

The Ppo Romé temple-tower complex (Bimong Kalan Ppo Romé, Tháp Ppo Romé)

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Entry tags: Altar, Cenotaph, Temple, Religious Place

A brick temple-tower complex that features significant shrines and altars for the Cham Ahiér population. Historically associated with the Kingdom of Panduranga and the Champa civilization. Transformed into a temple-tower specifically devoted to the deity Ppo Romé after his death in the 17th century. Still in use as a religious site by contemporary Cham Ahiér populations.



Date Range: 1600 CE - 2015 CE

Region: Ppo Romé Temple-Tower Devotees

Region tags: Asia, Hinduism, Vietnam, Southeast Asia

Closest devotees linked by clan association to the temple site (smaller region), followed by broader devotees linked by clan association to the temple-tower complex. Occasionally devotees originated from outside this region: in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces, in Việt Nam, or globally.

Status of Participants:

✓ Elite ✓ Religious Specialists ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

General Variables

Sources and Excavations

Print Sources

Print sources used for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Durand, E.M. 1903. Le Temple De Po Rome A Phanrang [The Po Rome Temple of Phan Rang]. BEFEO 3(3):597-603.
- Source 2: Noseworthy, William B. 2013. The Cham's First Highland Sovereign: Po Romé (r. 1627-1651). Asian Highlands Perspectives, 28, 155-203.
- Source 3: Sakaya. 2013. Tiếp Cận Một Số Vấn Đề về Văn Hóa Chăm Pa [Approaching Some Problems of Champa Culture]. Hồ Chí Minh City, Việt Nam: Trí Thức Publishing House

Online Sources

Online sources used for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://chamstudies.net/>
- Source 1 Description: A website devoted to the presentation of scholarly research on Cham & Champa Studies. Predominantly in Vietnamese and English. Some French & Malay.

Has this place been the focus of excavation (pre-modern, illicit, or scientific):

Answer 'Yes' for each period or type of excavation.

– Yes



Type of excavation:

– Scientific



Years of excavation:

– Year range: 1902 - 1903 [est.]



Name of excavation

– Official or descriptive name: This is not a traditional excavation, but was rather the first extensive scientific field survey of the site, by EM Durand.

Topographical Context

Is the place associated with a feature in the landscape

– Elevation



Type of elevation

– Hill

Does the place involve human-made features besides structure:

Other features might be ground clearing, terracing, other modifications of the local environment.

– Yes



Type of feature

– Mound

– Leveling of ground

– Terracing

– Clearing

– Trackway or road-surface

– Plantings

Is the place situated in an urban or significantly urbanized area:

– No

Is the place situated in a rural setting:

– Yes

↳ Are there settlements in close proximity to the place:

– Yes

↳ Are there routes of travel in close proximity to the place:

– Yes

Is the place situated far removed from non-religious places of habitation:

– Yes

↳ Is there a established route of travel connecting it to a wider transportation network:

– Yes

Structures Present

Are there structures or features present:

Instructions: Answer for each structure/feature or group that can be differentiated.

– Yes

↳ A single structure

– Yes

↳ The structure has a definite shape

– Rectangular

↳ One single feature

– Clearing

↳ A group of structures:

– Yes

↳ Are they part of a single design/construction stage:

– No

↳ A group of features:

– Yes

↳ Are they part of a single design/construction stage:

– No

↳ Is it part of a larger place/sanctuary:

– Yes

↳ What is the function of the structure/feature or group:

Answer "Yes" once for each distinct function

– Worship

↳ Worship:

– Communal

Notes: Doors for shrines are only opened by ritual officiants.

– Sacrificial

– Political

– Healing

– Memorial

– Social

↳ Is the structure/feature finished:

– Yes

↳ Was the structure/feature intended to last beyond a generation:

– Yes

↳ Was the structure/feature modified through time:

– Yes

↳ Was the structure/feature destroyed:

– Yes

↳ How was the structure/feature destroyed

– Collapsed

↳ Was it destroyed deliberately:

- For political reasons
- As the result of war
- As the result of pillage

↳ Was it destroyed by accident/natural phenomena:

- Natural phenomena

↳ Has the structure/feature been reconstructed:

- Yes

↳ In antiquity

- More than once

↳ In modernity

- Post-Renaissance

Reasons for Creation/Construction/Consecration

Is the place used for the worship of/communication with non-human supernatural beings:

- Yes

↳ Dedicated to a supernatural being:

- Yes [specify]: Ppo Romé

↳ Dedicated to more than one supernatural being:

- Yes [specify]: Additional altars are for Ppo Romé's wives

Is the place used for the worship of a semi-divine human being:

- No

Is the place used for the worship of non-divine ancestors:

- Yes

↳ Is it a cenotaph:

- No

↳ Does it commemorate a family/clan/group:

– Yes

Was the place commissioned/built by an official political entity:

A political entity is a local power structure that leverages a workforce.

