THE HISTORY OF TCHAMPA

(THE CYAMBA OF MARCO POLO, NOW ANNAM OR COCHIN-CHINA).

BY

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I.

INTRODUCTION.

The ancient kingdom of "Cyamba, which Messire Marco Polo visited about 1280 A.D.," is known to us through three series of accounts, clear in details if not very great in bulk :—

I. The ancient Chinese Annals and Historians, cited in the "Notes Historiques sur la nation Annamite" of the learned French Missionary, Father Legrand de la Liraye, who died at Saigon about 1874, give us a very clear idea of the relations between China and the kingdom of Cyamba, between the IVth and Xth Centuries, A.D.

II. From the Xth Century, when the Giao Tchi attained their liberty, the "Histoire de l'Annam" of Mr. Petrus Truong Vinh Ky, a Cochin Chinese scholar, helps us, through Annamite annals, to a knowledge of the progressive encroachment on Cyamba by her turbulent neighbours. French writers on this historical subject have done little but copy these two authors, who alone were lucky enough to reach inedited (original) sources of information. Among the works at secondhand, several are not without merit; and we may mention with praise: "*L'Histoire de l'Annam*, by the Abbé Launay,—*L'Annam et le Cambodge* by the Abbé Bouillevaux —*Le Ciampa* by the same; and Francis Garnier's *Relation de l'Exploration du Mekong*." Though the last wrote too early in the day to unravel the entangled threads of ancient Indo-Chinese Histories, yet he has borrowed from Chinese authors some very useful information.

III. A third source of information has been recently opened to us, by the inscriptions discovered during my scientific mission to Indo-China. These bilingual documents give us details regarding the religion, civilization and political organization of a kingdom which has itself disappeared.

Of these inscriptions, those in Sanskrit have been analyzed by M. Bergaigne in the January 1888 issue of the *Journal de la Société Asiatique de Paris;* while in its issue of January 1891, I have tried to handle those in Tchame or vernacular tongue. These studies and explorations explain and I hope justify my attempt to add another stone to the historical edifice of French Cochin China. I think that drawing now on the three sources which I have indicated, we have sufficient materials

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to trace with certainty the historical sketch of Marco Polo's Cyamba. The grand lines of that sketch are not likely to be weakened by future discoveries in Chinese literature, or in the inscriptions still remaining unnoticed in Central and Northern Annam.

We know now that the natives gave to their country the name of Tchampa (Campa) the derivation and appearance of which are assuredly Indian; and from this name come the various renderings given by European authors—Ciampa, Cyamba, Tsciampa, Tchampa, Tjampa, etc. To this day the last descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Tchampa call themselves Tchames (Cam).

Ancient Chinese historians call this country Lin-Y = "The wild forests." The Annamites pronounced these two ideographs *Lam-Ap*, which are said to be but two transcriptions of one and the same expression. Later on, the Annamites, (Chinese in their civilization and writing, but in continual touch with Tchampa), transcribed this name very closely by the characters *Chiem Ba.* With our present knowledge, it would be a gross mistake to say that Tchampa was derived from *Chiem Ba:* the reverse is the case. The Annamites shortened the name of the capital to Chiem Thanh, and spoke of the country and its people as Chiem, Shïem, Xiem, Siem. This has led Father Legrand de la Liraye into a mistake. Deceived by an apparent similarity in the names, the learned missionary, in his "*Notes Historiques*," has sometimes mistaken the Tchames for the Siamese. The latter were distant from Tchampa, and were long subject to Cambodia; and their historical achievements are of comparatively recent date.

The Southern Chinese also called Tchampa, *Tcheng Tching*, or *Co-Tcheng Tching*, which the Europeans have changed into Cochin China; and by this name they have long called Tchampa. In our days the name of Cochin China tends to extend itself to the south-west, and to be applied to the country situated on the delta of the Mékong in ancient Cambodia; while Tchampa itself, a narrow and difficult strip of country, enclosed between the mountains and the sea, and curved like an S extending over 10 degrees of latitude between French Cochin China on the South, and Tonkin on the North, tends more and more to take the name of Annam, properly so called.

A short digression on Annam and on the Annamites will not here be out of place.

Before the Christian era, when Tchampa embraced the whole coast from Saigon to the present province of Canton, the name of Annam was unknown. Then, in Southern China, or in the North of present Tonquin, in the mountainous regions separating the river of Canton from the waters of the Red River, there probably dwelt tribes which from time immemorial were under Chinese influence. This was the country, these the men called *Giao Tchi:* "The bifurcated toes" according to some, or as I think, "The separated plants," "the diverging slopes." The people of Giao Tchi, conquered in the IInd Century B.C. by the Chinese, accepted the language, writing and civilization of the Celestial Empire. The conquerors gave, later on, to the land they held the name of *Annam*, "the peaceful south." This race has since then been called the people of *Annam*, or

"Annamites." The Annamites, therefore, as far as we can trace their past, are not known by any Ethnic name. They have preserved the names given by the Chinese, which they have appropriated. Its Southern neighbours,—the men of that Tchampa which they were afterwards to conquer little by little, gave them, as far as I know, two names: the popular name of *Joek* (pronounced *Djoeuk*) and the literary name of *Yvan* or *Yuon* (pronounced *Yoo-ōne*) which was gradually popularized, and became even more common than *Djoeuk*. Both names survive in the language of the present Tchames, and are applied to the Annamites. The more generally used word *Yuon* has, however, passed also into the language of the neighbouring people, especially of the Cambodians. Yuon, therefore, is the name given to the Annamites throughout Indo-China, except in Annam itself.*

Whence did this name come?

According to the Sanskrit inscriptions of Tchampa, it is the Sanskrit *Yavana*, the name used by the Indians for the Greeks, or "Ionians." Let me quote two passages from Victor Duruy's *Histoire des Grecs* (Vol. I., p. 57): "Since the XIth Century B.C. the Hebrews knew the name of the children of *Javan* (Ionians) who inhabit the coasts and islands of the Great Sea; and this name is found also in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Pharaohs of the XVIII Dynasty." And further on (p. 64, note): "By a strange chance, this ancient name of Ionians of which the Athenians were ashamed when Aristophanes called them by it in derision, is actually that by which the Turks call the Greeks of the independent kingdom, *Yunân:* their name for the Greek Raias, or subjects, is *Roumis*. The Arabs have never called them anything except Yunân."

This word *Yuon*, of which the origin is so remote, and the relationship so distant, requires perhaps some further observations. It bears a singular resemblance to the Chinese *Yuan*, *Juan*, or *Jouan*, which the Annamites pronounce *Nguyên*—more strictly *Ngwien*. Now Nguyên is a very common family name among the Annamites, who might be called, *par excellence*, the tribe of "Nguyên," as the Israelites have been called the children of Juda or of Levi. "Nguyên" is the name of the present Annamite dynasty; and the Abbé Launay tells us that the late King, Tu Duc, was called by the Chinese Jouan Fou Tchen.

The ancestors of the present Yuons occupied, as I said, the country of Giao Tchi, on the Southern frontier of China. Conquered in the IInd century B.C. and gradually assimilated, they advanced southward, led by Chinese Governors, absorbing or driving back the other races, and little by little colonizing Tonquin. So, about the middle of the IVth Century, the Celestial Empire unexpectedly found itself in contact with the Tchames, who, according to Father Legrand de la Liraye, "had occupied formerly almost all the coast from Cape St. James, up to Canton, on which too they have left the beautiful towers which we now see."

Whether politically united into one government, or forming a confederation, it is now certain that at this remote epoch Tchampa was entirely penetrated with Brahmanism. This is placed beyond all doubt by the

* It should also be observed that the Laotians give to the Annamites the name of *Kêo*.

Sanskrit inscription in the village of Vo Can, near Nha Trang, in the province of Khanh Hoa—one of the most anciently known, dating at least from the IIId Century,—though no divine name is now legible on it. It treats of a pious endowment by a prince called Mararajâ. Indian civilization had, therefore, a very ancient hold on the oriental coast of Indo-China. Not more so, however, than we had already reason to believe; for, as Barth and Bergaigne have remarked, in the middle of the II Century A.D., Ptolemy gives Indian geographical names all over these coasts.

On this small field, then, two very different civilizations met in a bloody encounter, which struggle continued, with occasional truces, a merciless strife for 1,100 years, (IV to XV Century of our era). On the one side the Tchames defended their hearths and homes; on the other, the Chinese followed up their first decisive blows down to the Xth Century. From this last date, the Annamites, freed from the Chinese yoke but become quite Chinese themselves, and now established firmly in Tonquin determined to entirely dismember Tchampa, which had already been much weakened. Once they had conquered it, they assimilated or pitilessly hunted down the last remains of the Tchames; and this continued till the recent French conquest of the country.

The history of Tchampa, therefore, may be divided into three clearly distinct but unequal periods;—the struggles with the Chinese, IVth to Xth Centuries;—the struggles with the Annamites, Xth to XVth Centuries;—and its gradual extinction, XVth to XIXth Centuries.

