

## Research on Champa and its Evolution

It was in 1852 that a researcher, J. Crawford, for the first time turned his attention to the Chams in a scientific manner and published a list of 81 Cham words. Only 16 years later new interests in these people were expressed and this time again from a linguist, A. Bastian, who published in 1868 a two-page list of Cham vocabulary gathered by himself and in 1870 a paper on the language and the origin of the Chams. Five years later, another linguist, A. Morice, produced in *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie* (VII, 1875), the first Cham glossary, of about 800 words, in an important work on the Cham and Stieng languages. Finally, in 1877, K. F. Holle published the Cham alphabet which was completed by a commentary in 1882.

It was only from 1880 onwards that publications on ancient Champa and its people began to abound. It was, in fact, around that date that we saw the publication of findings of the first research led by a Frenchman who had lived in the country a few years before. In 1880, A. Labussière gave the first information on the socio-religious aspect of the Muslim Chams in South-western Vietnam; E. Aymonier published in 1881 an article on Cham writing and dialects, followed by six studies of epigraphy, a *Grammaire de la Langue Chame* (1889), a long article on religion and many other publications; Neis and Septfons published a new vocabulary; L. P. Lesserteur two notes on epigra-

phy, J. Moura an alphabet and a text of the language of the Chams in Cambodia, and A. Landes a collection of tales. A. Bergaigne published notes on Cham epigraphy, then in 1889, a first history of Champa as seen through epigraphy and, in 1893, the text and a translation of sixteen inscriptions with commentaries.

During the same period, Lamire wrote ten articles on the monuments of Champa and C. Paris, in three notes, made an inventory of the Cham vestiges in Quảng-Nam. One may think that those studies were a good start and they would develop more and more as researchers other than French (H. Kern, E. Kuhn, G. K. Niemann, C. O. Blagden) were directly or indirectly interested in it.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, L. Finot published an inventory of monuments as well as a study of the religions of ancient Champa (1901) then until 1918, a series of *Epigraphical Notes*. During that time, H. Parmentier took stock and described the monuments of Champa, the treasures of its kings and reported on the results of excavations on the sites of the ancient cities of Champa. At the beginning of the century, A. Cabaton, who later on wrote more notes on Champa, published a first report on Cham literature and a book on ethnography which, although written in 1901, has remained a good reference work. In 1906, associated with E. Aymonier, he published a *Dictionnaire Français-Cham*, which is a basic work for the knowledge of the language. The same year, W. Schmidt published a famous article assigning Cham to the Austroasiatic language family, which does not befit its genetic relationship. In the same period, E. M. Durand published twelve notes on the Chams as well as many other articles, E. Huber devoted himself to the epigraphy of Champa in *Indochinese Studies*, G. Coedès published an inventory of Cham inscriptions (1906) and two

epigraphs; L. Cadière published notes on Cham vestiges in the provinces of Quảng-Trị and Quảng-Bình. Between 1910 and 1913 G. Maspéro published *Le Royaume du Champa*, a revised version of a book which appeared in 1828, and H. Maspéro published in 1912 a study of historical phonetics of Cham.

From 1915 to 1920, the number of publications on Champa decreased sharply for the pioneers of Cham studies had passed away and the researchers who should have normally succeeded them turned away from a field of research they considered too restricted compared to those offered by the Khmer, Vietnamese or Thai worlds. A. Sallet published *Cham Recollections of Faifoo* in 1919 as well as articles on Cham folklore (1923); P. Ravaisse published *Deux Inscriptions coufiques du Champa* (1922) which proved the existence of a Muslim community in Champa in the tenth century but whose authenticity was doubted by L. Finot. In 1927 R. Majumdar published his *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Champa* which depicts Cham history and religion and a collection of Cham inscriptions. In 1931, E. D. K. Bosch in two *Notes Archéologiques* stressed the existence of precise relationships between Cham and Javanese art motifs. In 1931 and then in 1933, P. Mus published two articles on the religion of the Chams, in 1932 H. Baudesson published an ethnology book and in 1933 and 1934 Nguyễn Văn Tố published three notes on the “treasury” of Champa.

In 1934, J. Y. Claeys did a good dissemination work, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Asie et du Champa: les Chams, les Annamites*; in 1931 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri wrote a reply to an article on Cham paleography, published three years earlier by R. C. Majumdar. During the Second World War, E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden published a Chinese vocabulary of Cham words and phrases which was a fifteenth century compilation. P. Stern published a book on the art of Champa, G. Coedès a note

on the Sanskrit inscription of Vĩ-Canh, Nguyễn Văn Tố a complete list of Vietnamese toponymy of Cham origin and Nguyễn Thiệu Lâu two studies of historical geography.

Soon after the war, R. Stein published *Le Lin-Yi* (1947), P. Dupont *Le Sud Indochinois du VIe et XIIe Siècles: Tchen-La et Panduranga*, a study on the affinities between the dynasty of Panduranga and Tchen-La. In 1949 R. Linguat published *L'Influence Juridique de l'Inde au Champa et au Cambodge d'après l'épigraphie*, J. Boisselier published an article on Cham art (1957) and a book on Cham statuary (1963).

Since 1967 when we succeeded in gathering a research team decided to revitalize the studies on Champa, those studies gained vigor. H. Moussage published in 1971 a *Dictionnaire Cam-Vietnamien-Français*. Using Portuguese sources, P. Y. Manguin published in 1973 a study on the sea routes and commercial relations of Champa and Vietnam in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Our team then published two books cataloguing Cham manuscripts found in France (1978; 1981) then the *Inventaire des Archives du Panduranga du Fonds de la Société Asiatique de Paris* (1984). A series of articles entitled *Études Cham* also appeared in the *BEFEO*. Po Dharma published in 1982 two works on the history of Panduranga in the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Research has also resumed in Vietnam, first in Saigon, at the Institute of Archeological Research. On the other hand, a certain number of authors also published in Vietnamese in local journals articles of unequal values on the historical issues related to Vietnam-Cham relations in the past or on the civilization of present-day Chams. Since 1975 the ethnological study of Chams has developed well. Two colloquia were devoted to this ethnic group, a bibliography has been compiled by Phan Văn Quỳnh and Lý Kim-Hoa. Finally a number of articles has been published either in book form in

Hanoi or in xerox copies in Hồ Chí Minh City.

### **Studies of Archeology, Epigraphy, and Art**

Publications on Champa's archeology and art are few. It should not be surprising for Cham monuments, statues, and sculpture cannot rival with those left behind by the ancient Khmer, either in sheer number or in importance. Thus, researchers tended to interest themselves first in Cambodia and then in Champa.

It was between 1887 and 1907 that C. Lemire with ten articles and C. Paris and L. Finot, with three articles each, attracted researchers' attention to the monuments of Champa, the first inventory of which was made by E. Lunet de la Jonquière in his *Atlas Archéologique de l'Indochine. Monuments du Champa et du Cambodge*, published in 1901 and by L. Finot in an article published in the same year. Eight years later, H. Parmentier who had just completed prospecting the country and the campaign for the search and restoration of monuments which had allowed him to write fourteen notes to BEFEO and to the *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, and published in two volumes *l'Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cam de l'Annam* (1909–1918), a basic work for the study of this architecture. Later on, Parmentier and Nguyễn Văn Tố, among others, published notes on Cham statuary and the so-called Cham "treasures."

These publications naturally attracted the researchers' attention. First, H. Parmentier, who had installed a Cham sculpture museum in Danang, then Corat-Remusat who advanced the hypothesis related to the chronology of this art which contradicted those expounded earlier by Parmentier, and P. Stern who published in 1942 *L'Art de Champa (Ancien Annam) et*

*son évolution* expanded the hypothesis formulated in 1934 by G. de Coral Remusat. This book remains a reference for the chronology of Cham monuments although people have had, since then, to modify the chronological position assigned to some monuments. Later, P. Dupont and J. Boisselier, among others, published several studies on Cham statues. But it was in 1963 that Boisselier published a fundamental work (*La statuaire du Champa Recherches sur les cultes et l'iconographie*) which presented a comprehensive description of this statuary and studied the cults through historical, epigraphic, and iconographic data and which revealed the relations between Champa and India, China, and other regions of Southeast Asia, a work which was completed or revised in several articles, the last of which was published in 1984. All those publications offer a global but precise view on the art of Champa which, in the past few years, was the object of study of researchers in Hanoi.

Epigraphic and paleographic studies have suffered much because of Champa's vicinity with Cambodia. Less richer than Khmer epigraphy, for there were only 206 inscriptions in old Cham and in Sanskrit discovered in Champa compared to more than 1,000 epigraphies in Cambodia, Cham inscriptions attracted very few epigraphers. Even those, who, at one time, had devoted a part of their time to research on Champa, like L. Finot, had to abandon for the benefit of Khmer epigraphy which offered them richer and more accessible materials.

It was in 1815 that E. Aymonier directed the researchers' attention to the inscriptions of Champa. In 1888 A. Bergaigne published in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* a note on two inscriptions in Sanskrit discovered in Khánh-Hòa. Later studies on Cham epigraphy were developed thanks to the works of A. Barth, A. Bergaigne (*Inscriptions sankscrites du Champa et du Cambodge, 1893*), E. Aymonier, E.

Hubert, and L. Finot. But the death of the former and the change of orientation of L. Finot, who published his last study on Cham inscriptions in 1918, gave a mortal blow to Cham epigraphy. As a matter of fact, since that date, except a list of Cham inscriptions published by G. Coedès in 1923, the only publications were an article on Cham inscription by P. Mus in 1928 and a discussion on Vĩ Canh stela. Nevertheless, it was not because of lack of materials since 125 inscriptions and the part written in Old Cham of the seven bilingual epigraphies were always waiting for study. Unfortunately, unlike old Khmer, old Cham needs specialists for its study.

If epigraphy attracted few researchers, the paleography of Cham inscriptions still has fewer research, since articles dealing with this discipline were extremely rare. If, thanks to J. P. Vogel, the former has a publication in 1918, it was only in 1932 that appeared a publication dealing with the latter (*La paléographie descriptive du Champa*) in which R. C. Majumdar developed the hypothesis that North India was the source of the Indianization of Southeast Asia, which was refuted three years later by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in *L'Origine de l'alphabet du Champa* in which he defended the theory that Cham alphabet originated from South India. One had to wait until 1961 to see the publication of a note on Cham paleography, precisely *Sur la paléographie de l'inscription de Vĩ-canh* by K. Bhattatiarya.

In Vietnam, between 1955 and 1975, the Institute of Archeological Research in Saigon published regularly in its *Revue* articles on the relations between Cham monuments and “the treasures of the Cham kings.” Since 1975, Hanoi has undertaken the study of the influence of Cham art on Vietnamese art and published articles on Cham statuary.

## Studies of History

At the end of the nineteenth century, archeological discoveries and the access to epigraphic documents incited the researchers to attempt a history of Champa. A. Bergaigne, in 1868, in an article entitled *L'ancien royaume du Campa, dans l'Indochine, d'après les inscriptions tchames*, then three years later, E. Aymonier in *Première étude sur les inscriptions tchames*, an article which completed the preceding article, gave the first perspective on this history to which L. Finot (*Mélanges Kern*, 1903 and *BEFEO I to XV*) and P. Pelliot in *Textes chinois sur Panduranga* and *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIe siècle*, have given rectifications, complements and clarifications.

This first updating of knowledge was followed, between 1910 and 1913, by three articles in the *T'oung Pao* in which G. Maspéro attempted to paint a history of Champa from the origins to the fifth century, mainly based on Chinese materials. This work, which was revised and seriously edited, was published again (*Le Royaume de Champa*) in 1928 which, in spite of its insufficiency, remains the only reference work extant on the history of Champa for that period.

One year before, in 1927, R. C. Majumdar had published in Lahore his *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Champa*, the first book of which was devoted to history.

In 1944, G. Coedès published the first synthesis of Champa's ancient history, viewed in the framework of other Indianized countries of Southeast Asia. But it was the third edition of the work, published in 1964, which give us the best knowledge of the history of that country until 1471.

Three years after the publication of the first edition of this book, R. Stein published a very important study of the origins of Champa: *Le Lin-Yi, sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation*



du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine (Han Hiue, *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Sinologiques de Pékin*, II, 1) in which he showed that the formation of primitive Lin-Yi and its initial development took place within and at the expense of Je-Nan and that "the affiliation of Lin-Yi to Champa is confirmed not only by history but also by linguistics." This study was complemented in 1958 by an article by Wang Gungwu (The Nanhai Trade, "A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea" *JMBRAS*, XXI, 2) which deals with commercial routes as well as the external trade of Lin-Yi and Champa at the beginning of their history.

If the history of Champa since the beginning to the fall of Vijaya (1471) now begins to be known, the period after this had only aroused in the past few years only a few casual studies, based on foreign sources such as Spanish and Portuguese (C. R. Boxer and P. Y. Manhuin), Dutch (W. J. M Buch) and Japanese (N. Peri). As for books dealing with the internal history of Champa after the fifteenth century or its relation with Vietnam, they have been, until the past few years, almost non-existent. Doubtless, one should assign the cause for this situation to E. Aymonier, who has written and repeated that the chronicles written in "modern Cham" were without historical value, for he had noticed that the list of kings in those chronicles did not correspond to the list established through epigraphic documents. But in a dissertation at the E.P.H.E. entitled "*Les chroniques du Panduranga des origines à 1822*," Po Dharma demonstrated that the list of kings in the chronicles written in modern Cham did not correspond to that found in the epigraphy because the former was a list of the kings who reigned after the fifteenth century in the south of the country while the latter was a list of kings who had reigned in the north before the fifteenth century. It is now impossible to deny the value of the chronicle written

in modern Cham, as we demonstrated in an article published in 1980. Pursuing his research on the chronicles written in modern Cham and on the Vietnamese Annals, Po Dharma also showed in his work entitled “*Le Panduranga (Campa) 1822–1835. Ses rapports avec le Vietnam (1987)*” that Champa continued to exist as a socio-political entity until 1832, which contradicted what has been written so far by historians of Champa and Vietnam.

If the modern history of Southern Champa began now to take shape, the contemporary history of its people, who played an important role in the F.U.L.R.O. in the course of the second Vietnam war and during the five-year existence of the Khmer Republic, has resulted in but two brief articles.

### **Studies of Language**

If J. Crawford published in 1852 the first list of Cham words which he compared to their Malay equivalents in a *Grammar on the Malay Languages, with a Preliminary Dissertation*, it was H. Kern (*Taalkundige Gegevens ter Beapling Van Het Stamland der Malish-Polynesich Volken*) and E. Kuhn (*Beitrage Zur Sprachenkund hinterindiens*) who were in 1889 the first linguists to be really interested in that language, and included it in a study of common vocabularies in Malayo-Polynesian languages. In 1905 A. Cabaton, in an article published in the *Journal Asiatique* (“Dix Dialectes Indochinois recueillis par Prosper Oden’ hal”) introduced a classification of the Indochinese languages based on lexical similarities. He grouped them in three families: Mon-Khmer, Tai and Burman-Tibetan, and Malayo-Polynesian. He classified Cham and related languages under the latter category. The following year, in Introduction (p. vi) to the *Dictionnaire Cam-Français* which he published with A. Aymonier,

A. Cabaton wrote: “We must definitely follow Dr. Kern, Kuhn, and Nieman and include Cham to the Malayo-Polynesian language family.”

The same year, W. Schmidt, who conducted a research on the Austro-Asiatic language family and its relationship with the Malayo-Polynesian language family which he called, for the first time, Austronesian, published in 1907–1908, first in German then in French, an article which has become famous, *Mon-Khmer people, a hyphen between the peoples of Central Asia and Austronesia*. In this article, he classified Cham and related languages under the Austroasiatic language family. This classification (which originated a quarrel among linguists) was followed by J. Pryzluski who, in his article on the Austroasiatic languages published in *Les Langues du Monde* in 1924, included Cham to the Mon-Khmer languages and who, in his contribution to the publication *Indochine* (1931), classified again Cham among the Austro-asiatic languages, while recognizing himself that this classification is somewhat “erratic” (p. 51). He was also followed by T. A. Sebeok who, in 1942, in “An Examination of Austro-asiatic Language Family,” published in *Language* No 18, included Cham to the Mon-Khmer group. R. Salzner retook this classification in 1960 in his *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischenraumes*. In 1963, H. L. Shorto, J. M. Jacobs and E. H. S. Simmonds in their *Bibliographies of Mon-Khmer and Tai Linguistics*, still included Cham in the Mon-Khmer bibliography, while stating that this group has more affinities with the Malayo-Polynesian family. If it has followers, the classification by W. Schmidt has seriously been contested since its inception. Thus, G. Maspéro in his *Grammaire de la langue khmère*, published in 1915, opposed to Schmidt and linked Cham and related languages to the Malayo-Polynesian family. In *Un empire colonial français: l’Indochine* (1932), he also classified the

Cham language in that family. In 1952, the new edition of *Langues du monde*, in its prefatory note to “*Langues de l’Asie du Sudest*” and in an article “*Les Langues Malayo-polynésiennes*,” he reiterated those views which were also those adopted by G. Coedès (*Les états hindouisés d’Indochine et d’Indonésie*). Later on, S. I. Bruk (*Karta Naradov Indokitaia*, 1959) then A. Capell (*Current Anthropology* 3, 1962) have also adopted that classification like David L. Blood, who, in 1962 (*A Problem in Cham Sonorants*) and again in 1967 (*Phonological Units in Cham*) noted, as did previously H. K. J. (*B.K.I.* no 113) in 1957, that Cham was a Malayo-Polynesian language in its lexicon although its phonology and grammar contain many elements common to the Mon-Khmer languages. Finally, in 1966, A. G. Haudricourt in an article devoted to the examination of problems arising from the genetic relationship of Austroasiatic languages with Cham (*The limits and connections of Austro-asiatic in the Northeast*), rejected the idea that Cham belongs to the Austro-asiatic family and included that language to the Austronesian languages.

The disagreement over the classification of Cham is today solved and nobody doubts its affiliation to the Austronesian languages, in spite of its Austroasiatic substratum.<sup>2</sup>

The speech of present-day Chams in certain parts of Vietnam raises another question. Is it monosyllabic or disyllabic? According to an inquiry in a village near Phan Rang, around 1960 and published in *Anthropological Linguistics* (IV, 9, 1962), Doris Blood stated that for Cham words with two or, more rarely, three syllables—the language strongly tends toward monosyllabism, but added “Scholars tend to maintain full pronunciation of words in their speech.” As a general rule, the speech of non-scholars is characterized by the loss of the preliminary syllable, a fact that we ourselves could observe.

One could not close this paragraph without mentioning

that a few authors described Cham as a tone language but never gave evidence for this assertion, for there are no phonemic tones in Cham as there are in Vietnamese. It seems that this error originated from l'Introduction (pp. xii–xiv) of the *Dictionnaire Cam-Vietnamien-Français* (1971) in which the authors talked about four tones while he referred to the intonation particular to the Phan Rang, Phan Rí region where the Cham people were educated in Vietnamese schools, intonation which is not to be found elsewhere, neither in the Châu-Đốc region nor among the Chams in Cambodia, except in interrogative sentences which are always characterized by a higher register.

### **Studies of Literature**

It was in 1887 that A. Landes published *Contes Tjames*, the first anthology of Champa's oral literature. Three years later, E. Aymonier published *Légendes historiques des Cham*, an annotated translation of a manuscript written in modern Cham. Then only five pretty short texts and six tales were published by E. M. Durand. Then little by little the idea arose that the lack of publications was due to the scarcity of Cham literature. It was written by P. Mus in *Indochine* (vol. I, p. 194) that "a few skeletal hymns, a few pages of rather interesting cosmogeny, a royal chronicle almost lacking of facts, a funeral ritual, all written in Cham, were all that this literature could offer so far, and collected at the very moment when it just began to disappear. It did not include the tales, much more lively, but written in vulgar language."

This judgment did not correspond to reality for one could find in each village inhabited by Cham people many manuscripts as evidenced by the inventory of this literature that G. Moussage began to compile in 1975 in the region of Phan Rang

and that he could not, unfortunately, completed because of the events. One is more surprised by this judgment as the libraries of the Asia Society and the EFEO in Paris have had in stock since the beginning of this century a wealth of Cham manuscripts. Two catalogs entitled *Catalogues des manuscrits cam des bibliothèques françaises* and *Supplément au catalogue des manuscrits Cam des bibliothèques françaises* (1977; 1981) which had been published by our research team, are evidence of the importance of the two sources, the second of which contains many more microfilms. Finally, the important gathering of Cham manuscripts, carried out during the American war in Vietnam and the findings of which were housed in the Echols Library in Cornell University, confirmed that the judgment we have so far on this literature must be revised entirely, considering the number of manuscripts extant on the one side and the quality and importance of the content of those manuscripts on the other.

If the manuscripts recorded in the inventory consist mainly of technical texts—history, religion, customs and manners, magic, etc.—they also offer many texts that are purely literary: epics, poetry, legends, tales, maxims, and riddles. Po Dharma in an article published in 1982 in a Japanese review, *Shiroku*, gave a general perspective of this literature. Three important texts have also been studied: *Pran dit Pran lam*, the Cham version of Ramayana, which was the object of study of two articles published by G. Moussay, who also translated and studied *Akayet diva mano* (which developed a theme identical to the Malay *Hikayat dewa mandu*). Another epic, *Inra Patra*, the equivalent of which exists in Malay, was also translated and studied. While these works were carried out in France, a book entitled *Truyện cổ Chăm*, which contained Vietnamese adaptation of 28 Cham tales, was published in Hanoi in 1978.

Although there is only a small number of published texts and studies on Cham literature, it is no longer possible to think that this literature offers very little interest, since the value and importance of many of its epics and the vitality of its popular literature has been demonstrated.

