

Introduction to Jars in the Life of Ethnic Groups in the Central Highlands of Vietnam

Luu Hung

Introduction

People throughout Vietnam make use of stoneware jars, but the largest concentration is found in the Central Highlands. Jars have become an important element in the traditional cultures of the indigenous peoples, but they have not yet received enough attention from anthropologists. It may be said that jars form a rich and diverse world within the lives of these people, both tangibly and intangibly.

According to current Vietnamese administrative divisions, the Central Highlands (Tây Nguyên) is composed of five provinces. They are, from north to south, Kon Tum, Gia Lai, Đắk Lắk, Đắk Nông, and Lâm Đồng. The principal indigenous peoples include (in order of size of population as of 1999, from largest to smallest) Jarai, Êđê, Bahnar, Coho, Sedang, Mnong, Ma, Jeh-Trieng, Churu, Rmam, and Brau. These peoples belong to two language families, the Austronesian family (Jarai, Êđê, and Churu) and the Austroasiatic family (other ethnic groups), but their cultures are broadly shared, as is their use of jars.

Jars are varied in types and sizes and are distinguished from each other by the names used for them. Each group has its own terms for jars—for example, *cheb* (Êđê), *jăng* (Mnong), *đrăp* and *jăng* (Ma). The Viet (Kinh) people call jars *ché*, *choé*, *ghè*, or *tó*. However, the term *ché* in the Central Highlands has a broad meaning, including vessel shapes called *chum*, *chính*, or *vò* in Vietnamese.

As yet no one has prepared a systematic classification of jars in the Central Highlands, but the total number of varieties of jars must be great. For example, the types of jars in the collection of the Kon Tum Provincial Museum, originating from communities of various ethnic groups within all five provinces of the Central Highlands, are as follows:

Sedang: 27 types
Jeh-Trieng: 16 types
Jarai: 13 type
Brau: 10 types
Bahnar: 5 types

If one asks villagers in the Central Highlands about jars, they may not recall all the names existing in the past and nowadays in their communities, but they can easily name several dozen varieties together with each jar's distinguishing characteristics. In some cases, the

same type of jar is named differently among different ethnic groups.



Figure 1. Drinking rice wine (Mnong Gar ethnic group).

Every ethnic group in the Central Highlands has a long tradition of using jars, but it is unclear when the practice began. Study of the jars kept in villages of the Central Highlands as well as those in the collections of the five provincial museums and at the Vietnam Museum of Ethnology (VME) in Hanoi shows that the oldest jars (Chinese and Angkorian) date to around the thirteenth century. When French colonial administrators came to the Central Highlands in the second half of the nineteenth century, they observed indigenous people using jars according to their long tradition, which was to prepare and drink rice wine and to offer the wine to the spirits. If we search the transcriptions of the oral epics of ethnic groups living in this area, however, we find that jars were of great importance to them from much earlier.

Following a research trip in the Central Highlands in March 2006 with ceramics specialist Louise Allison Cort and anthropologist Leedom Lefferts, I have tried with their encouragement to write about some aspects of the value and roles of jars in the traditional societies of the Central Highlands. This paper is just a suggestion for research about jars—a fascinating topic—with the hope that scholars will do deeper and more complete work on this unique and attractive element in the culture of the Central Highlands.

Jars as multi-use containers with a close link to the custom of wine drinking

Although jars were introduced into the Central Highlands by outsiders (by the Kinh and the Cham within Vietnam, and from Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and China), they have become an integral part of the traditional culture of the Central Highlands. Even now stoneware jars can be found in each family and in every village. Some highland women who make earthenware cooking pots also produce earthenware jars, but these products are usually few in number and, because of their rough character and poor quality, do not have a large market.

Jars are used to store salt, rice, and water; to keep sour bamboo shoots and preserved animal meat; and to hold cloth and jewelry. In the past, rich families of the Ma people buried their dead in “jar coffins” (*kavăng đrăp*). Using tall jars called *đrăp*, they accommodated the corpse by cutting off portions of the necks and shoulders of two jars and joining them together.

