

BOOK III

CHAMPĀ

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE HINDU KINGDOM OF CHAMPĀ

THE ancient Hindu kingdom of Champā comprised the present States of North and South Viet Nam or old Annam (excluding Tonkin and Cochin-China) with the exception of the three northern districts of Than Hoa, Nghe An and Ha Tinh. It thus extended from 18° to 10° of N. Latitude. It is a long narrow strip of territory, confined between the mountains on the west and the sea in the east, and intersected by innumerable spurs of hills.

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

The country was originally inhabited by two classes of peoples. Ethnographically they both belonged to the same Austronesian race, but while one class was still in a savage condition, the other had a more advanced culture. The latter is known as Cham, a term derived from Champā, the Hindu name of the kingdom. The name by which they called themselves before the Hindu colonisation is not known. The Chams looked down upon the savages and called them by the general names of *Mlechchas* and *Kirātas* (two well-known

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designations applied to barbarians in India) in addition to various local names.

As early as 214 B.C., the whole of Tonkin and a considerable part of Northern Annam were under the supremacy of the Chinese. The people who lived in Tonkin and northern Annam were undoubtedly the Annamites who, after centuries of Chinese subjugation, ultimately formed themselves into a powerful nation, as we shall see later on. The Annamites, however, did not as yet extend beyond the "Col de Nuages" in the district of Quang Nam. To the south of it lived the indigenous savage population, but already in the first century A.D. we find the Chams firmly established in sufficiently large number as far north as Quang Nam. The Chams constantly harassed the southern frontier of the Chinese possessions. They must have been encouraged in their incursions by the tacit sympathy of the population—their own kinsmen—who were placed under the yoke of the Chinese.

The Cham incursions sometimes took a fairly serious turn. In the year 137 A.D. about 10,000 Chams attacked the southernmost Chinese districts, destroyed the forts and ravaged the whole country.

But the death-blow to the Chinese authority came from within. The Cham inhabitants of Siang-lin were particularly turbulent and now and then broke into open rebellion. In 100 A.D. nearly 2000 of them revolted and attacked the Chinese possessions in the north. They killed many officials and destroyed many villages, but retraced their steps as soon as the Chinese forces arrived. In course of time they grew bolder, and about 192 A.D. a native of Siang-lin, named Kiu Lien, killed the officer in charge of the city and proclaimed himself as king.

The city called Siang-lin by the Chinese, and Champā-nagarī, Champā-purā or simply Champā by the Chams, is now represented by Tra-kieu, a little to the south of Quang Nam. It would thus appear that the first Cham kingdom was established in Quang-Nam, and this explains the presence of two such magnificent groups of temples as Myson and Dong-Duong in the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY HINDU DYNASTIES

I. KINGS OF CHAMPĀ-PURA

THE successful raids into the Chinese territory and the establishment of a powerful kingdom testify to the growth of a new spirit in the Chams during the second century A.D. which was due to the introduction of a new element among them, *viz.* the Indian colonists.

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

The first historical Hindu king, so far known, is Śrī Māra, who established a dynasty about the second century A.D., and is probably identical with Kiu-Lien of the Chinese history referred to above.

Nothing is known about the early Hindu kings of Champā, but the troublesome events in China, which brought about the downfall of the imperial Han dynasty in 220 A.D., must have offered them a splendid opportunity to extend and consolidate their kingdom. Some time between 220 and 230 A.D. the king of Champā sent a diplomatic mission to the Governor of Kia Che (Tonkin) on the invitation of the latter; nevertheless, in 248 A.D. the Cham army made a naval attack, ravaged even the provincial capital with several other towns, and defeated the fleet that was sent against them. At last a treaty was concluded by which the district of Kiu Su, corresponding to modern Thua-Thien, was ceded to Champā.

The Chinese history has preserved the names of several

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

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

Fan-Yi died in 336 A.D. On his death the throne was usurped by his commander-in-chief Fan Wen. Wen was a capable ruler and soon made himself the undisputed master of the whole kingdom by defeating the savage tribes who had founded independent States within the kingdom. In 340 he sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor with a request that Hoan Sonh mountains should be recognised as the frontier between the two States. This would have meant the cession of the fertile province of Nhut-Nam (corresponding to Thua Thien, Quang Tri and Quang Binh) to Champā, and naturally the Chinese emperor refused the request. But Wen decided to take by force what he could not gain by diplomacy. The people of Nhut-Nam were mutinous on account of the exactions of the Chinese governor. Taking advantage of this situation Fan Wen led an expedition in 347 A.D., and conquered Nhut-Nam. In 349 he again defeated a vast Chinese army; but he was himself wounded in the fight, and died the same year. Fan Wen thus carried his conquests to the "Porte de Annam" and the kingdom of Champā now reached its furthest limit to the north.

During the reigns of the next two kings, Wen's son Fan Fo (349-380 A.D.) and grandson Fan-Hu-ta (380-413), there was

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almost a continual war with the Chinese. The Chinese inflicted a severe defeat upon Fan Fo in 358 and advanced up to the very walls of the city of Champā. In 359 a treaty was concluded by which the district of Nhut-Nam was ceded to the Chinese.

Fan-Hu-ta scored some successes at first. He not only recovered Nhut-Nam but carried his arms even further to the north, as far as Than Hoa. But in 413 A.D., the Chinese governor of Kiao-Che (Hanoi) defeated Fan-Hu-ta in a pitched battle and then laid siege to Than Hoa. He occupied the top of the hills overlooking the city and barricaded the course of the river by means of hedges of trees. Exciting attacks and counter-attacks took place almost under the ramparts of the city, and the Chinese governor retreated after killing and wounding lots of enemies, but without apparently being able to take the city.

The end of Fan-Hu-ta is not known with certainty. There is no doubt that he was a great general and increased the power and prestige of his kingdom to a very great extent after the late reverses. One of the most important works done by him was the fortification of the city of Kiu Su which occupied the site which is now covered by ruins immediately to the south-east of Hue. This king, whom the Chinese call Fan-Hu-ta, is probably the same who is referred to as Bhadravarman in the inscriptions of Champā.

Whatever we might think of this identification, Bhadravarman must be regarded as one of the most important kings in ancient Champā. His full name was Dharma-Mahārāja Śrī-Bhadravarman. He ruled over the northern and central portion of the kingdom, the provinces of Amarāvati and Vijaya, and probably also over the southern province of Pāṇḍuraṅga. But the famous work by which he was destined to be immortal was the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Bhadresvarasvāmī, at My-son. This temple became the national sanctuary of the Chams, and the practice he thus set on foot, of calling the tutelary deity by the name of the reigning king, came to be almost universally adopted in later times. King Bhadravarman seems to have been a scholar, and it is expressly stated in an inscription that he was versed in the four Vedas.

According to the Chinese accounts, Fan-Hu-ta was suc-

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ceeded in 413 by his son Ti-Chen. We are told that Ti-Kai, the brother of this king, fled with his mother, and the king could not induce them to come back. Grieved at heart, he abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew and himself went to India. The departure of the king was followed by anarchy and civil war in Champā. It led to murders and rapid successions to the throne till the dynasty was dispossessed of the kingdom of Champā after a reign of about 80 years (336-420 A.D.). Ti-Chen is probably the same as king Gaṅgārāja who is mentioned in an inscription as having abdicated the throne in order to spend his last days on the Ganges.

The civil war was brought to an end by the accession of Fan Yang Mai (420 A.D.) whose origin is unknown. The Chams carried on their usual raids into the Chinese territory, attended by pillage, massacre and horrible cruelties, and in the year 420 the Chinese inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Chams. Yang Mai died within a few years, and was succeeded by his son who assumed the name of his father. The usual frontier raids against the Chinese territory continued, and in 431 Yang Mai II sent more than 100 vessels to pillage the coast of Nhut-Nam. This provoked the Chinese governor who sent a strong expedition both by land and sea against Champā. Yang Mai II had gone to marry. He hurried back by way of sea and fell in with the Chinese fleet. His chief pilot was struck down by an arrow and his fleet dispersed, pursued by the Chinese. The Chinese fleet, however, could not follow up their victory on account of bad weather, and retreated. Consequently their army had also to raise the siege and fall back (431 A.D.).

Yang Mai II was, however, elated with the result of the battle, and his ambition knew no bounds. Hardly a year passed without an invasion of Tonkin by his troops. All the while, however, he continued to pay his tributes regularly to the Chinese emperor. The Chinese emperor now decided to bring his turbulent vassal to sense by another military expedition. The preparations took three years, and in 446 A.D. the Chinese army under T'an Ho-Che invaded Champā. The Chinese general at once advanced and laid siege to Kiu-Su, the principal stronghold of Champā. Yang Mai II sent an army in aid of Fan Fu Long who defended the place, but although the Chams

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scored some successes at first, the Chinese ultimately captured the stronghold. The general Fan Fu Long was beheaded and all the inhabitants above the age of 15 were put to the sword. The palace halls were inundated with blood and heaps of dead bodies covered the yard. An immense booty of gold, silver and various other precious objects was gained by the victors.

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

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

Yang Mai II was succeeded by his son and grandson. The latter, named Fan Chen-Ch'eng, pursued a policy of peace and sent tributes to the Chinese emperor on at least three different occasions, in 456, 458 and 472 A.D. The tributes were very rich and the emperor was pleased to confer high honours and titles on the ambassador.

The death of Fan Chen-Ch'eng was followed by a troublesome period. Taking advantage of this a man called Fan Tang-Ken-Chuen or Kieu Ch'eu Lo usurped the kingdom. He was the son of Jayavarman, king of Fu-nan. He had committed some crime in his country, and, fleeing from the wrath of his royal father, took refuge in Champā. But the usurper was defeated and dethroned by Fan Chu-Nong, great-grandson of Fan Yang Mai II. The reigns of Fan Chu-Nong, and his three successors, are without any importance. The last king

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Vijayavarman sent two embassies to China in 526 and 527 A.D. Vijayavarman was succeeded by Śrī Rudravarman who claimed descent from king Gaṅgārāja who abdicated the throne and retired to the banks of the Ganges. He belonged to the Brahma-Kshatriya family and sought for his investiture from the Chinese Emperor in 529 by payment of tribute. He renewed the tribute in 534 A.D.

Rudravarman was succeeded by his son Praśastadharmā who took the name of Śambhuvarman at the time of his coronation. Śambhuvarman took advantage of the weakness of the Imperial Ch'en dynasty to stop the customary tribute, but renewed it in 595 A.D. after the Sui dynasty was established on the Imperial throne. But this did not save him from a Chinese invasion. The Chinese general Liu Fang advanced both by land and sea, and reached the estuary of Linh Giang in 605. Śambhuvarman stationed his soldiers to guard the passes which separate the valley of Linh Giang from that of the Do Le (Tou Li). Liu Fang defeated them and pitched his camp on the Do Le. He then crossed the river without difficulty and overtook the enemy a few miles to the south. A sanguinary battle ensued. The elephants on which the Chams mainly relied were dispersed by the Chinese archers, and they trampled under foot the very army they were engaged to protect. Śambhuvarman fled from the battlefield; the Chinese took about 10,000 prisoners and cut off their left ears. Liu Fang pursued his victory and occupied Kiu Su. Near about this place he inflicted several more defeats upon Śambhuvarman and reached the capital of Champā (605 A.D.). Śambhuvarman fled by sea. Liu Fang thereupon sacked the capital city, and put into captivity all the inhabitants he could lay hands on. He further took the golden tablets of eighteen kings who had ruled over Champā before Śambhuvarman, and 1350 Buddhist works. Among his captives were included some musicians from Fu-nan who carried to the Imperial court the musical arts of India.

