contains 11 lines below portion A. The language is Champa.

Date: 1165 Saka (1243/1244 CE)

The king: Jaya Indravarman V

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: 03MSB180

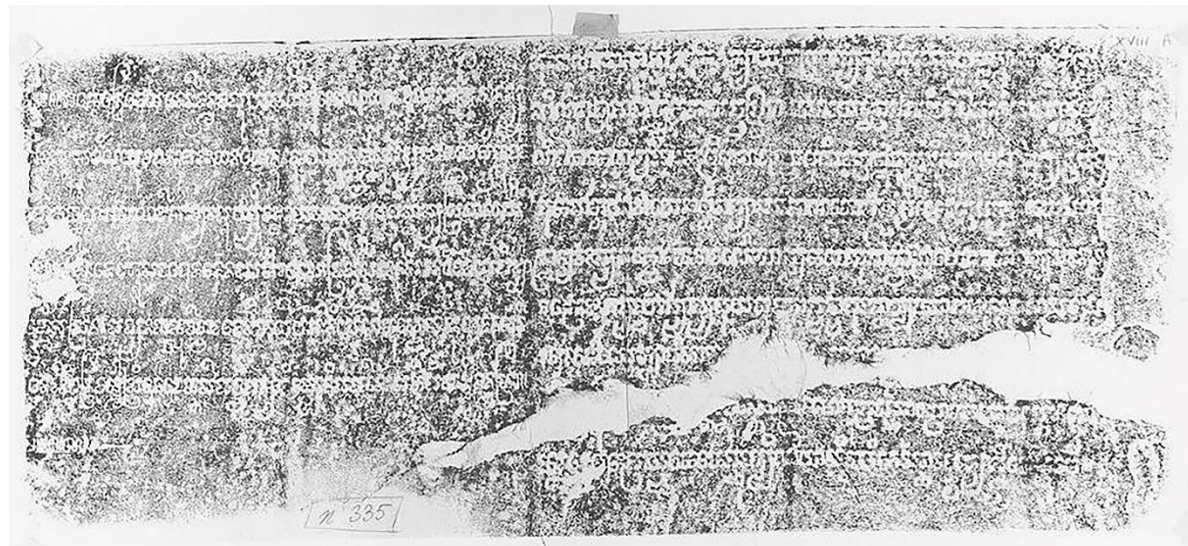
Description: The inscription records the donations of the king Jaya Indravarman to the god Sri ISanabhadreSvara, who is the origin of the kingdom of Champa.

Remarks: The inscription notes that the king Jaya Indravarmanre is prince Harideva, of Sakan-Vijaya grandson of His Majesty Jaya Harivarman, the great king of kings; son of His Majesty Jaya Harivarman, the great king; younger brother of His majesty ParameSvaravarman, the great king.

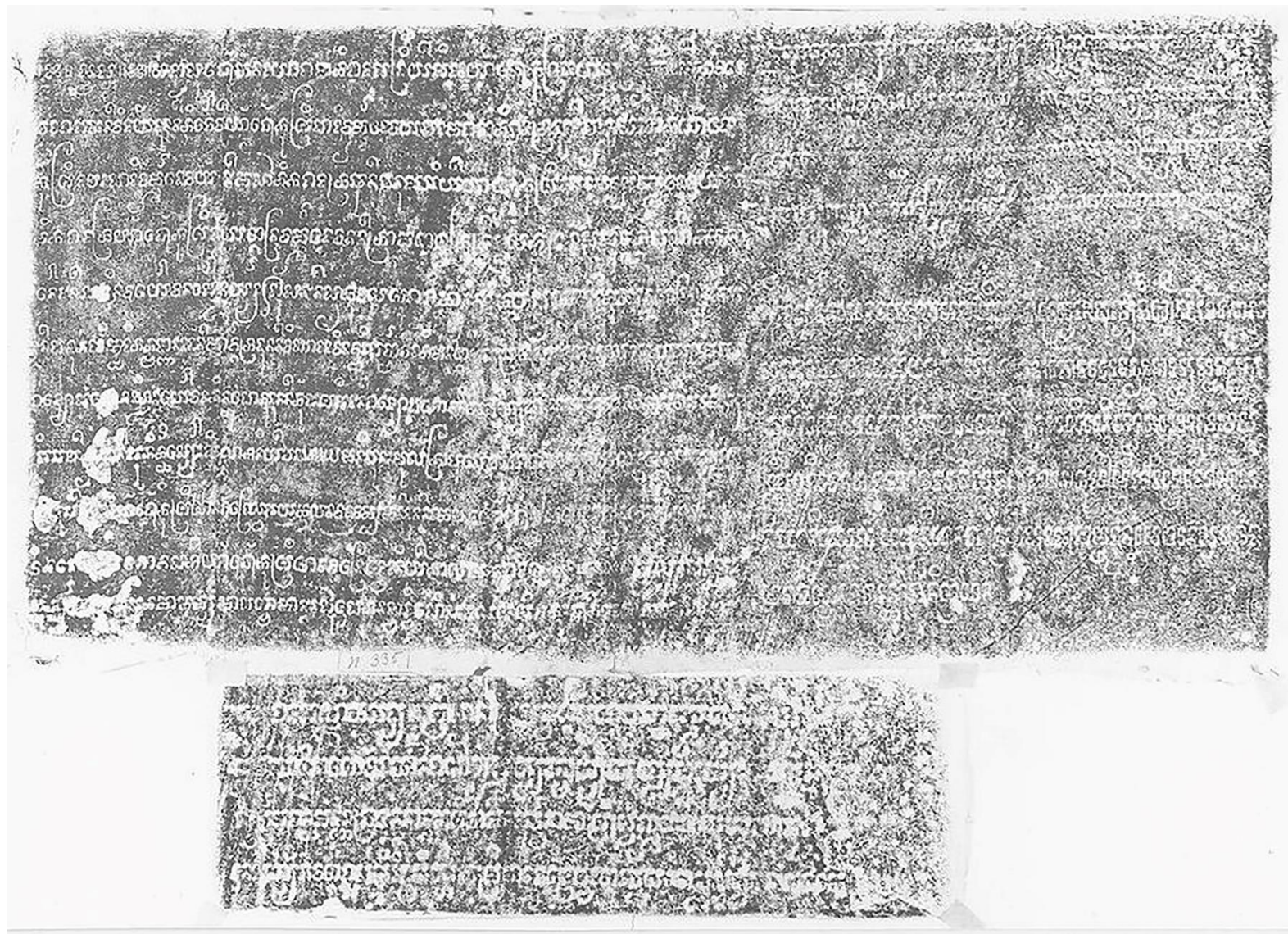
Reference: Finot 1904b: 952-954; Finot 1915b: 52 note 1; Parmentier 1909: 382; Majumdar 1927: 210-211; Golzio 2004: 184-186.

Fig 2. 113: C. 83 Mỹ Sơn

Source: Face A: EFEO. CAM16970-2







Face B&C: CAM16970-1



### C. 84B Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 84B

Number on the map: 62

Origin: Mỹ Sơn B1 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 10 lines of writing in Sanskrit. It is written thoroughly in verse.

Date: 13 century CE

The king: Jaya Indravarman V

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

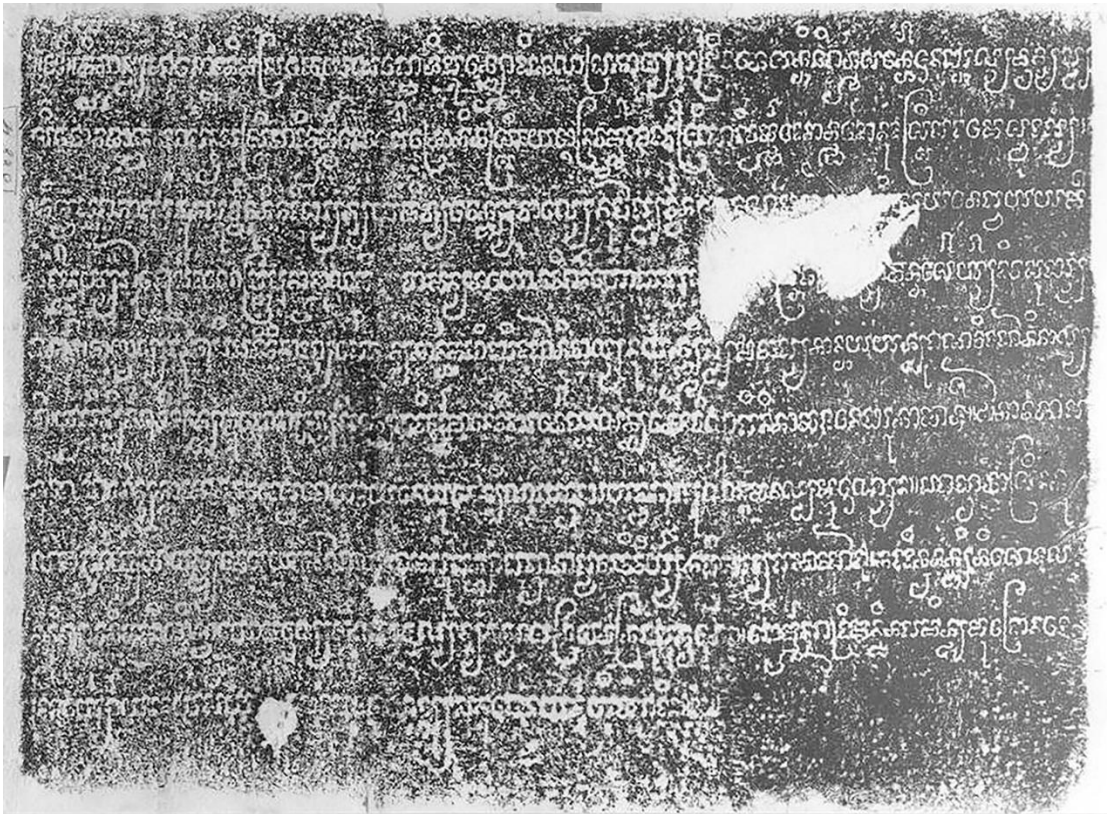
Present condition: the Mỹ Sơn site as the one bearing local inventory number 03MSD248

Description: The inscription refers to the king Sri Jaya Indravarman V, son of Sri ParameSvara and the grandson of Sri Harivarmadeva.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 966-969; Parmentier 1909: 382; Majumdar 1927: 211-213; Golzio 2004:

Fig 2. 114: C. 84B Mỹ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16992-2



### C. 86 Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 86

Number on the map: 63

Origin: Mỹ Sơn B1 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on one face of a pillar sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 10 lines on side A and 8 lines on side B of writing in old Champa

Date: 1156 Saka (1234/5 CE) and 1152 Saka (1230/1 CE)

The king: Jaya Paramesvaravarman II

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

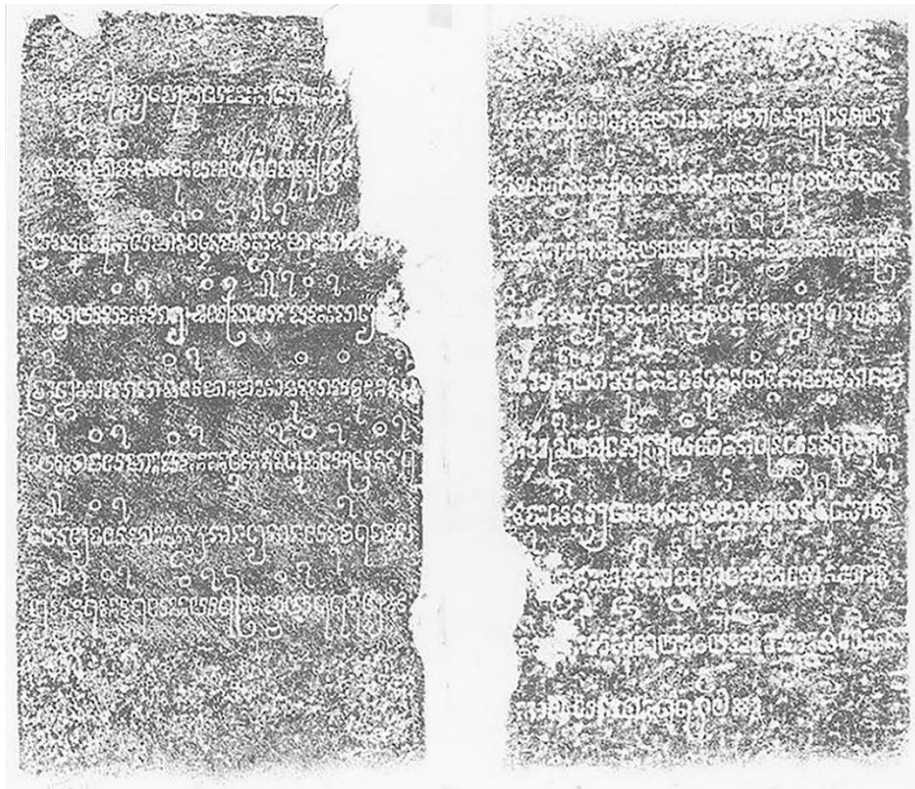
Present condition: 03MSD347 and 03MSB160

Description: The inscription records the religious foundations of the king Sri Paramesvaravarmadeva to IsanabhadreSvara

Reference: Finot 1904b: 976-977; Parmentier 1909: 382; Majumdar 1927: 207-209; Golzio 2004: 178-179

Fig 2. 115: C. 86 Mỹ Sơn

Source: EFEO. CAM16967





### C. 92B-C Mỹ Sơn

Inscription number: C. 92B-C

Number on the map: 64

Origin: Mỹ Sơn D3 temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a on two faces of the same pillar sandstone which contains

C. 92 A.

Text: The inscription contains 38 lines of writing besides the invocation. The language is Champa.

Date: 1125 Saka (1203 CE)

The king: Yuvarāja Managahna oh Dhanapati

GPS Location: 15.7626N; 108.1252E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Duy Phú commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: 03MSD318/Đ.318

Description: The inscription consists of two parts. The first refers to king Suryavarman, and the second to a Yuvaraja Managahna oh Dhanapati. But the two parts are written consecutively and from one single narrative: the fight against Cambodia. The inscription records the installation of an image of Shiva by the Yuvarāja.

Reference: Finot 1904b: 970-975; Parmentier 1909: 400; Majumdar 1927: 202-205; Jacques, 1974/75: 916; Jacques, 1975/76: 948-951; Golzio 2004: 174 - 176.

C. 215 Chiêm Sơn

Inscription number: C. 215

Number on the map: 65

Origin: Valley of Chiêm Sơn Tây (Quảng Nam).

Material: The inscription is engraved on back of the upper part of a broken sculptural stele of Shiva.

Text: The inscription contains 8 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: 1365 Saka (1443/1444 CE)

The king: Sri Srindra Visṇukirti Virabhadravarmadeva

GPS Location: 15.8251N; 108.1988E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Chiêm Sơn commune, Duy Xuyên district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: at the Museum of Champa Sculpture at Đà Nẵng.

Description: The inscription records the donations of the king Sri Srindra Visṇukirti Virabhadravarmadeva to Shiva. It notes that this king was the grandson of Sri Jaya Simhavarmadeva; the grandson of Paramesvari; the nephew of Sri Vṛsu Indravarmadeva, of supreme birth among the illustrious lords supreme princes. He was milord the heir apparent.

Reference: Trần Kỳ Phương & Nguyễn Văn Phú 1991: 220; Schweyer 2003: 18.

Fig 2. 116: C. 215 Chiêm Sơn

Source: EFEO. n2129



C. 63 Khương Mỹ

Inscription number: C. 63

Number on the map: 66

Origin: Khương Mỹ temple-tower

Material: The inscription is engraved on a stele sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 8 lines of writing in old Champa.

Date: unknown

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.5477N; 108.5059E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Tam Xuân 1 commune, Núi Thành district

Map used for survey: N15E108

Present condition: Hà Nội National Museum with inventory number B 2, 20; LSb 21161

Description: unknown

Reference: Griffiths (ed.) 2008-2009: 447

Fig 2. 117: C. 63 Khương Mỹ

Source: EFEO. CAM16910-2



C. 65 Hà Lam

Inscription number: C. 65

Number on the map: 67

Origin: Hà Lam temple-tower ruin

Material: The inscription is engraved on a Lingam sandstone.

Text: The inscription contains 01 line of writing in old Champa

Date: unknown

The king: unknown

GPS Location: 15.7382N; 108.3579E

Province/city: Quảng Nam province

Location: Hà Lam tow, Thăng Bình district

Map used for survey: N15E108

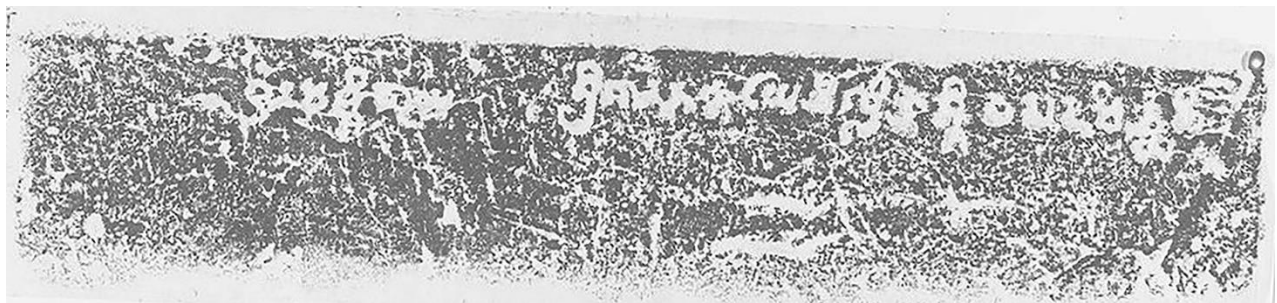
Present condition: unknown

Description: unknown

Reference:

Fig 2. 118: C. 65 Hà Lam

Source: EFEO. CAM16884-1





## **2.5. The characteristics of Champa site in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng**

### ***2.5.1. The distribution along the rivers for making the Champa polity model***

Compared to the northern provinces from Thừa Thiên Huế to Quảng Bình, the Champa temple-towers there are only ruined traces. The Champa temple-towers in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng which are still standing on the ground as five temple-tower complexes, including Mỹ Sơn, Đồng Dương, Bàng An, Chiên Đàn, Khương Mỹ. Most of them are the base of architectural ruins-a few artifacts which were scattered or reused in the architecture of the later periods. However, the remaining traces also show a dense distribution of Champa important temple-tower.

Based on the overview of Champa sites of Amaravati, I would like to apply the Bronson theoretical models to those sites aiming to interpret the regional structure of Amaravati.

An American archaeologist, Bronson systematized the model of economic exchanges between different communities in inland and coastal areas connected by a river, namely, the riverine exchange network model that Srivijaya kingdom on Sumatra (Indonesia) was supposed to have been a typical form (Fig 2. 119).

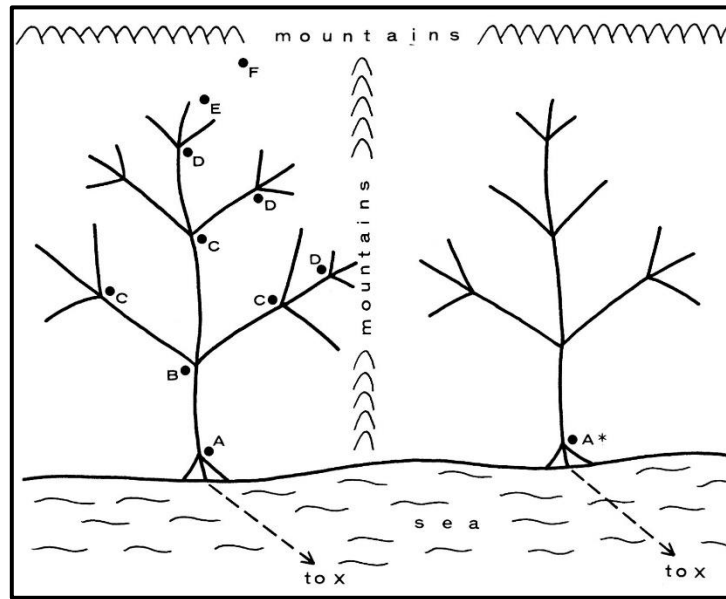


Fig 2. 119: Schematic diagram of inland to coastal trade based on Bronson (1977: fig 1)

According to this model, a riverine exchange system has a center of economy and trade in coastal area, usually located in an estuary. It is also a center for international maritime trade and the connection point to the neighborhood center. There are some upstream centers serving as the initial points to collect forestry products exploited by the residents in mountainous area far from the river. Then, the products are carried from a commercial center to another by river way (Bronson 1977: 39-52).

He points out key elements in this diagram as follows:

- “A” is a center near the river mouth, which controls the external and internal trade of a major river valley or drainage basin.

- “A\*” is another river-mouth center some distance away along the coast, controlling a hinterland similar to that of A”.

- “B” and “C” are centers located at primary and secondary river junctions and are the main distributors and suppliers of goods to and from A

- “D” are the most distant upstream centers to participate in the A-based system of market exchange and the initial concentration point for products originating in more remote parts of the watershed.

- “E” and “F” are the ultimate producers of these products and perhaps centers on a separate exchange system based on non-market institutions, involving goods only part of which come from or go to the marketized system centered on A (Bronson 1977: 39-52).

Based on previous studies and my reconnaissance works, in total 69 Champa sites have been recognized in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng. Based on the distribution map of Champa archaeological site, I have recognized 4 sub-regions of Amaravati along rivers (Fig 2. 9-11).

1. Cu Đê river group: there are Xuân Dương temple-tower ruin at the mound of the river; the traces of Champa bricks in Miếu Khe Răm and Hội Yên.

2. Hàn/Cầm Lệ river group: there are An Sơn, Thanh Khê, Hà Khê at the foot of Phước Tường mountain; and Gò Dùi, Cầm Mít, etc. in the upstream side relics; and in the middle, there are Phong Lệ, Quá Giáng, Ngũ Hành Sơn sites, and many other traces.

3. Thu Bồn river group: most of Champa site in Amaravati region located along the Thu Bồn river as Trà Kiệu, Mỹ Sơn, etc.

4. Tam Kỳ river/Trường Giang river group: there are Đồng Dương, An Thái, Bà Huỳnh. Most of them have related to the Buddhism religion. In my opinion, that region has a key role with the practice of Buddhism in the past.

Among them, almost Champa sites are located along the Thu Bồn river. Compared with Bronson model which explains the equal importance of riverine trade networks, the different level of importance is recognized in Amaravati. Thu Bồn river group seems much

more important than others river group. Thu Bồn river is the largest river in Amaravati. It is the main axis of the riverine exchange network, playing the role of the route to the Amaravati.

*If compared to Bronson model, the Đại Chiêm port can be considered as point A. Đại Chiêm commercial port located in the downstream area should have been a major economic center of Amaravati, and the gateway to the sea from the vast plain. It was thus the connection point between the sea and the continent and can be seen as one of the entrepôts along the coast of Champa.*

Along the Thu Bồn river basin, Amaravati can be divided into two sub-regions: *the downstream region and the upstream region (Western highland)*. The downstream region of the Thu Bồn river is the home of royal, political, economic and religious centers and a wide range of Hinduism temples-towers around the presence of the Trà Kiệu citadel, Đồng Dương citadel. *So, the Trà Kiệu citadel, Đồng Dương citadel should have played a role of “B” or “C” in Bronson model.*

As mentioned above, the terrain in central Vietnam has only narrow strip of coastal plains. Among these, the plain along the Thu Bồn river is rather large, and provided the economic basis for ancient Champa residents to live and build citadels and temples-towers. Surrounding the Trà Kiệu citadel not only the Trà Kiệu temple-tower but also some other temple-tower ruins such as Triền Tranh, Mĩ Sơn, etc are located. In Đồng Dương citadel's region, there is the An Thái, Bà Huỳnh, etc temple-tower ruin. This plain should have been the fertile land to supply food for residents of “mandala” Amaravati.

Going up to the Thu Bồn river upstream (central Vietnam highlands region), we also encounter Champa temples-towers, inscriptions and sculptures. The ruins of Yang Mum



temple-tower, Bang Keng temple-tower in Gia Lai province, Yang Prong in Đắk Lắk province, and the Buddha sculptures kept in the Gia Lai provincial museum show a historical period of the presence of Champa culture in this region. *These relics may reflect the location of “D”, or even “E” and “F” of Bronson model.*

Momoki has listed the types of trade goods in Champa: those originated from the highlands such as ivory 象牙, rhino horn 犀角, and aloes woods 沉香 are the essential goods for export (Momoki 1996: 43-48). These products should have been provided and transported by the communities along the upstream of the river.

Thus, the Bronson model of riverine exchange polity can be applied rather well to the Thu Bồn river basin. Thu Bồn river probably was the favorable trade waterway connecting the downstream commercial and economic centers to upstream communities producing trade goods in the mountainous or highland region. The river becomes an important trade route to create the vitality of this region. The riverine exchange system of Amaravati certainly had close relationships with other riverine networks (initially, the points A\*).

The riverine system of Amaravati region certainly had close relationships with other networks (the points A\*) as Kon riverine network of Vijaya region (Bình Định province), and the network along the Cái river in Paduranga region (Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận province).

Also, most of the temple-towers in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng were built on hills such as Phong Lệ, Cẩm Mít, An Sơn, etc. The presence of the temple-towers on a rather high hilltop increases majestic grandeur for every architecture. It also reflects the complete awareness of symbols and religious significance. The locations of temples-towers should be high, bearing the symbol of the Meru Mountain of Hindu cosmology. More importantly, the temple-towers

were built near the river, which was considered to be “mother of living resources” (Trần Kỳ Phương, Shigeeda 2002: 41-52).

In terms of correlation with the topography of mountains, rivers, and seas, the distribution of Champa temple-towers in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng is matched with Champa polity model-Amaravati. This model is proposed by Trần Quốc Vượng who is a Vietnamese historian and archaeologist. He realized the importance of axis of polity, consisting of a seaport, a citadel, and holy land with the sacred mountain(s), all located along a river (Fig 2. 119) (Trần Quốc Vượng 1988).

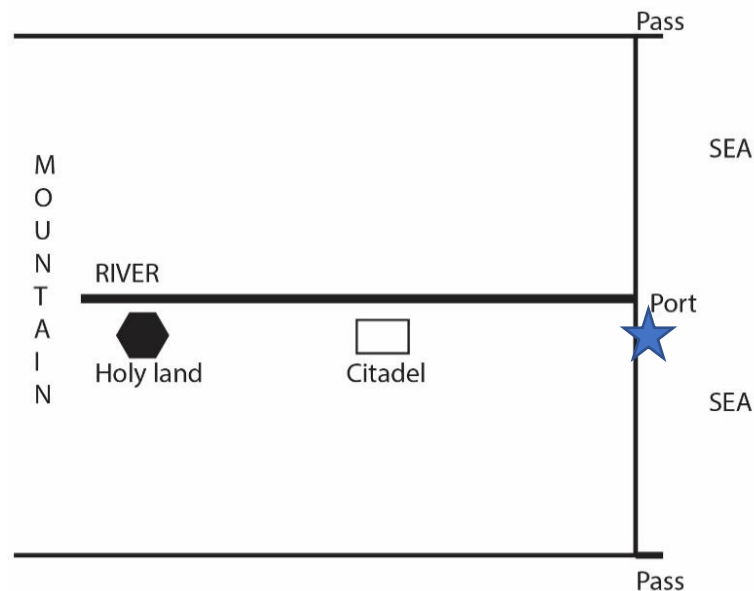


Fig 2. 120: Champa polity model by Trần Quốc Vượng

Taking the idea of a Hinduism emirate into account, he assumed that each “mandala” of Champa consisted of five elements of “Feng Shui” such as:

1. The sacred Mountain: symbolizing Shiva God
2. The sacred River: symbolizing the goddess Ganga, Shiva God's wife
3. The Port-market: exchange goods, economic center

4. The sacred City/Citadel: the residence of king and the royal family, the center of kingship

5. The Holy Land: worship gods and ancestors, the religious center

He mentions that current each province in central Viet Nam has a major river, being the characteristics of the terrain. In central Vietnam, the nature of fragmented geography has decided on the nature of cultural segments. Each terrain seems like a small box with a large river basin. In the history of Champa, each major river basin should have developed a polity (Trần Quốc Vượng 1988).

When applying this model to explain the Champa polity along the Thu Bồn river, Quảng Nam province. The river connects the ethnic minority groups in the central highland of Việt Nam with Đại Chiêm port near the river mouth and Cù Lao Chàm island off the coast. The Thu Bồn river basin seems to have been a polity with full elements described above (1~5). On the other hand, the other river basins are not clear as Thu Bồn. There are some reasons which can explain this status. For example, Amaravati seems to have developed earlier than other regions, as the excavations of the Trà Kiệu citadel, the capital of early Champa, have revealed (Yamagata 2007, 2011). Also, the initial Indian standards appeared in Amaravati early, as the inscription of King Bhadravarman attributed to the 5th century AD was erected in Mỹ Sơn, the World heritage site located along the Thu Bồn river valley. Thus, Trần Quốc Vượng established his model initially based on Amaravati (Fig 2. 120).

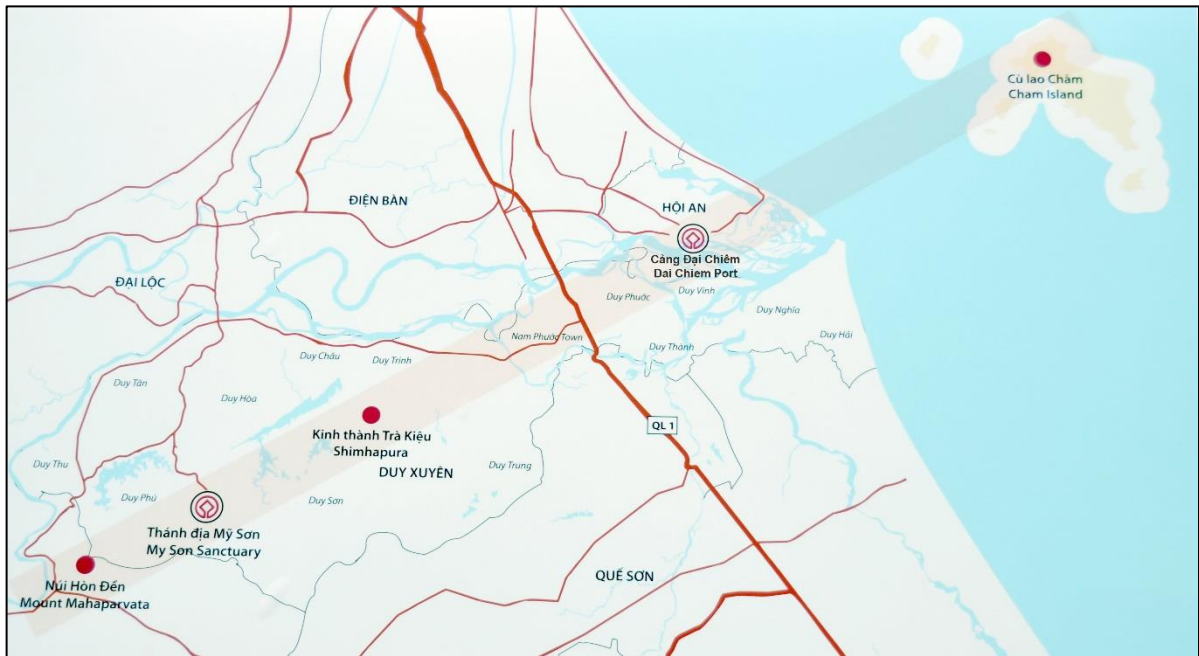


Fig 2. 121: Amaravati model made by Mỹ Sơn site museum based on Trần Quốc Vượng

Source: (Mỹ Sơn site museum)

### 2.5.2. Chronological framework of Champa temple-tower in Quảng Nam-Đà Nẵng

Quảng Nam-Đà Nẵng region was the capital of the Champa kingdom. They built the capital as the center of politics, economy, and religion of the kingdom. Nowadays, these Champa cultural sites are an integral part, belonging to the overall culture of Vietnamese people. The Champa temple-tower discussed and referred by architects and art historians as Parmentier (1909, 1918) to Stern (1942), then Boisselier (1963).

Champa sites discovered in Quảng Nam-Đà Nẵng has the date continuously from the 3rd century to 13th century, including both Hindu and Buddhism, showing that this area has been prosperously developed, having had monks large temple-towers and monasteries, especially epitaphs that reflect the presence of aristocracy, dignitaries who are capable of



diplomacy as well as religion in the resident community. All shows that Quảng Nam-Đà Nẵng's seaport has been exploited and has an important position for Champa in trade relations with other territories.

