

The Chams of Malacca

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The story of Champa is an important part of the history of South Eastern Asia. The Chams are now but a declining remnant, but the ruin of their civilization, in the form of extensive remains in southern Indochina, is a monument to their past greatness. That civilization was brought about by the blending of the indigenous culture with the Saiva Hinduism of colonists from South India, and Champa existed as an important Hinduized kingdom from about the second century A.D., till it fell to the Annamese in 1471.

The most comprehensive general history of the state is Georges Maspero's "Le Royaume de Champa", (1); its history is summarized, and more recent discoveries are referred to in G. Coedès' "Les Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie," (2). A convenient *précis* of their ethnology will be found in Dato Sir Roland Braddell's "Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula," in this journal for 1935, (3), p 91-93, and of their early history in the continuation of that article for 1939, (4) pp 158-162.

In this paper I shall be concerned more particularly with the relations between the Chams and the Malays during the Malacca Sultanate, as recorded in the *Sējarah Mēlayu*, the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, and in book 325 of the History of the Ming Dynasty, and to draw attention to the fact that the Chams have probably contributed to the racial admixture of the Malays of the Peninsula, and hence that some Cham influences may have survived in Malay cultural tradition.

The Chams are akin to the Malays, and history has chanced to bring the two peoples together in various ways:

- (i) The Chams and the Malays are of closely allied races and of similar language and culture. C. O. Blagden discussed the linguistic affinities of the two tongues in this journal, *JSBRAS*, no. 38, 1902, (5). He estimated that at least half of the words in Cham are cognate with Malay, and noted a close similarity in the syntactical structure of both languages. Parallels between the popular literature of Cham and Malay are given by Sir Richard Winstedt in *JSBRAS*, no 76, 1917 (6). He quotes a Cham fable on the Hare's Cunning, which is very similar to the Malay tale of How Mousedeer cheated Tiger over Solomon's Gong, and also gives a catena of

Cham clock sayings, which nearly reproduces the Malay verses: "*Bangau, bangau, kénapa kau kurus?*"

- (ii) Contact between Champa and Indonesia was maintained throughout the Hindu period, sometimes by trade and royal alliance, sometimes by way of war.
- (iii) The connection was strengthened by the propagation of Islam among both races. This was specially significant in the fifteenth century. This has been fully discussed by A. Cabaton in the *Revue du Monde Musalman*, 1906-7 (7) and (8).
- (iv) There have been Muslim Malay colonies in Cambodia and Cochin China at any rate since the fifteenth century. With the overthrow of Champa, and the adoption by the remnant of Islam, the fact that both the Malays and the Chams were Muslim minorities of close racial affinity, amongst a large alien population, drew them together, and this tie has persisted there to the present day. (See Cabaton, (7) and (8).).
- (v) With the downfall of the Hindu kingdom in 1471, some of the Chams took refuge in Indonesian states, adopted Islam, and were absorbed into the Malay population. Some refugees are reputed have gone to Acheh, others to Malacca.

The principal reference to the Chams in Malay literature is an episode of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* which gives a résumé of Cham traditional history, leading up to the arrival in Malacca of a refugee Cham prince whose name is given as Indĕra Bĕrma Shah. The first part of the reference is legendary. It agrees to some extent with the "*Cham Royal Chronicles*", translated by E. Aymonier (9), but these latter have not altogether been reconciled with the more generally accepted history of Champa, as reconstructed from archeological and other sources. A full discussion of their value will be found in Durand, (10), pp 377-382.

On the other hand, the story of Indĕra Bĕrma Shah seems quite probable. In Winstedt's edition of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, (11), the arrival of this prince is the last recorded incident in the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah. The fall of the Cham capital, Vijaya, to the Annamese, took place in 1471, and Mansur Shah died in 1477, hence the coming of the refugee prince is placed in what is chronologically the most likely context; and the presence of Chams in Malacca is confirmed by Tomé Pires, writing in 1512, (12), p 265, who states that there was one magistrate, or shah-bandar, in charge of the Chinese, Formosan, and Cham communities there, and mentions Champa in a list of places as having carried on trade with Malacca (12), p 268. The references in the

Ming chronicles, which I quote below, are concerned with the period immediately after the fall of Vijaya, but they imply close political ties between Champa and Malacca during the sultanate period.

