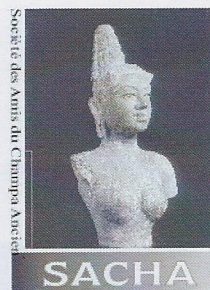




Lettre

de la **S**ociété
des **A**mis
du **C**hampa
Ancien



Site Internet de la SACHA : <http://www.sacha-champa.org/g/>

Une mutation

Ce 14 décembre 1994, nous étions sept, réunis au 30 rue Boissière, dans le petit bureau de M. - S. de Vienne et de J. Népote, pour fonder la SACHA, élaborer ses statuts, élire un bureau provisoire, faire des projets de toutes sortes concernant le Champa ancien.

Dans les jours qui suivirent nous étions rejoints par le Professeur Boisselier, qui devint notre Président d'honneur, et par A. Le Bonheur, qui en fut Conseiller. Dès le début nos objectifs étaient clairs :

“Aider à mieux connaître le Champa ancien, ces royaumes hindouisés de la côte orientale de la péninsule indochinoise, à diffuser ce qu'on connaît, ce qu'on ignore, sans exclusive [...] sans rien retenir par devers nous”.

Ce dernier point nous semblait important, dans la mesure où notre but était d'apporter les connaissances et les découvertes à celles et ceux que cela intéresserait, qu'ils soient amateurs autant que “spécialistes”, simples curieux,

(suite page 3)

La Devi (copie) de HU'ONG QUÉ', province de QUANG

NAM X^e siècle H.38,5 cm ; L.21,6 cm ; P.11,8 cm.

Musée d'Histoire du Vietnam de Hô Chi Minh Ville



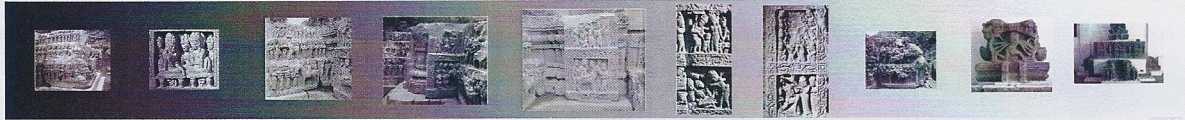
Sommaire

DERNIER NUMERO

THE LAST ONE

PAGE

PAGE



UNE MUTATION _____ 1
Emmanuel Guillon

A MUTATION _____ 1

JEAN-LOUIS FOWLER _____ 5

JEAN-LOUIS FOWLER _____ 5

**UNE BIBLIOGRAPHIE COMMENTÉE
DES VESTIGES DE TRA KIEU** _____ 6
Professeur Luong Ninh

**TRA KIEU - VESTIGES AND
ISSUES (SUMMARY)** _____ 10

BUDDHISM IN CHAMPA (RESUME) _____ 27

BUDDHISM IN CHAMPA _____ 12
Nandana Chutivongs

**LA SACHA : UNE RENAISSANCE
PAR INTERNET** _____ 24
Jean-Michel Beurdeley

**SACHA : A REBIRTH THROUGH
THE INTERNET** _____ 24



collectionneurs de cartes postales ou archéologues en formation (ou chevronnés), qui ne cherchaient pas, ou pas encore, à y faire carrière ou à se prétendre les uniques spécialistes. C'est ce qui explique notre convivialité d'alors. Nous souhaitions ne relever d'aucun courant, d'aucune école, tout en suivant les leçons de rigueur de J. Boisselier et de l'indianisme. Enfin nous voulions nous tenir à l'écart du marché de l'art.

Aussi, et avant même la publication des premiers numéros de la Lettre de la SACHA, nous en vîmes (dès 1995) à nous considérer comme une Société Savante, dans la tradition française des Sociétés Savantes du XIX^{ème} siècle, et non une simple amicale.

Il n'est pas question ici de retracer en détail l'histoire de la SACHA, ni d'en faire un bilan, ce qui pourra être fait dans un autre cadre, mais simplement d'évoquer sa spécificité.

Certes nos deux activités majeures ont été la rédaction de la Lettre, et nos séjours sur le terrain avec la collaboration de nos amis vietnamiens. De quinze membres en 1997, nous sommes passés, en 2001, à soixante dix huit, de 12 pays différents, de l'Australie aux USA, en passant par l'Europe et l'Asie. Pour le plus grand nombre, le Champa ancien était alors quasiment inconnu. Il se présentait comme un sujet d'étude complètement nouveau.

Nous profitons également de nos Assemblées Générales annuelles pour inviter des spécialistes exposer leurs découvertes, ou pour nous commenter des documents.

Par exemple en 2000, M. Jacq-Hergoual'h nous parla des "influences artistiques entre le Champa et le Pan Pan (région de Chaiya, péninsule malaise) au IX^{ème} siècle" ou, en 2002, nous eûmes la projection du film inédit "L'Indochine telle que je l'ai connue - 1930-1940" (16mm noir et blanc) réalisé par l'archéologue Jean-Yves Claeys, présenté par Henri P. Claeys.

Ou encore en 2007, nous avons pu apprendre du chercheur Tran Quang Hai, mondialement connu pour ses travaux sur les musiques traditionnelles vietnamiennes et asiatiques, que la musique de Cour du Vietnam était probablement d'origine Cham, etc.

Entre 1997 et 2003, nous avons ouvert nos colonnes à vingt-huit collaborateurs, venant d'horizons les plus divers. Il y eut également de grands moments publics, comme celui d'avoir fait venir Paris, en 2001, avec l'aide de l'AFAO, M. Ha Phuoc Mai, directeur du Musée de Da Nang ; ou d'avoir organisé le colloque international des études Cham au Musée Cernuschi, les 14 et 15 octobre 2005 (Lettre de la SACHA numéro 12, 2006, p. 22-23), avec l'aide de la Fondation James Thompson de Bangkok.

D'autres interventions furent plus discrètes, comme l'aide que nous avons pu apporter à A. Bayle pour qu'elle puisse accomplir un stage de restauration au Musée Cham de Da Nang, ou encore pour faire venir à Paris le peintre Phan Ngoc Minh, fortement inspiré dans son art par le Champa, afin qu'il y expose ses œuvres, qui s'inspirait des œuvres cham. Mais depuis deux ans, une crise a surgi, au sein de notre association. Au delà de querelles de personnes, si fréquentes lorsqu'une association s'étoffe et grandit, nous avons connu ce que l'on pourrait qualifier de "crise institutionnelle". La SACHA, association classique, avec un bureau, un conseil d'administration, des Assemblées Générales, fonctionnait de moins en moins bien. Certains considéraient que l'outil ne convenait plus à nos buts initiaux. En effet, alors qu'à nos débuts les amateurs du Champa ancien étaient infimes, leur nombre augmentait, reflétant en cela le gonflement de la participation aux conférences bisannuelles de l'European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists. Celles-ci, qui ne regroupaient en 2000 qu'une poignée de spécialistes, explosa en effet lors de la conférence du British Museum de 2004 : l'engouement pour le Champa devint presque à la mode, et il suivait une série de campagnes de fouilles sur le terrain (cet engouement a d'ailleurs baissé depuis).

A notre niveau cela se traduisait par une discussion, récurrente, qui mettait en cause la focalisation trop grande de l'association sur la Lettre, et ses aléas, d'autant plus que notre graphiste nous avait quitté pour des raisons personnelles.

Aussi lors de l'Assemblée Générale du 14 décembre 2009, et après plusieurs conseils d'administration, nous avons décidé de dissoudre la SACHA telle qu'elle avait été constituée, afin de se concentrer sur notre site Web. Et, de même qu'il nous avait fallu presque trois ans pour passer de la création de la SACHA à la réalisation de la Lettre, il nous a fallu deux ans pour passer à l'ère Internet. Ce n'est donc pas une mort, c'est une mutation, une transmutation, un passage au XXI^{ème} siècle.

Thierry Paturle, l'un des co-fondateurs de la SACHA écrivait dès le premier numéro de la Lettre (p. 11) ce texte prémonitoire : "Chacun pourra, à partir d'un simple clavier d'ordinateur, construire son itinéraire personnel dans l'art Cham. Ensuite, comme le suggère Romain Pomédio, ce musée imaginaire pourra être porté sur Internet et mis à disposition, dans le monde entier, de tous les passionnés du Champa". Quatorze ans plus tard, cela est en route !!

Cette dernière Lettre, après avoir rendu hommage à notre graphiste, donne la parole - une parole critique - au Professeur Luong Ninh et à Mme Nandana Chutiwongs, pour conclure...

Emmanuel Guillon 2008 - 2009

A mutation

On December 14th 1994, seven of us gathered in Mr. de Vienne and Mr. Nepote's tiny office, located 30 rue Boissiere in Paris, to found the non-profit organisation SACHA. We set about writing the statutes, electing the temporary board, and starting a variety of projects revolving around Ancient Champa.

We were subsequently joined by Professor Boisselier, who later became our honorary chairman, and Mr. le Bonheur, his senior adviser. Our objectives were clear from the very beginning: "To increase awareness and knowledge of Ancient Champa, the Hinduised kingdoms on the Eastern coast of Indochina. To share what we know about them, as well as what we don't yet know about them, without excluding anything, without keeping anything to ourselves."

This last point was very important to us. Our goal was to make our knowledge and discoveries accessible to every interested party: to amateurs and specialists alike, postcard collectors and prospective or experienced archaeologists. None of whom planned to build their career on the subject (or not initially) or claiming to be a superior specialist. That is why the atmosphere was always so convivial at our meetings.

We did not want to rely on any particular movement or on any specific school of thought but did want to stay true to the rigour of Professor Boisselier and Indianism. Finally, we wanted to distance ourselves from the Art market.

Thus, as early as 1995, even before SACHA's first newsletter, we considered ourselves as members of a learned society, following in the footsteps of other 19th century learned societies in France, and not just as members of a friendly club. We will not tell the story of SACHA in detail here, nor list and assess all of our activities, as this will be done elsewhere, but here we shall only speak to SACHA's specificity.

Our two main activities were issuing our newsletters and seeking new members. We rapidly found them all around the globe, from Australia to the US, from Europe to Asia. From 15 members in 1997, we grew to 78 in 2001, including members from 12 different countries. For most of them, Ancient Champa was practically unknown at the time. It was embraced as a brand new field of study.

We took advantage of our yearly General Assembly to invite specialists to present their work or to comment on selected documents.

In 2000 for example, Mr. Jacq-Hergoual'ch gave a talk about "Artistic influences between Champa and Pan Pan (Chayia region, Malaysian Peninsula) during the 9th century".

In 2002, the film "Indochina as I knew it (1930-1940)" (Black & White 16mm) directed by archaeologist Jean-Yves Claeys screened for the first time, presented by his son Henri P. Claeys.

In 2007, we learned from world-famous ethno-musicologist Tran Quang Hai, specialized in traditional Asian and Vietnamese music, that the music performed at the Imperial court in Viet-Nam most probably came from Champa.

Between 1997 and 2003, our newsletters featured some 28 contributors, hailing from very different backgrounds.

We also hosted great public events, for example when we gave Mr. Ha Phuoc Mai, director of the Museum of Da Nang, the opportunity to come to Paris with the help of the AFAO; or when we organised the international symposium on Cham studies at the Cernuschi Museum, on October 14-15 2005, with the help of the John Thompson Foundation in Bangkok (cf. SACHA newsletter 12, p. 22-23).

Not all of our activities were quite so public, we also undertook a number of discrete projects, for example when we helped Mr. Bayle study restoration at the Cham Museum of Da Nang. Or when we helped Vietnamese painter Phan Ngoc Minh exhibit his Champa-inspired work in Paris.

But, for two years now, our society has been facing a crisis. Beyond personal quarrels, so common when an organisation is growing, we have been facing what could be considered an "institutional crisis". SACHA, a classical non-profit organisation, with a board and a general assembly, has been functioning with more and more difficulties. Some thought that the organisation no longer fit its initial purpose. Indeed when we started very few cared about Champa, but interest grew over time, as shown by the growth in the number of attendees to the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists' conference organised every other year. In 2000, this conference was just a gathering of a handful of specialists. In 2004, at the British Museum, the number had exploded. Champa had become fashionable, soon followed by a series of excavations on the field. In fact, this frenzy has since settled down.

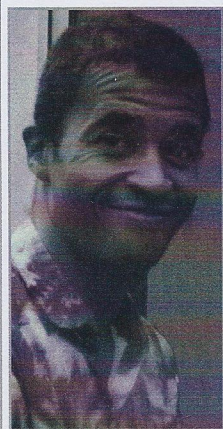
However, for us it triggered increasingly heated discussions about whether the organisation focused too much on publishing the newsletter. Particularly after our graphic designer left for personal reasons.

So on December 14th 2009, during the General Assembly, and after several board meetings, we decided to put an end to SACHA as we knew it and focus exclusively on our website. Just as it took us three years, from the creation of SACHA to launch the first newsletter, it took us two years to shift to the Internet. It is not the death of our organisation but a mutation, a transmutation, a leap into the 21st century.

Thierry Paturle, one of the co-founders of SACHA, wrote this premonitory text in the first issue of the newsletter (p.11): "From a simple keyboard, everyone will be able to create his own path into Cham art. After that, as suggested by Romain Pomedio, this virtual museum will be available on the web from anywhere in the world, at the disposal of all the people fond of Champa". 14 years later, this has come to be.

After a tribute to our graphic designer, we leave it to Professor Luong Ninh and Mrs. Nandana Chutiwongs to conclude...

