

## Chapter 2

# Construction of Linyi Citadels: The Rise of Early Polity in Vietnam

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### Introduction

In studying the early history of Southeast Asia, the advancement of archaeological research over the last few decades has contributed to the shift of foci from the concept of ‘Indianization’ to an emphasis on the agency of local societies. The critical phase of transition from prehistoric Iron Age societies to the emergence of early polities in Southeast Asia can now be better understood. In central Vietnam, archaeological surveys and excavations have taken place with the clear intention to focus on this issue, specifically the transition from the Iron Age Sa Huynh culture to Champa [Glover and Nguyễn 2011; Lam 2011; Yamagata 2007, 2011].<sup>1</sup>

Coedes included ‘the beginnings of Champa: Lin-yi’ in the chapter titled ‘The First Indian Kingdoms’ in his distinguished work *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* [Coedes 1968: 42-45]. Linyi 林邑, generally identified as Champa, emerged on the southernmost border of Eastern Han at the end of the second century CE, according to *Shuijinzhu* 水經注 (Commentary on the Water Classic) and *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty).<sup>2</sup> The ancient capital of Linyi is generally thought to have been

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, Vietnamese diacritical marks are basically omitted in the text, but attached in the references.

<sup>2</sup> The name Champa is undoubtedly of Indian origin [Sugimoto 1954]. It appeared for the first time in an inscription of King Shambhuvarman dated to the early seventh century CE. On the other hand, the name Linyi was no longer in use in Chinese texts after the middle of the eighth century CE. Instead, Huanwang 環王 appeared as a polity of present-day central Vietnam [Yamagata and Momoki 2001]. Most inscriptions left during the period of Huanwang have been found in Kauthara, present-day Nha Trang city in Khanh Hoa province and in Panduranga, around Phan Rang city in Ninh Thuan province. According to the conventional view of Champa history, this has been interpreted as the shift of power of Champa from Amaravati to Kauthara and Panduranga. The name Huangwang was replaced by Zhancheng 占城 in the middle of the

located in the site of Tra Kieu in Quang Nam province. Archaeologists have sought to identify the origin of early Champa, namely Linyi, within the prehistoric Sa Huynh culture that spread over central Vietnam.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the trajectory of the rise of Linyi, based on the results of archaeological investigations conducted at the Tra Kieu citadel and other related sites. Tracking the path to ‘Indianization’, the unique figure of the early polity emerging in present-day central Vietnam is clarified.<sup>3</sup>

## 1. Linyi and the Indic Influence

Quang Nam province in central Vietnam is the land bearing the name of Amaravati mentioned in epigraphic records. The religious sanctuary of My Son, where the earliest Hindu temple was built by King Bhadravarman, is situated 14 km south-west of Tra Kieu [Trần 1988; Hardy et al. 2009] (Fig. 2.3). Inscriptions written in Sanskrit assigned to the king have been discovered in My Son, Hon Cuc and Chiem Son, all located along the Thu Bon River flowing through Quang Nam province, except an inscription of Cho Dinh in Tuy Hoa, Phu Yen province, some 500 km to the south [Finot 1902]. Another inscription was found at Dong Yen Chau near Tra Kieu, written in the Cham language, and is considered the oldest text in any Austronesian language [Coedes 1939]. These early inscriptions have been palaeographically attributed to the late fourth or fifth centuries CE, although the slightly later date of the reign of Bhadravarman from the late fifth to sixth centuries CE has also been proposed [Southworth 2004: 222].

Towards the first stage of ‘Indianization’ described above, Linyi experienced the preceding period of a few centuries of emergence and formation as an early polity. The period before ‘Indianization’, however, shows less interaction with the Indians than the Chinese, as far as archaeological materials are concerned.

Sculptures and architectures of Champa are distinguished evidence of Indian influence. Some chronological frameworks of stone sculptures of Champa have been proposed by art historians [Boisselier 1963; Cao 1988]. The earliest sandstone sculptures are probably four busts of male figures discovered in the 1930s near Tam Ky city in Quang Nam province. They could be dated to the sixth century CE. Architectures are classified into several styles, the earliest of which is called My Son E1 style [Stern 1942; Trần 2011]. Southworth mentions that the ruins of My

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ninth century CE, and it is believed that the capital shifted to Indrapura in Amaravati then. The capital of Champa was located in Vijaya, the current Binh Dinh province from around 1000 to 1471 CE, when it was conquered by the Vietnamese army [Majumdar 1927; Maspero 1928].

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the location of the archaeological sites mentioned in this paper, see Figs. 2.1 and 2.2.

