

Khik Agama Cam: Caring for Cham Religions in Mainland Southeast Asia, 1651-1969

by

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Summary (100 words):

In this dissertation, I highlight the changing strategies that Cham elite used to care for their religious communities from 1651 to 1969. Since the Cham were a “borderlands people” – originating out of the Indic, Sinic, highland and Arabic pre-colonial civilization of Champā that was then incorporated slowly into the Vietnamese and Cambodian states – these communities were frequently threatened with dispersal, dissolution and destruction. Cham elites therefore responded to these threats, adapting: forms of collective historical memory, adapting and localizing spoken and written languages, re-inventing religious systems, and adopting unifying forms of ethical practice.

Abstract (350 words):

This dissertation is about the strategies that Cham elite used to care for their religious communities from 1651 to 1969. These strategies included attempts to form shared understandings of history, ethics, language, and scripts that moved across the variances and even stark divergences in religious interpretations and practices, dialects, and writing systems among scattered Cham borderlands communities. I employ “borderlands history” as a methodology of inquiry, a setting to engage with the history of Cham literati, their manuscripts and their usage of them. Based on an analysis of the history of the Cham literati, I argue that from the seventeenth century onward, Cham shifted away from supporting royalty to preserve their cultural and ethnic networks, toward the promotion of an elite class of literati. Over the next three centuries, Cham literati practiced three basic methods of “caring” for their religious communities [*khik agama cam*]: 1) religion making; 2) manuscript production; and 3) the advancement of certain shared ethical codes that were intended to protect their communities.

In this dissertation, “religion making” refers to the foundation of new religious communities, the formation of new religions out of existing ones, as well as the reformation of existing religious practices. “Manuscript production” refers to the creation, storage, study and usage of manuscripts, whether historical, religious or legal in nature. New genres of literature appeared throughout this process as “manuscript production” was critical to solidifying authority and performing it, which meant that certain ethical codes were also advanced. The codes themselves varied in influence, ranging all the way from Vietnamese policy to Hindu based codes; from encouraging the adaptation of *shari'ah* law to accepting Khmer royal policy; from French colonial law to creating and advocating categories of “Cham customary law” [*adat cam*]. Each ethical code was by no means mutually exclusive with any other, although local acceptance and rejection of them varied from place to place, as they took shape amidst Cham negotiations with and resistance to Vietnamese, Cambodian and French socio-political spheres.

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Source material for this dissertation was gathered from libraries, archival collections, field experiences and private collections in the United States, Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand in a three-year period between 2011 and 2016. Particular effort was focused upon assessing the relevant collections of the University of Wisconsin-Madison libraries with great assistance from Larry Ashmun and Jill Rosenshield; the Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center, the Center for Khmer Studies Library and the National Archives of Cambodia in Phnom Penh, Cambodia with particular help from Y Dari; the Center for Khmer Studies Research Library in Siem Reap; the General Sciences Library of the University of Social Sciences and Humanities and the National Archives II in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. I collected several thousand pages of extant literature and precious rare manuscripts were collected through partnerships with the Cambodia Center for Cham Studies and the UNESCO Center for Research and Preservation of the Cham Culture, digitalized, catalogued, reorganized and redistributed to both centers. Vietnamese language documents, theses and books not widely circulated outside of Vietnam were also analyzed.

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Publication of research related to this dissertation began relatively early as I quickly discovered that writing summaries of my thoughts, particularly in Vietnamese – allowed the research to reach a much broader audience in the Cham community quite rapidly, producing more rapid corrections regarding my misinterpretations and more meaningful conversations. This also allowed me to develop a deep appreciation for the considerable effort that a handful of academics, mostly writing in Vietnamese, many of whom are Cham themselves, have put into studies of the Cham culture and history. It can truly be said that the accomplishments of Vietnamese academia regarding research on minority communities are generally underappreciated by English language scholarship and this is a field for research where there is room for much improvement and fruitful future collaborations. Finally, I began to disseminate this research to the international academic community through the gracious support of the Center for Khmer Studies, Northern Illinois University Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Temple University's Vietnamese Studies program, University of Social Sciences and Humanities (HCMC), the National University of Singapore, the International Institute of Asian Studies, and the Association of Asian Studies. At each stopping point the ideas, commentaries and suggestions of all professors, colleagues and students were always helpful in taking this

dissertation in new directions that one could not see from the start. Nevertheless, it is almost inevitable that in future stages of the research, there will have to be a return to the roots of local knowledge, to examine the materials ‘outside the archives’ in Cham communities throughout Southeast Asia.

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Abbreviation of Languages in Notes:

In this study, I have tried to study as many of languages as possible along the way. I use standard American Library Association-Library of Congress (ALA-LC) transliteration as much as humanly possible. Regarding Cham language, with the great assistance of many in Southeast Asia and the United States, we developed an ALA-LC standard transliteration for the Eastern and Western variants of the Cham script, which I use throughout the dissertation. The chart is widely available online, so I have not copied it again here.

I have annotated the terms that appear important to include with the following shorthand: Ch.: = Chinese, Hn.: = Hán Nôm, Vn: = Vietnamese written in the romanized script of *quốc ngữ*, J.: = Japanese, S.: = Sanskrit, EC.: = Epigraphic Cham, AR.: = Akhar Rik, AT.: = Akhar Thrah, T.: = Thai, Kh.: = Khmer, M.: = Malay, L.: = Lao, Ar.: = Arabic, Fr.: = French and C.: = Cham.

Abbreviations

Association of Asian Studies	AAS
American Library Association	ALA
Bibliotheque Nationale (France)	BN
Bophana Audio-visual Resource Center	BAVRC
Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient	BEFEO
Cambodia Center for Cham Studies	CCCS
Center for Khmer Studies (Phnom Penh)	CKS (PP)
Center of Khmer Studies (Siem Reap)	CKS (SR)
Central Intelligence Agency	CIA
Centre Histoire et Civilisations de la Penninsule Indochinoise	CHCPI
Cham Cultural Center (Trung Tâm Văn Hóa Chăm)	CCC
Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư	ĐVSKTT
École française d'Extrême-Orient	EFEO
Front unifié pour la Libération des Races opprimées	FULRO
General Sciences Library, University of Social Sciences and Humanities	GSL
Library of Congress	LC
Missions Etrangers	MEP
Société Asiatique	SA
Summer Institute of Linguistics	SIL
Trường Đại Học Xã Hội và Nhân Văn	XHNV
National Archives of Cambodia	NAC
UNESCO-Cham Center for Research and Preservation of the Cham Culture	UNESCO-CHAM
Vietnam National Archives II (Lưu Trữ Quốc Gia Số II)	VNA II

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Introduction:

This dissertation is about the strategies that Cham elite used to care for their religious communities from 1651 to 1969. These strategies included attempts to form shared understandings of history, ethics, language, and scripts that moved across the variances and even stark divergences in religious interpretations and practices, dialects, and writing systems among scattered Cham borderlands communities. I employ “borderlands history” as a methodology of inquiry, a setting to engage with the history of Cham literati, their manuscripts and their usage of them. Based on an analysis of the history of Cham literati, I argue that from the seventeenth century onward, Cham shifted away from supporting royalty to preserve their cultural and ethnic networks, toward the promotion of an elite class of literati. Over the next three centuries, Cham literati practiced three basic methods of “caring” for their religious communities [*khik agama cam*]: 1) religion making; 2) manuscript production; and 3) the advancement of certain shared ethical codes that were intended to protect their communities. In this dissertation, “religion making” refers to the foundation of new religious communities, the formation of new religions out of existing ones, as well as the reformation of existing religious practices. “Manuscript production” refers to the creation, storage, study and usage of manuscripts, whether historical, religious or legal in nature. New genres of literature appeared throughout this process as “manuscript production” was critical to solidifying authority and performing it, which meant that certain ethical codes were also advanced. The codes themselves varied in influence, ranging all the way from Vietnamese policy to Hindu based codes; from encouraging the adaptation of *shari'ah* law to accepting Khmer royal policy; from French-colonial law to creating and advocating categories of “Cham customary law” [*adat cam*]. Each ethical code was by no means

mutually exclusive with any other, although local acceptance and rejection of them varied from place to place, as they took shape amidst Cham negotiations with and resistance to Vietnamese, Cambodian and French socio-political spheres.

I An Introduction to Cham History

Cham history is an academic subject, like “Vietnamese history,” or “American history.” It refers to the multiple histories of the Cham, as well as the histories of peoples who were not necessarily Cham, but had a deep impact on the trajectories of Cham communities. It doesn’t mean that there is only one unified vision of “Cham history,” instead, it considers the pluralities. Cham history begins with the pre-colonial Hindu-Buddhist civilization of Champā and continues through the Cham in diaspora in Cambodia, Canada, Europe, the United States, Australia and Malaysia, although some 100,000 Cham still live in what may be considered the “Cham homeland” in Ninh Thuận, Bình Thuận and Biên Hòa provinces in Vietnam. Hence Cham history could be viewed as an interwoven shrubbery with many brances: as not necessarily a singular narrative, with the narratives of various communities branching out from certain points where there were occasionally common origins. Even Champā itself was not singular, but composed of five *nagarā* kingdoms that stretched from present day Mũi Kê Ga to present day Hà Tĩnh and into the hinterlands of the Annamite Chain: Indrapura, Amarāvatī, Vijaya, Kauṭhāra and Pāñḍuraṅga. The religious communities of the Cham that emerge out of Champā are quite diverse, ranging from animist and ancestor worshipping Cham (C.: *Cam¹ Jat*), to Hindu

¹ In this dissertation, any word that appears in the form “Cham” is the English language ethno-linguistic term. The Romanization *Cam* or *Cam* is used about Cham language source material, or in reference to Cham language

influenced Cham, to Cham Muslims. The 400,000 to 500,000 Cham that live in Cambodia are all Muslim, although they are divided among four major groups based upon their understanding of Islamic jurisprudence: the *Kaum Imam San*; the *Šāfi’ī Sunnī*; *Hanafī Sunnī* and *Hanbalī Sunnī*. The Cham in Vietnam number approximately 167,000² and are split between four religious groups: *Cham Islam* (mostly *Šāfi’ī Sunnī* and some others); *Cham Bani* (a coherent community of people who practice a blend of ancestor veneration, as well as Muslim and Hindu influenced traditions, governed by Bani clerics); *Ahiér* (Śaivite-Hindu influenced Cham, who additionally practice ancestor worship); and, *Cham Jat* (communities that practice “pure” ancestor veneration blended with animist traditions). What follows is an introductory account of Cham history.

The most powerful Cham military leader of the pre-colonial civilization of Champā was Raja di Raja Cei Bângâ [r. 1369 – d. 1390]. His claim to the title “most-powerful Champā leader” is based upon the evidence that he was the only Cham “king of kings” - or “emperor” - to unite the forces of Champā against the Vietnamese in such a successful campaign that he even burned the Vietnamese capital at Tăng Long multiple times. However, Raja di Raja Cei Bângâ was killed by his own guard and there was a return of Vietnamese power under the Lê dynasty. The Vietnamese emperor Lê Thành Tông ordered a decisive campaign to defeat the central Champā kingdom, Vijaya, in 1471, which caused the first major exodus of Cham to Cambodia. Relative peace was maintained for the next century, until, under the expansion of the Nguyễn Vietnamese lords, the south-central Champā kingdom, Kauthāra, was annexed in 1611 (Phú

documents. Cham language in this dissertation is Romanized in conjunction with the current Library of Congress (LOC) standard.

² Roughly 60,000 live outside the “Cham homeland” of Ninh Thuận, Bình Thuận and Biên Hòa provinces, predominantly in Châu Đốc and Tây Ninh provinces, as well as in the urban area of Ho Chi Minh City, although there are individuals and families that live throughout Vietnam.

Yên)³ and 1651-1653 (Khánh Hòa).⁴ The Vietnamese annexation of Kauthāra occurred at the end of the reign of a crucial leader: Ppo Romé [r. 1627 – 1651]. Although he was ethnic Churu, Ppo Romé was very important because he united Hindu and Muslim Cham communities after one century of internal strife in the southernmost Champā kingdom, Pāñdurāga, which became the most important Champā kingdom, as it was the last to hold out against Vietnamese conquest. New ideas about the Cham calendar, Cham religions, and Cham ethical codes all date to Ppo Romé's reign according to many local Cham historians in Vietnam. He formed marriage alliances: he married a Cham Bani Muslim woman (daughter of the previous king Ppo Mâha Taha), an Ede woman, and a woman from Kelantan. He also journeyed to the Cham community at Kampong Cham, in present-day Cambodia. Ppo Romé's Churu-Malay lineage became known as the *Ppo Gihlau* in Cham and members of this lineage occasionally returned to the mainland to have great impact. However, when Ppo Romé took a Vietnamese wife, Bia Ut, from the house of Nguyễn, his position was weakened, and he was defeated.⁵

After Ppo Romé's defeat, other members of his lineage took the throne, first his brother and then his son. Meanwhile, Nguyễn Vietnamese expansion continued. In 1653, the Nguyễn managed to complete their annexation of the southern portion of Kauthāra, which they renamed Khánh Hòa. Simultaneously, the Cham and Malay communities in Cambodia grew closer together. The conversion of the Cambodian King Ibrahim I [r. 1642 – 1658] to Islam after he took a Cham-Malay wife was a critical factor in the increased position of Cham there. Nguyễn intervention, at the behest of Bia Ut's sister, who had been married to a previous Cambodian king, brought an end to Ibrahim's reign and the Cham lost position in the Cambodian capital.

³ C.: Aia Ru

⁴ C.: Aia Trang

⁵ For more details on this history, see chapter one.

Nevertheless, a strong community in Kampong Cham remained. During Ppo Thop's reign [r. 1660 – 1692], many cross-court connections were maintained, while new connections were established. Ppo Thop visited Cambodia and brothers of his were in the court at Ayutthaya. Malay-Muslim scribes were present in both Ppo Romé's and Ppo Thop's courts in Pāñduraṅga and Malay-Muslim teachers⁶ increased their influence on the Cham leaders throughout the seventeenth century. A decisive Nguyẽn campaign took control of the Pāñduraṅga capital of Phan Rang in 1692-3 and a major exodus of the Champā court and Cham elites, including 5,000 members of the Cham royalty, again fled to Cambodia. They formed the Cham community at Oudong and surrounding areas, although some went to join existing Cham communities in Kampong Cham.

Contemporaneous with the decline of Cham royal power, particularly between 1651 and 1653, but more broadly between 1471 and 1835, Cham literati increasingly took the position of culturally authoritative figures. In Hindu Cham communities, they would become the priests of the community, centralized under the authority of the senior priest: the *Ppo Basaih*. In Cham Bani communities, they would become centralized under the authority of the senior cleric: the *Ppo Gru*, with subordinate Imam, Katip and Acar. As Bani communities Islamicized, and the community in Cambodia was distinctly Muslim, communal authority was under the senior Imam of each locale where Ppo Gru were not present. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *Katip* also became more important figures along with Malay *Tuan*. While *Tuan* were predominantly teachers and court literati figures, the *Katip* held the traditional position of the reciters of the Qur'an in Muslim communities. Hence, they were most often younger, well educated, and more likely to be rebellious than the Imam or Ppo Gru. Many *Tuan* and *Katip* specifically objected to

⁶ M.: *Tuan*

the expansion of Nguyễn power. *Ppo Gihlau* Tuan Phaow [18th c.; birth and death unknown], for example, was a “Malay” *Tuan* from the lineage of Ppo Romé in Kelantan, who travelled through Kampong Cham and raised an army against Vietnamese forces and attacked them from Pāñduraṅga during the Tây Sơn rebellion [1770 – 1802]. However, the Nguyễn repressed this movement, and under the further expansion of the house of Nguyễn into a dynasty, after Gia Long’s reign [r. 1802 – 1820], more repressive policies followed during the reign of Minh Mệnh [r. 1820 – 1841]. Katip Sumat [18th-19th c. est.; birth and death unknown] was a Cham Muslim from Cambodia who revolted against Minh Mệnh’s occupation and his revolt was followed by a second, led by a Cham Bani from Palei Rem: Katip Ja Thak Wa. While these political events put much pressure upon Cham literati, a new genre of Cham literature emerged: the *ariya*.⁷ *Ariya Tuen Phaow, Ariya Bini Cam, Ariya Ppo Phauk* and *Ariya Cam Bini*, among others, are all critical literary sources that describe Cham visions of the last years of Pāñduraṅga.

Early nineteenth century Nguyễn policies put pressures upon the Cham literati of Pāñduraṅga that prevented them from visiting their shrines, temples and mosques. Many Cham again fled to Cambodia: to Kampong Cham and Oudong, as well as to Tây Ninh and An Giang.⁸ In nineteenth Cambodia, although the great majority of the Cham were already Muslim, clerics still produced uniquely Cham genres of literature, including but not limited to: *Yal Baranu* (like the *ariya*) and *Git* commentaries upon the Qur’ān. *Git* were also prayer manuals, and sometimes only contained reminders of what prayers to say in what events. In Cham Bani communities, the clerics working under Ppo Gru continued to produce similar works, known as *tapuk* from the

⁷ Like the Thai *nirat*, Persian *ghazal* or Arabic *qasīdah*, the Cham *ariya* are frequently “separated lover” poems in their root form. Examples of similar *hikayat* from the Malay world include *Putera Rantau* or *Hikayat Malin Daman dan Puteri Bungsu*, with thanks to Dr. Anna Gade for this comment.

⁸ The Cham community in Châu Đốc has members who have claimed that they date their arrival in the area to well before 1700, as per fieldwork from 2012 – 2014.

nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. Also, in Cambodia, the Cham became increasingly divided between two areas: Oudong and Kampong Cham. The Cham of Oudong were further distinguished when a leading ascetic Imam, Imam San, offered advice to King Ang Duong [r. 1841 – 1860]. He was granted land for a mosque on Phnom Oudong and from this point onward, his lineage, the *Kaum Imam San* became a distinct group in Cambodia that upheld the symbolic importance of Champā royalty as historical figures, and has generally shown more acceptance of certain popular rituals, such as spirit possession.⁹ Although the veneration of the grave of Kaum Imam San is most commonly interpreted as an influence from Sufī practice, the veneration of graves of other famous Imam was more widespread than most sources claim. It continued in many Cham Muslim communities, including in those in the Mekong Delta, well into the 1940s.

The rise of French power in Vietnam and Cambodia began as early as the seventeenth century mission of Alexander de Rhodes, although it was not a decisive military and political conquest until the 1858 attack on Đà Nẵng, the 1859 attack on Saigon and the 1863 ceding of Cambodia to French authority. In Cambodia, new French administrators were confronted with an existing indigenous class of courtly administrators and royal representatives, called Oknha and Preah Balat. Often, the Oknha and Preah Balat were Cham Muslims. The Cham Muslim Oknha (who were mostly *hākim* and *imam*) and Preah Balat (who were mostly *hākim*, *imam* and *khatīb*)¹⁰ were integral figures who acted as interlocutors for French and Cambodian power.

⁹ “Cham Sot,” has been another term used to refer to the Kaum Imam San. There term is derived from a Khmer pronunciation of the Sanskrit term “Jata” and has been critiqued by the Cham in Cambodia as pejorative. Therefore, I avoid using the term. See also: Alberto Pérez-Pereiro (2012). We have evidence that *veneration* of “the Cham court” was maintained in twentieth century rituals among the Kaum Imam San, and royal lineages that suggest the royalty were still present through the end of the nineteenth century, but scant evidence for the period in question that they had much power in Cham communities. Instead we have much more evidence for the importance of the literati: Imam San himself, for example, and the “Oknha Ginuer” that succeeded him, along with Preah Balat and Malay Tuan.

¹⁰ Ar.: *hākim* – means “ruler,” “governor” or “judge.” They are the senior Muslim clerics of Cham Muslim provincial communities. The only rank higher than a *hākim* is the *mufti*, the most senior cleric in each country. *Khatīb* by

They also were figures who interpreted Islam through a Malay-Muslim lens. Increasingly they travelled to Malaysia to study. Rapidly, however, the French seized upon the idea that the Cham were the rightful descendants of the Champā civilization and research on Champā expanded. Etienne Aymonier [b. 1844 – d. 1929] is the prime example of a French official who was deeply invested in the Cham communities in Annam, Cochinchina and Cambodia and strongly promoted research on Champā and the Cham as a founding member of the École Français d'Extrême Orient. His son, who was himself half-Cham, named Bô Thuận, became a leading research partner of Paul Mus and the head of the EFEO's project on Cham literature. In Bô Thuận's collection there was a distinct trend of the localization of Islam present in Cham manuscripts, a trend that can be found in the Cham Bani manuscripts that are held in Paris, France and found through readings of the *Git* of the Kaum Imam San that date from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. Although there was a divergence between the Kaum Imam San community in Cambodia and the Cham Bani (in Annam, now Vietnam), certain commonalities regarding basic Islamic concepts were retained.

In Cambodia, a critical feature in the transformation of the Cham Muslim clerics was their increased contact with Malay and Khmer culture. While Pānduraṅga communities were more and more cut off from the Malay sphere from the end of the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, Malays were more populous in Cambodia, particularly after the expansion of Siam into the Malay peninsula in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The *Oknha Reachea Thippedy*¹¹ *Montri Chrouy Changvar*, hereafter “Senior Cleric,” was the highest ranked

contrast were “readers.” They were educated elite who were training to be Imam, but had not yet been promoted to the position of giving independent lectures. Their primary duties were to recite prayers at all forms of social events.

¹¹ *Thippedy* is a French transcription of a Khmer/Cham title. It appears to be related to the title “(A)dhipati,” meaning “ruler,” derived from Sanskrit and applied broadly in South Asian, Tibetan, and Southeast Asian contexts.

expounder of *shari'ah* among Muslim communities in Cambodia from Ang Duong's reign onward. He was a subordinate of the Khmer royalty, although intellectually the Senior Cleric was looking toward Mecca, via the Malay peninsula. His subordinate board of Imam (who were also Oknha) were Cham or Malay Muslims who had progressively spent significant periods of time studying in Malaysia. By the early 1920s, to be an Imam and an Oknha meant that the majority of these individuals had also been on *hajj*. French authorities attempted to centralize surveillance on Cham and Malay Muslims by requiring mosques to be officially registered, and for Arabic and Malay language teachers to be officially certified.¹² As Islam was institutionalized the authority of the Senior Cleric was recognized in Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc, as well as by the senior Oknha Ginuer of the Kaum Imam San. At the same time, there was also a general wariness of Malay influence on the Cham, likely because of the fear of the anti-colonial sentiment that reformist and modernist strains of Muslim thought brought with them. Nevertheless, as colonial power waned, the Kaum Muda (modernists and reformists) became more prominent in Cambodia.

Although Norodom Sihanouk tried to nationalize the practitioners of Islam in Cambodia with the title “Khmer Islam” under his nationalization platform in the 1950s and 1960s, many Cham objected to this idea. The tendency was for the more reformist and modernist minded individuals to specifically object to the idea of being referred to as “Khmer.” The “Cham Islam” movement, which emphasized “Cham” as an ethnic identity associated particularly with being “Muslim” gained prominence.¹³ Cham Islam community members returned to Vietnam in the

¹² This colonial policy was not unique to the Cham. Similar policies were put in place to officiate monastic travel, education and the registration of monasteries.

¹³ The paradox is: one would think that the population that put a greater emphasis on Islamic identity would reject the idea of ethnic difference.

1960s. Imam Omar Ali, of Châu Đốc, who had been subordinate to the authority of the Senior Cleric, took additional advantage of the potential for new recognition of Cham Islam in Vietnam and became the Republic of Vietnam's first and only Mufti in 1961. Mufti Hj. Omar Ali then embarked on a campaign to reform the Cham Bani and build up Cham Islam in Vietnam. In Cambodia, Hj. Les Kosem gained prominence among the leadership of the Cambodian military from the 1950s through the 1960s. He would therefore become an advocate of identifying as "Khmer Islam" in the appropriate context, and "Cham Islam" in communal discourse. Some Bani even "converted" to Cham Islam specifically to join Les Kosem's Cham Muslim battalion. Les Kosem's leadership was an integral part to the Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimé (FULRO) movement. Before 1975, FULRO advocated for increased sovereignty among both upland and lowland minorities. However, after 1975, when the Khmer Rouge increased targets on the Cham in the Eastern Zone, and Vietnam was "reunited," Cham leadership left the FULRO movement. From that period onward, Islam was viewed as a distinctly lowland cultural phenomenon, while uplanders, such as the Jarai, were viewed as inherently non-Muslim.

The period of the height of the Democratic Kampuchea regime [1975 – 1979] was one of the darkest of Cham history. An estimated 25% of Cham died because of a combination of genocidal policies, which targeted specifically for their practice of Islam, use of the Cham language, and identity as ethnic Cham; and other factors, such as starvation, malnutrition, and illness, which were also major causes of death during the four-year period. An estimated 75% of Cham clerics died. Hundreds to thousands fled, and civil war continued in Cambodia even after the Vietnamese intervention in 1979.

Cham communities in both Vietnam and Cambodia experienced desperate poverty through the 1980s and the 1990s. After the Paris Peace Accords were signed in 1991,¹⁴ a religious revival brought new distinctions between the Kaum Imam San, as well as Šāfi’ī, Hanafi and Hanbali schools of Islamic jurisprudence. In Vietnam, after the “doors opened” under policies enacted in the mid-1990s,¹⁵ Cham communities began a cultural revival that was fueled by liberalized governmental policies and increased economic activity. However, this time, the revival was led not by traditional literati but by a new class of Cham young communal leaders.

Under the pressures of the 1960s, a transformation had occurred: secular communal organizations that were introduced to promote “being Cham” as an ethnic identity, but not necessarily a religious one, had begun to gain prominence as early as in 1969. More recently secular organizations have found their way into Cham communities in Cambodia as well. At present, there is a perceived tension in Cham communities between state authority, interlocutors who work closely with the state and are also considered keepers of “cultural authority,” and individuals who represent little claim on having cultural authority other than their lineage, ethnicity or language skills. To help explain the origins of this tension, in this dissertation, I intend to focus on the history of these interlocutors: Cham literati. Who were they? What did they produce? And how did they use their positions to care for Cham communities from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries?

¹⁴ Various dates are used for the “establishment of peace” in Cambodia from various perspectives. The Paris Peace Accords were signed in 1991. UNTAC a joint peace-keeping government was established in 1992. The first elections were held in 1993. It was popular in Cham communities to site the elections or peace accords as the date for when peace was established. There was, however, a military coup in 1997, and continued fighting between remnant Khmer Rouge forces in the west, the CPP and FUNCIPEC. So, sometimes the dates 1997 or 1998 are used as well.

¹⁵ This period is often associated with “Đổi mới” renovations, which began in the 1980s. The “open door” period, however, is most often referred to with the Vietnamese phrase “Mở cửa.”

II Significance:

In Southeast Asian history,¹⁶ the classical civilization of Champā is commonly viewed as a once great culture, virtually erased since its pre-colonial demise. However, the “peoples of Champā” continue to populate much of Cambodia and Vietnam. They have since migrated to other states in Southeast Asia and across the globe. Many have tried to keep Champā “alive” through various means. The memory of Champā – once great and long ago conquered – therefore tends to inspire a desire to reconnect the past with the present. This desire has been shared by scholars of Vietnamese, Cambodian, French, Japanese and Cham heritage. This desire has inspired recent attempts to support cultural revivals by Cham and non-Cham individuals alike. Yet, few have looked toward the history of Cham intellectuals to examine the strategies of preservation that they took, and used successfully, to transform their own culture, while simultaneously maintaining it, throughout the epochs. Their aim was often simple: to care for their religious communities, an aim that often had political implications.

When research began on this dissertation my central research question was: *How was Cham culture preserved despite centuries of hardship?* For Cham elites in Southeast Asia, religion was a means to preserve the culture of their communities. They developed strategies to centralize authority among the literati to support this aim. Writing preserved memory and memory preserved practice. Over time, “Cham History” emerged as a category that justified priestly and clerical conceptions of the order of practice. “History” helped to explain who or

¹⁶ The term Southeast Asia originated in the context of World War II and the early years of the Cold War. In this dissertation, I will often use the terms “mainland Southeast Asia,” or “Southeast Asia” or even “Southeast Asian,” to refer to the entirety of the present-day region during moments of the pre-colonial period, as is customary for historians of the region.

what should be worshipped and why. In certain contexts, even the script in which the Cham language was written became venerated. It was not uncommon during my research period to hear contemporary Cham scholars, priests and clerics exclaim that the Cham have *the longest history of writing in present-day Southeast Asia*. This claim itself was likely created in conversation with readings of the works of Orientalist scholars such as Etienne Aymonier, Louis Finot, Georges Maspero, and Paul Mus – as the members of the EFEO were quite concerned with the deep roots of the Cham in the Hindu-Buddhist Champā civilization.

Because of their interest in Hindu-Buddhist Champā, early EFEO publications were predominantly about Champā as an “ancient civilization” – followed by a smaller body of work about the modern Cham population. The emergence of Cham culture out of Champā was explained by only two factors: Champā’s decline and Vietnamese conquest. The resulting narrative failed to delineate the significant continuities and ruptures between the Hindu-Buddhist “Champā civilization” [2nd to 19th c.], Hindu-Muslim and upland “Pāñduraṅga culture” [17th – 19th c.], and predominantly Muslim “Cham culture” [17th c. – Present]. With greater attention to the early-modern period and the later climate in which Orientalist scholars composed their works, I aim to delineate these continuities and ruptures, to track how the ethno-linguistically diverse Hindu-Buddhist civilization (Champā) morphed into one of the more religiously diverse, singular ethno-linguistic groups in Southeast Asia (the Cham).

Existing scholarly studies of the Cham in Southeast Asia have relied primarily upon a model of enriched ethnography, combined with dynastic histories and oral histories to create “ethno-histories.” Ethnohistories can offer significant contributions to cultural studies. For example, Gerald Cannon Hickey’s (1982a; 1982b) and Oscar Salemink’s (2003) ethno-histories brought attention to the history of minorities of the central highlands of Vietnam, particularly

through written analysis of oral histories, historicized anthropological records, and archival materials that were not previously available in English.¹⁷ Together they provided thick descriptions of the culture, language and history of the Austronesian and Austroasiatic “peoples of Champā,” demonstrating substantial social changes that took place during the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said for many studies of Cham history. Many leave out the period of the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries all together and fall victim to the trap that Richard White (1991) terms “upstreaming in history” or taking the contemporary ethnographic portrayal of a group that is then read retrospectively into the past, erasing significant cultural changes that occurred. If a scholar falls victim to this trap, ethno-linguistic categories can become stagnant and ethno-history becomes akin to “nationalist history” – ethnologizing the past the same way that nationalist history nationalizes the past. In both accounts distortions manifest through rigid portrayals of spatiality, customary law and religious practices.

In the case of the Cham, ethno-history led to the impression that the dominant ethnic identity of the classical civilization of Champā was Cham, because Cham language can be found in the earliest inscriptions. In reality, there is scant evidence that “Cham” as an ethnic category existed before the early modern period.¹⁸ Furthermore, in order to be part of an ethno-history of a

¹⁷ That said, Salemink did have his own strong critique of Hickey’s opus, that the *Ethnohistory* was an uncritical treatment of source material in volume one, and identified too strongly with the positions of ethno-nationalist leadership and ideas in volume two. See: Salemink (2003: 5). To be mindful of Salemink’s critiques, there is a critical position taken on ethnonationalist leadership in chapter five, while a critical reading of source material is very much the approach taken for the entire dissertation. For a detailed explanation of the method of reading source material, see the section on “Sources & Methods of Writing Cham History.”

¹⁸ Griffiths (2012) has claimed that unpublished Champā inscriptions c. 140 and c. 213 [no dates available] use some variant of the phrase *urang Cam*. Griffiths is right to criticize the claim that Cham ethnicity was a French creation, but manuscripts may only be used to give evidence that the Cham used the term *urang Cam* in the early modern and modern epochs. Pending confirmation and publication of these inscriptions, we may have to face a revision of the concepts of the “Cham people,” although, at present, the term appears to be early modern in popularization.

given group, an individual does not have to be a member of that group. For example, as will be detailed in chapter one, because Champā society was poly-ethnic, poly-religious and quite linguistically diverse – individuals who were not ethnically “Cham” could readily become part of the multiplicity of narratives of “Cham history.” Unfortunately, the simplistic link between Champā and the Cham has had a deep long-term impact that limited scholarly studies to “the Cham of Vietnam” and “the Cham of Cambodia,” with a handful of studies of “the Cham of Malaysia” or “the Cham of Thailand.”¹⁹ Meanwhile, historical and contemporary Cham communities were in constant flux – spread predominantly across the borderlands of the emerging states of Vietnam and Cambodia, but also along connected nodes around what is now the greater Gulf of Thailand zone – speaking a mixture of languages that included Vietnamese, Khmer, French, English, Arabic, Malay or Thai. They were located at the literal borderlands of Southeast Asia, at linguistic borderlands, and at religious borderlands; as well as in functionally cosmopolitan spaces that also shared certain social conditions with borderlands.

Despite the overwhelming evidence supporting claims that there is no particular “Cham religion” – the phrase “Cham religion” (C.: *Agama Cam*) has been used by scholars, and non-scholars alike, as a synonym during historical and contemporary periods for the form of Śaivite-Hinduism that seems to have dominated the Champā religion. This “Champā religion” is examined in greater detail in chapter one. Without irony, the phrase “Cham religion,” has also been used in historical and contemporary periods as a synonym for “Islam.” “Cham religion” as a synonym for Islam has been particularly historically popular in Cambodian society, as we shall see in chapters four and five. Chapters two through five bridge the gap between these two ends

¹⁹ That said, not all countries recognize the Cham. In a recently released list of recognized minorities in Thailand, the Cham, who have been present in the country since at least the early modern period, were not listed (Draper 2016).

of the spectrum. They demonstrate the dynamism of the taxonomies of Cham religions and how the contemporary taxonomies that have emerged from the works of Cham literati themselves. They also demonstrate how these taxonomies were, occasionally, either accepted or rejected by Cham communities at large. Chapter one shows the emergence of new religious communities around the time of Ppo Romé [r. 1627 – 1651]. Chapter two contains portrayals of the view of history from one of these religions: *Cam Ahiér*,²⁰ their worship of “the goddess,” and more broadly considers the mythos, practices and centers of Cham religions. Chapter three then delineates the emergence of new classes of Cham literati during the late nineteenth century, and the genres of religious literature that they produced. Chapters four and five demonstrate the creolization of knowledge in the fields of Cham religions, the institutionalization of Cham Islam, and the emergence of secular-state Cham organizations. Drawn together these analyses demonstrate how Cham religion became associated with particular forms of indigenous practices, especially with a heavy emphasis on study of script and manuscripts, ancestor veneration, deification of historical figures and eventually, institutionalization. These indigenous practices are characteristics of “Cham religion,” when taken as a whole. Yet, when they are misinterpreted, they explain how “Cham religion” has become erroneously viewed as simply either “Hindu” or “Muslim.” Other common erroneous views include those of a “Hindu past” and a “Muslim present,” as well as conceptions of “endogenous Hinduism” and “exogenous Islam.”

Whether a contemporary individual identifies as Muslim or not, places emphasis on ancestor veneration or otherwise, it is safe to say that the taxonomies of Cham religious practice were not always a stark contrast between the endogenous forces on the one hand and exogenous

²⁰ Śaivite-Hindu influenced Cham

calls to conversion on the other. Interaction with Vietnamese, Khmer, Malay and even French spheres of influence shaped categories of religious practitioners, including how varieties of Muslims were categorized during different epochs, from the early-modern, to the colonial and post-colonial periods of Southeast Asian history. During each period, Cham religious elites were at the nexus of cultural interchange. Therefore, writing about the “history of Cham religious elites” can become a focused lens that illuminates global historical narratives of the early-modern period, the long-nineteenth century, colonialism, Islam in Southeast Asia and the Vietnam War(s). Studying these histories helps to trouble nationalist or otherwise “national” histories.

Historians of Southeast Asia, at large, have been struggling to correct narratives of “national histories” for generations, while also maintaining the vision of Southeast Asia as not simply “another India or China” but intrinsically its own place. For Anthony Reid (1988: 1) Southeast Asia was a unique region because “few other major areas of the world had been so spectacularly demarcated by nature...” For Kenneth Hall (2011: 1) pre-modern Southeast Asia was a “critical connection between East and West.” For Victor Lieberman (2003, 2009) it was the “strange parallels” of state development that made mainland Southeast Asia a better comparison to Europe in the discussion of the emergence of the “modern state” than many other regions in the world. In James Scott’s (2009) interpretation of Van Schendel’s (2002) attempt to break free of region, Scott seems to argue in favor of a unified uplands of mainland Southeast Asia, although he adapts Van Schendel’s position that unity is expressed through diversity.²¹ For

²¹ The phrase “unity through diversity” is also used as justification for the study of the region as a whole in Steinberg (1987: ix) and is taken from the motto of the Republic of Indonesia. It may have been first adapted to reference the study of Southeast Asia by Lê Thành Khôi in his 1959 *L’Histoire de L’Asie Sud-Est* (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 3).

Van Schendel, the call to study Zomia was a call to focus on the narratives of those who were left out of most historical accounts (Van Schendel 2002: 653), such as the Cham.

At the nexus of Southeast Asian history, if the Cham were indeed one of many powerful groups in Champā, they were at the critical connection between East and West for Kenneth Hall (2010), especially a trading boom when the central port of the Kingdom of Vijaya was one of three critical ports for the Ming dynasty's relations with Southeast Asia.²² For scholars attune to the arguments of Anthony Reid, Cham communities spread from the driest provinces of Vietnam, where sand dunes are a common geographical feature – to the marshy riversides of Châu Đốc and Kampong Cham – and onward to Battambang, the rice basket of Cambodia. These locations are significant because their economies likely shifted with the environmental changes that he posits in his seminal works on early modern Southeast Asian history (Reid 1988, 1993). For Victor Lieberman (2003), they became the number one case that falls victim to the expansion of one of his three pre-colonial mainland state-consolidation projects. Yet, when a historian such as Hall, Reid or Lieberman, places “the conquest of Champā” – be it 1471, 1653, 1692 or 1832 – at the center of the narrative, the rest of Cham communities, who stayed by the edges of the dunes, who continued trading in the marshlands of Châu Đốc and the riversides of Kampong Cham, who built mosques and, eventually, madrasahs from Battambang through Kandal to Ho Chi Minh, get lost. These Cham who remained in place “after Champā” get a second-class historical treatment and the importance of individuals such as Ppo Romé, Ppo Cei Brei, Hôp Ai, Bô Thuận and Mufti Omar Ali are forgotten. In the few historical narratives in which they are remembered, the development of Cham religions is credited to the external forces of Hinduism,

²² The other two critical Southeast Asian ports for the Ming were: The Sultanate of Malaka and Po – Ni (Brunei). To give a popular example of Vijaya's critical importance: all of Zheng He's missions seem to have stopped at Vijaya as their first port of call outside of China.

Islam, and colonialism – rather than Cham communities and individuals themselves. Therefore, I am interested in how studying these individuals may place a new emphasis on “history as relationships,” in a fashion that draws inspiration from Robert Orsi and Jean Paul Sartre (see: Orsi 2005: 2). By shifting the scalar emphasis away from “the state” and toward “the individual,” the lives and roles of ethnic minorities and marginalized peoples become more apparent. Through an examination of the biographies of individuals, we will find that they are always at the nexus of a web of relationships, tied together by silken strands of varying thickness.

Since history is constructed through a series of relationships, interactions operating at multiple scales enliven individuals, villages, provinces, mosque-communities and temple structures in the historical narrative. This approach creates a more accurate understanding of Cham history. “State”-like actors, such as the ubiquitous “Nguyễn Vietnamese,” “French Colonial Government,” and “Khmer Royalty” are still important, but individuals also reassert their agency through constant redefinition of scholarly practices, scripts, languages and religious practices. The approach of highlighting networks of relationships demonstrates the limitations between intentionally static images created by nationalist accents and underscores the dynamism of religious practices and belief structures. Hence, by drawing inspiration from Orsi and Sartre, among others, I hope to construct a more nuanced, and hence, accurate, as well as just, portrayal of Cham religious elites from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, highlighting the strategies that they selected to care for their religious communities and attempt to preserve them. I argue that their central strategies for three centuries were predominantly focused upon: religion making, the production of scripts and manuscripts, and the creation of unifying ethical stances.

Religion making for the Cham literati included the adaptation of scripts as symbols systems that were mobilized for assertions of cultural authority, as well as the formation of new

religious communities, and the reformation of religious communities. New religious communities were founded by Cham literati after each migration. Kampong Cham, Oudong and Battambang were critical centers for new religious communities that were founded in Cambodia from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. In the case of the Cham community in Vietnam: when the Nguyễn dynasty forced the Cham to move inland and cut them off from the coast between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, new local religious communities were formed as well. Additionally, communities were reformed with new influences from sojourning Malay teachers, as well as French colonials, who settled within and nearby them. Certain French colonials became quite influential in the reformation of ideas about history and ideas about the usage and care for manuscripts. Malays were also influential in these areas, although they may have been less directly influential in shaping Cham visions of history at first glance, by reforming Islamic practice, and encouraging Cham to become “better Muslims” Malay teachers were also, in their way, shaping a Cham view of history that increasingly needed to accept and find a role for Islam.

The production of manuscripts that I refer to as a strategy of Cham literati involved mostly the process of copying and recopying centuries-old manuscripts. In a tradition that continues to the present, Cham literati have learned how to read religious manuscripts by copying them by hand. Once a higher level of literacy is reached, the manuscripts are copied by hand and authorial flares, along with additional commentary may be added. Finally, once an individual scholar has become truly fluent in reading Cham manuscripts, they may be able to author and to create new manuscripts. Each of these levels of literacy is encompassed by the term “manuscript production,” when I use it throughout this work. Furthermore, through the process of “production,” I also explicitly highlight a process of *caring* for individual

manuscripts. In this case, *caring* for a manuscript includes proper preservation, along with storage, use, re-use, and re-copying of the manuscript for future use. Throughout the process of producing and caring for manuscripts, there was a need to develop fresh material for the literati class to preserve their hold on the production of knowledge. The development and adaptation of new scripts, both Arabic and Indic based, assisted in this process, as did the development and adaptation of new genres of literature. Some of the genres of literature may have been influenced by Arabic, Malay, or Indic precedents, while Cham literati added accents that gave them a distinct local flavor in all cases. The culmination of the production of manuscripts, new genres of literature, and the adaptation of new scripts meant that the key to understanding the special knowledge of manuscript culture was kept in the hands of the literati. In other words, the literati maintained a monopoly upon the production of knowledge. As the Cham literati held this monopoly on the production of knowledge, they also were in a unique position to interpret ethical stances, backed by manuscript culture as evidence.

Cham ethical codes systematized and reflected upon basic concepts of right and wrong, as they were derived from manuscript culture. While they were based upon a combination of codes that were, in other socio-historical settings, in fact legal codes, I differentiate “ethical codes” from “legal codes” based upon the fact that Cham literati and religious elites frequently did not exactly rely upon formal governmental structures to enforce ethical codes in their communities. Rather they relied upon the social structures of religious organizations and family networks. At times, during the classical Champā civilization, during the Pāñduraṅga culture of the seventeenth to nineteenth century, and during the cases brought before colonial or royal powers in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, Cham ethical stances were invoked as legal decisions. At the same exact time, however, the day to day enforcement of these codes was in the

hands of individuals who were frequently at odds with larger state legal structures and positioned themselves within the sphere of religious communities.

In the case of Cham literati, by using the term “legal codes,” there is an implication that an individual decision was predominantly a matter of how one *must* act. Instead, by using the term “ethical codes,” I hope to show that the emphasis was often not upon how one *must act*, and the punishments that were administered if the law was not followed, but rather upon how one *ought to act*. The emphasis upon the ideal of action is additionally more appropriate due to the highly allegorical and metaphorical nature of the narratives portrayed in Cham manuscripts produced from the seventeenth through the twentieth century, although, admittedly, a negotiation between the “ethical codes” and the “legal codes” of national and international powers becomes a distinct question for Cham literati by the end of the nineteenth century and certainly by the middle of the twentieth century.

Despite the seeming impending doom of being squashed by the demographic majorities of overwhelmingly ethno-nationalist Khmer and Vietnamese policies in the middle of the twentieth century, Cham literati continued to survive. They continued to survive because they had positioned themselves in such a way that they had skills to survive in the harsh political climate. Production of new religious communities was a skill that left Cham literati threatened by extremely violent and simplistic interpretations of revolutionary communism, and yet, allowed Cham literati to form new religious communities again after the mid-century rise of ethno-nationalism began to decline. The production of manuscripts that drew upon multiple languages and were in some ways esoteric allowed Cham literati to continue to have a monopoly upon the production of knowledge, although they would increasingly need to rely upon the additional knowledge of Vietnamese, Khmer, Malay, French, Russian and English. The skill to interpret

ethical codes, was readily adaptable and transformed into a skill of interpreting policy that found places where Cham social organizations could be promoted, even in states that were generally hostile minority cultures. Slowly but surely, the transformation of the literati from a largely overtly religious body of clerics and priests, to a largely secular group of scholars, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and scientists did not do away with the skills that Cham literati had developed centuries before. To further explicate this process of survival, I invoke the field of “borderlands history” as a setting, where the narrative unfolds, and methodology of scholarly inquiry.

III Theoretical Framework:

In the process of researching and writing this dissertation, many theoretical frameworks were proposed for the potential benefits that they could offer to the project. As with any theoretical approach, each had their weaknesses and strengths. Specific instances in the narrative may fit better under one framework than another, and, hence, there is not one single all-encompassing framework for the entirety of the study. A few key theoretical frameworks, which are discussed in more detail in this section are Borderlands history as a setting and method; the idea of a persistent frontier; the idea of the contact zone; and the concept of diaspora history, particularly as it relates to the history of the literati. To begin the discussion of borderlands history as a setting and method, it would be beneficial to consider the following poem by Linh Dinh:

Borders, where bones always nudge,

Against the fuzziest skin.

Where inside and outside,

Are confused and flushed. (Linh Dinh 2005:8)

What term best describes the space between two groups of people that bump up against each other? Is a space that is solid? Or a space that is nebulous? Is it an encompassing term such as a world? A land? A zone? Or a very specific space, such as a point? Borderlands historians have attempted to use many terms, all drawing various points of critique and criticism, to the extent that any preference for an individual term seems, occasionally, to eventually be nothing more than just that, a matter of personal preference, although we all know they are based on individual interpretations of the evidence at hand. We may have methodological and theoretical discussions about which term is best where. Is it a border-world? Or a contact zone? A border point? A borderland? Or a contact point?²³ Each term has their specific advantages and disadvantages.

A border, so aptly defined by Linh Dinh, is simply a place "where inside and outside, are confused and flushed." In common usage, a border is a line separating two political or

²³ Similar to the term *contact zone*, the term *contact point* has a specific intellectual lineage, that can be traced to a single study. In *Contact Points* Cayton & Teute (1998) highlight that their authors approach "frontiers as zones rather than binary dividing lines" (Cayton & Teute 1998: 2). *Contact points* "analyze the ways in which the interaction of diverse peoples on frontiers created new cultural forms" (Cayton & Teute 1998: 5). But more conceptual frontiers have also emerged in the historical record as well. For example, the historian Kathleen M. Brown wrote of a "gender frontier" that referred to contested ideas about the role of women in eighteenth century Virginia (Cayton & Teute 1998: 10). The book, *Contacts Points*, still ends with the ultimate control over discourse in much of the Eastern United States by European, and primarily British descended peoples. However, the study contends that the process of history was "neither inevitable nor static" (Cayton & Teute 1998: 14) as "over the centuries, diverse peoples have constructed the contours of American landscapes through their interactions with each other in numerous contact points. None was more complex or ultimately more decisive than the frontiers that flourished in the eastern North America from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century" (Cayton & Teute 1998: 15). Ultimately, in its original usage, the term *contact points* is, therefore, both more specific to the American context, and seems to be as broadly applicable as Pratt's *contact zones*. However, like the case of "borderworlds," (with being essentially the same usage as borderlands), the meaning of the *contact point* is already contained within the *contact zone*.

geographical areas, or and used more broadly; a border is simply the edge or boundary of something. Most often, in geography, history, and political science, the common usage of the term “border” refers to national borders, which are modern constructs, and often related to the history of colonialism.²⁴ Initially, in American history, the expansion of the United States and the history of that expansion included within it an inherently bifurcated racial hierarchy, a significant problem in the field of frontier history. Borderlands history emerged as a field to trouble that particular type of interpretation of history.²⁵ Slowly, for borderlands historians, the term borderlands came to have a very specific, but flexible, and even metaphoric meaning: first; a “borderlands” is a place where two entities border each other, often societies, or nations, but not always; and second, “borderlands studies” refers to a methodological approach that asks what happens when multiple entities, or societies, bump up against each other. In this dissertation, I use the term “borderlands” to refer to physical borderlands, as in the case of contested spaces of overlapping sovereignty, as well as to refer to linguistic borderlands,²⁶ where groups of various language speakers bump up against each other, and religious borderlands, or spaces where a

²⁴ Baud & Van Schendel (2014: 214) for example, rely upon this usage of the term, referring solely to the space of demarcation between modern states, in the process of state formation.

²⁵ This is, admittedly, a very short explanation. The field of borderlands history dates all the way to 1921 to the work of Herbert Eugene Bolton, who viewed Borderlands history as a means of writing that “privileged multiple native and imperial voices, but also played out on a hemispheric stage” (Hamalainen & Truett 2011: 341).

²⁶ This usage often refers to areas where multiple language groups are bumping up against each other, such as in Arteaga's (1994) study of the place of the concepts of the nation and ethnicity in the borderlands of Spanish, English, and indigenous languages in North America. I use the term to refer to the “Austronesian borderlands,” where Cham and Chamic languages are at the edge of an area of contact with non-Austronesian languages. Every Cham community between 1651 and 1969 on the mainland of what is now Southeast Asia. This usage reflects a usage in the field of linguistics that can be traced back to the works of Bryan & Tucker (1957) on the “Northern Bantu Borderland” and Thomas (1948) on the Sino-Tibetan borderland. It is important to note that linguistic borderlands may have political features associated with them and often do, but this is not their defining feature. The defining feature is simply a borderland of two major linguistic groups, such as how Austronesian Cham communities have consistently operated at an Austronesian-Austroasiatic borderlands on what is now mainland Southeast Asia. Such usage is in line with recent scholarship in the field of border studies, such as Mezzadra & Neilson (2013), who refer to “linguistic borders,” in their long list of types of borders they consider in their study, which also include religious, cultural, political, and even temporal borders. I do not push the conceptual bounds as far as they might, to build off their study and suggest “temporal borderlands,” although I am comfortable with the precedent for linguistic borderlands as a sound concept.

plurality of religious groups bump up against each other, and occasionally, where religious groups bump up against a multiplicity of non-religious cultural forces.²⁷ In each case, the use of the term “borderlands,” helps to avoid some of the connotations of “frontier,” which can subtly imply that the bifurcation of “civilization” on one side, and “wilderness” on the other.

The field of "Borderlands History" and the work of Richard White (1991) suggests some possible solutions to problems that are posed in Cham Studies by using an ethnohistorical approach. White's contention is that there is a trend to "upstream" contemporary well rounded ethnographic studies into historical visions of the past (White 1991: XIV).²⁸ I consider White's assertions carefully. He is less worried about modern concepts being projected into the past, since this is a necessary feature of writing history in English, and indeed it would be utterly impossible to write history without projecting contemporary language into the past. Rather, more specifically, his concern is with the projection of ethnographic concepts and categories into the past. In Cham studies, for example, there has indeed been a vision of taking "the Cham" as solely indicative of "classical Champā culture," following the work of Etienne Aymonier and Georges Maspero. Such studies don't take into consideration the many "peoples of Champā" who must have been present in Champā territories (Gay 1988). Another example would be to take the community of the contemporary "Bani" and presume that the community has always been a stable Cham religious identity, an assumption that I attempt to avoid. I think it is possible to learn methodologically from White's work. White's emphasis on borderlands as zones of

²⁷ Here, my usage of the term “religious borderlands” is influenced by Roof (1997: 1) who viewed religious borderlands as “spaces – geographical, cultural, psychological – … where the boundaries of the religious are in question.” I, admittedly, am reading this sociological concept into the past. It is useful, however, as for much of history, the religious borderlands of Cham Muslim communities were actually in urban centers.

²⁸ By upstreaming, White doesn't mean we have to avoid all contemporary concepts and language, as this would be impossible.

interaction is useful for the case of the Cham in the borderlands of Vietnam and Cambodia from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. Writing about "Borderlands History" as a setting and method contests the standard narrative of Champā and Cham history, as well as of the history of the borderlands between Vietnam and Cambodia.²⁹

IIIa Theorizing the Cambodia-Vietnam Border(lands):

The Cambodia-Vietnam borderlands refers to the broad space, often contested, of overlapping Vietnamese and Cambodian sovereignty between the seventeenth century and the twentieth centuries. In this usage, we should not forget that there were many other smaller borderlands spaces, between various ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups, that expanded and contracted over time. A short historical view makes these borderlands smaller, a longer historical view tends to make them larger. To consider one example of a "standard narrative" of the history of the Vietnamese-Cambodia borderlands, a translated and summarized narrative adopted from a Cambodian government report, dated to 1961, follows:

In 1471 the Lê Dynasty finally completed the "destruction and occupation of Champā." The Vietnamese began to move even farther southward. In the seventeenth century, the Khmer had two kings, one at Longvek (nearby Phnom Penh) and the other at Prey Nokor (Saigon). Because of a civil war between two Vietnamese households (the Trịnh and the Nguyễn), in 1629, the Khmer king at

²⁹ For Sadan (2013: 21) "Borderlands History" is a "...convincing framework for analyzing centre-periphery interaction in ways that privileged the view of the 'periphery'..."

Prey Nokor opened up the south and Mekong delta region to Vietnamese refugees. Because the Khmer cultures and Vietnamese cultures clashed, a whole series of battles occurred between 1660 and 1860. The majority of conflicts took place in two periods: between 1738 and 1776 and between 1835 and 1858. Then, the French occupation of the south "closed the border" between the Cambodians and Vietnamese in 1859.³⁰

This narrative is important precisely because of its biases. It comes from a Cambodian governmental source, and explains how the Vietnamese came to control the Mekong delta. The historical presentation is clearly motivated by the desire to "reclaim" the Mekong Delta. It relies upon an understanding of borders as "fences," a concept that emerged out of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), but only seem to have been introduced into a Cambodian and Vietnamese context by the processes of French colonialism. To critique such presentations as that of the Cambodian governmental source, OW Wolters (2008: 49) has argued that there were "no borders" in pre-colonial Southeast Asia, in the modern sense of the term, and that there were only "porous peripheries,"³¹ blurry zones of overlapping layers of sovereignty and tributary relationships. Wolters' argument makes a good point, although perhaps it is a bit too strong of a claim. We should consider the possibility that there were "borders," but maybe that they were just not conceived of as "fences." For example, in the colonial era, in the "borderlands" of Cambodia and Vietnam, as in French confrontations with the Siamese, problems arose because communities did not always naturally conceive of "borders" in the same light. Some of these

³⁰ Ministere des Affaires Étrangeres: Royaume du Cambodge (1961). "Aide Memoire: Relatif a la Minorite Cambodgienne du Kampuchea Krom (Sud-Vietnam)." NAC: Box 102/C. ID: 9597. Pp 2-4

³¹ Reid (2015: 26) argues, by comparison, suggests that the "boundaries" with Vietnam have "been stable for a thousand years." He furthermore concludes that the mountainous area was a significant barrier to the spread of lowland Chinese culture (Reid 2015: 27).

definitions, such as using geographical features to mark a concept of “borders” seem to well pre-date the French colonial period.

Another problem of colonial era borders was that French colonial administrators did not even necessarily agree among themselves. Furthermore, local understandings of borders were dynamic and often changing. In private communications between Etienne Aymonier and Alfonse Doumer, then Governor of Indochina, the two disagreed about the potential of a creation of the borders of a buffer state,³² between Annam and Cochinchina. In another example, one French map of Hà Tiên cedes major portions of the territory, which were claimed by Vietnamese, to the Khmers and further uses the old Khmer name “Banteay Meas” to refer to the area;³³ and reports by Colonial Official Adhemard Leclère also appear to be sympathetic to the idea of continued Khmer “sovereignty” over Banteay Meas.³⁴ Throughout the colonial and early-post colonial period, there was a general pattern of increased Vietnamese sovereignty, but different sources exhibited loyalty to various French, Vietnamese or Khmer centers of power, merely through the topographical terms they used. To consider a later example, in a 1965 map of the border between Vietnam and Cambodia nearby Ta Dath, in the vicinity of Tây Ninh (to the east in Vietnam) and

³² In this case the “buffer state” was supposed to break up potential Vietnamese anti-colonial sentiment by restoring Cham power. My usage here reflects a common usage of the term, with respect to colonial state-making processes.

³³ An 1897 map, for example, shows “Banteay Meas” (alt. Bunteay Meas; Tani; Tuoc Meas) as a territory without clear borders outside of the city of Hà Tiên to the north. There is also an old coastal route to Oudong labeled. NAC Map: No. 10685/1. A 1905 map of the same region records 400 “Malay inscrits” in the region, but the route to Oudong disappeared and “Banteay Meas” was still clearly labeled, but split, stretched across the Khmer-Vietnamese border. Hà Tiên, though, is clearly on the Vietnamese side of the border by this time. NAC Map: No. 1441/3

³⁴ Leclere, Adhemard. 1887. *Rapport Sur Mon Voyage a Promang Chol, A Travers Les Provinces Kampot et Banteay Meas. Dossier No. 8321. Kampot le 17 Mai.* In NAC Box 671. The Resident de France a Kampot: Adhémard-Léclère. Documents sur la Province de Kampot. From the Charles Meyer collection. Two volumes. V1: Monographie Kampot. Vol. 2. Correspondance a A. Leclere. 1885-1913. Leclere records that the “Province of Banteay Meas” was comprised of 10 villages and ten Mesrok. There were 1,700 Cambodian “inscrits,” 7779 old and infirmed Cambodians, 20 Annamites, 250 Chinese and “a single old Malay” (p. 3).

Thbaung Khmum (to the west in Cambodia), most of the villages and waterways nearby the border, in Vietnam, were still labelled with Khmer names, while the majority of waterways to the south, further away from the border were clearly labelled with Vietnamese names.³⁵ Today, Vietnamese maps show all of these areas only with Vietnamese names, or Vietnamization of the pre-existing Khmer names. The comparison indicates that the Vietnamization of the borderlands was still an ongoing process, according to perspectives that favored Khmer sovereignty, even in the final years of the period this dissertation covers, although Vietnamese sources often claim it was completed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Given the recent revival of borderlands history as a field of study, it is important to consider how other disciplines, sociology, geography, political science, anthropology, and others, are working with the concepts that are related to borders and borderlands. Naturally, there will be strong disciplinary differences, but, through discussion, we might be able to engage in a fair amount of border crossing ourselves, pushing related scholarship to new heights. With this aim in mind, it seems particularly important to be in conversation with the works of geographers, as borderlands are ultimately a concept that cannot be entirely divorced from being read as having geographical implications, even if used in a purely social or metaphorical fashion. From the field of geography, Jones (2016, 2008), Kolosov (2015), Rumford (2014, 2006), Breskaya and Bresky (2013), Brunet-Jailly (2012), Salter (2008, 2006), and Scott (2002), among others, have focused their discussion of borders in both modern and contemporary terms. When they discuss narratives of borderlands, the interpretations presented are closely tied to the history of national borders. European borders, the US-Canada border, Eastern Europe, and the US-Mexico border have hence received significant scholarly attention in such border studies. Similar to this

³⁵ NVA II: Map No. 4608. 1965

conception, the Cambodia-Vietnam borderlands is a useful area of focus, although it has not received as much attention from the field of borderlands history. To begin with, it would be useful to think about how the Cambodian-Vietnamese border was formed from a more theoretical perspective, in tune with works from scholars in the field of border studies.

Kolosov (2015: 35), for example, has discussed in detail how borders were formed, noting attempts to maintain ethnic, linguistic, and religious boundaries as matters of the modern state. Such borders are what Kolosov calls a “frontal border,” which he defines as a type of “alienated border” (Kolosov 2015: 39). Famous examples would include the Israel-Palestine border or the border of India-Pakistan. According to Kolosov, as such, an “alienated border rigidly divides two countries, [...] border areas are militarized scenes of confrontation and conflict, [...] transborder traffic is minimal, and cooperation between the parties is non-existent” (Kolosov 2015: 39). Was the emergent border between Cambodia and Vietnam a “frontal border” as Kolosov would define? Perhaps. It doesn’t seem to fit any of the other types of borders that Kolosov describes. It meets the requirement of an ethnic, religious, and linguistic line, in the ideal conception of the border between Cochinchina (which became the southern quarter of Vietnam) and Cambodia, yet, migration across the border has been historically frequent. Transborder traffic has been substantial, particularly in the case of Cham communities in Châu Đốc (Taylor 2007). It has been militarized, but perhaps not to the extent of other “alienated borders” in Kolosov’s discussion. With this reality in mind, maybe it would be best to think of the Cambodia-Vietnam border as a type of “frontal border,” which was only “alienated” during certain historical periods, such as during the Cambodia-Vietnam War between 1975 and 1979, and even then, only to a limited extent. Any continued disputes or discussions over the border, however, may well relate to the notion that the border between Cambodia and Vietnam

is a manifestation of an “ideal border,” a concept recently discussed by Brunet-Jailly (2017: 30) as a border that is internalized, about both collective and individual identity, manifested through self-identified association to language, ethnicity, and/or religion.

The history of the formation of the Cambodian-Vietnamese border begins with Vietnamese intervention in Cambodian politics in the seventeenth century, during a time when the southern frontier, as conceived of by the Vietnamese, was still the Vietnamese-Cham borderlands. While the Vietnamese were allowed to enter Prey Nokor (now Ho Chi Minh City) in 1674, it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that Vietnamese forces moved into parts of the Mekong Delta, when Ming loyalists who fled the Ming-Qing conflict relocated to the borderlands between Vietnamese and Cambodian lands. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, parts of Trà Vinh, Sóc Trăng, and An Giang were ceded to the Vietnamese. By the nineteenth century, particularly under Minh Mệnh [1820 – 1841], Vietnamese power expanded even further. The Vietnamese claimed Phnom Penh was *Trần Tây* (“The bare west”), constructing the Khmer capital as a frontier zone that mandated settlement. Cham communities in Kampong Cham and Oudong were, in the nineteenth century, hence in a contested area, where Vietnamese sovereignty had expanded up to areas that Khmer royalty claimed were “central,” while Siamese power reached throughout Cambodia, across Battambang, up to Phnom Penh. For much of the 1830s through the 1840s, the Siamese-Vietnamese wars meant that Cambodia, and the Cham communities that lived therein, were contested territory. When Norodom of Cambodia [r. 1860 – 1904] signed a treaty with the French, the territory of Cambodia became a French protectorate. Already in the 1850s, the French had begun their conquest of the Mekong Delta. With the signing of the treaty with Norodom, a more ambiguous Vietnamese-Cambodia border was replaced with an increasingly less ambiguous border between the French colony of

Cochinchina and the French protectorate of Cambodia. The difference between the two layers of sovereignty was that on one side of the border, the French had direct rule, while on the other side, French sovereignty was at least theoretically more integrated with a Cambodian royal administration. By the period of French colonial rule, the modern state borders had mostly taken their final form, although matters of border construction, posting, mapping, and policing, continued to develop throughout the twentieth century.

Salter's (2006, 2008) work provides a useful interjection into the theorizing of borders and border spaces from the perspective of modern state phenomena. He suggests that decisions made about state borders are inherently alienating, even to migrants with "proper papers" (2008) and that the decisions that are made at borders occur in a place where the power of the state "is both naked and hidden from view" (Salter 2006: 185). Salter's (2006) description works well in conversation with the work of Jones (2008) who sees borders as the producers of violence that surround them. According to Jones "the border creates the economic and jurisdictional discontinuities that have come to be seen as its hallmarks." This description operates on the presumption that a border is only a border in the sense that it is the operational boundary of a contemporary nation state (Jones 2016: 5; also 8-11; 27-28; 43-47). In other words, the violence that surrounds the border is very much a feature of the border itself, an almost ironic really, given that borders were often created with the idea that they would create a form of recognized sovereignty, known by at least two parties. This view of borders as inherently violent places is, to an extent, contested by Rumford (2014: 2) who contends that borders are rather, naturally cosmopolitan spaces. He argues that "borders are no longer only under the control of the state; other actors and agencies may also be involved," and that "the idea of cosmopolitan borders can counter...perceived elitism; [...] border crossing (and indeed border-making) is not only the

business of elites, it is part of the fabric of everyday life" (Rumford 2014: 11). Rumford's most recent discussion of border theory seems to well apply to the history of the Cambodian-Vietnamese border, where border crossing was a feature of every-day life.

IIIb Types of Borders & Borderlands

Rumford's approach attempts to move away from the discussion of borders as a process of the state. Several examples in his work are "non-conventional" conceptions of borders, in the sense that they move beyond the discussion of national borders. Among them are the protection of specialty products in the EU, UNESCO World Heritage designation, drone legislation, and a handful of other examples related to international governance (Rumford 2014: 32ff, 51ff, 64ff). Such concepts are important for the Cham of Vietnam and Cambodia, especially since certain sites associated with Cham heritage make petitions to join the Mý Sơn Champā tower complex with World Heritage status. There are also petitions from ASEAN to join the EU model of decreasing the importance of national borders, although, arguably, ASEAN's borders have become only increasingly tight since 2015 proposals to liberalize migration, such as introducing region wide visa-free movement for ASEAN residents. However, all such conceptions relate, ultimately to the concept of the formation of super-regional state author or forms of international governance that are meant to transcend the power of the nation-state. To open the discussion further, let us consider, as Salter (2006) and Rumford (2014) do, that there are borders that are not national borders, but still are restricted by the terms of the state.

Previously, Rumford (2006) has mentioned economic, telecommunication, and educational borders, as alternative forms of borders, in a discussion of "border theory." He revealed the ways that national borders have been de-coupled from the physical geography of the boundary of the nation. Examples include how borders became located in transportation centers – in airports and train stations, on internet servers – rather than at the edge of the state. The point begins to move toward the implications of Salter's (2006: 172) argument that there are borders ascribed to by state power, such as the legal restrictions that apply to the entry into an individuals' home in the United States, a border that has existed since the eighteenth century. However, in all of these works, the emphasis on the socio-political implications of borders, while adding much to contemporary scholarship and thinking about current consequences of the changing nature of borders, does have a significant lacuna, in that the discussions do not get very much in depth into thinking about other types of borders, particularly those that are not related to state power. For example, Salter's (2006) beneficial example about "the border of the home," is quite similar to a type of "religious border" that existed in Cham Muslim households, discernable during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and possibly in earlier epochs as well. In explanation, Cham manuscripts included prevalent references to the borders of the home, governed by principles of *shari'ah*, as they were adapted into *adat Cam* customary practices. In this case, the distinction that was quite common was that individual animals were considered haram, and therefore not allowed to enter the home. If haram animals did cross this religious border, certain religious ceremonies would have to be performed to cleanse the sacred space of the interior. Such a religious border is an important construct for Muslim communities as well. The broader conceptions of the border between halal and haram dictated the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims (C.: akaphié), and hence helped to create a second type of religious

border: between Cham Muslim communities and non-Muslim Cham communities, often conceived of, in metaphorical terms, as separated by a body of water.³⁶

Just as theorists of border studies are open to various interpretations and types of borders, it follows for theorists of borderlands studies to be open to different interpretations of borderlands. Nevertheless, precise definitions of terms are necessary. For example, Brunet-Jailly (2005) notes that borderlands regions were frequently militarized in twentieth century Europe. Would the same statement apply to Southeast Asia? It seems likely, but society was, by degrees, much more militarized in the middle of the twentieth century. What of earlier epochs? More recently, Brunet-Jailly has written more deeply about the historical implications of borders and borderlands. In his more recent work the author continues, that from their perspective, “For most of human history, borders were not boundaries, but frontiers” (Brunet-Jailly 2017: 24). For Brunet-Jailly, a frontier “is concerned by what is on the other side of a zone of transition,” wherein the zone of transition is the territory of the frontier itself (Brunet-Jailly 2017: 20). Boundaries are “only concerned with what is within the bounded territory,” while “...the borderlands is the region bordering a bordered sovereign territory,” (Brunet-Jailly 2017: 20).³⁷ This narrow definition of borderlands operates purely at the level of physicality and sovereignty, but, ultimately, fails to take into account other usages of the term “border” which rely on the understanding that a border is simply a line between two social designations. In other words, the definition doesn't take into account other usages of the term border: the border of the house; the border between two language groups; the borders between religious groups; the border between a

³⁶ Here, I use “border” and not “boundary” since, by standard scholarly usage, a boundary contains social elements within, whereas a border separates social elements. For more information on the usage of this type of border, see chapters three and four.

³⁷ Boundaries are not the focus here, borderlands are. However, for a nuanced discussion of the theoretical implications of the term boundaries, Newman and Paasi (1998) provide a well-rounded analysis.

society in diaspora and the host society; and the border between the society in diaspora and the society that remained at home.³⁸

Other scholars have taken the meaning of borderlands a bit more flexibly than Brunet-Jailly, a theoretical move that seems to be inspired by the very nature of borderlands themselves. For example, Rumford (2006) has even suggested that he agrees that the entirety of Europe has become a borderlands that results from the dispersal of borders throughout society. Even national borders can be found between nations, but also at airports, and, on the internet, from this perspective. Furthermore, in the field of borderlands history, historians have “emphasized agency, fluidity, and contingency in the trans-imperial and transnational contexts” (Nieto-Phillips 2011: 337). As a historian, I am also willing to entertain the concept of borderlands that apply to social categories, such as language and religion. In this case, we might consider the implication of religious borderlands and linguistic borderlands. In this usage of the term borderlands, we have multiple meanings. The first meaning is to refer to an area of overlapping layers of political sovereignty, often, but not always, at the edge of at least one socio-political force that is expanding in a colonial fashion. Linguistic borderlands, however, are quite different. Arteaga (1994: 1-33) for example, includes areas such as Santa Cruz and Los Angelas, California – areas quite far from the US-Mexico border – in his thinking about “Linguistic Borderlands” and discussion of Chicano literature, wherein the key feature of the linguistic borderlands is hybridity among multiple linguistic influences. In another example, we might consider the linguistic borderlands of speakers of various language communities; or, in Cham religious communities, operating on the edge of a linguistic borderlands between Sanskrit and Arabic influence. Alternatively, Cham was historically located at a form of borderlands of Austronesian

³⁸ Again, here, I use “border” and not “boundary” since a boundary contains, whereas a border separates.

and Austroasiatic speakers on the Southeast Asian mainland. In the third usage, to think of a religious borderland, for Cham communities it would be possible to speak of their communities as constantly being on the border of purity and impurity, wherein Cham communities are viewed as necessarily pure, but only through the persistent maintenance of certain religious rituals. Less abstractly, the term religious borderlands could refer to the existence of the Cham at the borderlands of the Muslim and Buddhist worlds.

Bryant, Radding & Readman (2014) refer to “borderlands” in the study of world history from the precedent of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, where they assert that there is a significant lacunae in the study of the history of European borderlands, by contrast with the history of borderlands in North America, arguing that the contribution of the field is to essentially recognize that there is not a single borderlands that defined entirely by its relation to a national boundary (Bryant, Radding & Readman 2014: 11). Their study pushes scholars to think of the “materiality” of borderlands, or, in other words, *how* borderlands were constructed, imagined, interpreted, reinterpreted, negotiated, and transformed. The negotiating this interpretation of borderlands history, it is possible to break significant new ground in the study of Southeast Asia. For example, in Bryant, Radding & Readman’s volume *Borderlands in World History*, Barnard (2014: 83-100) makes a strong case for the foundation of the Siak Sultanate of eighteenth century eastern Sumatra as a borderland polity, based essentially on the geography of the region, with a number of rivers, running inland, marshes, and small islands. He convincingly argues that this geography was linked to a particular type of state formation with the layers of overlapping sovereignty familiar to historians of the borderlands worldwide. The emphasis of geography is plausible, and notable, although it detracts a bit from the discussion of the cultural features of the borderlands in the case of the Sultanate of Siak. Furthermore, as Barnard focuses

predominantly on state formation, he is not so much telling the history of the borderlands, as he is the history of a state, which originates as an eighteenth-century Sultanate and then gets incorporated from a borderlands zone, eventually, into other states.

Borderlands history is an apt frame for this project, even though using borderlands history with the same exact lens that Barnard does doesn't do much for the study of Cham history, as it simply becomes the "history of Pāñduraṅga," a project that has already been well studied by the works of Po Dharma (see Po Dharma 1987, 1988). Rather, in my usage, the emphasis of history is placed upon the Cham populations themselves, their literati, their language communities, their religious communities, and how they operated in the greater borderlands region of the lands between Vietnamese, Cambodia, Siamese, and French sovereignty. In short, the question is: if the story ends with incorporation into the state (in the case of Siak, Indonesia) is there then still a borderlands to be studied during later epochs? If the borderlands have *entirely* disappeared, is there anything left to be considered? Wouldn't, then, the history of the borderlands in the case of Siak simply be a small case in the expansion of the Indonesian state? Or, is it simply a history of the enlargement of the "Malay frontier"? Certainly, ecological borderlands of the greater Mekong Delta were part of the landscape that Cham literati traversed between 1651 and 1969. But, Barnard's concept of an "ecological borderland" is also useful for thinking in more depth about the important ecological regions for the Cham literati: the edges of the rice paddies of Battambang, Kandal, and Kampong Cham; the boundaries of the Mekong in Cambodia; the borderlands of the Mekong delta; and, the incredibly arid lands that were once part of Pāñduraṅga. I would suggest that a stronger case for the use of borderlands history could

be made in the case of the Cham literati because of their negotiation, existence, and interworking with multiple forms of borderlands: ecological, linguistic, religious, and socio-political.³⁹

IIIc Pre-colonial Borders & Borderlands

As previously indicated, local understandings of borders in Southeast Asia were quite different than European perceptions, as Thongchai (1994: 62-80) has argued. An early Chinese source has been cited by many historians to suggest that a “border” was requested by Champā leaders, to delineate between their territory and Vietnamese territory, as early as the third century. They apparently petitioned the Chinese court to establish a “border” between Vietnamese and Cham territory at the Hoành Sơn pass (Po 1988). In this case, a border, however, may have resembled what many who are unfamiliar with the socio-historical context would refer to as a controlled conduit, or gate, symbolized by the image of the bronze pillars, where tax authority was recognized. However, this type of border is similar to a common Southeast Asian pre-colonial border also mentioned by Thongchai (1994: 76).⁴⁰ Another case of an early Cham “border” was the recognition of three separate worlds [*loka*], delineating the earthly, the semi-divine and the divine realms. Conceptions of borders for the Champā civilization, and consequentially the Cham, may have been not only quite different from those of the Europeans who they began to encounter after the seventeenth century; but also the Vietnamese, whose

³⁹ Admittedly, in this study, I am more concerned with linguistic and religious borderlands, while socio-political borderlands are an important setting, as are the underlying backdrop of ecological borderlands, although ecological borderlands do not appear at the fore.

⁴⁰ Other types of borders included streams, tracks of forest or a mountain. Many of these borders are still in existence, such as in Cơ Tu areas in central Vietnam today (Trần Tấn Vịnh 2009: 30)

conceptions of cosmology and kingship were drawn from Daoist unity between "Heaven, man and earth" [Ch.: *wáng*; Vn.: *vuong*].⁴¹ Finally, for communities that began to become influenced by conceptions of *shari'ah*, most commonly translated as "Islamic law" or "practice," "boundaries" and borders were between "*shari'ah* and *adat*" as well as the ways that *śāstras*, *shari'ah*, and *adat* reshaped communities, became part of the notions of borders.⁴² Regardless, there have only been a minimal number of studies that have approached the Cham regarding "borderlands history," including one by anthropologist Philip Taylor (2007), and others by historian Nicholas Weber (2003; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014). Both scholars focused more explicitly on the emerging concept of "modern borders," they initially existed between the Cham and the Vietnamese, but were later defined by the increasing presence of French colonial authority, and then, later again, by postcolonial, contemporary, Southeast Asian states.

For scholars of border studies, such as Jackson (1998), the above types of borders are often left out of the discourse. Instead, "borderlands" in a broad sense, but links the term to the colonial context of the Spanish conquest of the Americas. Nevertheless, there are areas that individuals in the United States might not readily identify as borderlands, such as Florida, innovatively included in Jackson's usage of the term, along with areas, such as northern Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California, which would be readily identified with the borderlands. Importantly, the term borderlands in this sense is used to refer to zones of interaction between multiple colonialist authorities, and an extreme plurality of indigenous authorities, over a several century period, between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, leading up to the delineation of national borders, beginning in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If we were to apply

⁴¹ Ch.: 王

⁴² This concept of "borders" relies upon the usage of "religious borderlands" delineated by Roof (1997).

Jackson's understanding of the borderlands to the case of French colonial interaction, it would apply to the majority of the what became the countries of Laos and Cambodia, as these were the borderlands between the Siamese and the Vietnamese, where French colonial authority supplanted Vietnamese claims to the eastern portion of these lands. In other words, Laos and Cambodia would be the borderlands between the seventeenth century (French arrival) and the end of the nineteenth century (1893), when French Indochina took its final form, as it were, with the addition of Laos, hypothetically resolving contestations with the Siamese.

In more recent border studies, works have begun to move away from a rigid understanding of borderlands. For example, Laine (2015: 16) uses the term “borderlands” to refer to the somewhat ambiguous spaces that were outside Europe’s chattels and cities in the Middle Ages, where he sees what “borders” there were as being defined by loyalty to various churches, not at all unlike the circumstance for Cham communities in seventeenth through twentieth century Cambodia, where religious borders were established by local senior Muslim clerics. Brunet-Jailly (2017: 20) agrees that “...for centuries...borders were territorial interfaces, marginal space of human consciousness...” before the relatively modern concept of the international border was created in the twentieth century. Examples he relies upon include the borderlands of the Roman Empire, the borderlands of nineteenth century Qing China, and Europe during the Middle Ages. There is also a very recent precedent for historians to refer to the Sino-Vietnamese borderlands during the Ming dynasty period, even though Ming China and Đại Việt very clearly did not conceive of a “border” between their two areas of sovereignty in the European sense of the term, suggesting that while there were political implications, the borders were more of a feature of “cultural borders” (see: Baldanza 2016: 55).

Baldanza (2016) uses the term borderlands to describe the area between Ming dynasty China and Đại Việt in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and places an emphasis on the role that Ming dynasty officials played in their attempts to subjugate the area, even as the term borderlands is justified by the notion that the area had layers of overlapping sovereignty (Baldanza 2016: 9, 20, 54, 110, 132). By contrast with borderlands, however, the term “frontier” is rarely used in Balanza’s work and appears to have the exact presumption of the centrality of “civility,” as being on *this* side of the frontier, while “barbary” is on *that* side. For example, the scant references to the term frontier in this work refer to the “southern frontier region of Thành Hóa” (Baldanza 2016: 69). The assertion of the terms “borderlands” vs. “frontier” is therefore operational, based upon a preference for Vietnamese source material, which, at the end of the day, is probably no more reliable than the record of Cham manuscripts.

In Baldanza’s usage, the term “frontier” proposes that only barbary existed at the southern reaches of Lê sovereignty in the sixteenth century, a connotation I intend to conceptually upend through merely suggesting that if it is fair to use the term “borderlands” to refer to the area between Đại Việt and Ming China, then it is also fair to use the same concept to apply to the contested spaces between the remaining Champa polities (Kauthāra and Pāñḍuraṅga) and Vietnamese territory for the period of the seventeenth century through the nineteenth century. After the conquest of Pāñḍuraṅga in the 1830s, there was a very brief period when Pāñḍuraṅga was not, *per se*, part of a political borderlands, although the concepts of linguistic and religious borderlands would still apply to the former lands of Pāñḍuraṅga between the 1830s and the 1880s, before this last “Cham homeland” became a part of the borderlands between the Protectorate of Annam and the Colony of Cochinchina (1883-1948). After the revolution, and with the foundation of the State of Vietnam (1949-1955; succeeded by the Republic of Vietnam

1955-1975), the former lands of Pāñduraṅga were again removed from "borderlands" status to an extent, although the FULRO movement did nominally claim sovereignty over the area. However, FULRO's power in the former area of Pāñduraṅga was quite minimal, seeming to not range much beyond the influence of a few loosely affiliated operatives and informants. Nevertheless, the persistence of the linguistic and religious borderlands of the former lands of Pāñduraṅga continued and arguably exists up through the present.

IIId Borderlands in Cham Studies: Beyond Pāñduraṅga

Beyond Pāñduraṅga, Philip Taylor's (2007) study of the Cham population focused entirely on the Cham of Châu Ðốc, An Giang province, in the Mekong Delta. Due to Taylor's in-depth ethnographic research in the Mekong Delta region of Vietnam,⁴³ his work provides an excellent resource for knowledge on the Cham community of Châu Ðốc today. He argues to challenge common conceptions about the spatial orientation of Islam as inherently non-local and to enrich the understanding of self-presentations of the histories of the Cham. However, as becomes clearer in chapters four and five of this dissertation, one limitation to his work, is that, because of its focus solely on Châu Ðốc, his lack of usage of written Cham sources, and lack of archival work, is that Taylor was not able to give a detailed delineation of the intellectual relationships between the Châu Ðốc community and Cham communities in Cambodia, beyond some speculative observations based upon brief oral historical accounts. Yet, Cham in Châu Ðốc historically adapted more Khmer words than other Cham communities and followed the same

⁴³ Vn.: *Nam Bô*

school of Islamic jurisprudence that was dominant among Cham communities in Cambodia. Even though Châu Đốc is supposed to have been part of Vietnamese territory since 1757, and the province of An Giang was created in 1832, the clerics of the Cham community in Châu Đốc held allegiance to the Cambodia-Cham clerical authority outside of Phnom Penh well into the 1940s and 1950s, using the Khmer name “Moat Chraok” to refer to their community, a point that the majority of authors in the field gently gloss over. “Cham of Châu Đốc,” in other words, is a community that has only unquestionably existed since the Republic of Vietnam period [1954-1975]. Before then clerics in Châu Đốc were more closely tied to Cambodian spheres of power. This point has been well highlighted by Nicholas Weber’s works on the “final destruction of Champā” and the history of the Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc communities in the nineteenth century.

Building off studies conducted under Po Dharma, the meticulous work of Nicholas Weber (2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014) has drawn recent attention to the history of the Cham diaspora in Southeast Asia. His earlier articles (2011 and 2012) were predominantly concerned with Vietnam, although he focused on the Cham community in Cambodia in a book chapter (2013) that drew source material from the National Archives of Cambodia. His 2014 monograph *History of the Cham Diaspora* convincingly argues that there has been little attention to locating the history of the Cham diaspora as a singular movement and that his motivation in this work was to begin to bring greater attention to the "essential" role of the Cham in Southeast Asian history, as well as to demonstrate that the appearance of the Cham communities in Cambodia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam was not simply an "accident" (Weber 2014: 9). Accomplished and detailed as his studies are, I do seek to contest certain notions of Weber's assertion that Cham communities were absent from the political arena (Fr.: *scène politique*) throughout the period of the Protectorate of Cambodia [1863-1955] (Weber 2014: 61). It is a distinct possibility

that after extended discussion on the issue, we may agree, particularly since Weber does not explain what he means by the term “political arena” in great depth. By my understanding, I seek to push the usage beyond simply holding high ranks and effecting policy change in the capital. In chapters four and five, I introduce the direct interactions between French, Cambodian and Cham actors that were decidedly political, even if the general French policy frequently, and seemingly intentionally, reified the image of the Cham as an “already defeated people,” with a relatively positive result for the colonialists: they would pose no threat to French power. Also in chapter five, I seek to contest Weber’s assertion that the objective of the irredentist oriented FULRO movement was to “reconstruct Champā as an independent state,” (Weber 2014: 62) by providing a more nuanced understanding of the FULRO movement, demonstrating that the aims of leadership were not always entirely unified, were fluid, and changed depending on the socio-political circumstances, year to year, month to month, and even, occasionally, day to day. Along with Taylor’s work, Weber’s studies nonetheless remain inspirational as they broaden and deepen the historical understandings of Cham communities in Southeast Asia.

In conjunction with ASEAN’s goal to soften borders throughout the region loosening trade restrictions and immigration standards beginning in 2015, and, arguably, the tightening of borders that has occurred since, it does make sense to ask: what will be the impact of new policies upon transnational minorities such as the Cham, the Dayak (Borneo), the Hmong, the Akha, and others? Seeing new regional developments, we can expect that leaders from these communities, in some circumstances, may seek to reinvigorate efforts to define themselves through conceptions of “imagined, bounded, communities” (Anderson 2006[1983]) and re-use ethnohistorical concepts to remember their *geo-body* (Thongchai 1994). Meanwhile, other leaders in these communities, remembering twentieth-century repressions and massacres of their

people have, on occasion, privately and publicly objected to this intellectual use of ethnohistory, as they see it as a dangerous field of study that links too quickly toward ethno-nationalist and irredentist sentiments. Additionally, there has been a push to examine the territorial disputes and characteristics of Southeast Asian borderlands as a whole. Case by case, the conceptual framework of “border crossings,” the “creation of boundaries” and the “re-interpretation” of frontiers have become quite popular in scholarship on Southeast Asia. Cases studies on the borderlands of Thailand, Burma, Laos and China (Walker 1999), Malaysia and Indonesia (Wadley 2005; Tagliacozzo 2009; Reid, Daly & Feener 2011), Southeast Asian “water frontiers” (Kleinen & Osswiejer 2010) and the Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese borderlands (Wook 2004; Reid & Nhụng Thuyết Trần 2006; Baird 2010 and Weber 2011, 2014) have all represented significant contributions to the understanding of Southeast Asian borderlands, in that they provide more accurate portrayals of interactions between the centers and peripheries in pre-colonial and postcolonial Southeast Asian history.

Although many Southeast Asianists entered the discussion of “borderlands history” long ago, Sadan (2013: 4) offers a potentially useful intervention through introducing the term “borderworlds” in an attempt to avoid some of the pitfalls of the term “borderlands” as she argues that communities traditionally viewed as part of the “borderlands” were often “far distant from borders.” However, the way that I read this usage of the term in her discussion reflects a presumption that “borders” refer only to boundaries between two nation states. In the end, if we must introduce the term “borderworlds” to address the communities, such as Cham living in the religious borderlands of Phnom Penh, bumping up against the religious world of Theravada Buddhism and Sunnī Islam, because a “borderlands” is really about the space surrounding national boundaries, then borderlands becomes regulated to the study of the issues surrounding

national frontiers, and we have reregulated histories of borderlands to solely being histories of frontiers. In short, borderlands history, as conceived by borderlands historians, already includes the concepts which Sadan discusses as related to “borderworlds.”

If we refuse to think about broader implications of borders as social constructs beyond the simple frame of national borders, we are also refusing to reflect on a "border" beyond as a spatial category. We ignore the borders of municipalities, provinces, and sub-regional borders, although we need not do this (See: Sadan 2013; and Jonsson 2014: 10 for example). Sadan's interjection here was drawn from Van Spengen (2000: 10) who used the term “border world” to refer to a “cultural-ecological and geopolitical frontier area,” where the author furthermore clarifies that a “frontier” is “outward looking,” as opposed to a “boundary,” which is “inward looking,” and therefore more closely associated with the “modern-state” (van Spengen 2000: 49). In this discussion, a people of the same “borderworld” are relative “bound” together by a common sense of regionality, which “stands for the recognizable identity of a particular history of human groups at the intersection of an interlocking whole of locational-physical, political-economic, and socio-cultural universes” (van Spendgen 2000: 52). Van Spendgen intervention is indeed useful here as well. But what about the cases where there are multiple borderworlds? For example: are Cham living in French colonial Annam, on the borderlands between Annam and Cochinchina in the same borderworld as those who inhabit turn of the century Battambang? One would presume not. In the end, I see the two terms, “borderlands,” with all its possibilities, and “borderworlds,” with all its possibilities, as operating within the same realm of usage and meaning, and hence do not use the neologism, since I find the existing term to work both firmly and flexibly enough, although others may use it, as a matter of taste.

IIIe On Contact Zones & Persistent Frontiers: Alternatives to Borderlands

C. Patterson Giersch (2006: 3-4, 7), in his study of the Sino-Southeast Asian frontier, has offered a particularly useful re-conception of White's classic ideas of borderlands history. In this discussion Giersch developed the concept of the "middle ground" originally proposed by White, about the history of the Sino-Southeast Asian frontier from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. Giersch defined the "middle ground" as a series of places where

...newcomers and natives each adapted to the other even as they sought use of and manipulated each other...[through]...fluid cultural and economic exchange where acculturation and the creation of hybrid political institutions were contingent on local conditions...[where]...social boundaries and cultural practices were in flux...

Giersch's refined definition of White's "middle ground" is useful for discussions of the Cambodian-Vietnamese borderlands as well. Here the Cambodian-Vietnamese borderlands refers to the series of polities and rural spaces, with overlapping types of sovereignty, including Cham, Maa, Jarai, Roglai, Churu, Ede, and Cambodia powers, as well as others, between the granting of Vietnamese permission to enter Prey Nokor in 1623, arguably up through the present, although it would also be possible to argue that after 1975, the border between Cambodia and Vietnam was finally solidified. According to my research, socio-political circumstances that were similar to the Sino-Southeast Asian borderlands persisted in the Cambodian-Vietnamese borderlands, although they were quite different in local articulation since the local conditions were also entirely different. The lack of the mountainous terrain that formed boundaries between upland groups, meant that overlapping Maa, Jarai, Ede, Churu, Cham, Khmer and Vietnamese

spheres of sovereignty were even more probable,⁴⁴ particularly from the seventeenth through the twentieth century. In this middle ground, low jungle brush, open rice paddy land, marshy interiors and rolling hills were not necessarily readily traversed. However, they were more easily crossed than, say, the mountains of the Annamite Chain or the intertwined ranges of Vietnam's north, northwest, and northeast. The Cham, Malays, Chinese, and others that came to occupy this new "middle ground" between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries were of critical import to the French colonial administration, though their various roles in both contesting and supporting French colonialism have been cast aside.

There is an admitted danger in applying the term "middle ground" to the early modern to modern borderlands of Cambodia and Vietnam. Deloria (2006) has argued that there has been a scholarly tendency to de-nuance the meaning of the term. As Deloria highlights, for White, the middle ground "is not acculturation...it is not compromise..." but rather individuals in the middle ground often "misinterpret and distort both the values and practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through them new practices..." (Deloria 2006: 15-16; vis a vis White 1991: x). As Deloria (2006: 16-17) continues, "[p]ersuasion, perception, misperception, misinterpretation: these are actions that live primarily in the cultural realm of meaning making, performance, and communicative practice." These dynamics come in to play in the case of forms of soft, non-violent, rebellion against Vietnamese authorities. Cham scholarly-cum-religious elite drew from Islamic and Hindu cultural influences that the Vietnamese did not have access to, while many French colonials viewed their

⁴⁴ In reality, this middle-ground included *even more* ethnic groups and probably more than could be accounted for in any reconstruction of the history from the period. Some others were likely Stieng, Sedang, Koho, Mnong, as well as Raglai and others, all with overlapping layers of sovereignty and allegiances. Koho, by the twentieth century, for example, included Chrau, Kil, Lat, Laya, Nop Pru, Rien, Sre, and Tring peoples, in addition to the Ma (see: Fromme, Marilou, Elaine M. Murphy, Joann L. Schrock & William Stockton 1966).

interpretations as confused and distorted, as we shall see in chapters four and five. Indeed, they may have been in some cases, and, flexibility did not necessarily prevent conflict. Between 1651 and 1969 Cham had come to inhabit one of the world's most heated "contact zones," to borrow terms from Pratt (1992).

In her book about travel writing and transcultural connections in Africa and South America, Pratt (1992) referred to the "middle ground(s)" as "contact zones," social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (Pratt 1992: 4). The borderlands between Cambodia and Vietnam - along with the associated urban and semi-urban areas stretching from Battambang to Ninh Thuận - has been one of the most contested "contact zones" in the history of Southeast Asia. It was the site of French colonial rubber plantations, the salt, and opium taxes, of revolts from bandit gangs led by monastics, of river pirates, of buffalo thieves and, eventually, CIA operations. As a "contact zone" for more than three hundred years, though, it is also relevant to consider this same space by the terms of Giersch's "persistent frontier."

According to Giersch's (2006: 9) thinking the persistent frontier was,

...in no way meant to suggest a timelessness or stasis...[as] ...each era of frontier engagement between China and surrounding areas was shaped by unique factors and left impact on long-term historical trajectories...

Giersch's words ring true for the cases of the Cambodia-Vietnamese frontier as well as the earlier Cham-Vietnamese-Cambodian frontier. At one point in history, the frontier would have been

Cham-Vietnamese, before the frontier then became a Vietnamese-Cambodian frontier. The notion of persistent change is the most attractive element of this particular term, although in my discussion in this dissertation I tend to avoid the term frontier unless used about a specific type of frontier, as conceived of by a specific actor or set of players. There are many types of persistent borderlands that I consider, which others may view as frontiers, such as the Malay-Cham borderlands, the Franco-indigène borderlands,⁴⁵ the borderlands of the French Indochinese and Japanese Empires, the Capitalist-Socialist borderlands (or the areas nearby “the Bamboo Wall,” as it has been called), or the Buddhist-Muslim borderlands. The Cham literati are at the nexus of the narrative, as are the Cham themselves, however, and this is the primary reason that it makes sense to investigate the conception of the Cham as a “borderlands people.”

What could it mean to be a borderlands people? If the borderlands are areas that are in constant flux and are composed of spaces of relatively overlapping sovereignty, then a borderlands people are people whose historical experience is conditioned by that state of constant change. Who is not a borderlands person then? Is everyone? In my usage, in this particular history, those individuals who might be associated with “state power,” such as French colonists, Vietnamese and Cambodians wouldn’t be borderlands people. I use the term “borderlands people,” in a sense, to avoid certain connotations of “statelessness,” another term often used to describe Cham populations, since many borderlands peoples may have held allegiance to one, or sometimes more than one, state power. It might be possible to state that the Cham are a borderlands people because from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century the majority of Cham populations lived in areas that were “at the edges” of larger centers of power

⁴⁵ Of course, the term “Southeast Asia” is a modern creation, and did not exist during the period of French colonialism. Instead, French colonialists referred to local Southeast Asian peoples as “indigènes,” with the rough meaning of “the original inhabitants of the land.”

on the Southeast Asian mainland. Yet those that did not live in readily identified socio-political borderlands still lived in areas that might be easily identified as linguistic borderlands, or religious borderlands. The Cham that lived in socio-political borderlands were centered in the areas of: Bình Thuận, Ninh Thuận and Biên Hòa, Tây Ninh and An Giang in Vietnam; Kampong Cham, Kampot and Battambang. These areas make up three borderlands zones that were variously contested with different degrees of violence during different historical epochs.

In the first zone: Bình Thuận, Ninh Thuận and Biên Hòa, there were conflicts between Churu, Cham, Ma, and Vietnamese ideas about sovereignty between the seventeenth and twentieth century, including between opposing Vietnamese groups. In the second zone: Kampong Cham, Kampot, Tây Ninh and An Giang, there were a variety of contestations between Malay, Cham, Khmer, and Vietnamese notions of sovereignty between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, wherein Siamese (and, later: Thai) control over Cambodia also became an additional factor at play. In the third zone: Battambang – which may be used to include other Cham and Cham-Malay settlements in what is now western Cambodia, although Battambang is the largest population center – the contestations have mostly been between Siamese (and, later: Thai) and Khmer power from the fifteenth century up through the present. In each case, the introduction of French colonial power in the nineteenth century also brought new factors into play. Hypothetically, the contemporary borders of the first zone were mostly established by 1835. In the second zone, the state boundaries were mostly established between 1832 and 1867. Furthermore, the Battambang-Siamese border was theoretically solidified after the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1907. Yet, there are debates about the national, provincial, and local borders that extend up to the present. For example, recently Cambodian territory was sold in small portions to Vietnam and the Brah Vihara/Preah Vihear temple site along the Thai-

Cambodian border has been contested. In these spaces, the concepts of the "middle ground" as a nebulous territory with overlapping notions of "hybrid political institutions" that were "contingent on local conditions" where "social boundaries and cultural practices were in flux" (Giersch 2006: 3,4,7). There were also communities where the same social conditions applied, but they were not necessarily so strictly "middle grounds" or "persistent frontiers" as commonly conceived of. They might have fit the model of linguistic or religious borderlands, but be located in urban centers, far away from national borders.