Jean-Louis FOWLER



Notre collaboration avec Jean-Louis Fowler, si fructueuse et si précieuse pour notre association, a débuté presque par hasard. A priori Jean-Louis, fils d'un africain et d'une poitevine ne s'intéressait nullement à l'Asie, et moins encore au Champa ancien. Nous cherchions à créer un bulletin interne qui rendrait compte de notre activité. Jean-Louis, qui travaillait alors dans le graphisme, se proposa de relever le défi, et de faire la maquette, bénévolement,

de la Lettre, illustrée en noir et blanc. Dès le premier numéro, sorti en juillet 1997, ce fut une réussite. Notre petit imprimeur de la rue Frédéric Lemaître, dans le vingtième arrondissement de Paris, s'efforça lui aussi à une réalisation de qualité. Mais la qualité de la mise en page, les trouvailles accumulées dans ces modestes 16, puis 24 pages, d'abord en français puis bilingues franco-anglais, on les doit au talent de Jean-Louis. Une fois apporté les textes et les illustrations, et s'être entendu sur la distribution des articles, nous lui laissions l'initiative - toujours heureuse. Et ceci, dans une parfaite entente, pendant dix ans, jusqu'au numéro 12 de 2006. Il en fut de même pour notre site internet qu'il conçut et réalisa entièrement. Après quoi, trop accaparé par ses autres activités, il déclara forfait. Claire Neil-Guillon reprit alors brillamment le flambeau, tant pour la Lettre que pour le site Web

En effet Jean-Louis a plusieurs cordes à son arc : technicien en électrotechnique, il a réalisé en publication assistée par ordinateur (PAO) les maquettes d'un certain nombre de livres ; dans le domaine des multimédia, il a créé ou actualisé une dizaine de sites internet. Mais son domaine privilégié est peut-être, plus encore que les travaux graphiques, celui de la musique. Après une formation au conservatoire de Poitiers et à la Schola Cantorum de Paris, il participe et parfois dirige des concerts de musique contemporaine en France et à l'étranger.

Au nom de la SACHA toute entière, merci Jean-Louis pour tout ce que vous nous avez apporté.

E. G.

Our valuable and fruitful collaboration with Jean-Louis Fowler,, began quite by chance. Jean-Louis, son of an African-French father and a mother from the Poitou region, did not care much about Asia, and cared even less about Ancient Champa. We wanted to create a newsletter. Jean-Louis, working as a graphic designer at the time, accepted the challenge and volunteered to design the black and white lay out of "La Lettre". It has been a success from the very first issue, published in July 1997. Our little print shop, in Paris' 20th district, brought a quality of its own, but the quality of the lay out, all of the great ideas showcased in the humble, first 16, then 24 pages, first in French, then bilingual in French and English, were thanks to Jean-Louis'talent. After the articles and illustrations were chosen, we left everything up to Jean-Louis' own initiative, and were always delighted with the result. For ten years he worked in total harmony with the rest of the team. After concluding newsletter 12, published in 2006, he single-handedly designed and developed our website. After that, his many other activities took over, and he had to leave us. He handed on the torch to Claire Neil-Guillon, who brilliantly continued the work on the newsletter and website.

Jean-Louis has indeed more than one trick up his sleeve : electro-technician, graphic designer, he has designed several books on his computer. In the multimedia field, he has created or updated more than ten websites. But his main focus, even more important to him than his graphic design work, is music. Having been educated at the Conservatoire of Poitiers and at the Schola Cantorum academy in Paris, he now takes part in, and sometimes conducts many contemporary music concerts both in France and abroad.

On behalf of all of the members of SACHA, Jean-Louis, thank you for everything, thank you for your generous contribution.

Une bibliographie commentée des vestiges de Tra Kieu

Professeur Luong Ninh,
Université de Hà Nội

1 - Les Capitales du Champa

Lorsqu'on se penche sur la formation d'un Etat, il est généralement admis que la localisation et le nom de sa capitale requiert une attention particulière. L'ouvrage de G. Maspéro *Le royaume de Champa*, Paris 1928, fut de toute évidence le premier à citer et localiser les capitales du Champa.

Nous citerons en ordre chronologique inversé les capitales qu'il a identifiées :

a - la 4^{ème} capitale fut Vijaya (XI-XV^{èmes} siècles) ou Pho Che/Pi Chey à Cha Bal (Province de Binh Dinh): De nos jours il y reste des vestiges de murailles, de tour-sanctuaires et de fondations de palais.

b - la 3^{ème} est appelée Indrapura d'après le nom du roi Indravarman mentionné dans deux inscriptions de Dong Du'o'ng (Province de Quang Nam). On y a trouvé des vestiges de murailles, de gopura, de temples, d'autels, des stèles et des statues.

c - La seconde fut Virapura localisée sans conteste dans la province de Phan Rang. La Dynastie ou l'Etat est mentionné sous le nom de Huan Huang dans les Annales T'ang Shu. Mais comme d'autres chercheurs de l'époque, Maspéro ne fut pas capable d'expliquer la localisation comme l'origine de ce nom.

De nos jours les choses sont tout à fait claires : l'inscription C37 de Po Nagar fut écrite en "735 saka

(813 ap. JC) sous le règne du roi Viraraja (ou Viraraja) Sri Harivarmadeva". Sri Harivarmadeva ou Viraraja = le jeune roi ; de Vira, en sanskrit, jeune homme, jeune guerrier; en cham Po Tam que les français transcrivent en Po Dam. De nos jours un groupe de temples se dresse à Po Dam dans la Province de Ninh Thuan. C'est là ou non loin, que se trouvait la capitale, Râjapura. Le roi du Champa se proclame généralement Maharâja (grand roi), Cakravartin (le Suprême). En plus de cela ce jeune roi se proclama en cham Pu Po Tana Raya (le Seigneur de toute la terre, Huan Wang en chinois).

d - Enfin, la première capitale fut Lin-Yi. Selon les Anciennes Annales, Lin Yi était le chef lieu du district ou la forêt/le fief/la cité de Xiang Lin. La capitale portait le nom de Tien Xun ou était située sur ce lieu-dit, proche de la mer (soit sur la côte, soit à une distance de 20 ou 40km selon les divers témoignages).

Les traductions d'une partie des Annales par P. Pelliot et L. Aurousseau conduisirent à diverse hypothèses. Pour sa part, L. Aurousseau affirme que le Lin-Yi-Tien Xung se trouve sans aucun doute sur le site de Tra Kieu, sur la rive de la Thu Bon, à 20 km de la mer. G. Maspéro ne le confirme pas. Il se contente de proposer que la capitale appelée Amarendrapura, Kandarapura peut se trouver dans la province du Quang Nam ou à My S'o'n ou à Tra Kieu et que "Sinhapura lui servait de port sur le fleuve de Sinhapura".

Cette controverse conduisit aux fouilles de Tra Kieu.

2- Le site de Tra Kieu : les Vestiges

Les fouilles furent conduites par J.Y.Claeys et le rapport publié en français dans le BEFEO de 1927-1928.

Selon l'archéologue : ... "au sud de l'axe et à environ 10 mètres à l'Est du soubassement, sur le terre-plein, des blocages irréguliers de murs furent dégagés. Ils s'étendent au nord et au sud sur près de 8 mètres de long et sur 2 mètres de large. Leur niveau au-dessus du terre-plein est variable et ne dépasse pas 0 m. 80." (p.579-580)

"La pierre cubique de l'angle Sud-Est du soubassement a laissé son alvéole très nette. Cette pierre existe au Nord-Est encore in situ, alors que les briques qui l'entouraient ont disparu" (p. 580)

"Il semble qu'il y ait eu, chronologiquement : 1° destruction des monuments, 2° démolition des vestiges restants, 3° premier remblayage en accumulant briques et pierres sculptées dans les creux des blocages à nu du béton, 4° recouvrement de l'ensemble de terre végétale contenant elle-même des débris de matériaux remployés et des fragments de poteries, de tuiles et de sapèques" (p.581).

"L'état des murs dégagés ne permet pas de déterminer la nature exacte de ces constructions". (p.586)

Commentaire :

1 - Le site a été perturbé, profondément bouleversé, ainsi à certains endroits et sur tout le site, le plan comme la stratigraphie ne peuvent être retracés.

2 - Tout le matériel, même les éléments d'architecture furent collectés ou ramassés ça et là, de sorte que la configuration de chaque monument, tout comme celle du site, est illisible. Il est très difficile de faire une évaluation de chacun comme de l'ensemble des restes architecturaux et des sculptures. Des vestiges importants peuvent avoir échappé à l'archéologue. Il retrouva par hasard l'inscription de Prakasadharmā qui exalte Vālmikī, mais pas le temple correspondant. Il trouva le piédestal quadrangulaire "aux reliefs" et après un certain temps, la yoni circulaire, mais pas le linga.

En tout état de cause, il ne s'agit pas là d'objets ou d'éléments architecturaux correspondants à une capitale des II-IV^{èmes} siècles.

3- Publications

a - Prakashadharmā et ses inscriptions à Tra-Kieu

Il est le 9^{ème} et dernier souverain de la première dynastie. Dans l'histoire du Champa il crée l'évènement étrange et rare d'être l'auteur de 7 inscriptions réparties du nord au sud : My S'o'n 3 (C80), My S'o'n 4 (C97), fragment de Kubera de My S'o'n (C98), Thach Bich (C135), Du'o'ng Mong (C 136), Tra Kieu (C 137) et Le Cam (ancienne Lai-Cam-Khanh Hoa) (C126). Parmi celles-ci, l'inscription de Mi S'o'n 4 (C97) qui fournit d'importantes informations, est certainement la principale. Elle commence par ces mots : "Il était un roi appelé Gangarāja, réputé pour ses qualités, son érudition et ses qualités royales héroïques. Il régna un temps et abdiqua pour aller au Gange car "voir le Gange est une grande joie". Gangarāja doit être considéré comme le premier roi de la première Dynastie qui porte son nom, Gangarāja, et qui compte 9 rois, bien que lui et son successeur soient légendaires.

Ce sont :

- Gangarāja
- Manorathavarman
- X, son fils ?
- Son petit-fils ? Bhadravarman, auteur de l'inscription Mu S'o'n 1 (C78) datée du IV^{ème} siècle environ
- Rudrarvarman "brillant comme l'éclat du soleil", arrière petit-fils de Manorathavarman
- Sambhuvarman (vers 610-630)
- Kandarpadharma (vers 630-640)
- Prabhasadharmā (vers 640-650)
- Prakasadharmā (vers 650-687)

Dans l'inscription C97, le roi Prakashadharmā fait figurer sa généalogie honorable, en particulier son Grand-père, son père et sa mère ainsi que la généalogie de sa mère. Il se proclame Grand Roi du Champa (Srī Cāmpapura Paramesvara Mahrāja Srī Prakashadharmā (vers 21) en donnant la date de 597 çaka (657 ap. JC). En même temps, le nom officiel du royaume, Chāmpapura, apparaît pour la première fois, mais sans que soient mentionnés celui du palais non plus que celui de la capitale. Le nom de la capitale est inconnu pour tous les rois de cette dynastie. On doit comprendre Chāmpapura, la cité de Champa comme étant l'endroit où la stèle fut découverte : My S'o'n.

L'inscription de Tra Kieu (C137) qui rend hommage à Vālmikī, l'auteur du Rāmāyana, bien que in situ, ne vient qu'à la seconde place, et complète la situation. Le site principal fut toujours My S'o'n où 4 inscrip-

tions de Prakasadharma ont été retrouvées et où depuis le Bhadravarman de l'inscription 3 (C79) du IV^{ème} siècle à ce roi du VII^{ème} siècle, le royaume vénéra Siva, sous le nom traditionnel de Srísana Bahdresvara.

L'inscription de Tra Kieu exalte le Râmâyana de Vâlmikî, incarnation de Vishnu à côté de Siva, Brahmâ et Indra, mais le temple fut dédié à Siva-Sinheçvara.

Prakasadharm (vers 650-687) semble devenir un élément central de l'histoire : après lui, vers 750 ap. JC, la Dynastie du nord et le système d'inscriptions du nord s'arrêtent et la Dynastie de Virapura au sud avec le système d'inscription du sud démarre. En 30 ans de règne, il accomplit les exploits mentionnés plus haut. De plus, il prépara peut-être la construction du plus beau temple, E1, dans la première moitié du VIII^{ème} siècle. Ainsi son règne n'est pas une fin, mais le début du développement culturel du Champa.

b - Simhapura

Aucune inscription ne confirme le nom et la localisation de la capitale de Simhapura sauf dans deux cas : le premier dans C 90 où [le roi Harivarman régnant à Vijaya] "ordonne au peuple de [la région de] Sinhapura de restaurer le temple...", le second où [le roi] "offre des biens au temple de Sinhapura, il offre une zone de rizières du fleuve Sinhapura à la forêt Lak" (C90, B) en 1080 ap. JC.

