



รูปแบบจารึกลำโดมน้อย พิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติอุบลราชธานี กับหลักหินซึ่ง
อาจเป็นศิลาจารึกขุนพระเจ้าจิตรเสน พบจากการสำรวจแหล่งริมฝั่งโขง
บริเวณเขื่อนปราสาทชัย

ภาพที่ 3.154 รูปแบบจารึกลำโดมน้อย พิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติอุบลราชธานี กับหลักหินซึ่งอาจเป็นศิลาจารึกขุนพระเจ้าจิตรเสน พบจากการสำรวจแหล่งริมฝั่งโขง บริเวณเขื่อนปราสาทชัย

จากรูปถ่าย แสดงภาพจารึกลำโดมน้อย ภาษาสันสกฤต คริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 7 มีเนื้อหาสังเขปคือ จารึกกล่าวถึงพระเจ้าจิตรเสนกษัตริย์ผู้ยิ่งใหญ่ทรงได้ชัยชนะเหนือกัมพูประเทศ และได้เฉลิมพระนามว่า “ศรีมหันทรวรมัน” อีกทั้งโปรดให้สร้างรูปเคารพต่างๆในลัทธิไศวนิกายไว้เพื่อเป็นเครื่องหมายแห่งชัยชนะของพระองค์ซึ่งในจารึกปากน้ำมูล 1 นี้ เป็นการสร้างพระศิวลึงค์ ดังนั้น จาจารึกทั้ง 7 หลักนี้ จึงเป็นหลักฐานอย่างดีว่า อารยธรรมแถบลุ่มแม่น้ำชีและลุ่มแม่น้ำมูลในระหว่างคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 6-7 (พุทธศตวรรษที่ 11-12) นั้นมีผู้นำของอาณาจักรนับถือศาสนาพราหมณ์ ลัทธิไศวนิกาย “จิตรเสน” เป็นพระนามของเจ้าชายผู้ทรงเป็นพระญาติกับพระเจ้าภวรมันที่ 1 (ค.ศ. 598-607 (พ.ศ. 1141-1150)) กษัตริย์แห่งอาณาจักรเจนละต่อมาเจ้าชายจิตรเสนได้ครองราชสมบัติครองพระนามเป็น พระเจ้ามหันทรวรมัน (ราว ค.ศ. 607-616 (พ.ศ. 1150-1159)) พระเจ้ามหันทรวรมันทรงสถาปนาจารึกไว้เป็นจำนวนมากโดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในเขตแดนของประเทศไทยในปัจจุบันนั้น มีพบที่จังหวัดบุรีรัมย์ คือ กลุ่มจารึกถ้ำเปิดทองที่จังหวัดขอนแก่นพบจารึกวัดศรีเมืองแอม (ขก. 15) และที่จังหวัดอุบลราชธานีพบจารึกปากน้ำมูล 1 (อบ. 1) (K. 496) จารึกปากน้ำมูล 2 (อบ. 2) (K. 497) จารึกวัดสุปฏิหาราม 1 (อบ. 4) (K. 508) และจารึกถ้ำ ภูหมาโน (อบ. 9))

ดังนั้นหลักหินที่พบ ณ โบราณสถานริมฝั่งแม่น้ำโขง ซึ่งมีรูปร่าง ลักษณะคล้ายกันอาจเป็นหนึ่งในจารึกที่พระเจ้าจิตรเสนทรงสร้างขึ้น

การค้นหาแหล่งถลุงโลหะในพื้นที่แขวงจำปาศักดิ์ตามวัตถุประสงค์การเดินทาง ยังไม่ประสบผลสำเร็จ เนื่องจากเส้นทางไปยังพื้นที่เป้าหมายมีสภาพทุรกันดาน มีระยะเวลาในพื้นที่ไม่

เพียงพอและชุดล่องหน้าซึ่งเป็นคณะทำงานท้องถิ่นประสบอุบัติเหตุจึงยกเลิกกิจกรรมในรอบการสำรวจนี้

ในพื้นที่แขวงจำปาศักดิ์ นอกจากมีรายงานการพบแหล่งถลุงโลหะที่ยังไม่สามารถเข้าถึงแหล่งได้นั้นยังปรากฏโบราณสถานหลายแห่งตามที่ได้มีการนำโบราณวัตถุหลายชิ้นมาจัดแสดงไว้ ณ พิพิธภัณฑ์ปราสาทวัดภู ผู้อำนวยการพิพิธภัณฑ์ได้ให้ความร่วมมือในการบันทึกภาพโบราณวัตถุชิ้นเอก อาทิ ชิ้นส่วนประดับสถาปัตยกรรม รูปเคารพ



ภาพที่ 3.155 เปรียบเทียบรูปแบบซุ้มประดับอาคารจากบ้านหนองเวียง สปป.ลาว กับเขาลังนอกลง ศรีเทพ

โบราณวัตถุประเภทหนึ่งพบที่บ้านหนองเวียง แขวงจำปาศักดิ์ มีลักษณะเป็นซุ้มประดับสถาปัตยกรรมรูปจำลองอาคารที่ซุ้มเป็นวงโค้งเกือกม้า สมัยก่อนเมืองพระนคร อันเป็นรูปแบบงานศิลปกรรมที่ได้รับอิทธิพลวัฒนธรรมอินเดียซึ่งเปรียบเทียบกับซุ้มประดับส่วนฐานสถูปสมัยทวารวดี ณ โบราณสถานเขาลังนอกลง อุทยานประวัติศาสตร์ศรีเทพ เพชรบูรณ์ ที่มีร่องรอยวัฒนธรรม งานศิลปกรรมศิลปะอินเดียที่ชัดเจนแห่งหนึ่งของประเทศไทย ลักษณะงานศิลปกรรมที่ยังคงปรากฏรูปแบบศิลปะอินเดียที่ชัดเจนในช่วงคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 7 (พุทธศตวรรษที่ 12) เป็นต้นมา ปรากฏพบครอบคลุมเขตภาคพื้นทวีปเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ รวมทั้งในบริเวณภาคตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ของกัมพูชาในกลุ่มสมโบร์ไพรกุก จังหวัดกำปงธม ซึ่งมีความสัมพันธ์อย่างมากกับหลักฐานทางโบราณคดีและประวัติศาสตร์ของปราสาทวัดภู

การย้ายราชธานีจากเจนละบริเวณปราสาทวัดภู มายังราชธานีแห่งใหม่ มีผลให้รูปแบบศิลปกรรมที่มีเอกลักษณ์และคติเทวราชาแผ่ขยายตามลงมาและปรากฏสิ่งก่อสร้าง ศาสนสถาน รูปเคารพ อย่างหนาแน่น ณ สมโบร์ไพรกุก จึงสอดคล้องกับเป้าหมายการศึกษาทางโบราณคดีในการกำหนดแผนงานขยายการศึกษาให้ครอบคลุมถึงด้าน สปป.ลาว เพื่อศึกษาความเชื่อมโยงทางวัฒนธรรมในพื้นที่กลุ่มประเทศอาเซียน เขตภาคพื้นทวีป เพื่อให้เห็นความสัมพันธ์และกิจกรรมทางวัฒนธรรมที่มีความเกี่ยวข้องกันมาเป็นเวลานานมากและเกี่ยวข้องกับการเกิดขึ้นของรัฐโบราณสมัยต้นประวัติศาสตร์ การสืบทอด การแผ่ขยายอำนาจทางการเมือง ลัทธิความเชื่อ ความขัดแย้งและการล่มสลายของอาณาจักร

5. สรุป

ตำแหน่งที่ตั้งโบราณสถานและป้อมเมืองรวมทั้งเมืองหลวงของอาณาจักรจามปา หรือเมืองวิชัยอยู่บริเวณที่ราบชายฝั่งทะเล และบริเวณปากแม่น้ำสายสำคัญ มีบทบาทเป็นสถานีพักรับสินค้าจากกลุ่มคนจากที่สูงด้านทิศตะวันตกเรียกว่าพวกจาราย ส่งผลให้เมืองขยายตัวและเติบโตอย่างรวดเร็ว จากการติดต่ออย่างคับคั่งโดยกลุ่มพ่อค้านานาชาติโดยเฉพาะจีน ในสมัยอาณาจักรม พวกอังกฤษเคยมาตั้งสถานีรับสินค้าในบริเวณนี้และใช้ต่อเนื่องมานาน ที่แหล่งนี้มีลักษณะเดียวกับในไทยที่มีจุดรับสินค้าจากชนเผ่าซึ่งมักลำเลียงสินค้าของป่ามาเป็นช่วงๆ ในแต่ละฤดูกาล เช่น พวกเพลาอำเภอยะยา จุดรับสินค้านี้จะส่งสินค้าป้อนต่อไปยังเมืองท่าหลักชายฝั่งทะเลเพื่อเตรียมการส่งออก ในไทยพบรูปแบบนี้ที่เมืองเวียงสระ สุราษฎร์ธานี หล่มเก่า เพชรบูรณ์ ที่เมืองพยุหะคังเป็นเมืองท่าเก่าที่มีความสำคัญในระบบการค้าทางทะเล ซึ่งได้พบหลักฐานรูปสลักพระพุทธรูปสลักคู่ตามแบบที่เจอในเมืองท่าหลักของเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ เช่น ปูจิงรัฐเคดาห์ มาเลเซีย ทำให้เห็นโครงข่ายการติดต่อทั่วทั้งอนุภูมิภาคและขณะเดียวกันยังได้พบหลักฐานของจามปาในเขตคาบสมุทรมลายู ได้แก่สถูปจามที่วัดแก้ว และวัดหลง อำเภอยะยา ซึ่งเป็นโบราณสถานที่ได้รับอิทธิพลจากศูนย์กลางจามปาในแถบป็นดิยูและเมืองใกล้เคียงมากกว่าแถบไมซอน

โบราณสถานวัดแก้ว วัดหลง กำหนดอายุในราวคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 9 มีรูปแบบสถาปัตยกรรมแบบจามที่นิยมใช้การตกแต่งผนังด้วยการเซาะร่องเป็นกรอบยาวจนเป็นเอกลักษณ์ ยกเว้นสถูป Thap Duong Long ที่ได้รับอิทธิพลสถาปัตยกรรมแบบเขมร

หลักฐานทางวัฒนธรรมจากด้านประเทศเวียดนามมีบทบาทในประเทศไทยอย่างชัดเจน ปรากฏทั้งศาสนสถาน โบราณวัตถุแบบจามปา อาทิ ภาชนะแบบมีพวย ภาชนะทรงกระบอก จนถึงสมัยที่มีการพบเทวรูปพระโพธิสัตว์ที่โบราณสถานตุมปัง อำเภอยะยา จันทวนครศรีธรรมราช ซึ่งการติดต่อผ่านระบบการค้าทางทะเลตามเส้นทางการเดินเรือพาณิชย์ที่สะดวกรวดเร็วมากที่สุดในอดีตตามที่มีการปรากฏวัตถุทางวัฒนธรรมร่วมสมัยกับแหล่งกำเนิดกระจายปะปนทั่วไปในแหล่งโบราณคดีในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้

การสำรวจชายแดนทางด้านตะวันออกสุดของกัมพูชาที่ติดต่อกับประเทศเวียดนามยังได้พบศาสนสถานแบบจามอย่างชัดเจนที่จังหวัดรัตนคีรี ณ โบราณสถานยะนางซึ่งตั้งอยู่ในเขตที่จำเป็นต้องมีการควบคุมเส้นทางการขนส่งลำเลียงสินค้าในพื้นที่ของกลุ่มชาวเจียลายซึ่งเป็นกลไกสำคัญในการเคลื่อนย้ายทรัพยากรจากป่าในเขตที่สูงออกไปยังชายฝั่งทะเลแปซิฟิก ดังนั้นการพาณิชย์และการศาสนาในอดีตจึงมักปรากฏร่องรอยร่วมกันเสมอเพื่อให้เห็นได้ชัดถึงขอบเขตอำนาจที่มีผล

บังคับใช้ซึ่งแน่นอนว่าศาสนสถานแบบจามจะไม่สามารถเข้าไปปรากฏในเขตที่ลึกกว่านี้ที่มีอำนาจของ
กัมพูชาอย่างเข้มข้น การแสดงขอบเขตอำนาจในรูปแบบนี้อาจไม่แตกต่างจากวัฒนธรรมสมัยก่อนเมือง
พระนครตามที่มีการบ่งรอยจารึกของพระเจ้าจิตรเสน รวมทั้งทับหลังศิลปะแบบถาราบรีวติของ
พระเจ้าภวรมัน อยู่ทั่วไปในเขต สปป.ลาว ภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือและภาคตะวันออกของประเทศไทย

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CHAPTER 4

The Result of Field Works in Cambodia

Mr. Im Sokrithy and APSARA Team

Briefing to the H.M the King of Cambodia

It was great honor to all of us, during the Royal visit to Preah Khan at Kompong Svay, I have a great opportunity to be a guide for the Royal visit. His Majesty the **King Preah Boromneath** granted me a few minutes to present the Khmer-Thai Joint Research Project during the visit to the temple (Fig. 4.1).



Fig. 4.1 Presentation the Joint Khmer-Thai Research Result to the H.M. the King

A set of maps from the joint research project has been provided to the Royal Cabinet in Royal Palace in Phnom Penh. **His Majesty the King** expressed his appreciation of the Joint Research Project and encourages us to continue the research work.

The Scope of the Field Research

The field work has been conducted in four different provinces: Kompong Thom, Preah Vihear, Stung Treng and Ratanak Kiri where the three roads have been passed through. They are the Southeast road, Angkor-Sambor Prei Kuk; the East road, Angkor-Vijaya road; and the Northeast road, Angkor-Vat Phu road.

The first step of the field research has been conducted on the Angkor SamborPreiKuk road, named as the Southeast road. The road linked between the capital city Angkor, *Yashodharapura*, to the former 7th century capital city, *Isbanapura*, at present Kompong Thom province.

Two different plans have been conducted along this axis (that's the half way each): field survey from KompongKdei (the half way point) to Prasat Andet; and from Angkor to KompongKdei. But, due to the flood during the September and October, the survey in detail has been postponed on the Angkor to Kompong Kdei plan. The full survey on this road has been taken place during the 2014.

There are three different research activities have been made:

- by the APSARA team
- by a join APSARA and Thai team
- by International team: Khmer, Thai and Vietnamese.

We conducted the field surveys from the capital city Angkor on the areas about 180km on the Southeast road; 450km East road and 150km on the Northeast road.

The Study on the Southeast Road

1. Feature of the Road

1.1 The Feature of the Southeast Road from Angkor to KompongKdei

From the earliest days of its history to the Angkor period, the city was moved, built and rebuilt each new reign. The boundaries of the border were increasingly remote from those existing today. The construction of religious foundations, royal and public interest were erected in many places of the Empire through the centuries. The city was built gradually in a pattern around a strictly defined centered on a temple-mountain and had many channels to connect the different parts of the city and those outside urban system (Im 1998).

A royal road connecting the entrance "East" the capital city Yasodharapura to the northeast corner of the barayIndratataka, about 15km long. This road marked the relationship between the new city Yasovarman and the ancient city of Hariharalaya was certainly founded since the reign of Jayavarman II, and four brick shrines Lolei the center of *Indratataka* dedicated to the ancestors of Yasovarman. The *Hariharalaya* located on the Southeast of the *Yasodharapura*, Angkor (Im 2005). That's the reason to call this royal road as the "Southeast Road" (Fig. 4.2).

Thanks to highly developed impoundments and irrigation canals hydraulic system, it existed at the time of ancient Cambodia a sort of the communication system which borrowed dikes, baray, moats, ditches and canals, this is called "floor-dam." Their existence was very large in Angkor and in other agglomeration of the Kingdom. The floor-dike *Indratataka*, the current baray Lolei could be used of about 9,200 meters long (Fig. 4.3).



Fig. 4.2 The Southeast Road

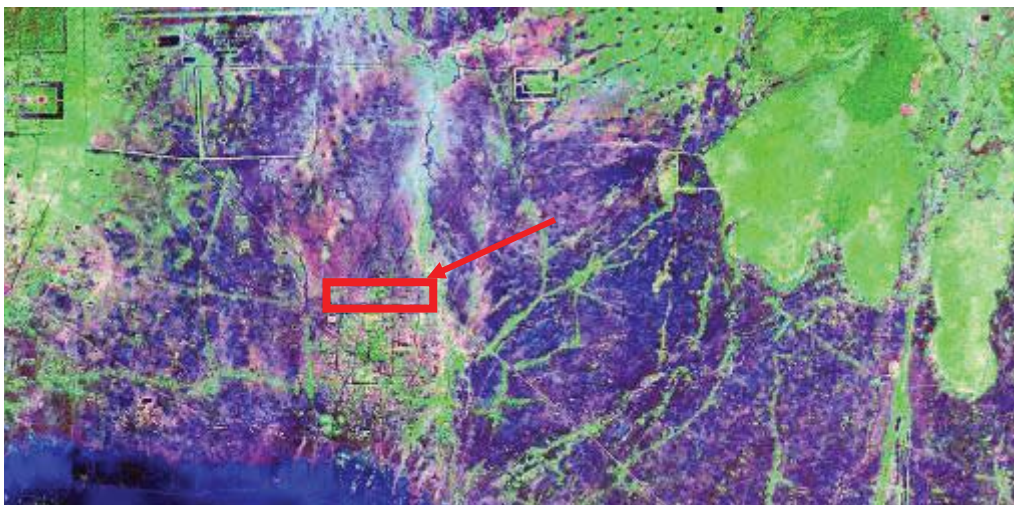


Fig. 4.3 Floor Dikes of Baray Indratataka using as road

Generally, the road is a straight line. But it's turned some point according to the geographical condition. The road runs being parallel with the northern bank of Tonle Sap Lake. More important of the feature is the geographical setting of the road's location. That's road has never flooded during the high water season. It's seemed that the road looked like as the limitation of the flooding area. Most part of the royal road is overlapped by the National Road 6 (Im 2005). The road would cross the present provinces of Kompong Thom and Kompong Cham. It connected several administrative territories, shrines and pilgrimages throughout its path (Fig. 4.4).

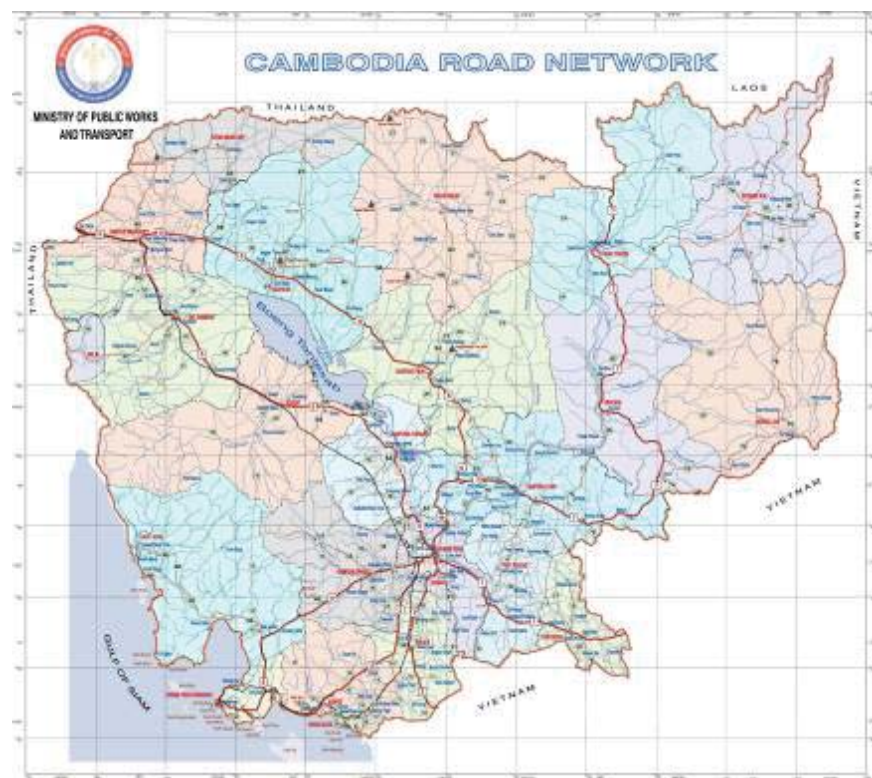


Fig. 4.4 Road network and National Road 6

The roads were made of kinds of embankment lined with water or ditches parts. They stood by the same technique as the dike. They had the average 10 meters wide and were built above the flood level. This technique was widely practiced at the time and still used today.

