THE CHAM'S FIRST HIGHLAND SOVEREIGN:
PO ROMÉ (R. 1627-1651)

William Noseworthy (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

ABSTRACT

From 1627 to 1651, a member of the highland Austronesian Churu peoples, Po Romé, ruled over the lowland Austronesian Cham peoples' kingdom of Panduranga (now Khánh Hòa, Bình Thuận, and Ninh Thuận provinces in Việt Nam). Po Romé has been referred to as the 'Charlemagne' of Cham studies (Bruckmayr, 2013), indicative of his importance in larger understandings of the Cham and their role in Southeast Asian history. The Cham have generally been understood as a lowland people who brought highland peoples into their cultural sphere through conquest and trade. Scott (2009) has recently critiqued such simplistic presentations of the 'civilizing' of the highlands, and argued for a more nuanced understanding of highland identity. However, one conspicuous absence in Scott's portrayal is an examination of highland-lowland relations through the biographies of figures such as Po Romé. I argue that an examination of Po Romé's life and its ethnographic and historiographic contexts deepens our understanding of upland peoples and Cham history.

INTRODUCTION [1]

This article is about the 'first highland king' of the Cham people of Southeast Asia.[2] The title 'first highland king' must be qualified here. For the lowland Cham Austronesian peoples, the term *po* is flexible. It can mean 'king' or 'sovereign', or may be a title for a diety. Po Romé (r 1627-1651) was almost certainly a 'king' of the Cham in the traditional sense. However, he himself was not Cham, but rather a highlander of Churu ethnic origin. Furthermore, he also was the last figure to be deified and have a Cham tower[3] dedicated to his worship. Thus, this article is concerned with the deification of a single highlander, and how the history of this deification reflects upon discussions of highland-lowland relations in Southeast Asia (Taylor 1989).

Upland Southeast Asia has received much popular attention in recent scholarship, often using the neologism 'Zomia'. This term, coined in 2002 by van Schendel (Scott 2009:14-16), is derived from the terms *zo* 'remote', and *mi*, 'people', terms that are common to several related Tibeto-Burman languages. In coining the term

---

[1] Generous funding and support from the University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Southeast Asian Studies and Department of History as well as the Center for Khmer Studies have made this article possible. Through their help this article includes a transcription of primary source material written in Cham script, Romanization, Vietnamese translation, and English translation. I thank the editorial staff of *Asian Highlands Perspectives* and the reviewers whose commentary helped complete this article, and to all the *anit* 'love' that went into it.

[2] The Cham people now inhabitat Cambodia, the south-central coast of Vietnam and parts of the Mekong Delta, and have urban diaspora communities in Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia, France, Canada, and the United States. For recent studies on the Cham of Vietnam see: Lockhart and Trần Kỳ Phương (2011) or Bruckmayr (2013).

[3] Cham towers dot the coastline and upriver regions of Vietnam. The most famous are the UNESCO world heritage listed Mĩ Son tower complex, and the Bimong Po Inâ Nâgar tower in Nha Trang, Khánh Hòa, Vietnam. The Bimong Po Inâ Nâgar tower is an active religious site for Vietnamese, who refer to the tower as Tháp Ba, Tháp Thiên Y Â Na, or Tháp Ba Po Nâgar. The total span of the tower complexes from north to south accounts for over 100 archeological sites. The towers were constructed from the sixth through the seventeenth century and while their brick composition is uniquely Cham, they resemble Khmer and mainland South Indian temples, as all appear to have been influenced by Pallava styles.

'Zomia', van Schendel sought to address a weakness in the definition of 'areas', particularly the nebulous region between the relatively well-formed area studies programs of East Asianists and South Asianists, the comparatively 'younger' Southeast Asianists, and the 'youngest' Central Asianists. He argued that, though individual expertise within fields had sought to understand 'margins', the very nature of area studies forced academics (willingly or not) to predominantly identify their expertise to outsiders as bound by states (for exampleas 'Vietnamologists', 'Indonesianists', etc. in Southeast Asia). Instead, van Schendel proposed a region of highland areas that was not limited to Southeast Asia, but also included portions of southern China and the Tibetan Plateau, Assam in India, Bhutan, and Nepal (van Schendel 2002:654-656).

By 2007 Van Schendel had 'tentatively' expanded Zomia to include major portions of regions that he had addressed briefly in his first article, but did not explicitly include – western China, northern Pakistan, and Afghanistan – based upon reactions from scholars of these regions (Michaud 2010:198). In 2009, Zomia was popularized by Scott's work on upland responses to state-making processes, in which he argued for a much smaller Zomia, limited predominantly to upland Southeast Asia, with a brief extension into southern China and Assam in India, thus encompassing five major ethno-linguistic groupings: Austronesian, Austro-asiatic, Tai-Kadai, Sino-Tibetan, and Miao-Yao peoples (Michaud 2010:187-190). Furthermore, Scott argued that many features of highland societies were cultural adaptations designed to keep the state at bay (Scott 2009:9), including: flexible social, ethnic, and linguistic identities; millenarian religious traditions; swidden agricultural practices; willingness to migrate; and oral or semi-literate historical traditions. However, as Aung-Twin (2011) has noted in his discussion of Scott's book, the question is always one of evidence (Aung-Thwin et al. 2011). Hence, Lieberman (2010) argued that geographical and cultural factors may have led to Zomian-like features amongst lowland peoples. In conjunction with Lieberman's thinking, I have also recently argued

that in cases such as the 'highland' liberation movement 'FULRO',[4] lowland minorities, particularly the Cham and Khmer Krom, were actors of paramount importance. Therefore, in some cases, *majority-minority* relations might be of equal importance to consider, rather than those based on elevation (Noseworthy 2013). Nevertheless, the concept of Zomia, and the potential of 'Zomian studies' has grown more popular and promises to continue provoking scholarly discussions.

Scholars of Southeast Asia have found local articulations of the highland-lowland relations discussed by Scott not only in mainland Southeast Asia, but also in island Southeast Asia: in the Philippine islands of Luzon, Mindanao, and the Visayas; the island of Borneo (Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei); and the island of Sumatra in Indonesia. For example, the notions of the Sa raya and Sa ilud regions in the Southern Philippines and Ulu/ Ilir (upstream/ downstream) among the Jambi-Palembang rivalry on the island of Sumatra have been particularly popular (Scott 1966, Illeto 1971, Andaya 1993, Silander 2006). The upriver-downriver extension of Scott's argument was actually largely established long before he published his book. Nevertheless, this makes his recent book relevant for a wider consideration of Southeast Asian history within the upriver/ downriver framework. This framework has hence been used by the most recent generation of Southeast Asianists to critique the foundations of the field.

When Southeast Asian Studies was still in its nascent stage as a discipline in the post-Word War II era of scholarship, the 'Beyer Wave Migration Theory' was still an accepted formal argument for the origins of highland peoples. According to this theory the 'autochthonous' highlanders were 'remnants' of earlier 'waves' of migrations and colonial conceptions of highlanders as *indigènes*, *negritos*, or *sauvages* remained in recent memory (Scott 1966, 1997

---

[4] The Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées (FULRO: Unified Front of the Fight of Oppressed Races) sought to create an independent state in the 1960s and 1970s along the southern portion of the Annamite Chain between present-day Vietnam and Cambodia.

[1994]:10-12, 2009:128; Junker and Morrison 2003:131-164). [5] Nevertheless, while the initially overtly prejudiced overtones of these terms were discarded, certain common associations with the highlands and lowlands continue to pervade both governmental policy and scholarship thoughout Zomia.

Lowlands are still commonly considered to be centers of power, prestige, culture, civilization, and homogeneity while highlands are imagined as non-prestigious, illiterate, marginal, and powerless (Scott 1997 [1994]:10-12, 2009:127-144; Giersch 2006:21-36). Through the examination of the Cham deification of Po Romé, I show that this highland-lowland dynamic must be rethought, particularly as I argue that Po Romé's reign has become remembered as a watershed moment in the history of the lowland Cham population. An important element to this watershed moment of historical change was the process of interaction between highlanders and lowlanders, highland-like characteristics present in lowland Cham society and lowland-like characteristics that Po Romé apparently either adapted or had as part of his personal characteristics. Combined, these historical tropes help to explain *why* Po Romé was deified. However, the deification of Po Romé as a highlands' representative and a potent figure that permeates the lowland historical and religious imaginaire of the Cham, adds a new dynamic to highland-lowland relations. This article examines this process by outlining the history of highland-lowland relations before Po Romé's reign, followed by a historical analysis of Po Romé's reign and an analaysis of the impact of this history on Cham historiographic traditions and religious imaginings.[6]

METHODS

Research for this article was completed in the libraries of the Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

---

[5] *Indigènes* and *sauvages* are French terms. *Negritos* is Spanish.
[6] 'Po' is generally a title meaning 'sovereign' or 'lord'.

(fall 2009 through spring 2013) and the University of Social Sciences and Humanities in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam (summer 2011 and fall 2012). Close readings and translations of several Cham language manuscripts written in Akhar Thrah were then completed from the personal collections of Dharbha Po Dam and Sikhara (fall 2012 and summer 2013). Finally, additional research was completed at the library of the Center of Khmer Studies in Siem Reap, Cambodia (summer 2013). Throughout this research, there was a sense that there are very few Akhar Thrah materials in library and archival collections. Hence, the broad variety of material that has been incorporated into this analysis includes a bilingual translation, transliteration, and transcription of a Cham manuscript titled *Da Lakal Po Romé Angan Ja Saot* that appears in the Appendix to this article. However, before giving a detailed analysis of this manuscript, it follows to outline the history of the Cham and uplanders before Po Romé.

THE CHAM AND UPLANDERS BEFORE PO ROMÉ

The Cham civilization owes its roots to the circulation and expansion of Austronesian peoples that moved out of Taiwan to the Philippines Islands, through the Indonesian and Malay archipelagos and then northward along the Vietnamese coast, beginning between 7,000 and 4,000 years ago (Reid 1988:1-10, Belwood 1999:126-135). The earliest written accounts of what may have been Cham polities are the characters 'Lín Yì' that appear on a Chinese map of Jin Rinan from 282 CE (Taylor 1999:155, Quach-Langlet 1988:27, Southworth 2001:323). Although the Chams were a predominantly coastal civilization at this point, recent archaeological evidence suggests that they became engaged in long distance tribute trade with the Chinese Han (206 BCE-220 CE) and later dynasties (Glover and Nguyễn Kim Dung 2011:64-78). The first Vietnamese history to record the Cham is the fifteenth century work of Ngô Sĩ Liên, the *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư*. Ngô Sĩ Liên recorded these polities as Lâm Ấp, the Vietnamese

pronunciation of the classical Chinese characters of Lín Yì. [7] Vietnamese language historiographic tradition rarely, if ever, mentions the potentially pejorative connotations of the characters Lín Yì in classical Chinese. Nevertheless, it is fairly certain that these terms had the connotation that the peoples of Lín Yì were 'barbarians' by usage of the character *yì* (Harrel 1990:531, Wengui 2001:96). However, in popular scholarly imaginings, Cham civilization has hardly ever been considered 'barbarous', as the civilization of the Cham demonstrated localizations of Indic culture at the centers of Indrapura (the city of Indra) and Amavarati (also a school of Buddhism).[8] As the archaeologist, Southworth (2011), has argued, the early Cham polities followed a Malay riverine pattern of settlement, meaning that upland areas were connected to protected ports, and that these port areas were settled by Austronesians first, while migrations into the hinterlands occured later (Southworth 2011).

While it appears that Cham lowland areas are more prevalent in the archeological evidence of Cham polities, when compared to highland areas, trade and cultural relations have frequently been cited to demonstrate that Cham polities were poly-ethnic (Gay 1988, Nakamura 1999, Shine 2009). A collection of sixth century Chinese documents known as the *Shuijing zhu* referred to both 'red' and 'white' Chams. Certain historians currently believe that the so-called 'red' Chams were, in fact, upland peoples (Quach-Langet 1988:2). Highland peoples may have been first recorded by the Chams themselves in an 1160 CE epigraphic record, which is now in Khánh Hòa Province, that referred to the 'Randaiy, Mada, and other

---

[7] Ngô Sĩ Liên's fifteenth century work, *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* [*The Veritable Records of the Great Viet*] began to refer to the *entirety* of Cham polities using the single name Chiêm Thành, the 'Cham Citadel' by the tenth century (Ngô Sĩ Liên 2010:170). For students of Vietnamese history, Ngô Sĩ Liên's work, while problematic, is also practically canonical.

[8] These urban centers were known as *nāgara*, from the Sanskrit for 'town' or 'city' (Monier and Williams 2005 [1899]:533-534), although translations of the term should show flexibility. The Cham term *nâgar* or *nâger* came to mean "city capital, country [in the rural sense], country [in the political sense] and State" through Aymonier and Cabaton's Cham-French dictionary in 1906 (Aymonier and Cabaton 1906:243). Today, the Cham term *nâgar* may also mean 'province' in reference to contemporary Vietnamese provinces.

Mlecchas'. Randaiy is taken here to mean Rhadé. Mada has been argued to refer to the Jarai or Bahnar peoples. Mlecchas is thought to signify 'barbarous tribes' and is often taken to mean other highland groups (Aymonier 1891:43-44, Maspero 1928:6-7, Majumdar 1963:194, Hickey 1982:2, Michaud 2009:40).