II.

THE STRUGGLES WITH CHINA—IVTH TO XTH CENTURIES.

AFTER Tan had conquered the Empire, he recalled the troops from the country of the Giao Tchi. Then an officer, the Tich-Su of Giao, called Dao Hoang, addressed to him the following petition:—

"Very far, beyond Giao, many thousands of *li* (Li = 600 metres = 656⅓ yds.) lies Lam Ap, the chief of which, Pham Hung, is always engaged in plundering and calls himself a King. This people is continually making incursions into our territory, and, when united together with Pho Nam (Cambodia) constitutes a vast multitude. When attacked, they retire and hide themselve in inaccessible places. In the time of the Ngô (the dynasty preceding Tan), these people of Lam Ap made their submission, but only the better to plunder the inhabitants and to slay their chiefs. Sent among them to hold them in restraint, I have spent there over 10 years. They always remained concealed and unseen, in their caves and hiding places. I had with me 8,000 men, the greater part of whom have perished of privations and sickness. I have only some 2,400 odd left. Now that the four seas enjoy perfect peace, it is necessary to think of sending reinforcements; but as I am an official of a past government, what I say is of no importance."

The Emperor Tan followed this advice, says Father Legrand de la Liraye; for, since the year 318, the affairs of the Government of Giao were in a most miserable state. The wildest anarchy reigned on the southern

frontiers of the Empire, and the incursions of the Lam Ap had become daily more troublesome, according to the Chinese officials. In 353, a prince of the imperial house of Tan, called Nguyên Phu, then Governor of Giao, carried the war into Lam Ap, and seized over 50 cities or forts. We may conclude that this first invasion was made in the valley of the Red River, with the result of conquering definitely for the Chinese and Annamites, the coast of Tonquin, such as it had been formed by the alluvia of that epoch.

A Chinese note informs us that Lam Ap belonged to the province of Nhat Nam (Canton), bounded on the east by the sea, on the west by Trao Khué, extending in the south to Tchan Lap (Cambodia), and joining on to Annam, through Hoan Chu or Xu Nghê. In the south, this country was called Tha-bê, in the north O-ly.

In 399, Pham Ho Dat, King of Lam Ap, invading the coasts of Tonquin and Canton, was driven back by Do Vien, the Chinese Governor of Giao. In 413, renewing his incursions on the coast of Canton, Pham Ho Dat was again driven back, pursued, captured and beheaded, by Hué Do, the son and successor of Do Vien. Two years later, a new king of Lam Ap, to revenge his predecessor, invaded Tonquin and plundered the coast, but was driven off by the people themselves. At length in 420, say the Chinese historians, Hué Do made a great slaughter of the people of Lam Ap, killing more than half of them. These *Robber-races* then tendered their submission, which Hué Do accepted on condition of their restoring all that they had plundered. It took 10 years to recover from this defeat.

In 431, Pham Dzuoeng Mai, king of Lam Ap, again attacked, with recovered strength, the coasts of Tonquin and Canton. He too was driven back. The next year, he sent an embassy to the Court of the Tông (then the imperial dynasty) asking for the appointment of Prefect of Giao. (This attempt tends to confirm the supposition that the kings of Lam Ap had rights to claim over Tonquin, the coasts of which had belonged to their ancestors.) The emperor on account of the distance refused him that office. Four years later, the Court of Tông ordered Hoa Chi, governor of Giao, to chastise Lam Ap, because Pham Dzuoeng Mai still continued his *Robberies*, though he had done homage by sending ambassadors and presents. A boastful Chinese "Literate," called Y, gives the details of this expedition and of the important part which he himself played in it. Going in the suite of Hoa Chi to fight Lam Ap, he had command of the vanguard, with the title of Marshal. The king of Lam Ap, frightened at the invasion of his country by this army, sent an embassy offering to restore the value of all that he had taken from the government of Nhat Nam, namely 10,000 pounds (livres) of pure gold and 100,000 pounds of silver. The Emperor ordered Hoa Chi to accept the offer, if Dzuoeng Mai was really sincere; so Hoa Chi who was encamped at Chau Ngo sent an officer called Trung Co to the king—but he never returned. Resolved then to give no quarter, Hoa Chi immediately besieged the fortress of Khu Lat, commanded by Phu Long, the principal leader of Lam Ap. In vain did the king send Pham Con Sha Dat to the relief of his general. Our learned Y attacked him on his march and destroyed his troops. In the 5th month, Hoa Chi

entered the besieged fort, beheaded Phu Long, and improved his victory by carrying his army up to the border of the Elephants. Dzuoeng Mai then raised all the available forces of his kingdom to resist the enemy. He took care to conceal his elephants from view. Our learned Y said on this occasion: "I have heard that in foreign countries there are lions—an animal which all the others respect and fear. Let us put his image before the elephants." In fact it was thus that the elephants were frightened and put to flight, the army of the king of Lam Ap was cut to pieces, and he himself barely succeeded in escaping with his family. The booty captured was immense. Thus to the maritime incursions of Lam Ap the Chinese Governors replied by more efficacious invasions by land. We know these wars and their causes only by the account given by the conquerors, who have therefore full play in denouncing the Punic faith of their adversaries.

There are two Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on a rock at the foot of a hill in the province of Phu Yen, dating from about this Vth century. King Bhadravarman who takes the titles of Dharma Maharaja Sri Bhadravarman already bears a royal name ending in *Varman* like the names of the kings of Cambodia and of the islands of the Sound. This is precisely the period when such names occur frequently also in the South of India. This king invokes Siva by the name of Bhadresvara. Siva, therefore, has been worshipped in Tchampa from very ancient times, under names borrowed from those of the kings who either raised temples to him, or in some other way helped to increase the glory of his worship.

During the VIth century, the south of China was a prey to disturbances; and her historians have nothing to say of Lam Ap. In 605, however, Luong Phuong, a redoubted general serving under the dynasty of Tuy, after taking military possession of Nhat Nam (Canton) and Nam Viet (Tonquin), tried to subdue Lam Ap. Its immense wealth had excited to the utmost the cupidity of the people about the Tuys; for the country was held to be exceedingly rich in precious metals. To the former titles of Loung Phuong, the Emperor added those of Commander in Chief of the roads of Hoan Chu (the present Xu Nghê), and of Kinh Luoc, or Imperial Visitor, of Lam Ap.

Luong Phuong, assembling a force of more than 100,000 men and many horse, marched by land on Viet Thuóng—then the generic name of all Tonquin—while a relative of his, Truong Tu, went by sea to Bac Canh, on the shore of Nhat Nam or the gulf of Tonquin. Phan Tchi, king of Lam Ap, met him with many elephants. At first, he gained some success; but Luong Phuong had ditches dug and covered with twigs; and in the ensuing battle he simulated a precipitate flight. The elephants on coming to the ditches became alarmed, and retreating caused the utmost disorder in the army of Phan Tchi, which was completely routed, with immense slaughter. Luong Phuong pursued its remains as far as the bronze column of Ma Vien. In eight days he reached the capital, which Phan Tchi abandoned, leaving to his conqueror eighteen statues of massive gold representing his eighteen predecessors. In commemoration of his victory Luong Phuong cut an inscription on stone, and then returned to China. He died, however, on the way, and his army was decimated by diseases, the soldiers having suffered much from swelling of the feet during the long, rapid and fatiguing marches

The site of this battle must have been in the west of Tonquin, that is to say in the north of the present province of Thanh Hoa, whence in eight days the army could reach the first historical capital of Tchampa—now called Shri Banoeuy by the modern Tchames. According to the calculation of a Chinese author cited by Francis Garnier, this capital lay about the 17th degree of latitude, near Dong Hoeuy the present chief town of Quang Binh. The very name Dong Hoeuy perhaps means "the field of the Tchames," as the Annamites give to their hereditary enemies the epithet of Hoï, "Hoeuy" = barbarians.

These grave events in 605 seem to mark the beginning of a long period of desperate struggles for the possession of northern Tchampa—the present provinces of Thanh Hoa and Nghé An. After centuries of bloody wars, their final acquisition, first by the Chinese, then by the Annamites will afterwards sound the knell of Tchampa.

The annals relate that about 618 Hoa Lich, Commander in Chief of Giao under the Tuys, had acquired the greatest influence and reputation during his tours among the peoples of the south. All the kingdoms of Lam Ap enthusiastically sent him such presents of precious stones, rhinoceros horns, gold and valuables of all kinds that he became as rich as any king.

In 723, an Annamite rebel, Mai Thuc Loan, known as Hac Dê = "the black Emperor," directed one of the many attempts of Giao to revolt against the Chinese. It was suppressed, though the annals tell us that the Tchames (Lam Ap) and the Cambodians (Chon Lap) had helped the insurgents.

