# The TONGKING GULF Through History

Edited by Nola Cooke, Li Tana, and James A. Anderson The Tongking Gulf Through History

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> <sup>Edited by</sup> Nola Cooke, Li Tana,

> > and

## James A. Anderson

### PENN

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In 2004 Vietnam opened negotiations with China about an ambitious joint project that would make the Gulf of Tongking an important economic motor of development for both countries. The approach resulted in a joint agreement called "Two Corridors and One Rim" that was signed in October 2004. This grand project proposed to link the two land corridors of Yunnan and Guangxi with Hanoi and Håi Phòng, while a maritime rim would connect Guangxi, Guangdong, Hainan Island, northern and central Vietnam, and Laos. Work began soon after. At the moment, both countries are constructing twelve major highways plus two high-speed rail lines linking Hanoi with Yunnan and with Guangxi. From being seen as an economic backwater for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Gulf of Tongking has now suddenly emerged as a major engine of growth for both China and Vietnam.

While such intensive economic activity in the gulf region might seem new to contemporary eyes, from a historical perspective its antecedents go back well over two millennia. This emerging form of twenty-first-century regional integration, which refocused interest on the gulf and its surrounding hinterlands, has also stimulated the desire to rethink the forces that linked or separated the many peoples who have inhabited this area over the millennia. With this in mind, Li Tana approached the Australian National University and the Guangxi Academy of Social Sciences with a proposal to gather specialists in different disciplines and eras to confer about the wider Tongking Gulf region throughout history or, in the formulation of the eminent French historian Fernand Braudel, over the longue durée. Thanks to the support of these institutions, a number of scholars were able to gather in Nanning in 2008 to explore the interconnected economic and social history of this ancient area. To help stimulate thought and discussion, the conference organizers proposed as a starting hypothesis that the Gulf of Tongking might be considered as a mini-Mediterranean, as a place in which, as in Braudel's Mediterranean, the age-old interactions and interconnections between its various peoples shaped a region that was united less by geography than by the movements

of men, by millennial cultural interactions and economic exchanges, and the network of land and sea routes that such activities wove together over the centuries. Participants were thus encouraged to apply a multi-dimensional angle of view that would hopefully promote reassessments of this maritime space and its coastal hinterlands from outside traditional state-centered perspectives, with their focus on bounded spaces and the politically motivated projection of a single "national" narrative and identity back through time.

Although participants disagreed on whether the Tongking Gulf might be usefully understood as a mini-Mediterranean, the initial hypothesis was not unproductive. By encouraging contributors to shift their primary focus to the regional and local levels, a collective sense emerged from a number of papers that the Tongking Gulf did have its own distinctive history in which recurring or cyclical patterns could be detected over time. Whether considered in terms of geopolitics, of material exchanges, or of the mingling of peoples and cultures, the Tongking Gulf that emerged from this fruitful series of conversations appeared as a millennial center of human interchanges and an overlapping historical and economic ensemble with its own long-standing integrity.

On reflection and discussion, we believed that the central ideas emerging from the conference were best served by a volume dedicated to exploring them within a more limited geographical focus than the conference had used. By narrowing the book's central interest to the gulf waters, shores, and immediate hinterland of the contemporary Vinh Bắc Bộ, we hoped to illuminate more clearly those intermeshed patterns that most readily reveal the outlines of the long regional history particular to this place. The editors hope the resulting volume will make a useful contribution to the new trend toward analyzing the importance of regions and regionalism in the long-term history of modern Asian states.

Most contributors to this volume also share another common element, the desire to move beyond the limitations of the traditional written sources that formed the staple fare of earlier histories. To this end, many incorporate the findings of archaeology in regard to the past peoples and material cultures of this region. It is not yet thirty years since the appearance of Keith Taylor's classic study of the emergence of an independent Vietnamese state from the old Chinese province of Jiaozhi,<sup>i</sup> but in that time a huge amount of new evidence has become available to researchers, due largely to the efforts of Vietnamese and Chinese archaeologists. While historians have been increasingly mining this precious new resource, ironically, in modern Vietnam and China the resulting analyses of ancient societies have too often been confined within the borders of modern nation-states. Early civilizations had their own territorial dynamics unrelated to later bounded spaces,

and, as the work of the first several contributors especially indicates, investigations of ancient societies need to follow where the material evidence leads. By so doing, the outline of a new and rather different Sino-Vietnamese history of the Chinese millennium in northern Vietnam emerges from the first section of this book.

Finally, a word on the vexed issue of consistency in place names in a region where toponyms changed several times over the centuries, along with local peoples and cultures, and where older names might be misapplied in later records, or their real historical referents misunderstood. Our choosing to use the term "Tongking Gulf" for the wider region is itself a case in point. There is no commonly accepted terminology that adequately covers this area, where human habitation goes back to the Neolithic era, and whose wider territory has borne several different names over the centuries. We could not use the modern Vietnamese term Vinh Bắc Bộ (literally, the Northern Region Gulf) or the usual Chinese name Beibu Wan, which is a direct translation from the Vietnamese: as mid-twentieth-century neologisms, both were far too anachronistic. For the first millennium of recorded history, the name Jiaozhi would certainly have evoked an appropriate sense of place for many people living in modern northern Vietnam and what is now southern China, and for those residing elsewhere who were literate in Chinese. From the tenth century onward, however, that particular term fell into disuse on the Vietnamese shores of the gulf, where a newly independent state was able to impose its own preferred toponyms and political designations. The most important, because longest lasting, such new local name was Đại Việt (Great Viet), as the kingdom became known internally from the eleventh to the late eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, however, a new dynasty renamed its greatly enlarged state Nam Việt and then Đai Nam (Great South), while the area corresponding to old Jiaozhi became only "the northern administrative region" (or Bắc Kỳ).

Instead of choosing one of these five terms, however, we finally settled on a sixth designation, one with long regional historical roots—Tongking. The term "Tongking," meaning Đông Kinh (Eastern Capital), goes back to the late 1390s, when a "Western Capital" was erected in Thanh Hóa Province that caused the existing capital to become known colloquially as the Eastern Capital. In the late sixteenth century, Portuguese picked up this term from southern Chinese mariners and transliterated it as "Tonkin," although the later English spelling, which we use, was in fact close to the Vietnamese original. Although "Đông Kinh" originally only referred to Thăng Long (modern Hanoi), from the seventeenth century Westerners began conventionally using the term to indicate the part of Đại Việt, from modern Thanh-Nghệ-Tĩnh north, that was ruled in the name of the Lê emperor by Trịnh lords between the 1590s and 1780s. Until the early nineteenth

century, this territory still closely corresponded to old Jiaozhi, the ancient Chinese province that would become the core of an independent Vietnamese state in the tenth century.

Our choice of "Tongking" to denominate the wider gulf region thus arose from the desire to use a term that reflected colloquial usage, which had legitimate historical antecedents among Vietnamese, Chinese, and others, and which we believed most easily captured the long-standing interweaving of regional continuity at the local level here. Although our contributors quite properly apply terminology appropriate to the historical periods they discuss, when referring to the region in general we therefore all call it the "Tongking Gulf," both to emphasize its regional character over time and to facilitate ease of understanding among our readers. Nevertheless, we remain all too aware that it represents at best a compromise choice.

### A Note on Orthography

Modern Vietnamese Romanized script, called quốc ngữ, has been in widespread use for only about one century. Its origins go back to the seventeenth-century attempts of Portuguese and French missionaries to transcribe spoken Vietnamese alphabetically and thus avoid the task of learning to master thousands of demotic Vietnamese characters. By the early twentieth century, the French colonial administration had mandated the use of quốc ngữ script in schools, a practice accepted by independent postcolonial governments. Over the last half-century, quốc ngữ orthographic conventions have changed considerably, especially in regard to the spelling of names. This volume applies contemporary conventions. The names of people and places are rendered in separate, capitalized monosyllables, while the titles of books or articles appear with an initial capital only. Where references are concerned, diacritics only appear in citations when they were used in the title pages of the publications involved. When Vietnamese publishing houses produce editions in English or French, they do not use diacritics; in such cases, as also in ones where sources originated in Europe, diacritics do not appear in citations.

The main transcription system for Romanized Chinese has also changed considerably over the last decades. *Pinyin* is now the standard, and is used throughout this volume except in direct citations from, or publication details of, sources that were produced using an earlier, different mode of transcription. The Tongking Gulf Through History This page intentionally left blank

### Introduction

## The Tongking Gulf Through History: A Geopolitical Overview

Li Tana

Since 2005, a series of significant developments has been unfolding in the Gulf of Tongking area under the rubric of an ambitious project called "Two Corridors and One Rim." Proposed by Vietnam in 2004 and enthusiastically responded to by China, the term "Two Corridors and One Rim" appeared in the official joint declaration and agreements signed in Hanoi during Chinese premier Wen Jiabao's visit in October 2004. The two corridors in question link Yunnan and Guangxi with Hanoi and Håi Phòng, the hub of northern Vietnam's political and economic life, while the rim draws together Guangxi, Guangdong, Hainan Island, northern and central Vietnam, and Laos. This project soon became the driving force of new Sino-Vietnamese economic relations. Only fourteen months later a superhighway was built that made the Guangxi capital of Nanning and the Southern Pass less than two hours apart by car. On both sides of the Sino-Vietnamese border, ten highways are pushing toward each other, plus two high-speed railway lines linking Hanoi with Yunnan and Guangxi. By 2012, people in Guangxi will "breakfast in Nanning and lunch in Hanoi." With all this activity, the Tongking Gulf suddenly became a new and exciting growth point for both China and Vietnam. Big money began pouring in; land prices skyrocketed. Guangxi officials happily proclaimed that from "the nerve end" of China, Guangxi would become the pivot of traffic between China and ASEAN countries.1

From a historical point of view, however, as this Introduction will show, what all this activity means is that the Gulf of Tongking has just come full circle. The gulf region was the earliest pivot of traffic between southern China and the area we now know as Southeast Asia, and the world beyond. All the proposed "Two Corridors and One Rim" routes overlay major regional contact zones that have existed for thousands of years. Various peoples, under different names, used these departure and arrival points for commercial and other exchanges. On this rare and fortunate occasion, scholars and politicians agree, and our interests overlap. This newly emerging form of regional integration refocuses interest on this millennial area—the former Jiaozhi Sea and its surrounds—and on the forces that linked or separated the peoples who inhabited it.

Two matters are particularly striking when one considers the Gulf of Tongking in the last three decades. First, although adjacent to Guangdong—the earliest Chinese province to open up through the economic reforms espoused by China's leader Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s—Guangxi grew only slowly during the two subsequent decades, merely providing labor and foodstuffs for Guangdong's economic expansion. Guangxi's own economic takeoff required the opening of northern Vietnam. Second, if it took Vietnam to make Guangxi's maritime connections alive and meaningful, it also took Vietnam to provide Guangxi with the overland connections that would make the Yunnan-northern Vietnam-Guangxi region into the new Golden Triangle of Growth. In short, the recent "Two Corridors and One Rim" project crystallized the significance of Vietnam for the development of Guangxi, over land and by sea.

This was the background in which an international workshop entitled "A Mini Mediterranean Sea? The Gulf of Tongking Through History" was held in Nanning, in March 2008, jointly organized by the Australian National University and the Guangxi Academy of Social Sciences. The Mediterranean idea appealed to us because we sought an alternative framework beyond the obviously inadequate, and indeed often misleading, framework of nation-states for this region. The viewpoint of a "mini-Mediterranean" allowed an open and experimental approach to the understanding of long-term, large-scale historical change in an area that does in some way share similarities with the Mediterranean. Like the European sea, whether in terms of geography, of the mingling of peoples and cultures, or of material exchanges, the Tongking Gulf has long formed a center of exchange and a regional ensemble with its own long-standing local integrity. When the gulf region is viewed this way, we discover a quite different picture from that advanced in existing (overwhelmingly one-dimensional and state-centric) histories of the places we now know as "Vietnam" and "China." To balance this conventional and vertical perspective between the two, contributors to this book in their various ways have tried to illuminate the different eras and areas of the gulf's history from a horizontal angle.

This point brings us back to Guangxi. As suggested by its 1980s and 1990s experience, Guangxi's importance can only be properly understood in a regional context. From the perspective of central China, Guangxi was a remote and underdeveloped area for thousands of years and contributed little to the glory of Chinese civilization. Chinese nationalist historiography has thus abstracted Guangxi, together with neighboring Guangdong and Hainan Island, into a timeless "China," irrespective of their dozens of peoples and languages, their vastly different historical experiences, and their often opposite interests. The marginalization of these peoples in Chinese history, and the denial of their role in shaping the history of the Gulf of Tongking, has also served the cause of Vietnamese nationalist historiography. The "north" became reconstituted as a constant threat throughout history, and political actions originating there, however accidental in genesis, were treated as deliberate and concerted, operating with one will and to one end. In this discourse, "Vietnam" became a single entity persisting from time immemorial, leading to "a strangling obsession with identity and continuity" in late twentiethcentury scholarship,<sup>2</sup> and a "fervent belief in the unshakable unity of the 'Vietnamese people',"3 in the minds of anti-colonial Vietnamese nationalists and sympathetic foreigners alike.

This book challenges these earlier perspectives. By trying to put the former principalities and peoples in the area we now call northern Vietnam back into a coastal context and, conversely, by putting coastal Guangxi back into what is now "Vietnamese" territory, where historically appropriate, its chapters reveal a complex pattern of interrelationships going back more than two millennia. As French scholar Denys Lombard persuasively argued, during the last two millennia at least southern China and the lands surrounding the South China Sea were so interwoven by overlapping networks of exchange and cultural interactions that they formed an ensemble which can fruitfully be compared to the Mediterranean as analyzed by Fernand Braudel.<sup>4</sup> This is particularly true in regard to the Gulf of Tongking area of modern Vietnam, the only Southeast Asian region that shares a contiguous coastline with southern China (see Map 1).

The following chapters represent an effort to foreground the essential players whose interactions shaped the Gulf of Tongking's history, while more distant political centers in central China or Hanoi are pushed somewhat into the background for, at many different times in the past, central governments were far from the driving force for change in the gulf. This refocusing of attention reveals the Gulf of Tongking as a historical arena, a place in which multiple players helped shape each other's histories. This is another sense in which the Tongking Gulf recalls Braudel's Mediterranean, a region he described as having "no unity but that created by the



Map 1. South China Sea.

movements of men, the relationships they imply, and the routes they follow."<sup>5</sup> As with the Mediterranean, cultural interactions accompanied trade among the peoples of the gulf region over the millennia, although our sources for it are often less direct at the local level than for commercial exchanges. Nevertheless, regionally specific economic and cultural factors can be traced during the gulf's long history as a center of exchange, as this Introduction will show.

Because the long history of the gulf region has been divided up into fragmentary units, or even largely ignored in state-centered studies, it seems useful to provide a broad chronological overview of the major geopolitical factors that shaped the gulf region over the two millennia in which the detailed explorations of individual chapters are located. That is the task of this Introduction. Following the structure of the book, it is divided into two broad parts: the first covers the era from the Neolithic to the tenth century, when an independent state emerged from old Chinese Jiaozhi (or modern northern Vietnam); the second surveys the nine centuries that followed, in which only two states came to share the maritime

shores of the Tongking Gulf.

### Part I. From the Neolithic Period to the Tenth Century

### Geography and Prehistory

The Gulf of Tongking as discussed in this volume is a body of open water shared between the two modern states of China and Vietnam. On its western flank, it arcs from north to south around the coast of Quangxi and the northern Vietnamese shoreline down to about the seventeenth parallel, and its opposite shores are formed by the western coasts of the Leizhou Peninsula (Quangdong Province) and Hainan Island. Innumerable islands dot its 130,000 square kilometers and many natural harbors appear along its lengthy coastlines. On its eastern flank, the narrow and formerly perilous Qiongzhou Strait separates the Chinese mainland from Hainan Island. Favorable currents and the regular monsoon winds have from the dawn of history funneled maritime traffic along the more open waters along the Vietnamese coastline, between Hainan, the Indochinese mainland, and the dangerous, half-submerged reefs and islands of the Paracels. Thanks to the Red River, the principal watercourse that disgorges into the gulf, the coastal region has long enjoyed a navigable connection to the foothills of the gulf's mountainous hinterland (modern Laos, northern Vietnam, and Yunnan) and to the peoples of the region and the valuable local products that historically flowed downriver from them to the sea. When contributors to this volume speak of the Tongking Gulf region, it is to this broad area that they refer, not simply to the littoral region immediately adjacent to the gulf waters.

In geological terms, the Tongking Gulf is the oldest stable coastal configuration in the Indochinese Peninsula: it settled at its current sea level more than two millennia ago, while by contrast other deltaic coastal regions like the Chao Phraya and Mekong deltas remained swampy and uninhabitable until 1,000–1,500 years ago.<sup>6</sup> It is also one of the areas of longest human habitation in Vietnam and southern China. Both the Red River plains around modern Hanoi and the modern Guangxi coastal area contain early Neolithic sites dating from seven to five thousand years before the present, much earlier than other parts of mainland Southeast Asia or the more westerly littoral regions of southern China like modern Quangzhou. Its early Neolithic history is a principal difference between the chronology of northern Vietnam and other parts of Southeast Asia.<sup>7</sup>

Scholars long believed that Vietnamese civilization had developed independently in northern Vietnam long before the era of Chinese influence that followed Han dynasty conquest of the Red River plains (111 B.C.E.). For the Bronze Age, this ancient period is often referred to as Đông Son culture, after the location where its characteristic bronze drums were first unearthed.<sup>8</sup> However, archaeological research in the last decade has shown much greater interaction between peoples here, and at far more distant times, than previously imagined. Charles Higham and Tracey L.-D. Lu, for instance, have demonstrated that rice was introduced into the Red River region from southern China during the prehistoric period, with evidence dating back to the Phùng Nguyên culture (2000-1500 B.C.E.).9 Judith Cameron's research on Southeast Asian cloth production adds more evidence of this early interaction. As reported in this volume, she has discovered that a distinctive type of biconical spindle whorl found in the Phùng Nguyên sites in the Red River plains was developed from more basic types found at much earlier Neolithic rice-producing sites in the Yangzi Valley, long before the emergence of Phùng Nguyên or Đông Son culture. These advanced spinning tools have also been found in Hepu, Guangxi, and modern Thanh Hóa, demonstrating an arc of technological transfer in this early era. Cameron's research into spinning technology illuminates a pattern of migration moving from modern southern China southward into mainland Southeast Asia and eastward into Taiwan and island Southeast Asia, particularly the Philippines, during the late prehistoric period.

The ancient movement of peoples and technologies that characterized the Neolithic period here followed a geographical logic that knew nothing of modern boundaries. Unsuspected in later nationalist historiographies, these migrations draw our attention to the frequent intermingling of peoples on different shores of the gulf, and of Asia generally, from which historic civilizations would later grow. In this earliest era, geographical logic equally dictated that the gulf would become an area of monsoon-driven maritime commerce. Even before the rise of the first Chinese empire, the littoral peoples of the south—called Yue in later Chinese texts—had developed into notable seagoing traders. It was precisely their valuable links with the South Seas (Nanhai), the source of so many imported luxury goods that attracted the acquisitive attention of the first emperor, Qin Shihuangdi (r. 247–210 B.C.E.). As

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part of the preparations for his 214 southern campaign, Qin Shihuangdi ordered the building of a canal, the Ling Canal, which was to become a vital link in communications with this area for both the later Qin (221–206 B.C.E) and Han (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) dynasties. Although Qin Shihuangdi's invasion failed, not long after he died one of his generals conquered the Yue. The subsequent Nanyue kingdom he established in the modern Quangzhou area remained a wealthy independent polity until conquered by the rising Han Empire in 111 B.C.E. One thousand years later it remained a potent symbol of gulf regional distinctiveness, as we will see below.

