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

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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, Binh 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.

KEYWORDS
Austronesians, Cham, Churu, highland-lowland relations in Southeast Asia, local history, Vietnam

INTRODUCTION

This article is about the 'first highland king' of the Cham people of Southeast Asia. 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 deity. 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 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

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2 The Cham people now inhabit 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 Mê Son tower complex, and the Bimong Po Ina Nagar tower in Nha Trang, Khánh Hòa, Vietnam. The Bimong Po Ina Nagar 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 example '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-asianic, 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',\textsuperscript{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-World 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

\textsuperscript{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.
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 throughout 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 analysis of the impact of this history on Cham historiographic traditions and religious imaginings.

**Methods**

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

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5 *Indigènes* and *sauvages* are French terms. *Negritos* is Spanish.
6 'Po' is generally a title meaning 'sovereign' or 'lord'.
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(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 Thu*. Ngô Sĩ Liên recorded these polities as Lâm Áp, the Vietnamese
pronunciation of the classical Chinese characters of Lin Yi. 7 Vietnamese language historiographic tradition rarely, if ever, mentions the potentially pejorative connotations of the characters Lin Yi in classical Chinese. Nevertheless, it is fairly certain that these terms had the connotation that the peoples of Lin Yi were 'barbarians' by usage of the character yi (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 'Randaïy, Mada, and other

7 Ngọ Sĩ Liên's fifteenth century work, Đại Việt Sử Kypi 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 (Ngọ Sĩ Liên 2010:170). For students of Vietnamese history, Ngọ 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 nāgar or nāger 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 nāgar 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 'polythetetic,' 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 Phàn (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 Kelantang 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 hybrid 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 royalties, and the title 'Po Gahlau' that was associated with a tuan11 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

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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 Dali kal 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.
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. 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. 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).

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 Ceï 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 tendency 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.

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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: damneday, 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 tree. One day when Po Romé was asleep under the tree, its dragon spirit drifted out and licked his entire body. Po Romé thus gained his prowess 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 possessed her. So, Po Romé ordered an exorcism to remove the spirit and had a mākgru 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 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 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 mākgru is a traditional healer in Cham society.  
22 Náger.  
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 mātai’ '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'.

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gossip\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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!\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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 \textit{jaung} axe\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Jari jaro}.

\textsuperscript{25}It is assumed that, by this point, the soldiers are attempting to reassert the morality of leaving the tree spirit alone.

\textsuperscript{26}Here, Po Romé’s anger caused him to slip into informal register.

\textsuperscript{27}The text is not clear as to which \textit{patau} 'king' is meant. The word \textit{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 \textit{patau} to refer to the Vietnamese king (\textit{patau Jek}), however, it is possible that Po Rome refers to lesser kings or sovereigns among the peoples of the Cham \textit{nâger}, such as a highland king (\textit{patau Cek}), king of the Jarai (\textit{patau Jarai}), or even the king of the Chams (\textit{patau Cam}). However, in this manuscript and others I have examined, the term \textit{Po Cam} 'Cham sovereign' more commonly refers to the head of the Cham polities.

\textsuperscript{28}A \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{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 mādhin '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.

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

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

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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.

Following the accounts of Po Romé in Hopportunità's work, the next datable historical piece regarding the Cham sovereign is associated with the Cham scholar Bôtuan. 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 Bôtuan 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 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 Bôtuan's. The manuscript then continues with twenty-seven pages of hymnals devoted to Po Ganvor Mâtri. These notes are followed by the *Dalikal Po Romé*, presumably penned by Bôtuan, 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 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 Hopportunità and Bôtuan would allow historians to better understand how historical literature related to Po Romé changed over time and was adapted for new contexts.

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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 archaeological 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 Gineur 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 Cánh, 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, Họp 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

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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 Phấn, 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 Phấn 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 nguoiicham.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 Cân 2012).

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

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36 Chảm 43 was written by Thành Phấn and is in his collection. It records the Ariya of Po Romé on pp 5-8. Chảm 45 was penned by Ông Kadhar Gru and has hymns to Po Romé on pp 80-83. Chảm 57 by Ông Quang Tỳ has a Damnây Po Gîhlau on pp 12-13 and a Damnây Po Romé on pp 15-17. Chảm 95 was penned by Ông Kadhar Gru and records the Damnây of Po Romé on pp 74-76 (Thành Phấn 2007).
champaka.info, many Cham historical classics, including āriya, dali kal, and dāmnāy, 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 reassigned 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 referred 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 Phấn), 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 Lakal38 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 Hân Ni, Má 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 Thrâh. This helps explain why both written and spoken Cham have not been standardized to the extent that Vietnamese has. Thus, Romê may also be written Ramê,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 Hân Ni, Má Thuyết, and others helped me comb through this text to identify 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.
Akhar Thrah, while also introducing this source to both Vietnamese and English language audiences.