The most common and significant use of jars, however, is as a container in which to make and serve traditional wine. This wine is not distilled, and people drink it directly from the jar through a long, narrow curved bamboo tube (fig. 1). Making the wine is women’s work (fig. 2). The chief ingredient is rice or millet, although nowadays people also make wine from manioc. The yeast for wine is made of rice powder or certain roots and leaves. After the mixture of cooked



Figure 2. Making rice wine (Mnong Gar ethnic group).

grain, yeast, and rice husks is sealed in the jar, it begins to ferment into wine. Each time the jar is used to make wine, it also serves as the container for the wine until it is consumed. This entire process might take weeks, months, or even years. From experience, people know that any jar that has been used to store salt, salted meat, or sour bamboo shoots cannot be used to ferment wine.

In Central Highlands societies, where sense of community is strong and animism plays an important role, each family usually prepares several dozen jars of wine to be used in rituals and to welcome guests. Every year many rituals—whether small or large, regular or intermittent—take place in the lives of each family and community. In all of these ceremonies, wine is necessary to offer to the spirits. Thus, jars are essential possessions for each family, serving as containers for the wine crucial to these rituals.

Various groups in the Central Highlands share the conviction that the quality of the jar affects the quality of the wine. The more ancient and precious the jar, the better the wine. Therefore, valuable wine jars are reserved for use in important ceremonies, and only elderly people or guests may drink from such jars. By contrast, people are not too particular about jars used in minor rituals or to welcome guests on ordinary days, and small jars hold enough for these purposes.

Drinking wine is a cultural feature of the Central Highlands. Occasions when wine is consumed are also occasions for community activities at different levels. Perpetuating traditions of the Central Highlands, villagers show their hospitality toward guests and respect to elderly people and women by offering wine in valuable jars. They not only enjoy the wine but talk openly to with each other, thus promoting shared feelings and strengthening social relations within the village as well as with outsiders.

Jars as property

According to tradition, the most important forms of property accumulated in highland families are bronze gongs, jars, bronze pots, buffalo, and elephants. (Long ago, family servants or slaves were also ranked among these possessions.) The household economy and social standing of the owners are judged through these properties. Those who have many jars and gongs are considered rich and highly respected, and in the past, it was commonly held that the more jars people owned, the richer they were deemed to be. They might own hundreds of jars, including many jars of high value. Conversely, poor people had few jars and hardly any precious ones. In other words, jars reflect a family's property; thus they are used as a criterion to distinguish social-economic standing within a community.

People in highland societies aspire to own many jars and other belongings of the sorts mentioned above. For example, the dream of being rich among the Mnong Rlam is expressed as follows:

Jǎng njông, gông Lao, yo kuǎng

As for jars, *njông* (one kind of ancient and precious jar); gongs, from Laos; elephants, male

For the Êde Bih, the ideal image of a house is:

Chung ndrang, jǎng rǎp

Gongs line up in a long row and jars pile up high

Similarly, the Coho Lat express their wishes as follows:

Mbiu sên ching sên jǎng, prǎng sên sôr sên rpu

When it is rainy, admiring gongs and jars; when it is sunny, admiring pigs and buffaloes

Because of this custom of holding jars in high esteem, which is shared by most peoples in the Central Highlands, the jar is among the types of property to be shown off to the community. In the house, tall jars are lined up in rows along the wall (fig. 3). Small, round jars are commonly found in the southern Central Highlands, and people usually hang them in bamboo frames under the roof and above the rows of larger jars. Many jars are displayed in the “living” space at the head of the long house of the Êde people. The Mnong Rlam also display jars within the living space against the partition, which is considered more important than the interior of the house. According to common custom in the Central Highlands, families display their jars to the community during ceremonies that pay homage to the spirits, using many jars in the rituals and afterwards to treat guests. Every villager will know if a family buys or sells a jar, because they are invited to drink wine and witness the transaction.



