



Thu Dau Mot University  
Journal of Science

journal homepage: [ejs.tdmu.edu.vn](http://ejs.tdmu.edu.vn)



## Interpretations about Hoa Anh state

by *Nguyễn Văn Giác* (Thu Dau Mot University)

**Article Info:** Received 15 Aug 2019, Accepted 24 Sep 2019, Available online 15 Dec 2019

Corresponding author: [vanjack.nguyen@gmail.com](mailto:vanjack.nguyen@gmail.com) (Dr. Nguyễn Văn Giác)

### **ABSTRACT**

*On the basis of coordinating the sources of history materials from Vietnam and China, together with the latest archaeological achievements of Ho Citadel, the article has delineated territory, confirmed the chronology frame with the Kings of this kingdom in relation to post-Champa Empire. It is from the aftermath of Vijaya, the two parts of Aryaru (Phu Yen) and Kauthara (Khanh Hoa) belong to Hoa Anh Kingdom, in which, Le Thanh Tong is crowned as Ban La Tra Duyet; the rebellion of this King is the cause for the second conquest, formally taking Ling Chan/ Da Bia as the landmark; Trai A Ma Phat Am is designated as Hoa Anh's King on the remaining land of Kauthara, but immediately incorporated into Panduranga, forming the state of post-Champa.*

**Keywords:** *Hoa Anh kingdom, Da Bia mountain, Maha Ban La Tra Duyet, post-Champa*

### **1. Introductions**

As the name of Hoa Anh state came to be known only once in the national history book of the post-Le dynasty without any guidance, the later documents after discussion of this matter were also not consistent. The national history of the Nguyen Dynasty kept the excerpts of Hoa Anh in the Le dynasty, accompanied by a note: "... Hoa Anh state's lineages are weaker and weaker, it could not be saved now" (Hậu, 2008).

Lê Thành Khôi did not directly address Hoa Anh and Nam Ban, but it was stated that "from now on, Champa [1471] had been narrowed to Kauthara and Panduranga districts"

..., with the following comment: "Champa regained some parts in this territory in the sixteenth century thanks to the turmoil happening in Dai Viet. The boundary will be pushed to Cu Mong Pass. In 1611, Nguyen Hoang would cross this border when occupying Phu Yen province "(Khôi, 2014, p. 283). Accordingly, this land is known as Phu Yen later on, but from 1471 backwards, it is used to belong Hoa Anh territory.

For being clearer according to this perception, Luong Ninh interpreted: "In 1611, Nguyen Hoang appointed Van Phong to be the captain of a troop to fight back, Champa was lost, King Po Nit (1603-1613) had to abandon Hoa Anh to withdraw troops to the South of Deo Ca. For this time, Nguyen dynasty takes Hoa Anh land to set up a new government as Phu Yen ... " (Lương Ninh, 2006, 213). Nguyễn Thị Hậu supports the argument that "..... This time [1611] is also considered to be the time when Hoa Anh officially ceased its existence in 140 years from 1471" (Hậu, 2008).

However, the historian Tạ Chí Đại Trường overturned the problems when exchanging positions between Hoa Anh and Nam Ban, that "the historian Nguyen must agree with Phan Huy Chu, who supposes that Nam Ban is the area that is considered as under Thuy Xa, Hoa Xa, i.e the North and Central of Highlands today, and Hoa Anh can not be researched. During translation, the noter [Complete Annals of Dai Viet - NVG] guesses that Hoa Anh is Phu Yen, Khanh Hoa today ... Perhaps it must say the opposite ... We can suppose that Hoa Anh is in the Highlands, because these two words mean the logo painting flags & cold steels. The Le does not know story about Thuy Xa Hoa Xa is under the Nguyen lord... " (Tạ Chí Đại Trường, 2017). In fact, this epistemological interpretation is hardly able to overcome the meticulous results of history from Le Quy Don to the National historiographer's office of the Nguyen Dynasty.

Meanwhile; although some Champa researchers like Danny Wong Tze-Ken, Po Dharma and P-B. Lafont do not mention in Hoa Anh and Nam Ban, most of them affirm from the year 1471, the Champa kingdom of Bo Tri Tri includes both Panduranga and Kauthara. P-B. Lafont in a recent history book of Cham insisting that: "Once the North had fallen into the hands of Dai Viet, the Champa kingdom continued to exist but shrank in the south under the territory of the emirate Kauthara and Panduranga, where people were very intrinsic, hyperactive, always seeking autonomy and sometimes seeking to break away from the Champa Federation to create an independent nation "(Lafont, 2011, p. 184-185). This argument is synonymous with the recognition of Hoa Anh and Nam Ban locating in the remaining parts between the southern boundary of Dai Viet in Cu Mong and the North of Champa in Da Bia, extending from the coast to the upper plateau.