Based on the table of Champa inscription in Amaravati religion, I made the map show the change of Champa inscription's number through the century to century. Maspero proposed the established narrative of Champa history in 1928, which influenced nearly all Champa studies until relatively recent time. Maspero's "Le royaume de Champa" which remains as a standard work and the most detailed study regarding to the history of Champa from the beginning to the invasion of Vietnamese Lê Hoàn in 972 CE. After that, the year of 1000 CE when Cham people moved the capital from Amaravati to Vijaya (Bình Định province), it marked the end of Indianized Champa in Amaravati polity in central Vietnam (Maspero 1928).

The map shows, in the 11th century to the 13th century, we still found the Champa inscription in the Amaravati area. It certifies that the Maspero's theory needs to be reexamined. The Champa inscription collection in Amaravati from the 11th century to the 13th century, provided the data for supporting that this area has developed after the change of kingdom? to Vijaya in the early 11th century (Fig 2. 121-125). Besides that, a larger number of Champa temple-tower dated in the 11th century to the 13th century in Amaravati as Phong Lệ, Cẩm Mít (Đà Nẵng), Linh Thái (Thừa Thiên Huế), etc. also supported this idea.



Fig 2. 122: The location of Champa inscription in 9th century

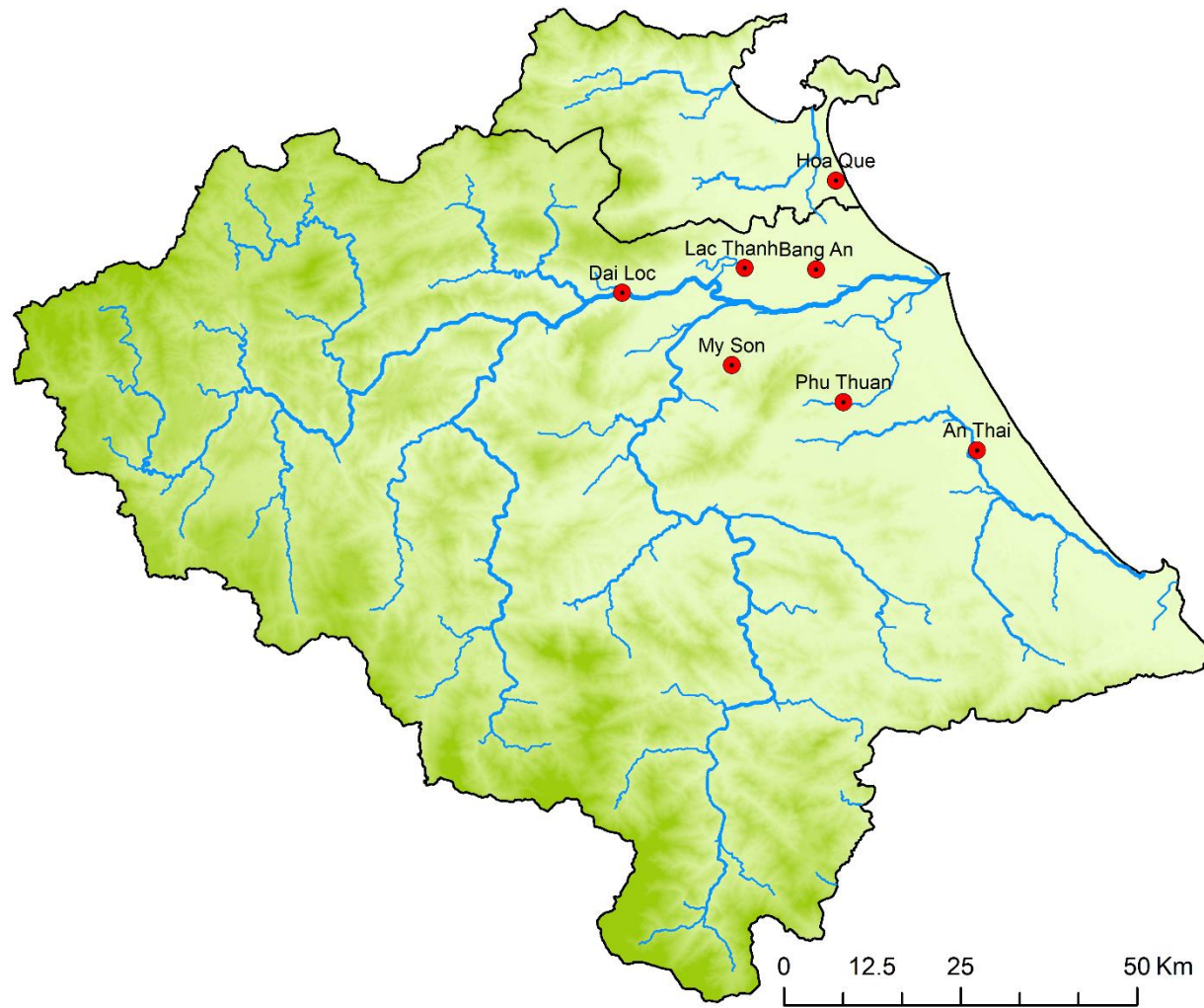


Fig 2. 123: The location of Champa inscription in 10th century

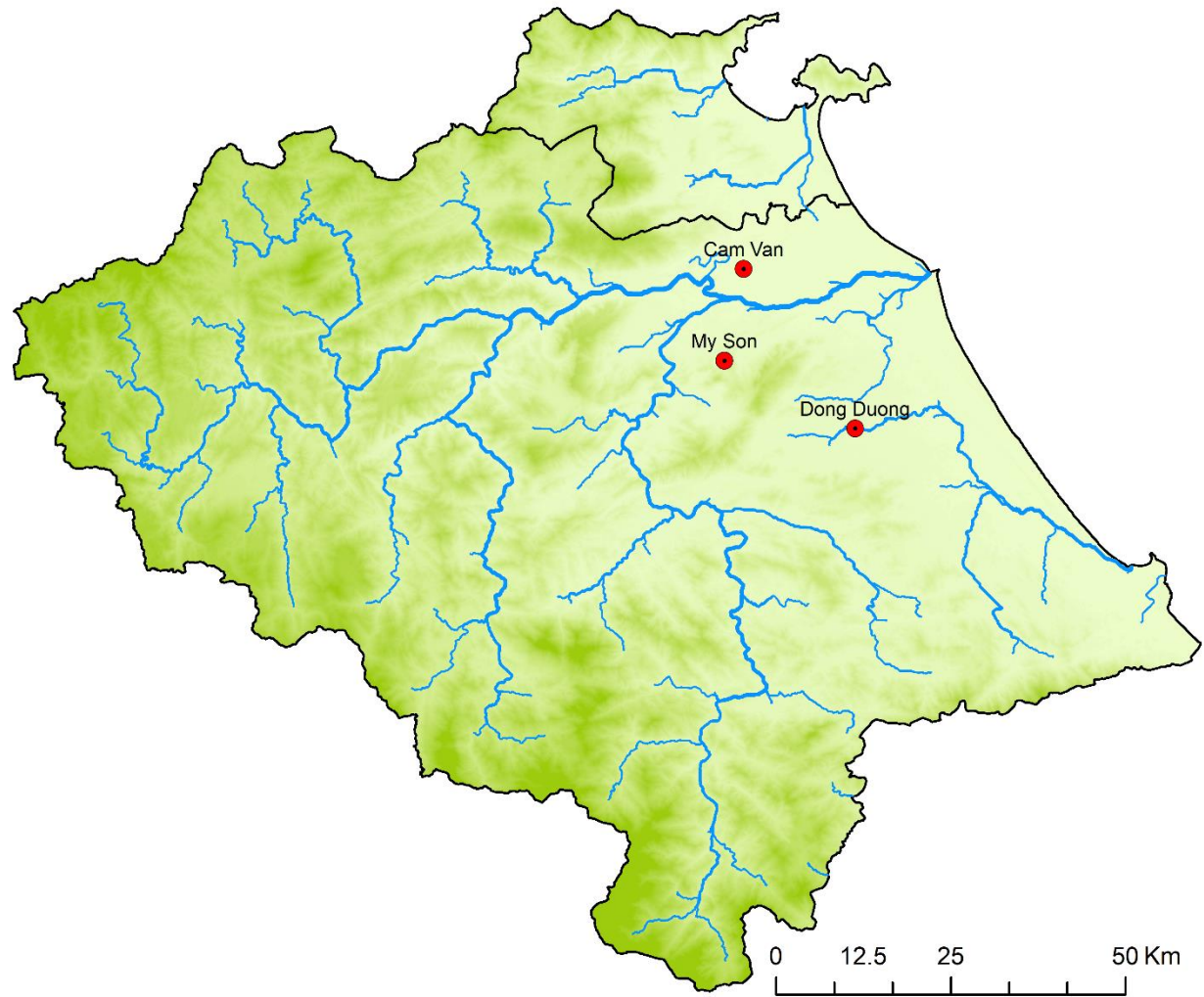


Fig 2. 124: The location of Champa inscription in 11th century



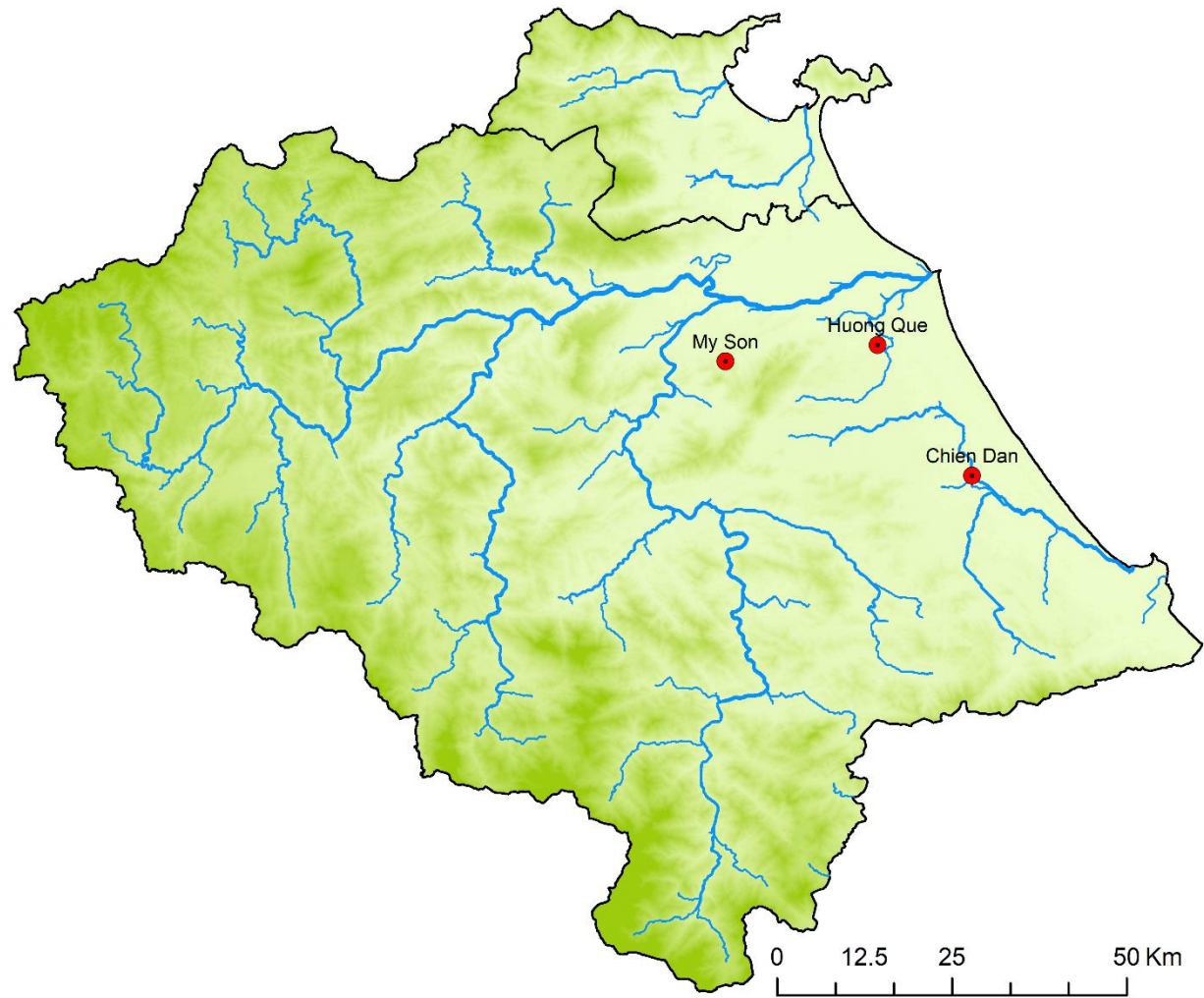


Fig 2. 125: The location of Champa inscription in 12th century



Fig 2. 126: The location of Champa inscription in 13th century

## CHAPTER III: HINDU PHONG LỆ TEMPLE-TOWER IN ĐÀ NẴNG

### 3.1. The research history

Champa Phong Lệ ruin is a crucial temple-tower, which is located at group 4, Hòa Thọ Đông ward, Cẩm Lệ district, Đà Nẵng city (Fig 3. 1). The geographical coordinate is  $16^{\circ}00'08''$  North latitude and  $108^{\circ}11'55''$  East longitude. Since more than 100 years ago, Paris (1892: 137-144) was the owner of Phong Lệ plantation who collected some stone sculptures and brought them to Tourane Park (central Đà Nẵng city nowadays) (Fig 3. 1a). Later, these sculptures were put on display in the Parmentier Museum (Đà Nẵng Museum of Champa Sculpture). The collection of Phong Lệ sculptures were described in detail by Parmentier (1918: 176) (Fig 3. 1b). Since then, Phong Lệ archaeological site was abandoned, trees grew densely and luxuriantly (Fig. 3.2-.3)



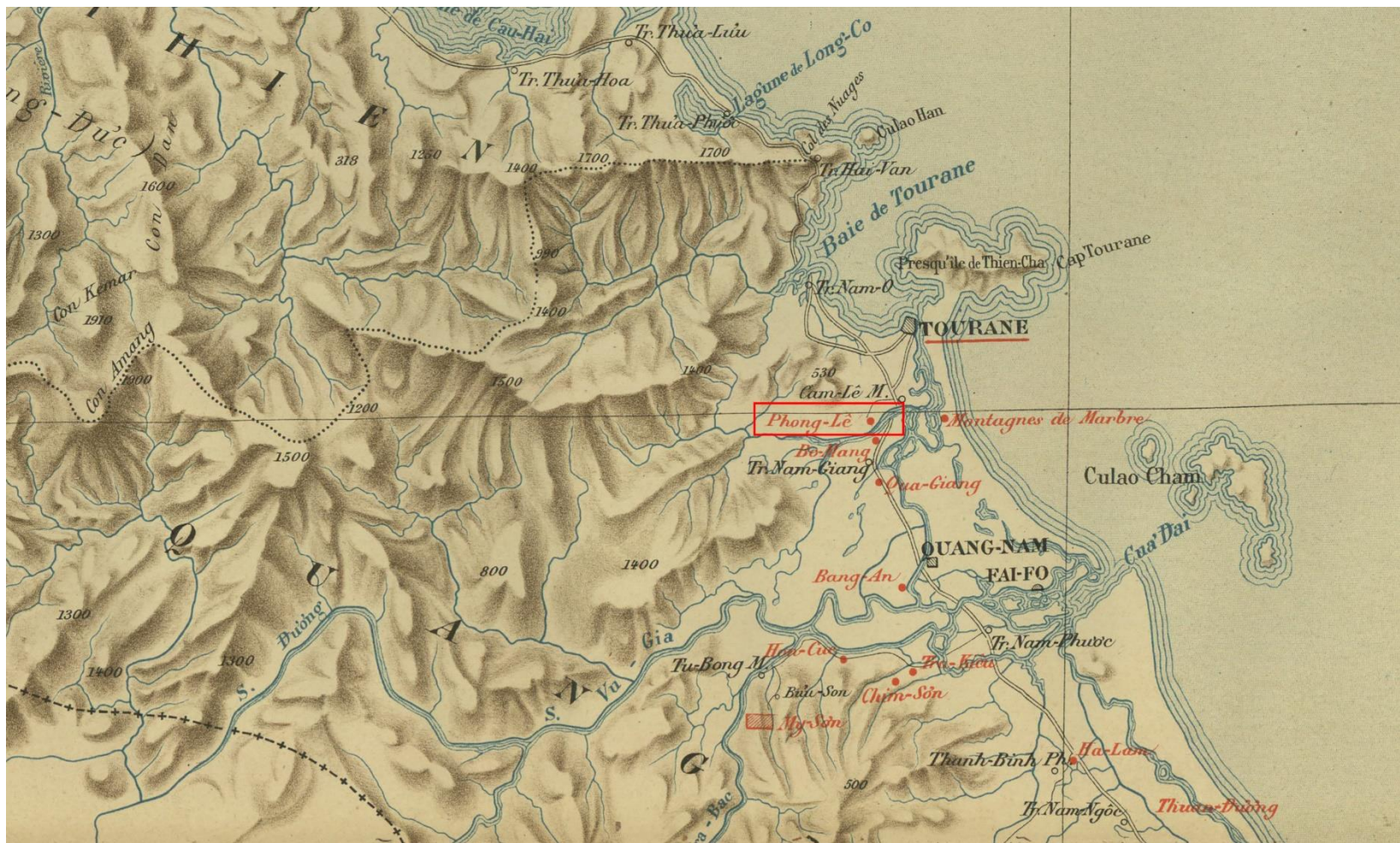


Fig 3. 1a: The location map of Phong Lê site

Source: (Lunet de Lajonquière 1901)





Fig 3. 1b: The location map of Phong Lê site. Source: (Parmentier 1909: planche CXII)





Fig 3. 2: The location of Phong Lê ruin

After the end of Việt Nam war in 1975, the Local Agricultural Cooperative partially leveled the relics to be a ranch. Several households gradually came to settle there but were unaware of a historic temple-tower underground for a long time. Therefore, the Phong Lệ site was heavily abused (Fig 3. 3).



Fig 3. 3: The situation of Phong Lệ ruin before excavation

In March 2011, while digging foundations for the construction of house, three stone sculptures, and an ancient brick wall were revealed. According to the Law of Việt Nam State Heritage, Archaeological team was soon established by the Đà Nẵng Museum of Champa Sculpture. They urgently excavated with a total area of 206m<sup>2</sup>. This excavation revealed large-scale Champa architectural ruins and collected lots of valuable materials to serve the Museum's exhibition and scientific research.

In July-August 2012, Đà Nẵng Museum of Champa Sculpture continued the second excavation of Phong Lệ site with a total area of 275.5 m<sup>2</sup>. Excavations revealed almost the



entire scale and structure of a large Champa temple-tower. Particularly, for the first time, a “sacred depot” was excavated with a composition different from relics which had been already known.

Through these excavations, the results show that this is a Champa temple-tower with valuable architecture (Fig 3. 4).



Fig 3. 4: The location of the excavation pits of the three-year project

Based on the results of these excavations, on September 12th, 2013, Đà Nẵng People's Committee issued Decision No.6314/QĐ-UBND approving on the plan of protection boundary of Phong Lê archaeological site. On November 1st, 2017 People's Committee of Đà



Nãng city also issued Decision No.6236/QĐ-UBND supporting on the archaeological scheme and promoting the value of Champa Phong Lê site.

To provide scientific support for the project of restoration, renovation and promotion of the value of Phong Lê site, Đà Nẵng Museum of Champa Sculpture collaborating with the archaeologist team from Hà Nội National University conducted the third archaeological excavations of Phong Lê site according to Decision No.2100/QĐ-BVHTTDL dated on 6<sup>th</sup> June 2018. The author joined as main number of the team from June to September 2018.

The excavation pit of 2018 was laid in the Northeast of the two architectural sites that emerged during the 2011-2012 excavation to confirm to the architectural monument structure that revealed a part in the year 2011.

### **3. 2. The archaeological excavation results**

#### **3.2.1. Stratigraphy**

We conducted the construction of a geodetic system density filled at the site of Phong Lê. The X-axis has the direction of 340° Northwest, Y-axis of the grid parallel to and close to the central axis of the monument. The landmark (0;0) has located at the high mound between the two excavation areas in 2011 and 2012. The coordinates X-0, Y-3 has coincided with the archaeological landmark built in the 2012 excavation. The height of this landmark is 1.755cm above sea level.

Based on the standard axis system, with the help of a total electronic station, the geodesic grid of the monument was built with a density of 3 x 3m each. Each grid point is given a symbol. In the X-axis direction, the cells are denoted by A, B, C, etc.. In the course of the Y-axis, the cells are indicated by 1, 2, 3, etc.. The grid symbol includes the zoning symbol and the position of the grid at that area. From the landmark (0; 0) the cells of the X-axis to the North and the Y-axis to the East are positive values (+), the cells of the X-axis to the South and the Y-axis to the West have negative values (-).

The transition of stratigraphy in the excavation pit is different in two areas with the East-West separation point being the TB02 wall. In the west, the area with the cultural layer is located just below the surface layer. Activities of ground leveling, construction, and living has deeply damaged the cultural layer. In the east, the stratigraphy is heavily disturbed by digging to get bricks, specific developments of levels are as follows:

- 1st layer: 0-0.5m depth from the ground surface is a disturbed soil layer, dark gray, many modern architectural foundations.

- 2nd layer: 0.5m-1.5m depth is the pile of construction materials for temple-towers and part of brick architecture foundation.

- + From Y3 axis to Y13 axis with a depth of about 0.5m, there are traces of surface treatment and ancient architectural. In all cells, BB4, BC4, BF3 and parts of cells BC5, BB5, BC3, BB3, BD4 are compacted clay with broken bricks, reddish-brown, very hard. In the remaining plots are mud mixed with sand. When it first appears, it is very soft; after drying, it becomes harder.

+ From Y13 axis to the East is a pile of construction materials with a reddish-brown color, mainly bricks are not intact. In place of cells BC6, BC7, BD7, BD6 are the places where most of the artifacts are discovered in this excavation with many sculpted bricks, stone artifacts, ceramic pieces.

-3rd layer: the depth of 1.5m-1.7m is sandy clay layer, light yellow color, quite smooth with weathered soil from reddish-brown laterite or iron oxide, which is the soil layer.

Through the stratigraphic structure, Phong Lê temple-tower site is built on a mound, with a higher terrain than the surrounding area. The central part of the hill is the home of kalan architecture with a “sacred depot” structure excavated in 2012 (Fig 3. 5).



Fig 3. 5: Aerial photo of the Phong Lê's center part

### ***3.2.2. The plan of architectural remains***

To facilitate the classification and description of architectural monuments that have emerged from excavations in 2011 and 2012 to the excavation in 2018, we have used the architecture notation to describe architectural monuments and the surrounding wall. Details are as follows (Fig 3. 5-6):

KT01: the ruin of an architectural structure with a “sacred depot” revealed in 2012 that the excavators called the main temple-tower;

KT02: the site of the architectural base revealed in 2011 that those who excavated the temple-tower called Gate;

KT03: other architectural structure.

TB01: Brick wall traces in the south of KT01.

TB02: Brick wall traces in the north of KT01.

The trace of KT04 structure on the East side of the Gate's architecture is a suggestion of a tile-use building, possibly a longhouse (Mandapa) as it was discovered in some Champa temple-towers.

The third excavation of the Phong Lê site in 2018 has achieved some of the following.

Phong Lê is capable of being planned with different levels of foundation. A main temple-tower at the highest central level, surrounded by a system of walls. The discovery location and vestiges of roof tiles and ceramics indicate that it could be a long-term structure in front of the Gate temple-tower.

The third excavation in 2018 clarified the site of KT02 architecture which has exposed the TB02 wall in the North of KT02, thus help to realize the nature of the South wall of TB01 revealed in the excavation pit in 2011. The identification of the North wall of the KT02



architecture further clarifies the nature of the assumption that the KT02 is the Gateway architecture found in the excavation pit in 2012.

The work has revealed a part of KT03's foundation traces that allowed the prediction of the scale and the scope of the wall in the Northeast and North corners of the temple-tower, and at the same time, it seemed that at the inside corner of the wall bags have some architecture. It may be a remnant of a KT01 (Kalan) ancillary structure like the auxiliary temple-tower (other Kalan) or Fire temple-tower (Kosagrha).

Architectural traces have appeared, especially structures that are relatively intact on the east side of the walls, such as the front yard of KT02, grade level, the outer surface of the architectural foundation, and stratigraphic changes. The structure of the architectural foundation on the west side of the wall, it shows that the structure of the building has a difference between the east and the west of the wall, whereby the east side of the wall is the lower level (about 100cm more) than the western part of the wall.

In terms of construction techniques, the foundation has been emphasized with reinforced layers using clay mixed with bricks and pebble layers combined with yellowish sand. The architectural foundation can be constructed using a short grinding method, using Phong Lê resin as a binder, but the trace is black markings. The pillar of the wall, especially in areas BB6, BC6, BC7 where found many bricks still sticking together with decorative patterns, showing that these are carefully treated locations.

Decorative sculptures, lavish stone decorations include many animal statues such as lions and elephants; fringe decoration like snake gods, fire ears, head of god bird statue; top of the temple-tower. Especially the motifs decorated with bricks with motifs of curved leaves, curled up at the ends, deeply grooved leaves associated with Khương Mỹ style (10th century) in the history of Champa temple-tower.



Fig 3. 6: The plan of Phong Lê architecture remains

Note:

KT01: Main temple-tower

KT02: Gate temple-tower

KT03: Another temple-tower

KT04: Mandapa

TB01-TB02: The wall

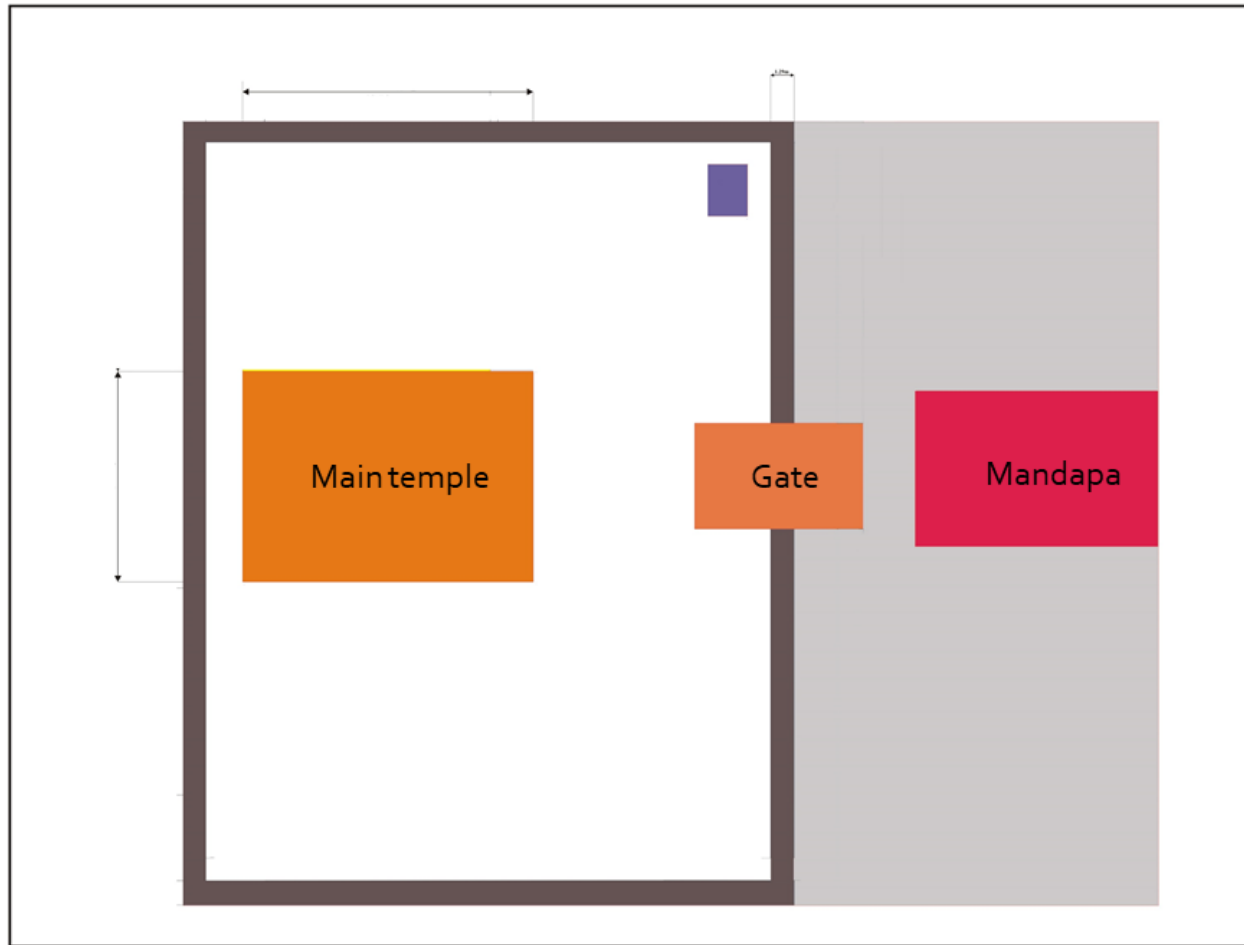


Fig 3. 7: The structure of Hindu Phong Lệ temple-tower complex

Architectural relic site revealed during the excavation in 2018 is calculated from KT03 and TB02 onwards. At this excavation, we also set the focus of the study to determine the scale and structure of the KT02 ruins and the relationship with the surrounding area. Excavation results aside from the main task set out to clarify KT02 architecture and detect relics TB02, KT03 and KT04 (Fig 3. 6-7).

-Phong Lê KT02: during the excavation in 2011 and 2012, a part of the ground level has been revealed. In this third excavation, we further clarify the northern part of the monument which helps clarify the eastern half of the architecture. Accordingly, the relic sites of Phong Lê KT02 are located in areas with coordinates X-3 to X9 and Y3 to Y21 (Fig 3. 9). KT02 architecture is parallel and coaxial with KT01. KT02 is identified by stone traces, brick foundation, architectural spaces in the heart and around the east. There is much architectural decoration of sandstone and decorative patterned bricks, both sides north to the south with wall TB01 and TB02. Based on the location of KT02 compared to KT01 ruins and traces of two walls TB01, TB02; I concur with the excavators 1-2 times, determine KT02 ruins as the architecture of Gate (Gopura) temple-tower. The mark that appears this time shows that KT02 consisted of two (Torana) and the main hall (Garbhagrha). The remaining traces show that KT02 has the same structure of structure as the Gate architecture in Mỹ Sơn such as A8, B2, C2, E2, F2, Chiên Đàn (Quảng Nam), Chánh Lộ (Quảng Ngãi) (Fig 3. 8-10).