Figure 3. Custom of placing jars along the house wall (Êde Kpa ethnic group).

In traditional villages, houses were spaced close together. Because they were constructed from plant materials, fire was a common disaster. Among the Mnong and the Êde, people safeguarded their jars and other precious belongings by digging a cave in which to hide any that could not be kept in the house. Among the Sedang, people hid their jars in the forest, burying them or placing them in small structures (fig. 4).

Believing that the spirit of the dead will live similarly in the other world as it did in this world, family members “share properties,” including jars, with the spirit of the deceased. It is common to find jars in graveyards. Some are buried halfway in the earth, while others are broken off at the base or mouth because jars for the dead must be different from those for living people. In addition, broken jars will not be stolen. Among some ethnic groups, such as the Êde, people make wooden carvings in the shape of jars and attach them to the poles of the offering shelves used during rituals. These jars are also dedicated to the dead. Images of jars are also used for



Figure 4. Jars and gongs hidden in the forest to avoid fire (Sedang ethnic group).



Figure 5. Jar carved on top of a pillar in front of a community house (Jarai ethnic group).

decoration, as seen in carved or painted motifs found on the communal houses of the Bahnar, Jarai, and Katu peoples (fig. 5).

Because jars are valuable property among the ethnic groups in the Central Highlands, they are shared within the family and are passed down as inheritance. In the customary law of the Êde people, jars are mentioned among properties that need to be preserved according to a matrilineal tradition: “Red *tuk* jars, *êbah Mnong* jars, bracelets, beautiful silver and gold bowls and cups are precious properties passed down from rich ancestors, and it is the eldest daughter who has to preserve them” (*Luật tục Ê-đê [Êde Customary Law]* 1996, 188). The customary law of the Jarai regulates:

Tuk jars are possessed by spirits; *hdang* jars are valuable;
Chơbô jars are expensive.
 Bowls, cups, and beeswax
 Are passed down from ancestors
 To descendants
 (*Luật tục Gia-rai [Jarai Customary Law]*, 1999, 115).

Following custom, parents share jars with their children when the offspring marry, but they always keep more jars for the child who stays with them and will take care of them when they get old. This child is usually the youngest in the family. People can also give jars to other kin, often to nephews or to cousins. In some places, jars are also part of the wedding gifts. When the Coho Lat groom goes to his bride’s house, he may receive jars from his parents-in-law or sisters-in-law. In Ma weddings, the groom’s family can give the bride’s family a jar to be kept forever. Among the Mnong people, if the groom does not want to stay in the bride’s house as regulated by tradition, but instead wants to bring his wife to stay in his parent’s house—a practice termed “ransoming his wife”—he must bring many things regulated by law:

There must be enough jars to give to the wife’s family;
 The set of jars to ransom his wife must be complete
 (*Luật tục Mnông [Mnong Customary Law]*, 1998, 364).

Furthermore, it is common in the Mnong Gar group for the groom’s family to present jars as gifts to the bride’s family as well as to the matchmaker. If a jar that has been given away in a wedding later returns to the same family, it is seen as special good luck, as expressed in a saying:

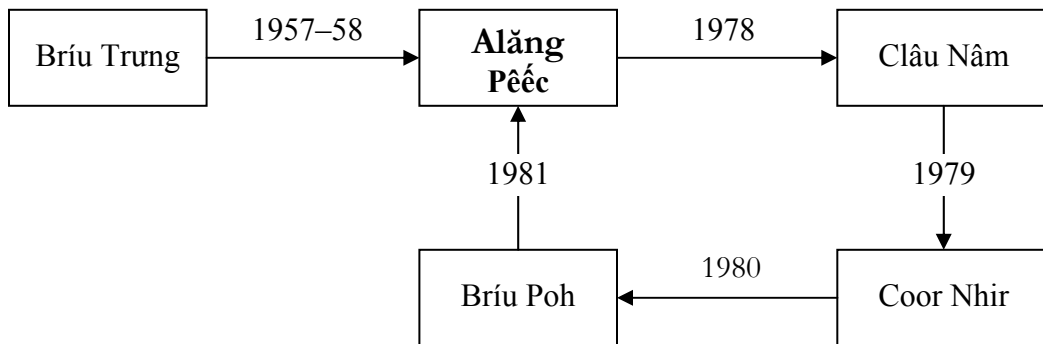
Tăm ntrok nđơn iksăk hăk buich
 The return of the jar is a lucky and happy sign
 (*tăm* = “reciprocal exchange,” *ntrok* = “shifting/taking turn,” *nđơn* = “replace,”
iksăk = “being good,” *hăk buich* = “sleeping well”).