Employing Pratt's idea about "contact zones" can allow for a discussion of certain more urban and semi-urban Cham communities that were not necessarily part of "borderlands" in the strictest sense. However, each of these "contact zones" was very much a part of the narrative of linguistic borderlands and religious borderlands of Cham literati. Take Kampong Cham city, Battambang city, Phnom Penh, Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), Oudong, Phan Rang, and Phan Thiét from much of the middle of the nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth century. Although there were contestations between *indigène* and French authority in each of these locations, at the same time, Cham leadership occasionally allied their communities as either for or against Khmer, Vietnamese and French authority, depending on local conditions during the period in question. Each of these centers was also comparatively more cosmopolitan, as Buddhist, Islamic, and Christian influenced notions of public governance frequently encountered each other from the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries. These semi-urban and urban zones became even more heated "contact zones" during the twentieth century through the conflicts of the First and Second Indochina Wars.

Methodologically, the concepts of the "middle ground," the "persistent frontier" and "contact zones" are useful as tools for inquiry. They help begin to locate Cham communities in the history of mainland Southeast Asia, delineate the cultural authorities of those communities and how those cultural authorities set about caring for their communities. They are methodological tools of inquiry that allow scholars to better understand the socio-political context of the transition from Cham royal power to scholarly-cum-religious elites. They help remind us that the case of the Cham might be comparable to the cases of other transnational minority experiences in a transregional and global context. In this context "Borderlands History" is not a field that is rigidly defined by the formation of modern national boundaries,⁴⁶ restricted to, say, a narrative of "Studies of the Cambodia-Vietnamese Border from 1600-1975,"⁴⁷ but rather it is a tool of inquiry, a field of study that is not strictly defined and taught but is rather like borders themselves, conceptually pliable and occasionally nebulous. In this way "Borderlands History" is a field that allows for the histories of minority peoples, such as the Cham, to bubble up within the better-remembered narratives of Southeast Asian history, but also delineates the Cham contributions to those narratives. Finally, through a focus on the formation of religious communities, the leadership of those communities; the manuscripts and scripts that they produced and used; as well as the histories, conceptual categories, social structures and ethical

⁴⁶ While borderlands studies is a broader field, "Borderlands History" is a more particular field of study, referring to the setting of the borderlands and a method of inquiry. In this discussion, borderlands as a setting refers to the setting where a historical narrative unfolds: at the borderlands, whether those borderlands are geographic, linguistic or religious. Some characteristic works in the field, have, however, looked at the formation of "modern national boundaries." Beyond White's (1991) and Giersch's (2006) work, there is also Cayton & Teute (1998), and Bryant, Radding & Readman (2014) that have aspects of their studies that are representative of this trend. Yes, borderlands history includes such studies. But, it is not limited to them.

⁴⁷ Hamalainen & Truett (2011) would view such an approach as a "frontier history" rather than a "borderlands history," although the distinction was not as clear before the publication of their article, and, during much of the 1990s, borderlands histories did sometimes follow this trend. Such works are not inherently "bad histories," but rather, they do represent different types of inquiries. Tagliacozzo (2005), for example, is an excellent work that is a "borderlands history," but that fits this narrative.

codes that rose out of those manuscripts, my dissertation demonstrates the varieties of "Cham Religions" and how they were cared for from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century.

IIIIf Beyond Borders: Toward Diaspora

In her discussion of Iranian refugees, Bauer (2010) uses the concept of "borders" in a nuanced fashion, as she refers to borders between refugees and their host societies, and the borders between refugees and those who have remained at home. In this understanding, "borders," are social constructs that are a feature of diasporic movement. In the case of the Cham in Cambodia, this would refer to the "border" between Cham and their host society, as well as the "border" between the diaspora in Cambodia and those who remained in Pāñduraṅga. Bauer (2010: 43) also argues that these borders in refugee communities are gendered through debates about the proper behavior, or, in the case of Iranian refugees, "sent for brides," which masculinizes the abroad community, and genders "the homeland" as female. It is not inconceivable that this occurred among Cham communities in Cambodia during historical epochs, although I found no historical evidence of such a phenomenon in my research. Nevertheless, Bauer's overall very nuanced reference to the "social borders" that exist between diaspora communities and host societies, as well as between diaspora communities and communities that remained behind is a useful blending of borderlands studies and diaspora studies.

The concept of "expulsion" is relatively old in the field of Cham studies, as even turn of the century French scholars used the term to refer to the removal of the Cham from the

"homeland," associated with the various kingdoms of the classical civilization of Champā. Yet, the explicit mention of a "Cham diaspora" is a comparatively recent occurrence, which has become more popular in the past twenty years of scholarship. There are now a handful of works that use the concept of "diaspora" as their central analytical lens. Most notably, the idea of "diaspora" referring to diasporic migrations out of the Champā civilization, using the term diaspora as such, appears in the work of Graham Thurgood (1999: 22, 29) in his discussion of contact induced change in Chamic languages, where he spoke of two diasporic periods: one after 1471, and another in the twentieth century. Since that time, the term has appeared in the work of Philip Taylor (2007) to refer to any Cham population that no longer lives in the "homeland" of the former lands of Champā, wherein Pāñdurāṅga is included as a homeland. Alberto Perez-Periero (2012) explicitly argued that the best lens to view the Cham in Cambodia was as a Muslim diaspora, although the situation in Cambodia is admittedly complicated.

Perhaps comparable to the circumstance of the Pale of the Settlement in Eastern Europe, in the case of the Ashkenazi Jewish people, for the Cham Muslims of Cambodia, parts of Cambodia, particularly along the outskirts of Oudong, Battambang and in the vicinity of Kampong Cham operate as a form of "secondary homeland," as it were, from which there were also expulsions at the hands of Cambodian governmental forces, at various points during the seventeenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. To refer to Cham in Malaysia, most of whom arrived in Malaysia as a result of expulsion from lands that are now Cambodia, as opposed to lands that are now Vietnam, Sari, Maunati and Prima (2012) also used diaspora as a central theme in their discussion, as they seek to explain the "Cham Diaspora in Southeast Asia," a project that, in their minds, will eventually include an explanation of the Cham of Vietnam, where the communities of Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc are rightly described as diasporic

communities, which were founded by migrations that arrived in these border areas from Cambodia, mostly during the nineteenth century. Master's theses that have addressed the Cham in the United States have also overwhelmingly adopted the term diaspora to refer to the Cham population, in part because the majority of Cham living in the United States fled the rule of the Khmer Rouge or the Vietnamese communists. Weber (2014) also adopts the term in his book on the Cham in French and may be one of the first significant French publications to do so, although not one of these works mentioned above has the in depth theoretical discussion that Pérez-Pereiro provides in his dissertation (2012: 257-304).

In Pérez-Pereiro's discussion of the Cham diaspora in Cambodia, he refers to the classical definitions of Safran, the "five points" of defining diaspora: 1) dispersal from a homeland; 2) memory or mythical connection to that homeland; 3) inability to assimilate – or understanding that they are unable to assimilate – into a host society; 4) the possibility of return to the homeland; 5) support for the restoration of the homeland; although other presentations of Safran have sometimes included a sixth point as well 6) group consciousness is defined by the connection to the homeland (op. cit. Clifford 1997: 247; Pérez-Pereiro 2012: 259). Points one and two are certainly true for Cham communities in what is now Cambodia, although the question of the ability for Cham assimilation becomes more ambiguous during certain points of Cambodian history, such as when King Ibrahim I converted to Islam in the seventeenth century, or when Norodom created the "Khmer Islam" identity in the middle of the twentieth century. Point four is even more debatable and may be irrelevant for the Cham case, as many contemporary Cham would reject the possibility of return, and the question was particularly infrequently raised during historical epochs. Finally, we find only three notable attempts to "restore the homeland" during the entire three hundred plus year period under question in this dissertation. The first was

during the late eighteenth century, the second was during the 1830s, and then the last was during the 1950s and 1960s. These nuances, however, speak more toward the possibility that Safran's "litmus test" may not be the best definition of diasporic communities, and, to dramatize Pérez-Pereiro's presentation, he rejects Safran's definitions in the case of the Cham of Cambodia, in favor of what he calls "an ethnographic approach to diaspora," adapted from the work of Arjun Appadurai and others. I accept the relevance of Arjun Appadurai's work in the case of the Cham, although there are also other works and concepts of diaspora which I would consider relevant, such as Jonathan Boyarin's concept of "rediasporization" or Paul Gilroy's discussion of diaspora in the case of *The Black Atlantic* (1993), which Pérez-Pereiro did not refer to directly in his discussion of the relevant literature.

To be brief, Jonathan Boyarin introduces the concept of "rediasporization" as a means to explain that multiple experiences of "rediasporization do not necessarily succeed each other in historical memory but echo back and forth" (Clifford 1997: 248). The concept of rediasporization was introduced to explain how among the Sephardim, after 1492, "the homeland," was dually identified with Spain and Israel, directly paralleling the Cham experience with Cambodia and Champā after 1975, or, indeed, even in earlier periods, to a certain extent. Boyarin's concept is therefore a useful means to think about the historical echoes that are created by the process of multiple expulsions, and would be important to keep in mind for any future discussion of communities that might identify as "Khmer Islam," in Laos, Thailand, or Malaysia, for example, as well as "Cham Islam" populations in these states, most particularly the curious phenomena of "Cham Islam" that sought to "return" to "Champā" vis a vis their relocation in the diaspora communities of Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc, as they fled the civil war in Cambodia in the 1960s. These discussions, however, are not as theoretically uprooting as Gilroy's studies of

diaspora, through which he almost turns the meaning of the term upon its head. To explain, diaspora comes from the Greek root meaning "scattering" or "dispersion," and is often taken to mean: from a single origin to a plurality of locations. By positioning the origins of *The Black Atlantic* as rooted in the history of the Afro-Atlantic slave trade, and defining *The Black Atlantic* as a singular, emergent, community, although admittedly it is only possible to define this diaspora community through its plurality, Gilroy turns the terms of diaspora discussions about: from many origins to a single location, if the black Atlantic can indeed be seen as a singular (Gilroy 1993: 187 – 223). What is critical about Gilroy's model of diaspora instead offers a model of emergent hybridity, particularly amongst the classes of performers and the literati. It is important because it is possible that there is no such thing as Cham identity without the developments that occurred among the Cham literati in diaspora in Cambodia. The intellectual contributions were important, and, the explaining the incredibly influential position of Islam, even in the history of Cham in Vietnam, is indeed incomplete without their contributions.

Gilroy's concept may not, at first, appear to be relevant to the Cham case, however, thinking more deeply about routes, and hybridity, as well as the plurality of origins, is important. Because Champā was not a single kingdom, the Cham diaspora community in Cambodia was, in fact, composed of multiple dispersals, from various locations in Champā. Cham arrived from Vijaya (now central Vietnam) after 1471, while they arrived from Pāñduraṅga (now south-central Vietnam) in the seventeenth century, and there is some evidence to indicate that Pāñduraṅga and Vijaya had substantially different cultures, particularly regarding the degree of Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim influence on the polities, with Pāñduraṅga being more strongly influenced by Islam and Hinduism, and Vijaya being more strongly influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism. In other words: Cambodia became a place for the Cham population to re-solidify, a

secondary homeland, comparable to the role of Haiti or Cuba in the world of the Afro-Atlantic. The tension between the notion of belonging and separation from a homeland becomes particularly important in chapter five in this dissertation, in the context of Hj. Les Kosem and his affiliated forces, who, in the words of Clifford (1997: 255) were living in a "tension, the experiences of separation and entanglement, of living here and remembering/desiring another place." Finally, even though it would be difficult to find evidence that the Cham in Cambodia identified with any concepts of being in diaspora in historical epochs, the inquiry is worth keeping open, even as, for the time being, it appears that for much of the period between the seventeenth and the twentieth century, the majority of the population in Cambodia would have been more concerned with making a home in their "new" place, or just maintaining their existing communities, with which they now identified and viewed as their homes.

The possibility of shifting value set upon the idea of dispersal and the valuing of a "homeland over there," for a diaspora community is part of the reason that Pérez-Pereiro settles upon introducing the work of Arjun Appadurai into the discussion, as he cites Appadurai's conception of *locality* as allowing for emphasis on ideas of "space, place, homeland and dispersion..." which "gather and lose weight and import as circumstances change" (Pérez-Pereiro 2012: 264 see also: Appadurai 1996: 178-199). The point is excellent, and it works as much for the history of Cham literati, as it does for the ethnographic exploration that Pérez-Pereiro engages in. Put together with Clifford's (1997: 277) emphasis on "moments," it might be fair to say that, even among the Cham diasporas of Cambodia, Malaysia, and the United States, there are only "moments" associated with various "localities," a point that may well also guide the writing of the history of Cham literati as a subject of study. That said, when enough moments and localities are assembled, patterns do emerge. Appadurai's (1996) concept of diaspora as the

driving force behind post-nationalism may not be relevant in this study, as the bounded moment is set at the period before 1969, when ethnonationalism was still in full swing among many Cham communities in mainland Southeast Asia, although, the certain tension between irredentism and those Cham communities that did not readily join up with ethno-nationalist movements may be an early indicator of the "post-national" import of diaspora that Appadurai found so central. The role of literati, nonetheless, remained central in those discussions and does in the present as well. Even in its pluralities of moments and locations, history, as Appadurai notes, "is by definition the story of the *longue durée*" (Appadurai 1996: 71).

IV Justification of Period of Study: 1651-1969

Because the chapters of this dissertation are both chronological and thematic, the dates that I selected to frame the narrative are markers of watershed moments in the history of Cham literati. By the early-modern period the Cham had already entered into various relationships with various indigenous, Chinese, Indian, Muslim and European cultures. Many of these relationships began during the classical era when the civilizations of Angkor, Śrī Vijayā and Champā were powerful. However, by 1651 there were drastic changes to the very fabric of the Champā civilization. Ppo Romé's reign marks one of the key transition points, and perhaps the most blatant one, between "Champā culture," "Pāñduraṅga culture," and "Cham culture."⁴⁸ After *Bimong Ppo Romé* tower was dedicated to him, there were no longer any larger temple tower

⁴⁸ Here Champā culture refers to the "parent culture" of the Champā civilization. Cham culture refers to the culture of the Cham people. It is generally accepted that Cham culture, in its nineteenth to twenty-first century form, emerged out of Champā culture. The narrative of this process is detailed throughout this study.

complexes dedicated to any other historical or semi-historical figure. The practice of temple-tower complex dedication is a key aspect to Champā culture that was discontinued. However, the veneration of new deities in the form of “New Gods” (C.: *Yang Biruw*), who were historical figures associated with the Pāñduraṅga court continued. Churu leadership in Pāñduraṅga continued for another fourteen sovereigns. Additionally, the origins of many ideas about “Cham culture” that appear only in the early-modern and modern historical epochs can be dated to Ppo Romé’ reign according to local historical memory. Thus, Ppo Romé’s reign in some ways represents a “break” from “Champā culture,” the solidification of “Pāñduraṅga culture,” and the emergence of “Cham culture.” Furthermore, because his was “the last god-king of Champā,” the end Ppo Romé’s reign is a useful marker for the beginning of the end of Champā royal power. It brings about the possibility for the increased importance in Cham society for the roles of religious and scholarly elites. Priests, clerics and other literati became the cultural authorities in Cham communities as royal power waned.

The marker 1651 as the first symbolic date for this dissertation was easy to settle upon, but I had much more difficulty settling upon an “ending date” for this dissertation. The year 1998 would have been a nice date with which to close the dissertation. 1998 marks the end of decades of civil war and is just three years after the United States normalized relations with Vietnam. By contrast, 1975 would have been quite bleak. Although in Vietnamese nationalist historiography 1975 marks the “glorious reunification of Vietnam,” the nationalist narrative ignores realities of re-education camps, struggles of diaspora populations, and desperate poverty that persisted inside Vietnam throughout the two decades. Furthermore, in Cambodia, 1975 marks “year zero” for Pol Pot’s Democratic Kampuchea regime (DK; also ‘Khmer Rouge’; Kh.: *Khmer Krohom*). Despite the substantial body of existing scholarly literature on the subject, DK anti-Muslim, anti-

Cham, anti-Malay and general anti-minority policies have been critically under-examined factors in the world's eighth largest genocide.⁴⁹ Unquestionably, 1975 and 1998 are both important dates for the Cham community. Yet, my discomfort with them as "bookends" lies with the way that selecting these dates emphasizes the ubiquitous "State," but doesn't reflect internal transitions within the Cham communities based upon local factors. Therefore, for conceptual reasons, I have used 1969 as the "end date" for this dissertation.

I settled upon 1969 as an end date because the first truly secular Cham organization was founded in the Republic of Vietnam in 1969: the Cham Cultural Center (CCC). Although many individuals who worked with the center were religious literati, the center itself was not an explicitly religious organization. The CCC was constructed with some international backing, such as by French researchers PB LaFont and Gerard Moussay. Nevertheless, it was the first large scale public organization that was geared toward research and teaching on Cham culture, literature and language. Working with the CCC, individuals such as Thiên Sanh Cảnh, who was religious, but not a member of the priest class – began to gain recognition for their work in the public sphere. They also gained recognition in state-aligned education and research institutions. In other words, 1969 marks the introduction of a new series of particularly "secular" strategies that were adapted by Cham literati for the formation of more public institutions and organizations. The possibility of "being Cham" without being explicitly a member of a given religious community became more popular. Cham communities in Cambodia have also recently began to establish "secular" institutions, although perhaps to a lesser extent. Either way, the

⁴⁹ Although there have been some debates on whether or not the term "genocide" is appropriate for the case of Cambodia as a whole during the Khmer Rouge period, a series of studies by Ysa Osman and Ben Kiernan have made particular contributions to this subject, and the term does seem to fit well with Khmer Rouge policies that targeted the Cham based on the language, religion, and ethnicity.

mediations between secular and religious authority have widespread implications for the relationships between Cham communities, relationships between “the State(s)” of Cambodia and Vietnam, and for relations between contemporary Southeast Asia and the Muslim world. It is very likely that the outcome of these continuing relations will again reshape the study of Cham history.

V Sources & Methods of Writing Cham History:

Early in my research, I was concerned that in attempting to study “Cham history” I faced a rather typical problem of Southeast Asian history: that there is a presumption of, and often very real, lack of source material. To deal with this problem, I developed a mixed-methods approach that included participant observation in Cham high holidays and life cycle rituals (from 2012-2014), periods of intensive ethnographic fieldwork that were used for collaborative projects with the Cham research centers in Vietnam (UNESCO-CHAM) and Cambodia (CCCS), and periods of archival work and library work in Siem Reap (July 2013), Phnom Penh (July 2013-December 2013), Ho Chi Minh (July 2013 and January through May 2014). Even while I was in the archives during the work-week, I spent most of my free time dining and conversing with Cham students, professionals and intellectuals in Phnom Penh and Vietnam. This period of research followed upon my master’s thesis, *A Southeast Asian Palimpsest: Akhar Thrah, 1700-Present*, written between 2009 and 2011. I began dissertation research in 2012, with a period of work on Cham manuscripts, Cham language study and a review of Vietnamese master’s theses and dissertations in the field of Cham studies, as well as through making connections with the UNESCO-CHAM center and joining their journal’s founding editorial board. In 2013, I ran a

special intensive field research project on Ramadan in Vietnam and Cambodia. In 2014, I completed field research projects on Cham Hinduism, the Cham calendar, and goddess worship in Cham communities. These projects ran between several days and weeks and included many Cham language and Vietnamese language interviews. Other times in 2013 to 2014, while I was focused on archival work, I still spent every weekend traveling to outlying mosques and communities through Cambodia, the Mekong Delta, Tây Ninh, and south-central Vietnam. Although I already had proficiency in Vietnamese and Cham script, as well as spoken Cham, in 2013 I began to study Arabic language and script in local variants upon the request of several Imam with whom I had worked, along with Khmer and Malay. Throughout fieldwork, I relied upon good working research collaborations with Sikhara, Son Putra, Gru Dharbhan Po Dam, Sayaka, and Abu Paka Abu Talib, among others in the Cham community in mainland Southeast Asia.

Numerous oral accounts gathered throughout fieldwork in Southeast Asia (from 2012 to 2014) and personal correspondences (through 2017) claimed that Japanese and American intervention in Southeast Asia, combined with the genocide committed by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia destroyed most written documents referring to the Cham. Additionally, old Cham written materials are carried to the grave by respected clerics or burned on funeral pyres. Manuscripts that are not read for some time may be cast into streams and canals. Manuscript burnings occurred during the Nguyễn dynasty [1830s], Ngô ĐÌnh Diệm regime [1955-1963] and Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime [1974-1979]. Oral accounts hinted that the subsequent re-assertion of heavily centralized Communist control in Vietnam [post-1975] and post-Khmer Rouge Cambodia [post-1979] were not particularly kind to Cham language sources either. Prevailing wisdom has asserted that this period was better for Cham in Cambodia, for one

because there was no open warfare, and because there were no longer active policies enforcing bans of the Cham language. However, the oral accounts I encountered while doing fieldwork complained that there was no substantial funding for protection Cham language sources, or production, no governmental support. Although I could not find written evidence that Cham language itself was targeted, Cham language media and educational programs only emerged in the 2000s in Cambodia, with an influx of foreign attention and aid, whereas comparable education programs emerged in the 1970s in Vietnam, and Cham language media emerged in Vietnam in the 1990s.

In short sum: the period of the 1980s and early 1990s in Cambodia could be characterized as a period of “no institutional support,” during which the Cambodian government secured intense loyalty from Cham leadership for establishing the bare minimum of not continuing genocidal policies. Furthermore, across Vietnam and Cambodia, there are widespread impressions that “Cham did not want their documents in the archives,” which have seeped into scholarly impressions as well. This made it difficult, initially, to convince some members of both the scholarly and the Cham communities that the archives did, in fact, have valuable resources for the study of Cham history. My preliminary research in 2012 quickly revealed the vast array of source material available to write a *longue durée* history of the Cham from the early modern to modern periods was not widely known. In light of my initial findings, others expressed the opinion that “the state” would not grant archival access to Cham scholars. As I began to release my initial findings, mid-way through 2013, reports summarizing archival holdings have since increased in importance among certain communal leaders seeking to reclaim their own history.

In response to the problem of sources, by 2013, my research took on an additional restorative aim: to bring together narratives of “the state” represented by the thousands of

documents held at the national archives in Phnom Penh and Ho Chi Minh, and “the individual,” represented by the vast collections of more than 80,000 pages of manuscripts held in private collections across Cham communities. In the case of both, I relied upon a predominantly prosopographic approach to research the social fabric of communities initially, before highlighting the historical actors that were most critical to the case of Cham history in the cases of each historical epoch. I then selected documents that would illuminate the social history of each era. Finally, I pursued occasional lines of research upon lineages, whether they be intellectual or familial, when it was possible to reconstruct the narratives. Ultimately, I have aimed to correct some of the past presumptions of scholarship related to the history of the Cham – contrasting the “popular scholarly perception” with the research from the field – in a way that highlighted little-known biographies, through a reliance on a rich supply of source material.

There are two critical issues to consider when historian rely upon the written record of Cham manuscripts to write history. The first, for the historian, is the dating of the manuscripts, while the second, is the degree of influence that the narratives contained within actually had upon the general population. To address the first concern, we have evidence that the script used to write the manuscripts was available by the middle of the seventeenth century, even though the oldest extant Cham manuscript, at the present moment, is a partial copy of the Qur'an, with annotation and commentary, which dates to 1727 CE, while we also have European sources that claim to have received the Qur'an in Cham territories in the seventeenth century. The Cham *akayet* genre manuscripts are thought to be sixteenth to seventeenth century in origin before that genre was replaced by the *ariya*, which originated in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. We have individual authors, in the form of the Preah Balat, who begin to appear by the 1860s, while travelogues and proto-ethnographic manuscripts appear by the 1880s. By the

nineteenth century, we have evidence of personal libraries of manuscripts, in the form of texts that were recorded as compilations, while, by the 1920s we can associate manuscripts with private libraries, such as was the case with the works of Bô Thuận. By the end of the dissertation, we have new advancements that appear, in the form of modern catalogued research collections, and manuscripts being standardized with the aid of a typewriter. Hence, while it is certainly the case that we are only offered a window into the past, and given the record available to us, this window is narrow, it is also indeed precious. If we place a candle in the center, we quickly illuminate parts of the past that were previously left entirely in the dark.

The second issue of using Cham manuscripts to write Cham history is to consider the degree to which these manuscripts had an influence over the general population. As far as we know, even in the twentieth century, ten percent or less of the Cham population was a member of the literati, and the literati were overwhelmingly male. We should expect that the literati were an even smaller percentage of the general population in the seventeenth century. In this context, oral traditions would have been incredibly important to the majority of the population, and even the literati themselves would have been expected to have incredible oral skills. The composition style of many of the religious manuscripts used in this dissertation is further evidence of this, as lines are often shorthand reminders of which prayers to recite when. That said, given that orality was a much more widespread skill, we can expect that manuscript themselves had additional meaning imbued in them through both their role as texts that centralized cultural authority, creating a sense of “standard interpretations,” as well as simply through their physical form. In other words, the material of the document itself was probably highly prized, perhaps even sometimes more than the contents of the page. For example, when a Qur'an was given to a European visitor in the seventeenth century, it was not the substance of the Qur'an itself that

were valued, but rather the physical gift of the manuscript that was prized. Part of valuing the physicality of the manuscript also may have to do with the ability to read it. If one is not literate, only the physical object of the manuscript can be valued. But, if one is literate, it is the contents that can be valued. Finally, since oral culture was so important, the process of manuscripts composition also would have played a role in centralizing and systematizing oral culture. For many narratives, the performance would have been oral, but the manuscripts represent the record of the standard version(s) of the presentation. Hence, realizing that orality and oral culture was a major feature of Cham society is a critical caveat to the emphasis on manuscripts in this study, even as the examination of manuscripts is crucial to understanding the history of Cham literati as a whole. The reason for the emphasis on the manuscripts is based upon the evidence that producing them and interpreting them were ways for literati to assert their cultural authority, and remain incredibly influential.

My source material in the early chapters of this dissertation includes: examinations of epigraphic sources, their translations and summaries; combined early European accounts; translated Chinese and Arabic sources; Vietnamese sources, such as Ngô Sĩ Liên's *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư*, as well as a not unsubstantial reliance upon critical readings of previous scholarship and Cham manuscripts. In the first through fourth chapters, Cham and Vietnamese language sources, dynastic records, gazetteers and literary sources are more important than epigraphic records. By the fourth and fifth chapters, French colonial documents, in combination with historicized published anthropological accounts, support the narrative, along with readings of Cham language source material. Finally, by the fifth chapter, archival documents, including letters, juridical rulings, photographs, and pamphlets, provide a thick description of the fabric of

Cham communities across the borderlands during the latter decades of French colonialism and into the first decade and a half of Southeast Asian history after the French colonial period.

Throughout the term of research, I attempted to create a roving archive of private collections of Cham manuscripts, thousands of photographs, and other source material, constantly sharing them with the two Cham research centers (Cambodia and Vietnam).⁵⁰ At every turn Cham leaders and intellectuals requested that I place as much of an emphasis on Cham language sources as possible, and that these sources be references to written documents, not interviews. Many, if not the majority, of the living contacts requested that their names were removed from any interview documents or fieldwork reports that were submitted, particularly in Vietnam, and so their names do not appear in this document, although their narratives and perspectives greatly helped to shape it.

The Cham language sources used in this dissertation are most frequently written in the handwritten standard Cham script [*Akhar Thrah*]. This script originated during the early-modern period and is used up through the present. Certain orthographic forms of early-modern short hand script [*Akhar (a)-tuel*] are common in these sources, and, occasionally, sources that have Cham adaptations of Arabic script are also referred to. The oldest forms of Cham script may not be “Cham” per se. They are the epigraphic record of the Champā civilization. These sources are referred to as *Akhar Hayap* or *Akhar Bitau* in early-modern, modern and contemporary Cham, even though scholars are well aware that there are at least three, and up to five, variants of *Akhar*

⁵⁰ In total, the “roving archive” included materials from: National Archives of Cambodia (NAC), the Vietnam National Archives II (VNA II), the Bophana Audio-Visual Resource Center (BAVRC), the Center for Khmer Studies Library Siem Reap (CKS-SR), the Center for Khmer Studies Library Phnom Penh (CKS-PP), the General Sciences Library of the University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Ho Chi Minh City (GSL), University of Madison-Wisconsin, Memorial Library (ML) and private manuscript collections of the Cambodia Center for Cham Studies (CCCS) and the UNESCO-Cham Center for Research and Preservation of the Cham Culture (UNESCO-CHAM), as well as several thousand field photographs of Cham ceremonies.

Bitau (Majumdar 1932; Golzio 2004; Griffiths et al. 2012). For simplicity's sake: the first dates to the fourth century Võ Cạnh inscription and is a variant of the south Indian branch of the Brahmi script (Sastri 1935). The second is more clearly Pallava-Grantha influenced, of the Mÿ Son variety.⁵¹ The third is the Pāñduraṅga variety.⁵² Although the orthographic similarity among these three varieties demonstrates an overlapping literary-cultural zone, with certain similarities to classical Khmer orthography, later Cham scripts all seem to radically break away from *Akhar Bitau* and Khmer orthography.

A possible link between *Akhar Thrah* and *Akhar Bitau* is the old *Akhar Rik* script, although there are scant manuscripts that include *Akhar Rik* script.⁵³ Today *Akhar Rik* is predominantly an ornamental script and very rarely studied. The priest class of the Śaivite-Hindu influenced majority of the Cham population⁵⁴ has traditionally held the knowledge of *Akhar Rik* and local Cham historians frequently state that in the days of Champā the entire priest class knew it by heart, although knowledge has declined in the present. For this reason, labor class individuals in Cham society frequently confuse *Akhar Rik* and *Akhar Bitau* although they are orthographically quite different. The confusion is seen as a form of cultural decline by the scholarly-elite.⁵⁵ The association of *Akhar Rik* with inscription upon magic amulets may give some hints at this script's origins, as it seems to parallel Balinese variants of the Javanese Kawi

⁵¹ Almost all the “Indic” scripts in Southeast Asia come from the Pallava-Grantha subfamily of the Brahmi scripts (Blood 1980b; Daniels 1990).

⁵² The Phan Rang variety in particular has at least two glyphs - [/na/; ණ=ඇ] and [/ma/; ඩ=ඉ]- that are virtually the same glyph forms to both classical and contemporary Khmer script, as is evident from comparison between the Phnom Bakheng inscription [948 CE] and the Ppo Klong Garai [1050 CE] inscriptions in particular.

⁵³ These are all “abugida” scripts. They are also called “neo-syllabaries” or “alpha-syllabaries.” They have consonant glyphs that include inherent vowels, in addition to glyphs that modify the vowel sound, placed above, behind, in front or below the central glyph (Daniels 1990).

⁵⁴ C.: Ahiér

⁵⁵ Scholars such as Rie Nakamura (1999) have ascribed these notions of “cultural decline” to Orientalist influence, although they may equally be ascribed to the influence of Hindu, Islamic and Buddhist cosmology, all of which the Cham elite have been in close contact with for centuries.

script that appeared when Balinese court scribes carved reports about village boundaries and laws into copper plates.⁵⁶ In other words: certain orthographic features of *Akhar Rik* may have arisen not from its parent script, but from the material that it was inscribed upon. Incidentally, as an additional script isolate, Balinese appears to be the most similar script to Akhar Thrah in Southeast Asia, orthographically, even though some similarities to Khmer, Thai, Lao and Lanna script remain.⁵⁷ Regardless, *Akhar Rik* later became a way for Cham scholars to prove their worth. Họp Ai [19th c. – 20th c.] produced at least one manuscript in *Akhar Rik* script and there were at least a few scholars from his hometown⁵⁸ that maintained a good knowledge of the script up through the 1960s, including Thiên Sanh Cảnh. By this time *Akhar Rik* had solidified such an important place in the community that even educated members of certain Islamic influenced⁵⁹ towns kept a knowledge of the script as well.⁶⁰

As suggested above, the *Akhar Atuel*⁶¹ script represents an early-modern intermediary short hand between *Akhar Bitau*, *Akhar Rik* and *Akhar Thrah*, which was relatively common in Cham manuscripts, up through the middle of the twentieth century. Certain glyph forms maintained in *Akhar Atuel* were popular in *Akhar Bitau* scripts – forms that are similarly retained in contemporary Khmer or Balinese – such as the re-duplication or “stacking” of consonant clusters by writing a second consonant-vowel pairing as a “foot” under the first.⁶² In an example, which is not found in Balinese or Khmer forms to my current knowledge of these scripts, there is

⁵⁶ This comparison is based upon the source of the Jayapangus [12th c.] copper plate inscriptions that can be viewed at the Bali Museum, Denpansar, Bali, Indonesia.

⁵⁷ Across scripts the /ba/, /ra/ and /ya/ phonemes remain the most orthographically similar.

⁵⁸ Palei Hamu Tanran

⁵⁹ C.: *Bani*

⁶⁰ E.g.: Palei Cuah Patih

⁶¹ alt.: *Akhar Tuel* or *Akhar Twon*

⁶² For example: in epigraphic Champā records: /swasti/ closely resembles the *Akhar Atuel* /swasti/ and the modern Khmer /sousdei/.

a shorthand of the “politeness marker” */nân/* that can be written as a ligature, truncated into a single glyph character, rather than two glyphs.⁶³ The maintenance of older orthographic forms and the innovation of new short-hands is generally supports the argument that *Akhar Atuel* emerged out of a form of *Akhar Bitau* and into *Akhar Thrah*.

Although the oldest known sample of *Akhar Thrah* script is the inscription that is carved into the door-jam of the seventeenth Ppo Romé tower, *Akhar Thrah* was likely used to inscribe palm leaf manuscripts⁶⁴ with a steel pen-knife even before it was carved into stone (Sakaya 2013a). With increased contact with the Chinese and Vietnamese, using Chinese paper and brushes became popular in the nineteenth century as a large number of Cham were appointed to nominal mandarin positions in the Nguyễn administration (Po 1987). Through contact with the French - when Cham served as civil servants, laborers, and guides - pen and paper in the form of *cahier* notebooks became the most popular way to record manuscripts, a method that persists through the present, although typed *Akhar Thrah* gradually became more popular since the middle of the twentieth century. Two innovations then improved the standardization of print production: the first Cham script typewriter was introduced in the 1960s and computerized fonts were introduced in the 1990s. Since the script was unencoded in the late 1990s, there has been a recent proliferation of different fonts of *Akhar Thrah* script. However, not all of the glyphs that

⁶³ Nonetheless, the greatest similarity between *Akhar Thrah* and any other Southeast Asian script may be the Balinese script. This is not surprising as the two scripts arose out of similar contexts, at similar times and were produced on similar materials. Geoff Wade (1993) has also draw parallels between the Cham *Akhar Thrah* script and the pre-colonial script of the Philippines. On Balinese script see: (Mas Niti Sastro and Goesti Poetoe Dj'lantik 1929).

⁶⁴ C.: *agal bac*

have been used historically can be accounted for in unicoded fonts. Nevertheless, there are now more or less standard fonts for both the Eastern and Western Cham script.⁶⁵

The Western Cham variant of Akhar Thrah was called *Akhar Srak* at the end of the nineteenth century in Cambodia, and, at the time, was still in use in the An Giang and Tây Ninh Cham communities.⁶⁶ However, popularity of this script waned to a handful of villages in Cambodia, as most of the Western Cham population continued to Islamicize. The *Akhar Srak* script, much like *Akhar Thrah* has also been revived, mostly through internationally funded programs, coupled with local support. *Akhar Srak* is now most commonly known as “Akhar /ka/- /kha/” in Cambodia – about the first two glyph forms in the scripts system, and, it is of note that there are some glyph forms of the script that were common in manuscripts produced during the turn of the century that have faded out of popularity. One example of this is a special independent “Ina Akhar /A/” that to date has only been found in turn of the century Islamic influenced⁶⁷ manuscripts that were produced in what is now Vietnam.

Islamic influence brought Arabic script into Cham communities as early as the eleventh century. Some scholars, believe that standard Arabic was introduced then. Other scholars believe that a form of *Kufic* script was first introduced and standard Arabic appeared only later (Manguin 1979). However, being an Austronesian language, Cham language does not have several

⁶⁵ “Eastern” and “Western” are designations for the Cham communities on the coast of south central Vietnam (Eastern) and Tây Ninh, An Giang province along with the Cham in Cambodia (Western). The terms are linguistic designations today. They speak of the division of the Cham into two groups based upon script and dialect. These distinctions emerged within the Cham community drawn from 19th c. source material. They were not necessarily acknowledged as such by the French – who saw Cham as “Cham of Annam” (Eastern) or “Cham of Cambodia” (Western), although some French linguists began to adapt the designation. By the 1960s these designations were commonly used in Vietnamese, French and English sources. After the 1990s there are some Cham teachers in Cambodia who have explicitly rejected the distinction.

⁶⁶ An 1881 letter from Tiam Nhao Li Gonaur Keng Atan of Châu Đốc, for example signed in Western Cham variant of Cham script, although he could barely scratch out his name in Jawi. See: VNA II. IA.2/022 (1). G5. No. 325

⁶⁷ C.: *Bani*

phonemes that are present in Arabic. Naturally and gradually, the glyphs that represent these phonemes were removed. What remained is now called *Akhar Bani*. *Akhar Bani* is a script that is 90+% orthographically like Arabic, with the reduction of phonemes that are absent in spoken Cham,⁶⁸ as well as the transformation of others.⁶⁹ However, unlike standard Arabic, *Akhar Bani* is only used by clerics of the Islamic influenced minority.⁷⁰ Its use is also regulated to religious Qur'anic passages needed for life-cycle ceremonies, high holidays and the Cham calendar. It is still possible to find *Akhar Bani* with some mixed usage of *Akhar Thrah/Srak* recorded on goatskin bound manuscript volumes. The highest quality of these volumes date to the nineteenth century and are considered priceless heirlooms by their families.

Through a similar process to the creation of *Akhar Bani* the Western Cham communities of Cambodia, An Giang and Tây Ninh also have their own forms of Arabic script. For Qur'anic passages, they have used a more standard form of Arabic called *Akhar Kuran* in Cham. They also have used an Arabic based script called *Akhar Jawi* to record Cham language passages that are strictly mundane – in that they are simply not Qur'anic. The development of *Akhar Jawi* directly parallels the development of the *Jawi*⁷¹ script in Malaysia and the emergence of a Malay Muslim community in Cambodia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, as with *Akhar Bani* and *Akhar Kuran*, *Akhar Jawi* tends to have even fewer phonemes than its Malay counterpart. It is likely that Cham-Malay teachers served as intermediaries for the development of each of these local variants.

⁶⁸ Such as /z/ and /ʒ/

⁶⁹ /f/ becomes /ph/ for example.

⁷⁰ C.: *Bani*

⁷¹ *Jawi* was used to write mundane Malay during the early-modern to the modern period throughout island Southeast Asia.

A final category of Cham scripts was introduced during the early twentieth century: Romanized Cham, which is called *Akhar Latinh* in the Cham language. Historically, although the first Romanizations came from the French, more Malay influenced intellectuals have shifted toward a preference for systems that are closer to Romanized Malay, which was itself developed for English language audiences. These same individuals tend to call Romanized Cham: *Akhar Rumi*, following Malays. In Vietnam, it is increasingly popular for Vietnamese, Cham and Hroi intellectuals to refer to the Austroasiatic Bahnaric Hroi population as a “kind of Cham” or “Chamic” (i.e. Austronesian) group. Consequentially, it is not uncommon to find individuals who speak of the *Akhar Latinh* of the Hroi. In the future, it is likely that there will be an increased mapping of this system onto the Arabic glyphs that are used for *Akhar Bani, Jawi* and *Kuran* in order to better serve the purposes of studying for the majority of the Cham population, who are Muslims living in Cambodia. As previously indicated the two most prominent varieties of the Cham script that were in sources used in this dissertation were *Akhar Thrah* (Vietnam) and *Akhar Srak* (Cambodia). However, throughout my research phase, more manuscripts from Vietnam were available for reference. Hence, the script of choice that appears in my footnotes and appendices is the Eastern Cham script.

The most valuable Cham manuscripts are usually several generations old. They date to the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century. Over the years, many have been burned, destroyed naturally by the Southeast Asian rainy season, or simply cast away. There is a tradition that old accomplished priests may carry their most prized tomes to their funeral pyres or graves. There is also a Cham tradition of casting away old unread manuscripts “into the water.” In contemporary practice this is quite rare, because old Cham manuscripts are becoming increasingly prized by collectors and archivists within the community. The most precious

“manuscripts” are actually composed on palm leaves and known as “*agal bac*.⁷² Others are paper bound with goat skin, or even simple notebooks. Traditionally they have been kept in a hanging basket [*ciet tapuk*] in a household, and so, in collecting, analyzing and reading these manuscripts, great care was taken not to remove them from their *ciet* for very long.

In rare cases, through consultation with a team of UNESCO-CHAM and CCCC researchers, we photographed manuscripts with a high resolution digital camera, in natural lighting, with no “flash” or artificial enhancement. We then reprinted these manuscripts in black and white for their individual owners, so that they could use them as teaching resources, without damaging the original, and shared the digital copies among selected scholars partnered with the research centers. The aim was to generate support for digitalization projects, such as those supported by the British Library. Contemporary approaches to the analysis of Cham manuscripts and Cham language source material have emphasized a three-pronged approach of: 1) preserving historical materials; 2) studying Cham language by these materials; and 3) developing programs in the Cham community through local institutions (Hamid 2007; Gay 1988: 49). Current efforts focus mostly on Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận in Vietnam, as well as Kampong Cham and Kampong Chhnang in Cambodia. Further outreach in Tây Ninh and An Giang in Vietnam, as well as Battambang, Siem Reap and Kampot provinces in Cambodia are logical steps for the expansion of such community based efforts.

In addition to reading of the Jay Scarborough collection and an overview of manuscripts from Cambodia, close readings of Cham manuscript from Vietnam in this dissertation include: *Akayet Inra Patra*, *Akayet Dewa Mano*, *Dalikal Ppo Romé*, *Damnây Ppo Nâgar*,⁷³ *Ariya Bini*

⁷² (see also: Vũ Khánh ed. 2009: 21)

⁷³ The form of *Damnây Ppo Nâger* is quite curious. It is not actually a “*damnây*” per se. Cham manuscripts are generally titled by the genre first: *damnây* (AT: ໃນ້າຍ), *ariya* (AT: ອັນຍາ), *dalakal* (AT: ດາລາກ), *anakhan* (AT:

Cam, Ariya Tuan Phaow, Ariya Cam Bini, Ariya Ppo Pareng, Ariya Ppo Phauk, Ariya Ppo Ceng and many others. Over the course of my years of research, I translated *Ariya Bini Cam, Ariya Cam Bini* and *Ariya Ppo Pareng*, and several other shorter manuscripts into English (see appendices). I also led a team that created the first published English-Vietnamese-Romanized Cham-Eastern Cham Script translation and transcription of *Dalikal Ppo Romé Angan Ja Saot*. Using these manuscripts allows researchers to highlight parts of Cham history that are frequently ignored and little understood. A broad survey of source material was also required, since a deep knowledge of Cham history is needed to provide truly illuminate readings.

If we adapt the literary analysis strategy of *surface reading as materiality* (Best & Marcus 2009: 9), in the sense of reading for the appearances of certain genres, it is possible to historicize the appearance of some of the most important genres of Cham literature.⁷⁴ For example, *akayet* long poems, like their Malay counterparts, derive from the Arabic word *hikayat*, meaning “story.” The Malay *hikayat* and *akayet* became popular during the same historical period [15th – 17th c.], a time when Malay-Cham socio-political alliances reached a high point. There are far fewer Cham *akayet* than Malay *hikayat*, and their form is quite different. The *akayet* are a mix of prose and lyrical verse, while *hikayat* are predominantly prose. The *akayet*,

અન્યરાખા), *akayet* (AT: અન્યરાખા), etc. followed by the main subject of the story. For example: *Ariya Bini-Cam* is a long *ariya* poem that centers on the love of a Bini Muslim woman and a Cham man. *Dalakal Ppo Romé* is a short semi-historical *dalakal* story about the seventeenth century sovereign: Ppo Romé.

⁷⁴ At points, I would like to draw upon a method of reading and inquiry that relates to Paul Ricoeur’s ideas of the “hermeneutics of suspicion.” In his works, Ricoeur used this phrase to use describe a “school of suspicion,” or a “modern” way of reading, that he saw as a commonality across the works of Marx, Freud and Nietzsche. I should add that I don’t necessarily seek to emulate these figures, although, if we follow Felski’s understanding that the *hermeneutics of suspicion* may reveal some deeper truths, or the uncovering of certain pervasive misunderstandings of individual sources, secondary literature, or scholarship at large. In other words, a level of inquiry inherently questions the secondary literature (Felski 2009: 28-35). In this dissertation, I will apply the *hermeneutics of suspicion* to the study of Cham history, although it will also be related to the study of the history of Islam in Southeast Asia, along with the study of French colonial history, the history of Cambodia and the history of Vietnam.

therefore, foreshadow the Cham development of the *ariya* genre. The Cham *ariya* lyrical poems are usually composed of one hundred or more lines, comprised of couplets with six to twelve syllables in a line (Inrasara 1994: 18; 2006: 20, 24).⁷⁵ Although the name of the genre resembles a Sanskrit term, Weber (2012) believed that the term was not necessarily taken from Sanskrit. Regardless, they seem to have arisen to popularity later [18th – 20th c.] and therefore the naming of the genre may have been a form of “self-Hinduization.”⁷⁶ By the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [1880s-1920s] *damnây* or *adaoh yang* hymnals seem to have quite popular, as they are the genres that were commonly accessible to French researchers. Finally, *dalikal* short stories appear to have gained popularity at the same time, with a large burst of new datable *dalikal* manuscripts seeming to appear by the middle of the twentieth century [1950s-1970s].⁷⁷

Admittedly each of these statements is an observation of a trend in historical evidence and not necessarily indicative of the period during which an individual story actually originates. For example, we may only be able to date the earliest manuscript of a given *dalikal* to the 1960s, although the story may have appeared centuries, or even more than a millennium, ago. An important caveat is that: dating a manuscript by its subject material is not necessarily indicative of proximity to a given historical reference point. For example, a new twentieth century manuscript may refer to tenth century “history,” while an eighteenth-century manuscript may refer to seventeenth century history, and yet, it is possible that the twentieth century manuscript

⁷⁵ A good description of the *ariya* genre has been completed by Nicholas Weber (2012: 160-162), although the best overall descriptions of Cham literary genres are written in Vietnamese by Inrasara (2006: 19-28) and Sakaya (2013: 329-352).

⁷⁶ The *ariya* additionally seem to parallel the Malay *syair* genre by terms of development.

⁷⁷ It is possible that these genres were influenced by the earlier appearance of adaptations of Sanskrit literature among the literati of Champā. For example, the biographies of people in positions of authority (S.: *carita*), genealogies of families (S.: *vamśānu-carita*) and the histories of ruling families in specific locations (*vamśāvalī*) were popular across the Sanskrit world in the classical era (Flood 1996: 21)

could be a more accurate portrayal of historical events. In other words, it is never a guarantee that the temporal proximity of the manuscript to a given set of events increases its reliability. Each manuscript, each archival document, each oral source must therefore be interrogated with an eye both for content and for intent.

VI Summary of Chapters

The chapters of this dissertation proceed in a chronological and thematic fashion. They take on the question of: *How did Cham literati care for their religious communities from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries?* The argument, that Cham literati relied upon a combination of cultivating new religious communities, creating new forms of manuscript culture, and providing interpretations of ethical codes based upon this manuscript culture is woven throughout the five central chapters of the dissertation. In chapter one, Ppo Romé's reign signifies an important watershed moment in the foundation of a new understanding of Cham religious communities that allowed for explicit collaborations between Hindu priests and Muslim clerics in Pāñduraṅga. The chapter also explains *how* the Cham emerged out of Champā as a borderlands people circa 1651.⁷⁸ Having established this borderlands context, chapter two then focuses on the mythos, practice and sacred centers of Cham religious communities between 1651 and 1969. It picks up upon the Hindu influenced Ahiér community, focusing on their centers

⁷⁸ Although this is explained in more detail in chapter one, it is fair to very fair view the Cham as a borderlands people in the seventeenth century, very much so, in the traditional geographical and socio-political sense, because they represented one political authority, which was being bumped up upon by another, Nguyễn Vietnam. It is of little import that Nguyễn Vietnamese viewed the boundaries of their territory in a non-Westphalian fashion, since the lands themselves, and the bounds of them were very much contested between Cham and Nguyễn sovereignty.

most specifically, and showing that a certain amount of flexibility of interpretation regarding the meaning of “proper religious practice,”⁷⁹ was critical to the survival of Cham religious communities in the borderlands. The chapter also delineates the mythos, practice and centers of the Cham animists/ancestor worshipers, Cham Bani (Awal), and Sunnī Muslim communities between 1651 and 1969, delineating how the various Cham religious communities drew upon each other for influence. Specifically, as a “religion of the soil,” as it were, Cham Ahiér religion could draw upon a historical ancestral deity, and then see this deity transform into a local form of a creation goddess with close parallels to Indic deities, proliferate across several centers, and then become conflated with the veneration of female saints, transposing the worship of a goddess onto saint veneration for Cham Muslims in the borderlands. Fluidity and flexibility maintained the survival of the communities as they were increasingly dispersed over the three-century period in question.

Chapter three of this dissertation focuses on one of the most critical elements of the argument: the rise of the priest-cleric class as a feature of the emergence of the Cham literati as cultural authorities and the new genres of literature that they created between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. First and foremost, the chapter charts the decline of several key figures in the Cham Pāñduranga royalty between the seventeenth and nineteenth century, as well as the parallel emergent network of an emergent class of Muslim clerics. These simultaneous events culminated in the replacement of Cham royalty with the priest-cleric class as the keepers of cultural authority. At the same time, the ever-increasing presence of the Nguyẽn Vietnamese, and

⁷⁹ Proper religious practice is generally viewed as a category in religious studies that can be quite rigid in a given socio-historical setting, although the notions of what is “proper” tend to vary substantially over a given historical epoch, despite the best efforts for religious leaders to keep practice standardized. Here, my argument is about the flexibility of religious practice, indicating that rather than “solidifying” or “centralizing,” “flexible” notions of what was proper were critical to long term survival of religious communities.

the rise of the new Vietnamese house, from a house of lords to an imperial dynasty, had a distinct impact on Cham communities, threatening to coopt their territory and culture on the one hand, and virtually erase any influence that they had on the other. In this context, the creation of new genres of literature were a critical feature to Cham communities.

New genres of literature could tell stories for entertainment, to keep communities amused during times of trouble, but also, they could reshape the perceived trajectories of Cham history, and construct new understandings of Cham religion. Entertainment aside, developing common historical narrative tropes, such as the repressive Vietnamese, and the investable problems that cooperation with Vietnamese brought, could solidify communal identity. Furthermore, with the creation of new genres of literature, the manuscripts themselves could be subtly, or occasionally, not subtly at all, infused with moralistic messages. Over time, these moralistic messages would combine to form an increasingly cohesive conception of a Cham ethical code, known as *adat Cam*. The cultivation of the manuscript culture, along with the creation, keeping and interpretation of *adat Cam* therefore was the primary means that Cham literati could care for their communities in the borderlands from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

As an additional feature of their position as cultural authorities, Cham literati were in a unique place to be interlocutors between Cambodian, French and Vietnamese legal authority, particularly in the contestations that emerged in the borderlands from the middle of the nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth century. In chapter four, the narrative traces the importance and influence of the Cambodian and Vietnamese royal legal codes, as well as the importance of the emergent French order. An important point that the chapter highlights is that French authority was not merely administrative, but rather also included an imposition of certain understandings of culture, such as the association between one ethnic group and a single

language, which operated as intellectual understandings, but also had de facto legal implications for the Cham community.

To explain, in earlier epochs, it was quite possible for Churu to have a royal lineage in Pāṇduraṅga and to be considered “Cham” when they migrated elsewhere, such as to Cambodia. However, by the French colonial period, ideas about ethnicity, language and religion became increasingly fused. Nevertheless, from the nineteenth through the twentieth century, there is also substantial evidence to suggest that the Cham communities maintained an understanding of *adat Cam* well into the middle of the twentieth century, and that they even became increasingly adept at adapting forms of *sharī'ah* into Cham contexts in the borderlands. In Cham communities *adat Cam* and *sharī'ah* were mixed to become creolized forms of knowledge. In other words, they were local in form, and influenced by endogenous and exogenous forces. They also, however, contributed to the assertion of Cham literati in positions of governance, in between the authorities of larger state powers, and the practitioners of Cham religious communities.

By the middle of the twentieth century, although the position of Cham clerics as Oknha (regents) to the Cambodian royalty, and as cultural interlocutors for the French administration, offered them some security in their relationship to emergent states, rising ethno-nationalist sentiment caused the Cham community to enter a period of crises. Ethno-nationalism was widespread in Indochina, and coupled with justified anti-colonial sentiment in Cham communities, but it was also to justify a sort of neo-colonial mentality among Vietnamese and Cambodian populations, particularly with respect to minorities that were caught in the borderlands between their territories. Even as the position of Cham literati had led to the institutionalization of Islam in their communities, the impact of ethno-nationalism was severe. While debates between modernists, reformers and traditionalists were localized in Cambodia, the

influence of ethno-nationalism shifted the debate, dividing Cham communities along the lines of Cham Islam or Khmer Islam in Cambodia. The division then became a more distinct division between Cham Islam and Cham Bani communities in Vietnam. It the division is most significant as it would later become the Cham Islam community that was targeted by the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia between 1973 and 1975.

Just before the disaster of the Khmer Rouge genocide, in the context of a brief period of dramatic increase of irredentist sentiment among Cham populations, a new trend of leadership began to emerge: leaders who were not explicitly clerics or priests, were still literati and were still religious, in a sense, but who were increasingly invested in the foundation of secular institutions and organizations. Hence, it is with the emergence of this new trend, marked by the foundation of the Cham Cultural Center in 1969, that the last chapter of this dissertation closes. To explain the complete significance of the emergence of this new trend, however, it would be best to begin at the beginning of the rise of the Cham literati as an elite class of priests and clerics, and hence, it is to the reign of Ppo Romé that we should now turn.

Chapter 1

Background & Formative Period: Ppo Romé [r. 1627 – 1651] and the Creation of the Pāṇḍuraṅga
Cham Borderlands

I Introduction to Pāṇḍuraṅga

This chapter argues Ppo Romé’s reign was a watershed moment that resulted in the formation of a new community for the Cham. In the transitions between the culture of the pre-colonial Hindu-Buddhist Champā [2nd to 19th c.], the culture of the last Champā kingdom of Pāṇḍuraṅga [17th – 19th c.] and Cham culture [17th c. – Present], Ppo Romé’s reign is a clear turning point. He was the first known Churu upland servant to intermarry with a Cham *royal* lineage. He forged a peace between the warring Hindu influenced (*Ahiér*) and Muslim-influenced (*Bani*) portions of Pāṇḍuraṅga society. A new joint religious community emerged from the peace. To facilitate joint rituals between the *Ahiér* and *Bani*, one of the most significant contributions of Ppo Romé’s reign was the creation of a unified calendar by Cham priests and Cham clerics. The new calendar brought together Hindu and Muslim-influenced peoples of Pāṇḍuraṅga in increasingly regulated life-cycle rituals that were dictated by a philosophy of cosmic dualism. Cosmic dualism had earlier precedents in Hindu philosophy, although Cham articulations of cosmic dualism (C.: *Awal-Ahiér*) date from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards. Another hallmark of this period was the use of publicly displayed written inscriptions to mark historically significant events. The origins of the modern Cham script pre-date Ppo Romé’s reign, but the appearance of an inscription on the Ppo Romé tower in recognizable Cham script dates the symbolic emergence of Cham script during Ppo Romé’s reign. The advent of a standardized Indic based script replacing the various Indic scripts that preceded it forged the emergence of a new unified community of literati for whom the shared script represented the beginning of a new cultural order. Finally, Ppo Romé established increased ties with Cham communities in Kampong Cham and Kelantan, Malaysia, which facilitated increased contact

with the Malay world, the formation of new Malay-Cham religious ceremonies and the increased influence of Islam upon Cham communities over the next several centuries. Because of the union between Hindu and Muslim influence, the reign represents the moment that synthesized the Cham ethical code: *adat cam*. The peace between the Hindu Cham and the Bani Cham, the calendar, the local articulation of cosmic dualism, the script, and the personal ties forged between Pāñduraṅga court, uplanders, Cham Muslims and Malay Muslims, all represent a turning point for the Cham. Although Pāñduraṅga was the last kingdom of Champā, key markers of Cham culture that were used throughout the modern period to define the Cham community crystallized during the reign of Ppo Romé.

A complete explanation of Pāñduraṅga culture in the seventeenth century requires a consideration of a range of Chinese, Indic, Arabic-Malay, upland Southeast Asian, and Vietnamese influences at play. At the outset, we must recognize that parallels between Mandarin Chinese and Cham language terms describing natural phenomena suggest early cross-cultural contacts (Blagden & Edwards 1939). Chinese courts and Cham courts were also tied together through long distance tributary trade and political relations.⁸⁰ Contemporary archeological evidence indicates a high degree of cultural contact with China: ovoid jars; Han style bowls; high-fired sherds with Chinese Wuzhu stamps, a sign of the “Yellow God;” Han seals stamped on high-fired sherds, *erdang* earrings; and, *fengi* clay pieces used to seal documents with Han characters (Glover & Nguyễn Kim Dung 2011: 65-78).⁸¹ Just as it was generally the case that when the Chinese were weak the Vietnamese were strong, when the Chinese were strong, so was

⁸⁰ *Tsin Chou, Leang Chou, Chouei King-Tchou* [Vn.: *Thuy Kinh Chu*], *Nan Che*, the *San San Kouo Tche* biography, the *Wou Chou*, the *Wen Hing T'ong K'ao*, the *Draft of Collected Statutes of the Song* [*Song Huiyao Jigao*] and the *Veritable Records of the Great Ming* [*Daming Shilu*] There are also “lost travelogues” of great importance, the *Huanghua Sidaji* [c. 800 CE], one by the Tang minister Jia Dan and the *Xitangshu*, which could be of great importance, but have not been well analyzed yet (Shiro 2011).

⁸¹ All found 2000-2003

Champā. A tributary-trade relationship was maintained through the era of Dai Ming fluorescence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Wade 2003; 2011). Unfortunately for the Champā civilization, when a Vietnamese independence movement removed the greater Red River Delta basin region⁸² from direct Chinese control in 968 CE and founded an independent Vietnamese polity that was centered in the river valley,⁸³ subsequent Vietnamese attacks on Champā lands increased and were relatively persistent for the next millennia (LaFont 1988: 71-72; Lê Xuân Diệm & Vũ Kim Lộc 1996: 82-91; Taylor 1999: 154; Hall 1999: 254; ĐVSKTT 2010: 127-30).⁸⁴ The expansion of the Vietnamese decreased the continued importance of Chinese influence on Champā as a whole, although some influence on Cham religion may have remained.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, animist uplander influence, Indic-Hindu culture and Malay-Muslim culture remained important in the southern Champā kingdom of Pāñdurāṅga.

Pāñdurāṅga was predominantly a lowland kingdom, although, following the pattern of the larger civilization of Champā, uplanders played crucial roles in Pāñdurāṅga. The earliest distinction between upland and lowland Champā peoples may come from the *Shuǐjīng zhū* [6th c.], which refers to “red” and “white” Champā peoples.⁸⁶ Convincing evidence for the incorporation of upland peoples in Champā stems from a 1060 CE epigraphic record in Khánh

⁸² Ch.: *Jiaozhi*; Vn.: *Giao Chi*

⁸³ Vn.: *Đại Cồ Việt* [968 CE – 1054]. The polity was renamed the “Great Vietnamese kingdom” (Vn.: *Đại Việt quốc*) or simply “Đại Việt” by the Lý dynasty, and remained such until the founding of the Nguyễn dynasty in 1804, save the years of the Ming intervention [1054 CE – 1400 CE, 1428 CE – 1804 CE].

⁸⁴ This did not stop Champa ports from being critical to later dynasties. For example Ming dynastic trade routes needed to stop at the port of Vijaya before almost any other location in Southeast Asia. For that reason, Champa received more missions than any other port in the region, except for fourteenth century Siam (Reid 2015: 67).

⁸⁵ The veneration of ancestors, as well as what Mark Meulendbeld has referred to as the “canonization” of unsettled warrior spirits into gods have some distinct similarities in Cham and Ming era cases (Meulendbeld 2015). Other evidence of Mahayana Buddhist influence might be found in certain Bani ritual behaviors, although Mahayana influence on Champā itself was bidirectional, from both South and East Asia.

⁸⁶ Although later scholars racialized the color designation of these terms, they may more refer to “court” and “non-court” classes, or, alternatively, to “upland” and “lowland” peoples.

Hòa province [Kauṭhāra], which claims the “conquest” of “Randaiy, Mada and other Mlecchas.”⁸⁷ Mlecchas is the Sanskrit word for “barbarians” or “outsiders;” “Mada” is either a reference to either Austroasiatic Bahnar or Austronesia Jarai peoples; and, “Randaiy” is the old Champā spelling of the Cham “Radé,” or Ede⁸⁸ (Aymonier 1891: 43-44; Maspero 1928: 6-7; Majumdar 1963: 194; Hickey 1982: 2; Gay 1988; Quach-Langet 1988: 2; Shine 2009; Michaud 2009: 40). As pre-colonial Pāṇḍuraṅga practices of warfare focused on the capture of slaves as servants and laborers, uplanders became part of Pāṇḍuranga society.

Pāṇḍuraṅga relied on uplanders to gather and exchange hinterland luxury trade products, which contributed to Champā’s long distance trade-tribute. Horns, beeswax, feathers of rare birds, eaglewood, gold, and ivory were all gathered from the hinterlands and brought to the coast, to be gathered in semi-urban areas, redistributed and traded for other products. There is no reason to presume that this trade took place on equal footing, but evidence does suggest that a few intermediaries would have been able to capitalize on the upland-lowland trade networks, particularly by positioning themselves well in the foothills or midlands. Unequal trade was also an incentive for conflict that caused social fracturing, and it seems that upland groups increasingly broke away from Champā at large, and more specifically Pāṇḍuraṅga, over time. Contemporary research suggests that Champā polities included both Austroasiatic and Austronesian minorities. Austroasiatic groups included the Maa, M’nong, Bahnar, Koho, Stieng and Sre peoples; while Austronesian groups included the Ede, Jarai, Raglai and Churu peoples

⁸⁷ The inscription: C. 30 A2, 1060 CE reads “ñan paścima diśa makapun randaiy mada ñan mvleccha” (Golzio 2004: 163).

⁸⁸ Alternatively spelled “Rhadé” by the French, È đê by the Vietnamese, and either Radé or Randaiy in Cham sources, the Ede are an Austronesian people that are one of the original inhabitants of the Cham polities. For information on the Ede population, see Sakaya (2013a) as well as (2008a).

(Quach-Langlet 1988; Gay 1988; Nakamura 1999; Shine 2009).⁸⁹ Although the population demographics would have varied by region, Pāñduraṅga was no exception to the general trends of the Champā civilization. It was unquestionably a diverse, polyethnic, society, where Cham, Raglai, Churu, and Koho groups were prominent, with Maa, Bahnar, Stieng, Sre, M’nong, Jarai and Ede groups stretching across the greater Cambodian- Pāñduraṅga-Vietnamese borderlands in the seventeenth century. In the context of this borderlands, Hinduism was completely transformed into a local Cham religion.

Ia Indic Champā & Pāñduraṅga: Transforming Hinduism

Much like the other polities of Champā, Pāñduraṅga was strongly influenced by Hinduism, in a manner that incorporated local animist practices of the polyethnic landscape into a localized branch of Hinduism. Indic influence on the coast began very early, based upon analysis of the fourth century Võ Cạnh inscription, originally located at Nhan Tháp, Phú Yên province.⁹⁰ The inscription shows that a script derived from the southern sub-branch of the Brahmi script family, was used in early Kauṭhāra,⁹¹ although Pāñduraṅga later developed its own epigraphic script. Epigraphic evidence records reverence of Uma, Brahmā and Viṣṇu using

⁸⁹ Jonsson (2014: 20) has noted that the ethnic categories that most anthropologists use were constructed during the colonial period, which may be the case, although there is evidence for the Ede dating to the eleventh century, along with Koho, Cham, and Churu dating to the seventeenth.

⁹⁰ Georges Maspero originally dated the inscription through reference to the period between 190 and 193 CE (Bose 1926: 17). Common scholarly interpretation stands that the inscription was made in the fourth century and refers to the second century. See also: Finot (1927). The original inscription was later moved to the National Museum in Hà Nội, where visitors can now find a replica of the first inscription of Champā, the ancient civilization that was conquered by the Vietnamese, seated in the center of the bustling contemporary Vietnamese capital.

⁹¹ Inrasara (2006) and Sakaya (2013a) have argued that Śrī Māra’s land was a predecessor kingdom to Kauṭhāra, since Kauṭhāra did not emerge until the eighth century or later, by technical citation of inscriptions, although it is also believed to have been a vassal of Funan (Finot 1927; Coèdes 1944).

dedications made in Sanskrit language (Bergaine 1888; Aymonier 1891: 9; Bose 1926: 2-31; Majumdar 1927: 2-7; Majumdar 1932; Sastri 1935; Golzio 2004: 1-2). From the fourth century through the seventeenth century, Hinduism was the predominant religion of the court elites. This was not a “Hinduism” as it is known and studied in many classrooms today, however. Instead, in Pāñduraṅga, as Paul Mus argues, “Hinduism, in its far-reaching strides, is absorbed into that form [...] which, in India itself, we saw it emerge” (Mus in Chandler & Mabbett 2011: 52). Mus explained this localization of Hinduism in three stages. First, there is the appearance of a local, indigenous religion that is primarily composed of ancestor worship and animism. Next, there is the application of Hinduism to this context, by a combination of endogenous and exogenous cultural influences, leading to the assimilation of Hinduism into local culture. Last, there is a return to the indigenous religion, but one that now includes elements of Hindu practice, deities and cosmology (Mus in Chandler & Mabbett 2011: 52-53). Following Mus’ argument, this second stage took place during the classical era of the Champā civilization, while the last stage emerges during the early modern period. The origins of local interpretations of Hinduism in Pāñduraṅga were a manifestation of moments when,

“...the god came forth in front of his disciples from a crude – deliberately crude – representation of himself, and *localised* himself in the chief or the priest presiding at the cult. The god, the stone and the chief have now assumed the aspect of Śiva, the linga and the king; there are even four, or five, or six manifestations of Śiva, facing the parts of the kingdom. But the *religion of the soil* has not changed [*emphasis added*]” (Mus in Chandler & Mabbett 2011: 71).

The Pāñduraṅga *religion of the soil* was therefore local, flexible and everlasting, in the sense that the ever-changing nature of the *religion of the soil* allowed it to become permanent fixture of

Cham religion.⁹² The central deities Śiva, along with Uma, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, were prominent, but took on local forms. Hindu religious literature, such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* coupled with *Jātaka* narratives about the previous birth-lives of the Buddha, legitimized religious, political and royal authority.⁹³ This was common throughout mainland Southeast Asia. For example, pre-colonial Champā, Cham, Angkor, and later Khmer historical visions all credited the origins of their lineages to Brahma Kauṇḍinya.⁹⁴ While the Brahmins were priests, to be sure, the class or caste distinctions of classical Champā were not clear-cut. The elite were *brahmākṣatriya* leaders, with lineages composed of a priest class father⁹⁵ and a warrior class mother.⁹⁶

Priest-warrior class alliances were centered upon temples, located at important political centers, where mountains and rivers were of cosmological importance. Near the Thu Bôn River, far north of Pāṇḍuraṅga, the second oldest Champā inscription lays out the physical geography of the region: “To the east, the Sulaha Mountain, to the south, the Great Mountain, to the west, Kucoka Mountain, to the north, the Great River” (Majumdar 1927: 9; Golzio 2004: 5; C. 72).⁹⁷ Each port tended to have the same geography: bounded by a series of mountains and rivers. A nearby Mŷ Sơn inscription – the Śambhu-varman inscription – is evidence of the cosmological boundaries of Champā religion. The inscription orders the universe into three realms: the human

⁹² OW Wolters (2008: 43) went further to describe this process as a process of “Self-Hinduization,” or a process by which Hindu names could be applied to virtually every physical landscape and human.

⁹³ The Champā inscription of Trà Kiệu venerates Valimiki (Chandler & Mabbett 2011: 19; Mus 1928; Golzio 2004: 12; C. 173).

⁹⁴ This is also the name of one of the followers of the Buddha Gautama.

⁹⁵ S.: *Brahmān*

⁹⁶ S.: *kṣatriya*

⁹⁷ This geography is referred to in several inscriptions dating to the same period. It may be a physical recognition of the boundaries of a territory, just as much as a cosmological orientation. See also inscriptions numbers C. 147 & C. 73 (Golzio 2004: 5, 9).

realm,⁹⁸ the spiritual realm⁹⁹ and the heavenly realm.¹⁰⁰ Since the realms were divided by boundaries that could not be normally crossed by living lay mortals, the ubiquitous Champā temple-towers¹⁰¹ acted as an *axis mundi* connecting heaven to earth via the spiritual realm. These temple-towers acted as a microcosmic representation of the Holy Mount Neru,¹⁰² adjoining the three realms. Further, the name Champā itself invokes the image of a cosmic pillar, to make the realms a coherent whole,¹⁰³ as the name for the original polities and the subsequent civilization of Champā invoke the image of the popular “Champā tree.”¹⁰⁴ The connection between the tree and the polity was the metaphor that was selected by the Cham literati in the early-modern period to carry the most cultural weight, as we will see in the narrative of Ppo Romé, later in this chapter.

From the seventh century to the seventeenth century, the *negarā* of Kauṭhāra, just north of Pāñduraṅga, remained almost entirely Hindu. By contrast, the northern *negarā*, Amarāvatī and Indrapura,¹⁰⁵ became increasingly Buddhist throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. Certain

⁹⁸ S.: *bhuhloka*

⁹⁹ S.: *Bhūrvaloka*

¹⁰⁰ S.: *Svahloka*. Such a division of the cosmos into three realms is popular throughout Indic influenced Southeast Asia. However, non-Indianized cultures, such as the Hmong (Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, China) also divide the cosmos into three realms. In Hindu cosmology *svah* contains: the sky god Dyus (lord of righteousness and the night), Varuṇa, Mitra (companion of Varuṇa and god of night), Pūṣan (the nourisher), and Viṣṇu (the protector); *bhuvas* contains: Indra, Vāyu (the wind), the storm gods, the Maruts, and Rudra (the terrible); while *bhūr* contains: Soma, Agni and Bṛhaspati (the priestly god of creative power) (Flood 1996: 45)

¹⁰¹ C.: *kalan*= ຮັນລັນ

¹⁰² alt. sp.: Meru/Sumeru

¹⁰³ Mentions of the “Champā” were widespread throughout the Thạch Bích and MỸ Sơn inscriptions. There are many scholarly interpretations regarding the origins of the term Champā. There are many “Cham” ethnic groups in the world, including one in northern India. On this note: there are no mentions of ‘Cham people’ in published Champā inscriptions. There are, however, mentions of ‘people of Pāñduraṅga,’ ‘people of Panrañ’ ‘people from Vijaya’ and ‘people of Campā’ (Golzio 2004: 123-177). There are also up to two mentions of ‘Cham people’ in unpublished inscriptions and many mentions of Cham people in Cham manuscripts dating from the early modern period.

¹⁰⁴ There are “Champā trees” in both south India and Southeast Asia, although the “Champā tree” refers to two different species in the two different sub-continents. The “Champa tree” is a widely-used term for both a tree of the *Plumeria* family (Frangipani) as well as a member of the *Magnolia* family (formerly: *Michelia Champaca*)

¹⁰⁵ [VIII c. – XII c. peak]. Reid (2015: 50) and others have erroneously referred to this toponym as “Indrapuri.”

polities moved back and forth between the spheres of Amarāvatī and Indrapura, although Indrapura was mostly centered near what is now Quảng Bình, Quảng Trí and Thừa Thiên Hué provinces. Territories associated with the central *negarā* Vijaya and *negarā* Kauṭhāra would also move back and forth between the two. Vijaya¹⁰⁶ was the central most *negarā*, which spread out from the Chà Ban and Đông Dương citadels in Quy Nhơn and throughout much of what is now Bình Định province. *Negarā* Kauṭhāra was more southern, covering the territories of what are now Phú Yên province¹⁰⁷ and Khánh Hòa province¹⁰⁸ being particularly associated with the Ppo Inâ Nâgar temple-tower complex at Nha Trang, Khánh Hòa province.¹⁰⁹ *Negarā* Kauṭhāra was also frequently subsumed under the socio-political and cultural influence of *negarā* Pāṇḍuraṅga.¹¹⁰ *Negarā* Pāṇḍuraṅga was the southernmost polity, associated with territory in

¹⁰⁶ [X c. – XV c. peak]

¹⁰⁷ C.: *Aia Ru*= ອ້າຍ ຮູ

¹⁰⁸ C.: *Aia Trang/Vn.: Nha Trang*= ອ້າຍ ໄກ

¹⁰⁹ What is most notable about pre-colonial evidence on Cham religion, is that there appears to be no indigenous mention of Uma at the Nha Trang temple. One potential mention of Uma in epigraphic records would be the name “Uroja”, which some scholars have taken to be a “Chamization” of Uma as worshiped near Mŷ Sơn. Meandering through possible reconstructions, perhaps “Uroja” is a truncation of *Umarāja*, although this seems only “possible” at best, without further evidence, especially since most epigraphic scholars have concluded that Uroja is a kingly name (For example C. 122, 1055/6 CE, Phú Quí, Ninh Thuận claims that Yang Po Ku Sri Parameśvarammadeva is from the line of Uroja (Golzio 2004: 131). Also in C. 30 A2 Śrī Harivarmmadeva claims that he is an incarnation of Uroja and that therefore he must rebuild a temple site as it is his duty to maintain it). This interpretation would fit the assertions of Champā kings who claimed to be the incarnate of Śiva, backed by the protection of ‘the goddess,’ even though the goddess herself was usually not explicitly named (Goyal 2006). Through an examination of the temple tower complex at Nha Trang, it appears that there were only ever hints at, and never the explicit mentions of “Uma”. There were mentions of: Śrī Satya Mukhalinga [709 śāka, 787 CE], “Bhagavathī” [739 śāka, 972 śāka], Ya Pu Nâgara [1082 śāka], Pu Nâgara [1155 śāka, 1178 śāka, 1179 śāka, 1189 śāka], Bhagavathī Matrīlingeśvarī [1178 śāka, 1256 CE], and Matrīlingeśvarī [1189 śāka, 1267 CE] (Sakaya 2004: 196-219; Ngô Văn Doanh 2011, Parmentier 1902; Majumdar 1963[1927]; Sakaya 2014: 518). There is also an inscription that refers to “one goddess: Sri Lamadakuthara” C. 31 A3, 12th c. (Golzio 2004: 150-151). In this context, contrary to the popular use of the term “Bhagavathī” in scholarship (and in Vietnam), the term does not necessarily always equate to Uma. Bhagavathī is a title that simply indicates “the goddess” in Sanskrit. There are many Bhagavathī, which include: Bhagavathī Lakshmī, the consort of Vishnu; Bhagavathī Kālī, goddess of destruction; Bhagavathī Sarasvatī, Brahma’s consort and goddess of wisdom. There is also Bhagavatī Durgā, the buffalo slayer (Monier-Williams 2005[1899]: 743-744). Coincidentally, there is a “buffalo slayer” who appears to be pictured on the outside entry way of the *Kalan Bimong Ppo Inâ Nâgar* central tower in Nha Trang (Parmentier 1909) and so it is not uncommon to hear foreign scholars who are oriented toward the field of art history pontificating about the reality that Ppo Inâ Nâgar is a local version of Durgā.

¹¹⁰ [VIII c. – XIX c.]

what are now Ninh Thuận, Bình Thuận and Biên Hòa provinces, as well as the Ppo Klaong Garai, Ppo Romé, Ppo Sah Inâ, and Ppo Dam temple tower complexes. As the tower were center of socio-political and religious life, priestly and kingly power radiated outward from these tower complexes.

Because the center of socio-political and religious life radiated outward from tower complexes, and tower complexes were speckled up and down the Champā coastline, the *negarā* kingdoms were rarely, if ever, a unified socio-political space.¹¹¹ But, socio-political organization remained an outward manifestation of Champā adaptations of Hindu cosmological organization. OW Wolters' concept of the *mandala* "circle of kingship" aptly describes how Pāñduraṅga related to the other polities.¹¹² Each had overlapping spheres of influence. "Nebulous – coherent – galactic," polities centered around *negarā*. *Negarā* were "...an expanding cloud of localized, fragile, loosely integrated..." centers. These centers were supposedly given their coherence through *deva-raja*-like god-kings (Tambiah 1976; Geertz 1980; Wolters 1999: 26-27). The lineages of the *deva-raja* like god-kings were often took the epithet "varman" meaning "shield," a kingly name that is associated with the *kṣatriya* warrior-class in classical South Asia, but was adapted in a localized for the *brahmākṣatriya* rulers of Champā.¹¹³ In Champā, each *negarā* had their own *varman* lineages that overlapped with and contested each other. It would be fair to

¹¹¹ Hence, Andaya & Andaya (2015: 123) are likely correct in their claim that "Like the Shan polities, they were alternatively allies or rivals and had never coalesced into a single Cham kingdom," although there are certain epigraphic, historical, records that make claims to sovereigns establishing a reign over 'the whole of Champā.'

¹¹² The *mandala* concept evolved from a scholarly shift away from the "mono-ethnic kingdom" model of socio-political space that took place among Southeast Asianists in the 1970s. Astrological metaphors became popular means to describe pre-colonial Southeast Asian space. In many scholarly presentations of Champā and Pāñduraṅga specifically, OW Wolters concept of the *mandala* has been ignored, and the "kingdom of Champā" (Vn.: *vương quốc Champa*) model, which refers to *negarā* as principalities (Vn.: *tiểu bang vương quốc*) is more popular. This is the case in English, French and Vietnamese scholarship.

¹¹³ This adaptation, however, was common in one particular location in South Asia: the classical kingdom of Pallava.

state that in the Champā civilization there were multiple kingdoms. Southworth (2011) has suggested that the various Champā *nagarā* took on a Malay pattern of settlement based upon a combination of historical and archeological evidence. Hence, we may imagine the Champā *nagarā* centers as form of *perahu* polity,¹¹⁴ floating up and down the coast with the ebb and flow of changes in the trade winds and political transformations of port city-states. The maritime oriented pattern of settlement would have been even more important at the end of the sixteenth century, and into the early seventeenth century, as Pāñduraṅga increasingly relied upon connections with Malay sultanates.

From the existing evidence we from epigraphic sources, the socio-political space of Champā, and consequentially Pāñduraṅga, was also organized in an Indic fashion, which additionally is evidence of the adaptation of Hindu oriented cosmological understandings for all aspects of socio-political organization.¹¹⁵ Evidence from inscriptions suggests that each *nagarā* was a kingdom itself, composed of: provinces;¹¹⁶ cities;¹¹⁷ outlying territories and districts,¹¹⁸ villages,¹¹⁹ and countryside.¹²⁰ Based upon this evidence, Schweyer (2005: 59-62) has argued that it is better to describe a *Bhūmi Campā*, rather than a single kingdom. *Bhūmi* can mean “earth, soil, ground, territory, country or district,”¹²¹ in general Sanskrit usage, although in this case scholars use it to mean “The Land of...[Campā].” Given that in “The Land of Champā” the kings of various *nagarā* contested each other’s authority, it is not a surprise that in the few

¹¹⁴ *Perahu* is the name for a Malay trading vessel. However, throughout the Malayic world, the *perahu* was also a metaphor for socio-political centers.

¹¹⁵ By the EFEO-Jakarta

¹¹⁶ S.: *pramāna*. These had 3 to 500 families each and sometimes up to 700 families at the level of chief towns of provincial regions or districts (Bose 1926: 122).

¹¹⁷ S.: *pura*

¹¹⁸ S.: *visaya*

¹¹⁹ S.: *grāma*

¹²⁰ S.: *desa*

¹²¹ (Monier-Williams 2005[1899]: 763)

historical moments that kings united several – or all – of the *negarā* together, they claimed to be the “king of kings”¹²² or emperor.¹²³ This evidence suggests there were brief periods when Champā was considered an empire,¹²⁴ in addition to a civilization.¹²⁵ Such an organization is important to consider because Pāñduraṅga was often an outlier kingdom, opposed to the other kingdoms, and independent, meaning that local adaptations of Hinduism would become even *more* localized in Pāñduraṅga. Nevertheless, Pāñduraṅga was part of the larger civilization and followed the cultural patterns of the other kingdoms, where the strongest political leaders still centered their authority around the religious centers of the temple-tower complexes.¹²⁶

Although the Champā towers are like those temple-tower complexes of Java, Cambodia, Thailand and Burma, there are unique architectural features and patterns of social interaction that are associated with them, which speak to elements of Champā culture that developed between the fourth and fifteenth centuries. Evidence of artisanal exchange is important to consider here, because with artists, ideas about religion and cultural representation could also travel. While Borobudur and Angkoran temples are mostly stone, Champā tower are brick, like Ayutthaya. However, the Champā bricks are so unique that when archeologists found similar brick constructions at Vat Phou, Laos¹²⁷ and Angkor, Cambodia only one possible solution has stood

¹²² S.: *Rājādhīrāja*

¹²³ Such is the case with the ninth century rulers: Harivarman and Indravarman (Goyal 2006: 233). Other examples include Yang Pu Ku Vijaya [X c.] and Raja di Raja Cei Bângâ [XIV c.].

¹²⁴ Vn.: *đè ché*

¹²⁵ Vn.: *văn minh*

¹²⁶ The most ubiquitous symbol of the Champā civilization and Cham culture in Southeast Asia today.

¹²⁷ Vat Phou, 60 KM south of Pakse, Champassak province. Oral histories additionally linked the Champā civilization to the founding of Champassak in Laos. Contemporary expert opinions tend to explain the oral histories away with the rather obvious conclusion that the dominant art and architecture of Lingaparvata was Angkoran – but that the oral history served the purpose of repressing Khmer irredentist notions in the area. The Lao government visitors’ English language plaque at the site goes so far that it asserts that the “Temple of Sita” is a reference to the “Lao” story *Prah Lak Prah Ram*, even though the temple is clearly Angkoran and certainly is a reference to the early Khmer localization of the epic into the form of the *Reamkerti*. With thanks to: Dr. Ian Baird for this discussion.

the test of time: Champā artisans must have traded their knowledge of brick production or were located at these sites.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Champā towers of Pāñduraṅga – along with the Ppo Inā Nāgar tower – are unique in mainland Southeast Asia as they are all active religious sites for Cham and Raglai patrons. They also continue to attract patrons of other Champā groups, who wish to learn about Cham heritage or to pay homage to Champā roots, as we shall see in more detail in chapter two.¹²⁹ Other Champā towers such as Yang Praong¹³⁰ and Ta Nang¹³¹ are located quite far from the coast, but demonstrate the stretch of Champā power well into the uplands at the foot of the Annamite chain. They demonstrate that the power of Champā culture expanded all the way to Gia Long, Kong Tom and Lam Đōng provinces the central uplands of Vietnam. Additional archeological evidence extends claims as far as the sites of Yang Mum, Drang Lai, and Kon Klor (Po 1989: 12; Sakaya 2010: 46; Clais 2013). The previously mentioned brick construction at Lingaparvata (Vat Phou) suggests the far-reaching adaptation of Champā style bricks, and possible routes of artisanal exchange, although cultural sharing did not prevent the people of Pāñduraṅga from developing quite unique ideas about Hindu deities.

Although Champā and Khmer Hindu deities were quite close during the early classical period, by the late classical and early modern periods, local articulations became more common, particularly in Pāñduraṅga. The following chart maps out common Indic gods that are referenced in epigraphic source material from Champā and Angkor, local Khmer and Cham early-modern

¹²⁸ Further evidence of potential exchanges is found in the brick constructions of Sambhupura (Sambor), Bhavapura/Iśānapura (Sambor Prey Kuk), Lingaparvata (Vat Phou, Champassak, Laos), and even in Angkor (Schweyer 2005: 54-55).

¹²⁹ For the Cham, the most important contemporary Champā towers may well be the ‘three towers’ (C.: *klau bimong*) of Ninh Thuận and the tower complexes of Ppo Dam and Ppo Sah Inā in Bình Thuận. These sites remain active at least four times a year for Cham religious ceremonies.

¹³⁰ Southwest of Buôn Mê Thuột

¹³¹ 30 KM south of Oyadao village, in Jarai lands of Rattanakiri province, Cambodia. The Jarai in the area claim that the tower was built by their ancestors from the Champa civilization (Clais 2013). This area was also part of Lao territory in the 19th century.

forms. For reference, the common English and Vietnamese translations are compiled from Phan Quốc Anh (2010: 386); Aymonier (1900: 52); Mus (in Chandler & Mabbett 2011), and Cham manuscripts; as well as fieldwork in the region:

English	Hindu/Indic	Khmer	Cham	Vietnamese
1 God of the Universe	Purusha		Ppo Kuk, Ppo Inâ Nagar ¹³² , Yang Ppo Amâ	Đáng Sáng tạo Vũ trụ
2 God of the Sky	Varuṇa		Yang Ppo, Yang Amâ	Thần trời
3 God of the Sun	Sūrya	Brah ¹³³ Andit	Ppo Aditiak	Thần mặt trời
4 God of the Fire	Agni	Brah Angi	Ppo Yang Apuei	Thần lửa
5 God of Wind	Vāyu	Brah Bay	Ppo Yang Angin	Thần Gió
6 God of Destruction	Śiva, Iṣvara	Brah Isur	Ppo Yang Ginuer Mântri, Ppo Yang Xapalai	Thần Hủy diệt
7 God of Creation	Brahmā	Brah Brahm	Ppo Xapajieng ¹³⁴	Thần Sáng tạo
8 God of the Water	Apas		Ppo Patah Aia	Thần Nước
9 God of the Rain	Potunia		Ppo Yang Hajan	Thần Mưa
10 God of Thunder	Indra	Brah In	Ppo Yang In	Thần Sấm

Table 1.1.: Localization of Indic deities in Cham and Khmer culture with Vietnamese translation

The above typology of the unseen world indicates that common Pāñduraṅga Cham adaptations of Hindu deities diverged significantly from Indic counterparts, whereas Khmer localizations remained more closely related. Occasionally, however, Cham and Khmer forms are quite similar to each other, and far from Sanskrit equivalents, such as in the case of Brah Andit and Ppo Aditiak. At the same time, with the sweeping influence of Buddhism on Khmer culture,

¹³²AT: ព្រះ ជាមុន នៃនៅ

¹³³ This truncation is frequently Romanized as 'Preah' in contemporary standards according to the LC Romanization of contemporary Khmer script. The spelling here follows Romanization of Khmer inscriptions developed by the EFEO.

¹³⁴ Sharma (2009) argues that Shiva is Ppo Xapajieng and that Vishnu is Ppo Xapalai (Sharma 2009: 48). Another interpretation, suggested to me by Sikhara (personal communication 10/2014) is that Ppo Xapajieng and Ppo Xappalai are individual representations of inter-related aspects of Cham notions of Siva, also known as "Sibayeng" (from: Yang Siva)

Khmer Hinduism became part of the Buddhist worldview, while Cham Hinduism remained more independent, developing local forms of Hindu deities that cannot be found anywhere else in the world. Towers often became devoted to local deities rather than more global Hindu forms, such as in the case of the Ppo Dam, Ppo Sah Inâ, Ppo Klaong Garai, Ppo Romé and Ppo Inâ Nâgar towers. Each “Ppo” god figure has played heavily into local conceptions of Cham identity and are clear examples of what Paul Mus called “religions of the soil” (Tarling ed. 1999: 325; Mus 1933). In other words, even in the case of statues found at the Mŷ Son site, Taylor suggests that Champā artisans “...probably meant to represent Śiva, but not an Indian Śiva” (Taylor 1991: 7-9). In Pāñduraṅga, the “Ppo” were even more indigenized. They were semi-historical, local, royal-deities, as the connection to the heavenly realm could be made more directly through ancestral lineages.

The term *Ppo*¹³⁵ entered the Cham language at a very early stage. It can be found in the form *Pū* in the thirteenth century epigraphic record in Nha Trang, Khanh Hòa province Vietnam.¹³⁶ In Cham manuscripts, the term appears to almost always connote royalty or a divinity. Based on their own analysis of Cham manuscripts Aymonier & Cabaton (1906) wrote that *Ppo* is:

“...similar to the Bahnaric Pō or the Malay-Polynesian *Po/pu*...[it]...connotes not only ‘lord’ but also ‘master,’ ‘Mr.’... [it is also] a pronoun designating respect in the second person, the equivalent of ‘*oui oui monsieur*’...[and]...the term can have a religious connotation... [as in]...*Po Yan[g]* a god, divinity (cf. Khmer: *puyan*). *Po Ganour Motri* [sic.: *Ppo Ganuer Mântri*]— the Lord of the Chief of Ministers – is the name that the

¹³⁵ Alt. sp.: *Pu*, *Po* or *Mbo* = AT.: ພູ

¹³⁶ [1155 śāka, 1178 śāka, 1179 śāka and 1189 śāka]

Cham give to the Śiva who adorns the front of the temple of ... [Ppo Klaong Garai].

Potau – the king of the Cham – is also linked to the origins of the term *Patau*, a term used to designate the ‘king’ of the Western Cham and other Chamic highland groups. As such *Po Tanah Riya* (among the eastern Cham) refers to a king, *Po Bia* refers to a queen, *Po Porang* is the assistant to the throne, *Po Jabol* is a general. *Po Tamon* is a grand vassal, or feudal lord of sorts. *Po Palei* is a provincial governor. *Po sang* (*Pasang* in Cambodia) and *Po Sang Kumei* are thus the master and mistress of the house and perhaps the most important for the relatively agrarian population is *Po Tangoy*: the owner of the corn fields” (Aymonier & Cabaton 1906: 309).

Aymonier & Cabaton’s dictionary provides a concise, yet broadly applied description of the term *Ppo*.¹³⁷ The *Ppo* of Cham manuscripts are frequently Cham, Churu or other peoples who have entered the socio-political elite and then become worshiped as deities in the afterlife through their presence of an extreme amount prowess.¹³⁸ In my own examinations of Cham manuscripts, I have found that *Ppo* usually is a word used to denote the most revered sovereigns. The *Ppo* are thus given primacy, followed by “earthly kings,”¹³⁹ even though according to Vietnamese or Cambodian sources, as well as common scholarly interpretations, the “earthly kings” may have been more powerful, as was the case with the Vietnamese king¹⁴⁰ during the times of Ppo Romé, covered later in this chapter. In the case of Champā and Cham social organization, the *Ppo* could

¹³⁷ Because most Cham manuscripts used the term *Ppo* in the dual religious and historical sense, when Moussay et al. (1971) produced their own Cham-French-Vietnamese dictionary, *Ppo* was only translated to a single term: *ngài* in Vietnamese or *seigneur* in French, meaning roughly ‘lord.’

¹³⁸ C.: *ganreh* = AT.: ດັກເຮັກ

¹³⁹ C.: *Potau*

¹⁴⁰ C.: *Potau Yuen*

be accompanied by the “hands and the feet”¹⁴¹ – or roughly “ministers” of the sovereign, generals and soldiers,¹⁴² as well as peasants and citizenry.¹⁴³

Between the classical and the early modern periods, as Cham borrowings from Indic culture began to yield more heavily toward local interpretations, ideas of Cham political space also changed. For example, the rather nebulous, shifting concept of *Bhūmi Campā, negarā Campā* or *Campādeśa* present in epigraphic records, became a clearer distinct concept of a singular “Cham kingdom,” known as *Negar Cam* in Cham manuscripts. *Negar Cam* in this sense is synonymous with the territory of Pāñduraṅga plus the southern portions of Kauṭhāra.¹⁴⁴ The shift in these political organizations seems to indicate a similar pattern of overlapping sovereignty, mirroring the classical period, but scaled down to account for the substantial territory that was lost to Vietnamese conquest.¹⁴⁵ These smaller *Negar* were closer in relative size to individual kingdoms, and Pāñduraṅga was even at one point a nominal *sultanate* because of the relatively close relations with peninsular Malay courts, as will be explained in more detail in chapter three. At the same time, the persistence of localized Hinduism cannot be explained or divorced from the narrative of Vietnamese conquest as we shall see in the following section.

¹⁴¹ C.: *tangin takai*

¹⁴² C.: *jabol*

¹⁴³ C.: *baol bhap*; alt. sp. *buel bhap*

Anonymous. nd. *Da Lakal Po Romé Angan Ja Saot* [The Dalikal of Po Rome when he was called Ja Saot]. Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam’s private collection. Read: Fall, 2012. See also: Anonymous. nd. *Dalakal Po Anit* [The Dalikal of Ppo Anit]. Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam’s private collection. Read: Fall, 2012.

¹⁴⁴ The terms *Negar Pandurang* and *Negar Phanrang* were also used.

¹⁴⁵ The Cham term *negar* has been further localized in a twentieth and twenty-first century context. Today, *negar* can be used synonymously in Cham for the equivalent of a Vietnamese “province.” (Vn.: *tỉnh*). This is likely because even the largest Champā *negarā* polities were only, individually, the size of three to four Vietnamese provinces together.

Ib Expansion of the Vietnamese: Lê & Nguyễn Lords

When Lê Thành Tông's forces defeated *nagarā* Vijaya in 1471, the decentralized nature of Champā leadership aided survival, even as the defeat was a watershed moment in Cham history. Even if the numbers in the Lê dynasty chronicles are close to correct, the campaign resulted in one of the largest battles worldwide during the fifteenth century: more casualties than the Battle of Towton (War of the Roses, England), and a comparable fighting force with the Tumu Crisis (Ming-Mongol War).¹⁴⁶ 50 or more members of the royal family from *nagarā* Vijaya were captured. 30,000 people were executed on the spot and another 30,000 were imprisoned in Đại Việt. 30,000 more fled to Cambodian territory, where they became the foundations of the Cham community at Kampong Cham. Others fled to the Malay world. At least one contingent of the court arrived at the northern tip of Sumatra and formed the foundations of the Acehnese Sultanate.¹⁴⁷ Whitmore (2004) has argued the battles of 1471 were an indicator that the terrain of battle specifically impacted strategies used, although rudimentary firearms that the Vietnamese acquired from the Ming just one century before played a key role in breaking the Champā elephant line. He also concluded the experience of fighting the Ming and Tai combined with a new moral imperative that was critical for Lê Thành Tông's success.

¹⁴⁶ On the Tumu crisis see: Robinson (2013: 43-80), Brook (2010: 79-105) and Wang (2011: 101-144). Estimates range from several hundred thousand up to 500,000 for the fighting forces of the Tumu crisis. Mongol forces are most often estimated at a mere 20,000. The number of dead for the battle of Towton is most often cited as 28,000. See: Ross (1997).

¹⁴⁷ In the fifteenth century, there were already many connections between Champā sailors and Malays. The mosque in Kampong Laut was built by Champā sailors and the *Sejarah Melayu* notes Champā shipmasters (nakhoda cempa) were in the court of Sultan Mansur Shah. One, Saidi Ahmad, played a role in the abduction of Tun Teja, the daughter of Pahang's *bendahara* between 1497 and 1511 (Weber 2008: 67). On more matters of 1471 and the battle for Vijaya see: ĐVSKTT 2010: 332-336, 418-419, 425-430, 464-475; Aymonier 1891: 9; Maspero 1928: 244-255; Aymonier 1893: 22; Trần Trọng Kim 1921: 271; Claeys 1934: 31, 80; Gafour 1991: 443; Li 1998: 80-86.

The defeat of Vijaya resulted in the adaption of Champā culture by certain Vietnamese in the vicinity of Thăng Long, the assimilation of many Champā peoples into Vietnamese culture, the foundation of the Kampong Cham community in Cambodia and the foundation of the Chamic-Acehnese community on the island of Sumatra (Indonesia).¹⁴⁸ PB LaFont (1988) has argued it was the end of Champā Hindu authority and Ba Trung Phu (2006: 128) argued that 1471 was the moment that the Cham Bani community was cut off from the rest of the Islamic world, beginning to take on its localized flare. As we will see throughout this dissertation, neither of these claims is completely accurate, although the popularity of Buddhism certainly decreased after 1471. There is a current hypothesis that the remaining Champā Buddhists converted to Islam after 1471.¹⁴⁹ Regardless, by most accounts, the movement of Cham refugees to Cambodia was a key turning point in the gradual increase of Islamic cultural prominence on the mainland. Furthermore, the defeat of Vijaya had a great impact on Champā. Being the central *negarā* – controlling Vijaya split the historical claims of Champā into two – restricting continued Champā power to the southern half of the civilization's former territory, begging the question: *How did Champā continue to survive if Pāñduraṅga and Kauthāra were much smaller kingdoms?*

The most straightforward answer to the question of Pāñduraṅga and Kauthāra survival lies in Champā's inherent political structure. Even if the Vietnamese could execute a Champā sovereign – they never seemed to be able to fully cut off the *Ppo* lineage. The record of the Cham Royal Chronicle indicates that Ppo Kabrah reigned from 1448 to 1482.¹⁵⁰ The overlap of Ppo Kathit and Ppo Kabrah's reign dates with those of Maha Vijaya suggests that there was a

¹⁴⁸ Cham refugees also moved to Melaka where they engaged with the Chinese as a trading elite, and joined the military class of Aceh. Acehnese is the largest surviving Chamic language today (Reid 2015: 179)

¹⁴⁹ With thanks to Dr. Thành Phan for this commentary.