### The Han-Era Jiaozhi Commandery

The power base of the earliest Chinese dynasties, the Qin and Han, was western China, with the Gulf of Tongking its most convenient commercial outlet to the South Seas. Thanks to Qin Shihuangdi, these dynasties and their people enjoyed an almost direct transport link between the capital at Changan to the Tongking Gulf: over the Qin Mountains and the central Han plain, across Dongting Lake and the Xiang River in Hunan, and then down the Ling Canal. This system of waterways operated as a major corridor bringing travelers and settlers from central China to the gulf region. It is no accident that the majority of Han-era tombs in modern Guangxi that contain precious overseas grave goods are located along this corridor. Culturally, it also formed the confluence of the two major cultures of southern China-the Chu and Yue-along which people and goods flowed in both directions for centuries under the Han, when the gulf region was known by its oldest Chinese name, the Jiaozhi Commandery. Recent historical linguistic analysis confirms the significance of this corridor: John Phan suggests the form of spoken Chinese language common in Jiaozhi for a millennium might have been a distant cousin of the modern Hunan dialect.10

Jiaozhi Commandery was an imperial jewel at this time. As Han dynasty records analyzed by Li Tana in this volume show, in 2 c.E. one million people or more inhabited this wealthy and sophisticated area. Archaeology informs us that ancient Jiaozhi was an important manufacturing center, producing items for local consumption and export, among them the glassware that Brigitte Borell's chapter discusses. The potash glass vessels found in modern Guangxi differed from both Mediterranean and western Asiatic glassware, but interestingly also from the lead-barium glass made in central China. This same potash glassware has been found throughout the whole Tongking Gulf, from northern Vietnam to southern China, and may even have been exported as far as south India. Archaeological research can also provide some idea of how these crafts were produced. Cameron's chapter discusses a bronze drum whose surface decoration depicts an organized spinning and weaving workshop, supervised by an elite woman and operated by workers, some of whom clearly belonged to a different ethnic group and were thus most probably slaves. Like glassware, textiles were well integrated into the local patterns of production, consumption, and trade. The rice-growing Red River plains formed the economic linchpin of the entire Jiaozhi Commandery: as Li's chapter discusses, its high population density and food production enabled the Red River area to supply rice to neighboring districts in exchange for precious local products like pearls from Hepu or valuable forest commodities from the southern coast. Interregional exchanges within the commandery thus increased local integration at the same time that they multiplied the wealth of Jiaozhi elites and local chieftains alike.

Bronze drums form an index of the intensity of interactions between gulf region peoples in this period. Up to the 1990s, Chinese scholars believed that bronze drums had originated in Shizhaishan (today's Yunnan), and that from here the concept and technology had radiated southward into the Red River Delta. Since Guangxi and Yunnan are adjacent, and are today both within Chinese territory, Chinese researchers at the time believed the bronze drums found in Guangxi had been directly influenced by Yunnan. However, more recent archaeological research by the Japanese scholar Yoshikai Masato, as discussed in Michael Churchman's chapter, has demonstrated that bronze drums were largely absent from the area between Yunnan and Guangxi, meaning that this region could not be the transmission route for bronze drum technology. Rather, drums and drum-casting techniques from the lower Red River Delta were directly transmitted into Li and Lao country in Guangxi via the gulf area and its internal river systems. Recent Chinese studies on the alloys used in Đông Sơn drums suggest an even more tangled story, with some Đông Sơn drums coming from Yunnan while others had been made in the Red River Delta and taken to Guangxi later.

Han-era rulers in the gulf region were opposed by local elites at certain times. When the Trung sisters rose against the Han administration in 40 c.E., the sound of bronze drums must have reechoed throughout the gulf, as the peoples of sixty-five citadels, from as far south as modern central Vietnam and as far north as Hepu, flocked to join their rebellion. Such was the value the Red River elite placed on these drums at the time that they became status markers for surrounding peoples, especially for the Kam-Tai-speaking tribes inhabiting the modern Guangxi hinterland. As Churchman's chapter discusses, by the third century the Li-Lao area was the major regional center of bronze drum production, as local chiefs embraced the drums as symbols of their own authority. Thousands of them, from enormous mon-

sters to ones tiny enough to sit on a palm, were cast within three hundred years by these peoples. Interestingly, it was at this same time that the Han-influenced Red River Delta ruling elites stopped valuing bronze drums as symbols of prestige. Under the influence of Buddhism from South Asia and Confucianism and Daoism from the north—and perhaps all too aware that the stateless barbarians to their north now prized and produced these drums—Jiaozhi elites abandoned their centuries-old attachment to bronze drums that must by then have seemed entirely barbaric.

### From the Han to the Tang

After the Han declined in the third century C.E., the geopolitical situation of the gulf region entered several centuries of slow change. Thanks to the Li-Lao peoples' dominance of the main former land routes to Jiaozhi, the great Ling Canal ceased to be the principal corridor joining the gulf region to its north and west, leaving only an often dangerous sea passage linking the remnants of the Han-era commandery in the Red River plains to its former Guangxi areas. Northern migration slowed markedly, and both textual and archaeological evidence confirm a much smaller number of Sinitic-speaking people lived in the Red River Delta from the third century.<sup>11</sup> Household numbers there declined so remarkably, as Li's chapter discusses, that only out-migration between 280 and 464 can properly explain the figures.

It is against this background that we need to visualize the changing geopolitical map of the Tongking Gulf region in the centuries before the establishment of the Tang dynasty. Sinitic-speaking settlers were concentrated in key centers such as Nanhai, Hepu, and Jiaozhi. Outside these places, the declining Han court had to leave vast areas of present-day Guangxi to their own devices, allowing the Li and Lao to largely cut off the much more "civilized" Jiaozhi from central China for three hundred years. The result was that, for centuries, Jiaozhi was the last island of "Chinese" civilization in the gulf region. These Li and Lao societies, stateless people called by various names who ultimately faded into undifferentiated "Chinese" history, might even have played a major, if indirect, role in the later history of Jiaozhi. Churchman argues that their existence facilitated a noticeable trend toward self-reliance and self-rule in the Jiaozhi regional elite that ultimately laid the foundation for a separate Vietnamese kingdom after the Tang dynasty fell in the tenth century.

China's economic gravity started moving to the southeast from the third century. By the Tang dynasty (618–907), first the Yangzi Delta and later Fujian both joined Quangzhou as commercial rivals to the gulf region. However, the one absolute advantage Jiaozhou possessed was its overland connection with Lao, Cham, and Khmer regions, something that might have pushed people in the Red River plains to seek development to their south and southwest. By the eighth century, the overland path across the Trường Sơn Cordillera was well known, and traders who used it are specifically described as being of Vietnamese origin in one early Khmer inscription from the lower Mekong region, dated to 987.<sup>12</sup> Even so, despite seeking compensations in the west and the south, Jiaozhi could not withstand the slow turning of the South China Sea's commercial tides in favor of its greatest rival, Guangzhou (or Canton). For more than five hundred years, from the third to the eighth century, only two premier ports had existed in China, Jiaozhou and Guangzhou. With the opening of the Dayu Mountain road linking Guangzhou to the Chinese hinterland in the early eighth century, however, this port definitely won the upper hand. Thereafter, as an unprecedented abundance of goods flowed to Canton for both manufacturing and trade, it gained an overwhelming advantage over its old rival Jiaozhi.

One thousand years before, geography had ensured the Tongking Gulf's preeminence as the departure point for the maritime silk road that carried Chinese luxury goods through western Asia toward Europe; now the internal Chinese shift in political and economic gravity favored Canton while geography hindered Jiaozhi's ability even to trade by sea with its great rival. The treacherous currents of the Qiongzhou Strait between the mainland and Hainan Island made east-west contacts too dangerous to sustain regular trade links, so the gulf port slipped ever backward compared to Canton. By the ninth century its fate was sealed for many years as the new princes of the Nanhai trade—Persian and Arab merchants chose to sail directly to Guangzhou on the open sea, cutting out Jiaozhi and many of its trading partners farther down the coast.<sup>13</sup> Thus geography once more played a decisive role in regional history, this time to the gulf's disadvantage.

If the Li and Lao peoples were historical midwives of Đại Việt's later independence, so too were the Tai speakers of the upper Red River area. For centuries, these peoples had bartered horses for salt with coastal Jiaozhi, a trade that formed a key link in the gulf region mountain-sea exchange chain. When a greedy governor of Tang-era Jiaozhi (now known as Annam) enforced a low salt-horse exchange rate, local chiefs invited the mighty Nanzhao (in modern Yunnan) to invade.<sup>14</sup> Only in this context can we understand why Nanzhao preoccupied contemporaneous Vietnamese and Chinese governors alike; and why a kingdom so seemingly remote from modern Vietnam could invade the Annam capital four times (846, 860, 862, 863) and occupy it for two years (863–65) in the ninth century. Nanzhao's attacks greatly weakened Tang rule in Vietnam and thus helped pave the way for Vietnamese independence in 939, as I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>15</sup>

If Vietnamese people at this time lived in close contact with the other ethnicities that surrounded them, how might they have communicated? John Phan's detailed analysis of the historical evolution of Vietnamese and Muòng languages indicates that, before the tenth century, a significant population in the Red River plains continued to speak a native Chinese dialect. It is fascinating to speculate whether this local variant of Chinese might have been a lingua franca for the gulf region, and between Jiaozhi and Guangzhou, Yangzhou (Yangzi River area) and the capital areas; but what does seem likely, from Phan's linguistic analysis, is that the speakers of this variant switched, within a few generations, from being bilingual to speaking a single dialect of Proto-Việt-Mường into which they transfused much of their former language. This change may possibly have followed the Nanzhao invasions, which killed a large number of local people, but it seems more likely that the transition occurred later, with the fall of Tang rule. Whenever it happened, the resulting new language was the ancestor of modern Vietnamese. For Phan, this process thus represented "the birth of the Vietnamese language-significantly, not in the depths of pre-Chinese history, but during and immediately following the long centuries of membership within the Chinese imperial order."<sup>16</sup> Phan's important argument throws a powerful new light on the Vietnamese language and society that emerged into independence at this time. It suggests that, historically, they are both best understood as the product of the long, intertwined interactions of local peoples in this region over a millennium.

### Part II. From Independence to the Eve of Colonialism

The First Centuries After Vietnamese Independence

When the Tang Empire collapsed in 907 it triggered a landslide of change in southern China and the Gulf of Tongking. All major southern areas claimed independence and various local kings emerged, from Fujian to Jiaozhi. Yet only Đại Việt, the kingdom that would become Vietnam, was ultimately successful and able to make and hold its place as a major new state on the gulf's shores. The tenth century thus marks a major new geopolitical beginning for the Tongking Gulf region.

Numerous conflicts broke out in the tenth-century gulf region, often between newly independent Đại Việt and China. All of them have been presented as China's

attempts to retake old Jiaozhi. Seen from the grassroots level, however, they are better understood as contests between rival regional political powers, each seeking to win the upper hand within the gulf. The defeat inflicted by the Vietnamese leader Ngô Quyền on the Southern Han in 939 is one example.<sup>17</sup> When viewed from the regional perspective of the Tongking Gulf, the Southern Han (917-71) regime appears more like a local, Guangzhou-based rival, rather than "the Chinese," and thus more or less an equal of the Min kingdom (909-45) in Fujian and of Đai Viêt in the Red River Delta. It was the commercial centrality of Guangzhou that made the Southern Han potentially far more dangerous. When Sino-Vietnamese leader Khúc Thừa Mỹ formed an alliance with the Min ruler at this time, both local leaders regarded Guangzhou as a threat.<sup>18</sup> The Guangzhou polity even called itself the Dayue ("Great Yue," or "Đại Việt" in Vietnamese) kingdom, harking back one thousand years to the pre-Han Yue kingdom, before settling on the name of "Southern Han." Independent Vietnam's first name, Đại Cồ Việt ("Great Greater Viet"),19 was therefore most likely an ambitious response to the Guangzhou-based polity's ambit claim. Behind such details we see hints of the political struggles of local regimes in the gulf region at different levels.

On the Guangxi coast these contests were of a slightly different nature, but, as James Anderson discusses in his chapter, their focus was most often also local. A constant source of conflict between Đại Việt and Guangxi was the struggle to control manpower. By the tenth century, the combined number of households in north and central Vietnam never exceeded forty thousand, less than half the regional total recorded at the height of the Han period.<sup>20</sup> This decline partly reflected the three-hundred-year obstacle to large-scale Chinese migration posed by the Li-Lao country, as noted earlier; but perhaps more important it also indicated Jiaozhi's own losing battles with local strongmen to control its own population. Chinese sources say that the index of wealth and power in the gulf region at this time was "slaves, jade, pearls, rhinoceros, and elephants,"<sup>21</sup> with slaves at the top of the list. Since manpower was as precious in tenth-century Guangxi as it was farther along the gulf coast, Guangxi officials often quietly took in Đại Việt refugees or even enticed people to flee the Vietnamese kingdom. Such disputes were the direct cause of the attack by King Lê Hoàn (r. 980–1005) on the Guangxi coast in 995.<sup>22</sup>

This was the larger context within which the repeated disputes and wars between Đại Việt and the Song occurred. Control of manpower created material wealth and political prestige, and the newly independent Đại Việt competed for this with both Song administrators and, as Anderson shows, local "men of prowess." Importantly, these conflicts happened in coastal areas rather than along land borders, suggesting to Anderson that they arose from rivalries over the control of coastal trading communities, Tongking Gulf communities largely marginalized in official sources but whose role in shaping Song-Vietnamese relations in the first century after independence can nevertheless still be detected.

Đại Việt also struggled with Tai principalities to its west, in the upper Red River area. This conflict intensified in the eleventh century. In 1012 King Lý Thái Tổ (r. 1009–1028) raided into modern Tuyên Quang Province and brought back tens of thousands Tai people and many horses. A Tai counterattack in 1014 saw more Tai people and horses lost. A far worse setback came some decades later, when a Tai chief known as Nùng Trí Cao was crushed between the Song in the north and the Lý to his south.<sup>23</sup> Once a vital power in the Red River Delta, Tai speakers lost any chance at becoming a third ruling force in the area; henceforth regional order would increasingly come to rely on Sino-Vietnamese relations. Many Tai speakers quit the Red River area at this time, as is reflected in various Tai chronicles, which all look back to a point of origin in the upper Red River area that they call Muang Theng (now Điện Biên Phủ).<sup>24</sup>

The timing of Đại Việt's birth and early growth, during China's Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), was serendipitous from the wider perspective of Chinese history. The Northern Song stood out in Chinese history for two contrasting characteristics: militarily, it was the weakest of all major Chinese dynasties due to continual frontier troubles with northern nomadic peoples; but in economic and social terms, this era experienced China's first commercial revolution, with rapid development and growing consumer demand. Both factors benefited newly independent Đại Việt in its most vulnerable period.

John Whitmore has elsewhere charted this development and shown how the gulf coast played a crucial role in the evolution of Đại Việt.<sup>25</sup> Jiaozhi became independent as only one of various contesting local powers in the late Tang era, so regional division was inherent in its "charter state" system. This meant that the area surrounding the capital of Thăng Long (modern Hanoi) had certain similarities with Angkor and Pagan, in particular its focus on constructing major temples, while the eastern zone by contrast was linked heavily to overseas trade. Temple networks organized and stimulated agricultural and economic expansion; wealth and patronage grew and spurred trade both from the upland and at the coast.<sup>26</sup>

All this happened during China's Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), a dynasty whose revenue relied heavily on overseas trade. After retreating from central China to build a capital in today's Hangzhou in the Yangzi River delta, the Southern Song paid much more attention to trading with southern China and Southeast Asia, as a way to compensate for lost northern revenue. But its very survival urgently rested on sourcing horses for the army. Previously horses had come from northern and western China, but now supply moved to the Yunnan-Guangxi-Đại Việt border area. Horses were the Song government's greatest expense, and the court's frequent purchase of them sent large amounts of silver flowing throughout the gulf region. Horse trading became the main driver of regional growth,<sup>27</sup> stimulating and organizing trade between Guangxi and Jiaozhi, Jiaozhi and Hainan Island, and Jiaozhi and Champa—and hence creating the exchange system of the Jiaozhi Sea area.<sup>28</sup>

As was the case in the Jiaozhi era under the Han, the gulf was once more a principal trading center with links to overseas networks, and Đai Việt's coast grew disproportionately in economic strength. The port of Vân Đồn emerged in this context,<sup>29</sup> as John Whitmore's chapter in this volume discusses in detail. These frequent exchanges brought about a more intensive mixing of peoples, from which an enrichment of cultures and new local elites emerged. Đại Việt's southern neighbor Champa, often portrayed as its great enemy in these centuries, was nevertheless an important cultural influence on the Vietnamese ruling elite, as the presence of Cham arts and architecture in the recently excavated ruins of the imperial palaces of the Lý, Trần, and early Lê in central Hanoi clearly reveals.30 In regard to new elites, one important example is the new Trần royal family in Đại Việt, whose original Chinese ancestor had come from the Qinzhou trading field.<sup>31</sup> Putting the Trần dynasty back into its historical context, we find a rich family of Fujianese descendants who made their living from the sea and intermarried with the Lý royal family, thanks to their wealth. This is a common pattern in the history of other Southeast Asian countries.32 But this marriage helped turn an important page in Vietnamese history that went beyond the replacement of one dynasty with another. The Trần dynasty transformed Đại Việt's geopolitical orientation from an inland perspective to a coastal one, in the process effectively uniting the lower and upper zones of Đại Việt into a cosmopolitan and outward-looking society,33 ultimately able to withstand and repel the invading Mongols. In the process Đại Việt became the only land-based polity in Eurasia to defeat this terrifying foe.

## The Early Fifteenth-Century Ming Invasion and Its Regional Consequences

Despite their victories over the Mongol invaders, later fourteenth-century warfare with Champa nearly brought Đại Việt to its knees. Already weakened, when the Trần throne was usurped at the start of the fifteenth century Đại Việt was invaded by the powerful Ming dynasty, which saw its opportunity to take back Jiaozhi. The ensuing twenty-year Ming occupation (1407–27) of the Red River Delta

forms a major watershed in Vietnamese history, one of the last great examples of how the actions of people from one shore of the gulf might fundamentally alter the history of others elsewhere. As Sun Laichen points out, "the Ming, more than any other dynasty in Chinese history, functioned as an exporter of Chinese ideology and technology."34 Both exports would profoundly influence the Vietnamese. Once in power, the Ming administration systematically attacked the culture of the conquered province, collecting and burning as much of its written heritage as possible, while at the same time setting up 126 new schools, mainly in the Red River Delta around the capital, to facilitate the transmission of neo-Confucian orthodoxy into local society. As Whitmore noted, graduates of these schools became the backbone of a new generation of Vietnamese literati when Đại Việt regained its independence.35 Nola Cooke's analysis of examination results also shows that, strikingly, whereas only forty-four students passed the last Trần examination in 1304, more than one thousand men passed at the same level in 1434, only a few years after the Ming were forced to withdraw by Lê Lqi's victorious Thanh Hóa-based army.36 What is more, the new Ming bureaucracy offered the new Lê state the most "modern" East Asian administrative machinery available,<sup>37</sup> something that caught the imagination of later generations of Vietnamese kings. Ming political vocabulary, examinations, legal code, and pomp and circumstances were all eagerly adopted by King Lê Thánh Tông (r. 1460-97), who created many new institutions that aimed to achieve a neo-Confucian social order in Đại Việt.