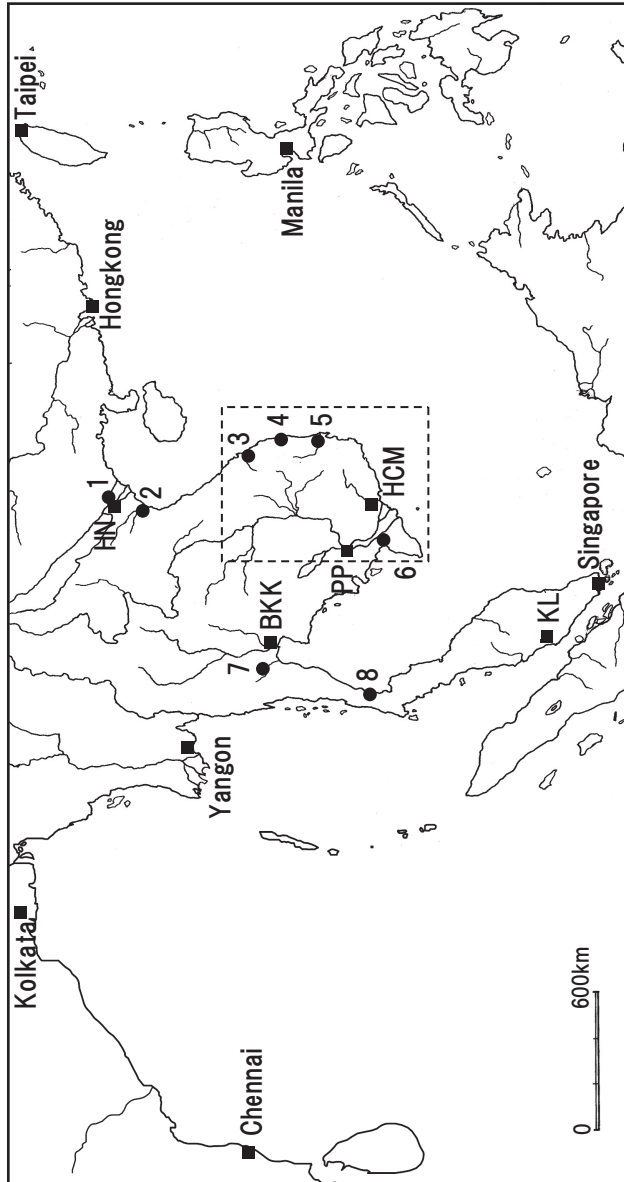


Fig. 2.1: Map locating archaeological sites (●) and modern cities (■): the area surrounded with a dotted line is shown in Fig. 2.2.

1. Lung Khe, 2. Dong Son, 3. Tra Kieu, 4. Sa Huynh, 5. Thanh Ho, 6. Oc Eo, 7. Ban Don Ta Phet, 8. Khao Sam Kaeo  
 HN: Ha Noi, HCM: Ho Chi Minh City, BKK: Bangkok, PP: Phnom Penh, KL: Kuala Lumpur

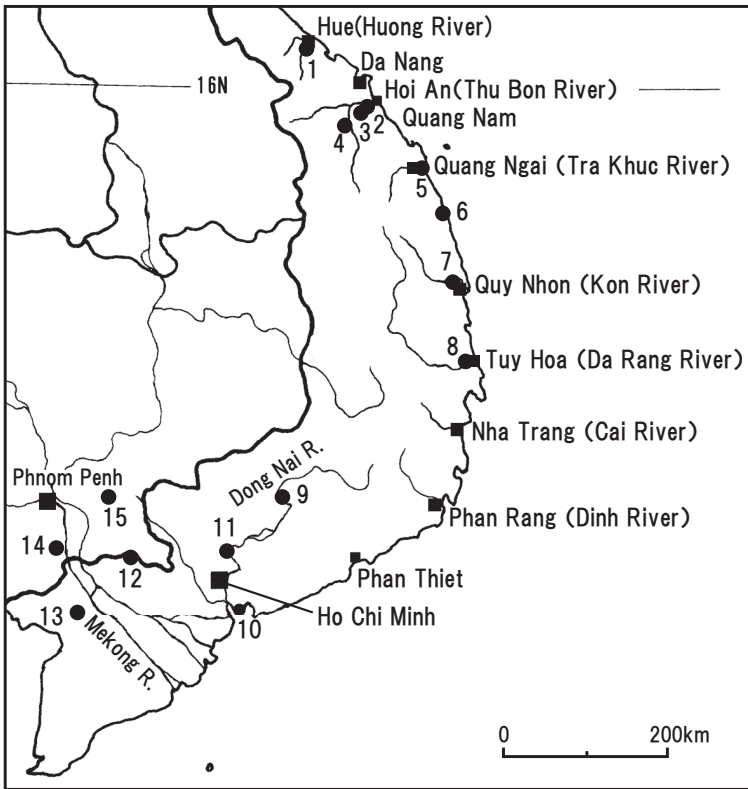


Fig. 2.2: Map of central and southern Vietnam, and eastern Cambodia, locating archaeological sites (●) and modern cities (■).

1. Thanh Loi, 2. Tra Kieu, 3. My Son, 4. Binh Yen, 5. Co Luy, 6. Sa Huynh, 7. Thanh Cha, 8. Thanh Ho, 9. Cat Tien, 10. Giong Ca Vo, 11. Phu Chanh, 12. Go O Chua, 13. Oc Eo, 14. Angkor Borei, 15. Prohear

Son E1 can be identified as the temple for the worship of Shiva constructed by King Prakashadharm, whose reign dates back to the middle of the seventh century CE [Southworth 2004: 224-225]. The excavation of E1 conducted in 1903 yielded a sculptured pediment and elaborate pedestal base, now displayed at the Museum of Cham Sculpture in Da Nang.

Compared to the studies of dating sculptures and architectures, the chronological study of archaeology lags behind. The recent archaeological advancement on Linyi has shed light on the very early phase, the second and third centuries CE [Yamagata 2011]. It has certainly contributed to explaining the rise of Linyi. However, still little is known archaeologically about the fourth century and onwards.





Fig. 2.3: The Tra Kieu site viewed from the top of Buu Chau Hill, with a sacred mountain of Champa in the middle: The My Son site is situated at the foot of the mountain.  
(photograph by Yamagata in 2008)

## 2. Two Neighbours, from Prehistory to Early History

Another well-known Indianized polity is Funan 扶南. It is presumed to have emerged in the lower reaches of the Mekong River. The initial reconstruction of Funan's history was based on substantial Chinese records [Pelliot 1903]. Archaeology has contributed significantly to uncovering the detailed history of this ancient polity.

Oc Eo in An Giang province of Southern Vietnam is one of the most important sites in this low-lying delta. Excavated for the first time in 1944 by Malleret, Oc Eo was probably an outpost of Funan. According to the extensive report [Malleret 1959-1963], the rectangular-shaped Oc Eo site is surrounded by five ramparts and four moats, measuring 3.0 by 1.5 km. Many artefacts found at Oc Eo confirm the presence of a trading network incorporating the Roman Empire to the west and China to the east. Among the artefacts, two gold coins of Roman emperors in the second century CE, and a piece of Chinese bronze mirror belonging to the same period as the Roman coins demonstrate the significance of the trading port of Funan.

After the reunification of Vietnam in 1976, Vietnamese archaeologists made extensive surveys and excavations in the Mekong Delta, and proposed an archaeological culture named the Oc Eo culture in the 1980s [Lê et al. 1995; Vo 2003]. In Vietnam, it has been recognized as a material culture of Funan, although the term 'Oc Eo

culture' is not commonly used in Cambodian archaeology. Excavations of the Oc Eo site conducted by the French-Vietnamese team in the 1990s suggested that the first settlement dates to the middle of the first century CE. According to Manguin who led the excavations, Phase I of Oc Eo, dating from the middle of the first century CE to the middle of the third century CE, does not demonstrate any 'Indianization' of Funanese society, despite its remarkably cosmopolitan nature [Manguin 2004: 292]. Based on radiocarbon dates, an abandonment phase of Oc Eo was identified with the time between the late third and fourth centuries CE. Afterwards, two centuries of building activity of Phase II occurred prior to 650 CE. Judging from statues associated with religious architectures and a few Sanskrit inscriptions available, both Brahmanism and Buddhism were practiced during Phase II [Manguin 2004: 298].

