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under the Vīrabhadravarmadevas of 15th-Century
Campā**

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ÉTUDES DU CORPUS DES INSCRIPTIONS DU CAMPĀ, VI

Epigraphical Texts and Sculptural Steles Produced under the Vīrabhadravarmadevas of 15th-Century Campā

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This study, the sixth publication of the findings of the Corpus of the Inscriptions of Campā project, focuses on the inscriptions of the 15th century. Analysis and translations — notably of the entire set of accessible inscriptions engraved on the back-slabs of sculptural steles — reveal the previously unknown name of a king — Śrī Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, son of Śrī Jayasinhavarmadeva — who reigned through the century's first four decades. The distribution of 15th-century royal inscriptions from Quảng Nam to Đồng Nai (see Map 7) serves to refute revisionist claims that Campā was never a unified kingdom. The epigraphical evidence suggests that, on the contrary, Campā in this period was a land of significant territorial extent ruled by a rather powerful king.

Introduction

The study of Campā inscriptions has intensified the past few years, and the results of recent epigraphic research are causing significant upheavals in the received historical knowledge. This paper intends to make known some of the results of the EFEO project *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Campā (CIC)*,* and to show to what extent the study of the various phases of the history of ancient Campā on which inscriptions have a bearing can be moved forward by studying previously unpublished texts as well as re-studying those that have already been published. Indeed, I agree with the assertion of Michael Vickery, in his “Champa Revised” (2005b, 2011), that the history of Campā as outlined by Georges Maspero and disseminated by such scholars as R.C. Majumdar and George Cœdès, is in heavy need of revision. But I would like to show here that the most effective and most interesting tool for revision is the direct study of the primary sources, rather than the criticism of errors in secondary sources, to which Vickery’s approach is almost entirely limited. Indeed Vickery himself had very rightly pointed out as much in the margins of another paper, on “Cambodia and its Neighbors in the 15th Century” (2004: 6 n. 15 = 2010: 296 n. 13):

* The work on the present article has taken place in the framework of a collaboration with Amandine Lepoutre, William A. Southworth and Thành Phần. Our publications appear principally in the series “Études du Corpus des inscriptions du Campā” (*ECIC*). I thank Andrew Hardy and Amandine Lepoutre for their comments on an earlier draft.

We must keep in mind that almost everything based on Cham inscriptions requires restudy. [...] Many of the translations were done by persons who were not Austronesian specialists and who often offered *ad hoc* interpretations and dubious translations, which they sometimes admitted, but these have been taken over in a chain Aymonier > Finot > Maspero > Cœdès > etc. and appear in later works as facts.

My focus in this paper is the last phase of broad-scale production of inscriptions in Campā, namely the inscriptions belonging to the 15th century of our era, all of which are marked by the occurrence of the name Vīrabhadravarmadeva. Scholarship so far has acknowledged only one figure with this name, but careful reading of the sources has caused me to doubt that there was only one such ruler. In fact it appears that these sources, presented below, impose the acceptance of two successive kings sharing this part at the end of their full titles, but differentiated by other parts of their titles, by information on the dates associated with their reigns, and by other facts. Besides showing the potential for revision of the standards works on political history, the inscriptions of the period on which I concentrate here also allow me to make some new proposals with regard to the history of Campā art.

The Corpus of 15th-Century Campā Inscriptions

Successive generations of Campā scholars have experienced some difficulty in keeping track of the steady increase in the number of known inscriptions belonging to this period. To illustrate this problem for the early phase of Campā scholarship, let me start by quoting from Louis Finot's review of Maspero's classic history (*BEFEO* 28, pp. 291–292):¹

One dynastic question remains with regard to which I need to make some corrections to the conclusions of Mr. Maspero. It concerns the three first kings of the '13th dynasty', which starts in 1390. I present their names after the Annamese sources based on the correspondences that Maspero has drawn from the inscriptions:

1. La Khài (1390–1400).
2. Ba Địch Lai (1400–1441) = Jaya Simhavarman V, after Maspero. His son, Nāuk Glauñ Vijaya, is pushed aside in favour of his nephew (id.).
3. Bi Cai (1441–1446).

I fear that in framing this picture, the author has lost sight of a few important inscriptions for this period. Mr. Maspero has cited me with such profusion in his book that I hesitate to criticise him for not having done so once more, but I am unable to avoid it. In 1915, I gave in *BEFEO* (XV, II, 12–13) the text of an inscription from Bình Định and extracts from two inscriptions from Cheo Reo. Along with those from Biên Hoà (*BEFEO*, IV, 687) and from Nui Ben Lang (Aymonier, *JA*, janvier-février 1891), they form a group of documents that

1. "Il reste une dernière question dynastique sur laquelle j'ai quelques rectifications à proposer aux conclusions de M. Maspero. Il s'agit des trois premiers rois de la «XIII^e dynastie», qui commence en 1390. Voici leurs noms, d'après les sources annamites avec les correspondances que Maspero a tirées des inscriptions :

1. La-khài (1390-1400).
2. Ba Địch-lai (1400-1441) = Jaya Simhavarman V, d'après Maspero. Son fils, Nāuk Glauñ Vijaya, est évincé au profit de son neveu (id.).
3. Bi-cai (1441-1446).

Je crains qu'en dressant ce tableau, l'auteur n'ait perdu de vue quelques inscriptions importantes pour cette période. M. Maspero m'a cité dans son livre avec une telle profusion que j'hésite à lui reprocher de ne l'avoir pas fait une fois de plus, mais il faut bien m'y résoudre. En 1915, j'ai donné dans le *Bulletin* (XV, II, 12-13) le texte d'une inscription de Bình-định et des extraits de deux inscriptions de Cheo Reo. Elles forment avec celles de Biên-hoà (*BE.*, IV, 687) et de Nui Ben Lang (Aymonier, *JA.*, janvier-février 1891) un groupe de documents qui se complètent et se contrôlent : M. Maspero n'a, il me semble, prêté attention qu'aux deux derniers."

are complementary and allow for mutual verification: it seems to me that Mr. Maspero has paid attention only to the latter two.

For many decades, this statement of Finot remained an adequate description of the state of knowledge, namely that there were five inscriptions recorded from the period of epigraphic production that began around the turn of the 15th century. Basing himself on this small group of five documents published in whole or in extracts, Michael Vickery (2005b: 76 = 2011: 404) considered that:

These inscriptions of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries do not together provide much more than names of chiefs, and I shall not try to pursue the story of Champa history further. All of the important events — war with the Mongols (1278–88), the near conquest of Vietnam by the Cham warrior “Chê Bông Nga” (r. 1360–90) (for both of which periods there are no inscriptions) and the further struggles leading to the Vietnamese conquest of Vijaya in 1471 — must be pieced together from Vietnamese and Chinese histories and competently restudied.

In an article that appeared in 2008, Anne-Valérie Schweyer made a first attempt to redress this view that the Campā inscriptions yield almost nothing for the 15th century, by entering into the discussion a number of inscriptions that had not yet been published. Based on field research undertaken by the *CIC*, and my study of the relevant documents in collaboration with Amandine Lepoutre, it is now possible to make several more steps forward, and to show clearly how wrong Vickery was in his characterisation of the inscriptions of the 13th through 15th centuries. Like Schweyer, I will focus here only on the 15th century, but the same is true also for the 13th and 14th.

The list of inventoried inscriptions attributable to the 15th century currently comprises sixteen items, all of them formulated in Old Cam. The following table shows that Maspero 1928 was out-of-date even before it appeared, and reveals how the pool of data has expanded with every subsequent study.²

C.	1	42	43	44	45	47	56	57	60	128	161	179	214	215	224	225	237
Maspero 1928	√						√										
Finot 1928	√	√	√			√	√										
Schweyer 2008a ³	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	(√)	(√)	√				√			
<i>CIC</i> 2018	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

This table requires a few comments, for not all 15th-century inscriptions known to exist have already been included in the inventory and not all inventoried inscriptions have also been published. In her recent article, Schweyer asserts that “the inscriptions C. 60 from Thanh Son and C. 57 from Ca Xom have not been found again and no readable estampage is available”

2. On the EFEO inventory of Campā inscriptions, see *ECIC* III, particularly (pp. 487–491) for the recently added numbers from C. 201 through C. 233.

3. The extent of the “bref inventaire des inscriptions du 15^e siècle” furnished by the author does not coincide precisely with the narrative that precedes the brief inventory. A few more items are listed in the narrative, but they are treated there as “lost”. These are marked by (√) in the table. The use of diacritics for Sanskrit, Old Cam and Vietnamese is erratic in this publication, partly due to limitations imposed by a publisher (see the note p. 229). My citations are *telles quelles*.

(2008a: 224).⁴ In fact, our collaborator Thành Phần has recently localised the unpublished inscription C. 60, engraved on a natural rock under a waterfall in the north of Bình Định (Figs. 1a, 1b). He has taken and sent us several photographs and ascertained that it will be possible to make estampages during the dry season. And for the likewise unpublished inscription C. 57, the EFEO in fact possesses a rather good uninked estampage (Fig. 2), on the basis of which I have been able to decipher most of the text. Although according to information at our disposal, this inscription is said no longer to exist,⁵ we have not yet entirely given up hope that it will be found back during future fieldwork. Finally, the most recent addition to the group is the inscription that will bear inventory number C. 237. Found in *thôn* Tư Lương, *xã* Tân An, *huyện* Đak Pơ, *tỉnh* Gia Lai, it is engraved on two faces of a large rock with 8 lines on the first (90 × 140 cm) and 3 lines on the second (20 × 90 cm) and is dated to 1360 Śaka (Fig. 3). It was brought to my attention by Đỗ Trường Giang in 2013 and I was able to study it *in situ* in January 2018. The EFEO estampage n. 2405 made on that occasion serves as basis for the excerpt included in this article from the whole text that I intend to publish in due course.

On the topic of the geographical distribution of 15th-century inscriptions, Schweyer (*ibid.*) has asserted that they “are spatially distributed between the provinces Bình Định, Phú Yên and Gia Lai”. She has further stated the following:⁶

Two very important inscriptions, engraved on the back of statues, have been found beyond any localisation; the one (C. 1) at Biên Hòa ... not far from Hồ Chí Minh City, a territory known with certainty never to have been occupied by the Cams; the other (presently without inventory number, going to take number C.215), kept in the Cathedral museum at Tra Kiêu, in Quang Nam, a territory that was no longer in Cam hands in the 15th century. These sculptures have manifestly been moved from their place of origin.

Schweyer thus believes that Quảng Nam was beyond the reach of the rulers of Campā in this period, and also emphatically excludes that Campā ever covered the area just north of Hồ Chí Minh City, where C. 1 was found.⁷ I do not think, however, that the production of inscriptions was limited to the area outlined by Schweyer. Map 6 shows the distribution of the findspots of all relevant inscriptions that the *CIC* has listed. Besides Bình Định, Phú Yên and Gia Lai, the distribution of inscriptions also covers Quảng Nam, Khánh Hòa, Ninh Thuận and Đồng Nai. Of course it is possible that some of the inscriptions found at these sites were moved there from elsewhere, but one would need to come with arguments to demonstrate the plausibility of such

4. “les inscriptions C.60 de Thanh Sơn et C.57 de Ca Xom n’ont pas été retrouvées et il n’existe pas d’estampage lisible”.

5. In a document entitled “Report on the discovery of the Tháp Đôi pillar [*Về trụ văn bia được tìm thấy ở Tháp Đôi Quy Nhơn*]” provided to us by the Bình Định provincial museum at Quy Nhơn, it is stated that the Cà Xom inscription has been destroyed.