Coupled with its more advanced military technology, Đại Việt's new state ideology of being dedicated to the just cause gave a harsh edge to its subjugation of neighboring polities.<sup>38</sup> Under Lê Thánh Tông, several attacks were launched in the 1470s, beginning with the utter destruction of Champa's most northerly polity in 1471. Elsewhere, two Lao kingdoms and other mountain peoples felt the full force of Vietnamese aggression.<sup>39</sup> Before the fifteenth century, Đại Việt had been but one of several major principalities of eastern mainland Southeast Asia. By the end of the century, it was firmly established as the foremost regional power, with a centralized administration and advanced military technology that it used against neighboring principalities, leaving them in total disarray. From this time, and on this basis, eventual Vietnamese domination of the eastern part of mainland Southeast Asia was assured.

This same push for Vietnamese political and territorial domination, however, brought about a serious decline in the gulf's commercial vitality. This change was reflected in the evolution of its Chinese name, Jiaozhi Yang. This term, first seen in thirteenth-century Chinese sources, never appeared in Chinese official documents, indicating that the name *Jiaozhi Yang* (the "Jiaozhi Sea") was coined by private traders and used mainly by regional merchants. At this time it designated both the Gulf of Tongking and the central Vietnamese coast. By the sixteenth century, however, Jiaozhi Yang referred only to the area from southwestern Hainan to central Vietnam, with the Gulf of Tongking excluded.<sup>40</sup>

One of the critical elements contributing to this shrinking of the Jiaozhi Yang was the disappearance of Cham or Muslim merchants from the Gulf of Tongking, as a direct result of the 1471 Vietnamese attack on Champa and the later purging of Cham prisoner-of-war communities in the Red River Delta in 1508.<sup>41</sup> Cham merchants had been the essential intermediaries between the Đại Việt trading world and the Malay Archipelago, with its onward, Indian Ocean contacts. The loss of these Muslim and southern connections was particularly damaging: not only did Đại Việt rely on outsiders to transport its commodities, but the Muslim absence henceforth also denied the gulf the precious trading alternatives Jiaozhi and early Đại Việt had enjoyed for centuries. As Keith Taylor noted, access to trade with Chams and Khmer—both with high but non-Chinese cultures—had broadened the cultural perspective of the Đại Việt ruling class for centuries.<sup>42</sup> As a result of this significant commercial realignment, from the fifteenth century Đại Việt's products began increasingly to compete with, rather than complement, those of Guangxi.<sup>43</sup>

This throwing away of the thousand-year commercial and cultural advantages of Jiaozhi and earlier Đại Việt, combined with the attempted fifteenthcentury neo-Confucian transformation from above, made the later Đại Việt state and its educated ruling elite appear a lot more similar to the other shore of the Tongking Gulf than it had done for nearly half a millennium, even if the impact of these changes at the popular level took very much longer to be felt and were far from uniform in effect.<sup>44</sup> The great commercial advantage of an international network based on southern and western commodities was not lost, however, but rather shifted to the benefit of a newly emerging rival Vietnamese state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Lê dynastic overthrow and its subsequent hard-fought restoration in sixteenth-century Đại Việt had brought two new Thanh Hóa-based families to prominence there, the Nguyễn and the Trinh. Their subsequent rivalry over power in Dai Viêt laid the basis for new internal dissensions once the Trinh took control of the puppet Lê emperor and the capital. From 1600, the southern-based Nguyễn family began to move toward setting up its own autonomous realm, which it achieved in the 1670s, after decades of intermittent warfare with the north that had been financed by the wealth generated from its international trade.

### Chinese Maritime Bans Create New Gulf Trading Opportunities

Economic changes underwrote the political transformations sketched above, and in ways that can only be understood when placed in the gulf regional context. Two boom eras occurred in which export-oriented handicraft industries flourished on the Tongking Gulf's Vietnamese shore, in both cases thanks to maritime trading bans enforced by a Chinese court on the gulf's Chinese commercial rivals. The Ming dynasty (1368–1644) imposed a maritime ban from the late fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century as a way to control the so-called wokou (mainly Japanese pirates) that cruised off coastal China. The second, which lasted from 1655 to 1684, followed the bloody Qing conquest of southern China and formed part of a series of savage policies applied to coastal peoples to prevent any support for anti-Manchu forces under Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong, 1624-62) on Taiwan. Each Chinese maritime ban created new opportunities for increased material exchanges in the gulf and for the gulf to reestablish itself within an international trading network. These bans especially advantaged Đại Việt, which, unlike Quangxi, operated outside Chinese imperial power and had retained its millennium-long tradition of handicraft production. The Red River Delta was thus able to respond commercially when its long-term southern Chinese rivals were hobbled by their own governments.

Whitmore's chapter examines the first period, in which a flourishing ceramics manufacturing and export zone existed on the fifteenth-century coast, focused on Vân Đồn as Đại Việt's major port. The best quality and most artistic Vietnamese ceramics had been traded by Muslim and Arab merchants as far away as the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul.<sup>45</sup> So valuable was this export industry to the Đại Việt economy that Whitmore suggests that the king's desire to eliminate rival ceramic producers in the nearest Cham capital of Vijaya might have partly motivated his devastating attack there. This may be correct, as Cham-style porcelain was being produced in Vietnamese workshops for at least a generation after the attack, no doubt by captured Cham craftsmen, and shipwreck evidence analyzed by Roxanna Brown and others shows that Vietnamese ceramics exports rose dramatically after 1471.

While Whitmore's chapter reveals a previously overlooked dimension of Vietnamese history, it also raises a critical question of whether porcelain production and its many related activities, like woodcutting, brick making, and shipbuilding, existed largely outside the sphere of officialdom, or whether this manufacturing and commercial system was encouraged and facilitated by the central government, as Whitmore believes. More research might provide an answer. In any case, the evidence presented here argues for a "rise of popular mass markets" at this time that Momoki Shiro believed was a historical reality hidden from the texts compiled by Confucian literati.<sup>46</sup> It also answers Nola Cooke's 1994 query about how an agricultural country, as Lê Đại Việt was then believed to be in the later fifteenth century, could ever have afforded the extraordinarily extensive, and thus expensive, examination system established by Thánh Tông, in which more men might graduate from a single regional examination—5,700 in 1514—than in the forty-four Nguyễn regional examinations held between 1807 and 1919 (5,232).<sup>47</sup> The answer must be that a flourishing export industry and concomitant commercial sector underwrote the cultural achievements of the era regarded by subsequent Vietnamese literati as their golden age. The slow decline of the examination system after the collapse of the ceramic export industry in the early sixteenth century reinforces this view.

The second such era of commercial prosperity is examined in Iioka Naoko's chapter. In the seventeenth century, especially in the mid- to later decades, Red River Delta silk products were prized exports through the new port of Phố Hiến. Once again, international demand drove the expanding export industry. Japan was the major market, and Portuguese and Dutch merchants competed there with Japanese (before 1637) and Chinese, exchanging Tongking's silk for Japanese silver. Phố Hiến became the major port, despite certain difficulties of access, because it was strategically situated at the choke point where the main commercial river channels met en route to the capital. Its choice reflected the Lê-Trinh court's keen interest in controlling silk-related income, the most important resource of seventeenth-century Tongking. The northern court was engaged in an ultimately unsuccessful half-century war to prevent the secession of Nguyễn-ruled Đàng Trong (Cochinchina). It desperately needed the wealth created by silk exports to buy advanced western weapons, but also to fund the mid-century expansion of education and government that finally reconciled the Red River Delta elite to rule by the family that had overthrown the popular, locally based Mac in 1592.48 Between the early seventeenth century and 1680, Japanese, Portuguese, Dutch, and Chinese silk traders injected around five tons of silver per year into the Tongking economy.<sup>49</sup> When the Qing lifted the ban on maritime commerce, however, southern Chinese silk production and exports quickly overwhelmed their Vietnamese competition, for reasons Iioka examines in her chapter.

In addition to legal commercial dealings during these centuries, illicit activities like piracy also helped shape the network of relations between groups of elites and between local peoples in the Tongking Gulf. Niu Junkai and Li Qingxin explore this phenomenon in the gulf during the seventeenth century, when dynastic upheavals visited local consequences on the people on all the gulf's shores. In general, piracy only became a significant problem here in two main sets of circumstances: if pirates were "licensed" by (one or more) political regimes, at whatever level of authority, so they could always find shelter and protection; or when government control broke down locally and lawlessness spread into the coastal areas and beyond, as occurred in mid-nineteenth-century Tongking and Guangxi as a consequence of the Taiping Rebellion. Seventeenth-century piracy fell into the first category. During the chaos of the mid-seventeenth-century Ming-Qing transition in southern China, Chinese pirates could also be seen as political refugees and as such were tolerated officially by contending political forces in the area. As Nui and Li also point out, gulf piracy in this period might also be a joint venture between Chinese pirates and local Vietnamese officials, foreshadowing the situation a century later when Chinese pirates would become naval officers under the Tây Son and the loot they provided would become an important source of income for the regime.

## Changing Nineteenth-Century Society and Politics Marginalize the Gulf

Vietnam's last dynasty, the Nguyễn (1802-1945), was fundamentally southern during the nineteenth century, always conscious of its family's two-hundred-year predynastic history in the south. Nguyễn Đàng Trong's success had, in many respects, rested on its turning away from old Đai Việt and embracing the wider region of southern Indochina and Southeast Asia. The Tây Sơn Rebellion (1771-1802), whose forces had initially brought about its downfall, had come from that same area, as had the resources that finally enabled the Nguyễn princeling Phúc Ánh to take power over the entire Vietnamese realm in 1802. As King Gia Long, he chose to rule from the old family capital at Huế, a choice with an unprecedented and devastating effect on the Gulf of Tongking. For nearly two thousand years, the seat of government had been located around Thăng Long, where beneficial dragon (or kingly) energy was believed to be concentrated. By the early 1830s, when the second Nguyễn king dismantled his father's system of regional government in the far south and north, all this vanished. Thăng Long could not even keep its hallowed name but instead was given an insignificant new one, Hà Nội ("inside the river"). The chapter by Vũ Đường Luân and Nola Cooke sets the nineteenthcentury gulf story against the backdrop of these changed regional fortunes, when the Nguyễn court's casual disregard for the north offended feelings and allowed social unrest to brew. As Cooke has discussed elsewhere, so marginalized was the

north from the heart of power that not one imperial Nguyễn princess ever married into a family based north of Thanh Hóa, the imperial home province.<sup>50</sup> This striking fact typifies the way the new Huế-based elite essentially excluded men originating from the Red River Delta from the real heart of political power and prestige for more than fifty years.

When the court left Hanoi, all the elite figures previously associated with court life—the often big-spending high officials, court ladies, eunuchs, and big merchants—deserted Tongking for Hué. As Tongking's prestige declined, so too did the intellectual and material life that had sustained elite culture here for two thousand years. With the exception of the Minh Mang reign (1820–41), for most of the nineteenth century the Red River Delta was allowed to decay.<sup>51</sup> Nearly a millennium before, this region had been the original driving force behind Vietnamese southern expansion (*nam tiến*); ironically, it would be this same process that ultimately turned the delta into a political and economic backwater.

While the Red River Delta was experiencing a drain of resources and human capital to its south, on the other gulf shore Guangxi's economy was also being drawn eastward toward Guangdong.<sup>52</sup> As late as the sixteenth century most local residents had still been non-Han peoples, and they had formed the demographic base of anti-Qing Southern Ming resistance forces for a decade here. Once they gained control, however, the Qing encouraged large-scale Han Chinese migration and began to transfer jurisdiction from local chiefs to central government officials. Between 1749 and 1850, Guangxi's population nearly tripled, from more than 3 million to 8.2 million, thanks to this increased immigration.<sup>53</sup> Nineteenth-century Guangxi most resembled Chinese immigrant society in Southeast Asia, with an imbalanced gender ratio and secret societies providing young men with social support in the absence of familial and lineage groups. The Heaven and Earth Society emerged there in the late eighteenth century, and more than one hundred secret societies mushroomed between the 1820s and 1850s.<sup>54</sup>

Guangdong's influence in Guangxi, obvious from the seventeenth century, only intensified throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, spreading mainly along Guangxi's riverine and coastal areas.<sup>55</sup> The number of local markets doubled, and sometimes tripled, with Guangdong merchants dominating larger transactions.<sup>56</sup> Trade items at the Sino-Vietnamese border towns became increasingly focused on manufactured goods from Guangdong.<sup>57</sup> The rice trade was equally dominated by Guangdong merchants, who commanded a large number of ships and controlled all the river and sea transportation.<sup>58</sup>

These exocentric factors increasingly drew the two shores of the Gulf of Tongking into different orbits and in different directions, Guangxi toward its east and Tongking toward central Vietnam. Both areas were marginalized in the nineteenth century, and trade withered to little more than small junks peddling everyday items. Both ceased to be growth engines for the wider gulf region, which, on the eve of colonial intrusion, had plummeted to its lowest point of historical significance in two thousand years. The poverty of the two shores fed into each other, encouraging desperation and lawlessness at the local level, especially as the chaos of the Taiping Rebellion struck the region, as the chapter by Vũ and Cooke discusses. Piracy, banditry, and smuggling all spun out of control, as many local people sought ways to survive in increasingly difficult times.<sup>59</sup> The Gulf of Tongking region was a direct victim of the Taiping Rebellion, the most damaging revolt in premodern Chinese history.

History's wheel edged toward turning full circle in the Tongking Gulf in 1899 when the French forced the Qing government to "rent" them the Leizhou Peninsula (which they called Kwang-chou-wan, or Guangzhou Bay) and thus complete their control of the entire gulf. For the first time in more than a millennium, one state—this time foreign and Western—controlled all the gulf's waters again. But French colonialism, with its burden of twentieth-century protectionist tariffs, could never bridge the gap between the gulf's peoples at the time or even boost its trade, despite having eradicated the piracy from its waters.<sup>60</sup> More was required, and it would take a century to begin the process.

If this geopolitical overview of two millennia of changing fortunes in the Gulf of Tongking region has revealed any long-term historical characteristics at work, one is surely the interdependence of the fate of different shores of the gulf. We therefore hope that history favors the current "Two Corridors and One Rim" project, which truly turns the wheel full circle in the gulf by reuniting the productive forces of ancient Jiaozhi within a new network of international relationships from which a new round of prosperity might grow for this millennial region.

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# PART I

The Jiaozhi Era in Archaeology and History
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# Chapter 1

# Textile Crafts in the Gulf of Tongking: The Intersection Between Archaeology and History

Judith Cameron

Craft production played an important role in the overall structure of economic life in the Gulf of Tongking region during both the prehistoric and protohistoric periods. This is evidenced by the large number of bronze drums found at archaeological sites in Vietnam, Yunnan, and Guangxi, discussed in the chapters by Li Tana and Michael Churchman. These drums indicate not only that metal production was a major preoccupation during the first millennium B.C.E., but that crafts contributed to the wealth of emerging elites in the region. There is also unequivocal archaeological evidence that many Bronze Age sites in Southeast Asia were involved in longdistance trade and exchange well before the Han Chinese moved into the regions surrounding the South China Sea.<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly, textiles would have been important commodities in the Nanhai trade of the historical period.<sup>2</sup> They are a fundamental part of material culture, as easily transported as bronzes and pottery, and imbued with considerable sociocultural significance. Not only are textiles used for clothing throughout Asia, they are prescribed for rites of passage ceremonies as symbols of ethnic and social identity. Some scholars have suggested that textiles may have initially been more important than pottery in the early trade of the South China Sea but that archaeological textiles do not survive.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, the climate of the Tongking Gulf region is not conducive to the preservation of organic materials, so inevitably textiles are underrepresented in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, a few extant remains have recently been unearthed, and archaeological excavations in the region have also produced indirect evidence for cloth production in the form of textile production tools. Just such a little-known assemblage of tools has been recovered from a Western Han tomb in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region near Hepu, the oldest departure point on the ancient maritime route. This chapter considers that assemblage, and earlier archaeological parallels from prehistoric sites in Vietnam and Yunnan, to determine what the data might tell us about the textile crafts and early interactions in the Gulf of Tongking.

# The Evidence

The technology of textiles revolves around the preparation of fibers to produce thread suitable for loom weaving. During excavations of elite tombs at Luobowan, a team of archaeologists from Guangzhou and Guangdong unearthed indirect evidence for fiber preparation in the form of pottery spindle whorls (Figure. 1.1).<sup>4</sup>



Figure 1.1. Pottery spindle whorls unearthed from Luobowan, M1. *Ouluo yicui: Guangxi Baiyue wen hua wen wu jing pin ji* (Treasures from Ou and Lou: A Collection of Selected Cultural Relics from the Hundred Yue in Guangxi), ed. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan (National Museum of China) and Guangxi zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan (Museum of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), 106.

Spindle whorls are components of the hand spindle, a simple device comprised of a weight (whorl) and a shaft (rod) designed to keep the weight vertical. The hand spindle twists fibers mechanically to extend their length before they are woven on looms. While the length of plant fibers can also be extended manually through hand twisting or knotting, the spindle twists fibers much faster and more efficiently. Spinning also increases the tensile strength of fibers, ensuring that woven threads neither break nor unravel after weaving. For these reasons, the invention of the hand spindle along with agriculture in many different parts of the world can be interpreted as a Neolithic revolution in textile technology.

The Luobowan site, which produced this data, is attributed to the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–9 C.E.), the period immediately following the incorporation of south China into the Han Empire (see Map 2). The tombs at Luobowan contained the remains of two prefectural governors and their spouses of corresponding rank, superimposed above pits containing sacrificial victims buried beneath the floor of the upper chambers.<sup>5</sup> Spinning and weaving tools were located in tombs M1 and M2, associated with the remains of the governors' spouses who were interred with copious quantities of high-status prestige goods. A lacquer bowl from one tomb was inscribed *bushan* (made by the municipal government).



Map 2. Coastal archaeological sites from southern China to South Asia.

