

- century after a rebellion against the rule of the Eastern Han. Linyi is generally recognized as the first Cham polity, and this paper takes the same position.
- 5 For archaeological activities in Gò Cẩm and Trà Kiệu since 1990 and their reports, see Glover & Dung 2010:78-9 footnote 8
  - 6 Glover & Dung 2010: 61, 69; Yamagata 2010: 92
  - 7 Yamagata 2010: 89
  - 8 Glover & Dung 2010: 61
  - 9 He 2003: 37-44; Wang & Ma 2007: 78-93; see Yamagata 2010: 95, fig. 11 for images of eave tiles found in Nanjing and Trà Kiệu.
  - 10 Yamagata 2010: 94
  - 11 Yamagata 2010: 96
  - 12 Đông Dương sculptures, which were once thought to be the most profoundly original Cham art of all, are now widely acknowledged as the only group which reflects some Chinese iconography. Pierre Dupont was the first scholar who studied Chinese influence on Đông Dương sculptures, particularly on statues of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and monks. Jean Boisselier then studied the Chinese influence on bronze Avalokitesvaras. (Dupont 1951: 267-278; Boisselier 1984: 319-338)
  - 13 Dupont 1951: 274
  - 14 Yu 1994: 14
  - 15 Gu 2003: 275-324
  - 16 Guy 1995: 76; 2009: 145-6.
  - 17 This Buddha type could be seen in western Indian Buddhist art, such as in the Ajanta cave 26 (late 5<sup>th</sup> century), Kanheri cave 90 (mid-6<sup>th</sup> century), and Ellora cave 12 (late 7<sup>th</sup> century), see Huntington 1985, fig. 12.11, 12.25, 12.38; in Central Thailand with *vitarka mudrā* such as a terracotta statue excavated from Ratchaburi province in 1962 and dated to the first half of 7<sup>th</sup> century, see Guy 2014: 199, cat. 110, and a stone carved Buddha with the same *mudrā* found in Wat Phra Men in the Nakhon Pathom province dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, see Brown 2014:190, fig. 118; and in Candi Mendut in Central Java, a large stone carved Vairocana with *dharmacakra mudrā* (dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century), see Fontein 1990: 187
  - 18 Wang 1990: 290-313. On the contrary, it is mentioned in the *Ascending Sūtra*: After his dwelling and preaching in Tuṣita Paradise, where he is seated in the crossed-legged pose and identified as Bodhisattva Maitreya.
  - 19 Example see Mogao grottoes, cave 272, illustrated in Dunhuang wen wu yan jiu suo ed. 2011: 7
  - 20 Lee 2013: 137
  - 21 One is in the Da Nang Museum. (Cat.19 BTC 186-3.6), and the other in the Musée Rietberg, Zurich, collection no. RHJ 403.
  - 22 Baptiste & Zéphir 2010: 223
  - 23 Examples of flame pattern haloes in Chinese Buddhist art are abundant in stone carvings, cave paintings or metal statues. One of the earliest surviving examples is a Northern Wei dynasty gilded bronze Shakyamuni Buddha, inscribed and dated to the first year of the Taihe reign, 477 CE, is in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. (Cai 2011: 82-3, no. 19) Jessica Rawson suggests this ornamentation was enlivened from the half-palmette leaves in the earlier period and derived from a concept borrowed from Iran, because the roundel had originally been intended to express the notion of a halo of light, thus a plant was somewhat out of place. (Rawson 1984: 65.) Sun Ji indicated that the 'flame pattern halo' evolved from the 'Flaming Shoulder Buddha (*Yenjianfo*, 焰肩佛)' of the Gandharan school, i.e. a stone statue 'The Buddha of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī' from the Paitava monastery, Afghanistan, now in the Musée Guimet, no. MG17478 (Sun, 2016: 257-270). The iconography of a 'flaming shoulder Buddha' did spread into China, such as a Six Dynasties period (222-589 CE) gilded bronze figure now in the Harvard University collection, no. 1943.53.80.A. However, as their name suggests, the flames only issued from the Buddha's shoulders and were very different from the 'flame pattern halo' that produces flames radiating from the Buddha. It was only until the 8<sup>th</sup> century that comparable flame pattern halos emerged in northeast India and commonly applied on stone and bronze sculptures during the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, the Indian style flame pattern halo has each flame motif depicted in a much simpler way, almost like an upturned comma. Images see Huntington 1984, figs. 28, 133, 175, 176, 181, 198.