¹⁵⁰ On Bo Ty. ND. *Sakkaray Prangdurang*. Another version indicates: 1460 to 1494.

See also: On Tai. 1975. *Tapuk Krāng Ka Ppo Lithan*; CAM 245: 82-93; CAM 246 (A): 87-95.

period of contestation between the *Ppo* and the *varman* lineages, likely in response to their stances against the Vietnamese. Other accounts also suggest that the Ming intervened to continue to prop up the Champā sovereign after 1471 (Aymonier 1890, 1891; Wade 2003:1). It would have been helpful to Ppo Kathit and Ppo Kabrah that they ruled from another location.¹⁵¹ In other words, the decentralized authority of Champā's royal lineages aided the civilization's survival, even as conflict caused large portions of the Cham population to flee to Cambodia.

The gradual collapse of the Lê dynasty left a power vacuum that allowed for a divided period of Vietnamese lords and royals. The Trịnh lineage gained power in the north and the Nguyễn lineage gained power in the south. Initially Nguyễn territory was not nearly as contiguous as the Trịnh. Nguyễn territories were less conjoined by comparison.¹⁵² At the same time, the Nguyễn adapted a strategy of capitalizing upon powerful cultural tropes and sacred space from the Champā civilization on the one hand, while creating a brutally repressive approach to certain local Cham leaders on the other. Additionally, the Nguyễn completed a northern conquest,¹⁵³ as they repositioned their authority from Thanh Hóa to Hué, and eventually solidified control over Trịnh lands. The Nguyễn employed the Cham garrison¹⁵⁴ from north of Quảng Nam and Quảng Ngãi during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – along with garrisons comprised of several other ethnic minorities. With the conquest of Hué, the Nguyễn capitalized further on the Portuguese arms trade, the rice trade, and trade of luxury goods that

¹⁵¹ Cham manuscripts indicated that Ppo Kathit moved the capital of Ppo authority from Bal Anguai to Bal Batsināng. Scholarly interpretation disputes whether this move was from Quy Nhơn to Phú Yên, or from Phan Rang to Từ Tâm, Ninh Thuận (Sakaya 2013a; Aymonier 1893). In both interpretations, however, the capital of the Ppo was not associated with Vijaya. See MSS: On Bo Ty. ND. *Sakkaray Prangdurang*; On Tai. 1975. *Tapuk Kran Ka Ppo Lihan*.

¹⁵² Reid (2015: 88, 181) compares the Nguyễn ruling structure to the Malay model of the *negeri* and states that it was based upon the preceding Champa model.

¹⁵³ Vn.: *Bắc Tiến*

¹⁵⁴ Vn.: *Định Chàm*

flowed through the port of Hội An. The arms trade allowed the Nguyễn to secure their northern front and re-focus their vision for the southern frontier. On the southern frontier, they used a combination of land grants and tax concessions to encourage migration. They relied on earlier established Champā networks to weave control into the Chinese settlements of the Mekong delta – particularly after a Nguyễn request allowed for Vietnamese refugees to settle at Prey Nokor¹⁵⁵ as they fled the Trịnh-Nguyễn conflict (Lieberman 2003: 494-517). Throughout the seventeenth century the buffer zone between the Vietnamese and the Cambodians was the remaining Champā polities of the *negarā* of Kauṭhāra¹⁵⁶ and Pāṇḍuraṅga, as well as the Jarai and the Maa polities.

The first Nguyễn lord Nguyễn Hoàng [r. 1525 – 1613] claimed a portion of the Champā *negarā* of Kauṭhāra at Hué in 1611, when he attempted to argue that the city-state of Aia Ru would be part of an expansive, non-bounded, frontier territory: “tỉnh Trần Biên” or “the province that is the defense of the frontier.” Then, Nguyễn imaginings about the location of “tỉnh Trần Biên” moved rapidly southward as what had been “tỉnh Trần Biên” was reclassified as Phú Yên province.¹⁵⁷ Notably, 1611 also marks the beginning date for Đàng Trong central Vietnamese culture, through the establishment of village residencies and “encouraged migrations.” These were meant to “civilize the frontier.” These “soft” expansions were accompanied by overt military expansions as the Vietnamese engaged in a form of settler colonialism. One major impact of Vietnamese expansion was that the Jarai peoples would move closer to Khmer centers of power. The Khmer royalty sent tribute to the Jarai in exchange for the Jarai keeping the

¹⁵⁵ Later: Gia Định – Later still: Saigon – Now: Hồ Chí Minh City

¹⁵⁶ In Cham manuscripts *negarā* Kauṭhāra is divided into two centers based around their ports: Aia Ru and Aia Trang (C.: Aia Ru ; Vn.: Phú Yên province today). (C.: Aia Trang ; Vn.: Nha Trang, Khánh Hòa province today).

¹⁵⁷ On matters of Vietnamese expansion and administration see: ĐNNTC 1997: 63-86, 125-159; Po 1988: 62; Po 1989: 128-135; Phan Khoảng 2001: 269-299, 303-321; Thương Hữu Quýnh 2010: 360.

Vietnamese at bay. The Jarai upland King of Water¹⁵⁸ and King of Fire¹⁵⁹ gained authority and the Vietnamese even began to send them tribute trade as well, in exchange for ceasing raids into Vietnamese villages. Peace was always tenuous, though, as the tendency of certain Nguyễn Vietnamese officials to refer to uplanders as savages¹⁶⁰ undercut collaborations. A combined revolt of Austronesian and Austroasiatic peoples, mostly led by Cham, was raised from the territories around the outskirts of Aia Ru (Phú Yên) in 1629. The uprising was short lived, however. The Vietnamese reprisal was swift and violent.¹⁶¹

Before and after 1629, the remaining seat of Champā power was far from Aia Ru, centered upon the Ppo Klaong Garai temple-tower complex of Phan Rang, Ninh Thuận province, or, at the time, in the *negarā* of Pāñduraṅga.¹⁶² The Cham themselves were scattered across the Vietnamese-Cambodian borderlands, their most populous settlements stretching from Phan Rang to Phan Thiέ́t, with a collection of other settlements centered on Kampong Cham and nearby Oudong. Outlying populations lived in the uplands at the base of the Annamite Chain, further north along the Vietnamese coast, into Khánh Hòa and Phú Yên, and even as far north as Quảng Nam, in the Cham garrison. Hence, during the earliest of Ppo Romé's days, the position of the Cham in the borderlands was significantly dispersed, stretching well beyond the centers of Pāñduraṅga at Phan Rang, Phan Rí and Phan Thiέ́t.

¹⁵⁸ J.: *patau ia*

¹⁵⁹ J.: *patau apuei*

¹⁶⁰ Vn.: *rợ moi*

¹⁶¹ On matters of Vietnamese expansion and administration see: ĐNNTC 1997: 63-86, 125-159; Hickey 1982; Po 1988: 62; Po 1989: 128-135; Taylor 1989: 11-14; Nakamura 1999: 90; Phan Khoảng 2001: 269-299, 303-321; Thương Hữu Quýnh 2010: 360.

¹⁶² See: Sakaya (2013a); Aymonier (1893); On Bo Ty. ND. *Sakkaray Prangdurang*; On Tai. 1975. *Tapuk Kran Ka Ppo Lithan*.

II History of Ppo Romé

In the introduction to this dissertation I already discussed some of the features of Cham history as *sakarai* or localized, religiously imbued, not-necessarily linear, historical memory.¹⁶³ In Cham manuscripts *sakarai* frequently record the hagiography of a single individual who may become worshipped as a god, saint, tutelary spirit, or ancestral deity. These hagiographical features also memorialize figures of great historical import, usually as a saint figure, and sometimes as a god. In some presentations, the material appears more biographical and less hagiographical, as the central character is not idealized in the standard fashion of hagiographic material. Through the combined study of many different Cham manuscripts scholars have reconstructed a *historical* understanding of Ppo Romé, which is still hagiographical in nature. These assessments are quite a bit richer in detail than those biographies or hagiographies provided in any one single manuscript. Hence, reading several manuscripts is critical in any attempt to reconstruct the narrative of a single historical individual, particularly one who has been transformed into a local Hindu deity.

The evidence of Ppo Romé's reign [r. 1627 – 1651 CE] that is most impossible to ignore, even for the most skeptical scholar, is the large tower that is dedicated to him at Palei Tuen.¹⁶⁴ At this location he is specifically venerated during at least three or four yearly ceremonies as a *devaraja*-like figure. The space is laid out in a similar fashion to the previously mentioned Ppo Klaong Garai temple-tower complex – mentioned earlier in this chapter – and the Ppo Inâ Nâgar

¹⁶³ The term *sakarai* comes from *sakaraja*. However, it also includes many more elements of literature than simple chronicle history. *Sakarai* includes devotional literature, but it is also a body of literature that develops philosophical understandings of the world. With thanks to Dr. Thành Tông Khánh for this commentary. An alternative spelling is *sakkarai*.

¹⁶⁴ Vn.: Hậu Sanh, Ninh Thuận province

temple-tower complex discussed in more depth in chapter two. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Cham temple-towers provided a nexus for worshippers to maintain the relationship between the heavenly realm, the spirit realm and the earthly realm (the three *lokas*) for centuries. The Ppo Romé temple-tower complex was constructed as such, and remains an active religious site. Cham who have worshiped there are a Hindu influenced majority (C.: *Ahiér*), in addition to a small Bani-Islamic influenced minority who give offerings at the Ppo Romé tower during the annual *Kate*¹⁶⁵ ceremony (Sakaya 2008a: 91-92; 2013a: 35).¹⁶⁶ Hindu influenced worship at the site may pre-date Ppo Romé as archeologists have suggested that the original tower may have been a sixteenth century construction. Ancestral veneration associated with the Bani community, however, only came after the death of his first wife, Bia Than [Su] Cih.¹⁶⁷

Bia Than [Su] Cih was the most important person in Ppo Romé's life, although the features of worship present at the tower complex also reflects a series of relationships with secondary wives. Bia Than [Su] Cih was Ppo Romé's first wife, and, as the daughter of the previous sovereign, Ppo Mâha Taha, it was Ppo Romé's marriage to her that secured him the throne. Arguably, it was also their marriage that was a signifier of the coming peace between the Hindu and Muslim elements of Pāñduraṅga society, which had been fighting civil conflicts against one another for a century. Although Ppo Romé was an uplander, his relationship with Bia Than [Su] Cih would have enforced Cham understandings of the Hindu-Ahiér being the "male" aspect of cosmology, while the Muslim-Awal were the "female" aspect, since his wife was a member of the Muslim influenced Bani community. Once he took the throne, Ppo Romé fought

¹⁶⁵ S.: *Kārtikah*

¹⁶⁶ Follow up research revealed that these towns included at least members of the Palei Rem and Palei Pamblap Klak communities. By extension, members from families of the Palei Pamblap Biruw communities appeared as well. See: Noseworthy (2014d).

¹⁶⁷ The actual date of death is not known. Recording death years was not common, historically, except in cases where it resulted in the change of political guard, which occurred most often when a king died.

several campaigns to keep the Nguyễn Vietnamese at bay, while also attempting to regain territory that the Vietnamese had conquered in 1611. Because of these engagements, he eventually took a Vietnamese wife in negotiations, named Bia Ut.¹⁶⁸ However, she tricked Ppo Romé, leading to his capture. He died while imprisoned in central Nguyễn territory and it is believed that he committed suicide in prison. When his body was returned to Pāñduraṅga, Bia Than [Su] Can, a wife that he had married through negotiations with the Ede, followed him on the funeral pyre. As the Cham still had some respect for voluntary *sati*-like rituals at the time, the action secured her Ede-Churu lineage as the royalty of Pāñduraṅga through the eighteenth century. With alters to Bia Than [Su] Cih, Bia Than [Su] Can, and Ppo Romé, the Ppo Romé tower is imbued with local spiritual potency (Sakaya 2008a: 91-92, 106; 2013a: 35).

Another feature of local Cham Hindu-influenced religion, the ancestral *kut* grave markers can also be found nearby the site. These markers are thought to originate as a means for the larger family-clans to connect the veneration of their ancestors to territory, and have been important from at least the time of Ppo Romé onward, if not earlier.¹⁶⁹ Finally, there is an inscription in the Ppo Romé tower written in the Cham script: *Akhar Thrah*. No older inscriptions are known, and the script is distinct enough from epigraphic Cham to indicate that a person literate in epigraphic Cham would not necessarily have been literate in *Akhar Thrah*, and vice versa. For that reason, Cham historians associate the appearance of *Akhar Thrah* with the reign of Ppo Romé. The development of a new script in the early-modern period is a significant marker of a cultural shift for the Cham: a decreased reliance upon royal authority, and an increased reliance upon a clerical and priestly authority, initially associated with court literati.

¹⁶⁸ Ken (2011:246) noted that a "recently published genealogy of the Nguyễn royal family acknowledges the marriage" between the Vietnamese princess Nguyễn Phúc Ngọc Khoa and "a Cham king," that is, Ppo Romé.

¹⁶⁹ See: Thành Phàn (2011a); CAM 248c.

The rise of the new literati, and adoption of the new script were likely tied to the socio-political position of Pāñduraṅga in the seventeenth century. Pāñduraṅga was very much part of the greater Gulf of Thailand cultural zone, which included early modern Khmer, Thai and Malay courts. It is no secret that personal relations were critical to Ppo Romé's success among the Ede, Cham and Churu communities on the mainland. He followed this pattern further abroad as well, as he personally travelled to Kampong Cham¹⁷⁰ and Kelantan, Malaysia.¹⁷¹ Although there is no evidence to suggest he travelled with them, sailors from Pāñduraṅga even reached Manila in 1637.¹⁷² In the domestic sphere, it is possible that he was aware that the Churu community had been forged out of marriage alliances between the Raglai and Koho. Furthermore, it is likely that uplanders assisted in the construction of Ppo Romé's most significant civil projects: the Mâdren, Caping, and Katew dams.¹⁷³ His relationship with the relatives of Bia Thanh [Su] Cih and Ppo Mâha Taha secured good relations with Cham communities, while his alliance with the family of Bia Than [Su] Can brought good trade relations with the Ede, ensuring a supply of hinterland products for luxury trade. To travel to Kelantan, he could have taken the sea route from Pāñduraṅga, but manuscripts record that he travelled through Kampong Cham toward Kelantan on at least one occasion, suggesting that he also had the relations to travel overland across Khmer territory as well. Nonetheless, he made at least one trip to the Malay peninsula, and even spent several years in Malay lands studying Islam and “Malay Magic.”¹⁷⁴ At least two of his senior generals, Ppo Tang Ahaok and Ppo Riyak, joined him in Malay lands, where they also

¹⁷⁰ C.: *Nâgar Chiam Kur*

¹⁷¹ C.: *Mâkah*. Other names are used for these locations as well. Some manuscripts less specifically record that Ppo Romé studied “adat Islam” in “Nâgar Kur” (Cambodia) and “Jawa” (Island Southeast Asia). CAM 246 B.

¹⁷² His connections may have even ranged further. European sources suggest Champa sailors were in Manila in 1637 (Yves-Manguin 1979: 277).

¹⁷³ C.: *banak*; See: CAM 245; Sakaya (2008a: 107).

¹⁷⁴ C.: *Kabal Rup*; The Cham term for “Malay Magic” indicates that this was likely a form of martial art, and may have been related to the Malay martial art “*silat*.”

studied Islam.¹⁷⁵ At the same time, there were some Cham who had relations with Malay women. In Malaysia, Ppo Romé himself took a Malay (Muslim) name, had at least one child with a Kelantanese women, and earned the title of “The Lord of the Eaglewood”¹⁷⁶ as per Cham records. Although Ppo Romé returned to Pāñduraṅga and died in prison in Vietnamese territory in 1651, his lineage in Kelantan became known as the “Champā dynasty.”¹⁷⁷ In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, individuals from this lineage were often called “Malay” in Cham records, although those with the title “Lord of the Eaglewood” are widely recognized as direct descendants of Ppo Romé, and hence at least part Churu (Koho-Raglai) by heritage (Inrasara 2006: 50; Sakaya 2008a: 91-92, 98; CAM 246a; CAM 248c).

The strong relationship between peninsular Malaysia¹⁷⁸ undoubtedly had some impact on Islamic influence in *negarā* Pāñduraṅga during Ppo Romé’s reign. Father Escola Omf, a European missionary, claimed that half the population of Pāñduraṅga was Muslim at the time. The estimate is significant as, it suggests that the total Muslim population of Pāñduraṅga was proportionately larger than in later periods.¹⁷⁹ Additionally, since there was a one-hundred-year civil conflict between Muslim and Hindu Cham before Ppo Romé’s reign, the demographic estimate indicates the size of the civil conflict would have been substantial. By repute, Ppo Romé assisted in negotiations between the Hindu priesthood who represented the Hindu Cham community (*Ahiér*) and the Bani clerics (*Awal*) who were at the head of the Bani-Islamic

¹⁷⁵ On *Ariya Ppo Riyak*. CAM 244. See: CAM 244, CAM 246 (B). See also: Sakaya (2008b: 100-107).

¹⁷⁶ C.: *Ppo Gihlau*

¹⁷⁷ Bradley (2015: 43) refers to Malay sources and claims that the Cham line had earlier roots but was ousted. Then, the line came back to power in both Patani and Kelantan in the 1710’s. They then ruled both polities until Sultan Muhammad came to power in Patani in 1769/1771.

¹⁷⁸ Kelantan, Pattani and Terengganu

¹⁷⁹ At present, for example, the Bani represent an estimated 30% of the Cham population in Vietnam, while the *Ahiér* represent approximately 40%, with the remaining 30% being mostly Sunnī Muslim populations located in Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc.

influenced community. His ability to forge peace between the *Ahiér* and *Awal* elements of Cham society was significant, and a factor that led to Ppo Romé's veneration as a deity. At the same time, the relationship between the *Ahiér* and *Awal* elements of Cham society became a sort of “new religion” of the Cham, an officially sanctioned syncretic society that operated with two inter-related distinct religious communities (Yves-Manguin 1979: 270-271; Yosuko 2011: 326; Sakaya 2012; CAM 245).¹⁸⁰

As a localized form of cosmic dualism, if there is an overarching feature of “Cham religion(s)”¹⁸¹ the *Ahiér-Awal* relationship is it. As terms adapted from Arabic to reframe Hindu concepts, they took on symbolic meaning. Primarily, they were indicative of the cooperative relationship between *Ahiér* and *Awal* elements of the cosmos, as mediated through the *Ahiér* priests and *Awal* clerics. They increasingly created ritual functions for each other in religious ceremonies, to bind their communities together. The ritual relationship meant that they needed a mutual understanding of one another's calendrical systems. Hence, they created a calendrical system that included both Arabic and Indic systems. By merging the calendars, the literati ensured that individuals could attend ceremonies of both religious communities. The decision was critical since attendance to religious ceremonies was considered an ethical action that maintained the stability of households, clans, and communities at large. Then, to guide each ceremony, a common understanding of the existing regulations that dictated ritual practice were combined, as much as possible into an overarching ethical code (C.: *adat cam*) that governed overarching social norms and ritual relationships.¹⁸² The code was a combination of Hindu

¹⁸⁰ In the context of Ppo Romé's reign onward, the terms *awal* (Ar.: root: first) and *ahiér* (Ar.: root: last) are additionally associated with conceptions of cosmic dualism commonly found in Hindu philosophy.

¹⁸¹ C.: *Agama Cam*

¹⁸² C.: *Adat Cam*; See: Nakamura (1999); Sakaya (2013a). Also: *Ariya Patao Adat*, *Ariya Bini Cam*, *Ariya Cam Bini* and others.

principles, *sharī'ah*, and local customs. Yet, with the decreasing power of the royal court, the ethical code could also not be mandated from above as easily. Instead, it was maintained through ritual functions where the priesthood and clerics were retained as dignitaries.

As mentioned above, a key feature of the *Ahiér-Awal* relationship was the creation of a joint calendrical system to govern ritual life in Cham communities. The calendar (C.: *sakawi cam*) originated during the reign of Ppo Romé and was a blend between the Indic-solar *śāka* calendar, and the Malay-Muslim lunar *jawi* calendar. *Sakawi Cam* became the system that guided all aspects of Cham ritual life, and is *still* consulted for the dates of high-holidays and life cycle rituals. For example, it guides the ceremonies of Ramadan (C.: *Ramāwan*), and four high holidays of the Cham *Ahiér* community (including the most well-known, *Katé*).¹⁸³ It also became the system that has guided the months associated with proper marriages. It additionally formed the basis of studies of astrology by Cham literati from the seventeenth century to the present. Like the Euro-American notion of a “farmers’ almanac,” Cham literati relied upon the study of astrology to govern all aspects of life, including the most basic planting cycles, particularly rice planting and harvest.¹⁸⁴

Given the radical restructuring of Cham society, from the agricultural classes to the literati, it is not a surprise that Ppo Romé contributed substantially to the survival of Cham identity. It is also not a surprise that his lineage remained relatively stable, because of the transformation of Cham culture. Via the lineage under his Ede wife, Bia Than [Su] Can, Ppo Romé’s decedents ruled *negarā Pāñduraṅga* for the next fourteen reigns,¹⁸⁵ well into the

¹⁸³ See: Noseworthy (2014d)

¹⁸⁴ See: Yasuko Yoshimoto (2011) along with *Tapuk Bani* MSS: *Kitap di Palei Rem di Po Gru Ong Nguyễn Lại* and *Tapuk di Imām Du di Palei Rem*.

¹⁸⁵ One of the following kings of *negarā Pāñduraṅga* was Ppo Saut [r. 1669-1692 CE] who was Ppo Romé’s son by his Ede wife. See: On Bo Ty. ND. *Sakkaray Prangdurang*.

eighteenth century (1786). Even then, during the decline of Ppo Romé's lineage on the mainland, a member of his Kelantanese lineage returned to fight against the Vietnamese during the Nguyễn-Tây Sơn wars, as we will see in chapter three (*Ariya Tuen Phaow*; Yoshimoto 2011: 326; Sakaya 2008a: 91-92; Gay 1988: 54-56). Finally, with the new relationship between the Ahiér and Awal elements of Cham culture, it follows that there would be a need for a more universal understanding of a uniquely Cham script that literati in both communities could read. Hence, as *Akhar Thrah* emerged as a unique Cham script, it also became a Hindu-Muslim script that could be used for communication among all the elite classes and literati of Pāñduraṅga.

Ppo Romé's narrative is one of an uplander who inverts the ingrained observations about upland peoples in relation to Southeast Asian history, equally becoming a marker for a new period of Cham history in lowlands Pāñduraṅga. His reign marks the emergence of an early-modern form of Cham culture, associated with the formation of the modern Cham script, a new calendrical system, reformed or new religious practices, and the new social order of peace and unity between the Cham *Ahiér* and *Awal* factions.¹⁸⁶ The period constituted a lasting shift in the relations between the Cham and the Churu, Jarai and Ede peoples. Churu became elite rulers, while Ede and Jarai kept royal gifts that they received during the end of Ppo Romé's reign, and from his lineage in the eighteenth century. Ede and Jarai leaders kept these gifts well into the twentieth century. The impact was to ensure that there would be relations among Chamic Austronesian peoples that stretched across the Khmer-Cham-Vietnamese borderlands, which ensured the potential mobility of Cham fleeing various forms of persecution. Additionally, there was a significant intellectual impact of Ppo Romé's reign. It stretched throughout Cham

¹⁸⁶ It is significant that there were many extreme draughts in the early seventeenth century, between 1604-16 along Sumatra, and another period between 1633 and 1635 in Vietnam (Reid 2015: 150)

communities on the mainland for the next three centuries and more. Each time an author used a combination of Akhar Thrah and Arabic, each time a ritual included elements of Hindu and Muslim practice, each time a new manuscript was composed, the impact of Ppo Romé's reign continued.

As Ppo Romé's reign was recorded in a wealth of Cham manuscript sources, the most commonly read manuscript became *Dalikal Ppo Romé*. The manuscript was used by Cham students to learn the script, but it was also constantly referenced by literati to delineate lessons about history and proper behavior. Therefore, the manuscript had a considerable influence on later Cham scholars and scholars of the Cham, as we shall see in chapter four. What follows is an in-depth analysis of the language, script and manuscripts related to *Dalikal Ppo Romé*. The analysis shows how readings of Ppo Romé's reign guided day to day interactions in the Cham community, and provides a more detailed reading of the impact of his reign on Cham literati, beyond the macro level analysis above.

III Dalikal Ppo Romé

Dalikal Ppo Romé is the most significant source for revealing details of the reign of Ppo Romé. Like other forms of Cham literature that were produced from at least as early as Ppo Romé's reign onward, *dalikal* are generally written in the Akhar Thrah script. Since at least as early as the seventeenth century, Cham literati used the Eastern variant of Akhar Thrah to record a whole series of distinct genres: *dalikal*, *akayet*, *ariya* and *damnây*.¹⁸⁷ Distinguishing between

¹⁸⁷ Dalikal= ດາລິກາລ ແລ້ວ ດຳນ້າຍ = ດຳນ້າຍ

the genres could have been difficult even for individual literati, as there was some fluidity in form. Nevertheless, expertise came with practice. *Dalikal* are the most prosaic.¹⁸⁸ This assessment of the “prosaic nature” of the *dalikal* refers not only to their tendency to be constructed with prose, but also to their tendency to be comparatively straightforward.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, there are numerous forms of *dalikal* from “humorous stories,”¹⁹⁰ to “historical works,”¹⁹¹ to “biographies” or a blending of two or more forms.¹⁹² These distinctions are also not absolutes. An individual *dalikal* may have generally historical connotations, be presented in a biography, and have some humorous elements. It was also possible to have stories that were entirely presented as humor, or as a form of evening story for entertainment purposes (Sakaya 2013a: 329-352, Inrasara 2006:19-28).¹⁹³ Depending on the intonation, the individual reciter, and the attitude of the audience, *Dalikal Ppo Romé* could be inflected with humor at points, historical notes at others, and naturally takes the form of a biography.

As indicated above, it was possible for Cham literati to present the information contained in *Dalikal Ppo Romé* in several genres, wherein the title of each manuscript is an indicator of how the narrative of Ppo Romé has been recorded in accordance with certain standards of the

¹⁸⁸ Whereas *akayet*, *ariya*, and *damnây* are more lyrical.

¹⁸⁹ The *damnây*, *akayet*, and *ariya*, however, are not only constructed in verse but are also written in a more complex, poetic style filled with flowery language, metaphor, and nuance. *Damnây* are generally sung during religious ceremonies. *Akayet* and *ariya* are considered forms of high, or classical, literature, with *akayet* being influenced by the Malay *hikayat*. *Ariya* generally appeared later than *akayet*. There are no absolutes, and individual texts that are technically *dalikal* may occasionally be labeled *damnây*.

¹⁹⁰ C.: *dalikal kalak*

¹⁹¹ C.: *dalikal sakarai*

¹⁹² C.: *dalikal ampam*

¹⁹³ In chapter two, one *damnây* of the goddess Po Inâ Nâgar, which is best considered a *dalikal* based on its form. The classification of genres used here is adapted from Sakaya (2013b) and Inrasara (2006).

genre.¹⁹⁴ For example, *Damnây Cei Sit*,¹⁹⁵ is a devotional manuscript about *Ppo Romé* as a warrior-general (C.: *Cei*),¹⁹⁶ while *Damnây Ppo Gihlau* is a devotional manuscript that refers to *Ppo Romé*, by his title “lord of the eaglewood” (C.: *Ppo Gihlau*) and is thus in reference to his control over upland-lowland trade networks.¹⁹⁷ *Damnây Ppo Romé* is a devotional manuscript that has been sung by Ong Kadhar priests on the occasion of buffalo slaughter ceremonies and Yang of the Kut ceremonies.¹⁹⁸ The story of *Ppo Romé* can also appear in the format of an epic poem, such as in *Ariya Ppo Romé*¹⁹⁹ and in a *dalikal* form that offers more details about his position in life, such as in *Dalikal Ppo Romé angan Ja Saot*.²⁰⁰ Each manuscript includes its own narrative account of history, mediating between oral and literary tradition. Not all the accounts agree, particularly as different accounts record fewer or greater wives and children, but they can be read in combination to gather an assessment of most agreed upon historical narrative.²⁰¹ To contribute to the understanding of the presentation of the narrative, it is important to highlight that the most commonly read text often comes with the subtitle “angan Ja Saot” meaning “called the poor man.” After *Ppo Romé*’s death, the literati opened their most common readings of *Ppo Romé*’s biography with a reminder that the story begins when he was poor. This would have

¹⁹⁴ This is because Cham manuscripts are named in four ways. The first is to apply the genre of the manuscript as the first word in the title. This method is then combined with any three of the following methods, in apparent order of popularity: 1) the use of the name of the central character in the text (*Damnây Ppo Nâgar* or *Dalikal Ppo Klaong Garai*) 2) a thematic summary of the material presented in the text (*Ariya Bini-Cam*, *Ariya Cam-Bini*, *Ariya Ppo Pareng*), and 3) the use of the first line of the text (*Akayet Nai Mai Mâng Mâkah*) (Inrasara 2006:10-13). The first method focused the audience on the character, the second on the narrative of the history, and the third on the setting of that narrative. In other words, different texts took on different literary strategies of shifting the focus of the audience through means of their presentation.

¹⁹⁵ CAM 246 (A): 8-11. *Ppo Romé* is also referred to as *Cei Sit* [a military title], *Ppo Gihlau* and as *Cei Chaya* in certain rituals (See: Sakaya 2012; Inrasara 2003, 2007; Sakaya 2013a).

¹⁹⁶ *Cei* is the Cham term for “uncle” but frequently refers to “generals” or “warrior kings” in Cham manuscripts.

¹⁹⁷ CAM 246 (A): 7-74.

¹⁹⁸ As well as a number of others, including: *Ar Katé*, *Cambur*, *Yuer Yang*, *Piuh di Bi Mbeng Yang*, *Yang di Sang*, CAM 246 (B).

¹⁹⁹ CAM 244: 61-66.

²⁰⁰ CAM 245: 125-133.

²⁰¹ On historicizing Cham manuscripts, see also: Inrasara 1994:18, 2006:20-24, Weber 2012:160-162.

allowed the narrative to connect with an audience that stretched much beyond the class of the literati.

To give readers a sense of how *Dalikal Ppo Romé* presents the god-king's biography, a translation of the Cham manuscript *Dalikal Ppo Romé Angan Ja Saot* follows:

This is the story of Ppo Romé when he was called the 'Poor Man Ja Saot.' When Ppo Romé was born in the village of Ranjueh his placenta was taken and buried in the village of Pa-Aok at Hamu Bhang Thoak.²⁰² Then his mother brought him to Phan Rang. When they had just arrived at the territory of Phan Rang they went to live in the village of Biuh.²⁰³ Ppo Romé went to work as a water buffalo herder by the dam of Aia Kiak and slept under the ironwood²⁰⁴ tree. One day when Ppo Romé was asleep under the tree, its dragon spirit drifted out and licked his entire body.²⁰⁵ Ppo Romé thus gained his prowess²⁰⁶ from the spirit of the ironwood tree. Then, in the Year of the Goat [1627], Ppo Romé was enthroned. At this time the Vietnamese led two or three strikes against the Cham, but they were

²⁰² Hamu Bhang Thaok refers to a paddy plot (C.: *hamu*; ហោនុ) that has gone dry. The meaning of this reference could be taken in several different directions: referring either to the desertification of a paddy plot or an idiomatic expression that means something akin to the English slang "from a bad hood."

²⁰³ It is likely that the village of Biuh has been lost already. It could not be located on any lists of the villages of the Cham dating to the mid-twentieth century. It is likely that 'lost' means that the Cham evacuated this area during times of Vietnamese conquest, were removed from this area by Vietnamese policy, or, less likely, that the village was destroyed by extreme flooding.

²⁰⁴ *Kraik* = ក្រីក

²⁰⁵ This story of Ppo Romé and the dragon is remarkably similar to that of Yi epic hero Zhyge Alu's conception in the Nuosu epic, the *Hnewo Tepyy*. See: Bender (2008). The dragon (Cham: Inâ Garai) is a common feature in Cham literature, particularly in the story of another Cham sovereign: Po Klong Garai. For further discussion of the Zomian framework, Bender's analysis provides an excellent example of upland literacy.

²⁰⁶ *Ganreh* = ការិន

unsuccessful and Ppo Romé remained sovereign. Then the Vietnamese sent a beautiful princess to love Ppo Romé. Her name was Bia Ut²⁰⁷ and Ppo Romé loved her very much.

Bia Ut had lived with Ppo Romé for just one year when she began to complain that she could neither sleep nor eat because Ppo Romé was always taking care of the ironwood tree and could not simultaneously care for her. She complained all day and all night that she could not sleep because an evil spirit²⁰⁸ possessed her. So Ppo Romé ordered an exorcism to remove the spirit and had a Mâkgru²⁰⁹ treat Bia Ut. Nevertheless, she complained that she was getting worse and worse and cried, "Oh, Ppo Romé, if you really are a man of prowess, Po Po, please, go kill the ironwood tree so that I will be able to live. And if you really are a man of prowess and if you love me, then why not?"

But Ppo Romé did not realize that she was misleading him. The royal court and the sovereign's council pleaded with Ppo Romé not to kill the ironwood tree. That tree had an evil spirit inside it that was making the wife of the sovereign ill. But the soldiers pleaded, "Please do not kill the ironwood tree because if you kill the ironwood tree then the entire territory²¹⁰ will be in chaos."

Ppo Romé agreed with what they said. But, he did not realize that at this time that Bia Ut was eavesdropping on his council. And, when she heard these words, she began to complain so loudly that Ppo Romé could hear her from her chambers. She cried, "Why have you not granted my request? You don't love me!" And so, she shouted, "I am the

²⁰⁷ Bia Ut is a Cham play on words. Ut in Cham can refer to "north" (from Sanskrit "utara") Or the *anak út* (from Vietnamese: con út, meaning "youngest child").

²⁰⁸ *Jin* = ຈົນ

²⁰⁹ A *mâkgru* is a traditional healer in Cham society. *Mâkgru* = ມັກກູ

²¹⁰ *Nâger* = ນ້າງ

youngest daughter of the Vietnamese king, but... although I have left the house of my mother and father to follow you, you still do not follow my wishes, even though this will kill me!"

Because she uttered these words while sobbing, Ppo Romé decided that he should make a formal request for his soldiers to kill²¹¹ the ironwood tree. The soldiers then went to the tree and hacked away at the bark for three days and three nights, but they could not kill the ironwood; the bark returned each day as it had been before. The soldiers then went to have an audience with the sovereign and brought the news that they could not kill the ironwood. However, Bia Ut overheard the gossip²¹² among the citizens that there was a plan to kill the ironwood tree. She calmed down and began to sleep. When Ppo Romé found Bia Ut sleeping calmly, but also had already received the report from his soldiers that the ironwood tree was not dead, his heart began to ache. He ordered the soldiers once more, "You must fell the ironwood tree in one day!"

Now the soldiers asked Ppo Romé once more to rescind the order, since they were again unable²¹³ to follow his orders. Now they obstructed Ppo Romé and would not support him at all. One day they asked to have an audience with the sovereign and the issue of how to strike through the trunk of the ironwood tree was weighed. Ppo Romé shouted, "Hey!

²¹¹ This word is normally translated as "cut" or "chop," however, in the Cham version, the word for "cut" or "chop" is not used, rather, the word *mâtai* "to die" (AT: ݢݢݢ) which implies "to kill" or "to murder" appears here. This emphasizes the deification or personification of the tree in conjunction with what Bender (2008) has referred to as ecocentrism.

²¹² *Jari jaro* = ݢݢݢ ݢݢݢ

²¹³ It is assumed that, by this point, the soldiers are attempting to reassert the morality of leaving the tree spirit alone.

Everyone!²¹⁴ If you want to kill me, then OK! Go ahead! That's fine and regrettable to me only!" And so he said in vain, "Tell your king²¹⁵ that he can kill me!"

The soldiers struggled to get the sovereign to understand them. But Ppo Romé went outside and took the handle and head of a *jaung* axe²¹⁶ and tapped them together three times. Then there was a funeral rite to send off the soul of the ironwood, and Ppo Romé struck the trunk three times, and each time the ironwood let out a great moan. The blood²¹⁷ of the ironwood then ran out all over the face of the earth, for three days and three nights, and Bia Ut became healthy again. She had no problems whatsoever.

Bia Ut then sent a letter to her father to say that the prowess of the king of the Cham territories had been cut, as the felling of the ironwood tree was now completed. Then, when the Vietnamese king read the news from Bia Ut, he raised an army to strike Ppo Romé. Since the ironwood tree was killed and uprooted, there was a war. The Vietnamese invaded and wrenched the land away from the Cham. As the Vietnamese king and his soldiers surrounded the door of the palace, so Ppo Romé abandoned the capital to flee, but the Vietnamese pursued and captured him. Ppo Romé was forced to pay tribute to the Vietnamese and so Bia Ut returned to her land.

²¹⁴ Here, Ppo Romé slipped into informal register because of his anger.

²¹⁵ The text is not clear as to which *patau* "king" is meant. The word *patau* is also found among the Austronesian Jarai peoples and the Austronesian Chamic Achenese language (Aymonier and Cabaton 1906:260, 288). Generally, this manuscript employs *patau* to refer to the Vietnamese king (*patau Jek* = ພາຕູ ຈັກ), however, it is possible that Ppo Romé refers to lesser kings or sovereigns among the peoples of the Cham *nâger*, such as a highland king (*patau Cek* = ພາຕູ ຈັກ), king of the Jarai (*patau Jarai* = ພາຕູ ຈາຣາຍ), or even the king of the Chams (*patau Cam* = ພາຕູ ດຳ). However, in this manuscript and others I have examined, the term *Ppo Cam* 'Cham sovereign' more commonly refers to the head of the Cham polities. Because Ppo Romé was presumed to be above the Ppo rank, his angry presumption is to question his advisors' loyalty by associating them with an unnamed *patau*.

²¹⁶ A *jaung* (AT: ຈັງ) "axe" is two-handed, has a long handle, and a long blade. It is like other axes that were common throughout Malaysia and Vietnam.

²¹⁷ *Darah* = ດາວະ

Bia Ut returned already victorious and so the land of the Cham was lost because Ppo Romé followed the words of the Vietnamese and killed the ironwood tree.

Nobody knows when the ironwood tree will spread its leaves again and prosperity will return to the lands of the Cham people.

There was one person who blocked the wealth and progress of the Cham lands. Now nobody knows which year or which month in the future the Cham Po will be able to revive the lands to bring prosperity back to the Cham people. From this time onward the Cham lands became weak, and looking back upon a more prosperous time, the Cham people cry. If the Cham sovereign appears in public then prosperity will return, and so this *dalikal* was written.²¹⁸

Take aside the implication that it would take an individual literati serious training to complete a reading of *Dalakal Ppo Romé* in one sitting. The manuscript itself contains valuable historical information. Critics may assert that the material is mythical or not verifiable. At the same time, the narrative shows how Cham literati began to interpret their history. Certain elements regarding Ppo Romé's birthplace, the historical conflict with the Vietnamese, and even the result of that conflict, are well accepted historical information, details that were preserved in this manuscript. There are, however, more undeniably mystical elements of the narrative, such as the appearance of the *Inâ Garai* dragon, and the notion that Ppo Romé does not "cut" the tree, but literally "kills" it. Yet, the mystical nature of these elements of the narrative does not diminish their use. The preservation of a mystical past that was unique to the Cham, was a key aspect of solidifying the identity of the Cham as one that would remain relevant in the future.

²¹⁸ Anonymous. nd. *Da Lakal Ppo Romé Angan Ja Saot* [The *Dalikal* of Ppo Romé When He Was Called Ja Saot]. Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam's private collection. Read: Fall, 2012.

The last lines emphasize that the Cham could not possibly return to prosperity through the silence of their ruling class, but only through new elite that spoke out on their behalf. The tree, as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, was a metaphor for Champā polities. Since the advisors to the royalty, representative of the ancestors of later literati, spoke out to protect the spiritual potency of the tree, and in favor of its preservation, they were speaking out to protect Champā. The moment when the advisors question the kings' authority suggests the wisdom and power of the literati. It foreshadows their authority, as they are charged with the protection of Cham culture in the future. The idea is that if he had listened to his advisors, he would have been a better king for the Cham. Understood in this way *Dalikal Ppo Romé* is a call to action, a call to speak truth to power. Ppo Romé's narrative empowered the literati from the seventeenth century onward, and, the recitation of the *Dalikal Ppo Romé* was an affirmation of their position each time it was performed. Given that Ppo Romé appears an anti-hero in the narrative, it may be surprising that he was still venerated, based on a reading of this manuscript alone.

By consecrating Ppo Romé it was possible for Cham literati to maintain a certain amount of Champā traditions, while forging new religious traditions that “maintained” older forms of religious authority. Moving his spirit to the world of the ancestral deity stabilized a decentered cosmos. The historical figure of Ppo Romé navigates his increasingly difficult worldly position with skill, by relying upon a series of human relationships. Being Churu himself, he was already betwixt and between Chamic and non-Chamic groups, both of which could have posed a threat to him as an individual. He used marriage as a method of negotiating between the various socio-political and ethnic communities around him, some of which are hostile.²¹⁹ When one of these

²¹⁹ Gaynor (2016) has noted a similar trend of political marriages among “sea gypsies” of island Southeast Asia, particularly off the coast of Indonesia.

spouses betrays him and tricks him into losing his territory, she essentially removes him from his positions in the borderlands. Being on the borderlands is ironically stable for Ppo Romé, so long as he listens to his advisors and does not pursue the desire to follow the wishes of his Vietnamese wife. When he takes a step away from his role as a borderlands person, emotionally joining with the Vietnamese wife, he has been led astray, and loses the country as a result. Here the sacred tree has been acting as a cosmic pillar, rooting the Cham community. But, the loss of the centering sacred tree results in the additional uprooting of the Cham people. When Ppo Romé himself is no longer in the position of being betwixt and between, he is lost, and the Cham people replace him. The loss of the tree, the territory, and Ppo Romé, all result in the further uprooting of the Cham, who become a borderlands people because of the narrative.

At the end of Ppo Romé's narrative, it is understood that his spirit, after his death, could not be at peace. Although the Cham had become a borderlands people who were often decentered and scattered – their literati were invested in maintaining a sense of cultural resilience. They committed substantial energy to hold Cham communities together across the divides of mountains, swamps, emerging nation-state borders, and religious divides, all while embedded between powerful neighboring polities that were consistently repressing and incorporating the Cham. By consecrating Ppo Romé, then, it was not only possible to maintain a certain amount of Champā traditions, while forging new religious traditions that “maintained” older forms of religious authority, but it was also possible to ensure that a restless spirit would not upset the cosmos further. Consecrating Ppo Romé, for the Cham who remained in Pāṇḍurāṅga, was a way to re-center their communities, while keeping alive the idea of cosmic dualism, and community unity amongst the Awal and Ahiér, which was established during his reign. This was particularly the case for the members of Bia Than Su Cih's Cham Bani lineage

and the Ahiér Cham who continued to worship him every year during the annual Katé ceremonies in the fall. It was also the case for Churu who continued to memorialize him, at least through the eighteenth century.²²⁰ At the same time, many communities were uprooted by the invasion of the Vietnamese that resulted from Bia Ut's betrayal of Ppo Romé. They could not return to worship Ppo Romé at his temple, or worship other deities that were important to them. Nonetheless, the narrative of Ppo Romé continued to impact them in diaspora in Cambodia. His impact on Cham literati and religious communities has been undeniably significant.

IV Enduring Legacy of the Ppo Romé Period

The record of Cham manuscripts shows that Ppo Romé's narrative continued to be memorialized by later Cham literati in Annam (formerly Pāñduraṅga) such as Hợp Ai²²¹ and Bố Thuận.²²² Given that the Cham literati preserved this narrative in many works over the last 120 years, many more versions of Ppo Romé's survived in personal collections. As the work of Hợp Ai and others impacted the work of Aymonier, the influence of Ppo Romé can be traced into the works of Nora Taylor (1989: 1-5), as well as scholars such as Aymonier, Durand, and Boisselier.

²²⁰ For more details on these see: Noseworthy 2014d; Noseworthy 2013c.

²²¹ *Dâmnay Ppo Romé* 1880s-1890s, Asiatic Society, CM 23.

²²² *Dalikal Ppo Romé* 1932, EFEO Library, CAM 152. Other manuscripts include *Dalikal Ppo Rome* (1930s-1940s?, EFEO, CAM 245), *Dalikal Ppo Romé* (1930s-1940s?, EFEO, CAM 248D), *Dâmnây Ppo Romé* (1975, EFEO Fonds, CAM Microfilm 1), *Hymns (Dâmnây?) to Ppo Romé* (1975, EFEO Fonds, CAM Microfilm 1). But, after Bố Thuận's early work there are no known other datable versions of the *Dalikal Ppo Romé*, even as Bố Thuận remained a teacher in the Cham community through the 1950s. Two other versions of *Dalikal Ppo Romé* in the EFEO library – CAM 245 and CAM 248D – cannot be associated with individual authors or dated. It is possible that they date to this period. Later, *Dalikal Ppo Romé* was selected as a key manuscript for preservation by the Cham Cultural Center (CCC) projects by Nara Vija, Po Dharma, Thiên Sanh Cảnh and others in 1974 (LaFont et al. 1977: 113, 118-119; Po 1981). The *Ppo Romé*'s story appears in a *damnây* on CAM Microfilm 1 (1974) that was a manuscript recopied and labeled B1 for the Cham Cultural Center that Moussay founded in Phan Rang, Ninh Thuận Province, Vietnam in 1969. Other works relating to Ppo Romé that were microfilmed as part of this project include hymns to Ppo Romé on CAM Microfilm 14. These are also in the form of *damnây*.

In other words, the narrative of Ppo Romé continued to shape virtually all major scholarly perceptions of the Cham community well into the twentieth century.²²³ Elements of Ppo Romé's reign are celebrated in the Raja Praong ceremony of the Cham Bani communities in Bình Thuận and Ninh Thuận, as will be detailed further in chapter two. More recently, one village even claimed to have a shrine that was dedicated to the birth site of Ppo Romé's mother. Certain Cham literati doubted these claims because they lacked archeological evidence, as well as evidence in the record of Cham manuscripts (Quảng Đại Cẩn 2012). The long history of Cham manuscripts also shaped what was accepted as "appropriate" religious practice, as per the Cham ethical code (C.: *adat cam*) that was constructed during Ppo Romé's reign. The implication that *Ahiér* and *Awal* are the guiding forces to Cham cosmology is a dominant understanding that even remained in Cham Muslim communities in Cambodia.

Through the present, there has been too little examination of the impact of Ppo Romé's reign on the Cham community in Cambodia. Using a strictly logical interpretation of lineage: if the Ede-Churu lineage via Bia Than [Su] Can ruled Pāñduraṅga after Ppo Romé's death through the eighteenth century, it follows that a significant number of the 5,000 members of the "Cham elite" that left Phan Rang in 1692 were not "Cham" per se, but rather a creolized mix of upland-lowland lineages, along with Malay- Pāñduraṅga lineages. In Pāñduraṅga they may have even been recognized with significant complexity regarding their heritage. But, in diaspora, the *all* became Cham.²²⁴ All members of the court were considered Cham from the point of their

²²³ Although the story of Ppo Romé had some significant impact on scholarship, it is also the case that the Ppo Romé manuscript has remained quite valuable up through the present. Between 1998 and 2002 there were versions of an *Ariya Ppo Romé* (Thành Phìn, Chăm 43, pp. 5-8) and *Damnây Ppo Romé* (Ông Kadhar Gru, Chăm 45, pp. 15-17; Chăm 95, pp. 74-76; Ông Quảng Tỷ, Chăm 57, pp. 15-17), as well as a version of *Damnây Ppo Gihlau* (Ông Quảng Tỷ, Chăm 57, pp. 12-13) that were collected in Cham communities (Thành Phìn 2007).

²²⁴ To explain further: the understanding that all of these individuals were not Cham in Pāñduraṅga is simply a matter of fact. Nevertheless, all known scholarly sources who refer to Cham in Cambodia, refer to this wave of migrants as "Cham." For examples see: Zain Musa (2001) and Collins (2009).

migration onward. As these Pāñduraṅga peoples settled in Khmer territory, predominantly in river-plains areas, converted to Islam and became even more tied to a Malay sphere of influence, upland influences were lost, except for a historical echo of the Ppo Romé's reign.

The most obvious evidence for connections to the historical impact of Ppo Rome's reign derive from the later narrative of Ppo Sas Chai.²²⁵ While Ppo Sas Chai was a nineteenth century figure, there are distinct parallels between the two narratives, which appear to be beyond the point of rhyming historical narratives. Ppo Sas Chai most commonly appears as a spirit that is present in *Ngak Chai* spirit medium ceremonies and the annual *Mamun* celebration of the Kaum Imam San community. But, when individuals are asked about the narrative of Ppo Sas Chai, it is virtually the same as Ppo Romé's. In one account, recorded by Trankel (2003), via the oral presentation of Imam El, Phum Themy (1996) there are only a few notable differences: the king is named Sas Chai and his wife is named Bia A'sas;²²⁶ the tree is called a *satraw* tree; and, after his death, Sas Chai became a dangerous spirit. The appearance of Ppo Sas Chai may be interpreted as potentially influenced by the Khmer Buddhist notion of a lost ancestor spirit, or hungry ghost (Trankel 2003: 34-39).²²⁷ On the other hand, it may also be interpreted as a pre-existing Cham notion of what happens to a royal spirit when they no longer may be properly interred in a royal tomb, which would have appeared as a problem for Cham royalty from the reign of Ppo Romé onwards, but most specifically after the final conquest of Cham territory by the Vietnamese in the nineteenth century.

²²⁵ Alt.: Po Sas Cay

²²⁶ Queen of Sas

²²⁷ Hence, this spirit became one of twenty to thirty court spirits that are present in Kaum Imam San specific rituals that increased in importance after the trauma of the Democratic Kampuchea regime [1975-1979; - 1993] (Trankel 2003: 34-39).

More recent accounts of Ppo Sas Chai in Cambodia appear to be closer to the Ppo Romé narrative of the Pāñduraṅga court. Alberto Pérez-Pereiro recently reported that, during his own fieldwork in Cambodia, the tree was referred to as a *kerik* tree (Pérez-Pereiro 2012: 138-145). We should note the distinction between *satraw* and *kerik* – *kerik* appears simply to be a local pronunciation of *kraik*. If the narrative represents an echo of the narrative of Ppo Romé, as with the presence of the *homkar* symbol of Ahiér-Awal among the Cham community in Cambodia, it would represent the continued influence of Ppo Romé on Cham Muslims in Cambodia. Reconciliation with history, or the rediscovery of it, has been referred to by Hamid (2006) as one of the three main layers to Cham identity, the others being the “religious” and the “repressed minority” layers (Hamid 2006). We could however, by drawing inspiration from Cham cultural contexts and Hamid’s works push this “historical” layer even further by understanding it as *sakarai*. In this sense, Cham *sakarai* notions of history are somewhat more malleable and flexible than some professional historians would like to engage with. In more recent explorations of Mamun ceremonies in the Kaum Imam San community, I found that there were other figures of the Pāñduraṅga court under Ppo Romé, including the admiral Ppo Tang Ahaok, who were memorialized by both the Kaum Imam San community and in Cham ceremonies in Vietnam.²²⁸

V Conclusion: Impact of Ppo Romé on Cham Religious Communities

The manuscript *Dalikal Ppo Romé Angan Ja Saot* records a vision of Cham history. One line concludes that a tax was paid to the Nguyễn Vietnamese sovereign or “Patau Jek”²²⁹ after

²²⁸ See: Noseworthy (2014e).

²²⁹ *Patau Jek* is a term that some individuals in touch in with Cham communities may find is a common way to refer to Vietnamese kings of the past. Thai and Lao use a similar term, also transliterated *jek* to refer to Chinese in a

Ppo Romé was defeated. We see that there is still a Cham sovereign or *Ppo* at the top of society, who lived in a “palace”²³⁰ and controlled several “classes of peoples”²³¹ who were loyal to him. There are also several cultural tropes mentioned within the text that refer to common practices in seventeenth century Cham society, including a metaphoric reference to birth that appears in the first part of the text.²³² Yet, the impact of the reign of Ppo Romé stretches beyond its initial socio-historical setting. Because Ppo Romé’s reign marked a new relationship between the Awal clerics and Ahiér priests, it had an impact upon Cham manuscript production. First and foremost, there is the idea that the Brahmi based Cham script *Akhar Thrah* was either adapted, created or standardized during his reign. Second, the genre of *sakawi* calendrical manuscripts that have been used to govern Cham ceremonies, apply concepts of Cham customary law and dictate day to day life in Cham communities for centuries, could not have been created before Ppo Romé brought peace to the conflicting Hindu and Muslim elements of Cham society. Finally, as Ppo

pejorative manner. The pronunciation between the Cham and the Thai/Lao varies across language groups. The term has *extremely* negative, pejorative connotations and should be avoided. It is interesting to note that at least in the Cham context, the term *kek* is considered much stronger than the term *yuen*. Even though Aymonier (1890) argued that “Yuen” had its roots in the Sanskrit term “yavanna” meaning “barbarian” – the connotations do not seem to have carried into contemporary usage. This raised the question, while in the field, if *yuen* was in fact derived from *yavanna* at all – or was simply the Cham pronunciation of the Chinese term *Yueh* – since final consonants in Cham are frequently truncated to final /n/ sounds. Regardless, the nature and context of the Cham as a minority population living under various Vietnamese authorities clearly complicated this line of questioning.

²³⁰ C.: *mâdhin*; Akhar Thrah: ເມະດີ

²³¹ C.: *buel bhap*; Akhar Thrah: ບູເລ ບັບ

²³² *Ndih di apuei* – literally “sleeping on fire” – is a Cham idiomatic expression used to refer to birthing practice. Although this is no longer the practice, Cham tradition has it that from classical through the early-modern and into the modern period, humidification was used to treat mothers and their newborn children. A one room house was constructed outside the traditional home. The mother and the infant rested on a bed inside the one room “birthing house.” A bed of coals was kept under the sleeping platform. Hot water was then poured on the coals to produce steam. The mother and the newborn remained inside for up to six months. Time was kept by using two cacti planted outside the family compound. The area was kept clean and the husband or close family members did not enter to better ensure the safety of the mother and the child. The mother and child were treated only by approved nurses. When the cacti withered, the close family knew the six-month cycle had ended and family members could enter. Throughout Southeast Asia, the practice of burying the placenta at the home-village of an individual is quite common. This normally occurs at the place of birth. In Vietnamese, this is called a *nơi chôn* and is normally synonymous with the “hometown” or “home village” (Vn.: *quê hương* or C.: *bhum palei*; ວິ ສົມບັບ). Thus, Ppo Romé was different from the rest of the “buel bhap” – his placenta was not buried where he was born (*Dalikal Ppo Romé*: 107).

Romé continued to be remembered, new history added new context to the narrative. After the Nguyễn pushed further into Pāñduraṅga in 1653, secured Phan Rang in 1692, and initiated a series of assimilations policies and military campaigns between 1832 and 1835 that eliminated Cham royal sovereignty in Pāñduraṅga, memories of loss became more important to Cham literati, who were performing rituals that involved the memorialization of the loss of a homeland (see: Po 1987).

Key elements of Ppo Romé's influence on ethical interpretations of Cham religious literati were shaped by the events of his reign. Although Ppo Romé was not as great a warrior general as some of the pre-colonial Champā figures, he was a great leader in that he formed many relationships between Cham and other communities, such as upland Churu, Ede, and Malay. These connections facilitated the migration of Cham communities out of Pāñduraṅga and into other borderlands zones. They also caused certain members of these communities to strive to connect with Champā, via their support of the Pāñduraṅga court. As we see in the *Dalikal Ppo Romé* narrative that is examined in this chapter, Champā is envisaged as a tree, and so each community related to Champā could be one of its many branches. The role of the Ppo, to maintain the tree, is to listen to the advisers. Because Ppo Romé does not listen to the advisors, the *kraik* tree, and by extension, part of Champā, is lost. The challenge at the end of the manuscript to “speak out” for any Cham who read it, is a challenge that reifies the authority of the literati as those who are responsible maintaining Cham religions. Those very same literati are the individuals who maintained the veneration of Ppo Romé as Champā's first upland sovereign, and last *devarāja*, marking a break between the older Champā culture and an emergent Pāñduraṅga culture that was more reliant upon a confluence of upland-lowland and Hindu-Muslim relations. While members of his court who became deified were considered “new gods”

(C.: *yang biruw*), Ppo Romé was the last of the “old gods” (C.: *yang klak*) for this group of literati.

There has been a deep impact of Ppo Romé [r. 1627 – 1651] upon began with ending the civil conflict between Hindu and Muslim elements of Cham culture paved the way for the sustained influence of Islam among Cham communities. Ppo Romé’s reign also had an impact upon Cham manuscript production, first because the actual Brahmi-Cham script and *sakawi* calendar has been dated to his reign; second, because the narrative was introduced into a number of genres of Cham literature (*dalikal*, *damnây*, and *ariya*); third, because the Cham literati continued to make Ppo Romé a crucial aspect of their own historical memory; and fourth because the narrative has been used in various contexts in order to introduce various Cham interpretations of Hindu law, *shari’ah*, and Cham customary law in local socio-historical contexts. With the knowledge of new relationships, Cham literati were in better position to maintain their religious communities across the three borderlands zones that I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation: Pāñduraṅga, the Cambodia-Vietnam borderlands, and the Thai-Khmer borderlands. At the same time, the increased influence of Islam would even be felt among the reshaping of Cham Ahiér ideas about indigenous goddess worship. In the next chapter, the impact of Ppo Romé will be further delineated through a discussion of indigenous goddess worship among the Cham Ahiér. This discussion will also show how the condition of being a borderlands people also shaped the changing nature of goddess worship in the Cham Ahiér community.

Chapter 2

Religion Making: The Mythos, Practice and Centers of Cham Religions, 1651 -1929

I Introduction

This chapter examines the Cham process of religion making between 1651 and 1929. I argue that if Ppo Romé’s reign is associated with a new relationship between Hindu-Ahiér and Muslim-Awal elements of Cham culture, Cham religions themselves were fundamentally reshaped from 1651 onwards. I examine the mythos, practice and the development of sacred centers for Cham religions in the cases of Cham Animism & Ancestor worship; Cham Ahiér communities; Cham Awal communities; and Cham Sunnī Muslim communities. The Cham animist and ancestor worshipping practices have been widely viewed as the “oldest” of Cham religious practices, and associated with the *Cam Jat* community. Cham Ahiér communities have practiced a blend of *Cam Jat* and Hindu religions. Hence, the Cham Ahiér communities and associated practices have also widely viewed as the “second oldest” Cham communities. The Cham Awal, by contrast, upheld some *Cam Jat* and Cham Ahiér influenced rituals and ideas. However, their communities were divided between the cleric class, the Awal, who essentially practiced Islam, and the laity of the “Bani,” whose practice ranged between Islam and Ahiér Hindu influenced practices. Finally, the Cham Sunnī Muslim communities are, broadly construed, the “newest,” as they only became more widespread in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this chapter, I draw deeply on the case of Cham Ahiér goddess worship, particularly of Ppo Kuk, to demonstrate that the historical record shows a tolerance for plurality of

interpretations of meaning of “proper worship,”²³³ and even “goddess.”²³⁴ Manuscripts show Hindu and Muslim conceptions of deity can be traced to one original source: Ppo Kuk.²³⁵ Although the mythos of Cham religions refers to “practice” as a constant, an unchanging construct, contemporary conceptions of “practice” based on perceptions and sources are quite dynamic. For example, Nguyẽn Vietnamese expansion led to the absorption of the main Ppo Inâ Nâger temple in Khãnh H a into Vietnamese territory and religion. In response, it appears that Cham communities increased tolerance for pluralities of sites of goddess worship, necessarily leading to pluralities of practice as the Cham became even more scattered along the borderlands of Vietnamese territory, Kauth ra, P ndura ga, Jarai territory, Maa territory, and Khmer territory from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. This pattern was followed among Cham Sunn  and Awal communities as well.

The conditions of the borderlands transformed Cham goddess worship between 1651 and 1929. On the one hand, goddess worship was more unified, as the blend of Hindu and Muslim influence in Cham manuscripts was quite evident at Cham sacred centers. Goddess worship was also increasingly Vietnamized, particularly in the case of Ppo Inâ Nâger. On the other hand, goddess worship became more pluralistic and localized, as by the twentieth century, there was an

²³³ There are several Cham words that refer to the idea of “proper practice” or “proper worship.” One term is *cambep*, which is closer to the interpretation of practices that are either “accepted” or “forbidden” (Aymonier & Cabaton 1906: 127). Another is *tanatap*, which can include “practice” but includes “decisions” or “ruling” as well (Aymonier & Cabaton 1906: 173). More colloquially, proper worship practices are referred to as *ngap patih* or “proper action.” There are many interpretations of the term “correct” as well, ranging from *bai* (a truncation from Sanskrit) to *m bar* (from Arabic), although the colloquial Chamic word *njep* is also often used.

²³⁴ Beyond those discussed in this chapter, there are also the Cham goddesses: *Badadahri*, *Xari*, *Krampari* and *D bisreh*.

²³⁵ This argument is an attempt to “see the history through the eyes of” the Cham literati, as by means of adapting the approach of Wilfred Cantwell Smith. Hoffman & Mahinda (1996: 9) clarify this approach by delineating that this “does not mean that one must sacrifice academic integrity by putting scholarship at the service of religious demands, or must take every insider’s perspective as equally valid. The point is rather that it is important to let indigenous voices be heard rather than be greeted with sarcasm.” See also: Wilfred Cantwell Smith. 1972. *The Faith of Other Men*. New York, Harper Torchbooks, p. 17.

intense proliferation of localized practice. I show that Cham Ahiér priests consolidated the worship of distinctive goddesses, such as Ppo Inâ, Ppo Dara and Ppo Kuk, to assist in their project to critically reshape understandings of history, solidify a community around the worship of the goddess and include “proper goddess worship” as part of their understanding of Cham ethical codes.²³⁶ Importantly, “proper goddess worship” in this case also allowed for a plurality of interpretations of the meaning of that very phrase. At the same time, Cham Awal and Sunnī Muslim clerics would have capitalized on the relative acceptance of pluralities of practice to establish their own sacred centers, in different locations, across the borderlands.

As we saw in the previous chapter, from the seventeenth century onward, Cham religious practices were still deeply tied to elements of ancestor worship and animism. Even as Islam became more popular after 1651, the influence of animism remained, and new animist practices would take shape. For instance, one of the gods of Ppo Romé’s court was a “new god,” Ppo Riyak: who took the form of a whale.²³⁷ Other gods took the form of natural phenomena, such as the sea (*Ppo Tasik*) and the earth (*Ppo Tanah*),²³⁸ and there are ceremonies to worship natural phenomena developed.²³⁹ Hindu gods, transformed into local forms were easily associated with existing animistic deities.²⁴⁰ Muslim saints were likewise gradually associated with certain similar symbolic essences.

²³⁶ In most ritual texts, the goddesses influence is direct. An outside observer may credit the practices and rituals as doing the direct action of assisting. However, in terms of ritual language and the historical memory of the literati, it is the goddesses who are the teachers and the protectors.

²³⁷ *Damnây Ppo Riyak*. CAM 246 (A).

²³⁸ Or a god of a tree, such as *Cru*.

²³⁹ For example, *canretitrap* or *canretitrik*, which is a ceremony to worship the god of the moon (Aymonier & Cabaton 1907: 123). Many such ceremonies arguably have roots in the classical period.

²⁴⁰ Garuda, for example, becomes the Cham bird-god *Krutthap*. Ganeśa becomes the elephant-god *Ganisi*.

From the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, at least two villages in what is now Ninh Thuận province, Palei Bal Riya and Palei Aia Li-u, never fully became either *Ahiér* or *Awal* influenced. Instead, they remained predominantly practitioners of shamanistic interpretations of ancestor worship and animism; Palei Bal Riya, for example, maintained association with its tutelary deity: Ppo Binothuer (alt.: *Cei Bângâ*).²⁴¹ Particularly important for our narrative, is the fact that these two villages, and perhaps one or two others, never became entirely controlled by the rising priest-cleric class of Cham literati. Instead, they were unified with other Cham locals only via their shared practice of ancestor veneration (C.: *éw muk kei*), which they celebrated at the beginning of each calendar year (Sakaya 2013a: 69-70). At the same time, these “original Cham” (C.: *Cam Jat*) were also influenced by Ppo Romé’s court culture as they maintained an understanding of the Cham calendar, and adhered to the guiding principles of cosmic dualism that informed the *Ahiér*-*Awal* dynamic.

The practices of ancestor veneration (C.: *éw muk kei*) were important in solidifying adaptations of Hindu deities into local Cham gods.²⁴² As the previous chapter established, no ancestor was more important or influential than Ppo Romé. The veneration of Ppo Romé and his wives influenced by Hinduism as well. Even among the Muslim influenced population whose monotheistic commitments led them to abstain from “ancestor worship,” the *veneration* of ancestors remained important. At the same time, because of the influence of ancestor veneration, the actual *worship* of male and female goddess figures became rapidly prominent among the Hindu influenced Cham. Furthermore, because the Hindu influenced Cham are understood to represent the male aspect of the *Ahiér*-*Awal* cosmology, the worship of *female* deities by the

²⁴¹ CAM 245: 1-17, 17-36. CAM 246 (A): 22-35.

²⁴² The ancestral gods themselves are sometimes collectively referred to as *praok*.

Ahiér maintained a form of cosmological balance that sustained the relationship between the human realm and the divine realm. The perceived need to maintain that balance helps to explain the prominence of goddess worship among the Cham Ahiér population, particularly from the reign of Ppo Romé onwards, after the Ahiér-Awal notions of cosmic dualism became more prominent among the priest class governing Ahiér rituals.

The increase of Vietnamese influence among the northern territories of Kauṭhāra in the seventeenth century also played a role in consolidating the associations between indigenous and Hindu deities. The remaining Cham lands of Kauṭhāra, including the temple to the prominent Cham goddess Ppo Inâ Nâger, at Aia Trang,²⁴³ were already most likely subordinate to Pāṇḍuраṅga from the beginning of the century. But, by the middle of the century, the temple-tower complex devoted to Ppo Inâ Nâger had been conquered by the Nguyễn Vietnamese.²⁴⁴ Without the ability to worship at the central temple devoted to Ppo Inâ Nâger, it follows that Cham Ahiér goddess worship proliferated at alternative sites. Since practice was associated with individual goddess, variance in proper worship proliferated as well. This variance is evident, for example, in the well recorded influence of Ppo Inâ Nâger's influence on the worship of Thiên Y Â Na in central Vietnam, which stretched from Đại An mountain, in Khanh Hòa province, as far

²⁴³ Now: Nha Trang

²⁴⁴ As a direct result of Vietnamese conquest: most contemporary studies of Cham Ahiér goddess worship in Vietnam have been colored by the recent revival of Vietnamese Thành Mẫu spirit medium practices tied to *lên đồng* possession rituals. The rituals were banned in northern Vietnam from 1954 through the 1980s. In the south-central part of the country they were repressed from the 1970s through the 1980s. Market expansion and liberalization of government policies that have occurred since the 1990s led to a revival of popular mediumship practices (see: Fjelstad & Nguyễn 2011: 11, 13, 67). Thành Mẫu has been linked to underlying exogenous influences: from Chinese Daoism to Buddhism, from Catholicism to traces of Hindu worship of *sakti* powers. The Daoist influence has sometimes been conflated with Confucian influence, as explained as "male oriented" – even though the actual conflation between Vietnamese-Chinese-Cham female divinity is more one of Hindu-Daoism. For example, consider the quote by Reid "When sternly male official Viet Confucianism took over southern areas where the Cham goddess Po Nagar was previously worshipped, it was obliged to allow Confucianized goddesses to take her place as healer and protector" (Reid 2015: 159).

north as Chén Islet at Hué (Ngô Đức Thịnh 1996a: 201; Ngô Đức Thịnh 1996b: 66-71).²⁴⁵ Based on the analysis of the goddess worship of Ppo Kuk, Ppo Inâ Nâgar, and Ppo Dara, it is possible to delineate that the number of sites associated with Cham Ahiér goddess worship did actually expand over the course of the period between 1651 and 1929. While Nguyễn Vietnamese pressures restricted worship at certain sites, as they were coopted, Cham centers of worship for goddesses associated with Ppo Inâ Nâgar proliferated. Worship for Ppo Kuk, by contrast, went through waves of popularity, as it was more important to worship in the home under certain conditions. The worship of goddesses such as Ppo Dara, a goddess associated with wisdom in education, became more important as students became more important, particularly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, these practices, particularly the worship of Ppo Kuk, were increasingly influenced by endogenous Malay Muslim culture. Hence, even the Cham Ahiér practice of goddess worship became influenced by Islam.

II The Cham Ahiér & Goddess Worship

Although offerings that are given to various Cham Ahiér deities, and associated prayers, are broadly construed as gendered under the principles of the Ahiér-Awal relationship, this does not mean that the worship of female deities was practiced between the seventeenth and the twentieth century in a broadly construed, generalized fashion, as scholars have sometimes

²⁴⁵ Thành Mẫu studies in Vietnamese began early in the twentieth century with *Truyện Thần nữ Vân Cát* by Thiên Định (1930), *Sùng Sơn đại chiến sử* by Lãng Tuyết (1941), *Sử tích Liễu Hạnh công chúa* by Trọng Nội (1959), *Bà Chúa Liễu* by Hoàng Tuấn Phổ (1990) and *Liễu Hạnh công chúa* a popular “tiểu thuyết” by Vũ Ngọc Khanh (1991) (Ngô Đức Thịnh 1996: 74). Vietnamese even argued for influence of Ppo Inâ Nâger on Liễu Hạnh. But, arguing for Ppo Inâ Nâgar influence on Liễu Hạnh seems more far afield. Liễu Hạnh is a “goddess of the sky,” whereas Thiên Y Â Na, like Ppo Inâ Nâgar, is associated with being a goddess of the soil, or earth (Vn.: Mẫu Địa).

indicated. Worship was not to some form of “universal goddess” – but rather to a distinct plurality of gods and goddesses – wherein goddesses had several distinct traits. Most importantly, each individual goddess was associated with an individual tower-temple complex (C.: *kalan-bimong*), smaller temples (C.: *danaok*), or household shrines. The implication for these associations is that an individual goddess could only be worshiped in an individual location. For example, as we shall see later, Ppo Kuk could only be worshiped properly inside individual homes and family dwellings. But there are also other goddesses, such as Ppo Inâ Nâgar or Ppo Sah Inâ who are only associated with specific tower-temple complexes or smaller temples. These sites are mostly located at sacred centers, nearby the center of older villages, towns or cities, particularly those with longstanding Cham Ahiér populations, dating to well before the seventeenth century. What changed, then, in the seventeenth through nineteenth century, for these communities was the gradual, and sometimes dramatic, expansion of Nguyễn Vietnamese power, which occurred at an increased rate after the reign of Ppo Romé.

Although I do not entirely discount the narrative that as a result of the incorporation of certain former Cham centers into the Nguyễn sphere, the historical trajectory of Cham goddess worship is in part a transformation into Vietnamese goddesses associated with Buddhism and Daoism, I see their historical trajectory as considerably more complex.²⁴⁶ On the one hand, Indic

²⁴⁶ Sakaya (2014) is the best study of Cham Ahiér goddess worship to date. Much more historical information can be gleaned from sources not considered in that study, however, as confirmed with the author in personal communications. Existing literature before Sakaya (2014) has been too simplistic. The literature portrays a historical trajectory of Ppo Inâ Nâgar worship through a strict teleological transformation: animism, to Hinduism, to Vietnamese Buddhism. Orientalist and Subaltern scholars shaped much of the discourse until the middle of the twentieth century. The Indochina Wars may have halted scholarly production but Jean Bosselier (1963) still managed to produce a substantial study of Champā art that included a study of Ppo Inâ Nâgar, even if only as a representation of Uma. Americans David & Dorris Blood encountered representations of Ppo Inâ Nâgar during the Second Indochina War, but their works were only published after 1975 (1976; Dorris Blood 1981). After 1975, and particularly since the 1990s-2000s, Thành Mẫu revival, works on Cham goddess worship have been completed by American, Japanese, Korean, French, Vietnamese, Indian, Malay, Thai, Khmer and Cham scholars. These works either discuss Ppo Inâ Nâgar in the context of Cham religion or focus upon her directly. Inrasara (1994), Nguyễn

influence brought the “mother” goddesses of Pārvatī, Uma, Durgā, Kālī and Sarasvatī to Southeast Asia. On the other hand, Chinese influence brought the Buddhist and Daoist influenced figures of Guan Yin (Vn.: *Quan Âm*), Mazu, Tianhou, Liễu Hạnh and Thiên Y Â Na. Buddhist and Daoist influenced deities have been prevalent in central Vietnam from the early-modern period to the present. In betwixt and between, indigenous pre-modern creations centered around goddesses that might be compared to the Mae Srok of Cambodia, Dewi Sri of Bali or Phosop and Mae Khwan Khao in Thailand.²⁴⁷ Yet, just as in the Thai, Balinese, Khmer and Vietnamese cases, in Cham culture, there is not a *single* mother goddess, but multiple. As I have argued consistently, scholars generally lack a good sense of how the forms of the goddess and associated Cham goddess worship have transformed throughout the epochs and from place to place (Noseworthy 2014c; 2015).²⁴⁸ If we gain a better sense of the way that goddess worship and associated practice changed over time, scholars will have a better sense of who the Cham Ahiér have been, how they produced manuscripts to reshape their own understandings of history and ethics since the time of Ppo Romé, and who they are today.

Thế Anh (1991; 1995), Rie Nakamura (1999), Anne Valerie-Schweyer (2004), Phan Quốc Anh (2004; 2010), Ngô Văn Doanh (2011), Phan Đặng Nhật (2013) and Sakaya (2004; 2010; 2013) are just a few samples of scholarly studies that addressed the goddess in some fashion. “The goddess” even appeared in the visual anthropological projects of Agnes DeFeo (2006; 2007) and as the primary subject in DeFeo’s (2007) film “The Kingdom of the Goddess.” Nevertheless, in each of these works, the link between Ppo Inâ Nâgar and Uma is taken as for granted, while little to no mention of other Cham goddesses appears.

²⁴⁷ Phra Mae Thorani may be another important comparable figure in localized Thai Buddhism. Dewi Danu from Bali demands a buffalo sacrifice to ensure that water flows and there is even a “Agama Tirtha” “religion of the holy water” in Bali as well (Andaya 2016: 9-11). Guthrie (2004: 1-19) wrote extensively about adaptations of Tara, Vasundharani or Neang Ganghin Preah Tharanyi in Cambodia as well as other Theravada contexts.

²⁴⁸ Hoskins (2015) offers a great contribution to studies of the goddess, who adds an additional layer of analysis by studying the means of transformation of goddess worship in diaspora in the United States and then upon return to Vietnam. There are a few elements of note in her recent work. For example, in a spirit medium ceremony in the diaspora, when the face of a Vietnamese medium turns black, the medium is in fact said to be invoking the power of the “dark goddess” Thiên Y Â Na (Hoskins 2015: 87). Second there is a local historical narrative that curiously records that the goddess had her golden alter originally stolen by the Khmer [sic: not Javanese/Malays as inscriptions suggest] and that the French stole the head of the original 10-armed statues (Hoskins 2015: 89). Furthermore, Hoskins claims that most Vietnamese understood the goddess as an avatar of an exiled daughter of the Jade Emperor who was re-incarnated in a Cham area who then married a Chinese prince (Hoskins 2015: 87).

Although Cham Ahiér manuscripts refer to tens of mother goddesses, saints and spirits, three goddesses are of concern in this chapter for the symbolic roles that they play in Cham history and religious practice: Ppo Kuk, Ppo Dara and Ppo Inâ Nâgar. Most contemporary studies only mention Ppo Inâ Nâgar, who is socio-historically critical. She is popularly associated with teaching about rice agriculture and weaving, both of which were critical to the broader economies of Cham society. By contrast, Ppo Dara is a more specialized protective deity, who was understood as closely associated with students, protecting them during studies, and who could be invoked in situations in which there was an absence of matriarchal figures.²⁴⁹ At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century Ppo Dara was invoked in the particular context of teaching Cham students and, being the goddess of literature, was associated with the transition of classical Cham between writing technologies that required carving and the emergence of brush and paper technology for manuscript production in the early modern period.²⁵⁰ However, neither Ppo Inâ Nâgar, nor Ppo Dara, were the “goddess of creation” or the “supreme mother goddess” per se, even though Ppo Inâ Nâgar has sometimes been referred to as such in scholarly contexts. Rather, the honor of these titles goes to Ppo Kuk.

IIai Dalakal Ppo Kuk & Goddess Worship

Ppo Kuk was most popular among Cham Ahiér priesthood though not as popular among the clerics of the Cham Bani; nor was she elevated to the status of an independent “saint” among

²⁴⁹ Technically the term *dara* refers to a “young woman” or a “girl” (Aymonier & Cabaton 1906: 218). See also: EFEO-Paul Mus collection. CAM 62: *Ariya Ppo Dara*.

²⁵⁰ EM Durand recorded that Cham associated the temples of Ppo Dara with examinations, regardless of whether they were Ahiér or Awal. Durand (1906); *Ariya Ppo Dara*.

Cham Muslims.²⁵¹ Furthermore, as the sites of Ppo Inâ Nâgar worship became associated with the tourist industry at the end of the twentieth century, the worship of Ppo Kuk as become less popular.²⁵² By comparison to Ppo Inâ Nâgar, Ppo Kuk was widely recognized as the originator for the universe writ large by Cham Ahiér in Vietnam. In other words: history began with Ppo Kuk. Furthermore, per *dalakal* manuscripts dedicated to her, she created *Allah* in the form *Ppo Uwluah*, which provided for an important line of association for the development of later Bani saints. Based upon an analysis of *Dalakal Ppo Kuk di Ja Tu di Hamu Limân* I will show that this interpretation of history was shaped by the acceptance of a certain amount of Islamic influence by the Cham Ahiér that occurred from Ppo Romé's reign onward.

²⁵¹ There is also ample evidence to suggest that Champā royalty conflated royal mothers with goddess figures, although they generally did not dedicate complete towers to them. In one example, the accomplished pries Ājnā Jayendrapati – who is credited with the composition of many tenth century inscriptions – dedicated a statue of ‘Bhagavathi’ to the memory of his mother: Pu Pov Ku Rudrapura. Ājnā Jayendrapati had two brothers: Ājnā Mahsamanta, the senior priest and Ājnā Narendra Nrpavitra, an accomplished Śaivite priest and scholar (909 CE; C. 142, Hòa Quê, Quảng Nam province; Golzio 2004: 101-105).

²⁵² Ppo Kuk is only worshipped in the home today, in family shrines. Between 2011 and 2014 there were evidently few ceremonies dedicated to Ppo Kuk. The ceremonies that invoked her as a creation goddess were generally held by households who had Cham Ahiér priests as members of their nuclear or extended family networks. These ceremonies drew upon her protective qualities and creative power to aid households in distress. “Distress” in this case could be a lack of financial prospects, debts, bad crops, fears about a new marriage, an old marriage, concerns about children, dramatic injuries or chronic illness. By contrast, much like the trend of Thành Mẫu revivalism, the practice of performing spirit possession ceremonies that called upon ‘minor Ppo’ in Cham areas increased. One explanation suggested that ‘the work of creation’ had already been completed and so, other deities were called in who were specifically associated with maintenance and protection.

There are at least two main variations of the *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* narrative in Cham manuscripts that have been produced from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. The first narrative appears more commonly in Vietnamese and English scholarship.²⁵³ In this interpretation, there is a primordial essence that is related to Ppo Kuk (pictured at right), although she is also related to critical localizations of Islamic figures in the form of Bani saints such as: Ppo Ualahuk, Ppo Nâbi Mohamed, Ppo Hassan and Ppo Ali. The incorporation of a form of the name of Allah into the ranks of Bani sainthood, and then into Cham Ahiér manuscripts is an adaption and acceptance of certain elements of Islam that, according to Cham historical memory, only occurred among the Cham Ahiér from Ppo Romé's reign onward. Such manuscripts also frequently have a portion of the Ppo Kuk narrative that breaks to explain Bani funeral rites and the mapping of saints' names, written in Arabic, onto parts of the body.²⁵⁴ Ppo Kuk in these instances is therefore also associated with a certain form of Bani mysticism, as well as, less esoterically, the proper practices of a Bani burial. A second popular form of Ppo Kuk manuscript follows the model of: *Dalakal Ppo Kuk di Ja Tu di Hamu Limân*.²⁵⁵ The visual representation of



²⁵³ For example, in Nguyễn Thị Thư Vân (2005: 347-353).

²⁵⁴ Ip Banuk Mu-Al Li (copiest), Papah Nam (original). ND. *Kran Ka Bal (a)ngan Canan*. CAM 241. See also: Po 1981: 69-71.

²⁵⁵ This creation manuscript was copied from earlier manuscripts that had been held in the family for generations. The extended family is named "Hamu Limân," which is a reference to the "paddy of the elephants," or a particular princely caste of Champā that was responsible for the upkeep and care of elephants. Because members of the family have migrated away from Ninh Thuận in recent years, the manuscript has recently increased in value among the family members. Most of the extended family has lived in the town of Bầu Trúc for the past several decades and more, although, some have relocated to the nearby larger town of Palei Hamu Tanran, Phan Rang City and Ho Chi Minh City. Migrations to Hamu Tanran are mostly because of marriages, while the migrations to Phan Rang and Ho Chi Minh are mostly economic migrations. They generally record that *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* in the version we could

Ppo Kuk is thought to be used for invocation for the protection of the manuscript as well as for preservation of the knowledge contained within, and the preservation of the priestly lineage, along with their extended family. Protecting the lineage of the family is an additional benefit of copying the manuscript well and supporting its reproduction. What follows is a glossed translation of selected content from the first two sections:

Ariya Mâkal lak Cam mâk Danaok padiéng Ppo Kuk:

“This is an ariya about the goddess of creation: Ppo Kuk. Before there was Ppo Uwluah and before there was Ppo Xapilai...before there was the spirit of the water and the spirit of the rocks...before there was the spirit of the sky and the spirit of the earth...before there was the spirit of the sea and the spirit of the mountains...before there was Ppo Inâ Nâgar and before there was Ppo Lingik...before there was the sun and the moon and the sky and the stars...before there was Ppo Uwluah and before the sang mágik...before there was the Ahiér priests and the Awal clerics...before there was the Bani and before there was the Cham...before there was the Radé [Ede], the Cru [Churu] and the Lao and the Laow [Chinese] and the Jawa [Malays and Javanese] and the Kur [Cambodians]...before all of this...there was Ppo Kuk – and Ppo Kuk created all of these things, as Ppo Kuk is the creator, the goddess who creates everything...”

(05-14)

read was copied between the 1920s and 1940s by a senior Basaih priest, before it was passed along the family lines to male figures who were increasingly no longer members of the priest class, but still maintained a good knowledge of Cham script, religious practices, culture and history. Our team at the UNESCO-Cham research center created photocopies and black and white high-resolution photographs of the original of the manuscript in fall 2013 (Photos Nos. 4005-4080), dividing *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* into three parts: 1) Photos 05-30, with 30 being an illustration of Ppo Kuk (pictured at right); 31 – 37, with 34 being a repeated (and deleted) photograph, 37 being a visual depiction of mystical invocations, and 38-80.

In the above manuscript Ppo Kuk is *the* creation goddess. She even appears before the mention of the local incarnation of Šiva (C.: *Ppo Xapilai*; “The Destroyer”), as well as before the rest of the Southeast Asian peoples known to the Cham and the Chinese. She appears *before* Ppo Inâ Nâgar, and even *before* Ppo Uwluah, a localized adaptation of the Arabic “Allah.” The assertion that Ppo Kuk *creates* the universe, even before the existence of Ppo Uwluah is not commonly found in Islamic influenced manuscripts, although as we will see later in this chapter, certain influence of Ppo Kuk on a number of Bani manuscripts was retained.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, the indication of her supreme creative power as a matter of pure essence indicates that the Cham Ahiér literati drew upon a pre-existing animist concept of supreme creative power, perhaps embodied in female essence, or perhaps not, to establish the concept of Ppo Kuk. Later, as a Hindu influenced deity she could have been associated with supreme goddesses such as Uma, or Parvati. Later still, the Cham Ahiér deification of Muslim saints, prophets, messengers, and Allah became popular, but only *after* Ppo Romé, and was not universal across Ahiér communities.²⁵⁷ Even among Cham Ahiér who did not incorporate as many of these figures, such as those who composed the *Dalukal Ppo Kuk* manuscript, there are other signs that the Cham Ahiér were became Islamicized spread throughout the manuscript. For instance, several “*wa suk*” phrases are gently interlaced throughout the lines of the text.

Wa suk phrases are best interpreted as an indicator of Islamic concepts that were adapted into the parlance of Cham Ahiér priests, particularly after the reign of Ppo Romé. Before the peace established between the Ahiér and Awal it is unlikely that the priests would have accepted

²⁵⁶ In more strongly Islamic influenced manuscripts Ppo Uawalah, Ppo Uwluah or Ppo Ama is “the creator.” Ppo Ama means “The father,” and shows gendered ideas about creation that are associated with appearing after Islamic influence. Bani manuscripts influenced manuscripts about Ppo Inâ Nâgar tend to include these ideas as well.

²⁵⁷ See Sakaya (2013) for further explanation.

such phrases. Afterward, however, they became more common. The *wa suk* is a brief phrase that repeats throughout the text, and is therefore like the concept of a *mantra* – a word or phrase that is repeated to increase concertation during meditation. In Muslim contexts, a similar concept would be a phrase of Arabic that is repeated as a “remembrance” of faith (Ar.: *dhikr*).²⁵⁸ Like a certain number of other concepts, the *wa suk* is widely understood to be of Islamic origins, even though the concept is common in Ahiér manuscripts that venerate Ppo Kuk.

Although the exact original Arabic phrase is not widely known, by working with local clerics, scholars and priests, I determined two possibilities: 1) *tawassul* or the concept of “drawing near to Allah,” and 2) *wa – suhl* or “by/near/acceptance of peace.” Either interpretation indicates that religiously invoked Arabic phrases were integrated into the religious vocabulary of the Cham Ahiér. As mentioned in chapter one, Arabic phrases and language only spread to Cham areas by the eleventh century at the earliest, although the blend between Sanskrit and Arabic concepts in Cham religious communities began with the reign of Ppo Romé, continuing afterward. With the blend between the influences, and by accepting a certain veneration of Islamic influence, *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* would have proven to be a useful rhetorical manuscript, which reaffirmed the “religion of the soil,” in the form of Ppo Kuk worship, in the face of increased Vietnamization and Islamicization, but could in turn be constructed as external forces. Because the Bani community also represented an intermediary between Islam and the Cham Ahiér, the recognition of the Bani community, as “equal” to the Cham Ahiér, is critical. *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* created a partnership between the priests of the Cham Ahiér and the clerics of the Cham Bani (C.: *Awal*) based upon the unified conception of the Ahiér-Awal relationship that appears

²⁵⁸ For example, the *tahlij* is a common *dhikr*: “La ilaha illa’llah” means “there is no god but god,” but is also used as a phrase for meditative prayer.

from the reign of Ppo Romé onward. For the Cham Ahiér, this relationship could only be maintained by the acceptance of multiple creative forces.

Dalakal Ppo Kuk implies at least three primary creative forces in the cosmogony of Cham Ahiér: Ppo Kuk, Ppo Uwluah and Ppo Inâ Nâgar. Secondary creative forces are held in the powers of spirits, saints, or gods that are bound to certain elements such as: the sky, the sea, the mountains, and so on. Nevertheless, Ppo Kuk as the supreme creator, responsible for the creation of: time, days, months, years, the sun and the moon, the earth and the heavens, the earthly and human realms.²⁵⁹ Ppo Kuk is also responsible for creating the animals, credited with creating the entirety of the universe and then, dividing creation between two realms: 1) the realm of Ppo Uwluah – who is responsible for the Islamic influenced world, and 2) Ppo Inâ Nâgar – who is responsible for the Hindu influenced world. By delegating the cosmos into two spheres: one Hindu-influenced and one Muslim-influenced, *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* works to accept both Awal (Bani) and Ahiér ideas about history and religion. Furthermore, the manuscript explains the origins of Ppo Inâ Nâgar in a way that most scholarly sources have ignored, but was a dominant understanding of religiously constructed history from the perspective of the Cham Ahiér, a worldview that has shaped their community for at least the past several centuries. The worldview did not, however, eliminate alternative viewpoints for the origins of Ppo Inâ Nâgar. The deification of Ppo Inâ Nâgar as a creative force may have allowed for an increase in variation upon the theme of “the goddess,” as each Cham Ahiér community began to understand Ppo Inâ Nâgar in a way that was rooted locally. The most common variation that was introduced, then, was the number of children that Ppo Inâ Nâgar had. In the *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* presentation that

²⁵⁹ This section of the manuscript is titled: *Ariya ngap piéh Adam krân thun bilan*

was examined above, Ppo Inâ Nâgar had four children, rather than two or three, as in other manuscripts.

A final feature of the *Dalikal Ppo Kuk* manuscript is that it established a pantheon of Cham Ahiér deities, stemming from the creation of Ppo Kuk. As Ppo Kuk creates divine forces that are responsible for other elements of creation, Ppo Kuk takes the head of the pantheon, as it were, uniting forces across the borders of Cham religions. The pantheon was subordinate to Ppo Kuk, but at the same time, the individual gods and goddesses, saints and spirits, are each given a place in the cosmological order. The importance of the pantheon is two-fold. On the one hand, it allowed Cham Ahiér priests to assert their place in relation to deities, as the holders of esoteric understandings of the relationship between certain forms of deity, such as creating a clear distinction between Ppo Kuk and Ppo Inâ Nâgar. On the other hand, the pantheon introduces, by its very existence, the possibility for the continued Hindu influence of concepts such as the *bhūmiśvari*, avatar and henotheism.

Locating divinity in the very soil of Cham Ahiér communities, while also allowing for deities to represent themselves in multiple forms, and the possibility of individual clans to adhere to one aspect of a pantheon or another, are all possibilities that are maintained through the presentation of divinity in the *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* manuscript. In other words, although the manuscript asserts *Ppo Kuk* as the senior deity, it allows for discourse and plural interpretations of the matter by simply recognizing the existence of pluralism. Finally, the order of the listing of divinity in the manuscript illustrates a fascinating possibility of Sufi influence from the concept of the “unity of being.”²⁶⁰ Many interpretations of the *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* manuscript and of the

²⁶⁰ Ar.: *wahdat al-wujūd*; This discourse technically dictates that all existence is a manifestation of Allah as the singular divine being, and that all existence is derived from that essence of being. The foremost credited Sufi scholar to discuss *wahdat al-wujūd* is usually Ibn Arabi.

essence of “the goddess” in discussions of Cham divinity have asserted that “all Cham Ppo are the same essence” or that divinity is “derived” from the “source” of Ppo Kuk. Regardless, most Cham Ahiér priests have not considered Ppo Kuk and Ppo Inâ Nâgar to be one in the same, nor do most Cham Ahiér priests and educated members of the Cham Ahiér community today. For the literati, they have been invoked at different ceremonies for different reasons. By contrast with Ppo Kuk, whose worship is rooted in the home, the worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar is rooted in the soil, although the worship of both goddess was certainly transformed by the emergence of the Cham Bani and Cham Sunnī Muslim communities from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries, as we shall see further in this chapter.

IIaii Damnây & Dalakal of Ppo Inâ Nâgar

Unlike Ppo Kuk, Ppo Inâ Nâgar was almost exclusively called upon during calendrical rituals between 1651 and 1929. There were four popular rituals for Ppo Inâ Nâgar each year: Piéh Mbang Yang, Yuer Yang,²⁶¹ Mbang Katé and Ca-Mbur (Sakaya 2013a: 231).²⁶² We may rightly assume that these ceremonies took on new significance as cross communal events after the Cham calendar was solidified during the reign of Ppo Romé as a luni-solar calendar that additionally ensured that Cham Ahiér and Cham Bani high-holidays did not overlap. At each of the ceremonies, a combination of *damnây* and *dalakal* genres of manuscripts would have been

²⁶¹ Spring ceremonies are often associated with the greater *Rija Nâgar* cycle of the Cham calendar, related to the “purification festival in April” as it were.

²⁶² In the Katé ceremony, there is an emphasis on the “water” imagery of the ceremony today. However, in the past there has been an emphasis on the “rice” imagery of the ceremony. Many other neighboring cultures have emphases on “rice harvest” ceremonies in the fall each year, even as far north as the Austroasiatic Cơ Tu of Quảng Nam province, who celebrate their “rice harvest” ceremony in October and November each year (Trần Tấn Vịnh 2009: 128).

chanted. Typically, the manuscript would be memorized and recited, although in certain cases, including if the priest was simply having trouble remembering the contents of the prayers or not entirely confident in his recitation, manuscripts would be brought out of storage to aid the ceremonies. The genre of the manuscript tends to indicate the contents of it, and the method in which the manuscript was used. Technically, a *damnây*²⁶³ is an ode to deity, although hymnals can also be called *adaoh yang*,²⁶⁴ while a *dalakal*,²⁶⁵ is a short story. Morrison (1985: 48) has suggested that *dalakal* may be related in original meaning to the Malay phrase *dahulu kala* meaning “once upon a time.”²⁶⁶ Both *damnây* and *dalakal* have their elements of historical, semi-historical, mythic and religious tropes, and so, the difference between the two is entirely a matter of their structure and how the genres are performed. *Damnây* are intended to be odes of devotion. *Dalakal* by contrast are performed in more mundane settings.²⁶⁷ The invocation of the term *Damnây* in a title, such as in the *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar* – therefore, suggests that the manuscript was intended to be devotional even if the form is prosaic.

When Cham manuscripts were titled in devotion to a specific historical-cum-religious figure, the genre of the manuscript is then usually followed by its main character in the title. In

²⁶³ AT.: ດັນນາຍ

In later forms they may have been influenced by hagiographies of Islamic *wali* saints. The term *damnây* itself may be related to the Khmer and Thai: *damnây* or *tamnây*. However, the Khmer and Thai genres are quite different in meaning. For example, the Khmer *Buddh Damnay* translates to “Buddha’s Prophecy.” Additionally, in the Cambodian MSS world, there are many MSS that have titles that are not necessarily related to their content, with thanks to Dr. Anne Hansen for this comment.

²⁶⁴ AT.: ດາວໂຫຼດ ພຣ

²⁶⁵ AT.: ດາລິກາລ

²⁶⁶ It is also possible that the phrase is somehow derived from the Arabic *dala'il* (rationale, or proof) as in *Dala'il Al-Khayrat* (The Proof of Good Deeds of the Prophet Mohammed). The *Dala'il Al-Khayrat* was a famous Sufi manuscript that was perhaps the first to culminate the good deeds and praise of the prophet into a single volume for recitation. With thanks to Dr. Anna Gade for this comment. The phrase *dahulu* can also be translated “in the beginning” (binti Haji Mahmud 2008: 9).

²⁶⁷ Eliade’s notions of the ‘sacred and the profane’ may help to further explain the difference in performance space. However, even *dalikal* remain ‘sacred’ in their content.

this case: Ppo Inâ Nâgar. In this case the Cham honorific “Ppo”²⁶⁸ refers to a specific goddess who is the “mother” (Archaic Cham.: *inâ*²⁶⁹) of the “country, land or earth,” (C.: *nâgar*²⁷⁰; Sanskrit: *nâgara*). We can assert that it is intended as a hymnal for a Cham mother goddess. In her contemporary form, this mother goddess is unquestionably influenced by Hinduizing processes, as is the case with mother goddesses in other Southeast Asian cultures such as the Thai, Lao, Khmer, Balinese, Dayak and, even Vietnamese. However, the closest parallels to Ppo Inâ Nâgar appear to be the Thai goddesses: Posop and Mae Kwan Khao; the Khmer goddess: Mae Srok; and the Balinese: Dewi Sri.