6. “se répartissent dans l’espace entre les provinces du Bình Định, du Phú Yên et de Gia Lai.” [...] “Ont été trouvées hors de toute localisation, deux inscriptions très importantes gravées au dos de statues; l’une (C. 1) à Biên Hòa ... non loin d’Hồ Chí Minh-Ville, territoire dont on sait de manière certaine qu’il ne fut jamais occupé par les Cam; l’autre (sans numéro d’inventaire actuellement, va prendre le numéro C.215) conservée dans le Musée de la cathédrale de Tra Kiêu, dans le Quang Nam, un territoire qui n’était plus aux mains des Cam au 15^e siècle. Ces sculptures ont été visiblement déplacées de leur lieu d’origine.”

7. This inscription was found by Thành Phần, Brice Vincent and myself in September 2013 still to be held in the Bửu Sơn Pagoda (*chùa*), as it was when it was first published more than a century ago. The pagoda is situated at 10°57’03.4” N, 106°48’35.1” E. Its address is 163/302 Tô 9, *khu phố* 4, *phường* Hòa Bình, TP. Biên Hòa, *tỉnh* Đồng Nai. On the occasion of our visit to the pagoda, I was able to make the EFEO estampage n. 2313 on which my new reading is partly based.



Figure 1a. — The site of inscription C. 60, Thạnh Sơn (Hồ Hồ Giang), Bình Định. Photo Thành Phần.



Figure 1b. — Close-up of the inscription C. 60. Photo Thành Phần.



Figure 2. — EFeO estampage 28 for the inscription C. 57, Cà Xóm, Bình Định.
Inverted horizontally.



Figure 3. —
Inscription of 1360
Śaka in Tư Lương,
Tân An, Đak Pơ,
Gia Lai. Photo Đỗ
Trường Giang 2013.

a scenario case by case. Until such arguments are produced, I see no reason not to infer from the distribution of inscriptions as shown on the map that the territory covered by one or more Campā polities during the 15th century was considerably more extensive than previous scholars have assumed.

Moreover, Schweyer (*ibid.*) has asserted about these inscriptions that “All date from the reign of the same king, King Vršu Vishnujātti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, prince Nauk Glaun Vijaya, who reigns from 1400 to 1441.”⁸ I will demonstrate below that neither the range of dates that is cited here, nor the attribution of these inscriptions to the reign of a single ruler, can stand scrutiny of the epigraphical facts.

This corpus of 15th-century inscriptions comprises one text on an indeterminate object that once entered the collection of the Museum in Đà Nẵng, but appears nowadays to be lost (C. 179).⁹ An inked estampage is fortunately preserved by the EFEO, and this will allow its text to be published. There are altogether four inscriptions engraved on steles, of different degrees of sculptural refinement (C. 43, C. 56,¹⁰ C. 224,¹¹ C. 225, C. 237). The first is the most extensive inscription of this period, and has been mentioned also in others chapters in this volume; our edition and translation of this tortuously difficult text was recently published (Griffiths *et al.* 2012b: 205–218). The inscription C. 224 is engraved on an enormous slab of granite that was presumably erected in the manner of a stele;¹² its text is hard to read but I have made a provisional decipherment that I hope to publish in due course. There are two inscriptions on unprepared rocks, already mentioned above (C. 57, C. 60), and just one inscription on an architectural element, viz. a doorjamb (C. 47). This last number is surprisingly low, if we compare epigraphic production in previous centuries, when doorjambs were a very common epigraphic medium. The largest part of this corpus, eight inscriptions in all (C. 1, C. 42, C. 44, C. 45, C. 128, C. 161, C. 214, C. 215), is found engraved on the back-slabs of sculptural steles.

The Inscriptions on the Backs of Sculptures

Anne-Valérie Schweyer’s aforementioned publication has presented a few of these inscriptions, and in her conclusion she has pointed out some of the factors that make them especially interesting objects of study (2008a: 229):¹³

8. “Toutes datent du règne d’un même roi, le roi Vršu Vishnujātti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, prince Nauk Glaun Vijaya, qui règne de 1400 à 1441.”

9. See Griffiths *et al.* 2012b: 184 and George Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. I (Hanoi 1937), p. 272 and 311. The date of the inscription was estimated as “XI^e” (Śaka), i.e. ca 12th century CE, by Cœdès, but we believe this inscription belongs to the 15th century CE. See the remark in *BEFEO* 30, p. 214: “L’écriture est celle de l’inscription de la porte royale de Binh-đinh (1323 çaka).” The script, as we have been able to verify on the basis of EFEO estampage n. 794, indeed seems to be that of the inscriptions of the 15th century.

10. The object bearing C. 56 was reportedly a “stèle à trois faces”; it has not been seen for more than a century, and no photograph or drawing appears to exist. An uninked estampage is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris under acc. no. 413 (54), and has been consulted by me in order to control and complete the extracts published by Aymonier (1891: 83–84).

11. This inscription, standing outside the precinct at Po Klaong Girai and registered for the first time in *ECIC* III, is of the ‘unfinished’ type, comprising only the invocatory formulas. Another example of this type is C. 128.

12. See *ECIC* III, pp. 461–462 and 465, fig. 5.3a and b.

13. “Outre l’avantage de permettre la publication partielle de textes inédits, ces sculptures sont également très intéressantes par leur insertion dans l’évolution des sculptures cam et l’histoire des formes artistiques. A partir du 13^e siècle, les sculptures en ronde-bosse sont présentées de manière plus frontale et c’est vers la même époque que semble avoir débuté l’usage d’écrire directement sur la statue, si l’on en croit les inscriptions sur la petite

Besides the advantage of allowing the partial publication of unpublished texts, these sculptures are also interesting by their place in the development of Cam sculptures and the history of artistic forms. Starting in the 13th century, sculptures in the round are presented in a more frontal manner and it seems that the practice of writing directly on a statue also began in that period, judging from the inscriptions on the little goddess of Po Nagar (C.180) or the *dvārapālas* of Thap Mâm (C.184, C.185). They identify the deity and his or her temple. [...] Apart from pedestals or monumental altars, many unitary sculptures show figures applied to supporting steles. However, the habit of engraving the inscription directly on the back of the statue is not attested before the 15th century.

Turning now to the specific inscriptions that I will be dealing with, I must note that inscription C. 128 is engraved on the back of Śiva, but comprises no more than an invocation, the text itself for some reason never having been engraved.¹⁴ The inscriptions C. 44 and C. 45 were never published; the uninked estampages held by the EFEO are not sufficiently readable to decipher them and the present location of the inscriptions themselves, once found in Phú Yên, is not known at this time; it may be revealed by future fieldwork, but for the time being, these two texts remain inaccessible. Of the remaining cases, one was published by Cabaton in 1904 (C. 1), two were partly published by Schweyer in her article (C. 42, C. 215), one was recently published by us (C. 161, Griffiths *et al.* 2012b: 241–243), and one was so far entirely unpublished (C. 214).

I will now present the whole set of accessible inscriptions engraved on the back-slabs of sculptural steles, including my new readings of C. 1, C. 42 and C. 215, to illustrate the fact that existing editions are almost always in need of improvement — sometimes with substantial consequences for historiography, as will be shown in the next section.

C. 1 *Back of a Viṣṇu statue at Bửu Sơn Pagoda, Biên Hòa (Fig. 4)*

- (1) |卐| svasti | pu poṃ ku nan· sūnna
- (2) yāṃ poṃ ku śrī jayasinhavarmmadeva
- (3) urāṃ nauk· glauṃ· vijaya paripāla rāṣtra siṃ tmuṃ
- (4) jaya di nagara yvan· ma^oudyāṇna gulāc· tok· nagara
- (5) braḥ kānda nī yuddha aneka siṃ tmuṃ gulāc· jeṃ nagara ca-
- (6) mpa di śaka loka aṣṭārdhanalaḥ ṅrapaḥ pakraṃttha tri-
- (7) bhavanākṛānta nī nan· ri jittasatrāsi siṃ tmuṃ jaya di kvīra
- (8) tmuṃ vuḥ bhogopabhoga yathādeva liṅga vukaṃn· riṃ siṃ jmai tmuṃ
- (9) jeṃ nagara kvīra jeṃ nagara campa sadākāla |¹⁵

déesse de Po Nagar (C.180) ou les *dvārapāla* de Thap Mâm (C.184, C.185). Elles identifient la divinité et son sanctuaire. [...] A part les piédestaux ou autels monumentaux, beaucoup de sculptures unitaires présentent des figures plaquées sur des stèles d'appui. Cependant, la pratique de graver directement l'inscription au dos de la statue n'est pas attestée avant le 15^e siècle.”

14. See *ECIC* III, pp. 475–476, fig. 7.1a and b; see also n. 11 above.

15. Read from EFEO estampages 263 and n. 2313. Variant readings: (3) *urāṃ* ◊ *uraṃ* Cabaton. — *rāṣtra* ◊ *rāṣṭra* Cabaton. — (6) *aṣṭārdhanalaḥ* ◊ *ṣaṣṭārthānalaḥ* Cabaton; *aṣṭa-ardha-analaḥ* Aymonier; *aṣṭārdhānalaḥ* Finot. The reading of Aymonier was included in an authorial addition in Cabaton 1904, on p. 690, while Finot took the editorial liberty of inserting his own reading in n. 5 on that same page. Although I do not see a long *ā*-vocalisation on the *dh*, I agree with Finot and Aymonier that it is necessary to understand *aṣṭārdha-analaḥ*. — *ṅrapaḥ* ◊ *ṅdapapaḥ* Cabaton. The same spelling is found in C. 43, face B, l. 4 and 7. — *pakraṃttha* ◊ This word must be equivalent to *pakṛ(ṃ)tta* in C. 42, l. 10 (see below). — (6–7) *tribhavanākṛānta* ◊ understand *tribhuvanākṛānta* (cf. Vickery 2004: 11, 51, 52 for the name of the 16th-century Cambodian ruler Tribhuvanādityavarman, whose name is likewise spelt without the expected *u*). — (7) *ri jitta*- ◊ *vijitta* Cabaton. — *kvīra* ◊ *kvīr* Cabaton. — (8) *vukaṃn*- ◊ *vukān* Cabaton. — (9) *kvīra* ◊ *kvīr* Cabaton.

