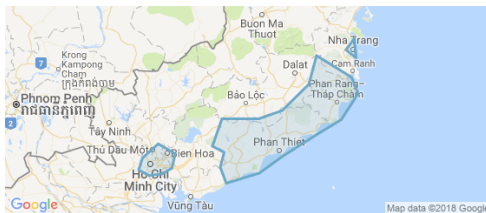# Cham Ahiér

also known as "Localized Cham-Hinduism", "Agama Cham", "Agama Ahiér"

By William Noseworthy, McNeese State University

Entry tags: Religion, Indic Religious Traditions, Southeast Asian Religions, Religions in Vietnam

Cham Ahiér are a religious community in what is now Vietnam that have practiced a unique religion from the 17th century to the present. Elements of this religion, such as ancestor veneration, or the worship of animistic dieties and Hindu gods, likely existed in their community from at least as early as the 4th century. However, beginning in the 10th century, some Cham communities began to become influenced by Islam as well. During the seventeenth century, the contemporary form of Cham Ahiér religion became more standardized, as rulers from the Kingdom of Panduranga encouraged practices that blended concepts from the Cham Awal - who practiced a localized form of Islam - and the Cham Ahiér, whose practice is predominantly based on a Brahmanic form of Hinduism. Today, the Cham Ahiér are predominantly Hindu practitioners, although the religion exhibits flares of animistic, shamanistic, and Islamic influence.

Date Range: 1600 CE - 2015 CE

Region: Cham Ahiér

Region tags: Asia, Hinduism, Southeast Asia, Vietnam

Settlements & Sites Associated with Cham Ahiér Practices, 1600-2015

Status of Participants:

✓ Elite   ✓ Religious Specialists   ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

—Source 1: Aymonier, Etienne. 1893. The History of Tchampa: The Cyamba of Marco Polo, Now Annam or Cochin China. Translated from French. The Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record. v. VI (11). London, UK

—Source 2: Lockart, B.M. & Trần Kỳ Phương. 2011. The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society, and Art. Singapore: NUS Press.

—Source 3: Bruckmayr, Philipp. 2013. Between Institutionalized Syncretism and Official Particularism: Religion among the Chams of Vietnam and Cambodia. In Rituale als Ausdruck von Kulturkontakt: "Syncretismus" zwischen Negation und Neudefinition; Akten der inderdisziplinaren Tagung des Sonderforschungsbereiches "Ritualdynamik." Heidelberg, December 3-5, 2010, eds. Andres H Pries, Laititia Martxolff, Claus Ambos, and Robert Langer, 11-42. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag Press.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

—Source 1 URL: https://chamstudies.net/

Please see our Terms of Use here: https://religiondatabase.org/about/credits

For any questions contact project.manager@religiondatabase.org

- Source 1 Description: An English, Vietnamese, and French Language website that shares contemporary research in the field of Cham Studies

- Source 2 URL: http://champaka.info/

- Source 2 Description: A Vietnamese Language website that shares research and contemporary news from the Cham community. This site includes news on international political advocacy activities.

- Source 3 URL: http://inrasara.com/

- Source 3 Description: A Vietnamese and Cham Language website. The personal work of Inrasara, a leading Cham Ahiér author & independent scholar. The site includes many invited essays, poems, and short stories from Cham authors, regardless of religion. There are a few translations of Cham Language works available in English translation on this website as well.

Relevant online primary textual corpora (original languages and/or translations):

- Source 1 URL: https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP698/search

- Source 1 Description: Digitalized corpus of rare Cham manuscripts from Vietnam. This collection includes both Ahiér (Hindu) manuscripts and Awal (Muslim) manuscripts.

- Source 2 URL: https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP531/search

- Source 2 Description: This resource includes the digitalization of rare Cham Ahiér palm leaf manuscripts. Those manuscripts bound with goatskin belong to the Cham Awal (Muslim) population.

- Source 3 URL: https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP1005

- Source 3 Description: This resource is for the current project for digitalizing Cham manuscripts. The project is set to conclude in August 2018.

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:
— Yes

> Is the cultural contact competitive:
> — No

> Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:
> — Yes
>
> Notes: There is a philosophical relationship with the Cham Bani community of Vietnam that dictates that the two collaborate. Concepts that parallel Hindu concepts of cosmic dualism from the sub-continent are used to articulate the necessity of cooperation and collaboration between the Cham Bani community, which is headed by Cham Awal (Muslim) clerics, and the Cham Ahiér (Hindu) community. There was a long open civil conflict between Cham Bani and Cham Ahiér communities during the 16th century. During the reign of Ppo Romé, in the 17th century, this conflict ended.

> Is the cultural contact neutral:

— No

Notes: Cultural contact with the Vietnamese population is also present. It is not openly antagonistic at the current moment. But, the contact has been violent during periods of the 17th-20th centuries.

— Yes

Notes: Cultural contact with Cham Sunni Muslim and Malay Sunni Muslim populations is also present. In the past the contact has been primarily diplomatic and trade-related. It was predominantly trade and special interest related during the first decade and a half of the 20th century.

> Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

— Yes

Notes: There has occassionally been internal violent conflict, related to contestations among royal lineages, especially at the end of the 18th century. Otherwise, there have occassionally been small scale conflicts between large clan networks. The scale of violence, internally, however, is quite small.

> Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

— Yes

Notes: There has been repeated violent conflict with the Vietnamese population as the Vietnamese House of Nguyễn expanded from a house of lords into an empire between the 17th and 19th centuries. Cham Ahiér also participated in a number of 19th and 20th century conflicts occasionally backing and occasionally opposed to: French Colonial forces, the Japanese Empire, the Viet Minh, the Republic of Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front. Cham also supported the FULRO liberation movement in the 20th century, although the numbers from the Cham Ahiér community who were actively engaged in fighting in each of these cases appear to have been small. Not insignificant, but small.

