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Études du Corpus des inscriptions du Campā, XII:

**Buddhist *vihāras* in Campā,
from the 7th to the 14th centuries***

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Abstract: This article presents the epigraphic data relating to the history of Buddhist *vihāras* over the territory of the ancient kingdom of Campā, in present Vietnam. We will consider how the way in which *vihāras* figure epigraphically evolves over time, from the 7th to the 14th century CE and attempt to shed light on the long-term integration of *vihāras* into a socio-economic network of foundations and endowments, revealing of the status that Buddhism occupied within society. We will also discuss the nature of the institution(s) or structure(s) that the term *vihāra* designated in Campā, in connection with the paradoxical absence of clearly identifiable *vihāras* in the archeological record, focusing on the Buddhist sanctuary of Đồng Dương. This leads us to reflect on the specific organization of the Cham *vihāras*, and on the forms of monastic life that the term *vihāra* implies. We pursue this reflection by comparing it with the term *kuṭi*, which appears in epigraphy from the 11th century, always in close conjunction with the term *vihāra*, in a manner that invites comparison with the use of the same terms on the island of Java.

Keywords: foundations and endowments, monasticism, Indrapura dynasty, Đồng Dương, *kuṭi*.

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1. Introduction

Campā is the name of a political and cultural entity which, from the 7th to the 15th centuries CE,¹ dominated the coastline and mountain interior of what is now central Vietnam, from the Hoành Sơn range in the north to the modern province of Bình Thuận in the south (**map**). It presents a number of socio-cultural characteristics that reflect borrowings from and convergences with the Indian subcontinent. These flows of exchange—as in other countries of Southeast Asia—encouraged and enabled the spread of religious ideas, in particular aspects of Buddhism and Śaivism, that have marked the architecture, iconography and epigraphy of the country throughout its territory.

The very nature of the political organization of what we call “Campā” has been much discussed in recent historiography. Anton O. Zakharov has recently shown how the vision of Campā as a unified, ethnically homogenous nation state, held by early French pioneers such as Étienne Aymonier, Abel Bergaigne and Louis Finot, whose analyses were taken up by George Maspero in his famous historical synthesis,² has been supplanted during the last twenty years by the contrary hypothesis of a plurality of small kingdoms or territories unified only in name.³ The latter reading was first proposed by William Southworth on the basis of evidence derived from the southern kingdoms of the 8th to 9th centuries and the period of endemic conflict in the 12th to 13th centuries,⁴ but his conclusions were applied more generally by Michael Vickery,⁵ and then widely adopted in subsequent scholarship. Zakharov has taken a middle path, arguing in particular for a certain political unity during the 7th to 8th centuries,⁶ while Arlo Griffiths has argued strongly for a unified kingdom in an article focusing on the 15th century, through a close

¹ All subsequent dates are in the common era.

² G. Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa* (Paris-Bruxelles: Vanoest, 1928).

³ A. O. Zakharov, “Was the Early History of Campā Really Revised? A Reassessment of the Classical Narratives of Linyi and the 6th–8th-Century Campā Kingdom,” in *Champa: Territories and Networks of a Southeast Asian Kingdom*, ed. A. Griffiths, A. Hardy, and G. Wade (Paris: EFEO, 2019), 153.

⁴ W. A. Southworth, “The Coastal States of Champa,” in *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, ed. I. C. Glover and P. S. Bellwood, Routledge Curzon (London, New York, 2004).

⁵ M. Vickery, *Champa Revised*, Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series 37 (Singapore: Asia Research Institute, 2005), 25; M. Vickery, “Champa Revised,” in *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*, ed. Trần Kỳ Phương and B. M. Lockhart (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), 378.

⁶ Zakharov, “Early History of Campā.”

examination of the primary sources for that period.⁷ The term Campā is used throughout this article to designate a distinct political entity, without however any assumption on the part of the authors regarding the exact nature or internal political structure of this polity at any given time period.

Whatever the degree of political unity of Campā, a certain cultural coherence is evident in the particular architectural and sculptural styles attributed to it, by its recognition as a political or even ethnic unit within Khmer, Javanese and Chinese sources, as well as by its epigraphic heritage in Old Cham and Sanskrit found throughout its former territory, constituting the entirety of its written archive. This epigraphic production testifies to the integration of cultural models of Indian origin within local customs, one of the most fundamental aspects of which crystallizes around religious practice. In Campā, the inscriptions bear the mark of predominantly “Hindu” worship, mostly centered around the figure of Śiva, but Buddhist practices are also attested. The notable quantitative analysis furnished by Paul Mus shows the extent of this disproportion: by now almost a century ago, he counted one hundred and thirty royal inscriptions, of which only seven seemed to be Buddhist, whereas ninety-two referred to Śiva, three to Viṣṇu, five to Brahmā and two to Harihara.⁸ While the Buddhist inscriptions in Campā all concern institutional foundations of some kind, they are not always concerned with *vihāras*. Today, we count twenty inscriptions in Sanskrit and/or Old Cham including the term *vihāra*, seven of which remain unpublished (and three of those are presented in our appendices). The context of these epigraphs is most often Buddhist, but this is not systematically the case. Indeed, a first peculiarity of the term *vihāra* in a Cham context is that it does not necessarily denote a Buddhist foundation: it can, in some contexts, indicate the presence of

⁷ A. Griffiths, “Études du Corpus des inscriptions du Campā, VI: Epigraphical Texts and Sculptural Steles Produced under the Vīrabhadravarmadevas of 15th-Century Campā,” in *Champa: Territories and Networks of a Southeast Asian Kingdom*, ed. A. Griffiths, A. Hardy, and G. Wade (Paris: EFEO, 2019).

⁸ P. Mus, “Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa,” *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 33 (1933): 369; P. Mus, *India Seen from the East: Indian and Indigenous Cults in Champa*, ed. I. W. Mabbett and D. P. Chandler, trans. I. W. Mabbett (Clayton, Vic.: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1975), 3.

a Śaiva establishment.⁹ In the following list, we will designate Śaiva inscriptions with an asterisk.¹⁰

Inscriptions mentioning the term *vihāra* are scattered throughout the former territory of Campā: from north to south, one inscription has been recorded in the present-day province of Quảng Bình (C. 150*), two inscriptions in that of Thừa Thiên-Huế (C. 234, C. 252), one in Quảng Trị (C. 149), one in the province of Đà Nẵng (C. 211*), eight in Quảng Nam (C. 66, C. 89, C. 94, C. 95, C. 138, C. 140*, C. 198, C. 203), one in Kon Tum (C. 167), one in Đắk Lắk (C. 116), one in Phú Yên (C. 245) and three in Ninh Thuận (C. 13, C. 23, C. 122). To these may be added a last inscription, the place of whose discovery is unknown and which is currently kept in a private collection in Hong Kong (C. 247). These inscriptions date from the 7th to 14th centuries and form a first indication not only of the longevity of Buddhism in Campā, but also of that of the *vihāras* and of the forms of monastic life they imply. They are, moreover, the principal sources available to us for the study of Buddhism in a Cham context, that can be supplemented both by statuary and architecture, as well as by the study of Chinese sources.

Despite the importance of *vihāras* and the role of monks to our understanding of Cham Buddhism, no scholars working on Campā have taken them up as a separate object of study. The references made to *vihāras* and monks in the secondary literature derive from research

⁹ N. Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara in Mainland South-East Asia* (Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2002), 295; N. Chutiwongs, “Le bouddhisme au Champa,” in *Trésors d’art du Vietnam : La sculpture du Champa Ve–XVe siècles*, ed. Pierre Baptiste and Thierry Zéphir (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux and Musée des arts asiatiques Guimet, 2005), 78; A. Griffiths and D. C. Lammerts, “Epigraphy: Southeast Asia,” in *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. J. A. Silk, O. von Hinüber, and V. Eltschinger (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1001.

¹⁰ George Cœdès published a first version of his inventory of Campā inscriptions in 1908, for which he developed a system designating each inscription from Campā (whether in Sanskrit or Old Cham) with a number preceded by the letter C. This inventory, updated in 1923, was further supplemented by newly discovered inscriptions in 1937 and 1942, taking the number of entries to 200. After the events of the Vietnam War — which caused a long hiatus of work on the inventory — it was not until 2009 that it was finally resumed as part of the *Corpus des inscriptions du Campā* (CIC) project, with the publication of a supplement that brought the inventory up to number 233. See A. Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III : Épigraphie du Campā 2009–2010 : prospection sur le terrain, production d’estampages, supplément à l’inventaire,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 95 (2008–2009), Annexe II. More than forty newly reported inscriptions have since brought the inventory up to 274 entries, necessitating the publication of a new supplement in the future.

conducted more generally on the history of Campā art or the history of Buddhism in Campā. In an article published in the late 1940s on Chinese contributions to the Buddhist style of Đồng Dương, Pierre Dupont was the first to associate this famous temple with the *vihāra* mentioned in the inscription C. 66 found on the site.¹¹ He was followed by Jean Boisselier who, in his study on the statuary of Campā published in 1963, presented a long description of Đồng Dương that also associates the site with a *vihāra* but without focusing on the Buddhist context.¹² More than twenty years later, a first article was dedicated by Ian Mabbett to the specific subject of Buddhism in Campā, in a historical perspective.¹³ Following this major landmark in the study of Campā Buddhism, several scholars have made further contributions, art history again being the dominant angle, but the topic of *vihāras* in Campā and their role in monastic life has been addressed by none of these authors, even by those interested specifically in Đồng Dương.¹⁴ They

¹¹ P. Dupont, “Les apports chinois dans le style bouddhique de Đồng-dương,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 44, no. 1 (1947–1950).

¹² J. Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa : Recherches sur les cultes et l’iconographie* (Paris: EFEO, 1963).

¹³ I. Mabbett, “Buddhism in Champa,” in *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, ed. D. G. Marr and A. C. Milner (Singapore; Canberra: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies; Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1986).

¹⁴ Nandana Chutiwongs, in the publication of her thesis on the iconography of Avalokiteśvara in Southeast Asia, devotes a chapter to Campā (Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara*, 424–483). A subsequent catalog essay is focused on Buddhism in Campā, in which the *bodhisattva* of her book appears as only one of a multitude of Buddhist themes (Chutiwongs “Le bouddhisme au Champa”). Since then, three art historians have focused more specifically on the temple of Đồng Dương. Firstly, Trian Nguyen has studied the deity Lakṣmīndralokeśvara installed in the *vihāra* of Đồng Dương, accepting without question the designation of *vihāra* established in the historiography since the aforementioned study by Dupont. Next, Hiram Woodward does not mention the presence of a *vihāra* within the monument, referring to it instead as a temple. Thirdly, Parul Pandya Dhar has focused on the nexus between art and ritual practices in her interpretation of the site, unreservedly using the term *vihāra* to refer to a particular section of the ritual complex, without, however, discussing this association in detail. Meanwhile, Anne-Valérie Schweyer dedicated a survey article to the topic of Buddhism in Campā, without offering anything new to the contributions of her predecessors in regard to the study of the *vihāra*. Finally, John Guy has attempted to define the specificity of *bodhisattva* worship in Campā against the backdrop of pan-Asian Buddhism, while Philip Green has focused on the figure of Avalokiteśvara in an article centered on the tantric connections between Cambodia and Campā. See T. Nguyen, “Lakṣmīndralokeśvara [*sic*], Main Deity of the Đồng Dương Monastery:

generally associate the monument with a monastery without attempting to define more specifically the meaning of the term *vihāra* in a Cham context and without questioning Pierre Dupont's identification of at least part of the Đồng Dương complex as a *vihāra*.

Although *vihāras* appear in epigraphy up to the 14th century, the contexts in which they appear evolve over time. Inscriptions entirely dedicated to the foundation of *vihāras* are found from the 7th to 10th centuries, and their production reaches a peak under the Indrapura dynasty (from 875 to 982). From the 11th century onwards, we only read about *vihāras* in the context of lists of religious foundations, particularly in the context of restoration work. It is precisely these phenomena of change and reorganization, besides continuity, that this article will attempt to highlight. Proceeding in chronological order, we will try to extrapolate the specific information that the epigraphic sources contain regarding the evolution and characteristics of monastic life and *vihāras* in Campā, including their foundation, maintenance and development, from the 7th to 14th centuries. To complement the published archive, we present three previously unedited inscriptions—C. 167, C. 234 and C. 247—in appendices to this article.

