

CHINESE CHARACTER STELAE OF THE CHINESE IN HANOI*

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Abstract

The Hàng Bưởi and Lãn Ông Streets in Hoàn Kiếm district of modern Hanoi, now only a corner in Hanoi's old town centre, were originally a Chinese living and trading quarter. Here existed numerous Chinese guild halls and temples. Now that these relics are managed and used by the local people in their everyday lives, many changes have been made to the buildings that create risks of damage. Especially concerning is the loss of stelae which are important both for the understanding of the history of Chinese communities here and of Thăng Long/Hanoi itself. No one has yet paid much serious attention to these stelae, however, nor have they been studied by scholars. For example, in the most recently published work, *A Collection of Han Nom (Chinese-Vietnamese) scripts*, done to celebrate Hanoi's thousand year history, no stele made by the Chinese communities in Hanoi was included.

This article outlines the current situation of Chinese stelae in Hanoi, and introduces the inscriptions carved on them, in the hope of better understanding the history of Chinese communities there, which is an important part of the history of Hanoi itself.

Key words: Stone stelae, Chinese in Hanoi, Guild hall, Hanoi, Vietnam

1. The Current Situation of Chinese stelae in Hanoi

Chinese inscriptions kept in Chinese *hội quán* (guild halls) and temples are invaluable materials both for understanding the history of the Chinese in Hanoi, and the history of Hanoi itself. However, these stelae have not been given much attention nor been studied by scholars. That the most recent and comprehensive *Collection of Han Nom (Chinese-Vietnamese) Scripts* excluded every stele made by Chinese communities in Hanoi is an example in point.¹ To begin to remedy this situation I would like to introduce the Chinese inscriptions kept in the Institute of Han-Nom Institute.

All eighteen stelae were created by the Chinese community. They reflect its origin, occupations and life in Hanoi, mostly during the nineteenth century to the early years of the twentieth century, with one as early as 1687. Of the eighteen stelae, there are four at the Phúc Kiến (Fujian) guildhall, seven at the Việt Đông guildhall, four at the Quan Thánh Temple and three at the Bạch Mã Temple. This article introduces the inscriptions from the four most important buildings in Hanoi's old quarter: the Việt Đông guild hall (built in 1803), the Quan Thánh temple (1815), and the Phúc Kiến guild hall (1817). As for the Bạch Mã temple, it was an ancient building which was renovated by the Chinese several times from the seventeenth century on.

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¹ Phạm Thị Thùy Vinh ed. *Văn Khắc Hán Nôm Thăng Long- Hà Nội* [A Collection of Han Nom (Chinese-Vietnamese) scripts of Thăng Long] (Hanoi: Nxb Hà Nội, 2010).

Table 1. Chinese inscriptions kept in the Institute of Han-Nom Studies, Hanoi, Vietnam