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

— Yes

> Assigned at birth (membership is default for this society):

— Yes

> Assigned by personal choice:

— Yes

Notes: An individual might effectively join this community if they marry in to the community from the Cham Bani community or certain nearby upland groups (Raglai, Ede, Churu, and so on). In extremely rare cases, individuals from Vietnamese communities might effectively marry in to the Cham Ahiér community. Historically, there have been famous Churu individuals who held prominent places in the Cham Ahiér community due to their royal status. Such mobility for high status uplanders was more common in the 17th to 19th centuries, although the Raglai

hold an important ritual relationship with the Cham Ahiér that has lasted up until the present.

↳ Assigned by class:

— Yes

Notes: There are class specific expectations to participation in this religious community. Historically, classes were broken into royalty, priesthood, and laity. By the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, an emergent intellectual class, which is technically laity, but takes on some of the responsibilities of the priesthood, becomes more common, especially as the royalty has lost all territorial power as of 1835, and only remained in a symbolic fashion.

↳ Assigned at a specific age:

— Yes

Notes: There are age specific obligations during religious ceremonies. In this sense, membership to an increasingly inner circle within the religious community is associated with age.

↳ Assigned by gender:

— Yes

Notes: There are roles for priests that can only be performed by men. There are additionally roles for religious leadership as assistants and officients in certain elements of ceremonies that can only be held by women.

↳ Assigned by participation in a particular ritual:

— No

Notes: There is not a widely understood "conversion ritual" which is comparable to the Cham Bani conversion ritual. Rather, membership is assigned through repeated practice or birth. Loyalty to deities and cosmic powers is more important.

↳ Assigned by some other factor:

— Yes [specify]: Religious affiliation is a demonstrated process. Participation in calendrical and life cycle rituals is paramount. One must venerate a collection of deities during these process, although which deities rank over others is often specific to a combination of loyalty, locations, and ever so occasionally, personal preference. The process of veneration, including preparing food offerings and prostration, is the most important aspect of assigning affiliation to an individual deity.

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

— No

Does the religion have official political support

— Yes

> Are the priests paid by polity:

— No

> Is religious infrastructure paid for by the polity:

— No

> Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

— No

Notes: This can occasionally be the case for lower-level state administration positions. In the 18th and 19th centuries, it may have been more common. It was not common by the latter half of the 20th and into the 21st century.

> Are political officials equivalent to religious officials:

— Yes

Notes: They have been in the past, but this is not common from the latter part of the 19th century through the present.

> Is religious observance enforced by the polity:

— No

> Polity legal code is roughly coterminous with religious code:

— No

Notes: It has been in the past, but not since 1835.

> Polity provides preferential economic treatment (e.g. tax, exemption)

— No

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

— No

Notes: There are occassionally historical figures that are charged with abandoning their ancestral traditions, although this is extremely rare.

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

— Estimated population, numeric: 80000

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

— Field doesn't know

Notes: The population of the sample region is not well estimated in comparison to the number of adherents. In their communities, they make up nearly 100% of the total population. Taken the entire area writ large, however, they might be between 1-10% of the general population. In Ho Chi Minh City, they are less than 1% of the general population. The density of settlement comparable to the general Vietnamese population, and other ethnic minorities is highly variable.

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

— Yes

  Are they written:

  — Yes

  Notes: The manuscript culture of the Cham Ahiér community is robust and detailed. There are many different genres of religious texts.

  Are they oral:

  — Yes

  Notes: There is a degree of oral memorization to religious texts. One genre of manuscripts is simply "prayer guides" which refer to a larger corpus of prayers that has been committed to memory.

  Is there a story associated with the origin of scripture:

  — Yes

    Revealed by a high god:

    — No

    Notes: Not exactly. There are a number of deities who are associated with the knowledge of the script: Akhar Thrah. There are also other deities, such as Ppo Inâ Nâgar, which are more broadly associated with the knowledge of writing, referred to as simply "Akhar," or epigraphic systems, which are known as "Akhar Bitau."

    Revealed by other supernatural being:

    — No

    Notes: See above. To expand: the knowledge of writing might be bequethed from one

supernatural being to another, or from a supernatural being to a semi-human or part-human part-god figure, or simply a human figure. However, there is no common singular origin for the script.

Inspired by high god:

— Yes

Notes: The script can be inspired by many high gods and high deities. It is common to invoke the inspiration and protection of deities before engagin in the process of writing, in order to recreate this connection.

Inspired by other supernatural being:

— Yes

Notes: Depending on the order of divinity, it is possible that some of the divinities are ascribed "saint" status, rather than status as complete divinities. There are also dragon spirits (Inâ Nâgar) that can breath prowess (ganreh) into humans. This might be one possible way to acquire knowledge of script.

Originated from divine or semi-divine human beings:

— Yes

Notes: The contemporary script is also said to have been affiliated with the time of Ppo Romé in some accounts. Although it is not specifically ascribed to him, there is a sense that his formalization of the relationship between the Awal clerics and the Ahiér priests led to the adaptation of Akhar Thrah as a standard script. Because Ppo Romé is both a historical figure and a deity, he may well be classified as an "other supernatural being," being of the deva-raja sort, if understood within the context of broader Hindu categories of historio-cum-religious divinity.

Originated from non-divine human being:

— Yes

Notes: Depending on the nature of the text, it is possible that the origins of script and scripture might well have originated from a human, particularly learned individual scholars. These narratives are rare, however. More often than not, scripture is metaphorically understood as "script," or "writing," and the origins and inspiration come from specifically ethereal realms which humans may only be able to access in special circumstances.

Are the scriptures alterable:

— No

Notes: Generally speaking, the texts of the priest class are not understood as alterable, as they are passed down from one generation to the next. That said, there is a fair degree of historical variation in the process, and it is clear that the manuscript culture has changed significantly over time.

