NAGER CAM & THE PRIESTS OF PROWESS: A HISTORY OF RESILIENCE

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation argues that the Cham religious elite secured the social and cultural continuity of Cham society to the present day. They, and Cham society, survived the end of the Cham kingdom of Panduranga because the Nguyen emperor Minh Mang (reigned 1820 to 1841) did not remove them. The Vietnamese rulers who succeeded Minh Mang after his death in 1841 were not interested in assimilating the Cham because they faced many internal and external problems. The French colonial period brought great changes to Vietnam but the Cham, though protected by the French, were ultimately ignored in the colonial economy. The French instead devoted attention to Cham historical, anthropological and archeological research in the late 19th and 20th centuries. The Cham were able to continue their traditional way of life with the Cham religious elite taking center stage in Cham society. They built up their hierarchies with the teaching of anak saih or “students” to carry on the legacy and practice of important Cham ceremonies and rituals to the present day. Nager Cam (Champa) lived on through the activities and efforts of the Cham religious elite.
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PREFACE

An old battered copy of the Sejarah Melayu that I read in 2000 in an old moldy corner of the Central Library at the National University of Singapore – that was what started it all. Bab 21 (Chapter 21) of Shellabear’s edition of the Malay Annals tells the story of Raja Cempa. That led me to meet Prof Bruce Lockhart of the History Department of the National University of Singapore (NUS), who introduced me to Champa’s history and its complexities. It began my journey to understand more about this lost kingdom.

A series of fortunate encounters that took place from 2001 to 2004 led me to meet Tran Ky Phuong, the eminent archaeologist of Champa (when he was a fellow at NUS) and Dr Geoff Wade, a historian of China, who opened the doors to the fascinating world of Cham archaeology and history. It was Tran Ky Phuong and his family who assisted me in my first explorations of the ruins of My Son in 2003 and 2004, the fabled “Holy Land” of Champa. The spectacular ruins inspired me to further my research on the Cham and address the question of what happened to the people who had built these wonders. That took me to other Cham temples that dot the southern Vietnamese coast, such as the temples of Dong Duong, Khuong My, Hoa Lai and Po Nagar, among others, all in various states of preservation.

However, it was the encounters over the years with the Cham of Ninh Thuan, Cham intellectuals and the researchers of Champa such as Doctors Thanh Phan, Po Dharma, Van Mon, Quang Can, Rie Nakamura, Yasuko Yamamoto, Nicolas Weber and Abdul Karim that have opened doors to ideas and thoughts about Cham history, anthropology and ethnology. However,

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foremost among them is Dr Thanh Phan, who taught me the essence of Cham civilization – the writing of Akhar Thrah script, so central to the understanding of the complex *Ilimo Cam* (Cham knowledge) contained in the *Surak Cam* or Cham manuscripts, the repository of knowledge of the Cham people. This knowledge, as I have observed, is being gradually lost to the Cham as younger Cham are not really interested in learning it. However, Dr Thanh Phan is trying to stem the tide. He has organized *Akhar Thrah* (Cham script) classes, attracting many Cham students. He teaches them ways to read the Dalukal, which contains Cham knowledge about the mythical origins of Cham kings and divinities.

I also thank Dr Leonard Andaya, Dr Barbara Watson Andaya, Dr Ned Bertz, Dr Michael Aung Thwin, Dr Stephen O’ Harrow, Dr Jerry H. Bentley, Susan Carlson, Rohayati Paseng and Isvan Tuyen Quang for their great support and guidance. Words cannot express the gratitude I feel for the kindness that they have shown me.

The Cham are trying to remember a contentious past. This dissertation offers a version of the past that highlights resilience as central to the Cham historical experience; the most resilient being the Cham religious elite in Ninh Thuan.
EXPLANATION ON THE USE OF NAGER CAM/CHAMPA/CAM IN THE DISSERTATION

_Nager Cam_ is the spelling used to describe the _Negara_ or Kingdom that is used in the Dalukal and Ariya type Cham manuscripts. In some sections of the dissertation, the term _Champa, Cam_ and _Cham_ are used, and these terms are generally used by scholars of Champa and accepted as descriptions of the kingdom and its people. Some French documents of the 19th century use _Tsiampa, Tchame_ or even _Tsiam_ to describe the kingdom, but they denote its people as well.
CHAPTER 1. THE STUDY OF CHAM HISTORY

Geography of Panduranga

It is important to start with an explanation of the geography of Panduranga, as it gives further insights to the nature of the Cham of Panduranga, and also explains why it was the last Cham polity to be absorbed by the Vietnamese. Panduranga and Ninh Thuan, where communities of Cham Awal (syncretic Muslims) and Ahier (syncretic Hindus) live today, are located in the southern part of central Vietnam. Along with Khanh Hoa (or Kauthara) in the north, Binh Thuan in the south and Lam Dong in the west, the area of Ninh Thuan is important, as it is where famous Cham temples such as the temple of Po Klong Garai, Po Rome and Po Sah Inu, built in the 12th to 17th centuries, still stand and remain important locations for the Pandurangan Cham ritual and ceremonial activities.

The geography is characterized by plains and mountain ranges that surround the province. This can be seen in the Ninh Son and Bac Ai areas which are mountainous districts. The highlands, where ethnic minorities such as the Churu and Raglai live, can be accessed by traveling up the rivers or by land routes. From a 2010 observation of how Raglai coffee traders travel to the lowlands via the rivers on foot when the rivers were not too deep or their waters too fast, it could be seen that the Cham areas are easily reached by ethnic minorities. Once in Cham areas, such ethnic minorities and the Cham of Ninh Thuan either trade goods or skills. According to Dr Thanh Phan, Churu and Raglai skills in using Krum or bamboo to make baskets and rice processing ware are highly regarded by the Cham of the lowlands. However, diminishing
bamboo supplies in the forests have led to a decline of such skills and hence it is rare to find Raglai or Churu-made baskets nowadays.

Apart from access to the highlands, the geography of Ninh Thuan province is also blessed with 105 km of coastline, allowing the Cham to live in close proximity to the sea, especially in the coastal plain districts such as Thuan Bac, Thuan Nam, Ninh Hai, and Ninh Phuoc. However, this natural attribute has led to the lands of Ninh Thuan becoming less agriculturally productive. This is because the waters that flow from the interior to the coast increase the salinity of the rivers, leading to the drying out of areas like the plains of Phan Rang and Phan Thiet. High levels of sodium in the soil cause the soil to disperse, crust and set, making the terrain very unsuitable for agriculture. Furthermore, saline soil affects the development of plants, because it restricts the absorption of water.

These factors make the Cham areas of Ninh Thuan agriculturally unproductive, as it is an area of climatic extremes. Not only is it the hottest province of Vietnam, but it also receives very little rainfall. The highest temperature ever recorded was 40.5 degrees recorded in 1937, and rainfall levels can reach between 712mm and 2200mm per year. Not surprisingly, the coastal areas experience the worst drought conditions, with average rainfall of 500mm to 700mm per year. The area is also drought-prone as the plains receive 750mm to 1200mm of rainfall per year.

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6 Nguyen and Shaw, *Droughts*, 154-155.
Increasing desertification has led to the Cham in Ninh Thuan to focus more on rearing cattle today. However, this has caused increased overgrazing, leading to the death of vegetation, soil erosion and infertility of the soil.\(^7\)

Despite these agricultural limitations, around 180,000 Cham live throughout 10 provinces. They are mostly concentrated in the two provinces of Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan.\(^9\)

The Cham are a minority compared to Vietnam’s total population, and according to the General

\(^7\) Ibid.
\(^8\) Noralene Uy and Rajib Shaw, eds., *Ecosystem-Based Adaptation, vol. 12* (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2012), 139-141.
Statistics Office of Vietnam in the 2009 Population and Housing Census, as of April 1, 2009, the total population of Vietnam was 85,846,997. The Kinh\textsuperscript{10} ethnic group consists of 73.594 million people or 85.7% of the total population, and 12.253 million people, or 14.3% of the total population, are composed of other ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{11} There are other Cham communities that live in the Mekong Delta, especially in the provinces of Chau Doc and An Giang, but these communities do not share similar cultural and religious views with the Cham in Ninh Thuan. They practice an orthodox form of Sunni Islam that is also followed in Malaysia and Indonesia.

Agriculturally poor, the Cham nevertheless capitalized on their cultural assets, and with the aid of the Vietnamese government in the 1990s, Cham culture and historical vestiges became crucial in development of its tourism industry.\textsuperscript{12} This led to ancient Cham sites like the famous Mỹ Sơn area being recognized as a World Heritage site in December 1999.\textsuperscript{13} This development encouraged further cultural tourism and enhanced economic opportunities for the Vietnamese and Cham communities.\textsuperscript{14} More support was given to the new World Heritage site by the Vietnamese government, and a Mỹ Sơn museum was built on March 24, 2005 to teach visitors


\textsuperscript{12} For an excellent discussion on how Vietnamese interactions with Cham society and culture have transformed Vietnamese society in the 17th and 18th centuries, please refer to “Life in Dang Trong: A New Way of Being Vietnamese,” in Tana Li, Nguyễn Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1998), 99-116.

\textsuperscript{13} The My Son sanctuary located in Duy Phu commune, Duy Xuyen district of Quang Nam province, was nominated by the Vietnamese government on July 28, 1998. It was finally recognized as a World Heritage site during the 23rd session in Marrakesh, Morocco, held from November 29 to December 4. The main reasons for its inclusion were that it fulfilled two criteria, namely, Criterion (ii): “The My Son Sanctuary is an exceptional example of cultural interchange, with an indigenous society adapting to external cultural influences, notably the Hindu art and architecture of the Indian sub-continent”; and Criterion (iii): “The Champa Kingdom was an important phenomenon in the political and cultural history of South-East Asia, vividly illustrated by the ruins of My Son.” Reference: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, “My Son Sanctuary (Documents),” accessed July 30, 2012, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/949/documents/.

about the history of the temple complex. Other activities such as performances based on Cham traditional music and dances also helped to enhance the cultural and tourist value of the site.\textsuperscript{15}

These developments attracted Cham with opportunities created by increased investments in human capital, education, government and infrastructure.\textsuperscript{16} The Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism further pledged to develop Ninh Thuận into a key tourist site by building the Mui Ne beach resort, showcasing Cham pottery and brocade-weaving villages, and preserving Cham towers and other historical and cultural relics.\textsuperscript{17} These renovations will turn Ninh Thuận province into an ideal destination for domestic and foreign tourists.\textsuperscript{18} This development demonstrates the Vietnamese government’s willingness to preserve Cham culture and society as a valuable economic asset in its tourism industry.

The Cham community in Panduranga was the last Cham polity to be absorbed into Vietnam. This explains the greater availability of Cham manuscripts from this area, the presence of knowledgeable Cham scholars, and the retention of Cham cultural practices, making Panduranga an ideal site for the study of Cham history and society. How did the Cham of former Panduranga (covering areas of Phanrang, which includes Phanri, Parik, Kraong and Pajai) manage to maintain their cultural unity when other earlier Cham polities such as Indrapura, Amaravati, Kauthara and Vijaya appear to have been completely absorbed by the Vietnamese in


\textsuperscript{16} Vo X. Han, “Vietnam in 2007: A Profile in Economic and Socio-Political Dynamism,” \textit{Asian Survey} 48, no. 1 (2008), 33.

\textsuperscript{17} The Vietnam Business Forum (VIB Forum) is the weekly magazine of the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI), which aims to promote trade and investment. Reference: Minh Dao, “Building Ninh Thuan into Regional Driving Tourist Centre,” \textit{The Vietnam Business Forum (VIB Forum)}, March 14, 2012.

\textsuperscript{18} From the years 2006 to 2010, tourism revenue grew 22.8 percent a year, while tourist arrivals climbed 25 to 26 percent a year. Reference: Ibid.
their march to the south? A clue to the answer is the survival of the temples of Po Klong Garai, Po Rome and Po Sah Inu in Panduranga, and to some degree the temple of Po Nagar in Nha Trang, even though this temple was Vietnamized. These temples are dedicated to divinized Cham kings and queens, and rituals are conducted there by the religious elite. However, not all the Pandurangan Cham kings had temples dedicated to them. Others are remembered in the manuscript genre known as Dalukal, and especially in recitations by the Kadhar, the musician and reciter of manuscripts, during ceremonies. Through the Dalukal, stories of Cham kings and their deeds are recounted, reminding the Cham that they once had great rulers and a mighty kingdom. Another genre known as Ariya is also important in attesting to the sufferings and privations of the Cham in the past.

Champa

Before the Cham were reduced to the area of Panduranga and Ninh Thuan, they built a thriving and rich civilization that underwent considerable strains and transformations. Among early European accounts is the observation by Marco Polo who described Champa as a very rich kingdom that paid a tribute of 20 elephants to Kubilai Khan in 1285. He also talked of bountiful forests, alluding to the sources of valuable jungle products. 19 The wealth of Champa was also observed by Fei Hsin, a Chinese scholar who accompanied Zheng He’s expeditions from 1409 to 1433. 20 He described the gold ornamentation that the Cham king wore, the abundance of

20 The work refers to “Panduranga” and “Champa” as two different political entities. Fei Hsin seemed to distinguish the ruler of Champa from the “Principal Chief of Panduranga.” Reference: Ma Huan, Yingyai Shenglan (The Overall
elephants, soldiers and their weapons, horses, rhinoceros and ivory. However, the rice grown was of poor quality and the Cham had the habit of chewing areca nuts with lime.\(^{21}\) The Cham also excelled in the making of gold and silver vessels that used lotus flower motifs. The wealth of the Cham attracted Vietnamese maritime raids in 1044 and 1069.\(^{22}\)

These observations reveal the agricultural bounty that Champa possessed and also indicated the capacity of Champa to establish tributary relationships with Imperial China, especially the Ming dynasty.\(^{23}\) Champa was one of the most regular senders of tribute to the Ming rulers, because of the need to acquire a powerful patron in its struggles against northern Vietnam which escalated during the 14th and 15th centuries.\(^{24}\) The tribute consisted of tigers, elephants and gold, and reflected Champa’s abundance in natural wealth.\(^{25}\) However, the basis of Cham wealth was trade, especially in pottery, an industry which began as early as the third to fifth centuries C.E.\(^{26}\) The Cham eventually established a thriving pottery industry in which their wares could be found throughout the Philippines, the north coast of Borneo, the Malay Peninsula.

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\(^{21}\) This comment is rather curious because fast ripening and drought resistant Champa rice had been introduced to China in the 11th century. Refer to Ho Ping-Ti, “Early-Ripening Rice in Chinese History,” \textit{The Economic History Review} 9, no. 2 (1956): 200-201.

\(^{22}\) A. C. Milner and David G. Marr, \textit{Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries} (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986), 259.


\(^{25}\) Champa sent more tribute missions to the Ming than any other vassal state. In 1369, the king of Champa presented elephants and tigers to the Emperor Hong Wu who in turn, rewarded the Cham king with 3000 copies of the Chinese calendar. In 1371, a Cham envoy brought a 13cm sheet of gold leaf containing the Cham king’s acknowledgement of Ming lordship. In 1386, an heir apparent of Champa personally presented 54 elephants to the Ming emperor. Reference: Henry Tsai Shih-shan, \textit{Perpetual Happiness: The Ming Emperor Yongle} (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 178.

and west Java. Evidence for the Cham’s extensive trade network can be seen in the remains of the Pandanan wreck in the Philippines, which contain pottery, most of which were of Cham design and manufacture.

Not only did the Cham conduct trade in Southeast Asia, they had extensive trade relations with China. During the Tang dynasty (618-907), Cham trade included ivory, forest products and even exotic animals, which included a multi-colored parrot that astonished Emperor Tang Tai Tsung. Champa had very vibrant maritime trade relations with the Song dynasty (Northern Song, 960-1127 and Southern Song, 1127-1279), especially with the seaport of Quanzhou in southern Fujian, the center of maritime Chinese activity from the 10th to 14th centuries. Champa and Srivijaya were the most important trading partners for southern Fujian, and Cham envoys went to China regularly from the year 960 to 1087. Champa once sent 44 envoys to Song China, and Chinese records from the period frequently describe Champa as a place of great economic opportunities. During the Ming dynasty, Champa was considered to be the most regular among tributary kingdoms that sent missions to China. Nineteen tribute missions were sent to the Ming during Emperor Hung-wu’s reign from 1369 to 1397.

27 John N. Miksic, Southeast Asian Ceramics: New Light on Old Pottery (Singapore: Southeast Asian Ceramic Society, 2009), 91.
32 For more information about the inauguration of the tribute system under the Ming, please refer to Chapter 4, “Hung-wu, the Period of Direct Rule, 1380-1398” in Edward L. Dreyer, Early Ming China: A Political History, 1355-1435 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1982), 116.
Champa understood the value of regional trade and the importance of establishing direct political linkages to other important maritime trading polities. A Cham royal family converted to Islam and became part of the royal family of Melaka in the 15th century. There were also royal exchanges with Majapahit, and the existence of a Cham princess named Putri Cempa and her tomb dating to the 14th century. These reflect the historical legacy of political linkages between the polities. The Cham also had royal links with the Angkorian rulers, and in 1182 a Cham prince named Vidyanandana went to Cambodia and attracted the attention of the Angkorian king because he had “all the 33 marks of the fated man.” The Cham prince was taught military skills and quelled a rebellion in Malyang, an area south of Battambang today.

Champa’s dynamism in establishing such connections was spurred on by its access to the central Vietnam coast, which was greatly exposed to the ebbs and flows of maritime trade throughout the history of Southeast Asia. Trade in products such as lakawood further facilitated the development of maritime cultures of not only Champa but also Dai Viet from the 10th to 15th centuries. In other words, Champa, before its demise, developed a sophisticated urban civilization due to its access to maritime trade. Through sustained international and

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36 Research on Southeast Asian nephrite or jade artifacts, some dating from 3000 B.C. to the first millennium A.D, have revealed the existence of one of the most extensive sea-based trade networks in the prehistoric world. Jade from eastern Taiwan was used to make ear pendants that were distributed to the Philippines, East Malaysia, southern Vietnam, and Thailand. For more information, refer to Bérénice Bellina, Eusebio Dizon, Hung Hsiao-Chun, Ipoi Datan, Jonathan H. Manton, Kim Dung Nguyen, Peter Bellwood, Rey Santiago, Silapanth Praon and Yoshiyuki Iizuka, “Ancient Jades Map 3,000 Years of Prehistoric Exchange in Southeast Asia,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 104, no. 50 (2007): 19745-19750.
hinterland trade, it even created a niche for itself by being a major source of eaglewood, for which it was renowned. Champa’s important position in the maritime trade of Southeast Asia will be further explored in Chapter 2.

Apart from its material wealth, Champa was also one of the earliest Indic civilizations in Southeast Asia, its origins dating back to the second to fourth centuries. It had developed a great sense of aesthetics in its architecture, seen in the sophisticated artistry and durability of Cham temples built of bricks and mortar of tree resin. Early French excavations of Cham ruins headed by Henri Parmentier in the early years of the 20th century provide the earliest information on Cham civilization and its vestiges. What was noted was the beauty and sophistication of Cham temples such as Po Nagar, Dong Duong and My Son, which revealed that the Cham had developed a highly distinctive form of art and architecture, which was a localization or selective adaptation of Hindu divinities and ideas to indigenous cultural and religious norms. More importantly, the Cham temples are legacies of cross-cultural exchanges and historical interaction with many other polities in maritime and mainland Southeast Asia.

The temples were more than just places of worship; they also appear to have been a repository of

39 Andrew Hardy, Mauro Cucarzi, and Patrizia Zolese, *Champa and the Archaeology of My So’n (Vietnam)* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), 107-126.
40 Vickery highlights Southworth’s analysis of the Vo Canh inscription’s allusion to Austronesian society’s matrilineal emphasis. Vickery notes that if Southworth is right, it may reinforce the fact that the Vo Canh inscription is indeed from a Cham polity. Reference: Michael Vickery, *Champa Revised* (Singapore: Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2005).
42 For a full description of French archaeological excavations during this period, see Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, *Archaeology*, 14-25.
44 The art and architecture of the temples reflect a history of relations between the Mataram rulers of central Java and Majapahit. There had been interesting exchanges of a cultural and religious nature among rulers from these kingdoms. See Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, *Archaeology*, 127-154.
sacred objects. Parmentier’s excavations in My Son led to the discovery of ancient royal treasure such as a gold crown, necklace, armlet and other forms of jewelry of either Cham royalty or deities. 45 The role of temples and the religious elite will be further discussed in the following sections.

Apart from the beautiful temples and extensive trading connections, the Cham were also sophisticated enough to localize an Indic writing system. Early research done by Jean Filliozat in 1969 and Claude Jacques on the Vo Canh inscription found in 1885 close to the village of Vo Canh, in the region of Nha Trang, an ancient Cham territory, determined that it was written in Sanskrit and dated from the late first to the early fifth century. This would make the inscription the oldest to have been discovered in Southeast Asia, apart from the Kutai inscription which is said to be from the fifth century.49 This discovery is important as it indicates the development of Cham civilization in the region, and the Cham inscriptions provide an important window into

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48 According to Aymonier, “Aia Trang” was the name for Nha Trang, an ancient area of Champa. In the Cham manuscripts that I have consulted, the area was once called “Nager Aia Trang” by the Cham and referred to as such in the Damnuy Po Nager (Story of Po Nagar). References: Antoine Cabaton and Etienne Aymonier, Dictionnaire Čam-Français (Paris: E. Leroux, 1906), 201.
Also, refer to William A. Southworth’s explanation of Nha Trang, which was once an early port and trading center for the Cham, in Ian Glover and Peter S. Bellwood, Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History. 1st edition (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 219.
49 The Kutai inscriptions are the earliest known inscriptions found in East Borneo, Indonesia, and were dated from the early fifth century. Reference: J.G. de Casparis, Indonesian Palaeography: A History of Writing in Indonesia from the Beginnings to c. A.D. 1500 (Leiden: Brill, 1975).
understanding Cham political, economic, social and material conditions,\textsuperscript{50} and how early Cham rulers localized Indic writing systems and religious ideas.\textsuperscript{51}

The Cham not only benefitted from importing cults of Buddhism and Hinduism. Ideas and texts from the southeast coast of India also provided models for Cham religious and political systems.\textsuperscript{52} When the Chinese were expanding southwards during the Qin and Han dynasties,\textsuperscript{53} the Cham were already developing a civilization based on localized understanding of southern Indian statecraft and religion.\textsuperscript{54} Cham chiefs adopted some features of Indian culture and this led to the merging of local and Indian ideas of power, as can be seen in the legend of the Naga princess and the cult of Lingam, which was a Cham pre-Indian earth cult.\textsuperscript{55} The use of religious

\textsuperscript{52} According to Paul Mus, Hindu divinities fused with the \textit{Kut}, which contains local magical forces representing the presence of the indigenous cult of the soil. This existed before the influence of Hinduism and facilitated the selective incorporation of Hindu ideas into the pre-existing belief systems of the people. For further information, see Paul Mus’s discussion on Cham earth cults in Paul Mus, \textit{India Seen from the East: Indian and Indigenous Cults in Champa}, \textit{Monash Papers on Southeast Asia} (Cheltenham, Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1975).
\textsuperscript{53} The most numerous and far-flung of the southern aboriginal groups was the Man. Intense fighting with the Han Chinese during the fifth century led to the capture of thousands of Man prisoners who were forcefully assimilated into Chinese society. David Andrew Graff, \textit{Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300-900, Warfare and History} (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 83.
\textsuperscript{54} Monica L. Smith, “‘Indianization’ From the Indian Point of View: Trade and Cultural Contacts with Southeast Asia in the Early First Millennium C.E.,” \textit{Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient} 42, no. 1 (1999): 18.
\textsuperscript{55} Gaudes provides a detailed reading of the legend and its variants but the variants still refer to Kaundinya, the Indian Brahman who married a local princess named Soma, daughter of the king of the Nagas and founded the ruling line of Funan and Champa. For further information, refer to Rüdiger Gaudes, “Kaundinya, Preah Thaong, and The Nāgī Somā: Some Aspects of a Cambodian Legend,” \textit{Asian Folklore Studies} 52, no. 2 (1993): 333-358.
For a detailed explanation on localization processes, refer to Mus, \textit{India}. 
and philosophical conceptions from India became the basis for the further development of Cham political organization, religion and society.

However, by 1471, the process of increased Vietnamese control over Cham lands began to intensify, one that had begun in the 10th century and ended only in 1835. Cham rulers sought the help of the Ming dynasty in 1481 to get back territories from the Vietnamese, but this failed, and Cham tribute missions to China gradually ceased as their economic, political and military power waned. Successive Cham rulers from the 17th to 18th centuries had to deal with the rulers of the Nguyen established in the south, resulting in different rulers possessing varying degrees of autonomy. However, far from being defeated, Cham rulers during this period established greater political and military linkages, even sending a force in 1594 to assist Johor in its attempt to retake Melaka from the Portuguese. They continued to maintain ties with Malay states, particularly Kelantan in the 17th century, which led to strong cultural and linguistic exchanges. However, these efforts to recover economic and military power were in vain.

58 “It is also requested that the Jiao people be especially instructed to return all of our country - the entire 27 areas, comprising four prefectures, one sub-prefecture and 22 counties. Our territory extends east to the Eastern Sea, south to Cambodia, west to Mt. Li-ren, and north to A-mu-la-bu, a total of over 3,500 li.” Reference: Geoff Wade, “Cheng-Hua: Year 17, Month 9, Day 26 (October 18, 1481),” accessed August 6, 2012. http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/.
59 According to the Ming Shi Lu, the mention of Champa was dated January 2, 1631, and mentioned as one of the areas for making good profits in trade.
Panduranga

The “Cham” history which this dissertation focuses on should be seen as just one of a number of other Cham polities. The Cham of Panduranga in this study should not be regarded as representing all Cham, but just the Cham of one polity. This is in line with the view that Champa was composed of competing polities that once existed along the coast of central Vietnam. Like the kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula, the Cham polities were not unified into a single political entity, though they shared similar cultural values and histories. Even though this dissertation focuses on the 19th and 20th centuries, a discussion of earlier Cham polities and society is necessary to provide a context for the study of Panduranga in these two centuries.

Nam Tien: Southward Expansion of the Vietnamese

The beginnings of Champa may have been in the second century, according to the mention of Lin Yi in Chinese sources. Lin Yi or Indrapura was located in the present area of Huế. The Chinese sacked Indrapura in the fifth century and shifted the center of Cham power southward to the city of Amaravati in what is today the province of Quang Nam. Amaravati thrived as a commercial and cultural center until the 10th century when the Vietnamese sacked

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Refer also to Momoki Shiro, “Was Champa a Pure Maritime Polity? Agriculture and Industry Recorded in Chinese Documents,” in *Eco-history and Rise/Demise of the Dry Areas in Southeast Asia* (Kyoto: Kyoto University, Japan, 1998), 75-84.
Amaravati. The Cham center of power was pushed to Vijaya which is Bình Định today. However, Vijaya was conquered in 1471 by Emperor Lê Thánh Tôn. Kauthara was attacked and conquered in 1650 and Panduranga was finally conquered in 1832.

Based on his study of Cham inscriptions and Chinese dynastic records, George Maspero regards Champa as a single kingdom ruled by a predominant Cham ethnic group. It was also thought of as a single monarchical state consisting of three principal provinces in Champa territory – Amaravati in the north, Vijaya in the centre, and Panduranga in the south – a view shared by Ramesh Chandra Majumdar. Present-day leading scholars of Cham and Vietnamese history, such as Momoki Shiro, Po Dharma, Nicolas Weber, and Li Tana, rely on Cham manuscripts and Vietnamese sources to argue that Cham areas consisted of a confederation which included the Cham and other ethnic minorities. Ming dynastic sources mention Amaravati, Vijaya, Kauthara and Panduranga, reinforcing Cham inscriptions of the existence of these polities. In 1481, 10 years after the 1471 invasion, a Cham envoy sent by Gu-lai of Champa sought the Chinese emperor’s intervention to force the Vietnamese to return the five Cham territories of Bang-du-lang (Panduranga), 27 areas which comprised of “four prefectures, one sub-prefecture and 22 counties,” and A-mu-la-bu (Amaravati). The Cham did not get their territories back as the Vietnamese ignored the Ming Emperor’s admonitions.


For an excellent synthesis of the research done on the nature of the negara, see Li, Nguyên Cochinchina, 31-33; Wade, “Cheng-Hua.”

The Cham political landscape before 1471 was an arena of competing polities. Michael Vickery, drawing upon both French colonial research and recent research on Cham inscriptions, identifies five major Cham centers: (1) the Thu Bon river valley, which contains the major Cham temple sites of My Son, Tra Kieu and Dong Duong; (2) coastal Nha Trang represented by the Po Nagar temple complex; (3) Phanrang, an area that was quite independent from the northern Cham polities and included temple complexes such as Hoa Lai, Po Klaong Garai and Po Rome; (4) the temple of Phu Hai located on the coast near Phan Thiet; and (5) Quy Nhon, in the province of Binh Dinh between My Son and Nha Trang, which Vickery considers to be the “Vijaya” in Cham and Cambodian inscriptions. These Cham centers, according to Vickery, were never unified into a single state or kingdom. The far south or Panduranga (Phanrang-Phantiet-Nha Trang) was always independent of the Thu Bon valley polities. Each of these centers viewed itself as “Campanagara” (kingdom of Champa), “Campapura” (city of Champa) and “Campadesa” (land of Champa). The rise of Panduranga began in the ninth century, due to the development of local chiefdoms in the south, which in various inscriptions constantly resisted attempts to control them.66

The Po Klaun Garai rock inscription of Jaya Paramesvaravarman I, dated May 31, 1050 and found in Ninh Thuan, contains information about Vijaya (Binh Dinh) king Sri Paramesvaravarman’s success in subduing Panduranga and the erection of a column of victory in 972. The Cham of Panduranga were considered to be rebellious because they attempted to establish their own kings in Panduranga.67 More rebellious acts of the Panduranga people are

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66 Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, Archaeology, 46-50.
found in other inscriptions, such as the Po Nagar Temple inscription of Paramabodhisatva, dated 1084 or 1085 and found in Nha Trang. This inscription contains information of a Cham king named Sri Paramabodhisattva, who regained supremacy as the rightful king of Champa after defeating an imposter. According to the inscription, 10 kings reigned for 16 years while “Champa” was at war. A man in Panran (Panduranga) took advantage of the chaos to establish himself as king but was defeated by King Sri Paramabodhisattva. He and his royal family then gave donations to the goddess Po Nagar and the minor goddess named “Ra vuh di yang Pu aneh,” which consisted of jewellery and utensils of gold and silver. Elephants were also given in tribute to the goddess.68

The picture that the inscriptions gives us about the nature of Champa is that there are competing polities along the southern Vietnamese coast, each striving to gain supremacy over the other. Panduranga was perceived to be so rebellious that it necessitated military action from other Cham rulers to subdue it. Panduranga was under another polity such as Vijaya, but the people of Panduranga refused to recognize the sovereign from another polity. 69 Why Panduranga was perceived as more rebellious is still open to speculation, though there is evidence from the Dalukal that at least one Cham king in Pandurangan history was not of pure Cham ancestry. A Cham king who reigned in the 17th century named Po Rome is an ethnic Churu (or Chruw), one of the Austronesian communities in the Central Highlands. This suggests that Cham society in Panduranga could have been more multi-ethnic than other Cham centers, and thus “different.” Panduranga was also the last Cham polity to be absorbed by the Vietnamese. It has been suggested that Panduranga was not fertile agriculturally and had drier

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68 Ibid., 144-145.  
69 Cœdès, Indianized States, 140.
and poorer soil, which made it less attractive to the Vietnamese as compared to the areas of northern Champa.⁷⁰

Since agriculture could not sustain Panduranga, it relied on its trade connections with the upland groups of Churu and Raglai. Ethnically similar to the Cham, they had access to forest products such as elephant tusks, rhinoceros horns, beeswax, eaglewood and cinnamon. These were traded to the Cham in exchange for bronze gongs, Chinese jars and salt.⁷¹ Other Cham rulers in the northern area of Champa used Kirata or “uplanders” in their wars against other Cham rulers in the 12th century.⁷² However, for the Panduranga Cham, these connections and interactions were close enough that a 17th-century Cham king named Po Rome could be of Churu descent. The strong ties persisted in the Cham rebellions of the 18th and 19th centuries as the Cham of Panduranga fought the Vietnamese together with the Churu and the Raglai.

Panduranga had strong and continuous contact with the Malay world from the 16th to the 19th centuries. When the Dutch fleet of Admiral Cornelius Matelief returned from China, he weighed anchor near Phanri (an area of Panduranga) for 10 days in October 1607. He observed that the Cham king lived in Phanri and an Orang Kaya who came on board was said to be Muslim. More importantly, Matelief noted that the Cham king maintained good relations with the Malay court of Johor and sent troops in 1594 to assist that kingdom in its wars with the Portuguese in Melaka.⁷³ Evidence that Malay titles were used by Cham nobility can be seen in a letter written by a Cham king to the Governor General of Batavia in 1680. The title used by the

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⁷⁰ Alberto Pérez Pereiro, Historical Imagination, Diasporic Identity and Islamicity among the Cham Muslims of Cambodia (Phoenix: Arizona State University, 2012), 35.
⁷² Golzio, Inscriptions of Campa, 166-168.
king is Paduka Seri Sultan. The letter was itself brought to the capital of the Dutch East Indies in May 1680 by two Cham ambassadors called “Orang Khaya Poeranja Mantri” and “Intche Noman.”

Apart from the use of Malay titles, Malay-Cham historical interactions inspired rituals that to this day, mobilize Cham memories of maritime links to the Malay world, such as the Raja Praong ritual. In this ritual, two wooden ships of Malay origin are described in the Cham manuscripts Damnay Po Tang Ahaok and Damnay Po Rayak. They contain descriptions of Cham ship design and voyages to the Malay world.

Oral stories surrounding the Raja Praong ritual give further insights into Malay-Cham relations. One legend reveals that Po Rome invited Malay officials to visit him (he was in Kelantan previously). Seven boats came and arrived at Mui Ne beach in Phan Thiet, a coastal area of Binh Thuan. Thinking they were pirates, Po Sah Ina, one of Po Rome’s generals, attacked them, sinking five of the ships. When Po Sah Ina later learnt that these were Malay envoys and informed Po Rome of what had happened, Po Rome was so distressed that he had the survivors brought to court and ordered that a ceremony be performed to commemorate the dead Malays and send the survivors back with honor. Another version of the story of how the ritual originated involves Malay princes who came to Champa to marry Cham princesses.

These stories attest to the close relationship that the Pandurangan Cham had with the Malay world, especially with Kelantan. Even the Cham king Po Rome was said to have stayed in

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74 Ibid., 272-273.
75 Danny Wong Tze-ken, Memory and Knowledge of the Sea in Southeast Asia (Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Ocean and Earth Sciences (IOES), University of Malaya, 2008), 97-111.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
Kelantan for a number of years in the 17th century. Danny Wong believes that Po Rome spent a few years in Kelantan prior to his accession to the throne in order to learn about Malay culture, in particular Malay magic and Islam, thus strengthening his links with the Malay kingdoms. Cham royalty became part of Kelantan’s royal line in the 17th century. According to a source from Kelantan, a certain ruler of Kelantan named “Raja Tuan Besar” in 1719 was in fact Wan Da-im, a former king of Champa who went to Patani after being defeated by the Vietnamese. Wan Da-im was the son of Po (Nik) Ibrahim, a Cham king and son of Po Rome also known as Agong Ronon.

According to one source, Po Rome reigned from 1578 to 1637 and had many titles in Kelantan’s royal genealogy. He is called Nik Mustafa, Ong Tpouo, Agong Ronan, Sultan Abdul Hamid Syah, Raja Sri Sarwasadesa and Raja Champa. His sons and grandsons were both rulers in Kelantan and Champa in the 17th century. The first son, Nik Ibrahim (also called Po Ibrahim, Ong Cai Nyek, Po Nrop, and Datu Kelantan) reigned in Kelantan as Datu Kelantan from 1634 to 1637 and in Champa (Panduranga) from 1637 to 1684. The second son named Nik Badrussalam (also called Raja Singgora) was the father of Wan Muhammad Amin or Po Jatamuh who reigned in Champa in 1684. Wan Da-im (referred above and also called Po Top, Ba Tranh, and Datu Jambu of Patani) reigned from 1684 to 1692. The last son was Nik Ali or Datuk Maharajalela, the supreme commander of Patani’s army.

These Cham rulers of Panduranga had very close blood ties with Kelantan’s sultans during the 17th century, and the strong relationships between the Panduranga Cham and the

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78 Wong, “Vietnam-Champa.”
80 Ibid., 41-42.
Malays made a great impact on Panduranga’s cultural and political development. What motivated Cham rulers to seek relations with the Malays might have been the search for new sources of ilimo (spiritual knowledge) to achieve kabal rup, which is similar to the Malay Kebal Rupa or magical invulnerability. These practices to gain invulnerability still exist today in Southeast Asia and especially in Malaysia. There is the ritual of mandi kebal, where the student of Silat or Malay martial art bathes himself in oil, recites Quranic verses, and performs other ritual acts to gain invulnerability to weapons and attacks.

Role of the Cham Religious Elite Before 1471

What role did the Cham religious elite assume in Champa before 1471, and what happened to them as the Vietnamese gradually assumed control over Cham lands? The ruins of Cham temples can still be found today throughout southern and central Vietnam, but what happened to the religious elite when the temples were abandoned? What were their functions in the Cham polity? How important were they to the Cham ruler? Historical evidence for the existence of the Cham religious elite in Champa before 1471 comes largely from studies of Cham inscriptions by French and Indian scholars. I rely mainly on translations from the 2012 catalog The Inscriptions of Campa at the Museum of Cham Sculpture in Danang, and Karl Heinz Golzio’s 2004 work The Inscriptions of Campa, as they are the most recent works done on Cham

82 Douglas Farrer, Shadows of the Prophet: Martial Arts and Sufi Mysticism (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2009), 225-250.
Most of the inscriptions record the founding of an image of a god and are accompanied by donations to the temple of land, goods and labor to be used in the service of the god. The inscriptions contain information about Cham relations with neighboring kingdoms, battles, internal politics, and granting of land and tax exemptions by the rulers to support religious institutions. Mention is made of monasteries for monks of various religious schools of Buddhism, and for the Vishnu and Siva priests who maintain the religious institutions, especially the temples.  

Temple seemed to have served various functions, one of which was to demarcate Cham territory. The fifth-century Chiem Son rock inscription found east of the My Son Cham temple complex in Quang Nam, the area of Amaravati, describes the natural boundaries of the temple of Bhadesvara (location unknown) as the Sulaha mountain to the east, the “great mountains” to the south, the Kucoka mountain to the west, and the Great River (Song Thu Bon?) to the north. Temples were also important repositories of donations in the form of food and precious objects. The My Son stele inscription of Prakasadharma (in the area of Amaravati) dated February 18, 658 commemorates the dedication by Sri Prakasadharman, king of Campa, of the granaries of Lon, Karnauy, Cau, Pitau, Kraun, Najoc, Vasauy and Midit and the District of Caum (location unknown) to the gods Isanesvara, Sri Sambhu Bhadesvara and Sri Prabhasesvara. These donations were acts of merit, which, by pleasing the gods, demonstrate his right to rule the realm.

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84 Ibid., 192-194.
85 Miksic, Dictionary, 11-12; Golzio, Inscriptions of Campa, 5, 21.
The importance of temples to Cham society is underscored in two inscriptions. The first is the Po Nagar stele (polity of Kauthara) dated April 1, 784, with an inscription by the Cham king Sri Satyavarman to commemorate the restoration of the temple after its destruction by raiders. The second is the Yang Tikuh stele inscription by Indravarman I dated 799 or 800, found in Ninh Thuan, Phanrang (polity of Panduranga), near the village of Takoh in the plain of Phanrang. It tells of an army from “Java” that came to Champa by sea in 787 or 788 and destroyed the temple of Siva known as Bharadhipatisvara. Indravarman thus reconstructed the temple in 799 or 800 and dedicated treasures, grain stores, silver, gold crown, jewels, women from the harem, slaves, oxen, buffaloes and fields. Another of Indravarman I’s inscriptions, the Glai Lamoy Stele, dated September 20, 801, mentions the “multitude of priests” or “persons having the right to seats in the first rank.” They were the Brahmans, the learned men, the ascetics, and the Chief priest, who warn that “those who destroy the ripe grains, those who are ungrateful and those who take other’s lands, these three will never come back from hell as long as the sun and moon endure.” What this inscription reveals is that by the ninth century, there was a complex hierarchy of religious elites who were custodians of the temples.

The Cham religious elite was important to the Cham king, who became their patron and exempted them from taxes if they were employed by him, a relationship described in various inscriptions. In the Phu Thuan Pillar inscription, named after a village found west of My Son in Quang Nam (area of Amaravati) and dated between the ninth and 10th centuries, King Sri

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86 Miksic, *Dictionary*, 186. According to Miksic, by the year 817, Kauthara was under the rule of Panduranga. Po Nagar was one of the major temples in the area.
88 Miksic, *Dictionary*, 283. Panduranga was the southernmost of all the Cham polities and now comprises the provinces of Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan. The most important temples are the temples of Po Klaung Garai, Po Rome, and Hoa Lai.
90 Ibid., 44-51.
Indravarmadeva exempted the temple of Sri Bhagya-Kantesvara from all taxes and brought four priests under his patronage and employment. More instances of the Cham ruler’s attempts to control the religious elite in some way can be seen in the Ban Lanh stele inscription of Jaya Simharvarman I, dated May 14, 898 and found in the province of Quang Nam in a village named Ban Lanh, 12 miles to the north of Dong Duong (still in the Amaravati area). The inscription contains information about the deed of protection and immunity granted by the king Jaya Simhavaran to two temples. One is called the temple of Rudramadhyesvara, a temple which was founded by a royal official called Srikalpa, and a temple of Sivalingesvara, founded by an ascetic named Sivacraya on May, 14 898. The inscription mentions that the Cham king Sri Jaya Simhavarmadeva was a protector of the divine guru (Siva), and that it was he who ordered the four ascetics to guard the royal donations consisting of slaves, oxen, buffaloes, fields, gold, and silver dedicated to the temples of Sri Rudramadheysvara and Sivalingesvara.

Apart from the Cham king’s patronage of the Cham religious elite, some of the inscriptions mention the high regard held by the Cham people for the political elite, who were well-versed in religious lore. The Hoa Que stele inscription of Bhadravarman, dated 909 to 1000 and found in the province of Quang Nam (Amaravati area), tells of a Cham minister named Ajna Narendra Nrpavitra, who was said to be versed in all sacrificial ceremonies and in all treatises dealing with the Saiva religion. Another inscription called the Lai Trung Stele Inscription of Indravarman III, dated 918 to 919 and found in Lai Trung in Hue (a citadel), refers to King Sri Jaya Indravarman and records the erection of a temple of Siva by a Cham nobleman named

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91 Ibid., 77-78.
92 Ibid., 78-82.
93 Ibid., 97-105.
Danay Pinan. This minister was regarded as having great knowledge of the sacred scriptures and was also versed in Saiva rites.94

The support of the religious elite for the establishment of a new Cham ruler was also important. The My Son stone slab inscription of Jaya Indravarman II, dated 1088 to 89 and found in Amaravati, mentions the search for a new king of Champa, because the previous king was too young and was not able to rule well. The Cham religious elite, notably the Pandits, astrologers and masters of ceremonies, was included in the search. They identified the marks of the Maharaja in the Cham prince named Pu Lyan Sri Yuvara Mahasenapati and accordingly made him king.95 The inscriptions also mention that the Cham religious elite could be rebellious as well. Evidence of this can be found in the broken statue of Siva mounted on his bull from Chiem Son from 1443 to 1444. In an admonition to the priests of Siva to be loyal to future rulers and not disturb the temple foundation, the king ordered them to be faithful to the religious laws, and pay heed to those of noble birth (ksatriyaja or warriors). There is no record of where the French discovered it and only the term “Chiem Son” is given in the inventory.96

These inscriptions provide evidence of the importance of the religious elite to Cham political, religious and cultural life before 1471. Because the religious elite were viewed as divine intermediaries to the gods, the Cham kings supported them and the temples with lavish donations, and rebuilt the temples when they were destroyed. The Cham political elite also recognized the usefulness of religious learning as a means of legitimizing their rule and

94 Ibid., 117-119.
95 Ibid., 147.
increasing their spiritual powers. The Cham religious elite also played an important role in identifying Cham kings who had the “markings” of a ruler.

While the power base of the religious elite was the temples, with their lands and treasures donated by rulers and noble patrons, their most revered role was as repositories of religious and ritual knowledge. This knowledge was employed in the search for rulers and in their proper inauguration, and in the rituals required to placate the divinities and spirits of the land. As the vital link between the community and the gods, the religious elite were regarded as essential for the protection and prosperity of society. Since many of the spirits propitiated were associated with the earth, the religious elite contributed to the development of a strong sense of Cham identity rooted in their lands. For these reasons the religious elite were crucial to Cham cultural and religious resilience despite being eventually conquered by the Vietnamese.

Sources

The bulk of the dissertation relies on Cham manuscripts called Dalukal and Ariya written in Akhar Thrah\textsuperscript{97}, a script that has continued to be used by the Cham of Phanrang and Phanri today.\textsuperscript{98} Even though it forms the basis of Cham writing, the script is being gradually forgotten;

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\textsuperscript{97}Akhar Rik is the writing script of the Cham stone inscriptions. Akhar Atuol is used in ritual manuscripts and are readable only to specific group of Cham, largely the religious elite. There are Cham manuscripts that were written on paper in France’s EFEQ library and the Cham Culture Research Center. Akhar Thrah’s origins are not really known, but comparison with modern Cham Akhar Thrah script and the ancient Philippine script show strong similarities, suggesting early movements of people between the areas in early history. Reference: Prosiding Seminar Manuskrip Melayu Campa: Warisan Tamadun Bangsa: Disember 6-7, 2004 (Seminar Proceeding of the Campa Malay Manuscript: Heritage of a Civilisation: December 6-7, 2004). Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Muzium dan Antikuiti, Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Warisan Malaysia, 2006. For more information, refer to Geoff Wade, “On the Possible Cham Origin of the Philippine Scripts,” Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 24, no. 1 (1993): 58-80.
\textsuperscript{98}K. Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus Himmelmann, The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar, Routledge Language Family Series (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 489. For a fuller discussion about the
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the Cham that have forgotten it are usually thought to have lost their culture. Thus, efforts are being made to preserve it and textbooks for Cham children have been printed in the script. Manuscripts used by the religious elite in ceremonies, such as the Basaih, Acar, Maduan, and Ka-In, are written on palm leaves, kept in special baskets called ciet, hung on the roof of houses and retrieved for rituals when needed.

The manuscripts at the Cham Culture Research Center in Phan Rang, Ninh Thuan, are kept in the form of photocopies, photographs, and microfilms, and contain information that deal with religious ceremonies and rituals of the Cham Ahier communities, especially in the RiJa and Kut ceremonies. There are also texts that deal with philosophy called Dakrai, texts that deal with the history of the Cham kings or Sakarai, and literary texts of popular tales of divinities consisting of Dalukal, Ariya and Panuec pandit. The manuscripts also contain passages sung by official musicians, the Kadhar and Maduen. Others contain information on omens and

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predictions, amulet spells, medicines and the Cham dating system called the *sakawi*.¹⁰² Highly regarded manuscripts are venerated and ceremonies are carried out annually to ensure continued preservation of the manuscripts. There is the *Pampang Akhar* ceremony, performed to reassure the spirits that the manuscripts are well taken care of. The *Pahuor Akhar* ceremony is conducted whenever the manuscripts are taken out and cleaned before being put back in the baskets. The manuscripts are kept in the shelves called *Kla Tapuk*, located close to the section of the house devoted to worship, called *Danaok Po Gru*.¹⁰³

The Cham manuscripts have been greatly influenced by Malay writing traditions. Po Dharma asserts that the influence of Malay and Islamic cultural and religious elements have influenced the way the stories have been written. He refers to the long historical contact that Panduranga had with the Malay world, which would explain the Cham term “*Akayet*.” It derives from the Malay “*Hikayat*,” but unlike the Malay version the *Akayet* is highly venerated.¹⁰⁴ Important Cham manuscripts have been published by the Malaysian government with cooperation with the École Française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO),¹⁰⁵ including a book of Cham proverbs in 2002, titled *Peribahasa Cam: Dictons & Proverbes Cam*.¹⁰⁶ The latest text to be

¹⁰² Ibid.
¹⁰³ Ibid., 84-85.
¹⁰⁵ For further information on such manuscripts refer to these publications by Po Dharma, Gerard Moussay, and Abdul Karim: *Akayet Inra Patra (Hikayat Inra Patra); Koleksi Manuskrip Melayu Campa (Collection Des Manuscrits Cam)* (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia dengan kerjasama l’ecole francaise d’Extreme-Orient, 1997); *Akayet Dowa Mano (Hikayat Dowa Mano); Koleksi Manuskrip Melayu Campa (Collection Des Manuscrits Cam)* (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia dengan kerjasama Ecole francaise d’Extrême-Orient, 1998); *Nai Mai Mang Makah (Tuan Puteri Dari Kelantan): Koleksi Manuskrip Melayu Campa* (Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan Ecole francaise d’Extreme-Orient, 2000).
¹⁰⁶ Duong Tan Thi and Gerard Moussay, *Peribahasa Cam: Dictons & Proverbes Cam* (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 2002). This book contains fascinating materials based on 323 Cham proverbs collected from 37 Cham manuscripts and other publications that were collected since 1972. The proverbs encapsulate the value systems and mentalities of the Cham in a particular historical period. For further information, see the preface.
published with cooperation from Jabatan Warisan Malaysia, Kementerian Kebudayaan, and Kesenian dan Warisan is *Dalukal Cei Balaok La-U (The Prince Coconut)*.\(^{107}\)

*The Cham Manuscripts: Creation & Authorship, Intention & Audience*

According to Dr Thanh Phan, a leading Cham scholar, Cham families place a high value on Cham manuscripts and have texts copied to be kept as heirlooms.\(^{108}\) According to him, these texts use ink (*dawat*) and a special writing instrument (*kalam*). In the *Dalukal* collection given to me by Dr Thanh Phan, there is a copy of an original collected on April 20, 1994 from the owner named Quang Van Dai, 57 years old, a native of Palei Baoh Dana, Phanrang, Chat Thuong hamlet, Phuoc Hau Ward in Ninh Thuan province. Dr Thanh Phan mentioned that the cover pages are red and made of Chinese paper, a material used by most Cham manuscripts written in the 19th century. The collection was written in the Akhar Thrah script in traditional *kalam* and *dawat*. The date of the manuscript is unknown, but Dr Thanh Phan learned from the owner of the text that it was given to the owner by his great grandfather, which places its origins in the 19th century. Furthermore, the use of dates in the Common Era in some of the stories, such as *Dalukal Po Sah Ina*, where a Cham queen was said to have been seized by the Vietnamese in 1440, may be due to French influence, though this is just an assumption.\(^{109}\)

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\(^{108}\) Parallels of this can be seen with Javanese ideas of “*Pusaka*,” objects through which the power of the past is preserved. They play an important role in the political and cultural processes of Java. For more information, refer to Mark R. Woodward, *Java, Indonesia and Islam* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), 80.

The fragility of the materials necessitate recopying, and bibliographic information provided by the Museum Ethnology Dunia Melayu (MEDM) reveals that most of the materials were copied by Aymonier’s Cham assistants in 1885 and stored in the EFEO library in France. Other Cham manuscripts in the MEDM collection come from the collections of Société Asiatique de Paris, a French research institution founded in 1822. Most of the Cham manuscripts do not have authors or even dates, but a rare few such as the Ariya Pataow Adat (The Story of the Teaching of Adat), has not only the author’s name and date, but also has a short introduction about the author’s intentions.¹¹⁰ The text was copied in 1968 by Ja Dhar Po, an urang kaya (literally means “rich man” but usually refers to nobles) from “nagar Panrang, Bhum Baoh” (Panduranga, Bhum Baoh). The text presumably came from an older text and was given to Father Gerard Moussay, who lived in Bhum Ten Tai. Ja Dhar Po writes in the introduction that he hopes that the knowledge would be transmitted to teachers, who in turn would convey this knowledge to the students or Gru Pataow saih (“the Gru teaches the students”) to become “truly good individuals” or “anak ra siam.”

Apart from transmitting ideas about Cham morality, another text which was also copied in 1968 is the Ariya Gleng Anak, thought to be written in 1835 by a Cham lamenting the state of Cham society after Minh Mang’s “destruction” of Cham society and political system. A group of Cham intellectuals named Ja Mata Harei, Ja Yaparang, Luw Kuang Thrang, Lem Ya Tin and Thuan Weng Nien copied it in Phanrang Cham Cultural Center.¹¹¹ Another text that is thought to be written in 1835 is the Ariya Po Phaok. The name of the copier is Khiiim Athai, but the original

¹¹⁰ Ja Dhar Po, "Pataow Adat," in Po Dharma's Collection, publisher unknown, 1968.
¹¹¹ “Ariya Gleng Anak,” in Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Centre d’Histoire et Civilisations de la Péninsule Indochinoise, publisher unknown, 1835, 2.
author is unknown. This is also true for the Ariya Hatai Paran, where the text was copied as recently as 1998 in San Jose, California, and features the reflections of Cham writer about the consequences for the Cham after the demise of the Cham kingdom. These are the few texts that have authors and dates. However, the large majority of the manuscripts do not have dates or authors, posing considerable problems for historians attempting to reconstruct the Cham past. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, every effort should be expended to use them, since they were written by the Cham from a Cham perspective.

The Ariya

The Ariya and Dalukal differ in orientation. The Ariya, according to Nicolas Weber, are Cham historical documents in metric form produced by well-educated and literate people, but this knowledge was not restricted exclusively to the elite. The Ariya genre seemed to have been very popular, and wealthy Cham ordered copies of famous works from scribes. Modifications of the originals led to misspellings and inconsistencies as copyists confused letters that were similar in shape. Since the Ariya were meant to be chanted before an audience, they were undoubtedly an important reason for the strength of Cham historical memory.

The MEDM collection has Ariya that contain entertaining stories such as the Ariya Nai Mai Mang Makah that tells a story of a prince from Kelantan who fell in love with a Cham

113 Dat Lanh, “Hatai Paran,” in Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, personal collections of Dat Lanh, copied in 1998, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 3-10.
115 Ibid., 161.
princess and had to convert to Islam in order to marry her.\textsuperscript{116} The theme of love is also found in the\textit{Ariya Cam Bani}, where a Cam Ahier boy (Brahmanist) and Cam Bani (syncretic Muslim) girl fell in love, but ended up committing suicide because their parents disapproved of marriage between different religious groups.\textsuperscript{117} Unrequited love is the main theme in the\textit{Ariya Sah Sakei} that features a love story between Nai Rat Mah, a Cham princess, and Sah Sakei, a Cham dignitary. Sah Sakei died at sea before the princess could reveal her love.\textsuperscript{118} The\textit{Ariya Thei Mai Meng Deh} tells of the lamentations of two lovers about the state of Cham society dominated by the Vietnamese.\textsuperscript{119} In a story of unfulfilled love, the\textit{Ariya Sep Pahual} describes two Cham lovers who, after a three-year secret relationship, discovered they could not marry each other.\textsuperscript{120}

Apart from the theme of love, the Cham experience of social and political turbulence during the 18th and 19th centuries can be found in the\textit{Ariya}. The\textit{Ariya Tuen Phaow} tells the story of Tuen Phaow, a dignitary from Makah or Kelantan who came to Panduranga to lead a resistance movement against the Vietnamese in 1796.\textsuperscript{121} He was defeated by the Vietnamese and returned to Kelantan.\textit{Ariya Po Ceng} tells of earlier Cham kings who reigned from 1802 to 1820, such as Po Saong Nyung Ceng, who maintained peace between the Vietnamese and the Cham.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{116}Po et al.,\textit{ Nai Mai}.  
\textsuperscript{117}Nao Hauva, “Ariya Cham-Bani,” in\textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 55-66. 
\textsuperscript{118}“Sep Sah Sakei,” in\textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Phanrang Centre Culturel Cham (Phanrang Cultural Centre), publisher and date of publishing unknown, 16. 
\textsuperscript{119}“Ariya Thei Mei Meng Déh,” in\textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 241-260. 
\textsuperscript{120}“Sep Pahual,” in\textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 125-153. 
\textsuperscript{121}“Ariya Tuen Phaow,” in\textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d’Extrême-Orient, publisher and date of publishing unknown, E11-E23. 
\textsuperscript{122}“Ariya Po Ceng Cam Microfilm 17(1),” in\textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d’Extrême-Orient, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 1-27.
Ariya Po Phaok is about the events that led to the demise of the last Cham king, the result of Minh Mang’s policies in the 19th century.\textsuperscript{123}

Other Ariya, such as Ariya Cei Dalim, feature stories about the adventures of Prince Pomegranate and his interactions with the Vietnamese and Central Highlander communities.\textsuperscript{124} Ariya Klau Ray Patao is a story of three kings—Po Birthuer, Po Kalong Garay and Po Ramo—and compares their reigns.\textsuperscript{125} In the Ariya Tak Kar Saong dedicated to the Goddess Bho Dahra, the writer describes his misfortunes and implores the divinities, including Po Aluah, Po Nabi and Po Ali, to give him a better life.\textsuperscript{126}

There are Ariya that reflect on the fate of the Cham community. The Ariya Gleng Anak asks about the future of the Cham and whether they could achieve political and cultural independence from the Vietnamese.\textsuperscript{127} A similar theme is pursued in the Ariya Hatai Paran, which encourages Cham resistance to assimilation.\textsuperscript{128} In the Ariya Pataow Adat, resistance to assimilation is also advocated by adhering to adat or customary law.\textsuperscript{129} Qualities that were desired in a good individual is the subject of Ariya anak Ra Siam.\textsuperscript{130} Among the Ariya discussed in Chapter 4 of this present dissertation is the Ariya Ong Thum Dhar Muk, a 1911 text intended to consolidate Cham knowledge.

\textsuperscript{123} Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok."
\textsuperscript{124} “Ariya Cei Dalim,” in Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia. Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 117-125.
\textsuperscript{125} “Ariya Klau Ray Patao,” in Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Phanrang Centre Culturel Cham, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 18-23.
\textsuperscript{126} “Ariya Tak Kar Saong Bho Dahra,” in Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d’Extrême-Orient, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 1-6.
\textsuperscript{127} “Ariya Gleng Anak.”
\textsuperscript{128} Lanh, "Hatai Paran."
\textsuperscript{129} Po, "Pataow Adat."
\textsuperscript{130} “Anak Ra Siam,” in Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 187-193.
The Dalukal

This study uses 17 Dalukal from the MEDM and 16 from Dr Thanh Phan’s personal collection. The main difference between the Ariya and Dalukal is that the former is written in a poetic form and is usually sung by the Kadhar, while the Dalukal is a recited prose narrative. The Dalukal is an important source of Cham concepts of power or ganreh, discussion of the Cham polity of Nager Cam, the Cham political system and the relationship between the ruler and the nobles. According to Aymonier, the term “Dalukal” is a combination of two words “Dahulu” (the past) and “Kal” (“kala,” meaning a period, time in the past). Cham equivalents for the term are “Dahlaw” and “Kal” (Dalukal). According to Dr Thanh Phan, Cham families in Phanrang also copy the Dalukal for their collections as such materials are venerated and seen as sources of social prestige.

Among the most well known of the Dalukal are the Dalukal Po Ramo (The Story of the Cham King Po Ramo) and the Dalukal Po Klaong Garay (The Story of the Cham King Po Klaong Garay), two famous Cham kings in Pandurangan history. There are temples built in their name and many cultural and ritual activities are still carried out to commemorate their deeds. The temple of Po Klaong Garay is thought to have been built in the 13th to 14th centuries, while that of Po Ramo dates to the 16th century and is considered one of the last brick temples erected by the Cham. The Dalukal of the MEDM collection provide useful insights on how the Cham perceive and allegorically describe certain aspects of their society. For example, in the Dalukal Cei Balaok La-U (The Coconut Prince), a Cham man born without arms and legs became a royal

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131 Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 220.
132 For more information refer to Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, Archaeology, 47.
buffalo herder and succeeded in marrying a Cham princess. She was murdered by her rivals but later resurrected magically.¹³³ This manuscript will be discussed in greater detail in the later sections.

Ideas of wealth, justice and morality can be seen in the *Dalukal Ja Kadek saong Ja Kadaop (The Story of Ja Kadek and Ja Kadaop)*. It is the story of two brothers, one of whom became very poor after the family’s wealth was stolen. Impoverished, he attempted to plow the fields with a cat and dog. This humored a cave which laughed, but the brother later found a gold bar at the cave’s mouth.¹³⁴ The price one pays for greed is the theme of the *Dalukal dua adei sa-ai biak kathaot*, a story about two brothers who were truly poor. While in the fields, one of them fell asleep and was taken by monkeys to a golden mountain. He woke up, gathered the gold there and told his brother about it. His brother followed everything that his brother had done but was brought to a silver mountain instead.¹³⁵

References to political rivalries, abusive kings, and the idea of power are contained in the *Dalukal Ja Tabaong alah*. A lazy farmer became king through the most interesting of circumstances. A Cham king, furious at a farmer called Ja Tabaong alah for making his daughter pregnant, ordered him to be killed after forcing him to marry her. But the farmer was not killed, gained magic powers through the intervention of the spirits and came to the throne after

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¹³³ Antony Charles Céléstin Landes, “Dalukal Cei Balaok La-U,” in *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme*, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d’Extrême-Orient, publisher unknown, 1885, 1-78.

¹³⁴ Antony Charles Céléstin Landes, “Dalukal Ja Kadek Saong Ja Kadaop,” in *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme*, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d’Extrême-Orient, publisher unknown, 1885, 4-6.

¹³⁵ “Dalukal Dua Adei Sa-Ai Biak Kathaot,” in *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme*, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 181-183.
defeating the Cham king in battle.\textsuperscript{136} Unrequited love is the theme of the \textit{Dalukal baol khap di anâk patao}, where a man in love with the king’s daughter died and his liver preserved. The king fell ill one day and the astrologers explained that he could only be cured by washing his face with the man’s liver. The king did this and recovered.\textsuperscript{137} The idea of power is present in the \textit{Dalukal Po Klaong Garay}, which is a story of the Cham king Po Klaong Garay. Two dragons appeared from the ground and licked his body, affirming his destiny to rule the Cham.\textsuperscript{138} The idea of the good king is alluded to in the \textit{Dalukal Po Dam}, a story about a Cham king who disguised himself as a commoner to observe his subjects. He was given shelter by a greedy woman named Muk Thruh Palei, who had taken gifts meant for another girl, and the greedy woman was thus punished.\textsuperscript{139}

The \textit{Dalukal Ja Kadek nao ngap matuw} is a humorous story of a lowly-educated Cham man who pretended to be clever and got into situations where his social and intellectual ineptness were exposed.\textsuperscript{140} On the flip side, intelligence is a key feature in the \textit{Dalukal Ja Mata Plek Likuk}, which depicts the humorous adventures of a man who pretended to be blind but “recovered” his

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\textsuperscript{138} “Dalukal Po Klaong Garay,” in \textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 282-286.
\textsuperscript{139} “Dalukal Po Dam,” in \textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 201-206.
\textsuperscript{140} Antony Charles Célestín Landes, “Dalukal Ja Kadek Nao Ngap Matuw,” in \textit{Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme}, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, publisher unknown, 1885, 106-120.
\end{flushright}
sight after choking on a fishbone. Not recognizing that his wife was nearby, he talked to a girl beside him, causing his wife to intervene and bring him home.\footnote{141} Animals also play an important role in representing intelligence as in the Dalukal Ja Haluei anaong aia. A Cham man, Ja Haluei, accidentally killed a fish while drawing water from the river. The king of the fishes was furious and told him to say farewell to his family. Along the way to bid farewell to his family, he met a hare who gave him advice on how to kill the fish by throwing a creeper into the water, and so he was saved.\footnote{142} The intelligence of a hare is again the subject of the Dalukal Tapay puec jhak ka Liman. A hare got stuck in tree resin when attempting to pick mangoes from a tree. It saved itself by asking an elephant if it wanted to marry it. This proposition so angered the elephant that it grabbed the hare and threw it into the river, thus saving the hare.\footnote{143} Tigers are also mentioned in Cham Dalukal and in the Dalukal Rimaong nao mak akan, where a tiger got into a fight with a vulture over fish. A man heard the commotion and drove away the vulture. The tiger made him promise not to tell anyone about the encounter, and in return, it brought him fish every day. However, the man told his wife, thus angering the tiger into wanting to kill him. A hare came to his rescue by calling upon the vulture who frightened away

the tiger. The tiger is also the subject in the *Dalukal Rimaong Tipai Bhai Manuk Liman*, but as a victim of the hare’s mischievous activities.

Human jealousy and rivalry is also found in the *Dalukal*. The *Dalukal Mu Kajaong saong* is a story of two sisters that eventually leads to the murder of one of them, Mu Halek. The mischief of sons of Cham kings is also featured in the *Dalukal patao di hu anâk o*, where a childless king finally had a son named Ja Karaong. Because of famine in the kingdom, the king abandoned his son in the forests; the king was eventually killed because of his mischief. Mischief is also an important feature in the *Dalukal Ja Li-ua*, a story of a man who was told by an astrologer that he would die soon. Saying his last goodbyes to his family, he met a *Gru* who told him otherwise as he had done good deeds. The theme persists in the *Dalukal Ja Tok gleng kubaw*, a story of a poor buffalo herder named Ja Tok, who found a bark from a tree that could resurrect the dead. He took the bark, resurrected a dead young woman and married her. One day, the wife relieved herself at the tree, causing the tree to fly to the moon with Ja Tok clinging to it.

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144 Antony Charles Céléstin Landes, “Dalukal Rimaong Nao Mak Akan,” in *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme*, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d’Extrême-Orient, publisher unknown, 1885, 130-142.
145 Antony Charles Céléstin Landes, “Dalukal Rimaong Tipai Bhai Manuk Liman,” in *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme*, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d’Extrême-Orient, publisher unknown, 1885, 143-175.
146 Antony Charles Céléstin Landes, “Dalukal Mu Kajaong Saong Mu Halek,” in *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme*, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, École Française d’Extrême-Orient, publisher unknown, 1885, 177-221.
148 “Dalukal Ja Li-Aua,” in *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme*, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 213-217.
149 “Dalukal Ja Tok Gleng Kubaw,” in *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme*, Department of Museums and Antiquities Malaysia, Société Asiatique de Paris, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 275-282.
The Dalukal from Dr Thanh Phan

The Dalukal from Dr Thanh Phan’s Dalukal collection feature 16 stories about various Cham rulers, and also contains two stories that involve the Po Gru (Lord Teacher). These are written in Akhar Thrah and there are 166 pages totaling 1423 lines of text in total. I have transliterated these stories under the guidance of Dr Thanh Phan. Assistance has also been rendered by Isvan. Summaries of the Dalukal are provided in the Appendix.

Example of a Dalukal: the first page of Dalikal Po Haluw aia, Po Sa Yang In.

These are the Dalukal:

1) Dalukal Hadiap pathang Po Bir Thuer\textsuperscript{150} (The Story of Po Birthuer) (168 lines)

2) Dalukal Po Sah Ina\textsuperscript{151} (The Story of Po Sah Ina) (134 lines)

\textsuperscript{150} “Hadip Pathang Po Bir Thuer,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s Collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 1-20.
3) Dalukal Cei Kien khing nai taluic anak patao (The Story of Cei Kiep who Wanted the King’s Daughter) (75 lines)

4) Dalukal klau adei sa ai sa tian dua likei sa kamei (The Story of Three Siblings – Two Males and One Female) (75 lines)

5) Dalukal Nai Palak tangin (The Story of the Princess Palm of the Hands) (96 lines)

6) Dalukal baoh laong (The Story of the Laong Fruit) (20 lines)

7) Dalukal Po Haluw aia, Po Yang In (The Story of Po Haluw Aia and Po Yang In) (151 lines)

8) Dalukal Po Klaong Garay (The Story of the Po Klaong Garay) (107 lines)

9) Damnuy Po Kabrah + Po Kabrah Jieng anak Ong Iw bini (The Story of Po Kabrah) (87 lines)

10) Dalukal Po Ramo angan Ja saot (The Story of Po Ramo, Named Ja Saot) (60 lines)

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151 “Dalikal Po Sah Ina,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 20-36.
152 “Dalikal Cei Kian Khing Nai Taluic Anuk Patao,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 36-44.
153 “Dalikal Klau Adei Sa Ai Sa Tian Dua Likei Sa Kamei,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 45-53.
154 “Dalikal Nai Palak Tangin,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 54-64.
155 “Dalikal Baoh Laong,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 65-67.
156 “Dalikal Po Haluw Aia, Po Sa Yang In,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 68-84.
157 “Dalikal Po Klaong Garay,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 85-97.
158 “Damnuy Po Kabrah,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 97-106.
159 “Dalikal Po Ramo, Angan Ja Saot,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 107-13.
11) *Dalukal Po Mathik Dik nan Po anit*<sup>160</sup> (*The Story of Po Mathik Dhik, the Love King*) (89 lines)

12) *Dalukal Menuis jieng Gru Cruw*<sup>161</sup> (*The Story of How Man Becomes the Gru of the Cruw*) (35 lines)

13) *Dalikal nao magru akhar Gru pander sai bha hadiap sai bha nao ka Gru*<sup>162</sup> (122 lines)

14) *Damnuy Po Nager*<sup>163</sup> (*The Story of Po Nagar*) (53 lines)

15) *Dalukal Nai Candieng*<sup>164</sup> (*The Story of The Princess of the Drum*) (75 lines)

16) *Dalukal Cei Ula Praong*<sup>165</sup> (*The Story of the Snake King*) (76 lines)

To this day, this type of literary genre serves many functions in Cham society, such as providing moral and ethical advice for the Cham reader. According to Po Dharma, the *Akayet* is used for entertainment of many types. The *Pram Dit Pram Lak* (the Cham version of the *Ramayana*), *Akayet Inra Patra*, *Akayet Inra Sri Bikan*, *Akayet Dewa Mano* and *Akayet Um Marup* are sung at night for public entertainment.<sup>166</sup> More than just forms of entertainment, these Cham manuscripts are also materials for the education of the *anak saih* (student) in the study of

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<sup>160</sup>“Dalikal Po Ma Thik Dhik, Nan Po Anit,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 114-23.

<sup>161</sup>“Dalikal Menuis Jieng Gru Cruw,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 124-27.

<sup>162</sup>“Dalikal Nao Magru Akhar Gru Pander Saih Ba Hadiap Saih Nao Ka Gru,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 128-41.

<sup>163</sup>“Damnuy Po Nager,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 142-47.

<sup>164</sup>“Dalikal Nai Candieng,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 148-56.

<sup>165</sup>“Dalikal Cei Ula Praong,” in Dalukal Cam, Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown, 156-64.

the Cham script. In a visit to Dr Thanh Phan’s classes in a university in Ho Chi Minh City in 2011, the *Dalukal Po Klaong Garay*, a story about one of the best known kings in Cham history, was used to teach the Cham script and writing to Cham students. The more important objective to Dr Thanh Phan was to enhance young Cham’s understanding of the history of Po Klaong Garay through the manuscripts, and make them empathize more with the ritual and ceremonial activities conducted at the temple during festivities such as *Kate*, the Cham New Year.