The customs of the Katu people in the mountainous area of Quang Nam province are similar to practices found just to the south in the Central Highlands. The following example

concerns a jar now belonging to Alăng Pêéc's family in Prning village, Lăng commune, Tây Giang district:

- Bríu Trung in Aró village, Lăng commune, remembers only that this jar was bought from Laos. He inherited it from previous generations. In the mid-twentieth century, it was equal in value to a buffalo.
- About 1957–58, Mr. Trung married Mr. Pêéc's sister and the jar was used as a wedding gift. Thereafter, it belonged to Mr. Pêéc's family.
- In 1978 Mr. Pêéc's son married Clâu Nâm's daughter in the same village, and the jar moved from Mr. Pêéc's family to Mr. Nâm's family.
- In 1979 Mr. Nâm's younger brother married Coor Nhir's daughter in the same village, and the jar went from Mr. Nâm's house to Mr. Nhir's house.
- In 1980 Mr. Nhir married Bríu Póh's sister, and the jar was moved from Mr. Nhir's house to Mr. Poh's house.
- In 1981 when Mr. Póh married Alăng Pêéc's older sister, the jar returned to Mr. Pêéc's house after twenty years of traveling through three other families.

The journey of the jar may be illustrated as in the following diagram:



In traditional Central Highlands societies, customary laws also provide for using jars as fines. All ethnic groups in this area respect customary laws, maintaining social life in each village and moderating individual behavior in social relations according to the laws. A person who breaks the law will be judged by the community, and he or she will be required to bear the entire expense of conducting a ritual to pay homage to the spirits and to reimburse the victim. Payment of these fines may include precious types of jars. For example, according to Êde customary laws, regarding the fine for a murderer who is conscious of his action, the law says, “He has to offer a *dué* jar to put at the feet of the dead person, a *bơng* jar to place at the head, as well as some other goods” (*Luật tục Ê-đê [Êde Customary Law]* 1996, 171). The law on stealing cattle or chicken for meat says that “the thief has to repay each head of stolen game with an *ébah* jar” (*Luật tục Ê-đê [Êde Customary Law]* 1996, 208).

According to Mnong customary laws, if a widow conducts a love affair during the mourning period (up to three years after the death of her husband), she will be fined as follows:

She must provide pigs and jars
As offerings for her children and her parents-in-law,
A lot of meat and wine to feast people,
Give jars to console her mother-in-law
(*Luật tục Mnông [Mnong Customary Law]* 1998, 436).

Also according to Mnong custom, if an elephant tamer enters the home of a mourning family or a family that has a baby of less than one year old, the head of the family must conduct a ritual using a rooster, a jar of wine, and a jar to expel bad luck for both the tamer and the elephant. A woman who becomes pregnant before marriage has to give each elephant in the village a small jar and organize a ritual to wish good luck for the animals and for their tamers (Trương 2004, 165, 176).

Value of jars and standards for evaluating

Not only were jars considered to be important possessions among all indigenous people in the Central Highlands, but they were desirable for use in exchanges of goods during the time before money became popular. Exchange of goods through barter prevailed until the middle of the twentieth century, and it was preferred long after that. The quality of a jar is appraised by comparison to other goods of significant value, primarily pigs, cows, buffalos, and gongs, the most valuable of all being elephants. Even today, when jars are bought or sold, people still express the prices in the way they used to for barter exchanges.

