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Interrelationships in South and Southeast Asian Art: Cham Female Iconography, Buddhist  
Inscriptions and the Seated Buddha Image

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts  
in Art History

by

My Ket Chau

2014

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

### Interrelationships in South and Southeast Asian Art: Cham Female Iconography, Buddhist Inscriptions and the Seated Buddha Image

by

My Ket Chau

Master of Arts in Art History  
University of California, Los Angeles, 2014  
Professor Robert L. Brown, Chair

The majority of archaeology in Champa consists of Hindu arts and architecture. Buddhism co-existed with Hinduism, but it was not the dominant religion. In 875 CE, Indravarman II was the first Cham ruler to actively support Buddhism with the construction of the Đồng Dương temple located in present-day Bình Định, Vietnam. An analysis of Sanskrit Buddhist inscriptions helps shed light on Cham royal women. The inscriptions revealed that royal women and the king shared an interest in Buddhism. Narrative relief carvings from two altar pedestals displayed the prominent role of females. In addition, a rare seated Buddha statue with the legs pendant— a posture associated with female goddesses also intensified the importance of female power. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the female role in art at Đồng Dương is extraordinary in the Buddhist context. I argue, that the seated Buddha with the legs pendant and narrative relief panels of the Buddha's life depicted at the temple emphasized the female realm.

The thesis of My Ket Chau is approved.

Hui-Shu Lee

Dell Upton

Robert L. Brown, Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

To my parents who survived the Vietnam War—thank you for the inspiration to learn more about Vietnam. To my sister, Ha Kiet Chau taught me about Asian culture through her poetry.

To my family members and friends supported me throughout this journey.

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## *Part One: Introduction*

Champa is a region of small coastal polities that is now south and central Vietnam.<sup>1</sup> The Chams are an Austronesian linguistic and ethnic group who occupied the southern part of present-day Vietnam. The Vietnamese lived in the northern part of Vietnam. The Chinese controlled northern Vietnam during the Han period from 111 to 938 CE. The Chams were independent from the Vietnamese and Chinese until the annexation of Champa in 1471. Scholars use Sanskrit and Cham inscriptions, historical sources and archaeology to reconstruct Cham history. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions from Champa are dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Today a small community of Muslim Chams mostly resides on the coastal areas of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Thailand.

The archaeology of Champa consisted of a majority of Hindu arts and architecture. Buddhism co-existed with Hinduism, but it was not the dominant religion. Buddhism originated in South Asia and spread to Southeast Asia, Japan, Korea and China. Indravarman II (875 – 899 CE) was the first Cham ruler to actively support Buddhism with the construction of the 9<sup>th</sup> century Đồng Dương temple located in present-day Bình Định, Vietnam. This is the only surviving Buddhist temple in Champa. The architectural building is today largely destroyed due to bombing during the Vietnam War. The remnant of the temple consists of life-size sculptures, inscription steles and two altar pedestals with narrative reliefs, which are now preserved in the Đà Nẵng Museum of Cham Sculpture.

The temple's ground plan from Henri Parmentier's *Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Chams de l'Annam* was published in 1909. The two decorated altars with narrative relief panels depicting life scenes of the Buddha and jatakas are not conclusively identified. It is not known

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<sup>1</sup> Anne-Valerie Schweyer, *Ancient Vietnam: history, art and archaeology* (Bangkok: ACC Distribution, 2011) 9.

for certain what images or architectural objects were placed in conjunction with the pedestals—although there have been several suggestions by scholars. The previous scholarly discourse on Cham Buddhist art has offered numerous interpretations about the visual imagery. There is, however, no scholarly consensus on the identity of some of the sculptures or which event is depicted on the narrative relief panels.

This thesis is an exploration overview of the implications of the 9<sup>th</sup> century Buddhist arts and inscriptions of Đổng Dương within Champa, a region of predominately Hindu culture. First, a brief background and literature review will be provided. Second, an analysis of Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions shows that the Cham king and royal women had an interest in Buddhism. Third, a Cham sculpture of the Buddha with legs pendant, a pose popular for goddesses in the context of Indian art stresses the importance of a feminine worship. Fourth, women figure prominently in the surviving two pedestal altars. I conclude that the arts from the Đổng Dương Buddhist temple emphasize the female realm. This raises a series of questions for further research.

### *Part Two: Historical Background & Literature Review*

Indravarman II built the Đổng Dương temple in 875 CE. The plan of the building has long hallways and rectangular enclosures (fig. 1). The brick temple has three sections: the vihara, long hallway, and main shrine.<sup>2</sup> A 4-foot Buddha bronze statue was discovered in the first enclosure (vihara) (fig. 2). The Buddha wears a monastic robe and he performs the *vitarka mudra*, the gesture of teaching. The style of the sculpture is unique to Cham art and it was most

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<sup>2</sup> Trần Kỳ Phương, “Hindu Temple Sculpture and Architecture,” *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*. Eds. Tran Ky Phuong & Bruce M. Lockhart, (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011) 296.

likely imported from Sri Lanka before being placed in the temple.<sup>3</sup> Another large sculpture of the Buddha who sits with his legs pendant was found in the same enclosure (fig. 3). In addition, the seated Buddha's pedestal depicts life stories of the Buddha on narrative relief panels.<sup>4</sup> An in-depth analysis of the seated Buddha with the legs pendant and the iconography on the narrative relief panels will be discussed later.

The second enclosure bridged the temple and the main shrine. Upon entering this space, “no major divinity was honored in this hallway, although two large statues of protective deities, the *dharmapalas* stood guard at the gateway into the enclosure.”<sup>5</sup> The brick halls had doorways that opened to the east and west. Most likely monks used this hallway for ceremonial preparations, as well as functioned as a space for dance performances. This intermediary space prepared visitors to enter the principal sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> This sanctuary, with nine smaller shrines that surrounded the central tower was the most important component of the temple.<sup>7</sup> It has been noted that, “Cham kings and their ancestors were most likely honored in the small towers.”<sup>8</sup> A large stone pedestal with an altar sits at the end of the main sanctuary. Like the pedestal of the seated Buddha, the altar's pedestal displays *Jatakas* tales carved on the relief panels.

In the 9th century, there was intense warfare among the kings of Champa, China and Vietnam. The Vietnamese gained economic and political power in the northern area of present-day Vietnam and they ended Chinese domination in 938 CE. In 982 CE, the Vietnamese king Lê

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<sup>3</sup> Why the standing sculpture of the Buddha arrived at Champa is beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> Nguyen, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 13.

Đại Hành attacked a region to the north of Champa.<sup>9</sup> Scholars have agreed that the Đồng Dương complex was most likely devastated by the invasion.<sup>10</sup> Excavations showed that the main sanctuary was looted and some of the temple walls were destroyed by fire.<sup>11</sup> There is no indication that the Đồng Dương temple was rebuilt, suggesting that the site was used for a short period of time. The warfare between the Vietnamese and the Chams contributed to Champa's political instability. The incorporation of Buddhist beliefs into the court officially placed Champa within the elite Buddhist culture alongside other powerful regions of Asia such as India, China, Japan, Korea, and other areas of Southeast Asia. Indravarman II's alignment with Buddhism distinguished Champa as a prosperous region.

In the 1880s Etienne Aymonier and Abel Bergaigne translated and published Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Champa. These inscriptions attracted the attention of French scholars. Louis Finot (1900-1930), Henri Parmentier (1909-1918), George Maspero (1928) and Jean Boisselier (1960) contributed survey books and articles on Cham art and architecture. In 1951, Pierre Dupont's article compared the arts of Đồng Dương with 7<sup>th</sup> century Chinese art from the Tang Dynasty. The difficulty of classifying the arts from this period is evident as Dupont attributes a possibility of influences from the Sino-Annamite or the Sino-Vietnamese.<sup>12</sup> He also suggested that there was local interest in the worship of female divinities and the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara in Champa and China. Dupont stated that "ce cas tout à fait insolite d'un

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<sup>9</sup> Kenneth R. Hall, "Competition of the East Coast of the Mainland: Early Champa and Vietnam Political Economies," *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100-1500* (Rowman Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2011) 67.

<sup>10</sup> Trian Nguyen, "Laksmindralokesvara, Main Deity of the Đồng-Dương Monastery: A Masterpiece of Cham art and a New Interpretation," *Artibus Asiae*, (no 1, 2005) 8.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Pierre Dupont, "Les apports chinois dans le style bouddhique de Đồng-dương." *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*. (Tome 44 N1, 1951) 273.

personage féminin identifié au bodhisattva permet de se demander si l'on ne trouve pas ici un reflet du bouddhisme chinois où Avalokiteçvara a changé de sex pour devenir la Kouan-yin.”<sup>13</sup>

The goddess Guanyin was worshipped in China and her visual development can be traced to a gender switch of Avalokitesvara.<sup>14</sup> Dupont’s work showed that although the religious practices of the Chinese and the Chams were different, the arts of Đông Dương had artistic connections to China.