	Name of stelae	Date	Location	Call number
	The founding of the Fujian (V. Phúc Kiến) guild hall 福建會館興創錄	Gia Long 16 (1817)	The Phúc Kiến guild hall, Lãn Ông Street, Hoàn Kiếm district	49292
	Donations to the Phúc Kiến guild hall 福建會館捐題錄	Gia Long 16 (1817)		49293
	The restoration of Phúc Kiến guild hall 福建會館重修碑記	Dân Quốc 15 (1926)		49294
	The restoration of Phúc Kiến guild hall 福建會館重修碑記	Dân Quốc 15 (1926)		49295
	Donations to the construction of Việt Đông guild hall 鼎建會館簽題錄	Gia Long 2 (1803)	Việt Đông guild hall, Hàng Buồm Street, Hoàn Kiếm district	195
	The founding of Việt Đông guild hall 粵東會館碑記	Gia Long 2 (1803)		196
	Donations to the restoration 重修捐報錄	Minh Mạng 1 (1820)		194
	Donations to the restoration 重修簽題錄	Minh Mạng 1 (1820)		197
	The restoration of the guild hall 重修會館碑記	Minh Mạng 1 (1820)		198
	The restoration of the back building 重修會館後座碑記	Thiệu Trị 4 (1844)		199
	Donations to the restoration of the back building 重修後座簽題錄	Thiệu Trị 4 (1844)		200
	Donations to the rebuilding of the Quan Thánh temple 重建關聖廟簽題錄	Gia Long 14 (1815)	Quan Đế temple, 28 Hàng Buồm Street, Hoàn Kiếm district	167
	The rebuilding of the Quan Thánh temple restoration 重建關聖廟碑記	Gia Long 14 (1815)		172-173-174
	The rebuilding of the Quan Thánh Temple restoration 重建關聖廟簽題錄	Gia Long 14 (1815)		175
	The red paint of the stele of the Quan Thánh Temple 關聖廟硃漆碑記	Minh Mạng 7 (1826)		176
	The restoration of the Han Phuc Ba (Mã Yuán) temple 重修漢伏波將軍祠碑記	Chính Hòa 8 (1687)	Bạch Mã temple, 76 Hàng Buồm Street, Hoàn Kiếm district	192
	The restoration of the Bạch Mã Temple 重修白馬廟簽題錄	Minh Mạng 1 (1820)		189
	The restoration of the Bạch Mã Temple 重修白馬廟碑記	Minh Mạng 1 (1820)		190

For each reconstruction and restoration of the halls and temples, there are records on the stelae, with the names of the individuals and shops that made donations. Only three of the four guild halls are currently being maintained and open to visitors, while the Phúc Kiến (Fujian) hall is used as a primary school. The risk of damage to it is great, compounded by the sad situation in which the epigraphy in the stelae is gradually being eroded.

The Chinese in old Hanoi engaged mainly in trade, and they therefore were mostly found congregated in markets or near rivers, places convenient for trading activity. The areas in which they were particularly concentrated were the Đông Hoa Gate and the East Gate, as well as the centre of the 36 streets of the old quarter. All of the historical relics discussed in this article are located along Lãn Ông and Hàng Buồm Streets, a quarter of Chinese traders which stretched from the centre of the old town to the estuary in the east of Thăng Long, in Hà Khẩu ward. “Hà Khẩu” means “river mouth”. Although no longer connected to any river nowadays, this area was once connected to the Tô Lịch River and the Red River, the commercial lifeline of Hanoi city, where merchant junks loaded and unloaded their goods, and from where they set sail.

I will now introduce the four temples, one by one below.

The Bạch Mã temple

This temple contains the earliest existing stelae made by the Chinese community in Hanoi. This stele, “the restoration of the temple of General Phục Ba 重修漢伏波將軍祠碑記,” was carved in 1687. It tells the temple’s history and explains that the people who renovated it were Chinese living in Thăng Long (Hanoi). The stele was made in the shop of a stonemason named Chun Lu in Guilin of Guangxi province, China (廣西桂林靈石匠局春祿刊). The Chinese who participated in the restoration were merchants from Jiangxi, Guangdong, Fujian, Hunan and Hubei (Huguang), Jiangnan and Yunnan. The stele reveals that the patrons of the construction (興工會主) were one Giang Triều Hải 江潮海 and his two wives (Lê Thị Khoa 黎氏科 and Phạm Thị Nương 范氏娘), together with his daughter, grandchildren and mother-in-law. Added to the list of donors there were 56 Chinese with the surnames Tô 蘇, Lâm 林, Từ 徐, Quách 郭, Thi 施, Thái 蔡, and Tiêt 薛.²

The inscription indicates an important historical fact, that the Chinese in seventeenth century Hanoi came from various provinces of China, not only from the two well known provinces of Fujian and Guangdong, but also from other regions of southern China. It is likely that this stele was erected by a group of Ming loyalist refugees who had fled to Vietnam after the Ming Dynasty was defeated by the Qing in 1662.³ As the inscription shows, the leading figure Giang Triều Hải would have been settled in Thăng Long for at

