

## Exogenous and Indigenous Factors in the Formation of Early States in Central Vietnam

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### Abstract

During recent decades there have been important achievements in archaeological studies of Central Vietnam. The achievements in excavations and research results on the transitional period from Late Prehistory to Early History, c. 500 BC to c. AD 300, on the late Sa Huynh culture and the early period of Cham culture are especially noteworthy.

Based on these archaeological finds and discoveries contemporary Vietnamese archaeologists are investigating the dynamic cultural contacts of this area with the external world and the strong acculturation between exogenous and indigenous factors which led to the establishment of early states in this region. Due to qualitative and critical changes a number of local cultural features disappeared, while the forms and behavioral patterns of a new cultural structure appeared to replace the old elements.

This essay will address the following subjects:

1. The archaeological sequences in Central Vietnam during the period from 500BC to AD 300;
2. Social changes reflected in archaeological sites and artifacts especially in the archaeological materials which evidence the transitional phase from late Sa Huynh culture to early Cham culture.
3. This presentation will also cover the so-called Sinicization and Indianization of the area and the impact of indigenous elements on the formation process of early states in Central Vietnam.

### I. Introduction

#### *Transition to the history - some theoretical and practical issues in case of Southeast Asia*

Ten centuries before and after Christ (from 500 BC to AD 500) was the time of critical socio-political transformations in Southeast Asia mainland, it is important to focus on the emergence of early states in some huge deltas and along the sea coast<sup>1</sup>.

*State formation in Southeast Asia: Some theoretical issues*

Over the last decade or so several attempts have been made to come to grips with the problem of how and when the early states of Southeast Asia first developed. Most of the prominent essays have focused largely or exclusively upon the first states of the mainland. The maritime region has been less well served, due partly to the paucity and intractability of the data and partly to the fact that most scholars dealing to produce adequate descriptions of the states of the later first millennium A.D., well after the first states were founded<sup>2</sup>.

Theoretical discussions of the origins and the nature of

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<sup>1</sup> Higham Ch., *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1989; Stark Miriam T. 1998, The Transition to History in the Mekong Delta: A View from Cambodia. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol.2, No.3: 175-203.<http://www.seacrchc.org/media/pdfiles/ChamBook.pdf>; Stark. M và Sovath. B 2001, Recent Research on the Emergence of Early Historic States in Cambodia's Lower Mekong Delta. *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 21(5): 85-98

<sup>2</sup> J.Wissemann Christie, State formation in the early maritime Southeast Asia; A consideration of the theories and the data, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, land-en Volkenkunde* 151 (1995), no:2, Leiden, 235

the early state have been more prominent among scholars working in SEA areas, including Heine - Geldern's essay on religious basis of state and kingship; Wittfogel's model of Oriental Despotism, the Nagara state polity; Tambiah's model "galactic polity"; Wolters's Mandala...

*State formation in Southeast Asia* - "[The secondary state formation in which] the transition was often abrupt, as a chiefdom or ranked society was propelled into statehood through direct or indirect contact with a previously existing state"<sup>3</sup>.

There are two main groups of opinions related to the reasons and forces for the emergence and evolution of state structures in the area.

- i. The first one had stressed on exogenous components such as long - distance trade; Interactions with China, India and propaganda of religions and thoughts...**
- ii. The second one had focused on indigenous components such as population growth or population rate: Need and control of water management...**

While the early works have focused on the exogenous elements regardless of economical, political or religious in the terms of Indianization, Sinization and Hinduization..., the recent researchers highlighted the important role of the political economy and cultural foundations of the local communities in the establishment of the states or the idea of combining both two tendencies<sup>4</sup>.

#### **Central Vietnam: SEA Mainland or SEA Islands?**

From prehistoric time onwards, in one hand, Central Vietnam is closely related to the maritime SEA due its geo-cultural position. Its territory based on separate river valley systems flowing from the central Truong Son Mountains of Vietnam to the Eastern Sea (*South China Sea*) in the east, the economy of prehistoric and historic communities beyond an agricultural, fishing and forestry base and largely centered on the coastal trade with outside worlds. In the

other hand, due its historical complexity, this part of Vietnam also is related to the SEA mainland (i.e. *with China and Northern Vietnam*).

## **II. The archaeological sequences in Central Vietnam during the period from 500BC to AD 300**

From West to East, Central Vietnam could be composed of mountainous - forestall, river- deltaic, coastal and island topographies.

