

HISTORY OF CHAMS IN INDOCHINA

Thesis Submitted to the

Institute of Social Sciences

In partial fulfilment of the requirements

For the degree of

Master of Arts

In

History

By

Nurten KUTLU

Fatih University

July 2010

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Dedicate to My Father, My Pride as Always...

APPROVAL PAGE

Student : Nurten Kutlu
Institute : Institute of Social Sciences
Department : History
Thesis Subject : History of Chams in Indochina
Thesis Date : July, 2010

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Art.

Prof. Dr. Tufan BUZPINAR

Head of Department

This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr. Tufan BUZPINAR

Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Tufan BUZPINAR

Prof. Dr. Mehmet IPSIRLI

Prof. Dr. M. Lutfullah KARAMAN

It is approved that this thesis has been written in compliance with the formatting rules laid down by the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences.

Prof. Dr. Mehmet KARAKUYU

ABSTRACT

Nurten Kutlu

July, 2010

HISTORY OF CHAMS IN INDOCHINA

Islam is the second-largest and the fastest growing religion in the world. Moreover, it is the predominant religion in the Middle East, North Africa, and large part of Asia. On the other hand, there are small groups who are isolated and unknown to today`s researchers. Specifically, in the Mekong Delta, Indochina peninsula, there is an ethnic minority named Cham, members of which are mainly Islam believers. Living in an 80% Buddhism country like Vietnam, they are unique for their religious identity not only in the nation but also internationally. As a Turkish residing in Vietnam, I found the history of Cham very interesting and worth to research when I first read their history. The fact of being unknown Muslim group to our world had strongly motivated me to find the answer for all the questions that must be answered such as their acquaintance with Islam and adoption of Islam as the main religious in a land which is very far from today`s Islamic geography, and all the wonders that I have to learn about these people inspired me to present a thesis in the history of Cham.

On the other hand, there are lots of books written how Islam came to Far East but a few mentioned about Indochina.

Vietnamese government is appreciated for supporting pluralism and diversity in religion and belief. This beautiful country now is harmonized by Christians, Buddhists and Muslims and other religions which have believers with many sightseeing of churches, pagodas and mosques.

With the support of École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) - French School of the Far East and Trường đại học Khoa học Xã Hội và Nhân Văn (University of Social Sciences and Humanities HCMC/VN) on resource, the research on Chams` culture and religion is presented under 4 chapters:

- I. **General history of Champa Kingdom**, a review of the over 1000-year empire thoroughly with central focus on Islamic era.
- II. **Social development**, the path of Cham people`s religion from very beginning days of Islam to localized Islam.
- III. **Special part of Bani**, different practices of a religion with the mixture of religions; Balamon (Hinduism) and Islam.
- IV. **Nowadays Cham**, views from Cham people living in Chau Doc, whom are believed to have linked with the ancient Muslim Chams who migrated to Cambodia.

Keywords:

Indochina Peninsula, Champa Kingdom, Muslim Cham, Bani

KISA ÖZET

Nurten Kutlu

Temmuz, 2010

HİNDU-ÇİN BÖLGESİNDE CHAM TOPLUMUNUN TARİHİ

Bu yüksek lisans tezi, Hindu-Çin coğrafyası ve özellikle Vietnam'da İslamiyetin sürecini araştırmak maksadı ile hazırlanmıştır. Tez'in içeriği öncelikle Fransa Uzak Doğu Tarihi Araştırma Enstitüsü ve Vietnam Ton Duc Thang Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi'nin yapmış olduğu kaynak katkıları ile oluşturulmuştur. Uzak doğu'da İslamiyet'in yayılışı genel anlamda açık olmakla birlikte Hindu-Çin bölgesinde bir muaamma teşkil etmektedir. Arap sefirlerin gelişi ve Champa İmparatorluğu'nun İslamiyeti kabul etmesi ile başlayan süreç daha sonraları yeni bir dinin oluşturulması ile farklı bir boyut kazanmış ve dünyada eşine az rastlanır bir kültür ortaya çıkmıştır. Kısmen üzerinde duracağımız BİNİ adı verilen bu din daha sonraki çalışmalarımın temelini oluşturacaktır. Bu tez yüzde doksan sekizi Budist olan bir ülkede yaklaşık altmış beşbinlik bir nüfusa sahip olan Cham Müslümanlarını incelemek üzere kaleme alınmıştır.

Öncelikle İslamiyet'in Hindu-Çin Coğrafyasında görülmesini inceleyen giriş bölümünü müteakiben, birinci bölüm, Champa imparatorluğunun tarihi sürecine genel bir bakış sunar. Bu bölümde özellikle İslamiyet'in kabul edildiği dönem ayrıntılı olarak incelenir. İkinci bölüm Cham toplumunun Sosyal hayattaki yerlerine özet bir bakış sunar. Üçüncü bölümde ise İslamiyet'in kabulünün ardından Brahminizm ve İslam kültürünün ortak bir kültür meydana getirmesi ve bunun sonucu olarakda BİNİ dininin

ortaya ıkıřını arařtırır. Sonu blm ise Cham Mslmanlarının gelecek adına dnyaya bakıřlarını ve deęiřime uęrayan kimliklerini vurgulamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hindu-in Yarımadası, Cham Mslmanları, Champa İmparatorluęu, Bini dini.

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INTRODUCTION

Champa is name of light pink white or light yellow white flowers which appear along the sea-coast of Middle Vietnam with charming smell. Viet people call them 'hoa su' under their scientific name *Michelia Champaca* Linn. It is know when exactly Cham people named their kingdom as the flower. But the name Champa was found in sixth-century stele written in Sankirt.

The unique identification of the Cham and the differences between foreign and local sources has inspired me to do research on this ethnic minority people.

In this dissertation, the penetration and recognition of Islam in South East Asia, enhanced by Islam in the Champa Kingdom is to be presented in four chapters. They are History of the Champa Kingdom, Social development in the Kingdom, Special part of Cham Bani and nowadays Chams.

The historiography of Champa relies upon three types of sources include Physical remains, including brick structures and ruins as well as stone sculptures; inscriptions in Cham and Sanskrit on steles and other stone surfaces; Chinese and Vietnamese histories, diplomatic reports, and other texts. Most of the reference belongs to French , Australian scholars and Vietnamese scholars.

History Background

Muslim traders from the West of Middle-East visited Southeast Asia some after the founding of Islam in the seventh century AD and early Islamic centers were soon existed in southern China. In the Archipelago (Indonesia), it was only in the thirteenth

century that the first local Islamic Kingdoms appeared, although an early Muslim tombstone found in eastern Java dates from the eleventh century.

The precise year when Islam was introduced in Indochina peninsula is quite vague. However, it is certain that Islam reached Indochina before adopted in the Tang Dynasty (618-907). More specifically, due to recent discovery of two gravestones belonging to the Champa Muslims, dated from the early 11th century, Islam was proved to be in Vietnam (the Champa Kingdom then) by the 11th century. Nevertheless, Islam was hardly prevailing in the Chams until the 17th century, sometime between 1607 and 1676 when the king of Champa became Muslim. Thereafter, Islam turned into the Cham official religion.

Islam seemed to have reached this area in two distinct waves. The first incursion was during the Arabic development when seafaring Muslim traders carried both merchandise and their faith as they traveled and traded along the coastal areas of the sea. (Evidences of their presence are still being discovered in Vietnam and elsewhere.)

The following is quote and map from "Arab Seafaring" by George F. Hourani:

"After the passage through the Malacca Strait, known to the Arabs by its Malay name of Salaht ("Strait"), a call was made at Tiunan Island. Next cutting across to Indochina, they stopped at ports in Sanf, the Champa kingdom in the eastern coastal, then at an island off the coast, known as Sanf Fulaw (corrupted in our texts to "Sandar Fulat"). From there vessels might coast round the Gulf of Tongking to Hanoi, known as Luqin, before they made for their final destination, Canton, which was called Khanfu."



Figure 1 – The Far East map, from Arab Seafaring” by George F. Hourani.

The Indian Muslim merchants of Gujerat and Bengal created the second wave of Islam to enter the Southeast Asia, including Vietnam.

The kingdom of Champa was found in the 2nd century and lasted until the 17th century. Their land stretched along the Central coast of what is now modern Vietnam from Hoang Son mountain in the north to Phan Thiet in the south. The 9th and 10th century was the golden age of Champa Kingdom with plenty of economy, craft, agricultural and civil achievements. Nevertheless, the country had to continually cope with the invasion of Viet and Khmer people. The Cham was defeated and had to move their capital from Amaravati to Vijaya. They had their troops fight in wars, however, their victory was not usually obtained and had to surrender or asked for protection from China.

Existing literature and the present situation in Indochina have probably given rise to the impression that the Chams were Muslims during the life of King Po Rome, who stayed in Kelantan (Malaysia) for several years in the seventeenth century. And many Chams who had fled the Champa heartlands (central Vietnam) since 1471 and lived in Cambodia and on the Vietnam-Cambodian border had converted to Islam. The existence of this group, commonly known as Cham Baruw, also reinforced the Islamic image of the Cham people. Sometime between 1607 and 1676, the king of Champa became Muslim thus precipitating most of his people to admit Islam also.

Throughout the 17th century, the Champa provinces were slowly annexed one by one until finally, they were completely absorbed by the Dai Viet.

(Even though the Chams continued to refer to their kingdom in the Pho Hai-Phan Rang-Phan Ri region as Panduranga, it was actually on occupied territory. Vietnamese Cham relations after 1697 under Nguyen Phuc Chu were based on central regional relations; the role of the Cham ruler was more of a cultural and economic leader than a

political one. But it was probably due to such a relationship that the Cham people were able to coexist with the Vietnamese during the southward expansion of the Nguyen up to the early nineteenth century.

During the reign of the Vietnamese king, Minh Mang, the Champa were severely persecuted. As a consequence, the last Champa Muslim king, Pô Chan Saut, decided to gather his people (those on the mainland) and migrated south to Cambodia. Whereas those on the coastline, they migrated to Trengganu (Malaysia). The area where the king and the mainlanders settled is still known to this day as Kompong Cham. They were not concentrated in a single area but were scattered along the Mekong River in Vietnam, forming 13 villages along it.

Throughout the years, their children were sent to Kelantan (Malaysia) to learn Qur'an and Islamic studies. Once studies were completed, these children then return home to teach others in these 13 villages. Also, another factor which helped them to preserve the true teaching of Islam was the interaction between them and the Malaysian Muslim traders who sailed through the Mekong river.

Not all the Champa Muslims migrated with the king. A group stayed behind in Nha Trang, Phan Rang, Phan Ri, and Phan Thiet provinces (Central Vietnam). Due to their increasing isolation from other Muslims, they began to mix Islam with Buddhism, Hinduism and Balamon (Brahman).

While Western observers believe that it is quite obvious that the Vietnamese variety of Islam is influenced by Animism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and other concepts or practices quite different than those found at Mecca, Medina, Damascus or Cairo. The mosque in Saigon (Ho Chi Minh city) is quite similar to those found in other areas of the world, but most of the mosques found in Vietnam have Hindu

influenced architecture, as illustrated by the Hindutype "onion" bulb minarets from which the Muezzin or temple crier might call the adherents to worship and prayer.

Apart from the Champa Muslims, there are also two groups of Vietnamese Muslims which will be discussed in the article "Who are the Vietnamese Muslims?" After April 30th 1975, while the majority of Vietnamese Muslims community remain in Vietnam under the communist regime, a large number of them managed to escape to other countries. The majority of the group settled in Malaysia, India, and a handful in Australia.

From the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 until 1993, the Malaysian government took in no fewer than 7,000 Muslim Cham refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia, making them the only group out of the tens of thousands of Vietnamese refugees who passed through Malaysia to be accepted and settled.

Considering the actual demographic structure of Vietnam; April 1999 census showed 63,146 Muslims. Over 77% lived in the Southeast Region, with 34% in Ninh Thuan Province, 24% in Binh Thuan Province, and 9% in Ho Chi Minh City; another 22% lived in the Mekong River Delta region, primarily in An Giang Province. Only 1% of Muslims lived in other regions of the country. Prior to 1975, almost half of the Muslims in the country lived in the Mekong River Delta, and as late as 1985, the Muslim community in Ho Chi Minh was reported to consist of nearly 10,000 individuals. (The Joshua Project, 2010)

The faith within the country is made up basically of those who come from Muslim countries as businessmen or government employees, and human remnants of bygone glory like some of the Cham.

Since the Cham are found in a number of locations within Vietnam, even as they once controlled the entire coast of Vietnam northward to Canton, China, awareness of Islamic presence may help to understand and evaluate more accurately the religious dynamics of personality revealed in the complex culture of Vietnam.

On the other hand, according to Dr. Nguyen Van Huy, ethnologic professor of Southeast Ethnic Minority People department in Paris 7 University, a different version of chronicles is introduced in his “Tim hieu ve cong dong nguoi Cham” work in 2005.

Arabs had spread Islam to Southeast Asia since seventh century; the significant regions were in Sumatra, Java and Malaysian peninsulas and other Southeast island of Philippines. Java people were introduced by Arabian mullahs and traders who escaped from bloody Jihad occurring around Mediterranean and Middle East seas from seventh to ninth century. South Island locals find it attractive because of its absolute: no image and temple as Hinduism. The island people, mainly fishermen, converted in large number because they did not want to build any more temples to worship gods of Hinduism. When the Java pirates arrived the Vietnam's center, they practised some activities of Islam culture and civilization to the local people. Those were incoherent phenomenon because pirates were not well educated; they could not steal things from people and preach them at the same time.

Many Arabic merchant vessels from Basra, Siraf and Oman had traded with Champa since seventh and ninth century, but they were not welcomed because of language difference. Therefore, they could not preach local people. Moreover, they did not stay over because they were afraid of being stolen and they were not used to the Central's climate.

Islam came to Champa via Java and Sumatra diplomatists and dealers out of South China Sea, which led to the differences between the Cham Islam and Islam. The

point was 10th century for Islam to enter Champa. During the Indravarman III (918-959), general Po Klun Pilih Rajadvara admitted some royal families of Rahdar Ahmed Abu Kamil, Naqib Amr, Ali (escaping from the severe ruling by Java Rajahs). Those people had preached Islam to Champa royal families.

More Java mullahs, merchants and Islam believers came to land to teach local people. Islam theory quickly conquered the people's belief through Java Muslism gratitude and religious life, they actually did not want to be appropriated their land for temples of Hinduism. Many Chams and Java mullahs came to Arabia to study. Islam became the second largest religion in Champa after Balamon. Arabic was imported to Champa in 15th century but it could not replace Sankrit.