### **Ethnographic and Sociological Studies**

Ethnographic and sociological studies on the Cham ethnic groups are few compared to what has been conducted on the other ethnic groups who inhabited ancient Champa (Jarai, Stieng, Rhade etc.). The first ethnographic work on the Chams was published in 1880 by A. Reynard. It was followed in the same year by an article by A. Labuissière on the Chams of Châu-Đốc and by another follow-up article by Bouillevaux the following year. Other notes were written by E. Aymonier in 1885, Zaborowski in 1895, and D. Grangean in 1896. The first scientific study was published by A. Cabaton (*Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams*, 1901) who was to write later other articles on the Cham in Vietnam and in Cambodia. In 1903 E. M. Durand published an article on the Cham-bani (Muslim Chams in the Phan Rang region) which was followed by other studies on the so-called Brahmanist Chams. Later, many other works, which people no longer refer to, were published. We had to wait until 1930 to see the publication of *Au pays du droit maternel* in which M. Ner stressed the matriarchal and matriloal character of the social organization of the Chams in Phan Rang and until 1941 to see the publication of *Les Musulmans de l' Indochine française* in which the author presented a general study of the Chams and Malays in the west of South Vietnam and Cambodia. After the Second World War, except for an article entitled *Contributions à l' étude des structures sociales Cam du Vietnam*

(1964) and *Minority Groups in the Republic of Vietnam* edited by the US Department of the Armed Forces in 1966 which presented a Cham chronology besides politico-military considerations of this people, all the ethnographic and sociological studies were carried out by Vietnamese researchers and published in Vietnamese. Between 1955 and 1975, the most prolific writers were Nguyễn Văn Luận, Dohamide and Dovohiem who were interested practically only in the Muslim Chams of the Châu-Đốc and Saigon regions. Since 1975, ethnological studies of the Cham have resumed, as evidenced by the publication of articles and, in 1978 in Ho Chi Minh City, a collection of 250 xerox pages which contained nine studies devoted to the Chams and their culture.

With regards to the ethnic groups inhabiting the mountainous regions of the ancient kingdom of Champa, they were the object of many studies. First, the explorers like Captain Cupet (Mission Pavie, tome III), Dr. A. Yersin, J. Hammand (from 1877 to 1887), P. Neil (1880–1881), A. Gautier (1821), and many others among whom H. Maitre who published *Les Jungles Moi* in 1912 which remains a classic work for ethnographers. Then many scientific studies on the Bahnar ethnic groups by J. E. Kemlin and Guilleminet, followed by books and many articles on the Rhades by B. Jouin, A. Maurice, extensive articles on the Stieng by H. Azemar and T. Gerber, many books and articles on the Ma by J. Boulbet and on the Mnong Gar by G. Condominas, books and articles on the Sre by D. Quegunier and J. Dourves and on the Jarai by Dourves and ourselves, and articles on the Mnong of the Haut Donnai by Huard and A. Maurice. Books on customary laws of the ethnic groups who had played a role in ancient Champa were also published. Nri with his *Recueil de coutumes Sre du Haut Donnai* by J. Dournes in 1951, *Coutumier Stieng* by T. Geber (1951), *le Coutumier des Bahnars du Kontum*, by



P. Guilleminet in 1952, *Recueil de Coutumes Rhades du Darlac* by D. Antomarchi in 1940 and *Toloi Djuat: Coutumier de la tribu Jarai* by ourselves in 1963. Finally, the ethno-history in two volumes (*Sons of the Mountains and Free in the Forest*) on the inhabitants of the mountain regions of ancient Champa were published by G. C. Hickey in 1982.

### **Studies of Religion**

Researchers on religion focused on the cults practiced in the ancient times as well as in the contemporary period. The cults practiced in the past are known partly through epigraphy, for each inscription generally made allusion to the religion of those who ordered the inscription made or referred to a divinity, partly through archeology, in particular by statuary. The cult practiced formerly by the Chams were inventoried by L. Finot in 1901 in *La religion des Chams d'après leur monuments*, a summary study written after a first examination of monuments extant, then by Boisselier in 1963 in his work on the statuary who studied the cults based on historical, epigraphic, and iconographic data. Those authors have shown that two great religious currents have existed and even coexisted in Champa: Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. Hinduism existed very early as evidenced by the discovery of the statues of Siva, Bhrama, Vishnu, Krishna, and beautiful lingas as well as by excavation (excavation conducted at the sanctuary of Po Nagan in Nha-trang). As in India, where it was partly constituted by native materials, Hinduism in Indochina has also drawn from the local religious materials as proved by Paul Mus in his important article *L'Inde vue de l'Est: Cultes indiens et indigènes du Champa* (1933) in which he demonstrated how the inhabitants of Champa have turned Hindu cults into the cult forms that are

their own today.

*Le catalogue du musée Cam de Tourane*, published by Parmentier in 1919, showed that Champa practiced Hinduism and also Mahayana Buddhism, the evidence of which was found in the excavations of Đòng-Dương, published by Parmentier in 1903 and 1904, site where later on a magnificent Buddha statue of the Amaravati style was discovered and was studied by V. Rougier in 1911 and P. Dupont in 1954 and 1959, among others; the site where, as was shown by L. Finot in 1925 in *Lockecvara en Indochine*, an epigraphy which confirms the implant of this particular aspect of Mahayana, was discovered.

The cults practiced in modern times was first inventoried and presented in 1891 by E. Aymonier in *Les Tchams et leur religions*, then in 1901 by A. Cabaton in his *Nouvelles recherches* in which he discussed, among other things, the divinities and religious festivities of the Chams, and finally in 1931 by P. Mus in his article *Religion des Chams*. These ethnic groups shared the practice of cults called by the authors as Brahmanic while these had only a few links with the cult of this name and also Muslim practitioners who divide themselves into orthodox (Chams of Cambodia and west of South Vietnam) and Cham-bani of the Phan Rí region who have a very sketchy knowledge of that religion.

One of the first authors to mention the religious facts called Brahmanism was D. Grangean in 1896. He was followed by E. M. Durand who, in his *Notes sur les Chams*, studied the ceremonies and rituals (in particular abiseka) as well as the sacerdotal cast of baseh, while H. Délétie and Nguyễn Đình Hoè were interested in the goddess Thiên-Y A-Na and her cult. H. Maspéro interested himself in the *Prière du bain des statues divines chez les cam* (1919). Later, A. Sallet pored over the beliefs in genie-dispensing epidemics, P. Mus in his *Compte-rendu de mission*

chez les Cam du Sud Annam (1929) on religious ethnography, and H. Baudesson, in 1932, on superstitions, a work which during thirty years was not practically followed by any study on the Brahmanist Chams.

Islam, the introduction of which into Champa has been discussed since E. Huber published a “Note sur un témoignage de l’islamisation du Campa” dans les *Annales des Song* in 1903, P. Ravisse deciphered two inscriptions in Arabic in the eleventh century in 1922, and A. Cabaton purported hypotheses (“Indochine” in *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*), seems to be implanted in Champa in the sixteenth century, as suggested by P. Y. Manguin (*L’Introduction de l’Islam au Campa*) in 1979. This Islam has been rarely studied since it has aroused during the first forty years of this century only a few articles worth mentioning, one written by E. M. Durand and the others by A. Cabaton (*Notes sur l’Islam dans l’Indochine Française*) in 1906 and *Les Chams musulmans de l’Indochine française*) in 1907, another by Lazard in 1907 and two by M. Ner in 1941.

It was only around the 1960s that several Vietnamese researchers in Saigon took interest again in Cham contemporary religion. It was first Nghiễm-Thấ̃m who, in articles written in Vietnamese, made a synthesis of the religions of the inhabitants of the ancient territory of Champa. Then Nguyễn Văn Luận, in articles written in Vietnamese, studied from 1968 to 1974 the so-called Brahmanic rites and beliefs, as well as the practices of the Muslim Chams in the west of South Vietnam and Saigon. Finally, Dohamide and Dohemien published a few notes on Islam and on the religion of the Cham in Châu-Đốc. Since 1975, Lý Kim Hoa has studied the popular beliefs of the Cham in the Phan Rang area and Hoàng Sĩ Quý studied the transformation of ancient Sivaism into a modern cult.

As one may have noticed, publications on Champa and its

civilization are less numerous than those on Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand. This is due to the fact that Champa offers less possibilities in research than the neighboring countries. The study of its history and culture entails more difficulties which may have been encountered or still have to encounter than in research on the other great cradles of the civilization of the Indochina peninsula.

Pierre Bernard Lafont.

#### Notes

1. For publication before 1989, see P.B. Lafont and Po Dharma, *Bibliographie Campâ et Cam*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989.
2. For languages related to Cham and spoken in the ancient mountainous territory of Champa, R.S. Pittman in 1957 for Jarai, then D. Thomas for Jarai, Rhade and Chru, have shown that they belong to the Malayo-polynesian language family.

## The Geographical Setting of Ancient Champa

It is very difficult to ascertain the exact territorial extent of the old kingdom of Champa since its frontiers were not rigorously defined and the recognition of its authority varied according to the different degrees of dependency, the period of time we consider, and the distance of a particular area to the capital.

Traditionally, it was situated on the coastal region of Central Vietnam, somewhere between the 18th and the 11th parallels North (from Đèo-Ngang Pass to south of present-day Bình-Thuận province). However, archaeological vestiges prove that the Kingdom of Champa, (called Lin-Yi by the Chinese and Lâm-Ấp, Hoàn-Vương, then Chiêm-Thành by the Vietnamese), whose foundation can be traced back to A. D. 192 in the area of present-day Huế, and according to Chinese sources, stretched over the coastal area of today's Central Vietnam, reaching the banks of the Mekong River and encompassing the highlands of Central Vietnam, at the time of the zenith of its power. In fact, an inscription by King Devanida, which confirmed these frontiers around AD 455–472, was found in the Champassak region of Laos.

On the other hand, close ties have always existed between the inhabitants of the highlands (Chru, Stieng, Roglai, Sre, Jarai) and those living in the coastal area. This explains why some Panduranga (Cham) kings came from the highlands,

why the Cham treasures were placed under the safeguard of mountain tribes by the kings of Champa and why the people of the coastal plains took refuge in the mountains among the mountain tribes each time they fled from the part of their country that was invaded by foreign aggressors.

Old Champa consisted of a coastal area and a number of highlands of varied altitudes, scattered with more or less high summits like the Ngọc-Linh peak, 2598 meters and the Langbiang summit, 2163 meters, or cut out by real mountain abysses (high Kontum massif and, among others, Chu Yang Sin massif, the water-tower of the region from which spring the Krong Ana and Krong Mo Rivers.)

The relief separates the highlands in the west from the string of coastal plains in the east. The contact between the two terrains is often very sharp but sometimes there are intermediary tiers due to fracture. The smallness of the plains, often separated from one another by rocky spurs—ramifications in the direction of the coastal plains from the inland mountains—made it difficult to set up a centralized state and did not help maintain the cohesion of regional particularisms.

**The coastal area**, which was the location of principalities with different names which took turn to control the whole kingdom before the Vietnamese pressure occurring in the seventeenth century, made Champa appear on ancient maps as the only kingdom of Panduranga. From north to south we can distinguish:

—the region formed by the old districts of Địa-lý, Ma-Linh, and BỐ-chính offered by King Chế-Cũ in 1069 to Vietnamese emperor Lý-Thánh-Tôn in exchange for his freedom. These three districts were definitively acquired by Vietnam only in 1104 after a bloody battle won by General Lý Thường Kiệt. We must also include the two

- districts of Ô and Rí that King Chế-Mân offered to King Trần Anh-Tôn (1293–1314) as a marriage gift when he asked for the hands of Princess Huyền Trân (a historical fact recognized by the *Vietnamese Annals*). The whole territory corresponds to present-day Bình-Trị-Thiên area (Quảng-Bình, Quảng-Trị, and Thừa-Thiên provinces).
- the region called Amaravati (present-day Quảng-Nam province).
  - the region called Vijaya (present-day Bình-Định province).
  - the region called Kauthara (present-day Khánh-Hòa province).
  - the region called Panduranga (present-day Phan Rang and Phan Rí provinces).

**The northernmost part**, where Cham vestiges are found in Phong Nha, Mỹ-Đức, Hà-Trung, Linh Thái, and most abundantly, in the region extending from Quảng-Trị to Huế, consists of twelve mountainous regions: the spurs of Hoàn-sơn and the Hải-Vân Pass. Geographically, it is the plains of Bình-Trị-Thiên. Historically, it was a permanent battlefield, first between Chinese and Chams, then between Vietnamese and Chams, starting in the tenth century.

This plain is bordered in the west by mountains with granite summits above 1,700 meters of altitude, the remaining are mountains between 1200 and 1300 meters, which abruptly fall down to 300–400 meters of altitude when it reaches the plains. The hydrographic network is very dense here. The rivers have very abrupt banks: The River of Fragrance (Sông Hương), about one hundred kilometers long and about 500–600 meters in altitude at its source, almost reaches sea-level before passing Huế. With a dense vegetation, heat and humidity create a greenhouse atmosphere propitious to the develop-

ment of numerous living organisms, often harmful to human health.

The plain proper consists of small entities: Ròn, Ba-Đồn, Đồng-Hới or Quảng-Bình, Lê-Thủy, Hà-Thanh, Quảng-Trị, Thừa-Thiên. Their width varies from 10 to 20 kilometers, and sometimes much less, as is the case of certain areas south of Huế. The fertile land is still more reduced in Quảng-Bình by the presence in the west of a band of piedmonts about 15–20 meters or 40–50 meters, covered by infertile soil, resulting from erosion and sand dunes lying against the direction of the main winds bordering the sea. Those moving sand dunes progress regularly and can make gardens and ricefields sterile. In the midst of those dunes there are small outstretched depressions of fresh water, but at the time of the Cham Kingdom those depressions ran to the sea.

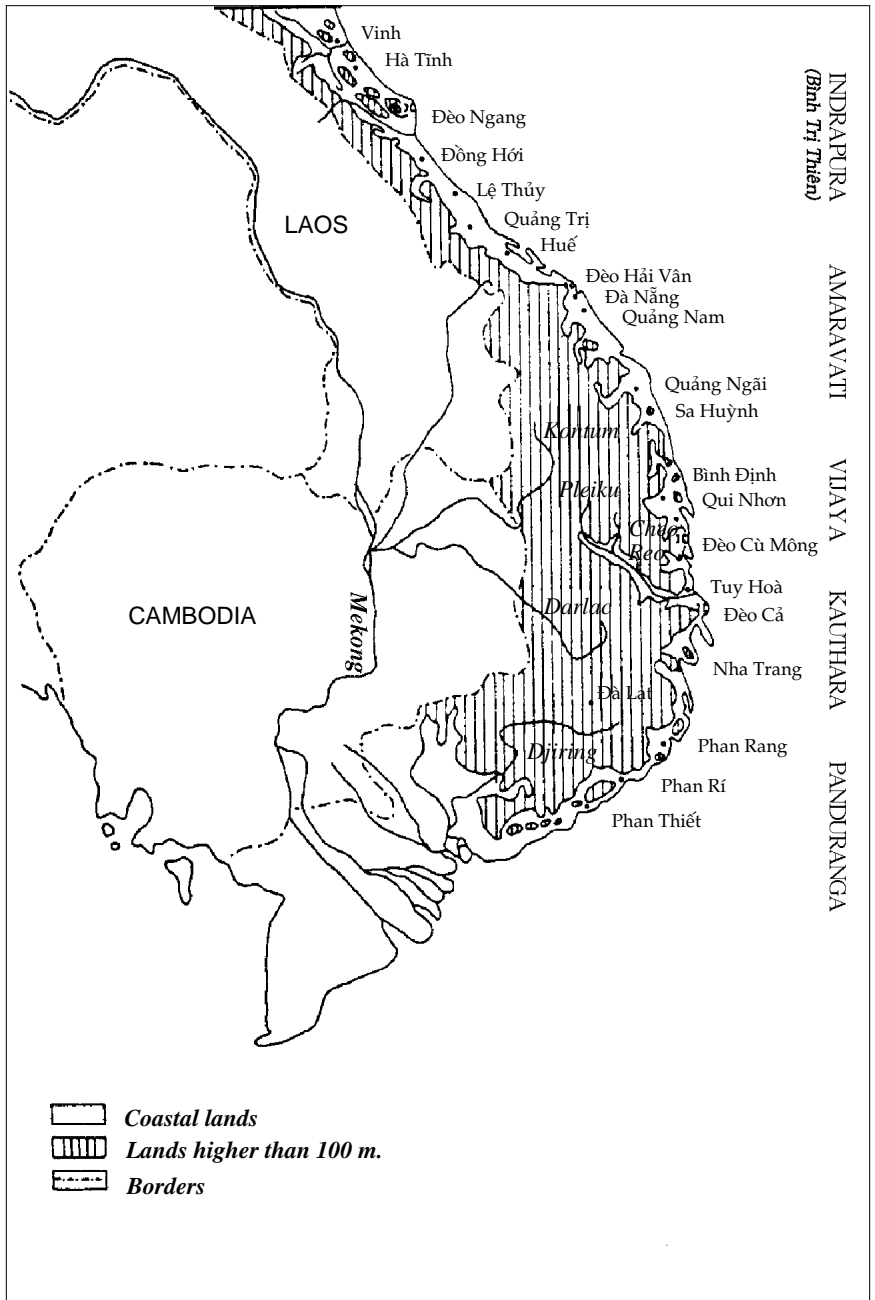
The small plains of Lê-Thủy and Hà-Thanh are exceptions by their richness, as well as Quảng-Trị, stretching along the Cam-Lộ Valley (66 kilometers long with an area of 510 square kilometers). This valley has basaltic hills with very fertile soil.

The largest plain is that of Thừa-Thiên. However, its 900 square kilometers area is not all fertile land, with sterile sand dunes in Phong-Điền, old poor alluvium, in the west with pebbly land where grow only a bush vegetation (grass like the *Myrtus canescens*, *Melastoma spetemnerva*, which can be used to produce a strong liquor). The long Thuận-An lagoon (rich in fish) borders this plain on 70 kilometers (which is the length of the lagoon and which was formidable for sea-voyagers of the past: 70 kilometers by 10 kilometers with a depth of about 10 meters).

**The Amaravati region** corresponds to present-day Quảng-Nam and Quảng-Ngãi provinces. By its archeological richness, proven by the ruins of one of the ancient capitals of Champa



### Coastal areas and highlands of ancient Champa



(Trà-Kiêu: Simhapura, or more certainly, Indrapura) the Quảng-Nam plain (Mỹ-Sơn circle) was at one time the very heart of the kingdom. However, at first sight, the natural setting does not offer a back country with rich resources and easy access. In effect, the plain of Quảng-Nam, an ancient bay enriched by alluvions of the Thu-Bồn river and its tributaries which undermine the mountains and give rise to a plain of 540 square kilometers' area, like an amphitheater between two rocky outposts: the spur of the Hải-Vân Pass, a real climatic barrier, and the spur of Ban-Tâm or Nam-Trân Cape (with Chúa Mountain, 1362 meters high).

It leans on an area of high hills (800–500 meters) as a transition to the imposing ancient massif of the Atuat (the summit of the Vietnamese-Laotian frontier reaches 2500 meters with halo all the year round on its cloudy crown). Other higher peaks (Mount Bà-Nà, 1467 meters), very close to the sea, fall almost vertically on the plains.

This mountainous back country, which collects all the humidity of the southwest winds and the dryness of the plains which extend at its feet on the other slope, provides an explanation to its characteristics.

All the rivers of this back country are short—and it's the same for the southern sectors—and hardly reach 100 or 200 kilometers, with young-looking profiles (high encased slopes), torrential in the rainy season (the floods of the Vê River are famous and remind us much of the French Cevennes country). The erosion is powerful and gathers in the piedmont area rough elements difficult for soil improvement. At the contact of the plains, they scrape the hills of their upper layers, leaving the surface either bare or covered with gramineae or vegetation of little use. In the dry season, their water is reduced to a streamlet, making it impossible to irrigate the high plains along the valley

without important improvement works. The hills of the back country do not have passes of easy access, thus making the entrance to the interior of the country difficult.

In the north, almost near the coast, rise the “marble mountains” with five summits of limestone transformation, important for their roles as sites for past and present cults (Ngũ Hành Sơn). The historical importance of this plain is explained by the quality of the site (defensive cirque for the serenity of cults, large valleys of Thu-Bồn and Tam-Kỳ). The totality of the alluvial plains occupies an area of almost 1000 square kilometers, very fertile, probably very intensively exploited for rice culture in the past as is in the present time. Chinese documents (*Shuijing zhu* of the fifth century) mentioned the tenth and fourth month harvests: white fields for the former and red fields for the latter. Completing these rice culture lands, soft-sloped hills with many rivers, were probably, as they are now, devoted to shrub cultures.

The plain of Quảng-Ngãi is the work of Trà-Bồng, Trà-Khúc and Vê rivers. With an area of 1200 square kilometers, it is nevertheless scattered with rocky peaks where grow wild cinnamon trees, very much sought for by spice lovers and for pharmacy purposes, and which make its fame. The low lands are for rice culture. Human population was found in the direction of the interior, along the valleys.

The intensity of land improvement work is also attested by traces of a very ingenious irrigation network that people are now trying to partly revive. The fight against excessive drought in the dry season and the imperious need for a second harvest make that norias, now as it was perhaps formerly, the essential elements of the agrarian sight of Quảng-Nam and Quảng-Ngãi.

**The Vijaya region** (Binh-Định today) where are located the

vestiges of the ancient capital of Vijaya (Đồ-Bàn or Chà-Bàn), the stake between the Chams and the Vietnamese during the campaign of Lê-Thánh-Tông in 1471, is a succession of units, very much compartmentalized by ramification of Bình-Định mountains, the altitude of which does not exceed 1500 meters and made of gneiss and micaschist, forming domes more rounded at the soft slopes. The whole region has an area of 17,150 square kilometers (the plains of Tam-Quan, Bồng-Sơn, Vạn-Phúc, Phù-Mỹ, Qui-Nhơn). The Bay of Cri-Bonei (Thị-Nại) gives access to the sea. This whole area is closed in the south by the spur of the Cù-Mông Pass. The transfer of the capital of Indrapura (Trà-Kiêu) to this region (Vijaya) around the year AD 1000, under the pressure of the Vietnamese, was probably dictated by configuration of the site on the one hand and the possibility of intensive culture in this area on the other. The very dense river network, in spite of a very low water level in the dry season, permits a culture already very diversified. The coconut trees find in Tam-Quan very good conditions for growth.

**The Kauthara region** (Khánh-Hòa today). From Cù-Mông Pass every where the mountain is close to the sea: bays, capes, and rocky coasts are its consequences. The plains, 800 square kilometers in total, are reduced to small areas except Phú-Yên plains, thanks to the alluvions of two important rivers: Sông Cái River and Đà-Rằng River (the alluvial plain of Sông Cái is also called Tuy-An Plain and that of Đà-Rằng is called Tuy-Hòa Plain by the Vietnamese, about 500 square kilometers by 800 square kilometers in totality.)