One of the peculiarities of the Han dynastic period was the existence of very rich families who combined agricultural enterprises with industrial undertakings.<sup>6</sup> At that time, some textile production was in the hands of high-ranking women, supervising spinners and weavers in textile workshops that were producing exotic goods for emerging elites. There is pictorial evidence of just such an arrangement, found in the royal cemetery at Shizhaishan in Yunnan, which is dated to the last few centuries of the first millennium B.C.E. Excavations there yielded large bronze drums showing scenes of daily life, including one (to be discussed in greater detail later) depicting an elite female supervising a small weaving workshop.<sup>7</sup>

We know that the original burial goods in the graves at Luobowan had included a considerable array of textiles, which grave robbers had subsequently removed, because a comprehensive list of all artifacts buried there had also been placed in the tombs during interment. The list consisted of fifty garments, including hemp shoes, sixty-three bolts of silk, plus plain-weave hemp, gauze, and brocade.<sup>8</sup> Except for hemp, which was worn by commoners, all other materials in the tomb were exotic, de rigueur for high-ranking individuals.

All fourteen spindle whorls recovered from Luobowan were of uniform material composition, size, weight, and shape. Each was made of buff-colored pottery and biconical in shape. The term "biconical" refers to whorls whose sides slope inward, basically two truncated cones placed base to base. Of the functional attributes of whorls, shape is the most significant. My research into the archaeological evidence for textile technology has established that there was an autonomous center of origin for spinning and weaving in southern China, quite independent of similar developments in the central Chinese plains (zhongyuan). It has further shown that while some basic spindle whorl types were generic, biconical spindle whorls were atypical. They are thus what archaeologists call "diagnostic," meaning that they can be used to trace the movement of prehistoric groups. Biconical whorls like those at Luobowan were shown to occur first in the archaeological record at sites belonging to the Tanshishan culture of southeast China, dated to the third millennium B.C.E. The Tanshishan culture is Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. This typological study (Figure 1.2) used biconical spindle whorls specifically to trace the movement of prehistoric groups from southern China east into Taiwan and farther south into other parts of mainland Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar) and into Taiwan and island Southeast Asia (the Philippines) during the late prehistoric period.9 This pattern was in accordance with earlier reconstructions of the movement of rice into Southeast Asia.<sup>10</sup>

The History Museum in Hanoi houses two biconical spindle whorls of the Luobowan type that were recovered by the French archaeologist, Madeleine



Figure 1.2. Typology of prehistoric spindle whorls.

Colani, during her investigations of Làng Bon and other Hoabinhian sites in Thanh Hóa Province. The term "Hoabinhian" refers to Holocene-period archaeological assemblages excavated from rock shelters, and it has become common in describing stone tool assemblages, dated to circa 10,000–2,000 B.C.E. It is doubtful the whorls were invented by Hoabinhian groups as they do not occur at other Hoabinhian sites; nor is this artifact represented at Bacsonian sites (10,000–8,000 B.C.E) in the region. The term "Bacsonian" refers to a variation of the Hoabinhian culture distinguished by edge-ground stone tools. As Làng Bon's whorls were surface finds, it seems more probable that they belonged to Neolithic groups with knowledge of spinning technology who were migrating into Vietnam.

Securely provenanced biconical whorls of the same type have also been excavated from shallow prehistoric burials at Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age sites attributed to the Phùng Nguyên culture (ca. 2000–1500 B.C.E). Phùng Nguyên sites are significant in Southeast Asian prehistory for their early evidence for rice.<sup>11</sup> These prehistoric sites are small settlements strategically located near rivers and streams above the confluence of the Red and Black Rivers in northern Vietnam. In Vietnam, biconical whorls continue in the archaeological record at sites belonging to subsequent Đồng Đậu and Go Mun cultures, continuing through to sites from the better-known Đông Son culture.12 Vietnamese archaeologists date the beginning of Vietnamese civilization to the Phùng Nguyên culture,<sup>13</sup> so the identification of these diagnostic textile tools at Phùng Nguyên and Tanshishan sites enables a much-needed intersection between archaeology and history for the Gulf of Tongking. In particular, it enables us to reassess a long-running argument about the possible migration of other peoples to the Red River plains late in the first millennium B.C.E. and their possible role in the foundation of Vietnamese civilization. Almost a century ago, Léonard Aurousseau put forward his ill-fated Yue migration theory.<sup>14</sup> Aurousseau proposed that the origin of the Vietnamese lay in the Chu conquest of Yue in 333 B.C.E., which resulted in the migration of refugee populations of Yue from the coasts and valleys of south China into the Red River Delta. As Keith Taylor points out,<sup>15</sup> Aurousseau's theory was totally rejected by historians. At the time, Henri Maspero advised that: "It is best, I believe, to let it pass in silence."16 Claude Madrolle also rejected the Yue migration theory, replacing it with his own origin theory that the ancient Vietnamese were the Hoklos of Fujian, coastal corsairs who penetrated the Red River plain and created a political system to rule the tidal populations there.<sup>17</sup> While Taylor acknowledged that Aurousseau's theory was based on a careful study of the historical sources, he describes it as "outlandish" and its conclusions "brash."<sup>18</sup> In Taylor's view, Madrolle's theory, while worthy of consideration, is not based on fact, but a "spider-web" of texts, proper names, and outright conjectures created in an apparent effort to salvage something of Aurousseau's idea.<sup>19</sup> While the new spindle whorl data<sup>20</sup> supports both Aurousseau and Madrolle to some extent, showing that groups with rice and textile technology migrated to the Red River plains from the area of modern Fujian Province, there are significant temporal differences. The textile data establishes that this migration took place millennia earlier, during the prehistoric rather than the historic period. Furthermore, my reconstruction also benefits from the half-century of post-colonial archaeological research in this area, which has established that hunter-gatherers lived in northern Vietnam for millennia prior to the migration of the agricultural groups who brought rice growing and textile technology into the Red River valley.<sup>21</sup>

Remarkably, there is congruence between the spinning evidence and local legend in regard to the origin(s) of the groups in the Red River plains. According to Vietnamese folk history, the earliest groups in the Red River region had no knowledge of spinning and weaving until the time of the Hùng kings, the first indigenous chiefdom centered on the Red River valley. It was ruled by kings who

claimed descent from a heroic ancestor, the Lac dragon lord, who had come from the sea, subdued evil elements in the region, and civilized the people by teaching them to cultivate rice and weave clothes.<sup>2</sup>

Turning now to textile fragments, the Ancient Technology Unit in the Institute of Archaeology in Hanoi also houses an important collection of "textile pseudomorphs" from Vietnamese Bronze and Iron Age sites. Textile pseudomorphs are mineralized textiles that are created when textiles are buried in close proximity to metals and leaching salts preserve their structure.<sup>23</sup> Analysts have identified several different stages of mineralization: some textiles are preserved in their organic forms; others are partially mineralized; and a few are completely mineralized. A small number of the Institute of Archaeology's metal artifacts bearing textile pseudomorphs are intrinsically Vietnamese; others are paralleled in Yunnan, while a small number are paralleled in the central Chinese plains.

A bronze halberd bearing a textile pseudomorph was recovered during the excavations of the site of Đồi Đà, in the village of Cẩm Thượng, Ba Vi District, Hà Tây Province. The Đồi Đà site belongs to the Đồng Đậu culture, dated between 1250 and 850 B.C.E. Fine traces of a 1/1 tabby weave textile of spun and woven ramie were clearly discernible. As with Phùng Nguyên groups, Đồng Đậu groups domesticated rice in the Red River valley; and technological continuity is also indicated by the shape of their metal artifacts, which are clearly based on stone prototypes from Phùng Nguyên sites. In sharp contrast, the halberd is a very distinctive Chinese weapon. In China, halberds were used by the military from the Shang through to the end of the first millennium for chariot fighting. Archers flanked chariots armed with pairs of complex reflex bows, lancers, and long-hafted weapons. Archers were also armed with swords, daggers, and bronze knives (later made from iron), and infantrymen positioned beside the chariots were also armed with halberds for attacking the enemy.<sup>24</sup> While fine metal was cast into weapons like these, inferior metals were used for agricultural tools.<sup>25</sup>

Further evidence for the textile crafts in the Gulf of Tongking comes from the basic components of backstrap looms and weaving implements (called battens and swords) also found in the tombs at Luobowan (Figure 1.3 left). The backstrap loom is the fundamental type in this region, but until the loom is set up with its warps under tension it is a simply a bundle of sticks. The earliest evidence for the backstrap loom comes from the Neolithic site of Hemudu in Zhejiang Province.<sup>26</sup> Firm archaeological parallels for this and Luobowan's loom have also been found in archaeological contexts in Yunnan.<sup>27</sup> Although Yunnan is landlocked, its southwestern borderlands are linked to northern China through the Yangzi and to other parts of Southeast Asia through the Red, Salween, and



Figure 1.3. Wooden loom parts. Left: Luobowan; center: Shizhaishan; right: Phú Chánh.

Mekong Rivers. As Higham explains, in an area where river transport is critical, "Yunnan is nodal."<sup>28</sup>

Better-known archaeological parallels from Yunnan were recovered from the royal cemetery at Shizhaishan. Shizhaishan is located along the shores of Lake Dian and dated to the last few centuries of the first millennium B.C.E. Excavations of high-ranking burials at the site yielded large Heger II-type bronze drums showing scenes of the daily lives of the Dian, among which was a bronze showing the basic division of labor based on gender.<sup>29</sup> Males are exclusively depicted in the round on drums showing battle scenes and females exclusively depicted in a weaving scene.<sup>30</sup>

The weaving scene depicted on the surface of the bronze drum shows the involvement of slaves in a craft workshop. The central figure, surrounded by smaller slave figures, is distinguished by different hairstyles and traditional costumes. The high status of the slave owner is articulated by the use of another precious metal; she is the only gilded figure on the drum. The owner of the workshop sits on a raised platform while the slaves are seated on the ground, weaving. The slave owner has been identified as Dian, although Han influence has also been identified in her hairstyle, described as being like "Chinese silver ingots" falling to her shoulders.<sup>31</sup> Almost half of the textile workers on the drum were identified as ethnic Dian through their distinctive hairstyles, ornaments, and costumes. The slave owner was depicted in a wide-sleeved robe with a central opening, typical of Han robes. Among the non-Dian textile workers is one slave distinguished by a topknot, a bead necklace, and a knee-length skirt belted at the waist. The skirt is of the width produced by backstrap looms of the type shown on the drum's tympanum. The existence of slaves and slave trafficking is recorded in the Hanshu (History of the Former Han Dynasty) for this period; the Manshu (History of the Man People) further links the traffic to weaving, recording that skilled weavers from Sichuan were captured by the Dian for their textile skills (specifically because of their knowledge of satin weave) and set up in workshops.<sup>32</sup>

Several weavers are depicted on the surface of the Shizhaishan drum, weaving on foot-braced backstrap looms with continuous warps. With this loom, the weaver is an integral part of the mechanism, with tension created when the feet are placed on the warp beam. Although this type of loom is more portable than other types, it has one major limitation. It can only produce textiles of limited length (twice the length of the weaver's body). Foot-braced looms rely on the tension of the warp to hold movable parts in position. With this technology, the shed stick occupies a vulnerable position, subject to torsion (twisting) caused by the weaver failing to keep uniform tension. To overcome the problem, the backstrap loom has bow-shaped bars to lock the shed stick in place. Although John Vollmer has asserted that this feature only survives today among the Atayal in Taiwan,<sup>33</sup> Chinese and Vietnamese minorities also use this elaboration of the backstrap loom.

Each of the six weavers depicted on the bronze drum from Shizhaishan holds a sword beater to push the weft threads tightly into place. One weaver is depicted removing the sword beater during the weaving process. The remains of these tools were also excavated at Luobowan as well as in tomb 17 at Shizhaishan, along with a cloth beam with prolonged ends, a warp beam, and a shed stick. Two slaves on the bronze drum from Shizhaishan are also depicted spinning with spindle whorls of the type discussed above. Bronze weaving tools were also found at Lijiashan, a cemetery site south of Shizhaishan, dated between 830 and 400 B.C.E.<sup>34</sup> Archaeologists have demonstrated that Lijiashan contained appreciably richer Bronze Age groups than those buried elsewhere in Yunnan, and there can be little doubt that textile workshops produced some of this wealth. The bronze weaving implements were concentrated in the richest A1 burials. Gender differences were also identified in the textile burials; tombs 21 and 24 contained only bronze weapons and buckles whereas tombs 11, 17, 18, 22, and 23 contained only textile tools. Whereas the loom parts from Shizhaishan were made entirely of bronze, the loom parts from Lijiashan were wooden with only the socketed end pieces made of bronze.

Vollmer compared the textile tools excavated from Lijiashan with those from Shizhaishan and found them to be similar in length (44–48.4 centimeters) and concluded that elite craftspersons were buried at both sites. Vollmer also concluded that a double pointed sword beater from tomb 17 at Lijiashan was of the type still used by minorities in Yunnan. He also identified a so-called "knife" from the site as a weaving tool and an object identified as a pointed chisel as a beater of the type depicted on the Shizhaishan drum.<sup>35</sup> Both tools were also represented in the abovementioned Western Han tombs in Guangxi Province.

A very unusual artifact from the excavations of Shizhaishan was described in the site reports as a "spoon scraper," but redefined by Joseph Needham and



Figure 1.4. Bronze retting brush from a Đông Sơn site, collection of the Institute of Archaeology, Hanoi. Photo: J. Cameron.

Ohta Eizo as a scraper used for combing retted bast fibers.<sup>36</sup> Bronze tools (Figure 1.4) with the same distinctive characteristics have also been excavated in Vietnam, appearing initially at Đồng Đậu sites and continuing in the archaeological record at Đông Sơn sites.<sup>37</sup> It would be difficult to overstate the economic contribution of bast fibers to textile production in the region, and the artifacts in question were probably used in ramie processing. The *Tao Te Ching*, written between the third and fourth century, records the presentation of a ramie robe to a Zhou ruler by groups from Lingnan. Chinese sources also refer to imports of ramie cloth from the south during the early dynastic period, when hemp crops failed.<sup>38</sup>

Although Đông Son sites are better known for their bronze drums, these burials also contained wooden loom parts. Most scholars are agreed that the Đông Son culture (ca. 500 B.C.E–300 C.E.) represents one of the highlights of Vietnamese prehistory, spanning the Bronze Age to the historical period. Đông Son sites have been identified over a wide geographical area extending from northern Vietnam to some 90 km north of Huế, with the greatest concentration of sites located on the swampy plains of the Red and Chu Rivers in northern Vietnam.<sup>39</sup> Đông Son drums have also been found at sites in Guangxi and Guangdong as well as Chu sites. Significantly, Đông Son drums found elsewhere in island Southeast Asia are interpreted as items of trade and exchange.

Vietnamese excavations of the Đông Son site of Yên Bắc, located in the village of the same name in Duy Tiên District, Hà Nam Province, produced a wooden coffin (M7) containing the remains of an individual covered by a very large shroud woven from very fine gauze (possibly silk).<sup>40</sup> Gauze was also one of the burial textiles placed in the abovementioned tomb at Luobowan. At Yên Bắc the fabric disintegrated very quickly once the coffin lid was removed and the contents exposed to oxygen, heat, and sunlight. During this critical period, the fabric took on a distinctive orange/yellow color that is consistent with the process known as chemoluminescence. The chemical process is quantifiable and discernible in colored photographs taken at the site.<sup>41</sup>

A second coffin (M6) contained the remains of a female buried with wooden textile tools (Figure 1.5), lacquer bowls, and a gourd. The wooden implements included two wooden shuttles, cloth beams, a beater, and a biconical spindle whorl. Shuttles are devices used during the weaving process to convey weft threads across the loom. The weft threads would have been wound around the shuttle before the weaving process began. From a technological perspective, the shuttles from Yên Bắc are early types. The complete tool measured 34 centimeters in length, 2.6 centimeters in width at the top, tapering to 0.7 centimeters at the point.



Figure 1.5. Position of loom parts in burial M6, Yên Bắc. After Bùi Văn Liêm, Nguyễn Kim Thuỷ, and Nguyễn Sơn Ka, *Báo Cáo khai quật mộ thuyền Yên Bắc Duy Tiên Hà* Nam lần thứ nhất (Hanoi: Viện Khảo cổ, 2001), fig. 7.

The broken tool measured 16.9 centimeters in length, 2.3 centimeters in width, tapering to 1 centimeter. Two thin sticks placed in the coffin resemble the pattern sticks found at Luobowan.

The more recent discovery of diagnostic weaving implements extends this zone of interaction farther south than the Red River region. Recent excavations of the two-thousand-year-old site of Phú Chánh in Bình Dương Province produced wooden components of a backstrap loom of the type found in Yunnan and Guangxi.<sup>42</sup> When unearthed, the two breast beams with pointed symmetrical ends were initially identified as "imperial equipage," symbolizing the power of a socially high-ranked person. Ethnographic parallels were subsequently identified among the Ma people in Lâm Đồng Province, the K'tu people in Lâm Đồng Province, and the Cham people in Thuận Hải Province. Similar-shaped but smaller items have also been found in Guangdong and Yunnan (especially Shizhaishan and Lijiashan).

Although the function of the textiles woven from the abovementioned

spindle whorls and backstrap looms is not entirely certain, recent excavations of the site of Đông Xá indicate that some of the textiles woven in the Gulf of Tongking at this time were intended for burial. Firm evidence of their use in burials comes from a 2007 joint Australian-Vietnamese excavation team of archaeologists and conservators who discovered a woven shroud and Đông Sơn clothing in an irrigation canal near an intensively cultivated alluvial flood plain in Lương Bảng commune, Kim Đông District, Hưng Yên Province. The Đông Xá site first came to the attention of archaeologists when a local villager noticed a large, Heger-type bronze drum protruding from one of the irrigation canals that control seasonal flooding and extend the rice-growing season. When the irrigation canal was drained during the excavation, the stern of a wooden boat used as a coffin was revealed. The coffin contained a woven ramie shroud. The body had originally been wrapped in sedge matting before being placed in the coffin. Along with it there was a cord-marked pottery bowl containing two lacquer bowls (with firm parallels at Chu sites), a bottle gourd, a jade earring of Chinese origin, and two Chinese coins. The earliest radiocarbon date for the shroud is  $2053 \pm 34$  B.P.<sup>43</sup>

#### Conclusion

The spinning and weaving data from these excavations provide firm evidence for the introduction of textile technology into the Red River valley by late prehistoric groups belonging to the Tanshishan culture (probably Yue) from Fujian Province. Had spinning been invented independently in the Red River valley, basic types of whorls would have been found there rather than biconical ones. Because biconical whorls have a higher moment of inertia than basic types, and spin faster than basic forms, they indicate that groups with greater technical knowledge and skill were migrating around the Gulf of Tongking region at the same time that rice was being introduced. The data also highlight the importance of craft in the Tongking Gulf region of northern Vietnam, Yunnan, and Guangxi, before these regions were incorporated into the Chinese Empire under the Earlier and Later Han Dynasties.<sup>44</sup> Like bronze drums, textiles gave emerging elites across the region access to a product that easily enabled the articulation of social divisions in early societies where social differentiation was important and where there was a trend toward groups coalescing into larger units. Control of these technologies and the distribution of the products provided spinners and weavers with a mechanism to improve

their social and economic power. This reading of the archaeological evidence also suggests that metallurgy and textile technology were catalysts that combined to propel these societies onto the trajectories that concern historians and laid down the basic economic foundations of the societies that would later flourish in the Tongking Gulf region.