However, the learning of the traditional Cham script has become rather expensive in Cham villages today. The Cham would have to give the *Gru* (Cham teacher) presents such as buffalo or betel nut in order to begin studies in the *Ina Akhar* and the reading of Cham manuscripts. This has made the learning of Cham manuscripts unattractive to Cham who lack resources. However, learning the Cham script is gradually growing in popularity as more Cham students understand the importance of learning their language and writing. This I have witnessed in 2010 and 2011 during the *Dalukal* reading classes held by Dr Thanh Phan.

Most of the manuscripts were written down in the late 19th and 20th centuries, either from memory or copied from older texts. Aymonier, Landes and their Cham assistants were among the first people who went to Cham villages in Phanrang in the 1880s to collect and study Cham manuscripts and write down oral narratives on paper. The majority of the manuscripts were probably written down in the 1880s, although according to Dr Thanh Phan and other Cham informants, there are manuscripts that pre-date the 19th century and are kept in *ciet* or containers in people’s homes.

Understanding the historical conditions of the 17th to 19th centuries will therefore be important in contextualizing the Cham manuscripts. The Cham had just emerged from a period
when they faced major political, economic and social pressures from the Vietnamese.\textsuperscript{167} The manuscripts were written in a period when the Cham monarchy was removed from power and when Cham society was only left with its culture and memories of the past.\textsuperscript{168} What Aymonier and Landes encountered in Cham society in Panduranga of the 1880s was a fragmented community which had lost its traditional rulers.

Such a context affected the attitudes expressed in the manuscripts and explains why most of the stories do not contain triumphant narratives of Cham military victories over the Nager Jek (northern Vietnamese). The Cham “past” was probably an idealized one, remembered by Cham villagers and the lower level religious elite who noted the most visible of Cham political authorities: the king, astrologer and war chief. Furthermore, in many of the manuscripts, there is surprisingly little hatred towards the Vietnamese, but more a sense of loss due to the demise of Nager Cam. The stories in the \textit{Dalukal} and \textit{Ariya} reflect the conditions of Cham society from 1835 to 1884 and are attempts to explain its declining economic, social and political position in the world. In a number of these works, there is an obvious lamentation and grieving for the loss of the Nager Cam.

\textit{Vietnamese Sources}

The \textit{Đại Nam Thực Lục}\textsuperscript{169} (\textit{Records of the Daily Administrative Activities of the Hue Court}) and the \textit{Minh Mang Chinh Yeu}\textsuperscript{170} (\textit{Policies of Minh Mang}) have been useful in examining

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{167} Weber, “Destruction,” 179.
\item \textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{169} “Quốc Sử Quán Nhà Nguyễn, Viên Sử Học,” in \textit{Đại Nam Thực Lục} (Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Giáo dục, 2007), 877.
\item \textsuperscript{170} \textit{Quốc Sử Quán Triệu Nguyên, Minh Mệnh Chinh Yêu} (Hue: Nhà Xuất Bản Thuận Hóa, 1994).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Vietnamese policies during and after the period of 1832 to 1835 in the Cham area of Bình Thuận. The *Minh Mang Chinh Yeu*, compiled by Nguyen Dynasty officials, contains all of Minh Mang’s major decisions made during his reign (1820-1841). The *Đại Nam Thư Lục* reflects the lack of attention given to the Cham religious elite and resulted in the lack of mention of the religious elite. The elimination of the Cham political elite was the main focus of the Vietnamese. The *Đại Nam nhất thống chí* compiled in 1882 during the reign of Tu Duc (1848-1883) contains useful insights on the Vietnamese treatment of the Cham and the condition of its society before French colonization.

**French Sources**

French missionary sources, such as the 19th-century *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* which was published and disseminated throughout Europe, provide useful information on the condition of the Cham in this period. The *Annales* became very popular in the 1820s and late 1830s because of their dramatic stories of missionary persecution in Vietnam and China and other missionary activities. By the 1740s, MEP (Missions Etrangères de Paris) missionaries were restricted to activities in the coastal plains south of Bình Dinh, Phu Yen, Khanh Hoa and Panduranga, due to rivalries with other missionary orders. However, close ties with various Vietnamese rulers allowed the missionaries some freedom for their activities.

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171 The Societe Des Missions Etrangers (MEP) was founded in Paris between 1658 and 1663. It was tasked in spreading Catholicism to Asia. The French branch of the MEP established indigenous clergies, episcopates and priesthoods. In the 17th century, the MEP had vicariates in Tonkin, Cochinchina and Siam. For more information, refer to Ooi Keat Gin, *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia, from Angkor Wat to East Timor* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 1225.

Letters from missionaries, such as those of Jean Louis Taberd (Cochinchina’s Apostolic Vicar from 1824 until his death in 1840), contain valuable information about the Cham community in 1828, which had a vibrant religious and cultural life before the events of 1832. Other missionaries also highlight the vibrant religious and cultural life in 1829. Reports from the missionary Francois Isidore Gagellin describe the centrality of the religious elite in the Cham villages as the keeper of knowledge and traditions. Though Cham society was not destroyed, the Cham suffered from social instability, which can be seen in Etienne Cuenot’s observations of 1839 in Phu Yen. Cuenot does not describe a peaceful community, but one where there were frequent quarrels and fighting among the Cham.\textsuperscript{173}

In a letter written on December 8, 1885, the French missionary Louis Villaume, who was in Bình Thuận for four years from 1882, describes the existence of Cham communities and the interesting nature of “Cham Hoi” relations with the Vietnamese Christians who he claimed “had saved their lives in 1861.”\textsuperscript{174} The Cham, by that time, lived side by side with the Vietnamese but in separate villages and stayed close to the Vietnamese Christians as they themselves were oppressed by the Vietnamese mandarins. The most important part of the letter was Villaume’s description of how the Vietnamese mandarins who controlled Bình Thuận ran away when Bình Thuận was ceded to the French in the Harmand Treaty of 1883. Every Cham and Vietnamese village prepared a splendid reception for the French. A report in 1889 about the state of the


\textsuperscript{174} Louis Vuillaume, Un Souvenir De La Persécution Dans La Mission De Cochinchine Orientale (Par Louis Vuillaume) (Paris, Imprimerie de Gustave Picquoin, 1889). The Cham Hoi were a distinct subgroup of Cham that lived near Bình Thuận and Ninh Thuận, but developed different traditions from other Cham in the area. Refer to Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, Archaeology, 79.
Cham in Binh Thuan by Camille Paris, who did a survey of new French territories in southern Vietnam, describes Cham society returning to traditional forms of living, such as rice-growing and small trading activities with the Vietnamese and Chinese.\textsuperscript{175}

\textit{General Historiography and Dissertation Aims}

Studies about Champa began in the late 19th century with the colonization of Vietnam, especially after the Cham areas of Binh Thuan were surrendered to the French in the Treaty of Harmand of September 25, 1883.\textsuperscript{176} Knowledge about the archaeology, history, language and culture of the Cham began to be compiled and debated among French scholars\textsuperscript{177} and by scholars who believed that Southeast Asia had been colonized by India.\textsuperscript{178} The perspective that Champa and other Southeast Asian civilizations had been colonized by Indian princes has been debunked by scholars who successfully argued that Southeast Asians were the real agents of Indianization.\textsuperscript{179} However, studies on Champa languished after the 1940s and it was even called the “Cinderella” in modern research.\textsuperscript{180} After World War II, interest in Champa’s history was rekindled, but there was never a real momentum until the 1970s, when Champa’s history was

\textsuperscript{175} Camille Paris, \textit{Voyage D’exploration De Hué En Cochinchine, Par La Route Mandarine} (Paris: E. Leroux, 1889).
\textsuperscript{178} R. C. Majumdar, \textit{Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series} (Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927); Majumdar, \textit{Champa}.
\textsuperscript{179} The extensiveness of the cultural influence of India in Southeast Asia made some Indian scholars believe that the region had been colonized by India. However, the works of Van Leur (1934), Paul Mus (1933) and F.D.K Bosch have successfully argued that it was local impetus that was more responsible in the presence and depth of penetration of Indian influence in Southeast Asia. For a further explanation on the early debates in the writing of Southeast Asian history, refer to Nicholas Tarling, ed., \textit{The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia} (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 7-9.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., 334.
subJECTED TO VIETNAMESE NATIONALIST, CHAM-FRENCH REVISIONIST, AND EVEN MALAY ETHNOCENTRIC PERSPECTIVES that viewed Champa as part of the “Malay world.” Even so, American researchers during the 1960s and 1970s did show some interest in Cham history. David Sox’s work on the history of Cham resource-use systems and Cham boats points to interesting questions on Cham agriculture and maritime technologies. Further American interest in the Cham can also be seen in Gerald Cannon Hickey’s works from the 1960s and 70s, which deal with the ethnic minorities of the Central Highlands, but also mention the Cham as being important in the history of relations with the highlander communities. Doris Blood’s works are also valuable in terms of her observations regarding the Cham language in Vietnam in the 1970s and the continued use of Cham script in Cham villages. However, despite this, the stronger momentum to create more research on Champa was to come later in the 21st century.

The newest research on the Cham was presented in Paris in June 2012 at the Conference on New Research in Historical Campa Studies, organized by EFEO, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) and the Nalanda Sriwijaya Center. Topics from various fields were presented, including archaeological findings on early settlements and centers, Cham art,

185 For further information on these issues, refer to Doris Blood, “Some Aspects of Cham Discourse Structure,” Anthropological Linguistics 20, no. 3 (1978): 110-132; Thomas and Gregerson, Notes, 11-44.
sculpture and architecture, Cham inscriptions in the 15th century, Cham manuscripts from the
17th and 19th centuries, and Cham linguistic and cultural connections beyond Champa. The
2012 conference was the latest development to showcase the newest scholarly works on Champa.
It was the latest of other recent conferences, such as the one held in 1988 in Copenhagen,
another in 2007 in San Jose, California – the first conference held by the “Champa peoples” –
and one in 2004 at the National University of Singapore, which resulted in the 2011


187 Many papers were presented during this conference. Marc Brunelle from the University of Ottawa, Canada, presented on “Diglossia, Bilingualism, and Literacy: Can Eastern Cham Be Revitalized?,” in which he argued that to ensure the survival of Cham script, it must be romanized or simplified.

David G. Sox (United States Coast Guard Pacific Command, Oakland, California) presented the case for increasing the Cham community’s participation in documenting Champa’s geography, prehistory, archaeology, history, social and economic organization, language and literature, art and architecture, and other aspects during its long history. Toshihiko Shine from the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan, presented on “Destruction Process of a Champa Divinity’s Memorial in Vietnam,” highlighting the destruction of the historic Champa Po Dam shrine in Sop Rai despite the protests of the local people and Communist party cadres.

Mohammad Zain Bin Musa from University Kebangsaan Malaysia presented on “The Socioeconomic Situation of the Cham Community in Malaysia since 1975.” Cham children learn the Malay language and Malaysia does not consider the Cham as an ethnic minority group.

Mathieu Guerin from Cean University, France, presented on the “Highlanders of Central Vietnam and Cambodia: Economic and Sociocultural Changes between 1975 and 2007.” Due to Vietnamese colonization of the Central Highlands, the indigenous peoples faced pressure to assimilate and abandon their traditional nomad lifestyle and cashless economy.

Po Dharma presented “Notes on the Sociocultural and Economic Problems of the Cham in Central Vietnam,” in which he mentioned problems faced by the Cham community, such as the threat to traditional religious and cultural practices, increasing numbers of Cham unable to read the traditional script, and Cham people losing their land.

Graham Thurgood from California State University presented on “The History of the Dispersal of the Cham.” Based on linguistic analysis, he claimed that Acehnese was a Cham sub-dialect and that the first Acehnese dynasty originated from Cham historical migration.

Emiko Stock from Paris X University, France, analyzed two Cham rituals that venerated spirits of former Cham and Cambodian kings and Imam San (a Muslim holy man), especially his relations to the Cambodian king.

Nicholas Weber from the Institut National des Langues and Civilisations Orientales, France, explored how Cham diasporic communities have fared and the challenges they face. For further information, refer to Sociocultural Issues of Champa 175 Years after Its Disappearance (1832-2007), San Jose, California, July 7-8, 2007.

188 Symposium on New Scholarship on Champa: August 5-6, 2004, organized by the National University of Singapore and Asia Research Institute, 2004.
publication of a volume edited by Trần Ký Phượng and Bruce Lockhart. The 2012 conference provided additional emphasis on Cham manuscripts, such as the Panduranga Royal Chronicles and the Dalukal, as viable sources for reconstructing the history of Champa.

Such conferences and the works of scholars made it clear that research on Champa’s archaeological, architectural and inscriptive history will continue to be a major focus in future studies. This is because there are many unanswered questions about the nature and history of classical Champa (the period before 1471) and whether Champa operated like one “mandala polity” or constituted of many mandalas. Cham inscriptions have been the interest of archaeologists and palligraphers, and anthropologists have been very active. A paper presented by Van Mon, an ethnic Cham anthropologist, is a hopeful sign that in the future, there will be more Cham scholars engaged in the research of their own culture and history. His work reflects a sustained interest of anthropologists in Cham culture. Japanese anthropologist Rie Nakamura’s observations on the Cham have resulted in a better understanding of the relationships between the Cham Ahier (syncretic Hindu) and Awal (syncretic Muslims).

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189 Lockhart and Ky, The Cham.
190 Different types of Cham manuscripts were presented at the conference at Panel 7, chaired by Anne-Valerie Shweyer. The Panduranga Royal Chronicles as well as the Dalukal were presented. Thérèse Guyot-Becker’s paper used the Chronicles to highlight the existence and use of Cham laws in 18th-century Panduranga, and my paper highlighted the Dalukal as valuable commentaries to Cham conceptions of power and authority. Fabien Chebaut was not present in the conference and hence did not present his paper.
193 Vickery, Champa Revised.
196 Rie Nakamura, Cham in Vietnam: Dynamics of Ethnicity (Seattle: University of Washington, Department of Anthropology, 1999).
position of the Cham Muslims in Ninh Thuan,\textsuperscript{197} and applications of Cham cultural concepts to Champa’s pre-colonial history.\textsuperscript{198} Dr Thanh Phan, an ethnic Cham anthropologist, has contributed crucial insights into the literary, cultural, and ritual life of the Cham in Ninh Thuan since 1990.\textsuperscript{199} His most recent publications include research on Cham textiles in 2009,\textsuperscript{200} a catalogue of Cham manuscripts in 2007,\textsuperscript{201} and an article on Kut cemeteries in Ninh Thuan province.\textsuperscript{202} Philip Taylor’s work on the development of a distinct identity of the Cham in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam, provides valuable information about this group.\textsuperscript{203} Other researchers, such as Shine Toshihiko from Japan, whose work highlights the historical relationship between the Raglai and the Cham,\textsuperscript{204} and Momoki Shiro’s contribution to understanding the nature of the polity of Champa and its trade links,\textsuperscript{205} point to further exciting developments in Champa studies among Japanese scholars.

The 2012 Paris conference placed a great emphasis on research of Cham manuscripts, especially the Panduranga Royal Chronicles and the \textit{Dalukal}, to reconstruct Champa history.\textsuperscript{206} The knowledge of the Cham manuscripts has already changed how Champa should be understood and has made untenable the idea that Champa ended in 1471. Po Dharma’s work \textit{Le

\textsuperscript{199} Thành Phan, “Cham House in Vietnam” (PhD diss., Leningrad University, 1990).
\textsuperscript{201} Thành Phan, \textit{Danh Mục}.
\textsuperscript{202} Lockhart and Ky, \textit{The Cham}, 337-347.
\textsuperscript{203} Taylor, \textit{Cham Muslims}.
\textsuperscript{205} Shiro, “Dai Viet”; Shiro, “Was Champa.”
\textsuperscript{206} Etienne Aymonier, “Légendes Historiques Des Chames,” \textit{Excursions et Reconnaissances} XIV no. 32 (1890): 145-206. Aymonier was the main initiator of early interest in Cham manuscripts, but interest was not sustained and it was overshadowed by more interest and research on Cham inscriptions.
Panduranga, published in 1987, revises the date of Champa’s demise from 1471 to 1835 and renders invalid Georges Maspero’s thesis that Champa was destroyed in 1471. He uses Cham manuscripts such as the Ariya Po Phaok The and Ariya Po Ceng to illustrate the fact that the Cham held on until 1835, when the last Cham king was executed. More importantly, the manuscripts reveal that the term “Champa” was rarely used in the Dalukal and Ariya, or even in the Panduranga Royal Chronicles. What was used frequently is the term “Nager Cam” to designate the polity which included other communities such as the Central Highlanders of the ngaok (highlands). The polity was described in the Cham manuscripts as having loose borders as well as being led by kings possessing ambiguous power. More will be discussed in Chapter 2, when the manuscripts are discussed in detail. More intensive studies of Cham manuscripts should help to define more precisely what the Cham mandala polities were, as well as the nature of Cham kingship and the structure of the kingdom. Therefore, 1471 simply marks the end of one of the “Nager Cam” or mandala polities, but others survived, until the Vietnamese removed the last in 1835.

Thus, the manuscripts are a highly valuable resource in the reconstruction of Cham history. This is reflected again in the works of capable French scholars. Among them is Nicolas Weber, who uses the Cham Ariya to contribute to a better understanding of the processes of

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207 Po, Le Panduranga. Also refer to Lockhart, “Colonial,” 55-58, for an excellent discussion of the further implications of Po Dharma’s work.
208 Georges Maspero, Le Royaume De Champa (Paris et Bruxelles: G. van Oest, 1928). According to Dr Bruce Lockhart, the first version of Maspero’s work was published in the T’oung Pao in 1910 and 1913. For an excellent discussion of the problems on determining 1471 as the date of “the end of Champa” and other related controversies, refer to Lockhart, “Colonial.”
209 Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok.”
210 “Ariya Po Ceng Cam.”
211 For an illuminating discussion on Champa as a Mandala, refer to Shiro, “Was Champa.”
“destruction.” Other French researchers on the Cham, such as Therese Guyot, Amandine Lepoutre, and Fabien Chebaut, use Cham manuscripts from the Panduranga Royal Chronicles to discuss Cham perspectives on slavery, law, taxation and land rights in the 17th and 18th centuries. Their works show that the Cham had a working political and economic system, but they had varying degrees of political independence from Vietnamese rulers. Apart from the French, American interest in the manuscripts show much promise, with the research done by William Brokaw Noseworthy with his publication in Explorations (a graduate student journal publication of the Center of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa). His research covers two perceptions of religious differences of the Cham. He has also produced a very enlightening Master’s thesis, which explores the historical role of Cham Akhar Thrah manuscripts in the context of the influence of Islam, the loss of the Cham kingdom, and the French colonial period. His current PhD research focuses more on an analysis of Cham translations of Islamic religious ideas in Akhar Thrah text, and will undoubtedly enlighten the gray areas in the history of Islamization of the Cham in the 18th and 19th centuries. The works of such tireless researchers will complement Danny Wong Tze Ken’s important dissertation about Cham relations with the Nguyen rulers in the 17th and 18th century, George Edson

216 Wong, The Nguyen and Champa During 17th and 18th Century: A Study of Nguyen Foreign Relations.
Dutton’s work on the Tayson rebellion which mentions Cham participation,\(^{217}\) and Po Dharma’s dissertation and other works on Cham manuscripts.\(^{218}\)

Ultimately, this dissertation provides a historical explanation of why and how the Cham continued to survive until today, despite the destruction of the Nager. It uses Cham, Vietnamese, French, and Malay sources to understand the nature and reasons for continuing Cham resilience. It is hoped that this dissertation will complement the solid research that has already been done by my colleagues around the globe. The dissertation also hopes to re-energize efforts and encourage more studies of Cham manuscripts\(^{219}\) in countries such as France,\(^{220}\) Malaysia,\(^{221}\) and Vietnam.\(^{222}\) Thousands of Cham manuscripts (originals and copies) have been collected since the late 19th century, but the majority of the collections have not been utilized fully by researchers in the reconstruction of Cham history and culture.


\(^{219}\) Pierre-Bernard Lafont, “Études Cam liii. Pour Une Réhabilitation Des Chroniques Rédigées En Cam Moderne,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 68, no. 68 (1980): 106-107. He provides a good introduction and insight on the Cham manuscripts kept in France. Some contain useful information about the Cham kings who reigned in Panduranga after 1471. He divides the manuscripts into two categories – those written in Cambodia and those written in Vietnam. All the manuscripts begin with an introduction and are followed by a list of kings, a conclusion, and finally the name of the copyist. Some manuscripts in Vietnam mention in the conclusion the number of princes who reigned and the number of Cham princes who ruled the country with titles granted by the Vietnamese mandarin.


\(^{222}\) For a good description of the Cham manuscripts available in Dr Thanh Phan’s collection, refer to Thanh Phan, *Danh Mục.*
Chapter Divisions

This dissertation is about the history of the Cham from the 17th century to the period of French colonization. It traces the fate of the Cham during what scholars have described as the demise of a people. However, the “demise” affected different groups of Cham in different ways. This study will follow the fate of three different groups—the political elite, the religious elite and the ordinary people—during a period of intense Vietnamese assimilation efforts. Understanding the fate of these three groups in this crucial period of Cham history will provide a better understanding of what really occurred during the so-called “destruction of Champa” and the social and historical conditions in which Cham texts were produced. My main thesis is that it was the Cham religious elite and their activities that ensured the social and cultural continuity of Cham society until the present. They came to preserve many traditions that not only preserve the memory of the political elite, but provided their communities with varying degrees of cultural and religious leadership in the absence of the political elite.

Chapter 1 examines the historical evolution of Cham society, what constituted the society and Nager Cam, and the sources used in this study, particularly the Cham Dalukal and Ariya documents. Chapter 2 reconstructs the world of the Cham just prior to Emperor Minh Mang’s deposing of the last Cham ruler in 1835, and the introduction of policies to assimilate the Cham population. This provides a context for the following chapters, which will discuss the structural changes that occurred in Cham society from 1835. The Dalukal, Ariya and other Cham manuscripts will be studied to suggest what and how such changes occurred at different levels of
Cham society under Vietnamese control. More importantly, the chapter will also show how Cham society was transformed from a maritime society to an agricultural one.

In Chapter 3, I will assess the effectiveness of Vietnamese policies toward the Cham. Though Minh Mang successfully removed the Cham political elite, he and his successors were less concerned about the religious elite. His aim was to assimilate the Cham population, not destroy it. After Minh Mang’s death in 1841, his successors, Thieu Tri and Tu Duc, were more focused on the threat posed by the French and thus did not actively seek to transform the Cham into Vietnamese. A new age for the Cham began with the Treaty of Harmand in 1883, which ceded the Cham area of Binh Thuan to the French. By then, Cham society was fragmented and lived in poverty together with other marginalized communities such as the Vietnamese Christians. Nevertheless, Cham society survived as a result of the retention of many of their traditional ceremonies that continued to be performed by the religious elite, and their perceived usefulness to the Vietnamese rulers in assimilation agendas and rain-making ceremonies.

Chapter 4 analyzes French colonial policies and attitudes toward the Cham after 1884, when the French assumed control of Binh Thuan and the Cham areas. During the French period, the Cham were basically left alone as the French chose to pay more attention to the Vietnamese, Central Highlanders and Cambodians. Furthermore, the French did not heavily exploit the Cham compared to the Vietnamese and other communities, who were more useful in the colonial economy and in the projection of French civilization. Even though Cham civilization was seen as important, and therefore research in the archaeology and history of the Cham began, it was overshadowed by research on Vietnamese and Cambodian history and culture. The French
period led to a moment of respite for the Cham religious elite, allowing them to strengthen and consolidate their fragmented society.

Chapter 5 provides an overall assessment of the transformations and continuities in Cham society from 1839 to 1940, and Chapter 6 discusses the dissertation’s contributions to the study of Cham and Southeast Asian history, as well as of minority populations whose stories have been muted in the narratives of dominant nation-states.
CHAPTER 2: NAGER CAM

This chapter is about Cham society prior to the 19th century before its destruction. A reconstruction based on Cham, European, Malay and Vietnamese primary sources will be used to further the understanding of the structure of Nager Cam, the existence of Cham political and religious groups from the Cham manuscripts, the importance of the Cham religious elite to Cham society as guardians of knowledge of Cham traditions, and the transition of Cham society from a maritime to an agricultural society. It was in the 18th to 19th centuries that Cham political and economic power became limited. French missionary observations in 1828 and 1829 affirmed the weakness of the Cham rulers, who were directly under the control of the Vietnamese, as well as the continuing strength of the religious elite in Cham villages, just prior to Minh Mang’s military action from 1832 to 1835. This chapter is important in establishing a context to understand why the religious elite survived and became crucial to the survival of Cham society as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Socio-Political Structure of Nager Cam

There is not a lot known about the structure of Nager Cam\textsuperscript{223} and so this chapter attempts to address the lacuna as well as provide a context for understanding the changes that occurred in Cham society after 1832. In reconstructing the \textit{Dunya Cam Dahlaw Panduranga} or “\textit{The World of the Cham Past of Panduranga},” I will begin with the function and role of the \textit{Po Cam} (Cham king), \textit{Panraong Jabuol} (the general) and the \textit{Ginuer Huer} (the astrologer). As mentioned in

\textsuperscript{223} I use the term “Nager Cam” for Champa as it is the term used by the Cham to describe Champa in the manuscripts. “Nager” is the Cham version of “\textit{Negara}.”
Chapter 1, the Cham sources used in this dissertation are problematic as many of the *Dalukal* and *Ariya* are not dated and have anonymous authors. They are nevertheless valuable as many of the manuscripts contain important clues that highlight the existence of Cham political and religious groups, the nature of Cham society in the past, and Cham perspectives to kingship, among others. French scholars such as Etienne Aymonier were among the first to note their historical value and his efforts led to the discovery of various Cham manuscripts and even royal chronicles.224 These materials were written in the late 19th and early 20th century and were found in Cham villages.225 The knowledge contained in most of the Cham manuscripts was based on much older memories dating before the 19th century. These sources are valuable to historians on the reconstruction of the Cham past and their importance will be further demonstrated in this chapter.

In reading various *Dalukal* and *Ariya* sources, the term “Nager Cam” (Kingdom of Champa) is used. “Champa,” which first appears in an inscription dated about 600226, is hardly utilized.227 The location of Nager Cam is ambiguous in manuscripts but the inclusion of the word *nager* fits the *mandala* conceptualization.228 According to Jan Wisseman Christie, the word

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224 Aymonier found the Cham royal chronicle with an old Cham in Panrang named Teng Choek of Hamu Tanran. The manuscript was kept in a lacquered box and he was helped in the reading by a Basheh (Brahman priest) named Chau in the village of Palei Chop in Panrang. Reference: Aymonier, “Légendes Historiques,” 147-149.

225 Antony Charles Céléstin Landes, *Contes Tjames: Imprimerie coloniale* (Saigon: Imprimerie coloniale, 1887), 6-7. Published in 1887, Landes’s work highlighted early interest of the French in Cham legends, and this work contains Cham stories translated into French. The introduction reveals that the main contributor was a Cham of Phanri called Mul Tjoek. He had been pursued by his creditors and taken refuge with the mountain chief called the “Patao.” Suddenly dissatisfied with his lot, he escaped and came to Saigon where he was brought to Landes. Aymonier took him to Binh Thuan with several other Cham. Landes claimed that the tales were written down by Mul Tjoek told to him in Vietnamese. The stories are interesting as they highlight the orality of knowledge in the Cham community at that time.


227 Finot, “D’épigraphie.” Based on My Son inscriptions, Finot viewed Champa consisting of five provinces named Amaravati, Vijaya, Kauthara, Panduranga and Indrapura.

228 For a further discussion on the nature of the *mandala*, see Wolters, *History*, 27-40. The term “Mandala Champa” has also been featured in Chapter 5 of Lockhart and Ky, *The Cham*, 120-137.
Negara was derived from the Sanskrit term Nagar or “city” and it was adopted by scholars who found it less Eurocentric. Scholars also acknowledge that the negara as both state and capital, that it was defined by its center, and that territory controlled by the center was in a constant state of flux. It had no permanent boundaries and its limits were defined by charismatic rulers. The administration was composed of “stratified clusters of patron-client relationships.”

The nager in the Ariya and Dalukal type manuscripts contained other polities such as Nager Kahaow, Nager Aia Trang or Nha Trang, Nager Prangdarang (Panduranga or Phanrang) and Nager Yuen. This is similar to how the negara was conceptualized by traditional communities in Bali, Java and the Malayan peninsula, which also had other negara within the mandala. In the


230 Kahaow is the Cham reference to the Kohor (Koho) ethnic community that belongs to the Mon-Khmer linguistic group, which is among the main ethnic communities in the Central Highlands of Vietnam, along with the Jarai, Ede, Bahnar, Sedang, Hre, Moong, Raglai, Stieng and others. For more information, refer to Grant Evans, “Internal Colonialism in the Central Highlands of Vietnam,” Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia 7, no. 2 (1992): 277.

231 “Damnuy Po Nager.” The Nager Aia Trang or Nha Trang appears in three lines of the Damnuy Po Nager or The Story of Po Nagar. In line 2: “baruw dua Ong Muk nao jah apuh di cek galeng di nager Aia Trang,” or “a couple looked for firewood in the hills of nager aia trang.” In line 14: “Nager aia trang was hit by a storm (rabuk).” In line 40: “...anak baol bhuktik di nager Aia Trang,” or “to look for merit in nager Aia Trang.” Curiously, it is only mentioned in the story of Po Nagar and not in other Dalukal. The Temple of Po Nagar was built in 774 C.E. but it was destroyed by Javanese raiders. It was rebuilt again 10 years later by King Satyavarman. For a further description of the history of the temple, see Miksic, Dictionary, 299. For a fascinating discussion of the history of Po Nagar and how it has been Vietnamized by the Vietnamese in the long duree, see Nguyen The Anh’s “The Vietnamization of the Cham Deity Po Nagar,” in John K. Whitmore and K. W. Taylor, eds., Essays into Vietnamese Past (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995), 42-50. See also the section “The Cham Legacy,” in Chapter 6 of Anthony Reid and Tran Nhung Tuyet, eds., Vietnam: Borderless Histories (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006),163-193.

232 Panduranga appeared in Cham inscriptions in the 8th century. For more information, refer to Miksic, Dictionary, 90. For a more comprehensive discussion on the history of Panduranga, refer to Po Dharma’s discussion in Po, Le Panduranga. For a brief discussion on Panduranga based on Cham inscriptions and Chinese sources, see Finot, “V. Panduranga.”

233 Yavana was mentioned in the Negarakertasagama to describe the Yuon or Yuan people. The term appears in a Cham inscription in 1159 C.E., but also can be found in earlier Cambodia inscriptions. Refer to footnote 2 in Gerolamo Emilio Gerini, “The Negarakertasagama List of Countries on the Indo-Chinese Mainland (Circa 1380 A.D.),” Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1905): 2; Cham inscriptions also refer to the Vietnamese as “Yavana.” For more information, see the Myson Stelae inscription of Jaya Harivarman I of 1151 C.E. in Finot, “D’épigraphie,” 963; for an English translation of the inscription, see Majumdar, Champa, 180.

234 Rakawi Prapanja and Theodore G. Th Pigeaud, Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History. 3rd ed. 5 vols (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1960); Clifford Geertz, Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali
Ariya Po Ceng, which talks about events in the early 19th century, the nager also included Nager Prangdarang (Panduranga).235

Nager Cam was more of an ethno-linguistic space in the manuscripts, and ethnic minorities that spoke Cham or other similar languages - such as the Churu and Raglai - often established close relationships with the Cham and even with Cham rulers.236 This further makes untenable the earlier conceptualization of Champa as a single kingdom ruled by a predominantly Cham ethnic group,237 or even a single monarchical state that consisted of three principal provinces - Amaravati in the north, Vijaya in the central region, and Panduranga in the south.238 Nager Cam was most likely a confederation which included the Cam and other ethnic minorities, as leading scholars of Cham and Vietnamese history have argued.239 However, the nature of this confederation was marked by Cham reminders of their power in the highlands. This explains the rationale of building Cham towers such as Bimong Yang (Kontum), Yang Mum (Gia Lai province) and Yang Prong (Daklak) in Pak Ngaok (Central Highlands) to better control the

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235 “Nager Cam” is mentioned in lines 5, 47 and 56. The term is also used to describe Nager Prangdarang in line 93. Other areas of Nager Cam are also mentioned as well. They include Parik, Pajai, Kraong, which were the territories of Prangdarang or Panduranga. Refer to “Ariya Po Ceng Cam.” For more information on the Ariya Po Ceng, see Po Dharma’s usage of the text in Po, Le Panduranga.

236 Among the Dalukal manuscripts that best highlight the close relationships that the Cham had with the ethnic minorities such as the Raglai and Chru are the Dalukal Po Klong Garay (Story of Po Klong Garay), Dalukal Po Rome (Story of Po Rome), Dalikal Manuis pajieng Gru Cruw (Story of Man Becomes the Teacher of the Cruw) and Ariya Tuen Phaow, which contains mentions of the Kahaow along with other ethnic minorities joining the revolt led by Tuen Phaow, who came from Kelantan, against the Vietnamese. See Appendix for more details of these stories.

237 Maspero and Tips, Champa.

238 Majumdar, Champa, 148-149.

239 For an excellent synthesis of the research done on the nature of the negara, see Chapter 1, “The New Land,” especially the section “Champa After 1471,” in Li, Nguyễn Cochinchina, 31-33.
highland groups. Another view could be that such temples represented Cham motives to ensure spiritual protection and success for Cham traders in the highlands.\textsuperscript{240}

Cham-highlander relationships are still commemorated in Cham ceremonies, especially during the Kate festival (the Cham New Year), when peoples of the Central Highlands bring down the treasures of the Cham rulers to be venerated and celebrated.\textsuperscript{241} The relationships between the Cham and the highlanders were close enough that a 17th-century Cham king was believed to have been of Churu descent.\textsuperscript{242}

Relations with other kingdoms outside Nager Cam are also mentioned, such as those with Nager Laow (China), \textit{Patao Laow} (“Chinese king”), \textit{Patao Yuon}\textsuperscript{243} (“Vietnamese king”), Makah (Kelantan)\textsuperscript{244} and Thiem (Siam)\textsuperscript{245}. This suggests a long historical legacy of Cham interactions with other communities in the region. The borders and boundaries of Nager Cam were not fixed,


\textsuperscript{241} See Sakaya’s (Van Mon’s) detailed research on Cham ceremonies done in the Kate Festival in Truong, \textit{Lễ Hội Cưới Nguời Chăm} (Ha Noi: Nhà xuất bản văn hoá dân tộc, 2003). On early French archaeological perspectives on Cham architecture and an early inventory on Cham treasures found in Central Highland villages, refer to E. M. Durand and Henri Parmentier, “Le Trésor Des Rois Chams,” \textit{Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient} 5, no. 5 (1905): 1-46. For the newest research on Cham-Raglai historical relations and fascinating insights on historical relations between the Cham and the Highlanders, see Shine, “Symbolic Role.”

\textsuperscript{242} Po Ramo, believed to be of Churu (one of the Malayo Polynesian ethnic communities in the Central Highlands) descent, was thought to have reigned from 1627 to 1651 C.E., and even started a line of 14 Cham kings that reigned until 1786. For more information, see Bernard Gay’s “New Perspectives on the Ethnic Composition of Champa,” in Dinh Tế Huỳnh, \textit{Proceedings of the Seminar on Champa}, held at the University of Copenhagen on May 23, 1987, Southeast Asia Community Resource Center, 1994, 49.

\textsuperscript{243} In “Damnuy Po Nager,” see lines 18 and 19, where Po Nagar transformed into a piece of gaharu wood and drifted to Nager Laow (China). For references to the \textit{Patao Jek} (the Vietnamese king), see lines 40 and 67 of "Dalikal Po Sah Ina.” Line 40 mentions that the \textit{Patao Jek} went to Nager Laow. In line 67, the \textit{Patao Jek} came back from Nager Laow and found that Po Sah Ina had escaped and returned to Nager Cam. Line 10 of “Ariya Klau Rai Patao” mentions an alliance of the Laow and Cam; in lines 14 to 16, Po klaong Garai defeated a combined attack of Laow (Chinese) and Yuon (Vietnamese).

\textsuperscript{244} For a brief description of Cham relations with Kelantan, refer to Denys Lombard, “Le Campa Vu Du Sud,” \textit{Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient} 76, no. 76 (1987): 316. See also Danny Wong’s fascinating work on Malay Cham relations in Wong, “Vietnam-Champa.” For Cham texts that mention Malay-Cham relations, see Po et al., \textit{Nai Mai}. Also see “Ariya Tuen Phao,” where it is mentioned that Makah (Kelantan) was the base or even birthplace of the resistance leader of an 18th-century anti-Vietnamese revolt.

\textsuperscript{245} Siam is referred to as “Nager Thiem” or “Siem.” Reference: "Ariya Cei Dalim." See lines 2, 15 and 20.
though there are terms such as tabiak nager used in reference to places outside Nager Cam. Po Rome, for example, was born di tabiak nager Panrang or “outside Panduranga.” This further reinforces the understanding of Champa as consisting of various Cam polities. Nager Panrang was a Cam polity and other polities or peoples from other polities are referred as tabiak nager or “outside of it.”

Descriptions of Cham territories are very rare, though one Cham manuscript mentions some 42 villages, some capital cities, and other centers of population in Nager Cam. They have names which begin with a special geographic feature, such as craoh, meaning “a stream or torrent”; bhum, referring to “land” and “territory”; kraong, meaning “river”; and pabah, the “mouth of a river.” However, their exact locations are unknown and knowledge of them has long been lost, but they echo memories of Nager Cam’s expanse of territory.

Nager Cam thus adhered to the structure of many Southeast Asian polities characterized by Oliver Wolters as a mandala which has no fixed borders, where smaller centers tended to
look in all directions for security, and whose territorial size expanded and contracted in
“concertina-like fashion.” 251 Such a polity with no fixed boundaries allowed for the likelihood
that smaller centers gravitate to more powerful ones. 252 This aspect also allowed pre-colonial
kingdoms such as Majapahit to imagine themselves as being “ringed” by many countries friendly
to the kingdom. 253 Though many models have come to be discussed in the construction of the
Champa, work is still being done to understand the historical relations of different Champa
mandalas with each other in different historical times. 254

252 Coedes also asserts that during its history, Champa was divided into “a certain number of natural provinces
corresponding to the coastal environment.” Coedes, Indianized States, 43.
254 The late Professor Trần Quốc Vương has an idea of “Champa cultural regions,” in which the Sacred Mountain,
the Holy Land, the capital and ports were inter-connected by a system of rivers flowing from west to east in each
mandala of Champa. Reference: Trần Quốc Vương, “Miền Trung Việt Nam Và Văn Hóa Champa” (Central
Vietnam and Champa Culture) Tap chi Nghiên Cứu Đông Nam Á Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 21, no. 4
Po & Patao Cam: Ganreh, Royal Families and Sites of Power

The Ariya and Dalukal type manuscripts demonstrate that the apex of the political system of Nager Cam was the Cham king with the title of Po.\textsuperscript{255} What separated Po from Patao, a term which appears frequently in the manuscripts,\textsuperscript{256} was the former’s possession of Ganreh or spiritual and magical power. The Po Cam (Cham king) was thus regarded as having legitimacy to rule, though on rare occasions he was selected by the Panraong Jabuol, the war chief and

\textsuperscript{255} Po is an honorific used in the Cham language and is not used specifically for Cham kings only. Refer to Cabaton and Aymonier, \textit{Dictionnaire}, 309.

\textsuperscript{256} “Patao” means “royalty.” Ibid., 260, 261, 301.
royal protector. However, in some cases, it was the *Panraong Jabuol* or the generals or war chiefs who selected Cham kings after a discussion amongst them - *Panraong Jabuol sinbiai* - though only one manuscript refers to this.\footnote{“Ariya Klau Rai Patao.” In line 18, the manuscript says that “*dom nan Po Klaong luic ray, panraong jabuol sinbiai, kieng pok patao pakreng nager,*” or “it is revealed that Po Klaong is king, the Panraong Jabuol discussed and agreed that he leads the nager.” In line 34, it is said that Po Biltuer (another Cham king) also had the Panraong Jabuol choosing him as king.} The revelation of the political system of Champa and description of the Cham king’s court and his retinue are among the most valuable types of information that the Cham manuscripts contain.

Even so, the process of how the Cham king was selected is ambiguous in the *Dalukal* and *Ariya* type manuscripts. The Cham king exhibited prowess in many forms, such as having magical powers (*sunit ginreh saktajai*) and adhering to the ideal of the good ruler, but these were ideal manifestations of the Cham king as remembered by the Cham in the late 19th and 20th centuries. The history of the Cham king’s reign is very much about the gradual loss of political relevance; Cham kings began to be selected by the Vietnamese in the late 17th century by the Nguyen with the defeat of Po Saut (1660-1692), which led to the establishment of Vietnamese garrisons at Pho Hai, Phan Ri and Phan Rang, and the installment of Po Saut’s lieutenant, Po Saktiraydпутих, to administer Cham areas on behalf of the Nguyen from 1700 to 1728. After 1728, Cham rulers continued to rule as “local chieftains under the jurisdiction of the prefecture administrators.”\footnote{Wong, *The Nguyen*, 125-139.} This explains why there is a lack of memory in the manuscripts about how a *Po Cam* was selected, because the process was ordained by the Vietnamese in the late 17th century. Even so, the Cham still acknowledged the ruler, even if he was selected by the Vietnamese. At one point, the Vietnamese had to restore the monarchy after eliminating it...
precisely because the Cham created so many problems which could only be solved by installing a new Cham king.

However, the Cham remembered certain ideal attributes and examples of good Cham kings. Po Klaong Garai was considered to be a good king because he built dams (binuk) and rice fields (hamu). This could very well be due to what the Cham remembered of the Cham king in the 19th century. In addition, an exemplary Cham ruler was expected to care for the commoners. In the Dalukal Po Dam, there is a story about a Cham king who disguised himself as a commoner to observe his subjects. The Cham king met a greedy woman named Muk Thruh Palei who took the gifts meant for another girl who gave him shelter, and so the woman was punished for her greed. Upholding justice was part of the ruler’s responsibilities in governing or leading the nager (Pakreng Nager). The Dalukal sources present most Cham kings as buffalo herders at the beginning of the story, or apah kubaw or gleng kubaw, until their Ganreh was recognized by the spirits. Identification of Ganreh was done by the spirits such as dragons, human-like divinities and even magical trees. This recognition of power follows a similar pattern in the stories: A Cham male who was born under special circumstances during birth grew up in poverty. He took up buffalo herding or some other agricultural activity which required him to move around. He encountered spirits in the land which saw in him Ganreh and they manifested

259 “Ariya Klau Rai Patao.”
260 “Dalukal Po Dam.”
261 It is termed as “to govern.” Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 252.
262 Po Birthuer in “Hadip Pathang” was tasked to “gleng kubaw” in the initial parts of the story. Po Ramo in “Dalikal Po Ramo” began as an “apah kubaw” or buffalo herder. Dalikal Po Klaong Garay also highlighted the centrality of buffalo herding to important Cham personages (see lines 18 to 20). Landes, “Dalikal Cei Balaok La-U,” also features buffalo herding as a royal activity.
263 “Dalikal Po Klaong Garay.” See lines 40 to 45 on the appearance of the two dragons (Inagirai) to Po Klaong Garay that identified his “Ganreh.”
264 “Hadip Pathang.” In lines 65 to 70, King Po Bir Thuer’s Ganreh was identified by Po Gauor, a divinity in the mountain named Ho Sa Ba.
265 “Dalikal Po Ramo.” In lines 4 to 6, King Po Rome’s Ganreh was established when he slept under the magical tree called Phun Kraik and two dragons appeared, symbolizing his power.
themselves before him and acknowledged his Ganreh. This is very much in line with the idea of “men of prowess” or exceptional persons that possessed “soul stuff” and the important role that they played in the formation of polities in Southeast Asia. The site where Cham king’s Ganreh was identified by the spirits was almost always in the highlands (ngaok) or near mountains or hills (cek). The terms suggest limited Sanskrit influence on Cham ideas but it has to be understood that the Cham manuscripts that contain these terms were products of a Cham society in the 18th to 19th century, thus a more local, and not Indianized, idea about mountains is reflected. Even so, the legacy of localization of Hindu ideas that privileged Mount Mahameru as the sacred center in Southeast Asia cannot be ignored.

The Cham who had Ganreh became king and the term for the coronation of the king used in the Dalukal and Ariya is Tagok Rai or “to establish a reign.” In my discussions with Dr Thanh Phan about coronation, I have alerted him to the use of the Nobat di Raja (royal musical ensemble), Pusaka (magical heirlooms), and the complexity of coronation rituals of Javanese and Malay rulers. The Cham could have similarly complex features as well about the king-making ceremonies apart from the memory of certain words such as tagok rai, which is similar to menegakkan Raja (literally translated as “to raise a king”). It is interesting to note that the crowns of the Cham king and queen are still kept by the Cham today.

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266 For a more detailed discussion of “soul stuff,” refer to Wolters, History, 18-34.
267 Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire. See page 115 for the explanation of the term “ngaok.”
268 Ibid. See page 130 for further explanations on the term Cek. For more information on the idea of the divinization of the energies of the soil being manifest in high places such as mountain trees, refer to Mus, India.
269 For a further discussion of how the idea of Mahameru was localized in local Southeast Asian contexts, see I. W. Mabett, “The Symbolism of Mount Meru,” History of Religions 23, no. 1 (1983): 64-83.
270 See Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 168, for further descriptions of “Tagok Rai.”
271 The Crown of the last Cham king is still kept by a descendent of the Cham royal family. For more information, please watch Ibrahim Sawifi, “The Cham of Vietnam,” in Jalan, Season 5, Episode 4, 45 mins 40 sec (Singapore: Oak 3 Films, 2012).
various locations where royal coronations were held, but they usually happened at a *Bal*\(^{272}\) or capital city. The *Bal* was the focus of attacks by the Vietnamese and other rival groups in the area. The *Sejarah Melayu* recounts an attack of the Raja Kuci (Vietnam) which destroyed a *Bal* leading to the flight of many members of the Cham royalty and ministers to Melaka.\(^{273}\)

The *Bal* has some similar characteristics to *Pura* (or “city”) and even citadels. Andrew Hardy cites sixth-century Chinese observers who note that a major *pura*, the Cham citadel in K’iu-sou (a term in the Chinese language), Amaravati, was constructed of brick walls with features of a stockade, and contained a town of 2100 houses. Hardy describes *puras* as “permanent bases of power, sanctified with the construction of religious buildings,” which are “evidence of the political stability of the early Cham monarchies.” He also mentions that walls “still stand in Chau Sa (Quang Ngai) at over four meters, measuring 550 meters on all four sides of the inner of two ramparts.”\(^{274}\) The significance of the *Bal* as the place for coronations of Cham kings is mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu* as well: Raja Jakanak, a Cham prince living in Majapahit, decided to sail back to Cempa (the Malay term for Nager Cam). Once there, he met his father Pau Gama who made him king in a *Bal*.\(^{275}\) The *Bal* therefore represented a sacred

\(^{272}\) “*Bal*” is the Cham term for capital, city, place of royal occupation and even palace. Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 329. Early discussions about *Bal* as historic capitals can be found in C. Otto. Blagden, “Balonga, the Oldest Capital of Champa,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2, no. 2 (1899): 665-667. Blagden used information derived from Etienne Aymonier, *Les Tchames Et Leurs Religions* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1891) to assume that there were three historic capitals. Sri Binay was located in Quang Binh (north of Vietnam), Bal Hanguw was located in Hue (central Vietnam) and Bal Anguei was located in Binh Dinh (south-central Vietnam).

\(^{273}\) “Adapun orang Cempa, setengah melawan dan setengah berlepas anak bininya. Maka kota Bal pun alahlah; Pau Kubah pun mati. Maka segala anak raja-raja Cempa dan segala menteri pun larilah, membawa dirinya ke sana ke mari, cerai-berai tiada berketahuan.” (“The Cham that are left, some fought, some ran away with their families. Thus the *Bal* fell, Pau Kubah is killed. All the Cham princes and the ministers ran away to far corners, fragmented and confused.”) Reference: A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin = Sejarah Melayu, Siri Rajiaan Sastera Dbp* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1979), 153, line 27.

\(^{274}\) Hardy, Cucarzi and Zolese, *Archaeology*, 108-110.

\(^{275}\) “Hence, Raja Jakanak asked permission from the King of Majapahit and his wife and he sailed back to Champa. After a while he arrived at the Kingdom and presented himself to his father, Pau Gama. Pau Gama was overjoyed and made him king at the *Bal*. (“Maka Raja Jakanak pun bermohonlah pada Betara Majapahit dan kepada bondanya, lalu belayar kembali. Setelah berapa lamanya di jalan sampailah ia ke Cempa. Maka Raja Jakanak pun
center of Nager Cam where kings were made and this adhered well to the idea that Nager Cam (Champa) was composed of many centers very much like the theorized mandala-structured polities.276

These ancient Cham economic and political centers were located in central Vietnam and other places throughout southern Vietnam. Bal Hanguw or Hue was the seat of Po Klong Dirai (1151-1205) and Po Shri Agarang (1205-1247).277 Bal Anguei, a second capital city located in Binh Dinh, south-central Vietnam, was the seat of Chei Aanok (1247-1281), Po Debata Thuor (1281-1306), Po Patal Thuor (1306-1328), Po Binoethuor (1328-1373) and Po Parichan (1373-1397).278 The third capital city called Bal Battinong279 was the seat of Po Kathit (1433-1460), Po Kabrah (1460-1494), Po Kabih (1494-1530), Po Karutdrak, (1530-1536), Po Mahesharak (1536-1541), Po Kanoeûrai (1541-1553) and Po At (1553-1579). The fourth capital city was Sri Binay280 around central Vietnam, the place where Po Rome (1627-1651) was made king.281

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278 Aymonier, "Légendes Historiques."

279 Ibid.


281 There were various places for the coronation of Cham kings mentioned in the *Dalikal* and *Ariya*. Forts or *biuh* are also mentioned. In line 27 of the *Dalikal Po Sah Ina*, the king was made in fort of Bal Bat, or “Ngap patao di biuh Bal Bat.” Po Rome (1627-1651) was said to have built the fort named “Krong biuh.” See Aymonier, "Légendes Historiques," 272.

King Po Klaong Garay was made king in Bal Hanguw. Refer to line 64 and 65 of "Dalikal Po Klaong Garay." Po Kabih was made king in Bal Ba-Si-Nung. Refer to line 3 and 4 of "Damnuy Po Kabrah."

Bal Prei Parang is mentioned in line 2 of "Dalikal Po Ma Thik Dhik nan Po Anit."

Bal Riya as a place of coronation is mentioned in line 34 and 35 of “Dalikal Cei Ula Praong.”

Sri Binay as the place of coronation is mentioned in line 10 of “Ariya Klau Rai Patao.” Aymonier believes that Shri
Curiously, the names of capitals in the Dalukal do not coincide with the names of Cham territories that we know as the “territories of Champa” of Amaravati (northernmost area), Vijaya, Kauthara and Panduranga. The Ariya and Dalukal sources reveal that the Cham king lived in a palace called Madhir and according to Etienne Aymonier, there were several types of Madhir such as Madhir Riya (palace), Madhir Patao (royal palace), Madhir Badan (the public part of the palace) and Madhir Dhar (temple), though these are not mentioned in the Cham manuscripts.

The Cham king lived with other members of the royal household such as the queen (Po Bia), and the children of royalty (Anak Patao), which included the princess (Patri) and the prince (Patrai, Cei or Norapat). The term for the last child was Anak taluic; the second child, Anak tah rabha; the eldest child, Anak kacua. Cham females of royal blood were called Nai.

Banoy (Sri Binay) was the center for several Cham kings: Po Ovloh, 1000-1036, Po Noethuor lak, 1036-1076, Po Patik, 1076-1114, and Po Shullaka, 1114-1151. For more information, see Aymonier, “Légendes Historiques,” 151.

In 1481, 10 years after the 1471 invasion, a Cham envoy sent by Gu-lai of Champa beseeched to the Chinese emperor to order the Vietnamese to return to the Cham five areas of territory consisting of Bang-du-lang (Panduranga) and the entire 27 areas which comprised of “four prefectures, one sub-prefecture and 22 counties.” Among the territories that had to be returned was A-mu-la-bu (Amaravati). Reference: Wade, “Cheng-Hua.” For further information on the territories of Champa from Cham inscriptions, refer to Finot, “V. Pânduranga,” 638-639, and Finot, “D’épigraphie,” 195.

Ibid., 345. The term also includes “Patao Bia” or “Queen.”

Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire. The term “Madhir” comes from the Sanskrit “Mandira” or “palace.” For further information on the different types of palaces, refer to page 375.

The son of a Cham king is featured in Landes, “Dalukal Patao Di Hu.” It is a story of a king that did not have children, but eventually had a son named Ja Karaong. However, because of famine in the kingdom, the king abandoned his son in the forests. Magical adventures followed and he was eventually killed. For an enlightening discussion of the centrality of the Anak Raja (the Prince) in Malay history and certain parallels that can be made between the Cham Anak Patao and the Anak Raja, refer to Barbara Watson Andaya, “The Role of the Anak Raja in Malay History: A Case Study from Eighteenth-Century Kedah,” Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 7, no. 2 (1976): 162-186.

Cabaton and Aymonier provide a different take on the terms “Patri” and “Patrai.” To them, they were the ancestors, genies and male and female spirits. “Prauk atau patri patri” were spirits of stillborn children or children who died in infancy. Patri Dam is the altar for the deceased. Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 262 and 301.

Cei is used for at least three Cham princes: Cei Dalim, Cei Balaok La-U and Po Cei Bri. Ibid., 129.

According to Cabaton and Aymonier, the term for “Prince” is “Norapat.” Ibid.

It is also used in line 27 of “Dalikal Po Klaong Garay,” when the astrologer told Po Klaong Garai that he would be king, and also in Po et al., Akayet Inra Patra.

For more information on the description of a Cham royal family, refer to Landes, “Dalukal Cei Balaok La-U.”
and terms such as Nai Taluic, Nai tah rabha and Nai Kacua were used. A concubine was called Bharrandi, and among the most memorable in the Dalukal is Po Bia Ut, the daughter of the Patao Jek (Vietnamese king or Chua Nguyen) who was given to Po Rome as a tribute. Cham royal families could have been part of clans mentioned in a Cham inscription dated to the year 1081, which mentioned the existence of two royal clans of the Coconut (Narikelavamsa) and the Betel Nut (Kramukavamsa). Even in a Malay source, the Sejarah Melayu written in the 17th century, the significance of the betel nut to the Cham was reiterated in the story of the birth of Pau Gelang who was born in the mayang pinang. The reference to betel nuts in the Malay source was likely an allusion to the fact that the Malays understood that Pau Gelang (Po Klong Garai) was of that particular royal clan. The existence of the royal family was an important constituent of Nager Cam as they were the focus of the negara’s mobilization of basic cultural and ritualistic resources. Moreover, royal families provided the kinship networks that maintained the viability of the polity.

290 Love between Cham officials and royalty is contained in at least one Ariya. “Sep Sah Sakei” features a love story between Nai Rat Mah, a Cham princess, and Sah Sakei, a Cham dignitary. Sah Sakei died at sea before the princess could reveal her love. Cham princesses also fell in love with foreign Malay dignitaries. For more information, see Po et al., Nai Mai.

291 Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire. See page 361 for the term. The Sanskrit term “Bhavini” for “concubine” is a closer match to “Bharrandi.”


293 Ibid., 27. The marriage occurred in 1631, according to Cooke. The Vietnamese princess’s name, according to Khmer and Viet sources, was Ngoc Hoa.


295 “The king was overjoyed with the discovery of the child and he is named by the Cham king as Pau Gelang.” (“Maka terlalulah kesukaan raja Cempa beroleh budak itu, lalu dinamai oleh raja Cempa Pau Gelang. Maka disuruh baginda susui pada isteri segala raja-raja dan para menteri”). For more information, refer to Ahmad, Sulalatus Salatin, 151, line 12.

296 Geertz, Negara.

Panraong Jabuol: The Royal Guard

The Madhir or palace was where affairs of state were discussed with the king. When the Po Cam held an audience, he was assisted by the Panraong Jabuol who was the Cham king’s bodyguard and leader of the king’s army or Buol. A Cham prostrated him or herself to the Cham king to “worship the dust of the golden feet of the king” (kana dhul palak takai mah po), as was the practice in other Southeast Asian kingdoms. Once the Cham king gave a royal order or pa-nder, it was carried out by the Panraong Jabuol. There were two types of Panraong Jabuol: the Panraong Jabuol Hanuk (General of the Right) and Panraong Jabuol Iw (General of the Left) and they positioned themselves to the right and left of the Po Cam. Examples of how the Panraong Jabuol carries out the king’s orders can be seen in Dalukal Cei Balaok La-U, Dalukal Ja Tabaong alah and Dalukal Mu Kajaong saong Mu Halek. In the story of Cei Balaok La-U, after Cei Balaok La-U’s mother discussed with the king to make...
Cei Balaok the royal herder, the Cham king then *pa-nder* two *Panraong Jabuol* to call Cei Balaok to court. In another part of the story, Cei Balaok La-U *pa-nder* the *Ganuer Ahaok* or captain of the ship, to return to the village after his wife drowned in the sea. In the *Dalukal Ja Tabaong Alah*, the Cham king *pa-nder* the *Panraong Jabuol* to arrest Ja Tabaong Alah who was suspected of making his daughter pregnant.

However, in the *Dalukal Mu Kajaong saong Mu Halek*, *pa-nder* was used by families on their daughters. In the story, the king wanted a wife and once it was announced, all families *pa-nder* their daughters to go to the palace by the thousands. However, the role of the *Panraong Jabuol* as protectors or agents of the king’s rule seemed to have vanished in the late 19th century. According to Aymonier in his observations of the Cham of Binh Thuan during that time, it was the Muslim priests that guarded the inner areas of the *Madhir* and the women and children of the court in the absence of the Cham king. The *Basaih* and the *Po Dhia* (Cham Ahier, Brahmanists) were not allowed to enter the palace because of their roles in funerals which Cham superstition held to be disastrous for women at childbirth.\(^{308}\)

However, despite playing an important function for the *Po Cam* in carrying out his *pa-nder* or orders, the *Panraong Jabuol* were not always loyal and could be disobedient. An example can be found in the *Dalukal Ja Tabaong*, when the Panraong Iw and Hanuk refused to kill Ja Tabaong and his wife, the Cham king’s daughter.\(^{309}\) The *Panraong Jabuol’s* failure to

\(^{308}\) Aymonier, *Les Tchames*, 78.

\(^{309}\) Landes, “Dalukal Ja Tabaong,” lines 97-98. “The General of the Right overcome with the beauty of Nai Taluic did not want to kill her then both the General of the Right and Left decided to kill a horse in her place. Then they were given a bamboo container of rice and the General of the Right and Left ordered them to go into the jungles.” (“Panraong hanuk mboh nai Taluic siam binai lo di thur tian kieng pamatai o baruw mang panraong iw panraong hanuk mak athau pamatai ka ala nai Taluic wek blaoh panraong iw panraong hanuk brei ka ndai Taluic saong ja Tabaong Alah sa ciet lasei, blaoh panraong iw panraong hanuk pa-ndar nai Taluic saong ja Tabaong Alah ndik cek tapa glai nao nyu je.”)
dissuade the king from angering the spirits can be seen in the *Dalikal Po Ramo*[^10] when the *Panraong Jabuol* and the *Krah Bikar*[^311] (the Chief of the Courtiers) begged him not to cut down the magical tree, *phun kraik*, which protected the kingdom. It is not known how a Cham became a *Panraong Jabuol* as there was little information on the selection processes, though there were other Cham warrior types such as the *Haluw Bilau*,[^312] who served as war leader and aide to the king—very similar to the *Panraong Jabuol*.[^313]

**Ginuer Huer: The Astrologer**

Apart from the *Panraong Jabuol*, the *Po Cam* was also assisted by the *Ginuer Huer*,[^314] the court astrologer, who was also the spiritual adviser to the king.[^315] He had magical powers and was the interpreter of signs from the spirits and from nature.[^316] The astrologer was presented

[^10]: “*Dalikal Po Ramo,*” lines 22-28. “… said the chief of the Courtiers and the General they asked King Po Ramo not to cut down the tree and scatter the Nager, the king heard their pleas and followed the advice of the courtiers, Po Bia Ut (the Vietnamese queen) heard the courtiers successfully persuading the king not to cut the tree and she began to wail in sadness, she said that the king does not love her because she is the daughter of the Vietnamese king who has been abandoned by her parents to become prisoner of the Cham king.” (“Dom krah bikar saong panraong Jabuol lakau di Po Ra Mo juai tak kraik juai marung nager jei, Po Ra Mo peng tuei pantea kraik bikar lakau, Bia Ut hamiiit krah bikar lakau di brei pataopalabuh kraik O mang ngap mang kamruaw hia lo, ndem saong Po Ra Mo kini dahlake li-a di Po jei, Po di hu anit dahlake O dahlake sa urang anak tuluic patao Jek, blaoh sak wa klak Ina Ama mai gam tawak di Po…”)

[^311]: Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 82. *Krah Bikar* is the Chief of the Courtiers or the Chief of Astrologers.

[^312]: Ibid., 519. Cabaton and Aymonier define the *Haluw Bilau* as Halau Balan or General Officers, Ministers and Captains.

[^313]: “*Dalikal Po Sah Ina,*” lines 70-71. “The Haluw Balang of the people participated in an invasion with the Cam but it failed.” (“Ganao paruah haluw ba lang baol bhap dok tuei ma nager Cam masuh saong Cam, baol bhap rai masuh Oh jai saong Po Sah Ina.”)

[^314]: Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 99. The *Ginuer Huer* is the Chief of Astrologers.

[^315]: Brahmanas had always been advisors and religious teachers (*Purohitas*) to Southeast Asian kings. The Cham use of this important functionary in the court was therefore a clear example of a continuation of older practices. Lawrence Palmer Briggs, “The Syncretism of Religions in Southeast Asia, Especially in the Khmer Empire,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 71, no. 4 (1951): 234. See also Miksic’s definition of the Purohita and Brahman in Miksic, *Dictionary*, 143.

[^316]: For a fascinating discussion on ancient calendrical systems of Southeast Asia, refer to J. C. Eade, *The Calendrical Systems of Mainland South-East Asia* (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1995).
through various different names such as Huer, Ginuer Huer, Ginuoer Huer and Po Nahuer and was the most powerful of all the religious dignitaries in the Cham court. The knowledge of the astrologer seemed to be based on spiritual and supernatural knowledge and among the more interesting roles of the Ginuer Huer was to provide advice on childbearing. In the Dalikal nai palak tangin, the Huer gave advice to a Cham couple to pick a cucumber (traong) and eat it at home so that they would soon conceive. He also helped a childless king in the Akayet Inra Patra and told him to place a golden dragon flower in the center of a lake, which resulted in the king having many children.

The astrologer was also consulted when the ruler was ill and this is described in the Dalukal baol khap di anak patao, where the astrologer was summoned to the palace to explain the ruler’s mysterious eye affliction and to suggest a cure. Another function of the Ginuer Huer was to serve as the ruler’s advisor, as in an episode where the Ginuer chose three Cham to rescue Queen (?) Po Sah Ina from the Patao Jek (Vietnamese king) who was away in China. The astrologer interpreted mystical phenomena for the ruler, as is recounted in Dalukal Mu Kajaong.


According to Po Dharma’s reading of CAM 80 (4), the Ginuer Huer was at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the Po Parmagru, Po Demagru, Po Danagru, Po Yang Tapah, Po Sri Tapah, Po Ala Tapah, Po Saban, Po Diyann, Po Kaila and Po Ganvar bac. Refer to Po, Le Panduranga, 52, footnote 61. These categorizations were also discussed in 1907 by Durand, “Notes Sur.”

“Dalikal Nai Palak Tangin,” lines 1-4. “Once there is a couple who has been married a long time but they do not have children. Then they decided to consult the astrologer, the astrologer said that if they want children, they have to eat cucumbers.” (“Tak di kal Ong su muk tok gep mang dara tel tueh oh hu anak, baruw Ong su muk nai gleng di huer, huer lac mayah Ong sa muk kieng ka hu anuk, nao duah bi hu traong sa drei sa car, min traong nan sa dhan hu 7 baoh, paik baoh traong ba nao sang mbeng, blah ngap dua baoh duk caik thei thei ndih, nan hu anuk jei.”).

Landes, “Dalukal Baol Khap.”

where the Ganuer Huer was called upon by the king to explain the significance of a golden tortoise (kura). This was similar to the role played by the astrologer in the Dalukal patao di hu anak o, where the Huer gave magical advice - “the astrologer (opened) the book and (looked) at the words from written materials” (ganuer huer peh tapuk gleng anyar akhar). The astrologer could also be a moral adviser to the Cham king: In the Ariya Po Phaok The, written in 1835, an astrologer named Huer Darjimah consulted the sakkarai (history) and informed the Cham ruler that he needed to go to Mecca to consult Allah in order to learn how to restore Nager Cam to its former glory.

These sources reveal that the astrologer was a crucial member of the Cham court and his knowledge was based on his reading of tapuk or books. According to Po Dharma there are many manuscripts about the astrologer in French libraries and they have yet to be researched. However, even though these texts contain the knowledge of the astrologer, they are highly complex, cryptic and inaccessible. Among the texts that are currently in my possession is one that explains the astrological symbols of the human body, but the information is highly esoteric and not easily understood even by Cham today. These texts are legacies of the knowledge of the astrologer which has since disappeared but who was once a very powerful figure in the court of Champa.

321 Landes, “Dalukal Mu Kajaong.”
322 Landes, “Dalukal Patao Di Hu.”
324 Ibid. The astrologer became especially important during periods of crisis for Nager Cam. Lines 131 to 136 highlight the existence of a Huer named Dar Jamah.
325 This author’s personal communication with Po Dharma, Kuala Lumpur, 2012.
The astrologer was essential to the ruler in many ways: He provided insights into the supernatural, was the authority on mysterious signs and ailments (especially for childless couples), and offered personal advice in matters of great importance to the ruler. There is no mention of the materials of the book that the Ginuer Huer used or how one became an astrologer. This seems similar to books consulted by bomohs and other sacred personages throughout the Malay archipelago. Similar examples can be seen in the Pawang and Dukun in Malaya (Malaysia), Bali and Java. The books contain not only information on agricultural activities but also other religious and spiritual activities. As in the Cham case as well, the knowledge is esoteric and can only be understood by the members of the group trained to use and read such materials.

Other Lower Ranking Religious Elite: Po Gru & Po Dhia

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326 Landes, “Dalukal Baol Khap.” It is a story about a man in love with the King’s daughter. The lover died, but his liver was kept. The king fell ill one day and the astrologers said that he must wash his face with the man’s liver. This was done with the liver of the man who died.

327 Nancy K. Florida, Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: History as Prophesy in Colonial Java (Durham (North Carolina) & London: Duke University Press, 1995), 3-5. Her works try to make sense of Javanese manuscripts, such as the Babad Jaka Tingkir, written either in 1829 or 1849, found in the Surakarta archives in a volume of correspondence of Pakubuwana VI (1823-1830) which contains prophesies.

328 Many parallels can be drawn with the knowledge of Malay bomohs in this regard who, are equipped with oral and textual knowledge on agricultural, birthing, and healing ceremonies of various types. For more information, refer to the translations of many magical manuscripts acquired from Malay bomohs in the appendix of W.W. Skeat, Malay Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsular (London: Taylor & Francis, 1965). For an excellent historiography of British colonial research on Malay magic, refer to Robert L. Winzeler, “The Study of Malay Magic,” Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 139, no. 4 (1983): 435-458. For an excellent work on the Balinese priest hierarchy such as the Pamangku, Padanda, Amangku Dalang, Senggahu, Balian and Dukuh, and how they use both oral and textual forms of magical knowledge, refer to C. Hooykaas, Religion in Bali, Iconography of Religions, Section Xiii, Indian Religions (Leiden, Brill, 1973). For an excellent work on the role of Dukuns in Javanese society, refer to Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
Apart from the *Ginuer Huer*, there were other types of religious elite mentioned in the *Dalukal* and *Ariya*, but they were not as close to the ruler as compared to the astrologer.\(^{329}\) They performed functions related to Cham ritual and ceremonial life, and sometimes they contested the power of the astrologer for reasons that I am not able to ascertain yet. In the *Dalukal Ja li-aula*,\(^{330}\) an astrologer (*Po Nahuer*) told a boy that he was going to die in a month’s time and to prepare for his end. The boy then met an *Ong Gru* (a religious teacher) in a village, who told him that he had performed many good deeds and it was wrong for a righteous man to die. This story contains one of the few instances where the *Ong Gru*\(^{331}\) actually contested the interpretations of the *Ginuer Huer* and may reflect memories of the rivalry of two factions in the Cham court - one Brahmanic and the other, Muslim.\(^{332}\) The *Gru* in several *Dalukal* are adept at spells (*sunuw*)\(^{333}\) and performing of rites (*ricaow*),\(^{334}\) and it appears the basis of the *Gru’s* power derived from

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329 There were other ministers in charge of the rice paddies and granaries of Nager Cam. These were the *Ganuor Hanu Padai* or Minister of the Rice Fields, and the *Ganuor Galang Padai* or Minister of the Royal Granaries. However, there is very little information on them. Aymonier, *Légendes Historiques*, 185.

330 "Dalukal Ja Li-Aua."

331 For further explanation on the types of *Gru*, refer to Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 109.

332 Cooke’s work on French observations on the Cham reveals that the French noted the presence of Moors in the Cham areas by the 17th century, but the Moors practiced an unorthodox form of Islam. Reference: Cooke, "Later-Seventeenth-Century," 38, footnote 88.

Manguin mentions that at least one of the Cham sovereigns converted to Islam in the late 17th century, and that the Islamization was partial and not definitive. Observations of Admiral Cornelius Matelief who harbored for 10 days in Champa show that the Cham king was still a pagan (he adhered to Cham religious practices), but the dignitaries that came board were “orang kaya” and Muslim. Some parts of the Cham population seem to have converted to Islam, according to European travelers’ accounts and French missionary observations in 1640, 1665, 1675 and 1685. In all these reports, the Cham were not total converts. They still practiced ancient Cham religion and customs in the 17th century. For more information, see Manguin, "Introduction," 18-23.

The influence of Islam has also been bolstered by connections across the “Sea of Malayu” which highlight the ease and possibility of cross-cultural exchange and historical interactions across communities from the coast of Champa to Aceh. See Leonard Y. Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 22-29.

For Po Dharma, elements of Islamic culture were brought in by Malay travelers from the 17th century and not Arab voyagers. This can be seen in Cham literature that portrayed the arrival of Islam in Campa as the work of the Malays rather than the Arabs. This highlights the processes of “Malaysiation” rather than Islamization. For more information, refer to Po Dharma, “L’insulinde Malaise Et Le Campâ.” Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient 87, no. 1 (2000): 183-192.

