

Champa Settlements of the First Millennium

New Archaeological Research

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Archaeological excavations yielded the data presented in this chapter, which focuses on the Champa territories in Quảng Nam, Quảng Ngãi, Bình Định and Phú Yên. Data from the first millennium CE — including stratigraphic analysis at several sites and comparative analysis of pottery remains — are used to support an argument about early state formation. This confirms the identification of political centres located in territories based on the main rivers: Thu Bồn, Trà Khúc, Côn and Đà Rằng.

Introduction

The following paragraph on the history of Champa once caught my eye (Ricklefs 2010: 27):

The Cham were once the southern neighbor of today's Vietnamese. Their territory stretched from the northern-central coast down to the edge of the Mekong delta. Although they are Austronesian speakers and originally migrated from what is now Indonesia, their presence on the mainland dates from before the Common Era. A pre-Indianized civilization known as the Sa Huỳnh culture, characterized by the burial of the dead in earthen jars, is linked to the coastal region of Vietnam and is believed by many scholars to represent the precursor to the later Cham kingdoms.

This outline picture of Champa's history needs to be filled in, with the colours and layers of the different pieces of the mosaic. Since the 1990s, many surveys and excavations have been carried out on settlements, citadels and landing places of Champa's early and developed periods. The results of this work have contributed to our understanding of the history and culture of Champa, including the formation of Linyi and polities similar to Linyi, the relationship between Linyi and Sa Huỳnh (which preceded Linyi) and the contribution of exogenous elements in state formation (i.e. the role of Chinese and Indian cultures). They also shed light on Champa's material culture, especially the production and use of crafts: pottery, jewellery and iron goods.

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On the basis of comparative analysis of archaeological data, this paper aims to do the following:

- a. Offer an overview of Champa sites discovered and studied in the area between Quảng Nam and Phú Yên provinces. The sites vary in nature and function, their diverse features and artefacts reflecting the activities of local populations and their contacts with the outside world.
- b. Establish a chronological sequence for the sites from the 1st to 10th centuries CE. Based on their evolution and cultural development as viewed in the stratigraphy, the sites may be grouped into several stages; few sites show evidence of continuous existence through the early and developed periods of Champa's history.
- c. Present features of Champa's material culture, notably the production and trading of pottery.

1. Results of Excavations

In the Quảng Nam, Quảng Ngãi, Bình Định and Phú Yên provinces, there is much evidence of the long history of the Champa peoples and kingdoms (See Table 1 for the site's names, Map 1 for their distribution).

Thu Bồn river valley: Hội An group of sites

The Hội An group of sites includes Hậu Xá I settlement; Trảng Sỏi Xứ; Đồng Nà, Ruộng Đồng Cao (or Cẩm Phô), Hồ Điều Hòa (Chùa Cầu).

In 1989–1990 Vietnamese archaeologists surveyed Hội An town, Quảng Nam province, reporting the discovery of archaeological sites dating from the 2nd–3rd centuries BCE to the 9th–10th centuries CE. Most of the sites were located on the Cẩm Hà sand dunes, Cẩm Hà village, along the Thu Bồn river. For funding reasons, only a few of these sites were excavated. Some of the results were published in Vietnamese and English (Lam Thi My Dzung 2009).

Hậu Xá I settlement

The site is located close to Hậu Xá I jar burial cemetery, Cẩm Hà village. The excavations were carried out in 1993–1994 by the University of Hanoi, and the Hội An Office of Cultural Heritage Management and Conservation.

The archaeologists identified two cultural strata:

- The lower layer, 1.10 m thick (at depth from 1.20 to 2.30 m);
- The upper layer, 0.60 m thick (at depth from 0.60 to 1.20 m).

The artefacts found in the lower layer showed connections with the previous culture (prehistoric Sa Huỳnh culture), particularly through the presence of coarse fabric ceramic pots and bowls, grey coarse fabric ceramic “Hou”-shaped vessels with or without handles. Fragments of these “Hou” vessels were uncovered alongside Eastern Han stamped stoneware, which helped date the set of artefacts.

A set of three grey coarse fabric pottery items was found at the basal layer. The set consists of a small inner pot, a middle bell-shaped vessel with a round hole in the bottom and a large outer pot. Both small and large pots are similar to Sa Huỳnh pots; however, the bell-shaped vessel is new (see Figs. 1a, 1b).

Note too the discovery of a bronze artefact made in the shape of a bodhi tree leaf. Its dimensions are 19 mm long, 15 mm wide, 1 mm thick; and it is decorated on one side with a motif formed of a central straight line with two commas on either side.



Figures 1a, 1b. — Pottery at Hậu Xá I settlement.

Regarding dating, the lower layer may be dated to the late 1st century or early 2nd century CE. This estimate is based on comparative analysis: we recognised here types of pottery similar to those found in Trà Kiệu (Duy Trung village, Duy Xuyên district, Quảng Nam province) Lower Layer (but not the lowest layer, according to Yamagata Mariko's chronology, where ovoid jars and tiles with textile impressions were found), also in Gò Cẩm (Duy Trung village, Duy Xuyên district, Quảng Nam province) Upper Layer and in Cổ Lũy (Phú Thọ village, Nghĩa Phú commune, Tư Nghĩa district, Quảng Ngãi province) Lower Layer. We also recognised the close spatial and temporal relations between this early Linyi/Champa site and other Sa Huỳnh sites such Hậu Xá II (Cẩm Hà village, Hội An town, Quảng Nam province), An Bang (Cẩm Hà village, Hội An town, Quảng Nam province) and Lai Nghi (Điện Nam commune, Điện Bàn district, Quảng Nam province), dating from the 1st century BCE to the 1st century CE.

The upper layer reflected continuous development from the lower layer. Besides coarse and fine fabric Cham pottery, the artefacts uncovered included Chinese Six Dynasties and Tang period as well as Islamic pottery. The Upper Layer at Hậu Xá I settlement bears elements similar to Trà Kiệu Upper Layer, dating from the 3rd–10th centuries CE.

Hậu Xá I settlement reflected the Cham people's contacts and exchanges with the outside world, both over time and across space.

i. A temporal, genetic relation with Sa Huỳnh is demonstrated through the manufacture and use of coarse pottery fabric pots and bowls similar to those found at Hậu Xá and An Bang cemeteries.

ii. Spatial, contemporary relations with China and India are shown through the presence of Han stamped ceramics, Han-style local fine pottery, objects manufactured with Chinese pottery making techniques and earthenware *kendis*.

Ruộng Đồng Cao (or Cẩm Phô) site

The site was discovered in Cẩm Phô village and excavated in 1998 and 2009. The cultural layer is about 30–40 cm thick; it is intact. The materials uncovered reveal the nature of the site: located on the ancient bank of the river, it was occupied by people for around one century.



Figures 2a, 2b. — Pottery at Ruộng Đồng Cao site.

Most of the artefacts are potsherds derived from cooking pots, jars, *kendis*, bowls, dishes, eaves tiles decorated with human faces, bricks; bronze dishes and glass beads were also present. Jars and *kendis* are decorated with stamped patterns and symbols that resemble Chinese characters. Some lids bear incised decorative patterns in the shape of cycles and waves. One fruit tray (in fine fabric pottery) with a high foot was uncovered during the 2009 excavation (see Figs. 2a, 2b).

Ruộng Đồng Cao was a place on the ancient riverbank inhabited by people during the 3rd–4th centuries CE. The artefact assemblage bears similarities to those in the Upper Layer of Hậu Xá I settlement and Trà Kiệu site.

Remains found at Hồ Điều Hòa

In 2006, when the Hội An government launched a project to rebuild the city's water supply system, workers at Hồ Điều Hòa near Chùa Cầu uncovered a large ovoid jar, together with many fragments of jars, dishes, pots, bowls and covers made of both coarse and fine fabric pottery. Some of the jars were decorated with new motifs, not previously identified on early Cham pottery (see Figs. 3a, 3b).

Note that one fragment of fine buff ware was decorated with a lotus motif. Also that another fragment was decorated with an animal motif (only some parts of the animal are visible — it



Figures 3a, 3b. — Pottery at Hồ Điều Hòa and Chùa Cầu sites.

