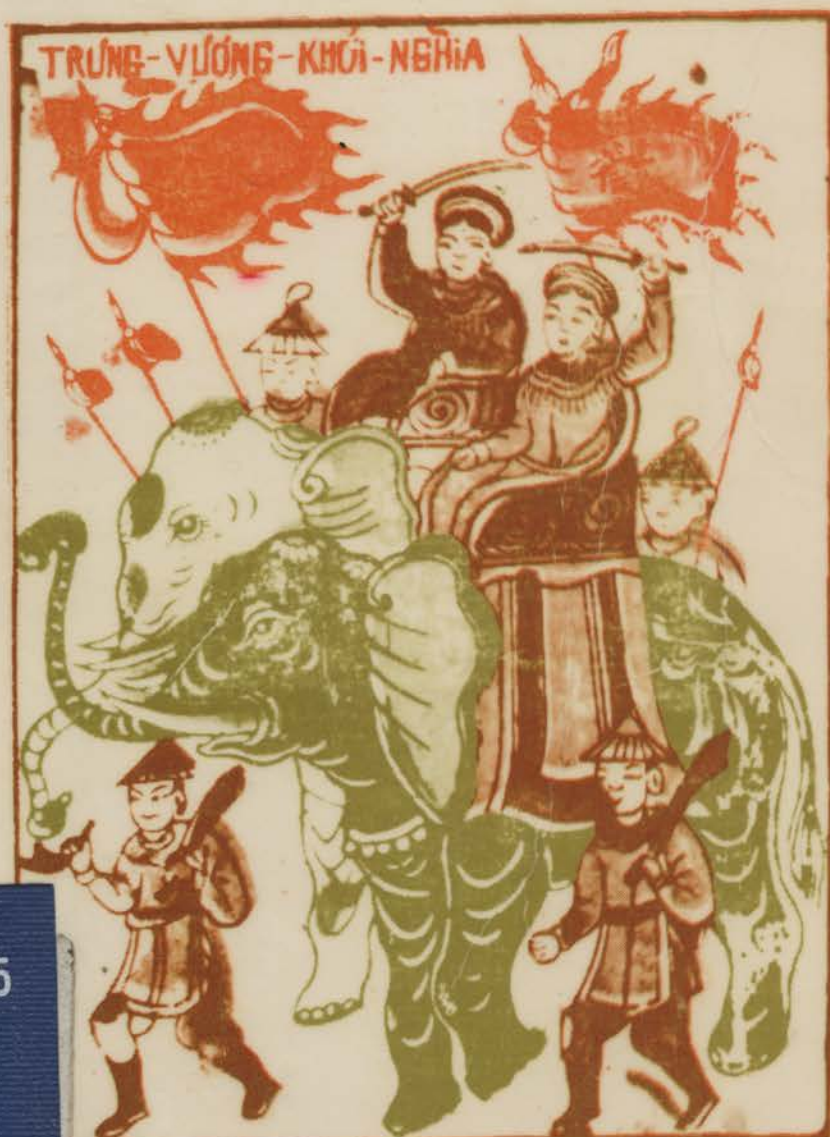


# Chinese colonisation of Northern Vietnam

Administrative geography and political  
development in the Tongking Delta,  
first to sixth centuries A.D.

Jennifer Holmgren



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## Preface

In 111 B.C., Emperor Wu of Former Han conquered the Kingdom of Nan-yüeh in present-day Kwangtung Province, south China, thereby extending the limits of the Chinese empire to the Red River Delta of northern Vietnam and the coastal plains to its south. Three commandery administrations were established in this newly conquered zone. They were Chiao-chih, Chiu-chen, and Jih-nan. Chiao-chih Commandery controlled Chinese interests in the Red River or Tongking Delta (Map I:1).

This work covers the administrative, social, and political history of the first five hundred and fifty years of Chinese occupation in the Red River Delta of northern Vietnam. It attempts to ascertain which regions of the delta were first settled by Chinese colonists, when and how the rest of the delta lands were opened up, and which eras of Chinese history saw radical change in the local administrative system in Vietnam. An attempt is also made to outline the process of political and cultural accommodation between the Chinese immigrants, their masters in the north, and the natives of the region.

Until now, European, Chinese, and Vietnamese scholars have made very little effort to investigate this period of Sino-Vietnamese history. Apart from the Trưng rebellion in the first century A.D., and that led by the Sino-Vietnamese leader, Lý Bôn, in the sixth, very little is known about the relations between Chinese and Vietnamese during this period of colonial rule. Early this century, several French scholars attempted to pinpoint the locations of Chinese administrative centres in the Red River Delta during the earliest and latest phases of the Chinese occupation. Nothing, however, has been done since then to follow up their work.

Much of the present study therefore is devoted to augmenting these early French works on the administrative geography of Tongking: Chapter II deals with Chinese settlement patterns in the delta during Later Han; Chapter IV, with the political geography of Tongking during the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin; and Chapter VI, with settlement patterns during the period of division between the fourth and sixth centuries. In each of these chapters, an attempt is made to determine the location of prefectural centres in the delta as described in early Chinese geographical texts.

Each chapter on administrative geography is preceded by a discussion of political and social developments in the southern reaches of the Chinese empire during the relevant era. Thus, Chapter I discusses the background to the Trưng rebellion and Ma Yüan's reconquest of the delta in A.D. 43; Chapter III covers the beginnings of Vietnamisation amongst Chinese settlers in Tongking during the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin; while Chapter V continues this discussion for the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D. The study ends with the rebellion against Chinese rule and the proclamation of an independent kingdom in northern Vietnam by the sixth century leader, Lý Bôn.

The basic sources for this period in Vietnam are not works written by Vietnamese scholars, but records compiled under the supervision of Chinese government officials at the northern courts. These sources are the official records for each period of dynastic rule in China. The annals in these works list the names and sometimes the dates of political appointments to Tongking, and summarise major events there which were of concern to the central government in China. Further detail can often be found in the biographies of important individuals who had connections with Tongking, as well as in chapters devoted to a

description of the 'southern barbarians'. The geographical treatises in these works contain important information on the administrative history of Tongking during each dynasty. Separate geographical works were also compiled in China from the sixth century A.D. onwards.

The conclusions drawn from such sources are limited. The Chinese histories were primarily records of administration, written by Chinese officials for other officials and the possible instruction of future monarchs. They thus contain little direct information on matters of no consequence to the central authorities in China. Interest in peoples on the outer fringes of the empire was confined to issues of law and order, taxation, and, occasionally, trade. Vietnamese works, when they first appeared in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, tended to adopt wholesale the material and limitations of the earlier Chinese sources.

In this study, the Wade-Giles system of romanisation is used for ancient place names, both personal and place, in both China and Vietnam. Personal names are given in the modern Vietnamese latinised script only where common usage dictates - for example, Trưng Sisters and Lý Bôn. Modern place names in south China are given in post-office romanisation to distinguish them from ancient names. Chinese characters for personal and place names mentioned in the work can be found in the index. Since Vietnamese scholars generally used the Chinese script until the eighteenth century, the characters in the index apply for both the early Chinese and early Vietnamese works despite the difference in romanisation - for example Cheng and Trưng, Li Pi and Lý Bôn.

I should like to thank Dr Ken Gardiner and Dr Loofs-Wissowa of the Department of Asian Civilizations, Australian

National University for their generous supervision during the initial work on this subject for a Master of Arts degree. I am also indebted to Dr Gardiner, Dr Rafe de Crespigny, and Mr Edmund R. Skrzypczak of the ANU for their very valuable help and advice during preparation of the manuscript for publication. My thanks also to Dr Stephen FitzGerald and Dr John Fincher for their interest and encouragement in publishing the work, and Mrs Tie who typed the text, Mrs Lyon of the Geography Department, ANU, who drew the maps, and to Mr C.P. Tang, who wrote the characters for the bibliography and index.

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## Chinese Dynasties

Chou	1122-249 B.C.
Former Han	206B.C.-A.D.9
Wang Mang's interregnum	A.D. 9-23
Later Han	25-220
Three Kingdoms	221-277
Wei	220-264
Wu	222-277
Shu	221-263
Western Chin	265-313
Period of Division:	
Northern and Southern Dynasties	313-589
Eastern Chin	317-419
Sung	420-477
Southern Ch'i	479-501
Liang	502-556
Ch'en	557-587
Northern Wei	389-532
Sui	589-618
T'ang	618-905

## Chinese and Vietnamese Terms Used

hsien	prefecture	pu	circuit
chou	province	chiang/sông	river
chün	commandery	shan/sôn	mountain

## Abbreviations

## Chinese and Vietnamese Works

ANCL	<i>An-nan chih-lüeh</i> (V. <i>An-nam chí-lược</i> )
CS	<i>Chin-shu</i>
CTS	<i>Chiu T'ang-shu</i>
CTYS	<i>Ch'in-ting yüeh-shih t'ung-chien kang-mu</i> (V. <i>Khâm-định việt-sử thông-giám cường-mục</i> )
ESWSPP	<i>Erh-shih wu-shih pu-pien</i>
HHS	<i>Hou Han-shu</i>
HHSCC	<i>Hou Han-shu chi-chieh</i>
HS	<i>Han-shu</i>
LS	<i>Liang-shu</i>
NCS	<i>Nan Ch'i-shu</i>
SCC	<i>Shui-ching chu</i>
SKC	<i>San-kuo chih</i>
SS	<i>Sui-shu</i>
TCTC	<i>Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien</i>
TKHC	<i>Tung-kuan han-chi</i>
TPHYC	<i>T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi</i>
TYSC	<i>Ta-yüeh shih-chi (wai-chi) ch'uan-shu</i> (V. <i>Đại-việt sử-ký toàn-thủ</i> )
YHCH	<i>Yüan-ho chün-hsien</i>

## Journals

BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BIE	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica</i> (Chung yang yen chiu yüan min tsu hsüeh yen chiu so chi k'an)
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
BSEI	<i>Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Incochinoises</i>
HH	<i>Han-hiue: Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes Sinologiques de Pekin</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JOSA	<i>Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia</i>
JRASMB	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Malayan Branch)</i>
SAA	<i>Soviet Anthropology and Archeology</i>
TP	<i>T'oung Pao</i>

## Miscellaneous

Ch.	Chinese
c-c	Chiao-chih Commandery
h-c	Hsin-ch'ang Commandery
HFHD	<i>The History of the Former Han Dynasty</i> , by Dubs
RGH	<i>Records of the Grand Historian</i> , by Watson
RHD	'The Restoration of the Han Dynasty', by Bielenstein
V.	Vietnamese
w-p	Wu-p'ing Commandery



## Maps, Diagrams and Tables

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## CHAPTER I

### The Foundations of Sinicisation (A.D. 1-43): the Trưng Rebellion and Its Aftermath

The beginning of Later Han (A.D. 25-220) saw a new attitude towards the aboriginal peoples of south China and northern Vietnam. Until this time, non-Chinese groups in the south had been more or less left to themselves. Provided that the few Chinese settlers and officials in these areas were left in peace and that tribal leaders paid nominal homage to the central court, the administration of native areas was entirely in the hands of native chieftains. Thus, although there was some barbarization of Chinese settlers in the south during Former Han,<sup>1</sup> there is no evidence of sinicisation among non-Chinese peoples. The policy of non-interference in the affairs of the barbarians was adopted by both central and local authorities. The position adopted by the central court meant in fact that local Chinese authorities were free to deal with the native peoples as they saw fit, and until the period of Wang Mang's reign (A.D. 9-23), their attitude seems to have been one of laissez-faire. This was not unlike the early policy of the central government towards provincial

---

<sup>1</sup> On Chao T'ao and the kingdom of Nan-yüeh in Kuangtung during the Ch'in and early Han, see de Crespigny, *The Chinese Empire in the South*, pp. 50-2; Maurice Verdeille, 'Anciennes Relations de la Province de Canton avec l'Empire Chinois', pp. 114-15; Burton Watson, *RGH*, II, 239-50; Li Cheng-fu, *Chün-hsien shih-tai chih an-nan*, pp. 1-19.

administration.<sup>2</sup>

The change in attitude did not come about through changes in central policy. It was more the result of a sudden increase in the number and type of Chinese immigrant arriving in the south after the end of Former Han. The relative stability of the south during the last chaotic years of the Wang Mang era resulted in an influx of Chinese settlers into the southerly regions of the empire, disturbing the equilibrium between Chinese and barbarian. The unsettling of Sino-barbarian relations led to an increased demand for assistance from local Chinese officials in settling the refugees. Such aid, when given, tended to create further problems in dealing with the native inhabitants. Moreover, the new immigrants affected the social composition of the resident Chinese population, which had previously been composed of poor peasant refugees and convicts, with a small proportion of political exiles and literati.<sup>3</sup> The increasing numbers of literati families arriving in the south after the end of Former Han led to a change in the laissez-faire attitude formerly taken towards the aboriginal groups in the region.

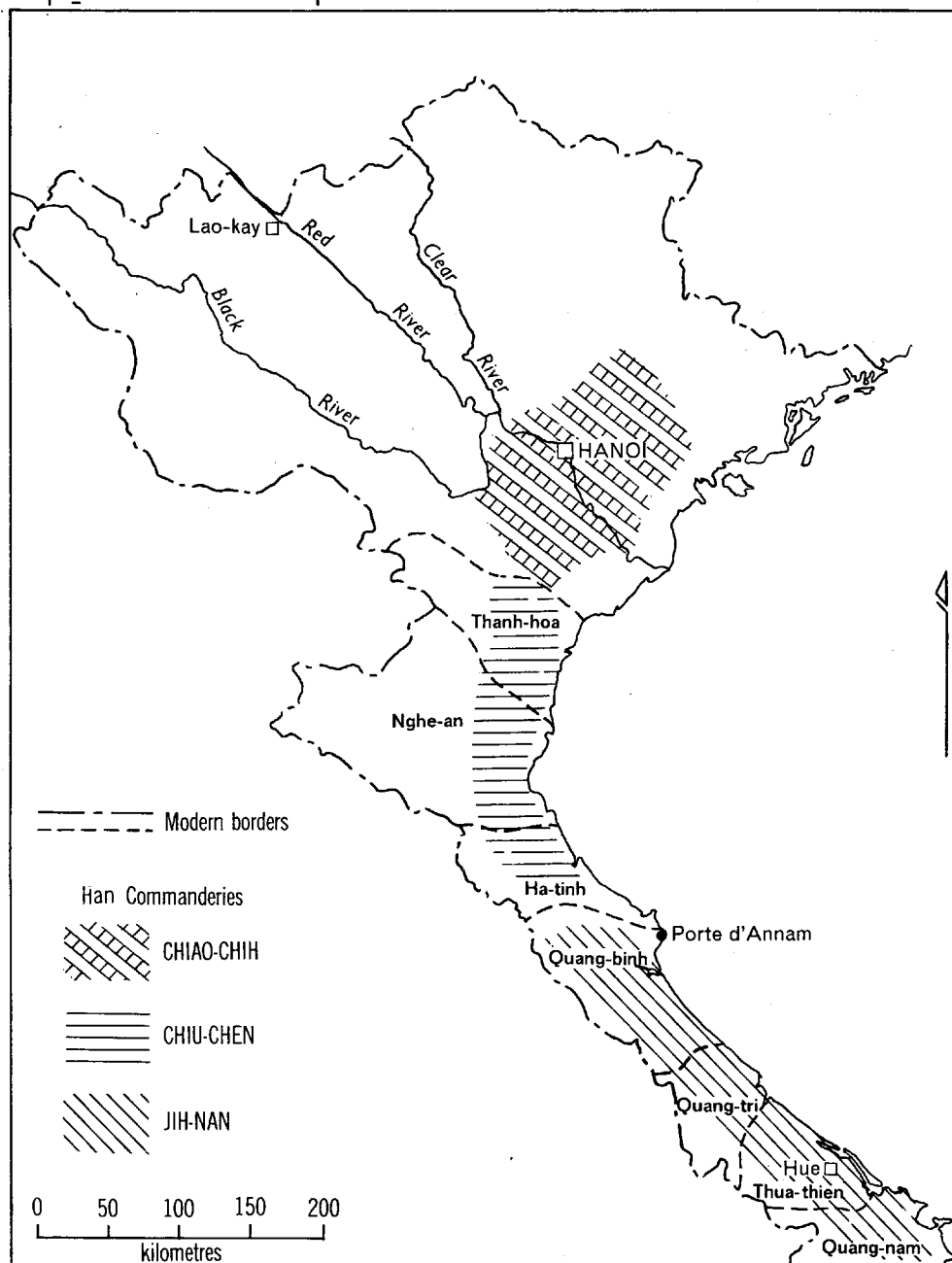
In northern Vietnam, this is the period of rule by the

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<sup>2</sup> Bielenstein, *RHD*, III, 57-63, describes the situation between southern Chinese settlers and non-Chinese groups during Former Han and Wang Mang's reign as one of 'peaceful co-existence'. See also de Crespigny, 'Prefectures and Population', p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *TYSC* 4, 14b; de Crespigny, *The Chinese Empire in the South*, pp. 65-8.

Map I : 1 Sketch Map of Han Commanderies in Vietnam



Grand Administrators Hsi Kuang, Jen Yen, and Su Ting.<sup>4</sup> Hsi Kuang and Jen Yen were contemporaries. Hsi Kuang was sent to Chiao-chih Commandery at the beginning of the reign of Emperor P'ing of Former Han (1 B.C. - A.D. 6). He remained in office throughout the Wang Mang period, and as he submitted to the authority of Liu Hsiu, the founder of Later Han, he kept his appointment as Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih at least until A.D. 30. Su Ting replaced him in A.D. 37.<sup>5</sup> Jen Yen was Grand Administrator of Chiu-chen Commandery to the south of Chiao-chih in the present province of Thanh-hóa in Vietnam (Map I:1).<sup>6</sup>

Traditionally, Su Ting has been made the scapegoat of the Trùng (Ch. Cheng) rebellion. This uprising marked the beginning of a phase of direct military intervention in Vietnam by the central Chinese government, and the beginning

---

<sup>4</sup> A Grand Administrator was the court-appointed official in charge of the civil administration of a commandery. He and his two assistants were responsible for the administration of all prefectures within their particular commandery. Commanderies were grouped into a number of larger units called circuits. See de Crespigny, 'An Outline of the Local Administration of the Later Han Empire', pp. 57-71; and de Crespigny, 'Prefectures and Population', p. 152 n<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Maspero, 'L'Expédition de Ma Yüan', p. 12, dates Hsi Kuang's term of office in Chiao-chih as A.D. 1-25. However, the biography of Ch'en P'eng says that Teng Jang, Shepherd of Chiao Circuit, submitted to Liu Hsiu in A.D. 29 and all the Grand Administrators of the commanderies under Chiao Circuit were retained in office and enfeoffed with a marquisate. (HHS 17/7, 22b-23a). Bielenstein, *RHD*, III, 62, states that these Grand Administrators were soon replaced or dropped out of sight. Therefore it is probable that Hsi Kuang remained Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih until at least A.D. 30.

<sup>6</sup> HHS, 76/66 Biographies of Upright Officials: Jen Yen and Hsi Kuang, 4b-8a.

of sinicisation for the Yüeh leaders in the Tongking delta. The Chinese histories describe Su Ting as cruel and avaricious. Later Vietnamese works elaborate considerably upon these claims.<sup>7</sup> However, the origins of the rebellion probably had little to do with Su Ting, in whose period of rule it took place. The causes of the revolt can be traced back to the influx of northern immigrants into the area towards the end of Wang Mang's reign, and to the interest of local officials like Hsi Kuang and Jen Yen in sinicising the aboriginal population of Tongking.

Traditionally Hsi Kuang and Jen Yen have been praised for their efforts to 'civilise' the peoples of northern Vietnam. To them the ancient Chinese and Vietnamese histories attribute the introduction of Chinese clothing, marriage rites, customs, and morality as well as technical innovations in irrigation and agriculture. A study of each of the items listed under the good works of Jen Yen and Hsi Kuang provides the key to the Trưng rebellion in A.D. 40. HHS says of Hsi Kuang:

He gradually instructed the barbarians in feelings of respect and morality. His reputation in government was like that of Jen Yen. ... The civilisation of Lingnan began with these two men.<sup>8</sup>

Passages relating to Jen Yen are similar:

Yen ordered the casting of agricultural implements, and taught the people land reclamation. Year by year the amount of arable land increased and the common people were provided for. ... [Yen] sent out letters to all dependent prefectures commanding them to have married all men between 20 and 50 years of age and all women

<sup>7</sup> See Bùi Quang-tung, 'Le Soulèvement des Soeurs Tru'ng', pp. 77 and 83.

<sup>8</sup> HHS 76/66, 6b-7a.

between 15 and 40 years. The poor being without betrothal gifts, he ordered all officials to put aside a portion of their salaries to help them. Over 2,000 people were married.<sup>9</sup>

The Account of the Southern Man in *HHS* says:

[Hsi Kuang and Jen Yen] taught the people agriculture, introduced hats and sandals, schools, and correct betrothal and marriage procedures; they instructed the people in feelings of respect and morality.<sup>10</sup>

Statements in *HHS* show that the commandery of Chiu-chen in northern Annam was not as productive as Chiao-chih to its north, and that from time to time Chiu-chen relied on Chiao-chih for food supplies.<sup>11</sup> When *HHS* speaks of the introduction of advanced methods of agriculture during Jen Yen's time, it means that desperate efforts were made to accommodate and provide for the influx of new settlers and refugees fleeing the north at the end of Former Han. Presumably large numbers of refugees arriving in Chiao-chih were also straining the resources of that commandery. The rapidly expanding pearl-fisheries off the coast of Ho-p'u in Kwangtung, and the increasing search for luxury items from Annam, put additional pressure on Chiao-chih as a centre of supply for Ho-p'u, Chiu-chen and the merchant shipping in the far south.<sup>12</sup> The agricultural improvements in Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen were thus aimed at feeding the new immigrant population and supplying coastal shipping, rather than supporting indigent native populations.

<sup>9</sup> *HHS* 76/66, 6a-6b.

<sup>10</sup> *HHS* 86/76 Account of the Southern Man, 9a-9b.

<sup>11</sup> *HHS* 76/66, 6a.

<sup>12</sup> See Edward Schafer, 'The Pearl Fisheries of Ho-p'u', pp. 156-7; Wang Gungwu, 'The Nan-hai Trade', p. 25.



Anthropological and archaeological evidence shows that, before the arrival of the Chinese, Yüeh society had progressed beyond subsistence level and reached the stage where individuals or groups of people could accumulate enough wealth to create a true division of labour within the society and growth of internal and external trade mechanisms.<sup>13</sup> A situation which demanded drastic agricultural improvements to provide for newly arrived Chinese immigrants would necessarily have impaired the wealth and stability of the traditional Yüeh society. In particular it would have affected the power and wealth of the traditional Yüeh aristocracy: the best lands being appropriated by new settlers, with increasing numbers of native peoples conscripted into Chinese reclamation and building projects. Traditional trading patterns would have

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<sup>13</sup> Wolfram Eberhard, *The Local Cultures of South and East China*, p. 435, suggests that the Yüeh economy was based on a wet-field, slash-and-burn agricultural technique as a result of influence from Thai and Yao cultural elements. He also stresses the economic importance of riverways and oceans in the later stages of Yüeh social development. Richard Pearson, 'Dong-son and its Origins', pp. 30-1 and 46 categorises the material features of the immediate pre-Han civilisation in Tongking and northern Annam. All indications again point to a sedentary and stratified society based on wet-field agriculture and trade which managed to support a small leisured aristocracy. Boriskovskii, 'Vietnam in Primeval Times - Chapter VII', pp. 226-39, catalogues late neolithic sites in the Red River delta - sites yielding polished stone axes, hoe tips, wheel-turned and kiln-fired pottery as well as the bones of domesticated animals - all indicating that the peoples of Tongking had long been sedentary agriculturalists with a highly developed pottery technique. Both Pearson and Boriskovskii provide excellent bibliographies for works on Dong-son culture and archaeological materials for northern Vietnam. On Âu Lạc society see Nguyễn Khắc Viện, *Histoire du Vietnam*, pp. 23-4.

been disrupted by the increasing demand for luxury goods and tribute items.<sup>14</sup>

Yüeh agriculture, economy, and social organisation, as described by Eberhard,<sup>15</sup> seems to have had similarities with early Chou society in north China. A parallel can be drawn between changes in the social and political structure of Yüeh society during Later Han, and changes which took place in northern China during the Warring States after the breakdown of Chou rule. The invention of the animal-drawn plough during the Warring States had brought about important agricultural and social changes in Chinese society. Such technological developments were followed by the formation of the bureaucratic and merchant classes which characterised the Han period. However, for the area south of the Yang-tze, the diffusion of these technological innovations was an on-going process even during Later Han. Emigration from the north at the end of Wang Mang's reign accelerated the spread of both Chinese material culture and the philosophical and ethical values of the new literati class. As aboriginal societies in the south came into increasing contact with Chinese culture, their social and political organisations changed from a dependence on kinship formations to a social order based on law enforcement by the more complex and impersonal

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<sup>14</sup> SCC 37, p. 62, describes the traditional Yüeh system of irrigation as utilising the tides. On Chinese water-control management and its history, see Chi Ch'ao-ting, *Key Economic Areas in Chinese History*; de Crespigny, *The Chinese Empire in the South*, pp. 17-19, and also p. 71 for Later Han interest in southern luxury goods.

<sup>15</sup> Eberhard, *Local Cultures*, pp. 432-7; Maspero, 'Le Royaume de Vän-lang', pp. 7-12.

political body known as the Chinese bureaucracy.<sup>16</sup>

Although there is little evidence that Yüeh culture was either matriarchal or matrilinear, it does seem to have differed from Han northern Chinese culture in many ways. The Yüeh aristocracy was probably grouped into a number of matrilocal clans, where women had a social position equal, if not superior, to that of men. There is also some evidence that the Yüeh clans were not as strictly exogamous as the Chinese. The HHS statement about immorality in sexual relations among the natives of Chiu-chen probably refers to practices among the lower social groups where annual fertility rites were still carried out, and marriages were not contracted between a couple until the birth of the first child. These customs probably led to other differences between Yüeh and northern Han culture, such as secundogeniture or the killing of the first-born; practices abhorrent to the northern Chinese literati.<sup>17</sup> The remarks in HHS on marriage reform show that the immigrant literati in Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen commanderies began a deliberate policy of interference with the traditional laws and customs of the Yüeh. Both Jen Yen and Hsi Kuang were apparently leading a movement to hasten the imposition of a set of patrilocal social rules upon societies somewhat different in their approach to marriage and family structure.

were  
matrilocal  
clans  
Δ 1st →  
patrilocal

In the Chinese dynastic history, the setting up of schools is a standard attribute of a good official.<sup>18</sup> (Another is

<sup>16</sup> See de Crespigny, *The Chinese Empire in the South*, pp. 31 and 33-7; Yang Lien-sheng, 'Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty', p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> Eberhard, *Local Cultures*, pp. 112-18, and 134-8.

<sup>18</sup> For the practice of establishing schools in the Former Han dynasty see Dubs, *HFHD*, III, 74-7 and n 7.1-2.

agricultural improvement - particularly for the Han dynasty.) However, any schools established by the Chinese literati in Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen would have been for children of their own ethnic and social group. Such schools would have had very little to do with the natives of the region. Any formal education given to members of the native aristocracy would have added to the turmoil of social and economic change in Yüeh society, and would have led to a generation conflict among the Yüeh leaders. Education of the ordinary Yüeh peasant would have been characterised by forced and mass social change, as in their marriage customs. The educational activities of Hsi Kuang and Jen Yen were designed primarily to place the Chinese in Tongking on an equal cultural footing with their northern counterparts. It was only after the subjugation of the Trưng rebellion by Ma Yüan in A.D. 43 that a new Yüeh aristocracy, with a formal Chinese education, began to emerge.

In contrast to Hsi Kuang and Jen Yen, little is known about Su Ting. TKHC suggests that he was a weak administrator. However, this information comes from a report by the man responsible for the subjugation of the delta three years after the outbreak of the rebellion.<sup>19</sup> The basic annals make no mention of Su Ting and the Account of the Southern Man says only that he tried to restrict the actions of Trưng Trắc (Ch Cheng Ts'e) and that this led to the rebellion.<sup>20</sup> This suggests that the administration inherited by Su Ting was neither militarily nor politically strong enough to stem the rising tide of protest within the Yüeh aristocracy, whose

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<sup>19</sup> TKHC 12/2, 2b.

<sup>20</sup> HHS, 86/76, 9b.

political power, social prestige, and economic resources were being drained away and placed in the hands of new social units, whose members were bound together by factors much more complex than kinship groupings.

Knowledge of the course of the rebellion and its subjugation is very limited. The facts seem to be that Trưng Trắc and her sister, Trưng Nhị (Ch. Cheng Erh), raised a revolt against the Chinese from the prefecture of Mi-ling, where their father was a Lo chieftain. With support from the prefecture of Chu-yüan, the home of their common husband, the sisters marched upon the capital, Lei-lou. Lei-lou was taken, and the sisters set themselves up as rulers with their capital at Mi-ling. The revolt then spread to Chiu-chen, Jih-nan, and Ho-p'u.<sup>21</sup>

In A.D. 41 or 42 Emperor Kuang-wu ordered preparations for the reconquest of Tongking. Ma Yüan, Liu Lung, and Tuan Chih were appointed to end the rebellion.<sup>22</sup> Ma Yüan himself travelled overland, conscripting his army from the southern commanderies of Ching Circuit (see Map III: 8).<sup>23</sup> Arriving

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<sup>21</sup> HHS 86/76, 9b-10a; HHS 24/14 Biography of Ma Yüan, 12a; TCTC 43, pp. 1387-8; SCC 37, p. 62.

<sup>22</sup> HHS 1B, 18b, dates Kuang-wu's order as A.D. 42; TCTC 43, p. 1391, places it in the year 41. Ma Yüan (14 B.C. - A.D. 49), an old comrade in arms of Liu Hsiu, founder of Later Han, was entitled *Fu-p'o Chiang-chün*, General who calms the waves - the same title as had been given Lu Po-te when he was sent to pacify Nan-yüeh in 111 B.C. Liu Lung and Tuan Chih, Ma Yüan's assistants, were given the same titles as Lu Po-te's deputies on that earlier campaign. On the significance of the title *Fu-p'o Chiang-chün*, see M. Kaltenmark, 'Le Dompteur des Flots', pp. 1-20. See also HHS 86/76, 10a; HHS 24/14, 12b; TCTC 43, p. 1391.

<sup>23</sup> HHS 86/76, 10a.

at the port of Ho-p'u on the Kwangtung coast, he followed the coastal road to Chiao-chih Commandery. Then he cut inland, probably for the prefecture of Mi-ling, the centre of the revolt.<sup>24</sup> Up to this point he met with no resistance.

The Chinese histories state that Ma Yüan cut a route through the mountains and forests for 1,000 *li* (a little more than 550 km).<sup>25</sup> This figure cannot be taken literally, but it seems from the reference to mountains and forests that he forced a passage through the Đông Triều Mountains on the north-eastern edge of the delta and followed the Thái-bình River complex to reach Mi-ling. The only place names mentioned in the Chinese records are Hsi-yü, Lang-p'o, and Chin-ch'i.

The armies arrived at Lang-p'o, fought the rebels and defeated them... pursued them as far as Chin-ch'i....<sup>26</sup>

When we were in Lang-p'o and Hsi Yü, before the barbarians had been defeated....<sup>27</sup>

Li Tao-yüan and Hu San-hsing agree that Chin-ch'i was a district in south-western Mi-ling.<sup>28</sup> Lang-p'o refers to the Tiên-du Mountains of Bắc-ninh Province (see Chapter II). At that time, Lang-p'o would have been within Hsi-yü Prefecture, which stretched from the Cầu River to the present-day province of Sơn-tây south of the Red River. The passages quoted above indicate that the Chinese armies followed the Cầu/Cà-lô rivers and then crossed Bắc-ninh Province to reach the

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<sup>24</sup> HHS 24/14, 12b.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, TCTC 43, p. 1392.

<sup>26</sup> HHS 24/14, 12b.

<sup>27</sup> HHS 24/14, 13a; TKHC 12, 2b.

<sup>28</sup> SCC 37, p. 62; TCTC 43, p. 1392 commentary.

Lang-p'o Mountains. The armies of the Trưng sisters advanced to meet them from the south-west of Mi-ling and Chu-yüan. After their defeat the sisters retreated to Chin-ch'i in south-western Mi-ling, where they were caught and executed.<sup>29</sup> Ma Yüan then led an expedition into Chiu-chen Commandery where he subdued the remaining rebels.<sup>30</sup>

Such are the facts of the rebellion as found in Chinese histories, notably in *HHS*. While the Vietnamese historians follow these facts fairly closely, it is interesting to note differences in their arrangement of the material. In the *TYSC*, all the facts relating to Trưng Trắc, as found in Chinese works, are gathered together into an annalistic account and separated from the other material relating to Later Han. This 'Record of Queen Trưng' is divided into three sections corresponding to her three years of rule. Chinese dates appear in small print alongside the main text. A note on a solar eclipse is placed in the second year of Trưng Trắc's reign - (seventeenth year of Chien-wu [A.D. 41]) rather than in the first year.<sup>31</sup>

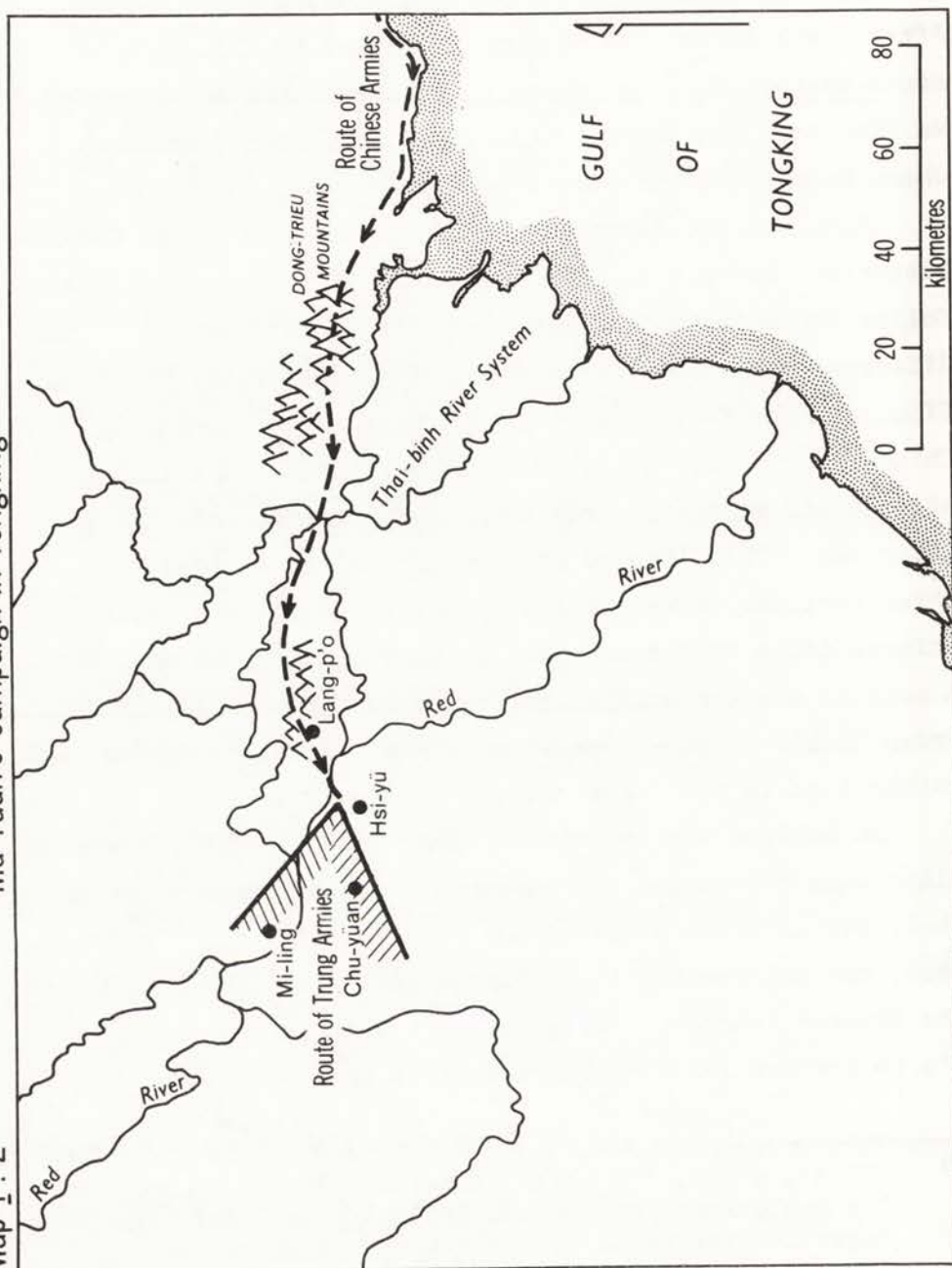
An eclipse was an ominous sign, and presumably Vietnamese historians rearranged the appearance of this omen to match their own interpretation of the Chinese material. In this case, the eclipse had to be placed in the unlucky year when the Emperor Kuang-wu ordered officials in Ch'ang-sha and Ho-p'u to prepare for the attack against Chiao-chih.

<sup>29</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 62; *HHS* 24/14, 12b-13a. See Bùi Quang-tung, 'Le Soulèvement des Soeurs Tru'ng', p. 82, for legends regarding the death of the sisters.

<sup>30</sup> Maspero, 'L'Expédition de Ma Yüan'; pp. 22-7.

<sup>31</sup> *TYSC* 3, 1b-2b.

