THE PUNJAB ORIENTAL (Sanskrit) Series
OR A COLLECTION OF RARE & UNPUBLISHED BOOKS RELATING TO ANCIENT INDIA
EDITED BY THE WELL-KNOWN & EMINENT SCHOLARS OF INDIA, EUROPE and AMERICA
No, 16.
LAHORE (INDIA)
THE PUNJAB SANSKRIT BOOK DEPOT
1927.
ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES
In the
FAR EAST.
Vol. I.
CHAMPA.

BY
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Greater India Society Publication.
No. I.

PUBLISHED BY.
The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot.
LAHORE
1927.
MOTI LAL BANARSI DAS,

Proprietors,
The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot

SAIDMITHA STREET,

LAHORE.

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1927.

PRINTED BY

DURGA DASS "PRABHAKAR"

Manager,
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SAIDMITHA STREET,

LAHORE.
To The French Savants
whose labours have opened
a new and glorious chapter
Of the ancient history and civilisation of India
this volume is dedicated
in token of
respect, admiration and gratitude
of the author.
ABBREVIATIONS


Corpus—Collection of Sanskrit Inscriptions of Champâ by A. Bergaigne published as “Notices Et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale etc. Tomâ Vingt-Septièmes (1-er partie 2-e Fascicule)

J. A.—Journal Asiatique.

J. A. S. B. (N. S.).—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New series)

Parm.—Parmentier.


TRANSLITERATION.

The system followed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland has been adopted in this volume, with the exception, that the name of the kingdom has been written as “Champâ” instead of “Campâ”

As the press does not contain accents types for the notes, the notes are printed without them. Some diacritical signs for writing French words are also wanting in the press.
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Preface.

The story of Greater India is bound to be of absorbing interest, not only to every student of history, but also to all educated people in this country. The Indian colonies in the Far East must ever remain as the high-water mark of maritime and colonial enterprise of the ancient Indians. But although an extensive literature in French has grown up on this subject, hardly anything has yet been written in English. This alone accounts for the comparative apathy and ignorance in this matter which is generally noticed in this country.

No apology is therefore needed for bringing out this volume dealing with one of the many colonial kingdoms which the Indians had established in the Far East. It is intended to be the first of a series of volumes dealing with the whole subject. But when, if at all, the other volumes will see the light of day is more than I can tell. The present volume was taken in hand more than four years ago, but a variety of difficulties—the space of 1300 miles between the author and the printing press being by no means the least of them—have considerably delayed its publication. As at present planned, the second volume, dealing with Cambodge, will be published before the end of 1929, and the remaining two or three volumes, dealing with Siam, Sumatra, Java, Bali and other colonial kingdoms will not probably be delayed beyond 1931.

Champā has been selected as the subject of the first volume, partly because it is the remotest colony in the East, and partly because it is less known than Cambodge and Java on which general attention has been focussed on account of the famous monuments of Angkor Vat and Borobudur.

The authorities on which this volume is based have been fully discussed in the Introduction. I have derived the great-
est help from Maspero's "Le Royaume du Champā". This book must always remain the chief source and constant guide to anyone who tries to write a history of Champā. But the discovery of a number of new inscriptions since the publication of that book has made it obsolete and incomplete in many places. While, therefore, Maspero's work has been accepted as the chief guide, considerable deviations from it will be noticed in the present volume.

Besides, Maspero deals mainly with the political history of Champā, though in the early portion of his book he has given a brief resume of religion, administrative system, social and economic conditions, and art and architecture of Champā. An attempt has been made in the present volume to discuss all these branches of history and civilisation of Champā as adequately as is possible under the present conditions.

Similarly, Parmentier's monumental work on the art and architecture of Champā has been my chief guide in writing Chapter X of Book II. But while I have taken the data from that book, I have interpreted them in my own way, and ventured to express a different opinion on the all-important question of the origin of Cham art.

I take this opportunity of expressing my deep obligations to the authorities of "Ecole Francaise D' Extreme-Orient" for kind permission to reproduce illustrations contained in this volume.

A special feature of this volume is the collection of inscriptions discovered in Champā. Although all these inscriptions have been separately published before, this is the first complete collection of all the known inscriptions, arranged in chronological order. Although I have accepted the published readings, I have made an independent translation of all the inscriptions and have not
as a rule referred to the old French renderings save in a very few instances. I am indebted to my friends and colleagues Dr. S. K. De and Pandit Nanigopal Banerji, for some valuable suggestions in this matter.

No one is more conscious than I myself of the serious shortcomings of the work. My imperfect acquaintance with Sanskrit and French have made the task of writing this volume a painful and laborious one, and I dare not hope that I have been able to avoid serious mistakes and errors. But I do hope that my indulgent readers will look kindly on this pioneer work. If this humble production arouses a general interest in this country towards this fascinating field of study, and induces others, better equipped for the task, to take up the work, I shall consider my labours amply rewarded.

RAMNA, DACCA.
3rd March, 1927.

R. C. Majumdar.
INTRODUCTION.

Although the study of Ancient Indian history has made a great deal of progress in recent years, there is one aspect of the subject which has not yet received the attention it deserves. This is the expansion of the Aryans beyond Indian frontiers towards the east and south-east. The history of Indo-Aryans usually begins with their settlement in the Punjab and ends with their expansion over the whole of India as far as Assam in the east and cape Comorin in the south. This is, however, an arbitrary line of distinction for which there does not seem to be any great justification. For the Aryans never regarded the hills or the sea by which India proper is bounded as the natural limits of their advance, and they boldly crossed over these to new regions on the other side. Their achievements in these regions are but vaguely known, but the more one thinks on this subject the more is one forced to realise that the Indianisation of these countries was probably as complete in the ancient period as we find in the Dravidian countries within the frontier of India. The study of Indian civilisation must therefore be regarded as imperfect so long as we do not take into proper account the achievements of Indians in these regions.

Until recently, however, our knowledge of this subject was limited in the extreme. Indian literature, no doubt, clearly shows that there was an intimate intercourse between India and the Far East in ancient times, but it does not tell us much 1. Among important passages bearing upon this subject the following may be mentioned as specimens.

(A) A passage in Ramayana referring to Yavadvipa and Suvarnadwipa, meaning the islands of Sumatra and Java.

(B) The well-known passage in Mahavamsa referring to

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(B) The well-known passage in Mahavamsa referring to
regarding the activity of Indian colonists settled there. The writings of Ptolemy and Fa-Hien, also, while bearing ample testimony to the firm hold of Indian civilisation in those countries, have not preserved any detailed account of the colonial history of India. Such an account has been rendered possible only in comparatively recent times, when the colonies themselves have been made to yield up their rich antiquarian treasures, thanks to the untiring efforts of the savants of France.

The first serious attempt to study the geography, history and civilisation of the Far East was made by Christian missionaries of Europe as far back as the early seventeenth century. The most memorable scholarly work of this period was the "Dictionnaire annamite-latin-portugais" by P. Alexandre de Rhodes, published in 1651. This monumental work has served as the basis of all future research and placed it on a secure foundation. The same author published in the following year a history of Tonkin in Latin. Similar works continued to appear from time to time but it was not till two centuries later that a beginning was made of an archaeological investigation in Indo-China. In 1858 Henri Mouhot explored the valley of the Mekhong as far as the country of Laos between Korat and Luang-prabang. Although a naturalist, Mouhot was attracted by the beauties of Angkor Vat and other monuments of antiquity and his rapturous description made them known for the first time to the outside world.

the conquest of Ceylon by prince Vijaya.

(C) The following sentence in Milindapanha (English Translation II 269).

"As a shipowner......will be...able to traverse the high seas and go to Vanga or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat or Alexandria or the Koromandel coast or Further India........"
The enthusiasm thus created resulted in an well-organized mission of exploration in 1885 under Doudart de Lagreë, an eminent archaeologist. The mission included such ardent workers as Francis Garnier and Delaporte. This mission recognized for the first time the importance of inscriptions and copied some of them.

The work of this mission was continued by individual scholars like Garnier, Delaporte and Dr. Harmand. Then came Aymonier, who began in 1882 his memorable exploration of Cambodge, Laos and Annam, and collected a vast store of materials for the history of these countries. The last important mission was that of M. Pavie, with 40 collaborators, which worked for 15 years from 1879 to 1895. One of the notable results of this mission was the preparation of a reliable map of Indo-China.

After a general knowledge of Indo-China had thus been secured, the task of special studies was taken up by special Departments. There originated in this way special Departments for the study of geography, geology and natural history of the country. The historical studies devolved upon a permanent archaeological society which soon took the name of 'Ecole Francaise d Extreme Orient'. With the foundation of this society in 1898 the historical studies and archaeological explorations have been placed on a firm foundation, and the results of these studies, regularly published in the form of Bulletins, have made accessible to the outside world a vast store of information on the history and civilisation of Indo-China.

From this very rapid and brief survey of the scholarly work in Indo-China we may now turn to a more detailed reference to the important and authoritative works with regard to the history of the ancient kingdom of Champâ on which the present volume is based.
The chief sources of information regarding the history and civilisation of ancient Champā may be classified under three heads.

I Inscriptions.
II Monuments.
III Chinese texts and other foreign sources.

I. INSRIPTIONS.

The first important collection of Sanskrit inscriptions of Champā was prepared by Abel Bergaigne in 1888, and published, after his death, by Barth in 1893. A large number of inscriptions written in Cham were edited by M. Aymonier in J. A. 1891 (pp 5 ff.). Since the foundation of the Ecole Francaise de Extreme Orient, a large number of new inscriptions have been published in its Bulletins, the most important being:

(1). (A) Myson, (B) Pāṇḍuraṅga and (C) Quang Nam Inscriptions by L. Finot.
   (A) B. E. F., Vol. II, pp. 185 ff; Vol. III, 206 ff;
   Vol. IV, pp. 917 ff.
   (B) Vol. III pp. 630 ff.
   (C) Vol. IV. pp. 83 ff.

(2). A collection of miscellaneous inscriptions by M. Huber (B. E. F. Vol. XI, pp. 5 ff, pp. 260 ff)
   and L. Finot (B. E. F. Vol. IX, pp. 205 ff; Vol. XV. No. 2 pp. 1 ff.).

1. For a detailed bibliography of the epigraphic studies in Indo-China—cf. B. E. F. Vol. XV. No. 2—pp 113 ff; also Toung Pao 1910, pp. 126 ff.

Mention must be made in this connection to the very valuable list of inscriptions prepared by M. George Coedes (B. E. F. Vol. VIII pp. 40 ff; Vol. XV. No. 2 pp. 173 ff).

All the inscriptions of Champā hitherto known1 have been collected at the end of this volume, with full bibliographical notes, and hence it is not necessary to dwell on this topic any further.

II. As regards the study of archaeological monuments all previous works on this subject have been superseded by the monumental work of M. Parmentier, viz. Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Cams vols. I and II.² In this book M. Parmentier has made a systematic study of all the existing monuments in Champā and fully illustrated them by pictures and plates. The descriptive catalogue of sculptures in the Touranne Museum (B. E. F. Vol. XIX. No. 3, pp. 1-114) and the archaeological notes (B. E. F. Vol. XXIII, pp. 267 ff) published by the same author, may be regarded as supplements to this famous work. Reference may also be made in this connection to Ars Asiatica Vol. IV which contains a set of good illustrations of sculptures.

III. As to the Chinese texts bearing upon the history of Champā, they were first discussed by P. Gaubil³ and Deguignes⁴.

1. A few inscriptions have been excluded, e.g. those which are very modern and fall beyond the scope of this study, those which are too fragmentary to yield any sense and those which have been casually referred to, but the text or even a purport of which has not been published.

2. Vol. I. appeared in 1909 and volume II in 1918. Both these are publications of Ecole Francaise d'Extreme orient.

3. Gaubil's 'Notice historique sur la Cochinchine' was originally published in the 18th century and later on included in 'L'Histoire generale de la Chine' by P de Mailla.

The more important workers in this line are Pelliot, Maspero and L. Aurousseau. Pelliot collected valuable data in his learned article "Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde" and drew up a list of Cham kings mentioned in Chinese sources. Maspero made for the first time an elaborate and systematic study of all the Chinese texts bearing upon the history of Champâ. Last of all L. Aurousseau has considerably extended our knowledge by his learned contributions on this subject.

Some valuable informations on the history of Champâ are furnished by Annamite documents. In this field, again, Maspero has collected very valuable data although he was preceded by a number of writers on this subject.

References to Champâ are also contained in Cambodge inscriptions. Bibliographical references to them will be found in the body of the text.

2. Ibid pp. 382 ff.
3. The data he collected were utilised in his History of Champa (see f. n. 2 p. 7 below).
5. (1) Bouillevaux—L' Annam et le Cambodge—.
   (2) Bouillevaux—Le Ciampa (Annales de Extreme Orient 1880, 1881).
   (3) P. J. B. Tru'ong Vinh Ky—Cours d Histoire Annamite; 2 vols. Saigon 1875
   (4) E. Luro—Le Pays d' Annam ; Paris 1878.
   (7) Camille Sainson—Memoires sur l' Annam, Peking 1896.
   (8) Legrande la Liraye—Notices Historiques sur la Nation Annamite, Saigon, 1866.
So far about the original sources of information, and we may now turn to the modern texts dealing with the history of Champā. As early as 1888 Bergaigne published a short account of the political history of Champā, mainly on the basis of Inscriptions.\(^1\) Five years later Aymonier read his "History of Tchampā" before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalistes held in London. Both these were superseded by the monumental work of Maspero—"Le Royaume de Champā"\(^2\) which must remain as the standard authority on this subject for sometime to come.

Some contributions on the study of religion, manners and customs of Champā may be mentioned in this connection. The earliest publication on this subject seems to be an article by Aymonier.\(^3\) Finot also contributed an important article on this subject.\(^4\) A very short account of the political, social and religious history of Champā as well as a brief review of Cham art are contained in Jeanne Leuba’s "Les Chams et leur art" Paris (1923) which reached my hands after the present volume had been sent to the Press. The chief interest of this book as well as of Antoine Cabaton's "Nouvelles Recherches Sur les Chams (Paris, 1901)" and Aymonier’s article referred to above, seems to lie in the light which they throw on the social customs and religious practices of the modern Chams.

By a proper utilization of all these sources, both primary and secondary, I have tried to build up a picture of the ancient

1. L'ancien royaume de Champā dans l'Indo-Chine d'après les inscriptions—J. A. 1833 [pp 61-70].
2. This was originally published in T'oong Pao [1910-1913] and later on as a separate book at Leyden in 1914
history and civilisation of Champâ, one of the many kingdoms founded by the Hindus in that far-off region. I propose to write the history of the other colonial kingdoms as well, in order to complete the story of Greater India. But as these might yet take a long time, I propose to discuss here very briefly two important questions of a general nature which affect the study of Indian colonisation in the Far East. These are: (I) the part or parts of India from which Indian colonists proceeded to the Far East and the route which they followed; and (II) an approximate idea of the time when these colonial enterprises were first undertaken.

I. As to the routes, the Aryans seem to have proceeded both by land and sea. Regarding the sea-route, there seems to have been emigration both from eastern as well as the western coast. From a very early period there was a regular trade intercourse between the coast of Bengal and the Far East. In the Mahâjanaka Jataka reference is made to voyages between Champâ and Suvaṇabhûmi. Similarly passengers from distant inland cities like Patna and Benares travelled to the coast of Bengal by land or by water, and then sailed in open sea for eastern islands, Tâmrâlipi (modern Tamluk) being the most important sea-port.¹

There was a similar trade-route between the Kalinga-coast and the Far East. This is referred to by Ptolemy. The ships started from Gopalpur, just a little below the mouth of the Ganjam river, and crossed the Bay of Bengal.²

We learn from the Periplus that there was another trade-route from three harbours on the Eastern coast near Masulpalatam across the Bay of Bengal to the Eastern Peninsula.³

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We learn from the Sussondi-Jātaka that there was also a trade-route from Broach along the western coast to the Eastern Peninsula.¹

The existence of ancient trade-routes between the eastern islands and the coasts of Bengal, Orissa, Madras and Gujarat, is thus established on good authority. It is interesting to find that it is precisely in these directions that the ancient traditions of Indian colonists in the Far East and South-East lead us to look for their original homes. To mention briefly only a few of the many traditions, there is first the story of a Bengali prince Vijaya,² colonising the island of Ceylon. Secondly the foundation of Ligor is ascribed by tradition to a descendant of Aśoka who fled from Magadha, embarked a vessel at Dantapura and was wrecked on the coast of the Malaya Peninsula.³ There is also the story preserved in the chronicles of Java, that the Hindus from Kaliṅga-coast colonised the island. Similar traditions of colonists from Kling or Kalinga country are preserved in many other islands. Thirdly, according to traditions current among the people of Pegu, Indian colonists from the country of the lower courses of the rivers Krishna and Godavari had, at a remote time, crossed the sea, and formed settlements in the delta of the Irawadi and on the adjoining coast.⁴ Lastly there is the story preserved in the chronicles of Java that the island was first colonised by a Gujarāt prince who landed there in 75 A. D.

2. The authenticity of this story has been doubted but cf. Mr. R. Chanda in Sir Asutosh Mukherji’s Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, p. 113. Also cf. J. A. S. B., 1922, p. 435.
3. Gerini, op. cit, p. 107-8. Dantapura has been identified with modern Dantan on the Kasai [Cunningham’s Geography-Ed. S. N. Majumdar p. 735].
The exact correspondence of colonial traditions with the evidence derived from Indian source leads to the hypothesis that generally the Indian colonists proceeding by sea to the East and South, started from the four centres mentioned above, viz. Tamralipti in the coast of Bengal, Gapalpur and ancient Kalinga, the three unidentified harbours near Masulipatam, and Broach.

In addition to the sea-route described above the Indian colonists also proceeded to the East and South-East by land-route through Eastern Bengal, Manipur and Assam. This fact, although noted long ago, has never been clearly recognised. Sir Arthur Phayre observed as early as 1883 that 'the traditions of the Burmese and the present remains and names of ancient cities, render it probable that early communication between Gangetic India and Tagaung existed, and was carried on through Eastern Bengal and Manipur, rather than through Thahtun or Pegu generally.' This view has received additional confirmation by the researches of Pelliot and Gerini.

Pelliot has shown that from early times, at least as early as the second century B.C., there was a regular trade-route by land between Eastern India and China through Upper Burma and Yunnan. Through this route came the twenty Chinese Buddhist monks for whom Śrī Gupta built a temple, as I-tsing informs us. Later, the route was obstructed by barbarous tribes but it was re-opened again in the eighth century A.D.

Through this route the Indians came and established their colonies not only in Upper Burma but also in the mountain-

1. Ibid. p. 15.
out regions of the upper valleys of the Irawaddy, the Salween, the Mekong and the Red River as far as Yunnan. It is a well-known practice for colonists to name the new country after famous places in their mother land. We get a number of instances in Burma and Indo-China too well known to be repeated here. But the same spirit is also observable in the north-western regions. Yunnan was called Gāndhāra, and even as late as the 13th century A. D. Rasiduddin referred to this province by its Indian name. It may be observed that Yunnan, roughly speaking, occupied the same position in respect of Indo-China as Gāndhāra did in respect of India.

The Hindus established in Yunnan the kingdom of Nan-Chao or Tali in the upper valleys of the Mekong and the Red-River. According to local traditions, the third son of king Aśoka had nine grandsons who became the progenitors not only of the people of Nan-chao, but also of the Tibetans, the Chinese, the Annamites, the Singhalese etc. Whatever we may think of this story there cannot be any doubt about a strong Indian element in the population. Rasiduddin, writing as late as the 13th century, has remarked that the population of Yunnan originated from the Indian and the Chinese. Pelliot, too, has brought together a number of facts bearing upon the question of Hindu influence in the country. The king had the title Mahārāja and the people probably used an alphabet of Hindu origin. It was a great centre of Buddhism. According to local traditions, Avalokiteśvara came directly from Central India to convert it. There is a tradition that towards the close of the 8th century A. D. when the king of the country was inclined towards the Chinese civilisation he was abused by seven religious person of India. Buddhism had a strong hold in this region and we find the Pippala cave, the Bodhi tree, the Čāṇḍarāja, the Kukkuṭa-
padagiri, the stone mansion of Upagupta and the stupa containing the relics of Ananda—all appearing again in the neighbourhood of Nan-Chao. In the first half of the 9th century A. D. a Hindu Bhikṣu of Magadha named Chandragupta led a brilliant career of Thaumaturgist in Yunnan.

There were two other Hindu kingdoms between Nan-Chao and the Indian frontier. To the east of the mountain ranges that border Manipur and Assam there was the Brāhmaṇa kingdom of Ta-tsin. About 150 miles further east, beyond the Chindwin river, was another Brāhmaṇa kingdom just to the north of the town of Ngan-si. Thus we find Hindu settlements all along the hilly tracts between the frontiers of India and China, in the upper valleys of the Chindwen, Irawaddy, Salween, Mekong and Red Rivers. That the Indians proceeded towards the south along these rivers is also fairly certain. The kingdoms they established in Burma at Prome, Tagaung, Lower Pagan and other places are too well-known to be described in detail. There are indications that similar Hindu kingdoms existed in the Laos country. It was formerly known as Mālava-deśa. Ptolemy refers to its eastern part (mod. Luang Phrah Bang) as Dasanana, which, as Gerini thinks, is probably derived from the Indian name Daśārṇa. Gerini suggests that as the original Daśārṇa in India denoted the eastern part of Mālava, it was, by analogy, given in Further India to the corresponding portion of the Indo-Chinese Mālava i.e. Eastern Laos. Gerini has traced the Indian origin of many other place-names in Indo-China and has collected many traditions about the Indian colonists associated with those places. He has summed up his observations in the following sentence:—

“From the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty states ruled by those scions of the Kṣatriya race, using the Sanskrit or the
Pali languages in official documents, after the Indu style and employing Brāhmaṇa priests for the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the Court and State. Among such Indu monarchies we may mention those of Tagong, upper Pugān, and Sen-wi, in Burma; of Muang Hāng, Chieng Rung Muang Khwān, and Daśārūṇa (Luang Phrah Bang) in the Lāu country; and of Agranagara (Hanoi) and Champā in Tonkin and Annam."

Although some of the conclusions of Gerini are based on mere philological grounds which are not always very reliable, the facts stated above make it quite clear that there were a good many Hindu kingdoms in the interior of Indo-China which was not easily accessible by sea, and which must therefore have been reached by the Indians through land-route. On the whole strong and conclusive evidence supports the hypothesis, advanced long ago by Sir Arthur Phayre and recently advocated by Gerini, viz. ‘that a double stream of emigrants from India flowed into Indo-China at a very early period’—one, proceeding from the north advanced overland, through Bengal and Assam, along the valleys of the Chindween, Irawady, Salween and Mekong, while the other reached Indo-China by sea. The colonists who proceeded by sea established the famous kingdoms of Champā (mod. Annam) and Kāmboja (Cambodia) in addition to many other notable kingdoms in lower Burma, Malay Peninsula and the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Bali etc. Gerini and other scholars have held that only the Indians of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts colonised Indo-China by the sea-route. But there is nothing to support this view. As has been said above, Bengal undoubtedly played a great part in this colonisation through its well-frequented harbour Tāmraliṭṭi.

1 Gerini, op. Cit, pp. 122-123.
So far at least as the few historical evidences go, they prove a close association of Bengal with Indian colonies in South and East throughout the Hindu period.

Reference has already been made to the Buddhist stories about the voyage of merchants from Champa and Tamralipti to Suvarnabhumi. We know from the Chinese records that the king of Fou-Nan (comprising Cambodia and Cochin-China) sent an ambassador to India about 240-245 A.D. and that the embassy reached the mouth of the Ganges at the end of a year. In the fifth century A.D. a king of Champa called Gangaraja abdicated the throne and went over to India in order to spend his last days on the banks of the Ganges. It appears from the writings of Fa-Hien and I-Taing that there was a regular maritime intercourse between the coast of Bengal and the Far East, including eastern islands, between fifth and seventh centuries A.D. In the ninth century we find an intimate relation existing between the king of Sumatra-Java and Devapala. The Tibetan annals tell us that during Nayanäla's reign Buddhist Bhikkhus proceeded to Suvarnadvipa for education. In the thirteenth century A.D. we find a queen of Champa called Gaudendralaksna (probably a princess of Gauda). All these evidences certainly show a far more intimate connection between Bengal and Indian colonies than has yet been recognised.

Further, most of the traditions preserved in the different colonies refer to their original home as situated in Northern India. It is true that the traditions have very little value as historical facts. But it is impossible to ignore altogether the general view-point of all these stories regarding the original home of the colonists and the methods of colonisation. Some of these stories are given below.

According to Burmese tradition, a Sākya chief of Kapi-Iftvattu came with an army to the country of the middle Irrawaddy, long before Buddha was born. The dynasty he founded ruled for 31 generations in Burma when they were overthrown by an invasion of an eastern tribe coming apparently from China. About this time there came a second band of immigrant Kṣatriyas from Gangetic India. Their chief married the widowed queen of the last king of the previous dynasty and established a new kingdom. This was the origin of the ruling dynasty of Upper Burma.¹

According to the traditions of Arakan the first king of the province was the son of a king of Benares who settled at Rāmāvatī a name which still exists in a corrupted form Rāmbyi or Ramri.² The Cambodian annals explain the origin of the kingdom of Cambodia in the following way:—

"Ādityavāniśa, king of Indraprastha, was displeased with one of his sons and banished him from the state. He came to the country of Kok Thlok and made himself master of it by defeating the native king. One evening he was walking on a sand bank when suddenly the tide arose and obliged him to pass the night there. A Nāgī of marvellous beauty came to play on the sand and the king, overpowered by her charm, agreed to marry her. Then the Nāgarāja, the father of the betrothed girl, extended the dominions of his would be son-in-law by drinking the water which covered the country, built a capital for him and changed the name of the kingdom into that of Kāmboja."

The same tradition, in a changed form, occurs in an inscription of Champa dated 657 A. D. (No. 12). Speaking of the origin of Cambodge it says.

1. Phayre—History of Burma, pp. 7 ff.
2. Ibid p. 12.
"It was there that Kaundinya, the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, planted the spear which he had obtained from Drona's son Asvatthama the best of Brāhmaṇas. Kaundinya married the daughter of the Nāga king named Soma and from this union sprang up the royal race."

A still earlier version of the story, current as early as the first half of the third century A. D., occurs in a Chinese history compiled at the beginning of the sixth century. Referring to Fou-Nan, a kingdom comprising modern Cochin China, Cambodia and part of Siam and Laos, it says.

"Formerly the country was ruled by a queen called Lieou-ye. Then there was a man of the country of Ki called Houen-t'ien who saw in a dream that a spirit gave him a bow and asked him to take to sea in a junk. Houen-t'ien went in the morning to the temple of the Deity and found the bow at the foot of a tree. Then he got into a junk and sailed to Fou-Nan. The queen Lieou-ye saw the junk and collected her soldiers to resist him. But Houen-t'ien raised his bow and shot from afar an arrow which passed through the side of a ship and struck somebody in the interior. Lieou-ye was struck with terror and submitted and Houen-t'ien married her."

Now Houen-t'ien is an exact Chinese transcription of Kaundinya and we know from another Chinese version of the story that he practised the Brāhmaṇic cult. This story is therefore the earliest of the different versions and it must be noticed that it is the most credible of them all. It explains, in a quite natural manner, the conquest of Fou-Nan by Indians by means of superior military power, and the social alliance between the new-comers and the old settlers. It may be added that the tradition of their origin was faithfully kept.

by the later kings who called themselves as "Sri-Kaundinya-Somadhitrprabhavāḥ" or as belonging to 'Soma-Kaundinya Vaṁśa'. Somā, the female originator of the race, being the daughter of Soma, the dynasty was also called 'Soma-Vaṁśa.' No doubt this appellation was to a great extent inspired by the Indian tradition of the great Somavāṁśa. As a proof of this we find an attempt on the part of the rival Cambodian kings to trace their descent from Sūryavāṁśa. According to legend they were descended from Mahārṣi Kambu Svāyambhūva, belonging to solar race, and the Apsara Merā. Thus Jayavarman II a king in the 9th century A. D. is called in his inscription "Sri-Kambu-Bhūbhṛd-ina-vaṁśa-lalāma-goptā' or guardian of the best solar race of king Śri-Kambu". Sūryavarman I of the eleventh century is called 'Sūryavāṁśajo' VIII and Jayavarman of the 12th century 'aṃśumāli-vaṁśa-sodbhavo.' But this tradition about Sūryavāṁśa apparently had no strong hold on the people, for generally the kings of Cambodge adopted the tradition of Foux-Nan and called themselves descendants of Kaundinya and Somā and as such belonging to Somavāṁśa1

II. The facts and legends quoted above unmistakably prove the Indian colonisation of the territories named at a very early date. If we now seek to find out more precisely the time when these colonies were established we find ourselves in great difficulty in the absence of any definite evidence. The utmost that we can do is to lay down a time limit before which these colonies were accomplished facts. Four different lines of evidence point out the first two centuries of the Christian era as this limit. In the first place, Ptolemy, writing about the middle of the second century A. D., has

1. Ibid pp. 205-212.
used quite a large number of geographical names of Sanskrit origin in Indo-China.

Secondly, when the Chams or the people of Annam appear in history towards the close of the second century of our era, they were already under a Hindu or Hinduised dynasty, and the inscription of Vo-chanh, written in correct Sanskrit about the second or third century A. D., shows them to have already thoroughly imbibed the Indian civilisation.

Now the royal author of the Vo-chanh inscription at Champā calls himself the descendant of Śrī Māra. On the other hand the Chinese refer to the foundation of the kingdom of Champā at 192 A. D. by one whose personal name was Lien and family name Kiu. It is probable that Śrī-Māra was the same person as Kiu-Lien, but whether this is true or not, we know of the definite establishment of a Hindu kingdom in Annam about second century A. D.¹

Thirdly, the Chinese had intercourse with the Hindu kingdom of Fou-Nan in the first half of the third century A. D. At that time the throne was occupied by an usurper, and two kings had ruled before him for a period of 93 years. This takes us back to the first half of the second century A. D. as the date of the foundation of the royal dynasty.

Fourthly, an ambassador from one of the smaller Hindu kingdoms, Lang-ya-sieou (identified with Tenasserim), who visited the Chinese court in 515 A. D. is reported to have said that their kingdom was founded more than four hundred years ago.²

All these evidences agree in referring the beginnings of Indian colonial kingdoms to a period not later than the second century A. D.

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¹ See below pp. 18, 21.
But although this may be regarded as the lower limit of the date by which Indians had established kingdoms in these distant colonies, it should by no means be regarded as the upper limit also. The very fact that the easternmost part of these colonies, viz. Annam, came under the sway of the Indians not later than the second century A. D. would naturally push back by a few centuries the date of the beginnings of political activity of the Indian colonists in these regions. Further, colonisation, as distinguished from the establishment of political authority, would be pushed back still further.

About the time when the Indians gradually penetrated into Burma and countries further east these were settled by savage tribes. Those in Burma were Mongoloid in character, and akin to the present tribes of Abors and Mishmis. The people of Indo-China and of the islands of Sumatra, Java and Borneo were Malayo-Polynesian or Austro-nesian in character. "In native traditions the early inhabitants of the coast, specially near the mouth of the Salween river, are represented as savages, called in Burmese Bilu, the equivalent of Rakasa. They rejected all intercourse with civilised men and even Gautama himself who, it is fabled, came to the country was stoned and driven away by them." The Chinese also speak of the people of Annam in the same strain. "They are we are told 'so savage that they do not know cultivation and live by fishing and hunting alone. They are turbulent people who frequently rise in revolt, invade the Chinese official quarters, burn pillage and massacre wherever they go, and take refuge in their impenetrable forests whenever they are attacked by a strong army.'"

It was the mission of Indian colonists to bring this heterogeneous.

1. Phayre-History of Burma, p. 27.
2. T'oung Pao, 1910, p. 223.
rogeneous mass of barbarians within the pale of civilisation, a task which the Chinese, their next-door neighbours, had hitherto failed to accomplish.

As a matter of fact the political conquest of Further India and the adjacent islands was rapidly followed by a complete cultural conquest. The local people readily assimilated the new civilisation and adopted the religion, art, social manners and customs, alphabet, literature, laws and administrative system of the conquerors. This will be amply evident from the picture of civilisation in Champā contained in Book II of the present volume.

In short Indian civilisation made a thorough conquest of these lands and a new India was established in that far-off region. The Indian colonists even tried to complete the transformation by importing celebrated place-names of their motherland into their new home, and thus we find new towns and countries called Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbi, Śrīkṣetra, Dvāravati, Mathurā, Champā, Kalinga, Kāmboja and Gandhāra springing up hundreds of miles away from their name-sakes.

The question naturally arises, what became of this splendid civilisation. The answer is not difficult. So long as the Hindu dynasties were in power the civilisation flourished. It is interesting to note that for nearly three centuries after India was conquered by the Muhammadans the banner of Hindu independence was hoisted up in those far-off lands. But like a fountain with a dried up spring these colonies decayed with the downfall of their motherland. Gradually the savage tribes from the north, like the Thais, the Laos and the Annamites, which were hitherto kept in check, overran these countries and destroyed the Hindu dynasties after they had gloriously ruled for nearly 1300 years. The result was very striking in the domain of art. As a distinguished writer has observed: ‘For nearly thirteen hundred years the Indian colonists had persevered in adorning these far-off lands with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class. But at the end of that time, as happened in India, they disappear as if at the touch of a magician’s wand.’ The case of Java is a ty-
pital one. In the year 1479 the last Hindu dynasty was overthrown and Fergusson describes the sequel in the following words. "Then occurred what was, perhaps, the least expected event in all this strange eventful history. It is as if the masons had thrown away their tools and the chisels had dropped from the hands of the carvers. From that time forward no building was erected in Java and no image carved, that is worth even a passing notice." What is true of art is also true of other elements of civilisation. From the 15th century onwards the barbarian tribes occupied Further India and destroyed the civilisation which their Hindu predecessors had built up with so much toil. But some vestiges of the old civilisation still remain to this day. The island of Bali still follows the Hindu religion and only a few years ago a great Hindu sacrifice was performed there with due pomp and ceremony. In Cambodian palace the sword of Indra is still guarded with veneration and brought out on occasions of royal consecration when a handful of Hindu priests, the last remnant of a dignified body, pour holy waters over the head of the king. The stories of Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata still form the themes of their literary works and are regularly staged to the accompaniment of dances and songs. A handful of Brāhmaṇas still maintain a precarious existence in the Far East. But while all these serve as gratifying reminiscence of a glorious past, there is no longer any living connection between India and her forgotten colonial empire. Strange as it may seem, the descendants of men who founded that empire abandoned sea-voyage as something unholy and thus an impassable barrier was created between the Hindus and their brethren of the Far East. But whatever the modern Hindus might think of it, the historian now realises, that one of the most splendid, though yet unwritten, chapters of Indian history is the story of the growth of a new India in the Far

1. Fergusson—History of Indian and Eastern Architecture
Chapter I.

THE LAND.

§ 1. PHYSICAL FEATURES.

The ancient kingdom of Champā occupied the eastern portion of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and roughly corresponded to the present province of Annam (excluding Tonkin and French Cochin China) with the exception of the three northern districts, Than Hoa, Nghe An and Ha Tinh. It was situated between 18° and 10° of N. Latitude. The almost uninhabited dunes which now separate Annam from French Cochin China formed its southern boundary. The eastern boundary was formed by the sea of China, while on the west a chain of hills shut it off from the valley of the Mekhong river.

This chain of hills, covered with rich forests, runs across the whole length of the country, gradually descending from north to south. Its height in the northern part is about 2750 yards, and in the southern part about 2200 yards. This mountain range has three passes which offer easy route across it to the valley of the Mekhong. Of these the southernmost one at Quinon alone seems to have been used for purposes of western expansion by the people of ancient Champā.

Champā was thus mainly a long narrow strip of territory confined between the mountains and the sea. The coast line was a bow-shaped curve, convex towards the sea. From Song Giang in Quang Binh, the northernmost district, the coast line runs due south-east up to cape Batangan. Thence it runs nearly south to Cape Padaran. From Cape Padaran it abruptly takes a south-western direction till it reaches the French Cochin China. The narrow habitable zone between the mountains and the sea varies in breadth and is intersected by innumerable spurs of hills running in various directions. Some-
times the spurs of hills extend as far as the sea coast, and the habitable zone is reduced to nothing; but nowhere does it exceed a breadth of sixty to seventy miles. A large number of rivers issuing from the mountains falls to the sea. The whole country is thus divided into a number of valleys separated by chains of hills.

In consequence of the rapid declivity of land towards the east, and the short course of these rivers, large quantities of sands and gravels are carried along with their swift currents. This has resulted in the formation of dunes and lagunes all along the coast line. These no doubt prevent the large ships from approaching near the coast, but serve as an excellent means of communication for small boats all along the coast-line. This was particularly valuable in ancient times, as journey by land was exceedingly difficult on account of the rugged mountains that traverse the country, and the savage inhabitants that lived in the interior.

The large number of river valleys in which the country abounded were rich in fertile lands, and consequently formed the centres of civilisation. But as these were practically unconnected by any land route, and could only communicate with one another by means of sea, it looks as though the whole kingdom consisted of a number of independent isolated settlements. That this was indeed the case to a very large extent is shown by the grouping of ancient monuments in different valleys without any connecting link between one another, and the constant tendency of the different parts of the kingdom to set up as independent states.

§ 2. NATURAL DIVISIONS OF THE LAND.

In view of what has just been said it is necessary to deal with the natural divisions of land in more details. The ancient kingdom of Champa may, from this point of view, be divided
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into five parts. Starting from the south, we may enumerate them as follows:—

I. The southernmost section comprises the district of Binh Thuan, between Cape Ba-ke, which separates Annam from French Cochin China, and Cape Padaran. The spurs of hills reach the sea at Cape Kega dominated by mount Ta-cu, about 550 yards high. The country, full of sands and dunes, is thinly peopled, the only exception being the three ports of Phantiet, Phanri and Duong, at the mouths of small rivers, and settlements in their immediate neighbourhood. The plain in the interior is now almost deserted but appears to have been rich and prosperous in the past.

II. The second section, extending from Cape Padaran to Cape Varella, comprises the district of Khan Hoa. It consists of three valleys easily accessible from one another. It is separated from the preceding section by hill ranges which abruptly descend to the sea, but the valley of Ca Na offers a passable route between the two.

The country is full of mountains but there are five valleys and bays. Three of these valleys are most important, those of Phanrang, immediately after Cape Padaran, Nha Trang, a little to the north, and lastly Ninh Hoa. Phanrang, the ancient Panduranga is still full of old monuments. Nha Trang, the ancient Kauthara was famous for the Temple of Po Nagar which contains a large number of inscriptions of ancient times.

III. The third section extends from Cape Varella to Sahoi Point. It contains two distinct mountain ranges with two valleys watered by the rivers Song Ba or Song Da Rang and Song Lai Giang, and the rich extensive plain of Binh Dinh between the two. Long chains of mountains separate this section from the preceding. There are only two routes, one across the peak of Da Bia (770 Yds high), and the other through an unheal-
thy marshy valley, both leading to the valley of Song Da Rang.

The plain of Binh Dinh is the most extensive in Annam and contains many ruins of ancient times. Not far from the present fort of Bin Dinh which was built in the 18th. century are to be found the ruins of the old fort of Caban—the old capital city of Vijaya, for a long time the capital of the ancient kingdom.

This section corresponds to the modern districts of Phu Yen and Binh Dinh.

IV. The fourth section comprises the modern districts of Quang Ngai and Quang Nam, extending from Point Sahoi to the spur of hill called 'Col des Nuages' (The cloudy Peak) on the coast. All along the coast line there are interminable dunes and equally interminable lagunes. Quang Ngai contains a rich plain watered by two rivers Song Tra Kuc and Song Tra Bong. The Song, the Great River, which takes various names, with a number of affluents water the plain of Quang Nam and fall in several channels to the sea forming a large but shallow estuary. The important port of Faifo on this estuary was once the principal port of the ancient kingdom of Champā. On one of the arms of this Great River is the Marble rock containing Buddhist caves.

The province contains innumerable vestiges of antiquity. It was the ancient kingdom of Amarāvati. There are ruins of many famous towns of old, the most notable being Tra Kieu, the ancient Champā-nagari, the capital of Champā, and Dong Duong, the ancient Ladrāpura. There are besides ruins of a group of fine temples at Myson which have yielded quite a large number of epigraphic records.

V. The fifth section extending from "Col des Nuages" to Hoan Sonh Mountains comprises the three districts of Thua Thien, Quang Tri and Quang Binh. The dunes and
the lagunes along the sea-coast form its characteristic feature. Each of the three districts is watered by a large river. The river Song Gianh in Quang Binh is one of the largest in Annam, and a few miles further north is the Cape Bung Chua, the northernmost point of the ancient kingdom of Champa, the Hoan Sonh Mountains forming the frontier between it and the Annamite provinces to the north.

This region was thoroughly devastated by the long-drawn struggles between the Chams and the Annamites and by the systematic pillage of the latter when they conquered it. As a result only a few vestiges of antiquity remain on the ground. It contains the modern capital of the province viz., Hue, and near it the ruins of Kiu-Siou the old stronghold of Champa.¹

§ 3. MODERN GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.

Annam is now divided into twelve districts. Starting from the north immediately south of Tonkin, these may be enumerated as follows:—

(1) Than Hoa
(2) Nghe An
(3) Ha Tinh
(4) Quang Binh
(5) Quang Tri
(6) Thua Thien (Quong Du'c)
(7) Quang Nam
(8) Quang Ngai
(9) Binh Dinh (Qui-nhom)
(10) Phu Yen
(11) Khan Hoa (Nha Trang)
(12) Binh Thuan

¹ § 1 and § 2 are mainly based on "Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Cams de l'Annam" by H. Parmentier, Vol. I Chapter I.
§ 4. THE CLIMATE AND POPULATION.

The climate varies according to Latitude and altitude, the heat ranging between 50° and 100° F. There are only two seasons, Summer and Monsoon. Summer commences in February or March and ends in August. The monsoon breaks out in September and continues till February. The climate is, generally speaking, unhealthy and favours diseases like fever and dysentery.

The population of the country was never very large. Judging on the basis of the present population, the kingdom of Champā, at its largest extent, may be regarded as having contained about two and a half millions of people.

§ 5. THE SOIL AND ITS PRODUCTS.¹

Nearly throughout the country the territory between the mountains and the sea contains rich alluvial plains with clayey subsoil. On the high plateau the soil is sandy. The mountains, covered with rich forests, contain large layers of clayey, sometimes also ferrugineous, soil which is very fertile.

The most important product is rice which not only grows on low or marshy plains, but also on high grounds and even on mountains. Among other products of the soil may be mentioned the sugarcane, mulberry, pepper, betel, cotton, tobacco, maize, millet, sesame, caster-oil plant, indigo, saffron, lac, turmeric, different kinds of potatoes, sago, beans, pea, egg-plant, cucumber, hemp, fan-palm.

Among the fruit-trees, the most important are banana, cocoanut, mango, betel-nut, date-palms, jack tree and apple. Among other fruits may be mentioned mangosteen, guava, tamarind, orange, lemon, pomegranate, papaw, pine-apple and Lichi.

¹ §4—§6 are mainly based on "Bouillevaux—L'Annam et le Cambodge" pp. 449 ff.
Among watery plants may be mentioned lotus, water-lily and a kind of palms whose leaves were used in making straw hats.

The forest contained a rich variety of important and valuable trees of perfume such as sandal, camphor, clove, frankincense and others. Cardamum was found with great difficulty, but valued at its weight in gold. There were ebony and other trees producing good timber, and bamboo was found in great abundance.

The mountains are generally composed of granite rocks. They contain numerous minerals. The hills in Quang Nam and Thua Thien contain abundant zinc and copper, the latter being also found in Phu Yen. Silver exists in Thua Thien and Phu Yen while gold dust is found in Quang Nam and other places. Mineral oils are found nearly all over the country.

Gold was obtained in large quantities and the Chinese texts of old refer to 'Mountains of gold'. The soil abounded in precious stones of various kinds and we hear frequently of lapis-lazuli and amber being sent as presents or tributes by the king of Champa.

§ 6. THE FAUNA.

The more important domesticated animals are the elephants, the buffalo, the horse, the ox, the boar, and the goat.

Among the birds may be mentioned the duck, the pigeon, and fowls of various kinds. The goose and the rabbit are rarely found.

The mountains and forests of Annam also abound in wild animals, such as the elephants, buffalo, wild boar, ferocious bull, and another animal called Jin (midway between buffalo and bull) which is very ferocious. There are also tiger, rhinoceros, wild goats, and deer in large numbers. Besides there are monkeys and hares.
The more important aquatic birds were rose-coloured flamingo, stork, pelican, heron, crane, ibis, teal, and waterfowls.

Among other birds may be mentioned peacock, pheasant, swallow, parrots, quail, crow, small eagles, vulture, and wildfowls.

The rivers and sea abounded in fish of various kinds and tortoises. There were besides mother-of-pearl and sea-otter.
Chapter II.

THE CHAMS AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF CHAMPA.

The country which developed later into the kingdom of Champā was originally inhabited by two classes of people, (1) the Chams, and (2) the savages. The distinction was mainly a cultural one, for ethnographically they both belonged to the same Austronesian race.¹ The Chams looked down upon the savages and called them by the general names of the Mlecchās and the Kirātas, in addition to various local names, such as the Vṛlas of Phanrang, Rāndaiy of Nḥa Trang, and the Mada of Binh Dinh.

The Chinese historians have left very interesting accounts of the physical features and the manners and customs of the Chams. They had black skin, deep sunken eyes, snub-nosed, and woolly hair. Their dress consisted of a piece of cotton cloth which covered their body from waist to the feet. Neither men nor women put on any other cloth save that in winter they used a kind of thick robe. The ordinary people went bare-footed, but the nobles used shoes made of skin. Both the male and the female tied their hair into various forms of knots and perforated the ears for putting on rings or other ornaments. The people loved cleanliness. They bathed and washed several times every day and rubbed their body with camphor and musk.

(1) As usual there is a wide divergence of views in this respect, but the general consensus of opinion is in favour of the view mentioned above. The old language of the Chams, as preserved in ancient inscriptions, which by the way does not materially differ from the modern, as well as their physical features, described by the Chinese, lend support to this view. Their manners and customs also point in the same direction.
Their clothes were perfumed with the vapour of a large number of fragrant woods. Lin-yi-ki, a Chinese text composed about the close of the 5th century A. D., describes the people of Tan-eul as follows: "The people love to walk bare-footed and wear large ear-rings. Although the boys and girls have untidy naked bodies, they do not consider it a shame. In summer they cover their body with earth and expose it to the sun. Naturally their skin becomes black. For a long time this practice has been a general one and black is regarded as elegant."

It appears that the population consisted of some Chinese elements, though these were ultimately absorbed by the Chams or rather the Indianised Chams. For, in the same Chinese text, Lin-yi-ki, we find the following description of the people of Kiu-sou, a fortified stronghold of Champā, about 70 miles from the capital.

"The inhabitants descended from the Chinese exiles (255-206 B. C.) have been corrupted by coming into contact with the indigenous elements, and the ancient manners and customs of Je-nan have been completely transformed."

Very little is known of the early history of the Chams. The Annamites have preserved in their Annals some legends about it, but they are of little historical value. One of them runs as follows:

(1) This description is collected by Maspero from the accounts of several Chinese authors, belonging to different periods (Toung Pao. 1910 p. 174). But as all these Chinese writers belonged to a period when the Chams had come under the influence of the Indian colonists, it is difficult to decide how for the manners and customs described by them were original or due to the Indian influence.

(2) B. E. F. vol. IV, No. 9, p. 15.

"In ancient times there was a kingdom, beyond the frontiers of Annam, called Dieu-nghiem. The king of this country was called the king of demons or Daśānana (having ten faces). To the north of this kingdom was the country of Ho Ton Tinh whose king was Daśaratha. The son of Daśaratha called Chung-tu had a beautiful wife. King Daśānana, being enamoured of her beauty, conquered the country of Ho Ton Tinh and brought away the princess. Prince Chung-tu, however, gathered a troop of Monkeys who bridged the ocean with mountains, and brought back his wife after defeating and killing Daśānana."

After describing the above story the Annamite Annals conclude: "The Chams are the descendants of the nation called Ho Ton Tinh." The story is, on the face of it, simply a localisation of the events of Rāmāyaṇa in Champa, and no historical conclusion can be drawn from it.

The earliest reliable information about the Chams is obtained from the Chinese sources. But in order to understand properly the relations between the two nations we must go back a little to the past history.

In the middle of the third century before Christ China was divided into a large number of small kingdoms. To the south and south-east of it, beyond the Nanling mountains, lived a large number of independent tribes who were generally designated as Yue, and who occupied not only Tonkin and the northern portion of Annam as far as Quang Nam, but also the present Chinese districts named Kouang-Si, Kouang-Tong, Fou-kien and Tcho-kiang (only the southern half).

In 221 B.C. Che-houang-ti, of the Tsin Dynasty (225 B.C.-206 B.C.) brought the whole of China under his control and established a united empire. After having properly organised the administration of his vast territories he turned his
attention to the conquest of the Yue tribes. By 214 B.C.¹ the vast territories were conquered and divided for the purpose of administration into several provinces. The whole of Tonkin and northern Annam was included in the province of Siang, while the rest was divided into three other provinces. After the death of Che-houang-ti in 210 B.C. anarchy and confusion prevailed in China, taking advantage of which the governor of one of these three provinces established an independent kingdom called Nan-yue. It had its capital at Canton and comprised the modern Chinese districts of Kouang-si and Kouang-Tong. The province of Siang was soon conquered by the king of Nan-yue and was divided for administrative purposes into two provinces of Kiao-tche (Tonkin) and Kieou-tchen (the region of Than Hoa and the Chinese territory in Annam) with capitals respectively at Hanoi and Than-hoa.

In the meantime the Han Dynasty was established in China. In the year 196 B.C. the Han Emperors officially recognised the kingdom of Nan-yue and its king agreed to rule as a vassal king. In the year 183 B.C., however, he revolted and assumed the title of the Emperor of Nan-yue. He died in 137 B.C. and was succeeded by feeble rulers. The Han Emperor sent a military expedition against the kingdom in 112 B.C. and it was wholly conquered in a year.

The Han Emperors made a new arrangement of administrative units. The territories comprising Tonkin and all the southern conquests in Annam which were included in the province of Siang under the Tsin Emperors, and out of which two provinces (Kiao-tche, and Kieou-tchen) were made by the king of Nan-yue, were now divided into three pro-

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¹ Maspero wrongly puts the events at 3 B.C., [T'oung Pao 1910, p. 322] probably a mistake for III B.C., but even this date is not that of the original conquest but of the later conquest by the Hans.
vinces viz., Kiao-tche, Kieou-tchen and Je-nan. In other words, Je-nan corresponded to the southern districts of Siang. Je-nan was divided into five districts, the two southernmost of which had their head-quarters at Siang-lin and Si-Kuan.

The question of the exact limits of Je-Nan has long perplexed the scholars. But it may now be regarded as having been fixed with a fair degree of certainty. Pelliot has shown from a passage in Tsin Chou that the northern boundary of Je-nan was the Heng-Chan, now called Hoan-Sonh mountain, a chain which advances towards the sea between Ha Tinh and Quang Binh. As to the southern boundary, M. Aurousseau has drawn attention to a passage in Heou Han Chou according to which the two provinces of Kieou-tchen and Je-nan were situated respectively at a distance of 11,580 and 13,400 li from Lo Yang. It would follow, therefore, that Je-nan was nearly 1820 li to the south of Kieou-tchen. As this latter has been definitely identified with Thanh-hoa, it follows that Je-nan extended at least 250 miles further south; in other words it must have extended beyond the province of Binh Dinh in the south. This is corroborated by an Annamite Geographical text which fixes the southern boundary of Je-Nan at the mountain chain which terminates in cape Varella. Thus the ancient Je-Nan may be regarded as that part of modern Annam which lies between the Porte d'Annam and Cape Varella.

(1.) This rapid survey of the relations between China and Annam is based on the admirable article of L. Aurousseau (B. E. F. Vol. XXIII, pp. 137 ff., cf. specially pp. 152 ff, 216 ff, 223 ff, 232 ff. and 263 ff)
(2 ) B. E. F. Vol. IV, p. 190
We thus find that since 214 B.C., the whole of Tonkin, and Annam as far as Cape Varella, passed under the supremacy of the Chinese. The people who lived in Tonkin and northern Annam were undoubtedly the Annamites who were destined to rise to great power in a later period and give their name to the southern part of the Chinese possessions. They belonged ethnographically to the vast Yue race that occupied the territory south of Nan-ling which was first conquered by the Tsin Emperor Che-houang-ti between 221 and 214 B.C. A large part of this Yue race was ultimately absorbed by the Chinese, but those of Tonkin and northern Annam retained their individuality, and, after centuries of Chinese subjugation, ultimately formed themselves into a powerful nation, as we shall see later on. The Annamites, however, did not as yet extend beyond the "Col de Nuages" in the district of Quang Nam. To the south of it lived the indigenous savage population. But already in the first century A.D. we find a new element, the Chams, firmly established in sufficiently large number as far north as Quang Nam. At what date the Chams pushed so far north as Quang Nam we are unable to say, but we shall not probably be far wrong, if we hold that at the time when the Han Emperor had divided the vast territories between the frontier of Kouang-Si and Cape Varella into the three provinces of Kiao-tche, Kieou-tchen and Je-Nan, the first two were peopled by the Annamites and the third by the Chams. The primitive savages of Tonkin and Annam, pushed by the Annamites from the north and the Chams from the south, were gradually moving towards the high mountains as their last refuge.

To the south of Cape Varella, in the districts of Khan Hoa and Binh Thuan, lived a small group of independent
Chams who constantly harassed the southern frontier of the Chinese possessions. They must have been encouraged in their incursions by the tacit sympathy of the population—their own kinsmen—who were placed under the yoke of the Chinese. As we shall see later on, the headquarters of the southernmost Chinese district were placed in Quang Nam. The Chinese control over the districts of Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh and Phu Yen were probably more nominal than real, and the country, being full of narrow valleys and thick impenetrable jungles, tempted the Chams to plunder and devastate the Chinese possessions. The Chinese historians have described those Chams as savages who were ignorant of the art of cultivation and lived upon hunting alone. They frequently invaded the residences of the Chinese officials and plunder, murder and devastation accompanied these raids. As soon, however, as the Chinese troops came to chastise them they fled and took shelter in the impenetrable forests.

The Cham incursions sometimes took a fairly serious turn. We learn from the Chinese history that in the year 137 A.D., about 10,000 Kiu-lien, a barbarous tribe from beyond the frontier of their territories, attacked their southernmost districts, destroyed the Chinese forts and ravaged the whole country. The governor Fan-Yen raised ten thousand soldiers, but they were unwilling to undertake such a distant expedition and broke into revolt. Taking advantage of this respite, the Kiu-lien pushed their conquests further north, defeated the Chinese troops that opposed them, and occupied some of the Chinese districts. The Chinese emperor was inclined to send a military expedition against the intruders, but one of his ministers pointed out the futility of such a distant expedition, and advised his royal master to rely upon diplomacy. Accord-
ingly Tchou Leang was sent to treat with them and the Kiu-lien were induced to evacuate the conquered territory in 138 A. D. There is no doubt that the Kiu-lien denoted the Chams who thus seem to have possessed great military skill and organisation, as early as the second century A. D.

But the death-blow to the Chinese authority came from within. The Cham inhabitants of Siang-lin were particularly turbulent and now and then broke into open rebellion. In 100 A. D. nearly 2000 of them revolted and attacked the Chinese possessions in the north. They killed many officials and destroyed many villages, but retraced their steps as soon as the Chinese forces arrived. In course of time they grew bolder, and, about 192 A. D., taking advantage of the troubles of the Han dynasty, a native of Siang-lin, named Lien, son of Kong tsa'o, and belonging to the family called Kiu, killed the officer in-charge of the city and proclaimed himself king in Lin-yi. As the term Lin-yi has been used by the Chinese throughout in later periods to denote the kingdom of Champā, we may trace in the successful revolt of Kiu Lien the foundation of that kingdom, at first in Siang-lin but ultimately destined to cover nearly the whole of Annam, south of Tonkin.

1. Ibid p. 23.

2. Maspero doubtfully accepted the hypothesis that the kingdom of Kiu Lien is that of Champa, but M. Aurousseau has quoted definite evidence on this point from Chinese texts [B. E. F. vol. XIV, No 9, pp. 26-27]. As to the origin of the name Liu-yi, M. Aurousseau suggests that the Cham kingdom having been originally established in Siang-lin, the Chinese called it Lin-yi i.e. capital Lin [of Siang]. "Lin-yi" which was thus the first Chinese name of the first Cham capital was ultimately extended by a natural process to denote the whole of the ancient kingdom of Champa [Ibid].
The identification of the city of Lin-yi (Siang-lin) has long baffled the scholars. But M. Aurousseau seems to have successfully demonstrated that Siang-lin is now represented by Tra-kieu, a little to the south of Quang Nam. It would thus appear that the first Cham kingdom was established in Quang-Nam and this explains the presence of two such magnificent groups of temples at Myson and Dong-Duong in the neighbourhood.

We find a beautiful description of the topography of Champa in a Chinese text called Chouei King Tchou composed in 527 A.D.

'The city was about 40 li (about 6½ miles) from the sea-coast and was at a distance of 2,500 li (about 400 miles) from the tschou of Kouang. At the south-west angle of the ramparts of the city were high mountains and a long chain of hills which served as a natural embankment. Quite close to the north of the hills flowed a river. To the south of the hills, at a little distance was another river which joined the former to the east of the city.

The city was surrounded by a wall about a mile and a half in circumference. On a brick wall about 20 feet high was raised a second brick wall of half that height, pierced by square loop-holes. On the walls were placed wooden boards supporting many-storied pavillions, on the roof of which again arose towers varying in height from 40 to 70 feet. The first impression that these structures gave was that of an owl, which, with its tail turned towards the wind and touching the mountains and the clouds, was looking towards the water, but would soon, by a leisurely flight, ascend to the highest peak of the mountains. The architecture was admirable but showed lack of skill.

1. B. E. F. vol. XIV. No. 9, p. 23 ff.
There were four gates in the walls. The main gate was on the east. It opened near two islands in the river Houai. The western gate opened on a double ditch which turned to the north and reached a hill. The southern gate likewise opened on a double ditch. The northern gate opened on the river Houai but the route was closed.

Within the walls were a small enclosure, assembly rooms and brick palaces the walls of which had no opening to the south.

There was a palace, opening to the east, of which the loose pieces supporting the rafter looked like the tail of an owl. The gates were sculptured in open-work and painted in blue, the passages were coated with red varnish and the rafters were adorned with stone. There were other rafters, rectangular or round, all being carved in old style. On the pavillions and the palaces were columns rising to a height of 15 feet above the ramparts. The walls were besmeared with cowdung which gave them a green and brilliant look. There were eight temples of varying degrees of importance, and also temples for worshipping the spirits. The storeyed terraces and the belvederes looked like Buddhist monuments.¹

M. Aurousseau has tried to trace from the existing ruins at Tra Kieu some features of the city as described in the above extract.²

¹ Ibid pp. 21-23.
Chapter III.

EARLY HINDU DYNASTIES.

The successful raids into the Chinese territory and the establishment of a powerful kingdom testify to the growth of a new spirit in the Chams towards the second century A. D. This is easily explained by epigraphic records. The Vo-Chanh Rock Inscription (No. 1) refers to the royal family of Śrī Māra, and its royal author is styled as the "delight of the family of Śrī Māra". The inscription is not dated, but may be referred, on palaeographic grounds, to the second or third century A. D. Thus a Hindu or Hinduised dynasty was founded by Śrī Māra in the second century A. D., and it was ruling over the region, later known as Kauṭhāra, about the second or third century A. D.

The coincidence in date makes it almost certain that the regeneration of the Cham power in the second century A. D. was due to the introduction of a new element in her politics, viz. the Indian colonists.

From this time forward until the conquest of the country by the Annamites in the 15th century A. D. the Chams, as such, never played any distinctive part in the political history of the country. They cheerfully submitted to their foreign masters and adopted their manners, customs, language and religion. They were politically merged in the Indian elements and there was a complete cultural fusion between the two races.

The Indians must have been acquainted with Champā by way of trade and commerce, long before they established their political supremacy in that region. The general question about the nature and antiquity of Indian colonisation in the Far East will be fully discussed elsewhere. Here we may confine ourselves to the traditions which the later Hindu kings of Champā preserved about their origin. The Dong
Duong (No. 31) Stela Inscription of Indravarman II., dated 797 Saka, describes how Uroja, apparently the first king, was sent to the earth by Siva himself. Three other inscriptions (Nos. 22, 29 A, and 71) refer to a king Vicitra-Sagara who flourished in the year 5911 of the Dvapara age or about 1,779,357 B.C. Uroja is evidently a mythical conception and Vicitra-Sagara, too, belongs to the same category.

The first historical Hindu King, so far known, is, however, Sri Mara who, as we have seen above, established a dynasty about the second century A.D. Maspero has proposed to identify this Sri-Mara with the Kiu Lien of the Chinese history referred to above. This is probable, but there is as yet no evidence in support of it.

Nothing is known about the early Hindu kings of Champä, but the troublesome events in China which brought about the downfall of the imperial Han dynasty in 220 A.D. must have offered them a splendid opportunity to extend and consolidate their kingdom. The dismemberment of the Chinese empire into three parts (220-265 A.D.) emboldened them to cross the frontier and carry their raids far into the Chinese territory. Some time between 220 and 230 A.D. the king of Champä sent a diplomatic mission to the Governor of Kiao-Tche on the invitation of the latter; nevertheless, in 248 A.D. the Cham army made a naval attack, ravaged even the provincial capital, Kiao-tche (Hanoi) with several other towns, and defeated the fleet that was sent against them. At last a treaty was concluded by which the district of K’iu-Sou corresponding to Modern Thua-Thien was ceded to Champä.

1. According to M. Aurousseau the whole of Cheou-ling was ceded to Champa (Ibid p. 27), but Maspero is of opinion that only the southern part of the district, including the capital K’iu-sou was ceded to the Chams, the northern
ANCIENT HISTORY OF CHAMPA

The Chinese history has preserved the names of several kings of this period. Each of these names begins with Fan, probably corresponding to 'Varman', which was the epithet of every Cham king in later times.¹ King Fan Hiong who succeeded to the throne of Champā sometime between 270 and 280 A.D. was probably a descendant of Śrī Māra by the female line. He continued the policy of extending the Cham territory to the north at the cost of the Chinese. He allied himself with the king of Fou-Nan (in Cambodia) for this purpose, and continually ravaged the Chinese possessions in Tonkin. For ten years the struggle went on, and the Chinese were reduced to great straits. At last peace was established in 280 A.D., probably on terms unfavourable to the Chinese.

Fan-Yi, the son of Fan Hiong, succeeded him on the throne. He had a long and peaceful reign and devoted his energies to increasing the military power and strengthening the defensive works of the kingdom. He was the first Cham king to send an embassy to the Imperial court of China (284 A.D.).

Fan-Yi died in 336 A.D.² On his death the throne was usurped by his commander-in-chief Fan Wen. Wen is said to have been originally a Chinese slave and owed his fortune to miracles.³ It appears that he enjoyed the complete confidence of his royal master, and taking advantage of his old age part still remaining in the hands of the Chinese; this portion of Cheou-ling together with Wou-lao were conquered by Champa in the time of Fan Wen.


3. cf. the story as given in B. E. F. vol. XIV, No. 9, p 17.
THE HINDU DYNASTY

induced him to exile one of his two sons. The other, too, fore-
stalled his fate, and left the kingdom. Thus when the king
died, the legitimate heirs were far away. But Wen found
them out and had them poisoned. After thus removing all
possible claimants, he ascended the throne and proclaimed
himself king of Champā.

Wen was a capable ruler and soon made himself the
undisputed master of the whole kingdom by defeating the
savage tribes who formed independent states within the
kingdom. In 340 he sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor
with a request that the Hoan Sonh mountains should be recog-
nized as the frontier between the two states. ¹ This would have
meant the cession of the fertile province of Nhu’t-Nam
(corresponding to Thua Thien, Quang Tri and Quang Binh)
to Champā and naturally the Chinese emperor refused the
request. But Wen decided to take by force what he could
not gain by diplomacy. The people of Nhu’t-Nam were muti-
nous on account of the exactions of the Chinese governor.
Taking advantage of this situation Fan Wen led an expedi-
tion in 347 A.D., and conquered Nhu’t-Nam. He killed the
governor of the district and made an offering of his body in
an expiatory sacrifice. The Chinese governor made great
preparations against Wen, but the latter took the offensive
and captured Cu’n Dúc, putting to death a large number of
Chinese soldiers who garrisoned it (348 A.D.). In 349 he
again defeated a vast Chinese army; but he was himself
wounded in the fight, and died the same year. Fan Wen
thus carried his conquests to the “Porte de Annam”, and the
kingdom of Champā now exactly corresponded to the
old Chinese province of Je-Nan, and reached its furthest
limit to the north.

¹. Either on this or on another occasion Fan Wen wrote a
letter to the Chinese emperor in Indian characters.
Wen was succeeded by his son Fan Fo (349-80 A.D.). He wanted to emulate his father's exploits and laid siege to the chief town of the Chinese district of Cu’u-Chon. He was, however, defeated and had to accept a disgraceful treaty in 351. But within a short time he again renewed hostilities. In 353 the Chinese sent another expedition against him and reconquered Nhut-Nam. But the struggle did not end there. As soon as the Chinese returned to their country the Chams renewed their excursions. At last the Chinese inflicted a severe defeat upon Fan Fo in 358 and advanced up to the very walls of the city of Champā. In 359 a treaty was concluded by which the district of Nhut Nam, as far as the Bay of On Cang, was ceded to the Chinese. Fan Fo faithfully observed the treaty till his death in 380, and sent his ambassadors with tribute to the Chinese Emperor in 372 and again in 377.

Fan-Hou-ta, the son of Fan Fo, was very young when he ascended the throne on the death of his father in 380. But as soon as he came to age he revived the ambitious project of his father. The whole of his reign was an almost unceasing struggle against the Chinese. The times were favourable to him. The imperial Tsin dynasty was in a decadent condition, and revolts broke out throughout the Chinese empire. So Fan-Hou-ta scored some successes at first. He not only recovered Nhut Nam but carried his arms even further to the north, as far as Than Hoa. But in 413 A.D., Tou Houei-tou, the Chinese governor of Kiao-tche (Hanoi), arrived at Kieutchen (Than-hoa) and defeated Fan-Hou-ta in a pitched battle. Two (or one according to some version) sons of the latter fell into his hands and were beheaded. Tou-Houei-tou then laid siege to Than-hoa. He occupied the top of the hills overlooking the city and barricaded the course of the river by means of hedges of trees. Exciting attacks and counter-attacks took place almost under the ramparts of the city, and the Chinese
governor retreated, after killing and wounding lots of enemies, but without apparently being able to take the city.¹

The end of Fan-Hou-ta is not known with certainty. There is no doubt that he was a great general and increased the power and prestige of his kingdom to a very great extent, after the late reverses. One of the most important works done by him was the fortification of the city of Kiu-sou which the Chams had conquered in 248 A.D. The identification of the city of Kiu-sou had long been a difficult problem. But M. Aurousseau is probably right in his hypothesis that it occupied the site which is now covered by ruins immediately to the south-east of Hue. This city occupied a very important position from the point of view of military strategy. It was situated between two rivers which met at the foot of its ramparts, and was surrounded by high hills on three sides. Situated 400 li (about 70 miles) to the north of the capital, it commanded the route which every Chinese army had to follow in an expedition against Champā. Fan-Hou-ta fully realised the importance of the city and converted it into one of the strongest citadels in his kingdom. For obvious reasons the citadel of Kiu-sou, which was renamed by the Chams as Si-Kiuan, figures largely in the Chinese historical texts. These give a very graphic description of the fortified city. The ramparts round the city, we are told, measured more than a mile, and had thirteen gates. The plinth of these ramparts was made of a brick course, 20 feet deep. Upon this was raised a brick wall 10 feet high, pierced by square loopholes. Upon the bricks rested five-storeyed wooden structures supporting high towers.

¹. This interesting information is furnished by Liu-yi-kī, a text composed probably towards the close of the fifth century A. D.

(B E. F. vol. XIV No.9, p. 14).
on their roofs. The height of these towers varied between 50 and 80 feet. The outer walls of the fortified city nearly touched the mountains which were covered with thick impenetrable forest. On account of its military strength the war-materials of the kingdom of Champā were stored in this city.

Maspero has suggested the identification of Fan-Hou-ta with king Bhadravarman. This is probable but not certain. Bhadravarman is the author of two inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 4) and three other inscriptions (nos. 3, 5 and 6) also probably belong to his reign. On palæographical grounds these inscriptions have been referred to the 5th century A.D. and this agrees well with the reign-period of Fan-Hou-ta. That the latter set the fashion of engraving records on stone clearly follows from the Chinese accounts. For we are told that close to the eastern gate of his capital there was a Stèle containing a record of his glory in barbarous character (i.e., the Indian alphabet as modified in Champā).

Whatever we might think of this identification, Bhadravarman must be regarded as one of the most important kings in ancient Champā. His full name was Dharma-mahārāja Śrī Bhadravarman. The findspots of his inscriptions show that he ruled over at least the northern and central portion of the kingdom, the provinces of Amarāvati and Vijaya. There are, however, reasons to suppose that his kingdom also included the southern province of Pāṇḍuraṅga. But the famous work, by which he was destined to be immortal, was the erection of a temple to Śiva, under the name of Bhadrēśvarasvāmi, at Myson. This temple became the national sanctuary of the Chams, and the practice he thus set on foot of calling the tutelary deity by the name of the reigning king, came to be almost universally adopted in later times. We shall have occasion to refer to this temple of Bhadrēśvarasvāmi again and again in course of the history
of Champā. Bhadravarman made an endowment of lands to this temple and their boundaries are given in 3 inscriptions (Nos. 4, 5 and 7) as follows: "To the east, the Sulaha mountain, to the south the Great mountain, to the west, the Kucoka mountain, and to the north, the Great River". The great river is of course the "Song-Thu-bon" and this shows that the boundaries described are not of the temple and its surroundings, as was formerly supposed, but of the lands granted to it.\(^1\) King Bhadravarman seems to have been a scholar and it is expressly laid down in the inscription no. 4 that he was versed in the four Vedas.

According to the Chinese accounts,\(^2\) Fan-Hou-ta was succeeded in 413 by his son Ti-Tchen. We are told that Ti-Kai, the brother of this king, fled with his mother, and the king could not induce them to come back. Grieved at heart, he abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew and himself went to India. The departure of the king was followed by anarchy and civil war in Champā. Ti Kai thereupon came back and claimed the throne from his nephew who was designated as his successor by Ti-Tchen. Wen-Ti, a brother of Ti-Kai by the same mother but a different father, and the minister Tsang Yin joined the combat. Civil war followed and led to murders and rapid successions to the throne till the dynasty was dispossessed of the kingdom of Champā after a reign of about 80 years (336-420 A.D.).

1. The northern boundary, leading to the important conclusion noted in the text, is given only in the inscription No. 5 (cf. B. E. F. vol XVII, No. 10, p. 14).\(^2\) For the detailed regulations of the endowment cf. Ins. No. 4.

2. The Chinese accounts regarding the period that followed the death of Fan-Hou-ta are very conflicting cf. B. E. F. vol. IV, p. 382, fn (9).
Maspero has suggested the identification of Ti-Tchen with the king Gāṅgārāja who is mentioned in inscription No. 12 as having abdicated the throne in order to spend his last days on the Ganges. The abdication of the throne and retirement to India are certainly very striking coincidences, and the identification, although by no means certain, is undoubtedly very probable.

The civil war was brought to an end by the accession of Fan Yang Mai (420 ? A.D.). His origin is unknown but he is said to have been a son of Fan-Hou-ta, probably by a mother of inferior rank. The relations between China and Champā were not interrupted by the civil war. The Chams carried on their usual raids into the Chinese territory, attended by pillage, massacre and horrible cruelties. In the year 420 the Chinese inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Chams, and the following year Yang Mai sent an ambassador to the Imperial Court with a request that his title of king of Champā be recognised by the Chinese Emperor. Yang Mai no doubt took this step to ensure his position in the newly gained kingdom, and his example was followed by many of his successors.

Yang Mai died within a few years and was succeeded by his son Tou who assumed the name of his father. The usual frontier raids against the Chinese territory continued, and in 431 he sent more than 100 vessels to pillage the coast of Nhu’ t Nam and Cu’ u Cho’ n. This provoked the Chinese governor who sent a strong expedition both by land and sea against Champā. The Chinese army besieged K’iu-sou. Yang Mai II had gone to marry. He hurried back by way of sea and fell in with the Chinese fleet. His chief pilot was struck down by an arrow and his fleet dispersed, pursued by the Chinese. The Chinese fleet, however, could not follow up the victory on account of bad weather, and
THE HINDU DYNASTY

retreated. Consequently their army had also to raise the siege and fall back (431 A.D.).

Yang Mai was, however, elated with the result of the battle and his ambition knew no bounds. In 433 A.D. he sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor asking to be appointed the governor of Kiao Tcheou. This would have virtually meant the cession of the province of Tonkin and was of course refused. Irritated at the refusal, Yang Mai redoubled his efforts against Kiao Tcheou and hardly a year passed without an invasion of the district by his troops. All the while, however, he continued to pay his tribute regularly to the Chinese emperor.

The Chinese emperor now decided to bring his turbulent vassal to sense by another military expedition. The preparations took three years, and in 446 A.D. the Chinese army under T'an Ho-Tche invaded Champā. Terror now seized Yang Mai II and he proposed a humiliating peace to the Chinese emperor. The emperor accepted his offer and sent instructions to his commander to conclude a treaty, if he found Yang Mai sincere in his desire for peace. The commander accordingly sent some of his officers to Yang Mai to treat with him. In the meantime the war-party in the court, which had lost its influence on the approach of the Chinese army, regained its power and prevailed upon the king to reject the proposals of peace. Yang Mai accordingly put the Chinese envoys to prison and sent back one of them to carry the news to their commander.

The Chinese general at once advanced and laid siege to Kiu-sou† the principal stronghold of Champā. Yang Mai sent an army in aid of Fan Fou Long who defended the place, but although the Chams scored some successes at

1. For a description of Kiu-sou see above, pp. 26-27.
first, the Chinese ultimately captured the stronghold. The general Fan Fou Long was beheaded and all the inhabitants above the age of 15 were put to the sword. The palace halls were inundated with blood and heaps of dead bodies covered the court-yard. An immense booty of gold, silver and various other precious objects was gained by the victors.

The Chinese continued their advance and were at last met by Yang Mai himself at the head of an immense host. Yang Mai placed a large number of elephants in front of his army. This terrified the Chinese soldiers. But the ingenuity of a Chinese general saved the situation. He prepared numerous figures of lions by means of bamboos and papers, and these were thrown before the elephants. The latter took fright and fled, and in so doing threw into confusion and disorder the very army they were intended to protect. Yang Mai suffered a most terrible defeat and fled from the battlefield with his son. The victorious Chinese general T'an Ho Tche then entered the capital Champāpura in triumph and obtained a rich booty of very precious objects. The whole country was occupied, all the temples were sacked, and their statues were melted for the metals contained in them. About 100,000 pounds of pure gold were obtained from this source. The Chinese victory was complete.

After the retreat of the Chinese army Yang Mai came back to his capital. But the city was in ruins and Yang Mai died in a broken heart in 446 A.D.¹

Fan Yang Mai II was succeeded by his son and grandson. The latter, named Fan Chen Tch'eng,² pursued a policy of peace and sent tributes to the Chinese emperor

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¹ G. Maspero puts the date wrongly as 443. (T'oung Pao 1910, p. 499).
² cf. T'oung Pao, 1910, p. 499 fn. (4).
on at least three different occasions, in 455, 458 and 472 A.D. The tributes were very rich and the emperor was pleased to confer high honours and titles on the ambassador.

The death of Fan Chen Tch'eng was followed by a troublesome period. Taking advantage of this a man called Fan Tang-Ken-Tch'ouen or Kieou Tch'eeou Lo usurped the kingdom. He was the son of Jayavarman king of Fou-Nan. He had committed some crime in his country, and, fleeing from the wrath of his royal father, took refuge in Champā. King Jayavarman could ill brook the success of his son in the foreign land. He sent the Bhikṣu Śākya Nāgasena to the Chinese Emperor in order to complain against the usurper and ask the aid of imperial troops to punish him. The long letter which Jayavarman addressed to the Chinese emperor on this occasion, explaining the measures he proposed to adopt for driving his son out of Champā, is a very interesting reading.¹ It shows that the Chinese emperor was tacitly looked upon as the sovereign authority by all the states in the Far East, and whatever the amount of actual control possessed by him, he never ceased to exercise a political influence upon them all. Jayavarman's endeavour, however, bore no fruit. The Chinese emperor received the embassy cordially and gave a very courteous reply, but he did not agree to meddle in the affairs of Champā. On the other hand the emperor recognised the usurper as the king of Champā and gave him high sounding honorary titles² by an

2. These titles are: "General, Pacifier of the South, Commander-in-chief in all the military transactions on the Seacoast, King of Champa."
Imperial Decree in 491 A.D. But the usurper was defeated and dethroned immediately after by Fan Tchou-Nong, great-grandson of Fan Yan Mai II. Fan Tchou-Nong was recognised by the Chinese emperor in 492 A.D., and received honorary titles like his predecessor, but his reign was short, and he died in 498 A.D., being drowned in the sea during a pleasure trip, or, according to some authorities, in course of a voyage to China. He sent ambassadors to the Chinese court in 492 and 495 A.D.

Tchou-Nong was succeeded by his son, grandson and great-grandson, named respectively Fan Wen K’ouan or Fan Wen Ts’an, Fan T’ien K’ai (Devavarman?), and Vijayavarman. We do not know anything about them except that they sent embassies to China and received the same honorary titles from the emperor as their predecessors. The embassy of 502 A.D. was probably sent by Fan Wen K’ouan. Devavarman’s embassies were dated 510, 512 and 514 A.D. Vijayavarman sent two embassies in 526 and 527 A.D.

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER III.

1. Śrī Māra or Kiu Lien (2nd C. A.D.)

2. Fan Hiong (c. 270-280 A.D.)

3. Fan-yi (c. 280 A.D.-336 A.D.)
   (Son of No. 2)

4. Fan Wen (336 A.D.-349 A.D.)
   (Commander-in-Chief of No. 3)

1. The first portion of the title was slightly changed in his case. It was “The Marshal, who maintains orders in the South”.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ruler Name</th>
<th>Reign Dates</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fan Po</td>
<td>349-380 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Fan-Hou-Ta (Bhadravarman?)</td>
<td>380-413 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ti-Tchen (Gaṅgārāja)</td>
<td>413-c. 415 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Civil War 415-420 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fan Yang Mai</td>
<td>420-c. 425 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 6?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fan Yang Mai II</td>
<td>c. 425-446 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Son of No. 9, name unknown</td>
<td>(446-454?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Fan Chen Tch’eng</td>
<td>c. 454-c. 480 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kiesou Tch’eou Lo</td>
<td>c. 480-491 A.D.</td>
<td>(Usurper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fan Tchou-Nong</td>
<td>491-498 A.D.</td>
<td>(Great-grandson of No. 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fan Wen K’ouan</td>
<td>c. 500-c. 508 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Fan T’ien K’ai (Devavarman?)</td>
<td>c. 508-c. 520 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Vijayavarman</td>
<td>c. 520 A.D.-c. 529 A.D.</td>
<td>(Son of No. 15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter IV.

THE DYNASTY OF GANGARAJA.

Vijayavarman was succeeded by Śri Rudravarman whose genealogy is given in the Myson stelae Inscription (No. 12). The genealogy begins with a king Gaṅgārāja who abdicated the throne and retired to the banks of the Ganges. The breakage in the stone does not enable us to determine his relationship with the next king Manorathavarman. Rudravarman was the son of a Brāhmaṇa, and his mother's mother was a daughter of Manorathavarman.

Rudravarman was not, therefore, a direct descendant of Vijayavarman. But, as has been suggested above, if Gaṅgārāja is identified with Ti-Tchen, Rudravarman would belong to a collateral branch of the same family. Now Gaṅgārāja is placed at the head of the long genealogical list in No. 12, implying thereby that he was the head of a new family. This is made explicit in No. 20 wherein Prakāśadharma (or Vikrāntavarman) is said to belong to the ‘family of Gaṅgeśvara,’ which may be taken as another form of the name Gaṅgārāja. It would then follow that the kings of this family could lay claim to the kingdom of Champa only by virtue of their relationship with Gaṅgārāja. In other words, they could not establish any legitimate claim to the throne by their relationship with any succeeding king.

The identification of Gaṅgārāja and Ti-Tchen would supply a plausible explanation of the rise of this family. As has been narrated above, the abdication of Ti-Tchen

1. We have probably another reference to Gangaraja as the founder of the family in the inscription no 7., where the isolated word ‘Gangesasya occurs in line 1., the rest having been effaced.
was followed by a civil war between his nephew, whom he designated as his successor, and various other claimants to the throne. Manorathavarman may be regarded as the nephew, or at any rate, as deriving his claim to the throne from his nephew. But all this is at present pure conjecture.

Some important information about Rudravarman is obtained from inscription No. 7. We are told that Rudravarman belonged to the Brahma-Kșatriya family and that during his reign the famous temple of Mahādeva, called Bhadreśvaravarasvāmi after its builder the king Bhadravarman, was burnt by fire. The date of this calamity is given in Śaka year, but unfortunately this portion of the inscription is badly mutilated and we can simply read "in the year four hundred and.............". Rudravarman thus ruled sometime between 401 and 499 Śaka i.e., 479 and 577 A.D.

There cannot be any doubt, therefore, that he is to be identified with Kao Che lu T'o Lo Pa Mo, mentioned in the Chinese annals (the Chinese name being equivalent to Ku Śri Rudravarman) who sought for his investiture from the Chinese Emperor in 529 by payment of tribute, and renewed the tribute again in 534 A.D.

About this time the Chinese province of Kiao Tcheou had revolted and thrown off the imperial yoke under the leadership of Ly Bon. Rudravarman, probably incited by the Chinese Emperor, took advantage of the situation to conquer the province. His army was, however, defeated by the general of Ly Bon and he had to beat retreat (541 A. D.).

Rudravarman was succeeded by his son Praśastadharma who took the name Śambhuvarman at the time of his coronation. He is the author of the inscription No. 7. He re-established the temple of Bhadravarman which was
burnt at the time of his father, and re-named the image as Śambhu-Bhadřesvara, thus adding his own name to that of the original founder. He also confirmed the endowments made to the temple by Bhadravarman. The two embassies sent to China in 568 and 572 A.D. probably belonged to his time.

Śambhuvarman took advantage of the weakness of the Imperial Tch'en dynasty to stop the customary tribute, but renewed it in 595 A.D. after the Souei dynasty was established on the Imperial throne. But this did not save him from a Chinese invasion. The immense booty taken from Champa by T'An Ho Tche impressed the Chinese with an idea of the fabulous wealth of the kingdom, and so when the Chinese general Lieou Fang came to quell the insurrection in Kiao Tcheou, he was ordered to advance against Champa. The Chinese advanced both by land and sea, and reached the estuary of Linh Giang (modern Song Giang) in 605. Śambhuvarman stationed his soldiers to guard the passes which separate the valley of Linh Giang from that of the Do Le (Tou Li). Lieou Fang defeated them and pitched his camp on the Do Le. He then crossed the river without difficulty and overtook the enemy a few miles to the south. A sanguinary battle ensued. The elephants on which the Chams mainly relied were dispersed by the Chinese archers, and they trampled under foot the very army they were engaged to protect. Śambhuvarman fled from the battle-field and the Chinese took about 10,000 prisoners and cut off their left ears.¹ Lieou Fang pursued his victory and occupied K'iu Sou. Near about

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¹ It was customary in those days to cut off the left ears of prisoners of war and send them as trophies to the Emperor. The total number of captives could also be determined thereby.
this place he inflicted several more defeats upon Śambhuvarman and reached the capital of Champā (605 A. D.). Śambhuvarman fled by sea. Lieou Fang thereupon sacked the capital city, and put into captivity all the inhabitants he could lay hands on. He further took the golden tablets of eighteen kings who had ruled over Champā before Śambhuvarman, and 1350 Buddhist works. Among his captives were included some musicians from Fou-Nan who carried to the Imperial court the musical arts of India.

Lieou Fang and his army suffered much on their return journey from a disease—Beri Beri or Elephantisis—to which the general himself fell a victim. The conquered country was divided into three divisions, each subdivided again into four ‘prefectures’, but owing to the distance and difficulty of communication they were never effectively occupied, and remained as part of the kingdom of Champā.

As soon as the invader had left, Śambhuvarman came back to his capital, and to avoid further difficulties, sent an ambassador to the Imperial Court for asking pardon. Later on, however, taking advantage of the dynastic quarrels in China, he stopped the payment of tribute; but when Li Yuan established the T'ang dynasty (618 A. D.) he resumed regular payment. He sent three embassies in 623, 625 and 628. Śambhuvarman was also on friendly terms with the Khmer King Mahendra-Varman who sent one of his ministers, Simhadeva as ambassador to the court of Champā,

Śambhuvarman was succeeded in 629 A. D. by his son Kandarpadharma (Fan T'eou Li of the Chinese). The king had a peaceful reign. He kept peace with China by regular payment of tribute. On one occasion the disrespectful conduct of his ambassador to the Chinese Emperor nearly brought the two countries on the verge of war, but
the emperor pardoned the fault which was 'due to ignorance of etiquette rather than to any bad intention'. The rich tributes of Kandarpadharma so pleased the emperor that he wished to have a stone statue of the king close to his tomb. The virtues of the king are referred to in eloquent terms in verses 7 and 8 of the inscription No. 12. He is described as "Virtue Incarnate" and Kali is said to have fled away from his kingdom, knowing that he had nothing to expect from a king, who was free from passions and protected his subjects like his own sons by means of his virtues.

Kandarpadharma's son and successor Prabhāsadharma, Fan Tchen-Long of the Chinese history, had a tragic end. The events are thus summarised in the Chinese history.

"In 630, 631 A.D. and the following years the king Fan T'eou Li regularly paid tributes. On his death the throne passed on to his son Fan Tchen-Long. In 645 Fan Tchen-Long was killed with all his family by his subject Mo-ho-man-to-kia-tou and the male descendants of the Fan family were extinguished with him. Then the people raised a Brāhmaṇa, a son-in-law of king Fan T'eou Li, on the throne. But he was deposed by the nobles who put the daughter of Fan T'eou Li on the throne. As she was unable to restore order, they summoned Tchou-ko Ti, son of the paternal aunt of Fan-T'eou Li. Tchou-ko Ti came back from Cambodge, where his father had fled after committing a crime, married the daughter of Fan T'eou Li and was proclaimed king. The ambassadors were sent to the Imperial court by Tchou-ko Ti in 653, by Po-kia-cho-pa-mo in 669, by Kien-to-ta-mo in 713, and by Lou-to-lo in 749." ¹

This circumstantial narrative is of great help in wading our way through the tangles of civil war and anarchy

¹ B. E. F. vol. IV, pp. 901-902.
that followed the assassination of the son of Kandarpadharma.

In the first place it is quite clear that the son of Kandarpadharma was killed by his minister, for the Chinese Mo-ho-man-to-kia-tou seems to correspond exactly to Mahāmantrādhikṛta. That the murder was the result of a deliberate and well-laid plot to usher in a dynastic change is clearly proved by the fact that not only the king but also his whole family was removed. The events that follow would also make it quite clear that it was the daughter of Fan T'ëou Li on whose behalf the conspiracy was laid, nor is it difficult to conclude that the kings of Cambodge were the wire-pullers from behind. But the whole situation is made quite clear by the Myson inscription of Prakāśadharma (No, 12). Here the genealogy is first of all carried down to Prabhāsadharma. Then it refers to his sister ‘who was the source of welfare and prosperity of the whole world’. We are next introduced to her husband, Satyakauśikasvāmi, and their sons Bhadreśvaravarman, and his two younger brothers Anaṅgarūpa and Viśvarūpa. Next we hear of Jagaddharma, apparently a son of Bhadreśvaravarman, though the breakage in stone does not make this point absolutely certain—who had gone to Cambodge (and here a long digression gives us a history of Cambodge from its foundation) owing to certain circumstances, and there married the daughter of king Īśānavarman. The issue of this marriage was Prakāśadharma-Vikrāntavarman, king of Champā who issued the inscription in 579 Śaka (657 A. D.).

Now the scholars have found it impossible to reconcile the Chinese annals with the data furnished by the inscriptions. Maspero’s suggested emendation has proved
hopelessly wrong, while Finot has to admit that the Chinese accounts are inaccurate in at least three essential elements. But there ought not to be any great difficulty in reconciling the two if the essential points are borne in mind. This may be illustrated by putting the events recorded in the two different sources in two parallel columns.

**Chinese Annals.**

1. Murder of Prabhāsadharma 645 A.D.
2. Son-in-law of Kandarpadharma, a Brāhmaṇa, put on the throne, but deposed by the nobles.
4. Tchou-ko Ti returns from Cambodge, marries the daughter of Kandarpadharma and becomes king. He sends embassy in 653 A.D.
5. King Po-kia-cho-pa-mo sends embassy in 669 A.D.

**Inscriptions.**

1. Prabhāsadharma, king.
2. Satyakauśikasvāmī, son-in-law of Kandarpadharma.
3. Daughter of Kandarpadharma, source of prosperity of the whole world.
4. Bhadreśvara Varman (son of 2 and 3.)
5. Jagaddharma (son of 4) who had been to Cambodge and married the daughter of the king there.
6. Prakāśadharma (son of 5) king in 657 A.D.
The arrangement is confirmed by one important piece of external evidence. The Tra' Kieu Inscription (No. 9) tells us that the wife of Prakāśadharma’s great-grandfather (Prapītāmahī) was the daughter of Kandarpadharma. The above arrangement entirely agrees with this fact.

The only point, not a very essential one, in which the Chinese annals are mistaken is their belief that the daughter of Kandarpadharma was married a second time to Tchou-ko Ti, a different husband, whereas the fact seems to be that Tchou-ko Ti (Satyakausikasvāmi) was her first husband who had sought shelter in Cambodge after being deposed by the nobles. It appears that Tchou-ko Ti’s family had some influence in the court of Cambodge, for his father had taken shelter there after committing some fault in Champā, and his grandson was married to the daughter of the king of Cambodge.

That the daughter and son-in-law of Kandarpadharma were very old when they came to the throne is established by the following genealogy of Prakāśadharma drawn up on the authority of Tra’-kieu Inscription (No. 9).