In 2005, Trian Nguyen re-evaluated a bronze female statue discovered fifty meters from the temple’s main sanctuary. The female statue is two armed and she holds a conch in one hand and a lotus flower in the other. There is also, as far as I know, evidence that a Mucalinda Buddha is used in her hair.<sup>15</sup> The bronze statue could be moved easily and there was no assurance when the statue was placed where it was recently found or how it was originally placed. In addition, Nguyen identified the figure as Laksmindra-Lokesvara, the female Avalokitesvara based on the name of this deity in a Sanskrit inscription that says it was King Indravarman II’s personal deity. There is, however, no direct connection between this inscription and the bronze image. There is, however, no textual or visual development that shows the Chams changed the gender of Avalokitesvara to a female in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Some justification for identifying the Cham female image as Avalokitesvara comes from the Chinese practice of worshipping Guanyin, a female deity who was originally the male Avalokitesvara but in the 10<sup>th</sup> century became regarded as a female. While there is no direct connection between Guanyin and the Cham sculpture, the occurrence of Guanyin at about the

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 274.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel L. Overmyer, “Kuan-yin: the development and transformation of a Chinese goddess, Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteshvara by Chun-fang Yu, *Journal of Religion*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (July 2002) 420

<sup>15</sup> Nguyen 33.

same date as the Bronze sculpture could argue that Avalokitesvara at that date was able to be regarded as female in gender. Nguyen also argues that the sculpture would have been placed on the main altar as it has a long tang on the bottom that fits into a hole on the top of the altar.<sup>16</sup> Wherever the Cham female statue was originally placed, it reveals the worship of female deities in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

In 2006, Nantana Chutiwongs published an article on Buddhism at Champa in the exhibition catalogue, *Tresors d'art du Vietnam*. She analyzed terracotta votive plaques, stone icons, and bronzes from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Chutiwongs argued for the significance of female deities in Champa, suggesting, “le culte des divinités féminine’s est l’annonce, dans le bouddhisme, du développement des formes ésotériques d’enseignement, centres sur l’unité des contraires et sur la nature dualiste de tous les phénomènes.”<sup>17</sup> She also noted the importance the goddess Tara, who was considered the wife or *alter ego* of Avalokitesvara. There were a significant number of Cham female cult images as well as male sculptures such as Vajrapani and Avalokitesvara.

In 2009, Anne-Valarie Schweyer analyzed Sanskrit Buddhist inscriptions from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is the first time that a scholar had conducted a comprehensive analysis of the Cham inscriptions. Schweyer concluded that the Chams were interested in “Tantric practices, belonging to the Vajrayana Buddhism, mixing Saiva and Buddhist beliefs.”<sup>18</sup> Chutiwongs’ most recent discussion in 2011 analyzed the narrative relief panels on the pedestals at Đồng Dương

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<sup>16</sup> Nguyen 33; Robert L. Brown, Personal communication, 30 August 2011. It has also been suggested that the statue would have been too small to be placed at the center of the altar.

<sup>17</sup> Nandana Chutiwongs, “Le Bouddhisme du Champa,” *Tresors d'art du Vietnam: la sculpture du Champa V-XV siècle*. Guimet musee national des arts asiatiques, 12 octobre 2005- 9 janvier (2006) 85.

<sup>18</sup> Schweyer 309.



using the literary text, the *Lalitavistara*. The reliefs emphasized one coherent theme of Enlightenment, the pivotal point in the Buddha's life.

In the same year, John Guy published an article about pan-Asian Buddhism in Champa and the cult worship of Avalokitesvara. He argued that the “popularity of the cult of the bodhisattva Lokeshvara in particular sheds light on the specific character of Southeast Asian Buddhism as practiced by the royal households of Champa and its relationship to the Pan-Asian Buddhism of the period.”<sup>19</sup> Guy explains the “development in Buddhism was occurring in a climate of pan-Asian internationalism, encouraged by a rising wave of trade wealth. The circulation of spices, aromatics, resins, pearls and cotton textiles all stimulated the wealth of the region and furthered the consolidation of emerging states.”<sup>20</sup> Indravarman II's adoption of Buddhist beliefs placed Champa in the same international sphere as other followers from different Buddhist regions.

Trần Kỳ Phương and Rie Nakamura co-authored an article about the dualist cult of the Cham society. The work of the two scholars revealed that two sanctuaries, Mỹ Sơn and Po Nagar “reflect certain characteristics of the cosmological dualism.”<sup>21</sup> This cosmological dualist cult is defined as a Cham male and female dichotomy. Inscriptions and icons found at the two sites suggest that Mỹ Sơn was dedicated to the God Bhadresvara (Siva) and Po Nagar was dedicated

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<sup>19</sup> John Guy, “Pan-Asian Buddhism and the Bodhisattva Cult in Champa,” *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*. Eds. Trần Kỳ Phương & Bruce M. Lockhart, (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011) 319.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 309.

<sup>21</sup> Trần Kỳ Phương & Rie Nakamura, “Mỹ Sơn and Po Nagar Nha Trang Sanctuaries: in regard to the cosmological dualist cult of Champa kingdom (Central Vietnam),” *Old Myths and New Approaches—Interpreting Ancient Religious Sites in Southeast Asia*. Ed. Alexandre Haende, (Monash Asia Institute, Monash University. 2012) 208.

to the Goddess Bhagavati.<sup>22</sup> Based on Cham legends, two clans, Areca, the male clan and Coconut, the female clan controlled Champa. Another Cham legend cites the division of *Ahier* and *Awal*, which translates from Arabic to English as *back* and *front*. Cham contemporary communities in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận (Central Vietnam) have regarded *Ahier* as the male realm and *Awal* as the female realm.<sup>23</sup> Phuong and Rie Nakamura suggest that Mỹ Sơn and Po Nagar represented the female and male realm, an integral emphasis of cosmological dualism.

This overview of literature on Đồng Dương suggests that female imagery was of importance at the site. I will argue below that in the 9<sup>th</sup> century art at Đồng Dương and in the accompanying inscription, the power and presence of the female has been accentuated. The emphasis reflects the early formation of the visual arts to reinforce Cham beliefs about the existence of the female realm. Buddhist inscriptions show that Cham royal women participated in Buddhism. A Cham Buddha with legs pendant has associations to seated female goddesses in the Indian context. In addition, the depictions of women in narrative reliefs from two altar pedestals include Siddhartha's mother, Queen Maya, his wife, Yasodhara, and his grandmother, Queen Mahprajapati Gautami. I propose that 9<sup>th</sup> century arts from Đồng Dương and Buddhist inscriptions stressed the significance of the female world and the powers of femininity.

### *Part Three: Buddhist Sanskrit Inscriptions*

Two written languages are used in Champa. The earliest Sanskrit inscription in Southeast Asia was discovered in Champa and it dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> century. There are at least eight Cham

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 266.

<sup>23</sup> Trần Kỳ Phương & Rie Nakamura, "Mỹ Sơn and Po Nagar Nha Trang Sanctuaries: in regard to the cosmological dualist cult of Champa kingdom (Central Vietnam)," *Old Myths and New Approaches—Interpreting Ancient Religious Sites in Southeast Asia*. Ed. Alexandre Haende, (Monash Asia Institute, Monash University. 2012) 276

Buddhist Sanskrit stele inscriptions.<sup>24</sup> Sheldon Pollock has argued that “Sanskrit articulated politics not as material power—the power of embodied in language-of-state for purposes of boundary regulation or taxation, for example, for which so-called vernacular idioms typically remained the vehicle—but politics as aesthetic power, a kind of poetry of politics.”<sup>25</sup> In addition to the use of Sanskrit in Champa, the second written language, Cham appeared in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Sanskrit was used for political rhetoric, while the Cham language recorded legal and practical details such as land donations and business deals.<sup>26</sup>

Sanskrit inscriptions reveal that the temple honored the king’s personal deity, Laksmindra-Lokesvara. A personal deity has a special relationship with the worshipper, who upon death is absorbed into that particular deity. Scholars are not certain how Laksmindra-Lokesvara was represented in art. We assume, based on the name in the inscription, that Indravarman II’s personal deity represented a triad; the goddess Laksmi, the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and the king Indravarman II. Inscriptions also refer to Indravarman II as “equal in the splendour to the gods, and named Laksmindra-Bhumisvara-Grama.”<sup>27</sup> In Sanskrit, this translates as “Laksmi/Indra-Lord of Earth-Village.”<sup>28</sup> The structure of his three-part name is similar to Indravarman II’s personal deity of three figures. The triad is unusual because previous

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<sup>24</sup> R.C Majumdar, “Buddhism,” *Ancient Indian-Colonies in the Far East. Vol. I. Champa*. (Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, 1927) 208.

<sup>25</sup> Sheldon Pollock. “The Sanskrit Cosmpolis: 300-1300: Transculturation, Vernacularisation and the Question of Ideology.” *Ideology and status of Sanskrit contributions to the history of the Sanskrit language*. (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996) 199, 228

<sup>26</sup> Schweyer 12.

<sup>27</sup> Karl-Heinz Golzio, *Inscriptions of Campa: based on the editions and translations of Abel Bergaigne, Etienne Aymonier, Louis Finot, Edouard Huber, and other French scholars and the work of R.C. Majumdar: newly presented with minor corrections of texts and translations, together with calculation of given dates*. (Aachen: Shaker, 2004) 71.

<sup>28</sup> Robert L. Brown, Personal Communication, March 27 2014

Cham kings have worshipped one Hindu deity, either Siva or Vishnu. Indravarman II worshipped a unique triad.