Generally speaking it is the long and narrow topography, which is bounded with the mountain range in the West and with the sea in the East. Such specific ecological and environmental conditions contributed to the formation of the typical and symbolic features in the socio-cultural structure of Central Vietnam. Each cultural region of Central Vietnam was corresponded to one big river delta. These regions were divided and related each other by the passes.

The period from 500BC to AD 300 in Central Vietnam was the time of existence of Sa Huynh culture and the emergence of several polities like early state. This period could be divided into two phases:

- I. The first phase: from 500 BC to AD 100 - Sa Huynh early iron age culture**
- ii. The second phase: from AD 100 to AD 500 (Early Champa period). It was the time of different contacts and acculturations depended on the historical process.**

## **III. The cultural achievements of the Sa Huynh communities**

The communities of Sa Huynh<sup>5</sup> culture were settled in all topographic terrains of Central Vietnam with main achievements as follow:

- **Extended the intraregional, interregional exchange**

<sup>3</sup> Kipp R.S., and Schortman E. M., The Political Impact of Trade in Chiefdoms, *American Anthropologist*, 1989, 91-2: 371.

<sup>4</sup> It is worthy to note here the point of view of Wolters: "I believe that the time is now promising for a re-examination of the passage of Southeast Asia from prehistory to proto-history in terms of continuities rather than of discontinuities. But I am especially anxious to indicate the origins of the early political systems that furnish the appropriate background to later tendencies in Southeast Asian intra-regional relations" (Wolters. O. W, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, Revised Edition, SEAP, Cornell Southeast Asian Program Publications, 2004, 26)

networks; Extending the trade links (directly or indirectly) into the seas of maritime Southeast Asia, stimulating the development of iron working... Trade appears to have been the key to economic growth and trade in SEA waters seems to have been information-maximizing rather than information-minimizing - that is, it carried a substantial baggage of information and ideas along with material commodities. This suggests that the carriers of most of this trade members of maritime Southeast Asia communities rather than outsiders<sup>6</sup>.

- Increased the production and using the metal tools, weapons (mainly the iron tools) Increasing use of metal contributed to a general shift in the economic and social structure of the local communities.
- Developed and improved the agriculture (rice - cultivation and cultivation of other plants which were appropriated to the environmental conditions and temperature);
- Exploited the natural resources from forest and sea for trading and development of craft productions. All these activities led to many big results and to the radical changes in social and economic life.

*The extension of living space* - The Sa Huynh culture sites have discovered in all topographical terrains with various environments. In recent time the number of unearthed sites in the big river deltas was increased strongly. This discovery expressed the existence of large living spaces which were corresponded to chiefdom of big scale or alliance of chiefdoms. In the studies of the Sa Huynh chiefdoms the model made by Bronson is useful<sup>7</sup>. Among the communities living in the various eco-cultural nets there were closely relations

and contacts not only economic but political and cultural in nature. The dynamic extension of the size and scale of Sa Huynh communities in compare with pre-Sa Huynh and the dimensions of the cemeteries and differentiations of graves goods were increased gradually from early to late periods evidenced the increasing and extending of natural and social resources exploitation. All these have contributed to accumulating of wealth and power which led to the development of social complexity.

*The craft production:* It is important to recognize dimensions and scale of specialization and centralization of craft production by using the found artifacts both from habitation and cemetery sites. The pottery and iron artifacts unrecovered in Sa Huynh cultural sites evidenced the pottery and iron crafts have been organized and produced on the large scale and with the standardization of the form, decoration and style. In one hand the strong increase of goods consumption of the Sa Huynh communities led to extension and complication of inner-regional and interregional exchange networks. In other hand the strong and fast increase of social complexity played main role in the existence of numerous imported goods. The graves which contained the artifacts from China, India and North Vietnam ... were distributed both in North and South areas of Sa Huynh culture. It has been suggested that trade (especially long-distance trade) has had important role in process of state formation - luxury goods, particularly those of an exotic nature have a greater impact on the local political economy. The Dong Son, Han bronze and Indian beads circulating amongst elites in Central Vietnam during the last few centuries BC may, in fact, mark the beginnings of a phase of rapid political transition.

The contrary impact of the status (or rank) goods was

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5 Sa Huynh culture: The Early Iron Age Archaeological Culture in Central Vietnam - The notable characteristic of the Sa Huynh culture is its mortuary tradition with burial jars. In general, the Sa Huynh sites reveal a considerable use of iron and decorative items made from glass, semi-precious and precious stone such as agate, carnelian, rock crystal, amethyst, and nephrite. The sphere of the Sa Huynh culture was extended from Thua Thien- Hue province down to Dong Nai Delta. The sites (cemeteries and occupation sites) are located on sand dunes extending along the shore or along the rivers in the alluvial plains. A quite big number of Sa Huynh sites is distributed on the highland and mountainous area.