The tradition concerning the Chams in Malacca, seems almost completely to have escaped the comment of historians of both Malaya and Indochina: Blagden did make a passing reference to the fall of the Cham capital, (which, following the Cham "Royal Chronicles", he calls Bal-Angoué), as given by the Malay chronicler; but this has not been subsequently followed up. Hence I give now a translation of the Champa episode from Winstedt's edition of the *Sějarah Mělayu* (11), pp 134-137, with such comment as I can. The references to the Chams in the histories of neighbouring peoples are however somewhat bewildering, so I cannot hope to elucidate all the matters which the evidence raises.

The account in the *Sějarah Mělayu* is as follows:

This is the history of the kings of Champa. There was once a king of Champa who dwelt in a city called Malapatata, (ملقات). Near the king of Champa's palace there was an areca palm. Now the palm bore a flower, a very great one, and they waited for it to open, but it did not do so.

So the king of Champa said to one of his servant-boys: "Climb up the tree and see what has happened to that palm flower." The boy climbed the tree, picked the flower and brought it down. The king split it open, and inside they found a boy of great beauty. The spathe of the palm flower was made into a gong which they called Jěming, and the palm cabbage was fashioned into a curved sword called Běladau, which is the royal sword of the king of Champa.

The king of Champa was very pleased with the child and called him Raja. Po Gělang (= Po Klaung?). All the princes and ministers offered to have the child nursed by their wives, but he would not take to them. But there was a brindled cow belonging to the king of Champa, which had just calved; they milked the cow and gave to the boy, and he took the milk. For this reason, even up to the present day, the Chams do not drink cow's milk, or slaughter cattle.

Po Gělang grew up. The king of Champa who had found Po Gělang had a daughter called Po Bia, and he married her to Po Gělang who had come from the areca flower. When the king of Champa died, Po Gělang reigned in his stead. After he ascended the throne, Po Gělang built a great city, embracing seven mountains, and in compass a day's sail, with the wind blowing hard in the sails. When that city was built he called it Yak (يک). Some time later, Po Gělang had a son called Po Těrai (Po Tirai). When he grew up and Po Gělang had died, Po Těrai was installed as king in his father's stead. He married a princess called Bia Suri, who bore him a son called Po Kěma (کما). When Po Kěma grew up and Po Těrai had died, Po Kěma became king in his father's stead.

Now Po Kěma resolved to go on a visit to Majapahit. After some days' voyage, he reached Majapahit, and the Batara of Majapahit heard that the king of Champa was coming to visit him, so he sent his nobles to receive him. When they met Po Kěma, they brought him into Majapahit with fitting pomp and cere-

mony. The Batara of Majapahit gave his daughter, Radin Galoh Ajang to Po Kēma in marriage. Some time later she became pregnant. Po Kēma meanwhile wanted to take his leave and return to his country. The Batara of Majapahit agreed, but did not allow his daughter to accompany him. Po Kēma assented with these words: "Whatever your Majesty commands, I will not transgress; but if I do not die I will return and visit your Majesty." So Po Kēma took leave of his wife Radin Galoh Ajang, who asked him: "If I bear a child what shall his name be?" Po Kēma replied: "If you bear a child, call him Raja Jika Anak. If he grows up, send him to fetch me from Champa." So his wife agreed, and then Po Kēma boarded his pangam (فاغمن) and sailed back to Champa.

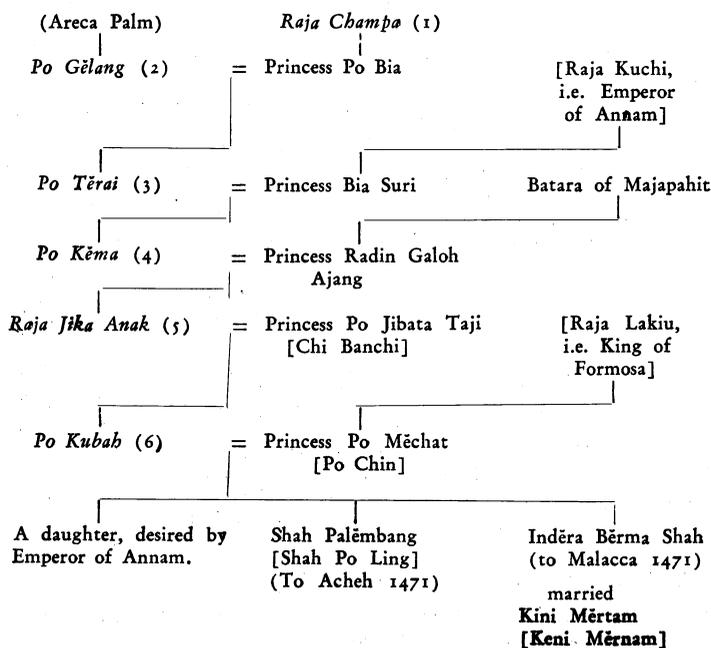
Some time later, Radin Galoh Ajang bore a son and called him Raja Jika Anak. When he grew up, his mother told him about his father. When Raja Jika Anak (جك انق) heard his mother's words, he ordered a fleet of prahus to be built. As soon as they were ready, Raja Jika Anak took leave of the Batara of Majapahit to go to Champa to find his father. The Batara agreed and Raja Jika Anak set sail, and some time later he reached Champa. Raja Jika Anak went to do homage to his father, king Po Kēma. Po Kēma was very pleased to see his son, whom he made viceroy of Yak. Some time later, Po Kēma died and Raja Jika Anak became king in his stead. The king married a princess called Po Jibata Taji (جبتجي) who bore him a son called Po Kubah.