– Yes

↳ Specify

– Council of elders

– King or emperor

– Religious specialists affiliated with political entity

Were the Structures built by specific groups of people:

– Yes

↳ Groups:

– Specialized labourers/craftspeople

Was the place thought to have originated as the result of divine intervention:

– Yes

↳ Specify

– Revealed by other kind of supernatural being(s) [specify]: Gods typically chose sites for shrines, but these sites are transformed gradually over time.

Was the place created to mark or commemorate the birthplace of a supernatural or human being:

– No

Was the place created as the result of an event:

– Yes

↳ Specify

– Other [specify]: Commemoration of deification after death of royalty

Was the creation of the place sponsored by external financial/material donation:

– Yes

- ↳ Is this sponsor of the same religious group/tradition as the main usage of the place:
 - Yes

Was the establishment of the place motivated by:

- Other [specify]: Nuanced, all of the above occurred during different periods of construction.

Was the place built specifically for housing scriptures/sacred texts:

- No

Design and Material Remains

Overall Structure

Is the place made up of multiple built structures:

- Yes

- ↳ Are any of the structures attached to or associated with a landscape feature:
 - Yes

- ↳ Are any of the structures attached to other structures:
 - Yes

- ↳ Is there a hierarchy among the structures:
 - Yes

Is monumental architecture present:

Monumental architecture is defined here as a built structure that surpasses average human proportions and in general is larger and more complex than is necessary to fulfill the structure's utilitarian function(s). Examples of monumental architecture include Mesopotamian Ziggurats, Egyptian Pyramids, Greek and Roman temples, Mesoamerican Pyramids, North American and Aegean burial mounds, etc.

- Yes

- ↳ In the average place, what percentage of area is taken up by built monuments:
 - Percentage: 80

- ↳ Footprint of largest single religious monument, square meters:
Please add dimensions in the comments, if known.
 - Square meters: 76

↳ Height of largest single religious monument, meters:

– Height, meters: 20

↳ Size of average monument, square meters:

– Square meters: 50

↳ Height of average monument, meters:

– Height, meters: 10

Is the structure/feature made out of natural materials:

Answer [Yes] for each material type

– Yes

↳ Earth

– Yes

↳ Is this material sourced locally:

– Yes

↳ Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:

– No

↳ Sand

– No

↳ Clay

– Yes

↳ Is this material sourced locally:

– Yes

↳ Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:

– No

↳ Plaster

– Yes

↳ Is this material sourced locally:

– Yes

↳ Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:

– No

↳ Wood

– Yes

↳ Is this material sourced locally:

– Yes

↳ Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:

– Yes

↳ Grass

– Yes

↳ Is this material sourced locally:

– Yes

↳ Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:

– No

↳ Stone

– Yes

↳ Is this material sourced locally:

– Yes

↳ Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:

– No

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: There is paint that is used to decorate aspects of the entry way to the main tower.

Is the structure/feature made out of human-made materials

– Yes [specify]: Natural bricks, plaster-type adhesives, cement, and so forth

Decoration

Is decoration present:

– Yes

↳ Is decoration part of the building (permanent):

– Yes

↳ On the outside:

– Yes

↳ On the inside:

– Yes

↳ Is decoration attached to the building, i.e. movable reliefs or tapestries

– Yes

↳ Is the decoration figural:

A figural representation is defined here as one that contains the depiction of discernible human, anthropomorphic, animal, or zoomorphic forms. In general, it differentiates between animate and inanimate beings, as well as between narrative compositions and still life, landscapes, abstraction, etc. Answer [Yes] for each type of figure depicted

– Yes

↳ Are there gods depicted:

– Yes

↳ Are there other supernatural beings depicted:

– Yes

↳ Are there humans depicted:

– Yes

↳ Are there animals depicted:

– Yes

↳ Are there animal-human hybrids depicted:

– Yes

↳ Is the decoration non-figural:

– Yes

↳ Is it geometric/abstract

– Yes

↳ Floral motifs

– Yes

↳ Is it writing/caligraphy

– No

↳ Other [Specify]

– Other [specify]: There are various representations of a localization of the omkar symbol in the form of the Cham "homkar" elaborated with geometric and nearly caligraphical (although not representing the written word) spirals, and floral-like patterns. At the four corners of the tower, floralesque frills adorn the edges of the construction.