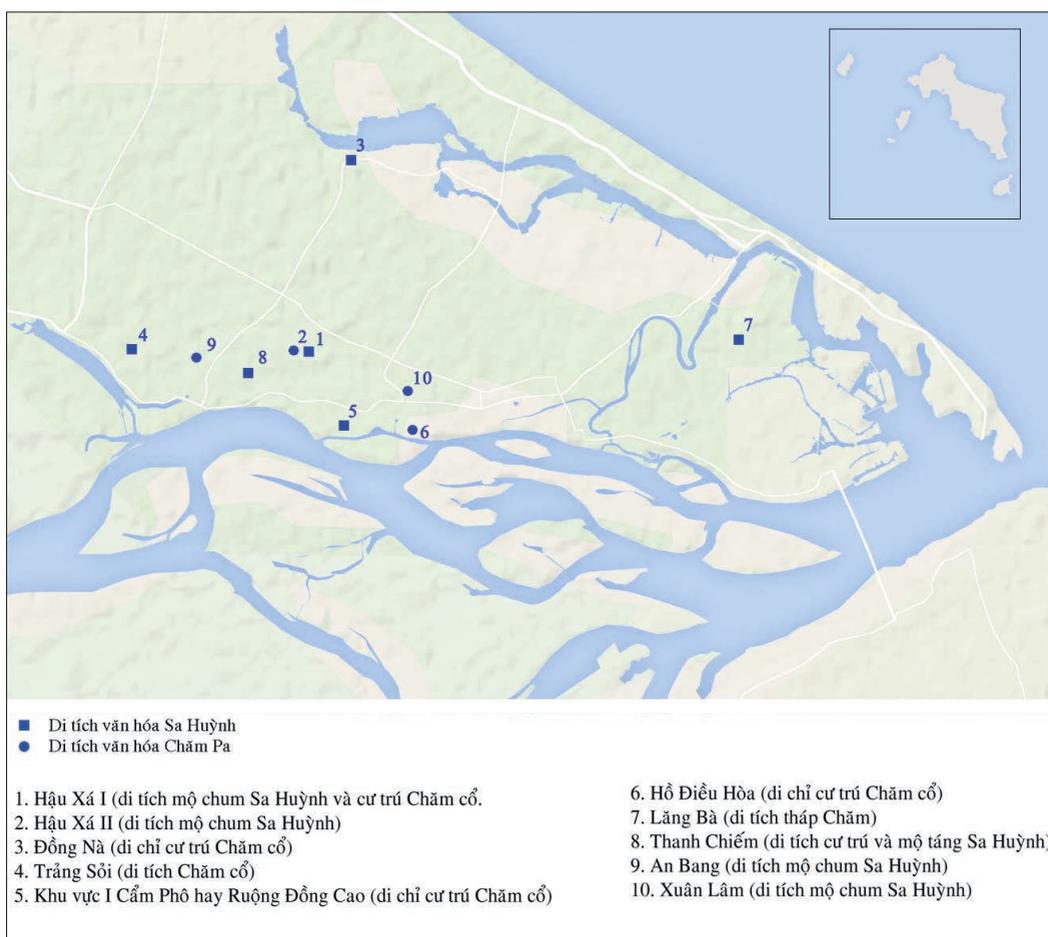


Figure 4. — Map showing the distribution of archaeological sites in Hội An.

looks like an elephant). Floral and animal motifs have never been found on Sa Huỳnh pottery. Lotus motifs were widely used in the decoration of Cham bronze, gold and silver vessels, but these artefacts have rarely been found in archaeological context.

If we compare these potsherds with pottery fragments of Indian origin found at Southeast Asian archaeological sites, we may recognise certain similarities (Boonnyarit Chaisuwan 2011, Figs. 4.18; 4.19 and 4.21). But for more concrete information we will have to wait.

In the pottery assemblage at Hồ Điều Hòa, Han and Han-style hard stamped ceramics were also identified.

Analysis of these results and field survey led us to the following conclusion about the nature of Hồ Điều Hòa site: this was an early Cham settlement, with a cultural layer around 0.50–1 m thick. After comparing it with the Lower Layer of 1990 Trà Kiệu excavation, or the Lowest and Lower Layers of the joint Vietnamese-Japanese-English excavations at Trà Kiệu, we dated the site around the 1st to the 4th–5th centuries CE.

Besides the above, other archaeological sites dating from the first millennium were discovered in the Hội An area. These were located along ancient courses of the river near sand dunes (Table 1 and Fig. 4).

Some of the artefacts excavated at these sites contain evidence of a continuous development from Sa Huỳnh culture, especially in pottery making, glass production and iron metallurgy. But it is important to note that the similarities between Early Cham and Sa Huỳnh cultures are not as great as their differences.

The early Cham and Champa sites in Hội An are located near contemporary sites in Duy Xuyên district, especially Gò Cẩm and Trà Kiệu. The Hội An and Duy Xuyên areas both belong to the large cultural-economic-political region of the Thu Bồn river valley that existed during the first millennium CE. The presence of these sites is also evidence that Trà Kiệu was the political centre of an early polity, which many scholars believe was Linyi.

Thu Bồn river valley: Duy Xuyên group of sites

The Duy Xuyên group is made up of sites in Duy Xuyên district, Quảng Nam, including Gò Cẩm and Trà Kiệu.

Gò Cẩm

Many articles in Vietnamese and English deal with Gò Cẩm (Southworth 2004; Nguyễn Kim Dung 2005; Yamagata 2005; Glover & Nguyễn Kim Dung 2011). For this reason, I will mention only the new materials and research obtained during our excavation in 2004.

New comparative research on a burnt wooden house

Gò Cẩm site (also called Gò Rừng Cẩm, meaning ‘sacred forest mound’) is located northwest of Thôn Tư hamlet in Mậu Hoà commune. The site is at 108°15’82” East and 15°48’55” North, some 3.5–4 km southeast of the ancient walled Champa city at Trà Kiệu and approximately 7 m above sea level. Gò Cẩm is located south of the Bà Rén river, a lower branch of the Thu Bồn that flows down 15 km to the east before reaching the sea. Near Gò Cẩm there is a small freshwater stream called Cây Thị: it flows from Mỹ Sơn through Chiêm Sơn Tây and Trà Kiệu, then down to Gò Cẩm before joining the Bà Rén river. The stream and river link a number of Sa Huỳnh and Champa sites.

According to the archaeologists (Glover & Nguyễn Kim Dung 2011), the 2002 excavation conducted by a joint Vietnamese, Japanese and English team yielded many complete and fragmentary ovoid jars, a mass of roof tiles of Chinese types, broken glazed and unglazed high-fired Han Chinese vessels, one with a Chinese *Wu Zhu* coin-stamp design, several triangular-section bronze crossbow bolt heads, a bronze dagger or knife guard, a few glass beads and glass waste, iron hooks and two *erdang* ear ornaments — one of blue glass, the other of stone — as well as high-fired geometric and textile-impressed jars, and local, Sa Huỳnh or Sa Huỳnh-derived low-fired ceramic vessels.

The burnt timber building. The excavation revealed substantial timbers of a large burnt wooden building, extending over 13 × 7.8 m, covering an area of over 100 m². They included more than 63 carbonised floor planks, remains of 16 wooden posts and a row 1.6 m long of small stakes marking wall ends embedded in a mass of burnt clay thought to be from wall daubing. Together with these remains, there were bronze crossbow bolt heads, glass and metal waste, iron slag waste and iron bloom, roofing tiles and local pottery.

This is an important discovery, for vestiges of houses are rarely discovered in Vietnam. According to archaeologists who worked at Gò Cẩm, these findings evidence “the remains of what might conceivably be the oldest wooden house in Southeast Asia” (Glover & Nguyễn Kim Dung 2011: 77).

At the same time, we should note that similar vestiges have been reported in northern Vietnam. The remains of a timber structure with roof tiles were found near the clinic at Mộng Bản village, Duy Tiên district, Hà Nam province. There, 19 wooden pillars were uncovered, plugged vertically in the earth; a wooden latch and some wooden floor planks were also found. The roof tiles were made by using moulds, in the same way as the tiles found at Gò Cẩm; cord markings were observed on their upper sides and vestiges of imprinted cloth on their lower sides. The site's archaeologists concluded that these were the remains of a wooden building with a tiled roof and dated them to around the beginning of the Christian era (Tam Mai 2000).

Results of the 2005 excavation

At Gò Cẩm, a test pit (05GCTS1) was opened beside the concrete road leading to Thôn Tư hamlet, about 83 m north of the burnt timber building. The pit measured 2 m². The following stratigraphy was observed (see Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung 2007):

- Ground cover: from the surface layer to layer 2 (50 cm thick), some small pieces of fine hard pottery were found, as well as broken roof tiles with imprinted cloth marks on their inner side.