When Po Kubah grew up, Raja Jika Anak died and Po Kubah reigned in his stead. He married Po Mēchat (مجة). The King had many sons and daughters. One of the king's daughters was very beautiful. The Emperor of Annam (Raja Kuchi) sent to ask for her hand, but Po Kubah refused him. So the Emperor made war on him and there was battle between Annam and Champa. One day the emperor of Annam sent word to the Champa city officer (Pēnghulu Bēndahari Champa) to make a treaty, and he agreed to surrender the city. When it was light, the gates of the city were thrown open, and all the Annamese entered and fought with the Chams; some escaped with their families, others stood their ground. Yad (يد = Yak?) was defeated and the king of Champa lost his life. Now the king of Champa's children and all his ministers fled to save themselves, running hither and thither in utter confusion.

Two of the king of Champa's sons, one named Indēra Bērma Shah, and the other Shah Palēmbang (فلمبغ) escaped to sea. Shah Palēmbang reached Aceh; but Shah Indēra Bērma sailed to Malacca. The Sultan was very pleased to receive all those people, and he caused them all to become Muslims. So Shah Indēra Bērma, with his wife Kini Mērtam and all his followers became Muhammandans. Sultan Mansur Shah made Shah Indēra Bērma a mantri, and he was very fond of him. This is the origin of the Chams in Malacca. All of them are descendants of these families.

The version of this episode in Shellabear's edition of the *Sējaraĥ Mēlayu* (13), chapter 21, is substantially the same. The differences in the names are mostly of the kind which arise from the uncertainties of copyists. The city built by Po Gēlang however is called "Bal", and the narrative adds the sentence: "According to one account, the city of Bal is the same as the place called Mētakat, the city of Raja Subal, the son of Raja Kadla'il." The

earlier reference to Malapatata is omitted. Princess Bia Suri is stated to be the daughter of the Emperor of Annam (Raja Kuchi); Princess Jibata Taji appears as Po Chi Banchi; and Princess Po Mèchat as Po Chin, the daughter of the King of Formosa (Raja Lakiu; Lakiu is Formosa, and is equivalent in form to the Japanese name Ryu-kyu; cf. Tomé Pires (12) p 128). Shah Palémbang is called Shah Po Ling and Kini Mertam appears as Keni Mèrnam, and the royal gong, Jèming, as Jèbang.



The Champa genealogy as given in the Malay Annals would be as in the tree on this page : (details from Shellabear are shown in square brackets). Needless to say this scheme does not agree with authentic dynastic lists; as serious history therefore it must be dismissed. But if the links between the generations be ignored, and the account looked upon as a series of vague disconnected reminiscences, some identification becomes possible by comparison with other sources. A difficulty is however that the same rulers appear under different names in the Cham "Royal Chronicles", in Sanskrit inscriptions, and in Chinese, Annamese and other annals. Maspero (1), pp 244-255, tabulates these various names, but his identifications have not met with universal acceptance. Moreover the Cham rulers adopted new titles when they ascended the throne. In the Malay Annals, most of the names given are not personal names at all, but titles denoting office or rank. (Cf. a similar

treatment of Siamese titles as names in the *Sējārah Mēlayu*, in my paper on the Siamese Wars with Malacca (14), pp 62-63).

The place names given cannot be properly identified either. Is Malapatata a distant echo of Amarāvātī, the early Cham capital near Tourane? Yak, (and Yad, probably a mere scribal variation), ought, for the sake of the story, to correspond with Vijaya (Binh Dinh). Bal, in Shellabear's version, is the Cham word for "palace" and then by extension "capital city", and is equated by Aymonier (15) p 329 with the Malay word "balai".

