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CONSEQUENCES OF THE 1858 MALAY-CHAM REBELLION IN CAMBODIA

The Cambodian Malay-Cham are a single community descended from the Malay Archipelago and the once famous Kingdom of Champa, who have played leading roles in the civil and military administration of their adopted homeland since the fifteenth century. During the nineteenth century however, there was a rebellion led by a Malay-Cham minority against the governor of Cambodia's eastern province that forced military retaliation by King Ang Duong to crush the rebel force. This article discusses the reasons for, and chronology of, the uprising from a close reading of the contemporary Cham manuscript known as CM39(36). In particular, it considers the role of 'Po', a Malay-Cham prince who sided with the Cambodian King in his efforts to defeat the rebels. Po and his followers earned the King's trust and, as a reward, they were allowed to settle in western Cambodia. CM39(36) offers a detailed description of the rebellion, the Malay-Cham's subsequent journey to western Cambodia, as well as the relationship between the Malay-Cham and the indigenous Khmers from their first arrival in Cambodia to their resettlement.

Keywords: Ang Duong, Cambodia, Malay-Cham, rebellion.

Introduction

The rebellion of a small group Cham-Malay in 1858, glimpsed from Manuscript CM39(36), lasted for three years and brought about changes in several dimensions in the nexus between the Cham-Malay and the people and the government of Cambodia. More than 6000 or approximately a quarter of the total number of Cham-Malays in Cambodia were, as a result of the rebellion, either ordered or subtly directed to move from their homeland. A group of approximately 6000 people under the leadership of Tuanku Po had moved from the Eastern border region of Cambodia to the areas near the then Cambodian capital, Oudong which is located in the center of the country. This transfer process has been described in detail in the manuscript CM39(36). This manuscript also relates stories which have previously been unknown to

historians of Cambodia. These stories include their freedom in making certain decisions and their relationship with host communities along their journey to a new place of settlement. This article will elaborate the transfer process as described in the manuscript CM39(36). In addition it is the interpretation of the source and the effects of the transfer which leads to dimensional changes in the relationship between the Cham-Malays with the people and the kingdom of Cambodia in the early years of the 1860s.

Reasons of Transfer

Manuscript CM39(36) first elaboration on the Cham-Malay insurgency in Thbaung Khmum in 1858 began with a mention that Mbaouv Nasa Him (Tuon Him) (verses 22, 28) have rebelled and opposed the King Ang Duong. In the event, ung Juphva¹(verse 10) was lost and could not be found. There were some among the Cham people who lived in Thbaung Khmum had began to seek refuge in other areas. Many had gone and settled in Baryang (Pring)² (verse 12).

22. The news said Mbaouv Sa³ rebelled against the king.⁴
28. Raviju told Him that Mbaouv Nasa Him has also entered the forest.
10. We have lived for many years in Baryang (Pring), and in the fourth month of the following year of Horse only did we receive the news.
12. Now many people had come to live in [Baryang] and built houses near Kai Rang Ndai.⁵

Those who moved to Kampong Pring aimed to distance themselves from the prevailing state of chaos in their village in Thbaung Khmum. The refugees did not want to get involved in the rebellion nor did they want to run with the rebels who backed off and went to Chaudoc when forced by royal military forces moved in. The presence of about 10 000 military armed forces to eradicate the rebellion was at the same time perceived as a threat to local residents as the line separating the innocents and the rebels are very thin as both groups were of Cham-Malay.

The Pring village was a Cham village which was only recently opened, that is in the year of Horse (1846/47 CE.)⁶ approximately twelve years (verse 1) before the rebellion started.

1. In the year of Horse,⁷ a year of prosperity at the village of Pring.

The village was developed through the good leadership of Tuanku Po and they have planted various types of fruit trees (verses 2-5).

2. I⁸ asked my brother⁹to plant thousands of fruit trees like

3. Coconut, lime, jackfruit and mangosteen that were well grown.
4. There was also the guava, *bali lime*, areca and others which were big and gave such a cool shade on a hot day.
5. Sour sop and *nona* trees from good seeds that I planted had already grown big.

Those trees that produced many fruits until people could not eat them all and sold to local people (verses 7-9).

7. Those who were diligent picked the [fruits] and brought them to sell on credit or exchange them with rice.
8. at an exchange rate of 5 fruits to one *tau*¹⁰ of rice.
9. Because of the very sweet scented jackfruits, people did not regret buying them.

They could also give some of their harvests to their neighbors including Khmer people. They lived happily without any problems of lack of food, or at all starvation (verse 6).

6. [I was] very happy as every day there was never any shortage of food in Pring.

Manuscript CM39 (36) reads that in the year of Horse that follows (verse 10), that is twelve years later (after the village was opened), there was a rebellion headed by Tuan Brothers. As a result, the rise had caused many Cham-Malay communities who were living around the areas had to run away and to seek refuge in Pring village. They were ranging from ordinary people to the community nobles (verse 10-12).

10. We have lived many years in Pring; and in the forth month of the year of Horse¹¹ only did we receive the news.
11. This news was about the Aung¹² Juphua had gone missing.
12. Now many people came to inhabit [in Pring] and build houses near Kai Rang Ndai's.

Kampong Pring which became shelter for refugees was also not free from danger which was caused by the rebels. Some villagers of Pring had been accused of hiding enemies of the kingdom and therefore were arrested and summary sentenced (verses 253-257).

253. They searched the entire forest and they did not find any signs.
254. They hunt down [the enemy] at our village, saying the enemy was here.

255. They wanted to raid the house but Po Tihkei did not let them do it.
 256. Ja Yur who aligned [with the Khmer people] was very angry and took along Po Tihkei with him.
 257. He brought him to Thamju¹³ and said the enemy had entered the village of Pring.

In this chaotic situation, Tuanku Po¹⁴ was very worried for the safety of his people. During this worrying situation, Vaur Renyat (Khmer: Okña Voranéat Sena) advised lord Po to leave the village with all Cham-Malay who were around the village of Pring. As Tuanku Po had discussed to his group of nobles about the migration out of his beloved village, he therefore agreed instantly with the Vaur Renyat's suggestion.

262. He (Narya) told Khamju¹⁵ that Vaur Ranyat¹⁶ had suggested them to leave immediately.

At the same time, the Cham-Malay in the provinces of Thbaung Khmum, Kompong Siem and Srei Sochor Chvéng were asked by King Ang Duong to move to the areas near Oudong like Phnom Penh, Pnhéa Lü, Kompong Luong and Longvêk. The King was of the opinion that this displacement of the Cham-Malay would serve him better in fighting the Tuon Brothers rebellion, as the Cham-Malay community could not help the rebellion when there were far away from Thbaung Khmum Province. The royal military operations were placed under the control of *Mbaur Ranyat* as *Préah Achhna Luong* who was tasked to take care of the provinces along Tonlé Thom (Mekong River).

The Transfer Process

Preparations for the Tuanku Po group to transfer from their village of Pring had to take a very long time because their number was in the thousands (verse 262).¹⁷ After three days of preparation, men and women, whether they were old or young, began their journey. The trip took a long time to go to new settlement areas that was not yet known to them. Their goal at that time was to keep their families away from the war torn region.