In this VIIIth century, the name of "*An Nam*" comes into general use instead of those formerly used—Giao, Viet Thuong, Nam Viet, etc. In 756, the Emperor, Ninh Hoang Dê (Ning Hoang Ti) established in Tonquin a great military command officially called An Nam. A strange event now took place, in 767—an invasion of Tonquin from the coasts of southern China by hordes of Malays and Javanese, which the Chinese thus describe: "In the year Dinh Vi (767) the men of Côn Nôn and Chava invaded the Cháus (prefectures) and attacked the citadels of the country." General Truong Ba· Nghi was sent against them; and uniting with the governor of Vo Dinh, he defeated them completely at Cháu Dzien, and then built the present capital of Tonquin and called it La Thanh." The annals add the following note in explanation: Chava of the mountains was Cháu Lang, commonly called Dôt La. Its limits by land were Chon Lap (Cambodia) on the east; in the West it touched the east of India (which I think means the Malay Peninsula). Bo Lac counted 299 tribes. The king of Little Côn Nôn was called Mong Ta Liet; and the king of Great Côn Nôn, Tu Loi Bac. There was another kingdom of Ha Lac called Chava (Java) afterwards Chavaquoc, far off in the southern sea. From this kingdom to go to the sea by the East it took one month;—by the south, three days,—by the north four; and by the North West fifteen by boat up to Say Pha Dinh. Giao Chi attacked this kingdom with 30,000 troops and subdued it, says the note; but this statement must be taken with all reservations.

Resuming after a silence of two or three centuries, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Tchampa confirm these remote and strange maritime expeditions. After mentioning his predecessor, king Prathivindravarman "who ruled

over all Tchampa and reigned for a long time," Satiavarman "the son of his sister who had a short reign," states that, in 774, "very dark and thin men coming from another country in ships" robbed the Linga and destroyed the temple of the goddess Po Nagar (Bhagavati) at Nha Trang. Pursuing them, Satiavarman says he gained a complete naval victory over them. In 784, he rebuilt the temple and the Siva, and cut the inscription which gives these details. The Linga thus carried off is said to have been erected by the mythical king Vicitra Sagara, hundreds of thousands of years before.

These maritime expeditions of the Javanese, thus mentioned since 767, were renewed during a long period; for another inscription of king Indravarman, younger brother and successor of Satyavarman, states that, in 787, the armies of Java, "arriving in ships," burnt the temple of Siva at Panduranga (in Southern Tchampa). Twelve years later, the king, in 799, rebuilt and endowed the temple, and cut his inscription celebrating his own glory, "who carried the war to the four cardinal points."*

Reverses soon followed these successes—however real they were. The Chinese annals relate that the kings of Tchampa, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the Empire, retook Hoan Cháu or Xu Nghé (now the provinces of Thanh Hoa and Nghé An,—these continually disputed provinces). In 808, Truong Chau, Chinese Governor-General in the south, marched against the hostile king, and caused 30,000 men of the two prefectorates of Hoan and Ai to be beheaded. He destroyed the fortresses of these two districts; captured alive 59 princes of the royal family; and brought back to the north an immense booty, noticeable among which was a vast number of coats of mail made of plates of ivory. According to this very text it is evident that the population of the invaded or disputed territory was still Tchame; the annals add: "This king of Hoan Cháu reigned over all the ancient kingdom of Phan Chi, king of Lam Ap, who was conquered by Luong Phuong (203 years previously in the year 605). This territory was called Xiem Bat Lao, = the residence of King Xiem Ba; Xiem Thanh, the kingdom of Tei and the land of Bi Thê.

This name of Xiem Ba, or Chiem Ba, which now begins to take the place of the older designation of Lam Ap, shows, I think, that Tchampa had become better known to its northern neighbours. The invasion of 808 seems not to have left any lasting result. The Chinese quitted the country or were driven out. According to the inscriptions, there reigned in 817 over Tchampa a king called Harivarman, who took the titles of "King of kings," and "Supreme Lord of the city of Tchampa." He had gained some victories over the Chinese. "His arm was a sun, which burnt the people of China black as the night." Reserving to himself most probably the north of the kingdom, he handed over the government of Panduranga or the most southerly provinces of Tchampa, to his son

* We should note that in these inscriptions the king worships Siva and Vishnu, united in one form, as Sankara-Narayana, whose worship was also widely spread in the neighbouring kingdom of Cambodia, in the VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth centuries, before the foundation of Angkor. From Vyadhapura, then the capital of Cambodia, I have brought a beautiful and curious statue of this god Harihara, which was shown at the Universal Exposition of 1889, and is now in the Musée Guimet at Paris.

Vikrantavarman, placing him under the guardianship of a general called Panroe, who made a great successful incursion into Cambodia.

Vikrantavarman, son of Harivarman by the sister of Satyavarman, was reigning both in 829 and in 854. To this reign is traceable a Buddhist inscription, which, however, marks that the donor was only a private individual. Of vernacular inscriptions up to this date, there are only a few, and even these but fragmentary, worn out and almost illegible; while the Sanskrit inscriptions are very beautiful and well preserved. These are in prose; but from this IXth century to the Xth, these documents are partly in prose and partly in verse.

During the reign of Vikrantavarman, about the year 836, the Chinese annals say that Vuong Thuc, Governor-General of Annam, acquired so great an ascendancy that all its tribes, as also Xiem (Tchampa) and Chan Lap (Cambodia) submitted to pay homage every year. About 860, the indigenous tribes of west Tonquin rose against the Chinese, urged on, it would seem, by Tchampa. The rebels seized the capital of Tonquin, and slew the Chinese prefect. "Many a time (say these annals) Lam Ap has tried to rebel and to gather around her the inhabitants of the sea and of the mountains; but it has never had sufficient forces."

The inscriptions mention, in the Xth Century King Haravarman and his son and successor Indravarman, who, in 918, erected a golden statue to the goddess Bhagavati in the temple of Po Nagar. Later on, "the avaricious Cambodians took away this statue, but they died in consequence"; and in 965 king Jaya Indravarman put in its stead a stone statue of the goddess—in all probability the very one which exists to this day in the Temple of Po Nagar, in Khanh Hoa.

Tchampa, at this time most probably absorbed in its quarrels with its southern neighbour, Cambodia, quietly allowed an event to take place in the North, which it perhaps then considered favourable to itself, but which nevertheless produced the most fatal consequences. After its repeated partial insurrections had been suppressed during twelve centuries, Annam at last freed herself from the Chinese yoke, by a general rising in 931. The Chinese were driven out. Several chiefs ruled in rapid succession over the Annamites, whom Tchampa allowed to remain in peace. In 968, king Dinh founded the first Annamite dynasty. This young nation, though freed from the Chinese yoke, but completely assimilated to China, will yet receive from that country, in spite of all the wars which it will have to endure, a constant supply of emigrants and of moral forces. With its northward extension stopped by the vast mass of the Celestial Empire, it will constantly extend itself southwards, and will eat into Tchampa little by little, both by the incessant emigration of its subjects, and by the violent attacks of its armies.

I think that at this period (the Xth Century) Tchampa comprised all the present state of Annam, little perhaps excepted, from Baria to Nghé An or to Thanh Hoa. I differ in this from the opinion of the bulk of writers on the subject, who credit the Annamites with possessing not only Tonquin but also the coast as far as Huê. The inscriptions of northern Annam probably have in store some surprises on this point.

III.

THE STRUGGLES AGAINST THE ANNAMITES: FROM THE XTH TO THE END OF THE XIIITH CENTURY.

It was not long before war broke out between the two neighbouring nations. A son-in-law of the Annamite king Dinh, called Nhat Khanh, who laid claim to the throne of Annam, fled with his wife to the southern extremity of Tchampa. There cutting his wife on the forehead with a knife, he ignominiously drove her away. On the death of Dinh, about 980, he got the king of Tchampa to aid his pretensions. This king, called in the annals *Ba mi thuê Duong bô an tra loï*, sent more than 1,000 war-vessels to the two mouths of the Dai-An and Tien Khang, to attack Hoa Lu, the king of Annam's capital; but a typhoon sank nearly all his junks. Nhat Khanh and the Tchames where drowned; and the king himself escaped with much difficulty. The great preparations made seem to show that a serious attempt had been contemplated to subject Annam to the yoke of Tchampa. This was promptly revenged. The king of Annam, Le Dai Hanh (Le Hang), invaded Tchampa, in 982, at the head of a large army. The Tchame troops were defeated and many of them massacred in a great battle; and their general was slain. The king, *Xa loï da bang viet hoan* fled precipitately from his capital, which the conqueror sacked and burnt. One hundred dancers or women of the seraglio fell into the hands of Le Hang, together with an Indian *Bonze*. Immense treasures of gold, silver and precious articles formed his spoil, which he took away, as he evacuated the country.

Was the capital thus destroyed in 982 the same which had been taken by the Chinese in 605, that is to say in all probability the city of Shri Banoeuy in Quang Binh? I am inclined to think so. Le Hang reached it and left it with too much ease to let us suppose that it was situated far to the south. Without trusting too much to even the written traditions of the present Tchames, I should add that there is a passage in a native Manuscript (derived probably from other more ancient manuscripts) which says: "The Annamites reached the Capital Sri Bani (or Shri Banoeuy) in the year of the serpent." As the cycle of the serpent recurs every 12 years, and 1893 and 1881 were serpent years, this date would correspond to the year 981 of our era.