2. From the 7th to the 9th century: Buddhist *vihāras* gain solid foothold

The first indications of the presence of Buddhism in Campā appear in Chinese sources. In the 5th century, the impact of Indian and Chinese pilgrims in spreading Buddhism in Southeast Asia and more specifically in Campā is well known. Among the most famous, the monk Nāgasena was at this time a Buddhist *ācārya*, traveling by sea from

A Masterpiece of Cham Art and a New Interpretation," *Artibus Asiae* 65, no. 1 (2005); H. Woodward, "The Temple of Dong Duong and the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra*," in *From beyond the Eastern Horizon: Essays in Honour of Professor Lokesh Chandra*, ed. ManjuShree (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2011); P. P. Dhar, "Buddhism, Art and Ritual Practice: Dong Duong at the Intersection of Asian Cultures," in *Asian Encounters: Exploring Connected Histories*, ed. P. P. Dhar and U. Singh (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014); A.-V. Schweyer, "Buddhism in Campā," *Moussons*, no. 13–14 (2009); J. Guy, "Pan-Asian Buddhism and the Bodhisattva Cult in Champa," in *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*, ed. Trần Kỳ Phương and B. M. Lockhart (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011); Ph. S. E. Green, "The Many Faces of Lokeśvara: Tantric Connections in Cambodia and Campā between the Tenth and Thirteenth Centuries," *History of Religions* 54, no. 1 (2014).

India to China.¹⁵ Another pilgrim, Guṇavarman of Kashmir, is said to have halted in Campā on his way to the court of the Middle Kingdom.¹⁶ These individuals carried with them texts and knowledge, and through the commercial and cultural exchanges that linked these regions in a complex network, may have been major players in the establishment of Buddhism in Campā at that time.

We must, however, wait until the 7th century before we find the first potential confirmation of the implantation of Buddhism in Campā, in Chinese accounts of the expedition led against a kingdom called 林邑, i.e., Linyi (or Lâm Ấp, in the Sino-Vietnamese transcription commonly used in Vietnam).¹⁷ In 605, these sources explain that the Chinese armies brought back 564 bundles of Buddhist texts written in the “Kunlun” language. The fact that such treasures could be captured implies the existence of built structures and libraries, and we are tempted more specifically to infer the presence of Buddhist *vihāras* in Linyi, if we may imagine that, as in India, *vihāras* would in 7th-century Linyi too have been places of Buddhist learning *par excellence*. Now how is Linyi relevant to Campā?

Two famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Xuanzang (who traveled in Central Asia and India between 629 and 645) and Yijing (who traveled in Southeast Asia and India at the end of the 7th century), bear witness in their writings to the Buddhist practices of the various countries they visited and provide some record of Campā. The accounts of both travelers explicitly associate Campā with Linyi,¹⁸ although only

¹⁵ J. N. Ganhar and P. N. Ganhar, *Buddhism in Kashmir & Ladakh* (New Delhi: Shri Prem Nath Ganhar, 1956), 73–76; W. Pachow, “The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to South-East Asia and the Far East,” *Journal of the Greater India Society* 17, no. 1–2 (1958): 4–20; Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara*, 424.

¹⁶ P. Pelliot, “Le Fou-nan,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 3 (1903): 257; Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara*, 424.

¹⁷ *Sui shu*, *juan* 53 & 82. See P. Pelliot, “Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 4 (1904): 187; Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, 84; W. A. Southworth, “The Origins of Campā in Central Vietnam: A Preliminary Review” (Ph.D., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2001), 311–312; Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara*, 424–425; G. Wade, “Beyond the Southern Borders: Southeast Asian Chinese Texts to the Ninth Century,” in *Lost Kingdoms: Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture of Early Southeast Asia*, ed. J. Guy (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 26.

¹⁸ S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*, 2 vols, Trübner’s Oriental Series (London:

Yijing visited this part of the Buddhist world in person. Linyi is first mentioned in Chinese sources from the 3rd to the 5th century (when the term Campā does not yet appear, either in local inscriptions or in Chinese sources) and appears to refer primarily to an area north of the Hải Vân pass (**map**). In contrast, the name Campā first appears in inscription C. 73 of Sambhuvarman at M̃y Son, probably dating from the early 7th century. The dominant hypothesis of the early 20th century has assumed that the two names must refer to the same polity;¹⁹ the emergence of Linyi in Chinese annals around 192 would thus correspond to the date of the birth of Campā.²⁰ Nevertheless, scholars such as Rolf Stein and later Michael Vickery have attempted to prove that these two countries were quite distinct, at least up to the 5th century, and have moreover argued that the ethno-linguistic character of Linyi was predominantly Khmer.²¹ It should be noted that Stein also argued for a major shift in the nature and location of Linyi by the time of the Chinese expedition of 605²² and that Vickery explicitly mentions Yijing's use of the term Zhan Po to indicate Campā.²³ But the unequivocal identification of Campā with Linyi in the 7th-century accounts of both Xuanzang and Yijing, rarely invoked by scholars, adds a Buddhist

Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1884), 200; J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695) by I-Tsing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 12; R. Li, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions: Translated by the Tripiṭaka-Master Xuanzang under Imperial Order Composed by Śramaṇa Bianji of the Great Zongchi Monastery (Taisho, Volume 51, Number 2087)* (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation & Research, 1996), 267; R. Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia: A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas, by Śramaṇa Yijing, Translated from the Chinese (Taishō Volume 54, Number 2125)* (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000), 13.

¹⁹ This idea can be found in the writings of Paul Pelliot, Léonard Aurousseau and Georges Maspero. See Pelliot, “Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde;” L. Aurousseau, review of *Le royaume de Champa* by G. Maspero, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 14, no. 9 (1914); Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*.

²⁰ Zakharov, “Early History of Campā,” 148.

²¹ R. A. Stein, “Le Lin-yi, sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine,” *Bulletin du centre d'études sinologiques de Peking, Han-Hiue* 2, no. 1–3 (1947); Vickery, *Champa Revised*, 20–21; Vickery, “Champa Revised,” in *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*, ed. Trần Kỳ Phương and B. M. Lockhart (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), 374–375.

²² Stein, “Le Lin-yi,” 234.

²³ Vickery, *Champa Revised*, 22; Vickery, “Champa Revised,” 375; Zakharov, “Early History of Campā,” 149.

dimension to the debate on the exact nature of, and the relationship between, the toponyms Linyi and Campā.

According to Yijing, at the end of the 7th century, Buddhist monks in Campā generally belonged to the Saṃmitīya *nikāya* and, to a lesser extent, to the Mūlasarvāstivāda *nikāya*,²⁴ two of the four main schools current in India at that time.²⁵ Although this source is often referred to in the secondary literature on Buddhism in Campā,²⁶ its relevance to the issue of monastic practices in 7th-century Campā has so far escaped notice. The Chinese pilgrim also gives general information on the rules of dress of both schools.²⁷ The dress codes of the Saṃmitīya *nikāya* were essentially the same as those of the Mahāsaṅghika *nikāya* in that the lower garment on the right side was to be pulled down to the left side, but would still have differed somewhat in that the end of the garment was left loose in the former school, but would have been tightened below the belt so as not to leave it loose in the latter. With regard to the Mūlasarvāstivāda *nikāya*, its adherents would pull up their robes on both sides, pull the ends through the belt and hang them over it. These rules of dress were clearly important to Yijing, who himself belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivāda *nikāya*. His main concern was the correct observance of daily ritual, the practical aspects of which are described in his work, rather than focusing on the doctrinal differences between the different schools or their divergent interpretation of canonical Buddhist texts. Although Yijing's writings do not include any data referring specifically to the *vihāras* of Campā, the very presence of these various schools implies the existence of established structures where the members of these monastic lineages assembled.

While little information about the Saṃmitīya *nikāya* has survived up to the present day,²⁸ the Mūlasarvāstivāda *nikāya*, by contrast, is

²⁴ Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-Tsing*, 12; Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 13. We partially confirm Mabbett, "Buddhism in Champa," 295, and contradict Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara*, 425, according to whom Yijing expounds that Buddhists in Campā generally belong to the Mūlasarvāstivāda.

²⁵ The other two are the Mahāsaṅghika *nikāya* and the Sthavira *nikāya*.

²⁶ Mabbett, "Buddhism in Champa," 295; Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara*, 425; Chutiwongs, "Le bouddhisme au Champa," 67; Schweyer, "Buddhism in Čampā," 309.

²⁷ Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-Tsing*, 66–67; Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 66.

²⁸ On the possible presence of the Saṃmitīyas in early mainland Southeast Asia, see the recent discussion in D. Goodall and N. Revire, "East and West — New

relatively well known from texts preserved in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan. Recent research has focused in particular on the monumental Mūlasarvāstivāda *vinaya*, which provides detailed information on every aspect of the monastic life of the order, including insights as to how they regarded *vihāras*. Indeed, while the very term *vihāra* is traditionally translated as “monastery,” its earliest historical manifestations must have been quite different from the austere and silent image that this translation suggests. Gregory Schopen has explained that in the early history of the Indian subcontinent, the word originally denoted a place of pleasure, a carefully constructed and cultivated pleasure garden where amorous couples could meet.²⁹ In the *vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *nikāya*, the entanglement of these two concepts—gardens on the one hand and eroticism on the other—was well known: the ideal *vihāra* was depicted by monks as a garden in springtime. The depth of the assimilation between pleasure gardens and monasteries in early Buddhist texts can be seen in the similar location of the two establishments, always situated on the outskirts of an urban environment. The *vinaya* furthermore appears to deepen this association between monasteries and gardens, making them places of excursion open to visitors and the intended objects of aesthetic appreciation. The *vihāras* were thus often seen as providing a landscaped, decorative dimension intended to be admired, and not merely an ethereal place, where monks withdrew from the world to pursue a religious life.

In the context of Campā, it is difficult to see to what extent the Mūlasarvāstivāda *vinaya* was integrated into the way laymen related to the Buddhist *vihāra*, or even how aware the local population was of the equation with pleasure gardens in the *vinaya* texts. However, the very presence of this lineage, as well as the architectural complexity and sculptural profusion of the so-called *vihāra* of Đòng Dương—to which we will return below (pp. 295–298)—leaves open the possibility of transmission of such ideas, which Cham Buddhists may have borrowed and adjusted in specific ways.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the first epigraphic references to a *vihāra* in Campā also date to the 7th century. They are found in the

Inscriptions from Funan, Zhenla and Dvāravatī,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 107 (2021): 265.

²⁹ G. Schopen, “The Buddhist ‘Monastery’ and the Indian Garden: Aesthetics, Assimilations, and the Siting of Monastic Establishments,” in *Buddhist Nuns, Monks, and Other Worldly Matters: Recent Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2014).

unpublished inscription C. 234, engraved on a large stone bar or beam found in the north of the present province of Thừa Thiên-Huế. Although the inscription does not include any absolute dating, its paleography shows archaic characteristics. Its text (appendix 1) is the earliest evidence of the use of the vernacular Old Cham language in this northern region. The inscription is very poorly preserved, but the parts that remain legible allow us to suggest, without being certain (for we are unable to translate the whole text), that the syllables *sam̐ha* represent the Sanskrit term *saṃgha*. What is more certain is that the inscription refers to the presence of people engaged in the occupations of monks (*siy bhikṣukarmma*) connected with a *vihāra* that housed a deity (*yān pu pom̐*). The term *bhikṣukarmma*, borrowed in Old Cham from Sanskrit, is in itself remarkable for its rarity. Indeed, only one Buddhist text preserved in Sanskrit seems to mention it. This is the *Divyāvadānamālā*, many chapters of which have been shown to draw on parts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *vinaya*.³⁰ The episode in question is the *Cūḍāpakṣāvādāna*, “an adaptation [...] of a text that forms a part of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*,”³¹ where we read:

dve bhikṣukarmanī dhyānam adhyayanam ca—kiṃ kariṣyasi?

“There are two occupations for a monk, meditation and recitation. Which will you do?”³²

According to Schopen, “This assertion that there are two occupations for a monk is in fact something of a commonplace in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. It occurs repeatedly throughout its *Vibhaṅga* in contexts similar to that found in the *Cūḍāpakṣāvādāna* and in almost exactly the same form.” As the designation of meditation and instruction by the term *bhikṣukarman* might thus appear to be specific to this *vinaya*, which we know was applied in Campā according to the information of Yijing—who incidentally chaired the committee for the Chinese translation of this vast collection³³—we may imagine that the *vihāra* to which this inscription C. 234 refers, and within whose built

³⁰ S. Hiraoka, “The Relation between the *Divyāvādāna* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 26, no. 5 (1998).

³¹ G. Schopen, “The Bones of a Buddha and the Business of a Monk: Conservative Monastic Values in an Early Mahāyāna Polemical Tract,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27, no. 4 (1999): 285.

³² E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, *The Divyāvādāna, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends* (Cambridge: University Press, 1886), 488, lines 2–3; translation by Schopen “Bones of a Buddha and Business of a Monk,” 285.