G. Maspéro pense que le terme pour Capitale doit être pura, ce qui l'oblige à créer deux noms de capitales : Amarendrapura et Kandarapura, mais il n'a pas compris que pura a un autre sens de temple, sanctuaire, comme dans Ratnapura (pagode consacrée à Avalokiteçvara, inscription de Dai Huu - Quang Binh), Trivikramapura (temple de Vishnu, inscription de Nanh Bieu - Quang binh, C 149), Vishnupura (temple de Vishnu) Rudrapura et Bhadrapura (temple de Siva, inscription de Hoa Que - Quang Nam - C142) et dans le cas de Tra Kieu (C137), Sinheçvara (temple de Siva dans la région ou sur le fleuve de Sinhapura).

c- Tra Kieu

J.Y Claeys est connu pour ses fouilles de Tra Kieu bien qu'il fit peu de recherches. Cependant, lui comme L. Arousseau démontrèrent, sans grand succès, que Tra Kieu doit être comprise comme étant la capitale du Lin Yi appelée Sinhapura datant des II-IV^{èmes} siècles. Une trentaine d'éléments architecturaux et des décors sculptés furent trouvés, comprenant, ce qui est le plus représentatif : le piédestal quadrangulaire aux reliefs, surmonté d'une yoni circu-

laire mais sans le linga. Le piédestal figure des scènes du Bhagavatapurâna avec des images de danseurs et de musiciens. On a aussi des appliques avec les torsos de deux apsaras. L'ensemble est daté du X^{ème} siècle. Cinq autres objets furent transportés au Musée Guimet, à Paris et installés dans une salle appelée "salle de Tra Kieu, 10e s". Parmi eux on trouve un éléphant à la patte cassée "exemple de l'admirable talent des chams pour l'imagerie animale", le lion dressé, l'orant debout. Caractéristiques du style de My S'o'n A 1 (Ph. Stern, 1942), sont deux frontons avec Kinnarî et Laksmî.

Parmi ces objets, l'inscription de Prakashadharm consacrée à Vâlmikî fut trouvée par hasard. Ainsi, autrefois, toutes les sculptures de Tra Kieu firent mal datées du VII^{ème} siècle, en se basant sur l'inscription alors que les sculptures doivent être mises en relation avec le Tra Kieu correspondant à l'ensemble de My S'o'n A1. Le site représentatif de l'endroit de Tra Kieu est de toute évidence du style de Tra Kieu datant du X^{ème} siècle. Le fouilleur cherchait la capitale des II-IV^{èmes} siècles, mais trouva des restes du X^{ème} siècle alors que la capitale du Champa était localisée à Virapura depuis longtemps, vers 750 ap. JC. Tra Kieu ne fut peut-être jamais une capitale, mais un site certain d'habitation de culture cham ancienne.

Cette zone culturelle sur le cours inférieur de la rivière Thu Bon commença au II-IV^{èmes} siècles avec les débuts des relations culturelles et commerciales avec la Chine et l'Inde comme le montrent les fouilles de Go Cam (la soi-disant rue Siang ?), puis se développa au VII^{ème} siècle sous le règne de Prakashadharm, plus spécialement au X-XI^{èmes} siècles avec les arts de Tra Kieu/My S'o'n A 1 sous le règne de Harivarman mentionné dans l'inscription My S'o'n 12 (C 90), qui était de la lignée de Narikelavamsa mais était né dans la lignée de Kramikavamsa et ordonna la restauration du temple de Sinhapura.

d - La citadelle

Pensant que le rempart était un vestige de l'ancienne capitale du Lin Yi, des chercheurs ont fouillé dans les environs de Tra Kieu, dans l'espoir de trouver des traces de l'ancienne capitale ou au moins une continuité entre la culture de Sa Huynh et celle des Chams. Il semble que les résultats ne soient pas différents de ceux de Claeys.

En 1993, Nguyen Chieu, perça le rempart de Tra Kieu. En 1995 Luong Ninh, Nguyen Chieu et d'autres percèrent le rempart de Chau Sa (Quang Nam) et en fouillèrent la surface interne.

En 2005, Le Din Phung et d'autres firent des recherches au fort de Kiu Sou (Quang Binh) mais ne trouvèrent que des traces de périodes tardives, VII-VIII^{èmes} siècles et même XIII-XV^{èmes} siècles.

Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, il est très difficile de répondre aux questions concernant les remparts de terre du centre Vietnam : qui construisit ces remparts ? À quelle époque ? Contre qui ? Faire des coupes dans ces remparts et les fouiller ne donne pas de réponses satisfaisantes.

Les armées de la Chine ancienne portaient bien sûr une grande attention aux défenses des anciens cham : Shin Shu écrit (aux dates 265-419 ap. JC) : "le Lin Yin s'appuyant sur sa situation en zone de hautes montagnes et de grottes profondes, ne se soumet pas".

Le T'ang Shu ancien écrit (aux dates 618-712 ap. JC) : "leurs remparts sont construits en bois".

Dans tous les cas, la vallée de My S'o'n, a occupé la place la plus grande, la plus importante.

Publication récente de l'auteur :

Le Royaume de Champa par Luong Ninh.
Publishing house The National University of Hanoi,
2005, 352 pages

Table des matières :

1^{ère} Partie - La Préhistoire et la Protohistoire du Champa

Chapitre 1 - La Préhistoire et la Protohistoire - p.3-16

- la population : Les anciens Mon (Austro-Asiatiques) et les Malayo-Cham (Malayo-Polynesiens)
- la Culture de Sa Huynh. Les fouilles Lung Leng (Kontum), montrant deux niveaux des cultures concernant deux groupes de population
- anciens témoignages écrits sur la révolte de Kiu Leen (190-193 AD)
- l'émergence de l'état de Lin Yi (ville du district de Siang Lin, la Forêt des éléphants)

2^{ème} Partie - La Période des royaumes anciens (2e-10e s)

Chapitre 2 - l'Etat de Sinhapura/Gangarâja - p. 17-34

- les rois d'après les annales anciennes
- la capitale de Lin Yi
- bibliographie commentée des vestiges de Tra Kieu - Extrait ci-dessus

- les rois - la généalogie des Gangarâjas d'après les inscriptions
Chapitre 3 - L'étape de Virapura (750-850) - L'étape de la dynastie du sud - p. 34-47

Virarâja de Vira (skt) = jeune = Po Tam (cham) = Po Dam (transcription française) : groupe de temples de Po Dam : le roi Harivarman Ier (801817) se proclame Maharâja (grand roi), Cakravartin (Souverain Suprême) et en cham Pu Po Tana Raya (le Seigneur de toute la terre) = Huan Wang en transcription chinoise.

- les rois : la dynastie du sud
 - le groupe de kalan (temples) du sud : Hoa Lai, Po Dam et Po Hai
 - le style de Hoa Lai
 - les dates : vers 800-850 ap. JC
 - les fouilles récentes, en 2005, nouvelles découvertes concernant le plan de ce groupe et en particulier une stèle en cours d'étude.
- Chapitre 4* : L'étape d'Indrapura (vers 850-892) - p. 48-72

3^e Partie : La période de Vijaya (10e-15e siècles)

Chapitre 5 : L'unification et le développement du Champa (11e-13e s) - p. 76-182

- le roi Harivarman (II) transfère la capitale au centre de son royaume, construit des temples, un palais, une muraille pour sa capitale de Vijaya (Victoire) ou Pho Che/Pi Chey (prononciation chinoise de Vijaya) ou Cha Bal (en cham. De Cha-nar = rempart et Bal = ville. La capitale prend le nom du roi Yang Po Ku (le roi divin) Vijaya Sri (999-1010), fils de Harivarman (II).

- le 11e s : les premières relations compliquées avec le Dai Viet
- le 12e s : les relations agressives avec le Cambodge. La guerre de 100 ans entre le Champa et le Cambodge

Chapitre 6 : L'apogée du Champa (1220-1353) - p. 92-104

- le 13e s : un grand changement politique : les relations harmonieuses avec le Dai Viet
- les opérations victorieuses conjointes contre l'armée mongole des Yuan (Chine) (1281-1285).

- le développement socio-économique du Champa

Chapitre 7 : L'étape de crise (1353-1471)

- les 14e-15e s : les relations avec le Dai viet s'enveniment
- les événements du règne du roi Po Bino-Suor/Che Bong Nga et ses attaques violentes en territoire Dai Viet
- les représailles du roi Le Thanh Tong du Dai Viet et la conquête de la région de la capitale Vijaya (1471 ap. JC) - p. 5-117

4^e Partie : Le Développement socio-économique du Champa

Chapitre 8 : L'état socio-économique - p. 119-136

- l'agriculture
- la propriété et tenure terrienne et les rapports sociaux
- la vie des paysans et de l'aristocratie

Chapitre 9 : Le développement économique - p. 137-148)

- l'industrie artisanale : la productions céramique et le complexe de fours de Go Sanh (Binh dinh)
- les productions d'outils en or, argent et bronze, et la joaillerie
- le Troc et le commerce international

Chapitre 10 : La cour et l'administration

- l'institution (controverse) : royaume ou confédération ?
- centralisme ou autorité du Mandala ?

Chapitre 11 : La culture du Champa - p. 157-182

- l'écriture
- l'architecture
- les styles de l'architecture : le sanctuaire de My S'o'n
- les groupes de kalan du centre : le style de Binh Dinh
- les groupes de kalan du sud : le style de Hoa Lai
- Les sculptures
- Les relations culturelles
- La musique et la danse
- Religions et divers

5e Partie : La période Post-Champa (1471-1832)

Chapitre 12 : L'émergence d'une situation nouvelle - p. 183-192

Chapitre 13 : Superstitions et religions - l'expansion de l'Islam chez une partie des chams seulement - p. 193-212

Chapitre 14 : De la commanderie de Tuan Thanh à la province de Binh Thuan - p. 213- 228

Chapitre 15 : La fusion et le développement - p. 229-238

Annexes : Les inscriptions et les Annales chinoises anciennes (traduction)- Références p. 239-352

TRA KIEU-VESTIGES AND ISSUES (SUMMARY)

Luong Ninh

1- The Capitals of Champa

The formation of the State, the location of the Capital and its appellation usually attract great attention. G.Maspero, was the first to present and locate the Capitals of Champa. Here is his reversal chronological order :

- a - The fourth was Vijaya (11-15 th Centuries) or Pho Che/Pi Chey at Cha Ban (Binh Dinh Province) : Here stand vestiges of wall, tower- temple, base of palace.
- b - The third called Indrapura, from the name of the King Indravarman mentioned in two inscriptions discovered at Dong Dzuong (Quang Nam Province).
- c - The second was Virapura- "located undoubtedly in Phan Rang Province; the Dynasty/ State was called also Huan Wang in the ancient Records T'ang shu, but he could not explain the location and its origin. Now, it is clear : The inscription Po Nagar C 37 written "In 735 saka (813 AD) - the period of the King Virajaya Sri Harivarmadeva."; Sri Harivarmadeva or Viraraja - the Young king : in Cham: Po Tam, in French Po Dam (a group of temples Po Dam at Ninh Thuan Province). Here or nearby was Rajapura-the Capital. The kings of Champa generally proclaimed himself Maharaja or

Chakravartin (The Young King proclaimed in Cham Pu Po Tana Raya -The Lord of the wholly Earth : Huan Wang in Chinese translation).
d - At last, the first Capital was Lin Yi, according to Ancient Records-Lin Yi- the chef-lieu of Xiang Lin district or the Forest/Fief/City". The Capital was nearby the sea (on the coast or at 20 km/40 km). P. Pelliot and L. Aurousseau translated some parts of Records : L. Aurousseau asserted that Lin yi-Tien Xung was at Tra Kieu, on the Thu Bon river side , 20 km from the sea. G.Maspero did not agree : he suggested that the Capital Amendrapura / Kandarupura could be found in Quang Nam Province or in My Son. Tra Kieu, and Simhapura was only the port on the river Sinhapura. This controversy stimulated the Excavation at Tra Kieu.

2- The site of Tra Kieu- Vestiges

The Excavation was carried out by J.Y.Claeys (BEFEO, 1927-1928) :

"It seemed that there was this chronological process : 1- Destruction of monuments ; 2- Demolition of the remains of vestiges ; 3- Filling up all hollows with bricks and even sculptured stones; 4- Covering with cultivated earth, potsherds and bricks (p.581)..". The state of wall bricks after excavation showed that the exact nature of these constructions can't be determined (p.586).

Comment

- 1 - The site was mixed up, deeply mixed up, so in some places and the whole site, the plan and the stratigraphy cannot be drawn ;
- 2 - All artifacts, even architectural elements were picked up here and there, so the configuration of each monument is illegible ; The archeologist might have missed out certain important artifacts: He found by chance the Inscription venerating Valmiki of Prakasadharm but not the temple ; he found the quadrangular pedestal , the circle yoni, but not the linga. Here, there are no artifacts, architectural elements corresponding to the situation of Capital of 2nd-4th Centuries.