# Chapter 2

# Jiaozhi (Giao Chi) in the Han Period Tongking Gulf

Li Tana

This chapter introduces early Jiaozhi, a territorial unit covering the present-day Red River plains, coastal Guangxi, and western Guangdong, and discusses its importance in the exchange system of the Gulf of Tongking and South China Sea nearly two millennia ago. Contrary to conventional scholarship, which has stressed political forces pushing from north to south that resulted in Chinese colonization of the Red River plain, this chapter examines early Jiaozhi in its own context, as a territorial expanse occupying the same horizontal line. It argues that, by eliminating the once powerful Nanyue (southern Yue) kingdom in 111 B.C.E., the Han dynasty established Jiaozhi's dominant trading position as both market and entrepôt for goods brought by land and sea. Jiaozhi's emergence as the jewel of the Han south highlights the importance of the Gulf of Tongking for the early maritime silk road, as well as revealing the mutual interdependence of the region of modern Guangxi and the Red River plain so long ago.

# Guangzhou (Canton) and Jiaozhi

The Nanyue kingdom, based in present-day Guangzhou (Canton), had enjoyed a commanding position on the Tongking Gulf coast until the Han conquest in 111 B.C.E., after which the southern political and economic center of gravity moved to Jiaozhi. This change seemed to have resulted from a deliberate Han policy; but why would the dynasty want to favor Jiaozhi and suppress Guangzhou? The most

obvious answer, from a central government viewpoint, is that Jiaozhi was easier to access and control. Until the eighth century, when the Five Passes land route was opened to Guangdong, the gulf region was always better connected to central China, thanks to the Ling canal ("Smart Trench"), which had been dug between 223 and 214 B.C.E to transport Qin troops south. It linked the Yangzi with the Xiang River in Hunan, from where traffic accessed the Li River in Guangxi and the North and South Liu Rivers leading to the Hepu maritime port. This important economic corridor also formed the confluence of the two major cultures of southern China-the Chu and Yue-as is shown by the large number of Han tombs uncovered along it.<sup>1</sup> It was also a strategically significant route. In 40 C.E., after the Trung sisters rebelled in Jiaozhi, the forces of the "Wave-Calming General" Ma Yuan, who was ordered to put down the rebellion, took this very route to Jiaozhi.<sup>2</sup> A land route also existed, running from today's Liuzhou via the Yu River to the Southern Pass. By both land and water, Guangxi thus held a crucial position. Jiaozhi also provided the court with easier access to Yunnan and beyond,<sup>3</sup> by a route that went up the Red River to Yunnan before pushing on to the overland "yak road" (maoniu dao) in modern Sichuan.4

Most important, Jiaozhi was the nearest point between the Han court and the maritime silk road before it became possible to travel across the open sea in the eighth century. Sea travel favored Canton. Until then, Canton's earlier access to Southeast Asia had necessarily passed via its contacts with Jiaozhi. All these factors worked in favor of Jiaozhi, whose prosperity it helped to sustain until the eighth century.

# The Gulf of Tongking-Economic Center of the Early South China Sea Trade

Thanks in part to the factors discussed above, from the first to the tenth century, when Guangzhou and the lands to its east became the most populous in the far south of the Han Empire, the lands along the littoral rim of the extended Gulf of Tongking ruled over the South China Sea economy. In 2 c.e. Jiaozhi reported four times as many households as Guangzhou, and even the population of what is now Thanh Hóa Province (Jiuzhen, or Cửu Chân in Vietnamese) was roughly double that of Guangzhou (see Table 2.1).<sup>5</sup>

The disparity is equally striking in terms of household distribution along the extended Gulf of Tongking littoral rim: 34 percent in modern eastern Guangxi

Prefecture	Households
Nanhai	19,613
Jiaozhi	92,440
Jiuzhen	35,743
Нери	15,398
Cangwu	57,510

Table 2.1. Households in the Han Empire's Coastal South, 2 c.E.

(85,323 households), 58 percent in current northern and north-central Vietnam (143,643 households), but only 8 percent in the Guangdong area (see Figure 2.1).

Jiaozhi's population density was also remarkably higher than that of Guangdong. According to one Chinese authority on population history, the density ratio of Guangdong to Jiaozhi was 1:9.6, while coastal Guangxi and today's Thanh Hóa Province (in central Vietnam) were about two to three times more populous than Guangdong. In fact, Jiaozhi was even more densely populated than the Chengdu area in Sichuan.<sup>6</sup> As Table 2.2 shows, the average size of the households in Jiaozhi was also fairly large and, interestingly, larger than in some parts of northern China at the same time.<sup>7</sup>

Two millennia ago, then, the bulk of the population of southern and more established areas was in Jiaozhi, that is, present-day Guangxi, western Guangdong, and the Vietnamese gulf shore. Jiaozhi was the cosmopolitan center of this part of Asia, flanked by Hepu and Xuwen to the north and Cửu Chân and Nhật Nam (Quảng Trị to Quảng Nam) to the south.<sup>8</sup>

A second significant point should be made about this populous coastal belt. All its important and documented ports—Hepu, Xuwen, and Nhật Nam—thrived by trade and trade alone. Hepu's fortune started with locally produced pearls, which were traded both north and south, while Nhật Nam's fortune rested on its



Figure 2.1. Households in Guangdong, Guangxi, and northern and central Vietnam, 2 c.e.

Prefecture	Average no. of persons in household	Prefecture	Average no. of persons in household
Jiaozhi	6.37	Xuzhou	4.56
Jingzhou	5.38	Yangzhou	4.51
Yuzhou	5.18	Sili	4.4
Shuofang	4.98	Qingzhou	4.37
Duizhou	4.76	Bingzhou	4.28
Yizhou	4.67	Youzhou	4.22
Jizhou	4.57	Liangzhou	4.02

Table 2.2. Estimated Average Size of Households in Population Centers, 2 C.E.

location between the Mekong Delta civilization of Oc Eo and China. None of these ports had a large population base when compared to Jiaozhi. But what was the source of the wealth and population density here in the first century C.E.? To answer this question we need to begin by considering Jiaozhi's economic relations with its neighbors.

First and most fundamental, piecing together contemporaneous sources reveals that Jiaozhi was the regional granary whose rice supplied its nearest neighbors. Of Hepu to its north it was reported that "Hepu does not produce rice but only pearls. It is next to Jiaozhi and often trades [pearls] for rice." The interdependence of the two economies helps explain why pearls had been recorded as a Jiaozhi local product since the first century C.E., although they actually originated in Hepu.<sup>9</sup> Their economic symbiosis became clear when local officials in Hepu became too greedy in the mid-second century: "Traders stopped coming [to the Hepu area], and people lost their livelihood. The poor starved on the roads."<sup>10</sup> While Hepu people went pearling, Jiaozhi's southern neighbors in Cửu Chân mainly made their living by hunting and gathering: "Customarily Cửu Chân lived on hunting and did not know about plowing with draft oxen. People often had to buy rice from Jiaozhi, and sometimes went short of it."<sup>11</sup>

While the above information suggests how mutually beneficial exchanges knitted the Gulf of Tongking region together, another Jiaozhi product linked it to the more distant hinterland. A second source of early Jiaozhi's wealth apparently came from trading cowries, for which Jiaozhi was renowned long after shells were abandoned as currency in China. The *Guangzhou ji* (Records on Guangzhou) says that the most precious seashells—purple shells—came from Jiaozhou, which perhaps indicated the Gulf of Tongking but also possibly somewhere farther

south,<sup>12</sup> while large shells originated from today's central Vietnam. Both were "traded with traveling merchants."<sup>13</sup> Hainan, on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Tongking, also produced valuable purple shells. One very early Chinese source, the *Shangshu dazhuan* (Major Tradition of Venerated Documents, 100–200 B.C.E.), mentioned that big shells came from the "South Sea," which suggests this well-known term, in one of its earliest recorded usages, originally referred to the Gulf of Tongking.<sup>14</sup>

This put the gulf region in a favorable position in exchanges with central China. As late as the Han dynasty, seashells were precious items. Under the rule of Wang Mang (9-23 C.E.), cowries were exchanged directly for copper coins. The Hanshu gave the exchange ratios of different sizes of shells: large shells, like those from central Vietnam, equaled 216 cash of coins, and were four times more expensive than medium-sized shells and twenty-one times more expensive than small ones.<sup>15</sup> If, as this suggests, shells could be a form of currency, cowries must have boosted Jiaozhi's wealth greatly. Yunnan's cowry currency also possibly came through Jiaozhi, if not from Jiaozhi itself. An important link between them has just been established by a Chinese historian who argues that the Han period "silk route of the southwest," long considered as running from Sichuan and Yunnan to India, in fact went from Yunnan through Jiaozhi to the sea.<sup>16</sup> All this explains why Zhao Tuo (Triệu Đà), the king of Nanyue (Nam Việt), included 500 purple shells among prized gifts to the Han emperor. The rest of Zhao Tuo's list of presents reveals what was considered exotic and precious from the second century B.C.E. south: "one white colored jade, ten rhinoceros horns, one jar of cinnamon bark, 1,000 kingfishers . . . two peacocks, and forty lots of kingfisher feathers."17 Interestingly, typical exotics from South and Central Asia, such as amber, crystal, and glass beads, were yet to appear, while, except for the jade, all the other presents were listed in the first-century-c.e. book Jiaozhou yiwu zhi (Exotic Things of Jiaozhou).

Not only were Jiaozhi and its neighbors crucial sources of natural wealth, its people were also industrious producers of highly prized handicrafts. Advanced agriculture with its stable supply of rice and foodstuffs provided the foundation for local handicraft industries whose influence radiated out to Jiaozhi's north and south. Swedish archaeologist Olov Janse, for instance, found locally produced ceramic together with stone, copper, iron, gold, silver, and jade wares in Hanstyle tombs that were spread widely in the old land of Jiaozhi from the coast to the mountains.<sup>18</sup> Jiaozhi's large population and natural resources, with the comparative advantage for specialist craft production that they imply, help us better understand

the catalog of seemingly fantastical goods reportedly made here. One well-known example is sugar candy, called in Jiaozhi "stone honey" (*shimi*).<sup>19</sup> "Fragrant paper," made from the bark of an aromatic tree, was another: a delegation from Rome brought 30,000 pages of such paper to Nanjing in 285,<sup>20</sup> along with a fabulous fabric that could only be washed by fire (asbestos cloth, *huowan bu*).<sup>21</sup> Another local paper, this one made from seaweed and called "twill paper" (*celi zhi*), became well known in the third century.<sup>2</sup> Numerous ceramic kilns existed in the modern Thanh Hóa area, which supplied everyday wares to locals and bricks, tiles, and slabs for house and tomb construction.<sup>23</sup> Some 5,000 Han burials have been found around Hepu (present-day Lianzhou), together with numerous ceramics kilns from the Han period. Similar pieces to those produced here have been found in Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Banten, suggesting Hepu developed its export hand-icraft production during the boom years of the maritime silk road.<sup>24</sup> Locally made glassware and glass beads are also abundant in old Hepu tombs, as Brigitte Borell's chapter discusses.<sup>25</sup>

Silk was also a prized commodity of the Jiaozhi region, whose relatively dense population was able to provide the security of food supply essential to the industry. Jiaozhi's government center, Luy Lầu, derived its name from the Vietnamese word for mulberry ( $d\hat{a}u$ ); it lay on the Dâu River, where mulberry trees were grown and silk produced; and it housed the most ancient Buddhist temple in Vietnam, the Dâu Temple, whose name also derived from  $d\hat{a}u$ .<sup>26</sup> Many important communication routes and waterways crisscrossed the region, including the routes to Phå Lại, Đông Triều, and Quảng Ninh, going as far as the modern Sino-Vietnamese frontier (presently route no. 18), and the route linking the Dâu both to the Đuống and Red Rivers and to the Lục Đầu and Thái Bình Rivers and the sea.<sup>27</sup> In the third century C.E, silk production was so well established in neighboring Nhật Nam that cocoons were produced eight times a year.<sup>28</sup>

All these products became known between the second and third centuries, a time when modern archaeological excavations of contemporaneous tombs in Hepu, Jiaozhi, and Cửu Chân have revealed the wealth of local society. Vietnamese archaeologists have excavated enormous Han tombs in northern Vietnam whose diameters were twenty to thirty times those of the Later Han period. The no.1 Han tomb in the Wangniuling site in Hepu, or modern Lianzhou,<sup>29</sup> was of a similar size.

Another important local handicraft product requires analysis here, but it was not something likely to appear in ancient Chinese catalogs of southern exotica. I refer to bronze drums, which are discussed in the next section.

# Bronze Drums-Crossbred on the Sino-Vietnamese Cultural Rim

The early history of Vietnam is conventionally divided into two parts: the ages of bronze and iron. The Bronze Age was indigenous, symbolized by Đông Sơn culture and especially by bronze drums. Then the Chinese invasion disrupted local tradition by starting the Iron Age. But there is a puzzle in this: although Chinese administrations were set up here in the second century B.C.E., a large number of bronze drums-symbols of indigenous power and chiefly authority-were cast after Chinese occupation. The Ngoc Lữ bronze drum, the icon of traditional Vietnamese culture, was, according to the French colonial scholarVictor Goloubew, cast by local people in the Red River Delta during the first century C.E., that is, at least one century after Chinese rule started.<sup>30</sup> It might be argued that bronze drums were still being made by Red River Delta people, irrespective of Chinese rule; or that the drums had been cast by peoples in the surrounding hill country who were remote from Chinese rule. But an intriguing third possibility exists: that the two traditions ran parallel and intensively interacted. Archaeologists have ample evidence to show that the bronze drums resulted from intensive interactions between different peoples; but historians still tend to think that bronze drums were so sacred to the local chiefdoms that they must have been cast secretly in some mountains using some "traditional" techniques passed on unchanged for generations.<sup>31</sup> Archaeologists, on the other hand, believe bronze drum casting required an open system to sustain it: because the task demanded "both artistic and technical skill of a high order,"<sup>32</sup> artisans were shared throughout the region. Thus Magdalene von Dewall has suggested the existence of local specialist workshops whose craftsmen, although using similar techniques and common artifact forms, sought to create their own decorative motifs and styles. This would require considerable mobility of artisans and materials alike.

High levels of artistic and technical skills, let alone specialist workshops, are also expensive to support, raising the question of how local society afforded this luxury. Significantly, features of rice processing appear on two of the most famous Vietnamese drums, the Ngoc Lữ and Hoàng Hạ drums.<sup>33</sup> As early Chinese records quoted above suggest, both Hepu and Cửu Chân relied on Jiaozhi for rice, so these depictions of rice processing suggest the existence of a nonsubsistence or self-sustained economy, one based on exchanging rice for other commodities. In this context, it is interesting that Wang Mang-era coins (8–25 c.e.) have been excavated alongside Đông Sơn bronzes. Given that Wang Mang coins from central

China were exchanged for valuable purple shells from Jiaozhi, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that wealth generated from economic exchanges facilitated the continuation of the bronze drum tradition, and that it was these exchanges that carried bronze drums and their casting technique from Jiaozhi to the coastal Guangxi region, where Michael Churchman's chapter discusses their role and significance. Recent Chinese studies on the alloys used in bronze drums indicate that some Đông Son drums came from China, but that others found in Guangxi had originated in the Đông Son cultural zone and were brought to Guangxi later.<sup>34</sup> The authors of these studies further concluded that Guangxi's typical Lengshuichongtype bronze drums developed under the influence of Đông Son drums and that the golden era of bronze drum casting in Guangxi was under the Han, precisely when intensive contacts between the Guangxi coast and Jiaozhi were most evident.

At this point we should stop and ponder the political context of this bronze drum casting. There are two salient aspects to the story: if bronze drums were symbols of local power, then the 600 plus new drums that were cast from the first to the sixth centuries suggest increasing rather than decreasing numbers of local power centers; and if drum casting was tied so intimately to production, exchange, and wealth generation in the region, it is most likely to have occurred at or near the main centers of action, effectively under the noses of Chinese administrators. In fact, in 1999 a terra-cotta mold for a Đông Son drum was found by the Japanese archaeologist Nishimura Masanari at Luy Lầu, the earliest Chinese administrative site in Jiaozhi (from 111 B.C.E.).<sup>35</sup> He regarded the type of mold as similar to others from Shang and Zhou sites in China. Nishimura actually suggested the Đông Son phase belonged in the late metal age, and some other Japanese scholars argued that, contrary to the conventional belief that the Han invasion ended Đông Son culture, Đông Son artifacts, including drums, remained in use and were adopted into Han-style surroundings.<sup>36</sup>

There was no reason why Chinese governors would oppose such casting, and no record suggests the casting of bronze drums was prohibited. After all, alien Han rule had been imposed from outside and, as Keith Taylor noted, "the Chinese had to adjust their habits to the local culture; they were in no position to force their way of life on the local people."<sup>37</sup> In Southeast Asia the key to a center's control over manpower was its ability to form political alliances with the locally based elite the "big men."<sup>38</sup> The Chinese government's support for and reliance on "big men" was indicated clearly in a Tang record: "for those local chiefs who were more powerful than others because of their wealth from slaves, pearls, and elephants, the court often gave official positions in order to obtain profits from them. This practice was carried out in all the dynasties of Song, Qi, Liang, and Chen."<sup>39</sup>



Map 3. Bronze Age sites. From Charles Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 92.

Rather than being a symbol of independence, bronze drums at this time might be better understood to signify adaptation by both the Chinese and the local elites. The best governors were always either those who could work with local chiefs and enjoy their support or those who were themselves "big men." The best-known cases were Shi Xie (Sĩ Nhiếp in Vietnamese) and his brothers, who ruled Nanhai, Hepu, Jiaozhi, and Cửu Chân in the second century C.E., and the Du Huidu family in the fifth century. Both families were local: the Shi rose from Cangwu in Guangxi, and the Du from Chu Diên in Jiaozhi. Their wealth and local influence surely played a key role in their appointments.

Examining these factors—population, rice production, and important local sources of wealth—strongly indicates that it was early Jiaozhi, rather than Guangzhou, that was the regional integrating force, linking both central China to the Gulf of Tongking and Yunnan to the sea. Modern northern and north-central Vietnam thus formed the most important ancient trading partner of central China before the maritime silk road came into being. As Wang Gungwu pointed out, Jiaozhi's "very value to China lay in its overseas trade."<sup>40</sup> This trade became crucial to China with the decline of the Later Han and its consequent loss of control of the northwestern overland routes. The Han formally abandoned the overland silk road in 107 C.E., and thereafter connections between China and the West became concentrated on the southern coast. Indian merchants were recorded as beginning to "pay tribute" in 159 and 161, arriving via Jiaozhi, and as their trade to island Southeast Asia became more frequent it must have injected new vitality into the Nanhai trade, for which Jiaozhi was the terminus.