Additionally, texts produced during this time feature a short \textit{[Tuel]} variant for the word \textit{nan}, which can not yet be produced with Akhar Thrah fonts and thus appears as \textit{qN} in these manuscripts. \textit{qN} is also used in many Akhar Thrah texts. However, since \textit{qN} is correctly Romanized as \textit{nân} and not \textit{nan}, I have used \textit{qN} here.\footnote{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.}
### Table 1: Textual Translations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line #</th>
<th>Akhar Thrah</th>
<th>Cham Latin/Cham Rumi</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Line #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Da lakal [dalikal] Po Ramé angan Ja Saot/</td>
<td>Truyện cò về Po Ramé tên là Ja Saot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


[^45]: Although only occasionally 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 noi chon, which is synonymous with the home village (VN: que 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.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mărai dal [dar] pak palei Pa-aok di hamu Bhang Thoak,⁴⁶ Inâ Po Nan pok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tok apah nao kleng kubaw di banâk Aia Kiak ndih mànng ala 'phun kraik'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Inâ garay daok dalam kraik tabiak liah drei. Nhu hu ganreh tabiak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Di phun kraik. Tel thun Nâsak pabaiy tagok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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⁴⁶ Hamu Bhang Thoak = ruồng kho 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 rói. 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.
| Page 108 |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| **Phonetic Colours** | drăng rai Jieng patao | ngơi vua |
| “Patao Jek”⁴⁸ hu ba baol [buel] màsuh di dua klau mbeng di jai saong Po Ramo o | Vua người Việt đã dán quán đến đánh hai, ba lân, nhưng hông danh thành được Po Ramo. |
| Patao Jek ngap bandi biniai balimah sa urang kumei siam binai ka Po Ramo | Và vua người Việt dem một người con gái rất xinh đẹp gà cho Po Ramo |
| Angan Bia Ut, Po Ramo tok ngap bhar randi Bia Ut daok saong Po Ramo | Thiếp ấy tên là Bia Ut⁴⁹ Po Ramo rất yêu thương nàng, Bia Ut ở với Po Ramo |
| Kajaik hu sa thun gen. ngap bindi biniai màruak mbeng oh tamá ndih oh bangi | Gận được một năm. [Bia Ut] làm nũng niu già vô bì bệnh ăn không được ngũ cũng không được |

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 bác và con út. Bia Ut may mean ‘wife from the north’ or ‘the youngest child’.
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<td>ចេញនិងក្តីដំបូង</td>
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<td>Po Ramo ប្រឹងប្រយែងចេញនិងក្តីដំបូង</td>
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<td>abih hakik padak</td>
<td>ប្រឹងប្រយែងល្អ</td>
<td>អំពីអំពីអំពីអំពីអំពីអំពី</td>
<td>អំពីអំពីអំពីអំពីអំពី</td>
<td>Po Ramo ប្រឹងប្រយែងល្អ</td>
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saong Po Ramo, máyah 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 tempted tôi nghĩ phép thụ này." 17

Po Po ngap habar pamâtai kraik nan caik [baik] nan màng dahlak hu daok
Po tìm cách nào đó để giết Kraik kia đi. Thẻ thì thiếp mới có thể sống 18

Di lok saong ganreh patrai Po Ramo radnam [ranam] Bia Ut lo di thau ka
Trên đời này cũng với sự tài giỏi đó của Ngài!" Po Ramo rất yêu thương Bia Ut làm không biết là 19

nyu ngap bandi biniai blek bleng [blan] nyu o. Baruw biai saong kraik
nàng dang nùng nử xạo trá với Ngài. Nên [ngài] lên triều ban bậc với quân thần 20