Kandarpadharma (630-640 A. D.)

```
Daughter
```
```
Son
```
```
Jagaddharma
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Prakāśadharma (657 A. D.)

Now the way in which Prakāśadharma’s prowess has been extolled in the Myson Ins. dated 657 A. D. shows that he must have then attained at least 20 years of age. Prakāśadharma’s...
kāśadharma's birth therefore could not have taken place later than 637 A.D. If we hold that a male must be at least twenty and a female at least sixteen before he or she can possibly have an issue, the birth of the predecessors of Prakāśadharma could not have taken place later than the dates mentioned in the following table.

Kandarpadharma (561 A.D.)

Daughter (581 A.D.)
Son (597 A.D.)

Jagaddharma (617 A.D.).

Kandarpadharma then must have been at least about 70 years at the time of his accession, and probably much more than that, as we have taken only the minimum number of years in the above calculation.

Now, bearing the above points in mind, we may offer the following general outline of the course of events in the light of the Chinese and epigraphic data that we possess.

In the first place the relation of the different actors in the scene may be illustrated by the following table.

Rudravarman (Lu-to-lo-pa-mo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Šambhuvarman (Fan Fan Tehe)</th>
<th>Daughter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Kandarpadharma (Fan Teou Li) |

| Prabhāsadharma (Fan Tchen Long) | Daughter = Satyakaṇḍika-
svāmī |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tchou-ko Ti)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Jagaddharma = Šarvāṇi (daughter of Īśāna-
varman, king of Cambodge.

Prakāśadharma-Vikrāntavarman.
The disastrous defeat inflicted by the Chinese upon Śambhuvarman must have considerably weakened the authority of the government. As usually happens, the national calamity served as an opportunity to adventurers, and in this particular instance the female line seems to have coveted the throne as against the male line. During the long reign of Śambhuvarman the interests of two such female lines were cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Kandarpadharma with the grandson (daughter's son) of Rudravarman. It is probable that an attempt was already made by this party after the death of Kandarpadharma to secure the throne, but it proved unsuccessful, and its authors had to fly to the court of Cambodge. But a few years later, the attempt was renewed, and Prabhāsadharma was killed with all the male members of the family (645 A. D.). Satyakausikasvāmi at first occupied the throne, but was driven away by the nobles, and his wife alone ruled the state. But a female ruler was hardly likely to cope with the difficulties of the time and Satyakausikasvāmi returned to Champā. It is extremely likely that the king of Cambodge was really pulling the wire from behind in all the successive events. The new party had all along been intimately associated with that court, for the father of Satyakausikasvāmi had taken refuge in the court of Cambodge after committing some fault in Champā, as the Chinese historians put it, and Jagaddharma, the grandson of Satyakausikasvāmi, was married to a Cambodge princess.

Satyakausikasvāmi ruled for at least eight years from 645 to 653 A. D., with an interval. Whether his son and grandson ruled after him cannot be finally decided, but the answer is probably in the negative, for no royal title is attached to any of them in the Myson Stone Inscription. Even
if they did, they must have very short reigns. For by 657 A. D. Prakāśadharma had already ascended the throne under the title of Vikrantavarman.

Prakāśadharma—Vikrantavarman is the author of at least eight inscriptions, Nos. 9-16. We learn from No. 12 that in the year 657 A. D. he established Śrī-Prabhāseśvara and granted lands to the gods Īśāneśvara, Śrī Śambhubhadreśvara and Śrī Prabhāseśvara. No. 14. records the erection of a temple to Kuvera, while no. 16. records the donation of a kośa to Īśāneśvara and a diadem to Bhadreśvara in 687, A. D. The attribution of three inscriptions nos. 17-19 is doubtful. They refer to king Vikrantavarman, who may be either Prakāśadharma—Vikrantavarman I, or Vikrantavarman II. It is interesting to note that he was not only devoted to Śiva (cf. Ins No. 10 and others noted above) but also to Viṣṇu to whom he erected a temple (No. 11).

Prakāśadharma seems to have been at peace with the Imperial court of China. He first sent tributes during the period 650-656 A. D., and at least four more embassies were sent in 657, 669, 670 and 686 A. D. He must have had a long reign extending over more than 31 years (656-687).

We have no precise knowledge about the successor of Prakāśadharma—Vikrantavarman I. The inscription No. 21 records that Prakāśadharma intended to build a vedī of stone, but this was actually constructed by Naravāhanavarman. The inscription then proceeds to record the glories of Vikrantavarman. It would thus appear that Prakāśadharma was succeeded by Naravāhanavarman and the latter again by Vikrantavarman. This conclusion is, however, not certain, as Naravāhanavarman might be another name of Vikrantavarman, but it may be taken as a working hypothesis. The Chinese evidence in a way confirms this. We learn from the Chinese history that in the years 713 and 731 Kien Ta To...
Mo, king of Champa sent tributes to the Chinese Emperor. Kien Ta To Mo may be regarded as a fairly good transcription of Vikrāntavarman. Now this Vikrāntavarman can hardly be regarded as identical with Prakāśadharma—Vikrāntavarman who sent tribute to China sometime before 656 A.D., as the interval is more than 75 years. Thus we are to presume two kings bearing the same name Vikrāntavarman. It is less likely, however, that the father and the son should bear the same name, whereas it is usual for a king to adopt the name of his grandfather. We may thus provisionally accept the following line of succession.

Prakāśadharma—Vikrāntavarman I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naravāhanavarman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vikrāntavarman II.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The latest known date of Prakāśadharma is 687 A.D. and the earliest known date of Vikrāntavarman II is 713 A.D. Naravāhanavarman’s reign, therefore, falls between these dates. We hardly know anything about his reign. Vikrāntavarman II established an image of Lakṣmi in the year 731 A.D. His conventional glory is sung in lines 8-9 of the inscription No. 21. The fragmentary inscription No. 20 which belongs to his reign and is dated sometime between 708 and 717 A.D., records various donations to a number of gods. The inscriptions Nos. 17-19 may belong to his reign, but as already remarked above, this is by no means certain. Vikrāntavarman II regularly sent tributes to China. As a matter of fact at least 12 embassies

1. Maspero says that Vikrantavarman sent tributes to the Chinese emperor no less than fifteen times (T’oung Pao XI, p. 524). But in the footnote he gives detailed record of only 13 such embassies. Of these the first, sent in 686, must be attributed to Prakasadharma whose last known date is 687 A.D. Of the rest, those before 713 must have been sent by one or other of the three kings Prakasadharma, Naravahanavarmā, and Vikrantavarman II,
were sent to China from Champā in the years 691, 695, 702, 703, 706, 707, 709, 711, 712, 713 and 731 A. D. Some of these, before 713 A. D., might have been sent by either Prakāśadharma or Naravāhanavarmā, but the majority were probably sent by Vikrāntavarman II.

Vikrāntavarman II was probably succeeded by Rudravarman II who sent tributes to China in 749 A.D. We do not know anything more about him. He died about 757 A. D. and with him probably ended the dynasty which was founded by Rudravarman I about the year 529 A. D.

The inscriptions of this dynasty are mostly found in the neighbourhood of Myson. This may be due to the sanctity of the temple and it is not proper to infer from it that their power was mainly confined to that district. The fact that one inscription (No. 8) is found in Hue and another (No. 15) in Khan Hoa province shows that their power extended very nearly over the whole of the kingdom. One of the earliest inscriptions (No. 2) of this dynasty was found at Cho Dinh in the province of Phu yen, and this also shows that from the very beginning their authority extended far beyond Myson. The epigraphical evidence undoubtedly shows that the province of Quang Nam in which Myson is situated was the chief stronghold of the dynasty from beginning to end.

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER IV.

1. Gaṅgārāja
2. Manorathavarman
   (descended from No. 1)
3. Rudravarman (c. 529 A.D.—c. 565 A. D.)
   (Son of the daughter's daughter of No. 2.)
4. Śambhuvarman (c. 565 A.D.—629 A.D.)
   (Son of No. 3.)
5. Kandarpadharma (629 A.D.—c. 640 A.D.)
   (Son of No. 4)
6. Prabhāsadharma (c. 640 A.D.—645 A.D.)
   (Son of No. 5)
7. Satyakauśikasvāmi (Daughter's son of No. 3 and son-in-law
   of No. 5)
8. Daughter of No. 5 and wife of No. 7.
7. Satyakauśikasvāmi (a second time).
9. Bhadreśvaravarman (?) (Son of Nos. 7 and 8)
10. Jagaddharma (?) (Son of No. 9).
11. Prakāśadharma—Vikrāntavarman I (c. 655 A.D.—
    c. 690 A.D.)
    (Son of No. 10)
12. Naravāhanavarman (?) (c. 690 A.D.—c. 710 A.D.)
    (Son of No. 11?)
13. Vikrāntavarman II (c. 710 A.D.—730 A.D.)
    (Son of No. 12?)
14. Rudravarman II (730 (?) A.D.—757 A.D.)
Chapter V.

THE DYNASTY OF PANDURANGA.

After Rudravarman II the kingdom of Champā passed on to a new dynasty. As all the inscriptions of this dynasty come from the Kauṭhāra region in the south, they probably originally belonged to that quarter. But from the very beginning they seem to have exercised suzerainty over the entire kingdom.

The founder of this dynasty is named Prthivindravarman. A brief reference is made to him in the Glai Lamov Inscription (No. 24), vv 2-5. We are told that he ‘enjoyed the lands by having conquered all his enemies by his own power’. This seems to show that he owed the kingdom to his military genius. As we shall see, there are epigraphic references to more than one raid of Champā by the Javanese fleet within half a century of his accession. The Chinese history also contains reference to a raid as

1. Maspero attributes the title “Rudraloka” to this king on the authority of Ins. No. 24, verse 5. This verse, however, merely says ‘that the king went to “Rudraloka” i.e., died, and I do not think that “Rudraloka” may be regarded as a posthumous title. (T‘oung Pao. 1910, pp. 549-550). For a similar expression cf. verse 10, of the Glai Lamov Ins. (No. 24).

Maspero further says that the throne was offered to Prthivindravarman by the nobles, but I do not find any authority for this statement’ (Ibid). The verse (No. 31, B. VI) on which he relies is difficult to construe. I doubt if Prthivindravarman of that verse can be taken to refer to a king of a different dynasty who died more than 100 years ago. But even then it does not justify Maspero’s assumption.
early as 767 A.D.¹ It is likely that the invasion of the Javanese fleet overthrew the last dynasty and Prthivindravarman owed the kingdom to his success against these naval marauders. But whatever may be the circumstances to which he owed his throne, the inscription tells us that 'he enjoyed the whole of Champā' (No. 24 A. V. 3). The king is said to have destroyed all the thieves. This probably means that there were disorders consequent upon the overthrow of the last dynasty and king Prthivindravarman effectively checked them. He enjoyed a long reign and died sometime before 774 A.D., the earliest known date of his successor king Satyavarman. King Satyavarman was the nephew (sister's son) of king Prthivindravarman. He issued the Po-Nagar stela inscription (No. 22) and we know a great deal about him from the Glai Lamov Inscription (No. 24) of his younger brother Indravarman, and the Po-Nagar inscription of his sister's son, king Vikrāntavarman (No. 29 A.).

The chief event in the reign of the king was the raid of the Javanese sea-men who devastated the land, and in particular destroyed a temple containing a Mukhaliṅga. There was a halo of sanctity around the temple as popular tradition ascribed its foundation to a king Vicitrasagara 'in the year 5911 of the Dvāpara Yuga' (No. 29). In the year 774 A. D. the Javanese—"vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships,"—burnt this temple and carried away the image together with all the properties of the temple. King Satyavarman pursued these marauders in his own ships and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. But the object of the pursuit was not fully realised and king Satyavarman was very much dejected to learn that the Śivamukha, to-

¹ T'oung Pao, 1910 p. 550.
gether with its property which was in the enemy ships, was thrown into water, and that the Śivalīṅga was destroyed (No. 22). The victorious king, unable to recover the old image, installed a new Śivamukhaliṅga, together with images of other deities, in the year 784 A. D. and gave rich endowments to the god. For this reason he came to be regarded as the second Vicirarasagāra or an incarnation of that king.

Conventional praises are bestowed on the king in verses 6-9 of the Glai Lamov Inscription (No. 24), but no other specific event of his reign is mentioned. We are expressly told in verse 10 of the same inscription that he died without reigning for a long time, and we may therefore put the end of king Satyavarman’s reign shortly after 784 A. D. King Satyavarman was succeeded by his younger brother Indravarman. He is the author of the Yang Tikuh and Glai Lamov Inscriptions (Nos. 23 and 24) in which his glory is sung in most extravagant terms. He is said to have fought with many enemies and ruled over the whole of Champa.¹ The chief event in his reign, like that of his predecessor, was a raid of Javanese sea-men. In the year 787 A. D. they burnt the temple of Bhadrādhipatiśvara, a celebrated deity of the kingdom, who was regarded as having been established there for many thousands of years (No. 23). King Indravarman re-installed the deity under the name of Indrabhadreśvara, and endowed it with various treasures in the year 799 A. D. In addition to this, king Indravarman endowed many other pious establishments. He at first installed Indrabhogeśvara at Virapura. He then installed in the excellent

¹ Maspero thinks that it is by defeating the enemies that he came to rule over Champa. That does not, however, seem to be a fair deduction from the vague, general expression of his victory over enemies with which the two inscriptions abound.
house of Satyavarmā (i. e. in a temple erected by that king) the god Indraparameśvara, and endowed him with various riches in 801 A. D. Lastly, Indravarmā made a rich donation of all kinds of treasures to the god Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa (i. e. Śiva and Hari united in one body).

A verse in Yang Tikuh Inscription (No. 23, V. 3 and footnote) has been taken to mean that Indravarmā carried on wars in the north, north-east, east, south-east and south, and Maspero has based important conclusions upon it, locating the countries in the various directions implied in the passage. The verse does not, however, seem to bear that meaning at all.

Indravarman renewed the relations with China and sent presents of rhinoceros and buffaloes to the emperor in 793 A. D.

Indravarman was succeeded by his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Harivarman. His full name was Vira Jaya Śri Harivarmadeva and he assumed the proud title of 'Rājālhi-rāja Śri-Champā-pura-Parameśvara', king of kings, Lord of Champā. Three inscriptions of his time are known to us (Nos. 25-27). In one of them (No. 26) he is said to have defeated the Cinas. From the Chinese history we know that in January 803, a king of Champā conquered the two Chinese districts of Hoan and Ai, and renewed the expedition again in 809 A.D. But the Chinese governor forced him to retreat after inflicting a crushing defeat upon him, and wreaked his vengeance upon the people of the two districts who helped the king of Champā. The king referred to in the Chinese annals is almost certainly Harivarman, though it is not easy to decide what was the extent of his success against the imperial forces.

Harivarman entrusted his son Vikrāntavarman with the government of Pāṇḍuraṅga district (modern Phanrang),
ANCIENT HISTORY OF CHAMPA 53

but as he was too young for the responsible post, he was placed in charge of a general named Pär. This general led an expedition against Cambodge on behalf of his young master, and 'ravaged the towns of the Kambujas'. Whether it was a mere border raid, or anything more serious than that, we have no means to determine. A fragmentary passage of the Po-Nagar inscription (No. 26) seems to indicate that he carried his arms into the heart of Cambodge. But the fame of the general did not rest upon his victories alone. He was equally renowned for his religious establishments. A famous temple of Bhagavatī in Kauṭhāra remained empty for a long time, probably the image was carried away by the Javanese marauders. General Pär made a new stone image of the goddess, and in the year 817, erected three new temples for the Liṅga of Saṇḍhaka, Śrī Vināyaka and Śrī-Maḷa-la-kuṭhāra. He also made various other minor donations.

The known dates of Harivarman are 813 A. D. and 817 A. D. If the Chinese expeditions referred to above have been correctly attributed to him, he must have ascended the throne before 801 A. D. As the last known date of Indravarman is 799 A. D. the year 800 A. D. may be looked upon as the date of his accession.

Harivarman was succeeded by his son Vikrāntavarman III, who was the nephew (sister's son) of the two kings Satya-

1. The reading of this name is doubtful. I have adopted the reading of Finot (B. E. F. vol, III. p. 637, note 2.).

2. Maspero minimises the importance of this raid on the ground that no Cambodian document describes Jayavarman II, the contemporary king of Cambodge, as being vanquished by the Chams (T'oung Pao 1910, p. 56: ) But as the inscriptions of a country very seldom refer to reverses sustained by its kings, no importance need be attached to such silence in the present case.
vamā and Indravarmā. As related above, he was entrusted with the government of Pāṇḍuaraṅga by his father and was placed in charge of general Pār. He is the author of four inscriptions found at Po-Nagar (Nos. 29 A, 29 B, 29 C, 30). Conventional praises are bestowed on him in the last, while all the four describe his religious endowments. Among others, he granted a field to Śri Vīkrānta-Rudresvara in 854 A.D., and subsequently another to Śri Vīkrānta-devādhibhaveśvara. He also established a Mahādeva and richly endowed the god.

Vīkrāntavarman III died without issue and with him ended the dynasty founded by Prthivindravaran. As already remarked above the epigraphic evidence shows that the dynasty had its stronghold in the south, and it has been styled the dynasty of Pāṇḍuaraṅga.

It held sway for about a century from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century A.D.

It has been suggested¹ that the capital was removed from Champā to Virapura during the rule of this dynasty. There does not, however, seem to be sufficient evidence for this assumption. For the only thing we know about the town is that several images of gods were established there by Indravaran. On the other hand, the fact that Harivarman is styled as lord of the city of Champā seems to indicate that Champā was still the official capital. Further, if we remember that the government of Pāṇḍuaraṅga was entrusted by Harivarman to his son, we must hold that the main seat of the government was far to the north. All these, however, in no way invalidate the conclusion, stated at the beginning, that the dynasty might have originated from Pāṇḍuaraṅga.

¹. Maspero in T'young Pao, 19 0, p. 559. Maspero says that the temple of Bhadrādhipatiśvara was "to the west of the town of Virapura, . The inscription (No. 23 V. 5), however, simply refers to town and not to Virapura.
It is also a noteworthy fact that throughout this period the Chinese substituted the name Houan Wang for Lin-yi to denote the kingdom of Champa. After the downfall of this dynasty Houan Wang was replaced by Tch'eng Cheng which is undoubtedly the Chinese transcription of Champa. It is difficult to explain the meaning of the new term Houan Wang.

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER V.

1. Prthivindravarman (c. 758 A. D.—773 A. D).
2. Satyavarman (c. 773 A. D.—785 A. D).
   (Sister's son of No. 1).
3. Indravarman I (785—c. 800 A. D).
   (Younger brother of 2).
   (Sister's husband of No. 3).
   (Sister's son of Nos. 2 and 3).

1. T'oung Pao, 1910, pp. 547 ff.
Chapter VI.

THE BHRGU DYNASTY.

The new dynasty that supplanted the old seems to have been founded by Indravarman II, though we are not quite certain on this point. The Dong Duong Inscription (No. 31), issued by this king in 875 A.D. gives the following account of the family.

"From the son (or family) of Paramesvara was born Uroja, the king of the world. From him was born the fortunate and intelligent Dharmarāja.

"From him was born the intelligent king Śri Rudravarman. The son of the latter was the far-famed king Śri Bhai-

ravarmā.

"The son of Śri Bhai-ravarmā, known as Śri Indravarman, has become the king of Champa through the grace of Maheś-

vara.

"Thus the sovereignty of the king was transmitted in its entirety from those kings (lit. sons). It was not given by the grandfather or the father.

"By the special merit of his austerities, and by virtue of his pure intelligence, he gained (the kingdom), not from his grandfather or father."

( Verses No. 31, A. 18-22 )

The last verse is echoed again in a prose passage "Śri Jaya Indravarman Mahārājadhhirāja became king of Champa by virtue of peculiar merits accruing from austerities of many previous births" ( Ins. p. 87 )

Now as to the genealogy of Indravarman, it is traced from Mahādeva, and thus a divine origin is attributed to the family. Elsewhere the family is referred to as the 'Bhrigu family (No. 42, v. 8, No. 39, v. 16) evidently because of the mytho-
logy contained in No. 31, according to which Bhṛgu was sent to Champa by Mahādeva himself. The next king Uroja also belongs to the category of mythical kings, for he is elsewhere (No. 31, A. 10,) described as a god sent down to the earth by Mahādeva. As to the third king, Dharmarāja, it is doubtful whether he is a historical figure, or belongs to the category of divine or mythical beings. It may be noted that his name does not end in 'varman' which is almost the invariable custom of the kings of Champa at this period. Further, it is somewhat singular that whereas Indravarman is said to be the son of Bhadravarman, and the latter the son of Rudravarman, the last named king is simply said to have been born from Dharmarāja; similarly Dharmarāja is simply said to have been born from Uroja. Of course ordinarily such expressions indicate the relation of son and father, but here the obvious contrast in the two sets of expressions may be taken to mean that Rudravarman was merely descended from Dharmarāja and not his son.¹ In short we shall be on the safe side if we look upon the last three kings alone as historical figures viz.

Rudravarman
  |  Bhadravarman
  |  Indravarman

Now both Rudravarman and Bhadravarman are explicitly referred to as kings. It would then follow that the royal dynasty to which Indravarman belonged was founded by Rudravarman, and the former inherited the throne of his father and grandfather. Strangely enough, this is exactly the conclusion against which we are warned by the king himself, who declares, in no uncertain voice, that he did not inherit the throne from his father or grandfather, but gained it through

¹. These arguments have been elaborated by Finot. (B. E. F. vol IV. pp. 96 ff).
the grace of Maheśvara, by virtue of his meritorious acts in previous births (cf. the last four verses quoted above).

It is a very hard task to reconcile these conflicting statements. Finot supposes that the grandfather of the king (i.e. Rudravarmā) had probably usurped the throne by murdering the legitimate king, and hence Indravarman, unwilling to base his claim to the throne on this criminal act, referred to his own austerities and grace of Maheśvara as forming sufficient claims thereto.¹ This is no doubt a possible view, but a better explanation seems to be that Rudravarman and Bhadravarman were local kings, and it was Indravarman who first made himself the master of Champā. Thus although descended from a line of kings he did not owe the kingdom of Champā either to his father or to his grandfather, but only to his own meritorious acts. That kings Rudravarman and Bhadravarman were historical personages we gather from Hoa Que Inscription (No. 39 C.) and An-Thai inscription (No. 37). The last named inscription further proves that Bhadravarman actually ruled in the Quang Nam district and made donations to a Buddhist monastery. There is nothing to support Maspero's view that Vikrāntavarman III, having no children, recommended Indravarman to the principal citizens who sought him out and placed him on the throne of Champā.²

1. Ibid.

2. The expressions "Sandarsita" (No. 31 B, v. II) and "Mahajanavarair-anugamyamanah" (Ibid, v. 9.) have led Finot to suppose that king Indravarman was "nominated by the king" and proclaimed by the citizens' (Ibid p. 97). The passages, however, do not seem to me capable of yielding this interpretation.

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In any case Indravarman II. seems to be the first notable king of this dynasty. He was originally called "Śri Lakṣmīndra Bhumīvāra Grāmasvāmin"¹, and on gaining the sovereignty of Champā, he assumed the title 'Śri Jaya Indravarmā Mahārājādhirāja'. He married his aunt, a niece of his grandfather Rudravarman III (Hoa Que Ins. No. 39). The Dong Duong Inscription praises him in extravagant terms, and commemorates the erection of a monastery and a temple for Svabhayada, i.e. Buddha. This is very interesting, for it shows that the king had leanings towards Buddhism. But he had of course the traditional faith in Śaivism. For the inscription not only refers to a Śivalinga made by him (No. 31 B. V. 3), but also contains a long invocation of the god Śambhubhadresvara (No. 31 A. V. 10). This god is already familiar to us, and we have seen above that it was erected by Bhadravarman about 400 A. D., destroyed by fire, and re-installed by his successor Śambhuvavarman. Indravarman II, however, completely ignores these historical facts and gives an altogether different story about its origin. He says in effect that the sage Bhṛgu got the liṅga from Mahādeva himself, while Uroja got it from Bhṛgu and installed it at Champā. Thus the two mythical names Bhṛgu and Uroja are substituted for those of Bhadravarman and Śambhuvavarman. Indravarman could not possibly have

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THE BHRGU DYNASTY

been ignorant of these kings, for their inscription recording the installation of the linga were there before the temple. It was then a deliberate misrepresentation on the part of Indravarman II, actuated no doubt by a policy of ignoring kings and dynasties from whom he could not legitimately claim his succession.

Besides Dong Duong Inscription two other inscriptions (Nos. 32 and 33) belong to the reign of Indravarman II. Phu Thuan (No. 33) inscription simply records that the king exempted the temple of Śri Bhāgyakāntāvara from taxes, and employed four priests for daily worship there. From Bo Mang inscription (No. 32) we learn that the king dedicated a field together with slaves to Śri Mahālingadeva, installed by his minister named Manicaitya in the year 889 A. D. Conventional praises are bestowed on him in An-Thai inscription (No. 37).

Indravarman II must have enjoyed a fairly long and peaceful reign between 854 A. D., the date of Vikrantavarman III, and 898 A. D., the earliest date of his successor. His known dates are 875 and 889 A. D. So far as we know he sent only a single embassy to China in 877 A. D., as he had nothing to fear from that quarter on account of its internal conditions. Indravarman II seems to have been succeeded by Jaya Simhavarman. The relationship between the two is not definitely known. The Dong Duong inscription (No. 36), however, says that the mother of king Jayaśīhavarman had a younger sister, Pov ku lyan Śri Rājakula, also known as

1. This is doubtfully attributed to Indravarman II, cf No. 33
2. To this we may possibly add 893 A. D. (See Introduction to the Chaua Ins. No. 38).
3. This conclusion seems to follow from the Ban-lanh Inscription (No. 35), and the Chau-sū Inscription (No. 38).
Haradevi. Haradevi's husband was king Śrī Parama-Buddhaloka, and she installed Śrī Indraparameśvara for the sake of religious merit of her own husband. This might be taken to imply that the coronation-name of her husband was Indravarman, as the name of the gods is often formed by the addition of the name of the king. It may be held therefore that Haradevi was the queen of Indravarman II. According to this view, Simhavarman would be the son of the elder sister of Indravarman's queen, and Indravarman would have the epithet of "Parama-Buddhaloka".

We possess five inscriptions belonging to the reign of Jaya Simhavarman (Nos. 34-38), but they merely give a list of his pious donations and do not contain any reference to political events. Only we hear a great deal of the wealth and splendour of Indrapura which seems to have been the real capital of this dynasty, although the city of Champa is still officially recognised as such.

Out of gratitude to his maternal aunt Haradevi, to whom he owed the throne, king Jaya Simhavarman exempted from taxes several temples erected by her and installed the august goddess Haroma.

Other pious works of the king in the form of direct donations to gods, or protection and immunity granted to temples established by others, are referred to in Bo-Mang (No. 34), Ban-lanh (No. 35), An-Thai (No. 37), Hoa-Que (No. 39), and

1. This point has been fully discussed in the Introduction to Dong Duong Inscription No. 36.

2. Maspero concludes from a reference to Guhesvara in v. 2 of the Dong Duong Inscription, that Guhesvara was the name of Jaya Simhavarman's father (Toüng Pao vol. XII, p. 58). But this seems to be a far-fetched interpretation. In any case the name should be Guhavarman and not Guhesvara.
the fragmentary Chau-sa Inscriptions (No. 38).

It is important to note that the royal patronage was not confined to Śaivism alone but Buddhism also had a fair share of it.

The queen of Jaya Śimhavarman was named Tribhuvana-Mahādevi who is praised in extravagant terms in the Nhan-Bieu Inscription (No. 43) and whose religious donations are referred to in the Ha-Trung inscription (No. 44). The Nhan-Bieu inscription refers to her father's family as of very high standing and gives the following genealogy.

Lyañ Vṛddhakulā

Narendradhipati  |  Son  
|  Daughter  |  Tribhuvanadevi =  
|  |  king Jayasiṁhavarman

Pov Klũñ Pilih Rājadvārah

The Nhan Bieu inscription furnishes a detailed account of Pov Klũñ Rājadvārah, the son of the queen's cousin. He became a favourite of king Jayasiṁhavarman and was sent on a diplomatic mission to Java. The Bo-Mang inscription (No. 34) makes a vague allusion to the power of the king having spread to other lands, and this is confirmed by the diplomatic mission sent to Java which, as we shall see, was continued by his successors. King Jayasiṁhavarman was succeeded by his eldest son Śri Jayaśaktivarman.¹ He is only referred to in the Nhan Bieu Ins. (No. 43) and probably reigned for only a short time. The earliest known date of Jayasiṁhavarman is 898 A. D. and

¹ It is unnecessary to point out in detail the errors in Maspero's accounts of this period. They are due partly to the misreading of the Po-Nagar Ins. (No. 45) by Bergaigne, thereby introducing a new king Haravarnman, and partly to the fact that several inscriptions throwing new light on this period were not yet discovered.
that of the successor of Jayaśaktivarman, 909 A.D. Jayasimhavarman, therefore, must have died sometime between 903 A.D. his last known date, and 909 A.D. His son, too, must have died before 909 A.D. The next king was Bhadravarman III, whose relationship to his predecessor is not known as yet. The way in which he is introduced in the Nhan Bieu inscription seems to indicate that he did not occupy the throne by any unfair means. For instance, Pilih Rajadvārah, the son of the cousin of Jaya Simhavarman's queen, continued to occupy a high position under Bhadravarman, as he did under his two predecessors, and was again sent on a diplomatic errand to Java. This, of course, proves nothing, but gives rise to a fair presumption that there was no violent disturbance in the internal polity of the kingdom.

We possess four inscriptions of the time of Bhadravarman III. (Nos. 39-42). Conventional praises are bestowed upon the king, and in particular his victories over enemies are referred to again and again. Whether these are mere eulogistic expressions or have any historical basis to stand upon, we have no means to determine. The Bang-An inscription (No. 42) refers to the multitude of royal ambassadors coming from different countries. The Hoa-Que Inscription (No. 39) says with reference to one of his ministers, that he was able to understand thoroughly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries. The Nhan-Bieu Inscription (No. 43) states that he sent Pilih Rajadvārah on a diplomatic mission to Java. These isolated statements, occurring in different contexts, leave no doubt that the kingdom of Champā was now recognised abroad as an important and powerful kingdom and took part in international politics. The first stages of this new departure we have already noticed in the reign of Jaya Simhavarman.

The Hoa-Qu inscription (No 39) refers to an important
collateral branch of the royal family which supplied high officials to the kingdom. The founder of this family, Sārthavāha, was a nephew of Rudravarman III, the first king of the dynasty, and a brother of the principal queen of Indravarman II. His three sons Ājñā Mahāsāmanta, Ājñā Narendra nṛpavitra and Ājñā Jayendrapati occupied high positions in the kingdom as ministers of king Bhadravarman. These three brothers, together with a younger sister, called Ugradevi,¹ erected an image of Mahā Rudradeva, 'out of devotion to, and in imitation of the features of their father.' Other religious endowments of the members of the family are also referred to in the same inscription.

Bhadravarman erected many temples and images of gods, a list of which is given in the Hoa-Que inscription (No. 39). Other religious endowments are referred to in the Bang-an inscription (No. 42).

Bhadravarman must have a very short reign. His known dates are 909 and 910 A. D. He must have died in 910 or 911 A. D. the known date of his successor. His reign, therefore, falls between this date and 903 A. D. the last known date of Jaya Siṃhavarman. As one king intervened between the two he did not probably reign for more than a period of five years, 905 to 910 A. D.

Bhadravarman III. was succeeded by his son Indravarman

1. Huber who edited the Hoa-Que inscription remarks that Ugradevi had married a Cham king, probably Bhadravarman III, the reigning king (B. E. F. vol. XI, p. 286). This is apparently based on his interpretation of verse XXVI (c) of the inscription. But the verse does not contain any word equivalent to "queen" so far as I could see (cf. the text and translation of the inscription No. 39).
III. We possess eight inscriptions of his reign (Nos. 43-50). The king had a remarkable personality. His literary accomplishments are described in the Po-Nagar inscription (No. 45). He is said to have mastered the six systems of Brähmaṇical Philosophy as well as the Buddhist Philosophy, the Grammar of Pāṇini together with its commentary Kāśikā, and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivites. Inspite of obvious exaggerations, the king must be taken to have been a remarkable scholar in his day.

1. It has been usual to distinguish between Indravarman III and his successor Jaya Indravarman I, the last five inscriptions (Nos. 46-5c) being attributed to the latter. But I do not see any reason for this distinction. Indravarman II, for example, is twice called Jaya Indravarman (cf. Dong Duong Ins. No. 31, B., and Bo-Mang Inscription No. 32) and the same thing may hold good in the case of Indravarman III. Besides, the Po-Nagar inscription (No. 47) of the so-called Jaya Indravarman I refers to the re-erection of a stone image in place of the golden one formerly installed by the king himself (cf. yena in line 1 and its correlative sa in line 3). Now we know from No. 45 that Indravarman III erected a golden image of Bhagavati. The identity of the two may therefore be presumed on fairly satisfactory evidence, although it cannot be definitely proved. It may be objected that as Indravarman III ascended the throne in 910 or 911 A.D. and the last known date of Jaya Indravarman is 971 A.D. the identification of the two would lead us to presume an unusually long reign. But as the Lai-trung Inscription (No. 46) of Jaya Indravarman I is dated 918 or 921 A.D. we have in any case to presume quite a long reign. Besides, Maspero's theory that Indravarman III was succeeded by Jaya Indravarman I about 960 A.D. is proved erroneous by the Lai-trung Inscription (No. 46).
But while the king was busy with the study of Philosophy and Grammar, the kingdom was invaded by the Cambodgians. The Po-Nagar inscription (No. 47) informs us that the golden image installed by the king was carried away by the Cambodgians and the king substituted a stone image in its place in 965 A.D. This golden image is no doubt that of the goddess Bhagavati which was installed by the king in the year 918 A.D. (cf. Po Nagar Ins. No. 45).

The date of this Cambodgian invasion is not difficult to determine. The Baksei Cankran inscription of Rajendravarman II, dated 947 A.D., states that the king was a fire of destruction to his royal enemies, commencing with that of Champā. As Rajendravarman ascended the throne in 944 A.D., his expedition against Champā must have taken place between 944 and 947 A.D.

Indravarman ultimately hurled back the forces of the Cambodgian king, but his straitened circumstances are indicated by the fact that the golden image of Bhagavati which was carried away by the invading troops could only be replaced by a stone figure. (Po Nagar Ins. No. 47).

For a long time the kings of Champā stopped their customary presents to China, apparently because it was torn by internal dissensions after the downfall of the T'ang dynasty. The four ephemeral dynasties that succeeded the T'ang were all ignored by the Cham kings, but on the accession of Kouo Wei, who founded a new dynasty—the Heou Tcheou Indravarman sent an embassy to China with various presents (951 A.D.). The intercourse thus resumed continued uninterrupted throughout his reign. When Tchao K'ouang-Yin founded the Soung Dynasty in China (960 A.D.), Indra-

varman sent an embassy to offer congratulations. Altogether seven embassies from Champa visited the Imperial court in 958, 959, 962, 966, 967, 970 and 971 A. D.¹

Indravarman III. enjoyed a long reign of sixty years. He ascended the throne about 911 A. D. and died in 971 or 972 A. D.

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER VI.

1. Rudravarman III.
2. Bhadrawarman II.
   (Son of No. 1)
3. Indravarman II. (c. 870-c. 895 A.D.)
   (Son of No. 2)
4. Jaya Simhavarman (c. 895-904 A. D.)
   (Son of the elder sister of the queen of No. 3)
5. Jayasaktivarman (c. 904-905 A. D.)
   (Son of No. 4)
6. Bhadrawarman III. (c. 905-911 A. D.)
7. Indravarman III. (c. 911 A. D.-972 A. D.)
   (Son of No. 6)

¹ T'oung Pao 1911, p. 62 ff.
Chapter VII.

The Annamite Invasions.

For nearly a century after the death of Indravarman III. the history of Champâ is obscure in the extreme. Excepting one doubtful case, to be noticed later on, no epigraphic evidence comes to our help, and we are solely dependent on the Chinese and Annamite annals for guiding us in this dark period. The outstanding event of this period is the Annamite invasion, leading to internal disintegration of the kingdom of Champâ, and this sufficiently explains the absence of epigraphic records bearing upon the history of the period.

Indravarman III. seems to have been succeeded by a king whose name is differently spelt in Chinese histories and may be taken to be equivalent to Paramesvaravarman. He sent embassies to China in 972, 973, 974, 976, 977, and 979 A. D. But he was soon involved in a quarrel with the Annamites which brought ruin upon himself and his kingdom.

As the Annamites began to play an increasingly predominant part in the history of Champâ from this time forward till that kingdom was finally subjugated by them, it is necessary to give a brief review of the rise and growth of this new power.

It has already been related in Chapter II how a section of the widely spread Yue race had ultimately established itself in Tonkin and northern Annam, and developed a distinct nationality. It has also been pointed out that when this country passed into the hands of China (111 B. C.) during the Han period, the territory inhabited by the Annamites was comprised within the two Chinese provinces of Kiao-
tche and Kieou-tchen corresponding to modern Hanoi and Thanh Hoa regions.

These two provinces were ruled by Chinese governors. The central authority in China, however, could not always keep a firm hold upon these distant provinces. Si-Kouang, the governor of Kiao-tche (in the first quarter of the first century A. D.) behaved practically as an independent king. His administration was memorable for the large measure of success which attended his efforts to introduce the Chinese civilisation in the province. But the tyranny of the Chinese, both officials and colonists, weighed heavily upon the people. In 36 A. D. To Dinh, the successor of Si Kouang put to death the husband of Tru'ng Trac, and the exasperated people at once broke into revolt under the leadership of this spirited lady and her sister Tru'ng Nhi. The Chinese governor fled in haste: and Tru'ng Trac began to rule as an independent sovereign (40 A. D.). But her power was short-lived. A Chinese army under Ma Youen easily overran the country. The two sisters were taken captive and beheaded, and the Chinese authority was again established in the country.

The conqueror Ma Youen planted a column of bronze at Co-lau as a token of his victory, and also probably to mark the boundary of the province. He did not pass beyond Than Hoa in the south, but according to later legends, he passed far to the south, in the heart of Annam, planted a small Chinese colony there, and erected two copper columns to mark the southern frontier of the Chinese possessions.

The Annamites again revolted in 183 A. D., but were subjugated in 226 A. D. In 541 Ly Bon or Ly Bi, an Annamite of Chinese origin revolted against the Chinese governor and declared himself king. He and his two successors ruled for 62 years, but the Chinese general Lieou Fang
reconquered the province in 603 A. D. Ly Bon ruled over the whole of Tonkin and in the south his kingdom reached the frontier of Champā. His fight with Rudravarman has been referred to in Chapter IV.

From 603 to 939 A. D. the Chinese remained the undisputed master of Tonkin. Under the T'ang dynasty a new province was created embracing all the Chinese possessions from the northern extremity of Tonkin to the borders of the kingdom of Champā. It was named Ngan-nan (pronounced by the Annamites as An Nam) meaning "pacified south". In 722 an Annamite chief, Mai Thuc Loan, made alliance with the kings of Champā and revolted against the Chinese governor. But the revolt was easily suppressed by the Chinese generals.

Towards the close of the ninth century A. D. troubles arose in the country. The political changes in China, involving frequent changes in the provincial administration, led to a state of anarchy and confusion in Tonkin. At last, unable to bear the miseries of Chinese yoke, the Annamites broke into revolt early in the 10th century A. D. The moment was very opportune. The downfall of the Imperial T'ang dynasty in 907 A. D. was followed by a period of anarchy and disintegration in China, lasting for more than half a century. The Annamites took full advantage of this situation and freed themselves from the iron yoke of the Chinese. Henceforth Annam became an independent country, nominally acknowledging the suzerainty of China at times, but quite free from Chinese control for all practical purposes. A new power thus came into existence which was ultimately destined to play an important part in the history of south-eastern Asia. ¹

¹ The short historical account of Annam is mainly based on the following books. (1) Cordier-Histoire Generale de
The first independent royal Annamite dynasty was founded by Ngo Quyen in 939 A. D. But the supreme power did not remain with a single chief for a long time. By 965 A. D. twelve important chiefs had partitioned the country among themselves. In 968 A. D. Dinh Bo Linh defeated the twelve chiefs and proclaimed himself emperor. He ruled for 12 years but was murdered in 979 A. D. Ngo Nhut Khanh, one of the twelve chiefs defeated by the emperor, had taken refuge in the court of Champā. As soon as the news of emperor's death reached him, he planned to seize the throne and asked for the aid of Paramesvaravarman.

The latter readily consented and led a naval expedition against Tonkin in person. The Cham fleet made good progress and reached within a few miles of the capital. At night, however, a storm broke out and destroyed the whole fleet with the exception of the royal vessel which safely returned to Champā. A large number, including Nhut Khanh, was drowned and the rest fell into the hands of the Annamites (979 A. D.).

Shortly after, Le Hoan was elected by the Annamite chiefs as their emperor (980 A. D.). He successfully opposed a Chinese expedition sent by the Emperor K'ouang-Yi to reconquer the province. He sent an ambassador to Paramesvaravarman, but the latter imprisoned him against diplomatic convention of all ages and countries. Le Hoan was naturally furious, and led an expedition in person against Champā. Paramesvaravarman was defeated and killed at the first encounter, and the Annamite king marched towards the capital. Although a new king was hastily set up, he could not save the capital city which fell into the hands of the Annamites. After pillaging the city and

la Chine [Paris 1920] [2], E. Luro —Le Pays D’ An-
nam [Paris 1878].
burning its temples Le Hoan made arrangements for governing the province and returned with an immense booty (982 A. D.). Among others, he took with him 100 ladies of the royal harem and an Indian Bhiksu.

The new king—whose name has been restored from Chinese Annals as Indravarman (IV)—took refuge in his southern territories and sent a Brähmana envoy to the Chinese court complaining against the Annamite occupation of Champā. But the emperor was not in a mood to renew the fight with the Annamites and advised the king of Champā to protect his own kingdom and live on friendly terms with his neighbours.

In the meantime the Annamite chiefs were quarrelling among themselves. The history of the internal quarrels and dissensions is but imperfectly known to us but they ultimately led to the usurpation of the throne of Champā by Lu'u-Ky-Tong, an Annamite chief, who revolted against Le Hoan. Le Hoan advanced with an army to punish him but the difficulties of the route, added to the inclemency of the weather, forced him to retreat (983 A. D.).

Lu'u-Ky-Tong was now quite secure in his dominions in northern Champā. His power was on the increase, and after the death of Indravarman IV he was officially proclaimed king of Champā. The foreign domination, however, pressed hard on the people, and they began to emigrate to the Chinese territories in large numbers. Fortunately, a national hero appeared at this time at Vijaya. Lu'u-Ky-Tong disappeared and the former was crowned king under the name of Vijaya Śrī Harivarman (II) \(^1\) (989 A. D.). The capital was fixed at Vijaya in Binh-Dinh.

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This king has left a short Cham inscription of four lines on a block of sandstone lying in the vestibule of a temple at Myson (No 51). It records the installation of the god Śri Jaya Ṛṣaṇa Bhadresvara in the year 991 A. D., and is probably a reminiscence of the work of restoration that must have slowly followed the cruel devastation by the Annamites.

Shortly after his accession Harivarman II found his territories again ravaged by Le Hoan. He sent an embassy with rich presents to the Imperial court of China complaining about the conduct of Le Hoan, and the emperor commanded Le Hoan to keep within his own territory. Hari Varman II also wanted to conciliate the Annamite king and refused assistance to an Annamite chief who had rebelled against Le Hoan. The latter, touched by this signal mark of friendship, and probably also intimidated by the order of the Chinese emperor, not only stopped his incursions, but also released a number of Cham prisoners (992 A. D.). During the same year the Chinese emperor sent a rich present to Harivarman II, who was, glad beyond measure at such an unexpected honour, and sent in return an envoy with a rich tribute. In a letter to the emperor which he sent along with this envoy, the king poured forth his feelings of gratitude and helplessness in a pathetic manner:

"I am a chief of small renown. The foreigners always invaded and devastated my country, and my subjects, unable to defend, were scattered like straw before a storm. Then you extended your protection to me and sent me a present of magnificent horses, standards and equipments of war. Learning the Imperial favour vouchsafed to me, my neighbours no longer entertain any desire of ruining me. Now my kingdom is again enjoying peace, and the scattered people are coming back... My country has the same reverence for you as for the heaven above which covers us, and the earth below which bears us, and my gratitude is unlimited. 10,000 li of sea divides your august..."
capital from my country, and yet your goodwill is extended towards me." The humble epistle ended with a request that three hundred of his subjects which had taken refuge in the Chinese territory might be repatriated to Champā.

Outwardly Harivaran was on equally good terms with Le Hoan, the Annamite king, and sent diplomatic missions to him. Nevertheless the soldiers of Champa ravaged the Annamite territory to the north. Once, Le Hoan rebuked the Cham envoy and refused to accept the tribute brought by him. Harivaran hastened to pacify him and sent his own grandson as hostage to his court (995 A.D.). But the Chams nevertheless continued to raid the Annamite territory. In 997 a Cham army marched up to the borders of Tonkin but returned without invading it.

Harivarman II was succeeded by a king, the first part of whose name alone has reached us in a Chinese form, viz. Yań Pu Ku Vijaya Śrī. He ascended the throne sometime before 999 A.D. when he sent an envoy to China. King Harivarman II, although proclaimed king at Vijaya, had re-established the Court at the ancient capital Indrapura. But that city was sacked by Le Hoan and had suffered all the horrors of foreign domination. Yań Pu Ku Vijaya Śrī definitely abandoned it, and, in order to avoid the domination of the Annamites, retired to Vijaya which henceforth became the capital of Champā and remained as such till the end.

In 1004 Yań Pu Ku Vijaya Śrī sent an ambassador to the Chinese Court who met there a deputation from Arab. Three years later, he sent another ambassador to the Emperor with a long letter and rich presents. Questioned by the Emperor the ambassador reported that their capital had been removed to Vijaya, 700 li to the south of the old capital.

1. Yang p'ōn Kiu P'ī t'ou yī Che li.
Yañ Pu Ku Vijaya Śrī was succeeded by a king, the Chinese form of whose name\(^1\) has been doubtfully restored to Śrī Harivarmadeva III. He sent three embassies to China in 1010, 1011, and 1015, and one to Tonkin in 1011. With his envoy to China in 1011 he sent a few lions which were objects of great curiosity to the Imperial Court.

His successor, the Chinese form of whose name\(^2\) has been doubtfully restored to Paramēśvaravarman II, sent tribute to China in 1018 A.D. Early in the year 1021, the Annamites all on a sudden attacked the camp of Bo Chanh which protected the northern frontier of Champā. The Cham general opposed them, but was killed, and his army retreated in disorder. The invading army, however, also suffered great loss and did not dare to advance any further.

The next king, the Chinese form of whose name\(^3\) has been doubtfully restored as Yañ Pu Ku Śrī Vikrāntavarman (IV) was on the throne in 1030 A.D. when he sent an embassy to China with tribute. His reign seems to be full of civil wars and revolutions. For twice, in 1028 and 1039 A.D., his son sought protection at the court of Tonkin, and a few months later, the entire garrison of the camp of Bo Chinh sought refuge with the Annamite Emperor. Vikrāntavarman died in 1041 A.D., and the year following, his son Jaya Simhavarman II asked for investiture from the Chinese court.

Jaya Simhavarman's indiscretion brought another terrible calamity upon the unfortunate kingdom of Champā. In 1043 his navy harassed the Annamite coast but was forced to retreat in the face of a large force sent against them. The Annamite Emperor Phat Ma now decided on an expedition on a large scale to chastise his turbulent neighbours, who had besides,

1. Che li Hia li pi ma ti.
2. Che Mei P'ai mo tie
3. Yang P'ou Kou Che-li P'i lan To Kia pan motie.
ceased to perform any act of vassalage for the last sixteen years. He constructed 100 new vessels and drilled his soldiers for both offensive and defensive war. At length, on the 12th January, 1044, he led the expedition in person against Champā. The flotilla safely reached the bank of the river Ngu Bo where Jaya Simhavarman was waiting with his troops. The Annamites disembarked and offered battle. The Cham army was completely routed. Jaya Simhavarman himself lay dead on the field which was covered by the dead bodies of 30,000 of his soldiers. Moved by pity Phat Ma at last stopped this fearful carnage and marched towards the capital city Vijaya. Vijaya was easily captured and raged by his army. At last the Annamite Emperor turned back with an immense quantity of booty and large number of prisoners, including all the women of the palace. It is recorded about one of these that when summoned to the royal vessel she threw herself into the sea, preferring death to dishonour in the hands of her foreign foe. The emperor admired her fidelity and gave her a posthumous title meaning 'very chaste and very sweet lady.'

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER VII.

1. Paramesvaravarman (972—982 A. D.)
2. Indravarman IV (c. 982—983 A. D.)
3. Lu'U-Ky-Tong (Annamite usurper) (983—989 A. D.)
4. Vijaya Śri Harivarman II (989—c. 998 A. D.)
5. Yau Pu Ku Vijaya Śri (c. 998—c. 1008 A. D.)
6. Śri Harivarmadeva III (c. 1008—c. 1016 A. D.)
7. Paramesvaravarman II (c. 1016—c. 1028 A. D.)
8. Vikrāntavarman IV (c. 1028—1041 A. D.)
9. Jayasimhavarman II (Son of No. 8) (1041—1044 A. D.)
Chapter VIII.

DECLINE OF CHAMPA.

The dynasty which came to power in 989 A. D. after the Annamite usurpation perished with Jaya Simhavaranman II amid the disasters of the second Annamite invasion. But within six years a new dynasty was founded by Jaya Paramesvaravarmadeva Isvaramurti, descended from the old royal family of Champa.

The new king had to face a very heavy task. For nearly seventy years (980-1050 A. D.) the kingdom was a prey to foreign invasions and internal dissensions. The repeated incursions of the Annamites had brought untold miseries upon the kingdom and exhausted its resources. As the central authority became weak, provincial revolts began. The southern province of Panduraṅga, for example, repeatedly rebelled and set up a new king on the throne. The Cambodians also probably took advantage of the weakness of their neighbour to push on their plundering raids into the kingdom.

It reflects great credit on Jaya Paramesvara Varman that he bravely faced the dangers and restored peace and order in the kingdom to a considerable extent. He first turned his

1. Cf. Phu-Quí Ins. (No. 57). Mespero's view that "his ancestors were simple warriors, vassals of the preceding kings" rests upon a somewhat wide interpretation of the verse 2 of the Po-Nagar Ins. (No. 60). It must be added, however, that the Phu Qui Ins. was not discovered when Maspero wrote.
3. This seems to be a legitimate inference from Po Klaun Garai Inscriptions Nos. 52, 53, 59. Otherwise we are to assume that the king of Champa made an aggressive raid on Cambodia which appears unlikely in view of the political condition of Champa.
DECLINE OF CHAMPA

attention towards the revolted province of Pāṇḍuraṅga. The political situation of this country, probably typical of many other provinces, is thus described.

"The people of Pāṇḍuraṅga were always stupid, of mischievous spirit, and evil-doers. For instance, on several occasions they revolted against different kings of Champā down to the time of His Majesty Śrī Parameswaravarmanadeva who gave all the Barons of the country to the God Paramesvara (probably the country of Pāṇḍuraṅga had been placed under the suzerainty of a great monastery). Nevertheless, the people of Pāṇḍuraṅga were guilty of culpable acts. They set up different individuals one after another and proclaimed them kings of the country."¹

In order to put a stop to this chronic state of rebellion, Paramesvaravarmanadeva led an well-organised expedition against the province. Three armies were sent against it, one led by the king in person and the two other by two of his nephews, the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, and Devarāja Mahāsenāpati.² The revolted people of Pāṇḍuraṅga were completely defeated

1. Po Klaun Garai Ins. (No. 54).
2. This seems to be the only legitimate inference that may be derived by a comparison of the three inscriptions at Po Klaun Garai (Nos. 52, 53, 54). No. 53 explicitly states that the king "sent troops in various batches". No. 52 says that Devaraja Mahasenapati came to take the town of Panduranga in 1050 A. D. on behalf of king Śrī Paramesvaravarmanadeva. According to No. 53, the king "ordered his nephew, the Yuvaraja Mahasenapati, to proceed with all his generals and conquer the city", and the latter installed a Linga as a mark of victory in 1050 A. D. Lastly, we learn from No. 53 that "His Majesty Śrī Paramesvaravarmanadeva led troops to the conquest of the country and erected a column of victory in 1050 A. D." Thus there were at least three different batches of troops taking part in the same expedition in 1050 A. D.
and came to terms (1050 A. D.). The result is thus described in one of the inscriptions:

“All the troops of Pannān came to fight. He (Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati) pursued and crushed them all and they took shelter in mountains and caverns. But the Yuvarāja, who had a powerful army, ordered his troops to pursue them in all directions. And these troops got hold of all the people of Pannān with oxen, buffaloes, slaves and elephants, on behalf of king Paramēśvararavarmadeva Dharmarāja.”

Half of the people were released in order to re-establish the city, and the other half were distributed as slaves to various religious establishments. ‘Two columns were raised to commemorate the victory, one by the king himself and the other by the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, and two Līṅgas of stone were installed by the two generals.’ These were intended to impress the people with an idea of the wealth, splendour and piety of the king of Champā, and they produced the desired effect.

“And on account of his piety to Śiva, when the people of this country saw the beauty and the marks of this ‘līṅga’…… they resolved to give up their revolts against the king of Champā who was always victorious.”

“And when this column of victory was completed the people of Pannurāṅga, who had revolted, became, for ever, perfectly virtuous and loyal towards the king of Champā.”

Having brought the affairs of Pannurāṅga to a satisfactory conclusion, the king turned his attention towards his western neighbour, the Cambodgians. Here also his attempts proved completely successful. The Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati who had played such a distinguished part in the Pannuranga war inflic-

1. Po Klau Garai Ins No. 53.
2. Ibid.
3. Po Klau Garai Ins. No. 54.
ted a crushing defeat upon the Cambodgians and took the town of Sambhupura. He destroyed a large number of temples there and distributed the Khmer captives among the temples of Śrīśānabhadraśvara.

King Paramaśvaravarman had to devote a great deal of attention to the restoration of the religious institutions which had suffered during the troublesome period that preceded his reign. In 1050 A.D. he re-installed the image of the famous goddess of Po Nagara and endowed her with lands, slaves and various other costly articles. In 1055 he restored a cave at Lai Cham and erected a vihāra at Phu-qui, endowing the latter with men, oxen, buffaloes, grains as well as all the vessels necessary for the worship of the gods. The Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, who had assisted his royal uncle in his military expeditions, also ably seconded his efforts in this direction. He erected or restored a number of temples and endowed them with necessary articles. He also installed many Lingas and made various gifts to temples, monasteries and sālas (Houses of Charity). He devoted special attention to the temple of Śrīśānabhadraśvara in the precincts of which he erected an 'image of Liṅga' in 1056 A.D. (No. 59).

Jaya Paramaśvaravarman cultivated friendly relations with the Emperors of China and Annam. To the former he sent ambassadors in 1050, 1053 and 1056. On the last occasion his ambassador was shipwrecked and lost all his baggages, whereupon the Chinese Emperor sent him 1000 ounces of silver. His ambassador also visited the Court of the Annamite Emperor in 1047, 1050, 1055, 1060 and also sometime between 1057 and 1059 A.D. 4

2. Lai cham Ins. No. 56.
3. Phu-qui Ins. No. 57.
4. T'oung Pao 1911 p. 238. An ambassador sent from Champa
Jaya Paramēśvaravarman was probably succeeded by Bhadravarman IV. This name is only known from the Po Nagar inscription (No. 60) of his younger brother Rudravarman IV, but as no royal title is attached to the name, it is doubtful whether he actually ruled. If he did so, he must have ascended the throne sometime in 1060 or 1061 A.D. In that case we may look upon him as the king of Champa who sent tribute to China in 1061.

Bhadravarman IV was succeeded by Rudravarman IV. He was born in the family of Jaya Paramēśvara but the relationship between the two is not definitely known. From the very beginning he made preparations for attacking his northern neighbour. He organised his army and trained his soldiers for the purpose. He then sent an ambassador to China, in 1062 A.D., for securing assistance against the Annamites. But although the Chinese emperor was friendly and sent him some presents, he was not in a mood to send any effective aid against the Annamites. For some years, therefore, Rudravarman IV thought it politic to keep on friendly terms with the Annamite Emperor and regularly sent tributes to him in 1063, 1065 and 1068. In 1064 he propitiated the goddess of Po Nagar with a variety of rich presents.

But all the while Rudravarman IV continued his preparations and at last opened hostilities towards the end of 1068 A.D. The Annamite Emperor, Ly Thành Ton, took up the challenge and moved his troops on the 16th February, 1069 A.D. He gradually arrived at the port of Śrī Banoy and there disembarked his troops. The cham army, drawn up on the

to Annam in 1047 was imprisoned there but it is doubtful whether he was sent by king Paramēśvaravarman.

1. T'oung Pao 1911, p. 241.
2. Po Nagar Ins. No. 63.
bank of the Tu Mao offered battle to the invader. They fought furiously for a long time, but their general being killed, they lost heart and fell back in disorder, leaving a large number on the field. As soon as Rudravarman learnt the news of the defeat, he left the capital with his family. He was, however, pursued and captured within the borders of Cambodge (1069 A. D.).

The victor now took up his residence in the royal palace at Vijaya and celebrated his triumph by feasts and dances. He then gave orders to put to fire all the houses in the capital and its suburbs. This done, he gave orders for retreat. On the 17th July he made a triumphal entry into his capital. Escorted by two armies, and surrounded by his officers on horseback, he himself rode on a chariot behind which marched Rudravarman and his family accompanied by five executioners. About 50,000 Chams were taken to Tonkin as prisoners of war.

Rudravarman was not kept in captivity for long. He obtained his release by ceding three northern districts of Champā viz. Dia Ly, Ma Linh and Bo Chanh (1069 A. D.). This meant the cession of the whole of Quang Binh and the northern part of Quang Tri and brought the frontier of Champā to the mouth of the river Viet. The Chams could never reconcile themselves to this cession of important territories and it gave rise to many a battle in future.

On his return to Champā Rudravarman IV found it to be a seat of anarchy and civil war, as several persons had proclaimed themselves as kings in different parts of the kingdom. It is doubtful whether Rudravarman was able to re-establish his power to any extent. We hear of tributes being sent from Champā to Annam in 1071, 1072 and 1074 A. D. and to China in 1072, A. D., but we do not know definitely the name of the
king or kings of Champa to whom these may be attributed. Amid these disorders Rudravarman IV passes from our view.¹

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER VIII.

1. Jaya Paramesvaravarman (c. 1050—c. 1060 A. D.)
2. Bhadravarman IV (c. 1060—1061 A. D.)
3. Rudravarman IV (c. 1061—1069 A. D.) (younger brother of No. 2)

¹ Maspero infers from an Annamite record that Rudravarman took refuge in the Annamese court with his family and lived there as an exile the rest of his life.
Among the many aspirants to the throne of Champā during the dark days that followed the Anamite conquest and the capture of the king, one name stands in bold relief, that of Harivarman IV. We have two long inscriptions (Myson Ins. Nos. 61, 62) with interesting particulars of his life and times, and these enable us to reconstruct the history of the period to a certain extent.

The full name of the king was Śrī Harivarmadeva prince Thān-yān Vīṇāmūrtī or Mādhavamūrtī or Devatāmūrtī. He was the son of Prālayeśvara Dharmarāja of the Coconut clan. As his mother belonged to the Betelnut clan, he represented in his person the two chief rival families of the kingdom.¹

Within ten years of the capture of Rudravarman, Harivarman established his authority over the greater part of the kingdom. But the civil war continued throughout his reign² and he had to fight with rival chiefs for the throne of Champā. To make matters worse, the Annamite king sent a new expedition in 1075,³ and the king of Cambodia also began his plunder-

1. The two clans probably represented two important fiefs in the kingdom. M. Durand has located the betelnut clan in Binh Thuan (B. E. F., vol. V, pp. 368 ff)
2. cf. Po Nagar Ins. No. 64 which refers to a civil war of sixteen years i.e. from 1069-1084 A. D.
3. The king of Annam sent an expedition against Champa in 1075 on the pretext of some aggressive frontier raid conducted by the Chams. But the expedition proved a failure. The defeat of the Annamite king emboldened the Chinese court to send an expedition against him (1075-1076 A. D.) and the Chinese emperor ordered the kings of Champa and Cambodia to attack Annam from the south. The king of
ing raids. It reflects great credit upon Harivarman that he not only checked his internal foes but also guarded his kingdom against his powerful neighbours. No wonder, that his reign was full of military campaigns as we are told in the Myson Inscription. “He has dispersed the hostile troops in the field of battle as many as twelve times. He has cut off the heads of kings, generals, chiefs and other men in the field of battle nine times. He defeated the troops of Cambodge at Someśvara and captured the prince Śrī Nandanaṃnadadeva who commanded the army.” (No. 62 b.d.). The defeat of the Annamite forces assured the safety of the newly established power, and by dint of numerous military successes “the king of Champa became prosperous as of old.” Then king Harivarman celebrated his coronation and probably assumed the title Utkṛṣṭarāja. After this he enjoyed complete happiness and tasted royal felicities.¹

But Harivarman had another important task before him. The country had been ruined by the Annamite invasions and the Civil War and it was necessary to repair the damages as far as possible. The ruinous effect of the foreign domination Champa obeyed and despatched a force 7,000 strong to Nghe-an. The Chinese army was, however, defeated, and so the king of Champa also had to beat retreat. The year following he sent regular tribute to the court of Annam as well as to China. Maspero supposes that the king of Champa referred to above was Harivarman, but this is at best doubtful, and hence is not incorporated in the text. The other supposition of Maspero that the Annamite raid of 1075 against Champa was undertaken with a view to restore Rudravarman to the throne is equally doubtful (T'oung Pao 1911, pp. 247-48; B. E. F. vol. XVII, No. 3 p. 44).

¹ Myson Ins No. 61. The term Utkṛṣṭarāja may also be taken as an ordinary adjective rather than a special title assumed by the king.
has thus been graphically described in the Myson Inscription (No. 61.).

"The enemy had entered into the kingdom of Champa and installed themselves as masters, having taken possession of all the royal property and the wealth of the gods; having pillaged the temples, the monasteries, the sālās, cells, hermitages, villages and various edifices together with the horses, elephants, infantry, oxen, buffaloes and the crops; having ravaged everything in the provinces of the kingdom of Champa; having plundered the temple of Śrīnābhadraśvara and all that the king of past times have granted as endowments to Śrīnābhadraśvara; having taken all the riches of the god and carried away the men belonging to the temple, the dancers, musicians .......servants, together with the various properties, of Śrīnābhadraśvara; the temple remained empty and devoid of worship..."

The inscription proceeds: "Then his Majesty Vijaya Śrī Harivarmadeva, Yañ Dévatāmūrti ascended the throne. He completely defeated the enemies, proceeded to the Nagara Champa and restored the temple of Śrīnābhadraśvara." (No. 61).

Two Inscriptions at Myson (Nos. 61, 62) describe in detail the work of restoration as well as the rich endowments to the temple of Śrīnābhadraśvara made by the king and his brother Yuvarāja Mahāsūpati. The latter "re-erected the temples, the chapels, the gateways and the different edifices in the domain of Śrīnābhadraśvara and made them perfectly beautiful. He re-erected the temples in the various provinces of the kingdom of Champa. He gave all the necessary articles for the worship of the god with the servants of temples, dancers, musicians......as before. He re-established the sālās, the cells, and the hermitages in the various provinces of the kingdom of Champa...." (No. 61).
ANCIENT HISTORY OF CHAMPA

The rich endowments of king Harivarman to Śrīśānabhadreśvara consisted of various articles of gold, silver and precious jewels, as well as of servants and various animals. The Myson Inscription informs us that “seeing Śrīśānabhadreśvara despoiled of all his possessions at the end of the war, he came to worship the god with a pious heart, and gave him all the booty taken at Somśivara (i.e. from the conquered Cambodians) and various objects” (No. 62).

King Harivarman also turned his attention to secular buildings and “re-established the edifices and the city of Champa during the troublsome days of the war. And the city of Champa and all the edifices were enriched, as if by nature, and freshly decorated” (No. 62). The Yuvarāja also “ordered the people of Śrīlhapura to construct the temples, to build the houses, to make perpetual sacrifices, to erect the chapels, and to reconstruct the roads, all as before.” (No. 62).

King Harivarman thus successfully accomplished the two important tasks of establishing law and order and restoring material prosperity in the kingdom. With the exception of the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga, the whole of Champa was probably united under his sceptre, and he vigorously set himself to the task of repairing damages and reviving the old prosperity of the kingdom. Harivarman must have been endowed with exceptional qualities and the long praises bestowed upon him at the commencement of the Myson Inscription (No. 62) may have some justification.

In 1081 A.D. at the age of 41 Harivarman IV abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Pulyuṅ Śri Rājarāvāra, and devoted himself to spiritual exercises and worship of Śiva. He did

1. The Cham ambassador in the court of China in 1076 referred to his king as being of 36 years of age (T’oung Pao 1911, p. 250).
The full title of the new king was Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva (V) prince Vāk yān Devatāmūrti. He is praised in extravagant terms in the Myson Ins. (No. 65) which refers to his rich donations to Śrīśānabhadrēśvara and the gift of a monastery to Śrī Indralokesvara in the district of Tranul. He also sup-

be easily accounted for by supposing that Paramabodhisattva had died and was succeeded by the legitimate sovereign Jaya Indravarmadeva. Maspero obviously lays emphasis on the passage quoted above. He holds that if, as we are told, Harivarman and Paramabodhisattva had already reconstructed and repopulated the city of Champa, Jaya Indravarman's attempts in the same direction could only be explained by supposing that there was a fresh civil war in course of which the city was again ruined. But it is obvious that the serious damages which the Annamite hosts inflicted upon the capital city might have taken long to repair, and Jaya Indravarman probably merely supplemented the work of his father and uncle.

On the other hand, the way in which the abdication of Indravarman, coronation of his uncle and his own restoration are described in an inscription of Jaya Indravarman himself (No. 65), and particularly the favourable notice of the qualities of Paramabodhisattva contained therein discredit any idea of a civil war between the two.

Further, Maspero's view that Harivarman IV abdicated in 1080 A. D. is almost certainly wrong. The Inscription No. 62 refers to his abdication in favour of his son and also contains an account of his death in 1081. No mention is made therein of the accession of Paramabodhisattva which, as we know, took place within a month of the abdication. We are therefore bound to conclude that the abdication and death of Harivarman took place within a month some time in 1081 A. D., and Paramabodhisattva replaced his nephew on the throne almost immediately after the latter event.

(of. Maspero T'oung Pao 1911, pp. 252 ff)
plemented the work of his father and uncle in reconstructing the town of Champa.

Although Jaya Indravarman V paid his tribute to the court of Annam with fair regularity, he deplored the loss of the three districts ceded by Rudravarman. The two peoples were so much estranged over this question, that when their ambassadors, having arrived at the Chinese court at the same time, were introduced to the Emperor on the same day, they kept themselves aloof from each other. At a dinner in which they were invited they were seated at two ends of the table. At last in 1092 A. D. Indravarman stopped the payment of tribute to Annam and approached the Chinese emperor with a proposal to make a common cause against that country. The Chinese emperor, however, refused to fight with Annam. Nevertheless, Jaya Indravarman continued to withhold the tribute till a formal complaint was made by the Annamese court in 1094. Indravarman was seized with terror, and hastened to comply with the demand. The tribute was sent in 1095, 1097, 1098, 1099 and 1102 A. D.

At last in 1103 a refugee from Annam instigated king Indravarman to fight against the country. He represented that Annam was enfeebled by internal dissensions and had not the power to resist an invasion from Champa. Misled by these false statements Jaya Indravarman led an army and conquered the three ceded districts. But his triumph was short-lived. He was soon defeated and compelled to abandon those districts. To avoid further troubles he immediately sent tribute to Annam. Henceforth the two countries lived in peace and tributes were regularly sent from Champa to Annam.

Jaya Indravarman V was succeeded by his nephew Harivarman who was on the throne in 1114 A. D. (No. 68). Jaya Indravarman's reign, therefore, falls between 1086 and 1114 A. D.
Harivarman V has left us a single inscription at Myson (No. 68) from which we learn that he built two temples and a palace for Śrīānabhadreśvara and bestowed various articles of gold and silver for his worship.

He was on friendly terms with the Chinese and Annamese courts. The former bestowed honorary titles on him in 1116, 1127, and 1129 A. D. The latter also treated his ambassadors with honour and distinction and invited him to the imperial palace in 1126. From 1120 to 1124 he had regularly sent tributes to the Annamese Court without any exception.

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER IX.

1. Harivarma IV (c. 1070—1081 A. D.)
2. Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva V (1081 A. D.)
   (Son of No. 1)
3. Paramabodhisattva (1081—1086 A. D.)
   (Younger brother of No. 1)
2. Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva V (1086—1113 A. D.)
   (Second time)
4. Harivarman V (1113 A. D.—1126 A. D.)
   (Nephew of No. 2)
Chapter X.

War with Cambodge.

Harivarman V seems to have left no heir and the next king known to us is Jaya Indravarman VI. The Myson Pillar inscription (No. 69) and Po Nagar Ins. (No. 71) give a succinct account of his life and ancestry. He was, we are told, an incarnation of Uroja, the mythical forefather of the kings of Champā, who was a descendant of Śiva himself, and is frequently referred to in the official inscriptions of that kingdom, (cf. e. g. No. 31). The theory of incarnation has been developed in an interesting way in the inscription No. 69. Uroja, after his death, was reborn as king Bhadravarman and again as king Jaya Simhavarman—both of whom, as it noted, are historical personages and kings of Champā. Then Uroja was again born as Jaya Indravarman himself and thus he had appeared on the earth altogether four times as king of Champā. This mythical ancestry seems to be a sure indication that Jaya Indravarman had no legitimate claim to the throne and that he wanted to legalise what he had acquired by other means, by tracing his relationship with the former kings of Champā. It is not impossible, of course, that he might have some remote relationship with Jaya Simhavarman II but it is not possible to decide the question one way or the other with the evidence available at present. It is equally uncertain whether he immediately succeeded Harivarman, or one or more kings intervened between the two. The latter hypothesis seems more probable.

Jaya Indravarman VI was born in the year 1108 A. D. He became Devarāja in 1129 and Yuvarāja ins 1133 A. D. Finally he ascended the throne in 1139 (No 69). This short
account of his life shows that his father had also reigned before him whoever he may be.¹

The king's religious endowments are recorded in both his inscriptions. In 1140 he erected an image (or a temple) of Śrīśānabhadresvara, and two years later, that of a Śiva-linga and the Śrīśāna-Visnu. In 1138 while yet a Yuvarāja, he made gifts to Saddharma, apparently some god or institutions connected with Buddhism, and also to a Śiva-linga. With his usual propensity of looking back to the past history of Champā, he recalls, in connection with the latter, how, long ago, about 1,780, 500 years ago, king Vicitra Sagara established the linga at Kauṭhāra.

Unfortunately, Jaya Indravarman VI was involved in a quarrel with both his powerful neighbours. Śuryavarman, the bellicose king of Cambodgæ, ascended the throne in 1112 A. D. and began to harass the kingdom of Champā. Then in 1128 he sent an expedition, 20,000 strong, against the Annamite kingdom, and induced the king of Champā to join with him. This was probably not a difficult task, as Champā had many old scores to pay off, and was ever ready to seize any opportunity to recover the three northern districts ceded by Rudravarman. Unfortunately, the Cham army could not join the Cambodgians in time, and both armies were separately defeated. Baffled in his enterprise Śuryavarman despatched next year a navy of 700 vessels to harass the coast of Than Hōa. A similar attempt was again made in 1132 when Jaya Indravarman invaded Nghê-An in concert with the army of Cambodgæ, but was easily defeated by the Annamites.² He then settled matters with them by paying off the tribute in

1. Maspero supposes that Jaya Indravarman was adopted by Hari-

² This is a probable suggestion.
1136 and withdrawing from the offensive alliance he had lately formed with the king of Cambodgā.

But this pusillanimous conduct did not save the unfortunate king. Unsuccessful in his expedition against the Annamite king, Sūryavarman now wanted to make amends for his loss by attacking his faithless ally, the king of Champā. In 1145 he invaded the kingdom and made himself master of Vijaya. Jaya Indravarman VI was either killed in the battle, or made a prisoner. In any case we do not hear of him any more.¹

When the kingdom of Champā lay prostrate under the victorious army of Cambodgā, a scion of the old ruling family, a descendant of king Paramabodhisattva, proclaimed himself king and took refuge in the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga. His name was Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka, and he was the son of an eminent king, whose name, so far as it could be recovered, is Śrī Rudraloka...Mūrti. It is just possible that this Rudra-loka was the successor of Harivarman V. In that case Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka must be regarded as the legitimate owner of the throne which was successfully usurped by Jaya Indravarman VI or his father. Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka was formally consecrated to the throne, but he did not enjoy a long reign and died in 1147 A. D.²

On the death of the king, the people of Pāṇḍuraṅga invited his son Ratnabhumivijaya to be the king of Champā, and

1. T'oung Pao, 1911, pp. 293-295.
2. Maspero's account of the events of this period is vitiated by his adopting the wrong reading of a large number of dates which have since been corrected by Finot. Maspero, for example, believed that Rudravarman did not practically rule at all, having died immediately after his coronation. But we now know that he ruled for at least two years. This disposes of his argument concerning the use of the title Uroja by his son (T'oung Pao, 1911, p. 295, fn. 6.).
he ascended the throne in 1147 A.D., under the name Sri
Jaya Harivarmadeva VI, prince Sivânandana.¹

Seven inscriptions of this king have reached us (Nos. 72-78), and they enable us to reconstruct a detailed account of
his life and reign, such as we do not possess of any other king
of Champā before or since. The early life of Harivarman
was far from being pleasant. "Having quitted his own coun-
try he spent a long time in foreign lands amid joys and sorrows.
Then he came back to Champā."² This apparently refers to
the period when Jaya Indravarman VI had usurped the throne
and Rudravarman fled from the country with his son.

Harivarman VI ascended the throne at a very critical
moment. The greater part of the kingdom was under a for-
eign foe who was now extending his aggressions to the south,
and the Annamites as well as the Kirātas and other semi-bar-
barous tribes on its frontier took advantage of the situation
to carry on plundering raids into its very heart. But Harivar-
man was equal to the task that faced him, and steered the
vessel of state safely through these shoals, amid heavy storms,
back to the harbour.

Scarcely had the king ascended the throne when the king of
Cambodge commanded Saṅkara, the foremost among his generals,
to go and fight him in the plain of Rājapura. Saṅkara was aided by
a large number of troops from Vijaya i.e. the portion of Cham-
pā subject to Cambodge. Harivarman met the hostile army
at Chaklyan (probably the village of Chakling in the south-
ern part of the valley of Phanraung, in the neighbourhood of the
rock of Batau Tablah which contains an inscription describ-
ing the battle) and gained a great victory. As the Myson
inscription tells us: "Jaya Harivarman fought against the
general Saṅkara and all the other Cambodian generals with

¹ Batau Tablah Inscription No. 75.
their troops. They died.........in the field of battle” (No. 72).

This happened in 1147 A. D. (No. 75). Next year “the king of Cambodia sent an army thousand times stronger than the previous one to fight in the plain of Virapura” (No. 72). Hari-varman met them at the field of Kayev and completely defeated them (No. 75).

Having defeated the two armies sent against him, Hari-varman now felt himself powerful enough to take the offensive. The King of Cambodia did not underrate the danger. He hastily consecrated Harideva, the younger brother of his first queen, as king of Vijaya, and “commanded various generals to lead the Cambodian troops and protect prince Harideva until he became king in the city of Vijaya.” Jaya Harivarman also marched towards that city and probably re-took it before the arrival of Harideva. In any case the two hostile armies met at the plain of Mahi’ (No. 72), “to the east of the temple of Guhešvara on the river Yāmi” (No. 74), and Harideva was defeated and killed. “Jaya Harivarman destroyed the king Harideva with all his Cham and Cambodian generals and the Cham and Cambodian troops; they all perished” (No. 72).

Then the victorious king, duly consecrated, ascended the throne of his forefathers with due pomp and ceremony (1149 A. D.) and reigned as supreme king from this time.¹ But the difficulties of Harivarman were far from being over yet. The king of Cambodia, thrice baffled, now hit upon a different plan. He incited the barbarous mountain tribes of Champa against their king.² The Rade, the Mada and other barbarous tribes,

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¹ The detailed account of the military campaigns is given in Myson Inscription (No. 72). The dates are supplied by the Batau Tablah Ins. (No. 75).

² The Myson inscription (No. 72), so far as it has been deciphered, does not directly convey the impression that the king of Cambodia had incited the tribes, but that seems to be a
collectively known by the general appellation of the "Kirāṭa", now invaded the plain in the neighbourhood of Vijaya. A battle took place near the village of Slāy, and the Kirāṭas were defeated (No. 72). Unfortunately, Harivarman VI had not to fear his external enemies alone; his own relatives betrayed him. The brother of his wife called Vaṃśarāja now joined his enemies. "The Kirāṭa kings proclaimed his brother-in-law Vaṃśarāja, brother of his wife, as king in the city of Madhya-magrāma." The undaunted king bravely met this new danger. Jaya Harivarman VI led his army, defeated Vaṃśarāja, captured the Kirāṭa army, and defeated them all" (No. 72).

The Kirāṭa difficulty was over, but Vaṃśarāja remained. He took refuge in the Annamese court and asked the Emperor for military assistance in order to place him on the throne of Champā. The Annamese Emperor acceded to his request and declared him king of Champā. The inscription proceeds. "The king of Yavanas, learning that the king of Cambodge had created difficulties in the way of Jaya Harivarman, proclaimed Vaṃśarāja a citizen of Champā, as king. He gave him several Yavana generals together with hundred thousand valorous Yavana soldiers.......Then Jaya Harivarman conducted all the troops of Vijaya. The two parties were engaged in a terrible combat. Jaya Harivarman defeated Vaṃśarāja........ and large number of Yavana troops lay dead on the field." (1150 A. D.).

After having thus quelled the external enemies Jaya Harivarman probably hoped to reign in peace. But that was not to be. Civil war broke out, first at Amarāvatī (1151) and
then at Pāṇḍuraṅga (1155). Harivarmau successfully put them down, but the embers of conflict were not finally extinguished till 1160 A.D. An inscription dated in that year sums up his military success as follows:

"King Śrī Jaya Harivarmau, prince Śivānandana, has triumphed over all his enemies, to wit, the Cambodgians the Annamites, Vijaya, Amarāvati, and all the countries of the north; Pāṇḍuraṅga and the countries of the south; the Rade, the Mada and other barbarous tribes in the regions of the west."¹

Having secured the throne of Champā Jaya Harivarmau had to turn his attention to the restoration of temples and the repair of damages. The inscriptions give a long list of his pious works. He installed a Linga on the Mahiśaparvata, and erected two temples there in memory of his father and mother.²

In accordance with a former vow he restored the temple of Śrīśāṅabhadreśvara on the Vugvan Mount which was destroyed by the enemy, and installed several images there, including a Śivalīṅga. "The fire in the temple of Śrīśāṅabhadreśvara", says the king, "was extinguished by the enemies. Having killed those destroyers in battle, I have built it again." "The temple was re-established in its old beauty," and as it had been plundered by the enemy, the king gave all the necessary called "Yavanas" which might ordinarily be taken to imply the people of Java. But the agreement of the epigraphic account with what we learn from Annamite documents constrains us to interpret it as Annamites. Besides, in the Batau Tablah (No. 75) and Po Nagar Inscriptions (No. 76), which contain a list of the tribes with which Jaya Harivarmau was at war, mention is made of the Annamites but not of the "Yavanas".

1. Batau Tablah Ins [No. 75]; Po-Nagar Ins. [No. 76].
things to the god. Elsewhere we are told that "in accordance with his former vows, he first destroyed the soldiers of Cambodge and the Yavana soldiers (i.e. Annamites), and then re-erected the temple of Śiva which they had destroyed."

In the year 1157 A.D. the king installed a god, called after him Harivarmesvara, and granted a number of fields for his worship. About 1160, he made donations to the god Jaya Harilingesvara as well as to the tutelary deity of the kingdom, the goddess of Po-Nagara. The king also restored a temple at Myson.

Like Jaya Indravarman, king Harivarman also believed that he was an incarnation of Uroja. In order to substantiate his claim, he referred to a treatise called 'Purāṇārtha' which was apparently regarded as a holy religious text and is described as a "mine of useful information in this world" (No. 74).

"Four times I have been incarnated as Uroja; lest I be not born again, I re-install this Śiva in fulfilment of the promise I made before.

"The god of gods Śrīśānabhadreśvara, and the god of gods established on the Vugvan mountain—both will be enriched by that king who is a portion of myself longing for the glory of a Śaiva.

"Such is the Purāṇārtha, description of Uroja, which the world must know." (No. 74)

Further, it is curious to note, that like Jaya Indravarman, Harivarman also regarded himself as the fourth incarnation of Uroja; in other words, Harivarman did not admit the claim of Jaya Indravarman to be regarded as an incarnation of Uro-

1. Myson Ins. [Nos. 72, 73, 74].
2. Myson Ins. No. 74].
3. Batau Tablah Ins. [No. 75].
4. Po-Nagar Ins. [No. 76],
5. Myson Ins. [No. 78].
Harivarman kept on friendly relations with the Chinese court. He demanded from the Imperial court the same dignity which his predecessors had enjoyed, and this was accorded to him in 1155 A. D. After the war with the Annamite Emperor was over (1150), he maintained friendly relations with that court also. In 1152 he sent rich presents to the Emperor, and two years later, when the relations between the two countries again became rather strained on account of the repeated incursions of the Chams against Annamite territory, he pacified the Emperor by presenting him with some women. He also sent tribute to the Annamese court in 1155 and 1160. King Harivarman died shortly after 1162, and was succeeded by his son Jaya Harivarman VII. We do not know anything of his reign, not even if he actually reigned at all. He is referred to as king by his son in inscriptions Nos. 94 and 95, and might have been merely a pretender to the throne for all we know.

Certain it is, that within a year of the death of king Harivarman VI, the throne of Champa was occupied by Pu Ciy Anâk Śrî Jaya Indravarman VII, an inhabitant of Grâmapura Vijaya. It does not appear that he was related in any way to Jaya Harivarman VI or VII. On the other hand we know that the latter had at least two sons who had afterwards ruled in Champa. There is, therefore, hardly any doubt that Jaya Indravarman was an usurper.

Jaya Indravarman must have ascended the throne of Champa as early as 1163 A. D., when he gave a Koga to Śrîśanabhadraśvara, for which 232 golden panas, 82 precious sto-

1. T'oung Pao 1911, p. 302.
2. Ibid p. 305.
3. T'oung Pao 1911, p 303.
nes, 67 groups of pearls, and 200 panas of silver were required. Next year, as well as the year following, he made costly donations and erected an inner chamber with sandalwood, silver and gold. He sent tributes to the Annamite Court in 1164 and 1165.

The ambassador whom he sent in 1166 for the same purpose performed his duties in a somewhat strange fashion. He led an army and plundered the Annamite population on the sea-coast. The Annamese court could hardly be expected to brook this insult. An Annamese force entered Champā and the leader of the expedition wrote a strong letter to the king recalling the damages done by his troops. Jaya Indravarman VII hastened to pacify him and sent a noble of his court with a large quantity of precious stones and other valuable presents. The matter was then amicably settled, and the Annamese troops retreated to their country.

Jaya Indravarman was formally consecrated to the throne about 1165 A.D. Immediately after his consecration, he sent an ambassador to China asking for investiture from the Imperial court. The presents which the ambassador took to China had been plundered from Arab merchants. The amount of tribute appeared to the Chinese emperor to be so very large, that he was at first inclined to accept only one tenth of it; but when he came to know of the source from which these articles had come, by the complaints of the Arab merchants themselves, he refused to take anything at all, and ordered a letter to be written to Jaya Indravarman explaining the cause of his refusal. Moreover, the council of ministers decided that it would not be prudent to invest the king of Champā with the customary

1. Myson Ins. [Nos. 79, 81].
3. T'oung pao 1911, p. 303.
honorary titles till the commotion caused by the incident had subsided.

Jaya Indravarman now turned his attention to the conquest of Cambodge. He assured the neutrality of the Annamese Emperor by payment of rich presents and sending an ambassador to pay the usual homage. Being secure in the north, he attacked the kingdom of Cambodge (1170). That kingdom was then ruled over by king Dharanindravarman II.

Both the opposing forces were equally matched and the war went on for a long time without any decisive result. At this time a Chinese officer, shipwrecked on the coast of Champa, taught the king a new cavalry manoeuvre, and the art of throwing arrows from the back of a horse (1171 A.D.). Jaya Indravarman now asked the Chinese officer to buy horses for him in his own country. With the help of these horses he was enabled to secure some advantage against the enemy, and this induced him to look for more horses. In 1172 he sent a large number of men to Kiong Tchou, in the island of Hai Nan, with the object of purchasing as many horses as possible. They were ill-received there, and therefore retaliated by plundering a number of inhabitants they came across. The terrified people then allowed them to make their purchases. But the affair came to the knowledge of the Chinese Emperor, and in 1175 he issued an order prohibiting the export of horses outside the empire. Jaya Indravarman, desiring to have the horses at any cost, repatriated to Hai Nan the people captured by his soldiers in 1172, and sent an ambassador to the Imperial court, asking permission to buy horses at that island. The Emperor replied that it was forbidden to export those animals of the empire, and that the rule specially applied to the island of Hai Nan (1176 A.D.).

Jaya Indravarman now gave up the idea of invading Cambodge by land. He equipped a fleet and sent a naval expedi-
tion in 1177. Proceeding along the coast, the fleet, guided by a shipwrecked Chinese, reached the mouth of the Grand River (Mekong). Then going up the river it reached the capital city. Jaya Indravarman plundered the capital and then retired, carrying an immense booty with him.¹