3- Issues

- a - Prakasadharm and his inscription of Tra Kieu : He was the ninth and the last King of the first Dynasty making a strange and rare event in the History of Champa by being the author of seven inscriptions from the North to the South : C 80, 97, 98, 135, 136, 137) and 126). The inscription of My Son 97) the main one with some very important infor-

mation. It start with these words : "There was a King named Gangaraja, famous for his qualities, scholar, ,heroic - the royal qualities,reigned a time perhaps and he abdicated to go to Ganga because " Viewing the Ganga is a great Joy". Gangaraja might be considered the 1 st King of the 1 st Dynasty,called by his name - Gangaraja, comprising of nine Kings, he and his successor were legendary. In the inscription C 97, the King Prakasadharm presented his genealogy, and also the genealogy of his mother. He proclaimed himself Great King of Champa- Sri Campapura Paramesvara Maharaja Sri Prakasadharm (slok 21), giving a date: 597 saka (657 AD). Simultaneously,the official name of the Kingdom- Champapura- appeared in the first time,but without the mention of of the place and the name of the Capital. The Capital was unknown Prakasadharm (circa 650-686) seemed to become a turning point of History : After him, circa 750 AD,the North Dynasty and the North system of inscriptions came to an end and began the South Dynasty Virapura with the South system of inscriptions. Durind his 30 years reign, he achieved appreciable performances mentioned above. Besides,He prepared perhaps for constructing one of the most beautiful temple E 1,in the 1 st half of 8 th Century. So,his reign wasn't the End , but the beginning of the Cultural development of Champa.

b- Simhapura

There was no inscription confirming the name and the situation of Capital of Simhapura, except in two cases : one in C 90: (The king Harivarman was reigning in Vijaya) "order the people of Simhapura (an area) to restore the temple ..", the second : (the king)" offered goods to the temple of Simhapura, offered an area of rice-fields from the river Simhapura to the forest Lak (C 90,B) dated 1080 AD. G. Maspero thinks that the Capital must be pura, oblige to create 2 names of Capitals - Amendrapura and Kandarapura. But he did not find that pura had another meaning-the temple, sanctuary, like Ratnapura (Pagoda dedicated to Avalokitesvara) (insc.Dai Huu-Quang Binh), Trivikramapura (Temple for Visnu) (Nhan Bieu- Quang Binh- C.149), etc .

c- Tra Kieu

J.Y. Claeys is recognized by his excavation of Tra Kieu but he did not do a lot of researches. However he and L.Aurousseau could not demonstrate that Tra Kieu was taken as Capital of Lin Yi, between the second / forth Centuries. About 30 architectural ele-

ments and sculptural decors were found ; other artifacts were transported to the Museum Guimet, in Paris, setting up a Room entitled "Room Tra Kieu Xth Century", including one Elephant with broken legs - "an exemple of the admirable talent that the Cham showed for animal imagery". Among these artifacts, was the inscription of Prakasadharm for Valmiki, found by chance. So, formerly, all sculptures at Tra Kieu were dated VIIth century ; wrongly, according to the date of inscription. But all these sculptures must be related to Tra Kieu and My Son A 1. The site of Tra Kieu belongs evidently to the art style of Tra Kieu,dated Xth century. Tra Kieu was perhaps never been Capital, but a reliable area of habitation of Early Cham Culture.

This cultural Area in lower Part of River Thu Bon opened in the 2nd - 4th Centuries with the beginning of Chinese and Indian Cultural and Trade Relation as showed the Excavations at Go Cam then, developed in VII th Century under the reign of Prakasadharm,especially in X/XIth centuries with the Art style of Tra Kieu - My Son A 1 under the reign of King Harivarman (C 90),who related to Narikelavamsa but born in Kramukavamsa, and ordered the restoration of the temple Simhapura.

d- The Citadel

Thinking that this rampart is the vestige of the ancient Capital Lin Yi,some researchers excavated the area of Tra Kieu, to find traces of ancient Capital, and the continuity of the evolution from Sa Huynh Culture. It seemed that there was not different results of Claeys. In 1993, Nguyen Chieu cut out the rampart Tra Kieu; in 1995, Luong Ninh, Nguyen Chieu et al cut out the rampart Chau Sa (province Quang Ngai) and excavated the inner surface. In 2005, Le Dinh Phung et al investigated the fort Kieu Sou (Quang Binh Province) but found only the evidences of later periods.

Up to now it is very difficult to answer to the questions about the earthen rampart in the center of Vietnam: Who built this rampart ? In what time? Against whom?

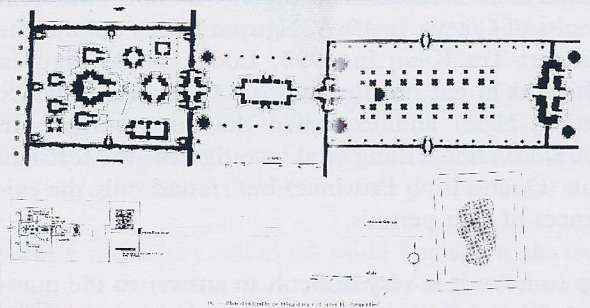
The Ancient Chinese Army evidently paid great attention to the Cham ancient defence : Shin shu written(from records of 265-419 AD): "Lin Yi leaning on their situation of high mountains, deep caves, don't submit". Ancient Tang shu written from records of 618-712 AD : Their rampart were built of wood". In all cases, My Son took the most important situation.

Narrative reliefs on the two image pedestals at Dong-duong

Nandana Chutiwongs, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden

The Buddhist monastery at Dong-Duong

The great monastery that was dedicated to Laksmindra-Lokesvara in 875 A.D. must have been one of the most spectacular establishments in ancient Champa. The complex consisted of successive courts of buildings, and was originally preceded by a large pond (Ill. 1) Residential structures, obviously built of perishable materials for a large community of monks to live in, must have clustered around this brick-built core of the complex which was designed for ritual and communal ecclesiastical usage.



1 - Ground plan of the Laksmindra-Lokesvara monastery at Dong-duong From Boisselier 1963, plan D.

The two most important components in the total architectural design are represented by a large rectangular pillared hall dominating the first court, and the main shrine that towered up in the innermost section. These must have been the congregational and ritual foci of the complex respectively. The two stone pedestals which once supported the main images of these buildings are richly carved with narrative and decorative themes.



2 - Set-up D image pedestal from pillared hall, with scenes of heaven arranged under the feet of the enthroned Buddha. ©Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.



3 - Set-up B image pedestal from assembly hall, with remains of the stair-sets and parts of the pedestal assembled to support the enigmatic theme of a mighty demon shaking rock-like formation. ©Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

Buddhism in Champa

Each of the two image pedestals under survey consists of carved stone blocks, originally fitted together to build up a platform that was placed against the back wall of the interior space to support the presiding icon of the building. Their components that have survived destruction have now been re-assembled and re-installed in the display hall of the Museum of Cham culture at Danang (Ills. 2, 3, 11). Narrative reliefs form the main themes that adorn each pedestal.



11 - Image pedestal from the main shrine of the monastery, re-assembled to form set-up A in display hall.
©Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

The most complete description of the Dong-duong complex and the only detailed record of the finds have been made by Parmentier in the early years of the previous century⁽¹⁾. To Prof. Jean Boisselier⁽²⁾ and Emmanuel Guillon⁽³⁾, we owe the initial study and interpretation of the reliefs under re-examination. My debts of gratitude are due to Pierre Baptiste and Emmanuel Guillon for their informative photographs and additional information regarding the subject.

A large portion of this pedestal was already missing during the first survey of the monument. Many carved blocks were found lying in haphazard order as recorded by Parmentier in 1909⁽⁴⁾. They have now been assembled by the Danang museum to form two combinations in the display hall (Ills. 2, 3). The details as well as the hitherto proposed sequence of the reliefs will now be re-examined, to arrive at a better understanding of the narratives and their original design.

The narrative scenes would have initially been arranged in a clockwise order, in accordance with the traditionally auspicious pradaksina walk which was also meant to be followed round the other image pedestal of the main shrine (Ill. 11). The sequence of the existing pieces should very likely begin with the many scenes of heaven, which are now arranged below the feet of the Buddha image (Ill. 2). These show several pairs of gods and goddesses seated in relaxation in their respective vimanas, depicted as two-storied mansions containing in addition divinities in worshipping attitudes emerging from their balconies. Prancing simha figures mark the corners of each heavenly mansion, in the same way they appeared in Cham architecture to mark out the corners of the residences and seats of the worshipped. These scenes of heaven very likely herald the beginning of the story of the life of the Buddha, placing it in the sphere of Tusita Heaven where the Buddha-to-be is described to be residing, after having completed all trials and accumulated all the perfections that build up the path to Enlightenment.

Among these scenes of heaven, there would have originally been depictions of the Future Buddha making decision and preparation to come down to earth, as are found in many other series of visual representations of the life of Buddha, such as at Borobudur in Central Java and elsewhere. Representations of such events have not been recovered from Dong-duong. And yet, the opening scenes of this series, in as much as the others panels that follow, suggest that their storyline would have been substantially inspired by the Lalitavistara, an early Sanskrit text which relates the most detailed account of the life of the Buddha⁽⁵⁾, and partly by Asvaghosa's Buddhacarita of the first or second century AD⁽⁶⁾. The most complete cum most elaborate set of depictions which were largely based on the Lalitavistara, fill up more than hundred sculptured panels on the inner wall of the first gallery of Borobudur in Central Java⁽⁷⁾, dating from approximately the same period as the monastery at

⁽¹⁾ Parmentier 1909, I: 439-505.

⁽²⁾ Boisselier 1963 : 86-139.

⁽³⁾ Guillon 2001 : 81-105.

⁽⁴⁾ Parmentier 1909, I : figs. 114-116.

⁽⁵⁾ Lalitavistara, see translation Manavidura, Bangkok 1971.

⁽⁶⁾ Buddhacarita, translated by E.B. Cowell, in Buddhist Mahayana Texts, part 1, Sacred Book of the East vol.49, reprinted, Delhi etc.: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968: 1-207.

⁽⁷⁾ Krom 1926; Bernet Kempers 1976 : 91-102.

Buddhism in Champa

Dong-duong. The Cham manner of depiction, nevertheless, is much more abbreviated and concise.

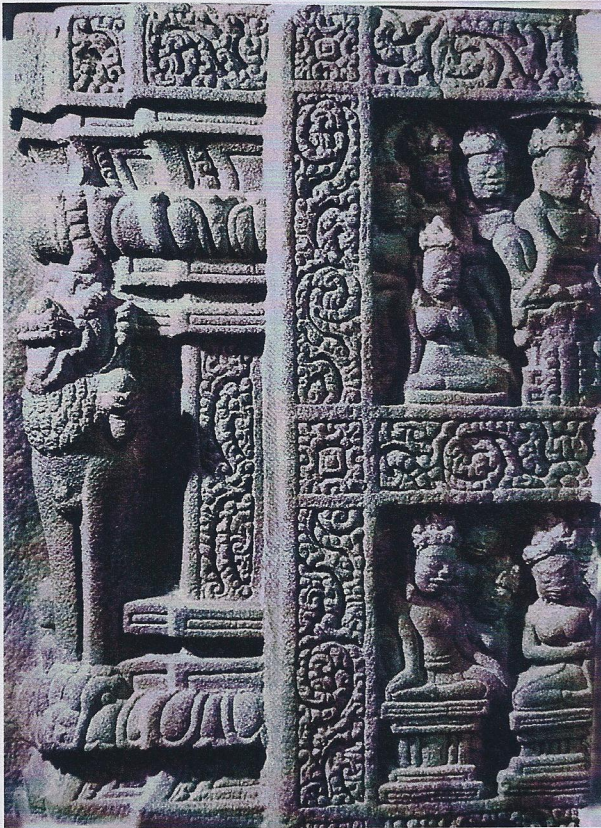
Only the most important characters are shown in action, while the entire episode has visually been abbreviated and often condensed within a square frame, recalling a feature which we frequently encounter on pilasters, pillars, railings and friezes in early Indian Sunga and Andhra styles⁽⁸⁾. This manner of depiction remained in use at some Gupta period temples⁽⁹⁾, likewise at many early medieval monuments throughout India⁽¹⁰⁾, and in the Mon and Burmese styles of Central Thailand⁽¹¹⁾ and Myanmar⁽¹²⁾.

The following episodes in sequence should be found in the fragment showing royal personages, who could be identified as King Sudhodana and Queen Maya of Kapilavastu (Ill. 4). The first scene (below) depicts

them enthroned among court ladies. The king's attitude is that of the traditional 'royal seat' (maharajalilasana) regularly applied in Cham art to kings, male royal personages and the gods, while the posture assumed by the queen is typical for consorts, reflecting female modesty and deference. The upper square contains what is left of the original depiction, showing the enthroned king being apparently engaged in conversation with another important personage, while the queen sits in a lower seat near him. These panels very likely relate two consecutively episodes of Queen Maya informing her husband of her auspicious dreams, followed by the interpretation of her dreams by the wise purohita of the court. Parallels to such depictions are known from the Andhra style of Southeast India, while more elaborate and detailed representations appear in many large sculpted panels at Borobudur in Central Java.

The next consecutive fragment has now been set up by the museum to the extreme right of the Combination B (Ill. 3). The sequence again runs from below, namely, from the square that contains the figure of Queen Maya, standing in a deferential posture, apparently approaching her enthroned husband and asking him permission to go to the Lumbini garden. The square above (Ill. 5) shows the birth episode in the Lumbini garden, with the Queen holding on to the stylized branch of a tree. The baby has already emerged and is seen standing on the ground, escorted by a divinity who probably represents Indra, the king of the gods, acting for all the divinities who are said to be present at the moment of the Bodhisattva's birth.

The block with scenes that should consecutively follow has been set up to the extreme left of the same combination B (Ill. 3), showing in the lower section Mahaprajapati weeping at the passing away of Queen Maya, her sister, while the young child clings on to her knees in a respectful and trusting gesture (Ill. 6, below). One of the female attendants holds up the parasol of honour (chattras), to indicate the



4 - a. King Siddhodana and Queen Maya at court (below)
b. The interpretation of Maya's dreams (above) ©DR



5 - The birth of Siddhartha in the Lumbini park ©DR

Buddhism in Champa

royal rank of the lady, who has now become the chief Queen of Kapilavastu. The upper panel (Ill. 6, above) depicts the rarely seen episode of Queen Maya attaining



6 - a. Queen Mahaprajapati's grief (below)
b. Rebirth of Queen Maya in heaven (above) ©DR

heaven after her demise, enthroned, surrounded by a halo (prabhamaṇḍala) of divine radiance and being worshipped by the gods. The events of the passing away and ascent to heaven of the Buddha's mother appeared in early texts such as the *Lalitavistara*⁽¹³⁾ and the *Buddhacarita*⁽¹⁴⁾, but are remarkably absent in the sculpted series at Borobudur.