While the early references to the appearances of relations between lowland and highland peoples tend to be predominantly military, from the eleventh century onwards, trade relations became another important method of highland-lowland interaction. This statement does not presume that these interactions were always made on equal footing, as lowlanders are most likely to have been engaged predominantly in extracting from the highlands. Nevertheless, the reliance of lowlanders within the Cham polities upon highland goods such as horns, beeswax, feathers of rare birds, aloeswood, eaglewood, gold, and ivory likely allowed small groups or individuals, from the highlands to reposition themselves as intermediaries. It is thus no surprise that scholars have presented evidence of trade, along with archaeological, cultural, anthropological, and linguistic evidence that suggests the early Cham polities included both Austroasiatic (Maa, M'nong, Bahnar, Stieng, and Sre) and Austronesian (Rhadé, Jarai, Roglai, Koho, and Churu) peoples (Quach-Langlet 1988, Gay 1988, Nakamura 1999, Shine 2009). The Cham polities were thus not an ethnically uniform political space.

Furthermore, due to the diversity of highland peoples present in Cham polities and the reliance on hinterland goods within these polities for both internal and external trade, it is not surprising that highland peoples eventually repositioned themselves, and a highlander from the half-Cham and half-Roglai/ Koho ethnic Churu group, named Po Romé, ascended to the head of the Cham royalty in 1627 (Aymonier 1890). A review of the hagiography of Po Romé demonstrates that it was possible for highlanders to have great impact on lowland culture or, at the very least, to become memorialized as such a catalyst, and even, in the case of Po Romé, a local marker for historical change.

THE HISTORY OF PO ROMÉ

The contemporary understanding of Po Romé's reign differs substantially from that recorded in the Cham text that will be examined in the next section. It is perhaps most marked by the Cham tower, Bimong Po Romé, in Hậu Sanh, Ninh Thuận Province, Vietnam, which was constructed in the seventeenth century. Cham towers were frequently constructed for the veneration of *devaraja* or 'god-king' figures, although occasionally these constructions were built to venerate female deities as well, such as in the case of the Bimong Po Inâ Nâgar in Nha Trang, Khánh Hòa, Vietnam. Constructing a tower meant that an earthly figure of local prowess or prominence could bridge the gap between the human and heavenly realm and become a deity. The Bimong Po Romé was the last of these towers to be built, and thus Po Romé may have been the last historical figure to enter the Cham pantheon. Construction of the last Cham tower marks the emergence of many contemporary Cham cultural trends, and the end of the 'ancient' Cham society in which it was still possible for an individual to become a god, venerated after death. The tower is an active site of worship for the more Shaivite-influenced Cham Ahier and the Islamic-influenced, though 'polythetic,' Cham Awal.[9] The first appearance of the Akhar Thrah script may be inside this tower. A series of small ancestral grave markers known as *kut* are nearby. Two of Po Romé's wives are portrayed in the form of statues at the site. For reasons explained later, there is no statue of the Vietnamese wife, Bia Ut, at this location. The other wives are a Rhadé – Bia Than [Su] Can – and a Cham Awal – Bia Than [Su] Cih (Sakaya 2008:91-92, 2013:35).[10]

---

[9] Cham Ahier and Cham Awal are ethno-religious subcategories.
[10] The Rhadé are an Austronesian people that are one of the original inhabitants of the Cham polities. The Cham Awal are an Islamic influenced ethnically Cham religious minority that are also known as the Bani. For information on the Awal population, see Yosuko Yoshimoto (2011, 2012) and Rie Nakamura (1999). For information on the Rhade population, see Sakaya (2013) as well as (2008). For further information on the religious system of the Cham of Vietnam, see Thành Phần (2010).

Po Romé relied on personal relations to build his political base within the Cham community. An ethnic Churu who formed a marriage alliance with the highland Austronesian Rhadé and the Cham Awal, Po Romé journeyed to Kelantan Malaysia numerous times, where he studied *kabar rup* 'Malay magic', and began going by the Muslim name, Po Gahlau 'sovereign of aloeswood', (Inrasara 2006:50, Sakaya 2008:91-92). As a result of such connections, the Malaya-Muslim cultural influence in the Cham kingdom of Panduranga increased during this time. The European missionary, Father Escola Omf, for example, travelled along the coast of Panduranga in 1640 and noted that a distinct portion of the Cham population was Muslim (Yves-Maguin 1979:270-271). Cham scholars have since credited Po Romé with the stabilization of Cham society by unifying the Islamic-influenced Cham Awal and Indic-influenced Cham Ahier populations (Yosuko 2011:326).

Po Romé has also been credited with the creation of the Cham *sakawi* calendar, which is a hyrbrid of the Indic solar *śāka* system and the Malaya-Muslim *jawi* lunar calendar, and is still consulted to determine the dates of religious and social rituals in the Cham community (Yosuko 2011:326). Finally, the Po Romé reign can be seen in the legacy of several royal family members that he left behind from his journeys to Malaysia, the lineage of Churu-Cham royalty that lasted for the next seventeen Cham royals, and the title 'Po Gahlau' that was associated with a *tuan*[11] who moved, or perhaps even 'repatriated' to Cham territory more than a century later, as recorded in the Cham manuscript *Ariya Tuen Phaow* (Sakaya 2008:91-92).

As a highlander in Cham society, Po Romé's reign constituted a major, lasting shift in relations between highland peoples, mainly the Churu, and lowland peoples, particularly the Cham. The next fourteen sovereigns of the Cham were all Churu. The Jarai and the Rhadé peoples are said to have had royal Cham treasure that they received at the end of his reign.[12] Furthermore, the Cham king, Po

---

[11] A *tuan* is a Malay Islamic teacher or educated elite.
[12] While there may not be enough evidence to assert that these groups necessarily became 'lowland' by interacting with lowland peoples, it is likely

Saut, who ascended the throne in 1655, was Po Romé's son by his Rhadé wife. Subsequently, the remaining Cham territories were actually ruled, in part, by highland peoples up until 1786 (Gay 1988:54-56). Po Romé's impact can also be seen through the influence that the text *Dalikal Po Romé* exerts on formative scholarly work for the next several centuries, including those of renowned Cham scholars Hợp Ai and Bố Thuận, and such French Orientalists as Etienne Aymonier and Paul Mus.

A sharp critique of Cham manuscripts from Aymonier questioned the historical value of their 'mythical content', leading him to the conclusion that they should not be used for historical study (Aymonier 1890). However, the replication, retelling and reinterpretation of the historical content contained within the manuscripts remained important well after Aymonier's time, developing a historicizable record of Po Romé in the tradition of Akhar Thrah manuscripts. Here we have the story of a highlander who has inverted the ingrained prejudices against highland peoples that have persisted throughout Southeast Asian history, by becoming a marker of the emergence of contemporary Cham lowland culture, through his association with: the Akhar Thrah script; the *sakawi* calendar; the practices of *kut* ancestral worship; and the unity between Cham Ahier and Awal factions. Hence, a highlander became the subject of veneration for this lowland community. While the highland 'adaptations' of Scott and others may have been strategies to 'keep the state at a distance' the adoption of 'lowland cultural traits' was also used by highlanders to rise to the top of lowland society. However, it is only through the continued reading, reprinting, and study of Akhar Thrah manuscripts that historians may gain a more complex view of the histories of highland-lowland relations that are critical to addressing Aung-Twin's (2011) concern about the *evidence* of these relationships. What follows is an in-depth analysis of the available source material that may be used for evidence of this in the case of Po Romé.

---

that, in certain ways they came to increasingly resemble 'lowlanders'. However, this does not mean that their own societies did not have these features to begin with.

DALIKAL PO ROMÉ: CHAM MANUSCRIPTS AND THE TRANSLATION

This section examines a classic Austronesian Cham history of Po Romé told in the form of a *dalikal* – one of several genres of Cham literature written in the abugida script called Akhar Thrah, the script of the Cham peoples of Southeast Asia. [13] Abugida scripts are composed of consonant-vowel pairings with vowel sound modifiers placed below, above, in front, or after the consonant-vowel symbol. Since Akhar Thrah is an abugida script, both the appearance of the glyphs and the underlying logic to the script resemble many of the scripts of Southeast Asia, including Javanese, Balinese, Khmer, Thai, Lao, and Burmese. Like many other Southeast Asian scripts, the Cham script is derived from the Pallava subfamily of the Brahmi scripts that are associated with mainland southeast India (Blood 1980, Daniels 1990). There are many varieties of Akhar Thrah. However, the major two varieties in contemporary usage are Akhar Thrah, in Vietnam, also known as the written form of Eastern Cham and Akhar Srak, in Cambodia, also known as the written form of Western Cham. In this article the manuscripts referenced were almost all written in Akhar Thrah or Eastern Cham script. Hence, the eastern Cham script is used in the appendix and terms are written in their Eastern Cham forms and western Cham terms that do appear in this article do not appear in the terms list at the end of the article. Future comparison between Eastern and Western Cham scripts, traditions and communal histories is a ground that is ripe for new scholarly research.

In what is now Vietnam, the Cham have used Akhar Thrah to record a series of distinct genres, e.g., *dalikal*, *akayet*, *ariya*, and *damnây*. Distinguishing between forms can be difficult. However, *dalikal* are generally more prosaic, whereas *akayet*, *ariya*, and *damnây* are more lyrical. [14] *Damnây* are generally sung during

---

[13] A good description of the *ariya* genre has been completed by Weber (2012:160-162). However, the best overall descriptions of Cham literary genres are in Vietnamese: Inrasra (2006:19-28) and Sakaya (2013:329-352). The Akhar Thrah script is still in use. However, computerized forms can differ significantly from the handwritten script.

[14] The assessment of the prosaic structure of the *dalikal* refers not only to

religious ceremonies. *Akayet* and *ariya* are considered forms of high, or classical, literature, with *akayet* being influenced by the Malay *hikayat*. *Ariya* generally appeared later than *akayet*. There are no absolutes, and individual texts that are technically *dalikal* may occasionally be labeled *damnây*. Furthermore, there are numerous forms of *dalikal* from *dalikal kalak* 'humorous stories' to *dalikal sakkarai* 'explicitly historical works' to *dalikal ampam* 'biographies'. These distinctions are not absolutes. An individual *dalikal* may have both *ampam* and *sakkarai* elements, or may contain other characteristics of other sub-genres (Sakaya 2013:329-352, Inrasara 2006:19-28).[15]

      Cham Akhar Thrah manuscripts are named in four ways. The first is to apply the genre of the manuscript as the first word in the title. This method is then combined with any three of the following methods, in apparent order of popularity: 1) the use of the name of the central character in the text (*Damnây Po Nâgar, Dalikal Po Klaong Garai, or Dalikal Cei Sit*), 2) a thematic summary of the material presented in the text (*Ariya Bini-Cam, Ariya Cam-Bini, Ariya Po Pareng*), and 3) the use of the first line of the text (*Akayet Nai Mai Mâng Mâkah*) (Inrasara 2006:10-13). However, there are often multiple versions of the same narrative in the same genre (*Dalikal Po Romé* and *Dalikal Po Romé angan Ja Saot*, for example) and the most important characters can also be found in multiple genres of texts. Thus, while there are various versions of *Dalikal Po Romé*, there is at least one text that is an *Ariya Po Romé* and a *Damnây Po Romé* as well.

      Importantly, all of these texts have self-realized visions of history – as Akhar Thrah texts frequently record historical details that are omitted from other oral or written histories. This is likely

---

their tendancy to be constructed with prose, but also to their tendency to be less complex. The *damnây*, *akayet*, and *ariya*, however, are not only constructed in verse but are also written in a more complex, poetic style filled with flowery language, metaphor, and nuance.

[15] The author recently worked with one such *damnây* of the goddess Po Inâ Nâgar, which is best considered a *dalikal* based on its form. The classification of genres used here is adapted from Sakya (2013) and Inrasara (2006).

because Akhar Thrah texts, while a fully distinct body of literature, also mediate between oral and literary traditions. Consequently, Akhar Thrah manuscripts provide historians a window into aspects of history that may have been overwritten or not recorded elsewhere, such as the history of Po Romé (Inrasara 1994:18, 2006:20-24, Weber 2012:160-162). For example, Vietnamese language historiography makes little mention of Po Romé, although Ken (2011:246) noted that a "recently published genealogy of the Nguyễn royal family acknowledges the marriage" between the Vietnamese princess Nguyễn Phúc Ngọc Khoa and Po Romé. Conversely, the history of Po Romé has been recorded in at least three genres of Cham literature using the script Akhar Thrah: *damnây*, *ariya*, and *dalikal*, with multiple forms that exist in each genre of text.[16]

To give readers a sense of a sample text's format, an approximate translation of the Cham vision of history in the version of *Dalikal Po Romé Angan Ja Saot* follows:

> This is the story of Po Romé when he was called the 'Poor Man Ja Saot'. When Po Romé was born in the village of Ranjueh his placenta was taken and buried in the village of Pa-Aok at Hamu Bhang Thoak. Then his mother brought him to Phan Rang. When they had just arrived at the territory of Phan Rang, they went to live in the village of Biuh. Po Romé went to work as a water buffalo herder by the dam of Aia Kiak and slept under the ironwood[17] tree. One day when Po Romé was asleep under the tree, its dragon spirit drifted out and licked his entire body.[18] Po Romé thus gained his prowess[19] from the spirit of the ironwood tree. Then, in the Year of the Goat [1627], Po Romé was enthroned. At this time the Vietnamese led two or three strikes against the Cham, but they were unsuccessful and Po Romé remained sovereign. Then the Vietnamese sent a beautiful

---

[16] Although I have not been able to access copies of each of these manuscripts, they do appear in the historical record.
[17] *Kraik*.
[18] This story of Po Romé and the dragon is remarkably similar to that of Yi epic hero Zhyge Alu's conception in the Nuosu epic, the *Hnewo Tepyy*, see Bender (2008). The dragon (Cham: Inâ Garai) is a common feature in Cham literature, particularly in the story of another Cham sovereign: Po Klong Garai. For further discussion of the Zomian framework, Bender's analysis provides an excellent example of highland literacy.
[19] *Ganreh*.

princess to love Po Romé. Her name was Bia Ut and Po Romé loved her very much.