Dated to 797 CE, a Sanskrit inscription reveals that Indravarman II created the *Đông Dương* temple for monks. The inscription reads, “for the sake of Dharma, and not for revenue, a monastery has been founded for the community of monks. I have placed all necessities in the monastery for the enjoyment of the community of monks as well as other creatures. This monastery has been founded for the perpetual enjoyment of the community of monks. And not for the enjoyment of the king, nor as a permanent source of revenue. Those who will protect all these riches of the monks—the learned Brahmanas, ascetics, relations of the king—will, their friends and kindreds, attain the Buddhist Nirvana to which there is no parallel.”<sup>29</sup>

The protection of the monks brings merit to the king, his friends and family to achieve Nirvana. Like the king who protects the monks, the deities reciprocate by protecting the king. Furthermore, the inscription reveals how Indravarman II has given many things to the monks, for the sake of Dharma. The inscription states, “Now the King Sri Indravarman has given these fields together with their corn, male and female slaves and other goods, such as gold, silver, bell-metal, iron, copper etc. to Lokeshvara, for the enjoyment of the community of monks and the sake of the propagation of Dharma.”<sup>30</sup> The inscription records Indravarman II as a devoted Buddhist. His donations will ensure his path to Nirvana.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Majumdar 88.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 88.

<sup>31</sup> Ian Mabbett suggests that the Khmer monarch Jayavarman VII (1181-1218) is the only Mahayana Buddhist ruler offering a close analogy using the patron divinity bodhisattva Lokeshvara, a form of Avalokitesvara (Mabbett, 298). Jayavarman VII conquered Cham by using the same patron deity as Indravarman II to legitimize his rule.

An inscription notes the significance of female goddesses as a protector for the king. The inscription states, “may the king, whose superior mind has been purified by successive births, followed by excellent men, protect you in order to rule the whole of beloved Champa. May the Goddess of Sovereignty in her turn always protect him.”<sup>32</sup> Here, the king desires to seek protection from the Hindu goddess Laksmi commonly referred to as the Goddess of Sovereignty. Older Sanskrit inscriptions mention that Hindu goddesses such as Uma and Laksmi, which suggest the prominent position goddesses held in the Hindu context.

Another stele, the Đồng Dương Inscription of Jayasimhavarman I was found outside of the temple. The inscription documents the donation of a princess named Haradevi Rajakula, the younger sister of the king’s mother. The inscription states, “King Jayasimhavarman has a maternal aunt (mother’s sister) she is always skillful in virtuous work, endowed with exceptional qualities, and decorated by the increase of fortune, she takes delight in her fame and hopes; she is an asylum of pious thought formed in her mind, and she is very skillful in making perfumes and arranging flowers and clothes.”<sup>33</sup> The details that outline her life, intellect, and skills suggest that she was an important figure in the royal court.

Furthermore, the inscription reveals, “she takes delight in her devotion to the feet of her dead husband; is well disposed towards the supreme truth; she makes the best use of her wealth according to religious precepts and her inborn qualities; she constantly makes gifts to Brahmanas, ascetics (yati) and virtuous people in the world, and she lives with the sole object of worshipping the feet of Siva. Her fame was purified by the praises of elderly relatives; she is united with fortune merely to cause unmixed delight to them; she was noble, she obtained dear

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<sup>32</sup> Majumdar 86.

<sup>33</sup> Majumdar 90.

and pure boons from the favour (of those elderly persons); her riches were produced by unshakable determination and her intelligence was without blemish.”<sup>34</sup>

Haradevi increased the merit of the royal family with image installation and reinforced it with inscriptions. For example, the same inscription states, “[an image]...has been installed in the city named Indrapura, [depicting] the august goddess known as Haroma, for increasing the religious merit of his mother’s younger sister princess Ajna Pov Ku Lyan Sri Rajakula, also known as Haradevi. Sri Indraparamesvara was installed by princess Ajna Pov Ku Lyan Sri Rajakula, who is of virtuous mind and is a connoisseur of qualities... for the sake of religious merit of her own husband Sri Paramabuddhaloka.”<sup>35</sup> Princess Haradevi Rajakula, the widow of Indravarman II, had the power and responsibility to increase her late husband’s merit. She also had tremendous power to commission statues for her father and mother.

The same inscription continues, “In the same Saka year the princess Ajna Pov Ku Lyan Sri Rajakula has installed the god Rudraparamesvara for increasing the religious merit of her father. And for increasing the religious merit of her mother, princess Ajna Pov Ku Lyan Sri Rajakula installed, with pious devotion, this goddess Sri Rudroma.”<sup>36</sup> The inscription states, “victorious is the goddess Haromadevi, the great glory in the world, and a reflected image, as it were, of Haradevi Rajakula.”<sup>37</sup> The image of the queen after her death reflected the goddess with characteristics similar to the deity. The image of the queen was in the form of a deity. The three inscriptions show the importance of honoring male and female ancestors and the power of one

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<sup>34</sup> Majumdar 103.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 104.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 104.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 104.

royal princess Haradevi to install cult images for her husband.<sup>38</sup> The Nhan-Bleu inscription of Indravarman III (833 CE) records “in the Skara year 833, he established, together with his eldest son (brother?) a monastery called Sri Vrdhalokesvara in the village Cikir.”<sup>39</sup> Here, a Buddhist monastery was erected in honor of Jaya Simhavarman’s wife, another royal woman who had tremendous power. That a Buddhist monastery was erected in honor of a deceased royal wife indicates that royal women had a special interest for Buddhism.

Indravarman II’s construction of his temple for Buddhist monks was a declaration of his association to Buddhism. Inscriptions and image installations created merit for the king to reach Nirvana. At the same time, Indravarman II’s wife had power to install cult images to honor her deceased husband, mother and father. The wife of Jaya Simhavarman held a powerful position in the court because a Buddhist temple was dedicated in her honor. This followed the tradition of past Cham rulers who continued this practice, which was recorded on stela inscriptions. Some of the images were used to honor both male and female ancestors, reflecting on the importance of dual female and male realms. Royal women, particularly the wives of the Cham kings also contributed to the interest of Buddhism.

#### *Part Four: A Seated Buddha with Two Legs Pendant*

A 5-foot (at the neck) sandstone, seated Buddha with the legs pendant was found at the Dồng Dương temple’s first enclosure (fig. 3). The statue would have originally been placed on top of the pedestal carved with narrative relief panels. Archaeologists have rejoined the Buddha’s

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<sup>38</sup> In the discussion by Vincent Lefevre, in *Portraiture in Early India: Between Transience and Eternity*, he writes, “on this point, Southeast Asian epigraphy is often more explicit and straightforward than the Indian one. Thus, the famous stele K 806 describes the foundation in 961 CE of the Pre Rup temple, in Angkor: among the many image that king Rajendrarvarman installed there, we learn that Vishnu is called Rajendravisvarupa, probably in memory of one of the king’s ancestor Visvarupa. Parvati is also a representation of Jayadevi, Sri Harsadeva’s mother and young sister of the king’s mother and that his cousin Sri Harsavarman gave his features to Siva called Isvara Rajendravarmanadevesvara” (Lefevre, 43).

<sup>39</sup> Schweyer 130.

head with the body, but the head does not fit perfectly. The current head is a replacement and has gone through extensive modern repairs. The seated Buddha wears a heavy robe that has been compared to Chinese Buddhist arts from the Sui period.<sup>40</sup> His enlarged hands and feet as well as thick folds from his robe are stylistic different from the standing, imported Buddha also found in the first enclosure. This unique Cham Buddha sits with his legs pendant.

In order to understand the significance of the seated Cham Buddha with the legs pendant in connection to the female realm, I will re-examine the meaning of this relatively rare seated posture in Buddhist and Hindu sculpture.<sup>41</sup> The posture with the legs pendant is seen in a portrait sculpture of the Kushan King Vima, and in the postures of three deities, Kubera, Hariti, and the Buddha. Scholars have argued that this position is a royal posture. It is not, however, exclusively associated with royalty. There are examples of deities such as Hariti and Kubera seated in this position in a non-royal context, which suggest that this posture has multiple meanings. I argue that the posture itself does not have exclusive royal connections. The posture can be associated with feminine sources of power; but male figures, like the Buddha and Kubera, are sometimes seated in legs-down posture. Thus, the posture has connections to royal, divine and feminine power.

Deities, including the Buddha, in Indian art are often shown seated in a wide variety of postures. One posture that is relatively rare is sitting in a chair with the legs pendant. While this seated posture is expected in European art showing people sitting in a chair, in the Indian context, figures mostly sit cross-legged or stand on platforms. Only a handful of powerful figures are depicted in the seated position with the legs pendant, including King Vima, Kubera, Hariti

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<sup>40</sup> Guillon 82.

