

other, they drink together; and as time passes, they get along. Those smooth-talking ones cut or add a few [*quan*] so the prices from the two sides who become closer and closer. [When the deal is made] the officers [at the markets] weigh the perfume and deliver the brocade for both sides to finish the deal. At the trading site the [Song] officers only levy taxes on the merchants of our side."⁴²

'Dan of Jiaozhi'

The Jiaozhi Yang was a product of the twelfth century, when private Chinese trading and shipping moved out into wider Southeast Asia. In the 13th century, during the decline and interregnum of the Song dynasty (960-1279 CE) and the consolidation of Yuan authority (1279-1368 CE), numbers of Chinese and other maritime diaspora active in south China ports, many of them Muslim, established alternate bases in the region. During the twelfth century the more northern port of Vân Đồn, strategically located near the mouth of the Bạch Đằng River (at that time the main branch of the Red River), replaced the Nghệ An region as the focal downstream access to the Đại Việt heartland.⁴³ Vân Đồn was populated by Fujian Chinese, Cham, and multi-ethnic Muslim merchant diaspora dispersed among several island harbours northeast of the Red River delta in the Gulf of Tonkin.⁴⁴ In the contemporary Cham realm, trade was centred in the Vijaya port of Thị Nại, the 'new port' (Xinzhou) in contemporary Chinese records, although there were secondary ports further south in Kauthara and Pāṇḍuraṅga. Like its Cham predecessors, the Thị Nại port-of-trade (today's Qui Nhơn) of the Vijaya realm was linked to the central highlands via an overland connection across the An Khê Pass, and, most critically, the Gò Sành ceramic production site was nearby.⁴⁵

The details of fifteenth-century commercial transitions in the inclusive Đại Việt realm are played out in Chinese dynastic records, the Việt chronicles, and in archaeological artifacts. Collectively these substantiate a burst of economic energy in the Cham and Đại Việt realms from the 1430s, responsive to the opportunities afforded when the Ming dynasty suddenly restricted the overseas activities of Chinese private traders, and, above all, the export of Chinese ceramics in what scholars call the 'Ming Gap'. In this era Burmese, Thai, Cham, and Qui Nhơn responded to marketplace

opportunities by increasing their production of ceramics to fill the then international marketplace demand. While the Ming authorities were effective in decreasing China's ceramics exports, there was an expansive international market that Southeast Asia-based production and shipping filled for over a century.⁴⁶

Recovered artefacts from late fifteenth-century shipwrecks in the Philippines and at Hội An on the central coast provide critical new evidence. Thai, Cham, and Vietnamese ceramics dominate the cargoes of other fifteenth-century regional wrecks, as earlier Chinese ceramics had.⁴⁷ Specific to the history of the Vietnam coast the c. 1450-1470 Pandanan shipwreck is believed to have begun its voyage on the Cham coastline, and sank off the southern coast of Palawan island in the southern Philippines on its passage between a Brunei Borneo coast stopover and a Sulu Sea destination. Its cargo was 70% Cham ceramics, green glazed monochrome dishes for daily use produced at the Gò Sành kilns near the fortified capital city of Vijaya (Chà Bàn), upstream from the port of Thị Nại.⁴⁸

In contrast, the Hội An (Cù Lao Chàm) wreck off the central Vietnam coast, dating c. 1490 CE, consistent with other regional shipwreck cargoes from the later fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century era, has little evidence of Cham ceramics, but is exclusively composed of Đại Việt blue and white stoneware. These ceramics were influenced by the Ming-era China Jingdezhen kiln patterns in blue and white porcelain, but with notable inclusions of Vietnamese elements (e.g., birds) and representations and production specific to the Java marketplace (garuda patterns and ceremonial *kendi* ceramic spouted water vessels)⁴⁹ fired at the Đại Việt kiln site of Chu Đậu, near Đại Việt's Vân Đồn port.⁵⁰

These shipwreck ceramics and accompanying excavations of the Cham and Đại Việt ceramics production sites during this era relate to the recurrent Cham and Việt borderlands warfare detailed above. Scholars have re-evaluated their past views of the fifteenth-century. John K. Whitmore, as other global historians, had previously concluded that in his initiatives to restructure the Đại Việt realm, Lê Thánh Tông (r. 1460-1497) took an unfavourable stance toward international trade, and instead internalized the Đại Việt economy in the name of achieving the 'wellbeing' of his subjects, by emphasizing the need to develop a self-sustaining Đại Việt agricultural economy over promoting