- Cultural strata: cultural vestiges began to appear from a depth of 50 cm. On the surface of layer 3, there was a hard dense layer consisting of small pieces of burnt soil and broken tiles; this layer was probably tightly pressed. Under this layer, a large quantity of burnt rice was found: rice found here included large round grains and small long grains. In layer 4, burnt rice was also found, along with coarse sandy pottery and one sandstone rectangular block with four polished sides and, on one of its sides, the vestiges of a red mineral used in making pottery or perhaps in conducting some sort of ritual. One dark blue glass Indo-Pacific bead and some glass fragments were also detected.

In layer 5, there were few potsherds but still a large quantity of burnt rice. We may say that layers 3–5 mainly contained burnt rice and coarse pottery.

The basal layer: yellow sand, at a depth of 1 m.

Another test pit (also measuring 2 m²) opened in the Gò Cẩm area yielded similar results to test pit 1.

New accelerator mass spectrometry dating

Several accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS, i.e. ¹⁴C) dates were obtained from Gò Cẩm site, as follows:

AMS dates from 2001–2002 excavations (Glover, Nguyễn Kim Dung & Prior 2005: Table 3)

HKN-130 (GC,01 H2F5 Tr6); 2215+/-60 BP or 395–211 BCE

HKN-131 (GC,01 H2 B4 Tr1); 2065+/-65 BP or 349 BCE–CE 73

Beta-143499 (GC,00 H1 L4 C2&3); 2140+/-60 BP or 375–30 BCE

Beta-143500 (GC,00 H1 L3 C3); 2330+/- 60 BP or 525–350 BCE

Four charcoal samples dated at two laboratories gave 2-sigma calibrated radiocarbon dates that range from 755 BCE to 73 CE, but these include a significant 'old wood factor' since the planks and posts must have been cut from substantial trees, old at the time of felling (Glover & Nguyễn Kim Dung, 2011: 75–76).

AMS dates at Gò Cẩm (Yi *et al.* 2004)

SNU 03-618 (GC,01 H2 F5 [2/1]): 2,060+/-40 BP or 80 CE

SNU 03-619 (GC,01 H2 F5 Pole6): 1,960+/-30 BP or 50 CE

SNU 03-598 (GC,01 H2 a5): 2,000 +/-40 BP or 10 CE (at 40–60 cm depth)

SNU 03-599 (GC,01 H3 L3 a2): 4,760+/-80 BP or 3,670/3,410 BCE (at 100 cm depth)

If we set aside sample SNU 03-599, three of the samples yield results close to the age suggested by the excavated artefacts, but still a little too early. The old wood factor may account for this discrepancy (Glover & Nguyễn Kim Dung 2011: 76).

AMS dates from two burnt rice grains in the 2005 test pit at Gò Cẩm (05GC TS1)

Sample IAAA-113204 (05GC TS1): 1930+/-30 BP

Sample IAAA-113205 (05GC TS1): 1950+/-30 BP

These sampled also yielded results close to the age suggested by the excavated artefacts.

In all, six dates around 100 CE were obtained: 1930+/-30 BP; 1950+/-30 BP; 1960+/-30 BP; 2000 +/-40 BP; 2065+/-65 BP; 2060+/-40 BP.

The lowest cultural layer of the two test pits opened at Gò Cẩm in 2005 was not contemporary with Sa Huỳnh culture. Although several fragments of Sa Huỳnh pottery were identified in the cultural layers, these potsherds were found alongside early fine Cham pottery and Han-style pottery, which were not found at Thôn Tư (the Sa Huỳnh habitation site near Gò Cẩm). Based on the artefacts and stratigraphy, I argue that Gò Cẩm's lowest layer was of slightly later date than Sa Huỳnh and reflected the transitional nature of the period from the 1st to 2nd centuries CE. The pottery in Gò Cẩm's lowest layer shows some continuity with Sa Huỳnh pottery, at the same time as it reflects a process of integration of exogenous factors leading to the formation of new cultural structure. I also think that Gò Cẩm was not only a habitation site but played a special role as an intermediate centre connecting the upper and lower river valleys. Some relation may have existed between the burning of the wooden building and its rice and certain political and social events of Jinan prefecture, as recorded in ancient annals. Was Gò Cẩm the control point or headquarters of Jinan prefecture?

Trà Kiệu

Some materials from the Trà Kiệu excavations have already been published (Southworth 2004; Nguyễn Kim Dung 2005; Yamagata 2005; Glover & Nguyễn Kim Dung 2011; Yamagata 2011). I will focus here on the results of a 2003 excavation at Trà Kiệu citadel's southern wall, as well as the 1990 Trà Kiệu excavation (these excavations were carried out by the University of Hanoi, now the University of Social Sciences and Humanities, VNU, Hanoi).

The 1990 Hanoi University excavation

In 1990, a pit was opened at the northeast terrace of Bửu Châu hill with a total area of 13.5 m².

The cultural strata (2.70 m thick) were fairly intact and may be divided into two layers or periods (Nguyễn Chiểu *et al.* 1991):

– The Upper Layer (1.40–1.60 m thick) was identified as extending from excavated layers 3 to 13, with artefacts concentrated in layers 7 to 13. In the lower layers, the excavation revealed an abundance of animal bones and teeth, charcoal, bricks and roof tiles with grooved lines (different from roof tiles with textile impressions on the concave surface and cord-marked impressions on the convex surface). There were large quantities of coarse sandy and fine pottery, with vessels used for daily living and ritual purposes, including jars, vases, pots, bowls, dishes, cups, footed cups, covers and *kendis*. In the lowest part of this layer, many architectural materials and decorative elements were uncovered. Coarse pottery continued to be present but fine pottery increased both in quantity and types. On some of the fine potsherds, the archaeologists identified symbols similar to those found on pottery from the Đại Lai and Tam Thọ kilns in northern Vietnam. A small quantity of glazed and hard pottery (Han and Six Dynasties style), as well as Sui and Tang ceramic items, was found in this layer. Vestiges of iron making were recognised at a depth of 1.25 m.

– The Lower Layer (0.70–0.90 m thick) was identified as extending from layer 14 down to the basal layer. A cluster of bronze and iron slag was concentrated in an area of 2 m² in the southwest corner of the excavated pit; elephant remains were found in the southeast corner. This layer was disturbed in some places by the construction of foundations for buildings in the upper layer. At the basal layer, a set of artefacts was discovered consisting of several big stones and many ovoid jars, fragments of coarse pottery (bowls, dishes, pots, covers, footed bowls and cups, stoves) and fragments of fine and hard pottery (Eastern Han style). Regarding architectural materials, roof tiles with textile impressions on the concave surface and cord-marked impressions on the convex surface were predominant.

The 1990 and 2003 Hanoi University excavations of Trà Kiệu citadel's southern wall

The 1990 excavation of the southern wall (Nguyễn Chiếu *et al.* 1991) yielded evidence of the building technique used in the citadel's construction. The wall was built with an earth core; both the outer and inner sides of the wall were then lined with brick, not only the outer side as previously believed (Lê Đình Phụng 1991: 232). The wall's base was reinforced with stones.

In 2003, a pit measuring 5 × 10 m was opened and confirmed the results of the 1990 excavation: the earth core was built carefully by mixing sand with clay to avoid splitting.

The citadel's southern wall was not built once: the structure of the paved bricks indicates that it was built and rebuilt at least three times.

Information about building techniques was obtained, but little data allowing the establishment of a date for the wall. Artefacts found in the two excavation seasons included undiagnostic potsherds, building materials and architectural elements such as bricks, end-tiles and roof tiles.

Bricks: Bricks were found of an average dimension 37 cm long, 9 cm wide, 9 cm thick and colour varying from red to grey.

Roof tiles: Tiles with grooved lines outside were uncovered; these were predominant in the upper layer. Some tiles bore symbols similar to those found on fine pottery jars and *kendis*. The manufacturing technique of the roof tiles and bricks showed some similarity to techniques of fine pottery production.