Ppo Inâ Nâgar’s history upon deeper examination appears to most closely parallel the case of Dewi Sri, who was originally a pre-Hindu fertility figure, considered semi-historical (per the Javanese Hindu court) and then later conflated with a Hindu deity (in Dewi Sri’s case: Lakshmi), although in popular practice she has remained considerably independent. Both conform to Paul Mus’ (1933-4) ideas regarding localization of Hinduism in Southeast Asia via “god[esses] of the soil,” as mentioned in chapter one.²⁷¹ In this case, the importance of being rooted in the soil for Ppo Inâ Nâgar, was that this allowed for a plurality of representations of the goddess. What follows is a translation of the most common *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar*. However, the very manuscript under consideration, is in fact *not* a typical hymnal per its form. It is too prosaic, and fits the exact form of the *dalakal* genre (Inrasara 1994; Sakaya 2013a). By naming the manuscript a *damnây* rather than a *dalakal*, the manuscript maintained some of the devotional connotation despite the shift in genre. It implies that the manuscript may have been

²⁶⁸ AT.: ພົບ

²⁶⁹ AT.: ອຸກົນ

²⁷⁰ AT.: ນາກ

²⁷¹ To build upon Mus’ concepts: throughout the French colonial period, the association between the religions of the soil and Hindu deities appears to have been revived by colonial scholarly and Southeast Asian priestly-scholarly actors.

used ritualistically to recount the history of Ppo Inâ Nâgar during ceremonies dedicated to her veneration:

Allow us to introduce the story of a man and a woman who had no children. They were chopping trees down for an *apuh*²⁷² on Galeng Mountain, in the countryside of Aia Trang, on the side of a hill that the Vietnamese now call Đài An. At that time, they planted watermelon every year.

One night the couple heard a noise while they were sleeping. So, they went to investigate the watermelon patch. Some of the stems had been broken and several fruits had been smashed. There were footprints in the earth, but there was no one to be found. They wondered: “How is this possible?” Then, in the clear light of the full moon they saw a young woman who drifted downward from the moon to the earth and walked into the *apuh*. She could have been just twelve years old and wore plain clothes. This young lady, she picked up a watermelon and tossed it in the air! Just for fun!

The man and woman were very happy and stepped forward slowly to catch the young lady. They grabbed hold of her and brought her home to raise as their child. The couple loved her more than anything. She lived with them and two or three years passed. But, in the fourth year, there was a tremendous storm in Aia Trang—

²⁷² *Apuh* is a Cham word that refers to a light farming plot or garden.

and each day the young lady took stone brick to play as if building a *kalan bimong*.²⁷³

The man and woman began to scold her, but she didn't listen. So, they lectured her harshly. She began to sulk and ran away along the seashore where the waves crashed. Suddenly a piece of *gahlau*²⁷⁴ driftwood landed on the shore. The young lady felt sorry for herself and sat down on the *gahlau* and drifted away to the land of *Laow*.²⁷⁵

The *Laow* people crowded three to four hundred people around the piece of wood. As they talked so much about it, their prince heard the news. He went to investigate the *gahlau* wood and found the crowd there, totally silent.

There was a stirring in his heart. Fluttering up and down as a small flame grew. The prince tried to go home to meet his father, as he was to receive a promotion. But he began counting the days and months. Time passed them without food, without sleep, and without peace. He asked a fortune teller to give him a reading. The fortune teller alerted the house of the king to the coming of a princess.

Every night when the prince slept, there was beautiful singing and the prince found fortune weighing on his heart as he waited each day, all day, for the sound

²⁷³ *Kalan bimong* refers to “temple-tower” complexes that were the center of Hindu religious practice and later became the center of Cham Ahiér religious practice during certain ceremonies. They frequently feature *mukhalinga* or *linga-yoni* statues at their centers, as well as images that may refer to standard Hindu deities and Cham deities.

²⁷⁴ Known as either *aloeswood* or *eaglewood* in English, *gahlau* or *gahlau* is the Cham name for an extremely expensive aromatic wood.

²⁷⁵ *Laow* is the Cham word for China, and *urang Laow* are “the Chinese.” The term is not to be confused with *Lao* and *urang Lao*, which refers to Laos and the Lao people.

of that song. Upon hearing the song, he could no longer hold himself back and the two began to whisper together.

As the two [the prince and the princess] began to grow closer and closer together, the prince tried to talk to his father. His father witnessed the thousands of beautiful expressions in the faces of the young lady and his son. They became husband and wife and gave birth to two children: a son, named Cei Tri, and a daughter, named Kuik. The prince followed the path of that Ppo Nai [the princess], but she always remembered the mother and father who had raised her. She brought her two children and the *gahlau* back to the mountain of Galeng at nightfall. But she could not find her parents planting watermelon where the tower was built nearby Đại An. So, [the princess] made [her own] tower in her parents' memory.

At that time, the Cham did not know how to plant or cultivate [rice]. They found this Po Nai [the princess] planting vegetables, weaving and farming...all these important skills were taught [by her] for twelve years and the Cham people began to have enough to shelter themselves. The community was happier [than ever] and since that time, the Cham people built towers and for her [Ppo Inâ Nagar], for the children of the people to worship [her] at Aia Trang.

[At this time] her husband then returned, but could not find his wife. With his heart filled with love, he [still] did not know when she would return to the land. He ordered his men to look for her. When they arrived to the territory of Aia Trang, near the mountain of Gelang where she was born and raised, there was a sense of a spirit that followed the soldiers, making more problems for the prince. Ppo Nai [the

princess] then created a spell of protection, sinking the boats of his [the prince's] men.

She [Ppo Inâ Nâgar] found solace in the sinking of the boats, as there were rocks that appeared [suddenly] out of the water and *Akhar Cam*²⁷⁶ appeared on the rocks. Occasionally she would read these writings with her husband and her two children. She wanted to return to the paddy of Hamu Janah in the village of Yok Yang (for the Vietnamese: the village of Bình Thủy).

After the Cham and Bani, the Vietnamese were in this land. [But] Ppo Nai [the princess] and the children had enough sense to give the Cham people enough of a livelihood, and they remember her for this, even though they now worship Ppo Nâger in a different place.²⁷⁷

Reading the *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar* manuscript teaches about the Cham language, agricultural practices, culture, and religion, and offers an important revision to the history of the mother goddess of Champā. Key terms in the text that fall within the theme of these categories are:

²⁷⁶ *Akhar Cam* refers to “Cham writing,” in general, and in this case, seems to refer to epigraphic script.

²⁷⁷ The version of the *Ppo Inâ Nâgar* manuscript I studied most closely was collected during a Toyota Foundation research project on Cham manuscripts in the early 2000s and conforms to the form of the Ppo Inâ Nâgar narrative that emerged as most popular in the twentieth century. Since the early 2000s, the manuscript had been used in Cham language programs for urban youth in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. Between 2011 and 2014 there were still some students studying Cham script in the city in a “traditional” fashion. The setting was a “home-school,”²⁷⁷ where study was completed one-on-one with a teacher.²⁷⁷ In the traditional method of study, first a manuscript is hand-copied, studied slowly, and, if considered appropriate to introduce to a new cultural audience, can be translated. *Dalakal* themselves are possibly one of the oldest forms of Cham literature and were revived in the 1950s and 1960s, intimately linking Cham sources to the larger, global “folk revival” of visual art, music, and literature. In other words, the global trend likely influenced the relatively large number of *dalakal* that were reproduced at the time, as did the conditions of the Second Indochina War, which favored shorter, easier to memorize manuscripts (Noseworthy 2015). Following this line of reasoning, immediately after the reign of Ppo Romé, there would also have been a preference to learn *dalakal* in the war-torn communities of the seventeenth century borderlands.

apuh,²⁷⁸ *gahlau*,²⁷⁹ *kalan*,²⁸⁰ *bimong*,²⁸¹ *Aia Trang*²⁸² and *Akhar Cam*.²⁸³ By discussing each term and its valences within its wider cultural contexts, we can see that there are certain forms of ethical practice that are related to learning the term in question.

Apuh is a Cham word for a plot of light farming. It is a term that is also common to the Churu and Raglai ethnic minority languages (Churu: *apuh*; Raglai: *apu*). *Apuh* is frequently translated into Vietnamese as the term *rẫy*, meaning “swidden agriculture”. The cultural context of contemporary Raglai villages seems to fit the Vietnamese connotations of *rẫy* quite closely. Meanwhile, the Churu word *apuh* has been translated as “garden” (Vn.: *vườn*) and seems to fit the Cham context more closely. Contemporary *apuh* are generally small vegetable and fruit gardens out front of a Cham house, close to the road. *Apuh* are also generally contrasted with *hamu*²⁸⁴ or rice paddy land. This does not mean that Cham methods of traditional farming do not incorporate the “controlled burn” methods of swidden agriculture. However, it is important to note that the traditional Cham *apuh* between the seventeenth and twentieth century were much smaller than swidden plots are today. To start a new *apuh* plot, particularly on a mountain side, or hilly, such as near Đại An, Khánh Hòa province, one would have to begin by cutting down all the trees in the area. The remaining brush and roots would then be turned up and burned to create ash fertilizer. Similar methods have been used in Cham rice-paddy plots as well. After they have been burned, the plots are replanted or marked for several years to regrow wild plants.²⁸⁵ Next,

²⁷⁸ AT.: ອັບກັນ

²⁷⁹ AT.: ອັບກັນ

²⁸⁰ AT.: ອັບກັນ

²⁸¹ AT.: ທົ່ວໜ້າກັນ

²⁸² AT.: ອັນ ດູກ

²⁸³ AT.: ອັນກັນ ອັນ

²⁸⁴ AT.: ມັກັນ

²⁸⁵ I am grateful to Dr. Thanh Phan for these notes on Cham agricultural practices, as they do not necessarily follow the norms of the region. Other scholars, who work in wetter lowland areas, and further uplands have noted that these practices seem ‘different.’

fruit and vegetable crops would be planted, such as the watermelon²⁸⁶ crop of the old couple. The practice of *apuh* and *hamu* farming is generally interpreted a moral, or ethically “clean” (C.: *patih*) relationship with the soil,²⁸⁷ while these methods, as we will see in chapter three, are contrasted with Vietnamese methods of mass agriculture.²⁸⁸ The implication is that the smaller scale, traditional practices taught by gods and goddesses, such as Ppo Inâ Nâgar, are those that should be followed. Such practices were most commonly governed by astrological interpretations that interpreted the “proper times” for planting and harvest, with the implication that if these times were not followed closely, disaster could ensue from an unbalanced cosmology.

Related to the agricultural context of terms such as *apuh*, an examination of the Cham term *gahlau* illuminates a history of Champā-upland trade relations and socio-religious importance. In Cham language, the term most closely indicates either “eaglewood” or specifically “aloeswood,” the portion of the eaglewood tree that can be harvested and dried, before it is sold or used as incense in religious ceremonies. In the *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar* manuscript, the *gahlau* driftwood that appears seems to be mystical. The *gahlau* is driftwood, but the protagonist can ride it all the way to China! We can aptly hypothesize, though, that the “*gahlau* carrying her to China” is a metaphor. *Gahlau* trade was critical to the Champā polities. While *gahlau* was harvested from mostly upland areas, and sold in the lowlands, it was also trade

²⁸⁶ C.: *tham-makay*; A.T.: ធម៌ មកាយ

²⁸⁷ In Hindu conceptions of space, the organization of space and practices into “pollution” and “purity” is principally related to the possibility of “purification” as well, principally by water (Flood 1996: 57). Hence, the link between a Hindu influenced understanding of space, routed in the *Dharma Śāstras* is a natural link for Hindu influenced Cham religion.

²⁸⁸ In the past, several decades both the Raglai and the Cham have shifted away from creating *apuh* in previously forested areas. Regardless, *apuh* farming remains popular today, even though it is being threatened by the introduction of small scale commercial farming that prefers the use of pesticides and large scale mechanized farming of cash-crops, such as rice, dragon fruit, grapes, and corn.

overseas and quickly became recognized as a product that was highly valued by Chinese, Arab and Portuguese traders. The real-world wealth tied to the *gahlau* trade was also associated with spiritual wealth and abundance, since the main use for *gahlau* in Cham areas was during religious ceremonies. *Ppo Gahlau* became a Champā royal title that was closely associated with Ppo Romé's [r. 1627-1651] Churu-Cham-Malay creolized lineage that he left behind in the courts of Kelantan, but *gahlau* itself would have travelled much further, from Japan to Arabia, as it were (Aymonier 1981; Maspero 1928; Sakaya 2010).²⁸⁹ As such, *gahlau* would have been traded with the Chinese courts, and “riding the *gahlau*” could be taken to be the same as “riding the trade winds.” The implication, though, for Ppo Inā Nāgar, is that physical wealth and spiritual abundance, were closely tied together.

Worldly and spiritual abundance are intimately tied to the construction of the Champā *kalan bimong* temple-tower complexes. These religious locations dot more than fifty archeological sites, strewn along the coast of Vietnam and trace into the highlands of the Annamite Chain. They were constructed from the seventh through the seventeenth centuries and include such archetypically “Cham” sites as Ppo Romé, Ppo Klaong Garai, Mȳ Sơn, Trà Kiệu, Ppo Dam, and Ppo Sah Inā.²⁹⁰ At the largest of these towers, the *kalan* refers only to the central worship hall, which often includes a decorative *sikhara* constructed on the top. Also, *Kalan* only has one entry way. Meanwhile, the *bimong* refers to the “second tower” in the construction. A *bimong* is usually smaller in height and has two doorways. It is possible to have *kalan* without a

²⁸⁹ Georgius Everhardus Rumphius, author of *The Amboinese Herbal* recorded that, even during the times of the Nguyễn, the Cham kept a record of trees that had been cut and limited the number of these trees so that prices would remain high (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 196).

²⁹⁰ Smaller sites are normally associated with slightly less central figures. For example, the *danaok* of Palei Hamu Craok is associated with the veneration of Ppo Klaong Can, the god of pottery, and his wife. Cham manuscripts record that Ppo Klaong Can and Ppo Klaong Garai were friends. CAM 246 B. This gives us an approximate dating for Ppo Klaong Can's lifetime, by association. CAM 246 B additionally records the building of the *kalan* of Ppo Klaong Garai and Ppo Dam.

bimong, but the reverse is not possible. Colloquially, some individuals also use *kalan bimong* to refer to the entire complex, and this phrase appears frequently in Cham Ahiér manuscripts such as the *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar*. Normally, they were explicitly constructed for the veneration of an individual, as was eventually the case with the *Kalan Bimong Ppo Inâ Nâgar* that was built for the goddess at Nha Trang, Khánh Hòa province, Vietnam (Schweyer 2004; Ngô Văn Doanh 2011; Ngô Văn Doanh 2002; Amonier 1891). However, in the narrative of *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar* readers are confronted with an entirely different reason for tower construction: Ppo Inâ Nâgar herself was constructing towers “just for fun.”

The differentiation between constructing the *kalan bimong* for cultural and religious purposes - as we saw in chapter one - versus constructing them for “fun,” is a demonstration of the supernatural nature of Ppo Inâ Nâgar. She is not bound by the expectations of “normal” Champā (or Cham) society. Even toward the end of the manuscript, we see that she does construct a tower to the memory of her parents, which may appear to be more “normal.” At the same time, Champā towers were most frequently constructed to commemorate the victories and memories of god-kings and queens, not simply to their relatives. In this case, Ppo Inâ Nâgar’s ability to construct towers for different purposes further sets Ppo Inâ Nâgar apart even from “normal royalty” as a sign of her ability to be worldly, but also otherworldly. Furthermore, just before the end of the narrative, we learn that Ppo Inâ Nâgar had a reading knowledge of *Akhar Cam* or Cham[pā] writing systems. Her ability to join the literati class, and even possibly become a symbol for future literati significantly elevated her status among the Cham Ahiér. Finally, that she can raise a storm to sink the Chinese princess’ ships, as well as teach the Cham weaving and rice agriculture, which gave her attributable “traits,” confirming her status as a deity.

A final category of language terms that are referenced in *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar* are geographical terms that have particularly socio-historical significance. For example, Galeng Mountain is explicitly connected to the Vietnamese settlement of ĐẠI AN in the manuscript. The connection suggests that the manuscript must have produced after the Vietnamese controlled much of the area, that is, after the middle of the seventeenth century, but also explicitly provides an argument for Cham pre-existing religious connections to the land. For example, the Galeng Mountain is near the contemporary Vietnamese settlement of ĐẠI AN and the Vietnamese city “NHA TRANG” originates from the Cham name *Aia Trang*.²⁹¹ Tonalization shifted the pronunciation of the Cham *Aia*²⁹² to the Vietnamese *Nha. Trang*,²⁹³ is a natural phonemic structure in both languages. In Vietnamese, the meaning of *Trang* is ambiguous. In Chamic languages, *trang* (Ede/Churu: *drang*) is a location where hot and cold-water mix - or - where sweet and salt water mix. In fact, many local toponyms have been transferred from old Cham words into simple Vietnamese approximate pronunciations of these words.²⁹⁴ NHA TRANG is just one example. The subtext of the manuscript, therefore, is indicative of a longer history of Vietnamese appropriation of the territory of the former peoples of the Champā civilization, including the Cham. The manuscript itself then becomes a reminder of this history for the copyist, the reciter, the listener and the reader. In other words, in addition to the individual ethical stances that are presented within the manuscript, preserving the story of conquest is also another form of ethical action.

²⁹¹ To compound these sentiments, the Vietnamese term “NHA TRANG,” may appear to have significance to foreigners with a basic knowledge of Vietnamese, who frequently are caught by the joke that the term means “White House” (VN.: Nhà Trắng). It is an adaptation of the Cham *Aia Trang*, as we see in the *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar* manuscript

²⁹² AT.: ອ້າງ

²⁹³ AT.: ດັກ

²⁹⁴ Further examples include both Phan Rang and Phan RÍ.

The act of preservation is a constant reminder of the reason why it is acceptable to venerate the goddess in so many different locations, scattered across the former borderlands of Kauthāra and Pāñdurāga, and why there have been significant transformations in Cham Ahiér practice between 1651 and 1929. Part of this context was the veneration of Ppo Kuk, in the home, which acted to unite the cosmologies of the Cham Ahiér with the Cham Bani, as we shall see later in this chapter. Another part of this context was the ever-increasing presence of the Nguyễn Vietnamese. On the one hand, the Vietnamese influence was disjoining, while on the other Islamic influence provided new adaptations of concepts that could be incorporated into Cham religion to reinforce it. Finally, at the very same moment, the pre-existing Hindu-Animist flexibility could adapt to these new influences, but also set down new roots, or become adapted to existing locations, such as in the case of Ppo Inâ Nâgar at Hamu Tanran. These adaptations show us that the Cham Ahiér, as a borderlands people, had to be willing to adapt to new socio-political contexts, as well as to incorporate new cultural influences, but that they did so by not getting rid of pre-existing practices. As a borderlands people, their practices were transformed, and new layers of influence were set on top of old ones. But the older layers were never completely erased.

IIb Changes in Cham Ahiér Practice [1651-1929]

The most distinct change in Cham Ahiér practice between 1651 and 1929 was related to the change in access that Cham had to centers of worship rooted in the soil, although there were some elements of practice that increasingly accepted Islamic influence, as previously noted, incorporating Arabic phrases or concepts into Ahiér ritual practice. The conceptual shifts do not

compare to the spatial importance of Cham Ahiér ceremonies, however, where ritual space has been deeply rooted in the local soil. Even in the case of former Champā territories near Khánh Hòa province, which began to be incorporated by the Vietnamese in the sixteenth century, according to Nguyẽn sources, Cham sources contest that control was disputed for centuries to come, and that Cham Ahiér continued to practice at the central Ppo Inâ Nâgar tower. The contestation of authority over sacred sites was likely a factor in the increased incorporation of Cham influence into Vietnamese religious practices in the south, as much as it was a potential reason why Cham religious practices were influenced by the Vietnamese. The expansion of the Nguyẽn frontier absorbed certain Cham religious sites dedicated to goddess worship in the borderlands and then blended them with Daoist and Buddhist goddesses worship. For example, the 1594 “Map of the Pacified South”²⁹⁵ labels the *Kalan Bimong Ppo Inâ Nâgar* as the “Tower of the Pearl Princess.”²⁹⁶ The map indicates that as early as the sixteenth century, Nguyẽn Vietnamese, who were new migrants to the area, began to re-interpret Ppo Inâ Nâgar as “the Princess Pearl.” The label “Princess Pearl” or “Lady Pearl” has since stuck with Vietnamese representations of the tower’s goddess from *Aia Trang*.²⁹⁷ *Aia Trang*²⁹⁸ had been a center in the Champā polity of Kauṭhāra [7th – 17th century], which also included the northern deep water port of Aia Ru.²⁹⁹ The first Nguyẽn lord, Nguyẽn Hoàng conquered Aia Ru in 1611 and renamed the surrounding area “Defense of the Frontier Province.”³⁰⁰ Almost immediately afterward, this portion of the “frontier province” was renamed “Phú Yên.” Local Cham and Bahnar (highland

²⁹⁵ Vn.: *Bình Nam Đồ*

²⁹⁶ Vn.: *Chúa Ngọc Tháp*. A later Hán Việt inscription dedicated to Thiên Mụ in 1601 can be found near the former Champā polity of *negarā* Indrapura (Lê Đình Hùng & Tông Nữ Khánh Trang 2014: 529).

²⁹⁷ The Vietnamese narrative has the goddess appear from the foam in some accounts. In those accounts, the narrative parallels certain Malay accounts of the “White Semang of Perak” who appears out of the foam, is adopted by parents, increases their wealth – and then helps install the first ruler of Perak (Andaya 2016: 7)

²⁹⁸ Nha Trang city and Khánh Hòa province

²⁹⁹ Phú Yên province

³⁰⁰ Vn.: *tỉnh Trần Biên*

Austroasiatic) peoples would not accept Vietnamese rule so close to the Ppo Inâ Nâgar temple. They revolted in 1629 and attempted to retake the control of Phú Yên, although the Vietnamese quickly put down this revolt and used it as a pretext for another series of assaults on Champā polities further southward from the late 1640s through 1653. There are at least three attacks that occurred between 1627 and 1651, before Ppo Romé was imprisoned by Nguyễn Hiên Vương and died in Quảng Nam province (Aymonier 1893: 23; *Dalakal Ppo Romé*; Po 1988: 62; Po 1989: 128-135; ĐNNTC 2012: 63-86, 125-159; Phan Khoảng 2001[1967]: 296-299,303,321; Nguyễn Thé Anh 1995; Phan An 2014).

The Nguyễn Vietnamese increasingly threatened to transform the temple of Ppo Inâ Nâgar at Aia Trang, even as Ppo Romé's successor, Ppo Nraop [r. 1652 – 1653] continued the fight with the Nguyễn from 1651 to 1653, and other Cham forces rebelled against the Nguyễn in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ppo Romé's general Sah Binh and his “sacred spear” were involved in the fight to preserve the territory (see: Appendix I).³⁰¹ When the Nguyễn army overwhelmed them in 1653, Aia Trang joined Vietnamese possessions. After 1653, the worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar at Mông Đức and, subsequently, Hữu Đức, became much more important. In other words, the most popular sites of Cham Ppo Inâ Nâgar worship today, such as Hữu Đức during the annual Mbang Katé festival, only became popular sites once the Cham no longer had access to the tower at Aia Trang. The fundamental shape of the Mbang Katé festival as it is known today, is therefore deeply tied to the 1653 conquest of Aia Trang. As a caveat, when local Nguyễn authority subsided during the Tây Sơn rebellion [1778 – 1802], Champā and Cham local authorities became more prominent again, allowing worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar to continue at Aia

³⁰¹ Other manuscripts record that Sah Binh was from Panrang and that he travelled with Ppo Romé as far as “Nâger Siam” and “Nâger Kur.” (CAM 246 B).

Trang for a brief time. In the end, the expansion of the Nguyễn lords into a dynasty after 1802, would mean the end of open Cham access to many religious sites. Nguyễn allied officials sponsored temples and the construction of “new” temples to assert cultural authority over the landscape. For example, Governor Nguyễn Văn Thành dedicated a shrine at Diễn Mountain (nearby Gia Định, now Ho Chi Minh City) to the “Lady Princess Pearl” in 1797. He hoped the goddess would help to “eliminate tigers” in the area. Whether the “tigers” were literal, or metaphoric, the construction of new “Princess Pearl” temples went hand and hand with the transformation of Ppo Inâ Nagar into Thiên Y Â Na, a high deity of the local Vietnamese population.³⁰² While Thiên Y Â Na was also conflated with the Daoist Mother of Fairies (Xi Wang-Mu), the Queen of Heaven (Tian-fei) and Tian Hou Sheng Mu,³⁰³ Chinese and Vietnamese migrants to Nha Trang and points southward along the coast blended with pre-existing Cham goddess worshippers. By the nineteenth century, Thiên Y Â Na was even more popular than Liễu Hạnh from Quảng Bình province southward. The Mandarin, Phan Thành Giản, even dedicated his own inscription to “Thiên Y Â Na Diễn Phi Chúa Ngọc Thánh Phi” at Nha Trang in 1856. As the process of cultural mixing continued along the Vietnamese-Khmer borderlands, Thiên Y Â Na was blended with Liễu Hạnh for worshippers from the nineteenth century onward. Some authors have even argued for her influence, and by proxy, the influence of Ppo Inâ Nagar, upon the image and worship of Bà Xứ, the most popular local goddess in southern Vietnam.³⁰⁴

³⁰² Many scholars believe that this is a transliteration of *Deviyana*. However, the term “Thiên” is readily Vietnamese. The Sanskrit precedent seems unnecessary. The Vietnamese “Y Â Na” could just as easily be a truncation of *Aia Tanah* (water and earth).

³⁰³ Vn.: Thiên Hậu

³⁰⁴ Sakaya (2014: 517) argues that she was also blended into the worship of Hồ Chén in Huế; Bà Thu Bồn in Quảng Nam province; and Cổ miếu thờ Thiên Y A Na in Bình Thuận province. Thiên Đỗ (2003: 98) notes that the center at Nha Trang served as a center to propagate “ritual dance and other formats spreading to the Mekong delta.” The implication by Tạ Chí Đại Trường and Li Tana among others, is that the adaptation of the Cham goddess worship

Harsh Nguyễn restrictions on Cham travel began in 1802, as the Nguyễn were increasingly interested in limiting contact between the Cham and other non-Vietnamese ethnic groups, which in turn had an impact on Cham religious practices. Raglai, for example, held an important place in the annual Katé festival, as they were responsible for carrying the clothing of deities to Cham temples in parades through the streets of Cham towns. Restrictions on Cham travel, and the segregation of ethnic communities into different zones would strain these ritual relations. As we shall see in the next chapter, the repression of the Cham was perhaps the strictest during the reign of Minh Mệnh (reign dates), although throughout much of the nineteenth century, access to the Ppo Inâ Nâgar tower at Nha Trang was very limited. Therefore, it is not a surprise that when the late nineteenth century Cham scholar Hợp Ai recognized the importance of the cosmological geography of Nha Trang in his epic travelogue poem *Ariya Ppo Pareng* (1885), he did not record Cham worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar at the site, and rather treats the tower as an aspect of the past that had been memorialized, and spoken of, but not something that he had ever seen before. Nevertheless, the worship of the goddess had left a mark upon Vietnamese who were living from Khánh Hòa southward. Nguyễn Thế Anh (1995[1991]) saw this as a “Vietnamization” of the Cham religion, although Phan Đặng Nhật (2013) has argued that the worship of local village deities in Vietnam was such a strong Cham influence, that perhaps, it may be better to discuss the *Chamization* of the Vietnamese, about the worship of Ppo Kuk and Ppo Inâ Nâgar.

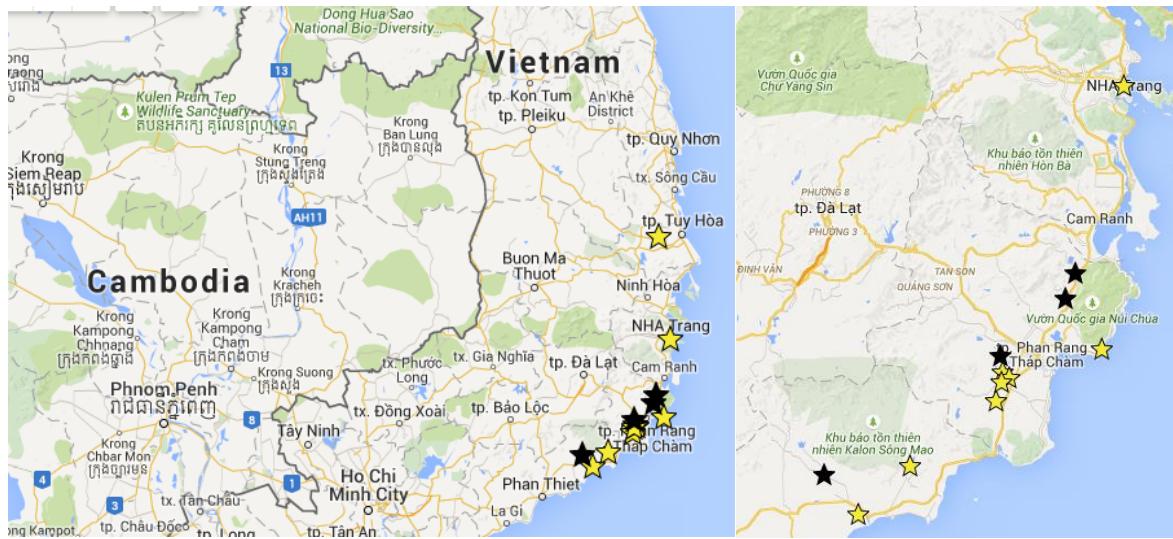
was a critical aspect of Nguyễn Đàng Trong culture and how it broke away from northern Vietnamese culture. For more detailed and varied interpretations see: Po (1988: 62); Po (1989: 128-135); ĐNNTC (2012: 63-86, 125-159); Phan Khoảng (2001[1967]: 296-299, 303-321); Nguyễn Thế Anh (1995); Sakaya (2013a); Phan An (2014); and Phan Thị Yến Tuyết (2014).

Chamization, as Phan Đăng Nhật (2013) has argued, occurred when Vietnamese “reinvented” goddess worship in their borderlands settlements, although, the record of Cham manuscripts, such as *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar*, readily demonstrates that the removal of particularly spiritually potent lands from Cham hands was critical to the construction of a memory of dispossession among the Cham Ahiér. There has never been an archeological excavation that has been able to locate the “original site” of the tower at Galeng Mountain.³⁰⁵ The manuscript records that both Cham Hindu – Ahiér and Cham “Bani” populations used to live in this area, although, in the present day, they worship Ppo Inâ Nâgar “in a different place.” The indication is that the manuscript refers to times when the Cham worshipped Ppo Inâ Nâgar without access to the tower at Nha Trang, such as between 1653 and 1778 or between 1802 and the 1890s, although it is possible that it was composed at other, later periods, and explains the relocation of the goddess through relatively simple terms as a result. Because the point of the manuscript is to focus upon origins and present location, few scholars have questioned the finer details of when Cham had access to the Nha Trang temple, although those details may provide fruitful nuance to the historical record, as indicated above. Most scholars have even taken the treatment of the history as an indication that Cham did not worship at the temple during the twentieth century although this is clearly not the case.³⁰⁶ By the twentieth century, there were as

³⁰⁵ Vn.: *Đại An*

³⁰⁶ This claim has even been extended to the twenty first century by some scholars. In contemporary times, Vietnamese administrators in Khanh Hòa province restricted access to the towers at Nha Trang, but not in a way that benefits Cham worshippers. Contrary to Cham traditions, the goddess is clothed and viewable always, for a small fee. Traditionally the goddess would have only been ceremoniously bathed, clothed, and may be viewed during religious ceremonies. Contemporary circumstances are not amenable to the leadership of Cham and Chamic minorities in the area. Additionally, not all of individuals who attend her ceremonies are worshippers, nor are those who are not worshippers all “tourists.” Rather there are many others who travel to pay respects to the goddess, to support friends or family who are traveling, or who attend the ceremonies out of intellectual interests, though they are not professional academics. There are also debates that occur about the appropriateness of certain attendees. Cham Muslims may attend ceremonies for example, and Cham Ahiér might describe them as “worshipping” when asked, although Cham Muslims themselves may describe their actions as “showing support.”

many as thirteen sites of Ppo Inâ Nâgar worship throughout Cham and Raglai communities in Phú Yên, Khánh Hòa, Bình Thuận and Ninh Thuận provinces:



Map 2.1: Sites of Cham goddess worship marked by yellow stars. Sites of Raglai goddess worship marked by black stars. Map made by author using google.maps.

The above area directly corresponds to a contested borderlands region between Nguyễn Vietnamese and Cham sovereignty from the seventeenth to nineteenth century.³⁰⁷ Khánh Hòa was incorporated into Vietnamese territory by 1611, Phú Yên by 1651-53, Phan Rang by 1692/3. Then during the Tây Sơn rebellion [1778-1802], Cham managed to continue to visit the Ppo Inâ Nâgar temple in Khánh Hòa (Sakaya 2014). By the 1830s though, the aggressive policies of Minh Mệnh incorporated all Cham territories southward to Phan Thiết. The proliferation of

³⁰⁷ The above map was compiled from studies by Vietnamese Anthropologist Phan Quốc Anh (2010), Cham Anthropologist Sakaya (2013) and my own work. Each one of the individual sites is linked to a temple that practitioners claim was active at least as early as the nineteenth century, and, in most cases, since the seventeenth century, although there is some ongoing discussion about which site became popular when. Certain sites, such as the temple in Nha Trang, are linked to much earlier worship and practices from well before the seventeenth century.

worship sites has been in part explained by this history of conquest and formation of new religious communities (Noseworthy 2015).³⁰⁸ While it is a surprise that no other scholars seem to highlight this point: it is no surprise that the worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar proliferated, rooted in local shrines and temples among Cham and Raglai communities, as the religious leaders of these communities attempted to care for their communities in the context of Nguyễn expansion. Having a goddess that was rooted in the soil and rooted in the original possession of the land must have been somewhat vindicating and reassuring in the face of harsh Nguyễn expansionism.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, plural understandings of deities, such as those introduced by the *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* manuscript, allow for each community to have a variety of goddesses that they worship. The top goddess in the hierarchy of one community need not be the same as the next. There were clearly times that Cham continued to worship Ppo Inâ Nâgar, and indeed, other forms of goddesses, at the Ppo Inâ Nâgar tower during the eighteenth century and throughout the twentieth.³⁰⁹ During my initial travels to Nha Trang in 2008 and later field work in Southeast Asia between 2011 and 2015, it was clear that there was a need to update the existing, rather detailed, scholarly outline of the Ppo Inâ Nâgar narrative above. Ppo Inâ Nâgar is still worshipped at Nha Trang by Cham, Bahnaric peoples, Ede, and many other “non-locals” who travel to visit the sacred site of Ppo Inâ Nâgar during the festival dedicated to her, roughly in April, each year. Recent debate additionally rests upon the implications of early Cham Ahiér manuscripts. Was it more important for Cham to reclaim the temple-tower complex of the Ppo Inâ Nâgar site to prevent further inappropriate worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar at the location, such as they did by using the temple in the eighteenth century, during the time of the Tây Sơn rebellion?

³⁰⁸ Both Cham and Raglai communities are still worshipping Ppo Inâ Nâgar throughout Bình Thuận and Ninh Thuận provinces, perhaps at even more locations than mapped above.

³⁰⁹ And, indeed, into the twenty first century.

Or, was it more important for Cham to maintain pure and proper worship themselves, such as they did in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? The long term historical trajectory seems to have been: to maintain an emphasis on practice, to an extent, but also be willing to shift geographies.³¹⁰

An examination of the changing centers of Ppo Inâ Nâgar worship between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, with respect to Palei Hamu Tanran and Nha Trang, raises an important point of discord between mapping of Nguyễn Vietnamese and Cham conceptions of space in the borderlands.³¹¹ Existing Cham lands were not simply renamed in a one to one relationship, such as with the transformation of Aia Trang into Nha Trang. It is widely accepted that, like other pre-colonial Southeast Asian Hindu-Buddhist influenced societies, Cham space was measured by proximity to “village center,” “sacred space,” or by proximity to the *axis mundi* of a religious site. However, after the seventeenth century, Nguyễn Vietnamese officials attempted to impose decidedly more “modern” understandings of border divisions upon the land. As per Vietnamese nineteenth century geographical studies, there were generally more

³¹⁰ To think about a similar, but more recent case, Thiên Đỗ (2003: 114) notes that “Cham traits” such as “dance forms” that include “the balancing of objects, such as trays, flowers, bowls, [and] earthen jars...” although the author also notes that “more recently, umbrellas, bicycles and stools, are included.” In these cases, the response from Cham Ahiér priests has historically been that the dances referred to by Thiên Đỗ are in fact part of “celebration” that follows worship, but not part of the worship itself. The failure of the general Vietnamese population to understand the basic distinction, and to include inappropriate objects of worship has been a common critique, as has the general ignorance of the Cham calendar by the Vietnamese population. Per Cham Ahiér interpretations of customary law, in accordance with the Cham calendar, worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar occurs only four times each year in public occasions. In rough comparison to the Gregorian calendar, the largest ceremonies are in the fall, winter, and spring. There is also a fourth, smaller ceremony in the spring. The most popular location for worship is usually in Palei Hamu Tanran. To abstract the question of the debate to a single point: the question is about in whether the cosmic order is best maintained by: 1) maintain worship in a proper fashion but different place; or 2) maintaining worship at a proper place but a slightly modified fashion. Earlier Cham Ahiér manuscripts, such as the *Damnây Ppo Inâ Nâgar* clearly take the first stance, although manuscripts produced in this vein of understanding clearly led to the solidification of Palei Hamu Tanran as a place of proper worship only over several centuries.

³¹¹ One implication of this relationship is that informants of Phan Quốc Anh’s (2010) work suggested that he confused the Cham villages of Hamu Ram (Vn.: Mông Đức) and Hamu Tanran (Vn.: Hữu Đức).

clear divisions between territories, although unlike “modern” fenced and posted borders, the Vietnamese marked borders by mountains, patches of thick overgrowth, large dunes, or rivers and streams. These divisions broke up older Cham centers that were held together through a sort of sacred gravity, regardless of small natural boundaries. Furthermore, as Vietnamese administrators sought clear divisions between Cham communities, common understandings of Cham customary law reshaped settlement as well. Per customary law, both Cham Ahiér and Bani could not marry members of their home villages. Instead, they had to “marry out” to other communities. Consequentially, nearby villages became “marriage partners.” For example, during the early twentieth century, in the case of Palei Hamu Ram and Palei Hamu Tanran, many families intentionally married to families of the nearby village. This built communal relations, and, as the populations grew and the marriage ties grew more complicated, the size of the villages increased, causing them to become small towns, and eliminating the tract of forest that used to exist between them.³¹² In other words, distinguishing between the two communities could soon become quite difficult.³¹³

By using the earlier precedent set by *Dalakal Ppo Kuk* and *Damnay Ppo Inâ Nâgar* as a springboard, it is possible to suggest that the manuscript culture of the Cham Ahiér, which allowed for henotheistic interpretations, particularly from the seventeenth century onward, also provided the opportunity for the proliferation of Ppo Inâ Nâgar worship at several Raglai sites throughout south central Vietnam.³¹⁴ For the purposes of this study, delineating that Ppo Inâ

³¹² With thanks to the family of Nguyễn Quốc Thuận for explaining these details.

³¹³ Nevertheless, in my own mapping, I followed contemporary standards and equated the town of Palei Hamu Tanran with Hữu Đức and the town of Palei Ram with Mông Đức, as Sakaya and most contemporary local Cham officials have agreed to do.

³¹⁴ By using this point as an interjection for further inquiry, it should be possible to tease out historical ties and cultural linkages that exist among the goddess worship of Churu, Ede, Koho, and Jarai peoples as well. Trần Kiêm Hoàng (Chamaliaqriya Tiêng) (2011: 166-172) provides a description of rice ceremonies that may be linked to ‘mother goddess’ worship among the Roglai of Khanh Hòa province.

Nâgar worship proliferated across Cham and Raglai communities in the Pāñduraṅga borderlands, as local priests, particularly Cham Ahiér, re-centered religious communities locally in the context of Vietnamese expansion, already provides considerable nuance to the proposed “erasure” or “transformation,” narratives that existed previously. Furthermore, Ppo Kuk worship would have become more important in this socio-historical setting. First, because Ppo Kuk could be worshipped in the home, her “site of worship” was already substantially more mobile than Ppo Inâ Nagar. Second, by envisioning the cosmos as created by Ppo Kuk, but including an “Islamic half,” the deity of Ppo Kuk stood as a symbol of unity for the Cham community. She represented a single important deity who was authoritative for both Awal and Ahiér, or rather, Muslim and Hindu, elements of existence. At the same time, practice itself was not unchanging. Based upon the study of Ppo Inâ Nagar manuscripts from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, we can see how the production of manuscripts continued to be influenced by local conditions of the borderlands. Furthermore, among those Cham communities that became new centers for Cham Bani communities, Ppo Inâ Nagar would no longer be a relevant goddess. Rather, new forms of mythos and practice were associated with the Bani centers. The myths and practices would maintain certain ties to the earlier Hindu influenced culture of the Cham Ahiér, such as by maintaining a connection to Ppo Kuk, and yet, new forms of divine presence emerge in the historical record, forms of divine presence that could be harnessed for the cultivation of the Bani community.

III Cham Bani Mythos, Practice & Centers

There are not many sources that give distinct definitions of Bani mythos, practice and centers between the seventeenth and the twentieth century that can be historicized in the fashion that Cham Ahiér sources can. However, a combined record of contemporary practices, Cham manuscripts and turn of the century French accounts can shed some light on the development of the Bani community between 1651 and 1929. To begin with, scholars tend to have some disagreement about the origins of the community. As has already been mentioned in chapter one, there is some evidence that there was an Islamic influence among Cham as early as the tenth century, although influence likely increased when large numbers of Cham Buddhists converted to Islam and ties with Malay sultans increased between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. In the milieu of the seventeenth century, Islamic influence reached a high point in mainland Southeast Asian courts, with either royalty or advisors being present in the courts of Ayutthaya, Cambodia, and Pāñduraṅga.

It is possible, and even likely, that the Cham were using the term Bani to refer to their population well before the seventeenth century, and there is even evidence in eighteenth to nineteenth century manuscripts, such as *Ariya Bini Cam* and *Ariya Tuen Phaow*, that the Bani stretch from Kelantan to Pāñduraṅga in the seventeenth century. With the allegiance between the Ahiér-Hindu priests, and the Awal-Muslim clerics in Pāñduraṅga, however, a new community was clearly forged. To begin with, the very existence of the Cham calendar, which originated in the seventeenth century, introduced the possibility that Bani could attend Ahiér ceremonies. At the same time, the split between the Bani and the Cham Sunnī community only emerged, as will become even more clear in the next chapter, between the seventeenth and the twentieth century, and most particularly in the middle to latter half of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, by the

late nineteenth and early twentieth century there are very distinct understandings of “Bani mythos” that emerge.

IIIa *Dalakal Nao Mâgru & Bani Mythos*

As with Ahiér mythos about the nature of creation, there are variations in the Bani understanding of the order of the cosmos. These understanding range between an adaptation of the Qur’anic interpretation of Genesis, wherein Allah creates Adam and Hewa³¹⁵ before eventually Mohammed is born and carries the message of Allah.³¹⁶ However, there were also understandings that allow Allah to take on feminine qualities, as the Awal were thought to be the female element of the cosmos. Ppo Kuk was female, as was Ppo Alwah³¹⁷ in these interpretations, although, as “the sky” Ppo Alwah can become male, and then is known by the name Ppo Yang Amâ (God the Father). By the order of the cosmos Ppo Alwah³¹⁸ creates Ppo Nâbi Mohamat, a male essence, who is “the earth.” The transformation of the former god of the earth³¹⁹ into an associated saint figure of the prophet Ppo Nâbi Mohamat, in the Bani cosmology, allowed for former Cham Hindu-Animists to more readily latch on to the veneration of Ppo Nâbi Mohamat as a figure. Next, in many Bani manuscripts, there was a distinction between Ppo Nâbi (Mohamat), who carries the essence of all Muslim prophets in a single figure, and Ppo

³¹⁵ Eng.: Eve

³¹⁶ Durand (1907).

³¹⁷ Ar.: Allah

³¹⁸ Alt.: Ppo Alwah-Hu

³¹⁹ Ppo Tanah

Rathulak.³²⁰ Nevertheless, in these manuscripts, Ppo Rathulak carries with him all the associations of all the “messengers of Allah,” including Mohammed.

Like representations of Śiva or Viśnu common throughout South and Southeast Asia, in the understanding of the Cham Bani, the Prophet Mohammed had the power to channel the essence of all prophets and messengers of Allah. References to the prophet therefore appear influenced, or at least metaphorically similar, to the Hindu conception of the *avatar*. In the retention of the Qur’anic figure of Hewa (*Eve*), the Bani conflated the widespread Ahiér veneration of Ppo Inâ Nâgar with the veneration of Ppo Hewa, adding a layer of justification to the widespread pre-existing Ahiér practice of goddess worship.³²¹ Of the most critical figures for the Cham Bani, in the local mythos and parlance is the figure of Ppo Ali. We can see the importance of this figure across texts, such as *Dalakal Nao Mâgru* (see: Appendix III).

Much like the previously mentioned *dalakal* manuscripts, the Cham Bani manuscript *Dalakal Nao Mâgru* shows elements of both Hindu and Islamic influence. However, the subject of the text is decidedly Islamic oriented, specific to the context of the Bani community between the seventeenth and the twentieth century.³²² There are clerics in the manuscript that are certainly a reference to Islamic clerics (Katip and Imam), and yet there are also figures that are specific to the context of the Cham Bani community: such as the Acar, who are young clerics that lived in the mosque buildings (called *sang mágik*) only to study and service the more senior clerics. The Prophet Mohammed appears in the narrative as the “senior cleric,” and is known jointly by the terms “Ppo Nâbi” and “Ppo Rasulak,” but the narrative itself is very clearly adapted to a local

³²⁰ Ar.: *Rasulallah*

³²¹ For further discussions see: Ba Trung Phu (2005); Rondot (1950); Nakamura (1999: 121-150); and Aymonier (1891: 40).

³²² Although the orthography of the manuscript I examined was mid twentieth century in origin, the manuscript narrative itself was a copy of a turn of the century, or older, narrative.

context. If the manuscript is viewed through a primarily religiously oriented lens, it is noteworthy that the figure of Ppo Ali does not appear as elevated to the status of Ppo Nâbi/Ppo Rasulak in *Dalakal Nao Mâgru*. This shows some variance in Bani interpretations of the figure of Ppo Ali, as many sources claim that the Bani did elevate Ppo Ali to an equivalent status of Ppo Nâbi, and yet, here we have a source that did not. Furthermore, in *Dalakal Nao Mâgru*, Ppo Ali *disappears entirely* after Ppo Nâbi does not require another important figure (the half Cham, half Vietnamese: Patao Ni Caleng Ka) to enter “the path of Islam.” The manuscript emphasized that the “path of Islam” could not be forced upon Patao Ni Caleng Ka, and yet, it also concludes that both the Cham and Vietnamese eventually all became “Bani” in the end. The Bani mythos therefore stresses the inevitable victory of the Bani ethos, over both pre-existing Cham and Vietnamese practices.

In the context of the greater Muslim world of early modern Southeast Asia, the *Dalikal Nao Mâgru* manuscript is evidence that the Cham Bani developed their own concepts of *Israelyat* literature – that is, they drew upon existing elements of the Qur'an and combined them with Hindu-Animist influenced Cham culture to extrapolate and adapt Islam to a local context. Notably, unlike most of the Cham Ahiér manuscripts, which make at least some mention of the Bani, there is very little mention of the Cham Ahiér in this manuscript, even less than some other Bani texts. There is only one reference to the term “*akaphiér*,” which is normally reserved for the Cham Ahiér community, but in this case, refers to a village, possibly Cham, uplander, or Vietnamese, where the central characters in the narrative might gather water. This circumstance changes, however, when we consider that Cham Ahiér and Awal relations after Ppo Romé understood *all male* elements of the cosmos to be *Ahiér*, while *all female* elements of the cosmos were *Awal*, with some notable exceptions: although the space inside the mosque (C.: *sang mágik*)

is symbolically female, and Bani clerics were also symbolically female,³²³ the public space outside the mosque is symbolically male, as are many of the actions in the text, such as fighting. These are “Ahiér” elements of the cosmos, represented within the world of the manuscript. Their purpose is to ground the manuscript within an Ahiér-Awal relationship. Without this grounding, a Bani mythos would have made no sense to a Cham community.

Another critical aspect to the Bani mythos presented within the *Dalakal Nao Mâgru* manuscript is the appearance of the Awal class of clerics, which order the Islamic elements of the Bani world. The clerics: the Ppo Gru, Imam, Madhin, Katip, and Acar ground the community. But, it is also part of the Bani understanding that an individual who is an Acar for a long period of time should naturally rise through the ranks of clerics. Hence, that the anti-hero in the beginning of the narrative: the Acar who cannot remember anything, also does not advance, creates an upset to the natural order of the cosmos. This is where the Prophet Mohammed intervenes. To a community that understands Islam from a modern or contemporary perspective, the intervention in the *Dalakal Nao Mâgru* manuscript appears to be “pure myth.” Seen through the eyes of the clerics would have penned the manuscript, however, the intervention is a natural one: Ppo Nâbi, also known as Ppo Rasulak, is the most senior teacher in the mosque. He fulfills the role of the Ppo Gru, dictating the nature of the prayers that are recited. And, when there is an Acar who cannot fulfill his duties, Ppo Nâbi, who was “the spirit of the earth” in Cham Bani contexts, draws upon his magical powers to teach the Acar how to read the lessons of the Qur'an, to learn how to read *Kitap* and *Tapuk* prayer books, for recitation in mobile temporary tents used during Awal ceremonies (C.: *kajang*), in the mosque on Fridays.³²⁴

³²³ See Durand (1903)

³²⁴ C.: *dalam di sang mágik di harei jamaat*. My UNESCO Cham manuscript study group and research team arrived at this analysis through the study of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century manuscripts: UNESCO-Cham

The presence of the Bani sacred center in the *Dalakal Nao Mâgru* is important for the mythos about the establishment of Bani villages. The term for the Bani sacred center is *sang mágik*, derived from the Cham word for “house,” *sang*;³²⁵ and, the Arabic word *masjid*, or “mosque.” Traditionally *masjid* in Southeast Asia were not permanent constructions.³²⁶ By the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries there were wood *masjid* in certain parts of mainland Southeast Asia, although colonial records from nineteenth century Kampot suggest that even the Malay constructions in the area were still temporary, like the Bani-Cham “*kajang*.” However, in Annam, under Nguyễn influence, structures became more permanent. Yet, the Bani Cham did not maintain entire autonomy over construction of *sang mágik*. While they maintained the importance of Bani ritual objects, they also adapted the use of the *âm durong* symbol – the red-yellow Vietnamese adaptation of Yin-Yang.³²⁷ Other important elements of the Awal *sang mágik* were the “*minbar*,” although the place of the “*minbar*,” differed slightly from *masjid* in Arabia, Egypt or India. Rather than being the seat of the Imam, the *minbar* was purely reserved for the book. Other Islamic influences could be found in the types of clothing of individual clerics, as well as the candles³²⁸ that they used during rituals. Importantly, there are not many Cham manuscripts that discuss the objects that are found inside the *sang mágik*, although there are many, such as *Dalakal Nao Mâgru*, that refer to the scenes that took place within.

Palei Cuah Patih 3: *Kitap di Ong Bao Hung*; UNESCO-Cham Palei Rem 1,2 and 3: *Kitap di Amu di Ong di Imam Du* (1), *Kitap di Palei Rem* (2) and *Kitap Ong Po Gru Nguyễn Lai di Palei Rem*

³²⁵ *Sang* is usually pronounced ‘thang’ with a hard ‘/th/’ in spoken Cham in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces.

³²⁶ By the fifteenth century Ming influence was present on some of the permanent constructions in larger centers in island Southeast Asia.

³²⁷ Popularly many Cham referred to the *sang mágik* as a *chùa* (connoting Buddhist temple) in the twentieth century, rather than the official state term for mosques *thánh đường* (which is also a Hán Việt term for ‘church’). With thanks to Nguyễn Quốc Vinh for this detail.

³²⁸ C.: badién

IIIb Changes in Cham Awal Practice

As the Cham Awal were the clerics of the Cham Bani community, there is substantial evidence to suggest that their practices changed between 1651 and 1929. While it is true that the Cham Awal clerics were adapting the prescriptions of *shari'ah*, they also recognized that the code could not be strictly imposed on a broader population. Hence, the pre-existing Cham Ahiér practice of goddess worship transformed among the Cham Bani. Goddess worship became the veneration of ideal female figures. Occasionally, these practices were also tied to the pre-existing practices of ancestor worship as well. For example, from the seventeenth century onward, the veneration of the Bani wife of Ppo Romé continued every year during the annual Katé ceremony.³²⁹ The lineage of Bia Than [Su] Cih, particularly in Palei Rem and Palei Pamblap Klak, brought offerings to her pillar at the Ppo Romé tower for hundreds of years (Noseworthy 2014a). Even as the cleric class of the Bani community may have maintained that the practice was not in accordance with widely understood norms, popular worship likely continued, and hence the interpretation that “offerings of worship,” could have instead been “offerings of veneration” would have been important. Following this suggestion, it is significant that ancestor veneration was maintained among the Cham Bani community well after the death of Ppo Romé, and through the period when most the Cham community converted to Islam at the end of the seventeenth century, through the present. Thus, by 1929, ancestor veneration in the Cham Bani community continued to exist.

³²⁹ Now generally in the autumn

A key series of historical events can be linked to shifts in Bani and Awal practices of ancestor veneration in the seventeenth century, during the reign of Ppo Romé. These events resulted in the formation of the *Rija Praong* ceremony. *Rija Praong* is one of four Cham *rijā* ceremonies. It is associated with "the rains" in contemporary anthropological records, which may be a new association that emerged in the twentieth century since historical research reveals that the ceremony was originally a death ceremony. The ceremony is divided into two types of rituals: *Rija Praong atau cek* and *Rija Praong atau tasik*. These indicate the paths by which the individuals who are being venerated entered Pāñduraṅga, one by land, via Cambodia, and the other by sea (Sakaya 2013: 184-185).³³⁰ According to all evidence to date, *Rija Praong* has only been practiced in Bani communities in what is now Vietnam. There is evidence to suggest that the ceremony was originally a more broadly Pāñduraṅga court practice up through the end of the seventeenth century. Figures who were part of *Rija Praong* ceremonies: such as the Admiral Ppo Tang Ahaok, were retained in ceremonies venerating the Pāñduraṅga court among the Kaum Imam San community in Cambodia, itself a religious community that only became distinct in the nineteenth century. Beyond Ppo Romé, who less commonly referred to in the narrative of *Rija Praong*, three members of Ppo Romé's court were key figures: the admirals Ppo Tang Ahaok and Ppo Riyak, along with the general Ppo Sah Inâ.³³¹

According to the records of Cham manuscripts, Ppo Tang Ahaok was born in the fourth month of the year of the dragon in Hamu Radak, Phan Rik. He initially ran a trade route between Đông Nai and Nha Trang, where he collected wood and fresh water, rice, and fish. His fishing vessel was anchored off the coast but traveled to Kelantan, where he studied Islam, martial arts, and amulets. Malay princes had also frequented Pāñduraṅga under the auspices of aiding the

³³⁰ The names refer to *Atau Cek* – prince of the mountains – and *Atau Tasik* – ruler of the sea (Sakaya 2013: 186).

³³¹ See: CAM 244, CAM 246 (B). See also: Sakaya (2008b: 100-107); Sakaya (2013: 183-200).

fight against the Vietnamese. Inter court relations had allowed two Malay princes - one of whom entered via Cambodia and one of whom was named Laksamana Jinyang, who came by sea - to convert Pāñduraṅga women to Islam through marriage. Ppo Riyak was originally from Palei Bhum Pacem, however, when the Malay princes elected to return to the Malay peninsula, he was charged with escorting them. Ppo Riyak arrived in Kelantan, entered a mosque and became a servant of Allah. The essence of the prophet is said to have been sitting in the mosque when he arrived. As Ppo Riyak entered, he asked Allah and the prophet to "teach him the principles of Islam so that he could know them well."³³² For both Ppo Romé and Ppo Riyak, it was their time studying Islam that is associated with giving them spiritual potency.³³³ However, the wives of the Malay princes had remained in Pāñduraṅga with their children and grew depressed over their husband's absence. They murdered their children and then committed suicide. A group of Malays, along with Laksamana Jinyang, Ppo Tang Ahaok and Ppo Riyak then attempted to return to Pāñduraṅga. Ppo Sah Inâ accidentally interpreted the Malay vessels as invading pirates and ordered his forces to sink them. All the Malays on four vessels died. Additionally, Ppo Riyak's ship got caught in a storm. Some of his crew may have survived, but the god of the sea (Ppo Tasik) would not allow Ppo Riyak to return to shore.³³⁴ Only two vessels survived the events entirely. When survivors brought the news to the Pāñduraṅga court, the first *Rija Praong* festival was commemorated among Malay and Champā survivors to send off the souls of the dead.³³⁵ Ppo Romé ordered his subjects to distribute *Ciet Praok* and *Ciet Atau* ritual objects

³³² [C.: "ngap dher pataow pa-abih takai karai – il limo patih ka ber thuw hai"]. Ariya Ppo Riyak. CAM 244.

³³³ C.: *sunit ginreh*. CAM 248 A. However, Ppo Romé also received this power when he was licked by a tree spirit in during his time as a buffalo herder. See chapter 1.

³³⁴ According to the invocations of Cham manuscripts, he became a whale [Ikan liman] whose "soul rests in the sea" [C.: suan thep daok di aia]. Ariya Ppo Riyak. CAM 244.

³³⁵ Another term for Ppo Riyak is Mal Tituk. Sakaya (2008b: 100-107). See also: CAM 244, CAM 246 (B).

throughout the lands associated with the families of the deceased. But, it was the Awal clerics who shaped the ceremony.

Uniquely practiced among Bani communities, the *Rija Praong* ceremony demonstrates an important shift in their practices, and even the Cham community as a whole. While the figures in Bani practice may be better understood as “saints” (as opposed to gods) through the terms of the Bani clerics, the laity seems to have interpreted them along the lines of gods and ancestor spirits. Nevertheless, the clerics opened ceremonies with an invocation of Allah and Mohammed as protectors, and Cham manuscripts recording the ritual feature many Arabic prayers that transliterated into Cham *Akhar Thrah* script.³³⁶ Prayers of the prophet were invoked as an object of treatment that would allow one to sleep well at night.³³⁷ Furthermore, the ceremonies, from the seventeenth century onward, retained certain “middle Cham” terms, which were often derived as an adaptation of Malay as a purely ritual language. Many of the figures in the narrative have dual names, which could have been invoked in different contexts. For example, Ppo Riyak is the familiar name for the admiral who transformed into a form of whale-god, from the perspective of the laity. However, clerics referred to Ppo Riyak both by this name and by the name Mâl Tituk. While Bani ceremonies were often held in tents (C.: *kajang*) historically, the name for the ritual tent that appears in the *Rija Praong* ceremony is “*lam lir*,” which means “the covering” or “the roof,” and happens to be the same name as the ritual tent that was used in ceremonies associated with the Kaum Imam San community in Cambodia.³³⁸ The connection suggests either retention of the ritual concept by the Kaum Imam San community dating to their late seventeenth century (1692) migration from Pâñduraṅga, that relationships were retained, or

³³⁶ The *Adaoh Luk Manyak* sung by the Ong Maduen figure is one such ritual song. See: CAM 248 (C).

³³⁷ The *Adaoh Muk Kuyau [Ngap Palao kasha, di sang]* invokes “*krân ka*” of “*Nâbi*” which will “*ran puec juai ndih le juai*” See: CAM 248 (C).

³³⁸ See: CAM 244, CAM 246 (B). See also: Sakaya (2008b: 100-107).

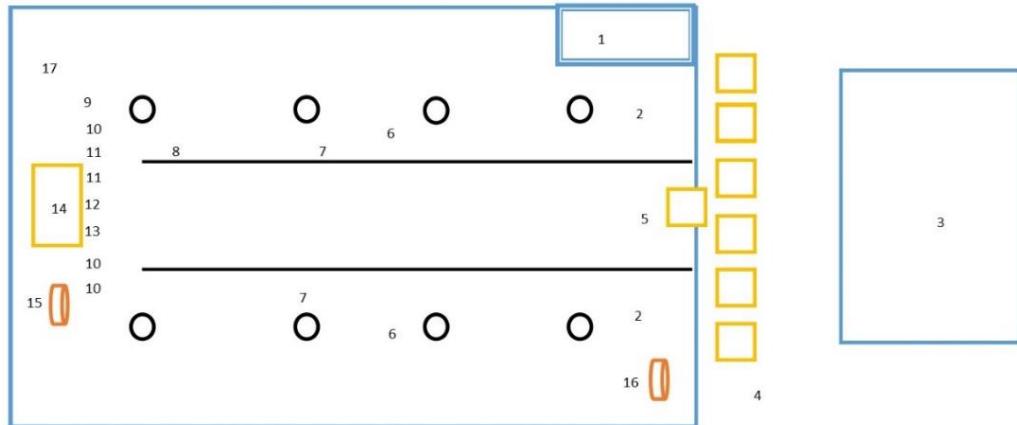
that conscious ritual connections to Pāñduraṅga were re-asserted in the context of the nineteenth century. The *Rija Praong* ceremonies illustrate one feature of justified, retained, ancestor veneration in Cham Bani communities, although there are others.

The most prominent form of ancestor veneration in Cham Bani communities is the *nao ghur* ceremony, along with the *éw muk kei* ceremonies, which have been celebrated on both end of the month of Ramadan.³³⁹ The term *nao ghur* derives from the action of travel (C.: *nao*) to an ancestral grave site of the Bani community (C.: *ghur*). The oldest known *ghur* gravesite is at the location of MỸ TƯỜNG.³⁴⁰ The site is pre-seventeenth century, and is hypothesized to be as old as when the formerly Buddhist Cham from northern parts of Cham territory arrived in the area during the fifteenth century Lê conquest of central Vietnam (Noseworthy & QUẢNG VĂN SƠN 2013; Noseworthy 2014a). Later in the nineteenth century, because of the expansion of Minh Mệnh, at least ten Cham villages were lost (PO DHARMA 1987). Therefore, the people who had been taking care of these sites moved elsewhere. Because they were living further away, the areas were generally abandoned, except for twice a year during the month of Ramadan. This caused *ghur* locations such as *Ghur Ranaih*, *Ghur Kajang* and *Ghur Kanduk*, which are now in Ninh Thuận province, to be gradually abandoned. Vietnamese populations naturally took over the lands and used the grave sites for farm land. Some even constructed houses directly on top of the *ghur* sites. Bani who maintained the *ghur* furthermore, increasingly, had to walk tens of miles, on foot, or ride on drawn carts, each year to maintain the *ghur* sites (Noseworthy 2014a). As ancestral locations disappeared, new centers were constructed.

³³⁹ C.: *Ramâwan*

³⁴⁰ C.: *Ghur Darak Neh/Ghur Ranaih*

Sang Mâgik Awal/Bani — ສັງ ມັກີກ ອາວ/ບານີ * ປາກີ



1) Tâ Nang Po Gru—The Bed of the Po Gru 7) Imâm Curu 8) Po Gru 9) Acar 10) Mâdir
 2) Muk—Female elders 11) Imâm 12) Mâdir Tel (Could be an Acar, Katip or Madhir 'Tel') 13) Imâm Tel (see #12)
 3) Sang Tuai—Storage area for the *salao* food offerings 14) Minbal (*minbar*)
 4) *Batau* (ngak ricaow) - Stones that the priests stand on to wash (ngak ricaow) before entering 15) Hagar (Hanging ritual drum) 16) Hagar (For call to prayer)
 5) Bambeng— Entry stone (only the clerics could walk on this) 17) Badien candles (Could be on either side)
 6) Ong—Male elders

Basic outlay of a Cham Bani *sang mágik* from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries.

The locations of religious centers of the Cham Bani population are predominantly associated with the former *ghur* sites, as mentioned, and the relatively more consistent sites of the *sang mágik* (pictured above). The *sang mágik* is a form of “Bani temple,” or an adaptation of an Islamic *masjid*, that likely appeared in the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries for the first time. Although both tend to be at the centers of villages, towns and small urban areas, contrary to the *masjid*, which faces Al’ Mecca, the *sang mágik* tend to face east, the same direction as the entry to Hindu temples. Furthermore, the sacred space in the *sang mágik* was arranged in a way that reflected the dynamics of the Ahiér-Awal relationship. While there is a *minbar* where the Imam may stand to deliver a sermon, as in a *masjid*, during most Bani ceremonies the *minbar* (C.: *Minbal*) was reserved mostly for the placement of a local copy of a prayer book (*Tapuk*

Kâran) and clerics mostly keep to the side, or toward the front if they are the more senior clerics, such as the Po Gru. Next, older men sit on either side of the isle of the *sang mágik* (#6) and elder women on either side behind them (#2). Finally, younger men and women enter during prescribed points in prayer ceremonies to prostrate themselves on the floor in a method that they generally have described as a “Hindu fashion” in the twentieth century. Although few historical descriptions of this method of prayer exist, it is presumed that this method was practiced in earlier epochs as well.

It seems significant that in place of the “call to prayer” that is common in most Islamic communities, the Cham Bani used a “drum to prayer” that has been practiced through the beating of the drum kept in the corner of the *sang mágik*, which may be framed as a historical echo of the Cham Bani communities’ Buddhist past (Noseworthy 2014a; Yoshimoto 2011). Last, as a dimension that may have been adapted from preceding Buddhist worship, a *sang tuei* was constructed outside the *sang mágik* to hold food offerings that were blessed by clerics after religious ceremonies and then distributed to the Bani community. In short summary, while the religious centers of the Cham Bani, while maintained by the clerics, showed influences of earlier eras, and much of the communities’ mythos and practices were also a careful selection of pre-existing cultural elements to be upheld for the sake of continuity with the Cham past, and Islamic concepts aimed at the cultivation of the prospects for the future. This, however, did not prevent the Cham Awal community from being substantially different from the Cham Sunnī Muslim community.

Although the Cham Bani community has a very distinct notion of Bani mythos that was attached to the composition and writing of Cham manuscripts, and directly related to the religious practices of Cham Bani religious centers, the Cham Sunnī Muslim community was less so focused upon the importance of mythos, being more focused on practice, and the most focused on the establishment of new centers. “Mythos” for the Cham Sunnī community is rather related to the history of the Cham and the first arrivals of foreign Muslims, as well as conversion narratives. Hypothetically, the earliest Cham to convert to Islam was Ppo Uawalah [r. 1000-1036 CE, 3rd c. AH], who travelled to Mecca, pronounced the *shahada* and returned to Champā to become a prominent military and political leader.³⁴¹

Ppo Uawalah’s conversion is what Robert Hefner (2009: 13-14) calls a “raja-centric,” or royal-centered conversion history. The motif is repeated in the histories of Melaka, Makassar, Sumatra and Java. Sea networks were critical for “royal centered” narratives of conversion as locally rooted Islam spread along family ties. Furthermore, in the context of relations with Kelantan, it is likely that the Cham Bani were in contact with Sunnī communities in peninsular Malaysia by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if they were already not Sunnī Muslims themselves. Nevertheless, inter-court Muslim connections remained critical. The Champā peoples, Malays and other Muslims in mainland courts were increasingly tied to the oceanic networks of Malabars, Gujarati’s and Hadrami’s. Across this network, the Šāfi’ī Sunnī school of jurisprudence emerged as the most popular strain of Islamic intellectualism, although sub-branches of the Sunnī present in the form of the Qadiriyyah and Naqshbandiyah Sufi orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Hefner 1997: 9; Burke 2004: 39; Tan Ta Sen 2009: 164-165).

³⁴¹ *Sakarai di Ong Tai di Hamu Limān*

Between 1651 and 1929 the Gulf of Thailand network connected peninsular Malaysia to the mainland via maritime routes. Hence, the Gulf of Thailand was critical to the spread of Islam through mainland Southeast Asia from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Islamic intellectual centers sprung up along the Chao Phraya basin, in Battambang and through Cambodia. As we will see in the following chapter, influence of Muslims in mainland courts peaked in the seventeenth century. King Ibrahim I was the first and only Muslim king of Cambodia, Ppo Thop was a Muslim king of Pāñduraṅga (now south-central Vietnam), and Ppo Thop's relatives were in Narai's court in Ayutthaya. Muslims were court scribes, armed guards, and advisors in these courts. However, the expansion of the Vietnamese Nguyễn lords put pressure on Pāñduraṅga and Cambodia. Nguyễn armies intervened in both and repressions of Muslims followed in both cases. In 1692, 5,00 members of the Pāñduraṅga court fled to Cambodia, forming the basis of the community surrounding Oudong. In the seventeenth century, Muslims fled to Malaysia in response to Nguyễn incursions into both Pāñduraṅga and Cambodia. Eighteenth century teachers migrated back to the mainland and led an armed insurrection against the Nguyễn from Pāñduraṅga.³⁴²

Nineteenth century migration patterns were more complex than in earlier epochs. Thai invasions in Malaysia caused Pattani Malays to migrate to Cambodia. Malay and Cham Muslims were hired as mercenaries in conflicts that stretched across Cambodia - from Thai to Nguyễn territory - from the 1830s to the 1860s. Muslims also participated in the revolts of Acar Sva [1864-1866] and Po Kombo [1865-1867]. Participation in armed conflict was often led by younger Imam and Katip clerics, as well as *Tuan* scholars, with titles. However, French officials

³⁴² See: Zain Musa (2004), Atnashev (2005), Weber (2005), Zain Musa (2008), Stoddard (2009) and Zain Musa (2011) on seventeenth and eighteenth-century migrations.

made pacifying inter-ethnic conflicts a priority in Cambodia. Furthermore, Khmer royalty was generally favorable to Muslim clerics by the late nineteenth century. Clerics were appointed to the positions of royal regents and regents' assistants (K.: *Preah Balat*).³⁴³ Participation in armed revolts resulted in extreme repression, while submission to the royal administration was merely a tax burden, and represented an opportunity for profit. Promotions allowed clerics to negotiate at the interstices between French and Cambodian power as we will see in the following chapters.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Cham Sunnī community, was that their religious centers existed entirely in diaspora. Hence, Cham were not “disloyal” to their ancestors by not being able to venerate them in their new communities in Kampong Cham, An Giang, Battambang or elsewhere. The founding of new *masjid* centers, however, gave roots to the new communities, as did the establishment of local histories. Drawing upon the old Cham practice of ancestor worship, transformed into ancestor veneration, in accordance with *shari’ah* rooted new communities. This practice was very much like the *ghur* veneration of earlier established Bani communities. It was also combined with the veneration of graves of *Sufi-saint-like* figures, such as the grave of Imam San, among the Kaum Imam San community, near Oudong, in Cambodian territory, which has been venerated since the middle of the nineteenth century. Other centers for these practices appeared nearby Châu Đốc, at An Giang, now in Vietnam, and even elsewhere in the Mekong Delta among Malay communities. Occassionaly, cites in the Mekong Delta were also funded by Tamil migrants who emerged as a more signifant population in the nineteenth century.³⁴⁴ Similar venerations also occurred in Kampong Cham and Tây Ninh, as well as in the

³⁴³ See: Weber (2011: 734-763), Hickey (1982: 201), and Zain Musa (2001: 8-10) on nineteenth century Cham migration and revolt.

³⁴⁴ Some of these communities included Tamil Muslims as well by the nineteenth century. In Cần Thơ, in the nineteenth century, Tamil Muslims funded the construction of a shrine over the site of a local Muslims saint, Bava Bilal. This shrine stands today. Bava Bilal was either Indian or Arab by various accounts. He was a merchant who

Chruoy Changvar community, although it was less prominent in those locations.³⁴⁵ During the nineteenth century, the construction of a substantial number of such shrines formalized saint veneration as a form of acceptable practice. Later Sunnī communities would question these practices, because of the rise of Islamic modernist influence, beginning in the first decades of the twentieth century. However, between the seventeenth and the twentieth century; it follows that the veneration of Sufi saints would have been even more popular than it was in later periods.

In seeming opposition to the pervasiveness of traditionalism, education was a critical factor that transformed the practice of Cham Sunnī Muslims between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. Although Cham education centers were critical to the maintenance of traditional authority in Cham community, they also became centers that challenged certain “traditional” practices, such as ancestor veneration that trended too close to ancestor worship in the minds of local clerics. By the nineteenth century, Malay connections ensured that there were already Cham-Malay Sunnī Muslim schools that were built in Sunnī Muslim Cham communities. For example, by 1864, Adolf Bastian recorded that there was a Muslim school (Ar.: *madrasah*; M.: *pondok*) in Battambang (Bruckmayr 2007: 350). Finally, Malay translations available in early twentieth century Cambodia were not limited to the Šāfi’ī school of jurisprudence. They included works by individuals such as the Central Asian Hanafite scholar Abu-l Layth al-Samarqandi and Abu Abdullah al-Sanusi (Bruckmayr 2007: 350; Cabaton 1906). The references to these works suggest that Cham Sunnī communities had retained a sense of Hanafite

migrated to the area and gained extraordinary powers upon his death. Both Cham Muslims and local Vietnamese visited the shrine (Pairaudeau 2016: 221)

³⁴⁵ Kiernan (2010) claims Noor al Ihsan Mosque was originally built in Chrang Chamres (KM 7) in 1813. Although Kiernan refers to this space as “Cambodia’s most prominent mosque” (Kiernan 2010: 175) Widnayono (2008) apparently claims this was recently destroyed (Kiernan 2010: 179)

jurisprudence in the twentieth century, which is significant since this school of Sunnī Islam is often thought to predate the emergence of Šāfi’ī school.

Along with the increased influence of Malay on the Cham Sunnī Muslim communities between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, the founding of new Islamic centers also began to filter *back* toward areas that were south of Pāñduraṅga. For example, in Chāu Đōc new centers were founded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while the community in Tāy Ninh also grew (Weber 2013). There was also a presence of Cham communities in the initial settlement of the Gia Đinh citadel (later Saigon), as mentioned by Trịnh Hoài Đức [b. 1765 – d. 1825] in his geographical survey text *Gia Đinh Thành Thôn Chí*. More distinctly, however, the Nguyẽn Vietnamese citadel of Gia Đinh expanded, gradually merging with the French settlements of Saigon and the Chinese settlements of Chợ Lớn. The Cham-Malay community that today stands at Nam Kỳ Khởi Nghĩa street was founded by a man named “Rahim” in 1885 (Phú Văn Hǎn 2013: 31). The original individuals to settle in the area would have been mostly immigrants from Chāu Đōc, Tāy Ninh, and points across the Gulf of Thailand, leading to a more direct influence of Muslim clerics on Cham communities in former Pāñduraṅga in the twentieth century. In each case, however, the Cham literati involved virtually relied upon their position in the borderlands to be able to move freely to new areas of the borderlands zone, and found new sacred centers upon their arrival in these areas. Their movements critically led to the establishment of a class of Cham clerics that worked with the Cambodian royal administration, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Between 1651 and 1929 each individual Cham community was ultimately shaped by the borderlands experience. The borderlands were a violent place. The Cham were caught between warring Siamese, French, Vietnamese, and Cambodian forces, as well as raiding warfare from other groups. Most important, violent Vietnamese expansion forced the Cham into diaspora. It was living in the borderlands in the first place that put the Cham on the front lines of Vietnamese expansion, and so, it would be fair to say that life on the borderlands forced many of the Cham into diaspora, as new communities simply had to be founded as a matter of survival. In many cases, regardless if these new communities were Cham Ahiér, Cham Bani, or Cham Sunnī, founding new centers meant creating new religious sites. Aspects of migration disconnected Cham communities from their old religious sites, such as in the case of the Ppo Inâ Nâger temple for the Cham Ahiér or *ghur* grave sites for the Cham Bani. At the same time, the founding of new communities certainly resulted in the creation of new religious centers, whether they were small *danaok* temples for the Cham Ahiér or new *sang māgik* for the Cham Bani. In the case of the Cham Sunnī population, the foundation of new communities eventually resulted in the construction of new *masjid*, such as in the case of the Nam Kỳ Khởi Nhĩ masjid in Saigon, or the various *masjid* of the communities near Kampong Cham, Oudong, and Battambang.

Throughout the in-depth examinations of this chapter, there have been explanations of the cosmological relationships that developed between Ppo Inâ Nager, Ppo Kuk, and eventually, Ppo Hewa. I have argued that while explicit *goddess worship* may have been transformed into *saint veneration* in the context of conversion to Islam, that the historical circumstance of the Nguyễn Vietnamese conquest, as a feature of life on the borderlands, also led to a proliferation in the specific sites associated with goddess worship. While Cham began to flee Pāñduraṅga in large numbers in 1692, as will be discussed further in the following chapter, the proliferation of

new sites of goddess worship would have aided the survival of Cham communities now increasingly under Nguyẽn scrutiny. At the same time, the Ahiér adapted their vision of goddess worship in a way that allowed them to converse with Cham leaders who were Muslim, but also allowed the priest class of Ahiér to maintain their authority among Cham who did not wish to convert. This also allowed the Cham Ahiér to claim certain “authenticity” over the older portions of Cham heritage, when compared to Bani clerics or Sunnī clerics. Finally, the local goddess rooted the Cham Ahiér community in their “religions of the soil” in a way that maintained their connection to Pāñduraṅga and encouraged them to persist along the Pāñduraṅga borderlands even throughout the difficult reign of Minh Mệnh. In this context, the re-emergence of linkages with Hindu authority could only appear among the Cham Ahiér, if there was the additional understanding that a linkage with Hindu authority was not mutually exclusive with the emergence of Ppo Uwlolah, Ppo Nâbi, along with other Islamic figures. This linkage with Hindu authority would have been acceptable to Cham Bani clerics as well. The crucial element in the discussions between various religious elites was a manuscript culture that allowed production of new genres of literature, as we will see in the next chapter.

Chapter 3:

The rise of the Cham Priest-Cleric Class and New Genres of Literature, 1642-1835

I Introduction

With the rise of the Cham priest-cleric class in the context of the conquest of Champā and the decline of Cham royal power from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, new genres of literature emerged. During the reigns of the Khmer King Ibrahim [r. 1642 – 1658] and Ppo Thop [r. 1660 – 1692] there was a brief period of Islamic fluorescence on the Southeast Asian mainland. Although the rise of the house of Nguyẽn brought contestation to Islamic authority in the Cambodian and Pāñduraṅga court, the increased Malayization of Cham literati who moved to diaspora in Cambodia and around the Gulf of Thailand network led to an increased Islamic influence on Cham literatures, even in non-Muslim communities. The Nguyẽn conquest of the last two negarā polities of Kauṭhāra [1611-1653] and Pāñduraṅga [1653-1835] was an additional cultural influence, that led to the adoption of Vietnamese language, in part, as well as the solidification of religious identities, introduced by the Cham to intentionally set themselves apart from the Vietnamese. The main body of this chapter explores the rise of new genres of Cham literature: the *dalikal*, the *damnāy*, and the *ariya*;³⁴⁶ followed by parallel Cham genres of literature developed in Cambodia. The new cultural authorities – the Cham literati – controlled their presentations of the past, Cham religions, and ethical codes through the presentation of these genres. I argue a specifically Cham ethical code (C.: *adat cam*)³⁴⁷ was re-enforced through presentations of *ariya* and parallel Cham genres. In this context, both Cham Ahiér and Muslim

³⁴⁶ Like the Malay *syair* or the Thai *niyat*, the *ariya* are long lyrical poems. Their content is just as frequently romantic and religious as it is historical. The earliest known *ariya* date to the eighteenth century, while there are still some that are composed today. Those composed from the twentieth century onward tend to be only half the length of older *ariya*. Even the choice of the name of the genre *ariya* indicates a process of ‘self-indianization’ or ‘re-indianization’ that the Cham communal leaders seem to have taken on as a strategy in the wake of Vietnamese conquest.

³⁴⁷ *Cam* is the proper Romanization of the name “Cham” derived from the Library of Congress Romanization of Cham script. When Cham language sources are referred to, *Cam* is used. In other cases, “Cham” is used.

“Bani” Cham were considered necessary. Elements and influences from both were considered necessary for the maintenance of a stable society. Without one, the other simply could not continue to exist. Cham genres of literature from Pāñduraṅga emphasized that need for communal stability. Nevertheless, as more and more Cham became Muslims in diaspora in Cambodia, the “Cham of Cambodia” became a distinct culture in the Southeast Asian mainland, with their own genres of literature that were specifically designed to care for their communities in the new context, ultimately divorced from direct association with Hindu religions, although they still placed an emphasis on the need to maintain a stable community and maintained an understanding of a connection to Cham history.

Cham literati in the borderlands of Pāñduraṅga and Nguyẽn territory, as well as those in the territory of Cambodia, used their literature to preserve and commemorate the history of the Cham. The emphasized the importance of historical heroes, occasionally deifying them, and focusing on their individual contributions to the long narrative of Cham responses to oppression, along with their contributions to the Cham history of resistance. Even love stories metaphorically dealt with separation enacted by the Vietnamese, the separation of the Bani and the Ahiér Cham. Manuscripts also recounted periods of exile, of diasporic movements, and sought to integrate far-flung communities into the greater narrative of Cham history. While, over time, Islam began to have a greater influence in Cham communities, an influence that is reflected in the literature of Cham manuscript culture, there continued to be an influence of certain Hindu images, of the worship of goddesses – as transformed into veneration of female saints – and themes that can be readily identified with the specificities of Cham culture. As time passed, Cham communities that were situated closer to Cambodian and Vietnamese controlled areas began to diverge from each

other, developing distinct identities, but they remained connected by a shared sense of history, preserved in Cham manuscript culture.

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Cham manuscript culture itself was quite complex, as communities ranged between the use of five or more different scripts, used for different purposes, in different contexts. Most important for this consideration are the standard handwritten script, known as Akhar Thrah among Pāñduraṅga Cham, and Akhar Srak among the Cham in Cambodia. A variant of Arabic script, known as Akhar Bani among Pāñduraṅga Cham, was popular, along with Arabic script. The ability to read these scripts was restricted to the literati. But, the audiences included school children, predominantly males, but also females in rare cases; members of the broader public, who would be addressed at large religious ceremonies; family members, who would be addressed during life cycle rituals; and study groups of the literati themselves.

Manuscripts themselves were most often kept in a hanging basket in a cool and dry section of the house – known as a *ciet tapuk* – where the material could be stored. They were occasionally removed for study purposes, or for copying. To learn a new manuscript, students would copy it and memorize a summary of its contents, unless it was a collection of prayers, in which case, only the prayers themselves would be memorized, but the manuscript itself could be kept on hand for quick reference. Collections of literature in several genres were thus often contained on the same manuscript, copied and recopied over time. There is not an in depth understanding of under what conditions manuscripts were best produced, although it is generally accepted that production went up in periods after major battles, during times when communal unity, and history, became more important. Additionally, it is generally accepted that manuscript

production declined dramatically during times of open warfare, particularly during Vietnamese campaigns.

As the former deep-water ports of Aia Ru and Aia Trang (*negarā* *Kauṭhāra*) were incorporated in the early seventeenth century, the borderlands of Vietnamese, Champā and Khmer terrain remained contested. With the expansion of the Nguyễn dynasty and a series of revolts that split Cham loyalties with respect to the Khmer royalty, the Cham elite became further divided. The first two critical revolts that occurred in the 1830s were those of the Cham against Minh Mệnh, from the last Champā polity: *negarā* *Pāṇḍurāṅga*. A rising class of important clerics led both revolts: the *katip*. *Katip* were prevalent not only in Sunnī Muslim, but also in Bani communities. These *katip* were, however, demonstrative of the greater divide between the Bani influenced community and the larger Sunnī Muslim community. Those Cham that lived in predominantly Khmer territory, with closer contact to Malay communities, became almost entirely Muslim. Those Cham living in *Pāṇḍurāṅga* [- 1835] continued to solidify their community based upon the partnership between the Ahiér priests and Awal clerics, particularly as Nguyễn expansion was an ever-present threat for them. In *Pāṇḍurāṅga*, Cham were organized into four principle areas: Phan Rang,³⁴⁸ Pajai,³⁴⁹ Kraong³⁵⁰ and Phan Rik³⁵¹ (Po 1987 v.II: 44-45). Each area had at least one religious center for the Cham Ahiér and several surrounding religious centers for the Cham Bani. As the Nguyễn incorporated these areas, gradually but violently, between 1653 and 1835, Cham authorities developed several methods of resistance to defend their “last kingdom.”³⁵² The Nguyễn incorporation of these areas between 1653 and 1835

³⁴⁸ Alt.: C.: Pré Darang; Phan Rang

³⁴⁹ Vn.: Phố Hải.

³⁵⁰ Alt.: Krang; Long Hương

³⁵¹ Alt.: Phanrik; Phan Rí/Lý

³⁵² Vn.: ‘vương quốc cuối cùng’; References to this moment frequently refer to the Cham as victims of a rather fluid “loss of their country” (Vn.: *bị mất nước*) due to “bad leadership,” as it were. In Vietnamese language, the use of

is most often cast through the lens of the “southern progression”³⁵³ of the Vietnamese that ends in 1777.³⁵⁴ While the actual military conquests of the Vietnamese were forced to rest for 40 to 80 year periods, and continued into the nineteenth century, the impact on Cham religious communities was lasting.

In the 1660s, just after the death of Ibrahim I [d. 1658] and during the reign of Ppo Thop [r. 1660 – 1692], Cham refugees were ever more present in Cambodia, Thailand and Malaysia, as they built connections for the foundations of new communities. The motivation behind their movement was certainly the Nguyễn conquest of the predominantly Hindu polity of Kauthāra [1611 – 1653] and the Hindu-Muslim polity of Pāṇḍurāṅga [1653 – 1835]. Yet the move was not purely a reaction to Vietnamese pressure, and Cham did not simply pack their things and leave with no plans. Strong political ties with Malays that had resulted in at least two sovereigns of Pāṇḍurāṅga receiving titles of “Sultan,” ensured that Malay forces could be called upon for support. Cham-Malay alliances could also be ensured under the banner of “brothers in Islam,” as it were – even though as much as half of the Cham population was not Muslim – because much of the court and literati were Muslim by the end of the seventeenth century. Conversion did not necessarily bring resistance against the Nguyễn Vietnamese, but it did bring a means for Cham

the “*bj* construction” in this phrase adds an additional layer of passivity in the process. It subtly, implicitly, removes the Nguyễn as a perpetrator, and hence protects contemporary Vietnamese, from blame in this uncomfortable history.

³⁵³ Vn.: *Nam Tiến*. This phrase is often mistranslated as the “southern march” of the Vietnamese.

³⁵⁴ Thiên Đỗ (2003: 29) states, for example, that when the *Nam Tiến* “had reached a certain limit in the eighteenth century, economic and ethno-cultural adaptation processes went on intermeshing, and perhaps continued to do so with enthusiasm.” Nevertheless, the dominant Vietnamese perspective is that the land that they were inhabiting was “empty.” For example, even while attune to cooption, Thiên Đỗ (2003: 57) notes: “The adaptation of Cham deities and appropriation of *abandoned Cham temples* is but one of many facets of the Vietnamisation in the South” seemingly ignoring the fact that many of the temples were not actually abandoned by the Cham, but rather openly simply coopted by the Vietnamese first, and then later abandoned by the Cham, as in the previous chapter, for example. Even as Thiên Đỗ attempts to invert the power dynamics, by stating that “Chamification was more involved and widespread than the Vietnamese care to admit” (Thiên Đỗ 2003: 95) the implication of the phrase “Chamification of Vietnam” (Thiên Đỗ 2003: 95) still places emphasis an emphasis on the ownership of the land as inherently Vietnamese and Vietnam as a teleological inevitability.

communities to identify with Malays in a way that forged foundations of communities in Khmer territory, as well as in a way that solidified the authority of the literati in the climate of decreasing royal power. Both ends were important for the survival of Cham communities through the nineteenth century. Furthermore, a re-affirmed emphasis on literati and the authority of manuscripts impacted both Ahiér priests and Awal clerics as well, as they created manuscripts to shape communal perceptions of history, religion and ethics in the last years of Pāñduraṅga.

The value of manuscript production for literati in the Cham borderlands communities of the eighteenth century cannot be overestimated. Along the Pāñduraṅga-Nguyễn borderlands, they assisted the solidification of the Ahiér-Awal literati. Along the Khmer-Vietnamese borderlands, they assisted in elevating the status Cham clerics in Cham-Malay Muslim communities. In this chapter *Ariya Tuen Phaow* illuminates the period between 1750 to 1820, particularly the revolt of Tuen Phaow during the Tây Sơn rebellion, and highlights how literati would have interpreted these events. *Ariya Bini Cam* clarifies important details regarding the social setting of what is now the Gulf of Thailand network, as an interconnected cultural zone. It suggests that the “Bani” community might not have always been a strictly “ethnic Cham” community, but included Malays and Churu-Malays as well.³⁵⁵ *Ariya Ppo Phauk* and associated manuscripts provide a more well-rounded account of the period from 1800 to 1835, when read in conjunction with Vietnamese language source material. *Ariya Cam Bini* indicates that although there was an ideal of unity between Ahiér and Awal elements of Pāñduraṅga society from Ppo Rome’s reign onward, problems persisted because of the customary laws of the two communities. Each

³⁵⁵ Vũ Khánh ed. (2009: 148, 154) explains Bani practice through their “separation from the world’s Islamic community long ago” and hence the “tight regulations of Islam have eased” (Vũ Khánh ed. 2009: 148). In this context, the “Po Acar” is transliterated as “Thầy Chang” (Vũ Khánh ed. 2009: 154).

community operated under its own premise of what was proper action, in effect, their own ethical code, even as their literati recognized that there was an overarching concept of ethical code, governed by the principles of *adat Cam*. When they upheld examples of conflicts as “what not to let happen” the re-assertion of communal unity through recognized difference of Ahiér and Awal ideals was reaffirmed as a part of a unified Cham ethical code.

The last section of this chapter shows that as the process of incorporation of the final territory of Pāndurāṅga into Vietnamese territory was a factor that divided the Cham along religious and linguistic lines, new uniquely “Eastern” or “Western” genres of literature emerged. Although these genres were specific to each community, there were, nonetheless, certain similarities that were maintained, particularly among the older “Kaum Imam San” oriented literature of the Western Cham community and the older “Bani” oriented literature of the Eastern Cham community. The significance of this concluding section of the chapter is that there was a clearly “Western Cham” community in the Vietnamese-Khmer borderlands that was separate from the “Eastern Cham” of former Pāndurāṅga by the middle to the end of the nineteenth century, although the process of the “founding” of the two communities began in the seventeenth century. By the nineteenth century, then, these two communities had different notions of ethical codes that were locally specific. A key period during the emergence of the Western Cham community, then, was the reign of King Ibrahim I.

Ia King Ibrahim I [r. 1642 – d. 1658]

King Ibrahim I³⁵⁶ [r. 1642 – d. 1658] is most known to historians of Southeast Asia for being the *only* Cambodian king in history to convert to Islam. He is also credited with solidifying the foundation of a creolized “Cham-Malay”³⁵⁷ community in the early-modern Kingdom of Cambodia. The impact on Cham religious communities is that it was this community that became the “Western Cham”. The foundation of this community itself was a critical factor in the twentieth century construction of “Khmer Islam” and the eventual inclusion of Cham refugees into “Melayu Kemboja” communities in Malaysia in the late twentieth century. In the Cambodian Royal Chronicles³⁵⁸ there are mentions of distinct Cham,³⁵⁹ Malay,³⁶⁰ and Cham-Malay communities, while most scholars use “Cham-Malay” as a form of universal identity for anyone vaguely Cham, Malay or Muslim from this period. The earliest references to the Cham-Malay community appear to be to the mixture of Cham and Malays who were settled near Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham as early as the reign of Ppo Rat [r. 1553 – 1579], although the influence of the “Cham-Malay” community clearly reached an early-modern high point during the reign of King Ibrahim I [r. 1642 – 1658].³⁶¹ As the story goes King Ibrahim I was the

³⁵⁶ Also: Ramadhipati I, Chau Ponhea Chand, Cau Bana Can, and Ream the Apostate

³⁵⁷ Kh.: *cam-jvea*

³⁵⁸ Kh.: *Preah Reachea Bansavatar*

³⁵⁹ Kh.: *cam*

³⁶⁰ Kh.: *jvea*; Coedes (1966) and many others have translated the term “*jvea*” in this context as “Javanese.” By contrast, most experts on Islam in Cambodia today agree that there are at least three types of *jvea* that are referenced between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries in Khmer sources: 1) *jvea krabei*³⁶⁰ – for the Chamic Achenese and Malayic Minangkabau peoples who migrated to Cambodia from Sumatra; 2) *jvea iyava* or *iyava* – for Javanese; and 3) *jvea Melayu* or simply *jvea* for Malays (Farouk 2008: 72; Nishio 2008: 90).

³⁶¹ Narratives of King Ibrahim I appear throughout scholarly literature on Southeast Asian and Cambodian history, mostly relying upon a combination of Dutch and Khmer accounts (Garnier 1871; Piat 1932, 1944; Coedes 1966; Hall 1970; Mak 1981; Hickey 1982; Hall 1994; DeFeo 2004; Kersten 2006 and Nishio 2008). Certain additional accounts provide fruitful information on the period, although they do not mention King Ibrahim explicitly. Garnier’s (1871) translation of the royal chronicles mentions a conflict with the Siamese [1640], an attempt at a usurpation [1645] and a revolt raised by an “Indian” in Roleang Trul [1648], but no mentions of the palace revolt that supposedly brought King Ibrahim to power. The translation does mention a 1645 revolt by a *Tévinia* Malay subordinate who disobeyed his regent (K.: *Oknha*) and that this revolt may have been influential in the decline of Chau Bana Ca- [r. 1638 – 1645], although according to this account Chau Bana Chan(d) [King Ibrahim I] did not come to power until 1652 and was shortly thereafter ousted by the Vietnamese in 1658 (Garnier 1871: 363-366). The additional translations by Piat (*Chroniques Royales Cambodgiennes* Fascicule 6, 1932; and *Chroniques Royales Cambodgiennes*

first son of Chaya Chetta II and a Lao woman. After his father died, the kingdom dissolved into civil war due to a dispute over succession. With the help of united Cham-Malay forces, the young prince came to power through a palace revolt in 1642, just as he converted to Islam out of love for his wife and took the reign name King Ibrahim I.³⁶²

The high point of Islamic influence in the Khmer court began with “Fatimah.” “Fatimah” Neak Preah Mae Neang Saveas Puppheea won the love of King Ibrahim I by spreading a love potion upon a sword with a hilt and sheath of gold that had been bathed in holy water. She presented these objects to the Khmer king as she was accompanied by four Cham clerics. The Cham, Malay and Cham-Malay were all present for the wedding. Mosques were built across the country, Khmer officials converted and the Cham version of the tunic as well as the *sarong* were coupled with a Malay *keris* ceremonial dagger to form new court attire as the Dutch were massacred and East India Trading Company ventures in Cambodia ceased for several years.

Fascicule 32, 1944), both held at the Bureau des Douanes, however, supplied Hickey (1982) with additional information. Subsequently, Mak’s (1981) translation of the Khmer Royal Chronicles has become the most widely accepted. Although it was aptly critiqued by historian Michael Vickery (1996), there has not been a more reliable analysis of the chronicles covering the period in question since. Therefore, much of the information that appears is drawn from reading intertextually between Mak’s translation and secondary scholarship.

³⁶² Some scholars, including Coëdes (1966) claimed his wife was Javanese, misinterpreting the meaning of the Khmer term *jvea*. Others, such as Hall (1994: 460), Mak (1981) and DeFeo (2004: 80) claimed that she was Malay. However, by re-reading Mak’s own presentation, it is possible to assert that she was Cham-Malay. *Why?* The young queen was named Neak Preah Mae Neang Saveas Puppheea from Kleang Spaek, Kandal province and the daughter of a Malay woman named Neang Mah and a man named Feu Sut. Feu Sut had travelled to this area from Malaysia. However, he was of the Cham royal lineage, now known as ‘Ppo Cai’ among Cham in Cambodia. It is also possible that the term *Cai* is a Khmerized/Western Cham transliteration of the Cham title *Jai* (short for *Jaya*) and a reference to the lineage of Ppo Jai Paran [r. 1613 – 1618]. Furthermore, even the Malay populations of Cambodia refer to this lineage as ‘Tuan Chai,’ an application of the Malay title to a Cham lineage. She is apparently also known as ‘Vati’ or simply ‘Hwa’ in Khmer. ‘Hwa,’ to explain further, is likely ‘Fa,’ since /hwa/ is the only way to account for a /fa/ phoneme in written Khmer. ‘Vati,’ in this case, is therefore a truncation of the Cham-Malay ‘Fati’ – from the Arabic ‘Fatimah’ – a symbolic title taken by all Cham, Malay and Cham-Malay women during marriage ceremonies, in reference to the supreme loyalty and piety of the daughter of the prophet Mohammed (see: Mak 1981: 188, 347, 349; DeFeo, 2004: 80). Regardless, it is fair to conclude that the new queen was neither “purely Malay” nor “purely Cham,” but rather a product of the emerging creolized Cham-Malay culture that was growing ever present in the Gulf of Thailand during the early-modern period. Along the persistent frontiers of Southeast Asian borderlands, being “Cham” was contingent upon local conditions. Among those living in close contact with Khmer authority, “being Cham” was, by the seventeenth century, increasingly simply “being Muslim.”