The glorious victory of Jaya Indravarman VII indicates the revival of the old prosperous days of Champa. This was further shown by the rich donations of the king to various temples. We have already referred to his rich donations to Śrīśanabhadeśvara in 1163 A.D. The Myson inscription (No. 81) describes in detail how he continued these rich endowments, year after year, in 1167, 1168, and 1170 A.D. Further, he "installed Buddha Lokesvara, Jaya Indra Lokesvara and Bhagavati Śrī Jaya Indreśvari in the district of Buddha, and Bhagavati Śrī Indra Gaurīśvari in that of Śrī Vināyaka."²

The king also made rich donations to the goddess Bhagavati Kauṭhāreśvari of Po Nagar temple. "Part of these was made when the king went to conquer Cambodge."³ The gift was jointly made by the king, the queens Paramesvari and Rayā, princess Bhāgyavatī, princess Sumitrā, princess Sudakṣīṇā and Mān s'i Ai Grāmapura Vijaya (the prince?).³

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1. T’oung Pao 1911, pp. 305—308.

There is some difficulty in fixing the date of Jaya Indravarman’s invasion of Cambodge. Maspero, apparently on Chinese and Annamese authority, fixes it at 1170 A.D. But the Po Nagar Inscription [No. 80] which refers to the king’s campaign against Cambodge is dated 1167 A.D. (This date was formerly read as 1105 Saka but Finot has corrected it to 1080 Saka). In that case the campaign against Cambodge must have begun 3 years earlier.

2. Myson Ins. [No. 81].

3. Po Nagar Inscription [No. 80].
An inscription at An Thuan (No. 82) has preserved relics of something like a military feudalism that prevailed at the time. Three dignitaries of the kingdom named Taval Vira Simha on Vayak, Taval Suradhika varmma, and Taval Vikranta Simha on Dhuñ took an oath of allegiance to the king which contained, among other promises, an undertaking to the effect that they and their children will fight for their lord in case of war as long as they live.

The last known date of Jaya Indravarman VII is 1177 A.D. How long he lived after that, and whether he could leave the kingdom he had usurped to his legitimate successors, are yet unknown.

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER X

1. Jaya Indravarman VI (1139—1145 A.D.)
2. Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka (1145—1147 A.D.)
3. Jaya Harivarmadeva VI (Son of No. 2) (1147—1162 A.D.)
4. Jaya Harivarman VII (Son of No. 3) (1162—1163 A.D.)
5. Jaya Indravarman VII (1163—c.1180 A.D.)

1. cf. the Chinese account of the king's expedition against Cambodia. The last known date from epigraphic records is 1170 A.D. (Myson Ins. No. 81).

2. Maspero's account of this period is now proved to be hopelessly wrong in the light of new inscriptions or new interpretation of old inscriptions. I have not made any attempt to point out the difference between his version and mine as the two are almost radically different.
CHAPTER XI.

The Cambodian, Mongol and Annamite invasions.

After Jaya Indravarman VII we find a new king at Champā named Jaya Indravarman VIII on Vatuv. Whether there was any relationship between the two is yet unknown.1 But the latter continued the “forward” policy of his predecessor, and carried on an aggressive campaign against Cambodge. In 1190 A. D. the king of Cambodge, Jayavarman VII, son and successor of Dharaṇīndravarman II, sent an expedition against Jaya Indravarman on Vatuv.

The leader of this expedition, who was ultimately destined to play an important part in history, was Śri Sūryavarmanadeva, prince Śri Vidyānandana of Tuṃprauk-Viṣaya. He was apparently an inhabitant of Champā, but betook himself early in life to Cambodge (1182 A. D.). The king of Cambodge welcomed him and employed his services on various occasions. Thus we read: “During his stay at Cambodge, a dependent town of Cambodge called Malyan, inhabited by a multitude of bad men, revolted against the king of Cambodge. The latter seeing the prince well-versed in arms ordered him to lead the Cambodgian troops and take the town of Malyan. He did all that the king of Cambodge desired”2

The king of Cambodge, pleased at his valour, conferred on him the dignity of Yuvarāja, and when war broke out with

1. Maspero identifies the two kings (T‘oung Pao 1911, p. 304, fn. 2). But this does not seem probable (cf. Finot’s remarks B. E. F. vol, XV, No. 2. p. 50. fn. 2).

2. Myson Ins No. 84. The account of Suryavarmadeva—Vidyānandana that follows, is entirely based on this inscription.
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Champa, as related above, he "sent the prince at the head of Cambodgian troops in order to take Vijaya, and defeat the king Jaya Indravarman on Vatuv". Śrī Sūryavarmadeva obtained a complete victory. He captured the king and had him conducted to Cambodge by the Cambodgian troops.

The king of Cambodge now divided Champā into two portions. He placed his own brother-in-law Sūrya Jayavarman prince In, as king of the northern part, with Vijaya as capital, while Sūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī Vidyānandana, the victorious general, became king of the southern portion with his capital at Rajapura in Panrān.

Sūryavarmadeva prince Śrī Vidyānandana defeated a number of 'thieves or pirates', apparently the adherents of the late regime that had revolted against him, and reigned in peace at Rajapura. The northern kingdom, however, was soon lost to Cambodge. Within two years, Prince Rasupati, apparently a local chief, led a revolt against the Cambodgian usurper, Śrī Sūrya Jayavarman prince In. The latter was defeated, and returned to Cambodge, while Rasupati ascended the throne under the name of Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva.

The king of Cambodge now sent an expedition against Vijaya (1192 A. D.). With a view, probably, to conciliate the national sentiments by placing the captured king of Champā Śrī Jaya Indravarman on Vatuv on the throne, as a dependent of Cambodge, he sent him along with this expedition. The Cambodgian troops first went to Rajapura. There the king Sūryavarmadeva prince Śrī Vidyānandana put himself

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. cf also the Ta Prohm Inscription of Jaya-varman VII, where the king is said to have captured and then released the king of Champa. B. E. F. vol. VI. p. 44.
at their head, and marched against Vijaya. He captured Vijaya and defeated and killed Jaya Indravarman cei Rasupati.

The victorious king of Rajapura now ascended the throne of Vijaya and the whole of Champā was again re-united under him. Jaya Indravarman on Vatuv, who was thus deprived of the throne, fled to Amarāvati. There he collected a large number of troops and advanced against Vijaya. "The king defeated him, compelled him to fall back on Traik, and there captured him and put him to death." Henceforth Sūryavarmanadeva Vidyānandana ruled over the whole of Champā without opposition (1192 A.D.).

But he had shortly to reckon with the king of Cambodia whom he had so basely betrayed. In 1193 an expedition was sent against him, but he gained an easy victory. Next year the expedition was repeated on a larger scale.

"In Śaka 1116 (1194 A.D.) the king of Cambodia sent a large number of Cambodgian generals with all sorts of arms. They came to fight with the prince. The latter fought at Jai Ramya-Vijaya, and vanquished the generals of the Cambodgian army." ¹

This was the crowning triumph of Śri Sūryavarmanadeva, prince Śri Vidyānandana of Tumprauk-Vijaya, who began his life as an exile, but after a romantic career gained the undisputed supremacy over the whole of Champā.

Immediately after his victory the king sent an ambassador to the Annamese court (1194 A.D.). Four years later, he was formally consecrated to the throne with all due rites, and asked for formal investiture from the Chinese Emperor. This was granted to him in 1199 A.D.²

1. Ibid.
2. T'oung Pao. 1911, p. 311.
After the Cambodgian war was over, the king, we are told, "marched to Amaravati and re-erected all the houses." In other words, he set himself to the task of restoration, which was badly needed after the late troublesome period of civil war and foreign domination. As usual, he made rich gifts to Śrīśānabhadreśvara. He also erected a house called Śrī Herukaharmya. But the king was not destined to enjoy his sovereignty for a long time. He was defeated in 1203 A.D. by his paternal uncle, called Yuvarāja (or son of Yuvarāja) Mnagahana on Dhanapati or Yuvarāja on Dhanapatigrama, who was sent by the king of Cambodge against him.

The career of this Yuvarāja was analogous in many respects to that of king Sūryavarmā himself. He, too, lived as an exile in the Court of Cambodge and obtained the favours of the king by successfully suppressing the revolt of Malyaṅ. It is just possible that these two Cham chiefs, uncle and nephew, both went together to Cambodge and the Malyaṅ revolt, which both claim to have subdued, was the self-same

1. Myson Ins. (No. 89).
2. Ibid.
3. The account of Dhanapatigrama is based on the concluding portion of two inscriptions at Myson, Nos. 62 and 84. The identity of Dhanapatigrama, mentioned in No 62, with Mnagahana on Dhanapati (No 84) is not certain but very probable. It is to be noted that the portion of No. 62 containing the account of Dhanapatigrama begins with Svasti, which is generally used at the commencement of a new Inscription. It was probably added at a later date. The account is partly corroborated by Aunamite documents (T'oung Pao 1911. p. 311 fn 6), The difficulty in the identification, noted by Finetz does not really exist; cf the text.
military expedition in which both of them took part. But the nephew soon surpassed the uncle, and, as we have seen above, ultimately became the king of Champā.

The king of Cambodge, twice baffled in his attempt to defeat him, at last sent the uncle against the nephew. In 1203 A. D. king Sūryavarman was defeated and the Yuvarāja on Dhanapati ruled over champā.

Sūryavarman now sought protection at the court of Annam. Accompanied by 200 vessels and a number of his faithful soldiers he went with his family to the port of Co La and asked for shelter. The Annamites, however, suspected his intention, and Pham Gieng, the governor of Nghe An, wanted to get rid of him. Forewarned of this, the king invited Pham Gieng aboard his ship. That officer went with a number of vessels, with a quantity of arms concealed therein, and asked his men to examine the vessels of the Cham king with the light of their torches. But at night, while the watchmen of the Annamite vessels fell asleep, the Chams threw torches at them. The Annamites started up out of their sleep, and being seized with panic threw themselves into the sea. A large number of Annamites was thus drowned. Sūryavarman again took to sea and what became of him is not known.¹

The Yuvarāja Dhanapatigrāma, who now ruled over Champā, had a hard time before him. Rebellion broke out in various parts of the kingdom. The most formidable was one led by Putau Ājñā Ku, but it was put down by the Yuvarāja. "Then Putau Ājñā Ku revolted. He conquered from Amaravatī as far as Pidhya. The king of Cambodge commanded the Yuvarāja to lead the troops of Cambodge and capture Putau Ājñā Po Ku. He captured him and

1. Toung Pao 1911, pp. 311—312.
sent him to Cambodge according to the desire of the king” (No. 62).

The king of Cambodge, pleased at his valour, conferred high dignities on him, and apparently formally appointed him as the ruler of Champā in 1207 A. D. (cf. No. 86).

While the Yuvarāja was ruling in Champā, a new figure appeared on the scene. This was Jaya Paramesvaravarma-deva Oṇ Anśarāja of Turai-Vijaya,¹ son of Jaya Harivarman VII. He was the legitimate owner of the throne of Champā of which his father had been wrongly dispossessed by Jaya Indravarman VII Grāmapura Vijaya. During the period of usurpation by that monarch, and the disastrous Cambodge war that followed, Oṇ Anśarāja lived as an exile and at last took refuge in the court of Cambodge.

In 1201 A. D. the king of Cambodge conferred upon him the title of “Pu Poṇ pulyaṅ Śrī Yuvarāja”, and afterwards gave him permission to live in Champā with the Governor Yuvarāja Dhanapatigrāma.² It must have been with a mixed feeling of joy and sorrow that the exile returned to his native land, only to find the throne of his forefathers occupied by an usurper. Why he was sent to Champā, and what he did here for the next twenty years are yet unknown. It appears, however, that Champā was at this time very hard pressed by the Annamites. The Cho Dinh Inscription tells us: “Then (sometime after 1207 A. D.) the Siamese and the Pukam (Paganese) came from Cambodge and a battle took place with the Annamites. The Cambo-

1. The account of On Ansaraja of Turai-Vijaya who ascended the throne under the name of Jaya Paramesvaravarman is based on nine inscriptions (Nos. 83-92).

2. T’oung Pao 1911. p. 313.
The Cambodgians led the troops which opposed the Annamites and the loss on both sides was very great. The Annamite documents inform us that the Chams aided by the Cambodgians attacked Nghe-An in 1216 and 1218, but the governor of the Province dispersed them.

It would thus appear that since about 1207 A.D. a long series of battles followed, in which victory more often inclined to the Annamites.

These long-drawn battles must have exhausted the Cambodgians. As a matter of fact, the series of warfares in which they were involved ever since 1190 A.D., when they conquered Champā, must have proved too great a burden for the people of Cambodge, and, to make matters worse, the Siamese at this time began to press them hard from the west. At last in 1220 A.D., the Cambodgians evacuated Champā, and a formal peace was probably concluded with Oṇa Aṅśarājā of Turai-Vijaya in 1222 A.D. In any case the latter ascended the throne of his ancestors under the name of Jaya Paramesvaravarman IV, and was formally consecrated to the throne in 1226 A.D. Henceforth the king reigned in peace. He restored order in the different parts of his kingdom and set himself to the task of repairing damages caused by the “Cambodge war of 32 years” (1190—1222 A.D.)

The king, as usual, made rich donations to Śīrānabhadresvara and the goddess Po Nagara. He installed the

2. T’oung Pao 1911, pp. 313-14; cf. also B. E. F. vol. XVIII, No. 3 p. 35.
3. Cho-dinh Ins (No. 86).
4. Myson Ins (No. 87).
image of the god Svayam-Utpanna¹ and endowed him richly.² He re-installed all the lingas of the south, viz. those of Yan Pa Nagara and the lingas of the north, viz. those of Śrīśānabhadreśvara, and made donations to the god Campeśvara,³ as well as to a number of Buddhist divinities ⁴

The last known date of the king is 1234 A.D. and the earliest date of his successor, 1243 A.D. The death of the king must, therefore, have taken place sometime between these dates.

Jaya Parameśvaravarman IV was succeeded by his brother Jaya Indravarman X prince Harideva of Sakañ-Vijaya. About this time a powerful dynasty was established on the throne of Annam. The new king of Annam made remonstrances to the court of Champa against the conduct of Cham pirates who pillaged the Annamite population on the sea-shore. The king of Champa demanded in reply the restitution of the three northern districts of Champa conquered by Annam. This irritated the emperor of Annam who led in person an expedition against Champa. The campaign was long and arduous, but did not lead to any decisive result. The Emperor returned with a number of prisoners, including a queen and a number of nobles and concubines of the king of Champa.⁵

After this Jaya Indravarman X lived at peace with his northern neighbour and devoted his time to pious works. He made rich donations to Śrīśānabhadreśvara.⁶ His daughter Pu-lyañi Ratnävali, princess Sūryadevi, and her husband, a nobleman

¹ Cho-dinh Ins. (No. 89).
² Lomngœu Ins. (No. 91). Phanrang Ins. (No. 92).
³ Lomngœu Ins (No. 91).
⁴ Kim Choua Ins. (No. 93).
⁵ T‘oung Pao 1911, p. 432.
⁶ Myson Ins. (No. 94).
called Oh Raiu Nandana made rich presents to the Po Nagar temple, and installed there the images of goddess Mātrilīngesvarī and goddess Kauṭhāresvarī.¹

In the year 1257 A. D. the king was murdered by his nephew, sister's son, named Pulyaṅ Śrī Yuvarāja Vlom. The regicide then ascended the throne under the name of Śrī Jaya Simhavārman III (1257 A. D.). There seemed to have been some disturbances in the kingdom. An inscription at Po Nagar, dated 1257 A. D., records the donation of the king Śakrānta belonging to Mandavijaya. Apparently a local chief had set himself up as king at the place named. But nothing more is heard of him. Most probably Jaya Simhavārman defeated him. Jaya Simhavārman further cut off the two thumbs of his only surviving maternal uncle, the younger brother of king Jaya Indravarman X, so as to remove all possibilities of danger in that direction. Having thus secured his position against all possible enemies, Jaya Simhavārman was formally consecrated to the throne in 1266 A. D. under the name Indravarman (XI).²

The new king wanted to remain at peace. So immediately after his coronation he sent an ambassador with tributes to the court of Annam (1266) and renewed it again in 1267, 1269, and 1270.

The pious endowments of the king are recorded in several inscriptions. In 1274 A. D. he presented the god Svayamputpanna with a large elephant and 6 slaves (No. 106). Four

1. Po Nagar Ins. (Nos. 97, 98, 105).
2. Batau Tablah Ins. No. 104. It may be concluded from this inscription that during the period 1257-1266 A. D. Jaya Simhavārman was king of the southern region only and in 1266 he became the king of the whole country. It is possible that Sakranta was the king of the northern regions during that period but convincing proof is lacking.
years later, his noble queen Sūryalakṣmī installed the statue of the god Bhūmivijaya.1 In the Po Nagar temple the king installed Śrī Indravarma-Śivalingaśvara, and dedicated three infants to the god. He also installed there Śiva-linga and the god Śrī-śānabhadraśvara and endowed the goddess Kauṭhāresvarī with lands (Nos. 108 and 119).

But the reign of king Indravarman XI was destined to involve Champā into one of the greatest calamities that ever befell her. She had just passed through Cambodgian incursions lasting 32 years; now she was to suffer the unspeakable horrors of a Mongol invasion.

The Mongols had suddenly risen as a great power in Asia towards the close of the twelfth century A. D. Their great leader Chenghiz Khan (1162—1227 A. D.) had conquered large territories in Asia and eastern Europe, and planned the conquest of China when he died. At his death his empire extended beyond the Caspian sea and the Black sea on the west, as far as Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and Russia. To the east it included Korea and reached the Pacific ocean, and on the south it was bounded by India, Tibet and the ruins of the splendid empire of Khwarezm, Ogotai, the son and successor of Chenghiz Khan, conquered that portion of China over which the Kin dynasty ruled, and was aided in this task by the Soung dynasty who ruled over the rest. But the turn of the Soung dynasty was soon to come. Ogotai's son and successor Kouyouk having died in 1248, the Mongol empire passed on to Mangkou (1248—1259), a grandson of Chenghiz Khan, and then to his brother the famous K'oublai Khan (1260). K'oublai had conquered Yun Nan (1253) during his brother's reign, and after his accession to the throne, he looked forward to the conquest of the whole of the Chinese Empire by putt-

ing an end to the Soung dynasty. But even while he was carrying on the struggle with the Imperial dynasty, K'oublai Khan sought to exact the oath of allegiance from all foreign states that had hitherto accepted the Chinese Emperor as their suzerain. So an invitation was sent to the kings of Annam and Champa to come and pay their homage as vassals to the Great Khan. In 1278 Sagatou, a high official of the Khan, reported that king Indravarman of Champa was willing to submit. On hearing this K'oublai gave the title of "Prince of second rank" to the king and gave rich presents to the Cham ambassadors who presented themselves to the court in 1279. But K'oublai Khan wished his feudal kings to come in person to the court in order to perform the act of vassalage, and so early in 1280 sent an embassy to Champa, inviting king Indravarman to come in person to the court. The latter was unwilling to do so, and in the month of May sent an embassy offering submission. This, however, did not satisfy the Khan who on 1st July renewed his command to the king to present himself to the court. In reply the Cham king sent on the 5th September some nobles of his court with a few elephants as presents, whereupon the great Khan sent 'an ambassador extraordinary' to king Indravarman, asking him to send to the Imperial court a few nobles of his court together with one of his younger sons. Indravarman then sent two embassies, one on the 13th August, 1281, and the other, two months later, so that K'oublai at last decided to confer on him the insignia of "Prince Imperial of the second rank."

K'oublai now treated Champa as part of his empire. He appointed Sagatou and Lieou Cheng as viceroys to administer Champa in the name of the king. The old and feeble king submitted to this humiliation, but his proud son, the prince Harijit, could not bring himself to yield to it. He
fanned the popular discontent which ultimately became so serious that the viceroys of the Khan, no longer feeling their position secure, went to their country.

K'oublai now decided on an expedition against Champa. He made extensive preparations and entrusted it to Sagatou. But before this expedition could start, Champa gave another provocation to the great Khan, by arresting and imprisoning his ambassadors to Siam and Malabar. Nevertheless, the Khan, who was a thorough diplomat, called a Cham ambassador who was present in his court, gave him some clothes, and asked him to tell the old king, that he had nothing to fear, that his guilty son alone will be punished, and none else need be afraid at all. At last in 1282 Sagatou, invested with the title of "the governor of the province of Champa," embarked his troops on thousand vessels—the land route through Tonkin being refused by the Annamite King—and landed his army unopposed on the coast of Champa. The Cham army guarded the citadel of Mou Tcheng and was led by prince Harijit in person. Sagatou tried the method of conciliation, but failed. At last the battle took place in January, 1283. The Chams, 10,000 strong, fought obstinately for six hours, but then beat retreat. The Mongols entered the citadel and killed about a thousand persons. King Indravarman XI put his magazine to fire and then retired with his troops to the mountains.

The Mongol army now made preparations to conquer the metropolitan province. On the third day, however, an envoy came from king Indravarman, tendering submission on the part of his master. Next day Sagatou, who had already reached the south-eastern limit of the province, dismissed the ambassador, and charged him to tell his master, that he was pardoned, but must come in person and present himself before him. On the following day Sagatou entered into the province when
an envoy from Indravarman announced that the king would presently arrive, whereupon Sagatou camped outside the capital city.

But the king never really intended to present himself before the Mongol Chief he merely wanted to temporise. But still fearing the wrath of the Great Khan he sent on the following day his maternal uncle Pao-t'o-t'ou-houo (Bhadradeva?) for presenting tribute of submission. He represented that the king wished to come in person but was prevented by a malady, and that his son wants three days' time to present himself. Sagatou became furious and Pao-t'o-t'ou-houo went back to Indravarman to narrate what had happened.

The heir-apparent, prince Harijit, had no more desire than his father to present himself before the Mongol commander. He sent, instead, two of his brothers to the Mongol camp. They told Sagatou that their elder brother had died of the wounds he had received in battle, and that their father, the king, was struck by an arrow in his chin, and although gradually improving, was not yet in a condition to present himself. Sagatou saw through the trick and would not listen to any excuse. He even doubted whether the envoys were really sons of king Indravarman. But he sent them back and transmitted through them the order to the king to come and pay respect in person.

Shortly, the Chinese spies brought news that king Indravarman had entrenched himself on mount Ya Heou, with 20,000 men, and that he had sent ambassadors to Annam, Cambodge and Java, asking for military assistance. Sagatou then sent a detachment of his army against the king. Although successful at first, the Mongol troops were harassed by the enemy in the unknown mountain forests, and regained the camp with great difficulty and after heavy losses. But Sagatou being re-inforced from China, himself took the offensive
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on the 14th June, 1283, and inflicted great loss on the Cham army. King Indravarman again retired to the mountains and the great Mongol general had again to fall back on the old expedient, viz. writing letters to king Indravarman to come and tender his submission in person.

Thus inspite of all his victories Sagatou could not secure any substantial result. The king of Champâ was as inaccessible as before, and his own position, in an enemy's country, was ever precarious. Besides, he was unpopular in the army, and there were heavy desertions both among soldiers and officers.

The Cham campaign had already cost K'oublai Khan heavily in men and money. Nevertheless, in 1284, he arranged to send another supporting army of 15,000 soldiers. The number of vessels being insufficient, only a part of the army could immediately start. But disaster dogged their footstep and the first division of the navy, carrying the first batches of soldiers, completely disappeared, within sight of the Chon Mei Lein canal, and no one knew what became of her.

The rest of the troops safely reached the coast of Champâ under the leadership of Wan Hou Lieou Kiun K'ing. But having arrived at Sri Banoy, Wan Hou learnt to his great surprise that Sagatou had burnt his camp and started on his return journey a few days before. He then advanced alone and sent an ambassador to Indravarman asking him to come in person with his son. But the king was in no mood to listen to this after the departure of the main Mongol force. He merely sent a reply saying that the army of Sagatou had put the country to fire and sword, without leaving anything that could be offered as present, and that next year he would send his own son with presents. He then decided to send his grandson to the Emperor to renew the oaths of allegiance (1284). Three months later, he sent to K'oublai a map of his kingdom and the following month he sent an embassy of 18 persons with a
prayer for the withdrawal of troops on condition of regular payment of tribute. Three months later still, the same ambassadors again presented themselves to the court of the great Mongol with rich presents.

But in spite of all these embassies and assurances of submission, things continued as before. The king stationed himself in the mountains, re-forming his army as soon as it was dispersed by the Mongols, while the latter, unable to secure any solid advantage, suffered from heat, diseases and want of provisions. So, in order to bring the campaign to a successful end at any cost, the great Khan resolved to send by land an army sufficiently strong for the final conquest of Champā.

In order to reach Champā it was necessary to pass through Annamite territory. The king of that country, like Indravarman, had obstinately refused to pay homage in person. His son and successor Nho'n-Ton resolved to follow the same policy, and when invited to present himself at the court, sent his uncle Tran-di Ai. K'oublai, furious at this obstinacy, declared Nho'n—Ton to have forfeited the throne, and appointed Tran-di-Ai as king in his place. He also appointed Tch'en Tch'ouen as "Ambassador Extraordinary and Generalissimo of Annam", and asked him to go and install Tran-di-Ai on the throne.

They were, however, unable to enter into Annam, and Nho'n-Ton also refused passage to the troops of Sagatou. Next year Sagatou asked him for men and provisions, but he refused. He stated that Champā was a small country long since subject to his government, that his father had lived on good terms with it, and that he also followed the same policy. Moreover, for thirty years there was no war between the two countries, and he, therefore, excused himself from supplying provisions. Four months later, in 1284, he gave a similar reply to a fresh demand for provisions. At the same time he protested against
the accusation that he had helped Champâ with 20,000 men and 500 vessels.

It was undoubtedly an enlightened view of his own interest, rather than any sympathy for Champâ, that made Nho'n Ton so obstinate in refusing a passage through his country. He knew he was secure from an invasion by the Mongols so long as they were busy with Champâ, and that the moment his neighbour would submit, his own turn would come. So when he at last received a peremptory order to give passage to the troops bound for Champâ, he opposed their advance into his territory.

The Mongol troops were commanded by Togan the son of K'oublai. Failing to win over the Annamite king by diplomacy, he at last invaded the passes leading to that country and carried them one after another. Then winning victory after victory, he crossed the Red river and entered the capital of Annam as victor. At the same time Sagatou advanced from the south and defeated the enemy at Nghe-An and Than Hoa. At last the Annamite Emperor took the offensive. He defeated Togan in the north and drove back his army beyond the Red river. Sagatou, unaware of this defeat, was still advancing into the enemy's country, when he was surprised and completely defeated. He was killed in the action and his head was presented to Nho'n Ton.

Thus Champâ was at last delivered from the scourge of Mongol invasion. In order to prevent a repetition of the catastrophe Indravarman hastened to send an ambassador with rich presents to K'oublai (1285). The great Khan had now renounced all hopes of conquering Champâ and released the prisoners.¹

¹. The account of the Mongol expedition to Champa is based on T'oung Pao 1911 (pp. 456-475).
King Indravarman XI, who had heroically sustained the arduous struggle against his powerful foe, probably did not long survive this happy deliverance. It appears from the account of Marco Polo who visited Champā about 1288 A. D. that king Indravarman was already dead.1

He was succeeded by his brave son prince Harijit, born of the queen Gauḍendralakṣmī, who had bravely stood by his father in his hours of trial, and now ascended the throne under the name of Jaya Simhavarman IV. He restored peace in the kingdom which it badly needed after the long and arduous campaign.

The proud king dispensed with all marks of vassalage in respect of the great K'oublai Khan. When the Mongol fleet passed by the coast of Champā in course of an expedition to Java, the king mobilised his forces, and held himself in readiness to prevent any attempt at landing. Fortunately no untoward events took place.

He also stopped the payment of usual tribute to Annam. There King Nho'n Ton had abdicated the throne in favour of his son Anh-Ton and retired to hermitage. After spending a secluded life for some time, Nho'n-Ton desired to visit the holy places of different countries, and in 1301 A. D. came to Champā. He lived there for 9 months and was so hospitably treated by Jaya Simhavarman that before his departure he promised the king the hand of one of his daughters.

The court of Annam coldly received the proposal. But Jaya Simhavarman, who had already married a princess of Java (or Malaya Peninsula) named Tāpasi, was eager for this new alliance. Negotiations continued as late as 1305, but Jaya

1. Different dates are proposed for Marco Polo's visit to Champā, but 1288 is generally accepted. (Yule—Marco Polo vol. II. p. 271). T'oung Pao, 1911 p. 476 fn. 2. p. 471. fn. 3.
Simhavarman, impatient at the delay, sent an ambassador with nuptial presents and promised to cede to Annam, on the day of marriage, the two northern provinces of his realm, corresponding to Thua Thien, the southern portion of Quang Tri and the northern part of Quang Nam. It is an irony of fate that the man who fought so valiantly for his country even at the risk of his own life, did not scruple to part with two of the most valuable provinces of his kingdom, including the famous stronghold of Kiu S'ou, for a mere hobby. Thus was Champā dismembered a second time (cf. p. 82 above). The Annamite council made a last attempt to prevent the alliance which they considered as humiliating for the daughter of an Emperor, but Anh-Ton, more practical than his ministers, was ready to sacrifice his sense of prestige and brotherly sentiments for the good of the country. He accepted the provinces and sent the princess to Jaya Simhavarman. All along the way, popular ballads, composed on the occasion, were sung by the young and the old alike, jeering "at the Emperor of the Hans who had given away his daughter to the king of the Huns"\(^1\) (1306). Aymonier supposes that this daughter is probably referred to as Paramesvari, daughter of king Devādideva, in the Posah Ins. (No. 110), for the Annamite kings were known as the kings of gods among the Cambodgians.\(^2\) But king Jaya Simhavarman IV did not live long after this marriage, and died in 1307 A. D. He had established a Mukhaliṅga called Jaya Simhavarmalīṅgeśvara at Tali and made many other religious endowments.\(^3\)

1. The allusion is to two political marriages between Hau princesses and the Hun chiefs that took place long ago.
As soon as the king of Annam heard of Jaya Simhavarman's death he sent a high official to bring back his sister. It was a delicate task, for according to the custom of Champā the queen had to be burnt alive on the funeral pyre of her husband. After a great deal of difficulty, however, the queen was brought back to Annam.

Jaya Simhavarman was succeeded by his son prince Hari-jitātmaja, born of the queen Bhāskaradevī. He was born in 1274 A.D. and was therefore 33 years old at the time of his accession. His early career is known to us from one of his records. In 1298 A.D. he had received the title Taval Śurā Adhikavarman. Two years later he was appointed to govern a district extending from the river Vauk as far as Bhūmanā Vijaya. In 1301 his father gave him the name Pulyan Ud-dhīta Simhavarman. In 1306 he got the name Mahendra-varman.

He at first kept friendly relations with the court of Annam. But this attitude was not preserved for long and he often turned rebellious. The fact was that he regretted the cession of two provinces by his father which brought the northern boundary of Champā far to the south, and the people of the two provinces also chafed at the foreign domination. The result was rebellions and frequent incursions into those provinces, so much so that the Annamite colonists installed in the two provinces found it impossible to live there. So at the beginning of 1312, the Annamite emperor Anh Hoang decided to lead an expedition against Champā. Just at this moment an ambassador from Simhavarman presented himself with tribute. The ambassador was prevailed upon to go back and induce his master to submit to Annam.

The Emperor himself led the expedition and king Simha-
varman was induced to submit without any fight. The king with his whole family went by sea and presented themselves before the Annamite Emperor. His soldiers, however, were enraged at this humiliation, and attacked the camp of the Emperor. They were, however, soon defeated and took to flight. Thereupon Simhavarman was made prisoner, and his brother Che-Da-a-ba-niem was entrusted with the government of Champā with the title “Feudatory prince of the second rank.” The campaign was over in six months and Anh Hoang came back to his capital with his royal prisoner. He gave him high honours but that was a poor consolation to the captive who died at the beginning of 1313. His body was burnt and the ashes were buried in the ground according to the custom of Champā.

The kingdom of Champā had now practically become an Annamite province. The Chinese Emperor, however, could ill brook it. He pretended that Champā was still his own vassal-state and ordered its king to send him rhinoceroses and elephants. Anh Hoang, however, paid no heed to these demands, and looked upon himself as the sole king of Champā. At the same time he accepted the responsibility of the position, for, when in 1313 A. D. bands of Siamese invaded Champā and committed pillage and destruction, Anh Hoang sent one of his officials against them and they were driven away.

Che-Da-a-ba-niem, who had been placed on the throne by the Annamites, assumed the name of Che Nang after coronation (1312 A. D.). Two years later, Anh Hoang abdicated the throne in favour of his son Ninh Hoang. Che Nang took advantage of this change of master in throwing off his yoke to

1. T'oung Pao 1911, p. 590-594. The history of Champā for the next hundred years is almost solely known from Annamite documents, the next Cham Inscription being dated 1401 A, D. The account in the text that follows is almost solely based on Maspero's account in T'oung Pao 1911 pp. 595 ff.
Annam. He had some successes at first but was soon defeated and took to flight. Afraid of meeting with his brother's fate he fled the country and took refuge in Java (c. 1318 A. D.). With him ended the dynasty founded by Rudravarma Paramabrahmaloka in 1145 A. D.

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER XI.

2. Sūrya Jayavarmadeva prince In (Cambodian usurper) (1190—1191 A. D.).
4. Sūryavarmadeva prince Śrī Vidyānandana (1192—1203 A. D.).
5. Oṅ Dhanapatigrāma (1203—1222 A. D.).
6. Jaya Parameśvaravarmadeva (Son of Jaya Harivarman VII; cf chap. X). (1222—c. 1240 A. D.)
7. Jaya Indravarman X (Younger brother of No. 6) (c. 1240—1257 A. D.)
8. Jaya Simhavarman III or Indravarman XI (Nephew, sister's son, of No. 7) (1257—c. 1287 A. D.)
9—Śakrānta! (usurper?) 1257 A. D.
10. Jaya Simhavarman IV also called Harijīt (Son of No. 8) (c. 1287—1307 A. D.)
11. Harijītātmaja-Mahendravarman (Son of No. 10) (1307—1312 A. D.)
12. Che Nang (brother of No. 11) (1312—c. 1318 A. D.)
Chapter XII.

The Annamite conquest of Champa.

The kingdom of Champâ was now without a king and there was probably no legitimate heir to the throne. On the recommendation of the victorious Annamite general, the Emperor appointed a military chief called A-Nan as his viceroy in Champâ (1318 A. D.).

A-Nan behaved exactly like his predecessor. As soon as he felt himself powerful enough he tried to shake off the Annamite yoke. For this purpose he commenced negotiations with the Mongols who had never ceased to demand contributions from Champâ. In 1321 A-Nan received the order to send some domesticated elephants, and sent an ambassador with the tribute in 1322. Next year he sent his brother to the Chinese Emperor asking for assistance against his powerful neighbour in the north. The Emperor Jen Tsong agreed to this and sent ambassadors to Ninh Hoàng asking him to respect the integrity of Champâ (1324). Ninh Hoàng replied to this message by sending an expedition against Champâ in 1326. But it led to disasters. A-Nan defeated his army and henceforth ceased to consider himself as his vassal.

On the other hand A-Nan continued his relations with the Mongols, and sent ambassadors to the Chinese court in 1327, 1328 and 1330. Then he ceased to send them and reigned as an independent sovereign. Neither Annam nor China was in a position to make an effective protest against this. In the case of the former, the practice, which had hardened into a custom, for the emperors of the Tran dynasty to abdicate the throne in favour of a boy made it impossible to assert its rights, while the discord between the Mongols and the native inhabitants in China eafebhd the central authority there. Thus
A-Nan reigned during the last eleven years as an independent king and brought back peace and tranquility to the kingdom which had not known it for a long time.

A-Nan had a son-in-law Trà Hoà Bo De and placed more confidence in him than in his own son Che Mo. Bo De, while outwardly showing great affection for Che Mo, excited popular sentiment against him, and ingratiated himself into the favour of the military chiefs. Thus when A-Nan died, Bo De had no difficulty in removing Che Mo and making himself king in his place (June, 1342).

Che Mo did not take this act of usurpation lying down. He collected the loyal people and fought with Bo De for the throne. Being defeated he sought protection in the court of Annam. The king of Annam took advantage of this to demand tribute of Bo De and the latter hastened to send an ambassador; but his presents were considered insufficient.

At the same time although Che Mo was well received, and his presents accepted with thanks, no preparation was made for sending an expedition to Champa in his favour. At last, tired of waiting, one day he addressed the king of Annam: "My lord, in old days a king of Champa was very fond of a monkey and announced a reward of 10,000 gold coins for anyone who could train it to speak. At last a man offered to do it in three years, on condition of receiving 100 gold coins every month. "Within these three years" said he, "either the king or the monkey or I shall die." The king of Annam understood the import of the parable, and sent an expedition (1353), but as the army did not meet with the navy at the appointed place, it came back. Che Mo, who returned with the army, died shortly afterwards.

Bo De, elated beyond measure at the retreat of the Annamite troops, now took the offensive in order to reconquer the northern districts, but he was defeated in his first attack (1353 A. D.) and gave up the enterprise.
Bo Đế was succeeded by Che Bong Nga. The date of his accession and his relationship with Bo Đế are alike unknown. But it is probable that he came to the throne sometime about 1360 A.D.

The reign of Che Bong Nga was remarkable for a series of victorious campaigns against Annam. In 1361 he suddenly raided the port of Da Li (Li-Hoa in Botrach). Having put to flight the soldiers who defended it, he pillaged the town and its neighbourhood, massacred the population and returned by sea with an immense booty. Next year he plundered the chief town of Hoa Chau. In 1365 the Chams carried away the boys and girls of Hoa Chau who gathered to celebrate a festival according to local custom.

At last in 1368 Du Hoang, the king of Annam, sent a powerful army against Champâ, but Che Bong Nga lay in ambush, surprised them completely, and put them to a precipitate retreat.

In the meantime Tchou Youen-Tchang had driven away the last Mongol emperor from China and ascended the throne under the name of Houng Wou (1368). He founded the Imperial Ming dynasty and installed his court at Nanking. His first care was to re-establish the unity of the empire, and with this view he ordered all his vassal states to pay allegiance to the Emperor. Che Bong Nga had already sent tributes to the new emperor, and the latter was pleased to send presents to him and confer upon him the title of "King of Champâ." The Cham king sent another ambassador in 1370, and continued to pay the homage regularly year after year. Houng Wou sent one of his officers to Champâ to offer propitiatory sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and rivers and to institute an examination for the students. At the same time he enjoined upon both Annam and Champâ...
to cease their quarrels and live on good terms with each other.

Du Hoang, the king of Annam, died in June, 1369. One of his younger sons was placed on the throne by the intrigues of the queen-mother. But Phu, the brother of the deceased king, revolted against him, put him into prison and ascended the throne under the name of Nghia-Hoang (1370 A. D.). The queen-mother Du'o'ng Khu'o'ng then fled to Champā and enlisted the help of Che Bong Nga. In 1371 the latter sailed with a fleet and marched unopposed to the capital. He pillaged the city, burnt the royal palace and returned with a rich booty (1371).

Next year, Che Bong Nga, with impudent effrontery, wrote a long letter to the Chinese Emperor, complaining that the Annamite troops had invaded his territory and were harassing his people. “I beg your Majesty,” the letter concluded, “to send me some military equipments, instruments of music and some musicians. Then Annam will see that the kingdom of Champā is tributary to your Majesty, and will not dare to molest it”. This direct perversion of truth was apparently intended to forestall the complaints of Annam, and assure the neutrality of China. The Chinese Emperor fell into the trap. He did not send the things asked for, but sent a long letter in reply, observing, among others, “that from this day forth Annam must take back his army, and Champā should make peace with her, so that the two countries might be content with their own legitimate dominions.” Further, Che Bong Nga pleased the Emperor beyond measure by presenting to him the rich booty which he had taken from the pirates subdued by him (1373).

In the meantime Nghia-Hoang had abdicated the throne of Annam in favour of Kham Hoang (1372). The new King
resolved to avenge the insult that Champa had inflicted upon his dynasty, and made preparations on a large scale. As soon as Che Bong Nga came to know of this, he hastened to communicate to the Chinese Emperor that he was attacked by the Annamites. The latter, tired of these reciprocal complaints, justly observed that if this year Champa complained of Annamite aggression, last year it was Annam who demanded aid against the aggression of the Chams, and that consequently it was impossible to know who was in the wrong. He again advised both of them to suspend their war-like activities and live on good terms with each other.

After a great deal of delay, Kham Hoang at last marched at the head of more than 1,20,000 men in January 1377, and arrived unopposed before the town of Vijaya which was surrounded by a palisade. There a Cham reported to Kham Hoang that the town was deserted, that the king had taken to flight, and that by a quick march he could yet overtake the king. Heedless of the prudent counsels of his generals, Kham Hoang marched with his army which advanced pell-mell without any order or organisation. When they had proceeded some distance the Chams suddenly fell upon them and intercepted their passage. This produced such a panic in the Annamite army that it was completely routed. The Emperor with his two commanders-in-chief and several other nobles lay dead on the field.

Immediately after this great victory Che Bong Nga sailed with a fleet towards the capital of Annam. Gian Hoang who was hastily proclaimed king made arrangements for defending it, but Che Bong Nga entered into the town and pillaged it for a whole day. He returned with an immense booty which was sent as tribute to the Chinese
Emperor. Next year he again marched towards Annam. Having conquered Nghe-An, and appointed there his own governor, he plundered the capital and returned with an immense booty. A part of this was sent as tribute to the Chinese Emperor.

Henceforth the people of Annam lived in constant terror of the Chams. The Emperor Gian Hoang removed his treasures to the mountains of Thien Kien and the caves of Kha lang for saving them from the cupidity of the Chams (1379). And it was well indeed that he had done so. For inspite of the injunctions of the Chinese Emperor to leave the Annamites in peace Che Bong Nga led a new expedition against them in 1380. The old king of Annam made preparations for defending the country both by land and sea and at last succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon Che Bong Nga who took to flight.

Inspite of this defeat Che Bong Nga remained master of Thuan Hoa, Tan-Binh and Nghe-An, and his constant incursions against Than Hoa reduced the Annamite authority over that province almost to a shadow. In 1382 he invaded Than Hoa, but this time also he met with disaster; a part of his navy was burnt and his army retreated with great loss (1382).

Nothing undaunted, Che Bong Nga formed a daring plan. As he was unsuccessful at sea, and the defiles between Than Hoa and Ninh Binh were well guarded by the Annamites, he marched with his commander-in-chief La-khai over the high ranges, across mountains and forests, and descended at a point north of the Annamite capital (1383). After inflicting a heavy loss upon the enemy he returned to his kingdom in 1384.

Five years later, Che Bong Nga led another victorious expedition. By a ruse he completely defeated the Annamite
army and advanced towards the capital. He reached the river Hai Trieu and there was nothing to prevent him from occupying the whole country. The situation appeared so desperate that the younger brother of the Annamite Emperor passed over to the camp of Che Bong Nga, expecting no doubt to be appointed to the government of Annam after its conquest.

But at this moment the treachery of a Cham military officer changed the whole complexion of things. As Che Bong Nga advanced with about 100 vessels to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy, one of his officers, who was reprimanded and afraid of his life, passed over to the enemy and told them that the king's vessel was easily recognisable by its green colour. On learning this the Annamite commander made for the Cham navy and asked his men to concentrate the fury of their attack on the royal vessel. Suddenly a volley of musketry was fired at Che Bong Nga and he fell dead. The Chams lost heart at the sudden death of their chief and beat a precipitate retreat to rejoin the main army which was stationed at the river Hoang under the command of the general La Khai (February, 1390). La Khai immediately led back the army by forced marches day and night. The enemy overtook him but was easily defeated. As soon as he reached Champa he proclaimed himself king of the country. The two sons of Che Bong Nga, deprived of their legitimate rights, sought protection in the Annamite court. But although received there with honours and distinction they could not secure any support to regain their throne.

La Khai, who thus established a new dynasty, is almost certainly to be identified with Śrī Jaya Sinhavarmadeva V Śrī Harijāti Virasiṅha Champa-pura, the founder of the Br-su family of kings.¹

¹ Binh Dinh Ins. (No. 117). The identity was first established by Finot (B. E. F. vol. XV, No. 2, p. 14). Maspero
One of the first acts of Jaya Simhavarmadeva was to send tributes to the Chinese Emperor T'ai Tsou. But the Emperor, who had himself usurped the throne by driving away his master, refused to accept the tribute from the usurper (1391). Jaya Simhavardman did not insist, but he again sent the tribute in 1397, and it was accepted. The tribute was renewed in 1399.

Immediately after the death of Che Bong Nga, the two provinces Tan Binh and Thuan Hoa, which he had annexed, made submission to Annam. It is probable that other parts of Champã, too, did not acknowledge the authority of Jaya Simhavarmadeva. We hear indeed of a Cham general seeking protection in Annam in 1397 with his family. Everything indicates an unsettled time, but unfortunately we know very little of the reign of Jaya Simhavarmadeva. He ruled for twelve years (1390-1401), and was succeeded by Sri Vrsu Visnujatti Vira Bhadravarmadeva. The king was formerly called prince Nauk Glaun Vijaya and after a reign of 32 years he was consecrated and took the name Sri Brsu Indravarman.  

The Annamites had never given up their intention of conquering Champã and led an expedition against it in 1401. Vira Bhadravarman, who had just ascended the throne, opposed the enemy vigorously and forced them to retreat. It was with considerable difficulties that the Annamite forces could regain their own territory.

In 1402, the Annamite army again invaded Champã. Bhadravarman sent his general to oppose them, but he was
killed in a fight with the vanguards of the enemy. The king was now terribly afraid for his life and throne, and sent his maternal uncle with rich presents to treat with the enemy. He offered the rich province of Indrapura on condition of cessation of hostilities and the retreat of the Annamite troops. The Annamites demanded Quang Nghia in addition, and thus the whole of Quang-Nam and Quang-Ngai, the ancient Amaravati, was ceded to the enemy. It was a terrible blow to the power and prestige of Champa. The ancient capital of Indrapura was full of accumulated riches and trophies and was associated with the glorious days of the past. The province of Amaravati was also one of the richest and the most fertile. By this humiliating treaty the kingdom of Champa was reduced to half its size; it lost its rich fertile regions in the northern plain, and was confined to poor mountainous regions in the south.

The Chams of the ceded provinces could ill brook the Annamite domination. Although a son of Che Bong Nga was appointed as their governor, they emigrated in large numbers. King Bhadravarman also repented of his act. He sent a pathetic appeal to the Chinese Emperor (1403), and the latter sent two plenipotentiaries to the Annamite court, asking it to leave its neighbour in peace. The Annamites replied by sending a force, 200,000 strong, against Champa both by way of land and sea.

Bhadravarman had been assured by the Chinese Emperor that Annam would leave him in peace. He, therefore, hastened to inform that Emperor of the new expedition. On the 5th September, 1404, his ambassador arrived at the Imperial court with a rich present consisting of a rhinoceros and other indigenous products, and delivered his message to the emperor. It ran as follows:

"In a recent report I have informed your Majesty that
Annam had violated our territories and killed and carried away men and animals, and at my request your Majesty was pleased to order the king of Annam to withdraw his army. But the latter has not complied with the order of your Majesty. In the fourth month of the year (between 9th May and 8th June 1404) he again ravaged the frontiers of my country and caused sufferings to my people. Recently, during the return journey of my ambassador who had gone to pay the tribute to the Imperial court, all the presents sent to me by your Majesty were forcibly taken by the Annamites. Moreover, in order to indicate my vassalage to him, the king of Annam has forced me to use his crown, dress and seal. Besides, he has seized upon Cha-li-ya and other places in my kingdom. Still, even now he does not cease to attack and molest my territories. I fear I have not the power to protect myself and I therefore place my kingdom at the feet of your Majesty and request you to have it administered by your officials.”

The Chinese Emperor became furious and asked his minister to send an ambassador. He also sent battleships in aid of Bhadravarman. These met the Annamite fleet which retreated before it without fighting. The Annamite army which besieged Vijaya also raised the siege and turned back, because their provisions ran short and the town was well defended.

Tch'eng Tsou then sent presents to Bhadravarman and wrote to Han Thu'o'ng, the Annamite emperor, condemning his action (1404). The latter was unwilling to provoke the wrath of his powerful neighbour. He, therefore, returned to him the two elephants which the king of Champa had sent to China, but which he intercepted and kept with him, believing, said he “that they were presented to him by the Cham king for delaying the despatch of troops.”

1. The letter is quoted in the Chinese text ‘‘Ngan-nan ki cheou pen-mo”, composed between 1404-1432 A.D. It is thus a contemporary record. cf. B. E. F. vol. XIV, No. 9, p. 42.
But Tênh Tông was now inclined to fight with his turbulent neighbour, and the king of Champa excited him to this action. Although Han Thùong tried to avoid war, he was forced to it, and it was fatal to himself and to his dynasty. In July, 1407, he fell into the hands of the Chinese with his father and son, and they all died in exile.

Vira Bhadravarman, gratified beyond all measure at this defeat of his implacable enemy, sent a sumptuous tribute to the Emperor, and received in return a still more sumptuous present. He then sent an expedition to recover the ceded provinces. The Annamite forces who defended it were easily defeated, the son of Chê Bong Nga who still governed the provinces on behalf of the Annamites lay dead on the field, and the two provinces, ceded in 1402, passed again into the hands of Champa.

In the meantime, after a long struggle, the Chinese general Tchang Fou became the undisputed master of the whole of Annamite territory which was reduced to the position of a Chinese province. The Chinese general now coveted the two Cham provinces which were ceded to Annam in 1402, but were reconquered by Vira Bhadravarman as stated above. The Chinese general even solicited the permission of the Emperor to lead an expedition against Champa. The Emperor was not, however, willing to go so far, but he ordered the king of Champa to restore the two provinces. The latter offered excuses and sent regular tributes, but did not give up the provinces.

Soon the whole situation was changed. In 1428 the Chinese were finally driven out of Annam by Lê Loi who proclaimed himself emperor. Vira Bhadravarman hastened to make friends with him, and sent an ambassador who came back with rich presents. But six years later, when Lê Loi
died and was succeeded by a boy of 11 years, Bhadravarman regarded it as a suitable opportunity for renewing the attacks against Annam. In 1434 he sent an expedition by both land and sea. Two of his men were taken prisoners by the Annamites. They were made to review the Annamite army and then sent back. Bhadravarman, having learnt from them the military strength of the enemy, wished for peace. The plenipotentiaries were exchanged and the pacific relations were established between the two countries in 1434.

Free from troubles in the north by the Chinese victory over the Annamites in 1407, Bhadravarman had invaded Cambodge, and made himself master of it. The king of that country Chau Pouha Yat complained to the Chinese Emperor in 1408, and again in 1414, and asked for his assistance. The Chinese Emperor addressed a letter to Vira Bhadravarman asking him to withdraw his troops from Cambodge and leave it in peace. What came out of it we do not know, but in an inscription dated 1421 A. D. 'the king is said to have vanquished the Annamites and taken possession of a kingdom called Braḥ Kānda. He gained innumerable victories, erected an image of Viṣṇu called Tribhuvanākrānta, and appropriated the booty he had taken from the Khmers to the service of the god.' The king, besides, made various rich gifts to Śrīśāna (Śrīśānabhadreśvara?)

It was during his reign that Nicolo de Conti visited Champā. He went west from the island of Java "towards a maritime city named Ciampa rich in Aloe wood, camphor and gold." Vira Bhadravarman was the last king who has left inscriptions in the Cham language. After him Champā knew peace no longer. It remained a scene of civil war and foreign invasion till its downfall at no distant date.

1. Dien Hoa Ins. (No. 121)
Vira Bhadravarman died in 1441 A. D. and was succeeded by his nephew Mahā Vijaya. In a letter to the Ming Emperor he declared himself to have been nominated to the succession by his uncle himself; but his nephew and successor Mahā Qui Lai later on advanced a similar claim, and announced that as he was too young, he had abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle. The probability seems to be that the death of Bhadravarman was followed by a civil war for succession and his nephew Mahā Vijaya came out successful at first.

Immediately after his accession Mahā Vijaya sent an ambassador to the Chinese Emperor and asked for investiture, representing that his uncle had left the throne to him by a formal testament. The Emperor nominated him king of Champā and sent presents for the king and the queen.

Having thus been assured of friendship or at least the neutrality of China, Mahā Vijaya commenced the old tactics of harassing the Annamite frontier. He sent expedition against the border province of Hoa Chau in 1444, and again in 1445. The second one was disastrous, for the army was suddenly caught during an inundation at the citadel of An Dung, and suffered severe losses.

The Annamite court, tired of these border campaigns, resolved to carry the fight into the heart of Champā. They tried to secure the neutrality of China, and represented, that taking advantage of the young age of their Emperor, Mahā Vijaya made plundering raids into the province of Hoa Chau and inflicted considerable damages upon the country. The Chinese Emperor rebuked the king of Champā and asked him to fix the limits of the two countries and forswear all war in future. "You must" concluded he "issue strict commands to the officers of your frontier posts not to lead any incursion..."
against the Annamites." At the same time he asked the Annamites to refrain from commencing a war of vengeance against their neighbour. But the Annamites had already assembled their troops and collected the munitions of war. Their army entered into Champa, defeated the enemy troops and besieged the capital city Vijaya (1446 A.D.). Mahā Vijaya shut himself up into the city with all his troops, and hoped to be able to defy the enemy. But he was betrayed by his nephew Mahā Qui-Lai. On condition of being recognised as king of Champa he delivered up the city to the Annamites. Mahā Vijaya was made prisoner with his wives and concubines and the enemy returned to their country with an immense booty. Amid pompous ceremonies, the captive king ‘was presented to the ancestors’ of the Annamite Emperor. Most of the Cham prisoners were then released but the king was not allowed to return, although the Chinese Emperor sent an order to that effect. Nevertheless he was well treated. He was allowed to put on his royal costume and invited to the feast offered to the ambassadors of his country (1447).

Mahā Qui-Lai asked for formal investiture from both the Annamite and Chinese courts, and his request was granted by both. The Chinese Emperor repeated to him his advice to be on friendly terms with the Annamite Court. He listened to this counsel and sent tributes to Annam (1447). But he could not long enjoy the sovereignty which he had purchased by betraying his king and his country. He was dethroned by his younger brother Qui-Do who threw him into prison and declared himself king (1449).

The Annamite Emperor Nho’n Ton was very angry and refused the homage of the new king. "A subject" said he "who assassinates his king, and a younger brother who kills his elder, merits an exemplary punishment according to all
laws, both ancient and modern. I categorically refuse all your presents and return them.” He further sent an officer to Champā to obtain first-hand information about the recent happenings in that country. Apprehensive of the results of this inquiry Qui-Do sent another ambassador to the Annamite court. But he did not fare better than his predecessor. When questioned about the crime of his royal master he could not give any reply but simply made the most humble obeisance. Nho'n Ton not only dismissed him but recalled all the Annamites settled in Champā, and wrote a strong letter to Qui-Do. “In a kingdom” said he “there must be a king and his subjects; this is an eternal principle. You Chams, you dare transgress this eternal law. When the old king had died, you elected Bi-Cai (Mahā Vijaya) to the throne, instead of the son of the late king. He refused to respect our authority and created troubles for us. He was punished for his crime and fell in our hands. You then demanded investiture for Qui-Lai and again abandoned him for placing Qui-Do on the throne. Are you then devoid of all principles and fidelity? Do you regard the king as merely a piece on a chess-board?”

The Cham king could very well retort by pointing out the support which the Annamite court had extended to the traitor and regicide whom he had displaced. But it was the logic of the strong towards the weak. Qui-Do sent back about 70 Annamites (1449) and did not make any further attempt to establish friendly relations with the Annamite court.

Some time elapsed before Qui-Do asked for investiture from China. In 1449 the Chinese Emperor Ying Tsong was made prisoner by the Mongols and his brother King had ascended the throne. The delay of Qui-Do in asking for investiture was probably due to these events. But in 1453 he sent
ambassadors to the Emperor King. They reported the death of Maha Qui-Lai and requested that his brother Maha Qui-Do might be recognised as king. Their prayer was granted. When the Emperor Ying Tsong recovered the throne, Qui-Do took oath of allegiance again in 1457.

Towards the close of 1457 or the beginning of the next year Qui-Do was assassinated by the son of a nurse at the instance of Maha Ban-La Trà-Nguyet. The latter then ascended the throne. He was a nobleman and had married a daughter as well as a niece of Maha Vijaya. The new king was recognised by China but he did not pay any homage to the Annamite Emperor. The result was the renewal of hostility between the two countries, and once the Cham king lodged a formal complaint to the Chinese Emperor against the incursions of the Annamites. The king did not reign long, having abdicated the throne in 1460 in favour of his younger brother, Ban-La Trà-Toàn.

The new king inherited the enmity of Annam which his predecessor's action had provoked. The Annamite Emperor Thanh Ton pretended that Champā was a feudatory state of his and demanded some white elephants of the king. Trà Toàn who had already been recognised by China, now requested the Chinese Emperor to send an official to fix a definite frontier between the two countries. The new Emperor Hien Tsong was dissuaded by his advisers from trying to establish peace between two countries which had been enemies for such a long time, and he simply asked the king of Champā to maintain peace.

Trà-Toàn, unable to defy Annam without the help of China, sent tributes to Thanh Ton in 1467. But the latter persisted in his contention of being treated by Champā exactly on the same footing as the Chinese Emperor, and demanded
a supplementary tribute consisting of rhinoceros, elephants and many precious objects. The Cham ambassador represented that he was unable to concede the additional demand without a reference to his master, and asked Thánh Ton to send an envoy to Champā to settle this question. Trà-Toán, however, refused this new demand and informed Hien Tsong of it (1469). He resolved to maintain the independence of his country at any cost and decided to risk a war.

He first sent a naval expedition against Hoa Chau (1469) and next year invaded the province at the head of an army 100,000 strong. He had a strong cavalry and a number of war elephants with him. The Annamite general, unable to oppose this vast army, shut himself up in his stronghold, and informed Thánh Ton of his precarious situation.

The Emperor was waiting for this very opportunity. He at once made extensive preparations for the campaign. Then, with a view to avoid hostility with China, he sent an ambassador to Hien Tsong informing him of the war in which he suddenly found himself involved. He also explained the cause of the war, and particularly emphasised the repeated Cham incursions against the frontier of Hoa Chau. Lastly, he issued a long proclamation addressed to the Chams. "In a month", said he, "peace will reign again...........your last hour is near at hand". He reproached them for the accusations they made to the Chinese Emperor against himself, for the way in which they treated his ambassadors, for the assassination of their king, and for raising Trà-Toán to the throne. He exposed the tyranny of the usurper in the following words: "Boys and girls are forced to the corvee, and widows are ill-treated. You have to pay most excessive taxes and it must be a great trial for you to see the people of Śri Vini¹ raised to high offices and honours." The proclamation conti-

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1. This was the birth-place of the king.
"you have imprisoned men and women of my country
and given shelter to the fugitives whom we want. . . . . . .When
I am at peace, you assemble a band of men and attack my
country. But as soon as I take the field you wag your tail
like a dog, and ask for pardon. I have now, by the order of
God, brought a magnificent army and brave soldiers for chastising
you and showing you my majesty. I have resolved to conquer
your kingdom and thus to wipe away the disgrace inflicted
upon the preceding emperors."

After issuing this proclamation the Emperor offered solemn
prayers for victory before the altar of his ancestors. He had
already despatched a magnificent fleet containing 100,000 men,
and now started in person with 150,000 soldiers. The huge
army reached the soil of Champá in safety (-471). Trà-Toàn
sent his younger brother with 5,000 men on elephants to sur-
prise the enemy camp. But the small force was hemmed
round in all sides and practically cut off by the enemy.

Trà-Toàn was very much alarmed at the news of this
disaster and sent a member of his family to the emperor to
doer submission. But the latter continued to advance, seized
Sri Vizi, and at last invested the capital city Vijaya. The city
was taken by assault without much difficulty. 60,000 Chams
were put to the sword, and 30,000 made prisoners. Fifty
members of the royal family fell into the hands of the conque-
tor. Trà-Toàn was led before the Emperor. "Art thou the
Lord of Champá?" asked he; "Yes my Lord" was the reply.
"Who do you think am I?" "One glance at your face is enough
to tell me that you are the Emperor." "How many children
have you?" "More than ten."

Thanh Ton constructed a shed outside the palace to guard
the prisoners. As his officers were jostling against Trà-Toàn
he asked them to treat that king with more respect. "He
was the lord of this country", said he, "it is not right to treat
him thus." But Trà-Toàn did not long survive the disgrace.
Abandoned by all, even by the Chinese emperor, who for fear of provoking the hostility of Annam did not even dare to ask for his release, deprived of his wives and attendants, he fell ill and died in a ship on his way to Annam. His body was burnt and the ashes cast into the winds, but the head was fastened to the forepart of the imperial vessel with a white flag on which the following words were inscribed: “This is the head of the very wicked Trá-Toàn of the kingdom of Champa.”

Meanwhile a Cham general Bo Tri collected the remnants of the army and took refuge in Pânduraṅga. There he proclaimed himself king and sent an ambassador to offer the oath of allegiance and tribute to Thánh Ton who accepted them. The mountains which separate the present provinces of Phu Yen and Khan Hoa and terminate in cape Varella henceforth formed the boundary between Annam and Champa. A boundary stone marked the limit.

Thus not only the whole of Amarāvati which was once ceded in 1402, but also the whole of the province of Vijaya passed into the hands of the Annamites. The kingdom of Champa, which now consisted only of Kauthāra and Pânduraṅga, was thus reduced to nearly one-fifth of what it was even in the days of Chê Bong Nga. Even the small territory that remained (viz; the modern districts of Khan Hoa and Binh Thuan) was absolutely at the mercy of the powerful Annamites.

But old prestige dies hard. The petty Cham chiefs of the south still bore the proud name of the king of Champa, and the Chinese emperor not only invested them as such, but even called upon the Annamites to restore the provinces of Vijaya and Amarāvati to them. Three kings received formal investi-

1. Only two were allowed to accompany him.
ture in this way from the Chinese court. The first, Tchai-Ya-
Ma-Fou-Ngan, said to be the nephew of a former king, died
In 1478. He was probably killed by his brother Kou Lai
who succeeded him and ruled from 1478 to 1505 A.D. His
son and successor Cha-Kou-Pou-Lo received formal investiture
from the Chinese court in 1509 A.D. and sent an ambassador
to China in 1543 A.D. This was the last embassy from the
king of Champa to the Chinese court.

The king had a tragic end. Taking advantage of some
troubles among the Annamites he made a last desperate effort
to free himself from the Annamite yoke. But he was defeated
and confined in an iron cage where he died. The Annamites
on this occasion annexed the Cham territory up to the river of
Phanrang. The seat of the kingdom of Champa was then re-
moved to Bal Chanar at Phanri. There in 1720 the officers of
the SS. Galathee saw the king of Champa seated on a throne
and have left us an interesting account of the palace.¹ In course
of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Chams were
dispossessed of Khan Hoa and Phan Rang. In 1822, Po Chong,
the last king, unable to bear the oppressions of the Annamites,
passed over to Cambodge with a colony of exiles, leaving prin-
cess Po Bia to guard over the so-called "Royal treasures of
Cham" at Bal Chanar. She died a few years ago, mourned by
her faithful subjects who looked upon her as the last emblem
of their independence.

Thus closes a brilliant chapter in the history of Indian
colonisation. Brave sons of India, who planted her banner in
far off lands and maintained its honour and dignity for more
than 1500 years, at last vanished into the limbo of oblivion.
But the torch of civilisation which they carried dispelled the
darkness of ages and still throws its lurid light over the pages
of history.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF CHAMPA

KINGS REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER XII.

1. A-Nan (1318—1342 A. D.)
2. Bo De (1342—c. 1360 A. D.)
   (Son-in-law of No. 1)
3. Che Bong Nga (c. 1360—1380 A. D.)
4. La Khai or Jaya Sīhältavarman V (1380—1401 A. D.)
5. Bhadravarman V (1401—1441 A. D.) or Indravarman XII (Son of No. 4)
6. Mahā Vijaya (1441—1446 A. D.) (Nephew of No. 5)
7. Mahā Qui Lai (1446—1449 A. D.) (Nephew of No. 6)
8. Mahā Qui-Do (1449—c. 1457 A. D.) (Younger brother of No. 7)
9. Mahā Ban-La-Tra-Nguyet (1457—1460 A. D.) (Son-in-law of No. 6)
10. Bàn-La Trà-Toàn (1460—1471 A. D.) (Younger brother of No. 9)
11. Bo Tri Tri (acc. 1471 A. D.?)
12. Tchai-Ya-Ma-Fou-Ngan (died in 1478 A. D.)
13. Kou-Lai (1478—1505 A. D.) (Brother of No. 12)
14. Cha-Kou-Pou-Lo (1505—c. 1543 A. D.)
Chapter XIII.

Administrative System.

Having concluded the political history of Champa we may now proceed to give a short sketch of the system of administration prevailing in the kingdom. The materials for this study are very scanty as we have to depend mainly upon the indirect allusions and references contained in the inscriptions. It is not possible to trace the gradual evolution of the political system and we must remain content, for the present at least, with only a general outline of the essential features of administrative system.

Monarchy was the form of government in Champa from beginning to end. The king administered the whole state with almost absolute authority. The central administration might be broadly divided into three classes: civil, military and religious. At the head of the civil administration were two chief ministers with three grades of officials under them. The Captain of Guards and Senāpati were the chief military officers, while the religious establishment consisted of a High Priest the Brāhmaṇas, Astrologers, Pandits and Masters of ceremonies.

The ministers naturally occupied a very high position and some inscriptions throw interesting light on their status. Sometimes the ministers seem to have been chosen from the same family and the post acquired almost a hereditary character.

The kingdom was divided into three provinces.

(1) Amarāvati, the northern part, corresponded to Quang Nam. Here were the two famous capital cities Champāpura

and Indrapura. The latter occupied the site of Dong Duong.

(2) Vijaya, the central portion of the kingdom, corresponded to Binh Dinh. Its chief city, Vijaya, served for sometime as the capital of the whole kingdom. It contained the famous port Śri Vinaya.

(3) Pāṇḍuraṅga, the southern part corresponded to the valleys of Phan-ranh and Binh Thuan. Its chief town Vira-pura, also called Rājapura, once served as the capital of the whole kingdom.

The region called Kauṭhāra, corresponding to Khan Hoa, was usually included in this division, but sometimes formed an independent province.

These provinces were divided into districts, the total number of which, according to a Chinese authority, was thirty-eight in the reign of Harivarman III (1080 A.D.). Each district contained a number of towns and villages which were the lowest territorial units. The population of any of these hardly ever exceeded 700 families, and there were more than hundred which contained three to five hundred families each. The population of the provincial capitals was of course considerably larger. According to the census taken by Li Thanh Tonh in 1069 there were 2,560 families in Vijaya.

It would appear that two high functionaries, a “governor” and a “senāpati”, were placed at the head of each provincial administration. Thus king Harivarmanava appointed his own son Vikrānta-varmanā as the governor of Pāṇḍuraṅga, and at the same time deputed Senāpati Paṅr to guard the prince (No. 26). The selection of the heir-apparent as the governor was probably due to the importance of the province. We have already seen how the province frequently rebelled against the central authority and sometimes maintained its independence for a fairly long period (pp. 78 89).
The provincial governors had under them nearly fifty officials of different grades for general administration and collection of revenue. None of these officials was paid in cash, but got something like a jagir or maintained themselves at the cost of the people under them. The people were bound to provide for these officials, and the system of corvée or forced labour was in vogue.

The principal source of revenue seems to be the land-tax which consisted usually of one-sixth the produce, though sometimes reduced to one-tenth. The kings sometimes made a gift of this royal share to a temple for its maintenance. In addition, the king often exempted the lands belonging to a temple from taxes.

Taxes were also imposed on all industrial products and articles of merchandise. The royal officers boarded the foreign merchant vessel after its arrival at the port and took a fifth of the goods as royal revenue. The king even took a share of the products of the forest, such as timber and animals collected by the toils of the people.

Justice was administered apparently in accordance with the Hindu principles, for we are told that Jaya Indravarman-deva V "followed the eighteen titles of law prescribed by Manu" (Ins. No. 65). Harivarman-deva IV also did the same (No. 62). King Jaya Indravarman-deva VII is said to have been versed in the Dharmasāstra notably the Nārādiya and Bhār-ggaviya (No. 81).

We gather a few details from epigraphic records and Chinese texts. Certain crimes were punished by confiscation of goods and loss of personal freedom. Slavery was also a punishment for debts. Crimes were ordinarily punished by flogging. The criminal was stretched on the ground while

two men on the right and two on the left alternately struck him as many as 50, 60 or even 100 times according to the gravity of the offence. Theft and robbery were punished by the mutilation of fingers, while adultery involved capital punishment for both the accomplices.\(^1\)

The capital sentence was inflicted in many ways. Ordinarily the condemned person was fastened to a tree; then his neck was pierced through by means of a sharp spear and afterwards his head was cut off. For cold-blooded murder, or murder accompanied by robbery, the criminal was either delivered up to the people who throttled him to death, or trampled under the feet of an elephant. The rebel was tied to a post in a lonely place and was not released till he submitted. Lastly certain crimes were punished by deportation.

It appears that "the Divine Judgment" was resorted to in certain extraordinary cases. If a man were devoured by a tiger or a crocodile his family complained about it to the king. The king ordered the High Priest to invoke the divine judgment. The latter offered prayers and conjurations at the very place where the man met his death, and it was believed that the tiger and crocodile would be obliged thereby to return to the same place to take punishments. If the complaint appeared to be false, the priest, in order to ascertain the truth, asked the man to go to the riverside. If he were guilty of telling lies he would be devoured by a crocodile. If he were innocent the crocodile would take to flight.\(^2\)

In view of the constant wars in which the kingdom was involved the military organisation was a thing of the highest

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1. It appears that sometimes the adulterers escaped by paying the price of a bull.

2. This account of administration of justice is based upon T'oung Pao 1910 pp 202-203 Maspero laments the absence of any legal code of ancient Champa, but fails to note the reference to Manu Samhita and its adoption by the kings as legal code.
importance. A large regular army was maintained by the state. At the time of Fan Wen the army was nearly forty to fifty thousand strong. It must have been considerably increased in later times. At the time of Che Bong Nga, the royal guard alone numbered 5000. The armament of the soldiers consisted of a shield, javelin, halberd, bow and crossbow. The arrows were not feathered but their tips were poisoned. The soldiers marched with their standards at the sound of drums and conchshells. They were arranged into groups of five who were responsible for one another. If any one of them fled, the other four were liable to death.

According to Maspero the Cham army consisted merely of infantry and elephants till 1171 A.D. when they learnt the use of cavalry from the Chinese. This is not, however, quite correct. What the Chams learnt from the Chinese in 1171 was the art of throwing arrows from the back of horses, a somewhat difficult operation inasmuch as both hands of the rider had to be kept free. But cavalry was a part of their army long before that. This is proved by the following vivid description of a battlefield contained in an inscription dated 909 A.D. "Which (the battlefield) is grey with the dust raised by the swift-moving sharp hoofs of horses galloping high; whose surface has been dyed red with drops of blood, like Asoka flowers, shed by means of various weapons; and in the four regions of which the sounds of war-drums were drowned by the roars of gigantic beautiful elephants" (Ins. No. 39, v. 17).

The elephants formed an important part of the army and we have already seen how the Chinese army was perplexed by this new element in warfare which was no doubt introduced by the Indian colonists. The number of war elephants maintained in Champā was nearly one thousand. Odoric de
Pordenone says that at the time of his visit to Champā (c. 1323 A.D.) the king had 14,000 tame elephants.¹

The navy consisted of large turret-ships as well as light junks. The total number of vessels was fairly large and we have several references to squadrons of more than 100 vessels supporting the movement of an army on land.

The king often entrusted his brothers or other members of the royal family with the chief command of the army. The generals had the title of Mahāsenāpati and Senāpati, and there were several grades of officers under them. They all took an oath to the king to fight for him till their death. Their pay consisted of subsidies in kind, and they were exempt from taxation. The ordinary soldiers received two bushels of rice per month and three to five dresses for winter and summer.

The Chams had a fair knowledge of the art of fortification. They protected their towns by brick walls flanked by watchtowers made of stone. These citadels and a stronghold named Kiu-sou specially fortified for the purpose served as the depot for their war materials. A detailed account of the fortification of Kiu-sou has been given above (p-26). Lastly the Chams constructed entrenched camps by means of palisades and turrets. They painted the outer gates of their citadels with the ashes of an animal. They believed that these were thereby made impregnable.

While the Chams assiduously cultivated the arts of war, they did not neglect the arts of peace. The kings maintained diplomatic relations with neighbouring countries. Constant embassies to the courts of China and Annam have already been referred to in the preceding pages. The Nhan-Bieu Inscription (No.43) records the career of a nobleman named Rājadvārah who was twice despatched by the king to Yavadvipa on a diplomatic mission. The Bāng-An Ins. (No 42) refers to a multitude of royal ambassadors coming to

Champā from different countries The Hoa Que Ins. (No 39) relates, among other qualifications of the minister Ājñā Jayendrapati, that "by hard exertion he was able to understand thoroughly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries." All these references, taken together, leave no doubt that the kingdom of Champā maintained extensive diplomatic relations with her neighbouring countries.

The art of diplomacy, as practised in India, was fairly understood. The neighbouring states were classified as friends, enemies or neutrals, and the relation with these powers was guided by the four expedients of sāma (conciliation), dāna (gifts), bheda (discord) and danda (chastisement) (Nos. 9 and 62). Sometimes danda is replaced by upapradīna (bribery) (No. 65). What is more important still is the reference to "śālyānyā" which is undoubtedly identical with the "śālyānyā" of Kautilya, meaning the sixfold measures of royal policy. ¹ Kānandakiya Nitisāra, a treatise on politics based upon Kautiliya Arthasastra, deals extensively with the four expedients and the sixfold measures of royal policy. It is possible that political science was studied in Champā from books of this kind.² It is to be remembered, however, that Manusūnihitā, which we know from other sources to have been used in Champā, also deals with both these topics, viz. the four expedients and the sixfold measures of royal policy, but its discussion on these subjects is neither full nor accurate, the author having evidently borrowed his materials from books on political science which he did not clearly understand. But however that may be, there is no doubt that the statesmen in Champā were thoroughly imbued with the ideas of Indian Political Science and it formed the basis of policy in that kingdom.

1. Kautiliya-Arthasastra Bk. VII ch I
2. Dr. R. Mitra pointed out in the Introduction to his edition of Kānandakiya Nitisāra that the book was imported into Bali island by its Hindu inhabitants as early as the fourth century A.D.
Chapter XIV.

The King.

The king of Champā was not only the head but also the centre of administration, and it is therefore necessary to discuss his position and status at some length. Fortunately, our materials for the study of this subject are fuller and more reliable than those for the administrative system.

In theory the king was regarded as of divine origin, the colonists following in this respect the view of the orthodox Brahmanical schools of India. Indeed the whole conception of the status and position of the king seems to be dominated by the Brahmanical views such as those propounded in Manusāmhitā.

Reference to the divine nature of kings is found in Po Nagar Ins. (No.29A., v.2). In Dong Duong Ins. (No.31A, v.8) kings are referred to as “the gods dwelling upon earth”. Lastly he is said to have the vigruha or body of Chandra, Indra, Agni, Yama and Kuvera (No.23, v.3). Now no body can possibly ignore the striking resemblance between these views and those propounded at the beginning of Chapter VII in Manusāmhitā. We read there that the king “is a great deity in human form” (v.8) and that the Lord created him “taking for that purpose eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera)”.

To what extent this theory of divine origin modified the status of king in practice it is not possible to say. In one respect, however, it was carried to its logical conclusion, in a manner which would have been regarded as horribly scandalous in India. In Po Nagar Ins. (No.30) we read that king’s feet were worshipped, even by Brāhmaṇas and

priests. This would be quite in keeping with the divine origin of kings, but in India the Brāhmaṇas were careful enough to safeguard their own position, and thus the first and foremost duty of the “divine kings” was to worship the Brāhmaṇas.¹ The kings in Champā were not apparently dominated by the influence of the Brāhmaṇas, at least to the same extent as in India.

But although theoretically the king appears to be vested with absolute authority, there might have been limitations to his power in actual practice. Unfortunately our knowledge in this matter is very vague. The Vo-Chanh inscription (No. 1) refers to an “assembly”, but we do not know anything about its power and functions.

Maspero supposes that the crown-prince could not ascend the throne without the approval of the nobility. He admits that this rule was violated when the king was powerful enough, but holds that it was the normal rule. Unfortunately the evidence in support of his view is slender in the extreme. The modern practice of Cambodge to which he refers can hardly be taken as a sure guide for practice in ancient Champā. The passages of Dong Duong Ins.² on which he relies, as translated by me, do not support the contention in any way. On the other hand such boasting expression as is used by Indravarman viz. that he “gained the kingdom by the special merit of his austerities, and by virtue of his pure intelligence, and not from his grand-father or father” seems to indicate that hereditary succession was the normal rule. It is quite true that in troublesome times, or probably for some special reasons such as the absence of a legal or suitable heir, the king was sometimes elected by the people. Thus when Jaya Rudravarman died at Pāṇḍurāṅga in 1147 A. D.

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¹ cf. Manuṣamhitā, Ch. VII, vv, 37 ff
² No. 31 B vv. VI, IX aud XI
the people of that town invited his son Harivarma to be the king of Champā (Ins. No. 75). According to Myson Ins. = (No. 12) the kingdom was bestowed on Prakāśadharma by holy men. When Harivarman abdicated, the people offered the authority to his son (No. 62).

In connection with the hereditary succession it is necessary to note the importance of the females. Kings are succeeded not only by their sister's son, but also by their sister's husband and even wife's sister's son. This has been attributed to the system of matriarchy supposed to be prevalent in those parts of the country.

After his accession to the throne the new king performed his coronation ceremony with great pomp and splendour. Sometimes a long interval elapsed between the accession of a king and his coronation. Thus Harivarman ascended the throne in 1147 A.D., but was “consecrated to the throne with due ceremonials” only in 1149 A.D. King Vira Bhadravarmadeva was consecrated 32 years after his accession.

There seems also to have been a fairly general practice among kings of Champā to take a new name called Abhisvkanāma (No. 7) at the time of the coronation. Thus Praṇastadharma, son of Rudravaran, took the name Śrī Śambhuvarman at the time of his coronation (No. 7). Several other instances of this kind are shown in a tabular form below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary Name</th>
<th>Coronation Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Prakāśadharma</td>
<td>Śrī Vikrāntavaran (No. 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Puḷyaṇ Śrī Rājadvāra</td>
<td>Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva (No. 62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Prince Nauk Glaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Cf. the genealogy of kings referred to in Ch. V and also the case of Jaya Simhavarmadeva (No. 36).
Vijaya or Vira Bhadra—Śrī Bṛṣu Indravarman.

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Attired in his gorgeous robe the king entered the Hall of Audience where he held his court. The immediate entourage of the king consisted, among others, of nobles, eminent Brāhmaṇas, Purohita, Pāṇḍits, astrologers and masters of ceremonies.

Strangely enough, the sons, brothers, and more important officials of the king had no immediate access to his person. This was apparently due to fear of being assassinated by them. The daily life of the king was regulated by a fixed routine. Every day at midday he gave audience to his people in an open Durbar. The king sat cross-legged on a high throne. Those who were presented to him saluted him in Indian fashion, bowing down their heads very low, while

1. T'oung Pao, 1910, pp. 193—94.
importance. A large regular army was maintained by the state. At the time of Fan Wen the army was nearly forty to fifty thousand strong. It must have been considerably increased in later times. At the time of Che Bong Nga, the royal guard alone numbered 5000. The armament of the soldiers consisted of a shield, javelin, halberd, bow and crossbow. The arrows were not feathered but their tips were poisoned. The soldiers marched with their standards at the sound of drums and conchshells. They were arranged into groups of five who were responsible for one another. If any one of them fled, the other four were liable to death.

According to Maspero the Cham army consisted merely of infantry and elephants till 1171 A.D. when they learnt the use of cavalry from the Chinese. This is not, however, quite correct. What the Chams learnt from the Chinese in 1171 was the art of throwing arrows from the back of horses, a somewhat difficult operation inasmuch as both hands of the rider had to be kept free. But cavalry was a part of their army long before that. This is proved by the following vivid description of a battle-field contained in an inscription dated 909 A.D. "Which (the battle-field) is grey with the dust raised by the swift-moving sharp hoofs of horses galloping high; whose surface has been dyed red with drops of blood, like Asoka flowers, shed by means of various weapons; and in the four regions of which the sounds of war-drums were drowned by the roars of gigantic beautiful elephants" (Ins. No. 39, v. 17).

The elephants formed an important part of the army and we have already seen how the Chinese army was perplexed by this new element in warfare which was no doubt introduced by the Indian colonists. The number of war elephants maintained in Champā was nearly one thousand. Odoric de
Pordenone says that at the time of his visit to Champa (c. 1323 A.D.) the king had 14,000 tame elephants.\footnote{1. Marco Polo. Edited by Yule—Vol. II p. 352.}

The navy consisted of large turret-ships as well as light junks. The total number of vessels was fairly large and we have several references to squadrons of more than 100 vessels supporting the movement of an army on land.

The king often entrusted his brothers or other members of the royal family with the chief command of the army. The generals had the title of Mahāsenāpati and Senāpati, and there were several grades of officers under them. They all took an oath to the king to fight for him till their death. Their pay consisted of subsidies in kind, and they were exempt from taxation. The ordinary soldiers received two bushels of rice per month and three to five dresses for winter and summer.

The Chams had a fair knowledge of the art of fortification. They protected their towns by brick walls flanked by watchtowers made of stone. These citadels and a stronghold named Kiu-sou specially fortified for the purpose served as the depot for their war materials. A detailed account of the fortification of Kiu-sou has been given above (p-26). Lastly the Chams constructed entrenched camps by means of palisades and turrets. They painted the outer gates of their citadels with the ashes of an animal. They believed that these were thereby made impregnable.

While the Chams assiduously cultivated the arts of war, they did not neglect the arts of peace. The kings maintained diplomatic relations with neighbouring countries. Constant embassies to the courts of China and Annam have already been referred to in the preceding pages. The Nhan-Bieu Inscription (No.43) records the career of a nobleman named Rājadvārah who was twice despatched by the king to Yavadvipa on a diplomatic mission. The Bāng-An Ins. (No 42) refers to a multitude of royal ambassadors coming to
Champa from different countries. The Hoa Que Ins. (No 39) relates, among other qualifications of the minister Ajna Jayendrapati, that “by hard exertion he was able to understand thoroughly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries.” All these references, taken together, leave no doubt that the kingdom of Champa maintained extensive diplomatic relations with her neighbouring countries.

The art of diplomacy, as practised in India, was fairly understood. The neighbouring states were classified as friends, enemies or neutrals, and the relation with these powers was guided by the four expedients of sama (conciliation), dana (gifts), bheda (discord) and danda (chastisement) (Nos. 9 and 62). Sometimes danda is replaced by upapradina (bribery) (No. 65). What is more important still is the reference to “sādyguna” which is undoubtedly identical with the “sādyguna” of Kautilya, meaning the sixfold measures of royal policy.1 Kāmandakiya Nitisāra, a treatise on politics based upon Kautilya Artha āstra, deals extensively with the four expedients and the sixfold measures of royal policy. It is possible that political science was studied in Champa from books of this kind.2 It is to be remembered, however, that Manusāhitas, which we know from other sources to have been used in Champa, also deals with both these topics, viz. the four expedients and the sixfold measures of royal policy, but its discussion on these subjects is neither full nor accurate, the author having evidently borrowed his materials from books on political science which he did not clearly understand. But however that may be, there is no doubt that the statesmen in Champa were thoroughly imbued with the ideas of Indian Political Science and it formed the basis of polity in that kingdom.