In summary, the above-mentioned insights suggest that Champa's territory of Bo Tri Tri conquered by Dai Viet, including Panduranga and Kauthara; emirate Hoa Anh had existed during 1471-1611 in the land between Cu Mong and Dai Linh along the sea and Nam Ban covering the opposite highland. There are no other explanations on Hoa Anh,

from the sovereigns who are ordained to the internal affairs of the kingdom, excepting that the confirmation of Ho citadel is the capital by the opinion of scholar Luong Ninh and Nguyen Thi Hau.

We find out some gaps and somehow, it has not been yet satisfactory in terms of perception of the problem, we boldly provide some insights with complementary contents for the event.

## **2. Hoa Anh kingdom**

Conflicts with accumulated stress between two kingdoms adjacent to the border of Dai Viet and Champa broke out in the early 70s of the 15th century. After the events of King Maha Ban La Tra Toan brought more than 10 thousand of water forces to fight Hoa Chau, the Emperor Le Thanh Tong immediately ruled 26 thousand brave militia for counterattack; at the same time, rushing to the South, straightly directing to the Vijaya capital of the enemy, encircling and destroying. King Champa and 50 members of the royal family were arrested and escorted to Dong Do, while the captured land was established as Quang Nam province, the 13th highest ranking administrative unit in the territory of Dai Viet.

The situation of the Champa Empire was later determined by the emperor: “After Tra Toan was arrested, his general Bo Tri Tri ran to Phien Lung [Phan Rang], took possession of the land, proclaimed himself as Champa lord, Tri Tri obtained a fifth of Chiem’s land, requested ambassador to confess the sovereignty, tribute, recognized as the king. The King also crowned for both Hoa Anh and Nam Ban, including 3 countries to bind” (Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences [VASS], Volume II, 1998, p. 450).

The land occupied by Bo Tri Tri was in Panduranga, as one of five or six Champa Renaissance areas under the Che Bong Nga Dynasty (1360-1390), inherited by General La Ngai (1390-1400), including: Indrapura, Amavarati, Vijaya, Kauthara, Panduranga and sometimes might add more Aryaru<sup>(1)</sup>. There is no mention on narrowness, it just only delimits territory in terms of parts or regions. During the brief reign of Ho dynasty (1400-1407), it used to occupy Indrapura and Amavarati, but then it was based on the power of the Ming Dynasty, Jaya Sinhavarman (1400-1441), the son and successor of La Ngai have obtained and returned to the kingdom.

Nam Ban is located at the West of Dai Linh range, including the land of two minor states: Thuy Xa and Hoa Xa; meanwhile, Hoa Anh is the longest remaining land in the East contiguous to the sea. Both of these two lands are in Hoa Anh and Nam Ban which were previously incorporated in the Champa constitution under Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. Obviously, this division aims to make enemy self-restraint to each other according to the situation of cauldron’s legs; on the other hand, it

forms a buffering region separating Dai Viet and Champa from the upper plain spreading out to the sea.

At that time, the territory of Hoa Anh is located between Cu Mong mountain and Phan Rang river. The northern boundary of Hoa Anh is identified in Cu Mong for the reason that; beyond to the North, it is the land and Vijaya city is crossed and proclaimed as Hoai Nhan district by Dai Viet. Different from the last time in 1446, the Le Nhan Tong's court brought more than 60 thousand troops to occupy Vijaya, captured the king Maha Vijaya to detain in Dong Do; but also, it handed over the rulership of entire kingdom to his nephew, Maha Quy Lai who had merits on joining forces; and at this conquest, Le Thanh Tong burned down Vijaya after issuing the command, "All the treasures in the city must be kept sealed, not burned." (VASS, Volume II, 1998, p. 449) in order to prevent the looting of soldiers, and then a large part of the army was detained for the purpose of keeping and establishing the system. It was not intended to entrench a descendant to maintain the Champa court in Vijaya. The southern boundary of Hoa Anh is Phan Rang river, as confirmed by the document, because of the great escape of a general directing joining in the war in Vijaya, he was too frightened by the enemy's attack; also, the intention of Le Thanh Tong on expanding the buffering region to be safe for the territory of Dai Viet which had just been established.