As soon as the invaders had left, Śambhuvarman came back to his capital, and to avoid further difficulties, sent an ambassador to the Imperial Court for asking pardon. Then he again withheld tribute, but after the establishment of the Tang dynasty (618 A.D.) sent embassies in 623, 625 and 628 A.D. Śambhuvarman was succeeded in 629 A.D. by his son Kandar-

padharma (Fan T'eu Li of the Chinese). The king had a peaceful reign. He kept peace with China by regular payment of tribute. Kandarpadharma's son and successor Prabhāsadharmā, Fan Chen-Long of the Chinese history, had a tragic end.

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

Satyakaśika-svāmī ruled for at least eight years from 645 to 653 A.D. with an interval. Whether his son and grandson ruled after him cannot be finally decided, but if they did, they must have very short reigns. For by 653 A.D. Prakāśadharmā, the son of Jagaddharma and Śarvāṇī, had already ascended the throne under the title of Vikrāntavarman. He sent embassies to China in A.D. 653, 657, 669 and 670. We have no precise knowledge about the successor of Prakāśadharmā-Vikrāntavarman I. We may, however, provisionally accept the following line of succession.

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Prakāśadharmā-Vikrāntavarman I

|
Naravāhanavarman

|
Vikrāntavarman II.

The last known date of Prakāśadharmā is 687 A.D. and the earliest known date of Vikrāntavarman II is 713 A.D. Naravāhanavarman's reign therefore falls between these two dates.

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

The inscriptions of this dynasty are mostly found in the neighbourhood of Myson, but its power extended very nearly over the whole of the kingdom. The province of Quang Nam in which Myson is situated was the chief stronghold of the dynasty from beginning to end.

II. THE DYNASTY OF PĀṆDURAṅGA

After Rudravarman II the kingdom of Champā passed on to a new dynasty which originally belonged to the Kauṭhāra region in the south but exercised suzerainty over the entire kingdom. The founder of this dynasty was named Pṛithivīndravarman. He enjoyed a long reign and died some time before 774 A.D. His successor, king Satyavarman, was his nephew (sister's son).

The chief event in the reign of the new king is the raid of the Javanese sea-men who devastated the land, and in particular destroyed a temple containing a Mukhaliṅga. There was a halo of sanctity around the temple, as popular tradition ascribed its foundation to a king Vichitrasagara in the year 5911 of the Dvāpara Yuga. In the year 774 A.D. the Javanese, "vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships," burnt this temple and carried away the image together with all the properties of the temple. King Satyavarman pursued these marauders in his own ships and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. But the object of the pursuit was not fully realised, and king Satyavarman was very much dejected to learn that the

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Śivamukha, together with its property which was in the enemy ships, was thrown into water, and that the Śivaliṅga was destroyed. The victorious king, unable to recover the old image, installed a new Śivamukhaliṅga, together with images of other deities, in the year 784 A.D. and gave rich endowments to the god. For this reason he came to be regarded as the second Vichitrasagara or an incarnation of that king.

Satyavarman was succeeded by his younger brother Indravarmān. He is said to have fought with many enemies and ruled over the whole of Champā. The chief event in his reign, like that of his predecessor, was a raid of Javanese sea-men. In the year 787 A.D. they burnt the temple of Bhadrādhīpatīśvara, a celebrated deity of the kingdom, who was regarded as having been established there for many thousands of years. King Indravarmān re-installed the deity under the name of Indrabhadreśvara, and endowed it with various treasures in the year 799 A.D. In addition to this, king Indravarmān endowed many other pious establishments. He at first installed Indrabhogeśvara at Vīrapura. He then installed in the excellent house of Satyavarman (*i.e.* in a temple erected by that king) the god Indraparameśvara, and endowed him with various riches in 801 A.D. Lastly, Indravarmān made a rich donation of all kinds of treasures to the god Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa (*i.e.* Śiva and Hari united in one body).

Indravarmān was succeeded by his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Harivarman. His full name was Vīra Jaya Śrī Harivarmadeva and he assumed the proud title of 'Rājādhirāja Śrī-Champāpura-Parameśvara' (king of kings, Lord of Champā). In January, 803, he conquered the two Chinese districts of Hoan and Ai, and renewed the expedition in 809 A.D. But the Chinese governor forced him to retreat after inflicting a crushing defeat upon him, and wreaked his vengeance upon the people of the two districts who helped the king of Champā.

Harivarman entrusted his son Vikrāntavarman with the government of Pāṇḍuraṅga district (modern Phanrang), but as he was too young for the responsible post, he was placed in charge of a general named Par. This general led an expedition against Kambuja on behalf of his young master, and ravaged the town of the Kambujas.

Harivarman, who ruled from *c.* 800 to *c.* 820 A.D., was

succeeded by his son Vikrāntavarman III, who was the nephew (sister's son) of the two kings Satyavarman and Indravarman. Vikrāntavarman III died without issue and with him ended the dynasty founded by Prithivīndravarman which held sway for about a century from the middle of the eighth to the middle of ninth century A.D. The dynasty had its stronghold in the south, and it has been styled the dynasty of Pāṇḍuraṅga, but Champā was still the official capital.

III. THE BHRIGU DYNASTY

The new dynasty that supplanted the old seems to have been founded by Indravarman II, though this is not quite certain. The Dong Duong Inscription issued by this king in 875 A.D. gives the following account of the family.

"From the son (or family) of Parameśvara was born Uroja, the king of the world. From him was born the fortunate and intelligent Dharmarāja. From him was born the intelligent King śrī Rudravarman. The son of the latter was the far-famed king śrī Bhadravarman. The son of śrī Bhadravarman, known as śrī Indravarman, has become the king of Champā through the grace of Maheśvara."

Thus a divine origin is attributed to the family, which is elsewhere referred to as the 'Bhrīgu family,' evidently because of the mythology contained in the above inscription according to which Bhrīgu was sent to Champā by Mahādeva himself.

The king was originally called "śrī Lakshmīndra Bhumīśvara Grāmasvāmin, and on gaining the sovereignty of Champā, he assumed the title śrī Jaya Indravarmā Mahārājādhirāja. The Dong Duong Inscription praises him in extravagant terms, and commemorates the erection of a monastery and a temple for Svabhayada *i.e.* Buddha. This is very interesting, for it shows that the king had leanings towards Buddhism. But he had, of course, the traditional faith in Śaivism. For the inscription not only refers to a Śivaliṅga installed by him, but also contains a long invocation of the god Śambhubhadreśvara.

Indravarman II must have enjoyed a fairly long and peaceful reign between 854 A.D., the date of Vikrāntavarman III, and 898 A.D., the earliest date of his successor. He seems

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to have been succeeded by his nephew Jaya Simhavarman whose known dates are 898 and 903 A.D.

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

King Jaya Simhavarman sent an embassy to Java, and this diplomatic relation was continued by his successors. He was succeeded by his eldest son Śrī Jayaśaktivarman who probably reigned for only a short time.

The next king was Bhadravarman whose relationship to his predecessor is not known. The way in which he is introduced in the Nhan Bieu inscription seems to indicate that he did not occupy the throne by any unfair means. For instance, Rājadvārah, the son of the cousin of Jaya Simhavarman's queen, continued to occupy a high position under Bhadravarman, as he did under his two predecessors, and was again sent on a diplomatic errand to Java. This, of course, proves nothing, but gives rise to a fair presumption that there was no violent disturbance in the internal policy of the kingdom.

The inscriptions of Bhadravarman mention his victories over enemies and refer to the multitude of royal ambassadors coming from different countries. One of his ministers is said to have understood thoroughly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries, and he sent a diplomatic mission to Java. These isolated statements, occurring in different contexts, leave no doubt that the kingdom of Champā was now recognised abroad as an important and powerful kingdom and took part in international politics. The first stage of this new departure we have already noticed in the reign of Jaya Simhavarman.

Bhadravarman III must have had a very short reign and his known dates are 908 and 910 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Indravarman III. He is said to have mastered the six systems of Brahmanical philosophy as well as the Buddhist philosophy, the grammar of Pāṇini together with its com-

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mentary Kāśikā, and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivites. In spite of obvious exaggerations, the king must be taken to have been a remarkable scholar in his day.

But while the king was busy with the study of philosophy and grammar, the kingdom was invaded by the Kambujas some time between 944 and 947 A.D. Indravarman ultimately hurled back the hostile forces, and died about 959 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Jaya Indravarman I. In 965 he restored the temple of Po Nagar, but his straitened circumstances are indicated by the fact that the golden image of Bhagavatī which was carried away by the invading troops could only be replaced by a stone figure. He sent six embassies to China between 960 and 971 A.D.

CHAPTER III

'THE ANNAMITE INVASIONS

FOR nearly a century after the death of Jaya Indravarman I the history of Champā is obscure in the extreme. The outstanding event of this period is a series of Annamite invasions, leading to internal disintegration of the kingdom.

Jaya Indravarman I seems to have been succeeded by king Parameśvaravarman. He was soon involved in a quarrel with the Annamites which brought ruin upon himself and his kingdom. It has already been related above that Tonkin and northern Annam had passed into the hands of China in 111 B.C. But the tyranny of the Chinese, both officials and colonists, told heavily upon the people. In 36 A.D. they broke into revolt but a Chinese army easily overran the country.

The Annamites again revolted in 183 A.D., but were subjugated in 226 A.D. In 541 Ly Bon or Ly Bi, an Annamite of Chinese origin, revolted against the Chinese governor and declared himself king. He and his two successors ruled for 62 years, but the Chinese reconquered the province in 603 A.D. Ly Bon ruled over the whole of Tonkin and in the south his kingdom reached the frontier of Champā. His fight with Rudravarman has already been referred to above. From 603 to 930 A.D. the Chinese remained the undisputed master of Tonkin. In 722 an Annamite chief, Mai Thuc Loan, made alliance with the king of Champā and revolted against the Chinese governor. But the revolt was easily suppressed by the Chinese generals.

At last, unable to bear the miseries of Chinese yoke, the Annamites again broke into revolt early in the 10th century A.D. The moment was very opportune. The downfall of the Imperial T'ang dynasty in 907 A.D. was followed by a period of

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anarchy and disintegration in China, lasting for more than half a century. The Annamites took full advantage of this situation and freed themselves from the iron yoke of the Chinese. Henceforth Annam became an independent country, nominally acknowledging suzerainty of China at times, but quite free from Chinese control for all practical purposes. A new power thus came into existence which was ultimately destined to play an important part in the history of south-eastern Asia.