I suppose also that it was in consequence of this disaster that the capital of Tchampa was transferred more to the South, to Bal Hangov, near Huê, the present capital of the Annamite empire.

The relations between the two neighbours did not improve, though the Annamites did not at once renew its great expeditions. In 990, Le Hang refused the presents sent by the king of Tchampa. He was engaged in putting down in his own kingdom several rebellions which the annals say

were countenanced by Tchampa. In 1005 he died, and was succeeded by one of his sons; but another of the princes flying to Tchampa, the new king in pursuing him was slain by a third brother. In 1010, there came on the throne of Annam the Ly dynasty which was to inflict such cruel defeats on Tchampa. In 1028, the Tchames took the military post of Bô Chanh; but in 1044 the Annamite king, Ly Thai Tong, attacked Tchampa with 100 war-junks and a great army. In the battle of Ngu Bo, the Tchames lost 30,000 men killed; 5,000 prisoners and 30 war elephants fell into the hands of the conquerors. The king of Tchampa had his head cut off by two of his own subjects. The Annamites marched on the capital Phat Thê, and seized the seraglio and the dancers. The queen, Mie, disdaining to yield to the caprices of the conqueror, threw herself into the river, wrapped in her garments. The Tchame prisoners were removed to Tonquin, allotted lands to cultivate, and allowed to call their villages by the names of their former abodes. In 1047, king Ly established Postal Stations for the convenience of the Cambodian and Tchampese embassies.

According to the inscriptions, the Tchame king, who reigned in 1050 (that is between this great national disaster of 1044 and another which followed it only too soon) seems to have been the founder of a new dynasty. He assumes the pompous title of Paramesvara or "Supreme Lord," and tells us that "shining with prosperity" he makes a donation of vessels and utensils of gold to the goddess Bhagavati, to whom he also gives Tchame, Khmêr, Chinese and Siamese slaves.

Following the example of his father, the Annamite king Ly Thanh Tong, undertook a great expedition against Tchampa, the king of which (called in the annals Chê Cu,—Chei, Ku = two princely titles among the Tchames) is accused by the Annamites of having insulted Annam by putting its ambassadors in prison. In 1061, after nine months of indecisive warfare, jealousy urged him to end the campaign and to distinguish himself by some glorious deeds, on hearing accidentally the praises which were given to the administration of the Queen, who during his absence had charge of the Government. He fiercely attacked the enemy, seized the Tchame king, and took prisoners 50,000 men whom he carried away to Tonquin. Chê Cu, to regain his freedom and crown, had to part with three provinces—Dia Ri, Ma Linh and Bo Chanh—probably the northern Quangs from Song Giang to Huê, which were inhabited by Tchames, and which we shall yet see several times taken and retaken.

A Sanskrit inscription tells us that king Rudravarman of the race of king Paramesvara made a gift of precious objects to the temple of the great goddess in 1064. He is the last king who has left his name in any sanskrit inscription. From the XIth century, Sanskrit learning, owing to the decline of the kingdom, was not eagerly pursued; and we find little in the learned language except a few simple invocations, sometimes still in verse, but oftener reduced to a few words in prose. The inscriptions in the vernacular or Tchame language become more and more numerous. Though appearing to give a date differing by a few years from that in the Annamite annals, one of these documents, dated 1084, confirms very

closely the disaster experienced at this time. It states that the capital of Tchampa was taken, that king Rudravarman was carried away, that anarchy and civil war lasted sixteen years after the disaster, till Tchampa came again under the rule of one king, who took the Buddhist name of Sri Paramaboddhisatva. This is the king, who with his family makes, in 1084, to the goddess of the kingdom, gifts, to obtain "glory in this world and the fruits (rewards) in the other world."

For over half a century, the annals are almost silent about Tchampa; and so are the inscriptions as yet known. The former merely say that about 1100, king Ly Nhon Tong overcame a coalition of the Chinese, Tchames and Cambodians, which was, however, dissolved at the first defeat, leaving China alone to prosecute the war. In 1143, king Jaya Indravarman of Tchampa, who had already reigned four years, mentions two of his predecessors, Bhadravarman and Jaya Sinhavarman. It is to this king, who ascended the throne in 1193, that Mr. Bergaigne assigns, as a guess, the last of the Sanskrit inscriptions yet known. After this XIIth century the inflected Sanskrit utterly ceases to be the official language of the inscriptions: "it seeks amends in pouring its vocabulary of plain themes into the Tchame language of the vernacular inscriptions, which already for more than a century have been becoming both numerous and important." Sanskrit culture even when notably declining, had evidently survived its regular employment as the language of epigraphic and religious documents.

King Jaya Indravarman, who ascended the throne in 1139, was a worshipper of Siva, of the Siva-Linga, and of Siva Vishnu. He mentions once more, that the ancient Linga of Kauthara, that is, of the temple of Bhagavati, or of the goddess Po Nagar, was the gift of king Vicitra Sagara at a singularly fabulous epoch—over 1,700,000 years before!

After this king, the inscriptions mention a Jaya Rudravarman who died in 1145,—two years after the date of the inscription I mention. He had it is said a very short reign. In this connection it is well to bear in mind that as these princes were in the habit of changing their names, they may be mentioned in the inscriptions several times over under divers titles. Jaya Harivarman who ascended the throne at the death of his father in 1145, has left us very beautiful Epigraphs in the Tchame language, and a two-line verse in the Sanskrit in honour of Yang Pu (or Po) Nagara "the goddess Lady of the kingdom." In 1158-59, he defeated the Cambodian troops with their allies of Vijaya. I have some reasons to think that Vijaya was the name given to the southern extremity of Tchampa, comprising the actual districts of Phan Thiet and Baria. Jaya Harivarman says he defeated the allies near Virapura, the chief town of the plain of Panrang or Panduranga—now Phanrang in Binh Thuan. He mentions also the Yavana, "the Annamites," whom he probably beat. His armies were in activity in 1161-1166, and down to 1170, in which year at last he adores the great protecting goddess of the kingdom, makes her right royal gifts, and thanks her for having made him continually victorious over his enemies,—the Cambodians, Yavana (Annamites) the people of Vijaya, the people of Amaravati and of Panduranga, and also the Radé, the Mada,

and other barbarous indigenous tribes. Let us see what the annals tell us of this epoch. In 1153, a Tchame pretender having asked king Ly Anh Tong for help, he gave him a general and some troops; but though the king of Tchampa, called by some Chê Ribut and by others Chê Bi, defeated them, he nevertheless sent presents and girls for the royal harem.

In 1183, an inscription tells us that the king of Tchampa, Jayavarman made donations to the goddess Bhagavati, several princesses adding to his their own gifts. The king mentions his starting, after 1175, for the conquest of Cambodia.

We should note here that some authors state that "about 1180, Parakrama of Ceylon sent an army into Cochin China." (See T. W. Rhys David's Coins and Measures of Ceylon, p. 24.)

The period which followed brought great troubles on Tchampa. In 1190, according to the inscriptions, Vrah Pada Sri Jayavarman, king of Cambodia, conquered the country, captured the capital, and removed the Lingas and gods. Long wars followed during 32 years, till about 1220 or 1222. The Annamite annals say that in 1197 some Tchame envoys came to ask investiture in the name of the new king from the Annamite court, which was granted the following year, by an Annamite embassy. This probably was a national king who in resisting the Cambodian conqueror, asked the aid of the Ly. A passage in a Tchame inscription shows that the conquering king did not quit the country till 1201, after having appointed a Lieutenant-General who held a tight hand over the indigenous king. The Annamite annals proceed to say that in 1203, Bo Tri (Po Turaiy ?), the nephew of Bo Dien, king of the Tchames, came to the province of Qui La, or Nghê An, to ask aid against his uncle. The Governor wished to secure his person; but the Tchames fell on the Annamites, and after ravaging Nghé An and slaying the Governor, he disappeared.

After 1207, the Cambodian sway still existed over Tchampa where there was a Yuvaraja. The Tchames, the Khmêrs, the Siamese (whose name had already appeared in the inscriptions of Tchampa) went, under Cambodian leaders, to fight the Annamites. Khmêrs and Annamites fell in great numbers. The Annamite annals in fact mention an attack on Nghé An, in 1217-1218, by the Cambodians and Tchames. Finally the inscriptions say that the Khmêrs in 1220 definitely withdrew from Tchampa, the people whereof occupied the land of Vijaya, which I believe is Phanthiet. In 1227, Sri Jaya Paramesvaravarman became king after receiving the private baptism of initiation, and continued to reign in peace, building palaces, repairing the temples of the gods, and bestowing on the various divinities of Tchampa, fields, and Khmêr, Siamese, Chinese or Tchame slaves. We do not find Annamite slaves mentioned among those given by the different kings of Tchampa to their gods. A Tchame inscription of this prince gives us the Sanskrit names of several Buddhist divinities, male and female.

