

THE INDIAN COLONY OF CHAMPA

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THE INDIAN COLONY OF CHAMPA

BY

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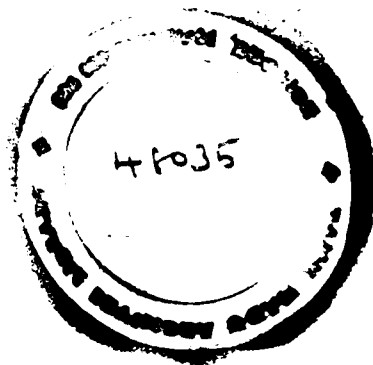
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TO
DR. STEN KONOW, PH. D.
VISITING PROFESSOR, VISVABHARATI
(1924-1925)

PREFACE

THIS story of the Indian Colony of Champa forms a part of my history of the Greater India which grew up in ancient times. I have in other books traced the history of Greater India in China and in Tibet.¹ I have given in the following pages both the political and cultural history of Champa extending over twelve hundred years. I hope the study of Indian civilisation and culture in Champa will be interesting from the Indian point of view.

My thanks are due to Mr. P. K. Mukerjee, Librarian, Visvabharati Library, for his kind help.

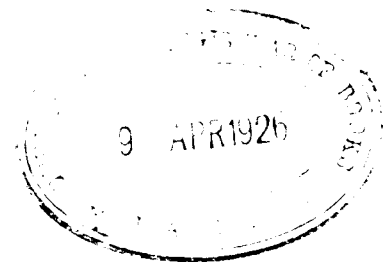
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¹ *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities.* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.)

Indian Teachers in China. (S. Ganesan, Madras.)

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CHAPTER I

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND
CULTURE OF CHAMPA

THE wave of colonisation which, in the early centuries of the Christian era, spread from the mainland of India over the neighbouring countries and islands did not fail to affect the kingdoms of Siam, Cambodia and Champa in Further India. The land of CHAMPA, though situated far away from the mainland, was colonised by people from the Indian shores. The kingdom of Champa comprised the southern portion of Annam consisting of the provinces of Quang-nam in the north and Binh Thuan in the south.

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It is rather unfortunate that Indian scholars did not devote proper attention to the study of the history and culture of these countries, which once formed the Greater India beyond the seas. No attempt has been made by Indian scholars to unveil the mysteries of Indian culture and civilisation, which spread over these countries, though the records of these countries are mostly preserved in Sanskrit.

It is, however, pleasing to note how the Indians going to foreign countries held up the torch of Indian culture and civilisation there, and how the people of inferior races readily accepted the teachings from these Indians and moulded their lives according to the Indian tradition, Indian manners and customs. In the following pages, we shall try to give a pen-picture of that Greater India in Champa, which was founded in the second century of the Christian era.

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Although it is interesting to note that, early in the second century of the Christian era, a Hindu colony grew up in Indo-China, any information about this kingdom of Champa was not available to the Indologists until the French scholars took the field. Before this, the Indologists were quite ignorant of the splendid colonisation made by Indians beyond the seas. With the conquest of Indo-China by the French people, a new chapter in the history of Indology and of Greater India opened up. To M. Aymonier, of the French army, rightly belongs the credit of collecting and drawing attention of the Indologists to the vast store of inscriptions lying scattered throughout the country. Though he was not an archæologist, he took a keen interest in the subject. His monograph on *Notes sur l'Annam, Excursions et Reconnaissances* (Saigon, 1885, I, Le Binh Thuan; 1886, II, Le Khanh-Hoa) drew the attention of Indologists and

Sinologists to the rich material lying unexplored in that Peninsula.

Curiously enough, M. Aymonier found many new inscriptions (issued by the kings of Champa) which were written in pure and correct Sanskrit. As he was unable to decipher them, they were sent over to the Paris National Library. There were other inscriptions composed in the local Cham dialect. M. Aymonier felt that if he wanted to throw new light on the old civilisation of the Peninsula, he should learn the Cham dialect. Accordingly he began a scientific study of the language. His progress in the study was so rapid that, in 1887, he was able to write a grammar of the Cham language, entitled *Grammaire de la Langue Chame*. Thus equipped, he next proceeded to the study of the Cham inscriptions discovered by him, and the result we find in his able article, "Première Étude sur les Inscriptions Tchames," which appeared in the pages of the

Journal Asiatique (1891). Thus, he was the first to begin a systematic study of the records of the culture and civilisation of Further India.

The French Indologists at this stage came to the rescue of M. Aymonier. The Sanskrit-ic inscriptions of Champa, discovered by him, had been sent over to the National Library and Asiatic Society of Paris, where M. Abel Bergaigne, one of the greatest Indologists of the time, took upon himself the task of deciphering and editing these Sanskrit inscriptions. He studied them thoroughly and as early as 1885 gave his impressions about them in an article entitled "Quelques Indications Générales sur le Contenu des Inscriptions de Campā". He found it possible to reconstruct the history of Champa from these Sanskrit inscriptions to a certain extent. As the result of his study, he gave a picture of the ancient kingdom of Champa in the article, "L'Ancien Royaume de Campā dans l'Indo-Chine d'après

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les Inscriptions" (*Journal Asiatique*, Jan., 1888). With the help of his brilliant students MM. Barth and Sylvain Lévi, he translated the inscriptions and brought them out under the title—"Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā" (published in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXVII, I^{re} Partie, Paris, 1889).

Other French scholars soon took the field. They felt the necessity of establishing a Research Institute in Indo-China, which would be more in touch with the new developments of the Peninsula, and which would be the proper agency on the spot to carry on scientific investigations of the ancient monuments of the locality. The ruins of old temples and capitals and other places of importance needed also to be properly surveyed, examined and preserved. Accordingly the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* was founded at Hanoi. This school was fortunate

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in having as its Founder and Director M. L. Finot, one of the able students of Dr. Sylvain Lévi. It is still carrying on vigorously its self-imposed task, bringing new facts and figures every day. The researches of this French school are published in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi, Schneider) which began its publication from the year 1901. Finot, the reputed Director of this French school, began to study the monuments of Champa, and wrote an account of the ancient religion of the country, as could be gathered from the archæological remains, in the article—"La Religion des Chams d'après les Monuments" (in *B. E. F. E. O.*, I, 12). It was soon followed in the same journal by his "Inventaire Sommaire des Monuments Chams de l'Annam" in which a list of Cham monuments in Annam was given. M. Parmentier, the architect of the French school, began to search for the old ruins and was able to find two

inscriptions from the ruins of Đông-du'ông. This discovery forms the subject of his "Notes sur les Fouilles du Sanctuaire de Đông-du'ông" (in *B. E. F. E. O.*, III, 80). M. Finot translated these two inscriptions in his *Notes d'Épigraphie*. It should be admitted that he has done much for the decipherment of the epigraphic records of Indo-China. He transcribed and translated many important inscriptions of Champa and Cambodia in the same journal under the title of "Notes d'Épigraphie". The following belong to Champa :

(1) Deux Nouvelles Inscriptions de Bhadravarman I, Roi de Campā (*B. E. F. E. O.* Tome II, p. 185).

(2) Stèle de Cambhuvarman à Mi-son (III, p. 206).

(3) Pāṇḍuranga (III, p. 630).

(4) Inscriptions du Quang-Nam (IV, p. 83).

(5) Le Rasung Batau de Ban Metruot (IV, p. 672).

(6) Les Inscriptions du Cirque de Mi-son (IV, p. 897).

(7) Nouvelles Inscriptions de Po Klaūḥ Garai (IX, p. 205).

Another old site of considerable importance is Mi-son, where in 1897 Mr. Paris discovered a group of ancient temples. M. Finot and his assistants soon directed their attention to this ruins and were able to find out many new inscriptions, which were duly deciphered and translated. M. Parmentier, the chief of the Archæological Service of the *École Française*, added much to our knowledge by his article—"Les Monuments du Cirque de Mi-son" (in *B. E. F. E. O.*, IV).

The question of the Indian colonisation of Champa was long debated and was finally set at rest by the solution offered by M. Finot in his well-written article—"Les Origines de la Colonisation Indienne en Indo-Chine" (in *B. E. F. E. O.*, XII). Of the Chams of the present

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day, M. R. P. Durand, a missionary, wrote a few articles in the *Bulletin*, namely—"Les Chams Bani" (III, No. 1), "Notes sur une Crémation chez les Chams" (III, No. 3) and "Notes sur les Chams" (XII). Lastly, we must not forget to take into account M. Aymonier's *The History of Tchampa (the Ajamba of Marco Polo, now Annam and Cochin-China)*, which he prepared for and was published by the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in 1893.

We have so far dealt with only one kind of the sources of our information, namely,

- (1) Cham and Sanskrit Documents belonging to Champa. Other sources are :
- (2) Chinese Records relating to Champa.
- (3) Annamite Documents, and
- (4) Khmer Records.

For more than ten centuries the kingdom of Champa continued to be on the borders of the Chinese empire beginning with Wu-ti of the Han dynasty (A.D. 140-186). Champa

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was in close touch with China and often in constant conflict with the Chinese empire. Accordingly, the imperial recorder had to take note of the kingdom of Champa and of the embassies sent by her. As early as 1756-1758, De Guignes tried to collect together the informations regarding Champa from Chinese sources in his *Histoire Générale des Hans, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares Occidentaux, avant et depuis J. C. jusqu'à Présent*. M. Pelliot has established from Chinese documents a "Liste Provisoire des Rois Champs Nommés par les Chinois jusqu'au Milieu du VIII^e Siècle" in *B. E. F. E. O.*, IV, 384. Of the historical annals in Chinese which contain accounts of Champa, there are fifteen records which are very important. M. Maspero gives a list of these Chinese records in *T'oung Pao* (1910, p. 131). The earliest of these books is *San K'ouo Tche* by Tch'en Cheou, which may be placed at A.D. 233-297.

The neighbouring kingdoms of Annam and Cambodia were also in touch with Champa for many centuries. They were engaged in constant fighting. The Annamite and Cambodian inscriptions containing references to Champa may be found in the following books and article :

(1) *L'Annam et le Cambodge*—Abbé Bouillevaux (Paris, 1874).

(2) *Le Pays d'Annam*—Luro (Paris, 1878).

(3) *Notices Historiques sur la Nation Annamite*—Legrand de la Liraye (Saigon, 1866).

(4) *Première Étude sur les Sources Annamites de l'Histoire d'Annam*—L. Cadière et P. Pelliot (*B. E. F. E. O.*, IV, 617).

(5) *Empire Khmèr*—Georges Maspéro.

(6) *Le Cambodge*—E. Aymonier (3 Vols., Paris, 1904).

Recently, M. Georges Maspéro, Correspondant-Délégué de l'École Française, contributed

in the pages of *Toung Pao* (Vols. XI, XII, 1910, 1911) a series of articles on "Le Royaume de Campā," in which he collected much valuable information. Besides these, there are numerous articles on Champa in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*, *Bulletin*, *Toung Pao* and other journals.

Thus the French scholars have done much in making a systematic study of the available materials in Indo-China for reconstructing the history of Greater India in this Peninsula. It is said that the English scholars did not turn their attention to the study of Indo-Sinology. Very few books have appeared on Champa written by English scholars. Colonel H. Yule wrote an article on Champa for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Ninth Edition), but unfortunately the article was omitted from it. It, however, appeared subsequently in the pages of the *Geographical Magazine* (Vol. IV, March, 1877, pp. 66-67) and was reprinted in

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the *Indian Antiquary* (Aug., 1877, pp. 228-230). Before Colonel H. Yule, Crawford had written of Champa in his *Mission to Siam* and other books. In the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, there is an able article on Chams written by Antoine Cabaton. Of the latest books, mention should be made of Sir Charles Eliot's (H. M. Ambassador at Tokyo) *Hinduism and Buddhism: An Historical Sketch* (London, 1921) in three monumental volumes, in which he treats of Champa along with other countries where Hinduism and Buddhism had flourished.

CHAPTER II

INDIAN COLONISATION OF CHAMPA

THE original inhabitants of Champa were the Chams, a Polynesian race. Their descendants are still living in the same country, though they have changed their Hindu faith for Islam. Marco Polo called this country *Ajamba*. It is the same as *Zaba* of Ptolemy and *Cauf* or *Tsauf* of the early Arab mariners. The famous travellers like Friar Odorie, John Marignolli, Rashid-ud-din, spoke of Champa to be the region which is now called Cochin-China.¹

Though the Chams belonged to the Malay-Polynesian group, the country was given an Indian name. This Indian name *Champa* is still

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1877, p. 229.

reminiscent of the kingdom of Champa which was established in Eastern India, near Bhagalpur, about the time of the birth of Lord Buddha. Professor Rhys Davids says: "The Indian colonists in Cochin-China named one of the most important of their settlements after this famous old town"¹ (Champa). Hiuen-Tsiang, the great Chinese traveller of the seventh century, makes mention not only of the Champa of the Gangetic valley, but also of this colonial Champa, which he calls *Mahāchampā* (*Mo-ho-chen-po*) and to which he could not pay a visit.² Whether the earliest colonists who had a charm for the name went from the Gangetic valley or from other parts of India remains still to be decided.

It may be asked: From what time does the Indian colonisation of Champa begin? To

¹ *Buddhist India*, p. 35.

² Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 200.

answer this question, we have to turn to (a) the Chinese source, (b) the epigraphical records of Champa, and (c) any evidence from the mainland of India. Fortunately for us, this problem was tackled by scholars like M. Georges Maspéro in his article on "Le Royaume de Champa,"¹ Sir Charles Eliot in his book *Hinduism and Buddhism*² and M. Louis Finot in his article on "Les Origines de la Colonisation Indienne en Indo-Chine".³

The date of the foundation of the kingdom of Champa has been fixed by M. Georges Maspéro from the Chinese evidences to A.D. 190-193. The Chinese annals place the establishment of this kingdom (which they call *Lin-I*) at the Tch'ou Ping period of the Han dynasty which is approximate to A.D. 192, and call the founder by the name of Kiu

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910.

² *Champa*, Vol. III, p. 138.

³ *B. E. F. O.*, XII.

Lien. Here, no question of colonisation arises. Kiu Lien perhaps found that colonisation of Indians had already taken place, and he was one of the Indians who revolted against China and usurped the royal power of Champa.

With the beginning of the history of Champa, Champa found herself ruled by an Indian dynasty. The native Chams were thus dominated by the Hindus from the beginning of the Christian era. The influence of Indian civilisation became more forcibly evident when the inscription of Vo-can "written in correct Sanskrit" came to light. From this inscription, belonging to the third century A.D., we know that by this time the family of Srī Māra had already established its suzerainty over Champa. M. Maspéro¹ identifies Srī Māra, the founder of the Indian supremacy in Champa, with Kiu Lien, who according to the Chinese history was the founder of the royal power of Champa.

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910.

If we accept this identification, it follows that by the second century A.D. (A.D. 190-193) Indians had already settled and established their royal power in Champa.