bikal pander baol [buel] tak pajaleh Kraik nan caik [baik]. Dalam phun
Và hội đồng [của vua], và báo quân thần giết chết cây kraik đi. Vi trong cây 21
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<th>Kraik dỗ có con quy luôn làm hại nàng [vộc của ngài]. &quot;Thiệp thương xuyên bị bệnh là do con quy ở trong cây Kraik làm hại.&quot;</th>
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<td>daok dalam kraik nan dom krah bikar saong panraong jabaol lakau di</td>
<td>Tất cả quân thần liễn câu xin với</td>
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<td>Po Ramo juai tak kraik juai mårung nâger Jé. Po Ramo peng tuei panuec</td>
<td>Po Ramo dủng grief kraik kéo đặt nước sê bị hoàng loạn mát&quot;, vi vậy Po Ramo cùng nghe theo lời</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Kraih bikar lakau. Bia ut hamii kraih bikar lakau di brei patao</td>
<td>Quân thần câu xin. Bia Ut trộm nghe thấy lời câu xin dủng grief Kraik của quân thần với Po Ramo.</td>
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<td>pa labuh kraik o mạng ngap mạng kamraw hia lo. Ndém [ndom] saong Po Ramo</td>
<td>Nằng lại dem lòng đỗ kỳ và khắc lộc rất nhiều, rồi nói với Po Ramo</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>Ki ni dahlak li-a di Po jé [pajel]? Po di hu anit dahlak o</td>
<td>Rằng: &quot;Bây giờ thiệp giân Po rôi, Po không thường yêu thiệp gi cá!&quot;</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Dahlak sa urang anâk taluic patao jek blaoh jhak wak</td>
<td>Bia ut nói – &quot;Thiép là con gái út của vua Đại Việt, song bạc mệnh</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Klak inâ amâ mai gam gambak di Po blaoh Po thul tian klak</td>
<td>… bó cha mẹ đến sống với Po nhung Po nơ lòng bỏ mắc</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Po Ramo mboh yau nan di thul tian o, ba makh baol [buel] patak kraik nan</td>
<td>&quot;Po Ramo thấy như vậy thì không nở lòng, liên sai quân thân di giết cây kraik kia.&quot;</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Harei baol [buel] patak, mãlam kraik nan cak kalik thil wek. Klau harei tak, klau mãlam-</td>
<td>Ban ngày quân thân da giết cây Kraik song ban đêm cây kraik lại lành da như bình thường, quân thân giết tôi ba ngày ba đêm</td>
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<td>តារាំង</td>
<td>អាល់ប៊ូអង់គ្លេស</td>
<td>៥២</td>
<td>jang thil wek yau krung. Dom baol [buel] nao pa halar saong patao ka krung janaoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>តារាំង</td>
<td>អាល់ប៊ូអង់គ្លេស</td>
<td>៥៣</td>
<td>Di ndam [ndom] tak kraik nan ka Po Ramo. Peng Bia Ut mboh baol [buel] bap sa bhak jari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>តារាំង</td>
<td>អាល់ប៊ូអង់គ្លេស</td>
<td>៥៤</td>
<td>jaro kieng tak kraik. Bia nan tadu. Po Ramo mboh Bia Ut tadu ndih, ba tian</td>
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<tr>
<td>តារាំង</td>
<td>អាល់ប៊ូអង់គ្លេស</td>
<td>៥៥</td>
<td>aen mboh baol rai pathau ka panuec yau nan pandik di hatai màk baol [buel]</td>
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<p>| តារាំង | អាល់ប៊ូអង់គ្លេស | ៥៦ | pa ralo wek kaoh kieng ka sa harei jaleh baik dom kraik-bikar likau | Liên báo nhiều quân quân linh hom nụa di giết [kraik], để trong một ngày giết được Kraik đó. Tắt cả quân thân câu xin | 37 |</p>
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| 38   | jang oh hu, ghak Po Ramo jang oh peng. Dom Krah-bikar tian kurei abih, không được, ngăn cân Po Ramo cùng không nghe. Thấy vậy tất cả quan cân thân không ai hài lòng và |
| 40   | Ey adam màya adam kieng pa mâtai kau kaow kau mâtai gac min Juai ngap "Hỏi các [quận thân] đủ các người có có giết ta song ta sung không chết được đầu đúng có gang cho |
| 41   | paglaih pagaih juai nao ndem [ndom] wek saong patao hà rai tak kau nan mảng kau ciip mét mới. Di nói với vua của các người hãy đến giết ta thì ta mới chịu |