1. Kautiliya-Arthasastra Bk. VII ch I
2. Dr. R. Mitra pointed out in the Introduction to his edition of Kamandakiya Nitisāra that the book was imported into Bali island by its Hindu inhabitants as early as the fourth century A.D.
Chapter XIV.

The King.

The king of Champâ was not only the head but also the centre of administration, and it is therefore necessary to discuss his position and status at some length. Fortunately, our materials for the study of this subject are fuller and more reliable than those for the administrative system.

In theory the king was regarded as of divine origin, the colonists following in this respect the view of the orthodox Brahmanical schools of India. Indeed the whole conception of the status and position of the king seems to have been dominated by the Brahmanical views such as those propounded in Manuśāṁhītā.

Reference to the divine nature of kings is found in Po Nagar Ins. (No.29A., v.2). In Dong Duong Ins. (No.31A, v.8) kings are referred to as "the gods dwelling upon earth". Lastly he is said to have the vīgra ha or body of Chandra, Indra, Agni, Yama and Ku vera (No.23, v.3). Now no body can possibly ignore the striking resemblance between these views and those propounded at the beginning of Chapter VII in Manuśāṁhītā. We read there that the king "is a great deity in human form" (v.8) and that the Lord created him "taking for that purpose eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera)".¹

To what extent this theory of divine origin modified the status of king in practice it is not possible to say. In one respect, however, it was carried to its logical conclusion, in a manner which would have been regarded as horribly scandalous in India. In Po Nagar Ins. (No.30) we read that king's feet were worshipped, even by Brāhmaṇas and

¹. Laws of Manu' Transl. by Buhler, pp 216-217.
priests. This would be quite in keeping with the divine origin of kings, but in India the Brāhmaṇas were careful enough to safeguard their own position, and thus the first and foremost duty of the "divine kings" was to worship the Brāhmaṇas. The kings in Champā were not apparently dominated by the influence of the Brāhmaṇas, at least to the same extent as in India.

But although theoretically the king appears to be vested with absolute authority, there might have been limitations to his power in actual practice. Unfortunately our knowledge in this matter is very vague. The Vo-Chanh inscription (No. 1) refers to an "assembly", but we do not know any thing about its power and functions.

Maspero supposes that the crown-prince could not ascend the throne without the approval of the nobility. He admits that this rule was violated when the king was powerful enough, but holds that it was the normal rule. Unfortunately the evidence in support of his view is slender in the extreme. The modern practice of Cambodge to which he refers can hardly be taken as a sure guide for practice in ancient Champā. The passages of Dong Duong Ins. on which he relies, as translated by me, do not support the contention in any way. On the other hand such boasting expression as is used by Indravarman viz. that he "gained the kingdom by the special merit of his austerities, and by virtue of his pure intelligence, and not from his grand-father or father" seems to indicate that hereditary succession was the normal rule. It is quite true that in troublesome times, or probably for some special reasons such as the absence of a legal or suitable heir, the king was sometimes elected by the people. Thus when Jaya Rudravarman died at Pāṇḍuraṅga in 1147 A. D.

1. cf. Manusamhitā, Ch. VII, vv. 37 ff
2. No. 31 B vv. VI, IX and XI
the people of that town invited his son Harivarma to be the king of Champā (Ins. No. 75). According to Myson Ins. = (No. 12) the kingdom was bestowed on Prakāśadharma by holy men. When Harivarman abdicated, the people offered the authority to his son (No. 62).

In connection with the hereditary succession it is necessary to note the importance of the females. Kings are succeeded not only by their sister's son, but also by their sister's husband and even wife's sister's son.¹ This has been attributed to the system of matriarchy supposed to be prevalent in those parts of the country.

After his accession to the throne the new king performed his coronation ceremony with great pomp and splendour. Sometimes a long interval elapsed between the accession of a king and his coronation. Thus Harivarman ascended the throne in 1147 A.D., but was "consecrated to the throne with due ceremonials" only in 1149 A.D. King Vīra Bhadravarmadeva was consecrated 32 years after his accession.

There seems also to have been a fairly general practice among kings of Champā to take a new name called Abhisekanāma (No. 7) at the time of the coronation. Thus Pratāstadharma, son of Rudravarman, took the name Śrī Śambhuvarman at the time of his coronation (No. 7). Several other instances of this kind are shown in a tabular form below.

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<tr>
<th>Ordinary Name.</th>
<th>Coronation Name.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Prakāśadharma.</td>
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<tr>
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¹. T’oung Pao, 1910, pp. 193—94.
placing the arms across their breast. This was again repeated when the audience was finished.

On leaving the Durbar, the king mounted an elephant, to the accompaniment of the sounds of drums and conchshells, and a cotton umbrella was raised over his head. Close behind him marched an official with a plate of betelnut. Then followed the royal guard of more than 1000 soldiers, armed with spear, sword, shield, bow and arrow. On less formal occasions the king went in a chariot, escorted by 30 women carrying betels and a shield. Sometimes the king went in a palanquin carried by four men.

After the arduous toils and anxieties of administrative work the king sought for relaxation in his very big harem. There were a large number of queens of various ranks, concubines, dancing girls and a large retinue of servants. According to Marco Polo, "no woman in the kingdom of Champā was allowed to marry until the king had seen her. If the woman pleased him then he took her to wife; if not, he gave her a dowry to get a husband." When Marco Polo visited Champā, about 1285 A.D., "the king had, between sons and daughters, 326 children, of whom at least 150 were men fit to carry arms."

Odoric de Pordenone who visited Champā about 40 years later also remarks that the king of the country had about 200 children, for he had many wives and a large number of concubines.¹

On the death of a king, the more favourite among his women, particularly the queens, burnt themselves on the funeral pyre according to the "Sati rite" prevalent in India. The rest remained faithful to their dead lord, and passed their lives in good deeds and religious ceremonies; unless, as

it happened in some cases, they entered into the harem of the next king, either willingly or under compulsion.\footnote{Fan Wen starved to death those women of Fan Yi who refused to obey him.}

It would be unfair to conclude, however, that the kings of Champā were as a rule devoted to luxury and sensual pleasures. Some of them were of religious bent of mind. We even hear of some kings abdicating the throne in order to spend the last days of their lives in religious practices. The cases of Gaṅgārāja and Harivarman may be cited as examples. In this respect, too, the colonists followed some of the best traditions of India.
BOOK II
THE CULTURE CIVILISATION
OF CHAMPA
CHAPTER I.

Religious Evolution in Champa

Religion has been one of the most important factors in the building up of Indian civilisation. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indian colonists who founded a new kingdom in Champa transplanted to their land of adoption the religious ideas with which they were imbued at home. Indeed, it is a matter of common knowledge that no other feature of Indian civilisation left such a profound impress upon these colonial kingdoms, and even now, when the political supremacy of the Indians in those far-off lands is merely a dream of the past, they contain unmistakable traces of the Indian religion and its handmaid, art and architecture.

Several circumstances make the study of Indian religion, as developed in these countries, one of profound interest. In the first place, although it is a familiar story how Buddhism made extensive conquests in foreign lands, Hinduism had never been known to make its influence felt outside the boundaries of India. Yet it is precisely the conservative form of Brahmanical religion that became predominant in the new colony, and dominated the entire development of Hindu civilisation. Secondly, the religious ideas of India were confronted there by a system of primitive beliefs and superstitions, and we find here a repetition, on a smaller scale, of what took place in Northern India, when the Aryans swept away the whole country and imposed their own religion upon the primitive people.

Thirdly, the study of Indian religion in ancient Champa not only affords an interesting insight into the vigour and vitality of the Brahmanical religion, but also shows the completeness with which the foreigners had absorbed the Hindu civilisation. Nothing demonstrates more strikingly the absolute
hold which the Indian civilisation had over the native mind.

It is not only a story of a great triumph, but of a triumph against enormous odds. It has been already related in the previous pages that the political power of the Indian colonists in Champā was never very secure. Threatened by the Chinese, the Annamites and the Cambodians they had always to lead an insecure life. Repeated incursions of these powers almost destroyed the solidarity of their political fabric. Yet, amid all these vicissitudes of political fortune, Hinduism never ceased to make headway and inspire its million devotees to place their wealth and energy at its service. The triumph was all the greater because Hinduism had to reckon in this distant land with the all-powerful civilisation of China. As a matter of fact China was first in the field, and was already master of the greater part of the country when the Indian colonists made their influence felt. Further, throughout the course of history the Chinese empire which reached the borders of the new Indian colony exercised political influence of both direct and indirect character. The Hindu kings of Champā had often to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of the Chinese emperor and send him regular tributes and presents; now and then the Chinese army even occupied and devastated the whole country. Yet, in spite of all these natural advantages, the Chinese civilisation had to give way before the onward march of the Indian in a distant land practically cut off from the mainland of India.

The superiority of the Indian civilisation was once more demonstrated, and it was apparent that Brāhmaṇical religion was not probably much behind Buddhism in respect of missionary zeal and proselytising activity.

The Brāhmaṇical religion that flourished in Champā was not the Vedic religion of old but the neo-Brāhmaṇical religion that was evolved in India almost at the same time as Buddhism and Jainism. The essential characteristic of this new religion
was its sectarian character, the chief God being recognised as either Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. The belief in a multiplicity of gods which prevailed in Vedic times was replaced by absolute faith and devotion to one supreme God. Gradually the new faith inspired a new literature, the Purāṇas, and ushered in elaborate rituals and ceremonies. We find an echo of the pomp and grandeur of Buddhism in the magnificent temples erected to Viṣṇu, Śiva and the hosts of gods associated with them. These gods formed the centre of new philosophical speculations and hosts of myths and legends, and on them was lavished the wealth and luxury of an opulent people.

In course of time the sectarian Brāhmaṇical religion triumphed over Buddhism which had hitherto played a dominant part in India. But although worsted in the struggle Buddhism maintained its existence for centuries to come. Thus the religious history of India during the first thousand years of the Christian era presented a new spectacle, the gradual rise of the new sects and the corresponding decline of the once triumphant Buddhist religion.

All these characteristic features can be traced in minute detail in the religious history of Champā. Fortunately, materials for the study of this history are abundantly supplied by the large number of inscriptions and images of deities that are still to be found in that far-off land.

Of the two Brāhmaṇical sects that flourished in Champā, Śaivism was by far the more influential and exercised a profound influence on the whole course of religious development. The hold of the Viṣṇuites and the Buddhists was poor in comparison. But there is no trace of any religious struggle. On the other hand we have abundant traces of mutual good will and attempts at reconciliation between the different sects.
CHAPTER II.

The conception of Siva.

Of the three members of the Hindu Trinity Śiva occupied an unquestioned position of supremacy in the Hindu colony of Champā. The causes as well as the process of gradual elevation of one of the gods above his rivals are but imperfectly known to us, but there can be no doubt about the fact. Of the 130 inscriptions discovered in Champā and published in this volume, about 21 do not refer to any religious sect in particular. Of the rest, 92 refer to Śiva and the gods associated with him, 3 to Viṣṇu, 5 to Brahmā under the name Svayamutpanna and 7 to Buddha, while two refer to both Śiva and Viṣṇu.¹ This analysis of the known inscriptions is an eloquent testimony to the predominance of the god Śiva. The same conclusion is forced upon us when we remember that the two principal groups of temples in ancient Champā, viz. those of Myson, and Po-Nagar are dedicated to Śivaite gods. Further, the preeminence of Śiva is clearly indicated by the fact that the god was regarded as the tutelary deity of both the city and the kingdom of Champā. Thus according to the Ins. No. 41, the city was created by the rays issuing from the pair of feet of Śrīśānabhadreśa, while in the Ins. No. 94, the same god is referred to as the origin of the kingdom of Champā. These brief allusions are fully explained in the Ins. No. 31 which describes how Uroja, sent to the earth by Śiva, established the kingdom of Champā, having at first placed a linga of that God as the protector of the city. In the Ins. No. 42 we are told that the god Śrī Ṛṣiśāneśvara 'lives here triumphantly together with his

¹. In this calculation, account has been taken only of the principal God mentioned in the inscriptions. In several cases, although Śiva is the principal God, Viṣṇu and other gods have been mentioned as subsidiary gods.
The god Śiva was known by various names. These may be roughly classified as follows:

(a) Names denoting his position of supremacy over other gods:
- Maheśvara (4)
- Mahādeva (6)
- Mahādevēśvara (29)
- Amaraś (10)
- Adhīśa (31)
- Devadeva (34)
- Īśvaradēvatā (59)
- Īśvaradēvātīśdēva (32)
- Vṛddheśvara (35)
- Paramēśvara (36)

(b) Names denoting general greatness, mastery etc:
- Īśā (20) Īśānadeva (21) Īśāneśvara (12) Īśānānātha (16) Īśāneśvaranātha (17).

(c) Names denoting the beneficent nature of the god:
- Śambhu (22) Saṅkara (28) Saṅkāreśa (38) Bhāgyakānteśvara (33) Dharmēśvara (39).

(d) Names denoting the destructive or fierce character of the god:

(e) Names arising out of mythological attributes or characteristics:

1. Figures within brackets after each name indicate the serial number of the Inscription where it occurs. Although one reference only is given to each, sometimes a name occurs in several inscriptions.
THE CONCEPTION OF ŚIVA

Śūli (7), Bhava (17), Paśupati (17), Vāmesvara (19), Vāmabhūteśvara (20), Yogīśvara (59), Guheśvara (74), Jayaguheśvara (35), Vijayasūheśvara (61), Bhūmivijaya (107), Indralokeśvara (65), Suvarnākṣa (18), Śaṅdhaka (26).

(f) Names connected with linga.

Devalingaśvara (43)
Mahālingadeva (32)
Śivalingaśvara (35)
Śivalingadeva (35)
Mahāśivalingaśvara (39)
Dharmalingaśvara (41)

The various names attributed to Śiva would convey a fair idea of the conception of the god in the mind of his devotees at Champā. Fortunately we are not dependent upon such a slender means alone for our knowledge in this respect. The inscriptions contain hymns and praises addressed to Śiva, as well as a large number of incidental allusions, and these enable us to enter more fully into this subject.

Śiva is expressly referred to as 'the chief of the Trinity' and the 'supreme god of gods' in quite a large number of inscriptions. Thus Śiva is said to have 'obtained the position of the head of the gods by means of his extraordinary power and fame' (No. 31 A. v. 15). He is the preceptor of gods (No. 39, v. 13). He is the supreme deity extolled and revered by all the gods beginning with Brahmā or Indra (No. 16, v. 1; No. 21, v. 1; No. 32, v. 1; No. 46, v. 1). The gods as a class, derive their strength from Śiva (No. 31, v. 13). Brahmā and Viṣṇu bow down to Him, saying 'Thou great god, of gods; please grant a boon to us' (No. 39, v. 10). Lastly, the brilliant picture of the assembly of gods, drawn in No. 42, sets the final seal of supremacy to the god Śiva. 'With Indra in front, Brahmā to the right, the Moon and the Sun at the back, and the god Nārāyaṇa to the left,
Siva sits in the middle, glowing with splendid rays, while those and other gods bow down before him and sing a chorus of praise and thanksgiving beginning with 'om' and ending with 'Svadha-svaha'.

Quite in keeping with this position of unique supremacy among the gods, Siva is endowed with a number of the highest divine attributes. He controls the creation, maintenance and dissolution of this world, while he himself has neither beginning nor end. He is not only the creator but also the preceptor of the three worlds, bhūḥ, bhuvah and svah; he is the knower of all things and the fixed cause of the universe (No. 7). He is 'the primordial being' (No. 32, v. 1), calm, pure supreme and sublime (No. 16, v. 1). He is possessed of animā and other divine faculties (No. 17); he cannot be cut or pierced (No. 16, v. 10); he is without cause (No. 17, v. 6) and without atoms (No. 21 v. 1); his body is imperceptible (No. 95. v. 1); he permeates everything (No. 73, v. 1), penetrates everywhere (No. 46 v. 1), and embodies the entire world in himself (No. 73, v. 1). There is none in the world who knows Siva in his true aspects, for his true nature is beyond the domain of thought and speech (No. 17, v. 1). He is the supreme energy (No. 23, v. 1) and the source of the supreme end of life (No. 17). His image, identical with the universe, is manifested by his forms,—earth, water, fire, air, sky, sun, moon and sacrificer. He is constantly devoted to the welfare of all beings (No. 12, v. 28). He is the one lord of the world and grants supremacy to gods and men (No. 17). From him are born all creatures and to him they ultimately resort (No. 23, V. 1).

1 For a similar presentation of Mahadeva, cf Mahabharata Anusasana-parvan Ch. X IV.

2. Also cf the prose portion on p. 35.
Siva has dual aspects. He is the destroyer (No. 73, v. 1), and burnt all forms including gods (No. 7). On the other hand, he removes the sin of the world (No. 7) and delivers men from the ocean of existence by destroying the seeds of karma which lead to successive re-births (No. 12).

He is the object of meditation of the ascetics (No. 32, v. 1) and even thoughts of him alone are capable of yielding infinite bliss (No. 12, v. 30).

But Siva is not conceived in the abstract alone. He appears as a concrete divine figure with familiar myths and legends clustering round him. The old popular god of Indian masses reappears in a foreign land with his well-known features. He has matted hair (No. 24), three eyes (No. 24), five (No. 79) or six (No. 84) faces, and holds the trident in his hand (12). He originated from the nether world (No. 23) and is a resident of heaven. But sometimes he lives in the Himalaya (No. 24) or Malaya mountains (No. 31 B, v. 2), and sometimes sports in the Manasa lake with his Saktis (No. 95 v. 1). Besmearing his body with ashes (No. 23) he rides on a bull (No. 17) and dances in cemetery (No. 12, v. 28). He married Gauri, the daughter of Himalaya, (No. 17) but maintains the Ganges on his head (No. 23). He is not, however, a frivolous god. He is learned (No. 62 v. 3) and intelligent (No. 74, v. 13). He practise austerities without desiring any reward therefrom (No. 17). Indeed, he has no desire of his own! (No. 12, v. 30). His body is purified by means of miracles, yoga, japa, hunkira etc. (No. 24b). He is attended and worshipped by men and gods as well as the semi-divine beings like siddhas, cārānas, yakṣas etc.

Some of the great achievements of Indian Siva were quite familiar in Champā. The famous episode of burning the Cupid to ashes is again and again referred to. (Nos. 17, 21, 24, 36, 41, 74). Being struck with the arrow named Sammohana by
Cupid (No. 41, v. 2), he reduced the latter to ashes by means of burning fire proceeding from his eyes (No. 17), but later on again restored him to life (No. 36, v. 1). This well-known allegorical myth, depicting Śiva's absolute control over sensual passions, is a favourite theme of Sanskrit poets, and has been immortalised by Kālidāsa in his famous poem Kumāra-Sambhava. Apparently this aspect of Śiva's character made a deep impression upon his devotees at Champā.

The second memorable achievement of Śiva, stressed in the inscriptions of Champā, is the destruction of the demon Tripura (Nos. 17, 24, 32) and his three cities in the sky. As has already been noted, the details of this event agree closely with those given in the Mahābhārata.¹

The third mythological incident about Śiva is the story of Upamanyu (No. 17). This has been narrated at great length in the Anuśasanaparvan of Mahābhārata (Ch. XIV) which agrees with the inscriptions of Champā in extolling Mahādeva in the most extravagant terms and placing him above all other gods including Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

Lingapurāṇa, an extremist Śaiva book of the same type, is probably the source of another story in the inscription of Champā (No. 39). It is said that on one occasion there was a contest for supremacy between Brahmā and Viṣṇu when a luminous Līṅga appeared before them. The two combatants agreed to trace the source of the Līṅga. Brahmā took the form of a swan and went upwards, while Viṣṇu in the form of a boar went downwards. For a thousand years they tried but could not reach the end of the Līṅga one way or the other. Mahādeva then appeared before the discomfited gods and received homage from them, and they promised eternal devotion for him.²

¹. Cf. Ins. No. 17 V. 4 and the footnote.
². For the story cf. Lingapurāṇa I, 17, 5-32. Vayupurāṇa, ch. 55.
The Hoa-Que Inscription from which we learn the above story contains an elaborate praise of the Linga form which virtually credits the Linga with the same attributes as those given to Śiva himself. The Linga is primaeval, having no beginning or end, and revered by gods and men. The Linga assumes various forms for the sake of prosperity of this world, and those who even once bow down to these Lingas realise their desires.
Chapter III.
The Worship of Siva.

In Champa, Śiva was represented both as a human figure as well as in his linga form. The latter occurs more frequently, as in India, than the image of Śiva.

The ordinary lingas are placed on a pedestal (Snāna-droni) which is usually square and sometimes richly ornamented with human figures or other decorative designs. In a few instances the pedestal is round and the Yoni is represented therein. Very often several lingas, sometimes as many as seven, are found on the same pedestal.

The lingas are of the usual cylindrical shape. Sometimes a head is sculptured on this linga. This is undoubtedly the Mukhalinga so frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Champa. M. Finot supposes that this head represents that of the king who founded the linga and identified himself with Śiva. But M. Aymonier seems to be right in his view that the head represents Śiva himself. For, according to the Ins. No. 39, after Brahmā and Viṣṇu had bowed down before the linga of Śiva, the latter “showed them his face, issued from the middle part of the linga.” But it is quite probable that the face was deliberately made to resemble that of the king. In support of this view we can quote the Ins. No. 39 in which we are told that three brothers erected images of Śri Mahā-Rudradeva and Bhagavati out of devotion to, and in imitation of the features of their father and mother. In India we meet with similar Mukhalingas, sometimes with four faces.

As a human figure Śiva is represented in a variety of forms.

I. Ordinary human figure with two hands.

Two mutilated early Śiva figures of this type found at Tra-kieu are given in Ars Asiatica Vol. IV. Pl. XXII. The god
THE WORSHIP OF SIVA

is represented as a strongly built figure standing in a defiant attitude.

The head is covered with rich curls of matted hair magnificently arranged in conical shape. A richly decorated diadem surrounds it at the base, while a brilliant mukuta (crown) covers the upper part. Stray locks of hairs fall on the breast.

The nāgas or serpents serve as the ornaments of the ears and also take the place of the sacred thread. This last is attached to the lower of the two necklaces around the neck. Belts of pearls etc, surround the waist and the upper part of the abdomen. The upper part of a dagger is seen from above the belt.

The figures being mutilated, the position of hands and feet cannot be ascertained. One arm shows trace of a bracelet made of serpents. In the face, the eyebrows and moustache are very prominent. There are crosses and circles in the diadem which might represent the sun and the moon but the third eye is not represented on the forehead.

The images of Śiva found at Myson are less decorated and much simpler in design. The god is represented as standing. The upper part of the body is nude, while two garments fixed by a belt round the waist cover the lower part. The lower garment reaches almost upto the ankle, but the upper one stops at the knee. There is a rosary round the wrist of the right hand while the left hand holds a vase. The hair is arranged in three stages on the head. The god has a smiling face with fine moustache, and the third eye is represented on the forehead.

Very often Śiva is represented as seated, in an attitude of meditation. Sometimes there is a beautifully decorated halo behind the head.

1. Parm. I C., vol. I Fig 78, p. 362 and Fig. 79, p. 363.
2. Ibid vol. II, Figs. 103, 109, pp. 404—5.
3. Ibid Fig. 71, p. 290.
In a few instances even the normal human figure of Śiva has got an uncanny appearance. The Śiva found at Yañ Mum¹ may be cited as an instance. The god is represented as seated, with a trident in one hand and an elephant's goad in the other. He has three eyes and the sacred thread. But he is attired like a king and the expression of his face is almost ghostly. Sometimes, as at Drañ Lai, Śiva is represented as seated on Nandin, very much in the same style as one sits in a chair².

2. Śiva is sometimes represented as a human figure with extra hands in various attitudes. The following varieties may be noted.

(i) Standing,—six arms, the two upper joined behind the head, others holding a Trisūla, lotus, sword and a cup (?).

(ii) Standing on Nandin, in an attitude of attack; holding a lance in two hands;—has 24 or 28 arms; attributes:—Aṅkuśa (Elephant-goad), nāgī, bell, pitcher, bag and bow.

(iii) Dancing the Tāṇḍava—sometimes surrounded by Nāgis playing on harp and drum.

(iv) Seated—holding a rosary in one hand and trident in another.

3. In decorative designs, specially on the Tympanum, Śiva is represented as dvārapāla (gate-keeper of temples). In these cases he has mostly a terrible appearance with projecting eyes and long teeth. He is armed with a club, and wears a crown, ear-drops of skulls, upavita and bracelets of serpents.

Sometimes the dvārapāla is represented as standing on a bull

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1. Ibid, Fig. 77, p. 369
2. Ibid, Fig. 105, p. 401
and brandishing a sort of wedge-shaped iron instrument, while a small figure on the head of the animal and turned towards the main figure holds a sword in the right and a buckler in the left hand.

The images of Śiva at Champā are too numerous to be treated in minute details. The following summary of Parmentier would give a fair idea of the general position.

"As an idol, Śiva is more frequently represented as a linga which, on the other hand, seldom figures in decorative designs. As to the figure of Śiva, it is more often represented as a normal human being, rather than of monstrous appearance. The figure is usually seated, but, in rare cases, standing. In the earlier period he is represented with a corpulent body; in the later period, as an ascetic. It is only in the form of dvārā-pāla that he takes a terrible appearance. But this form of sculpture gradually disappeared. It is in the decoration of tympanum again in the earlier period, that the god is represented as fighting or victorious. It is specially in these cases that the god has monstrous forms. This is only partly caused by the multiplication of hands which vary from four to thirty. It is only in exceptional cases again that the god is represented with a multiplicity of heads. On the other hand he has very often the third eye on the fore-head. His usual vāhana (vehicle) is Nandin, and he has the Brāhmaṇical sacred thread as his distinctive sign. He is sometimes covered by serpents in the shape of ornaments. The usual attributes of the god are the sword, the rosary, the lotus-stem, the triśūla, and the vajra. Among other attributes, less generally found, may be mentioned discus, lance, bow, arrow, pen, purse, wallet, comb, cup, bowl, horn, bell, and elephant-goad. Sometimes the Omkāra is marked on the head-dress"1

1. Ibid, pp. 411-12
ANCIENT HISTORY OF CHAMPA

One of the oldest lingas of Śiva came to be regarded as the national deity and maintained this position throughout the course of history. The linga was established by king Bhadravarman towards the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. and was named Bhadreśvara, for it was customary to designate the god by a term composed of the first part of the donor's name and the word Īśvara. This linga named Bhadreśvara or Bhadreśvarasvāmi was placed in a temple at Myson which soon became a national sanctuary and the centre of a group of magnificent temples. The king endowed the temple with lands whose boundaries are described in three inscriptions (Nos. 4, 5, and 7). This temple was burnt sometime between 478 and 578 A.D. but restored by king Sambhuvarman who confirmed the endowments previously given by Bhadravarman. Following the custom set on foot by the latter he associated his own name with that of the god, and called him Sambhu-Bhadreśvara. Successive kings, such as Prakāśadharma (No. 17) and Indravarman II (No. 31) and many others vied with one another in richly endowing this 'god of gods', and composing hymns of praise in his honours. In course of time a mythical origin was attributed to the Linga. It is said, in an inscription, dated 875 A.D., that Śiva himself gave it to Bhṛgu, and Uroja having got it from the latter established it in Champa. We are told that Sambhu-Bhadreśvara, the greatest of gods, and the only one fit to be worshipped, was the guardian deity of Champa, all the kings of which have become famous in the world through his grace and favour.

From the middle of the eleventh century A.D. Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara came to occupy the position of national god. It appears extremely likely that we find here the old god Sambhu-Bhadreśvara under a new name, for the god Śrīśāna-

1. cf. Ins. No. 17, p. 35.
Bhadreśvara is also said to be installed by Uroja (No. 73, v. 3). Henceforth king after king declares himself to be an incarnation of Uroja, and restores or endows the temple of Śrīśānabhadreśvara which Uroja had formerly established on the Vugvan mountain (cf. pp. 93, 99 ff above). The temple suffered much in the hands of the enemies, particularly the Cambodgians, and was therefore repaired and endowed by a succession of kings, sometimes with the booty taken from the Cambodgians themselves. An idea of the wealth and grandeur of the god and its surroundings may be formed from the numerous lists of articles granted to the god by the kings of Champā in perpetual endowments. In 1088 A.D. Śrī Jaya Indravarman gave him a “golden Kōṣa of six faces ornamented with serpents and decorated with coloured jewels fixed at sharp points in the diadem”. The Kōṣa, which was a frequent gift to Śiva lingas in Champā, appears to be an outer covering for the same. The one given by Jaya Indravarman V had six faces, and also an Urddhvakōṣa or the Adhāra Urddhva-mukha.

As the weights of the Kōṣa and of these last two items are all given separately, it appears that both the faces and the Urddhvakōṣa were detachable elements fixed on to the Kōṣa. This Kōṣa of Jaya Indravarman, when complete, contained a large number of costly gems and gold weighing about 43lbs Troy. About eighty years later, another king of the same name, Jaya Indravarman VII, gave still richer endowments to the same god (1163-1170 A.D.). He gave a golden Kōṣa, decorated with costly jewels, constructed an antaryāṇa (inner chamber) of sandalwood with silver and gold decorations, and offered vessels, pitchers and various other objects of gold and silver. He also decorated the temple of Śrīśānabhadreśvara with silver and coated all the pinnacles of the temple with gold.

The total amount of gold required for the above purposes was nearly 75 Ibs. Troy in weight, and the amount of silver nearly 35,000 Ibs. Troy.\(^1\) Besides, the king gave large elephants, male and female slaves etc. Among the various objects which we find dedicated to the god by a succession of pious kings may be mentioned, diadem decorated with jewel, necklaces and other ornaments, pitchers and other utensils of gold and silver, variety of articles made of gold, silver and sandalwood, the exact nature of which cannot be ascertained, male and female servants, and other women including dancers and musicians, fields, grain stores, oxen, buffaloes, and elephants. (cf. also the lists of articles in Nos 23, 24, 29.)

It is thus absolutely clear that Śambhubhadraśvara or Śrīśānabhadraśvara was regarded as the national deity of Champā from beginning to end, and most elaborate arrangements compatible with the wealth and resources of the kingdom were made for his worship. There were apparently the system of 'Devadāsis'—'female dancers', who dedicated their lives to the service of the god—which forms so characteristic a feature of Indian temples even to-day. The enormous wealth of the temples of Champā would also remind one of the temples of India, the wealth and grandeur of which have been so vividly described by Sultan Māhmud and the writers of his time.

In addition to the Śiva-linga which attained the position of the national deity there were many others though of less importance. The most remarkable among these was a Mukha-linga of Śambhu in Po-Nigar. We learn from an inscription of the 8th century A. D. (No. 22) that this Mukha-linga was established by a king named Vicitrasagara. Two inscriptions (Nos, 29, 71) even profess to give the exact date of this event. It was established, we are told, in the year 5911 of

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THE WORSHIP OF SIVA
the Dvāpara Yuga, about 1,780, 500 years ago. How this date was arrived at, it is impossible to say, the main idea, no doubt, being to refer it to a hoary antiquity. This linga was destroyed in 774 A.D. by savage races coming by way of sea, but king Satyavarman (see pp : 50 ff) restored it and called it Satyamukhalina. We find reference to this linga as late as the 12th century A.D. but it never acquired the status of a national deity like Śambhu-Bhadreśvara or Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara.

The kings of Champā seem to have regarded it as a pious duty not only to maintain and endow the famous lingas of olden times but also to establish new ones. In such cases the almost universal practice was to associate his own name with the new image. Below is given a list of kings and the names of gods established by them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Kings</th>
<th>Names of Gods</th>
<th>Number of Ins.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bhadravarman</td>
<td>Bhadreśvara.</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Śambhuvarman</td>
<td>Śambhu-Bhadreśvara.</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Indravarman.</td>
<td>Indra-Bhadreśvara.</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Indra-Bhogaśvara</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Indra-Parameśvara.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Vikrānta-Varman</td>
<td>Vikrānta-Rudra.</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Śrī Vikrānta-Rudreśvara.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Śrī Vikrāntadevādhibhaveśvara.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jayasiṁhavarmanadeva</td>
<td>Jaya Guheśvara.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bhadravarmadeva</td>
<td>Prakāśa-Bhadreśvara</td>
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<td>Bhadra-Malayeśvara</td>
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<td>Bhadra-Champeśvara</td>
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<td>Bhadra-Mandaleśvara</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>Bhadra-Pureśvara</td>
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</table>
7. Indravarman. Indra-Kāntesā. 44
8. Harivarman. Harivarmēsvara. 74
10. Jaya Indravarman. Jaya-Indra-Lokeśvara. 81
    Śrī-Jaya-Indresvara
    Śrī-Indra-Gaurīśvari
11. Indravarman Indravarman Śivalīṅgēsvara. 108
12. Jayasimhavarmadeva Jayasimhavarmalingēsvara. 112
    116

In addition to these instances where the kings associated their own names with the gods established by themselves, there are other cases on record where kings and nobles associated the names of their beloved relations with the gods founded by them. Thus king Jayasimhavarmadeva installed the goddess Horomā for increasing the religious merit of his mother's younger sister, queen Haradevi. The latter installed Indra-Parameśvara for the sake of religious merit of her husband Indravarman (No. 36.). She also installed Rudra-Parameśvara and Rudromā for increasing the religious merit of her husband and mother. These names are also probably to be explained in the same way, though nothing definite can be laid down as we are ignorant of the names of her parents. The Ins. No. 38 records the consecration of a linga, called Indradeva, in honour of king Indravarman, by a dignitary of the realm. Again, Īśvaradeva, brother of a minister, installed the god Īśvaradevādideva (No. 32). The Ins. No. 12 mentions two gods Īśānēśvara and Prabhāśēśvara, and it is extremely likely that these two gods are associated with the kings named Īśānavarman, and Prabhāsadharma referred to in that inscription. There are similarly other cases, where the names of gods are apparently derived from some kings, though we are unable either to identify the king or to decide whether the king himself founded the image or somebody else installed it in his
honour. Two conclusions however stand out prominently from the above analysis. In the first place, the kings of Champā vied with one another in installing images of Śiva as it was regarded pious to do so, and secondly, they identified or associated themselves with the gods by adding their name to that of the god, and also at times by making the image of the god resemble their own.

The practice of associating the name of the king with that of the god founded by him was certainly not unknown to India. Thus the Chandella king Prthvīdeva installed an image of Śiva named Prthvīdevēśvara. Two queens of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya II, named Lokamahādevī and Trailokya mahādevī installed two images of Śiva called respectively Lokesvara and Trailokyaśvara. The Rājatarangini furnishes numerous examples from the history of Kashmir. Thus we are told "that Śūra founded the temple of Viṣṇu Śūravarmasvāmin. Two sons of a younger brother of Śūra called Dhīra and Vinnapa built under their own names temples........

"Mahoday, who was the chief door-keeper of Śūra, consecrated the (shrine of Viṣṇu) Mahodayasvāmin........

" The illustrious Prabhākaravarman, the king's minister, built a temple of Viṣṇu called Prabhākarasvāmin."

CHAPTER IV.
Saiva Gods.

A number of deities came to be associated with Śiva. The most prominent among them was of course the ‘Śakti’ of Śiva, known variously as Umā (Nos, 4, 22), Gaurī (26), Bhagavatī (26, 80), Mahābhagavatī (26), Devi (39) and Mahādevī (32). She was also called Mātrilīngaśvarī (97) and Bhūmiśvarī (50). She was the daughter of Himalaya and the incomparable and loving spouse of Śiva, worthy of being adored with joy by that god (13).

The cult of Śakti worship seems to have been most prevalent in the southern region known as Kauṭhāra. Here was established the goddess Yāpu Nagara or Bhagavatī Kauṭhāreśvarī, in the temple of Po-Nagara which became a national sanctuary of the Chams comparable to that of Śambhu-Bhadreśvara or Śrīśānabhadreśvara.

We learn from an inscription of king Harivarman (No. 26) that ‘an old image of Bhagavatī in Kauṭhāra, famous all over the world, remained empty for a long time’. In other words the image was carried away by savage tribes or destroyed by enemy troops, and the temple remained empty for a long time. Then in 817 A. D. king Harivarman made a new stone image of the goddess, adorned with a variety of ornaments, and offered her gold, silver, jewels, clothes of variegated colour and other articles. He further dedicated to the goddess fields in the Kauṭhāra country together with male and female slaves, buffaloes etc. Within half a century the stone image was coated over with a plate of gold, and ornaments with costly jewels were added to the head and ears of the image. (No. 29).

In the year 918 A. D. king Indravarman established a golden image of the goddess (No. 45). This was unfortunately carried away by the Cambodians sometime between 944 and 947 A. D.
The war apparently taxed the resources of the king to the utmost, for in 965 A. D. he replaced the golden image that was lost by a stone one (No. 47). About a century later, in 1050 A. D. king Parameśvaravarman made rich gifts to the goddess, viz. vase inlaid with gold, a diadem, waistband, silver vase, an umbrella decorated with peacock feathers, a vast silver canopy and several golden pitchers and vases (No. 55). In 1084, king Paramabodhisatva, together with his sister and eldest son, gave to the goddess, among other things, elephants, a golden crown, a necklace decorated with jewels, and various other ornaments and utensils of gold and silver (No. 64). In 1160 A. D., king Harivarman, after having triumphed over all his enemies, both foreign and internal, 'first of all honoured the goddess called Yāpu Nagara by giving her great riches' (No. 76). Again, in 1167 A. D., king Jaya Indravarman VI, together with his queens and daughters, made rich donations to Bhagavati Kauṭhāreśvari (No. 80). In 1233 A. D. king Jaya Parameśvaravarman granted land and slaves to the goddess Pu-Nagara. The slaves belonged to both the sexes and to various nationalities such as the Khmer, Cham, Chinese and Siamese (No. 88). Probably the image of the goddess was destroyed soon after. For we learn from two inscriptions (Nos. 97-98) that princess Sūryadevi, daughter of king Jaya Indravarmanadeva gave a sum of money for making a statue of the goddess Bhagavatī Kauṭhāreśvari. She also gave various ornaments of gold and silver to the goddess and prescribed regulations for the dancing girls employed in the service of the goddess (1256 A. D.). Later kings of Champā also continued the donations to the goddess (cf. Nos. 99, 105, 109).

The general conception of Śakti is beautifully illustrated by the long hymn with which the Ins. No. 55 begins. Her
power is conceived to be equal to that of god Śiva. ‘She is in her very essence at one with whatever is in the world of God during its creation as well as in its dissolution. She is the primordial energy of the existent and the non-existent’. But, as we have seen above, these are exactly the attributes of Śiva himself. Hence the Śakti and Śiva are conceived as essentially one and the same: ‘Thou hast as body, half of that which has moon as its diadem i.e. Mahādeva; thou art of beautiful appearance and form part of the body of the lord of embodied beings’.

Here we have evidently the conception of ‘Ardhanārī’. Bergaigne concludes from it that the image of Bhagavati Kauṭhāreśvari, also named goddess Yāpu Nagara, was that of an Ardhanārī i.e. an idol which represents Śiva and Durgā in the same body, prominence being given to the female part under Tantric ideas. This may or may not be true, for the epithets in question might refer to the general conception of Śakti and not to the particular image. But the image of the goddess of Po Nagar at Nha Trang is of a quite different character. It is a beautiful statue of black stone. The goddess, seated cross-legged, has developed breasts, and the folds on her belly indicate her maternity. She has ten hands. Two of these are placed on the two knees with palm upwards.² The eight other hands behind the two

1. Parm. I. C., Vol. II, pp. 413-14, Fig. 79, p. 312.
2. Parmentier thinks that these indicate the two Mudras of dana (gift) and abhaya (assurance). The published
carry dagger, lance, bow, arrow, elephant-goad, shield, discus and conch-shell. The goddess, adorned with bracelets and necklaces has a rather sombre expression. This statue of the goddess has been supposed by Aymonier to be the one erected by Indravarman in 965 A. D. More likely it is the statue erected by princess Suryadevi about 1256 A. D. (See ante).

Sometimes, in bas-relief, the goddess is represented as standing on Nandin. In a bas-relief at Myson the goddess is represented as dancing, holding different attributes in her ten hands. These attributes are generally speaking the same as those of Śiva. Another bas-relief at Chien Dang represents the goddess in a fighting attitude. She has six arms and holds a bow and an arrow.

The number of images of Bhagavati, so far discovered, does not correspond to the importance which the inscriptions attribute to that goddess. But in one respect the monuments corroborate the epigraphic records. It appears equally from both that Umā or Bhagavatī was more regarded as a female counterpart of Śiva than as a separate goddess. She has got the same attitudes, attributes and characteristics as those of Śiva. She has a third eye on the forehead, a large number of arms varying from four to ten, and even the same Vāhana viz. the Nandin. Only, unlike Śiva, she does not wear the sacred thread which is peculiar to the male sex.

The second deity associated with the Śiva-cult is Gañēśa, also called Vināyaka (No. 26). We know from Ins. No. 26 that a separate temple was dedicated to that god at Po Nagar. He had, besides, two temples at Myson. Very often the image of Gañēśa is found in other Śaiva temples, sometimes along with those of Bhagavatī and Kārtikeya, his mother and brother. The extant images of Gañēśa at Champā are indeed so

figures, however, do not make this quite clear.

numerous that his cult seems to have been at one time even more popular than that of Umā, his mother.

The god is usually represented as seated on a pedestal, with a corpulent body and the head of an elephant. The end of the trunk is usually put in a bowl which the god has in his left hand, while his right hand holds a small object which may be a lingā or the missing tusk. In at least three figures a garland is substituted for this object. The god wears a sacred thread. Sometimes he has two of the attributes of Śiva—a third eye on the forehead, and ornaments of serpents.

There is only one figure, at Myson, in which the god is represented as standing. He has four arms, with one of which he holds the bowl with the end of the trunk in it, while the three others have a garland, a pen and a rosary. The figure is richly attired, the dress on the lower part of his body being covered by a tiger skin.

In the temples of Dong Duong and Myson the figures of Gaṇeśa appear in the decorations of tympanum. These resemble the separate images of the god described above.¹

The third Śaiva deity, Kārttika (No. 24), known also as Kumāra (No. 9), seems to have enjoyed a great popularity in Champa. He is referred to in four inscriptions (Nos. 9, 24, 36 and 39), from one of which we learn that an image of the god was placed with those of Gaṇeśa and Umā in a Śaiva temple. He is conceived as a great hero who repelled all his enemies (No. 9), and this no doubt refers to the part he played as commander-in-chief of the gods in their wars against the Asuras. In the Ins. No. 36, Śiva, here called Guheśvara, is said to have brought about peace, victory and happiness to Kumāra.

Four or perhaps five images of the god have been discovered so far.\(^1\) In two of these the god has his usual \textit{Vāhana} the peacock. In two others, however, the god rides on rhinoceros, a conception unknown in India though familiar in Cambodge. In one instance the god is represented as standing on the peacock with the peacock's train at his back. In other cases the god is represented as squatting on his \textit{Vāhana}. The \textit{Vajra} and sword are his principal attributes. The hair of his head is beautifully arranged in four parts, a fashion peculiar to this god. Sometimes the god is adorned with necklaces and bracelets. In one instant only the god figures in the tympanum of a temple in the train of Śiva.

Lastly, a word must be said about Nandin, the \textit{Vāhana} of Śiva and Umā. Separate images of Nandin are found in large number in the vestibules of temples. The figure is that of a recumbent humped bull, looking towards the god in the temple. Sometimes the pedestal of the image was richly decorated and a number of bells was tied round the neck of the bull in the form of a necklace.\(^2\)

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CHAPTER V.

Vaisnavism.

Although not so prominent as Saivism, Vaisnavism also played an important part in Champā. The number of inscriptions which are distinctly Vaisnavite in character are indeed small (Nos. 11, 27, 121) but numerous incidental references to the gods associated with that religion leave no doubt of its strong hold in the country.

Viṣṇu was known by various names, such as Puruṣottama (11), Nārāyaṇa (24), Hari (23), Govinda (39), Mādhava (62), Vikrama (23) and Tribhuvanākrānta (121).

He was given high attributes: Viṣṇu is the preceptor of the whole world and without beginning or end (11). He is revered by the gods, Asuras and munis (No. 24). He is valorous in battle (62) and protects the whole world (24).

Some mythological feats of Viṣṇu are referred to. He churned the ocean by means of the Mandara mountain (95) and raised the world by his two hands (23). He defeated the Asuras (24), Madhu and Kaitabha for example (24), and crushed other enemies (23).

But as in India, the incarnations of Viṣṇu probably claimed greater homage than the god himself. Two of these, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, are again and again referred to. Viṣṇu is said to have divided his essence under the form of four Rāmas Viz. Rāma and his three younger brothers (No. 74), and we have already seen how the events of Rāmāyaṇa were localised in Champā (p. 13). Prominence is given to the heroic feats performed by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa. He held aloft mount Govardhana, and destroyed Kamīsa, Kesī, Cānūra, Arīṣa and Pralamba.1 Again, the Cupid is referred

1 According to the Visnu Purana, Pralamba was killed by Balarama at the command of Kṛṣṇa (Part V, Section IX).
to as the son of Viṣṇu (No. 74), apparently in the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, for, according to the Purāṇas, Kāma is the son of Kṛṣṇa and Rohini.

Kings of Champā took delight in comparing themselves to Viṣṇu, and sometimes even regarded themselves as his incarnation. Thus Jaya Rudravarman was regarded as incarnation of Viṣṇu (75) and his son, king Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva, Śivānandana regarded himself as a unique Viṣṇu whose glories surpassed those of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, firmly established in all directions (74).

The concrete conception of Viṣṇu is that of a god with four arms. His Vāhana is Garuḍa, but he sometimes lies down on the fathomless bed of the ocean of milk, served by Vāsuki, the serpent king, with infinite hood.

The epigraphic record is in this respect fully corroborated by the actual images of Viṣṇu discovered at Champā. The one erected by prince Nauk Glaun Vijaya (No. 121) and found at Bien Hoa¹ is seated cross-legged in Indian fashion and richly decorated. He has four arms. Two of them hold two clubs, while the other two hold a discus and a conchshell. He wears a sacred thread, a unique feature as it is absent from the other images of Viṣṇu in Champā, about 7 or 8 in number, which have so far been discovered. The chief attributes in the hands of these images, other than those mentioned above, are lotus, sceptre, and military weapons such as sword, club, axe and bow. In very rare cases Viṣṇu has only two hands, but he has generally four, and never more than that. He is usually represented as seated.

In some decorative panels Viṣṇu is represented as riding on Garuḍa or seated cross-legged on its back.² There are also

images of the Anantāsayana of Viṣṇu. The god is lying at ease on the coils of serpent Vasuki, whose seven hoods guard his head. From the navel of the god rises a lotus on the petals of which is seated Brahmā in an attitude of meditation. That the scene is laid on the bed of the ocean is indicated by wavy lines with fishes.¹

We find also an image of Kṛṣṇa in the act of protecting the cows and cowherds by holding aloft the mountain Govardhana over their heads.²

Lakṣmī:—Lakṣmī the Śakti of Viṣṇu, also referred to as Padmā and Śrī, was a well-known goddess of Champā. She is frequently referred to in inscriptions (Nos. 12, 21, 43), and emphasis is laid on her proverbial inconstancy (No, 43). She is the ideal housewife (No. 43) and faithfully follows Viṣṇu (No. 12). The favourite Indian convention of regarding Lakṣmī as the symbol of sovereignty was also not unknown (Jo. 12). She is said to have been born in the Kailāsa mountain (No. 21), though the Indian tradition regards her as arising from the ocean of milk on the occasion of the churning of the ocean.³

The Ins. No. 21 gives the long history of an image of Lakṣmī, originally installed by King Śambhuvarman, and re-installed by king Vikrāntavarman in 731 A. D. The altar of this goddess, we are told, was made of gold and silver.

Three images of Lakṣmī have been so far discovered.⁴ But the goddess figures largely in the decorative panels. A

1. Ibid-p. 423, fig. 125.
3. cf. Visnupurana Bk. I Chap. VIII ff. But the Indian tradition also seems to have been known in Champa. cf. e.g. ll. 6-7 of Ins. No. 22
tympanum at Dong Duong represents the goddess with two hands as seated between two elephants, who are pouring water upon her head from a vase held aloft by their upraised trunks. In another tympanum the goddess is represented as seated on a coil of serpents, the thirteen heads of which surround her on all sides. She has four arms; three of them carry conch, discus and a club, while the fourth points to something by the extended fore-finger. The goddess is frequently represented as having only two arms, and holding stems of lotus plant.\(^1\)

Garuḍa. Like Nandin, the Vāhana of Śiva, Garuḍa, the Vāhana of Viṣṇu, was also a familiar object in Champā. It not only figures in connection with Viṣṇu as its Vāhana, but a large number of separate images of it occur in decorative panels in various parts of temples.

According to Hindu legends, Garuḍa is the king of birds and the great enemy of snakes. He is represented in Champā with the head of a bird, but with the rest of the body very often like that of a lion. He has beak, tails and wings of a bird; as a king he is crowned with mukuṭa and richly decorated with jewels; and being divine in nature he wears the sacred thread. Sometimes Garuḍa is represented as if on the point of taking his flight, and his legs are in different planes. Sometimes the legs are in the same plane and hold a number of snakes. The snakes are often represented as forming a cais for Garuḍa, and are treated more as companions of the latter than his victims.

The head of the Garuda is not always a faithful reproduction of that of a bird. Sometimes it looks like that of a monkey, and sometimes it is almost human. Sometimes Garuḍa is represented with the head of a monster crushing a large number of snakes with his teeth.\(^2\)

CHAPTER VI.

Brahma and the Hindu Trinity.

Brahmā, the third god of the Hindu Trinity, is referred to as creator in several inscriptions (No. 12, v. 24; No. 62, v. 3), but does not seem to have held a very prominent position in Champā. He is also called Caturānana, having four faces (No. 12), and in several inscriptions of the 13th century A. D. he is referred to as Svayamutpanna or self-created (Nos. 89, 91, 92, 96, 106). In Ins. No. 21 he is said to have made the golden peak of mount Meru. King Jaya Parameśvaravarman installed an image of Svayamutpanna at Phanrang in 1233 A. D. (No. 89) and rich endowments were made to the god by the king himself (Nos. 89, 91, 92), his heir apparent Nandabhadra (No. 92), his Commander-in-Chief Abhimanyudeva (No. 96) and by king Indravarman (No. 106). The evidence of iconography is in full accord with that of epigraphic records in respect of the inferior position of Brahmā. Only two small images of Brahmā have been discovered in Myson. These were originally placed in temples A and B as secondary gods. Brahmā also figures in bas-relief decorations of temples, but, mostly as a subsidiary god.

The characteristic features of the image of Brahmā are his four faces—of course only three being visible in most cases—and his Vāhana, the goose. His common attributes are rosary and lotus—stems. In a bas-relief in the Touranne Museum he is represented as standing, with four heads and eight arms holding a sceptre in one of them.

The scene figuring the birth of Brahmā has been referred to in connection with Viṣṇu. Here Brahmā wears a sacred thread, and holds a discus and a long-necked bottle in his hands.
Brahma is usually seated on lotus though in one case the serpents form his bed.

The real importance of Brahma lies in the fact that he is regarded as a member of the Trinity. We meet with the conception of the Trinity of Hindu gods in one of the earliest records of Champa. The Myson Ins. of Bhadravarman dating from 5th century A. D. begins with a reverence to Uma and Maheśvara, as well as to Brahma and Viṣṇu. This decided leaning towards Śiva is further developed in Ins. No. 39. Here Śiva is represented as the supreme god, and the two others pay homage to him; finally the three gods stand together, Śiva in the middle with Brahma on the right and Hari on the left.

The same idea is conveyed by iconographic representations on decorative panels. The Tympanum at Trach Phổ has a Mukhalinga in the middle with Brahma seated on a serpent to the proper right, and Viṣṇu, seated on a boar, to the proper left. Both these gods are turned towards Śiva with joined hands, and two attributes of Viṣṇu viz. a discus and a club are shown in the background. In the tympanum at U’un Diem, Śiva and Uma riding on a single bull occupy the centre; Brahma and Viṣṇu, with joined hands, and seated respectively on a lotus and a Garuḍa, are in the upper right and upper left corners, while two other figures, an armed soldier and Kārttikeya (?), occupy positions just below these figures. At Thuy Trieu, however, Viṣṇu occupies the central position with Brahma on the left and Śiva on the right. Śiva rides on a boar, and both the gods have their hands joined in an attitude of prayer.

Thus Viṣṇu and Śiva were both claimed to be the chief

2. Ibid Vol. I. p. 518 fig. 120.
of the Trinity by their respective followers. An attempt at compromise resulted in the conception of a new god Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. Here the two gods are placed on the same level in theory, and this is expressed by a concrete image, half of which is Śiva, and half Viṣṇu. Such an image is clearly referred to in Ins. No. 24; but unfortunately no actual remains of such a figure have yet been discovered.

The idea of association of the chief gods also probably led to the practice of decorating the temple, dedicated to one god, with figures of the other group. Thus the temple of Phong Le dedicated to Śiva has its front decorated with images of Viṣṇu. Similarly figures of Lakṣmī and Brahmā appear on the tympanums of Śaiva temples. The principal tympanum in a temple, however, usually figures the god or gods to whom the temple is dedicated, though a Śaiva temple in Myson has the scene of the birth of Brahmā, and a temple at Phanrang, dedicated to Brahmā, shows the Trinity with Viṣṇu as the chief god.

1 M. Parmentier observes as follows:—A close study of the evidences furnished by epigraphy and iconography seems to indicate that from the 12th century A. D. a silent religious revolution in favour of Vaisnavism was taking place in Champa. The references to Vaisnava cult or Vaisnava temples before this period are few and far between. But from this period onwards we find an increasing number of them. Again, whereas the figures of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī hold but a minor place in the decoration of temples of the earlier period they gradually occupy an increasingly preponderant position in the later period. Lastly Śiva is clearly subordinated to Viṣṇu in the image of the Trinity under discussion.

M. Parmentier thinks that the position of Śiva as the supreme god was lowered in the eyes of the Chams on account of the constant reverses sustained by them in the hands of the Annamites and other enemies. They naturally discarded Śiva who was unable to afford them the necessary protection, and turned to other gods in the hope that they might succeed where Śiva had failed. This might also account for the rise of Brahma into importance at the cost of Śiva (Parm I. C. vol. 11. pp. 432-433).

2 The god “Śrisana Viṣṇu”, mentioned in No. 71, may also, refer to such an image,
CHAPTER VII.

The minor deities of the Hindu pantheon.

Although the great gods of the Hindu Trinity, viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva almost monopolised the homage and worship of the people, the lesser gods of the Hindu pantheon were not altogether forgotten. Thus the Ins. No. 24 begins with “a reverence to all the gods”, and the Ins. No. 31 frankly recognises their importance in the following words:—

“In some places Indra, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, in some places Vāsuki, in some places Śaṅkara, in some places ascetics, Sun, Moon, Agni, Varuṇa, and in some places image of Abhayada (Buddha) appeared for the deliverance of creatures.”

While the list of gods in the above passage is by no means exhaustive, it is worthy of note that deities like Indra, Vāsuki, Sun, Moon, Agni and Varuṇa are placed on the same level as the great gods, and regarded as deliverer of human beings. It shows that side by side with the pompous worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu there were popular cults of various gods and goddesses.

This view is corroborated by the opening lines of Myson Ins. (No. 4) of Bhadravarman. The inscription begins with “reverence to Umā, Mahēśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu”, and this is immediately followed by “reverence to the Earth, Wind, Sky, Water and Fire” i.e. the five elements of nature. Apparently these were regarded as divine in nature. Ins. No. 17 refers to these five together with Sun, Moon and Sacrificer as the eight forms of Śiva.

The epigraphic records introduce us to a number of these gods. A short account of them is given below.

1. Indra.

Indra is referred to in a large number of inscriptions (Nos. 12, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 42, 62, etc.).
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He is referred to as the chief or king of the gods (No. 16) who killed Vṛtra (17) and other Asuras (24), and worked the miracle of creating the three worlds (17). He is said to have performed severe austerities and a large number of great sacrifices (Yajña) in previous births. Having gained the kingdom of heaven by virtue thereof (23), he protected it according to rules of Dharma (31). His son is also extolled for the prowess of his unconquered arms. The popularity of the god is indicated both by the large number of references in Inscriptions as well as by the fact that no less than twelve kings assumed the name Indravarman. Many kings of Champa are also referred to as Indra personified (No. 30) or Indra fallen from heaven to earth in order to rule over the country.

Two images of Indra have so far been discovered in Champa, one at Tra Kieu and the other at Myson. These are two small human figures and only identified with Indra by the figure of elephant, the Vahana of Indra, before the pedestal. In one of them Indra has probably the Vajra (thunderbolt) in his hand.¹

2. Yama.

Yama, the god of death, is conceived as a terrible figure, but he faithfully maintains the law in his kingdom (Nos. 22-24). He is referred to as Dharma (No. 12) and Dharma-rajā (24).

3. Candra.

Candra is referred to as god and the victim of Rāhu (Nos. 23, 74).

4. Sūrya.

The Sun-god is often coupled with the Moon. They both form part of the grand assembly of gods described in Ins. No. 42. Two small images of Sūrya have been discovered at

¹ Parm. I. C. Vol. II p. 430
Myaon. They are identified by means of the figure of horse, the Vahana of Surya. The god holds the sword in his hands.  

5. Kuvera

Kuvera is described as a friend of Mahesvara and a mine of wealth (No. 12). He is also called Dhanada and is praised for his liberality (No. 23). He is called “Ekaksa pinagala”, apparently in allusion to a story described fully in the Ramayana (Uttarakanda ch. XIII). A temple of Kuvera was erected in the seventh century A.D. by king Prakasadharmo (No. 14). This god was worshipped by the people for increasing the wealth and guarding against evils (No. 14). The god referred to as Artheśvara in No. 92 may be the same as Kuvera. Yaksas, the mythical attendants of Kuvera, are also frequently mentioned (No. 23, 31 etc.).

6-7. Agni and Vasuki are mentioned in the passage quoted above in Ins. No. 31.

8. Sarasvati is mentioned in Ins. No. 12 v. 26; but whether she is conceived as a goddess or merely regarded as a symbolical expression for knowledge and learning cannot be determined.

9. A god called Vanantareśvara seems to have been worshipped in the later period, but its identity is at present unknown (Nos. 129, 130).

10-11. Two gods Mandara and Pranaveśvara are referred to in No. 28 but their identity is unknown.

In addition to these gods, there were other beings of the nature of demi-gods who are frequently referred to in the inscriptions of Champā. Chief among these are the divine sages (rishis) (Nos. 23, 46 etc.) who are placed on the same level as the gods in the passage quoted above from Ins. No. 31. Among them Brhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, and

1. Parm. I. C. vol. II, p 430
Kāśyapa, the preceptor of the gods and demons (23), are mentioned by name. The former is extolled for his eloquence (No. 74) and knowledge of Śāstras (No. 62).

Next to the divine sages mention may be made of the Siddhas (Nos. 24, 35, 46), Vidyādharas (23), Cāraṇas (24), Yakṣas (23, 31), Kinnaras (24), Gandharvas and Apsaras or celestial nymphs (24, 46). A number of evil spirits also figure prominently in the mythical conceptions of the people. Prominent among them are the Daityas and Asuras who are the eternal enemies of the gods in heaven (Nos. 12, 22, 31, 42, 46 etc.). There were also the Uragas (23), Rākṣasas (23), Pretas (22) and Pišācas (42).

Images of Apsaras are found in decorative panels. They wear rich mukūjas and are represented as flying figures with lotus stem in their hands.¹

The Raksas are represented by demoniacal figures, with clinched teeth and a multiplicity of heads and arms.²

Figures of Nāgīs are also to be seen in the decorative panels. They resemble the Indian figures, having the body of a serpent with a female bust.³

In order to complete the sketch of religion in Champa we must briefly allude to certain general conceptions.

In the first place, the abstract conception of a supreme God was not altogether superseded by the images of Śiva, Viṣṇu etc. We find reference to Him in Inscription No. 12. He is referred to as the Creator whose ways are incomprehensible to men.

Secondly, emphasis is laid upon the performance of sacrifices. Merits of sacrifices are extolled again and again (12, 23). Sacrifices are regarded as the principal treasure of good

¹ Parm. I. C. Vol. II. p. 431.
² Ibid
³ Ibid.
men (23), and they beget not only material prosperity but also supernatural powers (12). The actual sacrifices before a kindled fire are referred to in Ins. Nos. 2 and 3. In the latter case we have probably an instance of human sacrifice. That this was not unknown in Champa is proved by the fact that king Fan Wen, after having defeated the Chinese governor of Nhut Nam, offered his body in an expiatory sacrifice (see p. 24). Asvamedha sacrifice is referred to in Ins. No. 12 but we do not know of any instance of its actual performance.

The pessimistic current of Indian thought seems to have made a deep impression upon the Chams. Again and again we read in the inscriptions how the kings and nobles, ‘recognising the unsubstantial nature of wealth and worldly gain’ and thinking that this body is as impermanent as the foam floating on waters,’ performed “meritorious works”, to atone for all evil deeds as well as for the sake of salvation, or, as is often expressed in a more concrete form, for gaining the heaven of Śiva. These meritorious works took various shapes. It might be the installation of gods or perpetual endowments to religious institutions, for “gifts made to gods are a mode of purification” (59). But sometimes we hear not only of the worship of Śiva, but also of Dhyāna (meditation), Yoga (spiritual exercises) and samādhi (concentration) (Nos. 46, 62, 65). Sometimes kings abdicated their throne in order to pass the remaining days of their life in these religious practices. (No. 62). Pilgrimage was also regarded as a meritorious work and an old king abdicated the throne and went over to India to enjoy the bliss of spending his days on the banks of the Ganges (No. 12).

The Myson Ins. No. 59 claims the highest results from these pious practices. The author of this inscription, “knowing

1. Cf. Ins. 43 (c) v. 18
that the body and its pleasures are vain and transient", installed *lingas* and made gifts to the gods "who were present in their symbols." He embellished and enriched Śrīśānabhadrāśvara and increased the riches and the land of the god. The thought of Īśvaradevatā, otherwise known as Yogiśvara, was always present in his mind. By the force of effort and concentration of mind he at last saw Īśvaradevatā, who became entirely visible ( *pratyakṣa* ) to him (No. 59). This may be taken as a sketch of the ideal of religious life in Champā.

A characteristic feature of the religious development in Champā is the spirit of toleration that marked it from beginning to end. Although sectarianism prevailed, and two or three predominant Brāhmaṇical sects flourished side by side with Buddhism, we hear of no animosity in the field of religion. On the other hand, we find a liberal and catholic spirit paying reverence to all religious sects. This is proved by the passage in Ins. No. 31 quoted above on p. 200. The kings, too, often practically demonstrated their eclecticism. Thus king Prakāśadharma installed Śiva *lingas* (Nos. 10, 12) and at the same time erected a temple of Viṣṇu (No. 11). King Indravarman, too, shows equal zeal towards Śaivism and Buddhism (No. 31). Such instances can be multiplied to almost any extent. The people, too, followed the example of the kings (28). In this respect the Indian colonists maintained the best traditions of their motherland.

This brief sketch of the religious life may be concluded by a short account of some striking popular beliefs and superstitions.

The Indian theory of transmigration and "Karmaphala" (effects of deeds done in one life passing to the next) seems to have been the basis of religious life (No. 4). Thus king Prakāśadharma established a god "with a view to destroy the seeds (of Karma) which have the power of leading to
births in quick succession" (No. 12). King Jaya Indravarman believed that "he became king of Champâ by virtue of peculiar merits accruing from austerities of many previous births" (No. 31). The very interesting fact that several kings believed themselves to be incarnations of Uroja, who was born four times in this earth, have been already referred to. King Satyavarman was also regarded as an incarnation of Vicitrasagara (29).

We find also a belief in the influence of stars and planets and their power of guiding the destinies of man. Thus king Jaya Indravarman's glory and wisdom is said to be due to the protection of Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, the Moon, the Sun, Venus and Saturn (No. 31).

The belief in heaven and hell of course played a predominant part. In general, heaven is looked upon as the abode of gods and abounds in pleasures of all kinds. Hell is on the other hand the place for sorrows and torments of all kinds. We hear of heaven associated with a particular god, such as Rudraloka, Isvaraloka (24) Buddhapada (31. c. 8.). On the other hand, hells, too, were many in number. The conventional number of hells is given as eight (31). In particular reference is made to Raudra, Mahâraurava (31) and Avici (33).

The question of heaven and hell is frequently raised in connection with perpetual endowments. Imprecations in right Indian fashion are added at the end of inscriptions containing record of perpetual endowments. Any one maintaining these is promised salvation, heaven, or nirvâna along with his friends and relations, while those who destroy them are threatened with the direst consequences, such as living in hell for aeons with their relations and ancestors. In one case it is threatened that even the mother of the man, who destroys the goods of temples, would be haunted by multitude of dogs (32).

Lastly, there was the belief in the Yugas. Three of them are mentioned by name viz. Krta, Dvapara...
ancient history of champa

and Kali. The Krta age is the ideal or golden age (74), as in India, when Dharma prevailed in its entirety (12). The Dvapara which immediately preceded Kali, is brought within historical range by the mention of king Vicitrasagara who is said to have flourished in that age (29). The Chams even professed to know the exact date when Dvapara Yuga began. For we are told that in the year 5911 of the Dvapara Yuga king Vicitrasagara established a Mukhalinga in Kauthara (No. 29). Again the same event is placed 1,780,500 years before 1065 Śaka (No. 71). Thus the Dvapara Yuga commenced in 1,785,268 B.C. It would be interesting to know the basis on which this calculation was made.

The Kali Yuga is, of course, full of evils (Nos. 26, 29). It always tries to “lead people to error and pride” (No. 65) and kings have always to be on their guard in order to withstand its evil effects. It is antagonistic to the prosperity of kings (35, 62, 74) who are consequently obliged to wage an eternal war against it. The only way of fighting it is to follow the path of virtue and righteousness. This is beautifully expressed in the following passage.

I have nothing to expect from a king who, free from passion, dutifully protects his subjects like his own sons—with this melancholy reflection, Kali, chased by the splendour of the king, sadly moved away, nobody knows where, even as the army of darkness flies before the Sun leaving its unbearable rays behind.” (No. 12, v, 8)
CHAPTER VIII.

Buddhism.

Buddhism had also a fairly strong hold on the people of Champa. At least eight inscriptions specifically refer to that religion (Nos. 28, 31, 37, 43, 93, 103, 123, 126.) and interesting information about it is supplied by them.

Buddha is known by various names such as Jina (28), Lokanātha (37), Lokeshvāra (31), Sugata (37), Dāmāreshvāra (123), Svabhāyada (31), Abhayada (31), Śākyamuni, Amītabha, Vajrapāṇi, Vairocana (37), Saddharma1 (69, 71), and Pramuditalokeśvara (37).

Buddha is regarded as born from a succession of Buddhas (31). He is omnipresent in this world (37) and his essential characteristics are conceived to be kindness and an anxiety to deliver all creatures from misery. "The essence of his soul is pity and his intelligence is wide awake in saving creatures. He is always full of kindness and his patience is incomparable. Men overpowered by sorrows and the dwellers in hell long to see him day and night; as thirsty men, overpowered by sun's heat long for cool water in summer, so they, suffering from many sorrows, wish to have a view of Buddha" (31).

Utmost emphasis is laid upon the doctrines of Karma and transmigration as propounded by Buddha. Deeds done in this life must have their effect, and evil deeds lead people to the clutches of Māra, the Buddhist Satan. The Buddha alone can grant salvation and release people from the terrible hosts of Māra in hell. These ideas are beautifully expressed in the two following verses, the first of which is unfortunately mutilated.

1 Saddharma really means Buddhism, but it seems to be used also for Buddha.
“Hail! constant reverence to that merciful one. Those whose happiness was over, and who were being struck by iron rods...got the highest salvation by thinking of Lokesvara.

“Sinful men attached to their works in former lives, and without any hope of deliverance, were eternally surrounded by the terrible hosts of Mara, and overpowered by hunger and thirst on account of their want of liberality and aversion to Sugata (i.e. Buddha) in former times. But being rescued by Vajrapañi from the hell, they secured the way to salvation pointed out by the Buddha”. (No. 37, vv, 1-2)

This salvation is defined as the “attainment of the Buddhist Nirvāṇa to which there is no parallel” (No. 31). It is also evident from the Dong Duong Ins. (No.31, c-8) that there was a popular conception of a Buddhist heaven, where virtuous people might enjoy pleasures along with their servants.

Buddhism seems to have obtained a great deal of royal favour, and statues and temples of Buddha were erected by kings and people alike. There was also a powerful community of Buddhist monks and we hear of erection of monasteries in different parts of the kingdom.

We learn from the inscription of Sthavira Buddhānirvāṇa dated 829 A. D. (No 28), that his father erected a Buddhist temple and a Buddhist monastery and granted lands to the latter, apparently for defraying the expenses of the monks living therein. The famous Dong Duong Ins. (No. 31) informs us that king Śrī Jaya Indravarman, also known as “Lakṣmīndra, Grāmasvāmi, installed an image of “Lokesvara”, called after him “Lakṣmīndra-Lokesvara, in 875 A. D. He also founded a monastery for the perpetual enjoyment of the Bhikṣu-samgha or the community of monks, and placed therein all the necessaries of life. He also endowed the
monastery with a large number of fields. He did all these for the sake of Dharma, for the propagation of Buddhism and not for his own enjoyment or increment of royal revenues. Usual benedictions and imprecations for those who maintain or destroy the gifts are added at the end. Indravarman, who was thus a devoted follower of Buddhism, got the posthumous title of Parama-Buddhaloka (No. 36). The An-Thai Ins. (No. 37) dated 902 A. D. records the erection of temples and monasteries by kings Bhadravarman and Indravarman, apparently at the request of, and out of respect for a monk called Nāgapuspa. Again, the Nhan-Bieu Ins. (No. 43), dated 911 A. D., records that a dignitary of Champa erected a temple of Avalokitésvara and a monastery, called Vṛddhalokeśvara, apparently after his grandmother, princess Lyān Vṛddhakula.

Referring to the condition of Buddhism in Lin-i or Champā, I-tsing remarks that “the Buddhists generally belong to the Āryasammiti-nikāya and there are also a few followers of the Sarvāstivādanikāya”. This would mean the prevalence of Hinayāna sects. But, according to the inscriptions, the later Mahāyāna form of Buddhism was most predominant in Champā. This clearly follows from the reference to Avalokitesvāra, Amitābha etc. as well as from the conceptions of Vajradhātu, Padmadhātu and Cakradhātu (No. 37). Hence it is that a large number of Buddhist gods and goddesses received the homage of the people. Some of these divinities are named in Kim Choua Ins. (No. 93) viz Śri Jina Paramēśvara, Śri Jinalokeśvara, Śri Saugatadeveśvara Śri Jina Vṛddheśvari and Śri Jinadevadevi

It is a notable fact that sanctuaries of Śiva and Buddha and monasteries of these two sects were often erected side by side by the same donor (cf. Nos. 28, 31, 43). The reciprocal

1. I-tsing by Takakusu p. 12.
influence of these two religious sects is also indicated by the fact that Buddha was called Dāmaraśvāra (No. 123), the lord of Dāmaras or bhūtas, an epithet originally belonging to Śiva. It is also a noteworthy fact that figures of Śiva decorated the famous Buddhist temples of Dong Duong.¹

It may be observed in conclusion that the famous Buddhist formula “ye dharmāḥ hetuprabhavāḥ” etc. is also found in Champā (No. 126).

The archaeological remains have corroborated the evidence of inscriptions in regard to the importance of Buddhism. The Dong Duong Ins. of Indravarman Parama-Buddhaloka refers, as we have seen above, to the erection of a Buddhist temple and a monastery. Now, the excavations at that place have unearthed the remains of a Buddhist temple, far greater in dimensions than the largest Brāhmaṇical temple in Champā. Several images of Buddha have also been discovered amid the ruins. On the whole Dong Duong appears to have been an important stronghold of Buddhism.

An image of Buddha found at Dong Duong is nearly 5 ft. in height. It is seated in European fashion with the hands on the knees and has Īruṣā and Īṣāsa. The god is seated on a large pedestal and around him are a series of figures paying homage to him. A fine standing image of Buddha in bronze has also been found at Dong Duong. It is regarded as the most artistic representation of Buddha so far discovered in Champā.

There is a peculiar Buddha figure at Trung Tin. Buddha is seated cross-legged on the body of a serpent, which has been arranged in the form of a rectangular pillar, and is protected by its seven hoods. Sometimes, as at Khan Tho Dong, Buddha figures are seated between two stūpas. A

¹ Parm I. C. II. p. 434.
terracotta figure discovered at Phuoc Tinh also represents Buddha as protected by a Nāga and seated between two stūpas.

A number of small but interesting terracotta seals containing Buddhist figures have been discovered in the cave of Phong-nha in Quang-Binh. They represent (1) a dāgaba, (2-3) two images, probably of Avalokiteśvara and (4) a female deity, probably Tārā, and (5-6) two Buddha figures, one in Bhūmisparśa and the other in Dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā. It appears that the cave was a sanctuary of the Mahāyāna Buddhists who frequented it in large numbers and purchased these seals probably to preserve them as amulets.

The influence of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism is further indicated by a bronze statue of Bodhisattva found in the neighbourhood of Binh Dinh. The god is seated cross-legged on the coils of a Nāga, and his head is protected by its seven hoods. He is decorated by a rich headdress, rich ornaments hanging from the ear, necklaces and bracelets. His dress is transparent like that of the Buddhist figures of the Gupta period, and not marked by waving lines as we find in the Gāndhāra images and in the Buddha figure described above. It passes under his right armpit and covers the left shoulder. The soles of his feet are marked by cakra or the figure of a wheel. The two hands rest on the lap, while the palm of his right hand, placed on that of the left, shows the sign of a lotus flower.

There is also a standing image of Bodhisattva in stone, found at Phuoc Tinh. Two other figures discovered at Binh Dinh have been doubtfully identified as Buddha or Bodhisattva.

The evidence of inscriptions and sculptures thus leads to the conclusion that although not so predominant as Śaivism, Mahāyāna form of Buddhism had a great hold on the country.

King Śri Jaya Indravarmadeva VII was evidently a great patron of this sect. We are told that he was learned in the doctrines of Mahāyāna and installed several Mahāyāna deities (No. 81).

It is rather remarkable that remains of stūpas, a structure almost invariably associated with Buddhism, are almost conspicuous by absence. But the existence of stūpas in Champā in ancient times is proved by references in Chinese books.¹ It may be safely held that the ruins of these structures proved useful quarries in later times, as in India, and the stūpas nearly vanished from the surface of the earth.

¹. T'oung Pao—1910, p. 497.
CHAPTER IX.
Society.

The Indian colonists in Champâ tried to build up a society of the orthodox Hindu type, but it had to be modified in some essential aspects by the pre-existing traditions, manners and customs.

The people were theoretically divided into four castes, Brâhmaṇa, Ksatriya, Vaiṣya and Śūdra. But this division hardly existed in practical life except with regard to Brâhmaṇas and Ksatriyas. The terms Vaiṣya and Śūdra are only referred to in a solitary inscription, whereas references to Brâhmaṇa and Ksatriya are numerous. Even when a general enumeration of castes is intended, the terms Vaiṣya and Śūdra are conspicuous by their absence. Thus we read in the imprecatory verses: “Those who take away those goods—Ksatriyas, Kings or Brâhmaṇas—fall every day into the doleful hell along with their father and mother.” Again: “Those kings, Ksatriyas, Brâhmaṇas, ministers...merchants who take away or destroy these etc.”

It is evident, therefore, that the fourfold division of society in accordance with the injunction of the Hindu Śāstras was merely theoretical. The Indian colonists belonged mainly to the ranks of Ksatriyas and Brâhmaṇas, while there was probably no very sharp distinction between the other classes of society. The merchants, on account of their wealth, probably occupied a high position in society as indicated by the passages quoted above, but beyond this there were probably no social divisions among the common rank of people, whether Indian or Chams. There is no clear indication in the inscriptions that the conquered Chams were specially marked out for the servile position.

1 Ins. No. 65. 2. No. 31.
The distinction between Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas seems more akin to that of classes rather than that of castes. For one thing, it is evident that intermarriage between the two was in vogue. Thus, according to the Ins. No. 12. King Rudravarman was the "son of an eminent Brāhmaṇa" and the "son of the daughter's daughter" of glorious Manorathavarman. Manorathavarman, as is apparent from his title Varman, must have been a Kṣatriya, and thus Rudravarman had a Brāhmaṇa father and Kṣatriya mother. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that in Ins. No. 7 he is called the "ornament of the Brahma-Kṣatriya family (or families)." Again, the sister of king Prabhāsadharma married Satyakauśikasvāmi. The latter was undoubtedly a Brāhmaṇa (see p. 39ff. above) and the issue of this marriage, Bhadreśvaravarman, is said to have "shed lustre on both the Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa families" (Ins. No. 12, vv. 12-13). That such marriages were pretty frequent seems to follow from Ins. No. 75, where the king, Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva, is said to belong "to Kṣatriya family on both the father's and mother's side". Such qualifying phrases would have been absolutely uncalled for if marriage usually took place between members of the same caste.

It is probably the marriage relation between Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas that gave rise to a new clan, the Brahma-Kṣatriyas,¹ to which frequent reference is made in inscriptions. The word literally means "partaking of the character of both Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya." Two kings viz. Rudravarman (Ins. No. 7) and Indravarman (No. 23) are said to be the head of the Brahma-Kṣatra clan. The Brahma-Kṣatra is a well-known caste in India. The Sena kings of Bengal be-

longed to this caste and it exists till to this day in many parts of India. In Champā, however, the Brahma-Kṣatriyas do not seem to have formed a separate caste or class, but were merely a subdivision of the Kṣatriyas. This is conclusively proved by a comparison of the two inscriptions, Nos. 72, and 75. In the former, the king, Śri Jaya Harivarmadeva, is said to belong to “Brahma-Kṣatriya caste”, but in the latter inscription he is expressly said to belong to “Kṣatriya family on both his father’s and mother’s side”. Thus Brahma-Kśa-trā can only be regarded as a sub-class under the Kṣatriyas, and in any case there could not possibly be any rigid distinction between the two.

The Brāhmaṇas occupied a high position in society. As has already been observed, they did not dominate over the king and the state to the same extent as in India. But otherwise they occupied a position of great dignity. The Brāhmaṇas are regarded as gods among men, and the murder of a Brāhmaṇa is regarded as a very heinous crime (No. 12). According to the same inscription even kings are said to be devoted to them (No. 12). It is doubtful, however, whether they ranked above the Kṣatriyas. It is true that in the only instance where the traditional four castes are enumerated, the Brāhmaṇas occupy the conventional position of supremacy; but in a good many instances where only the two classes are mentioned, the Kṣatriyas are placed before the Brāhmaṇas, as we find in Buddhist and Jaina books, according to which the Brāhmaṇas are inferior to the Kṣatriyas. On the whole, the available materials seem to show that the distinction between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas was not a very rigid one, and they cannot be said to have formed two castes in the strict sense of the term.

1 cf. p. 150 above
2 cf. Ins, No. 12, v. 13; Ins. No. 31, C v. 7, and D.
The constant mention of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣa-
triyaś seem to show that these were really distinguished
from the rest of the population. But whether this distinction
led to any restriction about food and marriage such as pre-
vails in India between two castes, we are unable to deter-
mine. Taking everything into consideration it would seem
quite safe to conclude that the society was really divided into
two broad classes, the higher one composed of Brāhmaṇas
and Kṣatriyas, and the lower one consisting of the remaining
people.

But there was another important distinction in society
viz. that between the aristocracy and commonalty. These
two divisions were certainly overlapping to a great extent.
In other words, the members of the aristocracy most often
belonged to the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya classes but it almost
certainly comprised other people, who gained this high rank
by virtue of wealth or services rendered to the state.

The external symbols of aristocracy are described in de-
tail in the inscription No. 39. We are told that these privi-
leges “difficult to be attained by others in this world” were
granted to the minister Ājñā Mahāśāmanta by the king as
reward for faithful services.

The privileges consist of:—

(1) Articles of dress and ornaments.

(2) Right to use special conveyances, such as palanquins
and elephants, to the accompaniment of music etc.

(3) Claim to be seated near the king.

Among the articles of dress are mentioned: “The honour
of putting a garland on his head, the distinction of being
marked by an excellent tilaka (mark on the forehead), a com-
plete ornament for the ears, best ear-ring, a pair of robes,
decoration by golden girdle-string, an excellent dagger with
a golden sheath, a vessel and a cirāṇḍu white as silver. To these are added "an umbrella made of the feathers of peacock and a multitude of pitchers and vases, and a palanquin with silver staff". Similar honours were conferred by the king a brother of the minister named Ājñā Jayendrapati as a mark of appreciation of his poetical merits. We are told that in nine different temples of the realm Ājñā Jayendrapati composed poetical inscriptions engraved on stones, and as a reward, obtained from the king various distinctions such as palanquin, parasol decorated with peacock feathers etc. (Ins. No. 39, b)

In both these respects the Indian colonists kept up the tradition of their motherland. In ancient India people laid a great stress upon the special privileges of wearing particular dresses and using particular conveyances, and these distinctions were granted by the king upon poets and other great personages in recognition of their loyal and faithful services. Traces of these customs still persist in the Native States of India, particularly among the Rajput States.

The family to which the two ministers belonged may be regarded as a typical aristocratic family. Of the three brothers, two, as we have seen above distinguished themselves in court by administrative ability and poetic talents. The third brother, Ājñā Narendra Nṛpavitra was no less famous. He was "versed in all sacrificial ceremonies and in all treatises dealing with the Śaiva religion". Besides, he was a linguist, and by hard exertion mastered the languages of neighbouring countries. We are told that he "was able to understand thoroughly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries, after looking over them only for an instant". Whether he was a Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya by caste we do not know, but the case of the three brothers certainly
shows that so far at least as occupation went there was no very hard and fast line between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas.

In addition to the distinctions mentioned above the king also granted titles to the members of the aristocracy. We have got reference to several high officials who were rewarded in this manner. Thus king Jayasimhavarman gave three titles to his favourite Captain of Guards viz. Īśvarakalpa, Śivakalpa and Śrikalpa (Ins. No. 35). Again Pov Klui Piliḥ Rājadvāraḥ “obtained the title of Akālādhipati as a reward for the zeal with which he served the king” (Ins. No. 43). But Rājadvāraḥ obtained something more substantial for his services, viz. a grant of lands. It appears that such grants almost always accompanied the other distinctions in order to enable the recipients to maintain their dignity, and this laid the foundation of a hereditary landed aristocracy. Unfortunately there are not enough details to pursue the subject any further.

A general idea of the manners and customs of the aristocracy may be formed from what has been said above regarding the king (pp. 161 ff). But history, as properly understood, should concern itself more with the life of common people than with big events connected with kings and nobles. Unfortunately, however, it is difficult and well-nigh impossible to make this the guiding principle when one has to discuss the history of any ancient civilisation. For the written materials on which we are to base our accounts are mostly concerned with the higher classes of people, and it is only in an indirect way that we can glean some informations from them about common people. It is only when we are fortunate enough in coming across a highly developed national art that we may entertain some hopes of reconstructing the life of the people at large. For true art is a fair index of common life, more so when it is rich in phonetic value.
The art of Champā was fairly developed and its phonetic value, although not very high, is not altogether negligible. It is possible therefore to get some valuable information from a careful study of this art. But one note of warning has to be sounded before we proceed to this task. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, the art of Champā was derived from that of India and not of indigenous growth. Its spirit was also Indian. It is difficult to judge therefore the extent to which it reflects the national life of Champā as against merely handing down the traditions of the parent art. With this reservation, and subject to the risk of being led astray at times, we may cull a few valuable informations regarding the dress and ornaments of common people in ancient Champā.

