

Securing and Developing the Southwestern Region: The Role of the Cham and Malay Colonies in Vietnam (18th-19th centuries)

Nicolas Weber*

Abstract

This article traces the history of the Cham and Malay military colonies in the southwestern provinces of Vietnam, from their creation in the eighteenth century to their dismantling during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The colonies were meant to protect the Khmero-Vietnamese border and secure Vietnamese positions in the southwestern regions (formerly part of Cambodia), as well as in eastern Cambodia. The study of the Chams and Malays in southern Vietnam sheds new light on the dynamics of power, the struggles for supremacy, and inter-ethnic associations during the process of state-building in Southeast Asia.

Cet article retrace l'histoire des colonies militaires cham et malaises des provinces du sud-ouest du Vietnam, de leur création au cours du dix-huitième siècle à leur démantèlement au cours des dernières décennies du dix-neuvième siècle. Ces colonies avaient pour but de protéger la frontière khméro-vietnamienne et renforcer les positions des Vietnamiens dans les régions du sud-ouest (appartenant précédemment au Cambodge) ainsi que dans l'est du Cambodge. L'étude des Chams et des Malais du sud Vietnam apporte de nouveaux éclaircissements sur la dynamique des forces, les luttes pour la suprématie ainsi que sur les associations interethniques au cours de la construction des états en Asie du sud-est.

Keywords

Chams, Malays, southwestern Vietnam, Cambodia, Vietnamese colonization

*1) Nicolas Weber, Visiting Lecturer, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: nicolasweb@yahoo.com.

Introduction

The use of foreigners for the development and defence of newly conquered lands in southern Vietnam began in the seventeenth century, when the Nguyễn Lords (1558-1776) expanded their domain by incorporating the territories of the kingdoms of Champa¹ and Cambodia. Vietnamese historical records describe in detail how non-Việt peoples were encouraged to found military plantations (*đồn điền* 屯田) or military colonies in the Mekong Delta (which were part of the kingdom of Cambodia at that time) at the end of the seventeenth century. Vietnamese historical documents record, for instance, the appointment in 1679 of Chinese political refugees Dương Ngạn Địch (in Chinese, Yang Yuandi), Hoàng Tiến (Huang Jin), Trần Thượng Xuyên (Chen Shangchuan), and Trần An Bình (Chen Anping) as heads of military colonies. Hoàng Tiến and Dương Ngạn Địch were sent to Lôi Lạp,² at the mouth of the Mekong, whereas Trần Thượng Xuyên and Trần An Bình were sent to Bàn Lân, in the Biên Hòa region (*DN TL* 1:91). One should also keep in mind that Hà Tiên, formerly known as Peam in Khmer, fell under Vietnamese control, with the help of Chinese immigrants. In 1714, a Chinese refugee from Leizhou (Guangdong), called Mặc Cửu (in Chinese: Mo Jiu), was given the title of commander of troops (*thống binh*) of Hà Tiên province by Lord Nguyễn Phúc Chu (1675-1725) and was given the task of developing the region for the benefit of the Nguyễn Lords.

The first settlements of Chams³ in areas controlled by the Vietnamese occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century. The movements of Cham, and later Malay, groups continued throughout the nineteenth century. Chams and Malays were channeled into two specific areas of the southwestern region: Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc. Both the Chams and the Malays, who migrated or were displaced to Tây Ninh and Châu Đốc, originate from Cambodia and not directly from Champa and the

¹) The kingdom of Champa was located in present-day central Vietnam. Its territory included the coastal plains and the highlands, from today's Hoàn Sơn to Biên Hòa.

²) Present-day Gò Công.

³) According to the transcription system adopted here for the Cham language, "Cham" and "Champa" should be written "Cam" and "Campā." However, the spellings "Cham" and "Champa" being the forms most commonly adopted for publications in English, I have chosen to use them in this article.