About 1242, according to the Annamite annals, the Tchames demanded the restoration of the provinces formerly seized by the Ly kings—probably those between Huê and Nghé An, which in the XIIIth century

still was the true boundary of the Annamite country: perhaps we should more correctly call it the country which had been made Annamite. On this demand, king Tran Thai Tong invaded Tchampa, whence he carried off the queen *Bo Dala*:—the Annamite transcription for *Po Dara* = "young Princess"—probably not the queen herself, but a princess of the royal family. The Annamite king also brought away a part of the Tchame population, which he scattered in Tonquin.

In 1256, during the reign of king Jaya Indravarman, his daughter the Lady Ratnavali and her husband, Ong Rashu Nandana, together made gifts to the goddess Po Nagar. She again made other donations, this time alone, in 1275, under another king Jaya Sinhavarman, who afterwards took the name of Indravarman. This king in fact, who in 1259, held the rank of Yuvaraja, ascended the throne in 1265, under the name of Sri Jaya Sinhavarman; and having been consecrated, in 1277 by the ceremony of private baptism, he took the name of Indravarman. Some remarkable events occurred in his reign.

The Mongols who had already conquered China, now by order of Kublai Khan, invaded Annam, then under king Trân Nhon Tong. They attempted also to subdue Tchampa, which about this epoch (1278—1280) was also visited by Marco Polo. In 1282, the son of the king organized a resistance which seems to have been successful. In 1285, the Tartar general Toa Do, on his return from the expedition against Tchampa, arrived at Ô Ri, and invaded the provinces of Hoan and Ai (Nghé An), to which the last defenders of the independence of Annam had retreated: we know that the Annamites soon shook off the Mongol yoke. The adjoining provinces, so long and so fiercely contested, returned, not long after, to Annam, in consequence of a passing marriage, which was of more profit than many victories.

The king reigning in 1298-1300 over Tchampa is called Jaya Sinhavarman in the inscriptions, and Chê Man in the Annamite annals. He started negotiations with Annam, in 1300; and in 1302, the Annamite ambassador who came to Tchampa obtained the abolishment of the ancient custom of prostration to the king of the country before speaking to him. The negotiations ended in 1305, in the marriage of the Tchame king with the Annamite princess Huyên Trân = "Pearl of Jet." The king's love must have been very great; for in 1306 he yielded to Annam, as a marriage gift, the provinces of Ô and Ri (Châu Ô and Châu Ri), the names of which were changed into Thuan Châu and Hoa Châu. A king who apparently discarded ancient customs and gave away entire provinces, for love of a stranger cordially detested by his subjects, did not deserve to live long on the throne: he died this same year, 1306. The Annamite Court at once sent an embassy to save the queen from the fate of being cremated with her husband's corpse, according to Indian usage. This would show that Indian law was then in force in Tchampa, at least at royal funerals. The Tchames yielded the point; and the ambassador took back "Pearl of Jet" to her own country by very short journeys, in order to enjoy, as long as possible, the gratitude of the young and pretty widow, who could refuse nothing to her deliverer.

About this time—the end of the XIIIth Century—was probably built the temple at Panrang now called that of Po Klong Garai. It was dedicated to Siva, under the title of Sri Jaya Sinhavarmalingesvara, by king Sri Jaya Sinhavarman, son of Indravarman. Presumably the kings, when they grew old, used to take the name of Indravarman, leaving the actual government to a son, who then took the name of Jaya Sinhavarman. According to Tchame inscriptions well cut upon granite and in perfect preservation, the royal founder gives to the god a great number of fields, the boundaries of which are minutely described, a host of slaves of both sexes whose names are given, some elephants and utensils for the worship.

Here the Tchampa inscriptions cease for nearly two centuries.

IV.

THE LAST WARS—XIVTH AND XVTH CENTURIES.

RETURNING to the Annamite annals, we perceive that the people of the two provinces ceded in 1306 by Chê Man, on the occasion of his marriage, did not accept the Annamite rule without giving trouble. Chê Chi, son and successor of Chê Man, tried to elude the hateful treaty. Three armies, therefore, invaded Tchampa, by sea, by the plains, and over the mountains. They reached the capital in 1311. Chê Chi was taken and died a captive in 1313, his brother having been made king in his stead. This state of dependence and vassalage, into which Tchampa had fallen, was enhanced in 1313, by the reinforcements sent by Annam to defend it against the attacks of the Siamese, who had probably invaded Cambodia, then in absolute decline.

In 1342, Chê a Non, king of Tchampa, dying, his son-in-law Tra Hoa Bo Dê seized the throne, dispossessing Chê Mo, the son of the late king. He announced his accession, but neglected to send any embassy for doing homage or making the usual presents. An Annamite Ambassador, Phan Nguyên Hang, came to Tchampa to ask an explanation of this neglect. But though the Tcham king sent his ambassador in 1346, he attempted another deceit: the presents were not in accordance with the rites and customs. The relations between the two kingdoms soon became strained though they did not end in an open rupture. In 1352, the dispossessed prince, Chê Mo, formally asked the aid of Annam; and to put an end to the temporizing of the court of Trân, he recited one of the Apologues which are the common inheritance of the Indo-European races: An adventurer engaged to teach, in three years, a monkey to speak like a man, if the king would give him a monthly stipend of 100 taëls of gold, saying to himself that in three years either the king, or the monkey, or he himself might die.

The Trâns decided, but rather lukewarmly, to help the ingenious pretender. An expedition advanced, in 1353, as far as Co Luy. The fleet soon returned under pretence of bad weather, and the land army followed its example; while the Tchames, on their side, invaded the coast of Annam. The success of the Tchames was more marked in the following years. In 1361, their war fleet entered Annam waters with impunity

and in 1362 they attacked Hoa Châu (*Huê*) but were repulsed. The first day of the Annamite year, 1364, they again appeared before the gates of the city and carried off a number of girls who were celebrating the feast with various sports. In 1365, they unsuccessfully attacked the fort of Lam Binh. In 1367 the Annamites sent a force against Tchampa, but their commander-in-chief was surrounded, defeated, and taken prisoner. In 1370, the mother of an Annamite prince who had been slain took refuge in Tchampa, and urged the country to rise against Annam. By her advice, the Tchames organized another expedition. They came by sea to the port of Dai An; and ascending the river, they at once marched on the capital, which they fired, pillaged, and deluged with blood. The king, Tran Nghî Tong, who had fled across the river, witnessed the destruction of his palaces. On the 27th of the third month of 1371, the Tchames burnt down all that yet remained of the capital, carried off the girls and young lads, and retired with an immense booty.

These daring expeditions, often crowned with success, were doubtless owing to the appearance in this remote corner of Asia, of a man endowed with all the qualities that go to make a great warrior and hero. Tchampa, in fact, defeated and despoiled during centuries, was reduced to its southern provinces from Tourane to Baria,—a country this day with 2,000,000 inhabitants. The central provinces, from Tourane to Song Giang, had for many years been invaded by Annamite immigrants, either preceding or following the Mandarins in crowds; and the Tchame part of their population of these provinces must have become used to the Annamite yoke. In the north, Nghé An and Thanh Hoa had, ages ago, been lost, and had in most part become Annamite. The Northern and Central Tchampa thus definitely lost corresponds to the districts which now number 2,000,000 souls. The Annamites were, moreover, quite at home as masters in Tonquin, which is said now to have 10,000,000 inhabitants. The Tchames were fighting against odds of one to six; and morally the matter was even worse; because for centuries they had been reduced to a merely defensive warfare, and had repeatedly endured terrible disasters. Under these circumstances, he must have been a very remarkable man who succeeded in drawing together and electrifying the miserable remains of the people, and becoming, for 20 years, literally the terror of the Annamites, whom he brought to within an inch of destruction. And yet we know nothing regarding this Tchame Hannibal except from the annals of his implacable enemies. Doubtless while still only a young prince, he inspired or directed the daring expeditions made, between 1361 and 1371, in which he consolidated his genius, while waiting for the throne and for the means which that supreme power would give him, to deal the most terrible blows on the hereditary enemies of his country. The Annamite annals call him Chê Bong Nga. (Chê = Tchei = a Tchame title signifying *Prince*. Bong, perhaps from Pong = a royal title, *Lord;* or perhaps Bong Nga is a transcription of Bonguor = *flower;* we know how much foreign names become transformed by the Chinese characters. This prince, moreover, had many popular names and a great number of titles.) Most probably our hero was officially called Jaya Sinhavarman in the beginning of his reign, and per-

haps Indravarman, later on. These were the usual names of his predecessors; and we shall find them given also to his successors. No inscriptions dating from this period have yet been discovered.

