

Montagnards and the Cham Kings: Labor and Land Administration as seen in the Documentary and Oral Archives

SHINE Toshihiko

新江利彦

Fellow, Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo, Japan
E-mail: t_shine@tufs.ac.jp

1. Introduction

There are more than one million people belonging to seven ethnic groups with matrilineal kinship system (Mon-Khmer group: M'Nong and Koho; Western Indonesia group: Giarai, Ede, Churu, Raglai and Cham) in Vietnam's Central Coastal Regions and the Central Highlands. Among these groups, Chams had established a state system from early in the history. During the time of Thuan Thanh Princely State 順城鎮 (1695-1832), for instance, Thuan Than Tran Vuong 順城鎮王 (Cham King) ruled over the Chams under the control of Nguyen Lords (1555-1777) and Nguyen Dynasty (1802-1945). The influence of Cham Kingdom also spread beyond the territory directly occupied by the ethnic Chams. Oral records found in the southern part of Central Highlands all mention Cham king's authority (Dam Bo 1950; Boulbet 1967; Lam Tuyen Tinh 1985; Nguyen Thuan Triet 1990; Lam Tuyen Tinh 2000). These include the folktales about their resistance against Cham kings, marriage with Cham Princesses, or stories about how they aided Cham kingdom in their conflicts with their enemies. Furthermore, one of the crucial pieces of evidence that link the Montagnards and the Cham Kings is the presence of the treasures of Cham kings in more than a dozen storages located in the villages of Montagnards like Koho, Raglai and Churu in Lam Dong Province, Ninh Thuan Province, and Binh Thuan Province (Parmentier & Durand 1905; Nghiem Tham 1960; Nguyen Xuan Nghia 1989). However, to this day, the evidence regarding Cham king's labour and land administration of the Montagnards has been strikingly rare.

This report presents several data that allow us to analyze and reconstruct the Cham system of administering the labor and land tenure among the Montagnards.

Source 1: "Champa Royal Archives" from the year 4 (1743) and 6 (1745) of Canh Hung era shows the sales and the ownership of Man Sach (villages of Montagnards) in Mat De Xom (Ma Deh Hamlet in present Ma Deh area of Phan Son Commune and Phan Lam Commune, Bac Binh District, Binh Thuan Province). (No. 90-H/File 23-8, No. 90-T/File 23-21)

Source 2: "Oral history on Cham king's use of forced labour of Koho and Raglai in Ma Deh area," recorded on March 8th, 2003. (Appendix: Oral narrative of Mr. K'Pal, a Koho descendant of peasants under Cham rule, December 21st, 2003).

Source 3: "Nguyen Dynasty's Cadastral records of Binh Thuan Province, year 17 (1836) of Minh Mang". A detailed description of *luu hoang dien* (abandoned rice field) in Trinh Son Commune (present Phan Son Commune and Phan Lam Commune, Bac Binh District, Binh Thuan Province) as evidenced in these Cadastral records. (No. 455/5090/B64)

2. Literature Review and Methodology

Dam Bo (1950) and Boulbet (1967) collected and introduced oral histories regarding Cham king in southern Central Highlands. Following these works, Nguyen Xuan Nghia (1989) summarized the issues on the relationship between the Montagnards and Cham kingdom, focusing on the examination of cultural elements. On the issue of political alliances between these groups, through meticulous reading of Cham archival material, Po Dharma (1987) has written on Montagnards (Koho, Raglai and Churu) who supported La Bon Vuong (in Cham, *Po War Lei*: a Cham and Raglai rebellion leader) in his struggle against Minh Mang Emperor (1820-1841) during the Le Van Khoi's rebellion. On the issue of agricultural land, Phan Lac Tuyen (1978) and Phan An (1989) have written using field ethnological methods. These works have contributed in the reconstruction of Cham agricultural land system and its classification prior to 1975. Together with Nguyen Dinh Dau's (1996) study on Nguyen Dynasty's Cadastral records of Binh Thuan Province, these studies have mapped out almost the entire the traditional Chinese, modern Vietnamese and Cham terms used for land tenure classification.

Figure 1. Cham agricultural land classification in Binh Thuan Province as described in Nguyen Dynasty's Cadastral records of Binh Thuan Province from year 17 (1836) of Minh Mang.