The Cham Muslims of Southeast Asia: A Historical Note

S. SETUDEH-NEJAD

Introduction

The Cham are an ethnic minority in Vietnam. Champa used to be a famed kingdom of the so-called 'Indochina'. Today, Cham settlements are scattered in various parts of Southeast Asia. Chams are a homogeneous people with a strong cultural identity. In recent years, Cham refugees have been settling in North America, but traditionally, most Cham enclaves are within Vietnam and in the vicinity of Thailand, Malaysia, and Cambodia. The purpose of this study is to focus on the Cham people and examine historical aspects of their background and some of their current problems. Cham minorities, who are residents in Cambodia, are a distinct group in a predominantly Buddhist-based Khmer culture, on the basis of their faith—Islam. This distinctiveness has given them a strong impetus to maintain their cultural identity as a unified people in a Cambodian society that is strongly Buddhist in its cultural orientation. Thus, the focus of my paper is to provide a perspective on the extent of Cham Muslims' attempts to retain the rudiments of their indigenous culture and beliefs via an Islamic garb, which has facilitated the Chams to preserve their heritage intact. This is particularly apparent in Cambodia and Vietnam, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, where these characteristics can also signify the ethno-cultural sphere that Islam has manifested in this region of Sinicized Far East.

Ancient Champa and its Contemporary Cultural Motivation

'Lin-yi' was the Sinicized designation of a coastal country, called Champa, and this recognition provides our focus on the culture that the Cham have preserved since the time when a Chinese text first referred to this small kingdom in 190 AD.¹ The Cham kingdom was reportedly situated in geographical proximity to a kingdom that was known as 'Fu-nan', which refers to the earliest known dynastic centers, whose legends indicate the existence of this entity in the delta of the Mekong in Peninsular Southeast Asia.² To the south of Lin-yi was a Vietnamese state of Sinitic sphere ruled by the ethnic Di-Viet, whose rulers held sway on the northern coasts of the Vietnamese country.³ Cham rulers operated a flourishing coastal trade, but their political structure was rather unstable, comprising of shifting alliances, from strongholds on the river mouths of Cham-held coasts.⁴

During the early period of the third century AD, Champa became a tributary state under 'Fu-nan', as suggested by a Sanskrit inscription.⁵ This newly formed alliance helped to protect Cham control within the coasts which were at times under sudden attacks of ship pirates of Malayo-Indonesian zones. Lin-yi's prosperity was secured due to its maritime commerce with Chinese ports of Chin dynasty.⁶ By the fifth century, the

Cham ports were famed as a leading center for international sea trades. Thus, Champa's territory expanded, and later on, these flourishing trade networks were also penetrating into Kauthara (Nha-Trang) and Panduranga since the seventh century. At that time, Champa's capital, Tra-Kieu, situated in nearby Da Nang, became a cargo zone for Malay and Chinese ships.⁷ It is said that even before the arrival of Islam, West Asian mariners were reaching ports of Champa and Vietnam for commercial exchange and selling of goods.⁸ Together with the Di Viet, ports of Champa and Vietnam were receiving vessels from the Middle East. West Asiatic mariners and traders were reported in the harbors of 'Nam-Viet' from the fourth century, and as late as the rise of the T'ang dynasty of China in the seventh century.⁹ Islamic sources have also confirmed reports on the arrival of refugees from Persia to Cham ports at a time when the advent of Islam had taken place in the Arabian peninsula.¹⁰

The fame of Champa in the eighth century was signified by the arrival of Cham Buddhist monk Fo-che in China and the inclusion of Cham musical forms in concerts given at the court of Emperor Ming Huang in Ch'ang-an, the Chinese capital.¹¹ In their spiritual beliefs, the Cham people at first observed animal worship but gradually were introduced to Indic influences, including Buddhism. Early texts indicate worship of Indic deities such as Shiva, which had become a symbol of worship in the courts.¹² In the tenth century, Ly dynasty of Di Viets to the north had conflicts with Champa,¹³ whose capital Indraputra suffered downfall but was relocated to a different site farther south called Vijaya, also known as Binh-Dinh.¹⁴