Fig 3. 8: The remain of KT02-The Gate temple-tower



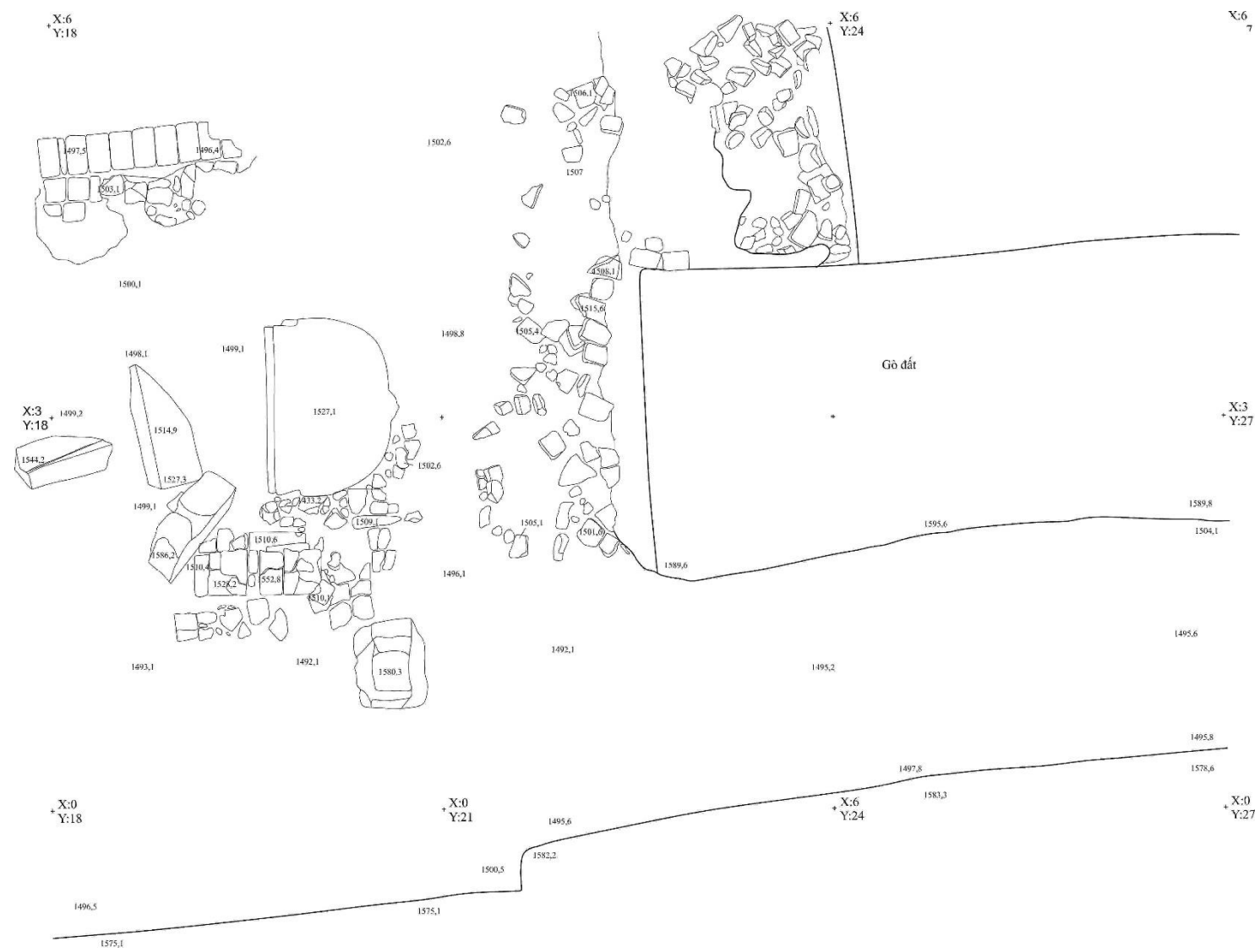


Fig 3. 10: The drawing of the KT02 entrance-The Gate temple-tower

-Phong Lê KT03: in the Northwest corner of the excavation pit and located in the area with coordinates X12 to X15 and Y6 to Y9 were the foundation of an architectural ground with a reddish-brown compacted soil combined with rubble. The area of the river soil is 4.20m long and North to South and 3.90m wide in the East and West and continuing to move beyond the excavation area. In the middle of the lagoon soil, there is sandy soil with white, gray color with a length of 1.85m, a width of 1.0m and continuing to change to the two sides of the excavation pit (Fig 3. 11).



Fig 3. 11: The picture of KT03: another temple-tower



-Phong Lê KT04: in the southwest of the excavation pit and located in the area with coordinates X0 to X3 and Y24 to Y27, the distance of steps of Phong Lê KT02 is about 5.6m follow X3 axis to the east (Fig 3. 12-13). The new trace of this relic is a brick foundation about 80cm long and about 1.41m wide; at most, there are still six layers of bricks stacked into walls. Around this area, many pieces of roof-tile, and ceramic pieces of Song period were found. The discovery location and vestiges of roof tiles and ceramics indicate that KT04 could be a longhouse (mandapa) in front of the Gate temple-tower.

In Champa temple-tower architecture, besides the main temple-tower (kalan), there are always auxiliary buildings such as longhouse (mandapa), Fire temple-tower (Kosagrha), stele temple-tower, etc. The longhouse (mandapa) is roofed with tile and is it that the trace of KT04 is the foundation of a longhouse used for tranquility, prayer, preparation of offerings for the offering at the main temple-tower. Similar plan have been discovered in Mỹ Sơn A9, Mỹ Sơn D1, Mỹ Sơn D2, Mỹ Sơn E3; Chiên Đàn, etc.



Fig 3. 12: The picture of KT04: Mandapa

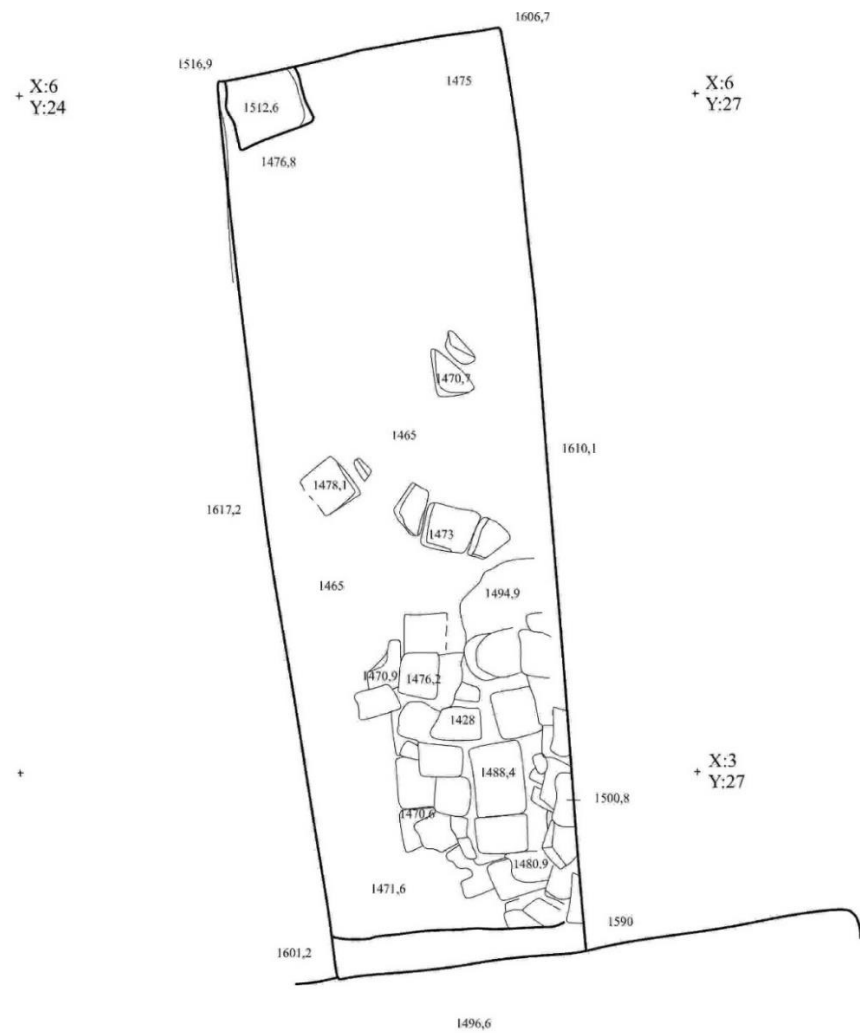


Fig 3. 13: The drawing of KT04-The long house

-Phong Lê TB02: Remnants of brick walls located in areas with coordinates X9 to X18 and Y9 to Y12. This wall runs along Y12 to the North, to the Northern edge of the excavation pit. The remaining height of the brick wall has the same elevation as the red soil of KT02 and higher than the surrounding area. This brick wall is connected from the Northern edge of the KT02 Gate architecture and extends North. In the architectural planning of Champa temple-tower, on the two North to the South of the gate architecture, there is a system of enclosed walls (Antarmandala) surrounding the relic area to distinguish the architecture of the internal temple-tower with the outer space and at the same time, distinguishes between the main temple-tower and the civil space, which is the limit of the spiritual world and real-life (Fig 3. 14-15).





Fig 3. 14: The picture of TB02: the wall of temple-tower



Fig 3. 15: The drawing of TB02: the wall of temple-tower

### ***3.2.3 The collection of artifact***

The relic items discovered include the following types: bricks and tiles and architectural decorations with sandstone, Champa coarse pottery, ceramics of the Song Dynasty of China (Table 4).

STT	Museum number	Excavation Number	The type	Material	Length	Wide	Diameter	Store
1	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB6.19	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S8	Fragment	Ceramic				
2	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.7	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S7	Fragment	Ceramic				
3	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.40	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S12	Fragment	Ceramic				
4	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB6.13	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S5	Fragment	Ceramic				
5	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.11	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S6	Fragment	Ceramic				
6	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.28	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S10	Fragment	Ceramic				
7	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.23	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S9	Fragment	Ceramic				
8	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.32	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S11	Fragment	Ceramic				
9	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.21	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S1	Fragment	Ceramic				
10	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.29	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S2	Fragment	Ceramic				
11	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.34	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S3	Fragment	Ceramic				
12	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.37	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.S4	Fragment	Ceramic				
13	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.8	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.DA13	The base	Sand stone				
14	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.30	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.DA27	Naga snake statue	Sand stone				
15	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.27	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.DA19	Naga snake statue	Sand stone				
16	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.2	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.DA2	Lion statue	Sand stone				
17	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.20	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.DA16	Lion head	Sand stone				
18	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.4	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.DA11	Human	Sand stone				
19	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.22	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.DA17	Garuda	Sand stone				
20	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB6.24	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB6.DA14	Fragment	Sand stone				
21	PL.2018.H1.L3.BD9.31	PL.2018.H1.L3.BD9.DA5	Fragment	Sand stone				
22	PL.2018.H1.L3.BD4.25	PL.2018.H1.L3.BD4.DA3	Fragment	Sand stone				



23	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.3	PL.2018.H1.L3.BB5.DA10	Fragment	Sand stone				
24	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.38	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.DA29	Fragment	Sand stone				
25	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB6.17	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB6.DA25	Fragment	Sand stone				
26	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB5.5	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB5.DA23	Fragment	Sand stone				
27	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB6.12	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB6.DA24	Fragment	Sand stone				
28	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.15	PL.2018.H1.L3.BB5.DA9	Fragment	Sand stone				
29	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB5.36	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB5.DA21	Fragment	Sand stone				
30	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB5.39	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB5.DA22	Fragment	Sand stone				
31	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB6.18	PL.2018.H1.L5.BB6.DA26	Fragment	Sand stone				
32	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.35	PL.2018.H1.L5.BC6.DA28	Fragment	Sand stone				
33	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.10	PL.2018.H1.L3.BB5.DA8	Fragment	Sand stone				
34	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.26	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.DA18	Fragment	Sand stone				
35	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.6	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.DA12	Fragment	Sand stone				
36	PL.2018.H1.L3.BD9.9	PL.2018.H1.L3.BD9.DA6	Fragment	Sand stone				
37	PL.2018.H1.L3.BE4.37	PL.2018.H1.L3.BE4.DA7	Fragment	Sand stone				
38	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.1	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.DA1	Fragment	Sand stone				
39	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC4.14	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC4.DA15	Elephant Fragment	Sand stone				
40	PL.2018.H1.L3.BD6.33	PL.2018.H1.L3.BD6.DA4	Elephant	Sand stone				
41	PL.2018.H1.L4.BD7.16	PL.2018.H1.L4.BD7.DA20	Base of elephant sculpture	Sand stone				
42	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.1	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL118	Roof tile	Terracotta	9.7	8.3	0.9	2.3
43	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.2	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL119	Roof tile	Terracotta	15.1	7.0	1.0	
44	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.3	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL120	Roof tile	Terracotta	7.9	11.7	0.9	
45	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.4	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL121	Roof tile	Terracotta	17.2	8.3	1	

46	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.5	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL122	Roof tile	Terracotta	8.2	6.0	1.2	
47	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.6	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL123	Roof tile	Terracotta	13.1	7.5	1	
48	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.7	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL124	Roof tile	Terracotta	7.1	6.9	1	
49	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.8	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL125	Roof tile	Terracotta	7.1	7.5	0.9	
50	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.9	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL126	Roof tile	Terracotta	12.5	8.9	1	3.5
51	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.10	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL127	Roof tile	Terracotta	9	7.7	1.1	
52	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.11	PL.2018.H1.L4.BA9.VL128	Roof tile	Terracotta	9.5	7.8	1.1	
53	PL.2018.H1.BE4.1	PL.2018.H1.BE4.VL129	Human Roof tile	Terracotta				
54	PL.2018.H1.L2.BB6.G1	PL.2018.H1.L2.BB6.VL020	Decoration brick	Terracotta	12	11	6	S6
55	PL.2018.H1.L2.BB6.G2	PL.2018.H1.L2.BB6.VL021	Decoration brick	Terracotta	6	9	6	S6
56	PL.2018.H1.L2.BB6.G3	PL.2018.H1.L2.BB6.VL022	Decoration brick	Terracotta	23.5	11.5	5	S6
57	PL.2018.H1.L2.BB6.G4	PL.2018.H1.L2.BB6.VL023	Decoration brick	Terracotta	9	12	5	S6
58	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.G1	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.VL024	Decoration brick	Terracotta	12.5	4.9	6.3	E
59	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.G5	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.VL025	Decoration brick	Terracotta	27.6	17.3	5.4	E
60	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.G6	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.VL026	Decoration brick	Terracotta	20	14.5	5.6	E
61	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.G7	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.VL027	Decoration brick	Terracotta	27.5	17.3	5.4	E
62	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G1	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL028	Decoration brick	Terracotta	cl15	17	5.5	S6
63	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G10	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL029	Decoration brick	Terracotta	29.5	16.5	4.5	T
64	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G8	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL030	Decoration brick	Terracotta	20	15.7	5.6	A
65	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G14	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL031	Decoration brick	Terracotta	13	16.7	5.3	A
66	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G16	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL032	Decoration brick	Terracotta	17.3	16.7	5.6	A
67	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G18	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL033	Decoration brick	Terracotta	12.3	17.4	5.7	A
68	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G5	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL034	Decoration brick	Terracotta	13.5	16	5	A
69	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G6	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL035	Decoration brick	Terracotta	8.5	14	5.5	A

70	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.G1	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.VL036	Decoration brick	Terracotta	20.5	16.8	5.7	N
71	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.G2	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.VL037	Decoration brick	Terracotta	15.5	14.8	6.4	N
72	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.G3	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.VL038	Decoration brick	Terracotta	18.1	16.3	5.3	N
73	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.G4	PL.2018.H1.L4.BB5.VL039	Decoration brick	Terracotta	16	8.8	5.6	N
74	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G75	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL040	Decoration brick	Terracotta	28	17	6	S6
75	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G76	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL041	Decoration brick	Terracotta	25.7	14.5	6	F
76	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G77	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL042	Decoration brick	Terracotta	24	17.2	5.2	F
77	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G78	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL043	Decoration brick	Terracotta	17.2	11.1	4.2	F
78	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G74	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL044	Decoration brick	Terracotta	20.5	17.5	6	S6
79	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G15	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL045	Decoration brick	Terracotta	26.5	17.5	5.7	T
80	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G19	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL046	Decoration brick	Terracotta	12.5	16	5	T
81	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G20	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL047	Decoration brick	Terracotta	4.8	9.2	5.7	A
82	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G21	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL048	Decoration brick	Terracotta	10	11.3	6	A
83	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G22	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL049	Decoration brick	Terracotta	9.2	8.3	5.3	T
84	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G23	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL050	Decoration brick	Terracotta	30	17.3	5.3	T
85	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G26	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL051	Decoration brick	Terracotta	19	8	5	T
86	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G27	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL052	Decoration brick	Terracotta	26.7	17.2	5	T
87	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G28	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL053	Decoration brick	Terracotta	13.5	18	5	T
88	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G29	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL054	Decoration brick	Terracotta	22	18	5	T
89	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G30	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL055	Decoration brick	Terracotta	23	15	5	S6
90	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G31	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL056	Decoration brick	Terracotta	16	13.3	5.7	T
91	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G32	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL057	Decoration brick	Terracotta	23.5	12.5	5.5	T
92	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G33	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL058	Decoration brick	Terracotta	12	15	5.5	S6
93	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G46	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL059	Decoration brick	Terracotta	15	16	5.5	S6

94	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G41	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL060	Decoration brick	Terracotta	15	11.2	5.8	B
95	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G42	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL061	Decoration brick	Terracotta	10	13	5	B
96	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G44	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL062	Decoration brick	Terracotta	18	16	5.5	S6
97	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G45	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL063	Decoration brick	Terracotta	11	12	6	B
98	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G47	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL064	Decoration brick	Terracotta	15	17	5.3	B
99	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G48	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL065	Decoration brick	Terracotta	27.5	8	5.2	B
100	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G49	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL066	Decoration brick	Terracotta	30	12.5	5.5	B
101	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G5	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL067	Decoration brick	Terracotta	23	17.2	5.3	C
102	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G52	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL068	Decoration brick	Terracotta	17.5	12.8	5.3	B
103	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G53	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL069	Decoration brick	Terracotta	16	13.7	4.9	B
104	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G54	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL070	Decoration brick	Terracotta	23	15.5	5	B
105	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G55	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL071	Decoration brick	Terracotta	26	18	5.3	T
106	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G56	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL072	Decoration brick	Terracotta	23	16.9	5.5	B
107	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G58	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL073	Decoration brick	Terracotta	24.5	15.2	6	B
108	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G6	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL074	Decoration brick	Terracotta	14.5	23	5.3	T
109	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G62	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL075	Decoration brick	Terracotta	15.6	15.1	5.2	B
110	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G63	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL076	Decoration brick	Terracotta	7	15.5	5.4	A
111	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G64	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL077	Decoration brick	Terracotta	23.3	18.2	5.7	T
112	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G7	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL078	Decoration brick	Terracotta	25	11.5	5.5	S6
113	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G8	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL079	Decoration brick	Terracotta	21.5	9	5.5	S6
114	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G9	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL080	Decoration brick	Terracotta	23	14	5.5	S6
115	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G51	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL081	Decoration brick	Terracotta	11	17	5.7	S6
116	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC7.G1	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC7.VL082	Decoration brick	Terracotta	26.2	16.8	5.2	C
117	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G79	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL083	Decoration brick	Terracotta	11.1	12	6.3	F



118	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G15	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL084	Decoration brick	Terracotta	11.5	17.5	5.7	A
119	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G80	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL085	Decoration brick	Terracotta	12.9	6.2	5.4	F
120	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G81	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL086	Decoration brick	Terracotta	16.2	12.1	5	F
121	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G82	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL087	Decoration brick	Terracotta	25	17.2	5.5	F
122	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G7	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL088	Decoration brick	Terracotta	27.5	17.7	6.1	A
123	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.G3	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.VL001	Brick	Terracotta	29.5	17	5.5	S1
124	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.G4	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.VL002	Brick	Terracotta	30	18	6	S1
125	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G10	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL003	Brick	Terracotta	30	18.5	7	S1
126	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G11	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL004	Brick	Terracotta	32	18	6	S1
127	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G12	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL005	Brick	Terracotta	29	17	6	S1
128	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G13	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL006	Brick	Terracotta	28	18	6	S1
129	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G18	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL007	Brick	Terracotta	32	18	6	S1
130	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G3	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL008	Brick	Terracotta	16	15	5	S1
131	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G4	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL009	Brick	Terracotta	29	17	6	S1
132	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G66	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL010	Brick	Terracotta	28	18	6	S1
133	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G67	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL011	Brick	Terracotta	29	19	6	S1
134	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G72	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL012	Brick	Terracotta	25.5	17.2	3	S1
135	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G1	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL013	Brick	Terracotta	29	18	16.5	S3
136	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G16	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL014	Brick	Terracotta	28.5	17.5	10	S2
137	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G24	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL015	Brick	Terracotta	26.5	17	11	S2
138	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G40	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL016	Brick	Terracotta	25	26	12	S3
139	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G69	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL017	Brick	Terracotta	23	17.5	11	S2
140	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G70	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL018	Brick	Terracotta	26	18	12	S3
141	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G73	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL019	Brick	Terracotta	29	35	18	S2

142	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G13	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL089	Brick	Terracotta	17	5.3	4.6	A
143	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G2	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL090	Brick	Terracotta	18.4	9.4	5.4	A
144	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G3	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL091	Brick	Terracotta	19	9	5.4	A
145	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G4	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL092	Brick	Terracotta	24.5	6.6	5.6	A
146	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G2	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL093	Brick	Terracotta	31.2	10.5	6	A
147	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G25	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL094	Brick	Terracotta	25.8	7.6	5.6	A
148	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G50	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL095	Brick	Terracotta	18.7	10	6.3	A
149	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G59	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL096	Brick	Terracotta	21.5	7.5	5.5	A
150	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.G2	PL.2018.H1.L2.BC7.VL097	Brick	Terracotta	16.5	5.4	3.4	S4
151	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G11	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL098	Brick	Terracotta	28.5	17	5.5	S4
152	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G12	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL099	Brick	Terracotta	22.3	17.8	5.4	S4
153	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G17	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL100	Brick	Terracotta	28.2	17.2	5.8	S4
154	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.G9	PL.2018.H1.L3.BC6.VL101	Brick	Terracotta	28	17.7	5.6	S5
155	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G14	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL102	Brick	Terracotta	24.6	18.2	6	S5
156	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G17	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL103	Brick	Terracotta	31	18	6.2	S4
157	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G34	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL104	Brick	Terracotta	17	16	6	S5
158	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G35	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL105	Brick	Terracotta	19	17.3	5	S5
159	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G36	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL106	Brick	Terracotta	23	10.6	5.3	S5
160	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G37	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL107	Brick	Terracotta	23.5	10.6	5	S4
161	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G38	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL108	Brick	Terracotta	22.5	17	5.9	S5
162	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G39	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL109	Brick	Terracotta	27.5	17.4	5.8	S5
163	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G43	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL110	Brick	Terracotta	10.4	8	5.6	S5
164	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G57	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL111	Brick	Terracotta	25.7	16.9	5.2	S5
165	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G60	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL112	Brick	Terracotta	20	18.5	6.5	S5

166	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G61	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL113	Brick	Terracotta	20.2	17.8	5	S5
167	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G65	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL114	Brick	Terracotta	23.5	18	5.7	S5
168	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G68	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL115	Brick	Terracotta	21.1	18	5.8	S5
169	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G71	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL116	Brick	Terracotta	30.9	18	6.5	S4
170	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.G83	PL.2018.H1.L4.BC6.VL117	Brick	Terracotta	26.2	17.6	6	F

Table 4: The number of Phong Lê artifacts in the 2018 excavation

-Brick: mostly rectangular, medium size: 17-32cm long, 15-18.5cm wide and 5.5-7cm thick. Besides, there are many patterned bricks in the form of ingots and trapezium used in the construction of pillars of door and arches. Many bricks have stains, trimmed and decorated with motifs of curved branches, curled up at the ends, leaves with deep grooves (Fig 3. 16-17) (Table 4). In the architecture of Champa temple-tower, the sculpted positions are often decorated with doors, reliefs on the walls, and the arches. The pattern of decorations on the brick in Phong Lê site has many similarities with the decoration of the Mỹ Sơn A1 temple-towers style in Mỹ Sơn and Khương Mỹ group temple-tower (Quảng Nam).





Fig 3. 16: The Champa bricks found in the 2018 excavation

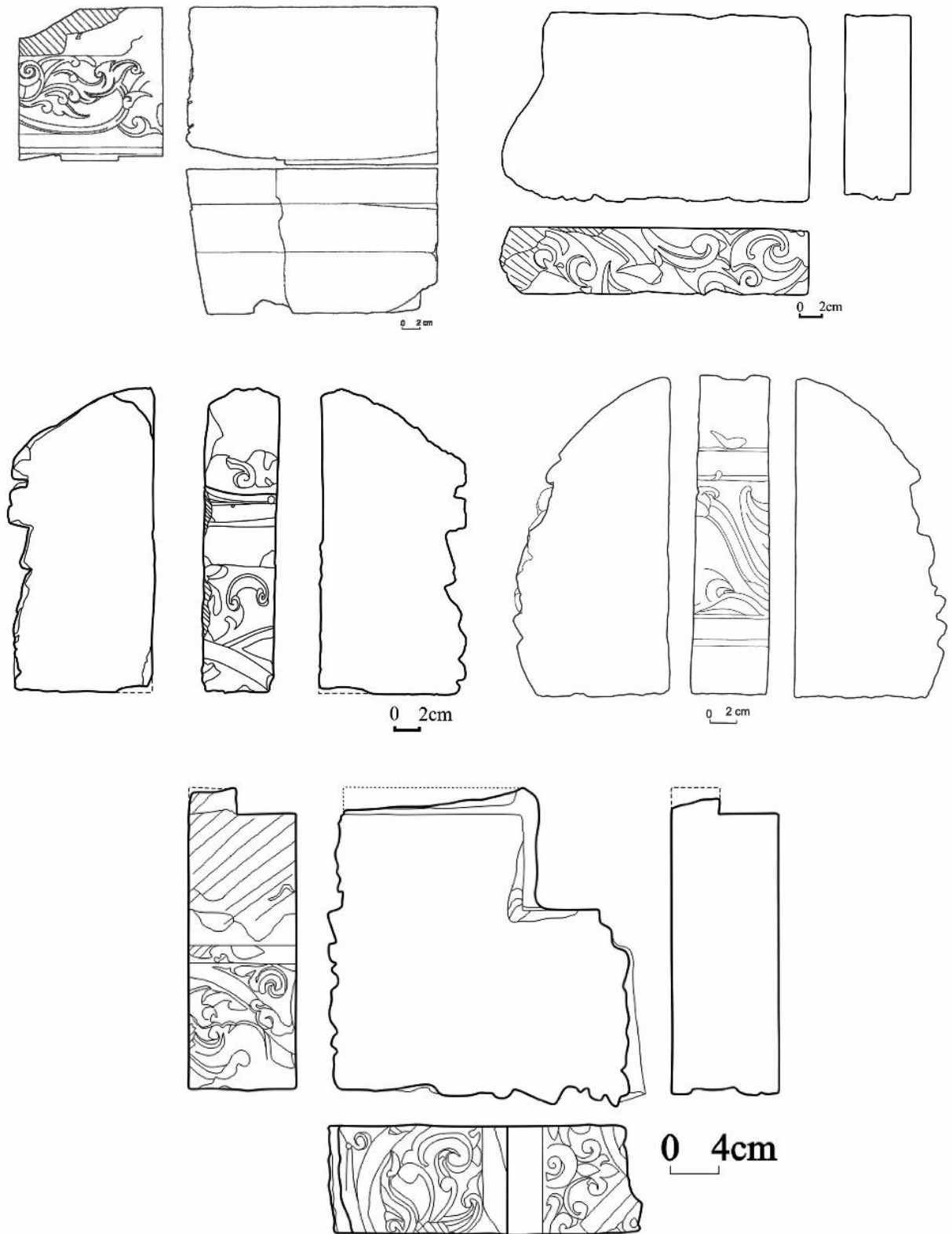


Fig 3. 17: The Champa bricks found in the 2018 excavation

-The roof tile: detecting a large number, mainly concentrated in cells BB9, BC9, BD9, maybe roofing of KT04 architecture. KT04 could be a longhouse (mandapa) in front of the Gate temple-tower. The longhouse (mandapa) is roofed with tile in Champa architecture. No intact tile was detected. Tile is made of fine clay or sandy clay, with two colors of white gray and red like brick. Red tile brick-hard surface, remaining 12.1cm long, 7.0cm wide, and 0.6-0.9cm thick. The white-gray tile has a lower burning rate, so it is loose, remaining 11.6cm long, 8.1cm wide and 0.7-1.1cm thick; has a thickness of 2.3cm (Fig 3. 18).



Fig 3. 18: The picture of roof tile

-Human face roof tile: discover a template near the wall TB02, at position X14; Y11 cell BE4, broken, the remaining height 8.9cm; remaining 6.9cm wide and 2.1cm thick. In the middle of the head, one character has recognized as the merchant (士) or soil (土). Compared with other sites, the roof tile found in Đại La (means the Citadel of the Great Dike, 大羅城) in Hà Nội city and Guangzhou (廣州市) in China (8th to the 10th century) have the character like Phong Lê one. This character mean the king (王) (Fig 3. 19-21).

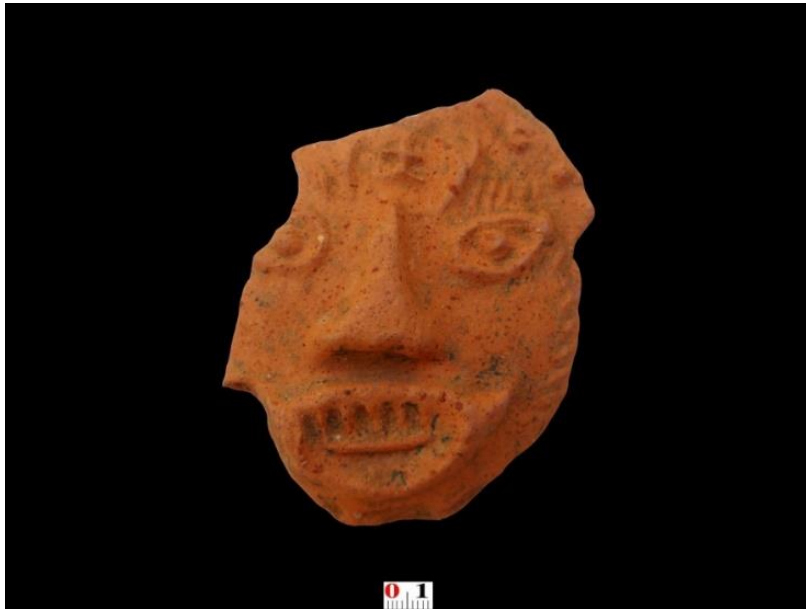


Fig 3. 19: Human face roof tile in Phong Lê



Fig 3. 20: Other human face roof tile in Phong Lê, Đại La and Guangzhou.  
Source: (the Central Sector of the Imperial Citadel of Thang Long-Hanoi)





Fig 3. 21: The location of Human face roof tile in Việt Nam and China

We found the total of 28 stone artifacts, mainly animal statues such as round figurines (Simha), pillars with elephant sculptures, decoration on the roofs like solid statues (Naga), god birds (Garuda), ears fire, prayer.

+ Lion (Simha): 0.44m long, 0.45m wide, and 1.09m high, still relatively intact, sandstone material. This statue is lying on its back and in a pile of broken bricks, slightly tilted southward along the Southwest-Northeast axis. Lions in standing posture, legs spread out, each leg have three claws; the front legs shrink back close to the body. The lion's head with the crown, sophisticated decoration; ears spread straight up, ears tapered; smooth mane

smooth backwards; High cheekbones with round protruding eyes, tapered eyes, between the eyes with tumors; low nose, flat, nose tip; mouth wide open, tongue slightly protruding out with nine sharp teeth, the tip of the teeth tending to go out; the chest is decorated with symmetrical wave patterns; the backward tail is curled in the back; buttocks have deep edges to match other temple-tower structures. The lion statue found in Phong Lê site has the same characteristics as the lion statues found in the sculptural style of Trà Kiệu in the 10th century to the 11th century (Fig 3. 22-24).