In the fifth month of 1375, according to the Annamite annals, Chê Bong Nga, king of Tchampa, invaded Hoa Cháu, (Huê); and in the seventh month king Tran Duc Tong took the field personally, with a great army, to punish the invaders. He forwarded 300,000 kilos of rice to Hoa Cháu (Huê) and began his march after a grand review of his army of 120,000 men. Brave though Chê Bong Nga was, he was dismayed at these mighty preparations, and sued for peace, sending as a present ten dishes full of gold. The Annamite general Do Tu Binh, who commanded on the frontier, seized the presents destined for his master, whom he deceitfully irritated by falsely attributing an insulting speech to the king of Tchampa. The expedition held its way, and on the 23rd of the first month of 1377, the fleet and army having reached the ports of Thi Nai (or Cho Gia, the present Qui Nhon) and of Hôn Cang, the troops encamped at a stone bridge over the Y-Môngs, near the citadel of Cha Ban, then the capital of the kings of Tchampa. Chê Bong Nga sent out his minister, Thâu Ba Ma, who pretended to give in his submission, saying that his master had fled. The next day, king Tran neglecting the simplest precautions, dressed himself in black and mounted a black horse, having with him his brother dressed in white on a white horse; and followed by his court, he went to the citadel, his army coming behind him in disorder; for the statement of the Tchampa king's flight was very plausible. At the fort gates, the Tchames arose in arms on all sides; and surrounding the Annamites made a fearful carnage. Their king was slain and his brother Uc taken prisoner; and General Lê Qui Ly led back the shattered remains of the army.

Immediately after their great victory, the Tchames appeared before the port of Dai An. This city being defended, they proceeded to the port of Thien Phu (Than Phu) which was less strongly fortified. In the sixth month of this same year, they again attacked the coasts of Annam, but being repulsed, they took to sea, losing large numbers owing to bad weather.

King Chê Bong Nga gave his daughter in marriage to the captive prince Uc, and made him king over the provinces from Nghé An to Hoa Cháu, where he was welcomed by a large party. Though the Annamite General Do Thu Binh gained some success, the Tchames expeditions became so persistent as to compel the Annamite court to bury its treasury in 1381. In the second month of 1382, the Tchames, swelling their columns from the people of Thuan Hoa and Tan Binh (probably from Huê to Quang Binh)—Annamite provinces inhabited in great part by people who were still Tchames by race, once more invaded Nghé An, and penetrated thence into Thanh Hoa, with which they had kept up relations. The Annamite General Lê Qui Ly met Chê Bong Nga with a numerous fleet on the River Ngo Giang. At the beginning of the battle, a frightened Annamite Mandarin with several junks turned round to fly; but Lé Qui Ly seized and beheaded him in the presence of the whole army. This

energetic action restored their courage and decided the victory. Notwithstanding all his talents and bravery, Chê Bong Nga was compelled to fly. The Tchames took refuge in their hills. But after the following year, 1383, they returned to the attack along all the coasts and borders of Annam. The second month of 1384 saw them in the province of Thanh Hoa, which they pillaged. Lé Qui Ly at the head of an Annamite army encamped at Mount Long Dai, while another Annamite general, Nguyên Da Phuong, guarded the port of Than Dau. The latter was lucky enough to destroy the Tchame fleet which he pursued beyond Nghé An. In 1385, Lé Qui Ly started with a fleet, but was forced back by the damage from storms which he sustained. Then Chê Bong Nga aided by the best of his generals, La Khai, overran the province of Quang Oai and Khong Muc, and reached the gates of the capital. The king of Annam fled. The Tchames, unable to storm the citadel, ravaged the country for six months, continually harassed with skirmishes by the general Nguyên Da Phuong. Having exhausted all the resources of these provinces, king Chê Bong Nga led back his army to Tchampa, in the twelfth month of 1385.

About 1388, a Chinese embassy crossed Annam to demand 50 elephants from Tchampa.

In 1390, Chê Bong Nga again led his army into Thanh Hoa and attacked Co-ro, where he defeated Lê Qui Ly, the Annamite prince Nguyên Dieu passing over to the enemy. In 1392, the indefatigable king of Tchampa made his last attack. On the 23rd of the first month, he appeared near the river at Lai Trien, with the Annamite prince Nguyên Dieu, outstripping his fleet of 100 junks. One of the inferior officers under him, Ba Lau Kê whom he had had to reprove, being in fear of his life, passed over to the Annamites and betrayed the fact that the royal barge was painted blue. The whole fleet of the enemy thereupon concentrated its pojectiles against it. One of them pierced the king Chê Bong Nga. The fugitive traitor prince Nguyen Dieu cut off his head, and carried it to the enemy, who, however, slew him too. The panic stricken Tchames fled under La Khai, who to slacken the pursuit, cast away large quantities of silver ingots and pieces of silk. The head of their implacable enemy was carried to the capital and publicly exposed. "Thus perished," says the Abbé Launay, "a man who for over 20 years had made Annam tremble, and had repeatedly brought it to the brink of destruction. At length believing itself safe from all danger, the court for several months gave itself up to daily feasts. In the midst of these rejoicings, there arrived the sons of king Chê Bong Nga, driven from their throne and their country by the ambition of La Khai. Where the father had swept, sowing dismay and death, the sons passed in their turn, fugitives and proscribed, hastening to seek an asylum in the land which the soldiers of their country had so often trampled as conquerors." In fact, in the seventh month of the year 1392 La Khai had seized the throne, and the legitimate heirs, Chê Ma No Chinan and Chê San Nô, sons of the late king, had to fly to Annam, where they were well received.

In 1393, Lé Qui Ly, now all powerful in Annam (of which he afterwards seized the throne) returned to Hoa Cháu, whence he sent a military ex-

pedition to Tchampa, which was defeated. In the eighth month of 1398, a Tchame general, Bo Dong, who had been taken prisoner in a battle by the Annamite troops, was loaded with honours by Lé Qui Ly, in order to secure his services. In the eleventh month of the same year, the Annamites received at Thanh Hoa, the submission of Chê da Biet, a Tchame general who came with his son Chê gia Diep, and his brother Chê Mo Hoa. Titles of honour were conferred upon them, and they were sent to Hoa Cháu to prevent a Tchame invasion which seemed imminent. All these defections show that anarchy reigned in Tchampa.

King La Khaï died in 1403, leaving the crown to his son Ba Dich Lai. For over a year, Lé Qui Ly had reigned over Annam, having changed his name to Ho Qui Ly on usurping the throne. He determined to use the change of Government in Tchampa to aggrandize himself at the expense of that kingdom. In the seventh month of the year 1403, he marched on Tchampa at the head of 150,000 men. The terrified Bah Dich Lai sued for peace; but he obtained it only at the cost of giving numerous presents and of yielding the territory of Co Luy. This was divided into two provinces—Thang Hoa (Quang Nam) and Tu Nghia (Quang Ngâi); and to facilitate the incorporation of the new provinces, they were placed under the immediate government of Chê Ma No Dinan, a Tchame chief devoted to the court of Annam. The Ho dynasty at once gave all their care to organize this great conquest, which had carried their frontiers from the mountains of Tourane to the north of the present Binh Dinh. A great number of Tonquinese emigrants were poured into this territory, but the women and children who were sent to join them, later on, perished in a tempest. This caused a great irritation against the Hô dynasty.

Exhausted and wounded to death by the defeat of Chê Bong Nga, Tchampa was unable to offer any serious defence against the Annamite attacks. Nevertheless the many provinces torn from her by Annam were not assimilated without difficulty; and they were repeatedly in insurrection, from one end to another. Annam, once started on the career of violent and swift conquests, hastened to finish what remained of independence in Tchampa; for these, though small, were the *foci* of rebellions against her authority. In 1404, old Ho Qui Ly, believing the time favourable, invaded Tchampa at the head of 200,000 men, whom he had himself assembled in Cháu and Huyen (prefectorates and sub-prefectorates). But the capital Cha Ban successfully resisted all his attacks; and he had to retreat owing to the threats of China, which sent 9 war-junks to the Annamite fleet, with an order to retire.

The temporary conquest of Annam by China afforded Tchampa a few years of respite, during the wars of independence which the Annamite hero, Lê Loi, waged against the Chinese rule, from 1412 to 1428. In fact in 1427, there was an exchange of embassies and presents between Annam and Tchampa; nor did any difficulties arise during the remainder of his peaceful reign, from 1428 to 1434. When he was dead, however, quarrels began afresh and violations of the frontiers. The last inscription goes back to this epoch—1436—in which the king has the name of Jaya Sinhavarman, son of Indravarman, of the Brashu race.