At this time, Islam had attracted many converts, especially in Panduranga, a major port of Champa in the eleventh century AD.¹⁵ There are records that indicate that Champa's envoy to China in 961 AD was a Muslim named Abu Hassan, his name Sinicized as P'u Ho-San.¹⁶ Moreover, surviving Cham Muslim minorities in Vietnam have an oral tradition that their first king was 'Noursavan'.¹⁷ This interpreted in association with the title of Khosrow I of Persia, 'Anushirwan', denotes the Sasanian monarch's reign during the sixth century,¹⁸ and links it with the coming of Zoroastrians from Western Asia into Champa's harbors from Persian locations in the Persian Gulf during the early seventh century AD.¹⁹

A report by a Muslim diplomat from Bukhara in Central Asia who was stationed in China claimed that there were Zoroastrians and Nestorians, as well as Muslims in Champa during the tenth century.²⁰ This, as Schafer has pointed out, is symbolized in the Cham text, known as the *Book of Anushirwan*, a cosmically-oriented text, which is said to be 'sacred to the Chams'.²¹ This further suggests that a pre-Islamic acculturational impact from West Asia, via intermingling of indigenous elements of Champa, and via Islamicization trends, influenced Cham Muslim minorities in Vietnam as well as in Cambodia who have preserved their lifestyles and oral traditions via Cham folklore, legends and cosmology.²²

The Role of Islam and the Emergence of Contemporary Cham Identity

A recent study has shown that during the 1470s AD, Champa was weakened due to major conflicts with the historic Di Viet kingdom, as its boundaries became marginalized. Then, Champa ceased to exist under conquest.²³ It is likely that the Cham royalty, however, made their position to appear as in a 'political decline'. In the fifteenth century AD, Cham rulers were still non-Muslim, but as years passed Islamization of the Cham people increased.²⁴ Diverse Cham ethnic groups within Vietnam retained their culture, language, and ethnic attires distinct from the Di Viet, especially since 1832

3909 HUYNH VAN PHUC & others. The adjustment of the Muslim Cham female in the Vietnam's Mekong Delta to the cultural policy and economic changes after Doi Moi policy. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 27 i (2011), pp.25-33. [Freely available at www.europeanjournalofsocialsciences.com.]

Champa

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
MIRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

27 Nisan 2014

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ÇAMLAR

1 NURTEN KUTLU, History of Chams in Indochina, Fatih Üniversitesi, Yüksek Lisans, 2010



Arts du Champa et du Cambodge préangkorien. La Date de Mi-so'n E-1

Author(s): J. Boisselier

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J. BOISSELIER

ARTS DU CHAMPA ET DU CAMBODGE PRÉANGKORIEN LA DATE DE MI-SO'N E-1

Les travaux de M. Philippe Stern sur l'Art cham¹ lui ont permis d'établir que le problème de la datation des édifices élevés sur l'important site de Mi-so'n ne pouvait être résolu, comme on l'avait crû tout d'abord, par l'utilisation pure et simple de données épigraphiques recueillies à proximité plus ou moins immédiate des divers sanctuaires. Les temples édifiés au cours des siècles correspondent, en fait, bien rarement aux inscriptions retrouvées; stèles déplacées ou se rapportant à des sanctuaires disparus, fondations successives, monuments détruits puis reconstruits, ont profondément compliqué la physionomie du site. Au milieu d'un tout complexe, c'est le petit sanctuaire E-1 de l'*Inventaire* d'Henri Parmentier² qui paraît être l'édifice le plus ancien. M. Ph. Stern considère même que les sculptures de ce monument, un fronton, une colonnette et un important piédestal, seraient les premières manifestations de l'art cham connus avec quelque précision. Un ensemble de caractères assez nets l'incite à constituer pour elles un style particulier, dit *ancien* ou de *Mi-so'n E-1*, pour lequel il propose, dans sa chronologie relative, une date qui pourrait se situer dans le cours du VIII^e siècle.³ Cette datation approchée lui est suggérée par les analogies assez frappantes qui existent entre le style cham de Mi-so'n E-1 et les styles khmers de Prei Kmeng et de Kompong Prah, lesquels étaient mis en correspondance, lorsqu'ils furent isolés, avec la période, longue de plus d'un siècle, s'étendant de la fin du VII^e siècle à l'aube du IX^e.⁴