1.2 The Feature of Southeast Road from KompongKdei to SamborPreiKuk

There is no any stone bridge found on this part. The study is strongly based on the other criteria, the associated structures to the road, i.e. water structure,

rest-house and chapel of hospital. But likely, the archaeological remain of the road itself and the collective memories of the villagers living along the presuming old road.

The trace of the ancient roads from KompongKdei toward the PrasatAndet (56km long) is still remaining in portions which we could know through the memory of residents who live nearby. The road has crossed three districts (Kompong Kdei, Staung and Kompong Svay) and two provinces (Siem Reap and Kompong Thom). For example, in Staung district, the portion of ancient road is still visible for 15km and at Kompong Svay about 17km. The size of road is about 20 m to 25 m (included the flanked canals) and 0.5 m to 2 m high (Fig. 4.5).



Fig. 4.5-4.6 Traces of ancient road

These existing traces are presently invading by brush and remained only the narrow part at the centre which could be using. Ox-carts and local transport are still using for going to their rice field and transporting back their production from the field. Most of these portions are flooding during the rainy season. The villagers change their transport from ox-cart to small boat for travelling in the season (Fig. 4.6). But, in other case, due to the population growth, the invasion on the ancient road is gradually developed along side of the axis (Fig. 4.7).



Fig. 4.7 New households built along the ancient road which is paved be laterite soil

In some portions, the National Road 6 has built over the ancient road which is found in KompongKdei, Staung and KompongSvay as well (Fig. 4.8).



Fig. 4.8 Yellow is new road; Red is ancient road (drawing by Chanmony)

2. The Associated Structures of the Southeast Road

2.1 Bridges

Road traversed a vast plain watered by the great rivers, the great lake and its tributaries. The streams somehow in the rainy season have flash floods and strong currents. It was then necessary to build very strong bridges to facilitate the passage of travelers. These bridges were built of stone or wood. Unfortunately the wooden buildings we leave no trace of their existence. There were 22 bridges crossing rivers and streams on the road which some of which still serve the public (Fig. 4.9).

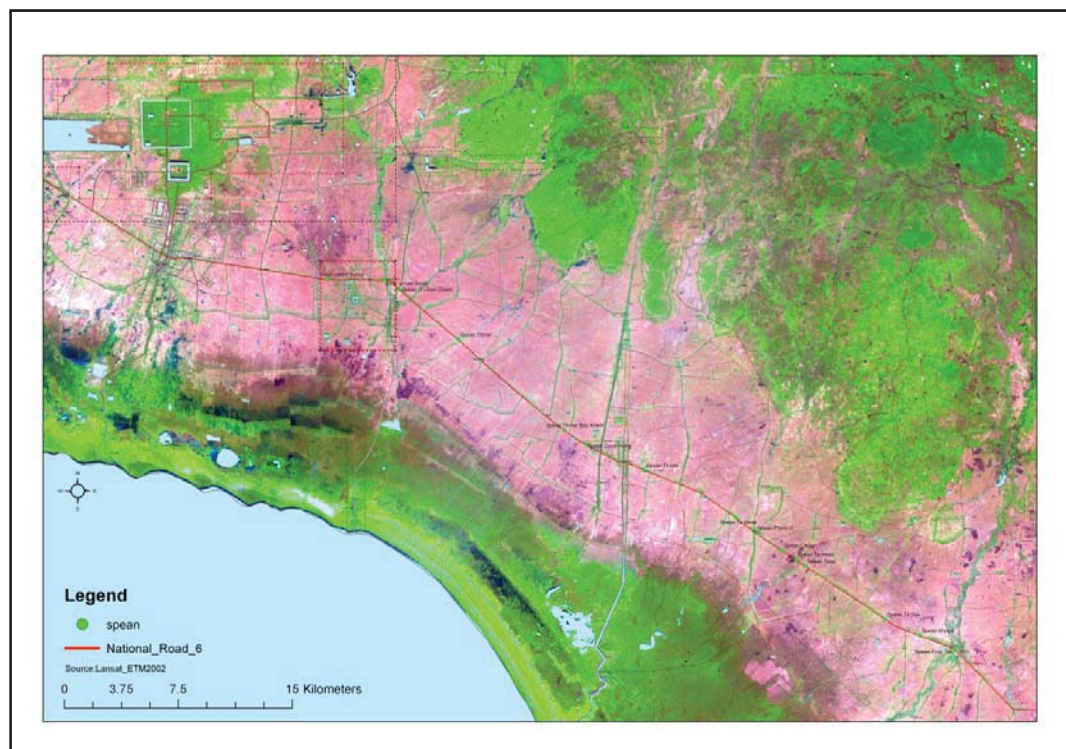


Fig. 4.9 Map of Bridges along the Southeast Road (courtesy Srun Tech)

These bridges are similarly constructed, using the sandstone and laterite as the materials. The beds are paved in laterite blocks reaching a length of 1.50 meters to 2 meters. They are built on powerful batteries and close between narrow corbel-vaulted arches. The banks upstream and downstream markets are covered by laterite. On this road, the lengths of bridges are varying from 6.50 meters to 85 meters with a width of 7 meters to 15 meters and an average of 9 meters.

The main decoration was represented by monumental sandstone balustrades, forming polycephalicnaga. These railings were supported by strangled dice carved and sometimes by groups of small figures placed on cords sandstone.

The end of the balustrade formed neck recourbait and reptiles that diverged in a range of nine-headed naga, home to sacred figures.

Spean Pratoes (Spean Preah Toes, *sacred direction*, means 'East') or Spean KompongKdei (KompongKdei Bridge), one of the finest of Cambodia, along the southeast road, through the Stung Chikreng, is located near the city KompongKdei. It is built of laterite, 85 meters long and 15 meters wide with 18 corbelled arches. Sandstone balustrades are decorated with polycephalicnaga, housing images of Buddha meditating. They are supported by square dice, ornamented with lotus flowers resting on two cords of sandstone (Fig. 4.10-4.11). This is the last stone bridge from Angkor has been ever seen.



Fig. 4.10-4.11 KompongKdei Bridge

2.2 The Rest-houses

Through the centuries of the ancient time, one of the Kings duties was to build the foundations of public interest. They are the authors of works of large-scale example of irrigation systems, ponds, roads, hospitals and rest houses. At the end of the ninth century, the rest-houses were known as the *Yaçodharâçrama* (hermitage Yasovarman). King Yasovarman built a hundred monasteries in his kingdom, near the ancient shrines or places of pilgrimage frequented. At the time of Jayavarman VII (1181-1218) hundred and twenty one rest house were raised with the name *vagnigrha* (houses with fire). They were built along the roads in the vicinity or on the foundation of "temple steps" of Jayavarman VI, second half of 11th century (Groslier 1973).

The Rest-houses were an ancient custom that was of public utility. The eleventh century, the custom seems to have spread and the inclusion of SdokKak Thom inscription said: "Apply only to the good of others, he houses and ponds along the road to promote caravans travelers " (Coedes 1940). At the end of the thirteenth century, Chou Ta-Kuan made a remark about this custom: "On the highways, there are places like rest to our coaching." These buildings were located at a distance of 12-15 kilometers from one another, need 4 to 5 hours walking. This provision had created the concept of a measure of steps, distance and time. These houses fire where travelers could find the fire, relax and prepare their meals. And with the presence of *Lokesvara* houses protected travelers against all hazards (Coedes 1940).

Along the South east Road, there were only the 11th century building structures. From this phase field research, we could identify one structure located about 30 km way from Angkor. The temple situated nowday in the modern Buddhist Monastery at the town down Domdek, named as 'BanteaySrei' (Fig. 4.12-4.13).



Fig. 4.12-4.13 BanteaySrei temple at Domdek

2.3 The Water Structures

This is referring to the structure which is associated to the road. As mentioned the 11th century inscription at SdokKak Thom above, the ponds were regularly located along the both side of road. They have been dug up and surrounded by rectangular dikes. Their structure layouts are similar to all structures. The length is running east-west and the width is north-south. This is one of the four criteria for the study about the ancient roads. The structures located along sides of the road about from 50m to 200 or 300 m depending on the geographical setting (Fig. 4.14-4.15).



Fig. 4.14-4.15 Water Structures

Some dikes of the water structure are using as burial ground. This is not an unusual case, but it happens at many ancient sites including the water structure, named SrahSrang in Sambor Prei Kuk. Some scholar believed that practice is ainheritance tradition from old day (Fig. 4.16).



Fig. 4.16 Water structure with the burial ground on the dike

2.4 The Hospitals

This building was one of the marks of the King Jayavarman VII. Based on the Ta Prohm's inscription, there were 102 hospitals have been erected through the Empire. At present, about 60 structures are identified by the previous studied and the present project. Their structure layouts are similar from one to all. There are five principle structures: 1 Sanctuary building, 1 library on southeast, 1 pond on the northeast, 1 wall enclosure and the main entrance on the east. These are more or less considered by scholars as the criteria to define the type of chapel building.

One chapel of hospital was at the downtown KompongKdei. It located about 2 km on the east of the ancient bridge (Fig. 4.17). That's a ruined temple built by sandstone and laterite blocks. The whole structure has been collapsed which remained some building structures are on site.

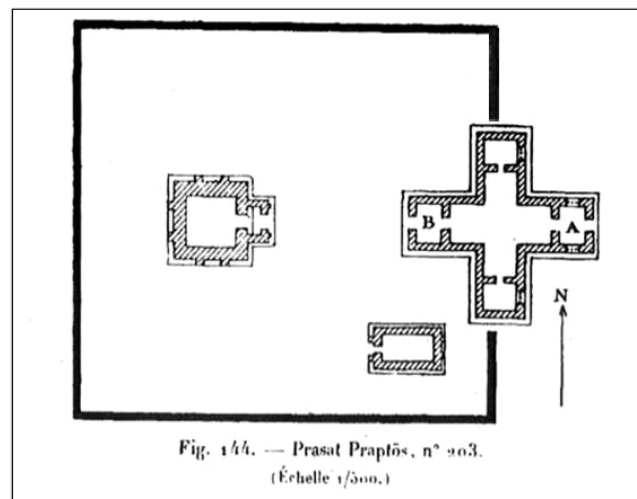


Fig. 4.17 Water structure with the burial ground on the dike

3. The Study on Continuing Southeast Road to Mekong

The survey aims to explore on the areas where the assumption about the extension of the road was discussed by the scholars. But there is no any systematic studies executed to confirm about the facts. For this project, we conducted the field works with the collaboration from Kompong Thom provincial Department of Culture and Fine Arts. The study on continuing road starts from PrasatAndet toward eastern, the Mekong river bank.

The methodology of the study is not based on the traditional evidences as we did in the previous studies which are mainly counted on the ancient stone bridges. But, other criteria related to the associated structures of the road are the key factor for the research: the water structure and the chapel of the rest-house, temple of stage.

3.1 The Associated Structures

3.1.1 The Rest-houses:

There is no evidence of the rest-houses built in reign of the King Jayavarman VII. But, based on the previous study, there were other two types of the chapel of rest-houses have been built in previous reign of the Angkorian period. The Angkorian Kings had the duties to build the found at ions of public interest, such as

hydraulic system, hospitals, infrastructure, education centers, etc. At the end of the ninth century, the rest-houses were known as the "Yaçodharâçrama" (hermitage Yasovarman). King Yasovarman built a hundred monasteries in his kingdom, near the ancient shrines or places of pilgrimage frequented. At the time of Jayavarman VI, second half of 11th century, many stone temples dedicated in the same concept were built on the existing roads in the empire. Those buildings have been identified as 'temple d'etape', temple of stage, by the French scholar, Bernard Philippe Groslier, since last century.

The Rest-houses were an ancient custom that was of public utility. The 11th century, the custom seems to have spread and the inclusion of SdokKakThom inscription said: "Apply only to the good of others, he houses and ponds along the road to promote caravan travelers". At the end of the 13th century, ChouTa-Kuan made a mark about this custom: "On the highways, there are places like rest to our coaching." These houses were where travelers could find the fire, relax and prepare their meals and protect travelers against hazards.

There are six different structures have been visited in the province of Kompong Thom: PrasatKukNokor; and Kompong Cham: Prasat Phnom Thom, Prasat Yeay Hom, Prasat Ampel Tvear, Prasat Preah Theat Teuk Char and Prasat Kuk Toch (Fig. 4.18-4.22). The general layout of the temple is more or less same from one to other. But, for the location, sometime the temple built on the hill. In general, the layout of the building could be summarized as following:



Fig. 4.18 Map Location of temple of stages



Fig. 4.19 Prasat Kuk Nokor, Kompong Thom



Fig. 4.20 Kuk Yeay Hom, Kompong Cham

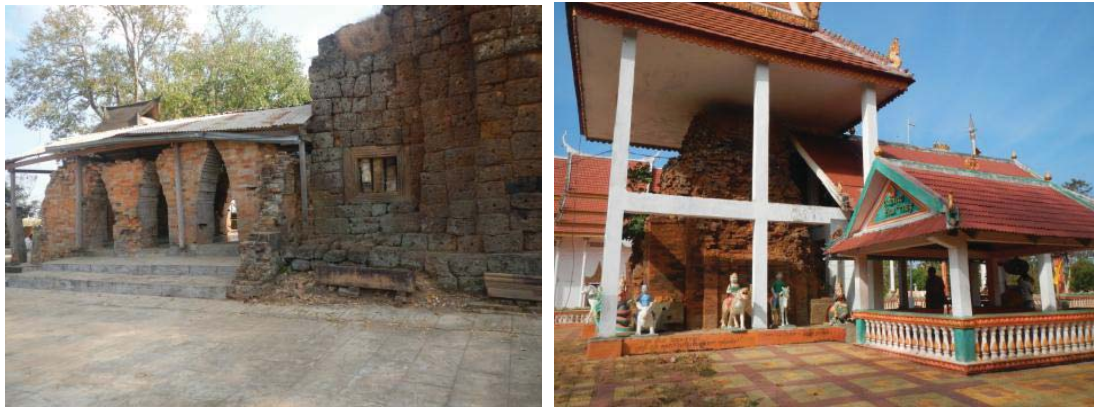


Fig. 4.21 Prasat Phnom Thom, Kompong Cham



Fig. 4.22 Prasat Preah Theat Teuk Char, Kompong Cham

- A central tower attached with a hall on the East, built by brick or stone or mixed brick and stone
- Two libraries, sometime we could see only one
- A wall enclosure built by laterite mainly opened on the east
- Normally, there was a moat surrounded the temple when it had built on the plain, but no moat when it built on the hill
- A big pond located on the East of the temple
- A cause-way on the east flanked by the two ranges of stone posts. But, it was replaced by stone steps when it was built on the hill.

Amongst six temples above, the Prasat Kuk Toch was the Yashodharasrama, built next to Prasat Theat Teuk Char. All of them were not the original structures, but they were modified and reused the old building where we could see the old lintels, columns or other structures have been reused. With the present day, some temples have been added by new structure once again on the ancient structure as we see at Prasat Phnom Thom, Ampel Tvear and Preah Theat Teuk Char.

3.1.2 The Water Structures

This is a reference for the study. The structure is associated to the road. As mentioned the 11th century inscription at SdokKak Thom above, the ponds were regularly located along the both side of road. They have been dug up and surrounded by rectangular dikes. Their structure layouts are similar to all structures. This is one of the four criteria for the study about the ancient roads. The structures located along sides of the road about from 50m to 200 or 300 m depending on the geographical setting.

From the Prasate Andet Eastward, the ponds are more or less regularly displayed where, in present day, the local people are continually using. About few kilometers from Prasat Andet, a huge rectangular pond laid down on the east-west (Fig. 4.23). On the Southeast of the present downtown Kompong Thom, about 15 km, a huge rectangular pond, called Boeng Val Pul and Trapeang Veng in the google earth map (Fig. 4.24).



Fig. 4.23 Water Structure



Fig. 4.24 Water Structure, Boeng Val Pul

3.1.3 The Hospitals

It was one of the King Jayavarman VII's Marks. The Ta Prohm's inscription listed 102 hospitals have been found through the Empire. At present, about 30 structures are located in present Cambodia. On the Southeast Road, we identified 5 locations of the hospital buildings in about 200km long from Angkor (Fig. 4.25).

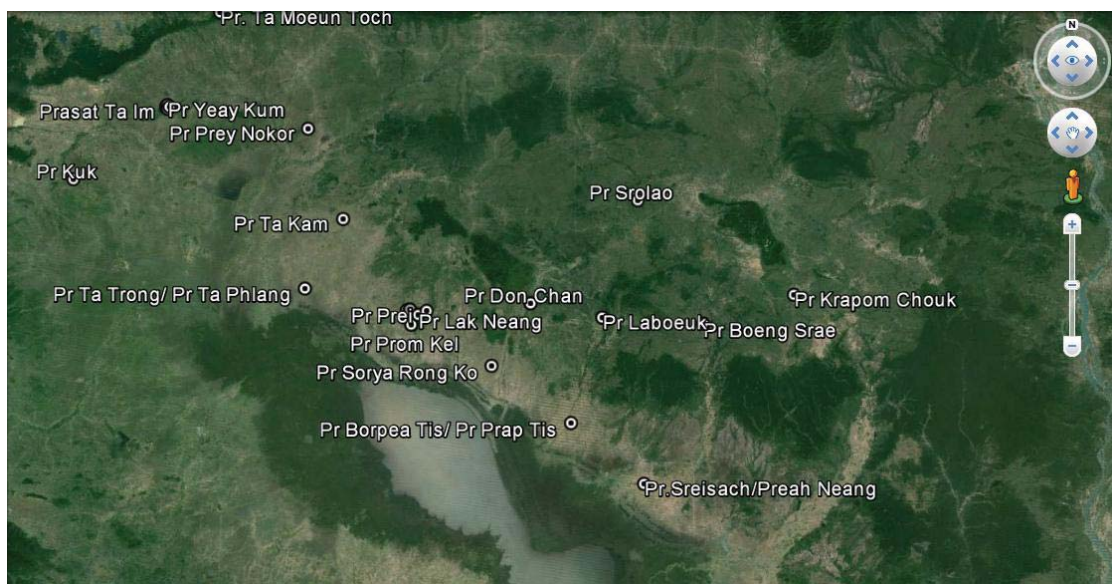


Fig. 4.25 Map Arogyashala's location

- Prasat Sorya Rong Ko at Dam Dek district, Siem Reap
- Prasat Kompong Kdei at Kompong Kdei district, Siem Reap

- Prasat Serey Sach or Vat Preah Neang at Staung district, Kompong Thom

- Prasat Kuk Roka at Balang district, Kompong Thom

- Prasat Kuk Ta Pech at Baray district, Kompong Thom.

They are almost ruined. Some temples are grounded and some remained part of the temple structure (Fig. 4.26-4.29).



Fig. 4.26-4.27 Prasat Serey Sach grounded and pond



Fig. 4.28-4.29 Prasat Sorya Rong Ko, remain of gate and wall enclosure

The Study on the Northeast and East Roads

The initial trip has been conducted within three countries: Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam. The surveys are carried out at three different provinces: Preah Vihear, Stung Treng and Ratanakiri. Firstly, in Preah Vihear province, the field survey conducted at Thmat Poey village, a wildlife sanctuary (Fig. 4.30). A villager, he is an ethnic minority Kuy, guided the team to visit the archaeological with the local transportation. He provided a hand drawing map with location 15 archaeological sites

included temples, stone bridges, ancient road and burial sites (Fig. 4.31). We had a chance to visit a few sites of them: brick temple, ancient road and bridges (Fig 4.32-4.35). All the structures are on the Northeast Road.