Indigenous peoples in the Central Highlands pay special attention to the value of jars, and they have their own systems of evaluating them. More important than shape, color, or size with respect to the preciousness of a jar is its history of inheritance from the ancestors: The older the jar, the more precious it is. The notion of date in this society is relative, considering the absence of writing systems that could have served as the means of keeping written records. People usually refer to the age of a jar in terms of oral family tradition (“The jar was passed down from our ancestors”) or personal memory (“I saw it from the time I was small”). In some places, people say that jars made before the middle of the twentieth century, when money was not popular, are “old,” whereas jars made after the middle of the twentieth century are “new” and were purchased with money.

Value accrues to old jars not simply because they are old, but also because they are good for use. For example, among similar kinds of round jars bought from the Cham people, the one called *jăng jau* is the most expensive for the Ma people because these jars are deemed older, lighter, and stronger than others. Another example comes from the Ma people. Looking at two *đrăp tang* jars (which are large and tall) that are the same size and color, with motifs in turtle shapes, outsiders cannot find any difference between them, but villagers can. One jar is a *đrăp tang kóp*, which has thinner “skin,” and the other one is a *đrăp tang bōng sêkau*, which is thicker walled and harder. Therefore, the second jar is more expensive.

The ears or lugs on a jar are among the elements that are a focus of attention. A jar may have from two to eight ears. The Êde Kpa distinguish jars of the same kind as follows: The eight-ear jar is the most valuable, next is the four-ear jar, then the six-ear jar. If the ears are broken, the value of the jar is diminished dramatically. Sometimes the value is reduced by half, and the jar can be very difficult to sell. People buy a jar in this condition only if they want to complete their collections. In some cases, the manner in which a jar is decorated also affects its value. For example, the tall, slender *jong* jar always bears a motif of dragons, but Mnong Gar people prefer the version in which the dragons follow each other around the jar to that in which they are positioned head to head. In another example, the form of the *tăng sôh* jar that has some scratch motifs on the mouth (*tăng sôh sei brăt*) is more expensive than the one without such motifs (*tăng sôh n̄riêng*).

In traditional societies in the Central Highlands, jars are valued in terms of quantities of cattle or other livestock or goods. Specific regulations govern the values of various animals so that they can be used for exchange. For example, a big elephant is equal to thirty buffalo; a male buffalo is equal to two or three female buffalo; female cows are more valuable than male cows; and a calf is equal to a pig that is four hand spans around (a string is used to measure the diameter of the pig's body behind its front legs, and that length is measured by hand spans). Êde Bih villagers considered a *tang kroat* jar or a *tang brăh* jar to be equal to two buffalo; a *tang pôk* jar equal to a buffalo; a *tuk êba* jar equal to five gongs; a *tuk navi* jar equal to an elephant, and so on. In a Mnong Gar village, we heard that a *jăng rloh* jar is equal to a big elephant; a *jăng jong* jar is equal to two male buffalo or five or six female buffalo; a *jăng tăng sôh sei brăt* jar is equal to a pig of five hand spans; a *jăng rlung chai* jar is equal to a male buffalo; two *jăng dle vang* jars are equal to one elephant, and so on.

Each ethnic community in the Central Highlands has its own favorite jars, which are ranked according to their value. Because they are classified according to traditional custom, there is no official and unified standard. Through interviews with villagers, we learned that, for the Ede people, *tuk* jars are the most expensive; next come *pô* jars, then *tang* jars. For the Mnong Rlam, however, the rank from most to least valuable is as follows: *jông – rloh – rlung – rliêng – bông – lager*. For “round jars” (*jăng đăm*) also used in these communities, the order is: *jăng đăm đră – jăng đăm khul – jăng đăm srai – jăng đăm vâl – jăng đăm tei*. While “round jars” are popular among the Coho, Ma, and Mnong people, they are not highly valued by members of the Mnong Rlam group, who even use them to prepare sour bamboo shoots.