Sans que ces vues aient été profondément modifiées par les recherches plus récentes, il nous a semblé possible de tenter une étude plus serrée du problème de Mi-so'n E-1 et de rechercher, particulièrement, si une date plus précise ne pouvait pas être avancée pour l'ensemble des sculptures qui caractérisent le style.

Les travaux de Pierre Dupont, en archéologie khmère, l'avaient, en effet, conduit à modifier les données précédemment admises sur la durée et sur la date d'apparition des styles de Prei Kmeng et de Kompong Prah.⁵ Des recherches très poussées sur les linteaux khmers en fonction des indications chronologiques fournies par les textes épigraphiques, lui avaient permis de prouver que de style de Prei Kmeng apparaissait plus tôt qu'on l'avait crû tout d'abord, pendant le règne de Bhavavartman II, peu avant 650 A. D. sans doute, et qu'il était, en tout cas, con-

¹ Ph. Stern, *L'art du Champa (ancien Annam) et son évolution* (Toulouse 1942), p. 81 sq.

² H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams de l'Annam* (Publ. E.F.E.O. XI-XII, Paris 1909-(8), t. I, p. 401 sq.

³ Ph. Stern, *L'art du Champa...*, p. 8, p. 46.

⁴ G. de Coral-Rémusat, *L'art khmère, les grandes étapes de son évolution* (Paris 1946), p. 117.

⁵ P. Dupont, *Les linteaux khmères du VII^e siècle* (Art. As., vol. XV, 1/2), p. 31 sqq.



"Raja Bersiong's Flagpole Base". A Possible Link between Ancient Malaya and Champa

Author(s): Michael Sullivan

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MICHAEL SULLIVAN

"RAJA BERSIONG'S FLAGPOLE BASE"
A POSSIBLE LINK BETWEEN ANCIENT MALAYA
AND CHAMPA

Shortly before the second world war H. Quaritch Wales carried out an archaeological survey and some excavation in a region of Malaya embracing the south-western corner of Kedah and the northern part of Province Wellesley¹. The area, covering about one hundred square miles between Gunong Jerai ("Kedah Peak") and the River Muda, had for some time been known to contain remains of Indian colonisation during the first millennium A. D. Wales examined twenty-seven sites, of which eighteen revealed the remains of Hindu or Buddhist sanctuaries. His finds included small inscribed tablets, foundation deposits, a Ganesha in terracotta, fragments of bronze Hindu or Buddhist images, part of a Chinese bronze mirror of T'ang style, and a number of pieces of Chinese stoneware and porcelain ranging from T'ang Yüeh-ware to Sung celadon. On the evidence Wales dated these sites as representing four "waves" of Indian cultural expansion from the first to the twelfth century A. D.