<sup>41</sup> Madhurvanti Ghose, "Nana: The Original Goddess on the Lion," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology 1* (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2006) 97-112.



and the Buddha.<sup>42</sup> The seated Buddha with legs pendant is circulated in different geographical regions including India, China, Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asia. Current scholars study each region in isolation from each other while using a different terminology to describe the same posture. This Buddha seated in the legs pendant position spread across Asia relating the geographically regions to Buddhism in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Alfred Foucher identified the seated Buddha in 1849, as “a l’européenné” and scholars have used the English translation “European posture” to describe the seated Buddha with the legs pendant.<sup>43</sup> Ananda Coomaraswamy disagreed with this terminology and referred to this position as *pralambapadasana*, which means, “sitting posture with two legs pendant.”<sup>44</sup> Scholars have continued to use either Foucher or Coomaraswamy’s terminology. One scholar, Nicolas Revire has recently discussed the need to revise this terminology primarily because there is no textual support for the terms “European posture” and *pralambapadasana*.<sup>45</sup> In addition, he believes that the words do not convey royal symbolism that is associated with the seated position. Revire abandons the term “European posture” and *pralambapadasana*.<sup>46</sup> Instead, he uses Buddha “in majesty” or *bhadrasana*, which translates as “auspicious sitting posture.”<sup>47</sup> The use of different

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<sup>42</sup> John Rosenfield writes that the posture with the legs pendant is also present on some deities placed on the ornamental Gavaksa windows: Yama and Indra. See John Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967) 187.

<sup>43</sup> Nicolas Revire, “Some Reconsiderations on Pendant-Legged Buddhas in Dvaravati Artistic Tradition,” *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 21 (2011) 37

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 37.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 37.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 39.

<sup>47</sup> Robert L. Brown, Personal Communication, October 5<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

terminologies is due to the problem that there is no clear word in Sanskrit or Pali for this position and thus the current terminology is a modern creation.<sup>48</sup>

Chotima Chaturawong argues that the sitting pose has a royal association and indicates superiority.<sup>49</sup> While the posture is undoubtedly linked to royal figures, there are female deities sitting in this posture who do not have significant royal characteristics. One example is Hariti, a goddess associated with children and fertility. This posture may have multiple associations, including feminine, royal and divine power. The position serves as a seat for powerful figures such as Hariti and the Buddha that appear in various regions throughout India and Southeast Asia. Royal characteristics with the posture are evident but other interpretations are possible. The study of earlier examples of figures in this sitting position indicates that the posture is originally associated to feminine strength.

The earliest examples of figures seated in the legs pendant position come from representations of female deities on 1<sup>st</sup> century coins from the Kushan period in the reign of Kanishka and Huvishka.<sup>50</sup> Claudine Bautze-Picron explains that “‘gods’ and ‘goddesses’ could include royal aspects, making them ambivalently close to the human devotees on one hand (since they become more earthly) but also contributing to a more divine approach to the royal function.”<sup>51</sup> In other words, the acquisition of royal attributes for the gods and goddesses places them on a more accessible approach to the human world than the divine world. Madhuvanti

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid. 39.

<sup>49</sup> Chotima Chaturawong, “Indo-Thai Cultural Interaction: Buddha Images in *Pralambapadasana*,” *Connectivity and Beyond: Indo-Thai Relations Through Ages*, Ed. Lipip Ghosh, (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society, 2009) 58.

<sup>50</sup> John M. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 72.

<sup>51</sup> Claudine Bautze-Picron, *The Bejeweled Buddha from India to Burma: New Considerations*, (New Delhi: Sanctum Books, 2010) 19.

Ghose suggests that Kaniska received his kingship from a Mesopotamian goddess Nana who is also shown seated on a lion in an impression from a Kushan intaglio (fig. 4).<sup>52</sup> Thus kingship and divinity have a direct relationship in visual imagery. Some gods display royal iconography to enter the earthly world, while kings acquire more power on a divine level, separating them from the human population.

Tablets from the Temple of Marduk reveal that the goddess Nana is a powerful deity in the Mesopotamian culture. The tablets describe the goddess Nana as “lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses, directress of mankind, mistress of the spirits of heaven, possessor of sovereign power, the light of heaven and earth, daughter of the Moon God, ruler of weapons, arbitress of battles, goddess of love, the power over princes and over scepters of kings.”<sup>53</sup> This description indicates that whether or not the Kushans associated the goddess of Nana with all of these roles, nevertheless, she is considered as more superior than a king. The Kushans adopted her image on coins and seals because of her high status.

One early example of a figure seated in a posture with legs pendant is an unidentified goddess from Gandhara from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (fig. 5). The goddess holds a bowl in her right hand and an animal head in her left hand. An unidentified animal that scholars have interpreted as a lion, dog or jackal flanks both sides of her seat. This image can possibly be related to the goddess Nana mentioned above. Ghose discusses how “Nana remained a dynastic cult goddess with esoteric practices which were never adopted by the masses. She was assimilated into the cults of

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<sup>52</sup> Ghose, “Nana: The Original Goddess on the Lion” 103.

<sup>53</sup> Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* 85.

local goddesses who shared certain aspects and attributes with her.”<sup>54</sup> Nana and other female goddesses adopted this sitting posture as the seat of power.

Another example of a goddess seated in legs-down posture is an animal headed goddess who holds a wine cup in her right hand (fig. 6). The provenance and date is unknown. Scholars have interpreted the figure as a “goddess that may be associated with a child-protecting, animal-headed (goat) deity associated with the god, Skanda. Her face resembles a fox, bear, dog or goat with upright ears, angled eyes, and a small muzzle.”<sup>55</sup> Various goddesses are also seated in the legs pendant posture with possible connections to a child-protecting, motherly figure. In her left hand, “the animal head held may be an innovation or variant motif derived from the animal-headed cornucopias so common to the Gandharan goddesses of abundance.”<sup>56</sup> Although the identity of the figure remains unknown, the posture is closely identical to the cornucopia bearing Greek goddesses. The number of sculptures of female goddesses in this posture indicates the popularity of the worship of female deities.

In addition to sculpture, various Kanishka coins show the Persian goddess Ardokhsho seated with legs pendant while holding a cornucopia. Jennifer Rowan indicates that the “[cornucopia] has been associated with numerous goddesses from Mediterranean and Iranian cultures: Demeter, Roma, Fortuna, Tyche, Anahita and Ardokhsho. It is likely that the cornucopia was introduced into Gandhara by means of these goddesses whose similar

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid. 103.

<sup>55</sup> Jennifer Rowan, *Danger and Devotion: Hariti, Mother of Demons in the Stories and Stones of Gandhara: a Historiography and Catalogue of Images*, MA Thesis, (University of Oregon, 2002) 320.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid. 320.

characteristics and functions facilitated their eventual fusion with Hariti.”<sup>57</sup> Greek or Ancient Near Eastern goddesses would be a likely source as a prototype for Hariti although which specific goddess is not important for this paper. My point is that the posture of legs pendant is taken by a number of important female deities in early South Asian art. The association of this posture with feminine power and identity, I argue, will influence how the King Vima, Kubera, Hariti and the Buddha are interpreted when they assume this position.

The Kushan emperor Vima preserves the image of female deities by popularizing the image on coins. He later adopts her posture for his portrait sculpture. Rare coins show the image of the king on one side and the reverse side depicts the goddess labeled, “NANASAO.”<sup>58</sup> By linking his image with hers, the king believed the goddess Nana had great importance to his reign. King Vima’s interest in the creation of coins with female deities seated with legs pendant intensifies the significance of feminine power with the emergence of his portrait in this same posture. One example is a monumental stone portrait statue of King Vima (fig. 7). The inscription reads, “Great King, King of Kings, Son of God, the Kusana Scion, the Sahi.”<sup>59</sup> The king sits on a throne supported by two lions with his feet placed on a footstool. As far as I know, King Vima is the only Kushan king that takes this posture. This image was once placed at the center of a dynastic shrine at Mat (outside Mathura) and later Kushan kings worshipped the sculpture.<sup>60</sup> The continuous worship of the sitting King Vima preserves his permanent royal power.

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid. 53.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid. 103.

<sup>59</sup>Chaturawong, “Indo-Thai Cultural Interaction: Buddha Images in *Pralambapadasana*” 58.

<sup>60</sup> Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, (New York: Weatherhill, 1985) 126-130.

Kubera is the Lord of Wealth and has a royal role as king of the Yakshas. He is usually shown wearing fine and elaborate clothing and ornaments to indicate his wealth, and very often is placed with his consort Hariti, the goddess of wealth and fertility. One example (fig. 8) shows Kubera wearing a *dhoti* with a long sash that falls in-between his legs.<sup>61</sup> Based on the designs of the garments that are identical to the designs on a sculpture of Hariti, scholars have suggested that the original sculpture of Kubera was broken from his consort, Hariti. Kubera's seated position may represent his royal power as the king of the Yakshas. Since his consort is Hariti, visually, they are depicted seated together as king and queen of the Yakshas. Although royal aspects are linked with this posture, some sculptures of Kubera emphasize family and children that connects the posture to wealth.

Kubera and Hariti often sit next to each other with their legs pendant. As a couple, Hariti and Kubera represent auspiciousness. One sculpture dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century shows Kubera and Hariti on a "throne-like chair" (fig. 9).<sup>62</sup> Although we can interpret the couple as royal, more can be discerned from the sculpture. Hariti's extension of her hand to Kubera's lap suggests that love is shared between the couple. In addition, Kubera slants his head over to Hariti as she also turns her eyes towards him, which displays a strong connection between the two that is visible to the viewer. With the presence of Hariti and children, Kubera's role as father is emphasized, enhancing himself as a fertile and strong man. At the same time, Kubera's presence highlights

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<sup>61</sup> Stanislaw J Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*, (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art with Indian University Press, 1985) 36.