↳ Is the decoration hidden or restricted from view:

– Yes

↳ Can the decoration be revealed:

– Yes

↳ Are there statues present:

– Yes

↳ Cult statues:

– Yes

↳ Statues of gods/supernatural beings:

– Yes

↳ Statues of humans:

– Yes

↳ Other [Specify]

–Other [specify]: More specifically there are statues of a nandi cow - the steed of Shiva - as well as of Ppo Romé and his wives.

↳ Are there reliefs present:

A relief—as opposed to sculpture carved on the round—is a work of sculpture in which the figures project from a background support, generally a flat surface. Reliefs can be carved out of stone, clay, or a similar material.

– No

↳ Are there paintings present:

– No

↳ Are there mosaics present:

– No

↳ Are there inscriptions as part of the decoration:

– Yes

↳ Are the inscriptions ornamental:

– Yes

↳ Are the inscriptions informative/declarative
[e.g. historical narratives, calendars, donor lists etc..]

– Yes

↳ Are the inscription a formal dedication:

– Yes

↳ Other [Specify]

–Other [specify]: There is an inscription on the right entry-way to the inner chamber of the tower in the Akhar Thrah script. This is generally interpreted by local historians as having been a sign that the particularities of the Akhar Thrah writing system emerged sometime during the reign of Ppo Romé, or slightly earlier, but were increasingly popular with a religious elite by the time of Ppo Romé's reign.

- ↳ Other type of decoration:
 - No

Iconography

Are there distinct features in the places iconography:

– Yes

- ↳ Eyes (stylized or not)
 - Yes

- ↳ Supernatural beings (zoomorphic)
 - Yes

- ↳ Supernatural beings (geomorphic)
 - No

- ↳ Supernatural beings (anthropomorphic)
 - Yes

- ↳ Supernatural being (abstract)
 - Yes

- ↳ Portrayals of afterlife
 - Yes

- ↳ Aspects of doctrine (e.g. cross, trinity, Mithraic symbols)
 - Yes

- ↳ Humans
 - Yes

- ↳ Supernatural narratives
 - Yes

- ↳ Human narratives

– No

↳ Other [Specify]

–Other [specify]: Indicative of a particular style of Champa art

Beliefs and Practices

Funerary Associations

Is this place a tomb/burial:

– No

Is this a place for the worship of the dead:

– Yes

↳ For the worship of a deceased person(s)

– Yes

↳ For the worship of a deified human:

– Yes

↳ For the worship of a deceased hero:

– Yes

Is this a place for treatment of the corpse:

– No

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

Co-sacrifices are animal/human sacrifices prompted by the death of the primary occupant of the tomb/burial.

– No

Are grave goods present:

– Yes

↳ Personal effects:

– No

↳ Valuable/precious items:

– Yes

↳ Significant value:

Gold, jade, intensely worked objects, or meaningful symbolid value

– Yes

↳ Some value, valuable or useful objects:

– Yes

↳ Other

–Other [specify]: Food

↳ Other

– No

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

↳ As cenotaphs:

– Yes

↳ In cememtery:

– No

↳ Family tomb/crypt:

– Yes

Notes: Lineages associated with this site venerate it as a clan burial site, although most often their dead are cremated elsewhere or buried elsewhere.

↳ Domestic context:

Interred beneath floors of house, or in areas of domestic activity

– No

↳ Other

–Other [specify]: The Ppo Romé temple-tower complex is thought to be the location of one of the oldest clan-based cenotaphs. We can think of these as cenotaphs because Cham Ahiér are

traditionally cremated and their remains are usually "elsewhere." These are called "kut" in Cham. There is only one "kut" at the Ppo Romé tower. In other locations throughout the region, we might find numerous "kut" in a single location.