Map I : 2  
Ma Yüan's Campaign in Tongking





The re-arrangement of the material on the rebellion reflects the great importance of these events for later Vietnamese scholars and historians. For them, the rising of the sisters was seen as the first attempt (and the model for all subsequent attempts) to establish and maintain an independent Vietnamese state in the face of foreign threat. The significance of the A.D. 40 uprising speaks for itself in the last lines of the 'Record of Queen Trưng', and in the concluding paragraph of the *TYSC*:

significance  
of  
Trưng  
Rebellion

Fearing that because their ruler was a woman and would not be able to defeat the enemy, the mob scattered. Once more, a national government collapsed. Li Wen-hsiu (V. Lê Văn-hữu) said: 'Trưng Trắc and Trưng Nhị were women. Chiu-chen, Jih-nan and Ho-p'u, along with sixty-five cities south of the ranges, responded immediately to their call to arms. They created a nation, and took for themselves the title of Queen, as easily as turning their hands. We can see from this that circumstances among our people were at that time favourable enough to permit a centralised ruler. But alas, for more than a thousand years... the men of our country merely bowed their heads and kowtowed as slaves and servants of the men from the north. It can be said that their lack of shame in the face of the two Trưng women was their self-destruction.<sup>32</sup>

The veneration of the two sisters gradually became institutionalised not only by the lower classes of society, but also by the Confucianised bureaucratic classes of Vietnam. However, it would seem from the ease with which Ma Yüan had reconquered the south that the sisters actually had little support from outside the prefectures of Mi-ling and Chu-yüan. What probably occurred was a series of unco-ordinated uprisings led by native feudal leaders who were being slowly deprived of their traditional wealth and power.

32 *ibid.*

Sinicisation had not yet penetrated deeply enough into the native social system, to give these leaders the ambition or the strength to set up a unified state. Stripped of most of their traditional support, none of them could command a large or loyal enough following to establish hegemony over other leaders or to resist the Chinese. The circumstances were not anywhere as favourable to centralised rule as Li Wen-hsiu suggests. It was the need to find a precedent for later uprisings, and the institution of an independent state, that gave rise to this elaboration and veneration of the sisters' exploits.<sup>33</sup>

Ma Yüan is known not only as a soldier/conqueror, but also as an able scholar/administrator. His biography says:

Yüan sent up a memorial saying: "The prefecture of Hsi-yü holds 32,000 families. The distance from its borders to its administrative centres is over 1,000 *li*. I beg permission to divide it into two prefectures by the names of Feng-ch'i and Wang-hai." Permission was granted. Wherever Yüan went, he set up commanderies and prefectures, established fortified barracks and dug irrigation channels in order to benefit the people. In a memorial to the throne, he itemised more than ten items of Yüeh law which contradicted Han law, and he expounded the ancient traditions to the Yüeh people in order to discipline them. From that time on, the Lo/Yüeh followed the ancient customs of General Ma. ... In Chiao-chih, he took away the bronze drums of the Lo/Yüeh, and had them smelted down into the form of a horse.<sup>34</sup>

Vietnamese works have added to the list of Ma Yüan's deeds.

<sup>33</sup> See Bùi Quang-tung, 'Le Soulèvement des Soeurs Tru'ng'; G. Dumoutier, 'Chua-hai-ba, le temple des deux dames, près Hanoi', pp. 155-9; Lê Thành-khôi, *Le Việt-Nam*, pp. 100-1.

<sup>34</sup> HHS 24/14, 14a.

Ma Yüan then erected bronze pillars to indicate the Han border... He also built the city of Hsi-chiang in Feng-ch'i.<sup>35</sup>

Yüan thereupon built walled cities, established hamlets on the well-field system, and built the city of Hsi-chiang in Feng-ch'i ... (Commentary) The *Ta ch'ing yi t'ung chih* says: "Hsi-chiang city was in Wang-hai in An-lang Prefecture. Yüan pacified Chiao-chih in the Chien-wu era. He built two cities: one in Feng-ch'i and one in Wang-hai."<sup>36</sup>

Thus Ma Yüan continued the administrative policies of his predecessors in government, Jen-yen and Hsi Kuang. He made a conscious and active effort to contact and sinicise the Yüeh of Chiao-chih. In this regard, his most significant act was confiscation and destruction of the bronze drums of the Yüeh chieftains. These drums were power and status symbols for aboriginal chiefs all over southern China. The geographical distribution of the artifacts covers an area which embraced many sub-cultures in the region,<sup>37</sup> and their function was closely connected with government, rain making, fertility rites, decision-making, justice and war. Their construction demanded considerable wealth and economic power and their confiscation by Ma Yüan symbolized stripping the last vestiges of political and economic power from the native leaders. Ma Yüan, as soldier/conqueror and scholar/administrator, completed the process of appropriating for the Chinese state the powers of the Yüeh chiefs over their people.

Significant  
after  
Trung  
Rebellion  
by  
Ma Yüan

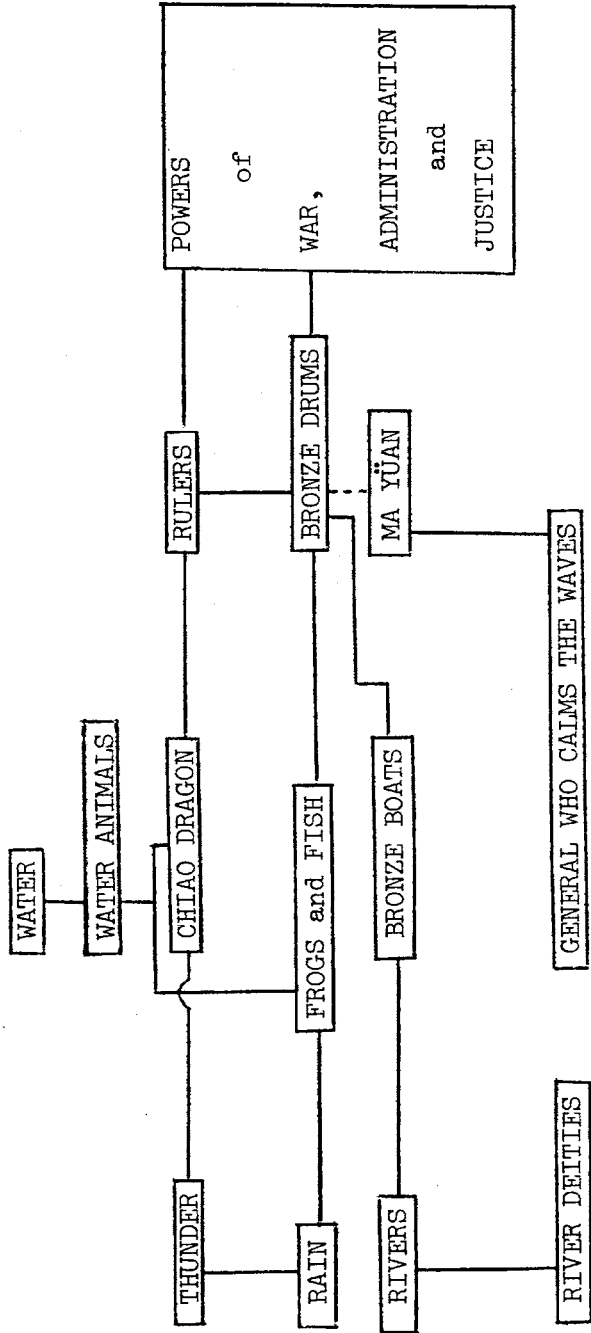
Because Ma Yüan took into his own hands the traditional Yüeh powers of war and administration, he eventually became

<sup>35</sup> TYSC 3, 1b-2b.

<sup>36</sup> CTYS 2, 14b.

<sup>37</sup> See Eberhard, *Local Cultures*, pp. 366-8, and Kaltenmark, 'Le Dompteur des Flots', pp. 22ff., on the geographic distribution of the bronze-drum culture.

DIAGRAM I:1  
Bronze-Drum Culture Chains



known as the original caster and inventor of the bronze drum, the symbol of these powers. Diagrams I:1 and I:2 indicate some of the important themes and cultural links associated with the bronze drum in Yüeh culture.<sup>38</sup>

Diagram I:1 shows that in Yüeh culture the bronze drums were directly associated with war and the power of a ruler. These powers were linked to that of water. This can be seen in the functional use of the drums as instruments of rain-making, in the frog motifs they contain, and in the association of the ruler with thunder and the *chiao* dragon (another water animal).<sup>39</sup> The broken line linking Ma Yüan to the bronze drum, and so to the power of the ruler and to the water-chains, represents an initial historical chain - the confiscation of the drums in A.D. 43.

When the water-animal motif in Diagram I:1 is replaced by the ship - another motif frequently found on the bronze drums - Diagram I:2 results.

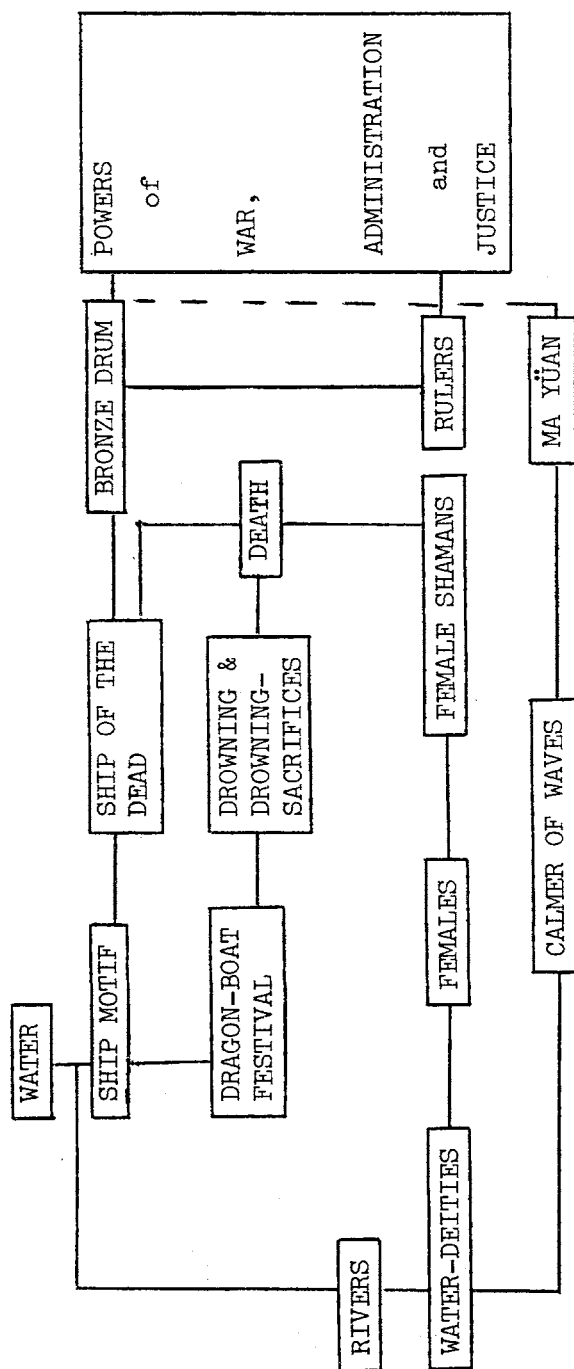
Anthropologists see the ship motif as symbolizing the ship of the dead. Death is linked in many ways with water in Yüeh culture - through drowning, the dragon-boat festivals, and drowning-sacrifices to river deities. These chains bring us to the female element in Yüeh culture: all early Yüeh water deities were female, and shamans, associated with death, were also female and very often connected with water cults. Thus the two diagrams show a predominance of water and female elements in ancient Yüeh culture, female-water-darkness chains predominating over male-dry-light

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<sup>38</sup> Diagrams I:1 and I:2 are based on Eberhard, *Local Cultures*, pp. 363-74 and 390-406.

<sup>39</sup> On tattooing with water-animal designs, see Nguyễn Khắc Viện, *Histoire du Vietnam*, p. 21.

DIAGRAM I:2  
Bronze-Drum Culture Chains



chains. Ma Yüan, given the title General Who Calms the Waves, was literally a military conqueror of water, and since his victory was also over the female elements in Yüeh society, he finally became known in southern tradition as a river deity himself.

The historical and cultural chains linking Ma Yüan to the female element in Yüeh culture takes us full circle to the beginning of the rebellion and to a study of the feminine element in the origins of the revolt. The Chinese histories state that Shih So (V. Thi Sách), husband of the Trưng sisters, was alive at the time of the rebellion but played little part in its instigation,<sup>40</sup> and that the sisters gathered their armies from their own birthplace, Mi-ling, and established their capital there. This suggests that traditional Yüeh power was feminine, and that the reduction of female power in Yüeh society was one of the key factors in the origin of the revolt. Similarly, Ma Yüan's triumph over the sisters, and his confiscation of the bronze drums, symbols of authority, can be interpreted as a reduction of Yüeh aristocratic power over their own people: in particular, a reduction of female power in Yüeh society.

Trưng  
rebellion  
Yüeh-  
feminine  
power.

The defeat of the Trưng sisters and other native leaders by Ma Yüan began a new, and more intensive era of sinicisation in Tongking. A new prefecture called Feng-ch'i was created in southern Phúc-yên Province to the west of the older prefectural centres in the delta. By the year 270, this prefecture had become a separate commandery subdivided into six units. The administrative centre of Feng-ch'i in the Han period, and that of Wu-p'ing Commandery in the Wu

marks  
new era  
of  
sinification

<sup>40</sup> SCC 37, p. 62.

period (222-277), was at modern Cổ-loa in Động-khê Prefecture, eleven kilometres north of Hanoi. This site had long been an area of strong Yüeh settlement, having served as the ancient centre of the revered king of An-yang. The growing administrative importance of this area after A.D. 43 indicates the increasing administrative control over the Yüeh people by the Chinese after the subjugation of the Trung rebellion.

On the cultural side, A.D. 43 introduces the real beginning of the Sino-Vietnamese era. The final defeat and decimation of the traditional Yüeh leaders meant that sinicisation was no longer retarded by the personal interests of a portion of Yüeh society. A new type of aristocrat was to emerge from this situation and fill the vacuum left by the traditional native aristocracy, a class strongly influenced by Chinese values and philosophies, and to a lesser extent by Indian ideas: a semi-foreign, semi-feudal class, with interests more and more allied with those of the Chinese settlers and petty bureaucracy in Tongking.

admin-  
native  
revol

ultimately  
D  
new  
class  
influenced  
by Chinese  
values  
& philosophies



## CHAPTER II

## Prefectural Centres in Tongking during the Han Period

Since the ancient map of the delta must be described in relation to its modern features, the terms of reference used in this study are those of twentieth century Tongking. The following pages give a brief description of the present features of Tongking which are relevant to a discussion of the location of ancient Chinese prefectural centres in that region.<sup>1</sup>

The geographic and political unit known as Tongking is a quadrilateral shaped area of land 20° to 23°N and 105° to 110°E. Bordered by Laos, Annam, and China, it covers some 116,000 sq. km. The area can be sub-divided into two sharply contrasting regions: a mountainous area of low population density, and a smaller but more heavily populated deltaic plain.

The plain consists of a triangular area of 14,700 sq.km. built up from river sediment and alluvium. The apex of the triangular plain lies at Việt-trĩ where the three main rivers of Tongking, the Red, the Black and the Clear, meet to flow 200 km. through the plain to the gulf of Tongking.

The plain can be sub-divided into three sections of contrasting altitudes. The highest region is only 13-15 m. above sea-level. It lies mainly south of the Red River, but also extends across to the north side to take in the provinces

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<sup>1</sup> The following descriptions of the physical features of the delta (pp. 23-5) are taken from Gourou, *Le Tonkin*, pp. 5-75 and C. Fisher, *South-east Asia : a social, economic and political geography*, pp. 414 and 420.

of Vĩnh-yên and Phúc-yên.<sup>2</sup> The midlands of the delta have an average altitude of 5-6 m. above sea level, and stretch from the Sông Cầu in the north down to the Bamboo Canal in the south and across to the Thái-bình River complex in the east. The other regions of the delta average less than 1 m above sea-level.

For the most part, the delta is flat. The only hills and natural variations in altitude are to be found on its northern edge in Vĩnh-yên, Phúc-yên, and Bắc-ninh provinces, and in the lowest lying regions where groups of limestone hills rise to heights of 100 m. above sea level on the flat alluvial plain.

The rivers of the delta can be grouped into several systems, each one connected with the Red River. To the south of the Red River lies the Hà-đông/Hà-nam river complex. There the provinces of Hà-đông, Hà-nam, and Sơn-tây are enclosed by the Red River, the Phủ-lý Canal in the south, and the Đáy River in the west. Within this enclosure run the Sông Tô-lich and the Sông Nhuê-giang responsible for the drainage of the enclosure. In the Wet season, when Đáy and Phủ-lý become swollen defluents of the Red River, the Sông Tô-lich and Sông Nhuê-giang are the first to flood. Other defluents of the Red River have created similar enclosures in other parts of the delta: for example the Hưng-yên/Hải-dương enclosure formed by the Bắc River, the Bamboo Canal, and the Thái-bình river complex, and the northern enclosure formed by the Cà-lồ/Cầu

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<sup>2</sup> Vĩnh-yên and Phúc-yên provinces have recently been merged with Phú-thọ to form Vĩnh-phụ Province. For recent name changes and mergers in some of the provinces mentioned in this study, see Whitfield's *Historical and Cultural Dictionary of Vietnam*.

and the Bắc rivers. The rivers of the Thái-bình, although connected to the Red via the Câ-lồ, Cầu, Bắc, and Bamboo rivers, can also be regarded as a separate river complex forming a secondary delta within the main one. The apex of the second delta lies near the Seven Pagodas, where the rivers of the Thái-bình meet for a course of about 5 km.

Today, throughout the delta, such rivers and their tributaries are all dyked in an effort to prevent flooding of the plain. At Hanoi, where the city lies on average 5 m. above sea-level, the dykes rise to a height of 13.70 m. above sea-level. The Red River in the wet season regularly carries about 1 kg. of silt per cubic meter. In times of potential flooding, however, the flow past the city of Hanoi can reach as much as 28,000 cubic meters per second, with the weight of silt increasing to as much as 5 kg. per cubic meter. The pressure of this volume of water against the dyke walls, and the rapid build-up of silt in river beds, result in frequent ruptures of the dykes and flooding in many parts of the delta. During the early part of this century, the French recorded dyke ruptures and severe flooding almost every second year. After the floods of 1915, when the enclosure of Hà-đông was completely submerged, the relief map of the delta had to be re-drawn. After each flood it is usually found that the courses of the major rivers have altered, with cones of alluvium indicating the place of rupture in the old river bed. Such cones around Hanoi rise to 7 meters above sea-level.

The fact that the major rivers of the delta constantly alter course through the plain, and that flooding often necessitates redrawing relief maps, means that any attempt to equate the rivers of the past with those of modern Tongking must be made with the utmost care. This applies with still more force when one is dealing with descriptions of Chinese

administrative areas in the ancient geographical texts, particularly since these texts frequently refer to rivers, and to distances by water.

Most Chinese dynastic histories contain a treatise on geography which lists the names of prefectural towns under each major commandery or other provincial unit. For Tongking, *HHS* lists 12 prefectural units under the control of Chiao-chih Commandery : Lung-pien, Lien/Lei-lou,<sup>3</sup> An-ting, Kou-lei, Mi-ling, Ch'ü-yang, Pei-tai, Ch'i-hsü, Chu-yüan, Hsi-yü, Feng-ch'i, Wang-hai.<sup>4</sup>

The concept of commandery and prefecture as administrative units had been developed by the Chinese towards the end of the Chou. Initially, prefecture had referred only to territory taken over from barbarian peoples and ruled directly by the central government. However, by Later Han, the prefectural system had become the rule rather than the exception. The feudal system had been superseded by a system of centrally controlled commanderies and prefectures.<sup>5</sup> According to the census of A.D. 2, presented in *HS* 28A-B, the whole Chinese empire at that time was divided into eighty-three commanderies and twenty kingdoms responsible for the administration of 1,587 prefectural units.<sup>6</sup>

The prefecture usually consisted of clusters of villages and hamlets around a natural unit of farming land. It was

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<sup>3</sup> According to the commentary of Meng K'ang to *HS* 28B, 11a, the character [ 高 ] can also be read *Lien*.

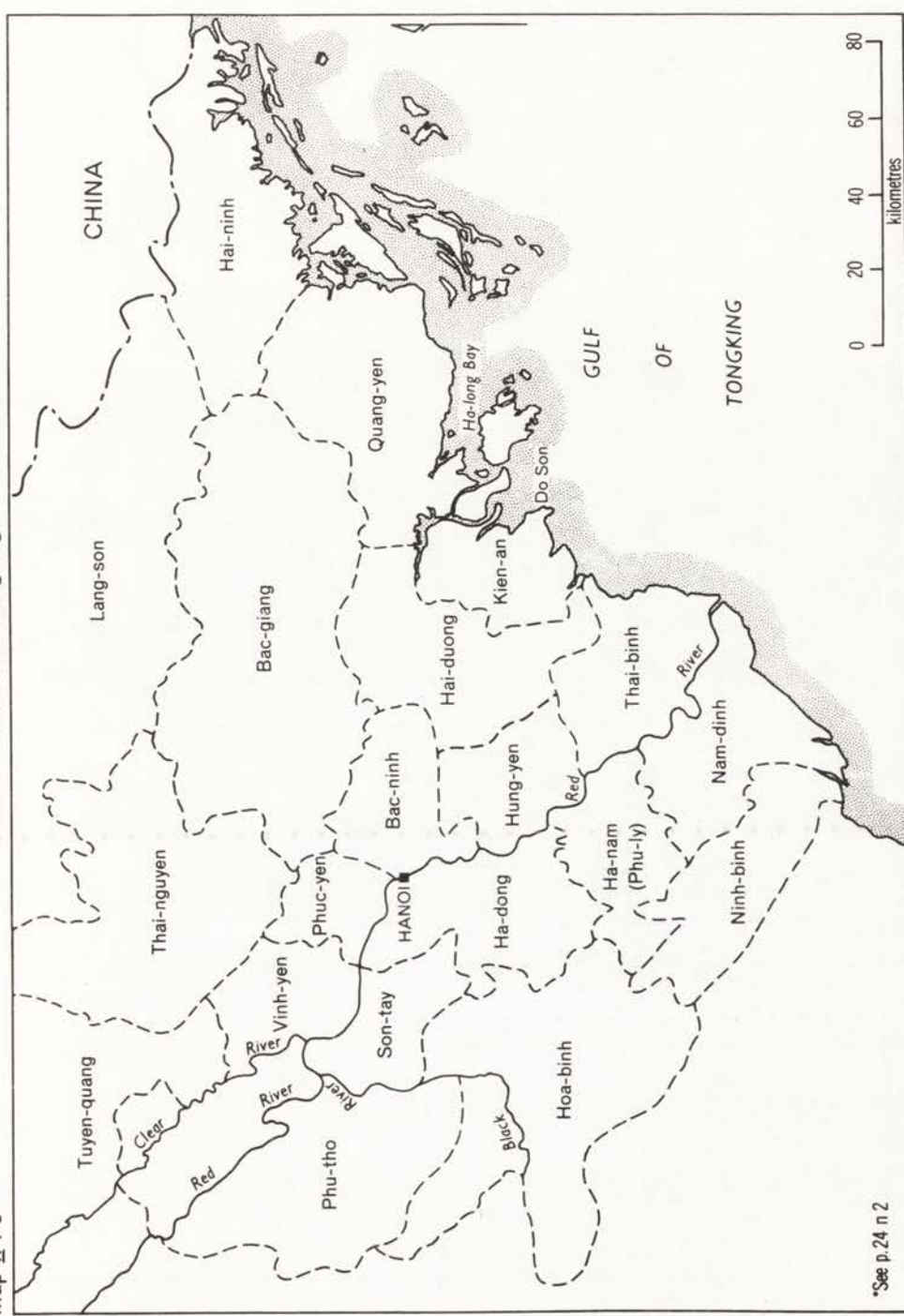
<sup>4</sup> *HHS* 113/23, 31a-31b.

<sup>5</sup> de Crespigny, 'Local Administration', p. 57, 'Prefectures and Population', pp. 146-8.

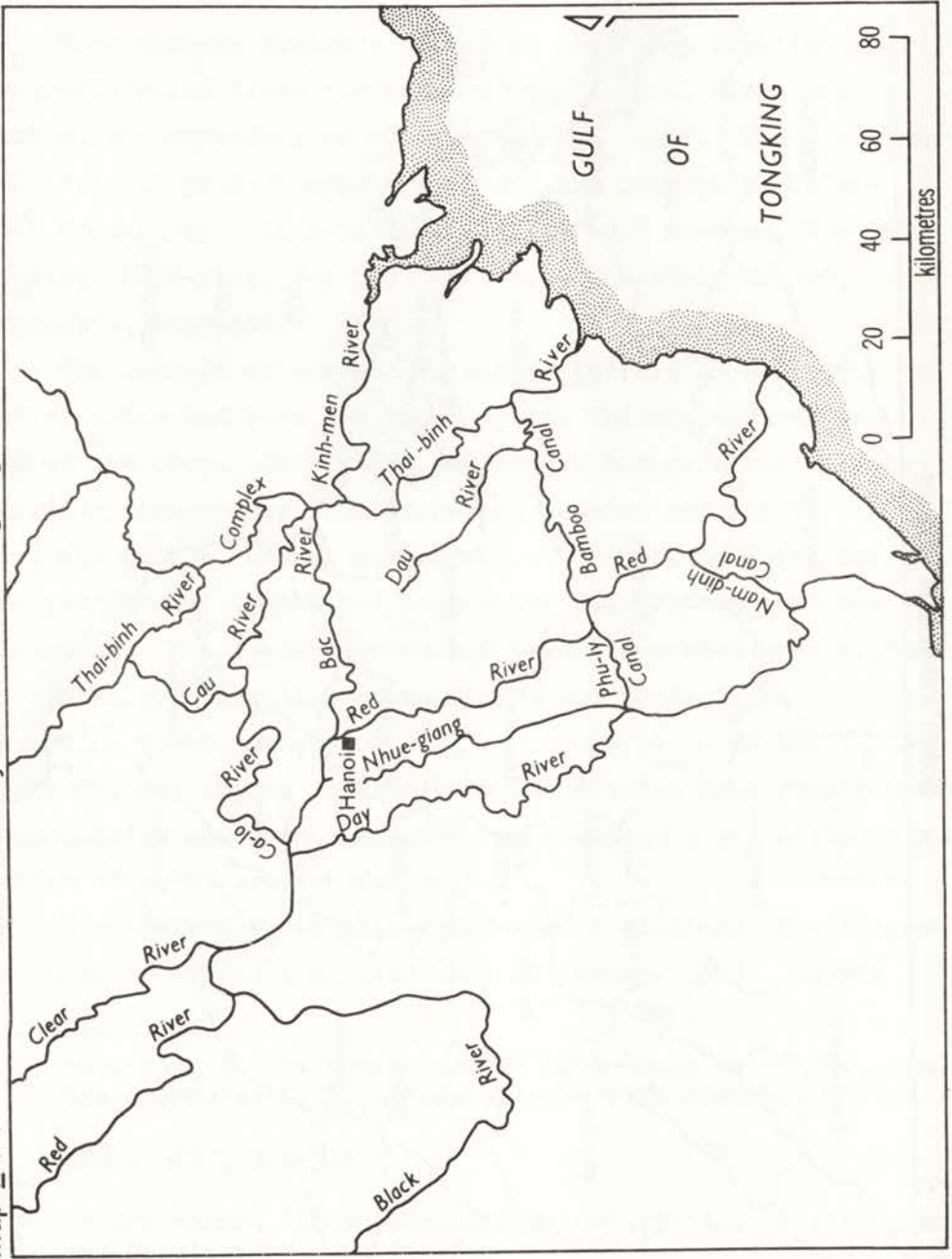
<sup>6</sup> de Crespigny, 'Local Administration', p. 58.

Modern\* Provinces of Tongking

Map II : 3

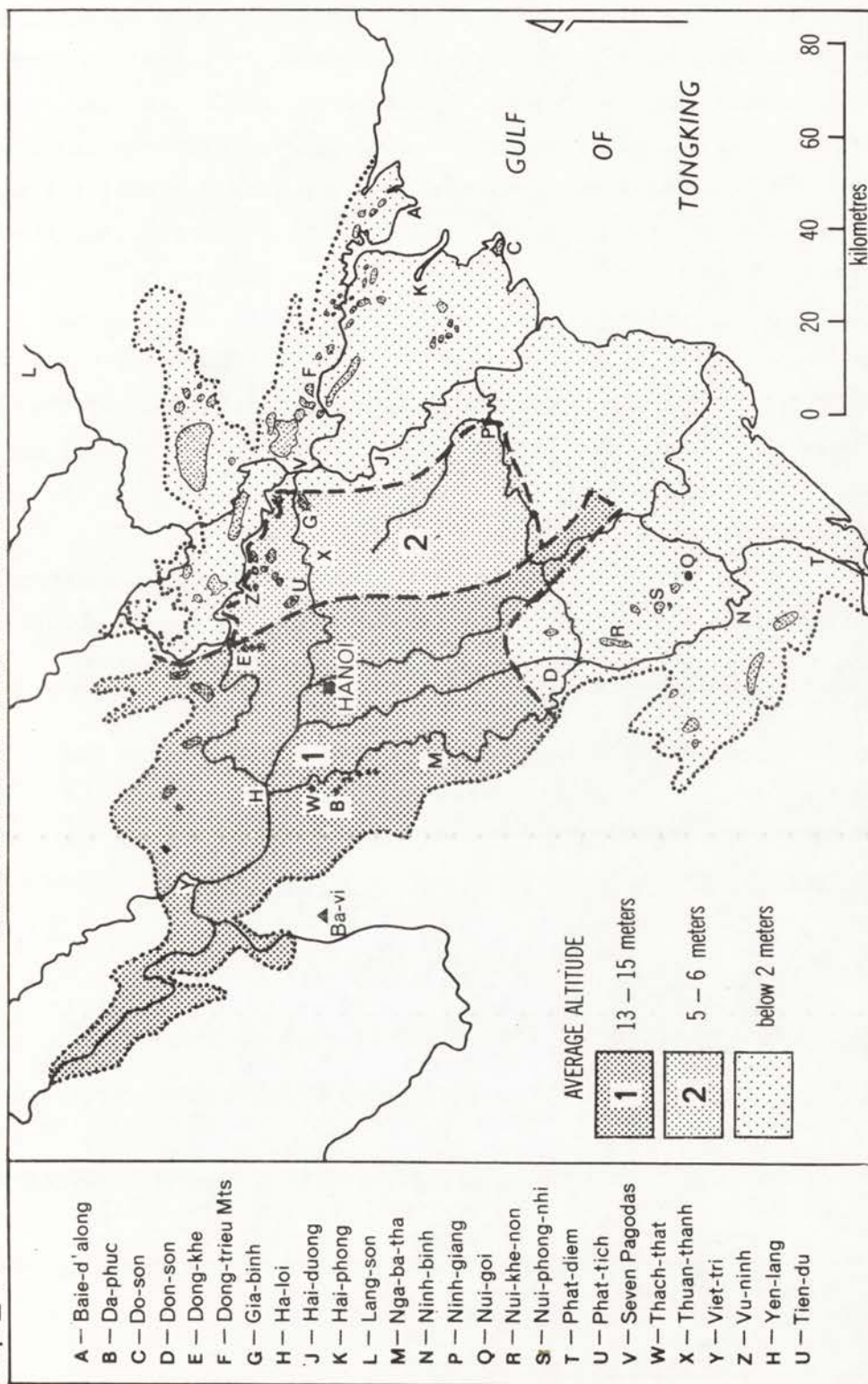


Map II : 4 Main River Systems of the Tongking Delta



Map II : 5

Place Names and Altitudes in the Delta





the smallest administrative unit under the command of central appointees. Large prefectures were headed by a Prefect, and the smaller ones, with populations below 10,000 families, by an official with the lesser title of Chief. Prefects had one civil and one military assistant to help with tax collection, corvée service and the control of banditry - these being the prime reason for the existence of the administration.<sup>7</sup>

Sources which throw some light on the location of the twelve Han prefectural centres in Chiao-chih Commandery are the sixth century *SCC* and two later works - the *YHCH* of the T'ang period and the *TPHYC* of the Northern Sung - as well as the ancient commentaries to the treatises on geography in the dynastic histories.<sup>8</sup>

From a twentieth century viewpoint, these texts sometimes appear vague and inaccurate. For Tongking, knowledge about the area was at best second-hand. Geographically and culturally, the far south was a relatively unimportant outpost, and as such it warranted less attention than the more central and populous regions of the empire. For the Han period, the time lag between the establishment of the

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<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> *SCC* was written by Li Tao-yüan of the Northern Wei. It is not known whether an earlier work named *Shui-ching* actually existed. *YHCH* was presented to T'ang Hsien-tsung by Li Chi-fu in 812 or 814. *TPHYC* is a geography of the Sung empire for the period 976-84. However, since Vietnam had become independent from China in the early part of the tenth century, it seems that the records relating to Tongking refer to a period somewhat earlier than 976. The text of *TPHYC* is very similar to the sections in the Treatise of Geography in *CTS* 41 referring to Tongking. The *CTS* material was drawn up from documents based on the census of 742.



prefectural centres in Tongking and the compilation of the earliest geographical texts meant that occasionally the authors mistakenly assumed that an old Han area bearing the same name as a particular area in their own time was in fact the same region. The fact that new centres were sometimes given the names of earlier centres was not always fully appreciated.

For the modern reader, the danger in relying too heavily on descriptions of rivers in these texts has already been pointed out. In addition, it should be noted that what in reality might have been one river, was sometimes seen by the Chinese as a series of separate rivers and thus given different names. Conversely, what was sometimes seen as one river might have been a series of unconnected rivers. Fortunately, our texts also refer to mountains and groups of hills in their descriptions of the ancient prefectural seats, and these references have less of the pitfalls associated with descriptions of rivers. The stability of the hill as a landmark has often ensured the survival of its ancient name and the traditions associated with it. On the other hand, it should be observed that some hills have undergone a confusing series of name changes over the centuries.

Fortunately, *SCC* describes the Han prefectural centres in terms of their relative position to each other. From this we can build up a picture of where the 12 Prefectural seats lay in relation to one another and in relation to the major rivers of that time. A rough diagram of these relative positions should prove extremely useful once the location of one or two centres has been pinpointed through descriptions in the other texts.

Han Prefectural Centres in the *Shui-ching chu*

Lung-pien is mentioned in *SCC* in connection with two northern rivers in Chiao-chih Commandery. The first is called the Left River. It is described as flowing in a north-easterly direction to the south of Wang-hai, after which it flowed east, passing to the north of Lung-pien.<sup>9</sup> The text does not state how far to the north of Lung-pien the Left River lay, but we can assume that the Left River would be the first river arrived at when travelling northwards from the administrative center of Lung-pien.

The second of the two rivers is described as flowing from the east of Mi-ling into northern Feng-ch'i, and from there into the high terrain of Lang-p'o. From Lang-p'o, still flowing east, it passed south of the ancient city of Lung-pien, and further eastward joined the Left River.<sup>10</sup>

Thus Lung-pien was flanked on the north and south by two eastward flowing rivers in the northern sector of Chiao-chih Commandery. At some unspecified distance east of Lung-pien, these two waters united (somewhere in the vicinity of Ch'ü-yang) to form one stream, and continued to flow eastward into the sea.

An old tradition quoted by *SCC* lends support to the fact that Lung-pien lay around the confluence of two important water-ways. The tradition says that in A.D. 48 dragons were seen winding between the banks of the two rivers, and so the

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<sup>9</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 62.

<sup>10</sup> *SCC* 37, pp. 62-3.

name of that area was changed from Lung-yüan to Lung-pien.<sup>11</sup> The character *yüan* used in the original name literally means an abyss or gorge, and thus could imply an area of rushing water. The character *lung*, suggests that the waters coiled and twisted like a dragon, and or that the area had been associated with royalty.

At one stage during Later Han Lung-pien was the main administrative centre of Chiao-chih Commandery (see p. 35). We can safely assume, therefore, that it was placed near the confluence of major water-ways in order to be close to the main communication routes with the other areas. We can also assume that it lay within the shelter of some strategically placed hills. A passage in *SCC* states that the Ching River arose in the Kao Mountains in Lung-pien Prefecture, and flowed away in a south-easterly direction down to the prefecture of Ch'i-hsü. There it joined several other important rivers. This shows that Lung-pien did, in fact, occupy a key position as regards the water-ways of the commandery.<sup>12</sup> Since the dragon in Yüeh tradition is not only connected with water, but also with royalty, it is probable that Lung-pien had been a stronghold of native power before the arrival of the Chinese, and that the town had an existence pre-dating the establishment of the Chinese commandery headquarters there.<sup>13</sup>

Lei-lou is mentioned in *SCC* with reference to a Following River, i.e. the next main river south of the two

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<sup>11</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 64.

<sup>13</sup> Eberhard, *Local Cultures*, pp. 238ff., 364f., 378f. and 389.

northern rivers. This river flowed eastward from the south of Feng-ch'i, and then in a south-westerly direction to cross southern Hsi-yü. From there it flowed away in an easterly direction to the north of Lei-lou. It then went on to the south of Pei-tai and into Ch'i-hsü Prefecture, where it joined the Ching River.<sup>14</sup>

Lei-lou is also mentioned in the description of the Middle Waters, which also joined the Ching River. The Middle Waters also flowed in an easterly direction, but passed through the south of Lei-lou. According to *SCC* the Tu Kuan sai p'u had its source somewhere to the east of Lei-lou and flowed into the prefecture of An-ting.<sup>15</sup>

From this description, it seems that Feng-ch'i and Lei-lou were also flanked north and south by two rivers: in the case of Feng-ch'i, by the southern of the two northern rivers and the Following River respectively, in the case of Lei-lou, by the Following River and the Middle River.

Kou-lei, Chu-yüan and An-ting are mentioned in *SCC* in the section dealing with the last of the five waters of Chiao-chih. This Southern River flowed in a south-easterly direction (presumably from the prefecture of Mi-ling, which is described as the nexus of the five tributaries of the Yeh-yü River). It passed through the north of the third century commandery of Chiu-te, established by the three kingdoms state of Wu, along the border of Chu-yüan, and then, after flowing in an easterly direction, finally flowed into Kou-lei.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *SCC* 37, pp. 63-4.