6 J. Wisseman Christie, State formation in the early maritime Southeast Asia; A consideration of the theories and the data, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, land- en Volkenkunde* 151 (1995), no:2, Leiden, 277

7 Bronson Bennet, Exchange at the upstream and downstream ends: Notes towards a Functional Model of the Coastal States in SEA. In Hutterer K.C., (ed.), *Economic Exchange and Social Interactions in SEA, Papers on Michigan South and Southeast Asia*. S6 13. Ann Arbor, 1977, 39-52.

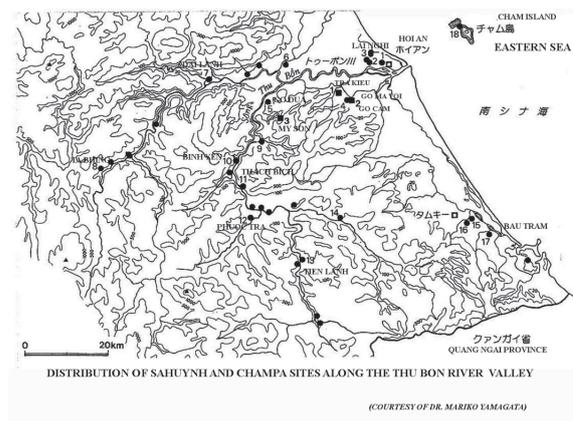
their role in impulse of social hierarchical differentiation inside the chiefdom and especially among the chiefdom network. The imported good and its techno-cultural idea were contributed to certain structural transformations in each craft and in the craft system. All those things created the critical changes in the searching and exploitation of resources, in the organization of production, in the ways of distribution and re-distribution of needful and exotic goods inside the chiefdom and among the chiefdom network. The most prominent transformation in the mental aspect of culture was the transition in burial rites from the small jar burials sparsely distributed in pre-Sa Huynh habitation sites to the special big jar burials with various forms which were densely concentrated in the separate cemeteries in Sa Huynh culture. Based on the spatial organization in each cemetery and comparative ethnological materials, it was thought that each village cemetery was divided into different parts and each part was the burial place for one clan or extended family.

**The archaeological materials have evidenced the large scale and strong dimensions of Sa Huynh culture power. Its power was not second to any early iron age cultures in South East Asia. Sa Huynh culture achievements contributed basically to the emergence of the states in the first centuries AD<sup>8</sup>.**

#### IV. The nature and evolution of cultures from AD 100 to AD 300

##### *Spatial Distribution of Sa Huynh and Cham Sites and the Connections between the Sites*

The burial rite with the big jar as sarcophagus which was typical for Sa Huynh culture declined generally in AD 100 although its variations still existed until AD 200, 300 in Southern area of Sa Huynh culture. From AD 100 onwards the social landscape changed critically because of the ex-



Map 1

trema inner social evolution and strong impacts of exogenous influences.

Over 100 Sa Huynh sites and a dozens Early Cham sites were discovered and studies in Central Vietnam. It is worth noting that the Cham sites located closely to the area of Sa Huynh sites, and in many cases, the Cham cultural layer or at least the Cham artifacts were found above the Sa Huynh cemeteries. The end of the Sa Huynh cultural phase coincided with the beginning of Cham culture. The location of Cham sites overlaps with that of Sa Huynh sites. But we cannot explain this simply as the continuous cultural development from Sa Huynh to Cham. We do recognize the coincidence of dates, or that of location, but there are divergences in many aspects of material culture between Sa Huynh and Cham (map 1).

There are differences in the nature of the sites. The Sa Huynh sites are mostly cemeteries. Cham sites are varied in nature and include occupation sites, port sites and citadel sites. The differences in the nature and function of Sa Huynh and Cham sites produces the differences of the features and artifacts brought to light during excavations.

The results of excavations of some Cham sites have also yielded substantial information regarding the ritual, economic and political activities of the people.