However, the Cham-Malay aligned forces were not alone in seeking influence over the Khmer court. The growing Vietnamese house of Nguyễn also made a play for power. One of the widows of Ibrahim's father, Chetta II, was a Vietnamese princess from the ruling Nguyễn lineage. Just as her family had done in the case of Ppo Romé, who had married her younger sister – as we saw in chapter one – they manipulated their connections to secure the former queen's survival, and their own interests in the Cambodian court.

King Ibrahim I's fate was remarkably comparable to that of his contemporary, Ppo Romé. The former queen of Cambodia had two sons by a regent named Outey, who claimed that they were also heirs of Chetta II.³⁶³ In 1658, they raised an army with the support of her father, as Hiên Vuong captured King Ibrahim I and imprisoned him in a cage in Quảng Tinh, until his death later that year. In the case of King Ibrahim I, the Vietnamese intervention resulted in the ascension of Batumreachea VII (Padumaraja/Paramaraja VII) to the Khmer throne and the uniform repression of Cham, Malay and Cham-Malay populations.³⁶⁴ Although this repression did not eliminate their communities entirely, it did result in the arrival of a group of Cham and Cham-Malays in Ayutthaya during the time that Ppo reigned in Pāñduraṅga [r. 1660 – 1692], including King Ibrahim I's widow.³⁶⁵ The diaspora movement to Thailand was no doubt aided by the inter-court connections that had been facilitated through the close family network of Ppo Thop.

³⁶³ Disputes over legitimacy and inheritance are a pattern that appears frequently in Cambodian court history, but were particularly strong in the seventeenth century, and again in the nineteenth century case of the revolt of Po Kombo, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

³⁶⁴ The defeat turned Cambodia into a battle ground between Vietnamese and Thai armies, who conflicted over Cambodian territory and people for the next several centuries (Reid 2015: 101). Reid (2015: 101) even argues that in the face of Dutch influence, Muslims "became the most effective upholders of Cambodian independence."

³⁶⁵ Regarding this account see: Coëdes (1966: 193-203); Hall (1970: 925-926); Hickey (1982: 126); Hall (1994: 460); Kersten (2006: 1-22); Nishio (2008: 90); Collins (2009: 23-25)

Ib Paduka Seri Sultan Ppo Thop [alt.: Ppo Saut; r. 1660 – 1692]

Even though the Cham and Malay communities in Cambodia were universally repressed after the demise of King Ibrahim I, and his widow was forced to flee to Ayutthaya, the Cham and Malays were not entirely without positions of authority in Cambodia in the aftermath of this repression. Prominent individuals with the Cham title *Ppo* and the Malay title *Tuan*³⁶⁶ continue to appear in the Khmer Royal Chronicles throughout the records of the next several kings. They were aided by the need for Khmer elite to partner with other Southeast Asian royal lineages to keep trade flowing into the kingdom. The last Champā *negarā* polity, Pāñdurāṅga, was also increasingly influenced by Malay courts. Ppo Thop³⁶⁷ [r. 1660 – 1692 CE] was granted the Malay title “Paduka Seri Sultan.” In other words, in the Malay world at the end of the seventeenth century, the last *negarā* polity was recognized as a Sultanate. Even though the record of H. Hainques suggests that the popular devotion to Ppo Thop in the court remained Hindu-influenced, particularly by *deva-raja* worship, it is generally well recorded that there were many Malay scribes in the court and knowledge of *Behasa Melayu* was increasingly popular with Pāñdurāṅga elite (Mak 1988: 86-91; Kersten 2006: 1-22; LaFont 1988: 78; Manguin 1979: 263-273; Nishio 2008: 88-89).³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ K.: *Duon*; C.: *Tuen*

³⁶⁷ alt.: Ppo Saut

³⁶⁸ Occasionally, Champā elite went to fight on behalf of their island brethren under the banner of Islam, as was the case with a man named ‘Sri Omar di Raja’ who fought on behalf of the Makassarese against the Dutch and the Bugis (Collins 2009: 26; al-Ahmadi 1988: 109).

During Ppo Thop's reign, between 1675 and 1685, the Gulf of Thailand basin became a critical cultural contact zone between the Malays and the Cham. At least one and perhaps three brother(s) of Ppo Thop arrived in the court of Ayutthaya. There they would have met with at least the news of the refugees from Cambodia, including the widow of King Ibrahim I. These royals were credited with the solidification of the foundations of the Cham Pata Ku Canal Muslim community – although the roots of that community may even trace to Champā slaves captured from Angkor in 1431/1432. Back in Pāñduraṅga, a record from M. Decourtlin suggests Malays had converted Ppo Thop and his entire court to Islam as of 1678. In 1685 M Frere Mep recorded that he was the first European to be gifted a Qur'an in the Champā court.³⁶⁹ Father Mahod recorded a 'call to conversion' that was issued from 1686 to 1688. More likely this was not a "call to conversion," but rather a *da'wah* movement, attempting to reform the Islamic influenced Bani.³⁷⁰ The "call" was very likely intimately connected to the arrival of Laksmana Hj. Abdul Hamid (Jembal – Kelantan, Malaysia). Laksmana Hj. Abdul Hamid had travelled to Cham-Malay communities in Cambodia to teach Islam in 1687 – where he claimed to meet with the Cham king [Ppo Thop], before his brother, Laksmana Hj. Omar followed the same route

³⁶⁹ The Qur'an was revealed in seven *aruf* readings to Mohammed, according to the Sheik Al' Qurr'a from Baghdad: Abu Bakr Bin Mujahid [d. 936 CE]. Even though the Nafi'bin Abd al-Rahman bin Abi Nu'aym al-Madani reading was the most popular in Medina and amongst the Sunnis in North Africa, the 'Asim bin Bahdalah [d. 724] reading became the most popular amongst the Sunnis in Southeast Asia. Although translation of the Qur'an began in the 8th to 9th century and the Qur'an has been translated into more than 100 languages, Vietnamese and Cambodian language complete translations were only finished in the twenty first century (Vietnamese was 2006). For translation in the Malay world Qur'anic passages were rendered in Malay first, then followed by Malay paraphrasing of the passage. Meter was generally still followed although in the case of Hamzah Fansuri's mystical quotations it was abandoned. The Malay that developed out of the translation of the Qur'an into the Malay world is known as *kitab Malay* and it is likely that there is a similar form of *kitab Cham* (see: Riddel, 2001 17-19, 103, 147-148; Stokhof, 2008 48).

³⁷⁰ Scholars range in their interpretation of *da'wah*. Chua and Kwok (2001: 101) present a common interpretation, as they mention that *da'wah* is "missionary work," although this interpretation seems imperfect, since *da'wah* movements have historically targeted Muslim populations, those who are inside the community, whereas missionary work, inevitably based on Christian models of social action, tends to target those who are viewed as outside the community. Embong (2001: 72) presents an alternative interpretation that seems more suitable for this context, describing *da'wah* as a form of "predication" or "religious appeal" in the context of a religious figure who wants to improve a society that they interpret as their own.

between 1695 and 1700 (Manguin 1979: 263-273; LaFont 1988: 77-78; Mak 1988: 88-91; Reid 1993: 187; Nakamura 1999: 169; Collins 2009: 27; Ken 2013: 161).³⁷¹ Just as the Malay teachers were arriving more and more frequently in Cambodia, so were more Champā refugees fleeing to Cambodia, Ayutthaya and Malaysia from Pāñduraṅga.

After nearly forty years of relative peace, in that the Nguyễn Vietnamese had not actively invaded Cham lands since the 1653 annexation of Aia Trang, Nguyễn armies attempted annexations of Phan Rang in 1692 and 1693. Many historians have viewed these annexations as capturing the entirety of what are now Ninh Thuận, Bình Thuận and Biên Hòa provinces, which is what some Nguyễn sources claimed. However, the combined referencing of Nguyễn and Cham sources suggests that the Nguyễn simply annexed the central port of Phan Rang, and made incursions into Phan Rik, opening some of the outlying areas to Vietnamese settler populations, while many areas, including sizeable communities that are now inside the city limits of Phan Rang and Phan Rí (formerly Phan Rik), remained in Cham hands. In fact, a successful 1693 Cham movement forced the house of Nguyễn to temporarily recognize the position of the Cham *Ppo* once again, although it was with a joint “honorary” title of “Nguyễn mandarin.”³⁷² Violence that erupted between 1692 and 1693 resulted in the migration of many elites and royal family members, along with their associated laborers, field hands and servants, to the greater Gulf of Thailand region. The majority fled to what is now Cambodia. In 1692, five thousand members of

³⁷¹ Laksmana Hj. Omar may be confused with the record of Ungku Omar. Nakamura (1999: 169) recorded that Ungku Omar was a seventeenth century figure who moved from Kelantan to Kampong Cham and then on to Pāñduraṅga to teach Islam, before returning to Khmer territory and eventually being buried in Châu Đốc. However, recent research by Ken (2013: 161), based on the record of Husin Bin Yunus [20th c. Western Cham, studied in Kelantan] has demonstrated that the Ungku Omar to which Nakamura was referring was likely a sixteenth century figure.

³⁷² The title was likely not viewed as an honor by Cham elites. However, it was also not granted because the Cham *Ppo* had completed Nguyễn civil service examinations. In this sense, it was an “honorary” title. *Ppo Thop*’s younger brother reigned with a Nguyễn title and a Cham title until 1727 (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 229).

the Champā royal family and related elites moved from Pāñdurāṅga to Oudong, Stung Treang, Tbaung Khmum (Kampong Cham), Prek Pra, and, eventually, Chrouy Changvar, across the river from Phnom Penh. The migration solidified the foundations of the Cham-Malay community in Cambodia, as well as what is now the ‘Kaum Imam San’ group in the vicinity of Oudong. Although the ‘Kaum Imam San’ would not officially become recognized as a separate lineage of Islamic thought by the Khmer royalty until the nineteenth century, many of their communities trace their lineage to the 1692-1693 migrations.³⁷³ All of these considerations of history, of course, are compounded by the Nguyẽn Vietnamese conquest of the last *negarā* polities of Kauṭhāra and Pāñduraṅga, which were equally critical in shaping the Eastern Cham community of Vietnam. Furthermore, those who remained loyal to Ppo Thop were brutally repressed under the auspices that they led a rebellion in 1697, when the Nguyẽn forced the creation of a new province called “Bình Thuận,” by the barrels of guns, and reorganized many of the Cham areas into a new series of districts³⁷⁴ (LaFont 1988: 77-78; Mak 1988: 88-91; Reid 1993: 187; DeFeo 2004: 18; Mak 1995; Nakamura 1999: 169; Collins 2009: 28; Phan Khoảng 2001[1967]: 266-269, 303, 321; Po 1988: 63-65; Po 1989: 133-134).³⁷⁵ As we shall see later, any indication that the Cham community was willing to accept these claims remains dubious. Along the emergent borderlands communities of the Cham, the presence of Malay teachers, coupled with Cham refugees and literati, aided the flow of Islamic cultural influence. Interactions between Cham and Malay clerics were common, and the formation of an emergent creolized Cham-Malay Muslim

³⁷³ Many scholars have erroneously claimed that 1693 were the “last series of Cham rebellions,” even including Anthony Reid (2015: 183). In the early 2000s in Cambodia, concerns over Islamic radicalization brought substantial press attention to the Cham community, and the 1692 became increasingly important for those individuals of the “Au Russei group” – as the migration became a way for members of the “Kaum Imam San group” to trace their lineage “back to Champā.”

³⁷⁴ Vn.: *huyện*

³⁷⁵ In 1697 Nguyẽn Phúc Chu [r. 1691 – 1725] created Bình Thuận as a *phủ* prefecture, which administered Vietnamese villages that had been established in Pāñduraṅga (Po 1987: 68-9)

community in Cambodia was apparent, although the stability of these communities was dependent on bursts of refugees who fled from peninsular Malaysia, as well as Kauṭhāra and Pāṇḍuraṅga.

Ic End of the Seventeenth & Early Eighteenth Century Pāṇḍuraṅga

As Cham literati were increasingly influenced by Islam from the seventeenth through the early eighteenth century, their notions about history and ethics changed significantly. The Cham term *sakarai* – meaning history – includes some notions that history may be philosophical, religious, have mythical elements, and even partially cyclical, as has been demonstrated in chapters one and two.³⁷⁶ By contrast *ta’rikh* works are focused upon the story of the spread of Islam and the history of caliphates (Riddel 2001: 33). The implication is that as Cham literati were increasingly influenced by Islam, their notions of history became less cyclical, and more linear. Since contemporary notions of *sakarai* include a connection to the common past of the conquest of Champā and Pāṇḍuraṅga (see: Effendy 2006), as well as the lineages of Cham and Pāṇḍuraṅga royalty, it is fair to state that Islamic ideas about *ta’rikh* had an impact on Cham ideas about *sakarai*. Despite later evidence that suggests that the Cham did not recognize Nguyễn claims to establish the province of Bình Thuận, by 1699 the area became a stopping point for Vietnamese refugees being relocated from Nguyễn migrations on their way southward on their way southward toward Prey Nokor.³⁷⁷ Also in 1699, the Khmer king Chetta II³⁷⁸ allowed

³⁷⁶ This is because the Cham word for history is derived from the term for the Hindu-Sanskrit calendar: *śakaraja*

³⁷⁷ Also: Prei Kho; now: Ho Chi Minh City

³⁷⁸ Also: Jayajettha II

the Nguyễn to open a Vietnamese customs house in Prey Nokor. At the same time, Nguyễn Phúc Chu reorganized the former frontier province of Trần Biên, which had been near Phú Yên, extending the province nebulously southward, to the area of Biên Hòa. Then Gia Định “province,” near the customs house at Prey Nokor, was established in the same year. The founding of these territories occurred well before their intentional population with Vietnamese vagabonds and refugees. In other words, Gia Định hardly deserved the designation “province” in its early years. Nevertheless, the Nguyễn intentionally populated the frontier, rapidly and with fervor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 40,000 families or 200,000 landless peasants were moved, predominantly from the area of Quảng Bình, through “Bình Thuận” before establishing settler colonies³⁷⁹ and military colonies,³⁸⁰ speckled along the various southern frontiers (Lê Than Khôi 1955: 285-88; Hickey 1982: 161). As the Vietnamese in these areas spread, the house of Nguyễn expanded their own policies to engage in cultural production. They incorporated Champā and Cham cultural elements into Đàng Trong central Vietnamese culture, coopting many Cham practices and religious sites, while also repressing Cham people.

The adaption of Cham cultural practices by the Nguyễn Vietnamese had a direct impact on Cham literati. Culture could be readily adapted by the Vietnamese, but religious knowledge could not. The comparatively esoteric knowledge of Cham religion became more important to literati, while certain cultural practices shifted in their importance. For example, in Nguyễn Đàng Trong culture, Vietnamese began to abandon patrilocal associations, sons-in-law moved into the houses of their wives’ families; Vietnamese began to eat raw food³⁸¹ as Cham did; Vietnamese

³⁷⁹ Vn.: *định đồn*

³⁸⁰ Vn.: *đồn điền*

³⁸¹ Vn.: *ăn gỏi*

adapted wearing head-cloths from Cham styles;³⁸² the Vietnamese *áo dài* dress took a new form, blended with influence from the Cham *aw tah*; fish sauce³⁸³ was produced in new ways, adapted from Cham methods of making *aia mathin*; and, finally, elephant hunting rituals and execution by elephant were also adapted from the Cham (Li 1998: 99-116, 139-154, 155-158). This is not, however, to suggest that the Nguyễn did not change the cultural, and even agricultural, landscape during the process of cooption. Some scholars have claimed that due to their status as sacred symbols amongst the Cham Ahiér (Śaivite Hindu influenced) population, buffalos were not popularly domesticated before the Nguyễn era (Aymonier 1885: 223; Hickey 1982: 188).

Thinking critically, this interpretation seems unlikely. Domestic buffalo are referenced in many Cham histories, dating well back to the classical times of Champā. The real change to the landscape would have been the domestication of *cattle*. *Cattle* can now be found in Cham areas throughout Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces, but were not likely domesticated in this region before the Nguyễn period, as they were not consumed widely, and goats provided an alternative source of milk. Cham also de-emphasized the importance of the elephant, regulating them to a religious significance.³⁸⁴ They increased the varieties of *aia mathin* that they produced, specializing fish sauce production; declared that the Vietnamese did not adapt head cloths and dress properly; and, increased the emphasis on ritual action in marriage ceremonies, as distinctions between Đàng Trong Vietnamese practices and their own. At the same time Nguyễn Đàng Trong central Vietnamese culture critically changed the supernatural landscape of the area.

³⁸² Vn.: *đội khăn*; Thiên Đỗ (2003: 117) even notes that the portrayals of Ông Địa in the south appears to have a Cham influenced style head-dress.

³⁸³ Vn.: *nước mắm*

³⁸⁴ With thanks to Dr. Thành Phan and Quốc Thuận for these details.

The most substantial shift in the borderlands between Vietnamese and Cham lands was the impact that Vietnamese conquest had upon sacred geography. While Vietnamese culture incorporated Cham divinities into their blend of Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism, Vietnamese also coopted Cham religious sites. The Cham deities Mih Ai, Ppo Inâ Nâgar and Ppo Riyak were all once historical figures turned deities per Cham tradition. Each became Vietnamized as Vietnamese took over sacred Cham sites, or built new temples.³⁸⁵ As we will examine later in more detail, the eighteenth-century Cham manuscript *Ariya Bini Cam* claims that for Mih Ai “...Ppo nao hapak o mai,” meaning that the goddess became ‘a stranger in a strange land.’ Chapter three described the conflation of Ppo Inâ Nagar with the Bodhisattva of Compassion Quān Am³⁸⁶ and Daoist spirits to become Thiên Y A Na. Finally, Ppo Riyak (“Lord of the Waves”), who was a historical general of Pāñdurāga and a contemporary of Ppo Romé, was rapidly incorporated into the Cham pantheon in the seventeenth century. By the early nineteenth century, Nguyễn Vietnamese adapted worship of Ppo Riyak and blended worship of the general with the worship of Cá Ông and Ông Hải as manifestation of sacred whales and dolphins (Sakaya 2013a, 2004; Li 1998: 99-116, 139-154, 155-158).

Vietnamese scholarship has demonstrated that these practices spread quite far. Nguyễn Xân Nghĩa and Phan Văn Dopp (1989: 52) reported that whale worship influenced by Champā and Cham culture spread all the way to the central and northern provinces of Thành Hòa, Nghê

³⁸⁵ Some of these temples were constructed on sacred sites as far north as Quảng Nam. The Nguyễn began the practice of coopting Cham and Champa religious sites as early as the sixteenth century (Thiên Đỗ 2003: 6). Vietnamese portrayals, nonetheless, tend to characterize religion through a “Vietnamese first” lens. For example, in a categorization of seven types of Vietnamese deities Thiên Đỗ (2003: 41) includes: “Goddesses honoured by new settlers, joined by Cham, Khmer and other ethnic deities.”

³⁸⁶ Ch.: Guan Yin; S.: Avalokitśvara

An and Hà Tĩnh. Contemporary whale worship has spread throughout the Mekong Delta.³⁸⁷ Additionally, the goddesses of Chúa Xứ, Chúa Lạch and Chúa Lợi in the deep-south were all seen to have been influenced by Ppo Inâ Nagar and the practice of visiting traditional healers,³⁸⁸ known as Thần Thiêm in Vietnamese, was also adopted. With the adaption of each deity, Vietnamese local shrines were built upon the locations of previous Cham worship. The incorporation of deities into Nguyễn Vietnamese culture was just one means of manipulating elements of the Champā and Cham supernatural realms into a Vietnamese cosmology. A second, crucial move, was to incorporate the physical space of Champā and Cham religions. The sacred geography of Champā and the Cham would literally *become Vietnamese*. The Nguyễn dynasty chronicle (ĐNLTB) records several records where the Nguyễn removed local shrines, replaced them with temples, destroyed them, or forced them to relocate.³⁸⁹

Although Nguyễn policy had a critical impact on Cham literati in the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, the key turning point for Cham literati during the latter half of the eighteenth century was the Tây Sơn rebellion. The Tây Sơn rebellion did not draw on the Cham via a sense of populism in that they desired equal rights for minority populations. Instead their move to draw upon elements of Cham culture and association with Cham religious sites is

³⁸⁷ By some accounts, Cham (Muslims) in the Mekong Delta, hunted river dolphins with spears, with thanks to Dr. Ian Baird for this commentary. There appears to be no similar hunting practice among the Cham of the south-central coast, however.

³⁸⁸ C.: *mâkgru*

³⁸⁹ These methods of incorporation seem to distinguish greatly between Lê and Nguyễn practices. The Lê dynasty actors seem to have been relatively ignorant of Champā and Cham sacred geography save the major religious sites, while the Nguyễn seem to have been greatly aware of its potency, at least in some cases. However, taking a broader scope this was not the first time that the Vietnamese adapted local practices. Phạm Hữu (ed. 1988) reported that Cham *kinari*, *Makara* and *garuda* images were already present in Vietnamese construction dating to the Lý and Trần dynasties. However, the complexities of the Lê and Nguyễn strategies hardly compared to the nuanced strategies appropriation which occurred during the time of the Tây Sơn rebellion.

an extension of Nguyễn attempts to do the same.³⁹⁰ The real impact of the rebellion was quite different. As Pāñduraṅga leadership differed on the importance of backing the Tây Sơn or the Nguyễn, the contest between them left a place for Malay Tuan to intervene in Pāñduraṅga politics. As individuals who had connections to the Malay courts, guaranteeing them supplies and arms, Malay Tuan were also educated members of Malay Islamic communities. Their position brought Islamic influence with them. The impact was that a Tuan who issued a call to arms would do so with a religiously invoked flare that was inspiring to much of the Cham population, who had been predominantly Muslim since the end of the seventeenth century. Their religious authority in Pāñduraṅga politics had already been proven, and political authority now came with it. The impact was two-fold: first, as religious authorities had more importance in politics, religious elites, overall, became more prominent; and second, as Islamic influence continued to increase, efforts to revive the Cham Ahiér community increased as well, as some Cham literati did not wish to convert, and wished to maintain a certain degree of difference between themselves and Malay Muslims.

The borderlands surrounding Pāñduraṅga was now a form of “religious borderlands” as well. These lands were not a “religious frontier” since that would imply, in common usage, a frontier between two major religious groups. Rather, as a “religious borderlands” the lands

³⁹⁰ The Tây Sơn rebellion is frequently portrayed a “peoples’ movement” (Vn.: *Phong Trào Nhân Dân*) inspired by the “peasant rebellion” narrative of Marxist historiography, criticized but then somewhat adapted by scholars who might now consider the rebellion part of the “Age of Revolution.” In such accounts, the adoption of Cham culture is generally downplayed, because only the elite leaders would have had the foresight to note how the adoption of Cham culture could have been used politically. In other words, cultural adoption and manipulation is clearly an elite discourse, and therefore dropped from narratives of ‘peasant rebellion’. By contrast, the ‘affinity with the highlands’ is usually underscored, often through the claim that Nguyễn Ngạc demonstrated his affinity for upland peoples (called *Thượng Đạo* in Vietnamese at the time) through his marriage to a Bahar woman named Cô Hầu in Vietnamese records (Thương Hữu Quỳnh 2010: 415-418). Further sources on the Tây Sơn indicate that they had a very strong relationship with Qing China. Nguyễn Huệ (the second eldest) had fled to China. However, when he returned and defeated a Qing invasion in 1789, he received a title from the Qing court. This allowed him to take on new titles from the Qing as the ruler of An Nam “Pacified South.” (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 326)

between Khmer power, Pāñduraṅga, and Vietnamese were an amalgam of Animist, Daoist, Shamanic, Confucian, Buddhist, Muslim, Christian, Chinese folk, Chamic upland folk, Cham Ahiér, Bani, Khmer Brahmanist and other practitioners.³⁹¹ In this context, Cham literati created new genres of literature: the *dalikal*, the *damnây* and the *ariya*. With each new genre of literature, and with each new manuscript within that genre, Cham literati preserved a different morsel of Cham history and religion. Beginning with the *dalikal* these new genres of literature could also add an important element to the narrative, which was not always present in other genres, but would help the manuscripts gain a broader audience: humor.

II Dalikal

Dalikal were a critical genre of Cham literature, which was used by the literati to care for their communities between 1651 and 1969 as they recorded elements of Cham history, religion, and popular social practice. Furthermore, since *dalikal* were variously broken into categories of parables, humorous short stories, and biographical narratives, the served different purposes for their audiences. While the parables encoded expressions of moral behavior, and biographical narratives were devoted to the memory of historical figures, often in a deified form, several *dalikal* were also intended to simply entertain. The Cham genre of *dalikal* manuscripts between 1651 and 1929 likely went through several waves of production, although they were relatively constant. One important feature of *dalikal* is that they are a shorter genre of literature, that is more prosaic in form. They likely required less expertise to produce, although a truly artful

³⁹¹ This usage of the term “religious borderlands” relies upon the usage outlined in the introduction to this dissertation. The usage of this term “religious borderlands” follows the usage of Roof (1997) as modified by the specificities of the socio-historic context of Cham literati between 1651 and 1969.

dalikal must have taken some mastery to compose, there are also simpler *dalikal* that appear like commonly known folk narratives. The advantage of the flexibility of the form is that, during times of economic or social strife, such as during wars, the *dalikal* could be composed and memorized more rapidly. Hence, we may presume that the *dalikal* increased in popularity during the wars of the 1770s-1790s, the 1820s-1830s, and again during the wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In other words: the popularity of the *dalikal* would be linked to the historical contestation over borderlands areas. At times, *dalikal* may have also increased in popularity because of external interest, such as during the 1880s-1920s, when French researchers were likely to show interest in Cham literature of all forms, another feature of the community existing on the borderlands between Cham, Vietnamese and French spheres. To determine the origins of the genre are more difficult, however, especially since the genre is widely considered to be an older, if not the oldest, genre of Cham literature.

The term *dalikal* is likely an adaptation of the older Cham *dalukal*, a phrase that appeared at the beginning of the Cham *ayaket*, a genre of manuscripts that preceded the *ariya*, and hence will be examined in more detail later in this chapter in that context. However, likely related to the Malay phrase *dahulu kala* – meaning ‘once upon a time’³⁹² – the *dalikal* almost certainly developed into their own genre quite quickly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are generally four forms of *dalikal*: *sak-karai* which are associated with historical figures or figures that are supposed to be historical through associations with popular practice; *ar katé* or “parables;” *kalak* or “funny stories;” and *ampam* or “biographic narratives.”³⁹³ To explain

³⁹² As per Aymonier & Cabaton (1906: 220)

³⁹³ Examples of each may be presented in later versions of this study, although there are a few example summaries on the pages that follow.

further, the *dalikal* of figures such as Ppo Inâ Nagar, Ppo Romé, Ppo Kuk and even Ppo Ualah³⁹⁴ would be considered *sakarai* due to their stance that they propose to reveal “history.” It is of no consequence that “history,” in this sense, is a chronology that is deeply invoked with notions of Cham cosmology, be that cosmology either Hindu or Muslim, and therefore could appear completely mythical to contemporary readership. Another example of the *sakkarai* sub-genre of *dalikal* would be the *Sakkarai Limaow Kapil*, which is a “history” of the steed of Śiva, referred to as “Nandi” in Sanskrit literature, but cast, in this case, through a Cham lens. *Ar Katé* are a form of *dalikal* that may share the most with Malay forms of popular literature. For example, the typical *Ar Katé* story features the main character of “the rabbit”³⁹⁵ and a series of adventures, that nonetheless result in a form of learned narrative or “moral of the story” (Aymonier 1890; Garrison 1985; Sakaya 2012).

A historical example of a “*kalak*” narrative, *Dalikal Manuis Jieng Gru* features the story of A Ja Haon. While it is humorous in parts, and thus may classify as a “*kalak*” form of *dalikal*, also features a key point to the narrative: do not be jealous of high achieving peers. In the story, A Ja Haon is not capable of learning any texts, until he is presented by texts that he likes. If this is the case, he simply digests them and memorizes them quickly. Finally, the other students grow jealous at his ability to memorize texts, with no effort at all, since they spend long hours in the mosque, attempting to memorize them. They plot to kill A Ja Haon, and dispose of him one day when they are sent out to look for fire wood. When they return to the mosque, the teacher grows angry that A Ja Haon has gone missing and builds a new mosque in his honor *on the hillside*. A Ja Haon ends up deceased in the tale, because of jealous peers, but one of the first mosques is

³⁹⁴ Ar.: *Allah*

³⁹⁵ C.: *tapay*

constructed on a hilltop in his honor.³⁹⁶ The story is historically significant because there are no mosques that were constructed on hilltops in Cham lands. Only Ahiér temples or Cham Jat shrines were ever constructed on hilltops or hillsides. Mosques, by contrast, were always constructed in the center of small towns and larger towns. Therefore, the narrative invokes either Chinese Muslim, Mughal north Indian,³⁹⁷ or Ottoman influence, of a fashion, suggesting a location where a mosque might be built on a hilltop as a means of tribute.³⁹⁸

Other *kalak* stories may feature humorous episodes that involve misbehaving priests or clerics, but are most often misbehaving young clerics. These are a subset of the *kalak dalikal* that have certain historical significance, as they are subtle, but jabbing critiques.³⁹⁹ They would not have been needed during outright civil conflict, as one would have been able to simply write off Muslim clerics, nor are they indicative of the level of comfort needed within the Muslim community to produce internal jest. Rather they are composed in the context of both external critique, and internal impetus to reform, a balance that would have been more easily struck after the time of Ppo Romé. For example, *Dalikal Nao Mâgru*, features a story about a young cleric who must give his wife to his teacher to master prayers, due to his own long list of failures. However, when the teacher and wife are supposedly “together” they simply jump about, scream and whimper, as if they were involved in coitus. In the end of the scene the young cleric learns

³⁹⁶ MSS: *Dalikal Manuis Jiéng Gru*

³⁹⁷ Never mind the close parallel between A Ja Haon and the seventeenth century Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, by terms of pronunciation, or that Shah Jahan, who was later imprisoned by his jealous son, constructed a mosque on a hilltop, the Jama Masjid at Fatephur Sikri-Agra, in honor of his daughter.

Of course, another “mosque on a hill,” is the masjid Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem, although figures associated with it do not appear to be readily adaptable into the Cham names used in the story of A Ja Haon.

³⁹⁸ Ronnit Ricci has also discussed, at length, South Indian influence on Southeast Asian Muslim literature.

³⁹⁹ Sakaya (2012) further subdivides the *kalak* sub-genre into three categories, as a sign that this is indeed the most popular form of Eastern Cham genre, by sheer number of titles, although he does not include this subset as a unit of analysis.

that his wife has indeed been faithful and is overjoyed.⁴⁰⁰ The narrative itself carries certain moral implications with it, regarding respect for the authority of clerics attached to mosques, and of matrimony, but it must have been, above all else, entertainment.

In the final category of *dalikal*, the *ampam*, Cham scholars have focused particularly on the historical features of the Cham royalty of Pāñduraṅga society from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, and so they are the most readily historicized to a given set of centuries. They feature Patao Tabai Nai Bala, Nai Kandieng, Ja Mata, Ja Rambah, Cei Cru au iku Lingal, Ja Matuei, Ppo Anit and a host of others. They most closely parallel the *takay sanao* genre of Western Cham literature, as we will see later in this chapter. In Western Cham, it is clear that the *takay sanao* are divided into two categories: one being “from Champā” or at least referring to the court before the migrations to Cambodia associated with Ppo Cei Brei at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century; and the second being “from Kampuchia” – which are thought to refer to the stories that are from the royal members of the Pāñduraṅga court that arrived in Kampong Cham and Oudong after either the 1692 or the eighteenth to nineteenth century migrations. With distance, by the later part of the nineteenth century, many of the more “historical” features of *dalikal ampam* had faded away, in favor of some of the more entertaining and magical elements. Therefore, it is not a surprise that the *dalikal ampam* that were collected by A. Landes and A. Aymonier between the 1880s and the 1920s were particularly fantastical.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ *Dalikal Nao Mâgru*

⁴⁰¹ Although *dalikal* were certainly referenced by A. Landes and E. Aymonier in their various studies of Cham literature and history, particularly Aymonier’s *Legendes Historiques Tchames*, there were only a few examples of *dalikal* that were collected by the EFEO by the time of Paul Mus’ research on Cham literature in the 1930s. It is possible that the relative scant collections of *dalikal* reflect the nature of French research interests, while, by the 1960s, the explosion of the genre, making up more than half of the titles that the Center for Cham Culture had microfilmed by the 1970s, was indicative of an increased interest by foreign researchers in popular literature. However, more likely, the necessity for popular literature, as a means of production that could be easily

III Damnây

Much like *dalikal*, *damnây* were a critical genre of Cham literature, which was used by the literati to care for their communities between 1651 and 1969 as they recorded elements of Cham history, religion, and popular social practice, although the *damnây* functioned primarily as devotional manuscripts. As they were composed to specifically be recited in devotion to Cham deities and saints, they were not designed to entertain, although some may contain humorous elements. Rather, they were sung to establish a connection with an otherworldly presence, and to channel the energies of that otherworldly presence into positive outcomes for the individual family, household, village or community in question. By terms of comparison to the *akayet* and *ariya*, *damnây* are generally shorter poems, although they are generally longer than *dalikal*. However, they are also devotional in character, and hence, some contemporary Cham scholars have begun to refer to the *damnây* as *adaoh yang* – or “songs to the gods.”⁴⁰² They are also quite different from the *dalikal* and *ariya* genres, by the very nature of their transmission.

Whereas *akayet* and *ariya* were intended to be memorized and transferred from teacher to student in the home, the *damnây* are a *preformed* genre of literature. There are two special priest classes associated with these performances: the *Kadhar* who plays a two stringed *Rabab* (adapted from Arabia/Persia via Indian Ocean world) and the *Maduen* who plays drums (also likely adapted from the sub-continent). Because of their association with being performed for

remembered, understood and enjoyed by all, explains the comparatively large number of titles of the *dalikal* genre (See: Aymonier 1890; Morrison 1985; Sakaya 2012).

⁴⁰² As an additional note, the initial *a* phoneme is sometimes dropped and they are referred to as *daoh yang*.

deities, the *damnây* may have entered into Cham genres of literature quite early, particularly as the key accompanying instrument, the rabab, originated in the eighth century Persia and quickly spread across Asia (see: Garrison 1985; Mus 1931; Cabaton 1902). However, the understanding of the genre as such, likely did not emerge until the seventeenth through the twentieth century.⁴⁰³

Sakaya (2012) has argued for the further distinction in genre between *adaoh kadhar* – which he considers to be associated with the ceremonies of Peh Mbang Yang, Yuer Yang, Katé, Cambur, Rija Dayaup, Rija Su-a, Ngap Kabau Mâ-ih, and Ngap Kut – and the *adaoh maduen*, which are associated with other ceremonies, such as the Rija Nâgar and Rija Harei ceremonies.⁴⁰⁴ These Rija ceremonies certainly date to the same emergent context of the fifteenth to nineteenth century period. One example text used in these ceremonies is the *Damnây Ppo Riyak*, devoted to Ppo Riyak, a historical general in the court of Ppo Romé [r. 1627 – 1651] who had become deified and transformed through deification into a legendary form. As the song goes, Ppo Riyak traversed the waves seeking magic for centuries and could not find it, so he returned to save Champâ, but could not reach the shore as his feet were pulled back with each wave.⁴⁰⁵ He hence became the “Sovereign of the Waves,” and, is a likely candidate for the pre-existing figure that the Vietnamese transformed into Cá Ông or Ông Nam Hải, which then influenced the popular practice of whale worship in Vietnam. Per the Đại Nam Nhất Thông Chí, the Nguyễn dynasty even transformed a pre-existing figure “cut from the religion of Ninh Thuận” into the worship of the whale-god through taking on Ppo Riyak as an associated figure with a new clan

⁴⁰³ The Cham term *damnây* appears to be closely related to the Cham term *damânây*. *Damânây* has multiple meanings, but is had several working translations into French by the turn of the century, which included “juridical consultation,” “prophecy” and “prediction” (Aymonier & Cabaton 1906: 218). The variant interpretations and spellings are likely closely related to the mid-nineteenth century appearance of *damnây*, or vernacular Cambodian prophetic texts. With thanks to Dr. Anne Hansen for discussion on this matter.

⁴⁰⁴ See also: CAM 248c

⁴⁰⁵ CAM 244; CAM 246a

deity for the Nguyễn in their newly proclaimed province of Bình Thuận.⁴⁰⁶ Other popular *damnây* include devotions to Tang Ahaok, Haniim Par, Cei Tathun, Cei Dalim, Ppo Nai, Ppo Dam and Ppo Klaong Kasat, as well as Bia Apakal Panal Tanjaoh, and Ppo Bia Madhan. However, at least by the nineteenth century, there is evidence that these individuals were present in one of the most important genres of Cham literature under consideration in this chapter, the *ariya*.

IV Ariya

Much like *dalikal* and *damnây*, *ariya* were a critical genre of Cham literature, which was used by the literati to care for their communities between 1651 and 1969 as they recorded elements of Cham history, religion, and popular social practice, although the *ariya* functioned primarily as high literature. They are devotional manuscripts in a sense, in that they are composed in devotion to the Cham community, religions and history. As high literature, they also demonstrated the skills of the literati that composed them. They were also likely the most recent of the classical genres to emerge, although they have a similarly deep history of origins. The predecessor genre to the *ariya* are the *akayet*. There are only six known *akayet* in existence: *Akayet Inra Patra*, *Akayet Dewa Mano*, *Akayet Um Marup*, *Akayet Pram Dit Pram Lak*, *Akayet Patao Inra Sri Bilan* and *Akayet Dalim Matiak Si-ah*.⁴⁰⁷ The term *akayet* derives from the Malay

⁴⁰⁶ See: ĐNNTC (2012: 698-699).

⁴⁰⁷ All six of these manuscripts can be found in Eastern Cham communities in Bình Thuận and Ninh Thuận province in Vietnam, as well as in the EFEO collections of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and Paris, France. Some *akayet* manuscripts also made their way to the collections of Jay Scarborough now available online via the University of Cornell. In my own fieldwork, I studied a particularly valuable manuscript of *Akayet Inra Patra*. Of the above manuscripts, *Akayet Dewa Mano* has been translated into Vietnamese, French and Malay, while *Akayet Um Marup* has been translated into French, Malay, Vietnamese and English. The others have been translated or summarized into Vietnamese. However, the full translation of *Akayet Inra Patra* into Vietnamese was completed only recently.

hikayat which itself is derived from the Arabic *hikayat* – meaning “work” or “story.” In Malay, the *hikayat* can take on a particularly mythical and historical character. However, in the Cham adaptations of the *hikayat* they are not as prosaic as the Malay parallel genre. *Akayet Inra Patra*, *Dewa Mano*, and *Um Marup* for example, are all written in verse. By contrast *Akayet Pram Dit Pram Lak*, *Akayet Patao Inra Sri Bilan* and *Akayet Dalim Matiak Si-Ah* are written in prose. Also, *Akayet Inra Patra* and *Akayet Dewa Mano*, while they may be derived from Malay origins, speak to pre-existing Indic literature, being derived from sections of the *Mahabharata* and *Laws of Manu* respectively. Further, it is generally accepted that *Akayet Pram Dit Pram Lak* is a Cham version of the Ramayana (under 100 lines), and so, must have emerged during or after the high period of Hindu influence on the pre-colonial Hindu-Buddhist Champa civilization (Inrasara 1993; 2006; Sakaya 2013; Al-Ahmadi 1988; Chambert-Loir 1988). PB LaFont (1988) has claimed that this high period of Hinduization ended toward the end of the fifteenth century, with the defeat of *negara Vijaya* by Lê Thành Tông, which Victor Lieberman (2003, 2009) has argued was indicative of region wide socio-political shifts. The end of more direct Hindu influence on Champā in the fifteenth century is thought to be the first indicator of the emergence of the *akayet* as a localized genre of Cham literature.

A second indicator of the rise of the *akayet* genre can be found through the adaptation of the story *Dalim Matiak Si-ah*, which arrived in Champa lands via Malay Muslims who themselves had adapted the story from Arabia into a Malay *hikayat* between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The Cham *akayet Um Marup*, *Dewa Mano* and *Inra Patra* may also have Malay *hikayat* that they are adapted from. However, at the beginning of these manuscripts the Cham scholars who have penned them usually write the line *ka dalikal ... panah tuei ariya* -- which means that they have taken a “story” and written it in “verse.” If the critical circumstance

for the adaptation of Malay *akayet* forms of literature was the defeat of *negara* Vijaya in 1471, it seems important to indicate that the Cham sovereign Ppo Kabrah [r. 1460-1494/1448-1482] was married to a Muslim queen, to become Ppo Batlija Kabrih [1494-1530]. Cham courts then kept close ties with Malay courts throughout the next several centuries. By foil, it seems that the Cham were aware of *sharī'ah* by the reign of Ppo Jai Panran [r. 1613-1618] and Ppo Mâh Taha [r. 1622-1627] even received the title *Sultana Ya Cah Ya Bapupa* [*Sultan Jaya Indra splendor of the Puspa Flower*]. Ppo Romé [r. 1627-1651] had relations in Kelantan. Finally, Ppo Thop (Saut) [1660-1692] bore the title *Paduka Seri Sultan* and had relations who spread across the Gulf of Thailand network. Thus, the working argument is that the *akayet* emerged in a fifteenth to seventeenth century context (Sakaya 2012: 353-372). However, as Malay courts became increasingly Muslim, Cham in Pāñduraṅga (now Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận) would found a new genre of literature: the *ariya*.

The Cham *ariya* are perhaps the most beautiful form of Cham literature. They parallel the development of the Malay *syair* genre, in that they emerge in the early modern period. For the *ariya* the earliest references to the use of the term *ariya* appears in the adaptation of Malay *hikayat*. However, Sakaya (2012) argues that the usage of Cham poetry dates to the fourth century Võ Cảnh inscription. Nonetheless, historicizeable *ariya* such as *Ariya Tuen Phaow* and *Ariya Bini Cam* do not appear until the eighteenth century. For that reason, they seem to be one of the latest of the classical genres of Cham literature under consideration that appeared out of Pāñduraṅga. Weber (2012), a great translator and analyzer of Cham texts, has argued that *ariya* does not relate to the Sanskrit usage of the similar term, although Sakaya (2012) argued that it did. In my own work, I have created the first English language translations of *Ariya Bini Cam*, *Ariya Cam Bini* and *Ariya Ppo Pareng*, working with a number of leading scholars in the field.

Based on our current assessment of the situation, it seems more that the donning of the term *ariya* as a genre name emerged in the eighteenth to nineteenth century as a form of “Self-Hinduization/Sanskritization,” meaning that Hindu-Sanskrit terms and concepts were adapted into new meanings in local contexts, yet also reasserted as a means of re-establishing a connection to the relative authority of Hindu-Sanskrit culture. Thus, adapting the term *ariya* as a title of a genre of Cham literature could serve as a critical marker, delineating that the Cham were different from the Vietnamese, as well as demonstrating to the Vietnamese that the Cham were different from the Malays, in the context of increased Islamic influence.

Of the historicizeable *ariya* there are four critical manuscripts that show the early developments of the genre: *Ariya Tuen Phaow* [1750-1820], *Ariya Bini Cam* [1771-1802], *Ariya Ppo Phauk* [1800-1835], and *Ariya Cam Bini* [19th c.]. These may be followed by such manuscripts as *Ariya Ppo Pareng* by Hợp Ai of Palei Hamu Tanran [1885], and *Ariya Nhyat Bhong*, which covers the period of Japanese intervention in Southeast Asia during WWII.⁴⁰⁸ A critical development in the historicizing of the *ariya* is the ethical subgenre of *ariya* literature that includes the poems: *Ariya Gleng Anak* [1830s], *Ariya Pataow Adat* [19th c.], and *Ariya Muk Sruh Palei* [19th c.]. These poems are particularly parallel to the short poem genre of *Kaboun* from the Western Cham community in Cambodia. The *Kaboun Mok Sros* for example, is clearly an adaptation of *Ariya Muk Sruh Palei* and both forms of the poem, though the *Kaboun* is a

⁴⁰⁸ Although the historicization of each of the texts has been disputed by scholars, most studies from Malaysia, Vietnam, France and the United States have demonstrated through linguistic analysis as well as trace references to key historical events in each text that they do in fact refer to the period in question. The popularity of writing an *ariya* text has declined over time, and more recent *ariya* by scholars such as Thiên Sanh Canh, have lamented the decline of the genre. However, the decline of writing poetry in verse in general has been lamented by various scholars in various contexts over time, and a portion of the difficulty for the *ariya* genre may be the relative difficulty of composition. For example, lines may vary between 7 and 12 syllables and follow a rhyme scheme that is not strict, so long as relative meter is maintained. By contrast with the *ariya* verse that is used in the *akayet* genre, which is usually kept at an ABAB rhyme scheme, *ariya* may feature internal rhymes that are more indicative of, say, Khmer adaptations of Sanskrit verse

shorter genre, indicate the same central concern. They are *adat* literature, or “behavioral guides” that are meant to instruct young men and women upon the proper ways of interacting with each other.⁴⁰⁹ Based upon the shared characteristics of certain *kaboun* and another form of emergent Western Cham literature: the *ba neu* there are distinct parallels to material covered in Cham *ariya*. The divergence of the Western Cham and Eastern Cham communities was quite apparent by the nineteenth century, and by the end of the century *ariya* begin to be dateable about individual authors. At the same time, devotional literature emerges strongly in the historical record, and devotional themes are even present in more historical texts, such as *Ariya Tuen Phaow*.

IVa Ariya Tuen Phaow [1750-1820]

The Cham manuscript *Ariya Tuen Phaow* is an epic poem of the *ariya* genre that includes a mixture of historical and semi-legendary content. It is the narrative of a Malay Tuan who arrives in Pāñduraṅga during an episode of civil war, and starts a movement to regain Cham territory from the Nguyễn Vietnamese. Warring Vietnamese factions had split their territory between Nguyễn and Tây Son protected areas, and Cham themselves were split about which Vietnamese faction to support. The movement of Tuan Phaow is anti-Vietnamese and garners the support of many Cham literati. However, Tuan Phaow is injured in the end, and disappears over the sea, returning to Malay territory, leaving the Cham to fight on their own. The manuscript itself is not Qur’anic in nature. This is important to remember, since contemporary scholars have

⁴⁰⁹ These may be like *Chbab Srey*, which were behavioral guides for young women in Cambodian educational contexts. However, in the Cham case, both codes for young men and young women were emphasized.

often read *Ariya Tuen Phaow* as a sign of evidence of “Islamic resistance.” However, the manuscript is no-where near as Islamic influenced as comparable Malay literature from the same period, even as it does invoke the most basic devotion to Allah and loyalty to Ali, on the part of Tuan Phaow. However, the manuscript does have a clear implication in its closing: it calls for the Cham to continue their resistance against the Vietnamese. We may assume, based on the content of the manuscript, that an overt, violent revolt against Vietnamese influence is the original intention of this call. However, a subtler cultural resistance seems to have appeared in Cham culture over time. The composition of manuscripts recording rebellion replaces the act of open rebellion, and with fewer consequences to the communities involved.

Ariya Tuen Phaow was likely composed during the nineteenth century, although the manuscript itself refers to events that mostly happened between 1771 and 1828. Po Dharma (1987: 84), Inrasara (1993: 228-236; 1996: 195-208) and Nicholas Weber (2003) have published studies on *Ariya Tuen Phaow*, although no detailed studies of the poetic work have ever appeared in English.⁴¹⁰ *Ariya Tuen Phaow* opens in the context of the Tây Sơn rebellion, when Vietnamese territory itself was divided into several warring fragments. Vietnamese sources claim that “Bình Thuận” expanded over almost all contemporary Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces, while “Trần Biên” even included Biên Hòa and points beyond, southward and westward. Yet, within this context, many Cham sources demonstrate that Cham elites claimed the continued existence

⁴¹⁰ Three manuscript versions of *Ariya Tuen Phaow* are available at the EFEO libraries in Paris (CAM Microfilm 16, CAM Microfilm 66 and CAM Microfilm 56) and the EFEO-Kuala Lumpur also released a transcribed version of one of these manuscripts. The library of the Asiatic Society in Paris, France also has one version of *Ariya Tuen Phaow* (CM 25). Inrasara’s version appears to have been different from some others and Weber (2003) argued that the most standardized version appears to be CAM 58, which was gathered by the Paul Mus collection in the 1930s. The Cham scholar Tajaong signed his name on pages E 10 and E 24 of this manuscript, while the text appears upon pages E 11 to E 23.

of Champā sovereignty. They assert the polity of *Pré Darang* as the principle capital of the “Cham kingdom,”⁴¹¹ which lasted, in Cham claims, until at least 1832, or even up until 1835.

Before the Tây Sơn rebellion long term trade across the Gulf of Thailand oceanic network, coupled with Vietnamese expansion, brought Cham and Malay populations into even closer contact with each other in the locations of Kampong Cham (Cambodia), Tây Ninh (Vietnam) and Châu Đốc, An Giang (Vietnam). The Cham in these areas played both sides of greater conflicts between the Vietnamese and Khmer, and eventually, the Thai and the French. The eighteenth-century Vietnamese play “A Monk, A Nun” was intended to encourage Vietnamese migrants to move into Cham lands and “smite the barbarians...who cut down people like bananas and capture[d] buffalo and horses” (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 242).⁴¹² At the same time, the Nguyễn needed the Cham to police certain borderlands areas. As early as 1750 a group of Cham refugees who had been living in Khmer territory under the leadership of a Cham princely-warlord, were relocated to Tây Ninh through an arrangement with Nguyễn lords.⁴¹³ Tây Ninh remained a sort of borderlands proxy-polity for generations.

In *Pré Darang*, by contrast with the Cham of Cambodia, who were mostly aligned with the Khmer Royalty, or the Cham in Tây Ninh, who were aligned with the Nguyễn, the Cham *Ppo* royal lineage forged an alliance with the house of the Tây Sơn lords. This move was important as it furthered the decline of Cham royal power over the coming decades. We may hypothesize that this move could have increased tensions between a waning Churu elite and a rising – again –

⁴¹¹ *Nagar Cam*

⁴¹² This is originally from a presentation by Claudine Ang at the Annual Association of Asian Studies in 2011, titled “A Monk, A Nun”: Lascivious Conversation about Religion, Governance and Smiling Barbarians in Eighteenth Century Vietnam.” (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 242).

⁴¹³ A previous rebellion in Phan Rang during the end of the reign of Ppo Saktiraydipatih had been repressed in 1728 (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 276; as cross referenced with Cham kings’ lists’).

Cham elite.⁴¹⁴ In 1797, Tuan Phaow,⁴¹⁵ a Malay-Bini Tuan who claimed the title of Ppo Romé's Kelantanese lineage, travelled through Cham communities in the Cambodian kingdom, across the borderlands and returned, he hoped, to take the throne of *Pré darang*. As he travelled with support from Malay Sultans and the Khmer Royalty, he was in position to replace Ppo Cei Brei as the new leader of the anti-Vietnamese camp. If Tuan Phaow was indeed the descendent of Ppo Romé, he would have been, by more contemporary understandings, half-Churu and half-Malay. *Ariya Tuen Phaow* notes that he, "...arrived from Mâkah," which is a common Cham poetic allusion to a "veranda of Mecca" or Kelantan, Malaysia.⁴¹⁶ It is possible that the move of Tuan Phaow to the mainland was motivated by the earlier decline of the Champā based dynasty in Kelantan and the rise of the Pattani dynasty's rule in Kelantan, particularly after the death of Long Yonus in 1794.⁴¹⁷

The possibility of retaking Pāṇḍuraṅga for the Cham-Malay alliance was a great risk, but it may have appeared an attractive prospect, particularly as loyal Cham-Malay leadership were already established in the vicinity of Kampong Speu, Kampong Cham, and, even arguably, Rong Damrei. Tuan Phaow focused upon gathering forces from Kampong Cham and then moved them

⁴¹⁴ For further reference see: Dutton (2008); Trần Trọng Kim (2008[1921]: 390-399, 407-426); Po (1983: 253-256); Zain-Musa (1990); Zain-Musa (2011: 84); Perez-Pereiro (2012); Weber (2003: 127-142); Weber (2011: 734-762); Weber (2014: 25-27)

⁴¹⁵ Vn.: Tuấn Phủ

⁴¹⁶ Paul Mus (1931: 70) has suggested that 'Mâkah' may be a metaphorical rather than historical location in reference to Cham literature. EFEO-KL interpretations have tended to argue that Makah is *literally* Kelantan, Malaysia even though the Malay peninsula had not quite reached the same peak as a center of Islamic learning that it would become in the nineteenth century.

⁴¹⁷ According to the *Riwayat Kelantan* there was a civil war in 'Negeri Kembayat' or 'Champā' that impacted the rise of Prince Datuk Wan to power in Patani. The *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* suggests that this Datuk Wan was the same figure as a 'Long Sulaiman' who left Champā with his brother 'Tuan Kembang Bunga' upon the 'invasion of the Chinese.' Ghazali (2003) argued that this was not the Chinese and was in fact the Vietnamese. Tuan Kembang Bunga's line was truncated when he committed suicide. However, Long Sulaiman married a Patani wife and they had a son named Long Yonus. Long Yonus was expelled from Patani when he made the king sick. However, he did ascend to the throne in nearby Kelantan through his services in cock-fighting against the Bugis (Ghazali 2003: 170-171). This manuscript suggests that even the origins of the 'Patani sultans' line of the Sultanate of Kelantan are Cham.

through Rong Damrei to Pāñduraṅga, where he built a palace at Kayaon, west of Hamu Lithit⁴¹⁸ (CAM Microfilm 16: 2). The southern location of Kayaon allowed Tuan Phaow's forces stability, as they were at least a few days' march from Phan Rang. Furthermore, his forces continued to attract Malay, Cham from Cambodia and Cham from Pāñduraṅga to join them. According to *Ariya Tuen Phaow*, his membership to the *Ppo Gihlau* lineage of Ppo Romé, was used to additionally gain support among the Cham as he "...arrived as the word of Allah to revive the Cham lands..."⁴¹⁹ At Kayaon he invoked the power of the Prophet Mohammed as well as Ali.⁴²⁰ Even through this reading of *Ariya Tuen Phaow*, which is not particularly Islamic in orientation,⁴²¹ it would not be too far to assert that, in effect, Tuan Phaow hoped to lead a form of holy war against the Vietnamese, on behalf of the Cham.⁴²²

Although *Ariya Tuen Phaow* makes it clear that, for most of the Cham population, the attacks that Tuan Phaow led were the most significant anti-Vietnamese movements in the 1790s, they were not the only anti-Vietnamese movements that invoked connections to *Pré darang*. This point is significant since it shows that Cham manuscripts composed at the time, and memorializing the events of the time, would be shaped by a broad sense of discontent with Vietnamese rule. Near the former Champā *negarā* polities of Kauthāra and Pāñduraṅga the chieftess Thị Hỏa raised an army against the Nguyễn as well. There she would have been joined by Cham, Chamic highlanders, Bahnar, Hòi and Hròi forces. During virtually the same years, Tuan Set Asmet⁴²³ led Cham and Malay forces against the Cambodian royalty in 1783, before the coronation of Ang Eng in 1794. During the interregnum period [r. 1797 – 1806], Tuan Set

⁴¹⁸ C.: Hamu Lithit; later, after 1898; Vn.: Phan Thiết

⁴¹⁹ C.: *Tuen Phaow nyu lac anâk Ppo Pagahlau, gaon Aluah tiap kau mârai pa-ngap laei nâger*

⁴²⁰ C.: *sunit ganreh do bi Po, athur Ali mâng dahlau*

⁴²¹ Most Islamic oriented manuscripts open with the *Bismillah*, although this *ariya* does not.

⁴²² See also: Perez-Pereiro diss. 2012; DeFeo 2004: 81; Li 1998: 150; Ken 2013: 163; Weber 2003: 127-142

⁴²³ Also: Tuan Sayyid Ahmed and Tuan Sahmit Ahmit

Asmet centered his control over Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham. After fending off the Khmer army, he moved through Rong Damrei to lead his forces against Nguyễn Ánh's outlying patrols. When he was later forced to retreat to Cambodia after an unsuccessful attack against the Nguyễn, he returned to Cambodia and was offered an "Oknha" title, in exchange for not attacking the royalty again and his anti-Vietnamese work, by Ang Chan [r. 1806-] in the 1810s. In the 1820s, Tuan Set Asmet was put to death by the Vietnamese (Perez-Pereiro diss. 2012: 34; DeFeo 2004: 81; Li 1998: 150; Ken 2013: 163; Weber 2003: 127-142). Bruckmayr (2014: 78-81) used these details to suggest that Tuan Phaow and Tuan Set Asmet were the same person, although he also offers no convincing reason why they could not be two separate individuals as well.⁴²⁴ Based upon the accounts at hand, it stands to reason that Tuan Phaow and Tuan Set Asmet are indeed two different figures, since in all existing interpretations of the Cham account, Tuan Phaow returns to Kelantan.

If we suppose that in the late eighteenth century, Malays, Cham, Koho, and Churu frequently allied together, moving Cham forces across Rong Damrei and Lam Đồng would have been normal. The road was also a trade route, and hence, literati moving between Cham communities would have been influenced, to an extent, by their contact with upland populations. It also would not be surprising if there were indeed at least two, or more, individuals with the Malay title Tuan, who sought to gather forces from Kelantan and Kampong Cham, before leading them through passes to the lowlands of Pāñduraṅga. Critically *Ariya Tuen Phaow* differs from the account of Tuan Set Asmet in that Tuan Phaow is injured in the fight against the

⁴²⁴ Bruckmayr's assertions are based on an assertion of Phaow being a title rather than a name, which is indeed a possibility. If this is the case, though, the very introduction of the title "Phaow," "Phâ" and "Phủ" in Cham, Khmer and Vietnamese, respectively, only opens the possibility that many Cham, Cham-Malay, and Malay had similar positions in the borderlands at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century.

Vietnamese, and then forced to return to Kelantan for medical treatment. He called upon the Cham to continue the fight before he left, and even sent a request to the French for naval support (Weber 2003: 127-142).⁴²⁵ The French navy would have been already stretched thin, however, as they engaged with naval battles with the British across the globe from the 1790s through the 1810s. Without being able to rely upon the French, and with more and more upland peoples being split between Khmer and Vietnamese loyalty, the Cham were essentially caught in the same bind. Political crisis after political crisis ensued. Gradually, the literati became more powerful as royal power among the Cham was split up between regional authorities in Kampong Cham, Rong Damrei (Tây Ninh), and Pāñdurāṅga, as well as, later, Moat Chraok (Châu Đốc).

While Cham Ppo were given Vietnamese titles as “generals of garrisons” they were also given titles as “regents” with the Khmer royalty. At the same time, those Cham and Malay that held the Malay title Tuan were increasingly able to gain position with the Khmer royalty and the Vietnamese as well. In both cases, it was possible to rebel against the monarchy, whether they be Khmer or Vietnamese, but generally only for short periods of time, and to make incremental gains, in exchange for new positions. Even so, the position of the Tuan, and hence the Muslim clerics became more important as Cham royal authority continued to decline. Similarly, the importance of Cham Ahiér priests continued to increase as well.

Ariya Tuen Phaow, by most interpretations, was completed in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, in this context of a declining royal authority, and the increasing authority of the priest and cleric classes. While the manuscript itself is not Qur’anic in nature, or as explicitly

⁴²⁵ C.: *Kau nao juk tel patao On Parang*. This line is present in the account Paul Mus received, although it is absent in the CAM Microfilm 16 version that was produced in the 1950s – 1970s. It is possible that the line was dropped after the battle of Điện Biên Phủ (1954) or in the certain context that the French were about to leave Indochina, supposedly for good.

Islamic influenced as comparable Malay literature, it does invoke the most basic devotion to Allah and loyalty to Ali, on the part of Tuan Phaow. We also know that the area of peninsular Malaysia was becoming a hub of Islamic influence for Sunnī jurisprudence and specifically Sufi variants of Sunnī Islam. Nevertheless, most communities in Kampong Speu, Kampong Cham, Rong Damrei, and even Pāñduraṅga, continued to see Islam on their own terms. Furthermore, in Pāñduraṅga, many remained Hindu-oriented. The manuscript *Ariya Tuen Phaow* is clear in its final implication: it calls for the Cham to continue their resistance against the Vietnamese. We may assume, based on the content of the manuscript, that an overt, violent revolt against Vietnamese influence is the original intention of this call.

In later iterations of the *Ariya Tuan Phaow* manuscript, particularly those composed in the later nineteenth and twentieth century, the manuscript itself became a memory piece. Literati continued to copy it and keep it alive as it was intended to memorialize the histories of past attempts to remain independent from the Vietnamese. By writing about resistance, Cham could continue to separate themselves from Vietnamese without needing to engage in outward violent rebellion. The subtle implication of a second, more peaceful, cultural resistance, was certainly a matter of caring for the communities associated with literati, since it was a means to guarantee that distinctions between Cham and Vietnamese would continue, while the safety of the community would be less threatened. Contrary to more contemporary scholarly interpretations that tend to view Islam as a form of resistance, it is likely that those who became more sympathetic to Islam, and became more staunchly Sunnī, retreated across the borderlands to Rong Damrei (Tây Ninh), Kampong Cham, and Kampong Speu. Those who remained Hindu, and in some ways, were more active in their continued resistance against the Vietnamese, remained in Pāñduraṅga. There were some Muslims who remained in Pāñduraṅga as well,

though their numbers would have been quite a bit smaller than the seventeenth century, particularly as Ppo Cei Brei had relocated a rather large contingent to Rong Damrei. In the interim of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century *Ariya Bini Cam* is the only manuscript that records what the social setting in Pāñdurāga would have been, as all other known *ariya* have been dated to the nineteenth century.

IVb Ariya Bini Cam [1771-1802]

In its classical form *Ariya Bini Cam* is also known by the title *Nai Mai Māng Mākah*. It was recently re-popularized in a Vietnamese translation by Inrasara. Inrasara (1994: 161) indicates the oldest extant version of the manuscript that was credited to the pen of Than Tieng (1903).⁴²⁶ Karim et al. (2000) argued the events of the poem could be dated to between 1692 and 1802. The worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar at Aia Trang, as discussed in chapter two, is critical to dating this manuscript. Nha Trang definitively became Vietnamese territory in 1653. So, the reference to the worship of Ppo Inâ Nâgar at Nha Trang, must have occurred sometime when it would have been possible to worship the goddess at the Bimong Kalan Ppo Inâ Nâgar sometime after 1653. The lines about Ppo Romé indicate the manuscript must be post-1651. The lines: “*There is an army invading, The Cham go up to Mâdren, the Bini go down to Caraih, Blood flows over the heel of my horse, Exhausted elephants stand around the skulls*” likely refer to a revolt that occurred in 1692. All existing information suggests that the Cham were not able to visit Nha Trang between 1692 and the Tây Son rebellion. The frontier was closed to the Cham for almost a century. Hence,

⁴²⁶ The original manuscript was 325 stanzas, although not all stanzas have been preserved.

Karim et al. (2000) suggest the only time that individuals could have visited Aia Trang would have been during the Tây Son rebellion (1771-1802). They conclude the manuscript was likely written by a nineteenth century author, regarding events in the eighteenth century.⁴²⁷

Regardless of the exact date of creation and the location of the narrative, the poem *Ariya Bini Cam* is almost certainly indicative of the social circumstance of the last Champā polities after the time of the Tây Son rebellion [see: Appendix I]. There is the impression that Islamic influence from across the Gulf of Thailand are supposed to aid the Cham people. There is also the continued impression that the Vietnamese are coming from the north and threatening to conquer the remaining Cham polities. The poem arises out of a specific historical context. While it well remembers the “religions of the soil” in the worship of local Cham Ahiér deities, it also highlights the increased desire for many Cham to convert to Islam. In *Ariya Bini Cam* the conversion narrative is expressed as a romantic relationship, and so, the poem echoes associations between the romantic love of an individual and romantic love of Allah that were well present in Southeast Asian Sufi literature by the eighteenth century, when we think the manuscript was originally composed. We see this particularly in the lines, “*And I am left wandering; As all people enter the Sang Mâgik, returning to the towers, offering foods to the Yang; And our land of Pāñduraṅga; The dusty roads, abandoned, and the people we love; What is left, that rests in our hands? There is a lost bird, it has disappeared.*” The implication is that

⁴²⁷ Notably, Karim et al.’s extant version cannot be dated as far back in its production (1960s) and is a much shorter text: 162 stanzas. Therefore, Inrasara’s original text would have been considered more authoritative among Cham literati, as it is longer, older and apparently more complete. Unfortunately, Inrasara’s original manuscript has not survived and Karim et al.’s (2000) version is the most authoritative version of the manuscript that survives. The two published studies also differ greatly in their ideas about the geography under question in the story. In Inrasara’s interpretation, the polities referenced are more pre-colonial, associated with the entire span of the Champā civilization. However, in Karim et al.’s interpretation the polities are draw more closely in association with *negarā Pāñduraṅga*. They also argued Inrasara confused Mih Ai, “the princess captured from Vijaya in 1044” with Ppo Bia Mih Ai, the name of another royal from Bal Riya (Binh Nghĩa, Ninh Thuận).

the Bani are entering the *sang mágik* and the Ahiér are entering the towers, but the connection to Allah is through “a lost bird” that has “disappeared.” The sense of longing that the poem closes with evokes sentiments in the audience to “re-”connect, either with the *yang* in the towers, or Allah in the *sang mágik*.

Inrasara’s translation of *Ariya Bini Cam* is a helpful guide for interpretation, although it cannot be used as a direct translation into English without additional analysis. In Vietnamese, the lines referring to the “hour glass figure” of the princess are translated as “having the figure of a bee” – the rough equivalent of the “hour glass figure” idiom in Vietnamese language. In this case, the translation holds. In another case, the reference to the “Yang”⁴²⁸ were translated into Vietnamese as *Linh Hòn* – which would be the rough equivalent of “spirits” in English – however, a more accurate English translation would be “gods” – or *vị thần* in Vietnamese.⁴²⁹ The distinction is important because it delineates the contours of the spiritual realm with which the audience of *Ariya Bini Cam* was expected to engage. Another question may be raised by the reference to *Inâ Girai*, which has been most frequently translated as “dragon.” From all evidence at hand, by the nineteenth century onward, the Cham “Inâ Girai” was little different from the portrayal of a Chinese dragon. Hence, Inrasara used the Vietnamese term “dragon” in his translation. The reference to the “Inâ Girai” in the text seems to refer to a temple tower complex and is therefore likely a mystical Indic influenced *naga* serpent rather than a dragon. There are also some minor cultural references that are quite common across Vietnamese and Cham culture: the “song of the cicadas” is a reference to “complaints,” while the “song of the crane” is a

⁴²⁸ Similar to the Balinese: *hyang*

⁴²⁹ The pairing *Bimong Yang* for example, seems to reference the Hindu influenced sites of the Cham (Bimong) and therefore indicate ‘gods.’

reference to “sadness;” and, as such, in these cases Inrasara’s translation remains a useful guide for analysis.⁴³⁰

To consider the sacred geography of the manuscript, we may begin where *Ariya Bini Cam* begins, at the port of *Harek Kah Harek Dhei*.⁴³¹ The princess first arrived at this port after embarking from Mâkah. Inrasara (1994) claimed that it was part of Quảng Bình province, which the Vietnamese acquired in 1306 CE. In response, Sakaya (2010: 414-415) argued that this was a reference to a port that had been in the norther part of Khanh Hòa province, which only became Vietnamese territory in 1653 and re-entered contestation from the time of the Tây Sơn onwards. I suggest that the point could either be historical or metaphorical. In other words, the territories do not need to have been in Cham possession when the text to be written for them to be referenced. Both locations for *Harek Kah Harek Dhei* are therefore acceptable, so long as it is understood that the port is “far to the north.” That said, not all the territories referenced in the poem have contested locations. For example, the reference to Pajai is unanimously interpreted to be one of the four portions of *negarā Pāñduraṅga* that remained part of Cham territory until the nineteenth century, specifically nearby the settlements of Mâ Lam town today. Meanwhile, Caraih is Châu

⁴³⁰ Ppo Nai is a Cham spiritual leader and Caramai is a kind of tree (Fr.: Chéramélier). These references raise the point that there are several animals in the poem that may not have clear English language equivalents. The translations for these lines were put forward at first in conversation with Cô Hồng, and later confirmed with Inrasara.

⁴³¹ The greatest discussion among Cham literati on *Ariya Bini Cam* is not about the detailed translation of the text, but rather regarding the historical geography and historicity of the poem, a point that I seek to find a middle-ground upon. If the poem is meant to represent the historical geography of Cham population that they could access between the seventeenth and eighteenth century, as in Karim et al.’s (2000) and Sakaya’s (2010) interpretations, the entire historical geography of points of reference for Cham manuscripts shifts. If one follows Inrasara’s interpretation, the range of geography referenced is much larger. Either way the discussion furthers scholarly understandings of Cham sacred geography from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century. One issue is “the location of Mâkah in Cham manuscripts,” and this is one that we shall return to later.

Hanh, nearby Phan Rí. Aia Njar is Thanh Kiết, Palei Lambar is Lam Giang and Parik is Phan Rí. Bal Caung is taken to be an old collection of ramparts that were in Ninh Thuận province.⁴³²

There are many character references in *Ariya Bini Cam* that anchor the poem socially and chronologically, although the factual nature of these characters' existence is not so much a matter of consequence. More importantly *Ariya Bini Cam* attempted to form a cohesive sense of Cham community, regardless of divisions and other pressures, through the presentation of a vision of Cham history through the inclusion of the figures of Sah Binh, Ppo Romé and Bia Ut, all of whom are clearly seventeenth century 'characters'. The reference to the Grandma Cakling and Grandpa Pasa couple is clearly a reference to the adoptive parents of the Champā sovereign Ppo Klaong Garai, who are supposed to have lived near Palei Caklaing.⁴³³ Meanwhile, the reference to the Koho in this poem is of interest. The Koho have mostly lived near Lam Đồng province, in the central highlands region of Vietnam and just to the uplands of Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces. This area was not particularly strongly tied to the Cham at the time, with the sole exception that it was also the homeland of the creolized Churu people. Additionally, since Ppo Romé himself was a Churu and the Churu lineage of Ppo Romé was part of the royal lineage of the *negarā* polity of Pāñduraṅga from the seventeenth through the end of the eighteenth century, the Koho, although a Mon-Khmer language-speaking ethnic group, were important potential allies for the Cham against the Vietnamese.

There are several aspects of Cham geography that are recorded in *Ariya Bini Cam*, which were critical to the presentation of a unified Cham community, because the locations were

⁴³² For example, a "tổ hổ" is a kind of nesting bird, known as "Ciim Baratot" in Cham. However, the English equivalent of this bird is still unknown. After consultation with many experts and dictionaries I could not settle on an acceptable equivalent.

⁴³³ Vn.: Mỹ Nghiệp, Ninh Thuận province

associated with past religious sites, more recent important settlements, and, for the Cham of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, current religious sites. Turning from the uplands to the lowlands, there are many geographic and character references in *Ariya Bini Cam* that are not particularly contested among various scholars and therefore anchor the location of the poem. For example, the lake *Danao Panrang* is undeniably near Palei Hamu Craok, or Bầu Trúc in Ninh Thuận province, a site associated with the Cham god of pottery. The village of the white sands, is a clear reference to the Bani village of Palei Cuah Patih,⁴³⁴ a site associated with old Bani grave locations. Moving northward the references to *Aia Trang* and *Negar Aia Trang* are clearly to the contemporary Vietnamese location of Nha Trang, and have been most important in the interpretations of Karim et al. (2000), since the area of Nha Trang is only presumed to have been re-opened to the Cham during the time of the Tây Sơn rebellion. The next reference to sacred geography in the poem is a potentially debatable location, Bal Batthinâng, which was in Phú Yên province, according to Inrasara, but is supposed to have been in Ninh Thuận according to some other interpretations (Karim et al. 2000; Sakaya 2010). Similarly, Bal Huh and Bal Lai are supposed to have been in Phú Yên in Inrasara's interpretation, but they are in Ninh Thuận, according to Sakaya (2010). Sakaya believed that Bal Huh was Củ Hủ,⁴³⁵ while Bal Lai was Hòa Lai tower. Meanwhile, the reference to the Mountain of Huh is taken by Karim et al. (2000) to be nearby Cát Gia village in Ninh Thuận province. Next, the name Medren is taken to be the name of the Cham for Di Linh, Lam Đồng province, while Mblang Kasa is thought to be a Vietnamese settlement, now, by the village of Thôn. Bal He is simply an unknown, or "lost," location and therefore raises questions as to its exact meaning. Similarly, the reference to the "Tiger tower" is not clear, although in most contemporary interpretations it is taken as the vicinity of Yang

⁴³⁴ Vn.: Tuần Tú. Patih appears as 'Patuh' in some manuscript versions, due to a spelling error.

⁴³⁵ Mỹ Tường, Ninh Hải, Ninh Thuận

Pakran or Ba Tháp, again, the Hòa Lai tower, just south of Cam Ranh and just north of Phan Rang. The location of each of these sites has been important for Cham literati to consider throughout the epochs, since the sites of various points in the poem are thought to record various religious sites, and sites where Cham shrines ought to be rebuilt, maintained, and preserved.

In addition to locating religious sites through lines of the poem *Ariya Bini Cam*, the location of the old capitals of Champā was a matter of concern for Cham who were interested in the preservation of Champā history to solidify their communal identity. One clear historical reference is to the village of *Bal Riya*, which is normally interpreted as an old Cham capital, although this capital is referred to most frequently as the settlement of Bình Nghĩa in Ninh Thuận province. However, many of the other “ramparts” and “capitals” in the poem are up for interpretation. For example, based off the standing assumptions present in the field of Cham studies, Inrasara (1994) interpreted Bal Sri Banây as in Bình Định province, Bal Hanguw as in Quảng Nam province and Bal Anguei as in Quảng Ngãi. However, according to Karim et al. (2000), these areas were present in Ninh Thuận. Sakaya (2010) argued that Bal Sri Banây was Thị Nại.⁴³⁶ Many local scholars suggested that Inrasara was simply in error during my fieldwork. However, his interpretation followed exactly that of E. Aymonier (1890, 1893) who had collaborated with Cham scholars at the turn of the century. So, more likely, Inrasara’s work, drawing from Aymonier’s demonstrated Cham power further up the coastline – a position that would have been more relevant in Aymonier’s time. Meanwhile, Karim et al.’s and Sakaya’s positions consolidated sacred historical geography in Ninh Thuận province, a position that is more important today. In my interpretation, either is acceptable, since both represent a

⁴³⁶ Ninh Chữ, Tri Thủy, Ninh Hải, Ninh Thuận

connection to lost territories that were annexed by the Vietnamese, which is the main point of the poetic reference to sacred geography in *Ariya Bini Cam*.

In addition to the sacred and historical geography of Cham areas in Ninh Thuận, Bình Thuận and further into the uplands, as well as along the coast – that is described in chapters one and two – *Ariya Bini Cam* begins to make a move that is of greater import for this study. In the text, there are more of a reference to the “different kinds of Cham” that existed historically, but effectively do not exist today. By comparison to earlier and later historical evidence, *Ariya Bini Cam* makes an explicit reference to the division of the Cham people between lowland⁴³⁷ and upland⁴³⁸ populations. There are also reference to religious divisions that are no longer present in popular parlance. For example, the term “Cam Gok,” may be, alternatively, either a reference to the “pure ancestor worshipping Cham”⁴³⁹ or the Shaivite-Hindu influenced Cham.⁴⁴⁰ Though it is more popular in contemporary times to use the first interpretation, at the turn of the century it is likely that the interpretation would have suggested that these two groups are the same, as did Aymonier (1890, 1893). Similarly, there are three terms for Muslims that appear in the text: *Cawa* – for Malays; *Bini* – for Islamic influenced Cham; and *Ralaoh*⁴⁴¹ for Cham Muslims. Historically, this is important because it demonstrates that the Cham made a distinction between more Shi'a and Sufi-Sunnī influenced *Bini* and the more Šāfi'i-Sunnī influenced *Ralaoh* during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when the text was likely produced. However, with increased diaspora, contact with the Malays and Islamicization, the term *Ralaoh* fell out of usage in Cham language literature.

⁴³⁷ C.: *Cam Tanran*

⁴³⁸ C.: *Cam Cek*

⁴³⁹ C.: *Cam Jat*

⁴⁴⁰ C.: *Cam Ahiér*

⁴⁴¹ A possible truncation of: *Urang Uwallah*

As of this writing, all evidence suggests the term *Ralaoh* did not last beyond the French colonial period to indicate Cham Muslims. By the nineteenth century “New Cham”⁴⁴² and “Cham Muslim”⁴⁴³ were already more popular terms as we will see in chapters five and six. What is most important, perhaps, is the indication of the origins of the princess from afar, and potentially, Kelantan.⁴⁴⁴ If indeed Mâkah is taken to be Kelantan as Karim et al. believe, then, “Bani” was not an ethnically exclusive term in the seventeenth to nineteenth century, far from the connotations of the twentieth to twenty-first century usage. In fact, the poem suggests that these terms were local ideas regarding a greater debate that was taking place in the Gulf of Thailand network from the sixteenth through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and resulted in Šāfi’ī Sunnī Islam becoming the dominant school of jurisprudence in the region.

IVc Ariya Ppo Phauk [1800-1835]

During the early nineteenth century, the expansion of the Siamese *mandala* into the Malay peninsula and Khmer territory brought a Malay diaspora in increasing contact with Cham populations. Additionally, as the Cham, like the Maa, Jarai and Ede, were pressed by the expansion of the house of Nguyễn and the foundation of the Nguyễn dynasty in 1802, they would increasingly turn toward Khmer territory, coming into increased contact with the Malay

⁴⁴² C.: *Cam Ahiér*

⁴⁴³ C.: *Cam Islam*

⁴⁴⁴ Kelantan has become one of the most important communities for the Cham in Malaysia. Additionally, near Kelantan there are a number of name of locations such as *Pengkalan Cepa* “the jetty of Champā” as well as *Kampung Cepa* the “village of Cham people.” There were also costumes (M: *tanjak*), textiles (*sutra* and *kain*), daggers (*Keris*), paddy (*padi*) and a hair decoration (*sanggul*) that all held the name *Cepa* (taken to be *Champā*) that appeared in Kelantan (Nishio 2008: 88) With regard to these place names, Thurgood (2007) and Abdul-Rahman (1988) have suggested that these were also because of Achenese influence in Kelantan (Ken 2013: 161).

diaspora in the borderlands between Malay, Siamese, Khmer and Vietnamese power. According to the court at Hué, while *phủ* Bình Thuận remained Vietnamese, Pāñḍuraṅga was re-established as a *trấn* or “military province,” of Thuận Thành, some of whose territory overlapped with Bình Thuận. To consolidate power, and negate the Champa royal contestation of the Hué court, Ppo Saong Nyung Ceng (Nguyễn Văn Chân) was given the title of the head of the new *trấn*, although this new title did not change many matters in the borderlands. Cham and Vietnamese villagers still competed for the farmland in the area, and the Cham Ppo rarely supported the court at Hué. Ppo Phaok [The] (Nguyễn Văn Thừa) even rallied troops to support Lê Văn Duyệt of Gia Định Thành (now Ho Chi Minh City) in his rebellion against Hué. Ppo Phaok The and his subordinate Dhar Kaok even shifted their annual tribute to Lê Văn Duyệt. When Lê Văn Duyệt died in 1832, Ppo Phaok The was arrested for treason (Weber 2008: 67; Po 1987a: 110, 113). Then in 1832, Minh Mạng issued an edict that attempted to reorganize Thuận Thành and Bình Thuận into a single province (Vn.: *tỉnh*), now known as Bình Thuận province. Hàm Thuận and Ninh Thuận were elevated to the status of prefectures, while Hoà Đa, An Phúc, Tuy Định and Tuy Phong were all created as new districts (Vn.: *huyện*) (Weber 2008: 68). At the same time the nineteenth century “state-building” projects of the Siamese and Vietnamese, but also the Khmers, placed a heavy emphasis upon the merger of Buddhism and royal authority. Non-Buddhist traditions were frequently targeted for criticism and occasionally violently stamped out. Consequentially, it is not a great surprise that Cham and Malay populations, unified under the banner of Islamic tradition, led a handful of religiously motivated revolts in the early nineteenth century.

The first Cham and Malay anti-royal revolts occurred in Cambodia, along the Thai-Khmer-Vietnamese borderlands, resulting in the deportation of Cham Muslims to Bangkok and

the Baan Krua⁴⁴⁵ community in 1812, resulting in Cham community into three settlements in the “village.” Others would be forced into Bangkok in 1826, 1833 and 1847 (Baffie 1993: 191).⁴⁴⁶ Just afterward, an influential Malay from Nakhon, Tuan Guru Hajji Hasan (On Hasan), travelled to Mecca in the 1830s and then travelled to Kampot, in Khmer territory and lived there until he was buried in Luong. Bradley (2015) used this information to suggest that the teachings of Shayk Da’ud bin ‘Abd Allah Al-Fatani had reached Cambodia by the middle of the nineteenth century (Bradley 2015: 112-113). Furthermore, historian Mohammed bin Zain Musa found evidence from his research in Kelantan and Cambodia that suggests that there were at least three Malay Tuan from Kelantan who left for Cambodia in the nineteenth century (Zain Musa 2011: 89).

Although the presence of individual Sufi treatises showing linkages to the Patani school teachers cannot be confirmed in Cambodia until the twentieth century, the increase in Islamic influence has been linked to another revolution against the Khmer court that rose out of the Cham and Malay communities of Kampong Cham province in 1830. Meanwhile, the increase in the influence of Islamic clerics can be tied to the increase in Islamic influence in *negarā* Pāñduraṅga leading up to the time of *Ariya Ppo Phauk* (1828 – 1835). The first two critical revolts that occurred in the 1830s were those of the Cham against Minh Mệnh, from the last Champā polity: *negarā* Pāñduraṅga. Both were led by a rising class of important clerics: the *katip*. *Katip* were prevalent not only in Sunnī Muslim, but also in Bani communities. These *katip*

⁴⁴⁵ alt.: Ban Khrua

⁴⁴⁶ Cham forces from Ayutthaya joined with refugees who were newly arrived in Siam. The Royal Navy included Cham volunteers (T.: Krom Asa Cham), who were tattooed with an anchor. Some were even present in the Siamese attack on Hà Tiên in 1833. In 1889, they were part of forces that repressed a Chinese secret society rebellion in Phuket. When they were no longer allowed to join as volunteers, many continued to work in boat factories or were paid sailors (Weber 2008: 74). Siamese expansion brought Bangkok into direct conflict with Hué from 1842 to 1845 (Raben 2014: 28). It is likely that Cham forces continued to be important in these conflicts. Hà Tiên was also an important independent polity. They minted their own coins, built their own temples and fortresses and upheld the rituals of the Ming court. Hà Tiên was purchased from the Khmer king in about 1700, although they were increasingly tempted to pay tribute to Nguyễn Vietnam in the face of attacks from Siam (Reid 2015: 185)

were, however, demonstrative of the greater divide between the Bani influenced community and the larger Sunnī Muslim community.

There are two crucial manuscripts that are versions of *Ariya Ppo Phauk*, the first is a 1974 compilation of four manuscripts from the Center for Cham Culture (CAM Microfilm 17).⁴⁴⁷ This fourteen-page manuscript was originally collected in 1968. It opens with a dedication to the Cham deity Ppo Debita,⁴⁴⁸ which scholars have taken to be derived from the Sanskrit *devata* – meaning ‘deity’ – in this case, and indicating that the scholar who penned the manuscript was a Cham Shaivite Hindu oriented priest. It recounts relations between the Cham, Bani, Raglai, Koho and Churu peoples, again indicating the importance of the Koho in the nineteenth century context. The manuscript also indicates that Sunnī Islamic traditions as well as Nguyễn Đàng Trong Vietnamese culture had an influence on the Cham at the time (Po Dharma 1987: 5-9, 31, 35-88).

The second most important text for the study of *Ariya Ppo Phauk* is the manuscript of the *ariya* itself, which gives the socio-historical setting for the text. It is important because it records a moment in Cham history, and a moment that Cham literati sought to preserve. It demonstrates how Cham recorded themselves as separate from the Vietnamese through identifying with the lineage of a sixth century Persian king, how Cham communities were relocated by force, and how certain dietary restrictions on eating poisonous plants were forcibly broken. By contrast with CCC.C1, has no invocation at the beginning of the text, although it does contain an invocation of Allah in line 181. Again, this manuscript records socio-political and economic relations between the Vietnamese, Churu, Cham, Raglai and Koho peoples. However, given the

⁴⁴⁷ The collection is labelled CCC.C1.

⁴⁴⁸ This may be related to a Khmer deity or goddess known as “Yay Deb.”

historical context of Ppo Phauk's reign, it is understandable that the manuscript itself demonstrates a quite tense relationship between the Cham and the Vietnamese. Minh Mệnh is portrayed as an insufferable force. He is charged with ravaging the environment and repressing the Cham people. Another contemporaneous manuscript (CM 29, c. 1832-1835) records the destruction of Bani *sang mágik* temple-mosques during this time. Children were separated from their mothers. People were forced to eat wild fruit and vegetables, resulting in food poisoning and the Churu, Raglai, Cham Ahiér and Cham Awal (Bani) populations were essentially ghettoized, forced to live in specific districts based upon race and creed. Oral history has suggested that the Bani were forced to move away from their oldest surviving ancestral grave site: Ghur Darak Neh.⁴⁴⁹ The countryside was also deforested, dams were constructed and water resources were increasingly overdrawn. Rice agriculture⁴⁵⁰ replaced traditional light farming⁴⁵¹ in many areas. There is then a call for the “people of *nagar Nousarwan*” the Cham, Raglai and Churu, to revolt against the Vietnamese, for the sake of the land and the people. Given the popularity of the image of Nousarwan in the Malay world and the Cham world at the time, it is likely that “Nagar Nousarwan” was simply used to refer to all the peoples who were not Vietnamese, but were living in the former Cham areas of negarā Pāñdurāṅga.⁴⁵² Subsequently in Cham, Nagar Nousarwan and negarā Pāñdurāṅga are generally taken to be synonyms (Po Dharma 1987: 9, 169-217).⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁹ alt.: Ghur Ranaih, XVII c. in origin

⁴⁵⁰ C.: *ngap hamu padei*

⁴⁵¹ C.: *ngap apuh*; see previous chapter for more on *apuh* farming.

⁴⁵² The research of Paul Mus and Bố Thuận (1930s) suggested that the term “Nagar Nousarwan” was derived from a reference to a famous sixth century king of Persia.

⁴⁵³ Details from the On Tai manuscript suggest that from 1831 to 1837 – and even on to 1840 – in some areas: 1) no Cham could engage in spirit possession rituals (C.: *ngak ka-ing*); 2) Bani clerics and Cham priests of the Acar, Kadhar, Maduer and Basaih classes were forbidden from performing ritual actions; 3) in 1834 the Cham were forced to abandon the Cham saraong (C.: *khan*) for trouser pants. The Po Acar (the lowest class of Cham clerics)

The call to revolt made in *Ariya Ppo Phauk* was made by the Cham between 1833 and 1835 in several phases. However, the Cham (and Malay) revolts against the Nguyễn Vietnamese at the time were hardly isolated events. Repressive Nguyễn policies led to severe political discontent and a whole series of revolts along the Nguyễn borderlands, stretching from their very southern territories, nearby contemporary Ho Chi Minh City to their very northern territories, nearby contemporary Hà Nội. Among the best known and best researched of these revolts is the Lê Văn Khôi revolt that broke out from the former Nguyễn citadel of Gia Định (now inside Hồ Chí Minh City). It has even been reported that the Cham partnered with the forces of Lê Văn Khôi.⁴⁵⁴ However, a formal alliance was extremely unlikely. In the early 1830s Cham led anti-Nguyễn revolts were initially very religious in nature, citing Islamic values and would have been just as hostile to Lê Văn Khôi's Catholic forces. Furthermore, scholars of Vietnamese history seem to have upstreamed the later importance of Catholicism in the south (after 1954) reading back into their concern for Lê Văn Khôi, a completely understandable move. However, Nguyễn historians seem to have had opposite, or at least conflicting concerns. An analysis of the Nguyễn dynasty chronicle has suggested that they were much more worried with the potential of increasingly Malay, Cham and, by extension, Islamic influence, along their southern frontier, as well as the potential of a Champā revival (Po Dharma 1988: 66). During this time three critical revolts occurred. The first two critical revolts that occurred in the 1830s were those of the Cham against Minh Mệnh, from the last Champā polity: *negarā Pāñduraṅga*. Both were led by a rising class of important clerics: the *katip*. *Katip* were prevalent not only in Sunnī Muslim, but also in

were forced to leave the *sang māgik*. They were not allowed to shave their heads. They were also forced to break the “new year’s fasts.” (*Sakarai di On Tai di Hamu Limān*).

⁴⁵⁴ Lê Văn Khôi's father had helped the Nguyễn put down the Tây Sơn rebellion and had also aided in the silencing of a Khmer monastic rebellion in the 1820s. However, when the father died in 1832, the son revolted, until his own death in 1834. Lê Văn Duyệt's intervention in the borderlands, however, brought on an “unprecedented” intervention in Cambodian politics by the Vietnamese (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 324).

Bani communities. These *katip* were, however, demonstrative of the greater divide between the Bani influenced community and the larger Sunnī Muslim community.

The first of the Cham *katip* to lead a revolt against the Nguyẽn dynasty was Katip Sumat. He is often referred to as a “new Cham”⁴⁵⁵ in Cham manuscripts, and is therefore taken to be a member of the Šāfi’ī Sunnī Islam community.⁴⁵⁶ He had studied for several years in Kelantan and was given an army by the Malay Sultan Mohammed I of Keltantan [r. 1800-1837] in his efforts against the Vietnamese. It is said that the Sultan of Malaysia was of the same lineage of Ppo Romé’s Keltantan line and that the Nguyẽn had just sent troops to lead a repression into the Cham areas around Phanrang, Parik, Kraong and Pajai, and so the Malay Sultan was sympathetic to Katip Sumat’s pleas. Katip Sumat then travelled through Kampong Cham in Khmer territory, raising Cham and Malay people to add to his forces, before arriving in negarā Pāñduraṅga, just as Tuan Phaow had done several decades earlier. His rebellion was supported by Ppo Phaok The, Ppo Nyi Liang, Ppo Ling and Ppo Ciang, all of whom were Pāñduraṅga nobility (Weber 2008: 68). Ken (2013) has added that he believed that there were members of Katip Sumat’s Cham forces that had supported Lê Văn Khoi in his revolt against Hué and were therefore particularly brutally repressed. Regardless, the forces of Katip Sumat were united specifically in an external purification effort⁴⁵⁷ to purge the coastal areas of non-Islamic influence and appear to have little concern for any of Lê Văn Khoi’s ideas, besides as to how they could be manipulated to support general anti-Vietnamese sentiments in their 1833-1834 revolt (Po 1987).

The second revolt of a *katip* from Cham areas seems to be of a quite different nature. Generally, most historical accounts refer to the second revolt as that of “Thak Wa” or “Ja Thak

⁴⁵⁵ C.: *Cam Biruw*

⁴⁵⁶ See: *Sakurai di On Tai di Hamu Liman* for example.

⁴⁵⁷ Ar.: *jihād*

Wa" from 1834. Here the application of the term *Ja* is curious. It is taken to be a truncation of the Sanskrit *Jaya* and is a popular name for boys, particularly simply indicating "maleness" amongst members of the Churu community. *Ja* is only occasionally taken as a masculine prefix by Cham population. This may raise unanswerable questions about the lineage of Ja Thak Wa.⁴⁵⁸ Regardless, CM 24 refers to him as *Katip Thak Wa*, and a collection of various manuscripts combined with oral historical tradition tells us that he originated from the village of Palei Rem. By Cham naming conventions his complete title would be: *Katip Ja(ya) Thak Wa di Palei Rem*. We can confirm that he was likely in contact with Ralaoh Cham Muslims, Cham Bini and Cham Śaivite Hindu influenced Ahiér populations. Po Dharma (1987) additionally argued that unlike the earlier religiously motivated revolts of Tuan Phaow and Katip Sumat, the revolt of Katip Ja(ya) Thak Wa di Palei Rem was *not* of a religiously motivated nature, but proto-nationalist. Furthermore, Weber (2008) has added that he attempted to reinstate the Champa royalty under the figure Ppo War Palei (La Bôn Vương) (Po Dharma 1987: 22-23, 153-170, 179-217; LaFont 1988: 78; Po Dharma 1988: 66; Ken 2004; DeFeo 2004: 83; Weber 2008: 68; Zain Musa 2011: 89; Ken 2013: 163-164). Regardless, the repression of the revolts of both Katip, combined with events in Cambodia, seems to have sent another wave of Cham migrants to settle in the borderlands community of Tây Ninh province.

Just as the Cham communities in Vietnam were subsumed under the power of the Nguyễn dynasty, as the last anti-Vietnamese movements had been completely put down by 1835, anti-royal and by extension, anti-Buddhist sentiments, continued in Cambodia through the mid-1830s. The grandson of Tuan Set Asmed appears led a revolt from Thabung Khum, Kampong

⁴⁵⁸ In later epochs, as in the middle of the twentieth century, and in the twenty first century, it was common for individuals of Cham ethnicity to take the term *Ja* as part of their "Cham name," often in a nod to either figures from the Cham-Churu court, or such a historical figure as Ja Thak Wa.

Cham, against the Khmer royalty in 1834 (Perez-Periero diss. 2012; DeFeo 2004: 71). There are also sources that claim that this individual was the ‘son’ of Set Asmed (also: Sahmit Ahmit), who had been a minister of Ang Chan, and that this revolt occurred in 1858 during the reign of Ang Duong (DeFeo 2004: 71, 79). Although these details may appear mundane, they highlight the beginnings of a divergence between the Kampong Chhnang community under Imam San and the Kampong Cham community under the lineage of Sahmit Ahmit, one of the most critical distinctions that impacts the distinctions of jurisprudence in contemporary Cambodia. In Nguyễn Vietnam, the failures of these revolts had very different implications for the Cham.

The anti-Vietnamese revolts of the 1830s may well have been the death-rattles of the once great Champā civilization that had formerly controlled the majority of what is now the Vietnamese coastline. By 1835 the last territories of the Champā elite were definitively in Vietnamese hands, although some members of the Cham royal Ppo lineage were retained as Vietnamese *quân* mandarins. It has also been suggested that the last of the Cham Bani (Awal) communities were forced to move away from the coasts of Phanrang, Phanrik, Kraong and Pajai during this year, as Vietnamese built more watch stations⁴⁵⁹ along the coast line.⁴⁶⁰ Between seven and twelve villages were destroyed along the coast in 1834 and the Vietnamese seized Cham salt plots⁴⁶¹ between 1832 and 1835. When the Vietnamese supplied salt, fish sauce, and salted fish to the Mekong Delta and toward Phnom Penh, most of the salt products were extracted from Bình Thuận. The Cham population no longer had substantial access to salt

⁴⁵⁹ Vn.: tấn

⁴⁶⁰ These watch stations were increasingly string between Phan Thiết, Phan Rang and Vị Nê (1827), although the Phan Thiết post was relocated to Ma Văn in 1832. The posts controlled all maritime traffic, stopping any vessel that they pleased. They reported many attacks by “Javanese pirates” (Vn.: giặc Đồ Bờ), as well as troops of “Javanese mountain barbarians” (Vn.: Đồ Bờ sơn man), who attacked from Bình Thuận to Quảng Ngãi.. In 1834, the marine militia of Bình Thuận was doubled (Weber 2008: 70).