The sequence should continue with the fragment now enclosed in the centre of Combination B (ill. 3), since this relates the consecutive episodes of Siddhartha - now a full-grown man - conversing with his father (Ill. 7), then riding out with his attendants. Although the two chief characters shown in Ill. 7 are both depicted similarly as two royal personages seated on equally high seats and surrounded by attendants, we may recognize the king by his

attitude of royal ease shown in combination with the outstretched left arm, while the prince maintains a posture of deference, suggested by his slightly inclined head, and by his more humble stance with his right arm being crossed in front of the chest. In contrast to the hitherto proposed interpretations, we believe that these two scenes represent the episode of Prince Siddhartha asking permission from his royal father to ride out to see the world beyond the walls of the palace (Ill. 7), followed by that of the excursions he subsequently made around the city being shown in the panel above (see Ill. 3, middle section). This second panel can by no means be associated with the ultimate moment of the moment of

Renunciation (*mahābhīniskramana*), since it obviously precedes the depictions of two later episodes, which are shown in Ill. 8. The last fragment known from this series (Ill. 8) contains the scene of Siddhartha looking at the sleeping women of his harem, and that of his subsequent farewell to his wife and new-born child. In the square below, the prince is shown standing among the sleeping women who were still clutching the musical instruments with which they entertained him earlier in same night. He seems to be looking closely at their unconscious forms, raising his hand in a gesture suggestive of amazement and disgust at these ugly revelations of the true nature of the world of delights, such as are fondly verbally described in detail by many Buddhist texts including the *Lalitavistara*.



7 - Siddhartha asking permission from his father to see the city ©DR

Two men to the left, sleeping and leaning on their swords, probably represent the guardsmen of the palace, who had received strict command not to let him leave, but were made asleep by the gods. The panel above shows Siddhartha gently taking leave of his wife and

⁽⁸⁾ See Zimmer 1955, pls.7-21; also Sivaramamurti 1977, colour-pls.74,79, 97 and nos.416, 424-425.

⁽⁹⁾ See Asher 1980: pls.28, 29, 33-35; Sivaramamurti 1977: nos.332-334; Williams 1982: 50-53, 107-108, 165-170.

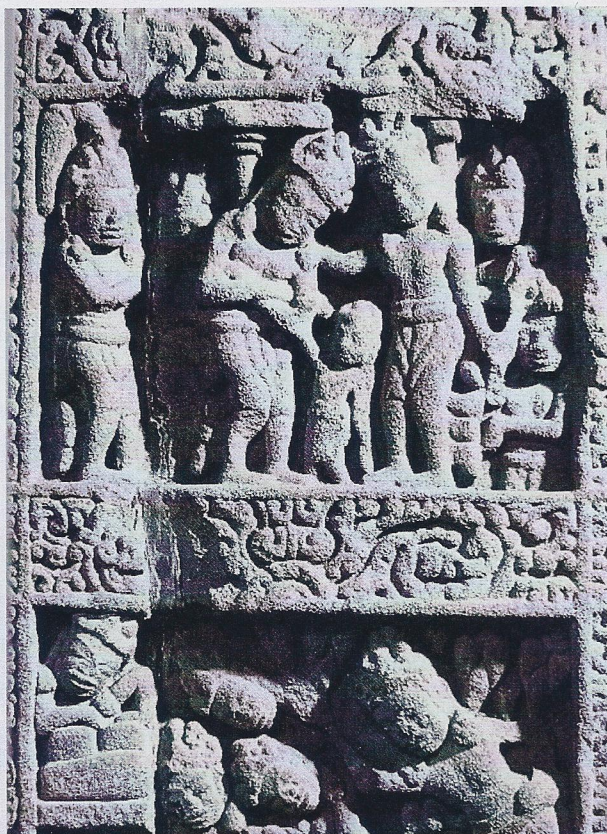
⁽¹⁰⁾ See Qadir 1963: ills. 5 and 10; Sivaramamurti 1977: nos. 200-204; Asher 1980: pls.83-86.

⁽¹¹⁾ Krairiksh 1974a; Chutiwongs 1978.

⁽¹²⁾ Duroiselle 1912-13; Luce 1969-70, III: pls. 85-87, 97-118, 174-175, 324-334 ⁽¹³⁾ *Lalitavistara*, translation Manavidura 1971: 591.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Buddhacarita*, translation Cowell 1968: 19-20; also Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, translation Beal 1990: 148-150.

Buddhism in Champa



8 - a. Siddhartha among the sleeping girls and guards (below)
b. Siddhartha saying farewell to wife and child (above) ©DR

child. Yasodhara and Rahula are depicted here as if they were standing, in stead of reclining and sleeping as the story tells us. This diversion from the well-known story-line might have been caused by the inability of the craftsman to work out the dimension of depth, such as is often noticed in the early sculptural styles of India, especially at Bharhut Crowned figures, apparently representing the unseen gods, accompany the trio, holding two sunshades above their heads, as well as a fly-whisk to underline their exalted status. The plainly dressed figure of Chandaka, the faithful charioteer, occupies the lower right corner of the square.

Of this pedestal, only the main stair-set on the eastern side is adorned with figurative and narrative sculptures (Ill. 3 and Ill. 9). The steps are made to be guarded by a pair of identical guardian figures, each clutching a long staff reaching down to the level of their feet. At the heads of the stair-wings are two elephant figures with riders, jutting out majestically to flank the steps alongside the standing guardians. Of the remaining sculptural details, only some outlines of the elephant and its riders

are left to be seen besides two rows of figures adorning the stairwing to our right (Ill. 9). All personages on this side of the stairs appear to form part of one and the same procession, headed by a majestic elephant with riders, which is followed on the ground by an elephant-guard on foot and by an equestrian figure brandishing weapon⁽¹⁵⁾. Three ladies, attended by a servant, also form part of the same group. All details suggest that the entire assembly may represent the horde of Mara, condensed and abbreviated to display only the chief components, namely Mara himself riding on the leading elephant⁽¹⁶⁾, a prince representing Mara's thousand sons, and his three daughters who all play significant roles in the attack on the Buddha. The most detailed description of the extensive range of Mara's followers runs through many chapters of the *Lalitavistara*⁽¹⁷⁾. Comparable visual depictions of Mara and his princely generals appeared in the reliefs adorning the remarkable monument called Phra That Phnom on Thai-Laotian border⁽¹⁸⁾ and in the mural paintings at Wet-kyi-in Kubyauk-gyi at Pagan⁽¹⁹⁾. We can only speculate on the structure and meaning of the sculptural scenes on the western stairwing which originally and symmetrically balanced the previously discussed group, since these have been practically totally destroyed. Logically, the elephant on the left side of the stairs would have also been ridden by the leader of a party, consisting of persons arranged in compositions similar to those shown on the opposite side.



9 - The birth of Siddhartha in the Lumbini park ©DR

Buddhism in Champa

And yet, it seems quite likely that this second party would have been of a contrasting and opposing nature, assembled to counteract rather than to supplement or support the group opposite. In the scene of Buddha's Enlightenment, we often observe an exposition of confrontations between two opposite elements, one positive and the other negative, moving to meet and/or to supplant one another at the very site of Enlightenment. The attacking and retreating army of Mara, the God of Darkness and Defilements, is often shown being visually counterbalanced by an oncoming procession of the gods who symbolize Light and Purity. Such usage of mass countercurrents in the scene of Enlightenment has also been noticed on the crossbar of a torana at Sancī⁽²⁰⁾, in Andhra-style reliefs⁽²¹⁾, in a number of magnificently carved panels at Borobudur⁽²²⁾, and especially in two sets of reliefs adorning one and the same plinth of the Nanda in Pagan⁽²³⁾. Of these, one set of panels shows the threatening movements of Mara's armed troop moving purposefully from one direction, while the other displays the triumphant march of the gods bearing lamp-offerings, progressing forwards from the opposite direction, to symbolically disperse the darkness and defilements away from the site.

It is a general consensus among scholars that the main icon presiding over this pedestal and this great pillared hall is that of the Buddha, enthroned among an assembly of arhats, divinities, and other worshippers whose sculptural representations have been found in the same building⁽²⁴⁾. It could have been the large but headless Buddha image in pralambitapadasana, recovered by Parmentier from the main shrine⁽²⁵⁾, to which a new head is now added and being placed by the museum authority upon a section of the built-up pedestal (Ill. 2), as having been suggested by Boisselier⁽²⁶⁾ and Guillon⁽²⁷⁾.

Since the narrative reliefs on this pedestal undoubtedly tell the story of the Buddha's life, the scenes carved upon the stairway leading up to the feet of the Enlightened One (Ill. 3 and Ill. 9) would also be expected to have a direct connection with Him. It is only logical to imagine that the threatening power of the horde of evil led by Mara riding on the fierce and dark elephant Girimekhala⁽²⁸⁾, could have been designed to be confronted and eventually defeated by the army of Light, led by



10 - The enigmatic theme of demon shaking rock-like formation, now crowning set-up B in display hall Danang Museum (see ill.3).

Indra the king of the gods, whose chief mount is the white and auspicious elephant Airavata. This encounter and battle between good and evil at the most crucial moment in the Buddha's life could have been enacted by two groups of figures depicted on the two opposite wings of the stairway leading up to the blessed feet of the Enlightened One.

(15) This device of combining narrative scenes thematically and physically with architectural components is often used in Indian art. For example see elephant caryatids on the capitals of the Eastern torana of stupa I at Sancī, in Zimmer 1955 : pl.14.

(16) This leading figure is shown complete with the head in Parmentier 1909, I, fig.116.

(17) Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971 : 815-861.

(18) See coloured drawing in Aung Thaw 1972: 72.

(19) Phra That Phnom 1975 : pls.on pp.21-45, 52-61 ; also in Le May 1964 : figs.97-100.

(20) See Zimmer 1955: pl.20.

(21) See Zimmer 1955: pl.88.

(22) See Krom 1926: ills. 94-95.

(23) Luce 1969-70, III: pl.s.329-334; Guillon 1985.

(24) Boisselier 1963 : figs. 45-46 ; Guillon 2001 : figs. 22-23, 42.

(25) Parmentier 1909, I : p.502, fig.117.

(26) Boisselier 1963 : 98-99, 112-113.

(27) Guillon 2001 : 81-82.

(28) See Malalasekera 1960, I: 771.

(29) Boisselier 1963 : fig.15.

Another possible component of the pedestal (?)

The feet of the presiding Buddha image of the pillared hall may presumably have rested on a support that originally comprised a stone block, carved with a curious theme (Ill. 10) which recalls that of the demon king Ravana shaking Mount Kailasa, as known from Hindu mythology and in the art of India and Champa itself⁽²⁹⁾. The lotus tendrils and flowers, curling up around and above the vault-like formation which entraps the figure, may physically and conceptually qualify the block to have been part of a proper support for the pendant feet of the Buddha, such as is often seen in the art of Kashmir, Chinese Central Asia and China. If this enigmatic block did originally form part of the foot-rest of the presiding Buddha, the theme which it displays would synchronize well with the strong concepts of religious parallelism that compared the Buddha, the Annihilator of Mara, with Siva, the Destroyer of Kama, the God of Love⁽³⁰⁾. In this presumed context, the multi-headed and multi-armed demon in action would represent Mara, the Buddhist God of Temptations, the Arch Enemy of Liberation, shown here in his most aggressive and most destructive form, crushed under the feet of the Blessed One.

The Buddhacarita speaks of the connections between Mara and Kama in the Chapter of the Enlightenment :

“When the great sage, sprung from a line of royal sages, sat down with his soul fully resolved to obtain the highest knowledge, the whole world rejoiced; but Mara, the enemy of the good law, was afraid.

“He whom they call in the world Kamadeva, the owner of the various weapons, the flower-arrowed, the lord of the cause of desire, - it is he whom they also style Mara, the enemy of liberation.

“His three sons, Confusion, Gaiety, and Pride, and his three daughters, Lust, Delight, and Thirst, asked of him the reason of his dependency...

“Then having seized his flower-made bow and his five infatuating arrows, he drew near to the root of the Asvattha tree with his children, he, the great disturber of the minds of living beings...⁽³¹⁾

Nevertheless, there are references to the plurality of Mara in Buddhist texts, which frequently describe a horde of Maras who represent all aspects of *samsara*⁽³²⁾. The highest in rank is the god who rules over the six worlds of sensual desires that include even the Tusita where all the Buddhas-to-be reside before descending to earth to attain Enlightenment. The Lalitaravistara also mentions this divine lord of the highest Parinirmitavasavartin heaven who came down with others to worship the Buddha on other occasions⁽³³⁾.

In visual art, we usually encounter Mara in his main role of the God of Temptations, acting alone, or in the company of one or two of his children or associates, or with a large horde of followers of all descriptions. In early styles of Buddhist art, beginning with the aniconic phase of India down to the periods of Gandhara, Ajanta and even those of Borobudur in Central Java and Pagan in Myanmar, Mara is most consistently depicted in the form of a god, and rarely in such grotesque and demonic forms as is common in the later phases of Buddhist iconography. Two aggressive and multi-armed depictions which may also represent Mara himself, nevertheless, appeared in a relief at Borobudur⁽³⁴⁾, side by side with those revealing him as a god.

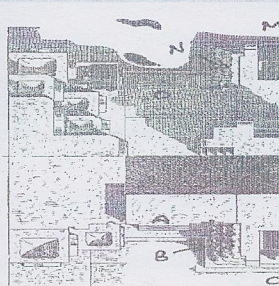
The image pedestal of the main shrine

Thanks to the efforts of Parmentier and to the care of the following generations of archaeologists, the original components of this large pedestal are almost completely preserved. The pieces have now been assembled to form the Combination A in the display hall of the Danang Museum (Ill. 11). The total design, as found in situ early in the previous century, is basically square, fully carved on three sides, each of which contains a stair-set. This square platform has originally been placed against the back wall of the shrine in front of another elaborately carved multi-tiered structure which was probably designed to accommodate a Buddha icon. This pedestal under study, moreover, was also found to support another free-standing and richly carved smaller pedestal, upon which the gold image of Laksmindra-Lokesvara, the personal deity of King Indravarman II, “made by his own hands”⁽³⁵⁾, could have been worshipped.