<sup>8</sup> The Sa Huynh Culture with its extensive and primarily coastal distribution and many external contacts formed just such a socio-cultural type (*pasisir* societies) and which later though strong commercial contacts with China to the north, the Philippines islands to the east and to India to the west, morphed into the several early historic Champa polities and later converted to Islam (Ian Glover, Sa Huynh – A Socio-cultural Type, An attempt to develop an interpretative framework for a late prehistoric society drawing on archaeology, ethnography and analogy, the Paper Presented at 19th IPPA Congress, Hanoi, 2009)

*The Chronology of the Cham Excavated Sites*

Based on recent archaeological data, we tried to outline the evolutionary process of culture in Central Vietnam during the period from AD 1 to AD 700, 800<sup>9</sup>. It could be generalized as follows:

The early period - from the mid and end AD 1 to end AD

3. This period could be divided into two sub - periods.

**a. The earliest sub - period, from mid AD 1 to mid AD**

**2. The key - artifacts were ovoid shaped jar and tile with cloth impression. In the pottery it was recognized some traditions which heritage from Sa Huynh culture. The predominant feature in pottery production was the introduction of new pottery technology which came from Eastern Han. Some wooden constructions with tile roof were found. The vestiges of this sub - period were uncovered in several sites such as:**

1. Quang Tri

2. Hue

3. Đà Nẵng city - Vườn Đình - Khuê Bắc site;

4. Quảng Nam province - Hoi An, Gò Cẩm (200BC to end ở AD 100)<sup>10</sup> and Trà Kiệu site;

5. Quảng Ngãi province - Lý Sơn Island.

**b. The succeed sub - period from mid AD 2 to end AD**

**3. Generally speaking this period was the continuous development of the earliest sub - period, however ovoid jar and tile with cloth impression suddenly disappeared. The coarse and fine pottery existed at the same time with appropriate functional forms, fine pottery was increasing gradually.**

The artifact assemblage of this early period reflected the

dynamic and strong cultural, economic and political contacts and interactions with outside worlds, especially with China.

The first using of brick was evidenced in the pebble basement found at Hoàn Châu 2000 excavated pit in Trà Kiệu site which belonged to the earliest sub - period of ovoid jar<sup>11</sup> led us to pose the question of initial chronology of brick production and using in Central Vietnam. This evidence helped to define the brick production began at the end AD 1. However, this so early date did not consider with other materials. It is also to note that bricks in Central Vietnam during the first half of I millennium were quite different from the bricks in North Vietnam although both areas have been influenced of Eastern Han brick making technology.

The late period - from the beginning AD 400 to AD 700,800 onwards

*Assemblages of artifacts*

Radical changes occurred in the assemblages of artifacts between Sa Huynh and Cham cultures

Pottery

In comparison with Sa Huynh pottery (mostly from graves), the pottery found in Cham sites seem to be simpler in decoration, but varied in material and potting techniques. From AD 100, a new technique for pottery making was introduced in Central Vietnam (higher fired stamped ware). It is important to focus on the appearance of fine clay pottery and new forms of pottery such as egg-shaped jars, pedestal cups, kendis (spouted vessels), and tiles with textile impression.

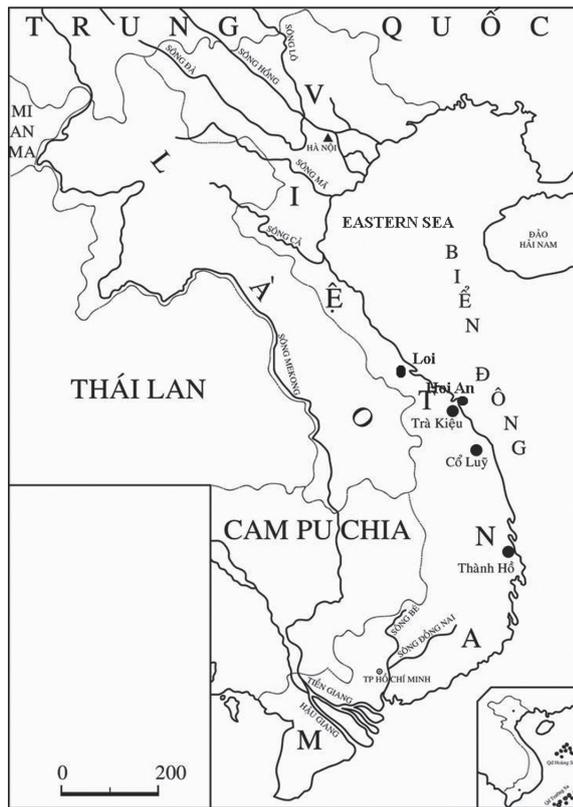
<sup>9</sup> Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung 2008, Nghiên cứu quá trình chuyển biến từ sơ sử sang sơ kỳ lịch sử ở miền Trung Trung bộ và Nam Trung bộ Việt Nam. Đề tài NCKH trọng điểm, ĐHQG, mã số QGTĐ.06.07. Tư liệu khoa Lịch sử và Tư liệu Bảo tàng Nhân học, trường ĐHKHXH & NV. Hà Nội (Research on Transitional Process from Protohistory into History in Central Vietnam. Research Project QGTĐ 06.07, Vietnam National University, Hanoi.)