### **3. Hoa Anh's King**

The first person crowned by Emperor Le Thanh Tong of Hoa Anh Kingdom in the spring of 1471 was Ban La Tra Duyet, brother of Ban La Tra Toan. Ban La Tra Duyet was originally a mandarin in the Maha Vijaya court (1441-1446) and continued holding important positions under the courts of Maha Quy Lai (1446-1449), Maha Quy Do (1449-1458), born in Cri Vini (Thi Nai); at the same time, he got married with the daughter and niece of the King Maha Vijaya. In 1458, Ban La Tra Duyet organized the assassination of King Maha Quy Do to dispute the throne, demanding the title of Emperor Ming and this had been recognized. With the help of the royal court by rich tributes of the embassies, he publicly criticized Le Nhan Tong for plotting to take possession of the kingdom and reestablishing the autonomy path of King Maha Vijaya, his father's name was Pi Kai/ Bi Cai in the list of tributes in Ming Dynasty (Coedès, 2008, p. 420). Similarly, Ban La Tra Duyet also has the Chinese name as P'an Loyue recognized by Ming's history records in the second year of Thien Thuan 1451, "after obtaining the throne, appoint the embassies to bring the master's protest and tributes" (Maspéro, 1928, p. 234). At the beginning of 1460, Ba La Tra Duyet abdicated, the throne belonged to his brother. However, documents from Ming Dynasty said that he seemed to be forced to abdicate, not voluntarily leaving the throne which he took a lot of effort and time to get it, via the Royal letter dated 13 September in the 4th year of

Thuan Thien (27.9.1460) brought away by the ambassador Vuong Nhu Lam: "... The King Ma Ha Ban La Duyet [Maha Ban La Tra Duyet] recently was crowned to manage the country less than 4 years [3 years - NVG] then died, the legacy of succession was indispensable. His brother; Ban La Tra Toan, who was very temperate, humble, polite (...), was crowned as the King of Champa (Ho Bach Thao's translation, 2010, p. 69). The information on Ban La Tra Duyet's death was supplied by the diplomatic corps sent to China by Ban La Tra Toan to legitimize his thrown. In fact, the son-in-law of Maha Vijaya was still alive and detained by his brother in a secret place in the capital within 11 years during the time of assuming powers of Ban La Tra Toan (1460-1471) until being liberated and restored the throne by emperor Le Thanh Tong. The King Le thought that Ban La Tra Duyet would be grateful, loyal and subordinated to Dai Viet in the duty of a tributary.

However, the rebellious spirit of Ban La Tra Duyet had the opportunity to rise. Ho citadel, the capital of Aryaru state in the regime of unification of "Nagara Campa"<sup>(2)</sup>, the largest citadel of the southern regions of Champa in Da Rang valley became the capital, and as the resistance center of Hoa Anh. It is certain that the capital establishment of Hoa Anh at Ho citadel, not far from Kauthara was designated by Le Thanh Tong, due to the distance of nearly to one hundred miles (100 km) between Ho Thanh and Hoai Nhan, which was enough to control and isolate a neighbor country always finding an opportunity to rise. Toward Ban La Tra Duyet, Ho citadel covers all three sides of East, West and South, strategically located in the traditional Vijaya area; moreover, just far from Cu Mong Mountain, the other side is country with approximately 500 years old (formed in 1000 AD), his hometown and glorious youth. Obviously, in the name of the nation of Dai Viet; however, Hoa Anh and Maha Ban La Tra Duyet was a real orthodox succession of the nation and royal power of the Champa Empire at this historic moment.

Here, perhaps there is another important cause not less than the above mentioned reasons, leading to the decision to select Ho citadel as the seat of Hoa Anh from Emperor Le Thanh Tong and the King Ba La Tra Duyet. Situated on the left bank of Ba River, Ho citadel became a rare fortification in the history of the citadel development of the Champa kingdom, which was designated as a military defense principle as taking the mighty river in front of citadel as an obstacle to prevent the enemy from attacking the right bank (South). From the Champa fairy tale<sup>(3)</sup>, it is possible to perceive that the Ho Ton ancient state existed simultaneously with Dieu Nghiem clan in the south and Lac Viet state in the north, in which, Ho citadel was the center at the end of the first millennium BC. The disputes with Lac Viet in the north were not mentioned as a proof of the relative peace of Ho Ton, while the South was frequently threatened by the plunder and destruction of Dieu Nghiem clan. On the ancient foundation of Ho Ton, Champa formally established Lin Yi state (Lam Ap) in the second century with

