

with their sincerity'.³⁸ By contrast, the sources make repeated references to the Ming emperor's displeasure with Đại Việt, including a 1382 CE refusal to receive a Việt tribute mission due to Đại Việt's 'guile'. In addition, Ming records note the immense pleasure of the Ming emperor in 1373 CE, when the Chams convinced the Chinese monarch that they had seized pirates who were operating off the Cham coast, thereby pacifying the seas to China's south. Together, these efforts went a long way toward legitimating Cham pre-emptive strikes against Đại Việt.³⁹

The Jiaozhi Yang Network, c. 1200-1471

Revisionist research since the 1990s, reactive to new archaeological discoveries as these have mandated the need to re-read the written sources, has significantly enhanced the vision of pre-1500 Vietnam economic history. The most recent research has focused on the thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Jiaozhi Yang Ocean Network that effectively linked the Cham and Việt coastlines from the Mekong delta in the south to Hainan Island in the north and beyond to south China ports.⁴⁰ As detailed above prior to the ninth century the Cham coastline was the major maritime route stopover of ships going to or from south China's ports, as ships sailed directly from the Cham coastline to Hainan Island rather than calling at ports in the Gulf of Tonkin region to the northwest. This was in part because it was more efficient to sail directly north from Cham ports to China, but was also because there were huge hidden rocks along the Gulf of Tonkin passage. It was said that a Tang dynasty governor had some of these removed in the ninth century, though it remained such a treacherous shipping passage that large ships would not chance the voyage, but instead offloaded their cargoes in Cham ports.

From there trade commodities travelled north on smaller boats, or were more often transported overland by foot via the central highlands, connecting to the upper Mekong River and from there north via Khmer and Lao (Land Zhenla) regions into Đại Việt (Jiaozhi). An early terminus of this overland route was via the Ha Trai pass to Nghệ An and onward to the Red River delta. Early merchants, pilgrims, and envoys all landed in the central Cham region prior to making this overland passage to Jiaozhi (the Chinese name for the Red River centred northern region prior to its independence

from Chinese rule as the Đại Việt state in the tenth century). The overland route was also the source of Jiaozhi's most desired highland trade products: gold, silver, aromatics, rhinoceros horn, and elephant tusks. As reported above, the route also served as the Angkor-era realm's primary access to the South China Sea, whether to Cham ports to the east, or to Đại Việt in the north. Khmer kings thus sent tribute to the Đại Việt court nineteen times in the 960-1279 era, in contrast to only five to the Song China court.⁴¹

The Zhufanzhi 1225 CE report of the sea trade filed by Zhao Rugua, the commissioner of foreign trade at Quanzhou, the principle south China port terminus of the international maritime route at that time, provides the following report of his networked port's trade partner Qinzhou (in the modern-day Guangxi province, bordering the Gulf of Tonkin north of Đại Việt) and its contemporary marketplace activities:

All of Jiaozhi's everyday wares depended on Qinzhou, thus ships constantly went back and forth between the two. The boyi [trade] field was east of the river outside the town. Those who came with sea products to exchange for rice and cotton fabric in small quantities were called the "Dan of Jiaozhi" [people known as Dan in Guangdong]. Those rich merchants who came to trade arrived from [Đại Việt's] border area of Vinh Tuyền prefecture to Qinzhou, these were called 'small presents' (*xiaogang*). The 'large quantity present' (*dagang*) refers to envoys sent by the court [of Đại Việt] to trade here. The goods they traded were gold, silver, copper coins, aloes-wood, varieties of fragrant wood, pearls, elephant tusks and rhinoceros horn. The small traders "from our side" came to exchange paper, writing brushes, rice and cotton with the people of Jiaozhi "who do not deserve much mention; but there are rich merchants who brought brocades from Shu [Sichuan] to Qinzhou to trade for perfume once a year, often involving thousands of *quan* of cash. Those merchants haggle over prices for hours before reaching an agreement. Once it is agreed, no one is allowed to negotiate with other merchants. When the talk has just started the gap between the asking price and the offer is often as huge as between heaven and earth. Our [Han Chinese] rich merchants send their servants to buy things to sustain their daily life and even build temporary residences and stay there, in order to frustrate the [Jiaozhi] merchants. Their rich merchants stay calm, and also use perseverance as a weapon. When the two merchants see each