Among the objects published by Wales in his report of 1940 was a stone pedestal found on the top of a small hill near the 44th milestone on the road from Alor Star to Butterworth (Fig. 1). It is made of a single block of fine-grained sandstone, 4' 2" square and 1' 7 1/2" high. Between the plain plinth and cornice is an elaborate series of moulded pilasters and interpilasters, three units to each side. The top is flat except that the outer 8 3/4" is raised 1/4" above the main surface. In the centre is a square depression 5 1/4" deep. From the centre of each side a wedge-shaped recess 3 1/4" wide slopes up to the surface, its lower end sunk about an inch below the floor of the depression. Wales states — presumably on the basis of information obtained from the inhabitants — that the stone was formerly buried in the ground and had been dug up some years before his visit. It is known and venerated locally as the base of "Raja Bersiong's flagstaff". Raja Bersiong (Raja Maha Prit Durya) was one of the early Malay rulers of Kedah who probably reigned during the last years of the fourteenth century and the first years of the fifteenth. This vivid personality so impressed himself upon the memories of the Malays of Kedah that, as Wales remarks, they are ready to attribute to him ancient remains — whether fort, elephant trap, grave or flagstaff — of whatever period. Needless to say there is nothing to connect the pedestal with Raja Bersiong beyond this local tradition. In identifying the pedestal, Wales states "it would appear likely that the stone is either a Hindu Védika (fire-altar) or the pedestal of an image."

Wales visited the site again in 1941. In the meantime the hill had been taken over and cleared by the Public Works Department, and much of it removed for road-building. He found

¹ H. G. Quaritch Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonisation in Malaya", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18, 1 (Feb. 1940).



The Association for
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Cham Art: Treasures from the Da Nang Museum, Vietnam by Emmanuel Guillon
 Review by: Robert L. Brown
The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Aug., 2002), pp. 1106-1108
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the earliest days that economic decision-making was never fixed and always mutable in Vietnam. Unfortunately, the authors do not then consider the sustainability or desirability of such flexibility as a mechanism of regime legitimacy now that the Party and government are eager to establish explicit rules by law and to empower the National Assembly. Instead, they focus in the latter portion of the volume on the increasing power of state actors after 1986.

There are other weaknesses. It is not clear for example, why terms such as "participation" and "statisation" are preferred over the more commonly used concepts of "state capture" and "state autonomy" to describe the relative independence of state activities from Party influence or the process of socialist transition and state-building in Vietnam. The more awkward phrases may be derived from Vietnamese. But if so, then their Vietnamese equivalents should have been included. The copyediting is also a bit uneven (e.g., Politbureau instead of Politburo). More serious, however, is the authors' dismissal of official documents as useful resources for research and analysis in Vietnam. The implication is that previous work, including studies that draw on previously classified archival material, is somehow without merit (pp. 7-8). I suspect this is not the intention of the authors, but claims to the effect that "truth is often without hard evidence" (p. 8) beg the question of how an argument can be established and evaluated.

Still and all, this monograph is a valuable addition to the study of Vietnamese elite politics. It is likely to generate much debate about the role of leadership style on economic management and political legitimacy in Vietnam and elsewhere.

REGINA M. ABRAMI
Harvard Business School

Cham Art: Treasures from the Da Nang Museum, Vietnam. By EMMANUEL GUILLON. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001. 204 pp. £16.95 (paper).

Cham Art is an English translation of the book *Le Musée de Sculpture Cham de Da Nang* published in Paris by the Association Française des Amis de l'Orient in 1997. In the process, Emmanuel Guillon's name has moved from the "Avant-Propos" portion of the French text to the cover of the English translation, and herein lies a problem. The translation itself was done by Tom White, who today lives in London but spent years in Southeast Asia, and whose translation—an act of love, he told me—is excellent.

The Cham were an Indianized civilization that occupied much of what is today Vietnam for over a millennium, building Hindu and Buddhist brick temples and producing images of their gods in metal and stone. The Vietnamese, occupying the northern area of modern Vietnam, were a commandery of the Chinese for the entire first millennium C.E. After their independence from the Chinese in the eleventh century, they pushed the Chams south, a process that involved centuries of violent struggles. Champa lingered on until the early nineteenth century.

The area around Da Nang (on the coast in Central Vietnam) was one of the most sacred for the Cham, and the French began accumulating sculpture found in the region in a garden in Da Nang in 1892. The Da Nang Museum that was built in 1915-19 for the Cham sculpture remains today the major repository for this material, and this book is a catalogue of much of it.