333 Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 475. It is similar to “tanau” or “thanau,” which includes books of divination, the science of the occult and magical formulae.

334 Ibid., 417. *Ricaow* means ritual cleansing and ablation.
localized Islamic personages such as Po Ali, Po Rasolak and Po Aluah.\textsuperscript{335} The *Gru* were also consulted by Po Birthuer, a Cham king, on spiritual and magical matters. Different types of *Gru* are mentioned in the Cham sources, such as the *Gru Urang* (Guru of the house), *Gru Praong* (head guru) and *Po Thia* (Adhia, Dhia or head Brahman priest).\textsuperscript{336}

The role played by the lesser Cham religious elite can be seen in the *Ariya Po Ceng* which describes the political situation of the Panduranga ruled by the Cham king Po Saong Nyung Ceng or Po Ceng from 1799 to 1822.\textsuperscript{337} The *Ariya Po Ceng* belongs to the collections of EFEO. A microfilm was made in the Phanrang Cultural Center in 1974 and it has been studied in detail by Po Dharma in his dissertation.\textsuperscript{338} The original manuscript has no date or origin. There are several copies of the *Ariya Po Ceng* in various libraries in France and in the personal collections of Dr Thanh Phan. The text reveals the existence of the Cham religious elite who played an important function in Cham society and were therefore seen as valuable by Minh Mang. In the *Ariya*, Minh Mang sent a letter (*harak*)\textsuperscript{339} or envoy to the governor of Bình Thuận\textsuperscript{340} and ordered him to gather all information about the customs (*adat*) of the Cham, their religious elite such as the *Ginuor* (astrologer), *Acar* (lowest ranking priest of the Cham Bani) and *Basaih* (Cham Brahmanic priest of the Cham Awal), and to force them to explain everything

\textsuperscript{335} See "Dalikal Nao Magru." In it, Po Rasolak gave the gift of writing and knowledge to an *Acar*, a minor Cham priest.
\textsuperscript{336} "Hadip Pathang," lines 82-85.
\textsuperscript{337} "Ariya Po Ceng Cam."
\textsuperscript{338} Po, *Le Panduranga*, 18-88. Po Dharma’s study of Cam Microfilm 17 (1) can be found in Tome II of the dissertation, Annexe 1.
\textsuperscript{339} "*Harak*" is similar to the Malay term "*surat*" or "*letter."
\textsuperscript{340} According to Po Dharma, this is the Cham corruption of the Vietnamese term "*Tran Thu*" or "Governor of Province." See Tome II, page 44, footnote 35, in Po, *Le Panduranga*. 
they knew about the Pleiades constellation (bingu rung), Venus the morning star (patuk guh), and the turtle star (patuk kara).

The constellations were important to the Cham in rice farming as well as maritime activities. The Pleiades constellation was important to various ancient agricultural communities as they indicated the times for rice harvesting and planting. Madhu Bazaz Wangu believes that for ancient communities such as those in the Indus valley, the Krttikas (Pleaid) group of stars marked the beginning and end of the seasonal year and determined the seasons for planting and reaping. Careful observations were made and recorded in Sanskrit scriptures. The Jarai (an Austronesian-speaking peoples who lived in the Central Highlands) also placed great importance on the constellation known as the “Seven Maidens” (Pleaid) in the cultivation of rice as the appearance of these stars denoted periods for harvesting rice. The constellations were also important in traditional societies in the Philippines as ancient healers of the Philippines used the constellations as a calendar to dictate the schedule for planting and harvesting and also for hunting and fishing. The Pleiades and Orion were the only two constellations consulted by the Balinese, who used them to keep careful track of the years and months. Bugis sailors used

341 Ibid., 53.
342 Ibid.
343 Ibid.
344 There is a question about Cham agricultural productivity in the Cham realm. Chinese sources indicate that the Cham had quick growing “floating rice” that the Chinese adopted in southern China. However, the major problem faced by the Cham was the lack of space for extensive rice cultivation compared to the vast areas available to the Khmer and northern Vietnamese in the Red River delta. For more information, refer to Tarling, Cambridge, 255.
the Pleiades and other constellations to navigate, while the Malays waited until the appearance of the constellation of Pleiades in October to begin the sowing of rice. Not much is known about the role of the Pleiades (bingu rung) and other constellations in Cham society, but one can assume they were used in a similar fashion as other societies in maritime Southeast Asia.

Minh Mang’s attempts to know more about Cham ceremonies that cure diseases, especially the Rija (ceremonies done for various purposes, the most important ones being the Rija celebration to cure sicknesses), did not result in the Basaih and Acar giving detailed answers. This is curious since the religious elite knew much. They explained that this was ancient knowledge which they did not know how to describe. All they could say was that the Cham had their adat, and to practice it was to bring health. This refusal to reveal such information can be taken as a desire to resist Vietnamese attempts to collect Cham knowledge. However, this knowledge was ultimately preserved as the knowledge to perform important ceremonies such as the Rija which still exist today. This shows there was an understanding by the Vietnamese that the Cham religious elite of the Ahier and Awal had much knowledge crucial for maintaining the social and economic integrity of Cham society and was thus coveted. Their roles and knowledge will be discussed further in the latter sections of this chapter and especially

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353 Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 417.

354 “It was asked how many conceal the Rija?, how it was done? The Basaih and Acar said that the Cham have their adat but it is very old and we do not know of its origins.” (“Bither mangap yang rija, hu siber ka kajep biséh [basaih] acar lac Cam hu adat, ngap yau nan blaoh kajep, mang liwik mang kal merai.”) Reference: “Ariya Po Ceng Cam,” line 37.
in the next chapter. It must be said however, that the other lower-ranking religious elite in Cham society such as the Po Gru, Po Dhia, Maduen, Ong Ka-Ing, Camenei, Kadhar, Basaih and Acar would become the most important group that was ultimately responsible for the continuity of Cham society and its culture after 1832 as they were not removed from Cham society.

From Maritime to Agricultural Society: The 17th to the 19th Century

From describing the various types of Cham groups that existed in Nager Cam before its gradual decline, the rest of this chapter will address the transition of Cham society from a maritime to an agricultural one.\textsuperscript{355} This is crucial in further contextualizing the developments that happened to Cham society after 1835 and especially during the French colonial period in later chapters. Though the Dalukal and Ariya manuscripts have very limited information on navigation and ships of the Cham, this was a major preoccupation in Cham history. They do contain sparse though tantalizing information that allude to a history of Cham participation in maritime trade and the communities that they engaged with. There are keywords in the manuscripts that highlight the existence of maritime activities, such as Ganuer Ahaok (lord of the ship)\textsuperscript{356} and pabah lamanga (port, estuary),\textsuperscript{357} but they are only briefly mentioned. The legacy of

\textsuperscript{355} For an intriguing discussion (especially her response to Charles Wheeler in page 676) and description of the importance of the sea and maritime activities in many pre-colonial Southeast Asian societies, refer to Barbara Watson Andaya, “Presidential Address: Oceans Unbounded: Transversing Asia Across ’Area Studies,’” The Journal of Asian Studies 65, no. 4 (2006): 669-690.

\textsuperscript{356} Landes, “Dalukal Cei Balaok La-U.”

\textsuperscript{357} “Dalikal Klau Adei.” Mention of “Lamanga,” or “port” or “estuary,” can be found in line 3: “Two brothers discussed, the parents create wealth with having a port,” or “dua adei sa ai lakei biai gep, Ina Ama drei ngap ganup mada atu lamanga.” This line has been discussed with much interest among my Cham informants, because line 4 and 5 did not really elaborate and focused instead on the brothers’ acquisition of a buffalo in their activities. However, it does give a sparse inkling of what a port or estuary meant to the Cham in the past – in this case, a place to make wealth.
historical exchanges with the Middle East can be seen in the myth of Po Riyak (lord of the waves and the Cham version of the Prophet Nabi Muhammad) who lived in Mecca.\textsuperscript{358}

According to Isvan Tuyen Quang’s fieldwork dealing with Cham oral histories gathered from Cham villages of Ninh Thuan, the Cham had a divinity called Po Tang Ahaok. His name meant the Lord (Tang) of the boat (ahaok or gilai) of the sea (tasik or thathik). This divinity was often mentioned in the *Rija Nagar* of the Cham. Historical relationships with the Malay world can also be found in the *Nai Mai Mang Makah* (“The Princess that Came From Kelantan”).\textsuperscript{359} Despite the sparse information from the Cham manuscripts, there is ample evidence from other sources that prove that the Cham were once major players in Southeast Asian maritime trade and related activities.\textsuperscript{360} This will be shown in the following sections.

The presence of the Cham in the northern areas of Champa was noted by Charles Wheeler who mentioned that the territory south of the Hai Van Pass continued to be occupied by Cham after the conquest of the southern part of Quang Nam (Chiem Dong) to the Thu Bon Basin.


\textsuperscript{359} Po et al., *Nai Mai*.

\textsuperscript{360} Maritime trade was greatly important to the Cham from the 10th to 12th centuries. This can be attested to in Chinese sources that mentioned extensive trade with the Cham during this period. For more information, see Geoff Wade, "An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900-1300 C.E.," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2009): 242-244. Refer also to the Malay world conceptualization of the relationship between *Darat* (land) and the *kepulauan* (Islands). The Cham have similar terms for island (*Pulo*), however, there is no mention about Cham perspectives of islands in the manuscripts, or even mention of Pulo Condore (Côn Sơn Island), located off the coast of southern Vietnam, an important area for the British, French and Vietnamese in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, there are terms like “*tathik*” (the sea), “*riyak*” (waves) and “*tanah*” (land). For more information, refer to Andaya, “Presidential.”

According to Captain James Cook, Pulo Condore was a island of calabashes (“Condore” is a calabash). It was described as a good place for the anchoring of ships because of its deep waters. For more information, refer to James Cook, *The Three Voyages of Captain Cook Round the World: With a Map of the World, a Portrait, and a Memoir of His Life* (London: J. Limbird, 1824), 628.
from 1401 to 1644.\textsuperscript{361} This is an important clue explaining continued Cham dominance in maritime trade before 1832. Even in the 15th century, the Cham were still known for being dominant in maritime trade. Arab traders referred to the “Cham sea” (al-bhar al-sanfi).\textsuperscript{362} Evidence from the famous Bas reliefs of the Bayon, Cambodia, highlights Khmer memories of Cham naval attacks in the late 12th century.\textsuperscript{363} Cham maritime trade also included the slave trade which Wheeler describes as being rather extensive and very profitable to the Cham, to the extent of them being one of the primary suppliers of slaves to China. A source from the Song Dynasty in the 12th century called Lingwai daida states that Cham vessels transported slaves to markets in Giao Chau and Guangzhou.\textsuperscript{364}

The naval attacks by the Cham king, known to the Vietnamese as Che Bong Nga, were greatly feared by Annam. The first attack on the Vietnamese was carried out from the sea in 1361.\textsuperscript{365} Malay records also contain references to nakhoda Cempa (Cham captain of the ship) present in Malay courts attesting to the importance of the Cham in the maritime trade of Melaka.\textsuperscript{366} Ming records of the 17th century note that Champa was still the place where wealthy Chinese traded and made good profits from maritime trade.\textsuperscript{367} Spanish sources mention the

\textsuperscript{362} For more information, refer to Eric Tagliacozzo, \textit{Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, Movement, and the Longue Durée} (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), 31. For an excellent synthesis of Champa’s maritime connections to other Malay polities, refer to Chapter 1 in Andaya, \textit{Leaves}, 18-48.
\textsuperscript{364} Wheeler, \textit{Cross-Cultural}, 125.
\textsuperscript{365} For more information, refer to Lockhart and Ky, \textit{The Cham}, 187.
\textsuperscript{366} Ahmad, \textit{Sulalatus Salatin}. See line 15 for “nakhoda Cempa.”
damaging piratical activities of the Cham in 1595.\textsuperscript{368} Cham maritime activities would not have been possible without the existence of skilled seafarers able to read stars and the conditions of the winds and the sea.\textsuperscript{369}

The Cham even had trade relations with Iberian powers in the 16th century and the Cham king was strong enough to seize a Spanish ship with all cargo on board.\textsuperscript{370} A 16th-century Spanish account noted not only a functioning Cham court, but also a vigorous people and vibrant society engaged in many festivals and cultural activities that included tiger and elephant hunts in which the Cham king participated.\textsuperscript{371} The following section relies extensively on Charles Ralph Boxer’s 1595 description of the Cham by the Spanish as it contains detailed information on the dependence of the Cham on the sea and the centrality of the Cham king in rituals and ceremonies.\textsuperscript{372}

Champa is described as a land which was very fertile in foodstuffs, oxen and cows. Barter trade predominated and there was a system of justice headed by the king and the court. Apart from the king, there were also four mandarins that administered the kingdom. The Cham divided the year into six festivals. In the first festival, which took two months, the people paid

\textsuperscript{369} Gene Ammarell, \textit{Bugis Navigation} (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1999).
\textsuperscript{370} For Iberian activities with the Cham in the 16th century, refer to Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Études Cam. Iv. Une Relation Ibérique Du Campa En 1595," \textit{Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient} 70, no. 70 (1981): 253-269; Briggs, "Spanish Intervention," 135. According to Briggs, a Spanish captain named De Vargas reported on September 30, 1593 that his ship was seized by the Cham king with all its cargo.
\textsuperscript{371} Cham settlers were still around in the Hoi An region in 1695, based on Chinese sources, but they were absorbed into Vietnamese culture and society. Reference: Wheeler, \textit{Cross-Cultural}, 81-82.
tribute to the king, who then used the tributes to perform rites to the ancestors. Races were part of the festivities, using animals called “carabao” (probably buffaloes) and horses.\textsuperscript{373}

The second festival lasted around two months as well. The Cham spent their time singing in a square, possibly part of a palace compound where the king lived. Banquets were also held there and at night. The Cham organized plays “depicting the customs rites and dresses of other lands adjoining their own.” The third festival is of great interest in the source because it shows that maritime activities were still very much part of Cham society and was given royal recognition. The Cham fished in the sea for two months. The king was first to cast the net, followed by his ministers. The Cham caught enough fish for a year and fermented them.\textsuperscript{374}

The fourth, fifth and sixth festivals centered around the Cham king. In the fourth festival, the Cham celebrated the king’s return from the fishing activities with a display of lights day and night, and the king’s participation in races. The fifth celebration involved king hunting elephants with the nobility, assisted by 500 to 600 “Indios” (highly probable that these were ethnic minorities). The elephants were killed for their ivory and female elephants used to trap the males. The sixth and last celebration was the tiger hunt. The Cham had great banquets and participated in much drinking to make noise to attract tigers. They then tied buffaloes to trees to trap tigers and kill them. The Cham king participated in the hunt. There are also descriptions of Cham royalty bathing in human gall (for unknown reasons) and the cremation of the dead.\textsuperscript{375}

These descriptions show that the Cham in 1595 were still engaged in activities very similar to other kingdoms in Southeast Asia. The king was the most celebrated figure. The

\textsuperscript{373} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{374} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{375} Ibid.
Cham, and their king, viewed maritime activities as important as the king was the first to throw the net into the sea. Land-based activities were also a feature of Cham society and these activities reflected a functioning and very vibrant Cham society. This can explain why Champa could allocate military resources to support its ally in need; it still had political and military power in the 16th century to send troops to the Sultan of Johore in 1594.376

This military strength based on maritime power made it possible for Champa to continue repulsing attacks from the king of Cochinchina. According to Christopher Borri (1583-1632)377, an Italian missionary who arrived in Cochinchina in 1617 or 1618 and lived in Qui Nhon378, the king of Cochinchina waged continual war with a kingdom called Renran379, but they were always repulsed by the Cham.380 This was an important observation about the military and by extension the naval strength of the Cham in the 16th century. Even the Chinese still regarded the Cham as a useful military asset in plans to attack Ava (Burma). A Ming entry dated April 12, 1604 shows that the Ming considered the Cham to be militarily strong and expected Cham participation in the attack of Ava (Burma) along with Siam and Bo-Ni.381

The Cham were also active in establishing new trade contacts and even had relations with the Siamese court. An ambassador of Champa presented himself at the Siamese court in 1617.

377 For further accounts of Borri’s observations of Vietnamese society, see Catherine Jami and Luís Saraiva, The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552-1773): History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia III (Singapore: World Scientific, 2008), 161-186.
379 The name was probably derived from the main river Da Ran located in the province of Phu Yen. Ibid., page 94, footnote 19.
381 Wade, "Southeast Asia."
and this led English traders to send a ship to Champa with goods. The Cham king treated the traders well and allowed them to trade freely in all parts of the kingdom. Main goods traded were gamboges (a resin), benzoin and eagle wood. The area where trade was conducted was “Paria” (an area north of Vung Tau in southern Vietnam) in Champa. Trade with the English seemed to be highly sought by the kings of Cochin China, Siam, Cambodia and Champa who greatly desired trading ships. Cham maritime prowess was noted by Alexander de Rhodes, who said that Nguyen rulers were always worried about Cham attacks in 1639 and this was why they placed many galleys in Ran Ran (Phu Yen) to prevent Cham maritime attacks. This is evidence of the military and economic vitality of the Cham in the 17th century.

Even so, the Cham king was forced to pay tribute to the Vietnamese in 1685 and 1686, which consisted of elephants, buffaloes, calambac and eaglewood. He also had to give ivory to

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382 Siam was mentioned as “Thiem” or “Siem” as a place of “selling” for the Cham or “pablei.” Reference: “Ariya Cei Dalim,” line 2.
383 John Anderson, English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century (London: Routledge, 2001), 66. Goods were sent to Champa by Peter Hall and John Ferres. The ship was manned by Japanese, hired at Ayuthia and Bangkok.
387 According to Andrew Hardy, eaglewood was also known as agarwood, aloeswood, aloes, garuwood and calambac, and prized for the making of perfume, medicines, and preparing bodies for cremation. The finest quality eaglewood came from Champa. For more information, refer to Chapter 4, “Eaglewood and the Economic History of Champa and Central Vietnam,” in Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, Archaeology, 116-117.
According to Danny Wong, in 1653, Nguyen Phuc Tan destroyed an invading Cham force of 3000 soldiers under the leadership of the Cham king Po Nraup who reigned from 1652 to 1653. It led to the annexation of Cham territories north of what is today Phanrang and also established a pattern by which the Cham king had to give tribute to the Nguyen lords.

Despite this, Cham maritime prowess persisted and in 1687, William Dampier encountered two small vessels, one of them laden with rice and lacquer. One of them from Champa had 40 crew members bound for Melaka. The Cham sailors also had broadswords, lances and guns attached to the swivel. They were “idolaters, natives of Champa, sociable, not fearful or shy and neat and dextrous ship.” Such ships fitted the characteristics of vessels of mainland Southeast Asia and according to Michael Charney, vessels that hugged the coast or sailed along rivers frequently traversed shallow coastal and river waters. This made it necessary for such river-based ships to be solidly built. As a consequence, such vessels were better able to accommodate small numbers of cannons, as they were able to withstand the shock of firing at other ships. This was compelling evidence of Cham maritime prowess and capacity to conduct armed trade in the 17th century.

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387 François-Timoléon de Choisy, *Journal Du Voyage De Siam*, publisher unknown, 1741, 427. According to Tana Li, this king was Nguyen Phuc Tan, who reigned from 1648 to 1687. For more information, refer to Anthony Reid and Tana Li, eds., *Southern Vietnam under the Nguyen: Documents on the Economic History of Cochinchina (Dàng Trong)*, 1602-1777 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993), 150.

388 For more information, refer to Chapter 3, “Champa as a Contesting Power, 1613-1692,” in Wong, *The Nguyen*, 97-123.

389 W. Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World: Describing Particularly, the Isthmus of America, Several Coasts and Islands in the West Indies, the Isles of Cape Verd, the Passage by Terra Del Fuego, the South Sea Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico* (London: Printed for James and John Knapton, 1699), 400-401.

Therefore, the Cham were still a force even after the post-1471 period, but in the 16th and 17th centuries, tensions between the Cham and Vietnamese increased. Nevertheless, the Cham kings established good relationships with the Vietnamese rulers, and in 1694, Nguyen Phuc Chu made the Cham king Po Saktiraydaputih (1696-1727) - or Ke-Ba-Tu in Vietnamese - the native king (Phien Vuong) of Thuan Thanh Tran and required him pay tribute. However, according to Danny Wong, this was the point when “the kingdom of Champa (Panduranga) no longer existed as an independent entity” and “[was] integrated into the Nguyen domains.”

French missionary perspectives, especially those of Benigne Vachet’s observations of the Cham economy and state, noted that the Cham economy was based on exploitation of the seas, marshes and forests and that the Cham ruler was a vassal of the Nguyen. But it is important to note that the Vietnamese “land grab” was done not by the Vietnamese rulers in the 17th century but by thousands of migrating Vietnamese Christians fleeing persecution in the mid-1660s. This paints a much more complex picture about Vietnamese “aggression” against the Cham. In this case, it was Vietnamese escaping aggression rather than a premeditated agenda to grab Cham territory. Vachet further remarked that the Cham king Po Saut was not only politically weak but also economically impoverished, and even the meal the king shared with the missionary was

391 See Chapter 2, “Initial Contacts, 1558-1613,” in Wong, The Nguyen, 67-96, 94-95. Using DNTL (Dai Nam Thuc Luc) sources, he mentions Cham attacks in 1611 in reaction to Vietnamese attempts to expand into Phu Yen. Another attack happened in 1629 on Phu Yen, but failed. In retaliation, the region north of the Phanrang river was annexed and made into a garrison establishing a new front line marking the next phase of expansion after 1471. See page 112 for further information.

392 Wong, “Vietnam-Champa.” According to him, Nguyen Phuc Chu also returned the royal seal of Champa together with captured weapons, horses, and population. Thirty Vietnamese soldiers or Kinh Binh (soldiers of the Imperial City) were sent to protect the new Cham ruler. The Cham people continued to live in small pockets from the region of Quang Nam down to the Pho Hai-Phan Rang-Phan Ri region, where the seat of the Cham court under Po Saktiraydaputih was situated. The ruler’s palace was situated at Bal Chanar, not far from Phan Ri. However, ultimately, the Cham of Panduranga were dissatisfied with Vietnamese administration. There were issues with jurisdiction of law enforcement, trade, trade taxes, slaves and labor contracts, and administrative boundaries.
sparse and unimpressive. In other words, the Cham king was not really able to do anything about the Vietnamese land grab. The gradual Vietnamese control over coastal areas prevented the Cham from taking to the sea, their main source of livelihood and prosperity in the past, and this led to poverty. A case in point is the establishment of the Quang Nam Garrison (Dinh Chiem) in 1602 by Lord Nguyen Hoang at the confluence of the Thu Bon River’s tributaries. This garrison oversaw the market of Cho Cui, which was visited by the region’s local inhabitants and they were only allowed to barter with local Vietnamese merchants. This is evidence of conditions that forced the Cham to focus more on agricultural than maritime activities in subsequent centuries.

With the waning of Cham economic power, the Cham began to be increasingly used by the Vietnamese as a labor source. In the manuscript Ariya Po Ceng (Po Ceng reigned from 1799 to 1822), the Cham were forced to cut wood (tak kuyau) to build warehouses (gilang) and military posts for the Vietnamese. The Cham were also forced to make small boats (ahaok) and sailing ships (ahaok bariyar). This development is interesting because according to Li Tana, the Nguyen had established an extensive ship-building industry which produced ships admired even by Chinese Qing officials in the 19th century. Cham boat-building skills were used by the Vietnamese, while they themselves were being discouraged from going to sea.

Perhaps this can explain why the majority of Cham manuscripts do not have detailed references to Cham maritime activities, even though the Cham were major players in ancient Southeast Asian maritime trade. The reason is that they were written in the 19th century and after the Cham lost control of their ports and the coastal areas. In 1822, the Vietnamese forcibly

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394 Wheeler, Cross-Cultural, p. 84
wrested control of the coasts of Panduranga from the Cham and forbade the Cham from engaging in maritime activities.\textsuperscript{395} The Cham manuscripts reflect this changed consciousness and\textsuperscript{396} hence, there are more references to agricultural work in the Dalukal in which the role of the buffalo (\textit{kubaw}), the maintenance of ricefields (\textit{hamu}), the building of dams (\textit{binak} or \textit{binuk}), and river activities (\textit{kraong}) become more central to Cham identity in the 19th century. The sources now mention the land and not the sea as the major source of Cham wealth.

An example of this orientation can be seen in the Dalukal Ja Kadek Saong Ja Kadop, which tells of two brothers and how one became very poor after the family’s wealth was stolen. The sea as a source of wealth creation is not mentioned and the emphasis is on working the land. Ja Kadek, impoverished, attempted to plough the fields with a cat and dog.\textsuperscript{397} Another story that emphasizes agricultural activity as a means of wealth creation is the Dalukal Dua Adei Sa-Ai Biak Kathaot, a story about two brothers who were truly poor. Tired, working hard at the fields, one of them accidentally slept. Monkeys took him and buried him at a golden mountain. He woke up and gathered the gold and told his brother about it. His brother tried the same thing but was brought to a silver mountain instead.\textsuperscript{398}

\textsuperscript{395} Weber, "Destruction," 171.
\textsuperscript{397} Landes, "Dalukal Ja Kadek."
\textsuperscript{398} “Dalukal Dua Adei.”
18th Century Nager Cam

By the 18th century, the Nguyen dynasty had entrenched itself fully in southern Vietnam.\(^{399}\) Though the Cham king still kept his court in Feneri\(^{400}\) (Phanri), a European account mentions that the “masters of the Cham” were Cochinchinese, and that the Cham king was not seen as rich; he lived in similar areas as the people.\(^{401}\) However, Captain Le Gac of the La Galatee, a French frigate that landed on the Champa coast (highly likely in Panduranga) in 1720, reported a functioning Cham court with a king accompanied by guards, ministers and messengers and the possession of many boats and galleys.\(^{402}\) The Cham king, however, did not impress the captain, who also observed that a Vietnamese mandarin was sitting at the right of the king,\(^{403}\) indicating that the Vietnamese had already become a powerful presence in the Cham court\(^{404}\) and

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\(^{399}\) Wong, *The Nguyen*, 19. His study on the foreign relations of the Nguyen dynasty of southern Vietnam with Champa from 1558 to 1776 provide a crucial context to understand the conditions faced by the Cham political and religious elite and society. There were nine Vietnamese rulers whom he points out as main drivers of the southward expansion: Nguyen Hoang (1558-1613), Nguyen Phuc Nguyen (1613-1635), Nguyen Phuc Lan (1635-1648), Nguyen Phuc Tan (1648-1687), Nguyen Phuc Tran (1687-1691), Nguyen Phuc Chu (1691-1725), Nguyen Phuc Tru (1725-1738), Nguyen Phuc Khoat (1738-1765), and Nguyen Phuc Thuan (1765-1776). For more information on the establishment of the Nguyen as an independent kingdom, refer to Léopold Cadière, "Notes Sur Quelques Emplacements Chams De La Province De Quàng-Trị," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 11, no.11 (1911): 407-416.

\(^{400}\) Durand, “Notes Sur,” 372. According to him, “Feneri” is “Phanri.”


\(^{402}\) Ibid.

\(^{403}\) Ibid., 430. The Cham king’s audience hall was supported by pillars of red wood. The King’s throne was a foot stool and covered with a carpet. Behind the king was a screen of Chinese varnish or lacquer. The king wore a robe of black damask which was embroidered with gold, mixed with mother of pearl and had many clasps. A fine piece of calico adorned the bottom with gold fringe. The king’s crown was of red cloth, without any precious stones, and ringed with gold. He wore boots. The king’s guard consisted of 12 men clad in red silk, with red turbans. They had sabres with gold handles. On his left were four Cham ministers dressed like the king, but with no boots, and they had their own guards. To the right of the king was a Vietnamese minister and other Cham ministers. They were another 200 officers present.

\(^{404}\) According to Danny Wong, the shift of dependence from the north in the 18th century made the Nguyen act like overlords in dealings with its neighbors. For more information, refer to Wong, *The Nguyen*, 20.
they even had the power to appoint Cham kings in the 18th century.\textsuperscript{405} This obviously created much resentment among the Cham and led to a rebellion in 1728.\textsuperscript{406}

A pattern of rebellion and further undermining of Cham territory and political strength characterized Cham-Viet relations in the 18th century and by 1795, a French missionary noted that the Chams were considerably weakened. The French missionary Lavoue commented that Binh Thuan, or the kingdom of “Ciampa” (Champa) no longer had a king and had become a province of Cochinchina.\textsuperscript{407} However, this does not reconcile with Aymonier’s information from Cham manuscripts about the existence of Po Lathun who reigned from 1793-1799 (see footnote 182). On the other hand, we can assume that this king was so insignificant and powerless because he was selected by the Vietnamese that it created no impression on the French missionary. While the deteriorating state of Cham affairs was ongoing, the situation was exacerbated by Cham assistance to the Tay Son in the 1780s, which may have resulted in the punishment of the Cham king.\textsuperscript{408} Cham manuscripts also indicate major rebellions in 1796 under the leadership of a Cham from Kelantan named Tuen Phaow, who returned home after being wounded.\textsuperscript{409}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Lords appointed by the court of Hue: Po Rattirai da putih (1735-1763), Po Tathun da moeh rai, (1763-1765), Po Tithun da paguh (1765-1780), Po Tithun da paran (1780-1781), Chei Krei Brei, (1783-1786), Po Tithun paran (1786-1793), Po Lathun (1793-1799), Po Ceng (1799-1822). For more information, refer to Aymonier, "Légendes Historiques," 152.
\item See Po, \textit{Le Panduranga}, 71.
\item For more information, refer to the letter of M. Lavoué writing from Cochinchine on May 13, 1795 in Léopold Cadière, "Documents Relatifs À L'époque De Gia-Long," \textit{Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient} 12, no. 12 (1912), 34.
\item Dutton, \textit{Tây Son}, 91-92. Dutton was not suprised that the Cham chose to ally with the Tay Son, as they had suffered much under the Nguyen. He also mentions that the earliest supporters of the Tay Son were a Cham princess, Thi Hoa, and also a Cham “Chuong Co” (Military officer). They gave Cham court regalia as symbols of ritual and material support for the Tay Son in their war against the Nguyen.
\item “Ariya Tuen Phaow.” Tuan Phaow came from Makah (Kelantan). He went to Panduranga in 1796 with several supporters from Cambodia to lead a rebellion against Nguyên Anh and Tây Son. He arrived in Bicam (west of Bal Canar, Phanri) and established his base, fortresses and military training camps. He was also known as Lord Bho Radhik and proclaimed himself Nabi Mohamad’s and Ali’s descendant. In the seventh month of the Cham calendar
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Champa in the 16th to 18th centuries was wealthy, vibrant and still had some degree of political and economic autonomy. Though Vietnamese political and economic influence was strong, Cham rulers could still project some political power. More importantly, accounts from the period also highlight the existence of a lower-level administrative apparatus which survived the instabilities of political rulers and geographic shifts of power.\textsuperscript{410} The beginning of the 19th century marked great changes in Cham political and economic influence. Before 1832, Cham society had already changed from a maritime-oriented society into an agriculturally-based one. The Cham political elite further lost what little political and economic independence they had. Cham society was already weakened as large numbers of Cham escaped to Cambodia even before 1835. According to Mak Phoen, the great migration of Cham people to Cambodia took place in the years 1471, 1692 and 1835. In 1692, 5000 families led by the members of the royal family requested and received protection from the Khmer king Jayajettha III (1677–1709). They were given permission to settle in Oudong, the Khmer capital, and in Thbaung Khmum, Stung Trang, Chroy Changvar and Prek Pra. Another exodus occurred in 1835 when the Cham came under the protection of the Cambodian queen, Ang-Mi (1835–1841).\textsuperscript{411} Yet French missionaries observed the persistence of the Cham cultural community in 1828 and 1829 just before Minh Mang began his campaign against the Cham from 1832 to 1835.

Religious and Cultural Continuity

The Cham religious elite continued their roles as leaders of Cham traditions and cultural life. A 2012 documentary made by Jalan V on the present-day Cham community of Ninh Thuan illustrates the centrality of the Cham religious elite in the organization of the Rija ceremony. Much of what is recited by the Maduen (official musician) and other Cham religious elite is based on oral and written forms of Cham manuscripts that are recited. Verses and chants are recited from memory and the main sources for these are the Cham religious elite.\textsuperscript{412} The Rija is an important ceremony and according to Sakaya in \textit{Lê Hội Của Người Chăm}, more than a source of entertainment, the Rija Nugar ceremony is held for two days and the purpose of this festival is to commemorate and honor the various Cham divinized kings, such as Po Rome and Po Klaong Garai, and their deeds. They are given offerings to provide assistance in preventing disaster and diseases, and blessings for good harvests and health for the people.\textsuperscript{413} According to Po Dharma, it is among the biggest ceremonies that the Cham celebrate. There are three types of Rija ceremonies: the Rija Nagar, which is celebrated by all Cham villages; the Rija Atuv Tasik (celebration of the sea spirits), which is celebrated by certain groups or canuk\textsuperscript{414} (caste), and the Rija Atuv cak (celebration of the spirits of the mountains), celebrated by other groups.\textsuperscript{415}

In other words, the Rija ceremony is a way for the Cham to communicate and pay homage to divine beings central to the protection of Cham society, and is also an important expression of Cham identity and culture. This was probably why Minh Mang wanted to know more about it as it would allow him to exercise greater control over Cham culture and facilitate

\textsuperscript{412} Sawifi, "The Cham."
\textsuperscript{413} Truong, \textit{Lê Hội}, 76-117.
\textsuperscript{414} Cabaton and Aymonier, \textit{Dictionnaire}, 123.
\textsuperscript{415} Po, \textit{Le Panduranga}, 53, footnote 67.
their assimilation. In a 2010 exhibition about Cham culture in Hawaii, among the exhibits was a backdrop made out of cloth and the scenes, painted in the 19th century, show two congregations of Vietnamese and Cham performing together in a Rija ceremony. According to Dr Thanh Phan, this was an attempt to make the Cham culturally Vietnamese in the 19th century as the Vietnamese attempted to combine Vietnamese and Cham performing traditions, such as Vietnamese opera styles, in the ceremony.

What the Rija shows is that the Cham had established cultural systems that maintained Cham identity in Nager Cam. Preservation of these cultural systems was dependent on the survival of the keepers of ritual and ceremonial knowledge. More than just a celebration and paying of homage to the spirits, the knowledge of how to conduct the Rija ceremony and other ceremonies to cure sickness and maintain the health of the community was dependent on such religious elite who often drew upon the powers of benevolent deities. This was crucial in many premodern societies that believed that disease was of supernatural origin and therefore a cure had to be sought in the supernatural world.416 However, in the context of Cham and political fragmentation in the 19th century, these ceremonies became more important as they were a means of reconnecting to the past, especially to the reigns of former Cham kings. They drew upon the rulers’ spiritual power or Ganreh that was associated with Cham kings in many Dalukal texts.

This was similar to how the Balinese sought to restore the protective spiritual powers of their kings. In 1938, Balinese kingship was reconstituted in a ceremony called the Galungan, where the supreme gods and deified spirits of ancient kings were said to have descended to the temple of Besakih. However, for the Cham, the ceremonies were perhaps more important to their society. They ensured the success of Cham agricultural fertility, maintained the memory of Cham historical relationships with the Malays and spiritual connections with the spirits that inhabited the Cham lands and the sea, and was one of the primary ways to reaffirm Cham identity and way of life.

Apart from the knowledge of conducting the Rija ceremonies, the preservation of knowledge of conducting funerals and harvests can also be seen in a similar regard. Cham culture and identity is preserved when the religious elite preserve such knowledge. Knowledge of Cham funerals (gruk ra matai) had crucial social and cultural functions for Cham society before 1832. Some insight into the significance of such knowledge may be gleaned from other Southeast Asian societies. Funeral ceremonies involve the mobilization of cultural and ritual

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417 On September 20, 1906, the Balinese king, his soldiers, officials, wives and children, dressed in ritual white, were killed by Dutch troops. For more information, refer to Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia, Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Asia (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 44.
419 Cham memories of the visit of the Malay prince was re-enacted in a recent Rija ceremony performed for the crew of Jalan in 2012. In this ceremony, the Maduen (the official musician) asked Ibrahim, the Singapore Malay host of the programme, the purpose of his visit to the Cham village. Ibrahim responded in Cham and Malay and upon successful recitation of the lines taught him by the Maduen, the “Malay Prince” was allowed to enter the village. For more information, refer to Sawifi, "The Cham."
420 "Ariya Po Ceng Cam." According to Po Dharma and Nicholas Weber, the Po Ceng ruled from 1799 to 1822. The exact date of the interrogation of the Cham elite cannot be determined, and it could have taken place during the reigns of Po Klan Thu (1822-1828) or Po Phaok The (1828-1832). Whatever the date, it shows that the Cham religious elite were perceived as important to the Vietnamese, as they had knowledge that were deemed important enough. See line 38: “blaoh tangi tel gruk ra matai, biseh [< basaih] acar nyu akhan, adat ca-mbat drei ka,” or “they were asked about the funerals and they answered that these are their adat.”
resources and can therefore confer prestige and status to the families sponsoring them.\(^{421}\) The complexity of Southeast Asian funerals requires the skills of the religious elite, because of the necessity of performing proper rites and ceremonies for various phases of the funeral: Pre-death, pre-cremation, procession to the crematory, cremation, and post-cremation.\(^{422}\) According to Dr Thanh Phan, the Cham Awal and Cham Ahier today have two separate traditions for their funerals. The Cham Awal have been strongly influenced by Muslim ceremonies\(^{423}\) and bury (dar) their dead.\(^{424}\) A ceremony called Padhi\(^{425}\) is performed to send off the dead to join the ancestors (mukhei).\(^{426}\) The Cham Awal burial place is called ghur, which is similar to the term Kubur in Arabic and Malay. The Cham Ahier, on the other hand, cremate (cuh) their dead, and after cremation, nine pieces of bone are selected to be put in a box made of gold, silver, or copper (klong). After the completion of the Padhi ceremony, the bones (talang) are buried, thus sending their owner off to join his ancestors. The burial place of the Cham Ahier is called a kut and each kut holds a row of stone pieces called patau kut.\(^{427}\) These practices involve not only the religious elite such as the Po Dhia (head priest of the Ahier) but also the basaih (minor priests of the Ahier), Po Gru (head priest of the Awal) and the Kadhar (official musician that provides


\(^{423}\) Juan Eduardo Campo, *Encyclopedia of Islam (Encyclopedia of World Religions)* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2010), 251. According to Campo, Islamic funerals are based on the interpretations of the Quran and Hadith. They include the recitation of the testimony of faith or the Shadada before death, and turning the dying person’s face toward Mecca. After death, the body is ritually washed and shrouded. The funeral prayers are performed and the body is carried to the cemetery. The body is buried on its right side with the face turned to Mecca. Burial must be done within 24 hours of death. No coffin is used in the burial and extra room is left in the grave for interrogation by Munkar and Nakir. To prepare the dead for this interrogation, the basic articles of faith are recited at the burial called “talqin.”


\(^{425}\) Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 268. “Padhi,” among other meanings, include “funeral ceremony celebrations” and “funeral ritual meal.”

\(^{426}\) Ibid., 71.

\(^{427}\) Lockhart and Ky, *The Cham*, 341.
music for these rituals). These cultural practices form essential Cham knowledge and underline the important role of the religious elite in maintaining them.

The knowledge of how to conduct rituals that involve the planting and harvesting of rice is also an important way in which Cham culture and identity survive. It was perceived by the Vietnamese to be valuable enough to learn about them. In the *Ariya Po Ceng*, when the religious elite were asked about the prayers recited when they ate rice (*huak padai da-a*), the Vietnamese smiled (*khim klao*) and wrote them down. They also asked about the ceremonies performed before harvesting and about the rituals and prayers after threshing (*pajuak*) the unhusked rice. According to Po Dharma, *tanyrow* means “to plow” and a ceremony was held in the field with the offering of three eggs (*klau baoh manuk*) and three betel leaves to the spirits or *Yang*. Ceremonies of a similar nature were also performed on waste lands (*tanah tabun*). Agriculture was central to the social, cultural, economic and religious life of the Cham of the village (*palet*) and in houses (*sang*) where ordinary Cham or other ethnic minorities lived. The fact that the Vietnamese in the *Ariya Po Ceng* asked the Cham about agriculture and not information about maritime technology is an important clue to suggest that, by the 19th century, Cham society, as the Vietnamese understood it, was primarily agricultural and they did not have

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428 The term for “egg” in Cham is “*baoh manuk*” or literally the “fruit of the chicken.”
430 Ibid., footnote 71.
431 *Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire*, 282. There are several types of *Hamu* for the Cham. *Hamu Kanu* is rice grown in the highlands or dry rice, *Hamu Dhaun* is rice grown in the lowlands or wet rice, *Hamu Baldu* is rice fields in fallow, *Hamu Huan* or *Hamu klak huan* is abandoned rice fields, *Hamu Tanraw* is sacred land, *Hamu Tabun* is forbidden fields or places haunted by spirits.
432 Ibid., 471. There are many types of “*sang.*” *Sang Danauk* is a house or home, *Sang Akiak* is a tiled house, *Sang Hatak Gak* is a thatched house, *Sang Padai* is a rice granary, *Sang Magik* is a mosque and *Sang Thul* is a platform used to support the deceased in funerals.
433 The Cham built houses of bamboo, with an upper floor which was useful during floods. For more information, see Chapter V, “Describes the Kingdoms of Tonquin, and Cochin-China” in Captain Cope, *A New History of the East-Indies: With Brief Observations on the Religion, Customs, Manners and Trade of the Inhabitants, ... With a Map of the Country, and Several Other Copper-Plates, ... By Captain Cope* (Printed for M. Cooper; W. Reeve, and C. Sympson, 1754), 141-142.
knowledge of maritime trade, navigation techniques, boat-building and other skills pertinent to seamanship. This suggests that Cham agriculture may have surpassed maritime activities even before Minh Mang’s centralization policy in 1832.

The centrality of agriculture in Cham society in the 19th century explains why so many of the Dalukal and Ariya have little or at most just a passing mention of maritime trade and activities related to it, even though the Cham were great maritime traders in the past. By the early 19th century, the Cham placed more value on the activities of the hamu and other agricultural activities than on the sea. This can be seen in the Dalukal Ja Mata Plek Likuk⁴³⁴ and the Dalukal Ja Kadek nao ngap matuw.⁴³⁵ The former depicts the humorous adventures of a blind man who pretended to be able to see but mistook another woman for his wife. In the latter, a poorly-educated man pretended to be clever but became entangled in a series of gaffes exposing his social and intellectual ineptness. Like the other Dalukal and Ariya, the main activity of the two main characters in the two Dalukal were mostly rice farming and other related agricultural activities. For the Dalukal that contain mention of the Cham kings, again, buffalo rearing, an agricultural activity was the occupation that most Cham kings participated in before their Ganreh or royal power was identified by the spirits. This shows that the Dalukal and Ariya were mostly written in the 19th century when the Cham had lost much of the capacity to engage in maritime activities.

The Ordinary People: Bhap

⁴³⁴ “Dalukal Ja Mata.”
⁴³⁵ Landes, "Dalukal Ja Kadek.”
The ordinary Cham people of the 19th century called *bhap*\(^{436}\) engaged in agricultural activities that centered around the *hamu*\(^{437}\) or rice field. The preoccupations of the *bhap* centered around the preservation of values and preserving social harmony and in the context of the 19th century, when Cham society experienced great political and social turmoil, the emphasis on maintaining social harmony is understandable. This can be gleaned from the *Ariya Pataow Adat* (*The Story of the Teaching of Adat*), which alludes to the maintenance of social harmony.\(^{438}\) The author of the text, Ja Dhar Po, writes in the introduction that he wished that *Gru Pataow saih* ("the Gru who teaches the students") would become truly good individuals or "*anak ra siam*" by adhering to *adat* or customary law. This text is further evidence that the Cham elite were asserting the need to take *adat* more seriously to maintain social cohesion in a difficult period in Cham history.

The *bhap* consisted of two groups: the Ahier Cham (syncretic Brahmanists)\(^{439}\) and the Awal Cham (syncretic Muslims). This division was thought to have occurred during the reign of Po Rome (1627-1651).\(^{440}\) The 19th century also alluded to a period of tension between the two

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\(^{436}\) Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 361-362. Cabaton and Aymonier view “*bhap*” as the population in general.

\(^{437}\) Ibid., 514.

\(^{438}\) Po, “*Pataow Adat.*” The manuscript has not only the author’s name and date, but also a short introduction about his intentions. The text was copied in 1968 by Ja Dhar Po, an “*urang kaya*” (Rich man) from “nagar Panrang, Bhum Baoh” (Panduranga, Bhum Baoh), and it was presumably from an older text given to Father Gerard Moussay in 1968, who then lived in Bhum Ten Tai.

\(^{439}\) Antoine Cabaton, *Nouvelles Recherches Sur Les Chams* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1901), 8-9. The Ahier Cam are legacies to Champa’s Hindu past; however, the group has indigenized ideas of Hinduism as a basis of its culture and practice. The group practice a localized version of Brahmanism which is practiced exclusively in Annam. It is a religion filled with Sanskrit expressions and observances followed scrupulously. The most important feature of the Brahmanist Cham is that they worship and deify Cham kings who once raised temples and encouraged worship.

\(^{440}\) For more information, see Nakamura’s explanation on the legend about the separation of the Ahier and Awal in *Cias Discussion*, 13.
groups. In the *Ariya Cam Bani*, a Cam Ahier boy and Cam Bani (syncretic Muslim) girl fell in love but committed suicide because of parental disapproval of their relationship.\(^{441}\)

The lack of strong kingly authority can also be a reason to understand the *Ariya Tak Kar saong Bho Dahra*,\(^{442}\) in which the author describes his misfortunes to the Goddess Bho Dahra and beseeches the divinities, including Po Aluah, Po Nabi, and Po Ali, to give him a better life. The author appeals to the gods, and not the Cham king, perhaps indicating the loss of relevance of the Cham king to the *bhap* by then. It appears that the *bhap* relied on religion as solace during the traumatic political and social disintegration of Cham society in the 19th century or earlier. It is not really known who wrote these stories but it would likely be somebody who understood or even witnessed the events that the Cham went through and wished to record Vietnamese actions during that period.\(^{443}\)

Many Cham sources contain lamentations of the *bhap* because of major transformations occurring in their authors’ lives in the 19th century, depicted as highly traumatic. The *Ariya Gleng Anak*, written in 1835, laments the situation of the Cham after Minh Mang’s measures which destroyed the Cham political leadership and undermined Cham culture.\(^{444}\) The writer laments in line 122 that “now I know only pain, to abandon the nager, my eyes are full of tears” or “urakni thuw ka drei duissa, di luic nager thuak yawa, meta bi bak baoh mata.” The loss of the Cham king and Nager caused a Cham to lament in another *Ariya* called the *Ariya Klau Ray*.

\(^{441}\) For more information, refer to Hauva, “Ariya Cham-Bani.” For the lamentations of the two lovers about the state of Cham society as it was dominated by the Vietnamese, refer to "Ariya Thei Mei.” Similar themes of unrequited love between two Cham lovers also occur in "Sep Pahual."

\(^{442}\) “Ariya Tak Kar.”

\(^{443}\) Ibid., 159.

\(^{444}\) The text was copied in the Phanrang Cham Cultural Center in 1968 by a group of Cham intellectuals named Ja Mata Harei, Ja Yaparang, Luw Kuang Thrang, Lem Ya Tin and Thuan Weng Nien. For more information, refer to "Ariya Gleng Anak."
Patao about the fear that the Cham felt as the Vietnamese assumed greater control over Cham society. This can be seen in line 7: “The Cham in Parik Panrang Kraong Pajai, fearful of the Vietnamese who threatened the Cham” or “Parik Panrang Kraong Pajai mai aen, huec ka-nda lo di Yuon, nyu gham Cam di urang.” The Cham, regardless of position in society, were also ordered around by the Vietnamese like buffaloes and this can be seen in the Ariya Thei Mai where it is said in lines 6 to 8 that “the Cam people (the commoners), the Basaih and the Adhia eat their tears, because the Vietnamese order them around. The kingdom is sinful, the Vietnamese people order them around, the Cam are like buffaloes, the Viet people gives them orders and laugh at them” or “anak Cam basaih adhia, mbeng aia mata, yua Yuen pa-ndar, duissak sa baoh nagar, anâk Yuen pa-ndar, Cam yau kabaw, anâk Yuen pa-ndar blaoh klao.”

French Observations

French missionary observations provide vital clues to the transition that Cham society underwent that explain the dominance of the Cham religious elite before and after 1832. The sources that will be discussed come primarily from the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, which contain valuable reports from missionaries active in Cham areas. By the 1740s, MEP missionaries were administering the coastal plains from south of Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, Khanh Hoa and Panduranga due to rivalries with other missionary orders. However, close ties with various Vietnamese rulers allowed the missionaries some space for their activities and by the

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445 “Ariya Klau Rai Patao.” It is the story of three reigns, dedicated to the three famous Panduranga-Champa kings: Po Klaong Garay, Po Bilthuer and Po Romé.
446 “Ariya Thei Mei.” Nicolas Weber reads the sentence similarly, and further verification of the statement has been done with him in personal correspondence.
447 The Annales became very popular in the 1820s and late 1830s as they contain dramatic stories of missionary persecution in Vietnam and China, and other missionary activities. See Cooke, “Catholics,” 263.
year 1805, Bình Thuận had 1000 to 1200 Christians.\textsuperscript{448} A letter from a missionary named Jean Louis Taberd, Cochinchina’s Apostolic Vicar from 1824 until his death in 1840, reveals that in 1828 he went from Hue to Lai Thieu, a journey which took three months, to carry out his religious duties, and also to Cham areas in Bình Thuan.\textsuperscript{449} The next missionary, François Isidore Gagelin, was executed on October 17, 1833\textsuperscript{450} when Minh Mang intensified his persecution of missionaries from January 6, 1833.\textsuperscript{451} According to Byung Wook Choi, in 1826, Minh Mang prohibited all missionary work in Vietnam and ordered all missionaries to go to Hue to work as translators of foreign works. However, only Taberd, Gagelin and Odorico (a Franciscan monk) went.\textsuperscript{452} They were told to work as translators temporarily, but they were arrested and detained. However, Le Van Duyet insisted that they be released and traveled personally to Hue in mid 1828 to secure their release.\textsuperscript{453} Taberd and Gagelin were released and they went to the Cham areas. It is not known where Odorico went but he was banished to the Ai-Lao Mountains (Laos) where he became ill and died on May 25, 1834.\textsuperscript{454}

Taberd wrote a letter dated February 25, 1829 and Gagelin, on March 12, 1829.\textsuperscript{455} Both letters contain valuable information about the Cham\textsuperscript{456} based on travels in Nha Trang and Bình

\textsuperscript{448} Jacob Ramsay, Mandarins and Martyrs: The Church and the Nguyen Dynasty in Early Nineteenth-Century Vietnam (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008), 9-26.
\textsuperscript{449} Ibid., 27.
\textsuperscript{450} Bengal Catholic Expositor (Bengal Catholic Expositor, 1839), 119.
\textsuperscript{451} For more information on the persecution of missionaries, refer to Chapter 1, “Restoration and the Mission,” in Ramsay, Mandarins, 393. See also Brian Stanley and Sheridan Gilley, World Christianities, c.1815-1914 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 517.
\textsuperscript{453} Ramsay, Mandarins, 49.
\textsuperscript{454} Bengal, 119.
\textsuperscript{456} Gagelin stayed in the “remnant Cham kingdom of Panduranga, which also contained some Vietnamese Catholics.” He mentioned that the governor of Champa was in Hue, but could not meet him. Intriguingly, he had
Thuan.\textsuperscript{457} It must be made clear however that the missionaries were primarily trying to convert the Vietnamese and not the Cham. The main objective of traveling to the southern areas of Cochinchina was to administer the Confirmation to Vietnamese Christians because of the lack of sufficient missionaries to administer a growing Christian community in southern Vietnam in the late 1820s.\textsuperscript{458} Coming into Cham areas of Bình Thuận, both immediately noted that a Cham governor was chosen by the Vietnamese to govern the Cham population. This governor derived his authority from the king of Cochinchina: the Nguyen.\textsuperscript{459} Gagelin also commented on the important role played by the religious elite in Cham villages. These two missionary eyewitness accounts affirm that the Cham rulers were appointed by the Vietnamese and were directly under control of the Vietnamese. They also mention the continuing presence of the religious elite in

\textsuperscript{457} Ibid., 392-394. Taberd went to the provinces of Nha Trang and Bình Thuận and it took 15 days of forced march to cross the two provinces. Along the way he administered the Confirmation in the provinces, where the sacrament had not been conferred for 80 years. He had two Vietnamese priests as assistants. Taberd noted that the Cham appeared to have been very powerful in past centuries, and even occupied Cambodia, southern Vietnam (Cochinchina) and the northern areas of Tong King (Tonkin). Taberd had no doubt that the Cham had once dominated Cochinchina as he had seen Cham towers in Qui-Nhon, and walls (possibly fortifications) in Quang Nam and in Dinh Cat. However, the Cham were now relegated to the foothills of Bình Thuận and occupied an area three or four days’ journey in length.

\textsuperscript{458} Christianity was seen as a great threat to the Vietnamese rulers from the early 19th century. Whole Vietnamese villages were converted, and by 1848 there were 68000 converts. However, the Christianity practiced by the Vietnamese was heavily influenced by local culture. For more information, refer to Tarling, \textit{Cambridge}, 204. For a insightful description on how Christianity was perceived by the Vietnamese, refer to Ramsay, \textit{Mandarins}, 27.

\textsuperscript{459} By this time, southern Vietnam (also known as Gia Dinh Thanh) was under the rule of Le Van Duyet (1763-1832), among the most prominent generals in southern Vietnam. He ruled the south until his death in 1832. Reference: Choi, \textit{Southern Vietnam}, 53.
Cham villages and their religious roles and practices, just prior to Minh Mang’s action on the Cham from 1832 to 1835.  

Taberd further remarked in 1829 that the Cham in Bình Thuận were scattered and few in number. He mentioned a member of the royal family who was a very old woman living in Bình Thuận, but noted that the Cham ruler was forced into vassalage and paid tribute of ivory and eaglewood to the king of Cochinchina. This observation tallies with the fact that the Cham king was appointed by the Hue court from 1735 to 1828; secondly, there was a major movement of Cham royalty and much of the population to Cambodia in the 17th and 18th centuries, and thirdly, the Cham were forced to perform hard labor by the Vietnamese before 1829, thus contributing to the movement. However, there are still Cham who remained behind in 1829 and Taberd viewed them as being divided into two classes of different religions. He identified the Cham “Ba-Ni” (Cham Bani or syncretic Muslims i.e., the Cham Awal today) but termed the non-Cham Bani simply as “Cham.” He identified the practices of the Brahmanic Cham who did not eat beef and cremated their dead after keeping the corpse for two or three months. He also noted that the priests of the Brahmanic Cham had titles such as “Ba-Xe” (Basaih) and officiated at cremation ceremonies very much like those still performed among the Cham of today.

According to Taberd, the Priests were served food and given instructions for the cremation ceremony. After burning the corpse, they collected the ashes in a vase and buried it at

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460 Weber, “Destruction,” 163. According to him, before Minh Mang’s removal of the political elite in 1832, Cham rulers still had a semi-independent state in the territory of Panduranga. Cham kings were still seen as legitimate kings, but Weber thinks that they were not fully-fledged rulers from the Hue court’s perspective, but were considered as members of the Vietnamese administration.

461 Annales, 1830, 394.


463 Pereiro, Historical Imagination. 32-39.


465 Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire. The “Pasaih” is the Priest of the Brahmanist Cham.
the foot of a tree. If someone in the family was rich, the ashes would be collected and a temple or shrine built on the location.\textsuperscript{466} This parallels closely with present-day Ahier traditions in Ninh Thuan province as described by Dr Thanh Phan who observes that a person is composed of three parts: \textit{thap} (body or flesh), \textit{suan} (breath) and the \textit{binguk yawa} or \textit{thapsuan} (soul). When a person dies he turns into \textit{Atau} or \textit{Thaopbak} (corpse). The soul or \textit{binguk yawa} will not leave the body until cremation takes place. Once the body is cremated, the family gathers the \textit{talang dhei} (front or forehead bones). The bones are then divided into nine parts and placed in a \textit{klaong} a box made of gold, silver, copper or ceramic depending on the family wealth. The box and the bones will then be buried under the \textit{Patau Kut} or gravestone. The cremation ceremonies involve the \textit{Po Dhia Bac}, the leader of the ceremony, and the \textit{Ong Kadhar}, who sings hymns and plays the \textit{kanhi}. Then lastly, the \textit{Muk Pajau} - the female medium - dances to celebrate the success of the ceremony.\textsuperscript{467}

As for the Cham Awal (syncretic Muslims) in Binh Thuan, Taberd notes that “Ba-Nis” are smaller in number compared to other groups of Cham. They did not eat pork, they loved the sun and the moon, and they consistently talked about a wooden staff that belonged to a man who used it to perform wondrous things. Taberd actually saw the staff, which was about 10 feet long (three meters) and wrapped with a red cloth with yellow dots. One end had a piece of iron an inch long and was regarded as the source of the staff’s powers. Isvan Tuyen Quang, a Cham student currently in the University of Hawaii at Manoa, did research on Cham legends among the Cham in Ninh Thuan in April 2008. He describes a legend among the Cham Bani about a powerful cane spirit. This cane was used by Allah to create the universe and by the Prophet Mohamad to teach the Al-Koran to the Cham. According to this legend, once upon a time, the

\textsuperscript{466} \textit{Annales}, 1830, 394.
\textsuperscript{467} For more information, refer Lockhart and Ky, \textit{The Cham}, 343-345.
people ran out of sandalwood while building mosques. The Po Gru prayed day and night asking Mohamad (The Prophet) for help in locating a sandalwood tree to make the gai bhong (holy staff) for Jamaat (Friday) prayers. Their devotion was rewarded on a beautiful morning when the Po Gru discovers the wood in a lake. He then makes it into a staff and places it in the War Ganrong (sacred area of the mosque).

Head-shaving ceremonies, a sign of piety in Muslim society, were described as taking place every year around April or May, when their priests, called Changs’s (highly likely a corruption of the term Acar), got together in their temples. The Cham priests performed various functions such as the recitation of prayers and the education of Cham youths. They also conducted rituals and ceremonies, such as rain-making, which they performed in the fields. The Cham were described as having simple manners, and peace reigned in the Cham areas. Taberd never heard of fights or murders among the Cham, and they placed high priority on the cultivation of fields.

Taberd’s observations of Cham society are crucial to our understanding of Cham society prior to 1832. The observation that the Cham placed high priority on cultivation of the fields lends further credence to the fact that the restrictive measures of the Vietnamese forced them to focus primarily on agriculture and can explain why Cham manuscripts contain very little references to maritime activities. However, what is perhaps most striking in Taberd’s

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468 The religious life of the Bani community centers on male Acars. The lowest ranked is the Acar followed by the Madin, the Khatip (or “Tip”: one who gives the khutbah or sermon), the Imam, and the highest ranked is the Po Gru (Lord Guru). Upon selection by the family’s maternal line, the candidate must do a ritual bath (ghusl), shave his head and wear a white cloak. He must also spend several months memorizing the Al-Quran (hand-copied books and usually recited aloud) which has been passed down through generations in order to learn the necessary religious rituals. Due to the isolation of the Acars, what is recited and read is not understood. Any Acar who violates the religious rules is asked to atone for it (ngap bah or tawbah) in front of the Po Auloah. For more information, refer to Ba Trung Phu, “The Cham Bani of Vietnam,” American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences 23, no. 3 (2006), 128.
observations is the weakness of the Cham ruler. When Taberd had an audience with him, the king had the “High Priest of the Nation” (possibly the Ginuer Huer) at his side. This may have been the beginning of the religious elite emerging to fill the leadership gap created by the loss of the powers of the Cham ruler in the 19th century.

Gagelin, after his release from Hue, went to Cochin Central (Cochinchina) and administered the Confirmation to various Christian communities “who did not receive Him for over 60 years.” However, after 10 days into his work, he was forced to stay an extra 13 days on the coast of Ciampa (Champa), because of “contrary winds” (probably because of the monsoon). According to Gagelin, Champa’s coasts were inhabited by the Cochinchinese (Vietnamese) but the Cham lived inland. This is an important statement, which reinforces the view that the Cham shifted from maritime to agricultural activities. Gagelin’s observations of the Cham paralleled closely those of Taberd’s and both took special note of the Cham Muslims who abhorred pork, practiced their religion exclusively, and “always [said] Amin.” Religious books were venerated and Gagelin, like Taberd, mentioned the staff venerated by the Cham Bani. According to Gagelin, the staff’s owner was a great man and famous warrior who carried a golden staff used to “stop storms, divide the waters and command the elements.” The Cham kept the stick in their temple (most probably a Sang Magik or Cham version of a mosque) and believed that it could still perform wonders.

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469 Taberd met the Cham governor and the “High priest of the nation” and had a discussion over the creation of the world. The high priest mentioned that according to their books, the world was created by smoke. But when Taberd asked him who had created the smoke, the high priest did not know. The governor then intervened, to relieve the high priest’s embarrassment and to save the honor of his nation since there was a large crowd present. He said that Taberd’s religion was very great but his religion was but small and mean. Taberd then concluded his letter by saying that the missionaries Grillet and Andrew Ngai had tried to preach Christianity to the Cham, but they were unsuccessful. For more information, refer to “Letter of Bishop Taberd, February 29, 1829” in Annales, 1830, 395.

470 Annales, 1830, 358.
Gagelin observed that “Cham temple priests” burnt incense and candles on a table to honor the sky and they remained in their temples for months without getting out (most probably the Awal Cam priests who have such a practice). Like Taberd, he engaged the High Priest in a debate about spiritual issues but ultimately found them “totally ignorant of the greater mysteries.”

This encounter happened as soon as Gagelin arrived in the Cham village and invited the High Priest to come and see him. The High Priest was unwilling to come and so Gagelin went to his home instead. Gagelin described him as very old and the latter was said to be a great doctor among the Cham, but “totally ignorant.” He received Gagelin well and made him sit beside him. There were two other Cham priests there (probably assistants to the senior priest) with a large number of people in attendance.

The conversation between the High Priest and Gagelin lasted nearly an hour and a half. Gagelin asked about the state of the soul after life and the origin of the Cham priest’s religion but he did not obtain “good answers.” According to Gagelin, the High Priest believed in “metempsychosis” (where the soul lived on in other forms after death) and knew nothing of Paradise, Hell or the “larger mysteries.” However, Gagelin did note that the Cham had a writing tradition and so he asked to see a book written by the high priest. A book 200 pages long was shown to Gagelin. He noted that it used two kinds of scripts, namely the sacred characters only understood by priests, and ordinary characters, which were used to paraphrase the meaning of the sacred. To Gagelin there was no difference between them, and they looked to him like Lao letters and the “writing of savages.” Gagelin also saw the High Priest’s calendar which was written on paper and had sections divided into small tiles each marked with characters used to compute “several thousand million years since the world began.”
Gagelin obviously did not understand the calendar but it intrigued him and so he asked the High Priest if he could purchase it. It seemed that the High Priest told Gagelin that “he would rather hang himself” because it was obviously the original. He then told Gagelin that he could make him a copy and that multiple copies existed. Gagelin also said that the book did not mention the Creator but contained instead a jumble of “fabulous features” based on Cham traditions.

The High Priest told him that he had never heard of Christianity until Gagelin arrived in the village. When Gagelin said that he was a teacher of a religion from the West, the High Priest asked Gagelin if he was from Siam and Laos, as he had not even heard of Europe. Gagelin then told him that there was only one true religion that taught “God and the immortality of the soul.” This obviously made little impression, and so Gagelin characterized the High Priest “obstinate in his prejudices” or, in other words, ignorant.

There is no way to know if Gagelin stayed in Binh Thuan or some other area where there were Cham in 1829. However, what is important to note is that the Cham that Gagelin and Taberd observed were very resistant to conversion by missionaries. Vietnamese and French missionary efforts to convert the Cham all failed, which was a testimony to the continuing strength of Cham culture and identity even in the 19th century. However, the most important feature of Gagelin’s observations is the centrality of the religious elite in the Cham village as the keeper of knowledge and traditions.

Taberd’s and Gagelin’s letters described the political, social, and religious situation of the Cham community in 1828 and 1829, just prior to the introduction of Minh Mang’s assimilationist policies in 1832. They corroborated Vietnamese and Cham reports that the Cham
in Binh Thuan had been reduced to vassal status. One significant observation made by both missionaries was that the two religious communities, the Cham Awal and the Cham Ahier, remained steadfast in upholding Cham traditional practices under the direction of the religious elite, who formed the core of Cham cultural and religious life in the 19th century.

Conclusion

Nager Cam was still functioning even after 1471. It had a structure of government not unlike other Indic-influenced polities of Southeast Asia. It had a king, who ruled together with the Panraong Jabuol (the General and War Chief) and the Ginuer Huer (astrologer), and it maintained strong ties with the upland Churu and Raglai people, Nager Laow (China), Patao Laow (Chinese king), Patao Yuon (Vietnamese king), Makah (Kelantan), Siam, and the Malay world. A good Cham ruler cared for his people, possessed Ganreh (spiritual and magical power), erected dams, and established rice fields - features of an agricultural society and the basis for legitimacy to pakreng Nager or “govern the Nager.” He was installed as king at the Bal or capital city and lived in the palace called Madhir with members of the royal household, such as the queen (Po Bia) and the royal children (Anak Patao). The Po Gru and Po Dhia were the Cham religious elite of the Ahier and Awal communities respectively with knowledge of the constellations, information vital to farmers and navigators in determining when to undertake stages of the agricultural cycle and maritime activities. The Cham also sought medical treatment from the religious elite, who performed rituals and ceremonies for therapeutic or prophylactic purposes. Terms dealing with maritime trade and navigation rarely appeared in these 19th century Cham manuscripts, with only the words Ganuer Ahaok (lord of the Ship) and pabah
The lamanga (port or estuary) hinting at what was once the predominant preoccupation of the Cham. By the time these manuscripts were written in the 19th century, the Cham had lost control of their ports and the coastal areas of Panduranga and had been forbidden by the Vietnamese since 1822 to engage in maritime activities.

Prior to 1822, Cham society remained vibrant with many festivals and cultural activities, including tiger and elephant hunts that were royal sports. In the 17th century, it was even successful in repulsing attacks from the king of Cochinchina, and the Chinese regarded the Cham to be a useful military asset in plans to attack Ava. But by the 18th and especially in the 19th century, the Cham rulers were increasingly dominated by the Vietnamese, and French missionary records confirmed the fact that the Cham had been terribly weakened politically and economically. While in general European sources of this period do not contain much positive information about the Cham, reports by the French missionaries Taberd and Gagelin in 1828 and 1829 describe the persistence of Cham cultural community on the eve of Minh Mang’s destructive policies from 1832 to 1835.
CHAPTER 3. THE RISE OF THE CHAM RELIGIOUS ELITE

This chapter will examine the Vietnamese policies against the Cham which resulted in the removal of the political elite from the apex of Nager Cam. The Cham perspective of the destruction of the Cham king and economic and social repercussions to Cham society will also be addressed. It is argued that Minh Mang’s policies only removed the Cham political elite, not the Cham religious elite, and this is verified in Cham and Vietnamese sources. What ensured the continued survival of the Cham religious elite was that rulers after Minh Mang such as Tu Duc and Thieu Tri were not focused on assimilation of the Cham. Under Minh Mang, not only the Cham but other groups were targets of his assimilationist policies, which discontinued under subsequent rulers.

The effects of Minh Mang’s policies were harsh and French missionaries reported the social and economic disruption of Cham society in 1839. However, French missionary and official observations reported that in 1885 and 1889, the Cham in Binh Thuận had no rulers but a thriving cultural community focusing mainly on rice agriculture. This may account for the growing importance of the religious elite, who, as shown earlier, were essential for agricultural activities. Etienne Aymonier and Antoine Cabaton’s early descriptions of Cham society reveal the centrality of the religious elite in the preservation of Cham language, history, culture, and religion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The removal of the Cham political elite and the need for a new leadership among the Cham paved the way for the emergence of the religious elite. The destruction of the political elite
has been well-researched by Po Dharma and Nicolas Weber; Po Dharma’s *Le Panduranga* relies on Cham manuscripts to argue that a Cham political structure still existed in 1835 until the last king of Champa, Po Phaok, was executed because of his support of the Le Van Khoi revolt.\footnote{Le Van Khoi was the adopted son of Le Van Duyet, the general who ruled southern Vietnam until 1831. After his death, the Gia-dinh region (southern Vietnam) was put under Minh Mang’s control. Pro-Minh Mang officials also desecrated his tomb and began to execute 16 of his family members after charging them for corruption. Officials who supported Le Van Duyet began to rally around Le Van Khoi. He then proclaimed support for An-Hoa as the new ruler and even invited the Siamese ruler Rama III to assist in battling Minh Mang’s forces. However, Le Van Khoi was defeated in 1835. For more information, see Chapter 2, “Vietnam and the West” in Mark W. McLeod, *The Vietnamese Response to French Intervention, 1862-1874* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 31; Po, *Le Panduranga*.}

The gradual expansion of the Vietnamese into Cham lands had already led to the conquest of the capital Vijaya in 1471. A remnant of a Cham kingdom continued to exist at Kauthara until 1653, but did not become a dominant political entity again. Panduranga was the last polity to be absorbed.\footnote{Miksic, *Dictionary*, 92.}

Po Dharma’s study is supplemented by Weber’s works examining the reactions of Cham society to Minh Mang’s destruction of the political elite and his attempts to assimilate the Cham.\footnote{Weber, "Destruction."} While both authors use the *Ariya Po Phaok The*, the *Minh Mang Chinh Yeu* (policies of Minh Mang),\footnote{M. B. Hooker, *Laws of South-East Asia, 2 vols* (London; Singapore; St. Paul, Minn.; Butterworths: Butterworth Legal Publishers, 1986), 557.} and the *Đại Nam Thục Luc* (records of the daily administrative activities of the Hue court), they do not focus on the Cham religious elite and the ordinary Cham people (*Bhap*), who did not share the same fate as the political elite. In other words, the Vietnamese tried to culturally assimilate the Cham and Khmer, but did not seek genocide. The Cham religious elite were thus able to become the lodestone around which the Cham community preserved their culture and identity.
Minh Mang and the Decline of the Cham Political Elite

The main protagonist for the decline of the Cham political elite was Minh Mang, who, more than any other Nguyen emperor, adhered to Chinese political norms, including the goal of civilizing the “barbarians” or non-ethnic Vietnamese. Though the Vietnamese adapted the Chinese provincial system with prefectures, districts and an examination system, Minh Mang did much to expand state schools to reinforce Confucian beliefs, and increased the numbers of northern governors in his administration. In other words, Minh Mang desired to emulate a style of rulership very similar to Chinese emperors.

However, these changes were alien to the majority of southerners who had developed different cultural and political norms. This could have resulted from a history of exposure to the southern areas in the 17th century, including those of the Cham. Furthermore, there was a propensity for Vietnamese monarchies, though inspired by Confucian principles, to be greatly influenced by indigenous religious ideas that linked rulers with local spirits and divinities.