Traditional Sino-Vietnamese writing	Vietnamese Transcription	English	Cham	
民田 (=私田?)	Dân điền	Private ricefield	Hamu Blei, Hamu Sang Hamu Bhum	hm̄b̄+ hms(hm̄B'~
藩僚田 (=官田?)	Phiên liêu điền	Mandarin clans' ricefield	Hamu Gep, Hamu Kut? ¹	hmḡp̄ (hm̄k̄T?)
茶娘田	Trà nương điền	Ricefield for revenue of King	Hamu Patao	hm̄p̄-t)
楊田 (=嗣田?)	Dương điền	Ricefield for worship	Hamu Yang	hm̄y(

Sources : Phan Lac Tuyen 1978, Phan An 1989, Nguyen Dinh Dau 1996.

3. Abstracts of each data

Source 1: "Champa Royal Archives" 占婆王府档案 consist of an enormous volume of documents discovered in southern part of Central Highlands. It comprises of nearly one hundred files of documents written in Sino-Vietnamese scripts (those in Cham scripts are ten times larger). These manuscripts have been stored in the library of Société Asiatique in Paris from the time it was brought there in 1900's. Since then, they have been indexed and compiled in the form of CD-ROM by the groups in the French School of Asian Studies (EFEO) and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS). This has been made available since 2007. The origin of these documents have yet to be accounted for. However, since the contents and the timing of its acquisition match with Parmentier and Durand's (1905) discovery of Cham king's treasuries in southern part of

¹ Hamu Gep, Hamu Kut is a family ricefields, clan's ricefields, but since it does not necessary mean that they are owned by one mandarin clan, I add a question mark.

Central Highlands, the author speculates that these were part of the documents found in the treasury.

Source 2: "Oral history on Cham kingdom's use of forced labour of Koho and Raglai in Ma Deh area" (Appendix: "Oral narrative of Mr. K'Pal, a Koho descendant of peasant under Cham rule") is recorded in the author's field notes written during his fieldwork carried out between 2003 and 2004. The research was conducted as a part of "baseline survey of ethnic minorities" in Phan Ri and Phan Thiet Irrigation Project proposed and funded by the Japanese ODA.

Source 3: "Nguyen Dynasty's Cadastral records" 阮朝地簿 are voluminous documents commissioned, collected and preserved by the Nguyen Dynasty. The Cadastral records were stored in the National Archives Centre (present National Archives Centre No.2 in Ho Chi Minh City) of the Republic of Vietnam (former Saigon government), but since the year 2000 it has been transferred to National Archives Centre No.1 in Hanoi. They have been indexed by the National Archives Centre No.1 and its photocopy version is currently available at the same archives.

4. Source 1: "Champa Royal Archives" from the year 4 (1743) and 6 (1745) of Canh Hung era shows the sales and the ownership of Man Sach (villages of Montagnards) in Mat De Xom. (No. 90-H/File 23-8, No. 90-T/File 23-21)

4.1. No. 90-H (File 23-8)
(1) Original



(2) Vietnamese transcription:

Chi Thu Chử

Thân

Kê

Nhất vọng ơn, do Nhâm Tuất niên hữu đơn cáo gia tài sự. Đáo kim, bản trấn vương phó tra/

tất thượng tử. Kim, phó phần liêm sừ, điền nô đẳng hạng cộng tính giá tứ thiên/ cửu bách quán hữu dư, thả liêm sừ tiền đã cố mại, tồn điền nô các sớ./

Kim, phó mại hoàn trái cố. Chi Thu thân cô khùng đẳng nô đoạt đầu nạn mại./

Khất kim bản trấn vương mại kỹ phần điền nô đẳng hạng cập Man Sách hoàn trái/

Các gia cộng tiền nhị thiên nhất bách ngũ thập quán như hữu chỉ dư nhược can/

nộp tại bản trấn vương. Chi Thu bất cảm trở. Đáng vạ lại hồng ơn. Thưa/

Chỉ giáo sự.

Cảnh hưng tứ niên nhị nguyệt sơ tam nhật Chi Thu Chử ký/ (Ấn)

(3) English translation:

Chi Thu Chu,

Humbly address Ban Tran Vuong (Cham King)

As following.

First, allow me to thank Ban Tran Vuong for his kindness. Since the year of the elder water and dog in Chinese zodiac = 壬戌年, 1708), we have been filing our taxes. At this occasion, Ban Tran Vuong has demanded an audit of our file. Including scythes, plows, serfs, Man Sach (village of Montagnards) and other items the total is about 4,900 quan. The plow and scythes, however, have been mortgaged. The serfs reside in each farmland. Now, we wish to sell these items in order to pay our debt. My humble sense tells me that it will be difficult to sell the serfs, for they are likely to flee. I beg Ban Tran Vuong for the permission to sell the serfs, Man Sach and other items to be used to pay our debt. Our debt is altogether 2,150 quan. The remainder will be paid to Ban Tran Vuong. Chi Thu will follow Ban Tran Vuong's decision. Thank you for your kindness.