The particular importance of the book is that it is in English. While Cham art is hardly well known, and few scholars have ever worked on it, it has been the subject

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A Chinese Vocabulary of Cham Words and Phrases

Author(s): E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden

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A Chinese Vocabulary of Cham Words and Phrases

Transcribed, translated, and edited by E. D. EDWARDS and

C. O. BLAGDEN

THIS list of words and phrases is part of the same volume which contains the Chinese-Malay vocabulary published in Vol. VI, Part 3, of the *Bulletin*, and is arranged on a similar plan. It has, however, offered greater difficulties than its predecessor owing to the fact that, as compared with Malay, Cham is an unfamiliar language; and though Aymonier and Cabaton's *Dictionnaire Cam-Français* (published at Paris by Ernest Leroux in 1906) is a first-class piece of work, it does not seem to solve all the problems involved in this vocabulary.

The Cham language is spoken by a dwindling population in Southern Annam and a larger group in French Cochin-China, Camboja, and Siam. The latter group is now completely Muslim, the former contains a minority of Muslims and about twice as many adherents of a species of Hinduism. Sanskrit and Arabic loan-words are therefore fairly numerous in the dictionary, though few will be found in this vocabulary. Apart from such obviously foreign elements, the Cham language is a curious blend of Indonesian and Mon-Khmer; and scholars still differ as to which of these two is the fundamental and original factor. The difficulty is increased by the circumstance that the morphology of these two families of speech is very similar, both using prefixes and infixes which in some cases are practically identical. This, however, is not a matter that need be discussed here. So far as the vocabulary of Cham is concerned, it is certainly noticeable that a large number of everyday words, such as the names of the parts of the body and of many common objects, are Indonesian, and the same is true of the numerals (up to and including a thousand). At any rate, the amalgamation of Indonesian and Mon-Khmer elements in the Cham language seems to be of very ancient date and in more recent times further loanwords have evidently been taken over from Khmer in the region where the two languages are in contact.

The Cham alphabet is of Indian origin, with a few additions, and the Cham words are given here in the romanized spelling of the above-mentioned dictionary, in the introduction of which the pronunciation



Music of the Cham Peoples

Author(s): Stephen Addiss

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MUSIC OF THE CHAM PEOPLES

Stephen Addiss

The kingdom of Champa existed from around the second century to 1471, when Cham power was decisively broken by the Vietnamese. The first recorded Cham king was Cri Mara, who came to the throne in 192; the last was Bàn La Trà Toan (in his Vietnamese name). The Chams were Buddhist and Hindu, with a culture and a written language based on Sanskrit. Starting just below what is now the city of Hue, the Chams at the apex of their power ruled most of Central and South Vietnam, with their allies the Funan and the Khmers ruling Laos and Cambodia. The Khmers were not allies for long, and many of the great battles chronicled in relief in the temples at Angkor depict the changing tides of wars with Champa. Usually the Chams were also fighting with the Vietnamese to their North, with the Vietnamese gradually pushing the Chams back from the ninth century on.

A Chinese visitor reported that the early Chams were dark, ugly, half-naked but well-organized peoples with a simple agriculture. Even from the standpoint of the most developed culture in the world, the Chinese had a good deal of admiration for the engraved ornaments and chiseled-stone sculpture of the Chams, which had an Indian influence reflected from the sea trade (but without political subservience) that Champa maintained with Gupta India. Even today one of the artistic high points of a visit to Vietnam can be the huge carved-stone towers of the remaining Chams, as well as the sculptures in the museums of Saigon and Danang — arts that invite comparison to those of the Indians and Cambodians.