<sup>62</sup> Madhurika Maheshwari, *From Ogress to Goddess. Hariti: A Buddhist Deity*, (Mumbai: IIRNS Publications, 2009) 143.

Hariti's role as a mother. Hariti and Kubera symbolize wealth and children, bringing auspiciousness to the worshipper.<sup>63</sup>

Hariti also sits in the seated position with the legs pendant without her consort, Kubera. The name "Hariti," comes from "Hri," which is translated as "to steal or kidnap." In Nepal, her name is translated as "stealing or taking away suffering and illness from children."<sup>64</sup> In Indian literature, originally Hariti is a demon that devours children. She converts to Buddhism when she meets the Buddha. Later, people worshipped Hariti as a fertility goddess and the protector of children.<sup>65</sup> In some texts, Hariti no longer devours children, leaving her own children unprotected. As a result, she relies on monks for the supervision of her children.<sup>66</sup> Based on the original stories of Hariti, she does not have any royal associations. In visual imagery, Hariti remains known for her role as a fertility goddess with royal attributes.

The lower half of a seated Hariti from Nagarjunakonda dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 10). Unfortunately, excavators have not discovered the upper portion of the statue. Scholars have identified the limestone sculpture as Hariti because it was discovered inside her shrine. The sculpture shows a figure seated in the asana posture with the legs pendant.<sup>67</sup> She wears numerous round anklets that are similar to the jewelry worn by the consorts of the universal king. The consorts are depicted on a limestone relief showing the Cakravartin (universal king) from the

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<sup>63</sup>Robert L. Brown, Personal communication, November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

<sup>64</sup>Maheshwari, *From Ogress to Goddess Hariti: a Buddhist Deity* 11.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 11.

<sup>66</sup>Gregory Schopen, Personal communication. May 3<sup>rd</sup> 2011.

<sup>67</sup>Maheshwari, *From Ogress to Goddess. Hariti: a Buddhist Deity* 63.

Great Stupa at Amaravati dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Hariti's royal regalia have strong connections to the universal king and his consorts.

Madhurika Maheshwari published a Gandharan image of Hariti that she describes as "majestic seated Hariti."<sup>68</sup> While Hariti sits on an elaborate chair, a seat of power, there is no indication that she sits on an actual throne. Two children stand before her knees and two others flank her seat. A fifth child sits in her lap. Hariti nurtures the baby on her lap as a child protector. If one interprets her seat as a throne, her main role as a mother remains more important than her royal associations because she is depicted alone without her consort Kubera. In this particular sculpture, she carries a cornucopia, but in later images, she holds a baby, transforming herself into a mother goddess. Hariti assumes a strong position as the protector of children.

A standing sculpture of Hariti dated to 250-300 CE reveals a possible visual reference to the Buddha (fig. 11). The Buddha, which means "the enlightened one" is the central figure in Buddhism. The exact date of the existence of the earliest Buddha images in South Asia remains debatable, but for the Buddha's iconography "only one type of Buddha in anthropomorphic form was created in South Asia."<sup>69</sup> Viewers can recognize the Buddha in human form, either crossed legged, standing, or sitting in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. This becomes important for later, when interpreting the Buddha's posture because he is also shown seated in the leg pendant position in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Jennifer Rowan describes that "between [Hariti's] her feet, a fifth small figure sits on a cushion in cross-legged pose and appears to be writing on a slate. Unlike the children, he is fully dressed, wears his hair in a bun (ushnisha?) and may be intended to invoke comparison with the

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid. 181.

<sup>69</sup> Robert L. Brown, "The Walking Tilya Tepe Buddha: A Lost Prototype." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 14, (2000) 77.



Buddha.”<sup>70</sup> This cross-legged figure is not an ordinary child. The artist chose to position him at the center of Hariti’s feet, which is visually separates him from the other children. Whether or not the artist chose to refer to the Buddha, his cross-legged pose and bun reminds the viewer of the Buddha.<sup>71</sup> Although the Buddha’s image fully evolved in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, reference to the Buddha on the sculpture of Hariti indicates the worshipper’s close relationship to the Buddha and Hariti. If the child is not depicted to bring to mind the Buddha, Hariti’s size and standing posture commands authority over the children.

In another standing sculpture of Hariti from the Chandigarh Museum, she carries a baby near her chest (fig. 12). Instead of Hariti seated, two children sit on her shoulders with their legs pendant. The posture of the children suggests that the seat of power comes from Hariti’s shoulders. Sitting in the legs down posture, the children also receive power from Hariti. This suggests that her power can be transferred to her children. Future worshippers created sculptures of the Buddha in both the cross-legged and legs pendant posture identical to the posture of the children that cling to Hariti. Perhaps the Buddha in the legs down posture reminds devotees of the significance of feminine power from Hariti.

On the sculpture of Hariti itself, there is an inscription that reveals how people worshipped Hariti. The inscription states, “in the year two hundred ninety one, on day 22 of the month of Ashadha/let the tenth carry up to (a) bright fortnight. I remember (Hariti) for the protector of children.” A second version of the translation reads, “in the 400<sup>th</sup> year less one (399) on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the month Ashadha. In heaven may she carry the tenth. I ask for the protection

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<sup>70</sup> Rowan, *Danger and Devotion: Hariti, Mother of Demons in the Stories and Stones of Gandhara: a Historiography and Catalogue of Images* 309.

<sup>71</sup>Robert L. Brown points out that there are a number of Gandharan sculptures that show the child Buddha learning to write by sitting with a slate and stylus.

of children.”<sup>72</sup> Another interpretation translates the date to 165 CE, when a smallpox epidemic occurred in the Roman Empire and reached Gandhara, and images of Hariti multiplied. A scholar, Ludwig Bachofer has dated the text to 87 CE based on Hariti’s drapery that is identical to the designs on the clothes of the worshippers on the Kanishka reliquary.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, the inscription and the statue suggest that during disaster, people venerated Hariti for motherly protection.

As we have seen in numerous seated sculptures of Hariti, the Buddha in figure 13 is shown seated in the asana position with two legs pendant. The sculpture dates to the 5<sup>th</sup>—6<sup>th</sup> century from Sarnath. In most cases, the Buddha is shown cross-legged or standing in human form. The Buddha seated in this position reserved for female deities can be interpreted in different ways. Supported by two royal lions, the Buddha sits on a throne performing the *dharmacakra mudra*, the gesture of preaching his doctrine, also associated with the turning the wheel of law. Another teaching gesture that is closely related to the Buddha from Thailand is the *vitarka mudra* that symbolizes intellectual argument and communication of the dharma. The Buddha gave his first sermon in the deer-park at Sarnath. Besides royal connections, the seated Buddha image places an emphasis on the teaching of the Buddha. The lions with their royal context that are part of the throne on which the Buddha sits give to the Buddha a superior status.

The Buddha’s strength and power becomes reflected by his posture and royal connections. Chaturawang explains, “as the Buddha is considered a superior man, a halo (*prabhamandala*), a symbol of the radiant splendor of the great man, is marked around the

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<sup>72</sup>Maheshwari, *From Ogress to Goddess. Hariti: a Buddhist Deity* 154.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid 154.

Buddha's head in Buddhist art and *pralambapadasana* became a posture of the Buddha."<sup>74</sup> The posture with association to royalty brings strength to a great man. Although the seat connects to royalty based on the lion throne, I emphasize that the posture of the king is secondary to the actual lion throne. The lion throne serves as the symbol that relates the image to royalty but not the posture itself. In addition to the Buddha's strength, his posture can be related to the power of femininity.

In 1986 during the second season of excavation at Ranigat, Pakistan (an ancient site in Gandhara), a 200 CE seated figure with a base of a goddess was discovered in Room 301 (fig. 14).<sup>75</sup> The excavation report describes figure 15 as "seated Buddha with pedestal."<sup>76</sup> Nakao Odani has identified the figure on the base as the goddess Nana.<sup>77</sup> The identity of the seated figure cannot be determined because the sculpture is damaged. However, other sculptures found in room 301 show the Buddha rendered in drapery identical to the drapery of the damaged seated figure. If the figure is indeed the Buddha, it is intriguing how the artist created a sculpture of a seated Buddha with a seated goddess with legs pendant, revealing the importance of collectively worshipping the Buddha and femininity. Odani suggests that the sculpture shows "valuable evidence of religious and cultural interaction in Gandhara."<sup>78</sup> Although scholars have focused on the interpretation of the base of the sculpture, the seated Buddha is also important to understand

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<sup>74</sup> Chaturawong, "Indo-Thai Cultural Interaction: Buddha Images in *Pralambapadasana*" 73.

<sup>75</sup> *Kyoto University Scientific Expedition to Gandhara. Ranigat*. Vol. II. Plates, (Japan: Kyoto University Press, 1994) 353.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 353.

<sup>77</sup> Nakao Odani, "The Banquet Scene on the Base of A Seated Buddha in Gandhara" in *Religion and Art Religion and Art: New Issues in Indian Iconography and Iconology* 1. Ed. Claudine Bautze-Picron, (London: The British Association for South Asian Studies, 2008) 31.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 31.

the sculpture as a whole.<sup>79</sup> In Gandhara, at least for this sculpture, the Buddha and a goddess were worshipped together, showing the significance of femininity to represent power.