Fig. 4.30 Map Preah Vihear Province, Thmat Poey village

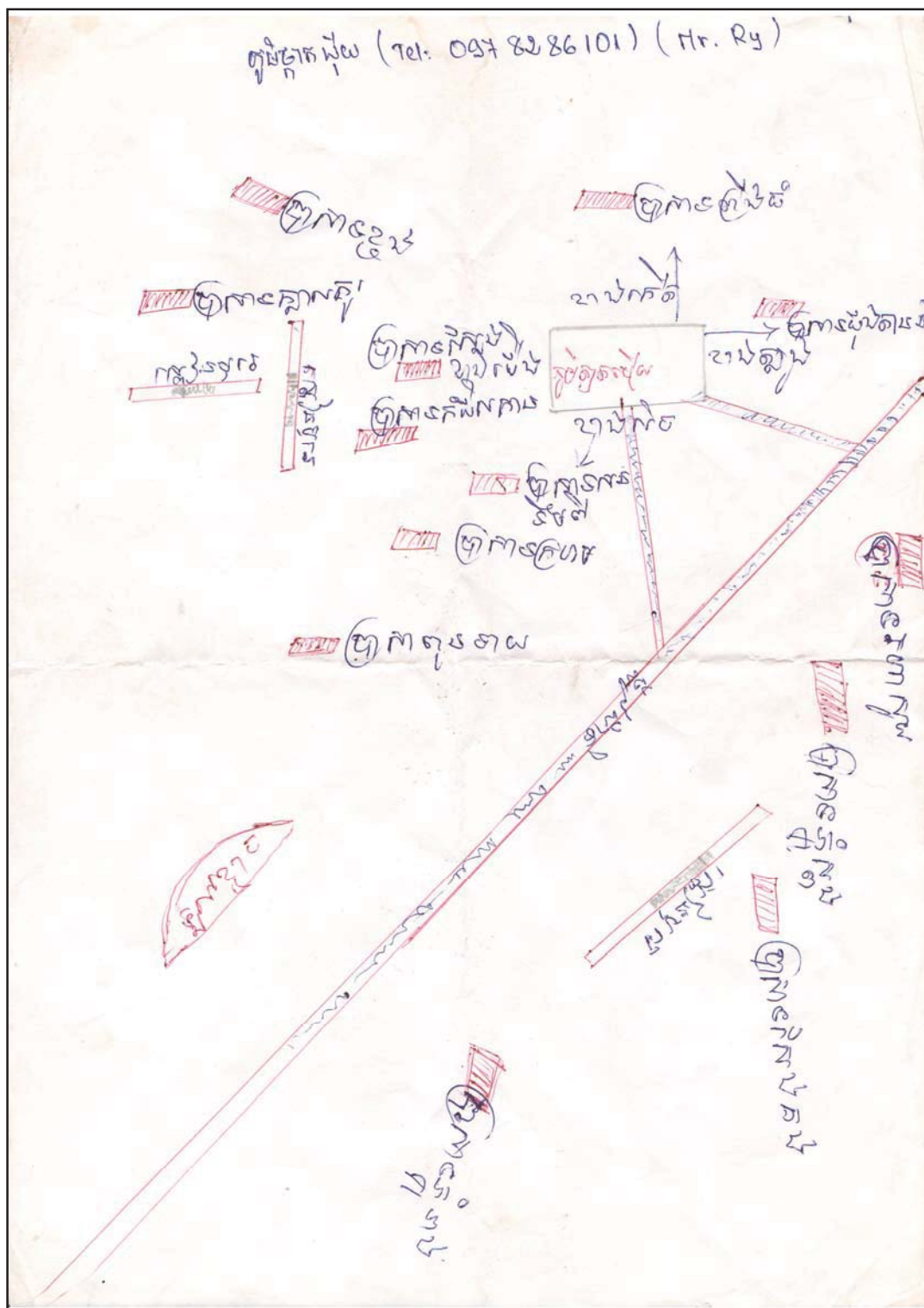


Fig. 4.31 Archaeological Map Hand drawingat Thmat Poey Village



Fig. 4.32-4.33 Local transportation and a ruined of PrasatSpong



Fig. 4.34-4.35 Activities on Sites

Secondly, in Stung Treng province, the international team visit Thalaborivat district where it was an ancient important downtown of the crossroad trading center between Khmer, Cham and Chinese (Fig. 4.36). A friend of us, Mr. Heng Phipal, a Ph.D. Student from Hawaii working on the site, guided us to see his work. Seven different Archaeological sites have been visited: Prasat Preah Ko, Sala Pramboun Loveng, Prasat Khtob, Trapeng Khnar, Phnom Preah Theat and Bak Doeum (Fig. 4.37). Those structures were originally Pre Angkorian period (Fig. 4.38). But some of them have been modified in the Angkorian time. The evidence from the ceramics found on the sites, pointed out by Heng Phipal, confirmed actively continuing occupied the sites in the Angkorian time.

The region was most probably the main hub of the trading and economic exchanged. It was on the East road from Angkor.

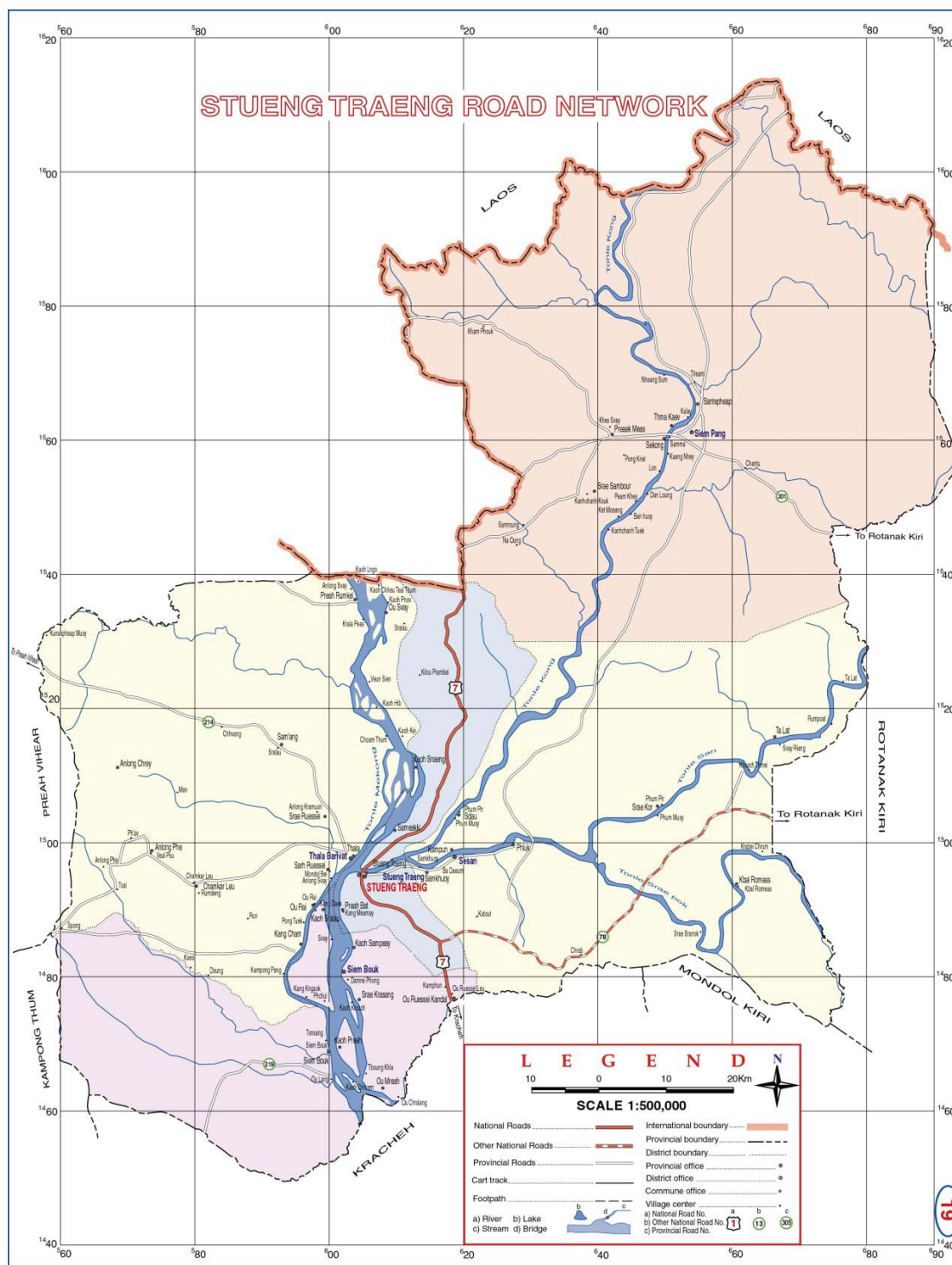


Fig. 4.36 Map Stung Treng and Thlabarivatt

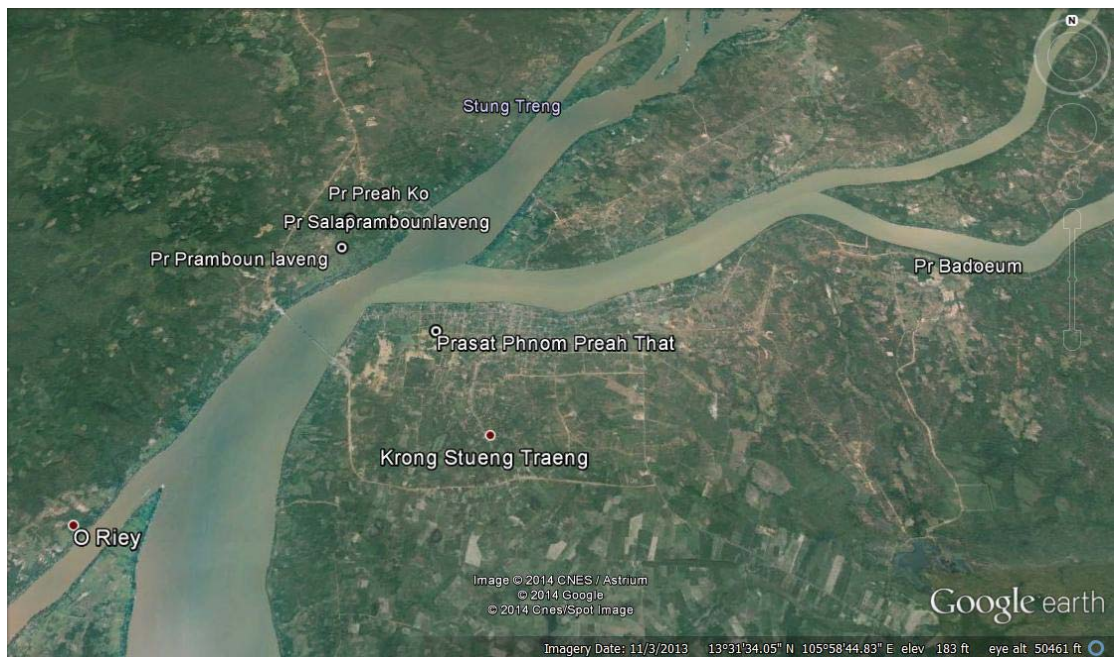


Fig. 4.37 Map Thalaborivat and Stungb Treng: Archaeological sites



Fig. 4.38-4.39 Visit Excavation Site and Lintle

Our team was granted an audience by the Governor of Stung Treng at the town hall and hosted a welcome dinner during our passage at Stung Treng (Fig. 4.40-4.41). The Governor warmly welcomed the research project and promised to collaborate with us in future.



Fig. 4.40-4.41 Audience and Dinner with Governor of Stung Treng

Last destination of our field survey ended at the Ratanakiri province, is the home of many ethnic minority groups. But Jaray is the most important for this research work. Based on the literature published in Cambodia as well as in Vietnam, the Jaray group was considered as ‘warrior’ group who worked for Khmer royal court in the old days. The last record of the connection with the Khmer court was written in very early of 17th century on the palm leaves kept at Vat Sambok, Kratie Province. The manuscript has been published in French in Seksa Khmer number 1, 1980’s (see more detail below).

A brick temple, a single tower located in land of Jaray known today PrasatYeak Nang or some called Nak Nang. The temple situated on the river bank O Tang, DorPir village, Ya Tung Commune, O YaDav district. No any conclusion to define it was Cham or Khmer temple? But the important is the location of the temple. It stood about half way from Stung Treng and half way to Vijaya in present central Vietnam (Fig. 4.42-4.47).

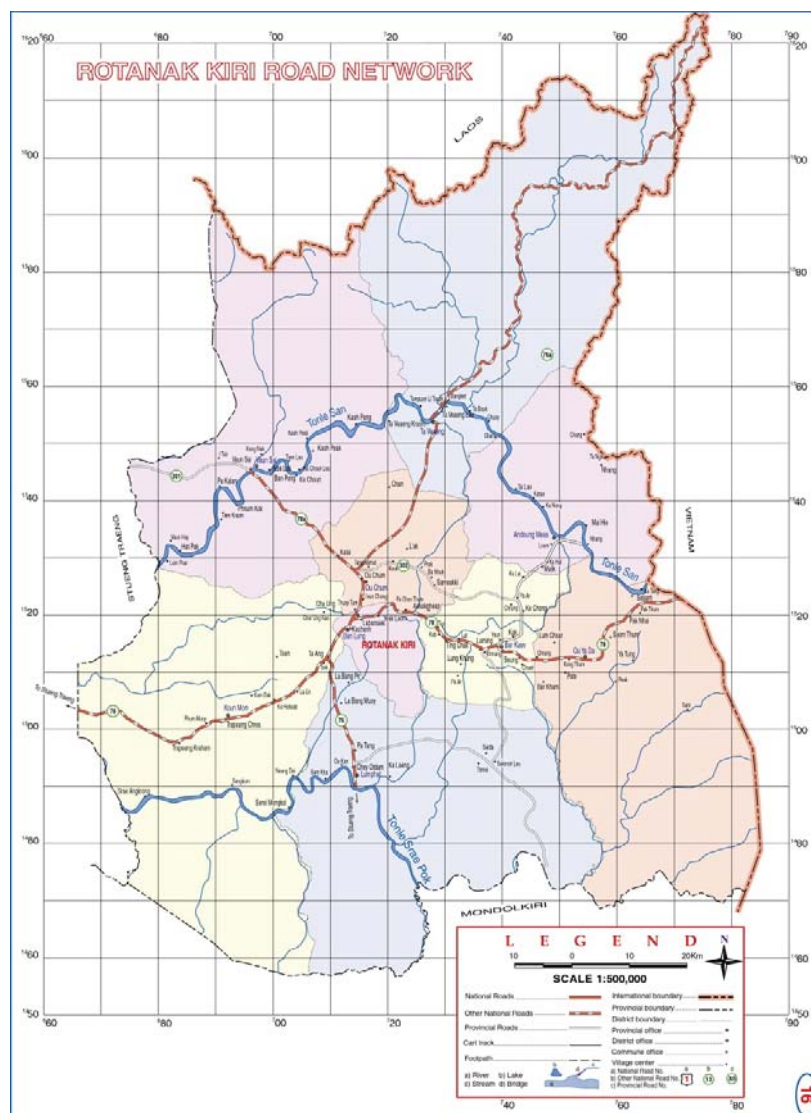


Fig. 4.42 Map Ratanakiri Province

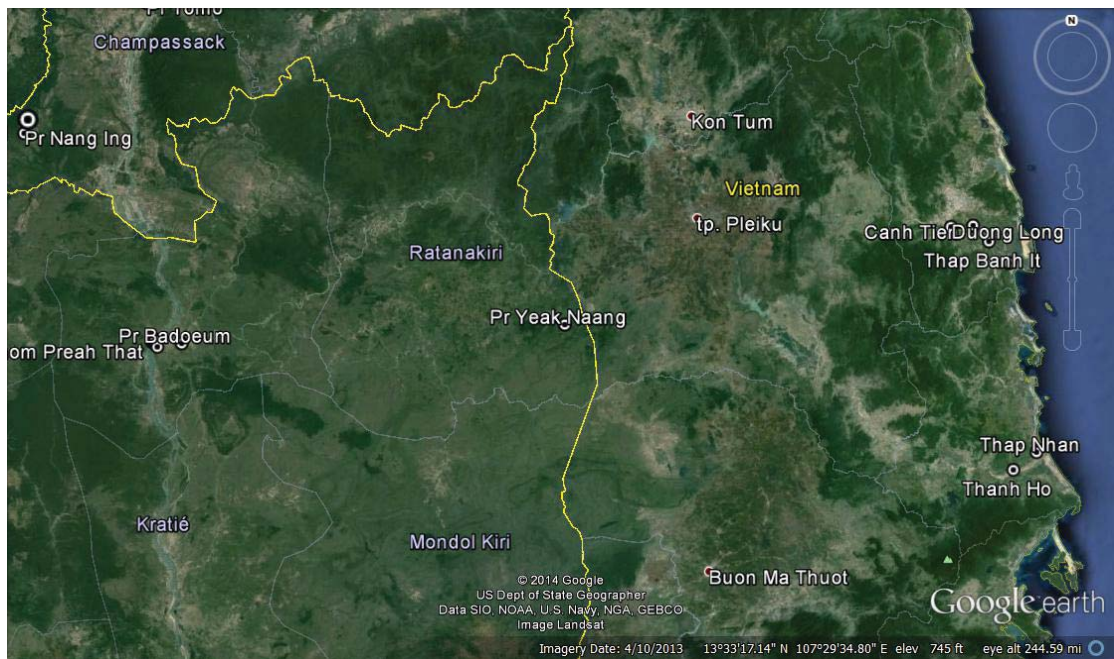


Fig. 4.43 MapStung Treng-Yeak Nang-Vijaya



Fig. 4.44-4.45 Crossing O Tang river for reaching Yeak Nang



Fig. 4.46 Souvenir at Yeak Nang



Fig. 4.47 Yeak Nang temple

Our team recorded the tracks from the survey attached with photos all around which could be seen in Fig. 4.48.

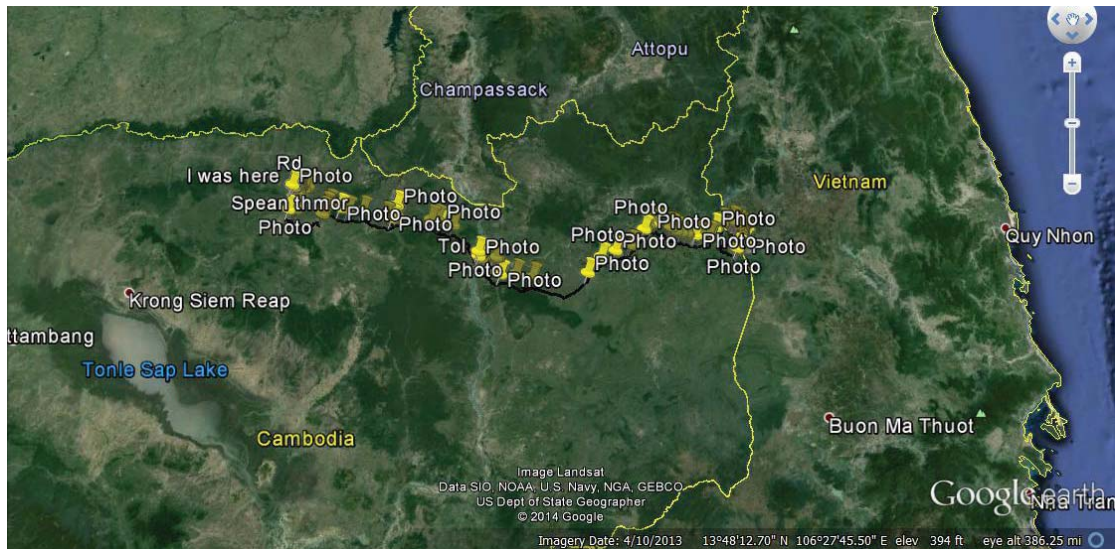


Fig. 4.48 Map GPS Tracking trail from ThmatPeoy to Yeak Nang

3.1 Feature of the Road

At ThmatPoey village, the road was not so high because of the topography of the region. It is about 1 to 2 metres high from the ground, built up by several soil layers as usual, flanked by two small drainage canals. The total size of the width is 22 metres.