While adhering to Confucian ideals, previous Vietnamese rulers also incorporated religious and

476 Woodside, Vietnam, 14. According to him, Ming Mang knew Chinese history very well and could describe in great detail the life of the first Ming Emperor. For more information, see Chapter 1, “Vietnam and China: Acculturation’s Apparitions and Certain Realities Behind Them.”
479 Nola Cooke, "Regionalism and the Nature of Nguyen Rule in Seventeenth-Century Dang Trong (Cochinchina)," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 29, no. 1 (1998), 122-161. According to Li Tana, Vietnamese society in the 17th and 18th centuries thrived outside a Confucian framework. It borrowed from other cultures such as the Cham, and had more similarities to communities in various Southeast Asian areas than northern Vietnamese areas. For more information, see Tana Li, "An Alternative Vietnam? The Nguyen Kingdom in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 29, no. 1 (1998), 111-121.
cultural practices of other communities. Minh Mang, however, was unlike his predecessors and attempted to impose his interpretation of “Chinese” ideas, which resulted in widespread opposition and political instability. An example of this was the Le Van Khoi revolt, which resisted Minh Mang’s policies and his enthronement as emperor. The Cham were suspected of being supporters of the revolt, thus incurring Minh Mang’s wrath and leading to the demise of the Cham political elite.

The Period Before the Intensification of Minh Mang’s Policies: 1824-1827

Vietnamese sources reveal that the major pre-occupation of Minh Mang toward the Cham and other ethnic communities between 1824 and 1827 was the pacification of rebels and taxation of the subject communities. Taxation of non-Vietnamese communities was a priority

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481 The Vietnamese also viewed Cham religious artefacts with reverence. Stone formations called "But" were worshipped by the Vietnamese, but this was none other than the "Kut" worship practiced by the Cham as the abode of spirits. For more information, see Léopold Cadière, "Le Culte Des Pierres," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 19, no. 19 (1919), 5-10. See also Tana Li’s “Life in Dang Trong: A New Way of Being Vietnamese” in Reid and Li, *Southern Vietnam*, 97-116, for how the Cham influenced Vietnamese culture.

482 Cooke, “The Composition,” 764. He points out that Minh-Mang’s Sinicizing reforms led to greater instability as his attempts to integrate the northern elite through his reformed imperial bureaucracy failed. This was because the system he had established was manipulated by the regionally-based elite inherited from old Dang-trong, which led to brilliant northerners ending their careers in the provinces as lesser officials, or relegated to the lower levels of the bureaucracy.

For more information on how Western military technology was viewed by the Vietnamese, refer to Frédéric Mantienne, "The Transfer of Western Military Technology to Vietnam in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: The Case of the Nguyen," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34, no. 3 (2003), 519-534.


483 King Chao Noi of Vientiane presented to Minh Mang a tax roll in 1827, which consisted of 3000 registrants and 28 rice fields in exchange for security against the Siamese King, Rama III. See Mayuri Ngaosivat and Ngaosyvathn Pheuiphanh, *Paths to Conflagration: Fifty Years of Diplomacy and Warfare in Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam, 1778-1828, Studies on Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 1998), 233. Minh Mang also made a tax rule which made the new Chinese immigrants pay taxes and stopped exemptions. See the section on “The Chinese in Gia Dinh Thanh” in Nola Cooke and Tana Li, *Water Frontier: Commerce and the*
and this was noted in an entry in 1825 showing that the Emperor acknowledged the inability of certain ethnic communities such as the Moi (Cham or Central Highlanders) in Bình Thuận to pay taxes. Minh Mang exempted them from paying taxes because they were afflicted with disease in 1827. This measure was similar to the tax exemption granted in the same year to the communities in the north who were hit by a flood. What Minh Mang intended perhaps was to demonstrate that he, like a benevolent Chinese emperor, was governing with Confucian principles based on “righteousness.” At this stage the Cham political elite were not yet targeted for removal.

The move against the Cham political elite began with edicts issued from 1832 onwards. However, military operations against the Cham were already mentioned in entries of the mid-1820s; an entry in 1824 mentioned that Minh Mang ordered a large army to destroy the “robbers” led by Tà La Văn, a bandit in Thuận Thành (Panduranga) who had built up a force in Mt. Đàn Linh Sơn. Though it is not possible to know if the bandit was a Cham, Vietnamese forces were already amassed in Cham areas during this period. The real mobilization of forces against the Cham came only after the quashing of the rebellion from 1833 to 1835 led by Le Van Khoi, the adopted grandson of Le Van Duyet. Minh Mang declared that the south and its peoples

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484 Quốc Sử Quán Triệu Nguyên, 286. Minh Mang was also said to be greatly reliant on land taxes. See Victor B. Lieberman, Beyond Binary Histories: Re-Imagining Eurasia to c.1830 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 242.

485 The affliction is unspecified in the source. Quốc Sử Quán Triệu Nguyên, 289.


488 Thuan Thanh was taken by the Nguyen in March 1693. Reid and Li, Southern Vietnam, 100.

489 This corresponds to the reign of the Cham king Po Klan Thu (1822-1828) mentioned in "Ariya Po Ceng Cam." There is a reference to a Vietnamese army stopping a Cham force in the highlands in lines 21 to 25. For the reference on Mount Đàn Linh Sơn, refer to Quốc Sử Quán Triệu Nguyên, 110-111.
had strayed from “correct” culture and politics and therefore required his intervention. However, it is interesting to note that what was mentioned was the six southern provinces and not the Cham areas.\(^{490}\) For the ruler of Nager Cam, it heralded the end of the Cham monarchy because Cham rulers were suspected as being part of the Le Van Khoi revolt.\(^{491}\) To what extent these charges were true cannot be determined, but in light of the previous failures of the Cham to regain their territories and especially their political and military weakness, it is difficult to believe that the Cham ruler would have decided to participate in the revolt. Minh Mang, however, was suspicious of the Cham and believed they supported Le Van Duyet.

**Undermining the Nager Cam**

The undermining of Nager Cam began in 1832 when Ming Mang announced his intention to further assimilate the Cham. He decided that the people of Thuan Thanh (Panduranga) would come to share the culture of the Vietnamese if they were ruled and taught by Vietnamese imperial officers, even if the process took several decades.\(^{492}\) The Emperor requested that Le Nguyen Trung (the Governor of the Cultural Department who understood Binh Thuận’s populations) to work with the local governors in Binh Thuận to implement the plan. The governor suggested that the Cham retained their rulers but kept under tight Vietnamese control,


\(^{491}\) Weber, “Destruction,” 164. According to him, during the seventh month of 1832, Minh Mang arrested Po Phaok The and Dhar Kaok as supporters of Le Van Khoi, deported them to Huế and then put them to death in 1834.

\(^{492}\) Quốc Sử Quốc Triệu Nguyễn, 306-307.
but his suggestion was rejected in 1833 because Minh Mang wanted to abolish the Cham political system and exercise total control over the Cham and their lands.\(^{493}\)

Thus the elimination of Cham rulers was decided, and so the last Cham ruler, mentioned in the Đại Nam Thực Lục by the Vietnamese name of Nguyễn Văn Thira, and known to the Cham as Po Phaok The (1828-1835), was removed from power.\(^{494}\) He was Panduranga’s last governor ordained as a local officer of the state (Diên An bá, Vệ úy, Tam phâm) in Bình Thuận province by the Vietnamese. The Cham king was accused of committing treason by writing a letter to Le Van Khoi, the enemy of Minh Mang.\(^{495}\) Therefore, the Cham ruler and his aide Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn (Dhar Kaok) were executed in 1835.\(^{496}\) However, it is not known whether the other retainers of the Cham king were executed as well.\(^{497}\)

The move against the Cham was successful and in 1835, Dương Văn Phong, the leader of Bình Thuận province who defeated the rebels, received an imperial decree announcing that he be rewarded.\(^{498}\) Other successes were also mentioned, among them the disruption of rebel communications. Officers in Gia Định (southern Vietnam) arrested a Man (or “barbarian” though it was not known whether he was a Cham) named Đinh Bá from Mt. Chủ Điện, who was carrying a letter (contents unknown) meant to stir other Man to revolt.\(^{499}\) Officers in Khánh Hòa province also reported to the Emperor that the local people in Khánh Hòa (probably Cham) were

\(^{493}\) “Quốc Sử Quán Nhà Nguyễn.” For Minh Mang’s statement on the control of Cham lands, see Quốc Sử Quán Triệu Nguyên, 59-60.

\(^{494}\) Weber, "Destruction," 164. According to Po, Le Panduranga, 60, footnote 87, Nguyễn Văn Thira was the last Cham king Po Phaok The, who was executed in 1834 C.E.

\(^{495}\) Weber, "Destruction," 164.

\(^{496}\) According to Po, Le Panduranga, Minh Mang ordered the execution of Po Phaok in 1835, though Vietnamese sources say that it happened in 1834.

\(^{497}\) Quốc Sử Quán Triệu Nguyên, 32. Along with Nguyễn Văn Thira (Po Phaok The) and Nguyen Van Nguyen (Dhar Kaok), their retainers Nguyễn Văn Giang, Mai Văn Van, Trúc Văn Lan, Long Văn Thiem and Lam Văn Muu were arrested as well. For more information, refer to “Quốc Sử Quán Nhà Nguyễn”; see also Weber, "Destruction," 164.

\(^{498}\) Quốc Sử Quán Triệu Nguyên, 173.

\(^{499}\) Ibid., 551.
influenced to revolt by people in Bình Thuận, but successful measures were taken to quell the unrest. After removing all resistance to his rule, Minh Mang issued the following edict in 1835:

Each of you must repent and acknowledge your errors and should be mindful of our common laws. Refine yourself to make your name only by piety, sympathy, loyalty and trust, and regard justice and common sense as being of paramount importance. If you are scholars, cleanse your bodies and bathe your virtue, so that you might make yourselves talented men capable of governing the state and aiding the world. If you are peasants, make efforts in farming and working in the fields so that you have stores and your bins are full. If you are craftsmen, stay in the workshops and carry out your trade, and make an effort to achieve even greater skills. If you specialize in trade, you should strive to enrich your stocks by working diligently. All who are commoners should know how to preserve their duties and abide by the laws. Whoever belongs to the army must not again act deceptively by fleeing.

Minh Mang’s triumphant statement above highlighted the effectiveness of Vietnamese measures in the six Provinces, but it did not mention Bình Thuận where the Cham were concentrated. Nevertheless, it was successful in removing the Cham political elite to such an extent that there is no evidence of any attempt to establish a new Cham ruler after 1835. Despite the intensification of assimilative practices, the process was not uniform and the conditions created opportunities for the Cham to survive as a distinctive group.

500 Ibid., 581.
501 Dutton, Werner and Whitmore, Sources, 283.
The Effect of Minh Mang’s Actions on the Bhap (Cham Population): Insights from the Ariya Po Phaok

While Vietnamese sources provide some useful insights into the effects of Minh Mang’s policies on the Cham, the Cham sources, especially the Ariya Po Phaok, are indispensable in offering a Cham perspective of these events, especially in covering Cham memories of Vietnamese policies rather than the specific end of the monarchy. Po Dharma and Nicolas Weber have used this text to understand how the destruction of Nager Cam’s political elite occurred. My approach, however, is to use the very same text to uncover why and how the religious elite survived. In other words, though Minh Mang’s policies were destructive, only the political elite were removed from power. The religious elite, on the other hand, survived because of their usefulness to Minh Mang as agents to facilitate Cham cultural assimilation, the collection of taxes, and the organizing of Cham to build dams and ships and as auxiliary troops.

The Ariya Po Phaok The was written after the Cham king Po Phaok and his assistant Kanduey Nguon were arrested by the Vietnamese in the third month of the year of the dragon (1835). According to Nicolas Weber, using Vietnamese sources, the two Cham lords were arrested in 1832 and executed in 1834. According to a Cham source, these two lords were palihik (made to disappear), or executed by Minh Mang. This same source says that Vietnamese officials were appointed to govern the Cham, exploited them for labor, and were unrelenting in

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503 Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok.” It is numbered as manuscript CM 29(1) and belongs to the Société Asiatique de Paris. It was written on Chinese paper in 1835 in the Cham capital Bal Canar (Phanri) by an anonymous writer.

504 The assistant to Po Phaok in the Ariya Po Phaok was written as “Kanduey Nguon,” however, according to Po Dharma, the actual name was “Dhar Kaok” and he was a prince. However, I believe that the assistant to Po Phaok was actually a Panraong Jabuol or one of the war chiefs, but this is only a supposition.

505 “In the year of the dragon of the third month, the order was sent to arrest Po Phaok and Kanduey Nguon,” or “tel thun nasak nagaray balan klaw, harak ni nduec mai dihlau, nyu mak ni phaok kanduey Nguon.” Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok," line 4.

their demands. The Cham were employed to cut wood and the writer also compares Minh Mang to Gia Long who used the Cham for the same reason. When Jya Lau (Gia long) became king, he sent a letter to the kingdom of Panduranga to inform them that the Cham would have to provide hundreds and thousands of logs of sawn timber for building granaries for three months and three years. Gia Long also wanted the religious Brahmanists dignitaries and Muslims to gather their carts and buffaloes and made them build 300 charretes (Cham carts pulled by buffaloes) to transport wood from the forest. However, the carts were damaged and buffaloes died in the process.

The Cham were used to collect forest products such as wax (*ralin*), oils (*manyuk*; probably resin) and mouse deer (*rasa njruah*). Anyone who refused to follow these orders was beheaded (*tak akaok*). These activities were traditionally the preserve of the upland peoples and understandably, the Chruw and Raglai peoples launched attacks against the Cham intruders. In the 17th and 18th century, and probably even before that, the Cham were middlemen, not actual collectors. According to Tana Li, the collection of eaglewood was regarded as a sacred activity and the *Po Gahlao* (Lord of the Gaharu wood) conducted special

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507 For an excellent work on how the Cham were exploited by Minh Mang, see Ibid.
See also Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok," line 19: “the Vietnamese ordered the Cam around day and night” or “Yuen pander harei malam,” and line 6: “then Ja Kham came to the villages and titles kai taong lik klen were used” or “blaoh nyu brei Yuen angan ja Kham memai, pangap jieng lang nyu brei, angan kai taong lik klen.”
508 Nguyen Anh or Emperor Gia Long reigned from 1802 to 1820. He was born in Hue in 1762. With French assistance, he defeated his Tay Son rivals and on June 1, 1802 became king and even got investiture from the Qing dynasty. Reference: Ooi, Southeast Asia, 968-969.
510 There were several types of *ralin* (wax): *Ralin Patih* (white wax), *Ralin tania* (plant-based wax), *Ralin hani* (beeswax), and *ralin duk* (a form of yellow colored beeswax used for ceremonies in Champa and Cambodia). Reference: Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 413.
"Manyuk” or “oil” was usually used as a source of fuel for burning. Reference: Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 370, line 9: “The Cham were ordered to get wax, oil and mousedeer in the forest” or “nyu pa-ndar blei ralin ngap manyak, saong cay mak rasa njruah, di glai hu bini ba rai limah.” For more information, see Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok." For a definition of mousedeer, refer to Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 162.
512 Ibid., line 20. “The Cru and Raglai make war, they take the Cham and cut them down” or "Cru Raglai ngap kalin, nyu mak ni Cam tak di saoh.”
prayers and offerings to the Cham kings who were protectors of eaglewood. The collectors went to Raglai villages where the village heads assembled teams to search for the wood. However, the *Ariya Po Phaok* seems to suggest that the Cham did not follow “the rules of foraging” as there were no ceremonies performed before collection, and therefore the Montagnards retaliated as a consequence.

A more detailed description of the elaborate ceremonies that the Cham had to do before eaglewood collection can be found in Cabaton’s work. It describes the complex rituals that the Cham and Raglai performed before and after collection. According to Cabaton, the *Basaih* (Ahier Priest) offered sacrifices consisting of goats, five cups of cooked rice, ten eggs and a broth made from the bones of goats to each of the *Kalan* in Phanrang such as Po Klaong Garai, Po Rome and Po Nagar. The collection team consisting of Cham and Raglai then went off to the highlands in silence, believing that if they spoke, the wood would lose its perfume. Once the wood was found, ceremonies were done again to give homage to the towers, and buffaloes were sacrificed.

According to Cham sources, the Vietnamese heavily taxed the Cham populations. Though the reasons as to why the Cham were taxed heavily are unclear, there was a need to boost the coffers to support Minh Mang’s operations in Cambodia in 1834. Cham lands and paddy fields (*tanah hamu*) were confiscated and the Cham forced to borrow at high rates.

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514 Cabaton, *Nouvelles*, 52-54.
515 In 1834, Minh Mang renamed Cambodia as Tran Tay Thanh or the “citadel of the western protectorate.” However, it cost a lot to support the Vietnamese troops as Cambodia had very poor rice cultivation or granaries. By 1835, the vast expanses of Cambodian territory necessitated more Vietnamese officials to rule Cambodia and over a hundred Vietnamese officials were sent. Minh Mang also lamented the cost of the Cambodian campaigns which cost much in men and rice. For more information, see Chapter 9, “Serial Colonialism and Genocide in Nineteenth-Century Cambodia,” in Moses, *Empire*, 213-217. Vietnam’s military involvement with Cambodia also happened in 1658 and 1659. For more information, see Po Dharma and Mak Phoeun, "La Première Intervention Militaire VietnamiennAu Cambodge (1658-1659),” *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 73, no. 73 (1984): 285-318.
(pamasrai'y) to pay for the high taxes. The Ariya Po Phaok contains a good description of this in lines 24 and 25: “If they give a loan of 100, the Vietnamese will ask for 1000 and take the rice field. This explains why the Cam live in poverty instead of paying a jak in tax the Vietnamese will ask for ten jak or they will beat the Cam” (nyu pamasrai'y sa ratuh jiéng rabuw, nyu mak hamu nao dahlau, ra-mbah ra-mbâp Cam dahlak, krung jia sa labik sa jak, nyu mak hakak sa pluh jak wek, nyu paoh ataong Cam dahlak).\(^{516}\)

The effects of Minh Mang’s taxation and forced labor demands made many Cham abandon their villages.\(^{517}\) According to the Ariya, seven villages (palei) were abandoned as the Cham ran away and took refuge in the highlands.\(^{518}\) The Cham, according to the Ariya Po Phaok, faced a situation so dire that Cham wives and children looked for wild roots like slaves as they had no rice because the Vietnamese ordered them around night and day (Cam halun hadiap anak mak janing, brah oh hu sa pangin Yuen pa-ndar harem malam).\(^{519}\) So many Cham abandoned

\(^{516}\) For further information on land confiscations, see line 23, “tanah hamu”in Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok."
Recent research has shown that there were large pay disparities within the hierarchy of mandarins, especially the provincial mandarins, in the first half of the 19th century. To compensate for low pay, rice payments were used. Reference: Emmanuel Poisson, "La Rémunération Réelle Des Fonctionnaires Au Đạï Nam Dans La Première Moitié Du Xixe Siècle: Un Essai D'évaluation," Aséanie 7, no. 7 (2001), 151.

\(^{517}\) Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok," lines 48-51: “During the reign of Minh Mang, the king decided to increase taxes and increase the construction of granaries and ordered the Cham to pay an exorbitant amount of money. Force was used by the Vietnamese to make the Cam pay,” or “di ndey patao Ming ni Mang ngap pa-mbuak, jia padai jang hakak, nyu ngap galang grep nager, nyu pa-mbuak sa ka mban jia jaluk, nyu ngap di Cam drei pasruk, nyu maok tabiak blaoh nyu mbeng, akaok Cam nyu rik jiën] sa urang sa kuan ni klau, sa urang sa kuan lima, nyu pa-ndar ba tama, limah bi tel dalam galang, yah karang jien hanring jang o peng, Yuen ataong pa-pan, pa-nder ni nduec duah bi hu.”

\(^{518}\) Ibid., lines 52-53: “The Vietnamese made the Cam truly suffer, seven villages were abandoned. The cruelty was unberable and they ran away and joined the Cruw and Raglai,” or “Yuen ni hiap Cam lo, lihik abih tiujh palei. Yuen paoh ataong ngap ni jia oh hu, klak palei nduec tama, ber dalam Cru Raglai.”

\(^{519}\) Ibid., line 34.
their villages that it was a source of alarm for the Vietnamese who used force to make them stay.\textsuperscript{520}

Minh Mang also placed restrictions on Cham trade in the highlands, which affected even the Churu and Raglai.\textsuperscript{521} Prices for buffalo increased and the Cham were forbidden from buying iron in the highlands.\textsuperscript{522} Having weakened the Cham trading role in the highlands, the Vietnamese themselves now went to the highlands to acquire large numbers of buffaloes and pigs at prices which the Raglai Chruw did not dare challenge.\textsuperscript{523} The highlands had always been a traditional major source of Cham wealth such as elephants, rhinoceros horns, and other valuable forest products. It is no surprise that highland oral histories contain memories of Cham attempts to control these communities.\textsuperscript{524} Thus when the Vietnamese restricted Cham trade with the highlanders, the Cham lost a valuable source of buffalo for plowing and iron for implements needed for Cham agriculture, especially in planting rice.\textsuperscript{525} But the Cham were allowed to conduct trade with other lowland communities, such as the Vietnamese and Chinese, hence mitigating the loss of important goods from the highlands.\textsuperscript{526} In all, restrictions in trade impoverished the Cham.

\textsuperscript{520} Ibid., lines 55-56: “The Kai Tong distressed at many Cham running away, wanted to keep them in order to tax them heavily. He resorted to punishments and the Cham bled,” or “kai taong hia ni thau jêh ka drei, Cam ni nduec klak palei, nyu mak ni Cam pamastraï, yah oh ciip Yuen ni dan di pa-ndiak, klau su rei nyu tabiak, nyu paoh ataong nduec bi drah.”

\textsuperscript{521} Ibid., line 97: “The Vietnamese took the markets (trade) and the Cru Raglai suffered,” or “nyu mak ni kleng jaw ka Yuen ni Cru Raglai nyu mak abih di drei.”

\textsuperscript{522} Ibid., line 99: “To buy iron in the highlands, this is forbidden,” or “tagok ni cek blei basei, tra la-ua jieng oh brei.”

\textsuperscript{523} Ibid., lines 101-102, “The Vietnamese went to the highlands and bought hundreds and thousands of buffalo, if Cham does the same thing, it will be reported, the ivory and buffalo was bought from the Churu, to sell them at the price demanded of the Vietnamese” or “Yuen nyu ndik ni cek blei kabaw ratuh rabuw, klaho ni yoom nyu thau, puec ka Yuen sa baoh panuec, Yuen tagok thau ni Cru bala basan mbeng, di Cru di riim pakar, pablei kabaw tiap ka nyu.”

\textsuperscript{524} Tarling, Cambridge, 252.


\textsuperscript{526} Paris, \textit{Voyage}, 225.
As conquered subjects, the Cham were forced to join the Vietnamese army and to go to Ndau Nai (Dong Nai) to fight Le Van Khoi’s forces. They were also assigned to transport weapons. Minh Mang made the Cham work at a dam (binuk) in Hamu Baruw and dig canals (rabaong). According to the manuscript, the Cham were forced to complete the work quickly, thus causing the death of buffaloes through exhaustion. Because of the hasty construction of the dam, the Cham could not prevent leakages. Traditional methods of the Cham were not used at all in its construction. The Vietnamese punished the Cham for not stopping the leaks, and during a heavy rainstorm flood waters eventually destroyed the dam. The Cham were then forced to build another one. As previously mentioned, the Cham were made to build ships for the Vietnamese, with all the required materials coming from Kalaong Mountain (a mountain in

527 Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok," line 36: “The Vietnamese king wrote a letter in the night and ordered the Cham to attack Ndeng Nai,” or “patao Yuen pa-nndar harak mai malam nyu pa-nndar mak Cam, nao masuh Ndéng Nai.” According to Po Dharma, the insurrection took place in Dong Nai from 1833 to 1834 in Gia Dinh (southern Vietnam) led by Le Van Khoi. Reference: Po, Le Panduranga, 187, footnote 209.

528 Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok," line 40: “The Vietnamese king ordered the Cam of Parik, Panrang, Kraong, Pajai to carry the implements of war,” or “patao pa-nndar mak ni Cam Parik, Panrang, Kraong, Pajai,Yuen pataom abih ba marai, ni pacakaong phaw nao bi drah.”

529 The dam was mentioned again by Camille Paris, who went on a tour of Cham areas in 1888 and 1889, as part of a surveying mission in southern Vietnam. See Paris, Voyage, 227. Also, the description about Cham abandoning the building project and the failure of the Vietnamese to heed Cham advice on how to build dams remarkably adheres to the description contained in Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok," lines 63-64.

530 Athai, "Ariya Po Phaok," line 64: “To collect the stones fully, the buffaloes died in the canal,” or “buh batau bak jala, matai kabaw dalam rabaong.”

531 Ibid., line 65: “The stones were put throughout but the water still ran,” or “buh batau di grep galaong, aia ni nduec jang oh klaoh.”

532 The Ong Binuk was an important religious dignitary that had to be engaged for the success of any activity related to canal and dam building. The Ong Binuk was not consulted in the building of the dam in the manuscript. For Aymonier’s description of the function of the Ong Binuk, refer to Aymonier, Les Tchames, 66-67.

533 Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok,” lines 67-68: “The Vietnamese punished the Cham fully, the month it rained and the waters came, the dam came apart and it became part of the great river,” or “Yuen mak Cam ataong paraong pariah, balan sa grám manyi aia mai,talal banãk brai rai, nduec ni jëng kraong rïya.” Also, Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok,” line 71: “The Vietnamese then ordered that the Cham make a new dam in a month, they punished day and night,” or “Yuen pa-nndar phak batau nan ka raong, sa balan sa ka-ndaom, Yuen pa-nndar blaoh nyu ataong harei malam dom di hia.”
Phanri).\textsuperscript{534} The boat-building skills of the Cham were recognized by the Vietnamese in the use of the Cham to build their ships.

According to Cham sources, as a result of forced labor and trade restrictions, the Cham were unable to plant or harvest and hence crops failed and the people starved.\textsuperscript{535} Even Cham construction of houses was affected because they could no longer afford to build with bricks (\textit{akiak}). They had to use straw instead, causing frequent crumbling of the walls.\textsuperscript{536} As living conditions deteriorated, the Cham abandoned their villages along the coast from Panrang to Parik, further disrupting rice production.\textsuperscript{537} The situation worsened further when the Vietnamese confiscated Cham lands, especially the fertile irrigated rice fields, and left only the dry lands (\textit{tanah hamu kanu}).\textsuperscript{538} In addition, there was always the danger of drought. In one drought in the fourth month, the rivers ran dry, and even buffaloes and men could not find water to drink.\textsuperscript{539}

\textsuperscript{534} Minh Mang was interested in participating in maritime trade with Singapore. There were missions in 1823 and 1832 that included large boats from Binh Dinh. For more information, see Chen Ching-ho, ”Les Missions Officielles Dans Les Ha Châu Ou Contrées Méridionales De La Première Période Des Nguyễn,” \textit{Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient} 81, no. 81 (1994), 124.
Also, Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok,” line 80: “The orders are given to the Cham to build ships, the Cham got the materials from Kalaong mountain,” or “mada surak mang patao brei mai, nyu pa-ngap ahaok galai, nyu mak ni Cam tak tamaih di cek Kalaong.”
\textsuperscript{535} The farmer’s timing to maximise water and labor resources is crucial. Rice farmers need a large labor force especially during transplanting and harvesting rice. For more information, see Chapter 1, “The Rice-plant: Diversity and Intensification,” in Francesca Bray, \textit{The Rice Economies: Technology and Development in Asian Societies} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 17.
Also, Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok,” line 72: “The Viet ordered the Cham to build the dam again, the Cham starved, the rice and paddy remain unplanted/unharvested,” or “Yuen pa-ndar ngap banâk wek ka, Cam halun aek lapa, brah padai o hu si mbeng.”
\textsuperscript{536} Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok,” lines 92-93: “These are the houses of the Cham, not even one brick house, the subjects are truly poor, the houses are made of straw and walls are crumbling,” or “sang ni Cam dahlak ni sei, oh mboh sa baoh sang akiak, nagar Cam halun kathaot praong biak, sang hatak mang agak, haluh ni maong mboh sagleng.”
\textsuperscript{537} Ibid., line 94: “If you and other princes go to Panrang and Parik near the coast, there will be no Cham houses,” or “po saong cei mai Panrang sa tel Parik, ka gabak rah tathik, sang Cam dahlak hapak.”
Rice harvesting is a laborious activity. The first stage requires the reaping of the rice and the second, transplanting the rice in preparation for the next rice crop. Reference: Bray, \textit{Rice}, 20.
\textsuperscript{538} Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok,” line 95: “The good rice fields were taken by the Vietnamese, what is left is the dry paddy fields, these are all that is left,” or “tanah siam hamu ni dhaong Yuen mak ka nyu, dom hamu tanah hamu kanu, jaw ni wek ka Cam dahlak.”
The Post-1835 Period

The post-1835 period marked a new era for the Cham, politically and economically.\textsuperscript{540} To the Vietnamese, the Cham were thoroughly pacified and all revolts appeared to have ended by 1836.\textsuperscript{541} More than just being pacified, a report in 1837 by Dương Văn Phong, the governor of Bình Thuận province, mentioned that since the end of hostilities, the Cham population had declined, and their language and dress were becoming similar to those of the Han people.\textsuperscript{542} This was reflected in edicts by Minh Mang in 1839 which suggested that the Cham of Bình Thuận had already been successfully assimilated.\textsuperscript{543} He even requested a change of name of the people in Bình Thuận province to “new citizens” (Tân dân, dân mới) to facilitate the integration of more Cham into Vietnamese military units\textsuperscript{544}, enhance their integration with Vietnamese soldiers and boost their understanding of imperial policies.\textsuperscript{545} However, the success of assimilation is doubtful in the light of the continuity of Cham culture and religion to this day. To suggest that a

\begin{footnotesize}
Farmers prefer to work on existing fields more intensively than opening new fields, because the effects of sustained cultivation of a field will enhance its fertility. This is because water changes the chemical composition and structure of the different soil layers in a process called “Pozolisation,” ensuring stable rice yields for centuries. For more information about these processes, see Chapter 2, “Paths of Technical Development,” in Bray, \textit{Rice}, 28-29.\\
\textsuperscript{539} Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok,” line 186: “The Cham were fraught with worry, they asked the gods why the rains did not fall,” or “\textit{anak Cam daok sanang blaoh hia, lakau di Po Dobata, oh mboh jalan trun marai}.”\\
Athai, “Ariya Po Phaok,” line 189: “In the fourth month rivers ran dry, bufalloes like men, did not drink,” or “\textit{balan pak aia ni kraong thu ca-ndang, kabaw manuis ngan urang, thu o hu kheng manyum}.”\\
\textsuperscript{540} The “Ariya Gleng Anak” tells of the impact of Emperor Minh Mang’s policies, which aimed to eradicate the Cham people’s political and cultural identity. The writer laments that Cham social and family structures were completely destroyed, and the effects of this was dire to the future of the Cham.\\
\textsuperscript{541} “Quốc Sứ Quán Nhà Nguyễn.”\\
\textsuperscript{542} \textit{Quốc Sứ Quán Triệu Nguyễn}, 328-329.\\
\textsuperscript{543} 1839 was also the same year Minh Mang initiated agrarian reforms in Bình Dinh to further centralize control over valuable rice fields. Reference: Nguyễn Thieu Lâu, "Vi. La Réforme Agraire De 1839 Dans Le Binh-Dinh," \textit{Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient} 45, no. 1 (1951), 122.\\
\textsuperscript{544} For an excellent discussion of Minh Mang’s use of Cham and Malay populations as military units, please refer to Weber, “Securing.”\\
\textsuperscript{545} \textit{Quốc Sứ Quán Triệu Nguyễn}, 342-343.
\end{footnotesize}
people could be completely assimilated in less than a decade is not realistic. Although it was possible to make the Cham accept some features of Vietnamese culture, it was another thing altogether to force them to suddenly abandon their language and culture in such little time. Furthermore, the existence of Cham manuscripts such as Ariya Gleng Anak, Ariya Pataow Adat and Ariya Anak Ra Siam, that spoke of the importance of adhering to Cham custom and traditions, is another reason to believe that assimilation was not as thorough as the Vietnamese believed.546

Nothing in Minh Mang’s policies specifically targeted the Cham religious elite, and even for the Cham political elite, only two major figures were removed. The political and religious structures of Nager Cam were severely weakened but not completely destroyed. The religious elite became more important to the Vietnamese as agents for the assimilation of the Cham. Nicholas Weber describes what happened:

[In] 1836, officials of Bình Thuận province were ordered to select one or two individuals from the Ahier (đạo Chiêm) and Bani (đạo Bà Ni) religious communities who knew Vietnamese culture and language. They were to be rewarded with money and rice. In addition, six children of intellectuals would be chosen and taken care of to encourage them to learn the Vietnamese language and ‘loyalty’ to the Huế court. The people selected were expected to help the Vietnamese authorities to establish lists of the members of their communities and help with translations. They were also expected to disseminate Vietnamese language and customs to their own people. 547

546 The loss of the Cham king is not really discussed in these manuscripts, which were most probably written in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the Cham king was already under the control of the Nguyen since the late 17th century; henceforth, Cham kings were selected by the Vietnamese. This made it likely for the majority of the Cham to lose respect for the institution of the Cham king, no longer seeing him as the caretaker of Cham adat. A good comparison can be made with South Sulawesi, illustrating the role of adat to the king and his role as caretaker of adat. Once this role was compromised (when the king converted to Islam in this context) he lost his following. For more information, refer to Leonard Y. Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 15, no. 1 (1984): 22-42.
However, the text can be interpreted in another way: That the six children of “intellectuals” were Vietnamese intellectuals, not Cham. The main objective was to get someone to teach the children of Vietnamese scholars to read Cham so that they could later serve as translators for the court. It is not mentioned what kind of Cham the Vietnamese selected that could serve this purpose, but many Cham religious elite did have the skill to teach Cham knowledge, and it was highly possible that the Cham religious elite became teachers for the Vietnamese children. In any case, the source provides the grounds for the co-option of the Cham religious elite by the Vietnamese.

Attempts of the Vietnamese to understand Cham culture and language contributed to the enhancement of the position of the religious elite as preservers of Cham culture in the late 19th century. Dalukal myths about the religious elite, especially the Cham Bani’s Po Gru (Lord Teacher), reveal that the religious elite were highly organized and focused on knowledge acquisition. The religious and ceremonial responsibilities of the Po Gru of the Cham Awal and the Basaih of the Ahier Cham persisted despite Vietnamese efforts to assimilate them from 1832 to 1835. According to Miriam Stark in her study of the continuity of ancient Khmer society, the lower-level administrative apparatus tended to survive the “instabilities of political rulership and geographic shifts of power.” In Cham context, Cham society was left without a political structure after 1835 but the religious elite such as the Acar and Basaih formed a cultural nucleus that did indeed survive the turbulent period of 1832 to 1835. This will be shown in the next section.

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548 A Dalukal describes the well-organized structure of the Cham Awal: the Po Gru is at the head of the hierarchy of the Cham Bani and controls the other minor religious elite such as the Acar, Maduen and Khatip. For further information, refer to the appendix for "Dalikal Nao Magru" and "Dalikal Manuis."

549 See Schwartz and Nichols, After Collapse, 165-166.

550 Ibid.
The Ariya Po Ceng and the Cham Religious Elite

How the Cham religious elite were treated can be seen in the Ariya Po Ceng. The text describes how the religious dignitaries from the Cham Awal and Ahier groups were selected by Minh Mang during the reign of king Po Saong Nyung Ceng (1799-1822). Po Dharma makes a detailed study of the Ariya Po Ceng in his dissertation as has Dr Nicholas Weber in his article. The text mentions the events of three reigns: Po Saong Nyung Ceng (1799-1822), Po Klan Thu (1822-1828) and Po Phaok (1828-1832). In this Cham work, the religious elite such as the Acar and Basaih were threatened (gham) and the Vietnamese forced the Cham to wear Vietnamese clothing. Traditional ceremonies, such as the Rija ceremony, which were usually held to cure illnesses, were forbidden. The Muk Pajuw (priestess or prophetess) had to dance to Vietnamese songs, and Vietnamese idols were placed on altars in houses. Even the lord of Panduranga was forced to renounce the Cham traditional ways and so, committed a grave sin by abandoning the adat (customary law). This is expressed most clearly in the Ariya Po Ceng in line

551 “Ariya Po Ceng Cam.” It belongs to the École Française d’Extrême-Orient collection. A microfilm was made in the Phanrang Cultural Center in 1974 and it has been studied in detail by Po Dharma in his dissertation. For the purposes of this section, I will only focus on the relevant sections where the religious elite are mentioned. The original manuscript has no date or origin. There are several copies in various libraries in France and in personal collections of Dr Thanh Phan. The manuscript describes the political situation of the Panduraga ruled by the Cham king Po Saong Nyung Ceng or Po Ceng from 1799 to 1822. It also mentions other events that occurred during the reign of Po Klan Thu from Vietnamese tran thu, the governor of Panduranga from 1822 to 1828 and Po Phaok The, the last king of the Cham of Panduranga who ruled from 1828 to 1832 and was executed by the Hue court.

552 Po, Le Panduranga. See also Weber, “Destruction.”

553 “Ariya Po Ceng Cam.”

554 Ibid., lines 71-72: “Even when sick, the Rija was not allowed to be done, even the Muk Pajuw sang Vietnamese songs. Vietnamese figures are placed on the altar, the Cham are observed all the time, the Cham lords are deeply disturbed,” or “ruak hakik jang oh mbon rija, ngap rap pajuw tamia, ka hat mbuai kieng adaoh, rap marai dhe di sang atah, tama tabiak Yuen mboh, po Cam ngap karei.” According to Cabaton and Aymonier, the Pajau was a priestess, prophetess, sorceress, and witch. Cham legends speak of a Pajau Yang who has knowledge of herb lore and cures sicknesses. Reference: Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 258.

For Weber’s analysis of these issues, refer to Weber, “Destruction,” 176.
where the Cham King “wants to follow the traditions such as Rija and ancestor worship but has to abandon them,” or “po Cam kieng tama tuei drei, yang rija muk su kei, po Cam klak abih.”

The rest of the Ariya Po Ceng shows how the Cham religious elite were relentlessly questioned by the Vietnamese and were forced to reveal their knowledge of agriculture and astronomy (explained in detail in Chapter 2). The Vietnamese conducted a census, and an official of the title Kham Mang arrived and asked how many people there were in Panrang. However, the Cham would not cooperate and the official became very angry. Probably knowing that the religious elite were important symbols of Cham culture and tradition, they were targeted for humiliating punishments. They were forced to eat beef, pigs, and lizards, which were food items forbidden to the Cham religious communities.

The later parts of the Ariya emphasized the further humiliation of the Cham rulers. The Kham Mang ordered the Cham to bring the royal clothes of the Cham king in order to show them that the Cham political elite no longer held any power in the land. He sat on the throne with impunity wearing the Cham king’s clothes and ordered the Cham to prostrate. He then paraded slowly in front of his soldiers, exclaiming that this was the Cham king of the past, to applause. The Cham were deeply distressed and humiliated as never before. The Kham Mang also ordered the religious elite to eat pork to show that he was not afraid of divine punishment. He stayed for

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555 “Ariya Po Ceng Cam,” lines 72-74: “rup marai dhe di sang atah, tama tabiak Yuen mboh, po Cam ngap karei., po Cam kieng tama tuei drei, yang rija muk su kei, po Cam klak abih, po ngap dom anyar [< akhar] daok di duis, adat ca-nbat klak abih, tuei Yuen lac mekrâ,” or “Vietnamese idols were placed on the altars in the house, the Vietnamese watched over, the Cham lord is deeply disturbed, the lord of Panduranga had to follow, the Rija, the worship of the ancestors, the Cham lord had to abandon them, by doing so the Cham lord has sinned, the adat is abandoned, following the Vietnamese every word.”

556 Ibid., line 100: “The Vietnamese are deeply angered, they threatened the religious elites and forced them to eat beef, pigs and lizards,” or “praong Yuen nyu gi-naong di Cam hacrih, nyu gham mak acar basaih, pa-mbeng limaow, pabuei, ajah.”
three months in the Cham areas, and when he went back to Hue he took with him some Cham soldiers. 557

The Ariya also mentions that a person titled Tuer Phu (Tuan Phu in Vietnamese), the chief of the province, stayed in the house of the former Cham king. The reason of the visit was to ascertain that the Cham were assimilated. He visited the huts (kajang) where Cham ceremonies were performed, and made a census of all the deities of the Cham pantheon. 558 He suspected that the Cham wanted to reclaim the throne and continue the planting and sowing ceremonies normally presided over by the Cham queen. He suppressed all traditional titles and introduced new Vietnamese ones. He even ordered the people to choose the new chief of the Cham area. 559

Nowhere in the Ariya is mention made of the elimination or banishment of the Cham religious elite. There is an absence of key Cham terms that can be used to describe the actual killing of the Cham religious elite in the Ariya Po Ceng, such as pamatai or “to kill,” matai or “die” and yuak akaok or “to be beheaded.” Only the word gham or “threatened” was used to describe the experience that the religious elite had with the Vietnamese. In all, the Cham religious elite endured harsh treatment from the Vietnamese, but they were ultimately not removed from their traditional place in Cham society.

The Post-Minh Mang Period

557 Ibid., lines 103-111.
559 Po, Le Panduranga, 93-116.
After Minh Mang died in 1841, successive rulers did not actively pursue an assimilationist policy toward the Cham. Even during the reign of Tự Đức (1847-1883), the entries of the Đại Nam thực lục that highlighted the activities of this emperor show little attempt to assimilate the Cham in Bình Thuận. The focus seems to be on maintaining agricultural systems and rice distribution, which can be seen in 1859 when Bình Thuận province received little rainfall. Vietnamese rain ceremonies were conducted in a Vietnamese temple called Hương Án, located in Hương Bách village. Rice was distributed to the Cham of Bình Thuận in 1864 as the province experienced crop failure. No mention was made of assimilation.

This lack of assimilation attempts continued in the short reign of Thiệu Trị (1841-7). He was even characterized as being more lenient than his predecessor. Even Catholicism was no longer forbidden. This fact was not lost on a French missionary named Dominique Marti, the provisional Vicar of the Missions of Tongking, who noted that Thiệu Trị never issued an edict to kill missionaries, though other missionaries reported a revival of anti-missionary activities that only ended with the emperor’s death in 1847. Thiệu Trị was described as a peaceful and unassuming man and when a rebellion broke out in Cambodia (a consequence of Minh Mang’s

560 Quốc Sử Quán Nhà Nguyễn, 634.
561 Ibid., 881.
562 Ramsay, Mandarin, 98.
invasion and occupation in late 1834), he ordered the Vietnamese troops to withdraw after their failure to suppress the rebels.\textsuperscript{564}

Emperor Tu Duc was also not interested in assimilation. According to Chapuis, Emperor Tu Duc (who was Thiệu Trị’s youngest son) was born on September 22, 1829. He faced a coup from his elder brother Hong Bao, who should have been emperor. The coup failed and Hong Bao hanged himself. During his reign, Tu Duc faced other rebellions and problems with defiant missionaries.\textsuperscript{565} Tu Duc’s court was split between the Chu Hoa (advocates of peace) and the Chu Chien (advocates of war) and both competed for the emperor’s favor.\textsuperscript{566} Tu Duc issued two decrees ordering the Vietnamese Christians to abandon their faith, and he even executed French and Spanish missionaries.\textsuperscript{567} In 1858, a Franco-Spanish force landed in Danang, bringing a change in the treatment of Catholics, as shown in the case of Nguyen Truong To, a Vietnamese Catholic mandarin official.\textsuperscript{568} Between 1863 and 1871, Nguyen Truong To sent to the Nguyen court more than 15 petitions on political and administrative reforms. Tu Duc, convinced of his good intentions, invited him to the court for discussions and called on him for state service in 1867.\textsuperscript{569} However, the early years of Tự Đức’s reign saw the continuation of social unrest unparalleled in Vietnamese history. Nearly 400 revolts took place during the first six decades of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Natural disasters such as famine, and corruption and abuse by officials in villages were developments that were ineffectively handled by the court, thus undermining the

\textsuperscript{564} Moses, Empire, 213. Also refer to Oscar Chapuis, \textit{A History of Vietnam: From Hong Bang to Tu Duc, Contributions in Asian Studies} (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995), 193-194.
\textsuperscript{565} Chapuis, Emperors, 11-12.
\textsuperscript{566} Mark W. McLeod, “Nguyen Truong To: A Catholic Reformer at Emperor Tu-Duc's Court,” \textit{Journal of Southeast Asian Studies} 25, no. 2 (1994), 313.
\textsuperscript{567} Moses, Empire, 13.
\textsuperscript{568} Nguyen Truong To was a Vietnamese Catholic, and though barred from doing the imperial civil service examination, got a different kind of education by studying with Bishop Gauthier in 1848. He studied French and rudiments of Western science. For more information, refer to McLeod, “Nguyen,” 314.
\textsuperscript{569} Ibid., 316.
ruler’s legitimacy. In other words, Emperor Tu Duc was preoccupied with many other things rather than continuing the assimilation of the Cham.

Tu Đức died on July 17, 1883, and was succeeded by Emperor Duc Duc, one of his adopted nephews. However, this emperor was accused of failing to observe his father’s mourning rites and of having intimate relations with his father’s concubines. He was sentenced to death and died in confinement on October 6, 1883. He was succeeded by Emperor Hiep Hoa on July 30, 1883, and soon thereafter was forced by the French to sign the Treaty of Harmand on August 25, 1883. In this treaty Vietnam accepted French protection, including control over Vietnam’s foreign relations, and Binh Thuận thus became part of French Indochina. The treaty led to Hiep Hoa’s abdication and his death on November 29, 1883.

The emperors after Minh Mang were different in temperament and character, and they inherited a political system and society mired in instability, economic chaos, and social fragmentation. Faced with such formidable problems, they were more focused on addressing such issues. This allowed the Cham in Binh Thuận to preserve much of their culture and identity after Minh Mang’s death in 1841.

French Missionaries and Officials’ Observations of the Cham

Several years after Minh Mang’s policies, French missionaries commented on the social and economic devastation of Cham society. One of them was Etiene Cuenot, who replaced

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571 Chapius, Emperors, 15-17.
Taberd after his death in 1840.\textsuperscript{573} He wrote a letter dated November 18, 1839, which contains his observations of the Cham in Phu Yen.\textsuperscript{574} Though Phu Yen was different from the Panduranga region in terms of being under a longer period of Vietnamese rule, the observation about the state of the Cham in the 19th century is nevertheless crucial and rare.\textsuperscript{575} In the beginning of July 1839, he explored the country with some Christians, heading west of Phu Yen, a route considered to be easier and less dangerous. There, he met some Cham.\textsuperscript{576} According to Ramsay, Cuenot was in the west of Phu Yen province to proselytize to the De (Rhade) people.\textsuperscript{577} Along the way, they met Cham, De (Rhade), and Charai (Jarai).

The Cham that Cuenot encountered lived in widely scattered hamlets and were regarded as unimportant by the Vietnamese. He saw only four or five villages, and each of these consisted of only 10 to 15 huts. Cuenot described the Cham as skilled farmers who grew mountain rice, corn, tobacco, and cotton, and cleared the land with fire. Though Cuenot did not say whether they were lowland or highland Cham, the described characteristics of the people suggested that they were Chams living very much like highlanders. He also noted that the land was poorly cultivated, there were frequent famines, and the people lived a nomadic existence (slash and burn agriculture).\textsuperscript{578} This tallied with information in the \textit{Ariya Po Phaok} that the Cham had indeed lost

\textsuperscript{573} According to Jacob Ramsay, he was Taberd’s junior and replaced him as the head of the Cochinchina vicariate (Apostolic Vicar). He was one of the first to return to Cochinchina in 1835. Reference: Ramsay, \textit{Mandarins}, 93.
\textsuperscript{574} \textit{Annales}, 1841, 139-145.
\textsuperscript{575} Lord Nguyen Hoang established the prefecture of Phu Yen in 1611 after defeating the Cham army. Reference: Hardy, Cucarzi and Zolese, \textit{Archaeology}, 71.
\textsuperscript{576} The Cham men wore a tunic with sleeves that buttoned across the chest and went down almost to the knees. They knew no other weapons than the bow and the knife, which they used mostly for hunting. They were honest, generous, hospitable to the traveler, and kept their promises. Polygamy was unknown, and marriage once contracted was indissoluble. He observed that some of the Cham said prayers before eating. Reference: \textit{Annales}, 1841, 140-141.
\textsuperscript{577} Ramsay, \textit{Mandarins}, 112.
\textsuperscript{578} Swidden fields cut from the jungle produce very high yields of dry rice during the first year of cultivation, but the fertility of the soil is contingent on the ashes of trees and other sources. The fertility of the soil falls during the
their lands from 1834 to 1835, especially fertile paddy fields, to the Vietnamese. Many Cham were forced to abandon their villages and move to the highlands to escape the punitive economic exactions. Furthermore, it was highly likely that the Cham who moved took up dry rice farming because of the inherent qualities of “Champa rice” varieties. This variety of rice had very moderate water requirements, grew well in poorly watered fields and hilly areas, and were resistant to drought. This was a reason many of the Cham were able to survive their flight to the highlands.

Cuenot noted that there was no king, but only a chief with limited powers in each hamlet. The Cham paid tribute to the Vietnamese in the form of rattan, wax and other materials. The right to trade with them was farmed each year to the highest bidder. Cuenot further described a combative society with frequent quarrels and where prisoners were taken. He also noted that the Cham had no form of writing. Cuenot’s comments indicated a small-scale village society in the highlands that did not possess many of the structures associated with the Cham court and other elite groups. This may have been a result of the displacement caused by Minh Mang’s measures or the fact that these are mountain Chams and hence different from Chams who lived in the plains down the rivers.

Cuenot’s observations highlighted a Cham society somewhat dispersed some four years after 1835. Some 46 years later in 1885, we have the observations of Villaume, a French

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579 Ibid., 22.
580 Quick-ripening rice varieties can produce as many as three crops of rice per year. This allows for sustained population growth. Ibid., 26.
Phillip Taylor notes that even in the poorest of Cham settlements, such as the village of Vinh Truong on the island of Pulau Ba, the Mekong Delta, most Cham families have a few hundred meters of rice fields for meeting subsistence needs. For more information, see Chapter 5, “Place in Motion, Culture in Process: Cham histories of trade” in Taylor, Cham Muslims, 156.
missionary, and in 1889, a work by Camillie, a French official. They provide useful observations about the state of Cham society and the Cham religious elite during those times. In the late 19th century, a period of monumental change occurred in Vietnam. French military aggression caused major changes to the traditional role of the Vietnamese monarchy. Even though the power of the Vietnamese traditional monarchy was severely curtailed, it continued to function until 1945.

Among the provocations that the French faced was Minh Mang’s anti-Christian stance, which intensified when he issued a decree in January 1833 prohibiting Catholicism. According to Choi Byung Wook, Minh Mang always regarded the presence of Christians as the forerunner to eventual European colonization. For this reason, he sought to maintain tight control over missionary activities as a way of safeguarding his country. The decree led to the escape of many missionaries from Vietnam, including Taberd and Cuenot, who escaped to Pulau Pinang where the College General, a mission school, was located. Vietnamese Catholics bore the brunt of Minh Mang’s cruelty, and Vietnamese Catholics in Nha Trang and Bình Thuận were arrested and forced to renounce their faith. Some were even brought to pagodas and made to bow before the altar. Despite the kingdom-wide campaign against Christians, Jacob Ramsay is of the opinion that “the chain of authority linking Hue to the distant provinces and to the districts was limited by the end of the 1830s,” and footdragging and corruption of officials in the lower and middle levels of the Mandrinate became obstacles to Minh Mang’s attempt to persecute the Christians. To Ramsay, the “limited success of the campaign was obvious.” The use of family

581 Choi, Southern Vietnam, 65.
582 Ramsay, Mandarins, 50-51, 124.
583 Ibid., 51.
584 Furthermore, Vietnamese Christians frequently bribed Vietnamese officials to escape violence. Local authorities were reluctant to arrest and report missionaries found in their villages because of fear of being punished. Moreover, village heads feared that the arrest and punishment of their Vietnamese Christians would disrupt the harmony of the village and create disorder. Ibid., 69-71.
members and retainers to spy on disobedient low-level mandarins, who were expected to implement Minh Mang’s edicts in the districts and villages, highlighted the fact that the compliance of Vietnamese low-level officials was important if not crucial to the work of persecuting Christians.\footnote{The resistance of the local officials, according to Ramsay, was due to the fear of disturbing community cohesion. Vietnamese Catholicism was part of the Vietnamese social and cultural landscape, and so the mandarins were reluctant to execute Vietnamese Catholics who refused to recant. To escape persecution, Vietnamese Christians sought to conceal their connections to the mission and to carry on church activities out of sight of local officials. Even though these villages complied with the edicts to erect village altars to honor the spirits assigned by the Hue court, they continued to practice their religion despite Minh Mang’s edicts. Ibid., 75-92.}

Nevertheless, the anti-Christian stance and the Vietnamese ill-treatment of French missionaries provided the excuse for the French to intervene in Vietnam and take control of Vietnamese territory. French military aggression commenced on September 1, 1858, when Admiral Rigault de Genouilly moved in from China with 3000 Franco-Spanish troops and took Saigon on February 17, 1859.\footnote{Chapuis, Emperors, 48.} The Treaty of Saigon was signed on June 6, 1862, which ceded the areas of Gia Dinh, My Tho, Bien Hoa and Pulau Condore to the French. In addition, the Vietnamese had to pay an indemnity of 400,000 silver dollars over 10 years.\footnote{Ibid., 60.} On June 20, 1867, The French occupied Vinh Long, Ha Tien and Chau Doc.\footnote{Ibid., 53.} The Vietnamese emperor, Tự Đức, recognized French sovereignty over these six Cochinchinese provinces in 1874.\footnote{Ibid., 60.}

Vietnamese mandarins withdrew from southern Vietnam as French military aggression intensified. The withdrawal took place in stages, and officials from the eastern provinces of Cochinchina, such as Gia Dinh, Bien Hoa and My Tho, left their posts in 1861. Vietnamese officials from western provinces such as Vinh Long, Chau Doc and Ha Tien remained untouched.
until the French also took them over in 1867. The French then annexed the eastern provinces of Cochin China, such as Gia Dinh, Bien Hoa and My Tho. More Vietnamese territory was taken from June 20 to June 25, 1867. The western provinces under Hue were taken later by force, leading to the withdrawal of mandarins from the western provinces. With nearly all of Cochin China under the French, Vietnamese society operating with a mandrinal bureaucracy with allegiance to Hue ended.

The example of the withdrawal of Vietnamese officials as early as 1861 may very likely have occurred in the Bình Thuận area as well. An entry in the Dai Nam Thuc Luc mentions that rice was distributed to the Cham of Bình Thuận in 1864 as the province experienced crop failure during Emperor Tu Duc’s reign. After this date there is no mention of Bình Thuận at all. Bình Thuận would come under French rule in 1883.

This was the context in which the second important missionary account of the Cham was written in 1885 by the French missionary Louis Villaume, two years after the surrender of Bình Thuận to the French, culminating in the signing of the Treaty of Harmand on September 25, 1883 – a treaty which the Emperor Hiep Hoa was forced to accept. He was later executed by his Vietnamese ministers. The surrender of Bình Thuận marked the end of Vietnamese control of Cham populations in that province, at least during the French period. The impact of the Treaty of Harmand on the Cham communities of Bình Thuận was discussed in a letter written by

591 Ibid., 61-63.
592 Quốc Sử Quán Nhà Nguyễn, 881.
593 Chapuis, Emperors, 66-67.
Villaume, who was in the province from 1882 to 1885. According to a letter to his parents from Ba-Ria dated December 8, 1885, Villaume was in charge of some 2000 Christians in Bình Thuận.

Villaume described the existence of the Cham Hindu community (Cham Ahier), which accounted for a quarter of the population. He also mentioned the interesting nature of Cham Hoi relations with the Vietnamese Christians whom he claimed “had saved their lives in 1861” (my emphasis). The Cham lived side by side with the Vietnamese but in separate villages and stayed close to the Vietnamese Christians as they were oppressed by the Vietnamese mandarins. Villaume reported, however, that Vietnamese Christian priests in Bình Thuận failed to convert the Cham as language differences proved a barrier. According to Villaume, the Cham had preserved their language, which was similar to the language of certain native peoples in the mountains of Bình Thuận. Cham language and culture were still strong at this time.

The most important part of the letter is Villaume’s description of what happened when Bình Thuận was ceded to the French in the Harmand Treaty of 1883. Every village prepared a splendid reception for the French, and many cows and pigs were slaughtered for the festivities.

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594 Marie-Louis de Gonzague Villaume was born on February 15, 1858 in Vosges, eastern France. He was ordained on March 12, 1881 and went to eastern Cochin China on May 4 that year. He was placed in Phanrang in 1882, which included the province of Bình Thuận. He was forced to flee the area during the massacres of 1885, and went through the forests between Bình Thuận and the district of Ba Ria. During the French period, he contributed to the agricultural development of the area. However, he drowned on September 6, 1900, while examining a dam near Nha Trang, and was buried in the church in Bình Thuận. Reference: http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-biographiques/villaume, accessed May 12, 2012.

595 Villaume, Un Souvenir, 5-6.

596 In discussions with Nicolas Weber on Villaume’s letter, it seems that the term “Hội” does not mean the Cham Awal or the syncretic Muslims (though the Vietnamese today use the term “Hội Giáo” for Muslim). “Hội” was more a derogatory term for the Cham.

597 Villaume, Un Souvenir, 7-8.
There was joy at the news of the Vietnamese surrender, and Vietnamese officials fled to the north. Thus began the French period for the Cham in Bình Thuận.

Six years later, Cham presence in southern Vietnam was noted by Camille Paris in an 1889 publication. The Cham, Camille learnt, were very happy at the annexation of Bình Thuận by the French. His account of the state of the Palei (village) and other activities of the Cham reveals the persistence of the traditional way of life. There were only about 50,000 to 60,000 Cham left in Bình Thuận, and in the 17 or 18 villages - each of which did not exceed 5000 inhabitants – there lived a mixed population of Cham and Vietnamese. The villages, however, still retained Cham names. The Cham Muslims were called Banis and had four mosques, and those who observed the Brahmin religion were called Kaphirs in Cham society. Even though the Cham had different religions and lived in separate villages, they did so in harmony with each other. Cham names for major Cham territories of Panduranga were also retained, and though the Vietnamese named Malithit as Phan Thiet and Padjai as Phu Hai, the Cham still referred to the area as Padjai. This indicated that the Cham very much identified these places as Cham areas, denoting a preservation of an attachment to their land.

Of particular interest are Camille’s observations regarding the rice-growing activities of the Cham and their economic interactions in Bình Thuận with other ethnic groups. Cham and Vietnamese went to the same markets that sold fish, vegetables, watermelons, rice, pepper, tea,

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598 Ibid., 9.
The Japanese were also looked upon with great regard by the Sultans of Riau as an anti-colonial force (anti-Dutch) force in the 19th century. For the Chams, however, the colonial force was the Vietnamese. For more information, refer to Barbara Watson Andaya, “From Rûm to Tokyo: The Search for Anticolonial Allies by the Rulers of Riau, 1899-1914,” Indonesia, no. 24 (1977): 123-156.
599 Paris, Voyage.
600 Ibid., 241.
601 Ibid., 240-241.
gambier, areca betelnut, lime, shoes, cotton, firecrackers, matches and paper. In Parik, houses of Vietnamese mandarins were built on Cham tombs even though they were afraid of Cham spirits. Cham tombs were regarded as powerful spiritual sites, and might be an example of Vietnamese adopting certain Cham cultural beliefs, as is evident in Vietnamese elements in the Cham Po Nagar temple in Nha Trang.

Camille also noted that in Phanrang the Cham grew rice, which seemed to be the major economic activity. They lived in 34 to 35 villages, which were smaller and poorer than those of the Vietnamese. The Cham living along the coast were mainly those who had lost their fields to the Vietnamese. This indicated that living near the coast was still an option for the Cham even though they had lost dominance over all seafaring and maritime trading activities. Other Cham were debtors who had fled to live in the jungles, but with minimal cultivated crops. Others who grew a variety of foodstuffs were more prosperous. Camille noted that the Cham made buffalo carts; raised buffaloes, horses, goats, dogs, geese, ducks and chickens; and grew tobacco, maize, cotton, castor, peas and coarse cloth. The Cham were also blessed with an abundance of freshwater fish that they caught in irrigation canals.

The Cham who still remained in Vietnam in 1889 seemed able to adjust to major political, social and economic changes brought about by the Vietnamese. A fundamental reason for the continuing strength of Cham culture was the maintenance of ties to the tanah (land), Palei

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602 Ibid., 225.
603 Ibid., 241.
604 A parallel can be drawn with Jambi’s historical experience in the 18th century because of the collapse of its pepper trade, internal divisions, and increasing poverty among the elite which led to a decline in its weaving industry. On the other hand, Palembang experienced growth in its weaving industry, producing weavings using gold and silver thread. For more information, refer to Barbara Watson Andaya, “The Cloth Trade in Jambi and Palembang Society During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *Indonesia*, no. 48 (1989): 27-46.
A similar attitude was found among the Balinese and may help to elucidate the Cham experience. According to Brigitta Hauser-Schaublin, social space in Bali was determined by the ruler, priest, and concept of the kahyangan tiga or the temples that determined the location of the territory and extent of desa (village) territory. While the Cham no longer had a ruler by the late 19th century, other components survived: the priests, the temple, and the Kut.

The Kut was an essential component in Cham identity, marking the sacred center of the community with its attendant rice fields. The boundaries of the community were demarcated by the extension of the spiritual power of the Kut to the farthest members of the group, thus affirming their settlement rights. These ideas were not destroyed, but instead absorbed by the Vietnamese in the form of But worship, which was the Vietnamese pronunciation of the Cham word Kut; Vietnamese-style worship was used to venerate it.

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606 According to Isvan Tuyen Quang, a Cham student currently in the University of Hawaii at Manoa, in the Palei Cam (Cham village), a Kut in the village “proves that that land is Cham territory.” The Kut is the abode of the ancestors and rituals, and ceremonies are done to appease and pay homage to the mukhei (ancestors) di dalam kut. The area in which the Kut is in is made more sacred and proper forms of behaviour are observed. Abandoned Kuts are venerated and they indicate land that the Cham must have lived on in the past but moved on to other places due to certain circumstances.


608 The Kut is important to the Cham family and community. It marks the center of a territory and is intimately connected with boundary spirits. The Kut is established in the center of a family’s sacred field from which rice is offered to spirits. Reference: Paul Mus, “Viii. Cultes Indiens Et Indigènes Au Champa,” Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient 33, no. 33 (1933), 379-383.

609 Léopold Cadière, "Croyances Et Pratiques Religieuses Des Annamites Dans Les Environs De Huê. I. Le Culte Des Arbres," Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient 18, no. 18 (1918): 1-60. However, the term “But” was also believed to be the original term for “Buddha” and was linked more with popular Buddhism in Vietnam. Reference: Correspondence with Bruce Lockhart in 2012.
offered considerable opportunities for Cham social preservation to the religious elites who were more attuned to the land and spirits.610

Antoine Cabaton and Etienne Aymonier provided the earliest descriptions of Cham culture in the late 19th century - a critical insight into the importance of the Cham religious elites to Cham religious and agricultural life at the time.611 Cabaton observed that there were two types of Cham in Bình Thuận - the Cham Bani and Cham Jat (or Cham kaphirs or akaphirs). However, what he observed about the Cham Bani was the centrality of the Po Gru (lord teacher) and texts in Cham society then. The copies of the Koran the Cham had were filled with cham “formulas,” and they have many such materials as Tapuk Açalam or “book of Islam,” Tapuk Mahamat or “book of the Prophet,” and Kitab Elhamdu. These texts seemed to be important to the Cham Bani religious elite in the ceremonies of the Cham. Cabaton witnessed a circumcision ceremony headed by the Po Gru who recited a few verses from the Koran while symbolically circumcising the young men with a wooden knife. The ceremony ended with a feast offered to the Imams by the villagers.612 More importantly, the possession of these texts also indicated the high degree of success that the Cham religious elite had in the preservation of traditional knowledge.

Cabaton also described the Cham Ahier; the practices of their priests, called Basaih, were influenced by local traditions and culture.613 Cabaton’s description of the Basaih highlights the centrality of the Cham religious elite in the continuation of the relevance of Cham language and

610 For a full account of Cham cultural and religious practices and research into Cham language and history, refer to Aymonier, Les Tchames; Aymonier, “Légendes Historiques”; Aymonier, “Grammaire.” Refer also to Cabaton, Nouvelles.
611 The earliest works on Cham culture are those that were produced by Antoine Cabaton and Etienne Aymonier. Their observations on Cham culture in Bình Thuận in the late 19th century are found in these two works: Aymonier, Les Tchames; Cabaton, Nouvelles.
612 Cabaton, Nouvelles, 2-5.
613 Ibid., 7-9.
value of Cham script. When he stayed for several months in Binh Thuận, he studied Cham texts containing religious rituals, such as the Cham Ahier list of gods that must be invited to a sacrifice or religious activity, hymns sung in Cham communities, prayers of great feasts, songs of Maduen (officiating minister), prayers in search of eaglewood, funeral rituals of Phan Rang and Phan-Ri, and prayers of purification of bones after cremation. Apart from the importance of Cham script, Cabaton noted the importance of oral and textual methods that Basaih priests used to preserve their knowledge of ceremony and rituals. Cham hymns about Cham deities were memorized by all Cham priests and sung repeatedly during ceremonies.614

Cabaton also noted the costumes that the Basaih usually wore, which consisted of a white dress and a simple piece of cotton wrapped around his waist. It was held up by a narrow belt with brown and red trimmings. A Basaih also wore a long tunic of white cotton with no collar, and a white turban made of a strip of cloth tied in a bun on the top of his head. In ceremonies, he wore a white miter with red embroidery and a blue ring of copper or gold.615 By the late 19th century, the Cham religious elite had developed a very distinct sense of self.

The Basaih, according to Cabaton, elected three high priests called Po Adhia or Po Dhia (head priest) to become priests of the three great deities: Po Yang Inu Nagar, Po Klong Garai and Po Rome. Children aged 10 from the Cham Ahier group learned Basaih traditions such as reading ritual texts which they must recite by heart. Reinforcing the numbers of this religious group was the annual consecration of new Basaih priests when they reached the age of 25. 616

614 Ibid., 10-11.
615 Ibid., 23-24.
616 Ibid., 22.
Apart from observing the Basaih, another Cham personage of importance whom Cabaton met was the Maduen, the officiating minister of ceremonies, who provided him texts that contained the prayers. Cabaton importantly noted that every priest had a copy of important manuscripts that contained all the formulas recited at great annual festivals and ceremonies such as the ordination of priests. These prayers contained long passages written in Sanskrit and Cham, and the priests claimed that these prayers were from the original texts that were burnt during the wars that led to the Vietnamese destruction of the kingdom of Campa.617 Thus, this act of remembering ancient texts and reproducing them for rituals and ceremonies supports the view that the religious elite preserved Cham religious knowledge in the face of crisis.

Cabaton also described the lower ranking religious personages such as the Camenai who formed a caste lower than the Basaih. They were similar to the Kathar or Kadhar who sang hymns accompanied by a violin with two strings.618 Camenei were responsible for the maintenance of temples and were the guardians of sacred utensils.619 They dressed the deities who were given offerings in the traditional order. The other important religious personage was the Maduen, the officiating minister of ceremonies, who did not belong to any caste.620 Invited to all domestic ceremonies, the Maduen offered sacrifices to the gods to ask for the healing of the sick and to predict the future. He sang hymns with a drum.621 The Basaih, Camenei, Kathar and

617 Ibid., 13.
618 The role played by the Kadha was similar to the ancient Udgata in ancient India, whose role was to sing hymns to entertain and please the gods. Reference: Candradhara Sharma, A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy (London: Rider, 1960), 14.
619 Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 458.
620 Ibid., 375.
Maduen were crucial in funerals; the Basaih were crucial in the search for eaglewood as well.

Aymonier, like Cabaton, also observed various religious personages, among them the Pajao, the priestess or prophetess who was possessed by divinities during ceremonies and rituals and seemed to be crucial in communicating with spirits. Beneath the Pajao was the kaing yang, the lower ranking assistants of the Pajao. Apart from the Pajao, Aymonier witnessed an ordination ceremony of the Basaih and the Po Thea (Po Adhia) in Panrang in March 1885. He mentioned that the Po Dhia (Head Ahier Priest) of Po Klong Garai had died in 1884 and had to be replaced. Two other ceremonies were also celebrated, the ordination of a Cham into priesthood (Basaih Pvah) and a promotion ceremony of a novitiate (Basaih Leah). The ceremonies involved a great crowd of Cham Awal and Ahier who brought money, rice, pigs, lambs, chickens, tea, and liquor. The Cham feasted three times a day throughout a three day celebration. This observation is important as, like the Cham Awal, the Cham Ahier were also able to replenish their hierarchies and more importantly, have the resources to conduct elaborate ceremonies.

However, among Aymonier’s useful observations was the importance of the Cham religious elite in agricultural activities, especially in irrigation. Aymonier noted that the Cham then still had skills to build dams called “binuk,” which were essential for the irrigation of the

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622 Ibid., 47.
623 Ibid., 52.
625 The role of the Pajao was similar to the Babaylan, the spirit mediums in the Philippines. For more information, see Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 129.
626 Ibid., 46-47.
rice paddies.\textsuperscript{627} They were repaired annually and the Cham also cleaned and repaired the canals (\textit{ribaong} or \textit{rabaong}) that irrigated the fields. An important religious personage was the \textit{Ong Binuk} (chief of the dam) who made offerings of foodstuffs such as goats and chickens to deities such as Po Nagar and Po Klong Garai. These divinities protected the rice fields and canals and they also strengthened the dam. The \textit{Ong Binuk} could be either Muslim or Brahmanist (Cham Awal or Ahier). Aymonier reported that the Annamese (Vietnamese) authorities sent the order to the Cham Ahier and Awal to pray according to their practices and to invoke their respective deities to get rain if there was drought.\textsuperscript{628} This is a very important clue that shows that rather than assimilating Cham culture, the Vietnamese attempted to draw on Cham culture for their own benefit.