Bia Ut had lived with Po Romé for just one year when she began to complain that she could neither sleep nor eat because Po Romé was always taking care of the ironwood tree and could not simultaneously care for her. So she complained all day and all night that she could not sleep because an evil spirit [20] possessed her. So, Po Romé ordered an exorcism to remove the spirit and had a *mâkgru* [21] healer treat Bia Ut. Nevertheless, she complained that she was getting worse and worse and cried, "Oh, Po Romé, if you really are a man of prowess, Po Po, please, go kill the ironwood tree so that I will be able to live. And if you really are a man of prowess and if you love me, then why not?"

But Po Romé did not realize that she was misleading him. The royal court and the sovereign's council pleaded with Po Romé not to kill the ironwood tree. That tree had an evil spirit inside it that was making the wife of the sovereign ill. But the soldiers pleaded, "Please do not kill the ironwood tree because if you kill the ironwood tree then the entire territory [22] will be in chaos."

So, Po Romé agreed with what they said. However, he did not realize at this time that Bia Ut was eavesdropping on his council. And, when she heard these words, she began to complain so loudly that Po Romé could hear her from her chambers. She cried, "Why have you not granted my request? You don't love me!" And so she cried, "I am the youngest daughter of the Vietnamese king, but... although I have left the house of my mother and father to follow you, you still do not follow my wishes, even though this will kill me!"

Because she uttered these words while sobbing, Po Romé decided that he should make a formal request for his soldiers to kill [23] the ironwood tree. The soldiers then went to the tree and hacked away at the bark for three days and three nights, but they could not kill the ironwood; the bark returned each day as it had been before. The soldiers then went to have an audience with the sovereign and brought the news that they could not kill the ironwood. However, Bia Ut overheard the

---

[20] *Jin.*
[21] A *mâkgru* is a traditional healer in Cham society.
[22] *Nâger.*
[23] This word is normally translated as 'cut' or 'chop', however, in the Cham version, the word for 'cut' or 'chop' is not used, rather, the word *mâtai* 'to die', which implies 'to kill' or 'to murder' appears here. This emphasizes the deification or personification of the tree in conjunction with what Bender (2008) has referred to as 'ecocentrism'.

gossip[24] among the citizens that there was a plan to kill the ironwood tree. So, she calmed down and began to sleep. When Po Romé found Bia Ut sleeping calmly, but also had already received the report from his soldiers that the ironwood tree was not dead, his heart began to ache. So, he ordered the soldiers once more, "You must fell the ironwood tree in one day!"

Now the soldiers asked Po Romé once more to rescind the order, since they were again unable[25] to follow his orders. Now they obstructed Po Romé and would not support him at all. So one day they asked to have an audience with the sovereign and the issue of how to strike through the trunk of the ironwood tree was weighed. Po Romé shouted, "Hey! Everyone![26] If you want to kill me, then OK! Go ahead! That's fine and regrettable to me only!" And so he said in vain, "Tell your king[27] that he can kill me!"

The soldiers struggled to get the sovereign to understand them. But Po Romé went outside and took the handle and head of a *jaung* axe[28] and tapped them together three times. Then there was a funeral rite to send off the soul of the ironwood, and Po Romé struck the trunk three times, and each time the ironwood let out a great moan. The blood[29] of the ironwood then ran out all over the face of the earth, for three days and three nights, and Bia Ut became healthy again. She had no problems whatsoever.

Bia Ut then sent a letter to her father to say that the prowess of the king of the Cham territories had been cut, as the felling of the ironwood tree was now completed. Then, when the Vietnamese king read the news from Bia Ut, he raised an army to strike Po Romé. And so, since the ironwood tree was killed and

---

[24] *Jari jaro.*

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

[26] Here, Po Romé's anger caused him to slip into informal register.

[27] The text is not clear as to which *patau* 'king' is meant. The word *patau* is also found among the Austronesian highland Jarai peoples and the Austronesian Chamic Achenese language (Aymonier and Cabaton 1906:260, 288). Generally, this manuscript employs *patau* to refer to the Vietnamese king (*patau Jek*), however, it is possible that Po Rome refers to lesser kings or sovereigns among the peoples of the Cham *nâger*, such as a highland king (*patau Cek*), king of the Jarai (*patau Jarai*), or even the king of the Chams (*patau Cam*). However, in this manuscript and others I have examined, the term *Po Cam* 'Cham sovereign' more commonly refers to the head of the Cham polities.

[28] A *jaung* axe is two-handed, has a long handle, and a long blade. It is similar to other axes that were common throughout Malaysia and Vietnam.

[29] *Darah.*

uprooted, there was a war. The Vietnamese invaded and wrenched the land away from the Cham. As the Vietnamese king and his soldiers surrounded the door of the palace, so Po Romé abandoned the capital to flee, but the Vietnamese pursued and captured him. Po Romé was forced to pay tribute to the Vietnamese and so Bia Ut returned to her land.

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

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

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

A thorough reading of this text cannot be completed in a single sitting. Rather, it must be read multiple times in multiple sittings, finished at one moment and then revisited in the next. With the first reading, one might note certain historicizable information, such as Po Romé's birthplace, or the conflict with the Vietnamese, while one may also note certain mystical information, such the appearance of a dragon (*Inâ Garai*). Regardless, the deeper meaning of the text becomes apparent from its last lines, that is, that the Cham people could not return to prosperity through the silence of their ruling class, but only through the ruling class speaking out on the behalf of the Cham people. Understood in this way, *Dalikal Po Romé* calls to action those who read this particular version of the text. By reframing this call within the discussion of Zomia and an emergent Cham historiographic tradition composed in Akhar Thrah, the figure of Po Romé becomes re-encapsulated, highland identity de-emphasized on occasion (as in the above translated text), and read in different ways in different contexts, but remaining central to generations of Cham scholars as the following section demonstrates.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

The study of *Dalikal Po Romé*, placed in the context of a consideration of Cham historiographic tradition, sheds new light on the Cham people from the early-modern period through the colonial era. At the most basic level of analysis, the history of Po Romé in *Dalikal Po Romé Angan Ja Saot* records the loss of Cham sovereignty at the hands of the Vietnamese. The result is that the Cham are forced to pay tribute in land or tax to the Vietnamese king (*patau Jek*). Because this event was not recorded in Vietnamese histories, some historians doubt the text's validity (Ken 2011). Nevertheless, the text gives historians a Cham voice from early-modern Cham society in the seventeenth century. We see that there is still a cham sovereign or *po* at the top of society, who lived in a *mâdhin* 'palace' and controlled several *buel bhap* 'classes of peoples' who were loyal to him. There are also several cultural tropes mentioned within the text that refer to common practices in seventeenth century Cham society, including a metaphoric reference to birth that appears in the first part of the text (see Appendix).

Secondly, the historical value of the text may not stem immediately from the context of Po Romé's reign. A more contemporary reading of the classic history of Po Romé and other Akhar Thrah texts (Po 1987) is informed by the additional context of later Vietnamese conquests of Cham and highland administered territories in 1653, 1692, and a particularly repressive series of administrative reforms and military campaigns from 1832 to 1835 under the Emperor Minh Mệnh (Po 1987). Memories of loss became more important in the context of the removal of Cham sovereignty over ancestral lands. As the historiographic record does not appear to contain an account of Po Romé's history in Akhar Thrah texts until the end of the nineteenth century, one can assume later texts that refer to areas formerly controlled by the Cham are partially informed by a somewhat shared experience of colonial conquest – not just Vietnamese conquest. Nevertheless, a historiographic examination of these texts allows a preliminary delineation of changes that occurred

in Akhar Thrah genres over time. Table 1 illustrates a brief outline of the Akhar Thrah historiography of Po Romé, listed by manuscript code, content, author, year, and location.

Table 1. Akhar Thrah historiography of Po Romé.

Manuscript Code	Content/Title	Author	Date(s)	Location
CM 23	Damnây Po Romé and studies of Akhar Rik, Akhar Yok and Akhar Tuel	Họp Ai	1880s-1890s (?)	Asiatic Society Paris
CAM 152	Dalikal Po Romé, Dalikal Po Klaong Garai, Akayet Um Murup	Bố Thuận	1932	EFEO Library Paris
CAM 245	Dalikal Po Romé	?	? (1930s-1940s)	EFEO Library
CAM 248D	Dalikal Po Romé	?	? (1930s-1940s)	EFEO Library
CAM Microfilm 1	Damnây Po Romé	?	1975	Fonds of the EFEO Paris
CAM Microfilm 14	Hymns to (damnây?) Po Romé	?	1975	Fonds of the EFEO

Most scholarly examinations of Cham history begin with citations from French literature. It is thus odd that it has been forgotten that all major French studies of the Cham occurred in partnership with Cham scholars, who likely reproduced the history of Po Romé for 239 years before such histories appeared in the French language scholarship of Etienne Aymonier.[30] The first datable

---

[30] This assertion is based on detailed extant records of Cham history. Of all the non-state peoples in Southeast Asia, the Cham have produced one of the most detailed written historical records. Although he later determined that they were of little historical value when compared to Vietnamese sources, Aymonier used these sources as a consistent basis for his research on the Cham (Aymonier 1890, Aymonier and Cabaton 1906).

account appears in the work of Aymonier's contemporary and research partner, Hợp Ai, who was from the Cham village of Palei Hamu Tanran. He is most famous for his classic *Ariya Po Pareng* (1885) that details his journeys with several other Cham researchers up the Vietnamese coastline at the behest of Aymonier. Like many, but not all, of these assistants, he was forced to join the troupe (Inrasara 2006:71-87).

The journey afforded Hợp Ai extensive travel experience along the Vietnamese coastline and into highland areas that had once been under Cham control and likely informed his choice to concentrate on the study of certain Akhar Thrah texts, as well as his studies in the older ritualistic script of Akhar Rik and the 'middle Cham' scripts of Akhar Yok and Akhar Tuel. When he voyaged through areas formerly under Cham control, he marveled at writing on the Cham towers and noted that he could not understand why the former Cham sovereigns had fled their lands (Inrasara 2006:430-450). By studying the Cham past and promoting the culture, Hợp Ai could reconnect with portions of a history that were 'lost' to him. Further details come from an Akhar Thrah manuscript numbered CM 23, currently housed at the Société Asiatique 'Asiatic Society' in Paris. This manuscript provides historians with the earliest extant written account of Po Romé's history that is not found on the Po Romé tower. It also is of note that Hợp Ai's study of Po Romé is likely a *damnây* devotional text that was used in Cham religious ceremonies at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

Hợp Ai's *Damnây Po Romé* remains a crucial historical text – it may be one of the oldest histories of Po Romé that can be readily studied.[31] Furthermore, Hợp Ai's collection of studies written on CM 23 provides historians with a crucial window into the history of French colonialism by providing historians with a deeper understanding of the perception of the Hợp Ai as a representative of Cham scholarship. Five years after Hợp Ai composed *Ariya Po Pareng*, Aymonier published the first European language study of Po

---

[31] This manuscript is available in Paris and may exist in other copies at the University of Malaysia-Kuala Lumpur or in Ninh Thuận Province in Vietnam.

Romé in "Legendes Historiques Des Chames [Historical Legends of the Cham]" in *Excursions et reconnaissance* (Aymonier 1890, LaFont et al. 1977:163-165).

Following the accounts of Po Romé in Hợp Ai's work, the next datable historical piece regarding the Cham sovereign is associated with the Cham scholar Bố Thuận. This historical record is from CAM 152, a *cahier* 'notebook' held at the library of the École Française D'Extrême Orient (EFEO) in Paris. The notebook appears to have been penned by Bố Thuận and given to the French scholar, Paul Mus, in 1932. It includes a forty-seven page version of the *Damnây Po Klaong Garai*, a lyrical story of the twelfth century sovereign who became a *devaraja*-like figure, and is associated with the most active[32] Cham tower in Vietnam today; a six-page genealogy of Cham divinities; and a thirty-seven page version of the Cham manuscript *Akayet Um Marup*, which bears heavy markers of Islamic influence in some versions, presumably including Bố Thuận's. The manuscript then continues with twenty-seven pages of hymnals devoted to Po Ganvor Mâtri.[33] These notes are followed by the *Dalikal Po Romé*, presumably penned by Bố Thuận, which includes notes in the page margins that were made by Paul Mus and includes references to objects that can be found in a Cham *sang*[34] *mâgik*, the equivalent of a mosque/ temple for the polythetic, yet Islamic-oriented, Cham Bani population (Yasuko 2012, LaFont et al. 1977:108-109). A comparison of the works of Hợp Ai and Bố Thuận would allow historians to better understand how historical literature related to Po Romé changed over time and was adapted for new contexts.