continuous conquest to the north to establish the new citadel - Sinhapura (Tra Kieu)<sup>(4)</sup>. Beyond military talent, Emperor Le Thanh Tong also had the wisdom of ethnic civilizations, from which he had a truly admired view and abundance for the achievements of the neighboring kingdom. Ho citadel existed a thousand years old and discovered many other ancient values, including the unique Cho Dinh Inscription with the age about 400 AD engraved on Thap Nhan cliff<sup>(5)</sup> conquered the victorious emperor and handed over to the King Ban La Tra Duyet as an ornate treasure in the spirit of cultural tolerance.

Even so, after eight months (from the beginning of March to early November of Tan Mao year/ 1471) covertly mobilizing the local aristocracy, Maha Ban La Tra Duyet took full powers to open the surprise attack to Hoai Nhan, to regain the land of Vijaya. It is possible that the kings of Nam Ban (Thuy Xa, Hoa Xa) gave the renaissance of Hoa Anh considerable assistance, but for the defeated general Bo Tri Tri occupying Phien Lung region and requesting the envoy to give tribute to Dai Viet for being crowned, then Ban La Tra Duyet had not taken advantage of anything, because Ban La Tra Duyet became the rivals of Bo Tri Tri Tram in two ways belows: The rival of Ban La Tra Toan was the one whom used to be served by Bo Tri Tri, also a contender for the current legitimacy of the Champa kingdom. Bo Tri Tri was planning to take advantage of the “sitting on the mountain watching the tiger fighting” or playing as a role of “fisherman” before the fighting scene.

At the same time, Ba La Tra Duyet sent missions to the Ming to request ordination and intervention. The urgent statement of the envoy Lac Sa at Yen Kinh courtyard on May 21, in 08th Thanh Hoa (27.6.1472) authenticated the interior of the kingdom: “In February of 7th Thanh Hoa [1471], An Nam came to attack the city, captured the king Ban La Tra Toan and his families with over 50 people, seized the seals, destroyed houses, robbed the people, killed men and women. Now, the brother of the king - Ban La Tra Duyet - temporarily managed the country, begged for arbitration “(Ho Bach Thao’s translation, 2010, 86). A month later, the news from the Ming Dynasty said that it agreed “... To ordain Ban La Tra Duyet, brother of the died king Ban La Tra Toan, to take the throne of Champa,” which is more special is that “Ministry of ceremony, according to the law of Chinh Thong period, ordained for Prince Maha Bi Cai [Maha Vijaya] to glorify for the petition” (Ho Bach Thao’s translation, 2010, p. 87). Thus, both his father-in-law (Vijaya) and his son-in-law (Ban La Tra Duyet) were officially recognized the thrown by emperors of Ming Dynasty, the rare glory of the thirteenth and tenth dynasties as the last dynasty of Champa empire<sup>(6)</sup>.

The unhappiness was struck down before Maha Ban La Tra Duyet was benefited from the grace of the Ming emperor. Emperor Le Thanh Tong fiercely battled against the disobedience of the vanquished, on November 8, 1471 of Tan Mao year/1471, he

personally conquered the South for the second time (VASS, Volume II, 1998, p. 458), re-elected General Le Niem, the pioneer in the Vijaya conquest in a year ago, "... as the General commander Binh Chuong, commanding 3,000 troops" (The National History of the Nguyen Dynasty [NH], 1998, p. 1,120). The on-site troops were rescued by the great troop from Dong Do to co-operate overwhelmingly, breaking the attack of Hoa Anh in the border area of Cu Mong, continuing to pursue the enemy to Ho citadel. Ban La Tra Duyet was forced to retreat into the rugged Dai Linh range in the south. The winter insurrection of 1471 was reported by the Chinese embassy at the royal court in the journey led by Cong Tran Tuan as followings: "... when the navy arrived at Tan Chau port [Vijaya/Thi Nai - NVG], Champa refused, the defense military refused access, the interpreter said that this land was occupied by An Nam, and the King of Champa refuted at Linh Son. In Linh Son, it was known that Ban La Tra Duyet was caught by An Nam and Champa land was renamed as Giao Nam. Tuan's group did not dare to visit; but the boat carried private goods with many traders, they gave reason of being affected by storms and then went to Man Lat Gia "(Ho Thao Bach's translation, 2010, p. 92-93). Lingchan region, i.e Linh Son/Phat Linh, located on the map with a little far from the South of Vijaya citadel (Ho Bach Thao's translation, 2010, p. 95), was exactly as Thach Bi mountain, which was described as "... there is a large stone, turning its head to the East as the human [Phat - NVG]" (NH, 2006, p. 79), where international vessels crossing Champa's sea select this place as a navigational landmarks. It was here that Le Thanh Tong had ambushed the rebellious king of Hoa Anh with his wife and son and the surviving generals, escorted and detained in Dong Do. In the same manner in Vijaya, he "sabotaged this land"<sup>(7)</sup>, narrowing the territory of Hoa Anh, leaving only Kauthara. At that time, the boundary of Dai Viet was marked by mountains with natural stele with the folk name of Da Bia, named as Thach Bi mountain nowadays. On the national map in April of Canh Tuat year (1490), the southernmost boundary was officially recognized as Thach Bi mountain (Đầu, 1996, 34-35).