The Po Ngar Temple there symbolizes the ancient Cham royal power. The scantiness of cultivable land is compensated by the presence of alluvium of basaltic origin, carried by the Đà-Rằng River which fertilizes not only its delta but also the hills

watered by its middle stream. There, the inhabitants would find propitious conditions to go up farther in the innerland, and left their traces in today's scenery (Yang Mum Temple at Cheo-Reo). This plain ended abruptly at the chain of "the Mother and her Child" (Hòn Vọng Phu) whose Cape Varella is its extension to the sea. The altitude decreases abruptly from 200–500 meters to 25 meters. Quite close to the coast, the famous summit of the Stone Stele (Núi Đá-Bia), 705 meters in height, is evidence of an eventful episode in the history of the relations between Champa and Vietnam.

The small plains of Ninh-Hòa (100 square kilometers), Nha-Trang (135 square kilometers), Ba Ngòi (less than 100 square kilometers) are mostly constituted of sandy soil and already affected by the semi-aridity which preannounces Panduranga.

The beauty of the beach, the magnificent Cam Ranh bay, the picturesque Nha-Trang beach could not, in the economy of those days, bring about resources to compensate the poverty of the soil, especially in the high plateaus leading to the mountains, which is impossible to improve without an irrigation network of importance.

**The Panduranga region** (present-day Bình-Thuận and Ninh-Thuận). Mountains and sand dunes are ever-present in the scene, reducing the plains to small alluvion bands. They are:

- The Phan Rang plain, surrounded by high mountains (Chúa Mountain 1140 meters, Đèo Cả 629 meters, Đà-Bắc 644 meters), is about 200 square kilometers. It is situated along Sông Cái River (or Sông Kinh-Dinh in its downstream). There are some plains actually covered with wild vegetation, for lack of water. But if one goes up the valleys, an area of forest galleries today, one still can see an elaborate canal network for irrigation established by the Chams, the uncontested master of certain arts of

water control. The soil of Panduranga is generally good but the microclimate transforms the coastal area into a Southeast Asian steppe which requires water for cultivation.

- The Tuy-Phong plain (35 square kilometers) where flows the Lòng Sông river is covered in several places with marine sand but the ancient exploitation of salt marshes (Saline Cana), of thermal springs (Vĩnh Hảo)—it is said that the priests of Champa used that water to wash the statues—and a fish-rich coast compensate for the narrowness and sterility of the soil.
- The plain of Phan Rí, watered by the Sông Lũy River (126 square kilometers). It is somewhat less dry than the plain of Phan Rang (in spite of its proximity), thanks to the presence of a corridor of about 20 kilometers wide, lower than the surrounding mountains, which permits the circulation of damp air from the Djiring plateau to the coast.
- The plain of Phan-Thiết, a little larger (310 square kilometers), is watered by many streams, erosion agents which cut up the plain already rare in fertile soil cultivable without a necessary irrigation network.
- From Phan Rang to Phan-Thiết, the dominant scene is that of sand dunes (occupying an area of 500 square kilometers). The most ancient are the red dunes; the white dunes are of intermediate age, and the yellow dunes, more recent, are still moving. The burning-hot dunes form with the intense blue sea a symphony of colors which the drought, making the wind vibrate, renders it more fascinating. The coconut trees, which adorn the coast with their large shadows, quench the thirsty travelers with the juice of their young nuts.

Dryness manifests itself by the rising of salt in medium altitude zone (in lowlands, salt is drawn to the lower part, in the highlands the upward motion does not reach the surface). Those whitish plaques, locally called cà giang soil or cát-lôi (protuberant sand) are charged with sodium carbonate and can be utilized as soap. They are unsuitable for cultivation and only a few alkaline-resisting plants can grow here in sparse bushes.

In conclusion, coastal Champa seems as if it were locked in a narrow area. The wealth in fish in the sea surely gave a complement of resources. With regards to sea trade, could we say that it was of a great breadth. The seaport cities (Sa Huỳnh, Trà Kiệu, Phan Rang etc.) were located on a coast surrounded by a sea with relatively shallow water and it was difficult or impossible for large boats to get through the channels of the lower course of unimportant rivers. Therefore, those plains were incapable of being the sole support of a very dense population at a time when agriculture was the essential activities.

**The highlands** were the dwelling place of the proto-Indochinese ethnic groups (Chru, Roglai, Stieng, Rhade, Jarai) who had always had, at the time of the Cham kingdom, close relations with lowland people. Their region may have had produce that were complementary to those produced by the coast. Mutual needs helped maintain the relations between the two parties: salt for the one and refuge land for the other, just to mention a few.

The relief of the western part of the country is of a different type: tiered high plateaus with their steep and uneven western edge, abusively called as the Annamitic Cordillère. The edge of the highlands begins in the south of the Hải-Vân Pass. It was the pads that constitute the mountains of Quảng-Ngãi, high Kontum, Bình-Định and that largely fall on the narrow coastal

plains. Running in the north-south direction, those axes are interrupted at the An-Khê Pass and dominated by the Ngọc-Lĩnh summit, which is the highest peak in the whole area, reaching an altitude of 2598 meters. South of the Sông Ba (Đà-Rằng) valley, this edge curves in to form the mountains of Khánh-Hòa, Lang-Biang, and Chu Yang-Sin. Massive and heavy, these essentially granite mountains send many ramifications in the direction of the sea, transforming the coastal plain into a string of small units, creating climatic screens which alter the classic monsoon climate in a dramatic way.

**The high plateaus** proper are a tiered surface disposed like a stairway of 500 to 500 meters in the south and southeast and descend in soft slopes toward the Mekong. They have undergone several periods of erosion and recently rejuvenated, which is manifested in the scenery, apart from those tiered steps easily visible on the way from Saigon to Dalat (plateau of Djiring, average altitude at 1000 meters, Lang-Biang plateau at 1500 meters) by a relief of the French Limousin type (Central Massif of France) made of hills, extending to the skyline, interspersed with valleys with irregular profiles (numerous falls and rapids) with large trough-shaped sections and narrow sections deeply carved in the rocky mass. From north to south one can distinguish:

- plateau of North Kontum
- plateau of Pleiku-Kontum
- plateau of Darlac
- plateau of Dalat (Lang-Biang)
- plateau Mnong (Blao-Djiring)

The plateau of North Kontum is, in this study, considered as a part of the edge of the Cordilliere. It is made of high, compact granite mass where one distinguishes the Tchepone-Danang axis, the last element in the Northwest-Southeast



direction. Structurally, it is attached to the relief of North Vietnam with convex slopes passed through by a network of rivers moving in indecisive directions, expanding to the horizon.

The plateau of Kontum (or lower Kontum) of an average altitude of about 400 meters and the plateau of Pleiku about 800 meters altitude still have traces of volcanic activity. The Chu Hodron, 12 kilometers south of Pleiku, is a former volcano, the La-Bang and Tó-Nữ Eng Prong lakes are former craters, closed depressions which are shallow and marshy, the “do nau,” are often located on the expansion of old volcanoes. Basaltic tracks whose decomposition gave rise to red-brown or red soil are fertile; alluvial terrasses of the valley are also good soil in general.

The An-Khê region (average altitude of 450 meters), situated between the Mang Yang and An-Khê Pass is criss-crossed by many small rivers cutting the surface into a multitude of small hills.

The Cheo Reo Valley (150–200meters altitude) large with a flat bottom, was intensively inhabited during the Champa period. The vestiges of Draang Lai, Yang Mum are further evidences of the splendor of yore. One of the characteristics of this plateau is its relatively easy access to the coast: by the An-Khê Pass toward Qui-Nhơn and by the Cheo-Reo valley towards Tuy-Hòa. The Ayun River, a tributary of Đà-Rằng, forms a gap in the high north-south plain.

When it's not degraded by men, the natural vegetation is made of dense half-deciduous forests, which can be found in several places only a few years ago. But more and more they are replaced, in case of absence of reforestation, by savannas of gramineaes (*Imperata cynlindrica*: cỏ tranh), *Eupatorium odoratum* (cây hôi) or bamboo groves (rừng tre).

The plateau of Darlac is also a basaltic plateau of 400–500 meters in altitude, with ancient cones, and trails hardly eroded; it extends from Cheo-Reo to Ban-Mê-Thuột. It is also the most fertile, the least cut, in spite of the presence of deep and narrow valleys.

The southern part offers a different landscape. It is a depressed zone (average altitude of 350–450 meters), formed by large valleys of many rivers (Krong Ana, Krong Kno, Sre Pok, Ta Krong), of lakes in the course of warping; the whole region is still scattered with lakes, meanders and marshy lands (Chur).

The forest here is dense when the soil is good and the water abundant and clear, where grow dipterocarpacees (cây dâu); it is less so towards the west where the sign of some drought becomes more and more apparent. Toward the east and north, there are savannas and secondary brushes. The depression of M'Drak (Khánh-Dương), between Ban-Mê-Thuột and Nha-Trang, with a soil which retains water well, is green all the year round.

The plateau of Dalat (Lang Biang) with an average altitude of 1500 meters is separated from the plateau of Darlac by the chain of Chu Yang Sin. It dominates with an abrupt slope the valleys of Krong Kno in the north, Đa Dung in the west, and Đa Nhim in the east and in the south.

It is a hilly region (which does not lack, however, of deep valleys such as along the road from Dalat to Prenn, from Dalat to Dran) constituted of schists and varied eruptive rocks; which, being more resistant, have high peaks. Small basaltic nappes can be found in many places (on the road leading to the Bellevue Pass, in the valley of Đa Nhim, at the Prenn waterfall).

Many lakes (Xuân-Hương, Than-Thở, and Mê-Linh) of diverse and still obscure origins, deep valleys from which arise mist and fog, numerous waterfalls (Gougah, Cam-Ly, Pongour),

and the pine forests provide this plateau with a temperate climate and the most beautiful landscapes which were a source of inspiration for poems and songs for the various ethnic groups inhabiting the region.

In some places, the pine forests yield to prairies which give to the hills a light green hue in the rainy season and yellowish hue in the dry season. The soil is apt for cultivation. The deep hillocks bordering the plateaus are covered with dense ever-green forests.

The plateau of the Three Frontiers is located in the junction of the frontier of Cambodia, Central and South Vietnam. It is the region known as Mnong plateau by ethnologists, Haut Chlong by geomorphologists, and Quảng-Đức by South Vietnamese administrators from 1954 to 1975. It is made of a basalt dome of 1000 meters altitude in its central part and extend toward the southwest, the Darlac plateau. It is worn out by erosion which cuts hills and long corridors beaming towards the west, it leaves here and there less fertile strips of laterite and schist. In several places the basalt was eroded by the action of the rain. The valleys are deep, sometimes reaching several hundred yards, and 15-degree slopes are frequent. With torrential rains, they provoke important landslides. Sparsely inhabited, this plateau offers a dreary sight with gramineae savannas with high wind-swept peaks.

In its central part, several brooks take their sources in the long marshy depression with muddy bottoms. Very damp, this plateau, however, has water problems in the dry season and the rare villages depend on water resources for survival. It extends to the southwest by the Phước Long plateau (100-500 meters average altitude) with deep valleys such as the valley of Sông-Bé. In some places there are shreds of basalt. Traditionally, this region is studied with the west South Vietnam and geographi-

cally, it is a transition towards the plateau of Blao-Djiring.

The Blao-Djiring plateau (1000 meters altitude, but somewhat lower in the west where it reaches 800 meters only and covered by a layer of basalt the decomposition of which gives thick soil less fertile than that of Darlac plateau. Laterite-covered soil appear here and there, some shake off the upper cover by erosion (Blao region). This plateau is made of a mosaic of natural regions cut out by the Đà Dung River (deep, often more than 100 meters) and its tributaries. Vestiges of fairly recent volcanic activity are numerous: strips of basalt hardly worn out by erosion and cones of scoria (chai). Alluvial plains, well-sought for agriculture, are in contact with basalt upstream around Djiring.

Dense forests cover the granite summits, often inaccessible, and damp small sectors around Blao; everywhere it is the domain of clear forests of pine trees or savannahs resulting from vegetal degradation caused by the practice of “rây” cultivation (slash and burn), as much as on the plateau of Cagne situated in the loop of the Đà Dung after its junction with Cam-Ly).

The rivers maintain their water full practically throughout the year and the stream is not very deep. For this reason, and in addition to other factors, this plateau is more appropriate than others for human habitation and today there are several villages in this area.

In conclusion, mountains and high plateaus are, in spite of all, of difficult access. Transversal communications are rare. The valleys of big rivers have encased banks, profiles cut by abrupt waterfalls. As for the network of small rivers, the difference of water levels between the rainy and dry seasons is very sharp, their floods are often brutal. All this makes their utilization uncertain and it is not rare to observe a network of

trails utilizing the slopes, ridges, and abandoning the bottom of the valleys.

Until the second third of the twentieth century, the forest was predominant in this area (primary and secondary forests and clearings) the “rây” constituted only small gaps, not distinguishable from the whole vegetation of the area. Domain of the forest, the high zone is equally that of genii, disease (malaria), unhealthy water and erosion intensified by the practice of savage clearings without giving enough time for reforestation. Thus, one may say that until the twentieth century, here men have not dominated or conquered nature. This system of soil improvement is based on itinerant agriculture based on slashing and burning, which requires an enormous area (several hectares) for the production of food for a single person. Population density is therefore weak (5 to 10 persons per square kilometer) and habitation sparse.

By its vegetation and geography, this zone is difficult to penetrate for those who are not familiar with it. This explains why it played the role of a refuge land for the Chams every time the country was invaded.

## **Climate**

The climate of the country has excessive contrasts. In general, it is a monsoon climate, characterized by two predominant wind directions: winter wind blowing from the northeast to the southwest during November to April, corresponding to the dry season and the summer wind blowing from the southwest to the northeast, from June to October. It is warm all the year round with the average temperature of 27° C and plenty of rain. But this general picture is largely modified by the relief and latitude (18° north latitude at the Đèo Ngang, 11° for Phan Rí

plain). The orientation of the slope in relation to the dominant wind determines the quality and distribution of rain, thus playing an important role in the agricultural life of the country. The climate of the coastal region is not always propitious to the expansion and intensity of the exploitation of land. As a matter of fact, by the curved-in form of the coast, the country receives the northeast winds directly. Typhoons, frequent on the coast of Champa in October (4 or 5 typhoons, often very strong, each year) are dreadful by their destructive violence (wind often of 160 kilometers an hour). The effect is increased by the proximity of the mountains and the smallness of the plains, some of which are bordered all around by rocky spurs. Floods, tempests, tidal waves, scattering of sterile sand, destruction of harvest and human installations, not to mention death, are calamities left behind by typhoons on their passage. Recent examples could serve to illustrate this natural phenomenon which, since the dawn of mankind, has continued to impress deeply those who have to bear them:

—On October 1, 1985, typhoon number 7 swept the southern coast of Nghệ-Tĩnh, north of Bình-Trị-Thiên. Diluvial fall of rain (500 to 900 millimeters per year, compared to the annual quantity of rainfall in Paris of only 750 millimeters) provoked flood in the plain of Lệ-Thủy. Enormous damage was recorded: highways and railroads were cut off, ricefields destroyed, houses devastated.

—On October 15–16, 1985, typhoon number 8 lashed Bình-Thuận province. For 22 hours, tidal waves and winds of more than 150 kilometers/hour unfurled on 350 kilometers of the flat coast, sweeping away everything on their path. It was recorded (approximately):

—one thousand persons dead or missing

- 229,000 houses destroyed or damaged
- hundreds of thousands of families becoming homeless.
- highways and railroads cut off
- 34,000 hectares of ricefields and 30,00 hectares of other cultures, mainly orchards, destroyed.
- factory plants, hospitals, schools, warehouses and food stocks destroyed or damaged.

The climate of Champa does not have distinct seasons. Only the distribution of rain marks the timing of rural life. In Hué the average temperature of winter months is 21°, 22°, and 26° Celsius in February, March and April respectively. As one goes farther south, the average temperature increases, Qui-Nhon 26°5, Nha-Trang 26°2, Phan-Thiết 27°1C. By the sheltered position of the plains, there are pockets of drought even in the heart of the monsoon zone. Dry and burning winds, such as those called winds of Laos (gió Lào), which are real foehns, and the west wind blows downward from the passes and sweeps the plains of north Champa, dries the ricefields and overwhelms beasts and men with torpor.

In Hué it rains from September to January and the rainfall is 2,861 millimeters per year, in Quảng-Trị 2543 millimeters and Quảng-Ngãi 2215 millimeters. Panduranga suffers almost a semi-arid climate at Cape Varella, the dry season lasts 9 months and the wet season has only 770 millimeters per year. In Phan Rang and Phan Rí, this quantity falls to 700 and for certain years to 500 millimeters. Marked differences can be observed, however, between the two plains, in spite of their proximity, because of the relief that separates them. In Phan Rang it rains 49 days per year and the maximum 80 days are distributed over 3 months: September, October, and November. In Phan Rí, the distribution of rainfall resembles the South

Vietnam model and the rainy season extends from May to October. The strong evaporation (at Vũng Tàu—formerly Cap Saint Jacques—farther to the south, the rainfall is 1296 millimeters per year and evaporation is 1214 millimeters per year) emphasizes the effects of drought and render irrigation necessary. Traces of an ancient canal network, still to be seen nowadays, show the degree of perfection of water control of the former masters of the country.

In spite of all, the production has never been sufficient to permit a development resulting from demography, contrary to what happened in Vietnam from the thirteenth century onwards. The climate of the highlands, still little studied in details, consists of several local differences, due to exposition in regard to relief lines and wind directions. Early storms burst almost everywhere in May before the wet monsoon season begins.

From May to September, it is the season of rain with an average of 2000 millimeters per year. But the valleys and sheltered basins receive much less (Cheo Reo, An-Khê, Dean, about 1300 millimeters/year). The number of rainy days varies from 130 to 170. However, on the slopes exposed to the southwest winds charged with humidity or on the high summits one may see more important quantities: the south edge of the Plateaus of Blao and Quảng-Đức 3000 to 4000 millimeters per year; and the Ngọc-Lĩnh summit 2500 to 3000 millimeters/year.

The dry season, from October to April, which generally is more and more marked towards the north, is however tempered by altitude.

—Dalat, February temperature: 9°C, the warmest months do not exceed 27°C.

—Ban Mê Thuột: 24°C average annual temperature, but it



can really be cold during some winter days, a very dry and lumineaux winter (from October to April), the temperature of highlands can fall to 8° or 10°C.

—Pleiku 22°3 average annual temperature, very similar to that of Ban Mê Thuôt.

Nevertheless, by its vegetal cover and the great number of rainy days (which can last for many days on end, covering the region with a white veil), the high plateaus are a region which keeps a permanent humid atmosphere during several months during the year. The contrast is, therefore, great between May and November–December, which are full of water, and the dry season. The dry months (January–April) display a dreary aspect with dried valleys, vegetation covered with ochre dust and trees almost leafless, and forest fires.

The geography of its lowland and its mountain regions explains to a certain extent the history of Champa. This country finds itself, since the beginning of its history, handicapped in face of Vietnam, which is endowed with a large delta having a rich soil and a climate propitious for two rice harvests annually (the Tonkin delta). The early land improvement of that delta permits an important development of Vietnamese demography and tied the Vietnamese people into a centralized and strongly structured state (the struggle against the overflow of the Red River, the building and maintenance of dams strongly contributed to this development). Champa, on the contrary, found itself condemned to have its population stagnate to a number almost constant in the course of the centuries.

If one cannot affirm that the geography is the cause of Champa's defeat by the Vietnamese people, one can say, at least, that it is a partial explanation. For the Vietnamese march southward at the expense of Champa was, to a large extent, a demographic pressure. The Vietnamese victory was above all

a victory of number.

Tâm Quách-Langlet

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## **New Perspectives on the Ethnic Composition of Champa**

Authors who have published studies on Champa claimed that this country was geographically limited to the plains and small deltas situated between the Trường-Sơn Range and the South China Sea. It is not surprising that all those authors stated that the people of Champa was all Cham ethnic groups who formerly inhabited the lowlands of the region known today as Central Vietnam.

It has been twelve years now that the U.A. 1075 of the National Center for Scientific Research in Paris took the task of discovering and translating the mass of manuscripts written in Cham and the royal chronicles and archives of Champa (in Cham and in Chinese characters) housed in French libraries and at Cornell University in the USA. We can affirm that what had been said about the territory and the inhabitants of Champa until the past few years was wrong.

In effect, archeological and epigraphic vestiges, texts written in old and modern Cham,<sup>1</sup> confirmed by Chinese, Vietnamese, and Khmer texts, and ethnological inquiries, all show without ambiguity that the Cham territory covered not only the lowlands situated between the South China Sea and the feet of the Trường-Sơn Range but also this mountain range and the high plateaus extending westwards.

These documents show that the population of Champa consisted not only of the inhabitants of the plains and deltas,

that is the ethnic Chams, but also ethnic groups of the Austro-nesian language group (Jarai, Rhade, Chru, Roglai) as well as ethnic groups of the Austroasiatic language group (Mnong, Naa, and Stieng) who inhabited the mountains and highlands.

One may wonder, perhaps, why it took almost a century for researchers to realize that what one had believed since the last decade of the nineteenth century was wrong. It may be explained first by the fact that Aymonier who first landed on the coast of Phan Rang on December 21, 1884<sup>2</sup> met the non-Vietnamese natives who said they were Chams. Aymonier, who had known since his stay in Cambodia of the existence of the ancient kingdom of Champa, situated in central Vietnam, was to apply a concept of citizenship in term of European optics: France=French; Vietnam=Vietnamese, Cambodia =Cambodian which led to the conclusion that Champa was the country of the Chams; but the etymology of the term Cham has nothing to do with that of Champa, from the historical as well as from the ethnographic points of view. Six years later,<sup>3</sup> he threw discredit on the chronicles written in modern Cham for he had thought that those manuscripts gave a list of the Vijaya leaders while they actually gave a list of the leaders of Panduranga, which led him to the conclusion that the texts were not credible sources. This is wrong.<sup>4</sup> If he had browsed over the manuscripts, he would have found that until its disappearance in 1832, Champa covered a part of the territory now known as Central Vietnam.