³³ S. Lévi, “Les éléments de formation du *Divyāvādāna*,” *T’oung Pao* 8, no. 1 (1907): 110.

structures it was most probably originally placed, was affiliated to the Mūlasarvāstivāda.³⁴

After C. 234, no more inscriptions mention a Buddhist settlement before the 9th century. In 829/830, the boulder inscription of Bakul, numbered C. 23, was engraved in present-day Ninh Thuận province, which corresponds to the former territory of Pāṇḍaraṅga (or Pāṇḍuraṅga, Panrañ),³⁵ in south-central Vietnam.³⁶ By the 8th century, the

³⁴ We propose this hypothesis with due caution, because even though the term *bhikṣukarman* is not so far found in any texts that lack a Mūlasarvāstivāda connection, the notion that the pair *dhyāna* and *adhyāyana* constitute the basic tasks of the monk is not limited to this school. Vincent Tournier (personal communication) points us to a stanza from the *Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā*, a text with no obvious Mūlasarvāstivāda connection, which interestingly opposes to *vihāra* the two constituents of *bhikṣukarman*, though without mentioning the latter term. For the stanza in question, see L. Finot, *Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā: Sūtra du Mahāyāna* (St-Petersbourg: Commissionnaires de l'Académie impériale des sciences, 1901), 31: *dhyānam tathādhyayanam tyaktvā nitya vihāra* | *āvāsagrāhrahṣṭrikāś te ca adāntaśiṣyaparivārāḥ* ||. It was translated as follows by D. Boucher, *Bodhisattvas of the Forest and the Formation of the Mahāyāna: A Study and Translation of the Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā-Sūtra* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 139: "Giving up meditation and study, they are always engaged in the affairs of the monastery. Desirous of dwellings, scowling [at others], they are surrounded by undisciplined pupils." See also V. Tournier's chapter in this volume, where he cites an inscription (EIAD 187, l. 11) that characterizes the *saṅgha* as *dhyānādhyayanakarmmānuṣṭhānapara-*, from a context in early Medieval South India where no Mūlasarvāstivāda presence is expected.

³⁵ A. Griffiths and W. A. Southworth, "Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, II : La stèle d'installation de Śrī Ādideveśvara, une nouvelle inscription de Satyavarman trouvée dans le temple de Hoà Lai et son importance pour l'histoire du Pāṇḍuraṅga," *Journal Asiatique* 299, no. 1 (2011): 271–317.

³⁶ The section in Old Cham was edited by Aymonier, with a word-for-word gloss in French; the Sanskrit part was edited by Bergaigne, with translation into French; textual notes were offered by Finot. Bergaigne's edition of the Sanskrit text was published again by R. C. Majumdar, with translation into English. The two parts were first put together by Karl-Heinz Golzio, with translation into English. See É. Aymonier, "Première étude sur les inscriptions tchames," *Journal Asiatique* (1891): 25–27, no. 396; A. Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1893), 23 7–241, no. XXV [396]; L. Finot, "Notes d'épigraphie, V : Pāṇḍuraṅga," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 3 (1903): 633–634, no. V; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, vol. I: *Champa*, Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series 16 (Lahore: Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927), 65–67, no. 28; K.-H. Golzio, *Inscriptions of Campā Based on the Editions and Translations of Abel Bergaigne, Étienne Aymonier, Louis Finot, Édouard Huber and Other French Scholars and of the Work of R. C. Majumdar. Newly Presented, with Minor Corrections of Texts and Translations, Together with Calculations of given Dates* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2004), 55–56.

center of power of King Satyavarman and his successors appears to have been located here, as their inscriptions indicate. From this time, Pāṇḍaraṅga becomes increasingly prominent in epigraphy, alongside the port of Nha Trang, ancient Kuṭhāra (or Kauṭhāra), which it supplants in degrees of influence over the course of the 9th century.³⁷ In this inscription of the early 9th century, written in Sanskrit and Old Cham, the dignitary Samanta, son of the author of the inscription named *sthavira* Buddhānirvāṇa, donates two *vihāras* to the Jina (Buddha)³⁸ and two *devakulas*, i.e., temples, to Śaṅkara (Śiva). It also includes mention of rice fields, two of which appear to be dedicated to Buddhist establishments.

These rare indications of *vihāras* and monastic life from the 7th to early 9th centuries, drawn from foreign and epigraphic sources, cannot at first sight be corroborated by architectural remains, as no monument in durable materials can be unequivocally identified as a *vihāra* of Campā. We shall return to this apparent paradox further on in this article.

Such data, however, do reveal certain developments in the practice of Buddhism in Campā. Indeed, inscription C. 234 from Thùr Thiên-Huế seems to imply that Buddhist monastic life was already well-established in northern Campā by the 7th century. Inscription C. 23 from Ninh Thuận confirms the expansion of Buddhist monasticism to southern Campā, where members of the political elite could adopt a Buddhist name, such as the author of the inscription, the elder (*sthavira*) Buddhānirvāṇa. Moreover, these dignitaries were able to establish *vihāras* while allocating agricultural land to them, in an economic pattern that also applied to Śaiva foundations, maintained through the endowment of rice fields whose names, measurements and sometimes descriptions are recorded in epigraphy. Finally, this inscription clearly illustrates the very close symbiotic relationship between Śaivism and Buddhism in Campā. A single transaction is sufficient here for the allocation of donations to institutions of both reli-

³⁷ Griffiths and Southworth, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, II,” 290.

³⁸ There is no reason to believe, contrary to Mabbett’s assertion (Mabbett, “Buddhism in Champa,” 298), that the term Jina refers to a group of five Buddhas. The term Jina is simply a synonym for Buddha.

gions. This joint support for both Buddhism and Śaivism becomes particularly pronounced in the inscriptions of the Indrapura dynasty, which ruled Campā between the mid-9th and 10th centuries.³⁹

3. From the 9th to the 10th century: A new relationship to Buddhism and *vihāras* under the Indrapura dynasty

From the second half of the 9th to the early 10th century, the epigraphic production of Campā, both in quantity and in inscribed content, bears witness to a break with the past, marking a new status for Buddhism within society. This break corresponds to a time when the Indrapura dynasty, founded in the present-day province of Quảng Nam, exercised a preponderant political and cultural influence in Campā. The King Jaya Indravarman (r. 875–889) is considered its founder.⁴⁰ He became a patron of Buddhism as his posthumous name—Paramabuddhaloka—suggests,⁴¹ and more specifically of the Mahāyāna.

³⁹ A. Sanderson, “The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period,” in *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, ed. S. Einoo (Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2009), 117–118. The precise dates of the Indrapura dynasty remain a matter of debate. In inscription C. 66, Jaya Indravarman retrospectively places his reign in the ancestral line of two predecessors, Rudravarman and Bhadravarman, whose dates are unknown. He is nevertheless often considered as the founder of the dynasty, which can be traced back to 875, the year of his enthronement. As for the date of the end of the dynasty, the last unambiguous inscriptions date only to the first quarter of the 10th century. It is possible that a later king, also named Jaya Indravarman, was a member of this dynasty. His reign can be extended up to 972 (Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, 121). The latest presumed date for the end of the Indrapura line, however, is contained within the inscription C. 140. It was found in the province of Quảng Nam and is dated from 977. See A. Griffiths and A. Lepoutre, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, VIII : Les inscriptions des piédroits des temples de Po Klaong Girai (C. 8–11), de Linh Thái (C. 109–110) et de Yang Prong (C. 116),” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 102 (2016): 277–278.

⁴⁰ Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, 248–249.

⁴¹ L. Finot, “Notes d’épigraphie, VI : Inscriptions du Quang Nam,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 4 (1904a): 111 and Claude Jacques, “Les noms posthumes des rois dans l’ancien Cambodge,” in *Fruits of inspiration: studies in honour of Prof. J. G. de Casparis, retired Professor of the Early History and Archeology of South and Southeast Asia at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, on the occasion of his 85th birthday*, ed. M. J. Klokke and K. R. van Kooij (Groningen: Forsten, 2001), 195–196. See also, on posthumous names in Campā, Griffiths and Southworth, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, II,” 294–295.

A considerable number of stone inscriptions refer to *vihāras* and, more indirectly, to the religious life associated with them. Dated 875/876, the Sanskrit inscription C. 66 constitutes the charter of dedication of the temple of Đổng Dương to Lakṣmīndra-Lokeśvara Svabhayada on the part of Jaya Indravarman, and contains information relevant to our subject.⁴² It states that the king had founded a *vihāra* exempt from all royal taxes, for the benefit of the monastic community (*bhikṣu-saṅgha*). As part of this donation, the ruler furthermore offers fields, their crops, slaves of both sexes, and precious metals such as silver, gold, brass and copper. The inscription demonstrates the sovereign's largesse, emphasizing the means of subsistence he wished to provide for the use of this community. It also includes a formula of imprecation against any future kings, *kṣatriyas*, brahmins, ministers and merchants who might seek to steal or confiscate these goods.

In 902/903, the Sanskrit portion of inscription C. 138 from An Thái in Quảng Nam refers to Jaya Indravarman's father Bhavavarman, who had earlier founded for his adviser, the monk Nāgapuṣpa, a *vihāra* called Pramudita-Lokeśvara.⁴³ He is said to have placed there a Lokanātha, that is a statue of Avalokiteśvara,⁴⁴ and to have allocated fields to it. This foundation was confirmed by Jaya Indravarman, who reiterates the donation of fields. His successor and nephew Jaya Simhavarman, during whose reign the inscription was engraved, shows himself to be part of this lineage by again confirming the donation. The explicitly tantric inspiration of this inscription has attracted the attention of several scholars.⁴⁵

In 911/912, the inscription C. 149 of Nhan Biều mentions in its Sanskrit part the *pov kluñ pilih* Rājadvāra as well as his eldest son Sukr̥tī *pov kluñ* Dharmapātha, who, during the reign of King Jaya Simhavarman, consecrated not only a Śaiva temple (*devaliṅgeśvara*) at Kumovel, but also a Buddhist *vihāra* called Śrī Vṛddha-Lokeśvara at Cikir, their native village, in honor of their grandmother, the princess *lyañ* Vṛddhakulā, who connects them to the royal family.⁴⁶ The

⁴² Edition, translation and notes, Finot, "Inscriptions du Quang Nam," 84–99.

⁴³ Edition, translation and notes, E. Huber, "Études indo-chinoises VIII-XII," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 11, no. 3–4 (1911b): 277–282.

⁴⁴ Mabbett, "Buddhism in Champa," 300.

⁴⁵ Mabbett, "Buddhism in Champa," 301–302; Chutiwongs "Le bouddhisme au Champa," 80–81; Schweyer, "Buddhism in Čampā," 10–12; Guy, "Pan-Asian Buddhism and the Bodhisattva Cult in Champa," 315; Green, "The Many Faces of Lokeśvara," 78–80.

⁴⁶ Edition, translation and notes, Huber, "Études indo-chinoises VIII-XII," 299–311.

king assigned to them fields that are named, measured and described with precision.

In 914/915, the Old Cham portion of the so far unpublished inscription C. 167 of Kon Klor (see appendix 2) relates how a foundation was made by a local dignitary named Mahīndravarman and dedicated to Mahīndra-Lokeśvara. This dignitary offers to the *vihāra* of the deity not only a dozen rice fields, marshland, plains, bushes, ponds and hills, but also animals such as cattle, oxen, elephants, as well as staff and precious metals. This inscription testifies to the penetration of Buddhism into the central highlands, where the site of Kon Klor, in present Kon Tum province, is located, from at least the beginning of the 10th century.⁴⁷

Another unpublished inscription, C. 252, found at Niêm Phò in Thừa Thiên-Huê, mentions the term *vihāra* six times. This epigraph is unfortunately badly damaged and although we have provisionally deciphered the text (written in Sanskrit and Old Cham) it has not yet been translated. It can be dated to the reign of Jaya Simhavarman, and seems to relate, among other subjects, the foundation of a *vihāra*, with the fields attributed to it and an imprecation against possible destruction. This Buddhist establishment appears to be dedicated to Ratna-Lokeśvara, suggesting a connection with the Sanskrit inscription C. 171 of Đại Hữu (in Quảng Bình, about 150 km northwest of Niêm Phò), which may be dated to the same reign and also uses this particular designation of Lokeśvara.⁴⁸ This second inscription, which is only very partially preserved, does not include the term *vihāra* in the lines that have come down to us. However, the comparison with the epigraph C. 252 may fuel speculation that the lost parts of C. 171 made mention of the same *vihāra* as that referred to in C. 252. In this scenario, the fact that inscription C. 171 includes a term that is unique in Campā epigraphy, namely *bhāṇḍāgārādhikāra*, denoting the person in charge of a treasury, could testify to the way in which the resources of a *vihāra* were managed.