² The content of epitaphs restored in Bạch Mã temple, No. 193: “江西, 廣東, 福建, 胡廣, 江南, 雲南等處。

興功: 江潮海妻黎氏科, 范氏娘, 女子江氏祝, 孫黎觀, 外親母范氏榜等。功德各信士: 簪仲聯, 梅長芳, 徐亦舜, 謝德裕, 蘇耀璋, 丘廷舉, 薛盛寫, 黃代舍, 黃吾元, 揭存勝, 龍正顯, 李官, 黃如漣, 吾良臣, 施允元, 吳紹儀, 林鳳翔, 劉肇周, 郭益祖, 郭勝祖, 謝旭奉, 魏日翼, 黃安生, 任光安, 蔡沛如, 梁子輝, 黎秀雍, 馮翰瑜, 蔡昭侯, 劉振生, 李其佳, 江浩清, 招伯涵, 何達喜, 胡大半, 簪之林, 周祥敦, 張文明, 汪惟喜, 黃文柄, 寥景進, 隆孔輪, 方譜成, 饒舜麟, 陳超校, 陳振萬, 張日昇”。

³ “宋咸淳十年、元至元十一年冬十月以海船三十艘、裝載財物及妻子浮海來羅葛源。十二月引赴京安置于街荀坊自稱回難。蓋我國呼宋國為難國, 有緞子藥材等物置賣為市故也”。(越) 吳仕連編、《大越史記全書》, 內閣官板、陳紀、卷 5、34a.

least twenty or so years by 1687, when the temple was restored by the Chinese. He must have been a merchant of means to be able to restore the temple.

Since the Lê/Trịnh court banned foreign traders from setting up commercial firms in Thăng Long, most of the Chinese of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were settled in Phố Hiến, down the Red River. Most Chinese stelae in northern Vietnam of this era were found in the Chinese guilds and temples in Phố Hiến.

When the Phố Hiến trading zone ended at the end of the eighteenth century, Chinese merchants spread from there to many places, but the majority of them moved to Thăng Long. Although the Nguyễn dynasty moved the national capital from Thăng Long to Hue, and changed its name from Thăng Long to Hanoi, it still remained the most important urban and economic center of northern Vietnam. Doing business in Hanoi, Chinese people were increasingly crowded and successful, so they raised money and bought land to build Việt Đông 粤东 and Phúc Kiến 福建 (Fujian) guild halls, as well as to repair the Quan Thánh temple. It was a different story for the Bạch Mã temple. Since seventeenth-century Thăng Long had a small number of Chinese who had no temple of their own, they participated in religious practices at the local temple, specifically the Bạch Mã (White Horse) temple 白馬祠. This ancient temple worshipped the King of White Horse (Bạch Mã Đại Vương 白馬大王). Because the Chinese here thought that the White Horse was Ma Yuan (General Phục Ba), they recorded the legend of the Phục Ba general on the stele with the title "The stele inscribing the restoration of the Phục Ba General temple of the Han Dynasty" 重修漢伏波將軍祠碑記. This led many to believe that this was a temple for Mã Viện. One of them was the Italian missionary Adriano di St. Thecla, who visited Thăng Long during the period of 1738-1765. He surveyed and recorded the activities, society and beliefs in Northern Vietnam in his book on Tongking (northern Vietnam) and wrongly reported that Bạch Mã Temple was the place of worship for Mã Viện, the protector of Thăng Long.⁴

The Bạch Mã Temple was restored again by the Chinese community in Hanoi in 1820, with two stelae recording the project. The first stele noted the names of the merchants who had contributed money. Specifically, there were 139 people and shops, with 107 Cantonese, 20 Fujian and 12 Chaozhou shops. The smallest donation was two taels of silver, by no means a small amount, while the largest was 125 taels. The total amount was 2,173 taels of silver (or 5758.45 quan), of which six Cantonese each contributed 125 taels. They were Chu Ngàn Tài 周彥材, Quan Tập Hoảng 關緝晃, Lương Tung Am 梁松庵, Xương Ký hiệu 昌記號, Phan Hàn Điển 潘翰典, and Chu Vĩnh Cát 周永吉.