---

[32] I use the term 'most active' because all the towers in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces remain active religious sites, not only tourist destinations and sites of archeological study. Furthermore, the Po Klaong Garai Temple is centrally located, at the center of the largest cluster of Cham home villages in Vietnam and attracts thousands of people every year for the Katé religious ceremonies.

[33] Po Gineur Mâtri Cham deity is often described as an *avatar* of the Hindu god, Śiva. The image of Po Ginuer Mâtri adorns the entrance to the Po Klaong Garai Tower.

[34] In Cham populations around Phan Rang, Vietnam, the transliterated /s/ is pronounced as a hard /th/ as in the name 'Thomas', while the transliterated /th/ is pronounced as /s/.

Decades of brutal civil conflict swept the Indochinese peninsula following Bố Thuận's early work with Paul Mus. Although there are a few sources on the Cham community during this time, the protracted civil conflict directly impacted Cham scholarship. After Bố Thuận's early work there are few, if any, other datable texts of the *Dalikal Po Romé*, even though Bố Thuận remained a teacher in the Cham community through the 1950s.

Two other versions of *Dalikal Po Romé* in the EFEO library – CAM 245 and CAM 248D – cannot be associated with individual authors.

The next project that produced datable versions of the *Dalikal Po Romé* appears in work completed through the partnership of the French missionary, Father Gerard Moussay, and several scholars of the Cham community, including Nara Vija, Po Dharma, Thiên Sanh Cảnh, and others. *Po Romé's* story appears in a *damnây* on CAM Microfilm 1 (1974) that was a manuscript recopied and labeled B1 for the Cham Cultural Center that Moussay founded in Phan Rang, Ninh Thuận Province, Vietnam in 1969. Other works relating to Po Romé that were microfilmed as part of this project include hymns to Po Romé on CAM Microfilm 14.[35] Given that the Cham community seems to have preserved this narrative in a large number of works over the last 120 years, a more detailed study might reveal additional works in the historiographical record that refer to Po Romé (LaFont et al. 1977:113, 118-119; Po 1981).

After the major works of the 1960s and 1970s, there was a notable appearance of the *Dalikal Po Romé* in international scholarship in a graduate essay written by Taylor (1989), who likely relies on the work of the Cham scholar, Hợp Ai, as she extracted her history of Po Romé's life directly from the work of Etienne Aymonier. Taylor's essay made a critical argument in the field of art history by challenging the widespread assumption that the tower dedicated to Po Romé marked a decline in Cham art (Taylor 1989:1-5). Taylor appears to have been reacting to not so much 'classical' Orientalist scholarship (such as Aymonier or Durand), but to a study by the

---

[35] It is likely that these are also *damnây*.

EFEO in 1963 – Jean Boisselier's *Statuaire de Champa.* Rather than 'oriental decline', Taylor argued that the tower marked a shift in artistic styles, demonstrating an increased affiliation with Malay artisans among the Cham community, and was a sign of continued memorialization of the past (Taylor 1989).

While work such as Taylor's began to reconsider the history of the Cham kingdom in Vietnam in the 1980s and 1990s, this work could not have continued without the emergence of the prolific Cham scholars Po Dharma, Inrasara, and Dharbhan Po Dam (also known as Dr. Thành Phần, or Gru Hajan). A grant from the Toyota Foundation enabled Dharbhan Po Dam to collect over 10,000 unique pages of Akhar Thrah manuscripts in 500 volumes between 1998 and 2002. By 2007, Dharbhan Po Dam had catalogued one hundred of these manuscripts, including many versions of the stories such as the *Dalikal Po Romé* recorded by different Cham authors at various times (Thành Phần 2007).[36] This work is, however, only a fraction of Dharbhan Po Dam's research, which has sought to provide in-depth anthropological, historical, and epigraphic studies in Vietnam and tie these studies to the greater context of Southeast Asia.

In contemporary discussions of this history, Akhar Thrah manuscripts have contributed greatly to the understanding of Po Romé and the results of his reign for the Cham community at large, including several discussions that take place in online forums such as nguoicham.com and champaka.info regarding the legitimacy of local religious sites. It seems one member of the Cham community recently attempted to venerate the birth site of Po Romé's mother. However, others were considerably less interested in giving any form of consideration to this claim based on a lack of historical evidence (Quảng Đại Cẩn 2012).

Despite the proliferation of online materials among the Cham community on such sites as nguoicham.com, inrasara.com, and

---

[36] Chăm 43 was written by Thành Phần and is in his collection. It records the *Ariya* of Po Romé on pp 5-8. Chăm 45 was penned by Ông Kadhar Gru and has hymns to Po Romé on pp 80-83. Chăm 57 by Ông Quãng Tỹ has a *Damnây Po Gihlau* on pp 12-13 and a *Damnây Po Romé* on pp 15-17. Chăm 95 was penned by Ông Kadhar Gru and records the *Damnây* of Po Romé on pp 74-76 (Thành Phần 2007).

champaka.info, many Cham historical classics, including *ariya*, *dalikal*, and *damnây*, have not been digitized. Nevertheless, there has been a trend among Cham scholars, from both Vietnam and elsewhere, to increasingly focus on the historical details provided in Akhar Thrah manuscripts, although this trend has not always included reproduction of the manuscripts themselves. In a small Cham community in Cambodia, the Po Romé narrative has taken on new religious and societal functions as a critical aspect of the reconciliation process between the Cham in Cambodia and their relatively recent experience under the Khmer Rouge regime. Here, Po Romé appears in a different form – as a *chai* (also Romanized as '*cay*') spirit present in spirit medium rituals (Trankel 2003).

Trankel (2003) sees the revival of spirit mediumship in the Cambodian Cham population of the Kaum Imam San/ Bani group as inherently linked to reconciliation because, after the Khmer Rouge regime, the line of authority for spirit mediumship was disassociated from claims to links with the Cham royalty (*po*), and reassociated with claims to having spent time in the O Russey community in Kampong Chhnang Province, during a critical period from the late 1970s through the 1980s. Although this community numbered 23,000, or only ten percent of Cambodian Chams in 2003, academic interest in this community has been strong. Trankel received his recounting from Imam El in 1996 from the community of Phum Thmey. Unfortunately, Trankel does not point out, and may not have been aware, that this narrative is almost the same as the *Dalikal Po Romé Angan Ja Saot* presented in this article, except for a few differences to account for the Khmer context: the king was named King Sas Cay (*chai*), the wife was named Pia A'Sas (Bia A'sas – wife of Sas), the tree was called a *satraw* tree, and, after his death, Sas Cay became a dangerous spirit (Trankel 2003:34). Hence, the spirit of King Sas Cay (Po Romé) became a central one among the twenty to thirty court spirits from the Cham royal court to be worshipped in the Kaum Imam San/ Bani group spiritual rituals (Trankel 2003:39).

Notably, the process of reconciliation in Cambodia has created multiple versions of the story with some (and potentially, the

dominant) versions of the *chai* spirit story being even closer to the narrative presented in Dalikal Po Romé Angan Ja Saot. Periero (2012) recently reported that, during his own fieldwork in Cambodia, the *satraw* tree was refered to as a *kerik* tree (Periero 2012:138-145). That this king was originally an uplander by bloodline, from the Churu group, and not a lowland Cham, however, seems to have been ignored in scholarly reportings of the legend of 'the Cham king Sas Cay'. On the one hand, it could be possible to look at this 'loss' of historical detail as a dropping of information that was unimportant to the Cham community in certain contexts. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the figure of a highlander has been so influential in the historical record that Trankel (2003) considered the figure an integral piece to the spirit mediumship practice that, in and of itself, was also considered crucial to the reconciliation of the Cham community with its own history in the post-Khmer Rouge context. This reconciliation with history, which Hamid (2006) also refers to as the 'historical layer' of Cham identity, has been seen as one of the three essential elements along with 'religious' and 'repressed minority' layers, to understanding the Cham within Southeast Asia (Hamid 2006). Therefore, it is equally possible to assert that continued explorations of this historical layer are critical to the understanding of the Cham community in Vietnam, Cambodia, and region-wide. Finally, deeper examinations of this 'historical layer' will likely reveal new ways that highland-lowland relations manifest in a variety of different contexts. For example, in this article we have seen how a highland Churu not only became a leader of lowland society, but also was deified, in both Vietnamese-Cham and Cambodian-Cham contexts, adding a transnational frame to the veneration of Po Romé.

CONCLUSIONS

In this article I have examined the narrative of what history may determine to be the 'first highland king of the Cham'. Although

Champa itself may have never existed in such a concrete sense, it is likely that Po Romé was one of the first, if not the first, highland Churu to hold the majority of political power in the lowland Cham civilization, emphasizing memories of him as an influential king. Many basic markers of contemporary Cham identity are traceable to his reign. The memory of Po Romé's reign is encapsulated in Cham documents written in Akhar Thrah, which influenced an emergent Cham historical memory and historiographic tradition. Recent anthropological findings show that the highland Churu king had such an impact on Cham society that he continues to be remembered in the form of a *chai* spirit, albeit by a different name. By tracing the historical, textual, and historiographical aspects of Po Romé's narrative, I conclude that Po Romé truly uproots standard perceptions of highland-lowland dynamics in the regions, inverting certain common perceptions about the monodirectionality of highland-lowland dynamics.

Finally, while this may not demonstrate a total upheaval of Scott's (2009) recent envisionings of the highlands as spaces of anti-state forming cultural practices, Po Romé's narrative provides a framework for further engagement with highland-lowland relations. It suggests that evidence of highland-lowland relations might be gleaned from the usage of lowland minority 'non-state' sources, such as those of Cham Akhar Thrah manuscripts. Hence, it was possible for a highlander to become the very marker of a watershed moment in the history of a lowland Southeast Asian peoples.

APPENDIX: DALIKAL PO ROMÉ

The manuscript that appears in this study was photocopied from the large personal collection of Dharbhan Po Dam (Gru Hajan or PGS. TS. Thành Phần), who has begun to catalog, translate, and analyze more than 10,000 non-repeating pages of Cham manuscript that he collected with support from the Toyota Foundation. While most of these manuscripts appear in a relatively standardized form of Akhar Thrah script, there are also many manuscripts that were produced by the Bani Muslim Cham population that show both variant orthography and other scripts.[37]

The Bani Muslim Chams are important in understanding the history of the Cham of Vietnam. They have produced Cham manuscripts using forms of Akhar Tuel, Akhar Bini, Akhar Jawi, and Akhar Qur'an that have not yet been adequately examined in English-language studies. Akhar Bini is the standard script of the Cham Bani Muslim population and, while computerized scripts for Akhar Thrah have been developed, a computerized script for Akhar Bini (a localized form of Arabic) awaits development.

The Bani Muslim population has been influenced by centuries of contact with the greater Muslim world, and consequently, the practice of noting who originally produced a Akhar Bini manuscript, who it was given to, and on what date the manuscript was produced appears to be more common than with Akhar Thrah manuscripts. Thus, historicizing manuscripts in Akhar Bini may often be an easier task.

Greater attention to all Cham manuscripts, regardless of the form of Cham script (*akhar cam*), is crucial to understanding the history of the Cham population according to Cham sources, which is the motivation behind this study. As such, this study has been completed with an attempt to remain as true as possible to the source, which is a six page manuscript titled *Da Lakal*[38] *Po Ramé*

---

[37] This is not to say that Bani manuscripts are not presented in standard Akhar Thrah.
[38] This Romanization is inconsistent with the standard for the genre because

Angan Ja Saot that appears as pages 107 to 113 in a longer source manuscript of at least 117 pages. All commentary, explanation, transliteration, and translation of this *dalikal* into both Vietnamese and English were made possible with assistance from Gru Hajan, Gru Sakaya, Gru Sikhara, Mâ Hàn Ni, Mâ Thuyết, Mâ Hoàng Yến, Sahbin, Jayang and Mâ Maily. Without their patience, this study would not have been completed.

A challenge was the condition of the manuscripts and that we worked from photocopies rather than originals. Cham manuscripts are not yet held in archives or museums and are not protected in climate-controlled areas. The Cham population has experienced centuries of overt oppression with only occasional tacit approval, and generally has been treated with ignorance by the Vietnamese. This may be changing. Nevertheless, this historical reality has forced a disconnect between orality and literacy among scholars of Akhar Thrah. This helps explain why both written and spoken Cham have not been standardized to the extent that Vietnamese has. Thus, Romé may also be written Ramé, [39] Ro Mé, [40] Ramo, [41] and Ramaiy. [42] The name 'Ramo' appears almost entirely throughout this manuscript. One notable exception is the title. Similarly, *dalikal* is often the standard for this genre although *da lakal* appears to be the standard in this manuscript.