The King was appointed as a descendant of Ban La Tra Toan, as the Ming court's records said that: "After taking Champa, An Nam sent soldiers to capture P' au Lo T'ou Yue [the other name of Ban La Tra Duyet - NVG] and crowned for a grandson who called his ex-king Trai-a-Ma-phat-am as uncle on the Southern land in the border" (Maspéro, 1928, p. 239). With this enthronement, Trai A Ma Phat Am became the orthodox successor not only to Kauthara but also to the Panduranga domain of Bo Tri Tri. So soon after that, Mai A Ma Phat Am abolished the dynasty of Hoa Anh, unifying Kauthara and Panduranga into pos-Champa state.

For its part, it was too far to the South, the human resources of the back line was not enough to provide management and exploitation for the front line, Emperor Le Thanh Tong also ignored this.

#### **4. The key points of history**

In order to evade the annoying orders of returning the dynasty from enemy, as the latest time under Le Nhan Tong for the case of Maha Vijaya, i.e Bi Cai<sup>(8)</sup>, the emperor Le Thanh Tong cleverly disguised for Ban La Tra Duyet, who was imperiled by the Ming emperor, surely the Ming dynasty would protect the king and his life, with a strange name: Ban La Tra Toai. The Le dynasty has codified this important event as follows: "On the 8th [November, Tan Mao Year/1471 - NVG], it again conquered Champa. They captured the lord Tra Toai and his rafts brought to capital "(VHC, Volume II, 1998, p. 458). Later on, Le Thanh Tong sent two embassies to Yen Kinh: The embassy of Le Hoang Duc paid various tributes, the embassy of Nghien Nhan Tho was responsible for the task "... to notify about Champa's collapse and it's border harassment" (VASS, volume II, 1998, p. 465). The notice of King An Nam - Le Hao, i.e Le Thanh Tong, by royal letter at the Ming court on August 25, the 11th Thanh Hoa (24.9.1475) manipulated successfully the action of Tra Toai and the works of the King of Champa and Hoa Anh by the confusing facts that: "In previous years, when the King of Champa, Ban La Tra Toan invaded Hoa Chau, and he was killed by his younger brother, Ban La Tra Toai. Toai self-appointed as the King, asking for the throne was killed by the son of Ban La Tra Duyet as Tra Chat Dai Lai, from then, the people in this country were emerged, not having a peaceful day. This situation was not the fault of our country"(Ho Bach Thao 's translation, 2010, p. 95). Before such confused and false & wrong notices, even completely contradictory from Dai Viet; the Chinese protector, when matching the real notices from envoy Tran Tuan, had shown impotence to his task of reconciliation, he required the courtiers to write letters of advice<sup>(9)</sup> for rebellious neighboring countries.

Thus, by attributing new name Ban La Tra Toai to Ban La Tra Duyet, Le Thanh Tong publicly permanently detained a dangerous opponent obstructing the Southern-conquering way of Dai Viet. The fate of this imprisoned king was told: "Thanh Tong conquered Champa and caught Tra Toai and his wife and children to our country and detained at the citadel gate of Bao Khanh within nearly 30 years. To Canh Thong regime [Le Hien Tong (1498-1504)], his son, Tra Phuc, buried the remains of his father, Tra Toai, to home ... Trau Phuc returned to the country and sent the children as Ma La to ask for the help from Ming, and also built boats with more foods"(VASS, Volume III, 1998, p. 45-46).