The second stele, the "Restoration of Bạch Mã Temple", recorded more names of people from Mật Thái, Bắc Thượng and Bắc Hạ streets of Hà Khẩu ward. Their donations included money and labour to a total value of 670 taels of silver and 640 quan of copper coins. The contributors here were from the ward, which was mostly Vietnamese and some Chinese, such as Quan Phú Lợi 關富利, who contributed 50 taels of

⁴ Adriano di St. Thecla, *Opusculum de sectis apud Sinenses et Tunkinenses = A small treatise on the sects among the Chinese and Tonkinese: a study of religion in China and North Vietnam in the eighteenth century*, trans. And annotated by Olga Dror (Ithaca, N.Y. : Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 2002), pp. 42-43; Vũ Đăng Minh, Nguyễn Phú Hối, *Temples et pagodes de Hanoi* (Hanoi: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1956), p.35; For a comprehensive study on how the worship of White Horse and Mã Viện became one in the Bạch Mã temple, see Shiu Wentang, "A Vietnamese Folk Religion: The Worship of Bạch Mã (White Horse)", *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, Vol. 4 (2010): 163-175; Trương Thái Du (2010), "Mã Viện – Cứu thành hoàng Hà Nội"? Retrieved from <https://Truongthaidu.wordpress.com/tag/ma-vi%E1%BB%87n/>, 24/6/2019.

silver, Quan Tồn Hưng 關存興, who contributed 10 taels of silver, followed by Quan Cẩm Ký 關錦記, who contributed 5 taels, and Lâm Thế Mỹ 林世美, who contributed 10 quan of coins.

The Bạch Mã Temple is located on the road connecting the Fujian guild and the Cantonese guild. The open-door policy of the early Nguyễn dynasty facilitated Chinese trade in all parts of Vietnam. From the Gia Long and Minh Mạng reigns through to the Tu Duc reign, Chinese contributed to the economy and created the prosperity of Thăng Long's streets. At the same time, they also actively contributed to the restoration and renovation of Hanoi's famous monuments, including Bạch Mã Temple. As late as 1880, a Chinese general offered a horizontal lacquered board to the Bạch Mã temple which read: "Forever remember your favor".⁵

The Việt Đông guild hall 粵東會館

The Việt Đông guild hall at 20 Hàng Buồm Street was a Cantonese guild hall for the worship of Quan Thánh only. Later a number of other gods were added to Quan Thánh, including the Goddess Thiên Hậu, the Tam Nguyên Tam quan Đại đế (three great mandarins and emperors) and the Phục Ba marshal. The stele of 1820 explains why: "[We worship] the Emperor Quan Thánh for his holy air, the Tán Thuận Thiên Hậu for protecting safe sea travel, the Tam Nguyên Tam Quan for bringing happiness and prosperity, and the Phục Ba marshal for pacifying the waves." 關聖大帝以景仰其浩然之氣, 贊順天后元君以佑波恬浪靜, 三元三官大帝以祈福祿攸同, 伏波馬大元帥以緬想其底定之勳". 《重修會館碑記》

Two stelae record the construction of the Việt Đông guild hall in 1803. The "stele of Việt Đông guild hall 粵東會館碑記", carved in the 2nd year of Gia Long (1803), was composed by Phan Thiệu Viễn of the Nam Hải district (南海縣香林潘紹遠), with calligraphy by Lương Đình Kỳ from the Thuận Đức district (順德縣梁廷記), Guangdong. The stele was carved by a stonemason, Nguyễn Thịnh Viên, from the Đông Ngàn Đông An district in Vietnam. The content records the reason for building the Việt Đông guild hall in 1800, at the cost of more than 7000 quan in good coins.⁶