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

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

Shortly after, Le Hoan was elected by the Annamite chiefs as their emperor (980 A.D.) He successfully opposed a Chinese expedition sent by the Emperor Kuang Yi to reconquer the province. He sent an ambassador to Parameśvaravarman, but the latter imprisoned him against diplomatic convention of all ages and countries. Le Hoan was naturally furious and led an expedition in person against Champā. Parameśvaravarman was defeated and killed at the first encounter, and the Annamite king marched towards the capital. Although a new king was hastily set up, he could not save the capital city which fell into the hands of the Annamites. After pillaging the city and burning its temples, Le Hoan made arrangements for governing the province and returned with an immense booty (982 A.D.).

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Among others, he took with him 100 ladies of the royal harem and an Indian Bhikshu.

The new king, Indravarman IV, took refuge in his southern territories and sent a Brāhmaṇa envoy to the Chinese court complaining against the Annamite occupation of Champā. But the emperor was not in a mood to renew the fight with the Annamites, and advised the king of Champā to protect his own kingdom and live on friendly terms with his neighbours.

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

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

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

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

Harivarman II was succeeded by Vijaya Śrī. He ascended the throne some time before 999 A.D. when he sent an envoy to China. King Harivarman II, although proclaimed king at Vijaya, had re-established the Court at the ancient capital Indrapura. But that city was sacked by Le Hoan and had suffered all the horrors of foreign domination. Vijaya Śrī definitely abandoned it, and, in order to avoid the domination of the Annamites, retired to Vijaya which henceforth became the capital of Champā and remained as such till the end.

Vijaya Śrī was succeeded by Harivarmadeva III. He sent three embassies to China in 1010, 1011 and 1015, and one to Tonkin in 1011. With his envoy to China in 1011 he sent a few lions which were objects of great curiosity to the Imperial Court. His successor Parameśvaravarman II sent tribute to China in 1018 A.D. Early in the year 1021 the Annamites all on a sudden attacked the camp of Bo Chanh which protected the northern frontier of Champā. The Cham general opposed them, but was killed, and his army retreated in disorder. The invading army, however, also suffered great loss and did not dare to advance any further.

The next king Śrī Vikrāntavarman IV was on the throne in 1030 A.D. when he sent an embassy to China with tribute. His reign seems to be full of civil wars and revolutions. For, twice, in 1038 and 1039 A.D., his son sought protection at the court of Tonkin, and a few months later, the entire garrison of the camp of Bo Chanh sought refuge with the Annamite Emperor. Vikrāntavarman died in 1041 A.D., and the year following, his son Jaya Simhavarman II asked for investiture from the Chinese court.

Jaya Simhavarman's indiscretion brought another terrible calamity upon the unfortunate kingdom of Champā. In 1043

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his navy harassed the Annamite coast but was forced to retreat in the face of a large force sent against them. The Annamite Emperor Phat Ma now decided on an expedition on a large scale to chastise his turbulent neighbours, who had, besides, ceased to perform any act of vassalage for the last sixteen years. He constructed 100 new vessels and drilled his soldiers for both offensive and defensive war. At length, on the 12th January, 1044, he led the expedition in person against Champā. The flotilla safely reached the bank of the river Ngu Bo where Jaya Simhavarman was waiting with his troops. The Annamites disembarked and offered battle. The Cham army was completely routed. Jaya Simhavarman himself lay dead with 30,000 of his soldiers. Moved by pity Phat Ma at last stopped his fearful carnage and marched towards the capital city Vijaya. Vijaya was easily captured and ravaged by his army. At last the Annamite Emperor turned back with an immense booty and large number of prisoners, including all the women of the palace. It is recorded about one of these, that when summoned to the royal vessel she threw herself into the sea, preferring death to dishonour in the hands of her foreign foe. The emperor admired her fidelity and gave her a posthumous title meaning 'very chaste and very sweet lady.'

The dynasty which came to power in 989 A.D. after the Annamite usurpation perished with Jaya Simhavarman II amid the disasters of the second Annamite invasion. But a new dynasty was founded by Jaya Parameśvaravarmadeva Iśvaramūrti, descended from the old royal family of Champā.

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

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

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towards the province of Pāṇḍuraṅga which was almost in a chronic state of rebellion. Three armies were sent against it, one led by the king in person and the two others by two of his nephews, the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, and Devarāja Mahāsenāpati. The revolted people of Pāṇḍuraṅga were completely defeated and came to terms (1050 A.D.). Half of the people were released in order to re-establish the city, and the other half were distributed as slaves to various religious establishments. Two columns of victory were raised to commemorate the victory, one by the king himself and the other by the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, and two *lingas* of stone were installed by the two generals. These were intended to impress the people with an idea of the wealth, splendour and piety of the king of Champā, and they produced the desired effect.

Having brought the affairs of Pāṇḍuraṅga to a satisfactory conclusion, the king turned his attention towards his western neighbour, the Kambujas. Here also his efforts proved completely successful. The Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, who had played such a distinguished part in the Pāṇḍuraṅga war, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Kambujas and took the town of Śambhupura. He destroyed a large number of temples there and distributed the Khmer captives among the temples of Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara.

King Parameśvaravarman had to devote a great deal of attention to the restoration of the religious institutions which had suffered during the troublesome period that preceded his reign. In 1050 A.D. he reinstalled the image of the famous goddess of Po Nagara and endowed her with lands, slaves and various other costly articles. He sent three embassies to China between A.D. 1050 and 1056 and five to Annam between 1047 and 1060. He was succeeded by Bhadravarman III who reigned in 1061 A.D. He was succeeded by his brother Rudravarman III (or Rudravarman IV, if we include the legendary king of that name in the Bhṛigu dynasty). He was born in the family of Jaya Parameśvara, but the relationship between the two is not definitely known. He sent an embassy to China in 1062 A.D. and three embassies to Annam in 1063, 1065 and 1068 A.D. From the very beginning he made preparations for attacking his northern neighbour. He organised his army and trained his soldiers for the purpose. He then sent an ambassador to

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China, in 1062 A.D., for securing assistance against the Annamites. But although the Chinese Emperor was friendly and sent him some presents, he was not in a mood to send any effective aid against the Annamites. For some years, therefore, Rudravarman III thought it politic to keep on friendly terms with the Annamite Emperor and regularly sent tributes to him in 1063, 1065 and 1068.

But all the while Rudravarman III had been continuing his preparations, and at last opened hostilities towards the end of 1068 A.D. The Annamite Emperor, Ly Thanh Ton, took up the challenge and moved his troops on the 16th February, 1069 A.D. He gradually arrived at the port of Śrī Banoy and there disembarked his troops. The Cham army, drawn up on the bank of the Tu Mao, offered battle to the invader. They fought furiously for a long time, but their general being killed, they lost heart and fell back in disorder, leaving a large number on the field. As soon as Rudravarman learnt the news of the defeat, he left the capital with his family. He was, however, pursued and captured within the borders of Kambuja (1069 A.D.).

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

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

On his return to Champā Rudravarman III found it to be a seat of anarchy and civil war, as several persons had proclaimed themselves kings in different parts of the kingdom. Amid

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these disorders Rudravarman III passes from our view, and the dynasty which began to rule in 1044 A.D. ended with him about thirty years later.

CHAPTER IV

THE DYNASTY OF HARIVARMAN

AMONG the many claimants to the throne of Champā one name stands in bold relief, that of Harivarman IV. The full name of the king was śrī Harivarmadeva prince Than-Yan Vishṇu-mūrti or Mādhavamūrti or Devatāmūrti. He was the son of Prāleyeśvara Dharmarāja of the Cocomanut clan. As his mother belonged to the Betelnut clan, he represented in his person the two chief rival families of the kingdom.

Within ten years of the capture of Rudravarman, Harivarman established his authority over the greater part of the kingdom. But the civil war continued throughout his reign, and he had to fight with rival chiefs for the throne of Champā. To make matters worse, the Annamite king sent a new expedition in 1075, and the Kambuja king also began his plundering raids. It reflects great credit upon Harivarman that he not only checked his internal foes but also guarded his kingdom against his powerful neighbours. No wonder, that his reign was full of military campaigns, as we are told in the Myson Inscription:

“He has dispersed the hostile troops in the field of battle as many as twelve times. He has cut off the heads of kings, generals, chiefs and other men in the field of battle nine times. He defeated the troops of Kambuja at Someśvara and captured the prince śrī Nandavarmadeva who commanded the army.”

The defeat of the Annamite forces assured the safety of the newly established power, and by dint of numerous military successes “the king of Champā became prosperous as of old.” Then king Harivarman celebrated his coronation and probably assumed the title Utkṛiṣṭarāja. After this he ‘enjoyed a complete happiness and tasted royal felicities.’

But Harivarman had another important task before him. The country had been ruined by the Annamite invasions and the civil war and it was necessary to repair the damages as far as possible.

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Two inscriptions at Myson describe in detail the work of restoration as well as the rich endowments to the temple of Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara made by the king and his brother Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati.

King Harivarman also turned his attention to secular buildings and "re-established the edifices and the city of Champā during the troublesome days of the war. And the city of Champā and all the edifices were enriched, as if by nature, and freshly decorated."

King Harivarman thus successfully accomplished the two important tasks of establishing law and order and restoring material prosperity in the kingdom. With the exception of the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga, the whole of Champā was probably united under his sceptre, and he vigorously set himself to the task of repairing damages and reviving the old prosperity of the kingdom.

In 1080 A.D., at the age of forty-one, Harivarman IV abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Śrī Rājadvāra, and devoted himself to spiritual exercises and worship of Śiva. He did not, however, long enjoy the rest and died within a month (1080 A.D.) It is interesting to note that fourteen of his wives followed him to death in right Indian fashion.

Rājadvāra ascended the throne under the name of Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva. He was a boy of nine years and was obviously unfit to hold the reins of Government in those troublesome days. He had hardly reigned for a month when the necessity of a stronger government impressed itself upon all, and the throne was offered to Pu-lyan Śrī Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, younger brother of Śrī Harivarmadeva. The event is thus described in the Myson Inscription of Jaya Indravarmman himself.

"His Majesty Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva reigned about a month. Then as Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva was very young, did not know what was good or bad in the government of the kingdom, and made everything contrary to the rules of government, Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva with all the generals, Brāhmaṇas, astrologers, learned men, masters of ceremonies and the wives of Śrī Harivarmadeva searched for a prince to govern the kingdom. Now they found that Śrī Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati prince Pāñ, uncle of Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva, and younger brother of Śrī Harivarmadeva, had all the marks of a Mahārāja according to the canon of Rājachakravartin, and that he had the knowledge of the good and the bad, Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva, nephew of Pu-lyan Śrī Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, with the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, paṇḍits, astrologers, masters of the ceremonies, and all the

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ladies, carrying royal insignia, went to Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati and made him King.

The Yuvarāja ascended the throne under the title Paramabodhisattva in 1081 A.D. "He gave bounties to the generals and to all the people of Champā, and uninterrupted bliss reigned as before."

Paramabodhisattva quelled the disturbances in the kingdom and completed the task of his elder brother by recovering the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga. There a usurper had set up an independent kingdom after the Annamite expedition of 1069 A.D. and maintained his position for 16 years. Paramabodhisattva imprisoned him with all his followers. He spared their lives but confiscated their property.

Thus after 16 years there was once more a united kingdom of Champā. Paramabodhisattva did not enjoy a long reign. He was succeeded in 1086 by his nephew Śrī Indravarmadeva Paramarājādhirāja who had abdicated the throne in his favour in 1081 A.D.