We may, then, naturally ask: When did the Indians first set their feet in this country of the Chams? Ptolemy, who wrote about A.D. 150, mentions many geographical names of Sanskrit origin. The legends of Fu-nan (comprising Indo-China and Cambodia), as transmitted by the Chinese, tell us that a stranger named Hun T'ien, who practised the Brahmanic cult, invaded the kingdom, married the queen and made himself king of Champa. M. Pelliot ("Le Founan," 291) believes that this tradition is only the reminiscence of the first Hinduisation of Champa, which he places in the first century A.D.¹

M. Louis Finot refers to a passage in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*, which will, according

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, 1903.

to him, help us to solve the question of the Indian colonisation of Champa. The passage in question runs :

“*Bhūtapūrvam abhūtapūrvam vā janapadam paradesāpavāhanena svadesābhiṣyanda vamanena vā nivesayet.*”

What is the country referred to as *abhūtapūrvam* (new)? asks M. Finot. At the time of Kautilya, says Prof. Jacobi, the Brahmanisation of the Deccan had long been accomplished. It perhaps refers to the colonisation of the eastern and south-eastern countries, that is, Indo-China. M. Louis Finot, therefore, is inclined to place the colonisation of Champa by the Indians in the first century A.D.¹

When we have positive proof of the establishment of the Indian royal dynasty in the second century A.D., it is quite natural that it should have taken some time for the Indians to come and colonise in the country before they

¹ B. E. F. E. O., XII.

could make themselves masters of the land. We, therefore, place the Indian colonisation of Champa in the first century A.D.

Whence did these colonists come to Champa? In the first century A.D., in the mainland of India, the mighty Mauryan empire had broken into pieces and the Sungas and Kanvas were ruling over Magadha. At such a juncture in the political history of India, these colonists went over to Champa and made settlements there. They might have taken the land route through Burma and Assam, or the direct sea route coming past Java. We cannot say with any degree of certainty which route they took. The application of the name of Champa to this colony may lead us to conclude that the colonists went from the eastern parts of India. The epigraphical evidence of Vo-can, however, points to the Southern India as the home of the Indian colonists of Champa. As the epigraphical evidence is more strong and

trustworthy, we must accept the theory that at least the family of the first Indian royal dynasty of Champa went from the valley of Godaverī and Krishna, because the inscription of Vo-can bears close resemblance to that of Rudradamana at Gīrnar and of Śātakarni Vasiṣṭhaputra at Kanheri.¹

It must be remembered that this colonisation is not an intellectual conquest. It is a conquest in the true literal sense of the word. With the conquest of the country by the colonists, however, the Indian conquerors imposed their culture and civilisation on the Chams. In China, in Tibet, in Korea and in Chinese Turkestan, it was quite different. There the Indians could not make any physical conquest, but only it was an intellectual conquest. The Indian culture and civilisation including religion, literature and sculpture

¹ A. Bergaigne—*Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*.

were accepted by the Chinese, Tibetans, Koreans and Khotanese. In these countries, Indians could not establish any colony. In Champa, it was both a physical as well as an intellectual conquest as in Java, Siam, Cambodia and other places.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST INDIAN DYNASTY
OF CHAMPA

ALTHOUGH the Indian colonisation of Champa began from the first century of the Christian era, yet the real history of the country begins from the second century A.D. The natives of Champa of the present day, who are mostly Moslem by religion, trace the descent of the first royal dynasty to none else but Allah. Leaving this Moslem tradition aside, we find two other currents of tradition flowing from the Hindu sources. The first takes us back to Vicitrāsāgara, who in the year 5911 of the Dvāpara Yuga, erected in the country of

Kaūthāra, the *mukha-linga* of Sri Sambhu. M. Georges Maspéro tries to connect this tradition with that of Sāgara, the king of Ayodhyā, of the Rāmāyana, and places no historical value on it.¹

The other tradition points to Uroja (born of Paramesvara), who built the temple of Sri Sambhubhadresvara. The foreign usurpers of the throne of Champa, who could not legitimatise their descent, looked up to Uroja as the source from whom they descended. All these Hindu and Moslem traditions should be carefully considered: they cannot have any claim to historical authenticity, because they naturally betray their mythical nature. They were perhaps invented by foreign usurpers, who had to put on an air of sacred descent. Leaving aside these mythical traditions, we have to look to solid historical facts.

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910, p. 319.

The first royal dynasty of Champa, which was established by Indians, should, therefore, begin not with a mythical personage, but an historical one: and that was Srī Māra. With him begins the political history of Champa. With the help of the Chinese annals and Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa, we are able to reconstruct the early history of this country. When this new Indian dynasty was being established in Champa, the Andhras were ruling over the destinies of India. We cannot say with certainty if these colonists of Champa received any encouragement from the Andhra kings in their endeavour to establish a Greater India in this far-off land. It is difficult to determine the causes which actually led them to come out from India and establish a kingdom far away from the mainland. They might have been actuated by an adventurous spirit, or by a spirit of extending their trade and commerce, or of preaching their religion. The

earliest colonists might have also been adventurers, who found the mainland too hot for them, so that they came out to make some new experiments. These different elements had to be welded together by a man like Srī Māra before he could establish the royal power with the help of these Indian colonists.

The name of Srī Māra, the founder of this first royal dynasty, is found in an inscription, which is the earliest inscription of Champa or rather of Indo-China. This oldest epigraphic monument belongs to Vo-can. The name of the donor of this inscription, says M. Bergaigne, is difficult to determine. The donor might be the son or grandson of Srī Māra or somebody of his family, which has been called in the inscription *Srī-Mara Raja-kula*. The name of Srī Māra occurs in it as the ancestor of this royal dynasty (*Raja-kula*) to which the donor belongs. This monument of Vo-can, unfortunately, is not dated. It, however, according to

M. A. Bergaigne, bears close resemblance to the writing of the celebrated inscription of Rudradamana at Girnar and to the contemporary inscription of Sātakarni Vāsistha-putra at Kanheri. They represent a period in the development of South Indian alphabets, which does not seem posterior to the third century of the Christian era.¹

It, therefore, seems that Sri Māra was the founder and the first king of the first royal dynasty of Champa and lived during or towards the end of the second century A.D. It is precisely the time when the Chinese historians place, at the southern extremity of their empire, the formation of a new kingdom. The southernmost portion, at the time of the Chinese Emperor Wu-ti of the Han dynasty (third century B.C.), was the province of Je-nan, which was nominally under the Chinese domination. The southern part of

¹ A. Bergaigne—*Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*.

Je-nan was Siang-Lin, which has been identified with the kingdom of Champa. The people, according to the Chinese records, were so savage that they knew not fishing and hunting, nor how to cultivate the earth. These were the Chams over whom Srī Māra established his supremacy. The Chinese records assign the foundation of the kingdom of Champa (*Lin-I*¹) at the Tch'ou Ping period of the Han dynasty (A.D. 190-193). The Chinese call the founder of this royal power *Kiu Lien*, who has been identified with Srī Māra of the Vo-can inscription by M. Georges Maspéro.²

Indian culture and civilisation had penetrated here a century before with the advent of the Indian colonists, who perhaps first came as traders or mere adventurers. It is probable that these Indians professed

¹ It was known as Lin-I even in the time of I-tsing (*Records*, p. 12).

² *T'oung Pao*, 1910.

Brahmanic faith and hailed from Southern India.

The kingdom of Champa was at that time divided into various provinces, such as Pāṇḍurāṅga, Vijaya and Kauṭhāra. On the south there was Amarāvati (under the Chinese domination), whence the Indian movement began and where Kiu Lien (Srī Māra) proclaimed himself king and united other principalities like Pāṇḍuraṅga and others.

The royal dynasty continued either under his son or grandson, we cannot say with certainty under whom.

His successor was responsible for the Sanskrit inscription of Vo-can. He tried to extend his dominion, but his authority was not accepted without a struggle, the echo of which we find in the Chinese records. The inscription of Vo-can tells us of a gift to the sanctuary which was probably built by his predecessor. The donor made

a gift of whatever *rajatam* (silver), *suvarṇam* (gold), *sthāvarām* (immovables), *jaṅgamam* (movables) he had, as well as his granary for the good and welfare of his dear ones (*priyahite*). He declared that the gift would not be revoked even by future kings. Like many Indian inscriptions, it ends with the statement—*Viditaṁ astu* (let it be known to all).¹ It has been observed by Sir Charles Eliot that this Vo-can inscription was written somewhat in the style of Asoka.²

With the royal family of Srī Māra, Indian culture and civilisation began to spread systematically in Champa. The Chams began to adopt the religion, manners and customs of their new rulers. They gradually began to be Hinduised: Hindu temples and Hindu Gods and Goddesses began to be enshrined in Champa by the Indian kings as evidenced from the

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 198.

² *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 139.

Vo-can inscription. The Chams soon began to follow the example thus set by their rulers. Hinduism became the state religion. Buddhism had not yet penetrated into Champa; we do not know how Sir Charles Eliot could trace Buddhism in the Vo-can inscription.¹ It is certain that to the royal court the Indian kings brought all the necessary paraphernalia. The Brahman priest and the astrologer must have been there to bless the royal chief. Education seems to have been prevalent. The existence of the Sanskrit inscription in the third century A.D., shows that the Sanskrit language and literature was cultivated in Champa at that time. It is to be noted that this oldest inscription was written in correct Sanskrit, which really does credit to the writer of this record. Unfortunately, the later inscriptions are not in such correct Sanskrit, though many of the later inscriptions

¹ *Hinduism and Buddhism*. Vol. III, p. 139.

also are written in Sanskrit. It should also be noticed that while most of the later kings bear the title of *Varman*, the earlier kings of the first dynasty do not bear any such title. It is a great credit to the Indian kings of Champa that for more than a thousand years (from the third century to the fourteenth century A.D.) they kept up in that country the Indian rule as well as the culture and civilisation of India.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY DYNASTIES OF CHAMPA

SECOND DYNASTY (A.D. 336-420)

WE have a few prominent princes in the second royal dynasty like those of Srī Bhadravarman I and Gangārāja. The family began with Fan-wen, who usurped the royal power and sent to the Chinese Emperor Tsin gifts of domesticated elephants with a letter written "in barbarous characters," that is in Indian characters, in A.D. 340, to have his title recognised by the Chinese Government. His son Fan-fo (349-380) fought in vain with the Chinese emperor and was obliged to send an

embassy to the Chinese court with his humble tribute to the Emperor Wou in A.D. 372.

He was succeeded by his son Fan-hu-ta (380-413), who has been identified by M. Georges Maspéro with Dharma-Mahārāja Srī Bhadravarman I.¹ Indian culture had already made much headway in Champa. New temples had begun to be built, and Bhadravarman I himself added to the existing number of temples and endowed them liberally.

Three inscriptions purported to be issued by him have been discovered up to date. Unfortunately, they bear no date. M. Finot, however, holds that they are similar to the inscriptions of Pallavas, Vakatakas and Kadambas in India, of Koetei in Borneo, of Tjampea, Bekasih and Djamboe in Java. Accordingly, he places them at about A.D. 400, that is, in the reign of Srī Bhadravarman I. Two of his inscriptions are engraved on the rock called Cho Dinh in the

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910.

Annamite province of Phu Yen. We learn from them that Bhadravarman took the title of *Dharma-Mahārāja*, which was not altogether unknown in India and which was borne in India by the Pallava kings.¹ The inscriptions contain some liturgic formulas. The formula—*agnaye tvā jushṭam karishyāmi*, according to M. A. Bergaigne, is like the rituals of *Srauta* and *Grihya Sutras*. The addition of *Bhadresvara Svāmipādaprasādāt* places the ceremony under the auspices of the God Siva.² All the inscriptions of this king refer to Siva as his presiding Deity. In the Mi-son inscription, he names an image of Siva as *Bhadresvara*, after his own name. At Mi-son, he erected the first temple to the God Bhadresvara and made a perpetual gift to the God of a large tract of land bounded on the south by the mountain

¹ See the inscriptions published by Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 155, and XII, p. 51.

² *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 199.

Sulaha, on the west by the great mountain and on the north by the mountain *Kucaka*. It was ordained by the king that he would take six portions of the revenue of this land and the remaining ten portions would go to meet the expenses incurred for the due worship of the God Siva.¹ The king fervently hoped that nobody in future would disturb the gift made by him. His appeal, it seems, did not go in vain: later kings erected numerous temples in the same neighbourhood. The ruins of these temples exist even now at Mi-son.

We cannot say definitely whether the Indian colonists kept up the intercourse with the mainland of India after settling down in Champa. It is, however, certain that fresh batches of colonists kept coming from India to give new impetus to the spread of Indian culture in Champa. In an inscription of Champa, we are fortunate in

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, Tome, II, p. 188.

getting reference to the mainland of India. One of the Champa kings came over to India and was delighted to see the sacred river Ganges. This king was the son of Sri Bhadravarman I and was known as Ti Tchen, who has been identified with the King Gangārāja, of inscriptions. He was the first king in Champa, who voluntarily renounced his throne. The reasons, however, were mysterious. His brother Ti K'ai went away from the capital with his mother. As he did not return, the king abdicated the throne and came to India on a pilgrimage. This account from the Chinese sources is confirmed by the version supplied by the Mi-son inscription, celebrating the gifts of King Prakāsadharmavikrāntavarman to the Gods Isanesvara, Sambhubhadresvara and Prabhatesvara. We learn from this inscription that there was a king, Gangārāja by name, who abdicated the throne without any difficulty. As the

sight of the holy river Ganges was a great joy to him, he went away from Champa leaving the throne, to pay homage to the Mother Ganges. We quote here the inscription:¹

*Āsit-vv-v-v vv - -v rah svair guṇair
Gangārāja iti sruto nṛpaḡaṇapṛakhyātā
vīrya srutih
Rājyam dustya (jam)-v-v vv ---v- pṛagrahe
Gangādarsanajam sukham mahad iti
pṛāyād ato Jāhnavim.*

The above passage may be translated thus :

“There was a (king) named Gangārāja (who) . . . by his qualities, learning and heroism was recognised as having royal qualities. The royalty difficult to abandon . . . ‘The sight of the Gangā (Ganges) is a great joy,’ said he and went from here to the Jāhnavī (Ganges).”

This Champa inscription contains the first reference to India and describes the first

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome, IV, p. 918.

pilgrimage from Champa to the shores of the Ganges. We find many Chinese Buddhist monks going on a pilgrimage to the holy places of the Buddhists in India : and this is perhaps the only instance in which we find an Indian colonist professing the Brahmanic faith going to India on a holy pilgrimage.

This inscription is written in Sanskrit and contains both verses and prose passages. It is dated 579 Saka=A.D. 658.

THIRD DYNASTY (A.D. 420-538)

With the abdication of Gangārāja, there followed a civil war as well as anarchy in Champa. The end of the civil war saw Fan Yang Mai as the king of Champa. With him began the third dynasty. While his son Fan Yang Mai II was ruling, the imperial forces of China routed the army of Champa and entered Champāpura in triumph, sacking the

temples and images. The king had fled from the city on the approach of the enemy and returned only after the Chinese forces had left Champāpura.