Eaves tiles: Some end-tiles with human faces were uncovered. These end-tiles were similar to those found at Ruộng Đồng Cao (Hội An, Quảng Nam); Trà citadel (Bình Định) (Lê Đình Phụng 2004: 779); Cổ Lũy (Quảng Ngãi); Hồ citadel (Phú Yên); Tam Thọ kiln (Thanh Hóa), Luy Lâu (Bắc Ninh). This kind of end-tile has been dated from the Early Six Dynasties period, in the late 3rd century (He 2003).¹

Pottery: Both coarse and fine fabric potsherds were uncovered. It is worth noting the existence of coarse black pottery with a thin red slip, which was also uncovered in the Lower and Upper Layers of Cổ Lũy site in Quảng Ngãi.

All these materials belong to the period from the 3rd century to the 6th–7th centuries CE: no artefact earlier or later than these dates was found. After comparison with materials excavated at other Champa sites, the artefacts uncovered at the southern wall were found to be similar to artefacts found in the Upper Layers of Bửu Châu and Hoàn Châu excavations at Trà Kiệu, and the Upper Layers at Cổ Lũy and Thành Hồ.

Based on comparative research on archaeological materials and ancient annals, I argue that the wall was built around the 3rd to 4th centuries CE and rebuilt several times later.

1. The author is grateful to Mariko Yamagata for the sending the article by He Yunao, to Dang Hong Son for translation into Vietnamese. For more detailed information about these end-tiles see Yamagata 2011: 95–96.

Overview of the cultural evolution of Trà Kiệu

Comparative studies and typological analysis led us to interpretations and conclusions about the formation and development of Trà Kiệu as the most important archaeological complex in Champa.

Upper Cultural Layer

This layer generally coincided with the Upper Hoàn Châu layer, in the joint Vietnamese, Japanese and English excavations (see Yamagata 2011: 89, and the chapter by Yamagata, Nguyễn Kim Dung & Bùi Chí Hoàng in this volume). The average thickness of this layer is about 1 m. In some places it is about 2 m thick, for example in the area of Bửu Châu hill excavated in 1990 by Hanoi University. Many natural and manmade factors affected the structure and character of the cultural content in this layer. Architectural features were found from different periods; there was evidence of flooding and human activity such as war, agriculture and house construction.

In terms of their material, type and function, the artefacts were diverse. They included building materials, architectural elements, decorative elements, coarse fabric pottery, fine fabric pottery, glazed ceramics and stoneware. By comparison with the lower layer, coarse pottery was on the decrease. The fine fabric pottery wares and roof tiles were marked with signs and symbols that demonstrate similarities between pottery making techniques in northern and central Vietnam. Other artefacts included bronze fragments, iron slag, glass beads and gold jewellery.

The bricks, tiles and other architectural and decorative elements used in the construction of political, religious and social buildings during this period reflect an intensive process of integration and adaptation of exogenous elements.

Lower Cultural Layer

This layer generally coincides with the Lowest and Lower Hoàn Châu Layers in the joint Vietnamese, Japanese and English excavations (Yamagata 2011: 89). The average thickness of this layer is about 0.40–0.50 m. In a trench at Bửu Châu hill excavated in 1990 by Hanoi University this layer is about 0.70 m thick. The soil is softer than in the Upper Layer and contained charcoal, animal bones and various artefacts, including coarse and less coarse fabric pottery, glass Indo-Pacific beads and gold fragments. The Lower Layer was disturbed in several places by buildings belonging to the Upper Layer.

In the Lower Layer, the possible existence of wooden buildings was identified. These were covered with tiles bearing textile impressions on their concave surfaces or other organic materials. The buildings may have had administrative, political or communal functions; no clear vestiges of religious structures were found in this layer.

Most of the pottery in the Lower Layer was made with coarse and less coarse fabric. Big pots were found, many decorated with comb marks and a smaller quantity decorated with fine cord marks. Ornaments, covers, bowls, dishes and lamps with flat bottoms or high feet were also found in abundance. The most important pottery type in this layer was the ovoid jar. This kind of jar is found not only at Trà Kiệu and Gò Cẩm but also in other provinces of central Vietnam. These jars appeared and existed for a short time and then suddenly disappeared. Our questions about their origin and function remain unanswered.

To summarise, the cultural characteristics of the early habitation phase at Trà Kiệu reflects an acculturation process linking previous Sa Huỳnh factors with the arrival of new factors from the outside world, mainly from Han China (Late Western and Early Eastern Han). Regarding the dating, the Lower Layer dates from the mid 1st century CE to the end of the 3rd century CE, while the Upper Layer dates from the 4th century CE.

The significance of archaeological discoveries at Trà Kiệu and other sites in the Thu Bồn valley for studies of Champa history and culture

Evidence from the excavations at Trà Kiệu and other Early Champa and Champa sites in Hội An town and Duy Xuyên district (Quảng Nam) shows a continuous cultural process extending from the 1st century to the 10th century CE. I focus here on the chronology, in order to identify turning points in the evolution from late prehistory to early history in the Thu Bồn valley (Table 2):

- i. Earliest period — Prehistoric Sa Huỳnh: Gò Mã Vôi, An Bang and Lai Nghi cemeteries.
- ii. Early period — Gò Cẩm Lower and Upper Layers; Lowest Hoàn Châu/Trà Kiệu Layer; Hồ Điều Hòa Lower Layer.²
- iii. Middle period — Lower Hoàn Châu/Trà Kiệu Layer; Ruộng Đồng Cao; Đồng Nà; Hậu Xá I settlement Lower Layer.
- iv. Late period — Trà Kiệu Upper Layer, Hậu Xá I settlement Upper Layer, Bãi Làng site (Chàm island, Hội An town, Quảng Nam province), Nam Thổ Sơn site (Ngũ Hành Sơn, Đà Nẵng city).

The period of establishment of Linyi and Linyi-like polities coincides with Trà Kiệu Lower Layer, Gò Cẩm Upper Layer, Hậu Xá I settlement Lower Layer and Hồ Điều Hòa site.

The stratigraphy reflects a continuous cultural flow from the 5th century BCE to the 10th century CE and later (see Reinecke, Nguyễn Chiêu & Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung 2002: 212 and fig. 125). Several turning points in this flow, moments of cultural transition, may be detected, as follows:

- i. A transition to early history, in the phase from the 1st century BCE to the 1st century CE.
- ii. A transition to history, with state formation, from the 2nd century CE, with the establishment of Linyi and Linyi-like polities in the 3rd century CE.
- iii. A transition from Linyi and Linyi-like polities to Champa in the 5th and 6th centuries CE.

Trà Khúc river valley

The Cổ Lũy-Phú Thọ mountain area had previously been surveyed by Henri Parmentier. A lintel and Nandin sculpture were discovered at Bàn Cờ mountain. A Viṣṇu image on the lintel was found to be similar to an image discovered in Temple E1 at Mỹ Sơn. Parmentier also described the vestiges of Cổ Lũy citadel and expressed his belief that this was an outpost of Châu Sa (Parmentier 1909: 234–235).

At Cổ Lũy site (Nghĩa Phú commune, Quảng Ngãi city) two trenches were excavated in 1998 and 2004 respectively. In the 1998 trench, opened by the provincial museum, archaeologists identified two cultural layers, the lower belonging to Iron Age Sa Huỳnh culture, the upper containing Champa architectural remains dating from the 3rd to 7th centuries CE (Đoàn Ngọc Khôi 1998).

The 2004 excavation was led by myself. It covered an area of 50 m² (Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung, Đặng Hồng Sơn & Đoàn Ngọc Khôi 2005) and revealed a cultural stratum measuring about 1.40–1.50 m, containing two cultural layers, as follows:

- i. The Early Cultural Layer is 0.70 m thick, and consisted of six excavated layers: layer 9 to layer 14. No vestiges of brick and tile constructions were found. Some evidence of human activity was identified, however, including fireplaces and holes like pole holes. Based on the ceramic evidence, this layer may be dated from the late 1st century to the 3rd century CE.

2. Note that some controversy remains in the dating of layers categorised here as belonging to the early and middle periods, owing to divergent readings of the ¹⁴C and artefact data.

Regarding the artefacts, domestic ware made of coarse fabric pottery predominated. The bowls and dishes are fairly similar to those from Gò Cẩm, Trà Kiệu Lower Layer or Thành Hồ (Phú Hòa district, Phú Yên province) Lower Layer. A small number of small fine fabric potsherds were found, as well as glass Indo-Pacific beads, gold beads, polishing stone and spindle whorls.

ii. The Later Cultural Layer is 0.80 m thick, and contained the remains of two architectural phases. This layer may be dated to the 3rd–7th centuries CE.