Anthropomorphizing and sacralization of jars

The traditional worldview of the indigenous peoples in the Central Highlands sees things from a human model. The same holds for jars. Jars are humanized in languages of this region. Thus, although the lug of a jar may just take the form of a small boss or a curved loop, in different languages it has the meaning of “ear,” as in a human being's ear. In particular, the molded jar lug in the shape of a unicorn head, with a hole through which a string can be passed, makes people think of a human nose. The Mnong Gar call these jars *tăng môh* (*môh* means “nose hole”). The Êde Bih people classify jars into genders, based on their resemblance to human forms: The female *pô* jar (*pô mniê*) has a bigger belly, while the

male *pô* jar (*pô êkêi*) has a smaller belly. Similarly, *hpa* jars are also subdivided by gender into *hpa mniê* and *hpa êkêi*.

The peoples in the Central Highlands also perceive that there are wife jars and husband jars, or mother jars and child jars, just as in human society. In the Gia Lai Provincial Museum, a *tuk* jar couple is displayed: one is the wife and the other is the husband. The Kon Tum Provincial Museum has a wife *pđông pi* jar and husband *pđông pi* jar of the Jeh-Trieng people.

“Mother and child” jars are precious and rare. The main jar is the “mother,” while the “children” are two or three small jars of the same type affixed to the mother jar’s shoulder. (It is also called a “mother carrying child” jar). Depending on the example, the children jars may be positioned lower or higher than the mother jar’s mouth. They may be connected to the mother jar through holes in their bases so that, when people drink wine from the main jar, water can be poured in through the child jar. Or, they may have no connection with the mother. There are also separate jars that are considered to be mother and child and are simply placed next to each other, as among the Sedang and the Mnong people in the Đak Rlap area. Some big jars are considered mother jars, and jars of smaller sizes are considered their children, as in the case of the Êde Bih *tang piêk amí* (*tang piêk* mother) and *tang piêk anak* (*tang piêk* child).

In Central Highlands society, jars have value through use, but they also embody symbolic values that reflect the worldviews of their users. According to the Mnong Gar, a round jar (*jàng dâm*) symbolizes a woman. This jar is used, therefore, in the ceremony of giving a name to a female baby, for which a tall jar cannot be used because it symbolizes a boy or man. For the Êde, big and tall *tang* jars symbolize strength. *Tuk* jars are sacred, and because they are very expensive, people believe that only with the spirits’ permission may they purchase them. These jars are considered sacred by the Jarai people, as shown in their customary law, cited above, that “*tuk* jars are possessed by spirits.”

Old and precious jars are at the same time sacred jars. Like a person, they have a “soul”—called by the Êde *mngăt cheh* (“jar’s soul”). It is also possible for jars to be possessed by supernatural spirits and become sacred. In particular, the sacredness increases dramatically if a person dreams that the jar will come to him. This mysterious reason compels him to buy the jar at any price, and the previous owner of the jar dares not keep it.

Peoples in the Central Highlands have their own customs related to the sacredness of jars. In the Mnong area, it is forbidden to bring a *rlung* jar to the spring to wash it because people believe there will be heavy rain and thunder (Trương Bi 2004, 164). The Mnong Gar do not drape skirts or loincloths over a jar’s mouth. Êde children dare not touch *tuk* jars, and young people dare not drink wine in that jar. Sometimes, if a jar is not in use for making wine, people will put handfuls of rice and some eggs into the jar to “feed” it. If a woman in the family gives birth, the jar is taken into the forest. When an Êde Bih person breaks a precious jar, he or she must conduct a ritual with pigs and wine, then gather the broken pieces in a place in front of the house and make a fence around them. A common tradition in the Central Highlands holds that people hold a ceremony after a jar is purchased or before it is sold. They prepare offerings including some jars of wine and a small pig or a rooster to wish for good luck, then invite villagers to witness the transaction. These ceremonies are called

the “ceremony of welcoming the jar” (*ngà yàng mđi cheh*) and the “ceremony of saying farewell to the jar” (*ngà yàng mtrun cheh*) in the Êde Bih area.