After the death of his successor Fan Chen Tch'eng (443—) an adventurer, the son of Jayavarman, king of Fu-nan, who had escaped from the anger of his father, made himself king of Champa. His father's anger was roused at this ; he did not want to see his son secure on the throne of Champa. Accordingly, in A.D. 484, his father Jayavarman appealed to the Chinese Emperor Wou against his own son. He urged the emperor to send troops against the usurper of Champa and declared his willingness to help the emperor in this work. This appeal was sent through a Hindu named Sākya Nagasena.¹ The emperor, however, did not like to interfere in this matter, so he remarked in reply : " It is only

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910.

by virtue and culture that I attract distant people. I do not desire recourse to arms." In A.D. 491, the Champa king, however, sent an embassy to China and obtained the title of "the General Pacifer of the South, Commander-in-Chief of all military affairs of the banks of sea and the King of Lin-I".

The third dynasty did not boast of any other remarkable king. It ended with Vijayarman, the son of Devavarman, in A.D. 529.

FOURTH DYNASTY (A.D. 529-757)

The fourth royal dynasty of Champa was founded by Srī Rudravarman I, who has been described as the "son of an eminent Brahman" (*dvijātāpravarālmajah*), and the grandson (*dauhitrītanayo*) of a famous personage whose mutilated name "—rathavarman" has come down to us.¹

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome, II, p. 188.

In A.D. 529, Rudravarman I received the usual investiture. A few years later, in A.D. 534, he sent tribute to the Chinese court for the first time, though later on he neglected to send the regular tribute. About A.D. 541, he tried to extend his dominion, but was not successful in his attempt. In the Mi-son inscription, we read of him as follows:

*Srī Rudravarmanas tasya nṛpater bhū-rite (jasaḥ) . . . tejasvinām yo bhut sūnur didhitimān iva.*¹ It may be rendered thus: "The King Srī Rudravarman of great prowess, whose son was as bright as the Sun."

Though in this inscription he is called the son of an "eminent Brahman," in the inscription of Sambhuvarman at Mi-son, it is said that his family belonged both to the Brahman and Kṣattriya castes, and he is described as the jewel of these two castes (*Brahma-Kṣattriya-kulatilaka*). This shows very clearly that the

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome, II, p. 188.

kings of Champa were not Kṣātrīyas as in India. They found it difficult to keep the purity of their castes in Champa. When Rudravarman styled the son of an eminent Brahman, it tends to prove that the Brahmans also sometimes occupied the throne of Champa, like Pushya Mitra in India. Again the king's claim both to the Brahman and Kṣātrīya castes leaves in one's mind doubt as to the purity of his caste.

We learn from the same source that during his reign a disastrous fire destroyed the temple of the God of Gods, erected by Bhadravarman I to the glory of Lord Bhadresvara. The inscription reads: "*Tasmin Brahmakṣātrīya-kulatīlaka. Śrī Rudra (Varmmani) . . . yuttareṣu caturṣu varṣasateṣu sakāṇām vyatitesvagnidagdham devadevāla (yam) . . .*"¹

Though this is the first dated inscription of Champa, yet unfortunately the date is mutilated: it is

Sambhuvarman
—A. D. 629

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome, III, p. 210.

some 400 Saka. King Rudravarman was succeeded by his son Prasastadharmā, who assumed the title of *Sambhuvarman* on the day of his coronation. A change in the political atmosphere of China brought on Champa an invasion under the general, Lieou Fang. At the approach of the Chinese army, King Sambhuvarman fled by sea. The Chinese general made numerous prisoners and took the tablets of the preceding kings. It is interesting to note that he took also 1,350 Buddhist works in Cham characters, which shows that Buddhism by this time must have penetrated into Champa. With the return of the Chinese army, Sambhuvarman came back to his capital, and tried to keep up good relations with the Chinese Government.

Sambhuvarman, however, found time and means to rebuild the temple of Siva Bhadresvara, destroyed by fire in the time of his father, Rudravarman I. The God Siva,

however, was renamed *Sambhu-bhadresvara* after his own name. The reference to the building of this temple is found in the following passage of the Mi-son inscription :

*Srī Sambhuvarmmaṇas tasya rājñah prathitāte (jasaḥ) (Ya) imam Sambhubhadresam punah sthāpitavān bhuvī.*¹

We may render the passage as follows :

“Srī Sambhuvarman, the celebrated king of prowess : who again established (the God) Sambhubhadesa on the earth.”

This account is confirmed by his own inscription issued on the completion of the temple giving grants for its maintenance. From the fragments of this inscription at Mi-son, which has come down to us, we know that he re-established the image of the God Siva. We read :

*“Srī Sambhuvarmmaṇā pratisthāpitah tata Sambhubhadresvarah.”*²

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome, IV, p. 918.

² *Ibid.*, III, 211.

He granted the land bounded on the east by *Sulahparvato*, on the south by *Mahāparvato*, and on the west by *Kucakapavato* for the maintenance of the God of Gods. Ten parts of the revenue would go to the king and six parts to the Temple.

By making these temples and establishing new images of Gods, King Sambhuvarman helped greatly to spread the Indian culture and civilisation in Champa.

At the death of Sambhuvarman in A.D. 629, his son Kandarpadharma came to the throne.

The new king has been described in the Mi-son inscription as *mahayasāh* (highly reputed) and *sākṣāddharmma* (the incarnation of Dharma).¹ He maintained good relations with the Chinese court. As he left no male issue, the crown came to his nephew Srī Bhadresvaravarman, the son of his sister

B. E. F. E. O., Tome, IV, p. 918.

and of a Brahman, Chandasya Satya Kausika Svāmin. But he was soon deposed to make room for the daughter of Kandarpadharma. This lady was married to one Prakāsadharmā, whose father Jagaddharma, a relative of Kandarpadharma, had married the excellent Srī Sarvāni, the daughter of the king of of Khmers, Isānavarman. As Prakāsadharmā was thus highly connected, the partisans of the royal lady married him to her.

On the day of his coronation (A.D. 653) Prakāsadharmā assumed the new name of Vikrāntavarman and was proclaimed as *Srī Campāpurapāramesvara Mahārāja* (the great king, lord of the city of Champa).

His reign was a peaceful one. Instead of fighting continually, he was
Vikrāntavarman
engaged chiefly in building temples and images, thus giving an impetus to the gradual spread of Indian culture in Champa. He made gifts to various Gods, namely, Srī

Prabhasesvara, Srī Isānesvara and Srī Sambhubhadresvara. We read of these donations in an inscription discovered at Mi-son. We quote here the passage in question :

“*Srīmān Campesvaru Srī Prakāsadharmmā bhagavatāme Isānesvara-Srī Sambhudresvara-Srī Prabhāsesvarāṇām saṭatapūjāvidhaye prādāt.*”¹

He made these donations for the continual performance of the *pūjā* of these Gods. The king also declared emphatically that anyone interfering with these gifts would naturally incur the sin of killing a Brahman, but others who would help in the carrying out of these directions would get the result of an *asvamedha* sacrifice. These royal instructions go to show how the people as well as the royal heads of Champa were imbued with Indian tradition.

King Vikrāntavarman also made a gift of a *mukuta* to the God Bhadresvara. He seems

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome, IV, p. 921.

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to be a follower of the God Kuvera, because we find him erecting a temple to Kuvera.

He tried to keep up good relations with the Chinese court. So during A.D. 653 to 670, he sent no less than four embassies to China.

He was succeeded by Vikrāntavarman II, who is also credited with the building of several temples. The last king of this dynasty was Rudravarman, who followed him. He sent an embassy to China in A.D. 749. With him the fourth dynasty came to an end in A.D. 757.

FIFTH DYNASTY (A.D. 758-859)

With the death of Rudravarman II (A.D. 757), the nobles made Prthivindravarman king of Champa (which was at this time called by the Chinese *Huan-wang*¹ instead of Lin-I). This king was said to be equal to Indra,

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910.

the Lord of Gods, and belonged to the great family of princes of Pāndurāṅga.

The king was glorified by his nephew Indra-varman I in an inscription thus: "The fortunate King Prthivindravarman was celebrated in all places by his race and majesty, as long as he was on earth, enjoyed the earth having defeated his enemies. In the kingdom of this supreme king, who enjoyed the entire country of Champa, there was abundance of subsistence. . . . By his devotion to Sambhu and by his attachment to the Good Law, the king reached the world of Rudra."¹

Accordingly, after his death, the king received the posthumous name of *Rudraloka*. He was succeeded by his nephew Srī Satyavarman.

In A.D. 774 the Malays, specially the Javanese, attacked Kauthāra, plundered the place of the *mukha-linga* of Srī Sambhu, took

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910.

away the *linga* itself and the properties of the Temple. Hearing this, Satyavarman pursued them with an army and fought them at sea. The sacrilege of the temple pained him greatly and he erected another magnificent temple in stone in place of wood. This temple is still existing at Kauthāra. It took him ten years to build this new temple. The *mukha-linga* of the Lord of Bhagavati, with the images of Bhagavati herself and of Gaṇesa, was solemnly consecrated under the name of *Srī Satya Mukha-linga*.

Like his uncle, he resided at Pāṇḍuranga, where he built a splendid palace. For his deep attachment to the God Isvara, he deserved the world (*loka*) of Isvara and, therefore, received the posthumous name of *Isvaraloka*.

King Satyavarman was followed by Indra-
varman. We are fortunate in
Indravarman. having two inscriptions of this
good king. The first inscription, Yang Tikuh,

gives interesting historical facts establishing a connection between the island of Java and Indo-China. During his reign, there was an invasion by the Javanese of the Cham territory. The Javanese came in boats, burnt the famous temple of *Srī Bhadrādhīpatīsvara*, and made the whole place deserted. This sacrilege took place in A.D. 787.

We read in the inscription :

*Tatas ca Kaliyugadoshātīsayabhāvena nā-
vāgatair Jjavavalasaṁghair nīrddahyate pī
navāmvarādri yamite Sakakāle sa eva sūnyo
bhavat.*¹

The above passage may be translated thus :

"Then, owing to the many faults of the Kali Yuga, the army of Java came by boats, burnt it (the temple) in the year of the Saka era determined by the number nine, the air and the mountains, and it became deserted."

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 213.

The temple, according to this inscription, was burnt in 709 of the Saka era, which is equivalent to A.D. 787. After the Javanese had left, the king reconstructed the temple and erected a *linga* (*lingam sthāpitam Srīndravarmmanā*)¹ which was named after him as Indrabhadresvara (*Indrabhadresvaro nāmnā*). For the good of all the world (*loka*), the king (*bhagavān sṛīmān Indravarmma*) made grants to the God of *Sivakshetra* and *Yajñakshetra* with the granary of *Jañāñā*.²

The king was a devout follower of Siva. He was not content with the erection of the *linga* of Indrabhadresvara, but made another under the name of Indrabhogesvara in the city of Virapura. Another idol of Siva was enshrined by him. It has been spoken of in the Glai Lomov inscription as *Indrapamesvara*. It was erected at the same place where the palace

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 213.

² *Ibid.*

of King Satyavarman existed. The same inscription speaks of donations made by the same King Indravarmman to the God Sankara-Nārāyana. It is the unique amalgamation of the images of both Siva and Viṣṇu. This Figure is generally known in India as that of Hari-Hara and is found in India and Cambodia as well. As a devout follower of Siva, the king in the other inscription had spoken highly of his own God Siva, but in the present one while making donation to Sankara-Nārāyana, he was obliged to sing the praise of Viṣṇu as well. Viṣṇu was, remarked he, able to protect the whole world (*Samastabhuvanaparirakṣhaṇasamarthabhāvah*¹). Thus there seems to be no antagonism in Champa between the two sects, Saiva and Vaiṣṇava, as in India, because the symbol of Sankara-Nārāyana harmonised the conflicts of the two sects.

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 227.

The king himself has been highly spoken of in the inscription. He has been compared to Indra and other Gods. He seems to have been looked upon as the incarnation of Rudra. He established his sovereignty over the northern regions of *Candra* (moon), the eastern regions of *Agni* (fire), and the southern regions of the king of *Yakṣas*.

In A.D. 793, he sent an embassy to the court of China. He was succeeded by his brother, who took the title of *Srī Harivarmadeva-Rājādhirāja*, the supreme lord of *Srī Champāpura*.

Harivarman I began his career by attacking Tcheou of Hoan in A.D. 803.

Harivarman I In his later attacks he was, however, defeated by the Chinese. He made a gift of the kingdom of *Pāṇduraṅga* to *Srī Vikrāntavarman*, his son by his first wife. He afterwards made him his *senāpati* (general), who attacked the kingdom of Cambodia, then ruled by King Jayavarman II.

In the era of Saka Kings 735, during the reign of His Majesty Vira Jaya *Srī Harivarmadeva*, a temple of *linga* of Siva *Śaṇḍhaka* was erected (A.D. 813). Four years later in the month of *Jyaishta* in 739 Saka (=A.D. 817), he built another temple to the God *Gaṇesa Srī Vināyaka*. A third temple was constructed in honour of the Goddess *Srī Maladā-Kuthāra*. To each of these temples, he added a *maṇḍapa*. He made suitable donations for the maintenance of these Temples.

The last king of the fifth dynasty of Champa was *Srī Vikrāntavarman III*, who was equal to the God Indra and who received the coronation after the death of his father *Harivarman I*.

From his inscriptions we know that he was a great builder of temples and images. He erected the images of *Srī Mahādevesvara* and "gave him a rich sanctuary". He made a

magnificent statue of *Srī Satyamukhalingadeva* of diadem. In the year of the Saka era, designed by *kosa*, the mountains and *munis* (776 Saka=A.D. 854),¹ King *Vikrāntavarman*, who is described in the Po-nagar inscription as *mūrttimān Sakra iva* (like the incarnation of Indra), consecrated the God *Srī Vikrāntarudresvara* (which has been shortened into *Vikrāntarudra*) and made a donation of a vast domain (*Kṣhetram idam viśālam vikrāntarudrāya sa eva dadyāt*). From the same inscription we know that he erected an image of another God named *Srī-vikrānta-devādhībhaveśvara* and gave rich gifts to him along with a vast territory known as *Rudrakṣhetram* (*Rudrakṣhetram idam mahat sṛīma (tā) dattam Vikrāntavarmanā*).²

For his deep and profound devotion to the God Siva, the king received the posthumous

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 235.

² *Ibid.*

name of *Vikrāntesvara*. Most of the kings of the fifth dynasty were followers of the God Siva. They were quite liberal in making rich donations to the God. By their example, they spread the culture and civilisation of India in Champa. One of the chief religions of India, the Saiva faith, received great impetus in their hands. The Saiva faith continued to have the royal patronage for some time to come.

With *Vikrāntavarman III*, the fifth royal dynasty of Champa came to an end (A.D. 859).