The artefacts include construction and architectural materials: bricks, roof tiles with grooved lines and end-tiles decorated with human faces and floral motifs. Domestic earthenware of coarse fabric showed similarities with objects unearthed from the lower layer: they were fewer in quantity but much more diverse in type, including pots with spherical and carinated bodies, dishes, jars with flat bottoms or short foot rings. Decorated patterns were fine and coarse, marked with cord, comb and incised waves.

The fine fabric pottery includes ritual ware and tableware consisting of vases, *kendis*, high-footed cups, stoves and covers. A small quantity of hard stamped (Han-style) pottery and Six Dynasties glazed pottery was found in this layer.

Between the two layers, there was a thick level of burnt soil level and a thick level of sand (excavated layer 9). All the vestiges of the early architectural phase were found above the burnt soil, so the early architectural constructions can be dated to after the formation of the burnt soil level.

The function of the architectural features was not identified because of the limited area excavated. End-tiles (mainly with human face decorations) were uncovered in a later architectural phase, located in excavated layer 1 through to layer 4.

Cổ Lũy is an important archaeological complex, located on high terraces in this river estuary area near the sea. The complex contained various functional units, including ones for residential, religious and political purposes. It is possible that Cổ Lũy served as the administrative and political centre of a Linyi-like polity. There was a close relationship between the various sites, especially during the first half of the first millennium CE.

Đà Rằng river valley

Thành Hồ citadel site is located in Đình Thọ hamlet, Hòa Định Đông commune, Phú Hòa district, Phú Yên, on the northern bank of the Đà Rằng river, about 15 km from the river mouth.

Surveys and excavations have been carried out at Thành Hồ, although most of the data gathered there have not been reported. Here I offer a brief introduction of the initial results.

The earliest habitation vestiges

During 2001 fieldwork led by the Department of Archaeology, University of Social Sciences and Humanities (Vietnam National University, Hanoi), vestiges of early settlement were discovered at Thành Hồ. The remains were contemporary with the Lower Layer of the Cổ Lũy site (Quảng Ngãi). The pottery assemblage found here is similar to that unearthed at other Early Champa and Champa sites in the Hội An and Duy Xuyên areas (Quảng Nam). At a place called Thổ Đạo near the citadel's east wall, the archaeological team collected many potsherds of coarse and fine fabric including stoves, vases, *kendis* and jars.

Excavations carried out in 2003 by the Institute of Archaeology (Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Hanoi) and in 2008–2009 by the University of Social Sciences and Humanities (Vietnam National University, Ho Chi Minh City) provided much more data (Lê Đình Phụng & Phạm Văn Triệu 2004; Đặng Văn Thắng *et al.* 2010). The 2003 excavation revealed the remains of seven brick buildings. Inside one building, with a square platform and a water canal, a *kendi* was found *in situ*. The archaeological team concluded that this had a religious or ritual meaning.

Artefacts unearthed in 2003 were predominantly architectural materials, including bricks, tiles with grooved lines and stamped decorations, end-tiles with human, animal and floral decorations, and other architectural elements that were found in abundance at the Trà Kiệu, Bình Lâm (Tuy Phước district, Bình Định province) and Cổ Lũy sites. The archaeologists dated this assemblage to the 5th–7th centuries CE.

The 2003 excavation also yielded data about the technique used in the construction of the citadel's wall: evidence gathered in the excavated pit at the north wall showed that the technique was similar to that used in building the south wall at Trà Kiệu.

During the 2008 and 2009 excavations, vestiges of a *maṇḍapa* building were discovered, as well as the remains of a kind of road and a kiln for the manufacture of pottery. The artefact assemblage bore similarities with that of 2003, and included pottery spindle whorls and pottery net sinkers (Đặng Văn Thắng *et al.* 2010).

Lê Đình Phụng, who led the 2003 excavation, argues that Thành Hồ was built during Champa's early period, that it was of large dimensions and may have served as the centre of an Early Champa polity (or *maṇḍala*). Thành Hồ was thus equivalent to Trà Kiệu (Lê Đình Phụng & Phạm Văn Triệu 2004).

Based on fieldwork and comparative study of the artefacts, I believe that the dates proposed by the archaeologists (5th–7th centuries CE) relate to the fortifications (walls). The brick architectural features (roofs with tiles bearing grooved line or stamped decorations on the convex side) show that, like Trà Kiệu, Thành Hồ citadel's habitation stratum was of earlier date, and may be dated to the 2nd century CE. The manufacture and use of end-tiles with human decorations at Thành Hồ citadel leads me to date buildings with this kind of end-tile from the 4th century CE onwards.

2. Interpretations

In central Vietnam, over a period of ten centuries starting before and continuing well beyond the beginning of the common era, evidence for considerable change in all aspects of material and spiritual culture has emerged from the study of several archaeological sites and a large quantity of artefacts, as well as the events recorded in ancient annals (Table 3).

From an archaeological point of view, I focus on two points: economic development, viewed through the manufacture of pottery; and socio-political structure, with the formation of early states.

Economic development — pottery manufacture

Pottery found in the archaeological sites mentioned above may be divided into three groups. 1. Pottery of local manufacture; 2. pottery that was made locally but under direct or indirect influence from elsewhere, including northern Vietnam, China and India; and 3. imported pottery.

Pottery in groups 1 and 2 was made by local people and includes pottery with specific functions: ovoid jars; roof tiles with textile impressions; domestic tableware and ritual pottery such as pots, jars, vases, bowls, cups, footed bowls, containers, bottles, stoves; architectural elements and building materials such as roof tiles, end-tiles and bricks.

In Champa's early period, bowls of small and medium dimensions, lamp-dishes, stoves, high-footed cups and large bodied pots were predominant. Cord-marked pottery was replaced with comb-marked pottery.

The presence of pottery with specific functions is worth emphasising. This kind of pottery — with the exception of ovoid jars and roof tiles with textile impressions — was in continuous manufacture and use during Champa's later period. The appearance of new types of pottery made with advanced technology and new patterns of distribution was closely related to the emergence of

new social and economic structures. Many factors contributed to these social and political transformations, the most important of which are the introduction of new religions and the formation of states.

The raw material for Champa pottery production was red clay, obtained at the place where the pottery was produced. Before the 10th century, Champa pottery was of the red or slightly yellow type, and was made in two qualities: coarse and fine. The pottery texture was usually mixed with sand or plant residues.

From the analysis of the firing temperature of some pottery samples, it emerges that most pottery was heated using open-air firing techniques: the firing temperature was not high, the pottery was unstable, the calcination temperature was usually under 800° C. The heating fuel was mainly soft vegetation, which provided low heat; the pottery was thus unevenly fired and of heterogeneous colour. However, even though they were not fired at high temperatures, the surface of some end-tiles, tiles and architectural decorations was evenly coloured and similar to the products of some kilns in northern Vietnam during the same period.

Examination of Champa pottery and clay samples shows that the choice of clay raw materials and its exploitation to make pottery differed from the previous (Sa Huỳnh) period. Analysis was made of the mineral components in four clay samples taken from the Thu Bồn river basin (two samples in the area of Điện Bàn district in Quảng Nam, one sample in the Trà Kiệu area, one sample at Ruộng Đồng Cao site in Hội An) and fifteen Champa pottery samples. The results showed similarities in the mineral composition between the clay and pottery in the archaeological sites in the same area; river sediments showed that Champa potters made use of the clay available in the ancient alluvial terrace along the Thu Bồn river, concentrated in the Điện Bàn and Hội An region. The clay was dug from a depth of 1–3 m, so its quality was quite high. Observed with the naked eye, it is clear that Champa ceramics have a solid body and are smoother than Sa Huỳnh ceramics. The results of analysis of their firing temperature showed that although the Champa ceramic samples were not fired with high temperatures (about 500–700 °C), the heating incubation period might have been long.

The proportion of mineral composition remaining in the fifteen pottery Champa samples was just over 50%, suggesting that some substances were lost during heating, and thus that the Champa potters added a certain amount of non-plastic substances to the clay (Nguyễn Anh Thư & Trần Thị Sáu 2011). During the Champa period, the technological improvement was thus not just a matter of better exploitation and handling of raw materials: the clay was washed and filtered to remove impurities and mixed with other additives, making pottery of high quality, fine texture and strong colour that was easy to shape, and had the further practical benefit of a relatively low firing temperature, which required no complicated specialised kiln and consumed less fuel.