The worship of feminine power captivated the followers of Buddhism. Madhurika Maheshwari writes that “in Buddhism, Hariti worship started as a mother cult and her images introduced to an austere Buddhism a feminine face—full of love, compassion and generosity.”<sup>80</sup> Previous scholars have written about the gender of the Buddha in various books and articles. Robert L. Brown discusses the feminization of 5<sup>th</sup> century Sarnath sculptures from the Gupta period. He suggests that there “appears to be a shift from a strongly masculine image toward a much less masculine (if not overly female) image.”<sup>81</sup> John Powers agrees with Brown concluding that “the images of masculinity [in his book] generally failed to resonate with Buddhists in other countries, so the Buddha was modified to fit different cultural norms.”<sup>82</sup> This change in the Buddha figure occurs in the Gupta period and spreads to Southeast Asia. Similarly, the worship of Hariti that begins in India and creates a strong, motherly figure spreads outside of India to China, Nepal, Indonesia, and Japan. This popularity spreading across Asia suggests the need for embracing feminine worship.

The ideal body in female and male form is a popular topic in the field, although not specifically on the Buddha. For example, Vidya Dehejia explains “beautiful” could refer to both

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid. 31.

<sup>80</sup> Maheshwari, *From Ogress to Goddess. Hariti: a Buddhist Deity* 77.

<sup>81</sup> Robert L. Brown, “The Feminization of the Sarnath Gupta-Period Images,” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 16, (2006) 165.

<sup>82</sup> John Powers, *A Bull of A Man: Images of Masculinity, Sex, and the Body in Indian Buddhism*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009) 232.

male and female physique.<sup>83</sup> In addition, “men frequently shared with women a set of established poetic tropes, such as faces that put the moon to shame, eyes that outdo the lotus, arched eyebrows, full red lips, and gleaming toenails.”<sup>84</sup> The description indicates that physical beauty must evoke a viewer’s response regardless of the gender of the figure. Men and women had similar attributes of beauty and despite biological differences. Western stereotypical feminine and masculine attributes are not applicable for Indian society. In the Buddhist world, feminine attributes were favorable. Alfred Foucher also argues, “the most universally attractive role will always revert to those figures which incarnate the maternal...grace of the eternal feminine.”<sup>85</sup> Feminine beauty is favorable, possibly for both male and female figures like the Buddha and Hariti in Southeast Asia and China.

Four figures, Hariti, King Vima, Kubera and the Buddha are represented in the seated position with the legs pendant. This posture is often interpreted as royal based on the specific objects rendered with the figure such as the Buddha’s throne or Hariti’s royal jewelry. Eventually Hariti became popular as a fertility goddess and a protector of children. She can be associated to royalty, based on her jewelry or elaborate throne, although we can interpret her elaborate chair as a seat of power like the Buddha. With the emergence of devotion to Hariti as a divine fertility goddess, mortality rates for children and mothers must have been very high. Rendered in sculpture alone, eventually Hariti emerged on her own, without her consort Kubera, the king of the Yakshas. Jennifer Rowan explains that “in China, Hariti was assimilated and effectively subordinated to the Chinese manifestation of Avalokitesvara under the designation of

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<sup>83</sup> Vidya Dehejia, *The Body Adorned: Dissolving the Boundaries Between Sacred and Profane in India’s Art*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009) 46.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. 46.

<sup>85</sup> Alfred Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1917) 291.

Songzi Guanyin. She indicates “Peri attributes the feminization of Avalokitesvara to rivalry between the cult of Guanyin and Hariti’s popular cult in China.”<sup>86</sup> There was a need for a feminine motherly worship, and perhaps this may explain the major shift in visual image of the Buddha from strongly masculine to feminine; after all, the worship of Kubera, the king of the Yakshas did not spread as widely as Hariti in Asia.

A feminized Buddha resonating with others parts of Asia developed during the Gupta period in India.<sup>87</sup> Other sculptures of the seated Buddha in pendant-legged position have spread as well as the worship of Hariti throughout Asia including China, Korea, Japan and Southeast Asia. This position echoes the female Mesopotamian and Greek goddesses also seated in this posture. Perhaps, themes of motherly worship of the Buddha along with Hariti created a profound impact across the south of Asia. These themes popularized the standard image of the feminine motherly Buddha embracing an inclusive worship for both men and women with feminine attributions. Thus, in India and Southeast Asia and China, the seated posture with the legs pendant places King Vima, Kubera, Hariti and the Buddha on a seat of power that can be interpreted as feminine, royal or divine. The seated Cham Buddha with the legs pendant has original associations to powerful female goddesses. This association is magnified with the interest in motherly worship and the Buddha in Southeast Asia. The seated Buddha with the legs pendant is a part of a larger corpus of Cham Buddhist visual arts that emphasized the female realm. A larger analysis of the legs pendent Buddha images from Thailand and Java will

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<sup>86</sup> Rowan, *Danger and Devotion: Hariti, Mother of Demons in the Stories and Stones of Gandhara: a Historiography and Catalogue of Images* 100.

<sup>87</sup> Robert L. Brown, “The Feminization of the Sarnath Gupta-Period Images,” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 16, 2006.

determine the meaning of this posture within Southeast Asian contexts. This portion of research is beyond the scope of this paper.

*Part Five: Royal Women from the Vihara*

The seated Buddha with legs pendant was placed on top of a pedestal with narrative relief panels discovered in the temple's first enclosure. The seated Buddha and the narrative relief panels also promote feminine power. The entire story on the pedestal remains difficult to reconstruct because many of the images are not well preserved or did not survive. The reliefs illustrate episodes of the life of the Buddha from a Mahayana Buddhist literary text, the *Lalitavistara*.<sup>88</sup> The first panel on the Buddha's pedestal shows King Suddhodana and Queen Maya at the court (fig. 15). Queen Maya informs her husband about her auspicious dreams.<sup>89</sup> The next scene depicts Queen Maya in the Lumbini garden (fig. 16). At the garden, she holds a stylized tree branch and two smaller figures stand beside her. Chutiwongs describes that the "the baby had already emerged and is seen standing on the ground, escorted by a divinity who probably represents Indra, the king of gods, acting for all divinities who are said to be present at the moment of the Bodhisattva's birth."<sup>90</sup> Emmanuel Guillon indicates that the figures are two attendants "shown in the conventional diminutive scale."<sup>91</sup> Most likely the figures are not Queen Maya's attendants since the two figures are males.<sup>92</sup> Regardless of the identity of the figures,

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<sup>88</sup> The visual imagery told from the *Lalitavistara* is also depicted on the relief panels of 9<sup>th</sup> century Borobudur at Central Java.

<sup>89</sup> Nantana Chutiwongs, "Buddhism in Champa: Narrative Reliefs of Two Images Pedestals at Dông Duong." *SACHE Lettre*, No. 14, (2011) 14.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>91</sup> Guillon 92.

<sup>92</sup> Robert L. Brown. Personal Communication. Spring 2013.

Queen Maya is depicted larger than the two figures to show her power as the mother of the Buddha.

Another scene shows a group of people worshipping a seated figure. There is no scholarly consensus about the identity of the figure. First, Guillon suggests that the seated figure is Buddha. He suggests that the scene shows “the Buddha in the heaven of the Tusita gods who venerate him and bow to his teaching. The worshippers are in the anjali hand gesture with one knee touching the ground, and the Buddha is seated in the ‘European’ position.”<sup>93</sup> Nandana Chutiwongs offers a different interpretation in 2011, explaining that “the upper panel depicts the rarely seen episode of Queen Maya attaining heaven after her demise, enthroned, surrounded by halo (prabhamandala) of divine radiance and being worshipped by the gods (fig. 17).”<sup>94</sup> The upper panel was defaced before 1972 for unknown reasons, but the original condition of the panel can be found in photographs. Based on a photograph in Jean Boisselier’s *La Statuaire du Champa*, the seated figure is rendered with breasts (fig. 18). This indicates that the figure is female. Chutiwongs uses literary texts such as the *Buddha-Charita* and the *Lalitavistara* to identify the seated figure as Queen Maya. If we accept that the seated figure is female, then the figure cannot be the Buddha. Without inscription accompanying the imagery, we do not know if the figure is Queen Maya.

In the *Lalitavistara*, the Sanskrit text tells the reader about the life of the Buddha from his birth to his Enlightenment. The text describes that after Queen Maya’s death, she entered heaven. The translation reads, “Thus O Bhiksus, when Bodhisattva had been born seven nights, his

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<sup>93</sup> Guillon 92.

<sup>94</sup> Chutiwongs 15.



mother, Mayadevi, died. After death, she was born among the Trayastrimsa gods.”<sup>95</sup> The story reveals that other gods possibly worshipped Queen Maya, but the text does not mention that she was enthroned. In another text, the *Buddha-Charita* reads, “But the queen Maya, having seen the great glory of her new-born son, like some Rishi of the gods, could not sustain the joy which it brought; and that she might not die she went to heaven.”<sup>96</sup> The text suggests that Queen Maya entered heaven, but again, the text does not help to identify if the seated figure is Queen Maya.