CHAPTER V

LATER DYNASTIES OF CHAMPA

SIXTH DYNASTY

(A.D. 860-900)

IT is not possible to give here in detail the long history of all the dynasties of Champa extending over more than a thousand years. We shall, therefore, give only a brief summary of the achievements of each of the later dynasties. Those who want to have the detailed political history of Champa from the sixth dynasty to the thirteenth, which was the last dynasty, would do well to turn to the

well-written articles of M. Georges Maspéro entitled "Le Royaume de Campā".¹ The political history of Champa for the last few dynasties was but a record of continual fighting with the neighbouring kingdoms of Annam, Cambodia and China. As the kingdom of Champa was small and its resources limited, her kings found the struggles quite unequal and in the end she submitted to Cambodia.

The names of the kings of these thirteen dynasties of Champa are numerous and betray their Indian origin. M. Aymonier gathered together the names of these kings from the inscriptions available in his time in his *Première Étude sur les Inscriptions Chames*. That list has been supplemented by M. Finot from the new inscriptions gathered up to the year 1904. We give below the list of kings as prepared by M. Finot and hope it will

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1911.

help us in understanding the political history of this Indian colony :

1st Dynasty—Sri Māra (2nd century A.D.).

2nd Dynasty—Bhadravarman I (4th century).
Gangārāja.

4th Dynasty—... rathavarman.

Rudravarman I (grandson, 529).

Sambhuvarman (son).

Kandarpadharma (son).

... (son).

Bhadresvaravarman (nephew).

Prakāsadharmā-Vikrānta-
varman.

Vikrāntavarman I.

5th Dynasty—Prthivindravarman.

Satyavarman (nephew).

Indravarman I (brother).

Harivarman I.

Vikrāntavarman II.

Rudravarman II.

Bhadravarman II.

6th Dynasty—Indravarman II (Parama-
buddhaloka, 860).

Jaya Sinhavarman I.

7th Dynasty—Haravarman (900).

Indravarman III.

Paramesvaravarman I (Dhar-
marāja).

8th Dynasty—Jaya Indravarman I.

9th Dynasty—Jaya Paramesvaravarman I.

Bhadravarman III.

Rudravarman III.

Prāleyesvara Dharmarāja.

10th Dynasty—Harivarman II.

Jaya Indravarman II (1080).

Paramabodhisatva, Prince Pān
(1080-1086).

Jaya Indravarman II (second
time, 1086).

Harivarman III (1113).

Bhadravarman IV.

Jaya Sinhavarman I.

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11th Dynasty—Jaya Indravarman III (1139-1144).

Jaya Rudravarman (Brahmaloka 1149).

Jaya Harivarman I.

Jaya Harivarman II.

Jaya Paramesvaravarman II.

12th Dynasty—Jaya Indravarman IV.

Jaya Sinhavarman II.

Jaya Sinhavarman III.

We do not get in this list the names of all the kings nor all the royal dynasties of Champa. This is what we get from the Champa inscriptions.¹ M. Pelliot prepared another list of Champa kings as obtained from the Chinese sources.²

The sixth dynasty was founded by one Laksmindra Bhūmīsvara Grāmīsvāmin who

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome IV, p. 908.

² Ibid., p. 382.

assumed the title of *Sri Jaya Indravarman Mahārāja Adhirāja* (A.D. 860) on the day of his coronation. The new king came of a high family which traced its descent from Paramesvara Himself and also from Uroja, Dharmarāja, Rudravarman and others.

His family came from Amarāvati in the north. He invoked the Gods Bhadresvara, Sambhubhadresvara and others. The capital of the kingdom began to be shifted. From Pāṇḍuranga it was transferred to Indrapura in the north, where the king went to reside.

Though the king had invoked the God Siva, yet we find him making donations to the Buddhist monastery. Such a curious mixture of religions and devotion to Siva as well as to Buddha was possible only in Kaniska and Harsavardhan. Indravarman worshipped Buddha under the name of *Sri Lakṣmindralokesvara*. In the Saka era designed by the mountains, nine and *munis* (797 Saka=A.D.

875),¹ "in view of the *Dharma*, says the king, a monastery has been founded by me, exempted from all royal taxes for the benefit of the community of monks. There have been placed all the means of subsistence for the usage of the community of monks. It is not for the benefit of the king, declares the king emphatically, it is not for the extension of taxation, but it is for the benefit of the community of monks that this Buddhist monastery has been founded in perpetuity". The king then enumerates gold, silver and other riches of which he made a donation to the Avalokitesvara Svabhayada "for the usage of the community of monks for the achievement of the propagation of the *Dharma*". For his devotion to Lord Buddha, the king was known also by his posthumous name, *Paramabuddhaloka*.²

¹ Finot, *B. E. F. E. O.*, IV.

² T'oung Pao, 1911, p. 57.

He was succeeded by his son, who proclaimed himself as *Sri Jayasinhavarmanadeva* ° *Gampāpura Paramesvara* (also known as Jaya Sinhavarman I). He lived in "the great city equal in splendour to the city of Indra, ornamented with white lotus, founded by Bhṛgu in ancient times and known as the famous city of Champa".

He is said to have constructed many temples and images. He built an image known as Haromādevī, another of Indraparamesvara for the merit of his wife, a third of Rudraparamesvara for the *punya* of his father and lastly of Rudromā for the merit of his mother.

His noble examples inspired his captain of the guards (*daṇḍavāsa bhata*) named Sivācārya to enshrine two Gods. He consecrated the God *Sri Rudramaddhyesvara* before taking any permission from his royal master. Four years after he requested the king to grant him

a charter of protection and immunity in favour of his temples, one of which he had already built. The king was good enough to grant him the charter asked for, thus helping the propagation of the Saiva faith in Champa. Accordingly, Sivācārya built the other temple in that very year (820 Saka=A.D. 898).

With Jaya Sinhavarman I, the sixth dynasty came to an end (A.D. 900).

SEVENTH DYNASTY (A.D. 900-986)

King Sri Haravarman, the founder of the seventh dynasty, was known as "the lord of the entire earth". It was he who again shifted the capital and transferred it to the south. He was a highly cultured man. From the inscriptions we come to know that many Indian Texts were then well-known in Champa, and education according to the Indian tradition was prevailing in Champa. The

king was learned in "the six systems of Indian philosophy including *Mīmāṃsā*, and in those of *Finendra* (Buddha), grammar and of *Kāśikā*, in the legends and in the *Uttarakalpa* of the Saivas.¹

In the era of the Saka Kings 840 (918, June 12) little after his accession, he erected in the temple of Yang Po Nagar, in the country of Kauthāra, an image of the Goddess Bhagavati, desiring to fill the whole world with his own glory. The cult of *Sakti*, thus, also began to gain ground in Champa. This Figure had so much majesty and so much devotion about it, that it excited the admiration of the Cambodians, who under Rājandra-varman II took the image away in A.D. 945.

Sri Haravarman was succeeded by his son Jaya Indravarman I, who in the era of the Saka Kings, determined by mountains, eight and limbs (887 Saka=A.D. 965) erected a new

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, pp. 247—248.

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statue of the Goddess Bhagavati, the old one having been taken away by the Cambodians twenty years ago. During the reign of his successor Paramesvaravarman I, the Annamites invaded Champa. They marched upon the capital Indrapura. In the first encounter the king was killed in the battle. Indravarman IV was proclaimed the new king, but he ran away in hot haste. The Annamites destroyed the capital and went back with a hundred royal maids, an Indian Buddhist monk, and a great quantity of silver, gold and other precious objects. This fateful event happened in A.D. 982.

The unfortunate Indravarman had taken refuge in the south. He was in a precarious position, his capital was in ruins, his kingdom in the hands of the Annamites. In A.D. 985 he sent a Brahman K'in Koma to Kouang Yi, but of no avail. Meanwhile, a usurper perhaps came to the throne of Champa and

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began to send tributes to the Chinese court. Thus the seventh dynasty of Champa came to an end.

EIGHTH DYNASTY (A.D. 989-1044)

When the Muhammadan invaders were knocking at the western gates of India, the Indian colony of Champa was quite free from their attacks. Though there were constant invasions from Annam and Cambodia, the Musalmans even at this time could not come to the gates of Champa. About this time, in A.D. 989, Ku Sri Indravarman V usurped the throne of Champa. He again transferred the capital to Vijaya in central Champa, because the old capital was still in ruins. On December 31, A.D. 990, Indravarman V sent an ambassador to Emperor Kouang Yi with many presents and a letter in which he called himself "Indravarman of the newly

established kingdom of Vijaya".¹ A few years after Kouang Yi also sent him some presents with a letter in which he described himself as a chief of little fame.

His successor Indravarman VI, who came to the throne in A.D. 999, though calling himself king of Vijaya, transferred the royal court again to Indrapura. In A.D. 1004, the king sent an embassy to the Chinese court.

The reigns of the next two kings Hari-varman II (A.D. 1010) and Vikrāntavarman IV (A.D. 1030) were not marked by any fateful event.

While the last king of the eighth dynasty, Jaya Sinhavarman II, was reigning, Phatma, an Annamite prince, invaded Vijaya with a large army on January 12, 1044. King Jaya Sinhavarman met him in battle, but was unfortunately beheaded. Prince Phatma entered Vijaya as conqueror

¹ *Young Pao*, 1911, p. 73.

in triumph. He occupied the palace and took possession of the harem, of musicians, dancers and ~~Chanters~~.

NINTH DYNASTY (A.D. 1044-1074)

After this upheaval, Jaya Paramesvara-varman I usurped the throne of Champa. He traced his descent from the noble family of Isvaras, who were warriors and vassals of the previous kings. From the Po Klaun Garai inscription, we know that as the king was active and had many subjects, he ordered the *Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati*, his nephew, to go with a large army and attack the people of Panran. The soldiers took them with elephants, buffaloes and bullocks for the benefit of the king, Paramesvaravarmadeva Dharma-rāja. To some people he gave orders to live in cities and to others he gave temples, monasteries, dwelling-places for holy men,

śālas and hermitages. The *Yuvarāja* (Prince) then erected a *sivalinga* for the military glory they had won in this world and ~~for~~ the salvation of their souls in the other world. A column of victory (*jayastambha*) was also erected as the symbol of the authority of *Srī Paramesvaravarmadeva*.¹ When this column of victory was raised, the people of *Pāṇḍuranga* who had revolted against the king became submissive and loyal to the king of Champa. It was in the year 972 Saka = A.D. 1050.

In the same year (A.D. 1050) the king re-erected the image of the Goddess of *Po Nagar*. He made donations of extensive lands, fifty-five Cham, Khmer, Chinese, Burmese and Siamese slaves, and a great quantity of gold and silver.

Jaya Paramesvaravarman I was succeeded by Bhadravarman II (1060), who was

¹ B. E. F. E. O., IX.

immediately followed by Rudravarman III (1061-1074). The notable event of his reign was ~~the~~ Annamite invasion of Champa. On February 16, 1069, Li-Thai-To made an expedition to Champa. He defeated the Champa army on the way. When Rudravarman III heard of the defeat of his army, he left Vijaya at night with his family. He was, however, made prisoner by the Chams. The Annamites plundered the property of Temples, monasteries, the palace, villages and towns.¹ As the king was in prison, the country was in complete anarchy. The petty chiefs began to exert their power and make themselves independent. On his return from the captivity, the king found the kingdom of Champa in an awful state of anarchy and confusion. He was unable to re-establish his old authority. With him the ninth royal dynasty came to an end. This

¹ Finot—B. E. F. E. O., IV.

Annamite invasion and the consequent anarchy in the country gave an opportunity to Vijaya Sri Harivarmadeva to declare himself king of Champa and to found a new royal dynasty.

TENTH DYNASTY (A.D. 1074-1139)

The founder of the tenth dynasty was a Thān prince, named Viṣṇumūrti or Mādhavamūrti; his mother's people were the Kramukavāṇsa, an eminent family in Champa, and his father's Prāleyesvara Dharmarāja's. He was proclaimed as *Vijaya Sri Harivarmadeva* (1074-1080) on the day of his accession. He was able to defeat the enemies, and came back victorious to the city of Champa. It was he who re-established the temple of Sṛisānabhadresvara, which had been destroyed by the enemy.

He was also successful in defeating the Annamites in 1075 and the Cambodians under

the prince, Sri Nandanavarman. He took a large number of Khmers prisoners and a large booty, which he offered to the temple of Sṛisānabhadresvara.

He then began the work of reconstruction in the devastated country. He reconstructed the buildings of the city of Champa, which M. Maspéro identifies with Indrapura.¹ All these buildings appeared, according to the Ponagar inscription, new and beautifully ornamented. The king asked his brother Prince Pān to carry on the same work in the interior. The temples in the divers provinces (*pramāṇa*) were re-erected. The old possessions and musicians and dancers of old were restored to the service of the Gods. The *sālās* and hermitages in different places were rebuilt and proper arrangements for their maintenance were made. He ordered the people of Sinhapura to make sanctuaries and chapels and

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1911, p. 249 n.

to make perpetual sacrifices. As the God Śrīśānabhadresvara was considered as the God Paramesvara on earth, all the donations and gifts of land, musicians, dancers and slaves made by all previous kings were reconfirmed.¹

In A.D. 1080 he coronated his son, Prince Vāk Pulyan Rājadvāra, aged nine years, in the presence of all the "notables" and gave him the name of *Yang po ku Sri Jaya Indravarman*. He then passed the last year of his life in worshipping the God Siva. He died in 1080, but the inscription has 1003 Saka=A.D. 1081. It should be mentioned here that four of his queens followed him in his death, performing perhaps the Indian *sati* rites.

He was succeeded by his son Jaya Indravarman II. Unfortunately, he reigned only for one month, though he came to the throne for the second time a little after. As he was

¹ Finot—B. E. F. E. O., IV.

quite young and did not know what was good and bad in the Government, he began to search for a suitable king along with all his *senāpatis* (generals), Brahmans, astrologers, *pandits* (learned men) and queen-mothers. Their eyes fell on *Pu Lyan Sri Yuvarāja Mahāsenapati* (Prince Pān), the uncle of Jaya Indravarman. The king and all the Brahmans and *pandits* took to Prince Pān many precious objects as well as the royal insignia.¹ They requested him to take charge of the Government. Accordingly, the *Yuvarāja*, Prince Pān, was made king of Champa. He assumed a new title of *Paramabodhisatva* (A.D. 1080-1086).

He fought against the usurper, who had rebelled taking advantage of the weakness of the young king at Panran, and took a large booty which he offered to the Goddess Yang Po Nagar, "the presiding Deity of the kingdom" and to the

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome IV, p. 943.

Goddess Yang Po Aneh. The offering consisted of elephants, diadems, jewels, utensils of gold and silver. It was "in the time of the Saka Kings 1006" = A.D. 1084.