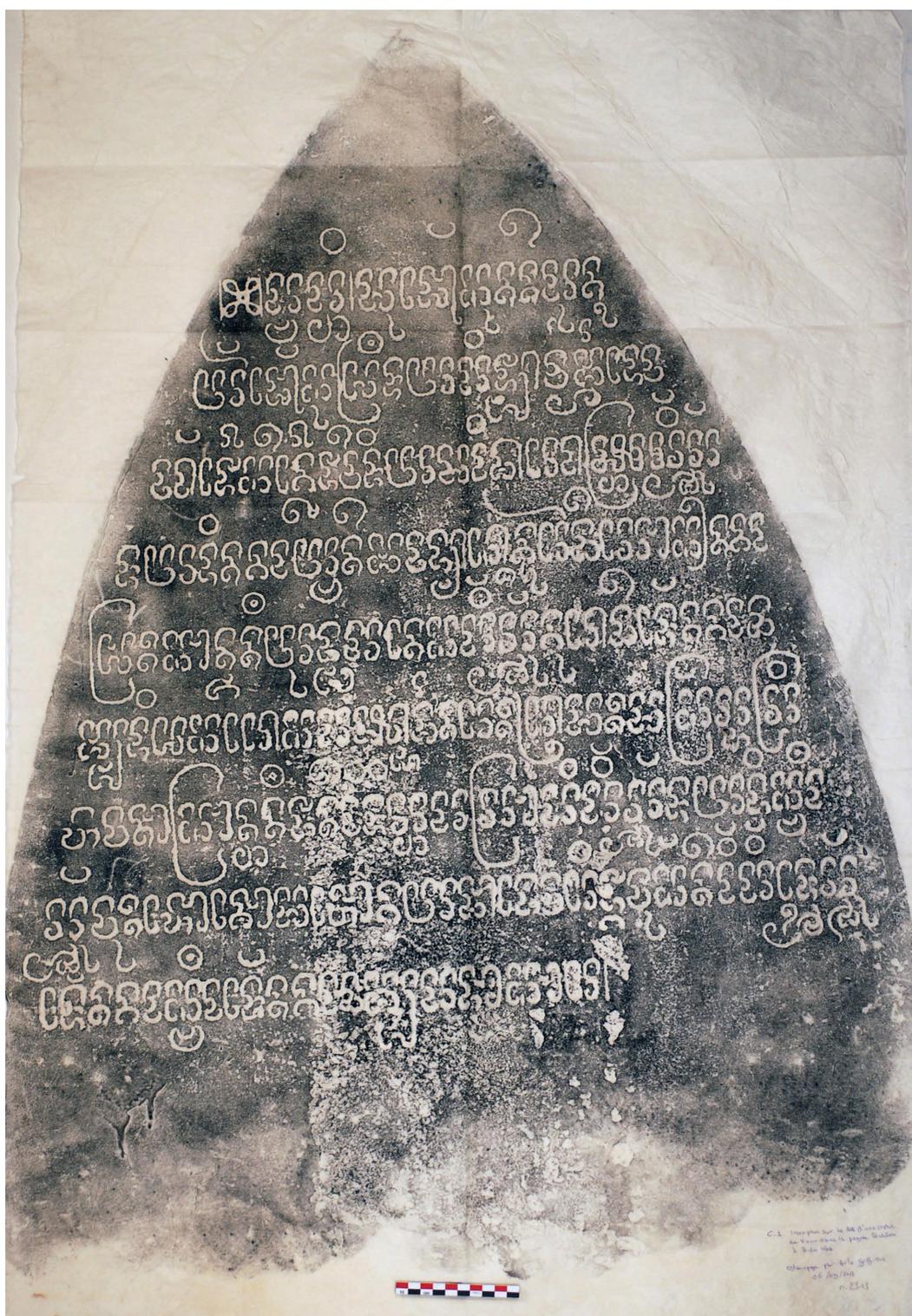


Figure 4. — EFO estampage n. 2313 for the inscription C. 1, Bửu Sơn Pagoda, Biên Hòa, Đồng Nai.

“Hail! The P.P.K.,¹⁶ son of Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva, man of Ņauk Glauñ Vijaya, was the protector of the realm. He had obtained victory in the land of the Viet, went out [and] returned to take¹⁷ this land of Braḥ Kāṇḍa [through] many battles.¹⁸ He has succeeded to create again (? *tmuv gulāc jeñ*) a Campa land in Śaka (3) worlds, half-of-eight (4), (3) fires, (1) king (i.e. in 1343 Śaka). He had this Tribhuvanākṛānta (i.e. Viṣṇu) made with *ri jittasatrāsi*¹⁹ he obtained victory in Cambodia and succeeded to give property and means of existence per deity for various *liṅgas*. Also: let the Khmer land never succeed in ruling it, but [let] the Campa land [rule it] forever.”

C. 42 Back of a Śiva statue from Drang Lai (Fig. 5)

- (1) sidaḥ yāñ poñ ku śrī bhṛ-
- (2) ṣuviṣṇujāti vīrabhadravarmadeva ā-
- (3) dīnāma poñ ciñ (ṇa)n· thāñ amā pu poñ ku
- (4) urāñ paramapūra nauk· glauñ vijaya pajah parok·
- (5) glai hayāv· pavañk· krauñ hayāv· parok· glai nap· jeñ
- (6) humā bhāñ ya doñ yvan· si pu poñ ku mak· di nagara yvan· vā
- (7) rai vuḥ sa pamṛmñ yāñ pu inā ja siddhi pu poñ ku yvā vriñ kire-
- (8) ndra dvā pluḥ kukuñ ka pu poñ ku gvac· | ṇan· ya doñ mahnākire-
- (9) ndra vukañn· ya syāñ rūpa ka pu poñ ku gvac· madā do[m] pramāna
- (10) pada(mñ)n· rūmaḥ vriñ nāma śrīsamṛmddhipurī pakṛmṭta kuṭī dakṣiṇā-
- (11) gni harmya nan· vriñ śilpakāra | rijan· śivaprathimāna pyauḥ bha-
- (12) nakti prathidinna di loka ṇan· paraloka dudiñ nau | mayvā di pu p-
- (13) oñ tana rayā dudiñ ya ḍṛmñ· rāja jmai paliñyak· rājadharma
- (14) 1331²⁰

“It is Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva. The original name of that (*ṇan*?) prince, like his father, P.P.K., is Man of the superior city Ņauk Glauñ Vijaya. He cleared and cut down the Hayāv (‘Fish’?) forest. He dammed the Hayāv river. He cut down the forest to make the Bhān ricefield.²¹ All the Viets whom P.P.K. captured in the land of the Viets, he brought [them] here. He gave one *pamṛmñ*²² to Milady the Mother who is Successful.²³ P.P.K. *yvā* (?)²⁴ gave *kirendras*,²⁵

16. The meanings of the elements of titles represented here in translation with the acronyms P.P.K., Y.P.K., etc. (see *ECIC* III, p. 441), have not yet been systematically investigated.

17. This is only one of the many meanings assigned to *tok* by Aymonier & Cabaton 1906, pp. 196–197. Using one of the other meanings, such as ‘only’, would yield a significantly different meaning. I am uncertain what is the actually intended meaning of this passage in the inscription.

18. The toponym Braḥ Kāṇḍa, which was thus far attested only in this inscription and has been variously identified by previous scholars, is now found twice in C. 225.

19. I am unable to interpret *ri*; as for *jittasatrāsi*, I guess that it may represent what would be *jitaśatru* (‘one who has conquered the enemies’) in Sanskrit.

20. Read from EFEO estampage n. 509 and the photo supplied by the Museum of Fine Art, Boston. The text published in Schweyer 2008a only comprises fragments of lines 1–6 and 12–14, so that it is not useful to cite variant readings.

21. It is not certain that *bhāñ* is a name. If it is a normal word, it might mean ‘dry’, ‘red’ or even ‘extant’, depending on how the spelling of this word is interpreted (see Aymonier & Cabaton 1906: 361–363).

22. Cf. Old Khmer *pamre* ‘servant’ (Pou 2004: 303)?

23. Cf. C. 43, face c l. 4 and Griffiths *et al.* 2012b: 217 n. 84.

24. Is this related to *mayvā* in l. 12 below? See n. 29.

25. Correct *mahnākirendra*? Cf. Griffiths *et al.* 2012b: 213 n. 35.

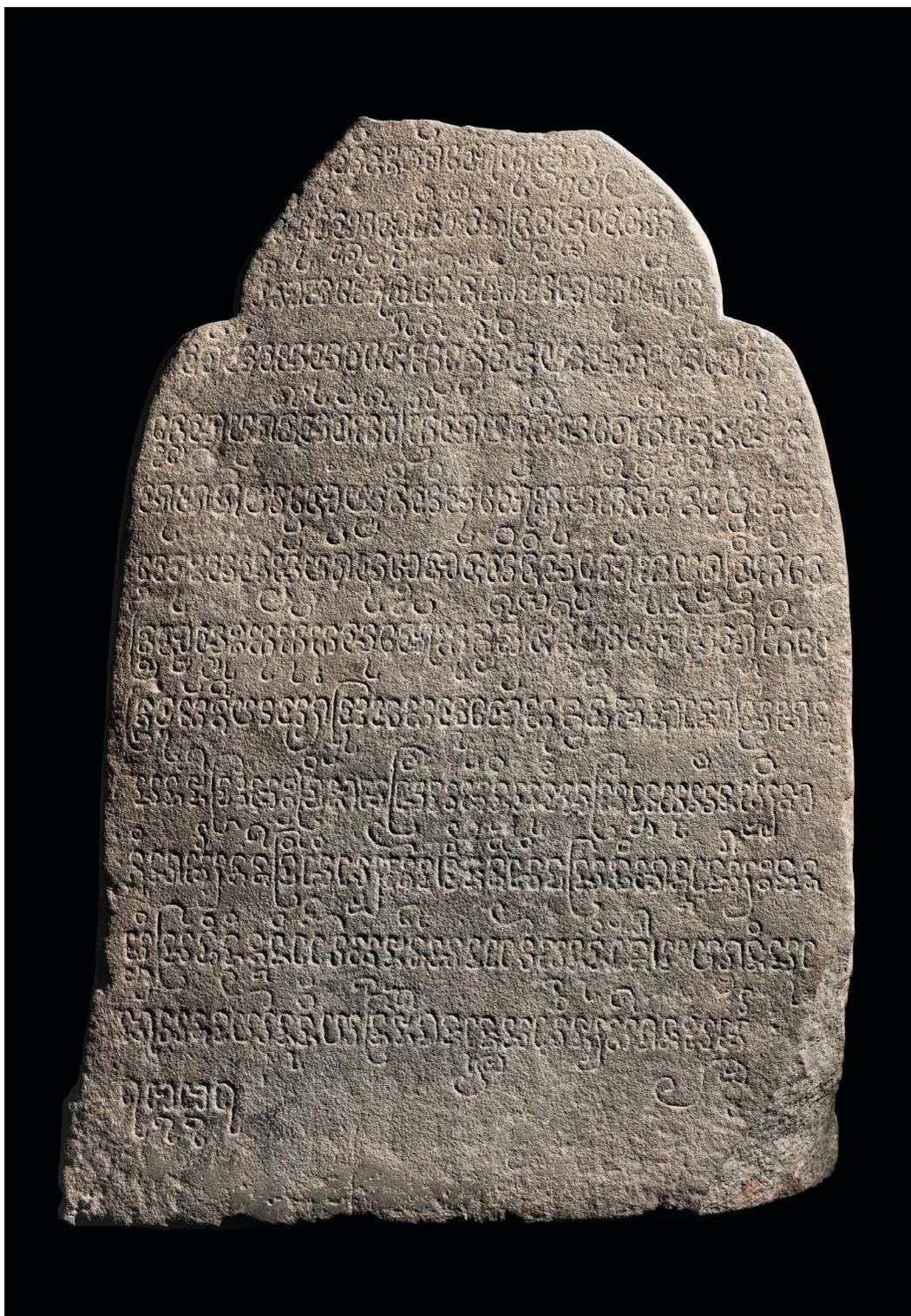


Figure 5. — Photograph of the inscription C. 42 on the back of Fig. 9.
Courtesy Museum of Fine Art, Boston.

twenty *kukum̃*,²⁶ to P.P.K. *gvac* together with all the other Montagnards who were beautiful in appearance²⁷ to P.P.K. *gvac* present in all provinces. He erected a temple giving it the name Śrīsamṛddhipurī. He had made²⁸ a chamber for the southern fire of that stronghold. He instructed an artisan to make a statue (*prathimānna* = *pratimā*?) of Śiva. [He admonished the population:] Let there be worship every day, with a view to (the prosperity of all and sunder in) the world [here] and later in the next world! Pay heed to²⁹ their majesties in the future who will hold the kingdom (*rāja* = *rājya*)! Do not destroy the king's foundation. [Engraved in the Śaka year] 1331.”