In order to support the renaissance of the kingdom, in 1478 Trai A Ma Phat Am sent an ambassador to China to apply for ordination. The request was accepted by the Ming dynasty, because of the danger of a new conquest from Dai Viet. However, the embassy taking the royal notice on crowing for Champa did not face any obstacle at this time. This was also the last time which the Ming appointed delegation to cross the sea to Champa to directly crown. Three years later, his brother named Co Lai killed Trai A Ma Phat Am, won the throne (NH, 1993, p. 613), continued to send the delegation and asked for the imperial



court's mandate for Dai Viet to return land previously occupied. Co Lai's message by mail submitted at the Ming - Thanh Hoa court on October 18, 481: "I and my brother named Te A Ma Vat Am [Trai A Ma Phat Am] hid in the forest; then Giao people [Giao Nam/Dai Viet - NVG] were afraid of your country, sent troops to seek the descendants of our country, allowed to return to home. Restricted from the capital city to Champasak, including five region, crowning for Te A Ma Vat Am. Soon, Te A Ma Vat Am died, now I was the temporary king, but I did not dare arbitrarily ... I begged you to request the Giao to hand over the whole territory of my nation, including 27 regions, 4 provinces, 1 capital, 22 districts ... " (Ho Bach Thao's translation, 2010, p. 117) . The request of Co Lai was not fulfilled, even if the emperor had written the letter of threatening to the Le<sup>(10)</sup> .

The official landmark was still Thach Bi mountain, limited borders of Champa in five lands in Kauthara and Panduranga, in which, Kauthara included Ia Ru and Ia Trang, corresponding to Ninh Hoa valley and Nha Trang plain named later on; Panduranga area consisted of three lands, corresponding to three Phans according to the naming way of Vietnamese, they were Phan Rang, Phan Ri and Phan Thiet.

However, with the newly established territory lying between the Wou Wen/ Truong Son mountains and Champa sea, the Dai Viet government could not simultaneously exploit due to lack of human resources, especially the mountain valley of Cu Mong to Thach Bi, a half of previous Hoa Anh territory. Co Lai, taking advantage of that difficulty of the enemy, had retaken the old part of the land north, concentrating the forces to restore Ho citadel as a central base, and strengthened military operations to Dai Viet, created a strong shield against the Vietnamese forces when attacked from the North. It is said that Ho citadel was restored and strengthened more steadily in the last century of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century: "From 1471, the construction of temples & towers had almost ceased to focus on building an unprecedented fortress. This fortress ... lied on the northern bank of Da Rang River " (Luong Ninh, 2006, p. 211).

In fact, the Dai Viet government after the reign of Emperor Le Thanh Tong fell into a state of prolonged crisis due to the incompetent successors and the ongoing internal war, "... not having time to conquer "(NH, 2006, p. 6) the new land adjacent to the border. A century later, under the pressure of regional political power established under new conditions, Ho citadel once again was razed and the Champa kingdom was forced to retreat to the old border at Thach Bi Mountain<sup>(11)</sup> .

## 5. Conclusion

The history of Hoa Anh is as well as the lightning flashes on the land of Dai Viet, also as the hyphen in the process of separation and reunion of the Champa regime at the moment of turning point with historic nature through a series of great incident. There

are no definite endings for Hoa Anh, which have so many reservations, but the two kings have somewhat reflected the things that history has historically been missed.

The rare flowers in post-Champa are crystallized from the planting of the spirit of self-reliance and renaissance spirit of the Maha Ban La Tra Duyet, Trai A Ma Phat Am and all Champa people in their tragic transition in a half of the fifteenth century. As for the Vietnamese, a new source of internal strength is being formed for a large scale on the Southeast Asian and overlooking to the high seas in medieval history.