These mentions of *vihāras* are rich in information about Campā Buddhism and monastic life.⁴⁹ Without dwelling on this point, which

⁴⁷ Chutiwongs “Le bouddhisme au Champa,” 74.

⁴⁸ Edition, translation and notes, Louis Finot and V. Goloubew, “Fouilles de Đại-huru,” *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 25 (1925): 472–474.

⁴⁹ Two other very short unpublished inscriptions in Old Cham — C. 198 and C. 203 — mention the term *vihāra* during the Indrapura dynasty. However, their state of preservation is too deteriorated to understand the context in which they use the term.

has already been commented on by previous scholars,⁵⁰ the way in which these *vihāras* are named follows a well-established tradition combining the name of the founder with that of the deity installed. Thus, the majority of deities mentioned in Campā epigraphy, who take the form of a *līṅga* and are thus manifestations of Śiva, are granted names ending in *-īśvara*.⁵¹ In the four cases mentioned above (Lakṣmīndra-Lokeśvara, Pramudita-Lokeśvara, Mahīndra-Lokeśvara, and Ratna-Lokeśvara), it is notable that the Buddhist deities invoked consistently bear names ending in *-lokeśvara*. It is thus highly probable that this is an adaptation of a Śaiva practice.

In the publications of our predecessors, inscription C. 150 from Quảng Bình,⁵² datable paleographically to the 8th or 9th century, is presented as being of Buddhist affiliation. It records a donation of land in favor of the deity Ḍamareśvara, to become the property of the *vihāra* of Dram (which appears to be a toponym). Most authors have relied on the comments in the edition of Edouard Huber, who asserts that the figure of Ḍamareśvara—which might be translated as “Lord of Riots”—is a name of Avalokiteśvara, without providing any evidence for this identification.⁵³ This name however, in which the element *ḍamara* is very likely to be a Sanskritization of the Cham name (*dram*), would from its suffix *-īśvara* more naturally suggest a Śaiva context. It appears that Huber wanted to associate Ḍamareśvara with the figure of a Buddhist cult solely because of the mention of a *vihāra*. However, as we briefly mentioned in the introduction, this term has the peculiarity in Campā that it can also refer to a Śaiva establishment. The inscription C. 211, found at Khuê Trung, in the current province of Đà Nẵng and dated 898/899 (side c, line 6), helps to reinforce this point, as it mentions a “small *vihāra* here” (*atra vihārake*), at a site clearly centered on the worship of Śiva.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Mabbett, “Buddhism in Champa,” 298; Chutiwongs “Le bouddhisme au Champa,” 75.

⁵¹ A. Sanderson, “The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers (Part I),” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 90–91 (2003–2004): 415, n. 250; A. Sanderson, “The Śaiva Age,” 85 n. 150, 274, 281 n. 671.

⁵² Edition, translation and notes, A. Griffiths et al., *Văn khắc Chăm-pa tại Bảo tàng Điêu khắc Chăm - Đà Nẵng / The inscriptions of Campā at the museum of Cham sculpture in Đà Nẵng* (Ho Chi Minh City; Hanoi: VNUHCM Publishing House and Center for Vietnamese and Southeast Asian Studies University of Social Sciences and Humanities Vietnam National University Hồ Chí Minh City; École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2012), 235–236.

⁵³ Huber, “Études indochinoises VIII–XII,” 267.

⁵⁴ Edition, translation and notes, Griffiths et al., *Inscriptions of Campā at the museum in Đà Nẵng*, 263–270.

The epigraphic record contains far fewer references to *bhikṣus* than it does to *vihāras*, and no mention at all of *bhikṣuṇīs*. Only four inscriptions scattered over the entire territory of Campā make any mention of monks: one inscription in the present-day province of Thừa Thiên-Huế (C. 234, see above, pp. 287–288, and appendix 1), two inscriptions from the province of Quảng Nam (C. 66; C. 138), and one inscription from Ninh Thuận (C. 210). C. 234 dates from the 7th century. As mentioned above, the context relates more specifically to the occupations of the monks (*bhikṣukarma*) of a *vihāra*. It is at the beginning of the Indrapura dynasty in the 9th century, that Buddhist monks suddenly appear to have gained a prominent position in society. Thus, it would seem that even before Jaya Indravarman came to the throne, the rulers of this lineage had chosen to take monks as advisors, as inscription C. 138 informs us. This example is all the more remarkable because the narrative forged around the figure of Nāgapuṣpa is retrospective, and furthermore seems to allow Jaya Simhavarman to insert himself into a line of illustrious kings. Similarly, faces C and D of inscription C. 66 present a novel pattern, mentioning the community (*saṅgha*) of monks five times. The first four stanzas on the lateral face C, in particular, are devoted to this community:⁵⁵

- XL. [𑀘𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓𑀓](*dha*)*rmmārthaṃ vihāras sthāpito* [𑀘𑀓]
 (*rā*)*jño na tv ākarādānād bhikṣusaṅgha[prayo]janam*·|
 ... in view of the Dharma, and not for the king's tax collection,⁵⁶ a mon-
 astery has been founded [by me], for the benefit of the community of
 monks.
- XLI. *paribhogāni sarvāḥi (ṅ) i vihāre sthāpitāni me*
bhikṣusaṅghopabhogārthaṃ satvānāṃ ca prayojanam·
 I have placed in the monastery all means of subsistence for the use of
 the community of monks, and for the benefit of beings.

⁵⁵ The inscription was first published in French by Finot who numbered the stanzas separately face-by-face. See Finot, "Inscriptions du Quang Nam," 84–99. We quote the stanzas here with provisional cumulative numbering and according to our own revised reading and translation.

⁵⁶ On the problem of how the expressions *ākarādāna/ākarādāna* and *sarvākara-dāna/sarvākarādāna* (which show bewildering variation of spelling for vowel length) are used in the inscriptions of Campā, and especially during the Indrapura period, see Griffiths et al., *Inscriptions of Campā at the museum in Đà Nẵng*, 228 (n. 101), 275 (n. 149). We here attempt an interpretation assuming that *ākara* is used as a synonym of *kara* "tax."

- XLII. *na rājñāḥ paribhogārtho 'nākarādānasantatiḥ
bhikṣusaṅghopabhogārtho vihāras sthāpitās sadā ||*
It is not for the king's subsistence; it is without continuity of (the king's) tax collection; it is for the benefit of the community of monks that this monastery is founded in perpetuity.
- XLIII. *bhiksūñāñ ca dhanāni tāni sakalāny evañ ca ra(kṣ)anti ye
vidvadbrāhmaṇatāpasakṣitipatijñātyādayo bhuktaye
bauddhaṃ mokṣapadaṃ samīyur asamam sarvve ca te vāndhavair
yye gr̥h̥n? (ñ)anti ca nāśayanti narakam raudram patantu svayam |*
May those—wise brahmins, ascetics, relatives of the king, etc.—who protect all these possessions for the monks' use under these conditions reach the incomparable State of Release as a Buddha, and may all those who take them away and destroy them personally fall into the dreaded hell, along with their relatives!

The prominence given to monks in this inscription finds no equivalent anywhere else in the epigraphy of Campā. Moreover, this inscription contains the only mention of the *saṅgha* preserved in the whole corpus, with the possible exception of the Old Cham inscription C. 234, where the term might appear in a slightly vernacularized form. The inscription C. 66 records the tax exemption enjoyed by this community, for which the *vihāra* would have been founded. In addition to this exemption, mention is made of means of subsistence being granted to them (*paribhogāni*). Face D provides a list of these, enumerating fields and their crops, slaves, precious metals such as silver, gold, and brass, as well as other goods (*dravyāni*). While sources from earlier centuries suggest the presence of organized communities, this inscription furnishes uniquely explicit testimony to the association of the *saṅgha* with the *vihāra*. The very act of inscribing this community in stone, as part of the foundation charter of the temple of Đông Dương, raises the question of the nature of this building, as we shall see below.

The last mention of *bhikṣus* dates from 1050 and includes them within a list of followers of different religious denominations (*brāhmaṇa tapasmī bhikṣu*) in inscription C. 210. A reading of the Old Cham face of this inscription identifies the donation of a certain “crown prince and great general” (*śrī yuvarāja mahāsenāpati*), a nephew on his mother's side of the sovereign Parameśvaravarman. Following the teaching of all doctrines, especially of Śaivism and Buddhism (*tuṃ sarvvaśāstrāgama sidaḥ śaiva-saugata-siddhānta-kulāv-dhi*), he addresses this gift to the brahmins, ascetics and monks as well as to all the destitute, poor and orphans. It is notable that—as with mentions of the *vihāra*, to which we shall return—from the 9th century onwards, monks begin to be referenced generally among lists of

various religious and social groups. This seems to reflect changes in the position of Buddhism and monastic life in society.

Echoing the scarcity of epigraphic references to *bhikṣus*, the art and iconography of Campā over an equally long time period provides few representations of monks. Henri Parmentier insisted on this point, particularly in regard to the Đổng Dưong complex, where the foundation inscription nevertheless mentions Buddhist monks several times. He indicates that the rare representations show them dressed in a pleated tunic that leaves their right shoulder uncovered.⁵⁷

These monks must have been followers of the Mahāyāna.⁵⁸ The importance of the cult of the *bodhisattva* Lokeśvara/Avalokiteśvara in Campā is remarkable and as a result, much of the secondary literature is devoted to it, as indicated above. From the 9th to the 10th century, a new form of Buddhism is believed to have spread to Campā, developing and disseminating a powerful Mahāyānic current there, tinged with tantric influences.⁵⁹ This tantric coloring is particularly visible in inscription C. 138, which expresses concepts that seem similar to that of the three Buddha families (*trikula*), elaborated in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisūtra*.⁶⁰ Indeed, Chutiwongs has seen in it a trace of influence from certain tantric treatises of Java, datable to the 10th century, a hypothesis that seems to us insufficiently supported.⁶¹ Nevertheless, contacts between Java and Campā are evident in inscription C. 149, in which the *pov kluñ pilih* Rājadvāra is said to have visited the island twice. As Griffiths has shown, contacts between Campā and Java continued over a long period, at least until the 15th century, when

⁵⁷ H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments čams de l'Annam. Tome premier : Description des monuments* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1909), 360.

⁵⁸ We note in passing that in an inscription datable to the 7th century from the Chittagong region of south-eastern Bangladesh there is mention of the term *mahāyānavihāra*, the actual meaning of which the inscription alas does not elucidate (R. Furui and A. Griffiths, “Devātideva, King of Harikela: A Study Based on Inscriptions from the Chittagong Area,” forthcoming; Furui, in this volume, pp. 115–119). See also the *bhikṣu mahāyānasthavira* referred to in an Old Khmer inscription K. 410 (dated 1022), with commentary in N. Revire, “Back to the Future: The Emergence of Past and Future Buddhas in Khmer Buddhism,” in *Early Theravadin Cambodia: Perspectives from Art and Archaeology*, ed. Ashley Thompson (Singapore: SOAS-NUS Press, 2022), 260–261 n. 95.

⁵⁹ Mabbett, “Buddhism in Champa,” 297.

⁶⁰ Green, “The Many Faces of Lokeśvara,” 78.

⁶¹ Chutiwongs “Le bouddhisme au Champa,” 80.

inscription C. 43 refers to Javanese slaves.⁶² References to *bodhisattvas* do not appear in epigraphy until the late 10th century, but archaeological finds include multiple images in bronze, particularly of Avalokiteśvara, that can be dated stylistically to the 8th and 9th centuries.⁶³ These images help to corroborate the long-term importance of the *bodhisattva* cult in Campā.

As in the period from the 7th to the beginning of the 9th century, a close correlation between the monastic communities and the *vihāras* is implied by endowments of land following a pattern which is better known from donations to Śaiva shrines. Also during the Indrapura dynasty, both Buddhist and Śaiva institutions were granted agricultural land whose produce was to serve their functioning. However, in a break with the preceding centuries, a new element is now introduced into the inscriptions: the gift of labor and of wealth to these Buddhist establishments. Thus, slaves and precious metals are donated to the *saṅgha* in inscription C. 66. Similarly, inscription C. 167 mentions gifts of slaves and wealth to a *vihāra*. The liberality of rulers and sometimes of other members of the elite towards the *vihāras* is particularly emphasized during this period, a fact which seems to reflect a new relationship of the upper strata of society to Buddhism. Such royal largesse is also seen in the tax exemption enjoyed by the *vihāra* of Đồng Dương at its foundation.