The religious elite were also important in the ceremonies to strengthen the dams, which were crucial Cham agriculture. The \textit{Camenei} was also invited to perform rites and ceremonies in the rice paddies. Aymonier noted that there were three kinds of holy rice fields, \textit{hamu tabun} (forbidden field), \textit{hamu chagnerov} (canrauv) and \textit{hamu klek loa}.\textsuperscript{629} These were the first rice fields that were paid homage to before harvesting the ordinary rice fields.\textsuperscript{630}

The religious elite were also important to the Cham funerals called “\textit{Padhi}.” The main priests involved were the \textit{Basaih}, \textit{Chamenei}, \textit{Pajao}, \textit{Kadhar} and \textit{Maduon}, who participated in various ceremonies and rituals. Before cremation, the body was put on display for weeks or a month. The \textit{Basaih} presented meals to the corpse, the \textit{Chamenei} took care of the head and face, the \textit{Pajao} prepared rice, water, and betel as offerings, the \textit{Kadhar} played their instruments. The

\textsuperscript{627} Cabaton and Aymonier, \textit{Dictionnaire}, 324.  
\textsuperscript{628} Aymonier, \textit{Les Tchames}, 66-68.  
\textsuperscript{629} Cabaton and Aymonier, \textit{Dictionnaire}, 513.  
\textsuperscript{630} Aymonier, \textit{Les Tchames}, 70.
Basaih led the cremation and once the body was cremated, the bones were put into boxes called *klong* and buried under the *Kut* or family tombstone. When a family desired help from the spirits of the ancestors in the *Kut*, the family invited the Basaih, Kadhar or Pajao for ceremonies to invoke the ancestors. Foodstuffs such as goats, chickens, rice and cakes were placed in front of the *Kut*, and incense and eaglewood were burnt. The ceremony was followed by the Basaih who washed the stones and dressed it up with clothes while the kadhar played the kanyi. The Basaih, Kadhar and Pajao invoked the deities and the ancestors. The Pajao was possessed by the ancestors, replying to queries from the family. Once the ceremony was over, the religious elite took their meals. Aymonier also observed the how the Cham Awal prayed in their mosques called the Sang Magik, the important hierarchies consisting of Po Gru (Lord Teacher), Imom (or Imam, religious leader), and their roles in marriage and other important ceremonies of the Cham Awal.

### Conclusion

Though Minh Mang successfully removed the Cham political elite, he did not seek the removal of the religious elite from their traditional place in Cham society. Instead, he found the religious elite useful in the process of assimilating the Cham into Vietnamese culture. Cham sources nevertheless recount great suffering among the people at the hands of the Vietnamese. After Minh Mang’s death in 1841, the pacification and assimilation of the Cham were not pursued with any vigor by his successors, Thieu Tri and Tu Duc. These rulers had to contend

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631 Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 47.
633 Ibid., 77-87.
with an even greater crisis with Christian converts and French missionaries, which then led to French military intervention. A new age for the Cham began with the Treaty of Harmand of 1883, which ceded the Cham area of Bình Thuận to the French. By then, the Cham had become fragmented and lived in poverty together with other marginalized communities such as the Vietnamese Christians. Although the Cham political leadership had been destroyed by the Vietnamese, the religious elite were spared and were instrumental in preserving Cham culture and identity.

The next chapter will analyze the French colonial policies and attitudes toward the Cham after 1884, when the French assumed control of Bình Thuận and the Cham areas. During the French period, the Cham were basically left alone as the French chose to pay more attention to the Vietnamese, Central Highlanders, and Cambodians. Furthermore, the French did not heavily exploit the Cham compared to the Vietnamese as other communities were more useful in the colonial economy and in the projection of French civilization. Even though the Cham were seen as a civilization and a topic of research archaeology and history, such research was overshadowed by research on Vietnamese and Cambodian history and culture. The French period led to a crucial moment of respite for the Cham religious elite, enabling them to strengthen and consolidate their fragmented society.
CHAPTER 4. THE CHAM IN THE FRENCH COLONIAL PERIOD

This chapter will show that the Cham experience during the French colonial period was characterized largely by benign economic and political neglect. Even though the Cham were pitied by the French, they were largely ignored compared to the attention paid to other peoples in Indochina. The reason for this was that the French chose to pay more attention to the Vietnamese, Central Highlanders, and Cambodians for various economic and political reasons. Despite the inattention, this period is crucial for the development of French research on Cham history and archaeology, until it waned in the mid 20th century. The Cham religious elite were generally left alone during the French colonial period and consequently, many Cham traditions survived.

French Colonization

The process of subordination of the Vietnamese monarchy had already begun before 1883 as the French acquired more colonies in the 19th century. They did so with better advances in medical technology and more importantly, the use of more local troops in overseas expansion.634 The response to French aggression by Vietnamese emperors was appeasement, such as that by Emperor Tu Duc in 1862 and 1874.635 Vietnamese representatives even travelled

634 William B. Cohen, "Malaria and French Imperialism," *The Journal of African History* 24, no. 1 (1983): 36. Cohen argues that as the French empire expanded, more indigenous troops were used, such as Africans. This reduced the number of European troops. Once the colony was formed, living conditions improved and lowered the death rate. The expansion of the French empire was the reason why malaria was conquered, and not the achievements of medical science.
to Paris in 1863 to negotiate the return of Saigon and three occupied southern provinces to Annam, with an offer of 100 million piasters and 50 years of revenue from the three provinces. However, these acts of appeasement were taken as a betrayal of the mandarin officials who formed the bureaucratic structure prior to French conquest. The 1874 Scholars’ Rising in Hà Tĩnh and Nghe An provinces could be interpreted as a sign of their loss of confidence in the ruler and his legitimacy as a Confucian monarch.

The state of unrest led to the French committing more military resources to stabilize the situation, and costs escalated. The expenses of French activities in Annam and Tonkin from 1874 to 1895, and Cochinchina from 1859 to 1895, amounted to a total of 750 million francs (1914 rate). To manage the deficit, taxes were increased and other sources of revenue tapped, such as introducing state monopolies on gambling in Tonkin in 1886; customs tariffs in Indochina in 1887; opium farming in Cambodia in 1884, Tonkin in 1888, and Annam in 1889; and salt taxes in Tonkin in 1886. However, these measures failed to address the deficit. The French faced more rebellions such as the Buddhist rebellions in 1898 which affected even Bình Thuận as well as the other areas in Binh Dinh, Phu Yen and Khanh Hoa. Riots also happened in the north

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640 Ibid., 79.
especially the Thai Nguyen rebellion in 1917. The French acquisition of their colonies was an expensive endeavor.

The high cost of acquiring and maintaining colonies did not deter the French from acquiring more areas. In 1883, the Treaty of Harmand was signed and the process of establishing Annam and Tonkin as French protectorates began, and more importantly, Bình Thuận was ceded to the French. The terms of the treaty were curious in the light of escalating costs that the French incurred in their colonial expansion. For example, Vietnamese debts owed to France were waived with the annexation of Bình Thuận as “compensation.” Furthermore, a French Resident was to be placed in Hue to represent the French Republic in the Court of Annam, and he was to be protected by French and native garrisons. The third demand of the treaty reflected French concerns at the costs of colonization as it intended to use local administrators to avoid the expense of transporting and paying for French administrators. Vietnamese mandarins would continue in their traditional administrative functions, but controlled by the French who could replace them if needed. The King of Annam would continue to head the internal administration but France would protect the realms from external and internal aggression.

In effect, the Harmand Treaty facilitated the transition of Vietnam as a colony of France, which now controlled the destinies of Nager Jek (Vietnam), Nager Cam (Champa) and the Urang Glai (people of the forest). This transition of power was sealed with the imperial order of

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643 Ibid. See Article 26 on the acquittal of debts with the annexation of Bình Thuận.
644 Ibid. See Article 11 on the role and powers of the French resident.
645 Ibid. See article 13 on the armed forces allocated to protect the Resident.
646 Ibid. See Article 14 on the power of Vietnamese mandarins.
647 Ibid. See Article 23 on powers of the Annamese king.
September 27, 1897, which gave the French Resident superiority in Annam and the ultimate political power to administer the colony.\textsuperscript{648} The mandarinate and the offices of the Tong Doc and Tuan Phu (governors of the provinces) and the Phu and Huyen (districts) continued to operate until the 1930s and even during World War II.\textsuperscript{649} However, the departure of Vietnamese mandarins or scholar officials still loyal to the traditional monarchy during the initial phase of French advance from 1862 to 1867 forced the French colonial administration to adopt a policy of direct rule in Cochin-China and placed it under the French Penal Code.\textsuperscript{650} In 1887, the French returned Binh Thuận and Khanh Hoa to the Vietnamese. This “territorial adjustment” could not mask the fact that Vietnam was totally under the control of the French.\textsuperscript{651}

France’s motives for wanting to remain in Indochina despite the costs were complex. It felt that it had to protect the Vietnamese Christians and the Vietnamese locals who supported the French who otherwise would suffer the vengeance of other Vietnamese. Investments had already been made in terms of forts, telegraph lines, and defense posts for the protection of villages. Once France had made the military and political commitment in Indochina, to leave would be a blow to its prestige as a colonial power.\textsuperscript{652} Furthermore, Vietnamese mandarins were already going over to the French and providing them with an instant supply of administrators to help consolidate their rule.\textsuperscript{653} The French also used Vietnamese collaborators such as Tran Ba Loc to destroy villages suspected of supporting the Vietnamese monarchy.\textsuperscript{654} However, the growth of a

\textsuperscript{648} Brocheux and Hémery, \textit{Indochina}, 84.
\textsuperscript{649} Ibid., 88.
\textsuperscript{651} Chapuis, \textit{Emperors}, 24.
\textsuperscript{653} Ibid.
collaborator elite, along with economic change and the influence of new political ideas, led to an increase in resistance to French rule from 1880 to 1940.\textsuperscript{655} Perhaps the strongest reason for France’s determination to remain in Indochina was patriotic, the conviction that France had a true civilizing and Christianizing mission.\textsuperscript{656} However recent research has shown that motives for colonization were far more complex and varied.\textsuperscript{657}

\textit{Extension of French Control}

The immediate focus of the French soon after achieving a position of dominance was the control of the Central Highlands; Bình Thuận and Cham areas were not a major priority. The more important concern for the French was to secure Indochina from Siamese territorial claims backed by the British.\textsuperscript{658} What triggered this response was a suspicion that the British had backed an earlier move by the Siamese to dominate the areas east of the Mekong River. The French were already wary of the British expansion into Burma (Myanmar) from 1824 to 1885, ending in the seizure of the kingdom.\textsuperscript{659} The British, for their part, were similarly suspicious of French

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{656} Thomson, "France," 377-378.
  \item \textsuperscript{657} For recent developments in such research, refer to Robert Aldrich, "Imperial Mise En Valeur and Mise En Scène: Recent Works on French Colonialism," \textit{The Historical Journal} 45, no. 4 (2002): 917-936.
  \item For further information about the complexities of colonization and how it is perceived by a new generation of scholars of Indochina, refer to Nicola Cooper, \textit{France in Indochina: Colonial Encounters} (Oxford: Berg, 2001).
  \item For a good discussion of the nature of British and French rivalry in the mid-19th century, see Henri Cordier, "La Politique Coloniale De La France Au Début Du Second Empire (Indo-Chine, 1852-1858)," \textit{T'oung Pao} 10, no. 1 (1909): 17-70.
  \item \textsuperscript{659} Three Anglo-Burmese wars were waged by the British. The First Anglo-Burmese War from 1824 to 1826 was started when Burmese forces penetrated the borders of British Bengal in pursuit of rebels. It led to a Burmese defeat and the signing of the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826 and the British annexation of Arakan, Manipur and Tenasserim. The second Anglo-Burmese War of 1852 to 1853 was triggered by the British decision to seize a Burmese royal ship. This led to Burmese ill-treatment of British traders and British military intervention. The events led to a palace
\end{itemize}
activities in the region.\textsuperscript{660} In light of these great power rivalries, the French saw control of the Central Highlands as an important step in preventing it from being used by the British or Siamese to attack French interests in Indochina.\textsuperscript{661}

Of special interest to the French, therefore, were interior populations of the Central and Northern highlands - the Moi.\textsuperscript{662} The French colonial government became interested in upland groups in the 1920s and 1930s because of the decision to administer them separately from lowland majority Vietnamese.\textsuperscript{663} Thus, one focus of the French was to control the Central Highlands and the ethnic communities. The role of Sabatier, a well-known champion for the development of the Central Highlands, must be highlighted here. Sabatier created an image of the Montagnards as ripe for Western-style development. If they were protected by direct French rule, he argued, the Montagnard would be preserved.\textsuperscript{664}

Apart from the Central Highlanders, the French paid more attention to the Vietnamese as they provided an important source of exploitable labor and administrative expertise. The Vietnamese scholar elites had opposed the French during the campaigns between 1860 and 1867, coup in which Mindon Min became king in 1853. The third war in 1885 was triggered by Burmese traditionalists’ anti-British agenda, and this led to the dethronement of the Burmese king Thibaw and the end of the Burmese monarchy. For further information about the processes of British annexation and colonization of Burma, refer to James Kershaw, Joseph Moore, and Richard M. Cooler, \textit{British Romantic Views of the First Anglo-Burmese War, 1824-1826} (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University, 1977); Frederick Brickdale Doveton, \textit{Reminiscences of the Burmese War, in 1824-5-6} (London: Allen, 1852); Oliver B. Pollak, "The Origins of the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852-53)," \textit{Modern Asian Studies} 12, no. 3 (1978): 483-502; Michael Aung-Thwin and Maitrii Aung-Thwin, \textit{A History of Myanmar since Ancient Times: Traditions and Transformations} (London: Reaktion, 2013).

\textsuperscript{660} Nicholas Tarling, \textit{Regionalism in Southeast Asia: To Foster the Political Will} (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 38.
\textsuperscript{664} For further information, refer to George W. Stocking, \textit{Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge, History of Anthropology} (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 254-255.
but even so, some Vietnamese mandarins willingly cooperated as they saw better economic opportunities with the French in Cochinchina. The French found it ultimately necessary to rely on mandarins for early administration of the colony and as interpreters in the early stages of French colonization. Nevertheless, reliance on Vietnamese mandarins ended with the abolishment of the mandarin exams in 1915. The French began to rely increasingly on new Vietnamese administrators trained in France and local French schools to function in the colonial bureaucracy. Perhaps the most famous of Vietnamese interpreters was Truong Vinh Ky, who was trained by Catholic missionaries and used as an interpreter by the French colonial government in Cochinchina.

Apart from Vietnamese administrators, the French needed Vietnamese labor to form the backbone of the colonial workforce. This agenda was facilitated by direct control of colonized society, especially in Cochinchina. The French Penal Code replaced the Gia Long code in March 1880, the French language and Quoc Ngu (Romanized form of Vietnamese) replaced ideograms, and French colonial staff employed in 1880 to enforce direct rule. With French laws dominating Vietnamese society, the task then was to transform the economic landscape of not just Cochinchina but Indochina as well. This was done through forming plantations worked by Vietnamese peasantry who lived in harsh conditions. Vietnamese were also needed for low-level bureaucratic positions in the administration, particularly for the building of infrastructure.

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667 Ibid.
668 Muller, Colonial, 26-28.
669 Brocheux and Hémery, Indochina, 73.
and laboring in the mines and rubber plantations. Vietnamese laborers from the north were brought south to clear jungles and establish rubber plantations in Cochinchina and Cambodia. The French ultimately shifted the economy of Vietnam away from southern China, the Gulf of Siam and the Malay Peninsula to the colonial center. The French were also interested in Vietnamese culture and history, as seen in Cadière’s works on Vietnamese ideas of religion and their Chinese-derived Confucian concept of the Mandate of Heaven. Cardière’s other works include a study of the Vietnamese attachment to spirits of the land or “genies,” and of rituals and ceremonies deployed during a cholera epidemic in Quang Tri.

The Chinese were among the most important groups in French Indochina, and the French depended on them for rice exports and the success of alcohol, salt and opium monopolies. They also had the right to own land and travel without restriction in Indochina. Large numbers of Chinese were deployed to work in mines, build railways and tap rubber. The French similarly depended on Tamil moneylenders in Cochinchina to finance their agricultural expansion, lending not only Vietnamese farmers but also to indigenous public servants and colonial minor officials.

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672 Christopher E. Goscha, Thailand and the Southeast Asian Networks of the Vietnamese Revolution, 1885-1954 (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999), 27.


676 The Chinese were considered to be among the most valuable people in Indochina for their international economic networks. Refer to David W. Haines, Refugees in America in the 1990s: A Reference Handbook (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 81-101.

(petits fonctionnaires), who relied on loans to make ends meet. The best-known Tamil bankers were members of the Nattukottai Chettiar banking caste, who began to arrive in Cochinchina in the 1870s.678

Though Cambodians were perceived as “lazy” and “soft,” they had rich lands that were suitable for economic exploitation.679 The French were attracted to the abundance of fish, rice fields, silk growing, and other valuable primary agricultural resources. Furthermore, the urgency of acquiring Cambodia became clear because of the difficulty faced by its ruler Ang Duang (1848-60) in retaining Khmer sovereignty in light of Siamese influence in the mid 1850s.680 Therefore, in 1863, in exchange for timber and mineral concessions, Cambodia was declared a French protectorate.681 French archaeological and historical interests began, but the focus was almost entirely on that country’s rich heritage, to the neglect of research on the Cham. From 1859 to 1861, the ruins of Angkor Wat and the Bayon were discovered by Henri Mouhot. They provided an abundance of Khmer stone inscriptions for French research.682

In the midst of these developments, the Cham religious elite increased their efforts to consolidate their ranks in an environment very amiable for the reconstruction of Cham society. Durand commented on the different religious groups of Bình Thuận Cham that were still present

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678 Chettiar bankers enjoyed the legal right to pursue debtors through the French legal system and Tamils acted as magistrates, legal clerks and bailiffs. As Chettiar bankers did not generally speak either French or Vietnamese, a Tamil interpreter was also likely to be present. Natasha Pairaudeau, “Vietnamese Engagement with Tamil Migrants in Colonial Cochinchina,” Journal of Vietnamese Studies 5, no. 3 (2010): 12-13.

679 Muller, Colonial, 35.


681 Ibid., 23-25.

in 1903. He also noted the vitality of Cham religious and cultural practices in a 1906 publication which showed that the Cham religious elite were free to continue educating young Cham. Po Nagar in Hamu Tanran was used as the center for Cham Bani student activity, especially in the learning of script and religious texts.

The focus on training young Cham to learn Cham script and religious texts indicated that the Cham were attempting to preserve their culture and religion, perhaps because their numbers were so small. In early French statistics dated 1909, Bình Thuận’s population consisted of 66 Europeans, 56000 Vietnamese, 3000 Chams, 22000 Mois (Central Highlanders), 19 Indians and 700 Chinese. The Vietnamese dominated the fishing sector, while the Chinese merchants, though small in number, controlled trade with the Central Highlanders. Chinese merchants traded copper and large jars used to make rice wine, and in exchange, the merchants received pigs, cattle horns, animal skins, wax, honey, ivory and betelnut. Areas north of Bình Thuận were described as being prosperous with production of rice, cotton, tobacco, corn, sugarcane, watermelons, pineapple, coconut, areca, oranges, mangoes and bananas, but they were not produced by Cham. The report described Cham presence in irrigation works, which were not extensive. The Cham were mostly rice farmers and, although they have a sophisticated system of irrigation, generally lived in harsh conditions characterized by persistent drought.

A report in 1910 showed that the Cham had low population numbers. Bình Thuận in 1910 had only 9000 Cham and they were largely rice farmers dependent on irrigation. More

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importantly, the report showed the dispersion of Cham villages and small numbers of Cham living in them. The villages in Phan Ly (Phan Ri), for instance, in the canton of Tuan Giao, had 17 Cham villages with 2425 Cham. In Ninh Ba, there were 16 villages with 3125 Cham, and in Tuy Tinh, 10 villages with 1300 inhabitants. The Cham were mainly agriculturalists, and in Phanrang there was pig rearing mainly practiced by the Moi, Cham and Raglai (Austronesian-speaking people). According to the report, the Cham were also involved in salt-making, fishing, and collecting bamboo and aromatic woods.

The Cham’s place in the colonial economy remained minor, but in spite of this, the religious elites continued to educate Cham students or anak saih to join their ranks when they reached the appropriate stage. They also adjusted to some of the disruptions by building a new site for the Po Nagar because the original site at Nha Trang was becoming less accessible to the Cham. According to Isvan Tuyen Quang, a Cham currently studying archaeology and anthropology in the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Po Nagar was previously located at Hamu Mblang Kathaih (also called Palei Mblang Kathaih, located in Nha Trang). Because the Cham could not go to Nha Trang to do rituals, the solution was to bring the Po Nagar to Hamu Tanran. However, another reason that I have found after conversing with Cham informants was that Po Nagar was too far away and so the Cham built a new Po Nagar in Hamu Tanran which was closer to Cham populations in Bình Thuận. A third reason may be because the Vietnamese took Po Nagar and the surrounding lands away from the Cham, the Cham had to build a new Po Nagar in Hamu Tanran. Whatever the reasons, the transference of a major temple originally located in Nha Trang may be just one example of how the religious elite adapted to difficult

687 Ibid., 526.
688 Ibid., 528.
conditions in order to preserve the continuity of their religious traditions, thus providing a focus for the Cham community.

The continuity of Cham society and the importance of the Cham religious elite in Cham society can be seen in a 1919 publication by Captain Henry Baudesson. He observed the Central Highlanders as well as the Cham while doing topographical surveys for the construction of the Trans-Indo-Chinese Railway.\textsuperscript{689} He and his team lived in “Balap,” possibly the Palei Pamblap in Ninh Thuan, and Baudesson even went to “Malam” in Phan Thiet to observe the \textit{Rija} festivals.\textsuperscript{690} Baudesson described the Cham as notoriously indolent and even left the building of the houses to the Vietnamese.\textsuperscript{691} The Cham wore necklaces of large amber beads and also the \textit{Tamrak}, an amulet, to ward off evil.\textsuperscript{692} Baudesson described it as a small cylinder of lead which Cham priests inscribed with mystical characters. Though the Cham of Cambodia were all Muslims, two-thirds of the Cham in Vietnam were Brahmins (syncretic Hindus) and were called Cham Kaphir, though there were also Cham Bani (syncretic Muslims) who used the Cham calendar comprising of both solar and lunar systems.\textsuperscript{693} Rules of etiquette were observed stringently with proper reverence to seniors and superiors, and there was strict adherence to rituals and ceremonies in the building of houses and even carts.\textsuperscript{694}

\textsuperscript{689} See the Foreword of Henry Baudesson, \textit{Indo-China and its Primitive People} (London: Hutchinson, 1919). The Trans-Indochinese Railway was 1735 kilometers long, connecting northern and southern Vietnam, and was built from 1898 to 1936. For more information, refer to Raymond F. Betts, \textit{Uncertain Dimensions: Western Overseas Empires in the Twentieth Century, Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 81.


\textsuperscript{690} Baudesson, \textit{Indo-China}, 303; for the reference on his visit to Malam, see page 305.

\textsuperscript{691} Ibid., 228.

\textsuperscript{692} “\textit{Tamrak}” is the Cham term for the metal lead. Reference: Cabaton and Aymonier, \textit{Dictionnaire}, 164.

\textsuperscript{693} Baudesson, \textit{Indo-China}, 230-231.

\textsuperscript{694} Ibid., 233-236.
Baudesson commented that the Cham still retained river-based skills and crafts, and that they preferred the banks of the river or the shores of a lake as settlement sites. Whole villages were located near the water, and the important industry of the Cham who lived near the lakes was the building of light boats and racing skiffs using the long narrow trunks of the Dipterocarpus trees found in abundance in Cham areas. Prayers and sacrifices accompanied the building of such boats. These boats could accommodate 50 paddlers and were used in river regattas that displayed these crafts. Though Baudesson did not specifically mention which regatta, he did mention that the Cham participated in canoe races in Laos and Cambodia which are part of the festivals of these nations.\textsuperscript{695}

Cham agriculture was limited to rice, tobacco, cotton and peanuts and, according to Baudesson, the Cham of Vietnam were, unlike the Vietnamese, not interested in expanding agriculture, commerce, and industry. However, they had good skills in local herbal medicine, which were said to be as good as Chinese medicine. The main ingredients used in Cham medicine were camphor oil, which was kept in small, brightly-colored glass flasks, wax capsules that contained drugs, and sandalwood and eaglewood which were used to cure cholera. They were also experts in making poisons and narcotics.\textsuperscript{696}

Of great interest is Baudesson’s description of the Cham religious elite during important rituals and ceremonies. He described the ceremony called Karoh, a coming of age ritual, headed by the Ong Gru (high priest) and his acolytes; a circumcision ceremony which was performed

\textsuperscript{695} Ibid., 238. The dipterocarpus species of tree was used for boat-building in Burma as well. For more information, refer to Raymond L. Bryant, \textit{The Political Ecology of Forestry in Burma, 1824-1994} (London: Hurst & Co., 1997), 228.

\textsuperscript{696} Baudesson, \textit{Indo-China}, 239-244.
symbolically, and marriage ceremonies. Cham youth were taught the basics of reading and writing the Cham script, and learning the names of animals symbolising the Cham years. In describing the rites and beliefs of the Cham, Baudesson mentioned that the head of the Cham Bani was the Po Gru or Ong Gru, assisted by various religious officials of lower rank. All of them strictly observed fasting and religious prohibitions. He described the ordination of the Padjao and the role of the Maduen in such ceremonies as musicians. The Cham also used the temple Po Klaong Garai, said to be the best preserved, for their rituals. There were rites and rituals associated with the plowing of the rice fields. Every Cham village according to Baudesson had two or three sacred rice fields called Hamu Canrauv which were the first to be plowed. The Cham religious elite were also very important in funeral rites and ceremonies. Baudesson observed that the Cham priests of Vietnam used Akhar Rik for engraving magical inscriptions on amulets.

Baudesson’s description of Cham “indolence” in developing their economy perhaps can be explained by French lack of economic interest in Cham provinces. In 1927, they noted but did not exploit the mineral Ia Mu, or salt deposits that formed in hot pools near a Cham village called Palei Moemih. Another report from 1929 revealed that some attempts were made in Phu Yen and Bình Thuận to grow agave (a form of cactus used for sugar production), sugar cane (especially in Phu Yen) and rice (of which 450 hectares were put under cultivation).

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697 Ibid., 249-254; according to Dr Thanh Phan, the ceremony called “Kareh” is still done by the Cham communities today.
698 Ibid., 262.
699 Ibid., 266-269.
700 Ibid., 271-275.
701 Ibid., 280.
702 Ibid., 298-317. For further discussion on the importance of Baudesson’s observations on the Cham, refer to A. C. Hanna, ”The Chams of French Indo-China,” The Muslim World 21, no. 3 (1931): 263-281.
Unfortunately, even though production reached 150 tons in one year, the agave plants suffered from a disease that affected their leaves. It was most likely the “banding disease,” which was caused by a lack of potassium in the soil. Even as late as 1933, the only industry worthy of note was the manufacture of fish sauce in the traditional manner. In this low-technology, labor-intensive production, fish was mixed with salt and stored in earthenware pots, then sealed and buried in the ground for a few months. The liquid collected was the nuoc mam or fish sauce. The absence of French economic investment in Bình Thuận meant the Cham were used mainly as laborers. They became part of a corvée labor force that included highland minorities to serve as porters in the construction of roads to Dalat, a colonial rest station which was also an important administrative center for the French.

While the French saw little economic value in the Cham or their lands, they had high regard for Cham culture. In a 1931 publication by Henri Gourdon, the Inspector General of Public Instruction in Indochina, describing the inhabitants of Indochina, the Cham were portrayed as the only Indonesian group (Gourdon also referred to other Austronesian groups such as the Jarai and Rade in Vietnam as “Indonesian”) to have reached a high degree of civilization.
by creating a powerful state and a population fully shaped by Hindu culture. According to Gourdon, the Cham landed on the coast of Annam and brought Brahmanism, Sanskrit, and social policy. Their territories were in central and southern Annam and the region of Phan Thiet, and they possessed a sophisticated irrigation system.

Gourdon described the Cham as having “fabulous wealth,” such as precious woods, metals, cotton and mulberry trees, and traded with Java and China in ivory objects, jewelry, silk, and cotton. Champa was divided into three regions with three capitals, Dong Duong (25 km south of My Son), My Son (60 km south of Danang), and Cha Ban (now Qui Nhon), and was administered by a hierarchy of civilian and military officials. The king exercised absolute power and possessed a powerful fleet and army with a thousand war elephants and advanced weapons. The Cham had a “warlike spirit,” laid waste the entire coast of Indochina, and committed cruel acts that were mentioned in the accounts of European travelers such as Marco Polo.

709 Henri Gourdon, *L'indochine, Par Henri Gourdon, 140 Héliogravures, 7 Cartes, Dont Une En Couleurs Hors Texte* (Paris: Impr. Larousse, 1 à 9, rue d'Arcueil, 1931), 48; McConnell, Leftward, 84. Henri Gourdon was the Inspector General of Public Instruction in Indochina. He was reported to have a background in studies in oriental art and culture and was involved in formulating education policies in the colony.

710 Gourdon, *L'indochine*, 49.

711 Ibid., 50.
Map taken from page 63 of Gourdon, *L'Indochine*.

Gourdon then described Cham history, the fabulous Cham towers especially Po Nagar, and the state of the population, who at the “time of their splendor” comprised some two million Cham (which was obviously unlikely). However, the Cham faced massacres and slave raids and were absorbed into the Vietnamese population in the 17th century.\(^{712}\) Due to such processes, the

\(^{712}\) Ibid.
Cham population almost disappeared and by the time of Gourdon’s writing, only 50000 Cham were left - 20000 sought refuge in Cambodia, where they merged with the Malays, and 30000 remained in Bình Thuận. According to Gourdon, the Cham of 1931 lived in miserable huts in poor villages and grew rice, corn, cotton, tobacco and some vegetables, and Cham industry was limited to weaving. They were under a Vietnamese administration that selected local officials. The last descendants of a people who were once powerful and feared now lived in misery.\textsuperscript{713}

In an account by Marcel Ner and Pierre Gourou in 1935, the economic position of the Cham had not changed from earlier reports. Some 20000 Chams remained in southern Vietnam living in miserable villages between Nha Trang and Phanthiet. While Vietnamese villages had bamboo and fruit trees, Cham villages were scattered in the coastal plains of Bình Thuận and Ninh Thuan and practiced a “Brahmanism and Islam which (was) very degenerate.”\textsuperscript{714} The Cham were no larger than other ethnic minorities in the French colony in 1936.\textsuperscript{715} The Great Depression and World War II imposed considerable economic demands on French colonies everywhere, including in Indochina. By 1936 to 1939, the French colonies were feeling the effects of these unrelenting demands and suffered a severe economic crisis, bringing starvation to many areas.\textsuperscript{716}

\textsuperscript{713}Ibid., 48-53.
\textsuperscript{715}A 1936 census estimated the population of French Indochina as 23.0 million. 7.3 per cent of the total population included the Muong, Man, Meo, Indonesians, Minh-Huong, Malays and the Cham. Reference: "French Indo-China: Demographic Imbalance and Colonial Policy," \textit{Population Index} 11, no. 2 (1945): 71-72.
The French very much admired the Cham temples and ruins strewn throughout southern Vietnam. The excavations of Henri Parmentier revealed that the Cham had remarkable achievements in temple-building and art. French scholars were also interested in the elaborate religious hierarchies of Brahmanist and Muslim Cham which were a source of great fascination to Durand in 1907. Interest in the Cham began with Aymonier, who arrived in Phanrang on December 13, 1884 and ventured into Cham areas two days later. His observations of the Cham in Binh Thuận eventually formed the basis of his work entitled *Les Tchames Et Leurs Religions*, published in 1891, and the still useful Cham-French dictionary, published in 1901. 

The elaborate ceremonies that Aymonier observed still exist today, and the Cham religious elite continue to play an important role in Cham agricultural rituals and ceremonies. By the end of 1884, according to Aymonier, relations between the Cham syncretic Hindus and Muslim priests in Binh Thuận were excellent. A reason for this was because of the lax religious practices of both priests. He left for France in 1885, returned the following year to become the Resident of the province of Binh Thuận, and died in 1929. After his death, interest in all things Cham waned, though there were others who focused on surviving features of Cham art, religion, society and literature, such as Antoine Cabaton in his *Nouvelles Recherches Sur Les Chams (New Research on the Cham)*, published in 1901.

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718 Refer to Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, *Archaeology*, 14-25.
721 Aymonier, *Les Tchames*.
722 Ibid., 27.
723 Ibid., 78-79.
725 Cabaton, *Nouvelles*. 
The organization most responsible in advocating research on the Cham was the École française d’Extrême Orient (French School of the Far East, or EFEO), founded on December 15, 1898. The Société des Études Indochinoises (Society of Indochinese Studies), founded in 1865, had already published works by Etienne Aymonier on Cham and Khmer epigraphy. French scholarship emphasized the need to protect the Cham from further Vietnamese aggression. To Brossard in a publication published sometime between 1901 and 1903, it was quite obvious that Cham history was a continuous struggle against invaders and that the Vietnamese under the tutelage of the Chinese had seized the lands of the south for over five centuries without hindrance. The Vietnamese would have continued to expand had not the French arrived to prevent the seizure of Cambodia and destruction of the Cham. The Cham were on the verge of disappearing when French intervention saved the remnants of the unfortunate people and now enjoyed an independent existence under the protection of France.

With this colonial rationale, the French were sympathetic to the Cham and enabled the Cham religious elite to strengthen and become leaders of Cham revitalization under French patronage. After the Treaty of Harmand of 1883, important French officials such as Charles

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728 Ibid., 471-472. Brossard also observed that the Chams were bigger and better proportioned. According to him, they had the habit of servitude, which made them lazy and soft. However, they showed remarkable artistic skills and their knowledge of paddy cultivation impressed the Vietnamese. Men and women wore the sarong or sampot and the style seemed to have been borrowed from the Vietnamese. Only the priests wore long clothing, all white, and their turbans were girded with a scarf embroidered with fringed ends falling on the shoulders. The Cham had divided the religious groups into two: the Cham Bani and the Brahmanists. However, the Islam and Brahmanism were filled with superstitious practices. The two groups needed each other for ceremonies.
Lemire, the Resident of Binh Dinh, vowed to protect the Cham from the Vietnamese.\textsuperscript{730} According to Lemire, the Cham had welcomed the French as liberators and that France would save the Cham as it had Cambodia.\textsuperscript{731} Lemire, influenced greatly by Aymonier’s sentiments towards the Cham, was fascinated by them, and he considered them to be among the most interesting subjects of the colonial empire,\textsuperscript{732} apart from those in the Central Highlands.\textsuperscript{733}

The idea of protecting the Cham was shared by Paul Doumer, who later became Governor General of French Indochina (1897-1902). In a 1905 work, he wrote admiringly of the beauty of the Cham towers in Qui Nhon and noted the role of EFEO in 1899 in halting the further spoliation of the towers and other historical monuments throughout Indochina. He viewed the towers as shining examples of a formerly great Cham civilization destroyed by the Vietnamese, and the Cham as strong and intellectually developed, but suffering the fate of a conquered people. After a night in a Cham area (Bình Thuận), his admiration for the Cham increased. Though they lived in misery, he noted, they continued to retain the nobility of their ancestors and thus preserved the memory of their great past. They hoped for divine intervention from their ancestors to restore the power of the Cham people. The Cham had been decimated, and so they must be allowed to “grow and multiply” under French protection.\textsuperscript{734} In order to help the Cham, Doumer reiterated in his work what Louis Finot had said in an inaugural address in the opening of EFEO in 1901.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Charles Lemire, "Les Tours Kiams De La Province De Binh Đệnh (Annam)," \textit{Excursions et Reconnaissances XIV}, no. 32 (1890): 216.}
\footnote{The Kiams (Chams) were scattered and there were 50000 Cham in Bình Thuận, and they saw the French as liberators. Ibid., 207.}
\footnote{Ibid., 208. \textit{“Ce peuple, dit M. Aymonier, eut un grand passé. C’est une race à part, intéressante entre toutes dans notre empire colonial; sa langue, son écriture, ses religions, ses coutumes diffèrent totalement de celles des Annamites. Moins importants que ceux du Cambodge, leurs monuments indiquent du goû et une civilisation presque identique.”}}
\footnote{The Central Highlands too were of great interest to the French, but they encountered great difficulties with the tribes such as the Jarai. A French administrator was killed in the Highlands in 1904. See Finot, "Lettre."}
\footnote{Paul Doumer, \textit{Indo-Chine Française (Souvenirs)} (Paris: Vuibert et Nony, 1905), 198-199.}
\end{footnotes}
Finot had asserted the importance of research on the Cambodian and Cham languages before other colonial powers did so. The Dutch had already translated some Cambodian inscriptions and the Germans had succeeded in writing a comparative grammar of the Cham language.\(^\text{735}\) In a climate of heightened colonial rivalries, Finot saw non-French research as a threat.\(^\text{736}\) Colonization meant more than simply acquisition of territory but also control over material and cultural resources.\(^\text{737}\) Finot felt threatened by Dutchman Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern (1833-1917), who published the very first Sanskrit inscription of Cambodia in the *Annales de Extreme Orient* in 1873.\(^\text{738}\) It was also possible that Finot was referring to Wilhelm Schmidt who was born in Germany in 1868.\(^\text{739}\) His work on the Austro-Asiatic language family and its relationship with the Malayo-Polynesian language family, published in 1906, became famous for coining the term “Austronesian.” He classified the Cham language as Austroasiatic and ignited a heated controversy among linguists.\(^\text{740}\)

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\(^{735}\) Ibid., 250.

\(^{736}\) Edwards, *Cambodge*, 36. According to Edwards, Finot believed that to prevent “further trespassing on Greater France’s intellectual terrain,” the EFEO had to increase efforts into research before “Orientalists from other empires” did so.


The French desire to justify their presence was supported by certain scholars, such as Virginia McLean Thompson, who wrote:

… (One) must not forget that the example was first given by the Annamites (Vietnamese) themselves. The most ardent native nationalist cannot but admit that the worst exploiter of the Annamite is his own countrymen… Those Annamites who resent so bitterly the disdain with which they are treated by the French, forget their own history. They wiped out the Chams and were in the process of cruelly exterminating the Khmers and Laotians at the time of the conquest.

Despite the pity felt for the Cham by French administrators and researchers, there was little done to elevate the Cham economically, politically, or socially. Even during the colonial exhibitions held in the late 19th and 20th centuries, the Cham were not featured significantly. Colonial exhibitions were an important feature for not only the French, but also other colonial powers such as the British and Dutch, to showcase their success in civilizing, modernizing and developing their colonies. The British held colonial exhibitions annually from 1851 to 1914, attracting millions of visitors. The Dutch held colonial exhibitions from 1883 to 1931 and showcased their colonial prowess to other European powers.

The first French international exhibition was the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867. The next major ones were organized in Paris in 1889 and 1900, called the Exposition

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744 Peter H. Hoffenberg, An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 1.

Between 1900 and 1931, there were another five colonial exhibitions organized in France. However, Angkor Wat was given much more attention than any other area in the exhibitions, since it was compatible with France’s preference for “majesty and nobility.” The art and architecture of the ancient Angkor civilization took precedence over Cham monuments. Building a model of Angkor Wat worked in enhancing France’s colonial status in the eyes of the British, who were impressed by its replica.

However, efforts were made to improve Cham education. There were 200 students and four Cham teachers in the provinces of Ninh Thuan and Bình Thuận (the date was not mentioned in the source). The number of students rose from 259 in 1930 to 290 (the number of boarders or pensionaires in all of Tonkin and Annam) in 1931. The school staff was almost entirely Vietnamese, but efforts were made to provide these schools with textbooks written in Rade, Jarai and Cham. It was not known whether these were successful or continued to operate beyond 1931, but at this time, the Cham language and writing system - mainstays of traditional Cham education - still persisted. The ancient Cham relationship with the Central Highlanders were being maintained due to the activities of the Cham religious elite.

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751 ”Rapports Au Conseil De Gouvernement Général De L’indo-Chine” (Indochine, 1931), 630-632.
According to Jeanne Leuba (1882-1979), Henri Parmentier’s wife who was greatly interested in Cham culture, the Cham language was conserved by the Cham in its original form. More importantly, the Cham retained friendly relations and lived in harmony with the Montagnards or mountain people. The latter served the Cham as servants and coolies and performed chores in the villages. They also continued to engage in trade with the Cham, bringing fine spices (the type was not stated in the source), cereals, poultry, and fruit to be bartered for salt, copper wire, tobacco, and dried fish. The trade profited the Cham, and Leuba noted equivalents in this barter trade: An iron bell was worth two chickens; a little dried fish and tobacco were equivalent to a pig; a silk tunic equaled the value of three suckling pigs. As a result of frequent interactions, use of the same tools and utensils, and sharing similar customs and beliefs, the Cham and the highlanders were barely distinguishable. What the relationship between the two had been in the past was suggested by Leuba’s comment that the Montagnards regarded an old descendant of the Cham royal family as their own sovereign and offered him their total obedience.

The Cham during the French colonial period prospered culturally, and this can be seen most starkly in Jeanne Leuba’s 1923 publication on Cham history culture and religion. Visiting Cham villages in Binh Thuận, she noted that the Cham retained their language, writing, legends and traditions. However, though they had conserved their language and writing system, 

753 Jeanne Leuba’s interest in the Cham led to the publication of a synthesis of works done by Aymonier, Cabaton and Parmentier, and her own observations of the Cham in southern Vietnam. For more information, refer to Jeanne Leuba, Les Chams D'autrefois Et D'aujourd'hui (Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extreme-Orient, 1915).
754 Jeanne Leuba’s comment on the Cham language can be found in the edited volume published in 1931, called “Indochine,” by Henri Russier, the Inspector of the Board of Public Instruction in Indochina. For more information, refer to “Cham et Moi” in Henri Russier, Henri Gourdon, and Edouard Russier, Indochine Française (Hanoi: Impr. de l'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi), 1931), 50.
many could not read the ancient language of the manuscripts. The few individuals capable of deciphering the manuscripts could only do so slowly and with difficulty. Leuba blamed this loss of Cham skills on the domination of Vietnamese language and writing, and used the example of the widespread use of Vietnamese characters in the writing of all official documents in the early years of the French protectorate.755

Leuba noted the continuing harmonious relationship between the Cham and the Central Highlanders in trade, with the latter also participating in Cham ceremonies.756 Cham dwellings were described as “nomadic” (houses that were not built to last). The Cham, as Leuba saw it, realized that they had lost their homeland and were thus resigned to their miserable fate.757 But certain Cham who were selected as officials in the French-Vietnamese administration seemed better off, as she observed in Palei Bauh Hadang (the village of Phú Nhuận, located in Bình Thuận today), one of the largest and most successful of Cham villages, where the houses and environment were much better than other villages. It was the administrative center of the province and the home of a Huyen, the highest mandarin post given to the Cham and equivalent to a subprefect.758 Although there was no evidence of a Cham being appointed to the position of Huyen, the Nguyen emperors did use Cham officials to govern their own people.

The Cham continued to be reliant on rice growing, but they also grew mango and arecanut, and engaged in silk production. According to Leuba, they possessed accurate meteorological data, which they used in their daily life, especially for agriculture. On November 16, 1908, torrential rains fell for seven days, causing rivers to overflow. The Cham predicted that the rain

755 Ibid., 91-93.
756 Ibid., 94-95.
757 Ibid., 101.
758 Ibid., 102.
would stop on November 19, which it did, and they celebrated.\textsuperscript{759} The reputation of the Cham religious elite as effective rainmakers helped preserve their positions after the undermining of the political elite by the Vietnamese. Moreover, their association with agriculture made them doubly important to the Vietnamese, hence ensuring their survival. In the rest of the work, Leuba described the religious and cultural life of the Cham and religious practices of the Brahmanist and Bani Cham. Her comments were very similar to those of Aymonier and Cabaton in the early 20th century.

Leuba’s 1923 description of the vibrant Cham religious elite and their activities suggests that they continued to be strong into the 20th century. The Cham Bani in 1923 were divided into a religious hierarchy consisting of the \textit{Ong Gru}, \textit{Imam}, \textit{Katip} and the \textit{Maduen}. The \textit{Ong Gru} was the Grand Chief of the mosque, chosen by the Imams and assisted by the \textit{Katips} who presided over ceremonies.\textsuperscript{760} The Brahmanist Cham hierarchy was headed by the \textit{Po Adhia} as the Grand Priest, and below him were the \textit{Basaih} priests, the \textit{Chamenei} (keepers of the temples), the \textit{Kadhar} (those in charge of music), and the \textit{Maduen} (officiators at ceremonies).\textsuperscript{761} The Cham temples and the \textit{Sang Magik} (mosque) were centers of Cham religious and cultural ceremonies. Important hymns were sung by the Cham to honor such divinities as Po Nagar, Patao Gahlao (the lord of eaglewood), and Yang In, the genie.\textsuperscript{762} Funeral ceremonies and worship at the Po Klong Garai temple were still conducted by the \textit{Chamnei}, the \textit{Khadar}, the \textit{Maduen} and the \textit{Basaih}.\textsuperscript{763}

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\item \textsuperscript{759} Ibid., 118.
\item \textsuperscript{760} Ibid., 139.
\item \textsuperscript{761} Ibid., 146.
\item \textsuperscript{762} Ibid., 149-150.
\item \textsuperscript{763} Ibid., 161-163.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Pictures of Palei Baoh Hadang (Palei Deng or village of Phú Nhuan) in Bình Thuận, from Leuba, *Les Chams*, 142.

*The Decline of French Interest in Cham Culture*

Cham studies owe its prominence today to the seminal works of early French scholars, such as Georges Maspero’s *Le Royaume De Champa*\(^{764}\) published in 1928; Henri Parmentier’s

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\(^{764}\) Maspero, *Le Royaume.*
works on Cham archaeology,\textsuperscript{765} and Paul Mus’s works based on his observations of the Cham in the 1930s, notably \textit{Cultes Indiens Et Indigènes Au Champa}.\textsuperscript{766} Interest in the Cham declined in the 1930s, and according to Pierre Bernard Lafont, epigraphic and paleographic studies have suffered in particular because of strong interest in neighboring Cambodia, which has more than a thousand inscriptions compared to just 206 discovered in Cham areas. As a result, very few epigraphers have been drawn to study Cham inscriptions, and even the most dedicated - such as Louis Finot - “had to abandon (study of Cham inscriptions) for the benefit of Khmer epigraphy which offered them richer and more accessible materials.”\textsuperscript{767} After Aymonier died in 1924, there was little done on Cham manuscripts until Po Dharma’s work in the 1970s.

\section*{Conclusion}

During the French colonial period, the Cham experienced economic and political neglect. Even though the Cham were pitied by the French, they were largely ignored compared to attention paid to other peoples in Indochina. The reason was that the French chose to pay more attention to the Vietnamese, Central Highlanders, and Cambodians for various economic and political reasons. Despite the lack of attention, the Cham attracted French scholars who were

\textsuperscript{765} Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, \textit{Archaeology}. For a full account of French archaeological excavations, see Pierre Baptiste’s “Archaeology of Ancient Champa: The French Excavations.” For a full inventory of Henri Parmentier’s works, refer to Finot, “Henri.” Parmentier’s important works on the Cham are many, however, the excavations of Cham towers of My Son, Dong Duong and Po Nagar are among the most important. For more information refer to Parmentier, “Découverte”; Parmentier, “Le Sanctuaire”; Parmentier, “Les Monuments”; Parmentier, “Notes Sur”; Parmentier, “Nouvelles”; Durand and Parmentier, "Le Trésor."


interested in Cham history and archaeology, but this waned in the mid-20th century. The immediate benefits of research to the Cham were preservation of their histories and important features of Cham culture. One positive result of the French “benign neglect” was that they saw themselves as the protectors of Cham from the Vietnamese. The Cham religious elite were generally left alone and the fact of their survival was the main reason why many of the traditions of the Cham could survive. The next chapter will show, through an analysis of several key Cham texts, how the Cham began to reflect on their historical experiences and reassess their understanding of power, society and Cham kingship.
CHAPTER 5. GRU AGAMA CAM AND THE BHAP CAM

The focus of this chapter is the transformations and continuities in Cham society from 1839 to 1940, and the role that the Cham religious elite or Gru Agama Cam played in preserving Bhap Cam (Cham people)’s identity, religion and history. Cham manuscripts provide some information about the society and economy of a people who were primarily agricultural, and their efforts in preventing social fragmentation. Certain Cham texts contain important memories about Cham rulers and are important references for the religious elites and ordinary people. Though some of the materials indicate changes in attitudes toward the Cham king, the manner in which they describe things or discuss events or tales reveal much that could be indicative of social and economic change.

How the Cham adapted to the loss of the traditional ruling elite was to remember them in ceremonies and rituals. According to Isvan Tuyen Quang and Dr Thanh Phan, it was important for Cham kings to be invited to most of the ceremonies and rituals in Cham areas. In the past, the Po Palei (village head) and other religious elite such as the Ong Ka-Ing invited the Yang (spirits) and the Yang Patao Cam (spirits of Cam kings) to ceremonies such as the Rija Nagar. The Ong Ka-Ing was the male dancer and among the lesser religious elite in the Cham Ahier hierarchy headed by the Po Dhia (head teacher of the Cham Ahier) who led the Basaih (Ahier Priest), the Kadhar (teacher and officiating musician), Muk Pajau (shaman), and Maduen (musician who played the drum). The position of the Ka-ing was below that of the Maduen.\textsuperscript{768} While the relationship between the Po Palei, Po Gru (head teacher of the Cham Awal) and Po Dhia was

\textsuperscript{768} For more information, refer to Doris Blood’s “Aspects of Cham Culture” in Thomas and Gregerson, Notes, 23-24.
uncertain, it was clear that the heads of the religious elite controlled Cham society in terms of culture and religion, and their decisions had a great impact on Cham society.

Perhaps what was most interesting about what the Cham remembered of the religious elite was their wealth. In the past, the Cham gave the *Po Gru* and *Po Dhia* tributes in the form of *hamu* (rice fields) and buffaloes in return for the investment of considerable time in teaching Cham ceremonies and rituals. More importantly, these sources of wealth were inherited by the next generation of religious elite. It was believed that the Cham religious elite were from rich families, which appeared to be supported by Cham inscriptions describing donations by Cham kings of rice fields, buffaloes and precious metals to the temples (See Chapter 1).

What will be further explored here is how the religious elite preserved the memory of the Cham kings in ritual practices as a response to the loss of traditional rulers. This could have occurred as early as the 19th century, when the traditional Cham monarchy was made irrelevant in Panduranga. Cabaton’s observations of Cham rituals, especially the invitation to the Cham kings to attend a particular ceremony, are useful in describing how the Cham religious elite integrated the memory of the Cham king into various rituals and ceremonies.

*The Cham Religious Elite and the Memory of Cham Kings in Rituals and Ceremonies*

The Cham religious elite remembered the Cham king in various rituals and ceremonies. The spiritual - and not physical - presence of the Cham king became more relevant to the Cham
of the early 20th century in Vietnam. In the late 19th century, Antoine Cabaton observed a ritual called *Thrva* (Srua). In this ritual, the head priest invited *Po Ganvôr Môtrî* (Po Ganuor Mantri) and other deities to attend the ceremony. They included *Po Ganvôr Môtrî*, *Po Nogar*, *Po Pan*, *Po Klon*, *Po Bhok*, *Po Rome*, *Po Sah* (*Po Sah Ina*), *Po Kusat* (*Po Kasit*), *Po Ceï Cathun*, *Po Yang In*, *Po Tang Gahlau*, *Po Bincsor* (*Po Binasuor*), and the deities of *Pajai*, *Parik* and *Karan* (*Kraong*). Offerings of cakes, glutinous rice and bananas were made. Included in Cabaton’s work were commentaries about the history of each deity worshipped as understood by the Cham. Discussions with Dr Thanh Phan on March 2, 2013 revealed more about this ceremony: The full name of the ceremony was *Ndih Srua* or “the ceremony of shedding of snake skin,” an analogy used by the Cham to describe the graduation of a lady who has trained successfully to become *Muk Rija*, a shaman whose body was used as a vessel for the spirit of Cham deities and spirits in possession ceremonies. The ceremony was headed by the *Maduen* of both the Ahier and Awal Cham groups. In this and many other important ceremonies, Cham kings were always called upon in hymns.

In the ode to *Po Ganuor Mantri*, the Cham remembered him as the Lord Chief Minister, or the god of sculptors, engravers and carpenters, and was also described by Cabaton as King Po Klong Garai’s confidant. In the hymn, permission was sought from the *Ganuor Mantri* for the ceremony to begin. Po Klong Garai was informed by the *Ganuor Mantri* that *Liman* (the

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769 This was similar to the Balinese example, where the Balinese king’s power was still venerated because the “invisible” world of “spiritual” relations was more important than the physical one. For more information, refer to Margaret J. Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms: Power, Magic, and Colonial Conquest in Bali* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10.
770 Cabaton, *Nouvelles*, 98.
771 Ibid.
772 Ibid., 102, 107; see page 107 for Cabaton’s comments on the relationship between Po Klong Garai and Po Ganuor Mantri; Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 99.
elephant) had arrived and entered the madhir or palace and would pass by the Cham king. The deities were implored to accept the offerings. Why the Cham called upon Po Gauor Mantri first before the other divinized Cham kings may be because his image was situated at the entrance of the temple of Po Klaong Garai. Permission therefore was sought from Po Gauor Mantri before beginning the ceremony. The Cham temple was a site for the mobilization of memory among the religious elite in order to reconstruct traditional rituals and ceremonies. Greater understanding and hence meaning can then be given to the hymns and ceremonies dedicated to Po Gauor Mantri.

In the ode to Po Yan Inu Nagar, Cabaton relied on Cham memory to explain that this deity was the mother goddess of the kingdom and creator of the earth, rice and eaglewood. She was also referred to by the Cham as Muk Juk or “the black lady.” The ode to her was rather short, mentioning that she created the earth and eaglewood and taught men to cultivate rice.

This is where the Damnuy Po Nagar (Story of Po Nagar), part of the collection of stories in the Dalukal, begins to make more sense, especially in understanding the connection between hymn and Dalukal. The Cham learned the significance of Po Nagar in the rituals through the story of Po Nagar. The Dalukal explains her divine origins in great detail, her adventures in Nager Laow (China), and her deeds. In general, the Dalukal provides an important context to Cham ceremonies and rituals, which is the reason that they continue to be copied and preserved.

Cabaton then described the ode to Po Pan whose actual name was Yang Po Ama, “lord god father,” who taught the Cham to weave clothes, use tools, and live as a society. It was Po

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773 Cabaton, Nouvelles, 102.
774 Parmentier describes the Po Nagar statue as being made out of black stone, which highly possibly gave rise to the Cham recognition of it as “Muk Juk” or “black lady.” Reference: Parmentier, “Le Sanctuaire,” 20.
775 Cabaton, Nouvelles, 109.
Pan who gave the priests the stick called *gai*, a symbol of their status. He was also responsible for the health of herds and the Cham community,\(^\text{776}\) and he was said to be so handsome that he attracted many Churu girls.\(^\text{777}\) This Cham divinity is not written about in the *Dalukal*, but we can see that the Cham religious elite retained the memory of this Cham king as a bearer of culture and as the one who established a relationship between the Cham and the Churu.

The ode to Po Klong Garai described this deity as the son of the virgin mother Po Sah Ina. He was credited with teaching the Cham how to irrigate the rice fields and build dams and embankments. He had a buffalo as his steed and protected souls in the underworld.\(^\text{778}\) The hymn described how Po Klong would come to take part in the ceremony with his head adorned with a beautiful headdress. The *Dalukal Po Klong Garay* is filled with more details about this important Cham king, especially how he was discovered to have *Ganreh*, or power, after being licked by the *Naga Inagirai*, the Cham version of the *Naga* or dragon, which also cured him of leprosy or *balidal*. Though there is no mention of this Cham king’s other supernatural power in this *Dalukal*, again the connection between text and ritual is evident. It is difficult to understand the significance of Po Klong Garay in the ritual unless one has knowledge of the *Dalukal*. The *Dalukal* are essential tools used by the religious elite and Cham people to conduct their religious rituals and preserve the memory of Cham kings.

The ode to Po Rame (Po Rome), according to Cabaton, was dedicated to the king who cultivated paddy fields and had three wives, one of whom was Cambodian and the other Vietnamese. These queens constantly quarreled in the palace and filled it with noise. He was the

\(^\text{776}\) Ibid., 110-111.
\(^\text{777}\) Ibid., 103.
\(^\text{778}\) Ibid., 111.
king who cut down *phun kraik* (the magical tree that protected Nager Cam) which led to his kingdom being invaded by the Vietnamese.\(^{779}\) The ode was short and described him as a god who loved the quiet, which was disrupted by the racket caused by his quarreling queens Po Bia Akaran and Po Bia Than Chan. He thus sought peace by leaving the palace.\(^{780}\) The *Dalukal Po Rome*, interestingly enough, does not contain the names of the other two queens, but their statues can be found at the temple of Po Rome. What the story has, however, is the name of the Vietnamese princess, Po Bia Ut, whom he married. While the hymn described Po Rome as a hen-pecked husband, no such mention is contained in the *Dalukal*, which simply tells a story of how he ignored all advice from his courtiers and cut down the tree which had protected Nager Cam from attacks from Patao Jek (Vietnamese King), a result of being tricked by Po Bia Ut, his Vietnamese wife. Here is another example of how ritual and *Dalukal* can be complementary in preserving as much detail as possible about former Cham kings.

In the ode to Po Sah Ina, according to Cabaton, the Cham remembered her as the mother of King Po Klong Garai. She had magical powers and was attributed with the creation of agricultural rituals. Po Sah Ina changed into the male Po Sah Inu to become the King of Fire, whose reign lasted for 12 years. He changed into a woman again to marry King Liem Dong of Vietnam. She introduced rituals for the sacrifice of buffaloes and chickens, was the protector of merchants, and had the power to heal diseases.\(^{781}\) There is no mention of Po Sah Ina being Po Klaong’s mother in the *Dalukal*. Instead, what the *Dalukal* mentions is that in 1440, the Vietnamese attacked the Cam and Po Sah Ina was captured and became a hostage of the Vietnamese. When she returned to Champa, conflict started when her brother-in-law had major

\(^{779}\) Ibid., 113.  
\(^{780}\) Ibid., 104.  
\(^{781}\) Ibid., 114-115.
problems with her marriage to Po Hanim Par since he was Muslim and she, an Ahier (Brahmanist). When a scheme succeeded in separating Po Hanim Par from his wife, he was saddened and left Nager Cam to live with the Raglai. He later took a Raglai and Churu wife and never came back to Nagar Cam. In this Dalukal, the close relationship between the Cham and the highland people is again stressed. The combining of religious ritual and Dalukal once again demonstrates the success of the religious elite in preserving memories of past rulers and may also point to the religious functionaries as authors of the Dalukal.

Cabaton’s comment on Po Patan Gahlâu (the lord of eaglewood) is interesting because it included mention of the King of the Waves, or Po Patan Riyak. Whenever there was a storm, the King of the Waves transformed into a swan and stood (for reasons unknown) at the mouth of rivers or freshwater pools near the sea. This reference to the King of the Waves reflected a time when the Cham were well known as an important part of the dynamic Asian maritime trade. The last ode was the ode to Po Binasuor. There was no commentary about this king but he was described as a brave king who showed great fighting skill against the Vietnamese (Yuen). However, the story of Po Binasuor (Po Birthuer) in the Dalukal curiously does not contain any mention of his fighting the Vietnamese. According to Dr Thanh Phan, some Cham believe that Po Binasuor was Che Bong Nga, the famous Cham king who successfully invaded northern Vietnam many times in the 14th century. Why this is not mentioned in the Dalukal is unknown to him.

It is clear that the religious elite helped preserve the memory of the Cham kings for the Bhap. Through the hymns, the deeds and stories of important Cham rulers are remembered, but it is only through the reading and reciting of the Dalukal that the Cham gain a deeper

\[782\] Ibid., 117-118.
understanding of these rulers. Families covet the Dalukal as heirlooms. With the demise of Cham political leadership, the religious elite came to assume the role as unifiers of the kingdom and preservers of Cham culture and identity.

Although the Cham kings no longer rule, they are retained in historical memory as part of Cham ritual and ceremonies. The religious elite mobilized folk memory to enable the preservation of their history and culture via ceremonies and ritual practices. This in turn encouraged the learning of reading and writing of ancient manuscripts which contained knowledge of these rituals and ceremonies. There was thus greater urgency for students to be trained as specialists or Gru of various types of Cham knowledge, such as the calendrical system, amulet making, and other important ceremonies that require not only the knowledge of manuscripts but also mastery of ritual practices. At the center of Nager Cam are the religious elite who now uphold the traditions and cultural practices of the Cham in Ninh Thuan today.

Cambur

According to Dr Thanh Phan, the Cham practice a ceremony called Cambur to celebrate the ninth month of the Cham calendar, which is the re-enactment of the activities of a Cham king in the madhir (palace) and his relationship with the courtiers. The ceremony is recognizable because of the descriptions in Dalukal of Cham kings and their court and courtiers. In one such ceremony dedicated to Po Hanim Par, a famous Cham ruler, Cham priests from both the Cham Awal and Cham Ahier communities call upon the spirit or power (Ganreh) of the Cham king to attend the ceremony at his shrine. A throne covered with red cloth and surrounded with offerings

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783 Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 124.
is used to “seat” the Cham king who arrives for the ceremony. A high-ranking Ahier priest positions himself on the right of the Cham king and is called Hanuk, while a high ranking Awal priest positions himself to the left of the king and is called the Iw. A number of Panraong Jabuol, or generals, sit in front of the Cham king, and the Haluw Bilau or soldiers and guardians of the Cham king and his courtiers sit next to the latter. The ordinary people or Bhap Bini sit outside, not far from the proceedings, to observe the courtiers and the king. As the ceremonies proceed, a number of Cham women perform the talabat or homage to the Cham king by prostrating themselves before him. Po Hanim Par is not the only Cham king venerated in such a way, according to Dr Thanh Phan - other Cham kings are given similar treatment.⁷⁸⁴

Picture courtesy of Dr Thanh Phan, taken in 2013 at the shrine of Po Hanim Par of two flags of the Panraong Jabuol or generals.

⁷⁸⁴ Conversations with Dr Thanh Phan at his home in Ho Chi Minh City in February 2013.
Picture courtesy of Dr Thanh Phan, taken in 2013, showing the Hanuk Ahier on right side, Iw Awal on the left, and Cham ladies or kumei doing their prostration or talabat to Po Hanim Par.

Picture courtesy of Dr Thanh Phan, taken in 2013, of the Panraong Jabuol, Gru Awal, Gru Ahier and Haluw Bilang waiting to enter the Madhir of Po Hanim Par.
Picture courtesy of Dr Thanh Phan, taken in 2013, of the Hanuk Iw and Haluw Bilang in a “court session” with the Patao Po Hanim Par, with Dr Thanh Phan in the foreground.

Picture courtesy of Dr Thanh Phan, taken in 2013, of the Cham court of Patao Po Hanim Par.
Picture courtesy of Dr Thanh Phan, taken in 2013, of the Cham court in full session with the Hanuk Ahier on the right of the King, the Iw Awal on the left, and the Panraong Jabuol and other courtiers seated in front of the throne.

Picture courtesy of Dr Thanh Phan, taken in 2013, of the ordinary people or Bhap Bini Cam seated, observing the proceedings.
The example of the Cambur, which shows the re-enactment of the Cham court, highlights the crucial importance of the Cham religious elite in not only continuing the memory of the Cham king, but also reconstructing the court for the Bhap Bini or Cham people. They preserve not only the knowledge of the rituals and ceremonies important to the Cham, but also possess the power to call the Cham king from, as Dr Thanh Phan puts it, *Dunya Yang Patao* (world of Cham spirits and kings) to *Dunya urang Cam* (world of the Cam). It is obvious that the Cham religious elite preserve not only Cham culture and *agama* (religion) but also history and Cham pride in their monarchs of Panduranga.

**Bhap Bini or Cham People**

As mentioned in earlier chapters, Cham society was gradually transformed between the 17th and the 19th centuries from a maritime society to a largely agricultural one. In this period, they became engaged in land-based activities such as the collection of forest products, buffalo herding and other agricultural activities. Although the current *Dalukal* documents date almost exclusively from the 19th century, they contain information which may refer to an earlier period. For example, the *Dalukal* explains that an ordinary Cham could become king if his *Ganreh* or power was identified by the spirits; in the *Dalukal Po Ramo* (*The Story of the Cham king Po Ramo*), *Dalukal Po Klaong Garay* (*The Story of the Cham king Po Klaong Garay*) and *Dalukal Po Birthuer*, the rulers’ *Ganreh* was identified by special beings. The *Ganreh* of Po Klaong Garai was identified by the *Inagirai* or sacred dragon, that of Po Rome by an *Inagirai*, and Po Birthuer by Po Ganour who lived in the mountains.
There are exceptions, as in the *Dalukal Ja Tabaong alah*, where an ordinary Cham described as a lazy farmer became king through the most interesting of circumstances. He became king with the support of the spirits. A Cham king furious at this farmer for making his daughter pregnant ordered him killed after marrying her. But this was not done, and after Ja Tabaong alah gained magical power through the intervention of the spirits, he defeated the evil Cham king and became king.\(^{785}\) Though the word *Ganreh* was not used in the *Ja Tabaong Alah*, he still obtained power from the spirits.

Ordinary Cham attained wealth through owning fields. The *Dalukal Ja Kadek saong Ja Kadaop* is a story about Ja Kadaop, who became very poor after the family’s wealth was stolen. Impoverished, he attempted to plow the fields with a cat and dog. This humored a cave which laughed and a gold bar appeared at the cave’s mouth.\(^{786}\) The same theme of working the lands to attain wealth runs through the *Dalukal dua adei sa-ai biak kathaot*, a story about two brothers who were truly poor. At the fields, one of them accidentally fell asleep, and monkeys took him to a golden mountain. He woke up, gathered the gold and told his brother about it. His brother tried the same thing but was brought to a silver mountain instead.\(^{787}\)

The ordinary Cham was observed and taken care of by a good king, as described in the *Dalukal Po Dam*, a story about a Cham king who disguised himself as a commoner to observe his subjects. He was given shelter by a girl whose gifts were taken by a greedy woman, who was

\(^{785}\) Landes, "Dalukal Ja Tabaong."
\(^{786}\) Landes, "Dalukal Ja Kadek Saong."
\(^{787}\) "Dalukal Dua Adei."
then punished.\textsuperscript{788} This can be interpreted as a cautionary tale and the king’s role in maintaining social justice for the Bhap Bini.

The \textit{Dalukal Ja Haluei anaong aia} alludes to fishing, a common occupation among the Cham. In the story, a Cham man accidentally killed a fish while drawing water from the river. The king of the fish was furious and told him to make his last goodbyes to his family. Along the way, he met a hare who gave him advice on how to kill the fish. The fish were killed by a creeper that was thrown into the water and Ja Haluei was saved. \textsuperscript{789}

After Cham maritime activities were restricted by the Vietnamese, the people found creative ways to acquire wealth. In the \textit{Dalukal klau adei sa ai sa tian dua likei sa kamei}, two brothers and their sister named Ja Bagon, Ja Damdiel, and Dara Si Mah, came from a rich family and lived in luxury. The two brothers decided one day to find girls to marry. They looked everywhere and discovered a rich family protected by many guards. The two brothers said that they were there for business and were therefore allowed to enter. The owner of the house, a lady, fell in love with one of them and invited them to a party. She wanted them to live with her, so she drugged their food, but was found out by the older brother. Amazed by Ja Bagon’s alertness, and by way of apology, she gave the brothers buffaloes and her properties, and they returned home.

The \textit{Dalukal} portray traditional Cham society’s aspirations to wealth and power being contingent on the possession of \textit{Ganreh} and agricultural lands. Furthermore, if one was creative and daring, it was possible to increase one’s wealth. After 1835, Cham society began to focus

\textsuperscript{788} “Dalukal Po Dam.”
\textsuperscript{789} Landes, ”Dalukal Ja Haluei.”
more on the preservation of culture. With the demise of the traditional political elite, the religious elite’s role in society expanded to fill the gap created by the absence of rulers.

In the process of rebuilding Cham society, some Cham writers began to reflect on the state of Nager Cam and the Cham people. Among the manuscripts that highlight this process is the one called *Hatai Paran* or *Heart of the People*. The text deals with the situation of the Cham people after the Nager Cam was lost and the Cham became victims of the Vietnamese. The author informs the reader that it was written in the third month of the year of the Goat - “*di thun nasak pabaïy balan klau*.” The Western equivalent of the date is impossible to determine as there is not enough information provided in the manuscript. The third month of the year of the Goat could be any time from 1507 to 1979, according to the Cham calendar.\(^\text{790}\) The author begins by saying that the text contains “lessons according to the sayings of the *Po Gru* who remember (and are directed to) Nager Cam, whose people are lost.”\(^\text{791}\) Among the more important aspects of the text are those that describe the degradation and loss of Cham *adat* or customary practices. By saying that the *adat* and rules of the Cham of old “have sunk” (*karem*),\(^\text{792}\) the author identifies the reason for the demise of Nager Cam. He or she explains that “in the past there were kings that ruled, the lands were administered but the Cham kings were uneasy. The Vietnamese of the north thought they were more powerful and attacked the Cham till all was fragmented.”\(^\text{793}\)

The manuscript called *Thei Mai Meng Deh* or *Who Comes From Afar?* places even more blame on the Vietnamese for the demise of Nager Cam. It is a story of two lovers deeply

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\(^{790}\) Lanh, “*Hatai Paran*,” line 83.

\(^{791}\) Ibid., line 1: “*Nī tuek tuei panuec po gru hadar, ndom wek ka nagar Cam, ni jeh lihik paran.*”

\(^{792}\) Ibid., lines 8-9: “*piêh bino dom panuec nabi sarak,adat ca-mba gruk ngap, paran Cam mang dahlau, tablaoh Ulik pamaluk jeh nan, adat liwik mat karem, aia nyu palihih.*”

\(^{793}\) Ibid., lines 11-13: “*mang dahlau hu po daok pakreng, ra parabha bhum nagar, ka Ulik daok karei, phun nagar pak Harek Kah Harek ni Dhei, patao panraong nan ka drei, tel Meli Cam ita, kayua ka Jek mang birak pak Laow, praong ka Cam bariuw mang nyu, tel masuh calah taluen.*”
involved in the struggle to defend their country from the Vietnamese. The author mentions that “the Cham, Basaih and Adhia (the Cham religious elite of the Ahier) ‘(ate) tears’ because the Vietnamese ruled the whole country cruelly. The Vietnamese ordered the Cham around like buffaloes and smiled because they had a king, while the Cham were orphans.” The idea that the Cham were “orphans” may be a reference to the fact that they no longer had their kings, their “father and mother.” Kinship terms were frequently used in Southeast Asia to express the hierarchical relationship among polities, and within a society the rulers were often equated with the father and mother of a family and their subjects, their children.

The Cham response to the loss of the Nager and the fragmentation of Cham society was to direct their energies toward preserving Cham culture and customs. One example is the text entitled Anak Ra Siam or The Good Child. It contains many proverbs that exhorted the Cham people to live in accordance with adat or customary law, which was the basis of Cham social and family structure and stability. The author says that “when good deeds are lost on the people, the deeds of all become worse; the will to cheat will fragment [the people]; if the self is right, the family is at peace.” The text then advises the Cham to hold strongly onto their hukum [Islamic laws?] and adat because “that [was] our way.” Another important message conveyed by the text is the value of traditional education to the Cham: “Like the words of a handsome man it is charming but stupid, love of cloth [of the material and superficial things] is destruction, we are well because of the knowledge of the [spells], if one is shy before the Gru, one is stupid, love the

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794 “Ariya Thei Mei,” lines 6-8: “anak Cam basoh adhia, mbeng aia mata, yua Yuen pa-nar duissak sa baoh nagar, anak Yuen pa-nar Cam yau kabaw, anak Yuen pa-nar blooh klao, ka nyu hu patao, Cam min matuei.”
795 For further information, refer to Tony Day’s chapter, “Ties that (Un)Bind,” in Day, Fluid Iron, 38-89.
796 “Anak Ra Siam,” lines 3-4: “ranam phual calah di bhap, ranam drap lep lo ma kanyah ngap blak (tipu) [< blek] calah bhaliak, yah drei tupak, miak wa ranam.”
797 Ibid., line 8: “hukum dua saong adat, apan bi kajap, jalan ita.”
In emphasizing the value of traditional education, this Cham author is in essence highlighting the importance of the Cham religious elite as guardians and teachers of various types of traditional Cham knowledge.