For the Thalaborivat area, as the topography is high and the recent building the new roads, we could not see the feature of the ancient road. Even some ancient temples are destroyed by the new roads.

3.2 Associated Structures

3.2.1 The Rest-houses

There are not any the type of Jayavarman VII's building have been found. But, the type of the temple of stage and Yashodharashramawere there on the East and Northeast Roads. At the ThmatPoey village, the temple of stage was Prasat Khayang, ruined and covered by the vegetation. At Thalaborivat, Sala Pamboun Loveng was probably the Yashodharashrama building. It was a long hall north-south about 12 meters long, built by bricks with sandstone door and lintles (Fig. 4.49). The lintles was the Pre Angkorian art style. But it was reused for the building dated later on.

3.2.2 The Bridge

There is no bridge found on the area at Thalaborivat. It might be the Road passed through the high ground or wooden bridges. At Thmat Poey village,

we found one laterite bridge. It was call ‘Spean Ta Pa’, 6.70 metre by 8.40 metres with 3 arches (Fig. 4.50) with no naga handle.

3.2.3 The Water Structures

At ThmatPeoy there are a few structures remained along the Road. Their forms are rectangular laid east-west and north-south. They are still in use by the local people and wildlife. Some parts of the pond are become rice paddy field.

Around the Thalaborivat, there is a huge pond, rectangular form, about 40m by 60m. (Fig. 4.51). It located on the southern side of Sala Pramboun Loveng.



Fig. 4.49 SalaPrambounLoveng, Thalaborivat



Fig. 4.50 Spean Tapa at Thmat Peoy

Settlement and Landscape

1. The general layout of the Settlements located along the Southeast Road

Some of ancient temples have being continued to occupy by the Buddhist monasteries and villages. The occupation is not new, but it was most probably since in old day of the transferred the Hinduism to Theravadas Buddhism. That is a core approach to study on the history of the urban landscape and development. There is also a special case such as at Kol at Siem Reap (Im et al, 2009) and Phnom Rung at Buriram (Kim 2011). The village settled in the ancient agglomeration which consisted with temples, road, water structure and hospital.

For the southeast road, the settlement in question is at KompongKdei down town. Here, there is an ancient hospital, temples, water structure and bridge. The well known bridge at the area is the Spean Praptoeus, 80m x 15 m (Fig. 4.51). The cluster of household has gradually developed around the ancient buildings into the busy downtown at present day (Fig. 4.52). The most beautiful view of the landscape at area is the settlement developed along the ancient road. A landscape in the figure 4.53 is seeing from west to east, to the bridge. A hospital has built on

the northeast of the bridge about few hundred meters, named PrasatPraptoeus (Fig. 4.53).



Fig. 4.51 Spean Praptoeus or Spean KompongKdei, taken 1960's

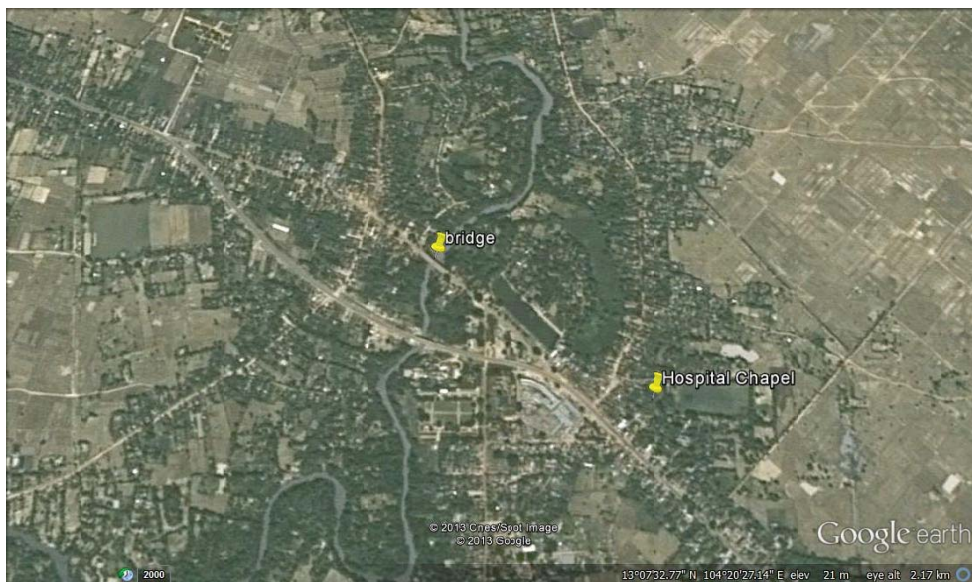


Fig. 4.52 Kompong Kdei downtown

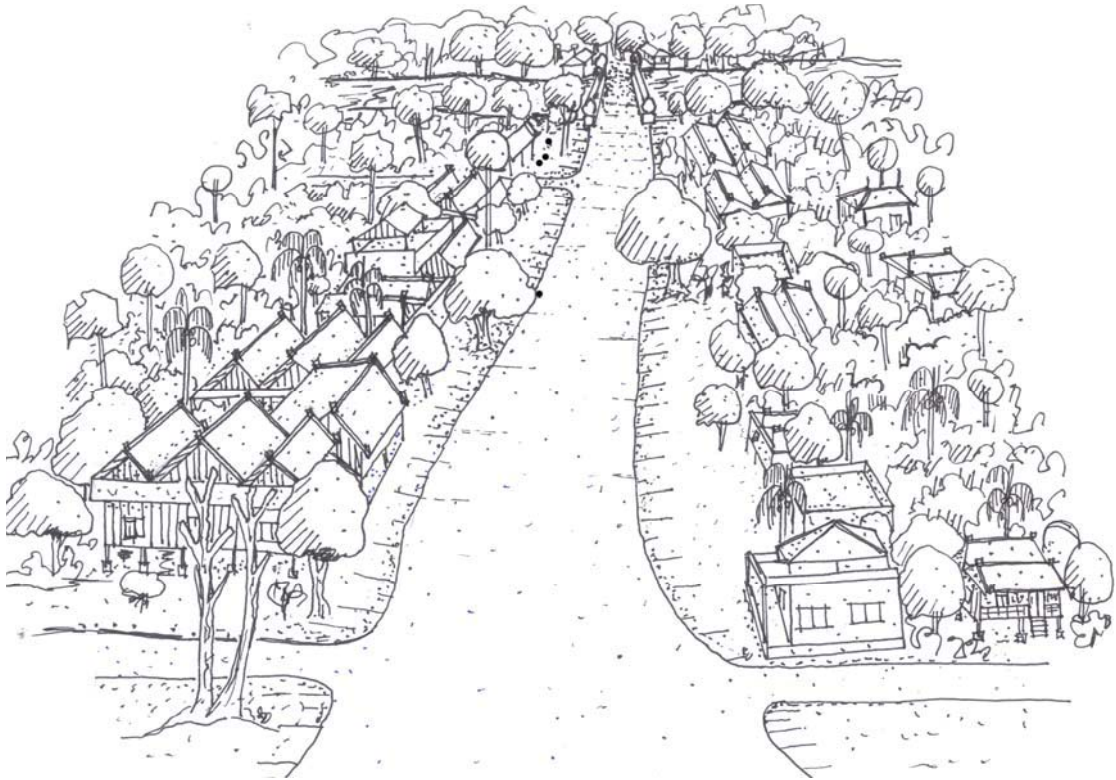


Fig. 4.53 Landscape along the ancient Road, viewing from west to the bridge, drawing by Srun Tech

Other example at PrasatAndet, the Buddhist monastery reoccupied the 7th century Hindu temple site. A Vihara has immediately built on the east of the temple. The temple itself has transformed to be a Buddhist structure as *Stupa*, located behind the Buddha image erected in the Vihara. This is not a special case here, but it happened everywhere in Kingdom after the fall of Angkorian period. The cluster of households of PrasatAndet area is developed from the sacred site to be a big community, a village. This is an important site of a cross road from Angkor to *Ishanapura*, SamborPreiKuk and a water way linked to Tonle Sap (Fig. 4.54-4.55).



Fig. 4.54 Prasat Andet

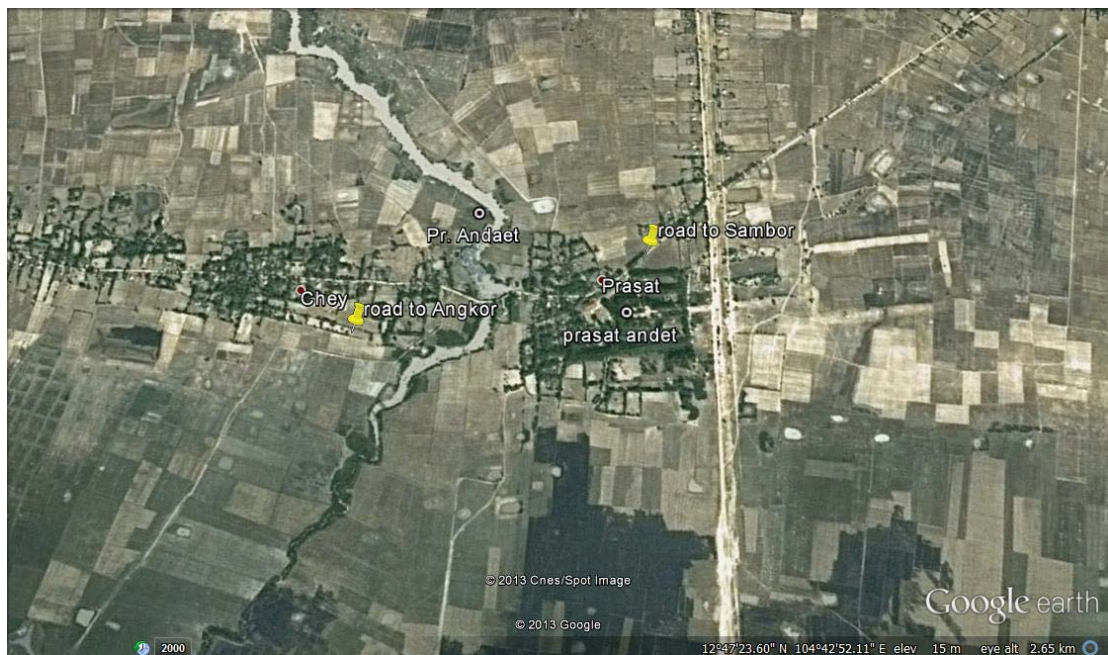


Fig. 4.55 Landscape and Settlement at PrasatAndet area

2. A Special Study on West of Angkor region

2.1 Village Locations

On the whole, villages in question are very old agglomerations. The village settlements are often associated with ancient occupancies that date back to different periods of Cambodian history. As a result, the structure of each village has accrued its own character and value. Some villages reflect the discernible ancient

landscape along the historic road, and continue to use the road as a central feature and communication artery. Some villages exist harmoniously with nearby ancient temples or Buddhist monasteries¹. Several villages are significant for their relationship with ancient water structures or irrigation systems².

These villages have gradually developed in a cluster around a central Buddhist monastery, most of them built over an ancient temple or ancient structure (Ang 1995). The villages are surrounded by rice fields, vegetation or a forest used by their communities. Some villages are isolated from others by rice-fields. The seasonal changes reflected in the surrounding landscape also act to create a changing environment (Im 2008b).

The settlement histories and stories of the villages are often reflected in their names. Several villages share a popular tale, which they consider to be a common history that creates a linkage between their communities. Another historical theme relates to the first man who came and cleared land to create that community³. Other villages have histories relating to natural, cultural or historical events of the region. Most stories of this type relate to nature and are concerned with a specific plant grown in the area⁴. Most of these histories can probably be dated to after the fall of Angkor (first half of the 15th C). They have been told from one generation to the next and exist primarily as oral traditions, although a few stories have been published (Marui 2000).

2.2 Village Landscapes

A variety of village landscapes have been identified on the basis of their settlement structure and environment. Many villages are situated on ancient infrastructure (for example, dikes, water structures, ancient roads), and reflect one set of changing environments. Other villages are found close to ancient temples or clustered around a temple, which gives a different character to the village landscape (Im 2008b).

The village landscape reflects the different seasonal changes. The rainy season in particular, can give much beauty to villages surrounded by rice paddies and seasonal vegetation. At this time of year the villagers are busy with agricultural work, and their activities can be observed from dawn until night during half the year.

¹For example *NokorPheas*, *Kol*, *Kok Spean* villages.

²These include *Kandol*, *Srah*, *Loboek*, *TonleSar* villages, etc.

³For example villages of *Tasom*, *Don Miev*, etc.

⁴For example villages of *Ta Trao*, *KokBeng*, *Khchas*, *Makak*, etc.

2.3 Economic Resources

The Royal Road communities⁵ stretch along the roads from the downstream plain to the south towards the Dangrek Range in the north, which covers an area of several thousand square kilometres. Based on geographical and environmental factors in the context of a long history of human occupancy, the region can be distinguished by several types of village community. Each type occupies one of the main ecological sub-zones of the region and is differentiated by socio-cultural characteristics (Ang 1995).

These communities consist basically of traditional subsistence rice farmers whose livelihood principally depends on one crop a year of rain-fed or irrigated rice paddy. In addition to the paddy, the population cultivates fields prepared by slash and burn techniques where they grow rice and other vegetables.

Typically, a number of traditional varieties of rice are grown. Each variety is adapted to different soil types and particularly, to differing water conditions. Traditional farming techniques are used, such as the swing plough pulled by oxen or buffalo. In the north region, each family generally cultivates a field prepared by slash and burn techniques, where rice and many vegetables are grown. The daily life of the Khmer villages is not greatly changed. Traditional crafts, such as weaving, are still practised in the village. Other activities include basket, mat and natural broom dressing; weaving silk or cotton; ox-cart production, and alcohol making (Im 2008b).

2.4 Spatial Structures

The case study of this paper focuses on three different villages representing the Royal Road communities as a whole. The three villages are situated between the Royal Road from Angkor to Phimai and Angkor to SdokKak Thom (Fig. 4.56), located under the administrative officials of Pouk district, Siem Reap province. This region is within the greater confines of the royal capital at Angkor. These settlements are known as prehistoric sites and have been classified by scholars for years, based on their layout as circular mounds with moats (Moore 1998).

The three villages of the case study are:

- *PhumLovea*⁶ covering an area of 450,000 sq. meters (Fig. 4.57)
- *PhumTumroeng*⁷ situated to the north of *Lovea* and in the centre of the two other villages, covering an area of 59,000 sq. meters (Fig. 4.58)

⁵The villages situated along the Royal Road.

⁶*Lovea* is name of a tree which is known by its scientific name as *Ficus racemosa*.

⁷*Tumroeng* is a tree name for which the scientific name is unknown.

- *Phum Chuay Chakrei*⁸ situated to the north of *Tumroeng*, covering an area of 50,000 sq. meters (Fig. 4.59).

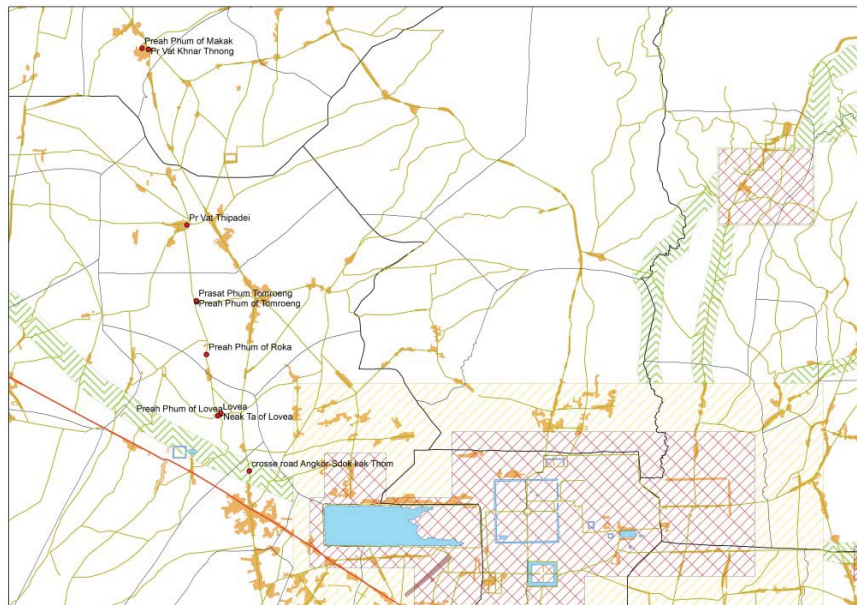


Fig. 4.56 Location of the village, courtesy to Ms Kong Sona



Fig. 4.57 *Lovea* village, courtesy to APSARA

⁸*Chuay Chakra* is a name of an old man.

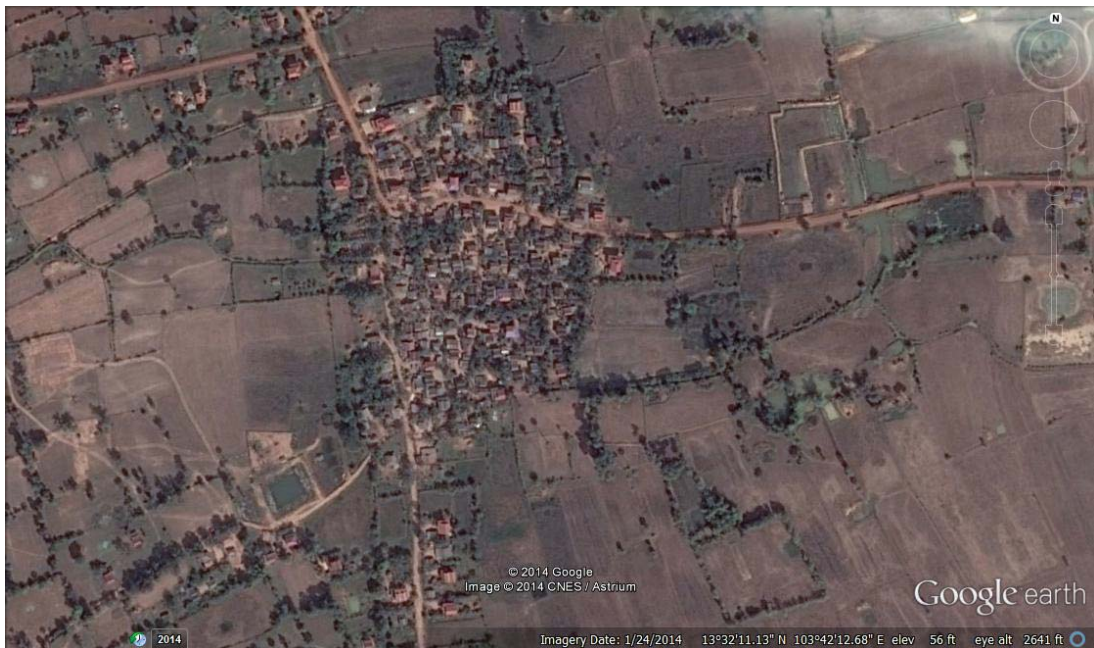


Fig. 4.58 *Tumroeng* village, courtesy to Google Earth

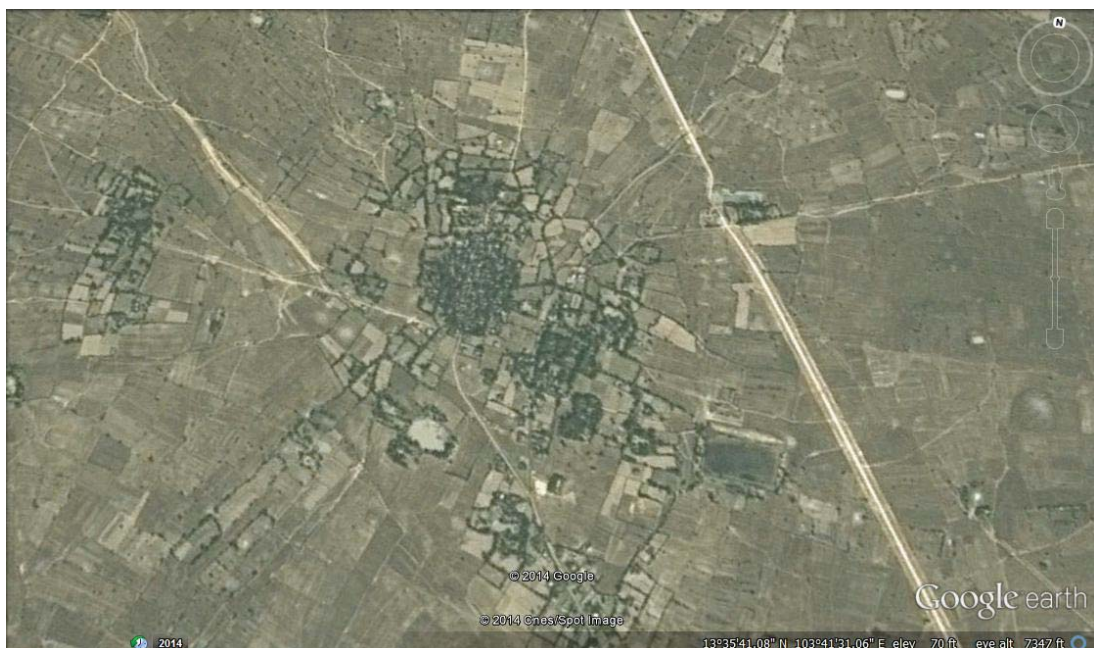


Fig. 4.59 *ChhuayChakrei* village, courtesy to Google Earth

Faced with rapid and illegal growth of new modern buildings, traditional structures are also preserved within the villages. Most of the buildings are wooden structures while some are concrete. The traditional house is built on stilts, where people live upstairs and animals (such as oxen) are stabled underneath with an ox-

cart. Houses are surrounded by a natural fence of small trees (sometimes fruit or medicinal trees) or different kinds of flowering plants. The roof is covered by traditional ceramic tiles, usually in a brown colour. Some households have a small garden around the house; a water pond is often found in front of the house. In some places, rice fields are situated next to, or in front of the house.