Fig 3. 22: The stone lion when appeared





Fig 3. 23: The picture of stone lion

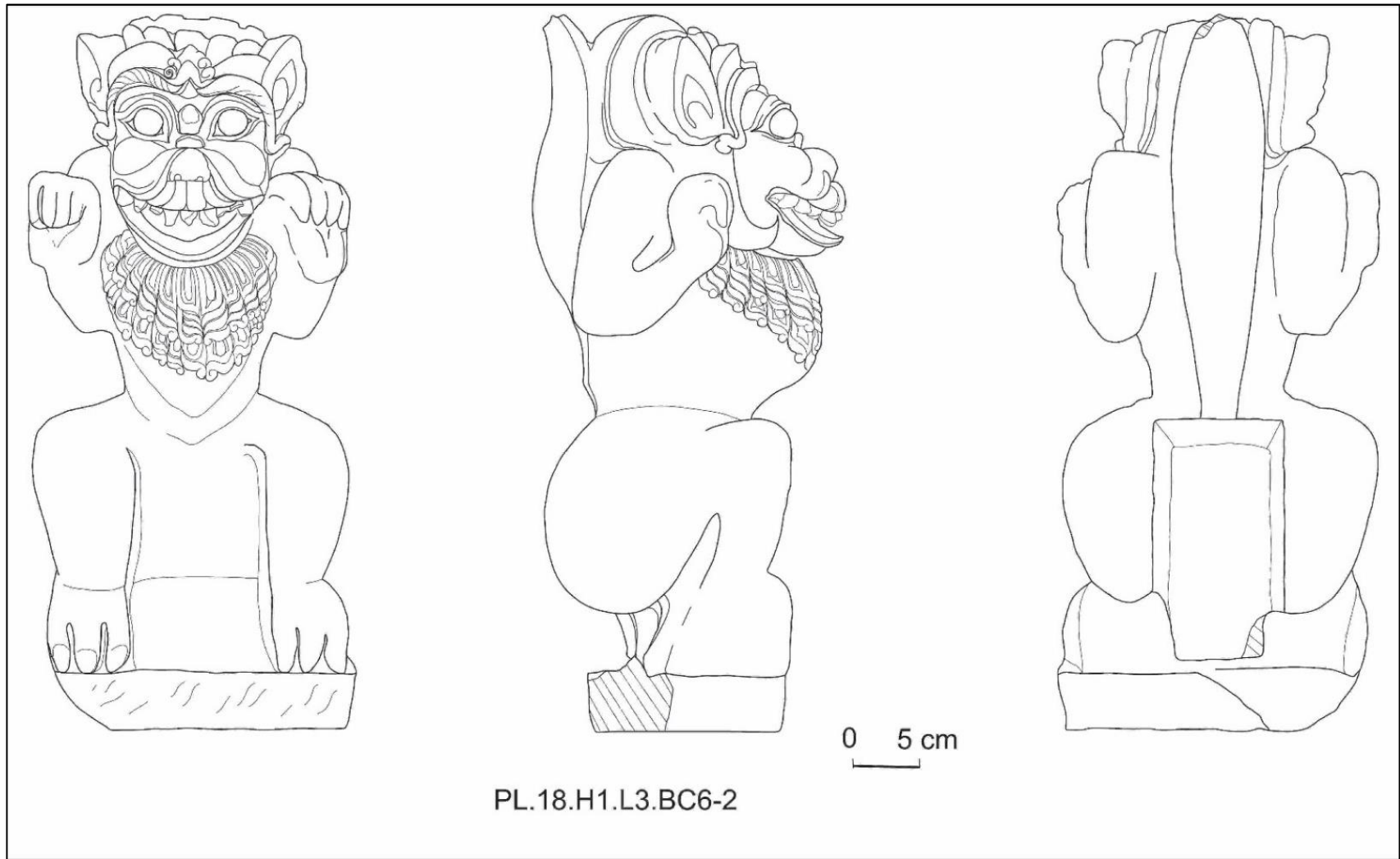


Fig 3. 24: The drawing of lion statue



+ Base of elephant sculpture Phong Lê BD7. 16, detected at position X7.5 and Y21. On the pedestal is a sculpture of the elephant that has broken the head and the top. Size: 0.8m long, 0.5m wide and 0.34m high. The first part is detected in cell BB6. The upper surface has a mortise near the square, 15cm long, 14cm wide, and about 5cm deep. The top face at the front, left and back edges have floating edges, the edge must be without burrs. The left side is flat, the backside and the right side are manipulated to show that this can be a wall surface (Fig 3. 25-26).

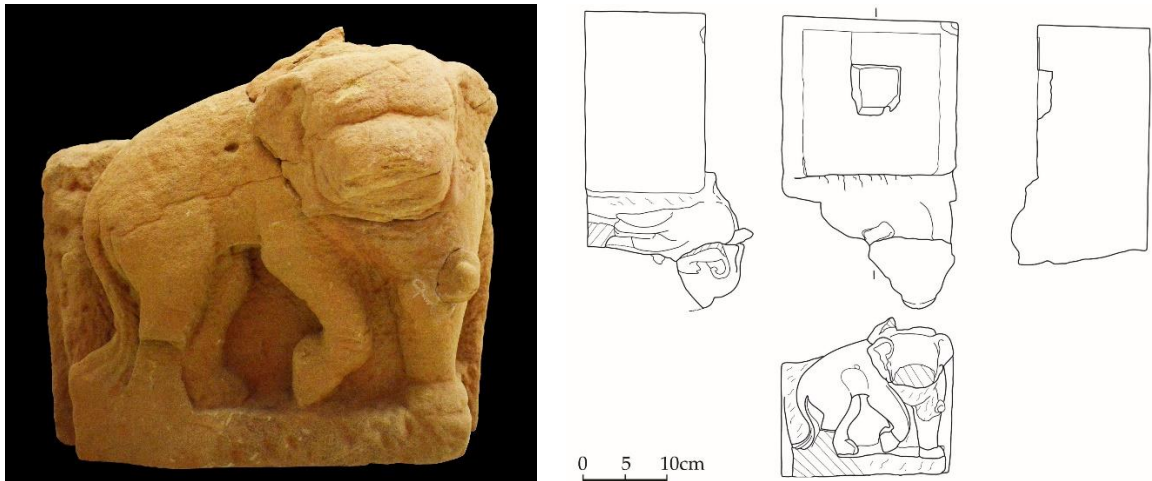


Fig 3. 25: The base of an elephant sculpture



Fig 3. 26: Elephant in Trà Kiệu in 10th to the 11th century

-Snake (Naga) Phong Lê BC6.30, sandstone is gray, partly broken. Size: 12.2cm long, 11.4cm wide and 33.0cm high. The snake has its head raised high, with a cap-shaped above its head; eyes with protruding, spherical irises, long narrow eyes, tapered downwards, high arched eyebrows; the nose is worn, slightly flat, the bridge of the nose is low, in the middle of the nose there is a floating water droplet; mouth wide open, with nine sharp teeth, pointed mouth edge; upturned chin, neck forward; round cylindrical body, the front surface is polished, the sides and back face remain intact. The snake statue discovered in this excavation is similar to the image Naga sculpted in the reliefs of the Visnu god discovered in Phong Lê site previously displayed at the Museum of Champa sculpture in Đà Nẵng (Fig 3. 27).



Fig 3. 27: The Snake (Naga) image in Phong Lê

-Ceramics discovered during the 2018 excavation included the Champa pottery, the kendi and the piece of earthenware, many pieces of ceramics in China's Song period.



Fig 3. 28: The Champa pottery

In which, there are some models broken into many pieces that have been attached to the original shape. Phong Lê BC6.13: box of blue and white enamel, broken half; mouth diameter 4.3cm and height 2.3cm, fine and white ceramic bone; in the outside are glazed with white and blue 0.1cm thick mouth box, cut into the beveled mouth to create the edge to match the lid. Box's body is 0.3-0.4cm thick, divided into eight zones. Bottom of the box with a diameter of 3.5cm. This blue and white glaze had many characteristics of Dehua County kiln (Fujian province, China) during the Southern Song Dynasty in the 12th century (Fig 3. 29).



Fig 3. 29: The Song ceramic box in Phong Lê

Besides that, Phong Lê was collected the collection of sculptures by Paris (1892: 137-144). They are dated to the 10th century and are currently exhibited in the Đà Nẵng Museum of Cham Sculptures.

Seated four-armed Vishnu, which seated in the Indian position was found, may have housed an individual sculptor's workshop. The image, like its symmetrical twin, was intended to be embedded in a wall. It has a high two-tiered kirita-mukuta adorned with florets, and its upper hands hold the conch and the chakra, while the lower pair hold the upright club and the ball (symbolizing the earth), the latter indicating Khmer influence (Parmentier 1909 : 322-323) (Boisselier 1963 : 167, fig. 76) (Fig 3. 30a).





a.

b.

Fig 3. 30: The seated four-armed Vishnu in Phong Lê

Vishnu seated with the raised right knee, on a five-headed naga, flanked by a pair of three-headed nagas. His right hands hold the ball and the chakra attributes, and the left hands hold the club and the conch. The overall concept reflects an iconographic approach on the part of the Chams, which paradoxically, is much richer than that of the Khmers at the same period, although Vishnu sculptures were much commoner in Cambodia, and indicates a direct borrowing from India (Fig 3. 30b).

The dancing Shiva from Phong Lê, Đà Nẵng is one of the best-preserved Champa sculptures among all the dancing Shivas. It was very well carved with detailed lines and decorations. There is a proportional balance between left and right and top to bottom of the sculpture. All the figures fit perfectly in the space of the tympanum. The artist managed to

bring out the overall harmony among all the figures in this sculpture in terms of the facial expressions of Shiva and his worshippers, and the techniques for proportional measurement of the statue (Mai Bùi Diệu Linh 2016) (Fig 3. 31).



Fig 3. 31: The dancing sixteen-armed Shiva tympanum

Dancing sixteen-armed Shiva tympanum depicts one of Shiva's dances. His right foot is on tiptoe, his legs bent at the knee, his left hip rounded. His front right-hand rests on the hip with fingers raised, while the left, and all the rear hands, are in the same mudra, open palm, and thumb touching the tightly bent forefinger. Baptiste eds. (2005: 237) asserts that the hand gestures of the main arms even though looking like vitarka-mudrā or Aralam mudra are more likely the arālahasta-mudrā described in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

The sculpted area of this tympanum is structured according to clear symmetrical principles, as is often the case in Champa art. The three worshippers in the mid-plane to the right correspond to the three to the left, while the musicians on the lower plane also correspond to each other. The worshippers wear mukuta diadems and their lower bodies are scaly, giving rise to the suggestion that they are nagas and nagis despite their lack of the usual hoods. As for the other figures, the harpist and drummer, and those sitting in the listening' position (reminiscent of Javanese sculpture of the same period) they wear a side-chignon, an innovation which would subsequently become a standard feature.

While Shiva's head-dress conforms to the style, with its three levels of braided plaits and small hair locks, the central crescent moon, and the hair coming down in a pair of points on the forehead, the same cannot be said of his rounded beard. The jewelry also bears witness to the uniqueness of this sculpture. While the ear pendants, the bracelets, and the chest belt occur frequently elsewhere, the upper armbands and the anklets with their naga motifs, as well as the triple waist belt and the three flaps of the garment with their stylized folds are much rarer (Parmentier 1909: 321-322) (Boisselier 1963: 168-169).

In the upper part of the right main arm, we see a serpent Śeṣa as his bracelet ornament. There is a harpist and a drummer on each side of Shiva. Baptiste eds. (2005: 237) suggests that this tympanum shares similar characteristics with the art monuments of the Calukyas at Badami, Karnataka, especially the tympanum of dancing Shiva at the entrance of the Taraka Brahma temple in Alampur. Dancing Shiva here is in the *lalita* pose; in India we can see this type of dancing Shiva pose as early as the 5th to the 6th century in Elephanta and Ellora caves.

### **3.3. The first discovery of sacred depot**

From July 1 to 30 August 2012, the 2nd excavation was carried out with an area of 500m<sup>2</sup> in the main temple-tower of Phong Lê complex. After unloading the disturbed soil to a depth of 1m, a background of Champa bricks was discovered. In particular, in an area of about one square meter in the middle of the background, the bricks were removed beforehand, leaving traces of broken bricks mixed with the soil-filled. An excavation pit was started at this location and expanded around, encased in layers of compacted gravel and white sand. About 30 meters of gravel and sand were brought up, which revealed a square hole with brick walls, the archeology team called it “sacred depot” (Nguyễn Chiếu 2013: 721-724).

The sacred depot was built according to the square map; depth of 1.8m, the bottom of 3.9m x 3.9m; crater's width with 4.2m x 4.2m. The bottom of the pit is a red clay foundation, tightened, in the middle of the pit, where the upper layers of gravel and sand have dug and filled with broken bricks. There are some quartz tablets in a circular belt lined with large, egg-shaped stones. This position must have put precious objects and was taken away by treasure hunters (Võ Văn Thắng 2014: 52-53) (Fig 3. 32-34).





Fig 3. 32: The central of sacred depot



Fig 3. 33: The picture of sacred depot

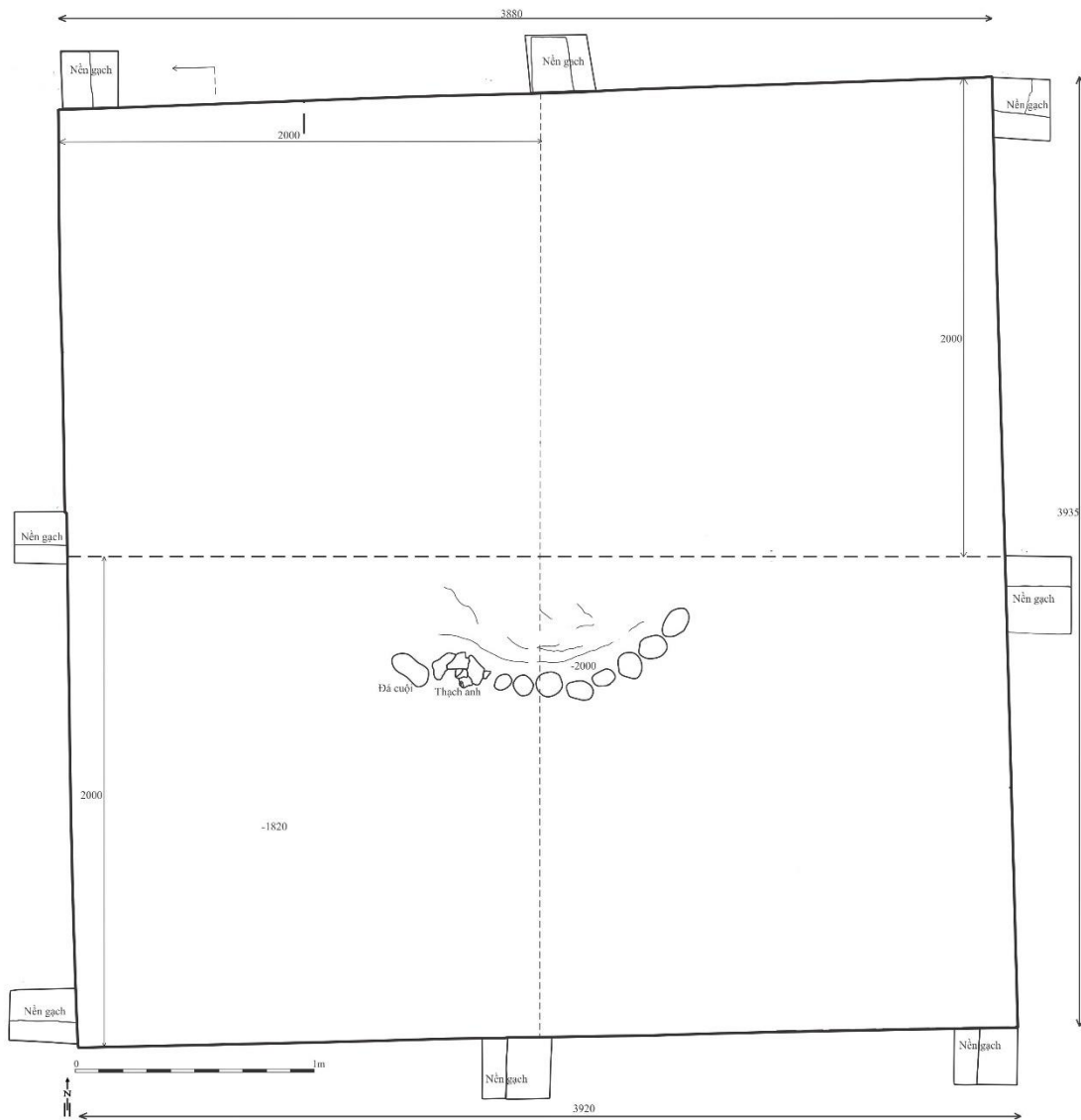


Fig 3. 34: The drawing of sacred depot

In the four walls of the sacred depot, at the bottom of the pit, there are 8 recesses in the position corresponding to the eight directions of the east, south, west, north to the east, northeast, southeast, southwest, northwest. These recesses were filled with white sand. After removing all the sand, it revealed a horizontal square brick, under such brick, an egg-shaped pebble vertically. Also, under the pebble is a small piece of metal in yellow, 1cm x 2cm. In

front of the mouth of the cavity, there are a few quartz pellets, with the sharp point of the crystal facing up. All eight recesses have the same structure and artifacts, except the cavity in the northeast has an additional pebble placed next to the quartz tablet at the mouth of the cavity (Fig 3. 34-36).

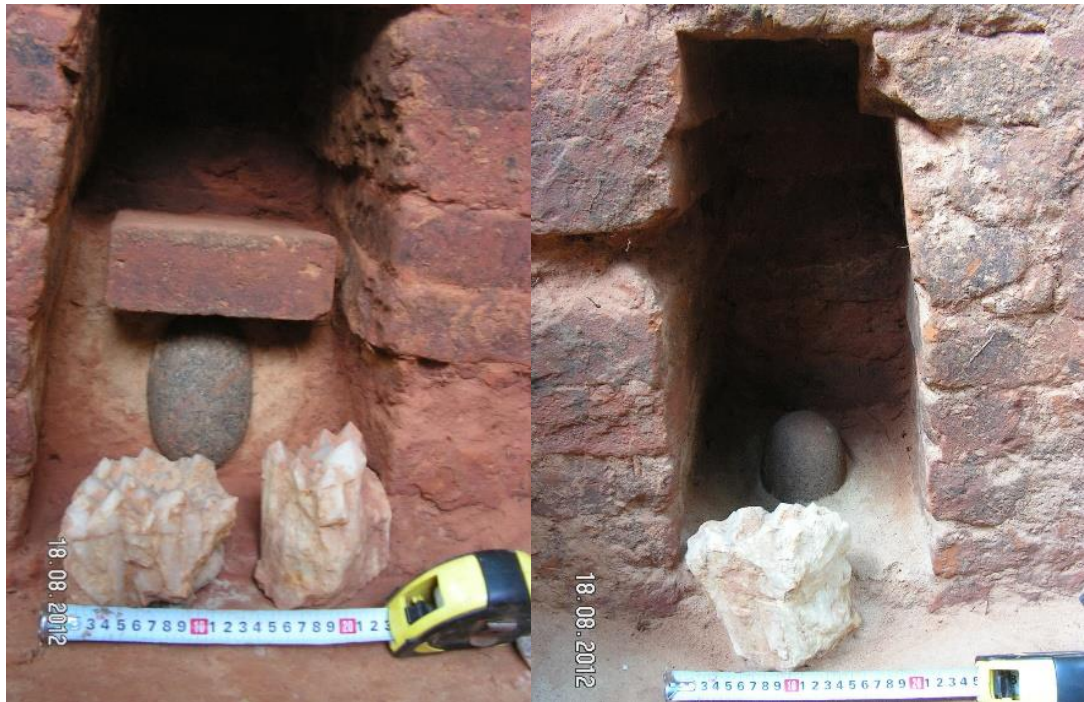


Fig 3. 35: Some recesses in the sacred depot

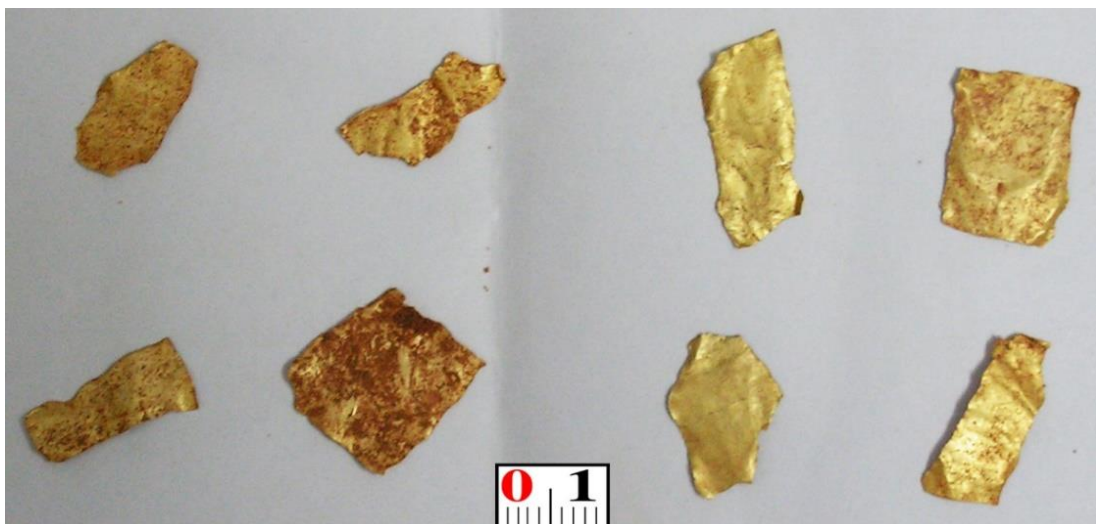


Fig 3. 36: 8 small pieces of metal in yellow in 8 recesses in the sacred depot



### 3.3.1. The other discoveries of sacred depots in Champa temple-tower

In the central Việt Nam, some sacred depots in the Hindu site also have been discovered as Đại Hữu (Quảng Bình), Cẩm Mít (Đà Nẵng), Mĩ Sơn, Khương Mỹ (Quảng Nam), Dương Long (Bình Định) and Po Nagar (Khánh Hòa) (Fig 3. 37)



Fig 3. 37: Some archaeological sites found scared depots.



-Đại Hữu temple-tower in Quảng Bình consists of 3 adjacent temple-towers along the North to the South axis and facing the East. The complex excavated in 1918, 1922, 1925, and 1926. Many Hindu and Buddhist statues are found here (Finot 1925: 469-475), Arousseau (1926: 359-362) reported on BEFEO about the discoveries of the sacred depot to describe precious artifacts in the depths of the temple-tower (Fig 3.38).

-Cấm Mít, Đà Nẵng excavated from 15 September to 20 December 20, 2012 by Hà Nội National Museum. It revealed the foundations of a complex of Champa temple-towers, especially the foundation of three adjacent temple-towers along the north to the south axis, the temple-tower gate turns into the east (Fig.3. 40). There are also three sacred depots found in the foundation of these three temples-towers. It is noteworthy that all three sacred depots show signs of being dug and filled with an area of about 1 square meter in the central area.

The four walls of the sacred depot of Cấm Mít are not built with bricks like Phong Lê, but only with a type of “concrete” made of rubble mixed with red clay, close to the bottom, each of the sacred depots have eight hollows with the location and internal components similar to those in Phong Lê sacred depot, which included square tiles, egg-shaped pebbles, quartz, and yellow metal pieces. Besides, there were five-round glass balls in the Cấm Mít (two with holes) and six small pieces of yellow metal cut into the elephant shape (Fig 3. 39-41).



Fig 3. 38: The artifacts in Đại Hữu sacred depot



Fig 3. 39: The yellow metal cut into the elephant shape in Cẩm Mít temple-tower

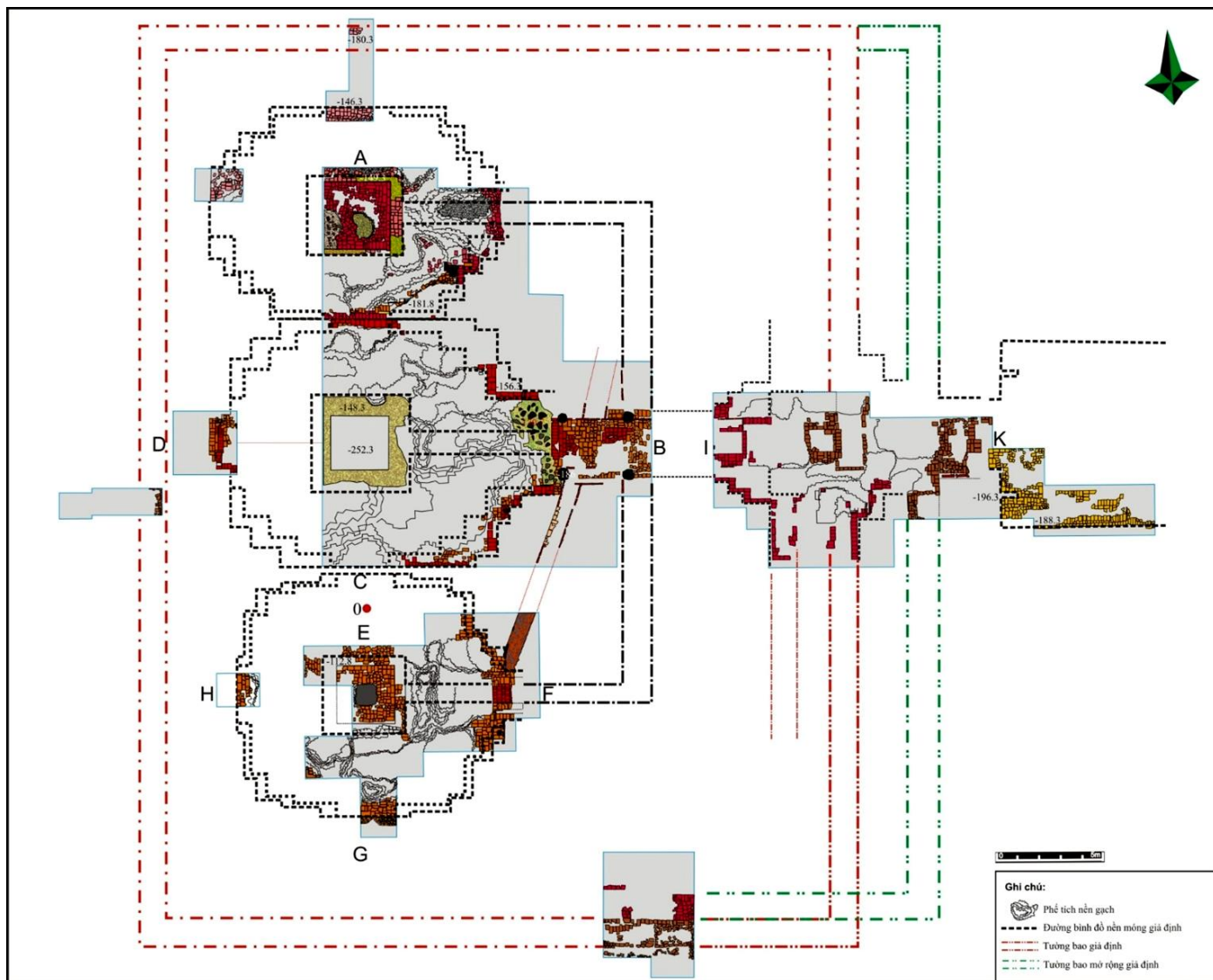


Fig 3. 40: The plan of Cẩm Mít with the scared depots. Source: (Excavation team)



Fig 3. 41: The structures and artifacts of scared depots in Cầm Mít temple-tower.

Source: (Excavation team)



-Po Nagar temple-tower in Khánh Hòa discovered three depots by Parmentier in 1906. They included two depots were under the foundation of West and West-North temple-tower, and one lay on the top of the South temple-tower (Parmentier 1909: 349-350).

-A large-scale excavation was conducted in Trà Kiệu in Quảng Nam in 2 years 1927, 1928 by Claeys. There were no traces of architecture on the surface. The excavations were carried out at many points on the whole of a vast hill, discovering traces of stronghold, temple-tower foundation, and many statues, architectural decorations buried in the ground.

It recorded in the north of the hill (point B) in the first month of excavation, found a small pit of 0.75m diameter was dug in the middle of the substrate, as a pit containing a sacred depot (Claeys 1927: 468-479). The middle part of the foundation is covered with a height of 10cm and a width of 1.3m. The soil in the pit has been taken up; there must have been people going to dig after the building collapsed. In the middle of the main temple-tower (point A), where there are still bricks on the top, there was a second hole, 0.2-0.3m deep, and the wall of the pit has a fairly good inclination. At the center, a well of 0.8 m diameter was dug by the raiders, just as we noted in the area of the temple-tower at point B. This hole is about 1 meter deep, has a particularly interesting structure. The top brick soil layer of 0.25m thick was punctured. Did the searchers find a sacred depot? It is impossible to know the truth because they have continued to dig deeper 30cm through the special solid brick soil, but it is difficult to break. There is a beautiful piece of quartz, 2cm diameter discovered here (Claeys 1927: 473-475). In 1928, excavations were continued at the above location and information on sacred depots continued to be published in BEFEO (Claeys 1928: 583-584).

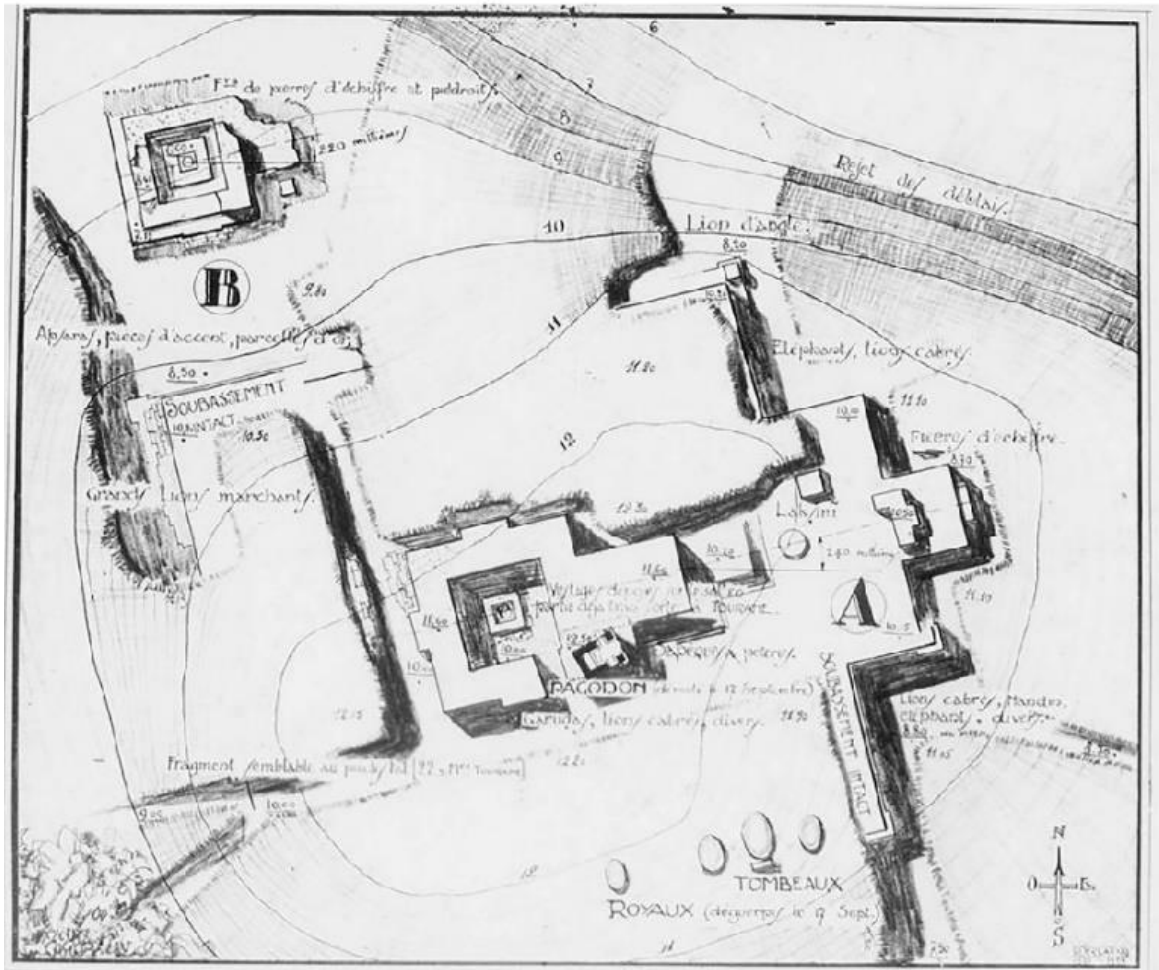
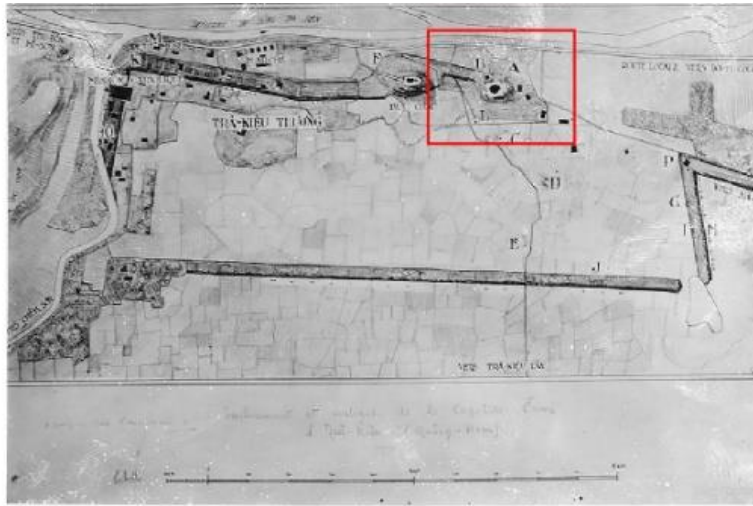


Fig 3. 42: The location of the excavation was conducted in Trà Kiệu by Claeys.

Source: (EFCEO. 624-625)

-Dương Long (Bình Định) (Bùi Chí Hoàng 2011: 404-405): Excavation report describing the Architecture 1 as: square structure was built of bricks with layers: The bottom is a brick structure with a square shape, consist of three layers of thick bricks, size of 60cmx60 cm and about 20 cm thick. This is where the sacred objects of architecture are located before constructing the above structure. This brick tile may have been filled with clean sand, which has broken the original structure, leaving only two adjacent edges.