First as to the dress. It is indeed very striking that the sculptures represent the dress of the people as very scanty. Only the portion below the waist is covered; the rest of the body, even in cases of females, is nude. The evidence of art in this respect is in full agreement with the Chinese accounts (cf. p. 11 above). It is possible that in course of time a garment for the upper part of the body was introduced, but this is not reflected in the artistic representations, till a very late period.

As to the dress which covered the lower part of the body it may be broadly divided into two classes, the long and the short. The long one extends down to the ankle while the short one never reaches beyond the knee, and sometimes even stops short much above it. There were of course great varieties in both. Sometimes the cloth was quite plain, but often it contained rich and varied designs in variegated colours, and was plaited in fancy patterns. In most cases we find a loose scarf over the dress hanging between the legs. At a later period this was replaced by either aprons, or richly
Pl. I. Dress, as illus

(Reproduced from the publications of École des Monuments, Rome, by H. Parmentier)
ares. (cf. p. 220.)

*Extreme-Orient*, Vols XI, XII *viz. Inventaire V, CLXXVI.*
Pl. II. Head-dress

(Reproduced from the publications 'descriptif des monuments Cams' by H. Parm)
Sculptures. (cf. p. 221.)

see D'Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire CLXXVIII-CLXXIX.)
plaited folds, of cloth. The long dress resembles a modern petticoat, while the short one looks like drawers. As a rule women put on the former and the men the latter. Both were tied to the waist by a belt which was sometimes richly decorated with jewels.¹

The ascetics and the servants are often figured as dressed in an Indian languti, a narrow strip of cloth passing round the hip and between the legs.

As to the colour of these dresses the sculptures teach us nothing. One Chinese authority says that the colours chiefly used were black, yellow, red and purple, whereas the use of white was punishable by death.

The Chams paid some attention to hair-dressing. The sculptures have preserved a number of specimens, showing the curious ways in which they tied their hair in various fanciful patterns. They also used head-coverings of various types. It appears on a careful examination of the sculptures that during the early period the hair was either tied in round and high chignon or allowed to fall loosely over the neck and shoulders. Sometimes a diadem was used either by itself or just to keep the chignon in its place. Later on caps (mukutas) of various shapes were introduced, most of these being either conical or cylindrical. Sometimes they showed rich designs and a high degree of workmanship.²

As regards foot-wear the Chinese evidence is in full accord with the evidence of sculptures. According to an authority quoted by Ma Touan-lin, only the upper classes used shoes made of skin, while the common people walked barefooted. Another authority belonging to the 15th century reports that "only the king wears shoes, the courtiers are

¹ Parm, I. C. Pl. CLXXV—CLXXVI.
² Parm. I. C Pl. CLXXVIII, CLXXIX.
barefooted”, and the officers of S. S. Galathee have noted the same state of things. But the last two observations can only refer to the well-known oriental custom according to which the courtiers must leave their shoes before appearing in king's presence. Even to-day nobody can appear before a ruling prince in the Native States of India with shoes on; but this does not prove that they are in the habit of walking barefooted even outside the court. We can, therefore, accept the statement of Ma Touan-lin, viz. that the practice of wearing shoes was limited to upper classes alone. This is corroborated by the fact that shoes are very rarely represented in the sculptures. The few specimens that we come across are all of the type of sandals tied to the foot by means of a strap. Sometimes is decorated with jewellery (cf. above p. 161. 1. 18).

The ornaments of the ear are many and varied in character. There is first the disc set in the ear-lobe. It is either circular or oval and sometimes of the shape of a flower. It has a knob in the centre which is also variously designed. Then come the rings, sometimes quite large in number, which are set round the ear. Lastly the pendants, which are often fairly heavy.

Next to the ear-ornaments may be mentioned the bracelets round the wrist as well as round the upper part of the arm near the shoulder. Similar ornaments are also put round the ankles.

Among other ornaments noticeable in the sculptures may be mentioned necklaces and girdles both of which show a rich variety of designs.

Lastly, it appears that the sacred thread (upavita) lost its religious character in Champá and came to be used as an ornament among the people.

It is evident from a general study of art in ancient Champá that the people led a life of ease, if not always of opulence and luxury. The few data we possess regarding
their economic conditions also corroborate the same view.

Agriculture was no doubt the principal occupation of the people. Although the quantity of fertile lands was rather small they made good the defect by a system of irrigation, traces of which exist even to this day. The chief products have been already referred to (p. 8) and the cultivation of these must have afforded maintenance to the great majority of people. But trade and industry was also fairly developed and we have many references in Chinese literature to the manufactures, and arts and crafts of Champa.

A few of these may be noted below:

A. AGRICULTURAL.

1. (a) They cultivated the mulberry-tree for the production of silk-worms, as well as the cotton-tree. They made cloths of silk and cotton of various kinds and hues, and these formed an important industry of the people. Sometimes embroidery of gold, silver, pearls and jewels was added to cloths, and the Chams made great progress in this art.

(b) Manufacture of perfumes from sandalwood and similar other trees.

2. Manufacture of alcohol from the juice of betel-nut.

3. Straw hats were made from a kind of palms grown in water.

4. Mats were made from fan-palm.

5. Ropes and fine basket work made out of a variety of plants and herbs.

B. MINERAL.

1. The different metals gold, silver, copper, iron and tin were extracted from soil and manufactured in the shape of utensils and ornaments of various kinds.

2. Large number of precious stones developed the art of jewellery.

3. There was also a brisk trade in corals of all sorts and pearls of great value.
4. China vases were also manufactured to a very large extent.

C. ANIMAL PRODUCT.

1. Ivory work was a very important industry.

2. The horn of rhinoceros was regarded as very valuable on account of its medical property, and formed an important article of commerce.

In addition to the above there were also the important arts of carpentry, stone-cutting, brickmaking and masonry.

Last, but not of the least importance among the industries was that of ship-building. By their very geographical position the Chams were dependent for their safety upon a keen maritime activity, and the Chinese evidence makes it quite clear that they had a powerful navy. The Chams were hardy fearless mariners and boldly plied the ocean for the purposes of trade and war. There were mercantile vessels as well as ships of war. We often hear of Cham fleet harassing the coasts of Annam and Cambodge and pillaging the sea-coast towns and ports. They also visited China, Java and other neighbouring countries.

An infamous activity of the Cham mariners was the systematic piracy in which they were engaged. Not only did they pillage defenceless towns and ports on the sea-coast by a sudden raid but they also captured and plundered vessels which passed along their coast. The vessels going to or coming from China which had of necessity to sail close to the shores of Annam, were their special victims, and for some time the Annamese waters came to be regarded with terror by the trading people of the east.

An indirect consequence of this nefarious activity of the Chams was the influx of slaves among them. Regular slave-trade was carried on by the Cham merchants, and slaves formed
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a prominent element of the population in addition to aristocracy and commonalty. We get frequent references to slaves in the inscriptions and it became a normal practice for all who endowed a temple to assign to it both male and female slaves for carrying on menial work. These inscriptions refer to slaves of both the sexes belonging to all nationalities such as Khmer, Cham, Chinese, Siamese etc. The prisoners of war were also sometimes condemned to slavery, and the same lot often awaited the rebellious subjects. As we have seen above (p. 79), when the rebellion of Pāṇḍurāṅga was crushed by King Paramēśvaravarmadeva Dharmarāja, half of the population were distributed as slaves to various establishments.

The only other element of Cham population which deserves special notice is the woman folk. Some scholars are of opinion that the matriarchal system prevailed in Champa before it was colonised by the Hindus. This may be regarded as probable though little traces of it remained in historical times. Maspero refers as an example to the practice observed in matters of succession to the throne, viz that the son of a queen of the first rank had preference over even elder sons born of a queen of second rank. This practice was, however, observed even in India and can be explained without assuming the existence of matriarchy. Of far greater interest in this connection, however, are a series of successions through female lines in historical times. Thus king Prthivindravarman was succeeded by two sons of his sister, Satyavarman and Indravarman, and the latter was again succeeded by his sister's husband, and sister's son. Again Indravarman II was succeeded by his wife's sister's son. These instances might be attributed to matriarchal principles, but as we do not know whether there were any direct male descendants in any of these cases we are unable to form any definite conclusion. A Chinese
author, of course, remarks: "among the Chams it is the female who counts, the male is of no importance". Several customs of the modern Chams in Annam have also been regarded as bearing traces of matriarchal principles, which, besides, are the general characteristics of Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian race to which they belonged. But whatever that might be the custom, if it prevailed at all, must have been thoroughly modified by the Hindu colonists. So far at least as the extant evidence goes, the position of women in Champā seems to be on all fours with that in India.

Marriage was regarded as a sacred ceremony which laid the foundations of a family life. As in India, the marriage was confined to one's own clan corresponding to gotra. We have reference to two important clans—those of nārikela (cocoanut) and Kramuka (betelnut). These names were derived from a mythical story according to which the founder of each of these clans was discovered, while infant, in a cocoanut (or betelnut) tree by the king who reared him up and ultimately gave him his own daughter together with his kingdom. There were possibly other clans of this type, and the clannish sentiments, although based on mythical legends, superseded all other barriers of society. Thus we are told that a lady belonging to a noble family would marry even a man of no substance if he belonged to the same clan, and that marriage relations were determined by considerations of clan rather than those of caste. In other words, a man would marry a woman belonging to the same clan but to a different caste.¹

The details of marriage ceremony such as are recorded in the Chinese texts immediately recall those of India to which they bear a close resemblance. The inevitable matchmaker, usually a Brāhmaṇa, as in India, settles the prelimi-

¹ Maspero, T'oung Pao, 1910, pp. 184 ff.
naries. He arrives at the bride's house with some presents, such as a quantity of gold, silver, and jewels, two pitchers of wine, and fish. After the proposal is agreed to on both sides he settles an auspicious day for the ceremony, for, as in India, the ceremony could take place only on certain tithis. On the fixed day friends and relations of both the bride-groom and bride gather at their respective houses and indulge in joyous festivities amid dance and music. Then the bride-groom goes to the house of the bride who is attired in a splendid dress suitable to the occasion. A priest after introducing the bride-groom to the bride joins their hands together and pronounces the sacred mantras. This finishes the ceremony which is again followed by dance, music and other festivities.

Like the marriage ceremony the relation of husband and wife, too, probably resembled that of India. At least we have undoubted evidence of some of the most important characteristics of that relation. Thus when the husband died, the wife—at least one belonging to a high family—followed him in the funeral pyre, according to the well-known satī rite in India. Some inscriptions even record a number of queens burning themselves on the funeral pyre of a king. The case of the Annamese queen of Jaya Simhavarman IV shows how difficult it was even for an unwilling victim to avoid this tragic fate (see above, p. 124). The traveller Odoric de Pordenone remarks with reference to Champā:

"When a man dies in this country, his wife is burnt along with him, because they say that it is only right and proper that the wife should live with the husband in the other world" 1

Those who did not die along with their husbands mostly lived like Hindu widows the rest of their lives. 2 They led retired

1. Toung Pao, 1911, pp. 600-601.
lives and did not dress their hair. It is possible that in exceptional cases, the widows were remarried. All these are exactly analogous to what we find in India. On the same analogy we should expect the prevalence of polygamy and this is confirmed by the examples of kings (see, p. 162 above) who had numerous wives and concubines.

The sacred ties of marriage, however, sometimes sat loosely upon the lower classes of people, if we are to believe in an account preserved in the Chinese Text called Tao-yitche-lio. We are told that when a vessel stopped at a coast-town for some days, the sailors married the women of the locality. The men and women lived as husband and wife during the short residence of the former, and when the time of parting came they took leave of one another amid tears and lamentations. Next year the women again married the new batch of sailors, and so on. We are told that if perchance any one of these sailors returned to the same country after a long time, he was warmly received by his former wife and offered food and drink, but the old ties of husband and wife being once dissolved, could not be automatically revived.¹

Nevertheless there was a high ideal of womanhood, and feminine virtues are frequently referred to. The good qualities of Pu lyan Rājakula enumerated in Ins. No. 36 (vv. 8 ff) may be regarded as those of an ideal woman. The women were, as a general rule, very religious, and many inscriptions record their religious gifts and pious endowments. The heroic example of a lady determined to save her honour even at the cost of her life has been referred to on p. 76. above.

Some of the popular customs and ceremonies of Champa have been recorded by Chinese historians. These were held on fixed dates in accordance with the Hindu calendar which was in vogue in Champa. The year began with the month of

¹. Ibid p. 37. Similar forms of short-term marriage are said to be prevalent even now among the mariners of Hue.
Caitra, and months ended in Amāvasyā or New-moon. Many of the Hindu festivals were observed there. A few peculiar ceremonies are recorded below.

On the New Year's day an elephant was taken out of the town and let loose; for they believed that they would thereby get rid of the evil spirits for the year. In the month of Asādha they held grand boat-races in which even the fishing boats took part. At the feast of the winter-solstice, which took place on the full-moon day of the 11th month, the people presented the king with samples of their agricultural and industrial products. Lastly, on the 15th day of the month of Caitra, a wooden tower was constructed outside the walls of the capital city; the king and people of all ranks placed there clothes and perfumes which were then burnt as sacrifice to God.

Maspero has regarded all these customs as of indigenous origin, but this may be doubted. The practice of letting loose an elephant, particularly when there is no heir to a king occurs in many old stories of India. The annual boat races are held even to this day on the Dussera festival in various parts of Bengal. The practice of presenting the "first fruits" to kings, landlords or great men is a well-known custom in this country, and the last festival mentioned above has its counterpart in the modern Dolayātra festival. The festivals in Champā recorded above may thus be regarded, like many others, as ultimately derived from India, although modified by local ideas.

There were many popular festivals connected with harvest, as we find in India. Even the king took part in them and was to give the signal for harvest by himself cutting a handful of rice.

Some of the customs and ceremonies were horrible and barbarous. Thus every year on the 15th day of the first
month and the 15th day of the 12th month, the people were authorised to procure the galls of living persons and sell them to officials. These galls were mixed with an intoxicating drink and taken by the official with his family. They believed that they would thereby be feared by other persons and be safe from infectious diseases.¹

The funeral ceremony was analogous to that of India. The usual practice was to burn the body on a pyre. The cremation took place the very next day, in the case of the ordinary people, and three or seven days after death, in the case, respectively, of nobles and kings. The dead body was soaked in beer and placed on a hearse. It was then taken to the burning place to the accompaniment of music. All the members of the family, both male and female, with shaved heads, accompanied the procession uttering loud shouts of lamentations all the while, until they arrived at the river-bank. There they burnt the body on a pyre, and having collected the ashes in an earthen pot and thrown it into the river, returned to their house in profound silence. If the deceased belonged to any noble family, or had performed any high functions in the state, the burning ceremony had to be performed near the mouth of a river, and the ashes were placed in a copper pot. In the case of the king this pot must be of gold and it had to be thrown into the sea. Thus the distinction of ranks was carefully preserved even after death.

For a period of two months the members of the family came to the pyre at the end of each week with incense and perfume, and uttered wails and lamentations over the remains of the departed. On the hundredth day, and again in the third year, some ceremony had to be performed in honour of the dead.

¹ B. E. F. Vol. XIV. No. 9, p. 37.
Although cremation was the usual rule, the practice of exposing the dead body was not unknown. In accordance with the custom prevalent among the Parsis, and among several peoples in ancient India, the dead body was left in an open field and devoured by the "sacred vultures". After a few days the family of the deceased collected his bones, burnt them to ashes and threw them into water.¹

It is difficult to form an idea as to the general tone of morality prevalent among the people. According to some Chinese authorities the people did not use any fermented drink, whereas others say that they made alcohol by extracting the juice of betal nuts.

The Chams were very fond of dance and music. Inscriptions frequently refer to dancers and musicians and the bas-reliefs depict many dancing and musical parties together with a variety of Indian musical instruments. There were probably also some dramatic performances in which men and women both took part, and some heroic ballads were sung to the accompaniment of suitable musical instruments.

A few words must be said in conclusion regarding the study of Indian literature in Champa. It is evident from the published inscriptions that at least up to the tenth century A. D. the Classical Sanskrit Literature, particularly the Kāvya, was thoroughly studied, probably even to the exclusion of the native literature, if there were any. Sanskrit became the language of the learned and the indigenous tongue suffered a cold neglect. Not only were Indian books imported and studied but even new books were written in Sanskrit, and the name of at least one such book and an extract from it has reached us (No. 74).

The kings seem to have taken a leading part in the culti-

¹. B. E. F. Vol. XIV. No. 9, p, 16.
vation of Sanskrit language and literature. Thus, as noted before, King Bhadravarman (5th century A.D.) is said to have been versed in the four Vedas (No. 4). King Indravarman III is said to have been versed in the well-known six systems of Philosophy, as well as in the Buddhist Philosophy. In addition, he knew Pāñjini's Grammar with Kāśikā, and the Ākhyāna and Uttarakaṇḍa of the Śaivas (No. 45). King Śrī Jaya Indravarmanadeva VII was versed in Grammar, Astrology, the Mahāyāna Philosophy and the Dharmashastra, notably the Nārādiya and Bhārggaviya (Ins. No. 81). Whether these kings were as learned as their court-posts would have us believe may be doubted, but that these different branches of Sanskrit literature formed familiar subjects of study in Champā may be regarded as fairly certain.

To the list of subjects thus obtained others may be added on the strength of epigraphic records.

1. The Epics.

That the two epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, were quite familiar in Champā is evident from a number of allusions to the chief characters or episodes described in them. Thus reference is made to Yudhīsthira, Duryodhana and Yuyutsu in No. 41, to the glories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in No. 74, to Rāma, son of Daśaratha in No. 12, to the irrepressible valour of Dhanañjaya in No. 23, and to the son of Pāṇḍu in No. 39. Besides, the story of the destruction of the Tripura-Asuras as contained in No. 18, bears a very close resemblance to what we find in the Anuśasanaparva of Mahābhārata. The allusion to the epithet "Ekāksapingala" of Kuvera, occurring in No. 14, is also evidently based on the Uttarakaṇḍa of Rāmāyana. All these point to a very intimate knowledge of the epics on the part of the people of Champā.

2. The religious literature, particularly the literature of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects, must have been thoroughly stu-
died. The familiarity of the people with the numerous epithets and legends of Śiva, Viṣṇu and other gods, as discussed in Book II Chaps. II and V above, cannot be explained except on this assumption. We have also some specific references to it in inscriptions. Thus the minister Ājñā Narendra Nīpaditra is said to have been versed in “all treatises dealing with the Śaiva religion” (No. 39). The minister of King Indravarman III “was versed in sacred scriptures” (No. 46).

3. The Śṛti literature, specially the Mānavadharmaśāstra or Manu Śṛti, must have been regarded as a standard and authoritative treatise. Specific reference to it is found in No. 65, and the Bhārggaviya Dharmaśāstra, mentioned in No. 81, may also refer to the same.1 The latter inscription also refers to Nārada Śṛti.

4. The great influence of Classical Sanskrit literature, including Kāvyā and Prose romances, is met with in all the Sanskrit inscriptions that have reached us. The writers of these inscriptions show great familiarity with different metres and styles of poetry and prose-writing. Even the extremely artificial style, consisting mainly of śleṣas and anuprāsas such as is met with in Kādambarī, Naisadha-Carita and Śīṣupālavādha are not wanting in our Inscriptions. No. 55 may be cited as an instance of alliterations. Artificial Prose style, chiefly characterised by placing two apparently contradictory statements side by side is illustrated by No. 17.

5. The Chams had evidently a knowledge of the Purāṇas. We have reference to a book called Artha-Purāṇaśāstra in Ins. No. 72, and Purāṇārtha in No. 74, both apparently mean-

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1. According to Manusamhita, Chap. I, v. 60, the entire text was narrated by Bhṛgu, who originally learnt it from Manu. This is corroborated by Chap. V, vv 1-3 and Chap. XII, v. 2. Thus the text may also be called Bhārggaviya, in the sense that it was narrated by Bhṛgu.
ing the same thing. From the little knowledge that we have of its contents, it appears to have dealt, among other things, with past and future kings. Now this is exactly in conformity with the treatises called the Purāṇas. The Purāṇārtha or Artha-Purāṇaśāstra thus seems to have been a commentary to or a Cham edition of an Indian Purāṇa.

On the basis of what has been said above we may draw up the following list of the branches of Sanskrit Literature which were studied in Champā.

I. The Four Vedas.
II. The Six systems of Indian Philosophy.
III. The Epics.
IV. Buddhist Philosophy, including the Mahāyāna system.
V. The religious literature of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects.
VI. Grammar, notably that of Pāṇini, together with its commentary, the Kāśikā.
VII. Astrology.
VIII. The Dharmaśāstras, specially those of Manu and Nārada.
IX. The Purāṇas.
X. Classical Sanskrit literature including Kāvya and Prose Romances.
CHAPTER X.

Architecture and Sculpture.

§ 1. Plan and Scope.

The study of the civilisation of Champa would remain incomplete without a brief reference to the architecture and sculpture of the country. Although Champa cannot boast of such splendid edifices as we find at Cambodge and Java, and her monuments, mainly built of bricks, have mostly disappeared, yet the remains, such as still exist, indicate a fairly developed artistic sense and manual skill of her people. As in India, the art in Champa was mostly the handmaid of religion, and the people lavished their skill and resources mainly on religious edifices and images of gods and goddesses. It will be well, therefore, to begin with a description of her temples. The few existing remains of civil or military structures of olden times are almost insignificant in character and will be briefly noticed at the end.

The temples which are in a good state of preservation, or the ruins of which enable us to form a fairly accurate idea of their forms and characteristics are quite large in number. It will be impossible to describe them in detail, nor will this serve any useful purpose to a general reader. I shall therefore begin with a general description of the Cham temples and then proceed to give some details of the three important groups viz. those of Myson, Dong Duong and Po Nagar. This will be followed by a very brief reference to some other important groups or detached temples which show important and characteristic features of a somewhat novel type. Finally, an attempt will be made to make a chronological classification of the different styles and to trace their origin. Those who want to study the subject in greater details may consult
the monumental work of Parmentier—"Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Chams De l‘Annam"¹ from which the following account has been summarised.

§ 2. General characteristics of the temples in Champā.

All the temples in Champā belong essentially to one characteristic type, though varying a great deal in detail. They generally face the east and are situated on an eminence, in order, no doubt, to make them visible from a great distance.

The sanctuary or the cella, containing the image of god, occupies the centre. It is a small room with a square base and a pyramidal roof. The Chams call it Kalan. It generally faces the east and has sometimes in front of it another building of similar shape running from east to west which serves as the porch or Nāṭamandir.

This building has two rooms with a communicating door. Only the western room has a door, opening towards the north: otherwise the rooms are lighted only by the windows. Sometimes we find two subsidiary sanctuaries built in the same line from north to south as the principal sanctuary. These are often later additions. In rare cases this central group of shrines is accompanied by subsidiary temples. Sometimes these are very small and attached to the wall of enclosure. These structures are all built in brick and generally covered by pyramidal arches.

All these buildings are enclosed by a wall and the only access to this sacred enclosure is through a Gate-Tower towards the east. It has the shape of the principal sanctuary, and its two doorways, opposite each other, are approached by two flights of stairs on the east and the west. Be-

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¹ In the footnotes that follow, chapter, page, figure, and plate, unless otherwise stated, shall be taken to refer to this book.
yond this is often found a Big Hall with tiled roofs, supported by thin walls or merely pillars. There are also other structures close by, which served as record rooms, storerooms etc. In most cases, however, no traces of the wall of enclosure have been found. In these cases either the wall was not built at all, or built of very light materials which have perished.

The interior of the sanctuary is a square chamber. Its vertical walls are plain but polished. Above, the roof consists of one conical vault formed by a succession of rings which rise in gradually diminished proportions as far as the top. At about mid-height between the floor and the summit a stone slab is fixed at each corner with a hole pierced at the end. It was probably a device to put an awning or a canopy above the divine image. The cella usually has only one door towards the east; on the other sides there are niches in the walls which probably served the purpose of lamp-stand.

The idol is placed in the centre of the room on a platform ending in a Snāna-dronā. It has a long narrow projection which serves to carry away water used for bathing the idol. Sometimes there was a Soma-Sūtra, either along the ground, or suspended high up in the air, for removing the water outside the room. The sanctuary opens into a vaulted passage which leads to an elaborate doorway with threshold, lintel and frames, all made of stone, and above the lintel is a frame of brick or stone called tympanum. The tympanum often contains sculptures which are sometimes of an elaborate character. This massive doorway opens into another vaulted passage which leads to an antechamber or vestibule. This antechamber, which looks like the sanctuary in miniature, is not, however, always present. In such cases the vaulted passage is extended upto the Gate-Tower. The entire building, both sanctuary and the vestibule, is
placed on a common foundation which follows in the main the entire outline of the buildings themselves. Only in front of the entrance gateway it is intersected by a staircase.

Externally, the sanctuary consists of a square tower with a Sikharā. There are at least three distinct types of Sikharas, but those of the normal type consist of a series of four storeys, one above the other, diminishing as they rise, and crowned by a curvilinear pyramidal stone slab.

The square tower, which may also be regarded as the lowest of these stories, is of course formed by the walls of the sanctuary. Each wall has one elaborate moulding at the base, and another at the top, which may be designated respectively as the Base and the Cornice. The body of the wall is intersected by a number of bold vertical projections with broad flat surfaces between them. These have been termed Pilasters and Inter-pilasters. Sometimes these were decorated by carvings of various patterns.

The Pilasters are usually five in number, but the central one is hidden behind the false doorway which covers the centre of each of the three walls other than that which contains the real doorway. These false doorways are a characteristic feature of Cham temples and will be described in detail in connection with individual temples.

The Base and the Cornice are often decorated with richly carved figures and other ornamental designs, notably, in the case of Cornice, by the frieze of garlands. A peculiar characteristic of the Cham temples is an attempt to strengthen the junction of two Cornices by slabs of stone which are often elegantly carved into beautiful forms of Makaras and Apsaras.

At the four angles of the Cornice, on the roof of the central tower, are four small towers. Each of these Corner-towers is a miniature representation of the sanctuary itself.
In the vacant space between them but leaving a margin, sometimes broad and sometimes very narrow, rises the first storey of the Śikhara. This storey as well as the next higher one are diminutive forms of the sanctuary itself and possess all its essential parts,—only false niches are substituted for the false doorways, and the number of Pilasters on the walls is gradually reduced to 4 and 3. The 'Base' is also wanting in these upper storeys, but they have, in addition, sculptured stone slabs fixed on the Inter-pilasters. The third storey has usually two, but sometimes no Pilasters. It differs from the two lower stories in one important respect alone viz. the absence of Corner-towers. From the roof of it springs the crowning ornament of the whole building, a slab of stone, square or polygonal at the base and curvilinear and pyramidal in shape.

In addition to the normal type of Śikhara described above, two other distinct types may be noted. The first of these consists of two storeys, the upper one having the shape of an elongated arched vault with ogival ends at two sides and a slightly concave curve at the top. This type will be briefly referred to as 'ridge-shaped with ogival ends.' The third type of Śikhara consists of a curvilinear pyramidal dome springing directly from the walls of the sanctuary, and surmounted by a massive circular member of corrugated form, resembling what is called the Āmalaka in the Śikharas of North Indian temples.

The temples in Champā are made of brick though stone slabs are used to add strength or for decorative purposes. Thus the door-frame, lintel, angular pieces etc. are frequently made of stone.¹

§ 3. Myson Group.¹

The Myson group of temples is situated in a valley formed by the chains of Deo Le, about 21 miles, as the crow flies, south-south-east of Touranne. The valley is almost circular and measures about a mile from the top of one ridge to another. It has only one opening to the north through which a small river drains its waters to the Song Thu Bon.

The temples at Myson may be divided into several distinct groups which cover the valley as well as the low peaks of neighbouring hills.² The groups A and A' are on the right side of the river and face the groups B-C-D directly on the opposite bank. A little lower down the river on its right bank is the Group G on a low peak. It towers over the preceding groups as well as on Groups E-F, still further down on the same bank. At about 440 yards from the last, on the same bank of the river, is the Gate-Tower K. On the left bank, lower down the river than the groups B-C-D is the Group H, while a little further up from the former is a small chamber L about the mid-height of a peak. There are also remains of other structures which have almost wholly disappeared.

GROUP A.

The most ancient temples in the Myson group are A-1 and its six subsidiary temples A-2—A-7, three on each side.³ All these temples are built on one terrace, situated in a large quadrangular courtyard surrounded by brick walls. A Gate-Tower A-8, with two doorways and double flight of stairs, standing on the same line as A-1 cuts this wall

². Pl. LXVII.
³. Pl LXVII-LXXII.
Pl. III. Myson Temple A-1 (cf. p. 241)

(Reproduced from the publications of École Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Vols, XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments cams by H. Parmentier, Plaque LXXII)
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on the west and forms the main entrance. A Big Hall A 9, which is almost completely ruined, stands in front of A 8, just outside the boundary wall. Within the enclosure are four other subsidiary temples of different styles and of later date. These are A 10, just to the north of the main group, and A 11, A 12 and A 13 bordering the southern and eastern wall.

The temple A-7 opens both towards the east as well as towards the west. It belongs to the normal type of temples described above and is profusely decorated with very elegant carvings. The inner chamber is square and very lofty. The walls begin to bend at about 4-5ths of their height and form an arch. There are six niches in the walls. The idol, a linga, is now broken, and its Snānadroni corresponds to the Soma-Sūtra in the false doorway to the north. It is impossible to say whether the linga was turned to the east or to the west.

The two doors of A-1 are connected by two arched passages with two vestibules. The roofs of the vestibules are high and pyramidal in shape.

The vast basement or the terrace of the temples A-1 and A 2-7 presents a cruciform plan and consists of two main stages or stories. These are decorated with fine mouldings, figures of animals and various other fantastic and pleasing motives. The terrace is about 6½ ft. high above the ground level and is reached on the west by a staircase.

Externally, each wall of the temple is divided by vertical projections viz. Pilasters and Inter-pilasters, and these are decorated with luxuriant foliage pattern of various designs. The frieze is ornamented by garlands and busts of Apsaras.

The false doorways at the sides are also treated as projections. That on the southern side consists of two parts. The upper part is a replica of the temple itself with three
niches at the base containing images. The lower one, double in plan, imitates a doorway with side pilasters sculptured with foliage pattern.

In the first stage of the pyramidal roof, each side contains three Pilasters, that of the middle being larger than the other two. The front is ornamented by the head of a monster and foliage terminating in Makaras. The false doorways are represented by niches divided into two parts.

The second and third stages are repetitions of the first though on a smaller scale. No data are available for forming an accurate idea of the fourth stage, but it appears that the terminal stone was a conical and curvilinear octagon in shape.

The vestibules were treated as miniature temples. Of the doorways only a few fragments remain.

The temples 2-7.1

Around the central shrine there are, as already remarked, six small temples on the same platform. All of them have a separate basement and, with the exception of A 6, resemble the main temple in form. A 6 has no storied pyramidal roofs but its eastern and western walls end in a curved gable. Its faces are ornamented with pilasters.

The other buildings (A 8—A 13) do not call for any particular notice.

GROUP A'.

To the south of group A is found the front of four temples A' 1-4, all open to the east. It is just possible that there was a fifth temple which is now completely gone.

All these temples are now in ruins and they all seem to belong to the normal type.2

GROUP B.

This group is the southern-most of all, and is bounded

1: Pl. LXXIII—LXXV.
Pl. IV. Myson Temple C—1. (cf. P. 243)

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise)
by a wall which is nearly a square. In the centre of the enclosure is the principal temple B-1 made mostly of stone but badly constructed. A hall with double doors gives access to the court from the east. Two subsidiary chambers B 5 and B 6 occupy respectively the south-eastern and north-eastern angle. There are two other temples within the enclosure, B 3 in the south-west angle, and B-4 in front of it. There are besides, seven miniature temples B 7-B 13 attached to the enclosing wall.¹

Lastly, there is a colonnade in front of B 1. The columns seem to have been removed from their original positions, but they are very elegant. The octagonal shaft is fluted and ornamented at both ends. The base and capital are both executed with rare perfection. The abacus is decorated with the busts of 4 figures brandishing a sword of a peculiar kind. The topmost member is a beautiful lotus.²

The temple B 5 is of peculiar construction. It has only two storeys and the roof of the upper one is ridge-shaped with ogival ends. It is very ancient and probably of the same age as A 1. B 6 resembles B 5 but is of smaller dimensions.³

GROUP C.

This group is enclosed by a wall parallel to that of B, but the principal sanctuary C 1 has got a different orientation from B 1. The Gate-Tower C 2 and five other edifices, three temples C 3, C 4, and C 5 and two subsidiary halls C 6, C 7, have all the same orientation as B 1.⁴

The temple C 1⁵ is not of normal type. Externally, it resembles B 5 with a vestibule of the same shape. Besides,

1. LXXVIII—LXXIX.
2. Fig 32, p. 377.
3. Pl. LXXX—LXXXI.
4. Pl. LXXXVIII.
5. Pl. LXXXII.
the temple looks like two different buildings, the sanctuary
and the vestibule being separated by an open space. Internally,
the arched vault is not of a regular pyramidal character,
but rises straight to a certain distance.

The Gate-Tower C 2, as well as the buildings C 3, C 4 and
C 5 all have the same external forms as B 5 and B-7. C 7,
C 6 and C 5 are placed close together in the same line from
left to right. It appears that C 6 was added at a later period
in the vacant space between C 7 and C 5. Both C 7 and C 6
belong to the normal type of temples.

GROUP D.

The two groups B and C contain only the principal parts
of two temples. Their Big Halls, which are necessary comple-
ments to a temple, are placed together in a common court D.
All the three groups are enclosed by a continuous wall which
forms a circuit round the northern, southern and western
walls of B and C.

The two edifices D 1, and D 2, connected respectively with
B 2 and C 2 are both large halls, illumined on each side by
three windows. Each is divided into three parts by the pillars
attached to the walls, and opens at the two ends by two door-
ways with the usual passage and porch.

There are two other subsidiary temples D 3 and D 4, and
two minor buildings D 5 and D 6 within the same enclosure.
Of these D 4 and D 6 appear to belong to the same age as A-7
and the two others are later.

GROUP E.

E 1, the main temple and the central building of this
group, differs from the normal type of temples represented by

1. Pl. LXXXIII.
2. Pl. LXXXIV.
3. Pl. LXXXV-—LXXXVI.
4. Pl. LXXXVII—XCI.
A 1. It is not covered by a vault of brick, but its comparatively thin walls could only carry a tiled roof, the remains of which now completely cover the building. The inner chamber is square in plan, and has four wooden columns at the four angles. It opens by a doorway to the west, and has in the centre a richly sculptured pedestal carrying an enormous linga.

There were originally two subsidiary temples E 5 and E 6 to the south and south-west, and a third E 4 was added to the north at a later date. There are two other edifices E 7 and E 8, and a small foundation E 9, no doubt designed for a building which was never finished. Besides, there are a number of pillars in front of E 4 belonging to a building of peculiar shape, the foundation of which has, however, completely disappeared.

All these buildings are enclosed by a wall with a Gate-Tower E 2 in the middle of the southern wall, providing access to the interior. This is preceded by a Big Hall E 3.

Of these temples, E 5 alone faces the east, while all the others face towards the west. It may be noted that Ganesa was the deity of E 5. E 7 has a ridge-shaped roof with ogival ends.¹

GROUP F²

This group consists of a central temple F 1, and another, F 3, built to its south at a later date. The whole is enclosed by a wall, the access to the interior being provided by the Gate-Tower F 2. Both F 1 and F 3 seem to have had a tiled roof.

GROUP G³

The principal sanctuary G 1, facing west, occupies the centre of the courtyard enclosed by a wall which is opened by a

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¹. Pl. XCH.
². Pl. LXXXVII, XCHI, XCV.
³. Pl. XCIV—XCVI.
Gate-Tower G 2. In front of the latter is the usual Big Hall G 3, and to the north-east of it, outside the enclosure, is a temple G 5, with four entrances on the four sides. Within the enclosure is a residential chamber G 4 at the south-eastern extremity of the court.

The temple G 1, though belonging to the normal type, has certain peculiarities. Its vestibule has three entrances and its foundation has got special decorations. Terra-cotta has been largely used instead of stone, and the false door-ways on the walls are comparatively narrow.

GROUP H.1

The principal sanctuary H 1 faces east. In front of it is the Big Hall H 2, preceded by a small doorway H 3, the substitute of the Gate-Tower. This door cuts the enclosing wall in the east and provides access to the interior which contains, besides, a subsidiary building H 4 at the south-eastern angle. It is to be noted that the Big Hall, facing the gate, which is usually situated outside the boundary wall, is here placed within the enclosure itself between the entrance doorway and the temple.

GROUP K.

The group has got only the Gate Tower giving access to a courtyard enclosed by brick walls. The temples within the enclosure have wholly disappeared.2

THE HALL L.

This building erected at the mid-height of a small peak overlooking the groups B.-C.-D. on the south, consists merely of a long chamber without decoration. It has two doorways at the two ends. These are made of bricks and appear to have never been closed.3

1. PI. XCV, XCVII.
2. PI. XCVII.
3. PI. XCVII.
GENERAL NATURE AND ANTIQUITY OF MYSON TEMPLES.

The Myson group of temples belonged to the Śaiva cult. This is evident from the Snānadarṇī found in A1 and other temples, and enormous līṅgas in A 10 and E 1. Līṅgas have also been found in A' 1, B 4, F 1, F 3, and A' 4, B 1 and probably also C 1 contained images of Śiva. Among other divinities may be mentioned Gañesa (B 3, E 5) and Skanda (in front of B 3).

The subsidiary temples contained the images of other gods. Among the ruins of Group A have been found small figures of Brahmā, Sūryya and other gods and goddesses, and these probably occupied the small temples A 2–A 7. Similarly, the temples B 7–B 13 contained Brahmā, Sūryya, Indra and other deities.

Sculptures on the tympanum and other parts of the buildings represent various Brāhmaṇical gods to which reference has already been made.

A large number of inscriptions have been discovered among the ruins of Myson temples. These are arranged below according to their findspots.

   (Near A 10) Nos. 14, 18.
   (Near A 1) No. 78.

*Group B*—B 1—Nos. 20, 51, 68, 69, 73, 79, 87, 90, 94, 95, 128.
   B 6—No. 16.

*Group D*—Nos. 62, 65, 70, 81, 84.

*Group E*—E 6—No. 12, No. 19.
   E 10—Nos. 59, 61, 63.

*Group F*—F 3—No. 17.

*Group G*—G 1—No. 72,
   G 5—No. 74.

It is difficult to fix the precise date of the various temples at Myson. But with the help of the data furnished by the
inscriptions and the style of the buildings themselves, they may be arranged in four distinct chronological periods

I. Style of Śambhuvarman (6th-7th century A. D.)

The temples A 1, A 2-7, B 3, B 5, B 7-9, B 11-13, C 1-5, D 1, D 4, D 6, E 1.

II. Style of Prakāśadharma-Vikrāntavarman (7th-10th century A. D.)

(a) Earlier-A 8-13, A' 1, B 4, F 1,
(b) Later-C7, A'2, C 6, E 7, F 3.

III. Style of Harivarman (11th century A. D.)

D 2, E 4, E 8.

IV. Style of Jaya Harivarman (12th century A. D.) B 1, B 2, D 5, and G, H, K, L,

§4. DONG DUONG GROUP

The ruins of Dong Duong cover a rectangular area of 328 yds. by 164 yds. It is enclosed by a low brick wall which has only one opening to the east.

The rectangle is divided lengthwise in three long narrow blocks of slightly unequal dimensions running east to west. At the western end of the central block is situated the principal sanctuary, A. It is surrounded by four sanctuaries A 1-A 4 built on the same terrace. An imposing building B, with four bays, stands in front of A and there are two other temples C and D and two residential blocks E and F. The whole is surrounded by a wall, forming the first courtyard. Along the sides of this wall, within the courtyard, are seven small temples. A porch in the eastern side of the wall serves as the only entrance to this courtyard. In front of the porch stand

3. Pl. XCVIII-Pl. CV.
two columns, more than 11 yds. high, on two sides of the entrance.

To the east of Court I stands the Court II. It contains a long chamber and is likewise opened at the east end by a second porch preceded by two columns.

To the east of Court II stands Court III. It contains an imposing Hall opening to the east into a third porch preceded by two columns. There are also two side-entrances to the Hall, one in the north and another in the south.

Then follow a number of long narrow courts, at present full of jungles, till one comes to the fourth porch, which serves as the main entrance to the enclosure and is preceded by two columns.

The first Court is flanked by two others on the north and south. The northern one contains the ruins of three temples, and the southern, those of a square chamber. These two side-courts, together with Court I, are surrounded by a wall, the vacant space within being probably utilised for gardens or temporary sheds which have disappeared. Similarly Court II is also surrounded by a wall of enclosure of nearly the same dimensions.

The south-eastern corner of the rectangular area is covered by ruins of brick buildings and the north-eastern corner by a hollow basin.

It may be noted that the walls of Courts II and III are decorated only on the inner side, and this shows that the long narrow passage which connects the main gate (porch IV) with the principal temple in Court I was the only portion really meant for the public.

The different buildings were possibly constructed in different ages extending the whole group gradually towards the east. It is just possible, however, that all these buildings were part of the
original plan and at first made of wood, being replaced at a later date by more durable materials.

The temple is completed by a rectangular enclosure 328 yds. by 270 yds. at a distance of about 850 yards from the main entrance. According to popular tradition it was a reservoir and this view may be correct.

The principal temple in Court J belongs to the normal type—but there are large niches in the interior and big projections in front of the false doorways on the exterior of the walls. The buildings have thus the appearance of a cross. In addition to the staircase in front of the main doorway to the east, there is another before the false doorway on the western side. Both are nicely carved and decorated with elegant figures. The false doorways are decorated with richly ornamented pilasters and beautiful statues. The walls of the Court also are decorated with pilasters and figures. In front of them are a series of ornamented brick columns, cylindrical in plan and conical in section. They have a circular base placed on a square block, and are adorned by a series of rings.

The walls of the other two Courts are also similar in design.

It appears from Ins. No. 31 that the ruins at Dong Duong are those of a Buddhist temple and monastery, built by king Jaya Indravarman in 875 A.D. From Ins. No. 36 we further come to learn that the temple was situated within the town of Indrapura which was at that time the capital of Champā, and that the widowed queen of Indravarman, named Haradevi Rājakula installed many gods and goddesses within the temple area. The actual discovery of Buddhist images among the ruins of the temple also demonstrate the Buddhist character of the building.
Pl. VI. Po Nagar Temple A. (side-view). (cf. p. 251)

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cums by H. Parmentier, Planche XXII)
The temple of Po-Nagar or Yan Po-Nagar, the goddess of the city, is situated close to Nha Trang, at the village of Cu Lao in the district of Khanh Hoa.

The group facing east is situated on the eastern end of a small hillock at the entrance of a valley. It commands a good view of the lagune at the foot of the hillock and of the sea close by.

The temples are arranged in two lines, running north to south, on the top of the hillock. In the front line are three temples, the principal temple A, and two others B and C to its south. In the line behind were also three temples in the same order, F, E, D. In front of A stands a rectangular building of inferior construction, G. All these buildings were enclosed by a wall traces of which still remain to the south and west.

A steep staircase in front of G leads to a lower terrace containing an imposing Hall, M, with a colonnade.

Lastly, there seems to have been a Gate-Tower on the ground level. The Principal temple A-It belongs to the normal type, but being very well preserved in all its parts, serves as a good specimen of the temples of Champā.

In the interior, the only noteworthy point is a curious system of air-hole. The interior of the roof is a pyramidal vault ending in a long chimney to which are attached, at the height of the third stage of the roof, two cross pipes which extend over the entire summit of the building. The same arrangement exists also in the vestibule. A beautiful figure of Uma is placed in the centre of the sanctuary. There is

2 Pl. XX.
3 Pl. XXII.
the usual Somasūtra throwing out water across the northern wall.

Externally, the false doorway is of much plainer design than usual. The superstructure consists of a small member of ogival shape super-imposed upon a bigger one of the same shape. Each of these stands upon two pilasters, between which, at the bottom, is a human figure decorated with a mukūṭa and with hands joined near the breast.

The roof consists of four stages. On each of these stages, on the two sides of the central niche corresponding to the false doorway, are figures of birds and animals, such as geese, deers and elephants.

The vestibule is a copy of the main building in all its essential features. But the figures of the birds and animals on the roof and the human figure between the pilasters of the false doorway are wanting.

*The other buildings.* The temple B is of somewhat peculiar design. The false doorway is more complicated, its superstructure consisting of a series of ogee-shaped members of gradually diminished proportions super-imposed upon one another. But the most characteristic feature of the temple is the roof which does not consist of several storeys but of a single curvilinear pyramidal dome of elegant shape. The finials of this dome consist of two bulb-shaped stones with one of liṅga form at the top. It may be added that internally the sanctuary shows the same pyramidal arch as in temple A, though a little more curvilinear than usual. The roof of the vestibule also consists of a single arch, the longitudinal section of which would correspond to the shape of the curvilinear superstructure of the prolongation of the upper part of the doorway.¹

The temple F has got many peculiar characteristics.

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1. Pl. XXIII-XXIV.
There are no false doorways, their place being taken by sculptures. The roof is ridge-shaped with ogival ends.\textsuperscript{1}

Of the building M we can trace at present only four rows of pillars. According to M. Parmentier's hypothetic reconstruction, its interior was like that of an apsidal Buddhist Cāitya, having a central nave and two aisles.\textsuperscript{2}

A large number of inscriptions have been discovered in the ruins of Po Nagar. These are arranged below according to the findspot.

1. In front of the principal temple A.—Nos. 22, 29a, 29b, 29c, 45, 47.
2. Principal Temple A.
   Interior of the temple, Nos. 30, 50, 109.
   Doorway—Nos. 26, 55, 58, 60, 64, 66, 76, 80, 85, 88, 97, 98, 105.
   Vestibule—48, 49.
3. Temple F.—No. 25.
5. Under the ground within the enclosure containing temples A, B, C, D, E, F.—No. 99.

Some of these inscriptions refer to the erection of various temples at Po Nagar. The original wooden temple containing a Mukhalinga must have been built in very early times, so that in the eighth century A. D. it came to be associated with the mythical king Victriasagara. This temple was burnt by pirates in 774 A. D. Ten years later, king Satyavarmā built a new temple and installed therein a new Mukhalinga together with images of other gods and goddesses.\textsuperscript{3} In 817 A. D. Senāpati Par erected three temples with mandapas and gates and installed gods and goddesses.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} PI. XXV.
\textsuperscript{2} PI. XXI, and fig 27, Vol. I, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{3} Ins. No. 22,
\textsuperscript{4} Ins. No. 26.
It is difficult to identify the temples mentioned in the above inscriptions with those existing to-day either intact or in ruins. The date, terminus ad quem, of some of the modern temples, however, may be ascertained with a fair degree of certainty from these inscriptions. Thus the main temple A must have been completed by 817 A.D., as the Ins. No. 26, dated in that year, is engraved on its doorway. For similar reasons, the temple F containing the inscription No. 25 must be placed before 813 A.D., and the temple B, containing No. 71, before 1143 A.D.

§ 6. MINOR GROUPS OF TEMPLES

A. Pho Hai Group¹—This group of temples is situated on the top of a hillock near the village of Thien Chanh not far from Phantiet. It consists of three temples in two different levels of the rock. The principal temple, on the higher level, together with another building in ruins to the northeast, is enclosed by a plain stone wall. A little lower down to the north is a third temple, probably contemporary to the principal one. All the temples face the east.

The principal temple differs from the normal type in certain details, such as the absence of Corner-Towers and slabs of stone at the junction of the Cornices, and shows striking affinity to the Cambodgian type. The doorway, particularly, shows a great resemblance.

The absence of Corner-Towers brings out very prominently the resemblance of this type of temples with the storied stupas of India, from which it seems to have been ultimately derived.²

² Cf. e.g. Pl. III With the Dhamek Stupa (Fergusson-History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. I, p. 72. fig. 16).
Pl. VII. Pho Hai Temples (cf. p. 254.).

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Camas by H. Parmentier, Planche III.)
Pl. VIII. Po Klong Garai Temple (Side-view, showing the false doorway on the south (cf. p. 255)

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise D' Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cam by H. Parmentier, Planche XIII.)
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B. Po Dam Group—This group of six temples is situated on a hill about two miles north of the village of Phu Dien near the town of Phanri.

The temples are divided into two groups of three each and face towards the south. The principal temple is richly decorated. The upper storeys of one of the smaller temples have curved roofs and show a great resemblance to the small Javanese temples figured at Borobudur.

C. Po Rome Group—This group consisting of the principal temple and another building to the south, is situated on a rocky elevation near the village of Hau Sanh in the district of Binh Thuan. The temple which is in a good state of preservation is of very plain design. The only thing of interest is the curvilinear pyramidal shape of the Corner Towers. The southern building preserves decorations in painting, the only extant specimen of that art in Champa.

The presence of very late inscriptions on the door-pillars of this temple seem to confirm the tradition that it was built in the 17th century.

D. Po Klong Garai Group—This group of six buildings is situated on a peak which commands a fine view of the plain of Phanrang. The principal sanctuary is very well preserved and enable us to understand properly the construction of the different parts of temples, even of those which are in a state of decay. Among the peculiarities of the temple may be noted, its high foundation, the prominent cha-

I merely throw out a suggestion here as to the ultimate origin of temples in India from which those of Champa are derived (see post). The scope of the present work, however, is not compatible with a detailed discussion of the subject which I reserve for separate treatment in future.

1 Vol. I, pp 50ff. Pl. VI-VII.
2 Vol. I, p. 51, fig 0; Pl. VII-fig 4, 4'.
racter of its false doorways which are almost completely detached from the wall, and curvilinear pyramidal shape of the Corner-Towers.

The roof of one of the buildings is ridge-shaped with ogival ends.

It appears from Ins. Nos. 111-115 that the principal sanctuary has to be referred to the reign of Jayasimha Varman IV (c. 1287-1307 A.D.)

E. Ho Lai Group—This group of three temples is situated in the village of Nhon Son, at the end of the long plain which stretches to the north of Phanrang. The temples show high architectural skill. The vestibule, although a mere prolongation of the arched doorway, contains false doorways. The upper part of the false doorways of the temples is of peculiarly elegant design. The walls of the temples are not vertical but inclined outwardly from the base, so that the decorations on the base, although projecting out of it, are on the same vertical level as the top of the wall. The temples are mostly in ruins.

F. Hu'ng Thanh Group—This group is situated at the foot of a hill, close to the road which goes from Binh Dinh to Qui Nhon, and about two miles from this last town. There were originally four or five buildings within an enclosure, but at present the ruins of only two buildings can be discerned.

The chief characteristic of these temples is the peculiar shape of the roof, a curvilinear pyramid divided into a large number of parallel stages, very slightly diminishing as they rise.

G. Duong Long—This group of three temples is part of a larger group of which only a few traces are visible. It is

1 Vol I, pp. 98ff. Pl. XV-XIX.
3 Vol. I. pp. 183 ff. Pl. XLII-XLVII.
Pl. IX. Hung Than Temple. (cf. p. 256)

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Camb by H. Parmentier, Planche XXXI.)
Pl. X. Temple of Duong Long (cf. p. 256)

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise D’Extrem-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Camb by H. Parmentier, Planche XLV.)
Pl. XI. Bang An Temple (showing in right upper corner a subsidiary temple in S. W.) (cf. p. 257)

(Reproduced from the publications of *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, Vols, XI, XII viz. *Inventaire descriptif des monuments Camb by H. Parmentier, Planche LXXV.* )
situated on a low eminence in the village of Van Tu'ong. These three large temples have some peculiar characteristics. The upper part of the false doorways is elaborately carved. The roofs of stories have no Corner Towers and the uppermost stage is designed like an inverted lotus. The crowning member thus looks like the perianth of a lotus. It is just possible that its general forms, as noticed in other temples, may also have been derived from this original idea.

H. Other Temples.

Among other peculiar characteristics of Cham temples calling for special notice may be mentioned:

(1) The richly decorated false doorways of the temple of Binh Lam.¹

(2) The peculiar T-shaped inner cell of the southern temple of Khuong My.²

(3) The octagonal temple of Bang An with a curvilinear pyramidal roof, belonging probably to the tenth century.³

The roof of Yañ Proa temple which has no stages but consists of a single mass of the shape of a curvilinear pyramid, with horizontal circular ribs, ending in an inverted lotus.

§ 7. CHRONOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE TEMPLES.

M. Parmentier who has made a special study of Cham architecture has tentatively adopted the following chronological classification of the different styles in Champâ, on the basis of temples whose dates can be fixed with a tolerable degree of certainty.⁶

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1. Vol. I, p. 169-Fig. 31, Pl. XXXIX.
2. Vol. I, p. 248, Fig. 46., Pl. LVI.
I. The primitive art (7th-10th century), which shows a real inspiration and freshness of artistic idea, is represented by the Myson temple A-1 (beginning of 7th century A.D.) and the Po Nagar temples F and A (813 and 817 A.D.).

II. The cubic Art (7th-9th century), so called from the low massive roof of the shape of a cube such as that of Hoa Lai Temple, is represented by Myson temple F, (beginning of the 8th century), Po Nagar E (third quarter of the 9th century) and the most ancient part of Dong Duong (875 A.D.).

III. The Mixed Art (10th century), which shows the proportions of Primitive Art together with decoration proper to the Cubic Art, is represented by Dong Duong A.

IV. The Classic Art (11th Century), so called from its strict adherence to architectural formula, is represented only by Myson E 4 (middle of 11th century A.D.).

V. The Pyramidal form (10th-14th Century), so called from the pyramidal termination, is represented by the Bang An Temple (c. 900 A.D.), Po. Nagar temple B (1145 A. D.), and Yañ Pron temple (beginning of 14th century).

VI. The derived Art (12th-17th century), so called from its departure from recognised canons, is represented by Myson B-1 (1114 A. D.), Myson G (1157), Po Klaun Garai (beginning of 14th century) and Po Rome (second quarter of the 17th century).

M. Parmentier styles the first three as Primary, and the last three, Secondary. His ideas of the relation between these classes may be illustrated in the following tabular form.

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<th>Primary Art (First Period)</th>
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| Secondary Art (Second Period) | |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| I. Primitive Art             | II Cubic Art |
| III. Mixed Art               |               |
| IV. Classic Art              | V. Pyramidal Art |
| VI. Derived Art              |               |
§ 8. THE CAVES.

The cave architecture did not make very great progress in Champā. About five of them are known, all of very simple design, though one or two have massive proportions.

1. Phu Duoc (near Bong Son).

This cave is nearly oval in plan. The inner chamber has a vaulted roof, and two cells radiate from it. One of these is circular and the other rectangular. The cave is entered by a narrow passage opening in the east. A little to the south of this passage on the outer side of the rock is a small cell. The cave is about 4 yds by 2 yds, and the height, a little over 1 yard. It is popularly supposed to be the residence of a hermit.¹

2. The Marble mountains near Hoa Que contain several caves round a central Hall which is however open to the sky. One of these caves has its entrance guarded by a sculptured balustrade.²

3. The caves of Phong Nha (near Bo Trach) are of massive proportions. An opening in the rock about 20 yards long gives access to a circular chamber of the same diameter. Its arched roof is decorated by bunches of stalactites. A low narrow passage about 20 yards long leads to a second vaulted chamber. From this again issues out a very long arched passage, about 20 yards broad and 15 to 18 yards high, whose walls still retain in many places traces of high polish. At the end of this passage, which is more than 1300 yards from the entrance, is found a narrow tunnel more than 325 yards long. The whole of this underground passage, nearly a mile in length, is covered up to a certain height by a clear sheet of water and can be traversed by small boats. The cave contains some sculptures, and the discovery of an image of Buddha

1. Vol. I, p. 218. Fig. 41.
and of the word 'Śāriputra' among the almost illegible inscriptions, indicates that it was a Buddhist sanctuary in the origin.\textsuperscript{1} Altogether 97 inscriptions have been traced in this cave, but they are mostly illegible.\textsuperscript{2}

4. A very small cave named Chua Harg, containing a small statue of Buddha, is situated in the village of Bo Khe near Bo Trach.\textsuperscript{3}

5. Some caves, close to the village of Lac Son, were transformed into Buddhist sanctuaries by the Chams. On the side of a mountain washed by a river, an ogival opening, 8 yards by 10 yards, leads to an inner chamber. The side rocks of this chamber have been divided into a number of pillars by the corroding action of water, and the whole thing therefore looks like a peristyle. This peristyle opens into a passage about 90 yards long. Its roof is ogival and about 15 yards from the ground. From the apsidal end of this passage issues another very narrow passage, through which one could crawl into a circular chamber with a diameter of about 4 yards.

From the two opposite sides of this chamber, again, issue two other passages. That on the left or the east is about 12 yards long and has a funnel shaped end. The opposite passage bends round and runs parallel to the long passage in the direction of north to south, till it ends in two very narrow passages.

About thirty-six inscriptions have been discovered in these caves but they have not yet been deciphered.\textsuperscript{4}

1. Cf. Supra p 212 of the text.
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§ 9. CIVIL ARCHITECTURE.

Very little remains of secular buildings have been traced so far in Champā. Of palaces of kings we may form some idea from the accounts of Chinese writers. They were high and of large proportions. The roof was made of ornamented tiles and the whole building was surrounded by an earthen wall. This was plastered with lime and its wooden doors were sculptured with beautiful animal figures. Beyond the wall were vast courtyards for the accommodation of horses, chariots and elephants.

More details are known about another kind of secular architecture viz the fortifications. We have already quoted the Chinese description of the strongholds of Kiu-Sou (pp. 26-27) and Champā (pp. 19-20) which may serve as a type of the rest. Although ruins of several other citadels have come to light, their existing remains in most cases do not enable us to form a clear idea either of their topography or of their principle of construction. But they make it quite clear that the Chams fully utilised the natural means of defence, such as are afforded by hills and rivers, in building their fortifications. A few of these are noted below.

1. The Citadel of Śrī Banoy or Bal Canar, situated on the right bank of the river Song Luy, had the shape of an irregular quadrilateral. Its northern face was washed by the river, and on all other sides it was surrounded by walls. The ramparts of the fortress are represented to-day by mounds, composed of earth and pebbles, about 9 or 10 yards high. The abundance of limonites in the ground shows that this material was used in the process of revetment.

This citadel shows greater knowledge in the art of fortification than any other. We find here an attempt towards 'flanking' and also the protection of the gates. Three salients
advance from the three sides not protected by the river, in such a way that one had to pass along one or other of them in order to enter the citadel. There were probably two or three gates, of which one alone now exists in the south-western corner. This together with the south-western salient are the best preserved in the whole group.

Near the centre, but closer to the river side, is a raised platform, the exact nature and object of which is not apparent. It probably served as a reduit.¹

2. Thank Ho.—This citadel is situated about 10 miles from the mouth of the river Song Da Rang. It is enclosed between a mountain and the left side of the river, and the open face is protected by a wall. It covered an area, nearly 750 yards square, and was protected by a ditch nearly 32 yards wide. It was also protected by reduits and towers, and had several gates. Bricks of enormous size were used in building this fortification.²

3. At Caban, the ancient capital-town of Vijaya, about eight miles from the citadel of Binh Dinh, are found extensive ruins of what appears to be a first class military fortification of ancient Champa. They cover a rectangular area of over 1500 yards from north to south and of 1200 yards from east to west. It was protected by an arm of the Binh Dinh river on the north and a strong wall, without any flanking, on other sides. The wall was built of earth with revetment of limonite, and was pierced through by tunnels for the ingress and egress of a small brook. There are a number of high mounds on all sides which probably conceal some towers or gates. At present the ruins of one gate only are found but

¹ Vol. I, pp. 30 ff. Pl. IV.
² Vol. I, p. 137, Pl. XXVII.
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according to an old plan of the 15th or 16th century it had four gates. The citadel contains a large number of beautiful sculptures.¹


The ruins of this citadel cover a square area, each side measuring nearly 430 yds. The surrounding walls made of brick have a ditch in front. There was probably a gate on each side.²

5. The Citadel of Co Luy seems to have served as an advanced protection of that at Chaura (No. 4). It defended the access to the Song Tra Kuk river which passed close by the latter. Its sides measured about 163 yds. each, and it was protected by two hillocks one on the west and the other on the south-east³.

§ 10. SCULPTURES.

The art of sculptor in ancient Champā may be studied under the following heads:—

A Human Figures.

B. Animal Figures.

C. Ornamental Decorations.

A. Human Figures.

Human figures in the art of Champā are either detached images or part of decorative elements in the temples. The images, again, are mostly either of gods and goddesses or of kings and queens.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

1. The Images.

The images of gods and goddesses have been described before. It is needless to say that they form the best specimen of the artistic activity of Champa. It is, of course, idle to expect that all the idols would show a high degree of artistic skill, but some of them at any rate indicate the height of skill to which the sculptors of Champa had attained in this line of activity. The following may be selected as fair specimens.

1-2. Two standing images of Śiva in Myson A 4 and Myson C. The images resemble each other to a great extent. The features, at least of the upper part of the body, are well-proportioned and the expression of face is pleasing. The main defect of Indian Sculptures, viz. the lack of accuracy in physical details, is also manifest in the art of Champa.

3. Even more beautiful than the preceding is an image of Skanda standing on his peacock. By the clever handling of the artist, the body of the peacock has been made the pedestal and its variegated train, a nicely decorated background, for the image of the youthful god. The pose and the expression of the god are really charming.

4. The seated image of a deity in Myson B shows good proportions, but unfortunately the head is missing.

5. The figure of seated Buddha in Dong Duong III, although not very good, reproduces in a striking manner all the features of an Indian Buddha viz. the fold of dress, the Urna, the Uṣṇīsa and the arrangement of hair in schematic curls.

Like Indian art, again, the images of gods in later periods became more and more deformed till they assumed some-

2. Vol. I, p. 379, Fig. 84.
3. Vol. I, p. 378, Fig. 83.
4. Vol. p. 503, Fig. 117.
Pl. XIII. Statue of Śiva (from Myson Temple A'-4) (cf. p. 264).

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Française D'Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cams by H. Parmentier, vol. I, p. 562, Fig. 78.)
Pl. XIV. Śiva-liṅga (Myson Temple E-1) (cf. p. 177)

produced from the publications of École Francaise D' Extreme-Orient, XIII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Camb by H. Par-Planche CXX.)
Pl. XV. Statue of Skanda (Myson B—3) (cf. p. 264).

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Vols, XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Camb by H. Parmentier, vol. I, p. 379, Fig. 84.)
Pl. XVI. The Statue of Buddha (Dong Duong court III) (cf. p. 264).

Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif monuments Cambs by H. Parmentier, vol. I, p. 502, Fig. 117.
Pl. XVII. Two musicians. (Pedestal of Myson E—1) (cf. p. 265).

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Vols, XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cams by H. Parmentier, vol. 1, p. 410, Fig. 90.)
Pl. XVIII. Tympanum of Myson C—1
(for description, see pp. 265—6).

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments d'Ames by H. Parmentier, vol. I, p. 391, Fig. 86.)
times a monosyllabic appearance. This is best seen in the figures of Dvārapālas which adorned many temples.¹

There are several statues of kings and queens, mostly of very late date. Artistically, they cannot be pronounced to be successful. Two figures, alone, may be referred to as having reached a fair level of success. These are the figures of king Po Narup and queen Śuci.²

2. HUMAN FIGURES IN DECORATIONS.

The human figure forms the most distinguishing trait of decoration in the Primitive art of Champa. It occurs almost in every part of the temple, in various forms and shapes, such as praying figures, persons mounted on gajasimha, apsarasa, demons etc. Some of the figures show good proportions and are really charming. Compare, for example, the exquisite figures of two musicians in Myson E, one playing upon a lyre and the other upon a flute.³

The Cubic art employs human figures more sparsely. But some of them, the figure of dvārapāla, for example, in the false doorway of Hoa Lai, are fairly good.⁴

The most interesting sculptures in temples occur on the tympanums of outer doors which are mostly in stone. In the earlier period they were engraved with composite scenes in bas-relief. As a general rule the principal figure occupied the centre, while the subsidiary figures were ranged on all sides. Two good examples may be noted below.

1. TYMPANUM OF MYSON C.⁵

In the centre, a pedestal, with Nandin sculptured in front, bears the image of dancing Śiva. The upper part of

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² Vol. I., p 48 Fig. 8; p. 68, Fig. 14.
³ Vol. I., p. 410, Fig. 90.
⁴ Vol. II, p. 264, Fig. 69.
⁵ Vol. I, p. 391, Fig. 86.
the image is unfortunately broken, but enough remains to show that the god had a necklace and several hands. There are three figures on each side of the central image. Of those to his proper right, the one nearest to him is dancing, while two others are playing on musical instruments viz. flute and a kind of drum. (Tabalā). Of the three figures on the other side, a figure with joined hands probably stands for the king or the donor, while the other two, a female figure and an infant, probably represent Durgā and Skanda. Two trees on two sides, with a parrot on one of them, show that the scene is laid in an open ground. The upper part of the sculpture represents gods or apsaras flying through clouds. The whole composition is graceful and charming and reflects great credit on the artists of Champā.

2. TYMPANUM OF KHUONG MY TEMPLE.

It represents Kṛṣṇa as holding aloft mount Govardhana in order to afford protection to the cows and cowherds. The mount Govardhana is indicated by a number of boulders with trees, deers and anchorites moving in them. The cows are shown below in several rows in their true perspective.

Another good specimen is the lintel of Chanh Lo which represents a king surrounded by his entourage.

In some cases the tympanum contains a large group of figures, without making any distinction between principal and subsidiary ones. The tympanum of the principal temple of Dong Duong offers an example. It contains about 40 seated figures divided into four or five panels—but they are too imperfectly engraved to give any clear idea.

1. Vol 1, p. 259, Fig. 48. Parmentier has here wrongly identified the scene, but cf. Vol. II, p. 425.
2. Vol. II, p. 354, Fig. 90.
3. Vol. I, p. 467, Fig. 103.
Pl. XIX. Pedestal of Dong Duong Temple (cf. p. 267).

Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Camb by H. Parmentier, vol. I, p. 470, Fig. 104.
Sometime the tympanum contains one prominent figure only and this is usually the case in later periods. These images are as a rule of inferior type. Two good examples are furnished by the image of Umâ in Chanh Lo⁴ and an image of Siva in Po Klaun Garai².

Bas-reliefs depicting composite scenes are also found in the pedestals of the First Period. The most remarkable specimens are furnished by those of Tra Kieu and Myson E-1. Both seem to represent some stories which have not yet been identified. Each of the first three faces of the former contains rows of men and women standing in various attitudes and carrying different articles. The fourth face contains eleven dancing women in various postures, probably indicating various forms of dance.³ The Myson pedestals are each divided into several small panels by decorated pilaster designs. Each panel contains two or three figures in various postures. In several cases two men are engaged in animated conversation while in others they are found playing on musical instruments like flute, drum, guitar etc⁴.

The bas-reliefs on these pedestals are of high phonetic value and they may be compared with those at Java. The pedestals at Dong Duong are even richer in composition though of less artistic merit. They depict various scenes of war, procession etc. and deal with quite a large number of human beings of different degrees of status⁵.

During the Second Period this art of composing bas-reliefs underwent a rapid degradation and the few composite

1. Vol. I., p. 230, Fig. 43.
2. Vol. II, p. 307. Fig. 76
scenes we possess show neither the richness of composition nor the skill of execution such as are noticed in the earlier period.  

B. Animal Figures—As we have seen above, animals are figured as Vāhanaś of gods, and they also occur in bas-relief scenes.

Animal figures also formed an important part in decoration in Primitive Art. We meet with a large variety of animals such as rhinoceros, lion, elephant, Gajasimha, Makara, Nāga, Garuḍa, bull, horse, hare, deer, goose, peacock and monkey. These are all made with a fair degree of success. Although conventional to a certain extent, the figures are not very far removed from nature. Special reference may be made to a monkey in the Myson Temple D and the head of a lion in Myson K†.

Later on, in Cubic Art for example, decorations by animal figures were reduced in quantity, being replaced in large measure by floral decorations. But even the few representations of animals in buildings indicate clearly that the Cham artists had not lost their high skill. Some new species appear in this period viz. wild boar, dog and butterfly. In Mixed Art, the representations of animals are almost wholly absent.

During the Second Period the animal sculptures cease to play any important part in the decorations of buildings. Only we find the friezes decorated by long rows of animals. Moreover, the representations of animals become gradually unnatural, conventional, and ultimately hardly recognisable. It may be pointed out here that although the figures of lions are executed with great skill and form an important element in the decorations of temples this animal was unknown in Indo China.† There can be hardly any doubt that

† Vol. II, p. 252, Figs. 51, 52.

‡ This is the general view. But ‘lion’ is referred to in a single
Pl. XX. Decorative Designs (cf. p. 209)

produced from the publications of Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient,
VII sii. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Come by H. Parmentier
Pl. XXI. Pilasters and Inter-Pilaster (with floral decorations) (cf. p. 233, p. 269).

(Reproduced from the publications of Ecole Francaise Extreme-Orient, Vols. XI, XII viz. Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cams by H. Parmentier, I, p. Fl. CXXXV.)
its occurrence in decorations is due to the influence of Indian traditions. The same indeed may also be said of the mythical animals such as *Makara*, *Nāga*, *Garuda* etc. The *gajasimha* is, however, a peculiar creation of the Chams. It is composed of the body of a lion with the head of an elephant.

The bull appears more as a *Vāhana* of Śiva than a pure decoration, and, as in India, detached images of this animal are often met with in temples.

Certain birds and animals appear only once or twice in bas-relief scenes and do not otherwise play any important part in the art of Champā. Among these may be mentioned squirrel, tiger, parrot, fish and tortoise.

C. ORNAMENTAL DECORATIONS.

The Cham artists excelled in floral decorations. Although they treated foliage in a conventional manner, they added an element of grace and beauty which made it highly charming. This is particularly the case in the Primary Art. The number of specimens collected by Parmentier in Pl. CLXV, shows the high degree of excellence that the Chams had attained in this direction. The style is purely Indian and we find here the same "undulating stem of a creeper with large curling and intertwining leaves." Most of the foliage patterns occur on pillars and pilasters, and are in the shape of scrolls; sometimes, as in India, "the whole scroll is deeply sunk and very clearly and carefully carved". Sometimes the foliage is of an intricate and complex design, but the Cham artists show high skill in handling...
it. But here, as in other instances, the history of the art of Champā, like that of India, is written in decay. We miss the vigour and refinement of the early patterns in those of succeeding ages which gradually become lifeless and mechanical in the extreme. In the Second Period when the art of floral decoration was at low ebb and the pilasters were mostly plain, we meet, instead, with geometrical patterns which although lacking the grace and Charm of old, are not altogether devoid of aesthetic elements. A number of fair specimens may be seen in Parmentier's Plate CLXVIII. In one respect, however, the efforts of Cham artists to imitate the Indian models have not proved a great success. The lotus design which forms such a beautiful element in Indian art also figures largely in the art of Champā. But any one conversant with the very elegant and charming lotus flowers depicted in early Indian art, such as in the railings of Bhārhut and Amarāvatī stupas, cannot but be conscious of the striking inferiority of the same design in Champā. There are one or two specimens which have attained moderate success, but by far the great majority are but poor productions. A fair idea of this motif in the Cham art during the First and the Second Periods may be obtained respectively from Parmentier's plates CLXIX and CLXX.

One characteristic feature of the Cham art in connection with the foliage decoration must be mentioned. The corner pieces of buildings were often made of a highly conventionalised foliage design. Here the stem forms a curved line in the centre and the leaves radiate on both sides in regular schematic curls of gradually reduced proportions. The sharp edges of these curls form indentations on both sides at almost regular intervals, and in many cases the whole thing looks like a curved saw. There are of course variations in their
shapes and sometimes figures take the place of the central stem.\(^1\)

Among other decorative *motifs* may be mentioned the rosettes and beads. The rosettes in simple form are found in Myson\(^2\) and with four petals at Chien Daug\(^3\). Alternate courses of beads and petals are found in Myson E-1.\(^4\)

Of the art of painting in Champā we have got only one very late specimen in Po Rome. The *motifs* are similar to those met with in sculpture, and the whole thing has got a pleasing effect.\(^5\)

§ 11. THE ORIGIN OF CHAM ART.

A few words must be said in conclusion regarding the origin of the peculiar style of architecture prevalent in Champā. M. Parmentier has discussed this question at great length, and come to the conclusion that the Cham art is not derived from any other known art. He holds that the art is of indigenous growth and derives it from a wooden origin evolved on the soil itself.

It is with great diffidence that we venture to differ from the opinion of one who has probably gone more deeply into the subject than any other living scholar. But the derivation of Cham art from Indian seems to us to be such an obvious fact that it appears impossible to accept the conclusions of M. Parmentier without demur.

It may be stated at the very outset that we are in full agreement with the general principles laid down by Parmentier for guiding a fruitful inquiry into the relations between

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1. Pl. CXLVIII.
2. Pl. CLXVI, Figs. E, I.
3. Pl. C. LXVIII-Fig. L.
4. Pl. CLXVI-Fig. V.
5. Vol. II. Fig. 50.
two different systems of art. These may be briefly summarized in his own words as follows:

"In order to infer the relationship between two arts, it is sufficient merely to point out that both present the same tendencies and possess the same general features. But in order to prove that one system of art is derived from another, it is necessary to show that at a time which is either contemporary or anterior to the earliest specimens of the art which is supposed to be derived, the art supposed to be the origin possessed features common to the former."

Having established this general principle, M. Parmentier proceeds to discuss whether the primitive style of Cham art as exemplified at Myson has any common features with the art of Cambodge, Java or India as it existed in the seventh century A.D., the date of the Myson temples. He points out that Java may altogether be eliminated from the inquiry as its most ancient monument is posterior to this date. As regards Cambodge, the art of Angkor had not come into existence in the period in question, and the primitive Khmer Art was not only very different from but in a decidedly inferior state of development than the primitive Cham Art. Lastly, an examination of the Indian monuments earlier than the seventh century A.D. has led Parmentier to conclude that with the exception of the curved roof, no typical element of Indian architecture appears in Cham style, nor is any typical motif of the Cham art traceable in the old Indian style.

It is on this point that we must join issue with M. Parmentier. To us the characteristic feature of a Cham temple seems to be its storied roof of several stages, in gradually diminishing proportions, each of which is again a miniature of the whole. Now this is the characteristic feature of what is known as the Dravidian style and makes its appearance as
early as the seventh century A. D. in the Mamallapuram Raths and the temples at Conjeeveram and Badami. 1 Any one who compares the Dharmarāja Rath and Arjuna Rath with the normal type of temples in Champā cannot but be struck with the essential resemblance between the Śikharas of the two. It may not also be uninteresting to note that the Dharmarāja Rath is expressly designated as a temple of Śiva named after the king as ‘Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara’, as was the case with the Myson temple which was known as that of Śambhu-Bhadreśvara after its founders. Again, some of the temples (e.g. Myson B-5, B-6, C 1-5) of Champā have an elongated curved roof with ogival ends and this has its counterpart in the Ganeśa Rath and Sahadeva Rath. The third type of Śikharas, viz. the curved ones, resembles Draupadi’s Rath and is probably derived from those of North-Indian style, as Parme ntier himself admits. The basement of the temples at Champā also resembles those at Conjeeveram and Badami. On the whole it seems impossible not to connect the style of Champā with the early Dravidian style both of which rise into prominence more or less about the same time. It is generally held that the rock-cut Raths at Mamallapuram and the other early temples of that type must have been preceded by similar structures of less imperishable materials and the existence of this style in India in and probably even before the 6th century A. D. may therefore be regarded as a certain fact. While we remember that Indians from the eastern part of India played a prominent part in the colonisation of the Far East, and also the great extent to which Indian civilisation had influenced that of Champā, we need not hesitate to trace the origin of Cham style to Indian temples at Badami, Conjeeveram and Mamallapuram—particularly as this part of India was the

nearest by way of sea to the kingdom of Champā. It is quite true that the Chams did not blindly imitated the Indian prototypes and added new elements of their own, but the fact that their style was throughout based upon the essential and characteristic features of Indian style, seems to be beyond question.¹

As regards Cham sculpture and iconography, their striking agreements with the Indian style in both essential and non-essential elements have been shown in the preceding pages, and nobody has doubted or can possibly doubt their Indian origin. As to the relative excellence of the two, opinions might, of course, differ. Both were dominated by religious ideas and the aesthetic sense of the artists in both countries had to be sacrificed in a considerable degree to his religious preconceptions. But even within this limitation Indian artists evolved what may be called high class of art even when judged from a purely aesthetic point of view. Whether the Chams were able to do this, at least to the same extent, may be doubted. M. Parmentier, however, thinks otherwise and prefers the works of Chams to those of the Indians as purer works of art.

1. I reserve, for separate treatment, a full discussion of the question involved. Here I merely indicate the conclusions which I shall try to prove by means of copious illustrations in a succeeding volume. It will be beyond the scope of the present work to go into technical details and produce illustrations for a comparative study which alone can lead to a decisive conclusion. For the present I rest content by merely stating my views, and I hope my readers and critics will bear this in mind in forming a judgment on this portion of my book.
After the last pages of the book were printed off, I have come across an article of H. Parmentier “Origine commune des Architectures Hindoues dans l’Inde et en l’Extrême Orient” published in “Etudes Asiatiques” in which Parmentier has considerably modified his views on the origin of Cham architecture. He now admits an Indian origin as I have contended on pp. 273-4, but instead of deriving the Cham temples from Mamallapuram Raths or similar structures, he traces the origin of all these to primitive Buddhist structures, specially the many-storied saṅghārāmas built of wood or perishable materials.
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(Ca=Capital; Co=Country; dy=dynasty; K=King; Km=Kingdom; pr=province; t=town; tr=tribe)

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BOOK III.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF

CHAMPA.
PREFATORY REMARKS.

I. As regards the serial number of kings bearing the same name, some discrepancy will be noticed between the headings of Inscriptions and the historical account given in Part I. This is due to the fact that headings of inscriptions have been mostly kept identical with those in the original publications, while a different and independent arrangement has been followed in Part I.* Thus Indravarman and Jaya Indravarman have been usually regarded as two distinct names, whereas the two have been treated as the same in Part I for reasons given on p. 65. The following table shows the name as given in inscription-headings and historical account in parallel columns.

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94, 95. Jaya Indravarman V Jaya Indravarman X
100, 104. ) Jaya Simhavaran II Jaya Simhavarman III
106-109. or Indravarman IV or Indravarman XI
110-116. Jaya Simhavarman III Jaya Simhavarman IV
122. Indravarman Indravarman XII

II. The attention of the reader is drawn to a few serious
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84. Myson Pillar Ins. dated 1125 Śaka
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86. Cho-dinh Pillar Ins. of Paramēśvaravarman IV dated 1148 Śaka
87. Myson Temple Ins. dated 1152 Śaka
88. Po Nagar Temple Ins. of Paramēśvaravarman IV dated 1155 Śaka
89. Cho-dinh Temple Ins. of Paramēśvaravarman IV dated 1155 Śaka
90. Myson Temple Ins. of Paramēśvaravarman IV dated 1156 Śaka
91. Lomngoeu Stelae Ins. of Paramēśvaravarman IV
92. Phanrang Pillar Ins. of Paramēśvaravarman IV
93. Kim Choua Ins. of Paramēśvaravarman IV
94. Myson Pillar Ins. of Indravarman X dated 1165 Śaka
95. Myson Pillar Ins. of Indravarman X
96. Phanrang Lintel Ins. dated 1166 Śaka
97. Po Nagar Temple Ins. of princess Sūryadevi dated 1178 Śaka
98. Po Nagar Temple Ins. of princess Sūryadevi

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211
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213
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99. Po Nagar Vase Ins. of Sakrānta dated 1179 Śaka  
100. Bronze Vase Ins. of Jaya Simhavarmaṃ III dated 1181 Śaka  
101. Pilaster Ins.  
102. Cheok Yang Stelae Ins. dated 1185 Śaka  
103. Kiem Ngoc Stelae Ins. dated 1187 Śaka  
104. Batau Tablah Ins. of Jaya Simhavarmaṃ III  