C. 161 Lower back of broken statue of Śiva from Chiêm Sơn

- (-7) {no signs remain readable}
 (-6) {no signs remain readable}
 (-5) ...] (de)śamaryyā(da) bhāja di na[...
 (-4) ...] gva hetu (ra)nakṣa (bh)āva jeṁ (dhar)mma [...
 (-3) (para)loka dudiṁ śivarūppa nī pyauḥ di nagara atmarā[...
 (-2) vriṁ śivācāryya di nagara ja bhaktī jeṁ dharmma mayvā di kṣatr[īya-]
 (-1) ja ya dṛṁ rāja dudiṁ jmai paliṅyak· (dh)armma di śaka 1365³⁰

“... rules of the land ... because he protected beings, that is why (*jeṁ*) the religious law (*dharma*) ... yonder world. In the future (*dudiṁ*), let these various images of Śiva be in the land of his own ... He ordered Śiva-priests in the land, who were faithful to the religious law, to pay heed to (? , *mayvā di*) those of noble birth (*kṣatriyaja*) in the future who will hold the kingdom (*rāja* = *rājya*)! Do not destroy the foundation (*dharma*)! [Engraved in the Śaka year] 1365.”

C. 214 Back of a statue of a Śivācārya from the Nhon Hải Peninsula (Fig. 6)

(oṁ)

- (1) ...] pu pa [...
 (2) ... p]u poṁ tana rayā ya dṛ[ṁ ...
 (3) ...] (na/n·) dadaṁn· varṇna urāṁ aviḥ
 (4) [[] svasti | yāṁ poṁ ku śrī vṛṣuviṣṇujātti vīrabhadrava[rm](m)[ade-]
 (5) va | bṛṣuvaṅṣa ādi pūra ṅgauk· glauṁ vijaya | prathamāviśeka
 (6) di śaka eka loka naya rāma taṁl· śaka rāja aggi vānu ca-
 (7) kṣu pu poṁ ku kā rijan· dhvajakaḥ paṅcākṣara klāḥ di pancedri-
 (8) ya klāḥ di paṅcatāppa ṅan· rijan· śattayaṅṅa paṅcamakutta
 (9) pu poṁ ku kā imyaṁ mvoḥ vākya yāṁ poṁ ku śrī jayasiṅghavarmma-

26. Cf. C. 43, face c l. 6 and Griffiths *et al.* 2012b: 217 n. 86. From the context, it seems that *kukum̃* might have functioned as a numeral classifier for humans, equivalent to *driṁ* in other Cam inscriptions, but I cannot connect it confidently to any known Cam word.

27. This is reminiscent of the adjectives *sulakṣaṇa* and *sampūrnalakṣaṇa* in C. 43 face c, ll. 4–6.

28. *paḥṛm̃tta* = *pa-kṛta*, causative prefix on Sanskrit form *kṛta* meaning ‘made’?

29. Cf. the occurrences of *mayvā* also in C. 161 and C. 214. Neither of the two words *yvā* recorded in Aymerier & Cabaton 1906, p. 401 seems to suit all contexts. My translation ‘pay heed’ is a contextual guess.

30. After the edition in Griffiths *et al.* 2012b. — (5) (*de*)śamaryyā(da)◇the reading is partly conjectural, and our proposal is based on the supposition that we have here a synonym for the expression *janapadamaryyādā* that is found in the (much older) inscriptions C. 72 and C. 217. — (4–3) ... *paraloka*◇in view of the sequence *rijan· śivaprathimānna pyauḥ bhanakti prathidinna di loka ṅan· paraloka dudiṁ* occurring in C. 42, ll. 11–12, we are tempted to restore *di loka ṅan·* at the end of line -4. — (3) *atmarā*[...◇the initial *a* is surprising, for one expects *ātma-*, perhaps to be restored as *ātmaraṣṭra* or *ātmaraḥ(y)a*.

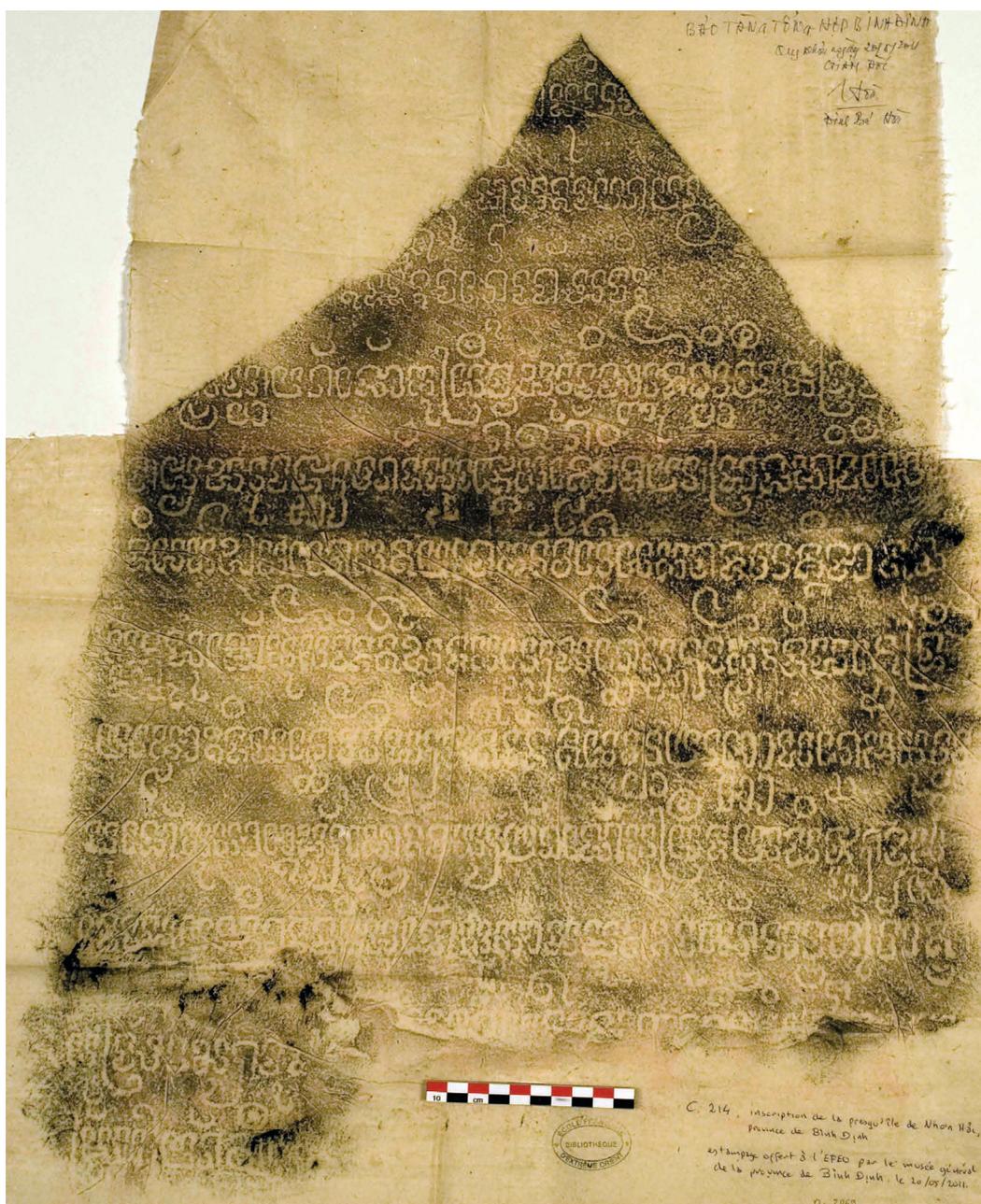


Figure 6. — EFO estampage n. 2069 for the inscription C. 214, on the back of Fig. 13.

(10) deva mayvā di rāja dudiṃ pu poṃ ku kā mapunaḥ vumvoṃ pavvak· anva-

(11) k(·) vriṃṃ adhyā vuḥ {2} vuḥ (ha°i)n· humā {6}

(12) (m)raṃk· yāṃ nī ||³¹

31. Read from EFO estampage n. 2069 and from the photos of an uninked estampage held at the Musée Guimet kindly put at my disposal by A.-V. Schweyer. — (om̃)◊ the trace of a sign above line 1 is likely to have

“... P.P.T.R. has assumed kingship ... various classes of all men.

Hail! His majesty Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, [whose name] begins with Vṛṣuvarṣa, [who hails from] the capital of Nāuk Glauṇ Vijaya, who had his first royal consecration in Śaka one, (3) worlds, (4) policies, (3) Rāmas (i.e. in 1343 Śaka): it came to pass (*taṃl*) in Śaka (1) king, (3) fires, (5) arrows (?), (2) eyes (i.e. in 1352 Śaka) that P.P.K. performed a banner-ritual (? *dhvajakalpa*) of the five-syllable (mantra) without the five senses, without the five penances and he performed a hundredfold-offering of five crowns. P.P.K. then saw and realised (? *imyaṃ mvoḥ*) the instruction (? *vākya*) of his majesty Śrī Jayasimhavarṣadeva to pay heed to future kings. P.P.K. then restored the sanctuary, *pavvak* an *anvak*, gave *adhyā*, offered ..., offered ... land ... this god.”

C. 215 Upper back of broken statue of Śiva from Chiēm Son (Fig. 7)

o[ṃ]
nama śivāya

- (1) {ca. 6 akṣaras} yāṃ poṃ ku śrī śrīndraviṣṇukīrtti vīrabhadravarmmade-
- (2) [va] {ca. 4 akṣ.} (r)mma pūra urāṃ nāuk· glauṇ· vijaya pu poṃ ku nan· ticauvv· yāṃ
- (3) [poṃ ku śrī] (ja)yasiṅhavarṣadeva ticauvv· pu poṃ vyā parameśvarī pu poṃ ku
- (4) kumman· yāṃ poṃ ku śrī braṣu indravarmmadeva paramotbhava di yāṃ pu śrī
- (5) rājaparamātmaja yāṃ pu yuvarāja yāṃ poṃ ku śrī śrīndraviṣṇukīrtti vīra-
- (6) bhadravarmmadeva pu poṃ ku śivabhaktātireka tadyoṃ di dharmmopapāti jan·
- (7) samastapunyadharmma makapun· (tha)l(y)a (tha)ṃkrammasatā(ka) dhūppa vada kā(la) {1}
- (8) {illegible}³²

“Om. Homage to Śiva! ... Y.P.K. Śrī Śrīndraviṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva ... [who hails from] the capital, man of Nāuk Glauṇ Vijaya. That P.P.K. was the grandson of Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasimhavarṣadeva, the grandson of P.P.V. Parameśvarī P.P.K., the nephew of Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu Indravarmadeva, of supreme birth among the illustrious lords supreme princes. [He was] Y.P. the heir apparent. Y.P.K. Śrī Śrīndraviṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva P.P.K., of unsurpassed devotion to Śiva, faithful³³ to the production of *dharma*, carried out all meritorious gifts (*dharma*), such as: ... incense ...”

been the descending part of this invocation. — [l]◇space does not seem sufficient for a more substantial liminal sign, and comparison with the layout of C. 128 suggests that only a *daṇḍa* originally preceded *svasti* here. — (5) *pūra ṅgauk· glauṇ vijaya*◇cf. C. 43, face A, l. 3 *pūra nāuk glauṇ vijaya*. — *prathamāviśeka*◇understand *prathamābhiśeka* (cf. C. 43, face A, l. 1–2 for the same spelling). Or *pratimābhiśeka* (cf. C. 42, l. 11)? — (6) *aggi*◇understand *agni*. — (7–8) *pancedriya*◇we suppose that one must understand *pañcendriya*. Note also the repeated spelling of *ṅc* for *ñc*. — (10) *kā mapunaḥ*◇or analyse *kāma punaḥ*? Cf. C. 43, face A, l. 15 *kā ma°udyāna* (or *kāma udyāna*?).