Before they started their journey, Tuanku Po and his followers had established several military contingents at the request of the Khmer mandarin, and together with the king's military force, they fight the rebellious group (verses 40-41). The military contingents were headed by Cakri and with other mandarins in fighting the rebellion. The story of which was described in detail through verses 46 - 204. Only after some followers of the Tuan brothers were arrested did the transfer process was declared to begin (verses 242-245, 262-264).

242. I brought him a letter; he said we should gather all the people
243. If you were sincere, you would bring all people and we will meet in Bam.
244. In the morning of the next day, he called to tell us that we should gather all the people as fast as possible.
245. He told Narya to accompany me back to my hometown.
262. He (Narya) then told Khamju that Vaur Ranyat suggested leaving immediately.
263. Khamju asked me to get ready to be sent away [out of the village].
264. They tell the entire village and everyone Cham to assemble and move.

With that, their challenging journey to a very distant destination began. In the beginning of their journey, they went through Langyaem village (Khmer: Longiem), followed by the village Tabam Myac (Khmer: Trapéang Méach) where they rested for several days. From there, they crossed the village of Bam Saih (Khmer: Péam Seh) which they camped for two nights. Then they went to Brei Damru (Khmer: Prey Damru). There, Tuanku Po and Sena Jei Jyaen went up to Vaur Rinyat and Cakri to get the latest information about the situation of the royal troops in this process of fighting the rebels. Meanwhile, Tuanku Po also asked the royal force to give them protection. The Tuanku Po request was honored, thus Raviju with a group of army accompanied them to Bam Jilang (Khmer: Péam Chiléang), and then to Krut (Khmer: Krauch) (verse 261-288).

261. Narya brought me and Sina Jey Jyan at night
262. He (Narya) told Khamju that Vaur Ranyat suggested leaving immediately.
263. Khamju asked me to get ready to be sent [out of the village].
264. They told the entire village and everyone Cham to assemble and move on.
265. They gave us two to three days to get ready before leaving.
266. We have gathered all the people and rested for a little while before starting the journey.
267. We departed only after having our meal, and we spent the night in Langyem.
268. I slept overnight in Langyem, and the following morning we continued our journey.
269. We assembled the ox carts [and] left early in the morning and we ate at Tabam Myac.
270. We disassembled the carts to let the buffalos rest.
271. They let us rest for a few days before continuing our journey.

272. While assembling our carts, Narya was making sure that we departed early in the morning.
273. We departed and at night, we slept in Bang Saih.
274. I stayed for two nights and I left in the morning.
275. We left in the morning and ate at Brei Damru.
276. Sina Jei Jyan and I went to ask Mbaur Rinyat,
277. And later went to ask Ung Cakri.
278. After that I had to catch the ox carts which had left before me.
279. I catch up with [our brother] ox carts and we agreed to spend the night there.
280. Then a messenger called Vaur Ranat called on us to leave immediately.
281. He ordered to leave quickly; Sina Jei Jyan went to see him and was given one box.
282. I also met with Vaur Ranyat who brought me to meet Ung Cakri
283. I went with him and Cakri gave me one box.
284. He gave me the cover and the box, which I brought back and kept it [properly].
285. I took it with me. [When I] saw the sun I knew we should not spend the night there.
286. I could not sleep that night; in the morning [I] asked Raviju to accompany me.
287. That morning he led us to the Bam Jilang.
288. That morning he accompanied us until it was time to eat at Krut.

Along the way, the ordinary people were always accompanied by military troops (verse 339).

339. The armies crossed the river later after having helped by getting the ox carts to across.

At Krut village, the journey was halted for a while because the armies that accompanied them had to go after a rebel leader named Tuon Sait Dilah (Tuon Sa-It Dollah) after they were told that he was in the area. Armed forces failed to catch him, and only then that the refugees resumed their journey until Banil village (Khmer: Peanil), then to Tadang Tangai (Khmer: Totœung Thngai) and to Karasang (Khmer: Krâsang).

Meanwhile, Tuanku Po took the opportunity to go and postern before the king in Kompong Sleng (verses 306-308), while King Ang Duong was in the region. The Khmer King was deeply concerned about Tuanku Po and his followers. Full of generosity, King Ang Duong told his assistants to give Tuanku Po dishes and rice to those who were emigrating and asked them to continue their journey (verses 308, 311).

308. When all people [Cham-Malay] have gathered, I went to the king who was very concerned.
311. We ate *luba*¹⁸ and on the following morning, people distributed rice to all.

Manuscript CM39(36) has also recorded the generosity of Khmer people, the villagers as well as the mandarins, towards the Cham-Malay. The Cham-Malay refugees were given whatever they needed for their challenging journey. They were given rice, dried fish and juices such as coconut juice (verses 387-388, 415).

387. Those thirsty had bought palm tree juice.¹⁹
388. Khmer people gave it for free for those who did not have money.
415. They rested and Khmer people gave them palm tree juice.

In Jaen Brei (Khmer: Jœung Prey), Japhvai Srauk gave them some food supplies to allow them to continue their journey (verses 429-430).

429. Two days later Japhvai Srauk gathered us all.
430. He gathered us to distribute rice.

From Jaeng Brei, the emigrants have been divided into two groups. One group included Tuanku Po, and guided by a *mekhum*. They travelled on ox carts. The second group took boat. From Jaeng Brei their journey became very difficult, especially for kids when they arrived at Brak Lavi (Khmer: Prek Lvéa) because there was no water, even for cooking. They went to Jaru (Khmer: Chro) to find water. The next day they crossed the Mekong River. It took them one whole day to cross the Mekong and another three days to take their ox carts across. The two groups, which took the boat and ox carts then reunited in Kabaung Cam (Kompong Cham) (verses 337-338).

337. As I arrived in Kompong Cham, I was anchoring at Chung Mbauk Batau.
338. I met everyone back in there.

After they rested in Kompong Cham for three days, they went on to the village of Phum Timei (Khmer: Phum Thmei). After that, they headed to the village of Kauh Raka (Khmer: Koh Roka) and then to the village of Kagauv (Khmer: Kogor). Kagauv Village was a Cham-Malay village as well. Cham-Malay people in the village invited them to chew betel and also gave them fruits. They also met with Khmer people who were very nice and also concerned about their fate. Khmer people also gave them rice and dried fish (verse 345). After that they resumed their journey to the village of Bam Kih

(Khmer: Péam Keh) (verses 342-373).

342. I rested there for three days before departure.
 343. The morning I left, I had my lunch at Phum Timei.
 344. After taking the ox of the carts, the women went looking for [rice]
 345. I went to the Khmer people to look for rice and dried fish.
 346. I rested that day, and when I left I went down to Kauh Raka village,
 where I spent the night.
 347. The next day I continued my journey and ate at Kagauv.
 348. After eating [noon] we rested for a while because some of the villagers
 came to invite us.
 349. They came to invite us to chew betel.²⁰
 350. When we arrived, they gave betel nut and mango fruit.
 351. There were some who went picking oranges and brought to our ox
 carts.
 352. We set off again in the evening after resting.
 353. We arrived at Ung Sang and we spent the night there.
 354. The next day I left.
 355. I went on the ox cart and then we arrived at Bang Jikang shortly.
 356. I stopped near a river where there were lots of fish.
 357. All men and women went there for fishing until they forget to eat.
 358. The women were fishing while the men caught the fish to make
 preserved fish.
 359. They got so many *baraval*²¹ and they fought about it until there was
 no time to make preserved fish.
 360. They were disturbed. They were complaining all the way until late in
 the evening when all the fish was no longer in good condition.
 361. Because they were angry, they were not patient and forgiving.
 362. When called to stand trial, the fish had become rotten.
 363. They did not sleep that night because Mé Kauh²² Naung asked them
 to leave.
 364. He said they must go to Bam Kih.
 365. I went along and slept in Bam Kih.
 366. He helped us to cross [the river] until the middle of the night.
 367. At midnight a strong call told them to come up quickly.
 368. I too was awakened.
 369. Vaung Sa inquired why there was chaos.
 370. They answered that Me Kauh Naung beat them.
 371. He asked to catch Ja Masa and cane him.