<sup>10</sup> Archaeological studies in Go Cam site provided the materials evidenced the continuity in pottery making between Sa Huynh and Early Champa (Nguyễn Kim Dung 2007. Di chỉ Gò Cẩm và Trà Kiệu trong quá trình chuyển biến sơ sử-sơ kỳ lịch sử ở miền Trung Việt Nam. Bài tham dự Hội thảo khoa học của Đề tài QGTĐ, mã số QGTDD. 06.07 Hà Nội tháng 11 năm 2007. (Go Cam site and Tra Kieu Citadel Complex in the Transitional Process from Protohistory to History in Central Vietnam, the paper presented at the conference of research project QGTĐ 06.07, Vietnam National University, Hanoi.)

<sup>11</sup> Nguyễn Kim Dung 2007. Di chỉ Gò Cẩm và Trà Kiệu trong quá trình chuyển biến sơ sử-sơ kỳ lịch sử ở miền Trung Việt Nam. Bài tham dự Hội thảo khoa học của Đề tài QGTĐ, mã số QGTDD. 06.07 Hà Nội tháng 11 năm 2007 (Go Cam site and Tra Kieu Citadel Complex in the Transitional Process from Protohistory to History in Central Vietnam, the paper presented at the conference of research project QGTĐ 06.07, Vietnam National University, Hanoi.)

## Excavated Cham sites (map 2)

Number	Site	Cultural layer	Date	Cultural features
1	Hậu Xá I - Habitation site (Hoi An)	Bellow	End AD 1 to beginning AD 4	The lowest layer contained coarse pottery which was similar to Sa Huỳnh - early Cham coarse pottery, Han hard stamp pottery (Eastern Han). Some pottery types imitated Han bronze artifacts. Habitation site and Sacred site.
		Upper	AD 4 to AD 9, 10	Along with local coarse and fine pottery was the imported one such as Six Dynasties and Tang pottery, Islamic pottery. Habitation site.
2	Đồng Nà habitation site (Hoi An)	One cultural Layer	Beginning AD 2 to AD 4	Bricks were appeared in the lowest layer? The pottery was similar to the pottery from the lower and upper layers of Trà Kiệu site.
3	Cầm Phô site (Hoi An)	One cultural Layer	Beginning AD 2 to AD 4	Habitation site
4	Gò Cấm site	The lowest layer belonged to Sa Huỳnh culture	From c. 3 BC to beginning of c.1 BC	Belonged to the habitation site Thôn Tư which was dated to the Sa Huỳnh culture
		Gò Cấm layer	From mid AD c.1 to beginning AD c.2	Tile with cloth impression, ovoid jar. Coarse pottery which was inherited Sa Huỳnh coarse pottery. The Eastern Han artifacts, Southern Asian pottery. The control point or headquarters of Jinan prefecture?
5	Trà Kiệu Citadel Complex	Lower	End AD c.1 to end AD c	Lowest layer - layer contained ovoid jars. The first wooden constructions with tile with cloth impression. The coarse pottery which evidenced the continuity from Sahuynh coarse pottery. Appearing of new forms of pottery. Habitation place
		Upper	AD c. 4-7 and beyond	Appearing of new kind of tile – tile made by using the mould, brick and earthen architectural details. Cham coarse and fine pottery. Habitation place, Citadel. Political, religious and administrative center
6	Cổ Luỹ - Phú Thọ Citadel Complex	Lower- early habitation site	Beginning AD c. 2 to beginning AD c. 4	Habitation place without architectural vestiges. The coarse pottery which was bearing the similarities with coarse pottery from the lower layer of Tra Kieu this layer has not contained the ovoid jar and tile with cloth impression.
		The upper layer which contained two architectural levels	AD c.4 to AD c.7	The early architectural level contained brick and tile which are similar to the these from the upper layer of Tra Kieu The late architectural level has the end -tile with human face. Habitation place, citadel, political and administrative center
7	Thành Hồ Citadel Complex	The early habitation layer	Beginning AD c.2 to beginning AD c.4	Bearing the similarities with the early habitation layer of Cổ Luỹ - Phú Thọ
		Citadel and architectural vestiges	AD c.4-7-16 (?)	Bearing the similarities with the upper layers of Trà Kiệu and Cổ Luỹ-Phú Thọ and beyond. Habitation place, citadel, political and administrative center.