The only section in the text that describes Queen Maya seated states, “she was surrounded by women like divine maidens, bathed, anointed, clad in excellent clothes and ornamented, and accompanied by the melodious sounds and thousands of turyas [musical instruments], the Queen ascended and seated herself like a heavenly bride.”<sup>97</sup> If we do accept that the seated figure is not the Buddha, Queen Maya (or some other female goddess or female figure) enthroned is a rare depiction. There may have been a desire to worship female goddesses at the Đổng Dương monastery, in addition to the Buddha. This may not be surprising because royal women and female deities had a prominent status in Indravarman II’s court. The *Lalitavistara* enthrones Queen Maya to exhibit her status as a mother of the Buddha.

The scene below shows a sorrowful woman with a child clinging on her knees. The figure has been identified as Mahaprajapati, Queen Maya’s sister. The depiction of Queen Maya’s sister indicates that the elite had an interest in the depicting of the emotions of the female court women as well as displaying their prominent status as royal court ladies. Two female attendants “hold up the parasol of honor (chatta) to indicate the royal rank of the lady, who has now become the chief

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<sup>95</sup> Bijoya Goswami, *Lalitavistara*. Bibliotheca Indica Series, No. 320, March (2001) 96.

<sup>96</sup> Edward Cowell, *The Buddha-Charita or Life of the Buddha by Asvaghosa*. (Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1977) 19-20.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 50.

Queen of Kapilavastu.”<sup>98</sup> The depiction of the parasol over the royal woman’s head records her high status.

In a rare depiction, a relief shows a child holding his mother by the hand (fig. 19). Most likely, it is the Buddha’s wife and their son, Rahula.<sup>99</sup> This perhaps records the compassionate nature of the Buddha’s mother. This would be what the Buddha was leaving behind upon his departure. In the lower panel, Chutiwongs describes, “the last fragment known from this series contains the scene of Siddhartha looking at the sleeping women of his harem, and that his subsequent farewell to his wife and new-born child.”<sup>100</sup> While the reliefs show the life of the Buddha, a strong reference to women is embedded in the narratives.

At the main staircase, there are also narrative relief panels and figurative sculptures. The scene shows “the horde of Mara, namely Mara himself riding on the leading elephant, a prince representing Mara’s thousand sons, and his three daughters who all play significant roles in the attack on the Buddha (fig. 20).”<sup>101</sup> There have been other interpretations for the identity of the figure in this relief. Emmanuel Guillon argues the rider on the elephant is female.<sup>102</sup> Jean-Francois Hubert identifies the figure as “Indra, the god of war, atmosphere and lighting. His supporting animal is the elephant Airavata, on which he sits Indian style.”<sup>103</sup> The different interpretations show that scholars are uncertain about identity of some of the figures. It is most

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<sup>98</sup> Chutiwongs 15.

<sup>99</sup> Robert L. Brown, Personal communication, 30 August 2013.

<sup>100</sup> Chutiwongs 15.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. 16.

<sup>102</sup> Guillon 90.

<sup>103</sup> Jean-François Hubert, *The Art of Champa*, (USA: Parkstone Press and Confidential Concepts, 2005) 140

plausible that the rider is Mara with his daughters. The elites in the royal court had a desire to depict female imagery and the powers of femininity.

*Part Six: Royal Women from the Main Shrine*

The narratives on the pedestal from the main shrine in the temple's third enclosure also show narrative relief panels of the Buddha's life and jatakas that emphasize the significance of women in flashback episodes. Henri Parmentier labeled the main pedestal from A to O and scholars have followed this organization. Relief O begins the story of the Great Renunciation. Siddhartha sits on a horse with a charioteer, Chandaka and three deities. The scene above shows Siddhartha cutting his hair (fig. 21). The removal of Siddhartha's hair and his departure on a horse are common episodes rendered in the life story of the Buddha. Similar scenes are depicted in the 9<sup>th</sup> century relief panel at Borodudor in Central Java. Two registers above show the past lives of the Buddha, in a battle between king Kasi and Ksantivadin. The second register shows a battle between Prince Candakumara and Brahmin Khandahala.<sup>104</sup> On the third register, Siddhartha meets a group of women. The leader of the group has been identified as Queen Mahprajapati Gautami, the stepmother of Siddhartha<sup>105</sup> (fig. 22). The presence of royal court women on the reliefs includes Queen Maya, Queen of Kapilavastu, and Queen Mahaprajapati Gautami at the Đông Dương temple.

The next scene depicts previous life events of Siddhartha's wife, Yasodhara. For example the reliefs show "two embracing ladies to the left of the lower register probably show Yasodhara saying farewell to her mother before proceeding to the new court."<sup>106</sup> Panel L shows all females

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<sup>104</sup> Chutiwongs 20.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. 20.

in the relief. Guillon explains “as with quite a number of the pedestal panels, L shows a series of figures in three registers which are hard to assign to a specific episode in the life of the Buddha. In this case they are almost all female, and it is likely that they illustrate an edifying tale from the jataka.”<sup>107</sup> In the middle of the register, there is an image that has been interpreted as a reliquary in the form of a stupa. Chutiwongs argues that the relief does not depict a stupa, but a ceremonial vessel designated for the prince and princess (fig. 23). This vessel celebrates the marriage of Siddhartha and Yasodhara. In addition, the upper panel shows a group of court women. All the ladies are depicted with an elaborate headdress, revealing their feminine power.

The following episode shows the seated Buddha, receiving his last meal before Enlightenment with “lady Sujata and her retinue.”<sup>108</sup> Another female kneels in worship before the Buddha. The scene below highlights “Siddhartha approaching and eventually assuming the seat under the Tree of Enlightenment. Below the prince is shown bending over a female figure, which seems to be half-emerging from the ground. The *Lalitavistara* tells us that on his way to the Tree of Enlightenment, a naga princess who lived in the water of Nairangjana river, rose up from the earth to worship him and offer him a jeweled throne (fig. 24).”<sup>109</sup> The female figure with reverence stands before the bodhisattva.

The last scene tells the story of the attack of Mara with the presence of female figures. Chutiwongs suggests that “the lower most level unfolds the attack by the forces by a troop of armed warriors, whose actions are repelled by a tiny female personage, seated cross-legged on the ground and raising her right arm only slightly to upset the advancing foes. The tiny female

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<sup>107</sup> Guillon 100.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. 24.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 24.

who appears to have been the cause of all the consternations would only be Mother Earth, the Supporter of All lives.”<sup>110</sup> Females are prominently featured in the scene of the attack. Scholars have interpreted the female figures as Mara’s daughters (fig. 25). The relief shows Mara’s daughters carrying weapons. The depiction of women with weapons is rare in Southeast Asian art. In the *Lalitavistara*, Mara and his daughters retreat after failing to distract the Buddha’s mind. The scene does not emphasize the seductive nature of women, but women as powerful warriors. Chutiwongs concludes that “all the unwholesome and dark powers of samsara are shown defeated and dispersed by the accumulated forces of Charity and Renunciation that has paved the way to final Enlightenment, as unfailingly unregistered and timely acclaimed by Mother Earth, the upholder of All lives, herself.”<sup>111</sup> Chutiwongs’s interpretation supports the idea that the power of femininity is a prominent theme in the narrative reliefs.

#### *Part Seven: Conclusions*

Extraordinary female iconography was a sacred world for the Cham Buddhist elites. This paper demonstrates that some Cham royal women such as Haradevi Rajakula and Lyan Vrddhakula were participants in Buddhism. Sanskrit inscriptions reveal that Haradevi Rajakula commissioned Buddhist images for the merit of her late husband. In addition, the Nhan-Bleu inscription of Indravarman III (833 CE) records that in the year 833, a Buddhist monastery of Avalokitesvara in honor of their grandmother, the princess Lyan Vrddhakula (queen of Jaya Simhavarman I).<sup>112</sup> The interest of Buddhism from royal women was recorded in inscriptions, which corresponds with the prominent presence of female imagery in the visual narratives.

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid. 25.

<sup>111</sup> Chutiwongs 26.

<sup>112</sup> Schweyer 130.

Furthermore, a seated Buddha with legs pendant was discovered in the Đòng Dương monastery. The Buddha's posture originates from female goddesses, a seated position of feminine strength. The interest of Buddhism from Cham royal women along with the king created a presence of visual imagery that displays feminine powers.

The emphasis on the female realm is unique in the context of Indian Buddhism. Given the hints supplied above that a feminine worship played important role in Cham religion and specifically in Buddhism in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, more questions arise. These questions include the following. What is the nature of Cham Buddhism in the 9<sup>th</sup> century? What is the significance of Indravarman II's personal deity that includes the worship of the female goddess Laksmi and the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara? What explains the radical visual change and incorporation of Buddhist beliefs in a predominately brahmanical society? What is the purpose of the prominent display of female imagery at the Đòng Dương temple?

This paper calls for a larger study on Cham Buddhism. Buddhism was practiced at other 9<sup>th</sup> century Buddhist sites in Vietnam such as the Phong Nha Caves and the Marble Mountains. A pedestal found at the Marble Mountains is identical in style and subject matter to the pedestal at Đòng Dương. In addition, various medallions found at the Phong Na Caves depict images of male bodhisattvas and female deities. An in-depth study of the two sites has not been researched yet, but it is vital for understanding the nature of Cham Buddhism. I propose that the study of Buddhist arts in Champa will further our knowledge of Buddhism and its impact across Southeast Asia. In this paper, I argue that the Buddha with the legs pendant and narrative relief panels contributed to the visual display of the female realm at the temple. Further research can help shed light on the nature of 9<sup>th</sup> century Cham Buddhism in the context of other cultures in India and Southeast Asia.