They travelled days and nights, crossing rivers and plains. The next few days they arrived at the village Jya Myac. There, once again they camped for several days as it was indeed necessary for them to seek more rice and

other supplies (verses 380-384, 395).

- 380. We stopped here for several days prior to departure.
- 381. Everyone said it was a good decision
- 382. Because it was easy to find rice.
- 383. Some looked for rice, others bought bananas.
- 384. Bananas were resold and then we bought rice.
- 395. Our ox carts were filled with rice.

Although they managed to obtain their necessities, rice and dried fish, they were forced to face one more unfortunate fate that befell them: disease and death (verses 390-393, 487-488, and 491-492).

- 390. [while people] are busy, children died.
- 391. There was this one day where 34 people died.
- 392. People from Manur Tasun group also died.
- 393. Many children died of smallpox.
- 487. There were some who went to look for rattan, there were some whose children just died.
- 488. I asked them to bring the bodies of their children to be buried in Dval Palah.
- 491. Some children died while waiting to cross the river.
- 492. My grandson named Sub died of smallpox.

Smallpox had attacked many children. Many had died. Even under such circumstances, their journey could not be stopped; they must keep on travelling to an unknown destination. Whoever died during the journey, they were buried along the way, at villages and even in the woods. On the other hand, if they feel sick, they will be carried on the ox cart that caused their carts to travel very slowly. (verses 417-418).

- 417. There were those who died and were buried everywhere.
- 418. Those who were seriously ill were carried one after another.

In Kompong Siem, Tuanku Po and his followers met with Khmer people who were also on their way to find new settlements (verses 404-406). There is no single document that tells anything about Khmer people who also were moved during the Tuon Brothers rebellion. According to the manuscript CM39(36) we can only make the assumption that those Khmer people were the people who lived in areas that were affected by rebellions, therefore also run away to save themselves (verses 404-406).

- 404. After eating, I rested while waiting for the Khmer people who were

- letting their buffalos to rest because they were exhausted.
405. I could not sleep last night because I had to wait for the Khmer people to let their buffalo rest.
406. Khmer people also rested and the next morning I left.

After two days of rest in Mbang (Khmer: Beng), in the vicinity of Jaeng Brei (Jøung Prey), Japhvai Srauk have gathered them to distribute rice. Tuanku Po, on behalf of everyone who was on the journey with him, expressed his gratitude and appreciation to Japhvai Srauk (verses 421-432).

421. I waited until dusk and left at night.
422. That night we slept in Jeng Brei.
423. The morning we were off again and then rested near a pond.
424. We stopped at Braik Pre Mbeng where there was grass and water for the buffalos.
425. After letting off the ox from the cart, the women went fishing.
426. Men accompanied women to fish in the pond.
427. Men and women use harpoon to fish and they caught a lot of fish.
428. Women fished and got their baskets full of fish.
429. Two days later, Japhvai Srauk gathered us all.
430. He gathered us to distribute rice.
431. Each person received one *kati*²³ of rice.
432. I thank Japhvai Srauk and I went back to my ox cart.

After that, they moved towards Braik Kadam (Khmer: Prek Kdam). Due to safety reasons, the trip had to be done in the dark of the night, crossing jungles and mountains. And because of that, they got lost in the woods (verses 462-463, 470).

462. We walked at night. It was very dark until we could not see the track.
463. We got lost and slept anywhere in the forest.
470. In the early evening, Mekauh Naung asked people to set their buffalo cart very early in the morning.

Before entering into a village, they first had to get information from the local authorities. They seek information from Mekauh Naung before entering the village of Bang (Khmer: Péam). Mekauh Naung advised them not to enter the village. Mekauh Naung ordered his men to guide Tuanku Po and his followers during the night to find a safe and spacious area to place their many ox carts (verses 478-479).

478. He guided us in the dark on the night where the moon was not visible, in order to find a place to stop.

479. I see a lot of ox carts on that night. They parked the carts all over the place until there was no empty space left.

Upon arriving at Prek Kdam, they were forced to camp for a few days because they wanted to look for a boat to cross the Tonle Sap River. Prek Kdam people were very kind and were willing to lend their boats to Tuanku Po and his followers. With the help, they were able to cross the Tonlé Sap River to the Khlang Sambaik (Khmer: Khléang Sbêk) (verses 505-508).²⁴

505. That morning I left; before noon we dropped by Khlang Sa-mbaik
506. And we built a few huts for resting.
507. Dulah helped us build the huts so it became our shelter.
508. When the huts were ready I took Sun to stay there.

In Khléang Sbêk, Tuanku Po and his followers began to build their huts which had become their home because they had to settle in the village for quite a long time. One day before leaving for the king audience, a messenger of the king was sent to make some survey (verse 522).

522. When we were ready to depart, Nda Raung stopped us from leaving, because he wanted to take our register.

The survey was needed by the king's office in order to get the real number of those who need land and housing. Later, Tuanku Po accompanied by the Maha Matrei (Oknha Moha Montrei) went to the King Ang Duong audience in Oudong. It was during that time that King Ang Duong officially gave the permission to Tuanku Po and his followers, the Cham-Malay from the village of Pring to find a place to settle in the area west of Oudong (verses 528-529).

528. Ung Maha Matrei accompanied us to appear before [the king].
529. I bowed before the king who sent me to bring all the people [of Cham-Malay].

After receiving the order from King Ang Duong then they started to move out of Khléang Sbêk. The Cham-Malay refugee's journey caused by the instability in the eastern province of Cambodia had brought them to an area around the province of Kompong Chhnang. The trip from Khléang Sbêk was a final journey to settle down in a new region with King Ang Duong's blessing. A long row of ox carts was moving non-stop. Starting from Khléang Sbêk, they crossed the village Khalatram (Khmer: Khla Tram), then Mabil Mbei (Khmer: Ampil Bey). In the final leg of their long and winding journey, an experience they could never forget and before arriving at the new settlement,

they all were allowed to have an audience with King Ang Duong in Oudong where he gave them blessings (verses 534-536).

534. I slept only one night, had to go the next morning
 535. Because the king has ordered us to leave immediately.
 536. All men and women rushed to catch the king

After facing the king, they headed to Brei Bih (Khmer: Prey Pus), Tabang Chuk Sauv (Khmer: Trapéang Chouk Sar) and the Prei Sraiy (Khmer: Prey Sre) to stay there forever (verses 559-563).

559. Land for the people, some were let to settle in Brei Bih.
 560. I settled in Tabang Chuk Sauv, while Mbalat Kei settled in Srai Prei.
 561. For Sina Jei Jyan, the king awarded him to stay in Brei Bih.
 562. While for the rest of the Cham, they gathered here (Brei Bih)
 563. All are in Brei Bih and Chuk Sauv.