I await your instruction.

Day 3, Month 2 of lunar calendar, year 4 (1743) of Canh Hung.

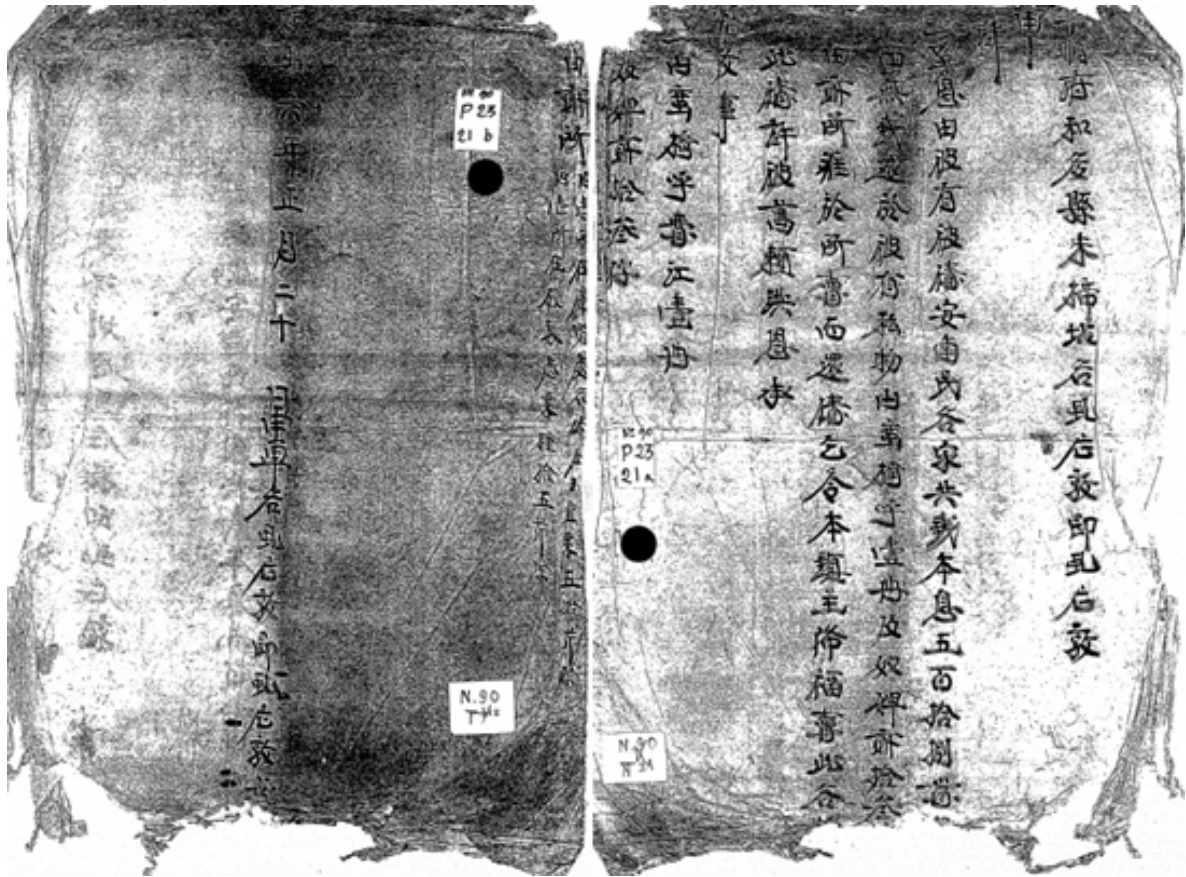
Chi Thu Chu

(4) Notes:

These documents include several words that are difficult to comprehend. For example, 'liem su' 鑣鋤. The author does not know whether it refers simply to agricultural tools or whether it includes the lands as well. The identity of this character, Chi Thu, is also a mystery. Is 'Chi Thu' a transliteration of a Cham name, or is this a bureaucratic title, as the ideograms 'Chi Thu' 支収 used in his name suggests, given to the mandarins who deal with the requests regarding debt payments? Furthermore, if Chi Thu Chu was one in debt himself, to whom is he paying the debt? Ordinarily, it is customary to write the writer's address and name. However, here, it is only written 'Chi Thu Chu.' In order to fully comprehend the documents related to this "Sales of serfs and Man Sach for Debt Payment", it is incumbent to read through the entire file (No. 90). However, the file includes many documents written in cursive script or in Cham, and thus the author has not been able to understand them completely. The following is one of the documents that the author was fortunate enough to be able to decipher.