⁴⁶¹ C.: *hamu sara*

brine⁴⁶² and faced starvation.⁴⁶³ Cham were also asked to cut large amounts of timber for Vietnamese war boats between 1832 and 1835, ensuring that the Vietnamese controlled Cham access to timber and effectively cutting off the possibility that they could build their own boats. They were also conscripted to hunt elephants, cutting off the potential of Cham hunting or raising their own elephants. Rice fields were also seized and subjected to Vietnamese taxes.⁴⁶⁴ Bani *sang māgik* were destroyed and grave sites were desecrated. Vietnamese clothing and language were mandated (Weber 2008: 69-73; CM 23; CM 29; CM35(2); CM 32(5); CAM 60).⁴⁶⁵ Hence, from 1835 onward, the Cham Bani populations of the towns of Palei Pamblap Klak, Palei Pamblap Biruw and Palei Cang would travel through Vietnamese territory once each year to reach their ancestral *ghur* grave sites in such locations as Ghur Darak Neh⁴⁶⁶ and Nguyễn Văn Cư street, Phan Rang city – during the ceremonies of Ramâwan⁴⁶⁷ (Noseworthy & Quang Văn Sơn 2013). Finally, from the mid-nineteenth century onward, the Chinese dragon had a distinct influence upon the *Inâ Girai* image that is commonly portrayed in Cham ceremonies. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese adaptation of the Yin-Yang symbol into the red and yellow “âm-duong” symbol was infused with the Awal-Ahiér philosophy of the Cham. This philosophy would also look back to remember the original power of Ppo Romé in his ability to unite the Ahiér and Awal aspects of Cham society. Both the Ahiér and Awal were fully able to practice their religion again by the 1840s,⁴⁶⁸ and, the context suggests that there were some re-emergent tensions that appeared between the two groups. The contestation and division that appears to

⁴⁶² C.: *aia mathin*

⁴⁶³ C.: *aek lapa*

⁴⁶⁴ C.: *jiâ*

⁴⁶⁵ In this context, the ancestor of the contemporary Cham poet and scholar Inrasara, wrote the *Ariya Gleng Anak* “Looking Forward” poem in 1835.

⁴⁶⁶ Also: Ghur Ranaih; Vn.: Mỹ Tường

⁴⁶⁷ Ar.: *Ramadan*

⁴⁶⁸ See: *Sakarai di On Tai di Hamu Limân*

have continued between the Cham and Bani at the time was memorialized in the nineteenth century epic poem *Ariya Cam Bini*.

IVd Ariya Cam Bini

Unlike the earlier manuscripts reviewed in this chapter, *Ariya Cam Bini* is generally viewed as purely a-historical. It is usually only considered a piece of epic or romantic poetry. However, in as much as the piece was popularized just after the final incorporation of Pāṇḍurāṅga into Nguyẽn Vietnamese territory, the piece is critical to highlighting the emergence of the Eastern Cham community as culturally distinct from the Western Cham community. Although Cham frequently emphasize the penultimate unity of the Cham community across linguistic and religious lines today, citing the peace that Ppo Romé established between Islamic and Indic influenced elements of the Cham culture in the seventeenth century as evidence, much of the literature of the Eastern Cham community indicates that there was increased tension put on both communities during the time just after the incorporation of Minh Mẽnh's reign. In other words, the external forces of the Vietnamese also put so much pressure on the Cham communities of Pāṇḍurāṅga that internal tensions bubbled up again as well, between Indic and Islamic elements of the Cham culture. What this means is that manuscripts that emphasized the ultimate unity of the Cham across religious divides, and across the geographical divides of the borderlands, became more important. Using this socio-historical setting as a back-drop, the drama begins, but the closing lines of the poem *Ariya Cam Bini* are the most important [see: Appendix II]. The voice of the poet, as narrator, indicates a reference to funerary practice that is centuries old, was still utilized by Hindu oriented Cham in the nineteenth century, and is still

utilized in Hindu oriented Cham communities today, absent one detail: the reference to a “sati” like practice, whereby a woman who is not yet deceased, elects to sacrifice themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband. There are historical references to sati-like practices that appear in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. The poem *Ariya Cam Bini* may be one of the last references to these practices, as it was likely written in the mid-nineteenth century.

In *Ariya Cam Bini* there are even more representations of *adat cam* ethical code than in the other Cham manuscripts mentioned in this chapter thus far. For example, parents are the extreme authority in the household. “Proper prayer,” is highly valued as is giving “proper offerings” (popcorn, coconut, bread cakes, and bananas; dancing and a goat). The punishment in the narrative is extreme, and may not necessarily be taken as a direct historical reference to communal punishments used for transgressions at the time, although this is a distinct possibility. Regardless, once the manuscript was composed and recited, it stood to solidify communal decisions about matchmaking in the hands of parents, who stood at the head of the household. Naturally, this would have garnered much support for the position of the literati from the existing heads of households, and they would become subordinate to the Ahiér priests and Bani clerics who cited the poem as an example of *adat cam*.

It is critical to consider the nineteenth century cultural context in which *Ariya Cam Bini* was written to provide a truly illuminating reading of the poem. For example, consider the fact that both Cham and Bani were supposed to have been brought into a peaceful relationship with each other in the seventeenth century. What cause then do the parents have, to put their children to the mercy of villagers who nearly beat them to death and rub salt, along with chili, into their wounds? Of course, it is possible that there were parents in the nineteenth century who would not allow their Hindu and Muslim oriented children to marry each other. In this situation, however, it

would have been typical for the followers of the Ahiér priest to “enter the Bani path” – as we shall see in the reading of a manuscript provided in the next chapter. However, it was also the case that we know that the rulings of Minh Mệnh kept Cham and Bani communities in separate settlements. The tensions between the two communities based upon perceived unequal treatment could well have been exasperated. Furthermore, if the poem is taken as pure metaphor: the Cham and Bani elements of society have been separated by the Vietnamese, even though they had resolved to not become separate. This would mean that the lines about “putting faith to the test” and “remaining unified even in death” are not meant to apply to individual cases, but rather act as a performed tradition that is recited with the intention of promoting the unity of “Cham culture” across both a Hindu and an Islamic oriented audience in the climate of the nineteenth century.

As a point beyond the analysis of *Ariya Bini Cam* as an individual text: the joint emergence of *Ariya Tuen Phaow*, *Ariya Bini Cam*, *Ariya Ppo Phauk* and *Ariya Cam Bini* – among other *ariya* – all emphasize a high point of *ariya* production that emerges in the nineteenth century. Since the production of the *ariya* seems to become even *more* popular after 1835, after the loss of negarā Pāñduraṅga, it is fair to associate the new genre with a particularly strong trope of memorialization of a “lost kingdom,” that appears throughout their lines. If they were indeed the dominant cultural mode of production for scholarly, literary and religious oriented elites who encountered the early French colonialists, it is not without wonder that French colonialists such as Etienne Aymonier, Antoine Cabaton and Paul Mus, who were in strong contact with the Cham, were in fact well influenced by them. Furthermore, although there are certainly “Bani elements” – meaning distinctly Southeast Asian Islamic tropes – that appear in this body of literature, in orientation, the genre is overwhelming Hindu-Cham in its orientation. The *ariya* therefore represent a form of “self-Indianization” for the Eastern Cham

population. By a deeper analysis of the emergent genres of Cham literature, set within the nineteenth century context of the final demise of the Pāñdurāṅga polities, we can better highlight the divergence of Eastern and Western Cham traditions that occurred for the next century, even as Cham literati attempted to preserve unity.

V Genres of Cham Literature in Cambodia:

Much like *dalikal*, *damnây*, and *ariya*, Cham genres of literature produced in Cambodia were a critical contribution to the repertoires of knowledge for Cham literati. They used these manuscripts care for their communities between 1651 and 1969 as they recorded elements of Cham history, religion, and popular social practice, although manuscripts produced in Cambodia most often were developed through genres that were essentially parallel to *dalikal* and *ariya*. Yet, literature produced in Cambodia was also differed, in that new genres of Islamic religious literature emerged, which will be discussed further below. As Cham literati moved into the Khmer-Vietnamese borderlands near Kampong Cham, Tây Ninh, Kampong Spieu, Kampot and An Giang, they developed new local genres of literature from the nineteenth through the twentieth century that could not be found among Cham in Pāñdurāṅga. There have been few published explorations of Cham genres of literature in Cambodia, although the Cambodia Center for Cham Studies (CCCS) has been at the forefront of research on the subject. Most importantly, the new genres of literature appear in a variant form of the Akhar Thrah script, known as Akhar Srak, that is today recognized as an equivalent to Akhar Thrah for the Western Cham community. It is not possible to come by examples of the Akhar Srak script in Tây Ninh and An Giang today, although there is evidence that the Akhar Srak script was used in these

communities at the turn of the century. Additionally, the use of Akhar Srak script today is limited mostly to the Kaum Imam San group in Cambodia, although this may not historically have been the case as we shall see in chapter six. Excluding the Qur'an, which is viewed as an exception literary work among Cham Muslims, there are at least five genres of "Western Cham literature": *takay sanao*, *kaboun*, *ba neu (yal baranu)*,⁴⁶⁹ *kitab* and *git*. There were also almost certainly multiple types of Qur'anic literature, *tasfir* literature and treatises upon *hadīt*, although these were not limited to Cham communities (see: Bruckmayr 2014). *Takay sanao*, *kaboun*, *ba neu (yal baranu)*, *kitab* and *git* after Cham literati were established in Khmer territory, so, they would have emerged particularly considering the seventeenth century through nineteenth century migrations of the Cham and Champā elites fleeing the initial expansion of the Vietnamese house of Nguyẽn.⁴⁷⁰ Hence, there is some variation between these genres and those of the Pāñduraṅga Cham, although, by comparison with each other, parallels emerge.

One example of a Western Cham genre of literature that seems to closely parallel an Eastern Cham genre is the *takay sanao*. *Takay Sanao* are supposed to have emerged from traditional performances that were made in village centers to keep the field workers and laborers (C.: *buel bhap*) content. In content, structure and form they appear to parallel Eastern Cham *dalakal*. In both cases, we imagine that the most basic of *takay sanao* and *dalakal* stories pre-date the solidification of *Akhar Thrah* in the seventeenth century. However, in Eastern Cham communities the *dalakal* seem to emerge in the written historical record particularly strongly in

⁴⁶⁹ As a pronunciation note: medial /ra/ in Western Cham of Cambodia frequently shifts to a medial /ga/ or is left out completely. Hence, *Yal Baranu* is frequently shortened to simple *ba neu*.

⁴⁷⁰ As was suggested earlier in this dissertation, some of these individuals may have been Churu and other upland peoples who were members of the Champa court that "became Cham" when they moved with Cham to Khmer territory.

the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁷¹ The *Takay Sanao* of the Cham community in Cambodia are more comparable to the Pāñduraṅga Cham notions of *dalakal*, when one considers that certain *dalakal* seem to be more historical in nature. Like the *dalakal*, *takay sanao* also do seem to have a moral sentiment. In other words, they are just as much *adat* literature, establishing the expectations of local customs, as they are vessels of the remembrance of local histories. There are at least three popular *Takay Sanao* that can be found in Cambodia. There first two, *Takay Sanao Ong Chom*⁴⁷² and *Takay Sanao Ong Po*⁴⁷³ are thought to be “from Champā” meaning that they tell stories about the history of the members of the royal family before the royal lineage migrated to Cambodia. The third, *Takay Sanao Ong Toksan*⁴⁷⁴ is thought to be “from Kampuchia” and so is understood to be a story that occurred after the Cham community arrived in Khmer territory. A deeper understanding of the lineages related to the *Takay Sanao* genre may be important when considering the development of the various genres of Cham literature from the Western Cham community.

Like the *Takay Sanao* another genre that may be used to retraces the links between the Eastern and Western Cham communities is the *Kaboun*. They are generally short poems and don’t appear to have a direct parallel in the Pāñduraṅga Cham community. However, the two most popular *Kaboun* in the Western Cham community seem to most closely parallel short

⁴⁷¹ Doris Blood (1981) referred to *dalakal* as ‘Just So stories’ in her master’s thesis in Cham literature, invoking a reference to the turn of the century work of Rudyard Kipling. The major error in Doris Blood’s comparison here was that Blood was working at a time when a) Kipling’s work was being re-applied to explain features of a world-wide folk-revival and b) Blood only seems to have examined *dalakal* that fit the mold. In other words, Blood did not consider that there were *dalakal* that had historical figures present in them. Granted, one must accept that these figures are historical according to the Cham visions of history and accept the project of presenting Cham visions of history for this information to be of any concern whatsoever, and since Doris’ project was tied more to mission work initially, while a study in Cham literature was an afterthought, then this detail would not have been immediately apparent.

⁴⁷² 42 pages

⁴⁷³ 35 pages

⁴⁷⁴ 35 pages

Eastern Cham *ariya*. They are *Kaboun Ong Chen*⁴⁷⁵ and *Kaboun Mok Sros*.⁴⁷⁶ In the Western Cham *kaboun* there is a relationship between Ong Chen and Mok Sros that is not quite made explicit. Were they lovers? Were they friends? The details are not quite clear. However, what may be more important is that the Western Cham *Kaboun Mok Sros* is a clear Western variant of the Eastern Cham manuscript *Ariya Muk Sruh Palei*. Importantly, *ariya* seem to have replaced the Eastern Cham genre of *akayet* in the eighteenth to nineteenth century and so it is likely that the term *ariya* was (re)-introduced at a time when the Western Cham community has not only divergent, but also under increasing Islamic influence. The presence of a local interpretation of *Ariya Muk Sruh Palei* as such a form of *adat* behavioral literature for the actions of girls and young women, among the Cham of Cambodia, is indicative that a certain number of specifically Cham, non-Muslim, practices were retained.⁴⁷⁷

One feature of Eastern Cham literature that was retained in Western Cham literature is the flexibility of genre. For example, *kaboun* appear to be quite difficult to differentiate from another poetic genre of Western Cham literature, the *ba neu* (*yal baranu*). The difference between the two may be that the *ba neu*, if only by degrees, appear to be more romantic in their content. To that end, the *bal neu* also parallel the Eastern Cham genre of the *ariya*. The four most popular Ba Neu are the *Ba Neu Neak Matouy*,⁴⁷⁸ *Ba Neu Kok Van*,⁴⁷⁹ *Ba Neu Tampo*⁴⁸⁰ and *Ba Neu Sas Kakay*.⁴⁸¹ Versions of the *Ba Neu Tampo* appear to be represented in the EFEO Cham

⁴⁷⁵ 12 pages

⁴⁷⁶ 21 pages

⁴⁷⁷ It is additionally possible that there was cross cultural influence between Cham and Khmer genres of behavioral literature, in that there is a parallel Khmer genre known as Chpap Srey. To date there has been little cross analysis between Cham and Khmer genres of literature, although there may be some fruitful comparisons to be made.

⁴⁷⁸ 11 pages

⁴⁷⁹ 15 pages

⁴⁸⁰ 18 pages

⁴⁸¹ 33 pages

manuscript collections that date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to *Ba Neu Tampo* the author has created a poem that is so potent that it cannot be read in public. If it was, as the story goes, any females in the audience would automatically fall in love with the reciter. A dangerous manuscript!

Ba Neu Tampo may be dangerous and fascinating, but it is not as historically important as the *Ba Neu Sas Kakay* manuscript. What is most important about the *Ba Neu Sas Kakay* manuscript is that it closely parallels the story of *Dalakal Ppo Romé Angan Ja Saot* of the Eastern Cham population, suggesting the possibility that the highland Churu may even have had an impact upon the popular rituals of the lowland Cham of Cambodia. Through additional analysis of the work of the Vietnamese scholar Nguyễn Văn Luân (1974) who was most interested in the Châu Đốc, Tây Ninh and Sài gòn populations of Cham Muslims and the work of Jean Moura, late nineteenth century French administrator of Cambodia, Ppo Romé may also be conflated with a “Ppo Takay” who escaped to Khmer territory in 1875 with five volumes of the Cham royal chronicle and continued to produce a record of the Cham refugees in Khmer lands.⁴⁸² The material that Ppo Takay supposedly carried with him in the borderlands, along with the material that was produced in Khmer territory by his contemporary Cham “Brah Mbalat” may be even more compelling. What follows is an introduction to *git* and *kitab* literature, although more detailed analysis will follow in chapter four.

⁴⁸² The name ‘Takay’ or ‘Kakay’ raises two possibilities. First, *takay* is an acceptable shift from the Cham word for feet or legs: *takai* (*kakay* in old-Chamic constructions). Second, *takay* is an acceptable shift from the Eastern Cham word for ‘Prince,’ ‘Po Taray.’ Moving from Western to Eastern Cham dialect if one considers a gradual sliding of /ra/->/ka/->/ga/ that are quite common, as well as shifts between /ga/<->/ka/<->/ta/, which are also quite common, it is easy to see how ‘Ppo Taray’ in Eastern Cham, could become ‘Ppo Takay’ in French colonial records repeated by Vietnamese sources and then ‘Kakay’ in twentieth and twenty-first century Western Cham.

Git and *kitab* literature are perhaps some of the most critical source materials to compile in order to illuminate the existing and past connections between Eastern and Western Cham communities living in Vietnam and Western Cham communities living in Cambodia. Among the Western Cham communities *kitab* literature appears to be relatively not unique, in the sense that *kitab* are explanations of the meaning of Qur’anic passages, most frequently written in the *Akhar Jawi* Arabic based script for Cham Muslim populations. Today, since the advent of printed *kitab* and their importation from Malaysia, the sub-continent and the Middle East, and the destruction of many more rare manuscript during the Khmer Rouge era as well as the decades of war preceding, handwritten *kitab* have become very rare indeed.

Compared with *kitab* literature, a more unique and rarer form of literature called *git* is also available among Western Cham communities in Cambodia. The *git* are most commonly referred to as the “prayer books” of members of the “Kaum Imam San,” group. They closely parallel Malay *do-a* prayer books, in that they are excerpts of the Qur’an that are the most commonly used. However, *git* are more specific, in that the Western Cham Kaum Imam San communities that still protect them seem to keep them in particularly good condition, given the environment and the relative age of the manuscripts. An important feature of *git* literature is that they will include a certain amount of *Akhar Ka Kha* Western Cham variant of *Akhar Thrah* script, which is used to reference individual life-cycle ceremonies for prayers. There appears to be some blurring of the *kitab* and *git* genres of the Western Cham community when working in the religious literatures of the Eastern Cham. For example, manuscripts that were readily referred to as *git* by Western Cham “Kaum Imam San” members, may be alternatively referred to as *either* *kitap* or *tapuk* – meaning simply “book” – by Eastern Cham Bani Islamic influenced communities. Examples of such manuscripts that we research include the *Kitap di Palei Rem di*

Po Gru Ong Nguyễn Lai and the *Tapuk di Imām Du di Palei Rem*. Hence, we can conclude that the deeper readings of particularly Bani oriented manuscripts, such as those presented in the following chapter, will be particularly beneficial for future research.

VI Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has delineated the emergence of a Cham-Malay community in the greater Gulf of Thailand region, particularly from the time of Ppo Romé's contemporary: King Ibrahim I in Cambodia. Just after Ibrahim I's death, during the reign of Ppo Thop, Cham refugees began to emerge even more clearly in Cambodia, in Thailand and in Malaysia. The motivation behind these refugees' movements was likely the Vietnamese conquest of *negarā Kauthāra* in 1611 to 1653 and the subsequent, staged, conquest of *negarā Pāñduraṅga* from 1653 to 1835. The first two critical revolts that occurred against this expansion occurred in the 1830s, those of the Cham against Minh Mệnh, from the last Champā polity, *negarā Pāñduraṅga*. Both were led by a rising class of important clerics: the *katip*. *Katip* were prevalent not only in Sunnī Muslim, but also in Bani communities. These *katip* were, however, demonstrative of the greater divide between the Bani influenced community and the larger Sunnī Muslim community. In this context, the chapter has also examined much of the material manuscripts that were produced in those borderlands communities. Here, the borderlands frame is important for the development of Cham literatures because the most significant emergent genres in the community are direct responses to the socio-historical conditions of the borderlands.

This chapter has shown that there were at least three key genres of the emergent Eastern Cham community: *dalikal*, *damnây*, and *ariya*. It has shown that these emergent genres of literature were produced in the context of the borderlands to accomplish specific aims. For example, *dalikal* may have some historical features that clearly demonstrate that they emerged in a context wherein Islam began to have a greater impact on the Cham community, but they show that the genre itself was often used for the purposes of entertaining the community. *Damnây*, by contrast, and by their very composition, demonstrate that they are devotional texts, and thus used in the context of devotion to gods, and saints. The distinction between the context of the two genres is important, because of the nature of *dalikal*, the genre need not be specific to an individual community. However, the composition of *damnây* suggests that they were more popular with the Hindu influenced Ahiér community. Although they could be also sung by Islamic influence Bani communities, they would have been less popular with Sunnī Muslims. By contrast again, the *ariya* genre was more non-specific in orientation, and could be, theoretically, as a matter of composition, enjoyed by all communities, regardless of religious affiliation. Yet, even across the more historically inclined *ariya* there is an emergent theme of partnership and cosmic cooperation between the Ahiér and Awal communities. Hence, while these genres contribute to a growing body of knowledge of “adat cam,” which dictated proper social practices, as they were understood by the Cham literati, the *ariya* genre also acted to solidify concepts of communal unity that were encoded during the reign of Ppo Romé and after. Finally, the last section of this chapter has established that, as the process of incorporation of the final territory of Pānduraṅga into Vietnamese territory was a factor that divided the Cham along religious and linguistic lines, new uniquely “Eastern” or “Western” genres of literature emerged. Although these genres were specific to each community, there were, nonetheless, certain similarities that

were maintained, particularly among the older “Kaum Imam San” oriented literature of the Cham community along the Khmer-Vietnamese borderlands and the older “Bani” oriented literature of the Eastern Cham community. To that end, the next chapter takes on a deeper reading of “adat cam” and the ways in which “adat cam” interacted with existing interpretations with other Nguyễn Vietnamese, Cambodian, Muslim, and French legal structures, delineating how the Cham literati navigated interpretations of their own codes within these legal structures between 1651 and 1969.

Chapter 4

Ethics: Interlocutors & Creolized Forms of Knowledge, 1651-1929

I Introduction, Vietnamese and Cambodian Codes

This chapter explains the relationship between four categories of ethical codes: Vietnamese & Cambodian; French; *adat Cam*; and, *shari‘ah*. It delineates the basis of these ethical codes, often in legal contexts, their prescriptions for Cham communities and the ways in which Cham communities were ultimately transformed because of their introduction. In each case there is an explanation of how the introduction or the codes impacts the efforts of the literati, for better or for worse, in their efforts to care for Cham culture and religion. From the seventeenth to the twentieth century, Cham literati were increasingly interlocutors between Cham communities and Vietnamese, Cambodian, as well as French, authorities. Although French colonial power played a distinctive role in the reshaping of Cham ethical codes, Khmer, Malay and Vietnamese influence during the period should not be ignored. From the first contacts of the French, through the career of Etienne Aymonier [b. 1844 – d. 1929], Cham literati increasing occupied positions such as the “Preah Balat,” or were increasingly Creolized individuals, such as Bô Thuận, just as much as they were also influenced by Vietnamese mandarins, Khmer regents, and Malay Muslim intellectuals. In this chapter, I argue all this evidence points toward a “creolization of knowledge” in colonial Indochina that brought Cham, Malay and French intellectual spheres together as it became a feature of the nature of Cham literati as a borderlands people. Creolization, in this sense, refers to both the process of mixing cultural influence, and then rooting those mixed influences locally. The creolization of knowledge also became a feature of the ethical code of the Cham literati, as, to be a figure that could interpret proper action in every-day life, literati needed to have a knowledge of at least two

cultural spheres. In other words, as a feature of the “borderlands” Cham, is that to be a literati figure, one had to be able to “border-cross” between spheres of knowledge.

The Cham of Pāñduraṅga between 1651 and 1929 were, at first, increasingly subject to Nguyễn Vietnamese legal code, and after the 1860s, French legal authority as mediated by the administrators of the Hué court via local outposts throughout Annam. Many elements of the Nguyễn code were adapted from earlier Lê dynasty norms. However, unlike the Lê, whom massacred and resettled populations into Vietnamese territory in the north, the Nguyễn dynasty adapted a new pattern of resettlement, which was critical to the structures of Cham communities in the borderlands. As early as the seventeenth century, Nguyễn lords already relied upon garrisons populated by many ethnic minority groups. But by the nineteenth century, garrisons and civilian settlements uprooted and relocated entire communities. The 1815 code of the first Nguyễn emperor, Gia Long [r. 1802 – 1820], an adaptation of Qing legal code, which was important as it had prescriptions for women’s inheritance law and property rights that were even more conservative than the Lê code. The comparatively matrilocal Cham literati naturally opposed any shift in matrilocal associations of inheritance. Furthermore, although Nguyễn regulations could not govern the individual marriage ceremonies of communities, there was a distinct effort by the Nguyễn administration to govern the distribution of names among minority communities in a Vietnamese fashion, particularly from the reign of Minh Mệnh [r. 1820 – 1841] onward, although there is some evidence that these regulations would have only applied to the ruling class of the Cham, the remnants of the royalty, and the literati. There is also evidence from Cham accounts to suggest that the Nguyễn attempted to shift the agricultural practices of the Cham toward producing more rice, which may not have been such a wise governing strategy. Other impositions include the wearing of Vietnamese tunics and pants for ruling class Cham, and

mismanaging agricultural production to the point that the Cham community blamed Minh Mênh for famine (see: Po 1987; also: Cooke 1998; Li 1998; Lockhart 2001).

The Cham of Cambodia were simply not subject to the same pattern of legal incorporation and forced assimilation when compared to those of Annam. The royal Cambodian legal system was based primarily based upon the principles of the wheel-turning monarch - or *cakravartin* – although other Indic concepts as well. Although they are not necessarily the same, there do seem to be some similarities between the principles of Cambodian royalty and the Cham royal localizations of the god-king – or *devaraja* – in that both royal systems drew a certain amount of common influence from the Laws of Manu (*Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*). However, the Kingdom of Cambodia ultimately differed from Cham royal codes, in that Khmer laws adapted certain codes in accordance with the Pali literature of Theravada Buddhism, with the sole exception of the reign of King Ibrahim I, during which *sharī'ah* enjoyed a brief period of fluorescence in the seventeenth century. At the same time, during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Khmer royalty were themselves caught in a sort of borderlands situation, being very much between the expansion of Thai and Vietnamese centers of power. Because of the contested nature of political authority, Cham were often divided in their loyalty to pro- and anti-royalist factions of various militia groups, which would then have ties to either Vietnamese, Thai or French power. Nevertheless, those Cham communities that were subject to Khmer authority, and pledged their loyalty to the Cambodian crown were subject to paying certain debts of taxes to support the kingdom. As we shall see later in this chapter, these debts of taxes offered opportunities to Cham literati, particularly clerics. If they could position themselves as communal leaders, and yet develop the language skills to communicate with Cambodian royal

officials, they could earn quite substantial appointments as district and provincial administrators, or even, as Oknha regents, who directly serviced the crown.

Although Cham regents and their subordinates maintained relative stability among Cham communities, under the Cambodian monarch, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, rebellions across Cambodia were quite frequent, often originating from the borderlands between Cochinchina and Cambodia. Cham did not always participate. Thus, the repression of these rebellions often did not have major repercussions for Cham communities, as they would simply re-negotiate the terms of being regents to the crown in the context of shifting power relations. However, there were some instances when Cham communities did participate, with dire consequences, which led to more Cham moving to communities in Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc (see: Chandler 2008; also: Weber 2014). As we will see in the last chapter of this dissertation, the implication for the Cham literati in the early part of the twentieth century was that they were in a relatively unique position to assert their own form of local authority within the framework of Khmer royal authority and French colonial authority, essentially leading the formal institutionalization of Islam. To begin that narrative, however, the circumstance warrants a deeper examination of the establishment of the Cham localization of *sharī'ah* as an ethical code in the borderlands between Cambodian and Vietnamese territory.

II Establishment of Sharī'ah as an Ethical Code

Although in common contemporary journalistic parlance, the term *sharī'ah* is most often translated as “Islamic law,” increasingly there have been efforts by Muslims themselves to show

that “practice” is a rather more appropriate translation, a translation that resonates quite closely to the historical implications for the Cham community. Although the concept of *shari’ah* likely appeared during an earlier period at first, it is possible to suggest that there was at least some concept of the term by the reign of Ppo Jai Paran [r. 1613 – 1618]. As mentioned previously, there is a Cham figure who cites “Adat Cam” against a royal order during Ppo Jai Paran’s reign. By foil, since “*Adat Cam*” is a concept that could have only appeared at least in partial conversation with discussions over jurisprudence, it is possible to suggest that the concept of *shari’ah* was present at the time. Furthermore, in Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio’s account of a 1596 Spanish mission to Southeast Asia, he records that “lately the Moors have been allowed to preach Mohamet’s law in that country,” about Pāñduraṅga Cham. By 1685, there were enough copies of the Qur’an in the area that M. Fere Mep received a Qur’an as a gift when he visited the court of the Cham sovereign [Ppo Saut/Thop] (LaFont 1988: 77-78; Phoeun 1988: 88-91). Nevertheless, there does not appear to be a surviving Qur’an from the period. The oldest Qur’anic work from the Pāñduraṅga community that survives is dated to 1727 CE, with non-Qur’anic passages written in a form of Akhar Tuel script.⁴⁸³ The manuscript is important not only because it illustrates a definitive point where *shari’ah* was being studied by Cham literati, but also because it is a rare example of a usage of the *hijra* Islamic dating system among Pāñduraṅga manuscripts. By the eighteenth century, it is certain that prescriptions in accordance with *shari’ah* were studied in Pāñduraṅga.

⁴⁸³ CM 8. Held at the Asiatic Society in Paris, France. LaFont, Po & Vija (1977) dated this manuscript through reading the passage that begins “...Rasula su Po Lukana...” ends “...tuka mirya abih tamma...” and includes the lines “...after the birth of the Prophet Mohammed [570 CE] until today, count 1157 years. Further examinations of Bani Manuscripts are likely to reveal new understandings of the localization of Islam that was critical to providing a context for social activism from the 1940s through the 1960s.

IIa Prescriptions for the Cham Community:

The Cham literati interpretation of *sharī'ah* to care for the Cham community was not as established in the borderlands Cham communities of Cambodia and Cochinchina, as a rule of law, as it was in certain other Islamic contexts. First and foremost, between 1835 and 1885, Cham literati, who were also clerics, emerged as interlocutors between Khmer royal legal and taxation systems and the Cham community, especially as leaders in an alternative lifestyle to incorporation into Nguyễn Vietnamese society. All evidence suggests that in the Cham case Preah Balat were clerics, although this may not necessarily have been the case one hundred percent of the time, since Khmer Breah Balat were often “Brahmin” but not necessarily Buddhist monastics. It shows how Cham Preah Balat maintained their authority by positioning themselves in a way that contributed to the centralization of religious authority, which they succeeded in doing through the production of manuscripts, recitation of these manuscripts and the performance of prescribed ritual action. This gave them the popular base of support that they equally needed to guarantee their positions working with Khmer royalty, and eventually, the French. The Preah Balat inhabited a borderlands world which was quite like the world that Bani clerics inhabited, although they were influenced to varying degrees by Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Malay practices of collecting taxes and administrative techniques. Since French rule was not direct in most of the lands that Preah Balat inhabited, their position was quite like Bani clerics who were often interlocutors for the Vietnamese administration in Vietnam. The two communities also produced similar types of manuscripts, especially between the late nineteenth century and 1929. The Cham Bani manuscripts are exemplary of the kind of creolized knowledge that Cham literati living in the borderlands between Cambodia and Vietnam produced

as they encountered Malay clerics and attempted to solidify their position between Malay clerics and their communities. They also provide a stepping stone to understand the way that Cham communities in the borderlands were held together through establishing common religious ideas. They are a window into similar ideas that were circulating during the first part of Bô Thuận's scholarly career, although they are specific to the Bani community in Annam. Similarly, the *git* manuscripts, which were produced by the Kaum Imam San community near Oudong during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are a window into the prescriptions of that community for the ethical codes governing everyday life and communal practices. the Kaum Imam San community was divergent from the Bani of Annam, although they retained similarities, but were also more clearly influenced by Malay Muslim intellectuals as well. The primary emphasis of *git* literature is a solidification of a religious community established through common daily rituals, calendrical rituals and a recognition of clerics as communal authorities.

IIai The Cham Preah Balat in the Borderlands, 1835-1885

As the Siamese and Nguyễn empires reached new heights in the nineteenth century and the French increased their presence in Southeast Asia, the Cham were increasingly divided along an emergent frontier between Vietnamese, Cambodian and Thai centers.⁴⁸⁴ The apparent rise of influence of the *khafīb*⁴⁸⁵ class of clerics during the seventeenth and eighteenth century was followed by incorporation of Cham priests and clerics into Cambodian and Vietnamese state forms as “mandarin”-like officials. In the case of Cambodia, several Cham were appointed to the

⁴⁸⁴ The extent of Thai power includes Lao areas under Siamese vassalage.

⁴⁸⁵ C.: alt.: *katip*

office of “Oknha” regents to the Cambodian monarch during the reign of Ang Duong. These Cham Oknha were usually clerics of the Imam class. They were more learned in *shari’ah* and *fiqh* than the *khaṭib*, who were usually only educated to the level of “readers and reciters.” Subordinates to the Oknha were called “Preah Balat.”⁴⁸⁶ In the Cham-Malay creolized social hierarchy of Islam, these subordinates were normally classified as *Imam* or *Khaṭib*, although they were occasionally *qadis*, *tuan* and *gru*. There were several Cham Muslims who held the position of Preah Balat and there are at least seven surviving manuscripts that can be attributed to a single (or possibly several) of these Preah Balat literati who lived on the borderlands of Cambodian and Vietnamese territory between 1843 to 1885, mostly moving in between the lands of Kampong Cham, Tây Ninh province and Châu Đốc.⁴⁸⁷ All demonstrate localizations of Islamic practice.

The Cham Muslim Preah Balat were critical interlocutors in the borderlands between Khmer, Jarai and Vietnamese lands between 1843 and 1885. As the religious leaders of their communities, they were individuals who connected these communities toward a memory of Champā royalty and toward allegiances with Malay authorities on Islam. In their manuscripts, they provided records of the Cham in what are now Kampong Speu, Kampong Cham, Tây Ninh and An Giang provinces. The general problem for their community was that they seemed to not feel at home under either Vietnamese or Khmer sovereignty. In 1843, a turning point occurred: Ang Duong was crowned king of Cambodia. In response, according to one Preah Balat, “...in the year of the rabbit, the Cham were thinking...”⁴⁸⁸ meaning that the literati were weighing their position. A large part of the community objected to the treatment of the Cham at the hands of the

⁴⁸⁶ In Khmer communities these official were generally “Brahmans” or high class figures.

⁴⁸⁷ An Giang province. See: CAM 43, CM 38(8), CM 39(37) and CM 49 – CM 52. Based on the analysis of Cham manuscripts and archival material from the National Archives of Cambodia (NAC).

⁴⁸⁸ C.: *di thun nan nâsak tipai karia gap hai kam kur.* CM 38(8)

Khmer, and so they migrated from the vicinity of Oudong to the borderlands territories of Tây Ninh and An Giang, where they would be only nominally under Nguyễn Vietnamese sovereignty. Cham who remained near Oudong would become the *Kaum Imam San* group that formed an alliance with Ang Duong,⁴⁸⁹ although a second wave of migration to Tây Ninh occurred after 1841-1845 because of the Siamese-Vietnamese war fought in Cambodia. Throughout these forced migrations, it was likely that there were many Cham who were not able to keep up with basic Islamic practices, or were not able to remember the details of Islamic practice that clearly designated them as “Cham” rather than “Buddhist” like the Vietnamese or Khmer. Muslim Preah Balat filled this role. In their manuscripts, they wrote about the importance of “pure practice,”⁴⁹⁰ including making lists of animals that were considered impure.⁴⁹¹ These lists could be quite large, in some cases including more than 40 animals.⁴⁹² Other matters of importance guided rituals for wedding ceremonies and purifying conjugal visits. These matters would be a more overtly ceremonial performance that created a boundary between the Cham Muslim community and outsiders. There were also biographies of individuals who were significant for the history of Islam, such as the prophet⁴⁹³ “Iyuh,”⁴⁹⁴ the biography of Nosirwan,⁴⁹⁵ and biographies of the Prophet Mohammed,⁴⁹⁶ as well as lists of Qur’anic

⁴⁸⁹ They were later dependent on a relationship with the royalty solidified by the Oknha Ginuer (K.: *Oknha* – regent; C.: *Ginuer* – ‘head’/ ‘chief) and Kaum Imam San’s mosque (WC.: *sang māgik*; Ar.: *masjid*) at Phnom Oudong. Existing evidence suggests the position has been in place for nine generations, with thanks to Emiko Stock for this discussion. Previously, Blengsi (2009: 204) had claimed it was only a recent development, although NAC documents refute his position.

⁴⁹⁰ C.: *adat putih*

⁴⁹¹ C.:/Ar.: *haram*

⁴⁹² CAM 43. There are also general lists of animals in Cambodia, suggesting that taking a survey of the local fauna was part of the process of determining what was *haram* or not. CM 38(8)

⁴⁹³ C.: *nābi*; Ar.: *nābi*

⁴⁹⁴ It is not clear which prophet this is: Nuh? (Noah), Issa? (Jesus). There are many possibilities, but no Arabic name of prophets appears to be close to the Cham transcription. Transcription errors are possibilities here. CAM 43

⁴⁹⁵ Actually a reference to the sixth century pre-Islamic Persian emperor. CM 38(8)

⁴⁹⁶ C.: *Ppo Rasulak* from Ar.: *rasūllullah*. CM 38(8)

prayers⁴⁹⁷ and an invocation of respect for “the book.”⁴⁹⁸ At the same time, the Preah Balat maintained studies of the Cham calendar⁴⁹⁹ and lists of the genealogy of Cham princes⁵⁰⁰ who migrated to Khmer lands during the nineteenth century.⁵⁰¹ As such the intellectual positioning of Cham Preah Balat was well suited to position themselves in a middle between Cham who remembered the Pāñduraṅga court and believed in the importance of the Cham calendar and the increasing Muslim Cham population of the Khmer-Vietnamese borderlands.

By contrast with the Cham that remained in the vicinity of Oudong, the Cham of Kampong Cham, Kampot, Tây Ninh and An Giang had a comparatively anti-royalist stance against the Khmer monarchy. Records suggest that one Cham, Tuen Set Asmet⁵⁰² led a rebellion from Kampong Cham against the Khmer royalty in 1858 before he was forced to flee to Châu Đốc. In 1859, Tuen Him⁵⁰³ revolted from Kampong Cham against the Khmer royalty, and his forces were forced to flee to Châu Đốc and Tây Ninh. At the same time, the forces of Ppo Cei Brei – mentioned in chapter three – remained prominent in the Vietnamese-Khmer borderlands. They remained famous for their *đội khanh* headscarves, but were now paid mercenaries for the Vietnamese, as they patrolled the former Maa territory and the borderlands up to Jarai areas.⁵⁰⁴ They were hired for actions against the Spanish, French and Khmer in the 1860s (Weber 2011: 734-762; Perez-Periero diss. 2012; Nguyễn Văn Luận 1974: 34-35). They mustered against Ang

⁴⁹⁷ CAM 43

⁴⁹⁸ C.: *tapuk*; “The Book” is a common reference to the Qur’an across languages.

⁴⁹⁹ CAM 43

⁵⁰⁰ C.: *taray/tarai*

⁵⁰¹ CM 38(8); See also Nicholas Weber (2011).

⁵⁰² Also: Set It; from Ar.: Sayid Ahmed. He was, supposedly, the son of Tuan Ahmed, a rebel in the 1830s, and the grandson of Tuan Ahmed, an eighteenth-century rebellion leader.

⁵⁰³ M.: Tuan Ibrahim; K.: Oknha Ponhea Him; Vn.: Óc Nha Bồn Nha Hiên

⁵⁰⁴ The concerns along the northeast frontier of Khmer power, including an increasing Vietnamese presence were likely a direct motivation for the Khmer royalty sending payment to the Jarai in the form of ‘tribute,’ in exchange for them acting as an intermediary force along the borderlands (Salemink 2003).

Duong at least twice, in 1862 and 1867, and may have joined forces with those of Achar Sva (1865/6 rebellion) and Po Kombo (1866/7) rebellion.⁵⁰⁵ The senior Cham *Ppo* of Kampot and Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham at the time were related, and so, Kampot had been a haven for Cham forces and refugees. Hence, when Acharn Sva rose from Kampot and Po Kambo rose up forces from Tây Ninh through Kampong Cham, many Cham leaders joined their anti-Khmer royalist stance. There were as many as 2,000 Cham and Malays who joined Po Kambo⁵⁰⁶ – whose forces also included ethnic Stieng, Mnong and Kinh⁵⁰⁷ – although there were at least 1,000 Cham and Malays who remained loyal to the Khmer royalty (Weber 2011: 734-763; Hickey 1982: 201; Zain Musa 2001: 8-10). As the Cham were caught up in a series of rebellions, they generally objected to the expansion of Vietnamese power, but were not able to do much about this, except to join the rising tide of anti-Khmer sentiment. The Preah Balat were not members of the general population though, and they had been generally loyal to the Khmer royalty; their position was thus to centralize the community while not appearing to be a threat.

As the Preah Balat continued to work in the borderlands between Khmer, Jarai and Vietnamese areas, they recorded their positions in manuscripts that demonstrated their attempt to form an intellectual middle ground between Cham and Malay clerics. One example was a manuscript that was recorded from the “year of the rabbit,” but finished in the year of the dragon [1868].⁵⁰⁸ There are verses from the Qur'an in the manuscript that would have been used for

⁵⁰⁵ Zain Musa (2001: 8) records these as 1864 and 1865 respectively.

⁵⁰⁶ The stack of colonial era reports on the revolt totals over 1,000 pages in the NAC, and yet, not one academic full length book project on the ‘rebel monk’ exists as of this writing, although there are some Khmer nationalist records of Po Kombo that have complete dialogues from his person. With thanks to Professor Anne Hansen for this comment.

⁵⁰⁷ Vietnamese

⁵⁰⁸ See: CM 39(37) and CM 49 – CM 52

communal rituals.⁵⁰⁹ There is also evidence that bilingual Cham-Malay study was crucial.⁵¹⁰ An adaptation of the Pāñduraṅga Cham *Ariya Muk Thruh Palei* text that governed the behavior of young women was taught in the form *Muk Sruh Palei*.⁵¹¹ Over time the Pāñduraṅga variant of this text became more Confucian oriented and the emergent western Cham variant became comparatively more Islamicized. Two idealized biographies of female figures: *Nai Hal Mbak* (written right to left – again) and *Ppo Si Dil Ah Mat*⁵¹² provided additional behavioral guides. Additionally, the biography of *Ppo Nosirwan* was recorded in several more versions.⁵¹³ *Ppo Nosirwan*'s biography⁵¹⁴ is critical because it is of an exemplary ninth century Persian king who was incorporated into the Champā religious pantheon as a *devaraja*-like figure and continued to be worshiped by the Eastern Cham 'Bani' Islamic influenced minority, as recorded in the records of Antoine Cabaton (1901; 1906).

In the areas where Preah Balat worked in Cambodia and toward the borderlands of Cochinchina, they lost touch with certain concepts that remained important among the Cham Bani communities in Annam, although they retained a certain number of connections. For instance, the veneration of *Ppo Nosirwan* remained consistently important among Cham Bani in Annam, but it did not remain as central among the few examples of extant literature that we have from the Preah Balat of Cambodia. By contrast, Preah Balat manuscripts continued to include lists of Cham villages and towns near Phan Rang and Phan Rí – even though the individuals who had penned the manuscripts likely had not been to these places, and, they may have copied a list that was more than one or two generations old. At the same time, the mere existence of the lists

⁵⁰⁹ Pages 278 to 312 and 377 to 388

⁵¹⁰ Lexicons were created.

⁵¹¹ Even today the poem is a popular means of teaching Cham customary law in both communities.

⁵¹² C.: *Ah Mat*; from Ar.: *Ahmed*

⁵¹³ See: CM 39(37) and CM 49 – CM 52

⁵¹⁴ C.: *Anakhan*

indicates that remembering the geography of Pāñduraṅga a form of memorialized sacred geography for the Cham community in Cambodia. The memorialization of this sacred geography was combined with genealogies of Cham princes, not so much to lend authority to local leaders – although the list would have done this – but more to memorialize the loss of the royalty (see: LaFont, Po & Vija 1977: 190-193). Memorialization of the history and geography of Pāñduraṅga was thus incorporated into the *adat Cam* practices of Cham communities in Cambodia.

In the context of Cambodia, where Cham communities were disconnected from the history and geography of Pāñduraṅga, and where the remaining Pāñduraṅga court could not maintain a strong foothold of influence, the importance of Preah Balat, and their interpretations over proper action, increased in importance. Even though the royalty continues to live in the present, manuscripts took the position that the lineage had been “lost,” therefore justifying the positions of the religious scholarly elite as the only people able to protect history and culture. Many of the individual biographies in Preah Balat manuscripts were written from right to left, suggesting that they were composed in a Cham adaptation of Arabic, not Indic, script. Since the material of the passage is decidedly not Qur’anic, we can conclude from this evidence that the Western Cham community was using some form of the Malay Jawi script – or Arabic script – adapted to write literature and other, more mundane materials, at least as early as the 1860s.⁵¹⁵ The emergence of a Cham adaptation of Jawi among the Preah Balat and associated clerics is an important distinguishing feature between the Cambodia-Cham and Pāñduraṅga Cham community. The Pāñduraṅga Cham, or Bani, by contrast, only used an adaptation of Arabic known as Akhar Bani to compose their manuscripts, maintained the use of Akhar Thrah script to

⁵¹⁵ Philipp Bruckmayr has argued that there was a long-term trend of Jawization of the Cham in Cambodia. The Preah Balat manuscripts are evidence that Bruckmayr’s “Jawization” began quite early, even earlier than he initially proposed. However, “Jawization” would not become a penetrating force for another 80 to 100 years.

write Cham language passages, and rejected the use of Jawi. In Cambodia, however, the use of Jawi solidified the relationship between the Preah Balat and Malay literati, who were more directly tied to the Gulf of Thailand network. This put the position of the Preah Balat between the Gulf of Thailand network and the Cham Bani communities that remained in Pāñduraṅga as well.

IIaii Bani Manuscripts from the Pāñduraṅga-Cambodia Borderlands

Cham manuscripts composed in the Pāñduraṅga-Cambodia borderlands during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century contain much evidence of Islamic influence.⁵¹⁶ Akhar Bani was often used to write prescriptions of proper behavior in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed.⁵¹⁷ Other important figures are Fatimah (C.: Phuatinah),⁵¹⁸ the youngest daughter of Mohammed, the wife of Ali, and mother of Hussain and Hasan. Hussain and Hasan were both commonly reconciled with pre-existing Cham ontologies through locating them as Ppo. “Ppo” Ali was also given the same rank, as was “Ppo” Mohammed, and “Ppo” Phuatinah. The importance of these slight adaptations is that the biographies of these figures were also transformed slightly to suggest that Cham align with certain prescriptions of *shari’ah*, most particularly life cycle ceremonies, but also the study of the Qur’an. The manuscripts related ceremonies that were associated with “Ppo Oualuah” as well as “Ppo Ali” and discussion of

⁵¹⁶ The Paris collections of Cham manuscripts include at least 17 manuscripts that make mention of important Islamic concepts.

⁵¹⁷ At least six manuscripts in Paris mention the biography of the Prophet Mohammed explicitly.

⁵¹⁸ Who appears in four of seventeen manuscripts in Paris.

“theology”⁵¹⁹ to Cham contexts. *Khatīb* clerics, who were “readers” of Qur’anic passages in the clerical hierarchy were frequently referenced in these writings, and many of the manuscripts were simply prayer manuals with descriptions of which Qur’anic passages to read in which instances.⁵²⁰

Out of the manuscripts that were composed in the Pāñduraṅga-Cambodia borderlands, those that were composed in the areas that were further west, particularly closer to Malay influence, exhibited greater influence of Islamic concepts related to *sharī’ah*. One manuscript, for example, outlines the practices of the coming of age of young males after they have sworn to follow the path of the Prophet Mohammed, as a matter of theological importance.⁵²¹ A second manuscript, penned by Ganwar Rimsih, of Phum Uras, Longvek⁵²² summarizes the moral precepts presented by the Qur’an to Cham students in Cambodia.⁵²³ A third, from Pāñduraṅga, is a biography of Fatima – the daughter of the apostle⁵²⁴ Mohammed,⁵²⁵ who is nominated to be the “chief woman in the world.”⁵²⁶ A fourth, also from Pāñduraṅga, includes an invocation of Mohammed used before travel in the mountains, to ward off tigers and elephants, to use when crossing rivers and in the course of tropical rain storms⁵²⁷ and a section on embryology.⁵²⁸ The invocation of the prophet Mohammed as a protector is indeed powerful in this manuscript, although it does not seem to be as concerned with matters of theology as a Cambodia-Cham

⁵¹⁹ C.: *unsullutdin*; M.: *usuluddin*

⁵²⁰ CAM 24, 25, 28, 33, 35, 38; CM 2, 4, 20 and PB LaFont 1

⁵²¹ Theology, from Ar.: *unsullutdin*. CAM 24. For further research it would be important to compare these practices to the *khotan* and *akara* coming of age ceremonies for males in Vietnam as well as certain elements of the *Mamun* ceremonies of Cambodia.

⁵²² C.: Lavik

⁵²³ C.: ‘...Hec anak ra siam pa ka pa bauh kadha...gap gan hudi wi bri kura...’ CAM 25.

⁵²⁴ Ar: *rasūl*

⁵²⁵ C.: ‘Ni Akhan ka Ppo Phawatimah dom kumi nan janabah...’

⁵²⁶ CAM 28.

⁵²⁷ C.: ‘...Niyah ajal di jalan...ukan tala mohamat...’

⁵²⁸ C.: ‘Ni swattik si mathu lei ka...ku nai siah amâ...’ CAM 33.

manuscript of similar age that includes moral practices and an invitation for the readers and listeners to join in the rewards of paradise.⁵²⁹ The implication of the text is, that to convert to Islam, and to act in accordance with *sharī'ah* is the most proper way to act.

Although the Cambodia-Cham manuscripts seem more concerned with matters of theology, this does not mean that there were not Pāṇḍuranga Cham manuscripts that were not an explicit means to encourage practice in accordance with *sharī'ah*. On the contrary, prayers manuals were amongst the most common manuscripts produced by the Cham Bani clerics. Prayer manuals operated as prescriptions for codes of ethics since they not only guided proper religious behavior, but they also guided proper day to day behavior, large, important life-cycle rituals, and governed day to day communal interactions. Many were hundreds of pages long and were likely composed by higher ranking clerics,⁵³⁰ while others were likely composed by copyists.⁵³¹ Nevertheless, there are certain passages (C.: *surah*; Ar.: *sūrat*) that seem to emerge as more popular across the historical record, particularly “the opening” (*sūrat* 1, *al-Fatihah*), the “heart of the Qur’ān” (*sūrat* 36, *Ya Sin*),⁵³² and “Abundance” (*sūrat* 108, *al-Kawthar*). However, in the Bani manuscripts, these Surah did not necessarily appear in the expected order. Additionally, there were frequently manuscripts that were produced with Qur’anic verse side by side with transcription in Cham Akhar Thrah script, suggesting that they were used as manuals for study for students and younger clerics who had not yet committed the necessary verses to memory.⁵³³ From the transliteration of Qur’anic material in Eastern Cham script and from the

⁵²⁹ WC: ‘...Uni sap barano ghak abih...saup lanik brei k aura...’ CM 35.

⁵³⁰ CM 2. (AB/AT.: ‘Bismillahi al-rahman al-rahim...taum kan pacat’) CM 4 (a 202 page Bani manuscript prayer book).

⁵³¹ CM 20 [a Bani manuscript, penned by Acar Hap O and ends with verse 108 of the Qur’ān (Surah *Al-Kawthar*)

⁵³² For example: PB LaFont 1 [a microfilmed manuscript of an Eastern Cham Bani prayer book, beginning with Surah 36 (AB.: ‘...Bismilahi al-rahm al-rahim...fawowa ‘abdon’...’)

⁵³³ CAM 38

survey of the above manuscript materials we begin to gain a sense of the ways that Islamic concepts were adapted by Cham communities living in Cambodia and Vietnam. This was one form of “creolized knowledge,” that is, simply transliterating the Qur’ān into another script so that it could be read by literati who were more literate in that script than in Arabic. In another example of a similar strategy of creolized form of knowledge, the very composition of the *git* genre in Cambodia was a blend of Akhar Srah Cham script and Qur’ānic Arabic. Hence, *git* could not be read by individuals (such as Malay Tuan) who knew Arabic but did not know the Cham Akhar Srah script. Therefore, the creolized forms of knowledge contained within the *git* manuscripts, much like the *tapuk* manuscripts of the Cham Bani, mentioned earlier in this chapter, contributed to the formation of a class of literati, much like the Preah Balat, who had knowledge of both Cham script and Arabic, and could draw upon this knowledge to govern day to day life, as well as major life-cycle rituals, in the Cham communities of the borderlands.

IIaiii Readings of the Git (19th and 20th centuries):

The term *git* refers to Islamic prayer books amongst the Cham community in Cambodia. These prayer books include both Cham script and Arabic, and are notable in that they prescribe life cycle rituals in the Cham community to take place in accordance with *shari‘ah*. They might be compared to *Do-a* prayer books in the Malay world, although *Do-a* prayers books tend to include Arabic and Romanized Malay. In the Eastern Cham community in Vietnam they might be called *kitap* “commentaries” or simply *tapuk* (books). Importantly, there is some discordance between the usage of *kitab* commentaries in Cambodia – which are more extensive --- and those in Vietnam, which tend to be less extensive. The most precious of these manuscripts are more

than 200 pages, tend to be copied on goatskin and date to the turn of the century. However, there are also many manuscripts that seem to date to the mid-twentieth century. Understanding this material provides important context to the understanding the daily life of Cham Bani and Cham Muslim communities during the last decades of the nineteenth century, and early decades of the twentieth century.

Based upon a reading of Cham *git* from Cambodia, it is possible to compare Cham Bani practices in what is now Vietnam with Kaum Imam San practices from what is now Cambodia. There are three forms of prayers that remained parallel in the two communities: 1) *Kakuh* ‘ceremonial prayers’ used for large occasions; 2) *du-a* invitations; and 3) *Niyat* daily prayers (from Ar.: *ayat*).⁵³⁴ The Arabic root *du-a* ‘invitations’ is also used to refer to spirit possession rituals amongst the Cham Ahiér in Vietnam (C.: *da-a yang*) and *da-a* meaning ‘to invite’ has also entered Cham everyday usage, regardless of religious lines.⁵³⁵ Nevertheless, amongst the Cham Bani community – *du-a* has also retained its ritual usage. Finally, *niyat* are shorter prayers or invocations that are used before daily actions: cleaning, eating, entering the mosque (or *sang mágik*). Deeper understandings of these prayers will provide a demonstration of connections and comparisons between the practice of the two Bani communities in Cambodia and Vietnam. Even to researchers, teachers and students with only a familiarity of the Eastern Cham script – the relative orthographic similarity (80-90+) allowed us to work to map the two scripts against each other. We then chose to focus on a specific section of the *Cham Bani Git* of Cambodia,⁵³⁶

⁵³⁴ In 2014, I completed a reading of a late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century *git* from Cambodia with Dr. Thành Phàn, an expert on Cham culture and scripts. Dr. Thành Phàn and I assessed what elements of practice might be shared, between the two ‘Bani’ minorities of Cambodia and Vietnam.

⁵³⁵ At a dinner party one might invoke the greeting: “*Salam abih! Drei da-a adei sa-ai haok manyum bingi ralo! Tadhuw kajap karo, kheng kadeng, ppo pajeng!*” (Gloss: *Hello dear brothers and sisters, I would like to invite you to enjoy a delicious dinner! Here’s wishing you health, success and blessings!*).

⁵³⁶ On pages 95-98, 184-185, 202-203 and 206-207

since that section would give us a better understanding of shared local Islamic practices amongst the Bani that stretched across the borderlands, although the Akhar Srah (Western Cham) script explaining the Qur’anic passages begins on page 76 and includes extensive explanations of religious ceremonies

In one central section of the *Cham Bani Git*, there is a list of several *niyat* prayers that would be shared between the Cham Bani communities of Vietnam and Cambodia, particularly during Ramadan ceremonies.⁵³⁷ The first reads “after the *kakuh* ceremony is finished, read this prayer...”⁵³⁸ followed by a *niyat* prayer,⁵³⁹ which is used for ritual *ricaow* washing ceremonies before Friday prayers (WC: *hurei jamaat*/EC: *harei suk*). Page 97 has prayers for “washing ceremonies that are used to prepare for the month of Ramadan,”⁵⁴⁰ followed by prayers that are used to prepare for entrance into the mosque during the month of Ramadan.⁵⁴¹ The third prayer on this page was used for the lighting of eaglewood incense that is a critical marker of Cham ceremonies in Vietnam and Cambodia. The fourth prayer is a list of *jamaat* prayers that are used on Fridays.⁵⁴² The prayer following prayer, “...*niyat manei tulaih...*”⁵⁴³ where the term “tulaih” is the western pronunciation of the term “talaih.” The term *talaih* critically refers to rituals that might commonly take place as life cycle events, such as the *talaih kalam* ceremony of the Eastern Cham Awal community – which is the ‘dropping of the pen’ to the page that marks the introduction of a young man into the study of Akhar Bani amongst the Cham Awal of Vietnam.

⁵³⁷ Pages 95 to 98

⁵³⁸ Page 95

⁵³⁹ Page 96

⁵⁴⁰ AS.: *Ricauw ék ramâwan*

⁵⁴¹ AS.: *Kakuh suna tamâ dalam sang mágik*

⁵⁴² Page 97 AS.: *Kukuh jumah blaoh hudei jamaat*

⁵⁴³ Page 98. The fourth prayer can be used to demonstrate some of the pronunciation shifts that have occurred between the two communities – demonstrating a vowel shift between the Eastern Cham “*kakuh*” and “*hadei*” to the Western Cham “*kukuh*” and “*hudei*.” This vowel shift is also indicated by the invocation “...*niyat manei tulaih...*” (page 98)

It is these ceremonies that were used to produce the most basic level of communal connections. In particular life cycle rituals form the basis of communal action in ways that could not always fully be replicated during war time – but would still form the basis of communal understandings.

Pages 184 and 185 of the *Cham Bani Git* of Cambodia predominantly highlight funerary rituals. These ceremonies demonstrate parallels and differences between Sunnī Muslim and Cham Bani traditions as well as certain parallels between Bani and Ahier rituals – as well as the rituals of other Southeast Asian traditions. The first line (page 184) refers to the *Cuh galau*⁵⁴⁴ – or the lighting of the eaglewood incense, a critical action in Cham ceremonies⁵⁴⁵ – before the manuscript instructs: “...and then read this prayer...”⁵⁴⁶ before the third line of the manuscript describes the use⁵⁴⁷ of a kind of oil⁵⁴⁸ to anoint the head,⁵⁴⁹ followed by a line of Arabic prayers (line 4). Line 5 then instructs one to put⁵⁵⁰ the yearly rice harvest⁵⁵¹ followed by what may be a truncated Arabic invocation simply used to recount longer lines.⁵⁵² The use of key words in order to recount longer passages from the Qur'an is a critical methodology that appears to have been particularly common in Bani manuscripts. This methodology helps to explain why there are generally only portions of Qur'anic prayers that can be found. Hence, it is presumed that the entire Qur'an is intended to be in the mind of the clerics.

Lines 6 and 7 (page 184) additionally provide insight into some of the methodology used in Cham Bani manuscripts. The Cham Akhar Srak script flows from left to right from line six to

⁵⁴⁴ EC.: *cuh gahlau, gilau or gihlau*

⁵⁴⁵ AS.: ...*Ni Niyat cuh galau...*

⁵⁴⁶ AS.: ...*nan niyet ni...*

⁵⁴⁷ C.: *chai*

⁵⁴⁸ C.: *luk*

⁵⁴⁹ AS.: ...*ni niyet luk galau niyet chai ni...*

⁵⁵⁰ C.: *buh*

⁵⁵¹ C.: *lasei thun*

⁵⁵² Ar.: *Abismi'allahi nawa*

seven – while the Akhar Bani/Arabi script flows from right to left from line seven to eight. In other words, proximity of the points of reference is important, but the text is not a “line by line” translation. The manuscript refers to a sort of ‘holy of holies’ or temporary *minbar* space reserved for the senior clerics of the Cham community. These temporary prayer tents are known as *kajang* in Vietnam and seem to not have a common agreed-upon name in Cambodia, although the Western Cham manuscript uses the term ‘*lam lir*’.⁵⁵³ Today, another term for *lam lir* that has appeared in Cambodia is *gaon*. For example, the tent that is used for the annual Mamun ceremonies is a *Gaon Mamum*.

Most of the Cham manuscripts that have been preserved in Vietnam and Cambodia contain passages that are very difficult to read. For example, Line 9 (page 184) refers to a funeral ceremony.⁵⁵⁴ However, the corresponding Arabic lines seem to refer to the ritual handshake at the end of prayers. The following lines continue to explain funeral ceremonies for: 1) the first three days after death;⁵⁵⁵ 2) the first ten days after death;⁵⁵⁶ 3) the first full moon/forty days after death;⁵⁵⁷ and 4) the first 100 days after death.⁵⁵⁸ The patterning of the funerary rituals in this manuscript demonstrates not only close contact with Islamic populations, but also close contact with Buddhist populations and similarities to the timing of funerary rituals in Buddhist areas of Southeast Asia. They are common to both Vietnamese Mahayana and Cambodian Theravada funerary practices. In other words, while the funerary practices are “Islamic” they also show evidence of “Buddhacization.”

⁵⁵³ AS.: *Ni niyet cuh galau dalam lam lir niyet ni...*

⁵⁵⁴ WC.: ‘*Ni Niyet lamin [?] pha thi niyet ni...*’

⁵⁵⁵ WC.: ‘*Ni niyet cuh galau ba klaw niet ni...*’ – Lines 10, 11

⁵⁵⁶ WC.: ‘*Ni Niyet cu galau [*cuh galau] bap pluh nayet ni...*’ – Lines 12 to 13

⁵⁵⁷ WC.: ‘*Ni nayet cuh galau bap bulan [*balan] niyat ni...*’ – Line 14

⁵⁵⁸ WC.: ‘*bap ratuh* – Line 3 page 185

Beginning mid-way through the page on 185 the Cham Bani Git manuscript of Cambodia refers to several “life cycle ritual ceremonies” that mark the entrance of members of the village into the Bani community or Bani path.⁵⁵⁹ This passage is critical, as it is historical evidence that the Cham community of Cambodia continued to use the term Bani through the production of this manuscript – even if we are not clear about its date. The first ceremony in the passage refers to the “first cutting of the hair” of a young individual who enters the community - occasionally referred to as the *katat* or *cakak* ceremony in Vietnam – not to be confused with the *khotan* ritual symbolic circumcision ceremony that is also occasionally called *katat* in Vietnam. In Cambodia, the first cutting of the hair is referred to as the *caakap* [**cakap*].⁵⁶⁰ There are prayers for the *kareh* coming of age ceremony for teenage girls between 10 and 15 years of age.⁵⁶¹ The *kareh* ceremony is also a symbolic hair cutting ceremony that marks the entrance of young women into the Cham community. Finally, on line 8 and line 9 there is an invocation of prayers that are most commonly used by members of the outside (Khmer, Vietnamese, foreign) communities who marry into the Bani community.⁵⁶² The term *a ka kaphuir* – which is used to refer to outsiders in this context - taken to the Cham word *akaphier* which is form the Arabic root *kaffir* meaning “non-believer” from the root KFR – meaning “to cover” (as in “to cover the truth”). However, in the Cham community in Vietnam the term *akaphier* did not have these connotations, at least the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Even today, in most Cham communities in Vietnam, the term *akaphier* simply means “individuals outside the Bani community” and it is a term that is commonly used to refer to the Cham Shaivite Hindu influenced Ahiér populations in Vietnam. We therefore suppose that the term dates to the origins of the Cham Bani of Cambodia

⁵⁵⁹ C.: *tamâ jamaah Bani – tama jalan Bani*

⁵⁶⁰ The manuscript reads *Ni Niyet caakap mbum nânâk [anâk] nânaih [anaih]*.

⁵⁶¹ line 7: *ni nayet taok kareh nayet ni*

⁵⁶² The lines read *Ni Nayet papah a-ka kaphuir [*akaphier] pa [*ka] tamâ Bani*.

in Vietnam, although in the contemporary context it may be used to apply to Khmer who are marrying into Cham communities.

With further attention to the comparison of the language of these life cycle rituals it may be possible to reconstruct lineages between the Cham Muslim community of Cambodia and the Cham Bani of Annam. This is also the case with the section of *cam adat* – ritualistic local customary practices, still influenced by Islamic prayers that appear on page 202 of the Cham Bani Git manuscript of Cambodia. Page 202 of the Cham Bani Git manuscript of Cambodia differs from the earlier pages of this manuscript in that it deals with the construction of the concepts of *cam adat* or customary law and practices that might be considered *haram*.⁵⁶³ Line 4 refers to the lines read before defecation.⁵⁶⁴ As in the Islamic world – one cleans the body using the left hand only, by water first and then after cleaning read the lines associated with the passage.⁵⁶⁵ After “*rao blaoh*” cleaning by water with the left hand, the individual washes the face⁵⁶⁶ – and then rinses the mouth out with water. Next line 8 reveals a ceremony for daily showering.⁵⁶⁷ However, this is the last “everyday” event that is referred to on the page as the manuscript then turns to the subject of the profane⁵⁶⁸ in relation to abnormal deaths, such as deaths on the road,⁵⁶⁹ and during pregnancy.⁵⁷⁰ The final passage on this page refers to prayers that are read if the child dies during the first 40 days of life.⁵⁷¹ The importance for each of these

⁵⁶³ alt.: *harem*

⁵⁶⁴ AS.: *ni nao ruak tian puac* [**puec*] *bloh palaik klaun* [**klaong*] *ruak tian*

⁵⁶⁵ AS.: *ni rao blaoh mai tambai baok kalaong* [**kalung*] *pabah nayet ni* (line 6)

⁵⁶⁶ AS.: *tambai baok*

⁵⁶⁷ AS.: *ni nayet mā nei jayup nayat ni*

⁵⁶⁸ Ar.: *haram*

⁵⁶⁹ Line 10: *ni mânei hil* [*mâtaï hil*] *nayet ni*. Here *mâtaï hil* refers to a *bad death* or abnormal death that occurs on the road.

⁵⁷⁰ Line 11: *ni mânei* [*mâtaï*] *ndih di apuei nayet ni* – in particular reference to when the fetus is still-born or the child dies during childbirth.

⁵⁷¹ AS.: *Ni mânei nâ phuap pak pluh hurei* [*harei*] *nayet ni*

prescriptions is not only a matter of physical health, in many cases, but also a matter of spiritual health. Maintaining the spiritual purity of the individual allowed the individual to care for their family in a more appropriate fashion, and for others in their community.

The assessment of Cham Bani Git of Cambodia and similar materials can give scholars a good basis of the formation of further variations of practice and connections that exist between the Bani communities of Vietnam and Cambodia. Without the further preservation, reading and analysis of Cham manuscripts, this cannot be completed. Fortunately, there are many scholars who are interested in this work and hence, this project is likely to be quite successful. A deeper examination into the roots of the divergent history of the “two Bani” community based upon historical, anthropological and archival records is necessary to contextualizing future readings and research. The “two Bani” may have ultimately diverged because of long standing divisions in practice, which were solidified with the creation of the modern border between Vietnamese and Cambodian territory.

IIb Transformations

The introduction of *shari'ah* Islamic practice into Cham communities in the borderlands transformed Cham communities as clerics and literati developed varying interpretations for the adaptation of Qur'anic concepts into Cham communities. While communities in Cambodia certainly adapted closer adherence to Qur'anic concepts, there was at least a degree of unity that was maintained between the Cham Muslims, particularly the Kaum Imam San group, the Bani of the borderlands, and the Bani of Annam. Certainly, the adaptation of the Islamic calendar was a

key feature in holding these communities together, from the perspective of the literati. Although a class of influential *khaṭīb*⁵⁷² clerics emerged relatively early in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, they were essentially subordinate to Imam and Hakem, who often doubled as Preah Balat and Oknha in the Khmer royal administration, by the nineteenth century. Clerics cared for their communities by acting as interlocutors with Khmer, Vietnamese, and French administrations, but they also cared for their communities by maintaining prescriptions for “pure” and “impure” space, animals, and actions. While these matters may seem a matter of “ritual” in a contemporary context, in the nineteenth century, particularly when it came to matters of which animals were pure and impure, these matters were also a simple matter of health. Yet, these practices were also often explained in terms of a theological perspective, by attempting to act in accordance with the ideal biographies of critical figures from the Qur'an, such as the Prophet Mohammed, Fatimah and Ali. While it is virtually impossible to suggest that complete copies of the Qur'an were common, Qur'anic ideas were present as early as the seventeenth century. Cham clerics apparently selected only the most necessary passages to replicate, translate, explain, teach, and commit to memory. They kept these passages in prayer books with accompanying Cham script to explain when to use each passage. Of all the ceremonies that were most important in the context of the borderlands, those that emerge again and again in the context of these prayer manuals, are life cycle rituals. Through establishing a maintenance of the ritual practice of life cycle rituals in accordance with the Qur'an, Cham clerics ensured that they would have relatively public, communal events that were practiced at birth, at late childhood, in preparation for puberty, at marriage, and at death. At each of life's most dangerous moments, when the individual is betwixt one stage of life and the next, the Cham

⁵⁷² C.: alt.: *katip*

clerics were there to manage and care for the transitions. In this way, they ensured that the community in the borderlands between 1651 and 1929 was increasingly in accordance with *shari'ah*.

III Establishment of the French Code in Indochine

The introduction of the French legal authority in Indochina resulted in the further decline of Cham royal authority and the increased position of Cham literati. Cham and French codes were ultimately quite different, since French rule of law respected, at least nominally, a poly-religious society, and Cham codes were built primarily on a Hindu-Muslim dichotomy. At the same time, French missionaries would make no progress in converting Cham communities, even as they made some progress converting Vietnamese and upland minority populations. The emergence of French authority in Indochina is almost inevitably linked to the establishment of the *Society for Foreign Missions (SFM)*. The records of Alexander de Rhodes – a contemporary of Ppo Romé, who mapped the “Cham garrison” in Quảng Ngãi – indicate that the borderlands between Vietnamese and Champā territory were not as “closed” as Vietnamese sources claim during the arrival of the Europeans.⁵⁷³ Consequentially, with the establishment of the *Society for Foreign Missions (SFM)* in the 1660s, French and European missionaries dramatically increased

⁵⁷³ Marco Polo and Alexander de Rhodes are usually two of the first cited Europeans to have some contact with the Champā civilization. Marco Polo's account referred to Champā as *Ciamba*. Some historians have questioned even he ever left Europe. While others, such as Igor de Rachelwitz (1997), concluded that he at least went to China. See: Igor de Rachelwitz (1997). It so happens that there was a team of Portuguese missionaries who should be credited with Romanizing Vietnamese, not de Rhodes, as is commonly thought. Additionally, he was not the “first missionary.” There is a record that refers to a 1533 ban of ‘false religion’ and preaching by Y Ni Khu (Ignatius) that was produced by Đại Việt (Andaya & Andaya 2015: 145). This is presumed to be the first record of Christian missionization along the Vietnamese coast. Nevertheless, de Rhodes’ mission was a factor in the founding of the official French mission to *Indochine*.

contact with Cham and Vietnamese populations. But early missions were not particularly successful.⁵⁷⁴ Missionaries were a critical factor in the 1830s revolt at Gia Định, although by the 1840s the repression of the Catholic population by the Nguyễn was widespread, and presumably included repression of Catholics who lived in Cham areas of Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces. In response to perceiving Catholics as a threat, Nguyễn emperor Tự Đức banned missionary activity in 1848. He also ordered the execution of Catholic priests in 1851 and 1852. The vicarages responded by petitioning Paris for an armed intervention.

The contestation over the safety of missionaries had an impact on Cham communities, since it was the safety of missionary populations that was used as a justification for the initial expansion of French rule of law. Although support for the Catholic mission was not universal in France at the time, the repression of Catholics was used to muster support for the expansion of the colony. Answers came with the invasions of Đà Nẵng (1858), Sài Gòn (1859) and Cochinchina (1859-1867). Combined with the establishment of the French protectorate over the Kingdom of Cambodia (1863), these actions led to the foundation of French Indochina, although Stung Treng (including Ratanakiri) was part of Laos until 1905 and two provinces of Cambodia, including the “rice basket” of Battambang, remained in Siamese possession until 1907 (Osborne 1969: 33 – 56; Baird 2010). Among Cham populations the important distinction between the various territories was that Cham in Cochinchina were under direct French authority, as Cochinchina was a direct colony. However, Cham who lived in either Annam or Cambodia would have been subject to varying degrees of royal intermediaries on the part of the Vietnamese

⁵⁷⁴ The number of vicarages did not increase until the 1830s and 1840s. Then, although Nguyễn power had been recently consolidated under Minh Mệnh, and similar projects of state consolidation were common throughout Southeast and East Asia, the SFM established half a dozen vicarages (Wilcox 2012; Wilcox ed. 2011; Dror and Taylor 2006).

or the Cambodians. Hence, French intervention had little practical impact on Cham, as most were still subject to Vietnamese or Cambodian authority, except those in Cochinchina, who had been divided between Cambodian and Vietnamese authority, and were hypothetically only under direct French authority after 1867.

There is some evidence that the possibility of living under a Cambodian or French legal authority represented a favorable alternative to Vietnamese authority for Cham literati, one that also resulted in the further rejection of the Cham royalty. At least some Cham in Cambodia aided the establishment of the French protectorate in 1863. However, it is important to remember that in the past Cham had supported both pro- and anti-royal factions in Cambodian politics. Cham garrisons supported King Norodom in his fight against Prince Si Votha in the 1870s,⁵⁷⁵ even as other factions remained in open rebellion against the royalty as Norodom ascended to the throne. At points when Norodom sought refuge in Bangkok, he travelled through Battambang, ensuring that Thai influence would remain in Cambodian politics. Yet, when large numbers of Cham pledge loyalty to Norodom, and he no longer faced as wide a rebellion from their garrisons, Norodom became more sympathetic to the French cause (Zain Musa 2001: 7-8; CM 39(36)). The implication is that, even though Norodom was forced to sign the terms of the protectorate at gunpoint, the question of Cham loyalty was a key factor in the decision to either petition Bangkok for more direct intervention, or the continued acceptance of French authority. Even still, the French mission was less active in Cambodia than in Vietnam (Hansen 2007: 111). The degree of Catholic mission activity is an important factor to consider when weighing the degree to which Cham accepted French legal authority. Given that the Catholic mission was still quite

⁵⁷⁵ Prince Si Votha rebelled in 1864 when Norodom took the throne, again in the 1870s, actively, while Norodom was dealing with an issue along the Thai frontier, and again in 1885-1886. He then remained in Stieng territory until 1891, when he died.

active in Annam and Cochinchina, it follows that the predominantly animist, ancestral worshipping and Śaivite-Hindu influenced Cham of Annam (central Vietnam) would have been skeptical of the French. Šāfi’ī Sunnīs, Sufi influenced Kaum Imam San practitioners, and the Bani-Muslim minority would have likely been skeptical as well – although the Šāfi’ī Sunnīs and Kaum Imam San practitioners in Cambodia faced less of a direct threat from the Catholic mission, since the missions’ activities were focused on “Annamese” coastal and hinterland zones.

A key factor of French legal authority in Cambodia was a total lack of recognition of Cham royal authority. One possible explanation is that Cham royal authority had very much declined in Cambodia already, particularly in the context of a population in diaspora, which looked primarily to the cleric class as a form of authority. Furthermore, French interest in Cambodians and Cham was piqued by a desire for research relationships that might be able to support their intellectual projects of research on mainland Southeast Asian classical civilizations, or anthropological projects that sought to map out the peoples of Indochina. Cham in Cambodia were hence able to support French interests, while maintain administrative positions in the Khmer legal apparatus, ideally as *Oknha* royal regents. “The path of least resistance,” as it were, would have been to support French military intervention, coupled with intellectual investment in the Cham, and to attempt stave off further Thai or Vietnamese incursions, as these would have threatened Cham positions as *Oknha* and their subordinates. Since all Cham *Oknha* were also Muslim, there would have been little desire to support a Cham royalty that could be viewed as either subordinate to the Vietnamese, or, alternatively, in contest with local Cambodian officials. A Cham-Khmer-French partnership, however, certainly resulted in the further rejection of Cham royalty in favor of both Cambodian and French rule of law. As we shall see later in this chapter,

particularly in Cambodia, the clerics blended the juridical duties of Muslim judges⁵⁷⁶ and Imam, with Cham-Malay influenced local teachers.⁵⁷⁷ These elites took new positions as *Oknha* royal regents and a new class of subordinate elites: the Preah Balat,⁵⁷⁸ and it is with this class of clerics and literati that the French primarily communicated with.

IIIa Prescriptions for Cham Communities: Etienne Aymonier [b. 1844 – d. 1929], the foundation of Cham Studies & *Ariya Ppo Pareng* [1885]

After the French military campaigns of the 1850s through the 1880s, French legal authority was increasingly supreme for Cham communities, even though it was often mediated through Vietnamese and Cambodian royal systems. First and foremost, Cham were subject to French policing and taxes within the framework of Indochina. But, French legal authority also had a lasting impact on the Cham community regarding issues of relationships with colonial officials, the nature of the Cham language, and the intellectual production of Cham literati. In each of these arenas, however, any lasting impact of intellectual exchange between French officials and Cham literati was deeply tied to French bureaucratic process and thus an extension of the influence of French rule of law. Under the ideal model of the French empire, each people had one language, one ethnicity, and their own history, allowing them to be incorporated into the larger ontological vision of French empire. Orientalist scholars were key to this process, as they acted as intermediaries, fulfilling dual roles as legal authorities and cultural interpreters, working

⁵⁷⁶ Ar.: *qadi*

⁵⁷⁷ M.: *guru*; C.: *gru*

⁵⁷⁸ C.: *Brah Mbalat*

closely with bilingual Cham literati, and occasionally, such as in the cases of Etienne Aymonier and Antoine Cabaton,⁵⁷⁹ becoming quite proficient in local forms of knowledge as well. Still, the impact of French intellectual influence, as an extension of French empire, deepened the sense of divide between the modern Cham and the ancient Champā civilization.

The most important “step” for French officials developing a relationship with the Cham community in Southeast Asia – was the development of a “taste for India.” Penny Edwards (2007: 48) has best described the French predisposition toward the Indic elements of Southeast Asian culture as “compensation for the loss of India.” Losing India to the British, therefore, was integral in the need for a “colonial mission” in *Indochine*. By owning the Indic past of Angkor and Champā, French Orientalist scholars claimed part of India. When Pere Bouilevaux fled the policing of the house of Nguyễn in the late 1840s, he followed a well-trodden refugee route through central Cambodia to Battambang. In 1850, he encountered ruins of the Angkorian civilization for the first time. His work sparked an interest in Indic Southeast Asia among his colleagues. Amateur naturalist Henri Mouhot followed him and became famous when his photography was published (posthumously) in an 1864 collection that brought Angkor to Paris for pop-scholarly consumption by the Parisian elite. Explorations of the Mekong by M.J. Francis Garnier and E. Doudart Legarée followed. Although they were unsuccessful in their aim to find a route to China, they encountered Angkor Wat for the first time in 1866 and, impressed by the vision of Angkor along with other aspects of their journey, used their information to found the journal *Excursions et Reconnaissance (EER)* in 1879, a journal that went on to publish several articles on the Cham population. That same year, the French formation of “Les Etudes Champā”

⁵⁷⁹ Cabaton was permanently appointed to the position of secretary to M. Finot – Director of the Archeological Mission – on December 15, 1898, under the jurisdiction of “Etablissements Scientifiques.” NAC Box 404, 1899: 111.

began the initial publication of a proto-ethnographic study of the Cham at Châu Đốc and a summary article on “Le Ciampa” by P. Bouilevaux published in the *Annales de L'Extreme Orient* (1879/80), later republished in *Revue d'Ethographie* (1882) (Southworth 2001: 42-45). It was not long until the interest in the Cham turned into a much more personal endeavor. Shortly thereafter, the “lost Angkor” was transposed onto “lost Champā” with the arrival of Etienne Aymonier in the colony.

Etienne Aymonier began his career in academia with a bland descriptive monograph regarding the geography of colonial Cambodia, and yet ended it being a founding member of one of the largest international academic institutions (the EFEO), an important intellectual in Paris, and, so well published on the Austronesian Cham population that every academic since has had to reference his work. His works have been revered for more than one hundred years.⁵⁸⁰ Aymonier was born Etienne Francois Aymonier on February 26, 1844 to a well-off family. Both Etienne and his brother followed in their father’s footsteps in service to the French state. On November 7, 1870 Aymonier became an Officer in Training⁵⁸¹ in the Administration of Indigenous Affairs (AIA) in Indochina. He was then promoted to Officer of the Second Class on January 15, 1875, rapidly followed by another promotion to First Class Officer in May of that year. He was promoted again to the position of Premier Representative of the Protectorate of Cambodia (or “Governor of Cambodia”), an office that he held simultaneously with his AIA

⁵⁸⁰ Since the turn of the century archetypical Orientalist wrote such problematic pieces, it is a wonder that he has virtually *never* been critiqued by name. In 1999, Japanese Anthropologist Rie Nakamura marveled at how the collaborative dictionary that he wrote with Antoine Cabaton was *still* the “gold standard” of Cham language study. More than ten years later, when I completed studies throughout Cambodia and Vietnam, over a much broader geography, this was still the case. Even several Muslim intellectuals cited the importance of the works of Antoine Cabaton and Aymonier. More sensationally, the works of the once-governor of Cambodia (Aymonier) are virtually forgotten in the rest of the world. By stark contrast, the veneration of Aymonier in the field of Cham Studies has since, then, almost risen him to the status of “ancestral deity.”

⁵⁸¹ Fr.: *Administrateur Stagiaire*

position for a term of just over two years [January 6, 1879 - May 10, 1881]. He then stepped down from the office of the governor in 1881, but remained as First Class Officer of the AIA through that office's reorganization in July 2, 1884. From the senior post at the AIA, Aymonier shifted his personal interests from Cambodia back to "Annam" and, more specifically, the Cham of Vietnam (Aymonier 1891: 22; NAC Box 404 1901: 157; NAC Box 190 Groussin 1919: 16; NAC Box 405 1929: 375; Po & LaFont 1989: 9).

In Annam, with several local Cham literati as partners, Aymonier founded a research center in the Cham village of Hamu Laning, nearby Phan Rí. He also had a romantic partner, who was a member of one of the old Cham royal lineages, living in the area. Through his research center he formed partnerships with several leading Cham officials, including Lê Tông Cek of Hamu Tanran (Phan Rang area) and Basaih Châu of Palei Coep (Phan Rang area).⁵⁸² In 1884-1885, he then set off on an expedition up the coast, through Nha Trang, to survey the ancient towers of Champā. The expedition would have had to negotiate through a Cholera epidemic that spread through Bình Thuận in 1885. All evidence suggests that the French basically ignored the epidemic, allowing it to thin out the indigenous population, as it were. The only form of action was that local medical personal were ordered to "inform the central authority" when they recorded new cases (NAVII: IA.8/125 (12). No. 5126. S. 42). Furthermore, Aymonier's expedition was cut short of classical *negarā* Vijaya (Quy Nhơn) as an anti-colonial,

⁵⁸² Basaih Châu of Palei Coep was responsible for giving Aymonier the Cham Royal Chronicle. The dating system for the Cham Royal Chronicle was established by a research team, led by Etienne Aymonier at Phan Rik (now: Phan Rí, Bình Thuận province, Vietnam) at the turn of the century. They concluded that the last year of the most reliable version of the Cham Royal Chronicle was 1822 (C.: *thun nasak anaih*). Then, working backwards, they determined that 822 years had passed since *Ppo Uawalah*'s 'journey to Mâkah.' The research team made an important move to impose a more linear like chronology structure onto the historical account of Cham manuscripts, which are generally more cyclical in nature. In other words, the imposition of rigorous chronology brought Cham historical records more in line with Islamic notions of history (Ar.: *ta'rikh*) and shifted them further away from Cham notions of history (C.: *sakarai*).

pro-Nguyễn royalist rebellion swept central Annam in July 1885.⁵⁸³ The trip resulted in the publication of his letter to the Governor General of Indochina in the journal that had been founded by M.J. Francis Garnier and E. Doudart Legarée, *Excursion et Reconnaissances*, in 1885, which called for an expansion of French control in Indochina on the behalf of the Cham. Additionally, in more private versions of the letter, it appears that there was a call to re-instate the last Champā *negarā* of Pāñduraṅga, as a sort of “buffer state” between Annam and the Vietnamese of Cochinchina (Aymonier 1891: 22; NAC Box 404 1901: 157; NAC Box 190 Groussin 1919: 16; NAC Box 405 1929: 375; Po and LaFont 1989: 9).

Although Aymonier’s buffer state never came to be, the next twenty plus years of his career were filled with continuous promotion and publication about the Cham. Professional veneration of Aymonier’s career was important, since it acted as an affirmation of the work that his research team had put together, essentially codifying the concepts of Cham history and religion that were put forward by his publications. A turn of the century three volume early

⁵⁸³ France faced a wealth of rebellions in 1885-1886 that threatened their control over Indochina. In a January 31, 1886 letter, the resident of France in Kampong Cham, M. de LaLande, wrote to the General Resident in Phnom Penh. He was concerned with the ‘major’ rebellions that had occurred in Kampong Cham and Kampong Chhnang in 1885 and 1886. However, he noted that the Metis-Chinese, tended to distance themselves during the fighting and the ‘Tiam’ (Cham) and ‘Malaisie’ (Malay) populations did not participate at all. Rather, in a rather pejorative manner, he claims that the entirety of the Khmer population was ‘pillaging and burning for entertainment.’ While this is not particularly likely, his letter does give us an account of troop movements: the ‘rebels’ were on the plains of Kompong Siem – then redoubled their forces on the coast of Karoka and the back side of Wat Nokor. On the nights of January 29 and 20 1886 they sent another attack southward as a decoy. They burned forty houses and one man and one two-year-old infant were injured. The author believes the rebels were after the islands of Kasatin. Cham and Malays inhabited this area at the time and the villages of Phum Treas – between Krauchmar and Peamchilang – had constructed a small fort. There was an ‘old Malay’ Governor of Thbaung Khmum, who lived in Peamchilang. At this point LaLande notes that he was concerned with ethnic tensions and attempted to name ‘quarter chiefs’ of the Khmer, Cham and Annamite neighborhoods in the ‘village’ of Kampong Cham. However, the Annamites were apparently also incited to burning the Cham and Khmer villages. LaLande reported that his solution was to meet with the mayor, notables and those responsible for collecting taxes (the ‘Balat’ one presumes). Nevertheless, it appears that ethnic, or perhaps even better said religious tensions prevailed in later periods (M. de LaLande Calan 1886 In NAC Box 664: 225-227). Other rebellions persisted throughout the early twentieth century, including the rebellion of Phan Xich Long, which moved across the borderlands between 1913 and 1916 (Hansen 2007: 116).

ethnographic account of Cambodia, which included several passages on the Cham, and based on research compiled during his time as governor [in office: January 6, 1879 - May 10 1881], was influential in these promotions. It was a volume that contributed to the earlier mentioned “compensation for the loss of India,” as a French Orientalist project. Furthermore, most Aymonier’s personal work, as part of the same larger intellectual work of French Orientalist scholarship, remained devoted to the study of the Cham. With each publication, promotion came, affirming the concepts put forward by his team. The same year as his critical publication *The Cham and their Religion*, he was promoted to the position of Administrator Consul on July 1, 1893,⁵⁸⁴ although he would return to Paris six years later in 1899. Shortly thereafter he was promoted to the Director of the Colonial School in Paris, France and played a role in the foundation of the French School of the Far East. He then served in the colonial university system in Paris until his death in 1929 (NAC: Box 404 1895: 116-117, 140; NAC Box 404 1901: 157). His impact would be lasting, perhaps more so on the Cham community in Vietnam, as well as Cambodia, even much more so than on French history, although it is fair to say that the EFEO may not have taken the form it took without the works of Aymonier, and especially, the collaborators who worked for and with him.⁵⁸⁵

While there is a conspicuous absence of any Cham language sources that can be dated to the 1870s, a sudden wave of production is dated to 1885, in seeming conjunction Aymonier’s

⁵⁸⁴ According to the records of Yersin, the Cham were using an overland trade route through Pacam (Thành Linh, Bình Thuận) via upland networks through Biên Hòa to Sài Gòn (Hickey 1982: 248)

⁵⁸⁵ An eventual extension of this work became the scientific work that literally divided the landscape based upon the application of new Latin based nomenclature for flora and fauna that had no relation to local terms (Jonsson 2014: 5). There would be many dictionary projects that attempted to bridge the gap between these understandings. But the balance of the power of knowledge was upon the side of the French, rather than Southeast Asians.

works.⁵⁸⁶ At least four Cham Muslim Preah Balat manuscripts were part of these collections.⁵⁸⁷

There were also originally five French notebooks⁵⁸⁸ that were filled with Cham language compositions, recording the account of a *Ppo Pareng*⁵⁸⁹ in four hundred and fifty-seven pages.

These “accounts of a foreigner” are most often interpreted as accounts of Etienne Aymonier (Inrasara 2006: 72). But, this may not necessarily be the case. In his famous *Ariya Ppo Pareng* (1885), the author Hợp Ai⁵⁹⁰ records that the author travelled further up the coast than Aymonier did that year.⁵⁹¹ Some of the historical details contest the treatment of Cham “assistants” by French administrators as conditions of virtual enslavement. Hence, Hợp Ai’s account recording the brutal treatment of Cham at the hands of the French is evidence that Cham literati did not simply look favorably on the French administration (Inrasara 2006: 71-87). At the same time, there is evidence to suggest that Hợp Ai capitalized on collaboration with the French as well, and his intellectual career had a lasting impact on the Cham community.

Several of Hợp Ai’s manuscripts were collected by Aymonier’s affiliates at the EFEO over the years, and, since some form of compensation was the norm in exchange for a gift of a manuscript, we can expect that this was the case for Hợp Ai. Although he was most famous for his work *Ariya Ppo Pareng* (1885), he also recorded one of the earliest datable manuscripts that was about Ppo Romé, the critical seventeenth century king who was transformed into a deity,

⁵⁸⁶ This wave of publication also stands out against the trend that suggests manuscripts were not produced during times of conflict. There were widespread rebellions against the French in 1885, and several Cham manuscripts are also dated to the same period.

⁵⁸⁷ CM 49 – CM 52

⁵⁸⁸ Fr.: *cahier*

⁵⁸⁹ from Ar.: *ferenji*

⁵⁹⁰ Of Palei Hamu Tanran; Vn.: Hữu Đức

⁵⁹¹ The discordance between the two accounts suggest either that *Ppo Pareng* is a more general term used by the Cham for various French administrators, or that the accounts much be re-examined and reconciled in greater detail. Hợp Ai himself was a critical historical figure for the Cham and his account *Ariya Ppo Pareng* has already been translated into Vietnamese in two versions, one by Inrasara (2006) and the other by Sứ Văn Ngọc (2010).

and the subject of chapter one, from his hometown of Palei Hamu Tanran. His journeys and collaborations, including those with other local Cham literati, were factors that influenced his studies of the ritualistic scripts of *Akhar Rik*, *Akhar Yok* (known sometimes as “middle Cham”) and *Akhar Atuel* (see: CM 23). As he travelled through areas formerly under Cham control, he marveled at the writing on the Cham towers, and noted that he could not understand why Cham sovereigns had fled their lands (Inrasara 2006:430-450). By producing a *damnây* in the memory of Ppo Romé, Hợp Ai contributed to the process of memorializing Ppo Romé as an individual, as well as toward a memorialization of Champā. But he was also impacted the author. It would have increased the need to preserve the site of the Ppo Romé tower at Palei Tuen. Five years later, Ppo Romé was mentioned as one of the key Cham deities in E. Aymonier’s publication “*Legendes Historiques Des Chames*” [Historical Legends of the Cham]” in *Excursions et reconnaissance* (Aymonier 1890). Intellectual conversations between French and Cham scholars, therefore, shaped the form of ideas that were circulating about Cham religion.

French intellectual influence on the Cham was considerable, although Cham developed local concepts in reaction to the French presence, and seemingly alongside the French imperial project as well. Following Thongchai Winichakul’s (2000: 534) views on the links between Thai travel poetry⁵⁹² and the origins of Thai anthropology – *Ariya Ppo Pareng* by Hợp Ai is a critical proto-ethnographic piece,⁵⁹³ establishing the links between the *Ariya* genre of poetry, travel accounts and later, early ethno-graphic work that would be authored by Bó Thuận. Furthermore, the Preah Balat and Hợp Ai were not the only Cham scholars to write accounts of the French in

⁵⁹² Th.: *nirat*

⁵⁹³ There is another near contemporary parallel in the nineteenth century *Hikayat Abdullah* which chronicles the travels of the Indian Muslim Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi to Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan by sea (binti Haji Mahmud 2008: 8).

verse. Their contemporaries Kau Tai, Ja Mul Cak and Cei Mah can also be associated with turn of the century accounts of the French in verse, written in both Eastern and Western Cham variants of the Cham script. There are Romanized versions of some of these manuscripts as well, suggesting they were being studied by French individuals who had trouble reading non-Romanized scripts. An emergent trend by the turn of the century is that the manuscripts produced appear out of conversations between individual French scholars and individual Cham scholars.⁵⁹⁴ An example of one such manuscript is MEP 1190/6 – which is a *cahier* of Akhar Thrah manuscripts that are held in the Missionary Archives in Paris, France. In this manuscript, in addition to the “Abisheka Cam” ceremonies, the *sakawi cam* calendar and the chronicle of Ppo Inâ Nâgar that was used in ME EM Durand’s EFEO publication, mentioned in chapter two. There are also handwritten notes by Durand and a lexicon of Arabic – Cham words, likely used during Durand’s field study of Akhar Thrah manuscripts in between 1902 and 1907. The codification of this knowledge, however, being produced in *Indochine*, came at a great cost.

For Cham literati increase in positive French influence on the foundations of the field of Cham studies came at the cost of greater French control in Indochina, which also furthered the sense of rupture between the modern Cham and the ancient Champā civilization. In effect, while there was an increased intellectual investment in the literati class of the Cham community, the community was subject to colonial law just as much as any other Indochinese group, and experienced no preferential treatment. Governor General of Indochina (1897-1902), and later 14th president of the Third Republic, Joseph Athanase Paul Doumer was the most important

⁵⁹⁴ Similar relations happened in other groups as well. For example, Aymonier’s Khmer translator, Son Diep (b. 1855, Soc Trang) helped the official with his French-Khmer dictionary, and composed a travelogue, in verse form, about his trip to Paris in 1900. It was called *Lpoek look daam pliw tiw srok parang seh niw di dang tuu niw krong barih* (“Voyage en France pendant l’Exposition universelle de 1900 à Paris) (Edwards 2007: 66, 82).

individual who, at least hypothetically, read Aymonier's plea for an increased French presence in Indochina to support the Cham. Unfortunately for Aymonier, Doumer differed from Aymonier's position on several key points. He regulated the interest in the Cham population to the realm of academic interest, downplaying Aymonier's political aims, but supporting Aymonier's plea for the foundation of the Archeological Mission. Doumer also imposed territorial and economic control through a series of land grants, state supervised concessions and taxation reform. Local ownership was removed and a land registry system was introduced, decreasing the burden on a new intermediary class of landed elite. The monopolies over salt, alcohol and opium dramatically increased revenue for the empire.⁵⁹⁵ Other taxes that specifically targeted highland products, and thus threatened the traditional highland-lowland trade networks of the Cham (see: Murray 1980: 45-95, 477-492; Hickey 1982; Hemery and Brocheux 2009: 78-79). In other words, it is likely that the Doumer administration created as many "taxed" enemies among the

⁵⁹⁵ The labor regime also brought migrants from all over the greater networks of Indian Ocean Muslims to Indochina as migrants. However, these individuals often arrived as lightly skilled indentured labor recruits, and in small numbers, such as the case of "4 Malabars" who arrived in Bến Tre in 1887 as varieties of "Burmese" agricultural products (particularly rubber) were being introduced to that area (NAV II: IA.4 /N3 (5). N 02. 2568) This file also contains a beautiful map of Châu Đốc worthy of a full digital reproduction. Unfortunately, the archives do not allow digital photography of archival documents. The opium monopoly has gained much attention in scholarly examinations, perhaps because of the "edge appeal" of the topic to French and American academic audiences. However, for the Cham, population, the salt monopoly would have been more critical, in terms of shifting the economic geography of Cham areas. The impact of the salt monopoly was apparently quite large, as it stretched all the way from northern to south central Vietnam. The trade impact stretched inland from these coastal areas all the way to Laos. Much of Annamese salt was produced near Phan Rang. Bình Thuận and Ninh Thuận remain major salt producing regions in the present. Unfortunately, comparatively little research has addressed the impact of the French colonial labor regime on "non-state minorities," although it is the archives in Phnom Penh, Ho Chi Minh City, Paris and Aix en Provence hold much further information on this topic. The combination of the salt monopoly with personal taxes and land tax would have certainly produced a vice grip on the emergent labor class of Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận just as with other areas of the colony. The salt tax would have had a deep impact on Cham areas, even if not directly on the Cham population themselves. There is some evidence that new salt fields were established in Malay areas of Kampot at the end of the nineteenth century, which may have been an adjustment to the Vietnamese cooption of Cham fields during an earlier period of the nineteenth century. See: NAC Box 671: 39.