Supernatural Beings

Is a supreme high god is present:

– Yes

↳ Are they anthropomorphic:

– Yes

↳ Are they sky deity:

– Yes

↳ Are they cthonic (underworld)

– No

↳ Are they fused with king/kingship role (king = high god)

– Yes

↳ Are they the monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

– Yes

↳ Are they kin relation to elites:

– Yes

↳ Are they other type of loyalty or connection to elites:

– Yes

↳ Are they unquestionably good:

– No

↳ Are they other:

– Other [specify]: The "supreme high-god" of the Cham Ahiér has numerous aspects. This is important, because one of those aspects includes both "Ppo Xapajiéng" (the one who blesses) and "Ppo Xapilai" (the one who destroys).

Does the supreme high god communicates with the living at this place:

– Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– No

↳ In dreams:

– No

↳ In trance possession:

– Yes

↳ Through divination practices:

– Yes

↳ Only through religious specialists:

– Yes

Notes: In most cases, only religious specialists can receive or become the vessel of communications.

↳ Only through monarch:

– No

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: There is some question about the formality of what is a "religious specialist."

There are female and, ever so occasionally, male, spirit mediums who might appear at religious ceremonies in addition to the formally recognized religious hierarchy. The Muk Pajau (female mediums) do appear to be more formally incorporated into the networks of the Ahiér priests and work collaboratively with them.

Are previously human spirits present:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

– No

↳ Human spritis can be physisally felt:

– Yes

Do human spirits communicate with the living at this place:

– Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– No

↳ In dreams:

– Yes

↳ In trance possession:

– Yes

↳ Through divination practices:

– Yes

↳ Only through religious specialists:

– No

↳ Only through monarch:

– No

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: Ancestor spirits (muk kei) formally communicate with individuals who visit the place during prescribed rituals. Most often, ritual officiants have a more direct line of communication. However, members of the clans that are descended from Ppo Romé and his wives, are associated with communicating directly with muk kei at this site.

Are nonhuman supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

– No

↳ Human spritis can be phyiscally felt:

– Yes

Do nonhuman spirits communicate with the living at this place:

– Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– No

↳ In dreams:

– No

↳ In trance possession:

– Yes

↳ Through divination practices:

– Yes

↳ Only through religious specialists:

– Yes

↳ Only through monarch:

– No

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: Similar to muk kei, it is possible that non-human spirits - or divine essences - communicate with the living at this place, although there appears to be some preference for those individuals who are associated with Ppo Romé's descendants vis a vis the clan networks of his wives.

Are mixed human-divine beings are present:

– Yes

↳ Mixed human-divine spirits can be seen:

– No

↳ Mixed human-divine spirits can be physically felt:

– Yes

Do mixed human-divine beings communicate with the living at this place:

– Yes

|

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– No

↳ In dreams:

– No

↳ In trance possession:

– Yes

↳ Through divination practices:

– Yes

↳ Only through religious specialists:

– Yes

↳ Only through monarch:

– No

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: Presuming that Ppo Romé spirit and the spirits of his wives, especially Bia Su Can and Bia Su Cih, are of mixed human and divine elements, being humans that were transformed into divinities. There is direct communication with them, although the preference is for them to communicate with the formal priest networks of the Cham Ahiér, the Muk Pajau, and then, members of the associated clan networks of Ppo Romé, the wives, and their descendants.

Is the supernatural being/high god present in the form of a cult statue(s):

– Yes

↳ Is the cult statue visible:

– Yes

↳ Is the cult statue hidden:

– Yes

Notes: It is inside the main temple-tower complex. It is only revealed when ritual officiants perform proper rituals to open the temple's inner chamber to worshippers.

Supernatural Interactions

Is supernatural monitoring present:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural monitoring of norm adherence:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about or expect offerings:

– Yes

↳ Libations:

– Yes [specify]: Alcohol. Rice wine & beer.

↳ Offerings of food:

– Yes [specify]: Rice in particular. Fruit.

↳ Animal sacrifice:

– Yes [specify]: Chicken or goat.

↳ Human sacrifice:

– No

↳ Sacred objects:

– Yes [specify]: Prepared floral sacrifices

↳ Daily life objects:

– Yes [specify]: Gihlau incense

↳ Other:

– Other [specify]: Purifying water or other material sacrifices

↳ Supernatural beings care about sex:

– Yes

↳ Does the worship include sex acts/references:

– Yes

Notes: Cosmological dualism suggests sexual acts are referenced, but primarily through metaphor.

↳ Supernatural beings care about or expect proper ritual observance:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about or expect performance of rituals:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about or expect maintenance of the place:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about or expect personal hygiene:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about honoring oaths:

– Yes

↳ Other:

–Other [specify]: Supernatural monitoring is predominantly about the maintenance of specific rituals in association with "Adat Cam" or "customary practices." However, special requests of the various forms of divinity present might also come with special requests from the forms of divinity for offerings or types of rituals performed at home and not at this site in particular.