4.2. No. 90-T (P23-21)

(1) Original:



(2) Vietnamese transcription:

Bình Thuận Phủ Hòa Đa Huyện Mạt Đé Xóm Danh Cựu Ni Dôn tức Cựu Ni Đôn/
Thân
Kê

Nhất vọng ơn, do bị hữu bị trái An Nam dân các gia cộng tiền bản tức ngũ bách thập bát
quán./

Do vô tiền hoan, ư bị hữu tư vật Sơn Man Kha Hồ nhất sách cập nô tỳ nhị thập tam/
Điền nhị sở. Duy ư sở mại nhi hoan trái. Khất kim bản trấn vương giáng phúc mại thử
các hoàn

thứ trái hứa bỉ. Vạn lại hồng ơn. Thừa.

Chỉ giáo sự.

Nhất sơn man Kha Hồ Phú Giang nhất sách/
Nhất nô tỳ nhị thập tam tử

Nhất điền nhị sở: nội nhất sở tại Phú Hải Xứ danh □□□ tức chủng ngũ thập cần trừ. nội
nhất sở tại Mô Giáo Xứ tức chủng thập ngũ cần trừ./

Cảnh Hưng lục niên chính nguyệt nhị thập nhật thân đơn danh Cựu Ni Đôn tức Cựu Ni
Đôn (chỉ điền)

(3) English translation:

Mat De Hamlet, Hoa Da District, Binh Thuan Prefecture (present Ma De area, Phan Son Commune and Phan Lam Commune, Bac Binh District, Binh Thuan Province), Cau Ni Don, the alias is Cau Ni Don, too.

Humbly address Ban Tran Vuong,
As following.

First, allow me to thank Ban Tran Vuong. I have borrowed a sum of money from an An Nam people (Kinh people). Including interests it amounts to 518 quan. I do not possess the cash to repay this debt, but I own one Man Sach (village of Montagnards) of Koho, and 23 slaves and two units of agricultural land. I desire to sell these properties in order to pay my debt. I beg Ban Tran Vuong, the permission to sell these items. Thank you. Awaiting your instruction.

One, 1 village of Montagnards Koho, Phi Gian Hamlet.

One, 23 slaves

One, 2 units of ricefields, among which one is Pho Hai Xu/ Pho Hai Canton, male XXX (three illegible characters, perhaps a name of the cultivator), 50 dossers for sowing. The other field is Mo Giao Xu/ Mo Ciao Canton, 15 dossers for sowing.

Day 20, Month 1 of lunar calendar, year 6 (1745) of Canh Hung

Cau Ni Don, the alias is Cau Ni Don, too.

(4) Notes:

The documents 90-T and 90-H demonstrates how during Thuan Thanh Princely State era (1695-1832), Chams were obligated to submit the property inventories to the Cham king for taxation purposes, and they were also required to ask for permission for any sales and transactions of their properties (It was probably not permitted to sell their properties directly to Kinh or to Hoa (overseas Chinese)). The two documents we have seen above resemble each other, but the relationship between Chi Thu Chu and Cau Ni Don is unclear. They may have been completely unrelated, but it is also possible that Chi Thu Chu was the official that mediated Cau Ni Don's requests. If so, the amount of debt noted in 90-T was a part of the total debt. This means that Cau Ni Don submitted his request at least by the month 2, year 4 of Canh Hung, and this was yet to be resolved in the month 1, year 6 of Canh Hung.

There are also ambiguities on Phi Gian Hamlet of Montagnards (Koho), and the sales of serfs and slaves mentioned in these documents. There is a possibility that the sales of Man Sach actually referred to “Phan Thu Man Thue 分收蠻稅” (*Tieu Binh Thuan Tinh Man Phi Phuong Luoc 剿平順省蠻蠻方略* (1835)) or “Thong dich 通役” (Brière 1889), in other words, the rights to tax or monopolize the commerce with Montagnards. It is also important to re-examine the status of Serfs and Slaves with care. We saw in 90-H a statement: “支収身孤恐等奴奪逃難賣” (My (Chi Thu) humble sense tells me that it will be difficult to sell the serfs, for they are likely to flee). This entry suggests that at this particular juncture in the history, the status of slaves and serfs were relatively loose in the Cham society, and if one desired to escape, it was possible to do so.

5. Source 2: "Oral history on Cham king's use of forced labour of Koho and Raglai in Ma Deh area"

"Oral history on Cham king's use of forced labour of Koho and Raglai in Ma Deh area" narrated by a farmer, Mr. Mang Khe (born 1940) in Ram Tanang area, Phan Lam Commune, Bac Binh District, Binh Thuan Province, recorded on March 8th, 2003.