However, the most popular Islam king was Po Alah who reigned Champa for 11 years (999-1010) in Sri Bini (Qui Nhon) had studied in La Mecque for 37 years. Both Islam and Balamon developed strongly under his reign, there were many Shiva temples next to Islam mosques in Amavarati (My Son, Quang Nam). Islam was popular in Thuan Hai (Ninh Thuan, Binh Thuan today), but it was altered through time, local custom and tradition, losing its original Arabic.

Later on, a large part of Balamon and Islam people migrated to Cambodia and Java because of oppression and warfare. While living in Cambodia, the Muslism Chams were localized and were called Khmer Islam.

Finally some of them came back to Chau Doc to reside after experiencing political and religious disputes with Khmer (Balamon and Buddhism). They were mainly mullahs, students, farmers and traders and studied Qu'ran in Arabic. Being told trading experience by Arabic dealers, the Khmer Islam and Cham Islam were good at trading.



Figure 2 – Mrs. Som, Cham woman at the age of 88 (1982). Da Phuoc commune, An Phu district, A Giang province, from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHAMPA KINGDOM

1.1 Geography and History of the Champa Kingdom

1.1.1 Geography

The kingdom is supposedly located in the east of IndoChina peninsula, having one mountainous side and the other facing the sea. It included the modern Vietnamese provinces of Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, Khanh Hoa, Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan.. The kingdom had ample and fertile field. The transportation by road was difficult, unpeaceful harbors. Although the soil was rich, the area of small valley could not supply over a group of people. (Georges Masperso, 1928: 2)¹

In terms of the climate, the temperature was unchanged for most of the time, without snow or winter over a year. Still, rain and dew were very common. Tree and plants were always green and people had vegetables for all over a year. It was hard to find places of large delta or cultivatable ground. Vegetables and farm produced such as beans, corn and cucumber were abundant instead of rice. Also, fruits like banana and coconut and pepper were plentiful. Flowers were various as well, including some valuable kinds. Palm trees were everywhere and very useful for the Cham life. They could be used for mats or handicrafts. The Chams knew how to raise silkworms and manufactured cloth and silk. They also knew the method of dyeing cloth. (Hardy; Cucarzi and Patrizia, 2009: 22)

¹ Georges Masperso was the governorgeneral of Indochina after his predecessor Albert Sarrault.

In the mountain, ample resources included precious spice, wood such as black wood or aloe. Gold and other metal mine were also familiar over the Champa Kingdom. Animals have changed much throughout two thousand years. They were typical kinds of tropical jungles and forests such as elephant, tiger, wild buffalo, ox, monkey, etc especially rhinoceros which is extremely rare nowadays. The Cham had tamed elephant and cow. There was no horse in the Cham (Cham narratives).

The Chams were good at fishery and had courageous sailors. (Maspero, 1928: 6)

Historical Champa consisted of up to five principalities: Indrapura ("City of Indra") was the capital of Champa from about 875 to about 1000 AD; Amaravati was located in presentday Quang Nam province; Vijaya was located in presentday Binh Dinh Province. It became the political center of the Chams since 100 A.D when they abandon Indrapura due to the Viet invasion; Kauthara was located in the site of modern Nha Trang in Khanh Hoa Province. It was surrounded by the temple complex of Po Nagar (the remains were still in Nha trang, Vietnam); Panduranga was located in the area of presentday Phan Rang in Ninh Thuan Province. Panduranga was the last of the Cham lands to be sacked by the Vietnamese. (Ngo Van Doanh, 2005: 89)



Figure 3 – Phu Loc Tower (Phuoc Loc tower) was built in 12th century on top of a hill in Phuoc Loc village, Nhon Loc commune, An Nhon district, Binh Dinh province. The tower is 29m high with a square base of 9.7m x 9.7m. As it lies on a hill 76m high, it can be seen by visitor from a far distance. This tower is also known as Cao Mien tower and called by the French as golden tower (Tour d' Or) , from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

1.1.2 History of the Champa Kingdom

A. Prehistory

Although there were barely documents that recorded the origin of the Chams, some conclusion can be drawn from their remains and dialects. The following was highly agreed scholars in this field:

The Chams, who inhabited the Champa kingdom, belonged to a MalayaPolynesian group believing in the Devargaja cult. The Champa kingdom grew along the south coast of Vietnam and the people were known for seafaring since agriculture could not flourish due to scarcity of cultivable lands. (B.V.Rao, 2005:244)²

We probably understand that the development of Factual history heavily depends on the level of civilization. As far as we track back to the Ancient time, the uncertainty owing to the lack of sufficient historic evidence grows along. Especially in this case where Champa Kingdom has disappeared since 16th century and its remains were not ample. Nevertheless, according to the discussion of Georges Maspero (1928: chap.II), there were several provable facts.

In terms of the appearance of Cham people in the Indochinese peninsula, there were stone inscriptions which stated that Cham Kings had their ancestor there in Prehistory. There are two main legends in relation to this issue. One belongs to Cau clan (Kramukavansa), the other to Dua clan (Narikelavansa).

The first claim said that year 5911 in Dvapara age, which is similar enough to be believed to present the king Sagara of Ayodhya, Ramayana, there was a pure and

² See George Maspero ." Le Royaume de Champa", 1928 : 6

uncontaminated person from Kali dynasty. He created the area of Ksuthara of Cri Cambhu and began the Cham country. (Luong Ninh, 2004: 10)

The later stated a maharini named Bhrgu, a philosopher might have been empowered by Ics to erect the linga of Cri Cambhubhsdrecvara and establish there the most prosperous country named Champa. Then Cambhu ordered Uroja to rule the country. Many Cham kings who overthrew the government since then announced that they had their ancestors of Uroja. However, even the appearance of Uroja is still ambiguous without sufficient historic evidence.

There is also a legend among Bani Cham people, who are Islam, that Po Ovlah or Uvlah (Allah) was their first king. However, there has been no evidence for this theory.

Fortunately, historians have all agreed that Cri Mara was the first king in Cham history in relation to all evidences found until now. The fact is proved by a stone inscription which is believed to be the oldest one found in Cham area and even in Indochina. The stone was made by his ascendants. Although there was no date in the inscription, the writing style and characters were supposed to be in the 3rd or even 2nd century.³

B. The Establishment of The Champa Kingdom

Nam Viet (Vietnam) was a Chinese colony. Under Han Dynasty, the Chinese Kingdom drew a border in the area called Siang Lin of Nhat Nam province (日南, Chinese:Rinan, Vietnamese: Nhat Nam) which is believed Hue (Vietnam) now. Outside Siang Lin, there were people described as aggressive, turbulent and launching an assault to rob treasury from Nhat Nam all the time. In Spring 100 B.C., about 2000 people from Siang Lin attacked the adjacent villages in Nhat Nam, destroying premises and killing

³ Vo Canh or Phu Vinh, Khanh Hoa province, 40, worn granite stone,11, Sanskrit, C., II, XX, 191.

Chinese officials (Tien Han Su, 28). Yet the Chinese people up to then had hardly heard of Cham people. All they knew about them was a group of barbarian people (Le Tac, 1335 : volume 7). Until 137 A.D. had the Chinese historian written comprehensible record related to Cham people (Pham Viep, 5th century: 37).

This year, around 1000 Khu Lin people, a barbarian race from the area outside Siang Lin of Nhat Nam, assailed Siang Lin, burnt premises and killed district chief.

The Chinese army was the strongest soldiers then in Asia. Unrest from Khu Lin people quickly put down. In the next year, Chinese King made a policy of colony for Khu Lin people. They had to submit a amount of treasury to the King and in return, received the peace and protection from China Kingdom. Khu Lin became a colony of China since 138 A.D.

In 192 A.D., a son of a Cong tao of Siang Lin named Khu Lien (having different Chinese characters and meanings from Khu Lin people) taking advantage of the decline of Han Dynasty, rebelled and establish an independent kingdom. The kingdom was then called Linyi by Chinese historians, which was believed the Champa Kingdom. Over the next several centuries, repeated fruitless hits were made by Han forces to retake the region. (Pham Viep: volume 12, 1b)

C. Chronicles of the Cham

Lin Yi people did business with and received the influence of Indian civilization from its neighbor Funan to the west (Le Thanh Khoi, 1981: 105). After the 4th century A.D., the

Cham people created the stone inscriptions not only in Sanskrit but in their own language as well. (Ngo Van Doanh, 2005: 181)⁴

The throne of Khu Lien was descended hereditarily through several reigns in 78 years. In 270 the throne was crowned to the maternal grandchild Pham Hung of Khu Lien, and then his son Pham Dat. Under the reign of Pham Dat, the government was overthrown by Pham Van (Chinese 范文, Fan Wen) who used to be a Chinese slave.

The ascendant kings were Fan Fo (Pham Phat), and then Fan Houta (Pham Ho Dat). Fan Houta was Ori Bharavarman I (Maspero, 1928: 61, 62). He was the second oldest king of Cham (after Cri Mara) who had his name acknowledged in inscriptions. At My Son, King Bhadravarman established a God shrine named Bhadresvara. The shrine name was a combination of the King's own name and that of the Hindu god of gods Shiva.^[9] The worship of the original GodKing under the name Bhadresvara and other names prolonged through the centuries. (Ngo Van Doanh : 38,39).

In 529 A.D. Emperor of China crowned king of Lin Yi to Sambhuvarman (Fan Fan Tche). (Luong thu: III, 12a) (Nam su: 7841b). There were even inscriptions which praised him in restoring the temple to Bhadresvara after a fire. (Ngo Van Doanh: 60)

In 605 A.D., a general Liu Fang (劉方) of the Sui dynasty invaded Lin Yi. In the battle, he lured the enemy elephants into an area boobytrapped with disguised hollows. The Cham forces suffered a heavy toll of soldiers and capital. In the 620s, the Kings of Lin Yi sent delegations to the court of the newlyfounded Tang Dynasty and asked to become vassals of the Chinese court. (Ngo Van Doanh: 6263, Le Thanh Khoi : 107108)

A century after, Lin Yi witnessed plenty of conspiracy and rebel to overthrow the kings. The death of the last king of Lin Yi fell in 756 A.D. Thereafter for a time, the

⁴ Ngo Van Doanh is Deputy Director and Editor, South East Asian Studies Magazine, Vietnam

Chinese referred to Champa as "Huanwang" (Hoan Vuong) or "Panduranga". In 877 A.D. the Chams were assumed to abandon the name Huanwang and choose the name "Champa" or the related word instead ; however, such names had been in use by the Cham themselves since at least 629 A.D., and by the Khmer since at least 657 A.D. (Maspero :95) (Ngo Van Doanh : 67,87)

Champa at its Apogee

From the 7th to the 10th century A.D., the life standard of the Chams was incredibly raised. The country became prosperous and dramatically boisterous. The influential Cham traders were in charge of the commerce in spices and silk among China, India, the Indonesian islands and the Abbassid Empire in Baghdad. In addition, they enhanced their profit not only by exporting ivory and aloe but by taking part in piracy and raiding. (Le Thanh Khoi: 109)

Temporary Preeminence of Kauthara

In the eighteenth century, probably after 758 and before 877, the capital of the Cham was temporarily moved from My Son to the region of Panduranga and Kauthara. The political was at the center of the temple complex of Po Nagar near modern Nha Page. The complex was devoted to the indigenous Earth goddess Yan Po Nagar. In 774 A.D. and 787 A.D. Javanese raiders disembarked, pillaged and destroyed the temple of Po Nagar in Kauthara and the temple dedicated to Shiva near Panduranga. The Cham King Satyavarman pursued and defeated them offshore. (Maspero : 95).

Thereafter for a while, Java repeatedly attacked Huanwang and the kings were forced to pay tribute to China Emperor for the protection. Meanwhile, the Kings of Huanwang themselves continually led their troops to raid many countries such as An Nam (Vietnam) by Indravarman or Cao Mien (Thailand) by Harivarman I with a large

amount of war booty including jewelry, gold, animal stock, slaves, etc. All the kings paid great attention to worship and lavish offerings to gods. (Maspero : 94105)

The Buddhist Dynasty at Indrapura

Since 877 A.D., the Chinese knew Champa as "Chengcheng," instead of "Huanwang." Vikrautavaraman III was the last king of Pandaranga Dynasty (758-854). He did not crown the throne to his ascendants. In 859 A.D., a man who claimed to be ascendants of King Uroja founded a new dynasty at Indrapura (or Dong Duong near Da Nang in modern Vietnam). He declared himself as King Indravarman II.

King Indravarman II was Buddhist. For the first time in Cham dynasty, Mahayana Buddhism was adopted as an official religion. Nonetheless, it did not last for long and ended its prominence in roughly 925. (Gullion, 2001: 72)

Conflicts with The Viet and The Khmer

Champa reached its peak in the civilization of Indrapura centered in the region of Dong Duong and My Son. Factors contributing to the decline of Champa over the next several centuries included its enviable position along the trade routes, its relatively small population base, and its frequently antagonistic relations with its closest neighbors: The Viet to the north and the Khmer to the west. (Luong Ninh, 2004: 86)

Khmer invasions of Kauthara

Although the Cham was on their heyday from the 10th to the 12th century, they had to cope with the two main threats to their sovereignty and peace. They were the Viet from the north and the Khmer from the west.

In 994 and 945 A.D. The Khmer assaulted Kauthara. The Cham had to defend against them nonstop. King Jaya Indravaman I of the Cham started to send a delegation with tribute to the first king of Song Dynasty in 960 after years without any contribution. (Ngo Van Doanh : 73,75).