Another important site is Angkor Borei in Takeo province of Cambodia which may have been an inland capital of Funan. The site is situated in a small town within a large-walled settlement covering an area of 300 ha [Stark 2004]. At Angkor Borei, an Iron Age cemetery of inhumations was encountered, and the radiocarbon dating suggests that populations settled in Angkor Borei about 400 BCE, or 500-600 years earlier than the Chinese documentary accounts of the area [Stark 2003: 96].<sup>4</sup> Angkor Borei may have been occupied continuously up to the present.

In northern Vietnam, the Dong Son culture was characterized by the magnificent bronze objects such as elaborately decorated Dong Son drums flourished [Pham 1990; Hà 1994; Pham 2004]. It was roughly contemporary with the Sa Huynh culture in central Vietnam, probably dating from the fourth century BCE to the first century CE. The society of the Dong Son culture was already stratified with local kings and elites referred to in Chinese and Vietnamese annals as *Lac* king, *Lac* lord, *Lac* general, and so on [Taylor 1983]. A homeland of the Dong Son culture in northern Vietnam was incorporated with the Han Empire by Western Han Emperor of Wudi 武帝 in 111 BCE, and three commanderies, Jiaozhi 交趾, Jiuzhen 九真, and Rinan 日南 were founded there.

In archaeological terms, Han style brick tombs where Han style burial goods are found appeared during the latter half of the first century CE, and then spread across northern Vietnam during the second century CE [Miyamoto and Tawara 2002]. The expansion of Han style tombs may have related to the epoch-making uprising that occurred in 40 CE in Jiaozhi, led by the Trung sisters who were from a *Lac* lord family. It was finally suppressed by one of the best generals of Eastern Han, Ma Yuan 馬援 in 43 CE. The expedition of Ma Yuan was a major event in early Vietnamese history.

<sup>4</sup> The Iron Age burial sites thus far investigated in the Mekong Delta include Prohear in Cambodia [Reinecke et al. 2009], Go O Chua in Vietnam [Nguyễn et al. 2007], and in the south-eastern part of Vietnam, Giong Ca Vo, Giong Phet [Đặng et al. 1998] and Phu Chanh [Bùi 2004]. These sites were very likely inhabited just before the rise of Funan. The issue of transition from these Iron Age sites to the rise of Funan has been pursued by archaeologists.

After that, the indigenous Dong Son culture came to an end by 100 CE, and the *Lac* lords, who had prospered with that culture, were not heard from again [Gotō 1975; Taylor 1983].

Concerning the successive centuries in northern Vietnam, archaeological research of the citadel called Lung Khe or Luy Lau in Bac Ninh province is important. This citadel was where the powerful administrator of Jiaozi, Shi Xie 士燮 supposedly resided from the end of the Eastern Han to Wu. The Lung Khe site is a rectangular walled citadel, whose north and west ramparts are 680 m and 328 m in length, respectively. Archaeological excavations revealed that the citadel was first built in the second century CE and continuous occupation can be confirmed to the end of the fifth or early sixth centuries CE [Nishimura 2001].<sup>5</sup> Thus, the establishment of this citadel could have been contemporary with the earliest occupation of Tra Kieu that is discussed later in this paper.

Northern and Southern Vietnam witnessed respective trajectories from prehistory to early history. This paper focuses on another trajectory of central Vietnam, namely, the rise of Linyi. It was unique, but of course closely related to the other two.

### 3. Iron Age Culture and Interaction

Through the prehistoric Iron Age, the Sa Huynh culture spread over central Vietnam [Lam 2011]. The culture appears to have occupied central Vietnam between about 400 BCE and 100 CE. The most notable characteristic of this culture is its mortuary customs, with lidded jar burials. Jar burials are associated with funerary accessory goods, such as pottery, iron and bronze implements, or earrings and beads made of agate, carnelian, nephrite, and glass, among others. Burial sites of the Sa Huynh culture spread along rivers, from the alluvial plain to the upstream highland. The Thu Bon River valley in Quang Nam is rich in these prehistoric sites, as well as the relics of Champa.

In collaboration with the Southern Institute of Social Sciences in Ho Chi Minh City, the author conducted excavations at Binh Yen and Thach Bich, located along the Thu Bon River in an inland mountainous area [Yamagata 2006]. The Ha Noi National

<sup>5</sup> According to the description of *Sanguozhi* 三国志 (Annals of the Three Kingdoms), wherever Shi Xie went, he was accompanied by scores of *Hu* 胡 people bearing lighted incense. *Hu* was a name applied by the Chinese to different foreign peoples including those from India and Central Asia, and the burning incense is a Buddhist custom. Thus, the description strongly suggests that the society of Jiaozi under the rule of Shi Xie already accepted Buddhism. On the other hand, the majority of artefacts found at Lung Khe are of Chinese origin, including a profusion of Chinese-style roof tiles produced locally. Indian influence looks scant, but can be recognized as such in *kendis* (spouted jars) and a table-shaped stone mortar [Nishimura 2001, 2011].

University has also actively been working in this area, and excavated Go Dua [Lâm et al. 2001], Go Ma Voi [Reinecke et al. 2002], and Lai Nghi [Lam 2009]. Hoi An, a port city situated about 5 km inland from the river mouth of Thu Bon, has several Sa Huynh sites on sand dunes. Hau Xa I, Hau Xa II, and An Bang were excavated in the 1990s by the local archaeologists [C.T. Nguyễn et al. 2004].