32. Read from EFEO estampage n. 2129. — (1) *-viṣṇukīrtti*◇*-viṣṇumūrtti* Schweyer. — (2) [va] [?](r)mma *pūra*◇[va ca]mpapūra Schweyer. — *nan*◇*nagara* Schweyer. — (3) [poṃ ku śrī] (ja)yasiṅhavarṣadeva◇[ja]ya siṅhavarṣadeva Schweyer. There is definitely place for several more syllables than Schweyer assumes, and comparison with other inscriptions shows that *poṃ ku śrī* is a fixed part of the royal title. — *vyā parameśvarī*◇this sequence was not read by Schweyer, although the letters are clear, and the same sequence figures in C. 11 A, l. 3 and C. 22 A, l. 3. — (4) *paramotbhava di*◇*paramottara niy* Schweyer. For *paramodbhava* (of which *paramotbhava* represents a deviant spelling), see C. 11 A, l. 3 and C. 31 A1, l. 2 (a form *paramottara* is not attested, and the reading is clearly *-va*, not *-ra*). — (5) *rājaparamātmaja*◇*rājaparamā*. . . Schweyer. The letters unread by Schweyer are clear. — *pu yuvarāja*◇*pov ku yubarāja* Schweyer. — *-viṣṇukīrtti*◇*-viṣṇumūrtti* Schweyer. — (6–7) *śivabhaktātireka*◇Schweyer does not transliterate any further akṣaras after *śiva*.

33. The word *tadyoṃ* is also found in C. 22 A, l. 15. It must be a derivation with prefix *ta-* (Thurgood 1999: 239–241) from base *dyoṃ* (Aymonier & Cabaton 1906: 230).

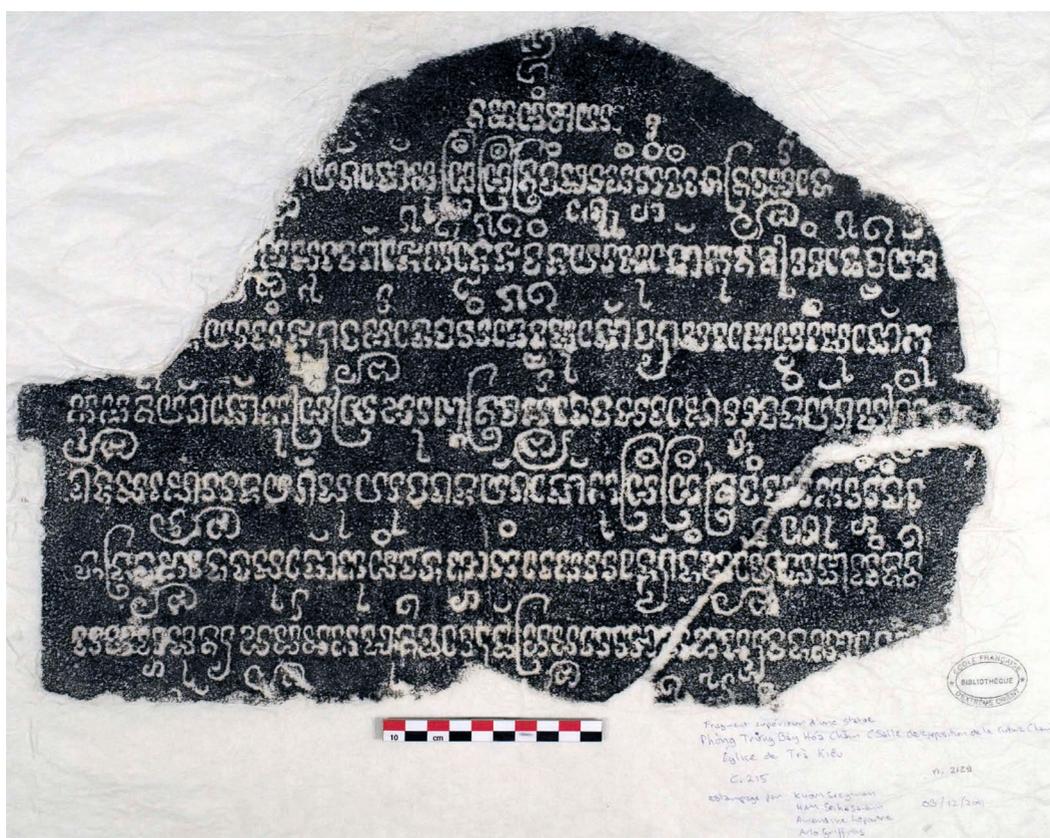


Figure 7. — EFOO estampage n. 2129 for the inscription C. 215, Chiêm Sơn Tây, Quảng Nam.

Titles and Pedigree of the King or Kings Called Virabhadravarmadeva

Even a casual perusal of the translations offered above will show that much is still unclear in the study of these Old Cam texts. They present formidable problems of interpretation on the lexical and grammatical levels, and one of the most effective means of interpretation at our disposal is to make corpus-internal comparisons. Such comparisons reveal, among other things, a bewildering degree of variation in the opening formulas comprising the titles of the issuing ruler(s), part of which are indications of his/their royal descent, no doubt in support of his/their claim to the throne.

I present here all the relevant passages, both from published and from unpublished inscriptions, with repetition of those presented in the preceding section.³⁴ The passages from dated inscriptions come first, in chronological order; those from undated inscriptions stand at the end. Some of my readings are very provisional, and so are my translations. I do not provide here any of the many notes that would be necessary to justify the way I interpret the texts. Spellings are somewhat simplified, and editorial brackets removed. I briefly indicate under each entry the information that is crucial for my discussion below.

34. I follow the model of presentation of Finot (1928: 291–292).

C. 47, citadel in Bình Định, 1323 Śaka = 1401/2 CE

nī trā madā bṛṣuvaṅṣa sidah yāṃ poṃ ku śrī jayasīṅhavarmmadeva śrī harijātti vīrasīṅha cam-papūra pu poṃ ku draṃṇ rāja paripūrṇa dvādaśa varśa kā jīvaṅgatta nau śivasthāṇna di bhūma yāṃ vavaḥ krauṇ yāṃ poṃ ku śrī vṛṣuviṣṇujātti vīrabhadravarmmadeva ātmaja nan draṃṇ rāja

“There was also this one of the Bṛṣu lineage, namely Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasīṅhavarmmadeva, Śrī Harijāti³⁵ heroic lion³⁶ of the Campā city. P.P.K. bore the full kingship for twelve years. Then he perished and went to Śiva’s abode in the land of the god of the mouth of the river. Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmmadeva, his son, bore the kingship.”

Here a king Vīrabhadravarmmadeva bears the name Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti. He was the son of king Śrī Jayasīṅhavarmmadeva, Śrī Harijāti.

C. 42, Drang Lai temple in Gia Lai, 1331 Śaka = 1409/10 CE

sidah yāṃ pov ku śrī bṛṣuviṣṇujātti vīrabhadravarmmadeva ādīnāma poṃ ciṃ ṇan thāṃ amā pu poṃ ku urāṃ paramapūra ṅauk glauṃ vijaya

“It is Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmmadeva. The original name of that (*ṇan?*) prince, like his father, P.P.K., is man of the superior city ṅauk Glauṃ Vijaya.”

Here a king Vīrabhadravarmmadeva again bears the name Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti. His original name was ‘Man of ṅauk Glauṃ Vijaya’.

C. 1, Bửu Sơn Pagoda in Biên Hòa, 1343 Śaka = 1421/2 CE

pu poṃ ku nan sūṇnu yāṃ poṃ ku śrī jayasīṅhavarmmadeva urāṃ ṅauk glauṃ vijaya paripāla rāṣṭra

“The P.P.K., son of Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasīṅhavarmmadeva, man of ṅauk Glauṃ Vijaya, was the protector of the realm.”

Here a king called ‘Man of ṅauk Glauṃ Vijaya’, is said to be son of a Śrī Jayasīṅhavarmmadeva.

C. 214, Nhon Hải Peninsula in Bình Định, 1352 Śaka = 1430/1 CE

yāṃ poṃ ku śrī vṛṣuviṣṇujātti vīrabhadravarmmadeva | bṛṣuvaṅṣa ādi pūra ṅauk glauṃ vijaya | prathamāviśeka di śaka eka-loka-naya-rāma

“His majesty Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmmadeva, [whose name] begins with Vṛṣuvaṅṣa, [who hails from] the capital of ṅauk Glauṃ Vijaya, who had his first royal consecration in Śaka one, (three) worlds, (four) policies, (three) Rāmas (i.e. in 1343 Śaka) . . .”

Here a king Vīrabhadravarmmadeva bears the name Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti and is associated with a capital at ṅauk Glauṃ Vijaya. His first royal consecration is dated to 1343 Śaka.

C. 43, Drang Lai temple in Gia Lai, 1357 Śaka = 1435 CE

madā paramarājotauma sa dṛiṃ prathamarājāviśeka dṛiṃ nāma yāṃ poṃ ku śrī vṛṣuviṣṇujātti vīrabhadravarmmadeva pu poṃ ku pūra ṅauk glauṃ vijaya dṛiṃ rāja di śaka sidah ṛṣi-pāvaka-agni-rūpa | dunan sūṇnu yāṃ poṃ ku śrī jayasīṅhavarmmadeva pu poṃ ku vṛṣuvaṅṣa paramabhūmyāddhipa vīrasīṅha campa pu poṃ ku nan samīpapṛāṇna take śivasthāṇna aviśekha rāja di paratmaja nan

35. This is quite clearly a synonym of the element Viṣṇujāti found elsewhere.

36. This translates the element Vīrasīṅha (also found in C. 43, below, and in the unpublished, possibly 11th-century inscription C. 54), which might also be interpreted as a name. It seems to be an amalgamation of the names Jayasīṅhavarmmadeva and Vīrabhadravarmmadeva.

“There once was a most excellent best of kings, one and only. By his first royal consecration he bore the name Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, the P.P.K. of the capital Nāuk Glaun Vijaya. He acceded to the kingdom in Śaka seers-fires-fires-form (1337). That [king] was the son of Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva, P.P.K. of the Vṛṣu dynasty, supreme sovereign of the earth, heroic lion of Campā. That P.P.K. (Jayasimhavarmadeva), his life having come to an end, went to the abode of Śiva. The royal consecration for (*di?*) that foremost son (Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva) [took place].”

Here a king Vīrabhadravarmadeva bears the name Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti, is associated with Nāuk Glaun Vijaya, and said to be the son of a Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva. The beginning of his reign is dated to 1337 Śaka.

C. 56, Núi Ben Lang in Bình Định, 1358 Śaka = 1436/7 CE³⁷

pu poṃ ku sūnnu yān poṃ ku śrī jayasimhavarmadeva braṣuvaṅṣa pu poṃ ku dṛm̃n rāja dvau triṅṣa aviśeka dṛm̃n nāmma yān poṃ ku śrī vṛṣu^oinravarmadeva

“P.P.K., the son of Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva of the Vṛṣu dynasty — P.P.K. who took the kingship in [year] thirty-two [of his reign] —, was consecrated and bore the name Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu-Indravarmadeva.”

Here a son of king Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva of the Vṛṣu dynasty is said to have been consecrated in year thirty-two with the name Śrī Vṛṣu-Indravarmadeva.