The abandonment of Indrapura

Almost every scholar agreed that it was the Cham kings who waged wars against Dai Viet (Vietnam) at the later part of the 10th century. From 938 A.D. to the year 968 A.D. of the Viet country's final reunification, Dai Viet had suffered a period of internal turmoil. Ngo Nhat Khanh, one of 12 warlords, fled to the Cham and summoned help from the present king Parameshvaravarman I. In 979, the Cham King sent a fleet attacked the Viet. Unfortunately; the expedition was illfated and lost most of the troops and ships due to a tempest. In 982, the newly crowned king Le Hoan of the Viet sent three ambassadors to Indrapura. When the ambassadors were detained, Le Hoan led Viet troops sacked Indrapura and kill the Cham King Parameshvaravarman I under the cause of offense. The Cham abandoned Indrapura around 1000 A.D. The political center of the Cham was shifted to Vijaya in the south (in modern Binh Dinh) (Le Thanh Khoi: 122, 141)

Annexion of Vijaya

After the sack of Indrapura, the Viet went on their attacks in 1021 and 1026 A.D. In 1044 A.A.D., the Viet king Ly Thai Tong threw out a shattering battle and invaded Vijaya, killing the Cham King Jaya Sinhavarman I (King Sa Dau in Vietnamese). The Cham began to pay tribute to the Viet kings, including a white rhino sent in 1065. There had been two attempts of the Cham king of Vijaya Rudravarman I (Che Cu) to regain the region albeit be defeated. Meanwhile, a leader in southern Champa taking advantage of

the debacle rose up and instituted an independent kingdom. The northern kings were not able to reunite the country until 1084.(Jean Boisselier, 1963 : 312)⁵

Khmer invasions of northern Champa

In the 10th century, the Khmer and a new dynasty from the Korat Plateau invaded the Cham, sacking Vijaya but the Cham kings managed to win the region back and defeat the invaders. (Ngo Van Doanh :35,84)

Sack of Angkor by the Cham

In 1170s King Jaya Indravarman IV, a fearless, experienced in weapons and knowledgeable leader did not only successfully protected his country from the Viet troops but sacked the Khmer capital Angkor (Cambodia), and made off with much booty. (Ngo Van Doanh: 96)

Conquest of Vijaya by the Khmer

The Khmer King Jayavarman VII sent the Chams away from Angkor in 1181 A.D. He empowered a Cham prince Vidyanandana to pilot the Khmer army to defeat the Cham invaders and continued to win Vijaya. The Khmer King Jayavarman VII appointed his brotherinlaw Prince In as a puppet king in the Cham. However, after the victory of civil war in Cham, Prince In declared his independence from Angkor. The Khmer King had his generals take Vijaya back and the Cham turned to a province of Cambodia in 1203 A.D. The Cham fought back to recover its sovereignty but had not obtained success until 1220 A.D. (Maspero: 165,166)

⁵ Jean Boisselier was a French scholar who was able to take photographs, create drawings, and pen descriptions of works which have been destroyed in the 20th century. Together with Phillippe Stern, he have established chronologies for various types of Southeast Asian sculpture and architecture by utilizing a method which is based upon the extensive use of internal comparative analysis.

On the way to the 12th century, the Cham saw its golden day gone.

Invasion of the Mongols

In 1283 A.D. Mongol troops of the Yuan Dynasty under General Sogetu (Sodu) invaded Champa and occupied Vijaya. Mongol troops were recorded as the sinest and the most war skilled soldiers over Asia so far. On the other hand, the Cham king and his troops retreated to the mountains and used guerillas' device to fight. Two years later, the device proved productive and the Mongol forces left the Cham. However, the Cham kings complied with the tribute policy of Yuan Emperors three years later. (Le Thanh Khoi: 184)

Jaya Simhavarman III

In 1307 A.D., the Cham King Jaya Simhavarman III ceded two northern districts to the Dai Viet (Vietnam) in exchange for the hand in marriage of a Viet princess, Huyen Tran. Unfortunately, the king died not long after the nuptials, and the princess returned to her northern home in order to avoid a Cham custom that would have required her to join her husband in death. In order to regain the lands given to the Viet, and motivated by the decline of Dai Viet of the 14th century, the troops of the Cham began to make regular raids into Dai Viet. (Le Thanh Khoi : 193,194)

Che Bongguar

The Che Bongguar who were on the throne from 1360 to 1390 was a sin and powerful king. He managed to unite the Cham lands and assailed, sacking Thang Long, the capital of Dai Viet in 1372 and again in 1377. However, the Viet handled to defense and win back their lands.

Defeat and destruction of Vijaya by The Dai Viet

In the 15th century, the Viet troops under the leadership of Trinh Kha and especially the great emperor Le Thanh Tong invaded the Champa Kingdom. Soldiers of Le Thanh Tong were sin and disciplined. In 1471, he annexed the principalities of Amaravati and Vijaya to Dai Viet. The fatality of the Cham was over 60,000 and half of that was captured as slaves. This defeat caused the first major Cham emigration, particularly to Cambodia and Malacca. (Sardesai, 1989: 3334)

Later History of Champa

What remained of historical Champa was the southern principality of Panduranga. Moreover, under the protection of DaiViet, it preserved some of its independence. This was the starting point of the modern Cham Lords in the principality of Panduranga (Phan Rang, Phan Ri and Phan Thiet).

Under the protection of Dai Viet, the Chams and the Cham Lords had their independence in the region of of Panduranga (Phan Rang, Phan Ri and Phan Thiet in Vietnam).

In the 16th and 17th century, the Cham Lord Po At, and then the Lord Po Sot waged wars to Portuguese Malacca and southern Vietnam but resulted in defeat. In 1695 after the loss to the Nguyen forces of Lord Nguyen Phuc Chu, led by the general Nguyen Huu Canh, new king Po Saktiray Da Patih (younger brother of Po Sot) were called as Tran Vuong (local lord) of Thuan Thanh (Nagar Cam) and strictly controlled by Nguyen officials. The Viet also came to settle in Panduranga and the Nguyen Lords made "the treaty with 5 articles" to specify the rights and obligations in 1712. Due to the war of Tay Son in 1786, the Cham Lord Chei Krei Brei ran to Cambodia. After the Tay Son Lords won, the Cham Lords were lowered to "prefect". But when Emperor Ming Mang of

northern Vietnam prevailed the area, the restricted power of the Cham Lords came to a halt in 1832. (Ngo Van Doanh: 89)

1.2 The Religion

1.2.1 Hinduism and Buddhism

Before the conquest of Champa by the Vietnamese king Le Thanh Tong in 1471, the dominant religion of the Cham people was Hinduism, and the culture was heavily influenced by that of India. The Hinduism of Champa was overwhelmingly Shaivist that is, focussed on the worship of Shiva and it was liberally combined with elements of local religious cults such as the worship of the Earth goddess Yan Po Nagar. The main symbols of Cham Shaivism were the linga, the mukhalinga, the jatalinga, the segmented linga, and the kosa. (Hubert, 2005 : 31)⁶

- A linga (or lingam) is a phallic post that serves as a representation of Shiva. Cham kings frequently erected and dedicated stone lingas as the central religious images in royal temples. The name a Cham king would give to such a linga would be a composite of the king's own name and suffix "esvara," which stands for Shiva.
- A mukhalinga is a linga upon which has been painted or carved an image of Shiva as a human being or a human face.
- A jatalinga is a linga upon which has been engraved a stylized representation of Shiva's chignon hairstyle.

⁶ **JeanFrançois Hubert**, (1739 – 1797), bishop of Quebec, trained at the [Sulpician](#) seminary in Montreal.

- A segmented linga is a linga post divided into three sections in order to represent the three aspects of the Hindu godhead or trimurti: the lowest section, square in shape, represents Brahma; the middle section, octagonal in shape, represents Vishnu, and the top section, circular in shape, represents Shiva.
- A kosa is a cylindrical basket of precious metal used to cover a linga. The donation of a kosa to the decoration of a linga was a distinguishing characteristic of Cham Shaivism. Cham kings gave names to special kosas in much the way that they gave names to the lingas themselves. (Ngo Van Doanh : 6869)

The predominance of Hinduism in Cham religion was interrupted for a time in the 9th and 10th centuries, when a dynasty at Indrapura (Dong Duong in Quang Nam Province of modern Vietnam) adopted Mahayana Buddhism as its faith. The Buddhist art of Dong Duong has received special acclaim for its originality.

In the 10th centuries and following, Hinduism again became the predominant religion of Champa. Some of the sites which have yielded important works of religious art and architecture from this period are, aside from My Son, Khuong My, Tra Kieu, Chanh Lo, and Thap Mam. (Gullion, 2001: 105)



Figure 4 – Shiva and Dvarapala. 9th – 10th century. Sandstone. Dong Duong, Quang Nam, from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

1.2.2 Islam

A. The Introduction of Islam into the Champa Kingdom

Today most of Cham people are Islam. Ed.Huber cited a section in History of Song Dynasty, in which there was an evidence of the words *Allah akbar* (which means "Allah is the Greatest") (托克托 Toktoghan, 1345 : 389)⁷. Thanks to the evidence, he assumed that "In the period of Song Dynasty (960-1279), there were Islam Chams" (Ed.Huber: 55).

Two stone inscriptions are found in the south of Cham. One read 1039 A.D. and the other were believed to set up around 1025-1035 (Paul Ravaisse, 1922: 287). Although the two inscriptions are not adequate to prove the existence of Islam Chams at that time, they do explain that Muslim had come to settle in the area of Phan Rang and Phan Ri from the middle of 10th century.

According to Ravaisse who translated the inscriptions, such documents gave an idea that at the place where they were found, there had been a lost community in the 11th century. The foreigners who differed in race, religion, customs and habits had come to live there temporarily or permanently. These people were traders and craftsmen; most of them were descendants of the first emigrants – probably 100 years before the – marrying indigenous women. We can see them live in an organized way, crowded and together with native people. They empowered the right to represent and raise their voice among local authorities to one person who was called Seih esSug (which is quite like a mayor)

⁷ In Cham, there were : wild buffalos which habit on mountains or forests could not be used for drawing ploughs but only for spiritual offerings. When the buffalos were slain, this sentence was stated : " A loho kipe" (which means " May you reincarnate. ") . " *History of Song Dynasty*", CCCLXXXIX, 25b. 文獻通考 *Study of Ancient Civilization*, XXIV 52b. *Phuong Nam*, 540.

accompanied by an assistant called Naqib. These “first people” together with powerful, wealthy traders and businessmen had their names written on the stones.

It was obvious that among the heads of Muslim community, there was one person who led them in their spiritual area. He spread and protected the faith. There was always Imam Hatib to head religious ceremonies, and Radi to judge quarrels. If the population grew high, there was Muhtasib to ensure the orderliness and security in markets, to control measurements and establish prices of products.

They lived with each other in the Muslim way that they adored. All the things they left when travelling to there were made up again. They built Muslim mosque (albeit without minarets) where they gathered, where they did business and traded, where they stored product stocks, and graveyard where they met for the last time of their life.

However, there is still a question why Muslim colony came to the Indochinese Peninsula as late as the 10th century while a hundred of Basra, Siraf, and Oman people ‘s ship passed through there on their way every year. The acceptable answer might be they ignore the Cham area due to its unfavorable climate, lack of freedom to exploit local produce, the aggressive and leadile characteristics of native people, robbery, illequipped ports or political unrest (see Georges Maspero, 1928 : 8)

It is convinced the fact that Islam was adopted and spread there was owned to the relationship between the Cham people and the Southwest Indochinese archipelago (Indonésic occidentsle) in the later of the century.

In terms of the acceptance of Islam into the community of the Cham, a clue could be drawn from a story of the Cham historic legends.

In the year of Mouse zodiac, there is a man named Ovlah, having natural endowments. He operated willingly in the Champa Kingdom but face the

opposition from the indigenous people. He gave up his body and his mind to the Allah and came to live in Mokka (or Mecque) in 37 years. He then came back to the Champa Kingdom. (Aymonier)⁸

The Cham historic legend told that Po or Ovlah (Allah) rulling from 999 to 1010 was praised the greatest king. Unfortunately, it was not an sufficient proof that Islam came prevailing among Cham society before 1470s.

B. Islamization in The Champa Kingdom

The precise year when Islam was introduced in IndoChina peninsula is quite vague. However, it is certain that Islam reached IndoChina before adopted in the Tang Dynasty (618-907). More specifically, due to recent discovery of two gravestones belonging to the Champa Muslims, dated from the early 11th century, Islam was proved to be in Vietnam (the Champa Kingdom then) by the 11th century. Nevertheless, Islam was hardly prevailing in the Chams until the 17th century, sometime between 1607 and 1676 when the king of Champa became Muslim. Thereafter, Islam turned into the Cham official religion.

In his study on the introduction of Islam into Champa, Pierre Yves Manguin explained a number of reports on this issue. The first appearance of Islam on the 10th century or sooner was proved by the two above mentioned stelaes.

⁸ See Truyen thuyet Lich su Cham (Du lam va Tham hiem, XIVn 153). However, The Cham chronicles are ambiguous until now. Science may never find any valuable reference related to them. Étienne François Aymonier (February 26, 1844 – January 21, 1929) was a [French linguist](#) and explorer. He was the first [archaeologist](#) to [systematically survey](#) the ruins of the [Khmer empire](#) in today's [Cambodia](#), [Thailand](#), [Laos](#) and [southern Vietnam](#). He assembled a large collection of Khmer sculpture which was later housed in the [Guimet Museum](#) in Paris.

Marco Polo⁹ noted the religion practiced in the lands which he visited and, as many Europeans after him do, contrasted the ‘idolaters’ with the Muslims. He passed through Champa in the 1280’s and stated that “all (the king and his people) are idolaters”.

Therefore, at that point of time, Champa’s official religion was Hinduism. Yet it is acceptable to reckon that some Muslims, be they foreigners as in the case of the holy man of the Javanese tradition or Cham converts such as the Muslim wife of this same person and her sister, the “Putri Cempa” moved in circles close to the court. Some individuals of these closetothecourt circles, consequently, converted to Islam.

In 1325, AlDimashqi’s¹⁰ general description contained some original pieces of information:

“(...) the country of Champa, with the principle town bearing the same name...is inhabited by Muslims, Christians and idolaters. The Muslim religion came there during the time of Uthman and the Alids, expelled by the Umayyads and by Hajjaj , fled there(...)”

The information presented the popularity of Islam among the Chams or at least Cham traders. The study also stated Arab and Persian geographer frequently talk about the Muslim colonies of southern China, who produced the best aloewood. The mention Muslim colonies might have been the Cham.

⁹ Marco Polo (English pronunciation: /ˈmɑːrkəʊ ˈpɒləʊ/ (listen); Italian pronunciation: [ˈmarko ˈpɔːlo]) (c. 1254 – January 8, 1324) was a merchant from the Venetian Republic who wrote *Il Milione*, which introduced Europeans to Central Asia and China. Their pioneering journey inspired Columbus and others. Marco Polo's other legacies include Venice Marco Polo Airport, the Marco Polo sheep, and several books and films. He also had an influence on European cartography, leading to the introduction of the Fra Mauro map.

¹⁰ AlDimashqi (Arabic: *الدمشقي الأنصاري الدين شمس*) (1256-1327) was a medieval Arab geographer, completing his main work in 1300. He became a contemporary of the [Mamluk](#) sultan [Baibars](#), the general who led the [Muslims](#) in war against the Crusaders. His work is of value in connection with the Crusader Chronicles.

Also in the study, the *Sejarah Meyau*¹¹ 's passage on Champa indirectly furnishes some information on the religion which was practiced there by one of the sovereign's. It said a royal man (whom this text calls Indera Berma Syah/ Indravarman/?) together with his wife (Kini Mernam) sought refuge in Malaka. Connected with the other information given on Champa, we can conclude that after the fall of Vijaya in 1471, the present Cham king Pau Kubah was captured and died not long thereafter. Though, he managed to sent his son Syah Indra Berman to Malaka where Sultan Mansur Syah (d.1477) was reigning. It was here that they must have to convert to Islam. Thus, they were not Muslims before their arrival.