While the largest number of inscriptions mentioning *vihāras* is concentrated during the period of the Indrapura dynasty, any built structures that were associated with such institutions do not seem to have left evident archaeological traces in the territories formerly controlled by this dynasty. Only one monument stands out as an exception and may to some extent constitute the only architectural vestige testifying to the presence of *vihāras* in Campā: the Đồng Dương complex in Quảng Nam province (**fig. 1**).

The first scholar to describe this site was Henri Parmentier. At the beginning of the 20th century, he conducted clearance excavations around the sanctuary of Đồng Dương that enabled him to describe its architectural layout first in an article and then as part of a multi-volume

⁶² A. Griffiths, “The Problem of the Ancient Name Java and the Role of Satyavarman in Southeast Asian International Relations around the Turn of the Ninth Century CE,” *Archipel* 85, no. 1 (2013): 67.

⁶³ Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara*, 426.

work.⁶⁴ In his writings, however, the author does not establish a clear link between the various parts of the shrine he describes and the *vihāra* mentioned in the foundation inscription C. 66 from the same site.⁶⁵

As stated above, it was Pierre Dupont who, in the late 1940s, first proposed an association between the Đòng Dương complex and the *vihāra* of Lakṣmīndra-Lokeśvara, mentioned in the inscription.⁶⁶ And it was Jean Boisselier who, in 1963, delivered the most detailed description of the complex, also taking up Dupont's proposal. Boisselier begins by explaining the organization of the sanctuary, composed from west to east of a temple with subsidiary shrines inside a rectangular enclosure measuring 326 by 155 meters, a wide causeway measuring 763 meters, and a vast rectangular basin, surrounded by moats and measuring 240 by 300 meters. He emphasizes a ground plan quite different from that of other Campā temples, being provided with vast spaces which, he believed, could correspond particularly to a Buddhist foundation, or even a *vihāra*. This initial intuition is tempered, however, by the comparisons he draws between the long hall of Section II and those found in front of Śaiva temples at Mỹ Sơn, as well as between the pillared hall of Section III and a simpler structure at the base of a temple to the goddess Po Nagar at Nha Trang.⁶⁷ Thus, while the spaces are unusually large, analogous arrangements are found at other temple sites. The same scholar also emphasizes the interior arrangements of the sanctuary and describes the *stambhas* as well as the pylons and boundary markers that frame the *gopuras* and border each enclosure, constituting constructions otherwise unknown in Campā. His description then turns to the stylization of the parasols into a cylindrical-conical masonry with diminishing rings, which he argues would singularly evoke the silhouette of the *stūpa* towers of China and Vietnam, as well as the small *stūpas* that flank representations of the Buddha in many sculptures, reliefs and molded tablets of Dvāravatī

⁶⁴ H. Parmentier, "Notes sur les fouilles du sanctuaire de Đông-du'ô'ng," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 3, no. 1 (1903): 80–85; H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif*. Tome premier; H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments çams de l'Annam*. Tome II : *Étude de l'art çam* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1918).

⁶⁵ Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif*. Tome II, 536. The author in fact affirms that "there is no difference between the great Buddhist monument of Đòng Dương and some of the many Brahmanical temples."

⁶⁶ Dupont, "Apport chinois," 269.

⁶⁷ Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, 96.

and Campā.⁶⁸ He also observes the presence in the central tower-shrine of a vast altar abutting the back wall, thus preventing circum-ambulation, a feature he considered specific to Buddhist complexes.⁶⁹ Finally, he invokes the profusion of temple statues and relief carvings, most of which he identifies as Buddhist.⁷⁰

To these observations we may add our own. First of all, the highly ornamental style of the Đồng Dương complex clearly implies that it must have been intended to be admired and visited, and so it cannot fail to bring to mind the decorative significance of the *vihāra* mentioned in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *vinaya* as the complex. Similarly, the complex answers to several preconditions of a *vihāra*'s arrangement in India. One of the best-known rules concerns its location, typically on the outskirts of an urban center.⁷¹ While no source explicitly locates Đồng Dương in a peri-urban area, several pieces of information allow us to envisage that this may well have been the case. It is striking that the Đồng Dương complex is not represented on a map intended to identify the main Campā culture sites in the province of Quảng Nam,⁷² but the nearby presence of a major road, which probably connected the main urban centers with each other, is nevertheless attested by several archeological and epigraphic sources. Another recent map shows what would have been the most likely route of this former main road, which more or less follows the track of the present-day railway line.⁷³ The presence of a major road in this area is further attested in inscription C. 140 from Hương Quê, a site some ten kilometers northeast of Đồng

⁶⁸ Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif*. Tome II, 17; Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, 96; P. Skilling, W. A. Southworth, and Trần Kỳ Phương, “A Buddhist Stele from Mỹ Thạnh in the Phú Yên Province of Central Vietnam,” in *Nandana Chutiwongs Felicitation Volume*, ed. L. Prematilleke (Bangkok: SPAFA Regional Center of Archaeology and Fine Arts, 2010), 487.

⁶⁹ Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, 96; L. Vandermeersch and J.-P. Ducrest, *Le Musée de Sculpture Cam de Đà Nẵng* (Paris: EFEO, 1997), 113; Dhar, “Buddhism, Art and Ritual Practice,” 113; P. Baptiste, “Đồng Dương Temple Iconography: Study of a Pedestal with Māra,” in *Champa: Territories and Networks of a Southeast Asian Kingdom*, ed. A. Griffiths, A. Hardy, and G. Wade (Paris: EFEO, 2019).

⁷⁰ Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, 96.

⁷¹ Schopen, “The Buddhist ‘Monastery,’” 230.

⁷² F. Barocco, Tiên Đông Nguyễn, and A. Hardy, “The Archaeological Territories of Champa in Quảng Nam and Phú Yên: Two New Maps,” in *Champa: Territories and Networks of a Southeast Asian Kingdom*, ed. A. Griffiths, A. Hardy, and G. Wade (Paris: EFEO, 2019), 80.

⁷³ Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III,” 442.

Duong.⁷⁴ The inscription indeed mentions a “highway” (*jalān rayā*). It is very likely that this road is in part the same as the one alluded to by Parmentier in his description of the ruins of Đổng Dương, which he says occupies a point lying “about 10 kilometers west of the Mandarin road, north of and not far from the road from Hà-lam to Vĩng-qui, consequently about fifty kilometers south of Tourane.”⁷⁵ It is closely followed even today by the route of National Highway 1. The relative distance of the shrine from urban centers identified by archeologists, as well as the probable proximity of a road, could thus be thought consistent with the requirements established in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *vinaya*.

As mentioned earlier, it is explicitly mentioned in the inscription C. 66 that the *vihāra* of Lakṣmīndra-Lokeśvara was dedicated to the *saṅgha* as a whole. Indeed a *vihāra* is traditionally associated with a living space, to which are attached cells for members of the *saṅgha* to reside in, most often arranged around a central courtyard. Yet the pillared hall of Đổng Dương shows no trace of such cells, and in fact no trace of cells has yet been revealed among any of the surviving architectural remains of Campā. One might seek to explain the absence of archaeologically attested cells by imagining that there once were additional structures made of perishable materials, providing the monks’ dwelling spaces in the vicinity of some sanctuaries, particularly at Đổng Dương. However, other explanations might come into view if we allow for the possibility that the term *vihāra* was not intended in the inscriptions to imply the presence of any monastic living space. As Kunthea Chhom shows in her contribution to this volume, the term *vihāra* in the neighboring Khmer country would have referred rather to the hall where the Buddha statue was installed, while cells were designated by the term *kuṭī*. It is therefore quite possible that a similar designation was used in Campā, although no mention of the term *kuṭī* appears there before the late 11th century.⁷⁶ Indeed, the pillared hall includes a large pedestal, which must have been surmounted by a large

⁷⁴ On this inscription, see E. Huber, “Etudes indochinoises VI-VII,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 11, no. 1–2 (1911a): 15. Its text remains unpublished, but we rely here on our provisional reading to be published eventually.

⁷⁵ Parmentier, “Notes sur Dóng-du’o’ng,” 80.

⁷⁶ The inscriptions C. 13, C. 94, and C. 95 mention *kuṭī*, a term to which we shall return in this article, for the meaning of its use in Campā is still unclear.

statue of the Buddha seated in *bhadrāsana*,⁷⁷ thus displayed to the community of monks as a whole.

4. From the 11th to the 14th centuries: *vihāras* in a bellicose context

By the end of the 10th century, political centers in the south of Campā, such as Panrañ (present-day Ninh Thuận), resurface in the epigraphic record alongside the traditional area of influence in present-day Quảng Nam. Buddhist institutions continued to attract elite patronage at this time, in an apparent symbiosis with Śaivism. In general, from the 11th century onwards, the epigraphic record informs us about large-scale armed conflicts that dominated political relationships between the Cham elite and their Viet and Khmer neighbors. These wars take on special prominence between the 12th and 13th centuries, when inscriptions place particular emphasis on clashes between Cambodia and Campā, during a series of events referred to in these records as the “Thirty-Two Year War.”⁷⁸ The available data on *vihāras* from this period bears the mark of these conflicts.

At the beginning of the 11th century, a king called Harivarman reigned in the present area of Quảng Nam and issued several inscriptions. Among them, two stone pillars from Mỹ Sơn engraved in Old Cham, C. 94 and C. 95, provide us with data relevant to the present discussion.⁷⁹ Inscription C. 94, first of all, relates Harivarman’s restoration of temples (*rumaḥ yāñ*), *vihāras*, hospices (*śālā*), *kuṭīs*, forest hermitages (*araṇya*), villages, and miscellaneous buildings plundered and destroyed by the Khmers. His younger brother, described as the

⁷⁷ Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, 98; Vandermeersch and Ducrest, *Le Musée de Đà Nẵng*, 107; Dhar, “Buddhism, Art and Ritual Practice,” 117; Baptiste, “Đông Dương Temple Iconography,” 346; N. Revire, “The Enthroned Buddha in Majesty: An Iconological Study” (Thèse de doctorat, Paris, Université Sorbonne nouvelle Paris 3, 2016), vol. I, 313 n. 59.

⁷⁸ Cf. C. 4; C. 17; C. 30 A2; C. 30 B4; C. 86 1; C. 100; C. 101. The term *kalih*, which is used in the inscriptions to relate to these events, more accurately refers to “misery, dispute, discord.” Cf. A. Lepoutre, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, VII : L’inscription de Jaya Paramésvaravarman à Tháp Đôi (C. 213) avec en annexe deux nouvelles inscriptions du même souverain (C. 218.2 et C. 219),” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 101 (2015): 117. However, it is generally translated as “war” in historiography and we follow this common usage here.

⁷⁹ Edition, translation and notes, L. Finot, “Notes d’épigraphie, XI : Les inscriptions de Mỹ-Sơn,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 4 (1904b): 941–943 and 943–946.

crown prince (*yuvarāja mahāsenāpati*), is also mentioned as a restorer of such foundations. This same crown prince is referred to in inscription C. 95, dated 1015/1016,⁸⁰ claiming that he had captured the Khmers, destroyed the shrines in the city of Śambhupura, and made gifts to the gods (*yān*), *vihāras*, hospices, and *kuṭīs* in various places.

In 1050/1051, rock inscription C. 13 from Po Klaung Garai (Ninh Thuận), written in Sanskrit and Old Cham and commissioned by the same “crown prince and great general” whose patronage of brahmins, ascetics, and monks we have already mentioned (above, p. 293), echoes these clashes.⁸¹ Indeed, the inscription states that after driving out and capturing the people of Panrāñ, apparently insubordinate to the king of Campā, the royal patron gave half of his people, goods, oxen, buffaloes and slaves to temples (*devālaya*), *vihāras*, *kuṭīs*, hospices and hermitages (*araṇyāśraya*).

A year later, in 1052/1053, the unpublished inscription C. 245 from Hòa Thành (in Phú Yên province) was engraved in Old Cham. It has several textual similarities with inscription C. 13, among them an enumeration of *vihāras*, *kuṭīs*, hospices, and forest hermitages (*araṇya*). The inscription mentions King Parameśvaravarman as the royal sponsor.

In 1055/1056, inscription C. 122, engraved in Old Cham on a lintel from Ninh Thuận, again mentions Parameśvaravarman and states that he re-founded the god of a *vihāra* of the royal family. A renovation of the tower is then mentioned,⁸² as well as donations of staff, cattle, rice fields and utensils to the establishment.