## Appendices

### Inscription #1.

“(dha)rmamārthaṃ vihārah sthāpito [mayā]/  
[rā]jño na tv ākarādānād bhikṣusangha [prayo]janam//  
Paribhogāni savvāni vihāre sthāpitāni me/  
bhikṣusanghopabhogbhogārthaṃ satvānāṃ ca prayojanam//  
na rāgñah paribhogārtho nākarādānasantatih/  
bhikṣusanghopabhogārtho vihāraḥ sthāpitaḥ sadā.  
bhikṣunāñ va dhānāni tāni saklāny evaṅ ca raksanti ye  
vidvadbrāhaṇatāpasakṣitipatijñātyādayo bhutaye//  
bauddham mokṣaparamṃ samīyur asamaṃ sarvve ca bāndhavair ye”<sup>113</sup>

“For the sake of Dharma, and not for revenue, a monastery has been founded for the community of monks. I have placed all necessities in the monastery for the enjoyment of the community of monks as well as other creatures. This monastery has been founded for the perpetual enjoyment of the community of monks. And not for the enjoyment of the king, nor as a permanent source of revenue. Those who will protect all these riches of the monks—the learned Brahmanas, ascetics, relations of the king—will, their friends and kindreds, attain the Buddhist Nirvana to which there is no parallel.”<sup>114</sup>

“atayantapjanmapari śuddhaviśiṣṭ tacitto  
rājā mahājanavarair anguamyāmanaḥ /  
campārīum abhimatām akhilaṃ ca pātun  
tvāṃ rakṣatu tv iha tam eva ciraṃ sadā śriḥ //”<sup>115</sup>

“May the king, whose superior mind has been purified by successive births, followed by excellent men, protect you in order to rule the whole of beloved Champa. May the Goddess of Sovereignty in her turn always protect him.”<sup>116</sup>

... “api ca yaḥ śrindravarmā kṣetrāṇi sadhayāni dāsīdāsān sarajatasuvaṇakamśalohatāmrādīni  
drayāni śri lakṣmindralokeśvrāya bhilṣusa ṅghaparibhog āya dharmasantatiparip ūraṇārth āya  
dattavān iti//

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<sup>113</sup> Karl-Heinz Golzio. *Inscriptions of Campa: based on the editions and translations of Abel Bergaigne, Etienne Aymonier, Louis Finot, Edouard Huber, and other French scholars and the work of R.C. Majumdar: newly presented with minor corrections of texts and translations, together with calculation of given dates.* (Aachen: Shaker, 2004) 68.

<sup>114</sup> Majumdar 88.

<sup>115</sup> Golzio 66.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. 86.

“Now the King Sri Indravarman has given these fields together with their corn, male and female slaves and other goods, such as gold, silver, bell-metal, iron, copper etc. to Lokeshvara, for the enjoyment of the community of monks and the sake of the propagation of Dharma.”<sup>117</sup>

Inscription #2.

“Tasya śri jaya siṃ havarammanṛpater māṛsvasā santatuṃ  
yā puṇye nipuṇā viśeṣaguṇabhāg bhāgyodāyālaṃkṛtā/  
kirtyāśābhiratā manovihitasacintāspadā bhrājate  
gandhe puspanibandhavastracanāsv evaṃ vidaghocitā//”<sup>118</sup>

“King Jayasimhavarman has a maternal aunt (mother’s sister) she is always skillful in virtuous work, endowed with exceptional qualities, and decorated by the increase of fortune, she takes delight in her fame and hopes; she is an asylum of pious thought formed in her mind, and she is very skillful in making perfumes and arranging flowers and clothes.”<sup>119</sup>

“priyapatipādabhaktyabhiratā paramārthahitā  
vidhiguṇasaṃpadā kṛtavibhogavibhūtir iyam/  
dvijayatisajjanāvratadānakarī bhuvī yā  
śivapadapūjanāśayatanuḥ satataṃ bhavati//

gurujanasādhukāraparipūtasukīrttir iyam  
tadamalatuṣṭihetukṛtabhāgyayutā mahatī /  
uparucitatprasādahitapāvanalabdhaveṣā  
bhavad acalāśayopahitasamṃpad aninditadhiḥ”<sup>120</sup>

“She takes delight in her devotion to the feet of her dead husband; is well disposed towards the supreme truth; she makes the best use of her wealth according to religious precepts and her inborn qualities; she constantly makes gifts to Brahmanas, ascetics (yati) and virtuous people in the world, and she lives with the sole object of worshipping the feet of Siva. Her fame was purified by the praises of elderly relatives; she as united with fortune merely to cause unmixed delight to them; she was noble, she obtained dear and pure boons from the favour (of those elderly persons); her riches were produced by unshakable determination and her intelligence was without blemish.”<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid. 88.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. 84.

<sup>119</sup> Majumdar 90.

<sup>120</sup> Golzio 84-85.

<sup>121</sup> Majumdar 103.



(6) ta ... ś ri jaya siṃhavarṃmadevena campā puraparamēś varenasaggaṇagunavidā vidagdharṃmatinā mati... śrī matī harmādevī vidit haradevīsaṃjñāparanāmadheyāyā ajna pov ku lyaṅ śrī rā[jakulāhyāyā]ḥ svāmbānujāyāḥ puṇyavṛddhaye pratiṣṭhāpityam indrapuranāmi pure sminn iti// śrī paramabuddhalokasya nṛpateḥ svabhartuḥ puṇyāya sādhumanasājñā pov ku lyaṅ sri rājakulākhyayā ... gunajñayā pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ śrīndraparamēśvaro namneti//<sup>122</sup>

“[an image]...has been installed in the city named Indrapura, the august goddess known as Haroma for increasing the religious merit of his mother’s younger sister princess Ajna Pov Ku Lyan Sri Rajakula, also known as Haradevi. Sri Indraparamesvara was installed by princess Ajna Pov Ku Lyan Sri Rajakula, who is of virtuous mind and is a connoisseur of qualities... for the sake of religious merit of her own husband Sri Paramabuddhaloka.”<sup>123</sup>

“Tasminn eva śakarāje śrī rudraparamed [śvaraḥ sa] devaḥ patiṣṭhāpitas tayājñā po ku lyaṅ śrī rājākulākhyayā svapituḥ puṇyavṛddhyai// tad api mātur nijāyāḥ puṇyasamvardhanāyājñā pov ku lyaṅ śrī rākakulanāmadheyā śrī rudromāimaṇatiṣṭhipat sadbhaktyeti//”<sup>124</sup>

“In the same Saka year the princess Ajna Pov Ku Lyan Sri Rajakula has installed the god Rudraparamesvara for increasing the religious merit of her father. And for increasing the religious merit of her mother, princess Ajna Pov Ku Lyan Sri Rajakula installed, with pious devotion, this goddess Sri Rudroma.

“Jayati haromādevīsaṃjñā devī mahīmahākīrtiḥ / lyaṅ śrī rajakulākhyāyāḥ pratibimvā ca haradevyāḥ /”<sup>125</sup>

“Victorious is the goddess Haromadevi, the great glory in the world, and a reflected image, as it were, of Haradevi Rajakula.”<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Golzio 85.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. 104.

<sup>124</sup> Golzio 86

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. 86

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. 104.

### Inscription #3.

“Tataḥ pratiṣṭhāpita eva tena śrīvr̥ddhalokeśvaranāmadheyaḥ tritryaṣṭayukte ca śake vihāro grāme cikir nāmni sāgrajena//”<sup>127</sup>

“Then, in the Skara year 833, he established, together with his eldest son (brother?) a monastery called Sri Vrdhalokesvara in the village Cikir.”<sup>128</sup>

### Inscription #4.

“śrimah ā liṅ gadevo ‘yaṅ sthāpitas tena tatpituḥ sthāpita ca mahādevi śrimat īmā turipriyā //”<sup>129</sup>

“He has installed this Sri Mahalingadevi (in honor) of his father, and also a beautiful (image) Mahadevi, dear to his mother.”<sup>130</sup>

### Inscription # 5.

“Atha tenottarata iyaṃ bhagavatī pratiṣṭhapitā khavahnitanuśake mātur atitakalpasantā nakulodhavāyaḥ pu pov ku rudrapurasamjñ kāyā devī gaṇapatikumārān imān devān pratiṣṭhā payantayāś candrāgnitanuśake pratirūpati mātari tadbhataye svabhūmau//”<sup>131</sup>

“to the north of this they erected, in their native place, in the saka year denoted by ‘kha-vahni-tanu,’ an image of Bhagavati, out of devotion to and in imitation of the features of their mother Pu Pov ku Rudrapura.... Who had issued from a family, pure and from immemorial, and who had herself established in the saka year denoted by ‘Candra-Agni-tanu’, the image of Devi, Ganesa and Kumara...”<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Golzio 113.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. 113.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. 74.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid. 90.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. 103.

<sup>132</sup> Majumdar 120.

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