↳ Are there formal institutions (i.e. institutions that are authorized by the religious community or political leaders) for interpreting the scriptures:

— Yes

↳ Can interpretation also take place outside these institutions:

— Yes

Notes: Practically, interpretation happens predominantly by scholars outside of these institutions, and priests in ritual contexts. The Cham Ahiér community does have a senior priest for each community, and those senior priests to form a board. There are two provincial boards for Vietnam. One centered in Ninh Thuận province, and another in Bình Thuận province. However, these are 20th-century creations. Furthermore, there is a fare amount of individual freedom of practice in day to day life in the Cham Ahiér community, even if the communal sentiment does keep practice relatively stable.

↳ Interpretation is only allowed by officially sanctioned figures:

— No

Notes: As mentioned above, scholars do a fair amount of interpretation in the ritual context, especially during the 20th and 21st centuries. Often they work closely and intimately with the priests to share the developments of these interpretations.

↳ Is there a select group of people trained in transmitting the scriptures:

— Yes

Notes: There is a rigorously trained priest class with several stages of training. Additionally, there is basic training in the script that was put in place for school children during the 20th century and 21st century. Formal training in the script became particularly popular in the 1960s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s subject to cyclical waves of funding, availability of adequate instructional staff, and interested students.

↳ Is there a codified canon of scriptures:

— No

Notes: However, there are a number of genres that priests are expected to know quite basically, beyond prayers. These genres are literary genres: ariya, dalikal, sakkarai, and damnây; with damnây being the most religious in nature. After mastering these genres, priests might learn incantations, invocations, and invitations for deities for day to day ceremonies and life cycle rituals. Finally, they will learn the highest and most esoteric level of prayers which invite and invoke deities at calendrical rituals and high holidays.

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

— Yes

In the average settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

—Percentage: 1

Notes: Even if the monuments or shrines can be quite large, they are generally in areas that are not inhabited directly. They are set aside from the larger areas of habitation, reflecting older population centers from centuries past.

Size of largest single religious monument, square meters:

—Square meters: 100

Notes: 10 x 10 m base for the largest and most active temple tower: Ppo Klaong Garai (alt.: Po Klong Garai). This tower is part of a temple complex that includes three towers and could be estimated at 400 meters square. However, the entire temple-tower complex and surrounding grounds is arguably much larger. Typically smaller shrines for individual communities fit the pattern of being 10 m x 10 m at the base or smaller, with some being oblong in shape. Another important structure, which is larger, is the Ppo Ina Nagar temple-tower in Nha Trang, Khanh Hoa province, Vietnam. Although there is no local Cham community, the temple-tower complex is a significant pilgrimage site at least once a year.

Height of largest single religious monument, meters:

—Height, meters: 20

Notes: This is also Ppo Klaong Garai tower, in Ninh Thuận province. The largest tower in the Ppo San Inâ tower complex, in Bình Thuận province, is 15 m.

Size of average monument, square meters:

—Height, square meters: 50

Notes: This is for the area, the size.

Height of average monument, meters:

—Height, meters: 5

Notes: Given a large number of very small shrines, and additional sacred sites that are essentially open air, it is safe to presume that there may be so many smaller shrines that if they were all included, the average size would be just 1 meter. However, they have not all been fully catalogued as of yet.

In the largest settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

—Percentage of area: 1

Notes: Even in the largest settlement in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận, the dispersal of the population ensures that the amount of space that the actual shrine takes up is very small. Perhaps less than 1%.

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

— Yes

    ↳ Tombs:

— No

Notes: Because of the process of cremation, there are no true tombs where remains are permanently interred.

    ↳ Cemeteries:

— Yes

Notes: There are temporary burial sites before remains are dug up again and cremated. There are also markers for clans, known as "kut" which are commonly mistaken for cemeteries, although they are technically closer to the concept of a series of the communal ancestral altars.

    ↳ Temples:

— Yes

Notes: There are many types of temples. There are temple-tower complexes known as "bimong-kalan." There are also smaller village-town center temples known as "danaok." In smaller villages, a "danaok," could only properly be described as a shrine.

    ↳ Altars:

— Yes

Notes: There are altars present in bimong-kalan, which resemble mukhalinga, with the faces of local deva-raja on them. There are also altars to local devi-rahni. Such altars may also be found at danaok. Moving further outside the communities, it is possible to find "kut" which are devotional markers with clans that are associated with them. These appear to have emerged in more recent historical epochs, between the 17th and 19th century, although some communities claim they are much older. Furthermore, there are also altars that are marked simply by "batuw" or "stones."

    ↳ Devotional markers:

— Yes

Notes: "Batuw" or "stones" might be the most simple form of devotional marker, which could appear at shrine sites, or could appear outside shrine sites, on hill tops, or at the edges of settlements, or along the coastline. These sites might also be tied with thick-ribbon-like pieces of cloth, especially red cloth. Red cloth tied around a stone, or, in increasingly rare cases as time progress, around flora, especially trees, has also been a devotional marker.

    ↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

— Yes

Notes: These are most commonly indicated through the usage of the Cham script, Akhar Thrah, with a gate over the entrance to the area.

⮡ Other type of religious monumental architecture:

— No

Notes: However, as research continues, the above categories may be re-classified, or, further sub-divided.

Is iconography present:

— Yes

⮡ Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:

— On persons

— At home

— Some public spaces

Notes: All religious spaces have iconography to an extent. Technically, however, the term iconography implies that the representations are symbolic. This may be the case from an Anthropological perspective. However, sometimes the iconography, the statues, the images, are understood to be, literally, the deity themselves. And, in this case, understanding them as "icons," gives only a partial expression of their meaning.

⮡ Are there distinct features in the religious group's iconography:

— Yes

⮡ Eyes (stylized or not):

— Yes

Notes: Particularly the appearance of a Shiva-like "third eye."

⮡ Supernatural beings (zoomorphic):

— Yes

Notes: Dragons, Ganesha-like images, Garuda-like images, and so on.

⮡ Supernatural beings (geomorphic):

— Yes

Notes: Arguably the "batuw" constructions are geomorphic, so, in that case, yes. Other images tend not to be geomorphic, however.