The second stele, titled "鼎建會館簽題錄" [Donations to the construction of Việt Đông guild hall], was also engraved in 1803. It records the Chinese who donated money to build the Việt Đông guild 粵東會館. A total of 197 Chinese people and shops contributed, with each donor giving silver ranging in value from 1 to 50 taels. The biggest contributors were Trần Hiên Châu 陳顯珠, with 70 taels of silver and Quan Tự Hòa 關聚華, with 60 taels of silver. The total amount raised was 2363 taels of silver (or 6262 quan in copper coins).

The Chinese here mainly had the surnames Quan 關, Chu 朱, Lưu 劉, Lâm 林, Lý 李, Hứa 許, Hàn 韓, Diệp 葉, Thẩm 沈, Lương 梁, Âu 歐, Sầm 岑, La 羅, Hà 何, Lục 陸, Thái 蔡, Tiết 節, Wên 溫, Nhâm 陳, Tống 宋. They came from the Nam Hải 南海, Thuận Đức 順德, Tân Hội 新會, and Tam Thủy 三水 districts of Guangdong province.

The Việt Đông guild hall was renovated in 1820, with 3 stelae recording the event. The first stele lists Chinese merchants in Hanoi and other localities in Vietnam, such as Thanh Hóa and Hải Phòng, who contributed money to repair the guild hall. These include 95 people and shops such as Xương Ký, Từ

⁵“永懷恩澤--光緒六年歲次庚辰冬月穀旦立,天朝鎮威將軍壯勇巴圖魯陳得貴敬酬。

⁶ The currency used by the Chinese was mainly silver, calculated in "taels", although the currency of the Nguyễn court was "quan", strings of coins.

Thanh, and Vĩnh Lợi, with a total 1,750 taels of silver (or 4638 quan of copper coins), whilst a senior officer who was in charge of coin casting donated 300 quan of coins.

The second stele records the president of Quan Thiên Trì 會長關天池, the leader Phan Thiệu Viễn 首事潘紹遠, Hà Kính Hòa 何敬和, Tạ Bàng Chu 謝鵬周, Liêu Hùng Thái 廖雄泰, Chu Sản Tài 周產才, Phan Hàn Điển 潘翰典, Phan An Xương 潘安昌 and Trần Tường Cát 陳祥吉, who were the main leaders in the restoration of the guild hall. In all, 261 people and stores contributed 3580 taels of silver (or 9487 quan), of which some people contributed large sums. For example, three people, Chu Sản Tài 周產才, Trần Hiến Chu 陳顯周 and Trần Chí Đoan 陳志端, each donated 160 taels.

The Quan Thánh temple

The Quan Thánh Temple, also known as Quan Đế Temple, is at 28 Hàng Buồm. It worships Quan Văn Trường (Guan Yu), a famous faithful figure in the Three Kingdoms period. Quan Văn Trường was also called the Great Emperor Quan. Over time, Quan Đế beliefs became popular with Vietnamese, too.

There are three stelae commemorating the restoration of the Quan Thánh temple in 1815. The first inscribed the persons and shops that contributed money to rebuild the Quan Thánh temple. The total amount of coins and silver contributed was 778 taels of silver (worth 2061 quan) and 689 quan of coins, by 124 Chinese people and stores. Contributions were made by people with the surnames Trần 陳, Quan 關, Chu 周, Vương 王, Hoàng 黃, Tam 三, Lương 梁, Phan 潘, Dương 楊, Tu 泗, Ngô 吳, Tiết 薛, Lý 李, Tăng 曾, Dư 余, Trương 張, Khu 區, Âu 歐, Khâu 邱, Quàng 鄺, Lâm 林, Hứa 許, Thẩm 沈, Quách 郭, Sầm 岑, Hà 何, and Lưu 劉. Interestingly among them there are a number of people from Chaozhou 潮州, whose names were not recorded and were collectively termed “boat people” (Thuyền Hồ 船戶). They contributed 25 taels of silver. This seems to suggest they were sailors who were visiting Hanoi at the time.