## Jiaozhi from a Horizontal View

In previous sections I have used the term "Jiaozhi" as if it were not problematic, for convenience, as if it denoted a specific place, when in fact precisely defining "Jiaozhi" is a historical headache. When a source says "Jiaozhi" it could be referring to a district, a prefecture, or a province, depending on who said it and when.<sup>41</sup> In the first century B.C.E. "Jiaozhi" included coastal Guangdong and Guangxi, and its administrative capital moved between Luy Lau in the Red River Delta and Hepu (Lianzhou) and Guangxin (Wuzhou) in modern Guangxi, and Guangzhou. We are not even sure of the location of its main port. Similarly, "Rinan," or "Nhật Nam" in Vietnamese, is equally confusing. "Rinan" referred to the pivotal center that linked early imperial China with the outside world, but the location to which the name was applied moved from today's Huế-Quảng Nam area (up to the second century) north to modern Nghệ An and Thanh Hóa by the fifth century.42 Like Jiaozhi, there was no single port called Rinan, but several ports with the same name and status. The same is true of Hepu. Rather than there being a fixed port, one Chinese scholar has argued that when coastal peoples spontaneously organized maritime activities, any suitable location would become a port, and the ports used by official ships might only be those used relatively more often by ordinary people. "Hepu port" therefore might be a collective name designating several ports on today's Guangxi coast.43

What we see here is the sharing of names of ports and overlapping territories: until the third century "Jiaozhi" might have been either modern northern Vietnam or Guangxi and the western Guangdong coast; while "Rinan" was shared between central Vietnam and Champa for a few hundred years. What this suggests to me is that such names indicated circles or clusters of trading centers rather than specific ports with a defined area and fixed territory. This reminds us of the Southeast Asian mandala pattern with local power, radiating from often comparatively short-term centers, acting to hold together systems that were increasingly unstable toward the margins. As Oliver Wolters noted, such a network of small settlements "reveals itself in historical records as a patchwork of often overlapping mandalas."

Talking about a "mandala pattern," or a "mini-Mediterranean," sounds strange in a context where the whole gulf region was supposedly darkened by the huge shadow of China. At first glance, the Tongking Gulf political landscape could not be farther from either pattern, both of which imply numbers of principalities operating on more or less equal terms. The overwhelming political and economic center, China, should theoretically always have prevented a situation of competing centers from emerging here. But one countervailing historical characteristic of China mitigated this effect: political and economic power in China tended to be far more concentrated in its own center than ever happened in Europe, where a post-Roman center as such was hard to identify.45 This situation is profoundly important for our understanding of the Gulf of Tongking and, when coupled with a maritime outlook, it illuminates the gulf region at the time. Looking down from central China only reveals an annex in the Jiaozhi region; but to look northward from the southern edge of the Gulf of Tongking (from modern central Vietnam), and beyond the administrative units called provinces, prefectures, and districts, reveals a chain of principalities scattered from the coast to the hinterland, from modern Guangxi down to central Vietnam and Laos.

Casting off a China-centered view allows us to see these principalities in more equal terms rather than as a hierarchical set of provinces and prefectures. The perspective elucidates many stories of this region like, for instance, why preeighth-century sources are so vague about the main port of Jiaozhi. There was no main port, like we see in Guangzhou from the eighth century, but a group of ports competing against each other, stretching from central Vietnam to the Guangzi coast. Even Guangzhou was in competition with Jiaozhi as late as 774.<sup>46</sup> This new perspective also helps us better understand relations between the Red River Delta and the modern central Vietnam area. In written sources, Cửu Chân and Nhật Nam appear as subordinate units within the province of Jiaozhi. Chinese rule was supposed to penetrate them through Jiaozhi's governance of the Red River Delta. However, if we peruse the sources carefully, Cửu Chân and Nhật Nam were more often mentioned as equals of Jiaozhi, not as its subordinates. Numerous records indicate Cửu Chân even attacked Jiaozhi from time to time.<sup>47</sup> Cửu Chân's relative autonomy shows clearly when the area of modern Hanoi was repeatedly attacked by the Nanzhao kingdom in 860 and 862, culminating in its occupation from 862 to 866. The Tang dynasty recruited armies from as far as modern Hunan and Sichuan to rescue it, but, curiously, nothing came from its "subordinate" neighbor Cửu Chân. Central Vietnam had long developed in parallel with the Red River Delta and, after Vietnamese independence in the tenth century, apparently tended to drift away from the political power of the Delta. The Former Lê dynasty fought with Châu Ái (later Nghệ An) in 989, 1006, and 1009, as did the Lý dynasty in 1011, 1012, 1029, 1031, 1035, and 1043. It required a major defeat of Champa in 1044 to end tensions between the Delta and Châu Ái, which had been rather prematurely renamed Nghệ An ("righteously pacified") in 1036.<sup>48</sup>

Applying a mandala pattern helps to unpack the rich burden of historical records with which we are simultaneously blessed and cursed. Unlike the rest of Southeast Asia, for which limited textual evidence exists, Vietnam has a clear and often detailed chronology. While we are fortunate in this respect, our view has often been framed by that chronology, with its endless administrative details and military actions. It inevitably guides our historical understanding of the region by imposing both a top-down and a China-centered perception of events. The mandala pattern, however, helps shift the vertical view to a horizontal one, in the process revealing a more complex and nuanced early historical situation in the gulf region, one characterized by competing political and economic principalities.

Thus it seems to me that all the factors discussed above—trade and local manufacture, loose Chinese rule over a mandala-patterned region, and bronze drum casting—are most fruitfully understood as elements of the same context rather than as belonging to quite different times and places. Certainly, this period needs more careful research; but in my view recent studies now provide a workable basis from which to challenge these two essentialized traditions that exclude and oppose each other. Such narrow views "tended to detach local society and indigenous populations from the state-making process, and permitted the history of military conquest" to dominate, as Pamela Grossley and her colleagues have nicely put it.<sup>49</sup> Yet, as their studies on Qing China show, even when the bureaucratic machine was at its most sophisticated, Chinese rule at the imperial margins was hardly a simple process of Sinicization, if by this we mean an irrevocable assimilation in a single direction.

#### The Slow Demise of Jiaozhi's Trading Preeminence

The new maritime silk road stimulated the emergence of a system of minor ports. From Hepu southward there were Jiaozhi, Cửu Chân, Nhật Nam, and Linyi, and between Linyi and Oc Eo there were more than ten principalities subordinated to a larger entity called Xitu.<sup>50</sup> China's loss of control of the overland silk road and shift to the maritime alternative thus played a direct role in forming new principalities along the Tongking Gulf. Linyi (the northern part of what would become Champa) would benefit most from this new development, with archaeological findings over the last two decades indicating that, until the fourth century, Chinese influence predominated in the area that would later become "Hinduized" Champa.<sup>51</sup> These significant findings turn our eyes northward and provide a more solid basis for our understanding of interactions in the Gulf of Tongking. In this new and perhaps most important round of first-millennium reorganization in the gulf region, a new competitor, known in the texts as Linyi, emerged from the former territory of Nhật Nam to challenge Jiaozhi's economic position. Its secondcentury rise was not accidental: Linyi was ideally located between Jiaozhi, the main port of south China, and Oc Eo, the major commercial center of the Nanhai trade through which passed most of the trade of the Nanhai and Roman Orient.<sup>52</sup> Many exotic items that Cham traders offered as "tribute" in China might have come from Oc Eo. To Linvi's west was the then mighty kingdom of Ailao, from which Cham traders could access copper, iron, tin, gold, silver, and rhinoceros horn.53 Linyi thus became the middleman between China and Oc Eo through which China was linked to India and the Roman Orient.

If Linyi challenged Jiaozhi's former dominance, it continued to play an important role in the Tongking Gulf until a combination of factors brought about its demise as a commercial powerhouse from the eighth century onward. The crisis that precipitated Jiaozhi's decline arose largely from external factors beyond its control, beginning in 728 when the Dayu Mountain road opened and made Guangzhou much more conveniently connected to the hinterland than Jiaozhi, meaning that goods from southern China reached Guangdong in greater abundance. <sup>54</sup> Another change, this time from the south, also badly affected Jiaozhi's trade. Throughout the eighth century the vast kingdom of Zhenla (or Chân Lạp in Vietnamese) was disintegrating into two states. Land Zhenla (modern northern Cambodia, southern Laos, and eastern Siam) had been one of Jiaozhi's most important trading partners; one of the key routes recorded in the Tang dynasty was from Jiaozhi to Land Zhenla, since many luxury items in demand in China, like ivory, rhinoceros horns, aromatic woods, and kingfisher feathers, had originated in the Indochinese hinterland.<sup>55</sup>

The Zhenla civil war must have impacted badly on Jiaozhi's trade to the southwest at the same time that it benefited Champa, whose commercially oriented string of mandala-patterned polities had taken over Oc Eo's role in a Nanhai trade that would increasingly come to depend on ports in modern central Vietnam.

But by this time, even Champa was no longer the prince of the Nanhai trade. As Wang Gungwu points out, in the ninth century the main routes taken by Persian and Arab middlemen in the Nanhai trade completely bypassed Zhenla. Disorder in Zhenla had helped wreck its sea trade, while the rise of these middlemen further eclipsed it as a commercial power.<sup>56</sup> The Persians preferred to sail directly to Guangzhou on the open sea, with catastrophic consequences for a series of small port kingdoms such as Panpan, Langyaxiu, Dandan, and Chitu. It seems very likely that Jiaozhi had commercial contacts with many or all of these small port kingdoms: Panpan, for example, was recorded in one Chinese history as forty days' sail from Jiaozhi.<sup>57</sup> Their disappearance would have further undermined Jiaozhi's trading position at the same time that powerful rivals were arising farther east, not only Guangzhou but also the independent kingdom of Fujian (Min), which began to attract foreign traders at this time. So keen was Min's founder to foster commerce that he had rocks obstructing the harbor removed.<sup>58</sup>

This was the start of a major reorganization in the South China Sea trade that saw Fujian's ports become predominant right after Vietnam became independent in the tenth century. Archaeological findings eloquently chart the slow demise of Jiaozhi from first-century queen of the Tongking Gulf to tenth-century nonentity. Appropriately, the evidence derives from the construction of local tombs: from the first to roughly the sixth centuries, tombs excavated in northern Vietnam were huge and skillfully decorated with ornate bricks; but from the Sui and Tang dynasties (seventh to tenth centuries) their size and decoration increasingly diminished until, during the Tang, they ended up as little more than cramped, plain spaces, a fraction of their former imposing size and beauty.<sup>59</sup>

# Chapter 3

# Han Period Glass Vessels in the Early Tongking Gulf Region

**Brigitte Borell** 

Archaeological investigations in Han dynasty tombs in Guangxi, China, have uncovered a small number of unusual glass vessels. The chronology of the tombs suggests that their initial production started around the middle or late Western Han period (206 B.C.E.–8 C.E.) and continued well into the Eastern Han period (25–220 C.E.). Although first thought to be imports, later chemical analyses of some of this glassware have disproved a Mediterranean or Western Asiatic origin. This chapter argues that these Han period glass vessels were in fact a local product, manufactured in the Tongking Gulf region of modern northern Vietnam and southern China.

The chapter begins by outlining the story of these glass vessels and analyzing the evidence for their local origin. It then goes on to consider how recent archaeological excavations are providing material evidence of the extensive trade relations, described so long ago in the *Hanshu*, that existed between Tongking Gulf ports and Southeast Asia and India.

## Glass Vessels in Ancient Guangxi

During the last fifty years many glass artifacts have been excavated from Western and Eastern Han period tombs in Guangxi Province, southern China. Most are beads—in their thousands—and other personal ornaments that are also common elsewhere in China from contexts dating to the Han; but some artifacts are glass vessels that differ in several aspects from those found in central China.<sup>1</sup> So far, they have been found almost exclusively in modern Guangxi and form a unique group consisting mainly of small deep cups and shallow bowls. So far sixteen of these glass vessels have been discovered (Figures 3.1–3.6) in eleven different tombs in Guangxi Province: six tombs contained a single glass vessel each, while in five cases two glass vessels were found in the same tomb. One example was found in Lào Cai Province in northern Vietnam (Figures 3.2: 4, 3.7, and 3.8), its archaeological context apparently likewise that of a burial.<sup>2</sup> Given that about two thousand Han graves have been excavated in Guangxi—more than eight hundred in the coastal region of Hepu and Xuwen from the Nanyue and Han periods (meaning the period from the late third century B.C.E. to the early third century C.E.)<sup>3</sup>—it is obvious that only a very small proportion of them contained a glass vessel, even allowing for poor preservation possibly making some glass unrecognizable during excavation.

So far, only preliminary data exist on the structure and inventory of the tombs containing glass vessels,<sup>4</sup> but we can cautiously conclude the following. The burials concerned are concentrated in Hepu on the coast and Guixian (recently renamed Guigang) further inland. The Hepu glass vessels were found in burials



Figure 3.1. Profile drawings of glass cups: 1, Wenchangta tomb 70; 2, Hongtouling tomb 34; 3, Qichelu, Guixian, tomb 5; 4, Musée Guimet, Paris; 5, Nandoucun tomb.



Figure 3.2. Profile drawings of shallow bowls and dish: 1, Muzhuling tomb 1; 2, Guixian, Qiche Road tomb 5; 3, Musée Guimet, Paris; 4, Lào Cai, Vietnam; 5, Nandoucun tomb.



Figure 3.3. From tomb 70 Wenchangta, Hepu. H 5.2 cm. D rim 7.4 cm.



Figure 3.4. From tomb 34 Hongtouling, Hepu. H 6.8 cm. D rim 9.2 cm.



Figure 3.5. From tomb at Nandoucun, Guixian. H 8.3 cm. D rim 6.4 cm.



Figure 3.6. From tomb 5, Qichelu, Guixian. H 3.4 cm. D rim 12.7 cm.



Figure 3.7. Fragmentary shallow bowl from Lào Cai, Vietnam, inside from above. D rim approx. 13.5 cm.



Figure 3.8. Fragmentary shallow bowl from Lào Cai, Vietnam.

dated to the later Western Han period and the Wang Mang interregnum (8–25 c.E.), while most of the Guixian ones appear in tombs dated to the Eastern Han. In Guangxi, glass artifacts, including these glass vessels, are generally not found in the tombs of the highest social élite but, interestingly, in those of a social status just below the top.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, what few data we have on the location of these glass vessels in the tombs that contain them suggest they were prized possessions and that the people involved attached a high value to them.<sup>6</sup>

The glass vessels in question come in four general shapes (see Figures 3.1-3.2). The majority are small deep cups from four to seven centimeters high, characteristically with horizontal ribs (usually three in number) around the middle. Given their size, and the absence of feet or handles, these vessels appear to have been used as drinking cups. A variant of this group contains two stemmed-foot cups. Shallow bowls, about three centimeters high and twelve wide, either with convex or flat bottoms, form the third basic group, while the fourth is a solitary flat-bottomed dish that functions as a saucer for the stemmed cup (Figures 3.1: 5, 3.2: 5, 3.5). Three more glass vessels belong with the Guangxi group: a standard cup and a shallow bowl, now in the Musée Guimet, Paris (Figures 3.1: 4, 3.2: 3) that parallel a similar set from an Eastern Han tomb in Guixian (Figures 3.1: 3, 3.2: 2, 3.6)<sup>7</sup>; and another cup in a private collection in San Francisco<sup>8</sup> that is very similar to the glass cup from a Western Han tomb at Hepu (Figures 3.1: 1, 3.3). Their colors all range through blues to greens, mainly translucent light blue or green to translucent deep blue, although a few vessels appear semiopaque blue or turquoise. The glassware is relatively thick-walled and was apparently formed in a mold. Probably

the hot and viscous glass was introduced into a mold and pressed, possibly in a process of rotary pressing.<sup>9</sup> Whether the horizontal striations, a characteristic feature of this group, result from such a rotary pressing or from a rotary polishing is still a question under debate and needs further investigation.

Previously, when only a few of these glass vessels were known, they were considered to be western imports, possibly from Rome.<sup>10</sup> However, no Mediterranean glassware exhibits a corresponding shape or any similar decorative element of three horizontal ribs around the maximum diameter. Initially, in 1983, the only available test (an X-ray fluorescence analysis, XRF) on one cup revealed the glass was an alkali glass with potash and not of the lead-barium composition typical of early Chinese glass that was probably produced in central China's Yangzi valley. This result seemed to support the importation hypothesis. In 1987, however, Shi Meiguang's first quantitative analyses by inductively coupled plasma emission spectrometry (ICP-ES) of two other cups clearly established the glass as a potash glass that used potassium as the fluxing agent. This chemical composition is different from both natron-based Mediterranean and Western Asiatic glasses. Another source was therefore posited for this glass. Since the distribution of Chinese artifacts made of potash glass seemed to be confined to southern China, some thought this glass might have arrived by maritime trade from somewhere in Southeast Asia or India.<sup>11</sup> However, Huang Qishan and Robert Brill, among others, argued that the potash glass might be a product of southern China.<sup>12</sup>

As our knowledge of this glassware has increased, thanks to the much larger number of vessels available, it is useful to reconsider its origin and the origin of the glass itself. The next two sections will evaluate the evidence now available to us by first comparing the appearance of these vessels to other excavated items from the same general period, and then by considering what the chemical composition of the glassware reveals of the raw materials involved.

# Shape and Style

In contrast to the shallow bowls and the dish, whose shapes are rather indistinct and universal, the cups and their decoration are much more significant. As already noted, no close parallels exist for the cup shapes among the established repertoires for glass vessels from other western areas. The number of glass vessels found in the same region logically suggests the possibility of a regional manufacture. There is no difficulty in finding parallels in the repertoire of Han ceramics for the shape of the dish or saucer of the set found in Nandoucun (Figures 3.1: 5, 3.2: 5, 3.5), as this is

a rather common shape, whereas the cups and shallow bowls do not seem to have an exact parallel among the vessel shapes in lacquer, ceramics, or bronze of the Han period. However, Han products in ceramic or bronze parallel some of their features. The decorative element of the horizontal ribs is found on countless bronze or pottery vessels of the Han period.<sup>13</sup> The cuplike element of the well-known bronze censers is also very similar to the shape of the standard cups. These censers—themselves a new shape developed in the Han period—usually also have a stemmed foot and a saucer similar to the Nandoucun set.<sup>14</sup> If the deep drinking cup shape seems a new creation at the time, probably used for drinking wine, it was developed along the general stylistic lines prevalent in the repertoire of vessels and containers of the period. All these detailed parallels provide good reason to assume that the glass vessels from Guangxi were manufactured locally.

Further evidence for local glassworking comes from the categories of objects made of potash glass; these are the characteristic Chinese belt hook and the so-called ear spools (*er dang*), which are ear plugs with a hole through their length to allow a string of beads to be threaded through it. Both are typical Chinese shapes, proving that, whatever its origin, potash glass was worked locally.<sup>15</sup>

## Chemical Composition of the Glass

The other important issue is that of primary glassmaking from raw materials.<sup>16</sup> We now have analyses of nine glass vessels, eight of which used technically advanced methods that give good quantitative values.<sup>17</sup> The analyses were made over more than two decades, in different laboratories, and with different analytical techniques. However, all the analyzed samples reveal a potash glass with potassium as the fluxing agent. Copper oxide is clearly the colorant responsible for the bluish-green color range whereas the dark blue was probably colored with cobalt. The values for the network-forming and network-stabilizing oxides of the glass are in very similar ranges. In particular, this potash glass is characterized by its low level of lime and a moderate level of alumina. The low magnesia level indicates a mineral source for the potassium that might have been saltpeter.<sup>18</sup>

This compositional family of glass is unknown in the Mediterranean area and Western Asia, and so far only known from finds in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. The general distinction between the compositional glass systems is mainly based on the different fluxing agents used, which are assumed to have been intentionally added following traditional recipes to lower the melting point of the quartz. Such glassmaking recipes usually changed only very slowly with respect to regions and periods.<sup>19</sup> Modern scientific investigation measures a large number of elements, most of them not intentionally introduced, allowing more refined differentiation. In a detailed study, James Lankton and Laure Dussubieux focused on this compositional family of potash glass and proposed that it be divided into subgroups based mainly on the varying levels of lime and alumina. The Guangxi glass vessels clearly fall into their third subgroup of a potash glass with a moderate level of alumina and a low level of lime.<sup>20</sup> This third subgroup has a distinctive distribution, with most samples coming from Southeast Asia, primarily from northern Vietnam and southern China, with additional finds from Korea and Japan.