As all researchers who came after E. Aymonier accepted his view without verification, everybody continued to believe that Champa extended only on the narrow stretch of land between the sea and the feet of the Trường-Sơn range.

It was only in 1975 that the research team on Champa, created by Professor Lafont, undertook the task of checking on what has been written by their predecessors and comparing to

Sanskrit epigraphy, texts written in Chinese, Vietnamese, Khmer, and ancient and modern Cham. This led them to realize that not only can we rely on tales written in modern Cham but also that these writings offer a great interest for the knowledge of the history of the Indochinese Peninsula.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Po Dharma's work allows us to renew our knowledge of the borders of Champa as well as its political structure, which is a federal state and not a unitary country,<sup>7</sup> the existence of a sociopolitical structure in Panduranga until 1832, and the confirmation of the multiethnic character of Champa.

Another factor explains why we had to wait for so long before we perceived the error in restricting the territory of Champa to a coastal stretch of land and its population to the ethnic Chams only. Until the past four years, the historians of Southeast Asia had not been interested in the history of Champa for its own sake. They only studied the history of Champa in terms of the history of Vietnam and only as a complement to it. Consequently, they did not pay attention to Champa's western frontiers, for the Vietnamese were not interested in these lands, which led them to overlook the people who inhabited the land west of the Trường-Sơn Range.

It is not possible, within the restricted limits of an article, to develop all the arguments which prove that the territory and people of Champa were not confined to the lowlands of the region now called Central Vietnam. We, therefore, will not deal with the great historical facts which prove the border and the mosaic of Champa's population. The first index is an epigraphic document known as the Vat Luang Kau stela, discovered near the Vat Phou Temple, situated near the Bassac. This document shows that in the fifth century, Champa extended to the banks of the Mekong. The expedition led by Doudart de Lagrée, passing by the Bassac in 1883, revealed that the popu-

lation conserved a distant memory of Champa.<sup>8</sup> G. Coedès also mentioned that legends and traditions are unanimous in reporting the Khmer kingdom as constituted at the expenses of the Chams settled in Champassaks.<sup>9</sup> It was, in effect, in the sixth century that the territory was conquered by Tchen-La. Therefore, archeology and the documents show that Champa after that date extended less towards the west and the borders were between the Mekong River and the Trường-Sơn Range without exact limits, for they changed according to each period. The inscriptions on the Kon Klor Temple,<sup>10</sup> situated on the high plateaus in the valley of Bla, near Kontum, and dated AD 914, related the construction of a sanctuary by a local chief called Mahindravarman who dedicated the temple to a god, Mahindra-Lokesvara. Sino-Vietnamese texts placed the frontiers of Champa in the thirteenth century west of the Trường-Sơn Range, without further precision. From the fourteenth century onwards, evidence of Hindu religions are more abundant. The inscriptions at the Yang Prong Temple, situated in the Se San basin, show that the building erected by Jaya Shimbharman III at the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth century was endowed with fields, slaves and elephants. The Yang Mun Temple in the Sông Ba basin dated towards the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century and that of Phú-Thọ (near Pleiku) show that Champa extended to the frontier of present-day Laos. Finally, the numerous statues (Nandin, Siva and other Hindu divinities) found in the provinces of Gia-Lai, Kontum, Darlac, and Lâm-Đồng allow us to think that “if the whole region was under the religious sphere of Champa, it was because the region was under Cham domination.”<sup>11</sup> One may say without fear of error that the western frontier of Champa was on the highlands, west of the Trường-Sơn Range. This was confirmed,

for the middle of the eighteenth century, by a text left by a Dutch commercial mission led by Van Wuyshoff, who went up the Mekong River to Vientiane, capital of Lang Xang (Laos).<sup>12</sup>

Now a question arises. Was this mountainous zone an integral part of Champa or was it only a territory temporarily conquered, subjugated and annexed by the people from the lowlands, opposed to the mountain people as imagined by some authors at the beginning of the twentieth century? When we analyze the texts written in Cham and Sino-Vietnamese documents, we can't understand why certain people could still believe the highlands were some sort of colonized territory, for nothing in those documents allows us to assume this belief.

In effect, in the course of Champa's history the mountain regions and the highlands have served as refuge for the central authority of Champa in their resistance against the enemies any time the coastal land was invaded. It was the case in 1282 when Indravarman V and his son Harijet could not stem the Mongolian invasion of Sagatu, and after the fall of Vijaya, installed themselves in the Yaheon mountains in the northwest of the kingdom and raised an army estimated at 20,000 by Mongolian spies.

It was always in the highlands that, between 1504 and 1509, in 1822 with Jalidon, in 1826 with the military chief Ndvai Kabait in the high Donnai, then with the Katip Sumat at the end of 1833 and the two following years with Jathakva, the Cham people organized the resistance against the annexation and exactions of the Vietnamese invaders. If this zone were only a territory colonized by the Chams, we may doubt that the inhabitants of the area (Chru, Keho, Roglai, Mnong, Stieng) would accept to offer the area to become a bastion for survival for the Chams and thus risk becoming, in their turn, invaded and destroyed by the enemy while the geography of the region

allowed them to oppose the Chams. On the other hand, they would not have participated with so much zeal—and the texts put great emphasis on this point—in the fight against the invaders.

Authors who affirmed that the highlands were but a colonized zone and not an integral part of Champa believed in the theory because the Chinese texts mentioned Champa's fights at various epochs of history against the Man (in Sino-Vietnamese, "Mán" has the general meaning of savage, barbarian) and they inferred that these were between the montagnards and the Chams of the coastal plains. They have forgotten one thing, that is what King Hari Varman I proclaimed in the Mý-Son stela, erected in mid-thirteenth century, after the victory over the Cambodians, Vietnamese and Kirata. He included among the Kirata (savage) prince Varicaraya, who was his wife's brother, as well as all the Chams and montagnards who took side with the latter and fought against him. Consequently, "kirata" does not denote the montagnards as believed by the authors, but "rebels" against the royal authority, irrespective of their ethnic origin. It is the same with the term "Man" which, in local literature in Sino-Vietnamese, denoted the Chams as well as other ethnic groups who opposed or refused to accept the established authority.<sup>13</sup>

One cannot accept that the use of the term "Man" or "Kirata" could be used seriously as an argument to claim that the Chams did not have any sovereignty over the ethnic groups living in the highlands. Moreover, it is less acceptable, as we now know, that neither the epigraphy nor the historical manuscripts or other texts written in Cham distinguished between lowland Chams and the Chams living in the mountains. As a matter of fact, in documents written in Cham, the term "nagara Campa" signifies Champa including both lowlands and high-



lands and “urang Campa” denotes all the inhabitants of Champa irrespective of their origin, whether they were natives of the coastal plains or the mountain regions. When the Cham texts (the royal chronicles or archives) mentioned an ethnic group by name (Chru, Roglai, Koho, Cam), it was usually to highlight this group’s participation in the fight against an invader (most often Vietnam) or the access to a high position in Court by a member of an ethnic group. Those sources often mentioned with precision that many kings of Champa were natives of the mountain regions, a fact that historians had not mentioned until now, for they had neglected the texts written in modern Cham. Among those kings who were natives of the mountain regions, there was one who was particularly known and venerated, Po Ramo who reigned from 1627 to 1651. Of Chru origin, he started a line of 14 kings who governed Champa until 1786. Another king of Champa was Po Saut who ascended to the throne in 1655. He was the son of a daughter of a Rhade (or Koho) spouse of Po Ramo.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the royal chronicles and archives mentioned the presence of many high dignitaries belonging to the proto-Indochinese ethnic groups, in the Court as well as in high administrative circles. Finally the fact that Ja Thak Va and the dignitaries of Panduranga in 1834 chose a Roglai chief, Po Var Pali, as King and a Chru as heir-apparent while the command of the armed forces were in the hands of a Cham prince, proved the multiethnic character of the country and the recognition of all populations to the same political and social status. Let’s mention also that on the religious plane a dozen of people were deified and appeared in the Kate Pantheon, which is the most important ceremony of the year. This ceremony fell between July and September and gathered on the grounds of the Sivaist temple; all the people of Champa came to glorify the memory of the great figures of

Nagara Champa and dishonor the memory of those who were not worthy of their high positions, either by surrendering to the invaders or by giving up territories which were part of the national heritage. At this ceremony, the guardians of the royal treasures, who were all montagnards, displayed the treasures, which consisted of princely dresses, royal armors, and ancient objects of worship, for the veneration of those who attended the festival.

What has just been mentioned shows that Champa was not the “country of the Chams” as has been too often written until now, but a multiethnic country where the different ethnic groups enjoyed equal rights. Rights, but also obligations since the montagnards participated on the one side the collection of presents for the Chinese and Vietnamese emperors when the latter sent ambassadors to Champa. As an illustration, let’s mention that in 1018 presents offered to the emperor of China consisted of 67 elephant tusks, 86 rhinoceros horns, cardamon, eaglewood, areca nuts and betel leaves.<sup>15</sup> Ivory and rhinoceros horns were supplied only by non-Cham ethnic groups.

The research work conducted by UA 1075 of the National Council for Scientific Research in the past ten years has brought, as we just mentioned briefly, new perspectives both on the geographical as well as ethnic composition of Champa. Since those works were undertaken, it has become impossible to accept certain premises that had been current. From now on, historians could no longer talk about Champa as a country occupying solely the coastal land of the South China Sea because the research work of our group has shown that Champa included not only the lowlands but also the mountains and highlands of present-day Central Vietnam. On the other hand, one can no longer believe in the existence of a Champa inhabited and governed by the ethnic Chams alone, as has been

written until now, because the recent studies conducted by our group have demonstrated, on the one hand, the multiethnic character of its population, and on the other, the role played by non-Cham ethnic groups, natives of the highlands, in the government of that country.

Bernard Gay

## Notes

1. The term “ancient Cham” is used for the language and writing in inscriptions, that of “modern Cham” for the language and writing in use today.
2. cf. letter written by Aymonier on his trip to Bình-Thuận addressed to the Governor of Cochinchina, 1885, 145 p.
3. “Légendes historiques des Chames” in *Excursions et Reconnaissances* XIV, 32, 1890, pp. 1451–206.
4. P. B. Lafont. *Ātudes Cam III*. For a rehabilitation of the Chronicles written in modern Cham, see BEFEO LXVIII, pp. 105–111.
5. Po Dharma, *Le Panduranga (Campa) 1802–1835* (2 tomes, EFEO, 1987) shows the interest for the utilization of the royal chronicles and archives of Panduranga for Vietnamologues, pp 183–184.
6. Po Dharma, *Les Chroniques du Panduranga*, EPHE dissertation, 1978 and *Le Panduranga (Campa) 1802–1835*.
7. Po Dharma wrote “Contrarily to what has been asserted in some publications, national sources present the country, which is usually called the Indianized kingdom of Champa, not as a centralized state but a kind of federation whose components enjoyed political autonomy, which is more or less effective depending on the period. There were sometimes four or three kingdoms, namely

Amaravati in the North, Vijaya in the Bình-Định province and Panduranga in the Phan Rang-Phan Rí region. Panduranga seems to have sometimes included Kauthara (region of Nha-Trang) which, in other times, was separated from Panduranga to become a fourth component of Champa. *Le Panduranga (Campa)*, op.cit. p. 56.

8. L. Doudart deLagrée. *Explorations et Missions*, 1883.
9. G. Coedès “Nouvelles données sur les origines du Royaume Khmer” *BEFEO* XLVIII, 1, 11912, pp. 209–220.
10. For an inventory of the vestiges of Champa on the highlands, refer to G. C. Hickey. *Sons of Mountainns*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, pp. 91–107.
11. Po Dharma. “Les Frontières du Campa, dernier état de recherche “in *Péninsule Indochinoise, Les frontières du Vietnam*. Paris 1988. 12. J. C. Lejesne. *Journal de voyage de G. Van Wuysthoff et de ses assistants au Laos (1641–1642)*. Bruxelles, 1966, p. 103.
13. cf. *Inventaire des Archives du Panduranga du Fonds de la Société Asiatique de Paris (Pièces en caractères chinois) Travaux du CHCPI*, 1984.
14. According to Po Dharma, CAM Microfilm 14(3), CAM Microfilm 17(2), CAM Microfilm 22 (2), Bya Can was a native of Rhade while Durand in “Le Temple de Porome à Phanrang” *BEFEO* (III, 1903, p. 601) said that she was a Koho native.
15. G. Maspéro. *Le royaume de Champa*. Paris-Bruxelles, 1928, p. 138.

## **Status of the Latest Research on the Date of the Absorption of Champa by Vietnam**

As of AD 968, Champa found on her northern frontier a Vietnam state which proclaimed itself independent from China (while recognizing the latter's nominal sovereignty). From that date onwards, a struggle started between the two countries which proved fatal to Champa.

First, Vietnam gained from her southern neighbor the territory between the Hoàn-Sơn Pass and the Lao-Bảo Pass, conceded by Champa in 1069 in exchange for the liberation of King Pudravarman III they had captured. Then in 1307, she got the territory between the Lao-Bảo Pass and the Hải-Vân Pass (as a marriage present for a Vietnamese princess whom King Chế-Mân wanted to marry). But the succeeding Cham kings, realizing that the survival of their country was at stake, attempted to recapture the territories that their predecessors had ceded to Vietnam. This resulted in endless wars between the two countries, with ups and downs for each of the belligerents. This continued until 1471 when the Vietnamese King Lê Thánh Tông captured Vijaya, the political and religious center of Champa and destroyed it to erase all traces of the culture of the country he had just annexed.<sup>1</sup>

Based on these historical facts, historians at the end of the nineteenth century, and even the beginning of the twentieth century, made comments on the date of the disappearance of

that Indianized country. Some believed that the Cham kingdom ended in 1471, others maintained that it survived until 1692.

Those contradictory opinions, which originated from the Annals written at the order of Vietnamese kings and were based on the misunderstood notion of Nam-Tiến (the March southwards), which forms the basis for the formation of the Vietnamese state, were both false. In effect, researchers at the beginning of this century took what is written in the Vietnamese annals on the disappearance of Champa at its face value, without checking whether those annals have contradicted themselves and without subjecting it to a close scrutiny. On the other hand, nobody referred to the Historical Chronicles of Champa, no doubt because they did not read Cham scriptures. But those omissions led them to error.

After scrutinizing the Vietnamese Annals in their entirety and the Historical Chronicles of Champa, we came to the conclusion that Champa, as an organized state, did not disappear either in the fifteenth century or in the seventeenth century but only at the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

So as to better show how we came to this conclusion, it is useful to examine first why authors studying Cham history like J. Moura, J. Leuba, G. Maspéro and Coedès<sup>2</sup> believed that 1471 marked the end of Champa. For those authors, as well as those who adopted their view, the fact that Vijaya—which was the political, administrative, and religious capital of Champa in the fifteenth century—was captured and destroyed in 1471 by the Vietnamese and that, from that date onwards, epigraphy in Sanskrit and ancient Cham, which until that date had served as the written source for the history of Champa, was no longer in existence and this gave evidence for the collapse of the country.

The *Vietnamese Annals* for that period should confirm their belief. In effect, it was recorded in those texts that Champa was reduced to Kauthara (Nha-Trang) and Panduranga (Phan Rang and Phan Rí), which covered about one fifth of the territory occupied by the Chams under the reign of Ché Bông Nga (G. Maspéro, op. cit. 1928, p. 240), and that territory was cut up into three principalities. It is understandable that those researchers logically inferred that the Cham Kingdom ceased to exist because they thought that the small territory that remained led the three principalities to a quick disappearance. But the reality was much more complex. In effect, in order to study the end of Champa, one must shed the European perspective as applied to the local fact. As we have mentioned in a previous work,<sup>3</sup> Champa was not a unitary state but a kind of confederation of five principalities (Indrapura, Ameravati, Vijaya, Kauthara, and Panduranga), each with a capital of its own. Moreover, the fact that from 1471 onwards Champa was reduced to Kauthara and Panduranga did not prevent these two principalities from perpetuating the political, economic, and religious traditions of Champa, although in a more restricted area. On the other hand, Vijaya was not a capital in the modern European conception of the term. If, in the fifteenth century it was a political, administrative, and religious capital of the Cham kingdom, it was the residence area of a person called in the Cham texts “the King of kings of Champa.” So, the title was that of a prince whose principality, at a time, held the military and political supremacy over the other principalities constituting Champa. And in the fifteenth century it was Vijaya. But in the previous centuries, it was not always so since R. Stein and G. Coedès have shown that the political and religious center of Champa was first situated in the southern part of the country then moved toward the north in the area of Hué before the third

quarter of the fourth century, then to M̃y-Son, under the reign of Bhadravarman. But in the middle of the eighth century that center moved southward at Panduranga, then in the third quarter of the ninth century, in the extreme north of Indrapura and around 1000 at Vijaya. The political center of Champa has been varied according to the period, and at certain moments, in the middle and at the end of the twelfth century for instance, there were even two centers, one in the north and one in the south. The capture and destruction of Vijaya by the Vietnamese in 1471 should not be viewed as the date of extinction of Champa in her entirety, but only the destruction of the political power of the Vijaya principality, the center of Southern Champa. Evidence is also given by the Vietnamese Annals, by the reports of Europeans traveling in the country and by the Chronicles of Champa,<sup>5</sup> which well after the fifteenth century, still mentioned the existence of a kingdom named Champa. On the other hand, we should not believe that after 1471 Champa consisted only of Kathura and Panduranga and that these two principalities were condemned to a quick disappearance. This would amount to forgetting the dynamism and combativity of the people of those two principalities, who since the past five centuries, had caused trouble to Vijaya for imposing its supremacy on them, as correctly remarked by G. Coedès. Finally, the fact that the *Vietnamese Annals* announced the disappearance of Champa in 1471 should not be accepted without verification. In effect, the *Vietnamese Annals* were written with a very precise goal: to glorify the Vietnamese kings, rationalize their politics, and exult the greatness of Vietnam.<sup>6</sup> By this fact, even if those annals have transmitted to us a wealth of historical information of great value, they have also conveyed doubtful data and even contradicted themselves in many places. Thus, we should take their statements, especially those dealing with



the relations between Vietnam and its neighbors, only after a close critical scrutiny. Most students of Vietnamese history omitted this test when they treat the relation between Champa and Vietnam. As a matter of fact, according to the *Vietnamese Annals* Champa disappeared in 1471, but from the same annals we learn that Champa attacked Vietnam in 1611, hoping to retake the territory of Bình-Định. However they were defeated and Đại-Việt occupied their land which reached as far as north of Cape Varella.<sup>7</sup> Always according to those annals, Champa attacked its northern neighbor once more in 1653 but was again defeated and the Vietnamese reset their southern frontier in the Cam-Ranh region.<sup>8</sup> Finally, always according to these *Annals*, Champa—from now on confined to the only territory of Panduranga—attacked again in 1692, trying to liberate the Kauthara territory which had been annexed by Vietnam in 1653. If Champa often attacked the Đại-Việt country in the seventeenth century, it is because it did not disappear in 1471. According to our own sources,<sup>9</sup> the Nguyễn Lord after the 1692 victory, decided to annex the remaining territory of Champa. He changed the name of Chiêm-Thành, which the Vietnamese had until then given to Champa, into Trấn Thuận-Thành, divided the country into three districts (Phan Rang, Phố-Hải, Phan Rí) and placed at the head of each of them one of the three military officers who had commanded the victorious Vietnamese army. A month later, the Nguyễn Lord changed Trấn Thuận-Thành into Phủ Bình-Thuận. It was the reference to this annexation—which proves that Champa at least existed until the end of the seventeenth century—that led a number of authors to say that Champa disappeared in 1692. But Cham chronicles and reports by European travelers on the one hand and the *Vietnamese Annals*<sup>10</sup> on the other have disproved this assertion. In fact, the text relates that at the end of 1693 a revolt

of the people of Panduranga (Champa) forced the Vietnamese occupation army to withdraw and the Nguyễn Lord to repeal his decision of annexation and to reestablish Panduranga (Champa) to its 1693 frontiers, which from now onwards was referred to as Thuận-Thành in Vietnamese texts, and to restore to its leader the prerogatives and title of “vương” (king). Champa, although reduced since 1653 to the sole territory of Panduranga, continued to exist after 1692.

It is by systematically scrutinizing the chronicles written in Cham script as well as the royal archives of Panduranga,<sup>11</sup> then comparing them with the Vietnamese Annals and the reports of Europeans travelers who had visited the region since the end of the thirteenth century that we could prove that Champa continued to exist after 1692 and that we could determine the exact date of its absorption by Vietnam.

At the beginning of our study, we doubted the veracity of the Chronicles written in modern Cham because E. Aymonier noted that by comparing the names of Cham Kings in their list with the list of the kings of Vijaya in the epigraphy, he found that the names were not identical.<sup>12</sup> He concluded that the chronicles written in so-called modern Cham were not historically reliable. However, serious research findings proved that, contrary to what had been believed by E. Aymonier and other authors after him, the chronicles in modern Cham did not give a list of Vijaya kings but a list of kings who reigned after the fifteenth century in the southern part of the country. This allowed Professor P. B. Lafont to confirm, with evidence in his support, the value of the chronicles written in modern Cham, thus rehabilitating those texts.<sup>13</sup>

The historical value of those chronicles written in so-called modern Cham having been established, we compared their content with passages in the *Vietnamese Annals* dealing with

Champa as well as with letters and reports written by European travelers who had visited the coast of present-day Vietnam,<sup>14</sup> we reached the first conclusion that the events of 1692 did not bring about the disappearance of Champa but mark a significant turning in the history of that country. From that date onwards, there was a growing intrusion of the Vietnamese Court in the affairs of Champa, now reduced to the territory of Panduranga. This is explained by the fact that Champa—which had recovered its independence in 1693—wanted to affirm its sovereignty on the Vietnamese immigrants who came in increasing numbers to settle on Cham territory and whom the Court of Huế wanted to place under their own authority. It resulted in a difficult coexistence in the hinterland of that country. But the problem was settled to the advantage of the Vietnamese. The powerful Court of Huế decided to create a prefecture of Bình-Thượn to which, at first, all the Vietnamese residing in the Cham territory were administratively subjected and then later on, all the lands exploited by these immigrants. It resulted in an usurpation of the Panduranga (Cham) territory by the Court of Huế. As the Vietnamese living in Champa were not concentrated in any single locality but scattered all over the country, Panduranga (Champa) did no longer form a geographical unity but a territory scattered with Vietnamese enclaves with extraterritorial rights. In spite of the many conflicts that then opposed the natives and the Vietnamese immigrants living in their neighborhood and in spite of the growing intrusion of the Court of Huế in the internal affairs of Panduranga (Champa) the Chams continued to preserve what little independence still was left to them until the conflict between the Tây-Sơn and Nguyễn Ánh (the future Emperor Gia-Long) in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. That armed conflict took place partly on the soil of Panduranga

(Champa) which witnessed the passing of troops of the conflicting parties and which was occupied in turn by those troops who tried to protect their line of communication. Champa would logically have disappeared in that turmoil. But once the war was over, Nguyễn Ánh, becoming Emperor Gia-Long, reconstituted Champa in 1802<sup>15</sup> and placed at the head of its government Po Sau Nun Can, one of his companions at-arms and a prince of the Panduranga royal family. Champa (Panduranga) then regained its own life. But, although reconstituted as a real state, with its own army and administrative organization different from Vietnam's, it was no longer an independent state as it was before, but rather an autonomous territory the existence of which depends on the Vietnamese emperor's good will.

