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1. Introduction: Writing culture and ethnic categorization (highland and lowland)

Coupling of friendly ethnic groups in Vietnam

Vietnam has two types of ethnic groups—highlanders and lowlanders—who have a tight relationship with each other; the “Kinh and Mường” of the Việt–Mường ethnic group and the “Cham and Raglai” of the Malayo–Polynesian ethnic group. Generally speaking, the Kinh and Cham are paddy peasants who occupy the coastal and delta areas and the Mường and Raglai are slash–and–burn peasants¹⁾ who reside in the mountainous areas. The Kinh and Cham are proud of their high–level traditional culture and modernity. However, they believe that the Mường and Raglai who dwell in the mountains retain most of their beautiful and pure traditions. According to the Kinh and Cham, the Mong, Dao, Giarai, and Bana are simply Montagnards. Nevertheless, the Kinh believe that the Mường are not simply barbarians by nature.²⁾ In many cases, the Kinh have been noted to show respect for the traditional culture of the Mường. In addition, the Cham respect the Raglai³⁾ the same way as the Kinh respect the Mường. This respect is perhaps something of which many people might be aware. The Kinh and Mường, and also the Cham and Raglai, believe that they have the same origin. However, few people have made attempts to determine why the Kinh and Mường, and also the Cham and Raglai, believe this to be true.

Are they “Cai–Gia Raglai” or “Cham Dar” from Palei Takai Aia by origin?

In December 2002, my research team visited the Phan Lâm Commune, a Raglai administrative village in the Kalaong (Ka Lon⁴⁾, K’Lon) basin, a mountainous area in Bình Thuận Province near the border of Lâm Đồng Province, to survey the residents’ standard of living for a project financed by Japanese official development assistance (ODA). At the first meeting in the commune, communist party leaders from Phan Lâm stated that they were Cham descendants, not Raglai, who came from an ancient village of Takai Aia that formerly belonged to Cai Gia Canton 該加總. They stated that in the strict sense, they were *Cham Dar*⁵⁾ (the Cham who performed burials in funeral ceremonies). This is the starting point of this paper.

The Raglai population is estimated at 108,442⁶⁾ and is divided into three groups. One

group lives in the mountainous areas located behind the Kinh's area in the southern central coastal province of Khánh Hòa. Another group lives in the mountainous areas located behind the Cham's area (an estimated population of 148,021) at the southern end of the central coastal provinces of Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận. The third group lives together with the Koho (a Mon–Khmer ethnic group with an estimated population of 145,857) and Churu (a Malayo–Polynesian ethnic group with an estimated population of 16,972) in the central highland province of Lâm Đồng. All of these three groups maintain a strong relationship with the Cham. The ethnic categorization in the southern end of Central Vietnam is not a new story. Cham literature contains many references to the Koho, Churu, and Raglai.⁷⁾ However, for the Raglai that came from Takai Aia, the categorization was not fixed and could be changed. On being asked about the difference between the Raglai and Cham, they stated that *the Raglai and Cham are the same except for the existence of religious leaders* (Adat Bani 尼俗 = Awal, Adat Cham 占俗 = Ahier; two worship groups of the Cham) *and the fact that the religious leaders knew how to write. Since the Raglai do not have religious leaders, we do not know writing.*⁸⁾

Based on this, we proposed the following hypothesis: *Raglai–Cham changes occurred as a result of religious illiteracy, and the illiterate Cham became Raglai.* We used this hypothesis to conduct our field survey between November 18 and November 27, 2005, in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces.

2. Literature survey: Documents and articles about the Raglai and Cham

Historical records (1471–1910)

The first non–Cham document that referred to the Cham in the southern end of Central Vietnam is the *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* 大越史記全書, a Lê dynasty official chronicle that was revised in 1479. In 1471, after the fall of Chà Bàn (or Đồ Bàn, considered the same as the capital Vijaya), a Cham King named Bồ Trì Trì 逋持持 sent a messenger to Emperor Lê Thánh Tông 黎聖宗 from Phan Lũng 藩籠 (former Panrang territory 潘郎道, currently known as Ninh Thuận Province). Prior to the fifteenth century, there was an independent kingdom called Pānduranga (or Tân Đông Long 賓童龍国) in the former Panrang territory. We do not have any documents to show the relationship between the territory of Bồ Trì Trì and the kingdom of Pānduranga. This is because after the *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* 大越史記全書 was revised in 1479, there was a long blank contemporary document of Vietnamese source about Champa until 1775 (the first fall of Hue). However, in 1607, Admiral De Jonge of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company) moored in the port of the kingdom of Champa near 11th degree north; in his logbook, he wrote that the Cham shipped eagle–wood, aloe wood, wax, ivory and ebony—all of which were non–timber forest products. According to Iwao Seiichi, the port is presently known as Phan Rí (Phan Rí Cửa. in Cham: Parik). Following De Jonge's logbook, there were many documents that referred to the Cham, such as John Ferris's letter to Richard Cocks in 1617, the Chinese navigation book “*Dōng–Xī–Yāng–Gǎo*” (*Đông Tây Dương Khảo* 東西洋考) in 1618, Cornelis Reyerssen's logbook (1622), Simon Jacobsz Dompken's logbook (1644), a Cham castaway interview note (1688), and a Cham war note (1694) included in Tokugawa's

foreign study report entitled “Ka-i-hen-tai” (*Hoa Di Biển Thái* 華夷變態 means the Ming–Qing change after 1644) before 1732. These documents show the importance of forest products in the Cham trade.

With respect to the Cham documents, following the *Po Rome inscription* (seventeenth century),⁹⁾ there were a number of archives of Pānduranga (or Cham royal archives, 占婆王府檔案) from 1702 to 1810 that were found at Palei Lawang (Loan) of Bình Thuận Province (Now, Palei Lawang belongs to Lâm Đồng Province) and sent to the French *Société Asiatique à Paris*. In the Chinese version of the royal archives, there were two documents that referred to the sale of the privilege of collecting tax in mountain villages.¹⁰⁾ In addition to this, other literature produced by the Cham referred to the Montagnards (Koho, Churu, and Raglai); for example, “Ariya Tuen Phaow” mentioned a rebellion that took place in 1797.

In the nineteenth century, there were some Nguyễn dynasty documents and early articles by French scholars that referred to the collection of taxes in mountainous areas. *Tiêu Bình Thuận Tỉnh Man Phi Phương Lược* 御製勦平順省蠻匪方略 (1835) mentions the Cham–Montagnards alliance in the anti–Nguyen rebellion. *Đại Nam Thực Lục Chính Biên: Đệ Nhị Kỳ* 大南寔錄正編第二紀 (1868) discusses the relationship of interdependence between the Cham and Montagnards in the peace–making process after the rebellions of Điên Sư 巔師 and La Bôn Vương 羅奔王 in 1835. *Thuế Lệ* 稅例 (1814) and *Minh Mạng Thập Thất Niên Địa Bạ* 明命十七年地簿 (the seventeenth year of Minh Mạng, 1836) indicate a number of mountainous villages with a large farmland area in the hills located behind the Cham. *Hoàng Triều Nhất Thống Dư Địa Chí* 皇朝一統輿地志 (1806), *Đồng Khánh Địa Dư Chí* 同慶地輿誌 (1875) and *Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí* 大南一統誌 (1882, 1910) show the huge amounts of tax that the Montagnards paid.

Articles studied the Raglai and Cham: Ethnography, folklore, and customary law

After 1880, two French officers, Aymonier (1885) and Brière (1890), studied the Raglai and Cham ethnic groups. They confirmed the power that came from the production capacity in the mountains. Following that, Parmentier & Durand (1905), Voth (1974), and Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa (1989) wrote the most important articles that focused on the relationship between the highlanders (Montagnards) and lowlanders (Cham). Parmentier & Durand’s article points out the role of the Cham royal treasure–keeper for the Montagnards. Voth’s article states the social history of the Montagnards, Kinh, and Cham in South Central Vietnam. Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa’s article shows the close relationship of the Montagnards with the Cham in a sociocultural exchange. Further, two ethnographies on the Raglai were edited by Nguyễn Tuấn Triết (1991) and Phan Xuân Biên (1998) in the 1990s. There are also three folk stories on the Raglai that were edited by Nguyễn Thế Sang (1993, 1997). His transcriptions of a folktale book *Akhàt Jucar Raglai* (1997) and the customary law book “Adat Raglai” (*Luật tục Chăm và Luật tục Raglai*, 2003) show ample evidence of a good relationship between the Raglai and Cham in ancient Khánh Hòa Province. Although there was no Cham village in Khánh Hòa Province after the nineteenth century, the Raglai recall Cham–related incidents in beautiful words and hint at their friendship.

Questions

Although the articles mentioned above have made significant contributions with regard to the Cham and Raglai ethnic groups, no studies have been conducted to determine the standard on which the Raglai could be distinguished from the Cham. This is not difficult to understand why there are no studies. From the Cham perspective, the difference between the ethnic groups is clear. The Raglai live in mountainous areas, speak the Raglai dialect, are slash-and-burn peasants, do not have religious leaders such as Adat Bani (Awal) and Adat Cham (Ahier), do not have their own writing and have established a tight matrilineal clan-family system that is completely different from the system followed by the Cham. Nevertheless, foreign scholars and Vietnamese researchers viewed the Raglai in the same light as the Cham. They could not see the differences from the Raglai perspective. In fact, for example, in the mountain commune of Phan Lâm (Bắc Bình-Bình Thuận), the Cham ethnic group is a minority as compared with the Raglai and they cohabit. As seen in the story of “Duliakl Limaow Kapil” and “Damnây Po Rome,” some Cham live in mountainous areas, are slash-and-burn peasants, do not have religious leaders and do not have their own writing. The typical Cham considered by the Cham and Kinh are the religious leaders of Adat Bani and Adat Cham, but although everyone respects religious leaders, they are a minority in the Cham community. Then again, in many cases the Raglai are paddy peasants, their dialect is similar to the Cham dialect, they do not have a tight matrilineal clan-family system and they do not know their matrilineal totem/clan name. Frankly speaking, the uneducated individuals of both the Cham and Raglai tribes are the same in some villages, like Palei Kalaong (Phan Sơn-Bắc Bình-Bình Thuận). Only the presence of religious leaders in the two ethnic groups is different. This leads to the following questions: Why do the Raglai not have religious leaders? Can the Raglai have religious leaders such as Adat Bani/Adat Cham? If yes, how can a Raglai become a Cham and the Cham become a Raglai?

3. Methodology: Rapid field survey and descriptive analysis

This field survey and analysis employed a simple methodology. We visited the villages inhabited by the Raglai and Cham, met presbyters of the Raglai and Cham and asked them about the difference between the two ethnic groups. Following that, we described the results, referred to other sources and ascertained the answer with the highest possibility. According to current regulations, a foreign researcher cannot visit ethnic minorities or enter mountainous areas on his or her own and must have a Vietnamese research partner. Fortunately, ten years ago I studied Cham writing under Dr. Thành Phần, a Cham from Palei Pablap Birau/Phước Nhơn, in the Cham village of Adat Bani in Ninh Thuận Province. Currently, he is working as a lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, Hồ Chí Minh University of Social Sciences and Humanities. Dr. Thành Phần cooperated with us and successfully completed all the administrative application procedures. We carried out our research from November 18 to November 22, 2005, in Ninh Thuận Province and from November 23 to November 27, 2005, in Bình Thuận Province.

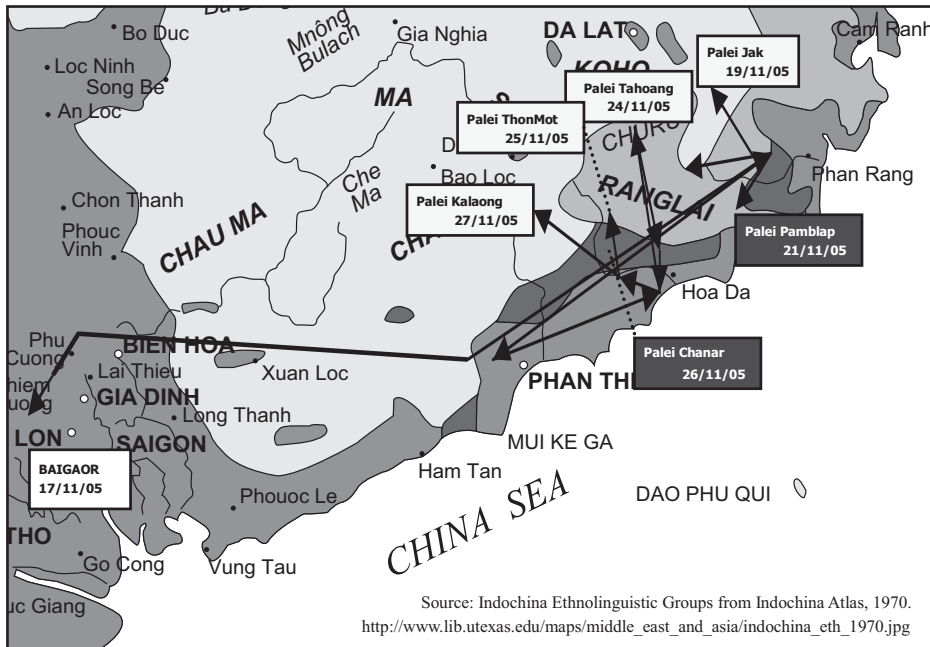


Fig. 1 Field survey Map from November 18 to November 27, 2005
 * ■ Cham ■ Raglai ■ Koho ■ Kinh

List of villages visited:

- ▼ 18/11/2005. Palei Danaw Panrang (Bầu Trúc [Khu Phố 7]–Phước Dân–Ninh Phước: Cham)
- ▼ 19/11/2005. Palei Jak (Thon Gia–Phước Hà–Ninh Phước: Raglai), Palei Blang Kachak (Phước Đồng–Phước Hậu–Ninh Phước: Cham)
- ▼ 20/11/2005. Palei Ram (Văn Lâm–Phước Nam–Ninh Phước: Bani), Palei Chwah Patih (Thành Tín–Phước Hải–Ninh Phước: Bani)
- ▼ 21/11/2005. Palei Pamblap (An Nhon–Xuân Hải–Ninh Hải: Bani), Palei Pamblap Birau (Phước Nhon–Xuân Hải–Ninh Hải: Bani)
- ▼ 22/11/2005. Palei Jarot (Gia Rot–Ma Nới–Ninh Sơn: Raglai)
- ▼ 24/11/2005. Palei Tahoang (Thôn 1–Phan Dũng–Tuy Phong: Raglai), Palei Thôn Ba (Thôn 3–Phong Phú–Tuy Phong: Raglai), Palei Chawait (Lạc Trị–Phú Lạc–Tuy Phong: Cham)
- ▼ 25/11/2005. Palei Thon Mot (Thôn 1–Phan Điền–Bắc Bình: Raglai)
- ▼ 26/11/2005. Palei Chanar (Tĩnh Mỹ–Phan Thanh–Bắc Bình: Cham), Palei Yok Yang (Bình Hiếu–Phan Hiệp–Bắc Bình: Bani)
- ▼ 27/11/2005. Palei Kalaong (Thôn Kalaong, Thôn Madeh, Thôn NaiWa–Phan Sơn–Bắc Bình), Palei Takai Aia (Phan Lâm–Bắc Bình)

During this time, we visited a total of sixteen villages, which included six Raglai villages. We did not use any mechanical tools besides a digital camera for our interviews. We only used field notebooks and ballpoint pens. Given that we had to visit villages with local officers who played the roles of guardians and monitors, the time and interviewees for our interviews were limited. Therefore, the results were also fragmented and limited. However, through our survey conducted during this time, we obtained some information about the flexibility of ethnic categorization for the Raglai and wide farmland in mountainous areas.