Early reliefs show the Chams playing zithers, harps, tambourines, cymbals, flutes, and gongs; and the aforementioned Chinese visitor, Ma Tuan Ling (in the fifth century), found more instruments which the Chams are still playing today. The kuni kara (now called kahni) is a two string viol; sarinal oboes (like the Indian sahnai) have seven holes; ganang is the unique double-drum, each long and thin and joined in the form of an X, played by two men using mallets on the tops and palms of the hand on the underfaces; cheng is the little bell; and buffalo horns complete the list.¹ Today there are, in addition, the barinung or single faced-drum, hagar or big drum, and the radap katch, a monostring instrument.

The Vietnamese were fascinated by Cham music from their first acquaintance with it. In his successful invasion of Champa in 982, Emperor Le Dai Hân captured 100 Royal Cham dancers and singers. Vietnamese musicians were required to

¹Cf. G., Maspero, Le Royaume de Champa. Paris, 1928.

A Cham Colony on The Island of Hainan

Author(s): Paul K. Benedict

Source: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Jun., 1941), pp. 129-134

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A CHAM COLONY ON THE ISLAND OF HAINAN

PAUL K. BENEDICT

Recent studies¹ on the peoples of Hainan have made clear the polyglot nature of this island area. The ethnic medley represented here includes speakers of Chinese (Hoklo), Thai (Be or Ong-Be), Kadai (the Loi or Dai dialects), and Man (Yao dialect). To this already long list must be added an Indonesian dialect of Cham type, spoken by a small Mohammedan community in Sam-a-së (San-ya-shih 三亞市), on the southern coast of the island. A short description of this colony is given by STÜBEL (*op. cit.*, pp. 263-5), who estimates the population at ca. 2,000 (400 families). STÜBEL describes a flourishing Moslem culture which maintains relations with the Kuang-ta-ssü 廣大寺 mosque in Canton. The family chronicles (chia p'u 家譜) seem to have been lost, but STÜBEL records two different historical traditions (p. 264):

Die Leute gaben mir an, dass ihre Vorfahren während der Tang-Zeit von Hsi-yü (西域, Hsin-djiang 新疆 Turkestan) nach China gekommen wären und sich daselbst ausgebreitet hätten. Nach der einen Überlieferung sei die Einwanderung nach Hainan bereits während der Sung-Zeit von Kuang-tung aus erfolgt, nach einer anderen Überlieferung erst vor 400 Jahren auf dem Wege über Annam.

The second of these traditions accords better with our view that these people are the descendants of an old Cham colony in Hainan.

Though the presence of Cham colonists so far from their homeland on the southeastern coast of Annam may occasion some surprise, a cursory examination of the relevant historical material²

¹ F. M. SAVINA, *Lexique d'ay-français, accompagné d'un petit lexique français-d'ay et d'un tableau des différences dialectales*, BEFEO 31 (1931). 103-99. H. STÜBEL, *Die Li-Stämme der Insel Hainan, Ein Beitrag zur Volkskunde Südchinas, unter Mitwirkung von P. Meriggi*, Berlin, 1937. The writer is indebted to Prof. F. LESSING of the Univ. of Calif., who loaned him his personal copy of the latter work.

² The historical notes used in this article have been taken from the excellent study on Cham history by G. MASPERO (*Le Royaume de Champa*, Paris and Brussels, 1928).

elite, including the saint al-Sayyida Nafisa (d. 208/824) and the Ṣūfī masters Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) and Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad al-Mursī.