<sup>15</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 64.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

Kou-lei Prefecture contained the Tai River. The Tai divided it from An-ting, and flowed into the northern waters and finally the sea. The Tai-chang also formed part of the border of An-ting. After passing Ni-li, it flowed south-east into the southern waters.<sup>17</sup>

From the above descriptions, the reader can visualize five major rivers all beginning in the eastern prefecture of Mi-ling as branches of the Yeh-yü River, and all flowing through Chiao-chih Commandery down to the sea. The twelve prefectural seats of Chiao-chih Commandery can be visualized as follows: in the far north-west, Mi-ling with Wang-hai directly to its east and Feng-ch'i directly to its south-east. Further eastward from Feng-ch'i lay Lung-pien and Ch'ü-yang. To the south lay Lei-lou, with Pei-tai on its north-eastern side and Chu-yüan to its south. East of Pei-tai lay Ch'i-hsü. In the south of the commandery lay Chu-yüan, An-ting, and Kou-lei. Map II:6 illustrates the description of Chiao-chih Commandery given in the *SCC*. No distances between any of the twelve prefectural seats have been established, only the directions of each seat in relationship to others.

#### Locating the Prefectures

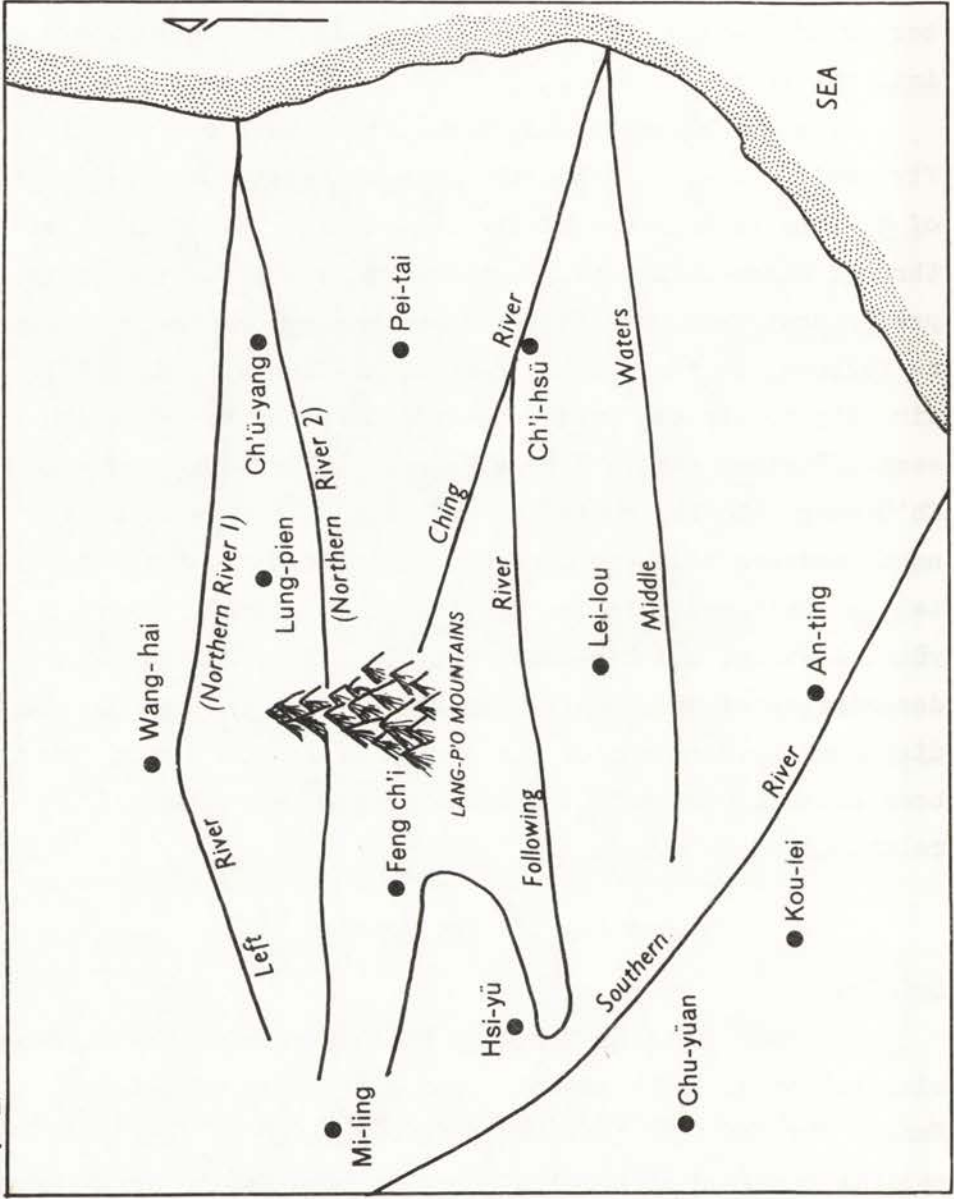
##### *Lei-lou*

For most of Later Han, the headquarters of the Chinese administration in Chiao-chih Commandery were at Lei-lou. Except for one interlude, when it was moved to Lung-pien, the capital remained at Lei-lou from the time of its establishment in 106 B.C. until A.D. 229 when Lü Tai moved the administration

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<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

Map II : 6 Chiao-chih Commandery After the Shui-ching chu



back to Lung-pien.<sup>18</sup>

Madrolle gave Lei-lou a quasi-historical existence long pre-dating 106 B.C. He described it as the headquarters of the native Lo dynasty, which is said to have ended in 212 B.C. when the capital was moved to C<sup>2</sup>6-loa by the King of An-yang. Madrolle described the territories of Ch'i-hsü and An-ting as vassal states of Lei-lou, acting as buffers against coastal attacks. Chu-yüan is described as the southern guardian, while Hsi-yü and Mi-ling kept the Thai, Lao, Lo-lo and Po peoples at bay.<sup>19</sup>

It does seem clear that the sites chosen by the Chinese for fortified towns like Lei-lou and Lung-pien were in ancient strategic areas once occupied by native powers of some sort, and that in the early part of the first century, chieftains of the Mi-ling region had had marriage connections with those of Chu-yüan.<sup>20</sup> However, to conclude that the area

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<sup>18</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', pp. 263-332 and 387.

<sup>19</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', p. 285.

<sup>20</sup> HHS 86/76, 9b says that 'Cheng Ts'e was the daughter of the Lo chief of Mi-ling and was married to Shih So of Chu-yüan.' The earliest and clearest Chinese description of the Lo 'feudal' system is found in the sixth century SCC 37 p. 62.

...the *Chiao-chou wai yü chi* says: Before Chiao-chou had been divided into commanderies and prefectures, this area formed the fields of the Lo. Here, agricultural labour followed the rise and fall of the tides. Because the people cultivated the fields, they were called the Lo (V. Lạc) people. They had a king and marquises who governed the commandery and prefectures. In the prefectures there were many Lo chiefs. These chiefs held the copper seal with gold ribbon.

The basic content of this text has been verified by archaeological and anthropological findings - see Chapter I, notes 13, 15 and 16 - however, the terms king, marquis,

had been organized into a feudal hierarchy of states is stretching the evidence.

Madrolle identifies the site of the ancient town of Leilou as the area around the present village of Khổng-tử in Thuận-thành Prefecture, Bắc-ninh Province. He bases his identification on archaeological data collected by Mr. H. Wintrebert, once resident of Bắc-ninh. Wintrebert's evidence consists of an unexcavated curved line of ground-protrusions and a tomb said to be that of Shih Hsieh of the late second century A.D., as well as a seventeenth century stele granting abolition of corvée duties to the villagers. The stele was housed in ruins said by the villagers to be once the residence of Shih Hsieh. Other evidence concerns some ancient pagodas, which, like the curved line of ground-protrusions, were neither accurately dated nor thoroughly examined.<sup>21</sup> Madrolle also quoted Gourou's statistical study of Vietnamese family names in Bắc-ninh Province as further evidence that Bắc-ninh was the cradle of civilisation for the Vietnamese people.<sup>22</sup> These varied pieces of evidence do seem to point to an ancient and perhaps regal history for the villages in Thuận-thành, but there is no real evidence as yet that the ruins mentioned actually date back to Later Han.

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<sup>20</sup> (continued) prefecture and commandery are obvious anachronisms. We do not know what number of Lo chieftains there were in any one area nor the hierarchical relationship between them. Therefore, we cannot properly estimate the political value of the marriage between Cheng Ts'e and Shih So, nor can we properly label the system as feudal.

<sup>21</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', pp. 267-71.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 301-2.



Madrolle notes that *YHCH* places the ancient city of Lei-lou about seventy-five *li* west of what is now Hanoi.<sup>23</sup> Taking west as an error for east, he points out that the Khủng-tử complex of villages lies approximately twenty-seven kilometres east of Hanoi - a distance that roughly corresponds to the figure of seventy-five *li* given in *YHCH*. He calculates that a location of seventy-five *li* west of Hanoi would place Lei-lou beyond the Đáy River and in Mường territory. Apart from this, he made no attempt to justify changing the indication of west into east.<sup>24</sup>

In an earlier article on the T'ang protectorate of Chiao-chou, Maspero<sup>25</sup> showed that T'ang geographical works are frequently quite inaccurate in their assessment of direction, (although their assessments of distance seemed quite reliable). Madrolle's change in the direction of Lei-lou given in the *YHCH* may have been influenced by Maspero's work, for elsewhere he does acknowledge that he relied heavily on Maspero's location of the T'ang prefecture of Lung-pien, as well as Wintrebert's archaeological evidence for his own conclusions about the location of Lei-lou.<sup>26</sup>

However, *YHCH* also describes Lei-lou as being located in the T'ang prefecture of Nan-ting sixty *li* north-east of the seat of the protectorate at Hanoi. This contradicts the previous statement that Lei-lou lay west of Hanoi. In doing

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<sup>23</sup> *YHCH* 38 (Ling-nan Tao 5), p. 10a.

<sup>24</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', pp. 267-82.

<sup>25</sup> H. Maspero, 'Le Protectorat Général D'Annam sous les Tang : essai de géographie historique', pp. 539-84 and 665-82.

<sup>26</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', p. 274.

so, it strengthens Madrolle's case for locating Lei-lou to the east of Hanoi, rather than the west as stated initially in *YHCH*.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, there are two conflicting statements by *YHCH*: firstly the ancient city of Lei-lou lay to the west of Hanoi, and secondly that the area of the T'ang prefecture of Nan-ting to the north-east of Hanoi covered the ancient prefecture of Lei-lou.

Maspero convincingly located T'ang Nan-ting on the right bank of the Bắc River, to the west of Hải-dương. This corresponds with the archaeological evidence given by Wintrebert, and suggests that the Han prefecture of Lei-lou was indeed in Bắc-ninh Province, to the south of the Bắc River (Canal des Rapides) as Madrolle suggests.

The statement in *YHCH* which places Lei-lou to the west of Hanoi is not simply an error caused by miscalculation of direction. It arose through the false association of the capital of the Han commandery of Chiao-chih (Lei-lou) with the T'ang prefecture of Chiao-chih: the T'ang prefecture of Chiao-chih lay to the south-west of Hanoi and had no connection with the Han commandery of Chiao-chih. In the T'ang texts there seems to be a chain of mistaken identifications based on confusion about the names Chiao-chih, and on confusion about the word *capital*. Lei-lou and Lung-pien were both capitals of the Han commandery of Chiao-chih. The T'ang prefecture of Chiao-chih, which lay to the south-west of Hanoi, was very close to Sung-p'ing, the capital of the T'ang province of Chiao.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *YHCH* 38, p. 10b.

<sup>28</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 551-5 and 563-5.

## *Lung-pien*

*TPHYC* places the T'ang prefecture of Lung-pien forty-five *li* south-east of Hanoi.<sup>29</sup> *YHCH* places it forty-five *li* north-west of Hanoi, specifically stating that T'ang Lung-pien was the same as the Han area of Lung-pien.<sup>30</sup> However, in another instance, *YHCH* places Lung-pien within the T'ang prefecture of Chiao-chih, which was fifteen *li* south-east of Hanoi.<sup>31</sup> This means one can discount the directions given for Lei-lou and Lung-pien in these two texts.

The traditional Vietnamese location of Lung-pien is Hanoi itself, but as Maspero pointed out, this is unlikely since T'ang geographies give other (although differing) locations for both places.<sup>32</sup> The association of Lung-pien with the T'ang prefecture of Chiao-chih in *YHCH* may have been the origin of the Vietnamese belief that Lung-pien was the old name for Hanoi: As noted above, the T'ang prefecture of Chiao-chih was closely associated, both geographically and administratively, with Sung-p'ing. Sung-p'ing, the capital of the province of Chiao, was located in south-western Hanoi.<sup>33</sup> Maspero believes that the confusion of the name Lung-pien with Hanoi arose through the similarity of the sound Lung-pien with that of Long-thành, one of the old names for Hanoi. No doubt this was another factor in the persistence

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<sup>29</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 7a.

<sup>30</sup> *YHCH* 38, p. 11a.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 570f.

<sup>33</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général' pp. 551-5 and 563-5.

of these errors.<sup>34</sup>

Maspero located the T'ang prefecture of Lung-pien to the north-east of Hanoi. He based his identification on the name Wu-ning, once a T'ang prefecture in Lung-chou. According to Maspero, Mt Wu-ning in Bắc-ninh took its name from this prefecture. Maspero also identified the Wan-ch'un tower mentioned in *TPHYC* with a village of that name that later became an important provincial seat and last stop on the river journey from Chin-chou to Hanoi. From this description, he located the Lý city of Wan-ch'un at the junction of the Bắc and Thái-bình Rivers in Bắc-ninh Province, and concluded that this territory must have formed the eastern part of the T'ang prefecture of Lung-pien.<sup>35</sup> It could be assumed that the T'ang prefecture of Lung-pien occupied some part of the old Han prefecture of the same name. However, this method of identification is basically unsound, as it is the same as that used by T'ang authors to identify forgotten locations in their own time.

In the description of the second of the two northern rivers in Tongking, *SCC* states that a range of hills in an area known as Lang-p'o lay between the two prefectures of Lung-pien and Feng-ch'i.<sup>36</sup> The Vietnamese annalists identified Lang-p'o as the area around the Western Lake of Hanoi.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 570-1.

<sup>35</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 570-1. On Lý (544-602) see Chapter V and VI of the present work and Durand, 'La dynastie des Lý Antérieurs d'après le Việt Điện U Linh Tập', pp. 437-52.

<sup>36</sup> *SCC* 37, pp. 62-3.

<sup>37</sup> Des Michels, *Les annales impériales de l'Annam*, p. 59.

This is incorrect, but consistent with the incorrect association of Lung-pien with the city of Hanoi.

The Treatise on Commanderies and Kingdoms in *HHS* mentions a Hill of Immortals - Hsien Shan - as lying in the western region of Lung-pien.<sup>38</sup> According to *SCC*, Feng-ch'i lay to the west of Lung-pien. Therefore the Hill of Immortals must have been among the hills of the Lang-p'o region described by *SCC* as lying between Lung-pien and Feng-ch'i.

The Hsien Shan and one of the legends associated with it is also mentioned in the *TPHYC*.<sup>39</sup> According to Maspero, the legend is identical with that ascribed to Lan-kha Mountain in the Tiên-du Range to the south of Tiên-du Prefecture in Bắc-ninh Province.<sup>40</sup> *TPHYC* also mentions a mountain called Fu-chi (V. Phật-tích) in the prefecture of Lung-pien. Tiên-du Prefecture contains a village of this name.<sup>41</sup> Thus the legend ascribed to Mt Lan-kha, and the existence of a village named Phật-tích within the vicinity of the Tiên-du Mountains suggest that the Lang-p'o hills were those of the present Tiên-du Son. These mountains must have formed the western edge of the territory known in Han times as Lung-pien.

#### *Feng-ch'i*

The identification of Lang-p'o with the Tiên-du Son immediately establishes a location for the Han prefecture of Feng-ch'i: from the descriptions in *SCC*, Feng-ch'i can be located to the west of the Tiên-du Son in southern Phúc-yên

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<sup>38</sup> *HHS* 113/23, 31a.

<sup>39</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 9b.

<sup>40</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 576-7.

<sup>41</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 7b; Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 576-7.

Province.

Other references to the prefecture of Feng-ch'i in both *TPHYC* and *YHCH* confirm this location. *YHCH* describes P'ing-tao Prefecture as thirteen *li* to the south-west of the Hsien Shan and several hundred *li* from the western gate of Lung-pien. *TPHYC* describes P'ing-tao as within the ancient Han territory of Feng-ch'i and containing the ruins of the ancient city built by the King of An-yang.<sup>42</sup> The site of this city has been positively identified by both Maspero and Madrolle as the village of Cồ-loa in Đông-khê Prefecture, about eleven Km. north of Hanoi.<sup>43</sup> Each of these descriptions points to Feng-ch'i lying in southern Phúc-yên, while the identification of Cồ-loa as a settlement site pre-dating Chinese colonisation suggests that Cồ-loa was the site of the administrative centre of Feng-ch'i during the Han period.

### *Mi-ling*

*SCC* places Mi-ling to the west of the three prefectures of Lung-pien, Wang-hai, and Feng-ch'i, at the spot where the Yeh-yü River divided into the five main branches which flowed through Chiao-chih Commandery.<sup>44</sup> The obvious location for this commandery is near the apex of the deltaic plain, just south of Việt-trì, where the waters of the Red, Clear, and Black rivers join before dispersing again into the Cà-lô/Cầu, Bắc, and Đáy rivers.

After locating Feng-ch'i at Cồ-lôa and Lung-pien just to the east of the Tiên-du Mountains, both Maspero and Madrolle

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<sup>42</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 9b; *YHCH* 38, 10a.

<sup>43</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 577.

<sup>44</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 61.

identified the waters of the Cà-lô/Cầu as those of the Left River in *SCC*. They did not agree, however, on the identification of the second of the two northern rivers: Madrolle identified the Second River as the Sông Thiap whose source is found in a lake near the village of Hạ-lôi, while Maspero identified it with the Red River upstream from Hanoi, and with the Bắc River.<sup>45</sup> The disagreement over the differing identification of this northern river arose from their different conclusions about the location of Mi-ling: Maspero located Mi-ling around Việt-trì, while Madrolle located it at Hạ-lôi in Yên-lãng district on the northern side of the Red River about 35 km. downstream from Việt-trì.<sup>46</sup>

These two locations - one at Việt-trì and one at Hạ-lôi - are not really exclusive. The actual administrative centre of Mi-ling may have been at Hạ-lôi, while the area under its administration stretched north to Việt-trì (and beyond?) and south-east to the Tiên-du Mountains.

Madrolle's evidence for locating Mi-ling at Hạ-lôi is based on the memory of the Trưng sisters in that village, and on the fact that the Red River near Yên-lãng used to be called the Mê-linh (Ch. Mi-ling) by the local inhabitants. However, there are temples to the Trưng sisters all over the delta and legends associated with these women are known to every Vietnamese. Madrolle also cites as evidence the fact that the family name Trưng is not to be found within the provinces of Phúc-yên and Hưng-yên.<sup>47</sup> However, Gourou's

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<sup>45</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 574; Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', p. 275.

<sup>46</sup> Maspero, 'L'Expédition', p. 12; Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', pp. 302-5.

<sup>47</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', p. 303.

study of family names in Bắc-ninh Province shows that the name Trúng is rare in any province of the delta.<sup>48</sup> Thus evidence for the location of Mi-ling at Ha-lôi is very weak. However, from the description in *SCC*, and the location established for Feng-ch'i and Lung-pien, it seems that Mi-ling certainly lay somewhere on the Red River to the north of Hanoi.

*Ch'ü-yang, Pei-tai, and Ch'i-hsü*

The location of the four prefectures of Lei-lou, Lung-pien, Feng-ch'i, and Mi-ling have been established mainly through sources other than that of *SCC*. Since the relative positions of these prefectures on a modern map of Tongking are in accordance with the description given in *SCC*, we can assume that the positions of Ch'ü-yang, Pei-tai, and Ch'i-hsü were accurately described in this text. This means they lay around the confluence of the Bắc and Thái-bình rivers with Ch'ü-yang to the north of Pei-tai and Ch'i-hsü.

*Hsi-yü and Wang-hai*

The Chinese first mention Hsi-yü in connection with a certain Huang-t'ung, who was made Marquis of Hsia-li for his part in the pacification of the south after the fall of Nan-yüeh in 111 B.C., when the king of Hsi-yü had tried to resist the southward march of the Han armies. He had been quickly deposed by Huang-t'ung.<sup>49</sup>

Ma Yüan divided Hsi-yü into the prefectures of Feng-ch'i

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<sup>48</sup> P. Gourou, 'Les noms de famille ou "Ho" chez les Annamites du Delta Tonkinois', pp. 481-95.

<sup>49</sup> *HS* 17, 6a.



and Wang-hai.<sup>50</sup> As Feng-ch'i lay on the northern side of the Red River, downstream from Mi-ling, Wang-hai according to the description in *SCC* must have formed its northern portion to the north of the Sông Cà-lồ.<sup>51</sup>

### *An-ting*

Having placed Lei-lou at Thuận-thành to the south of the Bắc River, Madrolle equates the waters of the present Đâu River with the Tu kuan sai p'u in *SCC*. He identifies the area around Ninh-giang, where the Đâu flows into the Bamboo Canal, as the ancient Han prefecture of An-ting.<sup>52</sup>

It would seem, from descriptions in *SCC*, that a town named Ni-li lay within the jurisdiction of An-ting, which stretched towards the sea-coast.<sup>53</sup> Consistent with his location of An-ting at Ninh-giang, Madrolle located Ni-li at Dờ-sơn on the coast of Kiến-an Province. He based his argument on the meaning of the characters used to represent the sounds Ni and Li - literally, 'Black Mud'. Such a description does tally with Dờ-sơn in present Kiến-an Province, and it is also true to say that the estuary between Dờ-sơn and Quảng-yên was once of great strategic importance to the sea communications between Tongking and Ho-p'u. However, this communication route from the sea to the Bắc River has a history that can only be traced back to the

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<sup>50</sup> See Chapter I pp. 16-22.

<sup>51</sup> Maspero, 'L'Expédition de Ma Yüan', pp. 15 and 11; Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', pp. 305-6.

<sup>52</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', pp. 276-7 and 301ff.

<sup>53</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 64.

thirteenth century, when the Mongols invaded Tongking.<sup>54</sup> To suggest that the complicated set of water-ways downstream from the *Bac* River, especially those at the very edge of the present delta, had existed in a navigable form from the first century A.D. is disregarding both historical documentation and knowledge of the tremendous change and growth that has taken place in the delta over the last two thousand years.<sup>55</sup>

*TPHYC* states that the ruins of the ancient town of Ni-li were to be found in the T'ang prefecture of Sung-p'ing.<sup>56</sup> Since Sung-p'ing lay to the south-west of the modern city of Hanoi, the prefecture of An-ting must have been located in this area rather than in the province of *Kiên-an*. This location is not inconsistent with the description of An-ting in *SCC*. Maspero concludes that the Tai Chang and Tai rivers of *SCC* were one and the same, being part of the Red River, downstream from Hanoi.<sup>57</sup>

If one accepts that An-ting lay along the Red River to the south of Hanoi, then Madrolle's thesis that this area represents the Han area of Chu-yüan must be abandoned. The passage in *SCC* concerning Chu-yüan is confusing, to say the least. The bronze boat legends cited in *SCC* are of little help in locating these prefectures, as they do not imply any

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<sup>54</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 571-3.

<sup>55</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', pp. 276-7 and 301; Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 571-3.

<sup>56</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 7a. Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', p. 307, has Ni-li and An-ting in the same place as T'ang Nan-ting near Gia-bình. Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 566-9, has shown that there were two T'ang prefectures of Nan-ting, one in the Gia-bình region and the other just south of Sung-p'ing. An-ting seems to have been close to Sung-p'ing.

<sup>57</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 582-3.

geographical connection between the rivers concerned but rather cultural connections between the peoples of those areas. Such legends exist not only in northern Vietnam but also throughout the South China area.<sup>58</sup> We can only be sure that the prefectures of Kou-lei, An-ting, and Chu-yüan were contiguous, and located in a southerly direction from the rest of the Han prefectures in Chiao-chih Commandery.

### *Kou-lei*

Maspero identifies Kou-lei through a mountain of the same name in *Thạch-thất* Prefecture, *Sơn-tây* Province. With the help of *HHS*, which states that the Tai River passed to the west of Lung-pien,<sup>59</sup> he also identifies that part of the Red River just upstream from Hanoi with the Tai River of *SCC*. This identification not only contradicts his previous identification of this part of the Red River with the second of the two northern rivers in *SCC* but also his statement that the Tai and Tai-chang rivers were the same as the Red River to the south of Hanoi. The Tai River was probably not the actual Red River of today, but an ancient tributary or defluent which flowed parallel to the present path of the *Đáy* or Red River. It may have joined the Red River where it branches eastward into the *Bắc* River.

From the description in *SCC*, Kou-lei lay to the west of the prefecture of An-ting, and possibly to the south-east of Chu-yüan.<sup>60</sup> A location of Kou-lei in the present province of

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<sup>58</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 64; *HHS* 113/23, 216; see Kaltenmark, 'Le Dompteur des Flots', pp. 22-36.

<sup>59</sup> *HHS* 113/23, 21a.

<sup>60</sup> *SCC* 37, p. 64.

Sơn-tây to the west of the Red River fits this description well. It also agrees with the statement in the *Tu shih fang yü chi yao* that the Lei River ran close to the prefecture of Kou Lei.<sup>61</sup> Maspero has identified the Lei with the Ca-lo.<sup>62</sup> The beginnings of the Cà-lồ and Đáy rivers are in northern Sơn-tây Province. Although the Cà-lồ flows away to the east, the Đáy passes south through Sơn-tây. If we accept that the Red River down stream from Hanoi was known as the Tai (see above on An-ting), then the paths of the present Nhuê-giang would seem to correspond to the path taken by the waters of the Southern River in the descriptions of SCC.<sup>63</sup> This gives Chu-yüan Prefecture a location in northern Sơn-tây across the Red River from Mi-ling.

### *Chu-yüan*

According to Maspero, the T'ang prefecture of Chu-yüan was centred around present-day Hải-dương, the T'ang Chu-yüan River being the modern Thái-bình or one of its defluents.<sup>64</sup> The T'ang geographies offer a series of conflicting statements about the location of T'ang Chu-yüan. *TPHYC* states that it lay fifty *li* east of Hanoi, and *HYCH* states that it lay fifty *li* west of Hanoi.<sup>65</sup> Maspero bases his argument on the

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<sup>61</sup> *Tu shih fang yü chi yao*, p. 112.

<sup>62</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 579-80.

<sup>63</sup> Madrolle, 'Le Tonkin ancien', pp. 276-7, equates the present Bay of Hạ-long with the southern waters of SCC (see p. 34 of this work), which seems to be inconsistent with his other identifications of the middle and Tai Chang Rivers.

<sup>64</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 583.

<sup>65</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 7a. *YHCH* 38, 10b.

description in *TCTC* of the campaign against Lý Bôn. He maintains that a western location for Chu-yüan was not possible, considering the path of retreat taken by Lý Bôn after his defeat at Chu-yüan. However, the possibility of a western location really depends upon the route of entry into Tongking by the Chinese army, and this is not stated either in the dynastic histories or in *TCTC*.

*TPHYC* states that T'ang Chu-yüan was not the same as the Han prefecture of this name, but occupied the site of the ancient prefecture of Chün-p'ing, established to the north-east of Hải-dương at the end of the Wu period.<sup>66</sup> *YHCH*, which gives a western location for T'ang Chu-yüan, states that it was the same as that of the Han prefecture of Chu-yüan. It also states that the prefecture of Chu-yüan was abolished in A.D. 626.<sup>67</sup> This could mean that after this date another prefecture with the same name was established to the east of Hanoi.

As far as *SCC* is concerned, a location for Chu-yüan to the north-west of Hanoi seems to tie in with the location of An-ting directly south of Hanoi along the Red River, and that of the prefectural centre of Kou-lei to its north-west in Sơn-tây Province. It also agrees with the commentary to *TCTC* which describes Chu-yüan as being established within the commandery of Wu-p'ing.<sup>68</sup> This statement is also to be found in the geographical treatise of *SS*.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 7a.

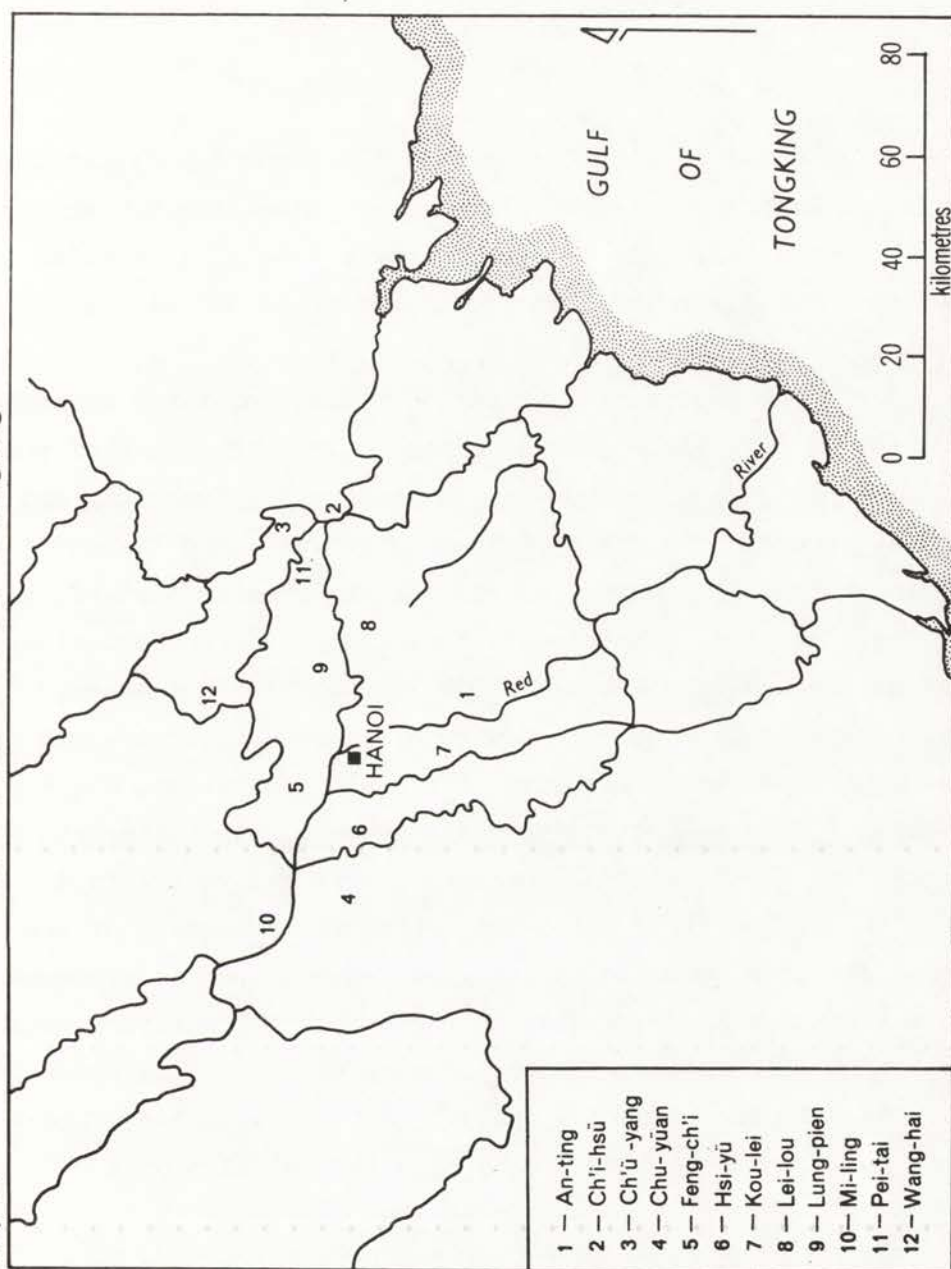
<sup>67</sup> *YHCH* 38, 10b.

<sup>68</sup> *TCTC* 159, p. 4938, commentary.

<sup>69</sup> *SS* 31, 12b.

In summary it could be said that the Han commandery of Chiao-chih stretched from the modern province of Vĩnh-yên in the north-west of Tongking at the apex of the present delta, through the provinces of Phúc-yên, Bắc-ninh, and northern Hải-dương to the east of the Red River, and through the provinces of Sơn-tây, Hà-dông, and northern Hưng-yên to the south of the Red River. The distribution of prefectures within these provinces seems to have been fairly even, with a slight concentration in the eastern edge of the delta in northern Hải-dương.

Map II: 7  
Han Prefectural Centres in Tongking



## CHAPTER III

The Foundations of Vietnamisation (43-270): Shih Hsieh and  
T'ao Huang

Throughout the greater part of the Later Han dynasty, the region of Tongking was administered as Chiao-chih Commandery in Chiao-chih Circuit. It seems appropriate at this point to define and explain the significance of these administrative areas.

Chiao-chih Circuit (*pu*) of Later Han, sometimes described loosely as a province (*chou*), extended from the south of the Ling Nan range, on the borders of present-day Kwangtung and Hunan, through present-day Kwangtung Province and Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, and across the greater part of northern Vietnam. The circuit contained seven commanderies: Nan-hai, Ts'ang-wu, Yü-lin, Ho-p'u, Chiao-chih, Chiu-chien, and Jih-nan. Like other circuits of Later Han, Chiao-chih was supervised by an Inspector (*tz'u-shih*); however, where other Inspectors of circuits had authority only to report wrongdoing to the central government offices, we are told that the Inspector of Chiao-chih, presumably because of the great distance from the capital, possessed imperial credentials (*chieh*) which gave him the right to carry out punishments on his own initiative without prior reference to the throne.<sup>1</sup>

As will be observed already from the list above, Chiao-chih was the name not only of a circuit, but also of a

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<sup>1</sup> HS 28A, 10b, commentary quoting Hu Kuang of the Later Han, cited by de Crespigny, *The Last of the Han*, p. 361 note 4. On credentials, and the Staff of Authority, see Bielenstein, *RHD*, II, 35 note 8.



commandery, and it was Chiao-chih Commandery, written with the same characters as the name of the circuit that supervised it, which occupied the great part of the area of Tongking during the Later Han period. Though this double nomenclature is confusing to many scholars, the same system may be observed in Yi Circuit, also known as Yi Province (*yi-chou*), which included a commandery named Yi-chou.<sup>2</sup>

By and large, during Later Han, it appears that the terms *circuit* and *province* were essentially interchangeable. Strictly, however, a circuit was supervised by an Inspector, while the term *province* implied that the same region was controlled by a Shepherd (*mu*, also rendered as Governor), an official of senior rank with effective executive powers. During the reign of Emperor Ch'eng, in 8 B.C., the office of Inspector of a circuit had been changed to Shepherd of a province. The title and functions were restored to their former situation in 5 B.C., under the government of Emperor Ai, but shepherds were again established in 1 B.C., and the office continued in force until the end of Former Han.<sup>3</sup>

As we have already remarked, the Inspectors of Chiao-chih Circuit held special executive powers, but the region was officially regarded as a circuit, not as a province, by the government of Later Han. This may be seen most clearly from the fact that in 141, the Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery, Chou Ch'ang, proposed to the court that the circuit of Chiao-chih should be established as a province. This proposal was not accepted, and although Chou Ch'ang himself was appointed Inspector of Chiao-chih, we must assume

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<sup>2</sup> See HHS 113/23, 6b.

<sup>3</sup> Dubs, *HFHD*, III: 12-13.

that the whole territory remained a circuit for the next several years.<sup>4</sup> Only in 203, after the effective destruction of Han imperial authority in the civil wars which accompanied the end of the dynasty, was the circuit changed to a provincial level administration.<sup>5</sup>

From this point of view, as Wang Hsien-ch'ien's commentary has remarked, the reference to Chiao Province in the Treatise of Administrative Geography of *HHS*, being actually taken from the *Hsu Han shu* of Ssu-ma Piao and based upon a census survey of 140 is, strictly speaking, an anachronism.<sup>6</sup> The correct title of this region of south China, covering seven commanderies, was Chiao-chih; it could not be accurately referred to as Chiao Province (*Chiao-chou*) until 203.

After the end of Later Han, there was a further change to the province-level administration of this territory: in 226, under the influence of the state of Wu, the Han province of Chiao was divided into two parts. The northern part, now known as Kuang Province (*Kuang-chou*), controlled those commanderies in present-day Kwangtung and Kwangsi; the southern part, still keeping the name Chiao-chou, controlled the commanderies in present-day Vietnam.<sup>7</sup> Soon afterwards,

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<sup>4</sup> *CS*, 8b, states that Chou Ch'ang memorialized that Chiao-chih Circuit become a province in the ninth year of Yung-ho. *ANCL* 7, p. 86 dates the memorial in the sixth year of Yung-ho. As the Yung-ho era only lasted seven years, the *ANCL* reference (A.D. 141) appears correct.

<sup>5</sup> See *HHSCC* 23B, p. 4127.

<sup>6</sup> *HHSCC* 23B, pp. 4127-8.

<sup>7</sup> *SKC* 49 (( Wu 4), 11b; *SKC* 47 (Wu 2), 18b; *TCTC* 70, p. 2231, translated by Achilles Fang, *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms* I, 206-7 and 219 notes 29.4 and 29.5. see pp. 76-7 below.

however, the province was reunited as Chiao-chou.

In this chapter, we are primarily concerned with the Tongking region, controlled by the commandery of Chiao-chih, and the term Chiao-chih, unless particularly indicated, will be used to refer to the commandery rather than to the larger circuit or provincial territory.

There is very little information about the history of Tongking between 43 and 187 - the year in which Shih Hsieh was appointed Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery. In this period of 144 years, that is most of Later Han, we have the names of five Grand Administrators in Chiao-chih Commandery. They were Chang Hui, Hu Kung, an official of surname Chiang, Chou Ch'ang and Ch'iao Shu. Very little is known about these men.

