

and protecting local merchants' interests when dealing with Cham authorities.

The latter inscription is not the first reference to Muslim traders in the Cham realm. An earlier mention appears in a tenth-century Chinese court reference to a 958 CE diplomatic mission to China by a Muslim named Abu Hasan (Bu Hosan), who was traveling as the ambassador representing the Cham king. On this trip he presented the Chinese emperor rosewater, flasks of 'Greek fire', and precious stones.¹⁵ In 961, Abu Hasan again traveled to the Song court, this time bearing a letter from the new Cham king Jaya Indravarman I (r. 959-965). On this second occasion the Cham ambassador presented the Song monarch with fragrant wood, ivory, camphor, peacocks, and twenty Arab vases, all items from Arabia, Persia, and other western regions that were supposedly available in Cham ports as commercial products.¹⁶ Abu Hasan's visits were a response to the opportunities afforded when Guangzhou was fully reopened to foreign commerce under the Later Zhou (951-959 CE) and then the Song (960-1279 CE) dynasties.

This ongoing commercial activity by Muslims and other maritime diaspora was profitable to the Cham realm. Chinese sources from the Song era reveal that ship cargoes were inspected by a king's agent upon arrival in Champa's port (probably just Quy Nhơn at that time). After registering all commodities carried by the ship and noting how many goods were unloaded, the king's agents collected one fifth of each kind of commodity in the name of their monarch before authorizing the sale of the rest. Concealed and undisclosed freight was seized.¹⁷ The income from these inspections financed various royal activities, not the least of which was Cham ambition for military conquest, especially against their Đại Việt neighbors to the north, who were seen as both a political and economic threat.

By the eleventh century the Việt were also experiencing increased trade and were doing so in direct competition with Champa. There were two primary avenues for this trade. The first, an interior trade route connecting Đại Việt with the Khmer realm to its west, was an especially serious threat to Cham trading, notably with their Khmer neighbours. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the overland trade route from the Nghệ An region ran west through Ha Trai pass and turned south along the upper

Mekong River into the Khmer heartland.¹⁸ Contemporary Khmer inscriptions describe traders of Việt origin using this route. The development of this overland route is likely to have been especially threatening to Cham ports, which accessed the Khmer heartland by riverine links and overland trade across the Central Highlands. For example, Vijaya was linked to the Khmer heartland via an overland network and the highland centre of Kon Klor, where there are a Cham temple and epigraphic and archaeological remains from this era that substantiate this overland cultural and trade connection. A Khmer inscription found at Phum Mien on the lower Mekong River dated 987 CE references Việt use of interior riverine routes, and documents a Cham threat.¹⁹ A Cham 1050 Pāṇḍuraṅga naval raid up the Mekong River into the Khmer heartland, sacking the Khmer Śambupura urban centre on the Mekong, was either a plunder raid or a reassertion of Cham trade relationship with the Khmer realm.²⁰

Seafarers from Pāṇḍuraṅga, as well as those associated with each of the other enumerated Cham coastline ports, were likely participants in a major Cham naval expedition against the Việt in 1042 CE. It is likely that a number of the naval raids attributed to the Chams during this period were initiated not by a royal centre but by semi-independent piratical sojourners and mercenaries who used Cham ports as their base of operation. In any case, the Việt held the Cham centres responsible for the attacks and aimed their retaliation accordingly. According to Việt sources in retribution the Cham capital at Indrapura (Trà Kiệu) was destroyed in 1044 CE and the Cham king killed.²¹

A lord in the Cham realm sent three embassies to China between 1050 CE and 1056 CE and five to the Lý capital between 1047 CE and 1060 CE.²² This sudden flurry of diplomacy after 1050 CE is best characterized as an assurance to the Chinese and the Việt that the Cham monarch now had his domain firmly under control, including Pāṇḍuraṅga and its marauding seafarers, and an assurance to Champa's powerful Lý Việt neighbours that there would be no further Cham aggression against its neighbours. Nevertheless, when a Cham military force launched a land attack against the Vietnamese in 1068 CE, the Vietnamese responded with a naval attack against the Cham capital at Indrapura/Trà Kiệu. The Vietnamese