Sikhara, Mâ Hàn Ni, Mâ Thuyết, and others helped me comb through this text to ientify and correct errors that appear in my translation and in the original manuscript. Errors that appeared in the original manuscript have been corrected the first time that they appear after the mistake [in brackets and underlined]. This method makes it possible to slowly produce more standardized versions of Cham manuscripts that are more easily read by those with literacy in

---

variant spellings exist in handwritten Cham. This Romanization is a truer representation of what the actual text was titled, without correcting the spelling of the manuscript to accord with contemporary standards.

[39] ꨣꨠꨯꨮ

[40] ꨣꨯ ꨣꨯꨮ

[41] ꨣꨩꨠꨯ

[42] ꨣꨩꨠꨰꩈ

Akhar Thrah, while also introducing this source to both Vietnamese and English language audiences.

Additionally, texts produced during this time feature a short [*Tuel*] variant for the word *nan*, which can not yet be produced with Akhar Thrah fonts and thus appears as ꦤꦤ in these manuscripts. ꦤꦤ is also used in many Akhar Thrah texts. However, since ꦤꦤ is correctly Romanized as *nân* and not *nan*, I have used ꦤꦤ here.[43]

---

[43] Any errors in this text are my own. Please contact me at this email address: noseworthy@wisc.edu if you find errors so that they may be addressed in future texts.

Line #	Akhar Thrah	Cham Latin/ Cham Rumi	Vietnamese	Line #
Page 107				
၇	ꩪꩰ ꩱꩡꩥ [ꩪꩶꩡꩥ] ꩢꩢ ꩡꩢꩴꩶ ꩯꩢꩤꩥ ꩥꩢ ꩥꩡꩴꩥ	Da lakal [dalikal] Po Ramé angan Ja Saot//	Truyện cổ về Po Ramé tên là Ja Saot	1
၈	ꩯꩢ ꩪꩶ ꩥꩢ ꩤꩶꩮ ꩪꩶ ꩱꩢꩶ ꩪꩶ ꩡꩢꩴ ꩡꩢꩮꩥ [ꩡꩢꩮꩥ] ꩱ ꩥꩡꩥ ꩢꩢ ꩤꩢꩥ ꩢꩶ	Tak di kar ndih di apuei[44] di Palei Ranjuoh [Ranjueh] asaok Po nan ba	Ngày xửa ngày xửa, khi Po Ramo sinh ra tại làng Ranjueh và nhau thai[45] của ông ấy	2

---

[44] Ndih di apuei = *Nḍih* có nghĩa là ngủ; *apuei* có nghĩa; là lửa *Ndih di apuei* là một cụm từ sử dụng để chỉ sự sinh đẻ của phụ nữ Chăm: "*Khi phụ nữ sinh con sẽ ngủ trên một cái giường có chậu than lửa ở dưới*"; tuy nhiên nói chung câu này có thể dịch ra: *sinh ra*.

[45] Although only occassionally practiced today, from the seventeenth century onward, the culture of Panduranga relied on a form of humidification to treat mothers and their newborn children. The mother and the infant rested on a bed in a small room constructed outside the family home. A bed of coals was kept under the bed. Hot water poured on the coals induced steam, which sterilized the air. The mother and newborn remained in this room for up to six months. Time was kept by two cacti planted outside the family compound. The area was kept clean and the husband or close family members did not enter in order to better ensure the safety of the mother and the child, who were treated only by approved nurses. When the cacti withered, the close family knew that the sixth month birth cycle was finished and that family members could enter. Furthermore, throughout Southeast Asia, the practice or burying the placenta at the home-village of an individual is common. This normally occurs at the place of birth. In Vietnam, this place is called the *nơi chọn*, which is synonymous with the home village (VN: *quê hương*; C: *bhum palei*). Thus, Po Romé differed from the rest of the community because his placenta was not buried were he was born (this commentary was made with special thanks to Gru Hajan and Sikhara.)

๒	ꨨꨭꩉ ꨨꨤ [ꨨꨬꩉ] ꨤꩣ ꨤꨯꨱ ꨤꨮꨕꨭꨥꩀ ꨥꨪ ꨨꨭꨮꨭꩈ ꨧꩉ ꨨꨯꨱꩀ ꨤꨮꨱ ꩃ ꨳꩉ ꨧꨯꨱꨨ ꨨꨯꨱꩀ	mârai dal [dar] pak palei Pa-aok di hamu Bhang Thaok,[46] Inâ Po Nan pok	Được đem đi chôn ở làng Pa-aok, ruộng Bhang Thoak, sau đó mẹ của Ông	3
๓	ꨧꩉ ꨧꨯꨱꨨ ꨓꨢꨱꩀ ꨤꨪꩉ ꨥꨮꨮ [ꨥꨮꨮ] ꨧꩉ ꨕꨮꩉ ꨘꨣꨮ ꨤꨪꩉ ꩃ ꨧꨯꨱꩈ ꨥꨪ ꨤꨯꨱ ꨥꨭꨮ	Po Nan tabiak Panrang. Baruw nao tel nâger Panrang daok di palei Biuh[47]	ấy ra Phan Rang. Lúc mới đến xứ sở Phan Rang để sinh sống ở làng Biuh	4
๔	ꨓꨯꩀ ꨀꨚꨨ ꨧꩉ ꩀꨮ ꨣꨮꨕꨮ ꨥꨪ ꨥꨕꩉ ꨁꨮꨬ ꨤꨪꨧ ꨳꨪꩉ ꨲ ꨳꨱꨮꩈ ꨀꨲꩃꨨ ꩀꨳꨱꩀ	tok apah nao kleng kubaw di banâk Aia Kiak ndih mâng ala 'phun kraik'.	[Po Ramo] đi chăn trâu thuê ở đập Akiak và ngủ ở dưới gốc cây 'kraik'.	5
๕	ꨁꨘꨮ ꨣꨢꩉ ꩃ ꨥꨯꨱꩀ ꨕꨤꩀ ꩀꨳꨱꩀ ꨓꨢꨱꩀ ꨤꨮꨨ ꨒꨳꨮ * ꨕꨪ ꨨꨭ ꨣꨳꩉꨮꨨ ꨓꨢꨱꩀ	Inâ garay daok dalam kraik tabiak liah drei. Nhu hu ganreh tabiak	Con rồng ở trong cây kraik bay ra liếm toàn thân [Po Ramo]. Ông ấy có sức mạnh phi thường được truyền từ	6
๖	ꨥꨪ ꨀꨲꩃꨨ ꩀꨳꨱꩀ * ꨕꨮꩉ ꨔꨭꩆ ꨘꨩꨧꩀ ꨚꨱꨢ	Di phun kraik. Tel thun Nâsak pabaiy tagok	sức mạnh của cây kraik. Vào năm mùi, ông ấy đã lên	7

---

46 Hamu Bhang Thoak = *ruộng khô khan* [*không có nước*]; Hamu Bhang Thoak refers to a *hamu* 'paddy plot' that has no water and likely refers to a paddy plot that has gone dry.

47 Chắc là Palei Biuh bị mất rồi. It is likely that the village of Biuh has already been 'lost', which generally means that the village was either evacuated during Vietnamese conquest, destroyed by the Vietnamese, or in rarer instances, destroyed by flooding and seasonal rains.

		drâng rai Jieng patao	ngôi vua	
꩖	ꩪ꩞ ꩪꩦ ꩑ [ꩫꩀ] ꩨꩦ ꩟ꩅ [ꩪꩀ] ꩫꩫ ꩟꩞ ꩫ ꩀ ꩩꩦ ꩟ ꩨꩫ ꩪ꩞ ꩅꩫ ꩪ꩞ꩀ ꩗	"Patao Jek" [48] hu ba baol [buel] mâsuh di dua klau mbeng di jai saong Po Ramo o	Vua người Việt đã dẫn quân đến đánh hai, ba lần, nhưng hông đánh thắng được Po Ramo.	8
ꩫ	ꩪ꩞ ꩪꩦ ꩫꩫ ꩨꩫꩦ ꩟꩕꩞ ꩨꩦ ꩅꩫꩫ ꩫ ꩪꩫ ꩀꩫꩦ ꩫꩫ ꩕꩞꩞ ꩀ ꩪ꩞ ꩪ꩞ꩀ	Patao Jek ngap bandi biniai balimah sa urang kumei siam binai ka Po Ramo	Và vua người Việt đem một người con gái rất xinh đẹp gả cho Po Ramo	9
Page 108				
꩗ꩆ	ꩫꩫꩫ ꩪꩦ ꩖꩝ ꩪ꩞ ꩪ꩞ꩀ ꩪ꩞ꩫ ꩫꩫ ꩨꩫ ꩪꩫꩦ ꩪꩦ ꩖꩝ ꩪ꩞ꩀ ꩖ ꩫ꩞ ꩪ꩞ ꩪ꩞ꩀ	Angan Bia Ut, Po Ramo tok ngap bhar randi Bia Ut daok saong Po Ramo	Thiếp ấy tên là Bia Ut[49] Po Ramo rất yêu thương nàng, Bia Ut ở với Po Ramo	10
꩗꩗	ꩀꩫꩫꩀ ꩑ [ꩫꩀ] ꩫ ꩖꩝꩝ ꩘꩝꩝ * ꩫꩫ ꩨꩫ꩞ ꩨꩫꩦ ꩫꩫꩀ ꩗ ꩗꩞ ꩫꩫꩦ ꩝꩝꩞ ꩗꩞ ꩪꩫꩦ	Kajaik hu sa thun gen. ngap bindi biniai mâruak mbeng oh tamâ ndih oh bangi	Gần được một năm. [Bia Ut] làm nũng nĩu giả vờ bị bệnh ăn không được ngủ cũng không được	11

<hr>

[48] Patao Jek is a term for the Vietnamese kings and has extremely negative connotations, even stronger than the term 'Patao Yuen', a term that has roots in the Sanskrit term *yavanna* 'barbarian' according to Aymonier (1890).

[49] Có thể có nghĩa hai nghĩa: vợ bắc và con út. Bia Ut may mean 'wife from the north' or 'the youngest child'.

ꨯꨝ	ꨆꨢꨮꩃ ꨯꨣꨮ [ꨯꨝꨮ] ꨬ ꨟꨤꨩ ꨛꨯꨤꩉ ꨮꨤꨣꨯ ꨝꨣꨤꩅ ꨆꩈꨮ ꨮꩌꩍꩃ ꨯꨚꨣ ꨛꨯꨤꩉ ꨯꨣꨮꨮꨣꩍ	Kayua nyu mboh Po Ramo mâlieng kunâ phun kraik Po Ramo anit	Bởi vì nàng ta thấy Po Ramo luôn luôn chăm sóc cây kraik, mà thờ ơ với nàng. Po Ramo rất yêu thương	12
ꨯꩇ	ꨣꨯꨘꩌ ꨝꨪꩍ ꨟꨮꨭ ꨯꨤꨮ * ꨝꨪꩍ ꨟꨮꨭ ꨆ ꨟꩅ ꨶꨤꨮꨩꨭ ꨣꨘꩍ ꨝꨣꨤꩈ * ꨤꨮꩃ ꨝꨣꨤꩈ ꨝꨣꨤꨯꩈ ꨝꨤꩉ	ranam Bia Ut lo. Bia Ut ka mâng mraw harei mâlam. Lac mâlam halei jang	Bia Ut. Bia Ut thanh thở suốt ngày suốt đêm. Bảo đêm nào cũng	13
ꨯꩆ	ꨧꩈꩍ ꨝꨟꨯꨮ ꨝꨣꨩꩇ ꨝꨣꨤꩈ ꨟꨪ ꨮꩌꩍꩃ ꨆꩈꨮ ꨧꩌꩇ ꨓꨝꨣꨆ ꨝꨣꩈ ꨯꨝꩍ * ꨯꨚꨣ ꨛꨯꨤꩉ ꨝꨤꩉ	ndih mboh jin daok di phun kraik nan tabiak mâk nyu Po Ramo ngap	ngủ thấy ma quỷ đậu ở trên cây kraik đến bắt nàng, Po Ramo làm	14
ꨯꩈ	ꨝꩉ ꨤꨝꨮꩈꨬꨝꨮ ꨤꨝꩉꩃ ꨝꩉꩍ ꨬꩈꨭ ꨤꨝꨯꩈꨭ ꨤꨝꩅꨱꨭ ꨝꨤꩉꩃ ꨆ ꨝꨪꩍ ꨟꨮꨭ * ꨝꨪꩍ ꨟꨮꨭ ꨝꨤꩉ ꨯꩍ	yang panduec harak Mâk gru pangap racaow tiap ka bia ut, Bia ut jang oh	Các nghi lễ, truyền chỉ bắt các ông thầy pháp đuổi tà, diệt trừ ma quỷ cho Bia Ut. Bia Ut cũng	15
ꨯꨟ	ꨮꨝꨪꩍ ꨝꨆꨪꨆ ꨛꨝꩈꨆ ꨝꨣꨮꨮ ꨛꨝꩈꨆ ꨮꩄ ꨟꩈꨯ ꨯꩍ ꨓꨟꨯ ꨧꩈꩍ ꨯꩍ ꨶꨣ ꨯꨣꨪꩍ ꨝꨣꨆꨮ	abih hakik padak harei padak trak mbeng oh tamâ ndih oh war, hia caok	Không thể hết bệnh, mà ngày qua ngày bệnh càng nặng them, "ăn không được ngủ không được" nàng ấy khóc lóc với	16