The Royal Cham Chronicles, one of various versions, detailed seven or nine sovereigns during 1607 and 1676 (when the Cham king converted to Islam). Tradition would have it that the famous king Po Ramo (1627-1651, according to Aymonier and Po Dharma¹²) succeeded in ending the quarrels between the Cham Bani and the Cham Kafir, and was responsible for the Bani priests attending certain Brahmanist ceremonies and for the Brahmanist priests being present in the mosques during the celebration of Ramadan. It seems that one of his wives was Muslim. In the funerary enclosure of Po Nraup, Po Ramo¹³,s successor, one still finds the tomb of two of his wives. According to tradition, one was a Kafir¹⁴ and the other was a Muslim. From these sources and

¹¹ *Sejarah Melayu* or *Malay Annals* is a Malay literary work that chronicles the genealogies of rulers in the Malay archipelago and spans a period of over 600 years. This work was believed to have been commissioned in 1612 by the junior king or regent of Johor, the Yang diPertuan Di Hilir, Raja Abdullah

¹² Étienne François Aymonier (February 26, 1844 – January 21, 1929) was a French linguist and explorer. He was the first archaeologist to systematically survey the ruins of the Khmer empire in today's Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and southern Vietnam. His principal work was the *Le Cambodge*, published in three volumes from 1900-1904.

Po Dharma is a professor graduated from Sorbonne University, Paris and presently teaching on Cham culture in France, Malaysia and Japan.

¹³ The most famous post-1471 King of Cham who reigned from 1627-1651. He was a member of the upland people descended from intermarriage between an earlier refugee Cham group and the local Roglai and Koho. Fourteen kings who were descended from him ruled nagara Campa until 1786.

¹⁴ A person who does not recognize [God \(Allah\)](#) or the prophethood of [Muhammad](#) (i.e., any non-[Muslim](#)) or who hides, denies, or covers the "truth"

additional information by oral tradition and the Cham commentators, a fact can be concluded that in the 17th century, the progression of Islam started a phenomenon which left its mark on the people's spirits.

After the Viet King Ming Mang took over the Cham lands, Champa people were harshly suppressed. Consequently, the last Cham Muslim king, Po Chien made an exodus to Cambodia with his people on the mainland. Whereas those on the coastline moved to Trengganu (Malaysia).

The area where the king and the mainlanders settled is still known to this day as Kompong Cham. They were not concentrated in one area but were scattered along the Mekong river in Vietnam, forming 13 villages along it. Throughout the years, their children were sent to Kelantan (Malaysia) to learn Qur'an and Islamic studies. Once studies were completed, these children then return home to teach others in these 13 villages. Also, another factor which helps them to preserve the true teaching of Islam was the interaction between them and the Malaysian Muslim traders who sailed through the Mekong river.

A part of the Chams refused to migrate with the king. They stayed in Nha Page, Phan Rang, Phan Rí, and Phan Thiet provinces (Central Vietnam). The community was quite small and not connected to other Muslims; hence, they gradually mixed Islam with Buddhism, Hindu and Ba La Mon. Their descendants became lost to the original Islam until the 20th century when means of communication and activities of other Muslims helped them to come to the real Islam. (Nicholas Tarling, 1992: 82, 195)

1.3 Chronological Chart of Champa Kingdom

Champa Chronological Chart, 192 to 527

<i>Period</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>King</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
<i>First (192-366): The birth of a kingdom – Lin Yi dynasty</i>				
	192-270	Khu Lien		
	270-283	Fan Hiong/Fan Hsung		Sanskrit became official writing language, 270
	283-336	Fan Yi		Hinduism and Buddhism (Theravada) spread
<i>Second (337-420): Kingdom expanding</i>				
	336-349	Fan Wen		
	349-380	Fan Fo		
	380-413	Fan Houta	Bhadravarman I	
	413-415	Ti Chen	Gangaraja	
	415-420	Manorathavarman		
<i>Third (420-530): dispute with China</i>				
	420-421	Wen Ti	Fan Yang Mai I	
	421-455	Son of Wen Ti	Fan Yang Mai II	
	455-472	Fan Tou	Devanika	
	484-492	Kieou Tcheou Lo		
	492-498	Fan Chu Nong		
	498-502	Fan Wen Kuoan		

Champa Chronological Chart, 529 to 854

<i>Period</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>King</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
	510-514		Devavarman	
	526-527		Vijayavarman	
<i>Fourth (529-757): Territory consolidation</i>				
	529-577		Rudravarman I	
	577-629	Prasastadharmā	Sambhuvārman	
	629-645	Kandharpardharmā		
	646-647	Bhadresvaravarman		
	647-653	Tchou Koti	Jagaddharmā	
	653-685	Prakasadharmā	Vikrantavarman I	
	685-731	Kientotamo	Vikrantavarman II	
	731-757	Lutolo	Rudravarman II	Balamon and Theravada became popular, 757
			Bhadravarman II	
<i>Fifth (758-854): Panduranga dynasty</i>				
	757-774		Prithi Indravarman	
	774-786	Satyavarman		
	786-801		Indravarman I	
		Deva Rajadhiraja	Harivarman I	
	817-854		Vikrantavarman III	Angkor occupied large area along Dong Nai river, 854-875

Champa Chronological Chart, 859 to 1044

<i>Period</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>King</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
<i>Sixth (859-991): Campapura/Indrapura dynasty</i>				
	859-890	Laksmindra Bhumisvara Gramasvamin	Indravarman II	
	890-898	Jaya Sinhavarmadeva Campapura Paramesvara	Jaya Sinhavarman I	
	899-901	Jaya Saktivarman		
	901-908		Bhadravarman II	
	918-959		Indravarman III	
	960-972		Jaya Indravarman I	
	972-982		Paramesvaravarman I	Le Dai Hanh killed king, 982
	982-986		Indravarman IV	King evaded to Panduranga, 982
	986-988		Jaya Indravarman I	Moved capital to Vijaya
<i>Seventh (991-1044): Vijaya dynasty</i>				
	989-999		Harivarman II	
	999-1010	Po Alah	Yanpuku Vijaya	Islam and Balamon developed strongly
	1010-1018	Sri Harivarmadeva	Harivarman III	
	1018-1030	Chemeipai Moti	Paramesvaravarman II	
	1030-1401	Cheli	Vikrantavarman IV	
	1401-1044	Po Tik	Jaya Sinhavarman II	

Champa Chronological Chart, 1044 to 1190

<i>Period</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>King</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
<i>Eighth (1044-1074): Chaos time</i>				
	1044-1060		Jaya Paramesvaravarman I	
	1060-1061		Bhadravarman III	
	1061-1074		Rudrarvarman III	Ly Thanh Tong attacked Champapura, king moved to Dai Viet for resident, 1069
<i>Ninth (1074-1139): war with Dai Viet</i>				
	1074-1080	Yan Visnumurti	Harivarman IV	King defeated Dai Viet and Chenla (Khmer), re-settled capital in Indrapura, 1074
	1081	Vāk Pulyan Rajadvara	Jaya Indrarvarman II	
	1081-1086	Paramabhodistava		Self-titled
	1086-1113	Vāk Pulyan Rajadvara	Jaya Indrarvarman II	
	1114-1129		Harivarman V	
<i>Tenth (1139-1145): Under Khmer domination</i>				
	1133-1145	Po Sulika	Jaya Indrarvarman III	
	1145-1147	Parabrahman	Rudrarvarman IV	
	1147-1162	Ratnabhumi Vijaya	Jaya Harivarman I	
	1162-1166	Sakan Vijaya	Jaya Harivarman II	
	1167-1190	Vatuv Gramapuravijaya	Jaya Indrarvarman IV	Campapura was divided into 2 kingdoms: Vijaya and Panduranga, 1190-1192

Champa Chronological Chart, 1193 to 1390

<i>Period</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>King</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
<i>Eleventh (1145-1318): conflict with Angkor</i>				
	1193	Sri Agara	Patau Ajna Po Ku	
	1120-1254	Ansaraja Turaivijaya	Jaya Paramesvaravarman II	Chenla withdrawn from Campapura, 1226
	1254-1257	Sakan Vijaya	Jaya Indravarman VI	
	1257	Pulyan Sri Yuvaraja	Jaya Sinhavarman VI	
	1266-1288	Chay Nuk	Indravarman V	
	1288-1307	Harijit	Jaya Sinhavarman III (Che Man)	King gave O and Ly districts to the Tran dynasty (Dai Viet) as an offer to get married princess Huyen Tran.
	1307-1313	Po Sah	Jaya Sinhavarman IV	King evaded to Java (Indonesia), 1312
	1313-1318	Brother of Po Sah		
<i>Twelfth (1318-1390): Peak</i>				
	1318-1336	Patalthor	Che A Nang	
	1342-1360	Tra Hoa Bo De		
	1360-1390	Po Bhinethuor	Che Bonguar	
<i>Thirteenth (1390-1458): Falling</i>				
	1390	Ko Cheng		

Champa Chronological Chart, 1390 to 1471

<i>Period</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>King</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
	1390-1441	Son of Ko Cheng	Jaya Sinhavarman V	The Tran dynasty occupied capital, Cham victims evaded to Panduranga, 1400
	1442-1446	Po Parichanh	Maha Vijaya	King was taken to Thang Long capital (Dai Viet) by the Le dynasty, 1446
	1446-1452	Maha Qui Lai		
	1457	Maha Kido		
<i>Fourteenth (1458-1471): Separate</i>				
	1458-1460	Po Tam	Maha Banla Tranguyet	
	1460	Po Kaprah	Maha Tratoan	
	1471	Po Kaprih	Maha Tratoai	Le Thanh Tong defeated Campapura totally

Champa Chronological Chart, 1471 to 1530

<i>Period</i>	<i>Lord</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
<i>South Campapura from 16th century</i>			
<i>Panduraga-Champa</i>	1471-1494		King governed territory from Cu Mong mountain pass to Binh Thuan, 1472
	1494-1530	Po Kabih	

Champa Chronological Chart, 1530 to 1799

<i>Period</i>	<i>Lord</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
1530-1536	Po Krut Drak		
1536-1541	Po Maha Sarak		
1541-1553	Po Kunarai		
1553-1579	Po At		
1579-1603	Po Klong Halau		
1603-1613	Po Nit		Nguyen Hoang annexed Phu Yen, 1611
1613-1618	Po Chai Păran		
1618-1622	Po Ehklang		
1622-1627	Po Klong Menai	Po Mahtaha	
1627-1651	Po Rome		
1652-1653	Po Nraup	Pa Tham	Nguyen Phuc Tan merged Khanh Hoa, 1653
1653-1659	Po Thot		
1659-1692	Po Saut		
<i>Nagar Cam</i> 1693-1728	Po Chongchan		King sent fleets to Malaysia to support Johor kingdom fight against Portugal
1728-1731	Po Jinah Depatih		
1731-1760	Po Rattirai Depatih		
1760-1799	Po Ladhun Dapaguh		

Champa Chronological Chart, 1799 to 1832

<i>Period</i>	<i>Lord</i>	<i>Official Title</i>	<i>Social event</i>
1799-1822	Po Saong Nhung Ceng		
1822-1828	Po Klan Thu		
1828-1832	Po Phaok Tha		King Minh Mang (Nguyen dynasty) put an end to Cham's autonomy and establish Binh Thuan province

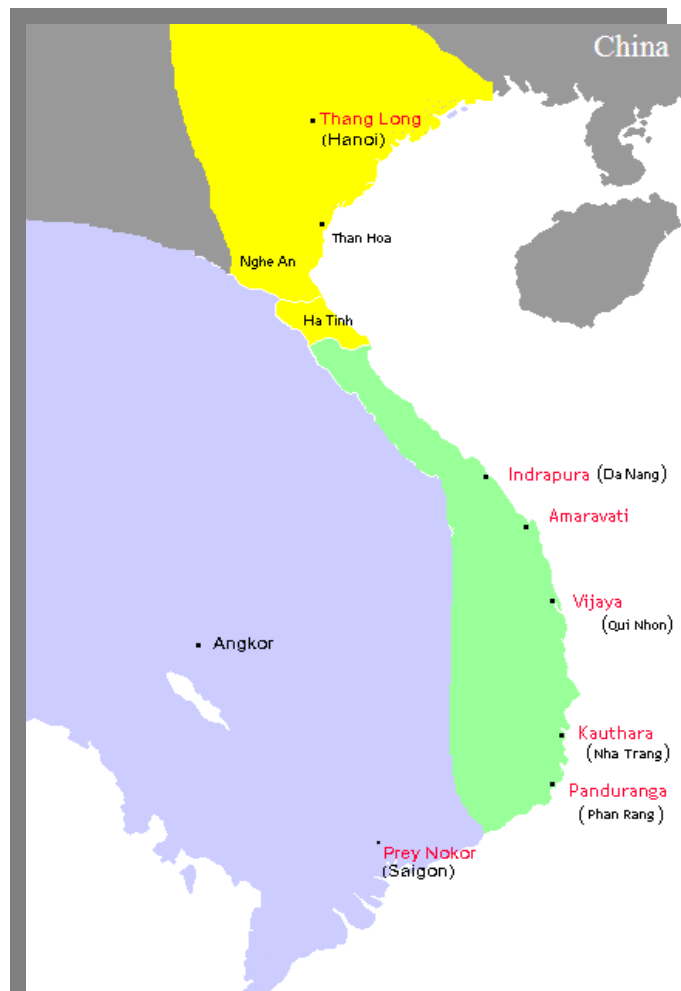


Figure 5 - The territory of Champa, depicted in green, lay along the coast of present-day southern Vietnam. To the north (in yellow) lay Đại Việt; to the west (in blue), Angkor.

Golden Age

After the difficult of founding and opening the country, Lin Yi kingdom had become a noticeable politic influence in the area under Bradravarman I dynasty (Fan Houta), who established the North Gangaraja reign. It was the combination between small kingdoms, its Northern territory neighbored with Cuu Chan district, its Southern domain stopped at Ke Ga cape (Varella, Phan Thiet). The fact that Lin Yi had shined remarkable Southeast Asia airspace led to acquaintance from many of its neighbors.

It was unknown how North and South reunified up to now, the exchange volume between two areas increased significantly, the trend of North-forwarded coming from Southern people had changed the power balance gradually. The Northern Cham people turned to be warlike because of regular defense against Chinese force. The Northern royal was weakened while concentrating on people and material for war, the leading role was no longer fallen into the richer and stronger Southern hand.

Dispute time

The historical Dai Viet in 939 had totally changed the power correlation between kingdoms in the area. Because never being a well-organized politic legislation, the Vietnamese chose the Chinese sample to govern their country. This option by chance also decided the regional stands between the Chinese and Indian culture for the time being. That was the reason why French called this area is Indochine (Indian-China) peninsula, not the one 'Indochina' (East sea) as we call today. The Vietnamese usually proceeded to South as a place to refuge in case of war or reclaim new land, because they had never been strong enough to expand forward China. Although this Southward march was not soundly but it narrowed the Campapura's territory, which was lost under Minh Mang emperor.