The appearance of many diverse types of pottery and its presence at many places in different areas reflects an increase in demand for pottery. It is likely that early Champa pottery was produced in households, but later, in response to the growing demand, large production zones emerged in the delta areas (of Quảng Nam, Quảng Ngãi and Phú Yên) and along the major rivers (Thu Bồn, Trà Khúc and Đà Rằng), to meet the needs of building the political/economic/cultural centre of each region. The huge quantities of pottery discovered reflects this development: increasing demand for its use, together with the development of economic and social life, led to the emergence of these pottery production centres, which did not only meet the demand for its use in social contexts, but also religious needs. There were the solid basic premises on which the later outstanding development of the Champa potteries were based, allowing them to compete with other pottery lines in the region at the same time.

One particularly important question is the relationship between craft specialisation and social/political development.

Landmark changes in pottery manipulation from the 1st–2nd centuries BCE included the introduction from the north (Eastern Han) of tile processing techniques and then bricks, along with the use of soft smooth and hard clay materials, in which the clay was thoroughly filtered. Pottery types underwent a remarkable change from the main type of tomb pottery produced during the Sa Huỳnh stage to the household, architectural and religious ceramics of the later periods: all of these met many different needs of individual and community life. However, while pottery in central Vietnam received new techniques at this stage (directly from China or through northern Vietnam), there was scarcely any development of high-fired glazed ceramics. Champa pottery types had obviously local features, some inherited from the Sa Huỳnh period, some arising from new needs, yet there was hardly any pottery characteristic of the Han type, as it emerged in northern Vietnam, except for some Hou-shaped jars and geometric-imprinted vases.

In Champa pottery from the early to late periods, the evolution of different types in different places may be observed to follow a tendency towards design simplification and monotony — or standardisation — of type. This suggests that there may have been a degree of specialisation and concentration in the manufacture of pottery, especially with respect to certain types of architectural material and decorative element used for religious/ritual buildings. Objects of this type — tube end-tiles and end-tile decorations — were produced according to some sort of standard. They are found in widely separated locations (Trà Kiệu, in Quảng Nam; Cổ Lũy, in Quảng Ngãi; Thành Hồ, in Phú Yên), yet share common characteristics in terms of manufacturing technique, pattern and design.

The popularity and compatibility of coarse and fine clay pottery in distant locations in Champa shows that in addition to household or small-scale production, concentrated production centres must have existed, serving the needs of public construction projects, especially after the 3rd century CE. Most of those production sites must have been managed and run by government agencies in each region.

In the late period (after the 4th century), the standardisation of type and processing technique among building and architectural materials (such as pipe tiles, bricks and tiles) reflects a certain consistency between the economic/political centres of the polities of the early state and then of the developed state, as they took shape after the 1st century CE.

The production and distribution of pottery (of different types) played an important role in the history of Champa's politics and economy. Compared with the previous period, Champa pottery underwent remarkable development. The origins of this boom lay in the Sa Huỳnh tradition of pottery production; then, in the course of its history, Champa pottery production developed its own creative features and received features from elsewhere. These features integrated, giving Champa ceramics at this stage the impetus to develop to a higher level, as high as other production centres in the region. Pottery products were made not only to meet domestic needs, but also to exchange with other countries in the region. Ceramic production took on an economic role of great importance in the life of the Cham people.

It is worth noting that archaeological artefacts from the sites and those stored in private collections also contain evidence of the development of other crafts (manufacture of iron, glass and stone objects) during the first millennium in central Vietnam.

Socio-political structure — establishment of early states

In terms of political structure, the transformation from prehistoric to historic society was not accidental or sudden, but gradual. The transitional process began with the development of Sa Huỳnh culture through three phases. In the final Sa Huỳnh phase, a pattern of accumulation of power for the establishment of states may be observed at several sites, such as Lai Nghi, Gò Dừa and Bình

Yên in Quảng Nam, and Hòa Diêm in Khánh Hòa (see Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung 2011: 43–46). So the transformation to a state political model was, in the first instance, a response to internal needs.

However, the dynamics which forced this transformation came from outside. Moreover, there were several factors, not only one. Firstly, the formation of states was a global process that included large parts of Southeast Asia. Secondly, there were many migrations of people. Thirdly, there was an intensive propaganda of religions and political theories. Among these exogenous factors, it is not easy to detect which played the most important role but I tend to believe that the political factor played a very considerable role in the formation of early states in central Vietnam.

In this transitional period to early states, a complete transformation in socio-political structure took place and this is reflected, first and foremost, in people's mentalities. It may be observed through examination of funeral rites. The funeral tradition of jar burial, widely distributed during the previous period, now completely disappeared, and did so in a very short space of time. The decline of this funeral rite may be explained by the people's acceptance of a new religion and the arrival of new groups of people. No clear evidence of the introduction of Buddhism and Hinduism to central Vietnam in the early phase (1st–2nd centuries CE) has yet come to light, and we will need to pay more attention to traces of exogenous religious culture.

A factor that impacted strongly on early state formation, marking this process in central Vietnam and quite different from that experienced in southern Vietnam and insular Southeast Asia, was the influence of the Eastern Han China authority in Jinan prefecture during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. While the first states in central Vietnam emerged on the basis of Sa Huỳnh chiefdoms, they were also strongly affected by outside political powers such as Han China.³

We may imagine the process of formation of early states in central Vietnam in the following terms.

Along with the immigration of people from other places,⁴ political pressure from China and contacts with South Asia, internal developments led to the crystallisation and constitution of political and economic power which means the emergence of states. In ecological terms, these early states relied on the socio-political spaces occupied by the previous Sa Huỳnh chiefdoms: in both the chiefdoms and the early states, coastal and riverine exchange networks played a central role.⁵ At least three or four socio-political centres have been identified so far, located on the main rivers (Huong, Thu Bồn, Trà Khúc and Đà Rằng).

The standardisation of techniques of manufacture and decoration, and the typological similarity of architectural/construction materials and domestic/ritual pottery unearthed at different sites may be understood in two ways. On the one hand, they reflect the similarity in material and spiritual culture between the communities that inhabited central Vietnam during early history; on the other, they demonstrate the multiple connections that linked north and south at the same time.

All historic cities and citadels emerged on the basis of earlier communities and inherited the many cultural achievements of prehistoric and protohistoric peoples. This phenomenon is common in Southeast Asia. We can see this at Angkor Borei and other sites (Stark 1998: 189–195).

3. Some articles have been written by Vietnamese scholars in Vietnamese on the important role of the Han Authority in central Vietnam and its impact on the formation of early states. See Trần Quốc Vương, 2002; Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung 2000.

4. During the first centuries CE, there were large movements of people on the continents of Asia and Europe.

5. A number of articles focus on this topic, the most recent being Southworth 2011.

	Site	Cultural layer	Date	Nature
1	Cồn Chùa, Lâm Xuân, Gio Mai, Gio Linh, Quảng Trị	Lower	Bàu Tró culture	Late Neolithic and Early Metal Age settlement.
		Upper	Champa	Coarse and fine pottery, bearing similarities with these found in upper cultural layer of Trà Kiệu site.
2	Hóa Châu cita- del, Thủy Xuân and Thủy Biều villages, and Quảng Điền, Huế	Lower	9th–10th centuries	The vestiges of Champa habitation sites and probably Champa citadel, recognised by the existence of many Cham bricks and stone sculptures. Champa pottery was found along with Chinese ceramics from 7th–10th centuries, Champa pottery from Hóa Châu site are closely similar to pot- tery uncovered at Bãi Làng landing in Cù Lao Chàm Islands, Quảng Nam.
		Upper	Trần dynasty and later	Pottery, bricks and tiles related to Hóa Châu citadel during Trần dynasty.
3	Lôi citadel, Huế, Thừa Thiên Huế		4th century	Fragments of Champa roof tiles with grooved lines, fine pottery similar to Upper Layer of Trà Kiệu. Vestiges of brick walls.
4	Nam Thổ Sơn, Ngũ Hành Sơn, Đà Nẵng	Habitation site on sand dune, near river	10th–12th centuries	Coarse and fine pottery along with Tang and Song ceramics, Islam pottery and glass wares. The site was buried under 12m of sand.
5	Vườn Đình Khuê Bắc, Ngũ Hành Sơn, Đà Nẵng	Upper layer Habitation site on sand dune, near river	1st–3rd centuries	Fragments of ovoid jar, roof tiles with textile impression on the concave surface and cord- marked impression on the convex surface. Fine pottery with fragments of jar and <i>kendi</i> , “Wu Shu” coins from Eastern Han.
6	Hậu Xá I, Cẩm Hả, Hội An, Quảng Nam	Lower	late 1st century to early 4th century	Greyish coarse fabric pottery, hard Eastern Han stamped pottery. “Hou” jars and bronze artefacts in shape of “Buddhidruma” leaf.
		Upper	4th–10th centuries	Coarse and fine fabric pottery, Tang ceramic, Islam pottery.