Wine jars play an important role in ceremonies. Big ceremonies require precious jars and complete sets of jars. The Mnong Gar need tall, large *jăng đong* jars to store wine for ceremonies that are accompanied by buffalo sacrifices, for the ceremony of striking up friendships between two men who become brothers or between fathers and sons, for weddings, or for harvest ceremonies. The Êde use a set of seven *tang* jars, and the most important set includes seven *tuk* jars, for rituals that include buffalo sacrifices.¹ In the system of rituals for the self (*ngà yàng aseï mlei*) in the course of every Êde person’s life, and in some places among the Mnong areas, there is a principal governing the numbers of jars and related offerings, as follows (Be Viet Đang et al. 1982, 79–80):

- 3 wine jars, 3 roosters
- 3 wine jars, 1 pig
- 5 wine jars, 1 hog
- 7 wine jars, 1 hog
- 5 wine jars, 1 male cow
- 5 wine jars, 1 buffalo
- 7 wine jars, 1 male buffalo

The position of each type of wine jar in the ritual is strictly predetermined by custom. For the Êde, the wine jar for paying homage to the ancestors is *pô*, and it is placed first in the row of jars. The Êde Bih group follows further classifications: For instance, the first position must be occupied by the *pô mniê* jar in an ancestor worship ceremony, and by the *êkêi* jar in a new rice ritual. It is possible that other groups also have similar customs.

Conclusion

In the many ways suggested above, jars enter into the lives of people in the Central Highlands and become objects of trust, conveying diverse cultural values of the communities that use them. If a “gong culture” is recognized in studies of the Central Highlands societies, then it is reasonable that a “jar culture” should be acknowledged as well. In addition to the information outlined in this paper, many other dimensions could be studied, such as the types of jars, journeys of jars, and traditions of use. It is essential to study them in the context of people’s lives and in close contact with people in the Central Highlands, because jars are important to the life of every villager, from the naming ritual until the funeral. Clearly, through studies about jars, we might understand many things about the indigenous peoples in the Central Highlands.

Translated by Nguyen Thi Thu Huong
Edited by Louise Allison Cort and Margaret B. Bodemer

¹ In a village of the Êde Kpa, villagers named the seven jars in the *tang* set as follows: *lur*, *pôk*, *hla waih*, *arak rái*, *enin*, *brá*, and *piêk*, but they only remembered the names of five jars in a seven-*tuk*-jar set: *ysuêch*, *băng chi*, *kuen*, *bah bih*, and *băng ang*.

References

Be Viet Đang, Chu Thái Sơn, Vũ Thị Hồng, and Vũ Đình Lợi. 1982. *Đại cương về các dân tộc Ê-đê, Mnông ở Đắk Lắk* [General introduction about the Êde and the Mnong in Dak Lak province]. Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Khoa học xã hội [Social Sciences Publishing House].

Luật tục Ê-đê [Ede Customary Law]. 1996. Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị quốc gia [National Political Publishing House].

Ngô Đức Thịnh, ed. 1998. *Luật tục Mnông* [Mnong Customary Law]. Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị quốc gia [National Political Publishing House].

Phan Đăng Nhật, ed. 1999. *Luật tục Gia-rai* [Jarai Customary Law]. Plei Ku: Sở Văn hoá – Thông tin tỉnh Gia Lai xuất bản [Department of Culture and Information, Gia Lai province].

Trương Bi, ed. *Nghi lễ cổ truyền của đồng bào Mnông* [Traditional rituals of the Mnong people]. 2004. Dak Lak: Sở Văn hoá – Thông tin tỉnh Đắk Lắk xuất bản [Department of Culture and Information, Dak Lak province].