The Campapura position had become dispute between North and South since its foundation date, not since the Dai Viet lately.



Figure 6 - Panduranga-Champa territory since 1471

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Today, the Vietnamese Chams have 3 main religions: Balamon (Hindu Cham), Cham Bani (Islam Cham) and minority Original Islam. These 3 religions appeared in Champa kingdom at different time with various originals together with complicated development, interesting mysteries during the length of Chams people history.

2.1 Balamon (Brahman)

2.1.1 Before Integrating with Indian Culture

The ancient Chams were deeply affected by Indian culture, as we all know. Therefore, almost all the government systems – from law, religious management to social activities were linked with India since the beginning of the nation establishment (192 B.C). What was the religion that The Cham believed before? (Gay, 1988: 10)

Like other people in Indochina, the Chams based on “rice culture” or “agrarian based civilization”. Especially the matriarchy played a crucial role as flag ship for the later religions and rituals. This was considered as folk religion at that time: (Cham narratives)

- Pristine form of pure religion: The Chams worshiped devine supernatural such as Thunder, Sun, Fire, Wind and River, Mountain, Jungle, Sea... that means toward to the polytheism resulting from the agriculture civilization.

- Ancestorworshipped religion: Beside the polytheism, the Chams also adored their ancestors for family and community part. We still can see the symbol of *Kut* and *Ghur* (graveyard of Balamon and Bani) today through thousands of years for the belief of dead people's spirits.
- Vestiges of Totemism: Some researchers of the Chams culture thought that the Chams' Totemism was Areca (*Kramuka Vamsa*) and Coconut (*Narikela Vamsa*), which are also the name of the two main clans. They assume that the Areca clan was on mountain (Yang side) and Coconut was at sea (Yin side). The Areca ruled Panduranga and Coconut governed the North. That the reason why the Chams worship *Atuw Cok* and *Atuw Tathik* for the "Mountain line" and "Sea line" in the Rija festival nowadays.
- Magic and amulet: The ancient Chams who followed the polytheism were scare of supernatural's power because they believed that there were good and evil. Consequently, they had to praise and worship those in order to save them and keep them from evils. In the lifecycle ritual, shaman used a lot of amulet. Good shamans have to abstain from many things and learn by heart 137 incantations and dozens of spells.

In short, the ancient Chams believed pristine form of pure religion from underdeveloping agriculture, which means they just knew how to worship and adore their Devine supernatural power based on their point of view.

2.1.2 Balamon Religion

Archaeology research showed that Balamon came early to Champa, at the beginning of Christian era. First the Chams received ancient Balamon and later Hinduism, then Shiva side. Therefore, all the temples and tower from My Son to Binh Thuan were belonged to Shiva symbols. Ethnologists said that Balamon came to Southeast Asia by two ways: sea and road transport. It started from Corimandel port via Malaka channel (Malaysia) by

sea, and from Atxan to Mianma and then the Mekong delta by road. Balamon were set as official religion as highest respect from the Lam Ap to Hoan Vuong time (from second to ninth century). Balamon had made deepfelt effect on the Chams's mental life, creating a various mixture between Indian Hinduism and the Chams's folk religions.

When Balamon was imported to Champa, the ancient Chams built temple (*Kalan*) to worship Shiva, Brahma, and Vishnu who were triplegods of Hinduism. They also followed Buddhism afterward or the triplegods of Brahma, Vishnu and Buddha since Buddhism (center was Indochina) also played an important role during the Champa royal life in ninth century. (Khanna, 2008: 75)

In conclusion, the Balamon Chams (Hindu Chams from foundation to tenth century – the milestone of Islam acceptance) were covered triplegods of Hinduism with glory. But for the extreme dispute between Balamon and Islam in the sixteenth and seventeenth century leading to the fact that Po Rome king had to participate in and raised the concept of religion settlement.

2.1.3 Localized Balamon

Muslim entered Champa in the end of tenth century; it was hard for the new religion at the beginning but promised a sin development from the eleventh to seventeenth century. Islam developed mainly in highclass society in the early time (XXIV) not countryside. But later on, almost people were disordered so largely by the tough missionary work and competition of the new religion that Champa kings could not resolve the situation. Hence, King Po Rome (16271651), a brilliant king of Champa in middle of XVII century, introduced a concept of union, to settle dispute between the two parties. It showed that the Chams who believed Balamon were called Ahier to the Yang, those who in the Bani side (localized Islam) were called Awal to the Ying. To this point of view, the religious community was “2 in 1”, lived closely and peacefully as male and female, husband and

wife. This concept was understood thoroughly and consistently in both theories (Ying had Yang, Yang had Ying) and rituals (wedding, funeral) as well as costume in two religions. Since then, the world famous Hindusim and Islam are localized to become Balamon Cham and Cham Bani, in which there were differences: Balamon would worship Po Allah beside polytheism, Cham Bani continued to worship Allah (*Po Uwlwah*) and all Yang gods of Balamon in contrast. (Guillon, 2001: 96)

Practically, Balamon Chams still invite Bani monks (*Po acar*) to lead some worship (Hal Lwah, Ban hwak...) and during the *Ramuwan* the Balamon faithfuls go to mosques of Bani to pray and worship. Contrastly, Cham Bani people process *Rija* festivals (*Rija praung, Rija Dayop, Ngak xwa*, purification rituals, and at *Katê* season they also bring fruits or chickens to towers for worship and pray the Yang Cham gods to save them ... Chams created some new monk positions Ong Mudwor, Muk Pajuw, Ong Camurnei. After being localized, Balamon believers ignore Triplegods (Shiva, Brahma, Vishnu) to workshop *Po Inu Nugar* (The Mother) and kings who had works for descendants such as: *Po Klaung Girai, Po Rome* ... (Chamstudies)

As a result, we come to a conclusion that the Balamon and Bani in the Chams life have become unique and mysterious religions in Vietnam (Binh Thuan and Ninh Thuan provinces) all over the world. The way they practice their religions are “2 in 1” with crossed rituals as the union concept.

2.2 From Islam to Bani

2.2.1 Champa Localized Islam:

Compared to other religions (Hinduism and Buddhism), Islam came to Champa a little bit late. Researchers show that it was a long process during eight centuries from the tenth to seventeenth.

Ed Huber quoted in his writing the words “A lo ho kibar” which the Chams used while killing buffalo for sacrifice. Based on those words, many researchers agreed that Islam had been imported to Champa since tenth century. And Ravaisse found two gravestone carved 1039 which mentioned about foreign Islam merchants came to Champa and lived in the Central coast. Moreover, according to the Cham chronicles, in 1000 “*Po Uwlwah*” went on a pilgrimage to *Mukah* (La Mecque) and being king of Champa from 1000 to 1036. Some Chams people thought that *Po Uwlwah* was Allah’s incarnation superficially. Actually, the king was a royal who had been converted his religion (or at least came to La Mecque) before reigning in *Bal Sri Binury*. According to G. Maspéro, there were some reasons for the lateness of Islam traders: tough climate, loac, unprofitable exploitation of local products, unfriendly people, and lack of good ports... Those who traveled to Champa arrived by two ways: trading and diplomacy between Islam communities in Southeast Asia Island.

While P. Manguin showed that Islam dated to Champa in 951 because they had sent first ambassador to China in X and many later in XI. Along those ambassadors, one had first name BU (Abu) (such as Abu – *Hassan*); Chinese historians said that these people might belong to rich Islam living in South of China (Canton) and they had resided in Champa before. In 986, on occasion of usurping the throne by a Vietnamese (Luu Ky Tong), many Cham groups moved to South of China and South of Hainan island, there were some Islam faithfuls among them. During this time, many princes and princesses got married with Islam people like Dravati princess and her younger sister. King of Champa met a rich traveler on the way to Middle East named Pandita Arifa, who had changed the king himself and the people toward Islam. One of Ciberon works had recently revealed that there existed many relationships between La Mecque, Champa and Java. He also confirmed that the teaching of Qu’ran tenets by some Maulanas, some of who got married with the king’s princesses.

On his arrival to Champa kingdom in 1280, Marco Polo insisted that the entire king and his people were Islam believers. Big Islam merchants always had a relationship with the king and his court in order to control the in-and-out at the ports and sponsor trading tourism in Champa. Many researchers agreed that the fact Champa localized Islam got on affirmative movement after 1471 (when Vijaya capital – Binh Dinh failed) because many Cham leaders did not believe in Indian culture anymore and wished for a new Arabian cover on their country. Sejarah Melayu wrote that: After Vijaya failed in 1471, one prince named Idera Berna Syah (*Indravarman*) and his wife together with his entourage hid in Malaka of Sultan Mansur Syah. All had converted their belief then while Syah Pauling (*Po Liang*) younger prince ran to Aceh religion but the author did not mention his religion.

Duarte Barbosa wrote about Asia in 1518: “This was a large island which they called Champa with many religious people and a religious king too.”

Diogo Veloso and others sent a message from Champa’s prison on December 7, 1595: There were many Islam faithfuls in this country and the king was interesting while preaching about Mahomet along with many mosques.

In October, 1607 the fleet of Cornelis Matelief commander stayed in Champa for fuel transfusing wrote that: the king reigned in capital in Phan Ri. The king did not follow Islam but his representative, Urang kaya, who paid visit to the group, was an Islam. The king had good relationship with Johor royal court.

Escalona OFM Catholic priest stopped at Champa’s coast and he was attacked by Muslims in 1640. M. Hainques wrote in 1675: The Chams were under the Mahomet’s religion without consideration... But in 1676 Mahot MEP priest, who was first officially sent by Catholic Church to Champa to carry on Catholic missionary work and take care of Vietnamese believers, showed some accurate notes of the Islam expansion: “The king

and some part of the country are silly belong to Islam. The Malaysians were more active than us; they had attracted the king and his court to their damn religious sect.”

In 1685, M. Feret MEP had witnessed the king’s Islam: “In a letter sending to Bativa gourvenorgeneral in 1680, the king introduced himself with Malaysian position “Paduca Seri Sultan”. The word Sultan affirmed the Islam appearance.

In 1608, five kings of Champa were still Balamon, and in 1676 Champa king became Islam, there was no clue to prove the king’s religion via 70 mysterious years.

From the Chams’ documentation, king Po Rome had to found all the solutions for the dispute settlement between two religions and one of his wives was Islam. Although king Po Thaut tried to encourage his people to believe Islam, he was a Balamon faithful. And in Po Nraup temple – Po Rome successor – it was said that one of two his wives’ tombs was Islam.

By some French explorative ships in 1720, it was known that Mahomet’s religion was ruling the Champa kingdom.

These above facts leading to the following conclusions:

There was at least one Champa king had converted his religion and the end of seventeenth quarter, so we can consider this point of time turns Champa kingdom to Islam. We can summarize that Islam localization comes to an end after that because it is unsure whether the latest kings were Islam believers or not in Vietnam in 1693.

According to Mahot MEP, the king and a major part of his people had converted (more than half) in 1676, but it is just 1/3 in Binh Thuan during XX century (is it because of migration to Cambodia).

According to Moura, 80% of population including Cambodia migrants had converted their religions.

We should consider Champa's diplomacy for an objective and total evaluation:

In the end of XV century, one Cham community resided in Malaka (Malaysia) beside those in Cambodia.

The Chams community in Cambodia and Siam had cooperated with Malaysian to overthrow local kings and replace another Islam kings, Sultan Ibrahim 1642 in Cambodia but unsuccessfully in Siam (Mak Phoeun, 1927).

In 1594 Champa king had sent reinforcements to support king Johor in the fighting against Spanish army in Malaka (Blair and Robertson, 1903).

In the XVII century, Chams' merchant ships were sailing all ports of Southeast Asia and keep good relationship with Pahang, Patani, Johor and Minangkabau (Noorduyn, 1956).

Polands, Spanish and Japaneses also keep in touch with Champa at that time (Peri, 1923).

The positive participation in the trading network of Southeast Asia with other Islam countries made important part for the Islam localization in Champa. But in XVIII century (polistic merge in 1693) Champa kingdom became a province – Thuan Thanh town – and cut all contact with other Islam countries.

2.2.2 Conflict between Balamon and Islam

It is obvious that conflicts between old religion and new arising one are unavoidable in spite of the king's sponsor to that newcomer. We should divide into two stages of this Islam localization period:

First stage was from tenth to fifteenth century (before 1471), the new religion just ruled highclass society (royal court and noble people), it made no effect on countryside part leading to a quite competition and limited conflict. However, between officials and generals did it exist tough argument resulting in confusion of the royal court. It was said that the reason why Po Bin Swo did eat neither pork nor beef was for his harmony intention between the two parties.

The second stage was from fifteenth to seventeenth century: This was the period when Islam came to entire areas, cities and countryside, highclass or middleclass. Striking and conflicts became extremely tougher. We could feel and read through literature:

In Akayet Um Murup legend "Conflicts climbed to peak when Um Murup prince together with the Original Islam religion disobeyed his father king, leading to internal frictions inside royal army. When he was killed, Ali – representative of Islam – had destroyed all Champa's temples which symbolized for the Balamon's power".

In other documentation: Ariya Bini – Cam, the tough conflicts took the lead to the separation of love, the country's fall, in paraphrase:

Bani and Chams had been for years

Your hourse was at that side

My elephant was at this side, the country became dark

...

Because of religious conflict, the lover (Champa prince and Malaysian Islam princess) was in vain, in paraphrase:

I sat alone on the sand

Sea was boundless, rivers became vast

When you gone smoke covered all

I cry in vain...

In folk verses also, which are the worst despite to the Balamon. The conflicts had been so extreme that it was too difficult for different religious Chams to get married in 21st century.

2.2.3 Bani religion came to life:

We can see that the two religions, Balamon and Islam, had disputes leading to disagreement and conflicts, most extremely in 16th and 17th century.

Because of the tough conflicts, Champa kings tried to solve the situation to bring back solidarity to the country. It was King Po Rome to initiate the concept of religion harmony by union idea which I had analyzed clearly on the first part. By mean of Islam localization to force all Islam believers to worship all gods of Balamon and other form of folk religion, Bani religion was born. Some said that Bani and Islam was same, but it was not sure... (Khanna, 2008: 112)

In theories, did orthodox Islam people accept to worship gods and ancestors?

No, because it was *haram*.

In practice, had orthodox Islam brothers joined the Kate rituals in which worship and pray for gods, because they worship no one but Allah.

2.3 Kate Festival (Dang Nang Hoa, 2009)

The Cham people's Kate Festival takes place annually in three days on the first day of the seventh month by Cham calendar (usually falls on the three days of the end of the ninth month or in the first three days of the tenth month by solar calendar) on a large area, from towers to villages to each family in Phuoc Huu Commune, Ninh Phuoc District, Ninh Thuan Province. Some records stated the festival lasted for ten days instead of only three days. The rituals take place at Poklong Garai Tower, the Po Rome Tower and the Po Nagar Tower. This is the most unique festival of the Cham community. The festival consists of two parts, rituals and festivities. When the sacred dance in the tower finishes, festivities outside the tower begin. Ginang drums and Saranai trumpets are played. At the same time, Cham folk dances are performed and songs sung, bringing about an exciting atmosphere.