A spatial village organized to concentrate around a central point is called *phjitphum* (the village 'navel') represented by a wooden stake set in a small shelter facing east (Fig. 4.60). In some places, there are five wooden stakes with the largest located in the centre, surrounded by the other four stakes arranged in a square; these stakes are always smaller than the central post.



Fig. 4.60 *PhjitPhum*, the navel Courtesy to Kong Sona

Two main roadways of a village, east-west and north-south cross each other at the navel and divide the village into four main quadrants. The main roadways open to the four cardinal directions. There are two other roadways that are parallel with the two main roadways⁹. The space of the village is then divided into many more smaller quadrants (Fig. 4.61-4.63). Households settle in each of the small

⁹Presently, we cannot see all the straight lines of streets as originally planned as new households are gradually expanding over street spaces. Some streets have been changed from their original alignment.

quadrants and face the roads and back to each other (Fig. 4.64). The settlement is encircled by a moat and/or earthen dike that limits the boundary of the village. The village is accessible by four entries; east, west, north and south. These entries lead to the navel at the centre.

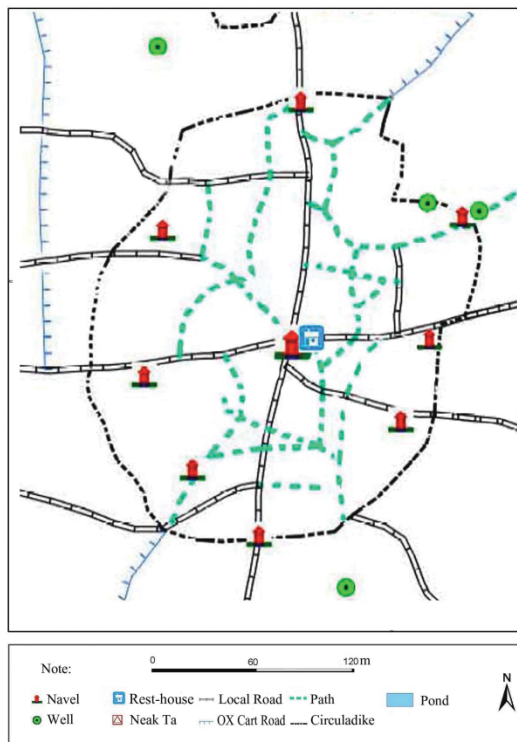


Fig. 4.61 Plan of *ChuayChakrei* village
Courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.62 Plan of *Lovea* village Courtesy to
Kong Sona



Fig. 4.63 Plan of *Tumroeng* village Courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.64 Roadway and Household

At all the cardinal directions and inter-cardinal directions of the villages, there are eight wooden stakes located outside the moat and/or dike. At *Tumroeng* village, all the stakes remain as originally placed; their form and shape are similar to the one at the ‘navel’ of the village. All of eight are currently in the open air (Fig.

4.65-4.72). There is no evidence of the settlement covering these wooden stakes. In one case at this village, the northeast stake has fallen down and a stone pedestal remains next to the collapsed stake (Fig. 4.67). The pedestal is of Angkor period style; the octagonal hole at the centre proves that it had a Shiva Linga installed. At the southwest stake (Fig. 4.72), there are several broken decorative stone carvings of Hindu deities that remain next to the stake. To the east, there are two wooden stakes found next to each other, but they appear similar in form.



Fig. 4.65 wooden stake located outside the village at Southeast, courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.66 wooden stake located outside the village at the North, courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.67 wooden stake located outside the village at the Northeast, courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.68 wooden stake located outside the village at Southeast, courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.69 wooden stake located outside the village at the North west, courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.70 wooden stake located outside the village at the East, courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.71 wooden stake located outside the village at the South, courtesy to Kong Sona



Fig. 4.72 wooden stake located outside the village at the West, courtesy to Kong Sona

2.5 Spatial Structures

The Royal Road communities have always been a spiritual landscape, inhabited by protector spirits, *Neak Ta*¹ who live in temples and villages (Ang 2000). The veneration of a god, Buddha or *Neak Ta* is a central element in the retention of village identity and memory of the Khmer people. Hindu gods and other element of ancient structures all also have spiritual power. Natural stones and Hindu or Buddhist icons have been appropriated as the embodiment of certain *NeakTa*. Praying to the Hindu or Buddhist gods and the *Neak Ta*, and organising ceremonies and rituals is a continuing practice that reinforces both the sacred landscape and community identity. Within the landscape, certain ‘special’ places are commemorated through ritual, and their importance remembered and passed on within and between village communities (Im 2008b).

Within the villages, myths, legends and oral histories commonly reflect collective knowledge and can be derived from historical memory, myth, legends, folktales and beliefs. Through these surveys, there are a number of myths that serve to reinforce our understanding for future studies, and of course, elaborate local

¹The *Neak Ta* is not simply a spirit but rather, a phenomenon or energy force relating to a specific group such as the village community.

understanding of the sacredness of certain sites, linking elements in the stories to local practices (Im 2008b).

The Royal Road communities are continuing to live in the same spaces, within which there are inherited memories of ancestors' experiences and beliefs, overlain with later generations' memories and experiences - these all remain closely associated with particular places and localities within the wider landscape. Continuing practices also include story-telling, playing New Year games, dances, music and theatre. Temples, ancient roads, bridges, forests, rice fields, lakes and ponds have the names of ancestors attached to them, or are surrounded by legends and remain important landmarks for local people. The names of villages are similarly reflective of local and natural elements and markers, or of shared history with other villages (Im 2008b).

The 'navel' represented by a wooden stake is the most sacred place, the most venerated and holds the highest ritual power of a village, it is named *preahphum*². The spiritual protector/creator of a village resides here at the navel. Every ritual, private and collective is organised at the navel. The most important event of the year is organised after the harvest during which the villagers participate in a ritual homage to the spiritual protector residing at the navel. Rituals or any performance take place at the wooden shelter built near the navel (Fig. 4.73).



Fig. 4.73 Ritual Shelter located next to the navel courtesy to Kong Sona

²Literally, the sacred land of the village located at the centre of a village.

The eight wooden stakes at cardinal and inter-cardinal directions are called *Neak Ta Kong Srok*³; these are the morphological images of the guardians of the village.

2.6 Reading the Indian Treatises on Urbanization

The villages in this case study are ancient agglomerations occupied since the early periods of the region⁴. Their spatial structures are not just regular but apparently there is an established order of structural geometry which divides the village space into several quadrants using the roadways. This spatial structure strongly suggests planned urbanization. How can a regular special structure be reported in a morphology perspective? The plan shows the regularity of an urban outdoor model, whose origin is in India or China. It should be noted that the organization spatial model of Indian and Chinese villages represent both aspects of cosmology and social order which are realized in the form of quadrangular spaces, centrality and respect of cardinal directions (Gaucher 2004). However, the Royal Road villages have some elements to consider influences from Indian models rather than Chinese; Indianization held sway over Cambodia from the early common era, it the concepts of importance of the east and the east-west direction instead of the south, the symmetric relative to a point rather than the axial base of a north-south bringing with divide; additionally there is the presence of a central site.

In India, the design plans of cities and villages were written in ancient literature and include many technical texts such as, *Śilpaśāstra*⁵; this text relates to habitat management and specially concerns ritual regulations, typological, dimensional and social regulations concerning the diversity of 'arts' of space that is known as *Vastuśāstra*; the references on theories of the study of form and structure of cities and villages are; *Arthaśāstra* from the *Kautilya* (Kangle 2000), the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (Shukla 1995) and two famous texts from Southern India, the *Mānasāra* (Archarya 1980) and the *Mayamata* (Dagens 1984).

2.7 The Context of the Treatises

I cannot go into detail of the entire texts, but would like to quote important points from the context of the treatises as follows:

³Literally, the spiritual protectors at all directions of a village.

⁴The early occupation of human beings at this region dates to the Stone Age (3,000 BCE). Refer to Ang (1995) and Moore (1998).

⁵Technical term, *Śilpaśāstra*, concerning spatial organization of city and village plans. See further information at Wikipedia through the link: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shilpa_Shastras

- The form of a city and village is always realized as a geometric figure with schematic centralizing.
- The orientation of urban architectural elements with respect to cardinal structuring of the space is generated by a quadrangular form, square or rectangle.
- Delimited Territory is closed and protected by an enclosure wall that is doubled by an exterior moat.
- Two median axes link the centre to four principal entries.
- At the center a building is erected, quite often, a temple.
- The city or village is crossed by a road network orthogonal and oriented north-south and east-west.

Regarding the road network, the formalization differs between the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Śilpaśāstra*. In the *Arthaśāstra*, the positioning of the streets corresponds to spatial division by a functional element. The text recommends to settle three north-south streets and three east-west streets, in each direction; creating a central and two lateral streets. The spatial division is defined by residential spaces. Based on the *Śilpaśāstra* formalization, the positioning street is prefigured by a codified cutting of land (*padavinyāsa*). The delimited surface designed into a sacrificial sphere, assimilating a terrace into a theorized square, cardinally oriented. The square is subdivided by interior lines (*vāmsa*) orthogonal and parallel which are drawn dividing the earth into a series of plots of land, formed into squares (*pāda*); the number of these can vary.

The cross-division of (quadrants) combines the theory of synthesis of cosmological representation of the universe⁶, divine commandments⁷ and social organization⁸.

The Conectivity between Khmer and Champa: A Case Study on the Role of Ethnic Minorities

1. Background of the Relationship

Angkorian road network had extended beyond their boundaries. Angkorian Administration has used these roads which departed from their central power for

⁶Represented by the form of a square or octagon.

⁷Represented by the affectation from one or several divinities for each square.

⁸Shown by attribution of function according to the distance from the centre and from a position compared with cardinal and inter-cardinal directions.

running administrative function through out the empire, and of course, for social, economic and diplomatic purposes, and especially for military move. There are some historic records attached here below written by Schweyer, 2007 and Vikery, 2005 for giving the ideas about the background of the relationship.

A Champa inscription C20 found in My Son dated 5th century written about a myth creation of Cambodia. The myth described a Brahmin named Kaudinya, sailed from the west, landed on an island and married with the Queen who ruled there names Soma. This marriage created the Cambodia.

The next important record of early Champa is the inscription C96 dated 658AD written in Sankrit. It is interesting for Khmer-Champa relationship. It was the sojourn of a Champaprince at the Royal Capital *Ishanapura* (Sambor Prei Kuk), the major 7th century center of Cambodia where he married a daughter of the King Ishanavarman. This is a rare instance of amicable relation between two Kingdoms which were later so often at war and economics exchanged. In return, the Sankrit inscription K.53 of Cambodia recorded in 667AD an envoy sent to the royal court of Champa (Campesvara).

Before the middle of the 12th century, it is common assumption that Khmer-Cham relations were always at wars. From the inscriptions, we know that several of the rulers fought each other not for the extended the regime-threatening incursions, but for the local consequences, i.e. for punishing on who did not worshipping the gods or violated the god's rules. In 9th century, a general of the Cham King Kauthara, attacked Sourthern Cambodia, but he did not stay there (C119 and C120 translated by Finot 1995: 162-5). In Revenge, the Khmer King attacked back at Champa and took a shivalinga back to Cambodia.etc. Here is below some chronological records concerning the confrontation between Khmer and Cham:

- 9th century: Cham attacked Southern region of Cambodia
- 1076-1080: a form alliance between China-Cham-Khmer against Dai Viet
- 1140-1160: Khmer occupied Vijaya (Suryavarman II) for seeking Khmer accessto the maritime trade route through Vijaya
- 1128 & 1137: KingSuryavarman II unleashed repeated attacks on Dai Viet withassistant from Champa
- 1166 & 1177: Cham attacked and raided on Angkor
- King Jayavarman VII had long been resident in Vijaya
- King Jayavarman VII built 57 relay stations, rest-houses along the Angkor-Vijaya road
- 1203-1220: Khmer occupied Vijaya, a capital of Champ, etc...

- 1217-1219: based on Viet Historic record, there were joint Cham-Khmer campaigns against Nghệ An.

2. The Minority Jaray (Joray)

Jaray is an ethnic group of malayo-polynesian (austro-nesian) living in plateau of northeast Cambodia and central Vietnam nowadays. Jaray has a bellicose reputation, itinerant farmers practicing slash and burn. They maintained until the 19th century of alliance relationships, rites exchanges and products both with Cambodia court and Hue of Vietnam for keeping peace and their power on the land where they are living on. Jaray is an independent ethnic minority group ruled by a spiritual man called *Potao* (sdach in Khmer means the Master or King). The last *Potao* was ended may be during the Vietnam War (fig. 4.74)

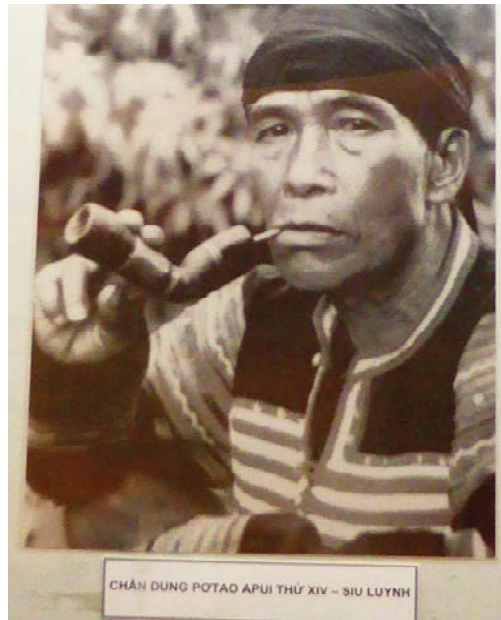


Fig. 4.74 The last Potao, King of Jaray, displayed at Quang Nagai Museum

The spiritual Master was surrounded by some respects: he keeps a sword and other insignias which attached with some important superstitions. There are 3 different *Potao*s (Dupaigne 1987): on the West called *Potaoia*, the Master of Water; on the East, called *Potaoapui*, the Master of Fire or *PotaoAma*, Master of Stone; and the third was playing the secondary role, called *Potaoangin*, Master of Air (Space?) or *Potao Ana*, the Son. After a Master died, the Khmer King endorses the appointment of his successor, selected from their communities. The Khmer King always sent his gifts that are symbolic attributes of sovereignty to the Jaray.

3. The alliance with the Khmer Royal Court

The manuscript dated 1601AD called Vat Sambok Charter (fig. 4.75), codifies the ritual of enthronement of the Master Fire and Water reports that Patao is elevated to Khmer ruler's 'nephew' and is given the honor of representing the king, his 'uncle' in the custody of the sacred Sword, governs the ethnic Jaray, Radae and Phnong following their traditions, maintain the forest tracks, detect external enemy of the Khmer Kingdom.

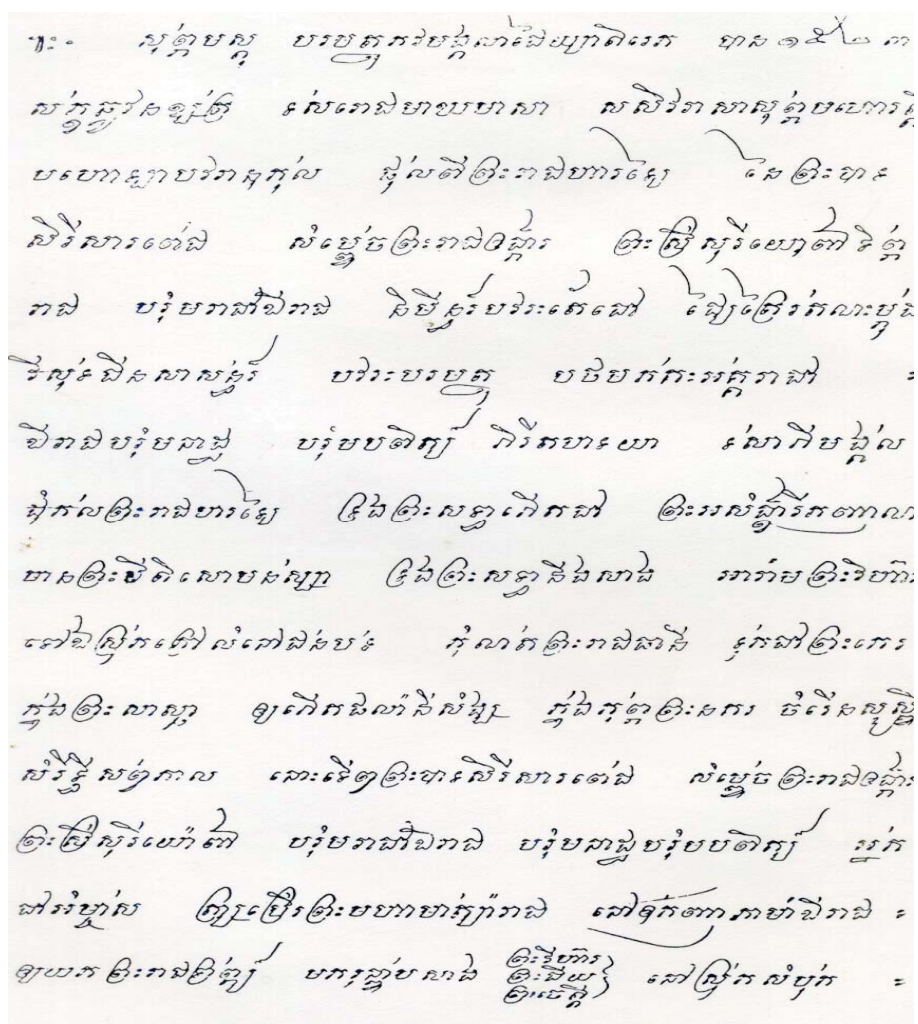


Fig. 4.75 Vat Sombok Charter dated 1601 (dossier 695 et 694: Fonds Adhémar Leclère. Don à la Bibliothèque Municipale fait par France Leclère en 1944.)

