

destruction of the Cham local lords' legitimacy, and in the first of these raids the temple's sacred empowering *liṅga* was taken away. The Po Nagar temple inscription recording this event reports that the Cham local lord followed with his navy and defeated the raiders in a sea battle. He was unable to recover the original *liṅga*, which was said to have been lost in the battle, but he used the booty acquired from the defeated marauders to reconstruct the damaged temple, where he installed a replacement *liṅga* as the symbol of his legitimacy.⁹

Champa and International Commerce in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

By the tenth century Champa was divided into five core regions. The northern region that bordered Việt territory, with port sites known as Amarendrapura (Lai Trung/Huế) and Viṣṇupura (Nhan Biều), was a narrow, sandy coastal plain of scattered agricultural settlements that was punctuated by numerous short streams connecting the coast with its mountainous interior. Amarāvati incorporated the earlier Indrapura middle region. This was the site of the important strategic port now known as Hội An.¹⁰ Its multiple short, fertile river valleys were sealed by steep mountain ridges, a geography affording the security necessary for the development of the local wet-rice works that supported the region's early religious and political complexes.

Amarāvati's dominant port-centre was superseded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by its southern neighbour Vijaya that developed upstream and overland links with the evolving Khmer realm of Angkor. Twelfth-century reliefs at Buddhist Angkor Thom depict the substantive interactions between the Chams, Khmer, and Chinese diaspora as allies, war victors and losers (including both land and sea/riverine battles), and culturally linked. The Angkor realm used Vijaya's port (now known as Sri Banoi/Sri Banoy) as a point of contact with the international trade, which had an overland road network connection to the Khmer heartland via the western Cham highland region, and from there via upstream river valleys to the coast.

Continuing southward, the fourth region was Kauthara, which was situated in a narrow coastal strip with little agricultural hinterland between the rugged mountains and the rocky seacoast, but which also developed overland

commercial and cultural connections to the Khmer heartland via Sambor (Śambhupura) on the Mekong river. Though the topography was less hospitable for large-scale agriculture, it had several bays (notably, Nha Trang and Cam Ranh) that afforded accommodation for assorted maritime communities. Here, too, was the important early cult site of Po Nagar. To Kauthara's south lay the fifth region, Pāṇḍuraṅga (Phan Rang), which had a mixed economy based on hydraulic agriculture, salt production, and fishing. This diversified economy and distance allowed Pāṇḍuraṅga to enjoy a degree of autonomy from its northern neighbours.

An increasingly important element of that era's hostilities was the use of naval warfare. The Việt responded to two major Cham naval campaigns as well as using naval warfare to enhance their own trade interests on the coastline. In reciprocity a 979 CE naval expedition attributed to the Chams, said to have been led by a rebellious Việt, attacked the capital of Hoa Lư in the Red River Delta. According to the Việt chronicle account, only the Cham king's vessel survived a gale on the fleet's return voyage.¹¹ In response, the Việt destroyed the Cham capital of Indrapura in 982 CE. Cham raids against the northern Việt coast in 1042 CE again brought retaliatory action against the Cham capital at Vijaya; the Vietnamese emperor Lý Thái Tông led a 1042 CE seaborne expedition that was said to have routed the Chams, killed their king, and returned with five thousand prisoners who were resettled in new agricultural villages around the Ly domain.¹²

Raids against Đại Việt were not the only source of conflict. A Cham inscription records a 1050 CE Cham royal expedition against the southern Cham port of Pāṇḍuraṅga. In this account the people of this port were described as 'vicious, threatening, and always in revolt against their sovereign', and they refused to recognize the Cham ruler's authority.¹³ At the time Pāṇḍuraṅga had a significant commercial presence, as two Arabic script (Kufic) inscriptions, dating between 1029 CE and 1035 CE, document that Pāṇḍuraṅga was a major port with a sizable commercial community (possibly some three hundred strong).¹⁴ The inscriptions also suggest Pāṇḍuraṅga's degree of political independence. One of them records that this community selected one of its members, a Muslim, as 'agent of the bazaar', having the duty of representing