

52

Ibid., 27. Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 64.

53

Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 52, and:

Sumatra, and the Peninsula opposite to it, provides perhaps the most useful analogy to Champa in both ecological and economic terms. The Straits of Melaka were, like the seas off the Champa coast, a passage through which all shipping had to pass. It was certain that some maritime states would arise in both locations drawing their sustenance from the traffic passing through. For the same reason, however, both maritime zones were extremely attractive to pirates, since the pickings were rich and the estuaries in which to hide were many. The surviving records of both eastern Sumatra and of Champa suggest an alternation between periods of anarchy and piracy, and periods in which some state was able to profit sufficiently from the traffic to keep order in its adjacent seas and require shipping to call at its port without the need for violence.

At least one author has suggested a plunder-based economy for the Cham ports; see Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*, 193: "The redistribution of plunder directly or indirectly—as for instances in local temple endowments—from successful military expeditions was the means by which the loyalty of the inhabitants of the Cham riverine networks was maintained." Reid disputes this for Champa's more successful periods; see *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 55.

54

Not all recent research agrees that there were a series of polities, but instead suggests that one region was in ascendancy, with others serving as their vassals. For example, see Anne-Valerie Schweyer, "La vaisselle en argent de la dynastie de Indrapura (Quang Nam, Vietnam)," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 86, 1999, 345–55. Guillon refers to the five regions (Indrapura, Amaravati, Vijaya, Kauthara, and Panduranga) as principalities; see Emmanuel Guillon, *Hindu-Buddhist Art of Vietnam: Treasures of Champa* (English translation, Thailand: River Books) and appears to agree with the point of view that the Vietnamese drove the Cham farther and farther south, 16–17; see also *Actes du Séminaire sur le Campa*, conference organized by the University of Copenhagen, May 1987 (Paris: University of Copenhagen, 1988), where scholars made a step in the direction of considering separate kingdoms, but where the final consensus was to see the separate regions as under the purview of the most powerful.

55

For a good history of the period, see Anne-Valerie Schweyer, "The confrontation of the Khmers and Chams in the Bayon period," in *Bayon: New Perspectives*, ed. Joyce Clark (Bangkok: River Books, 2007), 50–71.

56

The temples include: Phuoc Loc (also called Thoc loc, or Phu Loc, Cao Mien, Gold Tower), Canh Tien (Bronze tower, Con Gai), Duong Long (Nga Tower, Ivory Tower), Banh It (Silver Tower or Thi Thien), Thu Thien, and Binh Lam. Numerous other temple remains have been reported in Binh Dinh Province.

57

Kenneth R. Hall, "Khmer Commercial Development and Foreign Contacts under Suryavarman I," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18, no. 3 (October 1975): 325.

58

For example, see Schweyer, "The confrontation of the Khmers and Chams in the Bayon period," 59–63.

59

J. C. Sharma, *Temples of Champa in Vietnam, Thap Cham O Viet Nam* (Ha Noi: Nha Xuat Ban Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi, 1992), 92–93.

60

The surviving Javanese monuments of the late tenth–early thirteenth centuries are caves and bathing places, and hence not of a comparable type. Temples of the Majapahit period date to 1293–1519.

61

Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 45–46. The texts listing Champa as a tributary were written in the seventeenth century, and Reid points out that they were very pro-Javanese. They suggest, however, a strong relationship between the Javanese and Cham.

62

*Cambridge History*, 155–57.

63

Po Dharma, *Le Panduranga (Campa), 1802–1835: ses rapports avec le Vietnam*, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 149 (Paris: L'École française d'Extrême-Orient: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1987).

64

Charles Wheeler, "One Region, Two Histories: Cham Precedents in the History of the Hoi An Region," in Nhung Tuyet Tran and Anthony Reid, eds., *Viet Nam: Borderless Histories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 163–93.

65

Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 48.

66

Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Études Cam 4: Une relation Iberique du Campa en 1595," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 70 (1981), 254. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce: 1450–1680*, vol. 2: *Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 187, sees Champa as an early important center of Islamic influence. Sources as early as the twelfth century attest to the presence of Islam.

67

This is not a new suggestion; see Paul Mus, "The Religious Ceremonies of Champa," trans. Walter E. J. Tips [originally published as "Cultes Indiens et Indigènes au Champas," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 23 (1934): 367–410] (Bangkok: Thailand, 2001), 84–87.