4. Raglai as archive-keepers for the Cham

Legend of the archives of the Cham

Some articles reported that there are some Cham archives in Raglai villages. The one that provides the most sufficient description is “The Cham and their manuscripts in Vietnam” (Thập Liên Trường, 2002). Thập Liên Trường is a researcher at the Cham Culture Research and Training Center in Ninh Thuận. He stated, “In 1997, we found archives at Mrs. Krông Thị La-e’s house in Palei Trà Vãn sub-hamlet, Gia Hamlet (Phước Hà-Ninh Phước-Ninh Thuận). All documents were kept in a wooden case. Sixty percent of the archives had already deteriorated. After a discussion with her, we brought 12 files to preserve at our center; however, now 20% of the 12 files have also deteriorated. In Palei Trà Vãn, we heard that even Mr. Modong Doi and Mr. Modon Non had archives. However, these archives had already been lost. Some of them had deteriorated. Moreover, when they converted to Protestantism, the remaining documents were thrown into the Kraong Dieu River since books in the Raglai tradition used to be sacred and could be thrown only into a river. Besides this, the former Palei Masuk Hamlet (currently located in the Phan Dũng Commune) had a document that was written on a cloth. This document has been preserved to-date by the family of Mr. Mang Tinh.”

In his article, Inrasara wrote the following: “The Cham has a legend that there are some archives in a mountain cave that has surrounded the Panrang and Parik territories from the seventeenth century until now. Most people know the story. However, nobody can confirm whether the story is a legend or a fact. There is also a legend in the Raglai village of Palei Kun Huk. Earlier, there was a family who offered a goat to god every year and prayed for the safety of the archives in the mountain cave behind Kana beach” (*Báo E-Vãn*, Thứ Sáu 15/4/2005).

The first scientific article confirming this story is “Le Trésor des rois Chams” (Parmentier & Durand, 1905). This is a report of a field survey on the ten villages that had a treasure house of the Cham King: Palei Chanar/Tịnh Mỹ, Palei Blang Kachak/Phước Đồng, Palei Thwen/Hậu Sanh, Palei Hamu Tanran/Hữu Đức, Palei Chwah, Palei Lawang, Palei Praik, Palei Kajong and Palei Lobui. There are four Cham villages and one Churu village included in the ten villages. Five villages belonged to other ethnic groups and the authors referred to these villages as Koho.¹¹⁾ Based on this list, Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa created a table of the Cham King’s treasure house (Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa, 1989). We used our most recent field data to correct this table (See Table 1).

Parmentier & Durand’s list show us the flexibility of ethnic categorization practiced at the time. Although Praik, Chwah, Lawang, and Racham are villages that the Raglai dwell in along with the Koho or Churu, Parmentier & Durand considered these villages as belonging to the Koho. Some Raglai villages such as Palei Ta Pong (Ma Núi-Ninh Sơn-Ninh Thuận), Palei Thôn Ba/Thôn 3 (Phong Phú-Bình Thuận), and Palei Madeh/Thôn 4 (Phan Sơn-Bắc Bình-Bình Thuận) worship Po Bin (including Ong Bin and Po Sah Bin). In the Cham tradition, Po Sah Bin was a retired commander of the King Po Rome (reigned from 1627 to 1651), who upon retirement became a hermit. According to the Cham epic of the seventeenth century, “Nai Mai Mang Makah,” “Sah Bin went to Nâgar Kahow to become

Table 1 List of villages housing the Cham King’s treasure houses

No	Village name			Manuscript 1905	Ethnicity		Worship 2005	Status 2005
	List in 1905	List in 1989	Cham writing		1905	1989		
1	Lavañ	Sop Madron Wai		Exists	Koho	Churu	Po Dam	Unknown
2	Kajon	Krayo			Koho	Churu	Unknown	Unknown
3	Löbui	Löbui			Churu	Churu	Unknown	Unknown
4		Pan Thiêng				Churu	Unknown	Unknown
5	Praik (Djiring)				Koho		Unknown	Unknown
6	Čvah & Račam	Choah & Racham	Chwah & Racham		Koho	Raglai	Po Sah Bin	Returned to Chanar
7		Sop	Jhaop Rajais			Raglai	Po Dam	Destroyed by ODA
8	Tịnh Mĩ	Tịnh Mỹ	Chanar		Cham	Cham	Po Klong Manai	Exists
9		Giá	Jak			Raglai	Po Inâ Năgar	Exists
10	Phước Đồng	Phước Đồng	Blang Kachak	Exists	Cham	Cham	Po Klaong Giray	Exists
11	Hậu Sanh	Hậu Sanh	Hamu Thwen		Cham	Cham	Po Rome	Exists
12	Hữu Đức		Hamu Tanran	Exists	Cham	Cham	Po Inâ Năgar	Moved to Jak

*1–5: Lâm Đồng Province. 6–8: Bình Thuận Province (Pajai and Parik territories). 9–12: Ninh Thuận Province (Panrang territory).

Source: Parmentier & Durand (1905: 3–14), Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa (1989: 233), and author’s fieldnotes, from 18/11/2005 to 27/11/2005.



Fig. 2 Location of the Cham King’s treasure houses

* The location of Pha Thieng (4) is unknown.

Source: Parmentier & Durand (1905:3–14), Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa (1989:233), and author’s fieldnotes from 18/11/2005 to 27/11/2005.

a hermit.”¹²⁾ In this case, the Cham consider even the mountainous areas to belong to the Koho, not the Raglai. This list included a Montagnard village that had preserved archives of the Cham King. The story of archives cared for mountain kings is fact.

Whose treasure? Whose archives?

In the ten treasure houses mentioned by Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa (1989), five treasure houses located in the Churu area (including Palei Lawang that has many Raglai and Koho villagers) were already lost. However, two of three treasure houses located in the Raglai area exist even today. As mentioned above, the Raglai was not the only ethnic group entrusted with the job of safeguarding the treasure. The Cham even entrusted the Koho and Churu with the responsibility of safeguarding their treasure. Parmentier & Durand wrote the following: “There were a wooden case and a bamboo tube to conserve the manuscript in the Lawang treasure house. Palei Lawang (Đà Loan–Đức Trọng–Lâm Đồng) is a village in which the Raglai, Koho, and Churu reside together until now. However, with regard to the role of the treasure keeper of the Cham King, the Raglai are better than the Koho and Churu.”

When we interviewed the Raglai and Cham, they referred to a special friendship (in Sino–Vietnamese, *kết nghĩa* 結義) between the Raglai and Cham known as “ngap adei saai sa teang,” “yut chwai,” or “ho mat.” In particular, it seems rather difficult for most Raglai to recognize the difference between Raglai and Cham. The Raglai believe that they, too, are Cham. In addition, the epic *Nai Mai Mang Makah* states the following: “We were divided and dispersed in all directions. Hence, we are known as lowland and highland Chams.”¹³⁾ Generally speaking, the Highland Cham (Cham Chek) implies a resident residing in the highland of the kingdom of Cham, including the Raglai and Churu.¹⁴⁾ Since this epic is a kind of a love story between people with different customs, there exists a warning about an ethnic–unity crisis. This epic referred to many regions in the Cham area, with some regions being located in the highlands, the Raglai area, like Harek Kah Harek Dhei.¹⁵⁾ However, this epic never uses the term Raglai. This may be because some of the Cham regret distinguishing the Montagnards from the Cham; they even regret the use of terms such as “Raglai” or “Highland Cham.” The epic is one piece of circumstantial evidence supporting this. The Raglai is not only an ethnic group entrusted with the responsibility of conserving the treasure and archives of the Cham, but it is also a tribe of extraordinarily faithful people. Although they cannot read the archives, they believe that they are preserving their ancestor’s treasure and archives. Like the Raglai state, “It is not so easy to distinguish the Raglai from the Cham.” In the process of our field survey, we found two cases of ethnic identity changing between Raglai and Cham.

5. Case 1: Two Cham villages explain that they were Raglai by origin

Comparison with the Cadastral Registers in 1836

The residents of Palei Pamblap/An Nhon believed that *Nhur Ngọc and Phước Tường were originally Raglai villages* (21/11/2005). This is a very sensitive remark. The Raglai themselves state that they are not Raglai. In a Cham village, there exists the possibility of

Table 2 Percentage of the Trà Nương Điền (Royal paddy field) of Ninh Thuận in 1836

No.	Village name		Farmland (mẫu)	Trà nương điền (mẫu)	Trà nương điền (%)	Cultivater of Trà Nương Điền
	Administrative name	Local name and adat				
1	Chát Thường xã	Baoh Dana: Cham	431	89	21	allotted to the villagers
2	Chính Đức thôn		114	0	0	
3	Định Nghiệp thôn		124	0	0	
4	Đức Lân xã (Hữu Đức)	Hamu Tanran: Cham	602	94	16	(no annotation)
5	Hậu Sanh xã	Thwen: Cham	154	0	0	allotted to the villagers
6	Hiếu Lễ thôn	Chaok: unknown	634	123	19	
7	Mình Chũr thôn (Bình Chũr) (Farmland outside village)	Chak-haok: unknown	0	0	0	
			82	75	91	allotted to the villagers
8	Như Ngọc xã	Padra: Cham	386	108	28	allotted to the villagers
9	Phát Thế thôn (Farmland outside village)	Blang Kathaih: unknown	195	9	5	allotted to the villagers
			102	16	16	(no annotation)
10	Phong Thực thôn		0	0	0	
11	Phú Nhân thôn	Hami Limân: unknown	82	7	9	allotted to the villagers
12	Phú Nhuận thôn	Baoh DengBlang: unknown	206	35	17	(no annotation)
13	Phước Đồng thôn	Kachak: Bani	237	46	19	allotted to the villagers
14	Quả Quả thôn		53	14	26	(no annotation)
15	Toàn Giao thôn				no data	allotted to the villagers
16	Toàn Hậu xã		114	0	0	
17	Toàn Trung thôn (Hoài Trung)	Baoh Bini: unknown			no data	
18	Vĩnh Thuận thôn	Hamu Chraok: unknown			no data	
19	An Nhơn xã	Pamblap: Bini	94	0	0	(no annotation)
20	(Phước Nhơn)	Pamblap Birau: Bini			no data	
21	Bình Nghĩa (Farmland outside village)	Bel Riya: unknown	38	0	0	
			219	45	21	
22	Hoa Thực thôn				no data	allotted to the villagers
23	Lương Năng xã	Chwah Glaong: unknown	230	0	0	
24	Lương Thiện thôn		0	0	0	
25	Lương Tri xã (Farmland outside village)	Chang: unknown	819	0	0	
26	Mẫu Trường thôn		0	0	0	
27	Thanh Ý thôn	Tabeng: unknown			no data	
28	Lương Cang thôn (Lương Tri**)	Hamu Linâng: unknown	781	0	0	**Here was a Kinh's village but 2/3 area of farmland was allotted to the Cham
29	Chung Mỹ xã (Farmland outside village)	Bel Chaong: unknown	5	0	0	allotted to the villagers
30	Định Cư thôn		176	88	50	
31	Hiếu Thiện xã	Palaw: unknown	63	0	0	
32	Hoa Phong xã (Vĩnh Phong)	Binâng: unknown	162	43	27	allotted to the villagers
33	Hướng Đạo xã (Farmland outside village)	Hamu Kalaok: unknown	0	0	0	allotted to the villagers
34	Mỹ Nghiệp xã		158	0	0	
35	Nghĩa Lập xã	Chaklaing: Cham	49	0	0	
36	Phiên Thịnh thôn	Aia Binguk: unknown	313	24	8	allotted to the villagers
37	Quý Chính thôn		0	0	0	allotted to Mr. Lộ Văn Đức
38	Thái Định thôn	Mâbek: unknown	89	11	12	
39	Thành Tín xã	Kleng: unknown	78	0	0	
40	Từ Trường xã (Phước Trường)	Chwah Patih: Bani	122	0	0	
41	Vân Lâm xã	Aia Liu: unknown	0	0	0	
42	Vụ Bốn xã (Farmland outside village)	Ram: Bani	212	69	33	(no annotation)
		Pabhan: Bani	147	23	16	(no annotation)
			66	17	26	(no annotation)
Total			7,337	936	16	

* 1 mẫu=0.4894 hectare. Source: Author's fieldnote, 2005. Nguyễn Đình Đầu, 1996:25, 95, 269-333. Moussay, 1971: 477-478.

* 1-18: in Đức Lân Canton. 19-27: in Lương Tri Canton. 28: in Vạn Phước Canton. 29-42: in Nghĩa Lập Canton. All three cantons were belonging to former Panrang territory (currently Ninh Thuận Province).

* Palei Padra Palei Aia Liu villages without farmland

nobody wanting to recognize his/her origin as being Raglai. Hence, in such villages, it is difficult to directly pose a question such as “Are you Raglai by origin?” As the first step to reconfirm the origin of Như Ngọc and Phước Tường, we checked land use in 1836, just after the repression of the biggest Montagnards–Cham rebellion against the Nguyễn dynasty led by Điền Sur & La Bôn Vương (Katip Ja Thak Wa–Po War Palei), based on the “Cadastral Registers Study of Nguyễn dynasty: Bình Thuận” (Nguyễn Đình Đầu, 1996).

The two villages already existed in 1836. As shown in Table 2, land use in these two villages was rather different. Land use was not notable in Palei Padra/Như Ngọc. The only remarkable point is that Trà Nương Điền showed high land use under Palei Ram/Văn Lâm, the homevillage of the rebel leader Katip Ja Thak Wa.

Cultivators and gods, goddesses in Trà Nương Điền

Trà Nương Điền 茶娘田 was one symbol of the “one state—two institutions policy” employed in the Cham area. In origin, Trà Nương Điền was a territory under the direct control of the Cham King from a subsistence perspective. A tenant peasant had to pay taxes depending on the amount sowed.¹⁶⁾ Following the abolition of the autonomous kingdom of Cham, the former tenant peasants paid taxes to the court (See, Nguyễn Đình Đầu 1996: p 95). Some villages allotted taxes to community (Bản Xã Phân Canh). Other villages allotted them to individuals. In many case, the names of Trà Nương Điền (Hamu Patao), like the name of Dương Điền (Hamu Yang), they referred the name of the ricefields for gods and goddesses.. A complete text of the Palei Pabhan/Vụ Bôn Thôn case is available (See Nguyễn Đình Đầu 1996: p 407). The list of gods and goddesses who were allotted ricefields is as follows: Na–Cốc–Trà Điền 那谷茶田, Dương–Vô–Nữ–Cận–Nha Điền 楊無女近牙田, Dương–Vô–Nữ–Cận–Nha Điền 楊無女近牙田, Dương–Vô–Nữ–Cận–Nha Điền 楊無女近牙田, Dương–Bá–Nữ–Á–Bông Điền 楊伯女阿蓬田, and La–Dương–Nha Điền 羅楊牙田—all of which are names of gods and goddesses of Cham. Dương–Vô–Nữ–Cận–Nha is a transliteration of Cham goddess Yang Po Nagar Ina.

Not only in Palei Pabhan but also in Phiên Thịnh Hamlet there were ricefields for gods and goddesses like Vô–Nha–Thôn–Kha–Na Điền 無牙村柯那田 and Vô–Mê–Hy Điền 無迷希田 (See: Nguyễn Đình Đầu 1996: p 407).

There is other information related to Phiên Thịnh Hamlet. First, the cadastral register notes that the Trà Nương Điền of this hamlet was allotted to Lộ Văn Đức (See Table 2). It is possible that these ricefields for gods and goddesses had tenant peasants of the Montagnards who were used by Lộ Văn Đức. Second, according to the villagers of Giá Hamlet (Phước Hà–Ninh Phước–Ninh Thuận),¹⁷⁾ Palei La–a (a Raglai sub–hamlet of Giá Hamlet) exchanged uterine brother status (ngap adei saai sa teang) with Palei Pabhan/Vụ Bôn (Phước Nam–Ninh Phước–Ninh Thuận). It is possible that the tenant peasants who cultivated Vô–Nha–Thôn–Kha–Na Điền and Vô–Mê–Hy Điền might have belonged to Palei La–a.