After Gia-Long's death, Minh-Mệnh's accession to the throne in 1820 should have brought about the disappearance of Champa, for the new emperor had very strong centralization ideas and the will to unify under his guardianship all the territories situated from the China frontier to Cà-Mâu Cape. However, Minh-Mệnh let it survive. But the ruler of Champa, Po Phank To committed a serious error in taking side with Lê Văn Duyệt, the Viceroy of Gia-Định in the conflict which opposed the latter to Minh-Mệnh and broke the relations which bound Panduranga (Champa) to the Court of Huế. Consequently, at Lê Văn Duyệt's death in 1832,<sup>16</sup> Emperor Minh-Mệnh ordered his troops to occupy and annexed Panduranga, integrating its territory to the province of Bình-Thuận. Then, from now on, Champa ceased to exist. The anti-Vietnamese revolts led by Katip Sumat<sup>17</sup> in 1833–1834 and that led by Ja Thak Va in 1834–1835 could not change the course of history, yet these revolts seriously shook the Court of Huế, as evidenced by the *Vietnamese Annals*, which devoted to the latter

more space than to the revolt by Lê Văn Khôi in Saigon.<sup>18</sup>

Our research in the chronicles written in the so-called modern Cham, the interest of which can no longer be in doubt, in the royal archives of Panduranga (funds of the Société Asiatique de Paris), in the *Vietnamese Annals* as well as in the correspondence and stories written by European travelers, permitted us to affirm that it was neither 1471 nor 1692 that dated the disappearance of Champa, but much later on. In 1978 we proposed the date 1822.<sup>19</sup> But after the discovery of new manuscripts, the existence of which had been ignored, we can now definitely set Champa's absorption by Vietnam in 1832.

A question remains to be asked: Why have researchers, until now, never been interested, in a scientific manner, in the date of Champa's disappearance as we have mentioned earlier? Cham researchers have all accepted without verification the judgment by E. Aymonier on the documents written in modern Cham. Thus believing that those chronicles were not useful for the historian, they refrained from consulting them and believed in the dates 1471 or 1692 put forward by researchers on Vietnam history. As for these authors, their writing show that Cham's history is of interest to them as far as it validates their theory of Nam-Tiến (Vietnamese people's march southward). Therefore, they accepted the statements of the Vietnamese Annals, without subjecting them to criticism, that affirmed that 1471 was the date of Champa's destruction and placed the southern frontier of Vietnam at that time at Cape Varella, or the passages mentioning Đại-Việt's annexation in 1692 of what had remained of Champa. And they accepted them although the same *Annals* contradicted those statements in a later part. It is not surprising that no serious research had previously been conducted on the date of Champa's absorption by Vietnam.

**Notes**

1. With regard to this subject, please refer to the studies by G. Maspéro in *Le royaume de Champa, Paris-Bruxelles, 1928*, and G. Coedès in *Les États indouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie, Paris, 1964*.
2. J. Moura. *Le royaume du Campa. Paris 1883*; J. Leuba. *Un royaume disparu, les Chams et leur art. Paris-Bruxelles, 1923*; G. Maspéro. *op. cit.*, 1928 and G. Coedès, *op. cit.*, 1964.
3. Po Dharma. *Le Panduranga (Campa) 1802–1835. Ses rapports avec le Vietnam. 2 vols. Publications de l'EFEO, 1978* tome 1, pp. 58 sq.
4. R. Stein. *Le Lin-yi. Sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation de Champa et ses liens avec la Chine. Peking, 1947*; et G. Coedès, *op.cit.* 1964.
5. A list enumerating those sources is to be found in Po Dharma: *Chroniques de Panduranga. Dissertation at l'EPHE IVth section, 1978* and *Le Panduranga (Campa), 1987*.
6. Lê Thành Khôi. *Le Viet-Nam, Histoire et Civilisation. Paris 1955*.
7. See Po Dharma. “Les frontières du Campa (dernier état des recherches)” in *Les frontières de la péninsule Indochinoise. Les frontières du Vietnam. Paris, 1988*.
8. Đại-Nam Nhất-Thống Chí (DNNTC), Vol X–XI, pp. 60–61 and vol XII, p. 7; Phụ Biên Tạng-Lục (PBTL). Saigon, 1972, Vol. I, p. 83; Lịch-Triều Hiến-Chương Loại Chí (LTHCLC). Saigon, 1972, Vol I, pp. 110–112; J. Tissanier. *Relation du Voyage du P. Tissanier de la Cie de Jésus depuis la France jusqu'au royaume du Tonkin pendant les années 1658, 1659 et 1660. Paris, 1663, p. 176*; H. Chapouille, *Aux*

- origines d'une église. Rome et les missions d'Indochine au XVIIe Siècle.* Paris, 1943, tome I, p. 9; P. Y. Manguin. "Une relation ibérique du Campa en 1595" in *BEFEO*, LXX, 1981, p. 266; Phan Khoang. *Việt Sử Xứ Đàng Trong 1558–1777. Cuộc Nam-Tiến của Dân-tộc Việt-Nam.* Saigon, 1969, p. 388; Trần Trọng Kim. *Việt-Nam Sử-Lược.* Saigon, 1971, vol. II, p.79.
9. *Đại-Nam Thực-Lục Chánh Biên (DNTLCB).* Hanoi, 1962, vol I, pp. 147–151; DNNTC, vol XII, p. 7; "Lettre de M. Féret à un missionnaire datée à Nha Ru le 4–2–1694." *MEP*, Vol. 37; Manneville. *Instructions sur la navigation des Orientales et de la Chine.* Paris, 17715, p 447; Phan Khoang, 1969, p.217; Phạm Văn Sơn. *Việt sử tân-biên. Nam-Bắc phân-tranh hay là loạn phong-kiến Việt-Nam.* Saigon, 1959, vol. III, p. 293; J. Boisselier. *La statuaire du Champa.* Publication de l'EFEO, 1963, pp. 376–377.
  10. *DNTLCB*, vol I, pp. 147–151; *DNNTC*, vol XII, p. 7. For the *Chronicles of Panduranga*, see Po Dharma, 1978.
  11. *Catalogue des manuscrits cam des bibliothèques françaises, Publication EFEO, 1977; Complément au catalogue des manuscrits cam des bibliothèques françaises. Publication EDEO, 1981; Inventaire des archives du Panduranga du Fonds de la Société Asiatique de Paris. Travaux du CHCPI, 1984.*
  12. E. Aymonier. "Légendes historiques des Chames" in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, XIX, 32, 1890, pp. 145–206.
  13. P. B. Lafont. "Pour une réhabilitation des chroniques redigées en cam moderne" in *BEFEO*, LXVIII, pp. 105–111.
  14. Po Dharma, 1978 et 1987, vol I, pp. 67–69.
  15. *Đại Nam Chính Biên Liệt Truyện (Nhà Tây-sơn) (DNCBLT), Saigon 1970; Hoàng Lê Nhất Thống Chí (HLNTC), translated and annotated in French by Phan Thanh Thủy, Publication EFEO, 1985; DNTLCB*, vol II,

*DNNTC, vol XII.*

16. Quốc Triều Chánh Biên (*QTCB*) Saigon, 1971; *DNTLCB, vol II*; Mục-Lục Châu-Bản Triều Nguyễn (*MLCBTN*), vol II, Huế, 1962; Minh-Mệnh Chính-Yếu (*MMCY*), vol II, Saigon, 1972, *DNNTC, vol XII, CAM 72, 8*; CAM Microfilm 17, 1 and CAM 29, 1.
17. CAM 32, 6 and CAM 24, 5.
18. CAM 24, 5; CAM 30, 17; CHCPI-CAM 1; CAM 29, 1; *DNTLCB, vol XVI*; *QTCB*; *MMCY, vol II and V*. Also see Po Dharma 1987, vol I, pp. 153–170.



## On the Relations Between Champa and Southeast Asia

In dealing with the relations between a country and its neighbors, one may either follow the development of events chronologically—which seems the most logical approach—or examine the contact country by country. In the case of Champa, it is difficult to present its relations with its continental and insular neighbors chronologically because of the complexity of the history of Asia and Southeast Asia, generally not well known by the non-specialist. Therefore, when we deal with the foreign relations of Champa we are practically compelled to study country by country, if we want to highlight the result of those relations for each of them.

In discussing the relations of Champa and its neighbors, it is customary to think first of the contact with Vietnam, although it was far from being the only or the most ancient one. As a matter of fact, it was the Chinese texts which first mentioned the existence south of the Gianh River (situated in the northern part of present-day Central Vietnam) of warring states called Lin-Yi but soon called Champa by the epigraphy.<sup>1</sup> These states attacked Han colonies settled in the Red River delta as early as the second century. This Lin-Yi/ Champa country will often be mentioned by Chinese historians from the third century onwards for it was then that contacts will grow between the two countries. These contacts were not only belligerent but also diplomatic (the first envoys sent to southern

China were between 220 and 230 AD), economic (Champa sent its produce and received in exchange finished products and techniques), religious (Buddhist monks from China who went to the religious sites of India often relaxed on the coast of Champa where proselytism allowed Mahayana Buddhism to experience great success in the eighth and ninth centuries) and artistic (the monuments of Đòng-Dương monastery in the ninth century are evidence of the influence of Chinese Buddhist sculpture on the Cham plastic arts in this period).

It was also during the beginning of the Christian era that the inhabitants of the warring states south of the Gianh River established its first contact, then close relations, with Fou-Nan.<sup>2</sup> This state, which between the first and sixth centuries dominated all the south of the Indochinese peninsula, was an Indianized kingdom which very early contributed to the transmission to the Chams its concept of the universe, its social system, and its concept of royalty.

It is this contact which, up to now, has been forgotten both in its duration and importance, and which led to the Indianization of the states which were to become Champa in a very preponderant way. Other very ancient relations were those of Champa and Cambodia by the very fact that they were neighboring countries. After the disappearance of Fou-Nan, the contact between the succeeding kingdoms and the Court of Champa were at first friendly as evidenced by the epigraphy which told us, for instance, that around AD 650 a Cham prince journeyed to Cambodia where he married the King's daughter and then returned home to become the King of Champa. But as early as the beginning of the ninth century, the relations became tense and the two Indianized kingdoms were opposed in a series of wars. The inscription set AD 950 as the first Cambodian attack against Champa, which, in turn, invaded Cambo-

dia between 1074 and 1080, captured Sambor, destroyed its sanctuaries and took the population prisoners. Between 1145 and 1149 the Khmers attacked Champa again and captured Vijaya, its capital. In 1177 Champa took revenge and sent its troops up the Mekong River and Tonle Sap, as far as the Great Lake. Angkor was captured and pilfered. This destruction has shaken the faith of the Khmer in the Hindu tradition which had until then given life to the Khmer civilization. Obsessed by the desire of revenge, in 1190 Jayavarman VII sent his troops to Champa, captured its capital, took away its divine statues and divide the country into two vassal states which, the following year, succeeded in throwing away the Khmer yoke and reunifying the country. He invaded Champa again in 1203 , occupied the country and turned it into a Khmer province. In 1220 Champa regained its independence which marked the end of the fratricidal war between the two countries which lasted more than a century and had greatly contributed to their exhaustion, a fact that their enemies did not fail to take advantage of.<sup>3</sup> From now on, subject to growing pressure from the Vietnamese and the Thais, Champa and Cambodia were to observe good neighbors relations and Cambodia became in the fifteenth century a land for refugees from Champa who were victims of Vietnamese expansion.<sup>4</sup> Although historians provide for that period only a list of armed conflicts between the two countries, the relations between Champa and Cambodia were not limited only to wars. During those centuries and the following centuries there had been continued economic relations—local chronicles and reports from Western travelers mentioned particularly the eagle wood (aquila Agallocha), ivory, and gold—as well as continued diplomatic contacts. But only artistic contacts had left the most durable traces<sup>5</sup> since it was proven that the oriental motif which, in the style called Ku-

len (Cambodia, ninth century) represents the Makaras spitting out a doe, had been borrowed from Champa as it is practically certain that Prasat Damrei Krap (Cambodia) was built around AD 802 by architects coming from Champa. On the other hand, beginning in the tenth century, the style called Mỹ-Sơn A1 received the influence of Khmer art. It is the same for the Bình-Định style for the towers of Hưng-Thạnh (twelfth century) which obviously imitated the ogival towers of Angkor Wat and that the lintels of the “Ivory Towers” (beginning of the twelfth century) imitated those of the decadent Bayou style. Finally, among the friendly relations between the people of Champa and Cambodia one cannot forget those which, after the thirteenth century, led the Cham warriors to Cambodia, several times, in response to the appeal for assistance from the Khmer kings (the best-known of these was the intervention in 1595–96, at the request of King Satha).

In the tenth century a Vietnamese national dynasty took power in the Red River Delta and along the coast down to Hoành-Sơn Pass. It was from that period onward that Champa found itself in direct contact with a Vietnamese state.<sup>6</sup> At once their relations became a confrontation of force since Champa led the first expedition against the Vietnamese kingdom as early as 979 and the latter attacked the kingdom of Champa in 982. Even though, from now onwards, the two countries never ceased to confront each other militarily, their relations were not solely bellicose. As a matter of fact, until the fourteenth century, no mention had been made of the exchange of ambassadors, or economic exchanges, or even the intermarriage between the two Courts (that of Vietnamese Princess Huyền-Trân and the Cham King Chế-Mân, in 1306, is the best known, for in order to obtain this princess, the Cham king had to cede to Vietnam the territory situated between the Lao-Bảo Pass and the Hải-Vân

Pass). And even after the fourteenth century which witnessed the demographic explosion in Vietnam that brought about the imbalance of forces that existed between the two kingdoms, the exchange of ambassadors alternated with wars. From that date onwards the Vietnamese, who became more and more crowded in their country and were prevented by the Chinese from expanding toward the north, had decided to expand towards the southern plains. And, as is well-known, this southward expansion, better known in Vietnamese as Nam-tiến, changed at the very outset into a life-or-death struggle between the Vietnamese kingdom and Champa, for the survival of their respective countries was at stake for both sides. In spite of this, and even after the capture of Vijaya in 1471 which marked the end of the power of Champa, diplomatic and economic exchanges still continued to exist between the two countries, until the absorption by Vietnam in 1832 of what had remained of the Cham territory. But, in the course of history, although the relations between the two countries had been very diverse, they were profitable to neither countries. In fact, they were fatal for Champa which was defeated by the Vietnamese by sheer number. But the latter did not take advantage of their victory neither culturally—for they sought to destroy the civilization of Champa, while they could have borrowed intellectual tools much different from those provided them by China—nor artistically, for always faithful to the Chinese model, their art did not practically learn from one of the most beautiful plastic arts of Asia.

Endowed with one thousand miles of coast rich in fish and which was, as early as the fourteenth century, the amazement of the traveler-priest Odoric de Pordone, soon the Chams living on the coast of the South China Sea build up a fleet to carry out high-sea fishing. Some of those fishermen were soon

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emboldened and engaged in long-distance navigation. They were all the more encouraged by the fact that the coast of Champa was admirably situated on the sea route linking China to India and it was a natural market for a hinterland rich in forests which yielded rare essence products ("eagle wood," spices, pharmaceutical herbs) which were sought for by those two countries. That explains why very soon the ports of Champa attracted Indian merchant ships, some of whose passengers—adventurers and Brahmans—strongly contributed to the Indianization of Champa (let's remember that the name of the constituent principalities of Champa—Amaravati, Vijaya, Indrapura—are place names of India) and brought this country into the great sea-trade circuits of the time. It is also what explains the constant commercial relations on the sea since the first centuries of the Christian era, between Champa and China whose culture should also have left its marks on Champa.

If one adds that until the seventeenth century the sailors had believed that in the middle of the South China Sea there was a dangerous zone of shoals<sup>7</sup> we will understand why they did not cross those waters but went along the coast of eastern Indochina when they went to India or the islands of the Malay Archipelago at the mouth of the Canton River. And this explains that the maritime front of Champa had been during centuries one of the most traveled seaways of the region. For this intense navigation brought about soon contacts with ships coming from everywhere which cruised along the coasts and relaxed, freely or forced by typhoons (in this zone the average number is ten per year), in the ports of Champa, which, due to this fact, became soon included in the sea circuits streaking the Far-East. Hence the continued relations that Champa had, since the beginning of its history, with the countries whose ships traveled through the seas of Southeast Asia.

The oldest contacts between Champa and overseas countries in the region, which was mentioned in epigraphies and manuscripts occurred with Java which, as early as the eighth century, had established its domination over the seas which washed the Malay Archipelago and the southern part of the China Sea. Attracted by the wealth of Champa, the Javanese mounted a raid in 774 against Aya Tra (present-day Nha-Trang) which they captured, pilfered and destroyed its religious sanctuaries. Thirteen years later, they operated further south in Panra (present-day Phan Rang) which they pilfered and demolished.<sup>8</sup> The relations between the two countries became soon improved since in the following century friendly exchanges multiplied. Thus the texts mentioned, among other things, the visit to Java at the end of the ninth century of a high dignitary of Champa, of the visit to the Court of Champa in 992 of an ambassador from Srivijaya,<sup>9</sup> of the marriage at the end of the thirteenth century of King Ché-Mân with a Javanese princess and, in the fifteenth century, of the king of Champa's sister with the king of Majapahit. Those relations should entail reciprocal influences between the two countries on the cultural and religious planes—the kings of Vijaya would soon imitate the Kings of Java in giving a particular importance to their deification—and artistic planes—whether in monumental art, in the statuary or in the ornament.<sup>10</sup> At the same time the commercial relations between the two countries were increased, a fact which was mentioned in epigraphies in the middle of the eleventh century.

Thus, when the great sea-trade network definitely took place in the thirteenth century, the ships of Champa naturally had their part in that network, which was controlled by the government of that island, starting from Java and reaching the western coasts of the South China Sea. In the course of the

following centuries, sea-borne economic relations between Champa and the Malay Archipelago continued, as evidenced by Portuguese and Spanish archives for the sixteenth century and by Spanish and Dutch sources for the seventeenth century. No doubt the sailors of Champa who, in their stopovers, got in contact with the Islamized communities present in all the ports of the archipelago and the Muslim merchants, who came from Brunei and Bantan to trade with Champa, were the vectors of Islam in that country.

The relations between Champa and the Malay peninsula were evidenced as early as the seventh century and it is known that an important maritime activity existed between the two coasts: the relations were not only commercial but also cultural and artistic, as evidenced by the vestiges found in Chaya (extreme south of present-day Thailand) which offer great similarity with Cham plastic arts. Malacca, according to Malay texts, was a refuge place for dignitaries of the Court of Champa after the fall of Vijaya to the Vietnamese in 1471, that leads us to believe that very close relations had existed between the two countries before that epoch. One is all the more inclined to think that this maritime center was regularly frequented by the ships coming from Champa and that Cham nationals, towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, occupied important positions in the court of the Sultan of Malacca. The relations between Champa and the Malay Peninsula should continue afterwards, particularly friendly, because many Malay documents mentioned that in 1594 the King of Champa sent assistance to the Sultan of Johor to fight against the Portuguese.<sup>11</sup> and that in 1607 Dutch documents mentioned that continuous relations existed between that Sultan and Champa. Then, one should not be surprised that in the seventeenth century Reverend Mahot mentioned in a letter ad-



dressed to the Catholic mission in Paris of the arrival in Champa of the nationals of the Malay Peninsula whom he accused of proselytism in the cause of Islam.

The relations between Champa and the ports on the Gulf of Siam are lately attested because we should wait until the sixteenth century to find mention in Portuguese documents of the presence of the ships of Champa at the embouchure of Menam which was the port through which all the foreign trade of Siam was carried out. It seems that the relations between the two countries became soon well developed because as early as 1662 a missionary mentioned the existence of a Cham colony in Ayudhya, that between 1675 and 1685 a brother of the King of Champa visited the Court of Siam, and that in 1686–1687 the Muslim Chams of Ayudhya participated in a plot aiming at the Siamese king and replacing him by one of his younger brothers. Afterwards, one can no longer find writings on the contact that Siam might have with the nationals of Champa. At most, we learn that at the King of Siam's order, in particular in 1812 and 1830, a certain number of Chams living in Cambodia was deported to the region of Bangkok where they were regrouped into villages which continue to exist and where their offspring are still living.

After the installation of the Europeans on the shores of the South China Sea, Champa got into contact with the newcomers who looked for gold, ivory, and produce. The common relations with the Portuguese living in Macao started at the end of the sixteenth century. Their ships frequently visited the ports of Cam-Ranh and Phan Rang. The relations until 1639 are attested, but it is surprising that it did not continue after that date. Continued contacts also existed between Champa and the Dutch during the whole seventeenth century, not only commercial but also diplomatic relations as evidenced by the

mission of two ambassadors of the King of Champa to Batavia in 1680.

The relations between Champa and its neighbors in the course of history were not solely of a belligerent nature as people tend to think when they read the writings of the historians of Southeast Asia. Diplomatic, economic, religious, and artistic relations, not to mention matrimonial exchanges, that this country entertained with its neighbors as well as with overseas countries, were more important than warring relations. If these relations appeared only in filigree and epigraphy, they are, on the contrary, frequently invoked in the manuscripts and archives of Champa.<sup>12</sup> in the texts of neighboring kingdoms, and largely attested on the material plane.