Meanwhile a movement was set on foot to put the young Prince Jaya Indravarman II again on the throne. Accordingly the king, Paramabodhisatva, was removed from the throne and his nephew Jaya Indravarman II was again proclaimed king of Champa. In A.D. 1086 he received the coronation for the second time.¹

The capital of Champa, Champāpura, had been ruined and deserted during the last civil war. The new King Jaya Indravarman II completely rehabilitated the capital city. He also made rich donations to Bhadresvara and offered a monastery to Sṛī Indralokesvara in the circumscription of Tranul in A.D. 1088.

¹ For the mysterious reason of the removal of the King Paramabodhisatva, see *T'oung Pao*, 1911, p. 254.

He was succeeded by his nephew Hari-varman IV about A.D. 1113. He built some temples and made donations to the God Sṛīśānesvara in "Sakarāja 1036" = A.D. 1114. He was the last king of the tenth dynasty.

ELEVENTH DYNASTY (A.D. 1139—1144)

Harivarman IV, the last king of the tenth dynasty, had adopted Jaya Indravarman as his son. In A.D. 1129, he received the title of *Devarāja* and in 1133 he was made *Yuvarāja* by King Harivarman IV. When Harivarman IV died in 1139, the *Yuvarāja* was proclaimed king as Jaya Indravarman III.

In the following year, the new king erected the image of the God Sṛīśānabhadresvara, and two years later he gave to the temple of Po-nagar a *sivalinga* and an image of *Sṛīśāna-Viṣṇu*, which must have been the curious

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combination of Siva and Viṣṇu like that of Hari-Hara in one Figure (in 1065 Saka=A.D. 1143). As *Yuvarāja* (Prince) he had made donations to the God *Saddharma*, which may be identified with Lord Buddha. Thus there seems to have prevailed in Champa perfect religious toleration; the king himself paying homage to Lord Buddha, Viṣṇu and Siva at the same time.

He found himself engaged in war with the king of Cambodia and was finally killed in battle against him.

TWELFTH DYNASTY

From this time onwards the peace and prosperity of Champa disappeared. The Cham kings were engaged in constant wars with the kings of Cambodia till the Cambodians were able to conquer the whole kingdom of Champa. It was in 1192, when it was arranged that

Champa should be divided into two kingdoms: the kingdom of Vijaya in the north to be governed by a Cambodian, Prince Suryajayavarman, and the kingdom of Panran in the south to be ruled by a Cham prince under the suzerainty of Cambodia.¹ The Cham prince was also known as *Suryavarman*, who did not allow this sort of arrangement to last long. In the course of that same year, he defeated the Cambodians and united on his head the crowns of Vijaya and Panran.

Champa, however, did not remain long in peace. Soon after she was again conquered by Cambodia and she became part and parcel of the Cambodian empire, though for a short time between A.D. 1203 to 1220. As Cambodia was soon engaged in war with the neighbouring kingdom of Siam, she was not able to keep her control over Champa for a long time.

¹ *Toung Pao*, 1911, p. 309.

While King Indravarman VII of the twelfth dynasty was ruling over Champa, Marco Polo, the celebrated traveller, visited Champa. His travels are related in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*.¹ About the ruling chief, he remarked: "Now (in the year of Christ 1278) the king (whose name was Accambale) was a very aged man." He described the kingdom as "the great country called *Chamba*."² In his time the great Mongol Khan Khubilai, the son of Ghengez Khan, made repeated attacks on Champa from the year 1278 to 1285.

His successor King Jaya Sinhavarman III had married a Javanese princess named Tapasi. In 1306, he ceded the Cham provinces

¹ Translated and edited with Notes, by Col. Sir Henry Yule (Third Edition) revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by H. Cordier in two volumes (London, 1903).

² *Toung Pao*, 1911, p. 455.

of O and Ly to Annam on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter with the Annamite prince. Soon Champa became an Annamite province. At this time the last king of the twelfth dynasty, Che Nang, (1312-1318) was ruling over Champa. He was defeated by the Annamite emperor and was forced to flee by sea and take refuge in Java in A.D. 1318. Already there had been established some connection with Java; Tapasi, the daughter of the King of *Yava* (Java) had been married to Jaya Sinhavarman III. *Yavadvipa* (the island of Java), therefore, offered shelter to the last king of the twelfth dynasty of Champa.

THIRTEENTH AND LAST DYNASTY (A.D. 1318—)

With the twelfth dynasty, the Indian royal family, which had established its power over

Champa in the second century of the Christian era, ceased to exist. With the exception of a few usurpers the kings of Indian origin and culture had ruled over the destinies of Champa for more than a thousand years. It is no easy task to keep the torch of a great civilisation and culture burning for more than a thousand years. Indian culture has not died away altogether in Champa, it is still preserved to some extent among the Chams.

With the conquest of Champa, the Annamite emperor appointed Chea-nan (1318-1342) as Viceroy over Champa. At this time a Christian monk of the order of St. Francis, named Frère Odoric de Pordenone, who made extensive voyages in Asia during the years 1318 to 1330, paid a visit to the kingdom of Champa. In his interesting book called *Les Voyages en Asie au XIV^e Siècle du Bienheureux Frère Odoric de Pordenone*,

Religieux de Saint François,¹ he devotes one chapter to "the kingdom of Campe". He says: "Near the island of Natem, there is a kingdom which is named *Campe* and which is a very good country for there is found all kinds of food in great abundance. The king who was reigning when I was there had two hundred children, for he had many married wives and a great number of concubines."²

Though the Cham royal chronicle³ brings down the list of nominal Champa kings down to the year 1822, there is very little in the record of that decadent period to interest the general reader.

This in short is the history of the Indian colony in Champa. Excepting the last dynasty, the Indian kings kept up Indian rule,

¹ Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Henri Cordier (Paris, Leroux, MDCCCXCI).

² *T'oung Pao*, 1911, p. 600.

³ *B. E. F. E. O.*, 1905, p. 377.

Indian tradition and Indian culture in Champa. It is a bright record of a thousand years of which any nation in the world might well be proud.

CHAPTER VI

CULTURAL HISTORY OF CHAMPA

THE history of Champa is pre-eminently the history of the Indian colony which was established in Champa. We, therefore, find all the component factors of Indian culture and civilisation having deep root in Champa. The Indian colonists took with them the religion and the social manners and customs of India. As the king happened to be always of Indian origin, the palace breathed the air of Indian culture and civilisation. The Champa king had everything which an Indian king

might wish for. He held his court in Indian style with Indian Brahmans and *pandits*. His religion became popular in the kingdom, because it was the State religion. Indian art, sculpture and architecture also found their way into Champa, though a little modified by the local Cham influence. Indian literature was read in the land of the Chams. As in India, huge temples and monasteries were erected, not only by the kings, but also by ordinary people. The whole atmosphere of Champa had been turned Indian. It became part and parcel of that *Greater India* which had grown up in the Near East. It was almost India transferred to Champa with a little modification. The native Chams readily accepted the manners and customs of the Indian colonists. They were greatly influenced by the high ideals of Indian culture and civilisation. They thus helped greatly to build up what we may rightly call—the Indo-Cham civilisation.

RELIGION OF CHAMPA

India brought to the people of Champa both her principal religions—Hinduism and Buddhism. It has been often asserted that the Hindu religion is not a proselytising religion. In Champa, however, we find that the natives of the country had accepted the Hindu religion as their own, and made numerous temples to the Hindu Gods and Goddesses. The religion of Lord Buddha was not in such a flourishing condition as Hinduism.

With the Indian colonisation of Champa, perhaps, the Hindu religion found its way into this country. The earliest reference to Hinduism is found in the Vo-can inscription, which was written in correct Sanskrit towards the end of the second century of the Christian era. We do not know how Sir Charles Eliot finds traces of Buddhism in that inscription.¹

¹ *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 139.

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For the worship of the Gods, the kings constructed numerous temples, which were known in the Champa inscriptions as *sīhāna*, *pūjāsthāna* and *prāsāda*. For the Buddhists monasteries or *vihāras* were built.

These temples were oftenest in brick. Few temples like those of Srisānabhadresvara were made of stone. Sometimes the interior was built of wood. A Champa inscription mentions the construction of an *antargṛha* (interior cell) of sandalwood covered with gold and silver. Another speaks of a tower of silver constructed in the interior of another tower (*rajata prāsāda dalam prāsāda*). The movable property of these Temples comprised statues of stone, bronze or gold, *lingas*, *kosas*, collection of ornaments, vases and utensils necessary for divine service, and everything which comes under the general term *bhogopabhoga*.¹

¹ B.E.F.E.O., Tome IV, pp. 910-912.

The Gods of the Hindu Trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva—were all worshipped in Champa, sometimes alone, sometimes together. Some inscriptions, like that of Glai Lomov,¹ begin with salutation to all Gods (*namo stu sarvadevebhyah*). Many inscriptions begin with salutation to the God Siva² (*Om namaṣ-sivāya*). It is to be noted that the majority of Champa inscriptions refers to Siva and purports to be grants to Siva under his various names or to *linga*. Sometimes Siva is mentioned along with Umā, as in the An Thuan inscription: *Svasti prabhāva pratime Sivome*.³ In the Mi-son inscription, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra are mentioned together (*Brahmaviṣṇu-tridasādhīpa*).⁴

Siva seems to be the presiding God of the kingdom of Champa. It may be that

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 221.

² B.E.F.E.O., Tome IV, p. 971.

³ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 289.

⁴ B.E.F.E.O., Tome IV, p. 921.

the founder of the kingdom of Champa, Śrī-Māra, was a Śaiva. All along we find the influence of Śiva very prominent, in this country. In the Mi-son inscription, Śiva Śrīśānabhadresvara is described as the original source of the kingdom of Champa (*ya mūla nagara Cāmpa*).¹

Śiva is also given the place of honour among all other Gods. His name is mentioned first in the list of the Gods. In an inscription it is said: "Homage to Mahesvara and to Umā to Brahmā and to Viṣṇu."² In the Mi-son inscription, Śiva is said to be the sovereign master of all the world (*Sakalabhuvanaika-parameṣvareṇāpi*).³ He is known by other names, such as Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, Iśāna, Bhīma, Rudra, Mahādeva and Ugra.

¹ B.E.F.E.O., Tome IV, p. 953.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 187.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 391.

Sometimes both the Gods Śiva and Viṣṇu were united in one Figure, which was known in Champa as Saṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, and in India as Hari-Hara. King Indravarman of the fifth dynasty made rich donations to this Figure of Saṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. In the inscription, the Śaiva king praised the God Nārāyaṇa as "able to protect the whole world".¹ Another king, Jaya Indravarman III of the eleventh dynasty, erected a Figure of *Srīśāna-Viṣṇu* (Iśāna-Viṣṇu).

Certain sanctuaries in the temples of Śiva were dedicated to Śrī Gaṇesa, who was known in Champa as *Śrī Vināyaka*. King Satyavarman made the image of "the venerable elephant," by which is meant the God with the head of the elephant, that is, Śrī Gaṇesa.² A temple to Śrī Vināyaka was built by King Jaya Śrī Harivarman (A.D. 817).

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Cāmpā*, p. 227.

² *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Kuvera, the God of wealth, was also worshipped in Champa. King Prakāśadharma erected a sanctuary to the God Kuvera along with that of Mahesvara.¹

Of the images of these Gods that are found in Champa at the present day and of *Sakti*, *mukha-linga* and others, we shall deal in the chapter on art and sculpture in Champa.

Buddhism also gained ground in this kingdom. We do not know how and when Buddhism first came into Champa. It may be in the seventh century or earlier. King Sambhuvarman of the fourth dynasty was defeated by the Chinese general, who took away 1,350 Buddhist works in Cham characters from Champa. This shows that, in the seventh century A.D., Buddhism had penetrated into Champa and made favourable progress. In the Angkor inscription, we find that a minister,

¹ B. E. F. E.O., Tome IV, p. 928.

(*nāyaka*) named Samanta, of King Vikrāntavarman, made a gift of two *vihāras* to the Lord Buddha (*Yina*). Buddhanirvāna, a son of the donor, Samanta, became the *sthavira* (chief-monk) of one of the *vihāras*, and composed a poem singing the details of the gift.¹

In 875 another monastery was founded by Indravarman II. He says in his inscription that in view of the *Dharma*, he founded a monastery, which he exempted from all royal taxes for the benefit of the community of monks. The king declared that it was not for the benefit of his own self, but for the benefit of the *sangha* of monks that the Buddhist monastery was endowed by him. He made a princely donation to Avalokitesvara Svabhayada.² He used to worship Lord Buddha under the name of *Srī Lakṣmindralokesvara*.

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 240.

² Finot, B. E. F. E. O., Tome IV.

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The doctrine of Mahāyāna was also well-known in Champa. King Sri Jaya Indravarmanadeva is said to have been learned in all the Sāstras as well as in the doctrine of Mahāyāna (*mahāyānajñāna*).¹

Of the images of the Buddha and Bodhisatvas, we shall deal later on in the section on Champa sculpture.

CHAM SOCIETY AND CASTE SYSTEM

It is quite natural that with the religions of India, other allied institutions like the caste system should find their way into Cham society. The Indian kings in Champa always patronised the men of the higher castes. Kings like Sri Jaya Indravarmanadeva had around him Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, *pandits* and astrologers.²

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 971.

² *Ibid.*, p. 949.

Like the Hindu social system, Cham society was divided into four castes.¹ As in Bali of the present day, there were in Champa—Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. From the Chinese book *Wen Hien Tong K'ao* (XXIV), we know that “the men of the high families were call *Po-lo-men* (Brahmans)”. The Indian kings of Champa claimed to be Kṣatriyas. In the inscription of King Sri Harivarmanadeva-Rājādhirāja, we find that his son has been described as the best of the Kṣatriyas (*Kṣattriyyottama*).² These Kṣatriya kings, however, intermarried with the Brahmans. They could not keep their family distinct from other castes. Many kings, therefore, declared openly that they belonged to the Brahmo-Kṣatriya family. King Indravarman II (A.D. 875) was partly of Brahmanic origin, and King Jayavarman I (A.D. 1157) was born of a

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1911.

² *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 268.

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Kṣātriya lady. King Rudravarman I (A.D. 529) was called in one place the son of an "eminent Brahman," while in another place, he was called a "jewel of the Brahman and Kṣātriya castes" (*Brahmakṣātrīyakulatilaka*).¹ Again, King Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva is described as of Kṣātriyo-Brahmanic origin.²

The caste system was not, however, so rigid in Champa as in India. A woman of a noble family could marry a man of a comparatively low family, if his family bore the same name as hers.

The Indian social division could not do away totally with the native division of the society of Champa. With the caste system, there also remained the traces of old Cham society. The native Chams had a distinctive clannishness which resisted to some extent the Hindu colonisation and the institution of castes.

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome III, p. 210.

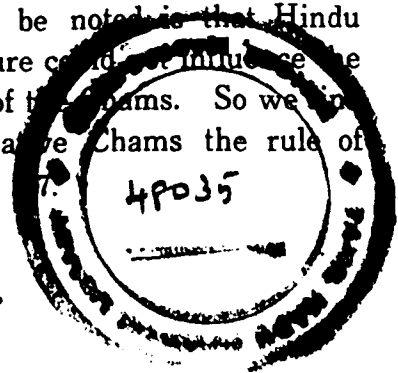
² *Ibid.*, IV, p. 964.