In 1446, while Lé Than Tong, the grandson and second successor of Lê Loi, was yet a minor, an army of 60,000 Annamites entered Tchampa, and pushing on to the port of Thi nai in the present Binh Dinh district, took the capital by assault on the 25th day of the fourth month. The king Bi Cai became a prisoner, and was at first replaced by Mahaquilai, nephew of the former king Chêdê, but was eventually restored, on the intervention of China. Tchampa, however, remained at the mercy of the court of Annam which treated it very harshly. The country was also a prey to the most violent disorders, its princes assassinating one another and succeeding each other rapidly on the throne. At length, in 1470, one of these usurpers having invaded the frontier which had been brought up to Hoa Cháu (Huê) the Annamite king Lê Thanh Tong made this incursion the pretext for putting an end to Tchampa. At the head of an army which the Annamite Annals put at the extravagant number of 700,000 men and 1,000 war-junks, he systematically attacked Tchampa, and surrounded the capital, which he stormed on the 1st of the third month of 1471. Forty thousand Tchames were put to the sword, and 30,000 were made prisoners, including the usurper Ban La Tra Toan. He soon died in captivity, and Le Thanh Tong had the head of the last king of Tchampa exposed at the prow of a junk, and placed above it a white banner with the words: "The head of Tra Toan, the cause of the misery of Tchampa." The body was burnt and the ashes cast into the waters. The day after the sack of the Tchame capital, Lê Thanh Tong reunited Quang Nam and Quang Nghia to his kingdom; and dividing the rest of Tchampa into three principalities, he placed over them Tchame chiefs under the authority of Annamite Mandarins.

V.

THE PRESENT TCHAMES: FROM THE XVTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY.

UNDER the yoke of the Annamite Mandarins, Tchampa was rapidly assimilated by Annam. The slightest attempt at rebellion was quenched in blood. The Tchames were soon changed into Annamites, owing to the combined action of political rule, administrative organization, and social laws regarding concubinage and adoption,—thus extending to the South of Tourane the change which had already been going on for centuries in the north of Huê. Thenceforth no further resistance was possible. A hundred years after this conquest, this absorption had proceeded so far, at the end of XVIth century, that the family of Nguyêns, founder of the present dynasty, formed for itself an almost independent principality out of the very centre of the now vanished Tchampa, with Huê as its capital. Strange event! Under the order of these Nguyêns, the Tchame-Annamites recommenced their centuries-old struggle against Tonquin where the rival family of the Trinh reigned under the nominal suzerainty of the Lê kings.

The first European missionaries who penetrated into these countries gave the name of Cochin China to the northern part of ancient Tchampa

already absorbed by the Annamites, and applied the name of Tchampa only to the poor remains of that kingdom in the south.

In the first half of the XVIIth century, the Nguyêns had no difficulty in adding to their dominions the present provinces of Binh Dinh and Phu yen; as the way for their assimilation had already been prepared by their mandarins. Since then Tchampa was restricted to the present Khanh Hoa and Binh Thuan, among the mountains of Cape Varela and the Donaï. About 1650, the ruler Hien Vuong imprisoned in a cage, where he soon died, the kinglet of Tchampa who had thought of rebelling. He seized Khanh Hoa, and left to the widow only the shadow of a government over Binh Thuan; but even this little authority left to the Tchame chiefs was gradually destroyed in the XVIIIth century. At last, about 1820, the last Tchampa chief emigrated to Cambodia. At present this is the only province out of all that formerly made up Tchampa, where there are any Tchames left, who have not become Annamites. They are mere local cantonal or communal authorities, that convey the orders of the Annamite prefects to a Tchame population of about 20,000 souls, scattered over seven cantons and eighty wretched hamlets. Tchampa no longer exists—it has become Cochin China, to-day Annam. The greater part of its inhabitants has become fused with the conquering race, which it must have considerably modified by the union. The chiefs, and the Mussulmans who did not resign themselves to this merciless yoke, retreated southward before the conquerors and finally emigrated into Cambodia.

Islam must have penetrated early into Tchampa, though there are no traces of this, in either the inscriptions or the Annamite annals. Since the VIIIth and IXth centuries, Arab navigators, merchants and missionaries visited in ever increasing nnmbers, the Malay and Indo Chinese coasts, and reached even China. Raffles and Veth, though differing as to the dates, both mention a Tchame princess of great beauty, who was married to Angka Vijaya king of Java, in the second half of the XIIIth century, whose elder sister had been married, in Tchampa, to an Arab by whom she had a son called Rahmet. From another quarter we learn, through Father Tachard, that about 1688 some Mussulman princes of Tchampa who had taken refuge in Siam, had there raised disturbances which were suppressed by Constance Falkon. At present, of the 20,000 Tchames, who, as I have stated, dwell in the valleys of Binh Thuan, the southern province of Annam, one-third are Muhammadans, while two-thirds are pagans professing a degenerated Brahminism. Outside of the ancient Tchampa, that is to say, in French Cochin China, Cambodia and Siam, the Tchame emigrants—all Mussulmans—number from 80,000 to 100,000 souls.

In general, Europeans very wrongly call them Malays. They are fairly orthodox in their religion, and are quite free from the idolatry of the ancient Tchames. They have a Mufti, nominated by the king of Cambodia; Hakems or chiefs of Mosques; and a great number of Imams all of whom dress in white robes. So do the Katibs or Readers and the Bilals or Censors, who form the lower orders of the hierarchy. Under these again, the Lebei or Hearers, laymen who carry out the orders of the Censors.

Besides the Ramadan these Mussulmans celebrate two other shorter fasts at stated times. They pay great respect to the young men who have acquired a complete knowledge of the Koran. They have a ceremony for washing away the sins of the old. After burials, they observe at fixed times, seven *Padhis* or funeral feasts, with prayers and a family repast. They are not, however, entirely free from all superstition. They believe in love philtres, in practices for conferring invulnerability, and in witches who cause weakness and death.

The agriculturists cultivate rice. Those who dwell near streams, employ themselves in fishing, and in cultivating rich crops of cotton, indigo, tobacco and mulberry trees. As merchants, they are very industrious and enterprising, and undertake long voyages. They make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Their women are able weavers of silk. Their rich men have as many as four lawful wives, besides many concubines. They differ but little from the Cambodians in the construction and furniture of their dwelling, or in their games or food, except that they, of course, abstain from the use of pork. Generally speaking, they are more proud, prosperous and rich than the other subjects of France in Indo-China. Among themselves they evince a certain spirit of union; they help each other in their work, and lend money to each other at a relatively moderate interest. Practising domesticity or servitude for debts, they increase their race by the adoption of the children of their Annamite debtors, whom they bring up as Tchames, in the Mussulman religion.

The Tchames of Binh Thuan are very different from their brethren of Cambodia. Poor and wretched, they are bowed down under the yoke of Annamite Mandarins, and present to the ethnographer as strange a study as can be found. We have seen that one third, or about 8,000, of these Tchames are Mussulmans. But though the headmen of their Mosques, there called Ong Grou, are selected from the Imams, and they have their Katibs (Readers) and their Medouones (Censors) and all these dress in white and have their heads shaved;—though on Fridays they adore Allah in their mosques, fast during the Ramadan, practise circumcision and do not eat pork—yet the religious beliefs of these Mussulmans, owing to their isolation from the rest of Islam have become much adulterated. Ablutions and daily prayers have fallen out of practice. The study of the Koran is neglected. In adoring Allah and venerating Muhammad, they think it no harm to adore likewise their ancestors, and the Tchame deities, just the same as their pagan brethren. Girls on attaining their fifteenth year go through a long and very important ceremony which does not seem at all Muhammadan. The Imams are invited to a feast, with the relatives and friends of the girls, who, dressed in bright clothes and covered with ornaments, present themselves before the priests to have a lock cut from their hair. Then in a simpler dress they return to make a ceremonious salutation to the Imams, and to hear announced the presents, often very considerable, which their female relatives and friends make to them on the occasion. The ceremony ends with a feast. According to different valleys, the marriage negotiations are begun by either the girl or the young man. The marriage ceremonies, which may take place either before or

after cohabitation, vary very much. They are very lengthy, and take place with the assistance of the Imams. At burials they observe *Padhis* or commemorative services, generally seven in number. But they add to these a peculiar usage, which consists in exhuming the corpse before the anniversary of its death, in order to unite the bones of all the faithful, in certain fixed spots which are considered as holy places.

They have periodical great feasts, of unknown origin, called *Radja*, which have in them nothing Islamic at least. In some places, the feast lasts three days. A shed serves as the temple, and a kind of trough forms the altar. Wooden platters surrounded by candles with cotton wicks, and bearing flowers and *betel* leaves, represent the divinities. A woman, who like the feast itself is called *Radja*, is the priestess of this worship of ancestors, dancing in honour of the divinities to the sound of an orchestra. The Medouone (Censor), the chief male actor, beats a flat drum and calls on the ancestors, and numerous divinities to come and taste the viands placed in the shed. The priestess lies down and is covered with a shroud ; and after appearing to be much agitated, she rises again. She dances on, for three nights without sleeping, only resting herself balanced on a swing. After the invocations, dancing and banquets, the feast ends in launching on the waters the image of a boat.

Besides these periodical *Radjas*, there are others on special occasions, as for instance in cases of sickness. The details of the rites vary not only in different villages, but even in different families ; still in every case we find the little shed, the trough, the platters of betel, the dancing priestess who is often the mistress of the house and the player on the flat drum who chants and invokes the divinities. It is more rare to find men alone as actors who dance all night before these betel platters.

