

especially interesting as the coins were minted by the state and represented the state's authority, but they also must have catered to the people's needs and preferences. Professor Wagoner points out that *shroffs* (bankers and money changers) melted down the Bahmani coins and remade them into Vijayanagara coins in response to the needs and preferences of their customers. Rather than understanding the process in terms of 'Sanskritizing the Persian cosmopolis', it is perhaps necessary to conceptualize the complex process of vernacularization and re-universalization of the culture of rulership so that the process of interaction between Sanskrit and Persianate cosmopolis can be grasped in a more comprehensive manner. This is a suggestion as I think Professor Wagoner's wide perspective allows us to look at the complicated inter-cosmopolis process taking into account not only the role of the state but also the diverse agents and social groups in the society and the market.

I would like to attempt to provide two general observations about the historical changes in 13th to 16th century South Asia and Southeast Asia.

First, the 13th and 14th centuries saw the increasing connection of various regions. The deeds of Zhingis Khan and Tamerlane of course had wide ranging impacts. The 13th and 14th centuries can be seen as a formative period of Islamicate world system in Southeast Asia and the further establishment of Islamicate or Persianate cosmopolis in South Asia. The 15th–16th centuries may be seen as the period of the deepening of Islamicate world system and its vernacularization in both areas. It was through the penetration of the Islamicate technologies and institutions of governance and market into the local society in 15th and 16th centuries that made possible the fuller utilization of human and natural resources and the transregional trade of the products.

Secondly, I would like to discuss the different forms of Islamicate system that developed in South Asia and Southeast Asia. In the case of South Asia, the caste system in the sense of division of labor and allotment of shares based on hereditary entitlements played an important role. This kind of system was suitable for managing diverse populations living together in tightly knit complementary relationships in agrarian society. In the case of India, Islamicization had to adapt to the existence of vast and strong vernacular agrarian society through Islam as the provider of power for agrarian fertility, and also as a set of technologies that provided the means to administer localities and commercially connect them. In the case of Southeast Asia, we note that the port cities and the coastal rulers acted as a hub that connected the external forces and indigenous vernacular societies. It seems Islamicization was vital in establishing trade networks, but the politico-ritual mechanism of ruler-people relationship or inland social structure only changed very gradually with Islamicization. We might see the process of Islamicization not simply as conversion but as a gradual process of adopting a civilization and making it compatible with the vernacular society.

## Session 2

### Early Polity and Society as Revealed from Archaeological and Literary Evidence

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

YAMAGATA Mariko

(Project Professor, Center for Cultural Resource Studies,  
Institute of Human and Social Sciences, Kanazawa University)

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.

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”. Linyi, generally identified as Champa, emerged on the southernmost border of Eastern Han at the end of the second century CE, according to *Shuijinzhu* and *Jinshu*. The ancient capital of Linyi is generally supposed to have been 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 carried out at the Tra Kieu citadel and other related sites by the author. Tracking the path to Indianization, the unique figure of the early polity emerging in present-day central Vietnam is clarified.

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 14km southwest of Tra Kieu. 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 valley. 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. These early inscriptions have been palaeographically attributed to the late fourth or fifth century CE, although some scholars have proposed the slightly later date from the late fifth to early sixth century CE.

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

The Thu Bon River valley is rich not only in early Champa relics, but also in prehistoric sites of the Sa Huynh culture. Burial sites of the Sa Huynh culture spread along the river, from the alluvial plain to the upstream highland. Characterized by cemeteries with jar burials, this culture appears to have occupied central Vietnam between about 400 BCE and 100 CE. Grave goods found in association with jar burials include pottery, iron and bronze artifacts, and earrings and beads made of glass and semi-precious stones. The widely accepted view on glass and semi-precious stone beads made of agate, carnelian, crystal, and so on, uncovered at Iron Age sites in Southeast Asia, is that most of them were imported from India, as beads or as raw-materials. As *Hanshu* recorded, the ancient maritime trade connecting China and India already prospered in the first century BCE. The people of the Sa Huynh culture, perhaps being riverine and maritime traders, may have collected forest and sea products



Figure View of the Excavation on the Eastern Rampart of the Tra Kieu Site, Quang Nam Province in Central Vietnam (August 2013): Two Rows of Brick Walls Have Been Uncovered.

to export to the trade networks, and imported exotic goods like beads. The Sa Huynh culture declined through the first century CE, and their distinctive mortuary tradition disappeared by the end of this century. The local inhabitants are likely to have experienced rapid transformation of their society towards the rise of the first polity.

At the walled citadel of Tra Kieu, identified as the old capital of Linyi, a Vietnamese, British, and Japanese collaborative team, including the author, carried out excavations from 1993 to 2000. The lowest layers of Tra Kieu, as well as the site called Go Cam situated 3.5km southeast of Tra Kieu, yielded roof tiles belonging to a Chinese style that was widespread in East Asia. The presence of roof tiles is significant because they indicate the existence of solid wooden buildings supporting heavy roofs, generally used as religious temples, administrative centers, royal palaces, and so on. Unexpected discoveries at Go Cam included various Chinese Han style artifacts. Among them, the most significant find was a *fengni*, a piece of clay seal with an imprint of Chinese characters transcribed as *Huangshen shizhe zhang* (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. The earliest phase of Tra Kieu, together with Go Cam, dates from the second century or even the late first century CE.