Cham communities of Annam as “allies” Aymonier sought to keep through his academic collaborations, if not more.

Despite establishing policies that unquestionably would have repressed the working Cham population, the Doumer administration was, perhaps unintentionally, responsible for furthering the sense of rupture between the living Cham and the ancient and perceived “distant” civilization of Champā. As part of his wider colonial project Doumer made accommodations for an influx of administrators and engineers that formed the backbone of early orientalist research projects. He founded the Scientific Mission, the Geological Service and the Geological Service of Indochina, and was instrumental in the founding of the Archeological Mission, as indicated by a January 20, 1900 letter. This Archeological Mission was then quickly renamed the French School of the Far East (EFEO), the premier French overseas research institution. As part of the early work of the EFEO, Orientalists “discovered” 200 relics of the Champā civilization. An academic partnership between Etienne Aymonier and Mr. Lemire had already resulted in the founding of a Champā sculpture park in Tourane in 1892, based on an earlier collection of Champā sculptures at the French residency in Quy Nhon. Camille Paris became another important figure in the same circle, first collecting “relics” from the grounds of his private residence in Quảng Nam province, before leading archeological expeditions at Trà Kiệu (1891), Đèng Dương (1892), Mý Sơn (1895), as well as Quảng Bình and Quảng Trị provinces (1897-1898).⁵⁹⁶ Just two years later, with Doumer’s official approval of the transformation of the Archeological Mission into the EFEO, Paris’ works began to live on through the EFEO, although, after a wave of interest in early proto-ethnographic accounts of the Cham produced by

⁵⁹⁶ He was also one among many Frenchmen to “stray too far” in the highlands of *Indochine*, where he was killed in an exploration in 1898. Camille’s death shook many of his contemporaries. Camille and others like him therefore became ‘martyrs’ to the colonial mission.

Antoine Cabaton (1901-1906), EM Durand (1902-1907) and Leopold Cadiere – a Catholic missionary living and working in Annam who founded the *Bulletin of the Friends of Old Hue* in 1913. Then, there was a dip in field work among Cham communities and published research on the civilization of Champā, roughly coinciding with the participation of the French in World War I (1914 – 1918) (Southworth 2001: 45-47; Brown 2013).

Despite the overall decline of interest in research on the Champā and the Cham during World War I, in 1915-1916 the EFEO commissioned a museum on the banks of the Han River, near present day Đà Nẵng, and devoted the collection almost entirely to works of Champā culture. However, because of the funds being diverted elsewhere, it took more than ten years before the *Association of the Friends of Old Hue* would display the works for the first time at a “cultural pavilion” at Hué in 1927-1928.⁵⁹⁷ The pavilion thrived in the inter-war years, allowing John Yves Claeys to lead a groundbreaking expedition at Trà Kiệu, and a number of relics were moved to the “Cham Cultural Pavilion.” The Society of Indochina Studies founded the Blanchard de la Brosse Museum, using several the pieces from the Claeys collection as well. However, as war descended upon the world in the 1940s, and the situation grew worse in *Indochine*. As the war worsened and the Japanese invaded, the French lost all power, and the Cultural Pavilion was closed in 1945 (Claeys 1934: 31; Mabbet 1989: i-vii; Trần Ky Phuong 2000: 18, 105-108). The apogee of French Orientalist research had been reached, and, though the French state would never again completely regain the positions they had in *Indochine*, Orientalist research had left its mark on the field of “Champā /Cham Art” for the rest of history. Brown (2013: 187) notes that the “role that the Vietnamese played has been largely eclipsed in the

⁵⁹⁷ 1928 was also the publication date of Vietnamese nationalist historian Trần Trọng Kim's [d. 1959] *Việt Nam Sử Lược*, which was republished in 1948, and many times since. It fundamentally shaped the nationalist approach to Vietnamese history and was one of the most influential texts in the field in the twentieth century.

published literature.” Hence, Brown goes on to note the critical role that Nguyễn Xuân Đồng, an employee of the EFEO and curator of the Đà Nẵng Museum [1938-1973], and Sơn [alt. sp.: Soan], another employee of the EFEO, played in the 1930s. What Brown has hinted at here, and few others have written about, was that very intellectual ground that was already emerging in between the lines of the European “West” and the “East” of Vietnam, a creolized class of intellectuals who were dually shaped by both elements of their being. In the case of the field of Cham Studies no one person could better exemplify the creolized class of intellectuals that emerged in the middle of the twentieth century than Bô Thuận. It was these individuals, like Bô Thuận, who controlled the interpretation and solidification of concepts of the “*Adat Cam*” codes of the Cham literati, particularly during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

IIIb Transformations

The emergence of French colonial legal authority between the 1850s and the 1920s had a deep impact on the Cham community. Through French conquest, the Cham literati were even more divided under various legal authorities. In Cambodia, Cham would be subject to Khmer royal authority and the French governor. In Cochinchina, however, Cham were, theoretically, directly subject to French rule. By contrast, in Annam, the Cham were subject to a mix of French administrators and local Vietnamese administrators, who nominally represented the court at Hué. At the same time, colonial administrators, such as Etienne Aymonier and Antoine Cabaton had an impact in their day to day work enforcing and applying tax codes, as well as in their larger intellectual influence, where they doubled as cultural interpreters. Certainly, the imposition of French monopolies, particularly over salt, and the creation of new taxes and administrative

procedures would have influenced the Cham community. Yet, the prescription that there was a *single language* for each ethnic group was also, in effect, a legal interpretation with deep intellectual implications for the Cham literati, potentially aiding the continued conceptual unity of the communities in Vietnam and Cambodia. The records of Cham literati themselves also complain of unfair treatment at the hands of the French, and there is a certain sense that the French intellectual project that sought to claim the Cham past in Champā as an inherently French possession contributed toward an ever-growing sense of rupture within Cham communities and among Cham literati, as exhibited by the lines of *Ariya Ppo Pareng*. This sense of rupture reflected a divide between the modern Cham and ancient Champā.

While French authority was not the only source of rupture between the past of Champā and the present of the Cham literati, it did, it seems, contribute to it. Endemic poverty in Indochina, particularly among non-literati populations, but even among the literati themselves, would have added to the sense of rupture. A rich glorious past, and an impoverished present became the most common way to describe the difference between the Cham and Champā. Cham literati responded to the deepening sense of rupture in the same way that they had in earlier centuries, however. They relied upon the source of the Cham code “*adat Cam*” to unite their communities. Oddly enough, in their intellectual project to study the Cham past, French scholarship also contributed to the solidification of *adat Cam* through their studies on Cham religion. With the promotion of French scholars, such as Aymonier, the ideas of Aymonier and, most important, his research team near Phan Rik, were confirmed as legitimate, albeit by external recognition. The ultimate transformation of French influence was not only in the poverty and unequal distribution of wealth that was a systemic outgrowth of French colonialism, but it was also in the permanent regulation of any ties of Champā to “the past,” and any recognition of

adat Cam to “the present.” In short, the lasting influence of collaboration between Cham literati and French scholars under French rule of law was that *adat Cam* was viewed as unchanging, although there is plenty of evidence to the contrary.

IV Establishment of Adat Cham

“*Adat Cam*” is best understood as an ethical code, rather than a legal code, for the Cham community, as it does not have the same prescriptions for taxation and punishment that one would expect with the rule of law. While there are historical records of “punishments” being enacted in accordance with *Adat Cam* between 1651 and 1929, there is no indication that these punishments were systematized. By contrast, there are substantial records of discourse over the proper way to act in a communal setting, the proper times for harvest, proper behaviors, designations of pure and impure animals and how to treat them, as well as how to act in accordance with a certain number of common understandings of proper religious behavior. The origins of the Cham understanding of “*Adat*” almost certainly came after the arrival of Islam in the tenth century, although one of the earliest clear citations of *Adat Cam*, from the record of Cham manuscripts, refers to a figure named Ong Keimat, who cites the code against an order of the Cham royalty during the reign of Ppo Jai Paran [r. 1613 – 1618].⁵⁹⁸ After the reign of Ppo Romé [r. 1627 – 1651], however, the concept of *Adat Cam* was radically transformed. The most critical elements of the code were understood to be the relationship between the *Awal* and the *Ahiér*, or in other words: the relationship between the moon and the sun, between women and

⁵⁹⁸ *Dalikal Ppo Anit*

men, and between (Hindu) Cham and (Muslim) Bani. The Cham calendar unified both Hindu and Muslim elements of Cham society, but also set prescribed days for Katé and Ramâwan to ensure that they would not overlap. By the eighteenth century, *Adat Cam* was present in texts such as *Ariya Bini Cam*, although certain prescriptions for respecting parents and the idea that marriages should be arranged in a certain fashion were probably more common in nineteenth century literature such as *Ariya Cam Bini*. By the nineteenth century, *Adat Cam* was a concept that was explicitly written about within the *ariya* genre. Texts such as *Ariya Gleng Anak* (1830s) and *Ariya Pataow Adat* (19th c.) contained specific lessons about the nature of proper masculine behavior. Similarly, *Ariya Muk Sruh Palei* (19th c.) contained prescriptions for the behavior of young women.

The splintering of former Champā princely lineages was critical in the late nineteenth century formation of the cleric class, particularly as members of former royal lineages were expected to join the literati class, but also for the relationships that Cham literati maintained, to a certain extent, with other Chamic minority communities. The Churu remained an important “Champā lineage” in the borderlands – even though a Cham lineage had replaced the Churu as rulers of Pāñduraṅga at the very end of the eighteenth century.⁵⁹⁹ This is not surprising since the Churu peoples at the time were a creole community of mixed Raglai, Koho and Cham lineage – and – as previously mentioned in chapter one, the Churu had the ruling lineage of the last Champā kingdom of Pāñduraṅga for half of the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth century. The presence of the Churu near Đa Lạt helps to explain how manuscripts written in

⁵⁹⁹ However, the Churu kept much of the Champā royal treasures with them and continued to rule in many uplands areas. According to an oral history from Rouneh Han Tho: the Banahria line of the Churu royalty continued to possess several Cham royal treasures in the Đa Nhim valley outside of Đa Lạt – at least through the end of the nineteenth century (Hickey 1982: 271).

Akhar Thrah would be associated with Đa Lạt during the French colonial era.⁶⁰⁰ More importantly, however, they are further evidence that the reach of “Adat Cam” travelled along the Churu lineages associated with former princely literati, into the borderlands that were the southern reaches of the Annamite Chain. Furthermore, the concept of *Adat Cam*, as a separate code of ethics, not specific to Qur'an prescriptions, continued to be present in nineteenth century Cambodia, as the text *Kaboun Mok Sros* plays a similar role, prescribing proper actions for the behavior of young women. In each of these manuscripts, the ideal behavior of an individual is described, although it is difficult to find any single historical period from period after these manuscripts were composed, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who falls entirely in line with the prescriptions that they describe. Rather, virtually every individual transgresses the code in some fashion. The exception to this rule would be the Cham literati, as there are few historical examples of individuals who transgressed Cham codes of ethics from the turn of the century through the early twentieth century. Instead, it is more common to find records of literati who embody a certain set of ideals: a knowledge of the history of Champa and the Cham, knowledge of both Hindu and Muslim aspects of Cham religion, and a devotion toward upholding the manuscript culture of Cham communities. Bô Thuận, the half-Cham, half-French son of Aymonier, was one such figure.

⁶⁰⁰ Some oral historical evidence has suggested that members of the Churu lineage continued to house *Akhar Thrah* manuscripts, reviving a knowledge of the script briefly in the 1960s. There are even a few stories that suggest some Churu members who re-intermarried with the Cham brought Cham manuscripts to the United States in the 1970s. The preference for certain colonial era researchers to “ethnologize” and create rigid categories of ethnicity has covered up much of the records that may have been otherwise kept. At the same time, a more nuanced historical record can only be obtained through the combined analysis of oral history, documents in Vietnamese and Cham languages and some analysis of the French documents and impact on *Indochine*.

IVa Prescriptions for Cham communities: Bố Thuận’s Localization of Islam in the 1930s
 – 1960s

Bố Thuận was a Cham scholar and teacher who was the son of a Cham woman, known as Nguyễn Thị Dé in Vietnamese, and the French Administrator Etienne Aymonier. He was not Muslim per se, although he was a “Bani-Cham” by repute,⁶⁰¹ while many of his children were not, and were part of the Hindu influenced Ahiér community (Sakaya 2012). For example, Bố Xuân Hồ (b. 1931, Palei Daung Panan),⁶⁰² lived with Bố Thuận in the Ahiér village Dhaung Panan (Hựu An), after 1954. At the time Dhaung Panan was an Ahiér village (Rondot 1950), and there is a record that Bố Thuận signed his name with Cham dignitaries in the area “under great head of the God Śiva” between 1964 and 1967 (NAC II: Hồ Sơ 23223).⁶⁰³ Also by repute, after his he spent his youth in Cham villages, when he was 12 years old, Aymonier ensured that Bố Thuận would travel to France and study for a total of 18 years, only to return to Annam in approximately 1920, where he would marry and father a total of seven children: Bố Xuân Long, Bố Xuân Đồng (Anh Thé), Bố Xuân Hội (d. 1972), Bố Xuân Nhu, Bố Xuân Hồ, Diên Thị Thắng, and Diên Thị Két (who died young, as she was shot while working as a contact for the Viet Minh).⁶⁰⁴ He was also a famous research partner of Paul Mus – who first encountered the Cham people and “Champā” as a twenty-seven-year-old. Mus had studied Cham first with a rifleman

⁶⁰¹ Many individuals claimed to have learned Akhar Bani, the Bani version of Arabic script from him. With thanks to Dr. Thành Phần and Quốc Thuận for this commentary.

⁶⁰² Sakaya (2012: 76) notes: The son of Bố Thuận: Bố Xuân Hồ was born in 1939 in Phan Ri, Bắc Bình, Bình Thuận.

⁶⁰³ The implication here is that he was not a member of the *Awal* Bani clergy, or an Islamic cleric, and still ascribed to many Hindu, animist and ancestor worshipping influenced practices. In his manuscript collection there is some suggestion that he was influenced by Sufism.

⁶⁰⁴ Inrasara. 11/13/2015. Bố Xuân Hồ, người tiên phong nghiên cứu văn hóa Chăm tại Bình Thuận. *Bao Bình Thuận*. Available online at: <http://dulich.baobinhthuan.com.vn/vi-vn/6656-bo-xuan-ho-nguoi-tien-phong-nghien-cuu-van-hoa-cham-tai-binh-thuanbr.html>. See also: Sakaya (2012)

who was stationed in Hà Nội. He then travelled for three months in 1929 collecting Cham manuscripts and attending ceremonies, mostly under the guidance of Bố Thuận – including a critical ceremony at Bimong Yang In[dra] tower. It is possible that Bố Thuận played up the mystical elements of the ceremony for Mus.

The relationship between Bố Thuận and Paul Mus began during Mus's project on Cham literature, resulting in one of Mus' first major publications and a key entry point in his career with the EFEO. Later Mus returned to Cham areas, in the early 1930s, and with the help of Bố Thuận along with a group of Cham and Churu guides, Mus "discovered" more than twenty Champā monuments and ritual sites that were previously unknown to EFEO scholars, including the three towers to the west of Phan Thiét that are linked to the eighteenth century Ppo Paguh/Taray figures. During one of their outings a tiger crossed their path and one of the Cham guides fainted. According to local Cham practice, he would have been possessed by a *jin* that resided in the tiger. Bố Thuận took a piece of the guide's hair and breathed an incantation into it. He later gave the manuscript with this incantation on it to Mus (Chandler 2009: 154 – 156).⁶⁰⁵ Mus went on to be internationally famous, a feat that Bố Thuận could also claim, though to a lesser extent. Mus' funding must have been some contribution though. As a research partner with Mus' projects, Bố Thuận could justify bolstering his own collection of Cham manuscripts.⁶⁰⁶ The collection is critical, as it was a sort of time capsule, measuring the knowledge of the Cham community by the end of the 1920s.

⁶⁰⁵ Mus describes this scenario as having been a condition of soul loss (Mus 1929: 512; see also: *Annuaire du Collège de France* 1965-66: 384).

⁶⁰⁶ At least four of Bố Thuận's manuscripts entered the collections of the EFEO in Paris, France via Mus' hands - and were likely re-copied to the EFEO-KL center in Malaysia in the 2000s. Additionally, many Bố Thuận's manuscripts remain in Bình Thuận province, archived privately by his offspring. Others are held in the Cham Cultural Center of Phan Rang, Ninh Thuận, Việt Nam.

By 1931, the collection featured 200 manuscripts, a vast collection of knowledge that demonstrated basic principles of the new interpretation of what was proper Cham literacy behavior. First and foremost, a scholar was to know language and classical texts (from a Sanskrit-Cham dictionary, a Malay-Cham dictionary, and Cham versions of classics such as the *Ramayana*). Next, Malay prayers and adaptations of *hikayat* known as the Cham *akayet* were materials of study (Bố Thuận 1931: 324-325). Then, there were devotional biographies of classical semi-historical-cum religious figures such as Ppo Klaong Garai, Ppo Inâ Nâger, and Ppo Romé. One was also expected to know the details of the prescriptions of dietary code, or why it was considered against the prescriptions of *Adat Cam* for the Bani to consume lizards or pork. The dietary prescriptions were later a specific issue that Bố Thuận expounded upon in a Vietnamese language essay, published in 1960.⁶⁰⁷

Other manuscripts from Bố Thuận's library collection contain biographies of ideal female figures, who acted as character role models for young women,⁶⁰⁸ or might contain adaptations of Qur'anic passages recording the creation of the world, in a local Bani version, influenced by Muslim concepts, opening with the phrase *bismillahi*.⁶⁰⁹ Evidence from the margins of these works suggests that Bố Thuận was teaching Paul Mus about well-known concepts, such as that

⁶⁰⁷ The Cham-French scholar Bố Thuận had at least one narrative of Ppo Romé in his collection, recorded in a notebook: CAM 152. The notebook was likely penned by Bố Thuận before it was given to Paul Mus in 1932 and includes a version of *Dâmnây Ppo Klaong Garai* (47 pp.), a six-page genealogy of Cham divinities, a version of *Akayet Um Marup* (37 pp.), hymnals to Ppo Ganuer Mântri, a list of items that can be found in Bani temple-mosque (C.: *sang mágik*; These notes were penned by Paul Mus in the margins) as well as a version of *Dalikal Ppo Romé* (LaFont et al. 1977:108-109). The manuscript shows that Ppo Romé's narrative was still influential in the discussions of these two formative intellectuals in the field of Cham Studies in the 1930s. A comparison of the works of Hợp Ai and Bố Thuận would allow historians to better understand how historical literature related to Ppo Romé changed over time and was adapted for new contexts, as the tendency with *dâmnây* manuscripts (such as Hợp Ai's) is to present Ppo Romé in a more favorable light, while the tendency with *dalikal* (such as Bố Thuận's manuscript) is to be more even handed. A version of his *Dalikal Ppo Inâ Nâgar* that he penned with researcher: Nguyễn Khắc Ngữ - was studied by Nguyễn Thị Thu Vân (2005) for her thesis on *A Survey of Cham Legends (Khảo Sát Truyền Cố Chăm)*.

⁶⁰⁸ CAM 115 was presented to the Paul Mus collection in 1931 and includes a legend of *Nai Ratmah*.

⁶⁰⁹ CAM 116 is a manuscript that records the creation of the world, begins with the line *Bih samilla uwla twaha*.

the word *Nosirwan* was the Cham name for a popular classical Persian emperor.⁶¹⁰ These were not casual observations that Bô Thuận was passing on either – nor were they the knowledge of a priest class, as Bô Thuận – though also a shaman – was a scholar. His observations of the Bani were therefore mostly exegetical, scriptural, and anthropological.⁶¹¹ They were commentary on the order of Bani society, in accordance with *Adat Cam*.

One example from Bô Thuận’s personal collection is, as many of his manuscripts were, a compilation of various religious principles, studies of religious concepts, along with prayers and invocations. Now coded CAM 152 manuscript, it was presented to the Paul Mus collection in November 1932, includes 38 pages of moral precepts (C.: *Adat Cam*; from Bô Thuận), and a list of objects (by Paul Mus) that could be found in a Bani-Awal *sang mágik*. Similarly, another example, CAM Microfilm 28 (Bô Thuận 189 – CCC D 103), includes several invocations of Allah: to protect an individual from wild tigers, formulas used to prevent a woman from engaging in conjugal encounters with her husband, general passages on teaching rites used to accompany the construction of a house [which is a metaphor for marriage ceremonies].⁶¹² An third example of Bô Thuận’s manuscripts adapted Islamic prayers used in rites spoken to gain an advantage in a legal dispute, along with formulas that could be recited to encourage a young couple to fall in love, prayers recited upon matters of divorce, and other pryaers used to remain economically prosperous.⁶¹³ Finally, a fourth manuscript ascribes connections between months

⁶¹⁰ CAM 116 includes a note that “*Nosirwan=Perse*” – a detail that was already well known to the EFEO researchers who read Antoine Cabaton’s works. Either Mus had not read Cabaton, or, had forgotten. Bô Thuận was teaching Mus about Champā and Cham culture, including details about that Bani Cham religious minority.

The name “*Anushiruwan*” means in Persian and is associated with the sixth century emperor: Khosrow I.

⁶¹¹ For our study, the manuscripts that are of greater interest are all held in the EFEO: CAM 115, CAM 116, CAM 152 and CAM Microfilm 28.

⁶¹² It is also one of the few manuscripts of Bô Thuận’s that was copied for Paris, for his personal collections (several times) and for the collections of the Cham Cultural Center in Phan Rang.

⁶¹³ CAM Microfilm 27.

and parts of the body, gives prescriptions for fasting in accordance with the *Sakawi* calendar.⁶¹⁴

These manuscripts presents evidence that even though the Bani were struggling with “how much” Islamic practice to incorporate into their communities in the early twentieth century, leading figures in the Ahiér community were additionally increasingly influenced by Islamic practices – or at least Islamic mysticism as filtered through the source of the Bani clerics (C.: *Awal*).

Later, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Bố Thuận began more collaborative works with Vietnamese researchers, such as Nguyễn Khắc Ngữ, including publications that they co-authored in Vietnamese. His presentations and selections represent a collection of what him and his collaborators deemed the most important and critical information to present to a broader public. For example, in 1959 he authored a piece that explained the history and legend associated with the Ppo Klaong Garai tower at Phan Rang in Ninh Thuận province.⁶¹⁵ He then increasingly focused on “Champā Studies,”⁶¹⁶ although he made a point about explaining why it was that the Cham Bani population of the Republic of Vietnam would not eat pork or lizard, in accordance with the prescriptions of *adat Cam*, which he explained were an adaptation of *sharī’ah* practices, as a result of sustained historical contact with Muslim populations.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁴ CAM Microfilm 53.

⁶¹⁵ Bố Thuận. 1959a. Sự tích vua Klong Ga Rai hay là sự tích tháp chàm. *Bach Khoa*. 52 (3) :49-54.

⁶¹⁶ Bố Thuận (w/ Nguyễn Khắc Ngữ). 1959b. Ngải Chàm. *Văn Hóa Nguyệt San*. 46 (11): 1473-1476 [republished in 1960. *Văn Hóa Nguyệt San*. 48 (1): 88-95], and Bố Thuận (w/ Nguyễn Khắc Ngữ and Nghiêm Thẩm). 1962. Thượng cổ sử Chiêm Thành. *Việt Nam Khảo Cổ Tập San*. 3 :197-211; with appendices on Ppo Ina Nagar (212-235).

⁶¹⁷ Bố Thuận (w/ Nguyễn Khắc Ngữ). 1960. Tại Sao người Chàm Bàn kiêng thịt heo và thịt nhông. *Văn Hóa Nguyệt San* 53 (8): 987-990.

IVb Transformations

Of note in the transformation of the Cham community under the prescriptions of *adat Cam* between 1651 and 1929 is the relatively consistent discourse of the need for balance between the complementary Hindu and Islamic aspects of Cham culture. After 1651, and in the Cham community along what is now the south-central coast of Vietnam, the prescriptions of *Adat Cam* were quite solidly half-Hindu influenced and Half-Muslim influenced. The solidification of cosmic dualism between these two guiding forces of individual and communal action, was a constant trope in literature, solidified by the recitation of literature, and reinforced by the interpretations of Cham manuscripts themselves. Among the Cham in Cambodia, however, while Hindu influence remained, it was subtler. The nature of “Adat Cam” became much more like the usage of the term *adat* in Island Southeast Asia, where it refers to “customary law,” in contrast with Islamic practice.

In addition to the Bô Thuận manuscripts there are thousands of manuscripts that are forms of codified creolized knowledge, an intellectual middle ground between the Cham Ahiér community, the Cham Bani community and Islamic Southeast Asia, predominantly with the ramifications of the potential transformation of *Adat Cam*, under discussion. The various manuscripts indicate that Cham literati had differences of opinion about the degree to which a community, or individual should accept the influence of Islam. Unfortunately, there are few if any surviving complete translations of the Qur'an from the period, which could provide additional insight.⁶¹⁸ There are, however, large numbers of *katib* exegetical works and *dū-a*

⁶¹⁸ Muslim organizations in Cambodia argue that “complete translation” into Cham was only completed in the twenty first century in both Vietnam and Cambodia. Regardless, there are certainly complete, or at least mostly

prayer books that survive from both communities and date to the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Among the Cham in Annam, any such collection was known as a *tapuk*. Like the colloquial English reference “the book,” *tapuk*, which has the same meaning, was a stand in for any literature associated with the Qur’ān (Cabaton 1906). *Tapuk* literature was venerated just as the Qur’ān was. However, the inclusion of passages that were references to Cham literature, magical incantations, mysticism, Hindu influenced passages, and other non-Qur’ānic material in *tapuk* flavored these manuscripts with a specific flare that was acceptable according to Cham Bani notions of *adat Cam*.

V Conclusion

This chapter has delineated the relationship between four categories of ethical codes: Vietnamese & Cambodian; French; Adat Cam; and, *sharī‘ah*; along with their impact upon the Cham community from 1651 through 1929. Although Cambodian and Vietnamese rule were important, particularly in the seventeenth through nineteenth century, they became less important in the nineteenth and twentieth century with the emergence of colonial authority. At the same time, only the Cham community in Cochinchina would, technically, have been subject to direct colonial rule. In the cases of Cambodia and Annam, Cham were more often subordinate to either Vietnamese or Cambodian royal authority, which was then, in turn subordinate to French authority. Naturally, these various emergent state powers were critical in determining matters of conscription and taxation. Yet, even as they were often interpreted as repressive for those very

complete, Qur’ān manuscripts that date to the end of the nineteenth century in production that are surviving in Cham Bani communities in Vietnam.

reasons, French authority did have an unforeseen impact on the scholarly ethics of Cham communities, in that it reinforced the need to study language, to study history, and to systemize knowledge. At the same time, Vietnamese, Cambodian and French legal systems had very little impact on certain matters of day to day life in Cham communities. Even before 1651, the historical record suggests, Cham literati had a concept of “Adat Cam” that mandated certain matters of proper behavior, in accordance with interpretations of Cham religions by the literati. Specific genres of “adat literature” even emerge from the record of Cham manuscripts. Importantly, these practices also reinforced the study of Cham, Malay and Arabic languages, as well as the memorization of incantations for cosmological healing purposes. Similarly, through the introduction of concepts that were increasingly influenced by Islam, clerics in the borderlands ensured that day to day rituals were preformed more and more in accordance with *shari’ah*, concepts associated with Islamic theology and the biographies of ideal individuals who were closely related to the Prophet Mohammed. Calendrical rituals were important, still, but lifecycle rituals became one of the most popular referenced passages in Cham manuscripts. The literati governed these rituals in a manner that ensured at least some sense of communal cohesion.

The reason that the borderlands frame is critical for the understanding of emergent Cham ethical codes, is, by the very nature of the codes, they were specifically designed to care for a community that was destabilized by the borderlands context. If state matters such as conscription for military service, forced labor and taxation were matters that were controlled by Cham authorities, we could well expect to find evidence for these matters in the historical record. Instead they were regulated to the Vietnamese, Cambodian and French legal spheres. By contrast, *Adat Cam* and *shari’ah* occupied the space in between, the day to day matters. And yet,

it was these day to day matters that may have been the most critical for the maintenance of communal unity. Cham clerics, the literati, simply occupied the remaining spaces that were available for a certain amount of authority in the context of the borderlands. Similarly, since Vietnamese and Cambodian, much like French codes, were not concerned with matters of how to keep a clean, pure household, whom the Cham should marry amongst their own community, and how the Cham practiced birthing rituals and death rituals, these were the cosmological terrains over which the literati continued to hold sway. Maintaining the proper action in these cosmological terrains was not only a matter of health (such as during cleaning and funerary rituals), but was also about the maintenance of spiritual purity, for the sake of the spiritual health of the community. Spiritual illness could have been just as threatening as biological illness in these unstable environs. Maintaining spiritual health and instilling ethical codes for the community to follow were thus one and the same. Furthermore, because these cosmological terrains were part and parcel of the borderlands, they were inherently in-between. The nature of being constantly betwixt and between meant that the literati had to develop at least bilingual capabilities, as a matter of survival. At the same time, at least a basic understanding of Qur'anic principles ensured that Cham literati had a form of knowledge that Vietnamese, French, and Cambodian authorities could not offer, even as they "creolized" this form of knowledge, so that it would be relatable to their communities. As the religious literati became polyglots, this would give them an increased ability to continue to negotiate with the emergent state structures of mainland Southeast Asia, particularly between 1930 and 1969, which will be focus of the next and final chapter to this dissertation.

Chapter 5

Identity Crisis: Cham Literati & the Problem of Modernity, 1930-1969

I Introduction

In this chapter, I highlight the identity crisis of the Cham literati that resulted from the conditions of modernity between 1930 and 1969. The conditions of borderlands peoples, such as the Cham, were increasingly restricted during the latter part of the French colonial period, with the introduction of new measures for policing border posts. At the same time, the rise of the modern nation state coincided with an institutionalization of Islam, brought about particularly through the works of Cham Muslim clerics such as Tuan Ali Musa, Imam Hj. Mohammed Ahmed India, and Mufti Haji Omar Ali. The intellectual strategies of these thinkers, exhibit traits of creolized knowledge as discussed in the previous chapter, while they also take this creolized knowledge one step further. I argue their biographies illustrate how new knowledge was institutionalized and that one impact of institutionalization was that proper Muslim and Cham Bani practice became more strictly defined. For instance, Mufti Hj. Omar Ali relied upon a balance between Malay, Cambodian, Vietnamese and Cham socio-political contexts to make the assertion that Šāfi’ī-Sunnī Cham Islam was the only ‘true Islam’ in the Republic of Vietnam, while Imam Tuan Ali Musa and Imam Hj. Mohammed Ahmed India relied upon a balance of Middle-Eastern, south Asian and Malay connections, as well as local roots, to assert that Islamic Modernism was also reformism, closely partnered with the Cambodian state. Then, in reaction to Norodom Sihanouk’s platform of nationalizing Islam – to create “Khmer Islam” – many Cham joined the “Cham Islam” movement, which became the most popular form of Islam among Cham in both Cambodia and Vietnam. Finally, the appearance of non-religious Cham organization occurred at virtually the same time, as a function of negotiations between Cham

literati and public state officials. The appearance of these “secular organizations,” as I call them, suggests a new fundamental shift in strategies by the Cham literati, bringing an end to a reliance upon religious authority as a means of preserving unity among religiously diverse Cham communities. With the rise of Hj. Les Kosem and the Provisional Government of Champā, Cham were presented with an alternative “state” option to Vietnamese and Cambodian authorities in a post-colonial context. Although the Provisional Government of Champā was eventually dissolved, parallel communal efforts to negotiate with Vietnamese authority, such as the Cham Cultural Center (f. 1969), remained.

As was indicated in chapter four, the relationship between the state and religious institutions in the French protectorate of Cambodia was particularly close. As we shall see in this chapter, the matter of the institutionalization of Islam, however, was not simply a bilateral process of French mandate and compliance on behalf of Cham clerics. Rather, through a multilateral relationship, Cham clerics, literati, the Khmer Royal administration and the French colonial beaurocracy debated and negotiated numerous cases between 1930 and 1953, the year that Cambodia gained its independence. Much like the nineteenth and early twentieth century, in most Cham communities in the 1920s there were simply very few formal institutions. The only school, the only center for medical care, and the administrative center for taxation were very much centered around the mosque. The brief period of flueresence of Islamic institution building that occurred in the 1930s, in both Cochinchina and Cambodia, was a direct result of these contestations, negotiations, and collaborations.⁶¹⁹ In the early years, under the Indochinese Union

⁶¹⁹ Substantive colonial policy has overwritten the Cham Muslim populations of Cambodia, ignoring them or, perhaps intentionally, not granting them the same recognition as other minority groups. Education policy set in 1924 mandated only “state-narratives” of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. The Cham were therefore classified as a “conquered people” by the French, whose history was covered only under the “victories of the Lê dynasty” section of the history curriculum. Language policy set in 1933 recognized Tieu Chieu, Hakkane, Akha (“Burmaine”), Malay and Arabic minority languages, but not Cham (NAC Box 438: 13; NAC Box 745, RSC File 8465).⁶¹⁹ These

[1887-1947], relatively joint administration may have aided the relative ease with which clerics moved across the borderlands of Cochinchina and Cambodia. However, during the period of the Indochinese Federation [1947-1953/4] movement may have become more restricted, and there are not many records of cross border movements that occurred between the years of the Indochinese Federation. The increasing emergence of clear state boundaries between Cambodia, Cochinchina, and later, the Republic of Vietnam [1954-1975] may help to explain divergences between the Kaum Imam San community in Cambodia and the Bani of Vietnam.⁶²⁰

Although the boundaries of individual tracts of land and villages did shift on the borderlands of the Indochinese Federation after the independence of Cambodia and the Republic of Vietnam between 1930 and 1969,⁶²¹ a more significant factor that restricted the movement of

policies would have implicitly encouraged a ‘Malayization’ and ‘Islamicization’ of the Cham population in colonial Cambodia. Then, perhaps due to a recognition of this trend, and, in a seeming rhetorical turn, French Resident Superior Thibaudeau foolishly declared that *all* “Malays” living in the Kingdom of Cambodia were “in reality Cham who were installed in Cambodia after the conquest of their country” (NAC Box 3674, RSC File 35468).

Thibaudeau’s claims were laden with political implications. If all “Malays” were “in reality Cham” his declaration disassociated them from the Malay world, staving off an apparent trend of increased, and potentially anti-colonial, Malay influence in late colonial Cambodia. Based upon the analysis of a precious series of Resident Superior of Cambodia (RSC) documents at the NAC, scholars have widely hypothesized about degrees of “Malayization” and “Jawization” during the 1930s and 1940s (Guérin 2004; Farouk 2008: 70–73; Bruckmayr 2013; Weber 2013). A close examination of the RSC collections suggests that “actual Jawization,” measured by literacy in Jawi and Arabic, was minimal at best. Based on an analysis of communal petitions, the broadest evidence of a sample of literacy among mosque educated males, a mere ten percent of males, at most, could scratch out their own signatures.⁶¹⁹ Only two pages of legible Jawi, among several thousand in the NAC on the “Cham, Malay, Cham-Malay, and Muslim” populations, can be found in the RSC (NAC) collections. This does not mean that there was no Malay influence, although it does indicate that any influence was top down from the intellectual elite, who knew Arabic as well as Malay-Jawi. Regardless, there was a discernable increase of Kaum Muda-like discourse that emerged from this elite in 1930s and 1940s Cambodia, discourse that originated across the Gulf of Thailand. The location and timing of these origins is critical, since it would later allow the Bani group in Vietnam and the Kaum Imam San group in Cambodia that they were representing “local” or, in contemporary times “indigenous” adaptations of Islam, as opposed to “foreign Malay” or “foreign Arabic” forms.

⁶²⁰ The divergence of the Kaum Imam San and the Bani would have also occurred considering the greater narrative of Buddhification that Lieberman (1993: 510, 531) rightly identifies as “growing state control over ecclesiastical bodies, and in some instances over doctrine.”

⁶²¹ For example, Khanh An and Vinh Xuong were part of Cambodian territory in 1950 although they became part of Vietnamese territory by 1971. Analysis made from a French Map of Phnom Penh vicinity (1950) and three Vietnamese/American maps of Republic of South Vietnam border provinces (1971). See: Noseworthy (2014b) for more details.

Cham literati was the complex series of civil wars, and the subsequent American intervention, which were a feature of the Second Indochina War [1950s-1975], as well as a significant front in the Cold War. Border and territorial disputes shaped the allegiances that individuals felt were most valuable, however, throughout the twentieth century Cham communities in Southeast Asia communicated with each other regardless of the emerging state borders. Their social networks rather paralleled those of the seventeenth century to nineteenth, as they worked most closely with Malay Muslim teachers, although interventions would increasingly lead to “global” (South Asian, Middle Eastern, Japanese, American & European) presence that influenced Cham leadership. Nevertheless, the “greater Gulf of Thailand network” that connected Kelantan, Bangkok, Battambang, Kampong Chhnang, Kandal and Kampong Cham in Cambodia, remained influential. Although Cham, Khmer and Thai were all important in this network, Malay remained dominant. Moving further eastward, the clerics Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc provinces (Vietnamese territory) remained subordinate to the *Oknha Reachea Thippedei Montri Chruoy Changvar*, henceforward “Senior Cleric,” of Phnom Penh (Cambodia), well into the middle of the twentieth century and well after the Nguyễn had claimed total subordination of these provinces.

The Senior Cleric was a royal regent and senior patriarch of the Cambodia’s Muslim community.⁶²² Although he was subordinate to the Khmer Royalty, he served as the equivalent of the “most learned Islamic scholar”⁶²³ or the “highest expounder of Islamic law”⁶²⁴ of Cambodia. In the early twentieth century, the office of the Senior Cleric remained somewhat isolated from the “traditionalist” (Kaum Tua) and “reformist (Kaum Muda)⁶²⁵ debates that

⁶²² Ar.: *ummah*

⁶²³ Ar.: *Sheikh Al-Islām*

⁶²⁴ Ar.: *Muftī*

⁶²⁵ Ar.: *islahī*

centered in Singapore, Terengganu, Kelantan and Pattani. However, as rifts between the Kaum Muda and Kaum Tua rippled across the Gulf of Thailand and arrived solidly in Cambodia in the 1950s, the discourse of Islamic modernism was localized in new ways. At the same time, universal anti-French Indochinese identity had been almost wholeheartedly rejected throughout much of Cambodia as “universal Indochinese identity” was feared as “Vietnamese colonialism” in sheep’s clothing (Goscha 2012). On the other hand, as we will see in this chapter, the ideology of ethno-nationalism gained substantial ground among communities in Indochina as a vehicle to consolidate anti-colonial sentiment toward a rejection of Vietnamese state power. Still, there were unforeseen consequences to the spread of ethno-nationalist sentiment. By the 1950s, the popularity of ethno-nationalist inflected thought among Cham and Khmer leadership in Cambodia cause the Kaum Muda/Tua rhetorical divide from Malaysia to be re-articulated along ethno-nationalist lines: between Khmer Islam and Cham Islam.

Khmer Islam and Cham Islam were not necessarily reflective of the ways that all individuals identified. Even leading figures such as Hj. Les Kosem readily identified as Khmer Islam on some occasions and Cham Islam on others. Furthermore, from the middle of the twentieth century onwards the “ethnic” categories of Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer nationalities were increasingly not ethnically exclusive. In other words, ethnic Malays, Cham and Thai could still be considered Khmer Islam, if they appropriately assimilated into the idea of the Cambodian nation. Cham Islam, therefore, attracted the attention of Cambodian nationalists for resisting assimilation. Additionally, Cham Islam leadership tended to be more reformist and modernist oriented, when compared to Khmer Islam leadership. This intellectual stance brought them closer to the Malay world, but further distanced them from Phnom Penh and Chruoy Changvar. Therefore, as nationalism grew in Cambodia and civil conflict ignited by nationalist

fueled debates spread in the 1950s and 1960s, migration of Cham Islam believers “back” to communities in Tây Ninh and An Giang provinces, Vietnam was one possible solution. In the 1960s, Vietnam, Cham Islam leaders created new institutions, as clerics tried to protect, and elevate, their status in the context of the republic. They founded the Vietnam Association of Cham Islam (VNACI) in 1961 and a new rift appeared, this time between Cham Islam believers and a local group located mostly in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces, that was influenced by a combination of Muslim, Indic and ancestral worshipping practices, called the “Cham Bani.” As we saw in previous chapter, the Bani were an old Cham community that had been in the vicinity for at least three centuries. But new questions arose. Were the Bani Muslims or not? Were they proper Muslims? Why or why not? This debate may seem internal. However, it was directly related to the repositioning of the new Cambodian and Vietnamese state forms in relation to the Muslim community.

Between 1930 and 1969 the successive states of Indochina, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), the Republic of Vietnam (RVN)⁶²⁶ and the Kingdom of Cambodia altered somewhat in their policies, but maintained a general stance of non-persecution, gradually becoming officially more accepting of Muslim minorities than French Indochina. However, it is important to recognize that open persecution of Muslim minorities was reported in the early years of the 1970s, even before the dramatic rise of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1975.⁶²⁷ The

⁶²⁶ Generally, the “first” and “second” Republic of Vietnam had different policies regarding religion. However, from the evidence at hand it appears that the difference between the two was minimal for the ‘Cham Islam’ movement, with the only difference being that the Cham Islam enjoyed consistently increased recognition over time, by comparison to the Cham Bani. The Ngô Đình Diệm regime, appears to have been a difficult period, although less so for the modernist Muslims, who were able to weather the storm and establish many new positions in the emerging republic.

⁶²⁷ Although 1975 is usually used as a marker for the change of history – Cham populations in local residencies in Vietnam continued to grow, despite the general perception that the Vietnamese political climate was working against them. As of 1976 the Cham population of Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) had reached 4,607 (Phú Văn Hẵn 2013: 27).

trauma inflicted by the extreme nationalist sentiments has been so deep that the strong connections between Muslims in Cambodia and Vietnam leading up to 1975 have been too easily brushed over, forgotten and ignored. In other words, contemporary scholarly studies of the Cham tend to look at the community *either* in Vietnam *or* in Cambodia, but rarely at the Cham in *both* areas as a coherent whole. Examining the two communities together contributes to a process of healing through re-membering history.

As has been highlighted by chapters one and four of this dissertation, Cham heritage connected Cham literati to the Hindu-Buddhist civilization of Champā [IIInd – XIXth centuries]. Yet, after a protracted, staggering conquest of Champā, by a succession of Vietnamese dynasties, most Cham were Muslims, living in diaspora, dispersed, but regrouped in Cambodian territory. Those Cham that remained in Vietnamese territory were divided between the Śaivite-Hindu oriented majority and the Bani-Islamic influenced minority.⁶²⁸ As an important point: in Vietnamese territory, the Cham term for “mosque” and “Bani temple” was the same (C.: *sang māgik*). However, unlike mosques, “Bani temples” – though they still contain a *minbar* – face east, following the Hindu-influenced cosmic orientation of Hindu temple-tower complexes. There is also some evidence to suggest that “Bani” was an endogenous term for the Kaum Imam San group in Cambodia during the nineteenth century, although the term does not appear in the

⁶²⁸ While some Cham and some scholars have used the terms *Awal* and *Bani* ambiguously, *Awal* in fact only refers to the cleric class of *Awal/Bani* society. The *Awal* clerics traditionally pray in an Islamic fashion, study Qur’anic passages and have a good knowledge of Arabic. By contrast the *Bani* are followers of the *Awal* clerics, although traditionally they have been less familiar with Islam and often pray in a non-Islamic fashion. Nevertheless, following contemporary and historical Cham language trends, we use the term *Bani* in this chapter to include both the *Awal* and the *Bani*.

detailed ethnographic accounts or colonial documents from same period, which refer only to “Cham Muslims.”⁶²⁹

The Cham Bani were the target of reformist movements coming from the Malay world to the mainland from at least as early as the seventeenth century, and possibly as early as the fifteenth. Long term trends suggest that while reforms always targeted “practice,” they had the impact of creating more positions for Muslim clergy in local institutions on the mainland. New positions allowed Cham Muslim reformists such as Senior Cleric Hj. Abdulrahman [d. 1936],⁶³⁰ Imam Tuan Ali Mousa [d. 1975],⁶³¹ Mufti Hj. Omar Ali⁶³² [b. 1903 – d. 1977/1978] and O Dohamide [b. 1934]⁶³³ to gain position. Although Abdulrahman may be viewed as “Kaum Tua” in Malay oriented discourse, his juridical rulings still suggest a platform of Islamic institution building that was common among reformist Muslims in Island Southeast Asia. Furthermore, although the discourse shifted over time, Imam Hj. Omar Ali ascended to the office of the first *Mufti* of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) between 1961 and 1975. Through Mufti Hj. Omar Ali’s work, reformist discourses began to reach the communities of Bình Thuận and Ninh Thuận in the 1960s. The provinces had been comparatively cut off from the Malay world for much of the French colonial period, with a few exceptions of teachers who had arrived in Phan Rí and sought to reform Cham Bani populations there.

While the frameworks of mainland Southeast Asian borderlands and the Gulf of Thailand network are useful geographical categories for the study of twentieth century Cham Muslim

⁶²⁹ “Bani” also seems to re-emerge as a term of communal self-identification in 1950s Cambodia. With thanks to Abu Paka Abu Taleb for this comment.

⁶³⁰ Chrouy Changvar, Phnom Penh

⁶³¹ Kampong Cham

⁶³² Also: “Imam Mahly”; Moat Chrourk/Châu Đốc, An Giang

⁶³³ Also of Moat Chrourk/Châu Đốc

clerics and their communities, the notion of urban “contact zones,” to borrow terms from Pratt (1992) becomes increasingly helpful between 1930 and 1969. Muslims were active in networks that brought together Malay centers, Bangkok, Battambang, Kampong Cham, Phnom Penh, Châu Đốc, Buôn Mê Thuôt, Kontum, Saigon, Phan Rí and Phan Rang. The borders between these various poles – designed for surveillance and to restrict immigration – became more distinct between the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. Although Cham Muslims’ minority status sometimes increased the scrutiny of the state and therefore made their movement *comparatively more restricted* than majority populations, a few key individuals were able to move along a Cham-Malay creolized intellectual network that crossed political, linguistic and cultural boundaries, as some of these leaders even formed deep partnerships with Khmer and Vietnamese state authorities.⁶³⁴ As checkpoints and passport requirements increased, so did the need to establish transnational connections and aid networks, particularly in the climate of the First and Second Indochina Wars [1946-1975]. Pan-Islamic discourse mobilized anti-colonial Muslim forces in the aftermath of Japanese occupation and ethno-nationalist sentiments ran particularly high. Hj. Les Kosem mobilized both. Along with other members of the Cham community in Cambodia and Vietnam, Hj. Kosem readily identified with at least two identities. To the Cambodian state, in his capacity as general, Hj. Kosem identified as “Khmer Islam,” while to Cham leadership he remained an active member of the reformist oriented “Cham Islam” clique. Furthermore, even though he was active in Cambodia, he was active in Vietnam as the leading military commander for the FULRO “Peoples of Champa” ethno-nationalist, irredentist and “minority liberation” movement (NAC Box 91). FULRO was not successful in their aims

⁶³⁴ Some scholars have discussed the same interconnectedness of urban spaces, though in quite different historical periods. See: Lombard (1988: 11-18) for example.

(Po & Phoeun 2006), although other State-Muslim aligned organizations expanded their impact during the wars period.

In 1946, at the dawn of the First Indochina War, Muslims living in Cochinchina (now: Vietnam) had little to no official representation. The much larger community in Cambodia had experienced waxing and waning “state” recognition by the Khmer royalty since the seventeenth century. Registry of mosques, granting of official teaching certificates to clerics, and state back juridical rulings on the appointments of clerics had dramatically increased between the last years of the 1920s and the 1940s, under partnered agreements between the French administration and Khmer royal administration. Comparatively, social institutions in Cambodia were *much* stronger than their counterparts in Tây Ninh and An Giang, let alone Saigon. Nevertheless, the central organizations across almost all Muslim communities remained the mosque, prayer halls⁶³⁵ and very small communal schools.⁶³⁶ Cham, Malay, or Cham-Malay teachers⁶³⁷ headed these institutions. Each mosque was led by one *Hakem* and at least one *Imam* who also held joint appointments with the provincial government. Senior *Hakem* and *Imam* who had served the administration of the Khmer royalty and their community very well were given royal appointments as regents to the Khmer royalty.⁶³⁸

There were only five Cham, Malay, and Cham-Malay Muslim royal regents at the end of the nineteenth century, but their offices had expanded, with increased appointments to meet the need of administering a growing Muslim population in Cambodia, Châu Đốc and Tây Ninh, to

⁶³⁵ Ar.: *al-musallā* M.: *surau*; Vn.: *tiểu thánh đường*.

⁶³⁶ Ar.: *madrasah* M.: *pondok*. The Arabic and Malay terms have slightly different connotations for Muslims in Southeast Asia. *Pondok* were present in Cambodia, Tây Ninh and An Giang as of the late nineteenth century, if not earlier. However, the first *madrasah* only appeared in Cambodia in the later part of the twentieth century.

⁶³⁷ C.: *gru*; M.: *tuan*

⁶³⁸ K.: *Oknha*

thirteenth Muslim royal regents by the 1930s (NAC Box 3115). When it came to matters of *sharī'ah* practice, these Muslim *Oknha* were subordinate to the Senior Cleric of Chruoy Changvar, who in turn was subordinate to the Cambodian monarch. Hence, the office of the Senior Cleric was comparable to the office of the *Chularajamontri* (also known as: the *Mufti* of Siam). Additionally, at least through the early 1930s, like the *Chularajamontri* and the offices of senior clerics in Kuala Lumpur, the Senior Cleric remained relatively conservative. Regardless, the office in Cambodia became an expounder of both institutionalization and reform over the following decades. Photographic evidence from the 1960s indicates that the contemporary popularity of the *keffiyeh* has only recently reached the levels of the 1960s (Charles Meyer Photos: 2924, 2925, 2926, 3202), even though the practice had never moved beyond the ‘most pious’ practitioners at the ‘first row’ of the mosque. This photographic evidence is critical since recent scholars have noted the increased wearing of the “*keffiyeh*” traditional Middle Eastern scarf/headdress – along with the *hijāb* and *niqāb* – as a sign of “Islamicization” or “Arabization” in Cambodia (DeFeo 2004; 2007). The increase in transnational Islamic activity in mainland Southeast Asia had a profound influence by the 1960s. The merger of Islamic activism and state interests in Cambodia [1953-1970], the Khmer Republic [1970-1975] and the Republic of Vietnam [1955-1975], resulted in the foundation of new organizations, such as the Vietnam Association of Cham Islam (VNACI; Vn.: *Hiệp Hội Chàm Hồi giáo Việt Nam*, f. 1961), the Association of Khmer Muslims (AKI; Fr.: *Association des Khmer Islam*) and the Khmer Muslim Youth Association (AJIK; Fr.: *Association de la Jeunesse Islamique Khmère*).

Between 1965 and 1969 the VNACI, AKI and AJIK acted increasingly as mediators between local Islamic communities, “the Southeast Asian state” (be it “Vietnamese” or “Cambodian”) and transnational Islamic interests. The urban and semi-urban “nodes” remained

important centers, as did local mosques and prayer halls. These organizations also began to articulate their own interpretations of Cham and Muslim identity based upon a root in the ancient Hindu-Buddhist civilization of Champa and “long standing familial ties” between Cham and Malay peoples (NAC Box 91). The overwhelming scholarly stance has been to skeptically view “rhetoric” constructed by Cham leaders between 1930 and 1969, and this view has its merits. DeFeo (2004), Zain Musa (2004; 2011), Bruckmayr (2007), Mohammedsis (2013) and Ken (2013) have all additionally demonstrated, that the rhetorical stances Cham Muslim leaders took in the 1960s and 1970s had some impact upon stances that are taken in Cambodia today. Following upon the work of Weber (2005, 2014), I aim first to broaden and deepen the historical scope: including the greater Gulf of Thailand network and “Vietnam.” Second, I argue that the contours of Islamic discourse in Cambodia and Vietnam between the 1930s and 1960s reflect the experience of a transnational creolized intellectual community attempting to unify across deeply rooted local divergences, while toeing the line of state acceptance and institutionalization, where the roles of clerics such as Mufti Hj. Omar Ali were defined by their ability to work in the interstices of new national authorities. However, in each case, the strategy of institutionalization has the additional impact of dividing the *ummah* between authorities in Cambodia and authorities in Vietnam. Eventually, the institutionalization and negotiation with state authorities that resulted in the formalization of religious communities, began to give way to the foundations of secular organizations. In the 1960s, particularly in the Republic of Vietnam, Cham literati worked both with and against Vietnamese to establish the first non-religious institutions in the Cham community, signaling the end of the relatively supreme authority that Cham religious elites held in their communities by 1969. Although they would later remain, well into the twenty first century, their unique positions as the sole mediator of state authority would no longer yield them

universal authority within Cham communities. To begin with I examine the review the roots of Cham Islam, before examining the origins of Islamic organizations and discourses in the “greater Gulf of Thailand zone,” followed by a delineation of local articulations of reformist Islam and state Islam in Cambodia, before examining local articulations that emerged in the Republic of Vietnam. I then conclude by drawing the impact of these developments in the Republic of Vietnam and the Kingdom of Cambodia through 1969.

II Institutionalization of Islam

IIa The Cham and Islam: To the 20th c.

The gradual emergence of Islam among Cham communities is a historical feature of the Cham being situated at the borderlands of the Muslim world, as it were.⁶³⁹ Although there is a very early presence of Islam among Cham communities, there is a general conception that Cham communities have been historically located along the farthest edges of Islamic influence. Yet, soon after the *Hijra* in 622 CE, Arabic and Chinese source material record the “Champa Sea” as an integral avenue between Arabia and China. Five Arabic texts (seventh–thirteenth centuries), Tang (618 – 960 CE) and Song (960 – 1280 CE) dynasty records all suggest very early Islamic influence in the area. Nearly contemporaneously, a large community of Chamic *Hui Hui* that moved to Hainan in the tenth century.⁶⁴⁰ Hence, the character *Hui* in pre-colonial times should be

⁶³⁹ Here, again, I use the term borderlands, to avoid the connotations of edge or frontier. The frontier would imply that Islam somehow had total control of a central area away from the frontier. This is somewhat the case, the lands that became Malaysia and Indonesia are decidedly majority Muslim. If the lands around the Indian Ocean, plus what is now South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, are thought to be “the Muslim world,” then the lands that the majority of the Cham inhabited between 1651 and 1969 were on the borderlands of that world.

⁶⁴⁰ They are not ethno-linguistically related to China’s contemporary *Hui* minority, although both *Hui Hui* (also: *Utsat*) and *Hui* derive their names from the same classical Chinese character (The character is: 回)

interpreted to mean anything from “Persian” to “Arab” to “Muslim” and even “resembling Muslims” (Manguin 1979: 258–59, Ali 1991: 124; Houben 2003: 153; Zain Musa 2004: 47; Ba Trung Phu 2006; DeFeo 2007; Ba Trung Phu 2008: 28; VNA II: Hồ sơ 3001). All this evidence suggests that there was at least some form of Islamic presence in Vietnam and Cambodia by the tenth century. There is a Cham history of a *Ppo Uawalah* who travelled to Mecca in the tenth century and returned to rule at least a portion of the Champa civilization. The reign of *Ppo Uawalah* is the origin of a specific religious community: the Cham Bani, according to many local interpretations.⁶⁴¹ However, as we have seen throughout this dissertation, the Bani community took on new contours from the seventeenth through the twentieth century. In the twentieth century, the Chinese character *Hui* also took on new meanings in a Vietnamese context where it is pronounced *Hồi*. *Hồi* became the root for the word “Islam”⁶⁴² and “Muslims.”⁶⁴³ Additional local variations of *Hui* appear as *Hồi Hồi* a popular name for the “Bani” in 1940s and 1950s Vietnam.⁶⁴⁴ Although the distinct majority of Muslims in Vietnam and Cambodia today are Cham Šāfi’ī Sunnī practitioners,⁶⁴⁵ variations of interpretation of Islamic jurisprudence allowed for the individual “New Cham,”⁶⁴⁶ Malay, Indonesian, Bawaen, Cham Islam, Khmer Islam, Tablighi Jamaat,⁶⁴⁷ Salafī, Sufī, Ḥanafī, Šāfi’ī, Sunnī and Shī’ā influences that could be

⁶⁴¹ Until recently the Bani were viewed as a form of “syncretic Islam,” although Yosuko Yoshimoto (2012) and my own fieldwork suggested that not all “Bani” identify as Muslims. Between China and Arabia, “being Muslim” was rooted in local, rather than global, interpretations.

⁶⁴² Vn.: *Đạo hồi*

⁶⁴³ Vn.: *người theo hồi giáo*

⁶⁴⁴ As in Chinese, reduplication of a Vietnamese term can either add or reduce emphasis. For example, *Đã* *đã* means “a very long time ago” and *nhỏ* *nhỏ* means “rather small.” The case of *Hồi hồi* in 1950s Vietnamese society appears to be the latter of the two, although scholars have hypothesized about potential Shī’ah origins to the Bani (Cabaton 1906: 31; Ba Trung Phu 2006, 2008) as well as the possibility of Sufi and Buddhist influences (Thành Phan 2013).

⁶⁴⁵ There are four schools of Sunni Islam: Ḥanafī, Malikī, Ḥanbalī and Šāfi’ī. Only the Šāfi’ī is truly popular amongst Southeast Asian Muslims (Riddel 2001: 54–55).

⁶⁴⁶ C.: *Cam Biruw*

⁶⁴⁷ The Tablighi Jamaat, who originated out of the Uloom Deobandi offshoot of the Hanafi school, arrived in Cambodia via Kelantan (Malaysia) in 1993.

found throughout Muslim and non-Muslim communities in these two states in the twentieth century. All potential historical evidence suggest that this intense variation developed most distinctly in the twentieth century, concurrent with urbanization and increasing migrations of Middle-Eastern, African and Indian Muslims to mainland Southeast Asia.

One account suggests Malay Muslims first migrated to the Saigon delta area in the 1850s. The city's first official mosque, *Masjid Al-Rahīm* - at what is now Nam Kỳ Khởi Nghĩa Street - was constructed with a land grant to "Indian Muslims" in 1863, although it took twenty-two years to complete the project (1885) (Goucoch divers 2995, 1933). Another migration of Malays, some supposedly from Bawaen Island, appeared throughout the 1880s and 1890s (Stockhof, 2008: 34–46). Until the mid-twentieth century, however, there were few Cham Muslims, if any, in the vicinity of the city. Rather, most Cham Muslims were concentrated in the "Cham-Malay" communities of Cambodia, Tây Ninh and Moat Chrōuk/Châu Đốc. Rare late nineteenth and early twentieth century documents suggest that the Cham in these areas at the time had a good knowledge of Indic based Cham script, and only a scratch knowledge of Jawi. However, "Malayization" was persistent and the Cham of Châu Đốc and Tây Ninh today generally report that they have "lost" the Cham script, preferring "Jawi Cham"⁶⁴⁸ and "Cham Rumi"⁶⁴⁹ instead. As they Islamicized in the nineteenth century the Cham at Moat Chrōuk/Châu Đốc and Tây Ninh became known as "New Cham" (C.: *Cam Biruw*) (EM Durand, 1903; Phan Văn Dóp 1993: 129–32, 162; Trần Nam Tién 2005: 127–35; Phú Văn Hǎn 2005c: 101; Phú Văn Hǎn 2013: 26). Their Imam were subordinate to the Senior Cleric outside Phnom Penh, as there was no *Muftī*-like figure in Cochinchina or Annam, until Mufti Hj. Omar Ali was raised to the position in the

⁶⁴⁸ A script derived from Malay Jawi, which is mundane Arabic script adapted to Malay language. Cham and Malay Jawi forms are slightly different.

⁶⁴⁹ Romanized Cham developed after Malay Rumi was fully standardized in the mid-late twentieth century.

1960s. This development was one factor in the increased complexity of the taxonomy ‘Cham religions in Vietnam,’ which seem to have multiplied during the twentieth century.

The combined analysis of Aymonier (1891) and Sakaya (2013) demonstrates that the Cham community in Vietnam developed a more complex internal taxonomy of religious identity over hundred years of discourse. Sakaya (2013) clarifies that Aymonier’s (1891) single category of Hindu-influenced “Brahminists/Bà la môn/Cam Jat” are now considered 1) *Cham Jat* – those Cham who only practice ancestral worship and 2) *Cham Ahiér* – Shiavite-Hindu influenced Cham. Sakaya (2013) also classifies two communities influenced by Islam: 1) *Cam Awal* or “Bani”⁶⁵⁰ – Hindu, Muslim, ancestral worship and folk belief practitioners – and 2) *Cham Islam* – Šāfi’ī Sunnī Muslims. I do not wish to propose that either Sakaya’s or Aymonier’s classifications are “wrong” or “inaccurate.” I do, however, wish to argue that differences reflect deep social changes that reflect critical discourses between Islamic authority and state power in Cambodia and Vietnam in the middle of the twentieth century. For example, two new terms appear in VNA II archival documents as of the 1950s and 1960s, which describe the Bani as “Old Islam”⁶⁵¹ and the Cham Islam as “New Islam.”⁶⁵² These distinctions directly parallel earlier Malay language distinctions between conservatives⁶⁵³ and reformists/modernists⁶⁵⁴ who made waves in the early twentieth century around the Gulf of Thailand zone, with intense religious debates reaching Siam by the 1930s and Cambodia by the 1950s. The arrival of the Kaum Muda in Cambodia was therefore a critical precursor to a later shift in discourse in Vietnam.

⁶⁵⁰ Sakaya (2013) uses the terms *Awal* and *Bani* interchangeably. However, as previously mentioned in this article, members of the *Bani* community tend to state that the *Awal* are only the cleric class, while the *Bani* are the believers.

⁶⁵¹ Vn.: *Hồi giáo cũ*

⁶⁵² Vn.: *Hồi giáo mới*

⁶⁵³ M.: *Kaum Tua*

⁶⁵⁴ M.: *Kaum Muda*

IIb Kaum Muda Arrive in Cambodia

The arrival of the Kaum Muda in Cambodia in the twentieth century is another feature of borderlands history, even considering the position that mainland Southeast Asia is very much viewed as a periphery in the Muslim world. The spread of the Kaum Muda was aided by urban centers and nodes, where traditionalism and modernism could be juxtaposed in discourse, and modernism, or reformism, at the very least, could be proposed as a way forward.⁶⁵⁵ The intellectual connections between these nodes, however, aided the travel of Cham literati, particularly clerics, across the emergent modern borders of mainland Southeast Asia. In that sense, urban centers, for the Cham clerics associated with the Kaum Muda, began to take on the role that borderlands once had. At the same time, the move of modernist and reformist influence across the Cambodian-Vietnamese borderlands, among Cham communities, also allowed several clerics to rise in position in a rather rapid fashion, as they capitalized upon the need for cross-border relations. Imam Tuan Hj. Ali Musa (Ly Mousa) [b. 1916– d. 1975] and Imam Hj. Mohammed Ahmed India (Son Math) [d. 1975] were two of the most critical members of the Cham Muslim community in Cambodia.⁶⁵⁶ They were also two of Cambodia's most prominent “Kaum Muda” figures who advocated “reformism.”⁶⁵⁷ Cham, Malay, Cham-Malay and all other Muslims in pre-colonial Cambodia were known under the blanket term *Cam-Jvea*. It follows that

⁶⁵⁵ Increased financial resources appear to have been a factor in the spread of the Kaum Muda across the region. Kraince (2009: 113) has linked the expansion of modernist Islam to the steady boom of the rubber industry in early twentieth century Malaysia, suggesting that increased economic success was directly linked to the increased ability to travel.

⁶⁵⁶ And, therefore two of the first executed by the Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge) regime in 1975.

⁶⁵⁷ Ar.: *islah*

Khmer royalty and administration may have recognized Islam as “*Sasana Cam-Jvea*.” The term means “Religion of the Cham-Malay,” or simply “Islam,” given the socio-historical context (Mak 1988). By the twentieth century, Islam would have been classified as a “Religion of the Others,” as opposed to “Khmer Religion,” that is Theravada Buddhism, as these were the two terms used by the Cambodian royal apparatus at the time (Edwards 2007: 15). By the 1940s specifically “Mahanikaya” Theravada Buddhism was considered the “National Religion,” as a reformist or modernist Buddhism championed by monks associated with Chuon Nath, centered at Wat Unnalom in Phnom Penh (Hoeffel 1932; Edwards 2007: 15; Jammes 2013; Bourdeaux 2013).⁶⁵⁸ In other contexts, religious reformism and modernism, was often associated with anti-colonial sentiment. Although this was not necessarily the case among the Buddhist reformers in Cambodia, it was the case across much of the Muslim world, particularly in locations where Islamic modernists opposed British rule. The question of the French response to the influence of Malay Muslim reformist among the Cham of Cambodia is therefore of some import. Was it that the French were opposed to the potential anti-colonial sentiment that might arrive with Islamic modernism for Cambodia? Or, were French administrators rather open to Islamic modernist sentiments, and did they, at times, even encourage it?

The Kaum Muda/Kaum Tua divide appeared in Muslim communities in British Malaya and Singapore as early as 1906.⁶⁵⁹ Kaum Muda leaders Sheik Tahi Jalauddhin and Muhammed Yunus relied upon print outlets such as *Al-Iman* (1906 –), *Nercha*, *Utusan Melayu* and *Lembaga*

⁶⁵⁸ Hansen (2007: 116) notes that the fear was that the Dhammayuti – which was founded by King Monkut – would have great influence and a “deluge” of monks were studying in Bangkok, although this path is better characterized as a “steady trickle.”

⁶⁵⁹ Rashid Rida, founder of “The Lighthouse” (*al-Manar*), was the predominant “modernist” reformer that the Kaum Muda lineage looked to. He used *al-Manar* as a way to advocate for the teachings of Mohammed Abduh [1849-1905]. These included several criticisms of Sufi practices that were popular throughout Southeast Asia (Abaza 1998: 96).

Melayu (Singapore), as well as the *Al-Ikhwan* magazine of Syed Sheik al-Hadi (1925 –) (Pulau Penang) to spread their ideas regarding reforms. In response, the Kaum Tua published *Lidah Benar* out of Selangor and soon, debates spread through Cham-Malay communities in Kota Bharu, Kelantan and Baan Krua, Bangkok. Cham had been in these communities since the seventeenth century, when a Cham-Malay lineage merged into the royal line of the Sultanate of Kelantan and up to three brothers of the Champa sovereign Ppo Saut arrived in the royal court of Narai at Pata Ku Cham, Ayutthaya. From the seventeenth to the twentieth century, a network of royalty, trade, teachers, texts and philosophies forged connections between Kota Bharu (Malaysia); Baan Krua (Thailand); Battambang, Kampong Cham and Phnom Penh (Cambodia); as well as Moat Chrouk/Châu Đốc, Tây Ninh, Phan Rí and Phan Rang. Each large town and rising urban center became its own node of Islamic influence (Ner 1941: 164; Scupin 1988, 1989, 2000; Zain Musa 2004: 51; Atnashev 2005; Weber 2005; Zain Musa 2008: 61; Azra 2009; Bradley 2015; Zain Musa 2011: 90–92; NAC Box 745; NAC Box 811).⁶⁶⁰ These connections paved the way for Kaum Muda discourse to move into Siam and the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The Kaum Muda arrived in Baan Krua, Bangkok in 1926 with the teachings of Ahmad Wahab⁶⁶¹ and Direk Kulsiriwad.⁶⁶² Kulsiriwad's Kaum Muda stances were as simple as favoring translation of the Qur'an into Thai and studying a reformed set of *hadīt* – collections of phrases or saying with the tacit approval or disapproval of the prophet Mohammed. Translation in the Malay world was not limited to “producing a faithful rendering of the original text alone, but at time produced a very free rendering, seeing fit both to reduce and expand the original, drawing on various Arabic commentaries as the occasion demanded” (Ridell 2001: 185). So, we can

⁶⁶⁰ Sheik Daud bin Abdalla bin Indris al-Fatani even reportedly took refuge in Cambodia, fleeing the expansion of Siam in the nineteenth century (Guérin 2004: 39)

⁶⁶¹ Ahmad Wahab was from a Minangkabau Malay family.

⁶⁶² Direk Kulsiriwad was half Thai/half Pakistani-Indian

expect that translation in Baan Krua followed this model and was viewed skeptically by Siam's *Chularajamontri* Tuan Suwannasat, who took a Kaum Tua stance in *Rua Sunnī Islam* (1935). Nevertheless, the Kaum Muda continued to spread and at least one "Thai Muslim," possibly actually Malay or Cham in origin, travelled from Baan Krua through Cambodia, to Mý Tho in the Mekong Delta to teach in the 1930s. There were also a number of teachers who travelled from peninsular Malaysia to Cambodia (Scupin 1988, 1989, 2000; Riddel 2001: 211; Zain Musa 2004: 51; Gilquin 2005: 116; Zain Musa 2008: 61; Zain Musa 2011: 90–92; NAC Box 745; NAC Box 811). The Kaum Muda's influence was spreading, although, as in Siam, the office of the Mufti would initially take a conservative stance as well.

French civil servant and ethnographer Marcel Ner (1941: 187) objected to referring to the Senior Cleric as the "Mufti" of Cambodia. However, archival evidence suggests that the Senior Cleric was indeed a "Mufti-like" - if not actual "Mufti" – position, held at the time by Hj. Ismael. As the Senior Cleric Hj. Ismael, like Siam's Mufti-*Chularajamontri* and the head clerics of Selangor, initially took a Kaum Tua-like stance. Addmittedly, it is only through later scholarly implication that these stances were "Kaum Tua-like" (since we have no record of Kaum Muda having a direct role in Cambodia until the 1950s). However, we can suggest an earlier presence of modernist and reformist tendencies through NAC records that recorded, through a Buddhist and French lens, the presence of "Thammayuti Muslims."⁶⁶³ Buddhication is a greater trend in the colonial record at the time. *Haj* is replaced by records of "journeys to *Jetavana*" – the famous

⁶⁶³ Thammayuti Buddhists were reformist Buddhist modernists in Thailand, although affiliations were not so clear in Cambodia. Therefore, the use of the phrase "Thammayuti Muslims" has unclear implications. It is possible that this was simply a phrase used to suggest that the Muslims in question were affiliated with the Thai royalty, although this interpretation is not likely, since they were not traditionalists, and the Muslim clerics affiliated with the Thai royalty was traditionalist. More likely the phrase refers to the intent of the "Thammayuti" clerics to be strictly observant of Islam and interested in purifying the religion, as Mongkut was in the case of Buddhism in Thailand.

school where the Buddha gave large numbers of lectures in northern India. Knowledge of *fiqh* jurisprudence, *shari'ah* regulations and *hadiṭ* were rephrased as “Muslim precepts” or “Muslim Vinaya.” Mosques were registered as *Wat* or *Vihear* in Khmer, although they were simultaneously classified as *Mosquée* in the records of French administrators. Clerics to be given Khmer titles. *Hakem* were given the title “Assistant administrator,”⁶⁶⁴ and Imam “Town/village clerk”⁶⁶⁵ (NAC Box 2968; NAC Box 3052, RSC 27641; NAC Box 3310, RSC 30380). The Imam, as “Town/village clerks” were additionally responsible for the collecting paddy land tax for funds to be filtered upward through the assistant administrators, the deputies,⁶⁶⁶ and the royal regents⁶⁶⁷ – all the way to the Khmer monarch (Weber 2005; Guérin 2013; NAC Box 3052). As the Kaum Muda influence spread, the Muslim community was incorporated into a Khmer royal and French colonial state complex. By comparison, the process of state incorporation would not be paralleled among Muslim communities in Vietnamese territories until after the French colonial period.

As an early precedent to the spread of legal reform, a case came before the office of the Senior Cleric in 1924. As of April 24, Malays [and Chams] living in the 6th quarter of Phnom Penh [Chruoy Changvar] noted that their religion dictated that a corpse should be laid tranquil at death, and that no procedures should be made to mummify or conduct autopsies on the corpse. 97 signatories, all male signed a petition supporting the juridical ruling against autopsies.⁶⁶⁸ The responding correspondence from Dr. Bouvaist to the mayor of Phnom Penh stated that the

⁶⁶⁴ Kh.: *Takaley*

⁶⁶⁵ Kh.: *Mekhum*

⁶⁶⁶ Kh.: *Balat*

⁶⁶⁷ Kh.: *Oknha*

⁶⁶⁸ The ‘front’ signatures were remarkably uniform, suggesting a scribe was used. Followed by increasingly rough Jawi, then ‘xxs’ and ‘thumbprint’ signatories for the back pages. See: Petition to the resident superior in Phnom Penh: Dated: April 24, 1924. In NAC Box. No. 138. RSC No. 1347. Classification S. 41; S. 9. Autopsie de cadavres des Morts Chams.

procedure was simply a routine test of the femoral lymph nodes to ensure that bacterial infections, such as the plague, were not spreading in the city. The doctor assured the mayor that the test had been going on for several years and that all the Europeans, Indians, Muslims, Annamites, Cambodians and Chinese in the city were being subjected to it.⁶⁶⁹ He further assured the mayor that this was not a unique requirement specific to the inhabitants of the 6th quarter [Chruoy Changvar] and that it was principally for the purposes of research.⁶⁷⁰ However, just three days later, more than 300 Cham Muslims addressed the Council of Ministers, increasing their demands, stating that the administration should additionally consider the removal of acupuncture, the practice of autopsies, and the inspection of “intimate parts” of the corpse, from common medical practices. The issue was then forwarded directly from Minister of the Interior and Cults, Phanuvong, to the office of the Resident Superior.⁶⁷¹ A final responding letter by Dr. Bouvaist stated that for interment that Muslims were resorting to a solution that was alcoholic,⁶⁷² that they massaged the stomach to clean the bowels, so that the intestines and liver could be more easily removed. He re-iterated the argument that the Muslims should follow his requests, as these were the only means of conducting research on bacterial infections and detecting whether the plague was present in the cadaver.⁶⁷³ Although the colonial administration maintained its resolve, the stance of the community had been clearly conservative about burial practice. Interaction with the French administration, and mediation with the Khmer Royal authorities only deepened a traditionalist stance.

⁶⁶⁹ Of these populations, most cremated their dead, unlike Muslims, and so a damaged corpse was, potentially, of less consequence.

⁶⁷⁰ See: Letter from Dr. Bauvaiste to the Resident Mayor of Phnom Penh No. 22, April 22, 1924. In NAC Box. No. 138. RSC No. 1347. Classification S. 41; S. 9. Autopsie de cadavres des Morts Chams.

⁶⁷¹ An Un-numbered document from the office of the 2eme, dated 28 April, 1924

⁶⁷² “Beer,” but more likely rice wine, or a honey liquor, to “leather” the body.

⁶⁷³ No. 152. Bulletin de Soit Communique. Date 28, April 1924 – Signed by Dr. Bouvaiste. All documents from this case can be found in: NAC Box. No. 138. RSC No. 1347. Classification S. 41; S. 9. Autopsie de cadavres des Morts Chams.

The partnering of the state with Muslim clerics in Cambodia created a conservative institution that was like the Kaum Tua in Malaysia or Siam. Under the Senior Cleric, as many as thirteen regents⁶⁷⁴ were also generally conservative. Of the most notable were Oknha Reachea Phakdei Montrei Sop (the most dignified of clerics)⁶⁷⁵ and the Oknha Reachea Res Hj. Sen. Nevertheless, support for reformism spread through Kandal province in 1929. Five years later, in Battambang, a similar debate resulted in the appointment of Hj. Salai Man to *Hakem* and Hj. Sam Sou to *Imam* of Masjid Naparat Boum Bo Chantrea, based upon their superior knowledge of *hadīt* and *sharī'ah* in contrast to the previously “uneducated” heads of the mosque (NAC Box 653; NAC Box 3310, RSC File 30380). Haji Salai Man was one of only six *haji* in Battambang and the widest travelled. He had studied in Mecca, visited the Dutch East Indies, Kota Bharu, Penang and other parts of British Malaya. There was another “reader,”⁶⁷⁶ also a *haji* who had spent two years in Kota Bharu, but it appears that Sam Sou was the most discernably Kaum Muda leaning figure. By 1948 Hj. Sam Sou’s curricula included lessons in Islamic brotherhood, selflessness, recitation, *hadīt*, *fiqh* jurisprudence, Arabic and Malay languages, as well as *tassawuf* thought, all of which had been influenced by nineteenth century Patani scholar Mohammed bin Ismael Daud Al-Fatani (Ner 1941: 171; Blengsi 2009: 179; Kiernan 2010: 177).⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁴ Kh.: *Oknha*

⁶⁷⁵ With 9 royal “stripes of dignity” – the highest available to Muslim clerics in Cambodia.

⁶⁷⁶ Ar.: *khaṭīb*

⁶⁷⁷ This school was previously, erroneously, viewed as the “first formal religious school” in Cambodia. Nevertheless, education paralleled the schools of Patani and Penninsular Malaysia. Blengsi (2009) believed they were comparable to the Ma’had al-Muhajirin al-Islami Pusat Pengajian Agama dan Arab in Kampong Som. The curriculum featured Mohammed bin Ismael, Muhammad bin Da’ud (Patani) and Imam Nawai (Banten) for the study of jurisprudence and *hadīt*. Other basic elements of the curriculum throughout the region in the nineteenth century included Arabic grammar (*nahu*), Qur’anic interpretation (*tasfir*), recitation (*qira’ā*), principles of religion (*usul al-din*) and didactic theology (Blengsi 2009: 179; Hefner 2009: 8).

By the 1940s there were many Cham Muslim clerics who were apparently reformists and modernists. Three key example figures were Haji Osman of Kampong Trea, Kampong Cham;⁶⁷⁸ Hj. Abdulrahman of Chruoy Changvar; and (later: Mufti) Hj. Omar Ali of Moat Chrouk.⁶⁷⁹ Occasionally, however, their tendencies were reformist without necessarily being modernist, and they often grew more conservative as they advanced their careers. For example, Hj. Abdulrahman and Omar Ali would go on to become senior patriarchs of Cambodia and Vietnam respectively and a later generation would refer to them as “Kaum Tua.” Once in the Vietnamese sphere, Omar Ali would swing back to a “modernist/reformist” stance. There were also many Cham and Malay Muslims of Cambodia who studied in peninsular Malaysia. Hj. Mathsales (Muhammed Salih of Chruoy Changvar), for example, spent eleven years in Mecca, by repute, held two certificates from Kelantan, corresponded with Sheik Ahmad bin Muhammed Zain Mustafa Al-Fatani [b. 1856 – d. 1908]⁶⁸⁰ and composed his own sacred commentary on calculating the proper direction for prayer based on the stars during Ramadan.⁶⁸¹ Another “Mat Sales” was an old rival of Hj. Osman, but had spent ten years in Kelantan and developed a mixed curriculum with his father Hj. Roun to contest Hj. Osman’s purely religious curriculum (Bruckmayr, 2013: 29; Zain Musa 2011: 88; Ner 1941: 157–87; NAC Box 3310, File 30364; NAC Box 3310 File 30285; VNA II: Hồ sơ 31692).

Moving outward from Phnom Penh toward Kampot, in the 1940s, the Cham communities closer to the gulf were under greater Malay Muslim influence. Kampot’s community had been mostly Malay until the end of the nineteenth century, although Cham increasingly moved there

⁶⁷⁸ Throughout the 1930s, Haji Osman ran Cambodia’s two most famous Islamic schools, centered on the communities of Trea and Krauchhmar (Kiernan 2010: 177).

⁶⁷⁹ Also: Châu Đốc, An Giang province, Vietnam

⁶⁸⁰ A very influential Pattani scholar who studied in Mecca and Cairo.

⁶⁸¹ This work is recorded by Bruckmayr (2013) as “M. Soleh Kamboja, *Pedoman Bahagia pada Menyatakan Sukatan Waktu dan Masa*, Kota Bharu 1934.”

from Kampong Cham and Kandal by the mid-twentieth. By the 1940s there was a significant Cham and Cham-Malay population here, although most of the clerics were still Malay *guru* from Kelantan and Terengganu such as Tuk Guru Nik Daud bin Nik Mat who travelled to Cambodia only to spread Islam. Following him, a large Kaum Muda community relocated to Phnom Penh. Consequentially the senior Cham *gru* in central and southern Cambodia had studied in Malaysia, including Haji Abupaka of Phum Soai.⁶⁸² There were also up to thirty Cambodia-Cham who had been students of Tuk Kenali Mohammed Yusuf [d. 1933], himself a student of Sheik Ahmad Al-Fatani [d. 1906/8]. There were some Cham, such as a teacher in Svai Chrum (nearby Chuoi Changvar), who had been to Kelantan, “but still knew a bit of Cham letters,” and Hj. Males Mohammed, senior patriarch of Prek Pra, who taught in both languages. However, the overwhelmingly influence in Kampot was Kaum Muda leaning (Ner 1941: 157, 165–69; Bruckmayr 2013: 27–28).

The spread of the Kaum Muda influence and an increase in unregistered *surau* in Cham, Malay, Khmer and Thai Muslim communities helped the Kaum Muda make early inroads into Cochinchina (Vietnam) in the 1930s and 1940s. Populations began to circulate increasingly between Battambang, Kampong Cham and Chruoy Changvar, spreading invitations to reform,⁶⁸³ as well as moving toward Cham communities in Vietnam. The Malay community of Châu Đốc increased their influence in Saigon, constructing the new *Jamia Masjid* at what is now 641 Nguyễn Trãi Street in 1932. The next year a debate over the spending habits of the *Masjid Al-Rahim* attracted the attention of colonial officials tracking Malay influence and a nearby mosque, *Masjid Đông Du* was constructed in 1935. In the 1940s, following Malay connections, Cham and Cham-Malay families from Châu Đốc began to urbanize. First they built bamboo and thatched

⁶⁸² Six years in Kelantan

⁶⁸³ Ar.: *da'wa*; M.: *dakwa*

houses nearby Cầu Kho Bridge in the Nancy area, District 1. Then, larger migrations came between 1945 and 1946, particularly as Cham families entered the southern war against France on 9 September 1945. New Cham Muslim neighborhoods appeared nearby Gia Định and Chợ Lớn (Goucoch 1933; Nguyễn Văn Luận 1960s: 1; Phan Văn Dóp 1993: 129, 131–32, 162; Trần Nam Tiên 2005: 127–35; Phú Văn Hǎn 2005c: 101; Phú Văn Hǎn 2013: 26). As reformist and Malay influence additionally spread into *Cochinchine*, Imam Tuan Hj. Ali Musa (Ly Mousa)⁶⁸⁴ returned to Cambodia from Malaysia and became the leader of the Kaum Muda in Cambodia.

Musa [b. 1916 – d. 1975] was born and raised in the village of Ampil, Khum Peuh, Srok Kroch Chmar, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia. He was the oldest of three boys and four girls in his farming family and so, when a Thai-Muslim named Hj. Ismael offered to become his benefactor, he left to study in Bangkok, before his benefactor sent him to Pattani. In Pattani he became the classmate of Pek Yeh⁶⁸⁵ and Imam Hj. Mohammed India.⁶⁸⁶ Pek Yeh had studied in Kota Bharu (1936) before arriving in Pattani and Ahmed India received a BA from Kelantan, before he had received his MA from the Uloom Deoband, Uttar Pradesh, India.⁶⁸⁷ Both India and Musa, however, were most clearly reformists and modernists. In 1948 Musa returned to Cambodia, before founding the *Sankum Ly Mousa* in 1953 and the first “state-school” to teach Islam in Phum Prek Krot, Svay Khleang, Kampong Cham. Ahmed India then partnered with Musa’s efforts, after he returned in 1955/56. The school was initially only funded by profits from rice fields, but became one of the most influential in Cambodia. Many of the elite figures of the 1970s onward were educated here or were otherwise tied to Musa and India’s school via their

⁶⁸⁴ Cham, from Kampong Cham.

⁶⁸⁵ Cham, from nearby Phum Poeuh, Kroch Chmar, Kampong Cham.

⁶⁸⁶ Cham, also from Kampong Cham.

⁶⁸⁷ Ahmed India’s association with the Deoband may have been a primer for the later influence of the Tablighi Jamaat (TJ) in Cambodia two generations of students later (from 1993 onward), since the TJ were a Deobandi offshoot.

teachers (Zain Musa 2004: 51; Zain Musa 2008: 60–64; Blengsi 2009: 180; Zain Musa 2011: 89–92).

The teachings of Ali Musa appear to be better recorded than those of Ahmed India. Generally, he was a reformist and modernist. Along with Ahmed India, he denounced practices such as meditative repetitions of the phrase indicating the singularity of god (Ar.: *tahlīl*) in the form of a *dhikr* and declarations of the greatness of God, known as *takbīr*.⁶⁸⁸ They also denounced veneration of local spirits and ancestors. These were standard positions of modernists and reformers throughout South and Southeast Asia. What was most fascinating about Ali Musa, perhaps, was that he argued that there were 23 messengers (not 25),⁶⁸⁹ supported translation of the Qur'an, and studied a selection of *hadīt* that his elders were not familiar with. Omar Ali of Moat Chrouk/Châu Đốc changed his position. He aligned with Tuan Kachik of Chmin and Tuan Hj. Ali of Speu, as the three issued a *fatwa* that India, Musa and their colleagues were *kafir*, in the Arabic — not Cham — sense of the term. They also proclaimed that Musa's tendency to keep a dog at his home was *haram*. The Senior Cleric of Cambodia, Res Lah, accused Ali Musa of dividing the religion. Since Norodom Sihanouk had just founded the state-institution of "Khmer Islam,"⁶⁹⁰ a formal Qur'anic debate was held in 1955. As they had done earlier in Selangor and Bangkok, state aligned clerics took a Kaum Tua-like stance, proclaiming that this was right for "Khmer Islam." There were two reactions. First, side by side Muda/Tua *surau* prayer halls were built. Second, in reaction to the ethno-nationalist notions that were included in the term "Khmer Islam," a number of Cham leaders, mostly Kaum Muda oriented, founded a

⁶⁸⁸ Recitation of the Arabic "Allāhu Akbar."

⁶⁸⁹ Ar.: *rasūl*. It is not clear which two he eliminated from the standard 25.

⁶⁹⁰ This was part of Norodom Sihanouk's nationalization platform that is described in his work *Notre Socialisme Buddhique*. Khmer Kandal and Khmer Loue were also constructed identities that emerged from this political platform.

“Cham Islam” movement. The central claim to Cham Islam was that the Cham could maintain their piety while also keeping their Cham ethno-linguistic identity. Cham Islam spread rapidly between the nodes of Battambang, Phnom Penh and Kampong Cham, before moving across the border to Tây Ninh, An Giang and Saigon, backed by refugee immigrations of Cham Islam believers fleeing spillover from Second Indochina War in Cambodia (Zain Musa 2004: 51; Zain Musa 2008: 60–64; Blengsi 2009: 180; Zain Musa 2011: 89–92; Phú Văn Hǎn 2013: 24).⁶⁹¹ Whereas Khmer Islam became the “state-Islam” in Cambodia, Cham Islam was on its way to becoming the official “state-Islam” in the Republic of Vietnam, a development that hinged upon the internal discourses of the Cham community.

III Clarification of Religious Divides: Agama Cham Islam & Agama Cham Bani

In the 1950s and 1960s, the emergence of Kaum Muda influence across the borderlands of Cambodia and Vietnam clarified emerging divides between the Cham Islam and Cham Bani communities. After the 1954 Geneva Accords, Vietnam was split into the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (“North Vietnam” – DRV) and the Republic of Vietnam (“South Vietnam” – RVN), although, paradoxically the Cham, who lived predominantly in Thuận Hải province (Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận today) were classified as a “northern minority” in occasional RVN documents (VNA II: Hồ sơ 3001; 16182). This may have been due to their strong participation in the “Ché Bòng Ngã” anti-colonialist paramilitary group in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces, since

⁶⁹¹ In an example of one such migration in 1970, the Vietnamese archives reveal the governmental position that these individuals were ‘in fact’ “Việt kiều gốc Chàm.” “Returning” to Vietnam was thus portrayed as “returning” to their ‘homeland,’ although Tây Ninh was still several hundred kilometers away from the refugees self-recorded homeland. 25 migrants were certified for relocation in at a time. There were 200 to 350 total individuals ‘in a similar situation’ (VNA II: Hồ sơ 1324).

some Cham in the Ché Bồng Ngā troop were sympathetic to Marxist-Lenninism, regardless of whether they were Cham Ahiér or Bani. Meanwhile, the Malay Muslim minority and the Cham Islam communities of Saigon, An Giang and Tây Ninh were still mostly tied to Phnom Penh, since the nearest *Mufti*-like figure was the Senior Cleric nearby Phnom Penh, and, predominantly anti-communist as were Muslims in Cambodia. In this context, Omar Ali,⁶⁹² gained influence among many RVN officials. When the Nancy area⁶⁹³ mosque was torched by the Bình Xuyên in 1956,⁶⁹⁴ the *ummah* responded and raised funds to rebuild this mosque as well as other mosque and *surau* that had been destroyed during the First Indochina War. Meanwhile, Les Kosem, who actively identified as both Khmer Islam and Cham Islam, was becoming a more powerful leader in the Cambodian army. As American investment in RVN increased, Les Kosem and Ali also began to invest more efforts there. It seems that they were “following the money,” although this point has not been made explicit in the examinations of either individuals’ biography. Les Kosem, was also likely following the stream of arms supply. Regardless, the move attracted more Cham from Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận to join Les Kosem’s ethno-nationalist and Islamist forces, while Mufti Omar Ali concentrated on institution building, shifting back toward a modernist stance (Nguyễn Văn Luận 1960s (?): 1; Phan Văn Dốp 1993: 129, 131–32, 162; Huỳnh Ngọc Thu 2005: 188; Phan Xuân Biên, Phan An & Phan Văn Dốp 1994: 8; Trần Nam Tiết 2005: 127–35; Phú Văn Hỗn 2005c: 101; Phú Văn Hỗn 2013: 26). In

⁶⁹² Of Châu Đốc

⁶⁹³ There have been some questions raised about whether or not this was referred to as the ‘Nancy area’ still in the 1950s. However, all sources refer to this mosque as the ‘Nancy area’ mosque. Further, Cham populations have historically resisted Vietnamization, meaning that French and Khmer toponyms have been frequently preferred over Vietnamese ones. Muslims in Vietnam still refer to this area as ‘Nancy.’

⁶⁹⁴ There is a deep literature on the Bình Xuyên in Vietnam. They were originally a group of pirates turned gangsters and were involved in opium smuggling historically, as well as heroine production by the middle of the twentieth century. By the mid-1950s the Bình Xuyên also ran an independent militia that was one of the most important and powerful independent militias in the south. However, the Bình Xuyên were virtually destroyed in a battle in 1955. Therefore, it follows that the torching of this local mosque in 1956 was a last ditch effort scare tactic to prove that the Bình Xuyên still had power.

light of these changes, Vietnamese discourse shifted, abandoning the *Hồi hối* references to the Bani and adapting a to the Bani as “old Islam” (Vn.: *Hồi giáo cũ*) in contrast to the “new Islam” (Vn.: *Hồi giáo mới*) of the Cham Islam reformist movement. It was the “new Islam” leadership that founded the Vietnam Association of Cham Islam (VNACI) in 1961. They claimed to represent the “true Islam” of the Cham, even though they made up less than one-third of the Cham in RVN.

In Cambodia state officials presided over the *ummah* via the Ministry of Cults (later: The Ministry of Cults and Religion), however, in RVN the VNACI was charged under the Minister of the Interior.⁶⁹⁵ The positioning of these offices is indicative of how each state treated minority religions. That is, in Cambodia, non-Buddhist religions were simply “cults,” to be eventually eliminated by the enlightenment of the Buddhist society, while in the Republic of Vietnam, minority religions were a matter of domestic security. Despite these distinct differences, the *ummah* adapted the model of institutionalization that had been applied in Cambodia between the late 1920s and 1940s. With the cooperation of the desk of Phạm Ngọc Kha, the VNACI proclaimed that

The Hakem will serve as advisors for ethical concerns and the Association’s executive body shall make contact with all of the faithful. Everything shall be the concern of the advisory Hakem. This system was born beautifully and shall be maintained the same. The association is responsible for educating the public and therefore will encourage public activities. (VNA II: Hồ sơ 2435)

⁶⁹⁵ Vn.: *Bộ Nội Vụ*

The model of mosque organization - with Hakem being subordinate to state authority and leading subordinate Imam and Katip - was imported from Cambodia to Vietnam.⁶⁹⁶ The impact was a trend of “conversions” to Cham Islam/ “new Islam” that swept across Saigon, focusing on urban youth. Oral accounts have recorded a Bani youth who moved to Saigon from Palei Pamblap Klak (Vn.: An Nhơn, Ninh Thuận province) in the late 1950s. Impressed by the Šāfi’ī Sunnī guided Cham Islam practice he encountered among VNACI youth in the city, he sought to bring these teaching to his hometown, composing a series of queries that no one in his area could answer. He then met Mufti Hj. Omar Ali of Châu Đốc who was nearby, in Palei Pamblap Biruw (Vn.: Phúrốc Nhơn, Ninh Thuận province) with Indian Muslim *dakwa* leader Ismael Maulawi. Impressed with the Mufti’s ability to answer his “unanswerable” questions, the student and his friends “converted,”⁶⁹⁷ becoming “new Cham”⁶⁹⁸ (see also: Nakamura 2008: 20). Archival sources confirm this narrative and indicate that there were also a series of debates and even street fights that followed between youth groups on both sides (VNA II: Hồ sơ 4250; VNA II Hồ sơ 4337; VNA II: Hồ sơ 4339). The narrative of these “new Cham” marks a shift in Vietnamese and Cham language discourse. The term *Cam Biruw*, taken from turn of the century Châu Đốc, was applied to mid-century Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận, while “reforms” from Bani to becoming Cham Islam followers were recorded as “conversions.” In other words, in local discourse, there was an increasing line drawn between Bani and Cham Islam that began to recognize believers as members of separate religions.

⁶⁹⁶ Since 1975 the administration in Vietnam has expanded to include Na-if, who assist the Hakem and Imam, as well as figures such as the “Ahly” who are responsible for the care of *surau* and Bilal, who are specifically responsible for the call to prayer. There are also *Alem* who are leading scholars in each village (Lê Xuân Diệm, Mạc Đừng & Nguyễn Công Bình 1990: 235-237). After 1975 the references to Cham *kayia* (similar to Malay: *kaya*) or rich traders, increased, although it took sometime to reach the levels of 1965-1972 trade wealth, since between 1965 and 1972 Cham traders could easily cross the Khmer-Vietnamese border (Lê Xuân Diệm, Mạc Đừng & Nguyễn Công Bình. 1990: 233-234)

⁶⁹⁷ Vn.: *đổi đạo*

⁶⁹⁸ C.: *Cam Biruw*

With the introduction of Cham Islam into Ninh Thuận, the VNACI focused upon a platform of reforming Cham *adat* into *sharī'ah* law, and upon mosque construction. Fifteen *Cam Biruw* made a request in Ninh Thuận to keep the Bani *sang mágik* doors open twenty-four hours during the month of Ramadan. Traditionally, the Bani clerics⁶⁹⁹ only kept the doors open on Fridays and during special ceremonies for the month of Ramadan. So, the request took the clerics by surprise and they denied it. In response Mufti Omar Ali raised the support of the VNACI and funds of Ismael Maulawi to construct the first of four “proper mosques” in Ninh Thuận. Meanwhile, migrants in the south continued to urbanize. A 1966 flood combined with the war spurred another major migration from Tây Ninh and An Giang to Saigon and there were an estimated 7,000 Cham Muslims who lived in the city by the end of the year. In response to damages incurred by mosques such as the Nguyễn Trãi street mosque in 1968, the VNACI raised more funds to reconstruct damaged mosque and construct new prayer halls throughout the city (Phan Văn Dóp 1993: 129, 131–32, 162; Phan Xuân Biên, Phan An and Phan Văn Dóp 1994: 8; Huỳnh Ngọc Thu 2005: 188; Trần Nam Tiến 2005: 127–35; Phú Văn Hǎn 2005c: 101; Nakamura 2008: 20; Phú Văn Hǎn 2013: 26–28).⁷⁰⁰

Because of the increasing presence of the VNACI, new Islamicist discourse continued to enter the Cham community in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces in the late 1960s, and even into the early 1970s.⁷⁰¹ Debates in Ninh Thuận in the late 1960s were recast in terms of *walai* and anti-*walai* sentiments. In Arabic, the term *wali* contains the meanings “protector,” “friend,” and “saint.” However, in the Cham context the term took on new meanings. *Walai* were in favor

⁶⁹⁹ C.: *Cam Awal*

⁷⁰⁰ International Muslim organizations had funded \$10,000 to support the construction of mosques in the Republic of Vietnam in 1968-1970 (Hồ sơ 4337)

⁷⁰¹ In the early 1970s efforts shifted back again toward institution building effectively eliminating the Bani from the Cham Islam community unless they “reformed.”

of “converting” to Cham Islam, as they argued an individual had the right to determine their own religious practice, while the anti-*walai* believed that they should follow ancestral duties (Nakamura 2008: 20). Forceful and occasionally very violent encounters peaked between 1969 and 1972,⁷⁰² before the VNACI moved, yet again, to stake a claim toward being the “true Islam” of RVN. From November 10 to 15 November 1971, the VNACI formed the Religious Board of Cham Muslims in Vietnam and the Council of the Muslim Community as they concentrated on gaining the support of the clerics to put in place new bi-laws to define the meaning proper *hajis* and proper mosques.⁷⁰³ The duties of the *Hakem*⁷⁰⁴ clerics were redefined in accordance with the *shari’ah* law that had been in place in Cambodia in December, with the approval of the Minister of the Council of Minority Peoples. Next, Chief of the Multicultural and Ethnic Development Corporation, a Cham Islam leader named Trung Y-Sa, filed for official support from the office of the Ministry of Minority Development to return “all *Hồi giáo*” soldiers serving in ARVN or ARVN affiliated forces to their hometowns, if they had not gained approval from the VNACI’s Board of Clerics.⁷⁰⁵ The decision was signed by eight Cham Islam Hakem and Imam⁷⁰⁶ on 19 December 1971 (VNA II: Hồ sơ 2435; VNA II: Hồ sơ 2461). This decision effectively eliminated any Bani soldiers from service. Therefore “conversions” to the Cham Islam movement increased, as members of the Bani who wished to serve in ARVN or Les Kosem’s FULRO affiliated forces changed their affiliations for the sake of joining the military.