The Charter quoted that 'every three years since an old time, the Khmer king had sent gifts to Patao of Jaray, and received in return what we are accustomed to call a tribut, and that is none other than the acceptance of the alliance and a pledge of non-hostility reciprocal. Three Ambassadors sent from Khmer King handled

to the King of Fire and the King Water of lavish gifts, always twofold prestige goods, here too, an elephant, a palanquin and umbrella, oriflames, ceremonial clothing, musical instruments, an areca nut chainring; and material goods, money; and, for each, 250 iron ingots (50kg) from the mines of Phnom Dek, 10 lead ingots, tools, bedding, clothing, dishes, buffalo and salt.

In return, Jaray the Masters offered 7 of elephant ivory tusks, rhinoceros horn and clothing that will be, in case of drought, washed down with holy water in the royal ceremony at the Khmer Court to attract rain, beeswax, new rice and sesame.

This alliance marked that Jaray had duties to protect the *thveanokor*, the gate of the Kingdom from the enemies from the Northeast and East, i.e. Laos, Vietnam, and of course, Champa. They also kept safely the routes and forest at the region. They were the guardian of the Empire.

The King Jayavarman VII occupied Champa in 1203AD as a Khmer province. But, all along the conquest to Champa, the Khmer King had never conquered or occupied the land of the Jaray where was the buffer zone between Khmer and Champa.

As a token of the agreement, Angkor Kings would once have entrusted the spiritual Masters of Jaray a Sacred Sword, symbol of the Khmer kingdom, its existence and its prosperity. It was a hard duty for preserving the Sacred Sword. If the Sword was being wrong preserved or if the iron rusts it will be misfortunes hit Cambodia. Of course, it will bring the danger to their own land as well, i.e., the destruction from fire to all forest belonging to their home land.

Conclusion

The field works have been carried out in four different provinces on the eastern part of Cambodia: Kompong Thom, Preah Vihear, Stung Treng and Ratanak Kiri where the three roads from Angkor have been passed through. The study has been conducted on the Southeast road, Angkor-Sambor Prei Kuk; the East road, Angkor-Vijaya road; and the Northeast road, Angkor-Vat Phu road. The feature of the Roads and their associated structures, i.e. stone bridges, rest-houses, water structure and hospitals are also described in detail above.

The finding from this part showed the Southeast Road was not just ended at Prasat Andet. But, it was surely continued its way toward the Mekong. The Archaeological remains proved the Royal Road passed through an ancient provincial city named in inscription as 'Santuk', located about 15km on the east of present

town Kompong Thom. After this city, the Road went southeast about 50km joined a temple of stage, KukNokor. From KukNokor, the Road went two different temple of stage: to East about other 13km on its way reaching PreahTheatTeuk Char and a Yashodharasrama, KukToch; and to Southeast about 30 Km reaching Prasat Phnom Thom. PreahTheatTeuk Char and Phnom Thom located about 50km away from each other dominated two different regions of the Mekong Basin where were the gate way linked to the Mekong water way.

For the East Road, the study focused on conjunction area where the Se San flowed in Mekong, Thalaborivat, StungTreng province. The Archaeological evidences such as architectural buildings concentrated at the area, the ceramics remained and historic records proved that the Thalaborivat-Stung Treng was an economic hub of the Northeast region of the Khmer Empire. It was a trading city and a strong populated city on the Mekong. It was also the gate way connected the land route from Angkor pass through Bakan, called Preah Khan at KompongSvay to the Mekong. This was the crossroad of trading network between Khmer, Cham, Laos, Vietnam and Chinese through history of ancient times.

The second part is about the Settlement and Landscape which is divided into two different sections: the general layout of settlement located along the Southeast Road and a special study on the settlement and landscape at the Western region of Angkor. The settlements situated between the Angkor-Phimay and Angkor-SdokKak Thom Roads. The study will demonstrate about a reflection on the Indian Ideas of Urbanization.

The study found that through over a thousand years of social development activities, the Royal Road villages show fidelity to the preservation of the structural plans detailed above. The principle of theorized organization of the Indian treatises has been demonstrated. The formal structural models written about in the manuscripts have always been realized. The Royal Road villages are now being seen as real geometric forms, with their spatial organization(streets, residential areas, moats and/or dikes encircling the villages) well-matched with the treatise regulations.

Through over a thousand years of social development activities, the Royal Road villages show fidelity to the preservation of the structural plans detailed above. The principle of theorized organization of the Indian treatises has been demonstrated. The formal structural models written about in the manuscripts have always been realized. The Royal Road villages are now being seen as real geometric forms, with their spatial organization(streets, residential areas, moats and/or dikes encircling the villages) well-matched with the treatise regulations.

The navel or centre is represented by a wooden stake set in a small wooden structure that was transformed from Animism to Brahmanic deities during the ancient times, and now has returned again to Animism, as *Neak Ta*. At the cardinal directions, the eight wooden stakes represent the guardians of the universe, presently known as the spiritual protectors of the village, *Neak Ta Kong Srok*.

Last but not least, the third part is about the roles of Ethnic Minority Jaray living in Northeast region of Cambodia contributed to the connectivity between Khmer and Champa. The study based on the Archaeological evident, an old manuscript dated 1601 known as the Vat Sombok Charter and other historic records. The temple Yeak Nang is located in highland, the home of the ethnic Jaray where they are living at present in both sides Cambodia and Vietnam. It is not necessary to search further who belongs to the temple, but it is important to accept that the temple was worshiped by the local people, Jaray. Yeak Nang temple is still the sacred place of Jaray as we seen during the last survey, the buffalo scarified is still performed at the temple. The Jaray was an independent population, led by *PoTao*, the King of Water and Fire, played such a middle man in the trading between Khmer and Cham, but was not under controlled of Khmer neither Cham. Because their duties given by the Khmer King to protect the routes, forest and enemies of the region. Since old day (Vat Sombok Charter 1601AD), Khmer King was the ‘uncle’ and the Jaray was the ‘nephews’ to the Khmer King.

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CHAPTER 5

Field research report in Central Vietnam

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Introduction

As a practical contribution into the Project of Cultural Relationship in Mainland Southeast Asia (CRMA), the report dealing with the most eastern part of the cultural corridor in Peninsular Indochina in which Central Vietnam considered as a main region to conduct field researches because its cultural landscape including the coast and the highlands/mountainous areas. The aim of the field works is to learn about the connection of the people who live in the lands stretch out from the West to the East of the Peninsular Indochina, we have done field researches along the corridor through various regions located between the Lower Mekong basin and the South Sea coast.

Various people who in this land are originally indigenous from the pre-historical time belonged to two main language groups those are Austroasiatic and Austronesian. Within these lands, plenty of historic sites remained including archaeological sites and religious architectural sites together with a number of Hindu and Buddhist artifacts found.

The author of the report has conducted widely several field researches from the Northern part to the Southern part of Central Vietnam from the coast to the highland in order to collect materials in order to prove the ancient overland routes that connected the people who live together in this region through the network so-called “riverine product exchange network between lowland and upland”.

For carrying out the researches, the author has applied the method of anthropological-archaeology to approach the topic.

The report will provide a panorama view into the cultural landscape of the region from the Lower Mekong basin in Cambodia, Laos through the highlands/mountainous areas to the coast in Central Vietnam dealing with the ethnic cultures and the historical sites.

A survey on the route connecting the lowland and upland along the Ba river in Central Vietnam: An ethno-archaeological investigation (From September to October 2013)

The fieldwork trip started from Da Nang to Qui Nhon, and then Tuy Hoa, about 450km to the South in September 2013. From Tuy Hoa city, we took the 182km-long National Road 25 by bus; that road connects Tuy Hoa, a coastal city, and Pleiku, a city in the highlands. National Road 25 was started to be repaired in 2012, and is expected to be completed in late 2013. (During our recent surveying trip, the road to Son Hoa district, a mountainous area west of Phu Yen province and about 80km away from Tuy Hoa city, was just completed). This is a quite abrupt stretch of road due to severe devastation during the war. Currently, it is just being repaired.



Fig. 5.1 The map showing the overland route (Highway 25) connecting the lowland at Tuy Hao city to the highland at Pleiku city via Ayun Pa town/valley – the homeland of Jarai ethnic people who run the network of salt trading in the ancient time.



Fig. 5.2 A small district town on Highway 25

The longest and most important river in this area is Ba river, also called Da Rang River, the river originates from 1549m-high Ngoc Ro mountain range, flows north

to south through the area of Kon Tum and Gia Lai provinces then changes the flow from the north-east to the south-west in Krong Pa district, Gia Lai province, and joins K'rong H'hang river which originates from Dak Lak province, then continues to flow eastward down to the plains of Phu Yen province and finally flows into the East Sea.



Fig. 5.3 Ayun river in Ayunpa valleys

Climatic, soil and environmental conditions of this area have the typical characteristics of the central coast of Vietnam, which include two seasons, the dry and the rainy seasons. The dry season lasts from December to May every year, the rainy season lasts from June to November with high rainfall and flooding, similar to central coastal provinces.

Along National Road 25 from the plains up to the highlands, boundary to mark the soil differences between Ayunpa valleys and plateaus is Chu Se Pass; from the 3km-long Chu Se Pass downward, the soft soils with grit have the characteristics of a midland valley, meanwhile, from Chu Se Pass upward the red basaltic soils have the characteristics of the highlands; Chu Se Pass is also the boundary between the two climatic zones of the coastal areas and the highlands with variable heights from 600-800 meters to the lower level; and from Tô-na Pass, the small pass in the eastern border of Ayunpa town which was formerly known as Cheo Reo, going downwards the altitude is only about 200-160 meters. The land from the foot of Tô-na Pass down to Phu Yen province, the climate is typical of the central coast, which affected by the monsoon and marine hydrology.



Fig. 5.4 The 3 km long Chur Sê Pass, at the border of Chur Sê district and Ayunpa valleys



Fig. 5.5 Tô-na pass in south of Ayunpa town, from here going downwards the altitude is only about 200-160 meters



Fig. 5.6 Soil in of Ayunpa valleys

In such a land with specific characteristics of soil and climate, the vast Ayunpa valleys were the home of Jarai ethnic groups with their magical Kings of Fire (Potao Pui) and Water (Potao Ia). These are the only titles of king (potao) in the different indigenous ethnic communities living in the Peninsular Indochina. The King of Fire and the King of Water were two famous Jarai kings to the Cambodian and Laotian. There was also the King of Wind, but less powerful than the King of Fire and The king of Water (Dournes 1977). These Jarai mysterious kings were suggested by anthropologists as chiefs of village alliances in long wars and/or in order to control long-distant permanent trade networks (Nguyen Tu Chi 1996: 453-55, note: 15).

Until the early 20th century, due to living in a favorable terrain for travel, both by waterway and by land route, Jarai ethnic groups living in Ayunpa valleys were once the middlemen of trade from the lowland to the highland, and the goods were mostly salt and imported items from China such as porcelain, bronze tools, so on. Salt was transported from that region to Stueng Treng and Rattanakiri in Cambodia, and then was distributed to the entire lower Mekong Basin (Lower Mekong Delta), including Attapue valley along Sekong river in Southern Laos. The more than 180 km-long National Road 25 was the convenient land route linking the plains and the highlands in this region thanks to the vast Ayunpa valleys, where the road slopes gently, without high passes and steepes, so it is easy to travel.

The Jarai people are age-old indigenous group who speak Malayo-Polynesian language. Currently, there are more than 350,000 Jarai people, mainly living in Gia Lai province, Vietnam, and more than 20,000 living in Ou Ya Dav district, Rattanakiri province in Cambodia, near Vietnam-Cambodia border. In Vietnam, the settlement areas of the Jarai people stretch from the west of Phu Yen province to Gia Lai province, along National Road 25, National Road 14 and National Road 19, and connect with part of Rattanakiri province in Cambodia. The Jarai people's traditional economy is farming on mountainous fields or wet fields and hunting. Currently, in Gia Lai province, part of Jarai people earn their living by growing industrial plants such as coffee, pepper and breeding livestock.

Until recently, the relationship between the Jarai groups in Vietnam and Cambodia was still close. In a meeting with the author in June, 2010, Professor Ang Choulean, a Cambodian anthropologist said that the Jarai people living in Rattanakiri province are proud of they trade monopoly of gongs in the area. The organization of the Jarai society is based on families and village units or *plei* or *plai* in Jarai language. According to Jacques Dournes, a French anthropologist and author of many famous

works on the Jarai people, due to the reliance on families and villages, the Jarai people feel safe and sound no matter where they live, from Ayunpa Valley to Rattanakiri (Dournes 1977). This reflects a close association in Jarai groups themselves to protect their own interests. Recently, a larger administrative units than the Jarai village, called *tơ-ring* or *tring* in the Jarai language, has been studied deeper by Nguyen Thi Kim Van, a local researcher who is currently the director of Gia Lai Provincial Museum in Pleiku city. She argues that there are five local Jarai groups, including (1) Jarai A-ráp; (2) Jarai Hdrung; (3) Jarai Tbuăn/Puôn; (4) Jarai Chor; and (5) Jarai Mthur. It is likely that each group belongs to a *tơ-ring* or *tring*, which is an alliance of some villages formed during each war. The chiefs of those *tơ-ring* were often the rich and powerful people who managed goods exchange systems in the region, especially the goods exchange system between the plains and the highlands from the central coastal area to the plateau, including southern Laos and northeastern Cambodia, or talented hunters who possessed large fortunes, such as elephants. In the early 20th century in Ayunpa valley, there was a *tơ-ring* chief named Rơ-lan Sa-gâm who was famous for richness thanks to his management of the “salt road” from Tuy Hoa to the plateau, and the traces of his big houses still remain in this valley (Nguyen Thi Kim Van, 2008).

Linguistically, Gerald Diffloth, a French linguist and an expert on the Mon-Khmer language, showed that Jarai language is originally a Bahnaric language group of Mon-Khmer languages which was Chamic-ized; it can be an impact of being dependent on Malayo-Polynesian/Chamic language groups for a long time (Vickery 2005: 15-16, in “Champa Revised”, ARI Working Paper, No. #37, 2005, www.ari.nus.edu.sg/pub/wps/htm). This refers to the occupation of that area by the ancient Cham people, and they once controlled an economic corridor linking the central coastal region through coastal port-cities with the Mekong River Basin in the western parts of Peninsular Indochina in order to manage a goods exchange system in which the Jarai groups played a key intermediary role.



Fig. 5.7 Jarai women of a village on Highway 25

A further study on goods exchange systems of the Jarai people in this area will clarify the role of this ethnic group in the intermediation between the kingdom of Champa and western minor states of Peninsular Indochina during the historical periods from the 8th century onwards, when the kingdom of Chenla was mentioned in Chinese historical records; and the relationship between the kingdom of Champa with these states was established based on the overland routes connecting Northeastern Cambodia and Southern Laos with Central Vietnam.

1. Cham relics in the Central Highlands

Until now, the earliest Cham relics discovered in the Central Highlands is Bang Kheng. This relic was unearthed in June 2010 by the Archaeological Research Center under Southern Vietnam Stable Development Institute (ISIS) in Ho Chi Minh City in combination with the Department of Culture and Tourism of Gia Lai province.

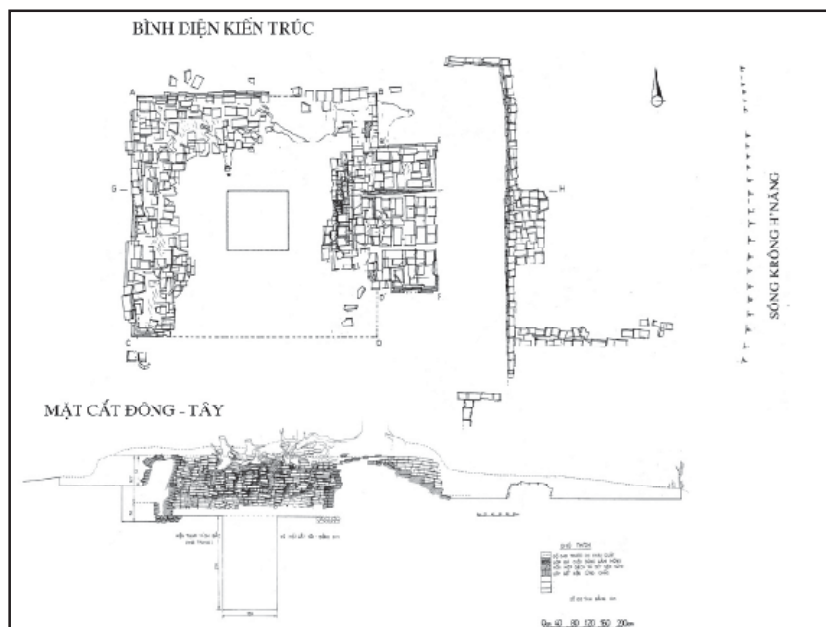


Fig. 5.8 The ground-plan and section of Bang Kheng site



Fig. 5.9 Eaves-tiles found at Bang Kheng, dated in 7th-8th centuries or earlier



Fig. 5.10 Brick structure of a small temple uncovered at Bang Kheng

Bang Kheng archaeological site is in Buon Jui hamlet, Krong H'rang village, Krong Pa district, Gai Lai province, situated at the borders of three provinces of Gai Lai, Dak Lak and Phu Yen; 180km southeast of Pleiku city, and 60km west of Tuy Hoa city; the site situated at the confluences of Ba river and Krong H'rang river.

Bang Kheng site is a brick architectural work with square plan. This is the common plan in Cham religious architecture during the early period in the 7th - 8th centuries. Some of the tiles and eaves-tiles decorated with human faces were found at this site, showing that this site was an architectural work with low wall and tile roofs, also called "the temple with open-air space" as typified by the famous My Son E1 temple built in the early 8th century at My Son Sanctuary. That type of human face decorated eaves-tile was commonly discovered at Cham architectural relics in Central Vietnam, and closest Bang Kheng site is Ho Citadel, where excavations discovered a large number of eaves-tiles dated the 7th - 8th century were unearthed. This shows the close relationship between Ho Citadel and Bang Kheng site as the distance between these two sites is about 40km, along Ba river.

Results of the excavation at Bang Kheng site contributed an important part to the affirmation of the expansion of the Kingdom of Champa to the west from the 8th centuries, stating the phenomenon of the linkage between the Kingdom of Champa and Chenla kingdom during the time when Cham port-cities played an important role in the international sea trade route in the South China Sea.

2. Cham relics at the confluence of Ayunpa town

There are three typical relics of Cham art found in Ayunpa town, or formerly called Cheo Reo, they are the relics of Yang Mum, Drang Lai and Kuai King located on the locations creating a triangular shape; Yang Mum tower is located in the east of Ayunpa town, the ruins of Drang Lai in the west and Kuai King citadel in the south, these three relics stand about 1km apart. These Cham relics are situated in the confluence of Ayun River and Ba River.

3. Yang Mum tower

Yang Mum tower was surveyed by Parmentier in the early 20th century (Parmentier 1909: 559-62), in this site, he found two statues of the Hindu God Shiva. One of the two statues is on display in Da Nang Museum of Cham Sculpture (see picture). Yang Mum Tower was built on a laterite foundation-base, the shape of the tower is similar to the twin tower (Hung Thanh Towers) in Qui Nhon and the Southern Tower of Po Nagar Nha Trang, with curved roof and square shape, this is the type of temple-towers in late period of Cham architecture, which, according to Parmentier, dates back to the 14th - 15th centuries.



Fig. 5.11 Yang Mum tower in the early 20th century

Yang Mum temple was completely damaged during the war. Today, when doing survey on Yung Mum site, local researchers can only find pieces of tiles of different sizes, as follows: 20 x 20 x 2.5 cm, and 24 x 12 x 7 cm (Nguyen Thi Kim Van 2007: 180-84). Some of the bricks collected at Yang Mum tower around 1975 are on display at the Catholic Seminary of Kon Tum in Kon Tum city. Yang Mum relic is now located in the land of Mr. Phu's, on hill 52, Hamlet 4, Ayunpa town; the local people still call the area of the tower the "king's house foundation".