(1) Transcript in Raglai:

"Dulikal makan patao Cam mak Raglai Kaho Yuan mak ngap halut ru kayau ngap jut hama. Asec duec patao Cam mak mak ataong jaoh gai ye."

(2) Translation:

"Long ago, Cham king used to capture Raglai-Koho or Kinh and enslaved them to dig up the trees and open the rice fields. Cham king struck whoever that attempted to escape with a hoe."

(3) Notes:

Ka Lon and Ma Deh are Koho names for Cham kingdom's granaries located in the northern part of Binh Thuan Province, near the border between Binh Thuan and Lam Dong province. These territories were given to Raglai and Koho in 1959 (*Phan Son truyen thong khang chien* 潘山抗戰傳統 (1999)), but until they abandoned these lands due to the war, they were paying annual tribute to the Cham Royal family. In Cu Chi Field of Phan Lam Commune (Hama Akap in Raglai, the northern part of Ma Deh area), there remain oral records regarding Raglai and Koho peasants. The descendants of Raglai and Koho peasants, however, speak of their ancestors as if they were ordinary villagers. Below is the narrative of a farmer, Mr. K'Pal, from Phan Son village of Ma Deh Field.

Appendix: "Oral narrative of Mr. K'Pal, a descendant of Koho peasants under Cham rule" (recorded December 21th, 2003).

"I am a Koho, or more precisely a Sre. Sre signifies 'paddyfield'. My maternal kins have cultivated rice in Sop Rai Field (in Koho, 'Sre Sop Rajai', in Cham, 'Hamu Jhaop Rajais') for many generations. My mother, Ka Luh, married my father, K'Ra, who is from Talip Hamlet belonging to Sadieng Matrilineal clan. They married while K'Ra was working in Talip. I, too, married a woman from Talip Hamlet, named Ka Dai (Tran Thi Dai, in the identification card). She also belongs to Sadieng clan."

As this record suggests, there were actually Koho peasants who worked under the rule of Cham Kings and its descendants. Mr. K'Pal and his matrilineal clan Sadieng, can be said to be the witnesses to this history of domination.

6. Source 3: “Nguyen Dynasty’s Cadastral records of Binh Thuan Province, year 17 (1836) of Minh Mang”. A detailed description of *luu hoang dien* (abandoned rice field) in Trinh Son Commune (present Phan Son Commune and Phan Lam Commune, Bac Binh District, Binh Thuan Province) as evidenced in these Cadastral records. (No. 455/5090/B64)

(1) Traditional Sino-Vietnamese writing and transcription:

Number of units (ricefields)	Traditional Sino-Vietnamese writing	Vietnamese Transcription	Number of dossers (sowing)
	一留荒田參拾五所現成林麓無從勸度	Nhất, lưu hoang điền tam thập ngũ sở, hiện thành lâm lộc, vô tùng khám độ	
1	一所田參頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền tam không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
2	一所田五頃 播粟四箕	Nhất sở điền ngũ không, bá túc tứ ky	4
3	一所田陸頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền lục không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
4	一所田七頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền thất không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
5	一所田五拾頃 播粟陸箕	Nhất sở điền ngũ thập không, bá túc thập lục ky	16
6	一所田七頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền thất không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
7	一所田拾五頃 播粟拾箕	Nhất sở điền thập ngũ không, bá túc thập ky	10
8	一所田七頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền thất không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
9	一所田拾頃 播粟陸箕	Nhất sở điền thập không, bá túc lục ky	6
10	一所田陸頃 播粟參箕	Nhất sở điền lục không, bá túc tam ky	3
11	一所田五頃 播粟參箕	Nhất sở điền ngũ không, bá túc tam ky	3
12	一所田參拾頃 播粟拾箕	Nhất sở điền tam thập không, bá túc thập ky	10
13	一所田玖頃 播粟參箕	Nhất sở điền cửu không, bá túc tam ky	3
14	一所田貳拾頃 播粟八箕	Nhất sở điền nhị thập không, bá túc bát ky	8
15	一所田四拾參頃 播粟拾箕	Nhất sở điền tứ thập tam không, bá túc thập ky	10
16	一所田拾壹頃 播粟拾箕	Nhất sở điền thập nhất không, bá túc thập ky	10
17	一所田拾頃 播粟四箕	Nhất sở điền thập không, bá túc tứ ky	4
18	一所田七頃 播粟四箕	Nhất sở điền thất không, bá túc tứ ky	4
19	一所田貳拾頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền nhị thập không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
20	一所田拾頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền thập không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
20.5	半所田 播粟拾箕	Bán sở điền, bá túc thập ky	10
21.5	一所田貳十壹頃 播粟拾箕	Nhất sở điền nhị thập nhất không, bá túc thập ky	10
22.5	一所田拾貳頃 播粟陸箕	Nhất sở điền thập nhị không, bá túc lục ky	6
23.5	一所田拾八頃 播粟拾箕	Nhất sở điền thập bát không, bá túc thập ky	10
24.5	一所田拾五頃 播粟陸箕	Nhất sở điền thập ngũ không, bá túc lục ky	6
25.5	一所田四拾參頃 播粟參箕	Nhất sở điền tứ thập tam không, bá túc tam ky	3
26.5	一所田貳拾玖頃 播粟貳箕	Nhất sở điền nhị thập cửu không, bá túc nhị ky	2
27.5	一所田七頃 播粟貳箕	Nhất sở điền thất không, bá túc nhị ky	2
28	半所田玖頃 播粟五箕	Bán sở điền cửu không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
29	一所田拾頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền thập không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
30	一所田貳拾參頃 播粟拾五箕	Nhất sở điền nhị thập tam không, bá túc thập ngũ ky	15
31	一所田拾壹頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền thập nhất không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
32	一所田拾頃 播粟五箕	Nhất sở điền thập không, bá túc ngũ ky	5
33	一所田拾頃 播粟貳箕	Nhất sở điền thập không, bá túc nhị ky	2
34	一所田拾貳頃 播粟四箕	Nhất sở điền thập nhị không, bá túc tứ ky	4
35	一所田拾貳頃 播粟參箕	Nhất sở điền thập nhị không, bá túc tam ky	3
Total			219