The story of the prince from the areca flower is an allusion to a well-known Cham legend. The Cham prince Thāng (Vishnu-Mādhava- or Devā-mūrti), according to an inscription in Mi-Sōn, was descended through his father from the coconut palm (*narikelavamça*) and through his mother from the areca (*kramukavamça*), and was proclaimed king in 1074 under the name of Harivarman IV. (Coedès (2) p 261, quoting L. Finot, *Inscriptions de Mi-Sōn*, *BEFEO* IV, 1904, pp 937-938). Durand discusses the legend of the areca clan at length in his article "Notes sur les Chams", (10) pp 368-373. The story is of a type common in Indonesian folklore. In the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* (16) pp 92-93, a prince found in a clump of bamboo is married to a princess born in the river spume. In the Cham "Royal Chronicles" the deified king Po Klaung Garai was born the son of a virgin princess, who also was born from the foam of the river (Aymonier, (17), p 155); no doubt Po Klaung Garai is the Po Gēlang of the Malay account. Po Klaung, in spite of being leprous, is remembered as a great monarch; he founded the Champa irrigation system, building the canal of Pānduranga. He did not die, but was translated to heaven, and became a principal object of worship among the Chams, (17), p 156. Jayasimhavarman III erected a temple to him at Pānduranga in 1307 (Coedès, (2), p 362). Maspero appears to identify Po Klaung with Jayaparamesvaravarman I (1044-1060), (1), p 137. A further correspondence between Po Klaung Garai and Po Gēlang is the association with the cattle taboo. One Cham account speaks of him as "of the appearance of a bull", (17), p 155, and another as of a keeper of the royal cattle at the age of seven, (17), p 157. These references, together with the Malay account, would all suggest that his cult is connected with the Hindu Siva-worship, the established religion of the Cham kingdom.

The name "Po Bia" is simply the Cham title for the queen, (Aymonier, (15), p 345). Similarly "Po Tirai" is a title for the king. "Bia Suri" is also a title for the queen (cf Malay *pēmaisuri*). Winstedt (11) p 135 suggests that the name "Po Kēma" indicates a Khmer prince.

Though it is perhaps not possible to identify the Javanese princess Radin Galoh Ajang, whom Po Kēma took to wife, there are many instances of royal connections between Champa and Java. Jayasimhavarman III married a Javanese princess called Tapisî, (Coedès, (2), p 362). His son, Chê Nāng, who was the vassal of the emperor of Annam, took refuge in Java in 1318, (2), p. 381. Javanese tradition attributes the introduction of Islam to Majapahit to a Muslim princess of Champa at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, (N. J. Krom, (18) p 459), and the grave of this princess, the date of which is in dispute, but usually given as 1448 A.D., has become a place of Muslim pilgrimage, (18), p 449.

The next prince, Raja Jika Anak, appears in the Cham "Royal Chronicles" as Chei Anoeck. Winstedt transliterates the name "Jakanak", but the Malay text suggests a play on words as if "Jika Anak" were implied: "Jikalau anak tuan hamba jadi, apa nama-nya?" Maka kata Po Kēma: "Jika anak hamba jadi, nama-nya Raja Jika Anak.", (11), p. 136. Both the Malay and the Cham chronicles agree in not according him the title "Po", (which is an honorific more or less equivalent to the Malay "Tuan"), common to other rulers. In form and meaning, the Cham "Chei Anoeck" corresponds to what in Malay would be "Che' Anak". In the Cham chronicles he stands at the head of a dynasty which made a new capital at Bal Angoué, hence the indication may be of a usurper of non-royal blood. In the Annamese chronicles, the successor of Chê Nāng who took refuge in Java, was a military governor appointed by Annam, with the name of Chê A-nan (ruled 1318-1342). Perhaps he is to be identified with Chei Anoeck and Raja Jika Anak. (Cf. Coedès, (2), p 381).

The Malay Annals do not indicate the parentage of princess Po Jibata Taji, the wife of Raja Jika Anak. In mediaeval Chinese literature, the Muslims are often referred to generically as Tajiks, and the name Ta-shih Kuo is used for Arabia. It is possible then that this princess was the daughter of a Muslim merchant who had come to Champa.