Table 1. — Champa sites during the 1st Millennium CE.

	Site	Cultural layer	Date	Nature
7	Hậu Xá II, Cẩm Hà, Hội An, Quảng Nam	Accident Discovery March 1998	reflected Han – Sa Huỳnh – Early Cham relations	Fine stamped pottery jar contains grave goods — nephrite split earrings; glass comma shaped ornaments; carnelian and agate beads. Grave pottery is typical Sa Huỳnh in styles and decoration, but the cover in form of Vietnamese traditional hat (<i>nón</i>) is new brand.
8	Đồng Nà, Cẩm Hà, Hội An, Quảng Nam	Habitation site	3rd–4th centuries	Brick and pottery closely related to upper Trà Kiệu layer.
9	Ruộng Đồng Cao, Cẩm Phô, Hội An, Quảng Nam	Habitation site	3rd–4th centuries	Intact cultural layer with the thickness of 0.30–0.40m. Settlement on the river terrace, the artefacts, mainly pottery reflected the genetic and spatial relations with other sites, which were earlier or contemporary such as Hậu Xá I-settlement, Đồng Nà, Trảng Sỏi, Trà Kiệu...
10	Hồ Điều Hòa, Chùa Cầu, Hội An, Quảng Nam	Habitation site	mid 1st to 4th–5th centuries	The site was revealed when Project of “Restoration of Chùa Cầu Relic” has been carried out. The artefacts were found in the cultural layer (dark soil), 0.50–1.00 m thick. One big ovoid jar and many fragments of other ovoid jars were uncovered along with fragments of pot, jar, dish, bowl, cover... There were yielded the pottery decorated with floral and animal motifs, which have not been recognised until now.
10	Gò Cẩm, Duy Trung, Duy Xuyên, Quảng Nam	Lower layer – Sa Huỳnh settlement (?)	until the beginning of 1st century BCE	Maybe related to Thôn Tư site — One Sa Huỳnh settlement located closely to Gò Cẩm.
		Upper layer – Early Champa settlement	mid 1st century to 3rd century	Vestiges of burnt timber construction covered with roof tiles with textile impression on the concave surface and cord-marked impression on the convex surface. Clusters of ovoid jars, coarse and fine fabric pottery, Han style pottery, burnt rice grains... No bricks, no end tiles.

Table 1. — Continued.

	Site	Cultural layer	Date	Nature
11	Trà Kiệu, Duy Sơn, Duy Xuyên, Quảng Nam	Lower Layer	mid or late 1st century to late 3rd century	<p>At basal layer — Ovoid jars.</p> <p>Timber constructions with roof tiles with textile impression on the concave surface and cord-marked impression on the convex surface.</p> <p>In production of coarse fabric pottery there were recognised some characteristics inherited from Sa Huỳnh coarse pottery, mainly in domestic wares.</p> <p>New types of pottery appeared and being in abundance, including stove, high-footed cup, hard stamped Han style pottery, fine fabric pottery.</p> <p>The first bricks ?</p>
		Upper Layer	from 4th century	<p>New style of roof tiles with grooved lines replaced these with textile impression on the concave surface and cord-marked impression on the convex surface which were in abundance in lower layer.</p> <p>Along roof tiles, various kinds of architectural elements were also yielded from this layer.</p> <p>Coarse and fine fabric pottery, Han style pottery, glazed ceramic and stoneware.</p> <p>Some types of pottery from lower layer disappeared such as ovoid jars and tile with textile impression, other were still in making and using such as stove, high footed cup, bowl, dish, pot...</p> <p>New types of pottery such as jar with spherical body, <i>kendi</i>, end tile with human and floral decorations...</p>
		Southern Wall	late 3rd century	<p>The wall was built by preparing at first the earthen core, the soil was mixed with sand perhaps to prevent cracking, then the earthen core was paved with bricks on outer and inner sides. During the time of using, the wall was being re-built and repaired several times.</p> <p>Artefacts: Bricks, roof tiles with grooved lines, end tiles with human decoration, coarse and fine fabric pottery.</p>

Table 1. — Continued.

	Site	Cultural layer	Date	Nature
12	Bãi Làng, Cù Lao Chàm Islands, Hội An, Quảng Nam	Habitation and landing site on the Silk Road on the Sea	9th–10th centuries	Champa coarse and fine fabric pottery, Tang and Islam ceramic, Islam glassware and beads. Indo-Pacific beads... Bãi Làng site was bearing the similarities with Laem Pho, Ko Kho Khao (South Thailand)...
13	Cổ Lũy/Phú Thọ, Tư Nghĩa, Quảng Ngãi (15°07'840"N, 108°53'116"E)	Lower layer – Early Champa habitation site	early 2nd century to early 4th century	Vestiges of habitation without remains of architectural constructions. Coarse pottery like the pottery of lower layer of Trà Kiệu, no ovoid jars and roof tiles with textile impression... Polish stones, Indo Pacific beads, fine fabric pottery.
		Upper layer with two architectural levels	4th–7th centuries	Early architecture contained bricks and roof tiles with grooved lines. Late architecture contained bricks and roof tiles with grooved lines, end tiles with human decoration.
14	Lý Sơn island, Quảng Ngãi	Habitation site	1st to 3rd/4th centuries	Ovoid jars, coarse and fine fabric pottery, Han style stamped pottery.
15	Núi Chồi, Sơn Tịnh, Quảng Ngãi	Kiln site	9th–10th centuries	Production centre with the small votive tablets.
16	Bình Lâm Temple, Tuy Phước, Bình Định (13°53'08"N, 109°11'19"E)	Early habitation site under temple complex	after 3rd century	Coarse and fine fabric pottery, end tiles with human and floral decorations, roof tile with grooved line and stamped square motifs. Artefact assemblage is closely related to materials found in Upper Layer of Trà Kiệu, Upper Layers of Cổ Lũy and Thành Hồ citadels.
17	Thành Hồ citadel, Hòa Định Đông, Phú Hòa, Phú Yên	Lower layer – Early Champa habitation site	early 3rd century to early 4th century	Vestiges of early habitation like Cổ Lũy site. There was one ¹⁴ C date AD 230 years (sample was taken from 2010 trench 1 from the depth of 1.79m).
		Fortification walls and other architectural constructions	5th–7th centuries	The assemblage of artefacts and architectural features is bearing similarities with those from Upper Layer of Trà Kiệu, Upper Layer of Cổ Lũy.
18	Rừng Long Thủy (Gò Bông Dầu), Phú Yên	Assemblage of surface collected artefacts	after 3rd century	

Table 1. — Continued.

	Site	Cultural characteristics	Date	Historical periods
1	Gò Mã Vôi Gò Miếu Ông	Jar burials, Sa Huỳnh culture	4th–1st centuries BCE	Early Iron Age
2	Thôn Tư	Habitation site, Sa Huỳnh culture	3rd–early 1st centuries BCE	Early Iron Age
3	Gò Cẩm	Early Champa site (Linyi, according to Yamagata)	mid 1st–2nd centuries CE	Jinan prefecture Period – Early Linyi?
4	Trà Kiệu Lower Layer	Early Champa site (Linyi, according to Yamagata)	mid or late 1st–late 3rd centuries CE	Jinan prefecture Period – Early Linyi – Linyi ?
5	Trà Kiệu Upper Layer	Champa site	4th century CE onwards	Linyi – Champa
6	Trà Kiệu fortified walls	Champa site	late 3rd century CE onwards	Linyi – Champa
7	Hậu Xá I	Early Champa and Champa site	late 1st–10th centuries CE	Linyi – Champa
8	Ruộng Đồng Cao	Early Champa site	3rd–4th centuries CE	Linyi
9	Hồ Điều Hòa – Chùa Cầu	Early Champa and Champa site	mid or late 1st–4th/5th centuries CE	Linyi – Champa
10	Hậu Xá II	Accidental discovery, March 1998	reflected relations between Han, Sa Huỳnh and early Champa; 1st century BCE–2nd centuries CE	Late Sa Huỳnh (Early Iron Age) – Jinan prefecture – Linyi
11	An Bang	Jar burials, Sa Huỳnh culture	3rd–1st centuries BCE	Late Sa Huỳnh (Early Iron Age)
12	Lai Nghi	Jar Burials, Sa Huỳnh culture	3rd century BCE–1st century CE	Late Sa Huỳnh (Early Iron Age) and Jinan prefecture

Table 2. — Chronology of sites in the Thu Bồn river valley.