Such potash glass was also apparently the predominant type of glass in Guangxi. The vast majority of a large number of recently analyzed glass artifacts—mainly beads—excavated from Han period burials in the Hepu area were made of potash glass.<sup>21</sup> But the analyses revealed another interesting fact: potash glass was not the only type of glass available in Guangxi at the time. The analyzed samples yielded four other compositional groups: the characteristic Chinese leadbarium glass, a lead glass, and two types of glass with mixed alkalis, soda, and potash. Analyses of glass artifacts from excavations in northern and central Vietnam seem to display a similar variety.<sup>22</sup> Most likely this is to be interpreted in terms of a complex network of interregional exchange.

As this potash glass, characterized by its low lime content, has a manifest distribution in the Tongking Gulf region from northern Vietnam to southern China, this strongly suggests a local primary production of such glass. And indeed, a clear reference to primary glassmaking as well as to the manufacture of bowls in this area appears in the *Baopuzi nei pian* (Inner Chapters of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity), compiled by the Daoist philosopher and alchemist Ge Hong toward the end of the Western Jin period (265–316): "The 'crystal' bowls, which are made in foreign countries, are in fact prepared by compounding five sorts of (mineral) ashes. Today, among the people of Jiao and Guang many obtained this method and make them."<sup>23</sup> The two regions "Jiao" and "Guang" are the thirdcentury administrative units of Jiaozhou, comprising three Han period commanderies in present-day Vietnam, and of Guangzhou, comprising four Han commanderies in present-day Guangxi and Guangdong.<sup>24</sup>

More evidence comes from a tomb that was excavated at Hengzhigang in Guangzhou in 1954 and dated to the middle Western Han period. Three moldmade bowls of dark blue glass were found, all very similar and approximately
hemispherical in shape with a horizontal groove on the exterior below the rim.<sup>25</sup> Their origin was much discussed and they were sometimes thought to be Mediterranean or Western Asian imports. Only an XRF analysis of one bowl is available indicating the presence of some level of potash. Though not fully conclusive, it would not exclude that the glass used was also a potash glass, with potassium as the fluxing agent. A fresh investigation of the chemical composition might verify this. However, it would be conceivable that these three glass bowls were also locally manufactured like the glass vessels from Guangxi. Their shape and appearance are clearly different from the Guangxi group, so they were certainly made in a different workshop, possibly one located in present-day Guangzhou, at that time called Panyu and also a major port. The recent find of another glass bowl is further evidence for a plurality of workshops involved in the production of potash glass vessels. It was found in a late Western Han tomb at Chenpeng in Henan.<sup>26</sup> It is made of clear glass and has likewise a hemispherical shape with two horizontal grooves below the rim. The chemical composition of its glass was analyzed by Cui Jianfeng using laser ablation ICP-AES revealing a potash glass of a basically similar chemical composition as that of the Guangxi glass vessels.

As mentioned above, the low level of magnesia in the Guangxi glass vessels suggests the possible source for its potash could have been saltpeter, the potassium nitrate KNO<sub>3</sub> that occurs as a soil efflorescence in Southeast Asia and China.<sup>27</sup> This recalls a passage written, about 300, by Wan Zhen, in his *Nanzhou yiwu zhi* (Record of Curiosities of the South):

Glass [*liuli*] is basically made from stone; if you want to make vessels you temper it with 'natural ash' [*zi ran hui*]. This substance has the appearance of yellow ash and is found on the coast of the southern sea. It may also be used to wash clothes; when you use it, it is not necessary to soak the garment, you just throw it in the water and it becomes as slippery as a mossy stone. Without this ash, the other ingredients [of glass] will not melt.<sup>28</sup>

So far, then, the reassessment of evidence repeatedly points to a regional origin for the primary glassmaking, as well as for the glassworking, the latter probably involved a number of manufacturing centers. It is very likely that one of the places where the Guangxi glass vessels were produced was around the important maritime port of Hepu, the starting point for what is now called the maritime silk road to the west.<sup>29</sup>

#### Glassware and Trade: Evidence from Arikamedu

Archaeological evidence is broadening our understanding of early maritime trade between the broader Tongking Gulf region and South Asia. Here we focus on some pieces of glassware found in the southern Indian port site of Arikamedu (see Map 2).

There is clear archaeological evidence for the flow of Mediterranean glass vessels along the maritime routes as far as China. A glass bowl of undoubtedly Mediterranean origin was found in a Han burial in the Yangzi Delta, at Ganquan, Hanjiang, in Jiangsu Province.<sup>30</sup> The burial is dated to 67 c.e. The ribbed bowl, excavated in fragments, is made of mosaic glass, composed of translucent dark purple and opaque white glass that imitates the marbled appearance of natural stone. Ribbed bowls were manufactured from the first century B.C.E. to the first century c.E., probably in the eastern Mediterranean and Italy; they are one of the most frequent shapes among Mediterranean glassware. They were mass-produced and widely exported to the northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire and beyond, and also in southern and eastern directions.

Archaeology has demonstrated that they were shipped from the Red Sea ports to the Somali coast and also to India. Fragments of at least nine or ten different Roman ribbed bowls have been found in India, most of them in Arikamedu.<sup>31</sup> This might perhaps be the ancient Podouke, which is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a handbook for merchants trading between Roman Egypt and the eastern African coast, southern Arabia, and India that dates from the first century C.E., and is also mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geographia* of the second century.<sup>32</sup> Arikamedu is on the southeastern coast of India, in modern Tamil Nadu. Another fragment of a ribbed bowl was found farther north along the east coast at Dharanikota, the capital of the Satavahanas kingdom, in modern Andhra Pradesh.<sup>33</sup> The Mediterranean ribbed bowls made their way as far as China, as is demonstrated by the find of the mosaic bowl from Hanjiang which most likely arrived there by seaborne trade.

Interestingly, the fragment of another glass vessel was also found in Arikamedu (Figure 3.9) in 1945, during Mortimer Wheeler's excavation. He classified it as Roman, like several other truly Roman glass fragments from Arikamedu, but the shape of this particular fragment has never been satisfactorily assigned to any known shapes of Mediterranean glass. It came to light in the Northern Sector—regarded as an area with port facilities and with mixed commercial and residential uses—where it was found in a layer with a suggested date between the end of the second century and the end of the first century B.C.E.<sup>34</sup> The fragment is described



Figure 3.9. Fragment of cup from Arikamedu.

as being made of "bluish green glass," "which is full of bubbles and striae" and decorated with three horizontal ribs.<sup>35</sup> The shape in the profile drawing made for the 1946 publication is strikingly similar to the cups from Guangxi, none of which were known at the time, while the estimated eight centimeter diameter is well within the range of those cups.

These similarities all suggest that this vessel fragment should be assigned to the Guangxi glass vessels group. The depth and context at which the Arikamedu fragment was uncovered correspond to a date (late second to late first century B.C.E.) that makes it contemporary to the earlier Guangxi glass vessels found in tombs of the late Western Han period. If we accept that Guangxi glass vessels were locally made, the Arikamedu fragment assumes a particular importance: apparently we have a glass vessel from southern China that traveled west as far as India.<sup>36</sup> New evidence comes from southern Thailand. Fragments of glass cups of the Guangxi group, similar in shape and appearance as well as in chemical composition, have recently been found at the eastern and western coast of the Kra Isthmus region.<sup>37</sup>

Furthermore, this glass cup is not the only Arikamedu artifact with a Chinese connection. At the site were found a number of spool-shaped objects with a hole through their length. They are alien to the typological body of Indian artifacts, but closely resemble typical Chinese ear spools (*er dang*).<sup>38</sup> One is made of an opaque red glass while all the others are made of carnelian, with at least two of them unfinished and thus indicating their manufacture at the site. Finished carnelian ear spools of this type have been found in Han tombs in Guangxi and Guangdong.<sup>39</sup>

Given the wide distribution into Southeast Asia of carnelian beads made using highly skilled Indian technologies,<sup>40</sup> it is very tempting to interpret the finds of unfinished ear spools from Arikamedu as artifacts custom made in India following the design of a Chinese client.

#### Trade and Maritime Routes in the Han Period

In addition to ongoing research focusing on the trans-Asiatic overland routes of the so-called silk road, recent studies have begun to investigate the maritime network of routes, for which the term "maritime silk road" was coined. For the period in which the glass vessels were being manufactured, both textual and archaeological evidence suggests a picture of lively seafaring activities along the coast and, later on, farther still.<sup>41</sup>

Commercial motives may well have played a role in the conquest of the south by the first emperor, Qin Shihuangdi, seeking access to the Tongking Gulf coast and its trade farther south. After his death in 210 B.C.E., one of the emperor's generals made himself king of the newly created realm of Nanyue with its capital in Panyu (modern Guangzhou). Its overseas connections are clearly revealed by finds in the tomb of king Zhao Mo. The kingdom of Nanyue, or Nam Việt, existed from 207 until 111, when Han Wudi (141–87) incorporated it into the Han Empire. This renewed imperial expansion south was apparently driven by a variety of motives, including diplomatic and commercial ones, and may possibly have followed a suggestion by Zhang Qian to find a southern connection to western countries via India.<sup>42</sup>

The coastal Yue people apparently had a long tradition and experience in boat building and seafaring, and archaeological evidence suggests that ancient Chinese boats were also well able to venture along the coast. Early texts described Qin Shihuangdi as using *louchuan* (storeyed ships), which Joseph Needham described as "war-boats with deck-castles," in his conquest of the south.<sup>43</sup> Han Wudi also had a fleet of *louchuan* and two admirals to command them. Although apparently originally developed for use on rivers, which were the waterways used in this military expedition, they were also able to sail the coastline. In modern Guangzhou (Panyu) a shipyard dated to the Qin or early Han period has been excavated. From its remains, it has been deduced that boats measuring up to 30 meters long and 8.4 meters wide could have been built there.<sup>44</sup>

Foreign merchant ships (*manyi guchuan*) are also explicitly mentioned in the *Hanshu*. Chapter 28 B contains an itinerary for reaching four distant countries in

the southern seas leaving from Xuwen and Hepu.<sup>45</sup> The voyage is described as including "a ten-day land journey sandwiched between months of sailing," which has "very reasonably . . . [been] interpreted as a traverse of the Isthmus of Kra"<sup>46</sup> in modern southern Thailand. The most distant country, Huangzhi, lay more than two months further on. Usually sought in southeast India, Huangzhi may possibly be Kanchipuram (in modern Tamil Nadu), located about one hundred kilometers north of Arikamedu, where the previously discussed glass vessel fragment was found.

The Hanshu chapter 28 B says:

From the barriers of Rinan [that is, from] Xuwen and Hepu, going by boat for about five months, there is the kingdom of Duyuan. Again going by boat for about four months, there is the kingdom of Yilumo. Again, going by boat for over twenty days, there is the kingdom of Shenli. Traveling on foot for over ten days, there is the kingdom of Fugandulu. From Fugandulu going by boat for over two months, there is the kingdom of Huangzhi. The customs of the people there resemble those of Zhuyai (Hainan Island). These countries . . . have all come with tribute since the time of the emperor Wu.

There are chief interpreters attached to the Yellow Gate (eunuchs serving in the palace) who go to sea with the men who answer their call [for a crew] to buy bright pearls, *biliuli* ("false beryl," thus possibly glass), rare stones and strange things, taking with them gold and various fine silks to offer in exchange. In all the countries they reach, the people supply them with food and female company.

The merchant ships of the barbarians (*manyi guchuan*) are used to transfer [the Chinese] to their destination. The barbarians also profit by the trade and by plundering and killing people. Moreover [Chinese travelers] must face the hazards of wind and wave, and may drown. Those who do not die take many years to go and come back.<sup>47</sup>

Although no precise identification of the five toponyms is possible, it seems likely that the land passage refers to the Kra Isthmus area, meaning Shenli would be on its east coast and Fugandulu on the west. On their dangerous voyages to foreign countries the Chinese traveled at least part of the way on foreign merchant ships that are explicitly mentioned (*manyi guchuan*). These were probably Southeast Asian ships. Furthermore, these maritime trading activities had been carried

out since the time of Emperor Wu (141–87 B.C.E.), which would mean since the late second century B.C.E.

The long-distance maritime commerce referred to in the written sources is increasingly being reflected in the archaeological record. The so-called Rouletted Ware from India provides one diagnostic example. Previously, this earthenware was thought to be a Mediterranean import, but now it is known to originate in India. Recent research dates its period of manufacture mainly to the third and second centuries B.C.E., probably ending in the first century.<sup>48</sup> Its distribution clearly indicates that Rouletted Ware was closely linked to the seaborne trade between India and Southeast Asia. So far, no finds of Rouletted Ware have been reported from the Tongking Gulf region, but they have been found as close as Trà Kiều and Gò Cam in modern central Vietnam. There is also increasing archaeological evidence of the presence of Chinese artifacts from the Han period at sites as far south as the Kra Isthmus in southern Thailand. For instance, on the east coast of the Kra Isthmus, at Khao Sam Kaeo in Chumphon province, recent excavations have discovered some Han-period bronze artifacts and a large number of fragments of Chinese ceramics dated to the Western Han period,49 mostly fragments of storage jars. Similar ceramics and other Han-period Chinese artifacts have also been found in Bang Kluay in Ranong Province, on the west coast of the Kra Isthmus area. Similar finds of Han ceramics are reported from the area further south, from Ta Chana on the east coast, and from Khuan Lukpad on the west coast, where an array of artifacts imported from India and possibly the Mediterranean were also discovered. At Khao Sam Kaeo and at some of the other sites, fragments of Indian ceramics were also found, among them those of Rouletted Ware.<sup>50</sup>

# Conclusion

The glass vessels found in the area of modern Guangxi on the Tongking Gulf were almost certainly manufactured locally in the Han period. Their shapes exhibit features that fit in well with the stylistic developments of the Han period, while the chemical composition of their glass supports written sources to suggest that primary glassmaking occurred in northern Vietnam and southern China. From the approximate dates of the tombs in which the glass vessels were found it seems production started at the earliest around the middle or late Western Han period and continued well into the Eastern Han period. A glass fragment very likely from one of these locally produced vessels has been unearthed as far away as southern India, along with typical Chinese glass and carnelian ear spools apparently made there and intended for Chinese customers. This archaeological evidence documents contact and trade along the maritime routes from southern China to Southeast Asia and India and the flow of prestige objects in both directions; it supports and augments textual descriptions of this commerce in the ancient *Hanshu*, as do recent excavations in Southeast Asia.

#### Chapter 4

# "The People in Between": The Li and Lao from the Han to the Sui

Michael Churchman

The lands that lie north of the Tongking Gulf, between the Pearl and Red Rivers, have been long divided up for historical analysis into areas that correspond to the modern national boundaries of China or Vietnam. As this region is now a borderland, intersected by a national boundary, its story has been overlooked as marginal in comparison with the great traditions of nation-centered history; so too the writing of its history, even for periods when no boundary is evident. To divide this area into two discrete subsets of Chinese and Vietnamese history in a pre-tenth-century context, when it formed part of the Jiaozhi Ocean shoreline, requires real intellectual contortions to find any clear boundary between what was "Chinese"<sup>1</sup> and what was "Vietnamese." To make the division complete, the modern concept of colonization is introduced retrospectively into the narrative.<sup>2</sup> The projection backward of the later distinction between China and Vietnam might legitimize the political structures that exist now, but it does so at the cost of ignoring or censoring the more distant past.

This chapter discusses the inhabitants of this country whom I shall call the Li-Lao. These people were probably mainly speakers of Kam-Tai languages, but they inhabited a far greater area than any of the Kam-Tai-speaking peoples in southern China today. In the third to sixth centuries (the Six Dynasties period) their territory extended right along the south coast of modern Guangdong and Guangxi, in a swath of land to the east of the Red River Plain and south and west of the Pearl River Delta. This meant that all overland contact between Guangzhou<sup>3</sup> and Jiaozhou at the time had to pass through Li-Lao territory. The activities of



Map 4. Upper Tongking Gulf from the Han to the Sui dynasties.

these people made direct overland contact between Chinese empires and the inhabitants of the Red River Delta a difficult enterprise at best, as several texts have recorded. The result was to deflect such contacts to the sea route, despite its own dangers.

From the numerous bronze drums found in the area, all of a similar style and dating from around the same period, it also appears that a powerful and wealthy class of leaders lived here, culturally beyond the reach of Chinese imperial administrations even though they inhabited an intermediate zone between two areas where those administrations were fairly strong. The position and strength of the Li-Lao over many centuries long limited the settlement of Sinitic-speaking peoples in areas south and west of modern Canton and at the same time reduced the effectiveness of direct Chinese imperial control over the Red River Delta area and the lands farther south. As this chapter will argue, the position of the Li-Lao in between, and their ability to hold their own against their imperial neighbors, would ultimately play a role of major historical consequence for another people in the Tongking Gulf region, their neighbors of the Red River plains area of modern Nietnam.

Before progressing to the analysis, however, an important point needs to be

made. When discussing the peoples recorded in ancient Chinese texts it is vital to be aware that Chinese writers applied names to neighboring peoples whom they perceived as different from themselves according to a long-standing tradition that often had more to do with Chinese geographical and literary preoccupations than with any sense of group consciousness on the part of the referents. A major problem that has plagued most Chinese scholarship (and some western Sinology) dealing with the names of ancient ethnic groups is the conviction that a name in a Chinese text necessarily refers to an objective reality outside the name itself.<sup>4</sup> This assumed correspondence between name and reality has produced much scholarship based on the geographical and temporal distribution of names and the recorded deeds of their bearers.<sup>5</sup> In many cases, however, the scattered geographical distribution of such names throughout areas that do not correspond with a single archaeological culture or any linguistic group gives the game away—these names are often little more than localized Chinese terms for "barbarian."

The Chinese chroniclers who recorded these names were often influenced by older literary models and were not particularly interested in, or knowledgeable about, distinctions between different peoples. For example, the tenth-century Taiping huanyu ji (Universal Geography of the Taiping Era) records Yi and Man scattered throughout the Lingnan area (modern Guangdong, Guangxi, and northern Vietnam); but these names derived from earlier labels for peoples who had lived adjacent to the Zhou kingdom almost two millennia before and thus tell us nothing more than that the literate chronicler perceived the referents as uncivilized. Similarly, descriptions of local customs also owed a lot to individual authors' readings in earlier literary works: in many cases they may have been chengvu (clichés appropriate for literary description) rather than firsthand observations of behavior.<sup>6</sup> Given all these considerations, one should be cautious not only about accepting old Chinese group names at face value, but also about unqualified historical use of them to label ancient human collectives. Ascribing some sort of past ethnic group identity to the people called Li and Lao is only possible if one ignores the diversity in the archaeological cultures where their names are found.