Architecture 2: The brick floor is severely destroyed but still recognizes the traces of a central structure in the form of a square. The treatment of architectural architecture shows that below the messy surface of laterite and broken bricks is a column-like structure, built of bricks. This structure was previously dug with a trace left in a circular hole with a gradually shrinking shape. Below is an empty brick column, as high as 19 layers of brick, 145cm thick, has a square shape with dimensions of 88cmx88cm, inside filled with clean sand.

Henri Parmentier mentioned a sacred depot in Angkor Vat (Cambodia). When people have moved the temple-tower and discovered under that, there was a cube of stone cubes with 17 small compartments. These empty compartments link to the possibility that it once contained easily destroyable items, such as food. Under that cube, there is a square of small objects including quartz, iron, copper, silver, and gold. Next, there was a tight layer of red soil, and when making a further digging of 38cm, a square has been revealed, each side was 51cm wide, made up by four sandstones, in the square, there were five square gold pieces with sides 7-8 mm (Parmentier 1935: 283-284).

In Indonesia Candi, there were three worlds, the first world is the upper world, inhabited by gods, ancestors, and heroes, the second world is humans inhabited world, and the

third world is the lower world, the place to which human spirits travel upon physical death. The three worlds formed three layers, which are connected by a world axis Mundi. In other words, the axis is located at the center of the cosmos through the walls separating the three layers of the three worlds (Fig 3. 43).

“Peripih” is a word in Indonesian to refer to a stone or ceramic box or jar placed at the heart of a Hindu or Buddhist temple-tower, which places offerings to the gods, including precious stones, precious metals, mirrors, inscriptions, ash, and seeds (Soekmono 1995) (Ramelan 2013: 4). According to an archaeological report at the Pringapus, Kimpulan, Prambanan, Kalasan temple-tower site, etc. in Indonesia also information about “sacred depot” under the foundation of the temple-tower. Previously in other archaeological sites in Indonesia, peripih were also found, which contain gold-cut pieces of flowers or animals such as elephants, dragons, and turtles. In the dissertation of Slaczka, there is detailed information with many pictures of consecration deposit boxes found in India, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia and Sri Lanka (Slaczka 2007: 237-326) (Soekmono 1995).



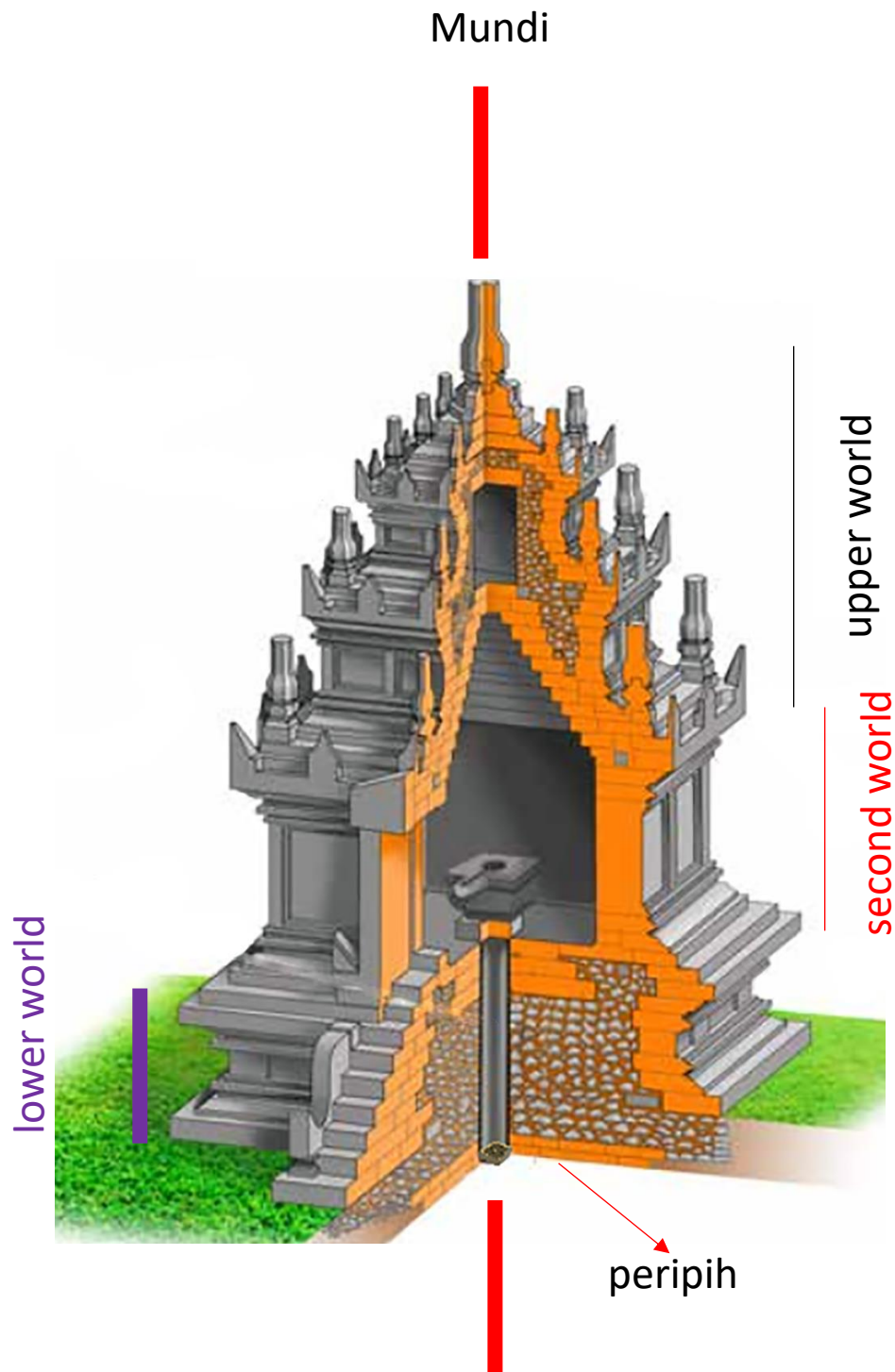


Fig 3. 43: The sacred depot in Indonesia Candi.

Source: (Ramelan 2013: 4)

### *3.3.2. The structure of the pit contains sacred depot in the base of Champa temple-tower*

Comparing with the ancient Indian text of Kasyapasiṃpa, about architectural rituals, it can be affirmed that structures called “sacred depot”, “wells”, “square boxes” and “square architecture” discovered under the foundation of Champa temple-towers (Võ Văn Thắng 2013: 25-38). There is an important part of a temple-tower’s structure. It associated with the ritual of placing the first brick (Prathamestaka-nyasa) and placing the vow of worship (Garbhanyasa). The findings in the excavations of the Phong Lê temple-tower complement each other to help visualize the structure of the sacred depot.

The wall of the sacred depot in Phong Lê was made from bricks and just crushed clay in Cẩm Mít. The central part of the sacred bottom of the Po Nagar site was relatively intact with a square box, bricked, with a lid, inside, there were sacred objects that are gold pieces carved with flowers and animals. In other cases, the box containing the sacred object was disturbed or taken away, only traces left. The wall of the sacred depot is clearly identified in the sites of Phong Lê and Cẩm Mít and can be exchanged with Trà Kiệu. Those were the eight recesses at the base of the sacred depot wall, in eight directions, each containing two niches.

The descriptions in the Trà Kiệu excavation report matched the photos taken at Phong Lê site. In the middle and the two corners, there are 25cm x 25cm protruding cells, less thoughtful installation, and blocked with a brick. Extremely smooth lines of sand flow from the slits on both sides. The dredging following the method and carefulness finally revealed a hollow cavity containing two very sharp bricks placed on an ovoid pebble, with a diameter of about 12cm. All are covered in fine white, in which there are four small pieces of gold metal

about 7mm x 9 mm and seven quartz tablets, broken into sharp pieces of 2 to 3cm length. Other niches continue to be revealed at the corners, 2 niches at the corners and 1 in the middle of each face, all are 12 niches” (Clayeys 1928a: 583).

If two corner niches and seven niches in the middle of each face, all four sides may have only eight niches, because the four corners in the corner are calculated for all four sides. Excavation of Phong Lê site has shown this. Similar to Trà Kiệu, in each cavity at the bottom of Phong Lê pit walls, there is a sharp square brick placed on a large pebble stone; pressing the bottom of the pebble is a small piece of metal; all covered with fine white sand. The bricks in this hollow are most likely the bricks of the Prathatnyasa ritual (laying the first brick), placed on an erect egg-shaped pebble as a kind of stone pillar (megalith) and a piece of gold that is meant to be happy (Võ Văn Thắng 2013: 25-38).

The position of the niches is related to the gods who govern the direction as the role of the vials in ancient texts. “Put nine new jars, starting from the middle. The peace of Sadakhya at the middle jar, the gods, defended the direction at the jars around”. In terms of architecture, the determination of the location of these eight bricks is crucial for all subsequent architectural sections. Clayeys (1928a: 584) stated that the perfect preservation of the brick holes on the inner wall of the pit allows for the conclusion that they have been filled immediately after being installed. First, people prepared walls with niches; followed by placing objects that make up sacred depots, certainly along with a blessing; then they filled them up to arrange a new warehouse right in the center of the temple-tower.

Sacred treasures placed between the bottom of the temple-tower according to the Garbha-nyasa ritual, including “Metal ware containers made of gold, silver or copper. Pearls,

metals, gemstones were placed in boxes. Also put in boxes of soil, cereals, herbs”. At Po Nagar (Khánh Hòa), a brick box with a square lid was found, half of gold, half of silver, and contained many pieces of gold (Parmentier 1909: 349-350). At Đại Hữu (Quảng Bình), there were metal jars with metal and precious metals, besides were many precious items (Arousseau 1926: 359-362). At Khánh Vân relic, it was found a blue and white glaze bowl (Lê Đình Phụng 1999: 652-653); At Cẩm Mít, it was discovered glass, quartz and gold pieces cut the elephant shape (moved away from the central position). In Phong Lệ, in the middle of the temple-tower, there were only quartz tablets and a series of pebbles in a circle. At Trà Kiệu, only one quartz was found (Clayeys 1927: 473-475). Other relics have traces of digging in the central area, so “sacred depot” must have been taken away.

### ***3.3.3. Mysterious excavation traces***

Except for the Po Nagar Champa temple-tower, where the Parmentier did not see the movement of the altar or excavation in the heart of the temple-tower; Other cases of sacred depots when discovered by archaeologists all recorded there were previous excavations (Zolese 2009: 230-231).

In the North temple-tower of Đại Hữu relic, the archaeological report said that “the Vietnamese carried out an excavation here and they moved the altar. The altar is not in its usual position but leans against the south wall. The excavation in the past only took place to a depth of 1.80m and left it unfinished” (Arousseau 1926: 360-361). In the excavated pile, they found parts of the broken excavations that had been filled up by the excavators, and when he dug to 4 meters deep, he met the sacred depot as introduced above. The excavation report of Trà Kiệu recorded signs of excavation as a well in the sacred depot (Clayeys 1927; 473-



475). Parmentier (1909) remarked the looters dug everywhere in the temple-towers, just leaving us with rare cases to explore these depots.

Thus, before the excavation of French archaeologists, the sacred treasures were dug and when? French documents often refer to those who excavate before them as “diggers” or “treasure seekers,” but sometimes say “Annamites” (means Vietnamese). However, in the archaeologist’s document, there is information that the excavation of the sacred treasures may have been released from the ancient Champa kingdom. That was the case at M̃y Son A1 temple-tower. Parmentier reported that after discovering the sacred depot at the Po Nagar temple-tower in Nha Trang in 1912; he returned to try to unearth M̃y Son A1 temple-tower however, the result was not as expected. Under the base of M̃y Son A1 temple-tower was a hole with remnants and repaired by Cham people<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> In 1912, guided by discoveries of sacred depots at Po Nagar temple-towers in Nha Trang, Parmentier (1918: 588-589) tried to find at the bottom of the M̃y Son A1 temple-tower. Although the altar pointed out the smashing traces-especially the yoni that had been flipped aside. There is still a lot of important parts of this altar, but also because of these parts, he previously thought that it was crazy to do a very risky excavation under those heavy stones, and also the consideration of preservation prevented there from conducting the search in 1903.

The situation is different now, he has removed each piece of this altar; he arranged the parts of the altar along the temple-tower wall, and he was able to make the necessary excavations, until the soil was intact, which could be said to be 3.35m below the inner soil, or 1.35 below level A. He acknowledged that in M̃y Son in the distant period, the period between the construction of the shrine at the beginning of the 7th century and the period of the construction of this altar, perhaps around the 9th or 10th century. A deep excavation was carried out in the center of the temple-tower, with the intention of clearly appropriating the sacred depots, and not having the desired success. A new depot has not been put back here by restoration people, and the tunnel is not even rebuilt. The Cham people had to fill the pit with the excavated soil, notably thin slabs of stone, which seemed to have formed a

At Chánh Lộ site (Quảng Ngãi), Parmentier (1909) discovered a square hole at the base of the foundation, not under the altar. So, he surmised that the Champas had changed their position after the first loot to distract those who seek treasure.

Thus, it can be said that digging to find treasures in the heart of Champa temple-tower has occurred in many Champa temple-towers and can be in many periods in history. For traces of excavation in Places where the Cham people were restored, digging must have occurred during raids from neighboring nations and peoples. Some Champa epitaphs mentioned the restoration of temple-towers after the devastations in conflicts with the Javanese, the Khmer and the Vietnamese, such as the C. 38 Po Nagar (784 CE), C. 94 Mỹ Sơn (the 11th century) and C. 100 Mỹ Sơn (1157 CE) (Golzio 2004). Chinese history also recorded the raids on Champa, such as the attack of the Đản Hòa Chi (檀和之) in 446, the temple-towers were destroyed, the statues were melted into blocks and cast 100.000 pounds of pure gold. Liu Fang's (劉方) attack in 605, took away 18 plates of gold tablets and 1.350 Buddhist scriptures (Maspero 1928: 73-84).

In addition, it is also questioned whether there were cases where the Cham people took away (or returned to dig) the treasures in the temple-towers they had left behind that could no longer be worshiped. This hypothesis was put forward when excavating the “brick pillar” in Dương Long temple-tower. Bùi Chí Hoàng (2011: 406) supposed that it can be seen that this structure was destroyed in terms of the main function of the owner who built them and that

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storage cell, and it was simply on the soiled tissue that was simply crushed, they have re-established the new altar.

the sacred artifacts may have been taken away, possibly at the time of the Vijaya dynasty collapsing. This is only a spiritual function rather than a destructive act.

And the most common assumption stated in the French documents is that the Vietnamese seek the treasure that had been searching for gold and silver in sacred depots. Although the causes and times of traces digging into sacred depots are still many unknowns, there is a common point in recent archaeological and actual excavation reports in Phong Lê and Cẩm Mít where traces of excavations are right in the center of the temple-tower, with a diameter of only 1m and very deep.

The discovery of some sacred depots with precious objects in the Champa temple-towers spread throughout the Central region, from Quảng Bình to Đà Nẵng, Quảng Nam, Quảng Ngãi to Khánh Hòa, has shown the general influence of Hindu rituals in areas of the ancient Champa kingdom. At the same time, it also shows the “literary” nature of the contemporary cultures in Southeast Asia, from Thailand, Cambodia, Champa to Indonesia.

Most of the studies on Champa temple-towers so far have studied the upper part of the ground, such as walls, roofs, altars, and worshipping statues. There has not been much research on the lower ground of a Champa temple-tower like the Phong Lê excavation. Besides, to belief factors, whether the structure of the sacred filled with sand and gravel under the foundation of the temple-tower also works in terms of architecture, helps balance the humidity, drains the water for a huge block of bricks above sustainably through rain and sun? This requires more surveys and assessments; however, it is challenging to study the foundation survey in the current Champa temple-towers. Hopefully, the ruins where the upper part of the temple-tower has completely disappeared will be a favorable condition to conduct excavations,

new contributions to the study of the structure, and the sacred depot of the Champa temple-tower.

### **3.4. The chronology of Phong Lê temple-tower**

In order to discuss the issue of chronology for the Phong Lê temple-tower, we rely on the starting point of Champa's historical and artistic studies.

Firstly, the decorative pattern on the Phong Lê brick is a motif of a leaf-shaped motif that bends, prickles up at the tip, deep groove leaves. Similar to the decorative motifs at Khương Mỹ temple-tower, Mỹ Sơn A1, Mỹ Sơn B5 (Quảng Nam) has been ranked by researchers in the early 10th century (Fig 3. 44).

Secondly, Phong Lê site is one of the few locations in Đà Nẵng to discover a collection of typical stone artifacts in Champa art sculpture, including a cosmic Shiva dancing tympan, four Visnu tympan, etc. Boisselier (1963) has investigated and pointed out that although there are still some elements of Đông Dương sculpture in the late 9th century as a molded square, muscular body, but elements such as a fresh face. Moreover, the Kirita-mukuta's head, cone-shaped, three-tiered, shrinking or ankle-wear are the defining characteristics of Khương Mỹ art style in the 10th century.

Besides, during the previous two excavations and the excavation in 2018, many pieces of ceramic were discovered in the Song (10th century to the 13th century). It is a fragment of worshipping objects used in rituals such as those discovered at Champa temple-tower in central Việt Nam. So, Phong Lê site continues to operate as a temple-tower for Cham people at least in the 12th to the 13th century.





1. Phong Lệ



2. Khuong Mỹ



3. Trà Kiệu



Fig 3. 44: The location of the sites share the same motif with Phong Lê

### **3.5. Summary**

The excavation results of Phong Lê site in 2018 have clarified a part of the overall architecture of the temple-tower with the architectural features, sculpture, and beliefs of Cham people such as lion, snake god statue, pedestal sculpture with the elephant. Like dozens of temple-towers discovered on the strip of central Việt Nam. Phong Lê architectural complex can be a large-scale project in the current Champa temple-tower system in Central Việt Nam.

Stemming from these new findings, our current awareness of the site of Phong Lê temple-tower is an architectural complex distributed on a high mound, surrounded by an ancient flow of the river Cẩm Lê. Phong Lê site is capable of being planned with different levels of foundation, the main temple-tower at the highest central level, surrounded by a system of walls separating the central area from the periphery and the entrance through architecture. The gate, there may be some auxiliary works such as houses long before the Gate, Fire temple-tower, or the temple-tower in the surrounding wall of the main temple-tower temple-tower.

Construction materials are mainly brick, stone sculptures, and tile, including sophisticatedly decorated such as lion statues, elephant decoration pedestals. These are original relics, located in strata. It is an additional source for exhibits and research relics of the Đà Nẵng Museum of Champa Sculpture. Based on the decorative decoration of Champa brick and sandstone like Mỹ Sơn A1, Mỹ Sơn B5, and ceramic glaze in the Song Dynasty, we propose the chronology of Phong Lê site about in the 10th century and maintained by the Champa until at least the 12th to the 13th century.

## CHAPTER IV: BUDDHISM ĐỒNG DƯƠNG MONASTERY IN QUẢNG NAM

### 4.1. The history of Indrapura dynasty

Buddhism Đồng Dương Monastery site (now located in the village of Đồng Dương, Bình Định Bắc commune, Thăng Bình district, Quảng Nam province), about 30 kilometers to the east of Mỹ Sơn Sanctuary, about 65 kilometers to the southeast of Đà Nẵng city (Fig 4.1).



Fig 4. 1: The location of Đồng Dương Monastery

Based on the Champa inscription, it has been established that the five kings had ruled in Indrapura are Indravarman II, Jaya Simhavarman I, Jaya Saktivarman, Bhadravarman, and Indravarman III (Fig 4. 2).



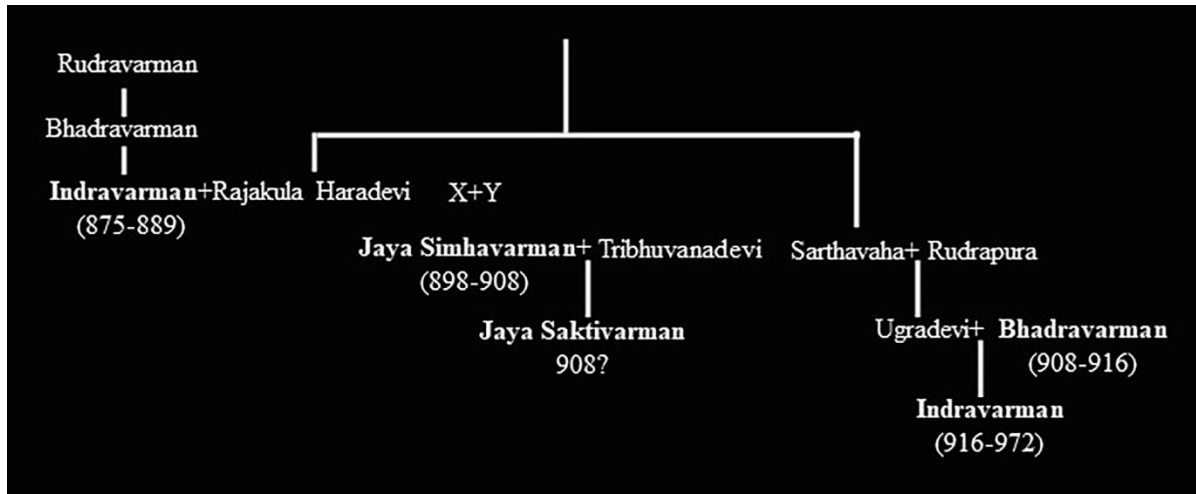


Fig 4. 2: The succession of the Indrapura dynasty kings

The first king created the Indrapura dynasty was Indravarman II. It is named in the Champa inscriptions as “maharaja,” means “the king of kings.” It is said that he did not obtain the supreme power by his father, Bhadravarman, or his grandfather, Rudravarman, but that “he was appointed by the king” (Schweyer 2009b: 309-337). It is still unclear what form of cooptation could take this choice of a king of the kings of the Champa. However, his father and grandfather were also kings. Indravarman belonged to one of the royal families of Champa, among whom could choose a “king of kings.” This family claimed heroic ancestry through the mention of founding heroes, such as Uroja and Bhrgu (Golzio 2004: 61-73). The accession to the supreme power of Indravarman II will center the history of Champa on the cradle of his family: Indrapura, on the current site of Đòng Dương, which will become the new capital of the country for almost a century.

King Indravarman II founded the capital of Champa in Đòng Dương Indrapura in 875 CE. The first king of the Champa to possess, on the Cambodian model, a complete royal title, his name was Laksmmdra Bhumisvara Gramasvamin and gave his reign name, Indravarman, to his capital. When he died, the posthumous named is Paramabuddhaloka (Coedes 1968: 123).

So I can infer that he converted to Buddhism. Under his reign, which seems to have been peaceful, the territories passed under his control extended from Châu Sa to the south, a fortress near the mouth of the Trà Khúc river in Quảng Ngãi (Fig 4. 3). However, indirect marks of his influence, testimonies of relations between the king and its feudatories, are from the province of Phan Rang in the south to that of Quảng Bình in the north, near the door of Annam.

Besides praising the talent, virtue, and offerings, the C. 61 inscription does not indicate any other specific information, such as enthroning years and death year of Indravarman II, the first king of the dynasty of Indrapura. However, it is certain that this first king had ruled over a decade from the year 875 to the year 889 (Golzio 2004: 92-93).

Perhaps the year 889 of C. 150 Ròn inscription (in Quảng Bình) and C. 108 A-B Bồ Mừng I inscription (in Quảng Nam) is the year that Indravarman II passed away (Fig 2. 83). The new king named Jaya Simhavarman was enthroned, because while C. 108 A-B inscription talked about the respect of Indravarman II for Lokeshvara and his land offering for the Buddhism Monastery. Also, there has appeared the name of the new king Jaya Simhavarman (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015). For example, in the C. 108 Bồ Mừng C-D, it wrote: “Sri Jaya Simhavarman, king of Champa, king of kings, whose power and reputation are incomparable, whose fortune, wisdom and strength spread to other lands, has been working on this pious mission for the god of gods...” (Golzio 2004: 73-76).



mother's sister, queen Ajna Pov Kulyan Sri Rajakula, also known as Haradevi. Another piece said Ajna Pov Kulyan Sri Rajakula queen built the Sri Indraparamesvara to increase the merit for her husband, King Sri Paramabuddhaloka (posthumous name of Sri Jaya Indravarman II) (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015) (Golzio 2004: 82-89).

Thus, these inscriptions have revealed quite complete information about the king who founded the dynasty of Indrapura: personal name is Laksmindra-Bhumisvara-Lokesvara; the religious institution is Laksmindra-Lokesvara Svabhayada; the posthumous name is Paramabuddhaloka; ordination name is Indravarman II; the capital name is Indrapura, and his statue is Indraparamesvara because he did not have son, the son of his wife's sister enthroned with the ordination name Jaya Simhavarman (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015).

King Jaya Simhavarman married a princess from Quảng Trị, which allowed the Indrapura dynasty to extend its influence direct to the North. We find the marks of the power of the king from the Châu Sa (Quảng Ngãi) to Nhan Biều (Quảng Trị) (Fig 4. 3). However, his power politics was also more sensitive in the north in Quảng Bình province with the inscription. He reigned until 908 CE.

After Jaya Simhavarman died in 908 CE, the son of him became the king Jaya Saktivarman, is named incidentally only once in the inscription. Thanks to C. 149 Nhan Biều (Quảng Trị province), we know that the successor after Sri Jaya Simhavarman was the son of this king: “Then, in the kingdom of wealth that prosperity are all around of King Sri Jaya Saktivarman, son of Sri Jaya Simhavarman, the protector of the world with strict orders” (Golzio 2004: 106-114). Unfortunately, this inscription did not say the year when Sri Jaya Simhavarman died. However, through the C. 61 Châu Sa inscriptions (Quảng Ngãi province),



we can see, this king still reigned in 903. C149 Nhan Biều (Quảng Trị province), which is the only document mentioning King Sri Jaya Saktivarman dates back 908 CE (or 912 CE). Also, to the unique information quoted as above from the inscription, we know nothing more about the life and works of Sri Jaya Saktivarman (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015).

C.149 Nhan Biều inscription (908 CE) also said, after Sri Jaya Saktivarman, another king reigned Champa. This new king has ordination name Bhadravarman II. Not an existing document refers to the relationship between Bhadravarman II and the previous king. Bhadravarman, who ruled from 908 CE to 916 CE, seems to have come to power through very indirect matrimonial ties. His direct political power remained focused on Quảng Nam and Quảng Trị. Also, the power of the king Bhadravarman remained in the mountainous areas around Kon Klor, Kon Tum province (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015) (Golzio 2004: 106-114) (Fig 4. 3).

C. 142 Hóa Quê inscription (Quảng Nam province) praised: King śrī Bhadravarman, a spotless moon in the sky which is the excellent family of Bhrgu, awakens the lotus, which is the heart of men, by means of his excellent rays (splendor). He, the king of Champa, like the son of Pandu, shines by his splendor in the battlefield; which is grey with the dust raised by the swift-moving sharp hoofs of horses galloping high; whose surface has been dyed red with drops of blood, like Aśoka flowers, shed by means of various weapons, and in whose four regions the sounds of war-drums were drowned by the roars of gigantic beautiful elephants (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015) (Golzio 2004: 104-105).

According to the C. 113 Hà Trung inscription (Quảng Trị province in 917 CE) carved during the reign of Indravarman III, a new king succeeded to the throne of Bhadravarman II

(Golzio 2004: 114-115). This new king has the ordination name Indravarman III, and according to C. 38E Po Nagar inscription (Khánh Hòa province in 918 CE), this new king was the son of Bhadravarman II (Golzio 2004: 116-117).

The C. 38E Po Nagar inscription did not only talk about the origin but also praised the talent and merit of Jaya Indravarman III: King Sri Bhadravarman, who was devoting much wealth for this world, who has all land extending to the sea. His son, King Indravarman III, skilfull in protectng Champa, was like full moon in the sky. He has installed the golden image of the goddess Bhagavatī in order to gain fame in the whole world (Golzio 2004: 116-117).

The erection of the yellowish statue of goddess Bhagavati and inscriptions carved in the Po Nagar has demonstrated the interest and authority expansion of the King Indrapura to the southern provinces of Champa. During the time King Jaya Indravarman III extended power down south, it is time Zhenla had an intention to hit this land of Champa. His influence extended from the Quảng Trị and Thừa Thiên Huế provinces to the north to Nha Trang in the South. He had to face the attack by the Cambodians in 947 CE. Then, the country was invaded by the Đại Việt. His troubled reign was fell down in 972 CE, the date of its last mention in the texts (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015).

From 972 CE to 982 CE, the Chinese Annals mention a King named Paramevarman, who is not known by any inscription. He was killed during the invasion by the Vietnamese King Lê Đại Hành, who destroyed th f Indrapura city. The installation of the new capital of Champa in Vijaya marks the disappearance of the Indrapura dynasty on the front of the stage. The power of this dynasty has therefore fallen under the pressure of foreign invaders. When Vietnamese King Lê Đại Hành came to Indrapura capital in 982, the newly enthroned king of

Champa, Indravarman IV, ran away to the south. So the Champa kingdom became chaotic. Two years after Vietnamese Lưú Kế Tông publicly announced his kingship in Champa. Complete Annals of Đại Việt<sup>4</sup> wrote: “In 988, King of the Champa, Bằng Vương La in Vijaya (Phật Thành) took the title Cu-thì-lợi Hà-thanh-bàì Ma-la”. This new king was Sri Harivarman II that C. 75 Mỹ Sơn inscriptions mentioned, and he was also the first king of Champa in the era that this country must move the capital to the south in Vijaya (Bình Định) (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015).

After enthroning as king of Champa, Harivarman II returned and took capital in Indrapura and built the stele in Mỹ Sơn with the content: In the year Saka 917 (985 CE), under the reign of King Sri Vijaya Harivarmadeva, god Sri Jaya Isana-Bhadresvara was erected for the prosperity of this land (Golzio 2004: 122).

In 999, the new king of Champa named Dương Phổ Câu Bì Trà Dật Thi Ly (Yan Pu-ku Vijaya). Witnessing the devastation of the capital, King Yan Pu-ku Vijaya gave up Indrapura, bringing his troops to seek shelter at Vijaya (Bình Định) to avoid being surrendered to Đại Việt. Thus, with the formation of Đồng Dương dynasty in 875 to 1000, Champa history entered a new phase: the period of the hegemony of the northern kings. Moreover, we can see that just from the Indrapura dynasty, the first time of the Champa kingdom was unified as a whole and ruled by the northern kings. However, in the last years, the kings of this dynasty

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<sup>4</sup> Complete Annals of Đại Việt (Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư) is the official historical text of the Lê Dynasty, that was originally compiled by the royal historian Ngô Sĩ Liên under the order of the Emperor Lê Thánh Tông and was finished in 1479.

pushed the Champa country into the wars, making it weak and separated (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015).

#### **4.2. The plan of architecture**

Parmentier (1909) excavated Đòng Dương and found the main architectural areas of the Sanctuary with many valuable sculptures in 1902. The complex of temple-towers are located along an axis from west to east, about 1.300 meters long. The main complex area located in a rectangular area: 326 meters long, 155 meters wide, surrounded by a brick wall. Running to the east to a rectangular valley, there is a 760m long road. The complex consists of 3 area along the east-west axis. Brick walls separate these clusters (Fig 4. 4-5) (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015):

+ East Cluster: there are only remaining traces of the foundations of the longhouse, which the researchers supposed to be the Buddhist Monastery (Vihara). This longhouse has a rectangular area with two rows of parallel columns in the east-west axis, and each row has 8 pillars in brick. The roof has a wood frame and tile.

+ Middle Cluster: there are only remaining traces of the wall, the steps of a house along the East-West axis. This house has a brick wall that is not very thick. Doors are located on both gables, on two walls there are many windows. This house is also tiled. There are four Colossus statues (Dvarapala) which are quite big, about two meters high, the researchers said those are the impressive works in Champa sculpture.

+ West Cluster: includes the main temple-tower and the surrounding towers, this temple-tower is a kind of traditional tower in Champa architecture; with quadrangular ground, doors in the east, the front lobby is quite long, around the walls are buttress carved with strips



stylized foliage motifs as crawling worm pattern, which is a kind of typical patterns of Đòng Dương. The base of the tower was decorated with alternating elephant heads and miniature towers. In the temple-tower, there is a large sandstone altar carved with crawling worm patterns, scenes of daily life in the palace, some scenes' excerpts about the life of Buddha Shakyamuni. The features on the human statues in Đòng Dương are shown exaggerated; men have an almost square face, low forehead, bushy and intersecting eyebrows, big nose, wide mouth, thick lips, and a thick mustache. Statues of women have a slightly rough face and oversized breasts.



