

- 1 Charles Wheeler, "One Region, Two Histories; Cham Precedents in the History of the Hoi An Region," in *Vietnam: Borderless Histories*, eds. Nhung Tuyet Tran and Anthony Reid (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 184–85.
- 2 Tran Ky Phuong and Vu Huu Minh, "Cua Dai Chiem (Port of Great Champa) in the 4th–5th Centuries," *Vietnamese Studies* 2, no. 100 (1991): 17–23.
- 3 Do Bang, *Pho Cang vung Thuan Quang: the ky xvii–xviii* (Ha Noi: Nha xuất bản Thuan Hoa, 1996), 44.
- 4 Bui Chi Hoang and Pham Huu Tho, *The Collections of Ceramics in Lam Dong* (Dalat: So van hoa thong tin Lam Dong, 2000), 75–134.
- 5 Yoji Aoyagi et al., "Archaeological Research of Old Kiln Sites in Vietnam: Preliminary Report," *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations* 2 (1992): 19–28.
- 6 Ma Huan, *Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan*, "The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433]," trans. J.V.G. Mills, ed. Feng Ch'eng-Chun, reprint (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1997), 82–85.
- 7 Eusebio Z. Dizon, "Underwater Archaeology of the Pandanan Wreck: A Mid-15th-Century A.D. Vessel, Southern Palawan, Philippines," unpublished paper, 1998, 5–8.
- 8 Ma Huan, *Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan*, "The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433]," 79.
- 9 Phan Dai Doan, "Hoi An and Dang Trong," in *Ancient Town of Hoi An* (Ha Noi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1991), 169–75.
- 10 John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987), 460.
- 11 Li Tana, *Nguyen Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Cornell Southeast Asian Program Publications, 1998), 11–12, 22.
- 12 Sand merchants working in the area of the old port have uncovered large quantities of shards, but also complete pieces; some date to the Ly-Tran period, while others are from kilns in the central region. Kerry Nguyen-Long, "Vietnamese Ceramics: A Cameo Collection from the Sands of Time," *Arts of Asia* 35, no. 3 (May–June 2005): 89–100.
- 13 Do Bang, "The Relations and Pattern of Trade between Hoi An and the Inland," in *Ancient Town of Hoi An*, 150–51.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 94–165. But by 1795, only fifty to sixty Chinese families were in residence in Thanh Ha. Compatible with this history, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese and Japanese ceramic shards and a stash of Kang Xi coins (1662–1722) were recovered from excavations in the vicinity of the old port.
- 15 Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires: an Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Deputés, Paris, trans. and ed. Armando Cortesao (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 112–14.
- 16 Pierre-Yves Manguin, *Les Portugais sur les côtes du Viet-Nam et du Campa: étude sur les routes maritimes et les relations commerciales, d'après les sources portugaises (XVI, XVII, XVIII siècles)* (Paris: L'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1972), 45–49. But Manguin's research (p. 184) finds no evidence to suggest commercial links between Cochinchina (here meaning all Dai Viet) and Portuguese in Malacca.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 182.
- 18 Ruurdje Laarhoven and Elizabeth Pino Wittermans, "From Blockade to Trade: Early Dutch Relations with Manila, 1600–1750," *Philippine Studies* 33 (Fourth Quarter, 1985), 499.
- 19 Data from the Institute of Han-Nom Studies, Ha Noi, reveals that the first known local reference to Hoi An is the Pho Da Son stele, inscribed about 1640. Wheeler, "One Region, Two Histories," in *Vietnam: Borderless Histories*, 188.
- 20 The northern branch of the river opened into a lake before flowing into the sea, but morphological activity eventually sealed this outlet, and in the course of time, the river moved farther south. (Vu Van Phai and Dang Van Bao, "Geomorphological Features of Hoi An and Its Neighbourhood," in *Ancient Town of Hoi An* [Ha Noi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1991], 55–63). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, depending on a ship's tonnage, Hoi An was accessible via Cua Dai or Cua Han (the mouth of the Han River, which enters the sea in Da Nang Bay). Traders sailing up the Han crossed to the Co Co, now no longer extant, before entering the Thu Bon River and mooring on its left bank. Using this entrance, traders could avoid the dangerous passage around Son Tra Peninsula. (Nguyen Phuc Tuong, *Hoi An: di san the gioi* [Ho Chi Minh City: Nha xuất bản van nghe thanh pho Ho Chi Minh, 2004], 128–51).
- 21 Li Tana, *Nguyen Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1998), 121–25.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 63.
- 23 Manguin, *Les Portugais sur les côtes du Viet-Nam et du Campa*, 184–86.