Although Jaya Indravarman II paid his tribute to the court of Annam with fair regularity, he deplored the loss of the three districts ceded by Rudravarman. The two peoples were so much estranged over this question, that when their ambassadors, having arrived at the Chinese court at the same time, were introduced to the Emperor on the same day, they kept themselves aloof from each other. At a dinner in which they were invited they were seated at two ends of the table.

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

Jaya Indravarman II died in 1113 A.D. and was succeeded by his nephew Harivarman (V) who reigned in peace. ,

CHAPTER V

THE STRUGGLE WITH KAMBUJA AND CHINA

HARIVARMAN V seems to have left no heir, and the next king known to us is Jaya Indravarman III. Jaya Indravarman was born in the year 1106 A.D. He became Devarāja in 1129 and Yuvarāja in 1133 A.D. Finally he ascended the throne in 1139. His religious foundations at Myson in 1140 and at Po Nagar in 1143 indicate that he established his authority in the north as well as in the south.

Unfortunately Jaya Indravarman III was involved in a quarrel with both his powerful neighbours. Sūryavarman, the bellicose king of Kambuja, ascended the throne in 1113 A.D., and began to harass the kingdom of Champā. Then in 1128 he sent an expedition, 20,000 strong, against the Annamite kingdom, and induced the king of Champā to join with him. This was probably not a difficult task, as Champā had many old scores to pay off, and was ever ready to seize any opportunity to recover the three northern districts ceded by Rudravarman. Unfortunately, the Cham army could not join the Kambujas in time, and both armies were separately defeated. Baffled in his enterprise Sūryavarman despatched next year a navy of 700 vessels to harass the coast of Than Hoa. A similar attempt was again made in 1132 when Jaya Indravarman invaded Nghe-An in concert with the army of Kambuja, but was easily defeated by the Annamites. He then settled matters with them by paying tribute to Annam and withdrawing from the offensive alliance he had lately formed with the king of Kambuja.

But this pusillanimous conduct did not save the unfortunate king. Unsuccessful in his expedition against the Annamite king, Sūryavarman now wanted to make amends for his loss by attacking his faithless ally, the king of Champā. In 1145 he invaded the kingdom and made himself master of Vijaya.

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Jaya Indravarman III was either killed in the battle, or made a prisoner. In any case we do not hear of him any more.

When the kingdom of Champā lay prostrate under the victorious army of Kambuja, a scion of the old ruling family, a descendant of king Paramabodhisattva, proclaimed himself king and took refuge in the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga. His name was Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka. He was formally consecrated to the throne, but did not enjoy a long reign and died in 1147 A.D.

On the death of the king the people of Pāṇḍuraṅga invited his son Ratna-Bhūmivijaya to be the king of Champā, and he ascended the throne in 1147 A.D. under the name of Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva prince Śivānandana. Jaya Harivarman ascended the throne at a very critical moment. The greater part of the kingdom was under a foreign foe who was now extending his aggressions to the south, and the Annamites as well as the Kirātas and other semi-barbarous tribes on the frontier took advantage of the situation to carry on plundering raids into its very heart. But Jaya Harivarman was equal to the task that faced him, and steered the vessel of State safely through these shoals, amid heavy storms, back to the harbour.

Scarcely had the king ascended the throne when the king of Kambuja commanded Śaṅkara, the foremost among his generals, to go and fight him in the plain of Rājapura. Śaṅkara was aided by a large number of troops from Vijaya *i.e.* the portion of Champā subject to Kambuja. Jaya Harivarman met the hostile army at Chaklyan and gained a great victory. This happened in 1147 A.D. Next year "the king of Kambuja sent an army thousand times stronger than the previous one to fight in the plain of Vīrapura." Jaya Harivarman met them at the field of Kayev and completely defeated them.

Having defeated the two armies sent against him, Jaya Harivarman now felt powerful enough to take the offensive. The king of Kambuja did not underrate the danger. He hastily consecrated Harideva, the younger brother of his first queen, as king of Vijaya, and "commanded various generals to lead the Kambuja troops and protect the prince Harideva until he became king in the city of Vijaya." Jaya Harivarman also marched toward that city and "destroyed king Harideva with all his Cham and Kambuja generals and troops." Then the vic-

torious king, duly consecrated, ascended the throne of his forefathers with due pomp and ceremony (1149 A.D.) and reigned as supreme king from this time. But the difficulties of Jaya Harivarman were far from being over yet. The king of Kambuja, thrice baffled, now hit upon a different plan. He incited the barbarous mountain tribes of Champā against their king. The Rade, the Mada and other barbarous tribes, collectively known by the general appellation of the "Kirāta," now invaded the plain in the neighbourhood of Vijaya. A battle took place near the village of Slay, and the Kirātas were defeated. Unfortunately, Jaya Harivarman had not to fear his external enemies alone; his own relatives betrayed him. The brother of his wife, called Vaiṣṇarāja, now joined his enemies and the Kirāta kings proclaimed him as king in the city of Madhyamagrāma. The undaunted king bravely met this new danger. Jaya Harivarman led his army, defeated Vaiṣṇarāja, captured the Kirāta army, and defeated them all.

The Kirāta difficulty was over, but Vaiṣṇarāja remained. He took refuge in the Annamese court and asked the Emperor for military assistance in order to place him on the throne of Champā. The Annamese Emperor acceded to his request and declared him king of Champā. The sequel is thus described:

"The king of Yavanas (Annamites), learning that the king of Kambuja had created difficulties in the way of Java Harivarman, proclaimed Vaiṣṇarāja, a citizen of Champā, as king. He gave him several Yavana generals together with hundred thousand valorous Yavana soldiers Then Jaya Harivarman conducted all the troops of Vijaya. The two parties were engaged in a terrible combat. Java Harivarman defeated Vaiṣṇarājaand large number of Yavana troops lay dead on the field" (1150 A.D.).

After having thus quelled the external enemies Jaya Harivarman probably hoped to reign in peace. But that was not to be. Civil war broke out, first at Amarāvātī (1151) and then at Pāṇḍuraṅga (1155). Jaya Harivarman successfully put them down, but the embers of conflict were not finally extinguished till 1160 A.D.

Having secured the throne of Champā Jaya Harivarman turned his attention to the restoration of temples and the repair of damages. He died about 1166-67 A.D., and was probably succeeded by his son Jaya Harivarman II. But within a year the throne of Champā was occupied by Śrī Jaya Indravarman

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IV, an inhabitant of Grāmapura Vijaya. It does not appear that he was related in any way to Jaya Harivarman I or II. On the other hand, we know that the latter had at least two sons who had afterwards ruled in Champā. There is, therefore, hardly any doubt that Jaya Indravarman IV was a usurper.

Jaya Indravarman IV was formally consecrated to the throne about 1167 A.D. Immediately after his consecration, he sent an ambassador to China asking for investiture from the Imperial court. The presents which the ambassador took to China had been plundered from Arab merchants. The amount of tribute appeared to the Chinese emperor to be so very large, that he was at first inclined to accept only one-tenth of it; but when he came to know of the source from which these articles had come, by the complaints of the Arab merchants themselves, he refused to take anything at all, and ordered a letter to be written to Jaya Indravarman explaining the cause of his refusal. Moreover, the council of ministers decided that it would not be prudent to invest the king of Champā with the customary honorary titles till the commotion caused by the incident had subsided.

Jaya Indravarman IV now turned his attention to the conquest of Kambuja. He assured the neutrality of the Annamese Emperor by payment of rich presents and sending an ambassador to pay the usual homage. Being secure in the north, he attacked the kingdom of Kambuja (1170). That kingdom was then ruled over by king Tribhuvanādityavarman. Both the opposing forces were equally matched and the war went on for a long time without any decisive result. At this time a Chinese officer, shipwrecked on the coast of Champā, taught the king a new cavalry manoeuvre and the art of throwing arrows from the back of a horse (1171 A.D.). Jaya Indravarman IV now asked the Chinese officer to buy horses for him in his own country. With the help of these horses he was enabled to secure some advantage against the enemy, and this induced him to look for more horses. In 1171 he sent a large number of men to Kiong Cheu, in the island of Hai Nan, with the object of purchasing as many horses as possible. They were ill received there, and therefore retaliated by plundering a number of inhabitants they came across. The terrified people then allowed them to make their purchases. But the affair came to

the knowledge of the Chinese Emperor, and in 1175 he issued an order prohibiting the export of horses outside the empire.

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

The glorious victory of Jaya Indravarman IV indicates the revival of the old prosperous days of Champā. This was further shown by the rich donations of the king to various temples. An inscription has preserved relics of something like a military feudalism that prevailed at the time. Three dignitaries of the kingdom took an oath of allegiance to the king which contained, among other promises, an undertaking to the effect that they and their children would fight for their lord in case of war as long as they lived.

After Jaya Indravarman IV we find a new king in Champā named Jaya Indravarman V. Whether there was any relationship between the two is yet unknown, but the latter continued the "forward" policy of his predecessor and carried on an aggressive campaign against Kambuja. In 1190 A.D. the king of Kambuja, Jayavarman VII, sent an expedition against Jaya Indravarman. The leader of this expedition, who was ultimately destined to play an important part in history, was Śrī Sūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī Vidyānandana. He was apparently an inhabitant of Champā, but betook himself early in life to Kambuja (1182 A.D.). The king of Kambuja, pleased at his valour, conferred on him the dignity of Yuvarāja, and when war broke out with Champā, as related above, he "sent the prince at the head of Kambuja troops in order to take Vijaya and defeat the king Jaya Indravarman." Śrī Sūryavarmadeva obtained a complete victory. He captured the king of Champā and took him to Kambuja as a captive.

The king of Kambuja now divided Champā into two portions. He placed his own brother-in-law Sūrya Jayavarmadeva as king of the northern part, with Vijaya as capital, while Sūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī Vidyānandana, the victorious gene-

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ral, became king of the southern portion with his capital at Rājapura in Panrān.

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

The king of Kambuja now sent an expedition against Vijaya (1192 A.D.). With a view, probably, to conciliate the national sentiments, by placing the captured king of Champā Śrī Jaya Indravarman V on the throne, as a dependant of Kambuja, he sent him along with this expedition. The Kambuja troops first went to Rājapura. There the king Sūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī Vidyānandana, put himself at their head, and marched against Vijaya. He captured Vijaya and defeated and killed Jaya Indravarman Rasupati. Henceforth Sūryavarmadeva Vidyānandana threw off his allegiance to Kambuja and ruled over the whole of Champā without opposition (1192 A.D.) as an independent king. But he had shortly to reckon with the king of Kambuja whom he had so basely betrayed. In 1193 an expedition was sent against him, but he gained an easy victory. Next year the expedition was repeated on a larger scale, but he vanquished the generals of the Kambuja army. This was the crowning triumph of Śrī Sūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī Vidyānandana, who began his life as an exile, but after a romantic career gained the undisputed supremacy over the whole of Champā.

After the Kambuja war was over, the king marched to Amarāvātī and set himself to the task of restoration, which was badly needed after the late troublesome period of civil war and foreign domination. But the king was not destined to enjoy his sovereignty for a long time. He was defeated in 1203 A.D. by his paternal uncle, called Yuvarāja Dhanapatigrāma, who was sent by the king of Kambuja against him.

