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For a further discussion of Chinese connections, see Pierre Dupont, *Bulletin de L'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 49, fasc. 2 (1959): 631.

38

Henri Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments cam de l'Annam; Description des monuments*, vol. I (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, Ernest Leroux, 1909), 489–90, fig. 111; Jeanne Leuba, *Un royaume disparu: Les Chams et leur art* (Paris and Bruxelles: Van Oest, 1923), pl. 16; Pierre Dupont, "Les apports chinois dans le style bouddhique de Dong Duong," *Bulletin de L'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 44, no. 1 (1954): 374, pl. 54; Jean Boisselier, *La Statuaire du Champa*, 1963: 102–3, fig. 53; "Il Champa; Il Sud-Est" (Turin: Asiatico, Storia universale dell'Arte, Torino, 1986), 308; "Le Champa," *Le Vietnam des royaumes*, Le Bon Marché Rive Gauche, January 20–February 28, Paris, Cercle d'Art (1995), 53; Carl Heffley, *The Arts of Champa* (Sai Gon: U.S. Information Service, Cultural Affairs, 1972), 92; Cao Xuan Pho and Pham Huy Thong, *Dieu khac, Cham Sculpture* (Ha Noi: State Committee for Social Sciences, Social Sciences Publishing House, 1988), 57, fig. 37.

39

Indonesian *dvarapala* provide the likeliest regional comparison. The Indonesian examples are generic and do not appear to depict any identifiable *dharma* or *lokapala* (Guardians of the World); moreover they differ in their presentation—they are depicted kneeling. For examples, see Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), Candi Kalasan, Plate 105; and Candi Sewu, Plate 125.

40

Other fierce groups of guardians are found in China and Japan. In both regions, groups of four *lokapala* dressed in armor appear, while a larger group known as the Twelve Godly Generals (*kongo riki-shi*), again in armor, are found in Japan. See Rob Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art* (London: Serindia Publications, c. 1999), 21.

41

Guillon, *Hindu-Buddhist Art of Vietnam: Treasures from Champa*, 121–27.

42

The standard view of Champa history at the end of the twelfth century is that Suryavarman II (c. 1113–1150) and Jayavarman VII (1181–1220) each attacked Champa, and that the Cham attacked Angkor in 1177. Michael Vickery's recent revision of Champa history views the center and south of Viet Nam as subordinate to Cambodia from sometime before 1190, a domination that lasted until 1220; see Vickery, "Revising Champa History," 44. He refutes the Cham conquest of Angkor in 1177, believing that "the real conquest of Angkor was by Jayavarman VII and his Cham allies, probably in the 1180s." Vickery, "Revising Champa History," 45.

43

See note 8. "Vijaya only becomes important in the record with the 12th-century efforts of Cambodian rulers to establish an outlet on the coast, presum-

ably to break into the maritime trade network. They chose Vijaya because it was a good port, and the Cham had not yet established themselves solidly there, no doubt because it was not as favorably situated as the ports to the north and south." Vickery, "Revising Champa History," 49.

44

Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 43–44.

45

William Henry Scott, *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (rev. ed. Quezon City: New Day, 1984), 66; Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 47; Peter Burns and Roxanna M. Brown, "Eleventh-Century Cham-Philippine Foreign Affairs," in *Ancient Town of Hoi An*, The National Committee for the International Symposium on the Ancient Town of Hoi An (Ha Noi: Gioi Publishers, reprint, 2003), 88.

46

Peter Burns and Roxanna M. Brown, "Eleventh-Century Cham-Philippine Foreign Affairs," 86–89.

47

This route was described in the later *Shun Feng Xiang Song*; see Scott, *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History*, 67, 72; Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 48.

48

Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in early Southeast Asia*, 183.

49

Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 43. Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade," 118–19, discusses the controversy over describing the nature of missions sent to China, where the subservient status of the country sending the mission has been emphasized in dynastic histories. He notes (p. 119) that in a "few cases . . . it can be seen that they were clearly sent for a dual purpose—to pay tribute in order to get both political as well as economic advantages." Momoki, "Dai Viet and the South China Sea Trade from the 10th to the 15th Century," 6, proposes three reasons why the Chinese maintained the tribute system. The Chinese emperors needed to show subjects that distant countries offered obeisance to them; all in the government wanted to engage in the private trade that was an offshoot of the tribute missions; they were able to engage in missions to the tribute states.

50

Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 87.

51

Geoff Wade, "The Zheng He Voyages: A Reassessment," ARI Working Paper No. 31, October 2004, <http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/pub/wps.htm>.

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Ibid., 27. Reid, *Modern Sou*

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Reid, *Charting Southeast AS*

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