  - 24 Image see Guy 1995:67, fig. 2
  - 25 The type of sandals fastened with one or two thongs was used by hermits or monks in China from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Dupont 1951: 272)
  - 26 Dupont 1951: 272
  - 27 Guillon 2001: 86-9
  - 28 Dupont (1951: 273), Guillon (2001: 86 & 89), and Baptiste & Zéphir (2005: 228) call them *divārapālas*, while Nguyen (2005: 13) and Tingley (2009: 216) see them as *Dharmapālas*. Tingley suggests they may represent a specific group of *Dharmapālas* that first appeared in Tibetan and Far Eastern art in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The Cham one standing on a buffalo might be Yamāntaka, who conquers death, or Yamarāja, king of death – both are generally represented as riding or standing on a buffalo. The other standing on a bear may be identified as Hayagrīva due to the *vajra* on his left hand, though Hayagrīva does not usually stand on a bear and usually has a horse's head. Tingley is also aware of the *lokapāla* in China and Japanese Buddhist art, but points out the difference that they are normally wearing armour. However, the 8<sup>th</sup>-century Tibetan or South Asian *Dharmapālas* that Tingley refers to in Linrothe's book lack the dynamic movement seen in the Cham giants; only those developed during the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries show comparable movement – i.e. one of the earliest surviving Tibetan bronze Hayagrīvas with nearly identical body posture and hand gesture (though stamping on nothing), dated to the late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, is in the Zimmerman Family collection (image see Linrothe 1999:135, fig. 135).
  - 29 Dupont 1951: 272
  - 30 d'Argencé & Diana Turner 1974: 192, fig. 92
  - 31 Guy 2009: 145; cited in Schafer 1967:72
  - 32 Li 1973:6
  - 33 Song dynasty copy in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, museum collection number: 中畫01. For research on this painting and the depicted foreign envoys, see Li, 1973:1-10
  - 34 Cœdès 1968: 95
  - 35 *Tang Huiyao*, juan 98
  - 36 Cœdès 1968:122-3, cited in Parmentier 1909: 18
  - 37 Tan 2008: 87
  - 38 Similar examples were excavated in Xian (the current name of Changan, the capital of the Tang dynasty), Shaanxi province, and also found in the Tang dynasty Belitung Wreck, salvaged from the Karimun Strait and dated to the early 9<sup>th</sup> century (Krahl 2010:225, figs. 179 &173).
  - 39 Stern 1942: 66-67, pl. 49
  - 40 For the studies of the S-shape foliate ornamentation evolution in China, see Rawson 1984: 33-88
  - 41 Woodward 1977: 233-243
  - 42 Klokke 2008: 165-6
  - 43 Girard-Geslan, Maud. 1999. "Of Routes, Rulers and Monuments" in *Indonesian Gold: Treasures from the National Museum, Jakarta*, 8-19. Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery: 16.
  - 44 Although to the author's knowledge there is no known Chinese exported objects found in the Cham territory bear such type of decoration, an 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries Yaozhou bowl incised with foliate decoration possibly came from Cu Lao Cam (Cham Island), Quảng Nam province. It was mounted at the rim with a gold band of fine repoussé scrolls, seemingly much alike the ornamentation discussed here, which was apparently added as embellishment. According to Heidi Tan, the analysis indicates that the band is almost pure gold, which suggests that imported Chinese celadon was valued highly in Champa at the time. (Tan 2008: 86)
  - 45 Several sculptures are in the Museum of History, Hồ Chí Minh, two are in the Da Nang Museum and one is in Musée Guimet, Paris. (Baptiste & Zéphir 2005: 252-255, figs. 46-51)
  - 46 Baptiste & Zéphir 2005: 252
  - 47 The tomb was excavated at Datong city, Shanxi province in 1965. *Zhongguo mei shu quan ji bian ji wei yan hui*, vol. 3:81, pls. 96-7
  - 48 Wang 2001: 93, pl. 63
  - 49 *Zhongguo mei shu quan ji bian ji wei yan hui*, vol. 5: 15, pl. 13
  - 50 Personal conversation with Trần Kỳ Phương. I would like to express my gratitude to Phương for drawing my attention to these two objects and for providing their images to me for further examination.
  - 51 Stern 1942: 68-9
  - 52 Rawson 1984: 138
  - 53 Baptiste & Zéphir 2005: 267, fig. 60.
  - 54 Welch 2008: 125