⁸⁰ This dating differs from that of Finot, who first read the date as 789 Śaka, or 867/868 and later, by inference, as 987 Śaka, or 1065/1066. Majumdar arbitrarily reverses the numbers to obtain the date of 978 Śaka, or 1056/1057, but the actual date is quite clearly 937 Śaka. The traditional association of the King Harivarman mentioned in inscription C. 94 with an eponymous ruler who appears notably in C. 89, dating to the end of the 11th century, is thus proved to be inaccurate. See Finot, “Les inscriptions de Mi-Son,” 944 ; L. Finot, “Notes d’épigraphie, XV : Les inscriptions de Jaya Parameçvaravarman I roi du Champa,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 15, no. 2 (1915): 48, n. 1; Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies*, 155–156; Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III,” 454 n. 36.

⁸¹ Edition, translation and notes, Finot, “Pāṇḍuraṅga,” 643–646.

⁸² G. Cœdès, “Note sur deux inscriptions du Champa,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 12 (1912): 16. In regard to the following passage from lines 1 to 2 of the inscription: *mulañ tra ra paralap kalañ ya ruñ nan jeñ avista bharuv*, our translation differs from that of Cœdès. While he understood it as “He adorns ... this house ...,” we interpret this passage as follows: “Moreover, he made this tower that was abandoned shine, so that everything was made new.” The idea of a renovation is therefore new.

In 1088/1089, the stele C. 89 from M̃y Son⁸³ refers more specifically to a donation made by a King Jaya Indravarman, the son of a King Harivarman hitherto confused with the one of C. 94. After having restored the city of Campā, which had been destroyed by conflict, the inscription relates his gift of a *vihāra* to Indra-Lokeśvara, in the district (*vijaya*) of Tranul.⁸⁴ The inscription states that he gave all the income of the *vihāra* to the god, and gave it tax-exempt status. It also lists the goods that the king presented to this establishment: *kośas* of precious metals,⁸⁵ gold ornaments for the temples, men, animals and utensils for worship.

In 1091/1092, the toponym Tranul recurs in the short inscription C. 247 (see appendix 3), which is inscribed on part of a gold censer and thus appears to be closely related to inscription C. 89. The same toponym may be identified in the variant spelling Trandūla, which occurs twice in the unpublished inscription C. 218.1, from Ninh Thuận province, that was probably issued during the reign of the same Jaya Indravarman. It includes the phrases, *putau di rumah trandūla nī* and *rāja di rumah trandūla nī*, both meaning “king in this palace of Trandūla.” In the face of these data, derived from inscriptions found across a geographically wide area, it seems hazardous for us to propose a specific identification of Tranul/Tranul/Trandūla.⁸⁶ However, its direct link to the royal family in the 11th century is now well attested. It is indeed stated in the inscription C. 247 that King Jaya Indravarman offers the censer to the *vihāra* of Tranul.

⁸³ Edition, translation and notes, Finot, “Les inscriptions de Mi-Son,” 946–951.

⁸⁴ On the meaning of the term *vijaya*, see Finot, “Les inscriptions de Mi-Son,” 950 and Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III,” 478.

⁸⁵ On such precious metal *kośas*, see J. Guy, “The *Kośa* Masks of Champa: New Evidence,” in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin, 31 August–4 September 1998*, ed. W. Lobo and S. Reimann (Hull; Berlin: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull; Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2000); W. Lobo, “‘Liṅga’ et ‘kośa’ au Champa: culte et iconographie,” in *Trésors d’art du Vietnam : La sculpture du Champa Ve–XVe siècles*, ed. Pierre Baptiste and Thierry Zéphir (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux and Musée des Arts asiatiques Guimet, 2005); A.-V. Schweyer, “Un *liṅgakośa* inscrit du Campā ancien (C. 209),” *Arts Asiatiques* 69, no. 1 (2014).

⁸⁶ As Schweyer has done recently (Schweyer, “Un *liṅgakośa*,” 112 n. 37), proposing to identify Tranul with a location in Trà Kiệu.

Finally, the latest inscription mentioning a *vihāra* is C. 116, engraved on the doorjambs of the Yang Prong temple in Đắk Lắk province.⁸⁷ The Buddhist affiliation of the monument is uncertain, but could be supported by the presence of Buddhist remains nearby.⁸⁸ Itself dating to the 13th or 14th century, C. 116 is notable for placing the *vihāra* within a larger donation. Thus, among the lists of personnel assigned to various territories or domains, one encounters on the front face of the north doorjamb a list of individuals belonging to that of the *vihāra*. Similarly, on the main face of the southern,⁸⁹ and on the outer face of the northern doorjamb,⁹⁰ the *vihāra* is repeatedly incorporated into the description of fields, as a landmark.

This overview of the inscriptions mentioning *vihāras* between the 11th and 14th centuries highlights elements of continuity over time that reflect the durability of certain practices. Thus, at the end of the 11th century, inscription C. 89 offers a new instance to the naming of a *vihāra* by joining the name of the founder to that of the patron deity, the establishment founded by King Jaya Indravarman being named Indra-Lokeśvara. Similarly, this inscription again makes public the ruler's liberality, the *vihāra* being exempt from taxes, and being endowed with generous donations. A comparison between inscriptions C. 89 and C. 247 allows us to go one step further than usual in understanding the modalities of these donations. Indeed, both refer to the

⁸⁷ Edition, translation and notes, Griffiths and Lepoutre, "Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, VIII," 246–253.

⁸⁸ These are the steles bearing inscriptions C. 240 and C. 241 from Krông Pa, a site in the neighboring province of Gia Lai (Thị Kim Vân Nguyễn, "Bức phù điêu Chăm ở chùa Bửu Tịnh [huyện Ayun-Pa, Gia Lai]," in *Những phát hiện mới về khảo cổ học năm 1999* [Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội, 2000], 701–702; Văn Tấn Hà, "Minh văn Sanskrit trên phù điêu Phật ở Gia Lai," in *Những phát hiện mới về khảo cổ học năm 2000* [Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội, 2001], 416–418), with Buddhist reliefs carved on their reverse sides. The reliefs, apparently unpublished, are known to us from EFEO rubbings n. 2406–2407. While the inscriptions are datable paleographically to the 7th–8th-century range, we have the impression that the reliefs reflect a much later period, ca. 14th–15th century, thus perhaps attesting to reuse of the stones.

⁸⁹ Griffiths and Lepoutre, "Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, VIII," 248, line 31: *pulāv vihāra taṃl glai rulaṃ putiḥ* "the island from the monastery to the forest of Rulaṃ Putiḥ."

⁹⁰ Griffiths and Lepoutre, "Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, VIII," 253, line 15: *nau vihrara taṃl glai kandaut* "it goes towards the monastery up to the Kandaut forest." The peculiar spelling *vihrara* is indicated in the edition as requiring correction to *vihāra*. The hypothesis of the presence of an extraordinarily elaborate *-ā* vocalization on the *h* is also raised.

vihāra of the Tranul district, the former specifying the actual construction of this establishment, the latter focusing on the gold censer on which the inscription is engraved, which was given to the same *vihāra*. It would thus appear that the type of utensils of worship recorded as donations in inscription C. 89 find a rare physical instantiation in the censer of C. 247 made of pure hammered gold. In both cases, the donations are accurately measured and valued, as we show in appendix 3.

In this period, however, *vihāras* are nonetheless embedded in a new type of discourse. In the bellicose context of the 11th and 12th centuries, the *vihāras* are most often included in lists of buildings that have benefited from renovation by the sovereign or are endowed with the spoils of war taken from defeated enemies. As features of the landscape in their own right, they become part of the general restoration of cities sacked by conflict and, alongside Śaiva shrines, become the object of pious compensations by rulers and members of the elite.

In the renewed epigraphic content of the period, it is striking to note the emergence of a succession of terms relevant to this article: inscription C. 13 mentions *devālaya vihāra kuṭī śāla aranyāśraya*; inscription C. 94 indicates the presence of *rumaḥ yāṃ vihāra śāla kuṭī aranya*; inscription C. 95 lists *vihāra śāla kuṭī*; and inscription C. 245 *devālaya vihāra śāla kuṭī aranya*. These terms refer to distinct foundations in the form of a list, denoting temples (*devālaya* or *rumaḥ yāṃ*), *vihāras*, hospices (*śāla*), *kuṭī* and forest hermitages. The appearance of the term *kuṭī* in the inscriptions of this period deserves special mention. The type of building to which this term refers is indeed far from obvious in Campā. In editions of Cham-language inscriptions, authors have systematically translated the word as “monks’ cells,” taking the meaning of the word from Sanskrit (and Pali). Griffiths has nevertheless demonstrated that in Java, as elsewhere in maritime Southeast Asia, the term denoted a kind of institution that is difficult to distinguish from that designated by the term *vihāra*, of which it seems likely to have become a synonym.⁹¹ This approximation raises the possibility that the term *kuṭī*, in Campā, denotes something other than cells. The likelihood that it does is reinforced by the very striking absence of archaeological remains of cells in the sanctuaries of this period, or indeed during any other period of the ancient history of Campā, even though

⁹¹ A. Griffiths, “Inscriptions of Sumatra, III: The Padang Lawas Corpus Studied along with Inscriptions from Sorik Merapi (North Sumatra) and from Muara Takus (Riau),” in *History of Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, II: Societies of Padang Lawas (Mid-Ninth–Thirteenth Century CE)*, ed. Daniel Perret, Cahier d’Archipel 43 (Paris: Association Archipel, 2014), 216; *idem*, in this volume (p. 197).

several occurrences of the term are visible in the epigraphic record. But what could the term *kuṭī* then mean in our context? While in Java, it is possible to envisage that the term refers in some inscriptions to an entire monastery, such a metonymic process seems hardly conceivable in Campā. Indeed, all of the inscriptions mentioning the word *kuṭī* also include the term *vihāra*, and the two words are not always juxtaposed, ruling out the hypothesis of a compound like the *kuṭī-vihāra* noted in Cambodian inscriptions.⁹²

In the 13th century, the integration of *vihāras* within the wider landscape continued, so much so that they became landmarks in their own right in the land demarcations of the inscription from Yang Prong (C. 116). Several inscriptions from this period show a concern for detail and accuracy in the naming and enumeration of individuals assigned to estates, and of plots of agricultural land.⁹³ In the two occurrences we have discussed here, the *vihāras* are systematically placed next to forest, on the edge of a wilderness.

5. Conclusion

The *vihāras* of Campā have not yet been clearly identified among the abundant archeological remains. Nevertheless, like the surviving Śaiva shrines that were constructed in durable materials, Buddhist *vihāras* are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. From the 7th to the 9th centuries, they bear witness to Buddhism as a well-established religion, benefiting from donations of land and organized communities. While the *vihāras* of Campā thus present the paradox of being quite visible, or the opposite, depending on the sources, the study of the Đông Dương monument raises new questions about the nature of the institution that the term *vihāra* refers to in the inscriptions. The absence of monastic cells in this complex, in particular, leads us to question the relationship of the monastic community (*saṅgha*) to the *vihāra*, which may have been quite different from the model furnished by the archeologically attested contemporary *vihāras* in India. Did monks in Campā live in close proximity to the *vihāra*, or did they lead a rather different mode of life than their brethren in India, or even in Cambodia, where cell remains have been found at the royal monastery

⁹² Chhom, in this volume (p. 252).

⁹³ Griffiths and Lepoutre, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, VIII.”

of Ta Prohm in Siem Reap province?⁹⁴ As mentioned above, it is conceivable that monastic cells were built in perishable materials such as wood and bamboo, leaving no permanent traces. It is notable, however, that an absence of cells is also encountered in Indonesia. In North Sumatra, for example, where many Buddhist temples dating from the 11th to 13th centuries still bear the designation of *biara*, without any trace of cells being found, researchers initially thought that the term *biara* applied to the temple complex as a whole. The possibility has also been noted in Indonesia that the late Vajrayāna tantric context may have involved a monastic life not constrained by the rules of the *vinaya*.⁹⁵ In such a context, the term *vihāra* could refer to the whole or part of a temple complex, without necessarily implying the presence of any monks' quarters at all. The Đòng Dương site may have to be seen in the light of this comparison.

A renewal of the content of epigraphic production regarding the *vihāra* is notable under the Indrapura dynasty, which places a transformed relationship to Buddhism at the heart of its discourse. Royal patronage, and that of the ruling elites in general, becomes prominent in the transactions donating goods and individuals to the *vihāra*, and the piety portrayed in the inscriptions seems to testify to a strengthening of this religion's place alongside Śaivism. The period extending from the 11th to the 14th centuries is marked by a rise in political conflict that places the *vihāra* among lists of restored buildings endowed with the spoils of war. They subsequently become part of the landscape and thus serve as landmarks in later inscriptions.

Appendix 1: The inscription C. 234

We first documented this inscription during fieldwork in 2010 and edit it here from the EFEO rubbing preserved at its library in Paris under number n. 2091 (**fig. 2**).