Buddhism in Champa

The lower level of this large platform, nevertheless, again contains scenes from the life of the Buddha Sakyamuni. A Buddha icon probably presided over the original iconographic program in the main shrine of the monastery, before Indravarman II shifted its focus of worship to his personal deity, Laksmindra-Lokesvara, an aspect of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, whose cult became prominent in Champa during the time of Indravarman and his immediate successors⁽³⁶⁾.

At the first glance the narrative scenes on this pedestal look haphazardly placed. Their story-line, too, seems unclear and even confusing. And yet, we believe that there exists a certain order and a systematic planning, into which practically all the sculptured elements fall into a comprehensible whole. The four corners of this pedestal are systematically adorned with four ornate pilasters, each bearing one or two sets of narrative panels, all enclosed within elaborate square frames, similarly to those found in the assembly hall. Three sets of simulated staircases jut out on three sides of the platform. The outer side of each stair-wing consistently display three horizontal registers of narrative reliefs. The stairset on the eastern side - the most important and central one - bears scenes that narratively and physically merge into two large elephant figures positioned at the head of the stairway, recalling again the design encountered earlier at the pedestal inside the great assembly hall (Ills. 3 and 9). The main storyline emphasizing the ultimate moment of Enlightenment was interrupted three times at the three simulated staircases, by series of flashbacks of related events carved on the stairwings, to be finally taken up again at the end of the flashback events.

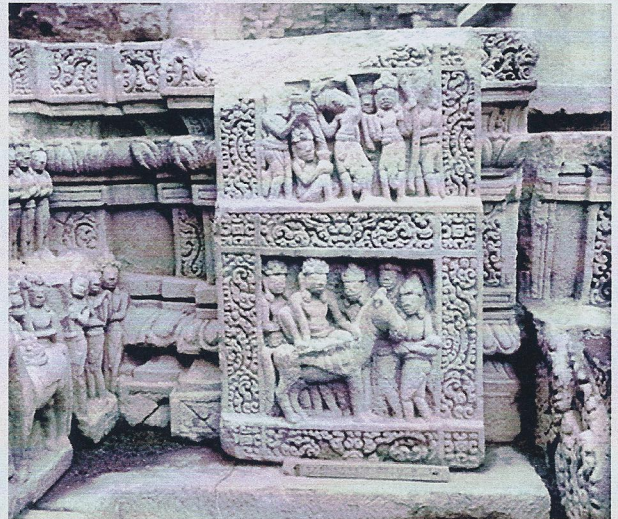


12 - Labelling of relief panels on pedestal after Parmentier. From Parmentier 1909, vol. I: 470.

In all publications. Although the actual sequence has now turned out to be reversed, we have decided to keep to the old labelling to avoid all possible confusions when this present paper would be tested in the light of the earlier

records. We shall thus begin our present study at the section labelled O in Parmentier's plan as shown in Ill. 12, then trace our way in clockwise direction to the one labelled A.

The thread of the story of the life of the Buddha, visually unfolded on the image pedestal of the assembly hall, has evidently been picked up in the lower panel of the section O (Ill. 13) of this pedestal. This shows the



13 - Two scenes on pilaster section O
a. The Great Renunciation (below).
b. Siddhartha cutting hair and exchanging garments (above)
© Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

episode of the Great Renunciation (mahabhiniskramana), with Siddhartha seated upon the excellent horse Kanthaka, accompanied by the charioteer Chandaka and three deities. The prince had now left his palace and family for a new life. This identification of the event is also supported by the positioning of the scene of Siddhartha cutting hair, shown in the panel above. This second scene again includes the figure of the charioteer, sitting on the ground near Siddhartha's feet and holding up the prince's discarded royal crown. Other abbreviated details suggest that the severed hair-locks would be received, to be immediately taken up to be enshrined in the

(30) Chutiwongs 2005: 70.

(31) Buddhacarita, translation Cowell 1968: 137-138.

(32) Boyd 1975: 100-111.

(33) Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971: 788.

(34) See Krom 1926: ill.94.

(35) Majumdar 1927, III: 85; Etudes epigraphiques 1995: 46, 51.

(36) Chutiwongs 2005: 70-74.

(37) Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971: 732.



14 - Three scenes on stair-wing N
a. Return of Chandaka and Kanthaka to Kapilavastu (below)
b. Candakumara threatened by the brahmin Khandahala (middle)
c. Ksantivadin assaulted by the king of Kasi (above) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods by a deity standing to the extreme left of the scene and holding up a receptacle. Another male figure approaching from the extreme right was probably meant to be another god in disguise, with whom Siddhartha exchanged his garment. The discarded royal robe can be seen in the hand of a deity who was about to take it up to be enshrined for worship in another heaven, as being described in many texts including the *Lalitavistara*⁽³⁷⁾. The limited background space is filled up with a crowned face indicating the presence of the gods.

The story continues in the lowermost register of the eastern wing of the northern stairway (Ill. 14). The horse Kanthaka, led by Chandaka and bearing the discarded crown of Siddhartha on its back, treads its way back to Kapilavastu in the company of deities holding up insignia of royalty. They encounter a group of ladies, whose leader is shown to point her finger accusingly at the oncoming horse. This personage could represent nobody but Queen Mahaprajapati Gautami, the stepmother of Siddhartha, who expressed her grief in strong words of frustration that nobody else on earth would be fit to wear these discarded jewellery once worn by the noble prince, and so ordered them to be thrown down to rest forever in a deep well⁽³⁸⁾. The climax of this scene, however, is shown at its extreme left end adjoining the stairs, by the lamenting figure of the princess Yasodhara, accompanied

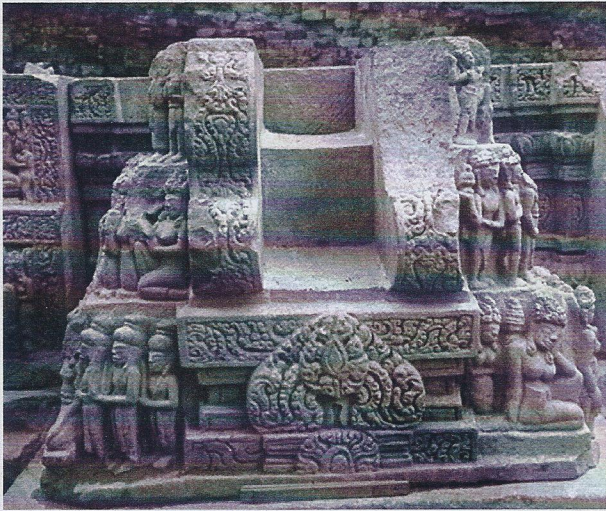
by a court lady holding up a vessel of perfumed water (Ill. 15).

The theme of the Great Renunciation was ingeniously used as connecting link to many series of flashback events. It was unfolded on both wings of the same stairway (Ills. 14, 15, 16), and apparently designed to recall and emphasize the most prominent of the accumulated virtues of the past deeds performed by the Buddha. The two registers above the one associated with the Great Renunciation relate the stories of Candakumara and Ksantivadin/Khantivadin, the two previous lives of the Buddha in which he demonstrated perfect charity, renunciation, compassion and forbearance, all constituting the sublime virtues (*paramitas*) that paved the way to Enlightenment. In the middle register (Ill. 14), the gentle figure of Prince Candakumara stands demurely and resignedly, facing the threatening and violent move of his arch-enemy, the Brahmin Khandahala, whose high rank as the court priest is indicated by servants standing behind him and holding traditional symbols of honour, namely a vessel of perfumed water, a fan, and a *camara*. The prince himself is accompanied by a *chattrabearer*, and two more followers who stand in deferential postures behind him and were made fully visible from the front side of the stairway. The narrative on the upper register of the same stairwing is centred round the seated figure of Ksantivadin, shown as a bearded and emaciated ascetic and holding a rosary, being assaulted by the king of Kasi, who subsequently cut off his limbs to shake his steadfast compassion and forbearance.

A row of scanty-clad ascetics, standing passively and submissively behind the sage, fill up the remaining space, recalling by their repetitive and monotonous stances an archaic feature well known from old Indian reliefs⁽³⁹⁾.

These two stories of supreme virtues appear many times in the earliest lists and collections of *jatakas*, such as the *Cariyapitaka*⁽⁴⁰⁾, *Mahavastu*⁽⁴¹⁾, *Jatakamala*⁽⁴²⁾ and the *Pali Jataka*⁽⁴³⁾. The *Lalitavistara* itself makes several allusions to the trial of Ksantivadin and the supreme virtues of Compassion, Renunciation and Forbearance in chapters preceding and following the Buddha's Enlightenment⁽⁴⁴⁾. The virtue of Renunciation, nevertheless, appears to have been specially emphasized in these visual revelations at Dong-duong.

Buddhism in Champa

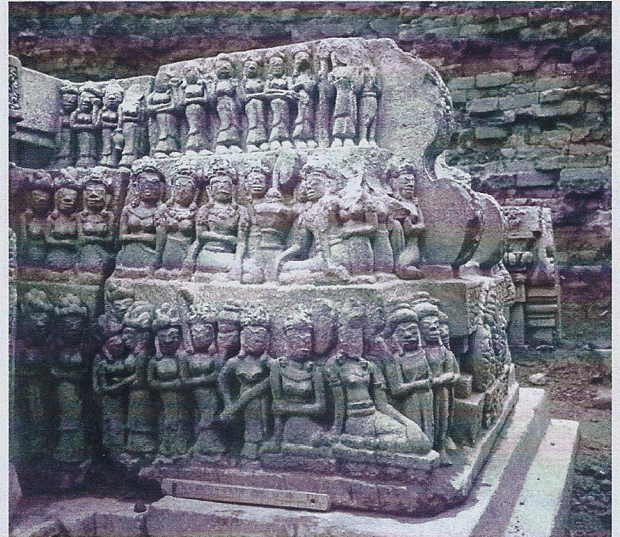


15 - Stairway M, bearing scenes on both wings (Ills.14 and 16) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

As to the manner of depiction, we find in practically all the narrative scenes on the stairwings of this pedestal indications of mass-movements progressing towards the head of the stairs, to be met and rather dramatically arrested near the corner by other currents produced by groups of figures coming from the opposite direction. This device, which is frequently found in the early Indian reliefs at Sanci and other ancient sites⁽⁴⁵⁾, adds up a sense of drama as well as of order. It successfully breaks the monotony of the depictions and simultaneously distinguishes one related group from another, especially when the scenes are crammed as they are with numerous and repetitive figures. This same device is clearly noticed on this stairwing under survey, as well as on the opposite side of the same (Ill.16).

The lamenting figure of Yasodhara at the head of the stairway M (Ill.15) triggers the flashbacks of the past events of her life, retracing these first to the happy moments of her love and marriage that ended in Siddhartha's renunciation. These scenes of her life with Siddhartha are shown in two registers of the stairwing, marked L (Ill.16), notably under the exposition of another story of her life from a farther away past which had a similarly sad ending. The mass-movements in this set of reliefs gently flow from the left, progressing slowly towards the head of the stairway. The two lowermost registers unfold the past and happy moments of Yasodhara's marriage. The two embracing ladies to the left of the lower register probably represent Yasodhara saying farewell to her mother before proceeding to the new court, where she is seen seated side by side with Siddhartha to receive blessings from

three dignified court brahmins. The middle register obviously shows the same happy and just-married pair, being formally received by King Sudhodana and his Queen. Of the two royal couples, the pair positioned to the left of the ceremonial vessel can be identified as the prince and princess, on account of the deferential attitudes they assume towards the royal parents.



16 - Three scenes on stair-wing L
 a. Love and marriage of Siddhartha and Yasodhara (below)
 b. Siddhartha and Yasodhara at the court of Kapilavastu (middle)
 c. Mahajanaka leaving wife and palace (above) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

Parallel to the story of Yasodhara, another well-known tale of love and marriage that ends in renunciation commences in the adjoining panels marked K (Ill. 17), and continues on the uppermost register above the Yasodhara story (Ill. 16).

⁽³⁸⁾ Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971 : 734-735.

⁽³⁹⁾ See for example Sivaramamurti 1977 : nos.321, 403-405 ; Mitra 1980 : ills.10, 16.

⁽³⁹⁾ See for example Sivaramamurti 1977 : nos.321, 403-405 ; Mitra 1980 : ills.10, 16.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Cariyapitaka, translation Horner, 1975 : 6-7.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Mahavastu, translation Jones 1956 : 354-357.

⁽⁴²⁾ Jatakamala, translation Speyer 1971 : 253-268.

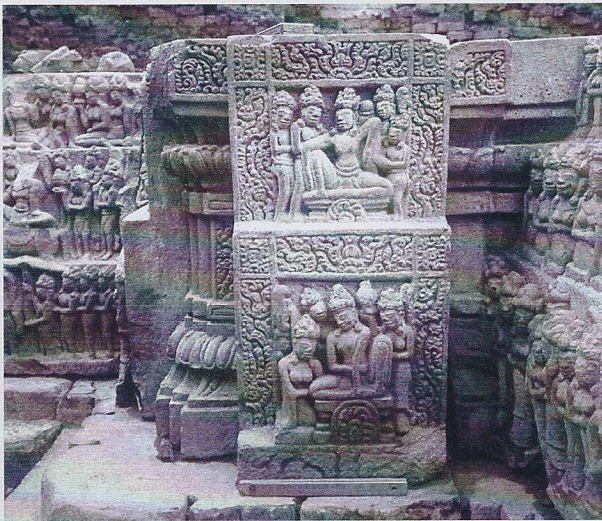
⁽⁴³⁾ The Jataka, edition Cowell, 1969, vol.IV: 26-29.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971: 245, 730.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ See notes 20 and 21.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ See Jataka, edition Cowell 1969, vol.VI: 19-37; also mural paintings at Ajanta Cave I, in Sivaramamurti 1977: nos. 476-477; and relief sculpture on some boundary stones from Northeastern Thailand, in Krairiksh 1974b.