Trà Nương Điền in Palei Padra

Trà Nương Điền was a tax system used for managing farmland. The cadastral registers in the Nguyễn dynasty era provide various Trà Nương Điền methods in use. At the time,

Palei Padra had a considerable number of low-lying paddy fields (thảo điền 草田) and high-lying paddy fields (son điền 山田). It should be noted that low and high do not mean the lowland and the highland. In the Vietnamese tradition of water distribution, a paddy field located at the same altitude as the source that provides water for irrigation was known as a low-lying paddy field (vùng ruộng rọc). On the other hand, a paddy field located at a higher altitude than the source that provides water for irrigation (thus requiring the use of some kind of a water bridge) is known as a high-lying paddy field (vùng gò lũng).¹⁸⁾ Most Trà Nương Điền might be located in mountainous areas. Trà Nương Điền was different from a usual paddy field. The field amplitude and soil conditions were not taken into account when calculating the amount of tax to be paid; tax was decided based on the amount of seeds sowed. In the Raglai tradition, until now, the agricultural output is based on the amount of seeds sowed.¹⁹⁾ However, the Trà Nương Điền system faced many problems. Although there was no record of the number of tax officers in mountainous areas (official chronicle includes the *Phân Thu Man Thuế* 分収蠻稅), it may have been limited. Thus, it may have been impossible to monitor the amount of seeds sowed in the more than 2,000 hectares (4,038 mẫu) of Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces. Following the abolition of the autonomous kingdom of Cham in 1832, especially after the repression of Man Phi (the jihad rebel of the Raglai and Cham) led by Katip Ja Thak Wa/Điền Sư and Po War Palei/La Bôn Vương in 1835, the Trà Nương Điền system started being used wisely and skillfully by the ethnic minorities of the Nguyễn dynasty to calm their dissatisfaction (See, Nguyễn Đình Đầu 1996 : p 96). Further, it is possible that Palei Padra/Như Ngọc received many Raglai tenant peasants in an attempt to adopt the Trà Nương Điền system.

Palei Aia Liu did not have any paddy fields

Land use in Phước Tường was very peculiar. Although Palei Pamblap/An Nhon's villagers said that both the former Raglai villages (Như Ngọc and Phước Tường) belonged to the former Nghĩa Lập Canton; in reality, only Palei Aia Liu/Phước Tường (Tư Tường in 1836) belonged to the former Nghĩa Lập Canton (and Vụ Bôn, too). Như Ngọc actually used to belong to the former Đức Lân Canton. To obtain more information, it is necessary to read the original text of the cadastral registers.

Phước Tường was one of the six villages that had no farmland either inside or outside of the village (See Table 2, indicated in saffron).²⁰⁾ So how did the villagers obtain food? They may have earned a living by commuting long distances to conduct trade. It is easy to believe that the poor Cham went to the highlands to live. An example is provided in the tale of *Dulikal Limaow Kapil*.²¹⁾ The poor who did not have any paddy fields were encouraged to travel to mountainous areas that had abundant land. It was also possible for them to practice slash-and-burn agriculture, like *Kapil's* mother. Further, they could engage in paddy agriculture and livestock breeding or trade in forest products. However, it was also possible for the Raglai to move to the lowlands to live. In a village without any farmland, villagers had to act aggressively to intentionally improve the economy. The Raglai had many advantages in terms of their non-paddy economy. They were eagle-wood seekers, slash-and-burn peasants and skillful workmen (especially with regard to brick construction).²²⁾ There were several incentives to strengthen the relationship with the Raglai. Furthermore,

Palei Pabhan/Vụ Bôn and Phước Tường were the two villages nearest to a Raglai village such as Palei Tali, and therefore, the commute was not difficult.

Marriage between the Raglai and Cham

The Raglai and Cham are matrilineal societies. After marriage, a husband lives in his wife's house. In some Cham villages of both Adat Bani and Adat Cham, residents are not allowed to marry a person of a different ethnic or religious group according to Adat, the customary law of the Cham. However, residents in some Cham villages of Adat Bani stated the following: "When a Raglai man marries a Cham woman, he can get his wedding license after he finishes his conversion ceremony to enter the Adat Bani."²³ There are not many cases of a Raglai marrying a Cham, although some villages have many couples consisting of a Raglai and a Cham. Villages in which many husbands hailed from Raglai villages might be known as villages of the former Raglai. Such a situation already became reality in Parik territory (currently Bình Thuận Province) that is known as the "*villages of Kinh Cựu (former Kinh)*." Although Kinh Cựu's origin was the Kinh, they enjoyed the same autonomous administrative system and also the Trà Nương Điền system²⁴ that were only applied to Cham from the early modern era until the end of the French era. Thus, it is possible that a village of Raglai Cựu (the former Raglai) may have existed.

6. Disappearance and appearance of Cham and Raglai villages after 1886

Disappearance of several Cham villages with enormous paddy fields after the French conquest

Following the catastrophe in 1832 and 1835, about twelve villages of the Cham disappeared.²⁵ Still, a number of Cham villages still owned enormous paddy fields just after defeat in the jihad rebellion. Minh Mạng Thập Thất Niên Địa Bạ wrote that the villages had more than 500 mẫu (250 hectares):²⁶

- ▼ Panrang/Phan Rang (Ninh Thuận) 3: Hamu Tanran/Đức Lâm, 602 mẫu; Chaok/Hiếu Lễ, 634 mẫu; and Chang/Luong Tri, 819 mẫu.
- ▼ Kraong/Long Hương (Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận) 4: Mânông Kreach/Cao Hậu, 959 mẫu; Saraik/Châu Vương, 522 mẫu; Chawait/Lạc Trì, 598 mẫu; and HamuPuh/Thịnh Vụ, 636 mẫu.
- ▼ Parik/Parik (Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận) 6: Dụ Phong, 553 mẫu; Định Thụy, 538 mẫu; Inâ Gayaong/Lệ Nghi, 880 mẫu; Hamu Limaong/Tồn Thành, 524 mẫu; Kajraow/Kỳ La, 582 mẫu; and Kalaong/Trinh Sơn, 705 mẫu.
- ▼ Pajai/Phố Hải (Hàm Thuận Bắc–Bình Thuận) 1: Hamu Akam/Ma Lâm, 852 mẫu.

These big villages were a part of Panrang (Ninh Thuận) and Pajai (Hàm Thuận Bắc) until recently. In Parik (Bắc Bình), however, four out of six villages (Dụ Phong, Định Thụy, Lệ Nghi and Trinh Sơn) located at the boundary of the northern mountain and southern plain disappeared after 1886 (the year of the establishment of *Hòa Đa Indigenous People District* in Bình Thuận Province). At the same time, one new canton, *Cai Gia Canton*, of Raglai appeared in the same place where the Cham villages had disappeared. In other words, just after the French conquest, several Cham villages disappeared and several Raglai villages appeared. Because we already know the Trà Nương Điền system, it is not very difficult to

explain this change. After the defeat, some tax officers of the Nguyễn dynasty used a somewhat aggressive method. Although Brière wrote that the collection of tax in mountainous areas was, in general, very inefficient,²⁷⁾ some officers acted efficiently. They collected all the property belonging to the villages. In 1880, they collected tax from Palei Chwah,²⁸⁾ a Raglai village located currently in the Phan Son Commune. A treasure house of Cham King was in Palei Chwah. This kind of a violent method implied a simple event. The French won and the paradigm shifted. Former conventional tax systems like Trà Nương Điền were reviewed, and moreover, tax was strictly collected from the Montagnards.

Land use of a disappeared Cham village

However, in the Parik case, the percentage use of Trà Nương Điền was very low in the Cham villages that eventually disappeared (See Table 3). Fortunately, Nguyễn Đình Đầu supplied a complete text of one of the disappeared Cham Villages, Định Thụy, which had 538 mẫu (250 hectares) of paddy field. Hence, we can guess the reason that these villages disappeared. In the Palei Pabhan/Vụ Bồn case, the villagers cultivated all the paddy fields except for Trà Nương Điền. Half of the paddy fields were located outside the village, and therefore, many villagers were long-distance commuters. Even in Định Thụy, many villagers were long-distance commuters. However, the reason that these villages disappeared was contradictory to this. In Định Thụy, eighteen out of thirty-five landowners were peasants outside the village. They cultivated 52% of Tư Điền 私田 (a private paddy field), which is equivalent to 163 mẫu out of 312 mẫu.²⁹⁾

Register oneself as an agricultural taxpayer or as a poll taxpayer?

Although there were only 66 mẫu paddy fields, Palei Pabhan/Vụ Bồn was known as a Commune (in Sino-Vietnamese, Xã 社). In contrast to this, although there were more than 530 mẫu of paddy fields, Định Thụy was known as a Hamlet (in Sino-Vietnamese, Thôn 村). At the time of the Nguyễn dynasty, farmland area was irrelevant when distinguishing communes from hamlets. One of the important points was the percentage of permanent residents. Although three out of four Cham villages that disappeared had more than 500 mẫu, these villages were mere hamlets, not communes, because of the low percentage of permanent residents. The Cham commuted to mountainous areas for agricultural development because they had no plain farmland. However, this cannot be the sole reason for their commute. It was difficult for taxation officers to monitor farmland in mountainous areas. Mountainous areas offered the advantage of preferential taxation systems such as Trà Nương Điền, gradual management and hidden paddy fields. When this advantage was lost, the reason for people to travel to mountainous areas was also lost. On the other hand, non-permanent residents did not wish to settle down in lowland communes so that they could run away to the highland when taxation officers troubled them in the communes. The highland had a taxation system known as the poll tax (đinh thuế 丁稅). However, only hard-working adult males were required to pay the poll tax. Subsequently, the Nguyễn dynasty was defeated and its finances collapsed. Then the French won and reconstruction began. There existed a distinction between agricultural tax and poll tax for a long time in both the kingdom of Cham and the Nguyễn dynasty. However, a strict implementation of

this distinction began when the French came to power. Residents were urged to select between registering themselves as agricultural taxpayers or as poll tax payers. This might be the main reason that the Cham villages disappeared and instead Raglai villages appeared in the mountainous areas.

The sudden appearance of the Raglai's Cai Gia Canton

The Raglai's Cai Gia Canton suddenly appeared in 1886. Prior to this, the northeast border of Parik territory (Hoà Đa District of Bình Thuận at the time) touched La Bá Canton, while the northwest border touched Bồ Thuận Canton. Beyond the northern summits, over the northern foot of the dividing mountain between the Lang Biang highland and the Parik plain, there were several cantons of the Montagnards. However, at the southern foot, where the nearest highland was the house of the Cham royal family in Palei Chanar (about 30–50 kilometers), there was no administrative organization of the Montagnards prior to 1886.

Even after 1886, the name Cai Gia Canton did not appear on the official map,³⁰⁾ because this name belonged to the Panrang territory (Governor's office at Kinh Dinh–Kinh Dinh–Ninh Thuận at the time), far from the Takai Aia Pass (also known as Đèo Tà Cai Gia 斜該加岡,³¹⁾ the origin of the name of Cai Gia) more than 100 kilometers to the northeast. In 1885 (the first year of Emperor Đồng Khánh), two cantons of former Hoà Đa District of Bình Thuận (Ninh Hà and Tuân Giáo) and two cantons of former Tuy Phong District of Bình Thuận (Tuy Tịnh and La Bá) were united to establish the Hoà Đa Indigenous People's District of Bình Thuận Province. Finally, in 1905 (the seventeenth year of Emperor Thành Thái), two cantons of former Ninh Thuận Sub–Province (Cai Gia and Trà Năng) were incorporated into the Hoà Đa Indigenous People's District.³²⁾ So what happened during the process of this administrative restructuring?

Separation of the Raglai from the Cham

This question can be answered in the following two ways. Mr. Mang Tinh, the first source, lives in Phan Điền (Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận), but his family hailed from Palei Labak of the former La Bá Canton of Kraong territory (currently Phan Dũng–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận). He is the descendant of the keeper of the Cham King Po Dam's treasure and archives, including nine rescripts given to the Po Dam shrine by Nguyễn emperors. According to Mr. Mang Tinh,³³⁾ “Before, the former La Bá Canton and the former Tuy Tịnh Canton were one. In the French era, they were separated, and the paddy fields of the Cham in La Bá were transferred to the Raglai.” Mr. Mang Nhũ from Palei Churu of the former La Bá Canton (currently Phan Dũng–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận) is the second source. He is the secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party of the Phan Dũng Commune. According to him,³⁴⁾ “In our tradition, Palei Tahoang is the oldest village in this area. Since its establishment, we have been practicing paddy agriculture (ngap hama), not slash-and-burn agriculture (ngap apoh). The name of one of the first pioneers was Ong Kar Wa. Thus, the names of the two oldest paddy fields here are Hama Cha Ka Weng and Hama Cha Kar Wa. My wife's matrilineal clan is Po Dam. Before 1998, when the Cham people of Palei Chawait held a ritual ceremony for Po Dam, we participated in it.” According to Mr. Mang Tinh, in the French era, the Cham were separated from their paddy fields. Although Palei Churu implies

Table 3 Percentage of the Trà Nương Điền (Royal paddy field) of Bình Thuận in 1836

No.	Village name		Farmland (mẫu)	Trà nương điền (mẫu)	Trà nương điền (%)	Cultivator of Trà nương điền
	Administrative name	Local name and adat				
1	Guang Mầu thôn (Farmland outside village)	Muw: unknown	0	0	0	allotted to the villagers
2	Hiệp Nghĩa thôn	Mali: unknown	58	0	0	
3	Ma Lâm thôn (Farmland outside village)	Hamu Akam: unknown	37	0	0	
4	Mỹ Sơn thôn		53	0	0	allotted to the villagers
5	Nhon Chiêu thôn (Nhon Thuận) (Farmland outside village)	Hamu Chiet: unknown	852	479	56	
6	Nông Tang xã (Farmland outside village)	Chraoh Tang: unknown	0	0	0	
7	Phù Trì thôn (Hiệp Hòa)	Bumi: unknown	215	7	3	allotted to the villagers
8	Tánh Linh thôn	Pacham: Bani	69	14	20	
9	An Giang xã (An Bình)		0	0	0	(no annotation)
10	Cảnh Điền xã	Chakak: Bani	185	63	34	
11	Cao Lăng thôn		186	0	0	(no annotation)
12	Chương Thiện thôn	Hamu Ak: Cham	159	0	0	
13	Dụ Phong thôn		286	24	8	allotted to the villagers
14	Đạo Hiệp xã	Hamu Rimaong: Cham	553	0	0	
15	Định Thụy thôn		228	36	16	allotted to the villagers
16	Hậu Quách xã	Panat: Bani	538	32	6	
17	Hữu An xã	Dhaong Panan: Cham	144	3	2	allotted to the villagers
18	Lê Nghi thôn (Gia Hòa–Phan Lâm)	Iná Gayaong Cham (Klon, Yangln, Gwage)	167	34	20	
19	Minh Mỹ xã		880	61	7	allotted to the villagers
20	Ninh Hà xã	Aia Mâmih: Bani	418	30	7	
21	Tôn Thành xã	Njoh: Cham	379	93	25	allotted to the villagers
22	Tường Loan xã	Hamu Limaong: Bani	524	171	33	
23	Xuân Hoa thôn (Xuân Quang)	Paaok: Cham	390	181	46	allotted to the villagers
24	Xuân Hội thôn	Seng Kwang: Kinh Cựu	391	70	18	
25	Kỳ La xã	Aok Pan: Kinh Cựu	31	0	0	allotted to the villagers
26	Châu Hành thôn	Kajraow: Cham	582	27	5	
27	Gia Mỹ thôn		24	0	0	allotted to the villagers
28	Giai Cảnh thôn	Chareh: Bani	4	0	0	
29	Hà Yên xã		321	31	10	allotted to the villagers
30	Hoa Lĩnh thôn (Mai Lãnh)	Juaow Lai: Bani	10	0	0	
31	Hương Bá thôn	Sah Bingu: Cham	6	0	0	allotted to the villagers
32	Phi Mô thôn		210	0	0	
33	Tân Mục thôn	Hamu Birau: Cham	142	0	0	allotted to the villagers
34	Thanh Hiếu xã	Twer Muk: Kinh Cựu	113	0	0	
35	Thanh Kiệt xã	Yok Yang: Cham	162	43	27	allotted to the villagers
36	Tịnh Mỹ thôn	Njer: Bani	7	0	0	
37	Tổ Lý thôn	Chanar: Cham	256	0	0	allotted to the villagers
38	Trí Hòa	Kai Gul: Cham	110	0	0	
39	Trí Thái thôn		100	14	14	allotted to the villagers
40	Trí Đức xã	Rabah Ribaong: Bani	54	0	0	
41	Trình Sơn xã (Trình Hòa–Phan Sơn)	Ligok: Bani	49	0	0	allotted to the villagers
42	Tú Sơn thôn	Kalaong	705	0	0	
43	Tuần Giáo xã		2	0	0	allotted to the villagers
44	Bá Kiên thôn	Twer Jaok: Kinh Cựu	113	0.8	1	
45	Cao Hậu xã		292	0	0	(no annotation)
46	Châu Vượng xã (Farmland outside village)	Mãnang Krwac: unknown	959	493	51	
47	Lạc Trị thôn (Farmland outside village)	Saraik: unknown	122	0	0	allotted to the villagers
48	Phú Nhiêu thôn (Phan Dũng)	Chawait: unknown	522	240	46	
49	Tân Chính thôn (Farmland outside village)		0	0	0	(no annotation)
50	Thanh Hoa thôn	Thiew	212	77	36	
51	Thịnh Vự thôn		0	0	0	allotted to the villagers
52	Trang Hòa thôn	Hamu Puh: unknown	350	104	30	
53	Tuy Tịnh xã (Farmland outside village)	Aia Blang: unknown	227	110	48	(no annotation)
54	Vĩnh Toàn xã (Vĩnh Hạnh)	Paplom: unknown	0	0	0	
55	Phú Quý thôn (Chung Mỹ**)	Karang: unknown	443	0	0	**This was a Kinh's village but 1/2 the farmland was allotted to the Cham (Kinh village)
56	Vĩnh Hào thôn	Bal Chaong: unknown	122	0	0	
Total			14,737	3,217	16	

* 1 mẫu=0.4894 hectares. Source: Shine Toshihiko, 2004b:208–209. Nguyễn Đình Đầu, 1996: 171–191, 340,–351. Moussay, 1971: 485–486.