Other practices of an exclusively pagan character, are observed in a Mussulman village that by tradition has the office of gathering in the eaglewood, which constitutes a tax from the province of Binh Thuan. The "Master of the Eaglewood," the hereditary chief of the village, when entering on his duties at the death of his father, goes to a kind of holy hill, to adore the divinities of the Eaglewood. He slays some goats, dances on a few husks of rice spread on a white cloth, invokes the gods, and feasts with his lieutenants, whom he afterwards sends to find out, in the forests of the hill, the eagle wood which, however, they are not to gather. Having entered thus on his duties, he goes twice a year to the hills. During the rainy season, he sacrifices a buffalo in thanksgiving to the divinities. In the dry season, he sends out his lieutenants in groups at the head of the inhabitants of the mountains, who have charge of collecting this wood. Some buffaloes and goats are sacrificed to the deities, and are then eaten by the explorers with minutely laid down observances, which they have also recommended to their wives at home to observe. These groups returning to their chief give themselves up to more feastings ; and the Eaglewood which has been gathered is carried in triumph to the village on the plains, where the women give it a solemn welcome.

Yet more strange are the pagan Tchames of Binh Thuan, from whom we may gather who are the divinities thus frequently worshipped by their

Mussulman brethren. Among a host of divinities recognized in this very degenerate Brahminism, three hold the chief place. Of these, two, Pô Romê and Pô Klong garaï, are deified legendary kings, who are probably confounded with Siva—they are represented in fact by statues of Siva, or as Lingas with faces engraved on them. The third is Po Nagar, "the Lady of the kingdom," the great goddess Bhagavati, whose worship, already predominant during the middle ages, continues to this day among the people. She has now become the goddess of the fields and of agriculture. Muhammadan influence has even confounded her with Eve. Then come a host of other gods and goddesses, who are often nothing but local genii, and sometimes legendary personages, kings and princes, who have been deified and whose tombs are honoured. The pagan Tchames of Binh Thuan, like true Indians, reject no deity. Their contact with Muhammadanism has imported into their pantheon, not only Eve, but Allah, Muhammad, the archangel Gabriel, the angels and saints of the Koran, Adam, Moses and other biblical prophets, and even Jesus Christ himself.

Several castes take part in the worship of these divinities. Of these, the highest is that of the Bashêh, descendants probably of the Brahmins of Tchampa, who are to be found all over Binh Thuan, more especially in the valley of Panrang. They have three chiefs, called Pothéa, who are also the high priests of the three chief divinities. Under the Bashêh, the Tchamenei, another caste of priests, keep the keys of the temples and the ornaments of the deities, and officiate in certain circumstances. The Kadhar play on the violin and chant invocations. The Padjao are inspired priestesses, possessed, or to use the energetic Indian expression, "stamped upon," by the divinities during the ceremonies; who among other matters of abstinence, are bound to absolute continence, lest they should excite the jealousy and anger of their gods. We may add that their call does not begin till about the age of thirty or forty years. The Radja women, whom we spoke of among the Mussulmans, are also found among the pagans, as also are the men, called Medouones or Podouones. Finally the Ong Banœk, the religious heads of the dams and irrigation works for the fields, form a special caste.

The consecration of the Bashêh and the Pothéa gives occasion to long and important ceremonies, which I briefly sum up here. The Tchame population crowd to the feast. A temporary temple of wood and straw is made in the shape of a millstone, and raised in the fields; and opposite to it is a little toilet shed, where the newly promoted go to put on their coloured sacerdotal garments. The officiating priests, dressed in white, go towards them, to the sound of an orchestra, bearing the sacred fire—two wax candles lighted in a sort of high basket covered with a white cotton cloth. The whole cortège then issues from the shed and returns to the temple. The newly promoted, sheltered under canopies, are fanned by little girls dressed in robes of ceremony. The people spread cloths under the footsteps of the priests. In the temple, a basket full of husked rice serves as the seat of the new Pothéa—the other promoted Bashêh get rice in the husks. The promoted Bashêh go thrice in solemn state around

this seat, and then sit down to a pretended repast comprising all kinds of food. The new Pôthéa performs a hieratic dance before the now uncovered sacred fire. The divinities are then worshipped; and the ceremony ends in a general feasting.

Their temples maintained according to the traditions are sometimes ancient Tchame towers of brick. The gods are worshipped there at two great feasts each year. The priests, the caste men, and all the population meet together on these occasions. Other occasional adorations may be performed for any special reason—some event or some sickness. Goats and even buffaloes are slaughtered, the Tchamenei adores the deity, and opens the door of his temple, cleans and washes with lustral waters the representation of the god,—a linga, a statue, or a mere stone. He lights candles, burns eagle wood in a pan, and offers the food prepared, while the musicians, to the accompaniment of their instruments, invoke the divinity. The Tchamenei then arranges the ornaments and sacred cloths and when necessary places a new mask of paste over the face of the god. Then he moves about his hands, holding lighted candles, with vessels of lustral waters, and bowls of spirits. In her turn, the Padjao or pythoness, till now a simple spectator, prays and makes passes with eggs and cups of spirits, she becomes agitated and trembles, while all the assistants adore the god who has taken possession of her. When tired out she yawns, breaks the eggs, and communicates the answer of the god. The comestibles offered to the divinities, are afterwards eaten by the worshippers and the assistants.

With ceremonies far more simple and without any gathering of priests, the Tchames worship their minor deities, for all kinds of purposes, with offerings of food and spirits; but the appetite of the gods never does any injury to that of the human beings.

The funeral ceremonies are important and costly, and take place with a great gathering of priests and caste men. The corpse, wrapped in cotton cloths, is kept in a shed near the house for nearly a month. The relatives, friends, neighbours and acquaintances come, in turn, to keep him joyful company and to feast at the expense of the family. Night and day the priests offer food to him. At the time fixed for the cremation, a numerous cortège forms around the hearse which is carried violently through turns and twists, to cause the dead to forget the road to his house. At the burning place, they offer him a last repast, and then burn him with his precious things. Those who are present at the ceremony avail themselves of the occasion to cast into the fire a lot of things which they wish to send to their dead relations. The cremation being over, they collect the bones of the forehead, in a small metal casket, which is kept in the house till the anniversary. These various ceremonies, with other commemorative services, form their seven traditional *Padhis*. At the last Padhi, on the occasion of the anniversary, the casket containing the remains is interred at the foot of the gravestones of the family, where rest the other caskets of his ancestors, which their descendants come at the great annual feasts to adore.

Special occasions for the worship of ancestors are any events of im-

portance—a vow, a sickness, etc. Priests are called in, and offerings of food are made. The priests dress up the gravestones, and spread and offer food, and invoke with the sound of musical instruments, the *manes* to come and inspire the Pythonesss, and to accept from her mouth the homage of their posterity. The family prostrate themselves. Afterwards, the priests and those present consume the food.

Almost the sole industry of the Tchames of Binh Thuan is the cultivation of the rice-field. Their agricultural rites are very important. These rites must have played a great part in the life of the inhabitants of ancient Tchampa who were well skilled in the art of watering their rice fields, and have left in Annam numerous vestiges of their irrigation works. Their conquerors, the Annamites, have everywhere abandoned these works, nor are any now found in use, except in Binh Thuan, where the Tchames tap their rivers for the supply of water, as that which they receive from the heavens is not sufficient for their wants.

Every year, when the rains begin, the canals are examined and repaired by the proprietors, who likewise collect and convey the materials for the dams. The Ong Bancœks, the religious chiefs of these dams and weirs then go to the water locks, adore the divinities, according to the rites, and begin the construction of the dam, by laying down some materials. The work is then continued by the people; but the Ong Bancœk continues to stay there, retired, during these operations. Returning home, he has again to adore the deities. This religious worship is repeated when the rice begins to flower, and when it is reaped. The Tchames have several kinds of holy rice-fields. Some, called "Ricefields of furtive labour," are the first to be prepared. To tear this earth in order to render it more fruitful being considered a crime, an offence against the deities, each proprietor of a sacred field sends, before dawn, to have three furrows made in his field, in silence and furtively. When it is daylight he goes thither as if by accident, pretends to be surprised, and then asks permission of the deities, to continue the work. He offers them food, rubs the plough with oil, washes the team of oxen with lustral waters, and sows consecrated grain in the three furrows; and having eaten the food, continues to work the field. He makes other offerings when the rice flowers and when it is cut. This sacred field must also be the first to be harvested, the proprietor himself cutting a few handfuls of rice, as first-fruits offered to Po Nagar, the goddess of Agriculture. He takes this rice home, and sets aside some of its ears for sowing next year the three furrows of furtive labor. The remainder he beats out and husks, and has a part cooked, which he at once eats. After this he continues the harvesting of the rest.

Here I conclude this brief account of the present state of the Tchames, their manners and customs. I have only inserted them, in order to make clear and to complete the few historical notices which we possess regarding their ancestors. A full enquiry into the usages and practices of this interesting people has been published in the *Revue de L'Histoire des Religions*, after the reading of this paper in the Congress of 1891.