At the beginning of Emperor Ming's reign (57-75), Chang Hui was accused of bribery and corruption and ordered to return to court. Chang Hui had probably been appointed Grand Administrator in Chiao-chih after Ma Yüan's campaign in 43. He was tried and thrown into jail. The *HHS* states that the emperor was criticised for distributing the wealth which Hui had accumulated during his term of office in Chiao-chih. Court officials regarded it as polluted and refused to accept it.<sup>8</sup>

Hu Kung of Nan Commandery is mentioned briefly in the *HHS* as the father of Hu Kuang, and a Grand Administrator in Chiao-chih Commandery. One of his ancestors, named Kang, had fled from north China during Wang Mang's time to seek refuge in Chiao-chih. According to Vietnamese tradition, the fifth century Vietnamese leader, Lý Bôn, was a descendant of this

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<sup>8</sup> *HHS* 41/31, 15a-b.

man.<sup>9</sup> Yen Keng-wang puts Kung's appointment as Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih within Emperor Ming's reign.<sup>10</sup> However, there is no record in *HHS* of the date of Kung's appointment, and since his son, Hu Kuang, served Emperors An (106-125), Shun (125-144), and Huan (146-168), dying as Grand Tutor to Emperor Ling at the age of 82 *sui* in 172, it seems more likely that Hu Kung held office somewhat later, perhaps during the reigns of Emperors Chang (75-88) or Ho (88-106).<sup>11</sup>

According to Yen Keng-wang, an official surnamed Chiang was appointed Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery between the appointments of Kung and Ch'ang. Nothing is known of him apart from the fact that he was also made Chancellor of P'ing-tu Kingdom at some stage in his career.<sup>12</sup>

Chou Ch'ang held the position of Grand Administrator in Chiao-chih Commandery early in the reign of Emperor Shun. Later, he became Inspector of Chiao-chih Circuit, after memorialising the emperor to change Chiao-chih Circuit into a province.

Chiao Shu's appointment as Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery was terminated before the year 157. After him the

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<sup>9</sup> *HHS* 44/34, 10b-11a, *TYSC* 4, 14b.

<sup>10</sup> Yen Keng-wang, *Liang-han t'ai-shou tz'u-shih piao*, p. 274.

<sup>11</sup> *HHS* 44/34, 10b-11a states that Hu Kung had been a Chief Commandant. *SCC* 32, p. 106, states that his rank was Grand Administrator.

<sup>12</sup> Yen Keng-Wang, *Liang-Han t'ai shou tz'u-shih piao*, p. 274. See also n4 above and *HHSCC* 23B, p. 4127.

record is blank until Shih Hsieh's appointment in 187.<sup>13</sup> We have the names of two other Grand Administrators during the Han period, but no dates or any information about these men have survived.<sup>14</sup>

### *Corruption*

From the information we have about Chang Hui and Hu Kung; <sup>behaviour of</sup> two trends can be discerned in the history of the south during <sup>official</sup> Later Han. The first is a pattern of corruption and bribery, <sup>harsh</sup> where the court-appointed officials were interested in the <sup>corrupt</sup> area merely as a stepping stone to better office through the accumulation of personal wealth. There are numerous examples of this in the northern commanderies of Chiao-chih Circuit during Later Han. In 184 Chia Tsung was sent to the circuit to pacify the northern commanderies after revolts had broken out against the corrupt practices of the Inspector Chou Yung.<sup>15</sup> Chou Ch'eng was another official said to have reformed the administration and pacified the people of Chiao-chih Circuit after a series of corrupt administrators. His memorial to the Emperor comments: 'Chiao-chih is a distant land, and it has become the custom here to be avaricious and corrupt, those families in power being debauched and the officials harsh and oppressive....'<sup>16</sup> In the commandery of Ho-p'u, in the area of the Liuchow peninsula and Kwangtung, an official named Meng Ch'ang put a stop to the exploitation

<sup>13</sup> *Li Shih* 17, 16a.

<sup>14</sup> *ANCL* 7, p. 88.

<sup>15</sup> *ANCL* 7, p. 87; Des Michels, pp. 77-9.

<sup>16</sup> *ANCL* 7, pp. 87-8.

of the pearl-beds when it was found that the supply was rapidly dwindling.<sup>17</sup>

Chang Hui's record, however, is the only one relating to excessive corruption in Chiao-chih Commandery itself, and since there is no mention of either corrupt or upright officials or rebellions in northern Vietnam for Later Han after A.D. 43 (Table III:1), it is possible that corruption was not so prevalent in that regard as in the commanderies further north.<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, the lack of serious revolts in Tongking after 43 may also have been due to Ma Yüan's effectiveness in crushing the Yüeh leadership at that time.

### *Family interests*

The second trend discernible in the history of this period is the appointment of a Grand Administrator who had family connections or interests in Tongking. Hu Kung's ancestor had been a political exile in Tongking, and it seems from the Vietnamese histories that a branch of his family had settled permanently in Tongking. Kung's appointment as Grand Administrator to Chiao-chih Commandery is an early example of the later practice of appointing (or accepting) Grand Administrators in Chiao-chih who had strong family connections and interests there (see Chapter V). This practice became established with the appointment of members of the Shih family in the late second and early third centuries. The rule of the Shih in Chiao-chih Commandery is

<sup>17</sup> Schafer, 'The Pearl Fisheries of Ho-p'u', pp. 156-7.

<sup>18</sup> On the corruption of Chinese officials in the south during Later Han, see Y. Ozaki, 'Gokan Kōchi shishi ni tsuite', pp. 139-166.

one of the milestones in the development and fusion of two Vietnamese  
new social groups in Tongking - a sinicised Vietnamese group  
and a vietnamised Chinese group. The latter gradually came  
to identify with the interests of the delta rather than with  
the Chinese empire. Hu Kung can be seen as a forerunner of  
both vietnamised Chinese officials like Shih Hsieh and such  
sinicised native leaders as Lý Bôn.

Unfortunately, the largest gap in the chronology of official appointments in Tongking occurs between the rule of Ch'iao Shu and the appointment of Shih Hsieh, that is, the thirty years from 157 to 187. So we have no direct knowledge of the intermediary stages in the development of this new class of officials and native inhabitants. However, an indirect approach to the history of Tongking can be made through the history of Chiao-chih Circuit as a whole and the general history of south-east China at this time. Tables III:1 and III:2, with Map III:8, show some of the similarities and differences between Chiao-chih Commandery and the rest of south China during Later Han. Table III:2 lists the number of rebellions which occurred in Chiao-chih Circuit and other southern circuits during this time (each commandery is listed separately),<sup>19</sup> while Table IV:1 shows the percentage-increase in the number of households per commandery between the years 2 and 140, as well as changes in the average number of members per household (m/h) during that period.<sup>20</sup> The commanderies in each table have been listed according to

<sup>19</sup> See Bielenstein, *RHD*, III, 73-5.

<sup>20</sup> The figures in Table III:1 come from the numbers of households and persons in each commandery as listed in the geographical treatises of *HS* and *HHS*.

rough directional lines - southernmost first.

### *Immigration*

The main migration route to the south during Later Han lay through Ching Circuit into the Siang river basin in present-day southern Hunnan. Along this route, the commanderies of Ch'ang-sha, Ling-ling, and Kuei-yang, with their navigable rivers and arable land, absorbed the majority of immigrants, with the remainder spilling further south into the northern commanderies of Chiao-chih Circuit in the Canton delta (Map III:8, Table III:1).

Unfortunately, we have no figures for the increase in population in Tongking between the years 2 and 140. However, Table III:1 shows a 20-30% increase in population in Chiu-chen and Jih-nan commanderies, suggesting that Chiao-chih in Tongking saw at least a 50% increase in registered population during this period.

Table III:1 shows that in those commanderies which received the highest proportion of new immigrants, there was a considerable decrease in the number of members per household (m/h). Bielenstein explains this drop in m/h as a result of the immigration process: colonists and vagabonds leaving the north travelled alone or in small groups, causing an initial drop in the average m/h in those commanderies which received them as new settlers. As the colonists became established, the m/h figures in these commanderies gradually returned to the average of 5m/h.<sup>21</sup> Despite the fact that the m/h figure for Chiao-chih commandery in 140 is missing, the pattern established in Table III:1 suggests that Tongking was

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<sup>21</sup> Bielenstein, *RHD*, III, p. 142.



Map III : 8 Migration Route Into South China

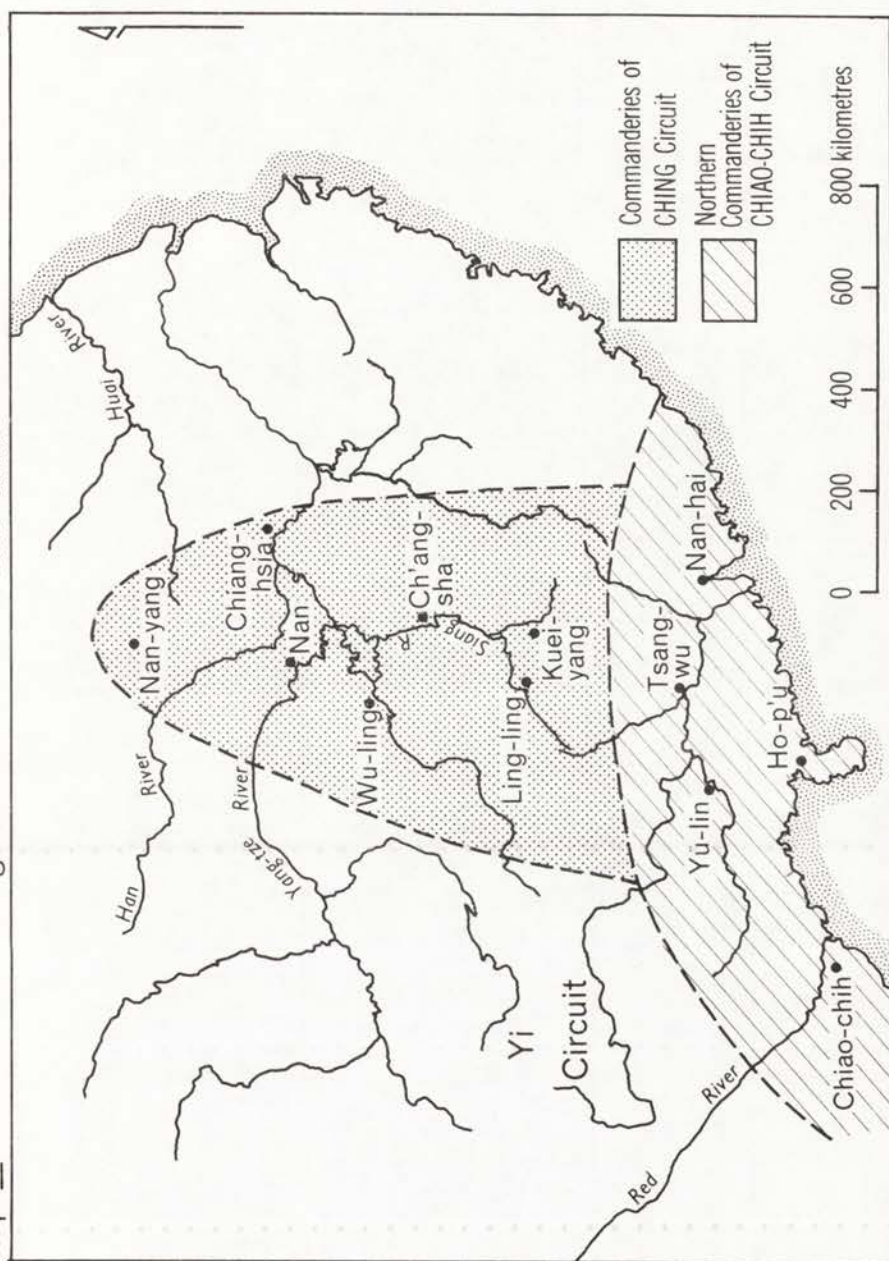


TABLE III:1  
Population Figures for South China (2-140)

Circuit	Commandery (south to north)	No. households		% Increase in no. households	Members per household	
		A.D. 2 (HS 28A-B)	A.D. 140 (HHS 112-13)		A.D. 2	A.D. 140
Chiao-chih	Jih-nan	15,460	18,363	19	4.5	5.5
	Chiu-chen	35,743	46,513	30	4.6	4.5
	Chiao-chih	92,440	-	-	8.0	-
	Ho-p'u	15,398	23,121	50	5.1	3.3
	Nan-hai	19,613	71,477	264	4.8	4.8
	Tsang-wu	24,379	111,395	357	6.0	4.0
	Yü-lin	12,415	-	-	5.7	-
Ching	Kuei-yang	28,119	135,290	381	5.5	3.7
	Ling-ling	21,920	212,284	868	6.6	4.7
	Ch'eng-sha	43,470	255,854	489	5.1	3.3
	Wu-ling	34,177	46,672	37	5.4	5.2
	Nan	125,579	162,570	29	3.8	4.5
	Chiang-hsia	56,844	58,434	3	3.8	4.5
	Nan-yang	359,316	528,551	47	5.4	4.6

TABLE III:2

Rebellions in South China Recorded during Later Han - 57-186

Commandery	No. rebellions (57-186)	Time-span
Jih-nan	4	44 yrs.
Chiu-chen	2	21
Chiao-chih	1	1 (in 178)
Ho-p'u	2	62
Nan-hai	-	-
Tsang-wu	2	1
Yü-lin	1	1 (in 116)
Ling-ling	1	1 (in 162)
Kuei-yang	1	1 (in 164)
Ch'ang-sha	3	5
Wu-ling	14	110
Nan	1	1 (in 101)
Chiang-hsia	2	11
Nan-yang	-	-
Yi-chou	4	100

First century A.D. - 12 rebellions

Second century A.D.- 42 rebellions

middle of 2nd c. - migratory waves from the north  
 { not radically affected by the exodus from the north until after the middle of the second century. In 140 the migratory waves from the north were only just reaching the northern commanderies of Chiao-chih Circuit in the Canton delta.

In A.D. 43 Ma Yüan had asked permission to subdivide the prefecture of Hsi-yü in Tongking, claiming that Hsi-yü held over 32,000 households. According to the population figures given for A.D. 2, each prefecture in Chiao-chih Commandery contained an average of only 9,000 registered households. This suggests a considerable increase in the registered population of the Tongking delta between 2 and 43. However, although the prefecture of Feng-ch'i, set up by Ma Yüan within Hsi-yü, later became the centre for a new and densely populated second commandery in Tongking, this process took another 250 years (Chapter IV). Thus it seems that the main increases in the registered population of Tongking occurred in the first half of the first century A.D., a few years after the census of A.D. 2, and were due in some part to very early immigration from the north during Wang Mang's time, but in most part to forced sinicisation and registration of non-Chinese in the delta under Hsi Kuang and Ma Yüan.

### Rebellion

Table III:2, based on information given in Bielenstein,<sup>22</sup> shows one rebellion occurring in Tongking during Later Han after 43. The figures in this table need considerable qualification before they can be meaningful in any context. For instance, Bielenstein gives Ch'ang-sha Commandery a total of three rebellions for this period. However, since the

<sup>22</sup> Bielenstein, *RHD*, III, 73-85.

time-span of the rebellions covers only five years, they may be regarded as three episodes of a single rebellion lasting approximately five years.

The 178 rebellion in Tongking actually began in Ho-p'u <sup>The 178 rebellion</sup> Commandery among the Wu-hu peoples. Chou Yung, Inspector of Chiao-chih (Circuit), could not handle the situation. K'ung Chih, the Grand Administrator of Nan-hai Commandery, and Liang Lung then rebelled against him. Finally, Chu Ch'üan was sent to Chiao-chih Circuit as Inspector in 181. Chu Ch'üan's biography in HHS says:

In the first year of the Kuang-ho era, Chu Ch'üan was appointed Inspector of Chiao-chih. He was ordered to pass through his native commandery and muster followers. He managed to raise some five thousand troops in all, and divided them into two groups, each travelling by separate routes. When he reached the borders of the circuit, he halted the army and sent a messenger into the commandery to spy out the rebels' circumstances, and proclaim the majesty and virtue of the Han in order to move their hearts. Then with troops from seven commanderies, he pressed forward upon them. Liang Lung was executed and several tens of thousands submitted. For his merit Ch'üan was enfeoffed as Marquis of a chief village...<sup>23</sup>

Two points emerge from this, the first being that the rebellion of 178 in Tongking, when seen in the context of the history of Chiao-chih Circuit as a whole, fades into insignificance. It was a secondary and minor revolt related to more serious troubles further north and cannot be regarded with the same seriousness as the Trưng rebellion of 40. Thus, there were no serious disturbances in Tongking for the whole of Later Han after 43.

As in Chiao-chih, the 178 revolt in Chiu-chen Commandery

<sup>23</sup> HHS 71/61, 12a-b. See also ANCL 7, p. 87; HHS 8, 10a and 13a-14b.

can be dismissed. There was only one serious rebellion in Chiu-chen for the whole of Later Han after the death of Emperor Kuang-wu. This was begun in 157 by Chu Ta against the corrupt practices of the prefect of Chü-feng. It lasted three years. Ni Shih, the Grand Administrator of Chiu-chen, was killed in the initial attempt to crush the rebellion. Finally, when Hsia Fang was made Inspector of Chiao-chih circuit in 160, the area was pacified.<sup>24</sup>

The absence of serious rebellions in Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen during this time suggests again that population increases in northern Vietnam between 2 and 140 were relatively small and were due to natural causes and the registration and sinicisation of native peoples rather than to an influx of northern immigrants.

The second point emerging from this is that the rebellions in Chiu-chen and the northern commanderies of Chiao-chih Circuit frequently involved Chinese settlers in the region, not the aboriginal populations. This was in part due to the developing sense of identity with the south among the older settlers and their alienation from the northern-orientated and often corrupt officials sent to administer the circuit from the north. The absence of either Chinese-inspired or native-led revolts in Tongking, and the fact that the 157 rebellion in Chiu-chen failed to affect the people of Tongking at all, suggests that the economy and well-being of the people in Tongking was stable enough to withstand any corruption and exploitation which might have occurred in that area. Little affected by immigration, corruption, and native unrest, Tongking remained

<sup>24</sup> HHS 7, 13a; TCTC 54, pp. 1736 and 1757; ANCL 7, p. 86.

an island of peace, prosperity, and stability in the far south from the subjugation of the Trung rebellion in 43 until the death of Shih Hsieh in 226.

Table III:2 shows four rebellions in the commandery of Jih-nan. All occurred in the southernmost prefecture, Hsiang-lin, before the year 150. Thus, apart from the one serious rebellion in Chiu-chen Commandery (157-60), the revolts in Hsiang-lin Prefecture were the only ones to trouble Vietnam during the Later Han dynasty after 43. Table III:3 summarises all the rebellions in the three commanderies of Vietnam during Later Han.

The history of the Hsiang-lin rebellions in Jih-nan Commandery concerns the rise of a Hinduised Cham kingdom in Central Vietnam. The Cham kingdom of Lin-yi is first mentioned by the Chinese in 192. However, as Table III:3 suggests, the foundations of Lin-yi had already been laid by the end of the first century: after 144 the Chams are no longer referred to as 'rebels' by the Chinese, the last record of 'rebellion' in Hsiang-lin being for the year 144, and the first Cham dynasty being dated as 192-336.<sup>25</sup> Thus, from 144, control of the prefecture of Hsiang-lin in Jih-nan had passed from the Chinese to the Chams. The Chams were then ignored by Chinese historians until 248 when they overran the whole of Jih-nan and attacked Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen. This was the year of Triêu Âu's rebellion; the first manifestation of the newly sinicised Yüeh aristocracy in Vietnam.

To summarise the period between the subjugation of the Trưng rebellion and the appointment of Shih Hsieh as Grand

<sup>25</sup> Maspero, 'Le Royaume de Văn-lang', p. 244.

TABLE III:3

## Rebellions in Vietnam During Later Han - 40-220

(Approx.) dating	Commandery	Rebels	Officials
40-43	Chiao-chih Chiu-chen Jih-nan	Trùng sisters	Su Ting Ma Yuan
100	Jih-nan (Hsiang-lin)	-----	-----
137-38	Jih-nan (Hsiang-lin)  Troop revolt in Chiao-chih circuit.	Ch'ü Lien	Fan Yen Chia Ch'ang Chang Ch'iao
144	Jih-nan (Hsiang-ling)	-----	Hsia Fang
157-60	Chiu-chen (Chu-feng)	Chu Ta	Ni Shih Wei Lang Hsia Fang
178	Chiao-chih Chiu-chen Jih-nan	-----	-----



Administrator in 187, we can say that two trends emerge from the meagre records of this period: corruption and bribery by court-appointed and senior officials, and the developing sense of identification with Tongking by Local Chinese and the emerging class of sinicised native leaders. As records for Chiao-chih Commandery itself are sparse, only vague outlines of the early stages of this development are discernible. The lack of information about the area suggests that, in contrast to commanderies further north Tongking was not greatly affected by the exodus of northern Chinese into the south during Later Han. Moreover, in contrast to the situation further north and in the south-west, the power of the traditional native leaders had been so thoroughly crushed by Ma Yüan at the beginning of the era that there were no serious native uprisings in the commandery for 250 years.

2 trends  
 (1) corruption & bribery  
 (2) identification of TK by local Chinese & sinicised native leaders

Not many immigrants found of local natives crushed

The population statistics of Chiao-chih Commandery for A.D. 2 suggest that by that time Tongking was already a flourishing trade center with large households of merchant families dealing in the exotic wares of the south and controlling the southern extreme of the Nan-hai trade routes. The growth in the registered population of the delta in the first decades of the first century is reflected in Ma Yüan's partition of Hsi-yü in 43. However, the lack of further administrative changes in the area for another 250 years suggests that the growth in registered population was due mainly to material advancement, natural population increases, and the sinicisation and registration of the Yüeh people - particularly those in Bắc-ninh Province (Feng-Ch'i Prefecture), one of the early strongholds of Yüeh culture and civilization.

Lack of admin'ive changes → result of conclusion is no change

*Shih Hsieh*

The opening paragraph in the Biography of Shih Hsieh in SKC tells us that Shih Hsieh was in the sixth generation of a scholarly family that had fled to Tsang-wu Commandery in Chiao-chih Circuit during Wang Mang's reign, and that his father, Shih Tz'u, had held the post of Grand Administrator in Jih-nan Commandery in central Vietnam.<sup>26</sup> This distinguishes Shih Hsieh from the usual northern-orientated Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery during Later Han, and sets the stage for the vietnamisation of the Shih clan and the local bureaucracy in Tongking during his time.

By the end of 189, the effective power of the Han dynasty had ended and north China was in a state of anarchy.<sup>27</sup> Taking advantage of the chaos in the north, Shih Hsieh, upon the death of Inspector Chu Fu, seized control of the southern half of the circuit and placed his brothers Yi, Wei, and Wu in charge of the commanderies of Ho-p'u, Chiu-chien, and Nan-hai.<sup>28</sup> The Han court did not nominate a successor to Chu Fu until 203. During the intervening years, the Shih family made Chiao-chih Circuit into a peaceful and well-governed refuge for scholars and civilians fleeing troubles in the north.

Chu Fu's successor, Chang Chin, was killed (allegedly because of his Taoist activities), by his general, Ch'ü Ching, and this resulted in a shower of titles and honours

<sup>26</sup> SKC 49 (Wu 4), 9a.

<sup>27</sup> de Crespigny, *The Chinese Empire in the South*, pp. 164-191 and p. 222ff.

<sup>28</sup> SKC 49 (Wu 4), 9b; TCTC 66, pp. 2104-05.

for Shih Hsieh as Ts'ao Ts'ao, the warlord of north China, attempted to stave off the influence of Liu Piao, Governor of Ching Province. For a period, the Shih family, paying nominal allegiance to the Han court in the north, controlled the southern half of Chiao-chih Circuit in peaceful co-existence with Liu Piao's nominees in the northern sector of the circuit. The southern commanderies remained a peaceful refuge.<sup>29</sup>

Liu Piao died in 208 and the northern part of Ching Circuit was taken over by Ts'ao Ts'ao in an attempt to reunite the empire. In that same year, however, Ts'ao Ts'ao's southward advance was halted at the Battle of the Red Cliffs,<sup>30</sup> and in 210, Pu Chih, acting on behalf of the court of Wu at Nanking, drove out the last of Liu Piao's officials. The Shih family naturally found it expedient to transfer allegiance from Han to Wu. Once more the southern commanderies were spared the turmoil and chaos suffered by the rest of China at this time.<sup>31</sup>

Shih Hsieh and his family were only interested in establishing and perpetuating their own power in Kwangtung and Vietnam. They were not interested in the workings of any centralised bureaucracy further north. The extent of their involvement in Vietnam can be seen in the events after Shih Hsieh's death. Shih Hui, Hsieh's son, revolted against Wu. He refused to accept an inferior status as Grand Administrator of Chiu-chen, while outsiders like Ch'en Shih and Tai Liang

not completely independent of the north

Attempted by Ts'ao Ts'ao to unite central parts

interested in their own power in central

Revolt against Wu

<sup>29</sup> SKC 49 (Wu 4), 10b; TCTC 66, p. 2105.

<sup>30</sup> de Crespigny, 'Military Geography', pp. 61-76.

<sup>31</sup> SKC 49 (Wu 4), 10b-11a; SKC 52 (Wu 7), 18a-25b; TCTC 66, p. 2105.

were being appointed to high positions in his region. Ch'en Shih had been appointed to succeed Shih Hsieh as Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery, while Tai Liang had been appointed Inspector of a newly created Chiao Province comprising the three commanderies of Vietnam: Chiao-chih, Chiu-chen, and Jih-nan.

Shih Hui proclaimed himself Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery and drove Tai Liang back to Ho-p'u. Although SKC reports that Lü Tai, Inspector of the newly created Kuang Province in the north, overthrew the power of the Shih family and returned Chiao Province to Wu, it seems that Shih Hui's power and following in Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen were considerable, and that Lü Tai's success was due to a division in the opposition about the best course of action. Huan Lin, an official who had served Shih Hsieh, and Shih Kuang, one of Shih Hsieh's nephews, advocated recognition and co-existence with centrally appointed officials like Ch'en Shih, Tai Liang, and Lü Tai. Shih Hui was finally persuaded by their arguments, but when he submitted to Lü Tai, he and his colleagues were seized and executed on the spot. A rebellion broke out amongst the remnants of Shih Hui's supporters, but without the leadership of the Shih clan it was doomed to failure. Once more, the government of the two commanderies of Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen was placed under the direct rule of a centralised northern bureaucracy.<sup>32</sup>

Shih Hsieh's biography indicates a rise in both the economic importance and scholastic achievement of Chiao-chih

<sup>32</sup> SKC 49 (Wu-4), 11b-12b; SKC 60 (Wu 15), 8a-9a; TCTC 70, pp. 2231-2.

Commandery during his time. It seems that Chiao-chih was a vital economic base for the Wu court at Nanking. Shih Hsieh's biography says:

Whenever Hsieh sent couriers to Sun Ch'üan, they brought with them varied types of incense, fine cloth and always several thousand pearls, great cowries, porcelain, blue kingfisher feathers, tortoise shells, rhinoceros horn and elephant tusk. They also brought strange animals and curiosities, coconuts, bananas and longans. Not a year went by without the arrival of a tribute mission. Once [Shih] Yi sent tribute of several hundred horses. Ch'üan invariably sent letters greatly increasing their honours in order to keep their allegiance and make them happy.<sup>33</sup>

The Wu court, based to the south of the Yangtse, found it had to support the needs of a colonial gentry and imperial state on a much narrower economic basis than existed in the north. The passage above shows that Chiao-chih Commandery was important for the maintenance of Wu power. Chiao-chih supplied not only grain but also luxury goods which Wu, exchanged for more useful products such as horses, with the state of Wei in the north. The numerous titles given to Shih Hsieh and his brothers by Sun Ch'üan indicate how important Chiao-chih was to the Wu kingdom in the early years of its existence.

The stable political and economic conditions in Chiao-chih Commandery at the end of the second century gave strong impetus to the development of classical and scholarly studies in the area. This was partly due to Chiao-chih's attraction as a peaceful corner of the empire in which to pursue scholarly activities, and partly to Shih Hsieh's own scholastic distinction and personal patronage of refugee

<sup>33</sup> SKC 49 (Wu 4), 11b-12a.

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scholarly  
studies

scholars.<sup>34</sup> His biography states:

Entrances and exits at his court were heralded by striking of gongs and musical stones, a correct sense of decorum was adhered to, whistles and flutes were played and often there were several tens of *hu* burning incense beside his carriage in the street.<sup>35</sup>

Trần Văn Giáp believes that the word *hu* was first used by the Chinese for Indians and Central Asians, but that after the fifth century A.D. it came to mean Hindu. His work shows that Buddhism was introduced into Tongking during the latter part of the second century A.D. via the Indian/Nan-hai trade routes.<sup>36</sup> The passage above on ritual at Shih Hsieh's court seems to substantiate the claim that Hindu and Buddhist influences were being felt in Tongking by the end of the second century. Thus, there were two cultural forces acting upon Chiao-chih Commandery at this time - one Chinese, the other Indian. They should not however be thought of as two separate or opposing trends but as part of the overall pattern of intensified sinicisation and the development of a distinctly vietnamised bureaucratic class of officials in Vietnam.

After Shih Hsieh's death in 226, Sun Ch'üan of Wu, acting upon a memorial from Lü Tai, divided Chiao Province, creating the province of Kuang containing the four

<sup>34</sup> SKC 49 (Wu 4), 10a. Some of these scholars were Hsü Ching: SKC 38 (Shu 8), 1b-2a; Ch'eng P'ing: SKC 53 (Wu 8), 5b-6a; Hsü Tzu: SKC 42 (Shu 12), 5b; Liu Hsi: SKC 42 (Shu 12), 5b.

<sup>35</sup> SKC 49 (Wu 4), 10a.

<sup>36</sup> Trần-Văn Giáp, 'Le Bouddhisme en Annam des origines aux xiii<sup>e</sup> siècles', pp. 216-20.

commanderies of Ho-p'u, Nan-hai, Yü-lin, and Tsang-wu, and the province of Chiao, containing the three commanderies of Chiao-chih, Chiu-chen, and Jih-nan. Tai Lang was appointed Inspector of Chiao, with his headquarters at Lung-pien in the Tongking delta, and Lü Tai was appointed Inspector of Kuang, with his headquarters near modern Canton. After Shih Hui's execution, the two sections were once more amalgamated to form Chiao Province.<sup>37</sup> This division of administrative power, although temporary, was the first separation of the Kwangtung-Kwangsi/Vietnam area since the beginnings of the Chinese colonisation in the far south in the second century B.C. It was a direct result of the growing political and economic importance of the area at this time, and the increase in registered population in Chiao-chih Commandery during Shih Hsieh's time. The division of Chiao-chih into Kuang and Chiao Provinces in 226 anticipated major administrative changes in the region that took place some forty years later, after the subjugation of a series of rebellions and Cham invasions into Chiu-chen and Chiao-chih commanderies.

To return to Bielenstein's theory of the immigration - rebellion cycle: Table III:1 and Map III:8 show that by the middle of the second century, pressure from northern colonists was only just reaching the commanderies of Nan-hai and Ho-p'u to the north of Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen. Pressure from these immigrants began to have an effect on Vietnam only during the latter half of the second century in Shih Hsieh's time. The peace and prosperity of Tongking during Shih Hsieh's period of power increased the attraction of Chiao-chih and

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north

<sup>37</sup> See n. 7 above.

Chiu-chen as an area of settlement. The policies of the Shih family not only attracted outsiders to Chiao-chih but also led to an increase in the number of registered aboriginal families in the area and to closer contact between the Chinese and Yüeh peoples.

With the extermination of the vietnamised Chinese leadership in 226, and the return of Grand Administrators and Inspectors with interests orientated towards the Wu court in Nanking, conditions were ripe for revolt both among the Yüeh and the local born Chinese. Additional pressure upon Chiu-chen from refugees pushed north by the expansion of Champa during the early part of the third century added to the unrest in the region.<sup>38</sup> In 248, Triệu Ẩu and her followers initiated a series of revolts against northern Chinese domination in Tongking. These rebellions, which coincided with the first serious attack by Champa on Chinese territory in Vietnam, began in Chiu-chen. This was the first serious revolt in Chiao-chih for two hundred years. By the end of 248 the rebellions were serious enough for the government of Wu to appoint Lu Yin as Inspector of Chiao-chou with the special task of subduing the area.

Details of Lu Yin's campaigns have not survived. His biography in *SKC* says only that in Kao-liang he subdued the leader, Huang Wu, and 3,000 of his clan followers. He then

<sup>38</sup> *SCC* 36, p. 50, states that in 248 the Chams took the capital of Jih-nan Commandery (Hsi-chüan) and established their northern frontier at the Shou-ling River. According to R. Stein, 'Le Lin-yi', pp. 24 and 28, this meant that the Chams had captured the whole of the commandery of Jih-nan. See also Chapter VI, pp. 144-50.



marched south, 'winning over a hundred rebel leaders with kind words and gifts'. For this, he was made General Who Pacifies the South.<sup>39</sup> Little is known about Triệu Ẩu (Ch. Chao Yü), said to be the instigator and leader of the revolts. Although the Vietnamese historians have glorified her role, it is probable that she played a relatively unimportant part, only later becoming an idealised, mirror-image of the Trưng sisters. The Chinese historians are also silent about the cause of the revolts, though we may suggest that the increasing numbers of refugees arriving in Tongking after 140, pressure in the south from the Chams, and the return of Grand Administrators and Inspectors interested in the court of Nanking rather than the affairs of Chiao Province, were all major factors.

The continued presence of northern-oriented officials in Chiao-chih Commandery after the subjugation of the rebellions did little to restore permanent peace to the area until the appointment of T'ao Huang in 268. The history of the T'ao family and their association with Vietnam is as important as that of the Shih family. The events leading up to T'ao Huang's appointment as Inspector of Chiao-chou can be summarised as follows. In 264 Sun Hsü, Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery for the kingdom of Wu, was murdered by his official Lü Hsing. Lü Hsing incited the people and soldiers in Chiao-chih to rebel because Sun Hsü had attempted to transport hundreds of skilled craftsmen to Nanking.<sup>40</sup> Once in control of the commandery, he tried to transfer the allegiance of Chiao-chih from Wu to Wei, in the north of

<sup>39</sup> SKC 61, (Wu 16), 13a-13b.

<sup>40</sup> SKC 48, (Wu 3), 12a; ANCL 7, p. 90.

China. He did this because in 264 the generals of the Ssu-ma family, who dominated the Wei court in the north, had conquered the kingdom of Shu in the south-west and it seemed probable they would go on to annex Wu and reunite China. Lü Hsing's act highlights the widening gulf between local Chinese and Vietnamese, who formed the majority of the petty bureaucracy in Tongking, and the higher Nanking officials sent to the area from the kingdom of Wu.

When Lü Hsing offered his allegiance to the Wei dynasty, the commandery of Chiu-chen followed suit. Wei appointed him General Who Pacifies the South and put him in charge of the military affairs of Chiao Province. Huo Yi was appointed Inspector of Chiao Province, and he chose Ts'uan Ku to go to the south as Grand Administrator and help Lü Hsing against troops sent from Wu. In the meantime however, Lü Hsing had been murdered by Li Tung, and once again Wu divided Chiao-chou into Kuang-chou and Chiao-chou. Ts'uan Ku died on the way to the south, and in 265, Wei sent Ma Yung to replace him. When Ma Yung, died, Yang Ch'i was sent.<sup>41</sup>

In 265, the Ssu-ma family forced the Wei ruler to abdicate. From this date, the northern kingdom became known as (Western) Chin. In 268 Wu sent Liu Chün to the area as Inspector of Chiao-chou with orders to attack Yang Ch'i. Liu Chün's troops were defeated in Ho-p'u Commandery and Wu then sent the generals Ku Yung and Hsiu Tse to attack Yang Ch'i. They too, were defeated at Ho-p'u by Yang's generals, Mao and Tung. Chin appointed Mao as Grand Administrator of Yü-lin Commandery, and Tung became Grand

<sup>41</sup> SKC 4 (Wei 4), 36a-37b; SKC 48, (Wu 3), 12b and 18b-19a with commentary quoting *Han Chin Sh'un ch'iu*; SKC 41 (Shu 11), 1b-2b; TCTC 78, p. 2487.

Administrator of Chiu-chen.<sup>42</sup>

In the eleventh month of 268, Wu sent Yü Fan, T'ao Huang, and Hsieh Shan to attack Chiao Province by the inland route south along the Siang, while Li Mien and Hsü Tsun were sent via the sea coast. The armies met at Ho-p'u and attacked Yang. T'ao Huang finally destroyed Yang Ch'i's power base in 271.<sup>43</sup> T'ao Huang then set about consolidating his position in Tongking by a thorough re-organisation of the administrative system. For nearly 250 years, Tongking had been governed through the twelve prefectural centres under Chiao-chih Commandery. Ten of these had been established some 300 years earlier, and the other two by Ma Yüan at the beginning of Later Han. The magnitude of the administrative reforms made by T'ao Huang in the first ten years of office shows how much the situation in the delta had changed and the reforms themselves reflect the types of changes which had taken place during that time.

Tao reorganised admin. system.

Chiao-chih Commandery was now divided into Chiao-chih, Hsin-hsing, and Wu-p'ing Commanderies. Although it is not known exactly how many new prefectural centres were established in the year 271,<sup>44</sup> the geographical treatise of CS states that by 280 twenty-six administrative centres were functioning in Tongking, so it is clear that T'ao Huang had initiated a major increase.

Changes in the number of administrative centres under

<sup>42</sup> SKC 48 (Wu 3), 17b-18a. SKC 48 (Wu 3), 18b-19a with commandery quoting *Han Chin ch'ün-ch'iu*; TCTC 79, p. 2508; ANCL 7, p. 89.

<sup>43</sup> SKC 48 (Wu 3), 18b; TCTC 79, p. 2517. ANCL 7, p. 89.

<sup>44</sup> SKC 48 (Wu 3), 19a.

a particular commandery must, of course, be compared with changes in the area under the control of that commandery, and also related to changes in the area of administrative centres under neighbouring commanderies. The maps of prefectural locations in Chapters II and IV show that the area of Chiao-chih Commandery in T'ao Huang's time was considerably smaller than the area of the earlier commandery of that name. The combined area of the three commanderies of Chiao-chih, Hsin-hsing, and Wu-p'ing was the same as that of former Chiao-chih Commandery. This means that the strength of Chinese power in Tongking during the first three centuries A.D. was not based on territorial expansion or conquest, but on the consolidation, and increased intensity of government control in territory already held.

Chapter IV shows, however, that the proliferation of new administrative centres took place in several key areas. The area that Ma Yüan had subdivided in 43, received more than half of the newly established prefectural centres. This region, modern Phúc-yên and Bắc-ninh provinces, became the centre of the commandery of Wu-p'ing. Today, Bắc-ninh, just north-east of Hanoi, is one of the most populous areas of Tongking outside the two cities of Hanoi and Haiphong. Thus the changes instituted by T'ao Huang in the middle of the third century reveal a trend towards present-day demographic patterns in Tongking.