The career of this Yuvarāja was analogous in many respects to that of king Sūryavarman himself. He, too, lived as an exile

in the court of Kambuja and obtained the favours of the king. The king of Kambuja, twice baffled in his attempt to defeat Sūryavarman, at last sent the uncle against the nephew. In 1203 king Sūryavarman was defeated and the Yuvarāja Dhana-patigrāma ruled over Champā. He had a hard time before him. Rebellion broke out in various parts of the kingdom. The most formidable was one led by Putau Ājñā Ku, but he was put down. The king of Kambuja, pleased at his valour, conferred high dignities on him and apparently formally appointed him the ruler of Champā in 1207 A.D.

But soon a new figure appeared on the scene. This was Jaya Parameśvaravarmadeva, son of Jaya Harivarman II. He was the legitimate owner of the throne of Champā of which his father had been wrongly dispossessed by Jaya Indravarman IV Grāmapura Vijaya. During the period of usurpation by that monarch, and the disastrous Kambuja war that followed, he lived as an exile and at last took refuge in the court of Kambuja.

In 1201 A.D. the king of Kambuja conferred upon him the title of "Pu Poñ pulyañ śrī Yuvarāja," and afterwards gave him permission to live in Champā with the Governor Yuvarāja Dhanapatigrāma. It must have been with a mixed feeling of joy and sorrow that the exile returned to his native land, only to find the throne of his forefathers occupied by a usurper. Why he was sent to Champā, and what he had been doing there for the next twenty years are yet unknown.

Champā was at this time very hard pressed by the Annamites. Since about 1207 A.D. a long series of battles followed, in which victory more often inclined to the Annamites. These long drawn battles must have exhausted the Kambujas. As a matter of fact, the series of warfares in which they were involved ever since 1190 A.D., when they conquered Champā, must have proved too great a burden for them. At last in 1220 A.D. the Kambujas evacuated Champā, and a formal peace was probably concluded with Jaya Parameśvaravarman in 1222 A.D. In any case the latter ascended the throne of his ancestors and was formally consecrated to the throne in 1226 A.D. Henceforth the king reigned in peace. He restored order in the different parts of his kingdom and set himself to the task of repairing damages caused by the "Kambuja war of 32 years" (1190-1222 A.D.).

STRUGGLE WITH KAMBUJA AND CHINA

Towards the end of his reign, about 1252 A.D., King Jaya Parameśvaravarman II was involved in a war with Annam. About this time a powerful dynasty was established on the throne of Annam. The new king of Annam made remonstrances to the court of Champā against the conduct of Cham pirates who pillaged the Annamite population on the sea-shore. The king of Champā demanded in reply the restitution of the three northern districts of Champā conquered by Annam. This irritated the Emperor of Annam who led in person an expedition against Champā. The campaign was long and arduous, but did not lead to any decisive result. The Emperor returned with a number of prisoners, including a queen and a number of nobles and concubines of the king of Champā.

Jaya Parameśvaravarman II died shortly after and was succeeded by his brother, Jaya Indravarman VI, Prince Harideva of Śakañvijaya, who lived at peace with his northern neighbour and devoted his time to pious works.

In the year 1257 A.D. the king was murdered by his nephew, sister's son, who ascended the throne under the name of Śrī Jaya Siṃhavarman in 1257 A.D., and was formally consecrated to the throne in 1266 A.D. under the name Indravarman (V).

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

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

The Mongols had suddenly risen as a great power in Asia towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. Their great leader Chenghiz Khan (1162-1227 A.D.) had conquered large territories in Asia and eastern Europe, and planned the conquest of China when he died. At his death his empire extended beyond the Caspian sea and the Black sea on the west, as far as Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and Russia. To the east it included Korea and reached the Pacific ocean, and on the south it was bounded by India, Tibet and the ruins of the splendid empire of Khwarezm. Ogotai, the son and successor of Chenghiz

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Khan, conquered a portion of China. In 1248 A.D. the Mongol empire passed on to Mangku (1248-1259) and then to his brother, the famous Kublai Khan, a grandson of Chenghiz Khan. Kublai, who crowned himself as the Chinese Emperor and fixed his capital at Peking, looked forward to the conquest of the whole of the Chinese Empire by putting an end to the Sung dynasty. This he finally accomplished in 1279 A.D. But even while he was carrying on the struggle with the Imperial dynasty, Kublai Khan sought to exact the oath of allegiance from all foreign States that had hitherto accepted the Chinese Emperor as their suzerain. So an invitation was sent to the kings of Annam and Champā, to come and pay their homage as vassals to the Great Khan. Indravarman sent two embassies, one on the 13th August, 1281, and the other, two months later, so that Kublai at last decided to confer on him the insignia of "Prince Imperial of the second rank."

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

Kublai now decided on an expedition against Champā and entrusted it to Sagatu. In 1282 Sagatu, invested with the title of "the governor of the province of Champā," embarked his troops on thousand vessels—the land route through Tonkin being refused by the Annamite king—and landed his army unopposed on the coast of Champā. The Cham army was led by prince Harijit in person. Sagatu tried the method of conciliation, but failed. At last the battle took place in January, 1283. The Chams, 10,000 strong, fought obstinately for six hours, but then beat retreat. King Indravarman V put his magazine to fire and then retired with his troops to the mountains.

Sagatu sent a detachment of his army against the king. Although successful at first, the Mongol troops were harassed by the enemy in the unknown mountain forests, and regained the camp with great difficulty and after heavy losses. But

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Sagatu being re-inforced from China, himself took the offensive on the 14th June, 1283, and inflicted great loss on the Cham army. King Indravarman again retired to the mountains.

The Cham campaign had already cost Kublai Khan heavily in men and money. Nevertheless, in 1284, he arranged to send another supporting army of 15,000 soldiers. The first division of the navy, carrying the first batches of soldiers, completely disappeared, and no one knew what became of her. The rest of the troops safely reached the coast of Champā under the leadership of Wan Hu. But arrived at Śrī Banoy, Wan Hu learnt to his great surprise that Sagatu had burnt his camp and started on his return journey a few days before. He then advanced alone and sent an ambassador to Indravarman asking him to come in person with his son. But the king was now in no mood to obey. He sent his grandson to the Emperor to renew the oaths of allegiance (1284), and four months later, sent an embassy of 18 persons with a prayer for the withdrawal of troops on condition of regular payment of tribute. Two months later still, the same ambassadors again presented themselves to the court of the great Mongol with rich presents.

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

In order to reach Champā it was necessary to pass through Annamite territory. The king of that country, like Indravarman, had obstinately refused to pay homage in person. So when he at last received a peremptory order to give passage to the troops bound for Champā, he opposed their advance into his territory.

The Mongol troops were commanded by Togan, the son of Kublai. Failing to win over the Annamite king by diplomacy, he at last invaded the passes leading to that country and carried them one after another. Then winning victory after victory, he crossed the Red River and entered the capital of Annam as victor. At the same time Sagatu advanced from the south and

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defeated the enemy at Nghe-An and Than Hoa. At last the Annamite Emperor took the offensive. He defeated Togan in the north and drove back his army beyond the Red river. Sagatu,unaware of this defeat, was still advancing into the enemy's country, when he was surprised and completely defeated. He was killed in the action and his head was presented to the Annamite Emperor.

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

CHAPTER VI

THE ANNAMITE CONQUEST OF CHAMPĀ

I. THE TRIUMPH OF ANNAM

KING Indravarman V, who had heroically sustained the arduous struggle against his powerful foe, probably did not long survive his final triumph. It appears from the account of Marco Polo, who visited Champā about 1288, that king Indravarman was already dead.

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

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

The court of Annam coldly received the proposal. But Jaya Simhavarman, who had already married a princess of Java (or Malay Peninsula) named Tāpasi, was eager for this new alliance. Negotiations continued as late as 1305, but Jaya Simhavarman, impatient at the delay, sent an ambassador with nuptial presents and promised to cede to Annam, on the day of marriage, the two northern provinces of his realm, corresponding to Thua Thien, the southern portion of Quang Tri

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and the northern part of Quang Nam. It is an irony of fate that the man who fought so valiantly for his country even at the risk of his own life, did not scruple to part with two of the most valuable provinces of his kingdom, including the famous stronghold of Kiu S'iu, for a mere hobby. Thus was Champā dismembered a second time (cf. Bk. III, Ch. III). The Annamite council made a last attempt to prevent the alliance which they considered as humiliating for the daughter of an emperor, but Anh-Ton, more practical than his ministers, was ready to sacrifice his sense of prestige and brotherly sentiments for the good of the country. He accepted the provinces and sent the princess to Jaya Simhavarman. But king Jaya Simhavarman did not live long after this marriage, and died in 1307 A.D.

Jaya Simhavarman III was succeeded by his son prince Harijitātmaja, born of the queen Bhāskaradevī, and known as Mahendravarman. He regretted the cession of two provinces by his father which brought the northern boundary of Champā far to the south, and the people of the two provinces also chafed at the foreign domination. The result was rebellions and frequent incursions into those provinces, so much so that the Annamite colonists, installed in the two provinces, found it impossible to live there. So at the beginning of 1312, the Annamite Emperor, Anh Hoang, decided to send an expedition against Champā.

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

Che-da-a-ba-niem, who had been placed on the throne by the Annamites, assumed the name of Che Nang after coronation (1312 A.D.). Two years later, Anh Hoang abdicated the

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throne in favour of his son, Ninh Hoang. Che Nang took advantage of this change of master by attempting to throw off the yoke of Annam. He had some successes at first, but was soon defeated and took to flight. Afraid of meeting with his brother's fate, he fled from the country and took refuge in Java (c. 1318 A.D.). With him ended the dynasty founded by Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka in 1145 A.D.

II. THE RECOVERY OF CHAMPA

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

A-Nan behaved exactly like his predecessor. As soon as he felt powerful enough he wanted to shake off the Annamite yoke. For this purpose he commenced negotiations with the Mongols, and in 1323 sent his brother to the Chinese Emperor asking assistance against his powerful neighbour in the north. The Emperor Jen Tsong agreed to this and sent ambassadors to Ninh Hoang asking him to respect the integrity of Champā (1324). Ninh Hoang replied to this message by sending an expedition against Champā in 1326, but it led to disasters. A-Nan defeated his army and henceforth ceased to consider himself as his vassal.

For some time A-Nan continued his relations with the Mongols, and sent ambassadors to the Chinese court in 1327, 1328 and 1330. Then he ceased to send them. Thus A-Nan reigned during the last eleven years as an independent king and brought back peace and tranquillity to the kingdom which had not known it for a long time.

A-Nan was succeeded in 1342 A.D. by his son-in-law Bo De. A-Nan's son, Che Mo, did not take this act of usurpation lying down. He collected the loyal people and fought with Bo De for the throne. Being defeated he sought protection in the court of Annam. The king of Annam sent an expedition (1353), but as the army did not meet with the navy at the appointed place, it came back. Che Mo, who was with the army, died shortly afterwards.

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Bo De, elated beyond measure at the retreat of the Annamite troops, now took the offensive in order to reconquer the northern districts, but he was defeated in his first attack (1353) and gave up the enterprise..