C. 237, Tur Lương in Gia Lai, 1360 Śaka = 1438/9 CE

madā paramarājādhirāja ātmaja di yān poṃ ku jayasimhavarma vṛṣuvaṅṣa pu poṃ ku pura rājagrāmma nāuk glaun vijaya duṅan draṃ rāja yvan kvīra marai tupak ṣuḥ khin rajan yuddha trā taṃl dvau triṅṣa abhiśeka draṃ inravarma...

“There once was a supreme overlord of kings, son unto Y.P.K. Jayasimhavarman of the Vṛṣu dynasty, the P.P.K. of the city of the royal residence Nāuk Glaun Vijaya. When he assumed sovereignty, Dai Viet and Cambodia came openly to attack, wishing to make war again. In [the year] thirty-two [of his reign], he received consecration taking (the name) Indravarma ...”

Here a son of king Jayasimhavarman of the Vṛṣu dynasty, associated with Nāuk Glaun Vijaya, is said to have received the consecration Indravarma in year thirty-two.

C. 57, Cà Xóm in Bình Định, date not yet understood³⁸

madā kṣatriyānvaya sā dṛim̃ dunan yān poṃ ku śrī vṛṣuvaṅṣaviṣṇujāti vīrabhadravarmadeva pu poṃ ku ya ādināmma lyān poṃ ciṃ tatajhñā ciṃ parammapūtarām̃ - - gravīra yān pu poṃ ku ciṃ devi yān poṃ ku śrī jayasimhavarmadeva | ticauv yān poṃ ku śrī vṛṣu^oinravarmma viṣṇujāti vīrabhadravarmadeva | pu poṃ ku nagara maṃñ yān poṃ ku śrī śrīnraviṣṇukīrtti vīrabhadravarmadeva pu poṃ ku sidaḥ anuja yān poṃ ku śrī saṅṣāramūrtti vṛṣujaya vīrabhadravarmadeva |

“There was one of noble descent, the one and only Y.P.K. Śrī Viṣṇujāti of the Vṛṣu dynasty, Vīrabhadravarmadeva, P.P.K., whose original name was ... prince foremost son ... of Y.P.K. princess of Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva, grandson of Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu-Indravarma-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva. P.P.K. of the state then was Y.P.K. Śrī Śrīndra-Viṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, P.P.K. namely the younger brother of Y.P.K. Śrī Saṃsāramūrti (?) Vṛṣujaya Vīrabhadravarmadeva.”

37. See n. 10.

38. Provisional reading. See above, p. 198.

This document features a king Vīrabhadravarmadeva who bears the name Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti, is associated with Nāuk Glaun Vijaya, and said to be the son of a Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva. The latter is said to be the grandson of a certain Śrī Vṛṣu-Indravarmadeva, a name we saw under C. 56 and C. 237 associated with an apparently different Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva. We also see the name Vīrabhadravarmadeva associated with names Śrī Śrīndra-Viṣṇukīrti and Śrī Saṁsāramūrti-Vṛṣujaya, clearly different from the Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti that we saw just above and in most of the preceding entries.

C. 215, Chiêm Sơn in Quảng Nam, date unknown, possibly 1365 Śaka = 1443/4 CE

yāṁ poṁ ku śrī śrīndraviṣṇukīrtti vīrabhadravarmadeva - - - (r)mma pūra urāṁ nāuk glaun vijaya pu poṁ ku nan ticauvv yāṁ poṁ ku śrī jayasimhavarmadeva ticauvv pu poṁ vyā parameśvarī pu poṁ ku kumman yāṁ poṁ ku śrī braṣu°indravarmadeva paramotbhava di yāṁ pu śrī rājaparamātmaja yāṁ pu yuvarāja yāṁ poṁ ku śrī śrīndraviṣṇukīrtti vīrabhadravarmadeva

“Y.P.K. Śrī Śrīndraviṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva ... [who hails from] the capital, man of Nāuk Glaun Vijaya. That P.P.K. was the grandson of Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva, the grandson of P.P.V. Parameśvarī P.P.K., the nephew of Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu-Indravarmadeva, of supreme birth among the illustrious lords supreme princes. [He was] Y.P. the heir apparent. Y.P.K. Śrī Śrīndraviṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva P.P.K. ...”

This document features a king Vīrabhadravarmadeva who bears the same name Śrīndraviṣṇukīrti that we saw under C. 57, but the present Vīrabhadravarmadeva is associated with Nāuk Glaun Vijaya as was the Vīrabhadravarmadeva called Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti. He is likewise said to be the son of a Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva who is here said to be the nephew of a certain Śrī Vṛṣu-Indravarmadeva (while in C. 57 a Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva was said to be grandson of a Śrī Vṛṣu-Indravarmadeva).

C. 225, Hòa Diêm in Khánh Hòa, date unreadable³⁹

ni trā madā paramarājādhirāja sidaḥ yāṁ poṁ ku śrī vṛṣuviṣṇujāti vīrabhadravarmadeva urā(ṅ) pura nāuk glaun vijaya paramātmaja di yāṁ poṁ ku śrī jayasimhavarmadeva

“There was also this one, the supreme overlord of kings, namely Y.P.K. Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, man of the city of Nāuk Glaun Vijaya, foremost son of Y.P.K. Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva.”

Here a king Vīrabhadravarmadeva bears the name Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti, is associated with Nāuk Glaun Vijaya, and said to be the son of a Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva.

One of the inherent problems in interpreting Cam texts is that there is little punctuation, and what little there is does not always seem to be a safe guide towards dividing the text into syntactic units. However, one recurrent pattern seems to be the occurrence of names with a title element ending with a Sanskrit word with suffix *-ti* (*-kīrti*, *-jāti*, perhaps also *-mūrti*) preceding a title element in *-deva*. If we take this pattern as guide, and ignore cases that do not conform to it (e.g. Śrīharijāti in C. 47), then we can list the following figures (with normalised spelling):

- Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva
C. 42, C. 47, C. 214, C. 43, C. 225 (cf. also C. 1)
son of Śrī Jayasimhavarmadeva

39. Provisional reading. See above, p. 201 and n. 12.

- Vṛṣu-Indravarmadeva
C. 56, C. 57, C. 215, C. 237
son of Śrī Jayasimhavarmandeva
apparently identical to Śrī Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva
- Śrīndra-Viṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva
C. 57, C. 215
grandson of Jayasimhavarmandeva, nephew of Vṛṣu-Indravarmadeva
- Saṃsāramūrti (?) Vṛṣujaya Vīrabhadravarmadeva
C. 57

I find it hard to avoid the conclusion that we are dealing with more than a single royal figure sharing the element Vīrabhadravarmadeva in their titles, and at least two generations of descent from Jayasimhavarmandeva. The king Śrīndra-Viṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva (C. 57, C. 215)⁴⁰ quite certainly seems to have been a different figure from the Vṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti Vīrabhadravarmadeva whom we encounter in the majority of the other inscriptions.

I also find it hard to avoid the impression that we are dealing, in this corpus of significant depth in time and breadth in space, with related royal figures, so I cannot accept Michael Vickery's statement that "the North (Quảng Nam, Thu Bồn and beyond) was always quite separate from the South (Nha Trang and Phan Rang)", and even that "there was never a unified Champa" (2011: 405, 408).

Part of my argument against Vickery's assertions relies on the assumption that the inscriptions C. 161 and C. 215, both unearthened in the Chiêm Sơn valley near Trà Kiệu in Quảng Nam, were never "moved from their place of origin" (Schweyer 2008a: 224) but, contrary to this claim of Schweyer's, were originally erected in that part of the country. It must be noted that these two inscriptions are both fragments, one engraved on the upper, the other on the lower back-slab of a sculpture; the one fragment shows the torso of a possible Śiva, the other the lap of a deity sitting on a bull, i.e. almost certainly also a Śiva; the one opens with the title of Śrīndra-Viṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, grandson of Jayasimhavarmandeva, the other ends with the Śaka year 1365, which is the latest recorded year of the corpus. I was therefore tempted to consider that these two inscriptions, C. 215 and C. 161, originally belonged together as top and bottom. The measurements of the stones seemed to allow this hypothesis, although both fragments have suffered a lot precisely in the place where the pieces would have been joined, so it is hard to get any certainty from measurement, and it is not likely that physically trying to join the two pieces would yield clear confirmation either. I have measured the size of the letters of the two inscriptions, and the result was a certain discrepancy in size, so that this criterion casts some doubt upon the hypothesis. My colleague Véronique Degroot has tried to recompose my photos of the two pieces (Fig. 8), and the result is again less than persuasive. It therefore remains rather doubtful that the two pieces belong together, and so it seems that we have two separate inscriptions. Even so, I believe it is reasonable to hypothesize a connection of contemporaneity between the two, based on the geographical proximity of their provenances. It is on this basis that I attribute C. 215 (undated) to around 1365 Śaka = 1443/4 CE (i.e. the date of C. 161), and hypothesize that Śrīndra-Viṣṇukīrti Vīrabhadravarmadeva, otherwise known only from the

40. As indicated in n. 32, the central element of this figure's title was misread as Viṣṇumūrti in C. 215 by Schweyer (2008a). From the point of view of my argument here, the correct reading of this element is crucial.



Figure 8. — The fronts (a) and the backs (b) of the broken sculptural steles bearing inscriptions C. 161 and C. 215. Hypothetical recomposition by Véronique Degroot.

inscription C. 57 (from the northern extremity of Bình Định), ruled some relatively northerly part of Campā in the early 1440s of our era. The implication that a single ruler left inscriptions both in northern Bình Định and in the Chiêm Sơn valley suggests that there may have been a greater degree of territorial integration than Vickery was able to detect. The combined data from C. 161 and C. 215, moreover, seem to require a revision of the notion that all territory in Quảng Nam had been lost for Campā by the beginning of the 15th century.



Figure 9. — Sculptural stele from Drang Lai in Gia Lai, bearing C. 42, now at Museum of Fine Art, Boston, inv. no. 1986.331. Courtesy Museum of Fine Art.



Figure 10. — Sculptural stele from Đai Hữu in Bình Định, bearing C. 128. Photo Bertrand Porte.

The Relationship between Inscribed Texts and Inscription-Bearing Images

Having concentrated on questions of domestic political history so far, I wish to turn now to the iconography of the images whose back-slabs are engraved with the inscriptions presented above, and to the relationship between texts and images. This will allow me to illuminate how these inscription-bearing images might be seen as reflecting Campā's international connections.

The sculptures found at Chiêm Sơn in Quảng Nam, bearing the inscriptions C. 161 and C. 215, just mentioned, belong to a group of images of Śiva bearing trident (*triśūla*) and sword (*khadga*) and wearing a snake as sacred thread (*vajñōpavīta*). I am aware of one other example of such a Śiva mounted on his Bull. It is the intact sculpture bearing the inscription C. 42 (Fig. 9), found much further south at Drang Lai in Gia Lai. These images belong to one group with the images of Śiva wearing the same attributes, or the goad (*aṅkuśa*) instead of the sword (Boisselier 1963: figs. 236–237; cf. also p. 265, figs. 170–171). It is interesting to observe that the Cam inscription C. 42 (presented above) speaks of the king 'instructing an artisan to make a statue of Śiva', with the odd word *śivapratimāna* presumably bearing the meaning of the Sanskrit expression *śivapratimā* 'statue of Śiva'.