One of the aims of tightening Chinese control in the Bac-ninh region was to force the pace of registration among the native peoples in this area. Before the establishment of Wu-p'ing Commandery, T'ao Huang carried out a campaign of

subjugation against the Yüeh in Bắc-ninh.<sup>45</sup> This was a time when Wu was desperately short of manpower, and T'ao Huang's campaign against the Yüeh was in part a response to this need. The Bắc-ninh region also contained some of the best arable land in the delta, and many of the immigrant Chinese colonists arriving in Tongking during the later part of the second century would have preferred to settle in this slightly hilly region rather than in the marshy and unhealthy lowlands of the coast. The new settlements would increase native discontent in the area, and necessitate tighter policing and administrative control on the part of the government.

campaign  
of  
subjugation  
by T'ao  
Huang

The treatise on geography in *CS* gives the number of registered households in each commandery in Tongking for the year 280.<sup>46</sup> Table III:4 sets out these figures and compares them with the population figures given in the *HS*. It shows the number of registered households to be well below that given in the *HS*.

TABLE III:4

Population Figures for Tongking (A.D.2, A.D.280)

Commandery	Chin-shu	Han-shu
Chiao-chih	12,000 h ----- p	92,440 h 746,237 p
Wu-p'ing	5,000 h ----- p	-----
Hsin-ch'ang	3,000 h ----- p	-----

h - households

p - persons

<sup>45</sup> *SKC* 48 (Wu 3), 19a; *TCTC* 79, p. 2517.

<sup>46</sup> *CS* 15, 8b-9a.

The Chin figures are almost certainly those of the taxable population in Tongking; they are not census figures as in *HS*.<sup>47</sup> Since the sum of the area of Chiao-chih, Hsin-ch'ang, and Wu-p'ing, during T'ao Huang's time was probably not much greater than that of the Han commandery of Chiao-chih, the sum of the population figures for those three commanderies can be compared with the figure given in the *HS*. That is, the census figure of 92,440 families in A.D. 2 can be compared with the taxation figure of 20,000 families for the year 280. We can also compare the figure of 5,000 taxable families in Wu-p'ing Commandery with that of 32,000 families estimated by Ma Yüan to be in the region in A.D. 43. A simple comparison of these figures suggests that only one in five registered families in Tongking were paying taxes in 280. In the case of Wu-p'ing Commandery, it would appear that only one out of every six or seven families were taxpayers during the Chin. Either there was a substantial decrease in the population of Tongking over the first three centuries of the Christian era, or the central government in the north had very little control over the population.

The establishment of fourteen additional prefectural centres in Tongking during the third century A.D. discounts the theory of population decrease. Rather it indicates a substantial increase in the numbers of registered families and taxable family units, and a tightening of governmental control over the inhabitants of the area. This appears to contradict the impression that the central government had little control over the region. The explanation for this lies in the fact that T'ao Huang, like Shih Hsieh before him,

<sup>47</sup> See Bielenstein, 'Census', pp. 125-30.

had become a more or less independent ruler in Tongking, paying only token tribute to the Chin Court at Loyang. It was in his interest to understate the potential of his area as far as taxation was concerned. After sending a small proportion of the revenue to Lo-yang, he could keep the remainder circulating within the commanderies of Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen. In this respect T'ao Huang's role in Tongking was the same as that played by the large-estate owners elsewhere in China during the Chin period.

T'ao  
Huang -  
becoming  
independent  
etc.

Thus, for the first 250 years of the Christian era, the history of Tongking was punctuated by bouts of immigration, sinicisation, vietnamisation, rebellion, military conquest, and administrative reform. Unfortunately, only the highlights of the period are available to us for study. Diagram III:3 tabulates these highlights and suggests some of the cycles operating in Vietnamese history at this time.

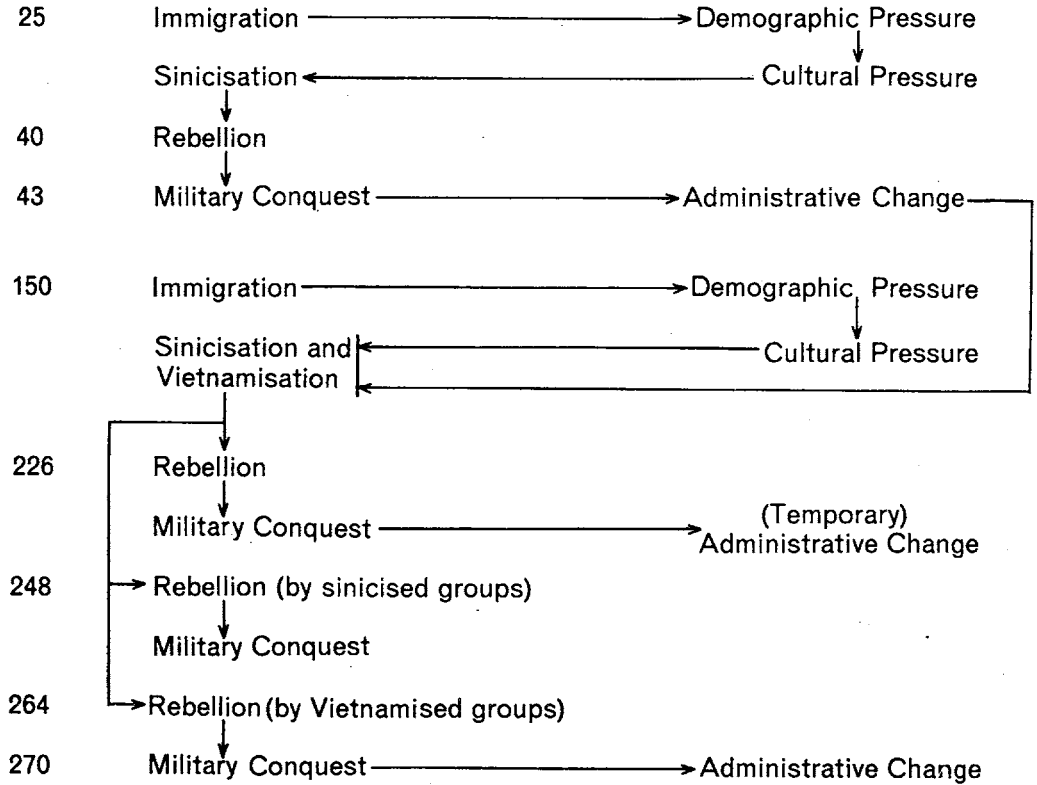
As this formulation shows, administrative change in Tongking was normally initiated only after an intensive wave of immigration into the area had upset the demographic and cultural balance between the Chinese and Yüeh peoples. Demographic pressure in the delta produced a period of intensified sinicisation of the Yüeh and the vietnamisation of local Chinese groups. The third stage of the cycle involved rebellion against the central authorities by native groups or local Chinese groups or some combination of these. Military conquest by the central dynasty and administrative reform followed these rebellions. The establishment of additional prefectures and commanderies in the area in turn increased the sinicisation factors and ultimately the likelihood of rebellion, conquest, and administrative reform.

sinicisation  
vietnamisation



Diagram III : 3 Cycles of Conquest and Rebellion in Vietnam - A.D. 25-270

A.D.





## CHAPTER IV

Chinese Prefectural Centres in Tongking during the  
Wu and Chin Periods (265-420)

Table IV:5 below sets out the total number of commanderies and prefectures in Tongking under the Han, Wu, and Chin dynasties. Table IV:6 sets out the number of prefectural centres in each commandery. These tables were compiled from information in the treatises on geography in *HHS* and *CS*. *SKC* has no such treatise, so the figures for the Wu period are derived from information in the treatises on geography in *Sung-shu*, *NCS*, and *CTS* as well as *YHCH* and *TPHYC*.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE IV:5

Number of Commanderies and Prefectures in Tongking  
(Han to Chin)

	Dynasty			
	HAN	HOU HAN	WU	CHIN
Number of commanderies	1	1	3	3
Number of prefectures	10	12	25	27

<sup>1</sup> See *HHS* 113/23, 31a-31b. *CS* 15, 8b-9a. *Sung-shu* 38, 39b-41a. *NCS* 14, 24b-25a. *CTS* 21, 42b-47a. *SS* 31, 12b-13a. *YHCH* 38, 9b-11b. *TPHYC* 170, 1a-12a.

TABLE IV:6

Number of Prefectures in each Commandery in Tongking  
(Han to Chin)

Commandery	Dynasty			
	HAN	HOU HAN	WU	CHIN
Chiao-chih	10	12	14	14
Wu-p'ing	0	0	7	7
Hsin-ch'ang	0	0	4	6
Total, prefectures	10	12	25	27

Simply comparing the numerical total of prefectures in each commandery during Later Han and the Wu-Chin periods, however, can be very misleading. Any meaningful study of administrative change must also be based on an examination of prefectural names, not solely on changes in numerical totals. For example, while Table IV:6 suggests that, after Later Han eleven new prefectural seats were set up outside the area of Chiao-chih, the study of prefectural names in Tables IV:7, IV:8 and IV:9 show this to be incorrect.

TABLE IV:7

Prefectural Names under Chiao-chih Commandery  
(Han to Chin)

Names of prefectures	Dynasty			
	HAN	HOU HAN	WU	CHIN
Lei-lou	/	/	/	/
An-ting	/	/	/	/
Kou-lei	/	/	/	/
Mi-ling	/	/	T(h-c)	T
Ch'ü-yang	/	/	/	/
Pei-tai	/	/	/	/
Ch'i-hsü	/	/	/	/
Hsi-yü	/	/	/	/
Lung-pien	/	/	/	/
Chu-yüan	/	/	/	/
	10	10	9	9
Feng-ch'i		/	T(w-p)	T
Wang-hai		/	/	/
		2	1	1
Wu-ning			/	/
Wu-hsing <sup>a</sup>			/	
Wu-an			/	
Chün-p'ing			/	
			4	
Nan-ting				
Chiao-hsing				
Hai-p'ing				
				4

- / = Existing at that time  
 T = Transferred to another commandery  
 h-c = Hsing-ch'ang Commandery  
 w-p = Wu-p'ing Commandery  
 = Changed name

TABLE IV:8

Prefectural Names under Hsin-ch'ang Commandery  
(Wu to Chin)

Names of prefectures	Dynasty	
	WU	CHIN
Mi-ling	T / (c-c)X	/
Chia-ning	/	/
Wu-ting <sup>a</sup>	/	/
Feng-shan	/	/
	4	4
Lin-hsi		/
Hsi-tao		/
		2

TABLE IV:9

Prefectural Names under Wu-p'ing Commandery  
(Wu to Chin)

Names of prefectures	Dynasty	
	WU	CHIN
Feng-ch'i	T / (c-c)	/
Wu-hsing <sup>b</sup>	/	/
Chin-shan	/	/
Ken-ning	/	/
An-wu	/	/
Fu-an	/	/
Wu-ning	/	/
	7	7

T / = Transferred FROM... (c-c) = Chiao-chih Commandery

X = Reduced in area to establish another prefecture

A glance at Table IV:6 suggests that the number of prefectural administrative centres in Chiao-chih Commandery after the end of Later Han increased by two. Table IV:7, however, which lists the names of each prefectural town under Chiao-chih Commandery during the Wu period, shows that four new administrative centres were established within the old Han commandery of Chiao-chih: Wu-ning, Wu-hsing<sup>a</sup>, Wu-an and Chün-p'ing. Two of the earlier prefectural centres in Chiao-chih (Mi-ling and Feng-ch'i) were transferred to the jurisdiction of new commandery administrations, leaving a total of fourteen prefectures under the control of Chiao-chih.

Tables IV:8 and IV:9 show that Mi-ling was detached from the administration of Chiao-chih to form the nucleus for a new commandery of Hsin-hsing. Feng-ch'i was transferred to Wu-p'ing Commandery. Tables IV:8 and IV:9 also show that contrary to the implications in Table IV:6 the Wu dynasty did not establish eleven new administrative centres for these two commanderies, but only nine, three in Hsin-hsing, and six in Wu-p'ing.

#### The Commandery of Chiao-chih

##### *Wu-ning*

Tables IV:7, IV:8 and IV:9 show a total of thirteen new prefectural centres in Tongking during the Wu period. However, a comparison of the names of the prefectural towns listed in Tables IV:7 and IV:9 shows that the name Wu-ning appears under the commanderies of Chiao-chih and Wu-p'ing. At first glance, this might seem to have been due to scribal error. However, a study of the Chin columns in these tables shows the same situation,<sup>2</sup> minimizing the possibility of a

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<sup>2</sup> CS 15, 8b, 9a.

fault in the text. In the geographical treatises of *Sung-shu* and *NCS*, the name Wu-ning appears under Chiao-chih and under Chiu-chen. Thus, Wu-ning occurs in Chiao-chih Commandery for all dynasties from Wu to Southern Ch'i, and in Wu-p'ing Commandery from Wu to the end of Chin. From Sung to Southern Ch'i, it appears in Chiu-chen as well as in Chiao-chih.

TABLE IV:10

## Wu-ning Prefecture

Commandery	Wu	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i
Chiao-chih	/	/	/	/
Wu-p'ing	/	/	-	-
Chiu-chen	-	-	/	/

Li Cheng-fu concluded that, when Wu first set up Wu-ning Prefecture, it was put under the control of Chiao-chih Commandery. Later, it became the centre of Wu-p'ing Commandery. He also concluded that Wu-ning lay on the border between Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen commanderies and, consequently, was mistakenly placed within the confines of both commanderies. This explanation assumes that there was never more than one location for Wu-ning, *i.e.* wherever and whenever this name occurs, it refers to only one geographical location. That location, according to Li Cheng-fu, was somewhere between present-day Sơn-tây and Ninh-bình provinces.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, Li did not base his location of Wu-ning upon independent evidence. It was derived from his explanation of why the name of the town appears under so

<sup>3</sup> Li Cheng-fu, p. 218.

many different commanderies. An independent assessment of the location of Wu-ning shows it was not established in the Sơn-tây/Ninh-bình region at all, but in northern Bắc-ninh to the north-east of Lung-pien. This location is given in *TPHYC*, which groups Wu-ning with a line of prefectural towns running eastwards along the northern bank of the Bắc River. These were: Feng-ch'i, P'ing-tao, and Lung-pien. This text says that the administrative centres of Lung-pien and Wu-ning were incorporated into Lung-chou and then, with the abolition of Lung-chou in the seventh century, absorbed into Hsien-chou, since by this time Wu-ning had been abolished as an administrative centre and its territory administered from Lung-pien. Thus it seems that Lung-pien and Wu-ning were contiguous.<sup>4</sup>

Six or seven kilometres east of the modern counties of Quế-duông and Vũ-giang lies Mount Trâu, also known by the name Vũ-ninh (Ch. Wu-ning). These counties lie to the north-east of the ancient site of Lung-pien, and their location agrees with the descriptions of Wu-ning in *TPHYC*. It appears, therefore, that Wu-ning was established between the Bắc and the Cà-lồ/Cầu rivers to the north-east of Lung-pien and it could not have been on the borders of Chiao-chih and Chiu-chen commanderies. It is possible however, that at different times an administrative centre in such a location may have been variously attached to either Chiao-chih or Wu-p'ing Commandery (Map IV:9); its administrative condition at any one time depending upon some varying local factor such as the practicability of communication and transportation routes. During the Sung dynasty, this unknown factor must have

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<sup>4</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 7b.

stabilized, for Wu-ning Prefecture from that time onwards remained under the control of Chiao-chih until its abolition.

If it is agreed that Wu-ning in Chiao-chih was probably the same place as Wu-ning in Wu-p'ing, the last two figures in Table IV:5 should read 24 and 26, respectively. During the Wu period therefore, the number of administrative centres in Tongking increased by twelve rather than by thirteen. The increase in the total number of administrative centres for the Chin period remains at two, although the actual number of prefectures should now read twenty-six rather than twenty-seven.

TABLE IV:11

Table IV:5 adjusted: Total Number of Commanderies and Prefectures in Tongking (Han to Chin)

	Dynasty .....			
	HAN	HOU HAN	WU	CHIN
Number of commanderies	1	1	3	3
Number of prefectures	10	12	24	26

### *Chün-p'ing*

Table IV:7 shows three other administrative centres under Chiao-chih Commandery which were created during the Wu period. They were Wu-hsing, Wu-an, and Chün-p'ing. According to *CTS*, Chün-p'ing became known in the T'ang as Chu-yüan.<sup>5</sup> However, *YHCH* states that Han Chu-yüan remained in the same

<sup>5</sup> *CTS* 21, 43b.



locality until 622, when it was renamed Yüan-chou.<sup>6</sup> Maspero has located T'ang Chu-yüan near modern Hải-dương,<sup>7</sup> but this location was not the site of the Han prefecture of that name. The latter lay in northern Sơn-tây (see Chapter II, pp. 50-1). This adds weight to the claim in *CTS* that T'ang Chu-yüan had once been known by another name.

When we follow the name changes of Chün-p'ing, it becomes clear that T'ang Chu-yüan was not associated with Chün-p'ing. Table IV:7 shows that Chün-p'ing became known as Hai-p'ing during the Chin.<sup>8</sup> It was called Hai-p'ing throughout the Sung, Ch'i, and Liang. According to *YHCH* and *TPYHC*, Hai-p'ing was abolished as an administrative centre during the Liang, and its territory incorporated into An-hai, which became known during the eighth century as Ning-hai and was alternatively part of Lu-chou or Yü-shan-chou.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it seems that the site of the Wu prefectural town of Chün-p'ing was not the same as T'ang Chu-yüan, but the same as T'ang Lu-chou.

Maspero located T'ang Lu-chou along the coast and islands of the Baie d'Along, as well as in the mountains further inland along the Kinh-môn River, *i.e.* in northern Hải-dương and south-western Quảng-yên.<sup>10</sup> Under the section on Ning-hai in Lu-chou, the *YHCH* describes a mountain named

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<sup>6</sup> *HYCH* 38, 10b.

<sup>7</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', pp. 580-3.

<sup>8</sup> *Sung Shu* 38, 40b.

<sup>9</sup> *YHCH* 38, 14a. *TPHYC* 170, 9a.

<sup>10</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 551.

Lo-feng (V. La-phong), rising from the sea and situated two kilometres to the east of the seat of Ning-hai.<sup>11</sup> Since the land of the delta to the north-east of Hải-đồng is extremely low and subject to frequent inundations, it is likely that during the T'ang dynasty a large portion was under water in the form of a lagoon or marshy swamp. The Lo-feng mountain was probably part of the group of limestone hills now located along the lower reaches of the Kinh-môn River to the north-east of Hải-đồng.<sup>12</sup> Thus, Ning-hai probably lay further upstream on that river, north-west of Hải-đồng city. This would explain the T'ang confusion between T'ang Chu-yüan and the Wu seat of Chün-p'ing - Chün-p'ing must have been located on the northern edge of that territory under the later control of T'ang Chu-yüan, centred around modern Hải-đồng city.

Thus, from the information in *Sung-shu*, *CTS*, *YHCH*, and *TPHYC*, along with Maspero's location of T'ang Chu-yüan and Gourou's study of the geography of the Tongking area, the Wu prefecture of Chün-p'ing can be located somewhere along the upper reaches of the Kinh-môn River, downstream from the Seven Pagodas.

#### *Wu-an/Nan-ting*

Table IV:7 shows that the prefecture of Wu-an was known as Nan-ting during the Chin dynasty.<sup>13</sup> *TPHYC* describes a town of Nan-ting sixty-two *li* to the south-west of the T'ang

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<sup>11</sup> *HYCH* 38, 14a.

<sup>12</sup> Gourou, *Le Tonkin*, pp. 37-8, pp. 54-5.

<sup>13</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 40b.

capital near Hanoi, and the same as the ancient Han town of Hsi-chüan in Jih-nan Commandery. Four mountains (or mountain ranges) and five rivers are listed within its jurisdiction: the Cheng-chüeh, Tung-chiu, Pu-lü, and Fu-shih mountains, and the Tung-t'i, Shih-tsu, Su-li (V. Tô-lích), Chen-yi, and Chiao-tsun rivers. The Fu-shih mountains are described as rising several hundred feet out of the sea.<sup>14</sup>

A relief map of the Tongking delta shows a broken line of hills running in south-westerly direction from the north of the Phú-ly Canal down to Ninh-bình. Today, these rocky outcrops in an otherwise flat plain are known as Dôn-sơn, Núi-kê-nôn, Núi-phuong-nhi and Núi-gỏi. Gourou has described the last of these (Núi-gỏi, just north-east of Ninh-bình) as a limestone reef once submerged or semi-submerged in the sea. This area is the lowest of the delta regions, and frequently inundated. The Fu-shih Mountain of Nan-ting could have been one of these rocky outcrops.<sup>15</sup> The distance of sixty-two *li* cited by *TPHYC* places Nan-ting near the Phú-ly Canal or just to the north of it, rather than to its south.

The association of Nan-ting with the Han administrative seat of Hsi-chüan is certainly false, for Jih-nan Commandery in Han times lay to the south of Chiu-chen, which was in Thanh-hóa Province (Map I:1). Chapter VI, on the Sung commandery of Sung-p'ing and the Chin prefecture of Lin-hsi, shows how T'ang geographers confused the location of Han Hsi-chüan (the administrative seat of Jih-nan Commandery) with that of Nan-ting, and also confused Hsi-chüan with the locations of Sung-p'ing and Lin-hsi. Although the association

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<sup>14</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 9b-10a.

<sup>15</sup> Gourou, pp. 53-5, and Fig. 17 on p. 184.

with Hsi-chüan is erroneous, a study showing how the mistake arose (see section on Sung-p'ing Commandery, Chapter VI, pp. 142-50) does reveal that the three centres of Nan-ting, Lin-hsi, and Sung-p'ing lay close together near the Đáy and Nhuê Rivers, to the south of Hanoi.

The descriptions of Nan-ting in *YHCH* further clarify the location of Nan-ting.<sup>16</sup> It seems that there were two T'ang administrative centres named Nan-ting, and the compilers of *TPHYC* combined the description of these two places. *YHCH* states that an administrative centre known as Nan-ting was established at the end of the eighth century within the territory of Lei-lou (see above, Chapter II, pp. 35-40). This contradicts the facts set out in Table IV:7, which shows that Nan-ting was first established under the name Wu-an during the Wu dynasty.<sup>17</sup> However *YHCH* goes on to describe an earlier prefectural town called Nan-ting which was abolished early in the eighth century. Its location is described as 200 *li* to the south-east of the second Nan-ting established near Lei-lou.<sup>18</sup> Although no date of establishment for the earlier town is given, it seems more than likely that it was formerly the administrative centre of Wu-an, established during the Wu period.

Maspero has shown that the Tung-chiu (V. Gian-c<sup>h</sup>u) Mountain of the Nan-ting mentioned in *TPHYC* lay on the right bank of the Bắc River to the west of H<sup>?</sup>ải-d<sup>?</sup>ưỡng. This is the location of the second of the T'ang centres of administration

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<sup>16</sup> *YHCH* 38, 10b.

<sup>17</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 40b.

<sup>18</sup> *YHCH* 38, 10b.

known as Nan-ting, and it seems that the compilers of *TPHYC* confused the earlier prefecture, which was located around *Phủ-lý* to the south of Hanoi, with the latter prefecture located to its north-east on the right bank of the *Bắc River*.<sup>19</sup>

Pelliot mentioned a river by the name of *Tô-lich* (Ch. *Su-li*), which flowed through the village of *Ta-lo* constructed in A.D. 867 by General Kao Pien just north-west of Hanoi. The name *Tô-lich* survives today in the name of the river running through the north-western corner of Hanoi. This river runs on basically the same course as the river which used to flow through the prefecture of Nan-ting to the south of Hanoi.<sup>20</sup>

The distance of 200 *li* cited in the *YHCH* points to a location near *Phủ-lý*. Two hundred *li* is a little over a hundred kilometres. From Hanoi to *Phủ-lý* is about sixty-five kilometres, and from Hanoi to the site of *Lei-lou* is another thirty or more. Thus the Wu dynasty prefectural seat of *Wu-an* was located south of Hanoi, just north of the *Phủ-lý Canal* in *Hà-dông Province*.

### *Wu-hsing/Chiao-hsing*

Table IV:7 shows that, during the Chin, the town of *Wu-hsing*<sup>a</sup> became known as *Chiao-hsing*. (During the Sung and Ch'i dynasties the name was changed back to *Wu-hsing* - (see

<sup>19</sup> Maspero has identified *Gian-cửu Mountain* as five *li* to the north-west of the present town of *Gia-binh*. This mountain is now known as *Đông-cửu Sơn* or *Thiên-thai Sơn*. See Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 567.

<sup>20</sup> Pelliot, 'Deux itinéraires', pp. 130-413.

Chapter VI).<sup>21</sup> Some time before the Sui period, it was abolished as a prefectural town and its location forgotten. No information about it survives from that period. It is therefore impossible to determine its location.

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In conclusion, it seems that, after the fall of Later Han, the commandery of Chiao-chih underwent several important changes. Four new administrative seats were created in addition to the twelve already established. One of these, Chün-p'ing, was set up south of Ch'i-hsü (Chapter II, p. 46) in order to govern the native peoples and Chinese immigrants settled along the upper reaches of the Kinh-môn and Thái-bình rivers. Another prefecture by the name of Wu-ning was created between the Lung-pien, Pei-tai, and Ch'ü-ying in order to administer more efficiently settlers along the southern bank of the Sông Cầu to the west of Ch'ü yang. A third prefecture, known as Wu-an, was established to the south of Kou-lei to control expanding settlements along the Đáy, Nhuê, and Red rivers. A fourth centre named Wu-hsing<sup>a</sup> was also established within the commandery.

A further important change took place in the north-western sector of the commandery. This area became the nucleus for two new commanderies, which shared the administration of the old Han area of Chiao-chih Commandery and stretched beyond it to include newly colonised territory.

It can now be shown that wrong conclusions could be drawn from Tables IV:5 and IV:6. Clearly, the number of new

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<sup>21</sup> CS 15, 8b. *Sung-shu* 38, 40a.

administrative seats under control of Chiao-chih during the Wu period was four, even though the total number of prefectures only shows an increase of two. In addition, the new commanderies of Wu-p'ing and Hsin-hsing shared a total of eight new administrative seats, rather than eleven as given in Table IV:6. Table IV:6 shows that throughout the Chin, the total number of prefectural towns under Chiao-chih Commandery remained at fourteen. Table IV:7 confirms that this was indeed the situation; no new administrative centres were established and none of the Wu centres were transferred to any other commandery. No towns were abolished as administrative seats. Changes occurred only in the names of three prefectural towns: Wu-hsing<sup>a</sup> became known as Chiao-hsing; Wu-an, as Nan-ting; and Chün-p'ing, as Hai-p'ing.<sup>22</sup>

#### The Commandery of Hsin-hsing/ch'ang

The Wu commandery of Hsin-hsing was created from the Han prefectural seat of Mi-ling. Three new prefectural centres were created to carry out its administrative functions. These were the towns of Chia-ning, Wu-ting<sup>a</sup>, and Feng-shan.

#### *Chia-ning*

*TPHYC* states that Chia-ning was established within the territory of the former Han prefecture of Mi-ling.<sup>23</sup> *YHCH* lists a prefecture called Chia-ning under T'ang Feng-chou, and states that the commandery of Hsin-hsing (or Hsin-ch'ang as it was known during the Chin) lasted as an administrative

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<sup>22</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 40a-40b.

<sup>23</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 11a.

unit until the Ch'en dynasty (557-87), when it became part of Hsing-chou.<sup>24</sup> In 560, the name Hsing was changed to Feng. Thus, the area of T'ang Feng-chou must have been the same as that of Wu Hsin-hsing. It seems logical to assume from this that the area of T'ang Chia-ning, which lay within Feng-chou, corresponded with Wu Chia-ning in Hsin-hsing Commandery. Table IV:11 bears this out. It shows that Chia-ning remained an administrative centre from the Wu dynasty through to the Liang period (502-56).

*TPHYC* states that the border of Chia-ning lay 150 *li* to the west of the capital during T'ang, and that Feng-chou lay 130 *li* to the north-west of the capital.<sup>25</sup> These distances suggest that the administrative seat of Chia-ning was some ten kilometres from the border between Feng-chou and Chiao-chou. *YHCH* refers to a river Lei which ran through T'ang Wu-p'ing (see below) from the borders of Chia-ning.<sup>26</sup> The word K'ou, 'mouth', used in the description probably refers to the place where the river branched off from or entered a larger river. Maspero identifies the Sông Cà-lồ as the Lei River of the T'ang geographies and describes its mouth as the point of divergence from the Red River.<sup>27</sup> This agrees with the information about Chia-ning in *TPHYC* and *YHCH*, which points to a location south-east of Mi-ling and north-west of Feng-ch'i.

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<sup>24</sup> *YHCH* 38, 13a-13b.

<sup>25</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 10a-11b.

<sup>26</sup> *YHCH* 38, 13b.

<sup>27</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 666.



*TPHYC* describes a mountain called San-wei lying within the jurisdiction of T'ang Chia-ning.<sup>28</sup> Maspero identifies San-wei Mountain with Mount Ba-vĩ in northern Sơn-tây about sixteen kilometres south-west of the city of Sơn-tây (some fifty kilometres west of Hanoi).<sup>29</sup> Although the territory under the control of Mi-ling in Han times may have theoretically extended this far to the south-west, Mount Ba-vĩ, in the T'ang period, would not have been under the jurisdiction of Chia-ning in Feng-chou. *ANCL* identifies Mount Fu-chi (V. Phất-tích) with the San-yüan and describes its shape as like that of an umbrella.<sup>30</sup> Phất-tích was in Han Feng-ch'i, and *TPHYC* places the old area of Han Feng-ch'i under the control of T'ang Chia-ning.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the identification of the San-yüan with Phất-tích seems correct, *i.e.* the San-yüan Mountain of the *TPHYC* can be identified with the present Tiên-du Sơn in Bắc-ninh Province.

Thus, we can place the administrative seat of Chia-ning to the north of the Cà-lồ River near its divergence from the Red River. Since *TPHYC* implies that the administrative seat of Chia-ning lay about eleven kilometres from the borders of T'ang Feng-chou and Chiao-chou, then probably the Cà-lồ River formed a dividing line between the two T'ang provinces, and between the early commanderies of Hsin-ch'ang and Chiao-chih.<sup>32</sup>

While there is a wealth of information about Mi-ling and Chia-ning, which formed the nucleus of the Wu Commandery of

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<sup>28</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 11a-11b.

<sup>29</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 666.

<sup>30</sup> *ANCL* 1, 22.

<sup>31</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 11a-11b.

<sup>32</sup> *YHCH* 28, 13b.

Hsin-hsing, little information has survived about the remaining administrative seats, Wu-ting<sup>a</sup>, Feng-shan, Lin-hsi, and Hsi-tao. Since the two prefectures of Mi-ling and Chia-ning formed the nucleus of the commandery, it may be assumed that the remaining prefectures lay on the outskirts of the commandery in roughly circular fashion around the two central prefectures, perhaps following the path of the major rivers in the area. A full discussion of the location of each of these prefectures involves the records of the Sung, Ch'i, and Sui dynasties as well as the location of the prefectural seats in the Sung commandery of Sung-p'ing (Chapter VI). Tables IV: 12 and IV: 13 below show the names of each of the prefectures under the commanderies of Hsin-ch'ang and Wu-p'ing during the Sung, Southern Ch'i, and Sui dynasties; the information in each case is derived from the geographical treatise of the relevant dynastic history.<sup>33</sup>

#### *Wu-ting<sup>a</sup>*

The treatise on geography in *Sung-shu* shows that during the Sung dynasty (420-77) the prefecture of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> was transferred to the commandery of Wu-p'ing.<sup>34</sup> Southern Ch'i records show that it was transferred back to the commandery of Hsin-ch'ang after the Sung (Tables IV: 12 and IV: 13).<sup>35</sup> This prefecture should not be confused with Wu-ting<sup>b</sup>, which was established by the Southern Ch'i within Wu-p'ing Commandery (Chapter VI).<sup>36</sup> The transfer from Hsin-ch'ang to Wu-p'ing and

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<sup>33</sup> See *Sung-shu* 38, 39b-41a; *NCS* 14, 14b-25b; *SS* 31, 12b-13a.

<sup>34</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 41a.

<sup>35</sup> *NCS* 14, 25a.

<sup>36</sup> *NCS* 14, 24b. See also Character Appendix to the present work, *Sub Wu-ting*.

TABLE IV: 12

Prefectural Names under Hsin-ch'ang Commandery  
(Sung to Sui)

Names of prefectures	Dynasty		
	SUNG*	S. CH'I	SUI
Mi-ling	-	-	-
Chia-ning	-	/	T(c-c)
Wu-ting <sup>a</sup>	T(w-p)	T/(w-p)	-
Feng-shan	-	/	-
Lin-hsi	-	/	T(c-c) An-jen
Hsi-tao	-	/	-
	0	(5)	
Hsin-tao		T/(w-p)	-
Chin-hua		T/(w-p)	-
Fan-hsin		/	-
		8	0

\* For a discussion of the commandery of Hsin-ch'ang during the Sung period, see Chapter VI, p. 141.

- / = Existing at that time  
 T = Transferred to another commandery  
 T/ = Transferred from another commandery  
 (w-p) = Wu-p'ing Commandery  
 (c-c) = Chiao-chih Commandery

TABLE IV: 13

Prefectural Names under Wu-p'ing Commandery  
(Sung to Sui)

Names of prefectures	Dynasty		
	SUNG*	S.CH'I	SUI
Feng-ch'i	-	/	-
Wu-hsing <sup>b</sup>	-	/	-
Chin-shan	-	-	-
Ken-ning	-	/	-
An-wu	-	-	-
Fu-an	-	-	-
Wu-ning	-	-	-
Wu-ting <sup>a</sup>	T /(h-c)	T(h-c)	-
Hsin-tao	/	T(h-c)	-
Chin-hua	/	T(h-c)	-
Wu-ting <sup>b</sup>	3	/	T(c-c) Lung P'ing
P'ing-tao		/	T(c-c)
Nan-yi		/	-
		6	

\* See Chapter VI, pp. 137-41.

(h-c) = Hsin-ch'ang Commandery

[Other abbreviations as in Table IV: 12]

back again shows that Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> was within easy reach of both the commanderies. This rules out a north-western location for Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> and places it either along the Cà-lô<sup>^</sup> River to the east of Mi-ling and Chia-ning, or along the Red River to the south of Mi-ling and west of Feng-ch'i. Since the Sung commandery of Sung-p'ing controlled the area to the south and south-west of Hanoi (Chapter VI), it seems that the location of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> can be narrowed down to an area between Chia-ning and Hanoi, or along the Cà-lô<sup>^</sup> just downstream from the prefecture of Chia-ning. Chapters IV and VI show that this area along the Cà-lô<sup>^</sup> River was administered by the towns of Fu-an, Chin-shan, and An-wu during the Chin, and by Chin-hua and Hsin-tao during the Sung and Southern Ch'i. Therefore, the most likely location for the prefecture of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> is between Chia-ning and Hanoi to the south-west of the Red River, perhaps on the upper reaches of the Su-li.

### *Lin-hsi*

During the Chin, two additional prefectures were created within Hsin-ch'ang Commandery. These were the prefectures of Lin-hsi and Hsi-tao.<sup>37</sup> The *SS* records that until 560 the Sui prefectural town of An-jen was known as Lin-hsi.<sup>38</sup> *YHCH* and *TPHYC* show that An-jen lay within the Sung commandery of Sung-p'ing to the south-west of Hanoi. Both works connect An-jen and Sung-p'ing with the Han prefectures of Hsien-huan and Hsi-chüan.<sup>39</sup> Although the reasoning behind the identification of Sung-p'ing with Hsi-chüan (the Han administrative centre of

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<sup>37</sup> *CS* 15, 9a.

<sup>38</sup> *SS* 31, 12b.

<sup>39</sup> *YHCH* 38, 10a; *TPHYC* 170, 66.

Jih-nan Commandery) is erroneous (Chapter VI, pp. 142-50) it does, along with the identification of An-jen with Hsien-huan (an administrative seat of Chiu-ch'en Commandery in Thanh-hóa Province), point to a location south of Hanoi for Sung-p'ing and An-jen (Lin-hsi).

The *Sui-shu ti-li chih k'ao-yi fu pu-yi*, a supplement to the geographical treatise of the *SS* compiled by Yang Shou-ching of the Ch'ing dynasty, places An-jen on the border of Tuyên-quang Province, i.e. to the north-west of Mi-ling and Chia-ning.<sup>40</sup> This contradicts the information in the *SS*, *TPHYC* and *YHCH*. *Pu ch'en chiang-yü chih*, also compiled during the Ch'ing period, places Lin-hsi within Sung-p'ing rather than Hsin-ch'ang.<sup>41</sup> This is in accord with descriptions in the *SS*, *TPHYC*, and *YHCH*. A location to the north-west of Mi-ling would place Lin-hsi well beyond the possible jurisdiction of the commandery of Sung-p'ing, and therefore Yang's location must be discounted.

Thus, the most likely location for Lin-hsi during the Chin period is to the south of Mi-ling and west of present-day Hanoi. This corresponds closely with one of the possible locations for the prefectural seat of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup>. The combined evidence for the location of these two places suggests that if Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> lay to the south of Chia-ning rather than to its east along the Cà-lồ River, then the Chin seat of Lin-hsi would have been located to its west, perhaps on the upper reaches of the Đáy or Nhuê Rivers.

### *Hsi-tao*

One clue survives concerning the location of the Chin prefectural centre of Hsi-tao. It is found in *TPHYC*, which

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<sup>40</sup> *ESWSPP* IV, 4894.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, p. 4474.

mentions a Hsi-tao River flowing through the north-west of T'ang Feng-chou. This river was used as the communication route between Ku-yung-pu, Pa-p'ing, and T'ao-chou.<sup>42</sup> The first chapter of *Man-shu*<sup>43</sup> describes the stages and number of days taken to travel from the T'ang capital of An-nan, through Feng-chou, to Ku-yung-pu. It was a journey of twenty-four days, made entirely by water. Since the main river connecting Feng-chou and Ku-yung-pu was the Red, Hsi-tao Chiang of the T'ang period probably refers to a section of the Red River. We can therefore say that Chin Hsi-tao probably lay to the north-west of the other prefectural towns of Hsin-ch'ang Commandery, somewhere along the Red River.