Among these sites along the Thu Bon River valley, Binh Yen, Go Dua and Lai Nghi yielded Western Han bronze mirrors, placed inside the burial jars. One is *Riguangjing* 日光鏡, found in Burial No. 7 (M7) at Binh Yen, dated to 70-50 BCE in China [Okamura 1984]. The other, *Shoudaijing* 獸帶鏡, found in Burial No. 5 (M5) at Go Dua, is later than *Riguangjing* and dates from the end of the Western Han period. Binh Yen yielded eight jar burials in an excavation pit with the area of 35m<sup>2</sup>, and M7 was the oldest among these burials. The cemetery of Binh Yen may have continued for a few decades after M7. The cemeteries of Binh Yen and Go Dua should date from the middle of the first century BCE to the first century CE [Yamagata et al. 2001]. Lai Nghi produced a set of six Eastern Han bronze vessels, excavated by the Vietnamese-German team in 2004 [Lam 2009]. An ink stone for calligraphy was also found at Lai Nghi, indicating a familiarity with the Chinese civilization.

As *Hanshu Dilizhi* 漢書地理志 (Book of Han, Geographical Record) recorded, the ancient maritime trade connecting China and India already prospered in the first century BCE [Fujita 1914]. The Chinese were eager to obtain products of the tropical forest and ocean, and the people of the Sa Huynh culture, perhaps being riverine and maritime traders, may have collected those products and exported them via trade networks. Chinese bronze mirrors were probably brought to the inland Sa Huynh community as exotic precious goods. Farther away, Western Han mirrors have been discovered in the Khao Sam Kaeo site [Bellina-Pryce and Silapanth 2008], and in Chawang, Nakhon Si Thammarat province [A. Srisuchat 1996], both located on the Thai-Malay Peninsula.

The Thai-Malay Peninsula has many archaeological sites of ancient trade ports [Leong 1990; T. Srisuchat 1996], and most have a profusion of glass and semi-precious stone beads [Glover 1990; Ray 1989, 1994; Francis 1996, 2002]. The widely-accepted view on glass and semi-precious stone beads made of agate, carnelian, and crystal uncovered at Iron Age sites in Southeast Asia is that most were imported from India as beads or as raw materials, brought by beadmakers emigrating to Southeast Asia. In central Vietnam, the number of beads increased during the final phase of the Sa Huynh culture. At the Lai Nghi site near Hoi An, 63 burials excavated thus far yielded more than 10,000 beads in total. The materials of beads included agate, carnelian, crystal, nephrite, glass, and gold. While some burials were associated with several hundreds of beads, others yielded fewer than five beads. The archaeologists in charge of the excavation at Lai Nghi believe that the difference indicates a stratified society [Lam 2009]. The increase of beads in the society of the Sa Huynh culture may have resulted from contact with other regions where sites producing large numbers of

beads are located. These include the Thai-Malay Peninsula site of Khao Sam Kaeo, and the western Thai site of Ban Don Ta Phet [Glover and Bellina 2011].

The Sa Huynh culture declined through the first century CE, as did the Dong Son culture in northern Vietnam. Their distinctive mortuary tradition disappeared by the end of this century. In the Thu Bon River valley, the Tra Kieu citadel probably appeared in the early second century CE [Yamagata 2007, 2011], so that the end of the Sa Huynh culture should have been quite contemporary with the first occupation of Tra Kieu. However, the material culture of Tra Kieu looks very different from that of the Sa Huynh culture. Local inhabitants in this region likely experienced rapid transformation of their culture and society towards the rise of the first polity.

#### 4. Early Period of the Tra Kieu Citadel

The walled citadel of Tra Kieu has been generally identified as the old capital of Linyi, Dianchong 典冲 [Aurousseau 1914; Claeys 1928, 1929, 1931].<sup>6</sup> In the 1920s, extensive excavations were carried out by a French archaeologist, Claeys at several locations in Tra Kieu [Claeys 1928, 1929, 1931], and Vietnamese archaeologists of the Ha Noi National University returned to the site in 1990. A joint Vietnamese, British, and Japanese collaborative team, including the author, carried out excavations from 1993 to 2000 [Yamagata 2014]. The locations excavated by the joint team include the northeast and the east slopes of a hill called Buu Chau, Go Du De in the middle of the paddy fields, and Hoan Chau in the middle of the village (Figs. 2.4, 2.5). The results allowed us to recognize a clear transition in the artefact assemblage unearthed from the lowest to upper layers.

At the location called Hoan Chau inside the Tra Kieu citadel, the excavated area was small, about 54 m<sup>2</sup> in total. Four series of column bases for supporting

<sup>6</sup> The general idea that Linyi was identical with Champa, and that Tra Kieu was the capital of Linyi called Dianchong has been challenged by some scholars. Stein and Kuwata thought that the first capital of Linyi was somewhere near the current Hue city, and relocated later to Tra Kieu [Stein 1947: 317-318; Kuwata 1942, 1954]. Ngô states that Dianchong was the Thanh Loi site in Hue, and the capital of Linyi moved to Tra Kieu in the fifth century CE [Ngô 2011]. Southworth also assigns the earliest capital of Linyi to Hue, and has proposed a hypothesis that Quang Nam may have belonged to another polity called *Xitu* 西屠 which appears in some Chinese annals, with Tra Kieu as its capital [Southworth 2004: 216-221]. Vickery has proposed a hypothesis that the main ethno-linguistic group of Linyi was not Cham but Mon-Khmer, and before the fifth century at least, Linyi and Champa were different polities. Current Quang Nam was not the centre of Linyi but Champa, and therefore the first centre of Cham may well have been at Tra Kieu, but it was not the capital of Linyi [Vickery 2011: 372-376]. Despite these arguments about Linyi's location and ethno-linguistic affiliation, the author depends on archaeological data thus far obtained in central Vietnam and believes that Quang Nam was an important centre of early Linyi and Tra Kieu was its capital.





Fig. 2.4: Map of Tra Kieu (Claeys 1928, reworked by Yamagata) showing the locations excavated after 1990: 1. Buu Chau Northeast (1990, 1993), 2. Buu Chau East (1996), 3. Hoan Chau (1997-2000), 4. Go Du De (1996), 5. Southern Rampart (1990, 2003), 6. Eastern Rampart (2013)



Fig. 2.5: Satellite map of Tra Kieu (© Digital Globe, Inc. All Rights Reserved.)

wooden posts were uncovered, indicating that at least four phases of construction work must have occurred there. Although the stratigraphy was complicated as a result of continual disturbances, a clear difference was recognized between the artefact assemblage found in the lower layers and that found in the upper layers [Yamagata 2011, 2014].