Pierre-Bernard Lafont

### Notes

1. See R.Stein. *Le Lin-Yi. Sa localisation, sa contribution a la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine*. **Han Hiue: Bulletin de Centre d'Atudes Sinologiques de Pékin II**, 1947.
2. On this country, see P.Pelliot. "Le Fou-nan" in *Bulletin EFEO*, III (1903); L. Malleret, *L'Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Public. EFEO, 4 vols (1959–1963).
3. The best presentation of the ancient history of Cambodia is to be found in G. Coedès. *Les états hindouisé d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*. Paris, 1964.
4. See *infra* the contribution of Mak Phoeun.
5. A succinct history of the arts of the Indochinese Peninsula is to be found in B. P. Groslier. *L'Indochine: Carrefour des arts*. Paris, 1955.

6. On the history and civilization of this country, see Lê Thành Khôi, *Le Vietnam*. Paris, 1955.
7. P. Y. Manguin. “La traversée de la Mer de Chine Méridionale des détroits de Canton jusqu’au XVIIe siècle, la question des îles Paracels” in *Asie du Sud-Est continentale* (Actes du XXIVe Congrès international des Orientalistes) vol. 2, 1976.
8. A. Barth and A. Bergaigne. *Inscriptions sanskrites du Champa et du Cambodge*. Paris, pp. 252, 253, 256.
9. G. Coedès. *op. cit.* p.245.
10. The Javanese influence is obvious in the animal statuaire in round relief which developed in Champa in the ninth century as well as scroll ornaments with long leaves which, in the thirteenth century, adorned the monuments of the Mỹ-Son A1 style.
11. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson. *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*. Cleveland, 1903. vol X, p. 239.
12. See in particular, *Inventaire des Archives du Panduranga du fonds de la Société Asiatique de Paris* (pièces en caractères chinois). *Travaux du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisations de la Péninsule Indochinoise*, 1984.

**The Cham Community  
in Cambodia from  
the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century**

**Historical development of its resettlement  
and its role in Cambodian political life**

The military disaster which led to the destruction of Vijaya, the capital of the Cham kingdom, in 1471 by Lê Thánh Tông's (1460–1497) Vietnamese troops was echoed in the *Khmer Royal Chronicles* which noted that the victorious Vietnamese king divided Champa into large and small provinces, some of which were incorporated into the Vietnamese territory while some others were placed under Cham Kings' authority who exerted their power under the vigilant control of Vietnamese officials sent by the Court of Đông-Đô (Hà-Nội). The *Khmer Annals* also noted that at that time many Cham common people as well as princes of the royal family were forced to leave their ancestral land and took refuge in the Khmer kingdom. The term Cham is used here according to the data gathered from the *Khmer Royal Chronicles* and may denote not only the Cham ethnic groups who lived in the lowlands but also a number of other ethnic groups in Champa who lived in the highlands of the Trường-Sơn range and who played a full sociopolitical role in this multiethnic kingdom. Many other inhabitants of Champa withdrew into the mountainous regions of the country to live with the montagnards (Stiengs, Rhades etc.).

That first wave of refugees from Champa who had chosen to settle in Cambodia was followed by others in the course of history for the southward march of the Vietnamese, the famous “Nam-tiến,” was to cause regularly the exodus of Cham population to Cambodia. According to the *Khmer Royal Chronicles*, the second great migration of Cham people took place in 1692, after a victory of the Vietnamese who once again cut off the northern part of Champa. Let’s remember that the previous year the same Vietnamese took by force the Khmer territories of Barea, Daung Nay and Prei Nokor (Bàrĩa, Biên-Hòa and Saigon in Vietnamese). According to the *Khmer Royal Chronicles*, this new wave of refugees from Champa, who fled their country because they refused to accept the yoke of the Court of Huế, consisted of about five thousand families led by the members of the royal family. They asked for protection from the Khmer king Jayajettha III (1677–1709) who at once accorded it to them. The Khmer king allowed those refugees to settle in different places in Cambodia, namely in Oudong, the Khmer capital of the time, in the provinces of Thbaung Khmum and Stung Trang, places called Chroy Changvar, Prek Pra etc. It was recorded that later other waves of Cham refugees came to Cambodia. Thus the *Chronicles* mentioned that about 1835 many Cham families who had been accused of rebelling against the Court of Huế, had to take exile in Cambodia reigned by Queen Ang-Mi (1835–1841) who, herself, was under the guardianship of Vietnamese officials sent by the Court of Huế of King Minh-Mệnh (1820–1840). This new emigration of Cham people was to leave recollections in the memory of the Khmers who later told the first French people who came to their country that they “had seen at that time many hundreds of Chams, among whom there were two young princesses who had great beauty and who were, they assured, entirely white.” We know that

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Cambodia was not the only country to receive refugees from Champa. But these refugees came to Cambodia first because partly of the proximity of the two countries, but also and foremost, because of the historical ties between the two peoples who, naturally, confront militarily in the course of their histories, but who were bound by various ties: cultural, human, matrimonial etc. and also by the common trials which made Cham people consider the Khmer kingdom a country of potential friends.

In Cambodia the Chams met the Malays (Jva), the descendants of immigrants coming from the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay peninsula from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They felt close to each other because of the language as well as a number of cultural traits they had in common. They mixed with one another and many a Cham were converted into Islam by the Malays. The result was the formation of a Muslim community with customs and manners which distinguished them from the Khmer people who entirely adhered to Theravada Buddhism.

As a matter of fact, except in rare cases of initiates, the Khmers did not distinguish these two ethnic groups which constitute the Muslim community in Cambodia. This is so true that the Khmer texts classified them under the generic term Cam Jva (literally, Cham and Malays). Doubtless, because of Islam these two groups lived very close to each other and easily married each other, which explains why the histories of Malays and Chams living in Cambodia are closely associated.

The Khmer kings have always welcome the natives of Champa who sought asylum in Khmer territory. As the latter showed discipline, cohesion, and courage, they sought their attachment and military support by granting them titles and land. The Cham (and Malays), on their side, know how to take

advantage of the situation to distinguish themselves by worthy services, and in return, they could obtain in many cases, high and even very high functions in the service of the king, for some of them could have access to ministerial positions or even that of Prime Minister.

Beginning at the end of the sixteenth century, Cambodia entered a period of great instability, in an almost gradual manner in spite of periods of respite more or less long, due on the one hand to external pressures from neighboring countries on the other from internal dissensions. Naturally the Muslim community in Cambodia bore the consequences of this instability. At several times, they had to choose between the opposing factions, as did the Khmers themselves, which made them become the object of solicitude of some but also the object of suspicion of the others. And on some occasions, very rare of course, Cham and Malays were tempted to take advantage of the situation and get rid of the sponsorship of the authority of their country of adoption, which gave rise to retaliatory measures from the latter.

The *Khmer Royal Chronicles* mentioned the first important action of the Muslim community in the Cambodian political life towards the end of the sixteenth century, under king Paramaraja V (Cau Bana Tan), who reigned from 1597 to 1599. Without providing very precise causes of their rebellion, these texts related that members of this community who settled in the province of Thbaung Khmum, took arms against the Khmer authorities under the leadership of their two leaders, known under the name or title Po Rat and Laksmana. Setting up a domain in that eastern part of Cambodia, the Cham and Malays proclaimed Po Rat king, who was generally thought of as a Cham, and Laksmana uparaj that is the second position in the kingdom, who was generally thought of as a Malay and ap-

pointed some of their coreligionists province chiefs and district chiefs. When King Paramaraja V (Cau Bana Tari) came from the capital Srei Santhor to ask for their surrender, the Chams and Malays attacked and killed him. It was only some time later that the Khmer authorities could defeat the rebels whose leaders Po Rat and Laksmana disappeared.

From those scanty data from the Royal Chronicles, European sources talked about two “Malay” chiefs, the most important and the most well-known of whom would be Laksmana, who, for having offered to the Khmer king Ram de Joen Brai (considered usurper, although he succeeded in getting rid of Siamese invaders from Cambodia) several pieces of artillery brought from Champa, was granted by the king high positions and land on which they lived. The two chiefs also succeeded in convincing the Khmer king to invade Champa. The king sent the two Malay chiefs and their soldiers, placed under the command of a high dignitary from the Court of Srei Santhor.

While the troops went to war against Champa, King Ram de Joen Brai was murdered in his palace by the Portuguese and Spaniards in May 1596. A fight for power was engaged between the son of the murdered king and the heir of the former royal family, the future Paramaraja V, aided by two Europeans, Diogo Veloso and Blas Ruiz. The two Muslim chiefs first chose to side with king Ram de Joen Brai’s son, but then later supported his rival, who succeeded to come to the throne of Srei Santhor. Nevertheless, rivalry occurred very soon between the Europeans who attempted to place Cambodia under Spanish protectorship and certain Khmer dignitaries, including the Malay chief Laksmana (the title Laksmana seems to show that he exercised the function of Minister of the Navy). Following a dispute between some Europeans and members of the Muslim community, the Malay Laksmana had put to death many



Portuguese and Spaniards, then finally King Paramaraja V himself (end of 1599). But those acts unlatched the retaliation of the Khmer authorities to push Laksmana back to Champa where he was to die.

The Muslim community in Cambodia also made itself talked about under King Ramadhipati I (Cau Bana Cand) who reigned from 1642 to 1658. Having given support to this king when he took power, the Chams and Malays received from the latter many favors and privileges, even succeeded in converting the king to their faith and had him marry a woman from their community. It is difficult to understand the deep conviction of King Ramadhipati I (Cau Ban Cand), called King Ibrahim in Dutch texts, nicknamed Ram Cul Sas or “Ram the Apostle” by some Khmer texts, who abandoned the religion of their ancestors to embrace Islam, but it seems more than certain that this king, cut off from his own people because of his cruelty and facing the opposition, more or less overt from his cousins, tried to rally the Chams and Malays to have a supplementary military support. With a considerable role granted them in the Court, members of the Muslim community took advantage of it to build mosques in many places in the kingdom and to reform the ceremonial in the royal Court where Khmer dignitaries, who had been invited themselves to adopt Muslim faith, had to wear a long tunic as well as a Malay kris to attend solemn audiences.

According to the *Khmer Royal Chronicles*, Ramadhipati I had married a woman from the Muslim community before he was converted to Islam. He would have embraced this religion only some time later (towards the first years of his reign) in Khleang Sbek village, when he visited this village. The *Royal Chronicles* noted that in his wedding ceremony, the main Muslim religious chief offered him an antique kris , which was later kept,

until his last year, in the Pancasksetr Building of the Royal Palace where were deposited all the Khmer royal attributes.

The revolt of the king's cousins and the Vietnamese intervention which followed in 1658 put an end to the reign of Ramadhipati I and also the privileged position of the Chams and Malays in the capital Oudong and elsewhere in the kingdom. The Chams and Malays attempted to oppose King Pramara VIII (1659–1672), the successor and adversary of their benefactor, first in Thbaung Khmum province, then in Nokor Vat (Siemreap), but the new Cambodian king defeated them and forced them to leave the country to seek asylum in the country of the Siamese king. It should be known that among those who left the country there were not only members of the Muslim community but also Khmers, princes of the royal family, civil and religious dignitaries, common people, relatives or followers of the former king. In fact, among the title of dignitaries who emigrated, there were those which were Khmer proper, but also others beginning with Po and Duon (tuan) which indicate Cham (and Malay) descent. Among those emigrated, one notices, in particular, the Muslim wife of the former king, designated in the Royal Chronicles by the title Anak Mnan Kapah Pau or under that of Nan Kam Pau.

If the Chams and Malays were forced to seek for a new asylum country in the kingdom of Ayudhya, other members of the same community continued to stay in Cambodia to play a role in the royal service and entertain relations with the Khmer royal family. In 1672, Prince Sri Jayajetth had his father-in-law and king assassinated, took power in Oudong and took the title Padumaraja II. The new king, after those crimes, doubtless thought of legitimizing his accession to the throne and gathering other followers around him, elevated to the position of queen the wife of his uncle Ubhayoraj Ramadhipati, who had

fled to the border province of the lowland and who had overtly opposed him. The worse came to him for the princess to whom he had conferred the title of queen, accepted that title only to take revenge for her king and brother in-law, and chiefly to render the throne to the man who was entitled to it, namely the eldest son of the assassinated king. To carry out her project, the new queen addressed to the Chams and Malays who, by night, entered the royal palace and killed King Padumaraja II, who had been on the throne for five months only.

Despite the arrival of new Cham refugees in 1692, already mentioned, nothing was said about the Muslim community in the Khmer documents during the whole eighteenth century. Except at the end of the century, at the height of the turmoil in the kingdom, when the only heir to the Khmer throne, Prince Ang En, was still an infant, and when the main Khmer dignitaries fought one another for power in bloody fights and in turn proclaimed themselves Santec Cau Hva, that is Prime Minister. While one of those, the Sammtec Cau Hva Paen, took power in Oudong, forces coming from the eastern provinces of Cambodia, in particular the Thbaung Khmum province, and consisting in a substantial number of Chams and Malays, attacked and forced him to leave the capital in 1782. At that time, a Muslim chief, known as Duon Set, became ambitious, according to the *Khmer Chronicles*. With the help of other Chams and Malays, he set up an army and pursued Samtec Cau Hva Paen, who fled toward the direction of Bangkok and taking with him the young prince Ang En and his sisters. The Muslim chief Don Set then entered the capital Oudong, acted as the chief administrator and proceeded to appoint his co-religionists to various positions. He decided to settle Cham and Malay families in Phnom Penh and Chroy Chang-var. Then the Khmer governor of the large province of Kampong Svay, called Daen, took the

title of Cau Hva, with the consent of other Khmer dignitaries, put Duon Set to death and subdued Cham and Malay troops.

Another Cham and Malay action occurred in 1858, under the reign of King Hariraka Rama (Ang Tuon). Once again, the Muslim community of Thbaung Khmum province, revolted against Khmer authorities at the instigation of four brothers who blamed the Cambodian governor of Thbaung Khmum of cruelties and exaction. The griefs of the Muslim chiefs may be well-founded but they were themselves not above reproach. They had taken in this province an authority they should not have, because they aimed only at subtracting the members of the Cham and Malay communities from the Khmer authorities, while they themselves exerted on this community a sort of sovereignty after they had created a kind of a small state in the province. To placate the agitation, the King of Ou-Dong sent, with a small escort, the Udkana Yodhasangram, who knew well the Muslim chiefs, so as to exhort them to surrender. He was killed by the rebels, not having had time to explain anything. King Hariraks Rama (Ang Tuon) raised a small army and went himself to Thbaung Khmum where several battles took place which finally brought about the dispersion of the Muslim forces. One of the main Muslim chiefs was killed during the battle and the others fled to Moat Chrouk (Châu-Đốc), a Khmer territory which had just been occupied by the Vietnamese. The Cambodian King rounded up all the Chams and Malays who could not escape and transferred them to Pursat, Lovek, Kampong, Tralach and Kampong Luong. But in 1859 their coreligionists, who had taken refuge in Moat Chrouk, went up the Mekong River and took them to Moat Chrouk. King Hariraks Rama (Ang Tuon) then ordered the Khmer governor of Treang province to go after them. The Vietnamese troops sent to help the Chams and Malays could not prevent the Cambodians

from advancing deeply into Treang Troey Thbaunag (Vietnamese: Tịnh Biên) and to settle there. King Hariraks Rama died in the following year, in 1860. The designated successor, King Narottam (Norodom in French texts) was contested by his younger brother Si Vattha whose supporters took arms, sowed trouble in the kingdom and threatened Oudong, the capital. In 1861 when the designated king felt discouraged in Battambang, the Cham and Malay refugees in Moat Chrouk (Châu-Đốc), returned promptly to Cambodia where they gathered their relatives and co-religionists and offered their services to the king and chiefly to Narottam's grandmother, a most venerated and respected old queen. Regaining their former dignities and positions, or receiving new ones, the Chams and Malays contributed to the victory of Narottam.

Such is, succinctly, the history of the Cham community in Cambodia which by five times, played a very active part in the political life of Cambodia, sometimes siding with the governing Khmer authorities, but also sometimes, trying to get rid of their guardianship. The history of this community, however, is marked not only by salient facts. Although the Khmer Royal Chronicles pay little attention to them, there were other forms of relations more peaceful and more productive between the Cham-Malay community and the Khmer people. This explains why, as has been seen, the Khmer kings had always helped the Cham people, and welcome them with the greatest tolerance, and at all times gave the Muslim community access to important positions in the kingdom. One may even say that from the political point of view, the Chams as well the Malays, enjoyed the same rights as the Cambodians themselves. And for this, they have never been asked to change their religion or adopt customs contrary to their faith. The Cambodians only asked them to respect the religion and customs of their country of

adoption.

On their part, the Chams and Malays who settled in Cambodia also proved their allegiance to the Khmer kings. An example of this is that in 1817 a descendant of the Cham royal family was appointed governor of Thbaung Khmum province. When Cambodia was occupied by the Vietnamese troops of Emperor Minh-Mệnh in 1834, a descendant of that governor received from the general of the army a Vietnamese title which made him a local auxiliary of the troop of the Court of Huế. Nevertheless, in 1841, when the Vietnamese deported the Khmer Queen Ang Mi and her sisters to Vietnamese territory, that Cham high official followed them in captivity and died in exile the same year.

Since their implantation in Khmer territory, the Cham have participated in all the events that marked the history of Cambodia. If they have sometimes taken advantage of some of the events for their profit, they have not lived a better life than the Khmers themselves. And if we examine closely the five centuries of Cham presence in Cambodia, it is obvious that in general, Cham-Malays and Khmers have endured, hand in hand, the great jolts that have shaken the country since the fifteenth century. The last event in time, but not the least important, was Pol Pot's genocide, which, between 1975 and 1979, led to the death of about two million Khmers and almost half of the Cham people in Cambodia.

Mak Phoen

## **On the Historical and Literary Relations Between Champa and the Malay World**

Historians who pored over the history of Champa since the beginning of this century, in particular G. Maspéro and G. Coedès, have emphasized the ups and downs of this Indianized people who lived in present-day Vietnam and whose kingdom, or more exactly kingdoms, witnessed their territory and power progressively weakened under the inexorable pressure of the Vietnamese. Since its appearance in the second century of the Christian era, the history of this people is in close and constant relations with those of other powers of southern Asia, from south China to the Malay Archipelago: history of political conflicts on the one side and commercial and cultural contacts, on the other. Not only had the Chams, by the fact that they inhabited the coast of Central Vietnam, occupied a strategic position on the sea-route between south China and the Indian Ocean, but the presence of Cham merchants and even Cham communities were recognized in the main commercial cross-roads of the region between the ninth and seventeenth centuries.

The relations between Champa and the Malay Archipelago have not been the subject of any particular study. Nevertheless, many facts that have been revealed by researchers of various disciplines proved intense political and commercial as well as religious and artistic relations. These continuous contacts, which brought about reciprocal influences, are more interest-

ing by the fact that Cham and Malay both belong to the Austronesian family (the term Malay is used here in its broad acceptance to denote Indonesian populations). In other words, these are populations sharing the same substratum, political and cultural evolution which are comparable at certain points of time (in particular the two great phenomena of Indianization and Islamization) and effected interaction between their respective cultural heritages.

To keep ourselves within the strictly literary domain, which hitherto has only been partially explored, we find in Cham and Malay stories common features which were attributed by certain authors to a common source,<sup>1</sup> while later literary works proved literary borrowing from one culture by another. In fact, among the five epics which, in the words of Po Dharma, represent “the cultural treasure of the Cham people,” two are, doubtless, adaptations of Malay epics.

The study of those texts and their comparisons has become difficult because of two factors: on the one hand, on the Cham as well as the Malay sides, those epics came down to us in the late manuscript forms, which did not show their evolution through age on both sides of the China Sea; on the other, the knowledge of the contacts between Chams and Malays is insufficient which does not allow us to reconstruct with precision the time and modalities of those literary borrowings. Nevertheless, a comparative study of Cham and Malay epics helps clarify the cultural history of each people and certain aspects of their relations.

The five Cham epics revealed in recent studies, which constitute the totality of Cham classical literature (or of what has remained of it) are the following: *Pramdit Pram lak*, *Inra Sri Bikan*, *Um Marup*, *Inra Patra* and *Deva Mano*. The history of *Pramdit Pram lak* as well as that of a similar second text entitled



*Damnuy Po Keidai Muherasih*, represents the Cham version of *Ramayana*. Those two texts, found by G. Moussay in the region of Phan Rang (the old Panduranga), are very recent in origin and excessively short (ref. Moussay, 1976). It was thought that Valmiki's *Ramayana* would have been introduced into Champa by the Malays at the period of Islamization (re. *ibid*: 193) and G. Moussay himself saw traces of Malay elements in a few pages of that Cham version which is still left. G. E. Marrison, on the contrary, wanted to see it as an adaptation from Khmer (Marrison 1985: 49). In reality, *Ramayana* was known in Champa as early as the seventh century: in fact we know that at that time a temple was built by King Prakasadharmā and dedicated to Valmiki (cf. Mus 1928; Boisselier 1963: 37), while in the tenth and eleventh centuries, four scenes from *Rayamana* were sculpted in the Trà-Kiêu bas-relief (cf. Boisselier 1963: 191–2). In comparison, the two belated literary fragments are poor indices: it is possible that, through the age, the Cham versions of the *Ramayana* underwent the Malay and Khmer influences, but it is certain that the Indianization period preceded long before the Islamization period, in much the same way as it happened elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

The second epic, *Inra Sri Bikan*, is also a very short text.<sup>2</sup> The hero, Prince Sang Jana, married the daughter of the Heavenly King. Banned to a deserted island by his own brother, King Buramavati, he was rescued by his divine father-in-law. Later on, he was attacked by King Rayana who succeeded in ravishing his wife. Sang Jana killed Rayana and reconquered his kingdom where he was triumphantly welcomed. Some of the events and names of this epic may be reminiscences of the *Ramayana* and perhaps of *Mahabharata*, but nothing in Malay could be the original from which *Inra Sri Bikin* could have been adapted.<sup>3</sup>

The same can be said of the third Cham epic, *Ariya* (or *Akayet Um Marup*) for which it has been impossible up to now to find a Malay model. This literary work, clearly longer than the other two,<sup>4</sup> is extremely interesting for it contains a legend about Islamization. The hero Um Marup is converted to Islam by the Prophet himself, after the latter, accompanied by his first four caliphs (whose names can be easily recognized from the Cham adaptation: Abukhar, Uman, Suman, and Ali), had helped him destroy the dragon which had devastated his father's kingdom. The latter, King Harum, then decided to kill him but Um Marup needed only to pronounce shahad (expression of the Muslim faith) to render harmless all weapons aimed at him. Finally Um Marup waged a war against his father; he was killed in the battle, but the Prophet once again interceded: the latter defeated King Harum and, in his turn, the King was converted.