* 1–8: in Nông Tang Canton (Pajai). 9–25: in Ninh Hà Canton (Parik). 26–43: in Tuần Giáo Canton (Parik). 44–54: in Tuy Tịnh Canton (Kraong). 55–56: in Phú Quý (border between Kraong and Panrang).

* Disappeared villages of Cham appeared villages of Raglai (after Cham village disappeared) villages without farmland

“the village of illegal peasants,”³⁵) they were not illegal; they simply reclaimed their paddy fields. Thus, in other words, during the Nguyễn–French change, the Raglai were separated from the Cham.

Cham villages that were deprived of their names by the Raglai

We present some circumstantial evidences in this regard. Following the war of independence, all villages of the former La Bá Canton were united, established as one commune and named the same as the neighboring Cham village, Phú Nhiêu Commune, in 1959.³⁶ In the Cham tradition, Phú Nhiêu is one of the seven hamlets in present-day Phú Lạc Commune (Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận). However, the current location and area of the six villages are rather different when compared with the Cadastral Registers in the seventeenth year of Emperor Minh Mạng (1836). In 1836, the total area of farmland in the seven hamlets of Phú Lạc³⁷ was 3,398 mẫu (about 1,700 hectares). In 1999, however, the total area of farmland in Phú Lạc was less than 1,000 hectares with 880 households; half the area was lost. Thus, it can be said that half of the former Cham’s farmland was transferred to the Raglai when the former Cham Canton of Tuy Tĩnh was divided into two cantons of Tuy Tĩnh (Cham) and La Bá (Raglai) during the Nguyễn–French changeover. The case of Phú Nhiêu in the Kraong territory (Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận) is not the only example. The two largest Cham villages of Kalaong/Trinh Sơn (Trinh Hòa, 705 mẫu = 350 hectares) and Inâ Gayaong/Lê Nghi (ihad, 880 mẫu = 440 hectares) in Parik territory (Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận) also formally became Raglai villages in 1959.³⁸

Drawing the borders of a tax-free mountain: the Glai Masuk cloth manuscript

Thus far, three sources were found to provide details with regard to the days after the disappearance of Cham villages in 1886 until the establishment of Raglai villages in 1959. The first source is the Glai Masuk manuscript that was written by Mr. Hoàng Mắc Bhook, a Raglai from Palei Masuk of La Bá Canton (Phan Dũng–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận) in 1891 (See Appendix 2 for the full text of the Glai Masuk Cloth Manuscript). To date, this manuscript is maintained by Mr. Mang Tĩnh’s family from Palei Masuk (Phan Điền–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận); we took photographs of this manuscript on November 25, 2005. The second source is a rich farmer, Mr. Mang Khê, whose memories we recorded on March 8, 2003; a chamanei, Mr. Thần Phúng, whose memories were published by Mr. Khuê Khúc Hải in 1999 and which we also recorded on March 4, 2003; and Mr. Thần Phúng from Palei Chwah of Cai Gia Canton (his parents, however, once moved to Koho’s Bồ Tuân Canton), who was born in 1937 in Bồ Tuân Canton. The third source is Gru Đàng Mông, whose memories of the Po Yang Īn shrine we recorded on March 22, 2003, at the Po Yang Īn shrine located in the former Palei Inâ Gayaong/Lê Nghi (Phan Lâm–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận). Gru Đàng Mông is from Palei Yok Yang/Thanh Hiếu (Phan Hiệp–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận) and was born in 1933. The Glai Masuk manuscript provides detailed geographic data about the mountainous areas that were allotted to the Raglai who worshipped the Po Dam shrine in Palei Chawait/Lạc Trị (Phú Lạc–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận). In Vietnamese tradition and regulations, ricefields (both paddy and dry rice) used for gods, goddesses and any kind of worship (Tự Điền 嗣田/祀田) was tax-free.

Selecting a paddy field to worship the Cham King's shrine: earnest faith or an effort to acquire duty-free status?

Although Palei Masuk was located in the mountains, there were weir (Banak) and many rice fields as recalled by Mr. Mang Nhũ and Mr. Mang Tinh.³⁹⁾ This method of obtaining tax-free status also existed in Palei Tabo, wherein residents worshiped the Po Kabrah shrine in Palei Karang/Vĩnh Hang, Palei Tanoay worshiped the Po Dam shrine in Palei Chawait/Lạc Trì and Palei Tali worshiped the Po Lagar Mwa shrine in Palei Yao Mwa/Vĩnh Hảo. According to Mr. Mang Tinh, “These three Raglai villages worshiped the same Cham king worshiped by the Cham villages.” Although they had to pay poll tax to France, they enjoyed their free-tax status on the mountainous paddy field that belonged to the Cham King's shrine.

Immigration of tenant peasants to the one-hundred-hectare paddy field of the princess

There occurred a terrible incident in Raglai's Palei O Chei (Phan Lâm-Bắc Bình-Bình Thuận). Mr. Mang Khê narrated the incident as follows: “This place is called Hama Akam, which means the paddy field of pharmacy. The Cham King used to own a royal paddy field here. Before, when the Cham King caught up with the Raglai, Koho, and Kinh, he changed them such that they became slaves and cultivated the royal paddy field. When they wanted to run away, the Cham King hit them with a cane.”⁴⁰⁾ Mr. Mang Khê's story was a typical folktale about the violent character of the Cham King (Bötao Prum) in the royal paddy field of Kalaong. However, the memory of Mr. Trần Phúng followed Mr. Mang Khê's story with detailed information. Mr. Trần Phúng stated that, “Although a number of Montagnards, both Koho and Raglai, came here (Palei Kalaong/ Phan Sơn) in 1958, before 1958, there were already several Koho and Raglai tenant peasants for 100 hectares of paddy field of Princess Thềm,⁴¹⁾ the representative of the Cham royal family (she died in 1998). Those villages belonged to the Trinh Hòa Commune of Tuân Giáo Canton. The indigenous ethnic group in here is the Raglai.”⁴²⁾ Thus, like the villages of former Kinh (Kinh Cự), these villages also enjoyed the semiautonomous status that was only applied to the Cham.

They became Raglai: Disappearance of three Cham villages that worshiped the god Po Yang Īn

Gru Đàng Mông, a religious leader of Palei Yok Yang/Thanh Hiếu also provides interesting information. In the Cham tradition in Parik, the name of Palei Kalaong is popular because his hymn includes territory of a powerful god.⁴³⁾ The Po Yang Īn shrine is a famous scenic spot that is covered by a beautiful river and striking, unique forests that were described in the Nguyễn dynasty's official record and by the French scholar Paul Mus.⁴⁴⁾ In his words, “Before, three Cham villages worshiped the Po Yang Īn shrine—Palei K'long (Kalaong), Palei Yang In, and Palei Nah Yao (Inâ Gayaong)—they used to belong to the former Ninh Hà Canton. However, most of the villagers became Raglai. Moreover, the remaining Cham were incorporated into Palei Chanar/Tịnh Mỹ (Phan Thanh-Bắc Bình-Bình Thuận). After the disappearance of three villages, Palei Dhaong Panan/Hự An (Phan Hiệp-Bắc Bình-Bình Thuận) continues to worship the Po Yang Īn shrine.” Paul Mus already researched this shrine and described the name of Cham villages—*Hama Katrip*—beside the shrine. In

the Raglai tradition of the Phan Lâm Commune from Takai Aia, this was one of their ancestors' villages.⁴⁵⁾

The Raglai in Phan Lâm Commune from Takai Aia believe that they are Cham, not Raglai. It is possible to affirm that based on administration, most of the Raglai villages that belonged to Cham Cantons (such as Tuy Tịnh, Ninh Hà, and Tuần Giáo) enjoyed the same status as the Cham and the Kinh Cựu before 1886.

True history? Or beautiful misunderstanding?

After 1886, although they separated from the Cham, they still enjoyed “friendship status” with Cham villages, for instance, Palei Ruon and Palei Hamu Tanran/Hữu Đức (Phước Hữu Commune), Palei Janak and Palei Thwen/Hậu Sanh (Phước Hậu Commune), Palei Laa and Palei Pabhan/Vụ Bồn (Phước Nam Commune) in the Panrang territory/Ninh Phước District of Ninh Thuận Province, and Palei Tabo and Palei Karang/Vĩnh Hanh (Phú Lạc Commune), Palei Tanoay and Palei Chawait/Lạc Trị (Phú Lạc Commune), Palei Tali and Palei Yao Mwa/Vĩnh Hào (Vĩnh Hào Commune) in the Kraong territory/Tuy Phong District of Bình Thuận Province. It is possible that the three Cham villages that disappeared were Raglai villages by origin; they enjoyed this “friendship” status only with the Cham, but their descendants misunderstood their ancestors to be Cham. Further, Mr. Mang Tình stated that “these three Raglai villages practiced the same ‘three religions’ (ngap yak; in Vietnamese, Đạo) as their partners.” However, Gru Đàng Mông stated that “after the Cham villages became Raglai villages, other Cham villages (Palei Dhaong Panan/Hữu An, currently Phan Hiệp–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận) continued with the worship. Actually, the Raglai also continued worshipping in ways prescribed by the Cham villages, but the Cham never authorized these practices.

7. Tentative conclusion: Symbolic role of literacy and illiteracy

Reconsidering the rebellion of Katip Ja Thak Wa and Po War Palei in 1835

Immediately after the abolition of the autonomous kingdom of Cham (Thuận Thành Trấn) in 1832, there were some people who carried out activities in mountainous areas. Điên Sư (Master Mount Điên) and La Bôn Vương (King Palm Leaf) were two of the most revered leaders of Man Phi (Rebellion of the Montagnards and Cham) against the Minh Mạng Emperor from 1834 to 1835. However, the content of two official documents of the Nguyễn dynasty and several Cham manuscripts do not correspond with each other in terms of their birthplace and nationality/ethnicity. According to the earliest document of the Nguyễn dynasty regarding the repression of this rebellion, *Ngự Chế Tiêu Bình Thuận Tỉnh Man Phi Phương Lược* (1835:Q5:19a–20b): Thầy Điên 柴巔^{*46)} (*Đại Nam Thực Lục* wrote Điên Sư 巔*師), his name was Sồ Cố (or Xú Cố 芻固) from the Montagnards village of Palei Cha Dang/Chà Đăng Sách 茶*連**册.⁴⁷⁾ However, *Đại Nam Thực Lục Chính Biên: Đệ Nhị Kỳ* (1868: Q149: 12b) noted the following: Đinh Bá 丁播” called himself Điên Sư, his name was Xú Cố from the Cham village of Palei Pacham/Tánh Linh Thôn. Because he trained his pupils in Mount Chek Aih Amrak (Chữ Điên Sơn 渚巔山, located in current Đồng Nai

Province),⁴⁸⁾ he was considered to be the same as Katip Ja Thak Wa, a Bani rebel leader (He had trained in the Mount Chek Aih Amrak before). However, according to several Cham manuscripts, he was born in Palei Ram/Văn Lâm Thôn.

Two Heros: Were they Raglai or Cham by origin?

Điên Su helped a Cham aristocrat become the new king, the highest commander of the rebels (his wife was the younger sister of former vice lord of Thuận Thành Trấn: Dhar Kaok (Cai Đội Nguyễn Văn Nguyên 該隊阮文元). His name was Cậu Bó 舅布*⁴⁹⁾ (or Cự Bó), and he became King Palm Leaf/La Bôn Vương. According to both Nguyễn dynasty records (*Ngự Chế Tiêu Bình Thuận Tỉnh Man Phi Phương Lược* and *Đại Nam Thực Lục Chính Biên: Đệ Nhị Kỳ*), “He lived in Parik/Phan Rí but nobody knew his homevillage because his parents died so early and he became the adopted son of an aristocrat. After the former Cham Lord Po Phaok The/Nguyễn Văn Thừa 鎮守阮文承 and the former vice lord Dhar Kaok/Nguyễn Văn Nguyên (elder brother-in-law of Cậu Bó) were arrested by the Nguyễn dynasty, he ran away with his wife and children to the Montagnard village of Palei Kon Drom/Côn Đôn Sách, where he finally became king. In the Cham manuscript, he was referred to as Po War Palei, which means a person who forgot his homevillage, as indicated in the Nguyễn dynasty’s record about him. Although there is no evidence to prove that the Montagnard village of Palei Kon Drom was his homevillage, two Cham manuscripts stated the following: “He was the Raglai.”⁵⁰⁾ This kind of confusion also suggests the fact that it was unclear who was Cham, Raglai, or Koho. With regard to the people who lived in mountainous areas, individual nationality/ethnicity might have not been an important matter. The Montagnards could make friends and have lovers from other ethnic and religious groups, unlike the situation for the Adat Cham.⁵¹⁾ The only document concerning the repression of the rebellion of Điên Su and La Bôn Vương is *Ngự Chế Tiêu Bình Thuận Tỉnh Man Phi Phương Lược*. According to this document, Cậu Bó hailed from Palei Cha Dang, which is currently occupied by the Koho and Raglai. This area has a famous mountain, Mount Chek Bicham (Phổ Trâm Sơn 鋪針山). Chek Bicham twice became a center for Cham rebels. In 1797, with the rebellion of Tuen Phaow, and in the beginning of 1835, with the rebellion of Điên Su and La Bôn Vương (or Katip Ja Thak Wa and Po War Palei), the rebels built his base here.