The rites of the Chams in Ninh Thuan in this festival are simultaneously practiced in the shrines. The rights are fundamentally the same in relation to content and conduct of the rites. They consist of the presence of the nuns of these sanctuaries who presides the ceremony; a monk who play Kanhi and sing ritual songs; a female psychic (Bà Bón in Vietnamese) who performs the offering rituals to the gods; a nun who holds the Statue Washing ceremony and a number of Balamon priests.

The sacrifice and offerings include a goat, three chickens for the Cleaning ritual at towers, five meals with goat meat, a meal with salty sesame, three rice cakes with fruits

together with wine, eggs, betel and areca, steamed glutinous rice, sweetened porridge, etc.

The order of the rituals and festivals: on the first day is the costume receiving ritual to Po Nagar goddess in Huu Duc village. The ritual starts in the east, the direction of rising sun, then proceeds to seven more directions, ending at the northeast.



Figure 7 – Po Klong Garai main tower (2003), from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

In each direction, the oldest bronze of Ba La Mon Sect reads the bible, plays the horn and sprays water to drive away evil spirits and clean the places. Following the Tong On rite is the procession of clothes to the towers and then the rite to bath the LingaYoni altar

On the second day is Kate festival in Cham tower. The rituals are The costume receiving ritual; The tower door opening ceremony; Statue washing ceremony; The ceremony to dress the god; and Great ceremony.

On the third day is the festival in villages and families. An offering ceremony is conducted for the pray of prosperity to the whole village. Each village has its own genie. The one who conducted the offering is not officials of the village but the most respected person or most knowledgeable about the custom. The rituals are usually simpler than that in towers and shrines. The day also involves a variety of games and competitions such as sewing, water carrying, soccer, performance, etc. , . In the festival, the Balamon here perform folk dances like fan dance in the traditional costume of Poh Akharo and to the beat of the traditional Kapo and Raglay music such as paranung drum.

After the ceremony in villages finish at the afternoon, people come back to their home for the ceremony in families. However, whether the rituals in families are practiced depends on families. Masters of such rituals are members of the family or a senior person of the family line. During the festive day, all members of the family get together and pray to their ancestors and gods for good business and good luck. On Kate festive days, the whole village is full of fun, friendship and solidarity. They pay visit and give best wishes to each other. Almost everyone forgets their daily life hardships and enjoy themselves. As part of the festival customs, the Cham people make visits to their near and dear ones and also to My Son, a place considered to be the holy land.

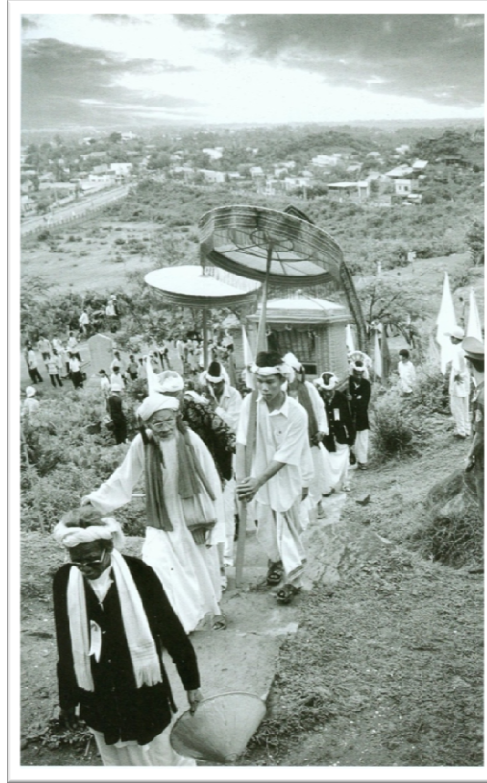


Figure 8 – Dress procession to the tower at Kate festival (2003) , from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

2.4 Cham Islam Chau Doc

2.4.1 The appearance of Cham people in Cambodia

According to Chinese historical documents, we can see that Champa kingdom had shaped and developed in the very early time, earlier than Dai Viet (Vietnam) foundation, for nearly eight centuries. Because of war, Champa was gradually disappeared, however, annexed to the Vietnam's territory and being an unseparated ethnic minority of 54 different peoples in Vietnam.

And, due to war, the most violent was in 1471, when leader of Dai Viet – King Le Thanh Ton – destroyed nearly all Champa in Vijaya. There were Chams dying on the battlefield, some were taken as prisoners of war. Among them, there are many Chams crossed Highland, out of Komtum today, ran into Chenla (Cambodia) to settle. The highest refugee was in 1692, when King Nguyen Phuc Tan annexed Kauthara (Khanh Hoa). The Khmer paper recorded: there were approximately 5000 families crossing over mountains to ask for refugee in Chenla.

In 1833, Le Van Khoi [1], adopted son of Le Van Duyet, depend strongly on autonomous Cham community for rebel to take over Phien An (former Gia Dinh). The rebel was extinguished in 1835. King Minh Mang executed severe policy against Cham people: discriminated with ones who followed the rebel of Le Van Khoi; abolished autonomous right of Panduranga. Chenla-settled Chams had increased in population, they also moved to Siam (Thailand).

2.4.2 The appearance of Cham people in An Giang (Vietnam)

During King Minh Mang reign, thank to his talented military art, he made his neighbor like Ai Lao (Laos), Chenla to be under Dai Viet protection. This fact met objection by some Khmers close to Siam. After asking Siam to expel Viet troops successfully in 1854,

the Khmers applied strictly eradicated-Viet policy together with severe treatment to Cham people, the autonomous right of Cham in some provinces in Chenla like Kompong Cham was abolished.

Many high-class Cham officers had rebelled to prevent being assimilated with Khmer. Cham people rebelled against King Ang Duong of Royal Chela in 1858. Pretending this action as an excuse, King Ang Duong brought 10.000 soldiers to raid the Cham and killed lots of Cham leaders. He sentenced other 6.000 Chams to hard labour. Another Cham leader took thousands of Cham people to Nguyen dynasty to ask for refugee in Chau Doc. They divided into 7 Cham villages. Those villages were not close to each other but they lied along the Cuu Long edge till the coast of Cambodia.

Another small group followed Po Checoc to settle in Tay Ninh. They were accepted and allowed to develop and trade.

Cham people in An Giang earned their living by fishing trade through rivers, because their ancestor was famous for living at sea and there was not much fertilized land for them to farm.

After historical event of April 30th 1975, a large number of Chams living in Chau Doc, Tay Ninh ran into Cambodia to avoid severe treatment and mono-govern, becoming baits to Khmer Rouge or bandits. Some was killed, some was robbed all. Some tried to run to Thailand for politic refugee from Cambodia then. Some are now living in many states in the US.

2.4.3 Lifestyle of Cham Islam Chau Doc

Since the acceptance of Nguyen dynasty, many scattered Cham villages have risen along Hau river, till the Cambodia border. There are 7 villages in Chau Doc: Koh Taboong, Mat Chruk, Koh Kaboak, Plây Kênh, Plao Ba, Koh Kaghia, Sabâu which is in Vietnamese:

Chau Giang, Da Phuoc, Chau Phong, Lama, Vinh Tuong, Bun Lon, Bun Binh Thien, Dong Co Ky. There are around 13.700 Cham Islam people living in 2.100 families now, they also get used to the new life. However, their specific of Islam believer is no mean of being deformed or melted by current integration trend.

The Cham Islam in Chau Doc lived a closed life, seldom exchanged outside during 20th century, so a few knew Vietnamese language. On the other hand, the traffic was not developed at that time, they traveled by waterway mainly. Steam boats or junks were their means of transportation. And the quite eradication inside the community with ones who communicated with Viet people, learnt their bad habits of drinking, smoking, dancing... from the Western, in which in Haram of Qu'ran .

There are significant different between the Cham villages and the Viet town in infrastructure and lifestyle within 100 meter away from the river: One side with red tile or colorful iron rooted houses. Other side with houses on stilts, well-planed wooden pillar over head, wooden stair at front house, no furniture inside. Cham people used sedge mat or carpet to sit with guest on the wooden floor. Houses were closely next to each other, it was rare for growing fruit plans inside the house in the whole village. And, Cham people followed matriarchy.



Figure 9 – A Cham language class in Phum Soai village, Tan Chau district, An Giang (2003), from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

CHAPTER 3

SPECIAL PART OF CHAM BANI

Muslim believers in Binh Thuan called themselves as Cham Bani (Muslim Cham). The word Bani regarded to Arabic Beni meant “sons” [of the religion] or Cham acalam “adherent of Islam”. The varied Shiva worshipping Balamon was practiced by Cham jat “ancestry Cham” or Cham Kaphir or Akaphir originated from Arabic Kafer connected to “heterothox” who did not converted to Muhammad’s belief. Local people just used these names in case of distinguishing. Whoever they were Bani or Kaphir, all belong to Cham (Cabaton, 1901:4).

The Chams lived in 7 cantons with 80 villages which were small and poor: 1 in Pho Hai, 2 in Phan Ri, 1 in Karang and 3 in Phan rang with maximum population of 30.000. There were Bani and Kaphir separated villages in each canton except two or three cases (M.E Aymonier, 1891: 31). The acient Chams who fierce resisted of Vietnamization had to immigrate to Cambodia or far away Siam (Thailand). The Cham Bani people were triple in number compared to Balamon and Islam in Binh Thuan.

The Shi’a Muslim religion, which was preached to the people in Central Vietnam, had no connection with its counterpart because of polytheism.

Bani was 1/3 of the total approximately 8.000 people. We should also mention about mixedboold “VietnamCham” people gathered in 4 hamlets in Phan Ri: those followed traditions from both sides, mainly they inherited the Chams’ folk.



Figure 10 – Bau Truc – a famous pottery village, Ninh Phuoc district, Ninh Thuan province (1982), from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

3.1 Lifestyle

The Chams had neither commerce nor industry; they just grew ricefields. Besides, they also planted tobaccos, corns, cottons, castor oils, sesames, peanuts, sweet potatoes in limited area. We never saw them grow areca or betel, they exchanged their rice for acera or betel they needed for whole year like other Indochina people (Aymonier, 1891: 32). They also kept buffalos, chickens, ducks and many goats. The kaphirs did not raise cows. Although Kaphir people ate pork but they neither kept pigs, like the Bani who always disgusted that animals.

The Cham woman seldom weave, their looms looked rude. They were backward compared to their sisters living in Cambodia. The Cham men made their own ploughs. The Chams never built houses, they hired Vietnamese to do that although it found strange among Indochina people. Their houses were small and low with walls made of mud, thatch roofs, no art inside. Each houses' area was separated by thick and strong bamboo screens. Every couple of husband and wife or adult member in family was allowed to use those assets. (Inrasara, 2003: 98)

All grew long hair like Vietnamese at that time. Men wore skirts and long loose shirts with the length up to them. In addition, they used simple or double scarves to bind their hair. Each had two small pockets swinging on their shoulder belts. Women's hair was twisted into bun. Women just wore long skirts in white or stripes of red and black and long long-sleeved and round necked shirts in dark green or black tight to body.

Some rich Cham women wore gold or silver earrings while the poor ones just had black threads on their ears. On the other hand, some rich Kaphir families also let their girls wear bracelets in order to pray for something or avoid sickness. These girls were not allowed to intercourse with men during this period. Such prohibits would be removed in a

ritual until these girls reached 17 or 18 years old by offering valuable things to gods. It was rare for Cham women to wear bracelets but this case.

3.2 Qu'ran

Even leaders in mosque not only had no understanding of Arabic language but also forgot how to read it, they limited themselves by learning by heart and repeating the suras with Malaysian pronunciation.

Champa scholar, Aymonie, who had been to Binh Thuan wrote some lines about this topic in *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* XXIV (1891):

Arabic language research or Qu'ran study was not necessary anymore. During my stay in Binh Thuan, only one Islam holy book reserved in Phan Ri could I find out. All prayers used in mosques originated from some Chams or Java books which were just explanation version of Qu'ran. The Cham people respected a book called Noubavan. They just allowed people to make its copy on occasion of Ramadan. The fee was a buffalo to the mullah who did copy.

Rare versions of Qu'ran were all wrong grammar, bad handwriting and being broken by Cham language instruction of rituals or formulate which was strange to Islam world. Qu'ran letter was almost unknown in Binh Thuan, holy book got many names such as: Tapuk acalam "Islam holy book"; Tapuk Muhammad or Tapuk nobi Muhammad "Muhammad's verses"; Kitab elhamdu "Praise"; Sakarai , a kind of magic or fortunetelling books. (Cabanton, 1901: 5)

1

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنِ
 الرَّحِيمِ صَالِحِ أَمْرِهِ جِبْرًا وَجِبْرًا
 تَوْفِيقًا وَاجْتِبَاءً حَسْبُ تَوْفِيقٍ إِفْتِخَارًا
 لَمْ يَسْتَقْبِرْهُ بِخَيْرٍ هَذَا الْعَمَلُ أَنْتُمْ
 تَعَالَيْتُمْ بِغَيْرِ الصَّفْقَةِ وَتَعَالَيْتُمْ بِغَيْرِ
 تَعَالَيْتُمْ بِغَيْرِ الصَّفْقَةِ وَتَعَالَيْتُمْ بِغَيْرِ
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 تَعَالَيْتُمْ بِغَيْرِ الصَّفْقَةِ وَتَعَالَيْتُمْ بِغَيْرِ
 تَعَالَيْتُمْ بِغَيْرِ الصَّفْقَةِ وَتَعَالَيْتُمْ بِغَيْرِ

Figure 11 – Sura-i Fatiha in Cham Bani Qu’ran, page 1, from libraby of Science - Social and Hummanity University of Vietnam.