### Note

- (1) According to ethnographer Nguyen Van Huy, in addition to five localities commonly mentioned in the constitution of the kingdom of Champa, the sixth Aryaru area is located between Vijaya and Kauthara, respectively Phu Yen located between Binh Dinh and Khanh Hoa, blocked by two large passes as Cu Mong and Dai Linh (i.e Deo Ca). (Nguyen Van Huy, 2014).
- (2) Nagara Campa is the name of the Champa kingdom, referring to the allies including the Champa and the plateau people. In addition, on the inscriptions and historical documents, the Urang Campa term refers to all Nagara Campa people, there is no distinction between the plain people and mountain people (Li Tana, 1999, p. 23). (3) Champa fairy tales in the story of *Da Thoa vuaong* (King of the Monster) directly talks about them as follows: "In ancient times, beside Au Lac country, there is Dieu Nghiem, the King of that country is named as Da Thoa, also known as King Truong Minh or King Thap Dau (King Muoi Dau). This country borders to Ho Ton Tinh in the north. Ho Ton Tinh has the King Thap Xa [king Muoi Xe], the Prince is Vi Ba. Vi Ba's wife is Bach Tinh who is very beautiful. Da Thoa is very fondly of her, he fight Ho Ton to take the wife of Vi Ba. Vi Ba is angry and drop the gibbons to destroy mountain, filled the tank into a flat road to attack Dieu Nghiem, killed King Da Thoa, robbed his wife and returned (the species is Ho Ton is the seminal vampire, is the Champa today). (Vu Quynh, Kieu Phu, 1960, p. 102).
- (4) The 04th results of the archeological excavations of Ho citadel (Phu Yen) in 2008-2009 indicate that the earliest C14 is 230 AD (Phu Yen Provincial People's Committee, 2009, p. 104), with the statement: "It is very likely that the first embankment in the third century that the evidence demonstrates ... the same type with Tra Kieu, as well as dating C 14 -230 ... Pham Ho Dat (380-413) has built Khu Tuc citadel ... " (Dang Van Thang, 2011). Accordingly, Ho citadel was built adjacent to the country foundation year in 192, earlier than the age of Tra Kieu citadel (4th century) and Loi citadel/ Khu Tuc citadel (Vth-VIth century).

From then on, it can be speculated that Ho citadel was the first town of Lam Ap after the people of Tuong Lam district gained independence. In the process of expropriation of the territory to the north, the city was also moved in space, from Ho citadel (Phu Yen) to Tra Kieu (Quang Nam), Loi citadel / Khu Tuc (Hue). We give this opinion on the basis of Dao Duy Anh's argument about the position of Tuong Lam district in the area adjacent to Deo Ca, which is the farthest southern part of Nhat Nam district, and also contrary to the views of colonial researcher.

It is known that there was a Ho Ton nation written in the history of Vietnam from the Hung King when defining Van Lang border. It is hoped that with subsequent excavations, Ho citadel's archeological dating will be pushed back to the centuries BC, compatible with the lifetime of Ho Ton.

- (5) Like My Son 1, contents of Cho Dinh epitaph mention on the founder of this Sanctuary area - Bhadravarman (Chhabra, 1935).
- (6) By the divergence of G. Maspéro, the 13th dynasty (1390-1458) and the 14th dynasty (1458-1471) were two dynasties of "concubines and extinctions" of the Champa kingdom (Maspéro, 1928, p. 219)
- (7) *Ming history* written about the collapse of the Champa is as follows: In the year of the 7th Thanh Hoa (1471), Le Hao (Le Thanh Tong) defeated Champa and destroyed this land "(Maspéro, 1928, p. 239).
- (8) *Ming history* records: "Tuan (Le Nhan Tong) conquered Champa, captured Tan Chau, captured the king as Maha Bi Cai. The King (Anh Tong of the Ming) appointed Maha Quy Lai as the new king in

Champa and ordered Tuan to release the old king. Tuan does not agree"; "In the 13th year (1448), the king ordered An Nam to return Maha Bi Cai, but that order was not enforced" (Maspéro, 1928, p. 232).

The document acknowledges: "In June, [Binh Dan/1446] brought the King of Champa - Bi Cai to perform the feast for the victory of the battle. (...) to detain the King of Champa - Bi Cai and three people in capital" (VASS, volume II, 1998, p. 357).

(9) "The ruler of the king should amend, and agree to let the people in family of the king of Champa to return, restoring land, so that the offspring can inherit. To do so, the offspring is broken, the land restoration of the King can perform. The King should make efforts " (Maspéro, 1928, p. 96).

(10) In the diplomatic documents, Le Thanh Tong expressed a soft attitude towards the Ming court over the land of Champa as follows: "The land that Champa was barren is rough, the house is poor, the garden does not have silk, mountains without treasure, the sea of salt fish salty; only elephant ivory, rhinoceros horn, carpentry, aquilaria only; our country produces many of these things, so we do not appreciate those. That land can not live, the people can not be used, the product is not enough to be rich, that land situation can not become strong. Keeping that land is very difficult, but little advantage ... that is why I do not occupy Champa's land to turn into a district (...) Therefore, the ambassador should come to see the land and revive the great stream, so that Champa is safe; our border is also peaceful ... " (Maspéro, 1928, p. 104-105).