⮡ Supernatural beings (anthropomorphic):

— Yes

Notes: Most frequently, the easiest to recognize deities are either modeled after the images of men or women. There is also substantial artistic reproduction of "apsara" or "divine dancers."

Supernatural beings (abstract symbol):

— Yes

Notes: The use of the "homkar" includes representations of the sun and the moon, which are ascribed powers that might be associated with deities in some understandings, with "old gods," in other understandings, or as simply gods understood as such through animistic interpretations in still others. The "homkar," symbol is a symbol that is a local adaptation of the Hindu "om" symbol, which can be found throughout Hindu influenced cultures in South and Southeast Asia.

Portrayals of afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: Not so much after-life, but a "heavenly realm," or a "divine realm," as there are three realms or "lokas," which might otherwise be understood as "worlds." With increased contact from Islam, these realms become more and more envisioned as "heaven, human, and hell," realms.

Aspects of doctrine (e.g. cross, trinity, Mithraic symbols):

— Yes

Notes: The closest element to an "aspect of doctrine," is the "homkar" symbol.

Humans:

— Yes

Notes: Particularly humans that enter into the divine realm.

Other features of iconography:

— Yes

Notes: Strongly South-Southeast Asian, Pan-Hindu in nature. Additionally influenced by 17th century Islamic imagery from Malaysia and 18th-19th century Vietnamese imagery, such as the appearance of an "âm-dương" (yin-yang) symbol with yellow and red collors, following the Vietnamese style.

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

— Yes

Are sacred site oriented to ecological features:

— Yes

Notes: There are several sacred sites that are associated with streams, hill tops, large boulders,

or beaches. Virtually all sacred sites have some type of geological feature nearby or associated directly with them. These features can be said to give the site additional potency, although they might also be said to be a house of spirits or gods associated with the site in some cases.

Are pilgrimages present:

— Yes

⤷ How strict is pilgrimage:

— Obligatory for some

Notes: During calendrical associated high holidays, such as Katé, processions to temple and shrine sites are extremely common. These operate as local pilgrimages, such as they would in South Asia. They seem to have been obligatory for some time for priests. Participation from the laity is extremely common. It is especially common for youth to play important roles in the procession. Participation is obligatory in the sense that it is implied for individuals to participate at least once or twice in life, but optional, in that no one, not even priests are ever forced to participate. The pilgrimage processions are short, up along a hillside, from one side of a town to another. They include music and have a long history of being considered fun to participate in. Participation of visitors to the community who are not members of the Cham Ahiér is also encouraged under certain conditions, of attending appropriate preparations, and donning appropriate dress.

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

— Yes

⤷ Spirit-mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than other body parts:

— Yes

Belief in afterlife:

— Yes

⤷ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

— Yes

⤷ Afterlife in specified realm of space beyond this world:

— Yes

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "above" space:

— Yes

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

— Yes

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined horizontal space:

— Yes

↳ Afterlife located in "other" space:

— Yes [specify]: Locations of realms that are non-human can variously be described as "above," "below," or "parallel," as well as "outside," the earthly or human realms. These are similar to pre-existing classical Hindu concepts of "lokas," although they are fluid and various sources might describe them differently.

Reincarnation in this world:

— Yes

↳ In a human form:

— Yes

↳ In animal/plant form:

— Yes

Notes: Described in historical periods, such as the return of Ppo Riyak in the form of a whale. Not common from 18th - 21st centuries.

↳ In form of an inanimate object(s):

— No

Notes: The ocassional appearance of merger with spirits with inaminate objects, or what we might consider inaminate objects, animates them.

↳ In non-individual form (i.e. some form of corporate rebirth, tribe, lineage. etc.):

— Yes

Notes: In exceptionally rare cases, these conditions of "lineage" and "clan" are mostly ascribed to semi-historical figures who are associated with the religion.

⤷ Reincarnation linked to notion of life-transcending causality (e.g. karma):

— Yes

Notes: The term "karma" tends to be quite rare in the manuscript culture of the Cham Ahiér from the 17th century to the present. The concept does not seem to appear in a dictionary from the early 20th century, or in another dictionary from the 1970s. That said, the principle that ones actions have a direct impact on their legacy in this world, and also on the potential of their otherworldly status remains present.

⤷ Other form of reincarnation in this world:

— No

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

— Yes

⤷ Cremation:

— Yes

⤷ Mummification:

— No

⤷ Interment:

— Yes

Notes: Temporary interment before cremation is common. However, it is important to note that any form of interment is temporary. Cremation is the end result.

⤷ Cannibalism:

— No

⤷ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

— Yes

Notes: Temporary burial does, effectively, dry the remains, due to the nature of them being buried in extremely arid conditions. This is in preparation for cremation.

⤷ Feeding to animals:

— No

⤷ Secondary burial:

— Yes

Notes: After cremation, and remains, such as the skull in particular, might be re-buried,

although this is not necessarily understood as being interred, since the materiality of the corpse is understood to be done away with vis a vis the cremation process.

 ↳ Re-treatment of corpse:
 — No

 ↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :
 — No

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:
— Yes

 ↳ Human sacrifices present:
 — Yes

  ↳ Out-group humans are sacrificed:
  — No

  ↳ In-group humans are sacrificed:
  — Yes
  Notes: There are sati-like practices recorded for royal cremation ceremonies from the 15th century through the 17th century. By the 18th and 19th century there are no widely known instances of this practice. They are not at all present for the laity.

  ↳ Other humans are sacrificed:
  — No

 ↳ Animal co-sacrifices present:
 — Yes
 Notes: Animal sacrifices, such as chickens, goats, and water buffalo are common in all religious ceremonies, depending on the size of the ceremony. By the 19th and 20th century, water buffalo sacrifices become less common, however, the sacrifice of small fowl does seem to become increasingly common, as more families can afford these.

Are grave goods present:
— Yes

 ↳ Personal effects:

— Yes

Notes: Priests might have their texts or other personal effects cremated with them. This was more common for royalty in the past, and is also common for wealthy families in the 20th century.