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Each Cham clan had its own totem, and there were traditions current for each clan. It is difficult to distinguish the personal names from the family names of the Chams. It should be noted that a large number of names is purely Sanskritic, for example—Ananḡarūpa, Viśvarūpa, Prālayasvara, Raṣupati . . . for men; Paramasundarī, Śurya Devī . . . for women. Other names, in spite of their Sanskritic form are only an adaptation of the Cham names, such as: Riddhi, Dharma-yah, Samara, Rayā and others. The Chams, however, preserved some names which were purely native and not influenced by Sanskrit, such as, Juk (Black), Javā (Javanese), etc. Brashu is known to be a family name.¹

Another point to be noted is that Hindu civilisation and culture could not influence the law of inheritance of the Chams. So we find that among the native Chams the rule of

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910, p. 7.



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property going to females survived even the introduction of Hindu civilisation. The rule about the devolution of kingship, however, was according to the Hindu Law.

MARRIAGE

The Hindu system of marriage prevailed in Champa. We are fortunate in getting a few details of the marriage ceremony, as performed in Champa, from the Chinese books. According to the Chinese sources, the marriage used to be negotiated by a Brahman, as in present-day India. The intermediary Brahman would take some jewels, gold, silver and two jars of wine, and go to the house of a likely bride and offer the girl marriage. If the guardians of the girl agreed, the Brahman would fix a day for the marriage ceremony. On the fixed date, the parents and friends of the bride united and made merry. The

bride was dressed according to her position in society. All invited guests gathered; the Brahman introduced the bride and bridegroom, put their hands together and chanted the sacramental formulæ.¹ The ceremony is, therefore, exactly Indian.

FUNERAL

The funeral of ordinary people in Champa was performed on the next day after death, of a noble or lord after three days, of the king after seven days. The body was put in a bier, and carried on a car escorted by musicians and all members of the family, men and women, whose heads were shaven as a mark of filial piety. The procession stopped near some living water, where the body was burnt on a funeral pyre. All the members would return to the house in silence. If the deceased be

¹ *Young Pao*, 1910.

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a high official of the State, the cremation of his body would take place at the mouth of a river. Just as in India, the ashes of an ordinary man were put in an earthen pot and thrown into water, but those of a high official in a vase of copper, and those of the king in a golden urn. This is what we gather from Chinese sources. It is fortunately confirmed by the evidence of the Mi-son inscription. When King Harivarman III died in 1103 Saka all the ladies and princesses to the number of fourteen followed the dead body. A vessel of gold, containing their ashes, was thrown into the water.¹

The Hindu custom of *sati* prevailed in Champa. When the King Vijaya Sri Harivarmadeva died in 1080, four of his queens followed him in his death, performing the Indian *sati* rites.

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910.

CHAPTER VII

KINGSHIP IN CHAMPA

THE Champa king like the Indian kings of old was an absolute monarch. He was the supreme head of the kingdom—both in the executive and judicial departments. His authority was not limited by any checks. There were some moral checks, enjoined by the *Sāstras*, which the kings could ignore quite easily.

As the king, so the prince was known by the Indian name—*yuvārāja*. He had the Cham title of *pulyā* or *pulyan*. When grown up, the Prince was usually made a *senāpati* (general) or entrusted with the

government of a province. Thus we find that Sri Vikrāntavarman, who was the best of Ksatriyas, had the title of *pulya*, was given the charge of Sri Pāṇḍurangapura and elevated to the rank of *senāpati* by his father Sri Hari-varmadeva-Rājadhirāja.¹

Not only the son of the king, but sometimes the brother of the king also was known as *yuvarāja*. Prince Pān, who afterwards became King Paramabodhisatva and who was the brother (*sahodara*) of King Harivarman, was described as *Pu Lyan Sri Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati*.² Here the title of *yuvarāja* with other titles was given to the king's brother.

The *yuvarāja* was often elected by an assembly of great men. This custom still survives in Cambodia. At the death of the king, the council of ministers meets under the

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 206.

² *B. E. F. E. O.*, Tome IV, p. 943.

presidency of *Aka Moha Sena* and elects one as the king or confirms one chosen by the dead king.¹ Sivananda was thus invited to reign by the people of Pāṇḍuranga. When the kings were powerful enough to impose their own will, this custom was probably not always observed. When the king had no direct heir, he selected a prince of another family; thus King Vikrāntavarman III requested the premier citizens to make Laksmindra Bhūmīsvara Grāmīsvāmin king after him. It was rather difficult for the usurpers to justify their accession to the throne except by the force of arms. They would often trace their descent from the God Paramesvara or Uroja himself to justify their usurpation. If any king wanted to be assured of the succession of his son, he might abdicate in favour of the young prince, put him on the throne and pass the remaining

¹ *T'oung Pao*, 1910, p. 187.

portion of his life in spiritual meditation like King Harivarman III.

We have a few instances in the history of Champa, where the kings were dethroned. The dethroned kings tried to get back their lost throne with the help of the nobles and premier citizens. Paramabodhisatva had dethroned the son of Harivarman III, but the son of Harivarman III was able to regain the throne with the help of *senāpatis* and other noblemen.

Who should be regarded as a *cakravartin* king? As in India, the king who had thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* (signs) was regarded as the *cakravartin* king. Those qualities are enumerated in the Mi-son inscription. King Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva is described as *dvātriṃśa-lakṣaṇa-sampanna* (possessed of thirty-two auspicious signs): He is possessed of grace, beauty (*rūpa*), youth (*abhinavayauvana*), capacity (*sāmarthya*). He is clever (*catura*), full

of good qualities (*suguna*) and courage, skilful in all arms (*sarvāyudhakusala*), of great strength (*mahāparākrama*). He always disperses the enemy troops. He has knowledge of *règles*, of absolute reality and without egoism. He possesses the tranquillity of love, compassion towards all beings, great liberality, firmness and profound intelligence. He practises impartiality (*sanamū*) with regard to the three objects (*trivarga*): *artha*, *dharma* and *kāma*. He uses the four means (*cāturu-pāya*): *sāma* (negotiation), *daṇḍa* (punishment), *bheḍa* (discord) and *upapradāna* (corruption) to enemies, friends and the indifferent all by three orders. He controls the six passions: *kāma* (love), *krodha* (anger), *lobha* (temptation), *moha* (error), *maḍa* (arrogance) and *mātsarya* (envy). He knows the six good doctrines (probably six *darsaṇas*). He knows the ways of men, which are eighteen in total. In this *Kaliyuga* itself, he is a *mahāpuruṣa* (great man),

he enjoys the royal power with a unique *guṇa*. Though Kali leads men to ignorance and to error, he practises the spiritual exercise (*yoga*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and self-communing (*samādhi*) in view of spiritual merit (*dharmapunya*). He develops his glory in this world and the other. He possesses all these qualities and enjoys royal power.¹

The new king on the day of his coronation (*abhiseka*) received an *abhisekanāma* (a royal name) which he generally kept all through his life. In the Mi-son inscription of King Sambhuvarman, we read of *diṇḍikanāma*, which according to M. Barth was perhaps a religious name as opposed to the royal name *abhisekanāma*.² It is seen that a king of Champa had Sambhuvarman as his sacred name of the *abhiseka* day, and Prasastadharma as his religious name. Again, in a Mi-son

¹ B.E.F.E. O., Tome IV, pp. 947—948.

² M. Barth's note, B. E. F. E. O.

inscription, we read that as Harivarman III found that his eldest son of the illustrious race, Pulyan Śrī Rājadvāra, had all the royal marks for governing the State of Champa, he asked all the nobles to coronate Pulyan Śrī Rājadvāra. On the *abhiseka* day, they gave him another name of Yang po ku Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva II, in addition to his religious name.

Besides these *abhiseka* and *diṇḍika* names, the kings sometimes received names after their death. Thus King Pṛthivīndravarmā received the posthumous name of *Rudraloka*, Satyavarman—*Iśvaraloka*, Vikrāntavarman III—*Vikrāntesvara*, Indravarmā—*Paramabud-dhaloka* and Rudravarmā IV—*Brahmaloka*.

The *abhiseka* ceremony was sometimes postponed for some years even after the accession to the throne. Thus, though King Jaya Paramesvaravarman II came to the throne in 1220, he was not coronated till the year 1227. Again, Jaya Sinhavarman became

king in A.D. 1265, but he received the *abhiseka* only in 1277, when he was named Indravarman (IV).

Various titles also were conferred on the kings at the time of *abhiseka*. We often find these titles in the inscriptions issued by the kings. King Harivarman was known as *Sri Harivarmadeva-Rājādhirāja-Champāpura-paramesvara*¹ (the king of kings, Lord of the city of Champa). Another king Vikrāntavarman was called *Srīmān Sri Campāpuraparamesvaro Mahārājah Sri Vikrāntavarma*.² Indravarmadeva bore the title of *Paramarājādhirāja*.³ The founder of the sixth dynasty had assumed the title of *Sri Jaya Indravarman Mahārāja Adhirāja* (A.D. 860). The King Jaya Paramesvaravarman I had the title of *Dharmarāja*.

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 266.

² *B. E. F. E. O.*, Tome IV, p. 921.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 949.

These high-sounding titles remind us of the titles used by the Gupta and Pāla emperors in India. The simple title of *Mahārāja*, however, was also borne by kings like Bhadravarman.¹

From the Chinese sources, we know much about the daily practices of the kings of Champa as well as of their private life. The Champa inscriptions do not tell us much about the daily life of the king, so we have to depend mainly on the Chinese records. From the Mi-son inscription, we know that the kings of Champa were ready to have "the Kṣattriyas, Brahmans, Pandits, astrologers and masters of rites". Some kings selected their ministers only from among the Brahmans and Kṣattriyas. Our epigraphic information does not go any further. From Chinese sources, we know that the officers, brothers and even the sons

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, Tome, II, p. 188.

of the king had not immediate access to the king. It is strange that though they were not easily accessible even to their relatives, the kings were sometimes assassinated.

The Champa king, says our Chinese authority, gave audience each day till noon. He would sit with legs folded. This reminds us of Asoka and Chandragupta. As the king was highly respected by the people, those who were present before him would salute him by bending profoundly. They did not bend their knees. They crossed the hands on the breast. It seems to be the Indian form of salute. The Chinese called the salute *Mou Pei*. The subjects repeated the same salute when the audience was finished.

When going out, twice a day, as the king mounted his elephant, conches were blown, drums were beaten and parasols of cotton

displayed.¹ Behind him marched an officer bearing a plate of areca-nuts. His guard consisted of 5,000 soldiers with lances and sabres. All those who met him saluted him. At other times, he went in a chariot escorted by thirty women bearing shields and *betel*.²

The king would preside over certain ceremonies, for example, that of giving a handful of rice, the signal of harvest, when the grain was ripe.

The king's home-life was in the harem, where lived the queens. The number of queens depended on the personal character of the king. We know that Jaya Sinhavarman III had two queens: Tapasī, the princess of Java and

¹ It reminds us of Chandragupta, who rode on the elephant in making long journeys and who appeared in public at least once a day (Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 122—3).

² Chandragupta also had women guards. "On getting up from bed, the king should be received by troops of women armed with bows." (*Arthasāstra*, B.1, ch. 21.)

Huyền Trân, sister of the Emperor Anh T'ôn. King Sri Harivarmadeva had more than four queens. Besides the queens, there were in the harem ladies of a second rank, concubines, dancing girls and a large number of servants. When the king died some of the queens followed him by performing the Hindu rites of *sati*; others, also loyal to him, passed the rest of their lives in doing good work according to his wish and leading the lives of *Brahmacharinis*.

From where were these ladies recruited? If Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who visited Champa in 1285, is to be believed, the recruitment of these women was made from the whole kingdom. According to the evidence of Marco Polo, "any girl had not the permission to be married before the king saw her". If she pleased the king, she was taken as a lady of the palace, otherwise a sum was given for her marriage.

The queens and other ladies lived in a part of the palace reserved for the king, to which no person had access. Those who were admitted to his presence were brought in the audience room. He received them sitting on an elevated throne. The audience room was only a spacious hall. The throne of the king was simple and elevated. The palace of the king of Champa was vast, elevated and surrounded by a wall. The door was ornamented with figures of all sorts of animals sculptured in wood.¹

It is rather fortunate for us that a large number of the treasures of the Cham kings has been discovered by *l'École Française*. It has been possible only through the efforts of H. Parmentier, the architect of the French school and M. Durand, a missionary of Indo-China, who contributed a valuable article entitled "Le Trésor des Rois

¹ *Toung Pao*, 1910.

'Chams'".¹ A list of various kinds of decorated vases, furniture and arms is given in the article in question. They have been recovered from the various parts of Champa. Fragments of bracelets worn by the kings and queens have been discovered. The word for bracelet in Cham is *kon*. These bracelets are demioval and are not found on the statues. They were perhaps worn during some ceremony. Many kinds of royal crowns have been found. Some are made of gold and cylindric in form resembling the ancient Assyrian crowns. The workmanship is simple but noble, and the whole thing has a veritable air of grandeur. Four crowns used by the queens have been discovered. They are called *banvu-buk* in Cham.

The vestment of the king was a robe of damask with flowers of gold, which served the purpose of buttons. The under-vest

¹ B. E. F. E. O. Tome, V, pp. 1—46.

was of white cotton of fine texture bordered with gold lace. Over it the king put on a gold necklace enriched with pearls, as well as a garland of flowers. The depot of Tinh-mi contains a great number of ceremonial vestments—vestments for representing the Gods in sacrifices—in a good state of preservation. They are generally small in size.¹

ADMINISTRATION OF THE KINGDOM

The authority of the king of Champa was absolute. There was little or no check over him. He had the right to grant life or sentence death. The Government was centralised. The entire administration of the kingdom was in his hands. He had around him a large number of *purohitas* (priests), Brahmans, astrologers and *pandits* to help him with advice according

¹ B.E.F.E.O., Tome V, p 39.

to the *Sāstras*. It is, however, doubtful whether the king followed or not the *sāstric* injunctions of these well-wishers of his. Besides these, he had the captain of guards (*daṇḍavaśo bhatah*—soldier guarding the door) to assist him. He had also under him a central administration composed of three classes of functionaries under the direction of two great officers of State, named *Chiefs of Service*. They are:

(1) *Si kiun po ti*, and

(2) *Sa po ti ko*.

Under these two chiefs of service, there were three classes of officers, namely:

(1) *Louen to sing*,

(2) *Ko louen tche ti*, and

(3) *Yi ti kia lan*.

The entire kingdom of Champa was divided into three provinces, with a governor over each of them. It is significant to note that the names of these provinces are Indian. They

were perhaps given by the Indian colonists. The provinces are:

(1) *Amarāvati*. It is in North Champa and identified by M. Finot with the present Quảng-nam. The province contained Indrapura (present ruins of Đông du'ông), once capital of Champa, and Sinhapura, a port.