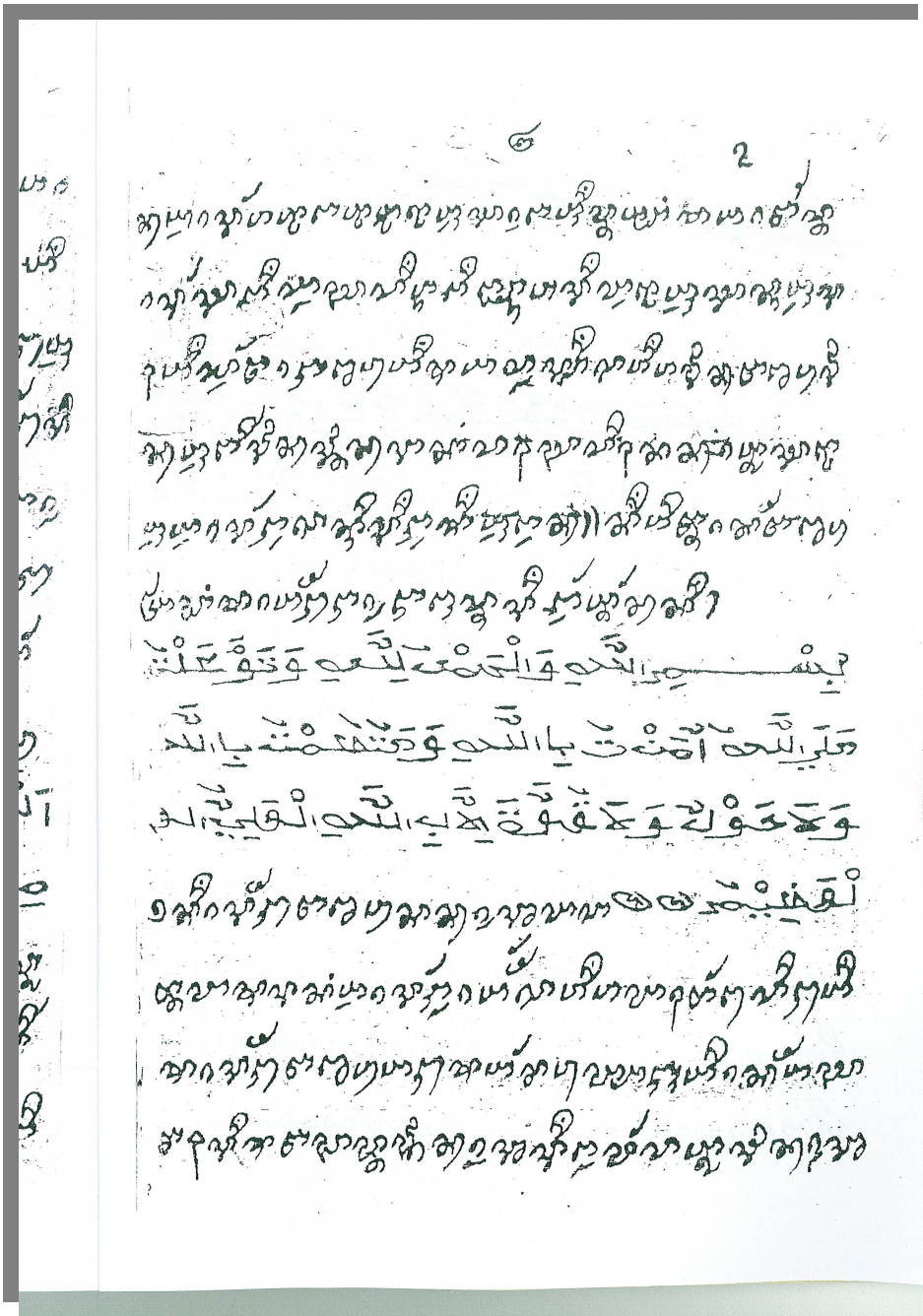


Figure 12 – Cham Bani Qu’ran, page 2, from library of Science - Social and Hummanity University of Vietnam.

3.3 Ramuwan (Dinh Hy, 2005)

The Ramuwan had many periods, each period linked to a particular ritual which was various unique forms. The official Ramuwan consisted of 5 periods: First was Sut Amu, New Year book of Rites festival; Sut Yang, circling festival secondly; cleaning and decorating ancestral graves festival came third; Ramuwan (not Ramadan like Original Islam) for fourth; and finally VaHar.

The month of fasting for Cham Bani people was just obliged to dignitaries, mullahs and Chang masters in white shirts. Common people still had their daily life and did not have to obey religious law like mullahs. This was completely contrast to Original Islam Cham who had to fast all during Islam September except the injured, old and children under 10.

In the afternoon of September first (Islam calendar), all mullahs proceeded to mosques with their private things to prepare for onemonth staying. When it was dark, all mullahs faced toward West to read Qu'ran in one line on the left of mosque for the dusk ceremony. Local people thought if it was a cloudless sky, it signed of one good and prosperous coming year for the whole village. Next each mullah had one kettle of water cleaned their feet and hands before getting in the mosque. One played the drum at the corner of mosque to begin the praying ritual on the month of Ramuwan.

Chur masters then were in charge of controlling things. During this month, mullahs had to pray exactly 5 times every night with different standing and kowtowing positions. All mullahs had to abstain themselves from eating, drinking and smoking during the first three days.

Highest cantonal mosque master, Thanh Tau, in Binh Thuan Cham Bani community explained for this:

Entering mosque on the month of Ramuwan was to training oneself. When you had to abstain from getting hungry, thirsty and intercourse, you would understand the poor, the homeless. Therefore, we could restrict physical desire and live better. Bani came to life and it was, if all villagers rushed to mosque, the harvest would not be finished. Mullahs were representatives to pray and stay.

After 30 days, mullahs prepared for rice exchanging or almsgiving ceremony to all families in village. Mullah's families or believers donated Rice. In the afternoon, all mullahs continued to pray for the last important step, which was to bring out the holy tree. No one knew when the holy tree was planted; it was passed from generation to generation. Old people said it was aloe wood and always smelling. As the dusk ceremony, the Cham Bani believed that if the process was complete, all villagers would receive luck.

Ramuwan was one of the biggest festivals of the Chams – an effect of Islam. The original Ramadan was for Muslims to fast and be mindful of other sins. But the Chams had alternated locally when they inherited this religious pillar. Therefore, it was not fasting, praying 5 times a day but it also a chance to worship their ancestor, to exchange rice, to prepare goddess descend on earth – a folk ceremony of ancient Chams. Moreover, they also accepted dance during the Ramuwan, an impossible activity to Islam regulation. Those factors made Ramuwan become a special festival to Cham Bani, contributing to its unique.

Ones who were called Imam scattered in villages did not take hard labor as normal people because they had others do for them. Their lords, each mosque had one, were Ong Grou (Ong is respected words to call a gentle man in both Vietnamese and Cham language). Ong Grou led sacrifice ceremony and had right to nominate Imam, Kati and Bilal. Then Ong Grou was voted by the council. Kati was assistant or reader while Bilals played role as supervisors. And they also called musicians in ceremony

Medouon although they had nothing to do with Islam. All these officials shaved their hair and wore white pants. Besides, there were some women called Mouk Raing Yang who imported superstitions from Kaphir or from Java Island. Liable on local legend, Muslim mullahs bore duty of guarding the palace, women and children while their king went away (M.E Aymonier, 1891: 47).

3.4 Diet

As usual, Muslims performed Salah 5 times a day, but in Binh Thuan it was not. Local Bani called it Vaktou and just prayed on Friday or during the month of Ramadan.

Although they prohibited pork products, they drank wine and other kind of alcohol. This variety was tasted clearly by the Cham Bani's traditional dishes *com ni* and *cà púa* in An Giang. *Com ni* was rice cooked with goat milk with additional dried grapes which increased the local taste. *Cà púa* was made of halal beef, dried coconut powder and ginger wine... It was the ginger wine to prove their daily eating.

3.5 Mosque

Their collective mosques (*megui*) for many villages were simple. The Cham gathered on Friday to worship Ovlah (Allah) and PoDo bate Thour, king of gods. Scholar suspected PoDo bate Thour was confusion of Allah because they could not find any clues about this character. At least 1 Ong Grou, 2 Imams, 2 Katils and 1 Madine must participated in such gathering occasion.

Mullah assistants began to stretch pieces of white cloth called Mimbar. A plank platform was set to replace the altars used for other events.

Their faces directed toward the Mimbar to the West where Mecca city located. 1 Madine played the drum 3 times. Then 2 Imams prayed at the same time, opposite to each others. Imams moved to sit next to Ong Grou, kneeled in front of 8 Mimbars. Other mullah assistants also followed Imams making one long line. In the center 3 senior mullahs had white scafs on their head and the other wore Malaysian hats. Then all rose and kowtowed 8 times. OngGrou later came to the Mimbar and turned around to see the participants and recited verses. These verses were written on white cloth which was opened slowly in by Ong Grou. All participants, males and females replied to Ong Grou. They focused their mind on God and wished for happiness and fortune. Finally, food was served with wine (M.E Aymonier, 1891: 49).

Once more time, the Chams had their own mosque where male and female believers could gather. The fact they worshipped PoDo bate Thour showed that they adored polytheism not only Allah, the single incomparable God of Islam. They even ate and drank in such solemn place after the salah. Local customs and folk religion had effected deeply in this process. Mosque in Cham langage processed a different meaning compared to Islam world.



Figure 13 – Superior Haji Muhamad Youssof preaching at Jimia Al Muslimin Mosque, 66 Dong Du Street, Ho Chi Minh City (2003), from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

3.6 Circumcision of Male offspring

Generally, the ritual of circumcision is traced back to the time of the greatest of prophets Ibraheem (peace be upon him) when Allah commanded him to circumcise himself, his son Ishmael and all his male family members, and he followed Allah's order.

However, the ritual was completely symbolic to Bani people. Parent presented their sons in well dressed to Po Gru (spiritual master) or Imam's lords, Ong Grou in public. The boys were usually at the age of 15 to undergo. Po Gru preceded the procedure by reciting Qu'ran and used a wooden knife to limit his action. It was considered that they had finished the circumcision in that way. The procedure ended with special foods, and much festivity offered by the undergone boy's family to Imams and villagers (Cabaton, 1901:5)

In summary, we can see that the Cham Bani was Muslim people in some parts. They had not only converted to this new religion but also localized it. The Bani, the sons of Islam, have preserved and developed the religion in their way. The ethnic people satisfy with their habitual practices of tradition. Like their neighbors, the Balamon, Bani people will soon remember shorter and shorter verses and removed all uncomfortable religious practices. They had closed the door to Islam world since they got used to those. But they opened another door to the new aspect of Muslim Cham religion, which people considered to be the most mystical and unique in the world. They are introducing a religion that combined the Islam, Hinduism and folk religion.

CHAPTER 4

NOWADAYS CHAMS

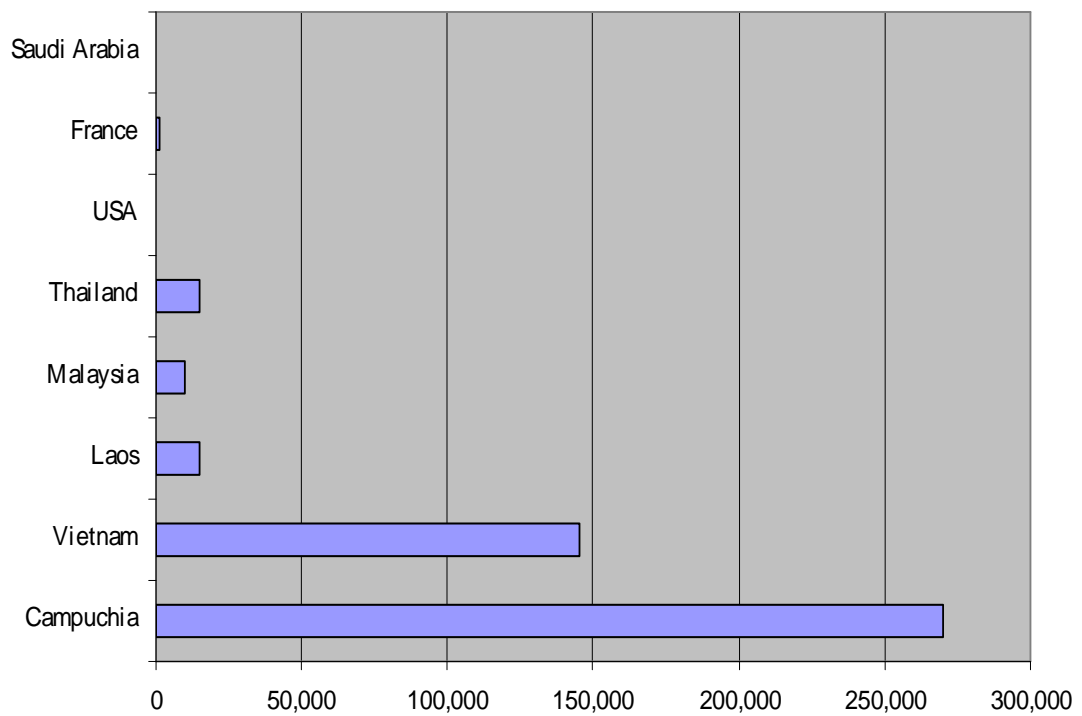
Cham people are living in Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, and USA with total population of approximately 500.000 ones. They are considered as an ethnic minority in Southeast Asia.

Their main locations are settled between the Kampong Cham in Cambodia and central Vietnam's Phan Rang – Thap Cham, Phan Thiet, Ho Chi Minh city and An Giang areas. Nearly half a thousand Chams also live in Thailand; many of whom have proceeded south to the Pattani, Narathiwat, Yala, and Songkhla Provinces for work.

Cham forms the core of the Muslim communities in both Cambodia and Vietnam.

Country	Cambodia	Vietnam	Laos	Malaysia	Thailand	USA	France	Saudi Arabia
Population	270,000	145,235	15,000	10,000	15,000	200	1,000	100

Source: The Joshua Project (2010)



Country with significant populations

4.1 Vietnam

Living in a cultural pluralism Vietnam, Cham people offer insight into the local effects in term of politics and traces. We can see negative signals coming from their narratives, belief and economic life. Those local non-conformist varieties and association threaten the unity and security of the nation state. Scholars and officials in several countries in religious have raised concerns on this poor and marginal ethnic minority. They are afraid of the opposition promotion to the state because of such unique identifications. The settlement narratives told by Chams are completely contrasted to the myths promoted by Vietnamese state. The ethnic Khmer provide an example of how such counter-histories inform practices of willful disengagement from state development initiatives (Taylor, 2004b). Khmer claims to be the dispossessed indigenous people of the delta sometimes come with demands for its return to its rightful owners. Associations between the Cham and foreign co-religionists in Cambodia have provoked scholars and journalists o speculate on the potential this holds for religious-based separatism or the militant rejection of secular law (Blengsli, 2003; Hunt, 2004).

The Chams are maintaining their unique cultural identity and forms of livelihood in a context of perceived disadvantage and cultural marginalization. They have harmonized and integrated their life with wider community in spite of terms different from those endorsed by the state.

If we analyze the situation in point of political view, there are full of obstacles for Chams to protect their characters, their religions and their identities. The nowadays Cham's life will try to portray some parts of the modern Cham society's picture to answer to the question if they succeed or not? However, *Haste makes waste* as Western proverb.



Figure 14 – The Cham village of Bau Truc, Ninh Phuoc district, Ninh Thuan province (1996), from the Heritage of Cham Culture collection of Nguyen Van Ku.