Bo De was succeeded by Che Bong Nga. The date of his accession and his relationship with Bo De are alike unknown. But it is probable that he came to the throne some time about 1360 A.D.

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

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

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

A year later, Nghia-Hoang abdicated the throne of Annam in favour of Kham Hoang (1372). The new ruler resolved to avenge the insult that Champā had inflicted upon his dynasty, and made preparations on a large scale.

After a great deal of delay, Kham Hoang at last marched at the head of more than 1,20,000 men in January, 1377, and arrived unopposed before the town of Vijaya which was surrounded by a palisade. There a Cham reported to Kham Hoang that the town was deserted, that the king had taken to flight, and that by a quick march he could yet overtake the

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king. Heedless of the prudent counsels of his generals, Kham Hoang marched with his army, which advanced pell mell without any order or organisation. When they had proceeded some distance the Chams suddenly fell upon them and intercepted their passage. This produced such a panic in the Annamite army that it was completely routed. The Emperor with his two commanders-in-chief and several other nobles lay dead on the field.

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

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

In spite of this defeat Che Bong Nga made constant incursions against the Annamites. In 1389 Che Bong Nga completely defeated the Annamite army and advanced towards the capital. He reached the river Hai Trieu and there was nothing to prevent him from occupying the whole country.

But at this moment the treachery of a Cham military officer changed the whole complexion of things. As Che Bong Nga advanced with about 100 vessels to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy, one of his officers, who was reprimanded and afraid of his life, passed over to the enemy and told them that the king's vessel was easily recognisable by its green colour. On learning this the Annamite commander made for the Cham navy and asked his men to concentrate the fury of their attack on the royal vessel. Suddenly a volley of musketry was fired at Che Bong Nga and he fell dead. The Chams lost heart at the

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sudden death of their chief and beat a precipitate retreat to rejoin the main army which was stationed at the river Hoang under the command of the general La Khai (February, 1390). La Khai immediately led back the army by forced marches day and night. The enemy overtook him but was easily defeated. As soon as he reached Champā he proclaimed himself king of the country. The two sons of Che Bong Nga, deprived of their legitimate rights, sought protection in the Annamite court. But although received there with honours and distinction they could not secure any support to regain their throne.

III. THE FINAL VICTORY OF THE ANNAMITES

La Khai, who thus established a new dynasty, is almost certainly to be identified with Śrī Jaya Simhavarmadeva Śrī Harijātti Vīrasimha Champā-pura, the founder of the Brīshu family of kings.

Immediately after the death of Che Bong Nga, the two provinces, Tan Binh and Thuan Hoa, which he had annexed, made submission to Annam. It is probable that other parts of Champā, too, did not acknowledge the authority of Jaya Simhavarmadeva IV. He ruled for ten years (1390-1400), and was succeeded by Śrī Vṛishu Vishṇujātti Vīra Bhadravarmadeva. The king was at first called prince Nauk Glauñ Vijaya, and after a reign of 32 years he was consecrated and took the name of Śrī Brīshu Indravarman.

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

In 1402, the Annamite troops again invaded Champā. Bhadravarman sent his general to oppose them, but he was killed in a fight with the vanguards of the enemy. The king was now terribly afraid of his life and throne, and sent his maternal uncle with rich presents to treat with the enemy. He offered the rich province of Indrapura on condition of cessation of hostilities and the retreat of the Annamite troops. The Annamites demanded Quang Nghia, in addition, and thus the

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whole of Quang-Nam and Quang-Nghia, the ancient Amarāvati, was ceded to the enemy. It was a terrible blow to the power and prestige of Champā. The ancient capital of Indrapura was full of accumulated riches and trophies and was associated with the glorious days of the past. The province of Amarāvati was also one of the richest and the most fertile. By this humiliating treaty the kingdom of Champā was reduced to half its size; it lost its rich fertile regions in the northern plain, and was confined to the poor mountainous region in the south.

King Bhadravarman soon repented of his act. He sent a pathetic appeal to the Chinese Emperor (1403), and the latter sent two plenipotentiaries to the Annamite court, asking it to leave its neighbour in peace. The Annamites replied by sending a force 200,000 strong against Champā both by land and sea.

The Chinese Emperor became furious. He sent battle-ships in aid of Bhadravarman. These met the Annamite fleet which retreated before it without fighting. The Annamite army which besieged Vijaya also raised the siege and turned back, because their provisions ran short and the town was well defended.

But the Chinese Emperor was now inclined to fight with his turbulent neighbour, and the king of Champā excited him to this action. Although the Annamite king tried to avoid the war, he was forced to it, and it was fatal to himself and to his dynasty. In July, 1407, he fell into the hands of the Chinese with his father and son, and they all died in exile.

Vīra Bhadravarman, gratified beyond all measure at this defeat of his implacable enemy, sent a sumptuous tribute to the Emperor, and received in return a still more sumptuous present. He then sent an expedition to recover the ceded provinces. The Annamite forces who defended it were easily defeated, and the two provinces, ceded in 1402, passed again into the kingdom of Champā.

Free from troubles in the north by the Chinese victory over the Annamites in 1407, Bhadravarman invaded Kambuja, and gained great successes. Vīra Bhadravarman or Indravarman VI died in 1441 A.D. and was succeeded by his nephew Mahā Vijaya.

Immediately after his accession Mahā Vijaya sent an ambassador to the Chinese Emperor and asked for investiture,

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representing that his uncle had left the throne to him by a formal testament. The Emperor nominated him king of Champā and sent presents for the king and the queen.

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

The Annamite court, tired of these border campaigns, resolved to carry the fight into the heart of Champā. The Annamite army entered into Champā, defeated the enemy troops and besieged the capital city Vijaya (1446 A.D.). Mahā Vijaya shut himself up in the city with all his troops and hoped to be able to defy the enemy. But he was betrayed by his nephew Mahā Qui-Lai. On condition of being recognised as king of Champā he delivered up the city to the Annamites. Mahā Vijaya was made prisoner with his wives and concubines and the enemy returned to their country with an immense booty.

Mahā Qui-Lai could not long enjoy the sovereignty which he had won by betraying his king and his country. He was dethroned by his younger brother Qui-Do who threw him into prison and declared himself king (1449).

Towards the close of 1457 or the beginning of the next year Qui-Do was assassinated by the son of a nurse at the instance of Mahā Ban-La Tra-Nguyet. The new king was recognised by China, but he did not pay any homage to the Annamite Emperor. The result was the renewal of hostilities between the two countries, and once the Cham king lodged a formal complaint to the Chinese Emperor against the incursions of the Annamites. The king did not reign long, having abdicated the throne in 1460 in favour of his younger brother, Ban-La Tra-Toan.

The new king inherited the enmity of Annam which his predecessor's action had provoked. The Annamite Emperor Thánh Ton pretended that Champā was a feudatory State of his. Tra-Toan, however, resolved to maintain the independence of his country at any cost and decided to risk a war.

ANNAMITE CONQUEST OF CHAMPA

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

The Emperor was waiting for this very opportunity. He at once made extensive preparations for the campaign. He had despatched a magnificent fleet containing 100,000 men and started in person with 150,000 soldiers. The huge army reached the soil of Champā in safety (1471). Tra-Toan sent his younger brother with 5,000 men on elephants to surprise the enemy camp. But the small force was hemmed round on all sides and practically cut off by the enemy.

Tra-Toan was very much alarmed at the news of this disaster and sent a member of his family to the Emperor, to offer submission. But the latter continued to advance, seized Śrī Vini, and at last invested the capital city Vijaya. The city was taken by assault without much difficulty. 60,000 Chams were put to the sword, and 30,000 made prisoners. The king and fifty members of the royal family fell into the hands of the conqueror. Tra-Toan did not long survive the disgrace and died in a ship on his way to Annam.

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

Thus not only the whole of Amarāvati, which was once ceded in 1402, but retaken by the Chams again in 1407, but also the whole of the province of Vijaya passed into the hands of the Annamites. The kingdom of Champā, which now consisted only of Kauṭhāra and Pāṇḍuraṅga, was thus reduced to nearly one-fifth of what it was even in the days of Che Bong Nga. Even the small territory that remained (*viz.* the modern districts of Khan Hoa and Binh Thuan) was absolutely at the mercy of the powerful Annamites.

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But old prestige dies hard. The petty Cham chiefs of the south still bore the proud name of the king of Champā, and the Chinese Emperor not only invested them as such, but even called upon the Annamites to restore the provinces of Vijaya and Amarāvātī to them. Three kings received formal investiture in this way from the Chinese court. The first, Chai-Ya-Ma-Fu-Ngan, said to be the nephew of a former king, died in 1478. He was probably killed by his brother Ku Lai who succeeded him and ruled from 1478 to 1505 A.D. His son and successor Cha-Ku-Pu-Lo received formal investiture from the Chinese court in 1509 A.D., and sent an ambassador to China in 1543 A.D. This was the last embassy from the king of Champā to the Chinese court.

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

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

CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

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

The kingdom was divided into three provinces.

- (1) Amarāvati, the northern part, corresponded to Quang Nam. Here were the two famous capital cities, Champāpura and Indrapura. The latter occupied the site of Dong Duong.
- (2) Vijaya, the central portion of the kingdom, corresponded to Binh Dinh. Its chief city, Vijaya, served for some time as the capital of the whole kingdom. It contained the famous port Śrī Vinaya.
- (3) Pāṇḍuraṅga, the southern part, corresponded to the valleys of Phan-ranh and Binh Thuan. Its chief town Vīrapura, also called Rājapura, once served as the capital of the whole kingdom. The region called Kauthāra, corresponding to Khan Hoa, was usually included in this division, but sometimes formed an independent province.

These provinces were divided into districts, the total number of which, according to a Chinese authority, was thirty-eight in the reign of Harivarman IV (1080 A.D.). Each district contained a number of towns and villages which were the lowest territorial units.

It would appear that two high functionaries, a "governor"

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and a "senāpati," were placed at the head of each provincial administration. The provincial governors had under them nearly fifty officials of different grades for general administration and collection of revenue. None of these officials was paid in cash, but got something like a *jagir* or maintained themselves at the cost of the people under them. The people were bound to provide for these officials, and the system of *corvée* or forced labour was in vogue.

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

Justice was administered in accordance with the Hindu principles. We are told that Jaya Indravarman II "followed the eighteen titles of law prescribed by Manu." Harivarman IV also did the same. King Jaya Indravarman IV is said to have been versed in the Dharmaśāstras, notably the Nāradiya and Bhārggavīya.

Certain crimes were punished by confiscation of goods and loss of personal freedom. Slavery was also a punishment for debts. Crimes were ordinarily punished by flogging. The criminal was stretched on the ground, while two men on the right and two on the left alternately struck him as many as 50, 60 or even 100 times according to the gravity of the offence. Theft and robbery were punished by the mutilation of fingers.

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

A large regular army was maintained by the State. At the time of Fan Wen the army was nearly forty to fifty thousand strong. It must have been considerably increased in later

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times. At the time of Che Bong Nga, the royal guard alone numbered 5000. The armament of the soldiers consisted of a shield, javelin, halberd, bow and cross-bow. The arrows were not feathered but their tips were poisoned. The soldiers marched with their standards at the sound of drums and conch-shells. They were arranged into groups of five who were responsible for one another. If any one of them fled, the other four were liable to death.