Fig 4. 4: The aerial photographs of Đòng Dương

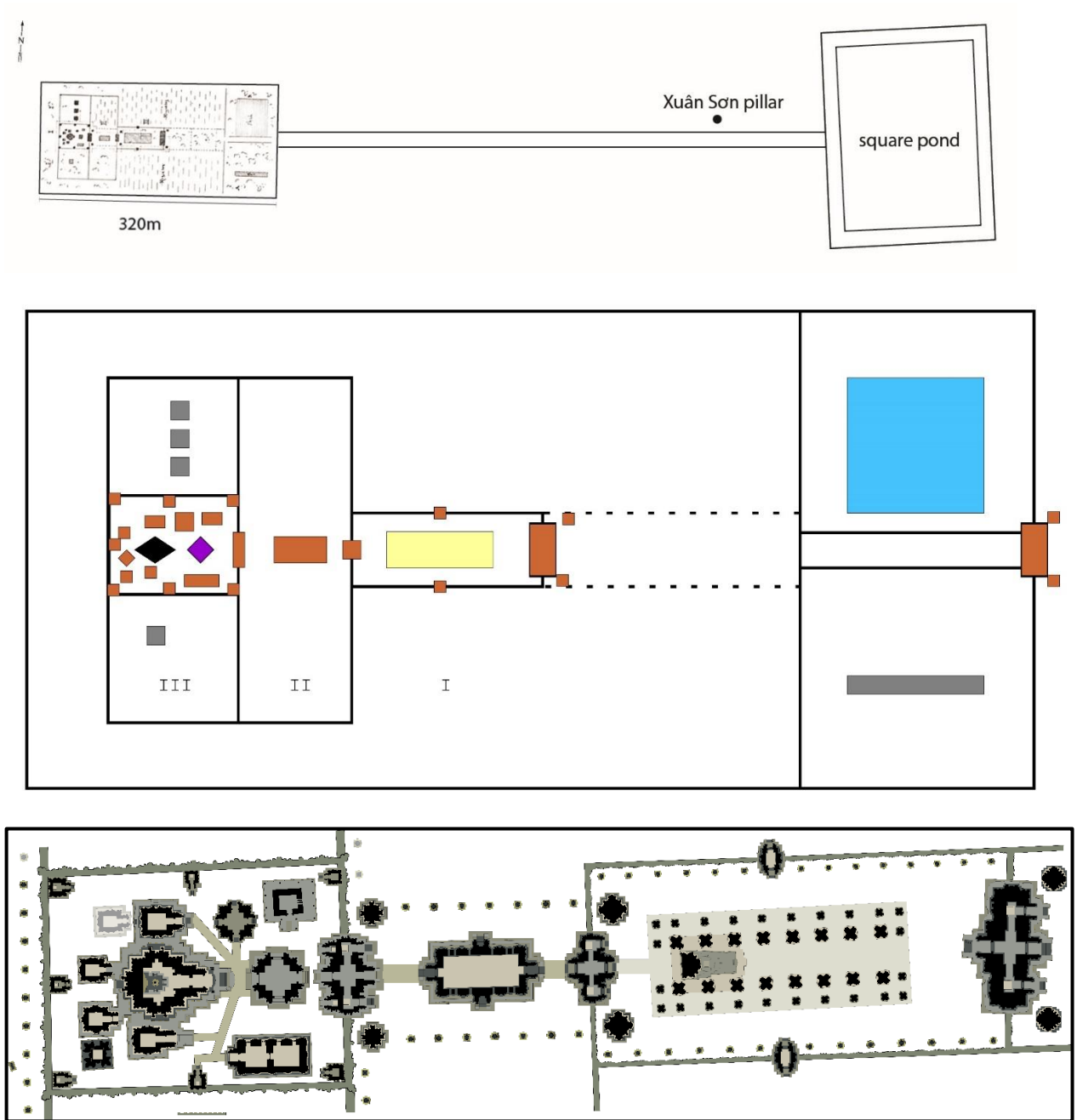


Fig 4. 5: The plan of Đồng Dương monastery complex  
 Source: Based on Parmentier (1909: Plates XCVIII-CI and XCIX-CI)

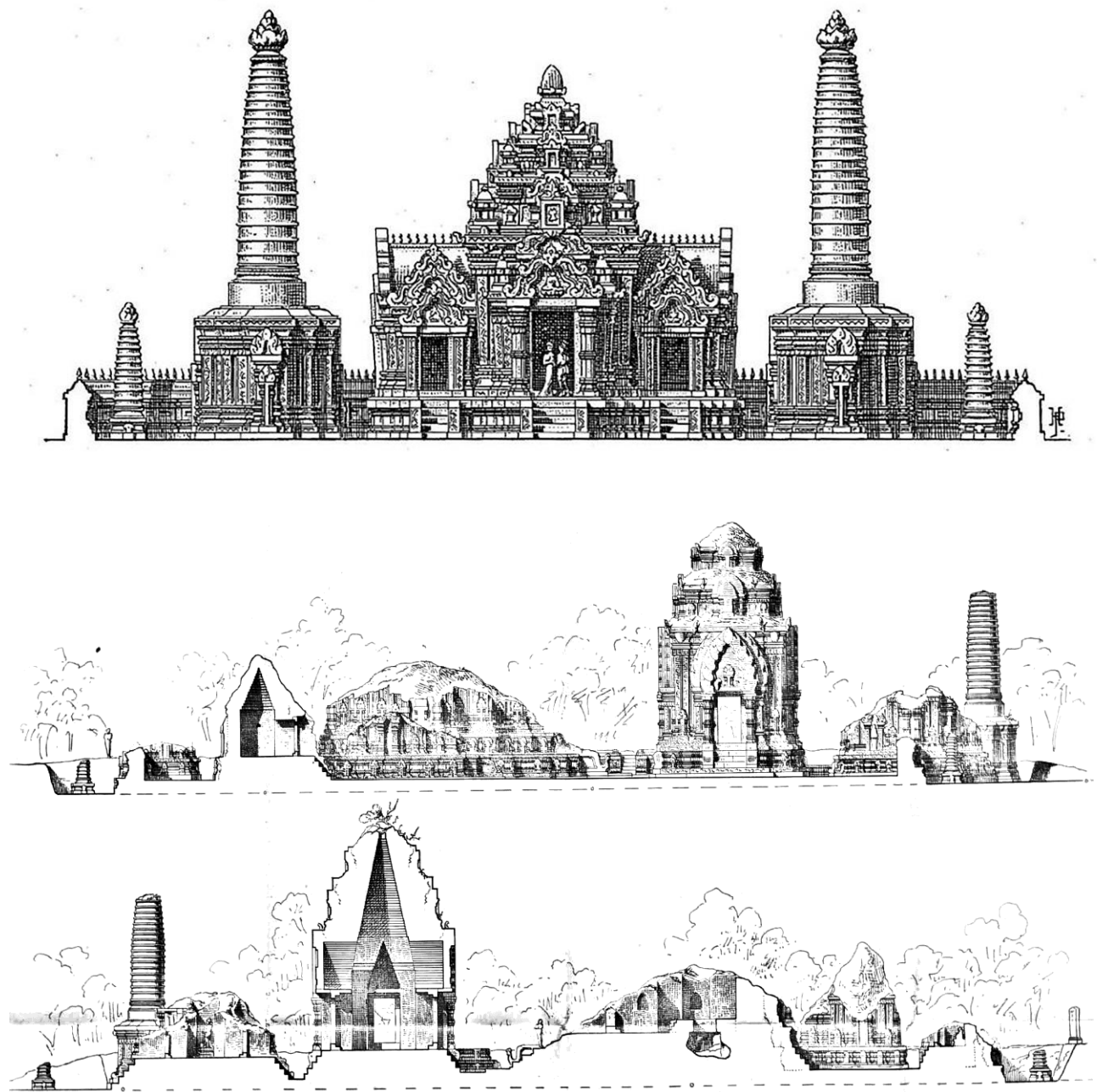


Fig 4.5: The plan of Đồng Dương monastery complex  
Source: (Parmentier 1909: planche CII-CIII)

In 1996, Institute of Vietnam Archaeology, Hà Nội, Việt Nam National University, Hanoi, and Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng Museum coordinated to survey the site. Archaeologists have found that, in addition to the architectural remnants of the Buddhist Monastery, traces of human residence in the period of Champa kingdom in Đồng Dương village are not many. Đồng Dương village area has a very harsh climate, arid land. Farmland layer is approximately 40-50 cm thick, even 20 cm thick in some places, below is the laterite layer. Thus, this is not a convenient place to build capital. Đồng Dương is the purely Buddhism Sanctuary of Champa kingdom, and Indrapura city must have been a broader area, with its center located outside of the Đồng Dương Buddhist Monastery (Ngô Văn Doanh 2015).

#### **4.3. The collection of artifacts**

Following the French researcher, Finot published his findings in 1901 and a year later, in 1902 Parmentier conducted excavations on a large scale, the secret door to the Buddhism Monastery that was the respectably referred to by ancient Chinese and Đại Việt history, and in the memories of ancient Champa history was opened. The large-scale excavation has attracted researchers and assessed that this is one of the valuable relics of Champa. Đồng Dương Buddhist Monastery is only widely known until the scientists have published numerous research projects so that we can see the magnitude and scale of it (Fig 4. 6).





Fig 4. 6: Some pictures of Đồng Dương excavation in 1902.

Source: EFEO

Finot (1921: 43-196) introduced 229 artifacts that have been discovered, with the most notable bronze Buddha statue, standing higher than 1 meter. It has become an interesting research topic for scholars, seen as one of the most beautiful art works in Southeast Asia. This bronze Buddha statue is the famous one discovered in Đồng Dương in 1901 (currently exhibited at the Museum of Vietnamese History in Hồ Chí Minh City). Shortly after the discovery, the statue immediately attracted the attention of famous scientists at that time, such as Finot (1921), Foucher (1905), Dupont (1959), Parmentier (1909), etc.

It is 1.08 meters tall (without pedestal), showing the Buddha standing with both hands rising in balance to the front. Buddha wears a long robe leaving the bare right shoulder and has a small tumor (urna) in the middle of his forehead (Fig 4. 7). Đòng Dương Buddha statues and the others of the same type were found in Southeast Asia, such as Buddha statue in Korat (Thailand), in Sikendung (Indonesia), in Jember (Java, Indonesia), Angkor Borei statue (Cambodia) (Fig 4. 8). All of them have the same style of Amaravati Buddha of India (8th to the 9th century). With the discovery of this bronze Buddha statue of 8th to the 9th century, the scientists have had more evidence to ensure that before becoming the capital Indrapura, Đòng Dương used to be a religious center and the residence area of Indravaman clan.



Fig 4. 7: The bronze Buddha statue

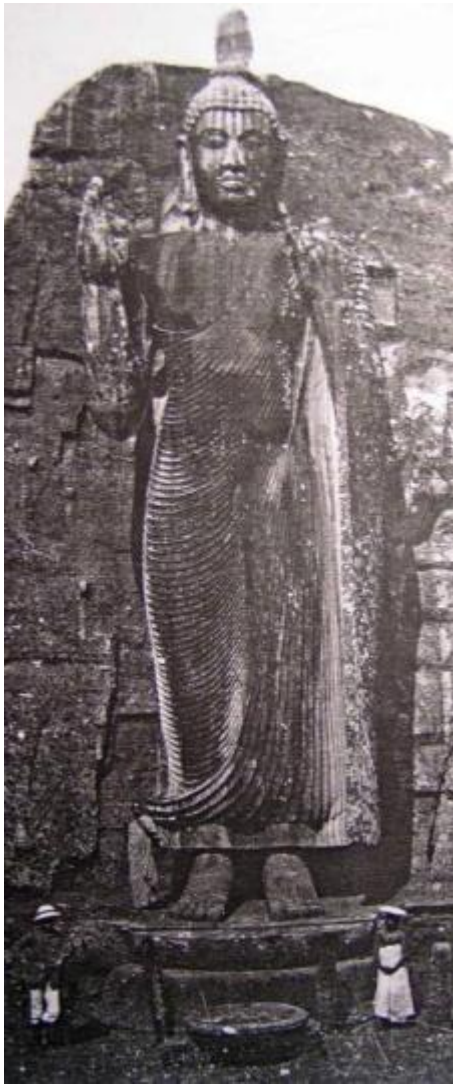


Fig 4. 8: The Buddha statue in Korat (Thailand, left) and Vergala (Sri Lanka, right)

Source: (Dupont 1959)

In the East Cluster, we found a large sandstone altar, carved with pictures of humans and very delicate patterns. Above the altar is a big statue of Buddha Shakyamuni (?) sitting in a chair, hands on the knees, like a Champa king sitting on the throne with footrest. The Buddha's coat covers the right shoulder and drops down to the wrist. Head of the Buddha statue is exhibited in Guimet Museum (France) while the head on this current statue is at Đà Nẵng Museum of Cham Sculpture is made of clay, unlike the original (Fig 4. 9).

Buddha images in *bhadrāsana* are usually identified in China as Buddha Maitreya, who will descend to earth in the future, as mentioned in the Descending Sūtra. The representation of Buddha Maitreya in *bhadrāsana* made its first appearance in China under the Northern Liang dynasty (421-439 CE) as a symbol of salvation and political renewal. His importance was reaffirmed when empress Wu (則天武后) claimed herself to be equal to Maitreya in order to legitimize her assumption of imperial power in 690 CE. Great numbers of Maitreya images were produced in response to empress Wu's proclamation of a female universal emperor, and the icon became a standard under the Tang dynasty. The Tang Maitreya is known in various *mudrā*, most commonly with his left hand on the knee and palm down, and the right-hand half-raised in *abhaya* or *vitarka mudrā*. The *mudrā* of the Đổng Dương Buddha is very unusual and has only been found on some of the largest Buddhist sculptures in Chinese history in the Sichuan province. These include one in Shi Fo Temple in Chengdu, dated to 771 CE; one located in Ban Yue Mountain, Zi Yang city, dated to 793 CE; and the Leshan giant Maitreya, the largest stone Buddha in China. Work on the last figure, carved from a riverbank cliff and 71 m high, was started in 713 CE and completed in 803 CE (BTĐKCĐN 2018: 80-81) (Fig 4. 11).

In this area, there were some Dharmapala statues found on the stone pedestals next to brick pillars. These statues have slightly heavy faces, intersecting eyebrows, large nostrils, thick bushy mustache on thick lips, shortly trimmed beard. They wear Mukuta hat with two layers, decorated with three large flowers in bodhi leaves shape, and wear large earrings. Their clothes are sampot with the big body in front, decorated with alternating flowers and stripes (Fig 4. 16). According to Parmentier (1909), these are Shiva statues because, in the mid-



forehead of these characters, there is a third lozenge eye. However, Boisselier (1963) those are Daharmapala with a lozenge Urna on their foreheads.



Fig 4. 9: The large sandstone altar in East Cluster



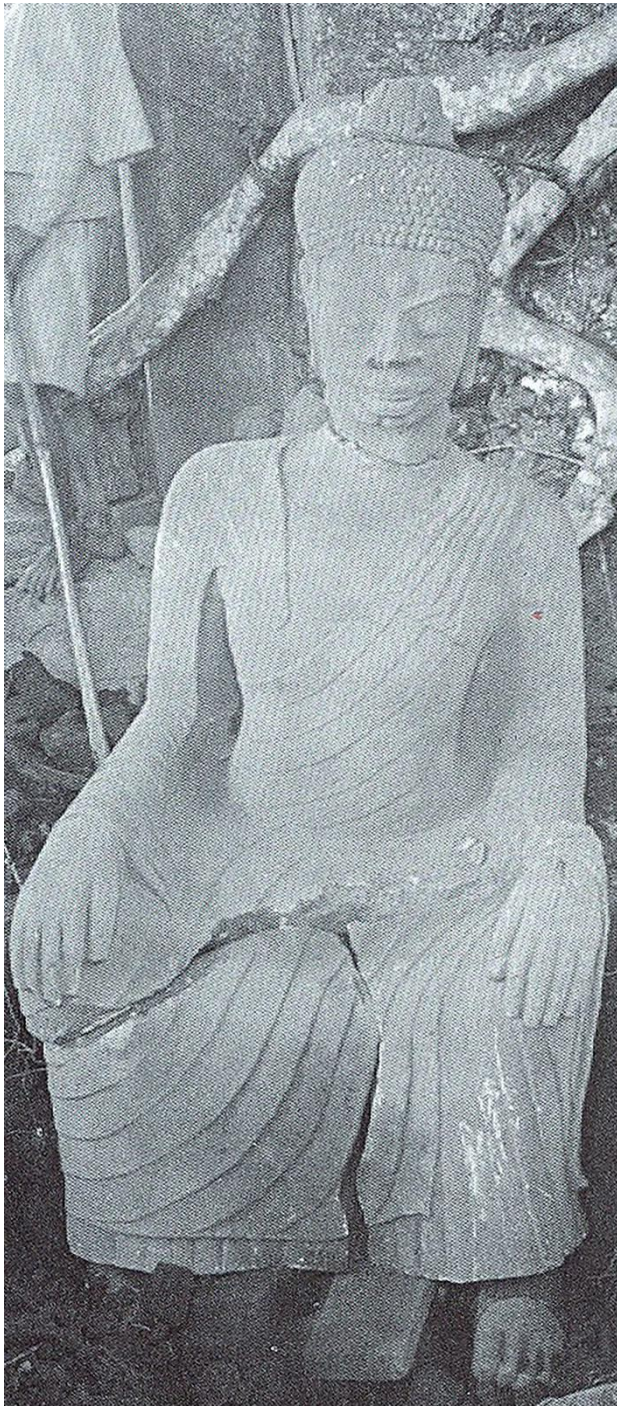


Fig 4. 10: The Buddha large sandstone statue  
Source: (Parmentier 1909)



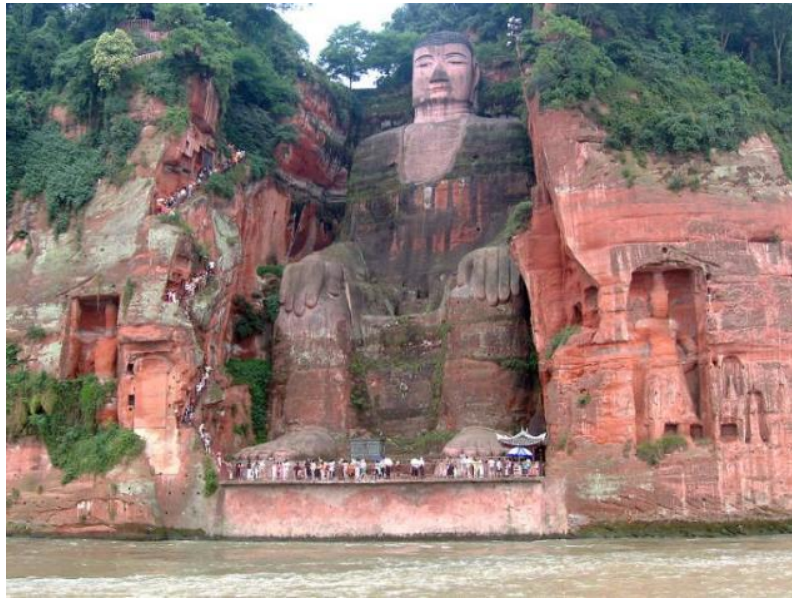


Fig 4. 11: Leshan Giant Buddha (Chinese: 乐山大佛), Sichuan Province

In 1978, while working, local people discovered a bronze statue of a gorgeous goddess which was almost intact in *Đông Dương*. Immediately after the discovery, the statue of *Đông Dương* not only has become a masterpiece of the Champa sculpture art, but it is also preserved and cherished as a treasure in *Đà Nẵng* Museum of Cham Sculpture. This statue has become the first and only bronze statue in *Đà Nẵng* Museum of Cham Sculpture. This is also the biggest bronze statue known in Champa art (114 cm high) (Fig 4. 12).

The statue shows a woman standing straight, raising hands to the front in balance, each hand is holding something that has been lost. Through the remnants, it was suggested that there must have been a lotus in her right hand and a water bottle in her left hand. The statue's hands and upper part are left bare, showing a beautiful woman's body with three-line high neck, big chest and hemispherical close breasts, slightly overstuffed belly separated with the

chest by a beautiful and deep wrinkle, big hips, broad shoulders, healthy bare hands spreading to hold something with her thumb and forefinger proportionately and charmingly. The lower part of her body wears a tight and ankle-length wrap skirt (sarong) with vertical crease lines. Running along the center of the inside sarong are the folds along the sarong's body.

Although only the lower section in front is shown, it is easy to see the inside sarong is of the same style that many Buddha statues of Đông Dương period, such as Buddhism statues in Mỹ Đức and Đại Hữu, Quảng Bình (Fig 4. 13).





Fig 4. 12: The female bronze statue found in Đông Dương



Fig 4. 13: Buddhism statues (Avaloskiswa?) in Mỹ Đức and Đại Hữu, Quảng Bình

Source: (Boisselier 1963: fig 70-73-74)

However, besides sarong inside, *Đông Dương* statues also wear a sarong more outside. The outside sarong is well-dressed: after wrapping and tightening the back legs, two lower edges are pulled up to roll into a belly waistband in front. This outer sarong style of the *Đông Dương* statues also appears in other sites, such as statues (*Avalokitesvara*?) in Đại Hữu and Mỹ Đức, Quảng Bình. The bare upper bodies of the female statues mentioned above are expressed very similar to the body of *Đông Dương* goddess: big breasts, broad shoulders, bulging belly, big hips, three-line neck, lines under the chest. So, just through comparison the expression of body and clothing, it is apparent that there is a resemblance between the *Đông Dương* bronze statue and other stone and bronze statues of *Đông Dương* style.

The entire face, hair, and jewelry of the bronze statue discovered in 1978 in *Đông Dương* also carry the typical characteristics of *Đông Dương* style: wide face with a very short chin; narrow and flattened forehead, limited by two sections of hairs near the intersection of eyebrows that are drawn with a continuous, winding and bold line, wide mouth, thick lips with sharp line, high nose, wide nostrils, large almond-shaped eyes, pupils are inlaid with precious stones, thin eyelids, thick, long and intersecting eyebrows deeply carved (to be inlaid with precious stones), standing rhombus on the forehead which is also etched down (to be inlaid with precious stones), both ears have very long earlaps. *Đông Dương* goddess 's hair is braided into many small plaits which are coiled up high and are divided into two layers by a hair plait wrapping horizontally. The upper layer has a small Amitabha Buddha image sitting cross-legged. On the forehead where is close to the hair roots, there is a ribbon wrapping along the hairline. In short, it is easy to see the similarities between the hair and the face of the *Đông*

Duong statue with the ones of most typical Buddhist statues following Đồng Dương style in the 9th to 10th century.



Fig 4. 14: The lotus flower and a conch shell of Đồng Dương goddess

Since the Champa kingdom was defeated and the temple-tower was never restored, the statue remained buried for over a millennium and was discovered by local inhabitants only in 1978. When transmitting the statue of the goddess to the local authorities, they removed two objects that the statue originally held in her hands (Fig 4. 14). These objects were located and seen by Trian Nguyễn (2005: 5-38), which turned out to be a lotus flower and a conch shell, which, according to him, pointed to a combination of two deities: Avalokitesvara (lotus flower) and Visnu (conch shell). Trian Nguyễn thus suggested that the main deity of the Đồng Dương sanctuary was the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara represented as a female.

#### **4.4. Buddhism practiced in Đồng Dương**

Although there are records of the existence of Buddhist architectures in many locations in central Việt Nam such as Mỹ Đức, Đại Hữu (Quảng Bình), Ngũ Hành Sơn (Đà Nẵng), Đồng Dương is still the most unique and magnificent Buddhist complex in Champa, representing the official religion of an important ruling government, the capital and the center



of Champa at that time, Indrapura. Đồng Dương also marked the largest government patronage of Buddhism in central Việt Nam when being consecrated by King Indravarman II. It is difficult for us to know that Đồng Dương was built in 875 as described in the C. 66 Đồng Dương inscription or King Indravarman II was the person who only directed to repair and enlarge this Buddhist complex.

The unique feature of architecture and sculpture art in Đồng Dương is the combination of many religions and beliefs under royal patronage (Buddhism, Hindu and the tradition of worshipping the goddess in Champa). Along with influences from China, India, and Indonesia, one of the typical, special architectural and art styles of Champa-Đồng Dương style was created.

#### ***4.4.1. Mahayana Buddhism worships the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara***

Buddhism consists of two traditions: Hinayana and Mahayana established in Champa at least in the 5th century, as evidenced by the earliest Champa inscriptions from Mỹ Sơn which determine the presence of Buddhism in the most important center that worshiped the god Shiva in Champa (Guy 2011: 300-322). However, at the end of the first millennium in Southeast Asia, there was a trend of favoring the notions of Mahayana Buddhism under the direct patronage of dynasties. Therefore, the Mahayana Buddhist movement had influences on Champa, especially the worship of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the embodiment of compassion.

There are many clear inscriptions mentioning the worship of Avalokitesvara in Đồng Dương, in which inscriptions are still the most important source for understanding religious beliefs and thereby linking to ritual practice. In Đồng Dương, nine engraved writings were

discovered, namely C. 66-C. 71, C. 205, C. 236. Among them the C.66 stele with four sides of Sanskrit inscriptions is very important, depicting the Mahayana Buddhist doctrine that worships the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara in Đồng Dương. The beginning of this inscription is a compliment for Lokeshvara<sup>5</sup>, the god that the complex of temple-towers and monasteries consecrated. In the face B of Đồng Dương C.66 inscription, there are many praises to Lokeshvara's virtues which emphasize compassion, and the person devoted his entire mind to freeing the suffering of all beings<sup>6</sup>. The king is said to create the Lokeshvara statue with his own hands<sup>7</sup>, and the construction of a dedicated temple-tower and monastery complex is for the sake of Dharma and Sangha, and not for economic benefits<sup>8</sup>. Avalokitesvara, with mercy and salvation, eases the suffering of people, even those who live in hell<sup>9</sup>, which is very suitable to meet the king's power as “god on earth,” who can alleviate the suffering of all people.

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<sup>5</sup> *Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara* also called Lokeśvara or Lokanātha in the Champa engraved writings.

<sup>6</sup> There are many engraved writings mentioning the liberating role of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara "as the cause of liberation of this world" (sentence B II), "all appear to liberate sentient beings" (sentence B VII)

<sup>7</sup> “Want to learn what Dharma is and skillfully in finding the nature of supreme truth, the king created Lokeśa with his own hands.” (sentence B V)

<sup>8</sup> Sentence C I.

<sup>9</sup> Đồng Dương inscriptions refer to the liberation of sentient beings suffering in hell, Majumdar (1927, 79, Inscr. 31, B.VIII): An Thai inscriptions refer to the sins of the people surrounded by the army of Māra: Majumdar (1927: 106):

	No.	Name	Buddhist elements	Date	Donor	Province
1	C. 23	Bakul	Jina	829	Samanta, Sthavira Buddhanirvāṇa	Ninh Thuận
2	C. 66	Đồng Dương	Lakṣmīdra-Lokeśvara, Lokeśa, Avalokiteśvara, Dharma, Nirvāṇa	875	Indravarman II	Quảng Nam
3	C.138	An Thái	Pramuditalokeśvara, Avalokiteśva, Lokeśvara, Lokanātha	902	Bhadravarman II Indravarman II	Quảng Nam
4	C.149	Nham Biều	Vrddhalokeśvara, Avalokiteśvara	911	Po Klun Pilih Rajadvara, Sukrti Po Klun Dharmapatha	Quảng Trị
5	C. 167	Kon Klor	Mahindralokeśvara	916/917	Mahindravarman	Kom Tum
6	C. 38 E	Po Nagar	Buddhist philosophy	918		Khánh Hòa
7	C. 171	Đại Hữu	Ratnalokeśvara	989-903	Jaya Simhavarman I	Quảng Bình
8	C. 89	Mỹ Sơn	Indralokeśvara, Paramabodhisatva	1088		Quảng Nam
9	C. 100	Mỹ Sơn	Buddha	1157	Jaya Harivarman I	Quảng Nam
10	C. 92	Mỹ Sơn	Jaya Indralokeśvara, Buddhhaloka Buddhist Mahāyāna philosophy	1170	Jaya Indravarman	Quảng Nam
11	C. 55	Kim Ngọc	Buddha	1275/76	King of Ksatriya family	Bình Định
12	C. 134	Khánh Thọ Đông	Ye dharma			Quảng Nam
13	C. 150	Ròn	Avalokiteśvara		A king (name was lost)	Quảng Bình
14	C. 52	Kim Châu	Lingalokeśvara, Jinalokeśvara		Jaya Parameśvaravarman II	Bình Định

Table 5: The list of Champa inscription related to Buddhism

In addition, the inscriptions in the late 9th to the early 10th century also provide information about Mahayana Buddhism worshipping Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara in Champa. As the C.150 Ròn inscription (Quảng Bình) records an unidentified local ruler offering a monastery only to Avalokitesvara. Similarly, the inscription An Thái C.138 (Quảng Nam) records the previous construction of a monastery named “vihara pramuditalokesvara” that was only for Avalokitesvara and offered an Avalokitesvara statue with the name “Lokanatha”. The inscription C. 149 Nham Biều (Quảng Trị) with the date of year 911 CE records a dedication of a Buddhist monastery to Avalokitesvara, by the nobleman called Rajadvara, known as a servant of many Champa kings and performing two diplomatic missions to Java (Table 5) (Fig 4. 15).

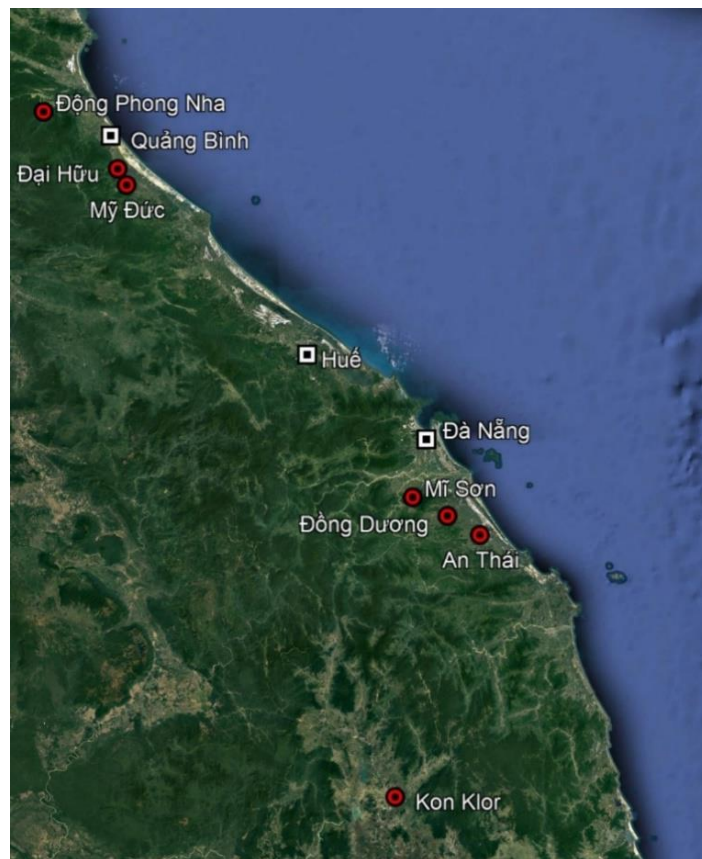


Fig 4. 15: The location of Champa inscriptions related to Buddhism



Mahayana Buddhism worshipping Avalokitesvara in Đòng Dương to be able to come to Nirvana seems to take the form of Western Paradise Mahayana in which Amitabha Buddha, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara as a worldly embodiment can save (Guy 2011: 300-322). Unlike being easy to find statues depicting Avalokitesvara, until now, the Amitabha Buddha image is absent in Champa. The image of Buddha Amitabha is known only in two other cases in Champa that need to be verified more firmly: First, in the publication of Chu San Tsang Chi Chi, it mentions a statue of “Buddha Amitayus” (a name of Amitabha Buddha) brought to China from Champa (Schweyer 2009b: 309-377); Secondly, the image of Amitabha Buddha is depicted in the chignon of the Bodhisattva statues found in Đòng Dương and Trà Kiệu, etc.

Taking into account all the information relating to Buddhism in Amaravati discussed above, it is very likely that the Mahayana Buddhism prevailed in this region and worship to Avalokitesvara was practiced in Đòng Dương, Đại Hữu, Mỹ Đức under the patronage of King Indravarman II. Đòng Dương was the center of worship in Buddhism during the late 9th and 10th century.