Number 175 records a list of contributors who rebuilt the Quan Thánh temple. They include a group from Hà Khẩu ward containing 132 people in the Giáp 甲 (a male-only organization) or groups of Mật Thái, Nam Hạ, Bắc Hạ, Bắc Thượng and Nam Trung, and of Đông Thượng, Đông Hạ, Hương Tường and Sinh Dong. The total amount they contributed was 117 taels of silver and 556 quan of coins. The majority of these residents of Hà Khẩu ward were Vietnamese, with the surnames Nguyễn 阮, Lê 黎, Trịnh 鄭, Bùi 裴, Phạm 范, and Tạ 謝. However, there were also some Chinese donors with the surname Wang 王 (王煥文銀拾貳五兩), Luo 羅 (羅廷榮銀壹拾兩), Lin 林 (林世美錢三貫), Shi 石 (石文鰲錢三貫), Guan 關 (關順興錢三貫, 關存興錢三貫), and Gu 古 (古翰翕錢三貫), who were living in the groups of Hà Khẩu ward. Because the Quan Thánh temple is a community temple, not only Chinese contributed to its construction but Vietnamese also participated in its construction and worshipped the deity there.

The Quan Thánh Temple underwent another restoration in 1826. This event was recorded in the "Renovation of Quan Thánh Temple" (No 176). The stele records that the Hà Khẩu ward again stood out for the raising of money towards the renovation and donated 70 ancient coins, along with the 35 shops and people of the ward who also contributed. These shops were all Chinese; their names include Chu Vĩnh Cát 周永吉, Chu Từ ký 周泗記, Phan Hợp Xương 潘合昌, Vương Hiến ký 王獻記, Lương Dĩ kỳ 梁怡記, Cự Kỳ hiệu 巨記號, Trần Tường Cát 陳祥吉, and Từ Thành sạn 泗成棧.

The Phúc Kiến guild hall

The Phúc Kiến 福建 guild was the last to construct their guild hall, which was built in the 16th Gia Long year (1817), although this was not for the lack of means. Two characteristics of this group stand out, judging by the two stelae in the hall. First, they were the richest of the Chinese communities in Hanoi -- the first inscription (No 277), for example, indicated that Wang Xinhe alone contributed some 1,100 taels of silver, or half of the total donation of 2663 tael provided by the 197 Cantonese and Teochiu merchants in 1803. Here competition between the different groups of Chinese seems obvious and made saving face important. Each Fujian merchant generously made a donation to his guild hall, so that a mere 32 merchants donated some 3624 tael (or 9604 quan).

The second characteristic is the Fujian merchants' long history of commercial networking in northern Vietnam, as the second stele (No 277) indicated. It recorded the names of those who had contributed money to the Fujian guild hall in Hanoi but resided in Phố Hiến (Lai Trieu). People who specifically stated that they were originally from the two prefectures of Chuong and Tuyen (來潮漳泉二府銀貳拾兩) contributed 20 taels of silver.

The Fujian hall at no. 40 Lãn Ông Street is the guild of Fujian Chinese people who worshipped Thiên Hậu (Tianhou) - one of the most important of the Chinese deities. Thiên Hậu is also called the Holy Heavenly Mother. This goddess worship originated in Fujian at the end of the eleventh century and spread throughout China in the following century. A stele of the Fujian guild hall made in the 16th year of Gia Long (1817) stated:

We Min 閩 (Minnan or Fujian) people are close to the sea. We sail ships to transport goods and trade abroad. Thanks to the grace of the Holy Spirit who brought quiet waves, we have travelled under her protection for generations. How can we not worship and pray to her? Our merchant ships sailed south to Thăng Long and settled. [We] never fail to pay tribute, and always organize the rite in turn and feel happy about it... In lunar January of the year of the Pig, we discussed raising money to purchase a piece of land for a temple [of our own]. Everyone rejoiced with the same heart, and bought a plot of land next to the Dong Hoa Gate, where we built our own temple".