The lowest layers of Hoan Chau, Tra Kieu, and the site called Go Cam situated 3.5 km southeast of Tra Kieu yielded roof tiles belonging to a Chinese style that was widespread in East Asia [Yamagata and Nguyễn 2010]. The presence of roof tiles is significant because they indicate the existence of solid wooden buildings supporting heavy roofs. These buildings were generally used as religious temples, administrative centres, and royal palaces. Other than a profusion of roof tiles, unexpected discoveries of various Chinese Han style artefacts were encountered at Go Cam [K.D. Nguyễn 2005; K.D. Nguyen et al. 2006; Glover and Nguyễn 2011]. Among them, the most significant find was a *fengni* 封泥, a lute made from a piece of clay with an imprint of Chinese characters transcribed as *Huangshen shizhe zhang* 黄神使者章 (Seal of the Envoy of the Yellow God). This suggests that the seal is related to Taoism and that people familiar with this Chinese belief system lived at Go Cam [Yamagata 2007]. The earliest phase of Tra Kieu is called Tra Kieu Ia Phase by the author in the recently published report [Yamagata 2014], and together with Go Cam, dates from the early second century or even the late first century CE.

Roof tiles with textile impressions on their concave surface were found exclusively in the lowest and lower layers, what the author calls Tra Kieu Ia phase and Tra Kieu Ib phase, respectively. However, tiles with textile impressions seem to have been replaced by tiles without textile impressions in the upper layers, assigned to Tra Kieu II phase. Textile impression relates to the method of manufacturing tiles, showing that the shift in method occurred at Tra Kieu [Yamagata and Nguyễn 2010].

End tiles with human face decoration were associated with tiles without textile impressions found exclusively in the upper Hoan Chau layers of Tra Kieu (Fig. 2.6). Intriguingly, these show a striking similarity to those found in Nanjing 南京, the former capital of the Six Dynasties in China. In Nanjing, the human face tiles are thought to have been mainly associated with the Wu 吳 Dynasty (222-280 CE) [He 2003, 2005]. The discovery in Nanjing has led to the belief that the human faces depicted on end tiles originated in Wu, and were adopted by inhabitants of Tra Kieu. The human face tiles have been found at several citadel sites in central Vietnam, situated further south than Tra Kieu. Examples include Co Luy in Quang Ngai province [Lâm and Nauyễn 2009], Thanh Ho in Phu Yen province [Dặng et al. 2010], and Thanh Cha in Binh Dinh province. These citadels should have been political centres developed locally in the respective coastal plains [Southworth 2011; Yamagata et al. forthcoming].<sup>7</sup> Roof tiles were locally produced, but these citadels shared this particular style of end tiles. It is the author's guess that sharing end tiles with human face decoration was a manifestation of an 'alliance' of regional centres, recognized by Chinese as Linyi.

<sup>7</sup> End tiles with human face decorations were also uncovered in northern Vietnam, at the Lung Khe citadel which should have been a center of the former Jioazhi province [Nishimura 2001, 2011], and at Tam Tho, a complex of early kilns of the former Jiuzhen province excavated by Janse in the 1930s [Janse 1947, 1951].



Fig. 2.6: End tiles of human face decoration, excavated from Tra Kieu  
 1. Hoan Chau, inner citadel (photograph by Yamagata)  
 2. Eastern Rampart (photograph by Đặng Ngọc Kinh)

Human face tiles were no longer produced in the fourth century at Nanjing, but the faces found in central Vietnam are so varied that these tiles may have continued to be produced and used in the fourth century onward in Linyi.

Concerning Indic influence, Tra Kieu yielded spouted jars called *kendi* (Fig 2.7), thought to have originated in India and spread across Southeast Asia during the first millennium CE. *Kendis* are also excavated from the sites of the Oc Eo culture (Fig. 2.7). A few pieces of Indian rouletted ware were found in both Tra Kieu and Go Cam, although the sporadic discoveries cannot be proof of the systematic interaction with India [Glover and Nauyễn 2011]. Indic influence thus seems to have been limited to some categories of artefacts, including beads of the Sa Huynh culture, during a few centuries before and after the Common Era.

## 5. Ancient Citadels in Central Vietnam

As mentioned above, several citadels producing roof tiles similar to those of Tra Kieu have been surveyed and excavated in central Vietnam. In Thua Thien Hue province, a large-scale ruin of a citadel called Thanh Loi extends along the southern bank of the Huong River. Parmentier described the site as a Cham citadel of Hue [Parmentier 1909: 512-514], and Arousseau later identified it as the Qusu 区粟 fortress, a military base of Linyi [Arousseau 1914].<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> According to *Shuijingzhu*, Linyi obtained Qusu from China in 248, and it was reinforced as a military base during the reign of the King Fan Huda 范胡達 in the fourth century CE. The citadel was attacked by the Chinese army of Song 宋 Jiaozhou 交州 and fell in 446. Some scholars did not regard Thanh Loi as Qusu. Stein located Qusu in the lower reaches of the