ꩬꩽ	ꩬꨯꩬ ꨕꨮꩼ ꨈꨋꨪꩺ ⁕ ꨥꨩꨟꨮꩀ ꨆꩈꩈꨯꩵꨮ ꨆꨮꨵꩈꨮ ꨆꨮ ꨆꨯ ꨔꨩꨵꨆ ꩺꨆꨯꨮꩀ ꩬꩀ [ꨕꨮꩈꩈ ꩬꩀ] ꩬꨯꩬ	saong Po Ramo, mâyah ganreh patrai kieng ka dahlak ajuh sak [duis sak] saong	Po Ramo: "Nếu Ngài là người thật sự tài giỏi thì sao có thể để thiếp tội nghiệp thế này.	17
ꩽꩽ	ꨕꨯꩵ ⁕ ꨕꨯꩵ ꩺꨆꩈꨴ ꨈꨩꨧꨩ ꩺꨠꩰꩈꩈꨮ ꨕꨮꨵꨆ ꨈꨪꨬ ꨆꨴꨪꩀ [ꨆꨴꨪꩀ]ꨆꨳꨩ ꨤꨵ ꨔꨩꨵꨆ ꨨꨮ [ꨕꨮꩌꩉ] ꨕꨯꩵꩀ	Po Po ngap habar pamâtai kraik nan caik [baik] nan mâng dahlak hu daok	Po tìm cách nào đó để giết Kraik kia đi. Thế thì thiếp mới có thể sống	18
Page 109				
ꩽꩽ	ꨕꨪ ꨕꨤꨆ ꩬꩬꩼ ꨆꩈꩈꨯꩵꨮ ꨠꨬꨮꩀ ⁕ ꨕꨯꩵ ꨈꨋꨪꩺ ꨨꨠꨵꩈ [ꨠꨳꩍꨵ]ꩽꨩ ꩽꨮ ꨕꨮꩺ ꨕꨪ ꨔꨪ ꨆꨯ	Di lok saong ganreh patrai Po Ramo radnam [ranam] Bia Ut lo di thau ka	Trên đời này cùng với sự tài giỏi đó của ngà!" Po Ramo rất yêu thương Bia Ut lắm không biết là	19
ꩰꩬ	ꨧꨳꩰ ꩺꨆꨩ ꨩꨋꨪ ꨩꨬꨮꨮꨩ ꨥꨵꩀ ꨥꨵꩽ ꨆꨩꩰ [ꨧꨳꩰ] ꨦꨪ ⁕ ꨩꩌꨪꨟ [ꨩꩌꨪꨟ] ꨩꨨꨩ ꩬꨯꩬ ꨆꨴꩍ	nyu ngap bandi biniai blek bleng [blan] nyu o. Baruw biai saong krah	nàng đang nũng nĩu xạo trá với ngài. Nên [ngài] lên triều bàn bạc với quân thần	20
ꩰꩢ	ꨥꨪꨆꨤ ꨆꨪꨵꩌꨮꩉ ꩾ ꨥꩈꩈ [ꨥꩈꩈ] ꨈꨩꩀ ꨔꨪ ꩺꨆꨤꩀ ꨆꨴꨪꩀ ꨆꨳꨩ ꨨꨮꩵꨩ [ꨕꨮꩌꩉ] ⁕ ꩬꨩꨵ ꨕꨴꨤꨆꨩ	bikal pander baol [buel] tak pajaleh Kraik nan caik [baik]. Dalam phun	Và hội đồng [của vua], và bảo quần thần giết chết cây kraik đi. Vì trong cây	21

ꨳꩀ	ꨡꨆꨮꩀ ꨗꨮꩃ ꨨꨗ [ꨄꨪ] ꨆꨮꨬꨗ [ꨥꨮꨬꨗ] ꨥꨮꨣꨮꨂꨱ ꨥꨤ ꨨꨪꩂꩈ * ꨗꨆꨮꨣ ꨆꨣ ꨥꨮꨆꨪꩀ ꨟꩃ ꨆꨣꨭꩃ ꨥꨮꨬꨗ	Kraik nan hu jin hajeng bhar radni. Dahlak ruak hakik lo, kuyua jin	kraik đó có con quỷ luôn làm hại nàng [vợ của ngài]. "Thiếp thường xuyên bị bệnh là do con quỷ ở trong cây Kraik làm hại."	22
ꨳꩃ	ꨥꨮꨣ ꨨꨣꨵ ꨡꨆꨮꩀ ꨡꨆꨮꩀ ꨥꩈ ꨀꨳꨪ ꨥꨪꨆꨤ ꨥꩈꩈ ꨆꨮꨬꨵꨣꨪ ꨥꨆꨥꨬꨣ ꨤꨆꨭꩃ ꨥꨪ	daok dalam kraik nan dom krah bikar saong panraong jabaol lakau di	Tất cả quân thần liền cầu xin với	23
ꨳꩇ	ꨥꨮ ꨥꨮꨣꨶ ꨡꨣꨭꨱ ꨆꨣ ꨡꨆꨮꩀ ꨡꨣꨭꨱ ꨟꩉꩃ ꨡꨮꨣꨮ ꨨꩈ * ꨥꨮ ꨥꨮꨣꨶ ꨥꩈ ꨥꨬꩈ ꨥꨬꩀꩈ	Po Ramo juai tak kraik juai mârung nâger Jé. Po Ramo peng tuei panuec	Po Ramo đừng giết kraik kẻo đất nước sẽ bị hoảng loạn mất", vì vậy Po Ramo cũng nghe theo lời	24
ꨳꩍ	ꨆꨣꨮ ꨥꨪꨆꨤ ꨤꨆꨭꩃ ꨨꩈ ꨥꩈ ꨥꩈ ꨥꨮꨣꨱꨬꩉ ꨆꨣꨮ ꨥꨪꨆꨤ ꨤꨆꨭꩃ ꨥꨪ ꨬꩈ ꨥꨮꩈ	Krah bikar lakau. Bia ut hamiit krah bikar lakau di brei patao	quần thần cầu xin. Bia Ut trộm nghe thấy lời cầu xin đừng giết Kraik của quân thần với Po Ramo.	25
ꨳ꩎	ꨥꨬ ꨤꨥꨭꩈ ꨡꨆꨮꩀ ꩆ * ꨥꩈ ꨡꨮꨣ ꨥꩈ ꨆꨬꨣꨶꨥ ꨥꨗꨪ ꨥꩉ ꨡꩈ [ꨥꩄꩈ] ꨥꩈ ꨥꨮ ꨥꨮꨣꨶ	pa labuh kraik o mâng ngap mâng kamraw hia lo. Ndem [ndom] saong Po Ramo	Nàng lại đem lòng đố kỵ và khóc lóc rất nhiều, rồi nói với Po Ramo	26
ꨳ꩏	ꨆꨬ ꩆꨬ ꨨꨥꨮꨣ ꨥꨬꨥꩉ ꨥꨪ ꨥꨮ ꨥꩈ [ꨤꨥꩈ] ꨥꨮ ꨥꨬ	Ki ni dahlak li-a di Po jé [paje]? Po di hu anit dahlak o	Rằng: "Bây giờ thiếp giận Po rồi, Po không thương yêu thiếp gì cả!"	27

	ꨨꨵ [ꨨꨵꩈ] ꨮꨆꨪꨓ ꨨꨤꩉ ꨬꩋ			
Page 109				
ꩬꩻ	ꨨꨤꩉ ꨧ ꨕꨴ ꨮꨆꨤ ꨓꨵꨮꨪꩋ ꨚꨓꨯ ꨎꩳ ꨚꨤꨯꨱꩍ ꨎꨱꩍ ꨥꩰ	dahlak sa urang anâk taluic patao jek blaoh jhak wak	Bia ut nói – "Thiếp là con gái út của vua Đại Việt, song bạc mệnh	28
ꩬꨯ	ꨆꨵꩅ ꨁꨘꩍ ꨮꨆ�107 [ꨮꨆꨆꨰ] ꩈꨉꨱ ꨱꩋ ꨒꨰꨩꩻ ꨕꨲ ꨕꨪ ꨯ ꨚꨤꨯꩍ ꨳꨮꩍ ꨩꨃꩻ ꨯꨱꩍ ꨆꨵꩅ	klak inâ amâ mai gam gambak di Po blaoh Po thul tian klak	… bỏ cha mẹ đến sống với Po nhưng Po nở lòng bỏ mặc	29
ꩶꨶ	ꨨꨤꩉ ꨨꨱꨓꨬ* ꨨꨤꩉ ꨌꨪꨚ ꨨꨤꩉ ꨨꨱꨓꨬ ꨧꩋ ꨱꩍ ꨯ * ꩋ ꨯꨱꩍ [ꨱꨌꩍ] ꩋ ꨨꨪꨩ	Dahlak mâtai. dahlak ciip halar mâtai ming. Po gam ndem [ndom] gam hia.	Thiếp chết. Thiếp cũng nguyện chịu chết thưa Po." – [Thiếp ấy] vừa nói vừa khóc.	30
ꩶꩃ	ꨚꨯꩍ ꨣꨟꨯ ꨚꨟꨯ ꨨꩋ ꨳꨮꩍ ꨕꨪ ꨩꨃꩻ ꨯꨱꩍ ꩈ ꨝꩍ ꨨꨤ ꨚꨤꩉ [ꨝꨶꩆ] ꨚꨓꨆ ꨆꨴꨱꩅ ꨘꩋ	Po Ramo mboh yau nan di thul tian o, ba mâk baol [buel] patak kraik nan	"Po Ramo thấy như vậy thì không nở lòng, liền sai quân thần đi giết cây kraik kia."	31
ꩶꩉ	ꨨꨬꩍ ꨚꨤꩉ [ꨝꨶꩆ] ꨚꨓꩆ ꨟꨲꨤꩅ ꨝꩍ ꨆꨴꨱꩅ ꨘꩋ ꨌꩀ ꨆꨤꩀ ꨳꨪꨤ ꨮꨆꨵꨓ ꨨꨬꩍ ꨓꩀ ꨮꨆꨵꨓ ꨟꨲꨤꩅ	Harei baol [buel] patak, mâlam kraik nan cak kalik thil wek. Klau harei tak, klau mâlam-	Ban ngày quân thần da giết cây Kraik song ban đêm cây kraik lại lành da như bình thường, quân thần giết tới ba ngày ba đêm	32

ꨮꨮ	ꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ * ꨮꨬ ꨮ ꨮꨬ [ꨮꨬꨮ] ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ	jang thil wek yau krung. Dom baol [buel] nao pa halar saong patao ka krung janaoh	Thấy vậy, các quân thần liền đi tâu lại với vua về chuyện giết kraik nhưng kraik vẫn không chết	33
ꨮꨮ	ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬ [ꨮꨬꨮ] ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ * ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮ ꨮꨬ [ꨮꨬꨮ] ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ	Di ndam [ndom] tak kraik nan ka Po Ramo. Peng Bia Ut mboh baol [buel] bap sa bhak jari	Bia Ut thấy dân chúng hỗn loại về việc giết cây kraik, làn liền thấy yên lòng	34
ꨮꨮ	ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ * ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ * ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ	jaro kieng tak kraik. Bia nan tadu. Po Ramo mboh Bia Ut tadu ndih, ba tian	Po Ramo thấy Bia Ut ngủ yên lành liền vui trong lòng	35
ꨮꨮ	ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ [ꨮꨬꨮ]	aen mboh baol rai pathau ka panuec yau nan pandik di hatai mâk baol [buel]	Nhưn khi thấy quân thần đến tâu về chuyện giết không được kraik như vậy liền thấy đầu long	36
Page 111				
ꨮꨮ	ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ ꨮꨬꨮ	pa ralo wek kaoh kieng ka sa harei jaleh baik dom krah-bikar likau	Liền bảo nhiều quân lính hơn nữa đi giết [kraik], để trong một ngày giết được Kraik đó. Tất cả quần thần cầu xin	37