In the meantime Sana Daba-Ndel, Sri Ta-mbaih and Juphvai Srauk were commissioned by King Ang Duong to distribute parcels of land to the Tuanku Po and his followers (verses 557-559).

557. One day the king sent Sana Daba-Ndel Srei Ta-mbaih
 558. Ta-mbaih, Cang Vang and Juphvai srauk came to distribute
 559. lands to the people, some were allowed to settle in Brei Bih.

Tuanku Po chose to settle in Tabang Chuk Sauv (verse 560) along with several Cham-Malays families. However, not so long after that, some of them moved to Jrvei Ca-ngva (verse 915), which is a promontory in front of Phnom Penh.

915. Now, the king allowed our children to live in Jruei Ca-ngva.

Types of Transportation

Throughout the journey to the new settlements, Tuanku Po and other travelers stayed only in the ox carts. Tuanku Po had no place to rest other than on his ox cart (verse 237). This situation was also mentioned clearly in verse 309 where one night when Tuanku Po was resting, there was a king's messenger who sent *luba* to Tuanku Po, at his ox cart.

237. After rewarding with [rice and a torch] I excused myself and you rested on your own on your ox cart.
 309. The King was sympathized with us; therefore he sent us *luba* that was

brought to our ox cart.

During the long journey that took months, there were two types of transportation used namely ox carts and boats; boats were used for the first time by some of them to cross the Mekong River to Kabaum Cam (Kompong Cham) (verses 336-338) and for the second time to cross the Tonlé Sap River in Braik Kadam (Prek Kdam) (verses 497-498).

336. It was night time when we got on the other side of the [river].
337. I arrived in Kompong Cham, I stopped at Chung Mbauk Batau.
338. I met everyone back in there.
497. In the morning, Labei Ja Aphvar arrived to ask for our situation in Braik Ka-ndam.
498. We were lucky because he came and found boats for us to cross the [river].

Along the journey, they also have gone through some Cham–Malay villages such as Kampong Kauh Raka (Khmer: Koh Roka), Kagauv (Khmer: Krogor), (verses 346-347). Residents of the village were very sympathetic with Tuanku Po and his followers. With great respect, Cham-Malay community in Kampung Koh Roka invited them to chew betel and then brought the fruit down to their ox carts (verses 349-351). The complexity of that journey had made Tuanku Po complained of his fate. Tuanku Po said “every day I stay on the ox cart without any proper cottage to rest” (verses 549-556).

346. I rested that day, and when I left I went to Kauh Raka village where I spent the night.
347. The next day I left and ate at Kagauv.

Schedule and Duration of the Journey

By looking at the difficulties experienced by Tuanku Po and his followers who left from Baryang (Pring) in srok (regional) Koh Sautin in Kompong Cham province, down to the area Brei Bih (Prey Pus), Tabang Chuk Sauv (Chhouk Sar, only a few kilometers south Prey Pus) and Prei Srai (Prey Sre), leads us to have a very concise and complex route taken by Tuanku Po and his followers. All of the three regions, namely region Prey Pus, and Trapeang Chhouk Sar and Prey Sre are in srok Kompong Tralach in the province of Kompong Chhnang. Complicated routes had to be taken by them due to the unstable situation of the country (at war). Because of that, Tuanku Po and his followers had to look for zones that could provide them safety in their journey. This is proven in (verses 476-478) in which they had to get an advance notice from the local authority before entering any village. This suggests that the heat

of rebellion was still hot on the west bank of the Mekong River.

476. I left and we discussed whether we should stop for a while in Bam.
 477. When we were ready to enter the village, we were advised by Me Kauh Naung to not enter.²⁵
 478. He guided us in the dark on the night where the moon was not visible, in order to find a place to stop.

In the early stage of the journey, the situation was so chaotic until a group of people in Baryang (Pring) was given only a short period of time to get ready before leaving. With that big number of Tuanku Po followers, they took only three days to get ready (verse 265). They started off their journey to Kampung Langyaem (Khmer: Lo Ngieng), which is located in southern Raka Ba Pram (Khmer: Roka Po Pram). Then the convoy headed to Bam Jilang (Khmer: Péam Chiléang), by going across the village Banil (Khmer: Po Nile), Tadang Tangai village (Khmer: Totœung Thngai) and next, Kompong Karasang, in eastern Péam Chiléang. They stopped to spend the night in Mbang Pval (Beng Pruol), not far from Kompong Cham, which is located on the Mekong River bank, before reaching Jaru. There they took a few days to cross the Mekong River because their numbers were just too big with their ox carts. After they gathered in Kompong Cham, together with the other group that had travelled by boat, they resumed their journey together (verse 337).

265. They gave us two to three days to get ready before leaving.
 337. I arrived in Kompong Cham, I stopped at Chung Mbauk Batau.

When they departed from Kompong Cham, they guided the ox carts to the south, along the Mekong River bank but this time through the western bank. They crossed the village of Phum Timei (Kh. Phum Thmei). After resting in Kauh Raka (Kh. Koh Roka), they passed on to this village of Kagauv to Bam Jikaung (Péam Chikang) to rest and also seek for supplies.

The manuscript CM39(36) showed that there were many fish there. They caught *baraval* fish and turned them into salted fish (verses 355-59). The appearance of *baraval* fish in the Mekong River only happened during the season when the Mekong River water receded in November and continued till the month of January. By taking into consideration the beginning of the rebellion which began in September 1858, and the presence of these *baraval* fish showed that their journey, from the time of their departure from the village of Pring at the time of the rebellion to the village of Péam Chikang, had taken a long time.

It was mentioned in verses 319-320 where they experienced lack of water and that there was no water for cooking, this showed the dry state which can only happened during hot and humid season which is in the Mac-May.²⁶

319. Upon arriving in the Brai Lava, we ran out of water to cook food.
320. There was water in the river but they were afraid to go down because of the steep river bank.

Elaborations given in the text of this manuscript shows that the duration taken by Tuanku Po and his followers in this journey was at least six months (from September till March of the following year). That duration of time did not include the duration from Prey Lvea to Prek Kdam, and them to Khléang Sbek. In Khléang Sbék they had to build huts so they could reside in. Building such a thing showed that they had waited for a long time to obtain the instruction and blessings of King Ang Duong to get to Prey Pus, Trapéang Chhouk Sar and Prey Sre.

355. I departed with ox cart and after a while, we reached Bang Jikang.
356. I stopped near a river where it had so many fish.
357. All men and women ran there to fish until they forgot to eat.
358. Women fished while men caught the fish to be made salted fish.
359. They got so many *baraval* fish, and they fought until they did not have time to salt the fish.

The consequence of their disputes among themselves about the distribution of fish they caught together was that Mekauh Naung decided to have them began travelling immediately. On top of that, they still managed to make some dry fish before the resume their journey. They headed to Bam Kih (Khmer: Péam Kes), which was located in the Mekong River bank, and headed far from the Mekong River bank, to go to Jyael Myac in Kabaung Syaem (Kompong Siem). Initially, they planned to stay there only for a couple of days to look for rice, but unfortunately, they were forced to stay for a month due to the small pox disease, especially children. This disease had caused some 34 deaths (verses 390-391, 394).

390. [while people] are busy being happy, children died.
391. There was this one day where 34 people died.
394. They were allowed to stay in Jyael Myac for 30 days.

