

reanean to China. In central Viet Nam, evidence of this increase can be seen in the finds of the site of Go Dua (third century A.D.)<sup>22</sup> near Tra Kieu (an area with extensive Sa Huynh remains that is considered one of the capitals of the later Cham kingdoms). At that site alone, excavators have found a late Western Han mirror (first century B.C.), an ash-glazed vessel with a glazed foot that is probably Chinese, and two seal impressions with Chinese characters, all indicating that trade continued and expanded after the period of Sa Huynh came to an end.<sup>23</sup>

Further excavations in the vicinity of Tra Kieu at the site of Go Cam, second century A.D., also provide us with additional evidence of connections with Han China from the period following directly upon the later Sa Huynh culture. Han sealings, tiles, and a Han seal, along with Han-style ceramic vessels support the dating of the site as well as its connections, however sporadic, with the Chinese.<sup>24</sup> This is not the only site in the area that gives further evidence of early Chinese contacts, as Reinecke has uncovered a group of eight bronze Han artifacts (vessels and mirrors; see Reinecke essay in this volume, pp. 20–53) in 2002–4 at the site of Lai Nghi, Quang Nam Province.<sup>25</sup>

What confluence of events occurred to initiate this period of increased oceanic trade? Disturbances in the overland route through the central Asian steppes eliminated western access to the gold of that region. The draw of Suvarnadvipa (Island of Gold), the name given to Southeast Asia in Indian and Western texts from the first century A.D., was one factor. Another was the Western “discovery” of the monsoon winds and the subsequent development of sailing ships with more advanced rigging that allowed them to sail close-hauled, and thus more swiftly.<sup>26</sup> With this development, transoceanic travel became possible. Arab traders carried on most trade to the West along the western coast of India, while that on the east may have been under the control of Malay traders, the same ones who had traveled to Madagascar by the first millennium B.C.

With the shift from coastal trading (with ships hugging the coast) to transoceanic journeys, trade routes changed. Our knowledge of earlier trade routes in Southeast Asia is slim, but, from the first century, the ports of Fu Nan,<sup>27</sup> which lay in the Mekong delta in present-day Viet Nam, seem to have controlled a good bit of the trade in the area. They further consolidated their power over the region in the third century by bringing the ports along the isthmus under their sway, although these were not the only important ports in the region. According to Pierre-Yves Manguin, recent excavations show proof that sites such as Sembiran in Bali, Karang Agung in South Sumatra, and Batujaya in West Java (excavated by Manguin) had extended contact and trade with India in the third and fourth centuries. As in Oc Eo, the evidence showing contact is mostly polished black pottery. While the Fu Nan trade contacts with the Indian Ocean were probably indirect, those on the peninsula or in Indonesia may have been more direct.

Still, they were among the dominant ports in Southeast Asia until the fifth century.<sup>28</sup> Carbon-14 dates of Fu Nan sites cluster in the third to fifth centuries, though they begin in the first century A.D. and cover the occupation until the eleventh to twelfth century. By the sixth to seventh century, cultural affinities in the area can best be called pre-Khmer. The Chinese mentioned tribute missions from Fu Nan during the third century.<sup>29</sup> A third-century account of ships describes a large vessel from an unknown location in maritime Southeast Asia: “The men from foreign lands call their boats *p’o*. The large ones are over 200 feet long, and are twenty to thirty feet high (above the water-level), . . . they can hold 600