*Man-shu* reckons the number of days needed to make the journey from Feng-chou to Ku-yung-pu, not the distance. *TPHYC* states that Ku-yung-pu was about eighty *li* (forty-three km.) from the north-western border of Feng-chou (or the Hsi-tao River).<sup>44</sup> According to Luce's map of the areas mentioned in the *Man-shu*, Ku-yung-pu lay near modern Lào-kay on the Red River near the north-western border of Vietnam. The present-day town of Bao-ha lies approximately forty-three kilometres downstream from Lào-kay. Therefore, the Red River, between Bao-ha and Lào Kay, was probably known as the Hsi-tao Chiang during T'ang. This name was probably taken from the early prefecture of Hsi-tao, established in the north-western corner of Hsin-ch'ang Commandery. However, it is doubtful whether during the Chin dynasty Hsi-tao would have been situated as far

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<sup>42</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 10b.

<sup>43</sup> Luce, *The Man Shu*, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 10b.

north-west as Bao-ha. As the settlements along the Red River spread further north, some of the early frontier names also moved north. Hsi-tao was probably one such name. During the T'ang, it occurred between Bao-ha and Lào-kay as the name of the Red River.

### *Feng-shan*

The fact that Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> and Lin-hsi were located in the southern sector of Hsin-ch'ang suggests that the remaining prefectures - Feng-shan and Hsi-tao - probably lay in the northern sector of the commandery, along the Red River upstream from Mi-ling. Independent evidence in *Man-shu* and *TPHYC* indicates that this was so in the case of the prefecture of Hsi-tao. Therefore it seems probable that, just as Lin-hsi was created during the Chin period in the vicinity of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup>, so the prefecture of Hsi-tao was established at a later date near the Wu prefecture of Feng-shan, *i.e.* Feng-shan probably lay to the north of Mi-ling.

In summary, we can say that the Wu dynasty saw the establishment of a new commandery around the Han centre of Mi-ling, three new prefectural towns being established to control the lands and settlers in this area. Chia-ning was set up on the northern side of the divergence of the Red and Cà-lồ rivers. Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> lay either downstream from Chia-ning on the Cà-lồ River, or downstream from Chia-ning on the Red River. Feng-shan was probably established to the north of Mi-ling along the Red River upstream from Việt-trì. During the period of nominal submission to Chin, two more prefectural centres were set up under Hsin-hsing Commandery, and the name Hsin-hsing was changed to Hsin-ch'ang. The prefecture of Lin-hsi was situated along the upper reaches of the Đáy, and Hsi-tao was established in the north-western sector of the commandery



probably to the north of Feng-shan, along the Red River to the north of Việt-trí.

### The Commandery of Wu-p'ing

Tables IV:7 and IV:9 show that during the Wu period, a new commandery named Wu-p'ing was established around the headquarters of Feng-ch'i Prefecture.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, although we have the names of six prefectural centres within this commandery,<sup>46</sup> the location of five of these are unknown. However, knowing the location of Wu-ning and Feng-ch'i prefectures provides a clue to the general location of the commandery. Another clue is found in the location of Wu-ting<sup>b</sup>, a prefecture established during the Southern Ch'i (479-501), and placed under the control of Wu-p'ing Commandery. This prefecture lay along the upper reaches of the Cầu River to the south of the modern city of Thái-nguyên (Chapter VI, pp. 158-61).

From the known locations of Feng-ch'i, Wu-ning, and Wu-ting<sup>b</sup>, it can be seen that most of the area under control of Wu-p'ing lay to the south of the Cà-lồ River between Feng-ch'i and Wu-ning. The fact that Wang-hai was always under the control of Chiao-chih Commandery, while Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> was connected with Wu-p'ing, suggests that the Cầu River was the dividing line between these two commanderies.

Three of the five unlocated prefectural towns under Wu-p'ing were abolished as administrative centres during the Sung (420-77) (Chapter VI, pp. 137-40). Table IV:13 indicates that these centres, An-wu, Fu-an, and Chin-shan, were probably

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<sup>45</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 8b; *YHCH* 38, 10a; *CS* 15, 9a.

<sup>46</sup> *CS* 15, 9a.

replaced by two new centres called Chin-hua and Hsin-tao. The subsequent transfer of these two centres to Hsin-ch'ang (Tables IV: 12 and IV: 13) shows that they (and the three Chin centres before them?) were probably located along the northern bank of the Cà-lô River (Chapter VI, pp. 140-1<sup>47</sup>).

\* \* \* \* \*

Thus, as Table IV:11 suggests, the Wu period was most innovative as far as the administration of Tongking was concerned: two new commanderies and twelve new prefectures were created. Maps showing the locations of the Chin prefectural centres also show a slight extension of territorial control as well as a more thorough administration of the area already colonized during Later Han. However, Tables IV:5 - IV:9 show that after T'ao Huang's time (in the late Wu period) no further expansion or innovation in administration took place: only two new prefectural centres were created. These lay within the jurisdiction of Hsin-ch'ang Commandery. No change at all occurred in the commanderies of Wu-p'ing and Chiao-chih, apart from a few name changes.

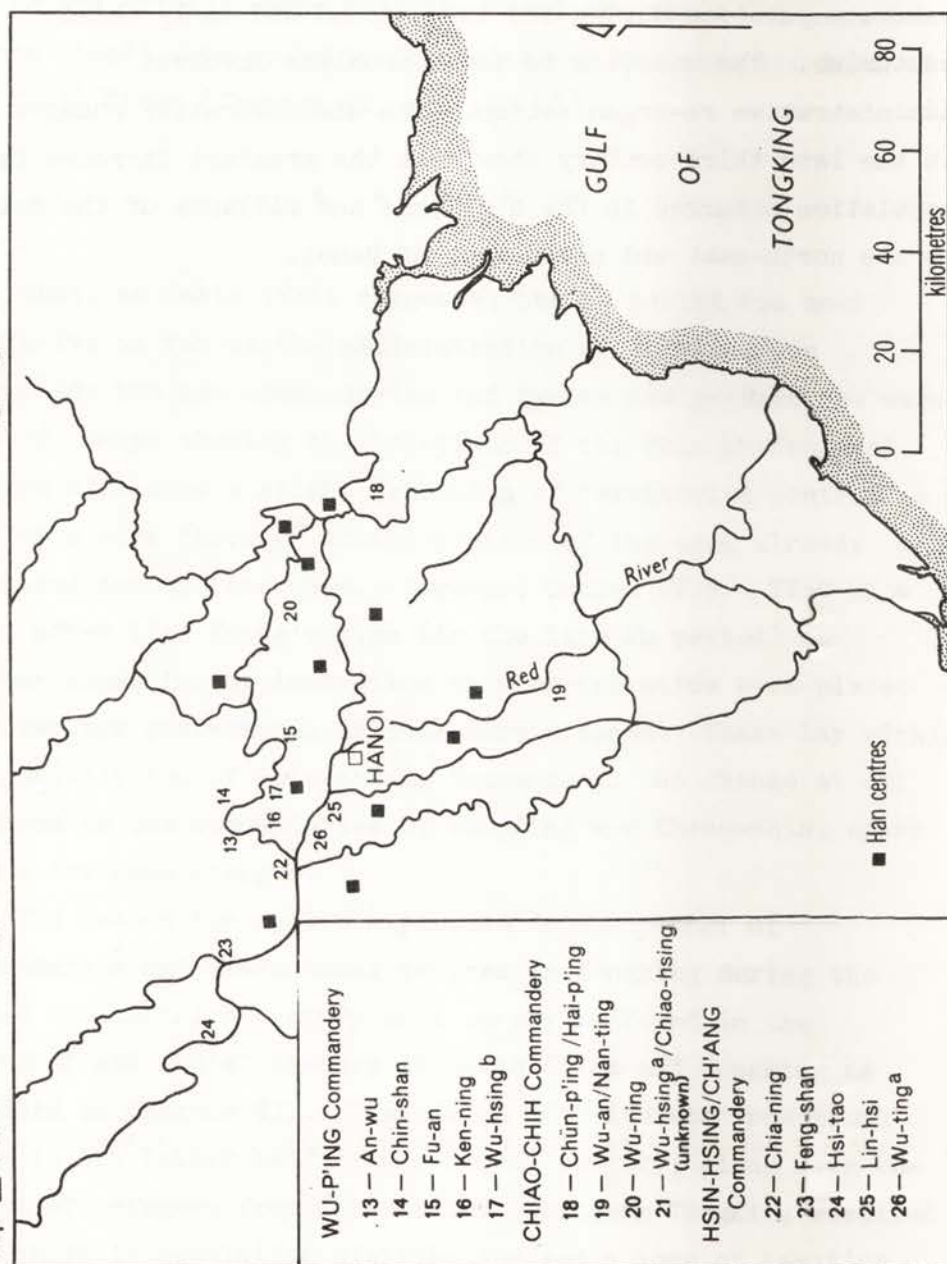
The reason for sudden expansion in the number of commanderies and prefectural centres in Tongking during the middle of the third century must surely be found in the political and social history of South China and Tongking as outlined in Chapter III. The influx of colonists from south China in the latter half of the second century, along with the influx of refugees from Jih-nan into southern Tongking resulted in a shift in population distribution and a loss of taxation

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Sung-shu* 38, 41a; *NCS* 14, 24b.

revenue for the government. The Yüeh rebellion of 248 can be seen as a direct result of the increasing pressure on the native population during the late second and early third centuries. The solution to these problems involved administrative re-organisation. The administrative changes in the late third century show that the greatest increase in population occurred in the highlands and midlands of the delta to the north-east and north-west of Hanoi.

Map IV : 9 Wu and Chin Prefectural Centres in Tongking



## CHAPTER V

## Developments in Sinicisation and Vietnamisation (270-550)

The history of Tongking during T'ao Huang's time illustrates the administrative weakness of the central court during the latter part of the third century. During this period, the local colonial gentry families in Tongking held almost independent power under the suzerainty of the central government in China. Through a study of the Inspectorate of Chiao Province during the Chin, one may observe how the long tenure of office and the close family relationships between many of the prominent officials there fostered the development of a semi-independent Vietnamised bureaucracy with hereditary privileges. This process had begun already in the late second century with the rule of the Shih family and was to culminate in the tenth century with a successful declaration of a separate Vietnamese state, completely independent from the provinces to the north.

*Little central govt. control*  
*semi-independent Viet bureaucracy*  
*process of declaration of independence*  
*(10<sup>th</sup>)*

Table V:14 lists in chronological order the names and, where possible, the length of time in office of Inspectors in Chiao Province between the years 270 and 430. It shows known dates of appointment, transfer, and death, and indicates by means of italicised names which Inspectors are known to have belonged to prominent families permanently settled in Tongking. In some cases dates and tenure of appointment are doubtful or unknown, so the order of succession may be suspect.

Table V:14 immediately raises several points: firstly, half the known Inspectors at this time belonged to one of four family groups the first member of which remained in office until his death; secondly, in all but two cases these Inspectors were

*family ties*

TABLE V:14

Inspectors in Chiao Province (270-430)<sup>1</sup>

Period	Inspector				Length of Tenure
		App.	Dated Event	Death	
1 <sup>a</sup>	T'ao Huang	269		*	< 20 years < 20
	Wu Yen			*	
	Ku Mi			*	
	Ku Ts'an			*	
	Ku Shou				3
	T'ao Wei			*	
	T'ao Shu			*	
	T'ao Sui			*	short N/O
	T'ao Hsien			*	
	Wang Chi				
Hsiu Chan					
1 <sup>b</sup>	Wang Liang	322	t325	323	> 1
	Liang Shih	323		323	> 1
	T'ao K'an	323			2
2	Juan Fang	326		*	short
	Chang Lien				
	Chiang Chuang	347			
	Chu Fan				
	Yang P'ing				
	Juan Fu				
Wen Fang-chih	351 353 359				
3	Tu Yüan	399		*	10
	Tu Hui-tu			*	9
	Tu Hung-wen			427	7

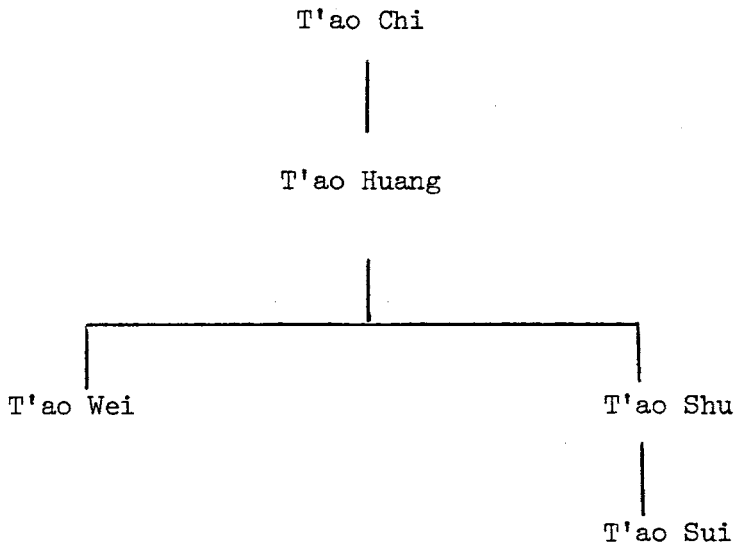
Key    App.    = date of appointment  
           t        = transferred  
           N/O    = did not take up appointment  
           \*       = died a natural death while in office

<sup>1</sup> CS 57, 4b-7b; CS 89, 14a-14b; CS 100, 11b; CS 66, 7a; CS 49, 5b; CS 7, 3a; CS 97, 9b-10a; TCTC p. 3507; CS 8, 4a-6a; Maspero, *Le Royaume*, pp. 59-60; ANCL 8, p. 94; Sung-shu 92, 4a-6a; CS 6, 9b.

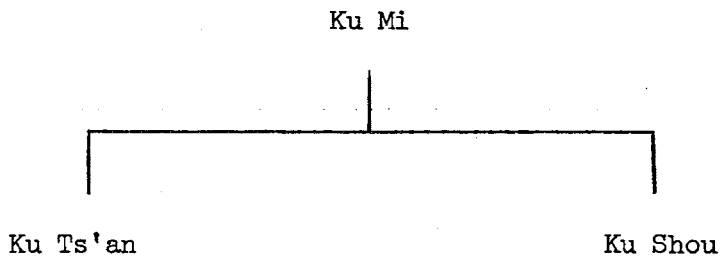
## DIAGRAM V:4

## Lineal Relationships between Inspectors

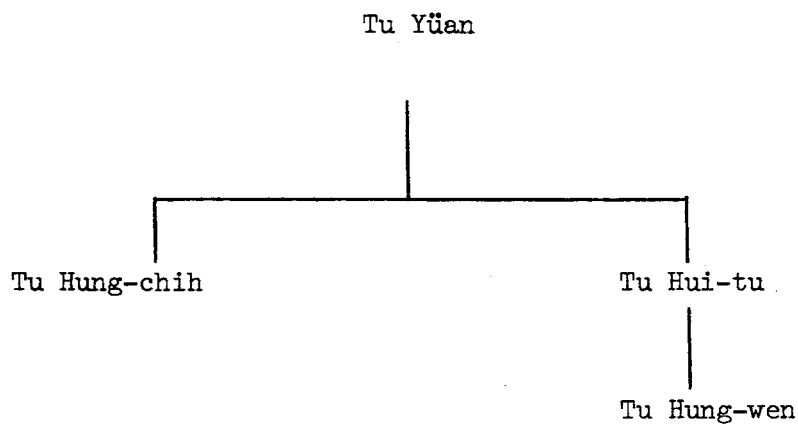
## T'ao Family



## Ku Family



## Tu Family



## Hsiu Family





succeeded by a son or younger brother who in turn retained the post until his death and was himself succeeded by a close relative; thirdly in each of these cases the succession took place without objection or interference from the central court.

T'ao Wei's appointment to the Inspectorate more than 20 years after his father's death and the appointment of Hsiu Chan do not, as might first appear, show any real deviation from this pattern of hereditary succession. In fact these two cases help our understanding by offering a glimpse into the local politics of the time.

### *The Rise of Gubernatorial Dynasties*

The Biography of Wu Yen says:

After the death of T'ao Huang, Chao Chih, Grand Administrator of Chiu-chen, led the frontier troops in rebellion and besieged the prefectural headquarters of that place. Wu Yen pacified Chiu-chen and stayed at his post for over twenty years, ruling with wisdom and humility. He finally requested that he be replaced.<sup>2</sup>

The Biography of T'ao Huang says:

Wu Yen replaced T'ao Huang. When Wu Yen died, he was replaced by Ku Mi. When Ku Mi died, the people of Chiao Province forced Mi's son Ts'an to take over. Ku Ts'an died soon after and his younger brother, Ku Shou, wished to govern, but the people would not allow it. Ku Shou, then killed Chief Clerk Hu Chao and others. He attempted to assassinate Liang Shih. The latter fled but later returned to overthrow Ku Shou. Liang Shih then offered the Inspectorate to T'ao Huang's son T'ao Wei, who was at that time Grand Administrator in Tsang-wu.<sup>3</sup>

We do not know why Hu Chao and Liang Shih opposed Ku Shou's succession, nor do we know who their followers were. However, these biographies do show that the appointments of Ku Ts'an

<sup>2</sup> CS 57, 7a-7b.

<sup>3</sup> CS 57, 6b.

and T'ao Wei were matters of purely local concern in which the Chin court had little interest. All appointments were decided by the leading families in Tongking.

The Biography of Wang Liang mentions that Liang Shih, as Grand Administrator of Hsin-ch'ang Commandery, appointed T'ao Hsien to the Inspectorate after the death of T'ao Sui. T'ao Hsien died soon after taking up his post, and Wang Tun, a powerful southern warlord based in Wu-ch'ang in the middle Yangtze basin, appointed Wang Chi to the Inspectorate. In reply, Liang Shih appointed himself to the post of Grand Administrator of Chiao-chih Commandery and asked Hsiu Chan, the son of a very popular previous Inspector in Chiao Province, to take T'ao Hsien's place.

Wang Chi was defeated, and in 322 Wang Tun appointed Wang Liang to the Inspectorate of Chiao. Wang Liang killed Hsiu Chan, but was himself defeated at Lung-pien by Liang Shih. Liang Shih then set himself up as Inspector of Chiao. According to Wang Liang's biography in *CS*, Liang Shih lost the loyalty of the people through his tyranny and was overthrown by Kao Pao on behalf of T'ao K'an, who was then Inspector in Kuang Province.<sup>4</sup>

T'ao K'an proclaimed his loyalty to the central court by opposing both Liang Shih and Wang Tun's interest in the south. He was given various honours by the court, including formal recognition as Inspector of Chiao Province. This was the first official appointment to the Inspectorate since the time of Wu Yen thirty years earlier. Since he had already gained control of the armed troops in four southern circuits, and had earlier appropriated the title of Inspector of Ching, his

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<sup>4</sup> *CS* 89, 14a-14b; *CS* 100, 11b; *CS* 66, 7a; *CS* 6, 9b; *TCTC* pp. 2908 and 2912.

appointment as Inspector of Chiao in 323 did no more than ratify his strong position in the south.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the biographies of the men involved in the struggle for supremacy in the far south during the latter part of the third and early fourth centuries confirm that appointments to the Inspectorate in Tongking had little to do with the central court. Power of appointment resided with Grand Administrators like Liang Shih, while opposition to their decisions came from southern warlords such as Wang Tun, who also acted independently from the court when it suited their interests. In Tongking, the selection of men from prominent local families for the post of Inspector was a matter of local initiative decided by local rather than central issues.

local  
concern  
not  
central

### *The Period of Confusion*

It appears that Wang Chi never actually held power as Inspector. His name on the list in Table V:14 means very little and can be effectively disregarded. Wang Liang's troubled period in power, which only lasted a few months, introduces the beginning of a new phase in the history of Tongking during the Chin period. Wang Liang's period of rule and that of T'ao K'an effectively broke the pattern of orderly hereditary succession that had existed in Tongking since the appointment of T'ao Huang in 269. With T'ao K'an's appointment in 323, we see the re-introduction of short-term appointees from the north. For this phase of Vietnamese history (323-99), the records of succession and the number of officials appointed to the Inspectorate is unclear. Other than military involvement with Champa to the south, practically nothing is known of the seven officials listed in Period 2, Table V:14. Most of them were specifically appointed to deal

Family  
succession  
broken -  
Appointment  
from  
the  
center.

323-99  
little  
known

<sup>5</sup> CS 66, 7a; CS 98, 1a-9a; CS 6, 11b; TCTC p. 2935.

with the threat from Champa. They made little, if any, impact on the local bureaucracy.

In 326 Juan Fang was appointed to succeed T'ao K'an. When Fang arrived in Ning-p'u Commandery, he clashed with Kao Pao's troops after having ambushed and killed Pao. It seems that after Liang Shih's defeat in 323, Kao Pao had become de-facto ruler in Tongking under T'ao K'an's command. He then sought to take over T'ao K'an's supreme position in the south after the latter's recall to the court. Juan Fang eventually arrived in Tongking but died soon after taking up his appointment.<sup>6</sup>

A brief note in *CS* states that in 328 the former Inspector of Chiao Province, Chang Lien, attacked Kuang Province but was driven out.<sup>7</sup> Chiang Chuang is briefly referred to in the section on Champa in *CS* which mentions his sending the avaricious Han Chi to govern the commandery of Jih-nan.<sup>8</sup> Yang P'ing is described in *ANCL* as defeating Champa with the help of T'eng Chün in 349, but *CS*, the primary source, gives the date as 351.<sup>9</sup> Both *ANCL* and *CS* state that in 353 Juan Fu, as Inspector of Chiao, mounted an expedition against the Chams and took back some of Jih-nan Commandery.<sup>10</sup> The annals of *CS* also mention an Inspector named Wen Fang-chih who sent troops against the Chams in 359.<sup>11</sup> Very little is known about any of these men and it seems that their appointments had little

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<sup>6</sup> *CS* 49, 5b; *TCTC* p. 2912.

<sup>7</sup> *CS* 7, 3a.

<sup>8</sup> *CS* 97, 9b-10a.

<sup>9</sup> Maspero, *Le Royaume*, p. 59; *ANCL* 8, p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> Maspero, *Le Royaume*, p. 60; *CS* 8, 4a.

<sup>11</sup> *CS* 8, 6a.

effect on the course of local politics and internal developments in Tongking.

### *Local Control*

The history of the Tu family in Tongking at the end of the fourth century brings us to a third and final phase in the development of Tongking during the Chin period. It provides another example of the power of local families in Tongking at this time. Tu Yüan, a native of Chu-yüan Prefecture in Chiao-chih Commandery, rose through the posts of Grand Administrator of Jih-nan, Chiu-te, and his own Chiao-chih Commandery to the Inspectorate of Chiao Province. Although the central court appointed him Inspector only in 399 (for services rendered against Champa), it seems that Tu Yüan had held effective power in Tongking and the southern commanderies of Vietnam since at least 380, when he subdued a rebellion in Chiu-chen led by the Grand Administrator Li Sun. Tu Yüan ruled Chiao Province as Inspector for more than a decade and was one of the most influential officials in the area for more than thirty years. He came from one of the powerful colonial Chinese families in the delta, its members holding positions of influence not unlike that held by Liang Shih at the beginning of the fourth century. Yüan's fifth son, Hui-tu, who had been Grand Administrator of Chiu-chen before succeeding his father to the inspectorate, also died in office after a decade of rule. He was succeeded by his son Hung-wen in the last years of the Chin dynasty.<sup>12</sup> Under the security of Tu

<sup>12</sup> *Sung-shu* 92, 4a-6a; Maspero, *Le Royaume*, pp. 61-9; *Sung-shu* 97, 1a-4a. *ANCL* 8, p. 94 gives the name Tu Pao as a Grand Administrator in Chiao-chih during the Chin period, but nothing is known of him. He does not seem to be mentioned in *CS*. For the main events in Tu Yüan's rule, see *CS* 9, 6a-6b; *TCTC* pp. 3297-8. For Tu Hui-tu, see *CS* 10, 6b-7b; *Sung-shu* 2, 1b; *TCTC* pp. 3645-58 and 3738.

family rule, Chiao Province passed peacefully through the collapse of Chin and the establishment of Sung. The previous pattern of peaceful transition from one dynasty to another was repeated.

Chin records are silent about rebellion in Tongking.

Since the court had little control over the situation in the far south, it was content to leave the area and its problems in the hands of the local elite. Internal troubles in Tongking during this period were factional squabbles between supporters of the Ku and T'ao families, and later between Liang Shih's candidates for the Inspectorate and those of Wang Tun. The biographies of both Wang Liang and T'ao K'an describe Liang Shih as a rebel because he was their adversary, but in T'ao Huang's Biography there are no such accusations against him. T'ao K'an's appointment to the Inspectorate of Chiao by the Chin dynasty in 323 was merely recognition of a fait accompli and in no way indicates Chin support for T'ao K'an as opposed to Liang Shih. The description of Shih as a cruel and avaricious rebel, losing the hearts of the people, was probably added to T'ao K'an's and Wang Liang's biographies to justify K'an's overthrow of Shih and K'an's subsequent recognition by Chin as Inspector of Chiao.<sup>13</sup>

Thus Chin records do not show evidence of local Yüeh-based rebellions in Tongking. Neither do they show rebellions within the local Chinese bureaucracy against the power of the Chin court. However, a close parallel with the latter situation could be the local opposition led by Liang Shih to the appointment of outsiders like Wang Chi and Wang Liang to the Inspectorate. If we substitute the power of the court for that of semi-independent warlords such as Wang Tun, the

<sup>13</sup> CS 89 14b; CS 66, 7a.

situation in the Chin period shows continuity with previous periods - the development of a Vietnamese-orientated bureaucracy, controlled by one or more groups of local families. The re-introduction of outside forces in 325 also follows the pattern established in previous periods. However, in this particular era, the imposition of a northern orientated leadership was only skin deep. Inspectors were sent to the area for purely military purposes, to combat the Cham threats during the last half of the fourth century A.D.

Chin  
period-  
Viese-  
orientated  
bureaucracy  
7th century  
from the  
1st century  
A.D.  
1000

### *Tongking under the Sung dynasty*

In 427, Inspector Tu Hung-wen was summoned to attend the Sung court at Nanking. He had been about to organise an expedition against Champa, but abandoned his plans and set out for the north. He died not long after this, and with his death came a new series of short-term, court-appointed Inspectors.

Crt-  
appointed  
Inspector  
again.

The timing of Tu Hung-wen's summons had unfortunate repercussions for Tongking. In 420 Champa had been soundly defeated by Hung-wen's father, Tu Hui-tu, after the Chams had repeatedly attacked the southern commanderies of Chiao Province. In the Yuan-chia period (424-54) the attacks resumed with such ferocity that Tu Hung-wen had prepared another campaign against the south. His summons northward, and the reluctance of his successor, Wang Hui-chih, to undertake the campaign against Champa led to an increase in Cham raids on Tongking. From Wang Hui-chih's time, appointments to the Inspectorate of Chiao were mainly concerned with this menace. However, it took twenty years to achieve the first Chinese success in this field.<sup>14</sup>

Reason  
- Cham  
raids

<sup>14</sup> See *Sung-shu* 5, 7a-7b; *Sung-shu* 92, 6a-6b; *LS* 54, 5a; *TCTC* p. 3792; *ANCL* 8, p. 94.

Table V:15 below lists in chronological order the names of Inspectors appointed to Chiao Province during the Sung dynasty. Yüan Mi-chih organised a massive campaign against the Chams in 431 after Champa had invaded Chiu-te Commandery. Hsiang Tao-sheng led an army in an attack on the former capital of Jih-nan but was unsuccessful and had to withdraw.<sup>15</sup> Yüan Mi-chih was recalled after his failure to pacify the Chams, and in 432 Li Hsiu-chih was appointed Inspector.<sup>16</sup> In 433, Fan Yang-mai, King of Champa, petitioned the Sung emperor for the governorship of Chiao Province. His proposal was rejected,<sup>17</sup> and Cham attacks, as well as tribute missions to the central court, continued. It seems that Li Hsiu-chih remained at his post until the year 446, when T'an Ho-chih was appointed to the Inspectorate. It is possible that Li Hsiu-chih was a local man related to Li Ch'ang-jen, who seized power in 468 and forcibly prevented Sung nominees from taking up their appointments in Tongking (see below).

In 446, T'an Ho-chih organised another campaign against Champa. The leaders in the field were Tsung Ch'ueh and Hsiao Ching-hsien. The campaign was a success, with the old capital of Jih-nan Commandery being recovered.<sup>18</sup> T'an Ho-chih was transferred to another post, but Hsiao Ching-hsien remained in Tongking as Inspector of Chiao.<sup>19</sup> Entries in *Sung-shu* for 455 and 456 state:

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<sup>15</sup> *Sung-shu* 97, 1b; *LS* 54, 5a.

<sup>16</sup> *Sung-shu* 5, 13a.

<sup>17</sup> *Sung-shu* 97, 3a; *TCTC* p. 3849.

<sup>18</sup> *Sung-shu* 97, 1b-4a; *Sung-shu* 76, 4a; *Sung-shu* 5, 26a; *TCTC* p. 3922; *LS* 54, 5b; *NCS* 58, 9a.

<sup>19</sup> *Sung-shu* 5, 26b.



In the 12th month of Hsiao-chien 2 (455), a former Inspector of Chiao, Hsiao Ching-hsien, was (again) made Inspector of Chiao.

In the 8th month of Hsiao-chien 3 (456), Fei Yen was appointed Inspector of Chiao.<sup>20</sup>

Thus it seems that Hsiao Ching-hsien was transferred from the Inspectorate sometime after 446 and then re-appointed for a short period in 455.

After Fan Yang-mai's death, there was peace between Chiao Province and the Chams. During the Hsiao-chien (454-6) and Ta-ming (457-64) periods, Cham kings offered massive amounts of tribute to the central court, and factional squabbles between contenders for power in the kingdom drastically reduced their military effectiveness.<sup>21</sup> In Tongking, Fei Yen, Yuan Lang, T'an Yi, and Liu Mu succeeded to the Inspectorate without incident.<sup>22</sup>

However, when Liu Mu died in 468, Li Ch'ang-jen, a local official in Tongking, seized control of the area and appointed himself Inspector in place of the Sung nominee, Sun Feng-po.<sup>23</sup> Five months later, Liu Po was named by the court as Inspector of Chiao,<sup>24</sup> and scarcely one year later, Ch'en Po-shao was appointed to that post.<sup>25</sup> Although Li Ch'ang-jen is not mentioned again in the Sung records, it is obvious that his presence in Tongking was the reason why neither Sun Feng-po

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<sup>20</sup> *Sung-shu* 6, 13b.

<sup>21</sup> *Sung-shu* 97, 3a-3b; *NCS* 58, 9b-10b; *LS* 54, 6a-6b.

<sup>22</sup> *Sung-shu* 6, 13b-26b.

<sup>23</sup> *Sung-shu* 8, 16b; *TCTC* p. 4144.

<sup>24</sup> *Sung-shu* 8, 17a; *TCTC* p. 4146.

<sup>25</sup> *Sung-shu* 8, 19a.

TABLE V:15

## Chronology of Inspectors in Chiao-Chou (430-85)

Inspector	Appointed	Dated Event	Died	Length of Tenure (Years)
Wang Hui-chih	427	-	-	-
Yüan Mi-chih	-	431	-	-
Li Hsiu-chih	432	-	-	-
T'an Ho-chih	446	t446	-	-1
Hsiao Ching-hsien	446, Mth 12	-	-	-
Hsiao Ching-hsien	455, Mth 12	-	-	-1
Fei Yen	456, Mth 8	t458, Mth 8	-	2
Yüan Lang	458, Mth 8	t459, Mth 3	-	-1
T'an Yi	462	-	-	-
Liu Mu	-	-	468, Mth 3	-
(Li Ch'ang-jen)	468	-	-	-
Sun Feng-po	468, Mth 3	-	-	-
Liu Po	468, Mth 8	-	-	-
Ch'en Po-shao	469, Mth 7	-	-	-
Ch'en Po-shao	473	-	-	-
Shen Ching-te	477, Mth 5	t477, Mth 11	-	-1
(Li Shu-hsien)				
Shen Huan	?	-	-	N/O
Chao Ch'ao-min	478, Mth 6 (Sung)	-	-	-
Li Shu-hsien	479, Mth 7 (Ch'i)	t485	-	6
Liu Chieh	485 (Ch'i)			

t = transferred

N/O = did not take up appointment

nor Liu Po took up their appointments. In 468, Ch'en Po-shao had subdued a rebellion in Kuang Province<sup>26</sup> and his appointment to the Inspectorate of Chiao in 469 suggests that the court at this time was still trying to wrest power from Li Ch'ang-jen. Ch'en Po-shao was re-appointed Inspector of Chiao in 473,<sup>27</sup> and Shen Ching-te's appointment in 477 lasted only four months,<sup>28</sup> indicating that the appointments to the Inspectorate between 468 and 479 had little power behind them. The real power in Tongking at this time lay with the Li family.

Li family - have real power lay.

When Li Ch'ang-jen died, his cousin, Li Shu-hsien, replaced him as self-appointed Inspector of Chiao. However, he also sent a courier to the Sung court asking for formal recognition of his position. His request was denied. Shen Huan was appointed to that post, and Li Shu-hsien was given the offices of Grand Administrator for Wu-p'ing and Hsin-Ch'ang commanderies. He took up arms, and Shen Huan retired to Yü-lin Commandery, where he died.<sup>29</sup> In 479, Li Shu-hsien was recognised by Southern Ch'i as the legitimate Inspector of Chiao.<sup>30</sup> He remained Inspector until 485 when Liu Chieh was appointed to succeed him.<sup>31</sup>

Thus it appears that in the Sung period the power of the great families in Tongking remained largely unaffected by the

<sup>26</sup> *Sung-shu* 8, 16b.

<sup>27</sup> *Sung-shu* 9, 4a.

<sup>28</sup> *Sung-shu* 9, 12b; *Sung-shu* 10, 3b.

<sup>29</sup> *TCTC* p. 4230.

<sup>30</sup> *TCTC* p. 4230; *NCS* 2, 6a.

<sup>31</sup> *NCS* 3, 9a; *TCTC* p. 4265.

presence of centrally appointed officials such as Yüan Mi-chih, T'an Ho-chih, and Hsiao Ching-hsien, who were sent to the area primarily to carry out punitive campaigns against the Chams in the south. It is probable that these outside appointments were specifically requested by the local leadership when the threat of Cham invasion became too great to bear. The account of the Tu and Li families in Tongking suggests that by the latter part of the Chin period, the local power structure in Tongking had become strong enough to co-exist with, and to control, the temporary officials sent down from the north. After the pacification of the Chams by T'an Ho-chih and Hsiao Ching-hsien, and after the death of Fan Yang-mai, the local elite re-emerged to take full control. As in earlier times, dynastic change and political chaos in the north served to strengthen the hand of the leading families in the area.

#### *Tongking under the Southern Ch'i dynasty*

In 479, the ruling house of Sung at Chien-k'ang was overthrown and replaced by that of Southern Ch'i. In 485, Ch'i nominated Liu Chieh to replace Li Shu-hsien as Inspector of Chiao Province.<sup>32</sup> The court also despatched soldiers from Shih-hsing Commandery, led by Lu Ling, to secure Liu Chieh's position. Li Shu-hsien sent couriers armed with presents for the emperor to beg for a few years' grace. The emperor was not impressed. However, once the decision to appoint Liu Chieh had been confirmed Li Shu-hsien preferred to retire rather than fight to retain his office.<sup>33</sup>

Liu Chieh remained at his post for the usual three year term, and was replaced in 488 by the Grand Administrator of

<sup>32</sup> NCS 3, 9a.

<sup>33</sup> NCS 58, 15b-16a; TCTC p. 4265.

Shih-hsing, Fang Fa-ch'eng.<sup>34</sup> The annals make no further reference to Inspector Fang, merely recording that two years later he was replaced by Fu Teng-chih.<sup>35</sup> However, the biography of the South-eastern Barbarians in *NCS* records the background to Fu Teng-chih's appointment: Fang's only interest was scholarship. Moreover, he was sick, and this added to his dislike of government matters. Fu Teng-chih was his Chief Clerk and took the reigns of government into his own hands, making decisions without consulting Fang. When Fang was finally made aware of the situation, he had Fu thrown into jail. A large bribe to the husband of Fang's younger sister soon secured Fu Teng-chih's release. His retainers seized command in Chiao Province and Inspector Fang was himself thrown into jail. As Fang was seriously ill, the emperor recalled him and confirmed Fu Teng-chih as Inspector in Tongking.<sup>36</sup>

References to Tongking in the annals of *NCS* are few, the next entry being for the year 494. At the beginning of that year, Shen Hsi-tsu was nominated as Inspector.<sup>37</sup> In the seventh month, Tsang Ling-chih was made Inspector. Two months later, he was replaced by Sung Tz'u-ming, a former Grand Administrator of Chiu-chen.<sup>38</sup> There are no other references to these men in the histories.

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<sup>34</sup> *NCS* 3, 15b; *NCS* 58, 16a.

<sup>35</sup> *NCS* 3, 19b.

<sup>36</sup> *NCS* 58, 16a-16b; *TCTC* p. 4302.

<sup>37</sup> *NCS* 4, 3a.

<sup>38</sup> *NCS* 5, 3a.

*Tongking under the Liang dynasty*

In the decade of the 480s, the situation between north and south China was at a stalemate, and the internal affairs of the Southern Ch'i court were relatively stable. In 494, however, a series of internal conflicts began within the royal family of Southern Ch'i. A series of intrigues and coups established one prince then another on the throne until, in 502, Hsiao Yen usurped the throne and founded the Liang dynasty.

It seems that while Liu Chieh's, Fang Fa-ch'eng's, and Fu Teng-chih's appointments to the Inspectorate of Chiao were real, in that these men actually served in the area, Shen Hsi-tsu and Tsang Ling-chih had only nominal titles, and they never even left the imperial capital. Since Sung Tz'u-ming is referred to as a former Grand Administrator of Chiu-chen, and since his is the last appointment to the Inspectorate for some time, it is possible that his appointment was real in that he had already obtained the post directly through his connections in Chiu-chen Commandery.