⁷⁰² After the Tết Offensive of 1968 there was an overall spike in communal violence, followed by the ‘Vietnamization’ of the war and the reduction in American support.

⁷⁰³ This occurred at a time of general restructuring for the Republic of Vietnam. Nugyễn Văn Thiệu also became head of state at this time.

⁷⁰⁴ Vn.: *Được Bầu*

⁷⁰⁵ Vn.: *Hội đồng Giáo cả*

⁷⁰⁶ The signatories include: Haji Musa (Giáo Cả – Katambong); Math Zen (Giáo Cả – Vĩnh Trường); Haji Mohamat Y Dares (Giáo Cả – Châu Giang); Haji J Tares (Giáo Cả – Đa Phước); Y Nam Bu Talep (Giáo Cả Châu Phong); Haji Bubaco (Giáo Cả Châu Phong); Haji Musa (Giáo Cả Ka Côi – signs in Jawi); Haji Mac Sales Kim (Giáo Cả Sa Bầu) (signs in Jawi) (VNA II: Hồ Sơ 2435).

By 1972 and 1973 the *Cam Awal* (Bani) clerics, began to establish their own local organizations in response to VNACI claims over “proper *Hồi giáo* practice.” With the institutionalization of three *Chàm Hồi giáo* communal centers in Bình Thuận province, they formed a particularly strong social network in Phan Lý Chàm district. These “*Agama Bani*” religious centers were termed “houses of study.”⁷⁰⁷ Their primary concern was the maintenance of customary law,⁷⁰⁸ religious practices⁷⁰⁹ and respect for the ancestors.⁷¹⁰ There was no adaptation of Jawi script, although the *Akhar Bani* form of Arabic script was used for liturgical purposes and the Eastern Cham variant of the Indic-Cham script was used as a cultural symbol. Hence, it is common to find non-liturgical phrases, even those adapted from Arabic, such as the greeting *salam*, written in the Indic script in Bani documents. The first *sang bac* was approved as a Cultural Center for Ethnic Cham Muslims⁷¹¹ in Lâm Giang village, Mâ Lam – Chàm, supported by a decision from Ppo Gru Long Lâm and Mâ Mung, since their own previous local study center had been destroyed by bombing in the 1960s. However, their model was quickly adapted by towns and villages that had not had official centers before. The second was built in Cã Hữu An, supported by Ppo Gru Nguyễn Muồn, Thầy Xế Úc Trợ and Thầy Đỗ Úc Mῆ on 1 February 1973 and the third was built in Áp Hậu Quách supported by a 4 May 1973 decision (VNA II Hò Sơ 2285).⁷¹² However, these efforts were merely a topical solution to greater VNACI efforts to reform.

⁷⁰⁷ C.: *sang bac*; Romanized at the time as: *thang bais*

⁷⁰⁸ C.: *adat cam*

⁷⁰⁹ Vn.: *phong tục tôn giáo*

⁷¹⁰ C.: *muk kei*

⁷¹¹ Vn.: *Trung Tâm Văn hóa Sắc tộc Chàm Hồi giáo*

⁷¹² *Thầy* is a Vietnamese word meaning “teacher” that is commonly applied to Imam and Katip in the Cham Bani community.

With the new legislation dictating the code of actions for *hajis* in 1971, the VNACI not only staked their own claim to be the rightful organization to oversee “Chàm Hồi giáo” communities, but they also provided a venue to further gather funds to support *hajis*. From 1971 to 1975 the number of VNACI registered *hajis* therefore expanded each year. Furthermore, as of 1 February 1974 the newly founded VNACI subordinate organization, the Vietnam Association of Cham Culture (VACC; Vn.: *Hội Văn hóa Chàm Việt Nam*) further refined the definition of *hajis*. Based on an analysis of all registered *hajis* from 1971 to 1975 it is possible to note that they were all from Cham Islam oriented communities in An Giang or Tây Ninh provinces, with a small minority being Cham Islam individuals from Saigon or Vietnamese converts to Islam from the north. Like the NAC files, where Mecca seems to have been referred to as *Jetavana* (in India), VNA II files refer to these *hajis* not as individuals who had travelled to Arabia (Vn.: *Ấn Rập*) but rather as individuals who had travelled to India (Vn.: *Ấn Độ*). Also, although all the listed mosque to have had a rather *Kaum Muda-like* stance, the individual *hajis* were never young, as we see in the following sample table:

Name	Chức vụ	Birth Year	Birth Place	Place of Degree	Date of Degree
Châu Thanh Tâm	Trưởng Phó Đoàn	1916	Katambong Châu Đốc	Saigon	3*12*69
Boukoseim	Phó Trưởng Phó Đoàn	1903	Lam Ma	Châu Đốc	6*8*70
Ysa	Thư Ký	1924	Phum Xoài	“	21*2*70
Ca tơ	Đoàn Viên	1910	:	“	16*12*69
Châu Harul	“	1922	:	Saigon	23*12*69
Math No	“	1921	Châu Giang	Châu Đốc	10*1*70
Soleiman	“	1916	Đông Tác Tây Ninh	“	5*7*69
Cham El	“	1933	Phum Soai	Tây Ninh	2*8*69
Abdaliates	“	1898	:	Tân Bình	04*12*69
Abubacar	“	1934	Katambong	Saigon	25*2*70
Ali Sahel	“	1919	Tam hội	Gò Vấp	21*11*69
Châu Samang	“	1935	Phum Soài	Saigon	23*9*69
Huyn Văn Lang	“	1922	Câu Giang	Phú Cường	12*3*69
Danh Mas	“	1892	Phum Soài	Châu Đốc	31*12*70
Abbadul Kados	“	1909		“	30*12*70
Thi Fatimah	“	1925		“	02*02*70

Table 6.1: Official Hajis from Vietnam, 1974. Source : VNA II : Hồ Sơ 2435. Về hoạt động của Hiệp hội Chàm Hồi Giáo Việt Nam năm 1971–75

The above table is just one sample of registered Hajis that was found in VNA II. By an assessment of all the registered Hajis between 1971 and 1975 it was quite clear that these individuals were not young at all, but generally over the age of 50. In short summary, they were required to “implement the five pillars (Ar.: *rokun*) specified for Muslims in the Holy book of Islam, Al’ Qur’ān” (VNA II: Hồ sơ 2435; VNA II: Hồ sơ 31692). In other words, the implication was that members of the Cham Bani community could not be considered members of the *ummah* until they upheld the five pillars in accordance with VNACI understandings of Islamic practice. The major debate then, would be over the pillar of *salat*, since Cham Bani observation of prayer

did not conform to reformist conceptions of standard Islamic prayer (five times per day, facing Mecca).

While regulations in the city continued to reform the definition of the *ummah* in the Republic of Vietnam, in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces *dakwa* invitations to engage in reform continued to spread. Members of the Cham Islam community of Palei Pamblap Biruw chose to re-organize their ranks in accordance with VNACI regulations in October 1974, in a process that directly paralleled the earlier reorganizations in Cambodia in the 1930s and 1940s. A new *Hakem*, O Ali Hanifah Thành Trung, and *Imam*, Hussein Mă Thành Lâm, were elected to head the local mosque and reform the community's relationship with the Secretary General of Ninh Thuận province, Ysa Ong Thuận Thành Cộng, who was also a Cham Islam practitioner. They were tasked with building contacts in Phan Rí, Bình Thuận, where the Cham Bani had built strong communal organizations, and established a "Steering Committee on Cham Practice."⁷¹³ The steering committee aimed to assert that *sharī'ah* was the true way to govern Cham communities, in contest to the *adat cam* customary law of the area. At *Masjid #101* in Palei Rem,⁷¹⁴ the leader of the Cham Islam community and VNACI representative was Abdul Karim. Karim claimed that there had been a clear division in the *ummah* over the past thirteen years, a timeline that coincides with the founding of the VNACI. Nevertheless, he claimed that the Cham of the area had increasingly accepted Allah and decreased a number of "bad practices,"⁷¹⁵ which included the worship of *yang* deities. However, he also sought to further eliminate the matrilocalism⁷¹⁶ through the targeted application of *zakat* to poor Cham Bani (VNA II: Hồ sơ 2435; VNA II: Hồ sơ 31692).

⁷¹³ Vn.: Ủy ban Định luận Phong Tục Chàm

⁷¹⁴ Vn.: Vân Lam

⁷¹⁵ Vn.: hủ vục

⁷¹⁶ Vn.: Chê độ mẫu hê

In Saigon in December, following the month of Ramadan (*Shawwal*, AH 1394), the VNACI put out its first, and last, widely circulated newsletter. The newsletter was strategic, using the Vietnamese *Hồi giáo* as a more general term to refer to both Cham Islam and *Cam Bani* communities. The newsletter reported upon the travel of the *hajis* through Beirut to Jeddah and on a major conference that had been hosted between 11 and 23 November 1974. Visitors from Arabia, Thailand and Indonesia⁷¹⁷ joined Cham Islam intellectuals, including Rabita O Dohamide, in a discussion of what further actions could be taken to promote reform. Dohamide argued for stronger assertions of Islamic law (C.: *majlis agama Islam*) through “Centers of Propagation”⁷¹⁸ and promoting the works of Malay Tuan as Islamic teachers. From this time, onward the authority of the Cham Islam movement amongst the Muslims of southern Vietnam, even after reunification, remained quite uncontested. By 1975, the VNACI had made the claim that they represented the “rightful authority” to dictate *Hồi giáo* practice at the state level of discourse, that their community lived “harmoniously under the *Mufti*,” or the office of Mufti Omar Ali, organized delegate posts for attendance with the *sunah* Malaysia, held exams on the Qur'an in accordance with international delegations and had annual representatives for the *haj* (VNA II: Hồ sơ 2435; VNA II: Hồ sơ 31692).⁷¹⁹

IV Appearance of Non-Religious Organizations

IVa Inspiring Irredentism

⁷¹⁷ Dr. Amnuey Suwanakijboriharn (Professor in Politics – Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand), Dr. Abdul Chalikali (Jam'iya Nahdhatul Ulama – Indonesia).

⁷¹⁸ Vn.: *Trung Tâm Truyền bá Hồi giáo Pháp*

⁷¹⁹ The paper (dated 20th January 1975) is from the desk of the Rhade administrator: Y Thih Eban Buon Kang (NAC II: Hồ Sơ 2435).

Beginning in the middle of the twentieth century, Cham literati began to shift positions, as they had in the seventeenth century. However, while they had moved toward religious authority in the seventeenth century, by the middle of the twentieth century, Cham literati began to take more secular stances. They formed non-religious organizations. Non-religious Cham organizations were essentially divided between those that were not overtly opposed to the Vietnamese and those that were. Among the Cham non-religious organizations that were overtly opposed to Vietnamese rule, support for irredentist attitudes was a critical factor that aided their formation. Irredentism had some historical precedent in Cham communities. The most recent of removal of Cham from ancestral lands was in the 1830s, and the historical memory of Cham rebellions against these removals was kept alive for the next century and more. Furthermore, French Orientalist research had supported the concept that Cham were tied to an ancestral homeland. Even one as wildly diverse as the pre-colonial Champā civilization, was viewed as “the Cham homeland” by French Orientalists. Although active support for a revival of a Cham kingdom was not granted by the Doumer administration, the wedge driven by researchers between the past and the present, over time, simply stoked desires among Cham leadership to rekindle the flames of resistance. Furthermore, the concept of “one people – one homeland,” while it was used to unite all the peoples of Indochina against the French, also became a lens through which to view the Vietnamese as colonialist occupiers of Cham territory. There were those among the Cham literati that sought to capitalize on the environment of broad support for ethnonationalism and irredentism. Many of these individuals, perhaps even drawing inspiration from Vietnamese anti-colonialists, sought to create a movement for the liberation of the peoples of Champā. The *Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées* (lit.: Unified Front for the Struggle of the Oppressed Races; or FULRO), is most often remembered in the history of

Southeast Asia as a purely upland movement, which indeed it was, after 1975. However, from its founding through the early 1970s, FULRO was in fact a joint upland-lowland force, with parallel local administrative support and communal organizations, that sought to assert the equal rights of the peoples of Champā. The Cham faction of FULRO was critically headed by Hj. Les Kosem.

Although there was a historical precedent for irredentism and ethnonationalism among Cham populations in the borderlands of Cambodia and the Republic of Vietnam, Hj. Les Kosem, and the new literati that were associated with his leadership had to develop new notions of nationhood, possession of territory, and concepts of modern self-governance among their communities to gain support for the FULRO movement. While the concept of a Cham homeland was not new, the concept of a “Nation for the Peoples of Champā” was. It was possible to draw upon the histories and literatures of previous Cham literati, the notion of “Nagar Cam” or “the Cham kingdom,” reference to Champā and Pāñduraṅga, could easily be transformed into the notion of the right to possess a territory. This idea could be transformed into the right to a bounded national territory. Furthermore, ideas about commercial possession and cultural heritage were already present in the in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁷²⁰ The expansion of mid-century Japanese power contributed an important intellectual shift as well: colonialism was no longer a concept that was strictly applied to European powers. Hence, it was possible to view the Vietnamese, not just as an invading army and evil kingdom, as they had been viewed in the past, but as a *colonial power* that *subjugated* and *enslaved* the Cham. However, Cham leadership also had proof that they had been dispossessed of the land.⁷²¹ Therefore, the idea that the Vietnamese

⁷²⁰ For example, we see new complaints about water buffalo theft from turn of the century Châu Đốc, as well as in the case of the possession of the “Cham past” of Ppo Inâ Nâgar tower in the case of *Ariya Ppo Pareng* (1885).

⁷²¹ They drew on the works of Aymonier (1889, 1893), Finot (1927), Maspero (1928) and even Vietnamese sources, to support their notions of irredentism.

had invaded and occupied Cham lands, and forcibly removed them could be transformed into the notion that the Vietnamese, just like the French, or the Americans, or the Japanese, were a colonialist occupying force with no right to the territory.

Although more contemporary visions of Champā space have preferred to rely upon Malay and Hindu-Buddhist comparisons to explain the pre-colonial territory of Champa organization, Vietnamese and turn of the century French scholarship tended to view Champa as a contiguous “kingdom,”⁷²² comprised of a collection of “principalities.”⁷²³ This particular model served the irredentist notions of Champā space quite well, and so it is not a surprise that terms such as the Vietnamese “Chiêm Thành” – taken from Ngô Sĩ Liên’s 15th c. *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* – to refer to the entirety of Champā were even popular among Cham leadership.⁷²⁴ Although in its original usage Chiêm Thành did not include did not, technically, include substantial portions of former Champā territory throughout Quảng Bình province or deep into the hinterlands of the Annamite Chain. Nevertheless, the terms “Chiêm Thành,” “vương quốc Champā,” and “tiểu bàng vương quốc [E.g.: Pāñduraṅga],” began to appear throughout the writings and discussions of figures in the circles of Tuan Ai Liên, O Dohamide and Hj. Les Kosem from the 1950s through the 1970s. Although later scholarship has come to the consensus that there is little evidence that the Cham were in fact a ruling ethnic group in Champā, conceived of as such, the consensus in the middle of the 20th century was indeed, in the words of Jaspan (1970), that Champā was the “country of the Chams” (See also: Gafour-Meth, 1991: 443; Ngô Sĩ Liên 2010: 310, 316-317; Po, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 2006). The impact of the

⁷²² Vn.: *vương quốc*

⁷²³ Vn.: *tiểu bàng vương quốc*

⁷²⁴ Even though Ngô Sĩ Liên’s text does not use the term “Chiêm Thành” to refer to upland portions of Champā or the norther negarā of Amaravati and Indrapura

adaptation of these terms was that Vietnamese had undeniably, in history, crossed into Cham territory and taken their lands. The Cham and other Champā peoples, were therefore, by irredentist reasoning, the rightful inheritors of all the lands in the Republic of Vietnam, except for the Mekong Delta, which they would be ceded to claims of the Khmer Krom.

Finally, although Cham irredentist sentiment could be connected to territory, there was a need to envision the past in terms of having proto-nationalist revolutionary movements, that could suit the ethno-nationalist aims of FULRO leadership. In this case, the origins of proto-nationalist movements could be found in the responses to Minh Mệnh's campaigns throughout Pāñduraṅga in the nineteenth century along the Pāñduraṅga-Vietnamese borderlands. When Minh Mệnh repressed the religious elite, changed inheritance laws, forced the Cham to take Vietnamese names, relocated villages, coopted religious sites and put in place other assimilationist policies, there were violent revolts. As mentioned in chapter four, at least some of these revolts had religious motivations, particularly those where Malay Tuan were influential figures. There was at least one revolt, however, led by Katip Ja Thak Wa of palei Rem (1834-1835) that only aimed to restore the power of the Pāñduraṅga royalty, even carrying “flags,”⁷²⁵ and attempting to reestablish territorial control. The clear links between the aims of Katip Ja Thak Wa and irredentism provided a historical precedent for FULRO's Cham leadership. (Po, 1981, 1988: 60, 1987: 153-155). This does not mean that there were not Cham who fought alongside the Vietnamese, such as in the ironically named, joint Cham-Vietnamese “Ché Bòng Ngā” corps that fought the French in what is now Ninh Thuận province (Cao Xuân Pho 1988: 180). However, it was the earlier revolt of Katip Ja Thak Wa, combined with the study of the

⁷²⁵ Likely more simply banners than modern “flags.”

history of the Champā civilization that became the greatest inspiration to the twentieth century's most important Cham military leader: Hj. Les Kosem.

IVb The Rise of Hj. Les Kosem

The rise of Hj. Les Kosem⁷²⁶ was a critical turning point for Cham literati because he operated in two spheres, the secular and the religious. As a *haji* and a devoted member of the Cham Muslim community, Hj. Les Kosem tied himself to the authority of the traditional literati, the clerics and the priests. At the same time, through his connections to modern state authorities, particularly in Cambodia, but also, to an extent in Vietnam, as well as modern leadership in non-Muslim communities in the uplands, Hj. Les Kosem took on new strategies of modern secular organizing. He masterfully operated in both the religious and the secular realms, tieing himself to traditionalism and modernity, although this state of being constantly betwixt and between would eventually lead to problems for him as an individual. He employed one alias for communication with more “traditionalist” minded Cham: Ppo Nagar – meaning “sovereign of the land” – and another for communication with uplanders: Y Prin Enuol.⁷²⁷ He was born and raised in Cambodia, to a family who had migrated from Phan Rang during his grandparents’ generation. At the peak of his career he formed an alliance with the Khmer Krom leader, Um Savuth,⁷²⁸ and the highest-ranking Ede leader, Y Bham Enuol, although Les Kosem’s relationship with the Lon

⁷²⁶ Ar.: Qasim

⁷²⁷ An Ede derived name. LaBrie claimed in his 1970s MA Thesis that: “It appears that the real power behind FULRO was not Y Bham himself, but rather a Cham named Les Kosem, a lieutenant colonel in the Cambodian army who utilized FURLO to attain his objective of restoring the Champa empire on Vietnamese territory” (LaBrie 1971: 146)

⁷²⁸ alt.: Om Savuk/Chau Dara

Nol regime would eventually contribute toward the disintegration of cooperation with the Ede. Hj. Les Kosem began his diplomatic career as a translator during the Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia in 1944. By the late 1950s he led several detachments of special militias in the Western Highlands, even as Vietnamese settlement in the highlands spurred on by the policies of Ngô Đinh Diêm became more prevalent (Cornfield & Summers 2002: 241; LaBrie 1971: 113; Po & Phoeun 2006: 1-13; Ngôn Vĩnh 1983; Hickey 1982ab; Salemink 2003). According to an account published by Ngôn Vĩnh (1995: 6-8), Les Kosem had founded an anti-French colonial resistance corps that explicitly hoped for “restoration of the former nation of Champā.”⁷²⁹ However, Ngôn Vĩnh’s account here seems dubious. French leadership was well known for supporting Cham irredentist claims, against the Vietnamese, and it seems unlikely that Hj. Les Kosem would have founded an anti-French force, given his later study in France. Regardless, Les Kosem’s underlying irredentist interests may well have been encouraged by Khmer nationalists who increased their gaze upon the Mekong Delta after independence from France in 1953.

If Hj. Les Kosem had an anti-French colonial stance, it would have put him at odds with certain leadership in the uplands, who relied upon French support to keep the Vietnamese at bay. Anti-colonial sentiment would have also distanced Les from the “old guard”⁷³⁰ of Muslim clerics who were closely tied to the Khmer Royalty and the Sureté, mentioned earlier in this chapter. Furthermore, leaders of the Western Highlands had recently fought for recognition with the French colonial administration, and won. The new “Commissariate of Federal Government for Montagnard Populations of South Indochina”⁷³¹ brought uplanders new recognition in 1946. A

⁷²⁹ Vn.: *phúc hội cổ quốc Chămpa*

⁷³⁰ C.: *kawom taha*

⁷³¹ Fr.: *Commissariat du Gouvernement Federal pour les Populations Montagnardes du Sud Indochinois*; CGF-PMSI

May 1946 ordinance signed by French High Commissioner, Admiral Thierry D'Argenlieu additionally founded the “Country of Montagnards of Southern Indochina.”⁷³² Even though these policies may be critiqued as strategic initiatives and part of the larger French re-conquest strategy, they had the very real impact of making upland leadership comparatively pro-colonial. The French codified the laws of the uplanders⁷³³ and made them nominally independent from the Lao, Vietnamese and Khmers, while colonial rule remained (McLeod 1999: 362). Therefore, when upland sovereignty was simply removed in 1947 when France granted the Nguyễn emperor Bảo Đại the PMSI as part of his crown domain, many uplanders, like their Cham and Khmer irredentist counterparts, became anti-Vietnamese, rather than anti-French (Salemink 1991: 264-266; 2003: 129-179).

Les Kosem's position as new literati may have only shifted to an explicitly anti-Vietnamese stance after late in 1954. If he was already anti-Vietnamese, he would have become more so at the time as the Saigon regime had enacted policies that encouraged large scale Vietnamese migrations into Cham, Khmer and upland territory.⁷³⁴ Although, American accounts have focused upon the uplands, because of the extreme demographic shift, sources suggest that Vietnamese migrations were encouraged to overrun minority populations throughout the Republic of Vietnam (see: Hickey 1982/2003b: 2-32). After Les Kosem's individually fronted resistance movement was repressed by the Republic of Vietnam in its first incarnation, he

⁷³² Fr.: *Pays du Montagnard du Sud Indochinois* – PMSI

⁷³³ These laws were also referred to as *adat* by Austronesian uplanders, such as Jarai, Raglai, Ede and Churu, paralleling the Cham and Malayic usage of the term.

⁷³⁴ Oral accounts gathered during 2013 – 2014 expressed that Vietnamese populations dramatically increased in minority areas during the Diệm regime. It is possible, from the perspective of RVN leadership that they were simply trying to accommodate northern Vietnamese refugees. From minority perspectives, the policy appeared as assimilationist.

returned to working with senior military officials in Cambodia.⁷³⁵ He then relocated to France and studied at St. Cyr Military Academy, where he was a colleague of Lon Nol's younger brother: Lon Non. Les Kosem and Lon Non studied law together at St. Cyr and Les Kosem developed an interest in the history of Champā (Vinh 1995: 6-8). Though the time in France was short,⁷³⁶ it solidified Les Kosem's relationship with Lon Non, which in turn secured him a place in the inner circle of Phnom Penh's security forces.

Although Cham nationalism had become a concern of Les Kosem's by the mid-1950s, he seems to have seen relationships with upland minorities and the Khmer elite as crucial to political progress. Furthermore, after Ngô Đinh Diệm's fraudulent referendum victory in 1955, RVN policy supported Vietnamese Catholic migration into Cham lands. Local authorities working for Diệm repressed the usage of Cham language and Cham language materials were burned. Vietnamese officials referred to the uplanders using the French colonial pejorative “sauvages” or the old Vietnamese pejorative “*mọi*,” rather than the more acceptable “*Thượng*” or “*Đồng bào* [followed by the name of the ethnic group].”⁷³⁷ Uplanders also experienced unfair tax burdens, bans on traditional hair styles and clothing, language bans in schools and courts, as well as bans on cultural displays.⁷³⁸ Archival evidence suggests that on average the Cham and upland minorities were paid \$10 piaster less per day (\$30 piaster compared to \$40 piaster) than the Vietnamese in 1956 (Hồ sơ 161182).⁷³⁹ Surveys suggested that a full one-third of uplanders in RVN died from starvation, illness or injury as a result of war by 1967. Cham and uplanders alike

⁷³⁵ There is at least one claim, according to Y Bling Buon Kron Pang, that Les founded this movement in 1952, with the aim of reestablishing Champa, although he was quickly advised that it would be impossible to return Champa to its “former glory” (LaBrie 1971: 114)

⁷³⁶ I was not able to find information on whether he finished studies at St. Cyr.

⁷³⁷ *Thượng* and *Đồng Bào* have since become somewhat pejorative as well. The terms “*dân tộc*” and “*người*” are now more widely used classifiers for minorities in Vietnam.

⁷³⁸ Condaminas' accounts record some of these complaints.

⁷³⁹ Idealized pay schemes were then developed as minority officials sought to address the pay gap.

were all “expected to assimilate,” whereas the Communist forces under Hồ Chí Minh continued to promise to create “autonomous zones” for minorities, an attractive solution when compared to Ngô Đinh Diệm’s policies (McLeod 1999: 373-384; Scupin 1995: 315; Salemink 1991: 264-266; 2003: 129-179). It should be no surprise that irredentist sentiment ran strong among minority communities’ leadership in 1957. The BAJARAKA movement united Bahnar, Jarai, Ede and Koho peoples under Y Bham Enuol; and, Les Kosem united with fellow Cham Muslim leadership, such as Cei Ibrahim (Chek Prahim), El Ibrahim (Chek Prak Hum/En Rak Hum) and Primé.⁷⁴⁰ Cham Muslims formed an advocacy group for Cham political participation in Kampong Chhnang province and advocated Cham Muslim participation in the Cambodian military. When the Diệm regime imprisoned Y Bham Enoul, BAJARAKA turned more explicitly against Saigon. Meanwhile, Les Kosem’s allies, who were the leaders of the AKI, ensured that most Cham Muslims enjoyed close support by the Khmer government (see also: LaFont 2006: 11-12; Vĩnh 1995: 6-8; Po & Phoeum 2006: 23-46).

After the foundation of his advocacy group, Les Kosem gained support from the Cambodia Prime Minister: Norodom Sihanouk. This support granted increased access to arms and funds, particularly as Les Kosem agreed to be a founding member of the Liberation Front of Northern Cambodia (FLKN) in the late 1950s. The purpose of the FLKN was to counter any Vietnamese incursions into the Eastern Zone of Cambodia, and thus, Les Kosem’s interests intersected closely with Sihanouk’s. Across the border, in the RVN controlled portions of the Western Highlands, Diệm’s repression of uplanders continued with the forced reorganization and joint resettlement of hamlets, with new policy introduced in 1959. Between 1957 and 1961 more

⁷⁴⁰ All three of these individuals use Cham adaptations of the Arabic: Ibrahim. Referring to multiple individuals with the same Arabic name but slight variations may have been a strategy to preserve anonymity and plausible deniability.

than 210,000 Vietnamese were relocated on 220,000 acres in the uplands. Upland villages were forced to relocate and were frequently simply dispersed (Kahin 1986: 99, 108-109; Po & Phoeun, 2006: 39; McLeod 1999: 373). Even if it was not a military presence, the increased concentration of Vietnamese nearby the border to Cambodia was perceived as an explicit threat by Phnom Penh.

As Les Kosem and Um Savuth worked with FLKN and FLKK for Khmer irredentist concerns, they also worked closely with Cambodian secret service forces and the remnants of the French secret service: The External Documentation & Counter Espionage Service (SDECE).⁷⁴¹ By 1960 to 1961 Les Kosem was in a good position. He once again made a move to found his own organization, this time founding the Front for the Liberation of Champa (FLC).⁷⁴² The aim of this organization was not for the “restoration of the nation of Champa,”⁷⁴³ as Ngôn VĨnh (1995: 10) claims. Rather it sought to “liberate” the poly-ethnic “peoples of Champa.” The difference appears subtle. The former may have implied a Cham first political platform, which Les Kosem explicitly avoided presenting the FLC as “Cham first,” preferring to emphasize a broader appeal (Hickey 1982/2003b: 46; White 1992: 143; Po & Phoeun 2006: 39; Po 2007: 49). Between 1962 and 1964 the leadership of the FLC sent several petitions and letters to the United Nations. They even gained the attention of the UN Secretary General, forcing RVN to consider the possibility that the FLC could pose a threat to absolute Vietnamese control (Jaspan 1970: 172-3). While the Ngô ĐÌNH Diệm regime stalled hopes for peaceful negotiations, the position of the Saigon regime did shift for a brief time after the 1963 coup d’etat and assassination of Ngô ĐÌNH Diệm. Demonstrating his connections to Saigon, Les Kosem petitioned the new generals in

⁷⁴¹ Fr.: *Service de Documentation Exterieure et de Contre Espionage*

⁷⁴² Vn.: *Mặt Trần Giải Phóng Champa*

⁷⁴³ Vn.: *phúc quốc Champa*

power - General Lê Văn Kim, General Tôn Thất Đính, and Colonel Nguyễn Chánh Thi⁷⁴⁴ - and secured the release of Y Bham Enoul in 1964. Later that same year, Y Bham Enoul was proclaimed President of the High Plateau of Champā, that is, the non-coastal provinces of the II corps region. The ceremony was held in front of a group of three thousand FULRO members with Les Kosem on their front (Kahin 1986: 93-181; Po & Phoeun 2006: 42-46; Tarling 1999: 218). FULRO then released a series of proclamations declaring their objectives. Almost no secondary accounts of FULRO examine the actual contents of these statements, even though they were collected and published by the organization itself as a reflection on the events that led up to the foundation of the Government of the High Plateau of Champā and their participation in the Conference of the Indochinese Peoples in February 1965.⁷⁴⁵

Initial press releases from Saigon in response to Hj. Les Kosem and Y Bham Enoul's leadership in 1964 and 1965 shaped the quite warped public perception of the FULRO movement ever since. The press greatly overstated FULRO's territorial claims, failing to comprehend that the claims were a symbolic assertion of the "right to sovereignty and self-governance" aimed to secure much smaller territorial claims through a process of posturing and negotiation. The press also dismissed the wording of the FULRO Proclamation and FULRO Declaration as "propaganda," even as the documents were worded in a way that paralleled similar American, Vietnamese and French historical precedents. Finally, they wrote off the

⁷⁴⁴ Lê Văn Kim was the brother in law of Trần Văn Đôn and the two had formed a triangular relationship with Dương Văn Minh (alias "Big Minh"), which resulted in the coup of 1963. General Tôn Thất Đính became a member of the *Military Revolutionary Council* (MRC) after the coup and commander of the III corps tactical zone. While Colonel Nguyễn Chánh Thi had previously fled to Khmer territory, after the coup he was put in control of the I corps tactical zone under the command of General Nguyễn Khánh.

⁷⁴⁵ Later in 1965 Vĩnh Lộc, an RVN a S/Brigadier General released a response to the FULRO movement that claimed that they were much worse off, ill prepared, and pro-communist than other evidence suggests. The source was published in English from Pleiku, although it was printed in Saigon. The source was clearly intended as propaganda for American service personnel. This source was printed at Le Trang An Quan at 205 Pham Ngu Lao St in Saigon. The publication staff were all Vietnamese commanders in the II corps tactical zone.

FULRO rebellion as fought by “small groups of highlanders” who were “illiterate,” rather than admit that the FULRO forces had orchestrated a highly-coordinated series of guerilla attacks, directed by a group of comparatively well-educated polyglots, literate in multiple languages (FULRO 1965: 25-32). In the mid-1960s, the war over the memory of FULRO, was already being fought in the Saigon press, and won by ARVN forces. Furthermore, when General Khanh’s regime collapsed in June 1965, Vice-Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky became Prime Minister of the RVN. The change in leadership provided Nguyen Cao Ky with an excuse to terminate the proposed uplands development programs and truce terms, as they had been made with Khanh’s regime. Tension mounted again with Saigon, although after the revolt just one year earlier, American Special Forces saw fit to maintain a closer relationship with particularly upland elements of FULRO’s forces for at least another several months.⁷⁴⁶ As far as Hj. Les Kosem was concerned, it was significant enough that American Special Forces recognized FULRO, rather than the ARVN II corps command, as the primary military authority in the western highlands and the second tactical zone through late 1965 (Hickey 1982/2003b: 164-165; HRW 2002: 13-25; Socheruk 1965: 39-54; 5th SFGA 1965: 15). At the same time, this was when Cham in Phan Rang began to have some incremental successes with provincial leadership.

Taking a very different route than the FULRO movement, several local educated teachers, who were members of the literati, but not explicitly members of the priest-cleric class, decided to work *with* the local administration of the Republic of Vietnam. The “Po Klong” secondary school was founded in 1965, and marked the emergence of some form of “secular-state” institutions that were advocated by Cham leadership, without being explicitly religious.

⁷⁴⁶ Jonsson (2014: 43) notes that “US Special Forces and CIA operatives actively sought out ethnic minority leaders as allies and potential guerrilla leaders.”

Many of the initial provincial leaders who were Cham and supported these efforts, were also sympathetic to the FULRO movement, although they were not supporting members. However, many also did not support the violent stance that FULRO took, as they feared repercussions from the Vietnamese. Nevertheless, under Hj. Les Kosem, FURLO remained an important force for the coming years. For a moment *Austrien* minority unity was recognized as an effective local government in the western highlands, as well as stretching across the border in parts of eastern Cambodia. FULRO stretched across the borderlands of Cambodia and Vietnam. Meanwhile, the local literati in Phan Rang followed upon the model of the Po Klong school, and had some success working with local Vietnamese officials, gaining permission to found the Cham Cultural Center (CCC) in 1969. The CCC operated in partnership and with approval from Cham literati. However, as a research institution, the literati who worked with the center were themselves not necessarily priests or clerics. Hence, by 1969, a new model of cultural authority had clearly emerged: secular Cham literati.

V Chapter Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide an end to the narrative of the height of influence for the Cham literati over their three centuries period of dominance as cultural authorities that cared for their communities primarily through control over the foundation of new religious communities, the production of forms of manuscript culture, and the development of various forms of codes of ethics. Just as the reign of Ppo Romé was a watershed moment for the Cham literati in the seventeenth century, the foundation of the Cham Cultural Center in 1969 was also a watershed moment, marking a transition to a new era. The dramatic impact of the wars of

the 1960s and 1970s on the borderlands of Vietnam and Cambodia was so extensive that it warrants a more complete publication elsewhere. For the moment, I suggest that the disaster and destruction of these wars impacted the emergence of new strategies of partnering with the modern secular state, or at least seeking the approval of the state. However, these issues are complex and warrant further examination in future works.

At the outset of this chapter I proposed that biographies of Cham literati, such as Mufti Hj. Omar Ali, illustrated how new knowledge was institutionalized in the twentieth century Protectorate of Cambodia and the colony of Cochinchina. At the same time, the biographies of Cham religious literati also illustrate the multifarious ways in which the institutionalization of Islam led to the localization of global discourse over the “proper practice” of Cham communities. As an outgrowth of these debates, religious literati sought to continue to negotiate their positions with the Khmer Republic and the Republic of Vietnam. Ultimately, however, the processes of institutionalization in the new republics also led to the emergence of non-religious organizations. These new organizations posed a new model for Cham cultural authority. Cham literati could be religious, in that they still ascribed to Cham religious practices, but they no longer needed to be of a priest-cleric class to retain cultural authority. The implications for the Cham community were essentially that the community became increasingly divided, as a feature of the emergence of the modern nation state. Long term, working with the state would become important, as it allowed Cham literati to retain a certain position, even as their religious practices became even more harshly persecuted in the 1970s and 1980s. By the 1990s and 2000s there was a certain revival of the Cham Muslim community, and hence the cleric class, in Cambodia, because of foreign investment from international Muslim educational organizations. At the same

time, the strategy of forming non-religious, essentially secular organizations has remained paramount in Vietnam.

The condition of the Cham community as a borderlands people is critical for the understanding of the development of the Cham literati between 1930 and 1969. While there were already many mosques throughout Cambodia and Cochinchina in 1930, their number continued to increase, steadily, into the 1940s. Cham clerics became certified teachers in Cambodia, and the clerics themselves continued to negotiate between Khmer and French authority, securing their own interstices of sovereignty. The continued discussions, however, also required an adaptation of discourses that could be “uniquely Cham” in Cambodia. In this context, Islamic authority from Malaysia was a promising intellectual influence, which could be drawn upon to serve the needs of the Cham community during times of potential crisis. As a result, Malay influence slowly increased, and yet, Cham clerics continued to creolize the discourse of Islam, such that the “Kaum Tua/Muda” discourses of Malaysia were transformed into “Cham/Khmer Islam” discourses in post-colonial Cambodia. Here, the borderlands were a critical feature of the lasting developments of the Cham community, as it was only through those Cham clerics that could operate in both Cambodian and Vietnamese contexts, that communities in Vietnam were transformed. Critically, Mufti Hj. Omar Ali played a significant hand in the transformation of the “Cham/Khmer Islam” discourse of 1950s Cambodia, into the “Cham Islam/Bani Cham” discourses of the 1960s Republic of Vietnam. The borderlands themselves may have appeared to separate the Muslim community of Cambodia from the syncretic community of Vietnam. But, it was Omar Ali’s ability to operate within this context that contributed greatly to the long-term shape of the Cham community in Vietnam.

Hj. Mufti Omar Ali was not the only significant Cham figure who transformed the Cham community in the 1960s, as Hj. Les Kosem became one of the first literati, who was clearly religious, but was essentially a state-secular figure in his orientation. Certainly, Hj. Les Kosem's forces were critical in the "conversion" of several Cham Bani to Cham Islam. Nevertheless, his devotion to the concept of a multi-ethnic and poly-religious ethnic minority "third state" to be in the lower reaches of the Annamite chain, and his significant work with modern state forms, highlighted certain methods of institution building that well contributed toward a shift in strategy by Cham literati. Those Cham who now lived in what we might call the "internal borderlands" of what are now Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces were very often only nominally in support of the FULRO movement.⁷⁴⁷ Nevertheless, they did pursue similar strategies to Hj. Les Kosem and his compadres. They founded youth groups, and study organizations. They founded schools and a research institution. By adapting parallel methods that contrasted with the violent revolution of Hj. Les Kosem, these figures retained the support of several clerics and priests, even as they replaced them as leaders imbued with cultural authority among Cham communities across the borderlands of Cambodia and Vietnam after 1969.

⁷⁴⁷ Using the term "internal borderlands" here indicates that, in essence, the Cham dominated areas in what became Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces were surrounded by the Vietnamese authority of the Republic of Vietnam on all sides. Yet, like the house metaphor introduced in the introduction, the Cham community that was left was in a state of overlapping sovereignty in their relationship with the Vietnamese state. Practically, at the communal level, the matters of communal governance were still frequently in the hands of religious literati. Hence, this "internal borderlands" was also a kind of "religious borderlands" in the sense that there were areas of overlapping sovereignty between a multiplicity of religious and non-religious figures. Furthermore, it was also a "linguistic borderlands," in that the area represented the part of the farthest extent of the reach of Austronesian language speakers on the mainland.

Conclusion:

This dissertation has examined the strategies that Cham literati employed to care for their religious communities starting from the end of the watershed reign of Ppo Romé in 1651 to 1969, with the shift to new sources of authority in Cham communities because of new political alignments to governments in South Vietnam and Cambodia, along with the growing institutionalization of Islam in the region. It has focused predominantly on the history of strategies used in the borderlands of Cambodia and Vietnam, although this borderlands zone was much larger historically than it is today. Through my longue durée study of Cham experience in this region, I have critiqued the approach of ethnohistory at the outset of the dissertation, arguing that "borderlands history" is a more fruitful method of inquiry, allowing the accounts of nonstate actors to come to the fore. As the biographies of these non-state actors illustrate their agency in shifting preservation strategies throughout the three-century long period of relative fluorescence and innovation among Cham communities, they are central to the writing of this history. In spite of – or perhaps because of – the diverse local cultures Cham communities developed after they became a splintered borderlands group, Cham literati found ways to maintain a shared sense of belonging and allegiance. They constructed a shared body of religious practices. They drew upon and formed syncretic traditions. They wrote and rewrote ethical codes, and, as they did, they institutionalized the great variety of Cham religions that are present in Cambodia and Vietnam today. They were also not without their exogenous influences, which resulted from contact between Thai, Malay, French, and American cultural forces as well, and, as such, they were at the nexus of Southeast Asian cultural exchange.

Although the Cham have been the "borderlands peoples" extraordinaire in the history of Southeast Asia, from the seventeenth through the twentieth century, in my analysis I have tried to present the "borderlands" as a setting or context in which history of the Cham literati has unfolded rather than as a characteristic of Cham "identity." I have also shown how other aspects of Cham identity, particularly religious identity, transformed over time. The importance of this distinction is that if the borderlands become a social characteristic of the Cham, then the history veers too much toward the negative aspect of the ethnohistorical approach at the outset of the dissertation: upstreaming the idea of the "borderlands" condition too far into the past. However, by establishing the borderlands itself as a setting where the history of Cham literati has unfolded, I believe, it has been possible not to overstate the claims of the evidence at hand. Indeed, the Cham literati relied upon the setting of the borderlands, which allowed them to more easily take the place of cultural interlocutors, as a means of maintaining positions of relative authority. Hence, their rise to positions leading cultural authority as they supplanted monarchical and oligarchical systems of power in the early modern era; their incorporation into the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial states; as well as the ways that this class of priestly-scholars struggled through each historical epoch, are all narrative features of this *particular* borderlands history.

The dissertation opened with the argument that Ppo Romé's reign [r. 1627 – 1651], in Pāñduraṅga, along with the southern borderlands of the territories of the Nguyẽn Vietnamese lords, was a watershed moment in the creation of new Cham religious communities. Before Ppo Romé's reign, Pāñduraṅga was a kingdom, part of the Hindu-Buddhist civilization of Champā, yet influenced by a confluence of exogenous forces that manifested in unique ways when they interacted with the endogenous Cham culture. Even Indic Hinduism, which remained recognizable in other contexts, underwent radical transformations in Pāñduraṅga. Both Chinese

and Vietnamese influences should not be ignored in this regard, along with Malay Muslim and upland Animist influences. Ppo Romé himself was an uplander, although he became Cham royalty through his marriage to Ppo Mâha Taha's Bani-Cham daughter, spent substantial time among Malay Muslim communities, and was responsible for ushering in an era of unmatched Islamic influence in Pāñdurāṅga. At the same time, the influence was not monolithic and was rapidly blended with strong Hindu influences present among the Cham literati. The resulting Hindu-Muslim culture was conceptualized by the terms of the Awal-Ahiér relationship, and ultimately changed aspects of Cham literati and their culture since the seventeenth century. The enduring legacy of Ppo Romé, therefore, can even be traced among the Cham communities of Cambodia.

Chapter one was about the founding of a new religious community under the Cham literati, governed by the principles of the Awal-Ahiér relationship, while chapter two was a more expanded consideration of how Cham religions fundamentally changed between 1651 and 1969. Through an examination of four Cham communities, those associated with Animism, the Ahiér-Cham, the Awal or "Bani" – Cham, and the Cham Sunnī, the chapter delineated the mythos, practice, and centers associated with each community. It drew most specifically in the case of Cham Ahiér goddess worship associated with Ppo Inâ Nâgar, Ppo Kuk, and Ppo Dara, to demonstrate the pluralities of worship that emerged during the three-century period in question. Furthermore, despite recent scholarly assertions that Cham practice has been unchanging, the chapter highlighted the ways that Nguyễn Vietnamese incursions into Pāñdurāṅga had a direct impact on the shape of Cham religions. Increasingly, new communities and religious centers were founded. Furthermore, old sacred geographies were coopted. At the same time, even as the Cham in diaspora increasingly chose to follow the path of Sunnī Islam, they did not completely

abandon old practices. In particular, among the Bani, but also among Sunnī communities, the worship of goddesses of the soil was transformed into the veneration of saints. The conditions of borderlands existence changed Cham religions, but they also allowed Cham religions to evolve. Similarly, as was demonstrated by chapter three, while religious and literary manuscripts could only be produced in stable communities where there was not an immediate threat of warfare, those manuscripts that were produced in the borderlands were flexible in form.

With the emergence of new genres of literature, Cham literati in Pāñduraṅga had one of their most powerful tools at their fingertips: the art of writing. By working and reworking the history of the Cham, concepts of Cham religion, humor, drama, and devotional manuscripts, literati could not only build their audience, but they also became the supreme cultural authorities in Cham communities. Their position as the keepers of knowledge of Cham culture was critical for them, as it guaranteed the survival of the concepts that they chose to reproduce. Furthermore, through a reconceptualization of their presentations of the past and their compilation of religious texts, Cham literati were building a cultural library that they could draw upon to interpret aspects of proper action in their communities. A proper action might be considered proper worship or religious practice, but it could also be regarded as social practice, the maintenance of appropriate interpersonal relationships, and devotion to the literati themselves. Since the strategy of developing their genres of literature became standard practice for the Cham literati, it is not a surprise that the Cham literati who were associated with the Sunnī Muslim communities in Cambodia, and in the borderlands between Khmer and Vietnamese territory, developed their genres of literature as well. Both the Cambodia-Cham and Pāñduraṅga-Cham drew upon the same strategies, although the local conditions of their communities began to diverge more

clearly. Nevertheless, there were certain elements of Cham practice, an ethical code, referred to as "*adat Cam*," that tied these communities together.

While the Cham ethical code "*adat Cam*" was not unchanging, it is important to recognize that the interpretation of this ethical code gave Cham sure grounds to interact with the other legal systems that surrounded their communities in the context of life on the borderlands. Nguyễn Vietnamese legal rulings were particularly assimilationist, erasing individual elements of Cham culture, and incorporating others as a new form of being Vietnamese. By contrast, Khmer royal codes allowed Cham Muslim communities to exist virtually autonomously within the framework of the ruling hierarchy, so long as they paid tax tribute and did not attempt to depose the monarchy. French colonial policy was unusually harsh in its undue tax burden, across Indochinese populations, and the Cham themselves were not free of complaints about forced French labor. At the same time, the imposition of a French system of rule in Indochina afforded other opportunities to the Cham, particularly given Orientalist fascinations with the "lost" civilization of Champā. The French Orientalist intellectual project, furthermore, had its legal implications for the Cham, mandating that single people should be associated with a single language and a single concept of territory, but not necessarily a unique concept of religion. In the context of Khmer, Vietnamese, and French legal impositions, Cham literati, both priests and clerics alike, took new positions. However, the Cham clerics who were associated with the post of the Preah Balat and the Oknha (regents to the king) were critical interlocutors, as they produced creolized forms of knowledge. By mixing the establishment of *shari'ah* and *adat Cam*, while maintaining their ability to negotiate with external legal authorities, Cham literati were in a unique position to care for their religious communities and support notions of proper communal

relations. Ultimately, it was these relations that led to the institutionalization of Islam in Indochina in the early to middle part of the twentieth century.

Between 1930 and 1969 the institutionalization of Islam among Cham communities, particularly in Cambodia, but also in Vietnam, did not, as one might expect, end up solidifying the authority of the Cham literati. It was true that by the 1930s in Cambodia, clerics managed to position themselves in a relatively secure position between the French authorities and the Khmer royal authority, and, in Cochinchina, Cham literati were also in a fairly authoritative position, although they were more directly under French control. Yet, the increasingly anti-colonial sentiment of the middle of the twentieth century upended the careful balance in which the Cham clerics in both colonies had positioned themselves. Furthermore, Cham communities themselves were not able to *benefit* directly from colonialism, and the anti-colonial sentiment was quite popular among Cham, regardless of their location in Vietnam or Cambodia. At the same time, a localization of the traditionalist-modernist debates of Malay Muslim communities further divided Cham literati between 1930 and 1969. While these debates became a split between Khmer Islam and Cham Islam in Cambodia, they became a division between Cham Islam and Cham Bani in Vietnam.

Ultimately, the ability to mediate between the French, Khmer, and Vietnamese authorities was helpful, on the one hand, since it allowed Cham literati to continue further their practices of establishing new religious communities, creating new forms of manuscripts, and setting interpretations of those manuscripts to secure cultural authority. On the other hand, the dramatic impact of decolonization, and the associated splintering of political and cultural movements, only further divided Cham communities. Additionally, the increased influence of irredentist and ethno-nationalist movements among the Cham did not prove helpful for Cham literati. These

ideologies were never able to provide real options for Cham communities, as there was not a large enough base of international support for Cham irredentist movements, and competing, incredibly hostile, sense of Vietnamese and Cambodia ethnonationalism were more successful, with dire consequences. At the same time, the communal efforts that accompanied Cham attempts to establish an independent state, secular organizations and movements, remained. As these ethnic centered, but comparatively secular organizations emerged in the 1960s, they presented Cham with new modes and methods of preservation and care taking that expanded the existing repertoire of Cham literati, and therefore fall outside the realm of analysis of this dissertation. The dominance of strategies that Cham literati had used for the previous three centuries to construct cultural coherence in the borderlands and preserve Cham heritage through religion-making, manuscript production and the promotion of shared ethical codes had come to an end. For the time being, it is useful to use the foundation of the Cham Cultural Center in Phan Rang, Vietnam, in 1969, as a marker for that new chapter in Cham history.

As I stated at the outset of this dissertation, there are too many histories of the Cham that end with their inevitable integration into existing states. The narrative arc of state incorporation does grant Cham communities the ability to claim a "rightful place" within the contemporary nation-state, but gives no ground for their negotiations within the state as equals, only as subordinates. The present circumstances of the Cham have been so tenuous that there have even been scholarly articles published in academic journals in the past decade that celebrate, to term them appropriately, "lost histories of brotherhood," between Cham communities and the French, Malays, Vietnamese, and Cambodians. These celebratory accounts ignore the layered relationships between individuals and specific communities. For example, they might cite the "long history of friendly relations between Cham and Cambodian peoples," and admit that this

history was upended in the twentieth century, but ignore that there are several conflicts between individual Cham communities and the Cambodian royalty, failing to note that Cham communities themselves were not always unified on an approach to a given state leader. On the other hand, citing a long history of conflict between Cham and the Vietnamese might appear accurate on the surface, but would ignore that Cham themselves divided over the question of which Vietnamese government to support, particularly in the eighteenth century, and again in the twentieth century. Similar moments of friendliness and contestation between the Cham and the Malays, or the Cham and the French, which are contingent upon the local conditions of the communities, concerning the individual conditions of Cham literati in each socio-historical setting, have been noted throughout this dissertation. The advantage to the approach of borderlands history is that it highlights these nuances, which allowed the Cham literati to maintain their positions of relative authority.

After 1969, the relative authority of Cham priests and clerics has declined, in that they have lost a substantial amount of power negotiating between Vietnamese and Cambodian authorities and their local communities, and have been increasingly replaced by literati who are religious, but not members of the priest or cleric class. These new literati are educated, many have post-baccalaureate education in some form, professional degrees, and international connections. Many are also religious and have studied in Islamic institutions. At the same time, they are not taking positions in the priest and cleric class upon their return. The new literati have focused their careers on secular organizations, on educational institutions, and on international business. Hence, many Cham communities fear the loss of history, language, religion, and or culture, to the extent that the necessary preservation of these elements of Cham identity requires substantial energy and resources. In the future, I will explore these issues further; for the

moment, it is safe to conclude that the role of language and the role of the Cham script, in the preservation of the Cham community, may strongly encourage new forms of religious interpretation to arise, leading to the subsequent rise and fall of new classes of literati. The changing roles of language, script, and practice will also likely result in the creation of new modes of expression as new forms of religion and ethical codes emerge.

Throughout this dissertation, I have explored the narrative frame of the history of Cham literati on the borderlands of Vietnamese and Cambodian territory between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries to argue that there were distinct strategies that these elites used to preserve their religious communities. First, they were adept at founding new religious communities and reforming those religious communities that already existed. Second, they produced copied, cared for, and kept a vast body of knowledge in the form of an ever-developing Cham manuscript culture. Third, this manuscript culture was then used to justify unique conceptions of history and interpretations of ethical codes, which often set the Cham community apart from those communities that lived nearby. The Cham literati cared for their communities by cultivating their distinctive manuscript culture, and, ultimately, ensuring proper interpretation of it, as a means of strengthening communal ties. Although the early biographies that emerged out of this manuscript culture, such as Ppo Inâ Nâgar, Ppo Romé, and Tuen Phaow, may appear to be virtually mythical – and the later individuals who emerged out of this history, such as Bô Thuận, Imam Tuan Ali Musa, and Mufti Omar Ali, may on the surface appear to lack a "global impact" – this handful of Cham rulers, deities and literati shaped French, Cambodian and Vietnamese ideas about minority religious communities in the borderlands of Vietnam and Cambodia, in a more influential way than they have been treated in histories of Southeast Asia to date, and thus, they warrant our further attention in the future.

Appendix I: Ariya Bini Cam⁷⁴⁸

[Stanzas 1-12]

So, the princess came from Mâkah

And arrived at the port of Harek Kah Harek Dhei

To disembark, again, at the bay of Pajai

Before returning home by sea

With the great waves rolling at the side of her boat

Fragile sails following, the waves of the sea

So thin and fragile, termite wings

Carrying my lover away

As my company disappeared

As I caught one last glance from the high cliffs

⁷⁴⁸ The following translation appeared as an appendix in Noseworthy, William (2011). *A Southeast Asian Palimpsest: Akhar Thrah 1700-Present*. MA University of Wisconsin, Madison and on Inrasara.com (Feb. 15th, 2010). It can also be found in Inrasara (1994). *Văn học Chăm I – Khái luận – văn tuyển*, NXB Văn hóa Dân tộc. pp. 296-321, in Vietnamese, as well as Karim et. al. (2000). *Nai Mai Mang Makah*. Keleksi Manuskrip Melayu Campa No. 3. Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaaan, Kesenian Dan Pelancongan Malaysia-EFEO, in Malay and French. For a dictionary point of reference: Inrasara & Phan Xuân Thành (2004). *Từ Điển Việt-Cham*. Nhà Xuất Bản Giáo Dục. It has been revised in the version that appears here.

*Of her, leaving this once prosperous land
From Bal Canar all the way to Harek Kah Harek Dhei*

*From immense paddies to the lush highland forest
This poor country cannot bind you*

*As I sit alone on the sand, head between my knees
Alone on the desert beach*

*The sail fades into sight unseen
And we cried, hands wet with tears*

*One more sunny afternoon gave out its last rays
As the shadows grow long*

*And the forest birds call here and there
To fly away. Silence covers the sky!*

*The moon rises, calm, in the waves of the sea
I begin to tire, and return home*

[Stanzas 13-16]
The horse steps, impatient, along the road

It could have left me alone, with my sorrows

Two steps ahead, and then a stop

It doesn't know to gallop or trot

Hesitating, advances,

Ears turned toward the waves

And ahead, nothing but the forest

I turned once more, to see what I could

[Stanzas 17-18]

When the horse arrived in Bicam,

It was almost lame, and could not advance

Where the stock of the earth was uprooted

Where the mountains and forests had been stripped

[Stanzas 19-21]

Oh birds, have you seen my love?

With her light and gracious step

Oh clouds, have you seen my love?

With her eyes clear as a natural stream

And you, moon? Have you seen my love?

With her hair, fragrant, incense everywhere

[Stanzas 22-26]

So, the horse arrives at Palei Caraih

Winnies and gallops on

Until we reach Bimong Po Dam

Reminding us of the lord who returned to the heavens

In the deepest night, broken only by the song of the cicadas

Mixed only with the song of the crane

Why has my love left?

'Your people are poor, your troops are too few' she said to me

'But do not lament,

I came from Makah, to bring Islam

So, if you love me, become a vessel of Islam

And I will be with you'

[Stanzas 27-31]

Oh, darling of mine,

I have given it all up to be with you

From Harek Kah Harek Dhei

For this long voyage, through a country of mine

I will follow you, though my body is weary

By foot or by horse, across the entire land

With two loads on two shoulders,

One for my country, and one for my lover

[Stanzas 32-53]

So, my horse arrived at Palei Aia Njar

Then Palei Lambar, before it could not proceed

The ditches were dry, on both sides of the road

The stags ran in all directions, then stopped.

In the distance, people are carrying,

Water, graciously on their heads, as my lover had

And my horse arrives at Palei Parik

After having crossed the mountains and rivers

And my horse arrives at Palei Bal Caong,

As the gackle birds chime, flying around the ruins of the palace

The ramparts are overgrown, with weeds and bleached grass,

A large flat stone, and the horse, seemingly waiting for someone

I look up to the temple of Po Nai

Whose love inspired me to live as an ascetic

Thinking of my unhappy fate, I withdrew

For the good of the body and mind

Wishing for the life of the Caramai fruit

Falling to the ground, without anyone's knowledge

Or like the sacred bird, Ciim Baratot

In the morning perched on the Buddha, singing by the Bayon tree

I would rather be the dried leaves, falling to the ground

To cover the path of the feet, of the princess

I would rather be the tassel of maize

Like the flower of the bean, or the tree

No pain, sorrow,

Nor sadness, not waiting for anyone

To not know heartache

To not seek footprints, going somewhere we don't know

Listening to someone joking

I remember the voice of my lover, in that old palace

But that palace has been ruined,

Devastated, without leaving a trace of anything behind

There are vestiges no one sees,

Hidden stones and wood, that no one pays attention to

When the rains came, the flood washed across it all

Absorbing the traditions and the fame

What of the prowess of Sah Bin?

Where has it gone in this country of the Koho?

There are black clouds that cover the Bimong Po Romé

The stone of Bia Ut, has been inserted, head first, into the ground

The leaves of the Kraik tree lament the land,

They do not fruit during the rainy season, or bud during the dry

[Stanzas 54-55]

My horse arrived at Danao Panrang

I paused, feet at the earth, head in my hands

Remembering Grandma Cakling and Grandpa Pasa

Who sought to protect everyone, bringing everyone prosperity [from the cradle to the grave]

[Stanzas 56-59]

It was here that we said,

They had consented to our love

As I held her slender fingers in hand

And sighed

Her light heels, smelling of jasmine

Hardly fit into my palms

With thanks to Po Allah

For letting us unite again, may our people flourish

[Stanzas 60-66]

*You think always of your homeland*⁷⁴⁹

But you have forgotten the prophet, and purity

You have forgotten the sacred text

I am displeased and cannot hear of this

So, I only tighten my embrace

And say to her, I recognize my faults

I ask for forgiveness, swooning

Like the song of the crane

She shakes her head

Refuses my words and will not look at me

⁷⁴⁹ It is suspected that there is a change of speaker here.

Turns the head of her elephant half-way

And rides on to Palei Cuah [Patih]

I sought my lady but did not find her

On the sands of the white dunes, her footprints had disappeared

[Stanzas 67-69]

And so, the elephant arrived in Nager Aia Trang

Went to Bathinâng, and into Bal Huh

Mother and father dissuaded me

‘Son you are royalty, do not throw your life away’

I did not listen to my mother

And turned to follow you, my lady, everywhere

[Stanzas 70-75]

In Nâger Pangdarang discord is spreading

A gap between Cham and Bini has been widening for many years

The princess and her elephant take up one side

And my horse another, as the country and land submerge into darkness

There is an army invading

The Cham go up to Mâdren, the Bini go down to Caraih

Blood flows over the heel of my horse

Exhausted elephants stand around the skulls

Stranger from a far-away land,

Who has saved us, I have given up

My love, I am too tired,

My people gave up, to not be exterminated

[Stanzas 76-82]

So, I stand here,

To guard the memory of the princess, who came from Mâkah

To arrive at Harek Kah [Harek Dhei]

The beautiful lady, whom I loved instantaneously

I carry her in my heart

With memory of her, as the people awake

With silky hair, a beautiful face,

Gentle cheeks and darting eyes

That gaze with tears

Upon my fallen lands, that my hands still carry

Looking up toward the wilderness,

Her eyes carry the great weight of the people

[Stanzas 83-89]

I came here from Mâkah

With the word of the prophet, to liberate the people

Her elephant arrived at Sri Banây

As with my horse, I accompanied her

The wind of the sea is now sweet and calm

With that fragrance, that her hair brings

As the elephant arrives to [the old capital] Bal Hanguw

With its beautiful ramparts, surrounded by the mountains

The magnificent Bimong Kalan temple,

Decorated with Naga serpents and Garudas

With the vast expanse of paddies

And immense forests, stretching over the mountains

With the great river and dam at the edge [of the fields]

With vast quantities of fish and shrimp

[Stanzas 90-96]

I have so much love for my people

For the people, and for Mâkah

And so, you wanted, alas,

To find the one, with greater knowledge [than my own]

Separation from your [Queen] Mother

Nostalgia for your lands, for the good father [Bho Patih] who allowed you to leave

So, your eyes were lowered

Until the elephant arrived at Bal Anguei, [when] your eyes were no longer tired

And your elephant arrived at Bal Huh Bal Lai

A residence without life, people or culture

*A residence that underwent great tests,
Had great prowess, and now, we cannot see it*

*You hear the waves crash upon the sand,
And your elephant stops, where it⁷⁵⁰ began*

[Stanzas 97-109]

*So, you came from Mâkah with such great knowledge,
But our people are so poor, and our gods [and spirits] have abandoned us*

*Have mercy on us and our souls
Protect us, and especially our sons who have wronged*

*At the moment we were engaged
I became angry, because of her critiques*

*She turned to me,
And away again, without sympathy*

I spoke with her,

⁷⁵⁰ The elephant

To make something of it, but she was without sympathy

And so, we are at the crossroads,

Not knowing which way to go, not knowing how to stay straight ahead

With a great burden,

To choose the best way, to not be mistaken

So, the rider turns the head of the horse,

As the head of the elephant and the princess went off to the west

As they went off to the west,

We pursued our own path, to the edge of the sea

As the horse arrived at the edge

The elephant departed again, entering Aia Trang

Nâger Aia Trang, so beautiful

With sugar cane and its famous port

And its beautiful beaches

As sunlight reflects off the waters

Surrounded by the great forest of coconut palms

Bimong Ppo Inâ [Nâgar], where the coconuts remain

[Stanzas 110-111]

And my horse could not gallop,

As it was tired, and could not run

And we waited for a while,

For the elephant, to arrive at the edge of the sea

[Stanzas 112-119]

For months and years

I lived alone, missing this love

Looking for the head of the white crane

To send a message to my lost love

Till the afternoon shadows disappeared

and time slipped away

A thousand days have already passed

But I remember every step and every strand of hair

Your clothes and shoes,

Your smiling eyes, and your lips

Wherever I wander,

I cannot forget you, and always remember

The bands of swans who abandoned flight

Sat lightly on the grass, with grace

And the song of the Ri birds

Who sang with her voice

[Stanzas 120-128]

My horse arrived at Bal Riya

With the grace of the Queen, Mih Ai

Who is now a stranger in a strange land

In the Lands of the Vietnamese, where her body rests still

She was carried by the boats of the river

And died, in this strange land

In a country with no name,

How her dignity was unquestioned, and the heart remained faithful

I could not keep tears from my eyes

As I thought of Ppo Sah, and thought of Mih Ai

And I thought of the princess,

The love of my heart, who had enveloped me

Oh, my faithful love

My heart is weary, and my people are poor

Divided in discord

Divided into Cam Tanran, divided into Cam Cek

Divided into Cam Gok,

Divided into Jawa, Bini and Ralaoh, as misfortune takes the land

[Stanzas 129-135]

Alone with the setting sun,

I hear the song of the birds, along with the bellows of water buffalo

I am confused,

I do not know where to go, as my people are so poor

At the hill of Mbon Hala there is a temple tower

Dry months cause betel leaves to fall on dusty ground

Which god will notice me?

One garden fruit, with seven paths

I groan along the way,

Accept my fate, and place my hands together in prayer

Following water downstream, along Huh Mountain

Protecting Huh's mountain forest, the tiger of Yang Pakran

And the princess came to this land

With the grace of Ppo Lingik (God)

[Stanzas 136-139]

My horse arrives at the beach

With dark waves, and the shadows of the sails growing long

Making sheaths out of droplets of water,

Similar to the morning dew

They resemble the tear drops of rain

Elephants tears, the raindrops from eyes

They crash upon the beach,

Flooding like tears, that are with waves for a thousand years

[Stanzas 140-142]

My horse advanced

As the sun faded, heating the village centers

In the evening,

The sands will not move, retaining the footprint of my steed

I remember my disappointments and

My horse has already moved on, onward toward Mblang Kasar

[Stanzas 143-147]

The elephant returned to Bal He

As the horse became its shadow.

She is so debonair, with an hourglass figure

As we hold each other in our arms,

*With her sweet-smelling hair,
Filling my dreams, remember each caress*

*As I dream of brilliant eyes
As diamonds drawn, from the water of their source,*

*I had this protection
And it disappeared, with no one left to support or love*

[Stanzas 148-150]

*Where is the king of Harek Kah
Who gave these lands up in exchange for a Vietnamese Wife?*

*What kind of love had such force?
How could it take our ancestral land, for the sake of one queen?*

How can we deal with such wild love?

Love without reason? How is it so entrenched?

[Stanzas 151-154]

*Why was I so madly in love?
That I followed it to Parik and onward to Aia Trang*

Ready to die in the forest

To be guarding it forever, at the end of history

This love has killed me friends,

But it is a timeless love, and so I have created it

Bringing with it tears,

With lazy feet and the knowledge that my time to speak

[Stanzas 155-160]

And when, my lady, you have returned to Mâkah,

My love will remain, although no one will know.

The lost man perched on the branch of a small tree

On the back of a buffalo, plunged into the river

Lost as a duck in the paddy,

Lost as the brick towers, hidden under the dead leaves

Wandering, as small boats,

Lost upon the water

Wandering upon the waves of the sea

Half entering the fish's mouth, the other half lost in the sea

And I am left wandering,

As all people enter the Sang Mâgik, returning to the towers, offering foods to the Yang

[Stanzas 161-162]

And our land of Pāñduraṅga

The dusty roads, abandoned, and the people we love

What is left, that rests in our hands?

There is a lost bird, it has disappeared

Appendix II: Ariya Cam Bini⁷⁵¹

1) *This epic poem that I reveal to you*

And bring out for all to hear

Asks why, must love be like this?

And I may have composed it falsely, I fear

With so much affection, I cannot breathe

No regrets for bodily wealth or worldly gains

My only concerns are that it is but lip service,

To be ignored, to be left alone, with suffering inside my chest

But, I will never abandon you

I fear only rejection by your parents, I regret

And so, I have saved a large place in my heart for you

And a smaller one for my own parents [its true]

⁷⁵¹ Like Ariya Bini Cam a draft translation of this poem has appeared in Noseworthy, William (2011). *A Southeast Asian Palimpsest: Akhar Thrah 1700-Present*. MA Thesis Department of History, University of Wisconsin, Madison, as well as on Inrasara.com as of February 3, 2010. However, the version that is present here has been further edited based on additional study of Cham language from 2012 to 2014.

And so, my love, let us reveal our plot

Our lot, destiny, is full of hardship in a way that cannot compare

Your parents will not understand

And so, we must bear, the same of others [let them laugh at our expense]

As the neighbors will, and we can ignore them,

Stepping together into the Bani path

10) *The cremation house is painted with the image of the sacred trao bird [the dragon]*

Flag poles are prepared around the site

Because when we die, we can't escape it

When we return to heaven, to meet again

If it lasts three days, or even ten,

All our possessions are offered to the Gods

Love with compassion is so great

If we ask for the Gods' blessings we might find one place

For it is we who are faithful to each other with all of our hearts

And if we are again in the same place, I will know a debt to heaven

Though few words are spoken, so much is understood

With full, we can remain sincere

When I speak, my mother believes me

But when my father hears this, he beckons me and inquires “Why?”

They are speaking like this

Saying that you love this man

So, beat me and kick me, I will bear it

Break your rod on me – I will take the pain

Sleepily drifting off, as eyes droop

And awaken in bed crying tears of sadness

20) This is the truth! I cannot deny my sorrow

I have worked long to forget everything

I go in the house, preparing the mat to sleep

My loneliness returns, I bite my fingers to relieve the pain

Squatting thinking of my sorrows

Reliving the stories, but with a heavy heart

I miss you so much I don't know what to do

So, I cut a palm, a sketch an image, to send to you

Waiting till mother is asleep, or resting

Tiptoeing past the gate, to visit you

You sleep so soundly, silent

As water flows from my eyes

I enter the room and I see you [my man] sleeping

I hold you and rest my head upon you

I hold your neck and cry

Right off your face

I am starving, and thirst

But I have not been hungry for so many days

I think too much

Think of your wife who is so skinny

30) *There was a time when he was sick*

Small as your pinky finger, the smallest on your hand

And she would bring him rice each meal

Returning more times that she could count

And so, as tears began to flow, she only squatted and cried

Blaming heaven, "Why must I starve?"

I place out bananas for every prayer

On the plate of breads, coconut and popcorn

All the offerings for the Gods

Preforming the sacred dance in the garden, and a goat [for the slaughter]

To ask the Gods for my debt to be paid

A healthy goat gives up its body

Until he was healthy again

The prayers in the heavens, the streets waiting

When she heard he was healthy again

She was finished her work, and paid him a visit

Her mother latched the door

She was only poor to come home alone

Remembering the words, she was reminded of before

You should return alone when it is the night

40) *I ask permission, returning home*

The tiger stands in the middle of the road

She screams and it flees

As she grabs her shirt to wipe the tears

Sitting on the kitchen floor, she starts to cry

And the tiger pulls near, though she doesn't know

Her mother opens the gate

I sit silent, and then step inside

Entering, though not yet arriving in the room

Mother coughs, I am afraid she stirs

Holding the door, I open it

Her parents awaken, calling to ask her

“Where are you coming back from, huh?”

She answers gently, “I went to pee...”

At night, she feels sick

Blaming heaven, “Why can’t we reunite?”

She blames herself

She eats, but is not full, sleeps, but cannot rest

50) The door is locked on both sides

And they cannot take it, only death

If my husband can return...[she cries]

We agreed to die in the same tomb

I still agree to be buried with you

I will not part, I will not leave

Her mother decides to cope

Because one time before, she beat him hard

She cut the hair

And was tied to the whipping pole

The took the rod and beat without pause

Bounding my neck

She continued for hours as [I] cried

Mother and father, this is too hard for my body

60) *Mother sharpened a knife and went to eat her meal*

My father held it up to kill me

But someone ran over

Grabbed the handle and set it aside

They call everyone over

Strip off my clothes, mother takes everything

I could die – by I agree to do this

If you waste away – I will never say goodbye

If you die – I will carry you

My heart can't leave you, oh heaven

I will be hard-nosed [Vn.: bring my five livers]

Forget about the pain, to keep a tough face

I think this is the end of the road

I eat my tears, crying out to the heavens

My mother picks up the rod again

If you are not without heart, return between taking mother's hands

She strikes one more time, then looks

I jump the fence to release you

70) Opening the gate, I give you clothes

Push you aside and lay in your place

And if I am killed then who cares

Because I would be killed by mother striking me

The five rods are broken

So, they take an axe handle to the flesh

Beating but forgetting to think

With blows to the kidneys, wanting to die

You lay there almost broken

As the rod comes down upon your head

But then mother and father begin to cry

Stroking your head, startled by the blood

[Someone is] on the same road as I, “Uncle” [I cry]

“Have you seen where my lover has gone?”

“I saw a girl, bare in the streets”

“Crying as she went up this direction”

“Her tears rained on the dust as she ran,

She now lies under a tree, beaten, with tattered clothes

She still bore her skirt, but it was in shreds

Worn as a shard, as if it were nothing”

80) *And now I must share this sorrow with you*

With no covering, having had your mother tear them off

*If the mosquitos come to pierce your skin I will beat them off
Oh, my love, please open your eyes so we can talk about our fate*

*We must share; we must converse about it like this
Our situation is shared; it has been suffered for many years*

*One side is Cham, and the other is Bani
But we are not usually wandering separately as boats on the water*

*So, as we talk I have an idea
Why don't we go and fetch a potato in order to relieve the hunger?*

*And I try not too (without thought), but still I think too much
The tears are pouring down upon the plants*

*I have never been so low as this
I have to dig through the dirt just to eat*

*But I don't blame anyone but myself
For this miserable fate of living alone in the forest*

*This is like nothing that I have ever had to endure before
So, dear neighbors, why is it that I have been treated like this?*

*The more I think the worse it gets
For one thousand years I will not forget*

*90) All of the people standing together in the same line
My mother shows her anger at first but will forgive me in time*

The village surrounds me to test me

and they arrested me in my mother's house

So, then I cried my love

For as my love, we both agreed for death

So, the villagers will bring it upon us

As they in turn beat us to death

We are treated with salt and chili

and they say, treated as we deserve

Mother beats on day and night

Father beats and then asks how he can serve

Mother carries the canes and rods in a bundle

and father hits and attacks, as she in turn hurls insults and (then) disowns

For treated with chili and salt is fate all sinners ought to own

With soul and body as lò loét (An open wound- for all to see)

Touch and feel a bit more pain, crying to heaven for all to see

Upon rising again there is just more pain

So they take the shirt and whip as tears again begin to flow

The sensation of burning is deserved

100) *As neighbors no longer care*

The burning continues (it hasn't healed)

When a heart no longer loves it is difficult to live

But father opens up when he sees the face of his own kin

*But they beat off all the skin, bearing bone, as it shone
in the house, where I want to sleep so badly*

*If you want it, skinny, during the last moment
There is a print of the stick, a scare from the stone*

*I feel so poor and sorry for him so my body is sick
I am so hungry and my stomach wants food*

*So, I serve a rice bowl, but don't care to make it full
We used to eat good rice with tuna (but that was a long time ago)*

*An in this moment we have just tarot and salt
Traveling far away with a helping hand on the shoulder*

*She wishes that perhaps they will still become husband and wife
If heaven in time gives them the chance to reunite*

*And she cannot be alone, as the neighbors are still walking without love
So I die for you, alone, as you may be already without life*

*It is because my hearts still yearns for you that I have composed this long song
and my root is the (chim trão), the sacred bird*

*110) I make a burnt funeral, with drums and gong
and her root burnt so the corpse to heaven gone*

*Use the drums and gongs, a funeral house made of silk
The funeral pyre is large, (something monstrous we have built)*

*The house of silk, has a red net that I hung up
 The bed for the dead (the coffin) is from the wood of mango and the toad*

*So, they bring it home to paint it (bright as we can see)
 The Hala Car (the palm bearer) has cut four trees*

*And they carry them to see the holy nandi cow
 Burnt, mother don't worry, (don't shed a tear for me)*

*The sacred bird (chim trāo)⁷⁵² with the sacred buffalo leads the way to heaven
 and the funeral pyre is great*

*And the Ppo Basaih ties the portrait 'round the water buffalo's neck
 He carries the coffin, but it is heavy, so others help to ease his back*

*So, the Hala Car lights the fire, and I, I begin to cry
 I throw the poem to the crowd, and then jump on top the pyre*

*So, the light consumes us both, (and we know about the rest)
 and oh, my love, (it is now clear), I put my faith to the test*

⁷⁵² Chim Trāo is also a metaphor for *tôn giáo* meaning religion

Appendix III: *Dalakal Nao Mâgru*

[p. 128]: This is the Dalakal about the Akhar teacher who asked his student to offer up his wife to the teacher. There was once a ceremony in a Bani *sang mágik* where Po Ali created a *danaok* for the Imams. In the *sang mágik* there was a *true* Acar who studied *da-a yang* but remembered very little. If he read all the *Akhar* he could not remember any of it. Therefore, the Acar had very little security and everywhere that he went he always met with great burdens. So, the Acar was constantly frustrated with. Even when his wife cooked for him, she was embarrassed and complained:

“You have been working as an Acar for almost twenty years now. The Kathin [errata.: Katip?] will not work for you. Also, when you study the Qu’ran to invite the spirit in to you, you do not keep up with the others. [p. 129] Even the new Ppo Acar’s cannot help you. I am so embarrassed! Now stop fasting [in the *sang mágik*] and go study the true form of writing again. Why are you fasting with such false notions of security? I can’t even cook rice for the community anymore because I am so embarrassed.”

The Acar responded: “OK. I will stop fasting. However, if I continue to study I will need to find a teacher to teach me.”

And his wife spoke again: “Why don’t you go find a teacher then? Go! Find a teacher that is excellent so that you can complete your studies together.”

The husband left the *sang mágik* to return home. His wife listened and put rice at the bottom of his bag above three bunches of bananas. The Acar took to the road and was silent for half a day before he met a single other traveler. He asked: “Do you know if there is a teacher who can [p. 130] teach Akhar?”

The person answered: "You will go straight a little bit more and find a person who has just become a teacher of Akhar to teach the prayer ceremonies. That person is the hands and the feet of Ppo Nâbi brought down by the direction of the house of Ppo Nâbi."

[Following these directions] the Acar continued straight on until he reached the house of Ppo Rasulak and Ppo Rasulak asked: "Why has this Acar arrived here?"

The Acar answered: "I have been working as an Acar for a long time already, and as of now, when I look at the writing I cannot invite the spirit in to myself. I cannot remember it. The younger Acar's hold me in disdain and my wife is embarrassed. So, with bananas and rice in my bag I have come to find a good teacher to study the true form of writing."

The teacher [Ppo Rasulak/Ppo Nabi] asked: "If this student really wants to learn, what gifts have they brought to the ceremony to begin the terms of study?" [p. 131]

To begin with the Acar took out the bunches of bananas for the teacher. The teacher looked at the student and said: "Bring the bananas back home to your wife. Then, bring me back your wife. Then I will teach you."

The Acar picked up the bunches of bananas and went home to report what had passed to his wife: "The teacher will not eat the bananas. However, if I bring you to him, he promises me that he will teach."

His wife did not speak a word against this idea as she assumed that the Acar had already agreed to dedicate her to the teacher. But, she did open his bag to find two bunches of bananas missing. The Acar responded, claiming that neither he nor the teacher had eaten the bananas.

“This again!” his wife exclaimed [doubting his honesty and recounting her embarrassment]. Nevertheless, the two finished conversing with each other and travelled to the Acar’s house.

When the teacher called, the wife of the Acar asked: “Husband you want to learn [p. 132] Akhar from the teacher, have you accepted his request or not?”

The Acar thought honestly to himself: Why was it so [easy] for her to be able to agree with the request of the teacher? [Almost hearing his thoughts]

She then quickly spoke: “Please, teacher [Ppo Rasulak], open up your heart and teach my husband so that he can remember all of the prayers for inviting spirits in.”

The master then thought about how he could agree to such conditions.

After speaking together; during that night Ppo Rasulak led the wife into his room, as the Acar slept outside. For three days and three nights they lived like this. But each night the teacher slept in a different bed. Just the same, he made the wife not sleep and emit cries [*ap...rep*] as if they were sleeping together in the same bed. For three days and three nights this continued. Yet, the teacher found that the wife truly loved her husband and the Acar also truly loved and trusted his wife as, even after hearing all this, he still trusted the teacher with all his heart as well! So, the teacher brought her back to her house and the Acar then returned [p. 133]. Ppo Rasulak then began to write in a *halagar* notebook and lit up *gahlau* incense to invite the presence of Pa Samat Akhar, to breathe magic into the script. He then took to burning a candle and mixed the hot wax into a water glass and gave it to the Acar to drink. The teacher then went to get a spell to teach the reading of all the prayer. Reading these words truly brightened the Acar’s heart, as he could now read

any character. If he wanted to learn a ritual, he could learn it! All of them! Ppo Rasulak thus finished teaching and the Acar then returned home to continue fasting.

[Afterward] the Acar arrived at the *sang mágik* and went in to sit at his place. He took part in the holy-water cleansing ritual with the rest of the Acar, Imam and Katip, just as before, but the Acar could not bear to take part [as he had before]! The Acar took the holy water before going to stand in the place of the Imam [p. 134] who was performing the ceremony. The Imam then took the water and went in to find the Acar who had taken his seat. Finding this, [the Imam] tried to chase the Acar away. But the Acar would not go. [The Imam] ordered the other Acar to drag him out of the *sang mágik*. But he still would not go. When the Imam and Katip spoke with Ppo Ali about this Acar, Po Ali pursued the Acar, but also could not remove him. Even though Ppo Ali kicked and slapped the Acar, he was still as a rock. Stubborn as a stone pillar. Ppo Ali was so upset that he took a piece of wood that was still on fire and struck the Acar. But still, he would not move.

Ppo Ali became so angry that he ordered the Acar to do all the rituals for the Imams, as they were sitting on the prayer mats when the Acar began to perform. Po Ali had ordered the Acar to perform all the ceremonies, read all the texts and read all the prayers. However, [luckily] the teacher [Po Rasulak] had already taught him [these skills]. All the texts were used to invite the spirit in and the Acar read with a phenomenal voice [p. 135]. Po Ali spoke ‘so many’ and the Acar read just that much. And so, Po Ali now felt shame in his own heart as in this *sang mágik* it was only the Acar alone who knew all the prayers and the ceremonies. However, no one knew where the Acar learned how to read

the prayers and the ceremonies like this and who had taught him, such that there was not even the slightest error in his reading.

Ppo Ali the [following the Acar's method] went out to find some way to continue to study and found only one person on his path to give directions to Kir Blah⁷⁵³ and the home of the teacher [Ppo Rasulak]. Po Ali went straight to this place and straight on to the teacher's house. [However,] Ppo Rasulak was his father in law who had taught for the Acar. Ppo Ali then asked the father of his wife: "I am your son in law. Why hasn't my father in law taught me, but that stupid Acar!?! So, you do not consider me anything? Because you, Ppo Tama [Father in Law] have taught him, now, my sovereign, I must come to study again [p. 136]. My sovereign, please teach me to read even better than him!"⁷⁵⁴

[And so Ppo Rasulak responded]: "You must bring me your wife, then I will teach."

Ppo Ali answered: "If you, my sovereign, my father in law, teach me, I still will never give my wife to you my sovereign"

[For Ppo Rasulak] these words were hard and strange to hear. One lives to teach their students, but had told their students to offer their wives to the teacher. So, Ppo Rasulak said again: "If you don't want to bring your wife to me, then fine. I won't teach anymore! Fine! I won't teach!"

⁷⁵³ Possible localization of Ar.: *Ka'aba*

⁷⁵⁴ The manuscript preserves the relationship between Mohammed and Ali.

Finding this Ppo Ali felt ashamed yet again. He did not return to the *sang mágik* [in that town] ever again. He [instead] went to the *sang mágik* in Mâkah, while Ppo Rasulak returned to heaven as he had already been transformed.

While Ppo Ali was on the road [travelling] he met a young Vietnamese woman [p. 137]. She was burdened by oil that she carried. She stumbled, spilled the oil and began to cry. Ppo [Ali] asked the young women [what she was doing] and she replied: “At my house there is one mother and one child. My mother is old already and so I go to sell oil to take care of my mother. Now the oil has spilled everywhere and so there is nothing left for me to sell for my mother. Ppo Ali! How can I get the oil back?”

Ppo [Ali] conjured the oil back from the ground to fill the jars of the young woman and she held them again. She then resealed the two receptacles, now, full as they were ever before. Ppo Ali then also spread some extra oil upon the belly of the young Vietnamese woman. The girl brought the jars home and then three months passed. She became pregnant and then gave birth to a boy. When the boy grew up he went to play with other peoples’ children but argued with all the other children that he played with. People scolded him saying: “This child does not have a father.”

When Jabil [the child] [p. 138] found people scolding him like this, he returned home to ask his mother: Where is my father, mother?”

His mother answered. But her response was difficult to hear. [At this time] Po Ali went to a village of Cham Akaphié [Alt.: *Ahiér*]. He went to this village to ask for drinking water. The house he arrived at had one girl who took a cask to draw drinking water for Po [Ali] to drink. When Po [Ali] finished drinking the water, he gave her a *mâta* ring. The

water Po Ali drank remained in the cask [magically] and the girl also drank from it. Four months passed. The girl was pregnant and then she gave birth to a son. As the boy grew up, he went out to plant in the fields but argued with many people and so they scolded him: “You don’t have a father!”

The son then returned home to ask his mother about his father and she answered him with words that were difficult to hear. He pleaded: “Mother, let me go find my father!”

So, he found his [p. 139] father in the *sang mágik* at *Mákah*. The father received the son and the son then received the father as the son was taken to follow the Bani path. This Vietnamese boy then went to inquire and found a well of water that Po Ali had taken to use for rituals [in the *sang mágik*]. He went to the well to draw up some water and sealed it [in a cask] and then the people took this cask and brought it for Po Ali to open.

However, he could not open it because it was sealed so tightly. They [the followers] continued to speak to Ppo Ali and he went, frustrated to where the young man was sitting, scolding him: “Why have you dared to seal my vessels?”

He spoke, while instantly hitting and kicking the young man. The young man was supporting both sides so that no one would lose. When [Po Ali] stopped, the young man asked: “Ppo, are you Ppo Ali? [p. 140]. In the past, you drew up oil from the ground to give a young Vietnamese woman oil again.”

Ppo Ali answered: “Yes, how do you know this?”

The young man asked: “for what? [what is it to you?] If you really are the person who drew up [the oil] then I am truly your son, ppo.”

Ppo Ali then questioned the young man and the young man revealed his entire story. The father and son hugged each other and went into the *sang mágik*. Po Nabi [then] spoke with the young man: “Don’t the Vietnamese *not* follow the Bani path? Because they follow other paths?”

Upon hearing these words the young man felt ashamed, and suddenly left the *sang mágik*, causing confusion. Afterwards, Po Nabi then ordered two children of Po Ali, the two who followed Islam: “The person named Lii Than Lii will strike the young Vietnamese man.”

However, the young Vietnamese man was obviously talented and the two struggled inconclusively. Finally, the young Vietnamese man [p. 141] slashed Po Lii Than on one of his shoulders and brought part [of his body] to make *anraong* offerings and force the people [of that land] into custody. At midnight, the Cham children made a *mantra* spell to return the shoulder to Po Lii Than. They began to read the *Phun Phua* prayer and replace the shoulder on Po Lii Than’s body as before. When Po Nabi saw this, he called to the young man for his good behavior. Nabi named the young man Patao Nit Caleng Ka and there was a new peace in the land. As Po Ali was discontent with the fact that Po Nabi had not required Patao Nit Caleng Ka to enter the path of Islam he disappeared without anyone knowing where he went.”⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵⁵ *Dalakal Nao Mâgru*

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Ppo Dara. CAM 62. EFEO-Paul Mus Collection.

Ppo Haniim Per. CAM 244 (pp. 9-16). EFEO Collection.

Ppo Klaong Garai. CAM 244 (pp. 16-36 & 36-52 & 52-61). EFEO Collection.

*Ppo Phaok *Exists in French Translation*. MSS Uncoded.

Ppo Riyak. CAM 244 (pp. 4-9). EFEO Collection.

Ppo Ramé (sic Damnây Ppo Romé). CAM 244 (pp. 61-66). EFEO Collection

Sep Sah Sakei. CAM Microfilm 17 (pp. 21-26). Gerard Moussay Collection.

Tuen Phaow. CAM Microfilm 16 (pp. 1-10). Gerard Moussay Collection.

Thei Mai Mang Deh [The one who comes from afar]. MSS Uncoded.

Ya[ng] Ppo Ku Siba. CAM 66. EFEO Collection.

Yang Tabiak Di Pabah Lamngâ. CAM 244. EFEO Collection.

Dalakal

Bô Thuận. 1932 est. *Dalikal Ppo Romé*. EFEO Collections: CAM 152.

DPD Collection. nd. *Dalakal Manuis Jieng Gru Cruw*. Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam's private collection. Read: Fall, 2013.

DPD Collection. nd. *Dalakal Nao Mâgru*. Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam's private collection. Read: Fall, 2013.

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EFEO Collection. CAM 245. *Dalukal Hadiep pathang Ppo Binthuer* (1-17); *Dalukal Ppo Binthuer* (17-36); *Dalukal Ppo Haluw Aia Patao Tabai* (36-63); *Dalukal Ppo Haluw Aia Patao Tabai Nai Bila* (63-82); *Dalukal Ppo Kabrah saong Nai Anak Ong Iw* (82-93); *Dalukal Ppo Klaong Giray* (93-106); *Dalukal Ppo Mathik Dhik* (106-114); *Dalukal Ppo Mathik Dhik nan Po Anit* (114-125); *Dalukal Ppo Rame angan Jasaot* (125-133); *Dalukal Ppo Riyak* (133-139); *Dalukal Ppo Riyak* (139-145); *Dalukal Ppo Sah Inâ* (156-177). Collection compiled in EFEO, 2004.

Others:

Baol ngap di Anak Patao. MSS Uncoded.

Cei Balaok La-u. MSS Uncoded.

Cei Madarum. CAM Microfilm 10.

Cei Njah Tabuw. CAM Microfilm 13.

Cei Ula Praong. CAM Microfilm 11.

Dua Adei Sa-ai biak kathaot. MSS Uncoded.

Dua krah Pakr Anaih. CAM Microfilm 12.

Hadiep pathang Ppo Binthuer [*Ong Binthuer Muk Khieng*]. CAM Microfilm 6

Ja Bilaut. CAM Microfilm 6.

Ja Bilon Ja Dam Dien. CAM Microfilm 11.

Ja Haluei anaong Aia. MSS Uncoded.

Ja Kadek nao ngap Mâtuw. MSS Uncoded.

Ja Kadek saong Ja Kadaop. MSS Uncoded.

Ja Li-ua. MSS Uncoded.

Mâng Tuei. CAM Microfilm 14.

Ja Panrang klak Nager. CAM Microfilm 14.

Ja Rimbah [*Ja Riwah*]. CAM Microfilm 3 & CAM Microfilm 13.

Ka J'bong Alah. MSS Uncoded.

Ka Cei Kya saong Nai Taluic. CAM Microfilm 3.

Khek Mâsuh saong Ppo Débita. CAM Microfilm 13.

Mu Halek saong Mu Kajeng. MSS Uncoded.

Muk JarHit. CAM Microfilm 12.

Nai Candieng [*Nai Kadîeng*]. CAM Microfilm 9.

Nai palak Tangin. CAM Microfilm 3.

Patao di hu Anak o. MSS Uncoded.

Patao Inra Sri Bikan. CAM Microfilm 11.

Ppo Haluw Aia Patao Tabai. CAM Microfilm 8.

Ppo Kabrah saong Nai Anak On Iw. MSS Uncoded.
Ppo Klaong Garai. CAM Microfilm 15.
Rimaong bhai ka Ra Manuk. CAM Microfilm 9.
Rimaong nao Mâk Akhan. MSS Uncoded.
Rimaong saong Kara. CAM Microfilm 4.
Rimaong saong Tapay. CAM Microfilm 4.
Rimaong Tipay bhai mânak Limân. MSS Uncoded.
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Tapay puac jhak ka Limân. MSS Uncoded.

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Damnây

Hợp Ai. 1880s-1890s est. *Damnây Ppo Romé.* Asiatic Society: CM 23.

DPD Collection. nd. *Damnây Po Inâ Nâgar.* Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam's private collection. Read: Fall, 2012.

EFEO Collection. CAM 246 (A). *Damnây Cei Daliim* (1-8), *Damnây Cei Sit* (8-11), *Damnây Nai Mah Ghang* (11-16), *Damnây Nai Mah Ghang* (16-22), *Damnây Patao Birthuer* (22-35), *Damnây Patao Paracan* (35-39), *Damnây Ppo Ali* (39-50), *Damnây Ppo Bia Acakan* (50-62), *Damnây Ppo Cei Tathun* (62-66), *Damnây Po Dara Nai Anaih* (66-70), *Damnây Ppo Gihlau* (70-74), *Damnây Ppo Haluw Aia* (74-87), *Damnây Ppo Kabrah* (87-95), *Damnây Ppo Kaok* (95-110), *Damnây Ppo Kaok nan Ppo Klaong Giray* (110-121). Collection compiled in EFEO, 2004

EFEO Collection. CAM 246 (B). *Damnây Ppo Kei Ppo Mo Rasih* (121-133), *Damnây Ppo Kemaw* (133-150), *Damnây Ppo Klaong Giray* (150-160), *Damnây Ppo Nagar* (160-167), *Damnây Ppo Nagar* (167-172), *Damnây Ppo Nagar* (172-177), *Damnây Ppo Rome* (177-181), *Damnây Ppo Rome* (181-196), *Damnây Ppo Rome* (196-206), *Damnây Ppo Rome Angan Jasaot* (206-212), *Damnây Ppo Riyak* (212-228), *Damnây Ppo Riyak* (218-222), *Damnây Ppo Riyak* (222-228), *Damnây Ppo Sah Ina* (228-238), *Damnây Ppo Tang* (238-242), *Damnây Ppo Thik Sik* (242-250), *Damnây Yang Patao* (250-xx). Collection compiled in EFEO, 2004

EFEO Collection. CAM 248 (C). *Kudha Adaoh. Daoh ka muk Rija Ricaow; Daoh Kmuw ka-naik; Daoh Panuec Kaya kar saong Pahuel Sahl; Panuec Liwe Lisei; Daoh luk Manyak; Kudha Mak Kuyau; Daoh Muk Kuyau [Ngap Palao kasah, di Sang]; Panuec Manag Ca-Huec Manag Ca-Huang; Panuec Nai Ratna; Ong Kadhar Daoh Dalam Ngap Yang Kubaw Ma-ih Puis Payak...Mbeng Kut; Daoh Pacah Cen Jep; Daoh Pacah cen jep; Panuec Padeng Kam thik Kabaw; Daoh pahuel Aia Mu; Daoh Pahuel Akhan Lam-lin; Daoh Paheul Tasau Salh; Panuec Panip Ka Po Rame tak Kraik; Daoh panuec Kamuw Ganaik; Panuec Paraow; Daoh Parikha Hala.* Collection compiled in EFEO-KL, 2004

Kaboun

Kaboun Mok Sros.CCCS5

Kaboun Ong Chen.CCCS6

Sakkarai

Ip Banuk Mu-Al Li (copiest), Papah Nam (original). ND. *Kran Ka Bal (a)ngan Canan*. CAM 241.
 On Bo Ty. ND. *Sakkaray Prangdurang*. Baoh Dana, Phanrang
 On Tai. 1975. *Tapuk Kran Ka Ppo Lithan*. Hamu Craok, Phanrang

Takay Sanao

Takay Sanao Ong Chom. CCCS7
Takay Sanao Ong Po. CCCS8
Takay Sanao Ong Toksan. CCCS9

Tapuk Bani

Kitap di Palei Rem di Po Gru Ong Nguyễn Lai. Photographed Summer 2013.
Tapuk di Imâm Du di Palei Rem. Photographed Spring 2014.

Yal Baranu

Ba Neu Kok Van.CCCS1
Ba Neu Neak Matouy.CCCS2
Ba Neu Sas Kakay.CCCS3
Ba Neu Tampo.CCCS4

Documents According to EFEO Codes

CM 2, 4, 8, 20, 23, 24, 29, 32, 35, 38, 39, 49-52
 CAM 24, 25, 28, 33, 35, 38, 43, 58, 60, 66, 115, 116, 152, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246 (A & B), 248 (A, B, C, & D)
 CAM Microfilm 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 53, 56, 66
 PB LaFont 1

[National Archives of Cambodia \(NAC\)](#)

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