

During the Late 8th and Early 9th Centuries A.D.," *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998*, Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin, August 31–September 4, 1998, eds. Wibke Lobo and Stefanie Reimann, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, Special Issue and Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 238 (as quoted in Vickery, "Revising Champa History," 18), identifies the earliest reference to Vijaya dating to c. 1153–84, but notes that a recent archaeological assessment of Binh Dinh has identified three citadels dating to the eleventh century (Southworth, "The Origins of Campa in Central Vietnam, A Preliminary Review," 256). It is only in the twelfth century that we first see Cham inscriptions and temples in this region (Vickery, 18). Vickery also points out that there were three important Champa centers, one located in the Thu Bon River basin, a second in the vicinity of Nha Trang, and the third in the vicinity of Phan Rang prior to the twelfth century, when Vijaya finally became the fourth. Most historians, beginning with Finot, assumed this was the capital beginning around 1000 and definitively since 1044 (Vickery, 17). Vickery also discusses Cham-Khmer history in "Cambodia and its Neighbors in the fifteenth century," Asia Research Institute Working Paper, No. 27 (June 2004), <http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/pub/wps.html>, 5–9, 51–58.

9 Scholarship until the end of the twentieth century saw the history of Champa as a history of a single kingdom whose capital was driven farther and farther south by the Vietnamese. This perception has changed, not only in disavowing the single kingdom concept, but also in rethinking the role the Cham people have played in the frequent battles fought between themselves and the Vietnamese. In many instances they appear the aggressors.

10 One recently excavated eighth-century temple on the coastline near Hue (fig. 2) suggests the temples' importance as landmarks or beacons, for it was built on a sandy beach where there was no possibility of its survival (except by being buried by sand, which it eventually was). (Higham suggests a similar use of pre-Khmer temples along the rivers of Cambodia; see Charles Higham, *The Civilization of Angkor* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2001], 149.) Like the temples on hilltops, it marked a ruler's prestige in both the physical and the religious world, and announced to the merchants whose ships hugged the coastline, avoiding the tricky shoals and currents of the sea, that they neared a prosperous port of call.

11 Owing to a storm, Gunavarman's ship was not able to make its scheduled stop between the Javanese port of She-p'o and China. Kenneth Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985), 74.

12 Kenneth R. Hall and John K. Whitmore, "Southeast Asian Trade and the Isthmian Struggle, 1000–1200 A.D.," Kenneth R. Hall and John K. Whitmore, eds., *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History: The Origins of Southeast Asian Statecraft*, Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia 11 (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1976), 305; Manguin, personal communication, December 2004.

13 Vickery, "Revising Champa History," 49.

14 For the most recent compilation of Champa inscriptions, see Karl-Heinz Golzio, *Inscriptions of Campa based on the editions and translations of Bergaigne, Etienne Aymonier, Louis Finot, Edouard Huber and other French scholars and of the work of R. C. Majumdar* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2004), online version downloaded from <http://www.shaker.de>, Vo Canh inscription, 1.

15 The French colonial archaeologists who excavated, restored, and researched them in the early part of the twentieth century numbered the temples of My Son. The French wrote most of the early scholarship about the temples of Champa.

16 Pierre Baptiste, "Les Piédestaux et les soubassements dans l'art Cham Hindou: une spécificité?" in *Tresors d'art du Vietnam: la sculpture du Champa v–xv siècles*; eds. Pierre Baptiste et Thierry Zephir (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux; Paris: Musée des arts asiatiques Guimet, 2005), 109–21. In drawing a parallel between the decoration of the pedestal and that of the temple base, Baptiste notes the ambiguity of Indian texts in discussing the pedestal upon which the deity is placed and the temple within which it is placed, and concludes by asking if the temple is not both the divine abode of the god and the god itself.

17 Kenneth R. Hall, "Khmer Commercial Development and Foreign Contacts under Sūryavarman I," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18, no. 3 (October 1975): 325.

18 Baptiste, "Les Piédestaux et les soubassements dans l'art Cham Hindou: une spécificité?" 111–13.

19 Paul Michael Taylor, *Beyond the Java Sea: Art of Indonesia's Outer Islands* (New York: Harry N. Abrams and the Smithsonian Institution, 1991), 206, fig. 7.18; Jean Paul Barbier, *Messages in Stone: Statues and Sculptures from Tribal Indonesia in the Collections of the Barbier-Mueller Museum* (Milan: Skira, 1998), fig. 24, Sumba; fig. 18, stone platform from central Timor; fig. 17, stone seat Nias. Also Jean Paul Barbier and Douglas Newton, *Islands and Ancestors: Indigenous Styles of Southeast Asia* (Germany: Prestel Verlag, 1988), Plate 46, a tomb, figs. 130, 141, 143.

20 Jean Paul Barbier, *Messages in Stone: Statues and Sculptures from Tribal Indonesia in the Collections of the Barbier-Mueller Museum*, fig. 221, p. 160, a village of Lao among Manggarai who worship the clan's founding ancestors on a stone altar.

21 Another temple panels that are ninth to tenth century Khmer merchant Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*.

22 Baptiste, "Les Piédestaux et les soubassements dans l'art Cham Hindou: une spécificité?" 111–13. sources in part on the pedestal.

23 Tran Ky Phuong, Van Trach Hoang, thien trong di dikpalakas o dikpalakas in hoc va Cong Science and Science, Tech Pierre Baptiste Présentation Amis du Ch 4–6. Pierre B Hoa: un bal l'iconographie Asiatiques.

24 The dating of source of so this dating is bassements

25 Ibid., 120.

26 Ian Glover, Province, Ce sented at th Champa, Au Ian Glover, Tra kieu and Viet Nam," *Uncovering Yamagata*, Bon River V

27 Geoff Wade translation, 2005, <http://> note 35.

28 Ibid., 11, an onry, horse 16, 19. See dans le sty de L'Ecole 267–74.