- (1) (yā)ñ· pu poñ vihāra [3×]· siy· bhikṣukarmma|
- (2) (ma)ḥ sa(nī)y(·) kasaḷkaiḥ [1×] saṃha (siy)· vi(h)[ā]ra
padh(i)luv·
- (3) kadā vaḥ (na/ta) (Ai)s· ha(ṭe/U) [1×]· [2×]· (mara daiva)
bhi[kṣu]karmma di vihāra

⁹⁴ Chhom, in this volume (pp. 250–251).

⁹⁵ Griffiths, “Inscriptions of Sumatra, III,” 240 n. 140; Griffiths, in this volume (p. 191).

The only segments we are able to translate with conviction are: *yān pu poṃ vihāra*, “deity of the *vihāra*”; *vihāra padhiluv*, “*vihāra* formerly”; and *bhikṣukarma di vihāra*, “occupations of the monks in the *vihāra*.” As to the date of this regrettably damaged epigraph, it is paleographically remarkable that the central down-stroke of the *ka* descends much lower than the two outer strokes and curls into a hook-like shape on the left. The occurrences of *ma*, moreover, show a triangular body that forms a kind of loop whose lines cross in the upper part. These seem to be archaic forms. The same applies to the triangular body of the *va*. On this basis, we estimate the inscription to date from the 7th century.

Appendix 2: The inscription C. 167

This inscription, engraved on a *cuve à ablutions*, i.e., the base into which a statue’s tenon was to be inserted, was first reported by Parmentier;⁹⁶ mentioned in the *Chronique* section of *BEFEO* 19;⁹⁷ included in the EFEO’s epigraphic inventory by Cœdès;⁹⁸ mentioned again by Finot in an article on Lokeśvara.⁹⁹ The whereabouts of the original artifact are unknown. We edit the inscription from the EFEO rubbings under number n. 291 (**fig. 3–7**). The fact that our translation of this difficult text is often incomprehensible reflects how much of it we are not yet able to understand in the present state of knowledge of the Old Cham language and the particularities of Sanskrit usage in Campā.

⁹⁶ Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif. Tome premier*, 564.

⁹⁷ Anonyme, “Chronique – Indochine française,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 19, no. 1 (1919): 103.

⁹⁸ G. Cœdès, “Liste générale des inscriptions du Champa et du Cambodge,” in *Listes Générales Des Inscriptions et Des Monuments Du Champa et Du Cambodge*, by G. Cœdès and H. Parmentier (Hanoi: Imprimerie d’Extrême-Orient, 1923), 37.

⁹⁹ L. Finot, “Lokeśvara en Indochine,” in *Études asiatiques publiées à l’occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient par ses membres et ses collaborateurs*, vol. 1 (Paris-Bruxelles: G. Van Oest, 1925), 234.

Text

^{A1}svasti | ❀ |

I. Anuṣṭubh

śrī-Indravarmmaṇo rājño mahīndrādhipatir vvaram·|
bhaktyā padāmvujarṇ dḷī?⟨i⟩vyarṇ| vandati śrīmato
bhavān(·)|

II. Āryā

dhī-bhāj jita-ripu-vala-(v)[ān·] ^{A2}ruciratayā śarṇ prajāsu
sa śrīmat·|
rākendur iva mahīndrādhipatir ayarṇ prāptavān avanau|

III. Anuṣṭubh

cūrṇṇānkita-(vadane ye/vadanāyai)| prabhātaḥ svavanau
pri^{A3}ye|
lyarṇ-Indrabhūmi-subhadre| (bha)dre sadam gir asya te|

IV. Vasantatilakā

śrī-Indravarmma-ṇṇpater adhikāñ ca kīrttiṇ|
paśyan vibhūti-viditaḥ kutala-sthitā;y!⟨m⟩ yaḥ|
tanreñ-purī^{B1}ndra Iti so yam imā(m) mahātmā|
kīrttiṇ svikāñ dhavalatām prati karttum icchet·||

V. Śārdūlavikrīḍita

śākābde rasa-loka-maṅgala-yute jīve tula-sṭhe bhṛ^{B2}gau|
meḷś?⟨ṣ⟩a-sṭhe 'pi ca bauddhḷam?⟨a⟩ eva ca bhavān
mḷā?⟨a⟩hīndralokeśvaraḷm·?⟨h⟩|
candre kanyḷa?⟨ā⟩-gate ca yo nava-niśānt(ā/a)m sthāpitaḥ
kīrttaye|
meḷśen?⟨ṣeṇ⟩āpi mahī^{B3}ndrapūraṇa-pure vaiśākha-
śuklasya saḥ||

VI. Anuṣṭubh

puṇyarṇ śubham upanītam| svāmvāyāy idam eva ca|
pu-pov-ku-kunukuḥ-devyai| tena tribhuvanādhikam·

VII. Āryā

^{C1}śrī-Indravarmma-ṅṅpati|r yyaś cājñā(m) pov-ku-
mahīndrādhīpatau|
sarvvām muktīm kṛpayā |mahīndralok[e]śvarāyādāt·||

VIII. Śārdūlavikrīḍita

tām muktīm sakalām tatas tava subha^{C2}drā-samjñākāyāy
adā|t
sat-kīrtty-ābharāṇaugham eva ca bhavāms tanreñ-
purīndro yuvā|
tasyai ketaka-reṇu-reṇu-vadanāyāi prīty-anāsāya yaḥ|
sau^{C3}[bhā]gye sati (s)au-viśāla-nayanāyāi cāvalāyāi sadā|
❖|

humā hali| kedvuk·| cuvair· bhoja | lahaur·| pitau janreḥ| humā (p)uñ·
manat· ^{D1}Ikān· (p)u| curiḥ| diñin·| Añau(y)·| (lā)c·| luvauñ·| kaun·
vauk· ndāk· (k)laur· dandau vukī Avista humā nan·| ^{D2}cluñ· dhuñ·
ñauk· dlai klov· nan·() lamvov·| kravāv·| hulun·| limān·| māḥ pirak kā
Ājñā pov· ku mahī^{D3}ndrādhīpatiḥ _ grāc· vuḥ di vihāra śrīmahīndra-
lokeśvara| yām pu pov· kuv· kā vriñ vihāra niñ mata^{D4}ndāḥ sarvvataḥ
riñ nariñ nau Oḥ jeñ si top· hulun· dravya vihāra niñ kā Ājñā pov·
ku Atat· di Inā ^{E1}Oḥ jeñ si kluñ· dauk kan· satyodakāna man·| siñ
ya rakṣā nagara tanreñ Aṅgāḥ tuñ ra pandam man·| niñ vukan trā
nasiñ sa^{E2}nrauñ| sa (ma)ruy· pāt· limān· pāt· rocibhavya pu vinai
Ājñā pov· ku mahīndrādhīpatiḥ kā vriñ kan· pu vinai subhadrā ^{E3}siñ
ya rakṣā nagara niñ· Aṅgā⟨(h)⟩ tuy· ra pandam manna sā sanrauñ
nasiñ sā caruv· tapai ya jeñ lo nariy· nān· ya jeñ| dvā ta ^{E4}matandāḥ
niy· nāma| siy· ya pamataḥ| Asov· lūḥ| Asov· hitam pāt· matā ñu ndoy·
Inā ñū Inā Amā ^{E5}gañp· gotra ñū lac· dauk· di Avīcī Annan· naraka
tam| yuga Antaḥ pralaya| siy· ya Oḥ pama^{E6}taḥ pron· bhogopabhoga
si matmuv· va driñ tra Inā Amā driñ di svargga ❖|

Translation

Hail!

I. Milord (*bhavān*)¹⁰⁰ Mahīndrādhīpati praises, with devotion, the excellent, divine lotus-feet of the illustrious King Śrī Indravarman.

¹⁰⁰ The solecistic uninflected use of *bhavān* in the Sanskrit portion seems to be an attempt at rendering the title *ājñā pov ku mahīndrādhīpati* observed in the Cham portion.

II. This Mahāindrādhīpati here, endowed with intelligence, having defeated the army of the enemies, has obtained peace and wealth on earth for the people by his brilliance, like the full moon.

III. The two dear ones with powdered faces, who shine on the beautiful earth, Princess Indrabhūmi¹⁰¹ and Subhadrā,¹⁰² they are his good ladies.

IV. Seeing the superior glory of the King Śrī Indravarman, established on the surface of the earth, he, known for his power, magnanimous, desired¹⁰³ to render his own glory as king of Tanreṅpurī towards whiteness.

V. In the Śaka year counted by the (6) aromas, the (7 or 3) worlds and the (8) signs of good omen (i.e., in 876 or 836), when Jupiter was in Libra, Venus in Aries, the Moon in Virgo, [the Sun] in Aries, at the end of the ninth (*tithi*) of the [waxing] fortnight of Vaiśākha, has been installed milord Mahāndralokeśvara, the Buddhist one, at Mahāndrapūraṇapura, for the sake of glory (of the founder, Mahāindrādhīpati).

VI. This beautiful pious work, which excels in the three worlds, has been assigned to his own mother, milady (*pu pov ku*) Kunukuh Devī, by him.

VII. The king Śrī Indravarman graciously gave to milord (*ājñā pov ku*) Mahāindrādhīpati¹⁰⁴ a complete (fiscal) exemption in favor of Mahāndralokeśvara.¹⁰⁵

VIII. Then milord the crown prince (*indro yuvā = yuvarājā*) of Tanreṅpurī, gave your¹⁰⁶ complete (fiscal) exemption [and] a flood of ornaments in the form of a good reputation, to her called Subhadrā, whose face was powdered with *ketaka* powder, whose eyes were extraordinarily wide, a weak woman, in order for (their) love never to be destroyed, as long as she was enjoying conjugal fertility.

¹⁰¹ If we adopt Cham word order, this name can mean the same as Mahāindra. We presume that this is Mahāindrādhīpati's mother.

¹⁰² The Cham portion makes it explicitly clear that this is Mahāindrādhīpati's wife.

¹⁰³ The use of optative forms to express past tense is seen more often in Campā inscriptions.

¹⁰⁴ Titles beginning with (uninflected) *ājñā* figure in several contemporary Sanskrit inscriptions. This same title is given to Mahāindrādhīpati in the Cham portion.

¹⁰⁵ Awards of *mukti* to gods are found in several contemporary inscriptions.

¹⁰⁶ This is presumably addressed to the divine figure on whose pedestal this inscription is engraved. For similar usage of a sudden second person pronoun addressed to the god, see C. 216 A, l. 16 (*tvayi*).

^{C3-D3}Which rice fields? Kedvuk, Cuvair Bhoja, Lahaur (“Evening”), Pitau Janreh. Rice fields Puñ Manat fish Pu, Curih, Diñin (“Cold”), Añauy, Lāc, Luvauñ. Kaun, marshes, plains, brush, ponds, hills, all those ricefields. The *chuñ dhuñ* above these forests [and] brushes. Bovines, buffaloes, slaves, elephants, gold, silver. Then *ājñā* P.K. Mahīndrādhīpati offered (*grāc*) [and] gave them to the *vihāra* of Śrī Mahīndralokeśvara.

^{D3-E1}The Y.P.P.K. then allowed this *vihāra* to cancel (payment of taxes) in every way (*sarvataḥ*), from all perspectives (? *riṃ nariy nau*). May no-one steal the slaves owned by this *vihāra*. Then *ājñā* P.K. transferred [the merit?] to his mother. May no-one destroy (*kluñ*) *dauk kan* (?) the truth-water and food either, who protects the country (*nagara*) of Tanreñ *aṅgāḥ tuy ra pandam man*, this one and other ones. One *sanrauñ* of cooked rice. Four *maruy*. Four elephants. *rocibhavya* the noble woman (*pu vinai*) of *ājñā* P.K. Mahīndrādhīpati then gave *kan* the noble woman Subhadrā. Who protects this country, *aṅgāḥ tuy ra pandam man*: one *sanrauñ* of cooked rice, one *caru tapai* which *jeṃ lo nariy nan ya jeṃ* two *ta* destroys this, name. He who breaks [this]: a mutilated dog, a four-eyed black dog mounts [his] mother and father reciprocally, [his] family, he will fall and reside in the Avīci, that is hell, until the end of the ages. He must not limit the size (*proñ*) of the means of subsistence, who wishes to meet his uncles and aunts and his mother and father in heaven.