105. Po Nagar Temple Ins. dated 1189 Śaka  
106. Phanran Lintel Ins. of Indravarmaṃ XI dated 1196 Śaka.  
107. Yang Kur Ins. of Indravarmaṃ XI dated 1200 Śaka  
108. Po Nagar Temple Ins. of Indravarmaṃ XI  
109. Po Nagar Stelae Ins. of Indravarmaṃ XI  
110. Po Sah Fragmentary Stelae Ins. of Jaya Simhavarmaṃ IV dated 1228 Śaka  
111-115. Po Klong Gorai Ins. of Jaya Simhavarmaṃ IV  
116. Tali Temple Ins. of Jaya Simhavarmaṃ IV  
117. Binh Dinh Gate Ins. of Viśva Bhadravarmaṃ dated 1323 Śaka.  
118. Cheo-Reo Ins. of Viśnu-Jāti Viśva Bhadravarmaṃ dated 1331 Śaka  
119. Cheo-Reo Ins. of Viśva Bhadravarmaṃ  
120. Phuoc-thinh Stelae Ins. dated 1333 Śaka  
121. Bien Hoa Viśnu Image Ins. of Nauk Glauṇ Vijaya  
122. Nui Ben Lang Stelae Ins. of Indravarmaṃ XII dated 1358 Śaka  
123. Ron Buddhist Inscription  
124. Phu-Luong Fragmentary Stelae Inscription  
125. Dong Duong Temple Ins.  
126. Khanh Tho Dong Buddhist Ins.  
128. Myson Pillar Ins.  
129. La-Tho Silver Plate Ins.  
130. La-Tho Silver Jug Ins.
No. 1. Vo-Chanh Rock Inscription.

The inscription was edited by Bergaigne (Corpus. No. XX, p. 191), and further commented upon by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 3).

The inscription is engraved on two faces of a block of Granite, found close to the village of Vo-Chanh in the province of Khánh-Hoa. It contains fifteen lines of writing in the first face, and seven lines of writing on the second face. As these last are line by line continuations of lines 8–14 of the first face, it appears that the first seven lines of the second face are lost. Very little, however, remains of the first seven lines of the first face. The inscription is composed in Sanskrit, and may be referred, on palaeographic grounds, to the third or second century A. D. There are two verses in Varasautulukā metre, and the rest is in prose.

The inscription records the donation made by a king belonging to the family of Śrī Māra.

TEXT.

(6) ......प्रजानां करुणा ......(7) प्रथम-विजय ......
..........................(8) ......गर्जनमस्याम् १

शाश्वापितं मन्द्वम् राजचरितं .................

(9)..........................राजचरित-वागमृत्तं पिचन्तु ॥

श्री-मार-राजकुल-व (१०) ु— ु— न २

श्री-मार-धो-नं—३ कुलनन्दनेन।

शाश्वापितं स्वजन-स (११) ु— मध्ये

वाच्यं-प्रजा-हितकरं करिस्योब्रयेन॥

1. Bergaigne reads: "गर्जनमस्याम्". The above reading is that of Finot. It is no doubt the last portion of the word 'पुष्चिचमस्याम'.

2. Finot Suggests ‘वंशविभूषणेन’.

3. Finot Suggests ‘लोकापेते’.
TRANSLATION.

(6) Mercy for the people ............
(7) First conquest .....................
(8) Ordered by the excellent king in the assembly, on the full-moon day (?).
(9) Let them drink the nectar of the words of kings.
(10-11) Royal family of Śrī Māra.......... He who is the delight of the family of Śrī Māra, and conversant with the ways of the world, being seated on the throne, said (the following) words, beneficial to the people, in the midst of his own kinsmen, (12) after having satisfied his sons, brothers and kinsmen (?) by enjoying wealth in common with them.

(13) "Whatever silver, gold, movable and immovable property and stores (of grain?) that I possess,

1. ‘एकार’ is doubtful.

2. Finot reads ‘विषुद्ध’—apparently a slip for ‘विषुद्ध’ which is clear on the estampage.

3. I do not understand the meaning of the word ‘करिणोद्वरेश’ and ‘नायक्षे’. The last, used along with sons and brothers, seems to denote ‘kinsmen’ or ‘relatives’. Bergaigne takes it in the sense of ‘no one else’, but the use of the plural ‘विषुद्ध’ in the absolute construction compels us to reject this view. That participle, being in the plural, requires at least one more subject other than ‘आत्मित’ and ‘उद्ध’. 
(14) All that I consecrate to those who are dear and near to me. This is my commandment, and the future kings also should
(15) approve of it. Be it known to my heroic servant (or servant called Vira).

Nos. 2 and 3. Cho Dinh Rock inscriptions.

These inscriptions were edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXI, p. 199), and commented upon by Finot (B. E. F., Vol. II, p. 186).

The inscriptions are engraved on a rock, situated in the village of Nhan-thap, in the province of Phu-yen, to the north of cape Varella. Cho Dinh is really the name of a marketplace in the neighbourhood.

No. 2 contains 3 lines, and No. 3, one short line, in Sanskrit prose. The characters seem to be very ancient and may be referred to about 400 A. D.

No. 2 contains the name of king Bhadravarman and refers to a sacrifice offered to Śiva, called Bhadreshvarasvamin, by Mahārāja Bhadravarman or one of his descendants.

No. 3 probably refers to human sacrifice, but it is not certain. Both the inscriptions seem to belong to the same age, and were probably written by the same individual.

TEXT.

No. 2.

(1) Namō devāya bhadrārṣhaśāmipadprasādayā dharmamahārajaś śrībhadrārṣhayā vasvantriṣya jātā ca pravēśya
kariṇyāmī(2) dharma mahārajaś—śrībhadrārṣhayā vāivvaṁdvītrīyā tāvato
pravēśyanī mohyaṁti(3) pravēśiprasādayo' kāmṛṣmaśāntaṁśu.

1. Read पुर्विवि-प्रसादात्.
2. Read 'कम्मे'.

No. 2.

Reverence to God! By the favour of the feet of the Bhadreśvarasvāmin I shall make thee agreeable to Fire (i.e., sacrifice thee). So long as the Sun and the Moon endure, he (Agni) will save the sons and grandsons of Dharma-Mahārāja Śri Bhadravarman. May the work (sacrifice) be successful through the grace of the earth.

No. 3.

Śiva, the slave, is bound (to the post).

No. 4. My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman.


The village of My-son, containing vestiges of many monuments of the past, is in the district of Quang Nam (for detailed accounts of the ruins of My-son, cf. B. E. F. Vol. IV, p. 805). The inscription, engraved on two faces of a stelae in front of the large temple of My-son to the east, contains 21 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is written throughout in prose. There are, however, mistakes in spelling and grammar.

The inscription records the donation of lands to the God Bhadreśvara. Although the author of the inscription speaks of himself in the first person, and refers to king Bhadravarman.

1. Bergaigne takes the word 'Śiva' as an adjective to 'dāsa', and translates it as 'auspicious' (propitiatoire).
varman in the third person, it is clear from lines 5 and 11, that the endowment was given by the king himself.

As the God Śiva is called 'Bhadreśvara, it would follow that the temple was also founded by Bhadravarman. For it was a well known usage in these countries to designate Śiva by a term composed of the first part of the king's name and the word Īśvara. It may be argued, of course, that the temple was founded by a predecessor of the king, also called Bhadravarman. But the endowment of lands, consisting practically of the entire valley in which the temple is situated, precludes this idea,—for if there had been a temple already in possession of any part of these territories, the fact would have been mentioned.

Judging from the number and beauty of temples which once surrounded the shrine, and the many endowments that have been made to it by successive kings, the temple of Bhadreśvara seems to have enjoyed a very high prestige in Champā.

TEXT.

(a).

(1) निः देव नमो महेश्वर उपास्य प्र……(2) ब्रह्मार्गों विष्युने वच नमो पृथिवी बायुराकाशमाय (४) ज्योतिः प्रश्नं नमस्कृतवाह मिन्धुभामि सबविशेषेन्द्रूव्यां दुस्कः (तक) (४) मन्त्यपोहनं (तू) सुरुनो नगुनन्तुद भद्देश्वर स्वामिपद्रुव्यां (न) न चासाक (मू) महारा (जेन) (६) मन्त्रवम्मेशा मानुषयमध्यां शा (त्व) मन्त्रेश्वराय श्रात्यी नीषी दल्ला यथा (पूवेश) (६) सुलहपवच्चो द्विश्चोन महापवच्छ: पश्चिमेन कुचकपम्बेद उत्तमेण म (हायत्री) (७) परिमाणाध्यनत्तरा सकुदयिष्टे

1. The इंग्न is doubtful.
2. The passage is corrupt. Apparently the writer intended to say “वयोशिवु सुरुतः नमस्त्वं तनिदुः”.
TRANSLATION.

(1). Perfection has been attained. Reverence to Mahēśvara and to Umā........(2) to Brahmā and to Viṣṇu. Reverence to the Earth, Wind, Sky, Water (3) and fifthly, the Fire.

1. Read 'भृगो'.
2. Read गुणवत्ता:.
3. Read धर्मः.
4. Read धर्मः.
5. Read विज्ञापयामि.
7. About 16 aksaras.
8. About 18 aksaras.
9. Read पालयति.
Having saluted them I wish all eminent people to note the following: That with a view to (4) atone for all evil deeds, and to perform good and virtuous work, and having realised the destiny of human life, a perpetual endowment has been given to Bhadresvara by our king Bhadravarman, who is devoted to the feet of Bhadresvarasvami: To wit, (6–7) the land within (the boundaries viz.) Sulaha mountain in the east, the great mountain in the south, the Kucaka mountain in the west and the Great River in the north, together with its inhabitants, has been given. (8) The (royal share of the) revenue consisting of a sixth of the produce, but reduced, through the favour of the Lord (king? or the owner of the temple to which land is given?) to one-tenth, is to be given to the God. If what is written above is not done for the God by anybody, (9) the fruit of merits, acquired by him since his very birth, belongs to Bhadravarman. But if somebody plunders, or destroys it by force, then (10) the people are exempt from guilt which falls upon that man alone. To the king, versed in the four Vedas, and to his (11) officers and other people, I declare: Out of compassion for me don't destroy my gifts.

(b).

(1) If you destroy it, all your good deeds in your different births shall be mine, (2) and all the bad deeds done by me shall be yours. If, on the contrary, you properly maintain

1. This portion of the text is not quite intelligible, but the above rendering seems to bring out the sense intended to be conveyed.

(the endowment), (3) the merit shall belong to you (alone). I again declare...........[the broken fragments in Lines 4–8 do not yield any sense] (9) he who maintains, the merit belongs to him. He who does not maintain but destroys, will himself be destroyed......(10) Bhadreśvarasvāmi knows.

No. 5. Chiêm-Son Rock Inscription.

The inscription was edited by Finot (B. E. F., Vol. XVIII, No. 10, p. 13). It is engraved on a rock, overhanging the river Song-Thu-bon, a little to the east of My-son. It contains four lines, and describes the boundaries of the temple of Bhadreśvara. To the east, ‘Sulaha mountain’,—to the south, the Great (mountain),—to the west, Kucaka mountain,—and to the north, the Grand River i. e. Song-Thu-Bon. The writing belongs to the period of Bhadravarman (5th century A. D.).

Although similar boundaries are given in two other inscriptions (Nos. 4 and 7), the northern boundary is given here for the first time. It shows that the boundaries given are not those of My-son circle, but of the dominions belonging to the temple.

TEXT.

(1) पूंजवेश खु
(2) ह पवर्त्त
(3) द्रिजिणेन महा ...............पधिमेन कुचक प-
(4) वर्त ...............उत्तरेण महानदी।

Comparing the above with the relevant portions of Nos. 4 and 7, we may restore the text as follows:

पूंजवेश खुलहपवर्वतो द्रिजिणेन महापवर्त:।
पधिमेन कुचकपवर्वत’ उत्तरेण महानदी॥

1. Finot formerly read it as ‘कुचक०’ but later on suggested the reading ‘कुचोक०’. He takes it as an indigenous word meaning ‘the august mountains’.
TRANSLATION.

To the east, the Sulaha mountain, to the south, the Great mountain, to the west, Kucoka mountain, to the north the Great River.

No. 6. Hon-Cuc Stone Inscription.

The inscription was noticed by Aymonier (J. A. 1896 part I, p. 149), and edited by Finot (B. E. F. Vol. II, p. 186).

It was engraved on a rock called Hon-Cuc near the village of Chim-Sori in the province of Quang-Nam. It contains two lines in Sanskrit, and probably belongs to the time of king Bhadravarman.

TEXT.

(1) नमो भगवनो महादेवाय भद्रेश्वरस्वामिनः
(2) शिरसा प्रणिपत्य।

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to the August Mahādeva Bhadreshvarasvāmi by bowing down the head in obeisance.

No. 7. My-son Stelae Inscription of Śambhuvarman.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F. Vol. III, p. 206) without any translation.

For localities cf. No. 4. It is engraved on a stelae close to the one containing No. 4, and is practically a continuation of the latter. It contains 24 lines of writing in Sanskrit. There are three verses in mandākrāntā metre. The rest is in prose.

The inscription refers to two kings Śrī Rudravarman and his successor (probably also son) Śambhuvarman. During the reign of the first, in the year four hundred and.......... (the tenth and unit figures being lost), the temple of the God
of Gods, i.e. the one erected by Bhadravarman I for Bhadreśvara (cf. No. 4), was destroyed by an incendiary. But king Sambhuvarman re-installed the God under the name Śambhu-Bhadreśvara (apparently so called after the original founder of the temple and its restorer). The inscription also confirms the grant of land made originally in No. 4.

TEXT.

(1) ..................................ति: ॥
गंगेश्वररूप ॥
(2) —— —— —— —— —— —— ——(स्थ) गुणानाम ॥
विभुदु गुर्वं धर्ममनवरात (मा) —— —— ——
(3) —— —— —— —— —— —— (भी ह) द्रवम्मा नरेन्द्र: ॥
साक्षिन ब्रह्मात्रियकुलतिके भीष्म (४) (बम्मेशि)………………
युर्तुर् चतुर्थै वर्णशेषेतु शकानां व्यतितेपविद्युध्ये देवदेवां—
(५) (यम)………………
सख्यत्पतियमलवविशिष्टशुलिनसम्माणां
संश्या—नां प्रद्रह्दनहि————————।
(६) —— —— —— यममलिनो वचवन्शमावःः
छल्लें वेंति ब्रिह्मुवन्वुर्त-कार्यां इत्यानुरेः ॥
(७) —— —— —— —— परिमाणे शकात्सले स्वपनातिशयायद्
दिस्य अधिरुद्दश्य श्रीहृद्विमेयो (८)………………ति गुणा विभव
प्रमहान्यशास्त्रमलि (६)…………… रता स्वात्ममतिहान—
साम्य सः च समस्तत इत्यस्त तु (१०)……………… लमसूतो
नितान्तोज्जितग्रीहाश्मुव्वम्माभियकनामा ॥ धृतुतुचरि (११)
………………धाम्मा प्रकाश: वसतिरबनिशिच्चसमेन्द्रा श्यात्वीयोऽ
(१२)………………श्री प्रशस्तस्यहस्सविरिक्षणामा ॥ प्रकृष्ट्वग्वसुकुरो
नू (१३)………………मी शरत्मदोपेन्दुरितावध्येति…………(१४)

1. Read 'संस्थानाम'.
2. Read 'बेश'.

(8.)(W)
TRANSLATION.

(Fragmentary passages not conveying a complete sense are mostly left out.)

(1) .................of Gaṅgeśa.
(2) ...........of qualities...........carrying weighty burdens
(3) King (Śri Ru)dravarman.

During the reign of that Rudravarman, the ornament of the Brahma-Ksatriya family, (4) while four hundred (and ...........?) years of the Śakas had elapsed, the temple of the God of Gods was burnt by fire.

1. The पक्ष is not distinct. 2. Read जात्रपुप्राहिकसहितेन.
(5–6) The God with trident, the controller of creation, maintenance and dissolution; who, though not unfriendly, yet burnt (i.e., destroyed) all forms including Gods; who is unblemished and by nature both a knower as well as an object of knowledge; is one fixed cause of the universe, the preceptor of the three worlds, and knower of all things.

(7) Of Rudravarman who has ascended to heaven by the abundance of his virtues in the Śaka year........

(10) Having Śrī Śambhuvarman as the coronation name.
(11) who, a Sun in earth, is famous for his prowess.
(12) Whose name is Śrī Praśastadharma [dindaśa].
(13) Possessing excellent qualities he shines like the moon of autumn evening.

(15–17) [Astronomical details.]

(18–19) Then Śambhu-Bhadresvara was established by Śambhu-Varman, accompanied by Durbvalirambhasāmi, the priest, and Jātarūpa who is entitled to foremost seat of honour.

(19–21) May this Śambhu-Bhadresvara—by whom, by his own prowess, the three worlds, bhūḥ, bhuvah and swah have been created, by whom the sin of the world has been removed even as darkness is expelled by fire, whose glory is unthinkable in this world, who has neither beginning nor end—(may He) cause happiness in the kingdom of Champā.

1. Here sixth case-ending is used for the first.

2. Cf. Gīta "वैन्धि वै भूिव वर्षवाय तथा ततो विधवनन्तर्शायम्".

3. Finot takes 'दिन्दिक' as an ascetic, and is inclined to the view that Praśastadharma was his religious name as opposed to the coronation name. Most probably Praśastadharma was his ordinary name as opposed to coronation name.

4. This is the only interpretation of l. 18 that occurs to me.
(21) Again, the land, with its people, which was given as perpetual (endowment) by king Bhadravarman (22) is bounded by Sullaha mountain in the east, the Great mountain in the south, Kucaka mountain in the west,..............

(23) Tenth part is to be given by the people who live in the land.............

(24) This endowment is to be maintained, not destroyed.

No. 8. Hue Stelae Inscription.

It is mutilated and contains only the last seven lines of a Sanskrit Inscription. It contains an imprecation against those who would destroy the endowments given by............. Varman, king of Champā, to the God Kandarpa-Pureśvara.

As Bhavapura was the name of the capital of Bhavavarman of Cambodge, and Indrapura, that of Indravarman of Champā, so Kandarpapura might be the name of the capital in the time of Kandarpadharma. The inscription may therefore be referred to Kandarpadharma or one of his successors, and the capital of this king may be looked for in the neighbourhood of Hue.


No. 9. Trà-kiếu Rock Inscription of Prakāśadharma.

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 263). It is engraved on one face of a cubic block of stone found at Trà-kiếu in the province of Qnang-Nam. It contains four lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written throughout in verse, and contains 2 stanzas in Āryā metre.
The inscription refers to some gifts of king Śrī Prakāśadharma, king of Champa, in honour of king Kandarpadharma, the father of his great-grandmother (grandfather’s mother).

TEXT.

(1) शक्ति: परस्य न रिपु त्यथायति गमितापि द्राड्येद्रभयेन ।
(2) स्य स्तवदेशाव महर्ममो नृपति: कन्तर्पयधर्मं धरलिमुजः
परितामहीतिरिद्रं स्यापितवानवेनाय हउक्युगलम् ॥

TRANSLATION.

(1) The power (lance) of other (kings), even when aided by much dreaded political expedients like danda (punishment) and bhed (disunion)—(even when applied with such force as to make the staff of the lance liable to break)—is not able to crush the enemy. There is, however, a king, who, like Kumāra, breaks through all his enemies, without fear and unaided by the political expedients of danda (punishment), and bhed (disunion)—(without wielding the lance so powerfully as to break it).

(2) He, Śrī Prakāśadharma, established this pair of haṭakas in honour of king Kandarpadharma, the father of his great-grandmother (grandfather’s mother).

1. The word śakti, and its adjectives, are throughout used in a double sense, as shown within the brackets.

2. The meaning of the word ‘हटक’ is unknown. The word is probably हटक, which is the name of a God cf. ‘हटकेश्वर माइलम्य’ in the Skanda Purāṇa.
No. 10. Thach-Bích Rock Inscription of Prakāśadharma.

The inscription is engraved on a rock in a river-bed in Thach-Bích in the district of Quang-Nam.

TEXT.

(1) श्री चम्पेश्वरो विजयी महीपति………श्री (2) प्रकाशधर्मंति श्रीगितवानमरेशमिद्द॥

TRANSLATION.

Śrī Prakāśadharma, king of Champā, always victorious, master of the land,………………….has installed here the God Śiva ( Amareśa ).

(As there is no room in the rock for a temple, possibly the image referred to is a Liṅga.)


No. 11. Duong-Mong Pedestal Inscription of Prakāśadharma.

The inscription is engraved on one side of a stone pedestal at Duong-Mong in the district of Quang-Nam.

TEXT.

(1) इद्दे भगवतः पुरुषोत्तमस्य विष्णुर्मदिनिधनमंश्चकाशीष्-भुवन— (2) गुरोः पूजास्थानं श्रीप्रकाशधर्ममेऽ कारितम्॥

TRANSLATION.

This temple of God Viṣṇu Puruṣottama, who is without beginning or end, who is the preceptor of the whole world, was built by the order of Śrī Paakāśadharma.


The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F. Vol. IV, p. 918—No. III), and further commented upon by M. Coedes (B. E. F. Vol. XII,—No. 8, p. 15). (For localities etc. cf. No. 4). It is engraved on two faces of a stelae and contains 55 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are illegible. Then follow 30 verses, mixed with two pieces of prose; the metre being vv. 1, 20, 27, 30 Śārdulavikriḍita; 2, 9, 13, 17–19, 22, 26, 28, 29, Upājāti; 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 16, Śloka; 5, Vasantatilakā; 8, 24, Śikhariṇī; 10, 25, Mālini; 11, 12, 14, 21, 23, Āryā.

The inscription records the donations made by king Prakāśadharma-Vikrānta Varman to the Gods Īśāneśvara, Sambhū-Bhadresvara and Prabhāseśvara. It also gives the genealogy of the king.

TEXT.

(1) 

(2) vyaśadhvarṣya

(3) vyaśa
dhavat

(4) vyaśa
dhavat

(5) vyaśa
dhavat

(6) vyaśa
dhavat

(7) vyaśa
dhavat

(8) vyaśa
dhavat

(9) vyaśa
dhavat

(10) vyaśa
dhavat

* H w ^ H*M i

(1) vyaśa
dhavat

(2) vyaśa
dhavat

(3) vyaśa
dhavat

(4) vyaśa
dhavat

(5) vyaśa
dhavat

(6) vyaśa
dhavat

(7) vyaśa
dhavat

(8) vyaśa
dhavat

(9) vyaśa
dhavat

(10) vyaśa
dhavat

* H w ^ H*M i
III  
तत्स्य कीर्तिविश्वस्य ।
स्रीम ११ ।

IV  
स्रीरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुरघुर�्

V  
स्रीमसरस्य स्वप्नमन्दिरम्।

VI  
स्रीशंभुकं यथा।

VII  
स्रीमनं।

VIII  
प्रजाय यस्तवेदेषम्।

IX  
स्रीस्य पुनः।

X  
स्रीस्य पुनः।

XI  
प्रभासदर्शन-प्रसंगे।

XII  
तस्या।

1. Read 'सौम्यः'.
2. Read 'निष्पापास्मां दिन्कृतः'.

17
XIII --- पत्यं किल थोवभूव
प्रक्षालीयवीर्यशुनिरुपकावितः।
द्वारा कुलं ग्राहमथ ज्ञायं धि
निर्माणं यः प्रकटीवोय।।

XIV (२२) (श्रीं भक्षरम्) मंगलसंति ज्ञातुमोऽधि
जः ते जय प्रभुवसोदयां राजार्जेः यः — II

XV (२३) ..............-तथश्रीं जगद्गमः — प्रथितः प्राजयविकमः।
प्रायाल्ल केनापि विधिना पुरं यदू भवसाह( यं )॥

XVI (२४) (तथा) स्थापितवाहुः ज्ञातुलं कौरिण्यस्तद्वहिद्विजर्मः।
श्रव्बत्यास्मो हिजघ्र्याहाद्वरोपानुविराधवाय तं॥

XVII (२५) —— कुलासीदृ भुजगेनुजकान्या
सामेवत सा वंशकरी गृहिज्यास।
श्राधित्य भावेतिविशेषवन्तु
या मानुचावमेघमुचान —— II

XVIII (२६) कौरिण्यनासा हिजघ्रावेन
कार्यार्थपलीनवममानाय यापि।
प्रज्ञानोर्थस्य निमित्तभावे
विधिमचिन्तयं खलु चेतितं हि॥

XIX (२७) तद्वयचंडविशुद्धावेश—
परमपापातुपत्तवज्ञमा।
अग्नापि योलकूलितं प्रजानामः
प्रायात्विन्यन्यप्रसवेर —— ॥

(४).

XX (१) तथ्यश्रीं भचवमम्: चिनिनपनेशाशिक्ष-वय-स्नाधिनो
(२) वीयाङ्गमपनसंघसंघसमरसस्याभिमानक्षुदः।
स्नाता यः पृविविशुरस्तमभवदू हसारितक्षमण—
(३) लेजोवर्तिनशासनो रविविव प्राज्वमभावोद्यः॥

1. The word commences with an ‘उ-कार’. Probably it is ‘युष्मानम्’. 
XXI स श्री महेन्द्रवर्मण विद्याधिपति तुल्य विक्रमः प्रथितः।

(४) यमजनवत योद्धनयं नय द्व्रष सुधियां सुखस्वर्गः।

XXII श्रीशानवर्मण स वराधिपति-
स्वस्तमहानन्दविसंपितेजः(६)।

(५) (प्र) सुत यमहद्यवृद्धिते-
वर्षक्षियारम्भ इवोदयदिनौः।

XXIII तस्या श्री शर्वरावायं तल्या सोमान्यतमस्वतायामः।
(६) वराधिकम दियसुतं यमजनयज्ञिजज्ञदमः।

XXIV गुणानां स्वकलं भवति न किलेक्कवशनः।
क्रिम्यवेच (म.) सुप्तेवर (२) कमलयोनेर्भगवतो।
गुण यवारेण इथित तु यमलयामतिरितिमः।
महादाता रङ्गो यो द्व्र जलनिधि दुस्तरजले।

XXV (७) अविलातनवदेवश्वम्यस्मुनेजः—
श्रीमिरिपुस्याधः (७) श्रीसमुत्सकहेतुः।
दशरथनुपजों राम इत्याशया यं।
(६) चरवति विधिपुरोगा श्रीरहो युक्त्रूपमः।

XXVI विद्रुढ्यिति त्रितत्य यमेत्य
पषा च कान्तिधिः सरस्वती च।
प्रायेशः (१०) सरस्थानमभिरपञ्च (म.)
सुधर्मानन्यफलाय कलयमः।

संयुक्तोदिति—माणवेन्द्र—महतीयान्यमहत्तर—(११)
दुर्वाप—पर्यवंत—चीरपयोनिधिः—पुर्व्यभागोदित—तिम्मल—मयूर—
ख—पर्यस्—सार्डल—चापानाथः—चुपित—महाभिमानः(१२)—दुष्टहृ
—संघ—संस्तुत—निसर्ग—चीर्यवीर्यज्ञदर्नकार्यः—
पार्श्व—गुणोपात्त—पालित—समवजिताहि तार्थपादितराज्यः।
(१३)
लक्ष्मी—निरूपित—वैचर्चन्यः—श्रीमानः—श्रीच्छापुरपरमेश्वरोः
महाराजः—श्रीविकालन्यमेंतुपासविजयाभिषेकनामा श्री प्रकाश—
धर्मः(१) (१४) नव—सास्त्युत्तर—पशुचर्य—शतातीत—शकाव-
1. The short strokes separating the elements of compound words are not in the original.
2. Read 'ॐ'.

I

XXVII (१) स्वा: शक्ति: प्रति योग्यतामुपगता लियादिस्मूर्त्ययो लोकस्थित्युद्याविकायरता नामिनिन्ना नाति हि।

२ (२) इयेवम् विगणात्य शक्तिविशिष्टता येनाधिविषयते बा का नामेष विभु: किया न भजते या स्यु: पराधूर्दे॥

XXVIII (२२) यो व्रह्मविषणुविद्धशाशिपादि

सुरासुरब्रह्मविषण्णिष्मान्यः॥

तथापि भूत्ये जगतामुनाम् =

ग्यामशानभूमायतिचित्रमेतत्॥

XXIX (२०) यदते जगतु स्थाप्युचितिपुरुषं

विचारते कांविक रश्मिजालम्॥

यजौव भूयः प्रतिलंबये नाद्

चाहो चिन्त्रो महतानिस्मर।॥

XXX (२१) यस्यातीतनमोगतेरपि सनो हेनोजजांजनमानं

प्रेयनन्त्य फलपदा स्मृतिरिपु ज्ञिः पुतः का कथा।

२ (२२) सौस्थित्य-प्रभवोपलिङ्ग-विधवे चम्पागगत्या स्थिरं

स्थेयाद्भुमावित्यन्ते विद्विशरं स श्री प्रभासेश्वरः॥

२३ (२३) लोपं-कोषागारं स-वौम-विपयं हवाहुः कहाँसोः

ची-पितौ-कौंडं-नाजाब-वसाय-कोषा (२४) गार दि मितिन्त

तजसहितं सब्यामिदं श्रीमास्रयं-चम्पेश्वर-श्री-प्रकाशधरमां

भववतां ईशाने (२५) भव-श्रीरामभूमिन्द्रेश्वर-श्रीप्रभासेश्वरां

নন্দ—কালপরিমাণম্ তপস্মিন্দশাহ্রক্ষারসাদিত্যচন্দ্রভূপমো—

যেমকার—নবঘোড়ারি—পুরুষং মন্ত্ররাগায়—

তার্ক্যেরয়মারে তুলাধরস্থব্যামোরাগায় ঘটঘটপতিনার—

যুগ্মেরগত—(১৫) তারাধিপ্রারম্ভমিত্যাঙ্কিশ্চী ভাস্বামঃমৃত্যু—বীজ—

সংহিতে—কুক্কৃত্যম সকলভূখবনেকনারায় শ্রী প্রভাসেশ্বরঃ প্রতিমাভিপ্রিয়বাদী।

XXVII (১) ‘তন: শক্তি: প্রতি যোগ্যতামুপগতা লিযাদিস্মূর্ত্যযো লোকস্থিত্যুদ্যাবিকাপত্তা নামিনিন্না নাতি হি।

(২) ইযেবম বিগণায শক্তিবিশিষ্টতা যেনাধিবিষয়তি বা কা নামেহ বিভু: কিয়া ন ভজতে যা স্যু: পরাধূর্দে॥

XXVIII (২২) যো ব্রহ্মবিষণুবিদ্ধশায়ীপাদি

সুরাসুরব্রহ্মন্থিমান্যঃ॥

তথাপি ভূত্যে জগতামুনাম্যে =

গ্যামশানভূমায়তিচিত্রমেতত্।॥

XXIX (২০) যদো জগতু স্থাপ্যুচিতিরপুরুপ্য

বিচ্যতি কাংবিক রশ্মিজালম।

যজূঃ ভূম্য: প্রতিলয়ে বহু

চাহো চিন্ত্রমাহতানিস্থরঃ॥

XXX (২১) যস্যাতীতনমোগতেপি সনো হেনোজজাংজনমান

প্রেয়নন্ত্য ফলপদা স্মৃতিরিপু জ্ঞিঃ পুতঃ কা কথা।

(২২) সৌস্থিত্য-প্রভবোপলিঙ্গ-বিধবে চম্পাগগত্যা স্থিরম

স্থেযাদ্ভূমায়ন্তে বিদ্বিশরম স শ্রী প্রভাসেশ্বরঃ॥

(২৩) লোপ-কোষাগারঃ স-বৌম-বিপয়হও হবাহা কহাঁসো

চী-পিতৌ-কৌংডঃ-নাজাব-বসায়-কোষাঃ (২৪) গার দি মিতিন্ত

তথসহিতঃ সর্বসমিদঃ শ্রীমাস্রয়ঃ-ন্চম্পেশ্বরঃ-শ্রী-প্রকাশধরম্য

ভববতাঃ ঈশানে (২৫) ভব-শ্রীরামভূমিন্দ্রেশ্বরঃ-শ্রীপ্রভাসেশ্বরাঃ

সন্তপ্রায়বিধুঃ প্রাদুর্ভ।॥ যে চ্যস্যান্তি (২৬) তে প্রহর্যায়ফলম—

1. The short strokes separating the elements of compound words are not in the original.
2. Read 'ॐ'.
TRANSLATION.

LL 1–7. Perfection has been attained another family the town of Brahma consecrated image of God Śri Śambhu-Bhadreśvara in the prosperous city of Champa.

V. 1. There was a king called Gaṅgārāja, who was famed for the royal qualities of knowledge and heroism the sovereignty difficult to abandon the joy arising from a view of Gaṅgā (Ganges) is very great, and so he went to the Jāhnāvi (Ganges).

V. 2. Kings beginning with Dilipa and Mandhātā he, in his majesty, never transgressed the eternal rules of conduct, even as the ocean never transgresses her boundaries fixed for eternity.

V. 3. He, who was the son of an eminent Brāhmaṇa, and the 'son of the daughter's daughter' of glorious Manorathavarman.

V. 4. The son of this king Rudravarman, of great valour, was (foremost among) those who possessed splendour, like the Sun.

V. 5. He who, even at the present time, follows the pure rules of conduct which obtained in the Kṛta-Yuga,

1. Read 'समस्यो'.

2. Finot translates "Celui qui était égal en puissance à l'Océan" (He was equal in power to the ocean) ignoring the double meaning of the word 'सिंहि' and a very well-known comparison with the ocean.
when Dharma prevailed in its entirety.\(^1\) The beauty of his face surpasses that of the moon with a halo, but the moon, though cast into shade, still maintains his own.\(^2\)

V. 6. Of that Śambhuvarman, renowned for his prowess, who re-established on this earth this Śambhubhadreśa.

V. 7. Was born a son of mighty fame, called Kandarpadharma, endowed with beauty, and like an incarnation of Dharma.

V. 8. "I have nothing to expect from a king who, free from passion, dutifully protects his subjects like his own sons,"—with this melancholy reflection, Kali, chased by the splendour of the king, sadly moved away, nobody knows where, even as the army of darkness flies before the Sun, leaving its unbearable rays behind.

V. 9. He who was his son,...................The desires of all his subjects are centred on him, as those of all the creatures on the Creator.

V. 10. Wishing for the good of his subjects, he increased his own prowess, following in the wake of the Sun who extends his rays in spring time.\(^3\)

V. 11. He, Prabhāsadharma, had a younger sister, who was the source of welfare and prosperity of the whole world, and the perfection, as it were, of the creation (Karma) of God.

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1. The poet here refers to the theory that Dharma which originally stood on four legs, in the Kṛta age, lost one in each of the succeeding ages viz. Treta and Dvāpara. At present, in Kali, she stands on only one leg.

2. The last portion is only conjectural.

3. The first two fragmentary lines are not translated.
V. 12. For the birth of Chanda\(^1\).................Satya-kauśikasvāmī became her husband as the hermit Atri was of Anasūyā.

V. 13. He who was (his or her) son,\(^2\) celebrated for his heroism, knowledge, and beauty, and who always shed lustre on both the Ksatriya and Brāhmaṇa families,

V. 14. Was called Bhadreśvaravarman; he and Anaṅgarūpa and Viśvarūpa were three brothers born of the same mother.

V. 15. (Then) the famous Śri-Jagaddharma, of mighty prowess, went to the town called Bhava\(^3\) on account of certain circumstances.

V. 16. It was there that Kaundinya, the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, planted the spear which he had obtained from Droṇa's son Aśvatthāmā, the best of Brāhmaṇas.

V. 17. There was a daughter of the king of serpents, called Soma, who founded a family in this world. Having attained, through love, to a radically different element, she lived in the habitations of man.

V. 18. She was taken as wife by the excellent Brāhmaṇa Kaundinya for the sake of (accomplishing) certain work. Verily, incomprehensible is the way of God in providing conditions leading to future events.

V. 19. (King Bhadravarman) who, being born in that pure unbroken line of kings, is, even to-day, the pride of his subjects by his unblamable (conduct).

(b).

V. 20. He, the king Bhavavarman, who boasted of his triple power, and broke the arrogant pride of his enemies

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1. Finot takes जन्मस्यसत्यकौशिकस्वामिनः as the name of the husband. This does not seem probable.

2. अपस्य but only the last two letters are distinct.

3. Bhavapura i.e. Cambodge.
about military strength caused by excess of heroism, had a brother, who was a hero in the world, who was a destroyer of the proud allies of enemies, whose power was increased by his strength, and whose supreme majesty, like that of the sun, brilliantly shone forth.

V. 21. He, the famous Śri Mahendravarmā, equal in prowess to Indra, the king of gods, begat happily, with ease, a favourite son, even as the policy of wise men produces happy results.

V. 22. He, Śri Ṛṣāṇavarmā, king of men, whose splendour spread in all directions up to the very end, begat a daughter, for the sake of unique prosperity, as sacrificial ceremonies beget both material prosperity and supernatural power.

V. 23. Śri Jagaddharma begat on that Śri Śarvvānī, chaste, and born in the family of Soma (or Somā), a favourite son of remarkable prowess.

V. 24. It is said that the sum-total of excellences is not to be found together in any creature. Is it applicable even to the creations of God Brahmā? To him (the king) (at least) all the excellences are very fondly attached; he is like a priceless jewel in the deep of the ocean.

25. Constantly devoted to the Brāhmaṇas, the gods among men, (he was) gracefully attended by enemies subdued by his own prowess; (he was) cause of Lakṣmi's pride; Śri Lakṣmi, in fond hope that he was Rāma, son of king Daśaratha, dutifully followed him, and this was well worthy of her indeed!

26. The Trio viz. Padmā (Lakṣmi i.e. Prosperity), Kānti (beauty) and Sarasvatī (knowledge), attain a luxuri-

1. I cannot understand the word ‘अयति’ as published in the text. I take it as ‘अयति’.
ant growth in him. Very often good seeds, obtaining good soil, lead to eternal fruits.

He, the illustrious king of Champā, Mahārāja Śrī Prakāśadharma, who took the name of Śrī Vikrāntavarmā at the time of coronation,—who was the full moon, with pure rays, rising in the east of the great and vast (lit. whose ends can be reached with difficulty) ocean of milk, which was the great, noble, and ever-prosperous royal family,—whose natural prowess is familiar to his innumerable wicked enemies, whose great pride was humbled by him,—whose kingdom was bestowed on him by holy men, and was acquired, protected, and augmented, by means of a group of royal qualities, made all the firmer by heroism,—who was singled out by luck (Śrī) for his skill,—he, in the year 579 of the era of the Śaka king, (astronomical details follow)—established Śrī Prabhāseśvara, the one lord of all the world, with a view to destroy the seeds (of karma), which have the power of leading to births (lit. existence) in quick succession.

27. His (i. e. Śiva's) forms like Earth etc. are suitable to his energy, and, without them, his activity for the maintenance and progress of the world cannot exist. It is from this consideration that (these forms) are held by the master of energy. What action is there that the Lord will not undertake for the welfare of others?

1. 'पवास मांडल' applied to the king would mean the vast extent of his kingdom.

2. 'पूर्व हाम' applied to the king would mean in the forefront of the royal family.

3. 'उदितोदित्त' applied to ocean would mean 'surging'.

4. In other words, the king desired to escape from rebirths, a desire of all orthodox Hindus.
28. He, who, although revered by Brahmā, Visnu, Indra and other gods, Asuras (Demons), Brāhmaṇas, kings and ascetics (or royal ascetics), yet danced in cemetery for the sake of the prosperity of the world—this is strange indeed!

29. From whom is evolved this static and dynamic world, like rays from the Sun, in whom again are they merged? How wonderful is this great creation.

30. Who, although having no desire of his own, is yet the cause of the creation of the world; thoughts of whom, alone, are capable of yielding infinite bliss, not to speak, again, of his visible manifestation; may he, Śri Prabhāsesvara, remain fixed here as long as the world lasts, as a means of securing the welfare of the city of Champa.

The store-house of Loṅ, with the district of Caum, and the store-houses of Havaun, Karnnauy, Cau, Pitau, Kraun, Najoc, and Vasau at Midit,—all these have been given for the worship of the gods Īśāneśvara, Śri Sambhu-Bhadreśvara and Śri Prabhāsesvara, by Śri Prakāśadharman, king of Champā. Those who will destroy, they will feel, without remission, the consequences of murdering a Brāhmaṇa, through the aeons. Those who will maintain, will enjoy the reward of an Aśvamedha sacrifice. And it has been said in the Śāstras 'that there is no greater meritorious act than the Aśvamedha, and no greater crime than the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.' Thus declares the donor of all these in the presence of that God.

No. 13. My-son Stelae Inscription of Prakāśadharma.

The inscription is engraved on another face of the same stelae which contains No. 7. It contains a date of which

1. Or 'although beyond mental perception.'
the hundredth figure alone is legible viz. 5xx, and refers to king Prakāśadharma, grand-son of..........(name lost).


The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 928 No. V.) (For localities cf. No. 4).

It is engraved on a pedestal, and contains 2 lines of writing in Sanskrit, consisting of 2 ślokas:

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple to Kuvera, the friend of Maheśvara, by Prakāśadharma.

TEXT.

(1) महेश्वरस्सुभस्येदं कुवेरस्य धनाकरं ।
   प्रकाशधम्मेनृपति: पूजास्थानमकल्पयत् ॥
(2) एकायपिक्षलेत्येष देव्यादशीनदृष्टिः ।
   सम्बद्धस्यत्वस्तनं पायाष्टाहितसतस्त्रद स ॥

TRANSLATION.

(1) This temple of Kuvera, the friend of Maheśvara, a mine of wealth, has been erected by king Prakāśadharma.

(2) May this (Kuvera), who is called ‘ekākṣapiṅgala’ for having (his eye) injured by the view of the Goddess (Uma), increase the wealth of this king, and always protect him from evils. (For the allusion to the story of Kuvera, cf. Rāmāyaṇa Uttara-kāṇḍa, ch. XIII, vv., 24, 30-31).
No. 15. Lai Cham Inscription of Prakāśadharma.

(For localities cf. No. 56.)

It contains two short lines.

TEXT.

(१) नमःशिवाय ।
(२) धी प्रकाशधर्मां जय (दानं) (?) ll

TRANSLATION.

Homage to Śiva: the gift of victory (?) by Prakāśadharma.


No. 16. My-son Stelae Inscription of Vikrānta-Varman I, dated 609.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F. Vol. IV, p. 925, No. IV). (For localities etc. cf. No. 4). It is engraved on two faces of a stelae, and contains, besides the invocation, 23 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation, the inscription is written throughout in verse. There are altogether 11 verses, six on the first, and five on the second face. The metres are, v. 1, Indravajrā; vv. 2–8, 11, Āryā; v. 9, śārdūlavikrīḍita; v. 10, Sragdhara.

The first eight stanzas are written in the same character, and form one inscription, recording the donation of a Kośa to Īśānesvara, and a mukuta to Bhadresvara, by king Prakāśadharma in 609 (687 A. D.). The last three stanzas, which are written in a different style, record the same donations by king Vikrāntavarman.
TEXT.

(a).

श्रो नभस्ति शिवाय

(१) स्वस्ति

I यग स्वर्यदेवस्मस्मुर्छुमुख्या

(२) स्वर्यः सुयुज्यः परमो वरेय

ईश्वरानन्दस्स जयन्यजस्मम्

II (३) स्मृतिरथि यथि सहङ्ग्रहि प्रणिपतितानि तारयतन-पारेयः

(४) सो श्रीभद्रगरायं प्रजाहितार्थव्रथि प्रभावेशः

III (५) श्रीभद्रगराया शुभमधुसुधायत शतनियमितकभुजाक्षत समये

(६) शुचिशुन्तकृत्ति तन्द्रिरिपमुपनर्वसुन्वस्यस्ये

IV (७) सिद्धावनिविष्कृतसे पुविसम्प्रदायातार्कोज्जोमसोमुसुनर्वसे

(८) सोचायासिता ताले मेयायातचुरेन्दुर्गरो

V (८) उपचारसहविदारे युम्मयातोथपकारिवचन्द्रमसि

(९) विभुमहृङ्गपाप्व मयोद्यशिन्ना नालिकामाभिषि

VI (१०) श्रीभद्रगरायात श्रीभद्रगरायात श्रीभद्रगरायात

(११) ईश्वरेन्द्रकोशं संस्थाप्य यथाविधि स्वभक्तिवशताः

(१२) (श्रीमान् प्रकाशायम्) मुकुटं भद्रेश्वरायातात

(b).

VII (१) कोशमुक्तोभयं तत्त्वार्थवित्तम्भयोगमेयविव

(२) यावच्छन्दत्वारणी वाचविवं वस्थितं जगाति

VIII (३) ऐति यथि कीर्तितिर्त्यसंभृता लघुभृतिका तथाने

(४) स श्रीप्रकाशायम्मां चम्पालोणोऽब्वरो जयति

(५) अधिििि

IX सूर्यनन्तुदायके हिमकरो यात्रस्मिन्वदन्द्वृषे

तस्मिन्नामितो रावि(४) (६) पुनरिति प्रायेव लोकस्थितिः
Reverence to Śiva!

1. May Īśānanātha, who is meditated by all the gods, with Indra at their head, and by the good persons who know His essential nature,—who is calm, pure, supreme and sublime, triumph for ever!

2. Only the thought of Him saves from danger those who prostrate even once. May that Śrī Bhadreśvara, as well as Prabhāseśa, be for the good of the people.

3. When six hundred and nine years had elapsed since the time of the Śaka kings.

(Astronomical details.)

6. After having installed, out of devotion, a Kośa of Īśāneśvara (i.e. a Linga of Śiva called Īśāneśvara) according to true rites, the illustrious Prakāśadharma gave a crown to Bhadreśvara.

1. Ānanda has been taken by Fleet to be equivalent to Nanda or 9. This is doubtful. There are four Ānandas according to Tantra (Caturānanda), and hence it may denote four.
7. May this pair of Kośa and crown, like two pillars of his fame, exist unimpaired in this world, as long as the Sun and the Moon last.

8. Victory to Śri Prakāśadharma, king of Champā, whose fame, originating in the above manner, has very appropriately spread afar.

9. When the Sun rises, the Moon is gone; and when the Moon rises, the Sun sets—this is the rule of the Universe. But the spotless Moon which is the Kośa of Īśāneśvara, and the Sun which is the crown of Bhadreśvara, both (have been brought together ?) by the king Vikrāntavarmā.

10. That Īśāna who cannot be cut, or pierced, who is primordial, and who heals the wounds of all his followers, has his own limbs wounded, as he himself said. Let the pious men solve this problem. (The reply is) Īśāna cut himself into eight parts, and this mutilation is intentional. May the revered king Vikrāntavarmā triumph by his moon-like silver Kośa, without eclipsing any body else.

No. 17. My-son Stelae Inscription of Vikrāntavarman.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 930, No. IX.) (For localities cf. No. 4). It is engraved on two faces of a stelae and contains, besides the invocation, 38 lines of writing. The second face, containing 20 lines, is illegible, the names Sambhuvarman and Vikrāntavarman alone being decipherable. The first face contains six verses and a piece in prose. It records an invocation to Śiva.

The metres being, vv. 1-2, Śārdulavikṛdita; v. 3, Mandā-krāntā; vv. 4-5, Srāgdharā; v. 6, Mālīni.
(a)

The text is in Sanskrit and contains a prose passage. The passage reads:

1. Read ‘त्रस्तोक्त्र-प्रभव-प्रभाव-मृत्ता’, as required both by metre and sense.
Reverence to Śiva! Hail!

(1) He, who, practising austerities, grants the highest supremacy to the gods (lit. those who enjoy sacrifice),—who burnt the fine figure of the God of love, and yet married the daughter of the icy Himalaya,—who, riding on a bellowing animal (bull), obtains the unique supremacy in all the worlds,—there is none in the world who knows that God in his true aspects.

(2) By devotedly worshipping Him,—who has it in his gifts to grant boons beyond one's desire,—Upamanyu is en-

1. The vowel-sign ृ is not distinct.

2. The first three lines imply the contradictory nature of the God. (viz.) [1] Giver of bounies to others, but himself practising austerities (for what?). [2] Husband, yet destroying the Cupid [3] Lord of the Universe, yet riding on a mean animal. A further implication is that although of a fiery nature (evidenced by the burning of Madana), he was yet united to the daughter of the cold Himālaya.
joying even to day, with his friends and relations, the ocean of milk, white as the moon, to the exclusion of the destroyer of Vṛtra (i.e. Indra), whose great glory became manifest by having worked the miracle of creating the three worlds. May this Lord Śrī Isānesvara-Nātha protect you from all dangers.

(3) Whose eight holy forms, respected by all the proud Maruts, profoundly united with one another by appreciating the individual functions of each, and bestowers of excellent blessings, carry this world, as worthy pairs of horses carry rapidly moving chariots on different roads.

(4) He who, at one and the same time, destroyed the three cities belonging to Tripura-Asuras for the peace of the worlds, making Praṇava his strong bow, with the Sāvitri as its bowstring; Visṇu, his arrow, with Soma as its excellent feather, and the blazing fire (Agni), its barb; all the gods, his chariot, with the four Vedas as its horses, and Iḍā and Viriṇca as its charioteers.2

2. The story hinted at in this verse is thus described in Mahābhārata [Anuśāsana Parva] vv. 7458 ff.

There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold, which Maghavan [Indra] could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled; 'Rudra, there shall be victims devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it'; and making Visṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitri [the Gayatri] his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer, he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed, three-barbed arrow, of the colours of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra.
Victory to the Great Lord Śrī Śambhubhadreśvara,—
who, although possessed of Anīma and other divine faculties
which are very difficult to be obtained by other classes of
gods, yet devotes himself to austerities without desiring any
reward therefrom; who reduced to ashes the incomparable
body of Madana by means of burning fire proceeding from
his eyes, and yet became the husband of the daughter (of
Himālaya), white as snow and benefactress; who is the
unique lord of all the worlds, and yet selected a white
vehicle (i.e., the bull) which has become rough by travers-
ing the sky; who is the source of the supreme end of life,
difficult to attain; whose true nature is beyond the do-
main of thought and speech, yet whose image, identical
with the Universe, is manifested by his forms,—earth,
water, fire, air, sky, sun, moon and sacrificer,—which are
dignified by the titles of gods of very great power, named Śarva.
Bhava, Paśupati, Īśāna, Bhīma, Rudra, Mahādeva
and Ugra; and whose infinite power may be inferred from
the fact that, aided by (the gods with) Brahmā, Viṣṇu,
and Agni (Fire) at their head, he exterminated the great
Asura (demon) Tripura, who had destroyed all the worlds
with the gods, ascetics and the Gandharvas.

5. I am always victorious over Indra and other gods
who are great on account of the strength of their arms.

6. May he, who is without cause, but who is the cause
of all the worlds, grant blessings.............

(b).

Śambhuvarma......................Vikrāntavarma.
No. 18. My son Stone Inscription of Vikrāntavarman.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV. p. 929, No. VII.) (For localities cf. No. 4). It was engraved on a block of stone, forming part of a circular pedestal. It contains one line, and records the installation of a golden image of a god by king Vikrāntavarmanā.

TEXT.

नमस्मुक्षादाय.
चम्पावतनिमुत्तर्वबृहयम् काण्डी तन्ववेदिना ।
विक्रान्तवर्मण्यं भक्त्या स्थापिता पारमेश्वरी ॥

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to Suvarṇākṣa (Lit. God with golden eyes). This golden image of Paramesvara has been installed with devotion by Vikrāntavarman, king of Champā, who knows the truth.

No. 19. My-son Pedestal Inscription of Vikrāntavarman.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV. p. 930, No. VIII.) (For localities cf. No. 4).

It is engraved on a circular pedestal and contains one line in Sanskrit verse.

TEXT.

स्थापितो राजसिद्धेन श्रीमद्विक्रान्तवर्मण्यं
वामेश्वरस्य कोशोज्यं स्थेयानाभुवनस्थिते: ॥

TRANSLATION.

This Koṣa of Vāmeṣvara, (Śiva) installed by Śrī-Vikrāntavarmanā, the best of kings (lit. the lion among kings), will endure as long as the world exists.
No. 20. My-son Stelae Inscription of Vikrantavarman II, dated 63 x.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 928, No. VI and vol. XV, No.2 p. 190) (For localities cf. No.4). It is engraved on three faces of a stelae, containing, besides the invocation, 40 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is written throughout in prose. It is mostly illegible, and contains a date, 63 x, the unit figure being effaced.

TEXT.

(a).

ॐ नमःशिवाय.............................(१२) चःपा...........
राज्यलद्मी राज....................

(b).

(१)...........चःपा—पुर—परमेश्वर..........राजाधिराज......
(२)...........श्री प्रकाशाधर्मम् कुतपतिष्ठ.............(३)........
श्री प्रकाशाधर्मम्..................(६)...........श्री प्रकाशाधर्मम्........(७)
...........श्री गणेश्वरचंद्रार्ज..........(१०) श्री विक्रान्तवर्मण—
महाराजाधिः(११) राज..............विका (१२)तवमर्मनुपश्चश्री
योगेश्वर—राजसृष्टु—शशिणो नवः...........(१३) मकुटकोश
...........श्रालकाऩ्तम्.................(१४)शकपति—समये..........रामरसेस्
..............फल्गुनशुक्ल...........

(c).

(१) नमःश्रीशानेश्वर—श्रीभद्रेश्व(२)र—श्री प्रभासेश्वर
—श्रीवा (३)म् भूतवर्मनेर्मो (४) हेमरजत......................(७)
श्रीभद्रवर्मण—श्रीहरुदवर्मण...............(१०) सह पुनः प्रादायिति
(११) तानि ये नाशयति वा पाल(१२)यति वा तेषामु फलश्च
श्रीशा(१३)लेशाद्य ईश्वरा जानति॥
TRANSLATION.

(a).
Reverence to Śiva....................(12) Champā...............Goddess of sovereignty...........king.

(b).
(1) Lord of the city of Champā.........King of kings......
(2) installed by Śrī Prakāśadharma............(3) Śrī Prakāśadharma...........(6) Śrī Prakāśadharma. 
(7) Belonging to the family of Gaṅgeśvara (Lord of Gaṅgā?) (10-11) Śrī Vikrāntavarmā, the great king of kings, (11-12)...........king Vikrāntavarmā...............to the grandson of king Yogeśvara's son, a moon............(13) Crown and Kośa..........decorated. 
(14) In the year 63............of the Śaka king, bright fortnight of Phālguna.

(c).
(1) Reverence to Śrī Īśāneśvara, Śrī Bhadreśvara, (2) Śrī Prabhāseśvara (3) and Śrī Vāmabhūteśvara...........(4) gold and silver ..(9) Śrī Bhadravarmā and Rudravarmā (10) together again gave...........(11) He who destroys or maintains them—the consequence (of their action) is known to Śrī Īśāna and other gods.


The inscription was first brought to notice by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, pp. 932–33, No. x), who could read only a few words. Later, M. Huber has partially restored the text (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 265).

For localities cf. No. 4. The inscription is engraved on two faces of a stelae, containing respectively 11 and 12 lines of writing, besides the invocation.
It begins with ‘Namaś Śivāya Svasti’, and then follows an invocation to Śiva in two verses (metre Mālinī), LL. 1-4. (Verse 1 is given below).

The lines 5-11 contain each a śloka, and record that king Śambhuvārman built a brick vedī (quadrangular spot) covered with silver plates, with a statue of Lākṣmī thereon.

The four ślokas that follow give a poetical description of the splendour of the temple.

The first six lines of the second face each contain a śloka, and record that Śrī Prakāśadharma intended to build a vedī of stone, and that this was actually accomplished by one Naravāhana Varman, who further covered the stone vedī with silver and gold plates. It is difficult to decide whether Naravāhana Varman is identical with Vikrānta-Varman, the successor of Prakāśadharma, or a new king intermediate between the last two.

The lines 8-9 contain a prose passage glorifying Vīkrāntavarman.

TEXT.

(a).

(V. I.) जयति जितमनोजो व्रजाविष्णुदिदेरे- प्रवृत्तपदयुगगाजो निष्कलोपयेयूरिः \nत्रिभुवनहितहेतुस्तववेषस्त्पलहारी \nपरपुरुष इह श्रीशानदेवो उत्थमायः ||
(LL. 6-7) श्रीशम्भुवमणो राजा वेदी वद्येक्रमयी \nवही रौप्यमयी लम्बी विभती वेदिका पुरा ||
चारोदविषि.............

(b).

(L. 2) स श्रीप्रकाशमणे कर्तृमिच्छन्न शिलामयीम् ||

नरवाहनवम्ये...........
Victorious is the Great Being, the primaeval God Śrī Īśānadeva, who conquered the Cupid, whose lotus-feet are saluted by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and other gods, who is without atoms, but has still eight forms, who is the cause of the welfare of the three worlds, and who fulfils all the desires.

1. Huber reads ॐ नःरेशु। But apparently the fragment is the first line of a stanza in sragdhāra metre, which requires the syllable ॐ to be long. The third and the fourth line are too corrupt to be restored.

2. This is Huber’s reading. Possibly the missing word is पार्श्वीष्टि which fits in with the metre here.

3. Could it possibly be विगताबिपुष्ये ।
LL. 6-7. King Sambhuvarman made a brick altar, covered with silver on the exterior, which supported Lakṣmī,—formerly the ocean of milk...........

(b).

L. 2. He, Śrī Prakāśadharma, desiring to make...........of stone...........Naravāhanavarman...........

LL. 4-6. Śrī Naravāhana-varman covered (that altar) of stone with gold and silver on the outside, as Brahmā made the peak of Meru. Moreover this altar, of gold and silver, supporting Lakṣmī......shines like the peak of Himalaya. By him was made this great altar, (a task) difficult for the previous kings,......how wonderful.

LL. 8-9. Śrī Vikrantavarman, whose great glory is well-known, and whose high fame is due to the grace of the lotus-feet of the primaeval God Śrī Īśana and his (king’s) father...........by whom Lakṣmī, born in the Kailāsa mountain, was again installed on such an altar.

LL. 10 ff. Vikrantavarman, possessed of fortune and a beautiful body, established here the famous (image of Lakṣmī)¹ in the year denoted by ‘Rāma-artha-śat’ i. e. 653.

(Astronomical details follow.)

No. 22. Po-Nagar Stelae Inscription of king Satyavarman dated 706 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXVI, p. 212).

This inscription, along with five others (Nos. 29 a, 29 b, 29 c, 45, 47), is engraved on the four faces and the base of a stelae found at Po-Nagar. The language is Sanskrit.

1. कीर्ति means any work, calculated to render famous the name of its constructor (cf. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 212).
It contains five verses in 18 lines, the metre being Śārdūlavikriḍit.

It first gives a legendary account of the installation of a Mukhaliṅga, in the province of Kauṭhāra, by king Vicitra-sagara. In the year 696 (=774 A. D.) the temple was destroyed, and the treasures of the temple, together with the Liṅga, were carried away. King Satyavarman pursued the plunderers and defeated them in a naval battle, but could not recover the treasures or the Liṅga. The king then built another temple, and installed a new Mukhaliṅga, called, after the king, Śrī-Satya-Mukhaliṅga, together with an image of 'Bhagavati and Gaṇeśa' (?) in the year 706 (=784 A. D.).

TEXT.

I

II

III

IV

1. Read ओज्जुवल इ hear.
The fortunate king, who, obtaining unique sovereignty over the whole world, formerly established in this world, at Kauṭhāra, a Mukhaliṅga of Śambhu,—bright as gold and dispelling darkness from the world,—together with all articles of enjoyment, was famous by the name Vicitrāsaṅgara.

2. In the Śaka year, denoted by Kośa-nava-rtu (696), ferocious, pitiless, dark-coloured people of other cities, whose food was more horrible than that of the Vampires, and who was vicious and furious like Yama, came in ships, took away the Mukhaliṅga of the God, and set fire to the abode of the God, as the armed crowds of Daityas did in heaven.

3. Learning of this raid, king Śrī Satyavarmā (sailed) on good ships with his soldiers and other heroes (officers ?), and killed those wicked and vicious persons in the sea. But he was very much dejected to learn that the Śivamukha, together with its property, which was in their ship, was thrown into water, and that the Śivaliṅga was destroyed.

4. The king Śrī Satyavarmā, ruling over an excellent kingdom covetable to Indra, having resolved to devote himself to the worship of Śiva, was able to re-install with the pristine splendour, a Kośa (Liṅga) with a face (i. e. Śiva mukha), together with a beautiful female (Durgā ?) and an elephant (or Ganeśa, whose face was like that of an elephant ?).

TRANSLATION.

1. Read qf here.
He must be known as king Vicitrasagara, (if, as the tradition goes,) there be not a second king of that name on the earth.

5. Established in the year of the Śaka king denoted by Kośa-kha-bhūdhara (706)...............(astronomical details follow).

No. 23. Yang Tikuh Stelae Inscription of Indravarman I dated 721 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus, No. XXII, p. 207).

Yang Tikuh is the native appellation of a stelae, found near the village of Takoh, not far from the hill of Datrang in the plain of Phanrang. The inscription, engraved on two faces of the stelae, contains 37 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written partly in prose and partly in verse. There are altogether 14 verses, the metre being, vv. 1–2, Srągdharā; vv. 3–4 Śardulāvikrita; vv. 5–9 and vv. 11–14, Anuśubh; and v. 10, Vaniśastha.

The inscription records that in 709 Ś (=787 A. D.), the army of Java, coming to Champa by way of sea, destroyed the temple of Śiva known as Bhadrādhipatiśvara. King Indravarman reconstructed the temple in 721 Ś (=799 A. D.), installed an image of the god, to be henceforth worshipped under the name of Indrabhadreśvara, and made various donations.

TEXT.

(a.)

श्रोम्

I (१) यस्स्यादंकरितस्त्रस्युपवर्तितविन्ध्यारिधोधोतमोजो ।
य यस्सायाति युक्तस्य ज(२)ति जगाताश्वयमेते जन्मजुष्तः ।
तार्क्योक्तिविन्दुद्वयेद्विजवि भूमिका विनियोगक्षेत्रमभोक्ता
(3) वर्त्तः चुदारः व भूमिका यावतः साराशम्।
तथाभायतः कसुरासुरारिपुच्छिस्। करर्यायुगलसरोऽर्हे
कारावऽऽस्य तैरारणि वर्त्तः गणणांस्त्रुकुफोशिशुक्तुक्तः।
सावपदात्नध्वलतश्लापः मः श्यामः भुजनोपजीवमानविन्यासी
तत्तति पर्यन्तमत्तायानातापा।
(6) चित्रमयं सुरासुरपतिषिखरमः
लप्यद्यर्युग्धावास्यापि सुरसिद्धविधाधरगमुंक्र्यस्य
(7) रीटवर्कनक जनकशरणकसन्ध्यायमानचरणश्च श्रमित्वं
पायुगार्बविन्दुः शरयमिधिकृत् एव भगवान् श्रीमानं
वमां प्रतिश्रुतमित्वमालित्वगताऽथालमिश्रिततिरत्मः
कम्पती।

II
श्रीमान् राजेन्द्रवमां वर्जनमहितो यशोरमुखः
व्यातस्तेपथ प्रभावेम्भुग्रीव जगतो रजसे देमयुः।
व्रह्मत्वप्रधानां जगति दिवि यथा यक्षभागमेहोऽन्तः
राजे वंशप्रतितस्तत्सविदित वाती निर्मलाकाशदेवे।
स जयति विक्रमतः।
(6) भुजस्त्रपरऽहृदत्रिव धरणोऽसकलस्य
कच्च्याधिराज्यवस्तुधततितलपतितशतंकः
द्व धनऽक्रय (13) द्वारा
प्रतिहतपरांकमः। पिरिरविपिविजिताः
पुरुस्त्रुसारिपुच्छिस्य करर्यायुगः।
(14) रिवद्वाण्त्वस्तुक्तीदेशश्चातिशविक्रमस्तु
भूमिका
देवराजस्वस्द्वः पूर्वार्जनमानवार्तमबुकः।
(15) तत्ततः धनान्त्रेयान्तग्राहस्य राजस्यस्थानिलिङ्गमृदूर्तारायणवेशः
(16)
प्रमुखित्वमहतः तस्य नगरीप्रतितत्तारवस्तुवार्ताततमालकर्मवनः
शक्रिक्षमार्गोक्तितनिपुंपद्वार्तालार्ग्याः अथमः वश्चातिशस्तुरनगरीव राजधा
न्यासीत।

1. Read 'प्रतीतित्वा'।
ब्रह्मांशः प्रभूतिविभो भाग्यभावभान्ति:
शक्त्या विषुरिः प्रमथ्य च रिपूत्वमात्स्थिति पालवेत्।।

(b).

IV (१) श्रीमद्धार्थिपतिः वर्णमुखे योतस्वस्ते जात्मिकतोऽस्वात्मिकधारारसैस्थ सुनिर्देहार्पिविवाहये।
(२) पाण्डबप्रमवेथः कीर्म्यकर्पशा सातनेः च योगिको युक्तस्यर्म्यसा प्रभावविभचे संस्तूतत्ये सवेदा।।

V (३) नागभिः पश्चिमाञ्चुताखिभिःके तः समाधितः।
दुर्वितस्तेजसोऽभ्रम्य सौतः भाति महीनले।।

VI भद्रं स्वर्यं श्रवं यस्याजगतां पाति तेजसा।
भद्रस्याधिपतिः सत्सात्त्व भ्रात्तिधीपतिः यारः

इथ चिरकालेन कोशस्थानागदासवर्णस्वर्णरजस्वर्णरजादिनि परिमोक्षायुक्तस्य भुजनन्यांशित्वावर्धायुज्जेयुज्जेय सेन तेजसा सकल-जगाहिन्दकाराणसमभवन।।

ततथ दीर्घ्यमन्त्रयातिशयभचेष्व नावागतेऽवचवलस्यभ्रमिन्ती-पि नवाम्मण्डश्वगिम्बेते शक्कालेः स पव शुभ्योिवित।।

VII ब्रह्मचर्यसहस्वांशी स वमृव महीतते।
सं स्थानं दहनं गंभी द्विकरोत स्वध्य मययमा।।

इथ तस्य तद्विधिः रास्मृद्वमेधः पुनस्याविविधेः सकलकोशः
कोशारजस्वर्णमुक्तस्यत्सर्वद्वरादिपरिमोवद्यांतः पुरिवलासिनी- वस्तुसागरोमिहिद्युद्वविविधब्रह्मचर्यसत्यमेच्च तत्सम तेन द्विशंक्तमस्वादेन।।

VIII तस्यापि पारम्पर्यं लिङ्गम श्वापित हो द्रीनद्रवमेधाः।

हृदयमद्राय्यो नास्तं तत्वाभ्यूतं स पव या।।

IX तस्ववेद स्थापिततनेन द्वर्यं कोशश्चाचिं।
समुच्छर्वकोशं हि शासके शास्यमादिगे।।

X स पव राजा परिवालयन्महीं
यदा प्रजास्ताः मुद्वितास्विधिसमेचः।।

1. Read 'सत्तवेन'।
2. Read 'पूर्वः।"
Victorious in the world is He, who is the supreme energy; who is attended by the excellent Siddhas, the Rsis, the excellent gods and the chanters of hymns; from whom are born all creatures liable to birth, and to whom they (ultimately) resort; and who enjoys pleasures in infinite varieties, along with Tarakṣya, the Sun, the Moon, Indra, and the Daityas in heaven, and by means of his mighty prowess, in the earth. Supreme Yaksas as well as the mean Rakṣas are assured of happiness if they think of Him with devotion, even for a moment.

Taking protection in the pair of lotus-like feet of the God, —the honey of whose lotus-feet purifies the Asuras and their enemies; whose brilliantly white body is besmeared with ashes whiter than the waves of the milk-ocean, the foam of the celestial river, and the rays of the moon; the image of whose feet, the support of the three worlds, excites the jealousy of the stalk and roots of lotus; the holy dust of whose pair of
feet, and the holy stream of the Ganges on whose head are the crest-jewels of the chiefs of Suras and Asuras; and the nails of whose feet, wearing the crimson glow of twilight by the facets of the golden crown of the groups of gods, Siddhas, and Vidyādharas, appear like a bejewelled mirror;—His Majesty king Indravarman, whose fame for observing the law was spreading more and more every day in all directions, made this pious work in the world.

2. The king Indravarman, who is honoured by good men; who is foremost among those who regard sacrifice as their principal treasure; who is celebrated in this world on account of the efficacy of these sacrifices, as Mahendra is in heaven by obtaining only a portion of them; who, like Manu, peacefully guards the world; who is the head of the Brahma-Ksatra clan; and who is famous in his kingdom by the purity of his race, like the brilliant moon in a clear sky.

Glory to him, who like Vikrama (Viṣṇu) raised the world, as it were, by his two hands; who is like Indra, fallen to the earth for ruling over the whole of Champā; who like Dhanañjaya is of irrepressible valour, and yet, like Hari, prospered after having conquered many groups of enemies, and placed his foot in a large number of countries created by the lotus-like feet of the preceptor of the Suras and Asuras (i.e. Kāśyapa); who is like Indra in this world, by virtue of perfect austerities and constant sacrifices performed in previous births; who is like Dhanada by his liberality; and

1. The word 'मित्र' seems to have no special meaning.

2. The use of the adjective 'तर्थम' is unknown, though the noun derived from it viz. 'तर्थम्' is well-known.

3. Bergaigne translates: "who has, for ministers, only the Brāhmanās and the Ksatriyās."
whose charming body is embraced with pleasure by the Goddess of sovereignty.¹

The king who, on account of his capacity to govern better and better a country, celebrated for its towns, maintains intact the orders of castes and āgaramas, had a capital like the city of the gods.

III. This fortunate king is always victorious over his enemies in the world in all directions. In the height of his strength, he combines in himself the prowess of Čandra, Indra, Agni, Yama and Kubera;² originating partly from a Brāhmaṇa (or from a portion of Brahma), the master of immense wealth, possessed of fortune and prowess, crushing, like Viśnu, his enemies by means of his prowess, he established the proper law (in his kingdom).

IV. Śrī Bhadrādhipatiśvara, who originated from the nether world, who is celebrated in the three worlds by the fire of his own energy, and is possessed of heroism, asceticism, and the character of Yogin, is always eulogised at heart by the Gandharvvas, the Uragas, the Rāksasas, the Munis, the divine sages, and the Vidyādhāras, who have prowess as their treasure.

V. Coming out from the west of the town, worshipped in the three worlds, he shines in the world from afar, with splendour as his ornament.

1. The construction is not very happy.

2. Cf. Manu, Chap. VII, vv. 3-5. Bergaigne translates the verse in a quite different way: "He has carried a redoubtable war in the regions of Čandra, Indra, etc." Senart proposes a correction: "He took by his strength the body of Čandra, Indra, etc. i.e. he became, in some way, the master of the northern, eastern, etc. regions."
VI. He is called Bhadrādhipati-vāra, because he is the master of welfare, and maintains, by his splendour, the welfare, the health and the good of the worlds.

Now, for a long time, having enjoyed treasures, grain-stores, male and female slaves, silver, gold, jewels etc., he, the dust of whose lotus-like feet is worshipped by the three worlds, became, by his own prowess, the cause of the prosperity of the entire world.

Then owing to the excess of faults in the Kali age it (i.e. the temple, also called Bhadrādhipati-vāra) was burnt by the army of Java coming by means of ships, and became empty, in the year of the Śakas denoted by ‘nine-ambara-adri’ (709).

VII. He was in the world for many thousands of years and then had his own abode burnt by his own māya (illusion).

Then king Indravarmā re-installed it, and out of the goodness of his heart gave it treasures, grain-stores, silver, gold crown, jewel, necklace and other objects of enjoyment, together with women of the harem, male and female slaves, oxen, buffaloes, fields and other articles.

VIII. Indravarman also installed an earthen Linga of the God, which therefore came to be known as Indrabhadraśvāra.

IX. He also established, in the year of the Śakas ‘Śaśī-yama-adri’ (721), two treasures for the God, the one composed of moveable and immovable property, and the other moveable and with a mouth (priests?).

X. When this king protects the earth, his subjects are delighted at his prowess. Renowned in the world for his zeal in protecting Dharma (Law?), he always triumphed over his enemies by his own prowess.

XI. Endowed with virtue, and born in a noble family,
charitable, surrounded by heroes, and defeating the enemies by his prowess, he protects the world on all sides.

To the God, Śri Indrabhadreśvara, who is the cause of the happiness of the whole world, king Indravarma, out of devotion and in pure heart, has given the country of Śikhiśikhāgiri, comprising the two fields of Śivakṣetra and Yajña-kṣetra, and the grain-store called jaña (?)

XII. Those who protect all these goods of Indrabhadreśvara in the world, would enjoy the delights of heaven along with the gods.

XIII. Those who carry them away would fall into hell together with their family, and would suffer the sorrows of hell as long as the sun and the moon endure.

XIV. Those who, out of cupidity, rob Parameśvara of his goods, will not live long, and will never come out of the hell.

Nos. 24 a, 24 b. Glai Lamov Stelae Inscriptions of Indravarman I dated 723 Śaka.

These two inscriptions were edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXIII, p. 218).

Glai Lamov is the name of a thicket amidst the rice fields in the valley south of Phanrang. The two inscriptions are engraved on two faces of a stelae. No. 24 (a) contains 22 lines, and No. 24 (b), 23. The language is Sanskrit. No. 24 (a) contains 14 verses and a fragment in prose, the metre being, v. 1, Anuṣṭubh, v. 2, Indravajrā, vv. 3-8, and vv. 10-14, śloka, and v. 9, Šārdūlavikrīdita. No. 24 (b) has a long prose text at the beginning, then two verses (metre Vaiśnāstha), then another prose text, and lastly one verse in Śloka metre.
The inscription No. 24 (a) gives a short genealogy, comprising three names, viz. Prathivindravarman, his sister's son Satyavarman, and lastly, the brother of the latter, Indravarman. It refers to the installation of two images of Śiva, called, after the king, Indrabhogesvara and Indrabhadreshvara, and records the installation of a third, called Indraparamesvara, in the year 723 Ś. (= 801 A. D.).

No. 24 (b) records the donations made by Indravarman to the God Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa.

TEXT.

(a).

श्रोः

I नमोऽस्तु सत्वदेवे:भयाद निरुपद्रवा।
राज्यविजयो निलः ष्म भवन्तु महीनते॥

II श्रीमात्रेन्द्रः प्रतिवीन्द्रवर्मः
व्यातस्वबंशैन्गति प्रभाचेऽः।
हस्तीति लोके स मुनाक्षः भूमिः
शक्त्या च निजित्य रिपूः हि सर्ववन्॥

III चम्पाद्रश सकलं मुक्तवा स पव परं गृहः।
तस्य राज्ये सुभीतः व्याजानाद्रव्याः सन्नित च॥

IV न्यथन्तु तत्स्तरान सर्ववन् तमो भानुरिष्क प्रमुः।
शितरशिम्यथा व्योतिः तथा वंशे स शोभते॥

V अथ कालेन महत्रा शम्मोभम्मश्रवरायणात्।
कौत्यां च धर्ममेच सता रक्षलेकाममान्नुपः॥

VI तस्येव भागिनेयोऽसो श्रीमान्वीर्यतमो गृहः।
सत्यवर्मिंशि नामाश्च व्यातो लोके स्वकममभे।॥

VII सतिदुःस्मार्कवा भूमिहिंशेष्र्य विदिशास्तथा।
तस्य मात्रे बचन्त महत्ता घूर्णितात्मास सम्नतः॥

1. Read रिपूः
VIII तस्य प्रमुखत र्थातु न शको वा परो युधि।
विष्णुर्यासुरस्वाभूमिः तन्तु परार्जुः।

IX कान्योऽवर्त्ती कुसुमायुक्ते सददशङ्केः तुल्यो जये
शक्तसुर्येः यशोर्थिथ्यां तिबलवान्। देवेन्द्रपुरोपः।
मानये मानवसंगमेषु च सतां तात्योप्रभुः विभु-
भ्वांवानाज्यते प्रमथ्य च रिपुः श्रीसत्यवर्म् नृपः।

X चिरकालेन महता प्राते स निधनं गतः।
शानेन धर्मसंयुक्तो लोकमेंधरमाणुयात्।

XI तस्यानुजस्त नृपतिः धर्मम् हर्मपरोऽकावतः।
इन्द्रवम्मेति विष्णुवापत्तेस्तस्या बलवत्। भूषि।

XII स युद्धे न्यगमनु शक्रतनुः पिपे परविरहा।
समीच्च बलसंयुक्ते सूमेण्ट्र इव कुरावः।

XIII भूमि विजयते राजा वीर्यवान् यशासान्वितः।
सोऽहनन् प्रत्येकानः वज्रहस्त इच्छासुरान्।

XIV व्यरोचत महानाथो राजा शूरसम्मितः।
राज्ये हि धर्मसंयुक्तो धर्मराज इच्छावतः।

स एव राजा श्रीमान् प्रथमतरलः विन्द्रमोन्यें वीरपुरे
स्वयमेव स्थापयेत् तिथिकरणसुहर्षनजातिसंस्करणें तदन्तरा-
भिंद्रेऽविन्द्रमुषपथप्रियवचनं।

अथापि शरदः निम्नलक्ष्यं शशिराजवंशमुखृते धराधरके
तनुजकालितकोमलशारीरप्रसङ्गः तारागोदृयग्रिशिबनिशाचरेनेऽव
धर्मवनगवाचंमदेशिविनिविनवचनकमलकुरस्मिन्
भूगर्भोऽवर्त्ती कसुमायुक्ततुल्योतीनस्वमलवायुक्ते
प्रथमताक्ष्मायं परबल-स्ववलत्स्माण्यतंपरिकृतसमर्भूमिभगविनिविनविचार-चन्द्रन्वितः।

1. Read 'कठ'।
2. Read 'उल्लेखनप्रृततिस्थलवायुक्ते'।
1. Read ‘विन्दु’ (विन्दु—does not offer any suitable meaning).

2. I think this is कले विनिवेशणम् (i.e. ninth day of the right fortnight).
সম। তস্মা সকলকোষকোষাগারসান্নঃ পুরবিলাসিনীদানসতাসিগীয়া-
মহিষেন্দ্রমুখ্যক্ষরমোচনঃ হেমকটিস্যুন্ধরকালানায়কেরিরাইমওমুঘাছালী
গাদিস্বামিকর্মণ্ডলীর মন্ত্রে রাজারসিদ্ধাবচনধনাতোপনকর্মলাভকলকারশালারঃ
বাণিজ্যরোপগুপ্ত স্মৃতিরাধিকারাশাস্তাতিশয়েম্ভঃ কিংস্কলপের
চিত্তভাবেন।

I. যে রাজা পরিচর্চিত প্রশ্নে।
পরস্য ইন্দ্রনা নৃপস্য শাসনম।
হি স্তন্ত রাজঃ পরিচর্চিত স্বক্রমে।
পরোপ্যান রাজা বসুধালে ঘনম।

II. যে রাজা তু চিত্তভাবেন। নণে।
পরস্য ইন্দ্রনা নৃপস্য শাসনম।
পরোপ্যান রাজা তু বিনাশয়েপুনঃ
স স্তন্ত রাজার বসুধালে স্বক্রমে।

প্রথমতর্কন্তার্থ আগারাগারার্থ পিত্রভরস্বরূপ কোষাগারার মমকোষাগারার অবনাবিপুরকোষাগারার কুজন্তিপদেশারেক্ষণ। চৌয়িকোষাগারার লিপিগাণিতিশিখরসংগ্রাহী চিত্তভাবে। তন দ্রুতণি তস্মৈ চিত্তভাবেন।

এ কিবিতে সাধুগুণে। স্বপ্নপরিত্যাজ্যতে তন তু সর্বাঙ্গতি সংরক্ষণ
দীর্ঘায়ুয়া। ভবন্তু সমবে। কুলসন্তানেসেসবে। বসন্ত যাবধিন্দ্রজলসি
কিবিতে স্বস্থানকশতাশ্রমকেপু তাতাখিছুতাশিশোপায়। রমন্তু সমে।

এ কিবিতে পাপগুণে। নির্থিবিধ্যা। তান ক্রমপূর্বতে দ্রুতণি ভবন্তু নরকে। পুনর্তু সমুদীয় রকামসো। প্রহননত্তরাসাসাসনঃ তাবতু নরকে বসন্তু সমে।

সর্বার্থশাস্ত্রনি প্রযোজনাতায়াংস্বরাজস্বরূপিণিতাৎতাপপিণানাং
যদা আল্পনে প্রদর্শিতে ইছিয়ায় বর্ণালী হিয়ামানে জ্ঞাতনাং বর্ণাত

III.

I. পাককর্ত্তা: কৃতজ্ঞ ভূমিহরণ চ তে কথঃ।
নতকাল্য ন নিবর্ততে যাবধিন্দ্রবিধানশী।

1. Read শ্বেতঃ 2. Read না।
1. Reverence to all the gods! May the people be free from calamities, and the king always victorious in this world.

2. The fortunate king Prathivindravarmā¹, famous in the world for his family and prowess, enjoyed the lands by having conquered all his enemies by his own power, while he was in the world.

3. Having enjoyed the whole of Champā, he flourished as a great king. There were abundance of alms (i.e. means of subsistence) and various things in his kingdom.

4. The king destroyed all the thieves, as the sun dispels the darkness. He shone in his family as the moon does in the sky.

5. After a long time, on account of his devotion to Śaṅbhū, his glory, and his pursuit of good law, the king went to the world of Rudra (i.e. died and went to heaven).

6. The king called Satyavarmā, fortunate and very heroic, and renowned in the world by his own actions, was his nephew (sister's son).

7. The earth, with its mountains, trees, and oceans, as well as the directions, both cardinal and intermediary, turned round in all directions, by (the pressure of) his great power.

8. In the combat, the enemies could not stand (the ground) in his presence, but turned their face on seeing him, as the Asuras did on seeing Viṣṇu.

9. By his beauty he was like cupid in this world; by

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¹ It may be a mistake for 'पृथिवीदर्शन' or the change of form may be deliberate. Elsewhere we have 'चुम्प' for 'चुम्प'.

his victories he was comparable to Indra; by his prowess he was like Ugra (i. e. Śiva); among those who desire glory he was very strong, like the son of Indra;¹ in the assembly of men he was respected by honest persons; his appearance was terrible like that of Tārksya (Garuḍa); he, the king Satyavārma, master of sentiments (or, master of all creatures), is victorious by having churned (i. e. exterminated) all his enemies.

10. The king died without reigning for a long time, and being devoted to his duty, he secured the world of Īśvara, by virtue of his great knowledge.

11. His younger brother Indravarma became king; he was fortunate, dutiful, powerful and renowned in the world for his strength.

12. Although a king (nṛpa, lit. protector of men), he was a destroyer of enemies, heroes in combat, and accompanied by his army he attacked the enemies as soon as he saw them, as a lion attacks an elephant.

13. The powerful and renowned king triumphs in the world; he destroyed the army of the enemies as Indra destroyed that of the Asuras.

14. The king who was very wise, and surrounded by heroes, flourished greatly. Faithful to law in his kingdom, he was like Dharmarāja (Yama or Yudhiṣṭhira).

The fortunate king himself at first installed Indrabhogēśvara at Virapura after having selected the tithi, Karana, muhūrtta, nakṣatra, divas and lagna. (15) Then he installed Indrabhadreśvara.

1. Bergaigne takes 'शकुनिप्रेण' as an ordinary adjective, and translates: among those who desire the glory he was like Indra, terrible by his power of vanquishing. In 'पशोथिनेन' we have the fourth case ending instead of the seventh.
He, who is born in the family of the spotless moon of autumn,—whose body is delicate and beautiful like that of Cupid,—who appears like the moon in the midst of the stars at the summit of the mountain Udayagiri, when he shows his face, fair as a lotus bud, from the window of his magnificent palace,—whose hands and breast have been made white by the application of an abundance of perfumed sandal and musk,—who is habituated to noble actions as indicated by signs of royalty fostered by his magnificent good fortune,—whose terrible majesty (is manifest when) his heart remains unmoved in the vast battle-field thoroughly shaken by the noise arising from the striking of the bowstrings of his own and his enemies' armies,—he, king Indravarma installed in the excellent house of Satyavarma, the God Indra Parasvara, the cause of the prosperity of the whole world,—in a pure mind, and after having given riches, by sincere efforts, to all the Munis, ascetics, and learned Brāhmaṇas of lofty thoughts and inclinations, in the year of the Śakas denoted by ‘loka-yama-parvata’ (723) (astronomical details follow). May this endure as long as the earth, the mountains, the great oceans, and the sky.

Victorious is He,—who even having performed various feats of prowess in destroying the three cities of the great Asuras, has the body (of an ascetic), white with ashes, and purified by means of miracles, ṣrama, japa, hvināra, etc.;—who is illumined by the three eyes which glow like many beautiful flickering sparks of fire, and shine like lightning

1. The son of ‘विनायक’ i. e. Viṣṇu.
2. Bhoga here stands for घामोघ.
3. The underlying idea is that asceticism ill suits a ferocity described above, hence the virodha, i. e. contradiction.
traversing the sky;—who illumines the whole universe, and shines, being situated in a deep cavern on the summit of the Himalaya mountain which is covered with abundance of gold, silver, trees and creepers;—the disc of whose feet is anointed by the rays of the jewels of the crowns at the head of the Siddhas, Čāraṇās, Hari, Kārttika, Indra, and other gods prostrate before him;—the lower part of whose feet, soft as the stalk and root of the lotus, is dyed with the pollen of the red¹ Bandhujīva flowers scattered on the ground, while his matted hair is washed by the fall of the deep waters of the Ganga descending from heaven;—who burnt the body of Kāma who was very proud; whose two feet, like two lotuses, cause purification to the multitude of gods, Asuras, Munis, Siddhas, Yaksas, Gandharvvas, Kinnaras, and beautiful Apsaras;—who is destroyer of the Asuras blinded by the pride of their excessive strength;—who is the greatest God (Maheśvara), and the cause of the origin, maintenance and destruction of the world.

Again, Nārāyaṇa is also capable of protecting the whole world. His four arms—the pillars of the world—are served by the serpent king with infinite hood, whose fathomless bed is formed by the deep of the ocean of milk beneath its mighty waves, while homage is paid to his lotus-feet by the gods, Asuras and Munis, as he held aloft the mount Govardhana; he destroyed Madhu, Kañsa, the Asura, Keśi, Cānūra, Arīṣṭa and Pralamba, while the nail of his feet, dyed crimson (lit. made to appear like evening) by the blood of Madhukaitabha, appeared like a jewelled mirror.

These two gods are united in one image which is therefore called Gōl Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, one part of whose august

1. There may be a pun on the word ‘रक्ष’—meaning blood (of the victims sacrificed before Śiva.)
body appears to be made of gold on account of the excellent gold ornaments. May the grace of the God fall upon His Majesty king Indravarnā. May the God grant him all kinds of wealth and enjoyments and fulfil all desires of the king both in this world and in the next.

The fortunate king Indravarnā, who always thinks of the work of the great God, and is like the king of gods, has given Him all the treasures, grain-stores, together with women of the harem, male and female slaves, oxen, buffaloes, fields and other objects; golden waistband, bracelet, anklet, diadems, jewels, pearls, corals, necklaces and other ornaments; silver jug and dishes for rice, fans, umbrellas, pitchers for drinking water¹ (?), chowries, shallow earthen dishes, and other articles of enjoyment, for gaining an excess of favour from the cause of all the worlds (i.e. the God), and with a heart free from all sordid thoughts.

I. Whosoever king, himself a master, guards the donations made by other kings, he will see his own wealth in this world respected by other kings.

II. Whosoever king, on the other hand, destroys the donations made by other kings, he will see his own wealth in this world destroyed by other kings.

In the first place, the granary of Śrī, the granary of Pavitreśvara, the granary of Munauc, the two granaries of Bhuvanāgrapura, a village in the district of Klajadaṭi extending as far as the high summit of the mountain Chumlaip—all these have been given to the God by the king with a pure heart. Let the virtuous persons desiring to gain religious merit protect the above (goods) and live long in this world, and afterwards live in the heaven with generations of their race, as long as Indra resides

1. 'Kadava' is not in the dictionary,—Kada means 'giving water'.
there; may they take delight there with other great gods for millions of aeons.

Those vicious persons who, fearless of hell, rob those goods or destroy them, let their lives be of short duration, and let them fall into hell, and reside there with seven generations, as long as the sun, the moon, the planets, the constellations and the stars endure.

All these words have been said by the multitude of priests, persons having right to seats in the first rank, the Brāhmaṇas, the learned men, and the ascetics; while the chief priest was offering to the fire banyāla, ablaze as it was being licked, they uttered these imprecations.

Those who follow (the above regulations) would be of long life. It is said:

Those who destroy the ripe grains, those who are ungrateful and those who take others' lands—these three never come back from hell as long as the sun and the moon endure.

No. 25. Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Harivarman I dated 735 Śaka.

It records that in the year 735 (=813 A.D.), during the reign of king Vīra Jaya Śrī Harivarma Deva, victorious in battles, the Senāpati Pairoë living at Mani........at Panrāh again made donations to God........

J. A. 1888 (1), p. 76 No. 410


The inscription was edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No XXVIII, p. 263).
The inscription is engraved on the third face of the left door-pillar of the Po-Nagar temple to the left. It contains 31 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written in prose with two verses at the end (metre-sārdūlavikṛṣṭita).

The inscription refers to Śrī Harivarmmadēva Rājādhīrāja, lord of Champā, and to his young son Śrī Vikrāntavarman who was appointed the governor of Pāṇḍūrapāgapura and put in charge of a person who is called senāpatī, but whose proper name consists of two syllables in Cham, the last of which is not intelligible, (‘senāpatī Pāmr’). (cf. No. 25). The object of the inscription is to record the installation of a stone image of Bhagavati, and the establishment of three temples, respectively for the Liṅga of Sañḍaka, for Gañēśa, and for a God named Śrī-Maladā Kuṭhāra by Senāpati Pār (?), in the year 739 (=817 A. D.). The inscription incidentally refers to the victories of the king and the Senāpati.

Text

स्वल्पः श्रीहरिवर्ममदेिवराजाधिराजश्रीचम्पापुरपरमेश्वरो भूपतिरजीवासिक्रमो भुजगभुजोत्तमभितलधिकलिनिमहमसकुन्धरामरकः।

मार्तियार्डसौः[श्री]ईर्द्रवर्चिनितमिध्य[स्र]निच्छो नारायणमूलतिरि

वैभस्वस् तस्मात्मजो चतुरारमः पुज्याश्रीविकान्तवमांस्कःश्रीपार्श्वकः

पुराणिधिप्रक्षकः तस्य रत्तमाय महाभाष्यप्रार्थकः राजाभ्युदिति,

वेशनापतिपरसमनिधानः।

मणिधारा दूध थु (?) कजा महानामे

जनमभूभूमिभविन्नकः जनमपरकाननजनमविद्यमथेनकराजमधुमतायमान

मन्त्रिहनकरिषकरदशकः कर्मिति प्रवेधितसजनमवद्यकः मुद्यालकः

शकीपतिचरणायुगहेमायनिमद्यमुद्यहस्त्यायमान

आक्रमशार्मीकः तत्तजोसा युक्तो उदारस्मरसि हिरेर श्रुतममुन्त्।

1. Read ‘मूलिरि’ 2. Read ‘क्रीपि’
Hail, the great king, king of kings, Harivarmmadeva, king of Champa, of irrepressible prowess. His arm was the serpent that held up the circle of earth, plunged in the ocean, which was Kali; his strong arm was the sun that expelled the darkness which was the Cinas; in splendour he was like the incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.

His son, the best of Kṣatriyas, was called puñya Śrī Vikrāntavarmā. The king having given him sovereignty over Śrī Pāmūraṇa, raised to the rank of Commander-in-chief, for guarding the prince, a person named Senāpati Pāmṛ, born in the great village of D (?)kį̄jā, depending on the town of Manidhi. Like a lion ravaging the elephants in an impenetrable forest he ravaged the towns of the Kamvujas, which contained men instead of elephants. His fame, white as the rays of the moon, delighted the hearts of the honest men which were like so many lotus flowers. He was

1 Read 'संह' 2. Read 'महाभगवते'
the swan that took delight in the golden lotus which was the pair of feet of the lord of Gauri (i.e. Mahadeva) as far as the middle of Kambuja, thanks to the invincible strength of his arm.\textsuperscript{1}

An\textsuperscript{2} old image of Bhagavati in Kaouthara, famous all over the world, remained empty for a long time (i.e. the image was carried away and the temple remained empty and deserted).

Having made a new stone image of the Goddess adorned with a variety of ornaments, he again erected a temple of the Linga of Sandhaka, a temple of Sri Vinayaka, and a temple of Sri-Maladakuthara, adorned with Mandapas (Halls) and wonderful gates, in the year of the Sakaraja, denoted by 'Vivara-haraksha-adri' (739), in the month of Jyaintha, at the time of the solar eclipse, in order to secure religious merit for the whole world, and for the sake of fame in this world, and salvation in the next.

He also offered to Mahabhagavati, gold, silver, jewels, clothes of variegated colour, and other articles. He further dedicated fields in the Kaouthara country together with male and female slaves, buffaloes etc.

1. The king who resembles Yudhisthira for justice, the enemy of Kausa for heroism, and the Cupid for beauty, to (Indra?) for sovereignty,..............Bhrgu..............the first among men (?) has (appointed) Sri Senapati Pamr an excellent minister.

\textsuperscript{1} The relation of the last phrase with the preceding one is difficult to understand. Does it mean that he adored Siva, by visiting his temples as far as the middle of Kambuja?

\textsuperscript{2} It is difficult to understand the significance of the word 'हराक्षा' which immediately precedes this sentence. It may be the end of a sentence introducing this old story.
No. 27. Glai Klong Anoh Stelae Inscription of Harivarman, dated 7 XX.

The Cham inscription on the stelae of Glai Klong Anoh, a small thicket in the fields of Panrang between the villages of Ram and Pralau, refers to king Śri Harivarmadeva and his Senāpati (general) Panroe. It is dated, but only the hundredth figure ‘7’ is legible. It apparently recorded some donations to God Viṣṇu.


No. 28. Bakul Stelae Inscription, dated Ś 751.

The Sanskrit portion of the inscription was edited by Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXV, p. 237) and the Cham portion by Aymonier (J. A., 1891, part I, pp. 25ff). It was commented upon by Finot (B. E. F., vol. III, p. 633, No. V.)

According to Finot, the unpolished stelae bearing this inscription was found about 3 miles to the west of the village of Chung-my in the valley south of Phanrang. (Aymonier and Bergaigne are wrong in stating Yangkur as the place of its origin).

The inscription, engraved on a single face of a rough stelae, contains 16 lines of writing, the first seven and the last two being in Sanskrit, and the rest in Cham. The Sanskrit portion, with the exception of Śri at the beginning, is written in verse, the metre being vv. 1, 2, 4, Anuṣṭubh, and v. 3. Upajāti.

The inscription, which records the donations made to God Jina and Śaṅkara (that is to say, Buddha and Śiva) by a person named Samanta, was actually composed after
the death of the donor by his son Buddhanirvāna. The
donations consisted of two monasteries, two temples, and two
pieces of land.

The Cham text gives the date 751  BCE (=829 A.D.),
records donations to God Mandara in the Parvata and God
Prāṇaṣeśvara, and refers to two fields and two monasteries,
one of the latter being called Dēvarakṣa.

TEXT.

I. (1) विक्रान्तेश्वरलोका यो तयोर्घुप्यो स नायकः।
(2) समन्त: प्रथितो नाभ्रा तत्स्थ पुरा:मिद्ध मतम्॥

II. (3) विहारी देवकुले हृि देव जिनशक्त्रयोस्तयोः।
(4) सुज्ञार्थं प्रकरुःते ताक्षति प्रगतश्चुपाम्॥

III. (5) हुमाजवेश्वरशितस्तु पातः।
चेतन्तु खार्यः दशशमस्ताहः।
(6) परत्र भूरिच्छयि भोगमार्यं
प्रादाज्जितायेव मन्वश्चमेन।

VI. (7) समन्तपुत्रस्थाब्दः उद्धनिव्यागस्मानः।
काव्यस्य करणांश्च बार्ये भूनले नृशाम॥

TRANSLATION.

(1) This is the meritorious act of the leader who is famous
by the name of Samanta, and who is under the protection
of the two, viz. Vikrānta and Īśvaraloka. 2

1. Read “दशमस्ताङ्क”.

2. The first line of the first stanza is obscure, and the trans-
literation is merely conjectural. Bergaigne and Barth take the word
‘loka’ in the sense of ‘world’. The former takes it to mean that
Samanta was the guardian of the two worlds of Vikrānta (Buddha)
and Śaṅkara (śiva). The latter says that Samanta was the minister
of a king called Vikrāntavarman in this world, and occupies
the same post in heaven now that both of them were dead, Vikrānta-
varman called Vikrāntavarman after his death.
(2) Two temples and two monasteries for Jina¹ and Śaṅkara were made by him who has reached the state of bliss (i.e. gone to heaven) for the welfare of his kinsmen.

(3) Pāṭpluḥ added to (?) Humātavov (?), the field called Khāri in the neighbourhood of Daśamastaka. He desired moreover noble enjoyments in the other world..........these he has given to Jina alone, in the sincerity of his heart.

(4) The son of Samanta, Sthavira Buddhānirvāṇa, composed this poem for the instruction of men of this world.

Nos. 29 A, 29 B, 29 C.
Po Nagar Stelae Inscriptions of Vikrāntavarmā II.

For localities, publications etc. cf No 22. No. 29 A contains two verses (one Anuṣṭubh, one Indra- vajrā ), then a prose fragment, then four verses ( one Upaṭjī, one Vasantatilakā and two Anuṣṭubh ), then another prose fragment, and lastly one verse in Vasantatilakā.—Total 22 lines.

No. 29 B contains one line in prose.

No. 29 C contains 5 lines in prose.

No. 29 A briefly recites the events recorded in No. 22, and records the erection of a new temple and the installation therein of an image of Śiva, called Mahādeva, by king Vikrāntavarmā. It also records donations made by king Satyavarman to his temple referred to in No. 22.

Nos. 29 B and 29 C. record donations made by king

1. Jina may denote either the Buddha or Mahāvīra. Here it probably denotes the former. Vikrānta ( Simha ) also refers to him ( cf. Śākyasimha ).
Vikrāntavarman to the Gods Śrī Mahādeva and Śrī Satyamukhaliṅga.

TEXT.

29 (A)

I. 

II. 

II. 

III. 

IV. 

V. 

V. 

V. 

V.
Formerly a Mukhaliṅga was made by Vicitra. Satyavarman installed it under the name of Satyamukhaliṅga.

2. Śrī Satyavarman, who has unflinching truth as his armour, and the fame of whose divine nature has spread in
all directions, has established a Śrimukhaliṅgakoṣa of bright appearance, with purity caused by honest qualities and work.

In the year 5911 of the Dvāparayuga, free from the stains of Kaliyuga, Śri Vicitrasagāra established the God Śri Mukhaliṅga. All articles of his enjoyment viz; grain-store, silver, jewels, gold, pitchers for drinking water, vase, white umbrella with golden rod, fly-whisk, golden vase, and other things were gradually increased. Then owing to the defects of the Kaliyuga existing for a long time, multitudes of vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships, carried away the images, articles of enjoyment, and the ornaments, and the temple became empty. Again to-day, in order that the glory of this pious work may not be destroyed, king Satyavarman, like an incarnation of Vicitrasagāra, re-installed, as before, the Mukhaliṅga of the lord of Bhagavati on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra.

III. The Goddess of Kauṭhāra, possessed of a body sparkling in beauty, on account of an excellent coating of gold, with her face glowing with splendour and beauty like a lotus, and cheeks aglow with rays of jewels, grants all the desires of those who bow down to her.

IV. She, the venerable Goddess, the beauty of whose golden hair is made brilliant by the jewels on her head; who lives close to the sea of Kauṭhāra, whose long ears are adorned with spotless jewels of splendid rays, shines in the three worlds.

V. The sister of this king, who is moon (i.e. foremost) among those who have prowess as their armours, had a son who was the fortunate king called Vikrāntavarman, famous in the world by his own majesty.
VI. The king established the Mahādeva together with Kōśa and riches (astronomical details follow).

Śrī Satyavarman gave to that Lord of Bhagavati, the granary of Vamdhāra, the granary of ētvā and the granary of Nūrāi with a large number of females.

VII. Those men who protect the goods of the Lord of the Goddess enjoy the wished for pleasures in heaven, being engaged in sports with the multitude of gods and the guardians of the world; but those, who, worst among mankind, carry away those goods, fall into the Avīci (hell) together with their ancestors.

29 (B)

The dṛama Adairā, the dṛama Kumāra, the dṛama Duroṭāk, the granary of Vnārā in the district of Paunārhag,—all these Śrī Vikṛāntavarman has given, with a sincere heart, to Śrī Mahādevēśvara.

29 (C)

Śrī Vikṛāntavarman has also given a diadem, and a dam over the drain, for the God Śrī Satyamukhaliṅga, as well as a silver cover for the pedestal of Mahādeva.

No. 30

Po-Nagar Stelae Inscription of Vikrāntavarman II, dated Ś 776.

The inscription was edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXIV. p. 231) and noticed by Aymonier (J. A. 1891, Part I, p. 24.)

Po-Nagar is the name given to a stelae found near Panrang and must not be confounded with the celebrated temple of
that name at Nha-Trang in Khanh-Hoa. The inscription engraved on a single face of the stelae is composed in Sanskrit, and contains 17 lines of writing. There are two verses at the beginning and two more at the end, the middle portion being written in prose. The Metres are:-v.1 Śārdula-vikriḍita, v. 2 Indravajrā, and vv. 3-4 Anuṣṭubh.

The inscription records that in the year 776 (= 854 A.D.) the king Vikrāntavarman granted some lands to two temples of the God Śiva worshipped respectively under the names of Vikrantarudresvara and Vikrānta-devādhībhavēsvara.

**TEXT.**

I. श्री गङ्गा — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — सा
    चन्द्राणस्य द्विपुरे स — — — — — — सा
    रा — नारि रा रा ना — — — — — — — — —
    — द्वाराय — — — पुनरिमा विका (न्तरद्रेष्वरः॥)

II. (विका)न्तव्यम हि नराधिपश्चापी
    ययो मूल्यमान शक इथा — — — —
    — — — — —— विधिमद्व विशालं
    विकान्तरुद्राय स पव द्वाराय ॥
    स पव राजा श्रीविकान्तचम्बर्म्यंद्वसंकलपिहराय-हरिषाद्रिसेरुवरुण्यं मुक्कावलीलम्बहारक...सन्त्युगमाद्व्यववस्यात्मकोवः
    सन्त्योरितो ज्वलितादिक्षताकनक...र्या पाल्लमार्गस्यकीर्तिष्याकर्ण्याहः
    कुणालहरितमूर्तिसमुपशोभितो एकपरजननेत्राय-ग्राहांपुरोहिताग्रासनत्रान्यनरपति-

1. Read 'परिजन'
of the portion of the moon..............

Again, he Vikrantavarmadeva, who was adorned with golden ornaments (?) containing pearls and lapislazuli which shone like full moon; who was under the shade of a white umbrella which covered all the points of the direction ( i.e. all horizon ) because its profundity was greater than that of the sea; whose whole body was decorated with diadem, waistband, necklace, and ear-rings, made of gold, ruby and other jewels, and shining like lightning; whose feet, comparable to lotus, were worshipped by a host of retinue and multitude of Brāhmaṇas, priests, persons having right to seats in the first rank, Kṣatriyas and other kings.............; by the inaudible end of the syllable Om....... who is of pure birth; -( he, the king ) gave, in the
year of the Śaka king 'Kośa'-aga-muni' (776), for performing sacrifices to Śiva (i.e. Śiva) and for the sake of great glory in heaven and earth, a long and excellent field, now made the field of Śiva, to Śrī Vikrāntarudrēśvara—who is the cause of the prosperity of the whole world, who is the preceptor of the three worlds, and who puts an end to the agonies of sorrow. Subsequently he gave to Śrī-Vikrāntadevādhībhaveśvara a field called Śrideva, lying close by, as a meritorious gift, for the sake of glory in the two worlds.

III. Those who protect this famous Rudraksetra (field of Rudra) for the lord of the ascetics (i.e. Śiva) would go to heaven; those who destroy would fall into damned hell.

IV. This great field of Rudra, full of Vṛḷas and Kīrāṭas has been given by the fortunate Vikrāntavarman.

No 31.

Dong Duong Stelae Inscription of Indravarman II, dated Ś 797.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 84.)

The ruins of Dong-Duong are situated about 12 or 13 miles to the south-east of My-son in the province of Quang-Nam, the ancient Amarāvati (for full details of the ruins and the position of the inscription, cf. Parmentier's account in B. E. F., Vol. III, p. 80)

The inscription is engraved on the four faces of a stelae containing respectively 24, 24, 23 and 31 lines. The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the benedictory formula at the beginning and two prose pieces at the end of the second and the fourth face, the inscription is written in verse. The metres are:
A. vv. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, Sragdhara ; vv. 8, 12, 13, Šārdūlavikrīḍita; vv. 15, 17, 23, Indravajrā; vv. 18-21 Āryā; v. 14. Mālinī; v. 16, Upajāti; v. 22, Anuṣṭubh.

B. v. 2, Prthvi ; vv. 3, 4, Anuṣṭubh; vv. 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, Šārdūlavikrīḍita ; vv. 12, 15, Sragdhara; v. 7, Mālinī ; v. 11, Indravajrā; v. 14, Āryā ; v. 9; Vasantatilakā.

C. vv. 1-3, 5, 6. Anuṣṭubh ; v. 4, Šārdūlavikrīḍita ; vv. 7-9, Upajāti.

D. vv. 1-3, Anuṣṭubh.

The Inscription records the foundation of a Buddhist temple and a monastery dedicated to Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara by king Jaya Indravarman in 797 Śaka (875 A. D.), and gives the following genealogy of the king.

Parameśvara.

:Urōja.

:Uṛāmārāja.

:King Śri Rudravarmā.

:King Bhadravarmā.

:Indravarmā.

TEXT.

A

श्री लक्ष्मीन्द्र लोकेश्वराय (नमः)

I. (१) ..............प्रियं परदनानि वाक्याद्वते स्वयं यदि जीवितं न खलु द्रष्टि...धरः

II. (२) त  (त) उत्तमपि खुर(घर)स्वर्यत्वलगन्धस्वर्देत्वैः
III–V. (3) भद्रेश्वर .................................................................
(4) रचनने बुद्धि .................................................................
(5) .................................................................................

VI. स भी भद्रेश्वरोऽभ्यो प्रतिहरत इत ........................................

(६) श्रिवद्यानाति शम्भु: कथमापि मनसा तां विशेषान।
त्वया भो:

VII. ...........................................स्थापितं लिङ्गमें-
च्छोपिमाद्वेश्वरस्य.........................................................

VIII. (५) स्वर्गस्थाननिजिनिविक्रमीनिनिचयास्वर्गास्थिता

(६) श्रीभद्रेश्वरपादयोरवनताश्रीमन्त पवनथा ॥

IX. सर्वं देवन्त्र — — स्वविषयविनानपतं दुरासाधिलोक

(१०) सन्तानं आयुभावति स्वयमवव सहस्त्रं पुनर्गाति लोकं

X. सन्तानं सर्वंदेववा सुखविक्रमसा लक्ष्यव्यक्तं — — स्मायाँ
साक्षित्योऽवध शम्भुस्वर्गार्मणपत्तन: प्रेयतोरोज एव।
स तव श्रीमानुराजसकुटतरसुष्याः श्रीनिधिहमाष्ट्र याहि
प्राञ्जल राज्यक्ष = — — (१२) गुरुवर्षराजशम्भुभद्रेश्वरस्य ॥

XI. राज्यं स प्रासवांश्चप्रतिहरत इंद्रः लिङ्गमीश्यस्य कार्यं
लोकं स्थापितन्ते सकलनृपतिधिशिर्येनामं शिरोमिन्:
पवो(१२)रोजः प्रतिष्ठे स्वयमिन्द्र कथयन स्वात्मन् कीर्तिमेताम्
दिक्ष्रेष्ठं स्वाच्छ लिङ्गः गुपकरवादू भूतुपस्वस्ववदीति।

XII. 
मोक्षे लिङ्गुर्दरितन्त्वद्विशेषयशेषात् पुरा (१४) यदू भूगः
तस्माच्चयैः स्वरूपास्त्र एव तदित्वं लेमे जगशीयते।
चम्पायां सततः अगाधितकर्म लिङ्गः प्रतिष्ठापितम्
तेनोर प्रभुना त्यम् हितालकेनस्यायेव साधित्येवेत्।

XIII. (१५) स्वर्गस्थः परमेश्वरात् च वरं देवा न मोक्षे च्यूः
तेनोपरादिरेषु सुप्रसिद्धभन्ताश्चल्लाभिक्रियानाशतः
लोकस्थाश्च सुरा नुपा भगवतो भद्रेश्वरातु ज्ञितात्।

(१६) तस्मात् प्रभवितं ने सुरन्तुणाश्रीवेदः मनाश्चतः

XIV. 
स्तुतितिलयनिधिनादृशीतिरोऽर्ततीतं
सत्वनामभिमताय भक्तः स्यात् सुरीनाम।
जनयते नृपतियां संपदद् न (१७) स्य तस्मै
जगत्व द्रह नमो भूजुभुभुमदेश्वराय।

XV. 
यस्तयमभावातानेश्यात सुनेश—
वेभुत्वमाण्योति यशोमिरेश।
तस्मै स्तुतियम्मेभवतु स्वभक्तया
श्री शमुभुभुद्रेश्वराय।

XVI. 
बिराजतो देवगणोर्वेकः—
श्री शमुभुभुद्रेश्वर एव पृजत्य।
चम्पापुरीं द्रष्टितार्जुने मार्गः
मपालयं पावनसारमृत्त।

XVII. 
ये तेषो चापाद (१८)दिरेष्ठ राज्यं
चम्पापुरे सन्तानिरास्तिः
श्रीमतुरोज्जस्य सुशासनाच्छ
भद्रेश्वरे ते प्रथिता: पृथिव्याम्।

XVIII. 
परमेश्वरसन्ततानाथात उरोजौ धर्मापति (२०)द्येः
स्त्राजान्तःश्रीमाण्यकीमनेशानाम धर्मेणराजेति।
XIX. तस्माद राजा श्रीधिश्रीकुंवरम्मनामा यः।
तस्म चुतः व्यात्तशासः श्रीसहितो भद्रवरमोतिषु॥

XX. (२१) श्री इद्दवरम्मविदितस्युपसुरश्रीभद्रवरम्मवत्सस्य ॥
माहेश्वरप्रभावाच्छम्पानगरे नूपयो भवति॥

XXI. तेघस्वतानाभ्यो राज्यं जातं नृपस्य संपूर्णं ॥
न पितामहे(२२) न दृशं पिर्भा च तथा न दसनं॥

XXII तपःविशेषपार्श्व पुरवद्विद्विरकमात् ॥
.............मो नृपः प्रासो न पितुनन्दु पिताम्हात्॥

XXIII. संप्रासवान्त राज्यमि(२३)द्वरतेन्द्रो ॥
भद्रेश्वरादू यश्च तदद्वरम्मः ॥
पदवं ह्रस्वस्य विशे श — — ॥
— — श्च श्च श्च श्च श्च श्च॥
.........स्वामी जाननीभूमि (२४) प्रसादच ॥(२५) ...सम॥

B.

I. (१)......(२)........बुधवा........तु स्थापितवान्तं हृदयुपानि:॥

II. ताते मलयवासिने भगवते जगत्मुखः ॥
नुश्राश्च — — — — — — — — — — ॥
— — (३) तकोशोरुपमधिकं सुवर्णार्णान्यं ॥
प्रतिष्ठितमर्गं नूपेन कृतना च तस्मे पुनः॥

III. हृदयेव राजस्वतानात् समासाद् मया कृतम् ॥
शाम्भुसिद्धं य.............(४) यलेन चेतसा॥

IV. हि महां परम्य लोके बुधस्वतानां वर्मवन: ॥
अहं लोकेश्वरं कतृं जगातां त्यं विभुजः॥

V. के देवा: कहानात्मकाः पृथुदिया च(५)शेषु सत्वेषु च ॥
लोकेस्तस्तत्तं हर्यातिमतिमाक्षात्मत्यं त्वैस्योऽभवत् ॥
पदवं यो नृपतिविविचिन्य हृदयर्ध्मेष्य जिग्नात्या ॥
लोकेशं परमार्थतवविशा(६)दृढ हस्तेन सोऽवाकरत्व॥
VI. पूज्य भूमिरियं प्रकाशकसत्ता शोभन्यं पूर्णं चिर- 
न्तस्यं ये मनुजा महादिध्यानेन जाताः कुलेश्वरामाः।
लघ्वा तेन नूनं क (१) विश्व धर्मस्तन्त्रस्याय्व राजाभव- 
स्यकस्यं पृथिवीदेवमेविनितो देवन्द्रकल्यं जितिः॥

VII. कविदिपि चलिभिजो दशमो विष्णुजभवं
कविदिपि भुजगेन्द्रशान्दलश्च (२) काविदू वा इं
कविधिरिचिचन्द्रो पम्पतिधिक्रियः
कविद्रमये विमवस्त्रस्तरमोचादू शम्भव॥

VIII. दुःखेनाभिधत्ता नराश्च नरके कैथितं तथा नारका
रावी (४) वा च दिवा तदा च सततं काळकान्ति ते दुःखमू।
तर्प्याभिंशं परा दिवाकरस्य ध्रुवेमे उलं शीतलं
ये ते द्रुप्यमनेकतुः कविहतं वैन्दन्ति भूमीं यथा॥

IX. (१०) न्तजन्मतिरुक्त्रियुविशिष्टो
राजा महाजनवरेण नमस्मनं
चम्पापुरीमभिमितामभिलाभः पातु-
न्त्वामु रत्नातु तिह तमेव चिरं सदा धरी।॥