At that time, Tuanku Po and his followers thought of residing in the village of Siem (verse 401). Their desire was not fulfilled because the villagers did not want them in the village (verse 402). They were forced to resume their journey after a month of stay in Kompong Siem. This situation clearly showed that the migration of Tuanku Po and his followers from Pring was different from other migration groups. Their movements were not at the orders of King Ang Duong like other groups in other published documents, but they do it

voluntarily and they were free to search for place they thought suitable to reside in. They had the freedom to make decisions on their behalf. The village that they wanted to settle was Kompong Siem in Jyael Myac. Tuanku Po and his followers wanted to live in that village because it was easy to find food (verses 400-401).

400. If we were kind enough to both sides, this would facilitate our making a living.
 401. If we stayed in Kompong Siem, it would be easy to find food.
 402. A month later people removed us.

Manuscript CM39(36) also showed that these refugees had continued their journey to the west in order to get to Jœung Prey and Braik Kdam (Prek Kdam). Kampong Siem and Jœung Prey were situated in the West of Péam Chikang. Although the distance was not far but fatigue caused by long traveling period had caused many to fall sick, including Tuanku Po.

441. When we arrived at a Khmer village, I was not me alone who fell sick, but many others.

However, they still went on with their journey using their precious ox carts. Many children had died to smallpox. Due to many people sick, the ox carts had to move slowly which forced the journey to be longer than it already was.

From Prek Kdam, Tuanku Po and his family took a boat (verses 502-505) to go to the Khlàng Sambaik (Khléang Sbêk). For the first time since they left their village in Pring, they had a roofed building for protection (huts) to live in for a while (verse 506). They resumed the journey only after they had audience with King Ang Duong (verse 537).

502. I instructed them to tie the rowers and we began to row instead.
 503. If Sun Crauk was sick, we had to stop for a while.
 504. At night we anchored in and slept in the boat.
 505. That morning I set out; before noon we stopped in Khlàng Sa-mbaik.
 537. When he had taken the [register list] I went on that same night.

Once they have received a lot of land each in Prey Pus, Trapéang Chhouk Sar and Prey Sre in the province of Kompong Chhnang and then built a new life, that was the beginning of the end of their painful migration since September 1858 and continued for a long period of not less than six months. Their suffering did not end there instead it was only the beginning of a new suffering as their residential areas were hit with starvation during a dry season.

Settlement of Tuanku Po and His Followers

At the audience with King, the King Ang Duong has told Tuanku Po that he could stay in a few villages which have been pre-determined within the area of Kampung Chhnang. They were given the freedom to choose which ever village they like.

With the sacred words uttered by the King, Tuanku Po and his followers headed to villages that have been determined. There were among them who chose to settle in the village of Prey Pus; others chose Trapéang Chhouk Sar village, located only a few kilometers south of Prey Pus, and the rest chose to settle in Prey Pus village forever. In the meantime, Tuanku Po chose Trapéang Chhouk Sar, a village next to the Prey Sre. Today in all these three villages there are still Cham people who use the name Po or Cei, which denote the descendents of a royal family. Most likely they are the descendants of Tuanku Po who had made a page of the Cham history in a complex of Cambodian nation's history.

If we calculate the distance between Pring and their new places of settlement in the province of Kompong Chhnang, based on today's road, the distance is only about 200km. However, by taking into consideration of the situation in 1850's, safety issues especially during the rebellion, transportation used by them and their large number, it was only natural that they required a very long period of a few months to get to their destinations. Because their vehicles were ox carts, pulled by either cows or buffalos, these animals also required time to rest and eat. Besides that, travelling in a big group like they did was never an easy thing to do, especially when the group consists of the elderly, women and children, even more so difficult when some of them were sick.

Another event recorded in CM39(36) is a calamity that befell them. Since the beginning of the year of Dog (1862/63 AD) (verse 1156), the Cham-Malay communities who had escaped and get to their new settlements were forced to face with starvation. Rice could not be produced due to droughts. They only ate *garathauk*, a kind of creep. This starvation was not only experienced by the new Cham villagers, but also everyone who lived in the area. In this situation, men were persistent in attempting to build boats in exchange for rice that could still be found in other areas. Others cut the wood and made it into planks and sold them. In the meantime, there were royal officials who begged for alms and some were seizing people's cows and buffalos, which caused more difficulties to the people (verses 1156 to 1174).

1156. Since the beginning of the year of Dog,²⁷ there was no rice and we only ate *garathauk*.

1157. During the day we picked them in the jungle and at night we peel and cut them into small pieces.

1158. Days and nights we cut and we could not sleep well.
1159. When those times happened, we regretted that we did not think of it before we sold [the rice].
1160. Now children are crying, our tears flow because we pity them.
1161. There are those who have porridge, there are those who eat sweet taro.
1162. The man offered to build boat to trade with rice.
1163. They became weak because of hunger.
1164. Although they worked, it still did not work because they did not have energy.
1165. Others thought they had to cut the trees to turn them into planks so it could be sold to get money faster.
1166. They were really starving, women did not feel easy.
1167. People from the palace also came to beg for rice.
1168. They came looking for rice and after they were full, they seized the buffalos again.
1169. For those who only had one, the court people would say that they had lent two to people.
1170. They take wage and money from Lebai Kalauk
1171. In the meantime Bana Khanaut who saw this all, paid money to Ryat Jah to make a letter
1172. saying that all the goods belong to others.
1173. Khmer people stopped seizing other people's buffalos and other things;
1174. while the buffalos and cows of people in Brei Bih, they have taken all away.

Relationship Dimensions

Historical evidences that were obtained from the bas-reliefs at Angkor, Khmer and Cham chronicles have proved the presence of early Cham-Malay community in Cambodia. Since then, Cham-Malay community has been providing services to Cambodia as farmers, fishermen, cattle's breeders²⁸ and salesman while others worked for the government starting from a low ranked job such as *chumtup*, *mékhum*, *mésrok* and *chauvay srok*, to the highest position in government such as district governor and ministers.²⁹ There are also Cham-Malays people who join military forces and some are even holding political roles. The women were once famous for their ability to weave especially the *songket* fabric, which has high demand because of its beauty and quality.³⁰

According to a survey in 1874, Cham-Malay population numbered at 25,599 persons,³¹ which was only about two to three percent of the total population of Cambodia. They were allowed to live wherever in the territory of Cambodia.³² Manuscript CM39(36) has proven that there were already

some of Cham-Malay villages formed in the west side of Pring, through which passed the Cham-Malay refugees headed by Tuanku Po. Along the very harsh journey, the CM39(36) text shows that they were well accepted by all Khmer people, be it ordinary people, the royal administrators up to the royal family.

Following the big displacement of the Cham-Malay people from the eastern part of the country, Cambodia had seen some changes in the distribution of the community settlements. They are no longer concentrated only on the eastern part of Cambodia. Presently, Pring is no more a Cham-Malay village. Their new settlements in the center of Cambodia and close to the center of the royal administration, Oudong, the Cham-Malay now lived next door to the new Khmer communities, causing them to start adapting with the new environment. Facing with new contacts coupled with harsh life in building up their new lives in new villages at a very bad moment of drought, their lives had become more challenging.