#### **4.4.2. Hindu**

It can be said that, with the devotion to Buddhism under King Indrapura II, the history of Champa Buddhism had a brilliant development period and left unique and typical values for Champa's art and architecture. However, Champa Buddhism in Đòng Dương not only reflects Mahayana Buddhism worshipping the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara as mentioned above, but also printed in bold the influence of Hindu in few remaining vestiges until today. There is even an idea that the influence of Hindu is considered to outweigh that of Buddhism and

Buddhism never took the highest position in Đòng Dương after King Indravarman had died in the year.

The inscription C.66 Đòng Dương records the recognition of King Indravarman II about the dependence on Shiva's supremacy, expressed in it the offering of a Kosa-an artifact covered linga with precious metal “with a yellowish face.” In Đòng Dương's inscription, the worship of Shiva with Bhadresvara's linga is placed on the ground through the sage Bhrgu and the legendary Uroja, established by the king, and the search for the ancestor of King Indravarman II which is the Paramesvara family (Supreme god, Shiva) is confirmed in the inscription<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, there are many evidences of Shiva and other Hindu gods in inscriptions in Đòng Dương<sup>11</sup>.

The inscription C.67 of King Jaya Simhavarman in Đòng Dương or other inscriptions of this king (Fig 2. 51) (Golzio 2004: 82-88). Besides praising the power of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, this king worshiped the supreme god Shiva under the name of Paramesvara. In these inscriptions, the god Shiva is recognized as the mighty god with supernatural power protecting the king and the royal dynasty.

Buddhist architecture in Đòng Dương shares many features in common with the Hindu architectures in Champa as temple-towers were all built with bricks and square road Phong Lê, the main door opened to the east. Alternatively, the layout of temple-towers in area 1 (the first main temple-tower/surrounding area) in Đòng Dương in Parmentier's description which

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<sup>10</sup> The line 23 on the Face A of the inscription are mainly given to linga of Śambhu-Bhadreśvara and its importance to the prosperity of the Champa king and the people.

<sup>11</sup> See Note 1.

is similar to the architectural layout in temple-towers B, C, E in Mỹ Sơn-the most important Shiva worship center of the Champa kingdom, about 20km to the north of Đồng Dương.

Especially in the sculptures discovered in Đồng Dương reflect the images described in Hindu. It is not difficult to find those points in Đồng Dương's sculptures: the image of a dvarapala colossus god stepping on a buffalo bears an incredible resemblance to the image of Durga Mahisasuramardini in India (Fig 4.16)



Fig 4. 16: The Đồng Dương dvarapala

Source: (Parmentier 1918)

While the god Shiva shows the power of destruction, extirpation and the glorious victory, the Buddha represents benevolence and peace. These are the powers that Champa kings in this period seemed to wish to achieve in ruling this kingdom. In order to achieve these powers, Champa kings sponsored the construction by consecrating valuable items or securing benefits (“tax-free”) to maintain Đồng Dương monastery.

Face D of Đồng Dương C.66 inscription shows: The “coexistence” in the peace of Buddhism and Hindu in Đồng Dương is not a divergent case. There have been many records in history before Đồng Dương and after Đồng Dương about this harmony as in the inscription C.23 from Bakul, Ninh Thuận province engraved in 829, indicating that a man Samanta built temple-towers and monasteries for Jina (Buddha) and Saṅkara (Shiva)”; C. 149 Nham Biều (Quảng Trị), a monastery only for Vrdhha-Lokesvara was set up at Cikir village, in 911, by an official named Po Klung Pilih Rajadvara, this event took place three years after his Shiva Devalirigesvara temple-tower consecration. At Yang Mun temple-tower, a Hindu temple-tower dating from the 11th to the 12th century, a bronze Buddha statue was found. It is as if the evidence and symbol of the equal role of Buddhism and Hindu in the belief practice of the Cham people.

#### ***4.4.3. The custom of worshipping the goddess***

It can be said that one of the characteristics of the practice of Buddhism and Hindu in Đồng Dương is the worship of the goddess image. We know that in the beliefs, religions in Champa, worship goddess such as Bhagavati goddess (Sakti-wife of Shiva god), Laskmi, Devi are very popular. Along with the center of worshipping the god Shiva (Shiva-Bhadresvara) in Mỹ Sơn (Quảng Nam), Po Nagar (Nha Trang) worshipping the goddess Yang Po Nagara (the Mother of the Kingdom) are the two most important religious centers in Champa history,



representing the duality, duplexity in Champa culture.

In the *Đông Dương* inscriptions, they confirm the existence of the worship of the goddess in ritual practice here: These goddesses are associated with royal women; for example, the goddess Sri Rudromma is the grandmother of King Jaya Simhavarman who is the nephew who succeeded King Indravarman II to the throne. The goddess Haromadevi “is the known mirror image of Haradevi Rajakula.” Haradevi Rajakula is the wife of Indravarman II; the aunt of King Jaya Simhavarman. The identification of royal women with the goddess with supreme power as a great religious privilege, playing a symbolic role, was the name they achieved after sponsoring the temple-towers.

Currently, the most important role of the goddess worship in *Đông Dương* is often attributed to the 114cm high bronze statue discovered in 1978, which has been already discussed above. It is now recorded as a national treasure. There are many studies and hypotheses about the name of this goddess-like statue. Especially the opinion of Vietnamese scholars widely accepted by many international researchers today, this is the Laksmindra-Lokesvara statue, the main deity that the *Đông Dương* Buddhist Institute is consecrated. One of the king's names, Laksmindra-Bhumisvara-Gramasvamin, maybe a deliberate name to associate with the goddess Laksmindra-Lokesvara to understand that the Lokesvara Bodhisattva is worshiped to assist the King Laksmindra-Bhumisvara-Gramasvamin” (Fig 4. 12) (Trian Nguyễn 2005: 12). In addition, the image of another important Hindu goddess-Laksmi-wife of Shiva god was discovered more than once at this relic, showing that the tradition of worshipping the goddess in Champa is still popular in one Buddhist relic (Fig 4. 17-18).

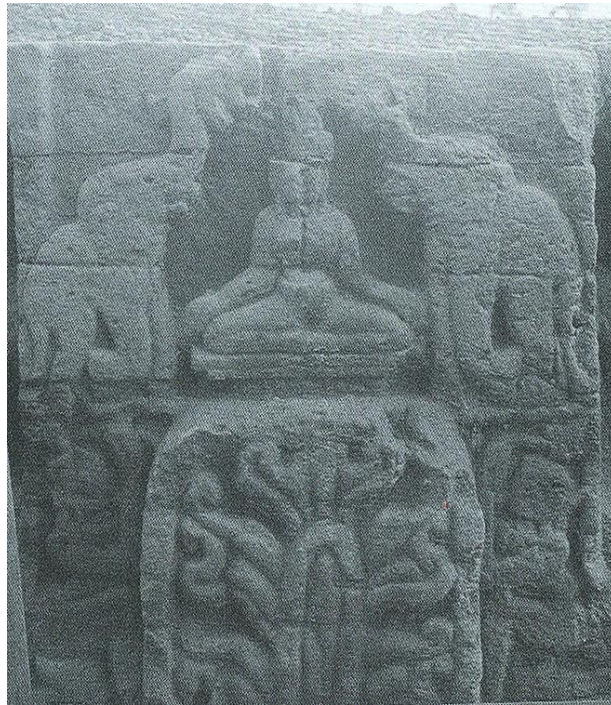


Fig 4. 17: The Laskmi image in Buddhism Đồng Dương site.

Source: EFEO



Fig 4. 18: The Yoni image (in the right hand) appeared with Buddha statue

Source: EFEO. VIE 00344\_b

The popularity of Hindu goddess throughout Southeast Asia in such a short time reminds us of connecting different political centers through trade and diplomacy. Sharing Buddhist images is a concept of a common culture linking Srivijaya, Java, Cambodia, and Champa territories (Guy 2011: 300-322)

#### ***4.4.4. Tantra Buddhist practiced in Đồng Dương***

Mahayana, with some Tantric elements were the main form of Buddhism practiced in Champa. The worship of Avalokitesvara seem to have attained reverence<sup>12</sup>. Tantra with two forms of development of the Mantrayana and Vajrayana emphasizes the esoteric of Dharani mantras, about the relationship of man to the universe. The worship of the goddess, an important component of Tantric Buddhism, is corroborated by many images of Đồng Dương, Đại Hữu, and Mỹ Đức, right from the 9th and early 10th century.

The other large-sized sitting Buddha was discovered among several other fragments near the area of the main temple-tower. From notes and images of Parmentier and Carpeaux, hand gestures with interlaced fingers can be identified as bodhyagri Mudra, making the hand become a symbolic gesture in the esoteric sense, indicating that this Buddha is probably Vairocana (Chutiwongs 2005: 65-87). Details visible in Carpeaux's picture confirm the possibility of this judgment. The Buddha statue head in Guimet (may belong to the body of Vairocana statue) is flattened at the back with a vertical joint (Fig 4. 18) (Baptiste & Zephir 2005: 213).

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<sup>12</sup> Some bronze statues were found in Champa based on the art style dating back to the 9th to the 10th century and some regional inscriptions related to Lokesvara or Lokanātha. See Chutiwongs (2002); Majumdar (1927) and in other references.

Tantric influence in the Mahayana of Southeast Asia began to appear from around the 7th to the 8th century<sup>13</sup>. With discrete evidence, it is difficult to determine exactly when and how to practice Tantric unity with Mahayana Buddhism in Champa. However, C. 138 An Thái inscription (902 CE) refers to Vajradhatu, Padmadhatu, and Cakradhatu, showing a familiar expression for the three Buddhas found in Maha Vairocana (Woodward 2004: 329-354) and being close in terms of time, place and dynasty in connection with Đổng Dương. Thus, this inscription provides a useful clue about the possible nature of Buddhism practiced in Indrapura or Đổng Dương<sup>14</sup>. The types of Buddhist practices mentioned in the An Thái inscription also prevailed in Java, Cambodia, and China at the same time<sup>15</sup>. This makes the inference of Buddhist influence flowing to Đổng Dương very complicated. However, many recent studies show the influence of Buddhism from China at the end of the 9th and early 10th century in Đổng Dương area<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> See Woodward (2004). Puniyodaya monk (who came from Central India and spent time in China and Zhenla-Cambodia) is known as the Mandalasta-Sūtra evangelist of Mantrayāna in the middle of the 7th century. Archaeological evidence and engraved writings show the presence in Cambodia and Java of a primitive and important *Mantrayāna* text, recognizing that it is *Kārandavyūha-sūtra*.

<sup>14</sup> The important thing to note here is *Mahāvairocana sūtra* translated into Chinese in 723 CE. See Woodward (2004: 338).

<sup>15</sup> Huber, as mentioned in Mabbett (1986: 297).

<sup>16</sup> The most detailed and up-to-date study concerning the flow of Tantric Buddhism throughout Southeast Asia is by Hiram Woodward (2004). Woodward argues that the nature of Buddhism in Đổng Dương shows Chinese influence.



## **4.5. Champa's Terracotta Buddhist Votive Tablets**

### ***4.5.1. Introduction***

Ancient Champa was located on the Southeastern coast of Southeast Asia, separated from the rest of the continent by mountainous highlands in the West but connected with the other regional kingdoms by various sea routes traversing the South China Sea. At its height during the medieval period, the Champa territory covered roughly the area stretching from modern Đồng Hới in the north to Phan Thiết in the south. Presently, the entire region of ancient Champa belongs to Việt Nam. The extant Champa inscriptions, architectural monuments, and sculptures reveal that Brahmanism flourished in Champa, especially among royal families and elite classes.<sup>17</sup> The extant inscriptions and sculptures suggest Buddhism was also practiced in Champa. In the late 19th to early 20th centuries, French scholars such as Etienne Aymonier (1844-1929), Louis Finot (1864-1935), Henri Parmentier (1871-1949) and Charles Carpeaux (1870-1904) excavated and published on one of the most prominent Buddhist centers in Champa, at Đồng Dương. This Đồng Dương sanctuary was the only Buddhist architectural monument remaining on the soil of modern Việt Nam. Indeed, the presence of Đồng Dương with its Buddhist inscriptions, together with the collection of Champa Buddhist sculptures currently on display at a handful of museums (Museum of Champa Sculpture in Đà Nẵng, National Museum of Vietnamese History in Hà Nội, Museum of Vietnamese History in Hồ Chí Minh city), show that Buddhism was part of Champa religious world. In particular, this

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<sup>17</sup> According to Griffiths et al. (2012), the total number of inscriptions that had been found prior to 2010 was only 233. They were written in Sanskrit and Old Cam, and dated mainly from the 7th to the 15th centuries. Brahmanism is considered as an early form of Hindu, an umbrella term for beliefs and practices including Saivism, and Vaisnavism.

evidence points to the belief and practice of Buddhism among Champa royal families and elite classes mainly between the 9th and 10th centuries. Only the elite classes could afford the patronage to construct such a large-scale Buddhist sanctuary as Đòng Dương.

This part focus on recently discovered Champa medieval terracotta Buddhist votive tablets found in Chồi mountain of Quảng Ngãi province. Through this, we hope to aĐòng Dương more to our knowledge of Buddhism in medieval Champa and Southeast Asia. From examining these terracotta votive tablets, the paper suggests that Buddhism might not always have been the religion of only the elites who worshipped Buddhist deities at Đòng Dương. Perhaps local populations also practiced this religion in their way, such as using the votive tablets for protection or as an amulet. Buddhist votive tablets are usually small in dimension and easy to carry in pockets or attached to necklaces and chains. Most of the Chồi terracotta Buddhist votive tablets bear the image of a Buddha in the middle with two bodhisattvas on each side. In this paper, we argue that the type of Buddhism that was popular in this region was Mahayana. Moreover, similar types of votive tablets have been found in modern Thailand, Myanmar, and Indonesia, suggesting interregional connections between these places that might influence the practice of Mahayana in the early medieval period.

#### ***4.5.2. Champa Terracotta Buddhist Votive Tablets at Chồi Mountain***

Chồi is a low mountain, emerging in the deltic downstream area of the Trà Khúc river, in Kim Lộc village, Tịnh Châu commune, Sơn Tịnh district, Quảng Ngãi province. This mountain is located not far from Châu Sa citadel, an ancient city of Champa. (Fig. 1) Buddhist votive tablets were discovered at Chồi for the first time in 1993, after which the place was excavated in 1998 by Vietnamese archaeologists. Chồi Buddhist votive tablets have been

interested by not only Vietnamese but also foreign researchers such as Skilling (2003, 2008), Guy (2011). However, they did not have any detailed archaeological information of the excavation in 1998. This year, when I conducted the research for my thesis, I found out one article published in 2005 in local provincial journal which have rather detailed data of the past excavation (Đoàn Ngọc Khôi 2005: 3-7). Therefore, I can provide for the first time to other scholars who are interested in votive tablets of Chòi mountain.

According to the report, the excavated pit has an area of 9.2 m<sup>2</sup>, located on a flat area of land on the top of the mountain. The excavation results revealed a kiln of an almost oval shape of 2.32m in length. The mouth of the kiln was constructed with 2 large pieces of stone facing east, while the auxiliary doors faced north and south. The kiln wall is lined with blue-gray stones. Due to the burning at high temperatures, many stones were melted and covered with a layer of white-gray stone powder. Many terracotta pieces were found inside the kiln. Due to the high fire resistance, those that were placed near the mouth of the kiln were hard and some of them eventually broke down, but those placed deep inside the kiln were not hard enough due to lower temperature (Đoàn Ngọc Khôi 2005: 4-5).

They collected 717 pieces of artifacts, including 35 intact votive tablets (Lê Đình Phụng 2003: 34). Although many artifacts are worn out, it is still recognizable that they have the same motif and size (6.5x4x1cm), which thus suggests that they were made from the same mold.



Fig 4. 19: The location of Chôi mountain and Châu Sa citadel.



Fig 4. 20: Champa terracotta Buddhist votive tablets found at Chôi mountain.

Krairiksh Piriya (1980: 33) and Michel Jacq-Hergoualch (2002: 157) explain that these votive tablets depict the Buddha preaching the Law before an assembly consisting of buddhas and bodhisattvas, or it could illustrate the scene of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī. Hiram Woodward (2009: 63-65) however, argues that they depict the scene of the Buddha visits the Kingdom of the Nāgas under the Rājāyatana tree, and this legend is mentioned in the



Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (Lotus Sūtra), one of the most important sūtras of Mahāyāna. Thus, the depiction of these bodhisattvas suggests a strong Mahāyāna influence of these Chòi votive tablets.

The shape of Chòi votive tablets is in the form of lotus petals in which Buddhist deities are depicted within a frame. In the center of the tablet is the Buddha with a halo behind his head. He sits on a throne, in the posture of pralamba-padasana, a popular position in Western India, particularly from Ajanta and Kanheri caves. His legs are hanging and placed on a two-story lotus pedestal. The Buddha is wearing a robe (uttarasaṅga) showing the right shoulder, and his right hand is raised high as if he is performing a vitarka mudra (gesture of discussion and teaching) or abhaya mudra (gesture of reassurance) while the left hand is resting on his thigh. On either side of the Buddha are two bodhisattvas standing in a tribhanga position (three bends in the body) on a lotus pedestal. Both Bodhisattvas have the hairstyle of jaṭamukuta (“crown of matted hair” and halos in the back of their heads. Each of their hands holds a lotus stem and a small water-flask. The upper part of the votive tablet depicted three Buddhas in dhyana mudra or meditation with a halo behind their heads. In India, it was often that Avalokitesvara and Maitreya were depicted as attendants of the Buddha in early Buddhist art. Advocates of the bodhisattva notion associated this with the rise of Mahayana, as was also emphasized in many Mahayana sutras. Thus, the depiction of these bodhisattvas suggests a strong Mahayana influence in this part of Champa.

The archeologists who excavated the site at Chòi mountain did not find any mold. However, they found many clay plates in various kilns, and plates are about the same size as the Buddhist votive tablets showed in, suggesting that these votive tablets were a local product

and not imported from elsewhere. Vietnamese archeologists just excavated a small area in Chòi mountain, and they already discovered nearly 1000 artifacts. This suggests that Chòi mountain could have been the home of large local production of Buddhist votive tablets. This leads to the idea that Buddhism prevailed in this area and it could have played an important role among the local populations. If the evidence from Đồng Dương showed us how the Champa royal families and elites worshipped Buddhist deities at Chòi mountain, the artifacts showed us another way of practice Buddhism, that is through the votive tablets.

I do not know how exactly the local Champa at Chòi mountain used these terracotta votive tablets. However, we know that terracotta votive tablets were typical of early Indian Buddhism. There were different types of motifs and depictions on votive tablets but in general, they were all related to the four most sacred sites of Buddhists that are Lumbini (birthplace of the Buddha), Bodh Gaya (where the Buddha achieved enlightenment), Sarnath (where the Buddha gave his first teaching), and Kusinagara (where the Buddha attained parinirvana). Many of the most famous Buddhist votive tablets depict the Buddha as seated in a stupa, conveying the idea of relic veneration. Some others depicted the Buddha with the bodhi tree behind him or with branches of leaves, symbolizing the moment when the Buddha achieved enlightenment, while the Buddha with a pair of deer representing his first sermon. In Champa, we do not see votive tablets with such depictions which are characteristic of early Indian Buddhism. Instead, the creation of Chòi votive tablets could be derived from pure Mahayana motivation, such as producing the image of a bodhisattva for gaining merits as advocated in several fundamental Mahayana sutras such as the Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sutra (The Lotus Sutra), and the Vajracchedika Prajnaparamita Sutra (The Diamond Sutra). In China, Buddhist

votive tablets were also found, for example, in Shaanxi Province, a 7th to the century tablet with the inscription on the back read “大唐善業, 泥壓得真如妙色身” (Fig 4. 21). It was believed that when a great monk dies, his ash was mixed with the clay that is made into the tablet. Thus, the tablet is exceptionally sacred and connects to the idea of relic worship, similar to stupa worship were relics of the Buddha, and great monks were symbolically believed to be inside.



Fig 4. 21: Buddhist votive tablet from Shaanxi Province.

Source: (Leidy, Strahan 2010:91)

In the *Prajnaparamitahrdaya Sutra* (The Heart Sutra), a mantra could become a sort of talisman. Thus, a votive tablet with the Buddha image could also become a talisman or an amulet. In Thailand today, it is common to have Buddhist votive tablets carried on one's body as an amulet for protection and good fortune. Such a votive tablet is small in dimension and light in weight, and therefore, it is easy for people to attach it to necklaces and chains to wear around the neck or carry on themselves. For Buddhists, these votive tablets are sacralized objects that contain specific supernormal power and having them on their bodies brings luck

and the feeling of safety. The Chòi mountain area was manufactured hundreds of these votive tablets for the same reason that each individual could have one on themselves for protection. However, to make the newly made votive tablets into amulets or sacred objects, they need to go through a consecration rite (Buddhabhiseka) by famous monks or holy men so that the Buddha can be “immanent presence” in the tablets. These monks would touch the votive tablets with their hands and utter a few sacred words or a mantra as a kind of ritual to sacralize the votive tablets. It brings us to the question of whether there was any Buddhist sangha around Chòi mountain.

#### ***4.5.3. Chòi terracotta votive tablets link to Champa Buddhism***

About 70 km north of Chòi mountain is the Đồng Dương sanctuary, the largest Buddhist center of Champa that was discovered and unearthed by French scholars, including Henri Parmentier, Charles Carpeaux, and Louis Finot in 1902 and 1904.<sup>18</sup> According to the Đồng Dương Stele Inscription of Indravarman II, dated 875 CE, “for the sake of Dharma, and not for revenue, a monastery has been founded for the community of monks. I have placed all necessities in the monastery for the enjoyment of the community of monks as well as other creatures. This monastery has been founded for the perpetual enjoyment of the community of monks, and not for the enjoyment of the king, nor as a permanent source of revenue.” (Glozio

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<sup>18</sup> Their notes on the archaeology and architecture of Đồng Dương sanctuary are extremely important because Đồng Dương was almost completely destroyed during the French war (1946-54) and the American war (1974-75).



2004: 72).<sup>19</sup> Thus, the community of monks at Đòng Dương could be the people who sacralized the votive tablets. At least, they could have had some connections with the people who produced those votive tablets. There must be some networks among the Buddhists since Đòng Dương, and Chòi mountain is not far from one another. Besides, Chòi mountain is quite close to Châu Sa citadel of Indrapura, the capital of Champa from about 875 CE to 1000 CE. Under the Indrapura dynasty, Buddhism was promoted, and the discovery of Buddhist votive tablets on Chòi mountain show the extent to which Buddhism had spread under this dynasty.

There have been debates about the status of the people who made Buddhist votive tablets. Wales (1976:196) suggests that it could have been the poor who wanted to produce them for the practice of accumulating merit, and small terracotta votive tablets do not cost much compared to bronze or wood images. For Skilling (2008:250), he maintains that terracotta votive tablets are not a product of the poor but rather of kings and mandarins because many of the Pagan Buddhist votive tablets contain inscriptions saying that they were crafted by the king's "own hands" for the sake of liberation. In Champa, we do not know who were the authors behind these votive tablets. However, with their small size, they were easy to carry around. Chòi mountain was not the only place that votive tablets were discovered.

In Central Việt Nam, Buddhist votive tablets have been found in various provinces, for instance, Quảng Bình, Quảng Nam, Quảng Ngãi and Phú Yên provinces. French colonial Louis Finot was one of the first scholars to mention terracotta Buddhist votive tablets found

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<sup>19</sup> Following Schweyer 2009, it is uncertain whether the Đòng Dương sanctuary was first built by Indravarman II in 875, or, in that year he just only renovated and ungraded it exclusively for Lakṣmīndra-Lokeśvara.

in Bia Ký cave of Phong Nha grotto in Quảng Bình province. He studied 35 objects and classified them into five types; unfortunately, all of them are now lost and we can only learn about them through his notes (Finot 1901: 23-26)<sup>20</sup>. Moreover, Trà Kiệu, the capital city of Simhapura, and Hồ Sơn temple-tower (Phú Yên) were also home of some Buddhist votive tablets (Fig 4. 22); however, different from votive tablets from Chòi mountain, these tablets focus only on the Buddha in meditation posture, without two bodhisattvas standing on each side. Even though these votive tablets are different in motifs compared to the ones from Chòi mountain, finding them in various regions of Champa shows the popularity of Buddhism in this kingdom and emphasizes that Đòng Dương was not the only Buddhist sanctuary. Interestingly, Buddhist votive tablets with similar motifs and representations to those seen at Chòi mountain were found in other parts of Southeast Asia.

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<sup>20</sup> In Thailand, Buddhist votive tablets also have different shapes, including 5 main formats: square or rectangular, 3 straight edges with a curved, egg-shaped, teardrop-shaped and circular edges. (Ghosh 2017: 39).



Fig 4. 22: Champa Buddhist votive tablets

1-4: Phong Nha grotto, Quảng Bình province (Finot 1901: 23-26)

5-8: Trà Kiệu, Quảng Nam. (Trần Kỳ Phương 1993: 301-303)

9-11: Hồ Sơn temple-tower, Phú Yên (Pictures taken by Trần Kỳ Phương)

#### ***4.5.4. The similar votive tablets in Southeast Asia***

Different types from simple to complex Buddhist votive tablets have been found throughout Southeast Asia, most often near stupas in the Phong Lêains and caves. From the

early 20th century, archeologists have discovered many votive tablets in caves in Thailand, such as Tham Khao Pra Song (Tha Chana), Tham Khao Krom (Chaiya), Khao Chom Thong (Nakhon Si Thammarat), Wat Rang, Tham Phra Chaison, Tham Khao Ok Talu, Wat Khuha Sawan, Tham Malai (Phatthalung). Thai Buddhist votive tablets were also found in temple-towers Wat Doem Chao, Wat Lhong (Chaiya, Surat Thani), Ban Hua Khao/Khao Si Vichai, Ban Bôn Khuan (Phunphin), Wat Chom Thong (Sichon), Wat Khuha Sawan (Phatthalung), Hang Khao Nui (Trang), Wat Thaw Khot (Nakhon Si Thammarat), Phra Prathon Chedi (Nakhon Pathom) (Michel 2002, Wales 1976, Revire 2015). In Myanmar, some 2,000 artifacts including 1,350 Buddhist votive tablets were found at Catubhummika Hngak Twin in Thaton, Winda, and Sri Ksetra (Khin Ma Ma Mu 2018). In Indonesia, Buddhist votive tablets were discovered in Uma Anyar (Bali), Batujaya (East Java) (Guy 2014). The discovery of Buddhist votive tablets in many regions suggests that they were popular in use and that they are important in the practice of Buddhism. By surveying different styles of Buddhist votives tablets around Champa, we found that similar to Chòi motifs of votive tablets of the Buddha seated in the so-called “European fashion” in the middle with a bodhisattva on each side, were also present in Winda, Sri Ksetra of Myanmar; Wat Thaw Khot, Khao Nui, and Wat Khuha Sawan of Thailand (Fig 4. 23), and Batujaya and Uma Anyar of Indonesia. For a map of the locations of these Buddhist votives tablets (Fig 4. 24). The fact that these similar votive tablets existed in different regions contributes to our understanding of the link between them and the dissemination of Buddhist practices and art in Southeast Asia.



Fig 4. 23: Buddhist votive tablets sharing similar characteristics with the ones from Chòi mountain of Champa. Source: Bangkok National Museum



Fig 4. 24: Geographical locations of similar votive tablets to Chòi found in Southeast Asia



Examining Buddhist votive tablets in Southeast Asia, Skilling suggests that the type of votive tablets with the seated Buddha in the middle and a standing bodhisattva on each side is the “regional type” in Southeast Asia (Skilling 2011:378). Images of a seated Buddha in this position found abundant in Ajanta, Ellora, Kanheri, and other Western Deccan caves in India; however, most of the time, the Buddha is in Dharmachakra mudra (Turning the Wheel of the Dharma) (Revire 2011: 38-42). The votive tablets from Chòi and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, as shown in Fig. 6 with the right hand of the Buddha raised in vitarka mudra (gesture of teaching) or abhaya mudra (gesture of reassurance) while the left-hand rests on his thigh, is especially typical of these maritime regions. It could be a trans-regional style in which medieval maritime trade routes had facilitated the adoption and influence of Buddhist motifs among these regions. Following the maritime trade routes, Indian culture and religions reached Southeast Asia as early as the 4th century.<sup>21</sup> Chinese Buddhist pilgrims such as Fa-Hsien (337?-422?) and Yijing (635-695), traveled between China and India with maritime merchant boats, and have left us some accounts of early Buddhist practices in the coastal polities, showing how they were interconnected and influenced one another’s religious

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<sup>21</sup> One of the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions found in Southeast Asia is the Vĩ Cạnh Stele, dated 4th century discovered in the Vĩ Cạnh village, Nha Trang, Khánh Hoà province, Vietnam.

Monica Smith (1999: 11-12) suggests that from the 4th century, concurrent with a number of political and cultural changes in the subcontinent such as the growth of the Gupta polity with a coherent system of political, social, and religious iconography, the Gupta dynasty became a prominent political and social model for the states of Southeast Asia. Thus, Southeast Asian political entities started to adopt Sanskrit for administration and religious establishments.

practices and art.<sup>22</sup> K. R. Hall (2011: 39, 73) suggests that the coastal polities could be trading entrepôts developed along the trade routes as a response to the demand from international traders. Southeast Asian coastal centers facilitated this trade by providing suitable stopping places for sailors and traders. Stopping over at these centers for whatever reason and to wait for the right time for the monsoons to push the ship out again, traders and Buddhist pilgrims had enough time to show their votive tablets to the local and even to make one at the site.<sup>23</sup> While small in dimensions, votive tablets were the most convenient object for maritime voyagers to carry for protection and luck, which all of them needed.<sup>24</sup> It could also explain why Mahayana bodhisattvas were portrayed on these votive tablets as the saviors and

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<sup>22</sup> For a detailed discussion of maritime trade routes as early as the first century, see Wade 2010 as he provides various Chinese maps on the subject.

For more information on accounts of Chinese pilgrims and their lives in *vihāra*, see for instance, Hazra 1983. For the transmission of Buddhism to Southeast Asia via maritime trade, see Ray 1995, Sen 2004, Neelis 2011.

<sup>23</sup> The pre-modern sea trade in southern and south-eastern Asia depended strongly on seasonal winds known as monsoons. From various ports in the Indian Ocean, ships travelled across the Bay of Bengal with the southwest monsoon winds that started in January and came to peninsular Southeast Asia where north-western winds pushed them through the Straits of Malacca very quickly. Once they had rounded the peninsula, ships were obligated to await the southwest monsoon winds in July for the final sailing to China.

<sup>24</sup> Praying to the bodhisattva Kuan-yin for protection by Chinese maritime travellers was a common practice. In the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (Flower Garland Sūtra), section “Entering the Dharma Realm”, Kuan-yin appears as a bodhisattva residing on top of Mount P’u-t’o (Potala), an island off the coast of Chekiang. In this form Kuan-yin was associated with the Daoist Niang-niang goddesses who act as guardians of the ocean, and hence, she became known as the guardian of the Southern Sea.

protectors for everyone. Thus, the presence of similar motifs on votive tablets in these maritime regions indicate a link in religious practices among these polities.

Mahayana spread to Champa perhaps not only through one channel of monks and Buddhist traders who traveled between China and India on the southern maritime silk route.<sup>25</sup> From the 7th to the 8th century, Srivijaya kingdom in Sumatra (Fig 4. 25) and Sailendra kingdom in Central Java came to power and strongly promoted Buddhism. These kingdoms also contributed to the spreading and circulation of Mahayana to Champa and other Southeast

Asian states. Similar characteristics of votive tablets found in coastal polities in what is now Thailand, Myanmar, and Indonesia testify to the mutual understanding of certain philosophical and artistic forms of Buddhism. Skilling suggests that votive tablets found in these regions could be dated as early as the 7th century (Skilling 2008: 248). Following his logic and our study of the historical development of



Fig 4. 25: The power of Srivijaya kingdom Source: (Michel 2007:128)

<sup>25</sup> The term Silk Road, coined by Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen in 1877, was misleading because people did not only trade silk but ideas, religions, technologies, artistic motifs were transmitted as well between East and West.