X. (११) यावजू धर्ममनेर्वन रक्षति दिवं देवेन्द्र पुराणः
या याचाचारुमुनिविवज्ञानि सारितं गाम्भीर्यं तथा धारयन।
यावजू वा याददशरो शाश्वतजीविको ताराग (२) गास्तोपि वा
तावजू बुद्ध पुरूरं पदव्यं नवतु श्रीधीरराजा सदा।॥

XI. लध्मान्द्रभूमीश्वरविश्रुतो यो
प्रामोपि नास्तां भ्रिदरोगमूजाः।
सन्नविषः(१.३)तो भूपतिना च पुर्वं
पश्चात् कर्माद्रेतु: स्तुतितं प्रतितात्॥

XII. मर्यादामेंद्रियापि शूचिवचनस्य तेन दुःखाविविशा
नात्यावस्तुप्रव(१४)नेत्रश्वरण्मुणगात्मश्त्रावापि मिवास्तुः।
लोकेश्वरंथापितोपीवर्गुणानिपुरोऽविश्वयो नायकाय्यः

1. Read निम्नगो।
As it stands, the text offers no suitable meaning but I propose the following emendation:—

Even enemies who had transgressed the boundaries are not forsaken by that good leader but become dear unto him when, repentant for their action they seek his protection with flattering words. Although he consecrated the image of Lokesa, eminent in all the attributes of God, he felt no pride in his work. Docile as he was, he did not practise the faulty doctrine, if any, recorded in scriptures.
रनि तथापि पप्प...न...श्री अवलोकि(२२)तेश्वर...अ(१)
इन्द्र(२)वर्मेन(३)व...निधिरसि(२४)...(२५)ञ्जुङ्जुमु
सुचर्यणं...।

C.

I. (१)......(१)ममांश विहारस्थापितो(२)......।
(रा)झो न त्वादरादानसु मिझुस्त्र(३) प्रयोजनम्॥

II. परिमोगाणि सन्त्वाणि वि(४)हारे स्थापितानि मे।
मिझुस्त्रप(५)भोगां सत्वानावं प्रयोजनम्॥

III. (६)त राजः परिमोगाणि नाकरादानसन्त(७)ति:।
मिझुस्त्रपभोगाणि विहा(५)स्थापितस्तवः॥

IV. मिझुस्त्रह धन(६)नि तानि सकलालस्वभव्य रवतंति ये
(१०)विहारस्थापितानितितितितिरुहाः(११)धो भुक्तः।
बौद्ध भौतिङ्ग स(१२)मिझुस्त्रसां सच् च वान्धव्येः
(१३)गुहानिति न नाशयहिं नरकं रोदः पतत्नू(१४)स्वयम्॥

V. शुग्ध जानन्ति पश्यन्ति तदुद्वच(१५)न्त्य हर्तन्ति ये।
निवेदयन्ति राज्ये न स(१६)कें ते नरकं यथु:॥

VI. निवेदयन्ति(१७)राज्ये च सव्वें ते च पुन: पुनः।
वा(१८)पाचः भवेन्त्रसह पिता वा नरः के प(१५)तन्तु न॥

VII. हर्तति सन्त्वाणि धनानि(२०)तानि
ये त्वारि याय सुपा(२१)द्रिजा वा।
सव्वें च तेन नरःस्मे(२२)व दुःखः
माह्या च पिता च पत(२३)न्तु नित्यम्॥

VIII. रवतंति ते तानि ध(२३)तानि सव्वें
सव्वेंमोगा(२)य ममापि वाचा।
चतुर्म सुख(२६)वर्णेन जस्तवच कहसं
दात्तादिव्यसु(२७)कृःदप्रवं समायुः॥

IX. त्यक्तव(२८)वचो में च हर्तति कौन्तितु
(न) प(१) (२६)द्यो विप्रधःनेश्वराः॥
अश्व(१) (३०)समीयुन्नरथयान समस्तानु
पिता(३१)च मात्रा च सव्वेन्त्रस्तवः॥
I. (१)…लाय केतर असो केत गमू (२) याद्वेष्ठमू तथेव'।
   चौल अपणः (३)सलाबः केतर सद्मान्दिः धन्यक्रयं॥

II. (४)दरभु (४)ल्युर्चन्द्राङ्गः केतर दुन्दान तः (५) (४) वन्देः तथा
   दोकमिल च (६)पताकः केतर राजाल चेत्रमतो (७) सिंवः॥

III. तन्द्राङ तन्द्राल बुश कष्टा केतर (८) समानिः च अच्छं तथा
   चेत्राः (९) यथेतानि सतवाणि ठोकेराय नूपो अदुत्॥

अपि च यस्मी (११) दृवम्मां चेत्राणि सतान्यानि (२१)सान्
   सर्जनबुधकङ्कस्तोह (१२) तास्राणी दृवम्मां श्री-
   लच्छिन्दरस्तोह (१२) केशवराय मिलुसहस्रिःगमा (१५) य
   धर्मसंततितिपुरुसारम्ब (१६) तत्तारिति॥ ये राजानः चत्रिय
   ……. (१७) बाह्यणा बामाया वा ……(२८) या बनितो वा हर्नित
   नाश्यानि दर्मित वा ते सवः महाराणवं ग (२०) चछुन्तु॥
   पुनर्पि ते रहनित परि (२१) पालणि श्रीविव्विन्ति सवः
   स्व (२२) मर्गुङ्ग मोक्षपुरवच यथेत्रशं (२३) चछुन्तु भवत्तसल्ल्यं॥

TRANSLATION.

A.

Reverence to Laksmindra-Lokesvara.

1. ...Longs for other’s wealth........

2. ...By the gods, Yaksas, Gandharvvas and Daityas...

3–5. Bhadresvara......Bhṛgu was sent.

6. He, another Bhadresvara......Śambhu always knows, in his mind……

7. This linga of Bhadresvara was installed.

8. As the gods who dwell in heaven, and whose profound intelligence has been purified by residence in heaven, take shelter to his feet, out of devotion, for obtaining salvation, even so the kings, the gods dwelling upon the earth, bow down to the feet of Bhadresvara, and thereby become prosperous.
9. All the excellent gods, devoted to their own work, having obtained thy world which is difficult to gain, excellent and incomparable, . . . . obtain progeny and then suddenly go back to their own world. Śambhu knows this and says thus in laughter, to the grand Uroja.

10. "All the gods, possessed of a gracious heart, have obtained children." Having made this reflection, Śambhu, with smiling face and eyes, sent Uroja (with the following words: ) 'Thou art fortunate Uroja, and a receptacle of prosperity; thy fame, too, is more widely spread; go thou to the earth, and take the kingdom along with the dust of the feet of your lord, Śambhubhadraśvara.'

11. He obtained the kingdom, and this liṅga, the work of Ṭr̥ṣa the irrepressible and fit to be placed on the heads by all the kings, was installed in the world. And Uroja himself thus announced its glory, saying: "Let this liṅga be the best that shines in the three worlds (bhu, bhur and sva) for doing good to the world.

12. The liṅga of Adhīśa, the well-known means of deliverance (of the world), which Bhṛgu got from Ṭr̥ṣa, was again obtained from Bhṛgu by Uroja. (By this) the world is directed. May this liṅga, established at Champā by your Lordship O Ura, and always doing good to the world, be also beneficial to me by (the merits of) honest persons.¹

13. The gods in heaven did not obtain any boon from Parameśvara, (as) the deliverance, i. e. the liṅga, the symbol of deliverance, had fallen to the earth below. Hence the gods, injured by the Asuras, were bereft of their pride. But

¹. The idea probably is 'that honest persons would give to the author of the poem a share of the merit which they would obtain by worshipping the Liṅga.
the gods below, *viz.*, the kings, are prosperous in the world on account of the god Bhadresvara. Hence while the gods were not powerful, the prosperity of the kings is on the increase.

14. May this pious hymn, surpassing a mass of glory, be agreeable to the Munis (ascetics) who are the abode of hymns of praises (*i.e.* who are skilful in composing hymns of praises). May this increase the prosperity of the kings. Let the world bow to Śambhubhadreśvara.

15. He who has obtained the position of the head of the gods by means of his extra-ordinary power and fame, who is called Śambhubhadreśvara, to him I address this hymn out of devotion.

16. Śambhubhadreśvara, shining in the company of a number of gods, is alone fit to be worshipped. He, the very quintessence of purification, protected the city of Champā where all the religions were prevalent.

17. All the kings who have reigned in prosperous Champā, have become famous in the world, as Bhadreśvara there forms the essence of perpetuity and sovereignty, and also on account of the good rule of Uroja.

18. From the son (*or family*) of Paramesvara was born Uroja, the king of the world. From him was born the fortunate and intelligent Dharmarāja.

19. From him was born the intelligent king Śri Rudravarmā. The son of the latter was the far-famed king Śri Bhadravarmā.

20. The son of Śri Bhadravarmā, known as Śri Indravarman has become the king of Champā through the grace of Maheśvara.

21. Thus the sovereignty of the king was transmitted in its entirety from those kings (*lit. sons*). It was not given by the grandfather or the father.
22. By the special merit of his austerities, and by virtue of his pure intelligence, he gained (the kingdom), not from his grandfather or father.

23. It is from Bhadreshvara that Indravarmman got the sovereignty......for thus......Uroja......lord (through) the grace of mother earth.

B.

1. By the intelligence......king Hari installed it.

2. To the august god, who dwells in Malaya, and causes the deliverance of the world......of the men......(a linga) in the form of a Kośa with golden face, was promptly established again by the sage king.

3. Thus this linga of Śambhu has come down through a line of kings and carefully made by me...........

4. And in making (i.e. establishing) this supreme and eminent Lokesvara, born from a succession of Buddhas, I shall contribute to the deliverance of (the beings of) the world.

5. “Who are the gods, the essence of whose soul is pity, and whose intelligence is wide awake in saving creatures? Lokeśa was always full of kindness and his patience was incomparable.” Desiring to learn what Dharma is, the king thought thus in his heart, and being skilful in finding out the essence of supreme truth, he made this Lokeśa by his own hand.

6. Formerly this land was wide and excellent, and for a long time adorned with beauty.¹ The men there who were very rich, excellent, and born in good family had no king²,

1. ‘Śobha’ for śobhā is an unusual form, but cf. ‘Cesta’ for ‘Cestā’.

2. Here the finite and infinite verbs have different nominatives against the rule of grammar.
and (therefore) some rich man made himself king in some locality; but thou, known as Prthivindravarmman, were the unique king of the world, almost equal to Indra.

7. In some places Indra, Brahma, and Visnu,¹ in some places Vāsuki, in some places Śaṅkara, in some places ascetics (ṛṣis), Sun, Moon, Varuṇa, Agni (fire), and in some places image of Abhayada (Buddha) appeared for the deliverance of creatures.

8. Men, over-powered by sorrows, and the dwellers in hell, long to see thee, day and night; as thirsty men over-powered by sun's heat long for cool water in summer, so they, suffering from many sorrows, wish to have a view of thine.

9. May the king, whose superior mind has been purified by successive births, followed by excellent men, protect you in order to rule the whole of beloved Champā. May the Goddess of Sovereignty in her turn always protect him.

10. As long as Indra protects the heaven according to the rule of Dharma, and by virtue of sacrifice; as long as the ocean, in its profundity, holds the water of the rivers; as long as the atmosphere, decorated with stars, maintains the Sun and the Moon; so long may the pious and auspicious king bear the yoke and dignity of Buddha.

11. Equal in splendour to the gods, and named Lakṣmīndra-Bhūmīśvara-Grāma, he was first introduced by the king, and then celebrated by the hymns of the best of poets.

12. (See Text, above, on p. 80 and footnote).

13. Adorned with the riches of Fortune, without equal in respect of royal glory, knowledge, wisdom, splendour, fame, sacred learning, polity, renown, and conduct; protected by

¹ The letter ‘ja’ at the end of Brahma, Visnu and Valabhit would mean their sons, but that does not seem to be the sense.
Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, the Moon, the Sun, Venus and Saturn; the illustrious Jaya Indravarmman shines forth in wisdom.

14. The marks of fortune which are spread all over his body increase his future sovereignty and invincible prowess in the world.

15. In the year of the Śaka king, denoted by muni, nava and giri (797), (astronomical details) he, Indravarmā, by means of his own command, erected (the image of) Svabhaya-yarda i.e. Buddha.

16. Now the king Śri Jaya Indravarmmā, Mahārājādhirāja,—who became king of Champā by virtue of peculiar merits accruing from austerities of many previous births; whose fame for high intelligence obtained by divine favour spread in all directions and in the sky; whose fame is unparalleled; whose only possession is fame; whose fortune has increased the satisfaction of whose heart and beautified the eyes and face;—became Śri Lakṣmīndra-Grāmasvāmi and the best of all the teachers in the world. Again........Śri Avalokiteśvara......Śri Indravarmmadeva......two......gold.

C.

1. For the sake of Dharma, and not for revenue, a monastery has been founded for the community of monks (').

2. I have placed all necessaries in the monastery for the enjoyment of the community of monks as well as other creatures.

3. This monastery has been founded for the perpetual enjoyment of the community of monks, and not for the enjoyment of the king, nor as a permanent source of revenue.

4. Those who will protect all these riches of the monks—the learned Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, relations of the king—will,
with their friends and kindreds, attain the Buddhist Nirvāṇa to which there is no parallel. Those who take or destroy (the riches) go to the hell called ‘Rudra’.

5. Those who see or hear about persons taking away those goods, and yet do not report to the king, go to the hell.

6. Those who, again and again, report to the king, do not fall into the hell with their father and other relations.

7. Those who take away those goods—Kṣatriyas, kings or Brāhmaṇas—fall every day into the doleful hell along with their father and mother.

8. Those who, out of regard for my words, or for the enjoyment of the community of monks, protect the goods—fields, gold, silver and bell-metal—reach the abode of Buddha with servants etc.

9. Those who take away (the goods), disregarding my words,—kings, Brāhmaṇas, and wealthy men—go to all the eight hells with their father, mother and other relations.

D.

(1-3) (Enumeration of fields) All these fields the king has given to Lokesā.

Now the king Śrī Indravarmanā has given these fields together with their corns, male and female slaves and other goods, such as gold, silver, bell-metal, iron, copper etc. to Lokesvara, for the enjoyment of the community of monks and for the sake of the propagation of Dharma. Those kings, Kṣatriyas.....Brāhmaṇas, ministers.....merchants who take away or destroy (these), they should go to (the hell called) Mahāraurava. Again, those who protect, maintain, and discover (what others have taken away), would go to heaven or attain Nirvāṇa as they like.
No. 32.

Bo-Mang Stelae Inscription of Indravarman II
dated 811 Śaka.

The Inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F. Vol. XI, p. 269).

This inscription, together with No. 34, was engraved on the four faces of a stelae found at Bo-Mang, a village about 10 miles to the south-west of Touranne in the district of Quang-Nam.

The inscription contains 42 lines of writing, the first 14 lines in Sanskrit and the rest in Cham. The Sanskrit portion contains, besides the invocation, seven verses and one prose text. The metres used are VV. 1, 2, 5, Āryā; V. 3, Śārḍūla-Vikṛītīta, VV. 4, 6, 7, Anuṣṭubh.

The inscription records the erection of Śaiva images by the minister of king Śrī Jaya Indravarman and the religious donations of the latter consisting of lands and slaves. It is dated in the year 811 (=889 A. D.).

TEXT.

I. (१) चाँ नमःश्रवाय ।
ब्रह्मादिसुमितसुरत्स्तस्सत्रीमदेश्वर: प्रभुर्भवान ।
जयति जगदुहुराधिकृतिपुरजयि योगिमि: साध्यः ॥

II. मन्त्रीतुपने: ख्यातो चिवित्त्वगुणेऽराशवेशशमक्त्याशः ।
धमायां विभाति भरंराजा मशिचेत्यनमाधयमम ||

III. शकाष्ठे शिरेष्ठपक्षल्पयुते भैं धरते ठहनासः
कुम्भस्य भुगुजे —— भुजनैशीर्वारे शुभा ।
ख्यात्या तेन कुमारिकासुरगुरौ नागेन्द्रसौरे महाकाशी वाच्ये
फाल्गुणानौल्लादिवसंै गोलम ईश्वरिया ||
IV. Śrīmālahālikārṇa-vāṃ śrīapītāmbara vīśnurūṭaṃ
śrīapītācām mahābhēte śrīmāntrī mātārī prīya.

V. tāṣṭeśhvarēvāśvāṃ śvēkārkāṃ śrīapītāmbarēvāśva-piṭumayāṃ
yēna śrīyēna svāmūtrāśhēvāśva-piṭumayāṃ.

VI. Śrīmālahālikārṇa-vāśvāṃ śrīapītāmbarēvāśva-piṭumayāṃ
śrījayādīnāmēndrāśvāṃ śrīgānūtra śrīkṛṣṇānī lōkadharmācītī.

VII. jāmpēśvara varnāṇa śrīčandākāṇṭaṃ pādāshaya.
śrēkṛṣṇaṃ vēcānāmēndrāśvāṃ prārthīṃ la[dhēmēndrāśvāṃ]
śrījayā trēnāmēndrāśvāṃ rājēṣṣyāṃ.
śrīmālahālikārṇa-kēcītrā śrīapītāmbarēvāśvāṃ trēnāmēndrāśvāṃ
kēcītrā śrīgānūtra śrīmāntrī mahāsēṃ trēvīṃ vēsāntrī.

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to Śīva!

1. Victory to Lord Śrī Bhadreśvara, who is extolled by the sages and gods like Brahmā and others, who is the supreme deity, who is the primeval Being, who conquered Tripura (demon), and who is the object of meditation of the ascetics,

2. The royal minister was named Ājñā Manīcāitya; he was famous in all directions for his manifold qualities, he reposed confidence in his faith in God (Mahādeva), and he shone in the world by his virtues.

3. In the Śaka year denoted by Śaśī-rūpa-maṅgala’ (811)—(astronomical details follow)—he has installed this
beautiful statue of the great goddess, the wife of Bhagavati.

4. He has installed this Śrī Mahālingadeva (in honour?) of his father, and also a beautiful (image of) Mahādevi, dear to his mother.

5. His younger brother, called Īśvaradeva, for the sake of his own glory and that of his father in this world, installed, with joy, this (image of) Śrī Īśavaradevādideva.

6. Śrī Jaya Indravarman, who is versed in scriptures and the usages of the world, dedicated a field, together with slaves to Śrī-Mahālingadeva.

7. Let the lords of Champa, noble kings, who are desirous of retaining their position as long as the Sun and the Moon endure, listen to these words of king Śrī Jaya Indravarman which conform to the Dharma and express supreme truth.

Those who do any injury to Śrī Mahālingadeva would fall into hell; those who forcibly take away any of its articles, slaves, fields, oxen and buffaloes would fall into a great hell terrible on account of burning fire. Those conversant with Dharma, who justly protect (the temple of) the mighty god, would reside in heaven.

b-1. (Cham).

The king Jaya Indravarman has given a religious endowment to the god Mahālinga for defraying the expenses of his worship. If any man destroy the goods of the god Mahālinga or have it destroyed by somebody else, the mother of this man would be haunted by multitude of dogs, and after his death he would live in the dark hell and remain there till the end of the yuga and the destruction of the world. Let the
persons who observe fast, practise austerities and know the Dharma, and the sacrificers who practise austerities and know the Dharma, protect and embellish this temple of God Mahāliṅga; they will go to heaven. (Then follows an enumeration of 15 fields). All these fields king Jaya Indravarman has given to the god Mahāliṅga.

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No. 33.

Phu Thuan Stelae Inscription of Indravarman II (?).

The inscription was edited by E. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 10).

Phu Thuan is a village in the Subdivision of Que-Son to the west of My-son. The inscription is written in Cham and records a donation made by king Indravarman to the god Bhāgya-kānteśvara. On palaeographical evidence, the inscription may be referred to the 9th or 10th century A. D. So it belongs to the reign of either Indravarman II or Indravarman III.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Here is what I command, I, Śri Indravarmadeva, king of kings, of the country of Champā. I exempt the (temple of) god Śri Bhāgya-kānteśvara from all taxes. I employ four priests who would serve as sacrificers at his service, and give (the taxes) to them for defraying their own expenses and those of the worship. In regard to my donations to these priests, I implore the future kings and the future inhabitants of this country to respect my endowments. Because in acting thus they will be happy in this kingdom or elsewhere, and after death gain the heaven of Śiva. But if
the men destroy my pious foundation made in favour of the curates of the temple, or have it destroyed by others, then they would go to the Avīci hell.

No. 34.

**Bo-Mang Stelae Inscription of Jaya Simhavarman I.**

The inscription was first noticed by Aymonier (J. A. 1896, part I, p. 150) and then edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 275) (for details cf. No. 32). It records the pious donations of the king Śrī Jaya Simhavarman. It contains two Sanskrit verses, the metre being; v. 1, Indravajrā, v. 2 Anuṣṭubh.

**TEXT.**

I. चर्मेश्वरश्रीजयसिंहवर्म्मा राजाधिराजः प्रधितोक्षबिर्यः।
   देशान्तरी श्रीधुतशक्षितेजः पुरायं करोतीद्विवादिवाय।

II. श्रीमहालिङ्गदेवाय लोकास्पदकः भुवि।
   प्रदत्तस्स महाकीर्तिमुक्तिं ससित्तव्यायम्।

**TRANSLATION.**

1. Śrī Jaya Simhavarman, king of Champā, king of kings, famous and of unequalled prowess, (the fame of) whose fortune, knowledge, and power has reached other lands, made this pious work for the god of gods.

2. He, of great fame has given the Mukti (?) and a white banner to Śrī Mahāliṅgadeva who is refuge of all in this world.

1. Read 'देवदेवायं'.

2. This probably stands for 'Bhukti' denoting territory.
No. 35.

Ban-lanh stelae Inscription of Jaya Simhayavarman I Dated 820 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 99). Ban-lanh is the name of a village about 12 miles to the north of Dong Duong (cf. No. 31). The inscription is engraved on the three faces of a stelae which has been removed from its original position. The first face contains, besides the invocation, 15 lines of writing, of which LL. 1–10 are in Sanskrit and LL. 10–15 in Cham. The second face contains 18 lines: LL. 1–5 in Cham, LL. 5–10 in Sanskrit, and LL. 10–18 in Cham. The third face contains 11 lines in Cham. The Sanskrit portion contains 9 verses and one prose piece, the metre being vv. 1, 8, Anuṣṭubh; vv. 3 and 5, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; v. 2, Mandākrānta; v. 4, Puspitagrā; vv. 6, 7, 9, Indravajrā.

The inscription purports to be a deed of protection and immunity granted by king Jaya Simhayavarman in favour of two temples viz., a temple of Rudramadhyēvara founded by a royal official called Śrīkalpa, and a temple of Śivalinga founded by muni Śivāchārya in 820 Śaka (=898 A.D.). This last date is probably also that of the inscription itself. King Jaya Simhayavarman appears to be a successor of Śrī Jaya Indravarman.

TEXT.

(40).

श्रीनमिशिस्वाय.

I. वस्ति

५८०लोक्ये जयति येप्रस्तथी जय गुरुभर: ।
वेंशाधसुनियस्लेर्नन्ताभिम्ब्रम्हम्बुजः ॥
II. भूक्त्वा राज्यं भुवि च महता येन विवेजः विभ्योः।
संहाय्यांति: कलिविषतः राजलक्षमीविन्दुः।
नानालाबो विविधविभवः कीर्तिकलपितुमोऽयः।
तद्विमायसुरजत्तमयो भूतते स्थापितः॥

III. तस्य श्री जयसिंहवरम्यपतेयं द्राक्षवासो भद्रोः।
धन्मेष्ट: पतिरक्षित्यपरमा: कीर्तियस्यः सम्पदः।
ख्यातो अग्राधिविशालवुक्तिजलकिल्लवाश्वाशायायापूर्वे।
कः श्रीरत्नजनां महामणिरिच स्वाम्यं स्थिरं रज्ज्यं॥

IV. इत्यतिरिखोऽनन्त्रभाये।
समधिमा समुपक्षितायाविद्यथः।
शुचिविजितः चाबिः मन्थि लक्ष्मीः
निश्च सक्लान सभविदृधिविन्दु सुखेन॥

V. लेवे श्रीजय इन्द्रचर्मनुपतनेमास्मि यथैव च सन्तः।
राज्येष्वररक्षक्यनामभुवतसंस्तूमानोधिया।
विद्विभिषिष्ठदक्षसंस्त्रकिथो रज्ज्यभारीपितः।
श्रीकल्याणेहथृत पयोनिधिधिरि श्रीमतकलाकृतः॥

VI. श्रीरुद्रमयेश्वरमदुताकृमः।
स धर्मदक्षाकृमी शिवतंवंस्यं।
तद्वृत्तये श्रीजय सिन्हचर्मः।
प्रसादः स्थापितानां धारिष्याम्॥

(लौ)।
श्रीरुद्रेश्वरे पूर्वं प्रपितामहेण स्थापिते परचक्षुस्ये यं श्री
शिवलिङ्गे यो मुनिशिवायनायामध्ये। पुनः स्थापितानां
इति।

VII. श्रीविष्णुविवितभुक्त्वस्माः।
देवार्चनश्वानसम् विलकः।
पिशाचेष्वानां भारतराम स विचे।
सब्ज्ञन्त्य पुराणं स करोतु किल्लेः॥
VIII. श्री जय गुहेस्वरः प्राचीने दुर्गपारे
स्थापितशाळविलिक्षणः शिवाचार्येषु धीमतः

IX. श्रीद्रमध्येषु हर ह्वसिनिः
सिद्धेषु शाश्वती शिवलिङ्क्वैः
ताह्यां तुपश्च जयसिंहवर्मः
प्राच्यस स मुक्षिय रूपया समस्ताम्

TRANSLATION.
Reverence to Śiva.

(1) Hail !

I. The supreme Śri Jaya Guheśvara, before whose two lotus-like feet multitudes of gods, Asuras (demons) and Munis (sages) prostrate themselves, triumphs in the three worlds.

II. (An image) of that (god), made of gold and excellent silver, together with various gifts and a variety of wealth, was established in the world, like a kalpa-tree of glory, by the great (king) who reigned with the great standard of Viśnu and killed the poisonous tree which is Kali, antagonistic to the prosperity of kings.

III. The captain of guards of that king Śri-Jaya Simhavarman, was virtuous, wholly devoted to his master, asylum of glory arising from his prosperity, and famous as a vast and profound ocean of intelligence. Having secured the desires of his heart and being beloved by the whole world like a precious stone, he guards his place without any disturbance.

IV. Resolute, having a fortune superior to that of the king, full of nobility, well-practised in meritorious deeds, his celestial face is superior to that of the Sun as it carries the entire Lakṣmi (splendour) both day and night.
V. He received from king Jaya Indravarman, three names: He bore in the kingdom the name Ṣvarakalpa, praised by the learned men for intelligence; he was also called Śivakalpa, illumined by the splendour of gems; he was also called Śrikalpa, like an ocean, full of magnificent talents (or decorated by Lakṣmi and Moon in the case of ocean).

VI. Desirous of spiritual merit, and devoted to the philosophy of Śiva, he installed in the world, by the favour of king Śri Jaya Simhavarman, the god Śri Rudramadhyeśvara, of a strange body, out of devotion for Him.

(Cham) The king protects the divine Guru (Śiva) in the temple (?). At the end of four years...........for the use of divine Guru...........the goods of men belonging to the temple .......... There was an order of king Śri Jaya Simhavarmadeva to four ascetics. The men belonging to this temple who would protect all the goods of the gods Śri Rudramadhyeśvara and Śivaliṅgeśvara, slaves, oxen, buffaloes, fields, gold, silver...........these men would eternally live in heaven with their parents.

(Cham) The men who.............would take away those goods for themselves would fall into the hell called Mahāraurava.......... All those who.............the mother of these people. Order of king Śri Jaya Simhavarmadeva,—he gives to these two...........servants, wealth, food...........

(Sanskrit) Śri Vṛddheśvara, formerly installed by great-grandfather, having been overthrown by the strangers, the muni (ascetic) named Śivācārya has re-installed (it under the name of) Śri Śivalingesa.

VII. Well versed in Śaiva rites, fond of good works, with an intelligence capable of understanding the nature of divine worship, and meditating in his mind on the immense
virtues of his parents, he made this pious work for the sake of glory.

VIII. In the year of the Śakas denoted by ‘kha-dvi-asta’ (820), the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month of śuci, the Śivaliṅga was installed by the intelligent Śiva-cārya.

IX. King Śrī Jaya Simhavarma has kindly made all exemptions in favour of the two gods, Śrī Rudramadhyēśvara, who has wonderful divine faculties, and Śivalingadeva, the lord of the Siddhas (a class of semi-divine-beings).

(Cham). Enumeration of fields granted by Śrī Jaya Simhavarmadeva.

(c).

The men who would protect this good work……….. who would conduct their sons and daughters to the temple for living therein as its property (?) (Enumeration of fields).

No 36.

Dong Duong Stelae Inscription of
Jayasimhavarman I.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 105). For localities cf. No. 31. The inscription is engraved on four faces of a stelae found outside the boundary of the temple. The first face has, besides the invocation, 17 lines in Sanskrit verse. The second face is very much damaged and has, besides the invocation, 15 lines in Sanskrit. There are six verses with a prose-piece between verses IV and V. The third face has 14 lines in Cham besides the invocation. The fourth face has six lines in Cham. The metres used are: Face A:—vv. 1, 6, Indravajrā; vv. 2, 3, Prthví; v. 4, Āryā; v. 5, Sragdharā; v. 7, Anustubh; v. 8, Śārdula-vikriḍita; vv. 9–10, Nardaṭaka. Face B:—v. 5, Āryā; v. 6, Vasantatilakā.
The inscription commences with an invocation in honour of Paramesvara Guhesvara, and then follows an eulogy of king Jaya Simhavarman. It records some pious foundations by princess Haradevi Rājakula, younger sister of the mother of the king. Haradevi Rājakula was the widow of a king who had the posthumous name Parama-Buddhaloka. The Abhisekanāma of this king is not recorded, but as the god installed in his memory by his widow is called Indraparameshvara, it may be safely inferred that the proper name of the king was Indravarman. This Indravarman is probably no other than the king of the same name referred to in Nos. 31 and 35. We know from No. 31 that he was greatly attached to Buddhism, and this accords full well with the posthumous name Parama Buddhhaloka. We gather from No. 35 that Jaya Simhavarman succeeded Indravarman, and it would thus follow that after the death of the latter the throne passed on to the son of the elder sister of his queen Haradevi.

TEXT.

नमःश्वाय।

— ऋषिक्षत्रमुपागतोसै
यसाहिराज्ञ पुनरेव कामः।
यस्याद्रितामुतरभूत् — —
यस्याल्पपस्य प्रशामल्लितं देवाः॥

II. स पव रसमेहवर — गुहेश्वरायह् चित्तौ
च यत्कुमाराण्निस्यमझलोपाभ्रकः।
स्पुष्पवर्काल च च पदाम्बुजः
स्थिराय निक्रायसंपदुद्याय जेतीयते॥

III. पुरुषस्यपवस्मद्मायित — — — ता
सिताम्बुरहरितमुग्निहितावराल्प्रका॥
V. सा रक्षितातिष्ठिनी धीमजयसिद्धमेव......ष।
शक्तयांबिनैवसमुदिः समप्रभुमित्रा प्रभातीह॥

V. आधारो यो गुणां जनितसुवाक्षियां गौरवायां नरेन्द्रो
दिव्याचाराध्रुवां पुनरपि गुणां धर्मनमःश्रयानाम॥
मनुष्यादृशीं वहृं न कनकगिरिविराक्षिमितोऽनुत संप-
च्छोभायां कल्पवृक्ष्य मणिविचिरचालनहारापि लोके

VI. युबक्षोताशो भुवि योंतिस्त कीर्ता।
खच्छरूक्षताश्रेष्टजनः प्रभावेः।
अन्वीक्षतारि: खरुणा खरुणिमः
किरुधीक्षताश्वेपकल्पवर्गः॥

VII. तस्यामन्द्रिकायुद्धमेंण्वतितरां युधा।
पापेशु सर्विर्देशु मुदू भवति सास्तुता॥

VIII. तस्य धी जयसिद्धवर्गमृणपतेमृणापूर्वनसा सन्ततं
या पुराणे निपुणा विश्राशमुयासमध्योद्धालहुः
कीर्तोशानिरतो मनोविग्निसखितात्स्पदा अजते
गल्ये पुष्पिनवन्धवकालन्यें विद्वधोषिता॥

IX. भ्रमपतिपादभक्तिभिरता परमार्थसिद्धता
विचित्रुखसंतपदा इतविभोगविभूतिरिंग।
ह्रिजयिनसज्ञानाविरतद्रानकरी भुवि या
शिवपूजनाशायतन: सन्ततं भवति॥

X. गुप्तजनसाधुकारपरिपृतसुककैतिःसिंगिः
तदसमलिपि सुकृतमायुता महति।
उपरचितप्रसादहितपावनलब्धवरा-
भवदचलाशयोपहितसंपद्वनिन्नित्तः॥

(ह)।
नम: परमेश्वर।

I. पुत्रहरू राजकुलालखा सा धर्मपद्वी वरानना
II. तत्त्वं वर्तति नासत्त्वं नाश्चेतचं शौचमेवसा नाम — — — — — — — — —

III. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

IV. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — शुभे
 ग — — — — — — — — — — यथेषु शुभै भास्करे
 देवा इन्द्रपुरे तथा सुमनसा कीर्त्यं प्रतिष्ठापितं: ॥

ত..............................শ्रী জয়সিংহমেদেরেণ চম্পাপুরমেশ্বরেণ
সজনগুণাবিশিষ্ট বিদ্ধমথানা মতি — — — — — — — —
শ্রীমতি হরমোদেবিচিত্তা হরতার্তসংশ্রাপরমানন্দায়া স্যায়া পোষ
কুল্যঙ্কু শ্রী রাজকুলাল্যা: সাহ্মাসাজায়া: পুরায়বৃদ্ধে প্রতিষ্ঠা
পিতেয় ইন্দ্রপুরনান্তি পুরস্কর্ষিতি।.............................শ্রীপবরমবৃদ্ধেলোকস্য
গুপতে: স্বভাষ: পুরায় সাধারনসাজায়া পোষ কুল্যঙ্কু শ্রী রাজকুল
ল্যা:..........................গুণায়া প্রতিষ্ঠাপিত: শ্রীন্দ্রপরমেশ্বরো নামেতি ॥
তস্মেতেব শকরাজে শ্রী শ্রীপরমেশ্বর: স দেবঃ প্রতিষ্ঠাপিতস্তয়া: স
পো কুল্যঙ্কু শ্রীরাজকুলাল্যা: সপিতু: পুরায়বৃদ্ধে: ॥ তদেব মাতুৰ্ম
জায়া: পুরায়সংবচ্ছনন্দায়া পোষ কুল্যঙ্কু শ্রী রাজকুলনানন্দায়া শ্রী
রোমামামামিনিদিয়েন মজ্জ্যেতি ॥

V. জয়মি হরমোদেবিসংব দেবী মহামহাবাসনি: ।
ল্যঙ্ক শ্রী রাজকুলাল্যা: প্রতিষ্ঠামি চ হরতার্ত: ॥

VI. শ্রীমান শুদ্ধন্দ্রপরমেশ্বরনামো: ।
শ্রীমান: স শ্রীন্দ্রপরমেশ্বরনামেতি: ।
সা শ্রীমতি জয়নি লোকচরা চ শ্রী- মার্গ: সুরনরে: কিল বিন্যসত্তাসে ॥

TRANSLATION.

1. Who reduced Kāma (Cupid) to ashes (lit. condition or state of being without a body); and from whom Kāma
again got back his beautiful body; before whose feet, like lotus, the gods bow down.

2. He is Paramesvara, called in this world Guhesvara, who brings about peace, victory and happiness to Kumāra; whose feet, like lotus.............glory of his excellent son; he gains repeated victories for the steady growth of the prosperity of his own kingdom.

3. This city called Champa, decorated with the wealth of Indrapura (city of Indra—may denote also a town of that name in Champa), beautified by white lotus, and ornamented with excellent lotus flowers, was made in ancient days by Bhrgu, and contains splendour which yet remains unsurpassed.

4. This excellent city, protected by fortunate Jaya Simhavarman.............gaining new splendour by his prowess, shines here, inseparably united with fortune.

5. The king, who is the receptacle of dignity and qualities that cause delight to the intellect: who is the refuge of virtuous men following divine course of conduct, and whose heart has been made generous by religious impulse; who possesses many jewels and precious stones, and is therefore like the unshaken Mountain of Gold which possesses wonderful riches; and who is beautiful like a kalpa tree decorated with fine gems.

6. Who, by his own (white) fame, has made all the directions in this world white; who has illumined all the men by his prowess; who has blinded the enemies by his anger, and made his wives affectionate by his lustre.

1. The poet probably has in mind the conventional group of qualities called विदुध्वाणु: and defined in कामंदका as follows:

इ विदुध्वाणु अभिषुचित चित्र भ्रष्ट भ्रष्ट भ्रष्ट भ्रष्ट भ्रष्ट ।
उष्णकालिक्षु विदुध्वाणु अभिषुचित चित्र भ्रष्ट: ||
7. His laudable spirit, not inclined to evils, is very beneficial in religious matters, and is chary of vices, condemned by honest men.

8. King Jayasimhavarmman has a maternal aunt (mother's sister); she is always skilful in virtuous work, endowed with exceptional qualities, and decorated by the increase of fortune; she takes delight in her fame and hopes; she is an asylum of pious thoughts formed in her mind, and she is very skilful in making perfumes and arranging flowers and clothes.

9. She takes delight in her devotion to the feet of her dear husband; she is well disposed towards the supreme truth; she makes the best use of her wealth according to religious precepts and her inborn qualities; she constantly makes gifts to Brāhmaṇas, ascetics (yati) and virtuous people in the world, and she lives with the sole object of worshipping the feet of Śiva.

10. Her fame was purified by the praises of elderly relatives; she was united with fortune merely to cause unmixed delight to them; she was noble; she obtained dear and pure boons from the favour (of those elderly persons); her riches were produced by unshakable determination and her intelligence was without blemish.

Reverence to Parameśvara.

1. She, Pu lyañ Rājakula, was adept in virtue and had a beautiful face..............

2. She says what is true, not what is untrue; what is pure and not what is impure. The absence of jealousy......

4. In the pure month of Jyaiṣṭha, gods have been installed at Indrapur by that benevolent lady for the sake of glory.
By Śrī Jayasiṃhavarmadeva, lord of the city of Champā, who appreciates (lit. knows) the qualities of honest persons, and who possesses a penetrating intelligence has been installed, in this city named Indrapura, the august goddess known as Haroma1 for increasing the religious merit of his mother’s younger sister princess Ājñā Pov Ku lyaṅ Śrī Rājakula, also known as Haradevi. Śrī Indraparamesvara was installed by princess Ājñā Pov ku lyaṅ Śrī Rājakula, who is of virtuous mind and is a connoisseur of qualities for the sake of religious merit of her own husband king Śrī Paramabuddhaloka. In the same Śaka year the princess Ājñā Po ku lyaṅ Śrī Rājakula has installed the god Rudraparameśvara for increasing the religious merit of her father. And for increasing the religious merit of her own mother, princess Ājñā Pov ku lyaṅ Rājakula installed, with pious devotion, this goddess Śrī Rudroma.

5. Victorious is the goddess called Haromādevi, the great glory in the world, and a reflected image, as it were, of Haradevi Rājakula.

6. The august god Indraparameśvara, the august god Rudraparameśvara, and the august goddess Rudroma, supporter of the world, these three deities, adored by gods and men, are triumphant in this world.

(c).

Reverence to all...........

His majesty king Śrī Jaya Simhavarmadeva grants exemption from taxes to the god Śrī Indraparameśvara, to the goddess Śrī Haromādevi, to the god Śrī Rudraparameśvara and to the goddess Śrī Rudroma. If any wretch

1. Haroma ( = Hara + Umā) may denote the ‘अच्छनाका’ in which Śiva and Umā are combined. More probably the question here is only of goddess Umā, called after Haradevi, Haroma.
carries away the servants or any articles of these deities he would fall into the hell called Mahāraurava. Moreover, if any noble soul protects these deities or their goods, he would obtain complete salvation and go to heaven. All these divinities have the use............I, princess lyan Rājakula, I leave this pious work as a legacy in this world. If any distinguished man maintains this pious foundation, his virtues will be recognised by the gods. I, woman as I am, I adore the god Parameśvara.

(d).

Order of......... If this man abstains from doing evil to me, to my family, and to all the creatures, and if this man follows the order of his Majesty Śrī Jaya Siṃhavarmadeva addressed to me, lyan Rājakula.............this man.............he will enable all the men, without distinction, promptly to gain deliverance and enjoy heaven.

No. 37.

An-Thai Stelae Inscription dated 824 Ś.

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 277). It was engraved on two faces of a stelae found at An-Thai in the district of Quang-Nam. It contains 22 lines of writing, the last three lines being in Cham, and the rest in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit portion contains two prose passages and twelve verses, besides the invocation. The first two verses are almost entirely lost. The metres used are: v. 3, Sragdharā; vv. 4 and 7, Āryā; vv. 5, 8–11, Anuṣṭubh; v. 6, Indravajrā; v. 12, Upajāti.

The inscription records the erection of a statue of Lokanātha in 824 Śaka (=902 A. D.) by Sthavira Nāga-Puṣpa the abbot of the monastery of Pramudita-Lokeśvara. It
further relates that the monastery was founded by Bhadra-varman II, and confirmed in its possessions by Indravarman II. This is the earliest Buddhist Inscription found at Champā.

TEXT.

(a).

(नमः लोकेश्वर) कनाथा(य).

स्वतः।

येन — — मूर्तिर्विक्रम...तस्यंमः कारणिकाय निलयं।

— — — — — विगतसुखा लोहदुर्दामिलिताः।

स्मुत्वा लोकेश्वर — — — — — केबलमोदमापुः।

III. मारैरैव्रे: परिताप्तिर्मपि मनुजा: पूर्वकर्मासहनः

निक्षाहा — — परमकुलुष्या: चूलिपापाशिभुता:।

पूर्वेऽदानदृश्यात् सुगतविमुखत: प्रात — —

— — — वज्रपाणिशामिनिरयं वुदमार्गेन समापुः।

IV. श्रीभद्रवर्मनुपते: तस्य मतोस्त्यंतवज्ज्वलमिव:।

सुजनाधिप्तुयुगलसेवी नागपुपस्थाबिच्या नामा।

V. लोकेश्वरजगद्यांम ध्रामाकैवरतिष्णपि।

पृथिवीकीर्तिये सोसै धर्मदेशणया द्वित:।

VI. लोक क — — यशोशुशुः:

चम्पाधिपतस्वंसुधः

श्री-इन्द्रवर्मा स सुरेन्द्रवर्मा

tadlaktamay ca karat taksin।

VII. करुणामुदरसरसिकः केबलमेव प्रजाहितार्पद्रुतः।

यो मुक्ति स च निखिलं प्रमुदितलकेश्वरायायात्।

VIII. वज्रायुरस्योपवशं श्रीवाक्तमुति शासनात्।

श्रीयोपि वज्रस्थायेन: वुद्रानमालयोऽभवत॥

IX. पञ्चधातुरनो लोकेश्वरहेतुजिनिनायः।

श्रमितामवयो युक्त्या महाशून्यो वशूय ह।

1. Read श्रविच।
X. चक्रवाक्तर्सौ श्रद्धातीतो बैरोचनास्याः।
ब्रजस्वलस्य हेतुः स्थान दृष्टियोभृजिज्ञालयः।

XI. नागपुण्यायो भाति स्थाविर्स्तुल्य शीलधीः।
पुर्वेऽह नागपुण्यायेनात्मवंशेन शिक्षुः।
अस्मै श्रीप्रभुदितलोकेभविंश्राय तच्चस्य यत् सर्वमिदं
लेष्य श्रीभद्रवर्मेवस्तद्विजाय द्वैववान् पुनःरथि स श्री
इन्द्रवर्मेवः सकलराजाधिराजः तद्वत्रभावावात् तदेव
नियुक्त।

XII. गते शाकावऽ युम्बिन्दकायः।
उपेण्स्य शुक्ले नवमे दिनेरे ।
तेन प्रतिपिपियायात्मकोट्स्वः
श्रीलोकनाथस्तु स जीवचारे।

TRANSLATION.

(a).

Reverence to Lokanātha.

I. Hail! constant reverence to that merciful one by whom..............one form..............has been manifested. Those whose happiness was over, and who were being struck by iron rods..............got the highest salvation by thinking of Lokeśvara.

III. Sinful men, attached to their works in former lives, and without any hope of deliverance, were eternally surrounded by the terrible hosts of Māra, and overpowered by hunger and thirst, on account of their want of liberality and aversion to Sugata (i.e. Buddha) in former times.

1. Read श्वानिर.

2. Read विहाराय।
But being rescued by Vajrapāni from the hell, they secured the way (to salvation) pointed out by the Buddha.

IV. The monk (sthavira) named Nāgapuspa, who adored the feet of virtuous men, was highly esteemed by king Bhadra-varman, and cherished very loyal and friendly feelings towards him.

V. He, (the king), established, for Nāgapuspa, with sentiments full of devotion, the (monastery) of Lokeśvara, who is omnipresent in the world. May He (Lokeśvara), consecrated for the sake of religious instruction, lead to his (the king's?) glory in the world. ¹

VI. Śri Indravarman, king of Champā, who was purified by the rays of glory..............world, who bestows all kinds of happiness, and who is (protected) by Indra (as an) armour, did the same kind of things to him (Nāgapuspa).

VII. Having drunk the nectar of mercy, and being devoted to the good of his subjects in a unique manner, he gave all exemptions (i. e. from imposts) to Pramuditalokeśvara.

VIII. This Vajradhātu, who, although non-existent, is the cause of the Vajra-wielder, became by the command of Śri Śākyamuni, the abode of the Buddhas.

IX. Then Padmadhātu, the great non-existent, (but) the cause of Lokeśvara, became, by the logic of Amitābha's words (commands), the abode of the Jinas (i. e. the Buddhas).

1. Huber translates: 'Desiring to extend his glory all over the world, and delighted to hear religious instruction, he constructed for Nāgapuspa (a monastery placed under the name of) Avalokiteśvara, for the king was full of faith and love for him who is omnipresent in the world.'
X. This Cakradhatu, who, although beyond the state of non-existence, would be the cause of Vajrasattva, became, by the command of Vairocana, the third abode of the Jinas (i.e. Buddhas).

XI. The monk (sthavira) Nāgapuṣpa, equal in intelligence and piety to a former monk of his own family, called Nagapuṣpa, flourishes in this world.

Whatever fields etc. king Śrī Bhadravarman granted to the monastery of Pramuditalokeśvara, by his command and for the sake of his religious merit, all that has been confirmed by Śrī Indravarman, king of all kings, for the sake of his favour.

XII. When the year of the Śakas, denoted by ‘yukṣa-karṇa-kāya’ (824) had elapsed, (astronomical details) he established this Lokanātha for the sake of his glory.

(The concluding portion in Cham contains an enumeration of the fields granted).

No. 38.
The Chāu-sa stelae Inscription of Jayasimha-varman I dated 825 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 282). It was engraved on the four faces of a stelae found at Chāu-sa in the district of Quang-Ngai. The first face contains 21 lines besides the invocation, of which nearly 15 lines are almost wholly illegible. In line 3 the name of king Śrī-Jaya-Indravarman, and in L. 5, that of two dignitaries viz., Po kuḥ Pimilis and Danāy Pinān can be read. In line 7 we have “......yena sthāpita Īśaś Śrī-Indra-devāhvaya ēraikamūrttibhir-yukte śakābde śraddhayā.........”
It may be supposed, therefore, that this part of the inscription records the consecration of a linga, called Indradeva, in honour of the king Indravarman, by a dignitary, in the year 815 (= 893 A.D.). Line 13 refers to king Śrī Jayasimhavarman. The text from L. 16 onwards is given below. It relates the erection of another linga, called Śrī Śaṅkaraśa, by the same person in 825 (= 903 A. D.), and the donations of the king to this god.

The second face of the inscription is totally lost. The last two sides contain a description in Cham, of the lands granted to the temple.

**TEXT.**

पञ्जब्राकारोयगते शकान्ते

......धानेन मुचि स्वकीयः

येन प्रतिष्ठापित इश्वरोऽयम्

श्रीश्रीकरेशाह स एव भूयः' ||

श्रीजयसिन्हवर्मी श्री श्रीकरेशे नराधिपः ||

......पित्त्व श्रीश्रीवामादू रैत्यं कलशनं तथा" ||

यस्यानुजः श्री जय — (वर्मा) —

चविन्यश्रमायः परिशुद्धभावा

साध्वी द्वायगापुरेश्वर... ||

— पञ्चवं भातीह सुरेन्द्रदेवी3 ||

**TRANSLATION.**

In the year of the Śakas denoted by ‘pañca-dvi-kāya’ (825) the god called Śaṅkaraśa was again established by him in this world for his own glory.

1. Metre ‘Indravajrā’.  
King Śrī Jayasiṁhavarman dedicated to Śrī Śaṅkara three conch-shells and one silver jug.

His younger sister Surendradevi, wife of the king Śrī Jaya (Śiṁha) (varman), who is chaste, and whose sentiments are quite pure, flourishes here below (?).

No. 39.

Hoá-Quê stelae Inscription of Bhadra-varman III, dated 831 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 285), Hoá-Quê is situated close to Tourane. The inscription is engraved on the four faces of a stelae containing respectively 17, 19, 17 and 19 lines, besides the invocation at the beginning. The inscription on the first three faces is written in Sanskrit verse with three prose texts. That on the fourth face is written in Cham, but it contains a short prose passage and a verse in Sanskrit. There are altogether 27 Sanskrit verses. The metres used are: vv. 1, 17, 20, Srāgdrāhā; vv. 2, 3, 9-12, 14, 18, 19, 21, 25-27, Anuṣṭubh; vv. 4-7, 24, Vasatātilakā; v. 8. Śārdaḷaviṇḷidīta; vv. 13, 15, Pṛthvī; vv. 16, 23, Āryā; v. 22, Upajāti.

The object of the inscription is to record the various pious foundations made by three brothers, councillors of king Bhadra-varman, and sons of Sārthavāha, brother of the first queen of Indravarman II, in the years 820, 830 and 831 Śaka. It further records a foundation by Jayendrapati in the year 829. The first of these dates falls in the reign of Jayasiṁhavarman, and the three others in that of his successor Bhadra-varman.

1. What ‘Dānāya Gopuraṇgvar’ means it is difficult to understand, and it is therefore left untranslated.
११२

TEXT.

(२२).

श्रौ नमशिशवाय।

स्थितः

I. नानारूपाणि यस्याविलजगुदिरितेश्वर्यसम्भावितानि चित्रचञ्चोणीदुरात्मप्रभृतिभयतमांसीदत्तेजांसि निम्यां। पूर्वप्रस्थात्योगानवसितमहिमालिंहिताः प्रकांम 
नमस्तुवाणि सन्तु प्रियमनन्त्रस्वातं भो हि लिङ्कानि भूये॥

II. श्राद्धिधन्यनिधनं दिक्षु यस्य पुरातनम्।
सर्वलोकप्रशासीचरराचरनमस्तिदम॥

III. यशोद्रेष्ण जिंनं शिवदृ भावानं हितवारिणा।
साधकानाः मोहन् वे वदता हेतुना चिना॥

IV. अकाशमेदोकलमित्व महीनेकोऽभूताधिकारितमभूतलाभ।
यशोद्रेष्णदिनेवः श्रेष्ठसैनिकवर्षकानाः
उत्तरात्मकसोकः द्वारम्भनायात्॥

V. लिङ्कानि यस्य सक्त्रुप्यते ये नम्मि 
कामान्यथा हृदयवीणसुप्रान्तवन्ते।
ते सर्वसाधकविशेषगुणस्तुताः
देववेदेशस्य सुरवलः सुगमाननीया॥

VI. लिङ्कास्वानमोतिगाद्यमन्यवधस्तादृ 
वाराहस्पङ्गया हरिश्चापि जैमं।
बृहस्पति साधयितमर्म योगवेशा
शक्ति यस्य यद्विष्णुप्रसादात्॥

VII. लिङ्कास्वानमनभिम्यतयोपग्रहाद्
मानोञ्जितेन सरसीर्योक्तिनाद्।
स्वध्यानवीरुचिरेण तथापि वेदं
शक्ति न यस्य यद्विष्णुप्रसादात्॥
VIII. यो विश्वाय मुरारिप्रश्नवरजावशानव्योग्नति-
प्राक्त्यगपालितानन्मणुजनिभी प्रोचाच वाखीमिमां।
“हेगोविन्दमरबोजी किमपरं सादृश्या गुर्गण्या मनागृ
यथाघटाप्रभुत्तया मम नतिः कृत्या मुद्या नान्यथा”॥

IX. इति यस्य वचः श्लाश्यं श्रुतवन्तैं च सादारी॥
मुरारिप्रश्योनी तौ नेमसूर्यमुनिचरम्॥

X. ब्राह्मणर्गथं यस्युप्रभोविधमुखामुखजी।
तौ महान् देवदेवस्वं कुर्या यदृ वरर्माचयोऽ॥

XI. इति यो द्र्श्यंमध्यलिङ्गानु निगेनानं।
नेत्राक्षयान्नति नाराक्षक्षमासितपाठ्यः॥

XII. तत्र दृष्टनियो ग्रहा संस्कृतो वामतो हृदुः।
इद्यक्तं हस्याय येन लभने यदुश्च॥

XIII. स एव महावान शुरासुरगुरुस्तद्वऽहं
महेश्वर इत्स्ततः प्रवेशप्रचारः।
इत्येव रहितो महीयसुतांव्रो योजितो
जितोत्तरगुरुस्पदोऽभव्यो नुदांस्तांचिरम्॥

XIV. स श्रीशानेनेब्रो यत्र जातिपुष्पमुचि श्रिया
सुखासीनो नमसकारणानां नः पातु साध्वसात्॥

(h).

XV. — — — — — कल्युक्कालोअभिता
महाजनगृहम् — — स्त चापाहया।
विभूतिपरिमोगसंपदुनिता सुतेजानुविना
पुराणब्रह्मुस्मनेन किल रक्षिताः॥

XVI. श्रीमद्रवर्मनपतिब्रह्मुस्वरवंशम्वरामलशास्त्रोऽ
लोकाशयंकुमुदानि स्वाकरकरिः प्रयोधयति॥

1. Read सादारी।
2. Read ‘०शतस्तःमहा’।
3. Read ‘०दस्त’।
XVII. तुक्तव्यः हृदव्याधिरत्वार्करुकरोकत्वृत्तिपूर्वकः
नामानायचारायारुषधिरक्षायःकपुष्पाख्येतः ॥
गर्जेन्द्रजालभेन्द्रप्रज्ज्वलितपदःकाव्यविताश्चान्तराले
चम्पराजाधिराजः स जयति महासाजः यथा पार्श्वसूतः ॥

XVIII. न्यायेन महता तेन जनिता धर्मपद्धति ॥
तथा अश्यस्तु जनितं राजसोवांचुदवेश्वरम् ॥

XIX. श्रीसंपूर्व विचित्रार्थिधिरश्रीसमाधृतः ॥
अमायोद्वाप यथाशास महासामान्तसंभाषः ॥

XX. मालारीयोपत्तंतमधीर्वाटरितलसिंहं: कर्षभूया समस्ता
श्रेष्ठः कर्ष्यवंसंस्कर्ष्यसं युगधिकृतस्मृतीशुश्री: ॥
सतो खद्दो गृहमकोषोपि च रजनिनिंचभाजनं वा चिराहूँ
मायूरचंतुक्षुज्ञारकविनिचयो श्रैलिका रौप्यद्रवः ॥

XXI. इत्यतानं च यथैव राजाशास्त्रमिलनः ॥
दुलभासनीह लोकस्येर्थं प्रार्डानस्तिपितः ॥
वस्तु श्रैलिका मधिवसन्त राजपत्त उचित्तमायूरचबुञ्जः
प्रियायशेषं वाचकसद वलीर्यध्रावतरि पुनरिन्द्र श्रेयः ॥

XXII. नागन्द्रमारुष्या चलरसङ्करा
परापरैराश्वास्तिनिवार्यः ॥
लद्या विवेकानुलिकृतमयूरः
प्रभुरद्वितस्वात्मार्थचिन्तामिताः ॥

XXIII. भ्राता यथास्त्याश्च नरेन्द्रनुपवित्रमसंस्करोमायः ॥
कल्यंकियविविधः परमेश्वरसम्बन्धविविधः ॥

XXIV. यथानुजस्वकलशास्त्रायामध्यवृद्धि
हृदिष्ठिया सुभि समोऽक्षरसाग्निगीतः ॥
श्राब्धा जनेन्द्रपतिसंस्कर उन्मात्मा
मायः पवित्रकुशलेन पवित्रत्वाः ॥

1. Read ‘क्रम°’.
2. Read ‘प्रियायशेष’.
XXV. सन्भेदशान्तरायातभूमुखसन्देशमागतम्।
निरीक्ष्यैः कार्यं वेति निरशेषार्थ प्रतिहया॥

श्रीजयसिंहवर्मन्देवस्य पुरायः श्री जयमुहेश्वरे देवो विज्युष्ठः
विज्यपुरे श्रीभद्रवर्मन्देवस्य पुरायः श्री प्रकाशमेंद्रेश्वरः श्री सन्तोषी–
श्वरः श्रीभद्रमलेश्वरः श्रीभद्रचन्द्रेश्वरः श्रीभद्रमार्गलेश्वरः
श्रीधम्मेश्वरः श्रीधामपुरेश्वरः तेषु प्रशास्तानि शिलालेखावरा–
लक्षितान्यकरोदाधाजयेन्द्रपतिनामामालोकनादकपरिभोगदानिकामायू–
रकनकालिवासवर्णकोशशकलशब्दार्जजतमभजनकदिसुखकुडळकुडळकुडळ
गायत्रिरागाण्डुगलशवादीनि प्रामवान् राजप्रसादावतिति॥

(५).

XXVI. ——— अनुजा यस्य साधुद्याधिश्रितायाय।
उपर्यक्ती सति नाच्या ख्याते पुरस्वार्थाचिंतिषी॥

तैस्ततत्सहादिं रेवकमतिभिमर्मान्नाया श्री महाभद्रेश्वरः प्रतिद्वारा
पितो महाभद्रेष्वर: गणपतिमलक्षणको पितुराराम सार्थचाहानाकः श्रीभद्र–
चन्द्रवतिभिमलक्षणको श्रीभद्रम्येश्वराश्रीमन्त्रायायां शहोवरस्य प्रतिद्वारा
पितारि महाभद्रेष्वरश्च सज्जनसीमौ॥

अथ तेनोचारत्र इम्ब भगवती प्रतिद्वारापिता सत्यन्वितानुश्रुःको मातु–
तीतिकलपसत्तानुकुलक्ष्याया: पु पोव कु महाभद्रपन्धकाया देवीगणेन
पतिकु मार्गनान्त्रेवान् प्रतिद्वारापन्धकायानुश्रुःको प्रतिद्वारापिता
मातरिं महाभद्रेष्वरस्य स्वभूमिः॥

अष्ट्रि चामतके ग्राभा जयेन्द्रपतिनामास्ति दृश्यतः इम्ब श्रीभद्र–
शिवलिंक्षेरवैरोधम्येश्वरव्यायचलित्मलक्षणको परमेश्वरपुराजाधिमिद्य
जननी–
भूमिः स्वकार्ये वेति॥

(७).

राजाशा न लक्ष्यनीयाभवंद्रिः
(पदेन)न्तरी यथा कला यावदुस्यावतु सुर्यकरस्वली
दीपमानास्ति रोदस्योरस्तास्यवदु सुखिन्काः॥
Reverence to Śiva !

Hail ! May the lingas (of Śiva)—which assume various forms, creating prosperity of the whole world; whose glowing splendour everyday dispels the darkness which is the fear caused by vicious persons in the world; which are worthy of reverence and praise by the yogis (ascetics) who are distinguished by the merits of asceticism, renowned in olden times, but not yet exhausted—be for the prosperity of the inhabitants of the three worlds.

2. Whose primaeval linga, having no beginning, middle, or end, and revered by all things movable and immovable, was for the peace of all the worlds.

3. Whose linga, leading to the welfare of creatures, and granting, without reason, salvation to the devotees, is ever victorious.

4. Whose linga,—which has surpassed the earth and has sky as its horizon; which has got a shining orb surrounded by a large number of dependent spirits (bhūta); and whose splendour, to which homage is paid by the Moon, the Sun and the Planets, grants series of benefits to the world,—may it protect this world!

5. Those who even once bow down to these lingas, realise their desires. They are praised by a multitude of special devotees, and even in heaven they are revered, like gods, by the gods themselves.

6. The lower end of that victorious linga, on account of its great depth below, could not be forcibly reached even by

1. The phrase 'हरवोपपुरुषोऽ' is unintelligible and evidently requires emendation.
Hari, when he had assumed the form of a Boar; for although he was practised in excellent yoga, he had not the desired boon from Śiva.

7. The proud Brahmā, although shining in meditation and heroism, could not, owing to ignorance, know the (upper) end of the linga from above, because he had not the desired boon from Śiva.

8. Who addressed the following words to Viṣṇu and Brahmā, when he came to know that their faces were pale like frost-bitten lotuses on account of humiliation arising from ignorance: “Ho Govinda and Brahmā! what else, even so little, can you do? He who wants to know my bottom and top can only do so by gladly making obeisance to me, and in no other way.

9. Hearing whose august words, Viṣṇu and Brahmā bowed down, with respect, to the excellent god.

10. They, with faces like lotuses awakened by the Sun, said these words; “Thou great god of gods; please grant a boon to us.”

11. Who, thereupon, showed them his face, issued from the middle part of the linga, and resplendent with three eyes which were the fire, the Moon and the Sun.

12. By whose command, then, Brahmā and Hari were united with him, Brahmā standing on the right, and Hari on the left.

13. He, the god Maheśvara,—the preceptor of gods and demons, and dispeller of illusions spread afar; whose pair of lotus-feet is saluted here and there (i. e. everywhere); who, though divested of duality, was made double by Gaurī; who, unconquered, was victorious over those who are the refuge of good qualities;—remained fixed and immovable.
14. May Śrī-Īśāneśvara, seated with ease, protect us, who have salutation as the only treasure, from terror, by his charm, in this land which has been enriched by our race.

(b).

15. ............city named Champā full of riches, wealth, and enjoyments, protected by the commandments of the old Bhṛgu.........of great energy.

16. King Śrī Bhadravarman, a spotless moon in the sky which is the excellent family of Bhṛgu, awakens the lotus, which is the heart of men, by means of his excellent rays (splendour).

17. He, the king of Champā, like the son of Pāṇḍu, shines by his splendour in the battlefield;—which is grey with the dust raised by the swift-moving sharp hoofs of horses galloping high; whose surface has been dyed red with drops of blood, like Aśoka flowers, shed by means of various weapons; and in the four regions of which the sounds of war-drums were drowned by the roars of gigantic beautiful elephants.

18. By a strict course of justice the king established a new era of righteousness (dharmapaddhatih). The bliss engendered thereby made the king flourish.

19. The minister called Ājñā Mahāśāmanta, owner of various riches, obtained wealth and riches by the favour of his king.

20. The honour of putting a garland on his head, the distinction of being marked by an excellent tilaka (mark on the forehead), a complete ornament for the ears, best ear-ring, a pair of robes, decoration by golden girīle string, an excellent dagger with a golden sheath, a vessel and a cirānda white

1. Cira = Visnu and Anda = Śiva.—Does Cirānda denote an image of the two gods combined in one?
as silver; an umbrella made of the feathers of a peacock and a multitude of pitchers and vases, and a palanquin with silver staff.

21. These, difficult to be attained by others in this world, were granted him by the king on account of his faithful performance of royal commands.

He who having been seated next to the king in the palanquin, made beautiful by the parasol of peacock-feathers raised over it, and accompanied by soldiers and musical instruments, again gets down from it.

22. Having mounted an elephant, surrounded by innumerable forces both in front and rear, he shone in his majesty, while his own splendour like, that of the Sun, was screened by the umbrella of peacock-feathers raised over him.

23. He had a brother, the minister called Ājñā Narendra nṛpavitra, who was versed in all sacrificial ceremonies, and in all treatises dealing with the Śaiva religion.

24. His younger brother, whose intelligence was capable of penetrating into all the śāstras, and who was renowned in the world like Āṅgirasa for his intelligence and fortune, was called Ājñā Jayendrapati, a minister of good soul, whose body was purified by holy virtues.

25. Who, by hard exertion, was able to understand thoroughly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries, after looking over them only for an instant.

The pious works of Śrī Jayasimha-varmadeva, viz. (the temples of) Śrī Jayagnheśvara and of Viṣṇu at Viṣṇupur. The pious works of Śrī Bhadravarmadeva viz. (the temples of) Śrī Prakāśabhadreśvara, Śrī Rudrakoṭiśvara, Śrī Bhadra-
malayesvara, Śrī Bhadracampeśvara, Śrī Bhadramandaleśvara, Śrī Dharmesvara, Śrī Bhadrapureśvara:

In all these the minister Ājñā Jayendrapati composed poetical inscriptions engraved on stones, and obtained by the favour of the king various distinctions, such as the palanquin, parasol decorated with peacock feathers, golden sheath of a sword, vases, pitchers, silver vessels, girdle, ear-rings, Cirāṇā, pair of robes etc.

 ...................... His chaste younger sister, who had a pious heart, and was always anxious to do good deeds, was known as Ugradevi.

Her three brothers, being of one mind and with the permission of their mother, have erected in the middle of their native place, in the Śaka year denoted by 'gagana-dvimaṅgala' (820), an image of Śrī Mahārudradeva, out of devotion to, and in imitation of the features of their father, named Ājñā Sārthavāha, brother of the chief queen of king Śrī Indravarman, the niece (?) of king Śrī Rudravarman,

To the north of this they erected, in their native place, in the Śaka year denoted by 'kha-vahni-tanu' (830), an image of Bhagavati, out of devotion to and in imitation of the features of their mother named Pu Pov ku Rudrapura, ...........who had issued from a family, pure from time immemorial, and who had herself established in the Śaka year denoted by 'Candra-Agni-tanu'—(831), the images of Devī, Gaṇeśa and Kumāra............

Again, to the south of this the minister named Ājñā Jayendrapati has established in his native place the god Śrī Mahāśivalingaśvara in the Śaka year denoted by 'mānu-
dvi-maṅgala' (829), for the worship of Śiva and for the sake of his own glory.

(d).

..............15th day of the bright fortnight of the fifth month........garden as far as the town,........as far as the temple..............a religious foundation.............. He who would carry away the goods of the temple would go to hell. He who would protect them would live in heaven as long as he desires.

The royal order must not be transgressed. May this pious work endure as long as the phase of the Moon and the rays of the Sun illumine the universe (lit. heaven and earth).

(The seven concluding lines in Cham contain details about arrangements of the temple; they contain several unknown words and have not been translated by the editor).

No. 40.

57 Lac-Thành fragmentary stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman III, dated 832 Śaka.

It is engraved on four faces of the great stelae at Lac-Thành in the district of Quang-Nam. It begins with an invocation to Śiva followed by the eulogy of king Bhadravarman. It is dated "Pakṣa-Paśupati-nayana-maṅgalasamupagate-śakapati-samaye" i. e. 832 (=910 A. D.). It concludes with imprecation and enumeration of fields.

No. 41.
The Phu-Luong Stelae Inscription of Rudravarman III, dated 83x Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 283). It is engraved on two faces of a stelae at Phu-Luong in the district of Hue. Although very fragmentary, it contains much that is of historical interest. The first face contains 18 lines, but the last 10 are nearly illegible. The second face contains traces of 16 lines, the first five in Sanskrit, and the rest in Cham;—the latter only containing the descriptions of lands belonging to the temple. There are six verses in the first face, the metre being v. 1, Upendravajra; v. 2, Vasantatilakā; vv. 3-4, Anuṣṭubh; v. 5, Śārdula-Vikridita; v. 6, Indravajra.

The inscription records the foundation in 83x (unit figure being lost, i.e. some time between 908 and 917 A. D.) of a temple of Śiva, called Dharmalīṅgeśvara, by one Pādarakṣa, an officer of king Bhadravarman. The king is apparently Bhadravarman III.

TEXT.

(a).

I. जयत्स्वो यः सुरराजचुडा-
मणीद्वरस्मियाच्छुरितालिन्युगमः ।
उमामुखामभोजः — — शेन
— चिताचिविनिर्पेशः॥

II. संमोहनेन किल विद्वयति यं शरेषा
कामो जगश्रयमनोहरविश्र — — ।
— — पुनः स लभन्ते यद्यः । भूयस् [ः]
भृत्या सहक्रदपिं यमभवन्तु पुरुषवर्षामुकः॥

1. The line is grammatically defective.
2. The line is metrically defective. I suggest: भृत्या सहक्रदपिं यमभवन्तु पुरुषवर्षामुकः etc., which mends the line.
III. स एवं भगवान् इशो दृवलोकलुकोदयः ।
विव चं श्रीसांमन्द्वयो राजप्रध्यया । भक्तिपदः ॥

IV. नमिन्त्यो महीसुभिरः प्रजापालनकांशिः ।
राजप्रध्यया चार्मोदालोत्तिपूयि भूतये ॥

V. स्वतः अतिवनारागसन्तुष्ठी महीतंत्रीभुचे
चम्पायो धनशान्यवर्धनभुते भूयेन्द्रकीर्तिनुं ।
श्रवणेऽविवमणमित्रवसादव चंपादित्यवशिष्यैः
सुनाये चरणायाद । भगवान्तस्यो देवनांशुया । ॥

VI. श्रीकील्लकल्लब्धरियाः
लघुगमाधमपरकारः
श्रीयाम्व्रमा पृथिवीश्वराः यः
नित्यानुयिताः ॥ ॥

LL. 9-11 युविष्टिरो सतो । दुर्योधनायः ।
युधसु-ब्यवस्थकः नासं यः पाद्यत। ॥

(१).

पशुपतिनिनयनमकलसुपङ्गे श्रीकपितास्यमें मिशुमन्दिनिकरः
केतुरजन्तिकरथरघनितन्ते । जलधर । शृष्टि ॥
युधकालः
पाद्यनासं नरपविवद्वक्षीद्वयु श्रीयाम्बुशक्ष्वरः प्रतिशापीतः
विज्ञानिमामे अखिनित ॥

TRANSLATION.

(२).

1. Victory to (Mahādeva), whose feet are illumined by the blazing rays of the crest-jewels of the king of gods, whose eyes are............face of Umā like a lotus, and whose eyes are indifferent to all attachment.

1. Read अश्वयः. The two एः's appear redundant.
2. Read पुरुशोधिवः.
3. Read तारः.
4. Read दहनः.
5. Probably श्रीमलयः.
2. Who was struck with the arrow called Sanimohana by Cupid, who had (a body), charming in the three worlds. Although Cupid again became bodiless, still he was relieved of the miseries of soul by even once getting hold of him (Śiva).

3. He, the powerful god Śrīnābhadrā, who bestows happiness and prosperity on the world, brought about the prosperity of the king.

4. He is to be adored by the kings who are embraced by the lotus-like hands of the goddess of sovereignty and who are desirous of protecting their subjects, for the sake of the prosperity of sovereignty in this world.

5. Hail to Champā, the crowning ornament of the land of the rising Sun, and created by the rays issuing from the pair of feet of that god! By the glory of the king, like the moon, which eternally decorated the beauty of the circle of the earth, she has come to possess immense wealth and prosperity and a noble dignity (in a way) that has won for her the esteem of the people at large.

6. King Bhadravarmā, lord of the world, who is constantly attended by..............like Indra, on account of fortune, fame, riches, power, strength, heroism, liberality, for bearance, and attachment to religion and good qualities.

He is Yudhiṣṭhira, Yujutsu.......................by (or with) Duryodhana and others, the good servant who was called Pādarakṣa.............

(b).

In the year of the saka king denoted by "...... ...eyes of Śiva, Maṅgala." (83x) (astronomical details follow) Dharma-

1. Lit. 'Fascination—name of one of the five arrows of the cupid.'
lingāśvara was established in this village of Liṅgabhūmi by Pādarakṣa who had a great devotion for the king in his heart.

No. 42.
Bang-An Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman (III).

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 5). It was engraved on two faces of a stelae found at Bang-An in the district of Quang-Nam. It contains 32 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit. The inscription contains 11 verses and fragments of verse and prose texts. The metres used are:—vv. 1, 2, 5, 6, Indravajra; v. 3, Sārdula-vikrīḍita; vv. 4, 10, 11, Anustubh; vv. 7, 8, Upajāti; v. 9, Vasantatilakā.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of a liṅga by king Bhadravarman (III) (?). It was dated, but the symbols denoting unit and tenth figures are lost. The hundredth figure is Maṅgala = 8.

TEXT.

श्रो नमःश्रिवाय.

स्त्रिः।

I. यो मस्मराश्वां बहुस्थित्यां

दिव्यः सुखासीन उपयोगः।

देवीयम् सुप्रि स्वांशुमालाय—

प्रयोगितः के विगत्माबुद्धे।॥

II. प्रत्यक्षप्रयार्द्यः परं देवं

दयां तदः विस्मयमागताःस्यः।

1. Read विपणाद्यः।
तत्त्वज्ञलर्वं यमशातिडतताभमः
निरुपमकं वासिकवाज्ययुक्तम�॥

III. देवेन्द्रः किल पूर्वायोगिति तदः पश्चायं सरोजोद्वः
अन्तराविचारयुग्मतः भवानि नारायणसो वामतः।
मध्यस्त्रो ज्वलिताभ्यां प्रमिक्तिवतः कारपूर्वस्वधारा-
खासान्त्वभ्रमणेत्रकैस्तुतनतो योशंतो तदायः सुरेः॥

IV. रथ तड्डसमराया यः समुद्रायात्तिनिर्मितः॥
तिछत्वेव नरोमध्ये सूर्याकोटिसमन्थः॥

V. शीतातिनिर्मितं किल सर्वभावान्
आस्फलशेषं वर्मस्म तस्मि।
यः पश्चायोत्तुणमधं
दृशी च पूर्वमुखां समायाम॥

VI. संपथ शेषां पृथवित्वो नियोगादि
यो भस्मदेशां अनुशासित विप्पम्।
यातातिनिद्राभूत तत् पव देवा
ब्रह्मदयः स्वालयन्मायु जगमु॥

VII. (स) पव देवः परमात्मकः श्रीशानेश्वरो लोकसुख्गुणपाशामृ।
पूजः प्रजायम् स[ह]श्रुत्यवर्गमधुपदितस्तूर्ज्यतादि नियम्॥

VIII. श्रीभद्रनारमि भृगुवंशसारकम्……….लक्षणेन नरेन्द्रः।
गुहेन तृद्धया च शतानुक्तिस्त्रल्प्रत्युत्तमश्चारितेयम्॥
नि जितवतः।। केषारंशुभासासितभजलेन याता ज्यदिन्दु-
पितां नु……………देवोपजुक्तितांः॥

IX. देशान्तरागतमहे पित्वुतस्वस्य
ज — — — — युज्यत्व सूचय कैचिः।
संपूर्णचन्द्रचवला भुवनप्रतियां
प्र — — — — — — —॥
विहितनपस……सज्जनगीतो……भुि………श्रुचिमातिचुरः
आभिस्मुराश्च…………….सिद्धां चगुः॥

1. The line is grammatically defective.
2. Read \"श्राधि\".
TRANSLATION.

Reverence to Śiva.

Hail!

1. He, the divine (being), and of great power, seated with ease upon a mass of ashes, shines very much, like the Sun, aglow with rays, in a cloudless sky.

2. Seeing him shine with an unbroken splendour, like a smokeless fire, nourished by clarified butter, Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu and other gods are filled with astonishment.

3. With Indra in front, Brahmā to the right, the Moon and the Sun at the back, and the god Narāyaṇa to the left,
he was sitting in the middle, glowing with splendid rays while those and other gods were bowing down before him and praising him in his proper hymns which begin with 'Om' and end with 'Svadā-svāhā.'

4. Then rising from the heap of ashes, he, the very pure, remained in the middle of the firmament, (shining) with a splendour equal to that of millions of suns.

5. For the sake of consecration, and for virtue and welfare, he gave everything, even the excellent ashes, the remains of sacrifice, to Brahmā, in the assembly of the gods.

6. Having transformed the ashes into the complete universe, he committed it to the care of Viṣṇu. Then he disappeared and all the gods, commencing with Brahmā, went to their respective homes.

This god Śrī Īśāneśvara, the preceptor of the world, who possesses the characteristics of the absolute, and who is worthy of worship and salutation by the kings, lives here triumphantly together with his multitude of servants for the sake of the prosperity of Champā. Śrī Bhadravarman, the moon in the heaven of the Bhṛgu family.............
adorns hundreds (?) of towns......................... The multitude of royal ambassadors coming from different countries..........the white fame of the king has spread all over the world..........praised by virtuous men.........may he protect (?) the words and deeds of learned men !..........
He is ascetic.................removed his sins,.......................devoted of asuras and pīśāchās, having control over his passions...............respected by all...............these ashes white as the foam of the waves of the ocean of milk and shining like kunda (flarer)¹ and Moon..............of Paśupati

1. The text has 'kunda' = probably a mistake for 'kunda.'
whose feet are adorned It is my duty to install the Paramēśvara for the salvation of all installed in the year of the saka king denoted by maṅgala (8xx) (astronomical details follow). Exemption given to him by Śri Bhadravarman—It will endure in the world as long as the Sun and the Moon.

No. 43.

Nhan-Biéu Stelae Incription of Indravarman III, dated 833.

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 299). Nhan-Biéu is in the district of Quang-Tri. The inscription is engraved on the four faces of a stelae containing respectively 13, 14, 11 and 12 lines in addition to the invocation at the beginning. The inscription on the first three faces is written in Sanskrit, and the rest in Cham. There are altogether 21 verses in the Sanskrit portion with a number of small prose passages. The metres used are: vv. 1, 15, 20, Upajāti; vv. 2, 9, 12, Šārdūlavikṛidita; v. 3, Śikharini; vv. 4, 6, Giti; v. 5, Upagiti; vv. 7, 8, 11, 19, Anustūbh; v. 13, Indravajrā; vv. 14, 17, Āryā; v. 16, Pīthvi; vv. 18, 21, Vamsasatha; v. 10, Sraddhārā.

The inscription records that a dignitary of Champā named Po klun Piliḥ Rājadvāra and his eldest son Sukṛti Po klun Dharmapātha, consecrated in the year 830 (=908 A. D.) a temple of Śiva called Devalingeśvara, and in the year 833 (=911 A. D.) a Buddhist monastery of Avalokiteśvara, in honour of their grandmother, the princess Lyān Vyddhakula, who was also the grandmother of Tribhuvanadevi (cf. 1.)

1. In this fragmentary portion only important passages have been translated and many isolated words and phrases have been left out.
No. 44) queen of Jaya Simhavarman I. The father, Rājadvāra boasted of having served under four kings of Champā viz., Jaya Simhavarman, his son king Jaya Śaktivarman, king Bhadravarman (III) and his son Indravarman III. He got the titles of Povkliṅ Sudandavāsa and Akālādhipati.

TEXT.

(‘).
यश्रीजयसिंहवर्मनपतिरतिवञ्जभो नायकोऽयं
अभिमतसमपवस्ति तद्रा थः
पोष्य कुश्य पिलि: राजदार्नामामृतः। किन्तु

VIII. यवद्रीपुरुषभूपानुषातो ूँतकम्पणि।
गत्वा यः प्रतिपतिक्षः सिद्धयां समागमतः॥
शातो विभवसंपद्वमधिगतवानिति॥

IX. पश्चात् जयशक्तिवर्मनपतेरिद्राशया रघु- नः
श्रीमचन्द्रजयसिंहवर्मसुधापालामजस्य विनिमयः॥
राज्ये धीमति सर्वजंपदुद्येयरापूर्णे सर्वेऽतोः

(b).

— — — — — — — यदः प्रभुतोभवत्॥

श्रीपि च—

X. श्रीमचन्द्रभद्रवर्मावनिभुज इह विषमः — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — यारस्थिनामः
— — — — — — — — — — — — — वीयः
दिव्यार्कः द्विपस्ते पुलकितवपुरोधितिज्व यानि सर्वे॥
तथा तस्य पोष्य कुश्य सुद्रानवानामेवस्तसम्भूतः।
तद्वापि

XI. यवद्रीपुरुषभूपि चिन्तितपानुष्गा —
द्वारास्मापि यो गत्वा सिद्धयात्रामुपगमतः॥
शातो यज्ञिस्म्य श्रीभद्रवर्मावनिभुजः स्वाया
स्थुद्रानकुकुलवेष्टिताणि यो अधिगतवानिति॥ श्रापि च

XII. यस्येराजवतः पुनःस्थिरः — श्रीभद्रवर्माहार- 
चोरोपालूत्सस्य दुर्जयजयश्रीविस्तरस्याखिलाम्।
कौंतिचिश्चन्ति वि श्री वि — निगर्न्तुः ब्रस्मातपरं
पूयत्राध्यानाय सर्वार्धिन्यं हासद्वैतेर्वृत्तः॥

1. Read "श्रीमचन्द्रजयसिंहवर्मावनिभुजाः".
XIII. धीरूद्रवर्मा शनिवारं तत्र
देशान्तरे व्यासयश: प्रकाशम्।
पीतशा समाक्षरं नुपाश्चरुत्रास्
tं संस्तुचन्तिस्म निरन्तरं तेः॥

XIV. तद्वारे यस्तु प्रायशो भूपतेराक्षामथरंजना
हुतावसत्वाद्रकालाधिपतिनामदेहयमवाप॥

XV. — — कम्मोपचितानभावः
विनिपिनिनर्विजवद्वृद्धः।
द्रेष्णविनिएङ्गु नराधिकस्य
किष्किष्म — — खलु य: समर्थः॥
हस्तित यद्यस्यज्ञातवा कोवल्क्लुज्ञभवायस्य:
धीरूद्रवर्मा निपालानुभृतः॥

XVI. विद्वानमन्त्रिसंपदामिहपरं गुणामधोऽनिधेः
निधि: प्रकृतिम: पुरस्सरिक्षुद्विचितौदयः।
तया मुच्यिपाला।..............................

येसपमग्रज।..............................प्रमकधयनः॥

XVII. कुमुद्वेलभूर्मात्रांति राज्राणवद्विदमन्तन्वभृत
चिंतिस्वा मोक्षवुवमजननिनिवासभूमि।...........॥
...............हृदयः: देवः प्रतिश्चा पावनन्तन्व श्रुति। कुतः

XVIII. विभूतिरेना विपुलान्यन्त्यार्थविका
समुचित्वापि चर्मनधनाक्षतः।
अन्नील निस्तारतमा महीतले
महार्यंकशा सकले सदागमः॥

XIX. उत्तम सस्द्द्वत्व मतिमानन्त्र कीर्तिपरार्यः।
तयोहेऽन् प्रतिद्वं यः कर्तुमुल्लहेत तदः॥
स एव परमकुशलपुण्यसंभागभारावजिततद्द्वयोऽस्मारं
दृष्टनम्बलोऽपगते शक्रराजे मिथुननिद्यकेत्विन्द्रनन्तनं
TRANSLATION.

I. Hail!

II. Whom all the three words, Bhū, Bhūvanas, and Sva (praised), praise, and will praise...........salutation to Him:

III. There was the illustrious king, famous in this world as Śri Jayasimha Varman, who was equal in prowess to Visnu, who protected, without fear, the kingdom of Champā, which was in the fulness of its power, and resembled Lakṣmi without (the proverbial) inconstancy; and who always gave various riches to his subjects to the fulfilment of their utmost desires.

III. In the house of that king, the chaste and incomparable Tribhuvana Mahādevī was the chief among all the queens. She was the foremost among all (the queens) and virtuous, and shone with her children\(^1\) in her husband’s house almost like Śri.

\(^1\) Huber translates “bereft of husband.”
IV. She was the grand-daughter of Lyañ Vṛddhakulā, who was born in a pure family, and illumined both the families (i.e., family of her father and husband) as the full moon illumines the sky.

Again:

V. Of the eldest son of Lyañ Vṛddhakulā Narendrādhipati who was devoted to the lotus-feet of the king, who was a good person and whose character was agreeable.

VI. He (Narendrādhipati) had an excellent daughter who had purified her own family by her character. This daughter had a son who was skilful and devoted in the service of the king and whose prudence was well-known.

VII. He was intelligent, prudent, religious and politic; out of great devotion for the king he was very obedient to his commands.

VIII. He was a favourite captain of the king Śrī Jayasimhavarman and had riches equal to his desires. He was named Pov Klun Piliḥ Rajadvārah.

At the command of the king he went to the capital of Yavadvipa on a diplomatic mission, and obtained credit by the success of his undertaking.

From that time he obtained wealth and riches.

1. This may be the proper name or an epithet i.e. king of men.

2. Huber translates "who was the best product of nature." 'Prakṛteḥ' seems to be redundant.

3. Huber translates ‘Siddhayatrām Samāgamat’ as ‘acquired the science of magic.’ This seems to be farfetched. Huber reads ‘nūta’ in the first line of the verse which seems to be a mistake for ‘dūta’. ‘Nūta’ means ‘praiseworthy’—so it also leads nearly to the same conclusion.
IX. Then, in the prosperous kingdom,—filled everywhere with riches of all kinds,—of the illustrious king Śri Jaya Simhavaran, who protected the world with his stern commands.

(\(b\)).

He (Po Klu\(\text{\u092f}\) Pilih Rajadv\(\text{\u092f}\)raḥ) continued to occupy a high position.

Again:

X. Fortunate king Śri Bhadravarman..........his enemies hearing of him become afflicted with fear and the hairs of their bodies stand on end.

Under this reign he obtained the title of Pov Klu\(\text{\u092f}\) Sudandva(v\(\text{\u092b}\)sa.

XI. Again, at the commands of the king he went to Yavadvipa a second time and was successful in his undertaking.

He obtained from king Śri Bhadravarman the fields in the villages of Sudān and Kumuvel.

Again:

XII. ..........the son of king Bhadravarman.......... whose fame and sovereignty had spread in all directions by hard-won victories.\\(1\) ..........  

XIII. Delighted kings heard with pleasure of king-emperor Śri Indravarma, whose mighty fame had spread to other countries, and constantly praised him.

XIV. During his rule he (Piliḥ Rājadvāraḥ) had obtained the title of Akādhipati as a reward for the zeal with which he served the king.

1. The passage is very obscure and I cannot offer any complete translation.
XV. Devoting himself exclusively to the study of politics he was enabled to advise the king as to what was good and what was bad.

His eldest son (or brother?) called Sukṛṭi Pov Kluṅ Dharmapāṭha was a favourite of king Indravarman.

XVI. (Eulogy of Dharmapāṭha.......................... mutilated).

Who spoke thus to his eldest son (brother?).

XVII. I have obtained the fields of Kumuvel by the favour of the king. The village of Cikir is the place of residence both of mine as well as of my mother. It is therefore necessary to establish god..............; for:

XVIII. This wealth, although very great, is unsubstantial; although accumulated with care it is liable to be destroyed in a moment. It is most useless in this world. Thus has the wealth been described by the great sage in all scriptures.

XIX. Having thought thus, he, the intelligent man and desirous of fame, resolved to install gods in the two places.

Then he, with his heart bent down under the burden of many excellent meritorious works, together with his eldest son (Brother?) installed a Devalingeśvara, for the sake of glory, in the year of Śaka king denoted by 'umbara-duhuna-maiyala (830) (astronomical details).

Then, in the Śaka year 833, he established, together with his eldest son (brother?) a monastery called Śri Viḍḍhalokeśvara in the village of Cikir.
XX. As both the movable and immovable things in the world become fixed by the support of the mountains, so this region would find a stable support in the two sanctuaries of Śiva and Avalokiteśvara.

(d).

The Cham portion enumerates the lands granted to the temple of Devalingaśvara.

No. 44.

Ha-Trung Stelae Inscription of Indravarman III, dated 838.

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 298). It was engraved on the four faces of a stelae found at Hà-Trung in the district of Quang-Tri. There were altogether 57 lines of writing in Sanskrit, and 71 lines in Cham. Only the last five lines of the Sanskrit portion can be read. It records the erection of a temple of Śiva, called Indrakañteśvara, by Tribhuvanadevi, in the year 838 (=916 A. D.) during the reign of Indravarman, son of Bhadravarman. The Cham portion describes the lands which belonged “to the temple of Śrī Indrakānteśvara in the town of Navap.”

TEXT.

I. कायार्थमहत्तुष्टं श्रीकण्ठसंस्थितपल्ल्वः।
पप्रजाविधवारे प्रवर्तक्षन्तीति कालेकसिन्धः।

II. प्रथमभव.................घटवने राव्यपुषे।
रुल......तूल......सौरसुरगुरुचन्द्रागाते वज्रुषि......लक्ष्यः।

III. भौम मकरे (मे)प भृगुस्य श्रीमतीन्द्रकान्तेश्वर।
सातिष्ठितयं स्वभवक्या साधवी श्रीइद्रवमन्दुपे।

IV. श्रीकिंभुवनदेव्या; श्री; पुष्यानां स्वानमृद्धकीचि स्वातु।
प्रतिमालिङ्गो ब्रह्मो निन्यं श्रीइद्रवकान्तेश्वः।
TRANSLATION.

In the year of the śaka king denoted by “kāya-agni-maṅgala” (838), (astronomical details)..............during the reign of the illustrious king Indravarman, the chaste (Tribhuvanadevi) installed the image of Indrakānteśa out of devotion.

The holy shrine and the image of god Śri Indrakānteśa will be for ever to the great glory of Śri Tribhuvanadevi.

No. 45.

Po-Nagar Stelae Inscription of Indravarman III, dated 840 Śaka.

For localities, publications etc. cf. No. 22. The reading was corrected by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 268). It contains 4 verses in 13 lines, the metre being: vv. 1-2, Anuṣṭubh, v. 3, Upājāti, and v. 4, Vasanta-tīlakā.

TEXT.

I. श्रीभद्रवर्मनार्थपतिःश्रमदवर्धकः।
भूपक्ष सकलं भूमि पर्योनिधिपयोध्राम॥

II. तत्स्य सुतुंम्बीहीपालकम्पारत्यक् छत्तः।
धी इन्द्रवर्मनामास्थातः पूर्णंचन्द्र द्वारांभरे॥

III. मीत्रध्वन्तकिनेन्तःसूर्मिं
सस्काशिकाचार्यकर्णोद्रकौः।
आश्यानशवातरकल्पमाः
पदिष्ठ एतेविषिति सत्कवीनाम॥

IV. शोभम्‌वराशितुङ्गे शकराजकाले
देवीमां भगवती फलधीतवेद्याम्।
एकार्तश्रोहः शुवरसिन्धर्वारे
(तो)तिष्ठिपुषुरकल्कीसिद्धांव।
TRANSLATION.

I. The king Śrī Bhadravarman, who is the giver of riches to the world, enjoys all the lands up to the ocean (lit. which have got as its dress the water of the ocean).

II. His son, king Śrī Indravarman, skilful in protecting Champa, was like full moon in the sky.

III. He who (skilfully played in the) good waves which were the six systems of Philosophy beginning with Mīmāṃsā and those of Jinendra (i.e. Buddha), and in the mass of water which was (Pāñjini's) Grammar with Kāśīkā, who was a fish (in the water) which was the Ākhyāna and the Uttarakaḷpa of the Śaivas; because among the learned, he was the most skilful in all these subjects.

IV. In the year of the Śakas denoted by 'vyomā-ambhurāśī-tamu' (840), on Sunday, the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Śuci (Jaiśṭha or Āśāḍha), he has installed this golden image of the goddess Bhagavati in order to gain fame in the whole world.

No. 46.

Lai-trung Stelae Inscription of Indravarman III (or Jaya-Indravarman I ?) dated 843 (?).

The inscription was edited by M. Huber (B. E. F., Vol. XI, p. 15). It was engraved on two faces of a stelae found at Lai-Trung in the district of Hue. The whole of the first face and about 8 lines of the second face are in Sanskrit and the rest is in Cham. The Sanskrit portion contains 5 verses and 1 prose passage. The metres used are: vv. 1, 3, 5, Śārdula-vikṛdiṭa; v. 4, Srāgdlharā; v. 2, Indravajra.
The inscription refers to king Śrī Jaya Indravarman and records the erection of a temple of Śiva by one Danāy Pinān, a noble of Champa. It is dated as follows:

"Niy Šakarājakāla vulh yāp trih catvāra-aṣṭa." M. Huber and M. Finot take it to mean 840, taking ‘trih’ as a Cham word.

But ‘trih’ should, in my opinion, be taken as Sanskrit ‘trih’ = 3. Tor, in the first place, the word ‘yāp = counting’ immediately precedes it; and secondly, the date would otherwise be merely 84, as there is no justification for taking ‘catvāra’ as equivalent to 40.

**TEXT.**

(16).

स्वस्तितः श्रीमद्विशालाय सिद्धिरस्तु।

I. यो व्यापी विभवबंतो मुहुश्चाश्चर्वः हुरीः पुजितो
भक्त्यः योगविषुद्धया पुरुषमाजाभिनिः सिद्धिरिमिः।
देवामित्रमहानेन्द्रविते देवाङ्गनाभिभस्या
पापाभिविनाशक्रतः प्रविनां विभूतिन्द्रेऽ॥

II. श्रीशान्तरस्य हरस्व तस्येवविषुद्धयाम्बोहर्षेपुभिः।
चौपुरीसंपदनशोभासंभोगभाराक्षताः समुद्रा॥

III. तत्स्यां श्रीजयरुङ्गम्युपति: संपादिताः सतां
सेनाभिभस्तक्ताभिमिरिरिव वा ताराभिरासेविः।
दोसाभापरिरिवतिक्षितजगद्र: पुण्यकरोबद्धः
कान्या लोकमनेरिवेधनकरलरस्स्त्या म्भाल रच्चतु॥

IV. तस्यामर्यः संस्मर्तेश्च गुण पदुत्रो श्रेष्ठर्मस्पद्धाः
नानापुण्याशनाजनितमुनिमनोद्रो योयमालात्मा।
शान्त्या राकेन्द्रवतु समनविर्हनो लघुकार्यगमर्थीः
शाश्वे शाश्ववस्थः: स्तुतिप्रधुभिभिरिविभुवे गीयते स्म॥

1. Read नमयः
2. Metrically defective. We expect हृदयजगाधिधो.
V. पो यात्पौरू हुदनाथ्यपिनाळु पुरुषजनः शैवक्रियाबालनिविद्
योगध्यानसमाधिक्षुनिवपरेच्छा यो निजातपदिहः।
स्मुचाम्भःविमानकसदंशं कार्यं तत्निः यहनत्
तत्पुरुषं भवसागरात् सम कुलते पितोऽधुचेव स्वातमन्:॥
श्री श्रमणर्न्दुरपर्वतस्मय धनामि श्वेतंगोद्या देवसिद्धमहिपार्दी
ध्यायंतिकुलस्वतन्त्रस्तरं कुलस्वलोह्याद्रादि च ये के
पापपुरुषा हरसित बलतया तृषुृतया वा

(b).
कलकनतया धारिम्मीमहानरके घोरतरहुताधाशिखाकराने
पतन्तु ते पितुवन्युधोऽपांधुवन्युधुते। पुनं रक्षितिन न हरसित
वा ये के साधुपुरुषा धर्ममुखि दिलिण्यः प्रांणुवत्तु ते नियं स्वर्गी-
फलमिति।

TRANSLATION.

(a).
Hail! Reverence to Śiva! Let there be success!

I. The god who penetrates everywhere; who is the best in the three worlds; who possesses a great glory; who is worshipped with devotion purified by yoga, in the caverns of Himalaya, by all gods, the Asuras (demons), the celestial nymphs, and the most powerful Siddhas and Ṛishis; and who destroys the sins; gaves strength and power to the men who are devoted to him.

II. By the pollens of the pair of lotus-feet of Śrī Īśanadeva Hara, the prosperity of the city of Champā increased with abundance of wealth, beauty and enjoyment.

III. May the king Śrī Jaya Indravarman,—who procures good fortune to the virtuous, who is served by his entire army as the moon is served by the stars, who protects

1. Read ओऽ।।
2. Read एऽ।।
the entire world by his brilliant strength, who is the source of all meritorious works, and who delights the mind of the people by his beauty,—protect his subjects in that city by his strength.

IV. He had a minister who was very skilful in all the qualities of Šiva (Śiva or of a master); who was desirous of being the receptacle of infinite religious merit; who had caused pleasure in the hearts of munis (hermits) by the successful performance of a number of meritorious works; whose soul was without stain; who was tranquil as the full moon; who (i.e. whose name) was sung by the virtuous; who had acquired fame, knowledge of scriptures and riches; who was versed in the sacred scriptures, and who (i.e. whose praise) was sung in all the regions by the assembly of men, learned in scriptures, and skilful in (composing) hymns of praise.

V. Po yān pov ku Danāy Paināi, a dignitary, versed in the knowledge of Šaiva rites, and performing yoga, dhyāna, and samādhi for gaining the heaven of Śiva for the sake of his own salvation, thinking that this body is as impermanent as the foam floating on waters, made this great meritorious work for emancipating himself and his parents from this ocean of existence.

If the riches of Śrī Amarendrapuresvara viz., fields, oxen, male and female slaves, buffaloes, rice, both husked and unhusked, clothes, silver, gold, bell-metal, iron, copper etc., are forcibly carried away by wicked men, out of greed or sheer wickedness, then they would fall into the deep abyss of hell, made horrible by the burning flames, together with their paternal and maternal relations. But those virtuous persons, who desiring religious merit, maintain and
do not carry away (those goods), would secure the enjoyment of heaven for ever.

May the black dog, the white dog, the red dog and the dog of motley colour haunt the mother of him who incurs this curse.

Written in the year 843 of the šakas.

No 47.

Po-Nagar Stelae Inscription of Jaya
Indravarman I dated 887 Śaka.

(For localities, publications etc. cf. No. 22). It contains two Anuṣṭubh verses in 7 lines. It records that in 887 śaka (=965 A. D.) king Śrī Jaya Indravarman installed a stone image of Bhagavatī to replace the golden one installed by king Śrī Indravarman (cf. No. 45), as the latter was carried away by the Cambodgians. This shows that between 918 and 965 A. D., the dates of Nos. 45 and 47, Champa was conquered by a king of Cambodge. This inference agrees well with the Baksei Cankran and Prasat Bat Chum inscriptions of Rājendravarman II (944-968 A. D.) according to which this Cambodgian king conquered the kingdom of Champa.

**TEXT.**

I. हेमीम् यत्नतिमां पूर्वे येन दुयापतेजस।

न्यस्तां लोभादिसंकाल्ता मृता उद्दत्य काम्बुज।॥

II. श्रीजयइन्द्रवश्चण्यः सोवद्याश्रकाथिपि।

पुनः शेलमयीम् कीत्वे कौडारे नामनिष्ठिपन्॥
TRANSLATION.

Again,

I. The golden image which was formerly installed by (the king), of a majesty difficult to attain, the Kāmbujas, dominated by cupidity and other vices, had carried away and died.

II. In the year of the Śaka king denoted by ‘adṛṣṭa-anga’ (887) Śrī-Jaya-Indravarman again installed the stone image of the goddess, in Kauṭhāra, for the sake of glory.

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No. 48.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription.

Illegible. Doubtfully attributed to Jaya Indravarman I.

J. A. 1888 (I) pp. 78–79, No 403;

No. 49.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription.

The reading is very doubtful.

It probably contains an invocation to the god of Yāpu-Nagara. The name of the king may be doubtfully restored as Śrī-Jaya-Indravarman.

Corpus, No. XXVII, p. 260.

No. 50.

Po-Nagar Image Inscription.

This Cham inscription is engraved on a small image of a goddess, placed close to the large statue of Bhagavati.
It refers to king Śrī-Jaya-Indravarman, god Śiva and goddess Bhūmīśvarī.

J. A. 1888 (I) p. 79, No. 400;
J. A. 1891 (I) p. 28.

No. 51.

Myson Stone Inscription of Harivarman I
dated 913 Śaka.

This short Cham inscription of 4 lines is engraved on a block of sandstone lying in the vestibule of a temple in the western group. It records the re-installation of the god Śrī Jaya-Īśana-Bhadresvara in the year 913 (=991 A. D.) during the reign of king Vijaya-Śrī Harivarmadeva.

B. E. F. Vol. IV (pp. 113, 117, 933)

No. 52.

Pō Klauı Garai rock inscription of
Parameśvaravarman I,
Dated 972 Ś.

The inscription was edited by Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IX, p. 208) (cf. also B. E. F., Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 39 ff.) (For localities cf. No. 53). It contains 9 lines of writing, of which about 5½ lines are in Sanskrit and the rest in Cham. The Sanskrit portion is written entirely in verse, and contains 4 stanzas, the metre being, vv. 1, 4, Anuṣṭubh; v. 2, Puspitagrā, and v. 3, Śārdūlavikṛdita.

The inscription relates how king Śrī Parameśvaravarmanadeva suppressed the rebellion at Pāṇḍuraṅga, and records the erection of a Liṅga in 972 śaka (=1050 A. D.) by Śrī Devarāja general (Mahāsenāpati) and nephew of the king.
TEXT.

(a).

Hail.

1. The Ksatriya Devarāja, a connoisseur of merits, installed a Linga in the Śaka year denoted by ‘pakṣa-adri-nava’ (972).

2. Victory unto the protector of Champā, who has vanquished the crowds of his enemies in battle; who is comparable to the son of Indra for the prowess of his unconquered arms: whose great glory has penetrated into the kingdom of Kambu (Cambodge), and who has protected the ten regions from fear.

TRANSLATION.

(b).
Devarāja was the son of the younger sister of the great (king) Śrī Parameśvara. He was victorious, liberal, endowed with virtue and talent, beautiful, wealthy and great; his glory, like pure moonlight, constantly illumined all the regions, and he always shone wonderfully as a mighty hero both in fight as well as in charity.

In the year of the Śakas denoted by ‘kuca-śaila-guha’ (972) a small but solid stone liṅga was installed by him for the sake of glory.

In the Śaka year 972 the pulyaṅ Śrī Devarāja Mahāsenāpati, nephew of the king Śrī Parameśvaravarmadeva, came to take this town of Pāṇḍuraṅga on behalf of (?) king Śrī Parameśvaravarmadeva. He had stones placed in various fortified enclosures, one by each man. And according to the number of soldiers..............he had them collected (?) ...............For this reason all were for ever attached to Śrī Parameśvaravarmadeva. Then the men made a Śiva-Liṅga out of these stones and installed it for the sake of military glory in this world..........................for their soul in the other world.

No. 53.

Pō Klauṅ Garai rock inscription of Parameśvaravarma I,
dated 972 Ś.

The inscription was discovered in 1901 by M. Parmentier and edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. III, p. 634 (No. VI) and pp. 643 ff.). Pō Klauṅ Garai is the name of one of the most beautiful ancient temples in the plain of Phanrang. The
inscription is engraved on the three faces of a triangular pyramidal rock in front of this temple. The three faces have respectively five, seven and six lines of writing. The first four lines and a part of the fifth are written in Sanskrit, and the rest in Cham. The Sanskrit portion begins with 'Svasti' and contains two verses.

The inscription refers to the king of Champā Paramesvaravarman Dharmarāja, whose fame as a conqueror spread to Kambudeśa (Cambodge), and records the installation of a Śivalīṅga by his Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) and commander-in-chief in 972 Śaka. (cf. B. E. F., Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 39).

Then follows the Cham text giving the detailed account of a revolt of the people of Phanrang against the king, and its suppression by the Yuvarāja. After suppressing the revolt the yuvarāja installed the Śivalīṅga and a column of victory.

TEXT.

स्वस्ति ।
नामश्री युवराजो यस्सेनाप्रभुतिष्ठिपन ।
लिङ्गमूर्य्योजा्रुधर्मीं कर्णाधिकारकाधिपे ॥
सकलजनमनोभिरामः(अ)न्द्रः
रष्यविनिर्दितोग्रस्तोनिविष्टकम्बुदेशः।
वरजनगदितोद्वय द्राननुपये
सुवि च विमात्यनिर्मां स चम्पेदेशपाली॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail!

The yuvarāja (by name?), the commander of army, installed this linga in the world for eternal glory, in the year of the Śaka king denoted by 'Karṇa-audri-ātmā' (972).
The protector of the kingdom of Champa—who charms the hearts of all people, whose great glory in battle has penetrated into the Kambu country (Cambodge), and who is even now praised by excellent men for his merit accruing from liberality;—constantly flourishes in this world.

Now the citizens of Pannā,—wicked, vicious and stupid,—were always in revolt against all the sovereigns who reigned in the kingdom of Champa. Thus during the rule of Paramēśvaravarmadeva Dharmarāja, the rebels proclaimed a native of the city as their king. As the king Paramēśvaravarmman was active and had numerous subjects, he sent troops in various batches and ordered his nephew the yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati to proceed with all his generals and conquer the city. All the troops of Pannā came to fight. He pursued and crushed them all and they took shelter in mountains and caverns. But the yuvarāja who had a powerful army ordered his troops to pursue them in all directions. And these troops got hold of all the people of Pannā with oxen, buffaloes, slaves and elephants, on behalf of king Paramēśvaravarmadeva Dharmarāja. He............... the half of the people...............he ordered them to dwell there in order to re-establish the city. The other half he gave to temples, monasteries, religious buildings, Sīlās, and hermitages for the sake of his own merit. Then the yuvarāja asked stones of the various troops and erected this linga. He also raised a column of victory. And on account of his piety to Śiva, when the people of this country saw the beauty and the marks of this linga...............they resolved to give up their revolts against the king of Champa who was always victorious.
No. 54.

Pō Klauñ Garai rock inscription of Jaya Parameśvaravarman I, dated 972 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol IX, p. 205). (For localities cf. No. 53). The inscription is engraved on two faces of the rock containing respectively seven and five lines. The first three lines contain a Sanskrit verse (metre—śārdula vikriḍita) and the rest is in Cham.

The inscription records that the king Śri Parameśvara-varmadeva subdued rebellion in Pāṇḍurāṅga and erected a column of victory in 972 (=1050 A.D.).

**TEXT.**

स्वस्ति ।   
धर्ममेव वदन्तीणसमो नरपतिनानानाकलाकलयो  
तस्मात् वदन्तीणसमो च नरपतिनानानाकलाकलयो ।

tvam api pāpāpāda dānārjunaṁ hastyadri-randhra'ke

**TRANSLATION.**

Hail !

The illustrious king Śri Parameśvara, the unique receptacle of various arts, possessing spiritual illumination, eminent in strength, valour and glory; successful as a universal ruler, having in the saka year denoted by ‘hastadri-randhra’ (972), defeated the vicious people of Pāṇḍurāṅga, deposited here a collection of stones, corresponding to the number of soldiers.¹

¹ ‘Sona-Sāṅkhya-Krtau’ is an obscure expression but the sense is clear from the Cham portion translated below.
The people of Pāṇḍuraṅga were always stupid, of mischievous spirit, and evil-doers. For instance on several occasions they revolted against different kings of Champa down to the time of His Majesty Śrī Parameśvaravarmanadeva who gave all the Barons of the country to the god Parameśvara (probably the country of Pāṇḍuraṅga had been placed under the suzerainty of a great monastery protected by the king). Nevertheless the people of Pāṇḍuraṅga were guilty of culpable acts. They set up different individuals one after another and proclaimed them kings of the country. Then His Majesty Śrī Parameśvaravarmanadeva led troops for the conquest of the country and pursued and captured the people of Pāṇḍuraṅga who took shelter in the caves, forests, summits of mountains, and the border of forests.

And the army captured them in the caves, in the narrow mountain passages and in the ravines—so that not one of them could escape. In the śaka year 972, on the 8th day of the bright fortnight of the 4th month, on Thursday, he made each person lay down a stone in various places, and by giving them to the army, he had a column of victory erected in this very place as a token of authority of His Majesty Śrī Parameśvaravarmanadeva. And when this column of victory was completed, the people of Pāṇḍuraṅga, who had revolted, became, for ever, perfectly virtuous and loyal towards the king of Champa.

No. 55.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Jaya Parameśvaravarman I,
dated 972 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXIX, p. 270). The inscription is engraved on the right
door-pillar of the temple of Po-Nagar to the left. It contains thirteen lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit. There are three verses at the beginning followed by a prose text (metre being v. 1, Srāgdhāra; v. 2, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; v. 3, Anuṣṭubh).

The inscription records the donations of king Śrī Paramēśvara to the ‘divinity of Yapu-Nagara’ i.e., an image representing Śiva and his spouse Gauri united in a single body. It is dated in 972 saka (=1050 A. D.).

TEXT.

स्वस्ति ।

I. भूताभृतेश्वरा भुवि भवचिन्होद्वारभावतंभावा
भावभावविभावा भवभरक्षभावाभावाभृतरभावा।
भावभावज्ञशिक्ष: शाशिमुकटतन्तरतंग्रहकाया सुकृतया
काये कायेशकाया भगवति नमतो नो ज्येष्ठ स्वस्तिद्या ॥

II. सारासारविचेच्चनसुकुमरणा मात्यो मनोक्षणः
पापापथ्यामिय: मियकर: कृत्यज्ञेनकोशम:।
लोकालोकिकलो कलो सतिसतःतातु भवद्राविनो
भावोद्वारसुभावसुकुमरणेऽत्ततोखेन ॥

III. चेलाद्वि नवमेव चमेश्वरी: श्रीः श्रीपरमेश्वरः।
स्वर्णविद्वंतमयून तस्या: स्वापयेतू स्वानक्षेतले ॥

इद्दु पूजार्थसुतं मकुटभूषणमेकं विचित्रश्वनागुरुं एकः
रूपमय्भूषार एकः महूर्तत्तवितानमक्षेत्रः
नतू नर्वे कल्यातमये: सुकल्यापुष्टेवालभावजननुग्राजनः
साकर्तृ तेनाये प्रहिततमती ॥

TRANSLATION.

I. “Thou art, O my goddess, the lord of what was and what was not; thou art, in real nature, the cause of the origin, continuity and development of this world; thou hast
in thy nature both positive and negative aspects; thou art
in thy very essence at one with whatever is in the world of
God during its creation as well as in its dissolution; thou art
the primordial energy of the existent and the non-existent;
thou hast as body, half of that which has moon as its diadem
(i.e. Mahādeva); thou art of beautiful appearance and form
part of the body of the lord of embodied beings. May we
triumph by our own success."—so saying the two (?) (donor
and his wife) bow down.

II. He, whose intelligence is matured by the discrimi-
nation between what is real and substantial and what is
not; who is worthy of regard; who is pleasing to the hearts
of others; who loves those who are timid as to what is vice
and what is not; who does good to others; who has acquisi-
tion of glory as the only object of his energy; who makes
the law prevail in the world by means of many, inherently
excellent, good qualities which have their origin in his own
nature, in order to protect good persons, both born and
unborn, in the Kali age when there is going on a struggle
between the pious and the vicious. 1

III. He, King Śrī Paramēśvara, shining in his pros-
perity, has placed in her sanctuary a vase inlaid with gold in
the Śaka year denoted by ‘vela-adri-nava’ (972).

And he has given to that goddess for her worship: an
excellent diadem, a variegated waist-band, a silver vase, an
umbrella decorated with peacock feathers, a vast silver
canopy, together with golden vases viz. excellent pitchers,
and four small and big vases.

1. The text has ‘lokāloki’ but the ‘i’kara is unintelligible.
No. 56.

Lai-Cham Inscription of Jaya Paramēśvara-varman I, dated 977 Śaka.

The inscription is engraved on a granite block in front of a cave, south of the village of Lai-Cham in the province of Khan-Hoa. It contains 2 lines of writing in Cham and records that in 977 Śaka (=1055 A. D.) during the reign of king Śrī Paramēśvaravarmanadeva, the cave was restored.


No. 57.

Phu-Qui Temple Inscription of Jaya Paramēśvaravarman I, dated 977 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by G. Coedes (B. E. F., Vol. XII, No. 8, p. 16) (cf. also B. E. F., Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 41 ff.). Phu-Qui is in Phanrang. The inscription contains 4 lines in Cham and is dated in the year 977 in the reign of king Śrī Paramēśvaravarmanadeva.

TRANSLATION.

In the Śaka year 977, His Majesty Śrī Paramēśvaravarmanadeva Īśvaramūrti, of the lineage of Uroja and king of kings (rājaakraṇavarttī) in the country of Champa, erected this Vihāra Rājakula. He decorated the house.............and gave to it men, oxen, buffaloes, grains as well as all the vessels necessary for the worship of the gods. (These gifts are made) in perpetuity.
No. 58.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Jaya Paramesvaravarman I.

It records the gift of king Śri Jaya Paramesvara-varmadeva (I) to the goddess whose image was re-installed by him. The gift consisted of lands and 55 slaves of all nationalities such as the Cham, Khmer, Chinese and Siamese.