Fig. 5.12 Bricks found at Yang Mum tower and Kon Klor site, displaying at the Catholic Seminary of Kon Tum

The statue of Shiva in Yang Mum tower is one of the representative works in the late period of Champa sculpture. During this period of art, the statues were performed with both legs folded in triangular shape, costume and adornments expressed in details, the gods wear pointed chin beard with wide eyes and clear

pupils, so on. Art historians date the artworks based on this style, the Yang Mum style, in late 14th -15th centuries (Boisselier 1963: 366-68).



Fig. 5.13 The statue of Shiva of Yang Mum displaying at Cham Museum in Danang

4. Shiva mounted on his Nandin Bull and the inscription of Drang Lai

Drang Lai is also the ruins of a temple destroyed before French scholars came to study in early 20th century, around 1904; at that time they only found a laterite tower foundation-base and a huge pile of bricks right on the location of the temple (Parmentier 1909 : 562-63). According to French scholars, the statue of God Shiva riding on Nandin bull of Drang Lai was moved to Yang Mum tower, and the stele of the statue is a Cham inscription numbered C.42. That statue of Shiva is considered a typical work of Cham sculpture in the 15th century; in that period of art, there are a lot of sculptural works found at various sites in central coastal regions as well as in the highlands, they have the same portrait characteristics, expressed in the sitting posture with dangling legs, sampot decorated with sawtooth-shaped fringe, triangular massive faces, pointed chin beard, so on. This group of statues is small in size, about 57cm high. Comparing the statue of God Shiva riding on Nandin of Drang Lai with the statue of Shiva in Yang Mum tower, we can recognize the similarities of the two statues by the faces, costumes, attributes, so on. The statue of Shiva riding on Nandin of Drang Lai is dated based on a year point told in the inscription engraved behind the statue, i.e. the saka year 1331 (1409/10 CE). The content of that inscription (Cham inscription numbered C.42) refers to King YPK Sri Brsuvisujati Virabhadravarmadeva, who deforested and built a dam on Hayav river to build a temple and the statue of Shiva, he also reclaimed and cultivated that new land, offered Vietnamese slaves (Yvan) captured from Vietnam (nagara yvan) to this temple; he also had a palace and a stronghold built, called Srisamrmdhipuri. That inscription was translated into English by Arlo Griffith and Amandine Lepoutre (see <<http://isaw.nyu.edu/publications/inscriptions/campa/inscriptions/index.html>>. The

statue of God Shiva riding on Nandin bull of Drang Lai is on display at the Museum of Fine Art in Boston (acc. nr.1986.331).

Today, the relic of Drang Lai is lost due to the civil and housing projects were built over it, according to local researchers who surveyed that site in 1996, the relic of Drang Lai is beneath the foundation of Mr. Ha Van Hong's house (he was 70 years-old in 1996), now in Ward I, Ayunpa town. Within the area of Mr. Hong's house, researchers found some laterite bricks with the size of 70 x 40 x 22 cm and the laterite tower foundation-base with the size of 11 x 07 meters (Nguyen Thi Kim Van 2007: 181-82).



Fig. 5.14 The statue of Shiva mounted on Nandin Bull of Drang Lai and its inscription on the back. Displaying at Museum of Fine Art in Boston

5. Vestige of Kuai King Stronghold

Kuai King Stronghold is situated in the east of a valley, 1 km away from the two relics of Yang Mum and Drang Lai, in Ward 8, Ayunpa town. It is a 250 x 200 meter quadrilateral area, with north-south axis; the remaining parapet is 10 meters thick and 0.7m to 1m tall; there are moats with 5 m to 7 m in width surrounding the stronghold; a lot of pieces of pottery were also found in the stronghold. It is likely to be the “stronghold” of Srisamrmdhipuri mentioned in the inscription of Drang Lai made by King YPK Sri Brsuvisnujati Virabhadravarmadeva quoted above (?).

Today, the Jarai people in Ayunpa still worship these Cham ruins. They call Yang Mum tower *yă h'Mum*, and worship the gods *yă h'Mum* and *Drang Lai* in accordance with their traditional rituals. According to Jacques Dournes, in Jarai legend, Yang Mum tower is the home of goddess H'bia Be and her brother, Pro Thai (Hickey 1983: 98).

Cham relics in Ayunpa are vivid evidence for the influence of Champa culture in this area although they appeared later. Most of them dated back to 14th - 15th centuries, that was the time when northern provinces of Champa was attacked several times by the Vietnamese (mentioned in Drang Lai inscription), and the Cham people only lost their control of this land since the 17th century (1611) when Vietnamese General Luong Van Chanh captured the land of Tuy Hoa.

6. Yang Prong Tower

When we took the first survey on this tower in December 2006, the road from Ban Me Thuot city to the ruins in Ea Rốc village, Ea Sup district, Dak Lak province was a rough basalt road; when we came back in August 2010, the road was being spread with macadam but it was still difficult to travel; and then in the survey in September 2013, this 50km long road has been spread with asphalt; today it is quite easy to travel from Ban Me Thuot city to the site. Yang Prong Tower, which means “Great Spirit” by Jarai language, is situated in a small virgin forest by the Ya H'leo river which flows south-west and joins with the Sre Pok River to flow to Rattanakiri and Stung Treng provinces of Northeast Cambodia. This Cham towers dated late, around the 14th century, the architectural style is the same as Yang Mum tower, with curved roof and square shape, and the height is only over 10 meters. In Yang Prong Tower, we found a sandstone layer connected between the tower and tower-footing to reinforce the tower, this construction technique only appeared in Cham architecture from the 13th century onwards, as in the towers of H1 and G1 in My Son Sanctuary. At the beginning of the last century, in this tower French scholars found a *mukhalinga* and an inscriptions on the lintel under the reign of King Jaya Simhavarman who died in 1307, the content of that inscription refers to the merit of the king in offering the temple “land, slaves and elephants” (Hickey 1983 : 100-01). According to our survey, Yang Prong Tower is the farthest Cham religious architecture to the west of the highlands, the region from this tower to the west was influenced by Khmer culture, lengthening from this area to Ban Lung village of Rattanakiri province where most of the Khmer artworks discovered belong to the pre-Angkorian period.

Today, there are some Vietnamese villages in the vicinity of Yang Prong Tower; they have just settled there for more than a decade. Besides, there is a Jarai village named Tali who are the indigenous people living there long time ago. In the south of Yang Prong tower is Ban Don village of the M'Nong people, a tourist site famous for traditional hunting and taming wild elephants. Yang Prong Tower was preliminarily restored and reinforced in the main parts of the foundation-base and the roof in the years 2008 and 2009 by the local authorities of Dak Lak province; today the tower is taken care of by Ea Sup High School and worshipped by the local people.



Fig. 5.15 The actual situation of the Yang Prong temple in September 2013



Fig. 5.16 A signal showing the temple being taken care by Ea Sup High School



Fig. 5.17 The temple is worshipped by local people those are the Vietnamese newcomers in this land

7. Kon Klor site

Kon Klor site is considered one of the earliest Cham relics in the Central Highlands; it was discovered by the Catholic missionaries in Kom Tum in the late 19th century (1886). In the site, the missionaries discovered a metal statue about 01 meter high with highly artistic quality hidden a big tree by the Bla River (Dak-bla); besides, a lot of bricks, rock and debris of an altar were also found. These initial findings were described by Parmentier in his classical work on Cham monuments (Parmentier 1909: 564-65).

By 1919, Henri Maspero, another scholar of l'École française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, resurveyed Kon Klor site when it was buried in a dense forest called "Chonang Bya" by the local Bahnar people; Maspero conducted an excavation at the site, and at the depth of 01 meter, the scientists found two thick brick layers arranged in a circle, two vats for ritual ablution, on one of which there was an engraved inscription; and three stone pedestals to support the vats (Maspero 1919/BEFEO, 19, no. 3 : 103-06). According to Georges Coedès and Louis Finot, the date of the inscription is the year 914, and Finot added that the inscription was related to a temple built by a local chieftain named Mahindravarman to devote to the Bodhisattva Mahindra-Lokesvara (Finot 1924: 234).

During the Vietnam War, in 1967, Gerald Hickey, an American anthropologist, together with two Vietnamese archaeologists came to survey Kon Klor site; Hickey found a brick with the size of 30 x 15 x 13 cm there. The guide of Hickey was a Bahnar village chief, he told a legend about the temple, which was built by the Prum or Drang people (the Cham people) in the old days and for the Princess of the highland named Chonang Bia. According to Bahnar elderly, since ancient times this forest has been a forbidden place (taboo) (Hickey 1983: 92-3).

From 2009 till now, we have surveyed Kon Klor site several times, but there is no trace of this site left. At the waterfront of Bla or Dak-bla river, a new bridge crossing the river was built in 1994, and the once sacred forest where the famous Kon Klor relic was located is replaced by a Bahnar *roông* house (communal house) for Kon Klor village's activities.



Fig. 5.18 A brick in large size, at the left side of the picture, found at Kon Klor, displaying at the Catholic Seminary of Kon Tum



Fig. 5.19 Kon Klor bridge built in 1994



Fig. 5.20 Newly built Roông house of Kon Klor village, it was possibly built in the original area of the former Kon Klor site

Cham relics discovered in the Highlands dated from the 7th-8th century (Bang Kheng site), to the 10th century (Kon Klor site), and then the 14th-15th century (Yang Prong / Yang Mum sites), show the constant development of an intimate relationship with the kingdom of Champa during the periods of history. It can be considered that the Highlands was an inseparable part of the Kingdom of Champa, so Ayunpa valley was mentioned in Chinese historical documents; during the Song Dynasty (9th-12th centuries) it was Thuong Nguyen mountain district; after 1471, it was named Nam Ban state by King Le Thanh Tong after he occupied Vijaya; until 1611, when the Vietnamese completely occupied Phu Yen, its role was dependent on the Nguyen Lords in Cochinchina, but the local communities continued operating the trade system between the lowlands and the highlands until the late 19th century when the French ruled Vietnam and controlled the Central Highlands.

In the context of the Cultural Relationship Study of Mainland Southeast Asia Project (CRMA), the monographs on the ethno-archaeological fields in this region will bring to light the understandings of its role as an intermediary area between the Khmer and the Cham cultures. Furthermore, this area plays a transitional role of multiethnic cultures on the East-West Cultural Corridor from the Northeast Thailand via Southern Laos and Northeast Cambodia to Central Vietnam and vice versa, a domain that has not been thoroughly studied yet.

8. The Cham artifacts found and unearthed in Phú Yên province

The plain of Phú Yên province is approximately 800km^2 wide, including two large basins of Tuy An, roughly 300km^2 wide, fertilized by Cái river's alluvium; and Tuy Hòa, roughly 500km^2 wide, fertilized by Ba river's alluvium (Quach-Langlet 1988:53). Ba river or Đà Rằng river, 360 km long, is one of the longest rivers in central Vietnam; it originates from the 1500 meter high Mount of Ngọc Rô in Kon Tum province, flows to the east and ends in Đà Diễn estuary in Tuy Hòa town. Along the valley of the Ba river there are low mountains making it convenient to travel from the coast to the highland (Nguyễn Danh Hạnh 2005:3). In the south of the plain, there is the striking high mountain of Cầm Pass- Đá Bia (Stealea Mount) (Parmentier 1909: 133) called Lingshan/Lingaparvata in Chinese historical records since the 8th century (Momoki 2011: 125, note 19); and Cap Varella by the Westerners from the 16th century (Southworth 2000: 242). Formerly, the Cầm Pass- Đá Bia Mountain and the Chàm Island in Quảng Nam province were considered as two landmarks of the Champa kingdom(s) for shoreline boats travelling along the coast of South Sea.



Fig. 5.21 The 11th century Nham temple located on top of a hill on the southern bank of Ba/Da Rang river, near the estuary of Da Dien in Tuy Hoa town

9. Excavations at HỒ Citadel

HỒ Citadel was a big fortress of the South of Champa kingdom(s), situated on northern bank of Ba/Đà Rằng river, 15 km west of Đà Diễn estuary and 12 km west of Tuy Hòa town. The fortress is square, 600 meters each side, with 7 gates opening

to four directions (Parmentier 1909: 137-38). It was once considered as a gate of a Cham polity opening to highland states (Ngô Văn Doanh 2001: 55-60).

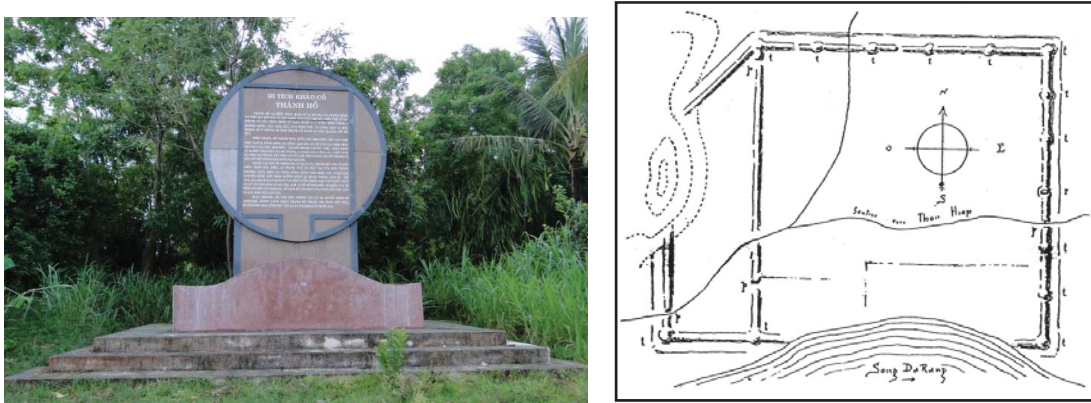


Fig. 5.22 Ho Fortress in Tuy Hoa town, the stronghold dated from the 3rd/5th to the 16th centuries CE



Fig. 5.23 Landscape in the Ho Fortress, the mountain range is in the west of the fortress

Since 1990, the Provincial Museum of Phú Yên had conducted several archaeological investigations in Hồ Citadel, there were a number of ceramic shards and broken sculptural works found. Until 2003, the provincial museum and Vietnam Institute of Archaeology carried out the first archaeological excavation at the citadel. Archaeologists dug two pits, the first one was 25m²; the second one was 20m²; the distance between two pits was 50 meters. Three brick rectangular foundation-bases were unearthed in each pit; the foundation-bases are in different scales, the medium length of each side is approximately 200-250cm (Nguyễn Danh Hạnh 2005: 65-75).

Especially, the 2003 excavation unearthed plenty of half-cylindrical tiles (35-40cm long; 15-20cm in diameter) and eaves-tiles (diameter approx. 16cm), they are typical Chinese tile forms, dated in the 2nd to 3rd century CE, similar to those found previously in the excavations at Trà Kiệu Citadel in Quảng Nam province (Southworth *et al.* 2010: 183-93; Yamagata *et al.* 2010: 194-205). Besides, the archaeologists also found a perfect terra-cotta *kendi* affirming Indian influences into this site.

In 2006, workers accidentally found a ruin on a small hill named Hòn Mốc in the west corner of Hồ Citadel. Afterward, archaeologists of Provincial Museum of Phú Yên conducted an excavation at the ruin; they found two brick temple foundation-bases. The first one is bigger, with the ground-plan of 7.5 x 7.5 meters in each side. Notably, there are three busts of male divinities unearthed from broken bricks and tiles under 150 cm deep. These were made by a sort of soft pink stone that can be found in the citadel affirming that the busts were made by the locals in the citadel. On the viewpoint of art history, these busts are similar to those of the artifacts of An Mỹ style found previously in other Cham sites, dated in the 6th to 7th centuries (Trần Kỳ Phương *et al.* 2003: 846-50; Nguyễn Danh Hạnh 2005: 70-72; Nguyễn Danh Hạnh *et al.* 2007: 806-09).



Fig. 5.24 Eaves-tile unearthed in Thành Hồ Citadel in 2003



Fig. 5.25 Bas-reliefs of busts of male divinities found at Hòn Mốc in Hố Citadel, in 2006, they belong to the early period of An Mỹ style, 6th -7th centuries. Housed at Provincial Museum of Phú Yên, Tuy Hòa town

10. The excavation at Núi Bà site

Núi Bà site or Phước Tịnh site is in Mỹ Thạnh Đông hamlet, Hòa Phong village, Tây Hòa district. Núi Bà site is a small hill situated closely to the southern bank of Ba River, opposite to Núi Ông site and Hố Citadel in the northern bank; from Núi Bà site one can get the panoramic view of the wide plain of Tuy Hòa. The site was previously described by Parmentier as Phước Tịnh site (1909: 134-37); until 1990, according to the report of the provincial museum, most of the objects described by Parmentier still remain at the site, later on they were moved and housed at the museum. During 2001 and 2003, the provincial museum and Vietnam Institute of Archaeology conducted excavations at the site.

Archaeologists found roughly 200 sculptural works made of sandstone and terra-cotta belonging to temple architectural decorative features; amongst them there are several artworks in good condition, including: human figures, kala masks, makara sea monsters, Nandin holy bulls, Naga holy snakes, Garuda holy birds, Hamsa holy swans, lotuses and other flowers, so on.

The excavations revealed that Núi Bà site is a large Hindu temple with a ground-plan of 680 x 680 cm each side; the brick walls are 230 cm thick. The temple and its sculptural works dated in the 13th to 14th centuries (Lê Đình Phụng *et al.* 1991: 170-71; Nguyễn Danh Hạnh 2005: 28-33).



Fig. 5.26 A relief of kala mask found at Núi Bà site in 1993



Fig. 5.27 Garuda figures of temple angle decorative features found at Núi Bà site in 1993

11. The site of Hồ Sơn Buddhist Pagoda

Hồ Sơn is an old Buddhist pagoda situated inside Tuy Hòa town, it was built on a mount in flat fields beside a small stream (possibly an old tributary) joining with Đà Rằng river. Since 1996, the Provincial Museum of Phú Yên had conducted several investigations at the site. Notably, the curator of the pagoda found previously a terra-cotta head in the garden; it has a sweet face with thick curved hair, 27 cm high. In additionally, there have been a Buddhist votive tablet found in the same place, the tablet was broken on top, bearing Sanskrit inscriptions on back, 12 cm high

(Nguyễn Danh Hạnh 2005: 20-15); this tablet was dated in the 9th century by historians (Skilling 2004: 286-87).

In 2003, the provincial museum dug two test pits at the pagoda, each pit was 4x2 meters wide; archaeologists unearthed plenty of broken bricks, medium size 38x22x7 cm; and broken half-cylindrical tiles, medium diameter 13-15 cm, and 1-1.5 cm thick; two eaves-tiles decorated eight petal flowers, with the diameters of 14.5 cm and 15.5 cm, so on. These uncovered objects affirming that Hồ Sơn pagoda was once a remarkable Buddhist site in southern Champa during the 8th and the 9th centuries.



Fig. 5.28 Terra-cotta head found at Hồ Sơn pagoda, 27 cm high. Collection of Hồ Sơn pagoda

12. The site of Mò O Mount

Mò O Mount site is in Sơn Thọ hamlet, Hòa Kiên village, Phú Hòa district, 10km northwest of Tuy Hòa town, Mò O Mountain is roughly 100 meters high, rising in large flat fields. The site is situated beside a big stream joining with other tributaries flowing to Đà Rằng river, nearby Đà Diễn estuary. Years ago, villagers found five terra-cotta Buddhist votive tablets, the size of 27 x 20 x 3 cm, on the front of the tablet is the image of a Buddha sitting on a lotus either under a canopy of seven head snake of Muchalinda or with a halo flanked by lions and cylindrical stupas (Guy 2005: 145, fig.5¹); the back of tablet is Sanskrit inscriptions of ye dharma. These tablets are considered by historians as unique Buddhist iconographical features in Southeast Asian arts during the 8th -9th centuries (Skilling 2004: 285-86). Previously, Parmentier also found a same specimen at Núi Bà or Phước Thiện site (1909: 134).