CHAMPA SITES MENTIONED IN PAPER

Map 2

We can recognize during the first millennium three main groups of pottery based on differences in fabric, surface treatment, vessel-forming techniques, style and function<sup>12</sup>.

1. The 1<sup>st</sup> group includes the domestic wares, locally made and relatively low-fired. This group evidenced some common features with the Sa huynh pottery.
2. The 2<sup>nd</sup> group consists of the locally made earthenware, but under the influence of the new technique from the North (i.e. Northern Vietnam or China). Some pottery forms seem to originate from the West.
3. The 3<sup>rd</sup> group presents the high-fired, stamped, glazed and unglazed Han pottery and probably some imported pottery from the West. These earthenwares were found in site belonging to the early and middle phases as defined above.

#### Ornaments

Indo-Pacific glass beads are found in abundance. Gold,

silver jewellery and ornaments became more popular, but agate, carnelian, and nephrite beads became rare; the Lingling O and two animal headed earrings, trademarks of the Sa Huynh culture, totally disappeared.

#### Other Artifacts

We do not have much information from the archaeological sites to evidence the evolution of metal and stone implements over this period; only by looking at private collections can we recognize great changes in the making and use of stone and metal tools.

#### Cultural shifts

In comparison with the previous Sa Huynh culture, the Early Cham and Cham artifact assemblages reflect the great changes in material, manufacturing techniques and forms. According to us, there two main groups of factors (inner and outer), which caused these shifts.

On the one hand, it is important to note the continuous cultural processes, especially in some domestic aspects such pottery making, subsistence patterns..., and on the other hand, we have to focus on the cultural changes over this time. The new forms of settlement patterns and artifacts derived from new social structures and newly acquired functions.

New social functions provide the opportunities and abilities for the development of quantitative and qualitative levels of organization of production and distribution. These changes influenced the selection of imported items. The changes occurring in artifact assemblages and site structure led us to recognize tendencies and preferences in the ways people interacted with the outside world over this millennium long period.

#### Nature of Cultural Interactions

For the first phase, the connections with Han China played an important role in the establishment of new social structure. Influence from China penetrate the Sa Huynh culture<sup>13</sup> and became stronger in the beginning of the first millennium AD; it was caused by various factors, among

<sup>12</sup> Lam Thị My Dzung, Do gom thien nien ky I CN o Mien Trung Vietnam (The pottery in the I st millennium AD in Central Vietnam), Khao co hoc, no.1, Hanoi (in Vietnamese), 50-70.

which the political factor is most significant<sup>14</sup>. In this same time, we can not ignore the influence from India, but the connection with India seems to be weaker than that with China. The material culture of this phase also reflects some features which were inherited from the earlier Sa Huynh culture.

During the second phase, one is witness to the increase of complexity in the connections with the outside world, in comparison with the first phase. One must also emphasize the strength of the influence from India and the multiple connections with Insular Southeast Asia. All these factors brought about radical transformations in various facets of Cham societies.

## **V. Sinicization and Indianization of the area and the impact of indigenous elements on the formation process of early states in Central Vietnam.**

### *Some Opinions about Sinicization, Indianization and their Social Impacts*

There are three groups of scholarly opinions about the process of so-called Indinization (and Sinicization), which for more than a millennium, beginning from the early centuries of the Common Era, was accomplished time and again by Brahmin priers, Buddhist monks, scholars and artisans who were introduced into Southeast Asia indigenous societies by Indian merchants. They emphasize:

- i. Southeast Asian Initiatives;**
- ii. Colonization theories;**
- iii. The idea of a mutual sharing process in the evolution of Indianized statecraft in Southeast Asia.**

Obviously, all early kingdoms were based on the Hindu conception of royalty, but never did they become Indian colonies. Up to now, Vietnamese archaeologists are of the opinion that much of the available data supports the third point of view. We suggest that trade with China and India played an important role, but it was never the principal 'cause' of the emergence of early states. State power was an important addition, but not the result of the successful development of trade with external world. I argue that the spread of goods and culture from India and China reflected the grafting of Indian and Chinese commerce onto a pre-existing infrastructure of Southeast Asian networks. Such an explanation implies that earlier phases of development in various areas of Southeast Asia were characterized by indigenous processes of trade expansion and increasing social stratification<sup>15</sup>.