J. A. 1891 (I), p. 29.

No. 59.

Myson Pillar Inscription dated 978 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 943, No. XV). It is engraved on the two faces of a pillar each containing 22 lines of writing. The language is Cham. The inscription records the donations of the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati to the temple of Śrīśanabhadreśvara in the year 978 (=1056 A. D.).

TRANSLATION.

(a).

.................... A number of temples; after which they were as beautiful as before. The Khmers, who were conquered by the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati when he took the town of Śambhupura, and whose sanctuaries were all destroyed by him, were given by him to the various temples of Śrīśanabhadreśvara. He made gifts to the temples, monasteries, sāḷās (houses of charity) and to all the temples vīz., temple of Śrīśanabhadreśvara (and others......................). Being.....................lakalpa (?) he celebrated the installation of Līṅgas. All the kings who have reigned in the kingdom
of Champā came here. The kings knew that gifts made to these gods are a mode of purification and that the gods to whom these gifts are made, being present in their symbols (cihna), know the kings of Champā, .................. who have installed these lingas in these temples. Being Senāpati (general) .................. he installed these lingas. As the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, who .................. lākalpa (?) was firmly devoted to Dharma and Śiva, he installed these lingas at the same time as the kings who reigned in the kingdom of Champā had (formerly ?) installed them. The Yuvarāja embellished and enriched Śrīśānabhadreśvara; he increased the riches and the lands of the god; he acted with energy and resolution; the thought of the god Īśvaradevatā, otherwise known as Yogīśvara, was always present in his mind. By the force of effort and concentration of mind, he at last saw Īśvaradevatā by a mental perception which went as far as Śrīśānabhadreśvara. Then, without much effort on his part, Īśvaradevatā became entirely visible (pratyakṣa) to him. Then, as he was a man of the world, devoted to Śrīśānabhadreśvara .................. knowing that the man enjoys prosperity in this world and in the other.

(b).

After that the Yuvarāja performed all kinds of good works and charitable acts. Then, knowing that the body and its pleasures are vain and transient, that it perishes and disappears, and that Śrīśānabhadreśvara is the supreme god in this world, the Yuvarāja erected this statue at the limit of the possessions (?) of Śrīśānabhadreśvara. Now in the Śaka year 978 the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati had erected this image of Liṅga and had given it the name of yu .............. ruliṅgeśvara. For the pious devotion towards the god Śiva and rendering prosperous the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara according to the vow of Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati ..............
And the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati has given a diadem, a vessel, a white umbrella, ornaments, a bracelet inlaid with precious stones, Brahmanical sacred thread, according to the needs of the god, and in pursuance of the order... the men of the temple...dancers, musicians, assistants, and all...god Śrīśānabhadresvara, and all...with the holy image of Liṅga... and he has given the domain of Svon Tralauṅ to different temples,...again repairing the lands of Svon Tralauṅ...he has established... various kinds of trees and... god Śrīśānabhadresvara as far as Sinhapura, and he has...the god Śrīśānabhadresvara who lives......

No. 60.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Rudra-varman III, dated 972 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXX, p. 275).

The inscription is engraved on the left door-pillar of the temple of Po-Nagar to the left.

It contains 12 lines of writing in Sanskrit. It has two verses at the beginning, followed by a prose text (metre being v. 1, Sragdharā, v. 2, Śārdūlavikriḍita).

The inscription records the donations of king Rudra-varman who was born in the family of Parameśvara and the younger brother of Śri Bhadravarmā. It is dated in the year 986.
TEXT.

I. भूतानां भूतभूत्य भृवि धरिष्युजामात्मैगे संव देशे तेशे गुणानं प्रवित्तपति पृथग् धीनं मद्योत्तमत्वाद्।
तेनेको रूढवर्मा रविरिप महता तेजस्य यो अहंतीद्वद्वार ताराताराधिनाध्यज्ञलस्मिनिभास्तस्तित्व चान्येजवनीशा; ॥

II. ज्येष्ठीपरमेर्खरुकलश्रीरूढवर्मानुजः
सन्व यः किल रूढवर्मानुजः ख्रेष्रव्रयं भाजम॥
रूढवं राजत्वाजनश्रमिं रैज्यिताधिकतां रत्नाद्वेयां सर्वं स्थूलां रसायनिविधे सौर्ये दत्ता भक्तः॥
पत्रद्व भारे संख्ये फळकलधात्त सतपतिः सितरकलधावलोपति यानविभिन्त्वतिकाशा दिपिपेत्यारमिति।
पुररिां तम्बूल-भाजनं जलद्वृक्षपुष्पकलशलधात्तमयस्मशं पञ्जकर्षिकामाण्मण्येवतीरं कनकधूपवायार्यमे मेकिकरक्षिकास्मां
दिपिपेत्यां कन्युजरकज्जाकरक्षेत्रं पञ्जकर्षिकामानं दश-पञ्पेत्यां कनकधूपः सतपणमाण्मतेनाथे प्रहितमुलस्मारार्य-मिति।
अन्यस्तास्यः ॥ खानविभिगमपादभूमिः शिलाभिः परिपूर्णाक्तता तोर्ण्योपलिनिच्छेन यतनं: इत्तमिति॥

TRANSLATION.

1. For *the real prosperity of beings in this world,* the splendour of the kings shines differently in different countries according as their qualities are inferior, average or superior. Thus Rudravarman alone is fit to be regarded as the Sun by means of his great splendour, while the other kings shine as the stars, the moon, the fire and the jewels.

1. Read 'धीन'.

2. Read 'धन्वशास्यः'.
2. The king Rudravarman, belonging to the noble and powerful family of Śri Parameśvara, and younger brother of Śri Bhadravarman, gave, out of devotion, in the year denoted by 'rasa-aṣṭa-vivara' (986) a vessel in three pieces (?), silver coins and three silver vessels, all painted (?) in the interior and alike massive and solid.

Measured by weight, seven paṇas of gold, 23 kaṭṭikās and 2 paṇas of silver. Again, he has given for the enjoyment of the god, a golden vase of betel of the shape of the constellation 'Pūrvvāsādhā', weighing 5 kaṭṭikās and 8 paṇas; a golden vase for burning incense weighing 1 kaṭṭikā and 2 paṇas; a silver vessel of Cambodge, weighing 5 kaṭṭikās and 10 paṇas; and a golden umbrella, weighing 7 paṇas. His pedestal¹ was paved with stones, and a gateway was carefully made with stones.

No. 61.

Myson Pillar Inscription of Harivarman II.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 941, No. XIV). It is engraved on two faces of a pillar and contains 41 lines of writing. The language is Cham. It records the donations of king Harivarman and his younger brother Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati to the temple of Śrīśānabhadreśvara.

TRANSLATION.

(a–b).

The enemy had entered into the kingdom of Champā and installed themselves as masters; having taken possession of all the royal property and the wealth of the gods; having pillaged the temples, the monasteries, the sālās, cells, her-

¹. The qualities phrase 'sthāna-vigama' is not quite clear.
mitages, villages and various edifices together with the horses, elephants, *padutis* (infantry?), oxen, buffaloes, and the crops; having ravaged everything in the provinces of the kingdom of Champā; having plundered the temple of Śrīśānabhadreśvara and all that the kings of past times had granted as endowments to Śrīśānabhadreśvara; having taken all the riches of the god and carried away the men belonging to the temple, the dancers, musicians...servants, together with the various properties of Śrīśānabhadreśvara; the temple remained empty and devoid of worship as the...

Then His Majesty Vijaya Śrī Harivarmadeva, yān Devatāṃūrti ascended the throne. He completely defeated the enemies, proceeded to the Nagara Champā, and restored the temple of Śrīśānabhadreśvara. He made...and three grand festivals...Śrī Harivarmadeva...the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara according to the rules of the Maharsis of old. He again gave eight...gold and silver ornaments and four different classes of royal insignia to Śrīśānabhadreśvara. And he re-established...with all the crops destroyed.... The kingdom of Champā became prosperous as of old. Then Harivarman celebrated his coronation...His Majesty the king Utkṛṣṭarāja. After this Harivarman enjoyed a complete happiness and tasted royal felicities.

Now the puḷiyaṇ Śrī Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, brother of Harivarman, skilful, endowed with talents, and possessing various qualifications, the commander-in-chief, watching both the friends and enemies of king Harivarman, noticed that the temple of the great god Śrīśānabhadreśvara was devastated. He restored it together with all the other temples with which kings of old endowed the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara, who rules over everything (?). He re-erected the temples, the chapels, the gateways and the different edifices in the
domain of Śrīśānabhadeśvara and made them perfectly beautiful. He re-erected the temples in the various provinces of the kingdom of Champā. He gave all the necessary articles for the worship of the god with the servants of temples, dancers, musicians........................and all the worship as before. He re-established the sālās, the cells, and the hermitages in the various provinces of the kingdom of Champā............. He constructed the sālās, he constructed .............he gave.............to the different temples. He gave water and food to the different temples to last as long as eternity. But this is only briefly told. And.........the good work which the yuvarāja has made for............in the temple of Śrī Vijaya Sinheśvara.

No. 62.

Myson Stelae Inscription dated 1003.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 933, No. XII) (For localities cf. No. 4). It is engraved on the four faces of a stelae containing respectively 25, 27, 27 and 28 lines. The first 20 lines (in the first face) are in Sanskrit. The rest is in Cham. The Sanskrit portion is written throughout in verse with the exception of 'Śrī svasti' at the commencement. The metres used are: vv. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, Śārddulavikriḍita; vv. 3, 7, Sragdharā.

The inscription records the donations of king Hurivarma and is dated in 1003 (=1081 A. D.).

TEXT.

(a).

श्री स्वस्ति ।

I. जोपाञ्जोपिजो २०००००—४०००—ज्वलीति स्थितो
     —— ——२५ चौप्या विविधतां स्थां बक्स्तुकामो गते ।
लीण्य साम्य —— —— सुविदुपि खानेत तथातुरं सुखमालेन’ परिशर्नित तमणि —— नमद्धें शिवम् ॥

II. प्राङ्गेवर्धरधर्मेऽराजविदितो यो नारिकेङ्नियो दायादशः कमुकानियेजनितवानासीस्रेण्द्रानि।
तद्वसो हरिवमेधवतुपि: व्यभृद्वृतस्थोरसि
रामादयागराजधान स कलो चोड्यां पुषिपंपंतः ॥

III. शास्त्रे शाखेजिथिको वाकपतिरव हि रणे माधवो यो यथारं 
सत्कार्तौ कामतुल्यो बहुमथुबिधा विन्द्रयुप्युपमणां।
ब्याने शंभृपमेयस्तत्तितज्ञसमो ने के गम् विदुर्गो 
वाकपौकितो सहुशौघे जुपमितसुमतिध्रग्मपस्तोधिकोभूः ॥

IV. तस्माज्ञीहरिवर्धरभुविपुरुषोऽस्तत्तरणशिलानिवो
नानावानविददायो नर्वकुशलसंवर्युदाध्यायकां।
सर्व सदर्धिनो विदुर्गपतवो चीतायहः 
निभ्यान्ये स्वरुपे वदनी फलिन: कुर्बन्ति भीता यथा ॥

V. कामार्तिनिरं णूति प्रतिद्रहू सिद्धविवेकोकाय: 
पाणादृशेत चैनियानाव बले महत्तां यदृमुखे नित्यशः।
जित्या योगविदुर्गगयोगपरमस्वत्त्कर्मेण 
युक्तमूल्येहरिवर्धर्मेवचन्तुपि: प्रांश्रोति धीमदुर्दि ॥

VI. कोशं सुवर्गेमं मस्तिन्दुरचिं प्रौढं प्रमालपुरं 
युक्तं भास्करमेव भास्करमिदं नाहिनिशान। नविच्यां 
प्रेमवर्मसंखरस्वितीविचिरस्विमलं युक्त ज्ञातित्विकुः। 
ये वक्त्यादि हरिवर्धर्मेवचन्तुपति श्रीशासनम् 
इति ॥

VII. चेलापर्यावधायागानिलितितिजितिकारति चांशुलद्वोः 
शाश्वामायदीपार्व्वधिमाणिमुखः: कालध्वौतस्तकोशः।
छत्रया परार्धेऽर्धर्मोऽप्रणांधिपणादादरूः तवस्तकोशः।
बाहुयोमान्तीद्राग्रह्यपतिलवने यश्वेशानालिङ्गः ॥

1. Read कृपण।
2. Read पूर्णियो।
TRANSLATION.

(a).

Hail !

I. ................. Bow down to Śiva.

II. The king called Prāleyeśvara Dharmarāja of the family of Nārikela (cocoanut), who begat an heir, docile to him, in the family of Kramuka (betelnut), had a son king Harivarmadeva who, with a heart filled with devotion to royal duties, removed the multitude of defects of Champā, and even in this Kali age, prospered in the world without decay.

III. He, the protector of Champā, was versed in all the śāstras like Bṛhaspati; valorous in battle like Mādhava; beautiful like Kāma (Cupid); comparable to Indra in the number of sacrifices successfully performed; learned like Śambhu; and skilful in various creations like Brahmā. He excelled in respect of charming words, and the multitude of good qualities, and his excellent character was incomparable (to anything).

IV. The good scholars, the artists, men versed in different branches of learning, those who are skilful in dancing, those who know the use of all arms, all meritorious, wise and skilful persons, the musicians¹ and others, and valorous persons, behaved like serpents smitten with fear, and did not speak out their own qualities in the presence of king Harivarmā, himself a repository of all good qualities.

V. Constantly burning the sensual and other passions in his heart by good promptings of conscience, and then

¹. The original has 'गीतादाय' which is unintelligible in the context but apparently means 'musician'.

utterly defeating every day the hosts of enemies by superior power,\(^1\) the intelligent\(^2\) king Śrī Harivarmadeva prospers by virtue of his meritorious deeds which attained their excellence as a result of his constant contact with persons proficient in ṣṭhā.

VI. King Harivarmadeva gave, out of devotion to Śrīśānabhadrēśvara, a golden kośa decorated with best jewels, grand, resplendent and verily like the Sun—the latter, however, does not shine day and night—brilliant with the sparkling rays of the jewels and adorned with four faces.

VII. In course of time\(^3\) having made a kośa of gold, more beautiful than the Sun and the Moon, with faces decorated by gems of the sea, as if they were lamps for the regions,—the king, endowed with sublime qualities, being guided by his superior intelligence, gave it like other kośas to Śiveśānaliṅga who had as sculptors ‘the arms, sky, atmosphere and the moon’ (i.e. which was made in the year 1002).

(Cham) The temple of Īśānabhadra had been devastated and taken..................... The Yuvarāja ordered the people of Simhapura........................to construct the temples, to build the houses, to make perpetual sacrifices, to re-erect the chapels and to re-construct the roads, all as before. He made....................without cessation. He gave the following

1. The word ‘yadmukhe’ is unintelligible. ‘yat’ may be explained as denoting the ‘cause’ and ‘mukhe’ may mean ‘at first’. The word may be ‘यद्यप+मुक्ति’.

2. The original hast ‘भोमन’ which should be ‘भोमन’.

3. The expression ‘वेलापार्यायाधवाल’ is not quite clear to me.

4. It might also mean “The Yuvarāja named Simhapura.”
goods *viz.* male and female servants, the *sarīra* (statue?) of Maheśvara, and all other necessary articles, to the god Śrīśānabhadraśvara and made him as prosperous as before. His Highness applies himself..........................body, words and heart.

(Fortune! There was a king called His Majesty Hari- 
varmadeva, prince Thān..................yān Viṣṇumūrti, born in the betelnut (Kramuka) clan, an eminent race in the kingdom of Champā. He had the 32 signs as well as grace and beauty. He was fully endowed with all the qualities *viz.* the knowledge of 64 kalās (arts). He knew and practised the four expedients *viz.* conciliation (sāma), gifts (dāna), discord (bheda) and chastisement (daṇḍa). He possessed the capacity..........................the intelligence, the capacity for all enterprises and the rules about what is good and bad. He maintained all the 18 titles of law and the uniformity (of procedure?). He acted like visible Dharma in this world. He was powerful and merciful towards all the beings. He made pious works and gave gifts day and night without cessation. He was skilled in all the weapons and was heroic and energetic. He has dispersed the hostile troops in the field of battle as many as twelve times. He has cut off the heads of kings, generals, chiefs and other men in the field of battle..................nine times. He defeated the troops of Cambodge at Someśvara and captured the prince Śrī Nandanavarmadeva who commanded the army as Senāpati (commander-in-chief). And he has re-established the edifices and the city of Champā during the troublesome days of the war. And the city of Champā and all the edifices were enriched, as if by nature, and freshly decorated. And he enjoyed all the royal felicities. Knowing that the god Śrīśānabhadraśvara is the visible god Paramesvara in the
world, and seeing Śrīśānabhadraśvara despoiled of all his possessions at the end of the war, he came to worship the god with a pious heart, and gave him all the booty taken at Someśvara and various objects viz. a golden kōśa, decorated with four faces............... set with all kinds of jewels. And he has given...................an ornament. And he has given a diadem decorated with jewels, two necklaces, 4 kāmī, 2 kalaśa (pitchers) of gold, 2 vrāh kalaśa (pitchers?) of gold, 8 vrāh kalaśa of silver, 4 suvauk.............., 8 suvauk of silver, 8.................of silver, 8 taparnāh of silver, 3 tralāy of silver, 2 suvaukn of silver, 4 paliyāh of silver, 2 boxes of silver, 2 von of silver. one mayur (peacock?) of gold, one mayur (peacock?) of silver, one harrṇi of gold, one harrṇi of silver, 2 tralāy.............., one paliyāh laṅgū, one luswi of sandalwood, one head of sandalwood. And he has given men of different kinds viz.........................about a hundred male and female servants, oxen, buffaloes, elephants, and various kinds of goods to the god Śrīśānabhadraśvara, in śaka 1002.

And His Majesty Śrī Harivarmadeva, yān Mādhavamūrti....................... And he saw that the pu lyān Śrī Rajadvara, his eldest son, of illustrious race, had all the royal marks, complete with the Grahas (?), for governing the kingdom of Champa. Then he ordered virtuous persons to celebrate the coronation of pu lyān Śrī Rajadvara. They gave him the name of yān po ku Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva. Now, at the time when pu lyān Rajadvāra took over the government of the kingdom, he was only a boy of nine years. Then the generals and all the soldiers..................to .................Śrī Harivarmadeva. ..................The people offered the authority to his son........... Then he practised of his own accord spiritual exercises (dhyāna-yoga) and worship of Śiva. Constantly engaged in these spiritual
exercises, he died in śaka 1103.\(^1\) Then all the females of the household, the princesses, the various mélyañ to the number of fourteen, followed him to death. Now.............

the bones remaining.....................persons dead, in the sea
....................Those who.............this destruction, faithful, affectionate, lived always doing good works for his sake.

Hail! There is a yuvarāja named Oṅ Dhanapati-Grāma. He went to Cambodge. The king of Cambodge welcomed him and gave him all kinds of goods. The yuvarāja lived at Cambodge. The king of Cambodge learnt that the town Malayan had revolted. He ordered the yuvarāja to lead the troops of Cambodge and retake the town on his behalf........ all the............Humā Padān joined the revolt............ The king of Cambodge commanded the yuvarāja to lead the troops of Cambodge, to take the town and to occupy it on behalf of the king of Cambodge. The king Sūryavarmadeva revolted against the king of Cambodge. The latter commanded the yuvarāja to lead the troops of Cambodge and capture the king. Then the putau Ājñā ku revolted. He conquered from Amarāvati as far as Pidhyañ. The king of Cambodge commanded the yuvarāja to lead the troops of Cambodge and capture putau Ājñā po ku. He captured him and sent him to Cambodge according to the desire of the king. The king (of Cambodge, pleased at) the valour of yuvarāja, bestowed favours on him and gave him................putra (the title of Rājaputra ?). Truly the men of Champā lived ............... The yuvarāja Mahādharma...............knowing that the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara, who is a portion of god Paramēśvara, grants favours and fulfilment of desires to people always devoted to the god............

\(^1\) Read 1003.
No. 63.

Myson fragmentary Pillar Inscription of Paramabodhisatva dated 1003 Ś.

For localities cf. No. 4. It contains 19 lines in Sanskrit verse, but mostly illegible. It begins with an invocation to god Śrīśānabhadreśvara. Then it refers to king Harivarman who is said to have restored the old glory of Champā. The inscription then mentions a younger brother of the king apparently Pu lyān yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati referred to in Nos. 59, 61 and 65 who ascended the throne in 1003 under the name Paramabodhisatva. The inscription further records that the yuvarāja installed an image of the god Śiva and granted gold, jewels, elephants, buffaloes, oxen, slaves and clothes to the God.


No. 64.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Paramabodhisatva, dated 1006 Śaka.

We learn from this Cham inscription that Rudravarman was made prisoner and taken away from the kingdom, whereupon a long war of sixteen years followed, in course of which Śrī Paramabodhisatva became king and again reunited Champā. It records the donations made in 1006 (=1084 A. D.) to the goddess of Po-Nagar, the tutelary deity of the kingdom, by the king Śrī Paramabodhisatva, his sister (?) Garbha Lakṣmī and his eldest son Pulyān Śrī Yuvarāja, prince vyū, for obtaining glory in this world and religious merit hereafter. The donations consisted, among other things, of elephants, a golden crown (mukuta), a necklace decorated with jewels and various other ornaments and utensils in gold and silver.
The inscription incidentally states that during the dark
days that followed the capture of the king, the people of
Champā betook themselves to Panrang where a man set
himself up as king and maintained himself as such for
16 years. But this man was imprisoned with his followers
by Śrī Paramabodhisatva who spared their lives but con-
fiscated their property.


No 65.

Myson stone slab inscription of Jaya
Indravarman II dated 1010 Ś.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol.
IV, p. 946, No. XVI). It is engraved on three faces of a
sand-stone slab containing 92 lines of writing. The language
is Cham.

The first part refers itself to the reign of Paramabodhi-
satva and the second is dated in 1010 Śaka during the
reign of Jaya Indravarman, son of Harivarman. The ins-
cription contains an interesting account of the political
history of the time and records the donations of king Śrī
Jaya Indravarmadeva to the god Bhadreśvara, in 1010
(=1088 A. D.).

TRANSLATION.

("a").

Fortune! There is (king) His Majesty Śrī Jaya Indra-
varmadeva, prince Vāk, son of His Majesty Śrī Harivarma-
deva, prince Thān....................... He reigned about a month.
Then as Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva was very young, did not
know what was good or bad in the government of the
kingdom and made everything contrary to the rules of
government, Śri Jaya Indravarmadeva with all the generals,
Brāhmaṇs, astrologers, learned men, masters of ceremonies
and the wives of Śri Harivarmadeva, searched for a prince
to govern the kingdom. Now they found that pu lyaṅ Śri Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati prince Pāṇi, uncle of Śri Jaya
Indravarmadeva and younger brother of Śri Harivarmadeva
had all the marks of a Mahārāja, according to the
 canon, of ‘rājacakravartin’ and that he had the know-
ledge of the good and the bad, and possessed a sense of duty,
liberality, truthfulness, and compassion towards all beings
without any partiality, in the government. Śri Jaya Indra-
varmadeva, nephew of pu lyaṅ Śri Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati,
with the Brāhmaṇs, Ksatriyas, Pāṇḍīts, astrologers, masters
of ceremonies, with all the ladies, carrying one or more
several precious objects (?) and the royal insignia went to
pu lyaṅ Śri Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati and made him king.
Śri Paramabodhisatva ruled properly. And all the senāpatīs
Brāhmaṇs, Pāṇḍīts, astrologers, masters of ceremonies.........
skilful.................. gave to Śri Paramabodhisatva..............
And His Majesty Śri Paramabodhisatva, possessed of great
virtue, knew the supreme end............. all the people............
in times of distress; all the different kings.............. give
according to the inferior, middle and superior quality. And
Śri Paramabodhisatva gave bounties to the senāpatīs and to
all the people of the country of Champa. And an uninter-
rupted bliss reigned as before. And Śri Jaya Indravarma-
deva prince Vāk, nephew of Śri Paramabodhisatva............
riches, comfort and pleasure according to his will. And Śri
Paramabodhisatva governed the kingdom of Champa..........
And Śri Paramabodhisatva constantly practised Dharma with
all his relations.
Fortune! There is a king His Majesty Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva, Paramarājādhirāja. His birth-place is the lamvin of Champāpura. He belongs to an illustrious family pure on both the father's and mother's side. Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva is possessed of 32 signs. He is endowed with grace, beauty, youth and ability. He is skilful, full of good qualities, possessed of innate courage, versed in all the arts, and of great strength. He always disperses the hostile troops. He knows the supreme truth and the absolute reality without egotism. He possesses the calm of heart, the compassion towards all the creatures, great liberality, patience and profound intelligence. He impartially pursued the three objects (trinārgga), wealth (artha), virtue (dharma) and pleasure (kāma), without showing preference to any. He follows the four expedients viz. conciliation (Sāma), gifts (dāna), discord (bheda) and bribery (upapradāna) with respect to the enemies, the friends and the neutrals. He routed the six enemies viz. sensual passions (kāma), anger (krodha), covetousness (lobha), infatuation (moha), pride (mada) and malice (matsārṣya). He knew the true import of the sixfold measures of the royal policy. (Sadgūnyābhigrāya). He followed the eighteen titles of law prescribed by Manu (Manumārgga). Even in the Kali age, he who is a Mahāpurusa enjoys the royal power with a unique quality (guna). Although Kali leads people to error and pride, he.................the spiritual exercises (yoga), the meditation (dhyāna), the concentration (samādhi), in

2. Finot translates ‘ways of men’.
view of the spiritual merit which results from good or bad done to others, and from proper and improper acts. He increased his glory.............both in this world and in the other. Śri Jaya Indravarmadeva is full of these qualities and he enjoyed the royal power. And he knows that the body and its pleasures are ephemeral. He entirely relies upon efforts, spiritual exercises, meditation and concentration. He practises the virtue constantly and thoroughly.

Now this city of Champa was ruined and destroyed .................His Majesty Śri Jaya Indravarmadeva yăn Devatāmurti has reconstructed the town............completely ...............till she was beautiful and prosperous as before. He has given a monastery to Śri Indralokesvara in the district (vijaya) of Tranul; he has given all the revenues to the god. And for all the various divinities, he has dedicated in their temples, gold and silver kośa, and faces and diadems of gold. He has given men, oxen, buffaloes, with all the utensils for the worship of these divinities. And all the temples of these divinities are prosperous, beautiful, and honoured as before. People of all the four castes Brāhmaṇas, Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are all happy................ in the presence of His Majesty Śri Jaya Indravarmadeva as the lotus and the water-lily in the presence of the Sun and the moon.

His Majesty Śri Jaya Indravarmadeva, knowing that the god Bhadreśvara is the master of all things visible in the world has made a golden kośa of six faces, ornamented with serpents (nāgas) and decorated with coloured jewels fixed at sharp points in the diadem. And what is called Īrddhvako-a is in magnificent gold, provided with a base (ādhuvara) below, and the jewel Sūryakānti at the top of the diadem. The face turned to the east has a ruby,..............
at the top of the diadem, and the ornament nāgarāja. The faces turned to the north-east and the south-east have a sapphire in the eye of Nāga-rāja and at the top of the diadem. The face turned towards the south has a ruby ...... at the top of the diadem. The face turned towards the west has a topaz at the top of the diadem. The face turned towards the north has a pearl (? uttaratna). The golden kośa has 314 thil 9 dram .............. of gold. The six faces with the diadems, the nāgarāja below, and the ādikāra īrddhva-makha weigh 136 thil; in all 450 thei 9 dram. In the year of the saka king 1010.

No. 66.

Po Nagar Temple Inscription.

The inscription was edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXXI, p. 279).

The inscription is engraved immediately below No. 60, and contains 7 lines of writing in Sanskrit verse, the metre being vv. 1–2, Vasanta tilaka, v. 3, Indravajra and v. 4, Upajatī.

The inscription does not contain any date or name of any king, but it is later than No. 60 and may be referred on palaeographic grounds to the reign of Jaya Indravarman II. Two of the verses are addressed to the divinity 'celebrated under the name of yāpu-nagara' and two others to another divinity called 'Śri Maladākuṭhāra.'

TEXT.

इति

I. पथोऽवदिभिरमय्यगणेःस्तुनो थो
   देवी चिलोऽकननी च तद्दीयदेवी।
II. 4ьяпоко 4эо 6ннинвстхшпш 4ннб 4д 4о 4и.пнте 4ачирипзшкн たдщя.
4эовч 4эпунагар 4пнштамзяна
4а 4а 4танннвтдда 4п 4ф 4кру 4пнм.

III. 4о 4воровсвпсурзшлеоо
рлбзмвнаннзпнбрерун.
4а 4дя 4о 4бмлхпктуарп-
шпя 4ф 4бар 4п 4пн 4пш 4нвр.

IV. (4вп4о)4ынннишш 4нижшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшш.
4о 4дя 4о 4бмлхпктуарп-
шпя 4нм 4п 4в 4нл фп 4пш 4ншши.

TRANSLATION.

Hail!

1. I bow with devotion to thee god, who is praised by Brahma and other divine beings, and to his divine spouse, the mother of the three worlds, who is famous under the name yapunagara, who is auspicious and who grants all the desires.

2. Be propitious to me, thou, who penetrate into everything pure and impure, but no part of whom, like the sun, is affected thereby; and thou, his divine spouse, famous under the name Yāpu Nagar, who art always beneficent and grant the desire of all who bow down to thee.

3. Bring me happiness, O goddess, who is called Śrī Maladākuṭhāra and who is the spouse of the god, the dust of whose lotus-like feet appears as jewels on the heads of gods, divine sages and the Asuras (demons).
4. I bow to thee, O goddess, called Śrī Maladākutthāra, the spouse of the god, who is like a vessel without which even the gods are drowned in this ocean of the world.

No. 67.

Huong-Quê stelae Inscription
dated 1033 Ś.

The inscription, engraved on two faces of a stelae containing respectively 21 and 25 lines, was found at Huong-Quê to the west of Myson. It is written in Cham and records the donations of Pu lyaṇ Śrī Jaya Siñha Varman to Śiva called Harinandaliṅgeśvara. It is dated in Śaka 1033 (=1111 A. D.). The number is expressed by the figure for 33 preceded by the symbol for 10 which was used thousands of years ago in the mainland of India.


No. 68.

Myson stone Inscription of Harivarmadeva III, dated 1036 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 951, No. XVII). For localities (cf. No. 4). It is engraved on a block of sand-stone and contains 8 lines of writing in Cham. It records a donation made by king Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva, nephew of king Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva, to the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara in the year 1036 (=1114 A. D.).

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the Śaka year 1036, during the reign of His Majesty Śrī Harivarmadeva, nephew of His Majesty Śrī
Jaya Indravarmadeva.........................seeing that the god Śrīśānabha..............His Majesty Śri Harivarmadeva made one temple and then another temple. He built a palace for the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara and gave various articles of gold and silver: (details of gifts follow—but the names of most of the things are unintelligible).

No. 69.

Myson Pillar Inscription of Jaya Indravarman III, dated 1062 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 953, No. XVIII A). For localities (cf. No. 4). It is engraved on an octagonal pillar and contains 6 lines in Cham.

It resembles the Po-Nagar Temple inscription (No. 71) and describes the career of king Jaya Indravarman III.

TRANSLATION.

He was born in the śaka year 1028; he became Devarāja in 1051 and yuvarāja in 1055; he made gifts to god Saddharma (Buddhism ?) in 1060; he became king in 1061; he...............of the solar race, in 1062...............having erected the Śrīśānabhadreśvara.

He was king Uroja; he was...............the king Bhadra- varman; he was Jaya Simhavarman.......... He was thrice king up to the time of this king............... Then he was Indravarman............... These were his four births as human beings.
No. 70.
Myson pedestal Inscription
dated 1062 Śaka.

It records that prince Dav Veni Lakṣmī Sīnyān, Rupaṇi Vijaya, son of Śrī Devarāja prince Sundaradeva gave slaves to the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara. The merit of the pious work belongs to his father (?). It is dated in Śaka 1062 (=1140 A. D.).

B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 954-55, No. XIX.

No. 71.
Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of
Jaya Indravarman III,
dated 1065 Ś.

This cham inscription is engraved in three long lines on the outer wall of the temple to the right at Po-Nagar. It is too fragmentary to yield a complete sense. The following is a brief extract.

L. 1. “King Bhadrā Varmā, again king Jaya Śimha Varmā.........enemies expelled........

L. 2. 1021¹ (date of) birth; 1051 (when he is) deva-
rāja; 1055 (when he is) yuvarāja; 1060, he gave (or gave to) the god Saddharma; then in 1061 he is king; in 1062 he gave (or gave to) the god Śrīśāna (Śiva); in 1064 (he gave ?) the Śiva Linga and the Śrīśāna Viṣṇu.

L. 3. Long ago (?) about 1,780,500 (years ago ?) king Vicitra Sagara gave the Linga Kauthāra. The king gave the Śiva Linga in 1060. The king.................sapaksah yuge

1. Mistake for 1028 (cf. No. 69).
.............as far as the time of Jaya Indravarma.............
again 1065, the other.
J. A. 1888 (1) p. 80, No 401.
J. A. 1891 (1) p. 36.

No. 72.

Myson Stelae Inscription of Jaya Harivarman I.

The inscription was edited by Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 963, No. XXI). For localities (cf. No. 4). It is inscribed on the three faces of a stelae containing respectively 20, 21 and 9 lines. The language is Cham.

The inscription gives an interesting account of the career of king Jaya Harivarmanadeva and records the erection of a temple and statues in honour of the god Śrīśāmbhādresvara.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! There is the king. His Majesty Śrī Jaya Harivarmanadeva prince Śivānandana, son of His Majesty Śrī Parama-Brahmaloka, belonging to Brahma-Ksatriya caste, and the grandson of His Majesty Śrī Rudraloka.............mūrti, the very eminent king. Jaya Harivarman is born of Paramasundarī Devī also known as the queen Jīnjyaṅ; his personal name was Ratnabhūmivijaya. He was a descendant of Śrī Paramabodhisatva, the supreme king: Jaya Harivarman is very beautiful and endowed with the complete 32 signs.............according to the Artha-purāṇastra which has praised it beforehand. Jaya Harivarman is skilful and experienced in the knowledge of 64 kālās, viz., the Grammar etc., up to the knowledge of the supreme truth. Jaya
Harivarman has great strength; he is skilful in the application of all the arms, heroic, and proud. He dispersed the hosts of enemies in all the battlefields. When Jaya Harivarman went to the southern country, the king of Cambodge commanded the general Śāṅkara, the foremost among his generals, to go with the troops of the district (Pramāṇa) of Sipakhyā and fight in the plain of Rājapura. Jaya Harivarman fought against general Śāṅkara, and all the other Cambodian generals with their troops. They died in the field of battle in the Pramāṇa of Thū. The king of Cambodge sent an army thousand times stronger than the previous one to fight in the plain of Virapura. Jaya Harivarman completely defeated the Cambodian troops. The king of Cambodge consecrated as king the Ksatriya prince Harideva, his brother-in-law, the younger brother of his first queen; and he commanded various generals to lead the Cambodian troops and protect the prince Harideva until he became king in the city of Vijaya. Jaya Harivarman returned to Vijaya. The two parties fought in the plain of Mahiśa. Jaya Harivarman destroyed the king with all his Cham and Cambodian generals and the Cham and Cambodian troops; they all perished. Jaya Harivarman reigned as supreme king from this time.

The king of Cambodge learnt that the prince Harideva, his brother-in-law, had perished with all his troops and generals by the prowess of Jaya Harivarman. Then the neighbourhood of Vijaya. The king the kings of Kirāṭas, the plain, the forest of south, the village of Śāy as far as the forest Vatta (?) fight. Jaya Harivarman defeated the army of the Kirāṭas. The Kirāṭa kings proclaimed his brother-in-law Vaṅkarāja, brother of his wife, as king in the
city of Madhyamagrāma .............. Jaya Harivarman led his army, defeated Vaṁśarāja, captured the Kirāṭa army, and defeated them all. The king of Yavanas, learning that the king of Cambodge had created difficulties in the way of Jaya Harivarman .................. proclaimed Vaṁśarāja, a citizen of Champa, as king; he gave him several Yavana generals together with hundred thousand valorous Yavana soldiers .............. the plain of Dalvā and the plain ............... fight. Then Jaya Harivarman conducted all the troops of Vijaya .............. The two parties were engaged in a terrible combat. Jaya Harivarman defeated Vaṁśarāja with all the .............. Large number of Yavana troops lay dead on the field. Jaya Harivarman took booty and gave it to the temples of Sadān and Son, and he gave the Cham servants .............. Jaya Harivarman installed a linga on the Mahiśaparvata, the yaṅ Tdah. He gave the northern Temple to his father Śrī Parama Brahmāloka. He gave to his mother, the queen Jījjyaṅ, the temple .............. He gave the statues to these Śarīres. Besides, formerly Jaya Harivarman made a vow to the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara to give him a temple on the Vugvan mount because Śrīśāna-bhadreśvara .............. In conformity with that vow he has installed these statues on the mount Vugvan .............. Śrīśānabhadreśvara.

No. 73.

Myson Pillar Inscription of Jaya Harivarman I.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 966, No. XXII A ). For localities (cf. No. 4). It is engraved on a pillar and contains 9 lines of writing, lines 1–5
being in Sanskrit, and lines 5-9 in Cham. The Sanskrit portion is written throughout in verse with the exception of the invocation at the beginning. There are altogether 4 verses, the metre being v. 1, Indravajrā; vv. 2, 4, Srādgāra; and v. 3, Upajāti.

The inscription records the donations of king Śrī Hari-varmadeva to the temple of Śrīśānabhadreśvara.

TEXT.

स्वस्ति | गाजेन्द्रपय.

I. यामेस्तिकानां भविष्ययाग्यां
   यामेन भविष्यो यदि दृढः संस्थः।
   ऋषीति मत्वेव जगत्समूहस्सर्वस्थितो यः प्रशामन्वदन्तम्॥

II. प्रागार्येन्द्रकृताय नागपतितनयाय याहितीया द्वितीया
    स्वाजादृ भेमेन मिना पुनरपि रत्येश श्रीसारालिङ्गिताः।
    राजस्थनु तद्रोभमीरिव जनित जगत्यार्थीन्द्रेश संहाये
    देवी वेण वन्यतामात्रचन्दनरससा सा शिवानन्दचन्द्रा॥

III. श्रीशामन्ध्रेश्वरमन्दिरार्कः
   परेः पुरारोज्ज्वलं विशर्याम्।
   पुनमवोंदे स विनाशकांस्तान्
   हथवा गवं तस्य पुनः प्रचके॥

IV. श्रीमानु श्रीशामन्ध्रेश्वरममितमुदं स्थापयितवाहराजो
    नाकोकस्थापनस्यालययुत स दुग्धदृश्यमूद्वर्षस्थं
    हथवा चास्त्त्वतो भूः॥ पुनिधमपरी हवयित्वा चिन्द्रं
    स्थानन्देवस्य स्वस्माभिमतर्तर चुग्धनस्यापितेशः पुरेष्या॥

1. Read ‘यामेस्तिकानां’.
2. Read ‘भूः’.
1. Hail, the poetry of the king of kings.

Let all bow down to him, the destroyer, who embodied the entire world in himself, and permeated everything, as he thought that the performance of sacrifice will be difficult for the men of the world who desire it, should he remain far away from them.

2. At first, the daughter of the king of Mountains, who was the second (i.e. partner or spouse) of Śiva, and yet second to none (i.e. incomparable), had only one body with Gaurindra (i.e. Śiva). Then she was separated by Bhima (Śiva) from his body; but again she was embraced by Saṅkara for pleasure. Let the Lord of Pārvatī, who engendered this world by union with her, faithfully adore, from fear as it were, by his words, and in his mind, that goddess who is worthy of being adored with joy by Śiva (or object of adoration to Śivānanda, the name of king Harivarmā).

3. The temple of Śriśānabhadreśvara, the Sun (i.e. the best) of the temples, formerly made by Uroja, was destroyed by the enemies. Having killed those destroyers in the battle I, an incarnation of Uroja, have built it again.

4. The illustrious Uroja, having installed Śriśānabhadreśvara of unbounded joy, and having marked the high summit of the Vugvan mountain as the imperishable abode of the gods, disappeared. I, another Uroja, have restored the very beautiful temple of that god that was destroyed, and have installedĪśa on the mount Vugvan according to an old vow.

[Cham] Seeing that the supreme god had been plundered with all his temples, and had suffered outrages in
the hands of a powerful enemy, I, the king Śrī Harivarmadeva, prince Śivānandana, son of king Śrī Parama-Brahmaloka, have re-established the temple in its old beauty. And I have given all the necessary things to this god. And all the kings reigning in future in the kingdom of Champā who would be devoted to the god in mind and deed (lit. externally and internally) would surely enjoy his favour both in this world and in the next; therefore, I, the king Śrī Harivarmadeva, prince Śivānandana, have been pious towards the god and full of faith in all circumstances.

No. 74.

Myson Stelae Inscription of Jaya Harivarman I, dated 1079 Ś.

The inscription was edited by Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 955, No. XX). For localities (cf. No. 4). It was engraved on the 3 faces of a stelae containing respectively 19, 24 and 25 lines. The first 41 lines are in Sanskrit and the rest is in Cham. The Sanskrit portion contains 34 verses and three prose pieces in addition to the word 'svasti' at the beginning. The metres used are: A. vv. 1-3, 11, 15, Śloka; vv. 4-10, Indravajrā; v. 12, Vasantatilakā; vv. 13-14, Śrādgdhārā.

B. vv. 1-7, Indravajrā; v. 8, Āryā; vv. 9-18, Śloka; v. 19, Uṣajāti.

The inscription records the donations of king Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva to the god Śrī Harivarmesvara.

TEXT.

(a).

स्वास्ति ||

I. नमस्तस्मै शिवायास्तु यस्य नेत्राहिनिन्तजः ||
बहिस्सरस्य दाहय दार्िष्ट्रतकम्मं ||
II. चिदू शिवाधानन्दनो नाम ब्रह्मलोकस्य भूसृतः।
नै—जिन्द्यं—न्या—भजस्तुनुरालसीद्राजा स्वरः।

III. विद्यामतिक्रियारूपवाक्चित्तैर्गुणशङ्के यः।
महतां भूष्णातामक्षतदिग्यतिते यमहीः॥

IV. जातो यदन्तं चित्तिभुजस्मूहः।
स्वायायरोजादिर्हो यथेष्ठः।
आन्तीच्छुर्यं जोकु तुद्दै स्वर्णर्यं।
तेभ्यथनुभृं चित्तिपालनाय॥

V. कौसिं: परस्थानगतिस्वभावः
विंया च वारिष्ठुभंग्वद्रितामभः।
ते चल्म यस्य भुवोचलाया
श्रापचारस्य कुलोपदीरे॥

VI. पतावता यस्य ब[चो]नुमेयम्
सौन्दर्यमेकान्तशुमेन प्रकृयैः।
तन्निष्कृत्यव सदापमानाः
सून्वसरस्त य यद्र न कामः॥

VII. कौसिं: प्रिया यस्य महाप्रवीणा-
धीरा परस्थानगताधिकांच्छा।
परिभैंयां यशसोतिमीमादू
गताच्छ शाक्या न तथेष लघुमृ॥

VIII. कान्त्या कलारेरजितस्य ज्ञाता
यत्कौसिंच्छा यदुरागकौसिंसृ॥
राजस्य कौसिं युनालिङ्गायोषु
हिंसु स्थितेषु प्रतित्रिक् प्रयात॥

IX. येतासिना वैरवरग्रुपदने
मित्र नमोव्यासमत्समान महाजी।
प्रास्य इत्याध्येयामुरुलां
इत्यारिचारिच्छुभिष्ममूह॥

1. Read ब्रह्मा.
X. राज्यविश्राम यस्य चलाएव्यस्य
कहिवैलेली लोपायितुं न शक्षः ।
उत्पातभृत्योऽपि मणिप्रदीपः
समीरसहस्तस्तरसा यथा वै ॥

XI. रत्नीरत्नपुनाःरतिर्ग्वे रत्नीच्ये ।
येश्चे वैख्यारतिष्ठाप मणियोयमिति ध्रुवम् ॥

XII. भिन्नालमपि व्यवर्जेन चनुजविधाने
प्रत्यकमलपघणके चनुरामभूते ।
भृत्यध्युतस्य सकलाध्युतस्यलजः
एको च एकपर्यमि गुणाकरार्याम् ॥

XIII. यस्य वृक्षढ़र्ता श्रीमातिपद्धर्तस्वाजा शिष्यवेद
प्रत्यकं यदृ भृवामिलिंवधुघरसुधियांभेजमृस्वेरस्तोत्या।
वाचस्पति चवाचा हुणास्युष्यप्या चानुमेयावं सा यदृ
सौन्दर्घ्येऽछोणमप्रयोज्यरतस्तन्यमोभृवपूस्तद्वचा तु ॥

XIV. वा नाक्षत्राय कनोयमुपगमितवात्मवित्यपथ्यद्यस्तत्
त्रवरावं संप्रशाश्ववर्तकत्वति दृश्तिसातिसंहृत्या यस्मिन् ।
रैशक्मन्त्रभृत्यप्रस्थृतगणनं स्त्रृंतनिर्योपयित्वा
युद्धे युद्धे रिप्राचानु भिन्नपुष्पं विभोलोकमण्यन्यद्वोषा ॥

XV. यथा भानु मानुना मानो नूनिष्ठुप्रिद्रवः तत्स्ये च शुचिः ॥

(b).

I. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — कारकारी ।
र्ह — — — — — — — — — — — — — — गुपयुन्दः ।

II. — — — — — — दृष्टीशिर — — — —
— — — — चनुप्परिुक्ताम अनुनून पर्वार् ।

III. यद्रीयकीविश्वंश ॥ — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — शां ॥

1. Read रिपुणः।
2. Read घृतिः।
वा रामकीर्तिन हि विष्णुमूर्ति-
ईश्वोत्सवकृष्य ॥ — ॥ वेति ॥

IV. शक्तिशान्तप्रवरौ — —
— — — — — — — — प्रदाता ॥
महीभूतां संपद्मिछुद्वां यो
वन्यध मान्यध सदा स्वराज्ये ॥

V. यदि सम धावन्त्यनिः सपल्ला:
समीच्छ नागा इव वैनतं ॥
समित्वू शुष्का श्रापि बीयवंतो—
प्यत्यन्तरौध्रा श्रापि यं वलाच्छम् ॥

VI. शोभा यथा तिनकता सरोजानां महौजसा ॥
नानासंप्रपत्तेपाः भुवं येन विभावये ॥

VII. यज्ञाभित्राः परिचरान मुच्यन्ते च प्रियप्रियम् ॥
यमरे भूम्भृतशैलिश्चायां वा भवसागरानू ॥

VIII. स स्थायपतिस्म सुरं श्रीजयदरिवम्बदेव इतिराजा ॥
हरिवर्मं भवरम्भिकः कौर्यम् विलशैलवशास्त्रः ॥
पतेन पुराणायं लहङ्गेन्द्रदंभ्ये श्रीजयदरिवम्बदेवों स
उरोज प्रेस्ति ॥

IX. चाशांस्कन्दरीजाताः दोखितालिभुतसु: ॥
स्वरामहेंद्रयुरोज्जस्थरज्ञानमिर्य ईश्वरः ॥

X. भजना तद्द्वजो नास्ति प्रथानात्यांतुतो भुवि ॥
प्रभुर्यस्तस्तुखं लेभे चम्पाया वृद्धिलक्षणम् ॥
XI. विद्याय यस्स्वदेशां प्राकृ परोषु सुखदुःखभाष।
देशेषु विहरकालेन चम्पेत्रां पुनर्गात: ॥

XII. यः प्रागः गुहे व्रान तथां गायनातिसमीप।
प्रह्लद राज्यभाग याम्यां पारिंचिं मराण्डनम् ॥

XIII. पुर्वप्रस्तिशया सैन्यं कम्बोध्य यवनस्य च।
हत्वादि यः पुनर्भक्ष शैयं तत्शाशिं गृहस्त ॥

XIV. राज्यलीलानुक्रमं भाजिता योः सुकाम्या।
कामवीयाभवि सेनां शक्त्यानुभवतिस्म च ॥

XV. पूर्वप्रस्तिशया स्वान्त्री पूर्वव्रजोपलिति।
दुर्भानमिन साध्यायेः शिगं स्थाप्यतिस्म यः ॥

XVI. सचं देवा विवर्तने तद्राज्ये सचंसंपदा।
लोकास्तथा सुव्रज्ञावर्गां चम्पा कैतपिण्याविता ॥

XVII. शिवानन्दवर्द्धस्य दण्डनार्थं द्रिष्या चितो।
उरोजो लोकवायुः यः पुराणाधेन लब्धी ॥

XVIII. चतुर्वर्ते सम्मुरोजो ध्रुवः पुनर्भूनिति यथापि।
मयात्माः सम्मुहर्षणं शिवस्यास्य पुनर्भवं ॥

XIX. ध्रुवानन्दवर्द्धस्य यस्स्वादेशाः
दुर्भानप्रस्तिश्चम्पे देवेः।
तथा तयोऽवृत्तिकरः सम्म राजा।
योः सम्म प्रात्थितश्रव्वकीचः। ॥
इति पुराणाधेमुरोजलवर्षं जगतां देवितवम् ॥

TRANSLATION.

(a).

Hail!

1. Homage to Śiva, the fire from whose eyes consumed the Cupid whose exploits were terrific and marvellous.

2. The prince Śivānandana, son of king Brahmaloka, husband of the queen Nai Jinān, was king...........

1. Read चम्पेत्रां. 2. Read योऽवृत्तिकरः. 
3. From the point of view of knowledge, intelligence, work, beauty, eloquence and mental powers, the king is the foremost of kings, like his father.

4. In him the kings beginning with Uroja became incarnate in their parts, according to their own desire. Aja (god Brahmā), wishing for rest, gave his own prowess to those four kings for protecting the world.

5. Glory and knowledge, which are by nature liable to move from place to place by means of a multitude of rapid words (i.e. popular reports), are dearer unto this impartial king than the immovable earth, although they are inconstant in the case of all others.

6. His beauty, very auspicious through its excellence, could be inferred only from the statement that since his birth, he, not Kāma, is the standard of comparison for the beauty of youth.

7. Glory, although inconstant and desirous of moving to others' place, was his clever spouse for a long time. His enemies were unable to gain her, out of fear or out of regard for his terrible fame achieved in the past.¹

8. Triumphant over the unconquered Moon² by his beauty, his shining glory went in all directions in order to surpass (lit. conquer) the glories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, firmly established in all directions.

9. The multitude of the heads of his enemies, cut off by his sword in a great battle and scattered in the sky, appeared like the scattered heads of Rāhu, the enemy of the

1. The word 'tayaiva' is inexplicable. It may be a mistake for 'tathaiva'. The words 'gatīt' and 'ogaṁdbikāṃksya' are also difficult to construe.

2. यायांत्रिक्रम (जलज or पद) + मित्र = Moon.
Moon, who is the morsel of food of the chief gods dwelling in the Meru.

10. Even the powerful Kali was unable to destroy the royal power of that ocean of strength, as the portentous whirlwind is unable to extinguish the light of a jewel-lamp.

11. The Cupid being destroyed by Śiva, Rati became devoid of pleasure; but she would not have become so if she had seen the king, for then she would have certainly thought “This is my beloved.”

12. Dividing his essence, under the form of four Rāmas ṛiṣ. Rāma and his three younger brothers, Viṣṇu had four bodies each endowed with inferior qualities. This king is however unique Viṣṇu with a complete body; he is modest and the foremost of men who are the repositories of qualities.

13. It appears as if the king, who is cleverer than the husband of Śrī, announced himself as the suitor for the hands of Śrī as everybody could infer from the following qualities of the king ṛiṣ. the intelligence of Mahādeva, the creative power of Brahmā, the eloquence of Bīhaspati, the mercy of Buddha, and the beauty of Cupid, the son of Viṣṇu.¹

14. “To what heaven are you taking us, O Lord!” said the descendants of the Kṣatriyas when he, who has the form of Vibhu, gladly and with calm composure, made them gifts of wealth, jewels, lordly elephants, slaves and other rewards, after having, in each battle, despatched, by the power of his terrible arm, to the abode of Vibhu ( i. e. killed), the enemy kings.²

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1. The words ‘एकूणसा’ and ‘अनुभि:’ are not intelligible.
2. It is difficult to construe ‘हदुक्तीः.’
15. The king resembles the sun in point of purity and power; both are foremost among the valorous ones, and shine with splendid lustre in piercing darkness; and while the king is resorted to by the chastened enemies (Ucchista-dvisat) the sun is resorted to by fire (ucchista-dvisat the destroyer of refuse of matter).

(b).

2. ......................Sixty-four arts.

4. By the foremost among those who were overpowered by his prowess.................the kings who desire prosperity must respect and honour him in their kingdoms.

5. The enemies, heroic, valiant and very fierce though they are in battles, always fly away at the approach of that powerful king, like snakes before Garuḍa.

6. As the beauty of the lotus proceeds from the powerful sun, so the varied riches of the men verily proceed from that powerful king.

7. The kings who submit to and wait upon him, who is dear to his friends, are protected from enemy kings, as the Śaivas who take refuge in Siva are delivered from the ocean of existence.

Even the best of noble lords, who were themselves waited upon with folded hands by hosts of cheerless enemy kings, and the fine ornaments of whose fingers were illumined by the splendour of the jewel called padmarāga, were struck dumb with astonishment by thinking of the beautiful moon-like face of the king and lord of the earth Harivarmā, and of the riches that were exacted by him from hosts of kings.
8. The king Harivarman, possessed of supreme glory, installed the god Harivarmanesvara in the year denoted by ‘vila-saila-kha-Saśārika’ (1079).

Thus on the strength of the evidence of Puranartha one can infer that ‘The king Śrī Jaya Harivarman is Uroja himself.’

9. Born of a beautiful woman in the Kṣatriya family, son of a consecrated king, he, the lord, was the most precious jewel of his village, as Kanstubha is on the breast of Hari.

10. He had no younger brother. Lord of the world by his high birth, he enjoyed pure happiness, a sign of the prosperity of Champa.

11. At first, having quitted his own country, he spent a long time in foreign lands amid joys and sorrows. Then he came back to Champa.

12. To the east of the temple of Guhesvara, on the river ‘Yāmi’ close to Gatyāgati, he defeated and killed the king and took possession of the throne.

13. In accordance with his former vows he first destroyed the soldiers of Cambodge and Yavana, and then re-erected the temple of Śiva which they had destroyed.

14. Having obtained sovereignty, he took possession of the land of Kambu out of compassion and tested the strength of her army.

15. In conformity to a previous vow, he installed, for obtaining success, a Śiva on the mountain called Vugvan, which was his own, being marked in a previous birth.

1. Huber explains ‘Gatyāgati’ as ‘where she (river Yāmi) approaches and moves away from the temple.’ It is probably the name of a place,
16. Under his rule flourished all the gods, as well as the people, in abundant riches; the earth prospered in a fair share of rain, and the city of Champā did thrive as if the Golden Age come back to it.

17. Uroja is popularly accepted to be the same as Śivānandana and this is confirmed by Purāṇārtha, which is looked upon as a mine (lit. mountain) of useful information in this world.

18. Four times I have been incarnated as Uroja; lest I be not born again, I re-install this Śiva in fulfilment of the promise I made before.

19. The god of gods Śrīnābhadreśvara, and the god of gods established on the Vugvan mountain,—both will be enriched by that king who is a portion of myself longing for the glory of a Śaiva.

Such is the Purāṇārtha, description of Uroja, which the world must know.

Here (is a list of) the plots of ground (sthāna) and the fields of the kingdom of Champā which the king Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva gives to the god Śrī Harivarmeśvara (list follows).

No. 75.

Batau Tablah Inscription of Jaya Hari-varman I, dated 1082 Ś.

This Sanskrit inscription is engraved on a granite boulder called Batau Tablah which is lying in the fields near the village of Ram in the southern portion of the valley of Panrang. This superb monument contains 17 lines of writing in large and beautiful characters and gives an
interesting account of the chief events of the reign of king Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva, son of Śrī Jaya Rudravarmadeva, who belonged to Ksatriya family on both his father’s and mother’s side. The events are arranged under different dates of the śaka era:

Ś. 1069—Śrī Jaya Rudravarman, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, died at Pāṇḍuraṅga, and the people of this town invited Harivarmā to be the king of Champā.

Ś. 1069—Large bodies of troops from Cambodge and Vijaya attacked the king at Chaklyan (probably the Village of Chakling close to the findspot of this inscription).

Ś. 1070—Large bodies of troops from Cambodge and Vijaya attacked the king in the plain of Vīrapura at the field of Kayev. Fortunately, the king, possessed of heroism without comparison, defeated them in the twinkling of an eye.

Ś. 1071—King Harivarmā vanquished Harideva whom the king of Cambodge placed in charge of Champā, and defeated the troops of Cambodge and Vijaya in the plain of Mahī.

The king was consecrated to the throne with due ceremonials and defeated an Annamite army sent against him.

Ś. 1073—Some battles (details lost).

Ś. 1077—The troops of Pāṇḍuraṅga did some thing (details lost).

Ś. 1082—Some battles (details lost). The king made some donations to the god Jaya Harilingēvara.

J. A. 1891 (1) pp. 38 ff.

[The dates as originally read by Aymonier have been corrected by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 50).]
No. 76.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Jaya Harivarman I, dated 1082 Ś.

The Sanskrit portion was edited by Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXXII, p. 282) and the Cham portion by Ayrmonier (J. A. 1891, part I, p. 41). The date previously read as 1092, was corrected by Finot (B. E. F., Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 50, fn. 1).

The inscription is engraved on the right-hand door-pillar of the temple to the left at Po-Nagar. It contains 8 lines of writing, the first two and a part of the third being in Sanskrit and the rest in Cham. The Sanskrit portion consists of one verse in Vasanta-tilakā and is merely an invocation to the goddess of Yāpu Nagara. The Cham portion records the victory of king Śri Jaya Harivarman, prince Śivānandana, son of king Śri Jaya Rudravarman. The king is said to have triumphed over all his enemies, to wit: the Cambodgians, the Annamites, the people of Vijaya, Amarāvāti and all the countries of the north; the countries of the south and Pāṇḍuraṅga, the regions of the west and the Rādē, the Mada and other barbarous tribes. The king being thus constantly victorious, made many gifts to the goddess of the kingdom in 1082 śaka (= 1160 A. D.).

TEXT.

स्वति ।
श्रासिन्धुभूतपतिनिवरस्य लाभे
स्मार्गास्पदपतिनिवरस्य लाभम् ।
तत्तान स यापुनगराधयदेवतां प्राक
संसंवरन्तः सुत्रेन नु तायतैनम् ॥
TRANSLATION.

After tasting the pleasures of sovereignty extending over the entire surface of the land as far as the sea, and looking forward to the pleasures of sovereignty over gods in heaven, he first of all honoured the goddess called Yāpunagara by giving her great riches.

No. 77.

47 Hoâ-mi fragmentary rock Inscription of Jaya Harivarman I.

The inscription is engraved on a rock at Hoâ-mi in the district of Quang-Nam. The inscription records the victories of Harivarman against the Khmers and the Annamites.


No. 78.

44 Myson Temple Inscription.

This fragmentary inscription in Temple A, at Myson, records that it was restored by king Vijaya Śri Harivarmadeva.

B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 977, No. XXVI.

No. 79.

Myson Temple Inscription of Jaya Indravarman IV, dated 1085 Ś.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 969, No. XXIII). For localities (cf. No. 4). It is engraved on a pillar in the temple and contains 19 lines.
The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written throughout in verse. There are altogether six stanzas, the metre being vv. 1, 3–6, Indravajra and v. 2, Vamśasthā.

The inscription records the donations of king Śrī Jaya Indravarman of Grāmapura to the god Śrīśanabhadreśvara in the year 1085 (=1163 A. D.).

TEXT.

I. पु चिच्छ यत्नाक्ष श्रीमजय-इन्द्रवर्मनी
प्राददविद्र ग्रामपुरन्देशः।
वानाहेथेर्नविव रत्नसातुः
श्रीशासनस्वयः।

II. सनीवयरात्म महदीवरीततो
हिरर्षयगमो न स इवरोधुना।
हिरर्षयगमीहत वच्चतेदसे
दशस्तो येन स नु स्तुतस्तता॥

III. नैवालविशत्सधियायात्मकात
स्तम्भिन स दातू दशदिवा देवः।
रत्नाकरोऽवृत्तिपश्चचरः
पुनरिववर्धस्य शुष्काचनि पशु॥

IV. हर्षमहस्येन्द्रहर्षवाक्स स श्वर्वसः
स्तुत्यात्मः। यहस्तुथस्यकोशः।
तथैषकन्यावचि न्वलाभादू
देवस्य दृष्टेन समानकान्ते॥

V. द्यास्त कोऽचिच्छ गुणाशः यस्य
रूपाश वीर्याशः मुखानि पशु।
पतानि वद्यदु गुणम्य महेशः
सक्कोतानं पशु विभासिते चेदः॥

1. Read उदत्तमसे।
2. Read स्तुत्यायामा।
3. Read महेशः।
4. Read चेदः।
VI. सत्कोशने तत्त परे सुवर्णेम्
कर्णे त्रिकरणे हियस्वर्णीतः।
मुक्तसु धारीयशयद्वयमूहे
रूप्ये परेंत्यस्वर्णप्रयात्त्यकरणे।

TRANSLATION.

1. Pu ciy Anāk Śrī Jaya Indravarmā, of Grāmapura,
has given this, like a bejewelled peak, to the god of gods,
Śrīśānabhadresvara in the year denoted by ‘arrow-eight-sky-
moon’ i.e. 1085.

2. That godly king being elevated to the position of
over-lord, Brahmā (Hiraṇya-garbha) was no longer the
lord of creation. The king then made himself such a
hiraṇya-garbha1 (i.e. one filled with gold) by means of his
brilliant valour, and was on that account praised by the
honest men.

3. The five-faced god was unable to give his blessings to
the king in all the ten directions (on account of the wisdom
of the great king ?); so for protecting the king he has again,
to-day, put on five faces (thus making ten in total).

4. Śarvva, who is worthy of praise, has a great store of
words, as is apparent from his (five) great and visible faces.
But although presented with a golden kośa he remains dumb
before its unique splendour, not having anything to give
which equals in splendour the thing that was given to him.

5. In order to sing simultaneously the glories of the
king’s five-fold virtues viz. mercy, fame, merit, beauty and
strength, Maheśa has assumed five faces as well as five kośas
(coversings or vocabularies).2

1. Hence the contradiction.
2. ‘Pañca satkoṣanam’ is taken in a collective sense. The
proper from would be ‘satkoṣanapañcaakam.’
6. 232 golden paṇas, 82 precious stones, 67 groups of pearls, and 200 paṇas of silver have been given for the kośa.

No. 80.

Po-Nagar Temple inscription of Jaya Indravarman IV, dated 1089 Ś.

It records the donations to the goddess Bhagavati Kauṭhāreśvari made in 1089 Śaka (=1167 A.D.) by king Jaya Indravarmanadeva (Grāmapura vijaya), the queens, Parameśvari and Rayā, princess Bhāgyavatī, daughter of the king, princess Sumitrā, princess Sudakṣiṇā and Māṇi sāi Grāmapura vijaya. The donations consisted of various ornaments and utensils of gold and silver including a mukuta (crown) and a kālaśa (pitcher) in gold, sandal-wood etc. Part of these donations was made when the king went to conquer Cambodge.

J. A. 1891 (1) pp. 44-45.

No. 81.

Myson Stelae Inscription of Jaya Indravarman IV, dated 1092 Ś.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 970, No. XXIV; also cf. B. E. F., Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 50). (For localities cf. No. 4): It is engraved on a single face of a stelae and contains 21 lines besides the invocation. The language is Cham.

The inscription records the donations of king Śrī Jaya Indravarman of Grāmapura vijaya to the god Śrī ānabhadre-
śvara, and the installation of various images by the same king.

TRANSLATION.

Salutation to Śiva.

There is a king Śri Jaya Indravarmadeva, belonging to a famous place known as Grāmapuravijaya. The king reigned at first for the good of the world. He possesses large army (प्रथुवाला) and is proud of his heroism; he is skilful in the use of all arms; victorious over all enemies in battles; versed in all the śāstras, viz. Grammar, Astrology etc., and learned in all the philosophical doctrines e.g. the doctrine of Mahāyāna. He possesses exceptional beauty and charm; he is energetic in the protection of all creatures, and skilful in the application of the four means viz. conciliation, liberality, dissensions and chastisement. Versed in all the Dharmaśāstras, notably the Nāradiya and Bhāṛggaviya, he takes pleasure in Dharma, and makes gifts to all people.

The prince installed Buddha Lokeśvara, Jaya Indralokeśvara and Bhagavati Śri Jaya Indrēśvari in the district of Buddhāloka, and Bhagavati Śri Indra-Śauriśvari in that of Śri Vināyaka.

The Prince knowing that Śrīśānabhadreśvara, who is a portion of Śiva, always grants, in all the worlds, his favour to the pious men according to their desire, has given, at different times, all the riches and all the necessary articles to Śrīśānabhadreśvara, for the sake of increasing his merit.

In the first place he has given a golden kośa, weighing 137 thil with an alloy of 200 thil of silver, decorated with all the jewels, such as dhunī and sapphire, in the Śaka year 1085.
Then he has constructed an antargṛha with sandal-wood weighing 2 bhāra, 9 tul; the amount of silver applied in the decoration of this antargṛha weighed 1096 thil and the gold coating of the summit of the antargṛha weighed 26 thei. A Cranāṅ was constructed..............the four golden nāgas decorating the cranāṅ contained 30 thei (of gold) and 17 thil of silver. A taṅgau of silver..................495 thil with a gem called Sūryakānti (?) at the top. All these have been given in śaka 1086.

Then, in śaka 1087 he has given a sanrawī of gold weighing 17 thil, a golden vessel weighing 24 thei with an alloy of 26 thei of silver; a golden pitcher of 8 thei; a bhuk of gold of 2 thil; a srumvil of gold of 45 thei with an alloy of 99 thil of silver............a nāgapatra coated with golden plate (?)

Besides, in śaka 1089 he has given a tralay of gold weighing 294 thei; a bhuk of gold of 100 thei.

In śaka 1090 he has given large elephants, male and female slaves etc.

In śaka 1092 he has decorated the temple of Śrīśānabhadreśvara with 10 bhāra 3 tul, 5 kār 17 thei of silver; and he has applied 82 thei of gold for coating all the pinnacles of the temple with gold.

The king has given all these things, being wholly devoted, in mind, body and speech.

No. 82.

33 An Thuan stelae Inscription of Jaya Indravarman IV.

This Cham inscription, engraved on two faces of a stelae at An Thuan (cf. No. 83 below), contains 20 lines of
writing. They record oaths of allegiance made by three dignitaries to the king Śrī Jaya Indravarmma Deva. The three dignitaries are named Taval Vira Simha Oṅ Vayāk, Taval Śūrādhika Varma oṅ ja............and (Taval) Vikrānta Simha Oṅ Dhun. The oaths contain, among other promises, not fully intelligible, an undertaking to the effect, that the chiefs and their children will fight for their lord in case of war, as long as they live.

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 88, No. 424.
J. A. 1891 (1) p. 46, No. 424.

No. 83.

An Thuan Stelae Inscription of Jaya Indravarman IV.

The Sanskrit portion of the inscription was edited by M. Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXXIII, p. 286) and the Cham portion by Aymonier (J. A. 1891 [1] pp. 45-46).

The inscription is engraved on the two faces of a stelae found at An Thuan in the district of Binh Dinh. In addition to syllable om there are two lines in Sanskrit on one face and three lines in Cham on the other face. The Sanskrit portion contains a verse in Indravajrā. The text shows already the beginning of the effect of barbarian influence on Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit portion contains an invocation to Śiva. The Cham portion refers to the gifts of slaves and goods made by king Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva of Grāmapura to the goddess of the kingdom (pu Nagara).
TEXT.

Hail! magnificent is the king by nature! Hail!
powerful are the images of Siva and Uma; Hail!
all my subjects and slaves, may you be protected by Siva and Uma,
whose protection is ever sought by mankind.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! magnificent is the king by nature! Hail!
powerful are the images of Siva and Uma; Hail! all my
subjects and slaves, may you be protected by Siva and Uma,
whose protection is ever sought by mankind.

No. 84.

Myson Pillar Inscription dated 1125 Ś.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol.
IV, p. 970, No. XXIV, B., C.). It was engraved on two
faces of the same pillar which contains No. 81, and contains
38 lines of writing besides the invocation. The language is
Cham.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first refers
to king Suryavarman, and the second to a yuvarāja named
Managāhāna on Dhanaprāti. But the two parts are written
consecutively and form one single narrative, viz., the fight
against Cambodia. The object of the inscription is to record
the installation of an image of Siva by the yuvarāja in Saka
1125 (=1203 A. D.).

1. Read 'प्रजा'.
2. Read 'म'.
3. Read 'दाता'.

1. Head

2. Road
TRANSLATION.

There is a king, Śrī Śūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī Vidyānandana, of Tumprauk-vijaya. The king practised the Mahāyāna dharma following the instructions of true knowledge. In his early youth, in the saka year denoted by ‘sea-sky-moon-moon’ i.e. 1104, he went to Cambodge. The king of Cambodge, seeing him possessed of all the 33 marks, received him favourably and taught him, like a prince, all the various branches of knowledge, and instructed him in various branches of military science. During his stay at Cambodge, a dependent town of Cambodge called Malyañ, inhabited by a multitude of bad men, revolted against the king of Cambodge. The latter seeing the prince well versed in arms, ordered him to lead the Cambodgian troops and take the town of Malyañ. He did all that the king of Cambodge desired. The latter, pleased at his valour, conferred on him the dignity of yuvarāja, and gave him all the pleasures and the good things which could be found in the kingdom of Cambodge.

In saka ‘two moon-moon-moon’ (1112) the king Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva on Vatuv made war against the king of Cambodge. The latter sent the prince at the head of Cambodgian troops in order to take Vijaya and defeat the king Jaya Indravarman on Vatuv. He captured the king and had him conducted to Cambodge by the Cambodgian troops. He proclaimed Sūrya Jayavarmadeva prince In, brother-in-law of the king of Cambodge, as king of the city of Vijaya. Then he returned and reigned at Rājapura in Panrañ. During his reign at Rājapura a number of pirates revolted against him. He fought with them, drove them back and defeated them all.
Śri Sūryavarman, prince In, who had been proclaimed king in the kingdom of Vijaya, was driven away by prince Raṣupati and returned to Cambodge. The prince Raṣupati reigned in the kingdom of Vijaya under the name of Śri Jaya Indravarmadeva.

In saka 'sea-moon-moon-moon' i. e. 1114, the king of Cambodge sent the Cambodgian generals with Śri Jaya Indravarman on Vatuv. He met the prince at Rājapura. The prince led the Cambodgian troops with Jaya Indravarman; he took Vijaya, defeated and killed Jaya Indravarman cei Raṣupati and ruled over Vijaya. The same year Jaya Indravarman on Vatuv fled from the Cambodgians and went to Amarāvatī. He revolted and raised troops in different districts at Amarāvatī, Ulik, Vyyar, Jriy and Traik. He went to take Vijaya. The prince led the troops and pursued (?) Jaya Indravarman on Vatuv as far as Yān Bharuv-Vijaya; he gave him battle, vanquished him, compelled him to fall back on Traik, and there captured him and put him to death. Henceforth the prince ruled without opposition.

In saka 'five-moon-moon-moon' i. e. 1115, the Cambodgians.....................the dwellings, took seven..................took eight.................... The prince fought with the Cambodgians and vanquished them.

In saka 'six-moon-moon-moon' i. e. 1116, the king of Cambodge sent a large number of Cambodgian generals, with all sorts of arms. They came to fight with the prince. The latter fought at Jai Ramya-Vijaya and vanquished the generals of the Cambodgian army............... After having fought with them, the prince marched to Amarāvatī. He re-erected all the houses; he constructed the house called Śri Heruka-Larmya; he made a kośa of gold; he gave to
Srīnabhadraśvara a šadmukha (six-faces) weighing 510 thei; he gave a golden suvauk weighing 5 thil; he gave a kanāp of Simhapura to Srīnabhadraśvara for the sake of acquiring merit both in this world and in the other.

I, yuvarāja, of illustrious birth, called Managahya on Dhanapati, I.................rule (?) over Champā, and I am glorious. I have re-consecrated Śiva, who is Śrīśaṇa, and I worship him piously. I have given him riches and the slaves in saka 1125 (the expression 'bhūtaḥ pakṣa 66 ka yaḥ' is unintelligible; bhūta-pakṣa denotes 25 and I therefore take the date as 1125; 66 is probably a misreading for 11. M. Finot takes the date doubtfully as 1166).

No 85.

Po-Nagar Temple inscription of Jaya Parameśvaravarman II, dated (?) 1148 Ś.

The inscription refers to king Śrī Jaya Parameśvaravarman II of Turai-Vijaya. It states that in 1112 Ś. (=1190 A. D.) there was a king of Cambodia named Vraḥ pāda Śrī Jayavarmadeva who conquered (?) the whole earth. He took the capital of Champā and carried away all the liugas. Then followed a war of 32 years. "He placed a Cambodgian general.......... In 1123 Ś. (=1201 A. D.) the king started..........took the name of pu pon pulyaṁ Śrī yu.......... Then Cambodia and Champā.............. this king.............universal sovereignty. (The last line bears the date 1148 but whether the line is a part of this inscription has been doubted.)

No. 86.
Cho-dinh pillar Inscription of Śrī Jaya Parameśvaravarman II, dated 1148 Ś.

This Cham inscription, engraved on two faces of a pillar found at Cho-dinh, the market place of Phanrang, contains 41 lines of writing. The inscription is mutilated and a complete translation is not possible. It refers to king Jaya Parameśvaravarman in the last line and contains three dates 1129, 1142 and 1148 saka.

It refers to the war of 32 years which followed the conquest of Champa by the king of Cambodge (in 1112). In 1129 śaka (=1207 A. D.) the victorious Khmer king seems to have installed a yuvarāja at the head of the conquered territories. Then the Siamese and the Pukam (Pagan) came from Cambodge and a battle took place with the Annamites, apparently in the north of Champa. The Cambodian generals led the troops which opposed the Annamites, and the loss on both sides was very great. In 1142 saka (=1220 A. D.) the Khmers evacuated Champa and (probably after having concluded peace in 1144 saka) the coronation of the Cham king Śrī Jaya Parameśvaravarman II took place in 1148 śaka (=1226 A. D.). Henceforth he reigned in peace, constructed palaces and temples at Śrī Vinaya and re-installed the images of gods.

The inscription on the second face records the donations made to the god (Līṅga) by the king. The donations consisted of utensils, lands and other things.

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 91, No. 383.
J. A. 1891 (1) pp. 50-52, No. 383.
No. 87.

Myson Temple Inscription dated 1152 Ś.

It records the donations of Kalantakatha……………… nandana to the god Śriñanabhadresvara, consisting of gold, precious stones, female elephants copper utensils and slaves. It is dated in 1152 śaka (=1230 A.D.).

B. E. F. Vol. IV, p. 977, No. XXV B.

No. 88.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Jaya Parameśvaravarman II, dated 1155 Ś.

This inscription appears to be a continuation of another (No. 85 ?). It begins thus: ‘Again (punah) in 1155 (=1233 A.D.) king Śri Jaya Parameśvaravarmanādeva made donations to the goddess Pu-Nagara and to the sacred image.’ The concluding portion gives details of the donations consisting of lands and slaves. The slaves belonged to both the sexes and to various nationalities such as the Khmer, Cham, Chinese, and Siamese.

J. A. 1891 (1) pp. 48-49.

No. 89.

Cho-dinh Temple Inscription of Jaya Parameśvaravarman II, dated 1155 Ś.

This Sanskrit inscription was engraved on the door-front of a temple at Cho-Dinh, the market place of Phan-
rang. It records an order of the king Jaya Parameśvara-varman to his commander-in-chief Rāmadeva to install an image of the god Śvayam-utpannya. Reference is also made to donation of slaves, to wit, 7 Khmers, 11 Siamese, 1 Pukāṃ (Pagan) together with 1 elephant and 3 khmer (elephants ?). It is dated in 1155 šaka (=1233 A.D.).

J. A. 1888 (1) pp. 88–89, No. 382.

No. 90.

Myson Temple inscription of Jaya Parameśvaravarman II, dated 1156 Ś.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (R. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 976, No. XXV A). (For localities cf. No. 4). It is engraved on a pillar inside the temple and contains 10 lines. The language is Cham.

The inscription records the religious foundations of the king Śri Jaya Parameśvaravarmanadeva and is dated in 1156 (=1234 A.D.).

TRANSLATION.

There is a king, His Majesty Śri Jaya Parameśvara-varmadeva, on Aṅkāraja, of Turai-Vijaya. During the disasters of the Cambodgian war which lasted for 32 years he was the sole king (Ekacchatra) in the kingdom of Champa. He re-installed all the lingas of the south viz. those of yān Pu Nagara, and the lingas of the north viz. those of Śrī-śānabhadreśvara. He has given a silver kośa with a golden
face, and the kośa of Bhṛgu with all the utensils of gold and silver. Sumtotal: 100 thil of gold. In saka 1156.

No. 91.

Lomngoeu stelae Inscription of Jaya Paramēśvaravarman II.

This Cham inscription is engraved on a stelae found at Lomngoeu, at the mouth of the Phanrang river, where it served as the boundary stone between two villages.

The first four lines are the concluding portion of an inscription now lost, and refer to donations made to a temple viz. utensils, and Chinese, Siamese and Paganese slaves.

The remaining 11 lines record the donations of king Jaya Paramēśvaravarman to the gods Śrī Campeśvara and Svayamutpanna. Among other things he improved the irrigation channels in the fields granted to these gods.

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 92, No. 392.
B. E. F., Vol. III, p. 634, No. X.

No. 92.

Phanrang Pillar Inscription of Jaya Paramēśvaravarman II.

This Cham inscription is engraved on two faces of a pillar at Phanrang. It records donations of king Paramēśvaravarmanadeva and Yuvarāja Nandabhadra to the gods Svayamutpanna and Jaya Artheśvara. The donations consist of lands, slaves, and silver etc.

No. 93.
Kim Choua Inscription of Jaya Paramesvararvarman II.

The inscription is engraved on a stelae belonging to the temple of Kim Choua close to the citadel of Binh Dinh. It refers to the king Śrī Jaya Paramesvaravarmanadeva (II) and contains the names of Buddhist divinities such as, Śrī Līṅgalokeśvara, Śrī Jina Paramesvara, Śrī Jinaśāntaśāntavāra, Śrī Jinalokesvara, Śrī Saugataśāntaditva, Śrī Jinaśāntaśāntadeva.  
J. A. 1888 (1) pp. 92-93, No. 411.

No. 94.
Myson Pillar Inscription of Jaya Indravarman V dated 1165 Ś.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 953, No. XVIII C). It is engraved on the same pillar as No. 69 and contains 11 lines of writing in Cham. It records the pious donations of Jaya Indravarman V to the god Śrīśāntabhadrāvara in 1165 śaka.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! There is a prince, king of kings, Jaya Indravarman, prince Harideva, of Sakan-Vijaya, grandson of His Majesty Jaya Harivarman, great king of kings, son of His Majesty Jaya Harivarman, great king of kings, younger brother of His Majesty Paramesvaravarman, the great king. He has all the thirty-three signs,.................youth, beauty, strength and pride of heroism.................he knows all the sciences.................he is versed in the philosophy of different
schools. He is expert in all pleasures.................youth, but realising that the body and the pleasures of royalty are transitory.................a famous glory in the world, and he restored it completely. And the king.................the god Śrīśānabhadreśvara who is the origin of the kingdom of Champā.................objects to Śrīśānabhadreśvara, in śaka year.................inferior and middle, ‘five-member-form-one’ (pañcamāṅgāḥ rūpaikāḥ) i. e. 1165 (Finot reads the date as 1185).

No. 95.

Myson Pillar Inscription of Jaya Indravarman V.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F., Vol. IV, p. 966, No. XXII B). For localities (cf. No. 4). It is engraved on a pillar and contains 10 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written throughout in verse. There are altogether 10 stanzas but the last five are almost illegible. The metres used are vv. 1, 3, 5, Indravajra; v. 2, Upajāti; v. 4, is mutilated and is either Indravajra or Upajāti.

The inscription refers itself to the king Śrī Jaya Indravarman (V), son of Śrī Harivarmadeva, younger brother of Śrī Parameśvara and the grandson of Śrī Hari-varmadeva.

TEXT

1. तीच्छनाइत्समनोद्धिमप्रमेयं
   खस्मोतिसुस्मोपि कलां प्रकाश्य ।
   संक्रिडते शक्षिभिरात्मरकः
   नैष्कल्यमृग्यस्स शिवो व — — II
II. अशुद्धापरश्री हरिवर्षद्रेष्त्र- 
पौत्रधिकरश्री जयदन्त्वस्र। 
राज च श्री हरिवर्षदेा-
लमलातुलजश्री परमेश्वरसपू। 

III. विचत्र षै— सूरतपूछ्यु 
भूमिश्री प्नत्यभवमत्वत्यु 
बालणे गुरुस्वर्ग्मबन्धकाला — 
— — — — जनने खण्ड यमुस र। 

IV. सौन्तरसूत्यः पंग्लोन्य पूज्वन् 
— — — आमस्त योधवीर्यम् 
— — — — — यधपा — 
y द्वारा शौर्यादित्स पुप्प — — र। 

V. पशुतयाल्पपापिपणि विनाशा 
— — — — महिरी जहाँति। 
बाल्यतु लच्छर्यस्मिनर्वष्य काले 
तो यत्र पुराणे विजहानि बाल्यम्। 

VI. — — — — बिलाशिनी कामजनेणु कामान्। 

VII. पतरंनम षै — — इम् अनल्पुणायः। 

VIII. सदाहत्तद्रीः कु — — — स्य समार्जहर। 

IX. कर्त्तरंन्नतितराशो जल — — — 

X. देशमे दुर्ग्राममधिक्षतस्मि ज्ञात्रे — — — 

TRANSLATION.

1. Adoration to Śiva, who sports in the limitless Manasa lake with his own saktis (wives) by means of his own prowess, thereby displaying his form, although he is resident of heaven, his body is imperceptible,¹ and he can be meditated upon as without any form.

2. There was the king Śri Jaya Indravarma, grandson

¹. The meaning of the first line is a little obscure. The metre is also faulty.
of Śrī Harivarmmadeva, son of Śrī Harivarmmadeva and the younger brother of Śrī Parameśvara.

3-8. (Too mutilated to yield a satisfactory meaning; they apparently contain eulogy of the king).

9. .............who has made other kings tributary.

10. Who churned the ocean, which was the battle, by means of the Mandara mountain, which was his arm.

No. 96.

Phanrang Lintel Inscription
dated 1166. Śaka.

This Cham inscription, engraved on a lintel at Phanrang, records that prince Paṅkaja Abhimanyudeva, governor of Pāṇḍuраṅga and commander-in-chief of king Jaya Parameśvaravarmanadeva, came to Pāṇḍuраṅga by the order of the king in 1152 Śaka, and gave in Śaka 1166 various donations, including gold, silver and slaves, to the god Svayam-utpanna.


No. 97.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of princess Śūryyadevi dated 1178. Śaka.

The inscription refers to Pulyaṅ Ratnāvali, princess Śūryyadevi, daughter of king Jaya Indravarmadeva and queen Śrī Paramaratnastrī. She was united for ever, by ties of marriage, to a nobleman called On Raśu Nandana. The happy pair made various pious donations to the temple and installed an image of Bhagavati Mātriliṅgeśvari. In 1178 princess Ratnāvali gave various ornaments of gold and silver...
to the goddess Pu Nagara and prescribed regulations for the dancing girls employed in the service of the goddess.

J. A. 1891 (1) p. 53-4.

No. 98.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Princess Sūryyadevi.

It records the gifts of Pulyañ Ratnāvali princess Sūryyadevi of Manañ Vijaya to the goddess Bhagavatī Mātrilīṅgeśvarī. She also gave a sum of money for making a statue of the goddess Bhagavatī Kauṭhāreśvarī. The gifts consisted of various ornaments of gold and silver, slaves and a female elephant.

J. A. 1891 (1) p. 56, No. 408 B.

No. 99.

Po-Nagar Vase Inscription of Śakrānta
dated 1179 Śaka.

The inscription is engraved on a copper vase found in the Temple of Po-Nagar. It records that the vase was given to the goddess Po-Nagara by the king Śakrānta belonging to Mandavijaya, in the year 1179 (=1257 A. D.). Śakrānta was probably an usurper.

J. A. 1906 (1) p. 518.

No. 100.

Bronze (?) Vase inscription of Jaya-Sīṁhavarman II. dated 1181 Śaka.

A short Cham inscription engraved on the interior of a vase in possession of M. Neville. It records the pious gifts
of Śrī Jaya Śiṃhavarmadeva, prince Śrī Harideva, for the sake of merit in life hereafter. It is dated 1181 śaka (= 1259 A. D.).

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 96, No. 420.

No. 101.

Pilaster Inscription.

The origin of this inscription is unknown. It is engraved on the base of a pilaster and contains the name of Śrīśānabhadreshvara. The two last figures of the date are 81, and on palaeographical grounds it may be referred to 1181 śaka (=1259 A. D.) during the reign of Indravarman IV.


No. 102.

Choek yang stelae Inscription dated 1185 Śaka.

The Sanskrit portion was edited by Bergaigne (Corpus No. XXXV, p. 291) and the Cham portion translated by Aymonier (J. A. 1891, part 1, p. 55).

The inscription is engraved on a small stelae found in a cave on the Tchoek yang ‘the divine mount’ at the north-east of Panrang. It contains 6 lines of writing, three in Sanskrit and three in Cham, and a seventh line containing the figures 1185 denoting the date. The Sanskrit portion is in prose and merely contains an invocation to Śiva. The Cham text records that five dignitaries, sons of Sun (Śūryaputra) and belonging to Virapura, excavated the cave in śaka 1185 (=1263 A. D.).

TEXT.

L. 1. स्तत्ति जय सिद्धि
TRANSLATION.

Hail, victory, success! Adoration to Śiva, to Śarvva, who makes the supreme gifts and who has his head erect. Oh, adoration always!

No. 103.

Kiém Ngoc (Binh Dinh) stelae Inscription dated 1187 (?) Śaka.

It contains an invocation to Buddha and refers to a king of Kṣatriya family whose name is lost. It seems to contain a date 1187 but this is doubtful.

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 104, No. 423.
J. A. 1891 (1) p. 66, No. 423.

No. 104.

Batau Tablah Inscription of Jayasimhavarman II (Indravarman IV) Hari-deva dated 1188 Śaka.

This short inscription of four lines is engraved on a boulder called Batau-Tablah (cf. No. 75).

It records that king Indravarman, prince Śri Harideva, bearing the name of Pulyañ Śri Yuvarāja vlon (? ) came to Panrañ in 1171. Then having obtained the throne he took the royal name of Śri Jaya Simhavarman and enjoyed himself at Panrañ in 1179. Then having been formally conse-
crated to the throne he became the sovereign of the world, Indravarnam, and enjoyed himself at Panrañ in 1188.

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 967, No. 395.
J. A. 1891 (1) pp. 57-58.

No 105.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription
dated 1189 Śaka.

It records the gifts of princess Ratnavali (c.f. Nos. 97, 98) to the goddess Pu-Nagara and to the goddess Mātrī-Lingeśvari in the year 1189 (=1267 A.D.). The gift consists of lands and slaves

J. A. 1891 (1) p. 57, No. 408 C.

No. 106.

Phanrañ Lintel Inscription of Indravarman IV. dated 1196, Śaka.

This Cham inscription engraved on a lintel at Phanrañ records the donations, consisting of a large elephant and six slaves, made to the god Svayamutpanna by the king Indravarman IV in 1196 Śaka (=1274 A.D.).

No. 107.

Yang Kur Inscription of Indravarman IV. dated 1200 Śaka.

This inscription in mixed Sanskrit and Cham is engraved on two faces of a stelae found at Yang kur (formerly called Pāṇḍuraṅga hill ?), quite close to that famous town. The inscription contains 23 lines of writing but very little can be deciphered. It begins with an invocation to Śiva and records that in 1200 (=1278 A.D.), in the reign of Indravarman, the noble queen Sūryalakṣmī installed the statue of the god Bhūmivijaya.

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 97, No. 389.
J. A. 1891 (1) p. 59, No. 389.

No. 108.

Po-Nagar Temple Inscription of Indravarman IV.

This Cham inscription is engraved on the left pillar of the outer gate of the temple to the right. The two faces of the pillar contain two different inscriptions. The earlier one containing four lines is illegible; only the word Liṅga can be made out with certainty. The later one contains six lines and records dedications of three infants to the god Śri Indravarman Śivalīṅgeśvara, by king Indravarman, prince Śriv- Harideva of Śila vandha vijaya.' (The infants were probably condemned to slavery as a punishment to a person who spoke maliciously.)

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 98 No. 402.
J. A. 1891 (1) p. 59 No. 402 B
No. 109.

**Po-Nagar stelae Inscription of Indravarman IV.**

The inscription is engraved on two faces of a stelae lying in the court-yard of the Po-Nagar Temple to the left. The inscription on the first face refers to king Indravarman and records gifts of lands to ling Bhagavati Kauṭhāreśvari. The inscription on the other face refers to king Śri Jaya Simha-Varman and king Indravarman and records the installation of Śiva linga and the God Śrīśanabhadreśvara.

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 103

J. A. 1891 (1) pp. 60-62.

No. 110.

**Posah fragmentary stelae Inscription of Jaya Simhavarman III**

dated 1228.

Posah is close to the village of Chakling, in the south of the valley of Paurāṇī. The inscription is written on two faces of the stelae comprising respectively 22 and 9 lines. The language is Sanskrit but a good many words are lost and no complete text or translation is possible.

It records the career of prince Harijītātmaja, son of king Śrī Jayasiṃha Varman, the king of kings, and the queen Bhāskaradevi. The prince was born in 1196 ( = 1274 A. D.). In 1220 Śaka (= 1298 A. D.) he received the epithet Taval Śūrā Adhikavarman. In 1222 Śaka (= 1300 A. D.) his father appointed him to govern a district extending from the river Vauk as far as Bhūmanā Vijaya. In 1223
śaka (=1301 A. D.) his father gave him the name of Pulyaṅ Uddhṛta Siṃhavarman. The prince was endowed with beauty and skill. He was a devotee of Śiva and respected his preceptor, father and mother. Knowing that the pleasures of this life are illusory like a dream he gave up a life of enjoyment and applied himself entirely to pious works such as digging tanks, building roads and making religious endowments, abstinence, meditation etc. In 1227 śaka (=1305 A. D.) the king gave him the name Mahendra (?) Varman. In 1228 śaka he made donations of slaves etc. The inscription refers to two other queens of Jayasimhavarman viz. Paramaśvarī, daughter of king Devādiśeva, and Tāpasi, the daughter of king of Yavadvipa.

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 99, No. 398
J. A. 1891 (1) p. 62, No. 398
B. E. F. vol. III, p. 636, No. XVII.
Bulletin de la commission archéologique de l’Indochine
1911, p. 13

Nos. 111-115.

Po Klong Gorai Inscriptions of Jayasimhavarman III.

These five inscriptions are engraved in a temple named Po-klong Gorai, the most beautiful ancient monument in the plain of Phanraṅ

No. 112, engraved on three faces of the stone, contains respectively 40, 41 and 42 lines. It begins with an invocation to Śiva and records the donations of slaves and lands
by the king Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva to Jayasimhavarmadeva tinigeśvara (i.e. Śiva-līnga styled after the king).

The king's parentage is described in the following words. “Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva pu (prince) ciy (master) Śrī Harijīt Paramātmaja yaṅ poņ ku (His divine Majesty) Indravarna Paramodbhava di (in) pu poņ vyā (Her Majesty) Paramēvarī pu nai (princess) Gaurendralakṣmī paramapura.” This expression is ambiguous and might mean that the king was son of Śrī Harijīt. But it has been taken to mean on the analogy of Annamite expressions, that the king Jayasimhavarman (III), also called prince Harijīt, was the son of king Indravarman and the queen Gaurendralakṣmī.

This preamble is followed by a detailed account of the fields and slaves granted to the temple which covers the rest of the inscription Nos. 111, 113 and 115 also contain similar detailed account of lands and slaves. No. 114 is hardly legible and refers to the donation of a young beautiful lady (of the royal family).

It is interesting to note that among the names of slaves we have the female Rājaput, the boy Śivadit, the boy Aṅgāra, the boy Rāḍḍhi, and male Vāyudeva. There are also references to the nationalities of these slaves e.g. the female Javā (Malayan or Javanese) and the female Yvan (Annamite).

J. A. 1891 (1) pp. 67-82.
B. E. F. Vol. III. p. 635-6 Nos. XV, XVI.

No. 116.

Tali Temple inscription of Jayasimhavarman III.

L. Finot refers to an inscription in a temple at Tali, a village in the district of Darlac. It is written in Cham and
records the erection of a temple with a Mukhaliṅga under the name of Jaya Simhayarman-liṅgesvara, by the king Jaya Simhavarman at the end of the thirteenth century.


No. 117.
Binh Dinh Gate Inscription of Vīra Bhadravarman Dated
1323 Śaka.

The inscription was edited by M. Finot (B. E. F. Vol. XV, No. 2. p. 12). It is engraved on the plinth of the gate of the royal citadel of Binh Dinh. The language is Cham. There are 19 lines of writing.

The inscription records the donation of Vīra Bhadravarman in 1323 Śaka (=1401 A. D.). It throws fresh light on the chronology of the last kings of Champa.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! There was a king of Bṛṣu family viz. His Majesty Śri Jayasyahavarmadeva Śri Harijātī Virasiṅha Champa-pūra who reigned full twelve years. Then his soul departed for the abode of Śiva in the land of Yān...(Then) his son His Majesty Śri Bṛṣu Visnijātī Vira Bhadravarmadeva reigned. As his father, mother and cousins were established in this country and had received in lease the uncultivated estates, he took the field at Luvuk which his royal father had cleared, consisting of 500 Vijāih of wood with the public serfs; a śwan of silver, a silver kanañjalu of 5 thil;
two slaves; all these for being distributed as offerings——to the temple of Śrīśana of this country——In șaka 1323 (≈1401 A.D.)

No. 118.
Cheo-Reo Inscription of Viṣṇu-Jāṭti
Vira Bhadravarman dated
1331 Șaka.

This mutilated inscription, containing the date and name of the king, is engraved on a statue of Śiva, which originally belonged to the temple of Drang Lai, but is now placed in the temple of Yang Mum at Cheo-Reo in the Phu-yen district.


No. 119.
Cheo-Reo Inscription of Viṣṇu
Bhadra-varman.

This mutilated inscription is engraved on a ruined stelae (For localities cf. No. 118). It contains the name of the king Śri Bṛṣu Viṣṇujāṭti Vira Bhadravarmadeva prince Nauk Glauṅ Vijaya.


No 120.
Phuoc-thinh (Dt. Phu-Yen) stelae

Inscription dated 1333 Șaka.

Nothing but the date is legible.

B. E. F. Vol. XV, No. 2 p. 13, fn (4)
No. 121.

**Blen Hoa Viṣṇu Image Inscription of Jayasimhavarman IV dated 1343 (?)**

The inscription was noticed and partially read by Aymonier (J. A. 1891, part I pp. 84-85) but has since been properly edited by M. Cabaton (B. E. F. IV. pp. 687 ff).

The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of Viṣṇu which was originally discovered near Bien-Hoa in French Cochin China. It contains 9 lines of writing. The language is Cham.

The inscription refers to a prince named Nauk Glauṇ Vijaya, son of king Śrī Jayasimha Varman (IV). The prince is said to have vanquished the Annamites (Yvan) and taken possession of a kingdom called Brah Kānda. He gained innumerable victories and returned to Champā in 1343 (?). He erected an image of Viṣṇu called Tribhuvanakranta, with the booty he had taken from the Khmers (Kvīr) and made donations to a number of liṅgas and gods.

The portion of the inscription containing the date is so much damaged that it has not been possible to arrive at a definite conclusion. M. Aymonier reads the date as "loka-aṣṭa-ardha-anala" = 1282 śaka; M. Cabaton reads the date as "loka-saṣṭārthānalab" or "loka aṣṭārthānalab" = 1363 or 1383", while M. Finot reads the passage as "loka aṣṭārthānalab nrpaḥ = 1343 (nrpaḥ = nrpaḥ = rājā = somah = 1)". M. Finot's suggestion is generally accepted.

The image of Viṣṇu on which the inscription is engraved has been described in B. E. F. Vol. I, p. 18. It shows the
No. 122.
Nui Ben-Lang (Binh Dinh) stelae
Inscription of Indravarman
dated 1358 Śaka.

It records that there was a king Śrī Jaya Simhavarman of the Brṣu family. His son reigned for 32 years, and then, after the royal consecration, took the name of Śrī Brṣu Indravarman. It contains the date 1358 śaka ( =1436 A. D.)

J. A. 1888 (1) p. 104 No. 413.
J. A. 1891 (1) p. 83-84 No. 413.

No. 123.
Ron Buddhist Inscription.

The inscription was edited by F. Huber (B. E. F. Vol. XI, p. 267). It is engraved on a stone lying in a field about two miles from Bac Ha in Quang Binh. It contains four lines of writing and records donations to a Buddhist Vihāra. The language is Sanskrit (the characters belong to about 9th or 10th century A. D.)

नमः तस्मै भगवते श्रीदामरेश्वराय तिलिविवत-
ष्ट्रें पंरत्चें चढः.......
विहारद्वयं दीशतामानं पञ्चशादिकं श्री......
राजेन भक्तिमता इत्समिति ये रचन्ति......
ये नाशयन्ति

Homage to the god Śrī Dāmaraśvara. The fields of Til-vit, Pār, Tradvah etc,—all these lands belonging to the monastery and containing 250 measures were given by the pious
Dāmareśvara, the chief of the Īḍamaraś, or bhūtas (goblins), is one of the numerous epithets which Avalokiteśvara has borrowed from Śiva.

No. 124.

Phu-Luong fragmentary stelae
Inscription.

Only the invocation ‘Om namaŚ-Sivāya’ ‘Adoration to Śiva’ has been deciphered. It probably belongs to the ninth century. (Phu-Luong is a few miles north of Hue in the district of Thua-thien).

J. A. 1898 part II p. 360

No. 125.

Dong-Duong Temple Inscription.

This short inscription of two lines refers to two fields. It may be referred on palaeographical grounds to a date earlier than the 11th century A.D. The inscription is of interest as it offers a terminus ad quem for the date of the temple of Dong-Duong (cf. No. 31)

B. E. F., Vol. IV. (112-113)

No. 126.

‘Khánh Tho Dong’ Buddhist Inscription.

The Buddhist formula ‘Ye dharma’ &c. is engraved on the back of a pedestal containing an image of Buddha. Khánh Tho Dong is in the district of Quang-Nam.

Parmentier-Inventaire
descritif des Monuments Chams Vol. I
p. 244.
No. 127.

**Ban Metruot Stone Inscription.**

The Cham words ‘pu vya’ meaning ‘Her majesty the Queen’, engraved on a grinding stone found close to the village of Ban Metruot about 18 miles to the north of Ban Methuot, chief town of the Laotian province of Darlak, indicates the extent of Cham influence in the savage country.


No. 128.

**Myson Pillar Inscription.**

It is very fragmentary and refers to a ‘rāja-paṇḍita-padya’ or poem of a court poet. It is engraved on the same pillar on which No. 69 is inscribed.

B. E. F. Vol. IV. p. 953—954, No. XVIII B.

No. 129.

**La-ṭho Silver plate Inscription.**

It simply contains the words ‘Śri Vanāntaresvara’, apparently the god to whom the plate was dedicated (La-ṭho is in the district of Quang-Nam)


No. 130.

**La-ṭho Silver jug Inscription.**

It contains the following Sanskrit śloka.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{वनन्तरेव्वरायास्मै श्रीमेते दिव्यकैसयेः} & \\
\text{चम्पापुरपती रौप्य फलशं भक्त्यात्मनः} & \\
\end{align*} \]

"I, the king of Champā (dedicate) this silver jug to the Majestic and glorious Vanāntaresvara with devotion."

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