Al-Buṣīrī's highest praise, however, was reserved for the prophet Muḥammad. One poem is in imitation of the famous ode *Bānat Su'ād*, composed for Muḥammad by Ka'b b. Zuhayr (first/seventh century) in exchange for the Prophet's forgiving him for his previous poetic attacks on him, but the most celebrated of al-Buṣīrī's odes to the Prophet are his *al-Hamziyya* and *al-Burda*. In *al-Hamziyya*, al-Buṣīrī recounts events in Muḥammad's life, including his birth, the washing of his heart by angels, his receiving revelation from God, his ascension to heaven on the mythical creature al-Burāq, and his struggles with the infidel Meccans, as well as many of the Prophet's miracles and blessed virtues. After denouncing the Christians and Jews for their obstinate errors in belief, al-Buṣīrī recounts his own pilgrimage to Mecca stage by stage, and then ends the poem by praising the Prophet's family and companions and praying for his intercession on Judgement Day. Al-Buṣīrī's *al-Burda* covers much of the same ground—the Prophet's life and miracles, the triumph of Islam over unbelief, and the prayer for intercession—though its length (160 verses) is about half that of *al-Hamziyya*. *Al-Burda* has enjoyed greater popularity than *al-Hamziyya*, undoubtedly on account of its frame story. Al-Buṣīrī, it is said, once suffered a debilitating stroke. He prayed and cried out to God for help, and composed an ode praising Muḥammad. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of the Prophet, who touched his face and wrapped him in his cloak (*burda*), just as he had done to Ka'b ibn Zuhayr as a sign of protection. Upon waking, al-Buṣīrī found that the effects of

the stroke had vanished and he had been restored to health. News of this miracle spread, and others found that recitation and copies of al-Buṣīrī's ode, now named *al-Burda*, had miraculous healing powers. As a result, this poem has been copied many times, and its verses have been used in amulets and inscribed on walls to ward off misfortune. Al-Buṣīrī's *al-Burda* has been the focus of many commentaries, imitations, and translations, and to this day it is arguably the most famous poem in the Arabic language.

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DISCOGRAPHY

The Burda of Imam al-Buṣīrī (The poem of the cloak), performed by the Fez Singers, produced by Abdullateef Whiteman, Engl. trans. and intro. Hamza Yusuf, calligraphy Mohamed Zakariyya (Sandala Ltd., Cambridge 2002, and Alhambra Productions, Danville CA 2004), 3 compact discs.

EMIL TH. HOMERIN

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Chams

The **Chams** are an ethnic minority and largely Muslim population now concentrated in Cambodia and Vietnam, groups of which practise many varieties of Islam, from syncretist traditions incorporating Hindu beliefs and practices, to a more orthodox version of Sunnī Islam.

1. THE CHAMS BEFORE ISLAM

The Chams, Austronesian-speaking relatives of the Malays, emerged in history as a seafaring people of Southeast Asia. In the first millennium B.C.E., they sailed from the west coast of Borneo across the South China Sea and settled in what is now central Vietnam (Vickery, *Champa revised*, 13–5). Burial jars found there, in sand dunes at Sa Huynh, resemble others found in Borneo. By the late first millennium B.C.E., this prehistoric culture was trading in semiprecious stones from as far away as India (Southworth, 212–3).

The growing sea trade between China and India benefited inhabitants of the long Vietnamese coastline. By 85 C.E., when Chinese records mention southern “barbarians from beyond the frontier,”

Sa Huynh sites contained iron goods and Chinese coins (Wang Gungwu, 20–4; Keith Taylor, 61; O'Reilly, 129). China never integrated that southern frontier region, where indigenous and Indic cultures mingled. A third-century Cham polity produced Southeast Asia's first writing, a Sanskrit inscription found near Nha Trang, in central Vietnam. A fourth-century Cham-language inscription found in Quang Nam province and written in an Indic alphabet is the oldest text in a Southeast Asian language (Coedès). The Chams “naturalised” Indian gods (e.g., Shiva, Brahma, and Vishnu) and Hinduised local deities. Thus the goddess of Nha Trang, Po (“lord” or “lady”) Ino Nagar, became identified with Uma, consort of Shiva (Mus, 36–7). The sixth-century C.E. Cham temple of My Son in Quang Nam is Southeast Asia's oldest monument of Indian style (Maspero, 38). The art of the ninth-century Dong Duong temple complex, also in Quang Nam, has been termed “possibly the most astonishing aesthetic experience produced by Buddhism” (Mabbett, 299).

For centuries, several coastal kingdoms known as “Champa” (in what is now