The Cham army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants. The Chams learnt from the Chinese in 1171 the art of throwing arrows from the back of horses, a somewhat difficult operation, inasmuch as both hands of the rider had to be kept free. The elephants formed an important part of the army. The number of war elephants maintained in Champā was nearly one thousand. Odoric of Pordenone says that at the time of his visit to Champā (c. 1323 A.D.) the king had 14,000 tame elephants.

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

CHAPTER VIII

INDIAN CULTURE IN CHAMPĀ

I. SOCIETY

THE Indian colonists in Champā tried to build up a society of the orthodox Hindu type, but it had to be modified in some essential aspects by the pre-existing traditions, manners and customs. The people were theoretically divided into four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. But this division hardly existed in practical life except with regard to Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas.

The Indian colonists belonged mainly to the ranks of Kshatriyas and Brāhmaṇas, while there was probably no very sharp distinction between the other classes of society. The merchants, on account of their wealth, probably occupied a high position in society, but beyond this there were probably no social divisions among the common rank of people, whether Indians or Chams. There is no clear indication in the inscriptions that the conquered Chams were specially marked out for the servile position.

The distinction between Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas seems more akin to one of classes than that of castes. For one thing, it is evident that intermarriage between the two was in vogue, and such marriages were pretty frequent.

The Brāhmaṇas occupied a high position in society. They did not dominate over the king and the State to the same extent as in India. But otherwise they occupied a position of great dignity. The Brāhmaṇas were regarded as gods among men, and the murder of a Brāhmaṇa was regarded as a very heinous crime. It is doubtful, however, whether they ranked above the Kshatriyas. It is true that in the only instance where the traditional four castes are enumerated, the Brāhmaṇas occupy the conventional position of supremacy; but in a good many

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instances where only the two classes are mentioned, the Kshatriyas are placed before the Brāhmaṇas, as we find in Buddhist and Jaina books in India. On the whole, the available materials seem to show that the distinction between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas was not a very rigid one, and they cannot be said to have formed two castes in the strict sense of the term. The society was really divided into two broad classes, the higher one composed of Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, and the lower one consisting of the remaining people.

But there was another important distinction in society, *viz.* that between the aristocracy and commonalty. These two divisions were certainly overlapping to a great extent. In other words, although the members of the aristocracy most often belonged to the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya classes, it almost certainly comprised other people, who gained this high rank by virtue of wealth or services to the State.

The external symbols of aristocracy were

- (1) Articles of dress and ornaments.
- (2) Right to use special conveyances, such as palanquins and elephants, to the accompaniment of music etc.
- (3) Claim to be seated near the king.

In these respects the Indian colonists kept up the tradition of their motherland. In ancient India people laid a great stress upon the special privileges of wearing particular dresses and using particular conveyances, and these distinctions were granted by the king upon poets and other great personages in recognition of their merit or loyal and faithful services. Traces of these customs persisted in the Native States of India, particularly among the Rajput States, during the British rule.

A few valuable informations regarding the dress and ornaments of common people in ancient Champā may be derived from a study of sculptures.

First as to the dress. It is indeed very striking that the sculptures represent the dress of the people as very scanty. Only the portion below the waist is covered; the rest of the body, even in cases of females, is nude. The evidence of art in this respect is in full agreement with the Chinese accounts. It is possible that in course of time a garment for the upper part of the body was introduced, but this is not reflected in the artistic representations, till a very late period. It may be

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mentioned that even today the women in the island of Bali use no clothing above the waist.

As to the dress which covered the lower part of the body, it may be broadly divided into two classes, the long and the short. The long one reaches down to the ankle, while the short one never extends beyond the knee, and sometimes even stops short much above it. The long dress resembles a modern petticoat, while the short one looks like drawers. As a rule women put on the former and the men, the latter. Both were tied to the waist by a belt which was sometimes richly decorated with jewels.

The ascetics and the servants are often figured as dressed in an Indian *languṭi*, a narrow strip of cloth passing round the hip and between the legs.

The Chams paid some attention to hair-dressing. The sculptures have preserved a number of specimens, showing the curious ways in which they tied their hair in various fanciful patterns. They also used head-coverings of various types. Only the upper classes used shoes made of skin, while the common people walked barefooted.

The ornaments were many and varied in character, chief among them being discs, rings and pendants of the ear, bracelet, armlet, necklace, girdles, anklet etc.

The ideals of marriage, details of the ceremony and the relation of husband and wife resembled those of India. The *Satī* system was also in vogue. There were also many popular festivals which we find in India. The Chams were very fond of dance and music, and their funeral ceremony was analogous to that of India.

An infamous activity of the Cham mariners was the systematic piracy in which they were engaged. Not only did they pillage defenceless towns and ports on the sea-coast by sudden raids, but they also captured and plundered vessels which passed along their coast. The vessels going to or coming from China, which had of necessity to sail close to the shores of Annam, were their special victims, and for some time the Annamese waters came to be regarded with terror by the trading people of the east. An indirect consequence of this nefarious activity of the Chams was the influx of slaves among them. Regular slave-trade was carried on by Cham merchants, and slaves formed a

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prominent element of the population in addition to aristocracy and commonalty.

II. LITERATURE

Indian literature was highly cultivated in Champā, and Sanskrit was the official language. This is proved by more than one hundred Sanskrit Inscriptions that have so far been discovered in Champā. These were written in an alphabet derived from India. Not only were Indian books imported and studied, but even new books were written in Sanskrit, and the name of at least one such book and an extract from it have reached us.

The kings themselves took a leading part in the literary activity. Thus king Bhadravarman is said to have been versed in the four Vedas. Jaya Indravarman I was proficient in the well-known six systems of philosophy as well as in Buddhist philosophy, Pāṇini's grammar with Kāśikā, and the Ākhyāna and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivas. King Śrī Jaya Indravarman-deva IV was versed in grammar, astrology, the Mahāyāna philosophy and the Dharmaśāstras, notably the Nārādīya and the Bhārgavīya. Whether these kings were as learned as their court-poets would have us believe may be doubted, but that these different branches of Sanskrit literature formed familiar subjects of study in Champā may be regarded as fairly certain.

To the list of subjects thus obtained we may add, on the authority of the inscriptions themselves, the two epics, *viz.* the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*; the religious literature, particularly those of the Śaivas, Vaishṇavas and the Buddhists, the *Manu-smṛiti*, and the Purāṇas. A considerable knowledge of the classical Sanskrit literature, including *kāvya*s and prose romances, is reflected in the style of composition of the Sanskrit inscriptions.

The extent of literary activity in Champā, even at an early period of its history, is proved by a passing reference in a Chinese chronicle that after the Chinese general Liu Fang had sacked the city of Champā in 605 A.D., he carried with him 1350 Buddhist works.

III. RELIGION

1. Śaivism

Of the three members of the Hindu Trinity, Śiva occupied

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a position of unquestioned supremacy in the Hindu colony of Champā. The two principal groups of temples in ancient Champā, *viz.* those of Myson and Po-Nagar, are dedicated to Śivaite gods. Further, Śiva was regarded as the tutelary deity of both the city and the kingdom of Champā.

Śiva is expressly referred to as "the chief of the Trinity" and the "supreme God of gods" in quite a large number of inscriptions. We have also a brilliant picture of the assembly of gods, illustrating the supremacy of Śiva, "with Indra in front, Brahmā to the right, the Moon and the Sun at the back, and the god Nārāyaṇa to the left." But Śiva is not conceived in the abstract alone. He appears as a concrete divine figure with familiar myths and legends clustering round him. The old popular god of Indian masses reappears in a foreign land with his well-known features.

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

One of the oldest *liṅgas* of Śiva came to be regarded as the national deity and maintained this position throughout the course of Cham history. The *liṅga* was established by king Bhadravarman towards the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D., and was named Bhadreśvara, for it was customary to designate the god by a name composed of the first part of the king's name and the word *Iśvara*. This *liṅga*, named Bhadreśvara or Bhadreśvaravāmī, was placed in a temple at Myson which soon became a national sanctuary and the centre of a group of magnificent temples. The temple was burnt some time between 478 and 578 A.D., but restored by king Śambhuvarman, who confirmed the endowments previously given by Bhadravarman. Following the custom set on foot by the latter, he associated his own name with that of the god, and called him Śambhu-Bhadreśvara. Successive kings, such as Prakāśadharmā, Indravarman II, and many others vied with one another in richly endowing this 'God of gods,' and composing hymns of praise in his honour. In course of time a mythical origin was attributed to the *liṅga*. It is said in an inscription, dated 875 A.D., that Śiva himself gave it to Bhṛigu, and Uroja, having got it from the latter, established it in Champā. We are told that Śambhu-Bhadreśvara, the greatest

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of gods, and the only one fit to be worshipped, was the guardian deity of Champā, all the kings of which have become famous in the world through his grace and favour.

From the middle of the eleventh century A.D. Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara came to occupy the position of national god. It appears extremely likely that we find here the old god Śambhu-Bhadreśvara under a new name, for the god Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara is also said to be built by Uroja. Henceforth king after king declares himself to be an incarnation of Uroja, and restores or endows the temple of Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara which Uroja had formerly established on the Vagvan mountain. The temple suffered much in the hands of the enemies, particularly the Kambujas, and was therefore repaired and endowed by a succession of kings, sometimes with the booty taken from the Kambujas themselves.

Jaya Indravarman IV decorated the temple of Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara with silver and coated all the pinnacles of the temple with gold. The total amount of gold required for the above purposes was nearly 75 lbs. Troy in weight, and the amount of silver nearly 35,000 lbs.

In addition to the Śiva-*liṅga*, which attained the position of the national deity, there were many others, though of less importance. The most remarkable among these was a *Mukha-liṅga* of Śambhu in Po-Nagar. We learn from an inscription of the 8th century A.D. that this *Mukha-liṅga* was established by a king named Vichitrasagara. Two inscriptions even profess to give the exact date of this event. It was established, we are told, in the year 5911 of the Dvāpara Yuga, about 1,780,500 years ago. How this date was arrived at, it is impossible to say, the main idea, no doubt, being to refer it to a hoary antiquity. This *liṅga* was destroyed in 774 A.D. by savage races coming by way of sea, but king Satyavarman restored it and called it Satyamukha-*liṅga*. We find reference to this *liṅga* as late as the 12th century A.D., but it never acquired the status of a national deity like Śambhu-Bhadreśvara or Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara.

The kings of Champā seem to have regarded it as a pious duty not only to maintain and endow the famous *liṅgas* of olden times but also to establish new ones. In such cases the

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almost universal practice was to associate the king's name with the new image, a practice well-known in India.

A number of deities came to be associated with Śiva. The most important among them was, of course, the 'Śakti' of Śiva, known variously as Umā, Gaurī, Bhagavatī, Mahābhagavatī, Devī and Mahādevī. She was also called Mātrilīṅgeśvarī and Bhūmīśvarī. She was the daughter of Himālaya and the incomparable and loving spouse of Śiva, worthy of being adored with joy by that god.