After his accession to the throne in 502, Hsiao Yen (Liang Wu-ti) lost interest in government matters and devoted himself to literature and religion. For over a decade factions at his court struggled against one another as well as against the Northern Wei and supporters of Southern Ch'i who had fled north. Tongking was left to its own devices. The only records for this era are for the years 505 and 516. *LS* and *TCTC* record that early in 505, Li K'ai, Inspector of Chiao, rebelled and his Chief Clerk, Li Chün, pacified the area and proclaimed an amnesty.<sup>39</sup> Li Chün was apparently

<sup>39</sup> *LS* 2, 11b; *TCTC* p. 4548.

made Inspector of Chiao, for he appears in that position in 516 when he beheaded another rebel, Yüan Tsung-hsiao. After this another amnesty was proclaimed.<sup>40</sup> For 25 years after this event (516-41) the Liang history makes no mention of any appointment to the Inspectorate of Chiao.

The Vietnamese histories imply that Li K'ai was killed because of his resistance to Hsiao Yen's new Liang dynasty, and that a fifteen year conflict raged between supporters of Li K'ai's faction and supporters of the Liang led by Li Chün.<sup>41</sup> However, the Chinese histories make no connection between Li K'ai and the rebel, Yüan Tsung-hsiao. There is no evidence that Li K'ai was a supporter of Southern Ch'i or that the rivalries of 505 and 516 were not just internal squabbles about local issues in Tongking.

In 523, a series of important administrative changes took place in South China. Both Kuang and Chiao provinces were among the areas concerned. The former commandery of Chiu-chen in Northern Annam was separated from Chiao, and called Ai Province.<sup>42</sup> From this time (523), the term Chiao Province refers solely to the Tongking area. This administrative division was the logical outcome of earlier administrative changes and demographic developments in Tongking. During the Eastern Chin and early Sung periods, the delta lands to the south of Hanoi were steadily infiltrated by Chinese immigrants. Four new administrative centres were set up there at the end of the Sung period to cope with taxation, law, and order. Eventually, this area became known as the commandery of Sung-

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<sup>40</sup> LS 2, 27b; *TCTC* p. 4628.

<sup>41</sup> *CTYS* 3, p. 312b.

<sup>42</sup> LS 3, 4b.

p'ing - named after its chief town near modern Hanoi (Chapter VI). At the same time two prefectural centres in the east of the delta were abolished. During Southern Ch'i, three prefectural centres were added to Hsin-ch'ang Commandery. These changes indicate that the population in the middle and eastern regions of Tongking - the oldest areas of the delta - had reached some sort of equilibrium with the technology of the period and that land in the south and south-west was now being opened up by new settlers. Growth in the southern regions of Tongking eventually necessitated an administrative division between the delta and the area to its south in Chiu-te Commandery. At the end of Liang or the beginning of Ch'en a further division of Chiao Province took place with the creation of Hsing Province from the old commandery of Hsin-ch'ang.<sup>43</sup>

*41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100*

The division of Chiao into Hsing and Chiao provinces did not occur until after the subjugation of a series of revolts against the Chinese administration. The major rebellion, which began in 541, was led by Li Pi (V. Lý Bôn).<sup>44</sup> It is said that he became disappointed and frustrated by the lack of opportunity for advancement within the bureaucracy and took up arms as a means of realising his ambitions.<sup>45</sup> Vietnamese historians place Lý Bôn on a par with the Trưng sisters, considering him the initiator or founder of the Earlier Lý dynasty. The Chinese historians, however, break the Lý dynasty into three distinct and unconnected episodes with Lý Bôn involved only in the first period (541-7). However, it can

<sup>43</sup> YHCH 38, p. 13b.

<sup>44</sup> LS 3, 26a; TCTC p. 4909

<sup>45</sup> TCTC p. 4909.



be seen from their account that Lý Bôn's troops had a far greater cohesion and fighting power than the Trưng sisters and that he commanded a much larger personal following. Consequently, his power lasted considerably longer than that of the sisters.

Four years after the start of the insurrection, Lý Bôn named himself emperor of Nan-yüeh. The following year (545), Ch'en Pa-hsien, Yang P'iao, and Hsiao Po were sent to Tongking in a second attempt to reconquer the area for Liang. Lý Bôn was beaten at Chu-yüan and then again at the mouth of the Tô-lich River. He fled to Chia-ning. Six months later, Chia-ning was captured by the Chinese. Lý Bôn then retreated to the mountains of Hsin-ch'ang. Two months later he was again facing the Chinese armies with a force of 20,000 men. Once more he was defeated. Three years after the ending of the rebellion, Ch'en Pa-hsien was named as Inspector of Chiao. He was soon recalled, however, to deal with troubles further north, and he eventually became the first emperor of the Ch'en dynasty.

According to the Vietnamese historians, Chao Kuang-fu (V. Triệu Quang-phục), general to Lý Bôn, came to the throne of Nan-yüeh after Lý Bôn's death in 548. The kingdom was then partitioned between the Chao and the Lý families.

Fighting broke out between them in 557, and the last of the Lý emperors, Lý Phật-tử (Ch. Li Fu-tzu), is said to have submitted to Liu Fang of the Sui Dynasty in 602. For their part, the Chinese histories mention only two shortlived revolts - one in 590 and the other - that of Li Ch'un (V. Lý Xuân) - in 602. Lý Xuân is identified by the Vietnamese as Lý Phật-tử, the last of the Lý emperors.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> H. Maspero, 'La dynastie des Li Antérieurs', pp. 1-26.

Whatever the length of Lý Bôn's reign, the most important difference between him and the Trưng sisters is that in Lý Bôn's case his ancestors had been Chinese refugees, while Lý himself had received a Chinese education and had served in the Chinese bureaucracy as an official. Whether or not he was related to the Li families described above (pp. 126-9) is not known. Nevertheless, his activities can be seen as a logical outcome of the growing resistance by local families to interference from the north in the internal affairs of the region. The rebellion of 541 was the first serious attempt by the newly-emerged vietnamised bureaucracy to use force to counter domination by northern officials. The Trưng revolt had been the end of an era, rather than the beginning of a new one. It had been the last stand of a traditional non-sinicised Vietnamese elite against a foreign force stripping them of their traditional power and prestige. It had to be opposed to any kind of Chinese influence in the delta. With the Trưng defeat began the slow but inevitable formation of a new type of Vietnamese elite educated by, and working within, the social codes and structures of Chinese society; a class epitomised by men such as Lý Bôn, aspiring to positions of wealth and influence within the established system.

## CHAPTER VI

The Administrative Geography of Tongking during the Sung, Southern Ch'i, and Liang Periods (420-550)

Table VI:16, compiled from information in the geographical treatises of the *Sung-shu* and *NCS*,<sup>1</sup> sets out the names of prefectural centres in Chiao-chih Commandery during the Sung and Southern Ch'i periods. Table VI:19 sets out the prefectural centres under Sung-p'ing Commandery during that time. Columns for the Chin and Sui periods have been added to allow for quick comparison (See also Tables IV:12 and IV:13).

#### The Commandery of Chiao-chih

For the Sung period, Table VI:18 shows that the towns of Pei-tai and Ch'i-hsü in eastern Tongking were abolished as administrative seats - and that the name of Chiao-hsing Prefecture reverted to Wu-hsing<sup>a</sup>, as during the late Wu period.<sup>2</sup> Thus for Chiao-chih Commandery, the number of prefectural centres during the Sung period was reduced by two to make twelve.

#### The Commandery of Wu-p'ing

Table IV:13 shows that the commandery of Wu-p'ing was administered by three prefectural centres during the Sung period and that none of these towns had previously held prefectural status. Two of the centres appear to have been

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<sup>1</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 39b-41a; *NCS* 14, 24b-26a.

<sup>2</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 40a.

TABLE VI:16

Prefectural Names under Chiao-chih Commandery  
(Chin to Southern Ch'i)

Prefectures	Dynasty		
	Chin	Sung	S. Ch'i
Lei-lou	/	/	/
An-ting	/	/	/
Kou-lei	/	/	/
Ch'ü-yang	/	/	/
Pei-tai	/	—	—
Ch'i-hsü	/	—	—
Hsi-yü	/	/	/
Lung-pien	/	/	/
Chu-yüan	/	/	/
Wang-hai	/	/	/
Wu-ning	/	/	/
Wu-hsing <sup>a</sup>		/←	/
Wu-an		—	—
Chün-p'ing		—	—
Nan-ting		/	/
Chiao-hsing		—	—
Hai-p'ing	→ /	/	/
	14	12	12

TABLE VI:17

Prefectural Names under Sung-p'ing Commandery  
(Sung to Sui)

Prefectures	Dynasty		
	Sung	S. Ch'i	Sui
Sung-p'ing	-	-	T(c-c)
Ch'ang-kuo	-	/	-
Yi-huai	-	/	-
Ju-ning	-	/	-
	0	3	

established by Sung. The third, Wu-ting<sup>a</sup>, had been an administrative centre of Hsin-ch'ang Commandery during Chin.<sup>3</sup> However, the geographical treatise of *Sung-shu* also states that there were six prefectural towns under Wu-p'ing Commandery.<sup>4</sup> Since none of the Chin centres of Wu-p'ing appear under any other commandery during the Sung period, it would seem that the names of three of the prefectural towns in Wu-p'ing Commandery have been omitted from the *Sung-shu* treatise. Records in *NCS* show that three of the six Chin prefectural centres in Wu-p'ing Commandery - Feng-ch-i, Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup>, and Ken-ning - were still prefectural headquarters after Sung.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, these three towns were probably

<sup>3</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 41a.

<sup>4</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 40b.

<sup>5</sup> *NCS* 14, 24b.

functioning as administrative centres during Sung, but were accidentally omitted from the geographical treatise of the *Sung-shu*.

Thus the total number of Sung prefectures in Table IV:13 should probably be six rather than three. The towns of Chin-shan, An-wu, and Fu-an must have lost their prefectural status under Sung, leaving the prefectures of Feng-ch'i, Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup>, and Ken-ning, along with two new prefectural centres called Hsin-tao and Chin-hua to administer the commandery. The administration of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> was transferred from Hsin-ch'ang Commandery to Wu-p'ing.

#### *Chin-hua and Hsin-tao*

Since the Sung period saw the abolition of An-wu, Fu-an, and Chin-shan, the two new administrative centres of Hsin-tao and Chin-hua were probably established to replace them, very likely in the same area as the three abolished centres. Unfortunately, no direct information has survived about the locations of either set of prefectures. Tables IV:12 and IV:13, however, show that the prefectures of Hsin-tao and Chin-hua, like Wu-ting<sup>a</sup>, were controlled alternatively by the Hsin-ch'ang and Wu-p'ing commanderies. This limits their probable location to the area of a circle with diameter Mi-ling/Feng-ch'i. The most likely location would be along the Sông Cà-lô or along the Red River between Chia-ning and Hanoi. The *Sung-shu* treatise indicates that Hsin-tao and Chin-hua were established within the same general locality on the left bank of a river.<sup>6</sup> The establishment of these towns on the northern bank of the Cà-lô or Red River, downstream from Chia-ning, would make their transfer to Hsin-ch'ang Commandery a fairly

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<sup>6</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 41a.

simple matter, since the Cà-lố and Red rivers formed the border between the three commanderies of Tongking.

#### The Commandery of Hsin-hsing/ch'ang

As Table IV:12 shows, there is no list of prefectures for Hsin-ch'ang Commandery in the geographical treatise of *Sung-shu*. The treatise, however, states that there were eight commanderies in Tongking and northern Vietnam during the dynasty. It names seven of these.<sup>7</sup> This, and the fact that five of the six Chin prefectural centres in Hsin-ch'ang were still administrative sites during Southern Ch'i reveals further serious omissions in the records of *Sung-shu*. Hsin-ch'ang Commandery probably continued to exist under the Sung, with at least five of its six previous (Chin) prefectures. The only change in this commandery beside the transfer of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> to Wu-p'ing Commandery, would have been abolition of Mi-ling as an administrative centre.

Thus, during the Sung dynasty, there were at least five prefectural centres under the commandery of Hsin-ch'ang. For Wu-p'ing Commandery, the number seems to have been six, rather than three as listed in *Sung-shu*. Chiao-chih Commandery controlled a total of twelve prefectural centres. The changes made in these three commanderies during the Sung period were thus fairly minor when compared with those which had taken place in the middle of the third century. The only interesting change is the abolition of Pei-tai and Ch'i-hsü on the eastern edge of the Tongking delta. This indicates either a reduction in the population of this area or a levelling off in the previous rate of increase in the registered population.

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<sup>7</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 40a.

### The Commandery of Sung-p'ing

The change in the eastern section of Chiao-chih Commandery was matched by a change in the south-western sector, where, towards the end of Sung, another new commandery - Sung-p'ing - appeared. Once again the records of *Sung-shu* are defective. The name of the commandery is given, but the list of prefectural centres under its control is missing.<sup>8</sup> Obviously, the town of Sung-p'ing must have been its main administrative centre. The Southern Ch'i records show three other prefectures under Sung-p'ing<sup>9</sup> - Ch'ang-kuo, Yi-huai, and Ju-ning. Since Sung-p'ing was established towards the end of Sung, these three towns were probably prefectural centres under Sung-p'ing from the time of its inception as a commandery.

We have already referred briefly to the mistaken association in the T'ang period between the prefectural towns of Nan-ting, Lin-hsi, and Sung-p'ing, and the commandery of Jih-nan with its administrative headquarters at Hsi-chüan (Chapter IV, pp. 96-8).

Sung-p'ing Prefecture was originally (part of the prefecture Hsi-chüan in the Han commandery of Jih-nan. Sung divided it and set up the prefecture of Sung-p'ing in the commandery of Chiu-te. Later, it became known as the commandery of Sung-p'ing.... In 590 it became attached to the province of Chiao.... The ancient city (built by) the King of An-yang, lies thirty-one *li* to the north-east....<sup>10</sup>

In this section of *YHCH*, the geographers equate the territory controlled by the prefecture of Sung-p'ing with that of Hsi-chüan in Jih-nan Commandery. Secondly, they have confused

<sup>8</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 43b.

<sup>9</sup> *NCS* 14, 25b.

<sup>10</sup> *YHCH* 38, 10a.



Sung-p'ing with Chiu-te Commandery. They thus imply that the Han commandery of Jih-nan occupied the same area as the Wu commandery of Chiu-te.

In *TPHYC*, we find a similar description:

The prefecture of Sung-p'ing was (part) of the prefecture of Hsi-chüan under (the control of) the commandery of Jih-nan. From the time of Han until that of Chin it was (all known as) Hsi-chüan. The Sung set up the prefecture of Sung-p'ing, which then gave its name to the commandery.... In the year 621, Sung-p'ing Commandery became Sung Province. It had command of Hung-chiao, Nan-ting, and Sung-p'ing. In 622, Sung-p'ing was divided in order to create the two prefectures of Chiao-chih and Huai-te.<sup>11</sup>

Again from *TPHYC*:

The prefecture of Nan-ting was (part) of the Han prefecture of Hsi-chüan under the control of Jih-nan Commandery.<sup>12</sup>

From *TPHYC* we can see links, actual or fictional, between the prefectures of Sung-p'ing, Nan-ting, Chiao-chih, Huai-te, and Han commandery of Jih-nan with its administrative seat Hsi-chüan.

Chiao-chih and Nan-ting were discussed in Chapters II and IV respectively and it seems that their locations, when assessed from independent evidence, point to the south or south-west of Hanoi in the Red River delta. G. Azambre, in 'Origines de Hanoi', places Sung-p'ing to the south of the Great Lake at Hanoi between the Sông Tô-lich and the Red River.<sup>13</sup> The course of the Tô-lich today, and the distance and direction of An-yang (Cổ-loa) from Sung-p'ing as given in *YHCH*, also point to a location of Sung-p'ing on the

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<sup>11</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 6b-7a.

<sup>12</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 9b.

<sup>13</sup> G. Azambre, 'Les Origines de Ha-noi', pp. 1-2.

southern edge of Hanoi.<sup>14</sup> Thus, upon independent evidence, it can be placed with the group of prefectures erroneously connected with the Han commandery of Jih-nan.

Jih-nan poses some difficult problems for the historian. Without doubt, the Han commandery of that name occupied part of the provinces of Quảng-bình, Quảng-trị, and Thừa-thiên, i.e. from the porte d'Annam down to the Col des Nuages. With the intermediary Han commandery of Chiu-chen directly to its north, this area could not have had any geographical continuity with prefectures in the Tongking delta.

After the decline of Han, the problem of locating Jih-nan and its prefectural towns becomes very complex. Stein argues that in 248 the Chams invaded Shou-ling Prefecture and took Hsi-chüan, the administrative capital of Han Jih-nan. He claims the Cham Kingdom began to crystallise during the second century from the Ch'ü-lien rebellions in Hsiang-lin,<sup>15</sup> and from that time, the Chams fought Chinese and Vietnamese leaders for control of Quảng-bình Province. He suggests that from 271, references to Jih-nan and its prefectures were included in the Chinese histories merely as matter of form, and that the Chinese did not always have control over this area.<sup>16</sup>

It seems, however, that some of the Chinese may have been resettled, together with the more sinicised inhabitants of Jih-nan, in an area further north, with the new townships being assigned names of the old settlements in the south. This is borne out by a study of the Vietnamese *Cường-mục* and the T'ang geographical texts, which show that part of Hsien-huan, the

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<sup>14</sup> YHCH 38, 10b.

<sup>15</sup> Stein, 'Le Lin-yi', pp. 23-4, and 49.

<sup>16</sup> Stein, 'Le Lin-yi', pp. 24 and 27-8.

southernmost prefecture in the Han commandery of Chiu-chen, became known as Chiu-te Commandery under Wu, Chin and later dynasties. Finally, in 607, Hsien-huan received the name of Jih-nan.<sup>17</sup> Here lies the explanation for the passage in *YHCH*, cited above, which connects the HAN commandery of Jih-nan with that of Chiu-te and the prefecture of Hsien-huan.

On Hsien-huan Prefecture in Chiu-chen Commandery, *YHCH* states:

Huan Province: .... When Han pacified Nan-yüeh, they set up Chiu-chen. In 279, Hsien-huan Prefecture in Chiu-chen was partitioned and the prefecture of Chiu-te established. Liang Wu-ti set up the province of Te here, and in 598 this name was changed to Huan Province, taking its name from the prefecture of Hsien-huan. In 608, its name was changed to the commandery of Jih-nan.<sup>18</sup>

Yen Province: .... was (part) of the Han prefecture of Hsien-huan in the commandery of Chiu-chen. From Han until Sui, it remained the same. In the year 622, the province of Huan was set up to control the four prefectures of An-jen, Fu-yen, Hsiang-ching, and Hsi-yüan.<sup>19</sup>

Huai-huan Prefecture was originally part of the Han prefecture of Hsien-huan. In the 5th year of Wu-te (622) it was divided and the prefecture of An-jen was set up as the headquarters of Yen Province ....<sup>20</sup>

*TPHYC* speaks of Hsien-huan in much the same way and describes Huan Province as 150 *li* (80 km) south of Yen Province.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Aurousseau, 'Exposé Géographie Historique du Pays d'Annam, traduit du *Công-Mục*', pp. 147-8; *TPHYC* 171, 5b-6a; *YHCH* 38, 12b.

<sup>18</sup> *YHCH* 38, 12b.

<sup>19</sup> *YHCH* 38, 14b.

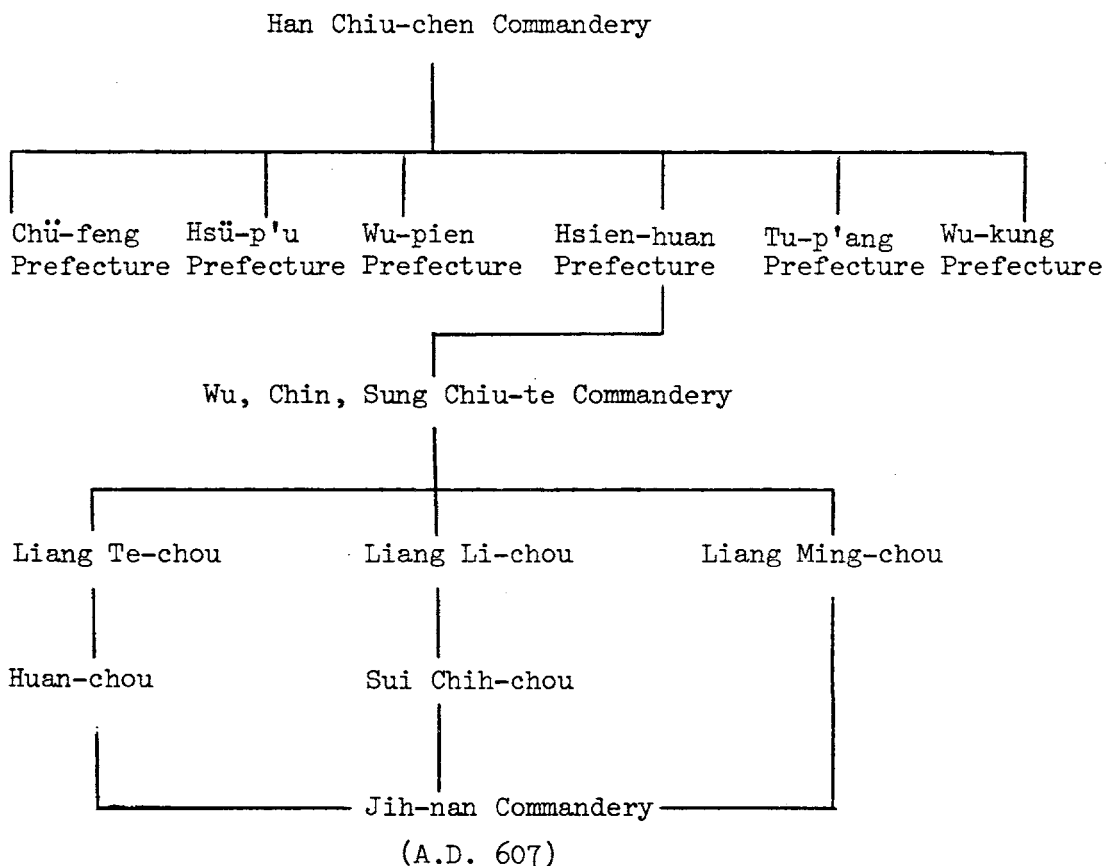
<sup>20</sup> *YHCH* 38, 15a.

<sup>21</sup> *TPHYC* 171, 6b.

The name-changes to Hsien-huan Prefecture described above are illustrated in Diagram VI:15 below.

DIAGRAM VI:5

Name-changes in Chiu-chen Commandery  
(1st-7th Centuries A.D.)

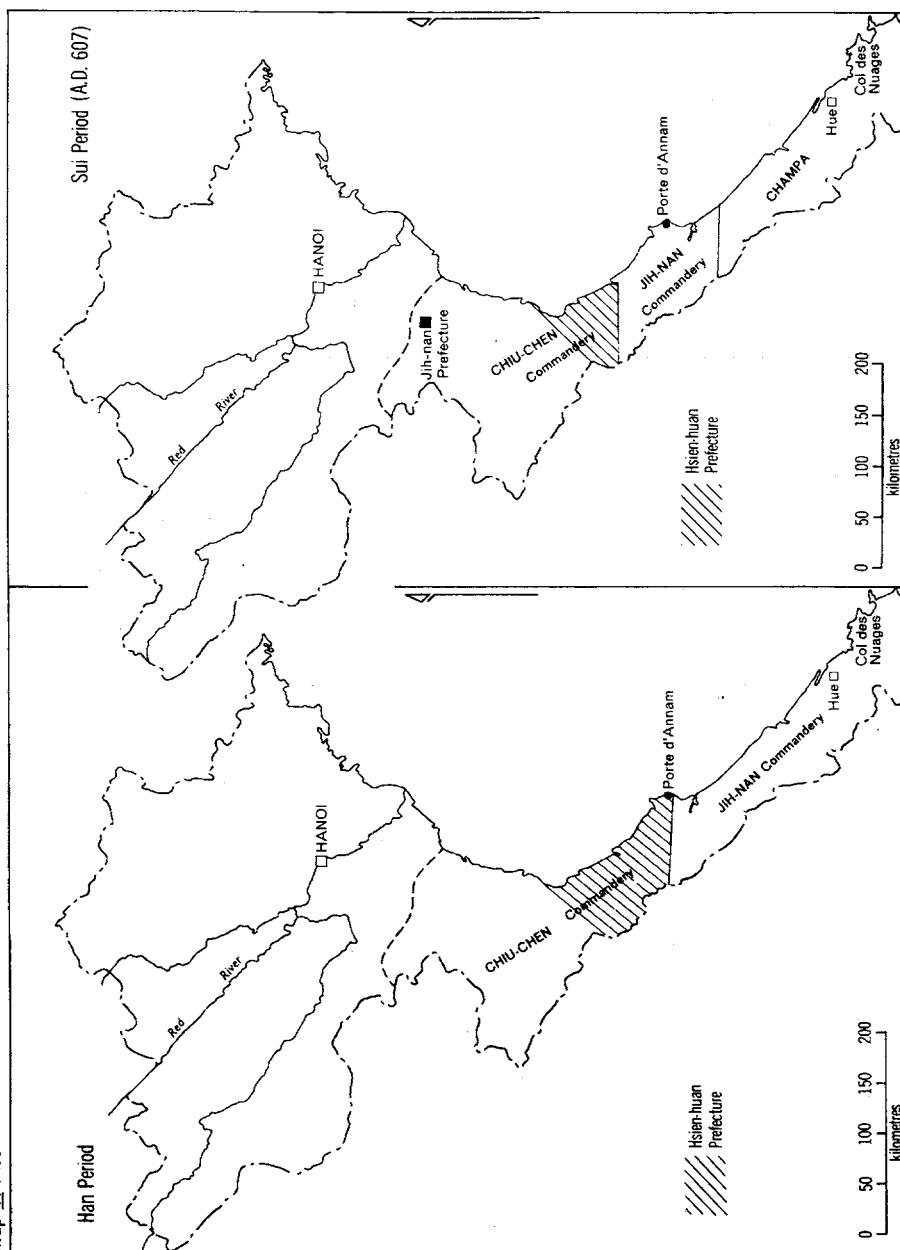


Both Maspero and Stein attempted to unravel the original error which led to the confusion between Sung-p'ing and Jih-nan. Maspero was unable to find its source,<sup>22</sup> but Stein suggested

<sup>22</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 551 n.2.

'Jih-nan': Commanderies and Prefectures

Map VI : 10



that the characters for the prefecture of Hsi-yü might have been confused with those for Hsi-chüan.<sup>23</sup> The administrative centre of Hsi-yü during Later Han was just north of the prefectural towns of Sung-p'ing and Nan-ting and very near Lin-hsi. In the earliest phase of Chinese domination in Vietnam, Hsi-yü probably controlled most of the area which later came under the jurisdiction of Sung-p'ing and Lin-hsi. Thus it is possible that the original official documents read: 'Sung-p'ing Prefecture is (part) of Hsi-yü Prefecture', with a later scribal error producing: 'Sung P'ing Prefecture is part of Hsi-chüan Prefecture.'

The attempt by the local Chinese officials to conceal Cham military victories from the court, and the re-creation of some of the southern prefectures in other parts of the country, must have led to complete confusion as to the location of the original Han commandery of Jih-nan and must have further obscured its subsequent translocations between the fall of Han and the rise of T'ang. Stein argued that almost the whole of Han Jih-nan was occupied by Champa during the fourth century, and therefore the confusion began much earlier than the Sui-T'ang period. He argues that this confusion was responsible for the scribal error substituting Hsi-chüan for Hsi-yü.

In spite of Maspero's erroneous statement to the contrary,<sup>24</sup> it is clear that the first reference to Sung-p'ing is found in *Sung-shu*, which states:

Sung-p'ing was established as a prefecture from part of Jih-nan in the time of Emperor Hsiao-wu (454-65). Later it became known as a commandery.<sup>25</sup>

Here, there is no mention of Hsi-chüan. Moreover Jih-nan is given no administrative status. In cases of administrative

<sup>23</sup> Stein, 'Le Lin-yi', p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 551 n. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Sung-shu* 38, 43b.

sub-division, it is most unusual for a geographical treatise to refer to the commandery as the unit sub-divided. Usually, the name of the relevant prefecture is given and then the name of the commandery to which it belongs. Two interpretations of this passage in the *Sung-shu* are possible. The first postulates that, before the compilation of the *Sung-shu*, the character *chüan* had been accidentally substituted for the *yü* of Hsi-yü in the official documents. Another scribal error might then have been committed during the transmission of *Sung-shu*: omission of the name of the prefecture from the line, as well as the word *Chün* (Commandery) after the name of the commandery to which that prefecture belonged. The line would thus have read: 'Sung-p'ing was (part) of Jih-nan' rather than 'Sung-p'ing was (part) of Hsi-chüan in Jih-nan Commandery'. The generally careless execution of *Sung-shu*, particularly in this section of the treatise on geography, where the names of all the prefectures under one commandery, and several other prefectures in the Tongking delta, are missing, suggests that a mistake of this kind is quite possible.

There is, however, another possible explanation Jih-nan might refer to a prefecture rather than a commandery. The geographical treatise of *Sung-shu* was compiled during Liang. By early Sui, a prefecture by the name of Jih-nan had been set up in the northern part of Chiu-chen Commandery, just south of Tongking.<sup>26</sup> It is therefore quite likely that a town of that name - not an administrative centre - had been in existence there during the Liang. The location of the Sui prefecture of Jih-nan suggests that it would have been one of the first administrative centres on the route from Tongking

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<sup>26</sup> SS 31, 12b; YHCH 38, 12b.

to northern Annam, i.e. after one left Nan-ting or Sung-p'ing. Thus writers in the Liang period may have thought that Jih-nan Prefecture had once controlled the region south of the Red River Delta.

The truth, as far as it can be gauged, probably lies in a combination of these two ideas: a confusion of Hsi-chüan and Hsi-yü arising from a copyist error which went undetected because of (i) confusion about the actual location, past and present, of the commandery of Jih-nan, and (ii) the existence of a prefecture with the same name as the commandery. However, despite the confusing connections made between Jih-nan, Hsien-huan, and Sung-p'ing, it does seem clear that the headquarters of a new commandery named Sung-p'ing was established just to the south of present-day Hanoi at either the end of Sung or the beginning of Southern Ch'i. From the records in the *NCS* it appears that this commandery controlled three prefectures beside that of Sung-p'ing itself - Ch'ang-kuo, Yi-huai, and Ju-ning.

*Chang-kuo and P'ing-tao*

*TPHYC* says of Ch'ang-kuo and P'ing-tao:

P'ing-tao Prefecture: ... was (part) of the Han prefecture of Feng-ch'i. Southern Ch'i established Ch'ang-kuo (there) .... The King of Shu's son became King of An-yang, and set up his capital to the east of the present prefecture of P'ing-tao ... In 622, T'ang set up T'ao Province to control P'ing-tao, Ch'ang-Kuo, and Wu-p'ing prefectures ... In 637, Hsien Province was abolished and Ch'ang-kuo was incorporated into P'ing-tao under Chiao Province ....<sup>27</sup>

On the same subject, *YHCH* says:

The prefecture of P'ing-tao was originally the territory of the Fu-yen barbarians. During the Wu dynasty, the

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<sup>27</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 9a-9b.



commandery of Wu-p'ing was established (there). The prefecture of P'ing-tao was under it.... Mount Hsien lies 13 *li* to the north-east of the prefecture. Several hundred *li* away lies the west gate of Lung-pien....<sup>28</sup>

Elsewhere, *YHCH* dates the establishment of Wu-p'ing Commandery from 271 (towards the end of Wu).<sup>29</sup> However, it gives no dates for the establishment of P'ing-tao as an administrative centre within that commandery. Li Cheng-fu and Maspero have interpreted this passage in *YHCH* as implying that P'ing-tao was established at the same time as the commandery of Wu-p'ing, i.e. in 271.<sup>30</sup> Although this seems obvious at first sight, the geographical treatises in the dynastic histories suggest that neither P'ing-tao nor Ch'ang-kuo were administrative centres before the advent of Southern Ch'i.

Unfortunately, there are no geographical lists or tables in *SKC* which would confirm or deny this. However, the names P'ing-tao and Ch'ang-kuo do not appear in the geographical treatise of either *CS* or *Sung-shu*. They first appear in the geographical treatise of *NCS*, P'ing-tao being placed under the control of Wu-p'ing Commandery and Ch'ang-kuo under Sung-p'ing Commandery.<sup>31</sup> Thus, it would appear that both P'ing-tao and Ch'ang-kuo had not existed as prefectural centres before the fifth century, and that both were creations of the Southern Ch'i period.

The *Sui-shu* geographical treatise states that P'ing-tao had been known as Kuo-ch'ang, and that its name was changed

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<sup>28</sup> *YHCH* 38, 10b.

<sup>29</sup> *YHCH* 38, 10a.

<sup>30</sup> Li Cheng-fu, *Chün-hsien shih-tai chih an-nan*, p. 218; Maspero, 'Protectorat Général', p. 576.

<sup>31</sup> *NCS* 14, 24b-25b.

from Kuo-ch'ang to P'ing-tao in 593.<sup>32</sup> The geographical treatise of *CTS*, however, dates the abolition of Ch'ang-kuo only from 637.<sup>33</sup> The statement in *SS* should not be interpreted as meaning that P'ing-tao had not existed as an administrative centre before 593, or that Ch'ang-kuo had been permanently abolished as an administrative centre after that date. The information in these two texts probably indicates that sometime during the Ch'en, P'ing-tao was abolished as an administrative centre for a short period until 593, and that sometime between this date and 637, the town of Ch'ang-kuo was re-established as a prefectural centre, only to be reduced again in 637 to non-administrative status.

Although the geographical treatise of *NCS* places P'ing-tao and Ch'ang-kuo under different commandery administrations, it is obvious from descriptions in *TPHYC* and *YHCH*, and from other statements in *SS* and *CTS*, that these two prefectures were closely connected and that both were located within the old Han prefecture of Feng-ch'i. Later, the commandery of Sung-p'ing extended its control across the Red River from the south-west of present day Hanoi into the territory of Han Feng-ch'i. From the description of Mount Hsien lying thirteen *li* to the north-east of P'ing-tao, and of P'ing-tao as west of the old city of An-yang (now called CÔ-loa)<sup>34</sup>, it seems that P'ing-tao was established to the east of Feng-ch'i and on the western edge of the Tiê<sup>h</sup>-du Mountains. The prefecture of Ch'ang-kuo was located between the two centres of Feng-ch'i and P'ing-tao, probably to the south of both, i.e. somewhere

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<sup>32</sup> *SS* 31, 12b.

<sup>33</sup> *CTS* 21, 44a.

<sup>34</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 9a-9b; *HYCH* 38, 10a.

between C<sup>?</sup>ô-loa and Yê-n-lăng. In this location Ch'ang-kuo was accessible to control from the prefecture of Sung-p'ing, and able to control effectively the south-western sector of P'ing-tao when the latter was not functioning as a prefectural centre in its own right, as during the first years of the sui dynasty. At such times, Ken-ning or Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup> controlled the northern sections of P'ing-tao Prefecture. One of these prefectures was also responsible for the administration of northern Feng-ch'i after the latter's abolition as an administrative centre. Ch'ang-kuo controlled the southern sector of Feng-ch'i.

#### *Yi-huai and Ju-ning*

There were two other prefectures under the control of Sung-p'ing Commandery - Yi-huai and Ju-ning. It seems that these two prefectures were abolished before the Sui dynasty, and no direct information concerning their location has survived. If a circle is drawn on a map of Tongking with its centre at Sung-p'ing and radius Sung-p'ing/Ch'ang-kuo this would probably include the locations of these two towns. Alternatively, we can see from the map of locations below that the commandery of Sung-p'ing was surrounded on its east by the commandery of Chiao-chih, and to the north, north-east and north-west by the commanderies of Wu-p'ing and Hsin-ch'ang. Thus the area of Sung-p'ing was quite compact and the logical location for Yi-huai and Ju-ning is south-west of the city of Sung-p'ing or further south on the Red River. The fact that Nan-ting was placed under the control of Sung Province in the year 621, and that the prefecture of An-ting in Chiao-chih on the Red River was abolished after the Southern Ch'i period, lends weight to the theory that Sung-p'ing Commandery tended to stretch to the south of Sung-p'ing Prefecture, and that the other two prefectures under its command during Sung and

Southern Ch'i lay to the south of Hanoi close to the Red River.

Table IV:11 shows that there were three commanderies and twenty-six prefectures in Tongking during the Chin period.

Although the list of prefectural names in the *Sung-shu* indicates that there were four commanderies, but only sixteen prefectures in the same area during the Sung, the number of prefectural centres was actually more than this. As we have seen, there are serious omissions in the geographical treatise of *Sung-shu*. There are three prefectural centres omitted from the list under Wu-p'ing commandery, and five or six prefectures omitted from Hsin-ch'ang. If we take account of the omission of prefectural names under the commandery of Sung-p'ing, this brings the total number of prefectural centres in Tongking during the Sung to twenty-seven or twenty-eight, rather than sixteen as given in the *Sung-shu* text.

Table VI:20 below shows the actual number of prefectures in Tongking during the Chin and Sung periods, rather than the number given in the geographical treatises of the *CS* and *Sung-shu*. Although it shows only a small numerical increase in the number of prefectures in Tongking during Sung, the breakdown of the table (as seen in Tables IV:12 - VI:19) shows important developments in the establishment of the new commandery of Sung-p'ing to the south-west of modern Hanoi, and in the reduction in the number of prefectures in the eastern zone of the delta around the confluence of the Thai-binh River.

Chapter IV showed how, in the middle of the third century, the spread of prefectural towns began to concentrate in the region to the north-east and north-west of Hanoi. At present, this area has a population density of 500 to 800 people per sq. km. - a density second only to the two most heavily populated areas of the delta: south-western Hanoi and

TABLE VI: 18

Actual Number of Prefectures in each Commandery in  
Tongking (Chin to Sung)

Commandery	Dynasty	
	Chin	Sung
Chiao-chih	14	12
Wu-p'ing	6	6
Hsin-ch'ang	6	5/6
Sung-p'ing	0	4
	26	27/28

Nam-dinh where the population exceeds 800 people per sq km. The creation of Sung-p'ing Commandery to the south-west of Hanoi at the end of the fifth century thus shows a trend towards the present population distribution in Tongking. The very beginnings of this process can be seen in the reorganization carried out by T'ao Huang in the middle of the third century (Chapters III and IV), 150 years earlier.