**Of course, we are now far from the final solution of problems, concerned statehood of Southeast Asia. However, we must further our researches not only on material remains because of "The people of proto-historic Southeast Asia retained, I suggest, much more than vestiges of earlier behavior, though their behavior would not have been identical in every locality. But their cultures are unlikely to be entirely illuminated by artifacts recovered from graves or by Chinese evidence of commercial exchanges in the proto-historic period. Tools and trade represent only fraction of a social system"<sup>16</sup>.**

### *The Earliest Archaeological Artifacts from China and India in Central Vietnam*

According to researchers, exogenous objects can be divided into 3 groups: 1) Objects which were directly imported exogenously; 2) Objects which were produced using foreign

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<sup>13</sup> Lam Thi My Dzung, Sa Huynh Regional and Inter-Regional Interactions in the Thu Bon Valley, Quang Nam Province, Central Vietnam, Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association 29, 2009, 68-75.

<sup>14</sup> Lam Thi My Dzung, Mot so y kien xung quanh van de giao luu va tiep bien trong van hoa Sa Huynh (Some opinions about the relationships with the outside world of Sa Huynh culture). The paper presented at the Conference on 'The Relationships and Acculturations in Sa Huynh Culture', Institute of Archaeology, Hanoi, September (in Vietnamese).

<sup>15</sup> Lam Thi My Dzung, Sa Huynh Regional and Inter-Regional Interactions in the Thu Bon Valley, Quang Nam Province, Central Vietnam, Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association 29, 2009, 68-75.

<sup>16</sup> Wolters. O. W, History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives, Revised Edition, SEAP, Cornell Southeast Asian Program Publications, 2004, 25.

technology and 3) Objects which were produced locally, copying the shape of foreign objects<sup>17</sup>. Objects which were made on foreign orders can be classified as group 1). Besides, there were locally produced object but were made by foreign workers using foreign technology for the demand of the local society, etc<sup>18</sup>.

However, given the current research conditions, it is difficult to clearly distinguish Han products or Han-styled products into groups within Sa Huynh and Early Cham cultures.

Most objects/artifacts originating from Western and Eastern Han (China) and India were discovered in Sa Huynh sites were bronze artifacts such as tripod, bowls, plates, pots, coins, beads etc. which were considered as the objects which displayed clearly status (i.e. "status goods" or "status markers"), General speaking, these contacts and exchanges between Sa Huynh people and outside world mainly had an economic basis and the nature of these relationships is multilateral and equal.

But in early Cham sites, the artifacts which were originated from the North (including China and Northern Vietnam) closely related to masonry technique, citadel building, pottery making... So, the connections with Chinese Han played most important role in the establishment of new social structure and those influences from China which were seen in the Sa Huynh culture became stronger in the beginning of the I millennium AD. The relationships with outside world intensified in many aspects, and due to many reasons including political, cultural, economic...

A great number of carnelian and agate beads of Indian origin, which were found in the Iron Age sites in Thailand, Myanmar, and Vietnam: in particular, specific etched beads

and beads with animal shape (lion, bird, tiger...). At several cemeteries in Quang Nam provinces and Ho Chi Minh City, carnelian beads in shape of bird, tiger, and etched beads were found as grave goods. Carnelian lion and tiger beads are a reference to Buddha as Sakyasimha (Lion of the Sakya Clan), and it is highly probable that the lion bead from Thailand, as well as similar ones (tiger, bird or deer) from Vietnam, Myanmar, Thailand are early Buddhist icons, and as such probably the earliest witness to Buddhist ideas and values yet recognized in Southeast Asia<sup>19</sup>.

The pottery imported from South India appeared very early in Central Vietnam. It was evidenced in the early Cham sites such as Tra Kieu and Go Cam sites in Quang Nam province<sup>20</sup>.

## VI. Some conclusions

So, through the unique process of acculturation, the ethnically different Southeast Asian peoples absorbed the Chinese and Indian cultural elements and adapted them to their own particular needs. The superimposition of Indian culture never derived from a policy of political subjugation nor to economic exploitation; rather the very process signified a peaceful outlook and a cooperative approach.

In summary, based on the archaeological and historical annals, one could apply the following cultural sequences for the period 500 BC to AD 500:

- 1. The Proto-historic period – Sa Huynh culture. This culture ends around the beginning of the second century AD. But in some areas, especially in the southern part, the Sa Huynh culture only declined about AD**

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<sup>17</sup> Hà Văn Tấn, "Ốc Eo - Những yếu tố nội sinh và ngoại sinh", In trong Văn hóa Ốc Eo và các văn hóa đồng bằng sông Cửu Long, Sở VH TT An Giang xuất bản, Long Xuyên, 1984, tr. 230 (Indigenous and Exogenous Elements, Proceedings of Conference Oc Eo Culture and the Ancient Cultures in Mekong Lower Delta, Provincial Office of Culture and Information, An Giang, Long Xuyen province, 1984).