Cham Kings were Montagnards by origin

Although they lived in the highland territory, Tuen Phaow and Katip Ja Thak Wa wrote letters and sent it to their alliances. In an appeal, Tuen Phaow wrote the following: “Hear their order silently! And starvation will come. Then, you have to decrease the salt in your fish sauce!”⁵²⁾ Moreover, Katip Ja Thak Wa and Po War Palei included appeals in Cham writings on palm leaves⁵³⁾ and sent them to several Montagnard villages in an attempt to request them to join the rebellion.⁵⁴⁾ Tuen Phaow referred to the Lowland as *Nágar Cham Ala* (Lowland Cham territory), and the poet referred to Tuen Phaow’s court as *Po Patrai Ramik Di Chek* (the court of the Highland).⁵⁵⁾ According to known history, the Montagnards even became leaders of the Cham, or could even have been kings of Cham. Not only Po War Palei/La Bôn Vương who became king in 1835 but also King Po Rome (reigned

between 1627 and 1653) was said to have been a Montagnard, a Churu⁵⁶⁾ from Palei Kalaong⁵⁷⁾ (Phan Son & Phan Lâm–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận). Like Po War Palei, Po Rome was also the first to be adopted as a son by the king, after which he became the king of the kingdom of Cham.

Tentative conclusion: Symbolic role of literacy and illiteracy

We proposed a hypothesis in section 1 (introduction) as follows: *The Raglai–Cham changes occurred as a result of religious illiteracy and the Cham that lost such literacy became Raglai.*

Although we searched for several possibilities in sections 5 and 6, we could not prove our hypothesis and still have not obtained the answers.

In section 5, we examined the possibility that the Raglai tenants were Cham by origin in Palei Padra in Panrang. We found some circumstantial evidence, and based on the cadastral registers from 1836, we confirmed that some Cham villages used Montagnard workers for their *trà nương điền* (royal paddy field) when they took charge of cultivation. Based on our interview notes, we confirmed that some Cham villages were provided with uterine brother status by certain Raglai villages; however, the real situation in Palei Padra is still unknown.

We also examined the possibility that an increase in the Raglai population in Cham villages through marriage was the reason that Palei Aia Liu in Panrang seems to be a former Raglai village. Based on cadastral registers in 1836, we confirmed that six Cham villages in Panrang did not have any farmlands and depended on other economic activities like trade. Although Aymonier wrote that six Cham villages participated in eagle–wood trade, there was no evidence to prove that these villages were the same villages. Based on customary law and our interview notes, we confirmed the existence of marriage between different ethnic/religious groups in the Cham community. According to one of the interviewees, the Raglai bridegroom was required only to finish his conversion ceremony and was not required to learn writing.

In section 6, we examined the possibility that certain Raglai villages might have been separated from Cham villages after 1886. Based on cadastral registers in 1836, the dynasty's geographic records and our interview notes, we confirmed the disappearance of several Cham villages after 1886 and the appearance of several Raglai villages. In Kraong, the Cham's Palei Tahoang and Palei Harek Kah Harek Dhei became a Raglai village. In Parik, the Cham's Palei Ina Gayaong, Palei Yang In and Palei Kalaong disappeared. At the same time, Cai Gai Canton was established at the former Palei Ina Gayaong. Further, several Raglai and Koho villagers started to migrate to former Palei Kalaong.

Based on our interview notes, we confirmed that there are several couples from different friendly ethnic villages. Based on the local document, Palei Masuk, one of Raglai's villages that joined the Cham ritual ceremony, still retains the certification paper to confirm the land for worshipping Po Dam; this document was written in 1891. However, the certification paper clearly showed Palei Masuk to be a Raglai village (Glai Masuk). Although it is a fact that this Raglai village was separated from the Cham after 1886, there is no evidence to determine the origin of each Raglai village.

Finally, we reconsidered the history of the Cham. The story of King Po Rome and Po War Palei shows that a Montagnard could become the king of Cham through the adopted son system. They also could read and write Cham texts. However, we could not collect enough evidence to prove our hypothesis, and hence, we still do not have perfect answers for the above three questions.

The Cham accept the Raglai and vice versa with special intimate feelings. We believe that the Raglai are still good keepers of archives; the Cham passed on an enormous number of manuscripts. Although the archives currently maintained by the Raglai are not many, they are definitely not of an inferior value. The oldest rescript maintained by Mr. Mang Tinh was written in the fifth year of Emperor Minh Mạng (1824). We had never seen such an old document in a Cham village. Furthermore, a number of Cham royal archives were also found in Palei Lawang, a Raglai village. From our days staying in the Raglai villages, we greatly appreciated the advantage of the Raglai as the keepers of the treasures and the archives of the Cham Kings. At first, we did not understand the reason that the Raglai did not study Cham writings with the aim to understand the content. This, we later found out, is the exact nature of the Raglai. Although we were unable to find proof for the role of literacy as a standard to distinguish the Raglai from the Cham during the research period, we did find out that everyone was unhappy to realize that their letters and diaries were read by others. Hence, it can be said that the Cham trusted the Raglai because of their illiteracy.

APPENDIX 1: Fieldnotes: Raglai–Cham relationship according to villagers

Ap.1.1. Interview in Palei Jak (Giá Hamlet of Phước Hà–Ninh Phước–Ninh Thuận, a Raglai village) on 19/11/2005

Mr. Batau Asah Chiến (Tàu Sá Chiến) is a traditional pharmacist who was born in 1941. He stated the following: “Presently, all elderly people of Palei Jak were lost (Palei Jak laniah ratuha abih); so, it is difficult to study our origin. About the location of the village, to the north of Palei Jak is Palei Ruon. To the south of Palei Jak is Palei Laa. To the east of Palei Jak is Palei Janak. To the west are the mountains that our ancestors came from. Palei Jak and Palei Ruon exchanged uterine brother status with Palei Hamu Tanran/Hữ Đức (Phước Hữ–Ninh Phước–Ninh Thuận). Palei Janak and Palei Laa exchanged uterine brother status with Palei Thwen/Hậu Sanh (Phước Hữ–Ninh Phước–Ninh Thuận) and Palei Pabhan/Vụ Bôn (Phước Nam–Ninh Phước–Ninh Thuận). Exchanging uterine brother status is known as *ngap adei saai sa teang* or *yut chwai* in the Raglai dialect. Palei Jak retains the clothes of the spirit known as Po Lagar (khat ao po lagar).⁵⁸⁾

Mrs. Barau Bahan (Ba Râu Ba Han) was born in 1930. She stated the following: “The origin of Palei Jak was in the Mt. Chicken’s Cry (Chek Manak Gajo) near the border between 3 provinces–Ninh Thuận, Bình Thuận, and Lâm Đồng. These are about 25 km west from here.”⁵⁹⁾

Miss Batau Asah Thị Nhơn was born in 1960. She stated the following: “My grandfather and grandmother, OraiDieu and BatauAsahMung, were the keepers of the clothes of a spirit known as Po Likei. Unfortunately, my grandmother died this month. However, my family continues to keep the clothes.

Through these interviews, we clarified that the relationship between the Raglai and Cham is based at the village/hamlet level. Further, until now, the Raglai play the role of treasure keepers for the Cham, especially safeguarding the clothes of gods and goddesses worshipped in the Cham towers and shrines. With respect to the relationship with Palei Hamu Tanran, we considered that one cause that strengthened the relationship was the dynasty’s institutional collection of forest products that Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa referred to as “Cai Mọi.”⁶⁰⁾

Ap.1.2. Interview in Palei Chwah Patih/Thành Tín (Phước Nam–Ninh Phước–Ninh Thuận, a Cham village of Adat Bani) on 20/11/2005

Mr. Đào Suôi, a Po Gru of Awal (the highest religious leader of Adat Bani) was born in 1917. He stated the following: “Currently, in Palei Chawah Patih, there are 3 non–Cham men married to women from here and who live here. One among them is Khmer from the TâyNinh Province and the other two are Raglai—Mr. Mang Lung and Mr. Mang Lai from Palei Barau (Lợi Hải–Thuận Bắc–Ninh Thuận Province). Although the Raglai worship Awwah (Allah), they must practice a conversion ceremony in order to join the Bani. Following this ceremony, they become a member of the Adat Bani of the Cham community.

Through this interview, we clarified that the practice of a conversion ceremony for Raglai to become Bani is possible at the individual level. When a strange man who belongs to *Adat Raglai* or *Adat Cham* loves an *Adat Bani* woman, he undergoes a conversion ceremony and gets his wedding license to marry.

Ap.1.3. Interview in Palei Pamlap/An Nhon (Xuân Hải–Ninh Hải–Ninh Thuận, a Cham village of Adat Bani) on 21/11/2005

Mr. Dương Tân Châu, an adviser of the hamlet elderly club (Hội Người Cao Tuổi) was born in 1935. He stated the following: “Before, a commander of the collection of eaglewood called Po Gihlau⁶¹⁾ lived in PaleiPablap.⁶²⁾ Po Gihlau and his officers often went to Palei Chek Prong, Palei Grang Dang Hrei (both in the Raglai Commune of Phước Chiển–Thuận Bắc–Ninh Thuận) and Palei Barau (Lợi Hải–Thuận Bắc–Ninh Thuận) to collect eaglewood. Afterward, he moved from PaleiPablap to PaleiPablapBirau/Phước Nhon (Xuân Hải–Ninh Hải–Ninh Thuận). Some of the Cham men and women in PaleiPablap married with the Raglai. At the individual level, the Raglai can become Cham through marriage. Even at the village level, the Raglai can become the Cham of Adat Bani through conversion. For example, the Như Ngọc Hamlet (Palei Padra) and Phước Tường Hamlet (Palei Aia Liu) were Raglai villages by origin; however, these villages converted to Adat Bani. These villages were incorporated into former Nghĩa Lập Canton (currently Ninh Hải District of Ninh Thuận Province), an administrative district of the Cham in the Nguyễn dynasty era. Until now, there are sensitive problems because although the villagers of Palei Padra and Palei Aia Liu regard themselves as the Cham of Adat Bani, the customs of the Raglai are still practiced in these villages. Although they never speak up in front of other villagers, some Cham are of the opinion that these villages are Raglai villages of Adat Bani, not Cham villages of Adat Bani.

Through this interview, we once again clarified that one of the causes that strengthened the relationship between the Raglai and Cham in the early modern era was the Nguyễn dynasty’s institutional collection of forest products. The leader of the collection of eaglewood as tax was a Cham who lived in a Cham village. Moreover, this interview surprisingly provided us with an answer. The interviewee enumerated two former Raglai villages in the Cham community with sufficient information. In the interviewee’s opinion, at least, a Raglai village can become a village of Adat Bani.

Ap.1.4. Interview in Palei Jarot (Gia Rot Hamlet, Ma Núi–Ninh Sơn–Ninh Thuận, a Raglai village) on 22/11/2005

Mrs. Tapôh Thị Đoan, a semiprofessional singer, was born in 1942. She came to Palei Jarot in 1977 and her matrilineal home village is PaleiKaralaw. She stated the following: “Before, there were two lords, lord of the land and lord of the forest. The lord of the land was known as Mapha Tanah who lived in the Palei Mabuok, which is currently in the Đơn Dương District of Lâm Đồng Province. I do not know who the orthodox descendant is but I know the Sapok Ana (matrilineal clan name) of Mapha Tanah. It was Nahria. He managed labor requisition and use. The Lord of the forest was called Mapha Chek Glai. I do not know the details of Mapha Chek Glai but I know the orthodox descendant of Mapha Chek Glai. His name is NahriaKrik. He lives in Tú Trà Commune of Đơn Dương District, Lâm Đồng Province. He is a matrilineal grandchild of the last Mapha Chek Glai. Mapha Tanah managed labor use whereas Mapha Chek Glai did not. Here are three villages that have their own shrine. Palei U worships Po Chei Sawat, and the keeper (chamânei) is Mrs. Kator Quyết. Palei Kamau worships Po Dam, and the chamânei is Mr. Kamau Bô. Palei Hajai worship to Po Chan Jarak, also called Po Tapong or Sah Bin. The chamânei is Mr. Tayên Teng.

Mrs. Harwar Thị Minh was born in 1961. Her matrilineal home village is Palei Nhao⁶³⁾ Tet. She stated the following: “The Harwar clan is the former ruler’s clan. Before, an old man appeared and started to allot land. At that time, a woman was wandering. She was the last person to meet the old

man, and he gave her all that remained. After that, her clan called themselves the Harwar. The birthplace of the Harwar clan is Binak Krok Ta Noai nearby Palei M'Bo Hamlet. In our tradition, we worship the Po Dam in the 15th day of the 5th month in our calendar.”

Through this interview, we clarified that the Raglai community had their own tax system (requisition of labor). In general, the Nahria clan is not Raglai. They belong to the Koho or the Churu who live in the southeast border of Lâm Đồng Province. The epic “Ariya Tuen Phaow” described the Islamic civil war between Nâgar Cham Ala and Pa Patrai Di Chok that happened in 1797.⁶⁴ According to this epic, there were two royal prerogatives in the autonomous kingdom of Cham (Thuận Thành Trấn, 1694–1832): the Lowland (Nâgar Cham Ala) and the Highland (Po Patrai Ramik Di Chek). In “Ariya Tuan Phaow,” the Koho, Churu, and Raglai belonged to the Highland that was controlled by the Lowland. Moreover, the Lowland was protected by the Nguyễn dynasty (Po Patao Yuen). Honda Mamoru wrote as follows: “The ‘Nahria’ was a clan that had the role of protecting the mountainous territories of Prum.⁶⁵ It is acceptable that after the fall of the kingdom of Cham, the role of the Nahria clan was kept until the French era.”

Ap.1.5. Interview in Palei Sabuk Aia (Spuk Ia Hamlet, Ma Nôi–Ninh Sơn–Ninh Thuận, a Raglai village) on 22/11/2005

Mr. Kator Bich is a former policeman of the Ma Nôi Commune and was born in 1960. He commented as follows: “We, I and my younger sister Quyết, are descendants of the Po Chei Sawat⁶⁶ shrine keeper. Po Chei Sawat was a hermit with special powers. Before, he was “a general” (Halau) of the king of the Cham. He has two names, Drang Halau Likau Muh and Drang Halau Kau Pli Yak. Although he “attacked enemies” (Poh Kalip) very well, he did not continue to be a general. He went to a mountain and became a hermit (ManasYak).⁶⁷ Our ancestors built a shrine “in appreciation of the hermit” (sdoor ongai po yak). In 2003, officers of the Vietnam History Museum in Hồ Chí Minh City came here, paid a compensation fee, and brought the shrine’s relics to the city. Then, the shrine was lost, and our tradition was incorporated into the 4000 years history of Vietnam. The date is 19 April 2003.”⁶⁸

Through this interview, we clarified that the ancestors of this Raglai village were Cham and that their king was also Cham. In their animistic thought, they were the descendants of the Cham. Unfortunately, their shrine was already given to a museum in Hồ Chí Minh City.

Ap.1.6. Interview in Palei Tahoang (Phan Dũng–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận, a Raglai village) on 24/11/2005

Mr. Mang Nhũ, a Vietnam Communist Party secretary of the Phan Dũng Commune, was born in 1950 (the year of the tiger). He stated the following: “I came from Palei Churu. My wife’s name is Hoang Thi My. She came from Palei Tanoay, near the Palei Tahoang. However, her ancestors came from Ma Nôi. After 1962, the American forces compelled us to move to the Sông Mao area. I married her there in 1968. After liberation in 1975, we returned to this place and established the Phan Dũng Commune. Some of us remained in the Sông Mao area and established the Phan Điền Commune. According to our tradition, Palei Tahoang is the oldest village in this area. The establishment allows us to engage in paddy agriculture (ngap hama), not slash-and-burn agriculture (ngap apoh). The name of one of the first pioneers was Ong Kar Wa. Thus, the names of the two oldest paddy fields here are Hama Cha Ka Weng and Hama Cha Kar Wa. My wife’s matrilineal clan is Po Dam. Before 1998,

we had a policeman named Phung Dai Vinh. When the Cham people of Palei Chawai held ritual ceremonies at the Po Dam Towers, he encouraged the villagers to participate in the ceremony. Following his death in 1998, we stopped participating in the ceremonies because the Cham do not invite us anymore.