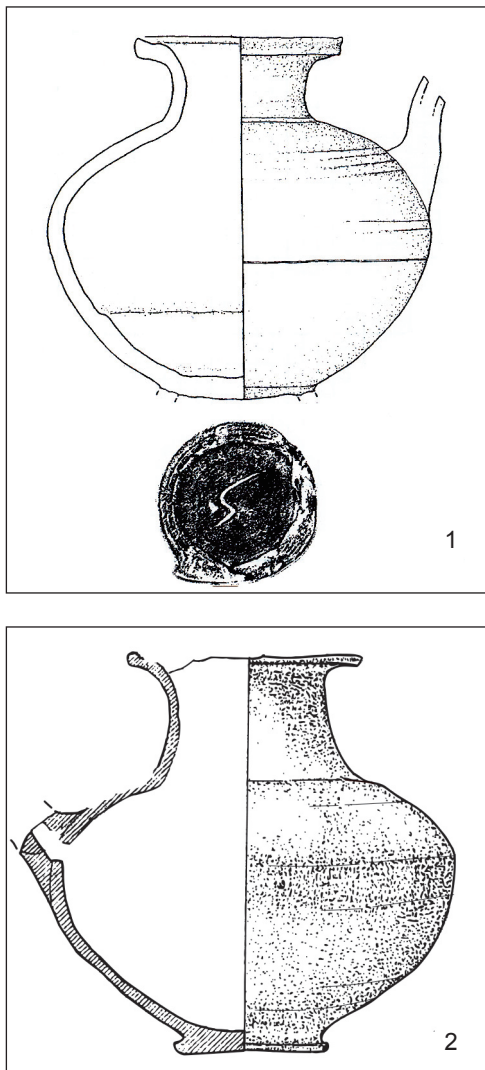


Fig. 2.7: Spouted jars (*kendis*) of Tra Kieu (1) and the Oc Eo culture (2)  
 1. Height: 19.0 cm (Yamagata 2014: Figure 4-22-1),  
 2. Height: 22.5 cm (Lê et al. 1995: Figure LXII-1)

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Giang River in Quang Binh province [Stein 1947], and Đào Duy Anh identified the Cao Lao Ha site situated along the Giang River as Qusu [Đào 1997]. Ngô Văn Doanh also assigned Qusu to Cao Lao Ha, and regards Thang Loi in Hue as Dianchong [Ngô 2011].

The site has never been excavated properly by archaeologists, but it was recently intensively surveyed by Vietnamese archaeologists. According to their preliminary report [Lâm et al. 2014], earthen ramparts enclosing the Thanh Loi site remain. They measure approximately 474 m long, 4 m high, and 17.9 m wide on the south side; 288 m long, 5 m high, and 15.6 m wide on the west side; 370 m long on the east side; and 330 m long on the north side facing the river. The brick walls are exposed at several locations on the eastern and western ramparts. Some pieces of pottery and roof tiles, possibly comparable to the upper layer of Tra Kieu, were found on the ramparts. Further investigation of Thanh Loi may shed light on the date of the fortress, possibly concurrent with the Tra Kieu citadel.

The area south of Hai Van Pass is the land of Quang Nam. The focus of this paper, the Tra Kieu site, is located here. Farther south, other ruins of citadels in central Vietnam that probably existed in the period of Linyi include Thanh Chau Sa and Co Luy located along the Tra Khuc River in Quang Ngai province, Thanh Cha (also called An Thanh) and Thi Nai located along the Kon River flowing through Binh Dinh province, and Thanh Ho along the Da Rang River in Phu Yen province. All these citadels were recorded by Parmentier [1909], and the surveys and excavations done by Vietnamese archaeologists during the last two decades have yielded information of great significance on these early citadel sites.

In Quang Ngai, the Co Luy site, situated close to the river mouth of Tra Khuc, was excavated in 1998 and 2004 by the Quang Ngai Provincial Museum and the Ha Noi National University. Two cultural layers were recognized, containing artefacts similar to Tra Kieu such as roof tiles including end tiles with human face decoration and *kendis* [Lâm and Nguyễn 2009]. The earlier settlement layer was assigned to the period from the early second to early fourth centuries CE, while the later architectural layer dated to the fourth to seventh centuries CE.

At Chau Sa, trapezoid-shaped ramparts with outer moats are rather well preserved. Parmentier drew a plan of the inner part of the citadel [Parmentier 1909]. The outer ramparts and moats were discovered later. The north-south length of the whole citadel is about 240 m; the current height of the outer rampart is about 3-5 m with the bottom width of 10-15 m; and the width of the outer moat is about 20-25 m [Lê 2002: 341]. In 1998, a test excavation conducted by Quang Ngai Provincial Museum at a location called Nui Choi on the northern outer rampart yielded a feature for firing Buddhist votive tablets.<sup>9</sup> These are considered to date from the seventh to tenth centuries CE, compared to those found in Davaravati sites in Thailand, sites in lower Burma, and Srivijayan sites on the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra [Guy 2011: 311-312].

<sup>9</sup> According to the unpublished preliminary report of the Quang Ngai Provincial Museum [Đoàn 1998], a test trench of 9 m<sup>2</sup> yielded a feature consisting of arranged sandstones and burnt soil, associated with 719 pieces of votive tablets. Among them, 35 specimens were complete.

Binh Dinh province is the land called Vijaya, where the capital of Champa was located from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries CE. The rectangular-shaped walled citadel of Thanh Cha extends along the southern bank of the Kon River. The Thi Nai citadel, where the Cham Tower called Binh Lam dated from the eleventh century CE stands, is located beside the Thi Nai lagoon spreading northeast of Qui Nhon city. In Thanh Cha, the author and her colleagues conducted reconnaissance work in 2008 and found scattered on the ground surface many pieces of roof tiles similar to those found in the upper layers of Hoan Chau at Tra Kieu. In addition, one fragment of end tile with a human face decoration was found stored in the Binh Dinh Provincial Museum. Thus, Thanh Cha was concurrent with Tra Kieu, probably dating to the third century CE and onwards. At Thi Nai, the Southern Institute of Social Sciences in Ho Chi Minh City and the provincial museum, conducted excavations around the Binh Lam Tower in 2008, and uncovered several pieces of Chinese style roof tiles [Bùi and Đăng 2009]. Thi Nai also may date to the period of Linyi.

Phu Yen province is situated south of the Cu Mong Pass. The Da Rang River flows through this province and a Cham Tower called Nhan Thap stands on a hill commanding the river mouth and ocean. The Cho Dinh rock inscription mentioned above, attributed to King Bhadravarman, is carved into the natural rock face of the hill. Located about 15 km inland from the river mouth, the Thanh Ho site is a square-shaped citadel approximately 700 m on each side [Parmentier 1909]. Excavations have been done at twelve locations inside the citadel and on its rampart since 2003 [Đăng et al. 2010]. They have revealed many features, such as a structure with five columns similar to one observed at Po Nagar temple in Nha Trang, roads, architectural foundations, and a possible kiln for firing bricks. A large number of Chinese style roof tiles similar to those found in the upper Hoan Chau layers of Tra Kieu have been uncovered, including end tiles with a human face decoration. Han style stamped ware and *kendis* were also unearthed. Although the detailed information of the excavations has not yet been published, it is most likely that Thanh Ho was an important citadel of Linyi, as well as Tra Kieu in Quang Nam. As Southworth pointed out, the Da Rang River valley may have been the main competitor of the Thu Bon River valley during the period of Linyi [Southworth 2011: 109-110].