In the absence of the Cham king, the role of Cham religious teachers, especially the Po Gru, had become significant, as can be seen in two Cham manuscripts entitled *Dalikal manus jieng Gru Cruw* (The Story of How Man Becomes the Teacher of the Churu”) and the *Dalikal nao magru akhar Gru pander saih ba hadiap saih nao ka Gru* (The Story of Studying, the Gru Instructs the Student to Bring his Wife). Both emphasize the role of the Cham religious elite and the value of traditional learning. An extended reading of the two manuscripts will be done in the following sections for several reasons: To give the reader an understanding of the Cham Dalukal narrative; to show that in a kingless Cham society, new ways of social advancement were sought by the Cham with one way being participation in a Cham religious group; to highlight the hierarchical system of the Cham Awal religious elite and their role as repositories of traditional knowledge.

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798 Ibid., lines 15-17: “si dreh dom siam likei, anaih laong drei, blaoh nyu butaok makra khan su ao ni tiei pabha, makra nam ita, yua thau tanau malau di gru blaoh drei butaok, ranam ka danaok…”

799 Both texts belong to Dr Thanh Phan’s collection, and they are part of the Dalukal compilation made by him. The two stories were mentioned by Gru Hajan in 2011 when we discussed the central role of the Cham religious and cultural elite today. I asked him if he knew any story in the Dalukal that could be useful in highlighting the role of the Gru in Cham mythology. He pointed out these two Dalukal which he considered to be important. In the discussions about the manuscripts, he asked me to write down the names which I consider important in Islamic history. I wrote down the terms “Allah,” “Muhammad” (the Messenger of God), “Rasullulah” (the Messenger in Arabic), and “Nabi” (prophet), and explained to him a little about the historical events that led to the division of the Muslim world after the prophet died in 632 A.D. I also explained to him the basis of the division between Sunni and Shiite groups that formed and the spread of Islam and the role of the Sufis in Southeast Asia. He regarded the role of Islam in Cham mythology as important, because it allowed him to better understand the Cham social structure of today, and certain myths in the Dalukal that seemed to contain references to Po Aluah, Po Ali, Po Rasolak and Po Nabi. According to him, Cham understanding of Islam is a matter worth looking into, as Islamic ideas are very important to Cham culture and religion, but I must read it for myself to understand this.
The *Dalikal manuis jieng Gru Cruw* has 35 lines and is written in the Cam script used in Ninh Thuan, called Akhar Thrah. It begins with a *Po Gru* (Lord Teacher) who taught 100 students to read and write. But one student named Aya Hon was made into a servant and was ordered to run errands as fetching water and cooking rice for the *Gru*. He therefore had no time to go to class. Nevertheless, Aya Hon knew the lessons very well and this caused great jealousy among the other students in the *sang magik* or mosque. One day the *Po Gru* ordered all the students to look for firewood, and they used this opportunity to conspire to kill and eat Aya Hon. They believed that by eating him, they would internalize his brilliance, and so they went ahead with their plot.\(^{800}\) When the students returned without Aya Hon, the *Po Gru* noticed that he was missing, and immediately called a search. The students, after searching, obviously did not find him, but the *Po Gru* became suspicious. He called out to Aya Hon and from the stomachs of all 99 students, Aya Hon answered. The students then revealed that they had thrown away the bones at the foot of the Raglai Mountain. The *Gru* said: “You all have evil in your hearts, leave him to me, I will make his bones into medicine and go to the Cruw and Raglai mountains (possibly a reference to the Central Highlands), they will receive it and it will be effective.” The text concludes with the sentence: “Thus from the Damnuy in the past till today the Acar prays in the mosque and during the call to prayer they will vomit because the reason is in the old story of Aya Hon.” The idea of vomiting as part of the cultural means of conveying power and sacred knowledge is common in the Malay world. The story of Badang shows that a man can get supernatural powers that enable him to do superhuman feats through eating the vomit of a

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demon. Even in the *Silsilah Perak* there is a story of a man named Bat who emerged from the vomit of a white cow and whose descendants became the keepers of ancient lore. The vomiting in the story of Aya Hon by the Acar upon the call to prayer is probably a reminder to students of the power of the *Po Gru*, and also serves as a veiled warning to students who misbehave.

The story in the *Dalikal manuis jieng Gru Cruw* is important as it highlights the powerful position of the *Po Gru* in Cham society. More than just a teacher of Cham students, he was also a fount of knowledge of traditional medicine as is depicted in the story of Aya Hon. Cham proverbs further attest to the position of the *Gru* as a respected individual in Cham society. One proverb says: “If the *Gru* loves us he will give us books, but we can only receive knowledge if he teaches us (*Yah tel gru anit gru Brei, tel gru tacei mang thau labik)*.” Another goes: “If you betray the guru you will become a monkey, a person living in the jungle (*Gang di gru jieng kra jieng hawa)*.”

Possessing and mastering knowledge thus became the major preoccupation of the Cham and seemed to guarantee a higher status in a kingless community. This may explain why competition was fierce among students to excel in learning. The next manuscript that similarly highlights the power of the Cham religious elite is the *Dalikal nao magru akhar Gru pander saih ba hadiap saih nao ka Gru*. The story involves not only the *Po Gru* but also local Islamic personages such as Po Rasolak, who is also Po Nabi in the text, and the Acar, a Cham priest who is presented as a complete social failure, incapable of studying. The story centers on the Acar

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801 Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin*, 46.
802 For more information, refer to Amelia Ceridwen, “The Silsilah Raja-Raja Perak I: An Historical and Literary Investigation into the Political Significance of a Malay Court Genealogy,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 74, no. 2 (2001): 23-129.
803 Duong and Moussay, *Peribahasa Cam*. 
who had to pass the test created by the Po Gru to prove himself worthy of receiving magical abilities that enhances his mastery of writing and reading.

The story begins with the introduction to Po Ali’s mosque and how he made a special area of worship or danaok for the amum or imam. This area was reserved for high-ranking members of the mosque and not for the Acar who, though truthful and sincere, had difficulties in studying.\footnote{Acar is the Cham term for guru or spiritual guide. Reference: Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 6.} As a result, he was used as a servant (halun) by the other students. His wife became exasperated with his low rank, which made him an object of ridicule among his fellow students, and so she looks for a Po Gru to teach him well.\footnote{Ibid., 519. According to Cabaton and Aymonier, “halun” is the Cham term for “servant.” However, it is also used as an honorific denoting one’s lesser status to an elder or lord.} The Acar’s struggles were observed by Po Nabi who intervened and directed the Acar to the house of Po Rasolak, the Po Gru. The latter agreed to teach the Acar on the condition that he gave his wife to him.\footnote{Ibid., 416. Po Rasolak is the incarnation of Mahomet (Muhammad) as believed by the Cham Bani (Awal) in Vietnam.} The Acar then brought his wife to Po Rasolak’s house and was made to wait outside.

After three nights, the Po Gru used magic to create the sound of a bouncing bed - similar to the sound of people making love - but the Acar did not become angry or run away. Having passed the test, Po Rasolak wrote and recited the Ina Akhar written on palm leaf, then lit a candle and burned incense made of gaharu wood. He recited magic verses and invited the spirits to enter the words of the Ina Akhar. The palm leaf was then burned with the fire from the candle, mixed in water and given to the Acar to drink.\footnote{These practices of burning incense and using gaharu are similar to the one used by Malay traditional healers. For more information, refer to Roland Werner, Bomoh/Dukan: The Practices and Philosophies of the Traditional Malay Healer (Berne: The University of Berne, Institute of Ethnology, 1986); Skeat, Malay Magic.} This potion gave him the power to recite any verse at
ceremonies and to speak without difficulty and with clarity from the heart and soul. Po Rasolak then informed the Acar that whenever he read, wrote and spoke, he would do it well.

After his meeting with the Po Gru, the Acar resolved not to be a servant anymore. He walked back to the mosque, performed his ablutions, and then sat at the special place where the imam did his work. When the imam and the others saw this, they asked him to leave, but he refused to move and thus created a confrontation between himself and Po Ali. The Amum and Katip informed Po Ali, who immediately attempted to chase the Acar away. When the latter refused to go, Po Ali raised a storm, but to no avail. Po Ali became angry, and screaming, he took a burning stick to beat the Acar, but still he refused to leave. Po Ali then angrily ordered the Acar to finish his reciting and praying and then leave. The Acar sat down in the special area to the right and continued his praying. The Po Ali then ordered the Acar to read any verse and asked which verse the Acar preferred to recite. The Acar replied that he would recite the verse of power in its entirety. The Acar read it beautifully with perfection. When Po Ali heard it, he was overcome and ashamed that he tried to remove the Acar from the mosque. He then asked where the Acar had learned to read so well and told him he no longer needed to be timid or afraid.

Po Ali then began a search for the powerful Gru, and after a day, saw the Gru going inside the house of Po Rasolak. Po Ali then told Po Rasolak that he was trying to build up a following, and so why did Po Rasolak interfere? Po Ali then explained that the Acar did not fear him anymore because Po Rasolak had taught him more than what was expected. Po Ali then demanded to study with Po Rasolak and be taught more. Po Ali even promised that if Po Rasolak consented to teach him, he would bring wives and children to be given to the Po Gru. However,

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808 The term “Ali” used by the Cham means “evil spirit” or “demon.” Reference: Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire,* 23.
Po Rasolak replied that there was no reason to give him a wife and that he would not teach Po Ali, whom he compared to the Acar. Po Ali was deeply embarrassed being compared to the Acar, and defeated, turned back. Po Rasolak then returned to his madhir (palace) and celebrated.

The remaining part of the text describes Po Ali walking unsteadily back, reeling from his disappointment. He then encountered a Vietnamese virgin carrying a pot of oil, but the pot of oil fell and spilled, hitting her feet and causing her to cry out. Po Ali asked the girl who she was and she answered that she was the child of an old woman waiting for her to return with the oil. Because it spilled, none was left for her mother to sell. Po Ali magically blessed the oil; it reappeared, allowing the girl to scoop it up and fill two gourds. He also put some oil on the girl’s stomach. She carried the oil home, and in three months she gave birth to a son named Jabil. As he grew up and played with other children, people started to gossip wondering who his father was. Upon hearing the gossip, Jabil asked his mother about the identity of his father. She told him about Po Ali and that he could be found at the Akaphir (Ahier) village. She also told him to go inside the village and ask for a drink of water. He did so and a young virgin brought him water to drink. Jabil drank, but a tear drop fell into the water. The girl also drank the water and after four months, she gave birth to a son. He grew up and played in the river with his relatives, who asked the mother who his father was. The child’s mother told him to find his father, and so the son went to look for him. He found his father – Jabil – sitting in the mosque in Makah. The father recognized his son and converted him to the Bani (Islam) faith.

Po Ali’s involvement in the story, however, did not end here. A Vietnamese boy (an offspring of Po Ali) searched for Po Ali and saw a well that he built. He blocked the well, causing the people using it to complain to Po Ali. He came to investigate and saw a small boy.
He said to the boy angrily: “How dare you block the well?” The small boy told Po Ali that Po Ali once stepped on the earth from which oil magically appeared. The oil was then scooped up by a Vietnamese girl. Po Ali asked how he knew this, to which the boy replied that if Po Ali was truly the lord who stepped on the ground, then he was his son. Po Ali then asked the boy to bring his mother and together they went to the mosque. Po Nabi – Po Rasolak by another name – asked the child and his Vietnamese mother to join the Bani, because the race was circumcised – the ultimate signifier of conversion to Islam. However, this enraged the son and he attacked the mosque. Po Ali then got his son – the boy who had blocked the well, and later converted to Islam; he was named Giadhin Gia – to attack the Vietnamese child. But the Vietnamese child had the strength of two lords. Po Nabi intervened and asked the child gently to convert to Islam, which he finally did. After converting to Islam, he was named Cit Ca Leng.

Both stories stand out compared to the other Dalukal. In some Dalukal, Cham kings attained power through the possession of Ganreh and its identification by spirits; in others, ordinary Cham found wealth though agricultural pursuits and other means. However, the means to achieving power in these aforementioned stories was through mastering knowledge and relevant skills such as reading and writing. This probably corresponded to 19th-century realities when Cham religious groups consolidated their numbers (there were 99 students in the story of Dalikal manuis jieng Gru Cruw) and became the new locus in Cham village life. More importantly, affiliation with the Cham religious elite became new avenues of social advancement for Cham wanting a higher position in society.

The manuscripts also provide insights on how Islam was understood and harmonized with pre-existing Cham understanding of spirits. Characters such as the Inagirai (Cham term for
Dragon) that appeared out of the ground and licked the body of Po Klaong Garai to identify his Ganreh, the Inagirai that lived in the magical tree called phun kraik that identified Po Rome’s Ganreh, and Po Ganuor, the spirit that identified the power that resided within Po Birthuer, are evidence of the belief in spirits throughout Nager Cam. In such a context, Islamic divinities were made familiar to the Cham with titles such as Po Nabi (Lord Prophet) and Po Rasolak, and they had supernatural powers which they bestowed on the worthy such as the Acar, who was then able to read and write. This was not too different from how spirits identified the Ganreh of Cham kings. In other words, Islam was understood from the Cham perspective, which placed more emphasis on the role of supernatural beings conveying power to worthy mortals such as a member of the religious elites.

These two stories are important as they highlight how the Cham religious elite understood their place in Nager Cam. They possessed knowledge and established hierarchies that competed with each other for greater power and influence. However, in the two stories, they did not compete with other religious hierarchies such as the Cham Ahier which had a different religious hierarchy headed by the Po Adhia (head Brahman priest) and his priests such as the Basaih. In the context of the disappearance of the political elites in the 19th century, there would have been cooperation among the religious elite in order to guarantee the survival of Cham culture and society.

Leadership of the Religious Elite
It is not exactly known when the Cham religious elite felt empowered to assume this role of leadership of the Cham. According to the *Ariya Ong Thum Dhar Muk*, Cham society faced social fragmentation after 1911. 809 This was because many Cham living in different areas could not understand each other and had developed different rituals and ceremonies, leading to fragmentation of Cham society in Phanrang. Ong Thum Dhar Muk then took it upon himself to collect the books that existed in these different Cham areas to reestablish ceremonial uniformity. 810 Ong Thum Dhar Muk said in the introduction that the lords of Nager Cam and the queens were gone. In the past there were the astrologers, the *Iw* and *Hanuk* (members of the Cham court when it still existed), and the lords. The astrologer had the knowledge of the years, but now the Cham of Panduranga, Parik, Pajai and Kraong spoke differently and their ceremonies mutually incomprehensible, thus risking further fragmentation. 811 This text indicates an interest by a member of the religious elite, especially from the Cham Bani, to deal with issues of Cham cultural unity, which began perhaps as early as the beginning of the 20th century, if not earlier. 812

Today, the cultural leadership provided by the Cham religious elite is manifested through their authority in specific types of Cham knowledge such as the writing and organizing of the Cham almanac and the worship of the *Kut* during funeral ceremonies. This is an early, well-

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809 Dhar Muk, “Ariya Ong Thum Dhar Muk,” in Thanh Phan’s collection, publisher and date of publishing unknown. Refer to lines 12 and 71 for the dates and name.
810 Ibid.
811 Ibid., lines 1-12: “Ni tuer tanuh di dalam Ariya, ginuen nagar Cam ita, patao bia Cam O hu ma kal dahlaw ceng ni gaon huer ni thu, Iw hanuk jang hu, ginuer ni huer Po nahuher khik thun kahra balan ka nagar, ahier awar jang laik tha kadaow awar alih tagok daok ricaow, ahier khik cadaow, ka bhap bini thul hatai, pak Po par tapuk sep ka rai pandrang, kraong, parik, pajai, jang ni laik bih yuwa gep, tel thun pak Po nan pa-ndep, panrang puce jang O nyep, parik ndom jang O ligaih, kalinCam mang thun nathak athaih, lihik ginuor praong anaih, takawi bak nagar, thun ba...”
812 Hauva, "Ariya Cham-Bani." It is a tragic love story between a Cham Ahier girl and Cham Bani boy. Apart from enforcing the fact that marriages between Cham Ahier and Cham Awal were not encouraged, the other message could be that Cham society could not afford to be at odds with each other lest tragedy befell the group.
established role of the Cham religious elite. According to Yoshimoto Yasuko, the Cham almanac or Sakawi Cham used by the Cham of Ninh Thuan is composed of two calendar systems: one based on lunar observations, and the other, solar observations. Both are used by the Ahier and Awal communities to determine marriage, agricultural and religious ceremonies. The Po Gru is considered most knowledgeable on the proper times for marriage ceremonies, puberty rituals, and building a house. More importantly, there are 10 Po Gru in total, one for each village in Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan. The highest-ranking Po Gru is called the On Yew, who has the power to decide on matters of religion and culture for the Cham Awal communities in Binh Thuan. The Cham Ahier religious elite, especially the Po Dhia Bac, Ong Kadhar and Muk Pajau, were especially important in funeral ceremonies, when the spirits of the deceased enter the Kut. The Po Dhia Bac’s role includes sifting the bones and placing them in the Kut, bathing and dressing the Kut, and making sacrifices to various dignitaries. The Ong Kadhar plays his Kanhi and invites the ancestors and other spirits. The Muk Pajau performs dances and acts as the intermediary between the worlds of the living and the dead.

Role of the Cham Kings as Depicted in Cham Manuscripts

In the absence of the Cham king throughout the later 19th and 20th centuries, the Cham reflected on the role of said king. Among the rare manuscripts that discussed this process is the story called Ariya Klau Ray Patao or The Story of the Reign of Three Kings. The story contains interesting descriptions of the Vietnamese such as Nagar Jek (kingdom, polity or country of the

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813 For more information, refer to Lockhart and Ky, The Cham, 326-327.
814 Ibid., 332-333.
815 A “Kanhi” is a violin used by the Kadhar in ceremonies. Reference: Cabaton and Aymonier, Dictionnaire, 47.
816 For more information, refer to Chapter 14, written by Thanh Phan, in Lockhart and Ky, The Cham, 345.
Vietnamese), *Baol Jek* (Vietnamese army or Vietnamese people), *Patao Yuon* (Vietnamese king) and *Po Bia Ut* (the name of a Vietnamese queen who was King Po Rome’s wife). More importantly, the author tried to understand how Nager Cam was weakened by Vietnamese military invasion. The *Ariya Klau Patao* is more than just a story that reflects Cham attempts to understand the Vietnamese and their role in the downfall of Nager Cam; it is also a subtle attempt to understand the historical role of Cham kings in its downfall.

The manuscript begins with an introduction by the author who was unnamed in the text:

“This Akayet is made and comes forth, the words are sincere, I (*halun*) build and bring to serve, a magical history written by me. Avoid worthless and regretful activities, significant are the things I remember and recognize from the old men who speak from the words of the *Dulikal*, I bring forth those words regardless whether they are beautiful or evil. Ever since hearing the words of the old men, to speak it manifests power, the words in history, witnessed by the people around like the coming of the king, causing brother and sister to lose themselves, filling old men and young women with joy. The territories of Parik, Panrang Kraong Pajai too are happy. They fear the Vietnamese who threaten the Cam. The Vietnamese always say that the Cam always think that the Cam king will help them but if he does not in the future... don’t blame me. The Cam kings of the past have more power, even the Vietnamese will not like it if they lose their king...”

The introduction is important as it reveals the intention of the author to deliver the “words of the old men” or *urang taha* (a reference to the Cham religious elite) and transmit ancient wisdom to the audience. It contains the reflections of the author about three famous Cham kings, who were important for the historical and mythological consciousness of the Cham community of Phanrang up to the present day. The author, in the introduction, draws in the
listener to the main protagonists crucial to the development of the story, such as the Vietnamese Yuon and the Cham kings “who in the past have more power”, or “sunit ginreh libaih di ray po dahlaw”. The author also establishes the location of himself and the audience early in the text. He mentions in the introduction the four Cham territories of Parik, Panrang, Kraong and Pajai. Furthermore, the writing script used in the text is Akhar Thrah, a script used mainly by the Cham of the area until today. This highlights the possibility that the manuscript was written quite possibly in late 19th or 20th century Binh Thuan.

In the Ariya Klau Ray Patao, the author composes or tuer the past. The author also mentions that the story was based on information from other Dulikal or Dalukal, a corpus of knowledge which the Cham understood as “tales from the past.” The author acknowledges that the texts he has read were probably ancient and written by “old men” or “ra taha” (“ra” was the short form for “Urang” or people) and his intention was to “panah ba tabiak” or “to highlight” or “bring out” what was said by the old people. The manuscript is a product of other stories and Cham manuscripts that contained different versions of stories associated with the reign of a Cham king. I have several Dalukal found in the course of my fieldwork called the Dalukal Po Rome, Dalukal Po Klaong Garai and Dalukal Po Bilthuer, which the author might have been referring to and incorporated into the Ariya. The Po Rome section of the Ariya summarizes the Dalukal Po Rome, especially the part where Po Bia Ut persuaded Po Rome to cut down the magic tree. The writer of the text is obviously reflecting (sanang) on information from various other Cham manuscripts, especially in comprehending the past (dahlaw or dahlaw).

817 These were the four regions that made up Panduranga. See Weber, "Destruction," 170, footnote 56.
In the *Dalukal Po Klaong Garai* the author begins with an introduction, and then proceeds to describe the reign of the first king in the story, King Po Klaong Garai. He was regarded as a good king who helped “build the country”, with an alliance with the Chinese. Po Klaong Garai further developed Prangdarang (Panduranga) and, with the use of his magical power or *sunit ginreh*, he *parok* (removes) the *cek* (mountains or hills) and *rok hamu* (clears the lands and fields). He also *bek* (stops the waters – a reference to dams) and *binâk kuoc* (gathers or digs) the *ribaong* (bridges and wells). In other words, Po Klong Garai was a good king because he developed Panduranga. The author then makes a sudden shift in direction by mentioning that the king of China and Vietnam, for reasons unclear, brought tens of thousands (ba (bawa) *buol ribuw taman* (10000)) soldiers on *ahaok* (boats, ships) to attack Po Klong Garai. However, the king had magic powers (*sunit ginreh saktajai*) and used his magic stick or *gai* to beat or *paoh* the Chinese and Vietnamese.

After the defeat of the enemies, the story goes on to describe the prowess of another Cham king called Po Bilthuer. This king came to the throne after his generals discussed who was to succeed as king. Po Bilthuer possessed powerful supernatural powers and was chosen to be king. Once becoming king, he initiated a military campaign against the Vietnamese. He rode on an elephant in order to punish his enemies. He was so successful in the campaign that he managed to kill Vietnamese at the *madhir* (reference to a Vietnamese capital but in Cham, this means “palace”), and so many soldiers of the Vietnamese army that the lake overflowed with the blood of the Yuon.

However, Po Bilthuer’s fortunes then took a turn for the worse. His appetite for conquest and blood made him lose his “merit”. When Vietnamese king pleaded and cried for mercy, even
offering him male slaves and beautiful Vietnamese girls to appease him, he made peace with the Vietnamese. Because he pitied and believed in the Yuon, he further lost more “merit”. These actions caused the spirits and gods to abandon Po Bithuer; they literally turned their backs on him. The Cham king also ignored advice from his astrologer, the Ginuer Huer, who had warned him not to continue attacks on the Vietnamese.

Because the spirits and gods abandoned Po Bithuer, he became weak. The Vietnamese king reneged on his promises of peace and attacked Po Bithuer’s forces with many soldiers, totally destroying the Cham army. Po Bithuer died in the attack, and his head was twisted or cut off and brought to the Vietnamese.

The next king in the story is Po Rome, who had the magical protection of *phun kraik*, or a magic tree that protected the Cham from Vietnamese invasions. The story of Po Rome here begins with the invasion of the Vietnamese king, which the Cham named *Patao Yuon*. He brought tens of thousands of soldiers (*ba buol ribuwn tamân*) to invade Po Rome’s kingdom by sea on boats (*ndik ahaok mai masuh*). So many were the invaders that the Vietnamese army surrounded the Cham (*Yuon ahaok ralo mai haber wang*). However, the invasion was halted by Po Rome’s general Po Sah Bil. This courageous general actually went to meet the Vietnamese general who led the attack. The Vietnamese general replied that he was here to attack and destroy the Cham kingdom. With that, General Po Sah Bil used his magical powers to create a storm and destroy the Vietnamese fleet.

This victory, however, was not appreciated by Po Rome, who instead became very angry with Po Sah Bil. Po Rome scolded him and asked Po Sah Bil why he had the temerity to attack the Vietnamese and not draw them in for Po Rome to destroy. Po Sah Bil was saddened and hurt
by this. Feeling betrayed, he abandoned the kingdom to Po Rome (jaw nager). The Vietnamese attacked again, and Po Rome, under the protection of the phun kraik, created a storm (rabuk) which sank many Vietnamese boats, routing them. Despite being routed for the second time, the Patao Jek attacked again, but the invaders are defeated yet again by the power of the phun kraik. Admitting defeat, the Patao Yuon offered Po Rome a beautiful Vietnamese woman (anâk Yuon siam binai). However, this was part of the Patao Yuon’s plan to defeat the Cham – for he had discovered the role of the phun kraik in protecting the Cham.

The beautiful Vietnamese woman became Po Rome’s queen Po Bia Ut, tasked by the Patao Yuon to make Po Rome cut down the tree. She feigned illness and told Po Rome that if the phun kraik was not cut down she would die. Po Rome was already madly in love with her, so he cut down the magic tree (tak phun kraik ka matai). The phun kraik no longer protected the Cham, and when the Patao Jek’s armies invaded (masuh), Cham soldiers died by the hundreds and thousands (buol Cam matai ribuw ribuw rituh).

These kings’ loss of “merit” is interesting, because even though Po Rome and Po Bilthuer acted in ways that made them lose the support of the divinities, they did not seem to lose their “soul stuff” or Ganreh. This is an important clue to the nature of permanence of the power of the Cham king, and why the power of the Cham king is still venerated by the Cham today in rituals and ceremonies. Perhaps, this is also a statement on the failure of the Cham king to accumulate merit, that which was earned by ascetic performance in which the self had to be mastered, a feat few could manage.818

818 Wolters, History, 95.
In Po Bilthuer’s story, the enemy came from Nager Yuon and were ruled by a Vietnamese king whom the Cham referred to as Patao Jek (a pejorative term) or Patao Yun. He commanded a powerful army (*baol jek*) which was always numerically superior to the Cham, and when he invaded, thousands of Cham soldiers were killed. The *Patao Jek* attacked the Cham on boats called *ahaok*, and he was portrayed as the villain who constantly plotted, was treacherous and always reneged on his promises. Beautiful Vietnamese princesses (*Kumei siam binai*) were used as tributes as part of Vietnamese schemes to weaken and manipulate Cham kings in order to destroy them.

The pejorative term *Nager Jek* is used by the author of *Ariya Klau Ray Patao* in describing the Vietnamese. “Nager” is also used for Panduranga (called Prangdarang), an area that had long retained a degree of political and cultural autonomy from Vietnamese control. This use of the “Nager” is similar to how “Negeri” is used to refer to states in Malaysia today, such as Negeri Sembilan, Negeri Kedah and Negeri Johor. According to Anthony Milner, the term was used for small and large settlements and a ruler might possess one or some *Negeri*. However, the main component of the *Negeri* was not the land or institutions but the population in it.  

“Nager” is also used when the author highlights the role of the Cham rulers in leading the country (*pakreng nager*). Curiously, the term “Nager Yuon” does not appear in the text, but “Yuon” is used by the author to describe the Vietnamese. This is understandable if one understands “nager” as “Negeri”. The term “Yuon” or “Patao Yuon” is used to refer to the Vietnamese king. “Anak Yuon” is used by the writer to describe the Vietnamese people, especially when describing characteristics of the Vietnamese. The term “Buol Yuon” or

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“Vietnamese army” is also used in conjunction with “Yuon”. No details are available on the composition of this army in the manuscript or about the weapons used by the “Buol Yuon,” though attacks were made by boat. The Vietnamese army’s preferred strategy against the Cham was to surround (wang) the Cham. The army was always led by the Patao Jek or Patao Yuon.

How the writer vilifies the Vietnamese in the text is interesting. In the reign of Po Klaong Garay, the term “Jek” was not used for either the Chinese or Vietnamese. The author refers to the Chinese (Laow) and the Vietnamese (Yuon) without the use of the pejorative “Jek”. There is mention of a Cham “alliance” (paruei) between the Chinese and Vietnamese, but for some reason the paruei was broken and the Chinese and Vietnamese attacked the Cham together. However, they were defeated by the supernatural powers of Po Klaong Garay. Yet, the Vietnamese were not vilified during the reign of Po Klaong Garay. The enemy in the story was not a serious threat yet. The Cham king was powerful enough to protect the Nager.

The Ariya Klau Ray Patao is an attempt by the author to understand how the Cham lost their power and freedom. The story ends with the tragedy of Po Rome who was manipulated by Po Bia Ut. The writer is really trying to understand not only the role of the Vietnamese in the destruction of the Nager, but also the role of the Cham kings in its demise. This is seen in the words at the beginning of the manuscript in Line 9, which mentioned that “the Cham kings of the past have more power, even the Vietnamese won’t like it if they lose their king”. This suggests that the writer is trying to understand the nature of the Cham king’s power and also wants the Vietnamese to empathize with the plight of the now kingless Cham.

The author is also making a statement on the nature of power (*sunit ginreh*). Even though the Vietnamese in the *Ariya Klau Ray Patao* invaded and defeated the Cham and went on a killing rampage until “blood flowed into the river”, there is no mention of the actual loss of *sunit ginreh* or the magical power of the Cham king destroyed by Vietnamese invaders. Ultimately, it was due to the Cham king’s actions that led to the mishandling and loss of *sunit ginreh*. This is crucial, because apart from vilifying the Vietnamese and the Cham kings, the text actually contains allusions to Cham ideals of kingship and the nature of the Cham king’s authority and its permanence. Therefore, the *Ariya Klau Ray Patao*’s author’s main purpose is to make statements on the nature of *sunit ginreh* and the Cham ideal of what was the right behavior of a “good Cham king”.

The “message” of the story seems to be that, if the Cham kings abused and mishandled power, it would lead to their demise. The *Yuon* were devices, antagonists that tested the power and authority of the Cham king, especially in relation to his legitimacy to possess *sunit ginreh* – though it must be remembered that it is a historical fact that the Vietnamese did war on the Cham, causing Champa’s demise. *Sunit ginreh* is a combination of the words “*suni*”, which means “force” or “power”, and “*ginreh*” (sometimes spelled *ganroh* or *ganreh*), which means “divine power”. With the *sunit ginreh saktajai* or “magic stick”, Po Klaong Garay was able to halt a Vietnamese invasion of the Nager.

Po Bilthuer also had powerful supernatural powers (*sunit ginreh saktajai*), but curiously, the story does not mention the use of such powers in his invasion of Nager Jek. He was killed when he invaded the Vietnamese after the spirits abandoned him. His bloodthirsty nature led to his downfall. Po Rome had *sunit ginreh*, but he became envious of the victory of his general Po
Sah Bil, leading to the loss of his special powers. In other words, an unjust ruler lost his *sunit ginreh*; whereas, one who used his power for the good of his people and conducted himself appropriately, such as contributing to Cham agriculture and protecting the Cham from Vietnamese invasions, retained the *sunit ginreh*. Eventually, the Cham king was abandoned by his general and duped by the Vietnamese queen to cut down the magic tree *phun kraik*, leading to the loss of *sunit ginreh* which had protected the kingdom. It seemed that the effectiveness of *sunit ginreh* was very much contingent on factors such as the “right behavior” of the Cham king. Po Klong Garay seemed to “behave correctly” and therefore, his *sunit ginreh* was effective, powerful and magnificent. The author of the *Ariya Klau Ray Patao* finds him a great example of good Cham kingship and uses him as an example to highlight the flaws of the other two kings, Po Bilthuer and Po Rome. For Po Rome, however, he lost his *sunit ginreh* because of his weakness – being manipulated easily by his Vietnamese queen.

The role of the Cham cultural and religious elite in upholding tradition and local knowledge continued well into the 20th century. Of significance is Doris Blood’s 1978 analysis of the discourse structure of a Cham manuscript called the *Dulikal Kam Hlok* or *The Legend of Kam and Hlok*. Blood attempts to understand the structure and narrative of a Cham manuscript. She acknowledges the importance of these manuscripts as heirlooms and mentions in her notes that Thien Sanh Canh, a scholar of the ancient Cham script, recorded the *Dalukal* on tape from memory. She has no doubt that the written script was passed on in his family. More importantly, she mentions that Cham literature in script form has been passed on from one generation to
another in handwritten manuscripts. Blood reveals that it was the scholar of the ancient Cham script who had such knowledge, even in 1978. 821

Cham writing systems and traditions are further explored by Doris Blood during her fieldwork in areas of Ninh Thuan in the 1970s and 80s. 822 She mentions that the Cham of southern Vietnam were divided into religious groups. The Kaphier Cham were descendants of the ancient Cham that embraced a Hindu form of worship. The Cham Bani were descendants of those who followed Islam, and lived in separate villages. She mainly discusses the Brahmanist (Kaphier) Cham and notes that the Cham still wrote on bamboo strips, and that in recent decades Cham families used handwritten texts and composition books to preserve the knowledge of manuscripts. The importance of the Cham writing system was evident to the Cham children who used it in elementary schools to maintain their identity. Her observations provide an important insight into the value of written knowledge and the script to Cham society even in 1980. 823

In her notes, Blood refers to the Gru, and at that time, the term Gru could have meant public school teachers as well as old Cham men who were scholars in the script and of Cham customs. 824 The Gru had already achieved a position of authority regarding Cham knowledge, as is evident in her article, “The Script as a Cohesive Factor in Cham Society.” She discusses the Cham script of Ninh Thuan and the importance of manuscripts to the Cham. 825 She notes that most manuscripts contained religious practices, myths, historical legends and epic poems. This

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821 The story mentioned is very similar to the Malay story called Bawang putih and Bawang Merah, a story about the rivalry between two sisters and their encounters with the king. For more information, refer to Blood, “Aspects,” 131, note no. 4.
822 For more information, refer to Doris Blood’s article, “Some aspects of Cham culture,” in Thomas and Gregerson, Notes, 11-33.
823 Thomas and Gregerson, Notes.
824 Ibid., 33.
showed that into the 1970s, the Gru continued to be living repositories of Cham lore. According to her, the script was a major part of the Cham religious elite of both groups, and the priesthood was considered to be especially adept at understanding it.\textsuperscript{826} The Urang taha or “old men” were important disseminators of Cham knowledge, though Blood admits that the Vietnamese language and script were increasingly preferred among the Cham. She mentions that from 1971, there was a revival of interest among young Cham in learning Cham script, and it was the old men who were consulted. At the time, all that was taught were the Romanized alphabet of the Cham language, the 12 zodiacal animals in Cham, and the spelling formula of the Ina Akhar system.\textsuperscript{827}

Blood observes that apart from being a highly-revered symbol of their status as a unique people, the Cham script was also part of their religion, both for the Brahmanist and Muslim Cham. Priests, she observes, were not well respected by better-educated Cham, and they were regarded as having an imperfect knowledge of the script. However, the teachers, or Gru, outside of the priesthood were those that had a respected knowledge of the script. Furthermore, many Cham homes had manuscripts handed down through the generations. They were highly prized and contained Cham legends, poems, history and amulet formulae.\textsuperscript{828} Nevertheless, it was the Gru that was expected to know most about these materials.

In 2010, Dr Thanh Phan, a highly esteemed ethnic Cham ethnologist currently based in Ho Chi Minh City, accompanied me to visit Cham villages in Phanrang in central Vietnam – the ancient lands of Panduranga. There, with Dr Thanh, I witnessed an exchange between learned Cham in a village called Palei Pablap. He and his friend invited several religious and cultural

\textsuperscript{826} Ibid., 41.
\textsuperscript{827} Ibid., 38-40.
\textsuperscript{828} Ibid., 41-42.
leaders of the community to his family’s home to discuss some issues. He asked me to come along and I accepted most eagerly. I was in Palei Pablap for a few days with Gru Hajan, as Dr Thanh liked to call himself, because he wanted to teach me the Cham writing system called the Akhar Thrah, and he also wanted me to listen in on conversations. Both the Cham Ahier and Awal groups in Phanrang placed great importance on such traditional practices. However, it was not an amicable meeting between peers. As soon as two members of each group arrived at his house, Gru Hajan reprimanded them politely for getting the Sakawi or Cham calendar wrong.

Gru Hajan explained later that it was crucial to have accurate dates for important Cham ceremonies and rituals to preserve “harmony between the two groups of Cham”. He used the example of marriages or lakah in the Cham community. An auspicious date had to be found and agreed upon by the village Gru, but problems would arise if another Gru from the village from which the groom or bride came from disagreed on the date of marriage (harei lakah) because of wrong interpretation of the dates and wrong use of the Sakawi. Harmony between these two main groups of Cham must be preserved and friction within Cham society reduced at all cost. Maintaining this delicate balance was a priority for Gru Hajan and that was why he admonished the Grus regarding the accuracy of their dating. Calah caluen, or “fragmentation” or “separation”, must be avoided at all costs among the Cham of Panduranga, and the Cham religious elite played an important role in maintaining the unity of the community.

Conclusion
This chapter focuses on the transformations and continuities in Cham society from 1839 to 1940, and the role that the Cham religious elite or Gru Agam Cam played in preserving Bhap Cam (Cham people) identity, religion and history. Cham manuscripts provide some information about the society and economy of a people who were primarily agricultural, and the efforts in preventing social fragmentation. Certain Cham texts contain important memories about Cham rulers and sources of reference for the religious elite and ordinary people. Though some of the materials indicate changes in attitudes toward the Cham king, the manner in which they describe things or discuss events or tales reveals much that could be indicative of social and economic change. The Cham adapted to the loss of the traditional ruling elite by remembering them in ceremonies and rituals. The two Dalukal’s emphasis on the mastery of knowledge as a means to greater social status in a society dominated by the religious order reflects the circumstances of Cham society in the late 19th and 20th centuries. The mastery of Cham writing (Ina akhar) by Cham students was venerated as well as the recitation of verses and texts and the use of this knowledge in kamruai or ceremonies. This elevated the importance of learning Cham manuscripts and the role played by the Cham religious elite in Cham society as they were the specialists and teachers of such knowledge. Furthermore, in the absence of the traditional political order during that period, learned Cham became powerful alternative sources of cultural authority that led Cham society.
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION: THOUGHTS ON CHAM HISTORY

The dissertation has shown that it was the Cham religious elite (the teachers included) who ensured the cultural continuity of Cham society to the present day. They were generally left alone by the emperor Minh Mang, and he used them as tools to assimilate the rest of the Cham into Vietnamese culture. In addition, they were useful because of their knowledge of agricultural techniques and purported skills at rainmaking. When Minh Mang died in 1841, the Cham religious elite were again largely left alone as the Vietnamese rulers faced major internal and external problems.

Minh Mang was exceptional because prior to and after his reign, the Vietnamese were not interested in the Cham, as long as they paid their taxes and did not revolt. Minh Mang, on the other hand, was very Confucian-oriented and hence wanted to make the Cham “Man.” This must be emphasized as a very important point concerning the history of Vietnamese and Cham relations. Until Minh Mang’s reign, there was no Vietnamese attempt to annihilate or assimilate the Cham, and it was only Minh Mang who sought to “Sinicize” or “Man-ize” them as part of his own ideological bent.

The French colonial period brought some respite to the Cham, who were protected but were ultimately ignored in the colonial economy. However, the French did devote much attention to Cham historical, anthropological and archeological research in the late 19th and 20th centuries. This ended as soon as Aymonier died in 1924. During this period, the Cham religious elite consolidated their hierarchies with the teaching of anak saih or students to carry on the legacy and practice of important Cham ceremonies and rituals which continue to this day. They
even preserved the memory of the Cham king through their activities in re-enacting the function
of the Cham king and his courtiers in the Cambur ceremony. Nager Cam (Champa) persists
through the activities and efforts of the Cham religious elite.

An important theme in these Cham documents is Vietnamese-Cham relations in history.
Although there are many ways in which this issue could have been addressed, I decided to be
guided by the Cham documents themselves, which offer unique perspectives of the Cham’s
encounter with and defeat by the Vietnamese. In adopting Cham perspectives, it is possible to
see that a primary preoccupation of many of the documents is to explain the end of the Cham
kingdom but not of the Cham people. Instead, through intertextual reading of Cham sources, I
conclude that the major factor in the survival of the Cham of Panduranga and their traditions and
culture was the work of the religious elite.

a) The Idea of Resilience Rather than Resistance

By focusing on the idea of resilience to write a history of the Cham, I was able to gain
new insights about the Cham of Panduranga. Although the theme of “resistance” is a powerful
way to understand the history of the Cham, it will inevitably gravitate to the history of Cham
political elite, whose role for Cham society ended in the 19th century. However, when the
historian’s “gaze” shifts to understanding the Cham from the perspective of “resilience,” a new
landscape of enquiry opens up, making possible a re-reading of Cham, Vietnamese, and French
sources and the discovery of new ones to elicit an understanding of the historical processes and
factors that have contributed to Cham resilience.
What is resilience? According to the Oxford Dictionary, resilience is the “capacity to recover quickly from difficulties; toughness.” The Cham have this capacity and it is interesting to note that psychologists view a culture that tends to promote resilience as likely to be able to cope better with stressful circumstances. This is true of the Cham of Panduranga, who have long been conditioned by living on unproductive lands in a harsh climate. To adapt to life in such areas, the Cham of Panduranga devised innovative ways which can be seen in the development of ingenious dam and irrigation systems and technologies that sustain agriculture. Such difficult environments encourage greater social collaboration and cooperation in the Palei (village) and contribute to the cohesion and hence survival of the community. These factors contribute to the creation of a resilient Panduranga Cham society.

Apart from being conditioned to live in harsh conditions, the Cham historical experience, framed by the idea and memory of the loss of the kingdom, has strengthened their resilient characteristic. Studies in the field of psychology have noted that traumatized individuals can cope with extreme stress by developing many forms of resilience. One is the development of increased capacities of coping better with traumatic events. In this regard, the Cham devised ways to cope with traumatic events such as the loss of the Nager and the Cham king. This can be seen in the Cham focus on performing rituals and ceremonies such as the Rija and other ceremonies that allowed them to worship ancestors and deities to “placate the heart” or “thuk

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830 Jill Benson and Jill Thistlethwaite, Mental Health across Cultures: A Practical Guide for Health Professionals (Oxford, UK; New York: Radcliffe, 2009), 89.
“hatai” (Malay: *tenteramkan hati*). In other words, the Cham focus on cultural and spiritual activities to circumvent the effects of painful memories associated with the loss of the *Negara*.

It is important to note, however, that the Cham did not engage in purposeful amnesia over the loss of the *Negara*, but instead, deliberately sought to increase historical consciousness. An instructive example is the case of the Maroon, African slaves brought to Latin America, who maintained a strong awareness of their historical experience of enslavement between the 16th and 19th centuries. Such memories became the core of their identity and sense of self. This is similar to the Cham of Panduranga, who, like the Maroon, preserved their sense of self and group identity by being rooted in and constantly reminded of their historical experience involving the Cham kings, the spirits that inhabited the land, the loss of their country, and their distinctive language, culture, and history. The preservation of Cham historical consciousness is a major factor in the creation of Cham resilience, and thus, determining how this resilience was manifested throughout Cham history is a worthy subject of study.

\[b\text{)}\quad \textbf{The Importance of the Religious Elite to Southeast Asian History, the Priests of Prowess}\]

The Cham religious elite were at the core of Cham resilience in the 19th and 20th centuries. It was they who preserved the past through ceremonies, rituals, and religious festivals at a time when Cham political activity was suppressed by the Vietnamese. Cham religious and cultural practices became central features of Cham life after the demise of the Cham political

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elite. The rich and sophisticated Cham culture was employed as a means to counter the political disempowerment that resulted from the loss of the Nager or “lihik Nager.”

In this process, the Cham religious elite could be regarded as “priests of prowess,” to borrow Wolters’ concept of the “man of prowess.” While the prowess of the Cham political elite was based on supernatural power or “Ganreh,” that of the priests was mastery of ritual knowledge, ability to lead and conduct ceremonies, and skill in reading Cham manuscripts. Early French observers in the 19th century devoted many of their observations of the Panduranga Cham to religious ceremonies and rituals, because this was a time of increased activity by the religious elite to counter Vietnamese assimilation efforts. The “priests of prowess” became the new fount of Cham power, and their activities became the means to maintain Cham identity and unity as a people.

Apart from furthering the idea of prowess in Southeast Asian history, the study of the role of the religious elite can help in bringing about a more nuanced understanding of the mandala concept in Southeast Asia. When the mandala was disrupted because of the disappearance of the “man of prowess,” or the institution of Cham kingship, it was the religious establishment that provided the leadership vacated by the ruler. The religious elite continued the memory of the Nager not only in ceremony and ritual, but through preservation of the identity of the community through marriage ceremonies, musical performances, and the teaching of traditional writing. The existence of the Cambur ceremony, where the Cham religious elite reconstruct the court and activities of the Cham king, appears to confirm the role of the religious elite in becoming “priests

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835 Wolters, History, 29.
of prowess.” It is important to reiterate that the focus of the dissertation has been in the Cham area of Panduranga, specifically the Cham of Ninh Thuan. Since very few other earlier Cham areas have survived intact, it is difficult to extend this argument to any other area.

It is no longer the royal courts, but the religious elite who are now the repositories of Cham culture and historical memory, preserved in Cham manuscripts, rituals and ceremonies. Cham kings were scripted into ritual and their spirits were called upon during certain ceremonies, thus enabling the processes of remembering Cham history through the recitation of the story of the king by the Kadhar (the official musician that recites and sings manuscripts). The Negara comes alive again in Cham memory through such means. According to Dr Thanh Phan, the religious elite’s understanding of Nager Cham basically stems from the village where they exercise the greatest influence. Here, Nager Cham is transformed into a spiritual realm, where the spirits of the land (Po Tanah Riya) and the spirits of the Cham king (Yang Patao) exist. The task of the religious elite is to connect the Cham to the small shrines, ruins of temples, and rituals—the founts of spiritual power—that form the Cham spiritual homeland (Tanah Riya Cham). In other words, the Negara is not a political entity that has been destroyed. It is still in existence, but understood in terms of its spiritual and magical essence which has been deeply embedded in the landscape for centuries. It may have been the strength of the Cham spiritual Negara and the religious elite that led to the Vietnamese adopting the god Indra, and worshipping regularly at temples with strong Cham influence.836 Vietnamese rulers also visited the Cham temples in Quang Binh, Quang Tri and Dong Duong during a brief period of

836 For further information, refer to Tran Quoc Vuong’s “The Legend of Ong Dong from the Text to the Field.” in Whitmore and Taylor, Essays, 13-42.
friendship between the Cham and Vietnamese in the 13th century. The religious elite were also valuable in their role among the Cham in Cambodia and in establishing relations with the Malays. They became a bastion of Cham identity and culture among the Cham in Cambodia in the areas of Chau Doc and An Giang. Today, the latter two areas are headed by leaders with the religious titles of Imam and Hakim. The Cham religious elite were also instrumental in the incorporation of many Malay ideas into Ilimo Cam or Cham knowledge.

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837 Refer to Michael Vickery’s “A Short History of Champa,” in Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese, Archaeology, 55.  
838 Taylor, Cham Muslims, 87.
The manuscript pictured above, acquired from Dr Thanh Phan’s collection, is entitled *Puteri Bengsu anak kluau* or *Puteri Bongsu anak ketiga* (*The Third Princess, the Third Child*). The manuscript is undated and names no author, and it contains “*ligem gindeng*” (*ragam gendang* or “the beat of the drum”) or “notes on the drum beats,” and was probably used by the *Maduen*, the official musician for various important Cham ceremonies in the *Rija* ceremony.  

Puteri Bongsu is a character from the localized version of the *Ramayana* used in traditional theater performances in the Malay world. It is not known when the Cham learnt about Puteri Bengsu from the Malays, but the Cham have had a long history of contact with the Malay world as early as the 13th century and was even a presence in the Melakan court in the 15th century. Cham sources also indicate strong cultural connections based on intermarriage with Malay noblemen of Kelantan (Makah) with Cham princesses in the 17th century. The Cham religious elite are thus instrumental in preserving evidence of Malay-Cham historical interactions through their cultural and religious activities.

Thus, the “comprehenders” and “selective borrowers” of concepts and culture from outside Nager Cam in this instance are the Cham religious elite. There would have been other avenues of borrowing, and perhaps future research can reveal how the Cham religious elite localized other forms of knowledge from other cultures in history. But in this example, Malay

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839 Cabaton and Aymonier, *Dictionnaire*, 375.
841 Champa was one of the kingdoms acknowledged as a “friend” of Majapahit. Mpu Prapanca, *Desawarana (Nagarakrtagama), Verhandelingen Van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995). For more information on the history of the Cham in Melaka, refer to Marrison, "Malacca."
842 Po, et al., *Nai Mai*.
concepts and ideas were borrowed and performed in the Cham way such as seen in the transliteration of the term “Puteri Bengsu anak klau.” This makes them important agents of localization of ideas, especially from the Malay world. As this study has attempted to demonstrate, studying the religious elite in Southeast Asia may help to extend and even modify historians’ ideas of the state in Southeast Asia.

c) Minority Histories and Controversies

Unlike many other Cham areas that witnessed a flight of people to various parts of the region, those of Panduranga, Ninh Thuan, stayed put despite the inexorable advance of Vietnamese. How did they preserve their culture and identity in face of political defeat and humiliation? These are the questions that I have explored in this dissertation. While some historians may regard this topic as too politically sensitive, I have embarked on this enterprise as a historian eager to record the past as remembered by a minority community. As in any minority viewpoint, it may challenge the established wisdom and dominant perspective. Yet it is necessary to offer as many facets of a history as can be reconstructed, even if painful, as a record for future generations. It is hoped that others will attempt to reconstruct minority histories as a way of valorizing their past and thus become incorporated into the national historical narrative.

d) The Value of Cham and Other Sources

In this study, I have used a number of Cham sources, many of which have hitherto not been studied, especially certain Dalukal and Ariya, which are generally seen as “folktales.” I
have treated them as valuable repositories of Cham memory regarding political structures and relations that have now disappeared, and insights on Cham perceptions of Cham kingship and power. They also give important insights into the nature of traditional authority and the social order. In the Dalukal, there are terms referring to ideas of power such as Ganreh, worship such as bhuktik and tagok rai or “to establish a king.” There are fascinating concepts that relate to the Cham court, such as the Panraong Jabuol (the general), Haluw Bilau (soldier), Ginuer Huer (the astrologer), the Patao/Po or chieftain/king, his queen or Po Bia, and the fact that they lived in the madhir or palace.

There are also terms that relate to warfare such as kalin (war), masuh (attack) and alah (defeat); territory such as Nager (negara), Bal (basis for cities or forts), bhum and tanah (both means land), and other kingdoms such as Nager Jek (Northern Vietnam), Nager Laow (China), and Nager Thiem (Siam). They are useful in providing a Cham interpretation of terms that may differ from Vietnamese, Malay or French versions of Cham history. These Cham sources from Panduranga provide new ways of conceptualizing their past and particularly their survival, despite intense assimilation efforts by the Vietnamese. There is much more that can be done both with these sources, as well as many others that are available in various repositories around the world. It is hoped that other scholars will be inspired to continue to examine these Cham manuscripts and reconstruct more of the fascinating history of a once proud people now reduced to a minority in their own country.

e) New Research Directions
One question that has arisen in the course of this study: when did the Cham first distinguish the “Ahier” and “Awal” religious communities, identifications that are used commonly today by the Cham community in Ninh Thuan? The 19th-century Dalukal Ba Hadiap Nao ka Gru simply makes the distinction between Akhaphir (unbeliever) and the syncretic Muslim groups. French missionary observations and Vietnamese court sources from the nineteenth century do not refer to the Cham in Ninh Thuan as “Ahier” or “Awal.” Thus this raises the possibility that “Ahier” and “Awal” categorizations could have been created as early as the 20th century. The question why and when did the Cham first used the “Ahier” and “Awal” categorizations is a question that can potentially raise new research directions.

A second promising avenue of research is why Cham memory only extends to Nager Aia Trang (Kauthara) and not further north? Cham manuscripts have little or no mention of former Cham areas from Danang to Hue, which is puzzling, since the temples of My Son, Dong Duong and others are located north of Panduranga. If temples are to be seen as markers of territory of Nager Cam, then the furthest temple from Panduranga mentioned in the Dalukal is the temple of Po Nagar in Nager Aia Trang (Kauthara). A possible explanation is that the Cham lost much of their memory about areas further north since invasions of the territories began there as early as 1471. However, another possible explanation is that the Cham of Panduranga and possibly Kauthara are not particularly interested in the fate of the other Cham in the north as they belong to the rival Coconut clan while the Cham in the south are from the Betelnut clan. This conclusion accords with the current thinking that the Cham should not be regarded as a monolithic group forming one kingdom, but a collection of kingdoms. An instructive example is found in the Malay world, which is inhabited by Malays living under different rulers and kingdoms.
Panduranga was just one of several polities that were referred to as Champa, but consisted of a collection of separate political entities.

\[f\] Highland and Lowland Relationships in Southeast Asian History

A historical study of the relationship between the lowland Cham and their highland trading partners will reveal much about Cham polities and a much more precise role that highlanders played in the history of the Cham. The Central Highlands of Vietnam have always been a refuge, both for the Cham and their precious objects, such as royal treasures and manuscripts. The rivers link the lowlands to the highlands, making the latter accessible. Furthermore, the Cham and their highland allies, the Churu and the Raglai, have mutually intelligible languages, which is a result of their being Austronesian languages and of a long history of Cham interactions with the highlanders to obtain valued jungle products such as ivory and gaharu wood. Another aspect of their relationship involved spiritual power.\(^{844}\) Highlanders respect Cham kings who have *Ganreh*, as can be seen in the *Dalukal Po Klaong Garai*, where a Raglai, upon seeing the dragon licking the feet of Po Klaong Garai, believes it to be proof of having *Ganreh*, and acknowledges him as king. To have *Ganreh* also allows a Churu tribesman to become a Cham king, as described in the *Dalukal Po Rome* (or Po Ramo).

On the Future of the Cham

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Attempts to develop Cham culture as a resource for the Vietnamese tourist industry and the seriousness of the Vietnamese government in preserving ethnic minority culture have been placed in doubt with plans to use the Ninh Thuận area as the site for two nuclear plants. In a statement by Dr Le Dinh Tien, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Science and Technology, who headed a delegation of Vietnam to the 55th Regular Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) held in Vienna, Austria on September 19 to 23, 2011, the construction of two nuclear power plants called Ninh Thuận 1 and Ninh Thuận 2 is planned for 2014 and 2015, to increase electricity production for the country. The implications to the Cham community living in the area are still being debated. Cham opposition to the building of the nuclear plants has been effectively neutralized.

It is unclear whether the Cham will be forced to relocate to other areas as the nuclear plants are being built, and if Cham archaeological and historical vestiges in the area are going to be affected, as Vietnamese news remains silent on these issues. These developments have provided a cogent reason for the importance and need for Cham historical resilience. Understanding how and why the Cham of Ninh Thuan retained their culture, identity and historical memory may help to strengthen their resolve to resist these plans for nuclear plants. Their resilience will be again tested.

846 My Cham informants have informed me about heavy police pressure on Cham who protested against the building of the nuclear plants. Some have been intimidated into silence.
APPENDICES

Summary of Dalukal from Thanh Phan’s collection, Dalukal No. 44

Dalukal Hadiap pathang Po Bir Thuer
Story of the rise of Po Birthuer, who was born poor, but met Po Ganuor in the Cek Ho Sa Ba (mountain of Ho Sa Ba) who identified his Ganreh (power). With the help of a magical buffalo, Po Birthuer became king.

Dalukal Po Sah Ina
In 1440, the Vietnamese attacked the Cham, and Po Sah Ina was captured as a hostage. When she returned, conflict started when the brother of her husband, Po Hanim Par, did not want her to remain married to him, as he was Muslim and she was an Ahier (Brahmanist). A scheme to separate them was planned and it succeeded. Po Hanim Par was saddened by the plot and left Nager Cam to live with the Raglai, and he even had a Raglai and Churu wife. He never returned to Nager Cam.

Dalukal Cei Kien khing nai taluic anak
The story tells of Cei Kiep who wanted to marry the king’s daughter, so he told his mom he wanted to see the king. However, the king demanded tribute. He attained magical powers, transformed into a handsome man, and became king and married the previous king’s daughter.
Dalukal klau adei sa ai sa tian dua likei sa kamei

There once lived two brothers and sister named Ja Bagon, Ja Damdiel, and Dara Si Mah who came from a rich family and lived in luxury. The two brothers decided one day to find a girl to marry. They looked around and discovered a rich family that had many guards protecting the house from intruders. However, the two brothers said they were there for business, and were allowed to enter. The owner of the house, a lady, fell in love with one of them and invited them to a party. She wanted them to live with her and drugged their food, but the older brother saw it. Amazed by Ja Bagon’s alertness, she gave buffalos and her properties to them as an apology, and they returned home. One day, the two brothers went hunting. While Ja Damdiel went back to get water, his brother hunted a pig, but two sisters captured a pig first and told him to carry it back their village. When they arrived at the village, the villagers wanted to kill him, but he requested for a “Chieng” (gong) to play before he died. He played the gong and its sound was heard by a King, who then saved him.

Dalukal Nai Palak tangin

The story tells of the story of an old man and wife who were childless. They decided to see Po Ganuer Huer (astrologer). They were told to find a small eggplant and take it home. Several months later, the wife became a pregnant and gave birth to a baby as small as a hand. Ashamed, they decided to put her in the “Ginang” (In Malay: Gendang) drum and put it behind their house. A prince named Cei Aia Harei suddenly heard a heart-rending song sung by the girl in the drum and became depressed. The King asked his son why he was sad, and was told about the strange voice. He commanded the Panraong Jabuol to investigate and discovered the Ginang drum of the family. The family was then invited to meet the king to talk about the wedding for his son.
and the daughter. The girl that emerged from the Ginang was a very beautiful girl and they got married. Several months later, Cei Aia Harei went away, but his wife was seized by another king. Cei Aia Harei came back and found that his wife was missing. He rode a peacock and flew into the sky but while he was riding, Huer Po Debita stopped him and forbade him from searching her, and he was also not allowed to go back the earth. His father, the King, died, and no one inherited the throne.

**Dalukal baoh laong**

Once there was an old man and woman who were childless. The king ordered the old man to bring a Laong fruit and told him to eat it so that she could give birth to a child. The old man knew about the fruit’s curse and became afraid. He met an astrologer who could help, and the astrologer used his power to turn the fruit into seeds.

**Dalukal Po Haluw Aia, Po Yang In**

A story of a rivalry between two friends who both wanted to become king.

**Dalukal Po Klaong Garay**

A story of Po Klaong Garay who became a buffalo herder and was poor, but an astrologer identified him as having Ganreh. One day, when Po Klaong Garay joined him during buffalo herding, he saw his body being licked by two dragons as he slept, and knew that Po Klaong Garay was destined to be king. The astrologer wanted him to work with him and marry his daughter.
Damnuy Po Kabrah + Po Kabrah Jieng anak Ong Iw bini

Po Kabrah was the son of Po Mathit. Po Mathit was the younger brother of Po Sah Ina. After Po Sah Ina was captured by the Vietnamese, he hid in Raglai territory. One day, the people asked him if he wanted to be king, but he refused and said that if the Cham people could get his uncle back from the Vietnamese, he would agree to become king. The Cham found a way to bring her back for Po Kabrah, and he then became king.

Dalukal Po Ramo angan Ja Saot

Po Ramo was born and became a buffalo herder. One day, he slept under a tree called Phun Kraik, a dragon came out and licked his body, and he became king. The Vietnamese attacked and he destroyed them using the power of the Phun Kraik. The Vietnamese king pleaded for mercy and gave him a Vietnamese woman named Po Bia Ut. He was totally in love with her, but she became sick and said that the cause was the Phun Kraik, ordering him to cut it down. His soldiers could not cut it down. One day, deeply angered, he cut it down himself and the Phun Kraik died. Po Bia Ut then wrote a letter to her father and told him to attack. Nager Cam was defeated and Po Ramo was captured by the Vietnamese.

Dalukal Po Mathik Dik nan Po anit

In the year of the Rabbit, a king was coronated, and that year, tribute was sent to the Vietnamese. The king Po Jai Paran had a brother named Po Thik Dhik, and they did not like to send tributes. Po Madhik Thik became powerful, but he fell in love with a Vietnamese princess and he was called Po Anit.
**Dalukal Menuis jieng Gru Cruw**

The story centers on Aya Hon, a brilliant student who was killed and eaten by other students who were jealous of him. The *Po Gru* went to the mountains to claim his bones and used them for medicine to give to the Chru.

**Dalikal kao magru akhar Gru pander sai bahadiap saiho ka Gru** *(The Story of the Learning of the Script, the Gru Orders the Student to Bring his Wife to him)*

An old *Acar* (low-level priest) that had long been bullied by his peers decided to look for a powerful *Gru* to teach him. He found a *Po Gru* who could teach him, but the price was that he had to give his wife to the *Gru*. The *Acar* obeyed. However, it was just a test and the *Acar* then received the power of knowledge and wisdom. However, *Po Ali* was upset at the *Acar* who got such rewards and confronted *Po Rasolak* who was actually the *Gru*. *Po Ali* was humiliated and made to undergo many trials.

**Damnuy Po Nagar**

Once, an old couple planted the watermelon trees, but someone stole the fruit. In an attempt to catch the thief, they discovered that it was a young girl from the moon flying down to their garden to eat their watermelons. They caught her and took her home and she became their daughter. She lived with this family for three years before she escaped to China by hiding in a piece of incense wood. In China, when the Chinese royalty saw the wood, they tried to take it out of the sea but the wood was very heavy. The prince, curious, took the wood out of the water and surprisingly it was very light. At night, the prince saw the girl in the wood and married her and had two kids. A long time later, she decided to go back her family, but she did not see them.
Nevertheless, she decided to live there and teach the people weaving, farming, and rearing livestock.

**Dalukal Nai Candieng (The Story of The Princess of the Drum)**

Nai Candieng was born but she was very tiny. Her parents abandoned her in the forest and she grew watermelons. One day, three princes went hunting. The youngest prince felt thirsty and ate watermelon, but he only ate a half and then continued to hunt. Nai Candieng ate the rest and then gave birth to a child. The youngest prince heard the voice of a child in the forest and found that the child looked like him. He stayed there and took care of the child. The two other princes told the King about it and he felt ashamed. However, one day, the King required each wife of the princes to bring food to him. The youngest prince was worried, but his wife made delicious food and this was brought to the King. The king loved it and realized that Nai Candieng could be a powerful person and so decided that the youngest prince would inherit the throne.

**Dalukal Cei Ula Praong (The story of the Snake King)**

Once, there were three sisters, two got married but the youngest sister married a big snake Cei Ula Praong who came from the sky. They had a son. However, two brothers in law tried to kill him. The King intervened and punished them. Cei Ula then became King.
TRANSLITERATION OF DALUKAL FROM THANH PHAN’S COLLECTION
DALUKAL NO. 44

1. *hadip pathang Po Bilhuer*

dalukal p. 1-20

Line 1: Ni thuat tik thì mang tau lei dalakal hadiep paphang Po Birthuer, dom

Line 2: nan pa jiong _dua Urang anak, anak kacua/kacwa/ka(sulung)lamaow tanaow, anak ta-

Line 3: luic likei, hadiep Po Bir Thuer angan muk Lieng, tep di kal lak

Line 4: tanah nder baoh cakan (apple)(cycle)jieng kumei dahlau ___, jieng ong hudei, blaoh ong
tok talak dahlau

Line 5: muk tok gai jru hadei (last), baruw (baru wa) mang (sebab)hamiit sa yawa leng mboh ong
mbrait marai brei

Line 6: ka ong (husband) saong muk(hadiop) a khing gep) di thun nasak takuh tel 3 thun mang
Po Uwlua (marry together di thun nasak takuh tal 3 thun mang Po Uwlua)

Line 7: brei thuat ti jai ghak ka ong saong muk nan, mang Po Uwlua phaol (ludah) aia kakuel
taniat

line 8: jieng anak, di hurei (3 bingun but-wednesday 3rd) di balan kubaw ma ka ndaong jaong
thaik.