4.1.1 Country Revival

I heard an articulate rendition of this viewpoint from Abdul, a 50-year-old Cham man from the Chau Doc region who, in 2000, was working as a health professional in Ho Chi Minh City. His account emphasized the expansion of Vietnamese power as a factor that had profoundly affected his people's cultural orientation and their ability to defend their interests. His account was nationalist, speaking of the loss of his country and prospects for its revival. It was a complex story of marginalization and tentative resuscitation. I paraphrase and quote from him here at length (Taylor, 2007: 224)

The Cham in Chau Doc originate in Champa. You can see this is cultural traits such as our language that show we descend from Champa. The language the people from Chau Doc speak is the same as spoken by the Cham of central coast.

Forced to disperse after the Vietnamese invasion of our homeland, our identity changed and became mixed. Settling in new parts the Cham picked up the customs and beliefs of those around them. This was the case for the Cham in Cambodia, who now speak a mix of Cham and Khmer, by virtue of having to live among a people speaking a different language.

The strict form of Islam practiced by the Cham in Cambodia and Chau Doc was acquired in the same context. Islam was present in Champa for up to one thousand years. Yet before our kingdom was annexed, this religion had been localized and the religion of the prophet was mixed in with indigenous beliefs such as the practice of making offerings to the ancestors. The injunction to eat halal food was blended with traditional dietary practices such as the cultural preference for white chicken meat. The situation was the same for Hinduism in Champa, where people practiced a variant of the religion distinct from that followed in India. By contrast, the Cham who live in Cambodia and southern

Vietnam no long believe spirits. They do not display images or statues and do not observe Cham customary practices and festivals.

There are several reasons for this difference. Some believed that the Cham in Chau Doc was the immigrants to Cambodia. Those who tried to resist localization from Central Vietnam in the old days had come back to homeland. The central coast Cham tend to identify sinly with the lost kingdom of Champa in their stories, rites, marriage choices and in some cases participation in the former Fulro movement (Nakamura, 1999: 133). A second reason is that their relocation. To Saigon brought the Cham from Chau Doc into intense contact with the perspective espoused by Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese scholars that ties them to Champa. Vietnamese ethnologists treat the cham as a single people (Dang Nghiem Van *et al.* 2000;211-5). They were classified together in the 1989 census that counted the population of Vietnam's ethnic groups (Khong Dien, 2002:60).

4.1.2 Government Policy

The following comments made to me in 2005 by an elderly local trader in Da Phuoc illustrate this perspective (Taylor, 2007):

This government does not respect minority cultures. It looks up to foreign cultures and looks down on the minority people within the country. The government says it favours cultural diversity and ethnic minority development but in reality only respects power.

There is a big different between tourists and the governments in interest and respect for the Cham. Only since the economy opened up and tourists started visiting out settlements did it become possible for the Cham to say openly who we are. Before, we knew who we were but did not say it aloud or explain it to others.

In fact, Cham culture and our different way of life is recognized by the Kinh now only because the Kinh get a large share of money spent by tourists. Most money goes to the Kinh tourist companies and a handful of local families. Most Cham people and are miss out entirely on the material benefits of foreign interest.

Development and opening is not necessarily beneficial to smaller culture like the Cham people. It may make our situation worse. When you widen the canal to improve the ease of travel, the largest boat in the canal travels faster and swamps all the smaller boats. Or let me put it this way. We are like sapling growing in the shade of a large tree, which blocks out all the light around it. If you irrigate and fertilise the entire forest, only the larger tree will benefit. The only way to solve this problem is to pay special attention to the smaller tree.

Not all Cham people share the same view about their educational projects. As a well-off householder in Da Phuoc village told me (Taylor, 2007):

Since doi moi things have improved. The government encourages people to go to school. In past few Cham went to school. To This day, many children study only enough to speak and write Vietnamese and count and then they go to work as a traveling trader, following their parents.

In additional, the education regulation from the Ministry of Education and training of Vietnam in 2009 had some encouraging parts to the people. They offer a system of points reduction to Cham students, like Khmer and Vietnam's other ethnic minority people. Those students will get two more extra points over the total if they reach 20 in the Vietnamese university entrance exam. This policy creates opportunities for good ethnic minority students to attain a higher level of learning. But few Chams people finish high school. Most find it too hard to catch the total needed to pass each year. Poverty was the main reason for this matter. Parent still can afford schooling, even from the primary level in local area. Education is luxury although they are richer. Finishing high school is common and good enough to them. They need more motivations and conditions to reach the goals of university graduation.

Beside, the government also offers free dormitory for ethnic university students and scholarship for junior students by many programs annual. All conditions are facilitated to support education in Vietnam (Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam).

4.1.3 Exchange Sources

One source of such support that received from foreign co-religionists. Cham in the Mekong delta and Ho Chi Minh City report that they receive funds from overseas Muslims for religious activities such as mosque building and repairs, undertaking the Jaii, scholarships for study overseas and textbooks (Taylor, 2007: 239). This support includes funding from Islamic organization in Kuwait, Saudi and Malaysia as well as financial support from Islamism in the region and from as far away as the US and Australia. Their interactions with foreign co-religionists include study trips to southern Thailand and Malaysia and to countries in the Middle East and South Asia. They also receive visits from reformist missionaries from Malaysia and interact with foreign co-religionists in Ho Chi Minh city and Cambodia. These forms of assistance and interactions flow over into an intensification of pilgrimages, the building of new mosques, and the adoption of reformist practices such as women taking the veil and bans on the veneration of the dead.

However, the Chams have to deposit a large amount of money in order to join such opportunity especially labour exchange. This condition somehow limits the number of participants to earn living overseas, which is always higher paid compared to local. Vietnamese government starts some loan programs which are unknown to most Cham people. Its service should be propagandized to each family and play as the middleman between the foreign employers and Cham employees in case of defraud. Many people were told to register by depositing and received nothing later through such situations.

On the other hand, some of the most successful local Cham people have studied in Malaysia. Up to 30 Cham people from An Giang now study in Malaysian universities, many at an Islamic university that offers scholarships.

4.1.4 City Migration

Ho Chi Minh City is the largest city in Viet Nam, with a population estimated to be 4.7 million in 1994. The annual population growth rate of 3.5 per cent for the metropolitan area is also one of the highest in the country. Ho Chi Minh City is the main economic centre of southern Viet Nam. The economy is based largely on light manufacturing, construction, trade and sales, and government services. It had attracted three-fourths of the foreign investment approved up to February 1993 (United Nations, 1995).

Population growth in Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC) has been spurred by economic growth. The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of the city was estimated to equal US\$ 810 in 1994, after increasing by an average of 7.8 per cent per annum over the previous three years. Per capita GDP in the city is about triple the national average.

All sectors of the economy attract migrants, and the occupational distribution of migrants does not differ much from that of non-migrants. Migration is an important component of population growth in Ho Chi Minh City and other large cities in Viet Nam and the volume of migration is believed to be increasing.

Economic liberalization policies pursued by the Government of Viet Nam since 1986 have affected the nature of migration and employment in Ho Chi Minh City. Those policies have promoted the private sector, provided greater scope for self-employment and closed or reduced the size of loss-making state enterprises. Regulations concerning residence have also been relaxed so that many people may work in Ho Chi Minh City with temporary residence permits or by registering with local authorities but not obtaining a residence permit.

For the Cham, as for many residents of the delta, Ho Chi Minh City is an important reference point and source of cultural and material self-realization. It is a place

where many Cham live, work and trade and from which they send home remittances. The Cham view of the city is complex and ambivalent. Among the Cham in the Mekong delta, the lure of the city is sin. With no large-scale industry to speak of in the delta, many young people have departed for the city and to Binh Duong province to its north, which by the late 1990s had become an important center for large scale labour-intensive industries. There they earned less than three dollars a day. Living in dormitories and occasionally spending home remittances (Taylor, 2007: 249).

4.2 Cambodia

The Chams are one of Cambodia's largest ethnic groups and are distinguished from ethnic Khmers by their subscription to Islam and the language they speak. They are most heavily concentrated in Kampong Cham Province where they began settling in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but can also be found in Kandal, Kampong Chhnang, and Takeo Provinces as well. The Chams originally lived in an Indianized kingdom called Champa in central Vietnam but were eventually conquered during a series of invasions from southern China by Viet-speaking peoples in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Chams eventually moved to Cambodia in a number of successive migrations where they formed a very close relationship with the Cambodian royal family, as noted earlier. It is estimated that there are about 500,000 people of Cham ethnicity in Cambodia comprising about 5% of the country's population (Ing- Britt and Ovesen, 2004).

In studying the Chams, it is important to note that they are far from a monolithic ethnic group and, indeed, have been classified into three distinct groups, which have been described in great detail by Collins (1996). One of these groups is known as the 'Jahed' and are widely regarded as the 'preservers of ancient Cham culture' (p. 46) because they still teach their children to write the Cham language in the ancient script of Champa. This is in contrast to other Chams who write their language in Arabic or

Malay script. The Jahed consider themselves 'ethnic' Chams and place a strong emphasis on their individual history, cultural heritage, and especially language. Although the Jahed are also devout Muslims, their religious practices set them apart from other Muslim sects because they only pray once a day on Friday instead of five times each day as taught in the Koran. The Jahed live mostly in the area around Oudong in Kandal Province, the former capital of Cambodia, and some parts of Kampong Chhnang Province. There are very few members of this group living in Kampong Cham.

A second group known simply as the 'Chams' is the most numerous subdivision within the national Cham community. Members of this group are located mainly in Kampong Cham, Kampot, and in the northern environs of Phnom Penh. These Chams also trace their ancestry back to the original kingdom of Champa, but do not see themselves as an 'ethnic' minority but rather a 'religious' minority. This appears to be partly because they prefer to try to blend in with Khmer society (though retaining some distinctiveness as a unique social group) but also because the religious beliefs associated with the Hindu cosmology of ancient Champa are at odds with their present religious practice. Although the members of this group also emphasize the use of their own language, they do not place the same value on their historical origins or animistic heritage intrinsic in the culture of Champa, as do the Jahed. Rather, they emphasize their practice of orthodox Islam under the Shafi branch of Sunni Islam and have strong links with Muslims in Malaysia (Ing-Britt and Ovesen, 2004). It is this grouping of Chams who constitute the majority of Muslims living in Kampong Cham Province.

A third grouping of Chams are not really ethnic Chams at all but rather a group who trace their ancestry from emigrants from what is today Malaysia and Indonesia. This group is sometimes referred to as the 'Chvea,' which derives from the word for Java, suggesting a point of possible origin. The term Chvea is also commonly used to

include Khmers who have converted to Islam. The Chvea prefer to use the term *Khmer Islam* to describe themselves (Ing-Britt and Ovesen, 2004). This usage is probably accurate because it recognizes that members of this group speak Khmer and not Cham as their mother tongue. It is important to note, however, that the usage *Khmer Islam* is now also commonly applied to the Chams of the second group described above who live in Kampong Cham and elsewhere though they do not speak Khmer as a first language. Indeed, many of the Chams themselves seem to prefer this usage. In this respect, it was found that 92% of the sample surveyed for this study in Kampong Cham indicated that they preferred to be called *Khmer Islam*. This usage of the terminology *Khmer Islam*, however politically correct, causes confusion because it equates 'Islam' with an ethnic group, which is not really accurate. This leads to some Cambodians claiming that they do not speak Islam but can speak Christian (i.e., English). The political overtones of the *Khmer Islam* usage, however, will be dealt with in a later section of this study.

Kampong Cham Province has one of the largest concentrations of Cham people in the entire country. Altogether, there are about 138,000 Chams living in the province out of a total population of 1.7 million. This represents about 8% of the people living in the province. There are also 86 mosques located in the province with 86 Islamic schools associated with them (Kampong Cham Dept. of Sects and Religion, 2007). With some notable exceptions, the Chams tend to be concentrated mostly in the eastern half of Kampong Cham, where they form a significant proportion of the total population in some districts. The district with the largest population of Chams is known as Tbong Khmum, which is also the most populated district in the entire province (see Table 4). The districts where Chams are the next most numerous include Krouchhma and then Dambae District. While the Chams are most numerous in Tbong Khmum, they comprise a larger proportion of the total population in Krouchhma and Dambae. In this respect, 35% of the population is Cham in Krouchhma while 20% are of this ethnicity in Dambae. This

compares with a proportion of 18% in Tbong Khmum. About six districts in the province have a very negligible Cham population of 1% or less.

Table : Total Provincial Population and Cham Population by District, 2004

District	Total		Female		% Female	
	Population	Female	Cham	Cham	% Cham	Cham
1. Tbong						
2. Krouch						
3. Dam bae	69,831	35,504	13,796	7,246	20%	20%
4. Ponyeakrek	130,367	66,920	10,976	5,325	8%	8%
5. Stung Trang	116,009	59,046	10,672	5,683	9%	10%
6. Memot	125,565	64,016	10,090	5,397	8%	8%
7. Koah SoTin	77,012	39,938	4,288	2,208	6%	6%
8. Kang Meas	102,222	52,898	3,642	1,839	4%	3%
9. Chamkar Leu	119,199	61,260	2,710	1,382	2%	2%
10. Kampong						
11. Prey Chhor	136,307	70,228	1,118	592	1%	1%
12. Srei Santhor	108,174	55,884	856	463	1%	1%
13. Kampong						
14. Cheung Prey	86,570	44,688	235	126	0.3%	0.3%
15. Orang Ov	92,175	47,871	63	34	0.01%	0.01%
16. Bateay	102,622	53,597	--	--	0%	0%
Total	1,746,612	898,196	138,108	71,581	8%	8%

Source: Kampong Cham Dept of Planning (2004) and Dept of Sects and Religion (2007)

CONCLUSION

There are 54 ethnic peoples in Vietnam; the Cham Muslims in the lower Mekong delta comprise a minority of about 13.000 people in a region of around 17 million inhabitants and a nation of over 80 million. They live on islands in Mekong River and along the banks of smaller streams and canals.

Unlike their neighbours, few Cham specialize in the wet rice cultivation or aquaculture for which their religion is famed. They speak a language quite distinct from that of their neighbours, the numerically preponderant ethnic Kinh. Their practice of Islam is also unique in a region heavily dominated by Buddhism and spirit religions. As a group they are relatively under-represented in the Vietnamese state apparatus. Living in the interstices between the Vietnamese and Cambodian states, this is a group reputed among their neighbours to prefer to keep themselves and with whose distinctive way of life few people in Vietnam, or elsewhere, are familiar. Around ten residential clusters in all, concentrated around mosques, their settlements are small and are scattered within a dense circuitry of Vietnamese settlements.

Yet they are each tight and well-defined and their location and form have changed little since they were mapped more than a hundred years ago. Their ancient Champa and their unique identification will continue to be preserved and developed like Cham people, who inherited and localized the Indian culture together with Islam orientation.

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