Farther south, Khanh Hoa province was the land called Kauthara. An end tile decorated with a human face appears in one of Parmentier's illustrations as a find made at Po Nagar, standing on a hill facing the mouth of the Cai River in Nha Trang City [Parmentier 1918: 241]. This is the southernmost example of Chinese style roof tile. The famous Vo Canh inscription was found along the Cai River, about 8 km west of Po Nagar. However, no one today can confirm the exact location of the inscription. Despite the importance of the region, no archaeological site has been found attesting to the presence of an ancient citadel.

All the citadels with ramparts in central Vietnam described above should have existed concurrently with Tra Kieu in some phases. Sharing end tiles with human

face decoration with Tra Kieu, Co Luy and Thanh Ho in particular can be dated to the middle of the third century onwards. Based on the detailed comparative study of artefacts such as roof tiles and pottery, the author's tentative idea is that Tra Kieu and Go Cam were the oldest sites probably relating to a polity of Linyi, and emerged earlier than any other citadel in central Vietnam [Yamagata et al. forthcoming]. The primary artefacts of the lowest layers of Hoan Chau of Tra Kieu, namely, ovoid jars and roof tiles with textile impressions, have been found only in Quang Nam province at Tra Kieu, Go Cam, and a few other sites. The earliest occupation at Tra Kieu most likely took place some time in the early second century CE, preceding the independence of Linyi recorded in Chinese texts.

## 6. Construction of Ramparts

Compared to the second and third centuries, Linyi of the fourth century and successive few centuries has been little known archaeologically, although the rather detailed history of the kings is recorded in some Chinese texts. In Tra Kieu, several locations have been excavated so far, but archaeologists including the author have not succeeded in confirming the archaeological assemblage from these centuries. It may have been uncovered already, but not yet recognized properly. To elucidate the true picture of 'Indianization', this missing link must be connected.<sup>10</sup>

In 2013, the author and the Southern Institute of Social Sciences in Ho Chi Minh City launched the archaeological project to investigate the ramparts of Tra Kieu. The team conducted two seasons of excavations on the eastern rampart of Tra Kieu, aiming to verify the date and structure. One of the ultimate goals is to uncover archaeological features and artefacts of the fourth century CE and later, the missing link mentioned above and the period approaching visible 'Indianization'.

There is a possible reference to the construction of ramparts in *Linyichuan* 林邑伝 (Biography of Linyi) cited in *Juan 97 of Jinshu*, and in *Juan 36 of Shuijingzhu*. The King of Linyi, Fan Yi 范逸 died in 336 CE, and his throne was usurped by a former slave of Chinese origin named Fan Wen 范文. He was reportedly born on the lower Yangtze River and eventually entered the service of the king of Linyi. Fan Wen built a palace for Fan Yi, and intriguingly, also built *chengyi* 城邑, which may indicate fortifications [Taylor 1983: 106-107]. If Fan Wen constructed the ramparts of the capital, they should date from the fourth century CE. *Juan 36 of Shuijingzhu* also reports that 'The city walls of Linyi had four gates. By the main gate, which faced to the east, there was an ancient inscription in a foreign script, extolling the

<sup>10</sup> Re-examining the historical records relating to the beginnings of 'Indianization' of Funan and Linyi, Fukami has concluded that by the middle of the fourth century CE, both Funan and Linyi had begun the process of absorbing the high culture of India [Fukami 2014: 32-34].

virtues of an earlier king named Fan Huda' [Fukami 2014: 33-34]. The reign of Fan Huda was from 380 to 413 CE.

Tra Kieu is an almost rectangular-shaped citadel, extending approximately 1.4 km in length (east-west) and 550 m in width (north-south) (Figs. 2.4 and 2.5). While the southern and eastern ramparts are well preserved, the western and northern ramparts are difficult to recognize, although they are drawn on the site map made by Claeys in the 1920s [Claeys 1928, 1929, 1931] (Fig. 2.4). The southern rampart measures about 1.4 km long, 33 m wide at the bottom, and 2 m higher than the surface of rice paddies extending along the rampart. The eastern rampart is about 330 m long, 33 m wide at the bottom, and 3 m higher than the paddies.<sup>11</sup> The first excavation of the rampart was conducted by the Ha Noi National University in 1990, and then in 2003 at a location on a southern rampart. Excavations revealed the brick structures associated with roof tiles, and the report concluded the likelihood that the southern rampart had been initially constructed some time in the fourth century CE, and was then subject to a few stages of enlargement and restoration [C. Nguyễn et al. 1991; Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung, personal communication].

In 2013, excavation trenches were set close to the northern end of the eastern rampart, with a total area of 100 m<sup>2</sup>. Two rows of brick walls were unearthed with infill clay layers between them, reinforced by the outer structure of clay layers partly containing large pieces of broken bricks (Fig. 2.8).<sup>12</sup> A number of roof tiles were uncovered, associated with end tiles with human face decorations (Fig. 2.6). These tiles belonged to the same Chinese style as those found in the inner citadel. Observing the stratigraphy has let us propose that the enlargement or reinforcement works may have occurred twice after the initial construction of the rampart. Five radiocarbon dates indicate that the date of construction and possible enlargement works range from the latter half of the third century to the beginning of the sixth century CE (Fig. 2.9).

Roof tiles and ceramics uncovered in the trenches on the eastern rampart show some characteristics slightly different from those recognized thus far in the inner citadel. The tiles found at the eastern rampart are generally thinner than those found at the Hoan Chau location where the assemblage of artefacts dating to the second and third centuries CE were revealed, as described above. A *kendi* and a square-stamped jar unearthed on the eastern rampart have thinner wall sections compared to *kendis* and stamped jars of Hoan Chau. The morphological difference of tiles and ceramics may reflect the time lag. The close comparative study between artefacts found on

<sup>11</sup> *Juan 36 of Shuijingzhu* describes the ramparts and double moats of the capital of Linyi, Dianchong. However, no trace of moat is currently recognized at Tra Kieu.