↳ Valuable items:

— Yes

↳ Significant wealth (e.g. gold, jade, intensely worked objects):

— Yes

↳ Some wealth (some valuable or useful objects interred):

— Yes

↳ Other valuable/precious items interred:

— Yes [specify]: Keep in mind that those items might be part of the cremation process. They therefore can't all be accounted for. In the circumstances of royalty, cloth was also included in the creation of royal "tomb" sites, although there was not a physical body present at the site.

↳ Other grave goods:

— Yes

Notes: Flowers, as well as betel and certain types of decorative leaves are common goods present at the temple-tower complexes. Consequentially, they are also associated with temporary interment and cremation ceremonies.

Are formal burials present:

— No

Notes: There are burials as part of the cremation process in clan affiliated locations.

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

— Yes

↳ A supreme high god is present:

— Yes

Notes: All answers below are dependent on which deity presence is conceived of as the high deity. These are highly subjective. Answers reflect a consideration of all possible answers based upon source material, including anthropological accounts.

The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

— Yes

Notes: The supreme high-god can be ascribed gender qualities, although the interpretation of either being male or female is based on individual beliefs. Some individuals claim that all deities are the same essence and that there is no supreme deity. Others explain that there is a pantheon, with no supreme deity.

The supreme high god is a sky deity:

— Yes

Notes: For example: If the supreme god is related to Ppo Xapajieng, the deity can be understood as associated with the sky. There can be other sky deities as well.

The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

— Yes

Notes: If one venerates Ppo Xapilai, this can be understood as a "god of destruction," such as the way that Shiva is in South Asian Hinduism.

The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

— Yes

Notes: If the individual understands the high-god as a manifestation of one of the historical figures of the historical Champa civilization, such as Ppo Rome, this is the case. It should be noted that this is rare.

The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

— Yes

Notes: This is much more common in historical periods. The concept of the deva-raja or devi-rahni was much more common. This becomes much less common during the 19th century and afterward.

The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites:

— Yes

Notes: Possible to be understood this way, but not necessary in all cases.

The supreme high god has another type of loyalty-connection to elites:

— Yes [specify]: To priests.

The supreme high god is unquestionably good:

— No

Other feature(s) of supreme high god:

— Yes [specify]: The nature of supreme deity presence is complex, because different communities and individuals might understand the high-god to be radically different depending on the source.

The supreme high god has knowledge of this world:

— Yes

The supreme god's knowledge is restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— No

The supreme high god's knowledge is restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

— No

The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted within the sample region:

— No

The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted outside of sample region:

— No

The supreme high god can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

— Yes

The supreme high god can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

— Yes

The supreme high god can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

— Yes

The supreme high god knows your basic character (personal essence):

— Yes

The supreme high god knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

— Yes

⤷ The supreme high god has other knowledge of this world:

—Yes [specify]: Proper actions to take to avoid possible negative outcomes.

⤷ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:
— Yes

⤷ The supreme high god can reward:
— Yes

⤷ The supreme high god can punish:
— Yes

⤷ The supreme high god has indirect causal efficacy in the world:
— Yes

⤷ The supreme high god exhibits positive emotion:
— Yes

⤷ The supreme high god exhibits negative emotion:
— Yes

⤷ The supreme high god possesses hunger:
— No

⤷ Is it permissible to worship supernatural beings other than the high god:
— Yes

⤷ The supreme high god possesses/exhibits some other feature:
—Yes [specify]: Associated with elements, or, animistic qualities.

⤷ The supreme high god communicates with the living:
— Yes

⤷ In waking, everyday life:
— Yes

In dreams:

— Yes

In trance possession:

— Yes

Notes: This is a common performative feature of high-holidays and calendrical rituals. The ritual priestess associated is known as a "Muk Pajau"

Through divination practices:

— Yes

Only through religious specialists:

— Yes

Notes: By some understandings this is the case. It is common for educated individuals and elites to suggest that only priests have access. Laity understandings of dream or trance communication are widespread.

Only through monarch

— No

Other form of communication with living:

— No

Previously human spirits are present:

— Yes

Human spirits can be seen:

— Yes

Human spirits can be physically felt:

— Yes

Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

— Yes

Human spirits' knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— No

↳ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

— No

↳ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

— No

↳ Human spirits can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

— Yes

↳ Human spirit's can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits know your basic character (personal essence):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits have other form(s) of knowledge regarding this world:

— Yes [specify]: Outcomes of decisions regarding political matters or agricultural matters.

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits can reward:

— Yes

Notes: The might be able to give good luck.

→ Human spirits can punish:

— Yes

Notes: They can give bad luck and bestow curses.

→ Human spirits have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

— Yes

→ Human spirits have memory of life:

— Yes

Notes: But not always.

→ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

— Yes

→ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

— Yes

→ Human spirits possess hunger:

— Yes

Notes: However, food must be prepared through some ritual process for consumption. They are particularly favorable toward offerings of betel, tobacco, and alcohol (alak).

→ Human spirits possess/exhibit some other feature:

— Yes [specify]: Ancestor spirits prefer to be invited to return to the household and join clan groups for high holidays dictated by calendar cycles. This is especially common for Katé, and ancestor spirits are invited to join the family for several days of feasting in the home.

→ Human spirits communicate with the living:

— Yes

→ In waking, everyday life:

— Yes

→ In dreams:

— Yes

→ In trance possession:

— Yes

Through divination processes:

— Yes

Only through specialists:

— No

Notes: However communication vis a vis specialists is preferred, because unguided communication can have extremely negative consequences.

Only through monarch:

— No

Communicate with living through other means:

— No

Non-human supernatural beings are present:

— Yes

These supernatural beings can be seen:

— Yes

These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

— Yes

Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

— Yes

Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— No

Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

— Yes

Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

— No

Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:
— No

Non-human supernatural beings have can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):
— Yes

Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):
— Yes

Non-human supernatural beings can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):
— Yes

Non-human supernatural beings knows your basic character (personal essence):
— Yes

Non-human supernatural beings know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):
— Yes

Non-human supernatural begins have other knowledge of this world:
—Yes [specify]: In the case of a special type of bird spirit figure (ciim) they guide spirits to the spirit realm after cremation with special knowledge. Dragon spirits (Inâ Nâgar) understand who should be given prowess (ganreh).

Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:
— Yes

These supernatural beings can reward:
— Yes

These supernatural beings can punish:
— Yes

      ↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

      — Yes

      ↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:

      — Yes

      ↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:

      — Yes

      ↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:

      — Yes

      ↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:

      — Yes [specify]: Depending on the nature of the spirit/supernatural being, they may operate as lesser deities, or as supernatural beings. They are often ascribed specific tasks associated with the care and upkeep of the cosmos and the specific region.

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

— No

Notes: Human beings can transform into spirits, supernatural beings, or deities, upon their death. However, there is no such thing as "god on earth," in this sense. In historical periods, it may have been more common to have "deva-raja" associations. Although the last true deva-raja, Ppo Romé, passed in 1651 CE and was not considered a deity during his lifetime, only after.

↳ Does the religious group possess a pantheon of supernatural beings:

— Yes

      ↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

      — Yes

      Notes: Each clan is associated with a "village" (palei). Today the various palei might be associated with towns or even small cities. Regardless, there is generally one kut site and one danaok site for each palei. There are deities associated with each, tied to the clan. The clans then owe loyalty to the temple-tower complexes based upon the ties of various palei to one another and those sites. All questions below reflect answers with respect to this structure.

      ↳ Organized hierarchically:

      — Yes

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

— Yes

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

— Yes [specify]: Clan association. If one moves from their place of birth, either through vocation or marriage, they still maintain loyalty to the deities associated with that clan, although perhaps less strongly in the case of marriage. Men follow the loyalties of their wife's clan associations.

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

— Yes

↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular:

Prosocial norms are norms that enhance cooperation among members of the group, including obviously "moral" or "ethical" norms, but also extending to norms concerning honouring contracts and oaths, providing hospitality, coming to mutual aid in emergencies, etc.

— Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about taboos:

— Yes

↳ Food:

— Yes

↳ Sacred space(s):

— Yes

↳ Sacred object(s):

— Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about other:

— Yes [specify]: Sexual relations, political loyalties, marriages.

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of coreligionists:

— Yes

Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other religions:

— No

Notes: The may advocate this in historical periods, especially in the 17th to 19th centuries, with respect to the Vietnamese, who are viewed as an invading and colonizing force.

Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other polities:

— No

Supernatural beings care about sex:

— Yes

Adultery:

— Yes

Notes: Although they are quite loose about this one, and occassionally advocate under humorous circumstances for forgiveness, wherein it actually turns out in the end that "nothing happened."

Incest:

— Yes

Notes: Marriage within the same palei is taboo. Incest is punished socially and metaphysically. Laws about incest are more strict than both Canada and the United States. Relations with anyone from the same extended clan network and/or palei may be considered incest.

Other sexual practices:

— Yes [specify]: Specifically those related to the intended inception of a child. Sex with the purpose of pregnancy.

Supernatural beings care about lying:

— Yes

Notes: But sometimes they also lie, lie by omission, or are otherwise misleading.

Supernatural beings care about honouring oaths:

— Yes

Supernatural beings care about laziness:

— Yes

Supernatural beings care about sorcery:

— Yes

Notes: They sometimes encourage sorcery.

Supernatural beings care about non-lethal fighting:

— Yes

Notes: Only if it appears that the fighting may turn lethan and result in relations killing one another or co-religionists killing one another.

Supernatural beings care about shirking risk:

— Yes

Supernatural beings care about disrespecting elders:

— Yes

Supernatural beings care about gossiping:

— No

Notes: Gossip or "jari jaro" is a common feature of sharing knowledge. It is acceptable, and enforces accountability for actions; holding, frankly, a similar role as the freedom of the press eventually comes to assume in more contemporary societies.

Supernatural beings care about property crimes:

— Yes

Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance:

— Yes

Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals:

— Yes

Supernatural beings care about conversion of non-religionists:

— No

Supernatural beings care about economic fairness:

— Yes

Notes: Only if there is some clear measure of injustice, however. They are not concerned with structural justice. Structural inbalance in the economy is equated with balance in the cosmos. Society is hierarchical to maintain balance.

⤷ Supernatural beings care about personal hygiene:

— Yes

Notes: Especially washing properly.

⤷ Supernatural beings care about other:

— Yes [specify]: The survival of the culture (ilimo).

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

— Yes

⤷ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

— Yes

⤷ Done only by high god:

— No

⤷ Done by many supernatural beings:

— Yes

⤷ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

— Yes

⤷ Done by other entities or through other means [specify]

— No

⤷ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

— Yes

⤷ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

— Yes

⤷ Done to enforce group norms:

— Yes

⤷ Done to inhibit selfishness:

— Yes

> Done randomly:

— Yes

Notes: Although, often, random punishments turn out to be not so random in the end.

> Other [specify]

— No

> Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

— No

Notes: Can be, but this is extremely rare. Afterlife is existential, neither punishment nor reward, but a combination of the two. Reincarnation is similar.

> Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

— Yes

> Supernatural punishments in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: In popular religious practice, not in elite circles, although, historically, it was more common for elites to think this way too.

> Punishment in this life consists of bad luck:

— Yes

Notes: Extremely common.

> Punishment in this life consists of political failure:

— Yes

Notes: EG.: Ppo Romé doesn't listen to advisors, and looses not only control of the polity to the Vietnamese, but eventually dies imprisoned by the Vietnamese.

> Punishment in this life consists of defeat in battle:

— Yes

> Punishment in this life consists of crop failure or bad weather:

— Yes

> Punishment in this life consists of disaster on journeys.

— Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of mild sensory displeasure:

— Yes

Notes: Headaches might be signs of being haunted by a spirit, for example.