The Commandery of Hsin-hsing/ch'ang during  
the Southern Ch'i

#### *Fan-hsin*

During the Southern Ch'i, control of the two Sung administrative centres of Hsin-tao and Chin-hua was transferred from Wu-p'ing Commandery to Hsin-ch'ang. In addition, the administration of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> was returned to Hsin-ch'ang, and another new administrative centre, named Fan-hsin, was

established within the commandery.<sup>35</sup> *PLCYC* states that a lake by the name of Tien-ch'e lay within the prefecture of Fan-hsin. The record of Lý Bôn's rebellion, as found in *TCTC*, is cited as the source for this statement.<sup>36</sup> In fact, *TCTC* makes no reference to Fan-hsin, although the lake Tien-ch'e is mentioned in the description of Lý Bôn's campaigns.

Bôn led 30,000 troops to meet them and was defeated firstly at Chu-yüan and then at the mouth of the Su-li River. He then fled to the town of Chia-ning, which was surrounded by the (Chinese) armies... In 546, Yang P'iao and the others captured Chia-ning. Ly Bon fled to the Lao people of Hsin-ch'ang. The (Chinese) troops camped at the mouth of the river.... Lý Bôn led 20,000 men from the Lao to camp at the Tien-ch'e Lake.<sup>37</sup>

Ssü-Ma Kuang comments:

The lake was on the border of Hsin-ch'ang Commandery... T'ien Lüeh says: (Lý Bôn) crossed the Wu-p'ing River and occupied the village of Hsin-an.<sup>38</sup>

The notes on Lake Tien-ch'e (V. *Điện-triệt*) in the *CTYS* show that the ancient Vietnamese historians knew no local traditions about the exact location of the lake or about the location of Fan-hsin.

The lake Tien-ch'e was in Hsin-ch'ang, which is the same as Feng-chou. Contrary to this, the (*Tu shih*) *fang yu (chi)* *yao*... of the Ming dynasty, states that this lake was situated to the west of the capital of Thái-nguyên Province. Today it is filled in. We do not know which of these two assertions is correct, and so we have conserved both for those who would wish to pursue this matter.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *NCS* 14, 24b-25a.

<sup>36</sup> 'PLCYC', *ESWSPP* 4:41c.

<sup>37</sup> *TCTC*, p. 4940.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *CTYS* 4, 4b.

Although the two traditions that lake Tien-ch'e lay on the border of Hsin-ch'ang Commandery and that it lay west of the capital of Thái-nguyên Province seemed contradictory to the ancient Vietnamese chroniclers, we have shown above how the upper reaches of the Sông Cầu formed the boundary between the two commanderies of Hsin-ch'ang and Chiao-chih, while the Sông Cà-lô formed the boundary between Hsin-ch'ang and Wu-p'ing. The *K'ao-yi* to *TCTC* states that Lý Bôn crossed the Wu-p'ing River; it has already been shown that Wu-p'ing refers to the confluence of the Sông Cầu and the Sông Cà-lô. Thus, the two locations of lake Tien-ch'e are both in fact within the area to the north of the upper reaches of the Sông Cầu and to the west of the capital of Thái-nguyên Province.

From the brief description given in *TCTC* concerning Lý Bôn's flight from Chia-ning to hide with the Lao people, and his camp at lake Tien-ch'e, it seems that he retreated down the Ca-lo into the upper reaches of the Sông Cầu to seek safety with the T'ai people of Tuyên-quang and Yên-báy provinces. The T'ai culture, as described by Eberhard, is characterized by valley settlements, wet-field agriculture and the use of the cross-bow.<sup>40</sup> Gourou describes the T'ai, particularly the Tho, the inhabitants of the valleys in the mountainous regions surrounding the north of the delta, as most deeply influenced by Vietnamese culture, and the oldest of the minority tribes in the Tongking area. According to Gourou, the Tho occupy the valleys of the mountains to the north of the Red River and are particularly numerous in the river-valleys around Lang-sơn and Cao-băng to the north-east

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<sup>40</sup> Eberhard, *Local Cultures*, pp. 340-8.

of the delta.<sup>41</sup> This area stretches in a belt to the north of the location postulated for lake Tien-ch'e and seems to agree with the description of Lý Bôn's flight from Chia-ning to hide among the Lao peoples of the mountains. Flight to the north-west or north-east of the Sông Cầu would have been the only recourse left open after his defeat in the south-east of the delta at Chu-yüan. Access to the Red River was blocked by the further defeat at Chia-ning. Since *TCTC* states that Lý Bôn fled to the Lao in Hsin-ch'ang Commandery, he must have left the Sông Cà-lồ or Sông Cầu and gone into hiding among the north-western Tho rather than those in the valley of Lang-sôn or Cao-băng.

Despite the location of the Tien-ch'e lake in western Thái-nguyên Province, there is little evidence for its connection with the Southern Ch'i prefecture of Fan-hsin, apart from the fact that they were both in Hsin-ch'ang Commandery. However, a location to the north of the upper reaches of the Sông Cầu is plausible for Fan-hsin in light of the establishment of Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> during this period along the upper reaches of the Cầu River (see below pp. 158-61) and the fact that the establishment of prefectures in new areas often occurred in pairs.

The Commandery of Wu-p'ing during the Southern Ch'i

### *Wu-ting<sup>b</sup>*

The Southern Ch'i period saw the creation of three new prefectures in Wu-p'ing Commandery. They were P'ing-tao, Wu-ting<sup>b</sup>, and Nan-yi.<sup>42</sup> P'ing-tao was established on the

<sup>41</sup> P. Gourou, *Le Tonkin*, pp. 199-202.

<sup>42</sup> *NCS* 14, 24b.



south-western side of the Tiên-du Mountains and to the east of Feng-ch'i and Ch'ang-kuo prefectures (see above on Ch'ang-kuo, pp. 150-3.

The *SS* treatise on geography states that in 560 Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> became known as Lung-p'ing.<sup>43</sup> On Sui Lung-p'ing, *CTS* says:

Kuang-wu set up the prefectures of Wang-hai and Feng-ch'i there. The Sui called (this area) Lung-p'ing. In 621, it became known as Wu-p'ing Prefecture.<sup>44</sup>

From *SS*, it seems that Lung-p'ing stretched from Feng-ch'i in a north-easterly direction as far as Wang-hai, near the upper reaches of the Sông Cầu. Since the towns of Feng-ch'i, Ch'ang-kuo, P'ing-tao, Ken-ning, and Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup> were operating as administrative centres for the south-western section of this area during Southern Ch'i, the new prefecture of Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> probably lay on the north-eastern side near Wang-hai. This hypothesis is borne out in the references of Wu-p'ing in *TPHYC* which state that the Lei River ran from Lung-p'ing to Wu-p'ing, where it was known as the Waters of Wu-p'ing.<sup>45</sup> This suggests that T'ang Wu-p'ing did not control all of Sui Lung-p'ing, but only its north-eastern section. *TPHYC*, along with *CTS*, also states that the source of the Wu-ting River lay in Wu-p'ing Prefecture, and that this river ran 252 *li* to the north of Sung-p'ing.<sup>46</sup>

The first river mentioned - the Lei - has been identified as the present-day Sông Cà-lồ (Chapter IV). The area where the Cà-lồ runs into the Cầu was known as the waters of Wu-p'ing,

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<sup>43</sup> *SS* 31, 12b.

<sup>44</sup> *CTS* 21, 44a.

<sup>45</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 9a.

<sup>46</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 3b; *CTS* 21, 43a.

while the upper reaches of the C<sup>h</sup>au were known as the Wu-ting River. This name is the same as that of the prefecture established under Wu-p'ing Commandery during Southern Ch'i, and the location of the river agrees with the suggested location of Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> Prefecture near Wang-hai on the upper reaches of the C<sup>h</sup>au.

Since the administration of Wang-hai was under Chiao-chih Commandery, and Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> was under Wu-p'ing Commandery, it seems that, prior to Sui, the C<sup>h</sup>au River formed a dividing line between Chiao-chih and Wu-p'ing commanderies. Our maps show that the C<sup>h</sup>au-l<sup>h</sup> River also formed a north/south boundary between the two commanderies of Hsin-ch'ang and Wu-p'ing.

Yang Shou-ching in *SSTLC* states that Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> Prefecture of the Sung dynasty became the Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> of the Southern Ch'i.<sup>47</sup> Yang reasoned that the three prefectures listed under Wu-p'ing Commandery in the *Sung-shu* must have been different from the six prefectures under Wu-p'ing in the Southern Ch'i history. He correctly concluded that there must have been some continuity in the commandery between the Chin and Southern Ch'i dynasties. This led him to believe, however, that the first character of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> was changed to its homophone Wu<sup>b</sup> after the Sung period. However, Tables IV:12 and IV:13 show this is incorrect. While the prefecture of Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> appears in the Southern Ch'i records under Wu-p'ing Commandery, the older prefecture of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> appears under the commandery of Hsin-ch'ang.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, the two were probably quite different. *Sung-shu* also states that there were six administrative

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<sup>47</sup> 'SSTLC', *ESWSPP* 4:190b.

<sup>48</sup> *NCS* 14, 24b-25a.

centres in Wu-p'ing Commandery. The prefectures missing from the list of names in *Sung-shu* must have provided the continuity for this commandery in the transition period from Chin to Southern Ch'i. A cross-check of prefectural names under other commanderies during the same period shows that the administration of the Sung prefecture of Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> was transferred back to Hsin-ch'ang Commandery. This proves that the two prefectural towns having the homophones *wu* for their initial characters were in fact co-existent. Their locations, therefore, could not have been identical.

### *Nan-yi*

Li Cheng-fu stated that the prefecture of Nan-yi, established during Southern Ch'i, was the same as the Wu centre of Fu-an.<sup>49</sup> He gave no reason or explanation for this statement. Table IV:13 showed that the prefectural towns of Fu-an, Chin-shan, and An-wu were reduced to non-administrative status during Sung. At the same time, three new prefectural centres were set up in the commandery. Two of these, Chin-hua and Hsin-tao, were located along the northern bank of the Cà-lô River and they probably replaced the administrative centres of Fu-an, Chin-shan, and An-wu. In the next dynastic period, the administration of these prefectures was transferred to Hsin-ch'ang Commandery, while three new administrative centres were set up in Wu-p'ing Commandery - one of these being Nan-yi (Table VI:19). Since the other two prefectures - P'ing-tao and Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> - were established to the east of Feng-ch'i and along the upper reaches of the Càu River respectively, it seems probable that the third - Nan-yi - was established on

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<sup>49</sup> Li Cheng-fu, *Ch'ien-hsien shih-tai chih an-nan*, p. 225.

the southern bank of the Cà-lô, for during Southern Ch'i, the area north of the Cà-lô was administered by Hsin-ch'ang Commandery. Thus one of the centres of Fu-an, Chin-shan, or An-wu might have been located on the southern rather than northern bank of the Cà-lô, with Nan-yi replacing it during Southern Ch'i. Hsin-tao and Chin-hua might have replaced the other two prefectures located on the northern bank during the Sung. Thus Nan-yi may very well have been a new name for either Chin-shan, An-wu, or Fu-an. In this respect, it may be noted that no information has survived about Chin-shan, An-wu, Fu-an, or Nan-yi.

TABLE VI:19

Name-changes in Wu-p'ing Commandery (Wu to Southern Ch'i)

Dynasty		
Wu-Chin	Sung	Southern Ch'i
Feng-ch'i Wu-hsing <sup>b</sup> Ken-ning	Feng-ch'i Wu-hsing <sup>b</sup> Ken-ning	Feng-ch'i Wu-hsing <sup>b</sup> Ken-ning
Chin-shan An-wu Fu-an	Chin-hua Hsin-tao Wu-ting <sup>a</sup>	— — Nan-yi — Wu-ting <sup>b</sup> P'ing-tao

In conclusion, we can say that the changes made in the commanderies of Wu-p'ing and Hsin-ch'ang during the Southern Ch'i confirm that, administratively, this period was fairly conservative. Table VI:20 below summarises the changes made in Tongking during the Southern Ch'i period. The only significant change was the establishment of the two new prefectures called Fan-hsin and P'ing-tao, and the extension of the north-eastern border of Hsin-ch'ang Commandery across the Red River and down to the northern bank of the Cà-lô. Thus the Southern Ch'i period, like the Chin, saw little innovation in administration in Tongking.

TABLE VI:20

Total Number of Prefectures in each Commandery in  
Tongking

(Sung to Southern Ch'i)

Commandery	Dynasty	
	Sung	Southern Ch'i
Chiao-chih	12	12
Wu-p'ing	6	6
Hsin-ch'ang	5/6	8
Sung-p'ing	4	4
	27/28	30

#### The Liang Period

The *PLCYC* of the Ch'ing dynasty lists eleven prefectural centres for Chiao-chih Commandery in the Liang Period, eight for Hsin-ch'ang, four for Wu-p'ing and three for Sung-p'ing.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> 'PLCYC', *ESWSPP* 4:41b-41c.

TABLE VI:21

Total Number of Prefectures in each Commandery in Tongking  
(Southern Ch'i to Liang)

Commandery	Dynasty	
	1	2
	S.Ch'i	Liang
Chiao-chih	12	11
Wu-p'ing	6	4
Hsin-ch'ang	8	8
Sung-p'ing	4	3
	30	26

#### The Commandery of Chiao-chih during Liang

For Chiao-chih Commandery the difference between columns 1 and 2 in Table VI:21 lies in the omission of An-ting in column 2. *LS* has no geographical treatise of its own and the sources used by the Ch'ing compilers of the *PLCYC* were reportedly *TCTC* and the basic annals, notably the tenth year of Ta-t'ung (544) and the eleventh year of Ta-t'ung (545). The annals of Emperor Wu of Liang state only that Lý Bôn set up all the appropriate offices after he became emperor of an independent kingdom in Vietnam.<sup>51</sup> No names or numbers of prefectures in Chiao-chih Commandery are given. Similarly, the only prefectures mentioned by name in *TCTC* are those of Chu-yüan and Chia-ning.<sup>52</sup> However, *Tu shih fang yü chi yao*

<sup>51</sup> *LS* 3, 27a.

<sup>52</sup> *TCTC*, p. 4928.

states that the town of Kou-lei was abolished during the Sui period,<sup>53</sup> and *YHCH* gives the date of the abolition of the earlier Nan-ting as 723. These two towns can therefore be included in the list of administrative centres under Chiao-chih Commandery during Liang.

#### The Commandery of Hsin-ch'ang during Liang

For the commandery of Hsin-ch'ang, *PLCYC* names eight prefectures in the Liang period that had existed under Southern Ch'i. The source of information is given as *TCTC*, in the first year of the T'a-t'ung period, spring, first month. Again the *TCTC* makes no reference to the number or names of prefectures in Hsin-ch'ang Commandery.<sup>54</sup> Since the names Chia-ning and Lin-hsi (An-jen) appear in the geographical treatise of *SS*, it could be assumed that they functioned as prefectural towns during the Liang (and Ch'en) periods. However, our work on P'ing-tao and Ch'ang-kuo, as well as the fact that *TPHYC* lists Feng-ch'i as an administrative centre after the Sui period,<sup>55</sup> shows that the listing of a town as an administrative centre in *SS* does not necessarily mean that town was functioning in this way during the late Southern Ch'i. Similarly the absence of a certain name in the *SS* records does not necessarily indicate that it was not an administrative centre during the Liang and Ch'en periods.

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<sup>53</sup> *Tu shih fang yü chi yao* 112, 7a.

<sup>54</sup> *TCTC* pp. 4936-7.

<sup>55</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 10a.

## The Commandery of Wu-p'ing during Liang

Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup>

In the section on Wu-p'ing Commandery, the *PLCYC* omits Feng-ch'i and P'ing-tao as prefectural towns, leaving a total of four administrative centres for this area. Feng-ch'i is said to have been abolished between the fall of the Liang and the advent of the Ch'en while P'ing-tao was abolished during the Liang period.<sup>56</sup> The source for these statements is given as the *Tu shih fang yü chi yao*.

Chapter 112 of this work states:

Between Liang and Ch'en, Feng-ch'i was abolished and incorporated into P'ing-tao Prefecture .... P'ing-tao Prefecture was incorporated into the prefecture of Ch'ang-kuo.<sup>57</sup>

By placing this information under the prefecture of Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup>, the authors of the *PLCYC* imply that Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup> was established in the same region as Feng-ch'i and P'ing-tao, i.e. between the Red River and the Tiên-du Mountains, and that this administrative centre had incorporated the areas of P'ing-tao and Feng-ch'i during the Liang dynasty. This question was discussed in the section on the location of P'ing-tao and Ch'ang-kuo. There, it was suggested that the two towns of Ken-ning and Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup> were located to the north of P'ing-tao and Ch'ang-kuo, and thus to the north or north-east of Feng-ch'i Prefecture (p. 153). Since a twentieth century map of Tongking shows a high population density (500 to 800 people per sq. km) in this area,<sup>58</sup> it seems reasonable to suggest,

<sup>56</sup> 'PLCYC' *ESWSPP* 4: 41b-41c.

<sup>57</sup> *Tu shih fang yü chi yao* 112, 7a.

<sup>58</sup> Gourou, *Le Tonkin*, pp. 85-7.



in the light of the increases in the number of administrative centres made there between the third and fifth centuries A.D., that the number of such centres would not have been suddenly reduced to one in the sixth century. It was suggested in Chapters IV and VI, that two or three of the five Chin centres whose locations were uncertain probably lay on the northern bank of the Cà-lô<sup>^</sup>. The only other centres left in the Feng-ch'i/P'ing-tao area in the sixth century would have been Ken-ning and Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup>. Thus it seems logical to discuss the abolition of Feng-ch'i and P'ing-tao prefectures under the entry of Wu-hsing<sup>b</sup>.

*Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> and Wu-ting<sup>b</sup>*

*PLCYC* quoting *TCTC* on Lý Bôn's rebellion - the eleventh year of Ta-t'ung (545), describes Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> as containing the Su-li River.<sup>59</sup> This contradicts descriptions in *YHCH*, *TPHYC*, *SS* and *CTS*, all of which locate Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> on the upper reaches of the Cau.

There is no direct reference to the prefecture of Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> in the account of Lý Bôn's rebellion in *TCTC*:

Bôn led his army of 30,000 to meet them and was defeated first at Chu-yüan and then at the mouth of the Su-li River. He then fled to the town of Chia-ning.<sup>60</sup>

However, the commentary to *TCTC* says that Lý Bôn crossed the Wu-p'ing River. Presumably he went north-east from Chia-ning through Wu-ting<sup>b</sup> to join the Lao (T'ai) in the mountains north of the delta. Obviously, the compilers of the *PLCYC* were confused between references to the mouth of the Su-li River near Wu-ting<sup>a</sup> and the mouth of the Wu-p'ing River,

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59 'PLCYC' *ESWSPP* 4:41c.

60 *TCTC* p. 4940.

either near Chia-ning or where the Cà-lồ and Cầ Rivers met just south of Wu-ting<sup>b</sup>.

Tables VI:22 and VI:23 depict changes in the number of commanderies and prefectures in Tongking during the first six centuries of Chinese colonisation. They show that major changes in the administration of Tongking occurred during the (late) Wu and (late) Sung periods. Map VI:11 illustrates the new prefectural centres established in Tongking during late Sung and Southern Ch'i. It shows expansion into the south-western delta area during that time.

TABLE VI:22

Total Number of Commanderies and Prefectures in Tongking (Han to Liang)

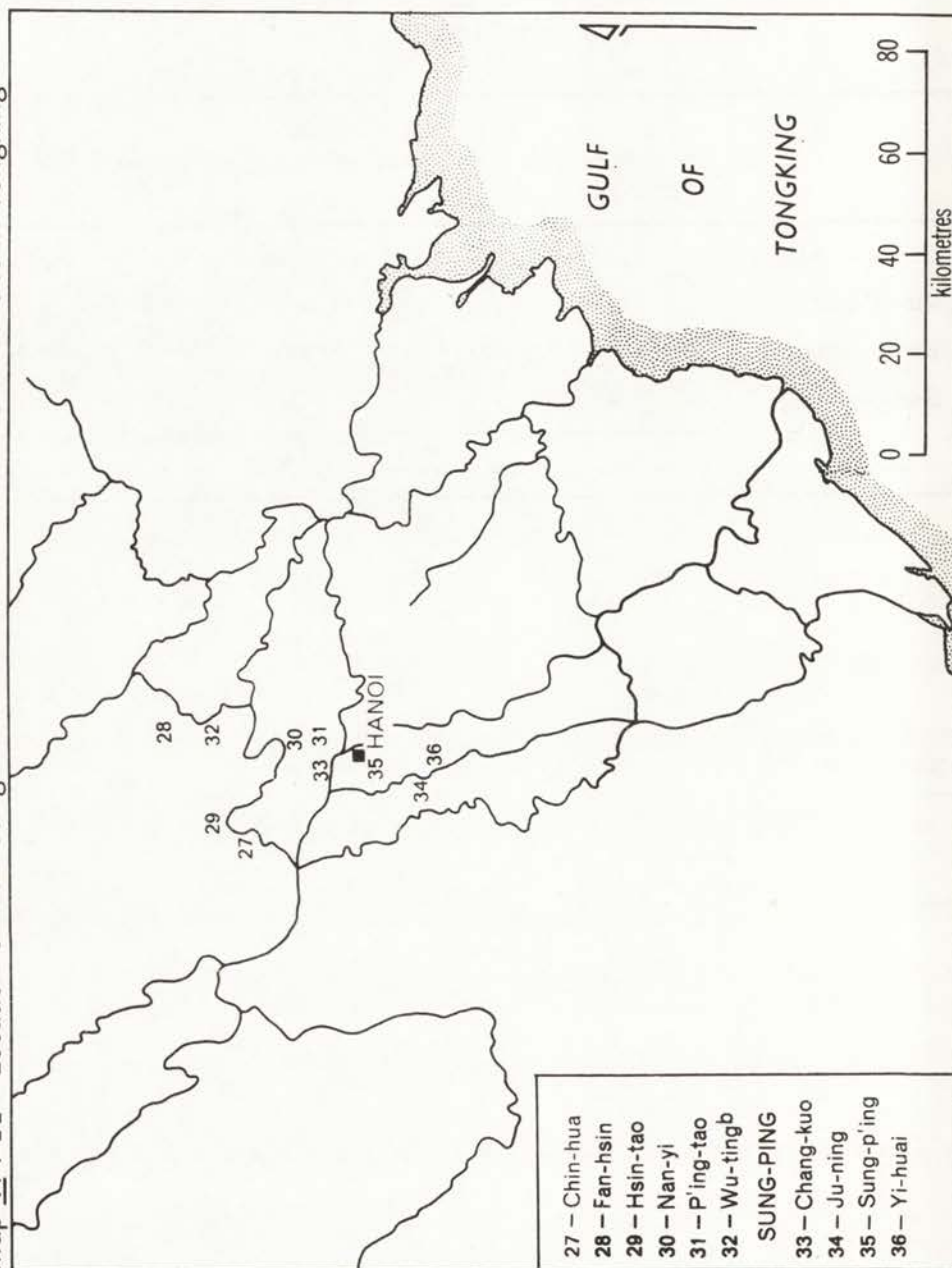
	Dynasty					
	Hou-han	Wu	Chin	Sung	S.Ch'i	Liang
Commanderies	1	3	3	4	4	4
Prefectures	12	24	26	27/28	30	27

TABLE VI:23

Total Number of Prefectures in each Commandery in Tongking  
(Han to Liang)

	Dynasty					
	Hou-han	Wu	Chin	Sung	S.Ch'i	Liang
Chiao-chih	12	14	14	12	12	11
Wu-p'ing	-	6	6	6	6	4
Hsin-hsing	-	4	6	5/6	8	8
Sung-p'ing	-	-	-	4	4	4
TOTAL	12	24	26	27/28	30	27

Map VI : 11 Location of New Sung and Southern Chi'i Prefectural Centres in Tongking



## CHAPTER VII

## Conclusion

Although the process of intense sinicisation among the Yüeh people of Tongking is usually said to have begun after Ma Yüan's conquest of the delta in A.D. 43, traditional records about Chinese interference in Yüeh culture and society refer only to Hsi Kuang and Su Ting of Former Han and to the activities of Ma Yüan himself at the beginning of Later Han. After A.D. 43, these records offer no information about the state of Yüeh culture and society before a brief mention of the Triêu rebellion in the middle of the third century. After that, the Chinese records are again silent until the time of the Lý rebellion in the sixth century.

However, from the study of Yüeh river legends associated with Ma Yüan, it appears that his conquest of Tongking in A.D. 43 produced a massive destruction of the traditional Yüeh way of life - particularly among the aristocracy of that society. This situation must have opened the way for further sincisation of both the Yüeh elite and peasantry. Nevertheless, Chinese records on contemporary administrative geography in the far south suggest that sinicisation among the Yüeh of Tongking after A.D. 43 probably took place at a much slower rate than previously estimated. After the initial influx of northern refugees and the turmoil of the Hsi Kuang/Su Ting years at the beginning of the first century A.D. at the end of Former Han, the population in Tongking remained virtually unaffected by the demographic changes and social unrest which characterised the area to its north in the following centuries. Sincisation

among the Yüeh apparently took place in a relatively relaxed atmosphere of social and political accommodation. In part this was due to the severity of the Yüeh defeat in Tongking in A.D. 43.

Contemporary records of Chinese activities in Tongking during the first six centuries of colonisation tell us more about the process of Vietnamisation among Chinese families than they do about sinicisation of the Yüeh. These records provide a tantalising glimpse of the process whereby, over several centuries, a number of leading Chinese clans established family interests in Tongking and gradually settled into, helped modify, and were finally absorbed into the social, economic, and political environment in northern Vietnam. The ultimate result of this process was the emergence of a ruling Sino-Vietnamese elite, the social and economic decolonisation of the far south, and the abortive attempt in the sixth century to establish political independence from the north. The pattern of this process is already shown at the end of Later Han, with the rise of Shih Hsieh and the attempt by his family to resist political encroachment from the north after his death.

From the Trưng rebellion in the first century to the Lý rebellion in the sixth, Chinese dynastic records reveal an alternating pattern of political dependence on and semi-independence from northern power. With time, the periods of dependence gradually decrease in length while those characterised by semi-independent rule become longer. This trend in Tongking sets the stage for revolt by the Lý family in the middle of the sixth century and, finally, separation from China in the tenth century.

Although the strength of the native Sino-Vietnamese ruling class in Tongking received a set-back in the fourth

century, when northern assistance was needed to combat the Cham threat in the south, it is probable that this external threat to Tongking's security ultimately helped consolidate the political and cultural aspirations of that class. The rise of the Hinduised Cham kingdom on the southern border of Tongking in the fourth century can be seen as a major catalyst in the development of local solidarity and the fusion between regional Chinese and Yüeh interests in the delta.

TABLE VII:24

## The Development of Vietnamese Independence

Dependent Periods		Semi-independent Periods	
		A.D. 40-43	3 years
43-187	144 years	187-266	39
226-69	43	269-323	54
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Cham Incursions		323-99	76 years
-----			
		399-427	28
427-54	27	454-85	31
485-94	9	494-547	53

The Chinese dynastic histories show that changes to the local administrative system in Tongking usually followed a period of successful military intervention in the affairs of the delta by outside or northern powers. In the five centuries from Later Han to Liang, the most active periods of administrative change occurred in the latter part of the third and the latter part of the fifth centuries. The administrative changes instituted in these periods -

illustrated in Map VII:12 below - reflected previous shifts in settlements patterns in the delta: exhaustion of the agricultural potential in some areas and the influx of new settlers and refugees into less developed parts of the delta necessitating new prefectural centres to cope with government and taxation problems in the newly developing areas.

Map VII:12 shows how, by the middle of the third century, Chinese settlements in Tongking had reached a state of equilibrium with the agricultural potential of the land around the upper reaches of the Kinh-môn River in the eastern sector of the delta. From that time, the bulk of the taxable population in Tongking began moving into the north-eastern sector of the delta around the site of present-day Hanoi, and into the hinter-land along the Red River. Apart from the modern industrial cities of Hải-phòng, Phát-diêm and Hanoi itself, the area to the north-east and south-east of Hanoi is still today the most densely populated region in the delta. Just as the activities of certain Chinese leaders in Tongking during the third century anticipated later political developments in Vietnam, so the demographic patterns in the delta at that time anticipated modern population patterns in the region.

Map VII: 12 shows that the late fifth century saw the settled, agricultural population (i.e. the taxable population) in Tongking expand into the south-western sector of the delta. Since there was little administrative innovation in the north-eastern sector, we can presume that this area had reached some sort of population stability between the third and fifth centuries.

It is clear from the Chinese records that in Former Han, Tongking was a key area in the trade and communications network



between China proper and South-east Asia.<sup>1</sup> Although there are no direct references to sea-trade in *HHS*, records in that history do mention tribute-bearing missions which passed through Tongking on their way to China from the south-seas region and as far away as the eastern outposts of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> The close ties between tribute-bearing missions and trading operations suggest that Tongking did not lose its status as a trading entrepot between China and South-east Asia during Later Han. At the same time, it seems to have developed into a major source of grain supply for south China.<sup>3</sup> We can therefore assume that the development and maintenance of sea ports and shipping facilities was one of the chief concerns of the Chinese administration in Tongking. Since there are also references in the histories to attacks on Tongking from the sea by Cham ships in the fourth and fifth centuries, we can also assume that the administration in Tongking paid considerable attention to the organisation of coastal defence.

Surprisingly, however, the location of all the known prefectural centres in Tongking from the first to the sixth centuries appears to deny that the area was involved in sea-

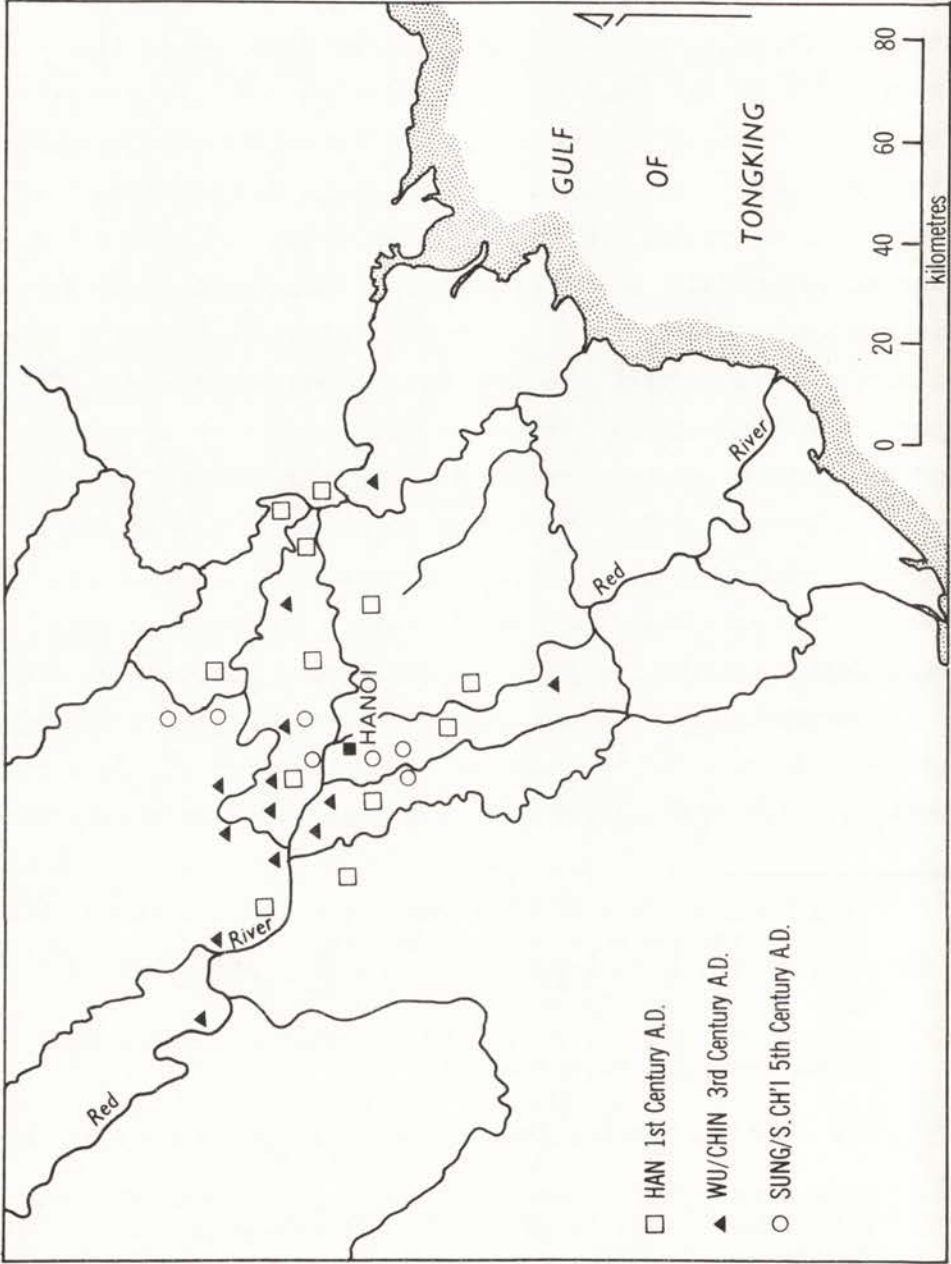
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<sup>1</sup> Wang Gungwu, 'The Nan-hai Trade', pp. 3-62, shows that trading routes were established in the south long before political conquest or cultural colonisation. Yü Ying-shih, *Trade and Expansion in Han China*, pp. 177-82, agrees that the incentive to colonise the southern areas was primarily economic.

<sup>2</sup> *HHS* 7, 23b; *HHS* 78, 14a.

<sup>3</sup> Wang Gungwu, 'The Nan-hai Trade', p. 21, shows that by Later Han the ports of Ho-p'u and Hsü-wen on the Kwangtung coast had lost their importance as trading posts - an additional reason for believing that Tongking retained its supremacy as a trading entrepot in Later Han.

Map VII : 12 Composite Map of Prefectural Locations, First to Sixth Centuries



trade, in the reception of tribute missions from South-east Asia, or in the export by sea of grains and luxury goods to China. Map VII:12 shows that there were no local administrative centres in the delta within fifty km. of the present coastline. All known prefectural centres lie within the northern provinces of Vĩnh-yên, Phúc-yên, Bắc-ninh, Sơn-tây, Hà-dông, and the northern edges of Hưng-yên, Hải-dương, and Phú-ly. The coastal provinces of Kiến-an, Thái-bình, and Nam-định are without any sign of settlement or colonisation from the first to the sixth centuries.

The explanation for this apparent contradiction between the location of government centres in Tongking and government interest in communication and trade with South-east Asia lies in the historical study of the growth of the delta area.

According to Fischer, the rate of sedimentation at the mouth of the Red River causes an increase of between fifty and one hundred metres per year in the present coastline of the delta. Courou's earlier figures on the sediment load of the Red River are similar.<sup>4</sup> He also cites the case of Phát-diêm - a city established on the coast in 1833, but one century later approximately twelve kilometre inland - as further evidence for the rapid growth of the delta area near the mouth of the Red River.<sup>5</sup> Assuming that the rate of sedimentation at the mouth of the river has been fairly constant over the last 2,000 years, the shoreline of the delta in Han times would have been some eighty kilometre inland from its present position. Map VII:12 shows that this, in fact, is the

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<sup>4</sup> Fisher, *South-east Asia*, pp. 414-20, gives the average rate of flow of the Red River near Hanoi as 25,000 cubic feet (i.e. 840 litres) per second in the dry season, and as much as 812,000 cubic feet (27,260 litres) per second during the wet.

<sup>5</sup> Gourou, *Le Tonkin*, p. 59.

approximate distance from the present shoreline of the southern-most prefectural centre in Han times. Map VII: 12 also shows that 225 years later, a new prefectural centre was established approximately 30 kilometres to its south - suggesting an annual growth rate in the south-western portion of the delta of 13 kilometres each hundred years during the second and third centuries. Thus it seems that the rate of growth in the south-western sector of the delta has been fairly constant during the last 2,000 years and that the southern-most prefectural centres on Map VII:12 were in fact coastal ports during their time.

The location of the prefectural centres on Map VII:12 also suggests that, just as at present, delta-growth in the south-west during the second and third centuries was twice as rapid as in the eastern sector of Tongking. This explains the population drift towards the western and southern areas of Chiao-chih Commandery during the Chinese occupation and the creation of new commanderies in these areas in the third and fifth centuries.

From the written sources, then, it appears that during the Chinese occupation of Tongking the delta lands were still in the process of formation, with the present provinces of Thái-bình, Kiến-an, Nam-dịnh, and Southern Phú-lý, Hưng-yên, and Hải-dương almost totally submerged. The description of the prefectural centre of Nan-ting, established in the third century to the north of the present-day Phú-lý canal, hints at this situation. *TPHYC* describes the Fu-shih (V. Phù-thạch) Mountains to its south as looming up out of the sea.<sup>6</sup> Chapter IV, pp. 96-7 showed that these mountains or hills probably refer to the present group of limestone hills in the delta

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<sup>6</sup> *TPHYC* 170, 9b-10a.

running south-west from the Phú-ly' Canal down to Ninh-bình. Presumably this was the only land-mass in the south-west above sea-level in the third century.

While this hypothesis about the growth of the delta in historical times has been checked against Maspero's locations for tenth century prefectural sites in Tongking,<sup>7</sup> and against the sites of early (i.e. French colonial) archaeological discoveries in the delta, further study of the most recent archaeological sites in the area must be carried out before we can regard it as an established theory.

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<sup>7</sup> Maspero, 'Le Protectorat Général', pp. 668-80, maintains that the Red River Delta was much the same in the tenth century as it is today, and was probably much the same in the period of Chinese colonisation prior to the tenth century. However, his own map of locations shows all tenth century prefectural centres lying within the northern provinces of the delta, leaving the southern provinces of Thái-bình, Kiên-an, and southern Hưng-yên empty. Chang-chou is placed to the south of the Red River, but Maspero admits that the location of this tenth century province is rather dubious as very little information exists on its whereabouts. For the physical evolution of the delta, see Gourou, *Les paysans*, pp. 43-54.

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