Line 9: sa balan dihlau jeng lamaow, balan hudei jeng , manuis, tel ba sa/ka

Line 10 (page two): baoh (kundaoh) salipan (9) balan saong taom hurei daguen paok (pecah) 10
hurei ndih di a

line 11: apuei, tel ndih di apuei hurei 10 nan ndih di hula car, [U gha kuyau] min, nan
line 12: ndem wek (speak again) ka manosak thau, tel di kal (before) Ong su (sama) muk (wife) daok di hula car [cak,

line 13: Ong nao jah na kak luai muk daok wek di hala car, min muk kieng pa

Line 14: pajai ka hurei tel balan pa jei, mk nan mak thuk nao nda aia di hurei (number) muk

Line 15: nan ma tian da ma hla di baoh pamatam ka yua anak ku mbar daok nyuak dalam

Line 16: na tel Ina nya, tep nan hla pa phun pa aong ka hla baoh, muk nan nao ndik tagok

Line 17: tagok kieng paik baoh pa aok weng min ndik tagok ma luh phun pa

line 18: paaok tabloah laik a nak lamaow tabiak di nager Ina tran/graan di hue

Line 19 (p. 3) gaik anak ma ndi sa hu dei dua urang nan laik ndih di U Gha paok, mai

Line 20: ka laik tran matai tel nan rei, Ong Bin Thuer mbai me jah nak na kak di woh

Line 21: muk O ga lam ta lak nao duah meuk nao tel ba ngun aia woh a buk caik

line 22: tapa nan hamit sep ku mbar hia, Ong nan wai nao woh ka mbar anak daok hia mbaik

Line 23: matai di Ugha ka paaok, Ong nan wer glai mboh kar hia sa drei, lagan nao

line 24: semak gan caoh li bang dek muk kieng di Ugha pa aok nan baoh daok

Line 25: dua urang anak wai pe raong tel praong thue ki lah takiam mbaik nyol

line 26: dahlak pan ama, Ong nan kam hia mboh ka ra gam ndem saong anak ka pa ndec yue

line 27: nan// ong nan daok raong anak hla klau thun mbiah bhutam saong ka phua (number) ___ma

line 28 (pg 4.): da lo, muk nan hla pa mu bhum kubaw war ka nup ma da, daok Ong Bir Thuer

Line 29: ka thaot lo ku nda di muk nan, muk nan ndem jang peng, pa-nder anak li ka

line 30: nao kleng kubaw, baoh anak manuis nao biai saong sa lua lamaow, I

line 31: limaow lac mbaik ama pa-nder sibar saong tuei nan, min anak nan
line 32: di hlan aw di a ngua Ong, anak ama hia __h kar saong gep ama biai saong

line 33: anak kriuk drei kuthaot tok hia tathian nao baik , ama ndem yue halei a

line 34: anak peng min di hieng tah nao tah wai Ong mbaik ka nyaol dahlak nao kleng ha wa,,

line 35: di thun nasak a thue di balan dak di hurei (number) pan na greh mak yang sa

line 36: dua adei sa kua peh kubaw nao kleng , peh kubaw tabiak ma nuis nan halei

line 37: (Page 5) saong abih kubaw, 3 kubaw le ya?? ma yah grep 3 nao mbeng, juai mbeng calah

line 38: di gep saong juai mbeng a puh ca kak urang juai, glai klong wa adei 3 dahlak

line 39: oh ka ra ndap, kubaw ndem wek aey 3 manuis____ dahlak nao mbeng pak cek

line 40: ho sa buak min oh mada nao calah Ong, kubaw ndem pa nduec yue ndua jei, langik pa

line 41: tal ka kubaw nao mbeng pa dai Ong rok humu ndua Po a ya, adei ndik di 3 rang/re sa

line 42: [la kuan??] dua lamaow nao hudei, nao tel humu Ong rok humu Po Bia, Ong

line 43: rok humu ____ urang halei klong kubaw mbeng padai nan, ma nuis nan luc abha (mula)

line 44: Po dahlak Ja Klong, hla klong kubaw bar pa laong kubaw mbeng hadei lac, hu

line 45: a taong hlak ka hla nao ndem saong 3 ___ a wa ha wek, manuis ndua woh kal ka/ha bua

line 46: (page 6) le bha dahlak saong ndem hakei saong grep lua blaoh habar 3 nao mbeng padai urang

line 47: ka urang ataong dahlak ra mbah ___ ni, pa___ ni blaoh ka daok hadei juai ngap yau

line 48: nan tra juai raong rup dahlak je lua, blaoh kubaw nao mbeng pak cek ho na

line 49: ba, mbiah dua adei sa kua nao pak cek ho na ba, [ho sa bak] keng hamiit

Line 50: sep urang daok ka mra dalam cek nan, baruw mang nan adei sa lua gua nao maong ,

line 51: nao mboh urang aka ku ____paik ca him ayuk (tiup) ta giak, paoh acaong a

line 52: ataong halar, da drut da druai dalam tian lo, pak nan hu ra taha paik ji
line 53: pa, lua lamaow yo drei jieng manuis, min ngap sep ti maow hapabah pa
line 54: ___sep tama ta tuer di dalam nager 3 na ama nan lua lamaow ndem paong adei la
line 55: (page 7). lac la ke ja lac nao trah jei, adei ndik ngok 3 raong ka lua ba adei tama
line 56: nager ho sa bak, nao mboh urang daok pa mrei ka 3 na paik ji pa. baruw
line 57: mang Po Ganuor urang daok ciim cek ho sa bak mboh adei lua lamaow bua da a
line 58: nao tanyim dua adei sa lua daok hapak 3 na ama pei, Po Adei sa lua klong ama a
line 59: angan Bir Thuer maik muk nyeng, min maik matai blom, adei sa lua klaong nao
line 60: gleng kubaw ka maik hamum min, blaoh hamiiat sep piiam mbai maong, blaoh Po
line 61: Ganuer anit ra ndem tanyim adei sa lua lamaow habar oh, hagian awacuk
line 62: ong, grep Po Ganuor anit brei pian awak adei yeng nan, adei lua lamaow
line 63: ayan wek maik hamum di hu brei ong, grep Po Ganuor anit brei nyac aw
line 64: (page 8): ka adei sa lua nyu, tel bier harei tian kubaw wek nao peng maik nyu ataong
line 65: tanyim thei brei alian (alin- p.23 "royal gift") aw ka hu, lian aw di adei lua dahlak nguen
min di
line 66: hu thei brei O, maik humum nyu lac pa naok hu klaik kubaw hu/ke pa blei blaoh mak joc
line 67: blei alian (alin) aw, taong blaoh geh kian (nian" is silkworm in cam. 248) aw abih, tel
hurei hadei adei limaow
line 68: maow tian kubaw nao gleng pak cek Ho sa bak, hamiiit sep rabep marim adei
line 69: lua nyu tagok nao maong, Po daok di cek nan tanyim sei praong hatai kiau le krian a
line 70: aw hu, urang nak ni ke/hu brei nyian aw ka hla wek pa mbeng tra, mayah ____gep nao
pe
line 71: wa ka hla wek pa mbeng ni tra maik hamum ha geh/leh wek nan, hla jang luai ka maik
hla g ??????h
line 72: juai lac hamiit, tel bia hurei adei lua nya tiap kubaw nao peng maik

line 73: (page 9): humum nyu ataong paoh wak abih ka___ awa adei lua nya jeng oh kieng ndem hamiit

line 74: phip di mbaik ataong , harei hadei adei ___ nyu nao gleng kubaw pak cek nan adei ___

line 75: nyu nao akiang saong Ong nan ka panuec kutha mbaik nyu geh lian aw saong taong

line 76: paoh nyu ka Ong nan peng, mbaik hamum nyu lua tuei nao hadei mboh Po nan daok di cek nan/ma

line 77: Ho sa bak daok pataow pa kai nga urang nan, mbaik nyu ndit di tian ga lac ma

line 78: rai ngap ba ndim ba niam mang hakik kieng 3 niam di adei __ nyu, mbaik hamum nyu da pa

line 79: panuec saong Po Thia daok dalam Gra pa di nan , saong pa chai panuec saong gra lac yah

line 80: mboh thei mbaia miang seng lac dahlak hakik kuyua Po sa pajieng ta hra ndep mbeng

line 81: ra laow lamaow nan jei , mbaik ga lac nao peng ndih ngap ma ruak ndih oh mbeng puak

line 82: (page 10) k kabraw harei malam, Ong Bir wer mboh ke nan nao pak Po Thia a mieng, Po

line 83: Thia ndem yeng panuec muk ku sua __l ma da lo da pa nan rei, Ong Bir Thuer nao pak Ong

line 84: Gru Praong pa naoh wek, Ong Gru Praong jeng ndem laik panuec nan rei, Ong Bir Thuer galan

line 85: mbaie peng ndem paong hudiep ka panuec nao a mbieng? gru urang ndem nan, muk phuai ___la da

line 86: pok ngap ma hian ndem paong Ong nan, Ong hu anak baoh jaong lamaow hu jieng Po ndok
line 87: mbeng nyu saong mak dahlak ruak hakik bhung ni Ong sa nung bhung/yung halei, Ong war glai
line 88: kieng ndem wer, nao biai saong anak panuec Gru urang gleng amieng kan maik hla pa kik
line 89: kuyua Po ta kru kieng mbeng ra mo low ra mow jei urak ni anak sa nung bhung/yung halei
line 90: lei, adei ma ndi sa hia biai saong sa nua, lua lamaow ndem saong ama nyu wa ndom ha
line 91: (page 11) habar anak halar min, blaoh ___ lamaow hia mbah kar saong adei, blaoh
line 92: ta kiam wa nyu tel harei halei jeng griuk??, ama nyu akian di nyu tel harei
line 93: suk ni jei jieong kriauk, ama nao ndem saong a mbaik hamom lac anak dahlak ja
line 94: lamaow ciip pajei muk ka phuel da lo ganung hatai ganung/lanung ka mraw, ___ lamaow
line 95: w daok tap nan biai saong adei a hadei_______tel harei jieong nyruk urang
line 96: Gru urang ka ka wak ndom, palaih ta kuai nan adei mak patuel hala tapak ra huk rih
line 97: h jiak ___nao da a phun ra ma lan ma__h klue phun a kaoh mboh raoh bi ___h
line 98:h ____tuai taduk wek tajuh aek loh ___kak wek klung duk tel urang paleng
line 99: nyam urang ba ___tabiak di lanyam adei ke dim gru blaox adei yang ngam klung mbeng der a
line 100: (page 12) adei ka puak di ____ku____je klung mbeng rei blaox adei nait tagok di ____rang
line 101: sa ___ka ___ba nao kloh min, min adei li hung dim wa kaong gru lac pi ngap
line 102: nan ba nao oak ca maong (?) phun paaok krung mbaik matai der tak blaox ngap
line 103: mayah pamalaih ___tok darah nduec tama ma ugha paaok taom___na drei wek
line 104: k, tel pa lo suk nao ngap rap blaox blai ka dei li bep jeng geng nyam ba____limaow
line 105: limaow tabiak __kak di phun paaao ak  adei ngap yuep?/bhue panuec ___lamaow halei

line 106: a dei nait talok di ___raong___ lamaow da danuy klung sep lamaow nan ha

line 107: hanot tagok ta klok li? phun pa aok ___lamaow per nao laik di aia ta beng

line 108: Po Bia ___n, dom Po ganuer baol kap? tal nan matai abih mbeng a

line 109: (page 13): nguei la nuh mada muk la phuel ma da lo brai rai abih , adei sa __

line 110: nyu pa la phun paaok di ta beng nalar patao nan sak mboh ___urang kumei mbai

line 111: pak tabeng ndua aia _____urang kumei nao akian/ayan tel hajep pa pang patao Po

line 112: bia ___na, patao nan tiap gaon rai da a nao tanyim, adei manuis nao tel

line 113: l patao tanyim ban doh hla a ngan hagait nager palei hapak bloh mbai hlua??

line 114: kriak hagait, adei nan pa Uk dahlak angan Ja Klaong daok ___ dahlak nan lamaow

line 115: ngan ja ka pil , adei sa ___ klak nager mbai nah nop ya/bha ni kuyua mbai hamum dahlak

line 116: nan muk ku phuel ma da lo pim da matai nyaol dahlak ndem abih panuec kudha p

line 117: patao ha Po Bia peng blaoh, palei nager nyaol dahlak daok pak nager cek huo

line 118: sa bak, palei bi kal sak, patao nan ndit di tian lamaow saong ban ni habar ja

line 119: ganreh hajiang blaoh nyu mbai tel nager ni caik, ndem saong ja klaong mayah hla kieng daok

line 120: ni hla brei ____lamaow hla ba nuh da ka nah saong limaow kueyah??? lamaow hla ba nuh la

line 121: lamaow kung alah kung kaoh matuh nager brei ka hlao daok, mayah ___lamaow hua nduec

line 122: kung di ndok hagait di hla O, hla ciip rei, panuec ganreh patrai ndem yang nan caik dahlak nao
line 123: bia saong ___ lamaow wek ka, panuec yang halei dahlak marai alin?ayan? wek, ja
klaong ndem ka

line 124: panuec patao ndem saong nyu ka ___lamaow nyu peng, ___ lamaow ka pil halar ba nuh
pander

line 125: adei ja klaong nao alin?ayan?, da halar saong patao thu?. patao panuec tel harei a

line 126: al nan harei ba pei? sei? tok ____dak cah gep hua, tel ___lamaow ka pil ba nuh
lamaow

line 127: w patao matai abih kleh hloh drei, patao ma luw?? di tian ruah dom lamaow nyek

line 128: jend ba nuh wek, ___ lamaow ndem saong adei nan mayah banuh wek habar lije___

line 129: jai patao alah wek jei, min adei juai dhuk yawa ba hran ka___juai adei da la

line 130: ndeng hatai, tel banuh wek ___lamaow nul??, lamaow patao pa lan pa laiy ja

line 131: leh cek ja leh car ja klaong woh lua lamaow nyu glaih glan puak yawa ka lua nyu geh?
leh?

line 132: panuec puak yawa limaow lamaow gi/li? thuh matai min di ka matai trah O, ja

Line 133: klaong pia wah ka ra mbai di nager urang pa__ pa adei blaoh___ matai klak adei ma
jua ka

line 134: drei, lamaow hakei/lei wek saong adei nan, mayah ___matai adei uai hia juai ruw juai

line 135: pa uk adei hader gaok ka lik ____ba nao cadar ja ____mbleng ra lao, daok ta le

line 136: ba nao luh dalam tapik/talik, tel nan breh/thruh jeng___ kan/kac lamaow hara, ___kan
kabia,___ k

line 137: kan mban, daok kalik piaoh da ma yok/bhok pajie sua pajieong suan pak saong adei,
patao

line 138: ganaong di tian mak ja klaong rok phun paaok labeng/gabeng nao pa la pak lan ma
line 139: madhir bi nan mayah hla pala oh nan O seng keng mak akaok hla, patao ndem yung?
nan ja Klaong daok

line 140: hia mbuah kar saong kalik lamaow nan, mbiah malam ja klaong nao ndih lamaow nan
mbai

line 141: da la pei ndem saong adei, adei _____ juai ruw, wa ri juai adei pataok bar la gam phun

line 142: paaok juai ka____ hadai nraong saong adei ha____min, juai puec juai , hadah

line 143: pa lo ja klaong nao buaic pa phun paaok ga/la gam/laam ta lok/pok hanyuel yung/bhung
hala padai

line 144: galam/lagam nao pa la di a ndak lan pa bim pa tao, patao woh manung li / gi bhuak
kieng karei kieng ___

line 145: niai di nyu dahlak ka mang bak hatai , baruw mang patao ndok parap tatuak

line 146: patao kieng nao nager do wa, min parap tatu lan/gan kruh ta pik, da luen klue ha

line 147: harei ngap da blaoh nan O kung mak akaok hlu, adei hia mbuah kar saong kalik nan____
hadai

line 148: saong dahlak hai, hia roh takai tapik, malam nan, ndih lape, wek mboh ja kapik

line: 149: mbai ndem saong adei, hla juai ka Uk juai luai ka____ngap ka adei hua min , tel harei
patao

line 150: kieng nao nan adei juai nao di hlueng juai luai ka patao nao da hlueng ______ngap
___niai di nyu, tel

line 151: l harei pa guen/luen pa da a dom krah bikar mbeng manyum patao nao baol pabhap tuei
kaong pa

line 152: mraoei nao tel tapik woh tatua ___lamaow kapil nrue blaoh patao juak di ta

line 153: tua nao da hlueng____dom baol pubhap tuei klaon, Po Bia ___na daok wek di pe
line 154: nao hamu matuh ta pik ja lamaow kapil puak tatuak patao saong dom baol
line 155: habhar laik dalam tapik matai abih, daok ja klaong ___ lamaow nrong
line 156: ba ta ma wek, ja kapil hakei saong ja klaong mayah ___nao pang pi hra Po Bia
line 157: Ina brei hai, mayah Po Bia In tanyim adei ndem lac patao tel nager
line 158: nager ke ka gaok , kaok ka lang , pajei, Po Bia In mboh ja klaong ndem
line 159: yung/bhung nan, sa nung woh thang ka palang drei matai, hia caok I mbal ka
bham/yam ka palang
line 160: lawik nao woh ja klaong nai daok nai kurei hiam likei mblak di krung da hlung , Po Bia
line 161: In ba tian nyiap di ja klaong , mbiah kieng tep jieong hadiap pa pang ja klaong ta
line 162: lok ray drung ray patao ka ala patao doh wek malam nager buei kai
line 163: y ma thrum ta mbeng mbluak di mbluak , blaoh ja klaong mak tel mbaik nyu tagok cuh , ku
line 164: lik lamaow nan dhreh drei jieong hala car , ca kong mbaik nao cuh, mak tel
line 165: tel ba rai pak pak pang ngap padhi bhuk tik jei
line 166: Po Bir Thuer deng ray ha I thun luic ray
line 167: muk nyeng dao ray hla 2o thun luic ray
line 168: ja klaong drung ray nan 30 thun luic ray

2. **Dalikal Po Sah Ina**

Line 1: Ni mang di dalam thun 1440 thun,----------jek masih Cam alah nduec laik ba
line 2: bal 30 ___thun nua mang nan patao wek, patao Jek mak Po Sa In ba nao
line 3: Jek ngap hadiep pa jieong pa/ha urang anak likei angan Goei Ang/Loei Ang----------
nan di ray
line 4: lo nyong tong------------------- Po Sah In hu sa Urang adei likei angan Po Kayih/bhih dua urang kumuen angan

line 5: Po Patao Kabrah, Patao Bih, adei angan Po Kathit jieng patao drung ray

line 6: y thun 1445thun ----------------Po Sah In na patao Jek mak daok dua Po adei

line 7: kumuen nao pak nager pa Cam dep tap palei ra glai paraok cuak hadiop ngap

line 8: thaik raglai juai drei urang hran/krun hua juai rok hua hamu ngap mbeng ra 7 thun Cam di hu

line 9: Patao pakrang nager O duah grep phaok craok di mboh O, dom krah kar

line 10: biai panduec harak di grep palei craw raglai kahaow, Cam anuk likei mang

line 11: 10 tet 40 thun tel balan harei nan ba ju ti ____ka Po, min grep ma? krah bi

line 12: kar bi ndem bi niai mak brak kruk padiang mang ngaok pabah mbeng jang, mayah tama tabiak

line 13: k, O rak dua urang jang nyik tap nan, mayah thei mbai tel pabah mbeng padiang brak kruk

line 14: ma nuis nan luak/kuak tama luai (berhenti) ka ra luak/huak daok trhi Oh luak O mak ba rai juai ngap phak di

line 15: urang juai tel harei daluen/daguen Craw Cam trun thei thei jang luak tama dua halar saong krah

line 16: bikar , tel Po Kabih Po kabih mbai/blai?? krun mboh bik krak hagac akaok wek

line 17: di ciip luak tama O mbiah Ganuer mak balan da halar saong krah bik/bil.?

line 18: Po krah bikar tanyi brak kruk padiang di pabah mbeng jang thei thei jang luak tama

line 19: daok dua sah habar O luak O, ndem tapak , baruw mang Po Kabrah pa Uk wek da

line 20: dahlak oh luak O kayua/payua muk kei dahlak hu hakei wek krak saong limaow pajaih
line 21: saong gep, tel harei kuya/kubha/kaya? mah, tak di lamaow ba ja tan luay ta da kraong

taom

line 22: nager muk kei, maduh yang?/bhung? nan, adei _____ dahlak oh kieng luak taba/tada?,
dom brah bikar

line 23: ndem wek sah ndem oh ka tapak baoh katha ______ama sah ma kal dahlau

line 24: hu ngap jang janung hagait halei, dua adei ____Po Kabrah huak air mata

line 25: akhan tapak (p. 3 aymonier explained) baoh katha min (tetapi) di tuk brah bikar tanyi

nan dua adei

line 26: sa-ai Po Kabrah cuak ka daop min, tap kal Po ama dahlak hu

line 27: drur ray ngap patao di biauh Bal Bat panraong 20 ____thun luic ray, blaoh (kemudian)

line 28: h Jek rai bak mang nager mak hluw nai dahlak ba nao nager Jek

line 29:m daok dua adei ai dahlak nao dep pak padei raglai parok madoh/madaih tani (sini), grep

line 30: krah pakar mbiah adei Sa-ai Po Kabrah ndem yau nan, jak gep tagok deng a

line 31: abih kuel tangin pathung , Po, adei ai dahlak mboh di nager oh hu patao

line 32: ngap ba ndim bi niai duah Po min kuhluoam urak ni Po marai ku na di Po tagok

Line 33: k ray da ndang nager , Po Kabrah ndem wek , kahlaom grep krah bi kar hu tian

line 34: saong adei ai dahlak, blaoh kieng nao muk ka dahlak jieng patao pakrang nager, ngap

line 35: sibar nao mak wa dahlak pak nager Jek _____hu_____dahlak rai drung ray

line 36: thuk da likal, dom Po krah bikar ku hra biai urang (truncated)

line 37: ba lang bi khang ku daong ha palih ka bal nao da a Po Bia (rest is truncated)

line 38: blaoh blai, pa paruah klung urang palih ku bal ndik ka nan nao tu (rest is truncated)

line 39: ka/ta len ba nga ray ka nao tel nager Jek dua urang nao tanyi ra we ha mia (rest is

truncated)
line 40: bol nan patao Jek nao nager Laow, dua urang ginang tian nao tel tabeng
line 41: aia ngap mang ka mlaow thei tanyi jang ndem mang ka mlaow, tel woh ra di yeng Po sah
line 42: Ina nao ndua aia ka Po ma ndei, min dua urang nua thung ka ra di yeng Po Sah Ina pajei
line 43: khu da a kudha ta nra di abuk aia ra di yeng grak duh dok tagok di gruh
line 44: O, baruw mang ra di yeng a dua urang nan dok abuk aia, haluw ba lang
line 45: dok abuk aia tagok haluw ba lang lua mak karah tak di bal Po
line 46: Kabrah jaw nan, buh dalam abuk aia ra di yeng ndua abuk aia nao tel
line 47: pang Po Sah Ina tuh aia tabiak ma ndei mbah karah mata dalam abuk
line 48: aia mak ka rah krung dreh ka rah Po ama nan Po pa ra can dok patao
line 49: nuk karah nan pajieong suan dhaop Po Sah Ina ndit di tian Ew ra
line 50: di yeng rai tanyi khaol hla nao ndua aia hla woh thei daok di tabeng aia rei, ra di
line 51: Yeng akhan, nan di bol khaol dahlak nao nua aia nan hla woh dua urang daok
line 52: di tabeng blaoh ndem di hu O ka mlaow, Po Sah Ina ndit di tian laik
line 53: k tel malam pa-nder di yeng nao ba a ndua urang nan nao Po Sah In
line 54: In, dua urang nan guei/luei ra di yeng nao tel madhir, Po Sah In tangi hia
line 55: lat/gat aong kheng threh kudha aong daok ha pak labik palei nager, dua urang pa
line 56: thue dhul palak takai bia Po khaol dahlak daok pak nager No Sri
line 57: wan, prang da nreng, Po kabrah Po kabih saong grep Sri pa kheng pujeng na rah, krah
line 58: h bikar thai marai raok Po wek nager, kuyua nager oh huma nui?? sa pa
line 59: kreng nager O, Po Kabrah Po Kabih pander raok bi hu Po bia wek nager
line 60: ka, mang Po ciip tagok ray pakreng nager, Po Sah Ina woh dom pander ndem
line 61: (truncated) aier mata, kung ciip nao min, tablaoh ngap bi ndem bi niai habar blaoh
line 62: h nao, dua urang nan pathuk wek ki/gi kung bia Po halar lak wek nager baik
line 63: adei ai dahlak___habar yan mayah nao nan nao malam ni baik , baruw
line 64: w mang laik tel kruh malam lua ba tep trun ba ra yan galan/lagan wek tel nager
line 65: wa taom kumuen , kumuen taom mba/wa? aien tabuen biai sep mak baol pa
line 66: bek biah da glaong ma nyim daow mang, ba dhei na sa/la ka Jek marai masuh, tel
line 67: patao Jek mang nager Laow wek nager di mboh Po Sah Ina O, tanyi ra di
line 68: yeng/bheng kaong Po sah Ina, ra di yeng/bheng padhung ja naoh ja ndem krung ha
manuis crih palei
line 69: kurei angan O___blaoh klaik Po Bia dhit, patao Jek hamit paduec kadha la/ga
line 70: lanao/ganao paruah haluw ba lang baol bhap dok tuei ma nager Cam masuh saong Cam,
line 71: baol bhap rai masuh Oh jai saong Po Sah Ina, ka jao akaok wek, patao
line 72: Jek ngap ba ndim ba niai ba pa Urang anak likei mbai tel pabah biah, Dom
line 73: jang buel tama da halar saong Po Sah Ina lac ha Ong taha ba pa urang caih
line 74: daok gilung mbeng pak langi/langa madhir nyu lac anuk patao Jek mbaik Cam urak
line 75: k ni ama nyu lanaong tiap/giap mbai pak nager In nyu, Po sah Ina hamiit
line: 76: ndem pa-nder tabiak nao ba ban asit nan mbai aek, jang baol tabiak ma
line 77: mak kucei anak ba ta mataom Sah Ina, Po Sah Ina kran nyang p anak
line 78: k drei, Po nan mak daok saong Po, daok Ong taha tiap nao nager wek,
line 79: hadei patao Jek daok baol mbai masuh Po Sah Ina mak draw bek?
line 80: k hanik di kraong ba trun neng bi hanik mayok, da ngap talua nao ta
line 81: da kraong ta hien daok, baoh Jeh ta da talua haluw ba lang Po Sah
line 82: h Ina huak dua lah/gah kaok gleh ta tua laik baol tama kraong aia jai
line 83: ba tama druaw ma tai baol Jek ralo , Jek masuh Po Sah Ina
line 84: gah/lah, glak biuh nao daok pal kataot ser ba jai, gaok Po ha niat per
line 85: r nyin ngap mang pasang, Po Ha niat per hu adei angan Po Glaong ba ruw pa tung
line 86: (cant see) anak Po No Si Wan, Po Ha nit per nao huaiy pa tia sa, pa
line 87: (cant see) , wek, dom kaya nan patia mang mah haioh Po Sah Ina ma
line 88: ______r wei, di bol nao hadip pasang ndom saong tel da hluk nao glung
line 89: balan galac wek tel harei dahlak marai hamit klung yawa phaw
line 90: Di pabah langa?, nan tabiak nao raok , min Po Klaong baruw hamit
line 91: Po sa ai saong sa ai sang ndem saong gep , daok pak di hambiah dua balan Po
line 92: Klaong baruw nhu klong yawa phaw Po Sah Ina aen pacieng lac pasang
line 93: peh pabah mbeng nao raok, nao mboh Po Klaong baruw, matuw di tian
line 94: lagac? wek tama sang kahek baoh mbeng wek, bak klung balan Po ha Nit per
line 95: r, _____cuh phaw Po Sah Ina maluw ganaong di adei pe wer sanung ka pa
line 96: pang di tabiak raok O, Po ha nim per ndit di tian lac hadiap drei hatian
line 97: kaol hajieng oh ___raok O, baruw mang Po Hanim per paraot di ha
line 98: tai nao Mo Ta pak cek Po, palei rok nager ba Cam tama sang nai
line 99: bia ha nga daok geh yua , 2 klong harei dak Craw Raglai nao a_____pak ralong
line 100: paray ralow , sak Po Sa Ina hamit pasang _______ blaoh drei di
line 101: tabiak raok O sanung aih baruw mang pa nder baol trun tapik duah
line 102: mak huak drei ________, ahari aia caekong ba palah , taow tuei nao kuec anaih
line 103: nuak nan matai tap nan urak ni urang Ew crah nuak , daok palah pacah urak ni
line 104: urang Ew ram palah , taow jang war tap crah nuak nan, Po Sah Ina nao sep
line 105: Pi Ha Nit per pak ralong da ray wa klak drei ngaok pha Po ha Nit
line 106: per ,nyep saong nao di adhua gi ngaom ha hraom ndih war Po Ha Nit per lua
line 107: Dok akaok caik aga/ala haluk, lua nao pak cek Po, biu ha ngua biu pa
line 108: kong , mak pa lik kruk tal di pabah mbeng jang wek, Po Sah Ina madeh

line 109: h tagok dloei ka Po nga thue ka pa sang ganaong gruh di drei pajei, min tian

line 110: tawak di pasang tuei nao tel bah mbeng jang bia ha nga woh brak kruh tal

line 111: di pabah mbeng jang, Po Sah Ina ta ma di hu O, Po Sah Ina ganaong ngap paluic

line 112: c, baruw mang ma _____k di phun habei/harei yaow dahar habei nan juai mbeng hu, mak gai/lai

line 113: Jru ha tel di phun bei ba lang? da dalam juai kulei hu, ha nyuh aia ___dung di

line 114: phun ha bei ha nai, mak mbrai buh di da ning mbeng pamak, jaoh daruai da

line 115: muk jam phun ha bei ta sang/pang? klaoh galac wek marai nao pak da na a

line 116: Huor dak kalain daok ta ku nan, ba bat parah di ta thika anaih

line 117: pak bia a naih (Po Ha Nit Per c Po nan _____da cek) urak ni, Po Ha Nit per kian bia ha nga , biak

line 118: ka mboh, biak mbait , daok di cek Po, Po Sah Ina Cam Po Ha Nit per

line 119: r Asalam kuyua kurei a hajieng daok tel oh yuh (O li/gi) A di gep

line 120: caik, daok Po klaong baruw pa tung dhap , mboh Sa ai sang Cam , ai drei ba ni thak/phak

line 121: di brei tian O , blaoh ai brei di saong O, hajieng payung nan da klak caik

line 122: Po bia dhar/thar ma mata taih hadiap Po Klaong baruw daok pak nager

line 123: mbar di____________________mang dalam palet ba mi , hamit ra ndem ka Po Klaong

line 124: mbeng baruw daok ngap di dua hadiep pasang Po Sah Ina calah di

line 125: gep , Po nan jang langik patel Po Bia Dhar mah da taih nao pa

line 126: mbon pataong di kruh tathik ngap jieng ba mong daol pak nan ka yuan

line 127: n ndum yak Po Klaong baruw mak baol kaoh krum pa rel ra bek Po kalong
3. Dalikal Cei Kian kieng nai taluic anuk patao

once upon a time, after 10 months of pregnancy, the palm
ing the hands, for 10 years it could not grow bigger, then
at an auspicious time, speaking to the mother, the mother went to speak to the
third daughter of the king “I want a wife”, the mother said “you come
to this poor and suffering, then order the mother to go to the king to be executed
successfully, truly I did not go to cut you till dead, the mother forgot the forest (allusion to shes nuts?).

line 7: mayah oh nao puec O anak ndok tak, mayah nao jei patao tak
if did not go say did not brutally cut, if go successfully the king cut

line 8: jang matai, Cei kien padiak nao puec bi drah, muk nan takai nao aia mata
also die, the Prince wants heat go talk for quickly, the mother’s feet left with tears

line 9: Jang hapuak maik nyu nao tel pabah mbeng madhir di kieng tama O, deng (wait) rah takai
also the claws?? Of the mother walked until the entrance of the place and did not want to go in.
waited grass feet.

line 10: paga (pagar), ganuer jang mboh tanyi muk marai nyruk hagait, muk maik Cei kiep lac
at the fence, the astrologer seeing her asked her penetratingly why?, the mother of the Prince
Kiep said

line 11: dahlak hu nyruk kieng pa hilar (minta izin) tel ganreh patrai yaun (beg) ganuer jang ba
I have a deep wish to ask the prince for permission, beg the astrologer to bring

line 12: dahlak tama, baruw mang ganuer ba tama nao nyuai di anak patao, patao bhan
me inside, then the astrologer brought her inside (nyuai) the child of the king,

line 13: tangi hu marai nyruk hagait, muk nan pa thau dhul palak takai ganreh
asked penetratingly why did she come?. The mother paid homage to the king

line 14: patrai dahlak di kieng praong hatai O kuyua anak dahlak Ja kiep
prince, I am without courage because my child Ja Kiep

line 15: pander dahlak marai puec nai taluic ka nyu, mayah oh mbai nyu ndok
ordered me to come to speak to the princess for him, if not, my face

line 16: tak dahlak, geh panuec ndem patao krot (angered) Ew ndaw gar mah muk nan
will be cut, so the words are said angering the king, called the golden sword, the mother

line 17: nao tabiak tak, krah bikar (chief of the astrologers) pahilar likau ganreh patrai luai

maong ka

went outside, the chief of the astrologers asked the permission of the king prince to give up looking

line 18: anak nyu hu habar O hajeng praong hatai kieng ndem yau nan caik, likau ganreh patrai

at the child did not have any right to say things like that, asking the prince king

line 19: ngap bindi biniai saong gleng, mayah Ja kiap ngap hu jei, blaoh luai nyu, mayah ngap

tearfully, if Ja Kiap is successful, then abandon him, if build

line 20: oh hu tak nyu jei jang O kajut hagait, baruw mang patrai peng, patao pander muk nan

no have cut successful also no __ what, thus the prince listened, ordered the mother

line 21: nao sang pa-nder anak hu ngap sibar duah bi hu sa ratuh lima pluh lima

to go back home and order the son to prepare tribute of forgiveness of 155

line 22: drei manuk di pok di bak lima harei ba rai bi tel kau pa kian anuk kau ka anak

chickens to be brought fully five days to be given to the king until I want my child to the child

line 23: k hu, mayah oh hu O kau tak abih gam anak Ina hu, muk nan mbuah kar hia ka

line 24: uk mbai sang ndem saong Cei kiep krung panduec patao ndem pakuen yau nan, Cei kiap

ndem wek

line 25: maik juai ka Uk juai luai ka dahlak, hadah pa lo Cei Kiap bho drei per tagok

line 26: k nao tel Po Sa pajieng Po sa pajieng mboh tanyi hagait threh kudha marai tel

line 27: lakau. Cei Kiap nan ndem wa Po ley dalam tian caong kieng kian nai taluic anak patao

line 28: lok (to look at) ala, patao lok ala, lac mayah dahlak si kian duah bi hu sa ratuh

line 29: lima pluh lima drei manuk lima harei ba limbah ka patao. mayah oh hu O nyu ta
tak anuk Ina dahlak hajeng dahlak marai pak wa Po, Po Sa pajieng ndem

wak mba Po pak ni di tel O kumuen nao pak patao sa Po mang hu, Cei kiep nao

pak patao ba Po, patao ba Po jang ndem yau Po Sa pajieng rei, min pa

patao ba Po pataow Cei kiep nao pak patao aia tasik nan matek jhi ma

nuk, Cei Kiep galac trun mbai sang nyu ba maik nyu nao tel takai tathik hu sa

phun kayau ma jrai Ugha ndong nyu bho drei jieng kiep wek nyu tuh harum sua langa

wa pal di ugha kuyau nan, nyu ndem saong maik nyu bak klau harei maik mbai tap ni

taom dahlak, geh ndem nyu phet plaatot tathik, mbaik nyu mboh nyu phet tathik ku

nda ka Ikan bha mbeng hia harit haraw galac nao sang, Cei Kiep nao tel ba thak

tathik camao nan aia nduec klaoh iku uga, aia nduec pawing ha gep trun, gep nan

hu sa Ong sa muk daok jang nyik, ba reng ba reng di pen dalam aia ni thek tel nan Ong su

muk nan paklah di tawak tagrang kayau pa tung tama galaong (shell or hole) nan, Ong su

muk tanyi huec

trew mang Ong su mu brei ka nyu trun nao, nao tel patao tanyi, Ja kiep ha

treth kadha hu marai yau ni, Ew patao aia miik Po, nyu a

akhan abih panuec kudha ka patao mik Po nyu peng, mik Po nyu mak sa

baoh ka daoh sak ta ba tathit dalam hu jhi manuk dalam ka daoh crei ka nyu, nyu

ba galac wek marai taom Ina nyu di ugha kayau nan, nyu brei ka daoh nan ka Ina nyu

ndua nao pak madhir patao, nyu mak harum awa kiep _____wek, maik nyu ndua

ka daoh nao caik di andak patao, patao mboh ka daoh dalam tian bi dha Ew

Ew jang baol jok kadaoh nao ka patao aek, jang baol jak gep cakong ka
line 51: kadaoh tagok di truh O, duh Ew maik nyu dok mang hu, patao pander

line 53: kadaoh, baruw mang pander maik nyu buic , maik nyu baruw apan di takhei , ta

line 54: takhei taglat tagok , dom anak manuk nagaray nagarut, rimaong liman, jhaong

line 55: ak di dec banda teng , saong ciim di glai , bruh tagok bal di gam lac madhir ma

line 56: manung mbeng rek manung mbeng sang, patao Po Bia krah bikar panraong Jabuol puec thur

line 57: mak nduec dep abih, baruw mang patao bhan sak tabiak nao da a cei kiep

line 58: mbai biai baik, lac ciip pakhin mang taluic ja, gaon nao da a Cei kiep

line 59: phet plaong mbai tel madhir, patao,mboh cei kiep baruw di tian , drei jieng patao

line 60: patao ta blaoh pakhin anuk ka kiep, mayah si puec jang oh kieng puec, ka tel hatai

line 61: tian , ndok panraong Jabuol pander ndem saong Cei kiep, ngap habar dom ba nda teng

line 62: ciim tama kadaoh paga ndeng palei nager baik ,, ku ciip pakhin mang taluic ka nyu

line 63: min, dom panraong ndem wek saong Cei Kiep, cei kiep kuac dom athur marai tama

line 64: dalam kadaoh wek abih, nan mang patao pander mang taluic halar tabiak pok

line 65: Cei kiep tama luw? (floor) nai nan, Cei kiep taom nai taluic harei daok dalam harum

line 66: malam thuak harum tabiak caik pagah blaoh ndih, rup Cei kiep siam lakei ganuh

line 67: ganuh Yang, nai taluic gleng thuk krak mboh ba tian aen, ta pa malam hadei taluic

line 68: lua mak harum cuh dhit , hadah cei kiep duah di mboh harum O tanyi nai

line 69: taluic, nai lac dahlak mboh Cei daok dalam harum kiep dahlak maluw

line 70: lo, harum nan dahlak cuh pajei, cei kiep daok ga-ndeng, ralo klau pak harei Cei kiep

line 71: tabiak languei wa hamiiit di grep palei, nai taluic nao akhan saong

line 72: patao ama, patao bi ndang tabiak mboh Cei kiep jieng manuis siam likei

line 73: mbluak di mbluak aen tabuen , daok sak asak patao ama trun di ray
4. Dalikal klau adei sa ai sa tian dua likei sa kamei

line 1: sa ai kacua angan Ja Dha Gon, tuh tabha angan Ja Dam Diel,
line 2: adei kumei taluic angan Da Ra Si Mah,
line 3: dua adei sa ai lakei biai gep, Ina Ama drei ngap ganup (wealth) mada (to have) atu lamanga (port, estuary)
line 4: ciew bala mang ngok (above), nyu ka mang ka raong kaong mang cabik (granary, loft), sa galaw, kubaw tanaow (male),
line 5: sa galaw, kubaw ina, jon ta bala praong mbaok, blaoh drei mbeng daok
line 6: thaoh yau di ken (difficult) lo, Urak ni adei ai drei ndik dua drei athaih nao duah
line 7: Ikak ba ni baik saong nao duah aia haleng mandei duah kamei siam khin, mayai
line 8: gep blaoh dua adei nao akhan saong Ina ama nyu, baruw mang maik
line 9: nyu lac adei ai hu yau manuak praong drei, likei praong dam pajei, maik nyu di
line 10: pakep (notice) O, anuk tabiak nao kieng ka anaiah ka aen, cahkukba (the royal court) ra praong sit
line 11: tra mang kra likei tel harei adei ai ndik athaih tabiak nao halun li
line 12: likei kumei tuei paralo matuh jalan ka jaoh akaok wek marai sa
line 13: banrok (time) linyaiy maong mboh dua adei ai Ja Dam Diel, siam lakei anuk
line 14: Po di ndang (lie down?), anuk yang jang oh tel, tangin apan tadik (fan), hik hapa tadik (fan)
line 15: aia hep (odour), tanyrak aik mbaok ndik athaih mata yang Po, athaih
line 16: naot tel palei mang tadong, dom urang palei nan hamit grang athaih manyi
line 17: na danuy aia ru, jak gep tabiak peng, dom manuis palei nan ba ndang mboh
line 18: athaih, lac malih saong jit (serve), ku pak oh thau, praong hapak oh thau marai
line 19: manuak dhuw, a thau graoh yau ni, huec abih grep drei takai juak takhaok (shoes)
line 20: akaok maaom ban (container of offerings), langiw tabiak panyiak paghang (heat), mbaik ban jih
line 21: drung ginang jih ka buak, cuk/nuk aw luak tanyrak nyaom hajaw tabiak
line 22: peng gleng grong athaih, blaoh galac tama sang wek, hu sa urang kumei ganup
line 23: mada aia dalam, sang nai nan taong ala paga ngap mbeng jang 3 0 7 blaoh,
line 24: nyu pa-nder pa wak dreh kei, saong pa wak thei, U khiak grep grep
line 25: jula galaong (shell) juai brei tua tama juai, tauai mbai ra si ra sa drei lo, dua drei ai
line 26: Ja Ba Gon ndik athaih tapak sang nan, nao mboh grep pabah mbeng hu manuis
line 27: jang di brei tama O, dua drei sa ai nyu ndem saong ra jang nan kau mbai ni di nyep mbai ngap
line 28: paraong paraih hagait O, kau mbai pablei sa gih min, baruw mang ra jang nao a
line 29: akhan, saong nai kumei nan, nan mang da a tama sang, kumei nan mboh dei sa ai Ja Dam jel
line 30: anah kui aian cah luk ba (royal court) ra cah ta pa maong tuah lakei hu ba tian nyap ba
line 31: baruw mang cih hala tanuk habai payak pandem ligaih mahra dua adei ai mbeng huak humu
line 32: matuh ja ba gon hu hauk dalam tar kaong taglaoh tabiak nyu ngap ma ngap takek
line 33: drei ka mbar dalam ndem oh truh sep lac sang nan buh Jru sak Ca ba di nyu, nyu pa
line 34: pander adei nyu nao ndem saong praong saong mbai gleng rup nyu bi drah nan o, nyu matai jei
line 35: Po sang kumei mboh yau nan huec di danuh klac, mak drep ar halun kubaw
line 36: thau praong naij juai, Ja Ba Gon/Lon hamit kumei ndem bha nan nyu ngap mandih laik
line 37: laik krah malam mang abih , hadah pa lo adei ai nyu tak dom drep ar kubha ba
line 38: banrik mbai nan, ba trun sang jei, nyu nao ndem sa aen lac nao ikak pablei hu phuel lo
line 39: daok di sang dua klau harei adei ai nyu biai gep maik ama drei ganup mada ha
line 40: hagait jang tel abih, urak ni athur di glai maik ama drei di ka mbeng O, Ura
line 41: urak ni adei ai drei duah ambal pa tiap hu ralaow ka ina ama brei mbeng tok
line 42: yaom biai gep blaoh blai, hadah jieng harei, ba sa urang sa mbaik tagak jan
line 43: jan saong thuk nao mboh phun cang hu phun haraik nyam nyar thrath lo, blaoh hu
line 44: hanum ra sa nyrah mbeng , Ja Ba Gon jah tong daok cang daok di baoh , pander Ja Dam
line 45: Diel nao sang mak brah hala sa cang ba nao mbeng, Ja Ba Gon daok di baoh, panuh hu
line 46: pa blei pabuei palei gok ala, tel Bia harei rabham rabham mboh dua urang kumei sa
line 47: adei sa saai palei gok galam nao gam ngap sep, ail ait, bagait dam caong krung
line 48: kau raong mang maik ama caik buek , Ew mbai tel phun cang dua adei sa ai kumei padei
line 49: tap nan ndem biai pabuei drei padak thun padak balan di hu nao atah yau ni
line 50: O, Ja Ba Gon daok ma ngok ndit di tian pabuei drei panuh nan jei, nyu
line 51: kacuec aia pabah trun nyep ra kumei ai, ra kumei anguak maong mboh Ja
line 52: Ba Gon trun tanyi ai nai nao hatao mbai daok tak ni, dua urang nan lac
line 53: nao duah pabuei, Ja Ba Gon lac dahlak hu panuh sa drei takuh ranaih
line 54: dahlak Jam di Ugha kayau Ko nao maong nyep nuk nan rei, dua urang nao woh hala
line 55: kuyau maong krun nyep pabuei nyu, dua urang nan lac pabuei krung ra taha caik wek,
line 56: blaoh ma Cei panuh matai bha ni, brei adei ai dahlak lakau ba nao sang ngap palao
line 57: suan nyu nao taom Ina ama dahlak wek baik, puec naih dal lo, Ja Ba Gon
line 58: n brei pabuei wek, dua urang nan pok jeng O, truh cakong jang o truh puec naih dal saong
line 59: Ja Ba Gon ba pabuei nao sang dahlak, dahlak likau biyar a pakak wek
line 60: min, Ja Gon jang ba tian anit ra kumei ai nan rei, ciip ba pa
line 61: pabuei tuei kumei trun gok ula, dom manuis gok ala, hamiit ra
line 62: gok ngaok trun mbai, jak gep nao maong mboh Ja Ba Gon, daok
line 63: jalan duk kumei, dom likei gok ala ndem manuk nager urang mbai prah hakam
line 64: nager drei juai ka nyu prah jei, jak gep kieng pa matai Ja Ba Gon, Ja Ba Gon
line 65: lac hamit, nyu ndem wek mayah dei ai kieng pa matai dahlak nao duah bi
line 66: hu sa baoh a cong klau hac sa kapuak nyem, ba mbai dahlak paoh klau ya
line 67: wa, blaoh dahlak i nang drei matai min, klah duh hatai dei ai pamatai
line 68: kan, dom urang nan nao duah hu sa baoh a cong yau panuec ndem nan ba mbai
line 69: nyu tabiak matra lei a cong wak di bar nyu paoh klau yawa a cong
line 70: nao akhan saong patao gok ala, abih panuec kadha, patao mak
line 71: dom baol nao gham krot di brei pamatai O ,nyu daok ta pa nan jieng ha
line 72: hadiep pasang saong kumei ai nan, klau pak balan nyu ba hadiep nyu saong sa urang
line 73: kamei adei sang nyu tra, mbai taom Ina ama, mbai tel sang aen tabuen anak
line 74: taom Ina dei taom ai, nao a dei kumei patok ka adei lakei nyu, kin gep
line 75: ra, 7 balan calah di gep abih,
5. Dalikal nai palak tangin

line 1: tak di kal Ong su muk tok gep mang dara tel tueh (tua) oh hu anak, baruw Ong

line 2: su muk nao gleng di huer , huer lac mayah Ong sa muk kieng ka hu anuk, nao duah

line 3: bi hu traong sa drei sa car, min traong nan sa dhan hu 7 baoh , paik baoh traong ba

line 4: nao sang mbeng, blaoh ngap dua baoh duk caik thei thei ndih, nan hu anuk jei, Ong sa muk

line 5: mbai sang nao duah ba tuah jamaow, mboh phun ka ang yau panuec huer gleng, paik

line 6: baoh traong ba nao sang mbeng , ngap duk ka rei nok dhei thei ndih, ralo klau thun lan

line 7: muk nan ralo hu klau balan muk nan ndem sa aen saong pasang , dahlak ralong klau ba

line 8: balan ma ni, Ong nan hamit hadiep ndem sa aen, pa-nder hadiap blek aw tagok

line 9: ka Ong nan maung, muk nan blang aw tagok Ong ba tangin rabuek/rawek tablaoh saong muk

line 10: nan ma tian tel 9 balan 10 harei, tel tuk pa-ndik tian ndih di apuei,

line 11: Ong nao da-a muk mbuai mbai wih ( tengah) muk nan ndih di apuei tabiak tok sa palak

line 12: tangin , ong samuk mboh karei ra mbei?? , huer nda hamit tel praong praong mak Ikak

line 13: saong maluw ta sep di kep lan, baruw mang mak sa ratuh kuen jon, kuak

line 14: di muk mbuai , likau muk mbuai juai ndem pa hamit di urang juai , ong sumuk blei sa baoh

line 15: , khing, mak palak tangin ba nao pak likuk kaok pec maoh keng padeng, gam

line 16: pak nan, hu sa thun lan ,patao di nager nan patao di nager nan panduec harak grep

line 17: pataok rang, pa kacah takai ahaok asaih, tel harei pa kacah Cei aia

line 18: harei anuk ndik athaih nao kacah, baruw duei athaih tabiak, pa miit

line 19: pa miit sep adaoh pa drut pa druai, Cei aia harei samak pa su Uh su aen , duei
line 20: athaih tama Ikak wek, blaoh tama sang ndih padak hurei padak hamiiit sep
line 21: adaoh dom halei cei nan tasok larok su-ul sa aen bhaong hakik kuak, patao
line 22: nao kacah mboh mbai sang tanyi anuk habar oh hu nao kacah O, blaoh dom
line 23: harei ma ni di mboh tama tabiak O, Bia Ina nao tanyi Cei anak, thuak yawa
line 24: ndem ka sep adaoh ka Bia Ina peng, mayah Bia Ina anit anak nao
line 25: puec kumei adaoh nan ka dahlak bi hu, nan mang dahlak daok di tok Ina
line 26: ama, Bia Ina nao akhan saong patao peng dom panuec kadha yau nan, patao
line 27: ama di tapak tian O, nao tanyi cei anuk, Cei anuk jang akhan wek, yau nan rei, pa
line 28: patao ama lac sep adaoh pak halei ama oh mada hamiiit, patao
line 29: ama si hra hamiiit sep adaoh pa mbuen tangi pa kik tangi dahlak nan mang peng
line 30: hu, patao hu ba tangi pa tuk taphia tangi cei aia harei biak hamiiit padruk
line 31: pa druai lo, patao galac wek, pa-nder mak brah ha nda a hieng crek 10 baoh
line 33: adaoh bi mboh manuis nan, blaoh mbai akhan wek, 10 urang nan nao lan glai lan
line 34: klaow 105 harei mang tel sang adaoh nan, nao tel hamiiit sep blaoh di mboh
line 35: manuis O, duah maong hamiiit sep dalam kiang, peh kiang palak mboh sa palak
line 36: tangin min, langik sep adaoh dhit, dom urang nan panak sa lac palak
line 37: tangin ni jei adaoh, grep panraong galac nao pa thau saong patao ka panuec
line 38: kudha yau nan, patao bidha di tian blaoh ndem saong cei anak peng, cei anak ndem likau
line 39: habar yang hu min, klah di anak sa uh su aen baik, mang harei cei aia hu
line 40: rei hamiiit, lac mboh palak tangin, hakik ni anak harei sa mbiak , mbeng ba
line 41: nghi ndih war, Cei aia harei padiak patao ama nao puec, patao ama anit anak
line 42: puec di truh O, pa tuei tian mak panraong jabuol ndok krah bikal baol bhap
line 43: nao sa Ong su muk nan, Ong su muk ta ka tuak plong kadaong kieng nao dep, dep
line 44: jang oh hu, daok jang oh ga ndeng deng jang oh kajep, huec patao ndok Ong su muk
line 45: mbai daok mabhai baoh kudha, Ong sa muk di kieng daok O, dom di hun
line 46: kandap, patao Ew lo mang kieng daok , patao lac sa thun mang hu
line 47: sa balan mang hu sa hurei siam tuk tanyrah, ngap ba tuah duah jamaow
line 48: yak bhum jum taom , kuhlaom Ong hamu hu blaoh daok baoh, dahlak
line 49: marai puec ka anak dahlak ka au, Ong sa muk kamlah dahlak oh hu
line 50: hamu, kamlah sa rajeng patao ndok muk mbuai grep palei nan rai
line 51: tabiak, hu sa urang ndem tapak biak, gaon patao mbai tel sang, kamlah ngap
line 52: hagait, Ong sa muk tiap baik, matai hadiap gambak di dhul pa
line 53: takai ganreh patrai, Ong sa muk ciip ru hay yau nan jei, min
line 54: dalam tian daok huec, anak drei hapak blaoh tiap, patao paguen harei
line 55: malam pa ndih pa daok , patao nao sang, Ong sa muk nao pak likau ka sang weh
line 56: kiang tagok maong, mboh palak tangin nai daok nai cakraiw, Ong sa
line 57: muk hia mbuah kal, tel harei lagiah caga drei matai jei, tel harei pa ndih
line 58: tuai pa nguai patao bia palei nager mbai mbeng pa ndih bak sang bak Danaok, Ong
line 59: nan nduec nao pak lakuk sang sang peh, kiang tagok di mboh palak tangin tra O, galac
line 60: tama sang kieng pok sep caok, nai palak tabiak di palak jieng manuis
line 61: lua ndik ta galang sang, tama ndik dalam sang, ngap sep Ew aey Po ama anuk
line 62: daok tap di pajei, Po ama juai ru wa tra, Ong nan mboh nai nan bar
line 63: siam ba nai phai sa drei, nduec nao kaih mug tama sang maong, Ong sa muk
line 64: mboh aen tabuen, tabiak buei baiy payak pandam tuai pa nguai, tel tuk
line 65: tanyrah duei matuw tama, patao ama bia jang tuei mbeng hala tadhuw ka anuk
line 66: saong matuw, tama tel Danaok taseng ganuh nai palak tangin hom
line 67: tabiak, patao Bia ndem saong gep, sang jhak palak siam, sang jhak palak mah
line 68: mboh matuw siam ba nai aen buei baiy, cei aia harei mboh hadiap siam ba
line 69: nai jang aen rei, krah bi kal 3 wa hanuk thei jang maong mayaom ka siam binai lo,
line 70: mbeng huak boah tuai pa nguai patao bia nao sang, cei aia harei daok ka wek pa ndem
line 71: danaok klau harei malam, mboh sang tanda ngap ma hluei ka pah, hia patak mang ku
line 72: yau, cei aia harei ndem saong hadiap, nao daok di sang dahlak nao pak madhir
line 73: patao ama ndok ra keng kru dheh, sa tia bia patak mban nguh mang mah ba
line 74: mbaik nai manyi ra wei, mayah dahlak nao lawik mbai harei , tel tu_k sa-auen
line 75: dahlak nai mak amrak dahlak raong ba mbai pa-nder nyu tamia baey?? (unknown)
line 76: kanyi Cam si tel dalam rup nyu abih, nyu ngap padel sa-aen, ndem hakei blaoh
line 77: blai, cei aia harei nai kajaik 10 harei, nhi palak ta-aen pasang, mak a brak
line 78: tabiak ngap duel, amrak nan baoh duaiy dheh, kanyi rabap a
line 79: cong halar pa druk pabrai lo, nhi palak tangin mboh siam lo kuel
line 80: a brak nan, amrak ba per truh pa daok patao ba Po, kaok patao
line 81: thathruk cakak mak ngap mang hadiap maik ama nai palak tangin mboh
line 82: yau nan hia caok, traow cei aia harei mbai tamba ndem dom panuec yau nan
line 83: Cei aia harei hu baoh drei hia caok tuei duah mang pur tel pai di mboh
line 84: nai palak tangin O, galac mbai sang, mbai gaok dua drei amrak Ina
line 85: daok mbeng saong amrak anuk di hrah ralong , cei aia harei ndem abih pa
line 86: panuec kadha hadiep cei ka nan ka amrak peng, blaoh aia harei lakau sa drei
line 87: amrak anuk, ba mbai sang raong pa duel sa aen amrak Ina hamii
line 88: dom panuec Cei aia harei ndem ba tian anit, amrak brei paoh sa drei amrak
line 89: anuk kacei ba nao sang raong, 3 thun pa phrem yau amrak dihlau, tel harei cei aia
line 90: harei anguei mbeng ka mbait mang dalam pabak mang langueiw siam lakei, ba amrak
line 91: tabiak ma-in baing duey cei aia harei duel amrak mrak ba per tagok
line 92: pak ngaok huer, Po Do Ba ta jrang mboh tiap harel nu saong creng aih
line 93: taganum cakak wek di brei ka cei aia harei tagok nao tel langik O nda ka ma
line 94: ruei huer, cei aia harei tagok jang oh hu, trun, jang O hu, kandaoh tawak tap
line 95: nan, pok ka patao luic ray, di hu thei kieng drung ray wek O, luic patao, cei
line 96: aia harei jieng janung cei tel bian di mbai.

6. Dalikal baoh laong

line 1: tak di kal baruw jieng hu sa Ong samuk, min di hu a tabruk pathut (birth)
line 2: pathut saong gep O, baruw Po pok ta pa-nder samuk ba sa mong (puppet)
line 3: baoh laong blaoh trun lok (view) ga brei ka Ong samuk nan mbeng tok jeng
line 4: anuk tacaow, muk ba mong (puppet) baoh laong mbai pak nan, muk nao truh
line 5: tok sa Ong min daok di sang, muk pa blei baoh laong ndem sah blei baoh
line 6: ni mbeng tok jieng anuk tacaow, blaoh hadiep pasang majram (takut, pengecut) saong gep
line 7: nyu thau seh (Gru Cham Balamon) sai (this) pathut saong gep, Ong nan blei klau baoh,
muk nan tek (moved?) baoh
line 8: laong nao, muk hadiep mbai sang Ong nan ta thrut huer acampi mara jram saong
line 9: muk, muk di hu ta thrut O huer ka Ong di brei ka Ong ndih O, muk tangi Ong hadiep
line 10: hadiep pasang mang nan tel ni di hu ngap yau nan O, habar harei ni Ong threh ngap ku
line 11: kurei yau ni lac, Ong nan ndem harei hu muk ba baoh laong mbai pa blei dahlak hu blei klau
line 12: baoh dahlak mbeng baoh nyu seh (Cham gru balamon) sai tuei jalan hadiep pasang, muk nan
line 13: lac habar Ong blei hieh (untuk menyimpan) ka dahlak hai O, urak no muk pablei baoh laong nao
line 14: patao lac, Ong nan lac muk pablei baoh laong tabiak nao tapak gah tathik, tuei
line 15: nao blei baik (maka) , muk nduec truei (markers) nao mboh muk wak a mong baoh laong di ca-mbieng (seeds) kuyau,
line 16: muk nan ngap ma ndih muk blei nda ka eak, lua klaik (curi) ba galac mbai sang mbeng abih
line 17: muk pablei baoh laong madeh tagok tuei mbai tel sang tangi muk hu muk mong
line 18: baoh laong lei, muk nan kamlah , ha jieng urak ni likei seh pa ha, laong tok, ku
line 19: kuyua tak di bol nan likei blei, daok kumei klaik di kieng mbeng malihai O, kuyua
line 20: klaik nda ka urang thau, min tuei jalan tathrut nan kumei tathrut ralo, di likei

7. Dalikal Po Haluw aia, Po Sa Yang In

Line 1: Tak di kal Po Haluw Aia ngap gep yut saong Po Tabai, dua Po mang seh kah
Line 2: nao Awal pa tiap rei, nao Awar mang halei mang halei jang taom gep di cek Ja Ra Dha,
line 3: jalan nao ka saong, pa ray ralaow ka gep, manang thei dhei mak baol anaong nao
line 4: sang, Po Haluw Aia daok di haluw Aia cek Waong nager Ga IIn, Po Tabai
line 5: di cek war hu ba wa ra nga di tanran palei sa ba ngu, pak cek wang nao tel cek ha
line 6: ba wa la nga, hu ndeh , baruw mang Po Haluw Aia biai saong Po Tabai, ba la dai
line 7: nao ngap pak hamu phaw , tok jaik adhua Po Haluw Aia _____ taom , baruw
line 8: Po Tabai peng kudha, pa-nduen tadhan mbai daok di hamu phaw, di palei In
kuyau, Po Haluw aia biai saong Po Tabai, pa tia mbraim carah panuh

tak kieng, hu Ikak gep tabiak nao jang taom gep di cek Ja Ra Ba ka

blaoh mang nuh gep nao, mayah galac wek, jang taom gep mbeng manyum pak camoh

nan rei, tel hariu nao, Po Haluw Aia nao truh dihlau, cang Po Tabai di mboh nao

taom O, Po Haluw Aia tama glai a mba dahlau, Po Tabai nao tel cek nan

mboh num takai tap nan, thau ka Po Haluw Aia nao dihlau pajei , Po Tabai nao gah

mahik, mba duah maong rah aia, aek num mboh num takai ralo (truncated) manyum aia lei

ra gah ngap thum/dhum daok di aia, nao gan danao , Po Tabai maong sah blaoh

raok daol bhap nao hadei maong a thau, nao tel danao nai bala,

ba nguak yawa nai nan tabiak pa ha lap mata baol bhap maong di

mboh O, a thau min maun mboh a thau groh, manuis Ew a thau nao a

thau di nao O, baruw mang Po Tabai madha tian mada hu hagait dalam

danao ni jei, hajieng a thau groh, mboh yau nan Po Tabai pa nder Panraong

Jabuol thac aia danao nan thu, mboh bala dalam danao pa-nder Panraong Jabuol

buol pok tagok, dom Panraong Jabuol weh di truh O, Po Tabai pander

r nao mak kubaw langa mbai pa thuak, mak thau crong daok takuai kubaw, mak

talei Ikak di yau kubaw katung jauh yau, jaong cek janaoh yau, cek nan

gah jalan, nao ka laun, talei ikak idung klaoh jeng Cek talei ikak,

urak ni cek taphia jalan nao kalong, ikak talei di jen katung

batuh dien jeng Cek Hawei dien, jaik cek talei idung Po Tabai mboh

yau nan sa ndik hatai trun dalam danao deng tak kal mayah bala di Po

Langik brei ka dahlak jei, dahlak weh tagok hanyuel baik, loh lekal/ gekal
Po nan weh tagok hanyuel yau hala padai, Po Tabai ba bala nao

line 32: sang wek , caik bala ngok rada danaok Po nan daok tia, harei hadei

line 33: nao ambal wek, nao tel cek Ja Ra Ba gaok Po Haluw Aia tak nan, Po

line 34: Haluw Aia mbuah Po Tabai mang kabruo hu paguen gep taom tap ni dahlak cang Po

line 35: habar Po oh mbai O lac, Po Tabai lac dahlak hu mbai mboh num Po

line 36: nao pajei, dahlak nao calah di Po dahlak likau ciip di nyep O, Po

line 37: Haluw Aia bidha di tian mada hu nrak hagait O baruw mang oh

line 38: taom gep O, Po Haluw Aia ndem saong Po Tabai, paduah dahlak nao taom

line 39: Po ma in, taom harei paguen Po Haluw Aia nao taom, Po Tabai pa-nder

line 40: jang baol ba hala ma nang Aia caiy mbai manyum, dua Po ndem buei klao bak danuk

line 41: Po Haluw Aia lac dahlak manyum aia caiy di dhrap ma hu O, ra-ndap

line 42: manyum aia di kadaoh, Po Tabai pa-nder jang baol mak kadaoh krung Tring

line 43: aia nao ambar, ba nao tring aia halang mbai manyum, ba kadaoh ai mbai, Po

line 44: Haluw Aia apan kadaoh a ngaok tagok manyum aia, maun woh manuis

line 45: mboh tanrak hala, lan tabiak mboh gep sanang ciak mak mbeng gap

line 46: di pabah, malam nao ndih halan haluw ndih di ganden O, harei bakan pasang

line 47: pasang ra ka lan wek , bier harei jang mboh tanrak hala ikak di likuk raong

line 48: kalan rei, lang tanrak tabiak woh hala cih panang buk mapa , saong pa

line 49: huer hala tapak urak , hu harak akhar di huer hala dalam, panuec

line 50: harak nan puec yau di, waw manyi bak jala tathuec phi li A , dom sok

line 51: la rok, Po Haluw Aia mboh harak ndom yau nan, mak pa su aen cait

line 52: tanrak , bat ma ba ya, dom thuak yawa, habar lac mataom, nai bala

line 53: tel tuk huak lithei aia ahar manang Jhi Ma ta lam sioh ka Po Tabhai, Po
line 54: Tabai mboh dalam tian bidha, di thau ka lathei ngap O, harei halei jang hu
line 55: lathei ahar Po Tabai krak maung mboh nai bala daok dalam bala tabiak
line 56: siam ba nai phai tanrak yang harei, Po Tabai lua mak bala padep, nai bala
line 57: bala ngap lithei aia blaoh blai galac khieng tama ba ka wek, di mboh bala O,
line 58: dong ka dong, Po Tabai tabiak taom nai bala, ndem jamji ba gep tama
line 59: kuek, min tian nai bala daok tawak ka Po Haluw Aia rei, daok
line 60: Haluw Aia ngap sa baoh kalang (kite) likei praong ma sah pa blaoh, Po Haluw Aia tiap
line 61: baol nao alian saong Po Tabai, sa aih nao ambal, panuec gep, mayah
line 62: mayah thei nao truh dihlau seng joh hala kuyau ngap nung di cek Ja Ra
line 63: ba nan nao baik, juai cang juai, tagok palo Po Haluw Aia lua mbai di
line 64: dihlau jaoh hala kuyau klak di cek nan blaoh hala jaoh kaok galac nao
line 65: sang wek, blaoh Po Tabai mbai mboh hala kuyau klak tak nan, pa phem lac Po
line 66: Haluw Aia nao dahlau pajei, Po Tabai nao tama glai nao duah ambal jei,
line 67: Po Haluw Aia mak kalang sa per di mblang crak kalang, nai bala
line 68: la, hamit waw manyi ye jieng manuis sang ra mbai pak ka
line 69: kalang mboh harak ikak di kalang,, Ho dip pa ken bhak
line 70: ra ri siam, kei hran ra ai ung lo , peng sep bi no, ta throk biak
line 71: lo, di baoh hatai , not tanyrah brai brai dak pa
line 72: lamuor, uken sa banyuel , lo sok ken deng, tathram ken der sa ra
line 73: bang bap brei, bhep din harei thep ra ba, kieng duei thuak yawa phai sep riyak
line 74: k, geh di darak (bestow), a phuel ka tak
line 75: di mbok phuai rak, mebha pak alin, ti jot da ma wan di dalam
line 76: mur mur bah, ta nai a ra krah (hram gham) li uk, ta tuen mbok cek palo dayang, ka thai
line 77: thak hram gram na pak manuak kieng pok hel bhak nait tanrah pak ram, pa
line 78: mu sa tham saong bur, dalam tian ur dhur bha ra ndi panuec, haniay gambak
line 79: tuei talei, mbai taom gamblang, taom sa anih,, nai ba ta mboh harak huer di kalang, Po
line 80: Haluw Aia haruei talei kalang, nai bala nao taom Po Haluw Aia pak
line 81: mblang crak kalang, ba gep tagok pak Cek mbleng, daok Po Tabai nao per
line 82: glai di mboh Po Haluw Aia O, laik bier harei galac mbai sang di mboh
line 83: lather Aia O, mayah nai bala jang O mboh tra, ndit di tian thau ka Po Yang
Line 84: In klaik hadiep drei, daok mbuah kar ka nai bala O kloh hatai saong pasang
line 85: sang, Po Yang In manuis ta phep hatai lo, Ew kubaw linga rai biai
line 86: panuec di Uken Po mablah hadiep urang O, kuyua urang narak hatai klaik
line 87: nai hu di Po pajei, urak ni hu biai sibar mak nai hu wek bi hu
line 88: ka Po, baruw mang kubaw ndem ka panuec yau nan, kuyua urang ta sep oh
line 89: siam hatai blaoh mablah hadiep Po, luai ka dahlak masuh saong Yang In
line 90: blaoh mak nai bala wek ka Po, Po Tabai lac mayah hu kieng masuh
line 91: jei, Po brei min, Po Tabai ngap harak Ja Wa ka jang baol ba nao ka
line 92: Po Haluw Aia kieng ka siam Jawa hadiep Halun wek ka halun, nan mang
line 93: kloh di ma rei nager, Po Haluw Aia hakei saong jang baol nao ndem Po hu
line 94: nai bala kau ngap mang hadiep hajei kau di jawa O, Po hu si ngap habar ngap
line 95: baik, jang baol mbai ndem saong Po Tabai wek, Po Tabai ja glao wa ngap harak
line 96: sa per nao paguen harei masuh, tel harei masuh Po Tabai ew kubaw linga
line 97: n rai kukei mayah hu nao masuh maong andak linyaiy likuk hai, adet ha mbia
line 98: tahai, kubaw linga ndem wek Po juai ka Uk luai ka dahlak masuh jai
line 99: min , tel harei raok masuh, gah Po Haluw Aia crang haong gar , ja
line 100: jamieng hatuk , ha ni, ja ra kaow, macak gep rasa rasa akaik kubaw
line 101: linga, masuh tajuh harei tajuh malam , darah kubaw linga nduec ma sik
line 102: glai, kubaw ling ciip di jai O, nduec tama aia, dom pajaih nan tuei akaik
line 103: kaik, kubaw tah mang tako matai jang ralo , blaoh kubaw linga mak sain
line 104: rah takai tapik masuh oh mada jai saong dom pajaih nan, baruw mang nduec rah
line 105: gahul, darah nduec nyram di cuah, baruw mang jang cuah bhon tel bien di mbai
line 106: kubaw linga nduec laik di aia paaok bhok ralong, baruw mang Po Tabin
line 107: mboh yau nan, Po nan crang cek bek kraong ka aia nuk ka kubaw linga tama nyuk
line 108: Po Haluw mboh Po Tabai crang cek danuk aia wek ka kubaw (truncated)
line 109: k, Po Haluw Aia crang ginung Ikan klua Ikan lin, a jhang mboh, Ikan
line 110: mbuen pa haluh ka aia nduec, baruw mang Po Tabai crang bhai saong ba ra nyaw
line 111: saong jheng marai mbeng dom ikan ba saong crang ba ya thrik kloa kraong, baruw
line 112: camaoh nan ew bia thrik tel urak ni, kubaw linga tagok ma
line 113: masuh di daok thu, Po Tabai maong mboh kubaw linga glaih glan, ha
line 114: ni kamiaq tuei kaik mang haluei glai klauw, kubaw ling kau ciip di
line 115: jai rei oh thau, geh pabah Po Tabai thuak yawa , kubaw linga
line 116: libuh matai jieng cek urak ni ew cek kubaw linga , dom
line 117: nan Po Tabai ha cuak yawa ba hran , baruw mang hamit tel nai
line 118: bala, sanung tawak, thau ka harei Po Tabai trun kraong racow, nai
line 119: bala lijang trun racow rei, min Po Tabai racow lahien
line 120: yok, nai bala racow lahien ngaok , ka wek di gep sa ranuey
line 121: glai len, mang nai bala thah grik garik , di rup mak garik tathit
line 122: jieng anuk ku mbar crak suan ka ku-mbar nan truh hia, di crang pa ra baoh
line 123: caik ku-mbar dalam parabah pathek trun, Po Tabai mandei hamit sep
line 124: ka-mbar hia dalam pa ra baoh, baruw maing Po Tabai kah pa ra baoh
line 125: mboh ku mbar nan kumei aen pok tagok baruw sang raong lac caik ngap
line 126: kumuen, raong tel bak dara daok sa harei sa kurei, guen nao ha
line 127: tao jang ba kumuen nao habik, di harei nan nao tapa craoh mahik
line 128: nai kumuen trun di bhuen tapa craoh blang lian tel pha praong tok
line129: klah di bathah, hu panuec ra pandit, Po Bia mahik, laman oh ndik
line 130: mak ra cakong, Po Tabai nao hadei mboh tathrut di hatai, caik
line 131: di tian tel galac mbai sang, biai saong krah kar, nyam drei pala
line 132: di pala drei, drei mbeng wek harei, dom krah bikar paphep panuec thattiak
line133: k, lac mbeng hu,, di bok ndem nan hu yang dua kah luk bara peng haruk cuang
line 134: agam, hatua tajuh thun aia thu di kraong, anuk manuis sak asur
line 135: di glai marai, baruw mang Po Tabai sanung wek thau ka tabiak di
line 136: drei cuang gam blaoh hatua yau di, hadei hanuh baoh kudha kurei caik piaoh
line 137: ka manosak ku ndal, nyam di glai mbeng ka, halei nyem di pala, caik war
line 138: bakan, baruw maing Po Tabai pander panraong Jabuol kaoh hram a nyim bai
line 139: bai ba trun kraong ka duah urang tamu dahlak tama daok mayah hu hajan
line 140: aia lac mbai nan tel bai tagok, hajieng hu panuec caik wek, aia mang
Line 141: In luai ka, aia mang tapa tek kau tagok, ba bai trun kraong Po
Line 142: saong nai bham tama daok hajan cakula aia sua bal glai bal klaow
line 143: dom baol ganaong dalam hatai patao bai thek trun kraong nuh
line 144: jieng sa candah tra, nduec mang palei kajun lan kruh gahul truh tel
line 145: tathik bai nan thek tuei candah kraong gahul nao jai tawak di aia ta
line 146: ba, dom anuk tacaow halun ca jaïy tuei mak atuw mbai cuh ngap

line 147: bamong pak palei sa bangua bhaktik , daok nai kamuen thaop bak bhuen

line 148: mak ngap jieng bamong pak aia taba Binhnhon bhuk tik suan nai

line 149: nan sreh nao daok pak craoh mahik krung nuai nan jieng dahlaw threh Po Bia

line 150: mahik, palei mahik paoh kut tak nan Cam palei mahik bhuktik

line 151: pak mahik urak ni daok ew craoh ba kumuen

8. Dalikal Po Klaong Garay

Line 1: tak di kal Ina Po Klaong Garay tabiak di aia para baoh tara (sky?) di

line 2: pabah lam ma nga, Ong saong muk kuek peng nao mak krang hamit sep ka mbar

line 3: hia, baruw mang Ong kuek peng kah aia parabaoh mboh , pok (rise up) mai sang

line 4: raong, ngap jieng tacaow , tel tacaow nan praong tah dara, Ong ba nao

Line 5: tak (get) pala (betel) di balan bhang, daok kahrah tak pala tacaow nan ma hu aia

line 6: ndok (want) aia di Ong, Ong ndem saong tacaow cang Ong sa sit ka, pak ralong ni di hu aia

line 7: O, nao sang ka blaoh manyum, tacaow ma hu ciip di jai O, nao duah mboh

line 8: aia di tali (stone table), tamuh (tumbuh) tagok tacaow nan manyum thraok ma hu mai

line 9: ndem saong Ong, Ong kuek peng jang ma hu aia rei , pander tacaow nao pataow

line 10: ka Ong manyum huai (to take care of one's health) ,, tacaow ba nao mboh num aia di tali harep (hisap) thu (kering) abih

line 11: abih, mang Ong tacaow ba gep anaong pala mbai sang jei, mbai sang Ong kuek seng ndem sa aen