Chinese influence reflected in material culture was prominent through the second and the third centuries CE. Intriguingly, the eaves tiles with human face decoration found at Tra Kieu show striking similarity to those found in Nanjing, the former capital of the Six Dynasties in China. In Nanjing, the human face tiles are thought to have been mainly associated with Wu Dynasty (222–280 CE). The discovery in Nanjing has led to the belief that the human faces depicted on eaves 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 to Tra Kieu, including Co Luy in Quang Ngai province, Thanh Ho in Phu Yen province, and Thanh Cha in Binh Dinh province. These citadels should have been political centers developed locally in the respective coastal plains. Roof tiles were locally produced, but these citadels shared this particular style of eaves tiles. It is the author's guess that sharing eaves tiles with human face decoration was a manifestation of an "alliance" of regional centers, recognized by Chinese as Linyi.

Concerning Indic influence, Tra Kieu yielded spouted jars called kendis, thought to have originated in India and spread over Southeast Asia during the first millennium CE. 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. Indic influence thus seems to have been limited to some categories of artifacts, including beads of the Sa Huynh culture, during a few centuries before and after the Common Era.

In 2013, the author and the Southern Institute of Social Sciences in Ho Chi Minh City conducted excavations on the eastern rampart of Tra Kieu, aiming to verify the date and the structure. In addition, we expected to uncover the archaeological assemblage of the fourth century CE, the period approaching the visible Indianization, as the assemblage had not been confirmed yet at Tra Kieu. The trench across the rampart revealed two rows of brick with infill clay layers between them, reinforced by the outer structure of clay layers partly containing large pieces of broken bricks. A large number of roof tiles were uncovered, including eaves tiles with human face decoration. These tiles belonged to the same Chinese style as those found in the inner citadel. Two radiocarbon dates of charcoal samples associated with these tiles have been analyzed, suggesting the date range of the latter half of the third century to the fourth century CE. Did we encounter the structure and artifacts concurrent with the initial Indianization of Linyi, or even preceding it?

The early occupation and construction of the Tra Kieu citadel reflect the early history of Linyi. It was the time approaching the initial stages of Indianization, but in fact, the archaeological findings demonstrate that the

adaptation and localization of Chinese influence were vital for this period. The issue of Indianization of Linyi therefore needs further investigation in archaeological terms, and the research proceeding on rampart of the Tra Kieu citadel will hopefully provide triggers to tackle the issue.

### Bibliography

- Claeys, J.-Y. 1928 Fouilles de Trà Kiệu. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 27, 468–481.
- 1929 Fouilles de Trà Kiệu. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 28, 578–593.
- 1931 Simhapura. *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 2(7), 93–104.
- Coedès, G. 1968 *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (translated by S. B. Cowing). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Glover, I. C. and Nguyễn Kim Dung 2011 Excavations at Gò Cẩm, Quảng Nam, 2000–3: Linyi and the Emergence of the Cham Kingdoms. Trần Kỳ Phương and B. M. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 54–80.
- He Yunao 2005 *Eaves Tiles and Capital Cities of the Six Dynasties*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press. (in Chinese)
- Lam Thi My Dzung 2011 Central Vietnam during the Period from 500 BCE to CE 500. P.-Y. Manguin, A. Mani, and G. Wade (eds.), *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and India: Manohar, 3–15.
- Maspero, G. 1928 *Le royaume de Champa*. Paris and Bruxelles: Van Oest.
- Manguin, P.-Y. 2004 The Archaeology of Early Maritime Polities of Southeast Asia. I. C. Glover, and P. Bellwood (eds), *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 282–313.
- Nguyen Kim Dung, I. Glover, and M. Yamagata 2006 Excavations at Tra Kieu and Go Cam, Quang Nam Province, Central Viet Nam. E. Bacus, I. Glover, and V. Piggot (eds.), *Uncovering Southeast Asia's Past*. Singapore: NUS Press, 216–231.
- Parmentier, H. 1909 and 1918 *Inventaire descriptif des monuments cams de l'Annam*. Tomes I, II. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale (Tome I) and Ernest Leroux (Tome II).
- Southworth, W. A. 2004 The Coastal States of Champa. I. C. Glover, and P. Bellwood (eds), *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 209–223.
- Stein, R. 1947 Le Lin-Yi, sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine. *Han-Hiue, Bulletin du Centre d'Études Sinologiques de Pékin* 2.
- Yamagata, M. 2006 Inland Sa Huynh Culture along the Thu Bon River Valley in Central Vietnam. E. A. Bacus, I. C. Glover, and V. C. Piggott (eds.), *Uncovering Southeast Asia's Past*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 168–183.
- 2007 The Early History of Lin-i Viewed from Archeology. *Acta Asiatica* 92, 1–30.
- 2011 Trà Kiệu during the Second and Third Centuries CE: The Formation of Linyi from Archaeological Perspective. Trần Kỳ Phương and B. M. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*. Singapore: NUS Press, 81–101.
- Yamagata, M. and Nguyen Kim Dung 2010 Ancient Roof Tiles Found in Central Vietnam. B. Bellina, E. A. Bacus, T. O. Pryce, and J. Wisseman Christie (eds.), *50 Years of Archeology in Southeast Asia: Essays in Honour of Ian Glover*. Bangkok: River Books, 194–205.

### Antecedents of the State (Polity) Formation in Early South India

Rajan GURUKKAL

(Professor, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, India)

The paper seeks to try and discuss the historical antecedents of the state formation in the early Deccan in general with and the Tamil macro region in particular. It is theoretically accepted widely that the state formation, inevitably *sui generis* in a class structured society, which precludes diffusion or transplant, can be studied only against its historical socio-economic processes. Analysis of historical socio-economic processes is best done within the theoretical framework of social formation. Hence, the paper first goes about characterising the socio-economic