ꩽꩥ	ꤳꤱꤰ ꦂꦂ [ꦂꦁ] ꤰꤰ ꤰꤰ ꤳꤱꤰ ꦂ * ꤰ ꤰ ꦂꦂ ꦂ ꤰꤰ ꦂ	jang oh hu, ghak Po Ramo jang oh peng. Dom Krah-bikar tian kurei abih,	không được, ngăn cản Po Ramo cũng không nghe. Thấy vậy tất cả quan cận thần không ai hài lòng và	38
ꩽꩩ	ꦂ ꦂ ꦂ [ꦂꦂ] ꦂ ꦂ ꦂ ꦂ ꦂꦂ [ꦂꦂ] ꦂ ꦂ * ꦂꦂ ꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂ [ꦂꦂ]	oh thei hadai [hatai] patih tra di harei baol [buel] ralo nan phun kayau Kraik éw ndem [ndom]	không một ai muốn bàn bạc thêm nữa. Vào một ngày, có mặt rất nhiều binh lính, cây kraik kêu bảo	39
ꩩꩀ	ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ [ꦂꦂ] ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ [ꦂꦂ] ꦂ ꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂ ꩪ ꦂꦂ ꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ	Ey adam mâya adam kieng pa mâtai kau kaow kau mâtai gac min Juai ngap	"Hỡi các [quần thần] dù các người có cố giết ta song ta sũng không chết được đâu đừng cố gắng cho	40
ꩩꩩ	ꦂꦂꦂ [ꦂꦂꦂ] ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂ ꦂ [ꦂꦂ] ꦂꦂ ꩪ ꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ ꩪ ꦂꦂ ꦂ ꩪ ꦂꦂ	paglaih pagaih juai nao ndem [ndom] wek saong patao hâ rai tak kau nan mâng kau ciip	mệt mỏi. Đi nói với vua của các người hãy đến giết ta thì ta mới chịu	41
ꩩꩫ	ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ [ꦂꦂ] ꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂ ꦂꦂ ꦂꦂ	mâtai. Baol [buel] nao pathau wek patao ganaong tabiak nuak	Chết." Quần thần tâu lại với nhà vua, tức giận lấy búa chôn ba lần,	42

192

	ᨈᩣᨿᨠᩤ ᨬᩢᨠ [ᨬᨠ] ᨧᩮᩬᩢ ᨣᩣ ᨠᩕ ᨾᩮᩢ	[mâk] jaong dar klau mbeng		
ᩆ᩵ᩲ	ᨶᩣᨠᩫ ᩆᩣᨿᩣ ᩠ᨶ ᩆᩮᩢ [ᩈᩢᩣᩅ ᩠ᨣ] ᨬᩣ ᨷ᩵ᩭ ᨠᩤ ᨣᩳ [ᩴᨾᩮᩢ] ᨧᩮᩬᩢ ᨣᩣ ᨠᩕ ᨠᩣᨿᩣ ᨣᩕᩱᨠᨶ ᩋᩣᩁᩣᩅ ᨣᩣ ᩈᩳ	da-a sanuw panao [paralao] suan blaoh. Kakaok [kaoh] jaong klau mbeng. Kayau Kraik nan araow klau se-	Mời làm bùa phép tiễn đưa vong hồn. Rồi lấy búa [rựa] chặt 3 lần, cây Kraik thét [rên] lên 3 tiếng.	43
ᩆ᩵	ᨣ ᨷᩮᩢ ᨣᩮᩬᩢᨶ ᨬᩣᨠ ᨯᩩᩢᨶ ᨾᩣᨳᩥᨠ ᩃᩬᨦ ᨈᩪᨶᩢ * ᨬᩣᨠ ᨯᩩᩢᨶ ᨣᩕ ᩆᩣᩁᩦ ᨣᩕ ᨾᩣᩃᩢ * ᨷᩥᩬᩣ	-p blaoh libuh darah nduec mâthik laong tanâh. Darah nduec klau harei klau mâlam. Bia	Và máu của Kraik chảy thành biển hòa vào khắp mặt đất. Máu chảy liên tục suốt ba ngày ba đêm. Lúc đó, Bia	44
ᩆ᩵ᩙ	ᩏᨲ ᨠᩣᨧᩮᩇ ᨣ ᨿᩮᩢ ᨷᩥᩁᩣᩴ ᨣᩣᨯᩮᩬᩢᨷ ᩆᩣᨦ ᨧᩣ ᨧᩮᩢ ᨣ ᨷᩳ ᩁᩣᨾᩴ ᨷᩳ ᩁᩣ ᨾᩴ	Ut kajep yau bhian. Hadiep pasang jam ji saong gep. Po Ramo	Ut khỏe lại như bình thường. Vợ chồng lại tươi cười với nhau. Po Ramo	45
Page 112				
ᩆ᩶ᩬ	ᨷᩳ ᨈᩮᩬᩣᨶ ᩏ᩠ᨶᨶ ᩆ ᨷ᩵ᩮᩢ [ᨷ᩠ᨿᩮᩢ] ᨷᩥᩬᩣ ᩏᨲ ᩃᩨ ᨶ᩠ᨠᩣ ᩆᩣᩁᨠᩢ ᨷᩣᨿᩫᩢ ᨷᩮᩣ ᨬᩮᩢ [ᨶᨯᩬᨾ] ᩆᩣᨦ	ba tian aen baol [buel] Bia Ut lua ngap harak bayuah nao ndem [ndom] saong	thấy lòng vui vẻ và tươi cười, còn Bia Ut thì viết mật báo [thư báo] gửi về báo với	46

ᬨᬧ	ᬤᬵᬗ᫟᫞ ᬙᬵᬥᬵ [ᬙᬵᬥᬶ] ᬙᬵᬟ ᬰᭁᬟᬵ ᬗᬿ ᬙᬶᬰᬵᬟ ᬟᬶᬙᬵᬗᬵ ᬩᬸ ᬮᬶᬗᬵ ᬟᬵᬗᬵ ᬝᬿ	patao amâ lac nâger cam ganreh biak di Kraik urak ni	vua cha và nói rằng: Nước Chăm mạnh mẽ bởi do họ có cây Kraik. Bây giờ,	47
ᬨᬭ	ᬮᬶᬗᬵ ᬟᬵᬮᬵ ᬟᬵᬗᬵ ᬰᬵᬗᬵᬥᬵ ᬮᬵᬟᬵᬰ ᬩᬸ ᬟᬵᬗᬵᬝᬵ [ᬨᬵᬝᬵ] ᬩᬵᬥᬵ ᬰᬵᬗᬵᬧ ᬩᬧᬵᬗᬵ ᬮᬵᬟᬵᬝᬿ	Kraik nan tak jaleh pajei. ba baol rai mâsuh baik patao	Kraik đã bị giết chết rồi, hãy đem quân tới gây chiến đi. Vua	48
ᬨᬬ	ᬟᬵᬧᬵ ᬮᬵᬨᬵᬞᬵ ᬥᬵᬥᬵᬗᬵ ᬮᬵᬗᬵᬯᬵ ᭗ ᬩᬵᬝᬵ [ᬨᬵᬝᬵ] ᬟᬵᬥᬵ ᬰᬵᬗᬵᬧ ᬨᬵᬞᬵ ᬙᬵᬟᬵᬟᬶ ᬟᬵᬗᬵ ᬗ	Jek mboh harak pok baol [buel] mârai mâsuh Po Ramo mâk ka-	Việt đọc được thư báo, bèn đem quân đến gây chiến. Po Ramo lấy	49
ᬑᬝ	ᬟᬵᬐ᫞ ᬮᬶᬗᬵ ᬩᬵᬥᬵ ᬟᬵᬗᬵ ᬗᬵᬗᬵᬝᬵ ᬥᬵᬞᬵ᫞ ᭗ ᬞᬵᬗᬵ ᬰᬵᬗᬵᬧ ᬰᬵᬗᬵᬧ ᬤᬵᬮᬵᬗᬵ ᬩᬸ ᬟᬵᬗᬵ ᬗᬗ	–yau Kraik ngap plat ndik nao raok mâsuh mâsuh alah di Jek ka-	gỗ của thân cây Kraik làm tàu chiến chạy đi đón giặc mà đánh. Đánh thua quân địch, Po Ramo quay đầu	50
ᬑᬨ	ᬟᬵᬟ᫞ ᬙᬵᬩᬵᬟᬵᬝᬵ ᬞᬵᬗᬵᬝᬵ ᬞᬵᬞᬵ ᬟᬵᬥᬵᬗᬵ ᬟᬵᬗᬵ ᬟᬵᬗᬵ ᬩᬸ ᬩᬵᬝᬵ [ᬨᬵᬝᬵ] ᬮᬵᬗᬵᬝᬵ ᬞᬵᬞᬵᬝᬵ	-jaoh akaok wek mârai pak mâdhir Jek ba baol [buel] wang Mâdhir.	[lui quân] lại chạy đến kinh đô. Jek đem quân bao vây kinh đô.	51
ᬑᬭ	ᬨᬵᬞᬵ ᬙᬵᬟᬵᬟᬶ ᬟᬶᬗᬵ ᬩᬧᬵ ᬞᬵᬗᬵ ᬟᬵᬙᬵ [ᬙᬵᬟᬶ] ᬝᬿ ᬮᬵᬗᬵ ᬗᬵᬗᬵ	Po Ramo klak Bal Dep nyu tuai mâk hu Po Ramo ciip pa ja la-	Vì vậy, Po Ramo từ bỏ kinh đô để chạy trốn. Nó [quân Jek] đuổi theo và bắt được Po Ramo buộc	52

	[ꩧ꧰ꩴ] ꧤꩃꩼ ꩜ꩱꩴꩬ꧀ ꩩꩶꩼꩃ ꩝꧀ ꩤꩫ꧀ ꩜ꩫ꧀		phải nộp thuế	
ꩩꩩ	ꩪꩴ ꩜ꩫ꧀ ꩜ꩩꩱꩬ꧀ ꩤꩥꩰ ꧧꩤꩥꩰ ꩠꩶ ꩦꩫꩶ ꧥꩫꩶ ꩜ꩶ ꩤꩥꩰ ꧧꩫꩴꩪ ꩭꩡꩩꩰ ꧧꩮ [ꩪꩶ] // ꧤꩰꩡ	-mah ka patao Jek. daok Bia Ut lua wek nao nâger nyu// wek	cho vua Việt. Còn Bia Ut thì trở lại đất nước của bà ấy//	53
ꩩꩤ	ꩤꩶꩼ // ꩭꩰꩪꩶꩰ ꩭꩡꩩꩰ ꩦꩶ ꧧꩪꩰꩤꩩ ꩤꩥꩰꩩꩶ ꩜ꩫ꧀ ꩜ꩩꩴꩬ꧀ [꩜ꩩꩴꩬ꧀] ꧧꩤꩩꩰ [ꧧꩤ] ꩤꩥꩰꩩ ꩜ꩫ꧀	Jé // langik nâger cam caik kayua Po Ramo tok [tak] Jek peng	Vùng trời đất của người Chăm đã bị mất là do Po Ramo nghe	54
Page 113				
ꩩꩩ	ꧧꩤꩥꩶꩰ ꩜ꩫ꧀ ꩤ ꧧꩤꩩꩰ ꩤꩰꩠ ꩨꩡ	kadha Jek tak Kraik//	lời Jek giết Kraik//	55
ꩩꩡ	꩜ꩥꩬꩶꩬꩱ ꩭꩫ꧀ ꩤꩰꩠ ꧧꩪꩰꩡ ꩜ꩰꩬꩶ ꧧꩤꩥꩰꩩꩰ ꩜ꩶꩰ ꩭꩶꩼ ꩤꩫ꧀ ꩪꩶ ꩜ꩰ ꩜ꩥꩰꩳꩴ ꧧꩤꩩꩰ ꩨꩡ ꩭꩶꩼ	habien mâng kraik cak hala nâger bit di ya mâthrum tambang // mâda	Đến khi nào Kraik mới có thể nảy chồi được thì xứ sở Chăm mới yên bình [thịnh vượng], giàu có trở lại.	56
ꩩꩱ	ꩭꩳ [ꩧ꧰ꩴ] ꩤꩫ꧀ ꩳꩬ꧀ ꧧꩪꩰꩡ ꩤꩳꩶ ꩜ꩤꩩꩰ ꩝ ꩜ꩥꩱꩰ ꩮꩡꩩꩰ ꧧꩤꩩꩰꩰ ꩨꩡ ꩨꩬ ꩤꩤ꧀ꩩꩬ꧀ ꩩꩡꩰꩬ	hu sa urang daok gleng paseng piaoh ngap nâger. Thun kandah balan	Có một người đang soi chiếu khôi phục đất nước. Năm qua tháng tới	57
ꩩꩡ	ꩩꩫ꧀ꩪꩰꩩ ꩜ꩫ꧀ ꩡꩰꩪꩰ ꧧꩤꩥꩰꩩꩰ ꩤꩳꩪꩰꩩꩰ ꩞ꩨꩱ꩜ꩡ ꩡꩰꩪꩰ ꩤꩥꩰꩩꩴ ꩨꩶ ꩭꩰꩡ	pandal Po ngap nâger kajaik mârai. Nan Jéh di sak kharay [karay] tel	Po làm lại đất nước đang đến gần. Từ ngày suy vong của	58

	ꩫꩩꩯ [ꩫꩩꩯ] ꩻꩪ			
ꩪꩻ	ꩯ ꩪꩩꩦ ꩦꩩꩦꩯ ꩻ ꩡꩪ [ꩡꩪ] ** ꩦꩯꩪ ꩯ ꩪꩦꩦꩪ ꩯ ꩩꩦꩯ ꩻ ꩪꩡꩪ ꩻ ꩡꩪ [ꩡꩪ]	Po mârai anâk cam lambang [lawang]. Jek saong rahuan daok cang nâger cam lambang [lawang]	Po [Ramo] người Chăm trở thành người lưu vong. Jek với các nước láng giềng đang đợi đem thâu tóm vương quốc Chăm.	59
ꩪꩦ	ꩯꩯꩩ ꩯꩯꩪ ꩡꩡꩪ [ꩡꩡꩪꩪ]** ꩡꩩꩦꩪ ꩯꩯ ꩪꩪꩪꩪ ꩪꩪꩪ ꩡꩡꩪ ꩯꩯꩩ ꩯꩯ ꩡꩡꩪ	Jaoh kaok galac [galuec]. Katuei saong paran ew lac jaoh kaok gala-	Khi quay đầu nhìn lại, người dân của đất nước Chămpa kêu than. Khi quay lại lịch sử,	60
ꩪꩪ	ꩪꩪ ꩯꩯꩪ ꩻ ꩪꩦꩪꩪ ꩡꩡꩪ ꩪꩪ ꩪꩻꩡ ꩡꩪꩯ ꩯꩯꩪ ꩻ ꩪꩦꩪꩪ ꩯꩦꩪ [ꩪꩦꩪ] ꩡꩪꩪ ꩻꩪ ꩡꩪꩪꩪ	–c Po cam bandang. Nan ka mâthrum tawang Po Cam bandang baol [buel] thuk dalakal///	Mới hiểu về sự việc của Po Chăm. Khi nhìn lại lịch sử của Po Chăm viết thành dalakal.	61

REFERENCES

Andaya, Barbara Watson. 1993. *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

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

Aymonier, Étienne. 1890. Légendes Historiques Des Chames [Historical Legends of the Chams]. *Excursions et reconnaissances* XIV(32):145-206.

