

found it remarkable that they met resistance only from a Cham army and not from a Cham fleet, an indication that at that time the Cham ruler did not have sufficient naval forces to take on his 1068 CE campaign.²³

The remaining evidence of the early Cham realm does not show an internal integration of commercial activity. At least at the river mouths and their connected upstream river valleys, the Cham state has been considered a wet-rice, temple-building civilization that favourably compares to that of the developing Angkor-based Khmer state to its west.²⁴ Furthermore, like Angkor, Champa used Indic vocabulary and religious styles in the service of the state. Champa had impressive central temple complexes at Mý Sơn and Po Nagar and other networked Indic temples in each of its five riverine zones, and Cham inscriptions portray Cham administrative capacity in a vocabulary similar to that of the Khmer.

Though Cham inscriptions speak of centralized administrations and present the image of an integrated wet rice socio-economy, Cham epigraphy as well as external sources reflect an incomplete synthesis of the early wet rice state tradition on the part of Champa, and as a result its political and economic networks were complex, often disconnected, and highly contested. Therefore, despite the obvious parallels to the other wet-rice states of mainland Southeast Asia, its political dynamics were actually more similar to those of the riverine and archipelago networks of island Southeast Asia, and better understood as a polity based in the riverine exchange network system. In its combination of the two systems – wet-rice agricultural on the one hand and multi-centred riverine on the other – the Champa based monarchy was beginning to blend its riverine and rice plain sectors. But the Champa rice economy did not have the productive capacity of Java, its position relative to the trade route was less strategic, and its expansion into bordering fertile rice plains was blocked by its powerful Khmer and Việt neighbours. For this and other reasons, among them being Champa's multi-centred geography, the political and economic integration achieved in Java was never achievable in Champa, and in the following centuries this lack of integration would eventually lead to Champa's demise.

Cham and Việt Competition for the Coastline, 1200-1471 CE

As the Thai and Javanese prospered and southeast Sumatra declined, the Champa realm enjoyed a period of relative strength, albeit one that would come to a sudden end in the fifteenth century. The theme of cultural and religious restoration is centre stage in Cham inscriptions dating from the 1220s and 1230s, as they followed an era of Khmer dominance over the Cham realm that had dated to Jayavarman VII's (r. 1181-c.1218) attacks on recalcitrant lords in the late twelfth century. A Cham inscription from this era reports that restoration efforts were necessary because Jayavarman had 'carried away all the *lingas*'.²⁵ The new Cham ruler, based now in Vijaya, reconsecrated and purified temples, reactivated regional cults, and restored damaged temples. This new construction paralleled the style of Jayavarman VII at Angkor Thom and other major Khmer temples during his reign.²⁶ As with Jayavarman's Khmer predecessors, the earlier temple architecture in the Cham realm had been refined in style, while the new thirteenth-century style was more imperial in content, monumental in size, and imposing in scale and subject matter, as the new rulers substantiated their legitimacy in a new age in which the Vijaya-centred Cham coastline became the centrepiece of an enhanced networked trading community to China's south (see below).

Champa prospered in its response to new trade opportunities afforded by the growing maritime transit between Java and China. At the principal Cham port at Thị Nại (Quy Nhơn), Chinese porcelain and silk were exchanged for Champa's highland forest products, especially aloe wood, native cloth, rhinoceros horns, and elephant tusks.²⁷ Cham (Zhancheng) rice, produced in intensively cultivated upstream hinterlands, provisioned increasing numbers of sojourners who made stopovers in the Cham ports. Regularized contact between the Vijaya lowlands and the central highlands is documented by late fourteenth-century Hindu icons that have been recovered throughout the highlands, as also temple towers and stelae with Sanskrit inscriptions. The early thirteenth-century was the era in which the Cham rulers began to formalize their relationship with highland chiefs, by bestowing royal titles on them.²⁸

During the thirteenth century both local inscriptions and foreign accounts focus on the