Appendix 3: The inscription C. 247

The object on which the inscription is engraved was acquired in 2016 by the collector François Mandeville (Hong Kong) who kindly entrusted us with its publication (fig. 8). Unfortunately, no information is available as to its original provenance. It is 8.57 cm high and is made of pure hammered gold, 1 mm thick, with a total weight of 141 g. In its present state, it consists of only two intact segments of an object that would originally have had at least three sections fitted together. The two remaining segments are joined together by gold rivets, two of which remain in place. Three additional rivets, unevenly spaced, are located towards the opening of the lower segment of the artifact, below the inscription. It is conceivable that these last rivets were used to attach a base or cover to hide the interior and thus provide a flat surface

at the foot of the object. They are similar in appearance to rivets observable on gold or silver *liṅgakośas* from Campā.¹⁰⁷ Finally, two holes in the upper end of the first segment suggest that it too was originally attached to another segment, now lost, that would have been mounted above it.

This curious object can be compared directly with the base of a bronze censer bearing inscription C. 208 now preserved in Ho Chi Minh City, which we have published in a previous study.¹⁰⁸ That inscription is dated 1052 Śaka (1130–1131 CE) and identifies its support explicitly as a censer. As in the case of the present inscription, the text circles around the base on which it is engraved.

It cannot be entirely ruled out that the artifact bearing C. 247 may have formed the pedestal of a religious icon or *śivaliṅga*.¹⁰⁹ However, we find it more likely that these two segments are the pedestal for a type of ritual utensil, and more specifically of a censer. The loss of the upper section(s) prevents a complete comparison with other known objects, and—unlike the above-mentioned case of C. 208, or that of C. 206¹¹⁰—the inscription does not contain any element capable of clarifying the nature of the artifact. Nevertheless, we will present below data that support our hypothesis.

Text (fig. 9)

yāṃ po ku śrī jaya Indravarmmadeva Āṃ śrīpatiḥ Urāṃ lamvīn·
campa vuḥ pak· yāṃ vihāra tranul· vana 'nāk· 10 thiṃ śakarāja
1013 ||

Translation

Y.P.K. Śrī Jaya Indravarmmadeva glorifying himself (*āṃ*) as
Śrīpati, man of Lamvīn [in] Campā, has given to the god of the

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, P. Baptiste and T. Zéphir, eds., *Trésors d'art du Vietnam : La sculpture du Champa V^e–XV^e siècles* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux & Musée des Arts asiatiques Guimet, 2005), 188–191, nos 7 and 8 (Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, inventory nos. MA 6900 and MA 6835).

¹⁰⁸ Bảo Tàng Lịch Sử, Thành phố Hồ Chí Minh, inv. no. BTL 24202. See Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III,” 477–480.

¹⁰⁹ For an example of a round pedestal used to support a gold and silver *liṅga*, see Baptiste and Zéphir, eds., *Trésors d'art du Vietnam*, 294–295, no. 78 (Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, inventory no. MA 7100). However, nothing comparable to the lotus petal motif, present at various levels on this *liṅga* pedestal, can be found on the artifact we are discussing.

¹¹⁰ Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III,” 479.

vihāra of Tranul [this object] weighing 10 *thil*¹¹¹ [in the year] 1013 of the Śaka king.

We have already mentioned above the similarities between the support of the present inscription and that of C. 208; their texts are also comparable.¹¹² A text even closer to ours, both in date and content, though engraved on a different kind of support, is that of C. 209, published by Anne-Valérie Schweyer.¹¹³ Nevertheless, beyond the general similarities noted in these two additional inscriptions, both engraved on cult utensils, the most useful data for elucidating the content of the new inscription are found first and foremost in the inscription C. 89, which dates to 1010 Śaka (1088/1089 CE) and is engraved on a large stela from M̃y Son.¹¹⁴ The association of the royal donor with the toponym *lamvīn* is most explicitly expressed in this stela,¹¹⁵ which also relates how the ruler founded the *vihāra* of Indra-Lokeśvara at Tranul.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ For the expression *vana 'nāk*, see the discussion in A. Lepoutre, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, IV : Les inscriptions du temple de Svayamutpanna. Contribution à l’histoire des relations entre les pouvoirs cam et khmer (de la fin du XII^e siècle au début du XIII^e siècle),” *Journal Asiatique* 301, no. 1 (2013): 225, n. 93; as for *thim̃*, this is a variant that we also find in other inscriptions (C. 30 B2, l. 5 and C. 92 A, l. 12) of the word *thim̃l*, that designates a measure of weight. On this last term, corresponding to the Khmer *tael* and the Malay *tahil*, see Lepoutre, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, IV,” 255, n. 192.

¹¹² || *yāṃ po ku di yāṃ ciy· paṃṇ· pu dhiḥ Urāṃ rupaṇ· Anāk· pu lyaṃ śrī devarāja vuh Asaṇ· nī pak· 87 yāṃ parameśvarīrūpan· 88 kāla śakarāja 1052*: “Majesty of majesties 89, Prince Paṃṇ, sire Dhiḥ, man of Rupaṇ, son of P. L. Śrī Devarāja, offered this [incense] bearer to this image of Parameśvari in [the year] 1052 of the Śaka king.”

¹¹³ Schweyer, “Un *liṅgakośa*,” 108: [*yāṃ*] *po[ṃ]* *ku śr[ī]* *jaya Inravarmmadeva punaḥ* {about 7 akṣara} (*ca*)*nraḥ niṃ pasyāṃ mulaṇ· kāla śakarāja 1011* || *vana 'nāk· pirak· 24 thil· | māḥ (4)* {about 14 akṣara} “... Y. P. K. Śrī Jaya Indravarman again ... this moon to adorn it again, in the era of the Śaka king 1011. Weight in silver 24 *thil*; in gold 4”

¹¹⁴ Finot, “Les inscriptions de Mi-Son,” 946–951; Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III,” 458.

¹¹⁵ C. 89 B, lines 1–2 (we quote our own reading and translation, slightly modified from Finot’s): *madā pu poṃ tana rayā sa driy· sidaḥ yāṃ poṃ ku śrī jaya indravarmmadeva ya paramarājādhirāja vik· sthāna janmotpatti di lamvīn· campapura* ... “There was one ruler (*pu poṃ tana rayā*), namely Y. P. K. Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva, supreme king among kings. The place of his birth was at the Lamvīn of Campapura”

¹¹⁶ C. 89 B, lines 16–19 (again, we quote our own reading and translation, slightly modified from Finot’s): *tathāpi si yāṃ po ku śrī jaya Inravarmmadeva yaṃṇ· devatāmūrṭti nan· kā pajem̃ nagara rumaṃ jumvuv· patruḥ taṃl· rilvai kā syāṃ*

In the sequence *Ām̃ śrīpatih*, which gives the nickname of the ruler, we seem to be dealing with an ancient form of the modern Cham word *añ*, for which Aymonier and Cabaton provide the following meanings in their dictionary: “to act on the authority of, to rely on; to invoke, to cite in one’s favor; to boast, to glorify oneself.”¹¹⁷ We had hitherto only read *Ām̃* in inscription C. 20, our edition of which is not yet published.¹¹⁸ In the copy of Aymonier and Cabaton’s dictionary preserved at the Société Asiatique in Paris, we find opposite p. 4 a hand-written citation for *Ām̃* taken from C. 26 (ll. 4–5), where we had hitherto read *Aum̃*.¹¹⁹ Our reading was undoubtedly wrong: *Aum̃* should be corrected to *Ām̃*, and this emendation applies also to our published readings of several other inscriptions.¹²⁰

To conclude this appendix, and to support our hypothesis as to the nature of the object on which the inscription we have just presented is engraved, we draw the reader’s attention to the fact that the epigraphic corpus itself reveals the existence of gold censers. Indeed, the Sanskrit inscription engraved on the northern doorjamb of the entrance door to the main shrine of the Po Nagar temple in Nha Trang, which records the gift of cult furnishings made in 986 Śaka (1064–1065 CE; just twenty-seven years before the date of our inscription) by King Rudravarman in favor of the local goddess, mentions among other items the gift of a *kanakadhūpādhāraṇa*:¹²¹

samyddhi samū pūrvvakāla mulaṃ tra ra vuḥ vihāra śrī Indralokeśvara di tranūl-vijaya ra vuḥ samasta Upabhoga devatā nan- paripūrṇa: “but this Y. P. K. Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva who was a divine incarnation then raised the whole territory of the country so that it became beautiful and prosperous again as in the past; he gave the monastery of Śrī Indra-Lokeśvara in the Tranūl district; he gave all the means of sustenance in full to that deity.”

¹¹⁷ Étienne Aymonier and Antoine Cabaton, *Dictionnaire čam-français*, Publications de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient 7 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906), 5.

¹¹⁸ C. 20, lines 3–4: *sidah yām pu rājapautra punai sūryalakṣmī Ām̃ catiṃ pāṇḍurāṅgeśa*.

¹¹⁹ In the same copy of the dictionary there is also the epigraphic phrase *puruya tandāk Āñ putra rāja Urāñ hipa* which we have not yet found in any inscription known to us. Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III,” 468–69.

¹²⁰ Griffiths et al., “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, III,” 473 (C. 221, l. 1 and C. 223, l. 1), 476 (C. 118); Lepoutre, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, IV,” 264 (C. 86.1, l. 2). Additional readings of the same word as *Oñ*, found in the works of our predecessors (e.g., Finot, “Les inscriptions de Mi-Son,” 936 for C. 90 D, l. 6), should also be corrected.

¹²¹ C. 31 A.2, line 8–11; text and translation after Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites*, 277–279.

*punar idam tāmṅvūlabhājanam jaladevarūpaṁ kaladhautakaladhautama-
yam ekam pañcakaṭṭikāmānam aṣṭapaṇottaram kanakadhūpādihāraṇam
ekam ekakaṭṭikāmānam dvipaṇottaram kamvujarajatabhṅgāraś caikaḥ
pañcakaṭṭikāmāno daśapaṇottaraḥ kanakachattram saptapaṇamānan te-
nāsyai prahitam upabhogārtham iti*

“Moreover, he gave her this for her use: a gold betel vessel, decorated with a representation of the sign of Āṣāḍha, weighing five *kaṭṭikā* and eight *paṇa*; a gold incense burner, weighing one *kaṭṭikā* and two *paṇa*; a silver jug, from Cambodia, weighing five *kaṭṭikā* and ten *paṇa*; a gold parasol weighing seven *paṇa*.”

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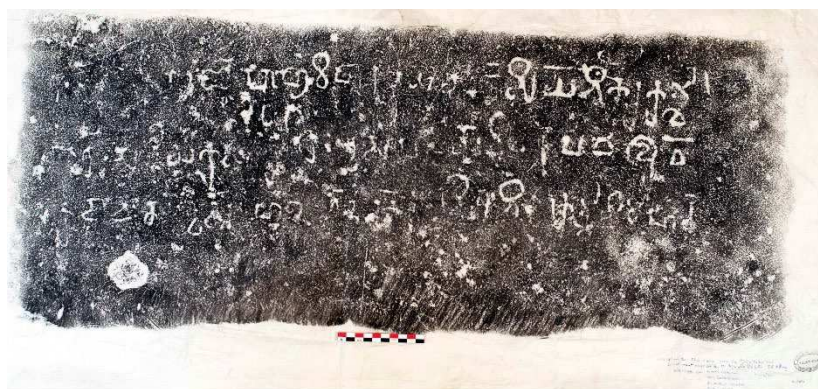
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Figures and Map

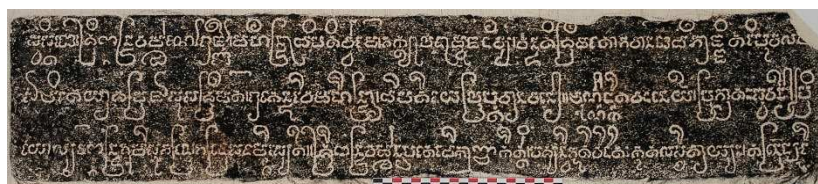
Figure 1. Central tower-shrine and miniature stūpas at the site of Đồng Dương (viewed from the south-east). EFEO photothèque VIE00197.



⑩

n. 2091 / C.

Figure 2. EFEO estampage n. 2091 (C. 234).



⑩

n. 291 A / C. 167 A

Figure 3. EFEO estampage n. 291 (C. 167, face A).



⑩

n. 291 B / C. 167 B

Figure 4. EFEO estampage n. 291 (C. 167, face B).



n. 291 C / C. 167 C

Figure 5. EFEO estampage n. 291 (C. 167, face C).



n. 291 D / C. 167 D

Figure 6. EFEO estampage n. 291 (C. 167, face D).



n. 291 E / C. 167 E

Figure 7. EFEO estampage n. 291 (C. 167, face E).



Figure 8. Photograph of the object bearing the inscription C. 247. Collection François Mandeville.



Figure 9. Composite photograph of inscription C. 247.



Map: The findspots of the Campā inscriptions mentioned in this study.