Their most valuable asset they can offer was their sincerity in devoting their lives to serve Cambodia. Their perseverance and courage, gave them the opportunity to be well accepted by the Khmer people of all walk of life, especially the royal court. Before this, their existence in the eastern part of Cambodia had given them opportunities to defend Cambodia from the disruption of a group of Cham-Malay rebellion who took shelter in Chaudoc, then de facto controlled by Vietnam. Now living closer to the royal capital, they can be more frequently involved with the royal court in the country's deep political crisis. The CM39(36) text has also recorded that the Cham-Malay people in the around the capital were given full trust to form and lead their own military forces by the party in power to face the enemies; but this not the scope of further discussion in this article. Their involvement in the power struggle within the royal household, between the Prince Sivutha and King Norodom prove the fact.

Rebellion in 1858 and the migration caused marked a new phenomenon in the relationship between Cambodia and its neighbor as well as French power that was coming to Indochina at that time. During the rebellion, the de facto power of Vietnam in Chaudoc had given protection to the rebels. The involvement of Vietnam caused Cambodia to worry because the rebellion could only get worse if ever the Vietnamese authority there were to lend military support. But at last, the rebels were coming back and made a submission to serve the royal Cambodian government. They seek His Highness forgiveness and proved once again their sincerity by providing military aid to the kingdom to oppose those who want to seize the throne of the kingdom.

The new settlement of the Cham-Malay in the western part of the country and the submission of the rebels had also helped Cambodia in their relationship with the French. The absence of a large numbers of the Cham-Malay and their strengths in the eastern part of Cambodia did not give the French any opportunities to influence or entertain these people in order to

threaten the safety of the kingdom of Cambodia. Instead, the presence of Cham-Malays who were Muslims in the community where majority of the Khmer people were Buddhists had impressed and surprised the French due to the government's ability to sustain harmony between its people.

The presence of many Cham-Malay people in around the capital of Oudong had helped the Khmer court to reduce the negative involvement of Siam in Cambodia. The strength of Cambodian court had increased with the presence of the Cham-Malay community until the relationship between Siam and Cambodia became friendlier instead of domination character by the Siam.

Two figures which played major role in sparking continuity of the characteristics of changes in the Cham-Malay relationship with the people and the kingdom of Cambodia, even between Cambodia and its neighbors as well as the French power, are King Ang Duong and Tuanku Po. The roles of both of these figures, particularly the role of Tuanku Po were properly recorded in the manuscript CM39 (38).

Friendship with the Tuanku Po and King Ang Duong and his mandarins

As elaborated in the manuscript, the relationship between Tuanku Po and King Ang Duong was very close until such a point that His Royal Highness had sent someone to bring a bowl of *luba* to Tuanku Po's cart where he rested (verses 308-311) during that fateful journey. The King also ordered his mandarins to distribute rice and salted fish to Tuanku Po's followers.

This friendship was built from Tuanku Po's sincerity and his willingness to serve the kingdom. Tuanku Po had fulfilled all the requests of King Ang Duong, especially in forming military contingents of young Cham-Malay, and some times at a very short notice. What so special about Tuanku Po was that he opposed the rebellion even though it was carried out by his own people.

To repay Tuanku Po's sincerity and service, King Ang Duong and his mandarins had given a lot of thoughts and finally let the Cham-Malay establish their own military contingents. Even though Tuanku Po men were not allowed to lead the force, at least at one instant a Cham named Mbalat Kei was allowed to lead it (verses 64-65). At another instance, he managed to establish one Cham-Malay military group which was placed under the leadership of Cei Gul, a Cham (verse 1118-1119) to serve the government military forces. The formation of military contingents, one after the other, shows that the Tuanku Po's influence remained strong within the community even though he had brought down the Cham-Malay who had rebelled.

1118. Only in a day, the military force was established.

1119. I therefore, gave responsibility to Cei Gul.

There were times when the Cham-Malays military forces were ordered to fight the enemy alone on their own, as proven in verses 895-896, 912-913.

895. We also went to Bu Parambat
896. We all fought Kammahaing troops.
912. Prince [Kauv Phya] camped there [Phnom Penh], and the king ordered Cham people to pursue them.
913. Kammahaing backed down to Kabaum Sat Sauv.

The good relationship between King Ang Duong and Tuanku Po was proven again when in the king sent some help through a *gru* to cure Tuanku Po's grandchild who fell ill during the migration trip [verses 493-496].

493. One day, a Siamese doctor³³ came and told that he was sent by the king to deliver some medicines.
494. I invited him [to tend to] my grandchild.
495. After he finished his spell, I gave him money worth one *tyan*.³⁴
496. He gave some medicine.

The Khmer Mandarins also helped in the Cham-Malay migration by supplying them with rice and dried fish. It has been stated in the bait 429-431 in which the local officials (Japhvai Srauk) Beng Kravanh had distributed a total of one *kati* of rice to each person. King Ang Duong had also ordered his mandarins to give some rice to all of us (verse 311).

The goodness of Khmer kings and mandarins were well accepted and responded by the Cham-Malay community. As mentioned above, this good relation had been going on for a long time.³⁵ Initially, when the royal armies led by Vaur Rañat and Ung Cakri arrived in Thbaung Khmum to overcome the rebels, Tuanku Po was very concerned with the Khmer mandarins. In a good gesture of welcoming them, he has ordered his men to offer them rice and torches for their uses (verses 231-233). This cooperation was highly appreciated by the Khmer mandarins.

Friendship of the Khmer Society and The Cham-Malays towards Tuanku Po and his followers

Besides the good relationship between King Ang Duong and his mandarins with Tuanku Po and his followers, the Khmer society, particularly those in the villages they passed through, were very concerned about their fate.

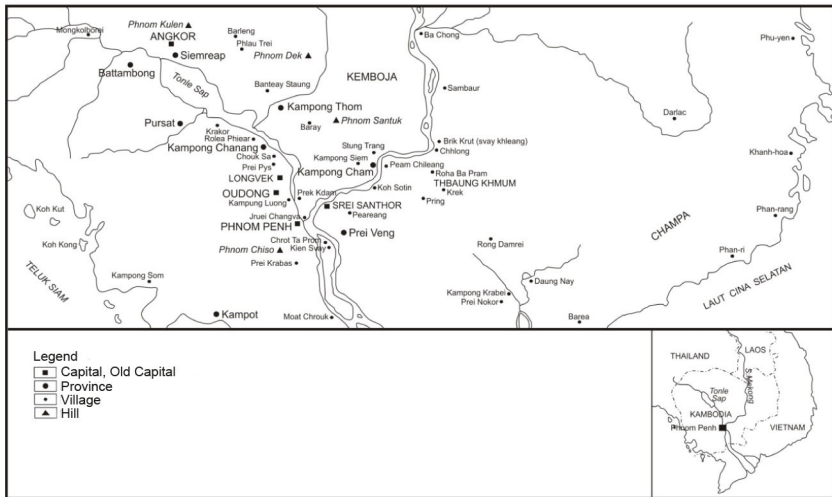
The CM39(36) text has mentioned two times about the kindness of the ordinary Khmer people towards the Cham-Malay refugees. The first time happened in Chea Méach village where the Khmer were given them palm tree

juice to those who did not have money (verses 379, 387-388). The second time happened in the village of Beng Kravanh. This manuscript text mentioned that in this village, Khmer people gave them palm tree juice until they could not take anymore (verses 415-416). Palm tree juice is very popular drinks among the Cambodians as it is very easily available throughout the country.