Prior to the very vague investigation of the Champa land areas of the Ming Dynasty emperors, the Emperor Le Thanh Tong did not give concessions, in fact; after delivering half the territory of Hoa Anh, i.e Kauthara to the successor king Trai A Ma Phat Am.

(11) In Mau Dan year /1578, the Head of district Nguyen Hoang asked Luong Van Chanh to attack Ho citadel, razed solid fortified military base and crowded commercial area in the North Champa area, then brought soldiers in the old boundary of Cu Mong (QSQ, 1993, p. 89).

## References

1. Coedès, George 2008. *Ancient history materials of India in the Far East* . Hanoi: Thế Giới Publisher.
- Chhabra, B. Ch. (1935). *The expansion of Indian-Arian culture in the Pallava era through inscriptions*. Report. A.S.B. T.I. Bia Cho Dinh.
- Hồ Bạch Thảo (translated and annotated) (2010). *Minh thực lục: quan hệ Trung Quốc - Việt Nam thế kỷ XIV - XVII* [Ming's history: Relations between China and Vietnam in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries]. Chap 3. Hanoi: Hanoi Publishing House.
- Lafont, Pierre-Bernard (2011). *Kingdom of Champa: Geography, Population and History* . International Office of Campa.
- Lê Thành Khôi (2014). *Lịch sử Việt Nam từ nguồn gốc đến giữa thế kỷ XX* [The history of Vietnam from its origins to the middle of the twentieth century]. Hanoi: Thế Giới Publisher.
- Li Tana (1999). *Xứ Đàng Trong: lịch sử kinh tế - xã hội Việt Nam thế kỷ 17 và 18* [Inside Region: the socio-economic history of Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries] . HCM: Tre Publishing House.
- Lương Ninh (2006). *Vương quốc Champa* [Kingdom of Champa]. Hanoi: Vietnam National University Press, Hanoi.
- Maspéro, George (1928). *Vương quốc Chăm* [Champa kingdom]. Paris and Bruxelles: Publisher of Van Oest.

- Nguyễn Đình Đầu (1996). Phải chăng bản đồ Alexandre de Rhodes 1650 vẽ theo bản đồ Hồng Đức 1490 [Is the map of Alexandre de Rhodes 1650 drawn to the map of Hong Duc 1490 ?]. *Xua and Nay Journal*, 33, 34-35.
- Nguyễn Thị Hậu. (2008). Nguyễn Hoàng và bước đầu tiên vào vùng Nam Trung Bộ [Nguyen Hoang and first step into the South Central]. Source: [www.vanchuongviet.org](http://www.vanchuongviet.org). Visited on 31.3.2018.
- Nguyễn Văn Huy (2014). Tìm hiểu cộng đồng người Chăm tại Việt Nam [Exploring the Cham community in Vietnam] . Exercise III. Source: <http://4phuong.net>. Visited on 21.4.2014.
- Po Dharma (1997). “Survól de l’histoire du Campâ”. Posted in *Le Musée de Sculpture Cam de Da Nang*. Paris: AFAO-EFEO, 39-55.
- Quốc sử quán triều Nguyễn (1993). *Đại Nam liệt truyện* [Dai Nam’s parable]. Chap 1. Hue: Thuan Hoa Publishing House.
- National history of the Nguyen Dynasty (1998). *Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục*. Episode I. Hanoi: Vietnam Education Publishing House Limited Company.
- National history of the Nguyen Dynasty (2006). *Đại Nam nhất thống chí*. Episode III. Hanoi: Vietnam Academy of Social Science.
- Tạ Chí Đại Trường (2017). *Chuyện sử Chăm trong Toàn thư* [Complete Annals of the Cham]. Source: <http://nghiencuulichsu.com/2017/11/28/chuyen-su-cham-trong-toan-thu/>. Visited on 31.3.2018.
- Tze-Ken, Danny Wong. (1997). Relations between the Nguyen Lords of Southern Vietnam and the Champa Kingdom: A Preliminary Study. Posted in: *Sejarah, Journal of the Department of History University of Malaya*, 5, 169-180.
- Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences. (1998). *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* [Complete Annals of Dai Viet] Episode II. Hanoi: Vietnam Academy of Social Science.
- Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences. (1998). *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* [Complete Annals of Dai Viet] Episode III. Hanoi: Vietnam Academy of Social Science.
- Vũ Quỳnh, Kiều Phú (1960). *Lĩnh Nam chích quái*. Hanoi: Publisher of Culture.