(2) Notes:

Commonly known as ‘Binh Thuan Front’, during the Le Van Khoi 黎文傀 rebellion of 1835, Ka Lon (Kha Long) and Ma De (Ma De) was a combat zone, where Koho and Raglai rebels led by La Bon Vuong 羅奔王 (*Po War Palei* in Cham) joined in a fierce battle with the Nguyen Government forces. As such, there are several entries peculiar to the Cadastral records of Trinh Son Commune, which is not seen in any other communes and villages. Firstly, the area of *luu hoang dien* 留荒田 (or abandoned rice field) is enormous compared to the others. Secondly, the sowing capacities of each of these fields are recorded in the unit of “ky” (箕=箕, *gùi*, dossier). The author speculates that the reason for recording the *luu hoang dien* in Trinh Son Commune was because they practiced dry ricefield method (= slash and burn agriculture) with 5 to 10 year cycles. The sowing capacity of new deal dry ricefield of Ma Community on the Con O Mountain in Lam Dong Province is 30 kilogram per 1 hectare, which yielded the harvest of 1 to 2 tons of crop. Cadastral record entry shows “Vo tung kham do 無從勘度”, or immeasurable, but calculated from the above record, with the assumption that 1 dossier yields 30 kilogram of sowing, we reach the conclusion that the total area of *luu hoang dien*/dry rice field reached 217 hectare, or in Nguyen unit, 447 mau.

In comparison to other communes and villages, in Trinh Son Commune, there were extremely large numbers of *phien lieu dien* 藩僚田, or the rice fields allocated to the Cham mandarins for their revenues (217 mau. This was 20% of all *phien lieu dien* owned by the Chams). Furthermore, while the proportion of *phien lieu dien* in this area was extremely high, “*Tra Nuong Dien*” 茶娘田 or the rice field allocated for the revenue of the king himself was zero. After the rebellion was quelled in 1835, part of the *tra nuong dien* and *phien lieu dien* were seized by the Nguyen Dynasty. Even in the Cadastral record of Trinh Son Commune 禎山社地簿 it is recorded that “藩僚田三十五畝五高被籍編、交回社認耕、收納稅” (35 mau 5 sao of *phien lieu dien* was seized and the harvest from the communal lands was taxed). Furthermore, *Dai Nam Thuc Luc Chinh Bien De Nhi Ky* 大南寔錄正編第二紀 records that “茶娘田乃藩王寓祿田、何年有借耕者、據播粟之數量、納官” (*Tra Nuong Dien* was the ricefield the revenue of the Phien Vuong 藩王= Cham Kings, and thus the sharecroppers were to pay taxes according to the sowing quantity). Based on these facts, it can be speculated that *luu hong dien* (abandoned ricefield) of Trinh Son Commune, where the record only shows sowing capacity, was in fact *Tra Nuong Dien*. Perhaps the fields were temporarily abandoned during the rebellion, because the Koho and Raglai or Tra Nuong cultivators escaped to the mountains where the police of Nguyen Dynasty could not pursue.