The Cham-Malay community who lived in villages along the routes taken by Tuanku Po and his followers were also very concerned. For example, people who lived in the village Kagauv has given fruits like mango and Oren to them. This kindness and friendship shown by those people were very highly appreciated by Tuanku Po and his followers. This high respect of the local toward them was shown by Tuanku was invited to chew betel at their houses (verse 347-351). The manuscript CM39(36) has recorded all the good relationships between the Cham-Malay community with all Khmers people of all walk of life, from the Khmer king and his royal family, the royal officials, his mandarins to ordinary people.

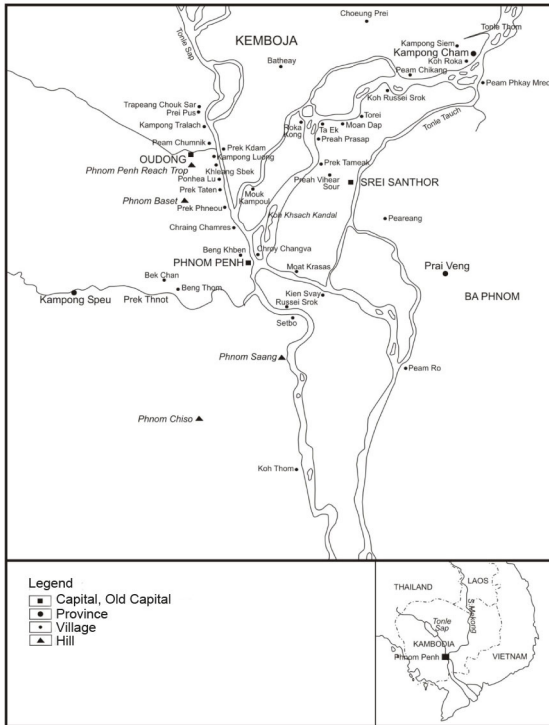
MAP A

CENTRAL CAMBODIA



MAP B

CAMBODIA : AROUND OUDONG, PHNOM PENH AND KOMPONG CHAM



Conclusion

The migration of the Cham-Malay people from their home village within Cambodia to the area around the royal capital of Oudong was caused by the rebellion of a small group of Cham-Malay people in the eastern part of Cambodia was recorded in detail by the Cham manuscript CM39(36). From this record, it clearly shows that those who migrated were not all forced by the authority, but rather some of them left their village on their own to save themselves from the trouble in which ten of thousands royal forces were deployed. They built anew their community in Prey Pih, Trapeang Chouk Sar, and Sre Prey, where their descendents still remain until today. Tuanku Po own descendents can still be found in the areas as many of the villagers are still being addressed as Po or Cei.

The CM39(36) text has also shown that not only the Cham-Malay community who migrated but there were also Khmer people who were forced

to leave their home villages as the fighting get hotter up to seek refuge in other safe areas. However, it was the Cham-Malay displacement from the eastern part to the western part of the country and near the royal capital of Oudong that provides some new insight in its horizontal character of the relationship between the Cham-Malay and the Khmer people of Cambodia. The grief and difficulties faced during the migration were so much to bear. But all those feelings had been reduced due to the sympathy shown by the Cham-Malay and Khmer society during their journey. The Khmer community from all walks of life was much sympathized with their hardship. Rice and dried fish were the essential food and fruits were also given to them from various parties whom they met along their journey.

Under these circumstances, the Cham manuscript CM39(36) has recorded one more page of the history of the intimate relationship between the Khmer and Cham-Malay in helping to each other in time of need. This good relationship has been recorded times and again in the long history of their presence in Cambodia. The relationship as shown by the government of Cambodia and the Cham-Malay communities are still being seen till the present day, as proven now by the leadership of Samdech Hun Sen. The Cham-Malay bravery, courage and sincerity of the Cham-Malay communities have earned appreciations from the Khmer kings, including King Ang Duong and Norodom. The Cham-Malay had provided military contingents to fight the enemies including providing securities to the palace.³⁶ As for the enemies from the outside, King Ang Duong was under a lot of pressure. This was recorded by a French envoy, priest Hestrest, who brought a letter to the court to promote trade and religious ties with Cambodia. In one conversation with Msgr. Miche on 25 May 1857, priest Hestrest mentioned that the king had told him: "I understand all that, but what do you want me to do? I have two masters who are always watching me. They are my neighbors while France is far away from here. If I do something that upsets them, they will do something to me without the knowledge of the French ...".³⁷ The Cham-Malay were ready as shown in CM39(36) manuscript.

Endnotes

1. He is Samdech Chauféa Tolha Phon in Khmer text (Eng Sot 1969 p. 1080). *Juphva* in Cham is *Chaufea* in Khmer. He hold the post equivalent to the present day Prime Minister (See DA, entry *juphua*; Moura 1883(I), p. 253-254; Khin Sok 1991, p. 42). His full title was *Samsech Chaovéa Tolha* or *Samsech Chaovéa Tolha Ahk Maha Sêna* (Khin Sok 1991, p. 42 n. 59; Eng Sot 1969 p. 1076; Villemereuil, A.B. de 1883 p. 68). During the reign of King Ang Duong, a province governor (Japhvai Srauk; Khmer: Cauvai Srok) of Kompong Svay, Asanduk, Baray, Chœung Prey, Kompong Siem and Stung Trang

- wore the title of Samdech Chauféa Dolha (Eng Sot 1969 p. 1080).
2. Phum Pring is a village in *srok* (district) Koh Sautin, Kompong Cham province.
 3. *Mbauv Sa* is the same person as *Mbauv Nasa Him* (verse 28) or *Tvan Mbauv Nasa* (verse 152). The difference was because the versified text which the writer had to respect certain rules.
 4. The CM39(36) text reads *putau*. In Cham, *putau* refers to the king (DA entry *patau*, p. 260). This word, in Jarai, Rade and Acheh is *paute*. According to E. Durand (1907 p. 345), this word may be from a Sanskrit word *pati*, which means Sir or the Head of a community. In CM39(36) text there were also mentions of *putau* which refers to a *reigning King* or a prince, in *putau Sivatha* (verse 688) for Prince Sivutha, *putau Sa-ai* (verse 825) for *King elder brother*, and *putau adei* (verse 847) for *Prince younger brother*. Situations like these make the reading more difficult to understand.
 5. DA entry *kai* means ‘dignity’, and *Rang Ndai* is the name of a person.
 6. The date mentioned in Cham manuscripts is difficult to identify as it uses the names of animals which will repeat every twelve years. Those cyclic animals are : rat, buffalo, tiger, rabbit (kat for the Vietnamese), dragon, snake, horse, monkey, cock, dog and pig. Besides, a year in Cham calendar usually begins in March or April or even May. Thus a year of horse, in Cham calendar is within two gregorian years. To find out which gregorian year is the year of horse mentioned in the CM39(36) text, we have to look for the known event that had happened and recorded in other sources, here the history of the rebellion by Tuan Sait in Thbaung Khmum, the arrival of Prince Sivutha from Siam (verse 688) in the year of Monkey. These events had happened in the year 1858 and 1860 CE. Thus the year of Monkey in CM39(36) text must be 1860/1861. (See A. Leclère 1914 p. 448-9. Thus the year of Horse before the year of Monkey (1860/61) can be 1834/35, 1846/47 or 1858/59.
The year 1858/59 is not possible as in the verse 10 (... by the year of Horse that followed ...), that is 12 years which follows. By comparing with other sources the year of Horse in verse 10 is no other than 1858/59. The year 1834/35 has to be rejected too ; this in this verse 1 the accepted gregorian year must be 1846/47 which is 12 years before Tuan Sait rebellion. (About the dates in Cham manuscripts and their equivalent in gregorian years see Lafont, Po Dharma dan Nara Vija 1977 p. 19; Po Dharma 1978 p. 45-51; Po Dharma 1987 (II) p. 11- 13; Mohamad Zain Musa 1990 p. 41-44.).
 7. See note 6.
 8. The manuscript mentions ‘ku’ which means ‘I, me’. It represents the writer or the person who tells the story. ‘Ku’ is also a word used by