Another contemporary image, from Đai Hữu in Bình Định (Fig. 10), bearing inscription C. 128, has been identified by some scholars as Śiva too (Parmentier 1909: 214 and 1918: 404,

fig. 108; Schweyer 2008a: 224, 228, fig. 10). Boisselier (1963: 384) was also inclined to this identification, but remained more prudent:⁴¹

... the deity wears as headdress a cylindrical mitre that we had never seen before. The jewellery consisting in beaded ornaments also seems to be a novelty, as does the simplification of the *yajnopavīta*. The gesture of the hands, holding the rosary, is not attested elsewhere for Cham Śivas but recalls the one that is known for Ṛṣis from the Thâp-mâm style onwards (fig. 183). The rounded flap of the garment, the cylindrical mitre, decorated with a vertical inscription read 'oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' by E. Durand, are reminiscent of the same Ṛṣis. Still, we are not dealing with any kind of ascetic; the image, represented in the round, includes a kind of highly decorated nimbus that we had never yet seen in the case of ascetics; his garment and jewellery are also much richer. No doubt we are dealing with a Śiva as ascetic or, at the very least, a Śaiva saint. The influence of the iconography of the Ṛṣis in any case appears certain...

Boisselier was certainly right in drawing a connection with the so-called Ṛṣi images (e.g., Figs. 11–12). But the best comparison comes from an image that is thus far unpublished, bearing the inscription C. 214, found in a pagoda on the Nhon Hâi Peninsula facing the city of Quy Nhon in the same province of Bình Định (Fig. 13). The two images indeed share many traits: posture, mitre with akṣara *oṃ* inscribed on it, horizontal sectarian marks on the forehead, big earrings, beard, armlets on the upper arms, sacred thread, rosary dangling between the right hand, which is raised, and the left, which forms a support.

We see that Boisselier was hesitant. On the one hand, he thought he saw on the Đại Hữu image a nimbus proving that this image must represent a deity, but he still left open the possibility that it represents rather a Śaiva saint, i.e., at least in origin, a human.⁴² The top of the back-slab of the Nhon Hâi image is broken off, so that we cannot confirm that this image had anything on the upper front of the slab comparable to what Boisselier identified as nimbus on the Đại Hữu sculpture. But I do not think this is very important. Either way, it seems that we must identify these images as Śaiva saints, or, to use the term that is actually mentioned in the inscription C. 161 presented above: *śivācārya*. The contents of C. 214, whose text has also been presented above, although not mentioning the word as such, are clearly inspired by Śaiva ascetic practices,⁴³

41. "... la divinité est coiffée d'une mitre cylindrique que nous n'avions jamais encore observée. La parure constituée d'ornements perlés paraît être aussi une nouveauté comme la simplification du *yajnopavīta*. Le geste des mains, tenant le rosaire, n'est pas attesté par ailleurs pour les Śiva chams mais il rappelle celui connu pour les ṛṣi depuis le style de Thâp-mâm (fig. 183). Le pan arrondi du vêtement, la mitre cylindrique, ornée ici d'une inscription verticale lue «oṃ namaḥ Śivāya» par E. Durand, évoquent ces mêmes ṛṣi. Il ne s'agit pourtant pas d'un quelconque ascète; l'image traitée en ronde-bosse, comporte une sorte de nimbe très décoré que nous n'avions jamais observé pour les ascètes; son vêtement et sa parure sont aussi beaucoup plus riches. Sans doute s'agit-il d'un Śiva ascète ou, à tout le moins, d'un Saint śivaïte. L'influence de l'iconographie des ṛṣi paraît, en tout cas, certaine..."

42. It is clear from the material presented in Chattopadhyay, Ray & Majumder 2013 that such Śaiva saints have in many cases come to be worshiped and represented as gods.

43. Note the repeated play on the number five, of great symbolic significance both in esoteric and in lay Śaiva practice. On this point, I may cite a personal communication from Alexis Sanderson, whom I have consulted about this inscription (email 23 May 2011): "I don't think that the word *pañca* indicates a Pāsupata connection. The Siddhānta too is pentadic: *pañca vaktrāṇi* faces (Tatpuruṣa etc.), five Brahmamantras, five *kalāḥ* (*nivṛtīḥ* etc.), *pañca kṛtyāni* (*śṛṣṭiḥ* etc.), etc. The *pañcākṣara* of the inscription indicates rather a universal Śaiva orientation, one that includes the uninitiated laity, the *pañcākṣara* being the *sarvasāmānyamantra*, which any devotee can employ: [*oṃ*] *namaḥ śivāya*. I guess that *pañcatāppa* = *pañcatapa*[h], which is seen widely in brahmanical and Śaiva sources, referring to the ascetic practice of sitting in summer under the hot sun surrounded by four fires. I guess that *pañcamakutta* = *pañcamakuṭa*, but do not remember having seen this expression and can offer no explanation with confidence. Perhaps it refers to a crown with panels representing the five faces of Śiva (the five *brahmāṇi*), like the *makuta* worn by Buddhist Tantric *ācāryas* with five panels, one for each of the Tathāgatas."



Figure 11. — Image of a hermit at the Museum of Cham Sculpture at Đà Nẵng, inv. no. 44.13. Photo Arlo Griffiths.



Figure 12. — Image of a hermit at the Museum of Cham Sculpture at Đà Nẵng, inv. no. 44.263. Photo Arlo Griffiths.



Figure 13. — Sculptural stele from Phật Lôi pagoda on Nhơn Hải Peninsula, Bình Định, bearing C. 214. Photo Đinh Bá Hòa.



Figure 14. — Heavily damaged image of a hermit at the Nha Trưng Bày Lịch Sử – Văn Hóa Hội An, inv. no. BTHA 56/ĐA 02 = 19/Đ02. Photo Arlo Griffiths.

and it therefore makes most sense, in my opinion, to interpret the image as likewise representing a *śivācārya*, i.e. a Śaiva master.

Freestanding images in high relief with a related iconography are known in Campā (Figs. 14–15), and are also known in Java (Figs. 16, 17) as well as various regions of India (Figs. 18–20). It seems that the mitres in our two 15th-century sculptures correspond to large hair knots in other cases. It is the Indian images, several of which are inscribed, which help to fix the identification of these images as Śaiva saints. These figures appear to have played an important role in the religious life of various regions of the Śaiva world from the second half of the first millennium onwards, as attested by literary sources and abundant sculptural representations from India (notably in Bengal and in the Deccan), through Java to Campā.⁴⁴ More particularly, it seems, in view of the commissioning of these sculptures in 15th-century Campā by historical figures named Vīrabhadra — a name not previously attested in the Campā epigraphical record —, that this new iconographic type may be seen as a local reflection of the rise of the cult of the Śaiva god Vīrabhadra towards the 14th century in parts of India, notably in the Deccan.⁴⁵ They would hence be witness to the endurance or resurfacing of Śaiva networks across Asia well beyond what Alexis Sanderson has called ‘The Śaiva Age’.⁴⁶

We need not rely only on iconography to establish the connection between Campā, Java and India during this period: it is confirmed in one of the 15th-century inscriptions, the recently published stele of Drang Lai (C. 43). Like many other inscriptions, this one too gives a list of slaves of various ethnic origins offered to the service of a temple of Śiva. Indeed, this list is the most elaborate that I know in all of Campā epigraphy (face B, lines 22–23), and it includes a mention of Bengalis that must be among the earliest attestations of this specific ethnonym found in Southeast Asia:

ñan· campā si (vu)[h] dauk· di ñauk· nī ñan· lauvv· yvan· kur· syaṃ [ja]vā vaṅgalā aviḥ 170
 ‘And [men of] Campā whom he ordered to reside here in the highlands, with Laos, Viets,
 Khmers, Siamese, Javanese, Bengalis: all of them 170.’⁴⁷

Another interesting piece of evidence for cross-Asian connections in this period, including another mention of Bengalis (*baṅgala*), is found in a source from West Java, the Old Sundanese didactic text *Saṅ Hyāṅ Siksa Kandaṅ Karāṣian*, in its list of foreign languages. Besides Bengalis, this list also mentions, i.e., *nagara dekan* ‘Deccan country’ (i.e., presumably, Vijayanagara) and *cāmpā* ‘Campā’.⁴⁸

44. For discussion of the Javanese sculpture in fig. 16, and some related pieces, see Lunsingh Scheurleer 2011. For elaborate discussion of *śivācārya* images of northern India, particularly Bengal in the 11th and 12th centuries, see Chattopadhyay, Ray & Majumder 2013. For some cases from a particular region of Andhra Pradesh in South India, see Dagens 1984, vol. I, p. 204–205 and vol. II, figs. 104, 180, 181, 224, 756 and 860. The image in fig. 756 is identified by an inscription as ‘Mūrtidevapaṇḍita devotee of Nāganāthadeva’. Dagens (vol. I, p. 508) points out that the inscription is datable on palaeographic grounds to the 14th century. I owe the references to Dagens’ work to Alexis Sanderson. See also L’Hernault 1987, pp. 20–21, 31–35, and 116 dealing with 95 or even 108 (!) inscribed stone panels of *śivācāryas* in the Tamil Nadu temple of Darasuram; the inscriptions were analysed by P.R. Srinivasan, according to whom the inscriptions would indicate a 12th-century date.

45. See Dagens 1984, I, p. 629. I thank Bruno Dagens for his suggestion to this effect during email correspondence in March 2014.

46. See Sanderson 2009.

47. Edition and translation after Griffiths *et al.* 2012b; see also Griffiths 2013: 67.

48. Atja & Saleh Danasasmīta 1981: 17 and 42–43. One of the two known manuscripts of this text was copied in 1440 Śaka, i.e. 1518 CE (see Aditia Gunawan & Griffiths 2014), so the list probably reflects the state of knowledge of about the 15th century.

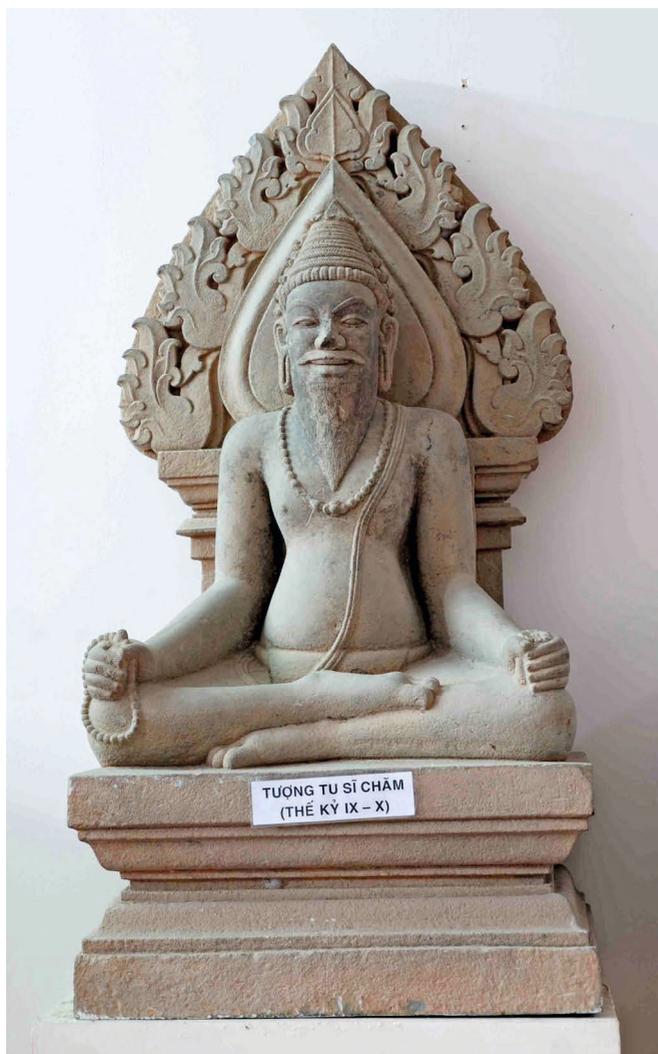


Figure 15. — Image of a hermit at Bảo tàng tỉnh Quảng Ngãi, without inv. no. Photo Trần Kỳ Phương.