(2) *Vijaya*. It is in central Champa and identified with the modern Bing-Dinh by M. Finot. Its chief place became the capital of the kingdom from A.D. 1,000. Its port was Sri Vijaya.

(3) *Pāṇḍuranga* or Panran in South Champa. It was also for some time capital of Champa when the first dynasty of Pāṇḍuranga was in power.

These provinces were subdivided into 38 divisions in the reign of Harivarman III. The whole kingdom at that time consisted of 30,000 families. According to M. Georges Maspéro, the Champa inscriptions

give only two divisions of land, namely, *Pramāra* and *Vijaya*.¹ The first, according to M. Maspéro, was a purely administrative division and the latter a feudal division. The unit of administration was the city or village, whose population according to the Chinese account ranged from 3 to 500 families, but never exceeded 700 with the exception of the headquarters of the provinces, for example, in 1069, *Vijaya* contained no less than 2,560 families.

But besides these two divisions, *Pramāra* and *Vijaya*, we meet with another, namely, *Visaya*.² We meet with this term also in the *Pāla* and *Gupta* inscriptions, where it corresponds to the sense of a modern *district*. In *Champa*, perhaps, *Visaya* was used to denote a larger unit of administration than a village. It rather meant a *district*.

¹ *Toung Pao*, 1910.

² *B. E. F. E. O.*, Tome IV, p. 921.

These provinces of *Champa* were governed by high officials or by princes of the royal family. The province of *Pāṇḍurāṅga* was often given to a prince. Thus King *Harivarman I* gave his son *Pu Lyan Srī Vikrāntavarman* this province of *Pāṇḍurāṅga* to rule.¹

ARMY

As the *Champa* king was an absolute monarch, his power depended on the strength of his army. He had, therefore, to maintain a large army. In the time of *Wen*, it consisted of from 40 to 50,000 men. It increased more and more afterwards. In the eighth century only the royal guard consisted of 5,000 men. The army, in general, was composed of infantry, cavalry and elephants. When the king went to war, he was accompanied by 1,000 elephants and 400 horses which formed the

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, Tome IV, p. 943.

rear-guard. The arms consisted of shields, javelins, bows and arrows of bamboo. Many of these old arms have been discovered by MM. Parmentier and Durand.¹ The soldiers were protected by armour. As in India, the soldiers used to march accompanied by the music of conches and drums, which was regarded as an auspicious thing.

The command of the army was given to the brothers or sons of the king. The generals bore the title of *mahāsenāpati* or simply *senāpati*. Their pay consisted of subsidies and they were often exempted from regular taxes. King Harivarman I made his son Vikrāntavarman his *senāpati* (general). When the royal brothers were made generals, they could easily usurp the royal power after the death of their brother. Thus Prince Pān, brother of King Harivarman III, who was *mahāsenāpati* (the great general) made himself king

¹ B.E.F.E.O., V.

in place of his nephew Jaya Indravarman II, whom Harivarman III had made king.

The Chams from the time of King Wen knew the art of fortification. They protected their cities with walls in brick. The citadels and strong places served as depots for materials of war.

The Cham subjects helped the officials by giving forced labour and service to the king. The landlords gave a tax in kind which was measured by *jak*, a measure of whose value we are quite ignorant.¹ Half of this tax went to the landlord and the other half to the king, except in the case where the latter had made a gift of it to the temples or monasteries. We find the kings always busy making grants to

¹ There were other measures which cannot be identified. Following is a provisional table by M. Maspéro:

1 Pala=4 Karṣas

1 Tula=100 Palas

1 Bhāra=20 Tulas.

temples or monasteries. In making these grants it was often arranged, as in the Mi-son inscription,¹ that *ṣaḍabhāga* (six portions) of the revenue would be taken by the lord and the remaining ten portions would go to meet the expenses of the God consecrated. This arrangement was made by Mahārāja Bhadravarman. In the same inscription, we have *devabalikārah* and *rājakulakāryyam*, in which work for the God and work for the king have been differentiated.

¹ B. E. F. E. O., Tome II, pp. 185—188.

CHAPTER VIII

ART AND SCULPTURE IN CHAMPA

INDIAN art and sculpture travelled over the mainland of Further India along with Indian civilisation in the early centuries of the Christian era. It gradually penetrated Siam, Cambodia, Champa (Annam), as well as into Java and other islands of the Indian Archipelago. And in these travels religion was its vehicle. With the acceptance of the cult of Siva or Viṣṇu, or the teachings of Lord Buddha, by the inhabitants of the Further East, the necessity of making images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva as well as of the Buddha and Bodhisatvas arose, as also of erecting temples in order to enshrine these new Gods and Goddesses.

The architects and sculptors must have had to serve as disciples under Indian *gurus*,

brought over perhaps from India, from whom they learned the canons of Indian iconography. In some cases they followed these in a graceful manner of their own ; in others they could not grasp their full significance, and the result was a lowering of the high standard of the Indian originals.

While Cambodia provides us with the best specimens of Indian art and sculpture in Further India, and Java has preserved for us the vast pyramidal temple of Borobudur, the artists of Champa were not inspired by the Indian ideal in the same way. They followed the Indian canons, and got the Indian form, bereft, however, of the inspiration. The result was that they could not approach the best specimens of Indian sculpture of the Gupta period.

It is nevertheless interesting to consider the extent and nature of the influence which Indian art exerted in Champa, and what images,

symbols and designs were favoured by the artists of Champa, who were under the domination of Indian culture for more than a thousand years.

With the establishment of the Hindu colony in Champa, Hindu civilisation and culture found easy acceptance in that land. The Chams evidently looked upon the culture of the Indians as superior, and came to adopt their manners and customs. The Indian kings of Champa also began to erect in the land of their adoption new temples dedicated to the images of their own Gods and Goddesses. The inscription of Vo-can is nothing but a grant for a temple. The inscription of Dharma-Mahārāja Śrī Bhadravarman I refers to the temple dedicated by the king to Siva. Thus Indian art and architecture received their initial impetus. Private individuals also made liberal grants for Indian images and temples. The result is that we have a great

variety of Hindu and Buddhist images still preserved in the land of the Chams. M. Finot has done good service in the cause of Indo-Cham art by making a list of Champa monuments under the title of *Inventaire Sommaire des Monuments Chams de l'Annam*.¹ In our study of Indian art and sculpture in Champa, however, we have to take into consideration not only these monuments but also such sidelights as may be found thrown on their religion.

Champa welcomed both Hinduism and Buddhism from India, but more specially the former. The cults of Siva and Viṣṇu were clearly in great favour, for not only do we find numerous images of these Deities, but also of their consorts Pārvatī and Lakṣmī. Brahmā, the creative personality of the Hindu Trinity, however, was not so popular.

¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 27.

The influence of Indian art is further clearly perceptible in the decorative designs and motives used mainly in Cham architecture and sculpture. For instance the *padma* (lotus), as in India, claimed the prominent attention of the artists of Champa, and as in the sculptures of Bharut, Sanchi and Amarāvati, it served as a highly decorative motive. It is the emblem of purity and chastity, so it finds a happy place in religious sculptures.

Sometimes animals referred to in Indian myths, such as the *Makara* and the *Garuda*, play their part in Cham sculpture. As in India, the *Garuda* is seen carrying Viṣṇu on his back (at Hưng-thanh) or fighting with serpents as at Van-turong. The *Garuda*, though the king of birds, is not represented quite like a bird, but rather like a human being with wings. The Indian *Makara* also caught the fancy of the Cham artists. It is found in the *frontons* of Binh-Lam and at Khuong-my. Sometimes

from his mouth a human figure or a *Nandin* is seen escaping. M. H. Parmentier thinks that the *Makara* played the same part in the field of decorative design in Champa as the Cham lion.¹ The *Nāga*, with three, seven or nine heads, is also used as a decorative element, but its importance in the Cham designs is only secondary. The elephant had also a place in Cham sculpture as a decorative motive.

As architecture is closely related with sculpture, we may mention here *en passant* that Cham architecture may broadly be divided into three epochs, the last containing two periods, making four in all. They are:

- (1) Style of Sambhuvarman (V and VI centuries Saka).
- (2) Style of Vikrāntavarman I (End of VI to IX centuries Saka).
- (3) Style of Harivarman III (End of X to beginning of XI centuries Saka).

¹ *Ibid.*

- (4) Style of Jayavarman I (End of XI to beginning of XII centuries Saka).¹

BRAHMANIC SCULPTURES

Let us now proceed to the consideration of Brahmanic sculptures in Champa, which include the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva, Umā, Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa, the Garuda and the Nandin.

Brahmā, the first personage of the Hindu Trinity, is not a conspicuous Figure among the Brahmanic monuments of Champa, where, as in India, his temples or images are not numerous. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Brahmā is described as having four faces. Sometimes he is seated on a *Hamsa* and sometimes on a *padma* (lotus). In Champa, too, Brahmā's characteristic is that he is *catur-mukha* (four-faced). He is seen in the bas-relief

¹ *Young Pao*, 1910.

of Tourane and also at Mi-son.¹ Sometimes, he is represented along with the other Deities of the Hindu Trinity.

The most popular of the Gods of the Hindu Trinity in Champa was Siva, who seems to have caught the imagination of the Chams. The images and temples to Siva are often referred to in the Champa inscriptions, wherein homage is paid to Siva the Mahādeva, with his numerous epithets such as Sarva, Bhava, Pasupati, Isāna, Bhīma, Rudra and Mahesvara.

Siva was regarded as the guardian Deity of Champāpura, as the capital of Champa was called. The earliest local inscription in which we get a reference to Siva worship, belongs to the fourth century A.D. The Imperial Guptas were then ruling over Northern India. It was also the time which witnessed the

¹ M. Finot—"La Religion des Chams d'après les Monuments". *B. E. F. E. O.*, I.

revival of Hinduism in India. It is not improbable that the wave of this neo-Hinduism in the mother-country reached the colony of Champa and strengthened the hands of the Hindu colonists.

The sculptors of Champa made the images of Siva in various postures. They, however, seemed to prefer to represent and worship Siva in the form of a *lingam* (phallus). A tower in Pho-hai still contains a *lingam in situ* in the centre of the sanctuary. In India, at the present day, most of the Siva temples contain nothing but the *lingam*. The worship of the *lingam* was perhaps prevalent in Rig-vedic times.¹ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, though he found no trace of this worship in the earlier literature, does not deny the possibility of its existence during that period.² Whether

¹ Hopkins—*Religions in India*, p. 150.

² R. G. Bhandarkar—*Vaisnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 104.

we agree with Hopkins as to the Greek influence behind *lingam* worship or not, no one will deny that the worship of Siva and his emblem, the *lingam*, is of non-Aryan origin.

Besides the more usual form of *lingam* in Champa, we come across another type known as *mukha-linga*, that is to say, a phallus with a face. M. Aymonier, the pioneer in the field of Indo-Sinology, discovered one such *mukha-linga* in the tower of Po Klaun Garai. He describes it thus: "In the interior of the tower . . . the idol is a linga. On this linga is sculptured in half-hunch a fine head of a male divinity of natural grandeur bearing fine moustaches. This is certainly Siva."¹

M. Finot, however, remarks that it is more exact to say that it is the founder king of the temple identified with the God Siva. The Cham sculptor here made a departure from

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, pp. 67, 68.

the accepted lines and brought in his own ideas about the physiognomy, headdress and ornaments of the *mukha-linga*, these being exactly those which the Champa sculptors invariably gave to the Champa kings.¹

Many *mukha-lingas* have been discovered in India. General Cunningham found one at Sahri-bahlol.² Among the finds of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, there is a Siva *lingam* with one face in black chlorite stone.³ The earliest instance of *mukha-linga* in India goes back to the first century B.C.⁴ The idea here also was to identify a human being with the Deity whose image he dedicated.

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.* Tome I, p. 14.

² *A. S. R.*, Vol. V, p. 45.

³ Its photo (bearing No. 82) is given in their catalogue.

⁴ In the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (1909-10) Mr. R. D. Banerjee describes a *mukha-linga* (height 4' 4") which came from Bhita in the Allahabad District.

This shows that the Indian colonial art drew its inspiration from the mother-country, but when the *mukha-linga* was identified with some local chief, clothes and ornaments were not imitated from Indian sculptures, but were a representation of those in actual use in Champa. The colonial artists have thus apparently reserved freedom in matters of detail.

Siva is also seen in Champa in his other usual Indian forms. M. Finot speaks of two bas-reliefs of Tourane, which represent Siva on the *Nandin*, his bull, bearing a lance in the attitude of attack.¹ This form is not peculiar to Champa. The canons laid down by Hemādri correspond to this attitude of Siva. He describes Siva as riding a bull, but having five faces.

In front of the temple of Po Klaun Garai, Siva is represented in a standing posture with

¹ Finot—*B. E. F. E. O.*, I.

six arms. His two upper hands are clasped behind the head, and the others bear a *trisula*, a *padma*, a sword and a bowl respectively—the usual emblems of Siva.¹ In India, images of Siva are found with arms ranging from two to ten.

Natarāja, the well-known dancing figure of Siva, which is so conspicuous in Southern India, is one of the forms which has found its way into Champa. Siva is represented as dancing the *tāṇḍava* in the bas-relief at Tourane.² The dance of Siva in the form of Natarāja symbolises “the action of cosmic energy in creating, preserving, and destroying the visible universe”.³ This Natarāja form of Siva though more popular in the South, is not actually lacking in other parts of India. An

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ H. Sastri—*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 79.

image of Natarāja Siva was found in the district of Dacca.

Another bas-relief at Tourane shows Siva seated with a rosary of beads in one hand and a *trisula* in the other. In the collection of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* (Calcutta), there is a fragment of a seated image of Siva in hard black stone, the upper part of which is wanting. Siva is also seen in Champa as the *Dvārapāla* (door-keeper) of temples. The best specimen is from Đông-du'ong.

What we thus know from the Cham monuments may be supplemented by the evidence of Champa inscriptions. We find no mention of Siva or Siva worship in the inscription of the descendant of Srī Māra, which is the earliest epigraphic record in Champa. We, however, know that from the time of Bhadravarman I, that is the fifth century Saka, Siva was worshipped under the name of Bhadresvara. Perhaps human

sacrifices were offered to Siva at that time, because in one inscription of the same king we read—*Sivadāsa badhyate*.¹

In 709 Saka, the Javanese attacked Champa and burnt down the temple of Siva, known as *Bhadrādhipati*svara. The original founder of this Siva temple was perhaps Bhadrādhipati or Bhadravarman. Champa was not, however, wanting in devotees of Siva, who rebuilt the burnt temple. It was Indravarman, who re-erected this temple of Siva and renamed the image *Indrabhadresvara*, after his own name. In Inscription No. XXIII, we read of two other foundations of Indravarman I in honour of Siva, bearing the names of *Indrabhogesvara* and *Indraparamesvara*.