___. 1891. Première étude sur les inscriptions Tchames [Preliminary Study on the Inscriptions of the Cham]. *Journal Asiatique* 8 (17):5-86.

Bender, Mark. 2008. 'Tribes of Snow': Animals and Plants in the Nouso Book of Origins. *Asian Ethnology* 67 (1):5-42.

Blood, Doris E. 1980. The Script as a Cohesive Factor in Cham Society. *Notes From Indochina on Ethnic Minority Cultures*, 35-44. Summer Institute of Linguistics Museum of Anthropology.

Boisselier, Jean. 1963. *Le Statuaire du Champa: Recherches sur les Cultes et les l'icongraphie* [The Statues of Champa: Research on the Cults and Iconography]. Paris: EFEO.

Bruckmayr, Philipp. 2013. Between Institutionalized Syncretism and Official Particularism: Religion among the Chams of Vietnam and Cambodia in Conference Proceedings of (Andreas H Pries, Laeititia Martxolff, Claus Ambos, and Robert Langer, eds) *Rituale als Ausdruck von Kulturkontakt: "Synkretismus" zwischen Negation und Neudefinition; Akten der interdisziplinaren Tagung des Sonderforschungsbereiches "Ritualdynamik."* [Rituals as an Expression of Cultural Contact 'Syncretism' between Negation and Redefinition, an Interdisciplinary Meeting of the Research Center on 'Ritual Dynamics'] Heidelberg, 3 -5 December 2010, 11-42. Text received via email: 3 July 2013.

Daniels, Peter. 1990. Fundamentals of Grammatology. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110(4):727-731.

Dove, Michael R, Hjorleifur Jonsson, and Michael Aung-Thwin. 2011. Debate: The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia by James C Scott. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde [Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia and Oceania]* 167(1):86-99.

Durand, E.M. 1903. Le Temple De Po Rome A Phanrang [The Po Rome Temple of Phan Rang]. *BEFEO* 3(3):597-603.

Fang Wengui. 2001. Yi, Yang, Xi, Wai and Other Terms: The Transition from 'Barbarian' to 'Foreigner' in Nineteenth Century China <u>in</u> Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung, and Joachim Kurtz (eds) *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China.* Leiden: Koninklijke Brill Press, 95-124.

Gay, Bernard. 1988. Vue Nouvelle Sur La Compostion Ethnique Du Campa [A Fresh Look at the Ethnic Composition of Champa]. *Actes du Séminaire sur le Campa [Papers from the Seminar on Champa].* Paris, France: ACHCPI.

Giersch, Patterson C. 2006. *Asian Borderlands: the Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Glover, Ian and Nguyễn Kim Dung. 2011. Excavations at Gò Cầm, Quảng Nam, 2000-3: Linyi and the Emergence of the Cham Kingdoms <u>in</u> Trần Kỳ Phương and Bruce Lockhart (eds) *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society, and Art.* Singapore: NUS Press, 54-78

Hamid, Mohammed Effendy Abdul. 2006. Understanding Cham Identity in Mainland Southeast Asia: Contending Views. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 21(2): 230-253.

Harrel, Steven. 1990. Ethnicity, Local Interests and the State: Yi Communities in Southwest China. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32(3):515-548.

Hickey, Gerald C. 1982. *Sons of the Mountains.* New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.

Ileto, Reynaldo. 1971. *Magindanao: 1860-1888: The Career of Datu Uto of Buayan.* Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University

Inrasara (Phú Trạm). 1994. *Văn Học Chăm I – Khái luận – văn tuyển [Cham Literature I – Commentary – Anthology]*. Hồ Chí Minh, Việt Nam: Văn Học Dân Tộc [Ethnic Literature Press].

___. 2006. *Ariya Cam: Trường Ca Chăm [Ariya Cam: Cham Lyrical Poetry]*. TP. Hồ Chí Minh, Việt Nam: Văn Nghệ [Arts Pewaa Press].

Junker, Laura and Morrison, Kathleen (eds). 1993. *Forager-Traders in South and Southeast Asia: Long Term Histories*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ken, Danny. 2011. Vietnam-Champa Relations During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries <u>in</u> Bruce Lockhart and Trần Kỳ Phương (eds) *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society, and Art*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 238-258.

LaFont, PB, Po Dharma, and Nara Vija. 1977. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Cam des Bibliothèques Françaises [Catalogue of Cham Manuscript in French Libraries]*. Paris: École Française D'Extrême Orient.

Lieberman, Victor. 2010. A Zone of Refuge in Southeast Asia? Reconceptualizing Interior Spaces. *Journal of Global History* 5(2):333-346.

Lockhart, Bruce and Trần Kỳ Phương (eds). 2011. *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society, and Art*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press

Marks, Robert B. 2007. *The Origins of the Modern Wold: A Global and Ecological Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Maspero, Georges. 1928. *Le Royaume du Campa [The Kingdom of Champa]*. Paris and Brussels: Van Ouest and Co.

Michaud, Jean. 2009. *The A to Z of the Peoples of the Southeast Asian Massif*. Toronto, CA: Scarecrow Press.

___. 2010. Editorial – Zomia and Beyond. *Journal of Global History* 5(2):187-214.

Monier-Williams, Sir Monier. 1899 [2005]. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.

Nakamura, Rie. 1999. *Cham of Vietnam: The Dynamics of Ethnicity.* PhD Dissertation, University of Washington.

Ngô Sĩ Liên. 2010 [1697, 1993]. *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư (ĐVSKTT) [The Veritable Records of Đại Việt].* Hà Nội, Việt Nam. Khoa Học Xã Hội Mộc Bản Khắc [The Woodblock Print Society].

Noseworthy, William. 2013. Irredentism and Lowland Participants in a So-called Highland Liberation Movement in Vietnam, 1955-1975. *Austrian Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 6(1):7:28

Po Dharma. 1981. *Complément au Catalogue des Manuscrits Cam des Bibliothèques Fracais [Complement to the Catalogue of Cham Manuscripts in French Libraries].* Paris: École Française DExtrême Orient.

___. 1987. *Le Panduranga (Campa) [Panduranga (Champa)]. 2 vols.* Paris, France: École Française DExtrême Orient.

Quach-Langlet, Tâm. 1988. Le cadre Géographique de lancien Campa [The Geographical framework of Ancient Champa]. *Actes du Séminaire sur le Campa.* Paris: ACHCPI.

Quảng Đại Cẩn. 2012. Po Nagar Mabek không phải là mẹ của Po Rome [Po Nagar Mabek is Not the Mother of Po Romé] *Champaka.info.* http://www.champaka.info/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=612:ponagar&catid=54:quan-im-tin-ngng&Itemid=62, Last accessed : 21/10/2013

Reid, Anthony. 1988. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce: The Lands below the Winds. Vol 1.* New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1-10

Sakaya. 2008. *Historical Relations between Champa and the Malay Peninsula During 17th to 19th Century: A Study on the Development of Raja Praong Ritual.* MA Thesis, Department of History, University of Malaysia Kuala Lumpur.

___. 2013. *Tiếp Cận Một Số Vấn Đề Văn Hóa Champa [Approaching Some Problems of Cham Culture].* Hồ Chí Minh City, Việt Nam: Tri Thức Press.

Scott, James. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia.* New Haven, Conn. Yale University Press.

Scott, William Henry. 1997 (3rd printing). *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society*. Manila, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

___. 1966. *On the Cordillera*. Manilla, Phillipines: MCS Enterprises Inc.

Shine Toshiko. 2009. The Symbolic Roll of Literacy as a Standard to Distinguish the Raglai from the Cham. *Senri Ethnological Studies* 72:129-172

Sillander, Kenneth. 2006. Local Integration and Coastal Connections in Interior Kalimantan: The Case of the Nalin Taun Ritual Among the Bentian. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37(2): 315-334.

Southworth, William. 2001. *The Origins of Campa in Central Vietnam: A Preliminary Review*. PhD Dissertation, SOAS.

___. 2011. River Settlement and Coastal Trade: Towards a Specific Model of Early State Development in Champa in Bruce Lockhart and Trần Kỳ Phương (eds) *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society, and Art*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 102-199.

Taylor, Keith. 1999. The Early Kingdoms in Nicholas Tarling (ed) *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: From Early Times to c. 1800*. Volume 1. New York: Cambridge University Press, 153-157

Taylor, Nora. 1989. The Sculpture of the Cham King Po Rame of Panduranga: A Discussion of the Historical and Religious Significance of the Post-Mortem Deification of Kings in the Art of Champa. Unpublished graduate paper for Keith Taylor: Asian Studies 601, Cornell University: Ithaca, NY.

Thành Phần. 2007. *Danh Mục Thư Tịch Chăm Ở Việt Nam/ Tapuk Akhar Cam Di Biétnam [Catalogue of Cham Manuscripts in Vietnam]*. Hồ Chí Minh City, Việt Nam: Trường Đại Học Xã Hội và Nhân Văn [University of Humanities and Social Sciences].

___. 2010. Một số vấn đề nghiên cứu tin ngưỡng – tôn giáo truyền thống của người Chăm hiện nay ở Việt Nam [Some Issues Regarding the Traditional Religious Beliefs of the Cham of Vietnam Today]. *Hiện Đại Động thái của Truyền thống ở Việt Nam: Những cách tiếp cận Nhân học [Dynamics of Modern Tradition in Vietnam],* Thành phố Hồ Chí Minh, Việt Nam: Nhà Xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia [National University Publishers], 215-227

___. 2011. Kut (Cemeteries) of the Cham in Ninh Thuận Province in Bruce Lockhart and Trần Kỳ Phương (eds) *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society, and Art*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 337-347.

Trankel, Ing-Britt. 2003. Songs of Our Spirits: Possession and Historical Imagination among the Cham in Cambodia. *Asian Ethnicity* 4(1):31-46.

van Schendel, Willhelm. 2002. Geographies of Knowing, Geographies of Ignorance: Jumping Scale in Southeast Asia. *Environmental and Planning D: Society and Space* 20:647-688.

Weber, Nicholas. 2012. The Destruction and Assimilation of Campa: 1832-5 as Seen from Cam Sources. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 43(1):158-180

Yasuko Yoshimoto. 2011. A Study of the Almanac of the Cham in South-Central Vietnam in Bruce Lockhart and Trần Kỳ Phương (eds) *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society, and Art*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 323-336.

___. 2012. A Study of the Hồi Giáo Religion in Vietnam: With a Reference to Islamic Religious Practices of Cham Bani. *Southeast Asian Studies* 1(3):487-505.

Yves-Manguin, Pierre. 1979. IX. Études Cam. II. LIntroduction De LIslam Au Campa [The Introduction of Islam to Champa]. *BEFEO* 66:255-287.

Non-English Terms from Eastern Cham in Romanized Cham/ Akhar Rumi and Akhar Thrah

ariya ᨩᩮᩥᨯ
buel bhap ᨝᩠ᩅᩮᩃ ᨽᩢᨷ
dalikal ᨯᩃᩥᨠᩃ
damnây ᨯᩴᨶᩣᩥᨿ
darah ᨯᩁᩉ
gahlau ᨣᩉᩖᩴ
ganreh ᨣ᩠ᨷᩁᩮᩥᩉ
jaung ᨧᩮᩣᩴ
jin ᨧᩥᨶ
kraik ᨠᩖᩢᩋᩢᨠ
mâdhin ᨾᩣᨧᩥᨶ
mâtai ᨾᩣᨲᩲ
nâgar ᨶᩣᨣᩁ
nâger ᨶᩣᨣᩮᩁ
Patau Jek ᨷᨲᩴ ᨢᩮᨠ
Patau Cek ᨷᨲᩴ ᨧᩮᨠ
Patau Cam ᨷᨲᩴ ᨧᩴ
po ᨷᩮᩣ