

- 1**
Mark Kenoyer, personal communication, April 2002; Andreas Reinecke, personal communication, April 2008.
- 2**
Ian Glover, "Early Trade Between India and Southeast Asia—A Link in the Development of a World Trading System," Occasional Paper no. 16, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1990, 1–45; Bérénice Bellina and Ian Glover, "The Archaeology of early Contact with India and the Mediterranean World, from the Fourth Century BC to the Fourth Century AD," in Ian Glover and Peter Bellwood, eds., *Southeast Asia: From prehistory to history* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 68–88; Monica L. Smith, "'Indianization' from the Indian Point of View: Trade and Cultural History of the Orient, Contacts with Southeast Asia in the Early First Millennium C.E.," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 1 (1999), 1–26. Smith stresses the limited extent of contact in this early period.
- 3**
Bérénice Bellina, "Beads, social change and interaction between India and South-east Asia," *Antiquity* 77, no. 296 (June 2003): 285–97.
- 4**
These early settlers in Madagascar brought cinnamon from South China, suggesting the extent of this early trade; Keith Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 14.
- 5**
See the essay by Reinecke, pp. 20–53, in this book.
- 6**
Recent excavations in the Red River valley, particularly in Phu Tho Province, support the idea that a stratified society thrived in the region from the seventh century B.C.
- 7**
For a recent overview of this period, see Nguyen Khac Sy, Pham Minh Huyen, and Tong Trung Tin, "Northern Vietnam from the Neolithic to the Han Period," in Glover and Bellwood, eds., *Southeast Asia: From prehistory to history*, 177–208.
- 8**
Ian Glover and Belinda Syme, "The Bronze Age in Southeast Asia: Its Recognition, Dating and Recent Research," *Men and Environment* 17, no. 2 (1993), 52. They believe the identification of Co Loa as the capital is problematic; Higham states that Co Loa was An Duong's capital; Charles Higham, *Early Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia* (Bangkok: River Books, 2002), 280. An impressive overview on all the archaeological activities in the area of Co Loa is Hoang Van Khoan, ed., *Co Loa: Trung tam hoi tu Van Minh Song Hong (Co Loa: The center of the Hong River civilization)* (Ha Noi: 2002), only in Vietnamese, but with many drawings of artifacts.
- 9**
As quoted in Keith Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 17, from *Huai nam tzu* of Liu An who died in 123 B.C., which he quotes from Leonard Arousseau, "Le Premier conquête chinoise des pays annamites," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 23 (1923), 169–72.
- 10**
San Kuo Chih as translated and quoted in Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 78. Also in Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31, no. 2 (1958), 8, he notes an account in the second century *Huai-nan Tzu* that expresses a similar sentiment.
- 11**
Chronique: Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 9 (1909), 413; or Madelaine Colani, "Nécropole de Sa-Huynh," *Cahiers de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 13, no. 3 (1937), 8–12.
- 12**
Andreas Reinecke, Nguyen Chieu, and Lam Thi My Dung, *Neue Entdeckungen zur Sa-Huynh-Kultur; Nhung phat hien moi ve van hoa Sa Huynh* AVA-Forschungen Band 7 (Cologne: Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie, 2002), 218.
- 13**
Pierre-Yves Manguin, personal communication, December 2004. Other exceptions include the infant burials in large parts of Southeast Asia such as Thailand, or southern and northern Viet Nam, and the stone jars on the Plain of Jars in northeast Laos. See Andreas Reinecke, "Die Metallzeitliche Sa-Huynh-Kultur in Vietnam und ihre Gefäßgräber," *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* 13 (1993), 120.
- 14**
Ibid., 120. The burial rites also have similarities with those of the Philippines and Borneo.
- 15**
Glover, "Early Trade Between India and Southeast Asia—A Link in the Development of a World Trading System," 22; Glover and Syme, "The Bronze Age in Southeast Asia: Its Recognition, Dating, and Recent Research," 54.
- 16**
Andreas Reinecke, "Ohrhinge mit Tierkopffenden in Südostasien," *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* 16 (1996): 45.
- 17**
Ngo Si Hong, "Traditions of Sa Huynh Culture in Vietnam," 31–44, and Ha Van Tan, "Cultural Exchanges Among the Ancient Viet," *Vietnam Studies* 2 (1996): 135–56, as noted in Charles Wheeler, "Cross-Cultural Trade and Trans-Regional Networks in the Port of Hoi An: Maritime Vietnam in the Early Modern Era," doctoral dissertation presented to Yale University (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 2001), 101n63.
- 18**
Nguyen Kim Dung, Ian Glover, and Mariko Yamagata, "Excavations at Tra Kieu and Go Cam, Quang Nam Province, Central Viet Nam," in *Uncovering Southeast Asia's Past: Selected Papers from the 10th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists*, eds. Elisabeth A. Bacus, Ian C. Glover, and Vincent C. Pigott (Singapore: Nus Press, 2006): 232–44; Mariko Yamagata, "Inland Sa Huynh culture along the Thu Bon River Valley in Central Vietnam," in *ibid.*, 168–83; Ian Glover and Mariko Yamagata, "The Origins of Cham civilization: Indigenous, Chinese and Indian Influences in Central Vietnam as Revealed by Excavations at Tra Kieu, Vietnam 1990 and 1993," in *Archaeology in Southeast Asia* (Hong Kong: University Museum and Art Gallery, 1995), 145–70; Ian Glover, "Excavations at Go Cam, Quang Nam Province, Central Vietnam, 2000–2003," paper presented at the Symposium on New Scholarship on Champa, August 5–6, 2004. Indo-Roman rouletted ware has also been discovered at Go Cam, which is located near Tra Kieu.