Figure 16. — Image of a hermit found in East Java, Museum Nasional, Jakarta, inv. no. 301. Front view (a) and side view (b). Photos Arlo Griffiths.



Figure 17. — Image of a hermit found in East Java, Museum Penataran, Blitar. Front view (a) and side view (b). Photos Arlo Griffiths.



Figure 18. — Inscribed image of the Śaivācārya Vidyāśiva, probably from Bengal, ca. 12th century. Reproduced from Bhattacharya 2007–2010, fig. 3.

> **Figure 20.** — Image of the Śaiva master Mūrtidevapaṇḍita, Pratakota, Andhra Pradesh, ca. 14th century. Reproduced from Dagens 1984, vol. II, fig. 756.

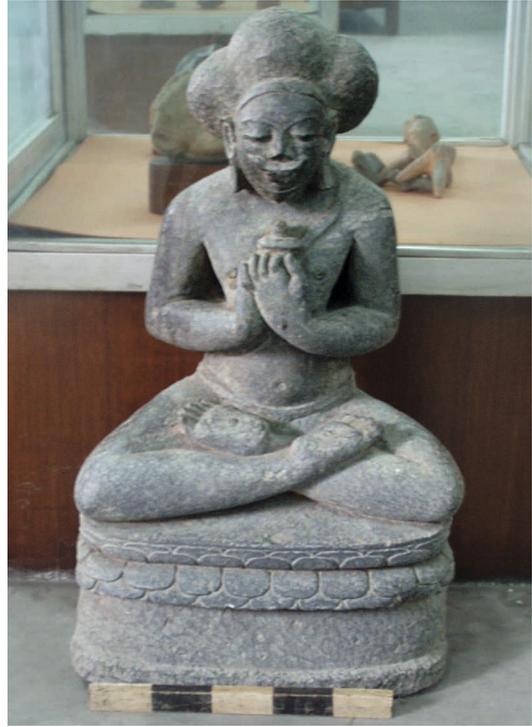
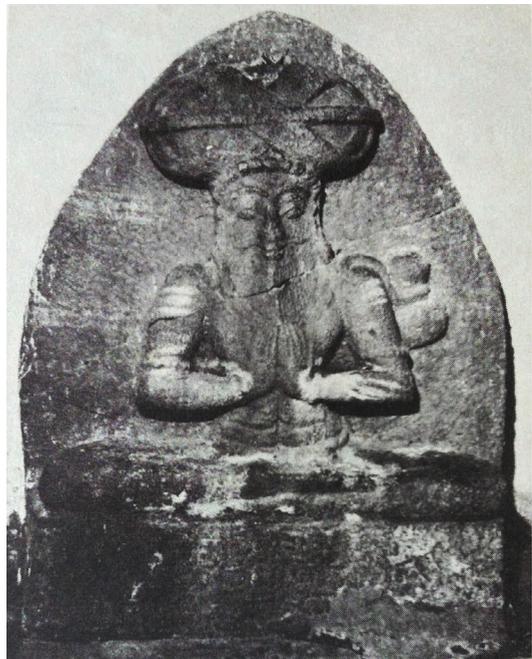


Figure 19. — Image of a Śaivācārya, from Jadupur, Murshidabad, West Bengal, ca. 12th century. Reproduced from Chattopadhyay *et al.* 2013, fig. 232.



Conclusion

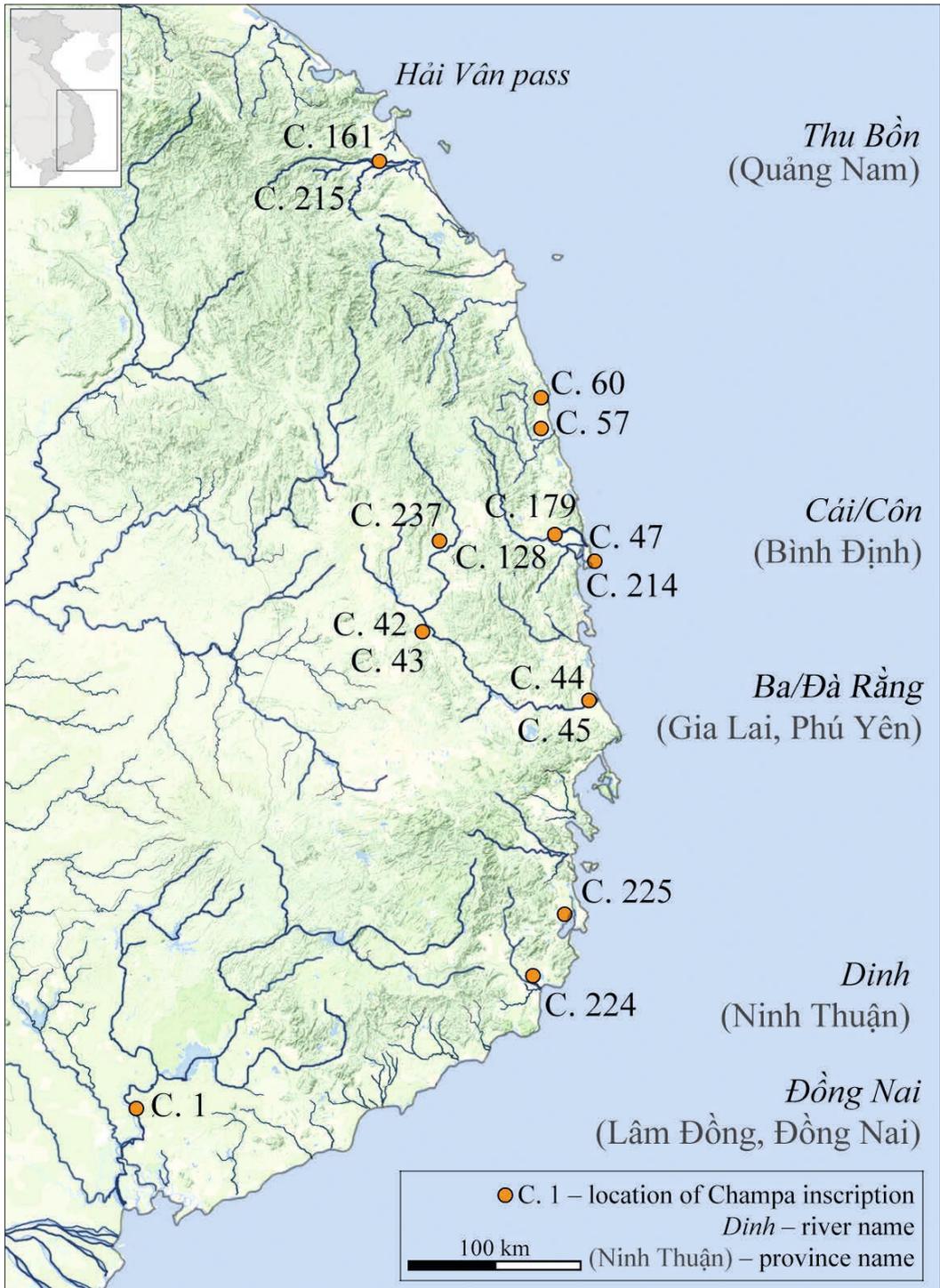
The revised story of Campā told by Michael Vickery in his recent and influential study “Champa Revised” (2005b, 2011) has not actually discussed the 15th century, but has nevertheless made claims about the whole of Campā history, denying political unity of Campā territories at any period. At least for the 15th century, these claims need to be revised again. There is every reason for historians to avoid sweeping statements about Campā, as long as the primary epigraphical sources for the various periods of Campā history have not been studied in an exhaustive and critical manner.

The inscriptions of the 15th century are all associated with the name Vīrabhadravarmadeva, the first dating from 1401/2 and the last from 1443/4 CE. The year 1441 CE quoted in some secondary sources corresponds to no event known from indigenous Campā sources. This period of around 44 years of epigraphic production started with the reign of *Śrīvṛṣu-Viṣṇujāti* Vīrabhadravarmadeva, but spanned also the reign of a separate figure *Śrīndra-Viṣṇukīrti* Vīrabhadravarmadeva. The first was a son, the second a grandson of the illustrious predecessor Jayasimhavarmadeva. There is evidence from the distribution of the findspots of inscriptions and from the dissemination of a specific family of Śiva images over wide areas that their realm or realms still comprised all of ancestral Campā territory south of the Thu Bồn river, and there is no evident reason to assume that there was more than one kingdom of Campā in this period.

This chapter has not attempted to cover all the inscriptions of this period, nor could it even begin to address all the issues raised in this group of documents. But I hope to have revealed that they are much richer historical sources than it would appear from previous studies — sources that require serious attention from historians of this crucial period of relations between Đại Việt and Campā. We can, for example, think about the significance of my demonstration that there were at least two kings named Vīrabhadravarmadeva to be taken into historiographic account. The fact that there are many inscriptions, widely distributed, recording religious foundations, and mentioning victories over the Việt, suggests that Campā was not the weak and divided post-Chế Bồng Nga state that it is usually represented to have become in this period.⁴⁹

I have, moreover, shown that the interest of these inscriptions is by no means limited to questions of the internal history of what is today Vietnam. Campā was part of international networks stretching, among other areas, to India and to Java — networks that would have been borne, among other vectors, by Śaiva religious masters. The iconography of several inscribed sculptures is testimony to this fact. The use by commissioning kings of names incorporating that of Vīrabhadra, a particular wrathful manifestation of Śiva, suggests specific connections with those parts of India, such as Vijayanagara, where the cult of this deity had risen in the course of the 14th century.

49. See also the chapters by Hardy, Hardy & Nguyễn Tiến Đông, Wade and Whitmore in this volume.



Map 6. — Inscriptions of the Champa Kingdom (15th Century). Map by Federico Barocco.

References

Abbreviations

ANU	Australian National University
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BIPPA	<i>Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association</i>
BSEI	<i>Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises</i>
CM	<i>Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục</i> [The imperially ordered mirror and commentary on the history of the Việt]
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DNTLTB	<i>Đại Nam thực lục, tiền biên</i> [The veritable records of Đại Nam, first compilation]
ECIC II	Griffiths, Arlo & William A. Southworth, 2011.
ECIC III	Griffiths, Arlo, Amandine Lepoutre, William A. Southworth & Thành Phần, 2012a.
ECIC IV	Lepoutre, Amandine, 2013.
ECIC V	Goodall, Dominic & Arlo Griffiths, 2013.
ECIC VII	Lepoutre, Amandine, 2016.
EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient
EurASEAA	European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSEAS	<i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
KCH	<i>Khảo cổ học</i> [(Journal of) Archaeology]
KHXH	Khoa học Xã hội [Social Sciences]
NCLS	Nghiên cứu lịch sử [Historical research]
NPHMVKCH	<i>Những phát hiện mới về Khảo cổ học</i> [New Archaeological Discoveries]
NUS	National University of Singapore
Nxb	Nhà xuất bản [Publisher]
SACHA	Société des Amis du Champa ancien
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
TT	<i>Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư</i> [Complete chronicle of Đại Việt]
UHP	University of Hawai'i Press

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3. Note: Describes a voyage, between 14th December 1884 to 16th January 1885, from Thi-nai (the author’s name for Quy Nhơn) to the river Bla (the *ia* Krông Bơ Lan, a tributary of the *xê* Xan). The first section includes a very interesting historical account of Bình Định province and includes a drawing of a Cham inscription (C. 58) on the rim of a bronze bowl (146). The second section includes the search for a statue at Kon Klor (291–292).

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