Through this interview, we clarified that the Raglai in this place are not the people living in the forest (Urang Glai). They are the paddy peasants mentioned in history. Furthermore, some of them moved from Ma Nôi Hamlet (Ma Nôi–Ninh Sơn–Ninh Thuận) and hence belong to the Po Dam clan, a clan name the same as that of the Cham. Moreover, the delegation of this Commune (Phan Dũng Commune) had joined the Po Dam ritual ceremony held at the Po Dam towers together with the Cham in Palei Chawai/Lạc Trị Hamlet (Phú Lạc–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận).

Ap.1.7. Interview in Palei Thôn Ba (Phong Phú–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận, a Raglai village) on 24/11/2005

Mr. Võ Châu Thí, who was born in 1929, commented as follows: “Here there are about 8 Sino–Vietnamese family names called “Họ”: Mang 芒, Mai 梅, Võ 武, Trần 陳, Chế 制, Hoàng 黃, Thành 成, and Nguyễn 阮. Besides, we have our own matrilineal clan names called “Among.” I belong to the H’rek Kah H’rek Dhei clan.⁶⁹⁾ Here are four clans that were established in this place by people who belonged to 4 villages. The H’rek Kah H’rek Dhei clan hailed from Palei H’rek Kah H’rek Dhei. The Cha Kar clan hailed from Palei Gok San, a village near Mount Chek Mpok (Núi Hòn Bà). The Tapôh Habau clan hailed from Palei Ja Mru, a village near Phan Điền Commune. The KatorAh clan hailed from Palei Thisau Dala, a village again near Phan Điền Commune. After 1963, the American forces compelled us to move to Palei Plom. After 1975, we returned to this place and established the Thôn Ba Hamlet of the Phong Phú Commune. Here, the rich engage in paddy agriculture and the poor practice slash–and–burn agriculture. We have a religious leader named camâne.⁷⁰⁾ However, since we are illiterate, we do not have religious leaders like the Cham do, such as kapah, adhia, pasia, kadhar, mudwan, and kain. Although some Cham are illiterate, they are still Cham. Our creator is Po Parilo.⁷¹⁾ His shrine is known as Bimong Chek Parilo. We worship him on the 15th day of the 5th month in our calendar (15th day of the 8th month in the lunar calendar). We worship Ong Bin. He developed waterways and built weirs for paddy. We also worship Muk Ashau whose symbol includes three stones.”

Through this interview, we clarified that the origin of one clan of the Raglai in this place is a famous Cham village called Harek Kah Harek Dhei. They worship the creator “Po Parilo” and the agricultural pioneer “Ong Bin.” The reason that they cannot become religious leaders is that they are illiterate.

Ap.1.8. Interview in Palei Chawai/ Lạc Trị (Phú Lạc–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận, a Cham village of Adat Bani) on 24/11/2005

Mr. Bích Văn Tào, chairman of the Patriot Front Committee in Phú Lạc Commune, was born in 1944. According to him, “The Po Dam Towers (located in Palei Chawai) have a Raglai shrine keeper called “chamânei.” His name is Mr. Mang Tinh. Before, his family lived in La Bá Canton (currently Phan Dũng Commune). Now, he lives in the Phan Điền Commune. Once every three year, on the 15th day of the 4th month in our calendar (the 15th day of the 7th month in the lunar calendar), we invite him to perform the ritual ceremony for the King Po Dam at the Po Dam Brick Towers in

Palei Chawait.

Mr. Qua Đình Bội, a retired teacher from South Vietnam, was born in 1922 and had the following to say: “Before, the clothes and Nguyễn dynasty’s rescripts (Khan Rak: Sắc Phong) were preserved in former La Bá Canton (currently Phan Dũng Commune). The keeper’s family is the descendant of Po Dam, and the current representative is Mr. Mang Tinh. In those days, eight or nine Cham villages of the Tuy Tịnh Canton (currently Phong Phú and Phú Lạc Communes) such as Lạc Trị (Chawait), Tuy Tịnh (Plom), Cao Hậu (M’Kroch), Phú Nhiều (Thiew), Thanh Vụ (M’Puh), Vĩnh Hạnh (Krang), and Raglai villages of La Bá Canton, come together every year to perform Po Dam’s ritual ceremony. At the end of the 3rd month or the first of the 4th month, the Cham sends an official letter (Srak Ghan: Công Van) to the Raglai’s La Bá Canton to inform the date of the ceremony.”

Through this interview, we clarified that Mr. Mang Tinh is the most important person for the Po Dam ritual ceremony. Although he was born in La Bá Canton (currently Phan Dũng Commune), he currently lives in the Phan Điền Commune. Since he preserves clothes and rescripts of the Po Dam shrine, when the Cham perform the ritual ceremony for the King Po Dam, they invite him to bring the clothes and rescripts. Although Mang Tinh does not know Chinese and Cham writing, he is the keeper of the rescripts because of his clan. All the rescripts have already been translated into modern Vietnamese, as shown to us by Mr. Bích Văn Tạo. Although we did not care about the content of the translation at the time, we took photographs of two sheets of the Glai Masuk manuscript, both the rewritten version in modern Cham and the translation in modern Vietnamese.

Ap.1.9. Interview in Palei Thôn Môt (Phan Điền–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận, a Raglai village) on 25/11/2005

Mr. Mang Tinh was born in 1933 at Palei La Bá Hamlet of former La Bá Canton (currently Phan Dũng Commune). He stated, “I graduated from the nearby Long Hương Township (currently Liên Hương Township) elementary school. I participated in the independence war from 1945 to 1952. I had Cham commanders such as Lord Dụng Gạch, prince of the Cham royal family (he is already dead), Mr. Bồ Xuân Đồng (he died as well), and Mr. Lâm Guri (he is alive). Besides them, there were many Raglai comrade-in-arms such Mr. Mang Bài, MangSin, and Mang Cai. From 1962 to 1975, we were forced to move to the Sông Mao area by the American forces. After 1975, my family remained in Sông Mao and established the Phan Điền Commune. Sông Mao had two groups of Raglai from La Bá. One group succeeded in reclaiming the paddy fields and remained here, but the other group did not (in Vietnamese; không đi làm ăn được). After 1975, the others returned to La Bá Canton and established the current Phan Dũng Commune.

“Earlier, both former La Bá and Tuy Tịnh cantons were unified. They were separated in the French era, and the paddy fields of the Cham in La Bá were transferred to the Raglai. I remember the old weirs in the source of Krok Riya River (Sông Lòng Sông). The Raglai used the binâk (weirs); from the west, there was Banak Huma Dau Wã on the Krok Aneh River, Banak Tok U on the Krok Dam Mrek and Banak Huma TokTroï on the Krok Krik Kajaak. There was no Banak on the Krok Mdong and Krok Mla Bao Rivers. There was Banak Tahoang on the top of the Krok Riya. Under Banak Tahoang, there were Banak TokTruh, Banak TaLe, Banak Cham Rih, Banak Chroh Tay, Banak Gra Nong and Banak Ta Un. The Cham used the weirs Banak Cha Kar and Banak TaPon. The Yuen (Vietnamese) used the weirs Banak Huma Ri Yuen and Banak Chin Biya (now already lost). We had many weirs. However, each weir could irrigate only a limited area. We calculated the area of paddy

by the amount of sowing (Kahruya Ja Dra. In Vietnamese, tính giá gieo). Five jia corresponds to approximately one hectare.”

“My wife’s name is HoangThiPhu. Her matrilineal clan name is Masuk from Palei M’Bo Hamlet. Her family was one of the chief (Lý trưởng) families of former La Bá Canton. Besides, my matrilineal clan name is Po Dam from Palei Tahoang Hamlet. My mother’s name was Hoàng Thị Ngang. Her younger sister had a daughter whose name was Hoàng Tim Hoa.⁷²⁾ Tih M’Hoa had a daughter whose name is Hoàng E M’Hoa. E Hoa has two daughters and the youngest daughter’s name is Honàg Thị Gương. She is our orthodox matrilineal representative born in 1988 or 1989. There is another family whose matrilineal representative is Hoàng Thị Ra. Her husband’s name is Đặng Quang Lương. Our clan had five families to safeguard the treasure of the King Po Dam. Now, our clan has only two families. Mr. Đặng Quang Lương and I are the managers. At present, we store the treasures in Mrs. Hoang Thị Ra’s house. Regarding the rescripts, we have guarded them well until now. However, after accidentally tearing the clothes, we asked the Cham in Palei Chawait to restore them. Now, we guard the restored clothes. I also remember the genealogy of the keeper (chamânei) of the Po Dam shrine in Palei Masuk Hamlet. The oldest was Ong Brei Onwith Ong Ly, Ong Tai On, Ong Tia, Ong Brau, Ong Dhar and Ong Mang Bo (Mr. Mang Bo) being the second, third, fourth, fifth, and the current one, respectively.”

“The former La Bá and Tuy Tịnh Cantons had three Raglai–Cham pair villages that together worshipped their own god. The first pair was the Raglai’s Palei Tabo and the Cham’s Palei Karang/Vĩnh Hanh who worshiped the King Po Kabrah⁷³⁾ together. The second pair was the Raglai’s Palei Tanoay and the Cham’s Palei Chawait/Lạc Trị who worshipped King Po Dam⁷⁴⁾ who had two queens—the first queen was a Cham, whereas the second was a Raglai. The third pair was the Raglai’s Palei Tali and the Cham’s Palei Yao Mwa/Vĩnh Hảo who worshipped Po Lagar Mwa.⁷⁵⁾ These three Raglai villages “worshipped”(ngap yak) the god with their partners from Cham villages.”

Through this interview, we clarified the history of Phan Dũng and Phan Điền Commune, the use of old weirs and paddy fields, the tradition of storing the clothes and rescripts of the King Po Dam and the current keeper’s name of the Po Dam shrine. Mr. Mang Tinh is not the orthodox representative of a treasurekeeper, he is just a manager for his niece. Further, he is not a “chamânei,” but the orthodox keeper of the Po Dam shrine. The chamânei is another man. Fortunately, Mr. Mang Tinh and Mr. Đặng Quang Lương prepared egg and alcohol to perform a simple worship to the King Po Dam in order to seek permission to show us the treasures. Following the worship, they showed us the rescripts written in both Sino–Vietnamese and Cham writing.⁷⁶⁾ There were nine sheets of rescripts given by the Nguyễn Emperors and one sheet of Raglai manuscript written in 1890. We tentatively named it the Glai Masuk manuscript because a villager of Glai Masuk where Mr. Mang Tinh’s wife came from wrote this manuscript.

Ap.1.10. Interview in Palei Chanar/Tịnh Mỹ (Phan Thanh–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận, a Cham village of Adat Cham) on 26/11/2005

Mr. Lư Thái Thửi, a retired teacher in South Vietnam, was born in 1944. He is the husband of the orthodox representative of the matrilineal Cham royal family. He stated the following: “We refer to the relationship with the Raglai as ‘Ho Mat’ (friendship). Earlier, all of our Cham royal family’s treasure was safeguarded by the Raglai. Not only the Raglai, especially those in Bình Thuận Province

and Lâm Đồng Province, but also many Montagnards share the “Ho Mat” relation with us. They visited the royal family every three years. However, in 1962, after the Raglai of the Trunh Hòa Commune (former Trinh Sơn Commune and Trinh Hòa Hamlet of Tuần Giáo Canton, currently Phan Sơn–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận), Phú Nhiêu Commune (former La Bá Canton, currently Phan Dũng–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận) and Gia Hòa Commune (former Cai Gia Canton, currently Phan Lâm–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận) were forced to move from mountainous areas to the Phan Rí plain (the Sông Mao area, former Palei Njoh/Ninh Hà Commune of Ninh Hà Canton, currently Phan Điền–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận) by the American forces, they returned the treasure to us and hence we built a treasure house here (the house that we interviewed him in). After 1975, they came back to the mountainous areas, but have visited us rarely after that.

Through this interview, we clarified that the relationship between the Cham royal family and the Raglai was very strong in the past. This relation was referred to as “Ho Mat/friendship.” However, it was destroyed during the Vietnam War.

Ap.1.11. Interview in Palei Kalaong (Phan Sơn–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận, a Raglai and Koho village) on 27/11/2005

Mr. Thần Phùng, the keeper (*chamânei*) of the Po Bin and Po Ong shrine, was born in 1937. He stated the following: “I was born in Bồ Thuận Canton of Lâm Đồng Province. I am Raglai, but I do not have a matrilineal clan name; however, I have a matrilineal home village called Palei Chwah. In 1959, we voluntarily moved to this place with the Koho. The original name of this basin was Palei Kalaong. We established the Trinh Sơn Commune in 1960. However, in 1963, the American forces compelled us to move to Phan Rí plain (Sông Mao area). After 1975, we returned to this place and reestablished the Phan Sơn Commune. Now, this commune has three villages—Palei Madeh Hamlet, Palei Kalaong Hamlet, and Palei Nai Wa Hamlet. The Kalaong is the name of the tree (*Dipterocarp*). Nai Wa is the name of one of the pioneers. The others were Ong Wa (Mr. Wa) and Nai Wa (Mrs. Wa). Here there are some forbidden forests. We Raglai refer to such forests as Chek Hanom. The Koho refer to them as Bnom Noha Nggar. Chek Hanom means “the forest of the palm leaf.” Madeh Hamlet has a shrine called Bimong Po Bin, which is the place for worshipping God Sah Bin.”

Mr. K’Đói, a militia leader of the Phan Sơn Commune, was born in 1957. He remarked as follows. “I was born in Bồ Thuận Canton of Lâm Đồng Province. I am Koho Srê, and my matrilineal clan name is Po Dam. In earlier times, this place was merely a paddy field owned by the Cham royal family. The ruins of the Cham shrine are found in the backfield of Phan Sơn Commune’s office known as the Po Harum Di Chek shrine. The shrine had two buildings, the main building and the sub-building. Now only the bases remain. Besides, the Po Ong shrine in Palei Kalaong (Thôn Môt Hamlet) is also the Cham shrine that worships to Po Ong Taha and is still kept. The Po Ong shrine had two buildings, the house for the Cham royal family and the house for worship. The predecessor princess of the Cham (Princess Thềm, died in 1998) frequently visited the shrine. All the four buildings were destroyed during the war. The land of the Cham royal family does not exist anymore. Later, we rebuilt the Po Ong shrine with tin plate and continued to worship.”

Through this interview, we clarified the existence of the ownership of the Cham royal family in the Raglai village in the past. Initially, they came to Kalaong; the Koho and Raglai are the tenant peasants of the royal family’s paddy fields. Further, some sacred places for worshipping Po Sah Bin and Po Ong can also be found here. Moreover, there are some forbidden forests known as Chek

Hanom, which is the mountain of palm leaf.

Ap.1.12. Return to the Phan Lâm Commune (Phan Lâm–Bắc Bình–Bình Thuận, a Raglai village from Takai Aia hill) on 27/11/2005

The last village that we visited in our field survey was the first village where we originally discovered the problem/topic for this research. Phan Lâm is located in the eastern region of Kalaong basin. In earlier years, this was the base for the last forces of FULRO (Front Unifié pour la Libération des Races Opprimées: a guerrilla force of the Montagnards against the Vietnamese Communist). In 1995, after commander Mr. TounhDen surrendered,⁷⁷⁾ the Vietnamese government requested that the World Bank and the Japanese government invest in the construction of infrastructure. At present, both Phan Sơn (west) and Phan Lâm (east) are again preparing for forced resettlement in order to build a hydropower station complex, headwork for irrigation and newtowns with enough city-style infrastructure. One source of financing is Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) financed by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC). However, both groups of Po Dams descendants, the Kôho and Raglai (in Bắc Bình District of Bình Thuận Province) and Churu (in Đức Trọng District of Lâm Đồng) Province, face two serious problems that have already been mentioned in our articles.⁷⁸⁾ The first group's issue involves defective housing,⁷⁹⁾ for which the former project leader was replaced. The second group's problem involves the destruction of a shrine; the Po Dam shrine in former PaleiJhopRajais Hamlet was selected as a site to construct a hydroelectric power plant near a waterfall. The north end of the Cham royal paddy fields were controlled by the Harwar clan. Currently, however, the orthodox descendants of the keeper (chamânei) of the Po Dam shrine in Palei Sop Rajais live in Palei Ma Am Hamlet and Palei Sop Madron Wai Hamlet (Đà Loan–Đức Trọng–Lâm Đồng). Although an agreement was signed on November 11, 2005, to reconcile the people and local bodies, there is other anxiety. The construction of the hydropower station already began in May 2003. According to Mr. K'Van, a chamânei of another sacred place near the construction area, the forbidden forest of Po Chei Sawat, "This area is damaged every day by construction workers."