¹ Guy captioned wrongly that this Buddhist votive tablet having been found in Quảng Ngãi province.

Besides, the locals also found a terra-cotta head bearing a cylindrical hat ornamented a flower at the middle, 37 cm high, this is a greatly beautiful artwork. Two of the five Buddhist tablets and the terra-cotta head used to be worshipped in a small ancient shrine in Hóc Kèo mount of Mò O Mount site (Ngô Văn Doanh 1997: 624-25; Nguyễn Danh Hạnh 2005: 52-53). Archaeologists of the provincial museum also collected plenty of broken bricks at the site, brick in sizes: 22 cm wide and 9 cm thick; revealed that Mò O Mount having been a big site of Cham Buddhist art in this region.



Fig. 5.29 Buddhist votive-tablet in terracotta found at Mò O Mount site carved a Buddha sitting under Muchalinda, 20 cm high. Private collection



Fig. 5.30 Buddhist votive-tablet by terracotta found at Mò O Mount site carved a Buddha with a halo, 27cm high. Private collection) (Photograph by Nguyễn Danh Hạnh)



Fig. 5.31 Terracotta head bearing a cylindrical hat found at Mò O Mount site, 37 cm high. Private collection

13. The Mỹ Thạnh Stelae

The Mỹ Thạnh stela was accidentally found in July 1999 in Mỹ Thạnh hamlet, Hòa Phong village, Tuy Hòa district (Tây Hòa district nowadays), roughly 1 km south of Núi Bà site. The stela is made of a sort of hard fine grain stone in light yellow color, expressing the image of a Buddha sitting on a lotus between two stupas; around the Buddha inscribed Sanskrit inscriptions of the credo of ye dharma that is very popular in Southeast Asian arts during the 7th and the 9th centuries; this is one of the earliest Buddhist works of Cham art. The Mỹ Thạnh stelae pointed out extensive Buddhist art relationships in the region, especially, with those of Mon-Dvaravati art in Thailand (Skilling *et al.* 2010: 487-98); it is good evidence to learn about the outstanding role of Champa kingdom(s) by her close relationship with other kingdoms in Southeast Asia Mainland (Guy 2009: 142-43; Trần Kỳ Phương 2013).

Because the Cham temples in Phú Yên province were almost entirely damaged, the studies on the Cham ruins in this province are not outstanding in comparison to those of the Cham sites in Bình Định and Quảng Nam provinces. However, recent findings of Cham artworks in the province, especially the Buddhist specimens, uncovered some interesting insights on the rich history of the Cham in this land. The promising archaeological excavations in the future will shed new lights on the active past of the interactions on the trading overland routes from lowlands to uplands, from the coast of central Vietnam to the lower Mekong basin, in which Phú Yên province played an important role due to its convenient geographical situation; and, by trading interactions the art exchanges occurred simultaneously among the ancient kingdoms in Peninsular Indochina at that time.

Fieldwork report in Thua Thien-Hue province and in An Khe town of Gia Lai province in Spring 2014

1. Fieldworks in A Luoi: A survey on goods exchange networks between lowland and upland among the Ta Oi ethnic groups in Central Vietnam

"exchange does not constitute a marginal activity, an occasional appendix to the functioning of the society. . . but a strategic element of its structure. At the limit we can say that this society cannot subsist without exchanges." (Godelier, M. 'La "monnaie de sel" des Baruya de Nouvelle-Guinée'; quoted by Georges Condominas, in *"Aspects of Economics Among the Mhong Gar of Vietnam: Multiple Money and the Middleman"* Ethnology, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Jul., 1972), pp. 202-219.)

"....In truth, peripheral peoples had always been firmly linked economically to the lowlands and to world trade. In some cases, they appear to have provided most of the products valued in international commerce." ,James Scott, *The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London 2009, p.4.)

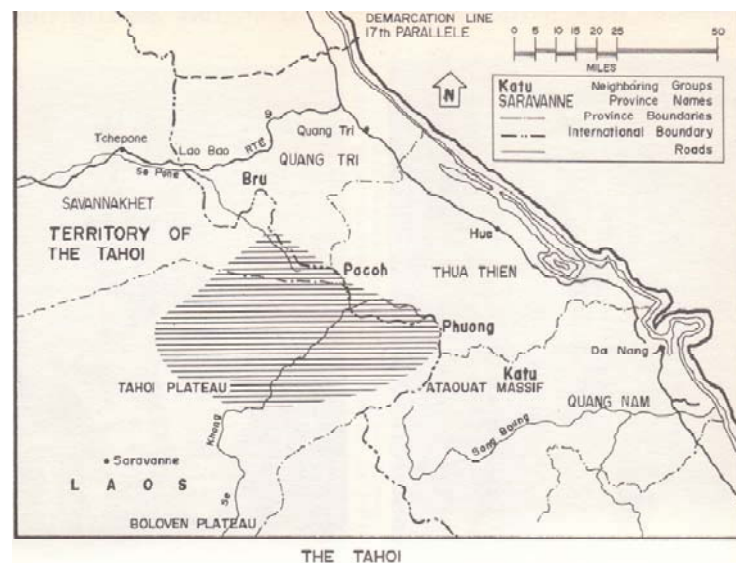


Fig. 5.32 Homeland of Ta Oi people in Laos and Vietnam (The map taken from "The Montagnards of South Vietnam", Robert L. Mole, 1970)



Fig. 5.33 A Lưới District and A Lưới Town located on the Ho Chi Minh Trail or the Vietnam National Highway No.1B.

In order to learn about the goods exchange system between the upland and the lowland in central Vietnam, I conducted field research in A Lưới township, A Lưới district in Thua Thien-Hue province in February and April, 2014 to interview the elderly of Ta Oi ethnic group. The reason I chose the Ta Oi people in A Lưới is simply that A Lưới is considered a big *muồng*, with a lot of Ta Oi people's hamlets, as called by the residents in southern Laos; and that ethnic group played a major role in the goods exchange system between peoples living in southern Laos.

The township of A Lưới is located in A Lưới district, Thua Thien-Hue province, at 16.27130 degree N; 107.23438 degree E, at an altitude of 592m; 80km west of Hue city. It is a flat, large valley, convenient for cultivation and animal husbandry, and is also a trading center with the lowland. A Lưới is the starting point of A Sap River which is the upper course of the Sekong River, the river is called the Mut River when flowing to Muong Kalum (Kalum village) in the territory of Laos, then called Sekong River when flowing through the provinces of Sekong and Attapue in Laos, and then connects with the Mekong River in Stueng Treng, Cambodia. During the Vietnam War, A Lưới, famous for the battle of Hamburger Hill in 1969, was a large base of the U.S. marines since 1966.

The Ta Oi people have lived for generations in A Lưới, and we selected to interview several Ta Oi elderly people living in A Ngo commune, which was previously located on the A Sap river bank in the territory of Laos today, about 02 days' walk from A Lưới; then the commune was moved to A Lưới after the signing of Paris Agreement in 1973.

The Ta Oi elderly were interviewed include:

- 1) Mr Quỳnh Hoàng, 95 years-old;
- 2) Mr Quỳnh Hâu, 90 years-old;
- 3) Mr Quỳnh Lệnh, 83 years-old;
- 4) Mr Đoàn Thanh Xoa, 75 years-old.



Fig. 5.34 Mr Quỳnh Hoàng and his wife, Mrs Tuyet, at their house in A Ngo village, A Luoi township, A Luoi district.

Particularly, among the people I interviewed, Mr Quỳnh Hoàng is a professional barterer, he frequently travelled in areas from Hue to such provinces in Laos as Salavan, Attapue, Pakse (including Sekong Province separated from the provinces of Salavan and Attapue in 1984), so on, to exchange goods.

Before 1945, the old village in the A Ngo commune was about 04 days' walk from A Luối, Ta Oi people often went to Bến Tuấn (Tuan wharf), 10km west of Hue city to exchange goods. It takes 02 days to walk from A Luối to Bến Tuấn, where two major rivers of Ta Trach (left stream) and Huu Trach (right stream) join together to become the Perfume River flowing to Hue city; Bến Tuấn is the place where the Kinh people in the lowland / plain exchanged goods with the Ta Oi people in the upland / mountain.

The main goods that the Ta Oi people bartered in Tuan wharf were such forest products as eaglewood, the bark of 'chay' tree (*artocarpus tonkinensis*) for chewing betel nut, rattan, rare wild animals, honey, dried chili, so on, for salt, agricultural equipment such as knives, machetes, hoes, flat-gongs (*tă-r-le*), metal pots (*pung*), copper trays (*a-diêng*), ceramic jars (*văn*), so on.

Mr. Quỳnh Hoàng living in A Ngo hamlet, A Lưới township told us that in order to barter goods in Tuan wharf, he became the adoptive son of Mrs. Năm who was a famous Kinh trader that most elderly people in A Lưới knew her; he brought down goods only for her; in return, she provided him with all the items he wanted, and he could pay up or delayed paying his debt depending on the value of items (Mrs. Năm died in early 1980s but her family is still living and trading in Tuan market). Once, Mr. Hoàng was informed that a man in Attapue needed a *pung* (big metal pot), so he went down to Tuan wharf to buy a *pung* from Mrs. Năm; then, along with a group of about 10 Ta Oi people, he went from his native village of the old A Ngo to Attapue, which took 14 days, and bartered that *pung* for a precious big yellow brown antique ceramic jar (*văn*), which, according to him, belonged to the Cambodian; then, he carried that antique jar from Attapue to Muong Ta Oi in Salavan province on Laos to barter it for 50 *zieng* cloths, a kind of Ta Oi brocade; after that, he came back to A Ngo village and gave them to his relatives because they were very poor and could not afford any *zieng* cloth.

Thus, we can imagine that the space of bartering goods of Mr. Quỳnh Hoàng was very wide; starting from coastal plains in central Vietnam, he went to remote mountainous regions in southern Laos. This barter frequently took place, almost all year round, except for the time of clearing, burning trees for cultivation and harvesting rice, which Ta Oi men undertake. Is it true that such space of bartering goods been between mountain villages of natives in the Peninsular Indochina was formed in the history of Champa dynasties?

Mr. Quỳnh Hoàng also said that Mrs. Năm introduced him to a Chinese merchant whose name was Khoa (or Khóa) near Dong Ba Market in Hue city. He came to meet Mr. Khoa to barter an antique jar that he liked very much; since Mrs. Năm was not conversant with antique jars, she led him to meet Mr. Khoa so that he himself could choose the antique jar he needed.

Mr. Hoàng took the antique jar he liked and came back home; meanwhile, Mrs. Năm discussed the price with Mr. Khoa and made the payment; Mr. Hoàng said that he had given Mrs. Năm two kilos of *kỳ nam*/eaglewood and a python gall bladder for the antique jar in Mr. Khoa's house. Mr. Quỳnh Hoàng once bartered one kilo of *kỳ nam* for two fine flat-gongs. Mr. Hoàng has directly bartered with Mr. Khoa several times. Mr. Khoa, whose mother and maternal grand-mother were the Kinh/Vietnamese people, possessed a store in Dong Ba Market, Hue City; he traded in such bronzeware as fine flat-gongs, metal pots, copper trays and new or antique jars. The items that Mr. Khoa traded in were "property objects" or "*doc por nha*" in Ta Oi

language, a general concept of ethnic groups living in mountainous areas in the Peninsular Indochina, and also the Kinh people's way of speaking; all of these items were manufactured or imported from the lowland and are called *drap* (*property objects/precious goods*) by the Mhong Gar, which was mentioned in the research works on that ethnic group by Georges Condominas.



Fig. 5.35 The prestigious objects (*doc pơ nha*) kept at the altar of Mr Quynh Hau's house.

Mr. Hoàng said that, when he was young during the years before 1945, under the French domination, *kỳ nam*/eaglewood (from *Aquilaria crassna* Pierre) (*roo* in Ta Oi language) was easily found in this mountainous region. He was instructed how to find eaglewood/ *roo* by his “Kinh” friends; and whenever he found it, he only bring to Mrs. Năm in “Tuan” wharf. Notably, *kỳ nam/roo*/eaglewood was the well-known export item of Champa kingdom in former time; it was a main source of Cham economic (Hardy 2009: 107-26).

Notably, Mr. Hoàng is very good at hearing sounds, so he knows how to select the finest flat-gongs; besides, he can also assess the value of antique ceramic jars; therefore, most of his bartered goods were high value products, “property objects/*doc pơ nha*” of the highlanders. These items, according to Condominas, take a key role in the society of ethnic groups in the mountainous region in Indochina: “...Also from the plains come precious goods (*drap*), such as jars, gongs, and metal pots, which hold a major place in their economy and in the totality of their social life.”(Condominas 1972: 203); or more specifically, certify their attitude towards that kind of precious goods, “...The most valuable goods not made by the

Montagnards but coming from the plains civilization-old jars, gongs, and metal pots likewise retain a certain personality when they reach the Montagnard region. The attitude toward certain goods of value (drap) reminds us of the attitude of Western art collectors toward their objets d'art." (Condominas 1972: 207). These items are also the products which the Cham people formerly imported from China through port-cities established in Central Coast.



Fig. 5.36 Mr Quynh Hoang was playing flat-gong at his home.

Although we only carried out two field surveys in A Lưới and the time for the interview was not much, but the information I gathered there, especially through the narrative of Mr. Quỳnh Hoàng, who directly and professionally took part in the goods exchange system in the region, has helped me to outline the space of the goods exchange system amongst the residents living in the mountainous areas in the Indochina Peninsula in former days.

In comparison with the surveys of Condominas on the Mnong Gar people about the exchange of goods, especially precious products (*doc pər nha/drap*) brought from the lowland, we can see that these items, including flat-gong/*tăi le*, jar/*văn*, metal pot/*pung/niu pay*, so on... are considered 'property objects/*doc pər nha*' by all mountain peoples. Thus, we can easily find the common feature of the

culture of mountain peoples in Central Vietnam in their attitudes toward goods from the lowland.

Noticeably, all kinds of precious goods from the lowland or *doc pơ nha*, (or *drap* in Mhong Gar language), are related to the rites of the mountain peoples, typically the buffalo sacrifice rituals; for example, *flat gong / tấ le* is used in ritual music, *jar / vẫ* to contain wine in ritual; *metal pot / pũg* to boil water or cook rice in the ritual; copper trays (*a-diềng*) to display food, and so on. Moreover, these precious items must be present in all the rituals related to marriage; they are wedding presents that the bride's family require the groom's family to give in marriage. So, they are the essential goods in the society of the residents in the upland, reflecting the close relationship of goods exchange between the lowlanders and the uplanders. This relationship is summarized by the Cham people as follows: "*Cham Saai, Raglay atay*" / *The Care and God's hand; Cham's thumb while ethnic groups are the remaining fingers.*" (Nguyen Tuan Triet 1991:32)

2. Learning on the historical overland trade route: The survey conducted from Rattanakiri province (Cambodia) to An Khê town in Gia Lai province (Viet Nam)

Together with Thai, Cambodian and Vietnamese colleagues, I took part in the survey in late March, 2014. This is a very effective survey to learn about the northeastern region of Cambodia, i.e., the connection between Preah Vihear and Stueng Treng as well as Rattanakiri.

The geography and landscape in this region display the advantage of overland trade throughout the region, and farther, to the east to connect with Champa Kingdom (central Vietnam) in history.

Abundant pre-Angkorian relics existing in Thalaborivat in Stueng Treng province are vivid evidence for the central role of this area in the route linking the east and the west by road and waterway. Most remaining architectural relics along the banks of the Mekong River in Stueng Treng date from 8th -9th centuries, the period for the formation and development of the minor states of Chenla kingdom(s). The abundance of pre-Angkorian relics in Stueng Treng proved that it was once a major center of Chenla.

The pinnacle of this field trip was the survey on Prasat Ta-nang brick temple in a Jarai village called Dor Touch/Dor Pir village, Yatung commune, Oyadav district. The temple is located by a river named O Tang, about 10km from Cambodia - Vietnam border. Formerly, the tower was fully covered by a dense forest, it was only found in the past few years when the forest had been exploited for wood.

When we came to conduct the survey, there were many large timber blocks scattering in the tower area. GPS coordinates for the temple are N13.58759 degree and E107.51441 degree. The tower was built in brick, total exterior surface area of the tower is: 08x 6.2m; the interior is 04x03m; the vestibule/porch is 03m long and 1.5m width; refined bricks are different medium sized ones, with the thickness from 06 cm to 08cm, the width of 18 - 20cm and the length of 25 - 30cm. Although the tower roof completely disappeared, the remainder of the tower and the tower foundation-base is in very good condition to study. The entrance door faces east, with long vestibule. On the exterior walls of the tower, there are two false doors designed on the northern and southern walls in which there are two unfinished carved figures, based on the shapes, we surmise that they would be a kind of the “flying palace” appeared in such pre-Angkorian architectural monuments that can be compared to those of the temples of Sambor Prei Kuk in 7th -9th centuries; and Hoa Lai tower (South Tower) dated in the late 8th to 9th century in Champa art.

Only part of the incomplete vault of the false door in the northern wall remains; such large vaults above the false doors commonly appear in Cham architectural temple-towers during the 8th to 9th century. The foundation-base decorated with stylized moulds of large lotus petals. The thickness of the wall is about 100cm; there are small triangle niches inside the walls of the sanctum to put lamps or gifts, which is the same style of design in Cham architectural temple-towers. In the west of the temple there are a lot of fallen bricks, probably, from the corbelled-roof of the tower (?!).

We have not determine if that tower is of Champa architectural temple-towers or not, but the structural details appear on the tower shows striking similarities to those of the Cham temples in the 8th -9th centuries. In my opinion, the architecture and layout of Ta-nang temple looks close to Prasat Preah Ko temple in Thalaborivat, but Prasat Ta-nang temple could be built in an earlier stage.

The geographical location of this Hindu temple expresses the particular significance in the space of goods exchange between Chenla and Champa. The spatial distance between Ta-nang temple and Cham relics in the highland is very close; on viewing the landscape of the temple, we think that the sites around Ta-nang temple might have been a market town to exchange goods, and, it was very convenient for travelling due to the location of the temple, which is situated by the riverside. Notably, in this flat plain it is easy to use elephant for travelling.

big exchange centers of An Khe and Ayunpa where a lot of Cham archaeological relics have been found, these centers were connected with Stueng Treng in a broad cultural space, i.e., from a large center to other major centers in the east. According to Prof. Ang Choulien, the Jarai ethnic people in Rattanakiri monopolize the trade of antique gongs and jars (antique jar is called “Yang Rlung” in Pnong / Mhong language; the Pnong ethnic people in Mondonkiri province, Cambodia), which are precious goods/prestige goods imported from the plains of the coast in Central Vietnam, and used in all the rituals of the ethnic groups living in the Peninsular Indochina. There are 15 Jarai ethnic villages in Rattanakiri who have a close relationship with the Jarai people in Gia Lai province of Vietnam, but they do not know anything about the King of Fire (Patau Pui) and the King of Water (Patau Ia) in Ayunpa area.

Thus, in the past, there must have been a large commercial center for the exchange of goods in the vicinity of Prasat Ta-nang temple. So far, Prasat Ta-nang temple has been the most vivid evidence to prove the link of the east-west cultural exchange route through the goods exchange network from the lowland to the upland in the early stage, around the 8th -10th centuries. In terms of the architecture, the temple itself exposes design features of a pre-Angkorian Khmer temple combined with the architectural features of Cham temples.



Fig. 5.38 Prasat Ta-nang , as view from the southeast corner. The temple can be dated in the 8th to 9th century based on its form, structural technique and design.



Fig. 5.39 A small niche carved in the interior of the temple showing somewhat similar to those of Cham structural temple-towers in the 9th century.



Fig. 5.40 An unfinished carving on the exterior wall supposed a figure of 'flying palace' those appeared popularly in Sambor Prei Kuk temples from the 7th to 9th century; and in Hoa Lai temple of Cham art.