↳ Punishment in this life consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

— No

↳ Punishment in this life consists of sickness or illness:

— Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of impaired reproduction:

— Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck visited on descendants:

— Yes

↳ Other [specify]

— No

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

— Yes

↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known:

— Yes

↳ Done only by high god:

— No

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

— Yes

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

— Yes

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

— Yes

> Done to enforce group norms:
>
> — Yes

> Done to inhibit selfishness⬚:
>
> — Yes

> Done randomly:
>
> — Yes

> Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife:
>
> — Yes

> > Supernatural rewards in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:
> >
> > — No
> >
> > Notes: The may include transformation into a guardian spirit or deity. However, this is much less common than one might wish.

> > Reward in the afterlife consists of mild sensory pleasure:
> >
> > — No

> > Reward in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory pleasure:
> >
> > — No

> > Reward in the afterlife consists of eternal happiness:
> >
> > — No

> > Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as a superior life form:
> >
> > — Yes

> > Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in a superior realm:
> >
> > — Yes

> > Other [specify]
> >
> > — No

> Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime:

— Yes

→ Supernatural rewards in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: More broadly can be tied to the bestowing of either luck or prowess (ganreh)

→ Reward in this life consists of good luck:

— Yes

Notes: This is extremely common.

→ Reward in this life consists of political success or power:

— Yes

→ Reward in this life consists of success in battle:

— Yes

→ Reward in this life consists of peace or social stability:

— Yes

→ Reward in this life consists of healthy crops or good weather:

— Yes

→ Reward in this life consists of success on journeys:

— Yes

→ Reward in this life consists of mild sensory pleasure:

— Yes

→ Reward in this life consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

— Yes

→ Reward in this life consists of enhanced health:

— Yes

→ Reward in this life consists of enhanced reproductive success:

— Yes

   ↳ Reward in this life consists of fortune visited on descendants:
　—Yes

   ↳ Other [specify]
　—No

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

—No

Is an eschatology present:

—No

> Notes: There is a vague sense that Ppo Xapilai could destroy the universe, at the end of time. However, this is neither widely discussed, nor particularly central.

Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

—Yes

> Notes: These are prescribed in accordance with "Adat Cam," which is a form of religio-cum-legal practice of self-governance for matters domestic and communal.

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

—No

> Notes: Convention is moral. Moral balance requires the maintence of all matters in accordance with conventional norms.

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

—No

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

—Yes

 ↳ Monogamy (males):

— No

 Notes: But monogamy is valued.

 ↳ Monogamy (females):

— No

 Notes: see above.

 ↳ Other sexual constraints (males):

— Yes

 Notes: Age of consent, time of practice.

 ↳ Other sexual constraints (females):

— Yes

 Notes: Age of consent, time of practice.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

— No

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

— Yes

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

— Yes

 Notes: One should not eat beef in accordance with prescriptions of "Adat Cam." Water buffalo is acceptable.

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

— No

 Notes: Although ritual tatoos are valued in rare cases.

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

— No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

— No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

— Yes

> To other in-group members:
> — Yes

> To out-groups:
> — No

> Destroyed:
> — Yes
>> Notes: But only very rarely. Generally, they are distributed to the priesthood, sold and/or redistributed.

> Other:
> — No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

— Yes
> Notes: This is most common. Participation is quite time consuming even for rituals that occur only once or twice a year. For high holidays, they can take days. Weddings and funerals can take days.

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

— No

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

— Yes

Notes: Those prescribed by Adat Cam; although they are not instilled through ritual action in such a formalized way as Buddhist precepts, for example.

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

— No

Notes: It doesn't require it; however, given the nature of Vietnamese society, and the long term relationship between the two, members are bound to experience one form of marginalization or another during their lifetimes.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

— Yes

⤷ What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.

— Hours: 168

Notes: Although participation may be much less frequent, there is probably at least one ritual that one participates in once a week. However, the nature of these being "mandated" is highly variable based upon necessity to participate ranked against necessity to provide for ones family and clan.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

I.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

— Yes

⤷ On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:

— Number of participants: 100

Notes: More than this in the largest rituals. Thousands.

⤷ What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to small-scale rituals.

— Average interval [hours]: 4

Notes: During a ritual holiday. There are cycles of every four or so hours of prescribed rituals.

⤷ Are there orthodoxy checks:

Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of

governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.

— Yes

Notes: They are led by a preisthood.

⮡ Are there orthopraxy checks:

Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

— Yes

Notes: See above.

⮡ Does participation entail synchronic practices:

— Yes

Notes: Especially with regard to ritual language, although laity rarely know more than a few lines of prayers.

⮡ Is there use of intoxicants:

— Yes

Notes: Alcohol (alak) is common, as is use of tobacco.

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

— Yes

⮡ Tattoos/scarification:

— Yes

⮡ Circumcision:

— No

⮡ Food taboos:

— Yes

Notes: One does not consume beef.

⮡ Hair:

— Yes

Notes: Traditionally men wear long hair. This became less common in the 20th century and 21st century. Women tend to wear shawls to cover their hair, especially during ritual actions.

Men also wear forms of turbans/headwraps/headbands, depending on age and level of devotion. Dreadlocks are occasionally present, after the form of South Asian sadhus, but rare.

↳ Dress:

— Yes

Notes: In addition to above: Men tend to wear white and red.

↳ Ornaments:

— Yes

Notes: Earrings, necklaces, and other jewelry is common. There is a common ring that is specific to the Cham community.

↳ Archaic ritual language:

— Yes

Notes: Localized adaptation of Sanskrit terms is common.

↳ Other:

— Field doesn't know

Notes: There is ongoing research in this area.

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

— Yes

↳ Fictive kinship terminology universal:

— Yes

↳ Fictive kinship terminology widespread:

— Yes

↳ Fictive kinship terminology employed but uncommon:

— No

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

— An empire

Notes: Formally part of an empire, then a state/kingdom, and then a principality. Affiliation is based upon clan structures that were associated with principalities within the stat/kingdom and empire structure. Only the clan structures remain after the 19th century, with the royalty remaining nominally and symbolically, due to Vietnamese conquest.

Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

— Yes

Notes: Affiliated with temple structures.

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Vietnamese state structures as of the 20th century. Famine is rare. Widespread poverty is more common.

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

— Yes

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Yes, although in the 19th and 20th century there were reports of discrimination against this group by the Vietnamese, restricting institutional access. Those reports were also common in the 21st century. Complaints against individual Vietnamese administrators of bias against this group are common.

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

— Yes

Notes: Folded into ritual and communitarian practices, as part of the social fabric. Not state affiliated.

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Yes, there is universal basic healthcare in Vietnam. Issues persist with discrimination or perception thereof in medical practices, however.

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

— Yes

> Is formal education restricted to religious professionals:
>
> — Yes

> Is such education open to both males and females:
>
> — Yes
>> Notes: But roles are restricted.

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

— Yes

> Is extra-religious education open to both males and females:
>
> — Yes
>> Notes: Vietnam has universal basic education after 1975. Basic literacy and achievement are extremely high. Some issues of complaints of discrimination in secondary and post-secondary education become common in the 20th century and persist in the 21st century.

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherent's interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

— Yes

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

— Yes
> Notes: With Vietnamese officials.

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

— Yes
> Notes: In the sense that large rituals are public and there is a communal atmosphere are sharing food and production.

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Notes: There are scant humanitarian and poverty alleviation efforts in this area. Such efforts are more common in cities and extremely rural areas in Vietnam. Semi-urban and sub-urban zones have not been the focus of NGOs, leading to some substantial neglect throughout the latter half of the twentieth and first part of the 21st century.

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

— Yes

Notes: Communal and state efforts were merged. Under the Republic of Vietnam (1955 - 1975) Japanese development teams were involved in improving irrigation canals and dams in the region. Traditionally, these had been built by the community, although there were some Vietnamese and French led efforts in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the 21st century, development has been predominantly community driven, through international connections.

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: See above.

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

— No

Notes: Communal sharing of private transportation was extremely common through the use of cattle and water buffalo-drawn carts in the past, as well as horses. With the introduction of the bicycle, sharing of bicycles became common. With the introduction of the motorbike, especially affordable Honda bikes, motorbikes became defacto public transportation. While in other parts of Vietnam motorbike taxis charge fees, in Cham communities, close bonds ensure free transportation to those in need.

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: There are private bus coaches that run between major cities. The use of sleeper buses became common in the 1990s. There are major train stations along the coast for a train that was introduced in the 20th century. There is no access to air transportation unless one travels much further northward or southward, although the Vietnamese military does have an air base outside of Phan Rang, Ninh Thuận province that had been previously run by the Republic of Vietnam (1955 - 1975) and the Americans (1960s - 1973) as well as the French (1920s - 1954).

Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

— Yes

Notes: Donations during religious ceremonies are so common and so strongly encouraged that they may as well be considered tithes. However, the attitude is, more often than not, that those who donate

are happy to do so.

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

—Yes

Notes: Cham sources in historical settings and in more contemporary settings often bemoan the taxes (paje) that the Vietnamese levy as an undo burden, since they do not go to benefit Cham communities.

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

—No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

—Yes

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

—Yes

Notes: In communal and local matters, priests and elders may serve as a de facto judiciary.

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

—Yes

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

—Yes

Notes: However, all forms of punishment in an institutional fashion were gradually taken over by Vietnamese authorities under the Nguyễn from the 18th through the 19th centuries. Later, they were overseen by French colonials, and the Japanese administrators for a brief time, before they were returned to the French, and then returned to the Vietnamese. It is not uncommon for Cham to note the lack of respect for their sovereignty in these matters.

    ↳   Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:

        —Yes

    ↳   Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:

        —Yes

> Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:

— Yes

> Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:

— Yes

> Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:

— Yes

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: The general understanding is that the Nguyễn dynasty (19th - 20th century) was the harshest. French punishments included forced labor, as did later government authorities. It is difficult to assess reports after the 1980s.

> Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:

— Yes

> Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:

— Yes

> Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:

— Yes

> Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:

— Yes

> Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:

— Yes

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

— No

Notes: Adat Cam is not a legal code per se. It is more of a series of guidelines dictating ethical practices.

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Nguyễn code, French code, Republic of Vietnam code, American military codes, Vietnamese state codes; depending on the period.

Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

— No

Notes: Not since 1835.

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Nguyễn, French, Japanese, American, Republic of Vietnam, Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Now: Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: See above.

Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

— Yes

⮡ Is use of this distinct written language confined to religious professionals:

— Yes

Notes: There is one script that is a ritual script: Akhar Rik. Akhar Rik is confined to those with ritual knowledge, although some extremely well-educated laity may possess some knowledge of it. Another script, discussed below, is Akhar Thrah.

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Akhar Thrah has been taught in public Cham institutions to promote literacy in targetted efforts since the 20th century. However, funding these efforts is extremely difficult. Some recent funding has been fed into these programs vis a vis UNESCO, the Toyota Foundation, and the British Library.

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Although really only for research purposes. One research institution is the Center for Cham Culture, Phan Rang, Ninh Thuận province.

Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

— Yes

Notes: The calendar: Sakawi Cam, has to versions. One version covers all the communities in Ninh Thuận. One version covers the communities in Bình Thuận. The Sakawi Cam institutionalizes ceremonies and high holidays for both the Cham Ahiér and the Cham Bani (see other entry on the Cham Bani) so that the two communities do not have too many obligations at the same time.

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: There is a legal calendar (Tây lịch: western calendar or dương lịch: solar calendar) which is the state calendar in Vietnam. Vietnamese holidays are subject to the lunar calendar (âm lịch).

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

— Yes

    ⤷ Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:
- Gathering
- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing
- Pastoralism
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

    ⤷ Please characterize the forms/levels of food production [choose all that apply]:
- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing

— Patoralism

— Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards

— Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)