7. Conclusion.

From the examination of these sources, one question arises: How, under the patronage of Nguyen Lords (1555-1777) and Nguyen Dynasty (1802-1945), were Cham kings able to control such a vast area inhabited by the Montagnards, during the Thuan Thanh Princely State era? The answer to this question also seems to lie within these records. In the document 90-T attributes the reason for Cau Ni Don’s desire to sell his “Man Sach” to the necessity to repay the An Nam or Kinh creditors. Throughout the eras of Nguyen Lords and Nguyen Dynasty, the commercial activities developed gradually within this region. In order to answer to everyday necessities, these ethnic groups were no longer able to remain in isolation. And as the commercial activities developed further, more ‘debtors’ began to emerge. Perhaps, “Man Sach 蠻柵,” who

were incorporated into the Cham king's source of revenues, or Dien No 田奴 and No Ty 奴婢 (serfs and slaves), who fell under landlords' control, reflect the negative aspect of the developments in commercial activities, rather than as the victims of interethnic violence or feudal power.

In this report, the author was not able to touch upon the most important problem of economic life of the Montagnards; that is, how Cham kings managed the dry rice field land tenure during the Thuan Thanh Princely State era. The author suspects that among the Tra Nuong Dien, *Son Dien* 山田 might have referred to these dry rice fields. I would like to take this as the topic for my further study.

Kontum, October 20th, 2007.
SHINE Toshihiko

Reference

Bồ Xuân Hồ

2003 *Chuyện tích về các đập nước ở 3 huyện Hàm Thuận Bắc, Bắc Bình, Tuy Phong* (Tài liệu Điều tra mức sống kinh tế-xã hội của dân tộc ít người ở hai xã Phan Sơn và Phan Lâm - Dự án Phát triển Thủy lợi Phan Rí-Phan Thiết). Bắc Bình.

Boulbet, Jean

1967 *Nggar Maa', Nggar Yaang; Pays des Maa', Domaine des Génies*. École Française D'Extrême-Orient. Paris.

Brière, M.

1890 "Les Mœurs du Bình Thuận et du Khánh Hoà". *Excursions et reconnaissances*. XIV(31): 235-272. (Saïgon)

Bùi Minh Đạo (chủ biên)

2000 *Trồng trọt truyền thống của các dân tộc tại chỗ Tây Nguyên*. Nhà Xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội. Hà Nội.

2003 *Dân tộc Cơ ho ở Việt Nam*. Nhà Xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội. Hà Nội.

Chi bộ Xã Phan Sơn (biên soạn)

1999 *Phan Sơn truyền thống kháng chiến 潘山抗戰傳統 1945-1975*. Bắc Bình.

Cục Lưu trữ Nhà nước (biên soạn)

2007 *Mục lục địa bạ triều Nguyễn: Tỉnh Bình Thuận*. Trung tâm Lưu trữ Quốc gia I. Hà Nội.

Dam Bo (Dournes, Jacques)

1950 "Populations montagnardes du Sud-Indochinoise". *France-Asie*. 49+50. (Saïgon)

Danny Wong Tze Ken

2006 *Vietnam-Champa Relations and the Malay-Islam Regional Network in the 17th-19th Centuries*. Champaka, số 5. Paris-San José-Toronto.

Đỗ Đình Sâm

2001 "Điều tra đánh giá thực trạng canh tác nương rẫy các tỉnh Tây Nguyên". *Kết quả khoa học công nghệ lâm nghiệp giai đoạn 1996-2000*. Nhà Xuất bản Nông nghiệp. Hà Nội: 256-266.

École Française D'Extrême-Orient & Tōkyō Gaikokugo Daigaku 法國遠東博古學院・東京外國語大學 (biên soạn, ảnh ấn)

2006a *Inventory of the Pāṇḍuraṅga-Campā royal archives* チャンパー王家文書解説目録 (tiếng Pháp và tiếng Việt). Paris-Tōkyō.

2006b *Digitilization of the Pāṇḍuraṅga-Campā royal archives* チャンパー王家文書電子書庫(CD-ROM). 13 tập. Paris-Tōkyō.

Indoshina Kenkyūkai 印度支那研究會 (ảnh ấn)

1943 *Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí 大南一統誌* (1910). 2 tập. Tōkyō.