Buddhism in Champa



17 - Two scenes on pilaster section K
 a. Mahajanaka meeting Princess Sivali (below)
 b. Mahajanaka ruling as king (above) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

The events we now see in section K (Ill. 17) conform to the early episodes of the Mahajanaka Jataka, one of the most distinguished past lives of the Buddha - another tale of love and marriage that ended in Renunciation. In the lower panel shown in Ill. 17, the exiled Mahajanaka met the Princess Sivali, who offered him love, respect and her kingdom. The upper panel depicts Mahajanaka enthroned in the palace and ruling as a king. The story then flows towards the head of the stairway, into the upper register of the stair-wing L (Ill. 16), which shows a group of court ladies headed by the queen, all standing and facing Mahajanaka. He had already donned a monk's robe, and, having taken hold of a mendicant's staff (khakkara), is seen bidding farewell to them all. Such past events of love, heartbreak and renunciation would have been relived time and again through the age by the two chief characters, who again met as Yasodhara and Siddhartha in their last existence. The Mahajanaka story, among others, has always been quoted as one of the most distinguished past lives of the Buddha, in which he demonstrated the great perfections of Perseverance and Renunciation⁽⁴⁶⁾.

The thread of the main theme, which we believe to underline with great emphasis the last life on earth and the final Enlightenment of Siddhartha, has thus been intentionally interrupted by these insertions of flashbacks and sub-stories on the wings of all three stairways, in the

same manner which we often come across when reading lengthy traditional Indian narratives. Walking further around the pedestal in clockwise direction, we find the thread of the main theme of the final Enlightenment being picked up in the adjoining sections marked J and I (Ills. 18 and 19). These unfold the movements of Mara and the subsequent enforcement of his army. The three elegant ladies, shaded by a parasol of honour and coyly enjoying themselves among the flowering trees in the atmosphere which suggests love and romance (Ill. 18, below), can only be identified as the three lovely daughters of Mara, who came in response to the summon of their father and lord. In the panel above, they are shown to have arrived and are reporting themselves to the enthroned God of Desires

The three registers of the adjoining stairwing I (Ill. 19) unfold the further actions of Mara assembling his forces. We now see the god himself standing calmly but majestically in the centre of the lowermost register among his followers, shaded by two parasols of honour. This group was apparently intended to be linked up with the elephant figure at the head of the stairway H (Ill. 20), to show the chief personage, namely Mara himself, having just descended from his majestic mount, the elephant. In the middle register of the reliefs on the same wing, shown in Ill. 19, a princely person, riding on a horse and accom-



18 - Two scenes on pilaster section J
 a. Three daughters of Mara in flowering garden (below)
 b. Reporting themselves to their father and lord (above) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

Buddhism in Champa



19 - Three scenes on adjoining stair-wing I
 a. Mara among followers (below)
 b. One of Mara's sons on their way to join the council of war (middle)
 c. Mara in council of war with sons and daughters (above)
 © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

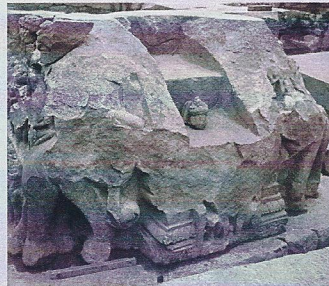
panied by soldiers holding up insignia of high ranks, is probably representative of Mara's thousand sons, especially mentioned in the Lalitavistara to assemble to give support to their father's campaign. In the uppermost register, we see Mara in conference with his sons and daughters, obviously announcing his long-termed grief against the meditating Siddhartha, and discussing his strategies of attack. The Lalitavistara devotes a long chapter to describe the components of Mara's forces, his lengthy discussions with his 1 000 sons and generals, who were divided in their advices and strategies⁽⁴⁷⁾. This conglomeration of all unwholesome forces in the world of samsara is shown on this stairwing I, headed by an elephant with riders flanking the right side of the stairway



20 - Stairway H, with leading elephant on Mara's side (see Ill.19) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

(Ill. 20). This grand elephant may or may not have been shown ridden by Mara himself, since the figures of the riders have become too damaged to identify, but it most probably represents the prime and most powerful vehicle of Mara, the elephant Girimekhala, measuring one hundred and fifty leagues in height the colossal mass of unwholesome matters which Mara is said to ride upon to attack the Buddha on the day preceding his final Enlightenment.

The following set of activities, visually unfolded on the opposite wing of the same stairway (Ill. 22), symbolically counteracted and nullified the negative forces that had assembled on the other side (Ill. 19). At the first glance, the compositions of this set of reliefs look quite similar to those previously discussed. In the centre of the lowermost register, we see the chief character - a princely person riding on a horse - accompanied and followed by servants holding regalia. The same theme seems to be repeated in the middle register, apparently showing the same princely person on horse, but now moving along as if being part of a procession led by a grand elephant, positioned at the head of the stairway to match the one on the opposite side (Ill. 21). These two registers most probably



21 - Stairway H, with leading elephant on the opposite side (see Ill.22) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

unfold the routine activities of the charitable Prince Visvantara / Vessantara, showing him riding out on his daily visits to the many alms-halls he erected all over the country. We can no longer see if the prince himself is shown upon the neck of the elephant that

leads the royal procession and simultaneously marks the head of the stairway (Ills. 21 and 22), but this grand animal is very likely meant to represent the wish-fulfilling elephant given away by Visvantara as an ultimate proof of his unequalled charitable nature. This, as we know, was the very act of charity that led to his banishment from the kingdom, and to more trials to test and demonstrate the virtue of Charity and Renunciation.

The adjoining panels on section F (Ill. 23) contain a scene of a horse being given away by a prince (below), and that of an enthroned personage distributing gifts to supplicants (above). These obviously show Visvantara giving away the favourite horse he daily rode, followed by the distribution of his worldly belongings before leaving his palace on exile. These two events follow up one another and flow into the uppermost register of the reliefs on the adjoining stairwing (Ill. 22).

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971: 824-834. .

Buddhism in Champa



22 - Three scenes on stair-wing G
 a. Visvantara riding out on horse (below)
 b. Visvantara riding out on horse and on elephant (middle, see also Ill.21)
 c. Public proclamation of Visvantara's departure (above) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

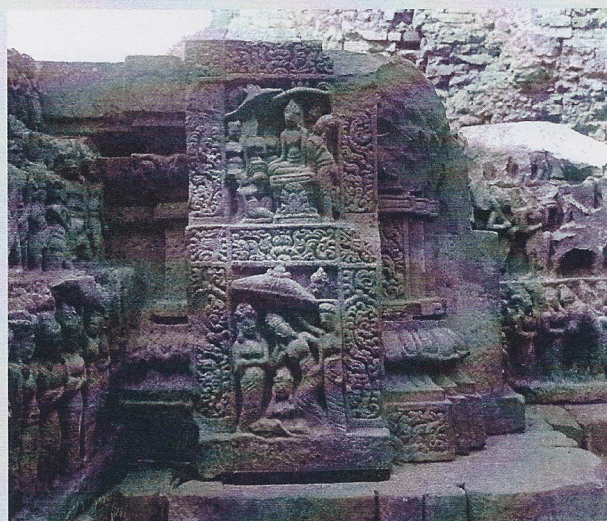


23 - Two scenes on pilaster section F
 a. Visvantara giving away his favourite horse (below)
 b. Visvantara giving away all treasures (above) © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

There, a procession of persons shouldering a carrying pole with an object hanging suspended from it, quite likely represents a heralding troop sent out with a gong to proclaim Visvantara's imminent departure. Here again, there are indications of mass-movements flowing towards the head of the stairs to culminate in a large and dominant figure of an elephant.

The elephant on this side obviously represents the white and auspicious Paccaya "The Requisite / The Instrument", given away by the Buddha in this one before last life on earth as a supreme gesture of Charity that then quaked the earth. It stands here as the ultimate symbol of the liberating forces of Charity (dana) and Renunciation (niskramana), countering and eventually defeating all the unwholesome powers of the God of worldly encumbrances, visually assembled on the opposite side of the stairway.

The main theme of Enlightenment continues on the adjoining section E (Ill. 24), in the scenes of

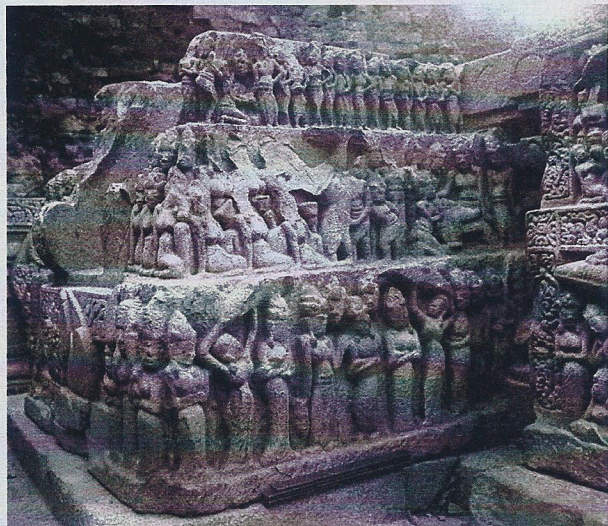


24 - Two scenes on pilaster section E
 a. A Naga princess worshipping the Buddha-to-be (below)
 b. The Buddha-to-be assuming the seat and receiving the last meal before Enlightenment (above)
 © Pierre Baptiste, Musée Guimet.

Siddhartha approaching and eventually assuming the seat under the Tree of Enlightenment. Below, the prince is shown bending over a female figure which seems to be half-emerging from the ground. The Lalitavistara tells us that on his way to the Tree of Enlightenment, a naga princess who lived in the water of the Nairanjana river, rose up from the earth to worship him and offer him a jewelled throne⁽⁴⁸⁾. This event may be seen in the panel below. In the panel above, the Buddha-to-be has assumed this seat and is seen stretching out his hand to receive his last meal prior to the Enlightenment, presented by the lady Sujata and her retinue. The curious formation above the Bodhisattva's head apparently gives allusion to the branches the Bodhi Tree bending down like parasols of

Buddhism in Champa

honour over him. A number of panels at Borobudur in Central Java unfold this series of events before Enlightenment in more details⁽⁴⁹⁾.



25 - Three scenes on stairwing D
a. Visvantara leaving the country (above)
b. Visvantara giving away the children (middle)
c. Reunion of Visvantara and wife with the royal parents (below)
© Pierre Baptiste, Musee Guimet.

Coming round to the right wing (Ill. 25) of the southern stairway (Ill. 26), we encounter a continuation and culmination of the tale of the supreme virtues of Charity (danaparamita) and Renunciation (niskramanaparamita), sublimely performed in close association to one another by the Buddha during his last previous life as Prince Visvantara. All Buddhist traditions agree on the special significance of this last previous birth of the Buddha which marked the fulfilment of all virtues required for final Liberation. The scene in the upper most register apparently shows the prince's departure from his palace and his kingdom, followed by a group of faithful followers, while distributing gifts to people all the way. The middle register begins on the right half of the register, showing Visvantara giving away his children, followed by the depiction of the Brahmin dragging the children away from the hermitage. This group encounters a company of royal persons, whose damaged figurative forms remain to be seen in outlines among the figures of seated attendants that fill up the entire left half of the scene. These royal personages were obviously the King and the Queen of the Sibis - the children's own grandparents, who subsequently redeemed them from the cruel Brahmin. The happy

ending follows on the lowermost register, represented by the reunion of the king and the queen (left) with the princely couple in exile, who are shown standing with respectfully inclined heads and crossed arms opposite to them. Tale-tell sunshades cum parasols of honour again mark out the royal personages, suggesting at the same time that the exiled couple have now received back their former royal status.

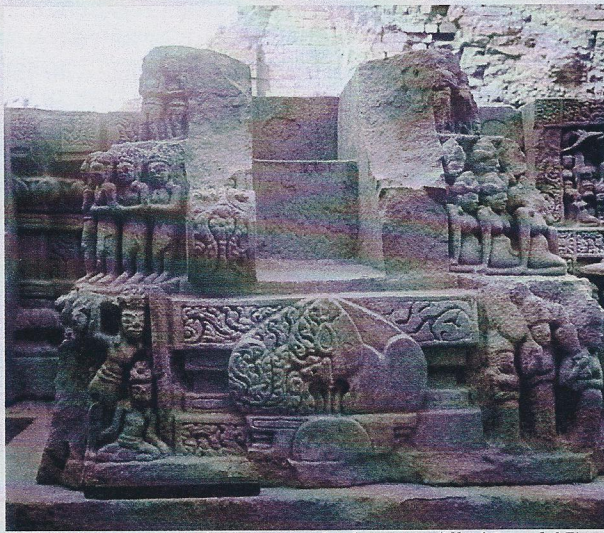
These meritorious acts of supreme Charity (dana) and Renunciation (niskramana), highly extolled in Buddhist literature of all periods, would have symbolically counteracted, neutralized and subsequently dispersed the forces of evil that are now closing in from the opposite side of the stairway (Ills. 26 and 27). All three registers on the opposite wing (Ill. 27) are crammed with numerous configurations of Māra and his horde in action. The lowermost level unfolds the attack by force by a troop of armed warriors, whose actions are repelled by a tiny female personage, seated cross-legged on the ground and raising her right arm only slightly to upset the advancing foes (Ill. 26). The conjoined and concerted movements of the armed attackers suggest that they were dramatically pushed back en masse, all falling backwards behind their leaders like upset pieces of domino stones. One of the attackers on the forefront had obviously tumbled so badly that his head was crushed over backwards. The tiny female figure who appears to have been the cause of all these consternations could only be Mother Earth (Sthavara / Medhini / Prthivi), the Supporter of All lives, who had witnessed all deeds of charity and renunciation of the Buddha through the ages, and now rose up to acclaim these with a thundering force that "shook the world and quenched the powers of Mara and his cohort"⁽⁵⁰⁾. In the middle register, the frustrated and dejected and yet defiant Mara is shown supported and comforted by his followers after this disastrous defeat. Many of them must have given him good advices to retreat, since they are described to have in them "the roots of virtue"⁽⁵¹⁾.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971: 781-783.