line 12: saong mak kuek seng ka krung tacaow manyum aia di tali, Ong saong muk mboh
line 13: yau nan aen, sak sak tacaow nan matian kayua manyum aia di tali, nager
line 14: mboh nai nan ma tian ba sa ka ong ma in saong tacaow blaoh matian, Ong kuek
line 15: peng hamiiit maluw di ngap habar jang oh jieng , tel harei 1047 (Tal harei pluh klem bilan tijuh) di
line 16: balan pak nasak ri maong muk Po Ong ndih di apuei hu hu urang likei di
line 17: bha a ngap Ja taol, Ong ha muk kuek seng ciip raong tacaow tel
line 18: praong , tacaow nao gleng lamaow kapil ka Ong, blaoh nao ndih ala phun hala
line 19: hala, halu nan gaok jieng ba li dal (balidaw), mbiah lamaow nao mbeng kapah Po
line 20: Nahuer, Ja Taol nao akhan saong Ong, Ong kuek seng bat caow nao greh
line 21: limaow , Ong tama dalam sang ndem saong Po Nahuer, daok Ja Taol daok
line 22: di a ndak kan tambang (prosperity), Po Nahuer hu anuk kumei angan Nai Kuen tabiak
line 23: mboh Ja Taol daok di gan tambang ruai nyuk bak ma drei ndem saong Po Na
line 24: Huer, brei lamaow bidrah ka urang baik hu manuis daok di mblang ta sep
line 25: lo, Po Nahuer tabiak mboh Ja Taol jieng balidal galac
line 26: tama sang ndem saong nai anuk di njep O anuk, ba la pa nal nan kapil
line 27: ka kah Ina Garay , hadei jieng Norapa, Po Nahuer ndem brei limaow
line 28: wek ka Ong kuek peng blaoh ndem palak pakru nai anuk saong Ja Taol Ong kuek
line 29: peng di khing ciip Ong kayua tanaow brei jhak likei tapei akaok , Po Nahuer
line 30: lac O likau Ong paruei ciip baik tok jang hu min, juai bidha tian juai
line 31: juai, Ew Ja Taol tama ndem ka ja Taol, peng panuec kudha yau nan, biuh Ong ta
line 32: tanaow duei lamaow mbai sang, mbiah ngap gep takhraw saong Po Klaong Can
line 33: dua adei ai biai gep nao kak hala, mbiah trun tagok nao hala, tel
line 34: harei nan anaong hala trun matuh jalan Po Klaong Garay glan nao di
line 35: truh O, padei di daok batuw tablah, di nager Panrang, Po Klaong Can
line 36: ndem saong Po Klaong Ga Ray luai dahlak nao sang dahlaw mak lathei ba
line 37: aia galac mbai raok ai wek ai padei glaih tak di baik, ndem
line 38: blaoh anaaa hala nao sang mak lisei ba nao raok, Po Klaong Garay, nao
line 39: tel cameoh batuw tablah maong mboh tanyruk hadah di cameoh batuw
line 40: mboh Ja Taol daok ndih dua drei Ina Garay graing gah khiah drei Ja
Line 41: Tal abih balidal siam likei, mbuak di mbuak blaoh dua drei Ina
line 42: Garay daok saong Po nan ndih war, Po Klaong Can mboh ngap
line 43: ganroh, dua drei Ina Garay tama dalam batuw wek, blaoh
line 44: Po Klaong Garay madeh tagok mboh Po Klong Can ba lasei saong
line 45: aia mbai aen tabuen saong maong dalam rup abih balidal khang ka dao
line 46: hran yawa, Aen dalam tian, mbiah Po Klaong Can lang hala patei ta
line 47: tabiak tuh lathei di hala, patei huak, Po Klaong da a Po Klaong Garay
line 48: huak dahlau Po Klaong Garay di khing huak dahlaw O, ka-nda di gep
line 49: pajai nao pajai mbai Po Klaong Garay ngap ma in mak Ina
line 50: tangin cih gan kruh hala patei, ai huak sa gah dahlaw sa gah, dua
line 51: Po huak mbeng blaoh mboh hala patei hu jalan num ra blaoh gan hruh
line 52: Po Klaong Can thau ka Po Klaong Garay di hu ganreh min oh ka ndem tabiak
line 53: mayah Po Klaong Garay mboh crih thau nan dalam tian jang aen rei
line 54: jai gep manyum aia, Po Klaong Can pajai lo Po Klaong Garay a
line 55: apan bhak tagok na mbang sa pakal drei ka klaong candiak kadaoh di bi
line 56: jieng dua nok, nan mang aia ni dahlaw khang manyum, Po nan candiak kadaoh jrup
line 57: gan kruh jieng dua danaoh, Po Klaong Garay manyum dihlaw tel ranih
line 58: jrup Po Klaong Can manyum harei, blaoh blai Po Klaong Can tanyi Po Klaong
line 59: Garay Po ndih hu mboh hagait rei, Po Klaong Garay lac di mboh
line 60: hagait O, Po Klaong Can ndem dahlak mbai gaok dua drei Nagaray
line 61: daok saong dua drei, blaoh urak ni rup pa bhap Po maong karei dihlaw
line 62: Po Klang Garay lac pala rup dahlak urak ni khing ka peng patuah dhar
line 63: mak makat dalaw, blaoh dei ai ba tel mbai sang, di thun nasak
line 64: pabaiy Po Klaong Garay tagok drung ray patao daok di bal
line 65: Hanguw, pajao tanraow klaik li-au, ba riya , ngap dhua, puisa payak
line 66: k, Po nan apan tho ngar wak tho pajien anuk adam, kut ta bung
line 67: yang sak jang Po nan pajieng rei, hamitt di ra ba sa ka dom adam ha
line 68: ha hiai ka Po nan jieng patao di hu ama O, Po maluw di tian jak
line 69: jak, dom mak baol pa huec ra baong gah Po Dam gah baol likei ,
line 70: gah Po Klaong baol kamei, thei huec truh dahlau kah nan jai, kah
line 71: halei oh truh O gah nan gah, di baol nan Po Klaong pak ka
line 72: gan di nager panrang, Po Dam pak kalan di nager kraong, baruw mang
line 73: Po Klaong bia saong dom baol kamei, harei huec pakua baik, malam aia
line 74: balan huec tok tathrum di drei, hu nyruk drei kumei peng kadha malam huec a
line 75: adaoh Klong buei baiy . gah lakei huec harei min, malam lua no ma in gah
line 76: kumei , kumei ba ndem ba klao khip di gep , likei malam hadai saong kumei baruw mang
line 77: kamei huec truh dihlau Po Klong duei duan tagok, Po Dam maluw klak ku lan di palei
line 78: palei aia mblang tama palei rglai mbow daok, daok Po Klaong wek pak Huer, blaoh
line 79: threh nao pak rglai kabhaun aer radak nager pacam , jieng Cru a ngap ja
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line 80: tawak, tuei kuya trun jia , mbai matuh adhua suk deh a-ndih di Ja lua

line 81: krah malam urang ndih jua tok sa drei Ja Ta Wak, daok madeh ha

line 82: hamiiit manuk tanaow ka nyek, thei mbeng akaok jieng patrai

line 83: thei mbeng takai jieng panraong, tagok bram luah dom raglai pander Ja Wa

line 84: Ta Wak mak manuk nan sik buic ma ba luw ngap hatai jai ra

line 85: wa buh tama glah sa tuk kaok manuk chait tabiak dahlau mbeng

line 86: yau nan , nyu mak blah laniep khiep anak manuk tapak laik

line 87: trun bak habuw di dahlau mbeng yau nan, nyu paraot di hatai mak a

line 88: akaok, manuk buh tama pabah ma mah luic dhit, mbiah ngap lathei aia

line 89: huak dom Raglai baken tanyi ko kaok manuk lac, nyu akhan tapak

line 90: tapak kaok manuk bak habuw nyu mbeng pajei, huak mbeng blaooh ba gep trun

line 91: trun mbai matuh jalan mboh arap marai raok, ba dom kaya kian a

line 92: aw patao, marai , dom Raglai nao nan mak anguei abih di laik saong drei

line 95: tagok ngaok raong, ba nao tel cek ku la panuh madhir jieng patao tajuh

line 96: thun, pamra tama war tabiak war ma aom blung blut bier harei

line 97: blung blut anguei mbeng har kadat di niip O, arap lo ligam thruk

lie 98: nao duah Imbal tok thrung dung mo di galac wek O, arap

lie 99: maong di mboh galac wek O, arap tuei mak ba mbai sang wek, marai

line 100: marai daok di madhir adac nao Ja Ta Wak taleh kaya anguei lua

line 101: nao Umbar arap jang tuei mak wek tuei nao tel hamu ka nyu ganung drei di

line 102: hara pandik tahar panuh arap matai wek, nyep arap, a

line 103: arap galac mbai tel mahik tabuh matai, bala karam trun tanuh

line 104: kawik jieng danao, waong laik di cek blao bua jieng batuw , arak damnuy
9. **Damnuy Po Kabrah**

line 1: Po Kabrah anuk Po kathit, kamuen jhik hran Po sah Ina,

line 2: ai Po Kabih . Po Isah Ina ai sa tian saong Po Kathit,,

line 3: tak di kal bel Po Kabih tagok rai jeng patao di bal

line 4: ba si nung, Po Ganaur rata jang janung Po Iw , hu ra ha urang anuk kamei

line 5: kamei, di harei nan Po Kabrah nao u-mbar sa tian nan sa ma In, nao tel pagei,

line 6: aia kieng, urak ni aia mih, padei adhua tak nan, nao a mbal patuah hu

line 7: manuk, tanow hatan, pa-nder baol nao likau padai pak lan

line 8: jaik ganuh padei nan ba ka manuk mbeng, manuis nao likau padai tak

line 9: lac nan mboh sa urang kamei lapim lapih mang haraik siam binai (beautiful ivy plant) lo,

line 10: kacaw (mallet) padai sa kacaw pagep 101 thar (sites), kayua tangin nai nan

line 11: sit lo, manuis ba padai nao patao tanyi habar padai pa

line 12: dakik (sikit) lo yau nan, urang nan akhan wek di lin nan hu sa na i kamei siam tuah

line 13: lo, kacaw brei dom ni jei (succeed) , likau wek nai nan di brei O, baruw mang pa

line 14: patao bidha dalam hatai, min di ndem tabiak O, huak mbeng baoh patao nao pak

line 15: lac padai nan, patao mboh nai nan laik (jatuh) di tian, patao pok sep likau

line 16: padai ka manuk mbeng , nai nan kacaw limah ka patao, patao patruw (tolong)

line 17: tangin mak apan hu di tangin nai nan, nai nan pok sep likau

line 18: ganreh patrai dahlak hu kan (gep yu) ta pajei, ngap yau ni dahlak haruk saong
line 20: umur gep ni, blaoh deip nai nyu ka mi ba tian anit si ngap bharrandi (mistress)

line 21: mayah nai ndem habar jang hatai ba yawa tuei kami pajei, nai nan jal wal

line 22: wal (stop and think) ndem sibar jang oh jieng tra, mayah jot tasang kieng caong (crushed or desire) dahlak min

line 23: daok klau balan tra tel balan harei pandih (is) dahlak jei, yau

line 24: nan blaoh jot tisan duk sa yau halei, Po Kabih ndem wek likau nai

line 25: ba tian anit mang klau rat (precious stones, jewelry, A prince, options) jalan bharriya, kan ta, saong gep tel

line 26: taha, nan tel harei ndih nan, Kami mak yun (hammock) mbaok (on) rak pa-nder

line 27: jabaol ba rai raok, nai halar lak hu O, mayah jot

line 28: ti sah yau halei jang halun halar tuei min, tel harei di malam

line 29: pa-ndam dalam sang pa-nder jabuol ayun marai caik di a

line 30: akaok sang nai mboh manuis ndik tuei ta ligang tama nai tuei manuis nan

line 31: tabiak tuei nan rei hu manuis a yuan cala (bad luck) mang langueiw rok (hoe) cakong (carry)

line 32: cakong nai marai taom ka mi, haiy how (bad blow) pakloh panduec kadha

line 33: Ikak anaong saong gep blaoh, Po Kabrah jaoh (broke) akaok

line 34: nao madhir, daok nai anuk Ong Jarat jang oh ndem saong urang

line 35: thung (wooden tray containing offerings), caik dalam tian, Po Kabrah nao sang mak ragei (workers or midwife) ngap gaip (clamp)

line 36: taok (hold) ayun traik (engraved, cut into) jieng thaik (shape, face) kakung (god)

rimaong, tel harei bilan

line 37: pa-ndih , Po Kabrah paruah (pilih) pak urang nyang ka deng ba ayun saong sa drei
line 38: a thau mbai kruh (tengah) malam tel sang nai nan, sa urang nao maong mboh tuai pa nguai (guests) ndih

line 39: jua (invite), nyu ndik tuei ta galang (public store, inventory of palace) sang maong tama mboh muk jang ndih, tok sa drei nai

line 40: nan min daok madeh (sad) nai nan mbaip tuei manuis nan tabiak truh langueiw (seorang)

line 41: hu manuis pok pandih daok ayun dua urang cakong nao madhir

line 42: dahlu, manang (victory) drei theik a thau pa tanyoh darah rah jalan tama

line 43: pak dalam glai, manang drei mak takai ayun drut dihlau nao saong darah

line 44: pak glai, nai nan nao taom kabrah malam nan jam di saong gep duei baiy,

line 45: hadah jieng harei di mboh nai nan O. war glai bak mang baoh sang, thuai (probe) mbai mboh

line 46: num (minum) darah tanyoh saong mboh num takai rimaong tama tapak dalam glai pa

line 47: pa-ndem lac nai nan rimaong mak, ruas pandih , galac (kembali) ngap pathi (anniversary celebration), min ong

line 48: Ganuor rat daok ngap Ong Iw saong patao kabrah, tel hirei klaoh (end) padhi

line 49: kal , Ong ganuer rat nao ngap nyruk (some), patao tabiak ba ndang, hu biai

line 50: saong nai nan cih hala pa-mbbie, habien Ong mbai pok hala nan tabiak payak

line 51: payak, Ong Iw gleng hala nan blaoh mak apan maong, hala cih ni dreh (same) yau

line 52: sa tangin saong anuk kun (from the user to verify) jei (firstly), pabah ndem aia mata haok,

line 53: patao ndem dahlak payak (dedicate, sacrified) krah bikar sibar krah bikar hia lac, dahlak

line 54: biniai min, Ong Iw huec ciip di nyup (correct) O, kayua hala ni dreh hala

line 55: anak halun cih lo, blaoh anuk halun nyep glai pajei, patao Ew
line 56: nai gep hala tabiak di kuek (village) ka Ong Iw krun (that), ama mboh anuk, anuk
line 57: krun (that) ama, hia aen, ka anuk klah di matai, aen buei (happy) baiy anuk
line 58: ama matuw su-ma taom sep, Po Kabrah akhan abih panuec kadha
line 59: wek ka (sumu) peng, Po sama Pa halar saong patao , kahlaom jieng matuw
line 60: mang halun khing ndem, ganreh patrai halar lak daok hu truh ka ndel padia
line 61: pak sa baoh tacei , halun palaik tanao ba nrik ka ganreh patrai
line 62: patao ndem wek mayah kami ngap yau nan maruei nager, kahlaom ganreh patrai
line 63: oh takru, halun ka na gaon ganreh patrai pa nduec harak ka bhap bani
line 64: thau, tel harei nan marai maong halun nao huer, Ong Iw matai pander cakong
line 65: nao gan andak gan madhir patao, pak urang prajak daok
line 66: ngaok madhir kamruai, Ong Iw teng tamia ngaok nraong ka patao gleng, Po Kabrah
line 67: mboh yau nan damun kanut palai tanao, ba Ong Iw nao tel Ghul
Line 68: mak libang (spider: labah-labah) ba atuw (hantu) trun pala ka buel (people) rak (at)
blaoh mbai sang ngap padhi
line 69: bak klau harei nao buh batuw, nao mboh Ong nan daok nyuk pak wa dalam
line 70: libang hu sa baoh kanaing (sentence) apuei tra, dom urang mboh yau nan di kieng tanyi
line 71: O, bak tajuh harei nao pak tanung wek jang mboh yau nan rei, bak 107 harei
line 72: ikak acaong buh drep nao mboh libang hueng (open mouth, yawn) di mboh Ong Iw O,
daok a
line 73: adac nao Po biai hadiap patao Kabrah paik jip nai nan wang irat (climb, up) tuei
line 74: pasang, hajieng pal jang tawak (stuck) di hadiep mayah cuh nai nan gah bani
line 75: ni, biai saong krah bikar nao ngap dua baoh ka jang, gah iw ka jang acar
line 76: acar, gah hanuk ka jang basoh (basaih), kraong gan kruh ngap sa baoh mandem
line 77: caik atuw nan di daok mandang, Po Patao Kabrah saong gep

line 78: baoh tian bia nan lang kar (mendoa, menjemput sirih), mayah bia Po hatai khing takra tuei pasang

line 79: atuw bia Po thek tapak ka jang gah basoh, mayah tuei jalan

line 80: mukkei jei, nan thek (cemerlang) tapak ka jang acar, lang kar blaoh sa thek ma

line 81: ndong trun mang bhok hu baol nga bhap basoh acar daok cakak

line 82: atuw nan thek tapak gah ka jang Po basoh, gah Po Basoh

line 83: thrang (perfect) ba tagok pa siam sa phuk blaoh cuh, mak talang buh di klaong (container of remains) bhuktik (worship)

line 84: gah gep kuec habuw (hole of ash) ba nao sang ngap padhi blaoh ba habuw blaoh ba nao ghul

line 85: taom mukkei, hajieng hu baoh kadha adaoh ba sa laik rimaong di malam ndom ka jang lac urani,

line 86: baoh kadha nan baoh kudha Po Kabrah panuh adaoh am sam hadiep Po nan, di

line 87: bal Po nan klah nai biai nan blaoh thik athau tanyuh barah ngap takai rimaong.

10. *Dalikal Po Ra Mo, angan Ja Saot*

line 1: tak di kar ndih di apuei di palei ranyuah, a paok Po nan ba ma

line 2: marai dal pak palei paaok, di hamu yang thaok, Ina Po nan pok

line 3: Po nan tabiak Panrang, baruw nao tel nager Panrang, daok di palei biuh

line 4: tok apah nao gleng kubaw di banuk akhak, ndih mang ala phun kraik

line 5: Inagaray daok dalam Kraik tabiak nyah drei, nyu hu ganreh tabiak

line 6: di phun Kraik, tel thun nasak pabaιy tagok drung rai jieng patao
line 7: patao Jek hu ba baol masuh di dua klau mbeng, di jai saong Po Ra Mo O, patao

line 8: Jek ngap bindi biniai ba limah (limah=hadiah) sa urang kumei siam binai ka Po Ra Mo angan

line 9: Bia Ut Po Ra Mo tok ngap bhar randi, Bia Ut daok saong Po Ra

Line 10: Mo kajak hu sa thun gen, ngap bindi biniai ruak mbeng oh tama ndih oh ba

line 11: ngi (bingi), kuyua nyu mboh Po Ra Mo mayeng (sanctify) kun (revere) phun kraik Po Ra Mo anit

line 12: ra ndem Bia Ut lo, Bia Ut ka mang mraw harei malam, lac malam halei jang

line 13: ndih mboh Jin daok di phun kraik nan tabiak mak nyu, Po Ra Mo ngap

line 14: yang panuec harak mak Gru pa ngap racow tiap ka Bia Ut , Bia Ut jang

line 15: oh abih hakik, padak harei padak trak, mbeng oh tama ndih oh war, nyu

line 16: caok saong Po Ra Mo, mayah ganre patrai khing ka dahlak ayuh sak saong

line 17: Po, Po ngap habar pamatai Kraik nan caik, nan mang dahlak hu daok

line 18: di lok/gok saong ganre patrai, Po Ra Mo ra ndam Bia Ut lo, di thau ka

line 19: nyu ngap bandi biniai blek bleng nyu o, baruw biai saong krah bi

line 20: kar pander baol tak paja geh kraik nan caik, dalam phun

line 21: kraik nan hu Jin, hajieng bhar randi dahlak ruak hakik lo kuyua Jin

line 22: daok dalam kraik nan , dom krah bikar saong panraong Jabuol lakau di

line 23: Po Ra Mo juai tak kraik juai marung (scatter) nager jei, Po Ra Mo peng tuei panuec

line 24: krah bikar lakau, Bia Ut hamuit krah bikar lakau di brei patao

line 25: palabuh (meroboh) kraik O, mang ngap mang kamruaw hia lo, ndem saong Po Ra Mo

line 26: kini dahlak li-a di Po jei, Po di hu anit dahlak O

line 27: dahlak sa urang anak taluic patao Jek, blaoh sak wa
line 28: klak Ina Ama mai gam tawak (tawan) di Po, blaoh Po thul tian klak

line 29: dahlak matai, dahlak ciip halar matai min Po, gam ndem gam nyu

line 30: Po Ra Mo mboh yau nan di thul tian O, pa mak baol pa tak kraik nan

line 31: harei baol tak malam kraik nan cak kalik thil wek, klau harei tak klau malam

line 32: jang thil wek yau krung , dom baol nao pa halar saong patao ka krung janaoh (kali)

line 33: di ndem tak Kraik nan ka Po Ra Mo peng, Bia Ut mboh baol bhap jarij

line 34: ro kieng tak Kraik, Bia nan tadu, Po Ra Mo mboh Bia Ut tadu ndih ba tian

line 35: aen, mboh baol rai pathau ka panuec yau nan pandik di hatai, mak baol

line 36: Po Ra Mo wek kaoh khing ka sa harei jaleh baik, dom krah bikar likau

line 37: jang oh hu, ghak Po Ra Mo jang oh peng, dom krah bi kar, ba tian ku rei abih

line 38: oh thei hadai patih tra, di harei baol ralo nan, phun kayau kraik Ew ndem

line 39: ngap paglaih paglal juai, nao ndem wek saong patao hu rai tak kau, nan mang kau ciip

line 40: matai, baol nao pathau wek patao ganaong tabiak nuak jieng par klau mbeng , kayau kraik

line 41: da-a sanuw pa nao suan, blaoh ka kaok jieng klau mbeng , kayau kraik nan araow klau sap

line 42: blaoh libuh darah nduec mathik saong tanuh, darah nduec klau harei klau malam , Bia Ut

line 43: Ut kajep yau bhian, hadiep pasang jam ji saong gep , Po Ra Mo

line 44: ba tian aen, daok Bia Ut lua ngap harak payua nao ndem saong

line 45: patao ama, lac nager Cam ganreh tabiak di Kraik,, urak ni

line 46: Kraik nan tak jaleh pajei, ba baol rai masuh baik, patao

line 47: Jek mboh harak pok baol marai masuh, Po Ra Mo mak
11. Dalikal Po Ma Thik Dhik, nan Po Anit

Line 1: tak di ka thun nasak tapay, tei______, tagok rai jieng patao drung

Line 2: ray di bal Prei Parang , taom thun ba ju limah patao jek, Po jai

Line 3: paran adei sa tian saong Po Thik Dhik, dua adei sa-ai mbuah kar ka

Line 4: nager padak thun padak dhaja ka jek, kaya banrik jang kupun, haluw

Line 5: w balang takai masuh jang oh hu daok yat sat trak nao , Po Jai paran kruh

Line 6: malam mahu di pakao , min nyu ra ndep njuk palo jaih di nding jei, Po

Line 7: jai paran pa-nder mak ka naing nao keh apuei rai njuk pakao , tangin takai

Line 8: kadha ka naing Candiec sa angah apuei bhong ba rai, Po Jai paran a

Line 9: apan di nding cuh di apuei nan di mboh mbeng pakao O, min matei apuei nai
line 10: daok nai bhong, Po nan cuh apuei nan di mbeng pakao tra O nai wa di tian
line 11: mak buh di pabah guen tama tian, ndih hadah sa lo , Po Jai
line 12: paran pandik ka nager , rai biai saong Po sa-ai wek, adei siam lo, ai ndem
line 13: hagait adei peng , adei biai hagait ai peng, Po mathik dhik lac mayah
line 14: yau nan adei nao duah ruah haluw ka bal patih pa glaong bandi baniai.
line 15: binyang ka deng, bi hu ka, mang ngap jieng di Jek,, urak ni thai (move) gaon (ball? ambasador) nao
line 16: di grep (seluruh) palei, sang halei hu gam (flower decoration) hadiep gam pasang, lac patao brei gaon (appeal)
line 17: tabiak bareng urang halei jang ciip brei hadiep nyu ka gaon patao
line 18: ndih, biai gep sa kudha saong gep, Ew gaon rai pataow
line 19: pa-nder kadha, blaoh, gaon nan ndua gaon tabiak nao mang phun tel hajung (hujung)
line 20: nager, khik (guard) tuei panuec patao bhan, gaon ndang thei thei jang oh kieng kamlah
line 21: luai (give) hadiep brei ka gaon ngap sibar blaoh ngap, kamlah ndua ka gaon
line 22: patao tak, ngan mak ba ka patao ngap glac, gaon nao tel palei
line 23: Cagram, gaon nao abih sang thei jang oh kieng puec hagait , nao tama sang ong.
line 24: kei mbat , Ong nan dok pacap (confined) ka kieng peng radaih, Ong kei mbat tanyi
line 25: gaon marai sang halun maka kriuk halai tak, kami ndua gaon
line 26: nao ndih saong hadiep baol, hadiep kami sah ko pataow
line 27: ka kumi kieng ndih, Ong kei Mbat lac anuk adam baol bhap thei tablok
line 28: gok ngap praong panuec, nyin Ina, maik ama, tok hadiep
line 29: gep, bathar mang bathar mang kriuk suk patao ngap glac, tablaoh
line 30: harei ni gaon klak adat hak, blaoh marai ndem tablek gaok yau
line 31: nan, kau di brei hadiep kau ka hu ndih O, hu si ngap hagait di kau blaoh ngap
line 32: geh panuec puec tangin apan di lai kam radaih si ataong gaon,
line 33: mboh yau nan ndik athaih kajaok kaok marai akhan saong patao
line 34: lac dahlak nao grep nager di mboh thei O.hu sa urang palei
line 35: cakraong angan Kei Mbat mbeng puec sa mi sa mbat di rei hadiep nyu
line 36: halun O, blaoh galam lai patuei ataong dahlak wek payau dom
line 37: panuec nan, baruw mang patao ngap harak, nduak Ong nan, seng Ong kei mbat di
line 38: ciip nao O, gaon nao ndem saong ganreih patrai wek dahlak hu kriuk ha
line 39: hagait ganreih patrai mak dahlak, dahlak daok jal lo sanung ha
line 40: ka dahlak nao kiuai ganreih patrai, gaon hu rak galac, marai pa thau
line 41: saong patao wek, Po Madhik dhik ndit di tian urang nan sibar jang hu
line 42: ka thaik jei, hajieng nyu ndem puec yau nan, baruw mang thai adei nan
line 43: Po jai paran ba ayun mak baol nao raok Ong kei mbat, nan
line 44: mang Ong kei mbat ciip marai, marai tel bal, patao ba ndang ta
line 45: tanyi habar pusah/susah praong hatai gaon ndok blaoh oh marai O, kayua
line 46: ha bal yau nan, Ong kei Mbat pa thau dhul palak takai ganreih pa
line 47: patrai di dunya ni praong luic di jalan hadiep pasang, blaoh
line 48: ganreih patrai thai gaon nao ndih saong hadiep dahlak, ngap yau nan
line 49: O langueik hukum adat tablek (terbalik) gok anuk baol daok habar mang
line 50: jieng, dahlak O mboh panuec crih yau nan, baruw mang dahlak oh marai O
line 51: Kuhlaom ganreih patrai si ngap glac (build sin) tak likau ganreih patrai tak dahlak
line 52: baik, halei ngap tablek lok dahlak di ciip O, Po madhik
line 53: thik klao ndem wek di njep kami thai gaon nao pander biak O, nao laong
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line 54: tian baol min, kahlaom nager drei si daok si kadun, taom thun

line 55: dhaju ka jek, laong gleng aek hu hatai lei, kaow sah sanung yau halei

line 56: hadai patih saong kami hai, Jek lek katek drei lo, pathau dhul

line 57: palak takai ganreh patrai dahlak abih hatai hadai patih ganreh

line 58: patrai pa-nder kriuk hagait jang dahlak halar tak rei, baruw

line 59: mang Po Madhik dhik biai saong Po adei, kahlaom ruah hu sa urang, urak ni a

line 60: adei saong kei mbat mbal tanuw laong glaong aek, dua urang nan nao laong mbat tanuw

line 61: klau harei blaoh marai mak sa drei kabaw ikak padeng, mak haluw

line 62: Po Dhik dhik tabiak tak kala mayah mak nager, wek hu Po sa

line 63: pajieng drei bi hu dhit, Po madhik dhik daok ndaoh di rup kabaw

line 64: 7 tapa, Po nan drak haluw tama rup kabaw tok dua han min,

line 65: Po jai paran thrak tama rup kubaw hu klau han, daok Ong kei mbat

line 66: thrak tama rup luic haluw truh di rup kabaw, haluw nao ralo 5 ta

line 67: pa tra, gai haluw nan 7 han, blaoh di nan mak baol pa nrem takai masuh

line 68: daok Po jai paran mak ra lei seng ahaok, Po madhik dhik kahra brah

line 69: padai, pa nrem kahra thrap gep , taom thun di dhaju ka jek tra O, jek ndak

line 70: Po madhik dhik ndem wek di ciip ba ju tra O, patao hu si ngap hu bal blaoh

line 71: ngap, gaon Jek nao ndem, wek, patao Jek panuec harak mayah oh ciip

line 72: gambah ju O nyu ba baol marai masuh pamatai abih nuk

line 73: patian , pa dhrai madhir nai tanuh ndap, Po madhik dhik mboh hu

line 74: harak dhum yau nan ju glaow, pa sep harak nao wek kau oh mada pa huec, jek

line 75: pok dhok bhap manung nao jalan pan deng , manang nao tuei ganao

line 76: daok gah ni Po madhik dhik saong Po jai sarak nao jalan
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12. Dalikal manuis sa jieng Gru Cruw

Line 1: tak di kal lak hu sa Po Gru pataow sa ratuh urang saih a bac a
line 2: akhar, hu sa urang saih angan Aya Han urang nan sa buat lo Gru da mak
line 3: pandiak aia tacuh ka Gru, Gru pataow 99 urang saih soh/doh, daok
line 4: agha hon di kik pataow , min krei pataow phun hagait agha
line 5: hon ndom di hlung di dom saih soh, grep saih maluw dalam tian mebhai
line 6: mebhai saong gep , mada gru hu brei panuw sa mbuat ka Aya Hon , jieng
line 7: nyu hadah sa mbat lo drei aban blaoh di ndem ai/o, nyu di hu bac o blaoh
line 8: h yu ndem abih , ralo ____. ____, harei Gru pander abih patuh anuk saih
line 9: nao anaong khuah ka Gru, nao tel takai cek 99 urang saih poh/doh
line 10: biai tep urak ni abih dei sa ai drei sik/pik ralow Aya Han sa urang
line 11: sa/pa klaih blao hmbeng da hadah hatai tian, kahlaom drei trak lo nyu ha
line 12: hadah, mabhai/mayai tep halar pak dha, baruw mang pik/sik ralow Aya Han
line 13: mbeng abih daok talang urak klak di cek nan, dom saih aen a khluh a
line 14: anaong mbuai pang/sang. Gru tanyi hako Aya Hon, dom urang poh ndem di pa lo tama
line 15: glai mak a nyulh , sa urang nao ka sa/pa galaong ka an aia harei dei ai marai
line 16: taom gep pak camaoh pa kuec , daok ai Aya Hon di mboh O a dei
line 17: ai dahlak nao duah bak mang glai Ew di mboh O, Gru lac khaol ha ndem
line 18: da talak/tapak juai pa dep juai , dom soh sara/para jieng lac nao aih Aya
line 19: Hon di mboh O, baruw mang Gru lac khaol hu hla seng/peng keng Ew nyu, nyu ha
line 20: Uk ka khaol hla maong, Gru Ew gei/lei Aya Hon, Aya Hon daok dalam
line 21: tian 99 urang saih poh ha Uk sep yau rang kama raw, Gru lac nan
line 22: khaok hla hamit  gei/lei, khaol hla ndem sa tapak klah di suk glac, baruw mang a
line 23: abih soh doh/poh ta la bat likung ciip akhan tapak ka Gru peng ai Aya hon
line 24: n saong nyaol dahlak di hu mabai januk hagait O, dei ai dahlak
line 25: mboh ai nan hadah sa mbat lo Gru di mboh pataow kudha panuac hagait
line 26: t oh, Gru pataow khaol dahlak blao h ai nan ndem abih pa/da hlund , adei
line 27: ai dahlak O ka ndem O, sanung pala/gala lac Gru brei panuw hagait ka ai nan
line 28: manyum dalam tian, hajieng ai nan dah lo nan, baruw mang jak
line 29: t bi yau ai nan, Gru tanyi athal nyu khaol hla mbeng daok sang nyu kla
line 30: klak pak halei, dom soh lac klak pak cek Raglai, Gru ndem khaol hla
line 31: phak hatai di nyu kuak keng/ke tathik ka nyu jieng jru, daok tuei cek nyru wa ra
13. Dalikal nao magru akhar Gru pander saih ba hadiap saih nao ka Gru

Line 1: tak di kal ranaow ngap wak dalam sang magik Po Ali ngap danaok a
line 2: mum, dalam sang magik nan hu sa urang acar tapak tasaiy blaoh bac
line 3: pa a jang dakik ndom, mayah akhar jang maun bak coei oh tandat, dom
line 4: acar sit pa-nder gam mayah hanao hatao mak acar nan a naong ka gah, a
line 5: acar nan tuh urang pajei, hajip car nan ganuk tasei aek mboh yau nan maluw
line 6: di tian , biai saong pasang , drei ngap acar ka jai ka dua pluh thun blom, katip ma
line 7: madin urang oh brei sa kak, mayah bac pa-a-jang oh hamu urang, luai dom
line 8: acar baraw ka ndar pa-nder dhai drei wek, dahlak maluw lo urak peh
line 9: h, aek ka, caik nao duah magru akiar wek dara lo ka blaoh rai aek, ha
line 10: halei drei daok aek dalam sang magik blaoh luai ka urang pa-nder yau nan, dahlak
line 11: di tanuk dok lasei tra O, maluw lo, acar pasang ndem wek dahlak geh blaoh
line 12: mayah sima Gru wek , Gru hapak blaoh pataow, hadiep ndem wek baik bar
line 13: drei O hu Gru pataow, nao duah Gru halei Gru prajak blaoh magru, biai tel blaoh
line 14: biai , pasang klak ngap wak mbai sang , hadiep ramiik sa baoh ciet ma
line 15: ala buh brah , mang daok hlau tadhi padei , acar ka-ndeng nao matuh harei
line 16: gaok hala urang , baruw mang tanyi rawang ai hu hamit pak ni hu Gru
line 17: pataow akiar rei , baruw mang urang nan lac hu nao sa banrok tra hu sa
line 18: Po Gru baruw ngap hiaoh pataow akhar ,pataow bac pa-a , manuis

line 19: pataow nan , seng tangin takai Po Nabi pander rai ca kak Acar nan blaoh

line 20: h, pataow sang Po Nabi,, Acar nan nao tapak sang Po Rasolak

line 21: Po Rasolak tangi hagait Acar marai, Acar ndem dahlak mang

line 22: jieng Acar tel urak ni akhar maun jang O truh bac da a jang oh ndem

line 23: dom Acar sit pa-nder bai ngap khruk ka ula nyu , hadiep da

line 24: dahlak maluw brei palei pa-nder dahlak nao duah Gru Prajak blaoh

line 25: magru , Gru lac mayah soh kieng magru , hagait kaya ba magru

line 26: baruw Acar ruah palei pak dok ba ka Gru , maun blaoh , Gru pander hlau

line 27:ba palei wek nao sangka hadiep anuk hu, blaoh hu ba hadiep hu mbai

line 28: ka Gru, magru pataow, Acar ramik ka palei wek nao sang ndem ka hadiep seng , lac

line 29: Gru di mbeng palei O, pa=nder ba hadiap ka Gru magru ciip pataow, hadiap

line 30: jang O lac hagait, mayah Acar jang halar ba hadiiap nao ga-mbHah ka Gru ri

line 31: mbiah peh ciet mak palei tabiak mboh palei languak bih dua baoh

line 32: lac, pasang lac Gru di hu mbeng o, mayah dahlak jang oh hu mbeng oh , di thau ka

line 33: yau halei O, hadiep pasang biai gep blaoh nao pak Gru wek Ja

line 34: nao tel Gru ew hadiap pasang Acar tanyi, pasang hlau sima gru

line 35: akhar di Gru baoh nai nyu halar saong Gru hai O , Gru ngap habar

line 36: r, nao nyu niiap rei , kamei nan ndem likung Gru anit pataow pasang halun

line 37: pajieng akhar bac pa baik , Gru, pi lac habar halun halar min

line 38: n, ndem puec blaoh di malam nan Po Rasolak ba kamei tama dalam duk

line 39: Po nan, daok acar nan daok ndih mel nguei wa hleng malam dak yau nan, min
line 40: malam Gru ndih karei, kamei ndh kanung karei, malam Gru crang ka canung kamei manyi
line 41: ap rep danuy yau urang ndih saong gep bloh magei canung, bak hlau ma
line 42: malam Gru laun tian mboh kamei klaoh hatai hatai saong pasang, mayah acar jang klaoh
line 43: hatai, saong Gru, baruw mang Gru brei kamei nao sang, acar daok wek, Po
line 44: Rasolak wak dom baoh akhar Ina di hala gar truc dian
line 45: mak apuei cuh ga hlau, pa a sunuw da sa mban akhar bluh tama akhar Ina
line 46: Ina, bloh cuh di apuei dian gai di aia brei acar manyum, bloh Gru
line 47: patrun sunuw pataow mayah barang mang barang puec akhar a bac ka
line 48: kamruai, puec panuec di hadah hatai tian akhar hatai jang oh jang, mayah
line 49: h, kieng ngap wak bac panuec hagait jang truh abih, Po Rasolak pataow
line 50: bloh, brei ka acar nao sang aek wek, acar nao gep sang magik, tama daok di danaok
line 51: k, brei wek, tel tuk mak aia kakuh grep acar ___amum katip pa-nder yau ma
line 52: kal dahlau wek acar di ngap tra O, acar mak aia dahlau tama daong di danaok
line 53: amum ngap wek, amum mak aia tama mboh acar mabluk danaok brei bloh tiap
line 54: p acar nan tagok acar oh tagok, pa-nder dom acar ha paken hua katung
line 55: tabiak katung jang oh magei, baruw amum katip pa thau Po Ali seng ka griuk acar
line 56: acar nan, Po Ali rai tiap nyu jang oh nao, Po Ali apah caoh jang oh magei
line 57: deng gieng nai tali, Po Ali krot mak gai Jru ataong ndaih apuei jang oh magei, ba
line 58: baruw Po Ali ga-ndaong pa-nder acar nan ngap wek bac pa abih griuk ka ala
line 59: amum, daok amum daok di danaok ciang wa ha nuak kakuh acar nan wek, Po Ali
line 60: Ali pa-nder Acar ngap griak hagait bac phun hagait, acar puec tanuw krung
line 61: Gru brei Po phun a bac pa-a, acar nan bac pa-a abih sep jang siam, Po
line 62: Ali ndem Po halei acar bac dom nan, baruw Po Ali maluw di tian, dalam sang
line 63: magik di sa drei drei griak ta-nda pakun adat bac da-a di abih, blaoh urak di bac
line 64: bac, acar Cam pur ni nao magru hapak, Gru halei pataow nyu blaoh nyu oh? ka-nda di
drei
line 65: tra O, baruw mang Po Ali nao duah Gru magru wek ,nao gaok urang pataow nao
line 66: tapak kir blah deip sang Gru pataow jei, baruw mang Po Ali nao tapak dih harei
line 67: rei tama mboh sang Gru tama , Po Rasolak ta-mba drei pataow acar nan , Po Ali
line 68: Ali tanyi Po Ta-mba , dahalak ngap anak tuw sibar Po ta-mba di pataow
line 69: dahalak O blaoh pataow bac acar casul nan, ka nyu oh ka-nda di dahalak
line 70: O kajua Po Ta-mba pataow nyu, urak ni dahalak marai magru di Po , Po pataow
line 71:pataow dahalak tapa di nyu wek, haiy mayah hlau kieng takru magru ke pataow.
line 72: jei, min hlau nao sang ba hadiep hlau marai kakung , blaoh kung pataow , Po Ali ndem
line 73: wek mayah Po pataow jei dahalak magru, halei hajiep dahalak di ba mbai O,
line 74: ngap ta-mba ndem karei di saong lo yau nan, pataow anuk saih pa-nder ba hajjiep
line 75: anuk saih rai ka Gru, Po Rasolak lac mayah hlau oh habar ba hajjiep hlau
line 76: marai O ka daok , ke di pataow oh, Po oh pataow O blaoh kadaok ?
line 77: mbiah Po Ali sanung maluw di acar nan di acar nan di galac nao sang magik Gru oh nao
pak
line 78: sang magik makah jei, daok Po Rasolak daok tap galac wek pak puer madir
line 79: nan Po nan nrang brai abih , Po Ali nao di jalan deip sa urang Yuen kumei
line 80: kumei dara anaong manyuk laik pa-ndal takai hok abih blaoh daok hia
line 81: Po nan tanyi Yuen nan ndem , dahalak sa anuk sa maik, maik taha dahalak daok
line 82: --bani sa anaong manyuk ni jei, hiah raong maik mbai haok abih di hu hagait
line 83: pablei blaoh raong maik O, Po Ali dahlak ngap dhar blaoh Yuen ma___ nyu__
line 84: Yuen Po nan tatram ganuh taglak manyuk tagok wek abih , Yuen nan kuec wek
line 85: bak dua baoh caih tamao wa yau krung, Po nan tatram taglak ta kapruh manyuk nyum
line 86: sa tian Yuen ,Yuen anaong manyuk nao sang , daok adac klau balan Yuen nan ma
line 87: tian ndih di apuei hu sa urang anuk lakei , tel anuk nan praong nao ma-in anuk urang
line 88: urang mathaw saong anuk urang, urang yaok phok bac di hu ama O, blaoh Jabil
line 89: nyu hamii urang yaok nyu yau nan galac mbai sang tanyi maik nyu, lo ama dahlak
line 90: lac maik , maik nyu ndem janaoh ja-ndam ka nyu saong,,
line 91: Po Ali nao gen palei a-ka-hia-phiaer (akaphir), tama dalam palei Cam lakung aia
manyum,
line 92: sang nan hu urang kamei dara mak halaong phaok aia ka Po nan manyum, Po nan
manyum
line 93: manyum blaoh pa la liah kamei nan wek sa baoh karah mata, aia Po Ali manyum
line 94: dalah di halaung kamei nan manyum , adac hu pak balan kamei nan matian tel ndih di
apuei
line 95: apuei anuk likei, tel kraong ma-in saong urang kamlah cah gep urang phaok bac di
line 96: hu ama O, anuk marai tanyi maik, maik ndemwek ja-ndaoj jandem ka
line 97: cei anuk nan seng, cei anuk lakung di mak nao duah ama, ?? nao duah mboh
line 98 : mboh ama daok di sang magik makah , ama krun anuk, anuk krun ama mbiah
line 99: ba anuk tama bani
line 100: daok Yuen tuei nao duah tanyi ra-mbang mboh tabeng aia Po Ali ranaow ngap
line 101: mbak, di harei anuk Yuen tanra di tanruek tabeng , dom urang rai mak aia
line 102: ba ka Po Ali geh tanruek di hu O lian lo, galac nao ndem saong Po Ali
Po Ali ganaong tabiak rai pak tabaong aia mboh cei asit daok tap
	nan Po Ali Yuen phak ka cei nan sibar hla praong hatai kieng ngap di
tabeng aia kung , geh ndem pah naoh cei nan , cei nan mang radhek wek dua gah drei oh
thei alah di thei , baruw mang pa wak gep palei , cei nan ndem , Po Nyep Po
Ali tak di kal tatram tanuh taglak manyuk laik tagok di tanuh ka
urang Yuen kamei kuec wek rei, Po Ali lac ke jei, habar ka-mbar hu thau , hlau
tanyi ngap hagait , mayah biak Po tatram tanuh dahlak jei anuk
Po , Po Ali tanyi cei anuk ndem alin abih pa-nder kha dha anuk
ama kuer gep ba gep tama sang magik , Po Nabi tanyi cei nan maik Yuen
di brei ba tama Bani , kayua pajaih nyu hatan ,, Cei nan maluw di tian tama
di sang magik masuh balik glai balik klaw, baruw mang dom Po Ali pa-nder
r duah urang anuk Po Ali nan anuk Asilam , angan Giadhin Gia thai masuh
saong anuk Yuen , anuk Yuen ganreh dua Po masuh di sanuh O, anuk Yuen
tak Po Giadhan klaih sa gah bara , banao ngap a-nraong buh mak baol bhap
paliak , cei anuk Cam kruh malam ngap panuen pahalep nao mak bar nan wek
barai ka Po Giathaipa aku dha phun phua pah pagem ka Po Giadhan wek yau
krung , baruw mang dom Po Nabi mboh yau nan , Ew cei anuk marai lakung
pa siam , dom Nabi brei jaong patao angan Cit Ca leng ka, nan mang ga-ndeng, daok Po
Ali mboh dom anuk masuh gep , saong Po Nabi di brei Cit Ca Laong ka tama Asilam
aklak nao hatao jang oh dhung tra
14. Damnuy Po Nager

line 1: Ni thuat tik thi ma thau lei ka mang mul tak hu sa Ong sa Muk oh hu anak, baruw,
line 2: baruw dua Ong Muk nao jah apuh di cek galeng di nager Aia Trang, di daok mbuen , urak
line 3: ni Yuen Ew angan Genday Ang, blaoh pagatham makay padak thun padak
line 4: pagatham makay, di malam nan Ong pamuk ndih hadah jieng harei tama nao rawa
line 5: tha makay mboh dom baoh tham makay blaoh klaih kadak manang, daok ma
line 6: nang pacah brai, Ong sa muk duk sa crih, yau ni, num takai manuis rai
line 7: juak bak mang dalam apuh blaoh manuis nao hatao mboh Ong, dua
line 8: Ong sa muk biai gep krak maong, di mata nan yang balan purami bak baoh
line 9: hadah nai nyal, mboh sa urang kamei daok dalam Yang balan palaik
line 10: drei trun dalam apuh, kamei nan pagep 102 thun anguei mbeng bhian liak
line 11: min, nai kamei nao duah paik (petik) tham (asam) makay tathak (masak) darah ca maluw ma-in
line 12: Ong sa muk mboh aen tabuen lua ____mbai dung kuel hu ba nao raong ngap anak
line 13: Ong sa muk anit ra ndem mbluek di mbluek, nai nan daok saong Ong muk raong hu klau thun
line 14: di thun nan di nager Aia Trang rabuk Aia gen, nai nan padak harei padak mak
line 15: patuw (batu) khiak (stones and tiles) tadak (abandoned) kalain bamong ma-In, Ong sa Muk ghak jruh (fall, depressed) nai nan bak
line 16: peng (hit on the head) , Ong sa muk puec phak (as soon as or engraving) nai nan tok ganaong klak nao rah takai tanyi
line 17: ka rayak paoh tabiak sa mbaik gahlau, nai paraot di hatai ndik gahlau
line 18: gahlau nan thek (drift) nao pak nager Laow, baol bhap nager Laow mboh pa
line 19: jup (to help, invite) gep ndang hlau pak ratuh cakong tagok di truh O, baruw rabasa
line 20: hamiiit tel sah (king) Laow, sah tabiak nao maong, sah mboh gahlau sit mit
line 21: ta blaoh baol ratuh blaoh cakong di truh o, baruw mang paseh di hatai
line 22: ta trun weh tagok hanyuel yau hala padai, sah ba nao sang caik dalam Laow
line 23: mang lakuk ramah bala ama, sah nan padak harei mak pa sa uh sa-aen
line 24: mbeng oh tama ndih oh ba ngi , baruw mang ndok ganuer marai miang klaong, ganeur miang
line 25: lac mada kru si hu mataw, min malam halei jang hamiiit adaoh Yang , sah
line 26: nan dom di duk sa, di malam nan oh mada ndih daok krak peng tandat, ha
line 27: hamiiit sep adaoh sah nan lua nao dung nan aen tabuen duah rang jam ji saong
line 28: gep, blaoh ba gep nao pa halar panuec kudha saong patao ama, patao ama
line 29: mboh nai nan tuah lagaih mak pa kieng ka sah anak, jieng hadiep
line 30: pasang daok saong gep hu klau pak thun pa thut hu dua urang anuk sa urang lakei angan
line 31: angan Cei Tri anak kamei angan Kuik , di bel nan sah pasang nao truh , Po Nai Pa
line 32: sa aen Ina ama saong, laik tel ba dua urang anak saong mak gahlau ba trun ta
line 33: tathik ndik galac wek pak cek galeng di mboh Ina ama tra bai ruei mang pala tham
line 34: makay wek rai ngap bamong di palei Nday Ang, ngap bamong bhuktik
line 35: Ina ama,, di bol nan Cam daok laka bataok ralo oh thau hala ngap mbeng
line 36: baruw mang Po Nai pataow pakay ngap mbeng anguei, ngap hamu manyim rawi
line 37: bathar mang bathar jang tabiak di Po Nai pataow kajaik 102 thun anak
line 38: anak ngap mbeng mbluak cak ganup mang pa hanyi hajan baol bhap thuk hatai
line 39: buei baiy, baruw mang biai gep pasaoh hayap ikak kalain caik nom krung
line 40: ka anak baol bhuktik di nager Aia Trang, pasang mbai sang di mboh hadiep
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line 41:  O, ndit di tian thau ka hadiep galac wek nager baruw mang mak baol bhap
line 42:  dep di patao ama ndik kandap tuei mbai duah, mbai gep nager Aia Trang jai ka cek
line 43:  talao Po Nai daok, baruw mang Yang ra bang pa tal dom baol tuei thael di bhap
line 44:  oh hadai patih sah nar tran O, baruw mang Po Nai crang rabuk tathaow
line 45:  karam ahaok matai dom ta puel baol jabil nan abih, tel krap
line 46:  gandeng rabuk mboh camaoh karam ahaok batuw praong tamah tagok
line 47:  hu atah akhar Cam di batuw, sak sak Po Mak kara pasaoh
line 48:  hajap Po Nai saong Cei Paseng saong dua urang anak, blaoh Po Sreh mbai
line 49:  daok di hamu januh mak Cam palei yok yang pabhak, di hadom O Ghaw
line 50:  jawek ka yuen tang mbin thui, pabhak Cam ba ni Yuen bhuktik abih
line 51:  mang nager , Po Nai saong dua Urang anak wek pak puer mang rup, luai
line 52:  dom nom mak caik wek ka baol bhuktik min,
line 53:  halei Jat Po Nager rei min.

15. *Dalikal nai candieng*

line 1:  mada hu Ong sa muk tok gep mang dara tel tuh di hu anuk O, baruw
line 2:  mang Ong sa muk ngap dhar phuel di grep tanuh paliah taliat lakau
line 3:  tok hu anuk , baruw mang Po Craok brei ka muk nan ma tian bak
line 4:  harei bak balan ndih di apuei tabiak nder candieng min tangin takai mata
line 5:  Idung tel abih , Ong nan mboh kambar nan karei di lok di urang maluw biai
line 6:  saong muk lac urang pajeng anuk ka rei brei pajeng anuk karei , anuk manuk
line 7:  nait athau lakau, ba nyu nao sarah padhit , muk ndem wek langik craok
line 8:  ka drei sa bar yau thau yau nan, Ong ndem bak glai , Ong nan lac mayah muk damac
oh klak O jei, luai dahlak nao jah cakak blaoh pala mala maliew
blaoh ba ka mbar nao caik di cakak tak nan ka drei trun tagok maong cakak
cakak saong rawang nyu pabik, halei caik nyu di sang dalam halei urang dahlak
maluw lo , muk nan lac haiy mayah Ong ngap habar dahlak jang peng
blaoh ba ka mbar nao caik di caka
k tak nan ka drei trun tagok maong cakak
cakak saong rawang nyu pabik, halei caik nyu di sang dalam halei urang dahlak
min baruw man Ong nan pa-ndep manuis urang nao pak ralong jah apuh pala
mala maliew saong ba nai candieng nao caik tak nan, adac hu klau urang anuk
lakei patao di nager Nao Umar camaoh glai nan hamit sep adaoh
sep nai hari, klau urang hamit sot karot dhuai sep nao
mboh apuh hu sa baoh ma dai tuen blaoh di mboh manuis O, halei nai
candieng nao dep klah drei dalam lak klau urang duah di mboh O, trun nao pak dalam
apuh paik tham makaiy mbeng, sa-ai kacua saong matuh tabha mbeng abih sa
baoh , Cei Taluic mbeng di abih a daok wek matuh baoh , Cei nan main di
tham makay matuh nan, blaoh nao sang jei, nai Candieng tabiak di lak nao
mboh tham makay klau urang paik mbeng , nai Candieng ma maun , mbiah mboh tham makaiy
daok sa bandah tamaow blaoh bhong siam, baruw mang nai candieng mak mbeng
lo dua klau balan matian mbiah hu klau pak balan ndih di apuei nai nan crang sa
baoh ayun Ikak di tong nan aru ka-mbar, harei hadei klau urang nao a-mbal
tama tap apuh nan wek , hamiiit sep kuwar daok hia , jak gep
tama maong , mboh kumbar saong nai Candieng, cei taluic ba tian anit sa uh sa
aen , cei ndem pakra saong nao blaoh pok ka-mbar nan, mbiah ku-mbar nan abih hia ,
duah
rang ai puec jhak ka cei taluic , anuk ka-mlai bhut hagait O blaoh pok , pa
line 30: pa-nder cei adei nao sang, cei taluic anit ka-mbar nan saong nai Candieng lo nao sang di truh

line 31: O, dua urang ai puec jhak pa-nder sa dua nao sang, Cei taluic jang oh nao sang tra, mbiah saong

line 32: dua adei ai dahlak nao sang pa hilar saong patao ama, nyaol dahlak hu nao Umar

line 33: tama sa baoh apuh mboh dalam apuh hu sa urang ka-bluai jin hagait O, hu

line 34: sa urang anuk tra, Cei Taluic dieng tawak tap nan, adei ai dahlak pa-nder

line 35: nyu mai sang blaoh nyu di mai O, nyu ngap pa maluw tasep mak nyu marai pabha

line 36: tai nyu caik, patao ama lac luai tap nan ka, patao ama kieng gaong kleng dom

line 37: anuk maluw blaoh kieng maong, klau urang anuk, anuk halei jang hu hadiep abih

line 38: abih, patao ama ndok klau urang anuk marai lac hu di manung ahar lo urak

line 39: ni klau urang anuk pa-nder hadiep hu ngap ahar ka patao ami mbeng gleng ahar thei bangi

line 40: dua urang ai mboh patao ama sak tia pak pa-nder pa-nder hadiep ngap ahar

line 41: manung Jhi mata di tuk nan, daok rei taluic gam nai gam mbuah kar rah jalan,

line 42: dua urang sa-ai sang jak gheh manuis urang mbiah ngap njep saong tian patao ama

line 43: takru, daok hadiep drei sibar jang oh thau, nao tel apuh wak yawa ndem

line 44: saong hadiep, patao ama ndek grep anuk pa-nder grep matuw ngap a

line 45: ahar ba ka ama mbeng, dua urang daok pak madhir ama ngap brap tap, daok

line 46: nai nyu mak hagait ngap pa hamu tagok pa lo ni ba la mbah patao ama, nai

line 47: Candieng lac Cei huak patrei nao ndih, ahar hagait ka kami ngap malam hu tagok

line 48: pa lo ka Cei ba nao ga-mbah min, Cei nan mboh nai Candieng ndem yau nan aen huak

line 49: blaoh ndih, nai nan krak Cei ndih war nai nan crang jih mata ahar buh di dalam
line 50: ciet bangua, hadah Cei nan madeh tagok tanyi nai nyu ngap ahar
line 51: caik hapak O mboh laic, nai nao tel ciet ahar tabiak peh
line 52: ka Cei nan maong, Cei nan mboh ndit tian hadiep drei ganreh nda-laiy blaoh
line 53: ngap ahar hu yau ni, dua hadiep pasang biai gep ba ahar nao limah
line 54: patao ama, tel tuk harei paguen patao ama sak tabiak
line 55: ndok grep maluw ba ahar la-mah, klau urang maluw ba ahar
line 56: limah klau baoh ciet di andak patao ama, ama mbeng abih mata klau blaoh
line 57: ciet mbeng, mbeng blaoh patao ama manyom ahar nai Candieng ngap gheh
line 58: saong bangi, patao ama mboh nai Candieng thaik dhaok ku rei blaoh jhi mata
line 59: mang nung ahar ku rei bidha di tian min di ndem tabiak O, baruw mang patao
line 60: patao kieng laung gleng di klau urang matuw pa mbeng tra, urak ni patao ama si takru di klau
line 61: nai matuw klau kaya anguei, dua urang ai mbeh patao ama manyaom mang Candieng dalam
line 62: tian hu maluw lac manuis di mboh ganuh O mboh ngap ahar
line 63: gheh hu ka patao si mayaom, urak ni drei waik paik lipan apuh
line 64: Gru waik jik awal ta nyan tabar bangua pa gheh ka patao ama
line 65: manyaom anit,, Cei Taluic mbuah kal saong nai hadiep dua urang ai ka
line 66: buek kalam mbiah yon padai dhrap gap kieng apah urang ngap, drei mak
line 67: hagait ngap, nai Candieng lac Cei juai ka Uk juai caik mbeng gluh hu kadha a
line 68: nguei ka Po ama min, di malam nan nai nan crang tel sa kaya anguei ka maon
line 69: waik ga ta gheh ka rei di urang, tel hadah grep matuw ba kaya tama la
line 70: mah, ama mak cuk dua kaya anguei urang ai di laik saong drei O, kaya anguei
line 71: nai Candieng laik saong drei jan saong maong bangua awa nan ka rei di lok ni
line 72: ndit di tian lac matuw drei ganreh Po Craok brei ka cei Taluic hada
line 73: hu kieng pakrang nager jei, patao ama bhan krot ka dua urang ai mayah ama
line 74: peng dua urang anuk blaoh laksu urang anuk taluic palai pajei hai
line 75: ka o..

16. Dalikal Cei U la Praong

line 1: tap di kal patao Cam praong pabha Po Bia Riya pajieng hu klau urang
line 2: anuk kumei , klau urang jieng dara blom , min di ka hu cia praok
line 3: hapak O, min patao ama ngap ka klau urang klau baoh guw, di harei siam
line 4: klau adei ai jak gep nao racaow, baruw biak di sang nai kacua
line 5: hanaik, lac kau njaoh krah bikal praong, nao sa banrok nai tuh
line 6: tabha hanaik lac njaoh tighuoh, nao bak januk nai taluic hanaik
line 7: hanaik lac njaoh cei Ula praong ai urang ai puec riak ka mang taluic hu ___
line 8: ngap pa tasep ina ama hajieng hu ndok tok cei Ula a jeng
line 9: yau nan, dua urang kau mandei blaoh nao akhan saong patao ama ka hu maong , patao
line 10: lac ndem gham adei nan thau lac biak nao akhan palaik di patao ama
line 11: ama, pa thau dhul palak takai patao ama mada harei ni klau urang dahlak
line 12: nao mandei , dahlak saong matuh tabha hanaik lac tok krah bikal
line 13: praong krah bi kal naih, daok mang taluic tok kacei ula praong , nya
line 14: taluic pa tasep ina ama , patao ama mboh dua urang anuk praong nda
line 15: ndok mang taluic rai krot lac hu kieng ngap pa tasep kau, kau ala rup
line 16: Nabi pakreng Nager brei thei jang ka-nda huec blaoh hu tok Ula adieng, kieng ka___
line 17: hu nao duah tok bi hu Ula praong, hu tok oh hu yau panuac caong O kau mak
line 18: akaok hu, geh ndem patao ama ndok mik Po mang taluic rai lac ba
line 19: mang taluic nao duah tok bi hu Ula praong, miik ramiik ha cuak glai poh lan ligah, nai
line 20: saong kamuen rah jalan tama glai ni tabiak glai poh glai ligah, nai
line 21: taluic mbuah kal, padei ala haluei sa banruk hamiiit sep yawa
line 22: nai rabuk dua miik kamuen thur mak, bak januk mboh mblaow
line 23: akaok dalam glai tabiak sa drei Ula praong, jameng akaok hu careng
line 24: careng, miik cei per ba ngluak yawa klak kamuen bruh kajaoh akaok galac
line 25: galac marai akhan saong patao ai, dahlak ba mang taluic nao deip sa
line 26: drei Ula praong lo Ula nan crih di crih dahlak huec asur mak klak
line 27: mang taluic camao Ula dahlak bruh marai sang jei, daok mang taluic
line 28: daok tel nan saong Ula habar lijang oh thau, daok nai taluic daok tel o
line 29: mada huec, nao taom Ula oh mada huec di hagait, Ula tanyi aey nai
line 30: haleng mbai tao matuei madhar yau nan, nai taluic ndem di naoh di ndam ka kriuk hagait
line 31: hagait pak dalikal abih ka cei ula praong peng, cei Ula lac pak
line 32: pak jei ka cei Ula praong, nai taluic lac yah biak cei, langik pa tel
line 33: dahlak saong cei jei, kahlaom langik pa tel Cei deip dahlak dahlak
line 34: deip cei, Urak ni nao saong dahlak pak madhir bal Riya trun bal patao
line 35: ama, hamiiit di grep nager ra ba gep marai maong, nai taluic saong Cei Ula
line 36: nao tel madhir nai taluic tama kuwa manuis urang rai raok aen di nai taluic
line 37: daok ka cei Ula praong tama pabah galeng di mbiah O, lawang drei mang ka nga wa madhir
line 38: madhir, gep gen hamiiit ba sa marai maong Ula, daok jat patao saong bia
line 39: riya hagit truh oh mada danaiy maong, nai taluic mboh cei Ula
line 40: Praong tama hawa di mbiah O, pa-ndep halun halak ngap sa baoh pasal
line 41: pa haluei Ula , cei Ula lawang drei daok aek lida kajaik truh balan,
line 42: di malam nan tuk urang ndih jua Ula nan tuh lua , caik lua di pasal
line 43: cei nan ndik tagok luwa taom nai taluic luei bangal nai taluic
line 44: madah mboh tanrak ghang plong ka deng tanyi cei daok hapak
line 45: blaoh marai pasang dahlak thau cei matai jei, cei trun bi drah cei ngap yau
line 46: nan di hu o, nai di thau O dahlak ni jeh pasang angan ka cei Ula praong , nai
line 47: taluic pak tapak tian O, pasang dahlak mak Ula habar urak ni jieng
line 48: manuis , cei ula lac dahlak manuis min thaom Ula mang langueiw ngap caik
line 49: ka dunya maong ma-in min, dahlak tabiak di haru daok oh ka nai
line 50: hu O, lian lo, nai taluic nan lac drep ar mbeng anguei dahlak
line 51: anguei di tel O, blaoh cei ndem lac lian , cei marai taom dahlak kriuk ha
line 52: hadiep pasang kajaik dua hlau balan ma ni malam ni mang taom gep cei kieng klak
dahlak
line 53: cei daok tap ni dahlak nao mak ahar manung rai mbeng ndem aiot
line 54: mandot ka saong gep, nai nan mak ahar manung rai bleom, blaoh nai nan __
line 55: t cei brei ka dahlak nao juak glai, aih, sa banrok wek mbai, nai nan trun
line 56: nao cuh thaom Ula nan abih, cei Ula mboh athak ka hlung saong mbuw trun
line 57: nao pak thaom mboh apuei mbeng abih, cei Ula aih aoh lo, nai taluic
line 58: mboh cei nan aia mbaok bi njuai thau ka cei nan ruw rai lua mbiah hadeip
line 59: pasang hia aen aiot manat ba gep tagok guwa mak sa ka get
line 60: habai lidu pamatham ka cei hadiep pasang jamji mbeng daok saong gep ka
line 61: jaik taom thun mbiah nai taluic matian , nai nan pakep halun ta

line 62: po juai pa hamit tabiak langueiw lac cei Ula sreh jieng manuis juai

line 63: di harei nan ai kacua rai gleng thuk mboh cei ula praong sreh jieng manuis blaoh siam lakei

line 64: likei lo ba tian nyep , harei hadei mbai wek mboh cei Ula nao Umbal , ai nan kieng

line 65: duah lagaong ngap ka cei Ula ganaong klak urang taluic caik , baruw mang nao

line 66: tanyi mang taluic, hak adei tok Cei Ula praong nga kaow cei Ula nao hatao blaoh

line 67: tok cei di wek lac, adei tok likei matian yau ni pasang adei ngap

line 68: habar ndem ka ai seng sai ai di ka bhian O , hadiep pasang anit gep blaoh

line 69: matian, nyu anit adei lo hai dakik min, ai biai saong adei yau ni,

line 70: adei tanuk lasei blaoh mak athal aih ka pah saong jaru jaoh jo

line 71: klau jieng pak thraw dalam lisei hiah nyu rai mang Umbal ba ka nyu huec

line 72: blaoh tabeng tian nyu anit, adei lo rei, mayah nyu huak blaoh nyu di huec

line 73: hagait O, nan ka nyu anit, nai taluic tapak tasaiy peng kadha ai ngap

line 74: iniai pasang , min cei Ula thau dahlau pajei, nao Umbal mbai hadiep ngap lisei

line 75: cei Ula jang huak dua klau pabah min oh guen tama O cei Ula klao , nai taluic tanyi

line 76: cei huak hu hagait blaoh klao
### STATISTICS ON VIETNAM:

#### Table 5

Population by Urban/Rural Residence, Sex, Ethnic Group, Socio-Economic Region and Province/City, 1/4/2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mã số</th>
<th>Đất nước và đơn vị hành chính địa phương</th>
<th>Tổng số - Tổng</th>
<th>Thành thị - Urban</th>
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55. NINH THUẬN

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GLOSSARY OF CHAM TERMS

Acar: Minor priest of the Cham Awal, guru and spiritual guide

Adat: Customary law

Ahaok: small boat similar to sampan

Ahaok bariyar: Sea sailing ship

Aia Mu: Ia Mu-salt deposits formed in hot pools

Akayet: Cham version of the Hikayat or written version of the Malay mythology of Kings

Akhar Rik: System of writing used on Cham stone inscriptions

Akhar Thrah: System of writing used for Cham manuscripts

Akiak: Brick used for temples and houses

Amaravati: Northern-central area of Champa now called Quang Nam.

Anak Ra Siam: Cham manuscript titled “The Good Child”

Anak saih: Student of Cham lore

apah kubaw: buffalo herder

Ariya: Genre of manuscripts that are generally recited

Atau: Corpse
Awal Ahier: The two groups of Cham; Cham Awal being the syncretic Muslims and Cham Ahier the syncretic Brahmanists

Bal: Cham term for capital city, fort

Bal Anguei: Binh Dinh or south-central Vietnam

Bal Hanguw: Hue

Balidal: Leprosy

Baoh manuk: Eggs. Literally means “Fruit of the chicken”

Basaih: Lesser Brahmanic priest

Basaih Leah: the novice

Basaih Pvah: the newly consecrated priest

Bhap: Term for the Cham people

Bharrandi: Concubine

Bhum: Land, similar to Bumi

Bimong: Cham temple

Bingu rung: Pleiades Constellation

Binguk yawa: soul

Binuk: Dam
**Bala bisan:** Ivory

**Camenai or Chamenei:** Camenei are ranked below the Basaih priest and responsible for the maintenance of temples and guarding sacred utensils. They are the ones who dress the deities who have offerings in the traditional order.

**Campadesa:** land of Champa

**Campanagara:** kingdom of Champa

**Campapura:** City of Champa

**Canuk:** Caste

**Cei Balaok La-U:** The Coconut king

**Cek:** mountain

**Ciet:** container made of bamboo and used to store sacred items

**Craoh:** Indicates a stream, torrent or cascade. It can also mean to vomit

**Cuh:** To burn

**Dahlaw:** The past

**Dalukal:** Genre of Cham manuscript that contain Cham memories of Cham kings

**Danaok:** Special reserved place for the Cham religious elite

**Dar:** bury

**Dawat:** Ink
Ganreh: Cham term for power of Cham kings

Ganuer Ahaok: Lord of the boat or Captain

Gham: To threaten

Ghur: Grave

Gilang: Warehouse

Ginuer Huer: The astrologer

Gleng kubaw: buffalo herder

Halun: slave but can also be used as an honorific indicating “I” when presenting oneself to the Cham king

Haluw Bilau: Cham soldier/warrior

Hamu: rice field

Hamu chagnerov (canrauv): sacred rice field

Hamu tabun: forbidden field

Harak: letter

Huak padai da-a: religious verses recited before eating rice

Huer: Astrologer

Ilimo Cam: Cham knowledge
**Inagirai:** Cham term for dragon

**Indrapura:** Northernmost area of Champa

**Kadhar:** Official musician and reciter of Cham manuscripts

**Ka-In or ka-ing:** male dancer and among the lesser religious elite in the Cham Ahier hierarchy

**Kajang:** Small hut where ceremonies are performed

**Kalam:** Pen used to write manuscripts

**Kalan:** Cham temple

**Kanhi or kanyi:** A violin which has a turtle shell base used by the Kadhar

**Kareh or Karoh:** Coming-of-age ceremony

**Kitab Elhamdu:** Localized version of the Al-Quran

**Kla Tapuk:** Place where sacred books are kept in Cham houses

**Klak:** To throw

**Klong:** Copper or gold box used to store the ashes of the cremated

**Kraong:** River

**Kut:** Sacred stones representing the spirits of the earth

**Liman:** Elephant

**Madhir:** Palace
**Maduen:** Officiating musician

**Makah:** Cham term for Kelantan

**Malithit:** Area of Southern Champa now called Phan Thiet

**Manyuk:** Oil

**Muk Pajau:** Female shaman who gets possessed by the Cham divinities during ceremonies

**Mukhei:** Cham term for ancestor

**Nager Aia Trang:** Kauthara now called Nha Trang

**Nager Cam:** Term used in the Cham manuscripts to describe the Kingdom of Champa

**Nager Kahaow:** Land of the Kahaow, an ethnic group in the Central Highlands

**Nager Laow:** Cham term for China

**Nager Panduranga:** Land/kingdom of Panduranga

**Nager Yuen:** Vietnam

**Ngaok:** Central Highlands

**Pabah Lamanga:** Port or estuary

**Padhi:** Cremation

**Pahuor Akhar:** Cham manuscript caretaking ceremony

**Pajuak:** Threshing rice
**Pakreng nager:** To build/lead a kingdom

**Palei:** village

**Palihik:** to disappear

**Pamasrai:** to borrow at high rates

**Pa-nder:** To command/order. Usually used by the Cham king

**Panraong Jabuol:** Cham General/ Royal protector

**Panraong Jabuol Hanuk:** General of the right

**Panraong Jabuol Iw:** General of the left.

**Paruei:** Alliance

**Pasaih:** Lesser-ranked syncretic Brahman priest

**Patao:** Chief

**Patao Jek:** Evil king of Vietnam

**Patao Laow:** China

**Patao Yuon:** Vietnamese king

**Pataow:** to teach

**Patau kut:** gravestone

**Patrai:** Prince
**Patri:** Princess

**Phun kraik:** Magical tree that protected Nager Cam

**Po:** lord but also an honorific to refer to elders

**Po Aluah:** Cham term for Allah

**Po Bia:** Queen

**Po Bia Ut:** Vietnamese princess that married Po Rome the Cham king

**Po Dhia:** Head Brahmanic priest

**Po Gahlao:** Lord of Eaglewood

**Po Gru:** Lord teacher, head of the Cham Awal

**Po Nahuer:** Astrologer

**Po Rasolak:** Cham term for the Rasul, messenger of god

**Rabaong:** Canals

**Ralin:** wax

**Rasa njruah:** Deer

**Sakawi:** Dating system used by the Cham

**Sang:** House

**Sang magik:** mosque
**Suan:** breath of life

**Sunuw:** magical spells

**Tabiak nager:** outside the nager

**Tagok rai:** to establish a reign

**Tak akaok:** to behead

**Tak kuyau:** to cut wood

**Talang:** bone

**Talang dhei:** bone of the forehead

**Tamrak:** Amulet

**Tanah hamu:** Rice field

**Tanah tabun:** Waste lands

**Tanyrow:** To plough

**Thaobak:** Corpse

**Thap:** Body or flesh

**Thapsuan:** Soul

**Thiem:** Siam

**Tuei:** To follow
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