

destructive attacks of 1044 and 1069 CE, Đại Việt, as claimed in its *Chronicle*, twice more conquered the capital, Phật Thệ ('Oath of the Buddha'), presumably the old Indrapura. Simultaneously, for about six decades into the middle of the eleventh century, there were no inscriptions composed and few temples built in Champa. It would seem that only local power existed there. Eventually, in the 1050s, there arose a lord (probably in Kauthara) claiming rule over Nagara Champa and making ritual contributions in the Thu Bồn valley. This family conquered Pāṇḍuraṅga, establishing their *lingas* there, and attacked the Khmer in the middle Mekong valley. After the first lord's death, his family continued through the 1060s to strive for regional power, an effort apparently ended by Đại Việt's victory of 1069 CE.⁴

In the wake of the massive disruption and destruction (ins. C. 94) by Đại Việt, a new capital, Simhapura, rose once more in the Thu Bồn valley. With the Vietnamese distracted by a rising Tai realm and an aggressive Song regime on their north during the 1070s, as well as their child king, Champa had room to rebuild its realm. During the 1080s, out of the local chaos Harivarman and his immediate successors, descended from the (Kauthara?) lord, led Champa to resurrect itself in a second effort at forming a classical realm, based now in Simhapura. Pierre Baptiste (2010) has well demonstrated how, with contemporary links to Karnataka in southwest India, a great reconstruction occurred at this time in the Thu Bồn valley. The southern Indian influences formed part of the resulting numerous, substantial, and beautiful monuments, Buddhist as well as Śaiva. As seen in inscription C. 90, Harivarman overcame his land's earlier weaknesses to become 'the supreme protector of Champa', renewing its *lingas* and restoring Nagara Champa 'just as before'. This newly revived regime continued through the twelfth century with influence in the south as well as in the north.⁵

Khmer dominance (1125-1225 CE)

As Nagara Champa was rebuilding itself in Simhapura, other events were taking place in Asia that would again disrupt its political development. In Song China, Wang Anshi's 'New Policies' sought better fiscal growth. This led, for the first time, to allowing private Chinese trade and shipping to go abroad in large numbers.

As a result, from the late eleventh century on, private Chinese ships and entrepreneurs moved out into the seas and along the coasts of Southeast Asia. This was immediately significant for the nearby eastern seaboard of the Southeast Asian mainland, the coasts of Nagara Champa and Đại Việt. Here, through the twelfth century, Chinese merchants made contact with local communities and brought these peoples more directly into the trans-regional commercial world. Whereas before foreign shipping and merchants had gone straight to China, fulfilling the Chinese demands, now Chinese could seek out local goods and demands by themselves, affecting what the locals had to offer and desired for themselves. On this basis, a major surge in trade moved around the Southeast Asian coasts from east to west.⁶

One result of this new direct Chinese private commercial contact with the coasts of Nagara Champa and Đại Việt was that Angkor under Sūryavarman II (1113-49 CE) sought to have its own direct connection with the developing trade pattern, as Anne-Valérie Schweyer (2009b, p. 324) has indicated. Heretofore more involved westward toward the Chao Phraya valley and the Malay Peninsula, now the Khmer began to look east and sought to have their own coastal link to the thriving trade. Their effort occurred in three stages. First (1117-1126 CE), Angkor began again to try diplomatic moves after a long break, with Khmer and allied Champa embassies going to the Song capital of Kaifeng and to the Đại Việt capital of Thăng Long (Hà Nội) before, on the loss of Kaifeng and the death of the old Vietnamese king (1126-7 CE), aggressively joining with Nagara Champa in overland attacks on Đại Việt's coast (1128-37 CE). Finally, those efforts being unsuccessful, in the 1140s Angkor joined with a highland polity and elements of Nagara Champa in the central Vijaya region (also with Vietnamese?) against the established Champa ruler, Jaya Harivarman, in Simhapura (who also sought Vietnamese aid) to establish a new major port (Thị Nại, now Quy Nhơn). It seems that this ruler, who claimed legitimacy on the basis of having been king of Nagara Champa in several previous lives, struggled to block the Khmers and to keep Nagara Champa completely within Simhapura's rule, being 'unable to give his benedictions to the ten regions' (C. 85; Guy 2000 p. 53). Angkor thus gained its desired access to this new pattern of trade and as a result began to receive more