

Cham ruler's personal wealth. According to the contemporary early thirteenth-century record of the Chinese port master Zhao Rugua (1225 CE), the Cham ruler reigned from a spacious brick palace, attended by his subordinate princes. All of these possessed vast quantities of gold and jewels, as the royal and noble paraphernalia and symbols of authority included diadems, waistbands, necklaces, and earrings.²⁹ The Cham elite's focus on personal wealth and conspicuous consumption is not unlike the similar obsession with personal status markers elsewhere in the region that reflect the local impact of the era's international trade boom.³⁰ Chinese accounts link Champa's heightened trade and subsequent prosperity to Java, and according to the Chinese sources Cham ports (notably Vijaya's port of Thị Nại) passed Java's spices along to China, adding their own rich forest products from the Cham highlands.³¹ By the end of the thirteenth century Cham ports were major players in the international trade, as demonstrated by the 1283-1285 CE Mongol (Yuan) raids against these ports when the Cham monarch refused to respond to the Yuan dynasty's demands for tribute.³²

Some historians suggest that Champa's commercial ties with Java may have been supplemented by political ones. During the early fourteenth century the Cham monarch Jayasimhavarman III (r. 1288-1307) is thought to have married a Javanese princess, Tapasi. In the Vietnam chronicles' version of the events, Jayasimhavarman III was also said to have married a Vietnamese princess (Chế Chi), who was said to have been received in exchange for relinquishing his rights to certain territories in the north that were contested by Đại Việt and Champa. The Việt sources chronicle persistent resistance in these ceded territories, which forced the Emperor Trần Anh Tông to send troops in 1312 CE, when they also captured the Cham monarch and took him back to the Đại Việt capital, where he died in 1313 CE.

The Việt emperor placed the deceased Cham king's brother Chế Năng on the Cham throne as feudatory prince of the second rank'. But when there was a Việt succession in 1314 CE, Chế Năng asserted his independence and invaded the northern territories, which brought a Việt reprisal in 1318 CE; defeated, Chế Năng fled to Java (some historians have proposed that he was the son of the Java princess).³³ The Đại Việt emperor then placed a military chief

Chế A Nan on the Cham throne, who proceeded to ally with the Mongols, and with their assistance he declared his independence in 1326 CE. When Chế A Nan died in 1342 CE, his son-in-law Trà-hòa Bồ-đế seized the throne following a ten-year succession war against the legitimate heir Chế Mỗ. The date of Trà-hòa Bồ-đế's death is unknown. There is also the Javanese legend of Dvāravātī, sister of a Cham king, who married the fourteenth-century ruler of Majapahit and subsequently encouraged the spread of Islam in Java.³⁴ Cham representatives participated each year in Java's annual *Caitra* festival, which celebrated the sovereignty of the late fourteenth-century Majapahit monarchy,³⁵ where they shared in the Śaiva-Buddhist rituals of their trade partners to the south.

Champa's links with Java were not the only important ones at this time. Newly recovered shipwreck cargoes in the Philippines demonstrate that by the fourteenth century there were also new links between Champa and the Philippines and from thence along a newly developing eastern maritime route via the Sulu Sea to the spice islands.³⁶ Champa's connections to the north were consequent to a new developing regional network that included China's southern coast, the west coast of Hainan Island, the eastern delta of Đại Việt and its port of Vân Đồn, and the Cham coastline, as discussed below. In the late 1360s the Cham court developed an especially favourable relationship with the new Ming dynasty in China, at the expense of Đại Việt to the north, which would last for several decades. Champa's extensive trade links, together with Đại Việt's dynastic confusion during the mid-fourteenth century (including a two-decade Ming occupation, 1407-1428 CE), enabled Thị Nại to become the primary intermediary stopover between Melaka and Java and south China's ports.³⁷

In contrast to earlier periods, when Champa seems to have been considered a realm prone to piracy, Ming sources report that in the late fourteenth century the Chams won the early Ming court's support for its military expeditions by sending lavish tribute missions and characterizing their Vietnamese neighbours to the north as the constant aggressors. During the 1380s, for example, Cham tribute missions lavished the Ming emperor with 200 elephant tusks in 1384 CE; 54 elephants in 1388 CE; and 51 elephants in 1389 CE, in response to which it was reported that 'the Emperor was pleased