Nothing allows us to affirm that this legend retold the Islamization of a Cham community; nevertheless it is recognized as such by the Chams themselves, judging from the popularity of this legend in the Phan Rang region. It should be noted that this legend has themes similar to other legends about the Islamization of certain regions of Indonesia, in particular the fact that the king was converted by the Prophet himself (cf. Jones 1979: 132; Chambert-Loir, 1985).

We are on sure ground with the two last epics, *Akayet Inra Patra* and *Akayet Deva Mano*, for there is no doubt that they are adaptations from Malay literature. These two epics are longer than the previous ones and chiefly, more popular. With regards to *Akayet Deva Mano*, which he considered "the masterpiece of the Cham cultural treasury" (Moussay, 1975), G. Moussay noted that many copies of this epic exist in most Cham villages and the informer of E. Aymonier and A. Cabaton,

at the very beginning of this century, were aware of the Malay *Hikayat* of which the Cham epics were an adaptation.

The two Cham epics, as well as their Malay models, were the subject of scholarly research which allows, by comparison, to figure out the way the Chams integrated the Malay text in their own culture and to calculate the period in which these literary borrowings took place.<sup>5</sup> Like their Cham epic adaptations, the Malay models were formerly very popular in the Indonesian world. Two indices for this popularity were, on the one hand, the number of manuscripts handed down to us (thirty manuscripts for the *Hikayat Indraputra* and sixteen manuscripts for the *Hikayat Dewa Mandu*, which, in the Malay field, is relatively great); and on the other, the geographic dissemination of these two epics and their adaptations into other languages. The *Hikayat Indraputra* was known, at least, in the Malay Peninsula, in Singapore, in Java and in Kalimantan. There are two distinct versions: one in prose and the other in verse;<sup>6</sup> It was adapted, in the archipelago, in Aceh, Bugis, and Makassar; finally it was adapted not only into Cham but also in Maranao and Maguindanao (Mindanao, the Philippines). As for the *Hikayat Dewa Mandu*, it was known in the Malay Peninsula, in Sumatra, Riau, Kalimantan and Celebes; there is also a theater version, purely in the oral tradition and always alive in the Riau Archipelago; and finally it was translated into Javanese.

It should be borne in mind that when we speak of “Malay literature” we do not simply talk about the literature produced in the Malay Peninsula (today’s Malaysia), but also the literature written in Malay in the the Indonesian Archipelago. We have many examples of Malay literary works produced in Indonesia. With regards to *Hikayat Indraputra* and *Dewa Mandu*, we do not know where they originated and consequently, we cannot determine whether they came to Champa from the

Malay Peninsula or from another point of the Indonesian Archipelago.

The study of these two epics confirm that they had existed in a pre-Islamic version. With regard to *Hikayat Dewa Mandu*, the very structure of the epic put it under the category of the Indian-type Malay literature; the proper nouns consist, for the most part, of Sanskrit sounds and a number of names and episodes remind us of those of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*.<sup>7</sup> The story of Dewa Mandu also exists in the form of a folk theater played in Malay Peninsula and Singapore at the end of the last century and still surviving today in Indonesia in the archipelago of Riau and in the region of Pontianak (West Kalimantan). As it is now observed in Riau, this form of theater (the Mendu) is devoid of Islamic elements, to such an extent that it was rejected by the orthodox Muslims; the performance is accompanied by propitiatory rites having nothing to do with Islam (cf. Chambert-Loir 1987: 78). With regard to *Hikayat Indraputra*, it was still among the texts in which the name of Allah was not even mentioned.

It is probable that those two epics were transmitted orally in the Malay world even before the introduction of Islam. The Islamization accompanied, doubtless from the fourteenth century, the utilization of the Arab alphabet to transcribe the Malay language and thus Malay literature was born. The stories of *Dewa Mandu* and *Indraputra* were, perhaps, in their oral form, a mixture more or less extensive, of tales and anecdotes assembled around model heroes; they became, in the written form, the hikayat whose structure did no longer change. They also underwent a certain amount of Islamization in that Muslim concepts were introduced either laid on the surface of the tale, or even to modify a few episodes.

It has been proven, for reasons particular to the cultural

history of the Chams, that the two Malay Hikayats could not have been adapted into Cham after the end of the seventeenth century (cf. Moussay, 1975: 90–92 and Chambert-Loir 1980: 12). The question is whether these two Hikayats were disseminated in Champa in their pre-Islamic form or already “Islamized” and whether they were transmitted orally or in their written form.

The fact that these two epics were the heritage of the Cham-bani (Muslim Chams of Vietnam) and that they contain a certain Muslim flavor leads us to consider them in the framework of the Islamization of Champa. Nevertheless, the Muslim elements in those two epics are extremely few, and more surprisingly, they are different from their Malay models (cf. vija, 1976: XLVIII; Moussay, 1975:87–88; Chambert-Loir, 1980: 10–11). It seems improbable that the Chams borrowed from the Malays the epics already Islamized and that they cut out the Muslim elements and then reintroduced later other Muslim elements during the course of their own Islamization. In other words, we must assume that these two epics were transmitted from the Malay world to Champa in their pre-Muslim form.

A typical example of this independent adaptation of Cham and Malay epics to a progressive Islamization is the case of the fifth wife of Dewa Mandu. In Malay, Dewa Mandu had a romance with a princess when he had already had four wives. The text suggested that he was not responsible for his acts, for the princess had cast a spell on him through a philter to make him forget his wives. The feelings of fault and remorse which accompanied this adventure is doubtless the author’s concession to the Muslim dogma. This is all the more plausible because the five manuscripts of the epics (all originated from Batavia in the last century) have simply suppressed the whole episode. On the contrary, in the Cham version Deva Mano

married the fifth wife. In this particular case we may think that in the original Malay version Dewa Mandu had five wives, without contravening the Indianized context of the time. The Cham-bani, who are known not to follow an orthodox Islam faith, did not think it necessary to modify the story; the Malays, on the contrary, have modified the episode to make it conform to the Muslim faith and, in certain cases, have changed the story so that Dewa Mandu had only four wives.

We are led, then, to conclude that the Chams adapted the two Malay epics while the Muslim element was still absent and later they were “Islamized” in different and independent ways in the two cultures.

It is impossible to determine whether this transmission was done orally or in the written form. It was possible that one or several Cham authors had the knowledge of the manuscripts of the Malay epics (in Vietnam, Cambodia or the Malay world) and they have translated into their language. It is also possible that they had heard and assimilated the two Malay stories and composed in Cham from memory. The Malay epics are long (several hundred pages) and written in prose. The Cham epics are relatively short (about 1200 lines) and in verses. Consequently it is evident that they were not translations from one language to another but rather adaptations. The comparison of texts show that, in general, the plot of the story was remarkably respected in this process of adaptation: the main characters are the same and the different episodes follow an identical sequence. On the contrary, and this is an interesting point in this cultural exchange, the Cham authors have adapted the significance of the epics to their own psychological, cultural, and religious environment. The Malay epics have been in some way rendered more natural, “Chamicized,” to give them a national character (Vija 1976: XLIX; Po Dharma 1982: 66 n. 22.) One may

cite a few significant examples from *Akayet Deva Mano*. First, the father of the hero is of divine origin while in Malay he is a human. The birth of the hero is the breaking point which marks the beginning of the plot: in the Malay version, the hero (Dewa Mandu) was born of the king's second wife, unknown to the Queen; in the Cham version, on the contrary, the hero was Queen's son, but he was born only when his father died so that he could occupy his father's place. Later on, the hero's quest is different in the two versions: in Malay, Dewa Mandu went in search of perfection, in Cham, Deva Mano went in search of his father. Another typically Cham trait: in *Akayet Deva Mano*, several times the hero's wives were ready to die with him, an element which is not to be found in the Malay text and which should be linked to the European evidence according to which, even at the end of the sixteenth century, the sacrifice of widows, the sati, was practised in Champa (Manguin 1979: 269, 273). A last example concerns the end of the text: while in the Malay version, the main antagonist of the hero (Dewa Raksa Malik) was killed and buried, in the Cham version, on the contrary, he was resurrected by the gods and reconciled with the hero. So, G. Moussay (1975: 98) could conclude that, despite the respect to the global structure of the story, the author has so well adapted the Malay epic to Cham sensitivity that the heroes, in spite of their foreign names, are considered authentic representatives of the native land. That is the reason why the Chams today see *Hikayet Deva Mano* as a national epic.

In conclusion, it is certain that a detailed comparative analysis of the Malay and Cham epics will allow us to see certain aspects of Cham culture under a new light. While still aware of the fact that the manuscripts in our possession are relatively recent and that they may undergo, in Malay as well as in Cham versions, important modifications, it is possible to

determine certain social, religious or psychological aspects that the Cham chose to preserve, modify, or eliminate from the Malay models. In the field of Cham literature, which is still embryonic, such an analysis could produce original conclusions. One point which is difficult to establish is the material circumstances of those literary borrowings. During the period which extended from the appearance of Muslim communities in Champa as well as in the Malay world in the eleventh century—or even at a more ancient date—until the Islamization of the Court and a part of the Cham population, at the end of the seventeenth century, not long before the disappearance of the kingdom, Malay communities played an important role in Cambodia and in Champa (Manguin, 1979). These Malay people may have brought with them and disseminated the *Indraputra* and *Dewa Mandu* epics in oral or written forms. But at the same time, Cham travellers and emigrants visited the commercial centers of the Malay world and they may have acquainted with the Malay epics on the spot.

If this literary study could not determine the historical events, it could, on the contrary, clarify one aspect of the contacts and exchanges between Chams and Malays in a way similar to comparative studies in the fields of architecture and sculpture. It especially emphasizes the existence of cultural networks across all Southeast Asia. The dissemination of the *Dewa Mandu* epic in Indonesia, in Malaysia (no doubt also in Brunei) and in Champa and that of *Indrapura* in Indonesia, Malaysia, Champa and Mindanao can be paralleled with the dissemination of two great Indian epics in the Indianized kingdoms of Southeast Asia and the dissemination of the Panji tales in Indonesia, Malaysia, Cambodia, and Thailand.

Then, it is not only a cultural treasure of Champa which was revealed by specialists in Cham literature, it is also a material



of great interest for the study of the cultural history of Southeast Asia. It is to be wished that the renewal of Cham studies, which started in the past fifteen years, would be pursued and intensified in the years to come. The Chams who live in Europe today will have a role of first importance to play in this field.

Henri Chambert-Loir

#### Notes

1. It is remarkable that the song mentioned by Po Dharma (“Notes on Cham literature” in *Shiroku* No 15, 1982, pp 46–47), an elaborate enigma in dialogue form, is almost word by word identical to the Malay “clock story” mentioned by Winstedt (*A History of Classical Malay Literature*. Oxford University Press, 1958, p.5). But in this case Winstedt believes that it was a borrowing from India.
2. The EFEO library in Paris keeps a microfilm of a 10-page manuscript copied in Phan Rang in 1970 (Lafont, *Catalogue des manuscrits cam des bibliothèques françaises*. Public. EFEO, 1977, p. 117). Thanks are hereby expressed to Mr. Po Dharma for having communicated to me a summary of that text.
3. The Cham text is not in any way related to the Malay *Hikayat si Miskin* as suggested by G. E. Marrison (“The Cham and their literature” in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Roy. Asiat. Soc.* LVII: 2 (1985), p.50).
4. Three manuscripts (one of which contains 89 pages) of this epic, as well as microfilms of the other two are conserved at EFEO, Paris; the text of another manuscript was also duplicated (Lafont *op.cit* and Po Dharma. *Complément au catalogue des manuscrits cam des bibliothèques françaises*. Publ. EFEO, 1981). Thanks are expressed to G.

Moussay for having communicated to me the translation of 463 verses out of a total of 496 lines of one of those manuscripts.

5. *Akayet Deva Mano* was transcribed, translated and annotated by G. Moussay in 1975 (cf. his unpublished dissertation), from a manuscript written in 1968 in Phan Rang by a group of Cham scholars, based on manuscripts known in the area; this manuscript was photocopied in *Archives des manuscrits cham-Khảo-lục nguyên-cảo Chàm* (Phan Rang 1974, pp. 5–59). Moreover, there are 11 versions of the same epic in Parisian libraries (Lafont *op. cit.*). The *Inra Patra* epic was translated and annotated by Nara Vija in 1976, based on the CHCPI CAM 5 manuscript (Lafont, *op. cit.* and Po Dharma, *op. cit.*). *Hikayat Dewa Mandu* was published in Malay Chambert-Loir, *Hikayat Dewa Mandu, Épopée malaise: texte et présentation*. Public. EFEO, 1980 and “Notes sur une épopée malaise: le Hikayat Dewa Mandu” in *Bulletin EFEO LXIV*, 1977, pp. 293–302). *Hikayat Indrapura* was published in Malay twice (*Hikayet Inderaputera diusahakan oleh Enche Ali bin Amah*, Kuala Lumpur, 8th edition, 1979 and Mulyadi. *Hikayat Indraputra. A Malay romance*. Foris Public., 1983, KITLV, Bibliotheca Indonesia 23); the second edition consists of a 70-page summary in English and an analysis of various aspects of the literary work. Also consult Winsted’s “Hikayat Indraputra” in *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, no. 85 (1922), pp. 46-53 and *op. cit.* 1958; Liaw Yock Fang, *Sejarah Kesusastran Melayu Klassik*, Singapore 1975; Mulyadi, “Rona Keislaman Dalam Hikayat Indraputra” in *Archipel*, no. 20, pp. 133-142.
6. Winstedt (“Hikayat Putra Jaya Pati” in *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, no. 85 (1922), pp. 54-57) believed that Hikayat Putra Jayapati was a short version of Hikayat Indrapura, but Mulyadi (*op.*

cit. 1983, pp. 40-43) established that these two works only show a number of similarities and one is not a summary of the other.

7. As an illustration, the name of the two brothers Bala Dewa and Krisna Peri reminds us of Baladewa and Kreshna in Mahabharata, while the victorious attack of an army of monkeys which wanted to burn down the town Langka Dura seems to reflect an episode in Ramayana in which the monkey Hanoman burned down the town of Alengka.
8. cf. Mulyadi (op. cit. 1983, pp. 21-22). The same author concluded (p. 40) his analysis of Muslim elements in Hikayat Indraputra, based on a manuscript dated 1700, as follows: "We can conclude that we have here a novel which had existed in the traditional Malay-speaking societies for many centuries. It was transmitted from generation to generation by story-tellers, who gave it an Indian flavor before it acquired its Muslim veneer at the time when Islam began to spread over the Malay world.

## Champa in Malay Literature

Champa no longer exists on the map of the world and the Cham kingdom and civilization are today virtually unknown in the Malay world. However, contacts were established between Champa and the Malay Peninsula as well as the Malay Archipelago. In this paper, we will gather scattered materials in Malay literature related to the language, literature, and history of Champa.

In the period of its highest expansion, Champa occupied a territory covering present-day Central Vietnam and the western part of South Vietnam. That territory consisted of several states: Amaravati, Vijaya, Kauthara, and Panduranga. Champa was, little by little, absorbed by Vietnam and completely lost its autonomy in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. During the French colonial period and Vietnam's first few years of independence under the Bảo-Đại regime, the Chams enjoyed some ethnic and cultural recognition but with Ngô Đình Diệm's accession to power in 1955, a new era of Vietnamization began.<sup>1</sup>

Archeological vestiges, local epigraphy and foreign documents contain evidence of the great past of Champa. It was discovered, in Champa, no less than 206 inscriptions, 98 of which were in Cham, 43 in Sanskrit, 29 in both languages and 36 in scripts which are not decipherable. The oldest of these inscriptions, discovered in Kauthara (Nha-Trang), was in Sanskrit and dated AD 192. We know that the oldest transcription

in Cham can be traced back to the 4th century and considered the most ancient transcription in an Austroasian language known to us.

In the book entitled *Sri Shu* it was recorded that Chinese troops burned down 1350 volumes of Buddhist literature written in the Kun Lum language which is also an Austroasian language.<sup>3</sup> The attribution of the Cham language to the Austroasian language family was first expounded by J. Crawfurd at the beginning of the last century. He published a list of Cham words which he compared to their Malay counterparts. Other scholars such as A. Kern, E. Kuhn, G. K. Nieman, E. Aymonier, and many others followed his interpretation. In the literary domain also, there were close ties between Champa and the Malay world. Evidence is found in the adaptation in Cham<sup>4</sup> of the Malay epic *Dewan Mandu* as well as the alternating songs which are an exact equivalent of Malay songs. A Dutch scholar established a parallel between the two poetic forms of Cham and Achase (North Sumatra).<sup>6</sup>

Today scholars revive the scientific interest in Champa. French researchers have conducted studies on Cham language and literature. Mr. Po Dharma, himself a native of Champa, has catalogued several Cham manuscripts and produced a treatise of Cham literature with several categories such as folklore and legends, religious literature (Islam and Hinduism).<sup>7</sup> There are relatively many references to Champa in Malay and Indian works. In effect, Javanese epigraphy mentioned the presence of Chams in Java in five inscriptions dated 762–831 Caka, which correspond to AD 840–909. The most ancient inscription, that of Kuti in East Java, mentioned the Chams as well as the Kling, Haryya singha (from Sri Lanka), Gola (Begali), Cwalika (from Tamil countries), Malygala, Kranade, Remau (from the Mon countries) and Kamir, among the people employed in the

palace. The most recent inscription, that of Kaladi in Java, mentions merchants who were natives of Champa, Mon, Guilaka, and India.<sup>8</sup>

Four centuries later, the Java chronicles *Negara Kantagama*, mentioned Champa twice: first (song 15.1.14) Champa as a protectorate of the Majaplit Kingdom, then (song 83. 4.2) Champa along with Cambodia, India, China, Vietnam, and Siam among the countries whose nationals came in throngs to attend the festivities at the Javanese Court.<sup>9</sup> Almost a replica of this is found at a later date in *Malay Chronicles of the Banjar Kingdom in South Borneo (Hikayat Banjar)*. It was recorded in these chronicles that the kings of Java, Banten, Jambi, Palembang, Makassar, Pahang, Pattani, Bali, Pasai, Champa and Minangkabang were King Majahabi's vassals. And at another place, it included the King of Bantan, Jambi, Palembang, Bugis, Makassar, Johor, Pattani, Pahang, Champa, Minangkabang, Aceh, and Pasai.<sup>10</sup>

Farther east of the Archipelago, in South Celebes, a manuscript in the Makassar language entitled *Patturioloanga ri Tugoaya*, mentioned the special status accorded the Malay (from Pahang, Patani, and Johor), Cham, and Minangkabang merchants, in the port of Goa, under the reign of King Tunipalanga (1546–1565).

Then, although still under the constant attacks of Đai-Việt, Champa still proved to retain its power, since in 1594 the Cham King sent military aid to the King of Johor, undoubtedly the Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah II (1576–1597).<sup>12</sup>

Because of frequent attacks from foreign invaders, the Chams took refuge in the neighboring countries such as Cambodia, Malaysia, etc. Some of these refugees played an important role in their host countries. The versified Chronicles in the Malay language which retold the war in Southern Celebes,

between the Makassar and the Dutch in the 1660s, recognized the heroism of a Cham warrior:

Sri Amar Diraja, a native of Champa, was a dauntless commander and an ascete. Although his men were not numerous, the sight of the enemy made him leap. He was a warrior of exemplary courage and his reputation was known in more than a mile around. If he saw the Burgis or the Christian Dutch, his anger was uncontrollable.<sup>13</sup>

The Malay text with the most references to Champa is the *Sejarah Melayu*, “the Malay Annals” which records the greatness of the Malaka Sultanate in the fifteenth century. Chapter 4 of the *Annals* recorded the honor reserved for a Cham captain at the Court of Malaka and chapter 21 related the story of King Pau Gelang and his successors. Pau Gelang was born from the flower of an areca-tree. He had the town Bal built. His child, then grandchild, Pau Gama, succeeded him on the throne. Pau Gauma went to Majapahit and married princess Radm Galuh Ajang who bore him a child, Jaknaka. The latter became King of Champa. His son Pankubah ascended to the throne. He died after his capital Bal<sup>14</sup> fell to King Kuci.<sup>15</sup>

In this summary of the reigns of Pau Gelang and his successors, we find a historical tradition well-known in Champa. Pau Galang seems to correspond to Jaya Paramecvaravarman I who reigned in the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>16</sup> One of his successors, Thang Vishnumurti, alias Harivarman IV, who ascended to the throne in 1074, derived “from the family of coconut trees from his father’s side and the family of areca tree from his mother’s side.”<sup>17</sup>

As for Pau Gama of *Sejarah Melayu*, he was the Cham King Jaya Simhavarman III (1288–1307), who married the Javanese princess Tapani and who, at a later date, had to cede to Đạì-Việt

the two western provinces of Champa in order to marry a Vietnamese princess.<sup>18</sup> His son, Harijitatmaja, attempted in vain to reconquer the two lost provinces and lost his life in this venture. Caught prisoner in 1312, he died the following year. His brother, called Ché-Nang in the *Vietnamese Annals*, also attempted to liberate the two northernmost provinces but had to flee to Java. The Emperor of Đại-Việt installed on the throne a military chief of the name Ché-Anan who may well be Jak Sake of the Malay text.<sup>19</sup>

Always according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, after the capture of Vijaya, the two sons of King Pau Kubah fled to the Malay Peninsula and North Sumatra respectively: Syah Indera Berman took refuge at Malaka where he was welcomed by the Sultan Mansur Syah who converted him into Islam and appointed him minister and “it was from him and his descendants that the Cham Community of Malaka took its origin.” His brother Syah Pau Ling “went to Aceh and originated the line of Aceh kings.”<sup>20</sup>

There was also mention of Cham personalities in the *Malay Annals* twice. A Cham captain named Sayyia Ahmad, was knighted by the Sultan Mahmud of Malaka in recognition of his role in the ravishing of a Pahang princess that the Sultan wanted to marry. Finally in chapter 34, there was reference to a Cham princess married to a Malaka dignitary who took refuge in Pahang after the Portuguese took over Malaka.<sup>21</sup>

Other Malay texts whose historical authenticity is less reliable also refer to the history of Champa. The poem *Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang Cina*, for instance, retold the war by Sultan Tainal Abidin of Kembatat Negara against Cina. This text seems to be an allusion to the war by the king of Vijaya, Ché Bông Nga (1360–1390) against Đại-Việt. Taking advantage of the decline of the Mongolians and having reconciled with the



first Ming Emperor, Chế Bồng Nga, launched a series of victorious attacks against the Đại-Việt before meeting with a fatal defeat provoked by the treachery of one of his officers.<sup>22</sup> The famous Malay epic *Hikayat Hang Tuan* (chapter 23) retold the attack of an army against Indrapura. It was in reality the Indrapura in Champa. It was there that, for the first time, the Chams received the attacks of the Đại-Việt in the tenth century.<sup>23</sup> In the *Sejarah Melayu* the attack of the swordfishes was against the town of Singapura but this event is no less related to Cham history.<sup>24</sup> This event should be considered a symbol of Đại-Việt's frequent attacks on Champa. It was those attacks which were echoed in the *Hikayat Raja Muda*, the *Syair Sri Banin Selendang Delima* and, perhaps also, the verses of sixteenth century Sumatanese mystic songs, *Hamzah Fansuri*:

Hamzah, a native of Fan Sur  
Was born in the country of Shahr Nawi.  
Hamzah was totally destroyed  
Like wood which was reduced to ashes  
Hamzah was poor and naked.  
Like Ismail, he was sacrificed.<sup>25</sup>

Other tales deserve our attention. The Minangkabou historical traditions in West Sumatra related, for instance, the deeds of four eminent personalities of the Luhak Tanah Datar District, one of whom, Tuan Gadang de Batipuh, became a military chief under the name of Harimau Campa (Tiger of Champa) of Koto Pilihan.