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

The second deity associated with the Śiva cult is Gaṇeśa, also called Vināyaka. The extant images of Gaṇeśa at Champā are indeed so numerous that his cult seems to have been at one time even more popular than that of Umā, his mother. The god is usually represented as seated on a pedestal, with a corpulent body and the head of an elephant.

The third Śaiva deity, Kārttika, known also as Kumāra, seems to have enjoyed a great popularity in Champā. Four or perhaps five images of the god have been discovered so far. In two of these the god has his usual *Vāhana*, the peacock. In two others, however, the god rides on rhinoceros, a conception unknown in India, though familiar in Kambuja.

Lastly, a word must be said about Nandin, the *Vāhana* of Śiva and Umā. Separate images of Nandin are found in large number in the vestibules of temples. The figure is that of a recumbent humped bull looking towards the god in the temple.

2. *Vaishṇavism*

Although not so prominent as Śaivism, Vaishṇavism also played an important part in Champā. Vishṇu was known by various names, such as Purushottama, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Govinda and Mādhava. But as in India, the incarnations of Vishṇu probably claimed greater homage than the god himself. Two of these, Rāma and Kṛishṇa, are again and again referred to.

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Vishṇu is said to have divided his essence under the form of four Rāmas *viz.* Rāma and his three younger brothers. Prominence is given to the heroic feats performed by Vishṇu in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa. He held aloft mount Govardhana and destroyed Kaiṁsa, Keśī, Chānūra, Arishta and Pralamba.

Kings of Champā took delight in comparing themselves to Vishṇu, and sometimes even regarded themselves as his incarnation. Thus Jaya Rudravarman was regarded as incarnation of Vishṇu and his son, king Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva Śivanandana regarded himself as a unique Vishṇu, whose glories surpassed those of Rāma and Kṛishṇa, firmly established in all directions.

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

Lakshmī, the Śaktī of Vishṇu, also referred to as Padmā and Śrī, was a well-known goddess of Champā and is frequently referred to in inscriptions.

Like Nandin, the *Vāhana* of Śiva, Garuḍa, the *Vāhana* of Vishṇu, was also a familiar image in Champā.

3. *Brahmā and other gods*

Brahmā, the third god of the Hindu Trinity, is referred to as creator in several inscriptions, but does not seem to hold a very prominent position in Champā.

The characteristic features of the image of Brahmā are his four faces—of course only three being visible in most cases—and his *Vāhana*, the goose. His common attributes are rosary and lotus stems.

Although the great gods of the Hindu Trinity, *viz.* Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva almost monopolised the homage and worship of the people, the lesser gods of the Hindu pantheon were not altogether forgotten. Among them may be mentioned Indra, the king of the gods; Yama, the god of death; Chandra, the Moon-god; Sūrya, the Sun-god; Kuvera, the god of wealth, and Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning.

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

In the first place, the abstract conception of a supreme God

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was not altogether superseded by the images of Śiva, Viṣṇu etc. We find reference to Him in an inscription. He is referred to as the Creator whose ways are incomprehensible to men.

Secondly, emphasis is laid upon the performance of sacrifices. Merits of sacrifices are extolled again and again.

The pessimistic current of Indian thought seems to have made a deep impression upon the Chams. Again and again we read in the inscriptions how the kings and nobles, recognising the unsubstantial nature of wealth and worldly gain and thinking that this body is as impermanent as the foam floating on waters, performed "meritorious works," to atone for all evil deeds as well as for the sake of salvation, or, as is often expressed in a more concrete form, for gaining the heaven of Śiva.

4. *Buddhism*

Buddha is known by various names such as Jina, Lokanātha, Lokeśvara, Sugata, Śākyamuni, Amitābha, Vajrapāṇi, Vairochana and Pramuditalokeśvara. That Buddhism had a fairly strong hold on the people of Champā is evidenced by the fact that a victorious Chinese general carried away 1350 Buddhist works from Champā in 605 A.D.

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

King Śrī Jaya Indravarman, also known as Lakshmīndra Grāmasvāmī, installed an image of Lokeśvara, called after him Lakshmīndra-Lokeśvara, in 875 A.D. He also founded a monastery for the perpetual enjoyment of the Bhikṣu-saṅgha or the community of monks, and placed therein all the necessities of life.

Dong Duong appears to have been an important stronghold of Buddhism. The excavations at that place have unearthed the remains of a Buddhist temple, far greater in dimensions than the largest Brahmanical temple in Champā. Several images of Buddha have also been discovered amid the ruins. An image of Buddha found at Dong Duong is nearly 5 ft. in height. A fine standing image of Buddha in bronze has also

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been found at Dong Duong. It is regarded as the most artistic representation of Buddha so far discovered in Champā (Pl. XVI).

A characteristic feature of the religious development in Champā is the spirit of toleration that marked it from beginning to end. Although sectarianism prevailed, and two or three predominant Brahmanical sects flourished side by side with Buddhism, we hear of no animosity in the field of religion. On the other hand, we find a liberal and catholic spirit paying reverence to all religious sects. The kings, too, often practically demonstrated their eclecticism. Thus king Prakāśadharmā installed *Śiva-liṅgas*, and at the same time erected a temple of Vishṇu. King Indravarman, too, showed equal zeal towards Śaivism and Buddhism. Such instances can be multiplied almost to any extent. The people, too, followed the example of the kings. In this respect the Indian colonists maintained the best traditions of their motherland.

IV. ART

Although Champā cannot boast of such splendid edifices as we find in Cambodia and Java, and her monuments, mainly built of bricks, have mostly disappeared, yet the remains, such as still exist, indicate a fairly developed artistic sense and manual skill of her people. As in India, the art in Champā was mostly the hand-maid of religion, and the people lavished their skill and resources mainly on religious edifices and images of gods and goddesses (Plates XIV, XV, XVI).

All the temples in Champā belong essentially to one characteristic type, though varying a great deal in detail. They are generally built in bricks and are situated on an eminence. The sanctuary or the cella containing the image of god occupies the centre. It generally faces the east and has sometimes, in front of it, another building of similar shape running from east to west which serves as the porch or *Nāṭamandir*. Sometimes we find two subsidiary sanctuaries built in the same line from north to south as the principal sanctuary. These are often later additions. In rare cases this central group of shrines is accompanied by subsidiary temples. Sometimes these are very small and attached to the wall of enclosure.

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All these buildings are enclosed by a wall and the only access to this sacred enclosure is through a Gate-Tower towards the east. It has the shape of the principal sanctuary, and its two doorways opposite each other, are approached by two flights of stairs on the east and west. Beyond this is often found a Big Hall with tiled roofs, supported by thin walls or merely pillars.

The interior of the sanctuary is a square chamber. Its vertical walls are plain but polished. Above, the roof consists of one conical vault formed by a succession of rings which rise in gradually diminished proportions as far as the top.

The sanctuary opens into a vaulted passage which leads to an elaborate doorway with threshold, lintel and frames, all made of stone, and above the lintel is a tympanum of brick or stone. This tympanum often contains sculptures which are sometimes of an elaborate character.

Externally, the sanctuary consists of a square tower with a Śikhara. There are at least three distinct types of Śikharas. The normal type consists of a series of four storeys, one above the other, diminishing as they rise, and crowned by a curvilinear pyramidal stone slab (Pl. XIV). The second type consists of two storeys, the upper one having the shape of an elongated arched vault with ogival ends at two sides. The third type of Śikhara consists of a curvilinear pyramidal dome springing directly from the walls of the sanctuary, and surmounted by a massive circular member of corrugated form, resembling what is called the Āmalaka in the Śikharas of North Indian temples.

The temples in Champā are made of brick, though stone slabs are used to add strength or for decorative purposes. Thus the door-frame, lintel, angular pieces *etc.* are frequently made of stone.

There are three important groups of temples in Champā *viz.* those of Myson, Dong Duong and Po Nagar, the second being Buddhist, and the other two Śaivite in character.

The Myson group of temples are situated in a valley, about 21 miles south-south-east of Touranne. The valley is almost circular and measures about a mile from the top of one ridge to another. It has only one opening to the north through which runs a small river. The temples at Myson are more than

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thirty in number, with halls, gate-towers and a number of subsidiary buildings.

The ruins of Dong Duong, about 12 miles to the south-east of Myson, cover a rectangular area, 328 yds. by 164 yds. It is enclosed by a low brick wall which has only one opening to the east. The rectangle is divided lengthwise in three long narrow blocks of slightly unequal dimensions running east to west. At the western end of the central block is situated the principal sanctuary, surrounded by four sanctuaries built on the same terrace. An imposing building with four bays stands in front of it, and there are two other temples and two residential blocks. The whole is surrounded by a wall, forming the first courtyard. Along the sides of this wall, within the courtyard, are seven small temples, and beyond it are two other court-yards containing chambers, halls etc.

The temples at Po Nagar, near Nha Trang in the district of Khanh Hoa, are six in number, arranged in two lines, running north to south, on the top of a hillock. All these buildings were enclosed by a wall (Pl. XV).

The art of sculptor was highly developed in Champā. The best specimens are, of course, the numerous images of gods and goddesses discovered in all parts of the country (Pl. XVI). The decorations in temples are sometimes of high quality.

The Cham artists excelled in floral decorations. Although they treated foliage in a conventional manner, they added an element of grace and beauty which made it highly charming. The style is purely Indian. Most of the foliage patterns occur on pillars and pilasters, and are in the shape of scrolls; sometimes, as in India, the whole scroll is deeply sunk and very clearly and carefully carved.

A few words must be said in conclusion regarding the origin of the peculiar style of architecture prevalent in Champā. The characteristic feature of a Cham temple seems to be its storied roof of several stages, in gradually diminishing proportions, each of which is again a minature of the whole. Now this is the characteristic feature of what is known as the Dravidian style and makes its appearance as early as the seventh century A.D. in the Mamallapuram Rathis and the temples at Conjeeveram and Badami. Any one who compares the Dhramarāja Rath and Arjuna Rath with the normal type of temples in Champā

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cannot but be struck with the essential resemblance between the Śikharas of the two. It may not also be uninteresting to note that the Dharmarāja Rath is expressly designated as a temple of Śiva named after the king as 'Atyantakāma-Pallaveśvara,' as was the case with the Myson temple which was known as that of Śambhu-Bhadreśvara after its founders. Again, some of the temples of Champā have an elongated curved roof with ogival ends, and this has its counterpart in Ganesh Rath and Sahadeva Rath. The third type of Śikharas, *viz.* the curved ones, resembles Draupadi's Rath and is probably derived from those of North-Indian style. The basement of the temples at Champā also resembles those at Conjeeveram and Badami. On the whole, it seems unreasonable not to connect the style of Champā with the early Dravidian style, both of which rose into prominence more or less about the same time. If we remember that the Indians from the eastern part of India played a prominent part in the colonisation of the Far East, and also the great extent to which Indian civilisation had influenced that of Champā, we need not hesitate to trace the origin of Cham style to Indian temples at Badami, Conjeeveram and Mamallapuram, particularly as this part of India was the nearest by way of sea to the kingdom of Champā. It is quite true that the Chams did not blindly imitate the Indian proto-types and added new elements of their own, but the fact that their style was throughout based upon the essential and characteristic features of Indian style, seems to be beyond question.