If the identification of Chê A-nan with Raja Jika Anak is correct, there is a gap of eight reigns from Raja Jika Anak to Po Kubah, who should correspond to the Ban-la Tra-toan of the Annamese chronicles, the last independent Cham ruler, who reigned from 1460 to 1471. After the prosperous reign of Ngauk Klaung Vijaya (1400-1441), five kings followed in quick successions, and Champa declined rapidly before the Annamese onslaught, till Vijaya, the capital, fell in 1471. The name "Raja Kuchi" (Kujai in Winstedt) represents the Emperor of Annam, the Malay "Kuchi" appearing in European guise as "Cochin China".

If the name of the refugee prince, Shah Palēmbang, is correct, does this indicate a family connection with Sumatra? Champa certainly had trade with Sumatra, importing gold from Mēnangkabau, (Tomé Pires, (12), p 113). It is curious too, to note that in Achinese, the honorific "Po" has a similar force to the Cham title.

The effects of the overthrow of Champa by Annam, and of Malacca's concern in this event, are reflected in the observations of the Chinese chronicler, (History of Ming Dynasty, Book 325, in Groeneveldt, (19), p 132):

In the year 1474, the censor Ch'en Chun went to Champa with an imperial commission to invest the king there, but on his arrival he found the country occupied by Annamese soldiers so that he could not enter it; he then went to Malacca, with the goods he had brought, and ordered its king to send tribute; when subsequently his envoys arrived at the capital, the Emperor was much pleased and issued a decree in which they were praised.

In the ninth month of the year 1481, envoys arrived with the report that the envoys of their country, who had returned from China in 1469, had been driven by a storm on the coast of Annam, where many of their people were killed; the rest had been made slaves and the younger ones had further undergone castration. They also told that the Annamese now occupied Champa and that they wanted to conquer their country too, but that Malacca, remembering that all were subjects of the emperor, hitherto had abstained from reciprocating these hostilities.

At the same time the envoys with the tribute of Annam arrived also, and the envoys of Malacca requested permission to argue the question with them before the court, but the Board of War submitted that the affair was already old and that it was of no use to investigate it any more. When therefore the envoys of Annam returned, the Emperor gave them a letter in which their king was re-proved, and Malacca received instructions to raise soldiers and resist by force, whenever it was attacked by Annam.

Perhaps we are to infer from the comparison of the Chinese report and the Malay account of Indëra Bërma Shah, that that prince was the heir apparent to the Cham throne, and that the motive of the diversion of the Chinese embassy of 1474 to Malacca was in order to seek the crown prince there. It looks too as if the Malays' having given him refuge had been used by Annam as a *casus belli* against Malacca.

As to the Chams in Malacca, they can never have been very numerous. The Sëjarah Mëlayu implies that the community was descended from the prince and his retinue; and Tomé Pires tells us that there was a Cham trading community there, but as already noted, (12), p 265, one magistrate was sufficient to supervise the Chinese and Formosans as well as the Chams. Tomé Pires also gives details of the exports of Champa to Malacca, (12), pp 113-114. The chief merchandise was këlëmbak, that is the scented kayu gaharu, or agila wood; Champa also sent dried salt fish, rice, gold

and some pepper. Champa was noted for its cloth too; according to Pires, it was mostly sold in Siam and Cochin China, but it is also well known in Malaya as "kain champa" a kind of flowered silk.

The Chams, now a disappearing race were once a great nation, and their past has been rescued from oblivion by the work of many archaeologists and historians in recent years. Their achievements were diverse; but one, albeit a minor one, was their contribution to the cosmopolitan life and culture of the old Malacca Sultanate.

Citations.

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- (2) *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*. G. Coedes. Paris, 1948.
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- (4) *Idem*—JMBRAS Vol 17 pt 1, 1939, pp 146-212.
- (5) *A Malayan Element in some of the Languages of Southern Indochina*. C. O. Blagden. JSBRAS, No. 38. 1902, pp 1-27. See also, *Early Indo-Chinese Influence in the Malay Peninsula*, C. O. Blagden, JSBRAS, No. 27. 1894, pp. 21-56.
- (6) *The Folk Tales of Indonesia and Indochina*. R. O. Winstedt. JSBRAS, No. 76, 1917, pp 119-126.
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- (9) *Grammaire Chame*. E. Aymonier. Excursions et Reconnaissances, Vol 14 No. 31, Saigon, 1889. (Contains "Transcription, lexique et traduction de la Chronique Royale". pp 77-92).
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- (19) *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources*. W. P. Groeneveldt, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Vol 39, 1880.