<sup>12</sup> These two brick walls, running in the middle of the rampart, probably played the role of a core structure of the rampart.





Fig. 2.8: Two brick rows unearthed at the eastern rampart, Tra Kieu, viewed from the south (1) and from the east (2) (Photographs by Nguyễn Hoàng Bách Linh)

Fig. 2.9: Table of Radiocarbon Dates from the Eastern Rampart, Tra Kieu

<i>Lab Number</i>	<i>Sample Name and Content</i>	<i>Libby Age (yrBP)</i>	<i>Calibrated Age (1σ)</i>	<i>Calibrated Age (2σ)</i>
IAAA-123983	Charred wood associated with the cluster of roof tiles, Grid A4, about 260 cm below the surface of rampart (13TDTKH1A4)	1,730±20	257 cal AD - 303 cal AD (38.6%) 316 cal AD - 347 cal AD (25.0%) 370 cal AD - 378 cal AD (4.7%)	248 cal AD - 386 cal AD (95.4%)
IAAA-130343	Charred wood associated with the cluster of roof tiles, Grid A4, about 260 cm below the surface of rampart (13TDTKH1A4)	1,690±20	339 cal AD - 401 cal AD (68.2%)	259 cal AD - 292 cal AD (11.9%) 322 cal AD - 417 cal AD (83.5%)
IAAA-132077	Charcoal taken from sub-trench in Grid A8, in the greyish clay layer on substratum, about 360 cm below the surface of the rampart (13TDTK (2) H1A8)	1,950±20	26 cal AD - 75 cal AD (68.2%)	3 cal AD - 87 cal AD (91.9%) 105 cal AD - 120 cal AD (3.5%)
IAAA-132078	Charcoal associated with the cluster of roof tiles and stones, Grid A10, about 210 cm below the surface of rampart (13TDTK (2)H1A10)	1,760±20	248 cal AD - 260 cal AD (14.4%) 280 cal AD - 326 cal AD (53.8%)	230 cal AD - 346 cal AD (95.4%)
IAAA-132079	Charcoal stuck to a lump of burnt clay, probably from a house wall, Grid A13, about 130-150 cm below the surface of rampart (13TDTK (2) TS5A13L8)	1,620±20	400 cal AD - 430 cal AD (42.4%) 493 cal AD - 511 cal AD (16.4%) 518 cal AD - 529 cal AD (9.4%)	391 cal AD - 475 cal AD (58.7%) 485 cal AD - 535 cal AD (36.7%)

*Notes:* A charcoal sample for IAAA-132077, indicating the first century CE, was taken from the greyish clay filled between the two brick walls, lying upon the possible natural soil. Since the sample was included in the infill clay, it could be older than the construction work of rampart. IAAA-132079 indicates the younger date compared to others, from the end of the fourth to early sixth centuries CE. The sample is possibly a charred bamboo, derived from a burnt house wall whose broken pieces were contained in clay layers deposited outside the brick walls. The pieces may have come from some architectural structures built on the rampart, or intentionally mixed into clay used for constructing or enlarging the rampart.

the rampart and those found in the inner citadel like Hoan Chau would contribute to dating the construction and use of ramparts at Tra Kieu.

Further post-excavation work is required to solve the puzzle of the eastern rampart. However, it is rather clear that the construction, enlargement and use of ramparts at Tra Kieu occurred during the fourth century and successive few centuries CE, the period with minimal archaeological information recognized thus far. Substantial findings for the critical period of the initial 'Indianization' of Linyi, as depicted in Chinese texts and Sanskrit inscriptions, are now becoming available at Tra Kieu. However, the rampart has not yielded significant archaeological evidence to elucidate the 'Indianization' process.

### Conclusion

The early occupation recognized at the location called Hoan Chau in an inner citadel of Tra Kieu probably dates back to the second and third centuries CE, reflecting the history of emergence and formation of Linyi. Recent excavations of the eastern rampart of Tra Kieu have revealed the period of construction and possible enlargement works ranging from the latter half of the third to the early sixth centuries CE, according to AMS determination. The initial 'Indianization' of Linyi should have progressed through the period, at Tra Kieu and other citadel sites as well, but the adaptation and localization of Chinese influence look vital for this period as far as archaeological findings are concerned. Thus, the gap between texts and archaeology remains large.

In order to span the gap, comparing the archaeology of Linyi and Funan is essential. The Oc Eo culture, recognized as the archaeological culture of Funan, reflects a more obvious process of 'Indianization'. Once the chronological sequence of materials of the Oc Eo culture is established, and comparative study of sequences from Oc Eo and ancient citadels in central Vietnam is done, the 'Indianization' which involved early polities in the present-day south and central Vietnam would be better illustrated.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> When connecting Funan and Linyi in archaeological terms, the site called Cat Tien located in the inland forest along the Dong Nai River is significant [Bùi 2008]. The religious complex of Hindu architectures was discovered in 1984 and excavated six times thus far. Although the upper structures of buildings had been lost, the lower structures of brick architectures including shrines dedicated to Siva were revealed. The site is situated between the Mekong Delta where the Oc Eo culture spreads, and central Vietnam where the relics of Champa are distributed. Some archaeologists think that Cat Tien site belongs to the period from the fourth to eighth centuries CE, and others from seventh to ninth centuries CE. What is to be emphasized here is that with a unique material culture, the Cat Tien site implies the existence of another early polity of mainland Southeast Asia, belonging to neither Funan nor Linyi.



This paper is based on the idea that the capital of Linyi was located at Tra Kieu from its beginning, and other citadels of central Vietnam discussed above were regional centres developed along the respective river valleys. Related with each other, Tra Kieu and other citadels may have formed a kind of alliance that was regarded as Linyi by the outer world [Yamagata et al. forthcoming]. However, as Southworth [2004] pointed out, there might have arisen multiple ancient polities along the coast of Vietnam, and the framework focusing on only Linyi and Funan might be too simple for untangling the intricate circumstances of that day. At this juncture, the solid data of archaeology would be of great importance. Further archaeological research, especially on ancient citadels, will hopefully provide us with the impetus to tackle the issue of the ‘Indianization’ of early polities.

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