	Date	Events recorded in the annals	Archaeological data	Notes
1	3rd century BCE	Unification of China, establishment of Tượng Quận (present-day northern and central Vietnam).	Developed phase of Sa Huỳnh culture.	
2	early 2nd century BCE	Triệu Đà (Zhaotuo) of Nam Việt (Nanyue) state divided Tượng Quận to form Giao Chi and Cửu Chân prefectures.	Developed phase of Sa Huỳnh culture; intensive contacts with China and the outside world.	
3	late 2nd century BCE	Han China rulers established Giao Chi/Jiaozhi, Cửu Chân and Nhật Nam/Jinan prefectures. Jinan had five districts: Lu Ding, Ti Cảnh, Châu Ngô, Tây Quyển and Tượng Lâm.	Existence of Western Han artefacts in Sa Huỳnh culture. Imported artefacts from South East Asia islands and South Asia.	According to <i>Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí</i> (the Vietnamese annals), Tượng Lâm district's southern border was present-day Phú Yên. According to Arousseau, Linyi city in Tượng Lâm district (Qin dynasty) was present-day Trà Kiệu.
4	Eastern Han	Mã Viện/Ma Yuan pacified Giao Chi and Cửu Chân/Jiuzhen prefectures (now Hà Tĩnh province).	Existence of ritual bronzes and bronze mirrors dated to the Late Western Han and Early Eastern Han in some Sa Huỳnh culture graves such as at Gò Dừa and Lai Nghi. Existence of gold and carnelian ornaments imported from West and South Asia in Sa Huỳnh culture cemeteries. Appearance of the first timber constructions roofed with tiles bearing textile impressions (mid 1st century CE).	Was there a phase in which Lai Nghi grave N.37 and Early Gò Cẩm Layer coincided? Jinan prefecture.
5	early 2nd century CE	2000 “barbarians” (local people) in Tượng Lâm district, Jinan prefecture rebelled against Chinese authority. After putting down the rebellion, the Eastern Han Authority left troops and commanders in Tượng Lâm district.	Lower Layer of Trà Kiệu; Lower Layers of Cổ Lũy, Thành Hồ; Lower Layer of Gò Cẩm.	From 3rd century CE, many rebellions against Chinese authority. Burnt buildings at Gò Cẩm, Trà Kiệu and Cổ Lũy/Phú Thọ sites?

Table 3. — Annals, Inscriptions and Archaeological Materials.

	Date	Events recorded in the annals	Archaeological data	Notes
6	137 CE	Kiu Lan (Khu Lân) against Trương Lâm district governors.	Lower Layer of Trà Kiệu, Lower Layers of Cổ Lũy, Thành Hồ.	
7	144	Rebellions.	Lower Layer of Trà Kiệu, Lower Layers of Cổ Lũy, Thành Hồ.	
8	157	Rebellions in Cửu Chân; rebels invaded Jinan.	Lower Layers of Trà Kiệu, Cổ Lũy, Thành Hồ.	The authority of the Eastern Han decreased.
9	192	Kiu Lien (Khu Liên) established Linyi state.	Lower Layer of Trà Kiệu, Lower Layers of Cổ Lũy, Thành Hồ.	
10	248	Linyi invaded Cửu Chân and Giao Chi, and captured Khu Túc citadel (the location of Khu Túc citadel is still under discussion: Quảng Bình province or Huế city?).	Lower Layer of Trà Kiệu, Lower Layers of Cổ Lũy, Thành Hồ.	
11	270–280	Kiu Lien's grandson Phạm Hùng (Fan Hiong) inherited power and made war with Giao Châu.		
12	4th century	Phạm Dật (Fan Yi) constructed fortifications and built up the army, helped by Phạm Văn (Fan Wen).	Upper Layer of Trà Kiệu, Upper Layers of Cổ Lũy/Phú Thọ and Thành Hồ.	Born in Giao Châu (315 CE), Fan Yi ran to China, then came to Linyi to help build palaces and citadels.
13	336	Fan Yi died, Fan Wen became king (336–420 CE) and led several wars against other states and Giao Châu.	Thành Lôi, Upper Layer of Trà Kiệu, Upper Layers of Cổ Lũy/Phú Thọ and Thành Hồ.	
14	380	Fan Fo's son (Phạm Phật) and Fan Wen's grandson (Phạm Văn) — King Bhadravarman I — built the first temple at Mỹ Sơn and made war with Giao Châu.		The turning point in Champa's history, marking increasing influence from India on Champa.

Table 3. — Continued.

	Date	Events recorded in the annals	Archaeological data	Notes
15	420	Phạm Dương Mại became king of Linyi. Tuệ Đổ invaded Linyi.		
16	421	Phạm Dương Mại paid tribute to the Chinese court and received the Noun King of Linyi.		He attacked and pillaged Giao Châu many times.
17	446	Đàn Hòa Chi attacked Linyi, burned and robbed Linyi's capital (present-day Trà Kiệu).	The burnt layers at Trà Kiệu site?	In the 5th and 6th centuries, Linyi did not attack the North.
18	6th century	The name Champa appears in ancient inscriptions.		
18	early 7th century	Lưu Phương attacked Linyi; the Sui dynasty pacified Linyi, dividing it into three districts (<i>châu</i>).		During the Sui, Linyi comprised present-day Quảng Bình, Quảng Trị and Thừa Thiên Huế.
19	Tang dynasty	Linyi's territory was the region from Quảng Bình southwards.		During the Sui and first half of the Tang, Linyi paid tribute to the Chinese court.
20	758	In the Chinese annals Linyi is called Hoàn Vương.		

Table 3. — Continued.

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Abbreviations

ANU	Australian National University
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BIPPA	<i>Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association</i>
BSEI	<i>Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises</i>
CM	<i>Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục</i> [The imperially ordered mirror and commentary on the history of the Việt]
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DNTLTB	<i>Đại Nam thực lục, tiền biên</i> [The veritable records of Đại Nam, first compilation]
ECIC II	Griffiths, Arlo & William A. Southworth, 2011.
ECIC III	Griffiths, Arlo, Amandine Lepoutre, William A. Southworth & Thành Phần, 2012a.
ECIC IV	Lepoutre, Amandine, 2013.
ECIC V	Goodall, Dominic & Arlo Griffiths, 2013.
ECIC VII	Lepoutre, Amandine, 2016.
EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient
EurASEAA	European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSEAS	<i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
KCH	<i>Khảo cổ học</i> [(Journal of) Archaeology]
KHXH	Khoa học Xã hội [Social Sciences]
NCLS	Nghiên cứu lịch sử [Historical research]
NPHMVKCH	<i>Những phát hiện mới về Khảo cổ học</i> [New Archaeological Discoveries]
NUS	National University of Singapore
Nxb	Nhà xuất bản [Publisher]
SACHA	Société des Amis du Champa ancien
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
TT	<i>Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư</i> [Complete chronicle of Đại Việt]
UHP	University of Hawai'i Press

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2. Note: Serialised in the issues of vendredi 18 and 25 février, 10, 17, 24 and 31 mars, and 14 avril 1876. The last of these is followed by the line: “La suite prochainement”, but the following issues carry no further installments. The article is notable for an excellent map of Nghê An and Hà Tĩnh (between pages 82 and 83), a description of writing in the caves of Phong Nha (119), and for details of a journey to the Keo Nura pass (142–143).

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3. Note: Describes a voyage, between 14th December 1884 to 16th January 1885, from Thi-nai (the author’s name for Quy Nhơn) to the river Bla (the *ia* Krông Bơ Lan, a tributary of the *xê* Xan). The first section includes a very interesting historical account of Bình Định province and includes a drawing of a Cham inscription (C. 58) on the rim of a bronze bowl (146). The second section includes the search for a statue at Kon Klor (291–292).

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