<sup>18</sup> According to Beline Berenice, there were Indian workers who came to work in SEA to produce jewelries there. According to Nguyen Kim Dung (Institute of Archaeology, Vietnam), until now there has not been evidence for the local production of carnelian jewelries, but there were plenty of evidence in archaeological sites for the local production of glass jewelries.

<sup>19</sup> Glover, I., Recent Archaeological Evidences for Early Maritime Contacts Between India and Southeast Asia. In H.P.Ray and J.F. Salled (eds), Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean, Neww Delhi: Manohar, 1994, 160; Lam Thị My Dzung, Sa Huynh Regional and Inter-Regional Interactions in the Thu Bon Valley, Quang Nam Province, Central Vietnam, Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association 29, 2009, 68-75.

<sup>20</sup> Nguyen Kim Dung, Di chỉ Go Cam và con đường tiếp biến văn hóa sau Sa Huynh khu vực Tra Kieu (Go Cam site and the ways of cultural acculturation epi- Sa Huynh in Tra Kieu area, Khảo cổ học, no.6. Hanoi (in Vietnamese), 41, fig.1.3

200 or 300, with some transformations in both burial rites and grave goods.

2. *The period from the end of first century AD to the end of the second or third centuries AD:* The Ancient Cham or early Cham periods is characterized by multi-cultural interactions with the outside world, among which the strongest connections were with the Chinese cultural sphere. These connections began in the final phase of Sa Huynh culture and increased during the Eastern Han period. According to the ancient annals, the sphere of Sa Huynh culture belonged to Jinan district (Quan Nhat Nam) of Eastern Han China. Cultural shifts are easily recognizable, particularly the total changes in burial rites and ceremonies (*but cremation as the mean of the dead burial is still continuing*). The jar burials and their associated grave goods disappeared and these shifts were reflected in the appearance of new cultural patterns. Therefore, some people suggest naming this period as pre-Linyi Period (Tien Lam Ap).

3. *The beginning of the third century AD – The Linyi state and similar states along Central Vietnam:* This is an intensive process of state formation. The appearance of the earliest Cham citadels. As evidenced by the vestiges found in the lower layer of Tra Kieu, the upper layer of Co Luy – Phu Tho and the Ho citadel which also match with the ancient annals<sup>21</sup>. The cultural interaction with India and Southeast Asia Islands became most important.

4. *From the AD 500 onwards, the term Champa occurred:* There are some gaps in the evolution of these phases, particularly in the transition stage from Sa Huynh to Early Cham or Pre-Linyi (i.e., end of first century BP to middle of AD second century); and in the transi-

tion from Linyi to Champa (i.e., the relationship between Linyi and similar polities, and Champa). In several cases, the interpretation of the historical annals finds no match in the archaeological evidence. From the archaeological point of view, it is important to note that the differences in archaeological records between the above-mentioned phases during the period from AD 100 to 500 are smaller than the previous Sa Huynh culture.

We tend to accept the idea that the Linyi and Linyi-like polities of Central Vietnam from AD 100 to 500 were established on the local bases but under strong Han Chinese influence (*in fact, the formation of these early states reflected the reaction of the local communities fighting against the Chinese domination*)<sup>22</sup>. The impact and influence of Indic civilization increased around AD 400 and 500, and Champa appeared on the historical scene around AD 600. The archaeological materials do not bring evidence for such a radical change or the replacement of Linyi by Champa. On the contrary, one can observe continuities in the development of material culture between these periods. It is recognized both in the sites and in the artifact assemblages.

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<sup>21</sup> Southworth W. A., The Coastal States of Champa. In Ian Glover and Peter Bellwood, *Southeast Asia from Prehistory to History*, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004, 218.

<sup>22</sup> Under East Han dynasty, history recorded that the Han (East Han) dynasty delegated the responsibility of governing Giao Chi (Luy Lau political center – in Northern Vietnam), controlling all Southern districts belonging to the Han dynasty, which consequently significantly undermine central government's power. The Han dynasty also appointed two ambassadors to Giao Chi and Cuu Chan district, **the appointment of ambassador to Nhat Nam district was not mentioned**. Apparently, Han's policies towards Southern land, especially the far South such as Tuong Lam district, are different from the other regions, and the influence of the government, according to some researchers "in name but no substance". This in reality was reflected through the prominent role and real power of local leaders in organizing and running societies at the time.

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