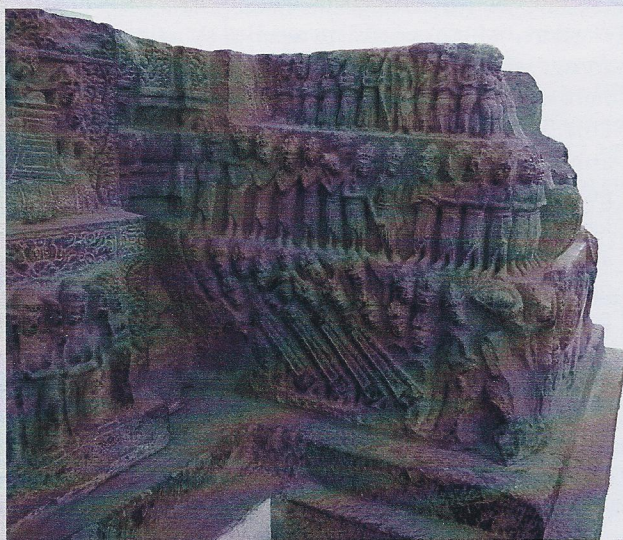
⁽⁴⁹⁾ See Krom 1926 : ills.82-88.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971: 836-837 ; Mahavastu, translation Jones 1956 : 367-368.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Mahavastu, translation Jones 1956 : 296-310.

Buddhism in Champa



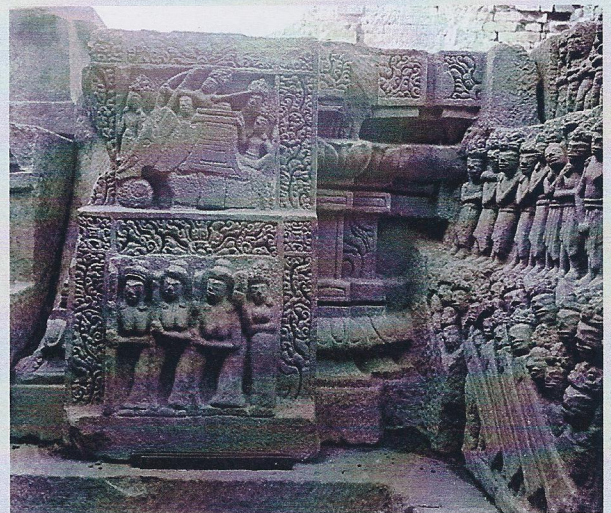
26 - Stairway C, with scenes on both wings (Ills 25 and 27)
© Pierre Baptiste, Musee Guimet.



27 - Three scenes on stair-wing B
a. Mara's attack by force repelled by Mother Earth (below)
b. Mara dejected but still defiant (middle)
c. Mara seizing his infallible flowered bow (above)
© Pierre Baptiste, Musee Guimet.

In the uppermost register, among his passive but submissive followers who have probably repented and given up the efforts to carry on further attacks, the frustrated and defiant God of Desires is seen to have taken up his most powerful weapon, the mighty flowered bow that had never failed to stir up love and longings⁽⁵²⁾, as the last attempt to penetrate the mind of the Bodhisattva, who had time and again succumbed to such temptations in the past. The scenes on the adjoining section A (Ill. 28) obviously

show this very last attempt of Mara, who took up his mighty bow, shot his famous arrows while "placing the three daughters in front"⁽⁵³⁾. Mara himself is seen mounting on his fierce elephant Girimeghala, brandishing defiantly his magic bow which he had apparently spanned and shot at the Buddha-to-be. The three daughters whose names are Lust, Delight and Thirst - all poignant emotions of sexual love - appear in the square below. Each seems to be holding an oblong object that might be interpreted as one of the hitherto infallible magic arrows which had now hopelessly failed. The battle was now over. Mara is obviously shown retreating, while the three daughters who personify the seductive powers embodied in his magic arrows, also drooped away dejectedly. All the unwholesome and dark powers of samsara are shown defeated and dispersed by the accumulated forces of Charity and Renunciation that had paved the way to final Enlightenment, as unfailingly registered and timely acclaimed by Mother Earth, the Upholder of All Lives, herself.



28 - Two scenes on pilaster section A
a. Mara's daughter retreating (below)
b. The final retreat of the God of Desires (above) © Pierre Baptiste, Musee Guimet

To sum up. We are convinced that the narrative scenes on both pedestals at Dong-duong were conjointly and systematically designed to unfold and extol the ultimate theme of Enlightenment, the supreme moment in the life and career of the Enlightened One, the venerated Teacher and the Refuge of the World to all Buddhists.

This intention was revealed in figurative expositions in the same way it would have been recited, repeated and activated by words, extolling and relating the ultimate moment in the chain of a long but firmly registered past. The sequence which seems haphazard had apparently been logically planned and worked out accordingly, to link up this apparent culmination of the efforts carried out into the very last life, with the fruits of those that have been performed again and again in time past. Any illogical or unconvincing interpretation proposed in this article would be due to our own failure to grasp the true meanings of the tale-tell details, rather than to the flaw in the designs or in the visual expositions of the subjects themselves. An archaic touch in the sculptural style and

its abbreviated manner of depiction - comparable to that found in the early phases of the pictorial art of India and elsewhere - add a certain charm and spontaneous freshness to these narrative scenes, and yet deprive them at the same time of their iconographic eloquence and clarity of meaning.

(48) Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971: 781-783.

(49) See Krom 1926 : ills.82-88.(50) Lalitavistara, translation Manavidura 1971: 836-837 ; Mahavastu, translation Jones 1956 : 367-368.

(51) Mahavastu, translation Jones 1956 : 296-310.

(52) Buddhacarita, translation Cowell 1968: 138-147

(53) Buddhacarita, translation Cowell 1968: 139.; also Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, translation Beal 1990 : 150

Résumé en français :

Après un bref rappel des travaux précédents concernant l'auteure se propose de réinterpréter les vestiges du monastère bouddhiste de Dong Duong. L'ordre des figures commence d'ordinaire par les cieux bouddhiques d'avant l'Illumination ; ils sont ici sommairement traités. Puis vient la naissance du Bouddha, sa jeunesse princière, sa sortie du palais et son harem endormi. Puis vient l'attaque de l'armée de Mâra, contrebalancée par la procession des dieux. Une curieuse sculpture à têtes et bras multiples pourrait également représenter la tentation de Mâra, suivant la leçon du Buddhacarita.

Quant au piédestal du reliquaire principal. Ce piédestal, maintenant au Musée de Đà Nẵng, devait être surmonté d'un autre, plus petit. Sur lequel se dressait l'image en or de Lasmindra-lokesvara Il contient à nouveau des épisodes de la vie du Bouddha. Au premier abord ce qu'il représente semble peu clair. Il semble représenter, en trois épisodes l'Illumination. Chaque section était désigné par une lettre de A à O, cette dernière représentant le Grand Départ, après la coupe des cheveux. Ces scènes s'inspiraient d'un texte tel le Lalitavistara. On peut y voir également la belle mère de Sidharta lui faisant des reproches.

La représentation du Grand Renoncement est associée avec les deux vies antérieures du Bouddha. Plus loin le prince est vénéré de diverses manières, et entouré de divers ascètes. Le groupe I semble représenter Mâra en majesté entouré de sa suite, et l'éléphant. Girimekhala. La suite du récit montre la destruction de sa puissance. Puis vient le prince Vessantara, faisant don de son cheval préféré, avant qu'il renonce à son tour. L'éléphant symbolise la valeur du Don et du Renoncement.

La section E reprend le thème de l'Illumination, illustré de divers prodige. A la marche septentrionale on retrouve le renoncement de Vessantara, par une allusion au rôle du roi et de la reine de Sibis. Le thème principal de tous ces épisodes historiés est l'opposition entre les forces du désir et celles du renoncement, chacune ayant le Bodhisattva pour objet. Ce que l'on retrouve dans la section A.

L'auteur est convaincu que ces piédestaux narrent le thème de l'épisode central de la vie du Bouddha - et par là du Bouddhisme.

Jean-Michel Beurdeley

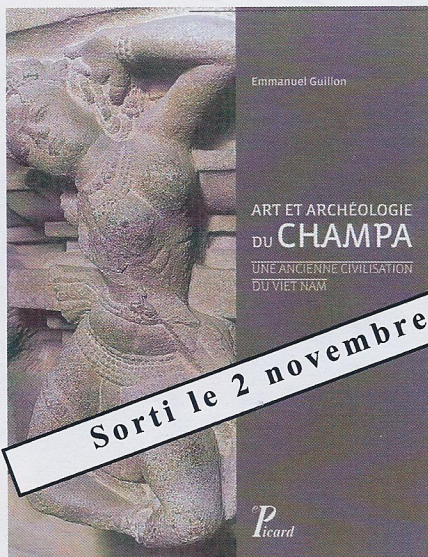
Au début des années 1990 Jean Boisselier nous avait présenté Emmanuel Guillon comme son successeur pour les études Cham. Nous avons aussitôt été séduits par son idée de fonder la SACHA, avec la collaboration de Marie Christine Duflos et bien d'autres.

Notre association a finalement vu le jour grâce à tous les chercheurs et passionnés du Champa dont nous saluons ici la précieuse collaboration. Depuis dix sept ans, la SACHA a bien mené sa mission, mais l'association n'a jamais dépassé quatre-vingts cinq membre et notre action nous a paru trop limitée.

Etant fidèle au souhait de Jean Boisselier et de nous tous, celui de diffuser la connaissance de la civilisation Cham au plus grand nombre, nous avons décidé, pour alléger la structure, de fermer notre association, la Société de Amis du Champa Ancien, tout en gardant le nom SACHA afin de publier une lettre permanente sur un site Internet. La Fondation James HW Thompson qui a déjà mis en ligne la plupart de nos Lettres est notre soutien majeur dans ce projet de renouveau puisqu'elle propose d'héberger notre site.

En effet, la Fondation, voisine de la communauté Cham de Bangkrua à Bangkok, s'intéresse aux études Cham ; à plusieurs reprises et depuis de nombreuses années, elle a apporté son soutien à notre association. Aujourd'hui, l'internet est un moyen moderne et sûr de communication. Il nous offre la possibilité de rencontrer un plus grand nombre de lecteurs et d'assurer la continuation de notre Lettre.

Ce nouveau souffle pour la SACHA est très attrayant ; j'espère qu'il vous séduira.



In the early 1990s Jean Boisselier presented Emmanuel Guillon as his successor for Cham studies. We immediately were impressed by his suggestion to found the Société des Amis du Champa Ancien (SACHA), with the collaboration of Marie-Christine Duflos and others.

This association finally emerged thanks to all the researchers and enthusiasts of Champa whom we wish to recognize for their valuable collaboration. For seventeen years, SACHA has followed its mission, but our association has never exceeded eighty-five members, thus limiting our activities.

Being faithful to the wishes of Jean Boisselier and many others that the dissemination of knowledge about the Cham civilization should continue to reach greater numbers, we have decided to lighten the process by closing our association, the Société des Amis du Champa Ancien, while keeping the name SACHA to publish permanent newsletters on the Internet. The James H. W. Thompson Foundation which has already posted most of our letters is our main supporter for this renewal project since it proposes to host our site.

Indeed, The James H. W. Thompson Foundation, which is a neighbor of the Bangkrua Cham community in Bangkok, is interested in supporting Cham studies, and frequently over the past several years has supported our association. Today, the Internet serves as a modern and secure method of communication. It offers us the opportunity to meet a greater number of readers and ensure the continuation of our SACHA communications.

Giving this new life to the SACHA is very exciting and I hope it will seduce you.

Société des Amis du Champa Ancien

Association déclarée conforme à la loi de 1901

Musée Cernuschi, 7 avenue Vélasquez - 75008 Paris
Courriels : guillon@club-internet.fr - mariechristine.duflos@laposte.net
Site internet : <http://www.sacha-champa.org/g/>

Dr Nandana CHUTIWONGS ; Dr Ian GLOVER ; Pr LUONG NINH ;
Dr Mariko YAMAGATA.

COMITE DE RÉDACTION : Jean-Michel BEURDELEY, Julian BROWN, Marie-Christine DUFLOS, Isabelle POUJOL.
Directeur de Publication : Emmanuel GUILLON ; Maquette, réalisation : Claire NEIL-GUILLON ; Imprimeur : Imprim Plus, ZA de la Plaine Haute, 7 allée de l'industrie, 91560 Crosne.