Do visitors communicate with the gods or supernatural beings:

– Yes

↳ Do visitors communicate with gods:

– Yes

↳ Do visitors communicate with other supernatural beings:

– Yes

Ritual and Performance

Sacrifices, Offerings, and Maintenance

Are sacrifices performed at this place:

– Yes

↳ Are there animal sacrifices:

– Yes [specify]: Chicken & goats

↳ Are there human sacrifices:

– No

↳ Are the sacrificed humans associated in some way:

– No

Are there self-sacrifices present:

– No

Are material offerings present:

– Yes

↳ Are material offerings mandatory:

– Yes

↳ Are material offerings composed of valuable objects:

– Yes

↳ Are material offerings composed of daily-life objects:

– Yes

↳ Are material offerings interred at this place (in caches):

– No

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: The most prized material offering in Cham rituals is the burning of agarwood (gahlau) incense. The cost of agarwood is quite notable. Procuring it has required relations with the Chamic-Austronesian upland communities (Jarai, Ede, Raglai, and Churu). In the case of Ppo Romé, this is particularly important, as one of his ritual names and historical reign names was Ppo Gihlau (the Sovereign of the Agarwood).

Is attendance to worship/sacrifice mandatory:

– Yes

↳ By all the community

– Yes

↳ By specific individuals

– Yes [specify]: Ritual officiants, those in need of benefits from the sacrifice, associated clan networks.

Is maintenance of the place performed:

– Yes

↳ Is it required:

– Yes

↳ Is there cleansing (for the maintenance)

– Yes

↳ Are there periodic repairs/reconstructions:

– Yes

↳ Is the maintenance performed by permanent staff

– Yes

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: There are two clear forms of maintenance of this site. The first is official state maintenance performed by individuals who may or may not be ethnic Cham (but have, historically, been predominantly ethnic Vietnamese) who are hired by the provincial authority to oversee the site as a tourist destination. The other form of maintenance of this site is by the board of the Cham Ahiér priests of Ninh Thuận province. Each of the largest Cham Ahiér temples (Ppo Romé included) has a senior priest who sits on this board. In the most recent decade, the provincial authorities have begun to deem it more prudent to work with the priestly authority than in past decades. However, there is general discontent with the perception of neglect for Cham ritualistic requirements and practices dictating the forms of maintenance by provincial authorities.

Pilgrimage and Festivals

Are pilgrimages present:

– Yes

↳ How strict is pilgrimage:

– optional (common)

–obligatory for some

–obligatory for all

↳ Are pilgrimages the main reason for constructur/establishment of place:

– No

↳ Are pilgrimages to this place associated with significant life events:

– No

↳ Does pilgirmage to this place involve follow establish routes (roads)

– Yes

↳ Are these routes maintained together with the place:

– No

Is this place a venue for feasting:

– Yes

↳ Is feasting connected to the worship/sacrifices performed at this place:

– Yes

↳ Is feasting sponsored by the same entity that built/maintains the place:

– Yes

↳ Priests

– Yes

↳ Local elites

– Yes

↳ Private contributions

– Yes

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: General public can attend the feasts

- ↳ Does feasting occur in a specific location with the place:
 - Yes [specify]: Outside the temple-towers and shrines themselves, in the open air.

Are festivals present:

– Yes

- ↳ Frequency of festivals
 - specify: There are at least four "high holidays" in the Cham Ahiér sakawi calendar. The largest is Katé.
- ↳ Do all members of the society participate in the festival(s):
 - All members
 - Elites
 - Non-elites
- ↳ Are festivals a defining element in the construction/decoration of the place:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Requires special maintenance/cleansing of the place
 - Yes
 - ↳ Requires new construction/decoration of the place
 - Yes
 - Notes: Such as with floral decorations placed at shrines.
 - ↳ Requires maintenance/replacement of cult statue(s)
 - Yes
- ↳ On average, how many participants gather at this place:
 - number: 500
 - Notes: At peak attendance. The numbers tend to filter on and off throughout rituals, with some much larger than others, making it difficult to gather a complete estimate.
- ↳ Is feasting part of the festival(s)
 - Yes
 - ↳ Is food consumption limited to certain members of the population

- Elites
- Non-elites
- Religious professionals

Notes: Food consumption is ordered according to the hierarchy and ritual stage.