ຊູ້ວາຟ້າ ຄາກກວກ ກລີ່ປີລາງາຄ (ຮູ້ ຖອຍ ກອກກວກ ບໍລິເວນ ຊູ້ວາຟ້າ ,,

Ndwec mâng takai Chek Libi lac craoh thaok pak Teng Bāli Nyau. (stamp)

Từ chân (h) Lipi dọc đường suối đến lòng Sông Núi Lipi Nhau.

From the foot of Mount Libi, draw the line along the mountain–stream to Bali Nyau pond.

ຟ້າ ບໍລິເວນ ຊູ້ວາຟ້າ ທັງ ລິນຳ ດວວກ ຮີ (7) ນວາຍ ຄາກ ດີ ທາກ ປັກ ມບາກ ນຸ້ຍ ກໍ ດູ້ ກໍ ດູ້ ,,

Meng Teng Bāli Nyai Teng Linâ ndwac Ri (7) nwai Craoh Dia thaok pak Mbaok Nyâk. (stamp)

Từ dòng (i) sông Lipi trên núi Lipai.....

From Bali Nyai Pond, Linâ Pond, draw Dia Mountain–stream Line to Nyak Ridgeline.

ຟ້າ ມບາກ ນຸ້ຍ ກໍ ດູ້ ກໍ ດູ້ ດວວກ ນາວ ທາກ ປັກ ລາວ ຮີ ບາຍ ,,

Meng Mbaok Nyak ndwac nao thaok pak Laaow Ribai. (stamp)

.....

From Nyak Ridgeline, draw the line to Ribai Peak.

ຟ້າ ດວວກ ນາວ ຮີ ບາຍ ທັງ ມບາກ ດວວກ ຕວີ ຣິນວາຍ ທາກ ຕູນູງ ,,

Meng La (8) aow Ribai ndwac twei Rinwai Chek Tunung. (stamp)

.....chạy dọc sườn núi Tà Nung.

From Ribai Peak, draw the line along the Mount Tanung Ridgeline.

ຟ້າ ທັງ ມບາກ ຕູນູງ ທັງ ມບາກ ດວວກ ທາກ ປັກ ທາກ ຮີ ມບາກ ,,

Meng Chek Tanung ndwac thaok pak Chek Habhraw. (stamp)

Từ (j) núi Tà Nung chạy đến núi Haprau.

From Mount Tanung, draw the line to Mount Habhraw.

ຟ້າ ທັງ ມບາກ ຮີ ມບາກ ດວວກ ທາກ ປັກ ຣິນວາຍ ລີ າລ ,,

Meng Che (9) k Habhraw ndwac nao pak Rinwai Lial. (stamp)

Từ núi Haprau (k) chạy dọc sườn núi Liäl.

From Mount Habhraw, draw the line to Lial Ridgeline.

ຟ້າ ວິ ດວວກ ລີ າລ ທັງ ມບາກ ດວວກ ທາກ ປັກ ຣິນວາຍ ທາກ ບູວາງ ,,

Meng Rinwai Lial, ndwac thaok pak Rinwai Chek Buwang. (stamp)

Từ sườn núi Liäl, chạy đến sườn (l) núi Puwang.

From Lial Ridgeline, draw the line to Mount Buwang Ridgeline.

ຟ້າ ທັງ ມບາກ ບູວາງ ທັງ ມບາກ ດວວກ ດາວ ທາກ ປັກ ດາວ ຈາລເວລ ,,

(10) Meng Chek Buwang ndwac nao thaok pak Danao Jalwel. (stamp)

Từ núi Puwang, chạy đến hồ Chuluäl.

From Mount Buwang, draw the line to Jalwel Lake.

ຟ້າ ດວວກ ດາວ ຈາລເວລ ທັງ ມບາກ ດວວກ ດາວ ຈາລເວລ ,,

Meng Dunao ndwac nao thaok Chek Daok. (stamp)

Từ (m) hồ Chuluäl chạy đến núi Tôk.

From Lake, draw the line to Mount Daok.

ဖတ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်လေဒ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ် ,,
(11) Meng Chek Daok ndwac nao thaok Gok Kura. (stamp)
Từ núi Tôk chạy đến (n) Hang Kara.
From Mount Daok, draw the line to Kura cave.

ဖတ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်လေဒ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ် (လေဒ်) ,,
Meng Gok ndwac nao thaok pak Pabah Teng–Dreng. (stamp)
Từ Hang Kara chạy đến cửa sông Tân Trang.
From the cave, draw the line to the mouth of Teng–Dreng river

ကုက္ခိဘု (ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်)လေဒ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ် ,,
Ndwac tru (12) n pālah kraong thaok pak Nānah Abaol. (stamp)
Chạy (o) xuống dòng mở rộng dòng sông đến đồi Nur Nāk.
Draw the line along the river to the end; its width extends and arrives at Nānah Abaol Hill.

ဖတ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘု (ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်)လေဒ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ် ,,
Meng Nānah Aboah, ndwac trun thwai kraong thaok pak Pa(13)bah Teng Thak (stamp) takai Bunuk.
Từ đồi Nur Nāk (p) chạy xuống dọc cửa sông Thāk, đến chân cây bò đê.
From Nānah Hill, draw the line along the river to the mouth of the Teng–Thak river near the Weir.

လေဒ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ် (လေဒ်) ,,
Taom pak Phun Tanah Putao kaoh brei mbeng, Khik Kuyakar saong Thrak
Ở tới (q) cây trên đất ngãi để cho hưởng, giữ bảo vật viết
Arrive at the border tree of the land that the King provided to eat and retain treasure and archives

ဖတ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ် ,,
(13) Di thun nāsak rimaong, di bulan mak, di po rami suk.
Vào (r) năm con cọp, tháng chập, ngày rằm, thứ sáu Chām lịch.
Written in the year of the tiger, the 12th month, the 15th day, Friday.

လေဒ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ် ,,
Rai Putao Yuen angin Thaing Thec jieng hu klau (14) thun.
(s) Đồi vua Việt ông Thuận Thành Chăng được 3 năm.
The third year of the Vietnamese Emperor Thành Thái.

လေဒ်ကုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ်ကုက္ခိဘုလေဒ် ,,
Nwai Lang Masuk daa Caing Taong Kweng Muk Ceng kik ,,
(t) Làng Mư Thũk xin mời Cậu Tổng Quảng Mũk Chang (ký).
Vassals of Masuk Village petition to the top chief of Canton (Chánh Tổng), Quảng Muk Chang, signature.

လိကကွဲအဖွဲ့အစည်းကိတ်က

Lik kleng Khaiy Ong kik (stamp)

(u) Lý trưởng Khe Ôn (ký)

Chief of Commune, Khaiy Ong, signature.

စခရုလံဖာဖေကဒာစွမ်ကစုဖေကစုဖေကိတ်က စာလူကလေးစီဒုကဒ်အဖွဲ့အစည်းက

(15) Nwai Lang Masuk daa Phaok Agha Ceng kik (stamp), pawak blei ong kung tingin

(v) Làng Mur Thũk xin ông Phó Khả Chang (ký), viết cho ông bằng tay

-Vassals of Masuk Village petition to Vice Agha Cheng, signature, disturbed him to write by hand

စခရုလံဖာဖေကဒာစွမ်လိကစုဖေလံအဖွဲ့အစည်းကစုဖေ လိကကွဲအဖွဲ့အစည်းက,

Nwai Lang Masuk daa lik taong lang ngap akhar ni (stamp), Lik kleng Thu kik.

(w) Làng Mur Thũk xin mời Lý trưởng làng viết, (x) Lý trưởng Thu (ký)

Vassals of Masuk Village petition to Chief of Commune to sign, Chief Thu, signature.

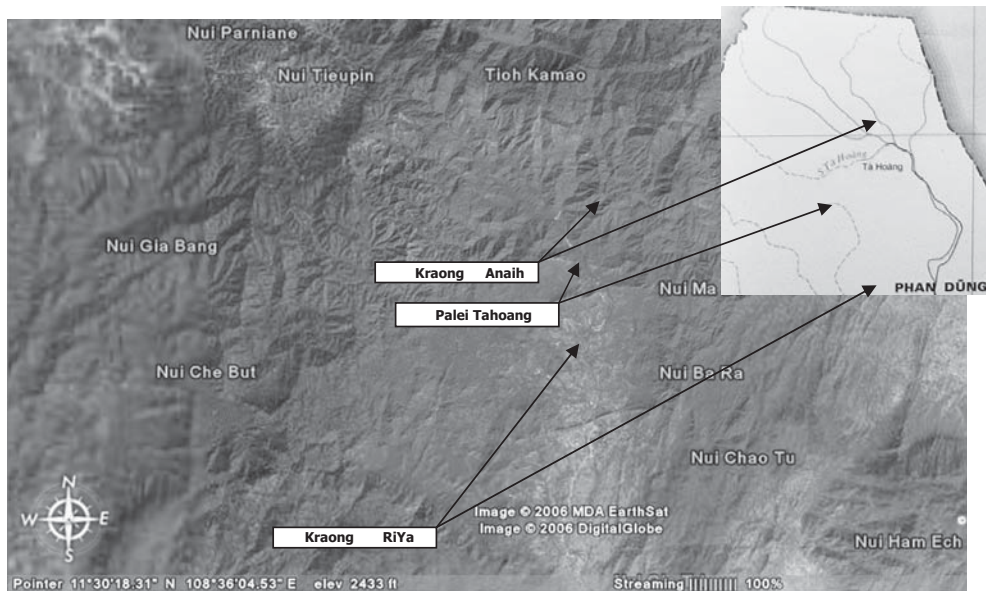


Fig. 3 Map of the land for worshipping the Po Dam shrine
Source: Google Earth, 2006. Vietnam Map Publishing House, 2005.

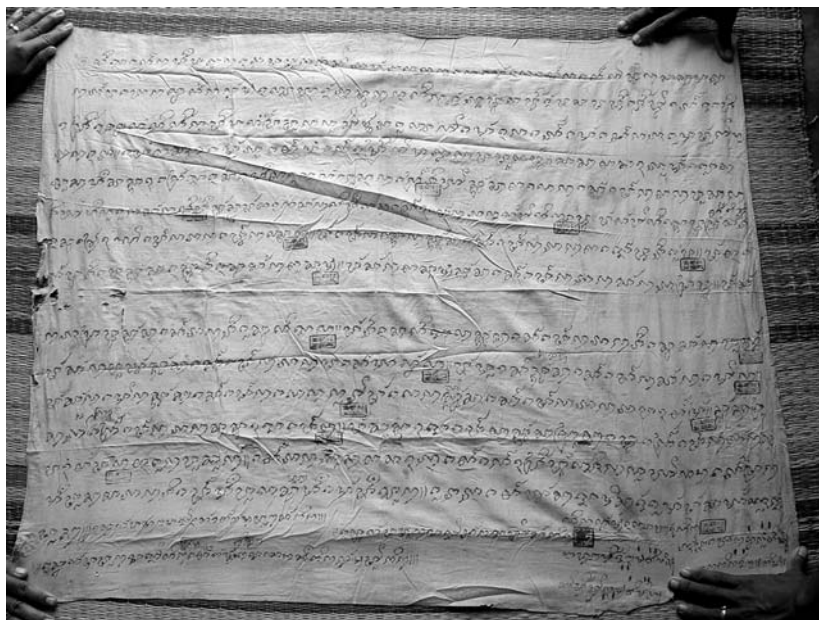


Fig. 4 The Glai Masuk cloth manuscript

Photo: Shine Toshihiko (25/11/2005).

Original date: 15/12/Tiger of Cham calendar. 15/3/Tân Mão of lunar calendar. 23/4/1891

(The third year of Emperor Thành Thái)

占曆寅年臘月十五日=越曆成泰三年辛卯三月十五日=西曆一八九一年四月二十三日.⁸⁰⁾

Notes

- 1) Strictly speaking, both the Mùròng and Raglai are not pure slash-and-burn peasants. In many of their villages, the Mùròng and Raglai practice only paddy agriculture. For example, see Phan Xuân Biên (1998: 57–69) (description by Võ Công Nguyễn).
- 2) In the Nguyễn dynasty's official chronicle *Đại Nam Thực Lục* 大南寔錄, the Mùròng were considered semicivilized people (thổ dân 土民), not mountainous barbarians (sơn man 山蠻). However, Vietnamese communists consider all ethnic minorities as younger brothers of the ethnic Kinh (the majority of Vietnam). For example, see Patricia Pelley (1998).
- 3) The Cham use a proverb that shows their familiarity with the Raglai: “Cham saai Raglai adei” (A Cham is the elder brother and a Raglai is the younger brother). Similarly, the Raglai use the proverb “Cháp saai Raglai adoï.” See *Akhât Jukar Raglai* (2001: 872).
- 4) The Vietnam Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) plans to establish a new nature reserve called Kalon–Sông Mao Nature Reserve. See Bird Life (2000), birdlifeindochina.org/source_book/pdf/southeast/Kalon-Song%20Mao.pdf.
- 5) While the people who implement Adat Cham are known as Cham Chuh, those who implement Adat Bani are referred to as Cham Dar. See Durand (1903a: 58); *Ām mōlai hwai bruk bloh ċuh, Banī mōlai pagē byör harei dar*. However, there are some villages that belong to Adat Cham but perform burials during funeral ceremonies.