Kelantan traditions are particularly rich in allusions to Champa. The King of Kelantan was said to come from Kembayat Negara. If some authors believed this country to be Cambodia, others affirmed that it was Champa.<sup>26</sup> The relations between Champa and Kelantan had existed for years. The oral legends of Kelantan nowadays still contain many tales related to

Champa.<sup>27</sup> Several place names of Kelantan are related to Champa such as Pengkalan Chepa, Kampeng Chepa, Gong Chepa etc. Finally games, costumes (tanjak Cepa) textiles (Cepa silk, Cepa weaving) hairdress (sabggol Cepa), plants (padi Cepa), weapons (keris Cepa) bear witness to those relations. According to local traditions, the mosque of Kampong Laut in Kelantan would have been built by a group of Cham sailors who were travelling to Java.<sup>28</sup>

Among Malay texts which bear reference to Champa, we can mention the *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* (History of Malay Kings and Bugis) in which there was a story of a cockfight in Kamboja. The owners of the roosters was a Bugis and a Miangkabu prince, the Raja Culan.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, the *Hikayat Hasanudin* (History of Banten) contains two references to Champa, one of which is particularly interesting because it evokes the famous history of a Cham woman who was married to the king of Majapahit and, consequently, the role of Champa in the Islamization of Java.<sup>30</sup> Many would like to see a pure legend in this story of a Cham woman; it would be wrong to dispose of it a priori for it has been now established that Islam has been disseminated in the Malay world even before the coming of the Muslims from the West.

As has been easily seen, the written and oral traditions related to Champa are numerous in the Malay world. Some are unmistakably reflections of historical events. It is, therefore, particularly desirable that other legends and local traditions be the subject of systematic researches. Champa and the Malay world established intense and diverse relations since the ancient times and Malay literature has provided plenty of evidence for these relations.

Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi

## Notes

1. Lafont 1981, pp. 71–74.
2. Coedès 1964, p. 96; Coedès 1961, p. 35. The text of this inscription and an English translation are to be found in Morrison 1975.
3. Abdhul Rahman Al-Ahmadi 1966, p. 6.
4. Chambert-Loir 1980.
5. Po Dharma 1981 a, pp. 199–200; Po Dharma 1982, pp 46–47.
6. Cowan 1933.
7. Lafont 1977; Po Dharma 1981 b; *Inventaire*, Po Dharma 1981a and 1982.
8. Lombard 1981, pp. 287–288; Damais 1970, pp. 192–193.
9. Pigeaud 1960–63.
10. Ras 1968, pp. 292–416.
11. Mattulada 1971, p. 1; 1983, pp. 214, 215.
12. Lafont 1981, p.72; Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, vol. X; Buyong Adil 1975, pp. 29–48
13. Skinner 1963, pp. 146–147.
14. According to Abdullah Nakula 1963, Bal is also known as Bal Angwet. Durand 1907 mentions the existence in Champa of a Basl Batthinon dynasty between 1433 and 1570.
15. Shellabear 1956, p. 64.
16. Maspéro 1928, p. 121.
17. Coedès 1964, p. 283; Coedès 1981, p. 48.
18. Addullah Nakula, quoting Majumdar, 1927, advanced the theory that Princess Tapasi came from Javadvipa to the Malay peninsula and not to Java. Other historians, however, basing on the Po Sah inscription, believe that Javadvipa is the island of Java. Princess Tapasi would be

a sister of Kartanegara, the king of Singarasi and this marriage signaled a political alliance sealing the coalition between Champa and East Java against Kublai Khan. As for the second marriage of Jaya Simhavarman II with a Vietnamese princess, it was probably also a political alliance destined to earn Đại-Việt's military aid against Siam.

19. Coedès 1964, pp. 392–393, 413–414; Coedès 1981, pp. 56–57.
20. Shellabear 1956, p. 138; Marrison 1951. The name of the second son should be written Pau Liang. In comparison with other Jani words such as Siau, Tiang or Siang, the name should be transcribed as Pau Liang. The name Liang is found in one of the names of King Harijitanaja (1307–1312), namely Pulyang Uddharta Simharwarman; Abdullah Nakula (no date) p. 134. It was perhaps the attack of Vijaya that was alluded to in the Malay poem *Syan Sri Banin Selindang Delima*.
21. Shellabear, 1986, pp. 227.
22. *Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang Cina*, especially the edition by Abdul Mutalib Abdul Ghani, p. xxxiii. According to Abdullah Nakula, Zainal Abidin was also known as Che Bong Nga in a tale (tradition) of Kelantan. See also Coedès 1964 pp. 427–428; Coedès 1981, pp. 58–59.
23. *Hikayat Tang Tuah*, pp.415 sq.; Coedès 1964, pp. 227–231; Coedès 1981, pp. 43–45.
24. Shellabear 1956, Chap. X; Maspéro 1928, pp. 24–25, 146. Claeys 1931.
25. According to folktales collected in Kelantan, Syaikh Ismail Aceh, Wan Ismail and Po Rome or Po Ibrahim (1637–1687) died together in the battle against the Yuwun (Vietnamese) in Phan Rang. Syaikh Ismail of Aceh had become governor of Sri Banoi, succeeding to Wan Ismail of Pattani who had become too old. Moreover, a book

published by USIS in 1958 mentioned that an Aceh king sent a theologian to Shahr Nawai to propagate Islam. About Hamzah Fansuri, see Al-Attas 1970, pp. 10–11. The original of the verses quoted in this paper was as follows:

Hamizah nin asalyna Fansur  
Menduja wujud ditanah fayhr Navl  
Hamzah syahr Nawi terlahu hapua  
Seperti kayu sekalian hanga  
Hamzah miskin orang uryani  
Serperti Ismail mejadi qurbani.

26. Mahmood b. Ismail 1933. Mohd b, hj. Nij Mod Saleh 1964; Mohamed Sallen, 1940.
27. Personal communication of M. Nik Abdul Rahman b. Nik Din Kelantan, Kuala Lumpur, Sept. 15, 1982.
28. Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi 1978.
29. Arena Wati 1973, pp. 35–40.
30. Edel 1938, p. 64; Lombard 1981, p. 289.

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## **Cham Nationals Overseas**

### **Emigration, Resettlement, and Adjustment to the Host Countries**

Situated in the center of what is now Vietnam, Champa reached the zenith of its civilization between the sixth and eleventh centuries. But beginning in the tenth century, it underwent the pressure of the Vietnamese which intended to march southward and was to erase the name of Champa from the map of the region.

Between the tenth and the nineteenth centuries, the people of Champa, often and in great number, were forced to leave their country; some were deported as prisoners of war (especially to North Vietnam), others were taken as slaves (to North Vietnam, Cambodia, and Siam), and still others, in face of Chinese, Vietnamese, and Khmer invasions, were forced to flee and took asylum, mainly, in Cambodia and the Malay peninsula.

As a matter of fact, these emigrations occurred only if they could not avoid them, for in their traditional beliefs, the universe was inhabited by genii (yang) and human beings were placed under the protection of the genii of their own place of residence only. Only these genii gave them assistance while the genii of other places were not generally in favor of them. Therefore, each individual preferred to stay in his own village and avoid to move to another place.

If he had to go temporarily into another village, the individual must request (in asking a soothsayer, in observing certain omen, or by the use of other means) the genii of his village for the authorization to go away for a certain time and the genii of the place where he will come for the authorization to come and to stay there temporarily. They must respect this procedure otherwise, according to local belief, they would risk the anger of those divinities who may either punish them or a member of their family (for example by sending them illness) for breaking that code of conduct.

As has been said, moving within the limits of Champa (limits within the protection and control of borderguard genii) was complicated. Therefore it was almost inconceivable for a Cham to emigrate to another country since the ritual rules were too numerous and the religious risks too great. It was that difficulty for moving, bound to magico-religious beliefs, which explains why the Chams had not been migrants. It is also the magico-religious beliefs which explain why the Chams never sought, in the course of history, to annex the territory they invaded. Each time they took over the land of the enemy, they pilfered then abandoned it for that land was thought to be placed under the genii different from those of Champa and they could not stay there long without risking the anger of those divinities as they came to that land without having the genii's previous agreement.

After what has been said, one can understand that each time the Chams left their country in the course of history, they were forced to do so and because they thought they could not do otherwise. Thus in the eighteenth century, when the Cham King Cei Brei (Cibri) fled to Cambodia with his Court<sup>1</sup> it was because he was caught between the Vietnamese who took side with Nguyễn-Ánh and those who took side with the Tây-Son,

who both massacred his people and he had no alternative than fleeing so as to save his own life and those of his subjects.

Since 1832, in what had remained of Champa and annexed by the Vietnamese, its inhabitants has been confronted with a new situation. As a matter of fact, the socioeconomic structure of ancient Champa had been and remained different from that of their victors. In spite of pressures of all sorts, they preserved and constantly affirmed a cultural identity of their own in continuing to speak their language, observe their customs, and wear their traditional clothes, practise their religion (a really deformed Brahmanism and a very little orthodox Islam). In keeping to differentiate themselves from their victors, they have affirmed their difference and maintained their cohesion as a social group. They were so successful in their endeavor that, before 1975, they were able to set up an unofficial organization which superseded the administrators appointed by the Saigon government and which maintained the traditions of the past in applying a local and autonomous justice to cases of misdemeanor. In fact, the internal affairs of the population were settled mostly by themselves who ill-accepted the interference of foreigners—that is the Vietnamese—in their daily life. Thus the Vietnamese civil servants sent to the place felt isolated because they were not welcome by the population. This explains itself for since 1945, the war which opposed the Vietnamese against themselves, was felt by almost all Cham people as a war which was foreign to them and from which they had nothing good to expect, for whatever the outcome might be, the result would be nothing but the acceleration of the Vietnamization of their people which had begun since 1954 with the schooling of their youth in Vietnamese institutions. It was to avoid this process that a number of youths, natives of the highlands (the mountainous areas of former Champa) and the



costal plains (in the region of Phan Rang and Phan Rí), joined the armed resistance which had been set up to liberate the ancient territory of Panduranga (South Champa) from the Vietnamese yoke and to recreate Champa as a sovereign state. After a few victorious operations, such as the capture of Ban Mê Thuôt, the movement was faced with the actions of the Vietnamese troops sent not only from Saigon but also from Hanoi, and many of them had to take refuge in Cambodia.

In 1975, there was an important Cham community in Cambodia. It consisted of Cham migrants from Vietnam who came to Cambodia following the war between Champa and Vietnam which came out as a victor. According to the Cambodian Royal Chronicle, the first migration of Chams occurred after the capture of Vijaya (1471) and continued in the following years after each victory of Vietnam over Champa. In Cambodia these migrants founded their own villages and, as in Vietnam, lived apart from the remainder of the population and preserved their language, customs, and converted to Sunnite Islam while the Cambodians were Buddhists.

Settled along the Tonlesap and Mekong rivers as well as in Battambang, Pursat, Takeo, Kampot, Kompong Cham, Kompong Thom, and Khompong Chhnang, they were generally peasants, fishermen, and blacksmiths. They kept contact with the fellow countrymen through the Muslim Cham living in Châu-Đốc. It is not known exactly how many of them lived in Cambodia in 1975 for the official statistics included them into a group designated as Muslim Khmers. It was estimated, however, at 200,000 persons.

When Cambodia regained independence in 1954, these Chams strengthened their contacts with their fellow countrymen in Vietnam and in 1964, with the agreement of the Khmer government, founded an armed political movement called

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FULRO (Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées) which claimed the independence of Champa. Rapidly a substantial number of youth, originally from the territory of Ancient Champa (that is central Vietnam) joined the movement and engaged in a war of attrition against the Vietnamese troops from Saigon and Hanoi. But in order to conduct successfully their war, they had to take to the jungle which led them to leave their villages and to live in the Khmer-Vietnamese frontier, in the province of Mondolkiri and Ratanakiri. At the start of the resistance these youths regularly went back and forth between the war zone and their traditional villages. But later, with the worsening of the military situation in South Vietnam, they could no longer leave Cambodia and were cut off from their villages of origin. And when Cambodia fell to the Khmers Rouges they fled, if they could, westwards toward Thailand.

At the communist victory in South Vietnam in 1975, a small number of Cham nationals, exclusively military men and civil servants who were in Saigon, fled to the USA and a small group of Stieng youth, natives of the highlands, was taken to Denmark by journalist Henry Berker. In the following years, some inhabitants of former Champa who lived in their villages in the highlands or the coastal plains of Vietnam who could not bear the political indoctrination, the nationalization of their land, and the harassment of the all-powerful political cadres, also fled the country in the direction of Thailand. But their number was not important, for, as previously said, it was very difficult for those people to leave their villages. A number of them fled towards the region of Châu-Đốc (west of Saigon) where there were many Cham villages, then from there they crossed Cambodia from one Cham village to another Cham village, until they reached Thailand. Others took directly the mountain trails, those formerly used by the FULRO, to flee to Thailand.

Practically there were no Cham refugees using the sea route, for they were too poor and did not have either the gold or dollars that a boat people candidate must pay for the passage. It is estimated that about 5,000 Cham nationals had fled Vietnam. Among them 4,000 had lived in the south of the country and one thousand in the central part (the highlands and the regions of Phan Rang and Phan Rí).

It is mostly the Chams who lived in Cambodia that are now refugees in host countries. This is because, on the one hand, these people, who had left their country of origin at a period which is more or less far away in the past, were more disposed to leave Cambodia, which was for them but a first host country. On the other hand, it was easier for them to flee to Thailand because of their knowledge of the geography of Cambodia. Finally, the regime installed by the Khmers Rouges, which had upset all state structures, displaced population, and hardly tolerated minorities—especially if these, as is the case of the Chams, continued to practice Islam (while all religious beliefs and practices were prohibited)—incited them to flee. As they supported the regime of Lon Nol and many of them had fought against the Khmers Rouges before 1975, they were bound to become more particularly the victims of the genocide which led to the massacre of nearly three million Cambodians. Condemned to renounce their language, their customs, to discontinue the practice of their religion, dispersed among the Khmers, subject to the power of Angkor (the organization) which sanctioned the breach of rules and regulation they imposed by severe punishments and often by death, twenty thousand Chams living in Cambodia, it was estimated, succeeded in reaching Thailand and are now in host countries abroad.

Once they have reached Thailand, the first stage of their escape, the Chams were enclosed in refugee camps. There they

were refused to be registered as an ethnic minority for the officials wanted to recognize only the Vietnamese or Khmer nationality. So they were registered as such. Their situation in refugee camps was difficult. Having no fellow countrymen abroad, they could not benefit, as did the Vietnamese or Cambodians, the assistance of old expatriates who could sponsor them to the host country and have them accepted as political refugees. It was then more difficult for them than any other internees to leave the camps and find asylum in a host country.

Now the number of nationals of former Champa who had inhabited Vietnam or Cambodia and who had succeeded in finding a host country since 1975 is about 22,000. They live in France, where they are about over one thousand, in Denmark about 250, in Canada about 400, in Australia about 400, in the USA about 10,000, and in Malaysia where there are over 10,000.

The influence exerted by Vietnam or Cambodia on Cham ethnic groups was in function of their degree of education. And these two factors have played an important part in the adaptation of the Chams who have fled abroad.

—Those intellectuals who have Cambodian, Vietnamese, French, or more rarely, American training, generally had been obliged to leave their villages of origin to exercise the profession bestowed upon them by their diplomas. Having been all settled in urban areas, they had adjusted themselves to an environment that was totally different from the environment of their own and to compete with the majority population of the country which impose their rule on them. When, later on, these people emigrate out of Vietnam or Cambodia, they generally succeeded in their adjustment to the host country. Former students continued their study and those who had obtained a

diploma usually found a job, in spite of the crisis which affected the economy of all countries of the world.

—The former military who had come mostly from the highlands and Cambodia often benefited the assistance of their former employers (mostly in France) and were converted to trades related to their former activities. Thus many have become supervisors or security guards.

—The most difficult case of adjustment is that of rural people for they have had very little contact with urban society in the countries they had previously resided and no contact with foreign nationals. On the other hand, their education is of very low level, sometimes, they do not have any education at all. This explains why we find them mostly in unskilled labor and in trades with harsh working conditions. This also explains why, much more than the other two categories, they are victims of the economic crisis which strikes all the host countries and why a number of them have to live on unemployment allowance or on welfare checks. Only one group of these refugees could continue their former trade, they are fishermen coming from Cambodia who have resettled in California.

Another element which plays an important part in the adjustment or non-adjustment of Cham nationals is their religion. There are, in fact, behavior difference between the followers of so-called Brahmanism which is closer to animism than Hinduist religions formerly practiced in Champa and the followers of Islam (but here again, we see differences between the Cham-bani of Phan Rang and Phan Rí who practice a non-

orthodox brand of Islam and those Chams from Cambodia and Châu-Đốc who scrupulously follow the laws of the Prophet. Once abroad, the followers of Brahmanism found themselves cut off from the genii (Yang) who gave them protection. Therefore, they strive to compensate for this loss. They either adhere to a monotheist religion or, more generally, engage in a materialistic life which is predominant in the Western world, but also, and this deserves mentioning, in intellectual activities.

As for the followers of orthodox Islam, they regroup together and establish contact with the Muslims of the host country. This is very easy if the people of the host country are mainly Muslims, as in Malaysia. But if it isn't so, then it's through the embassies of the Arab countries that they strengthen their faith, the cohesion and practice of their religion. It is what happens in the United States, Canada, Australia, and France. These orthodox Muslims show a very strong cohesion and carry out proselytism action toward the Cham-bani (non-orthodox) emigrants in the same country so as to take them to "the true faith." These people continue, as in Cambodia, to live among themselves and, first and foremost, to visit people of their own faith.

Besides religion, another factor which causes problems of adjustment is the gender of the person. As a matter of fact, women stay in the home to raise the children. This tends to isolate them from the nationals of the host country and become less integrated than the men; all the more, they tend, in general, to be solely with other women who are natives of Champa.

Age also plays a part in social adjustment. Elderly people adjust with difficulty to socio-cultural changes. They reject all new things and tend to gather together or to recoil on themselves and reject all contact. Children adjust more easily and, thanks to the school where they socialize with children of the

host country, they are able to adjust rapidly to the culture of the host country. But there may be some danger here for the result of acculturation leads children who are in contact with a new social group of the majority people to imitate the behavior they observe and sometime to reject their parents if the latter preserves their native culture. Finally, let's mention two special cases. Families of intellectuals in which people tend to speak the language of the host country and imitate the customs and manners of the adoptive country at the expense of the ancestral language and culture will soon become despicable in the eyes of their children. In families of mixed race couples, the immigrant's language is doomed to a quick disappearance, especially if the man is an immigrant, for the child is influenced by the language of the mother, because, in theory, the mother transmits culture. The child will be then deprived of biculturalism which could enhance him intellectually.

Another problem of adjustment comes from the fact that a number of Cham nationals who speak Vietnamese or Cambodian prefer to establish contact with Vietnamese or Cambodian people for they feel less uprooted than with the nationals of the host country. And, little by little, when the Indochinese diaspora is numerous, as in France or the US, Cham nationals tend to integrate into the Vietnamese or Khmer community. The communities, however, never consider them wholly fellow countrymen and they find themselves in marginality.

Today, the Cham nationals confront, in the host countries, the same difficulties that all emigrants had to face, difficulties that are intensified by the crisis in world economy. But they also find themselves handicapped by the fact that emigration outside the Indochinese territory is for them a new phenomenon. They could not find in the host countries Cham communities that have been transplanted for a long time, as with the

other Indochinese communities, who may initiate them to the life, customs and manners, and administrative rules of the host country, which are so complex in industrialized countries.

The loss of the native country, which they know they will never see again, and the difficulty in their adjustment to a society which is so different from their own, explain why the members of the Cham diaspora want to tighten the relations they have for one another. They also explain why the associations they set up in each host country have a cultural and social vocation.

Urania Antypa.

### Notes

1. See Po Dharma, "Concerning the Exile of a Cham King in Cambodia." *Cham Studies*, Volume 5, BEFEO, LXXII (1983), p. 253-266.



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