This temple is the Fujian guild hall. The guild was maintained until the Chinese left Hanoi in the 1970s. After the local government used it as a primary school, the temple was lost.

That the construction of the Việt Đông and Phúc Kiến guild halls, and the rebuilding of Quan Thánh temple, all happened in the early years of the Nguyễn dynasty indicates that early nineteenth-century Chinese in Hanoi were numerous and prosperous and that their business was rather successful. This probably also applied to the small number of Chinese from Chaozhou and Hainan who settled in Hanoi. Because their numbers were limited, these groups did not build their own guilds but joined with the Cantonese guild.

The Chinese in Hanoi joined in the religious life of the city. Where Buddhism was concerned, they shared the beliefs but, rather than building their own pagoda, they participated in some existing Buddhist pagodas, in ceremonies such as those held in the Đông Môn Pagoda and Hòe Nhại pagoda. Chinese donated to both pagodas, offering money for embellishments and worship. The inscription on the stele of the restored Đông Môn Dong pagoda, carved in Gia Long 15th year (1816), recorded that there were many Chinese offering money, along with Vietnamese people. In addition, there are some stelae related to the Chinese in other historic structures, such as the "Stele of Đông Môn pagoda restoration 重修東門

寺碑記", now in Hàng Đường street 行唐街, which was made in the 15th Gia Long year (1816). It records the restoration of the pagoda and listed the names of people who gave money or property to the pagoda, including a number of Chinese merchants living and working in Hanoi.⁷ Other instances of Chinese participating in the religious life of the city include the organisation of a festival in the Bạch Mã temple, through which they brought the popular Qing Dynasty procession of Thần Câu Mang 勾芒神 to this temple. It is a Spring Festival 春牛節, which offers a clay buffalo at that season to pray for good crops.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that some old Chinese tombstones can still be found in front of the gate of the Central Lung Hospital, No. 463 Hoàng Hoa Thám, Vĩnh Phúc Ward, Ba Đình District. Most of them were for Chinese from Guangdong. This area at the northern edge of Hanoi could have been an old part of the Guangdong and Fujian Chinese graveyard in Hanoi.

Conclusion

There are not as many Chinese stelae in Thăng Long-Hanoi as in the guilds or guild halls in Hội An and Ho Chi Minh City, but they are quite rich in their material content. Fully collecting and analyzing data on Chinese stelae in Hanoi and Phố Hiến will help to gain a deeper understanding of their origins, careers, economic life, religious beliefs and activities in northern Vietnam, which had been deeply imprinted by Chinese and Chinese culture, as well as on the policies of the Lê and Nguyễn dynasties towards the Chinese in Vietnam. It is necessary to rescue these historical sources regarding Chinese people who had lived in Hanoi, by compiling books of Chinese stelae, for researchers as well as for the Chinese people who used to live in Hanoi. At the same time, a proposal to the Hanoi government to move the school out of the Fujian guild hall is necessary, in order to preserve and promote the inherent values of this monument.



⁷ There are some other temples such as the Linh Son Pagoda, in the Hoan Kiem District, Hanoi (N.267) that need to be studied more carefully. This temple was built in the 9th year of Minh Mạng (1828), of the Thanh Tĩnh (tranquil) sect (清淨教門). The stele states that it originated from the Qing dynasty and was once decorated with four words by the Emperor Kangxi (康熙): The Distant Unknown Bloodline (家鄉玄堂). This sect was commonly believed to be a secret society. See 秦宝琦, “民间秘密教门的信仰核心”, 中国人民大学清史所 http://www.iqh.net.cn/info.asp?column_id=2497, accessed 15 March 2021.