The predecessor of Indravarman I, Satyavarman, had given his name to an image of Siva, namely—*Satyamukhalingadeva*. This

¹ *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*. All the numbers given here refer to those given in this work.

mukha-linga was afterwards the object of liberality of Vikrāntavarman, to which reference is made in the different inscriptions on the stele of Po-nagar (No. XXVI). According to Inscription No. XXIV, Vikrāntavarman also erected other images of Siva by the name of *Vikrāntarudresvara* and *Vikrānta-Devādhibhadresvara*.¹

Siva's *Sakti* is worshipped in Champa under the name of *Umā*, *Umā* being one of the numerous names of Siva's consort. She is also known as *Gaurī*, *Pārvati*, *Chandī* and *Kālī*. Though in India we have a large number of *sāktas* (the followers of *Sakti*), the Figure of *Umā* is not very common in India, being usually found only with *Mahesvara*. There is a good collection of *Umā-Mahesvara* images in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and in the

¹ "L'Ancien Royaume de Campa dans l'Indo-Chine d'après les Inscriptions."—*Indian Antiquary*, January, 1888.

museums of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* and the *Varendra Research Society*. According to the canonical books, the form of *Umā*, or *Gaurī*, or *Pārvati*, when represented separately, has four hands. She wears a *Yatā-mukuta*, her lower hands are in the *varada* and *abhaya* postures and upper hands holding red and blue lotuses.

Umā Bhagavatī was one of the most popular Goddesses of Champa. To her is consecrated the great sanctuary of Po-nagar at Nhatrang in Champa, where her image still exists *in situ*. She maintains her popularity to this day and receives the same worship from the present Annamites, as she used to get from the former Chams. At Po-nagar, we find the Goddess in a sitting posture with legs crossed in Indian fashion and her hands placed on the knees. In her eight hands, she has a knife and a cymbal, an arrow and an elephant-tusk, a disc and a

folding object, a lance and an arc. The throne is supported by a lotus, which may be called a *padmāsana*.¹ M. Aymonier is of opinion that this image of Umā is not very old and he places it at A.D. 965.² The Goddess Umā is also represented as seated on a *Nandin*. An image of Umā in this attitude was discovered in the village of Chiendang in Champa, and is now preserved in the museum of *L'École Française* at Hanoi. In a bas-relief of Mi-son, she is seen standing in the attitude of dance, with the different emblems, the disc, arc, snare, etc., in her hands.

Like Siva, Viṣṇu was also popular in Champa. M. Finot mentions a remarkable instance of the statue of Viṣṇu, possessing both an epigraphical and an iconographical interest.

¹ B.E.F.E.O., Tome I, p. 15; for a representation of the Goddess, see there Fig. I.

² Aymonier—*Étude sur les Inscriptions Tchames*, p. 27.

It was first described by M. Aymonier in 1891. It was popularly believed to bear a Khmer inscription, but it was afterwards found to be a Cham inscription, which was translated by M. Aymonier. It was discovered in the forest by the village of Binh-trusc and eventually removed to the pagoda of Bru-son, where it is impossible to photograph the monument. Viṣṇu is seated, on a stele, and wears a *mukuta* (crown) and bracelets. He is, according to the Indian fashion, four-armed (*catur-bhuja*). In the upper two hands, he holds a *chakra* (disc) and a *sankha* (conch), and a *gadā* (club) in the lower two hands. Only the *padma* (lotus) is wanting.¹

Another mutilated statue of Viṣṇu is found at Co-thanh. The Figures of Viṣṇu on the *Garuda* are also represented in the bas-relief of Mi-son. General Cunningham discovered a colossal seated statue of Viṣṇu at Garhwal, which is

¹ B. E. F. E. O., I.

like the Champa image. It is six feet high and four feet broad and is made of coarse sandstone. From the inscription on the statue, we can fix its date at the tenth century A.D.¹ Almost all the Bengal images of Viṣṇu, however, are in the standing posture. Varāhamihira says that the image of Viṣṇu should be four-armed, as we find in the case of the Champa images. The right hands should hold a club (*gada*) and be in the posture of *sānti* (peace) and the left hands a conch and a disc (*cakra*). Our Champa monument fulfils these directions. This Champa image of Viṣṇu, however, is not as graceful as some of its Indian prototypes.²

Images of Lakṣmī, the Goddess of fortune and the consort of Viṣṇu, are not rare in Champa.

Though in India Gaṇeṣa is believed to be the destroyer of all evils, he is not much in

¹ A. S. R., Vol. III, p. 56.

² See Fig. IV in B. E. F. E. O., I.

evidence in Champa. We, however, find references to a few temples built in his honour, in the inscriptions.

Both the *Nandin*, steed of Śiva, and the *Garuda*, steed of Viṣṇu, were adopted in Champa and they are a large number in the Champa temples.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES

It is surprising that while Hinduism made such headway in Champa, Buddhism, which penetrated so far into China and Japan, could not make much progress in Champa. This may be due to the fact that most of the kings of Champa were Hindus and that they were busy making endowments to Hindu Gods and Goddesses.

The remains of Buddhist sculptures in Champa show that Buddhism prevailed side by side with Hinduism, though it could not

rival the latter in popularity. I-tsing, the great Chinese traveller, observed: "In that country the Buddhists belong generally to the *Arya Sammiti Nikāya*." It is thus clear that Champa Buddhism belonged to the Mahāyāna school.

At present there are but few Buddhist temples in Champa. At Dong-du'o'ng, a Buddhist temple with four doors was discovered, which may have been a local centre of Buddhism. It was here that the great statue of the Buddha was found. This represents the Buddha in a sitting posture, with his hands on knees. He has a *ushnīsa* (turban) on the head, unfortunately now separated from the trunk, and an *urna* in the centre. This image is now in the museum of *L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* at Hanoi. In the forest near Đông-Du'o'ng three images of the Buddha were discovered. A head of the Buddha was also found in the

neighbourhood. A bronze statue of a Bodhisatva seated in Indian fashion on a *Nāga*, found near Bing-Dinh by Mgr. Van Cammelbèke, is also in the Hanoi Museum. Various seals or medallions, used by the Buddhist monks, have also been discovered in various parts of Champa, bearing the images of Buddhist Deities or sacred symbols. Unfortunately their number is not very great.¹

All these instances of Hindu and Buddhist sculptures in Champa show clearly that the Champa artists received their inspiration from India. Though good imitators, they were not creative artists, so that their productions became inferior in quality and lacked expressiveness and gracefulness.

This art of Champa, which is Indian in origin and design but Cham in execution, may be termed Indo-Cham art.

¹ B. E. F. E. O., I.

EDUCATION IN CHAMPA

The Indian systems of learning prevailed in Champa. The kings of Champa are often described as learned in the *Sāstras*. There were perhaps special arrangements for the education of the princes as well as of ordinary people. We find references to various branches of learning in the inscriptions of Champa. King Paramesvaravarman is said to be proficient in the *Sāstras* and versed in the philosophy of divers schools (*sarvasastra . . . vidagdha tattvajñāna*).¹ King Paramabrahmaloka knew 64 *kalās* (fine arts), the science of grammar and divers systems of philosophy (*vidagdha di catussasti kalāvidyā makapun vyā (ka) raṇa-sāstra . . . paramārtha tattvajñāna*).²

Again, King Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva knew all the *Sāstras*, *Vyākaraṇa-sāstra* (science

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 953.

² *Ibid.*, IV, p. 963.

of grammar), *Horā-sāstra* (astrology), *Samastatattvajñāna* (all philosophical systems), *Mahāyānājñāna* (system of Mahāyāna), all the *Tanatah* (*Dharma-Sastra*) notably of Nāradiya and Bhārggaviya.¹ It is pleasing to note that these *Sāstras* were known in Champa.

King Śrī Haravarman was learned in the six systems of Hindu philosophy beginning with *Mimāṃsā* and in those of *Jinendra* (Buddha) [*mimāṃsāshaṭṭarka-jinendrasūrmis*], in those of *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar) perhaps of Panini with the commentary *Kāśikāvṛtti*. He knew also the *Ākhyānas* (legends) and the *Uttarakalpa* of the Saivas (*Saivottarakalpa-mīnah*), which A. Bergaigne identifies with *Sāktānandataranginī*.²

We may, therefore, conclude that the following branches of learning were known and perhaps taught in Champa:

¹ *B. E. F. E. O.*, Tome IV, p. 971.

² *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā*, p. 259.

- (1) Catu sasti kalāvidya (64 fine arts).
- (2) Vyākaraṇa-sāstra } (of Panini).
- (3) Kāsikāvṛtti }
- (4) Horā-sāstra (astrology).
- (5) Samasta-tattvajñāna } (6 systems of
- (6) Mimāṃsā } philosophy).
- (7) Doctrines of Jinendra } (Buddha).
- (8) Mahāyāna-jñāna }
- (9) Nāradiya } (Dharma-sāstras).
- (10) Bhārggaviya }
- (11) Saivottarakalpa.
- (12) Purānārtha = A chronicle of royal dynasties.

The stories of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* seem to have been familiar with the people of Champa, though perhaps they were not so popular as in Java. Though we do not find mention of the text of the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* as in Java, we get the names of various personages of the epics in the Champa inscriptions, by which we may conclude that

the stories of the epics were known in Champa. Thus, King Harivarman has been described as Yudhistira in justice (*yo dharmena Yudhisthireṇa saḍṛiso*) and the enemy of Kamsa (Krishna) in heroism (*vīry-yena Ka(m) sārīna*).¹

Besides Yudhistira and Krishna, other personages of the epics are mentioned. Thus Aṣvathāman has been described as the chief among the Brahmans and the son of Droṇa (*dvijaṣresthād Droṇaputrād*).²

In the Mi-son inscription Rāma has been referred to as the son of King Daṣaratha (*Daṣarathanṛpaḥ*).³ Again Rāma and Krishna are mentioned together. The Prince Śivānanda tried to surpass the glory of Rāma and of Krishna (*Rāmasya kīrttim, Yadurājakīrttim*).⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

² *B. E. F. E. O.*, Tome IV, p. 919.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 920.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 956.

Thus it seems that the stories of the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* were well-known in Champa. We do not know as yet whether any recensions of the epics were adopted in Champa as in Java.

CONCLUSION

THIS is a brief history—political as well as cultural—of Champa. This is the record of the Indian colony in Champa for a period extending over twelve hundred years. It shows that India did not keep her civilisation and culture within her own natural boundaries, but through her adventurous sons spread them over a larger area. From the second century of the Christian era, her sons went over to Champa and colonised the country giving a new civilisation and culture to the people of the soil. India effected in Champa not only a physical but also a cultural conquest. Her sons ruled over Champa for more than twelve hundred years, and gave her the

culture and civilisation of India. Champa took from India her religions—both Hinduism and Buddhism—her art and sculpture, though a little modified, her idea of kingship with Indian courts, her social institutions like caste system, her systems of learning and literature. It shows that Indians could keep up the torch of Indian civilisation and culture outside their Motherland and how they did it in Champa for more than twelve hundred years. It is an achievement of which India has every cause to be proud.

APPENDIX

ROYAL DYNASTIES OF CHAMPA

IN CHAMPA	IN INDIA
1ST DYNASTY (A.D. 192-336)	
1. Sri Māra (192—?)	Yajna Sri, Andhra King (A.D. 173-202)
2. Sons of Sri Māra	
3. Fan Hiong (270-280)	
4. Fan-yi (?—336)	Chandra Gupta I (A.D. 320)
2ND DYNASTY (A.D. 336-420)	
1. Fan-wen (336-349)	Chandra Gupta II (A.D. 375)
2. Fan-fo (349-380)	
3. Bhadravarman I (380-413)	
4. Gangārāja (—420).	
3RD DYNASTY (A.D. 420-528)	
1. Yang Mai I (420—)	
2. Yang Mai II (—443)	
3. Chen Tch'eng (443—)	Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455)
4. Tang Ken Tch'ouen (—491)	
5. Tchou-nong (491-498)	
6. Devavarman (—514)	
7. Vijayavarman (—528)	

IN CHAMPA	IN INDIA
4TH DYNASTY (A.D. 529-757)	
1. Rudravarman I (529—)	
2. Sambhuvarman (—629)	Harshavardhan (A.D. 606)
3. Kandarpadharma (629—)	
4. Tchen-long (—645)	
5. Bhadresvaravarman (645—)	Death of Harsha (A.D. 647)
6. Vikrāntavarman I (653—)	
7. Vikrāntavarman II	
8. Rudravarman II (—757)	
5TH DYNASTY (A.D. 758-859)	
1. Prthivindravarman (758—)	
2. Satyavarman (767)	
3. Indravarman I	Dharma Pala, King of Bengal (A.D. 810)
4. Harivarman I	
5. Vikrāntavarman III (—859)	
6TH DYNASTY (A.D. 860-900)	
1. Indravarman II	
2. Jaya Sinhavarman I	
7TH DYNASTY (A.D. 900-986)	
1. Haravarman	
2. Indravarman III	
3. Jaya Indravarman I	
4. Paramesvaravarman	
5. Indravarman IV	

IN CHAMPA	IN INDIA
8TH DYNASTY (A.D. 989-1044)	
1. Indravarman V (989-999)	
2. Yang po ku Vijaya (Indravarman, 999)	
3. Harivarman II (1010)	
4. Vikrāntavarman IV (1030)	Somnāth Expedition of Sultan Mahmūd (A.D. 1026)
5. Jaya Sinhavarman II	
9TH DYNASTY (A.D. 1044-1074)	
1. Jaya Paramesvaravarman I (1044—)	Atisa's Mission to Tibet (A.D. 1038)
2. Bhadravarman II (1060)	
3. Rudravarman III (1061-1074)	
10TH DYNASTY (A.D. 1074-1139)	
1. Harivarman III (1074-1080)	
2. Jaya Indravarman II (1st reign, 1080)	
3. Paramabodhisatva (1080-1086)	
4. Jaya Indravarman II (2nd reign, 1086-1113)	
5. Harivarman IV (1113-1139)	

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IN CHAMPA	IN INDIA
11TH DYNASTY (A.D. 1139-1144)	
1. Jaya Indravarman III (1139-1144)	
12TH DYNASTY (1149-1318)	
1. Rudravarman IV (1149)	Vallal Sen, King of Bengal (A.D. 1158)
2. Jaya Harivarman (—1167)	
3. Jaya Indravarman IV (1167—1192)	
4. Suryavarman (1192-1203)	Defeat of Prthvirāja (A.D. 1192)
5. Jaya Paramesvaravarman II (1220)	
6. Jaya Indravarman V (1254)	
7. Indravarman VII (1277)	
8. Jaya Sinhavarman III (1307)	Alauddin, Emperor of Delhi (A.D. 1296)
9. Jaya Sinhavarman IV (1307-1312)	
10. Che Nang (1312-1318)	
13TH DYNASTY (A.D. 1318-1390)	
1. Chea-nan (1318-1342)	
2. Trā-Hoā Bo-De (1342-1360)	Death of Firoz Shah of Delhi (A.D. 1388)
3. Ché Bong Nga (1360-1390)	

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