| 42   | mâtai. Baol [buel] nao pathau wek patao ganaong tabiak nuak Chết." Quân thân tâu lại với nhà vua, tức giận lấy búa chôn ba lần,
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<tr>
<td>ភាសាខ្មែរ</td>
<td>-p blaoh libuh darah nduec mاثik laong tanâh. Darah nduec klau harei klau målam. Bia</td>
<td>Và máu của Kraik chảy thành biên hòa vào khắp mặt đất. Mâu chảy liên tục suốt ba ngày bã dèm. Lúc đó, Bia</td>
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<tr>
<td>ភាសាខ្មែរ</td>
<td>Ut kajep yau bhian. Hadiep pasang jam ji saong gep. Po Ramo</td>
<td>Ut khỏe lại như bình thường. Vợ chống lại tuổi cũ rồi với nhau. Po Ramo</td>
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<td>ភាសាខ្មែរ</td>
<td>ba tian aen baol [buel] Bia Ut lua ngap harak bayuah nao ndem [ndom] saong</td>
<td>thấy lòng vui về và tuổi cũ, còn Bia Ut thì viết mất báo [thu báo] gühr về bảo với</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>Nước Chăm mạnh mê bội do họ có cây Kraik. Bây giờ, patao amâ lac náger cam ganre biak di Kraik urak ni.</td>
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<td>Kraik nan tak jaleh pajei. bà baol rai màsuh baik patao Kraik dâ bì giét chét rôi, háy dem quân tôi gây chiến di. Vua</td>
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<td>Jek mboh harak pok baol [buel] màrai màsuh Po Ramo màk ka-yau Kraik ngap plat ndik nao raok màsuh màsuh alah di Jek ka- gờ cửa thân cây Kraik làm tau chiến chạy di dơn giấc mà dánh. Dánh thua quân địch, Po Ramo quay đầu</td>
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<td>--yau Kraik ngap plat ndik nao raok màsuh màsuh alah di Jek ka- gờ cửa thân cây Kraik làm tau chiến chạy di dơn giấc mà dánh. Dánh thua quân địch, Po Ramo quay đầu</td>
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<td>Po Ramo klak Bal Dep nyu tuai màk hu Po Ramo ciip pa ja la-Po Ramo klak Bal Dep nyu tuai màk hu Po Ramo ciip pa ja la-Vi vây, Po Ramo từ bỏ kinh đô để chạy trốn. Nó [quân Jek] duôi theo và bất được Po Ramo bước</td>
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</table>
| **[a]** _cwróci węgę_
          _żyjmy węgę_  |
| phải nộp thuế |
| **[b]** _günk rę kęśę_
          _żyjmy kęśę_  |
| -mah ka patao Jek. daok Bia Ut lua wek nao någer nyu// wek |
| cho vua Việt. Còn Bia Ut thì trở lại đất nước của bà ấy// |
| 53 |
| **[c]** _günk lę kęśę_
          _żyjmy lę kęśę_  |
| Jẻ // langik någer cam caik kayua Po Ramo tok [tak] Jek peng |
| Vùng trở lại đất của người Chăm đã bị mất là do Po Ramo nghe |
| 54 |
| **[d]** _günk **[a]*** _kęśę_
          _żyjmy **[a]*** kęśę_  |
| kadha Jek tak Kraik// |
| lỗi Jek giết Kraik// |
| 55 |
| **[e]** _günk lę **[a]*** _kęśę_
          _żyjmy lę **[a]*** kęśę_  |
| habien măng kraik cak hala någer bit di ya mätthrum tambang // mada |
| Đến khi nào Kraik mới có thể nấy chơi được thì xử só Chăm mới yên bình [thịnh vượng], giàu có trở lại. |
| 56 |
| **[f]** _günk **[a]*** _kęśę_
          _żyjmy **[a]*** ęśę_  |
| hu sa urang daok gleng paseng piaoh ngap någer. Thun kandah balan |
| Có một người đàng soi chiều khỏi phục dát nước. Năm qua tháng tôi |
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| **[g]** _gunk lę **[a]*** _kęśę_
          _żyjmy lę **[a]*** ęśę_  |
<p>| pandal Po ngap någer kajaik märail. Nan Jéh di sak kharay [karay] tel |
| Po làm lại đất nước đàng đến gần. Từ ngày suy vong của |
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<td>60</td>
<td>Jaoh kaok galac [galuec]. Katuei saong paran ew lac jaoh kaok gala-</td>
<td>Khi quay đầu nhìn lại, người dân của đất nước Champa kêu than. Khi quay lại lịch sử,</td>
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NON-ENGLISH TERMS FROM EASTERN CHAM IN ROMANIZED CHAM/
AKHAR RUMI AND AKHAR THRAH

ariya ະרגיל
buel bhap ະເລີງ ະພາດ
dalikal ະດາເຄໃລກ
damnây ະດາສະລາ
darah ະດາເຣ
gahlau ະກາລຸ້ນ
ganreh ະການເຕເກາ
jaung ະຈາອີນ
jin ະຈັນ
kraik ະຄແກຣກ
mâdhin ະມາດີເນ
mâtau ະມາດວາ
nâgar ະນາກາ
nâger ະນາກແລ
Patau Jek ທະຕາ ໂຈັກ
Patau Cek ທະຕາ ມ່າເຄ
Patau Cam ທະຕາ ບໍາ
po ທອມ