Buddhism in Champa, we also suggest that the terracotta Buddhist votive tablets found at Chòi mountain could also be dated as early as the 7th century and probably became popular during the height of *Đông Dương*, around the 9th to 10th century. The wide distribution in Southeast Asia of similar types of votive tablets, as found at Chòi points to an interlinkage between these medieval coastal polities where Mahayana was favored in practice.<sup>26</sup>

#### *4.5.5. Summary*

Buddhist votive tablets discovered at Chòi mountain are a valuable source for the understanding of artistic development and practices of Buddhism in central Champa from the 7th to the 10th century. It is a period when Buddhism holds a strong position, especially under the Indrapura dynasty with the establishment of *Đông Dương* sanctuary. A large number of Buddhist votive tablets found at Chòi lead to the idea that perhaps Buddhism could have been practiced at the lower levels of this large population and was not just the religion of the royal family and the elites. Since the very core of this religion is for everyone to follow and achieve nirvaṇa, especially with the help of a bodhisattva, Buddhism thus can attract a wide range of people, more than Brahmanism, for instance. With the evidence of votive tablets and kilns found at Chòi mountain, this advocate for the importance of this site for understanding the history of Buddhism in central Champa. Evidence of Buddhism in Champa is scattered, with *Đông Dương* being the only remaining temple-tower, a few sculptures in a handful of museums, and some 13 inscriptions, do not provide a full image of how and to what extent

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<sup>26</sup> For a deeper understanding of Mahāyāna practices and the spread of Esoteric Buddhism in medieval maritime coastal polities of Asia, see Andrea Acri (2016)

this religion was embedded in the soil of Champa. Further excavation at the Chôi will undoubtedly bring us more information on the subject.

Chôi mountain is located very close to the Châu Sa citadel of the Indrapura dynasty and only 70 km away from the Đồng Dương sanctuary, suggesting a connection between this site and Đồng Dương. Moreover, Chôi mountain is not far from the ocean and thus connects to the maritime world easily. In short, with the number of kilns found at Chôi mountain, there is an indication that local central Champa actively participated in the history of Buddhist development and practice in medieval Champa and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.



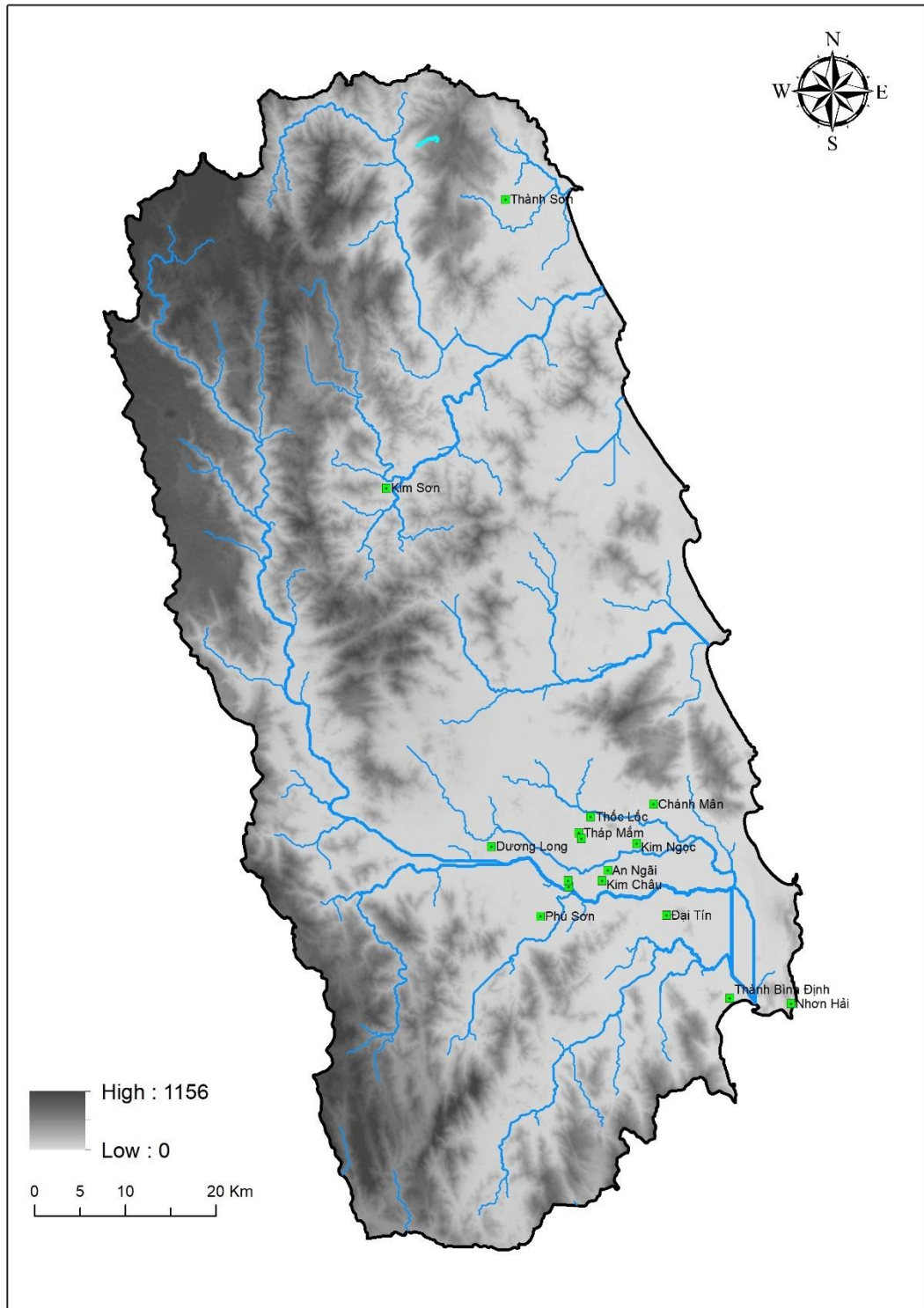


Fig 4. 26: The map shows the location of Champa inscription in Binh Dinh

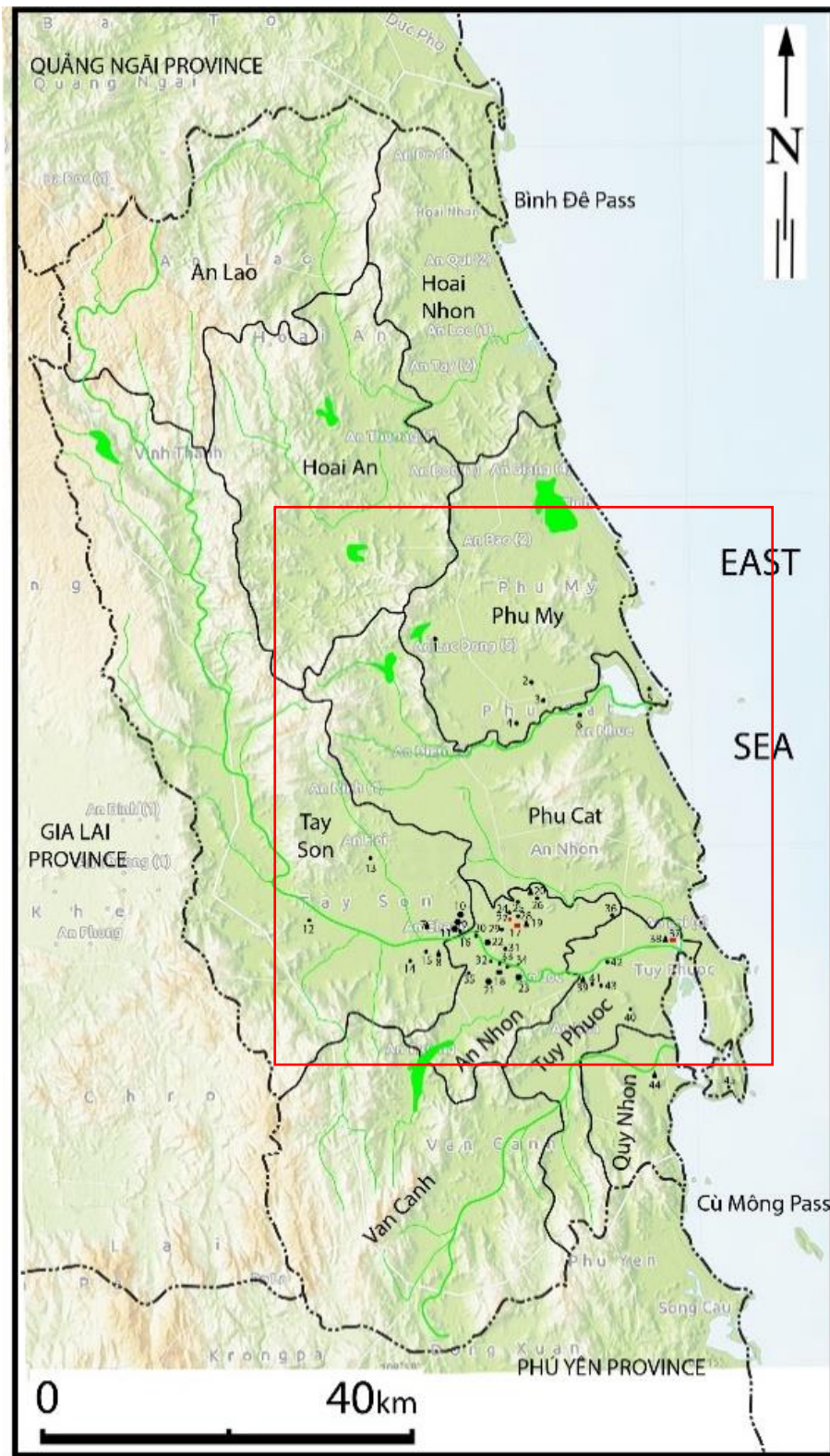
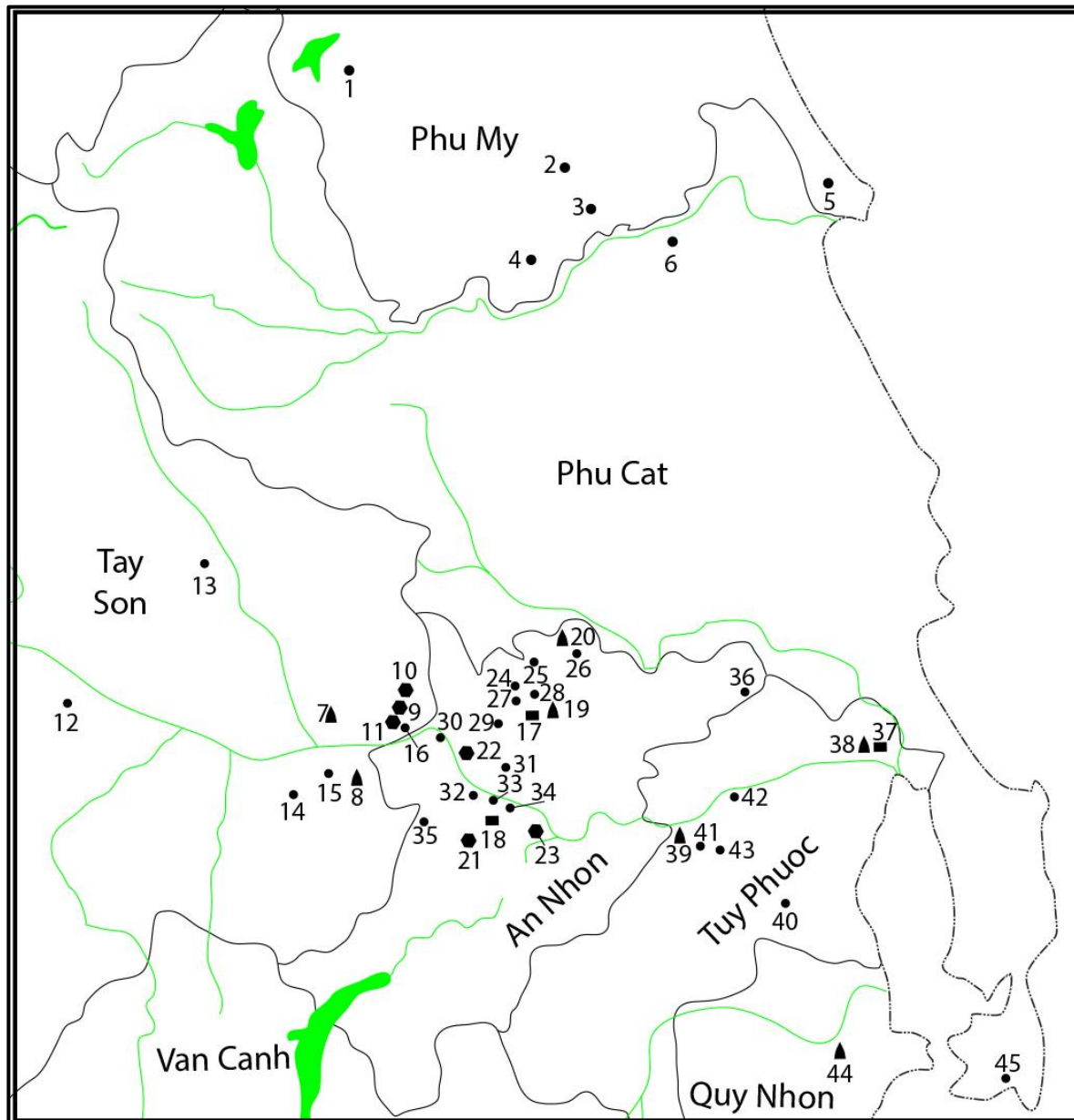


Fig 4. 27: The location of Champa sites I surveyed in Binh Định



**Notes:**

-----	Provincial boundaries	■	Citadel-Rampart	(3)
—	District boundaries	⬡	Ceramic kiln	(6)
—	River	▲	Temple-Tower	(7)
■	Lake	●	Temple-Tower ruin	(29)

1	Gò Vàng	16	Tây Vinh	31	Gò Tam Tháp
2	Núi Chùa	17	Đồ Bàn	32	Thông Hòa
3	Se Sè I	18	Thành Cha	33	Khánh Lễ
4	Se Sè II	19	Cánh Tiên	34	An Hòa
5	Vĩnh Lợi	20	Phủ Lộc	35	Chà Rây
6	Hòn Chuông	21	Trường Cửu	36	Lộc Thuận
7	Dương Long	22	Gò Cây Me	37	Thị Nại
8	Thủ Thiện	23	Gò Sánh	38	Bình Lâm
9	Gò Cây Ké	24	Thập Tháp	39	Bánh Ít
10	Gò Hời	25	Tháp Mắm	40	Xuân Mỹ
11	Gò Giang	26	Châu Thành	41	Long Triều
12	Hòa Sơn	27	Tháp Mắm	42	Khánh Vân
13	Phủ An	28	Gò Mã Chùa	43	Chà Cây
14	Lại Nghi	29	Gò Tháp Miếu	44	Tháp Đồi
15	Rừng Cầm	30	Tân Kiều	45	Hải Giang

## CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

From the late 2nd century to the early 19th century, in the territory along central Vietnam today, the Champa kingdom existed. Champa was the seaward kingdom, a typical sea institution of ancient Southeast Asian countries. From the 9th to 13th century with the internal transformation of the Champa kingdom, Amaravati polity became the economic, political and cultural center of the kingdom.

The long coastline of Amaravati had participated in international trade. Occupying the special geographical location on a maritime road connecting the Indian world and the Chinese world, Amaravati polity of the Champa kingdom significantly contributed to international trade activities. While bringing economic benefits, it also brought the development to Champa religion.

It has been proven by the record in the history of China and Việt Nam, and especially, a large number of relics and artifacts belonging to Champa (temple-towers, citadels-ramparts, and inscriptions) still remain until now. No other lands of Champa have a larger number of the site than in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng province, namely Amaravati. These reflect the importance of this region in Champa history. Champa sites survived plentifully and diversified in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng. These are materials extremely important for understanding archaeology, history, architecture, and art of Champa civilization. The Champa relics in Amaravati were reviewed and discussed in chapter 2.

This thesis reviews all major Champa sites and inscriptions in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng, depending on previous studies and inventory survey made by myself. Thus far, in total 69 Champa sites have been recognized in Quảng Nam - Đà Nẵng, and all of them are located on

a site distribution map made by myself. These sites are described based on four riverine groups: Cu Đê, Hàn/Cầm Lê, Thu Bồn, and Tam Kỳ river/Trường Giang river group. I have realized the importance of the Thu Bồn river, as there are many famous Champa architectures in the region. To explain the site distribution, in other words, the regional structure of Amaravati as one of Champa polities, I applied the Champa polity models proposed by Trần Quốc Vượng. One of the factors making Amaravati develop brilliantly at this stage is the development of the Silk Road on the sea (Maritime Silk Road). During medieval times, the waterway transport network (rivers, sea) played a key role in the economic activities of Champa, while road transport on land was rather difficult due to the natural barriers. Therefore, the establishment of a trade network through Thu Bồn river contributed to the prosperity of Amaravati in terms of both economy and culture.

The research of Champa relics in Amaravati is possible to draw from these fragments of useful conclusions on the religious history of the Chams. In chapter 3, I specially discussed the recent Hinduism Phong Lê temple-tower excavation results. The excavation results of Phong Lê site in 2018 have clarified the overall architecture of the temple-tower with the large collection of artifacts. Phong Lê architectural complex can be a large-scale project in the current Champa temple-tower system in central Việt Nam. Construction materials are mainly brick, stone, and tile, including sophisticatedly decorated sculptures such as lion statues, elephant decoration pedestals. These are original relics, located in strata. It is an additional source for exhibits and research relics of the Đà Nẵng Museum of Champa Sculpture. Based on the decoration of Champa bricks and sandstones like Mỹ Sơn A1, Mỹ Sơn B5, Khương Mỹ temple-tower and glazed ceramic in the Chinese Song Dynasty, we have proposed the



chronology of Phong Lê site, dating from about the 10th century, maintained by Champa at least until the 12th to the 13th century. The main religion of the Chams at Phong Lê site was Hinduism, worshiped main three gods of Indian Trimurti: Shiva, Brahma, and Vishnu.

The influence of Hindu/Brahmanism that worships the god Shiva pervaded almost the entire development history of Champa kingdom. With King Jaya Indravarman II (875-898) and the construction of the Đồng Dương monastery, a great page is turned in the Buddhist history of Champa, where Buddhism coexisted alongside Hinduism as an official religion (Schweyer 2000: 205-218). This majestic complex of Đồng Dương is a testament to its influence as a once existing religious and political center.

Chapter 4 focuses on the characteristics of Buddhist practice in Dong Duong in the late 9th to the early 10th century. Accordingly, Mahayana Buddhism whose worship of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara plays an important role. Besides that, Tantric Buddhism is clearly reflected in Buddhist practice in Dong Duong. In addition, the elements of Brahmanism, especially, the images of goddesses were worshiped and practiced in religious activities in this area.

Mahayana Buddhist evidence (with some Tantric elements) was mentioned in the inscriptions found in all main regions of Champa. Besides the great Đồng Dương monastery in Amaravati area, the construction of Buddhism temples-towers was mentioned in various regions such as in Phan Rang as well as in Quảng Bình, Quảng Trị, Quảng Ngãi, Kom Tum and so on. This research argues that Buddhism took its place in Indrapura dynasty (9th-10th century) -not so much as an independent and organized institution, but rather as a part of the Great Tradition that belonged to the court. Buddhism achieved a rather high status during the

reign of King Indravarman II, but nevertheless, it is more likely that it did not become the state religion. However, it supplied state cults, legitimizing kings; it supplied ingredients for an established orthodoxy, embodied in numerous well-endowed landed institutions with an important economic role. It accommodated cults of ancestors, including female ancestors; especially, the people of Champa particularly favored Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara more than any other Buddhist images (Mabbett 1986: 306).

I also focus on recently discovered Champa medieval terracotta Buddhist votive tablets found in Chòi mountain of Quảng Ngãi province. From examining these terracotta votive tablets, I suggest that Buddhism might not always have been the religion of only the elites who worshipped Buddhist deities at Đồng Dương, but was also worshipped by ordinary people such as Quảng Ngãi, Phú Yên. Moreover, similar types of votive tablets have been found in modern Thailand, Myanmar, and Indonesia, suggesting interregional connections between these places that might influence the practice of Mahayana in the early medieval period. Chòi mountain is not far from the ocean and thus connects to the maritime world easily. In short, with a kiln found at Chòi mountain, there is an indication that Champa actively participated in the history of Buddhist development and practice in medieval Champa and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

The interplay between Hindu and Buddhism in Champa was quite complex. The end of the Indrapura dynasty in the late 10th century also was the landmark decline of Buddhism practiced in Amaravati. Moreover, after the invasion of Vietnamese Lê Hoàn in 972 CE, the Chams people continued supporting and practicing the Hindu religion in Amaravati. The large

Hindu Phong Lê temple-tower in chapter 3, which dated from the 10th century to the 13th century as a piece of evidence proving this point.

The last point I would like to make is that my research broadens the view and discussion of the decline of Amaravati in history. Maspero's conventional theory on a capital's transferring from Amaravati to Vijaya in the 10th century is reappraised, primarily using the archaeological data. Maspero argued that in the year of 1000 CE when Cham people moved the capital from Amaravati to Vijaya (Bình Định province), it marked the end of Indianized Champa in Amaravati polity in central Vietnam. Based on the analyzing of the Champa site distribution map in Quảng Nam-Đà Nẵng has the date continuously from the 3rd century to 13th century, including both Hindu and Buddhism, showing that this area has been prosperously developed, having had large temple-towers and monasteries, especially epitaphs that reflect the presence of aristocracy, dignitaries who are capable of diplomacy as well as religion in the resident community. In the 11th to the 13th century, I still found the Champa inscription in the Amaravati area. Besides that, a larger number of Champa temple-tower dated in the 11th to the 13th century in Amaravati as Phong Lê, Cẩm Mít (Đà Nẵng), Chiên Đà (Quảng Nam), etc. These inscription collections in Amaravati dated from 11th century to 13th century provided the data for supporting that this area still has developed after the change of kingdom? to Vijaya in the early 11th century. So, my research certifies that Maspero's theory about the decline of Amaravati since 10th century needs to be reexamined.

Vickery (2005: 9) argued that Bình Định province, namely Vijaya, spite of its obvious importance as revealed by brick temples-towers and the apparent attention given it in Champa and Cambodian sources, has produced only several very short inscriptions-all very late (the

12th to the 15th century), and only one of which contains much of historical value (Fig 4.26-27). All major inscriptions by rulers believed to have controlled Vijaya before the thirteenth century were engraved at M̃y Son. My research agrees with Vickery that Amaravati still has power at least until 13th century.

I hope that these basically viewpoints will contribute to the study of historical Champa in particular, and the history of Southeast Asia in general.

### Appendix 1: Chronology of Champa ruler

	<b>Sanskrit</b>	<b>Vietnamese</b>	<b>Chinese</b>
230-230		Phạm Hùng	范熊
?-336		Phạm Đạt	
336-349		Phạm Văn	范文
349-377		Phạm Phật	范佛
380-413	Jaya Bhadravarman I	Phạm Hồ Đạt	范胡达
413-420		Phạm Địch Chón (Địch Chân)	范敌真
421-431		Phạm Dương Mại I	范阳迈一世
431-446		Phạm Dương Mại I	范阳迈二世
455-472	Jaya Jayavarman I	Phạm Thần Thành	范神成
472-492	Jaya Jayavarman II	Phạm Đàng Căng Thuần	范当根纯
492-498		Phạm Chư Nông	范诸农
498-510		Phạm Văn Tản	范文款
510-526	Jaya Devavarman	Phạm Thiên Khởi	范天凯
526-529	Jaya Vijayavarman	Cao Thúc	
529-565	Jaya Rudravarman I		高式勝鎧
565-629	Jaya Sambuvarman	Phạm Phạn Chi	范梵志
629-640	Jaya Kandarpadharmavarman	Phạm Đầu Lê	范頭黎
645-?	Jaya Bhasadharmavarman	Phạm Trấn Long	婆羅門
646-647	Isanavarman?		
647-653	Jaya Bhasadharmavarman (2nd reign)	Phạm Trấn Long	婆羅門
653-655	Bhadresvaravarman		
655-690	Prakasadharm- Vikrantavarman I		
690-710	Naravahanavarman		
713-730	Jaya Vikrantavarman II	Dịch-lợi Kiên-đa-thế-ma	
730-757	Jaya Rudravarman II	Dịch-lợi Lô-đa-la	
758-773	Jaya Prithindravarman	Dịch-lợi Tất-đề-bân-đa-la- bạt-ma	

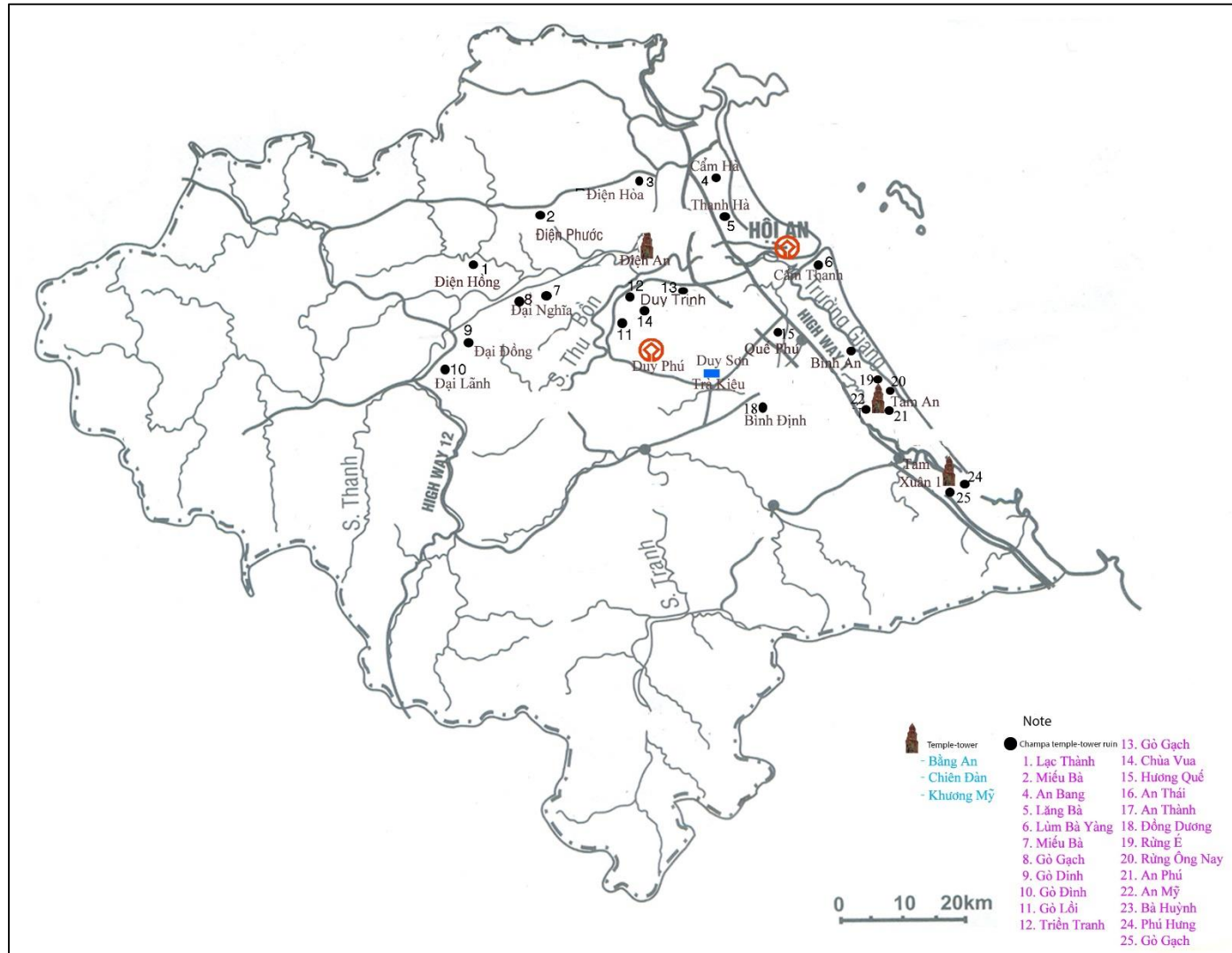


773-785	Jaya Satyavarman	Dịch-lợi Tát-đa-bạt-ma	
785-800	Jaya Indravarman I	Dịch-lợi Nhân-đà-la-bạt-ma	
800-820	Jaya Harivarman I	Dịch-lợi Ha-lê-bạt-ma	
820-860	Jaya Vikrantavarman III	Dịch-lợi Bì-kiến-đa-bạt-ma	
860-870	Jaya Rudravarman III		
	Jaya Bhadravarman II		
870-895	Jaya Indravarman II	Dịch-lợi Nhân-đà-la-bạt-ma	
895-904	Jaya Simhavarman I	Xà-da Tăng-gia-bạt-ma	
904-905	Jaya Saktivarman		
905-910	Jaya Bharavarman III	Xà-da Ha-la-bạt-ma	
911-969	Jaya Indravarman III	Xà-da Nhân-đức-man	釋利因德曼
960-971	Jaya Indravarman I	Dịch-lợi Nhân-di-bàn	釋利因陀盤
971-982	Jaya Paramesvaravarman I	Dịch-lợi Bế-mi-thuế 篋眉稅	波美稅
982-983	Jaya Indravarman IV	Dịch-lợi Nhân-đà-la-bạt-ma	施利陀盤吳日歡
983-986		Lưu Kế Tông	劉繼宗
988	Jaya Indravarman V		楊陀排
989-998	Jaya Harivarman II	Dịch-lợi Băng-vương-la 冰王羅	
998-1007	Sri Vijayavarman	Thất-ly Bì-xà-da-bạt-ma	楊普俱毗茶室離
1007-1015	Jaya Harivarman III	Dịch-lợi Ha-lê-bạt-ma	施離霞離鼻麻底
1018-1020	Jaya Paramesvaravarman II	Thi Nặc Bài Ma Diệp	
1030-1041	Jaya Vikrantavarman IV	Dịch-lợi Bì-kiến-đa-bạt-ma	皮蘭德加拔麻疊
1041-1044	Jaya Simhavarman II	Sạ Đẩu 乍斗 or 乍兜	刑卜施離值星霞弗
1044-1060	Jaya Paramesvaravarman I	Ứng Ni 雍尼	俱舍利波微收羅婆麻提楊卜
1060-1061	Jaya Bhadravarman IV		楊卜尸利律陀般摩提婆
1061-1074	Jaya Rudravarman IV	Ché Cũ 第矩 or 制矩)	施里律茶槃麻常楊溥

1074-1080	Jaya Harivarman IV		
1080	Jaya Indravarman V	Ché Ma Na 制麻那	
1081-1086	Jaya Paramabodhisatvavarman		
1086-1113	Jaya Indravarman V (restore)	Ché Ma Na 制麻那	
1114-1139	Jaya Harivarman V		楊卜麻疊
1139-1145	Jaya Indravarman VI		
1145-1149	Occupied by the Kmer Empire		
1148-1149	Harideva		
1149-1166	Jaya Harivarman I	Ché Bì La Bút 制皮囉筆	鄒時蘭巴
1166	Jaya Harivarman II		
1167-1185	Jaya Indravarman VII		鄒亞娜
1190-1191	Jaya Indravarman VIII		
1191	Conquest by the Khmer Empire		
1191-1192	Surya Jayavarmadeva		
1192	Jaya Indravarman IX		
1192-1203	Sura Jayavarmadeva		
1203-1220	Dhanapatigrama		
1220-1252	Jaya Paramdvaravarman II		
1252-1257	Jaya Indravarman X		
1257-1285	Jaya Sihavarman III or Indravarman XI		
1285-1307	Jaya Simhavarman IV	Ché Mân 制旻	孛由補刺者吾
1307-1312	Mahendrarvarman	Ché Chí 制至	
1312-1318	Jaya Simhavarman V	Ché Nāng 制能	
1318-1342	Jaya Ananda	Ché A Nan 制阿難	
1342-1360	Maha Sawa	Ma-kha Trà-hòa	

		茶和布底	
1360-1390	Jaya R'čăm B'nga	Ché Bông Nga 制蓬峩	阿答阿者
1390-1400	Jaya Simhavarman VI	La Ngai 羅暉	閣勝
1400-1441	Jaya Indravarman XI	Ba Đích Lại 巴的吏	占巴的賴
1441-1446	Maha Vijaya	Ma-kha Bí-cai 摩訶賁該	麻訶賁該
1446-1449	Maha Kali	Ma-kha Quý-lai 摩訶賁來	麻訶賁來
1449-1458	Maha Kaya	Ma-kha Quý-dò 摩訶賁由	麻訶賁由
1458-1460	Maha Saya	Ma-kha Trà-duyệt 槃羅茶悅	摩訶槃羅悅
1460-1471	Maha Sajan	Ma-kha Trà-toàn 槃羅茶全	槃羅茶全
1471-1474	Maha Sajai	Ma-kha Trà-toại 槃羅茶遂	槃羅茶悅

## Appendix 2: Champa temple-tower remains in Quảng Nam province by Quảng Nam Museum



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