- 6) The most recent homepage (10/8/2005) of the Vietnam committee of ethnic minorities areas (CEMA, in Vietnamese “Ủy ban Dân tộc”) provided two different numbers—the number provided by the national census in 1999 and the number estimated by CEMA. According to CEMA, many people were excluded from the calculation of numbers for the national census. With respect to Raglai, the 1999 national census showed a population of 96,931 but CEMA estimated it to be 108,442. See CEMA (2005, cema.gov.vn/modules.php?name=Content&mcid=124).
- 7) The most famous poem that referred to several ethnic groups is *Ariya Tuen Phaow*. See *Ariya Tuen Phaow* (1996, 2003).
- 8) Khánh Hòa and Ninh Thuận provinces have many teachers who teach the modern Raglai Latin writing that was established by a specialist who came from the Summer Language Institute (SIL); it was also authorized by Vietnamese communists. However, to-date (2005), no efforts are made to train Raglai Latin teachers working in elementary schools. In the Phan Lâm Commune, although there are many officers who can write in Vietnamese, there is not a single individual who knows how to write in modern Raglai.
- 9) (Durand, 1903b: 602–603).
- 10) Chen Zhì-chao, 1984, sheet No. 8 and No. 20 of file Vol. 90.
- 11) In Parmentier & Durand’s article, Palei Lawang (Lavang, Loan) was also considered as belonging to the Koho. However, ethnic categorization in Lawang is not simple. Lawang is one of the local or clan names of the Raglai. Some of the residents in Palei Lawang believe that they are Raglai, while the others believe that they are Koho. However, the majority believes that they are Churu. See Phan Xuân Biên (1998: 8–9).
- 12) *Helei sunit ginreh Sah Bin, nao da-ndep tang, nagar Kahaow padep rup*. See *Nai Mai Mang Makah* (1996: 101, 2000: 51). Po Sah Bin also wrote *Po Sah Bil*. See *Cham Manuscripts Reproduction Programme No. 1* (2003: Chapter 30: 40–44).
- 13) *Hjieng kéré kaknan, hajieng ew Cam Tanran, hajiew tuh Cam Cek*. See *Nai Mai Mang Makah* (1996: 1252, 2000: 1127).
- 14) *Cam Cek: les ethnies du Champa vivant dans la montagne, comme les Raglai, les Cru, etc.* See *Nai Mai Mang Makah* (2000: 71).
- 15) Harek Kah Harek Dhei is a Raglai village. See Appendix 1.7, interview with Mr. Võ Châu Thi in Palei Thôn Ba (Phong Phú–Tuy Phong–Bình Thuận) (24/11/2005).
- 16) The 15th year of the Thế Tổ Cao Hoàng Đế (1794). See *Đại Nam Thực Lục Chính Biên: Đế Nhất Kỳ* (1844: Q7: 3a).
- 17) Appendix 1.1: Interview with Mr. I. Batau Asah Chiến in Palei Jak (Phước Hà–Ninh Phước–Ninh Thuận) (19/11/2005).
- 18) Shine Toshihiko (2004b: 253), Interview with Mr. Nguyễn Văn Tuyên (Bắc Bình Water Distribution Company) (21/12/2003).
- 19) Appendix 1.9: Interview with Mr. Mang Tinh (Thôn Một/Thôn Tân Sơn–Phan Điền): *We calculated the area of paddy by sowing (Kahrya Ja Dra)* (25/11/2005).
- 20) A total of six villages participated in the eagle-wood trade under Po Gahlau. See Aymonier (1891: 73).
- 21) Bồ Xuân Hồ (2003a: Chapter 1), *Dulikal Limaow Kapil*.
- 22) Paoh Chatwai (1996: 180), *Mưyaum ka Raglai lac jak, Tok thit sanak blauh lac jak*.
- 23) Appendix 1.2; Interview with Mr. Dao Suoi (Palei Chwah Patih: Thành Tín–Phước Hải)

- (20/11/2005).
- 24) In four villages of Kinh Cựu 京舊人 (Xuân Hoa, Xuân Hội, Tuân Giáo, and Tân Mục), Xuân Hoa had 70 mẫu (35 ha) of Trà Nương Điền, and Tuân Giáo had 8 sào (0.4 ha). See Nguyễn Đình Đầu (1996: 179, 191).
- 25) Po Dharma (1987: 32, Liste de 12 villages completement rasés à la suite de l'insurrection de Ja Thak Va: 1834–1835)
- 26) Nguyễn Đình Đầu (1996: 170–351).
- 27) Briere (1890: 243). The preferential treatment system applied to the Montagnards seems to be one result of the repression of Montagnards and Cham rebels in 1835. Dương Văn Phong 楊文豐 wrote a letter to Emperor Minh Mạng in 1835: “The report that was made by the former Cham Lord Nguyễn Văn Chân 阮文振 (Po Chan Chang, reigned from 1799 to 1822) and Nguyễn Văn Vĩnh 阮文永 (Po Klen Thu, reigned from 1822 to 1828) on the population of the Montagnards was wrong. He did that to embezzle the poll tax. The Montagnards wanted the court to decide an appropriate amount of tax to prevent the illegal collection of tax by the Cham tax officers.” The Nguyễn court wanted to separate the Montagnards from the influence of the Cham.
- 28) Aymonier (1885: 330).
- 29) Nguyễn Đình Đầu (1996: 390–410).
- 30) *Đồng Khánh Ngữ Lãm Địa Dư Chí Đồ* (1888: Figure 292).
- 31) *Hoàng Triều Nhất Thống Dư Địa Chí* (1806: Q7: 8b–9a).
- 32) *Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí* (1910: Q12: Ninh Thuận Đạo: 2b).
- 33) Appendix 1.9. Interview with Mr. Mang Tinh (Palei Thôn Một–Phan Điền) (25/11/2005).
- 34) Appendix 1.6. Interview with Mr. Mang Nhu (Palei Tahoang–Phan Dững) (24/11/2005).
- 35) Churu means illegal peasants. See Nguyen Van Dieu (1983: 272) and BuiKhanhThe (1995: 204).
- 36) Khuê Khúc Hải (1999a: 60).
- 37) Palei Manang Krwac/Cao Hậu had 959 mẫu; Palei Saraik/Châu Vượng, 240 mẫu; Palei Chawait/Lạc Trì, 598 mẫu; Palei Thiew/Phú Nhiêu, 212 mẫu; Palei Hamu Pu/Thịnh Vụ, 636 mẫu; Palei Aia Blang/Trang Hoa, 227 mẫu; and Palei Karang/Vĩnh Toàn (currently Vĩnh Hạnh), 122 mẫu. Thus, the total area was 3,398 mẫu, approximately 1,700 hectares. See Nguyễn Đình Đầu (1996: 347–351).
- 38) Khuê Khúc Hải (1999a: 60, 73).
- 39) Appendix 1.6. Interview with Mr. Mang Nhũ in Palei Tahoang (24/11/2005). Appendix 1.9. Interview with Mr. Mang Tinh in Palei Thôn Một (25/11/2005).
- 40) Interview with Mr. Mang Khê (08/3/2003); *Dulikal makan, putao Cham mak Raglai, Kaho, Churu, Yuan mak ngap halut ru kayao ngap jut hama. Ase doec patao Cham mak ak tok joh gar jre*, see Shine Toshihiko (2004: 123).
- 41) In Raglai: *Sa ratus mu hama Muk Thềm* (One hundred mu paddy field of Princess Thềm).
- 42) Khuê Khúc Hải (1999: 16–17, *Theo lời kể lại của các già làng, người K'ho từ Di Linh với hơn 600 người di cư xuống khai phá và lập nên 6 làng nhỏ, thuộc cai quản của Tổng Tuân Giáo. Có người Rắclay di cư từ Đơn Dương Lâm Đồng xuống khai thác. Làng của người Rắclay chính là dân tộc của Xã Phan Sơn hiện nay*).
- 43) Cabaton (1901: 104); *Çjam cök çjam kalôn ganröh pō kloñ yañ ìn şanih*.
- 44) *Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí* (1910: Q12: Bình Thuận Tinh: 15); Hương Ấn Sơn 香印山, Paul Mus

- (1931: 96–97).
- 45) In 2003, when the Vietnamese government requested that they move to another area in order to build a large reservoir for power and irrigation, the place that they wanted to go was the Katip (Katrip) and Kakaw (Kakop) riverside because that was their ancestors' holy land (Shine 2004a).
- 46) 巔*(diên): 山(son/núi: top side) and 眞(chân/thật: bottom side) or 山(son/núi: left side) and 眞(chân/thật: right side).
- 47) 茶*(chà): 茶(trà/chè: left side) and 老(lão/già: right side). 連**(đăng): 口(khẩu/miệng: left side) and 連(liên: right side). It is doubtful that one may read 茶*連** as Tjadang or Chà Đăng. However, I read it as Chà Đăng, as recommended by Aymonier and Po Dharma. Aymonier wrote *Tjadang*, and the villagers were Raglai. See Aymonier, (1885: 331); *Les Orang Glai de Tjadang qui ne creusaient pas assez vite à son gré, furent tous frappés de verges*. Po Dharma wrote Ca Dã. See Po Dharma (1987: 154); *Pour ce faire, il réunit une assemblée qui désigna Po Var Palï, une homme d'ethnie raglai, originaire du village de ca dã*.
Đại Nam Thực Lục Chính Biên: Đệ Nhị Kỳ wrote Cha Dang as Thị Linh Sở 市靈處, the right side of La Nga River, the largest river in the western part of Bình Thuận Province. Currently, it belongs to the La Dạ Commune (Hàm Thuận Bắc–Bình Thuận).
- 48) Po Dharma (1987: 143); *Il rassembla tous les dignitaires musulmans sur le Mont aih amrak (mont du paon)*.
- 49) 布*(bố): 𠵼(y/áo, left side) and 布(bố/vải, right side).
- 50) Po Dharma (2004: 49). See Cham microfilm (CM24(5): 168–169 and CM32(6): 103–104).
- 51) *Adat Cham* (2003: 141–142). The poem *Ariya Cham–Bani* (1994 and 2003) also shows us the difficulty of love with different ethnic/religious groups.
- 52) Ariya Twen Phaow (1996: 116); Twon Phauw padwoc harak pwok cok, pong gila blauh ok lipa taba sara di murthin. Ariya Tuen Phaow (2003: 116); Tuen Phaow nyu ngap surak puec cek, ra pang gala blaoh aek, taba sara di ma–thin.
- 53) In Sino–Vietnamese, Bôi Diệp 貝葉. In Nôm Vietnamese, Lá Buôn 羅奔. In Cham, Harak Agal. In Raglai, Hanom.
- 54) *Đại Nam Thực Lục Chính Biên: Đệ Nhị Kỳ* (1868: Q146: 14a–14b).
- 55) Ariya Tuen Phaow (1996: 158); Dom kaya kal po patrai ramik di cok nhu muk abih. Inrasara translated “po patrai ramik di cok” as “the court of the highland.” However, in Ariya Tuen Phaow (2003: 144); Dom kaya kar cai, ni di chek nyu mak abih, they read this part as “cai ni di cek,” not as “po patrai ramik di cek.”
- 56) Yassin Pandurang (2000). Unfortunately, there is no description about the title of the book or name of the source in this article.
- 57) In Kalaong, the distinction between Raglai and Cham and Raglai and Churu is difficult because they dislike any individual that refers to them as Raglai. Marriage between Raglai in Kalaong (especially, Raglai from Takai Aia) and Churu and Kôho in Sop Lawang was possible. See Shine Toshihiko (2004: 232) and the interview with Mr. K’Hanh (born in 1947) from Palei Lawang (Đà Loan–Đức Trọng–Lâm Đồng) (21/1/2003).
- 58) As an object of worship, Po Lagar should be considered Raglai dialect for the Cham goddess “Po Inâ Nâgar” who is the earth mother goddess. See Akhât Jukar Raglai (2001: 416) (Pu Lagar = Chúa xứ sò). The goddess Po Lagar/Po Ina Nagar is worshipped in Rgalai’s Palei Jak (Giá

- Hamlet) and Cham's Palei Thwen/Hậu Sanh. See Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa (1989: 233). However, as to her status in real society, Po Lagar (pô lōgar) should be considered a ruler in the mountainous territories. See Dam Bo, 1950: 33.
- 59) United States Army and South Korean Brutal Tiger Division 猛虎師團 cleaned up Mount Chek Manak Gajo from 1967 to 1970. Therefore, all evidence of worship was lost. See Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa (1989: 251).
- 60) In the Nguyễn dynasty era, there was a Cham officer in Palei Hamu Tanran/Hữ Đức called Ginwerr (Ganaar/Cai Mọi 該蠻) who controlled four Raglai villages. See Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa (1989: 228).
- 61) Po Gihlau (Po Gahluw, Po Gahlow) was a guardian of the forest of eaglewood. He was a Cham tax officer who lived in Palei Pamblap/An Nhon (Aymonier wrote as "Ba Lap"). He had sixteen subordinates known as Kagni in Palei Pamblap. In addition, he had a Raglai partner known as Po Wa who controlled all of the six villages of the Raglai. See Aymonier (1891: 73). However, as an object of worship in the Rija ritual ceremony, Po Gahlau is a "new name" (angan birau) of the King Po Rome (reigned between 1627 and 1651). See Inrasara (1994: 93).
- 62) In the Nguyễn dynasty's official record, there were teams referred to as Âm Sơn Đội 諳山隊 (team of experts from mountainous areas) in Sino-Vietnamese. They were officers who would collect eaglewood as tax. See Đại Nam Thực Lục Chính Biên: Đệ Nhị Kỳ (1868: Q118: 7b). In "Tiêu Bình Thuận Tinh Man Phi Phương Lược" (1835), the author referred to many Cham-Raglai rebellion leaders who were officers collecting tax in mountainous areas known as "Phần Thu Man Thuế 分取蠻稅." It is necessary to study the reality of Po Gahlau, Po Wa, Ginwer, Cai Mọi, Âm Sơn Đội and Phần Thu Man Thuế of the Raglai and the Cham in the Nguyễn dynasty era.
- 63) Nhao means to hide, e.g., hama nyao = hidden paddy field = lậu điền 漏田.
- 64) Hoàng triều Nhất thống Dự địa chí (1806: Q7: 21a). Trường Ca Chăm (1996: 195–208). Weber (2003: 127–166).
- 65) The Montagnards call the Cham Prum. Honda Mamoru also wrote his fieldnotes at Bon Chilong Hamlet (Phủ Hội-Đức Trọng-Lâm Đồng Province), a Koho village, in June 27, 2004, as follows: "They believe that they came from Dran (Đon Dương District of Lâm Đồng Province)." Earlier, every matrilineal clan played its own roles in the court of the king of Prum (the interviewee calls it triều đình vua Chăm in Vietnamese). His interviewee stated, "The 'Nahria' was a clan that played the role of protecting territories, calculating village taxes, and administrating cadastre (Bơ Nahria chịu trách nhiệm quản lý cai quản thống trị an ninh của thôn, tính tiền làng và địa chính đất đai)." The Nahria was one of the local officer groups that collected tax from mountainous areas in the Nguyễn dynasty, like Po Wa who was mentioned by Aymonier (Aymonier, 1891: 73). See Honda Mamoru (2005: ii).
- 66) Phan Xuân Biên wrote about Palei Sabuk Aia Palay Spuk Ia and also Po Chei Sawat Po Chay Sabuak. He considered Po Chei Sawat to have had a relation with King Po Binh Thuor (reigned between 1328 and 1373). However, his description is not so reliable.
- 67) In an oral history of the Cham described by a French officer, there were great commanders (Halau Balang) who disobeyed the king's instructions, left the battlefields and became hermits in the mountains. Their names were Sha Bin and Palak Bin. They were commanders of the King Po Rome (reigned between 1627 and 1651). However, King Po Rome was controlled by his queen, a princess of the Yuen. Therefore, they deserted Po Rome and became hermits in the mountain.

- See Aymonier (1890: 175).
- 68) Because Mr. Kator Bich was a shrine keeper of the hamlet and also a policeman of the commune at that time, he and his colleagues took notes on the last day of the visit to the shrine that was destroyed by museum officers.
- 69) Harek Kah Harek Dhei was a name of the Cham village mentioned in the Cham epic “Nai Mai Mang Makah” (This epic described the exchange of royal family between Kelantan and Cham and the conflict over the receipt of Sunnite Islam in the kingdom of Cham in the seventeenth century). Harek Kah Harek Dhei was considered to be located at the northern end of the kingdom of Cham. See Nai Mai Mang Makah (1994: 297) (Harek Kah Harek Dhei = currently Quảng Bình Province). Nai Mai Mang Makah (2000: 147) (Harek Kah Harek Dhei = currently Phú Yên Province). It can be said that the Harek Kah Harek Dhei clan of the Raglai does not have any relation with the Cham. Further, it can be said that the Harek Kah Harek Dhei clan moved from the northern border to “here” (Tuy Phong District of Binh Thuan Province. The Raglai and the Cham refer to the Kraong Territory as “Bhum Kraong”). However, there is no proof for the hypothesis. Therefore, it is possible that Harek Kah Harek Dhei was the name of a Cham village “here,” (the Kraong Territory), and that the Harek Kah Harek Dhei clan is its descendant.
- 70) Chamәнеi is an official religious leader in both Adat Bani and Adat Cham. See Durand (1903a: 57); Pô car khít than mögik, Pô basaih khít baganray, Camönei khít bamong.
- 71) Po Parilo is also known as Po Prolo, Po Ralo. In Phan Lâm Commune, they also worship Po Parilo. See Bó Xuân Hồ (2003b).
- 72) Tih Hoa (Tih Wā) means “Eve” in Cham. See Durand (1903a: 60).
- 73) King Po Kabrah...reigned: 1460–1494, the son of King Po Dam.
- 74) King Po Dam (Po Kathit)...reigned: 1433–1460.
- 75) Goddess Po Lagar Mwa...the earth Mother goddess = Po Inâ Nâgar.
- 76) Full text of the Glai Masuk Cloth Manuscript (see Appendix 2).
- 77) Báo Nhân dân, 18/4/2004.
- 78) Shine Toshihiko (2005). See Shine Toshihiko and Yamaji Eiji (2005).
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