Ishizawa Yoshiaki 石澤良昭

1980 "Les archives Cam Rédigées en Caractère Chinois au Fonds de la Société Asiatique avec Annotation Analyse 漢籍チャム寫本分類". *Kagoshima Daigaku Shigakka Kenyū Hōkoku*. 29:13-40. (Kagoshima)

Keiō Gijuku Daigaku - Gengo Bunka Kenkyūjo 慶應義塾大學言語文化研究所 (ảnh ấn)

1961 *Đại Nam Thực Lục 大南寔錄* (Tiền Biên: 1844, Chính Biên Đệ Nhất Kỳ: 1848, Chính Biên Đệ Nhị Kỳ: 1868). 20 tập. Tōkyō.

Lâm Tuyên Tình (dịch)

1986 *Sự tích Lang Biang*. Sở Văn hoá Thông tin Lâm Đồng. Đà Lạt.

2000 “Nghiên cứu chuyện cổ Di Linh”. Huyện ủy Di Linh (biên soạn). *Di Linh 25 năm xây dựng và phát triển*. Nhà Xuất bản Đà Nẵng. Đà Nẵng:197-198.

Mạc Đường (chủ biên)

1983 *Vấn đề dân tộc ở Lâm Đồng*. Sở Văn hoá Tỉnh Lâm Đồng. Đà Lạt.

Nghiêm Thẩm

1960 “Đi tìm kho tàng của các vua Chăm.” *Văn hóa nguyệt san*. Số 56:1359-1366, số 57: 1567-1575. (Sài Gòn)

Nguyễn Cảnh Tông (Vua Đồng Khánh) (mệnh soạn)

1888 *Đồng Khánh Địa Dư Chí 同慶地輿誌* (23 quyển). Thư viện The Tōyō Bunko. Tōkyō. Ký hiệu X-2-30.

Nguyễn Đình Đầu

1996 *Nghiên cứu địa bạ triều Nguyễn: Bình Thuận*. Nhà Xuất bản Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh. Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh.

Nguyễn Thánh Tổ (Vua Minh Mạng) (mệnh soạn)

1835 *Tiểu Bình Thuận Tỉnh Man Phi Phương Lược 剿平順省蠻匪方略*. Thư viện École Française D'Extrême -Orient. Paris. Ký hiệu A30.

Nguyễn Thế Sang (dịch)

2001 *Akhát Jucar Raglai*. Nhà Xuất bản Văn hoá Dân tộc. Hà Nội.

Nguyễn Tuấn Triết

1991 *Người Raglai ở Việt Nam*. Nhà Xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội. Hà Nội-Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh.

Nguyễn Xuân Nghĩa

1989 “Một số tư liệu về quan hệ văn hoá Chăm, Raglai Thuận Hải và các dân tộc miền núi Nam Tây Nguyên”. Phan Xuân Biên (chủ biên): *Người Chăm ở Thuận Hải*. Sở Văn hoá Thông tin Thuận Hải. Phan Thiết:221-257.

Parmentier, H. & Durand, E.M.

1905 “Le trésor des rois Chams”. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. V:1-46. (Hanoi)

Phan An

1989 “Bước đầu tìm hiểu chế độ sở hữu ruộng đất của người Chăm ở Thuận Hải trước năm 1975. Phan Xuân Biên (chủ biên): *Người Chăm ở Thuận Hải*. Sở Văn hoá Thông tin Thuận Hải. Phan Thiết:101-127.

Phan Lạc Tuyên

1978 “Nông nghiệp cổ truyền của đồng bào Chăm Thuận Hải”. *Những vấn đề dân tộc học ở Miền Nam Việt Nam*. Tập II. Quyển 2. Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh:3-42.

Phan Ngọc Chiến (chủ biên)

2005 *Người Kôho ở Lâm Đồng: Nghiên cứu nhân học về dân tộc và văn hóa*. Nhà Xuất bản Trẻ. Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh

Phan Xuân Biên (chủ biên)

1989 *Người Chăm ở Thuận Hải*. Sở Văn hoá Thông tin Thuận Hải. Phan Thiết.

1998 *Văn hoá và xã hội người Raglai ở Việt Nam*. Nhà Xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội. Hà Nội- Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh.

Po Dharma

1987 *Le Pāṇḍuraṅga (Campā) 1802-1835*. 2 tập. École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Paris.

The Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 (ảnh ấn)

1953 *Đồng Khánh Ngữ Lâm Địa Dư Chí Đồ 同慶御覽地輿誌圖* (1888). 2 tập. Tōkyō.

Trình Sơn Xã (biên soạn)

1837 *Trình Sơn Xã Địa Bạ 禎山社地簿*. Trung tâm Lưu trữ Quốc gia I. Hà Nội. Ký hiệu 455/5090/B64.