- the royal.
9. The text also uses ‘adei Po’ meaning ‘Po’s brother’ or simply ‘my brother’. According to P.Y. Manguin (1979: 258-259), ‘Po’ is a title in the Archipelago ‘pu/mpu/po’. In a Cham society, ‘Po’ is a form of address for the king or even a the most revered person followed by his given name. ‘Po’ also refers to ‘His Highness’ (Mohamad Zain Musa 1990 p. 63, 149 note 5 and DA p. 309 entry Po). Nowadays within the Cham society, the word is a form of address for a person descendent of a royal family.
 10. *Tau* is a paddy measurement. *sa tau*, one *tau* is equal to 40-50 liter (DA entry tau).
 11. This year of Horse is 1858/89 CE. See supra.
 12. DA entry *ong* gives a few meanings: a) respectable person, usually an elder person; b) grand father; d) a respected title place before a given name; e) I, me. Its English equivalent can be Mr.
 13. The Thamju is a Khmer mandarin title of *Thomma Dêcho*. It is the title of the governor of the province of Baphnom. See A. B. de Villemereuil 1883 p. 75; Eng Sot 1969 p. 1103-1104; Jumsai 1970 p. 117; Khin Sok 1991, p. 95 nota 290).
 14. The CM39(36) text did not give any details of the personality of Tuanku Po. Only through reading the manuscript that it is understood that he is the narrator who knows of what is happening in the Khmer Kingdom especially on what is befalling on the Cham-Malay community. From the beginning of the text it is understood that he is a Cham-Malay community leader (verse 34-41). He was very influential figure upon his followers as described in verses 46-53, 944, 1116-1117, 1247-1248, 1309 in which he was able to call for a formation of a military contingent any time the King need it. He was very respected by the community as in verses 348-349. The King Ang Duong himself gave a high respect for him (verses 308-310).
 15. Khamju is a variant of Thamju. See supra.
 16. There are a few variants of Vaur Rænat (st. 280) in this manuscript. It is from a Khmer word, Varanéat (from barinayôk: from Pali *parinâyako*) that is a prince of governor (A. Leclère 1898(I) p. 68). In this text, Vaur Ranyat was Okña Voranéat Séna who is Préah Achha Luong, the king emissary (Eng Sot 1969, p. 1106).
 17. According to Eng Sot 1969 p. 1092 and VJ jil. VII p. 853: King Ang Duong had ordered his mandarins to expel the Cham-Melayu in the Provinces of Thbaung Khmum, Kompong Siem and Srei Sochor Chvéng to move to Phnom Penh, Ponghéa Lü, Kompong Luong dan Longvêk. A. Pavie 1882 (I) has mentioned that a small number of them settled in the village of Chhouk Sâr.
 18. A very popular dish made of meat and vegetable. (DA entry *luba*).

19. The juice is collected from palm tree and is a popular drink in Cambodia. It is usually the Khmers who collect the juice from palm trees which can be found all over Cambodia. The juice can be made into brown sugar.
20. Cham *hula*, Piper betel Linn. (DA entry *hula*, p. 526). In Champa, there are three usages of the betel: mixed with areca nut it can be chewed; second, as offerings of spirits or gods in a ceremony; and third a sign of good relationship between two parties, especially the party which offers the betel is offering his friendship (E. Durand 1907 p. 348-349).
21. It is a type of fish, *Labeo poul* TIRANT (Cyprins). Khmer: *proul*; old Khmer: *barval*; Vietnam: *cá duong*. Its length when fully grown is about 30-40 centimetre; found in Tonle Thom (Mekong) and Tonlé Sap. DA kata masukan *baraval*.
22. There are three persons wearing the title Mé Kauh: Mé Kauh Naung (verse 363), Mé Kauh Naung (verse 545) and Mé Kauh Saman (verse 845). It may be a corruption of the Khmer title of *Mé Kaung* which means Head of a Village (Khin Sok 1991 p. 215). Mé Kaung is also a military officer or a mandarin whose task is to collect taxes (verse 1138) (DGJ entry *mé*, p. 1376).
23. *Kati* a weight unit equal to 600 gram (DA entry *kati*).
24. The village is along the Tonle Sap River from Prek Kdam on to Phnom Penh. It was a Cham-Malay settlement even before the King Ang Duong reign. King Ibrohim (Khmer name: Raja Reameathipadei I, also known as King Chau Ponhea Chan, Ream Chaul Sas, r. 1642-1658) converted to Islam and got married to a Cam-Melayu girl in Khleang Sbek. See Ismail Hussein, P.B. Lafont dan Po Dharma (ed.), 1995. *Dunia Melayu dan Dunia Indocina*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
25. It shows that the situation in Pring was very critical in the Tvan Sait Dilah rebellion (verse. 292). This has forced Tunku Po, with his followers to seek refuge somewhere else. In Cambodia, there are two main seasons. Dry season from November to April. The weather is mild in this season some times the temperature drops to 13°C. The other is hot season from April to August. (Mohamad Zain Musa (translation) 1996, p. 39).
26. It is the year 1862/63 CE. See Supra.
27. ANSOM, Indo., Amiraux 12705, A. Spooner, 'Rapport sur le Cambodge', 30 Desember 1862.
28. See Mak Phœun, 'La communauté malaise musulmane...'
29. Ibid., p. 83-93; Po Dharma, 'Notes sur les Cam du Cambodge', *Seksa Khmer*, 3/4, 1981, p. 161-83; Po Dharma, 'Notes sur les Cam du Cambodge (suite et fin)', *Seksa Khmer*, 5, Paris, 1982, p. 103-116.

30. Aymonier, E., *Géographie du Cambodge*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876, p. 26–7. In 1862, Spooner gave the number of people living in Phnom Penh at 5,000 persons, ten percent of whom were Malay. Lihat ANSOM, Indo., Amiraux 12705.
31. Mak Phœun, *Histoire du Cambodge*, p. 397–8.
32. The text mentions *gru Siam* which is a *Siamese physician*.
33. DA (entry *tio 'n* (read *tyan*) p. 199) gives the value of a *tyan* equivalent to 60 *sapèques* (from a Malay word *sapek* (Petit Robert 1 dictionary, entry word *sapèque* p. 1762)). *Sapèque* was the smallest monetary unit. 10 *tyan* equals to one *ikat*.
34. See Mohamad Zain Musa 2001 and Mohamad Zain Musa & Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman 2003, p. 37-44.
35. Mohamad Zain Musa 2001 “The Malay and the Cham’s relations with the kingdom of Cambodia during and after the French Protectorate (1863-2000)” in JMBRAS Vol. 74, Part 2. pp. 1-21. Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS.
36. Ch. Meyniard 1891, p. 410-411.

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