Divination and Healing

Is divination present:

– Yes



Divination by examination of the exta

Animals remains, internal organs, answer this question and subsequent question once for each species

– No



Divination though human communication:

– Yes



Is a human being the vehicle for the oracle:

– Yes



Is a human being the interpreter of the oracle:

– Yes



Are the oracle interpreters of specified sex/gender

– Yes



Are the oracle interpreters of specified ethnicity:

– Yes



Are the oracle interpreters of specified class:

– Yes



Is sex-deprivation required:

– No



Are intoxicants required:

– Yes

↳ Physical ordeal required:

– Yes

↳ Divination through animal-behavior:

– No

↳ Divination through non-living material:

– Smoke

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: As mentioned above, the particular burning of agarwood incense (gahlau) is important in rituals. Divination can occur physically, through members of the priest class placing their hands over the burning incense and receiving divination through the smoke. Smoke, in more rare circumstances, can also be "read."

Is healing present/practiced at this place:

– Yes

↳ Incubation

– No

↳ Healing magic

– Yes

↳ Cleansing

– Yes

↳ Offerings of body parts models

– No

↳ Expiation

– Yes

↳ Other

– Other [specify]: Healing at this place can also be psychological. There is a sense that "in the

times of Champa" there was greater political autonomy for Cham communities. While individuals generally do not desire to return to those times (as they might have to experience "loss" again) there is a sense that there has been a form of psychological wound that has been inflicted. Communicating with the muk kei and divinities of the past times can help heal this wound, and allow individuals in the community to more effectively work for a better future.

Do rituals occur at this place:

Rituals are visibly enacted behaviors by one or more people for the purposes of religious observance.

– Yes

↳ Do large-scale rituals take place:

– Yes

↳ Do small-scale rituals take place:

– Yes

↳ On average how many participants are present in large-scale rituals:

– specify: 200

↳ How often do these rituals take place:

– specify: Four major rituals per calendar year.

↳ Are there orthodoxy checks:

– No

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:

– Yes

↳ Are there synchronic practices:

– Yes

↳ Are there intoxicants used during the ritual:

– Yes

Institutions and Scriptures

Religious Specialists

Are religious specialists present/in charge of this place:

Religious specialists are individuals whose primary duties within a population group are not concerned with subsistence or craft production but the maintenance of the religious landscape and culture of the group.

– Yes

↳ Present full time

– No

↳ Present part time

– Yes

↳ Are the religious specialists of specific sex/gender

– Yes

↳ Are the religious specialists of specific ethnicity

– Yes

↳ Are the religious specialists of specific class/cast

– Yes

↳ Are religious specialists dedicated to the place for life

– Yes

↳ Are the religious specialists stratified in a hierarchical system:

– Yes

↳ Is access within the space segregated by this hierarchy

– Yes

Does this place incorporate a living space for religious specialists:

– No

Is this place used for the training of religious specialists:

– Yes

Notes: Training through practice/observation of ritual.

Are there formal institutions for the maintenance of the place:
institutions that are authorized by the religious community or political leaders

– Yes

Bureaucracy

Is there a formal bureaucracy present at this place:

A bureaucracy consists of a hierarchical system of accounting and rule maintenance primarily concerned with material wealth.

– Yes

↳ Is a bureaucracy present permanently

– No

↳ Is a bureaucracy present temporarily/seasonally

– Yes

Does this place control economic resources (land, goods, tools):

– No

Public Works

Does this place serve as a location for services to the community:

– Yes

↳ Public food distribution and/or storage

– Yes

↳ Place for civic functions (census, elections, others)

– Yes

Notes: This was more the case in historical times. Currently, civic functions tend to occur in the population centers.

↳ Place for the practice of justice (trials, executions, etc.)

– No

↳ Function for water management

– No

↳ Part of the transportation network

– No

↳ Other

–Other [specify]: Public/community **mental health** is a perceived function.

Writing/Scriptures

Is non-religious writing stored at this place:

Economic documents, records etc.

– No

Are there scriptures associated with this place

– Yes

↳ Are they written

– Yes

↳ Are they written at this place

– No

↳ Are they oral

– Yes

↳ Is there a story associated with the origin and/or construction of this place

– Yes

↳ Are there religious specialists in charge of interpreting the scriptures

– Yes

↳ Are the scriptures part of the building/place

– No