#### What Do Li and Lao Mean?

Bearing this in mind, what can be said about these "people in between," referred to in Chinese texts mostly as Li or Lao, or sometimes as Wuhu? The term "Lao" was mainly used for people who lived in modern Guizhou and Sichuan before it was applied to people in the Pearl River drainage area. Its farthest extension was east into the southern end of modern Fujian and southwest into the mountains west of the Red River Delta.<sup>7</sup> It probably therefore began as a term for "barbarians" who lived in the more mountainous areas to the north before it was applied to the people in the lower hill country south of the Pearl River.<sup>8</sup> The original meaning of "Li"is obscure. As a word, its earliest meaning was "vulgar" or "bumpkin"; as an ethnonym, it seems to have first been recorded in reference to a group of people living outside the Han Empire near Jiuzhen (now the high country of northern central Vietnam),<sup>9</sup> a great distance from the Pearl River drainage area. During the Six Dynasties the ethnonym was never used for people who lived farther east than modern Canton. Instead, it was mainly found in provinces along the mid-Pearl River, between the confluence of the Left Hand and Right Hand Rivers and all the way down to Canton. Later the name may have been confused with that of the "Li" of Hainan, even though the words were originally pronounced differently.<sup>10</sup> "Wuhu" is the most geographically specific term of all; it referred mainly to the people in the area around modern Nanning and Heng County, but occasionally farther to the west in territory closer to Jiaozhou.11

In Chinese scholarship it is generally agreed that the terms Yi and Man mean "barbarian," but that Li, Lao, and Wuhu refer to ethnic groupings. Whether these last three names actually reflect any real differences or similarities among those to whom they are applied is an important but neglected question. To get a clearer picture of the meaning of ethnonyms in ancient texts, reliance on written sources is insufficient, as historical linguistics and the archaeological record often contradict them. The wide and scattered distribution of the names Li and Lao is a case in point, suggesting the terms did not always refer to discrete ethnic groups or even to people who spoke languages belonging to the same family.<sup>12</sup> For example, Li were first recorded in Jiuzhen, and subsequently in the country south of the Pearl River and in coastal districts west of Canton. These two districts were most likely inhabited by speakers of Austro-Asiatic and Kam-Tai languages respectively; these two language families are so unlike that a relationship between them has yet to be proven conclusively.<sup>13</sup>

Notwithstanding this need for caution, I shall now use the name "Li-Lao" as a convenient shorthand to refer to all Kam-Tai-speaking peoples between the south bank of the Pearl River and the sea (including the Wuhu), and "Li-Lao country" to refer to the area in which they lived. "Wuhu" passed out of general use by the third century, and although "Man" and "Yi" were commonly used, they are general terms with no specific connection to the Pearl River drainage area.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it should be noted that there were also people recorded as Li and Lao north of the Pearl River who are not discussed in this study.

#### Li-Lao on the South Bank

Plotting the five terms Man, Yi, Li, Lao, and Wuhu on a map based on records of their names in Tang and Song sources<sup>15</sup> shows that the Li-Lao in those times still occupied all the provinces along the coast and were especially concentrated along the Pearl River. They are absent from a small number of provinces to the east of Hepu between the river and the sea.<sup>16</sup> This is unusual because these places were farthest from large watercourses and the coast and are in an area of high concentration of bronze drum finds. It appears either that these provinces were still isolated enough that their inhabitants did not warrant mention or that by the late Tang they were sufficiently close in language and customs for Chinese chroniclers not to have regarded them as different from themselves.

In the first and second centuries B.C.E., the people of the newly conquered territories in the southwest were referred to vaguely as the Luoyue and Xi'ou, and it was not until the Later Han that the geographically specific term "Wuhu" appears for people who lived between Canton and the Red River Plain.

At the time this name appeared the balance of power in the Li-Lao country seems to have initially favored the imperial administration. No insurrections had occurred there for more than a century, and in 170 c.e. the surrender of ten thousand Wuhu enabled the local commandery to set up seven counties in their territory. Eight years later, however, Wuhu from Jiaozhi and Hepu commanderies sparked a four-year rebellion involving tens of thousands of people in all the commanderies to their south and west.<sup>17</sup> By the late Han, Li-Lao people were already a force to be reckoned with, and their intractability is recorded more frequently in Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties literature. The earliest records showing the danger they posed to overland travel between Guangzhou and Jiaozhou are from the third century:

On the frontier of Jiaozhou and Guangzhou there are people called Wuhu [Wuhu is a place name, notes the text], their eastern boundary lies to the south of Guangzhou and to the north of Jiaozhou. They always come out on the road waiting for travelers from the two provinces, when a lone long distance traveler turns up they always attack him, having obtained their prize, they then eat him; they are not greedy for his wares.<sup>18</sup>

Now although it is said that Jiaozhou is more or less settled, there are still the incorrigible bandits of the area around the boundaries of Nanhai, Cangwu, Yulin, and Zhuguan commanderies who are still not under control.<sup>19</sup>

A letter from the inspector of Jiaozhou, Tao Huang, to Emperor Wen (r. 265–90) of the Jin provides quite specific information about the peoples beyond effective imperial control.

On the south bank of Guangzhou following around an area of six thousand li there are more than fifty thousand households who will not submit to authority, as well as about ten thousand households in Guilin who are uncontrollable; as for those who follow official orders, there are over five thousand families.<sup>20</sup>

A description from the Liu-Song era (420–79) records the danger of the Li-Lao as both a contemporary and a longer term problem:

The mountains of Guangzhou are lined with Li and Lao, there are many different kinds and they are very numerous. Now and in the past they have constantly committed violent attacks and generations have suffered from them.<sup>21</sup>

Two descriptions from the Qi era (479–502) continue the theme:

Guangzhou is controlled from Nanhai, control of the coasts and corners of the sea is given to Jiao, although there are few families of civilians *(min)* there are numerous Li and Lao scattered about. They all live in towers in mountainous and dangerous places and are unwilling to submit to authority. . . . A protectorate was established especially for the purpose of attacking them.<sup>22</sup>

Yuezhou is controlled from Linzhang Commandery. Originally it formed the northern frontier area of Hepu. Mobs of Li and Lao live there, lurking in the crags and blocked-off places. They commit banditry and for the most part are not entered in the population registers as citizens. . . . In the second year of Yuanhui (474) [Chen] Boshao was made inspector and for the first time a province [Yuezhou] was established to control it. He cut through the mountains to make a gate for the city, to overawe the Li and Lao.<sup>23</sup>

The six texts above, covering about three hundred years, show there were large numbers of people in the Li-Lao country who remained well beyond the administrative reach of the various Chinese empires. During the same period in the Red River Delta, administration was carried out either by centrally appointed officials or by local strongmen of mixed Sinitic and local ancestry, acting sometimes as de facto independent rulers and sometimes as obedient imperial officials.<sup>24</sup> Under the Han the area that is now northern Vietnam was a major commercial center. Some Sinitic-speakers from the north<sup>25</sup> had settled there, and Sinitic learning and social customs had penetrated there far earlier than in the Li-Lao country of modern Guangxi. Historical texts record that the administrators Xi Guang in Jiaozhi and Ren Yan in Jiuzhen at the time of Han emperor Guangwu (25-56 c.E.) founded schools and introduced Sinitic dress and marriage customs.<sup>26</sup> The existence of educated individuals, either natives or residents, was also recorded there. This was especially the case during the rule of Shi Xie in the late Han and early Wu. In this early period, from the mid-Han through the Three Kingdoms, people from north China would flee to the Red River Delta and the area around modern Canton in times of trouble.<sup>27</sup> No records exist of such flights into Li-Lao country, nor were there any imperial administrative centers there to flee to.

#### Sea and Land Routes to Jiaozhou

Overland communications north from the Red River Delta before the Tang are obscure. Even the *Houhanshu* (History of the Later Han) does not say Ma Yuan's expedition of 41 c.e. to fight the Zheng (Trung) sisters went by land, and his biography simply states that his army "arrived at Hepu" and cut a road along the coast from there.<sup>28</sup> Clues to his using the overland route are found elsewhere. One reference has him "fixing the roads and bridges," "opening blocked valleys," and leading soldiers from Changsha, Guiyang, Lingling, and Cangwu.<sup>29</sup> From this last area in particular an overland expedition to Hepu would be more likely than naval transport from Canton. The most famous land route was that through the Ghost Gate Pass. It followed the modern Beiliu tributary of the Pearl River near to its source southwestward from Cangwu, and then through the pass to the source of the modern Nanliu to the sea at Hepu. The tradition of Ma Yuan using this route first appears in the *Jiu Tangshu* (Old Tang History), and from this record at least it seems the road was already considered an ancient route by Tang times.<sup>30</sup>

The Ghost Gate Pass route took travelers straight through the heart of Li-Lao country. Chinese texts suggest that travelers considered it a dangerous place, with firsthand knowledge of the area and its people difficult to come by. What did make it to the ears of writers were exaggerations and travelers' tales that had already

passed through several mouths beforehand. Thus the Wuhu people were said to eat their first child at birth and to consider human palms and feet as delicacies.<sup>31</sup> To bury a dead relative, the Li people had to fend off huge swarms of carnivorous beetles that ate human corpses.<sup>32</sup> Their poisoned arrows made the flesh rot off the bones of those they wounded.<sup>33</sup> One reference to the dangers of the Li-Lao land route is more believable because it is a record of a named individual, Zhang Rong, whom Emperor Xiaowu of the Liu-Song (r. 454–65) appointed as magistrate of Fengxi in the Red River Delta. Traveling to his post Zhang was captured by the local Lao:

The terrain of Guang [-zhou] and Yue [-zhou] is inaccessible and steep. The Lao bandits caught Rong and were about to kill and eat him, but Rong's spirit and countenance remained firm, and he then sang them a Luosheng chant. The bandits marveled at this and did not harm him. He then sailed over the sea to Jiaozhou, composing the "Sea Rhapsody" on the way.<sup>34</sup>

This text specifies Zhang Rong was caught on the boundary between Guangzhou and Yuezhou, which cut straight through the Li-Lao country. The text is less clear about the route he took after his release, but the length and complexity of the "Sea Rhapsody" subsequently quoted implies that his sea journey was protracted, so after his escape he probably turned back to sail from Canton instead. This text confirms that the people of the Li-Lao country posed very real dangers to anyone daring to pass through their territory, with individual travelers or small groups particularly at risk, as armies apparently passed in and out of the Red River Delta area without much harassment from the locals.<sup>35</sup>

#### Bronze Drums as a Window on Li-Lao Society

If historical records show the Li-Lao as a persistent nuisance for Chinese imperial power, textual and archaeological records also reveal a flourishing bronze drum culture in the Li-Lao country at about the same period. This reflects two things: the economic power of these people, and the continued attraction of local traditions of leadership unconnected to any prestige derived from Chinese imperial administrative systems.

Although bronze drum casting originated in Dian (now central Yunnan), close to the headwaters of both the Red and Pearl Rivers, by the end of the Han drums were no longer being produced there. Instead, the art had spread downriver to the Red River Delta and to modern northern Guangxi. The Li-Lao country typically produced Heger type II drums that differed in design from the earlier type I drums of Yunnan and Vietnam. Chinese scholars usually treat the production of type II drums as a direct descendent of the type I drums found in Yunnan, but Yoshikai Masato has convincingly argued for the transmission of drums and drum-casting techniques from the lower Red River into the Li-Lao country, rather than via direct transmission from Dian. His key argument is the innovation of incorporating decoration into the drum molds before casting, rather than persisting with the old practice of incising decorations on to finished drums.<sup>36</sup> Cliff paintings at Huashan along the banks of the Left Hand River, which depict more than 250 drums, seem to support Yoshikai's argument.<sup>37</sup> The source of the Left Hand River provides an easy overland route from the Red River plain down to the Li-Lao country. Many type I drums have been found along the north bank of the Left Hand River,<sup>38</sup> and some have argued that the cliff paintings also portray type I-style drums.<sup>39</sup> The relative lack of drum finds along the Right Hand River, which would be surprising had drum casting come directly to the Li-Lao from Dian, also suggests that the Li-Lao drum traditions originated in the Red River plain rather than in Dian, which is the preferred explanation in Chinese academic works.

Research has suggested drum casting probably began in the Li-Lao country during the Han.<sup>40</sup> Events of the Later Han in particular, especially the Zheng (Trung) Sisters' rebellion in 40 c.e., support the transmission of drums from the Red River Plain at that time. Although this rebellion began in the Red River Delta area, it also attracted the native peoples (the Chinese text calls them all "Man") of Jiuzhen, Rinan, and, importantly, Hepu.<sup>41</sup> That the Man of Hepu became involved in this rebellion indicates strong connections between local leaders in the Red River Delta and in Hepu outside the world of imperially appointed officials and administrative units. It suggests something more similar to a mandala state model centered on a "man of prowess" (in this case two "women of prowess"). The gravitational pull of strong leadership in the Red River Delta very probably made the drums a status symbol in the eyes of surrounding peoples and impelled local leaders along the Left Hand River to produce drums as symbols of their own chiefly authority. It is likely that a similar process again brought the drums northward to the Li-Lao country, where economic circumstances, including abundant copper supplies, allowed production to flourish again. By the time drum production passed south of the Left Hand River into the Li-Lao country, the drum designs had significantly altered to become the style known as Heger type II. These drums have mainly been found to the south and west of the Pearl River. Production of Heger type II drums in the Li-Lao country outlasted the production of Đông Sơn drums in the Red River Delta by at least four hundred years, although production of type II drums continued in the mountains southeast of the Red River Delta.

Bronze drums can illuminate aspects of Li-Lao society and economy. The best description of the cultural and social significance of these drums to the Li-Lao comes from the *Guangzhouji* (Records of Guangzhou), a work written during the Jin period (265–420).

The Li and Lao value bronze drums highly, and consider only those which are more than a *zhang* [over two meters] wide as especially unusual. When first completed they are hung up in the courtyards and on an appointed morning they set out wines and invite those of the same tribe. Guests crowd the gates, and the sons and daughters of the rich and prestigious people among the guests take large prongs made of gold and silver and, after beating on the drums with them, they then leave them for the owners of the drums. They call them "bronze drum prongs." It is their custom to like battle and they often make deadly enemies. When they wish to go to war against one another, they beat these drums to assemble their forces, which arrive like the gathering of clouds; those in possession of these drums are extremely powerful and heroic.<sup>42</sup>

Several things are clear from this: drum owners were very rich and influential within their own societies; their battles involved a comparatively large number of fighters; and the warfare they carried out among themselves had little to do with the machinations of imperial administrations. The concentration of bronze drum finds in Li-Lao country indicates a continuing tradition of local leadership quite distinct from the system of imperially appointed officials in the surrounding areas (including the Red River Delta area). It also reflects a level of wealth that could provide local rulers with these large and hard-to-produce luxury items and local youth with gold and silver sticks with which to beat them. Written records indicate where the Li-Lao rulers obtained their material wealth. In the early Song, Hengzhou and Guizhou in the center of the Li-Lao country were notable for producing gold and silver and gold respectively, and Ningpu (modern Heng County) was known as the "Golden City" during the Jin.<sup>43</sup>

At the Tongking Gulf end of Li-Lao country, too, there were areas rich in luxury goods such as pearls, coral, tropical fruit, feathers, aromatics, and so on, and some evidence suggests that the Li-Lao collected and traded such goods. For instance, one of the most detailed records about the Wuhu reveals their involvement in collecting kingfisher feathers and pearls.<sup>44</sup> The pearl fisheries of Hepu were very famous, and the locals could procure pearls for themselves even when officially forbidden from doing so.<sup>45</sup> In 89 c.e. a pearl from Yulin Commandery was found that was three inches around, and in 103 the surrendered folk of Yulin found a pearl five inches around.<sup>46</sup> Huazhou and Baizhou, both located to the east of Hepu, were also noted for their pearls.<sup>47</sup> Baizhou reportedly had a stream called "Green Pearl's Well," where an official of the Liang had gathered three barrels of pearls.<sup>48</sup> Coral was also a prized product of the Gulf of Tongking and was dredged up with iron nets.<sup>49</sup> There was even a coral market at Yulin where seafarers could sell their catch.<sup>50</sup> Finally, an isolated record exists from the Three Kingdoms period of locals growing lychees (a tropical fruit much sought after in the north) in the mountains of Gaoyao County in Cangwu.<sup>51</sup>

If money was to be made by trading in luxury items from the Li-Lao country, then it is unlikely that profits were confined to outsiders. The material wealth of the Li-Lao chieftains in the areas of greatest drum concentration therefore probably rested both on the abundance of copper in the Beiliu area and on trading in luxury goods. Whatever the source of their wealth may have been, the records show that Li-Lao who lived within the boundaries of Guangzhou in the late fourth century could obtain copper cash in quantities large enough not to consider it a rarity. In 378, we find an imperial proclamation complaining:

Money is the precious treasure of the land, so when mean folk desirous of profit constantly melt it down and destroy it, officials ought to do something about it. The Yi people of Guangzhou esteem bronze drums highly as a great treasure, but Guangzhou produces no copper, so I have heard that under these circumstances officials and private merchants are greedy and weigh coins incorrectly in order to take them to Guangzhou and sell them to the Yi people, who then melt them down to make drums. It should be strictly prohibited and those who receive them will be punished.<sup>52</sup>

"Yi people of Guangzhou" here undoubtedly refers to the Li-Lao south of the Pearl River west of Canton, as this was the only area in Guangzhou where drums were produced. The statement "Guangzhou produces no copper" indicates the depth of official ignorance about the lands between Jiaozhou and Guangzhou, showing that the copper-rich bronze-producing heartland of Li-Lao country was beyond the limits of Jin knowledge and control.<sup>53</sup>

The desire of the Yi of Guangzhou to obtain copper cash to make bronze drums is an interesting phenomenon. Their leaders seem to have been outside the

imperial cash economy and more interested in the status and prestige derived from owning a bronze drum. This social consideration pulled in the opposite direction from the world of bureaucratic administration and book learning associated with the Sinitic empires. Appealing to local sensibilities and local tastes, drums offered desirable alternative symbols of authority to the administrative titles bestowed by the empires. Their popularity, from the Han to the Sui in both the Li-Lao country and its eastern periphery where copper was difficult to obtain, suggests to me that the non-Sinitic people on the periphery of the Li-Lao country did not look toward cities like Canton or populations of Sinitic speakers for models of social organization, but gravitated instead to the drum-owning chiefs of the Li-Lao heartland, just as the native people of the Hepu area had done several centuries earlier when they joined the Zheng Sisters' insurrection. In contrast, by the late third century the ruling classes of the Red River Delta were contented with the legitimacy conferred by imperial recognition of them as administrators and, to judge by the lack of drum finds in the central Red River area, they had probably begun to see bronze drum ownership as a barbaric custom.<sup>54</sup> If this was so, it raises an interesting historical question about Jiaozhou's tendency toward independence, as identified by modern historians and certain ancient records.

Keith Taylor observed that Jiaozhou "possessed a political momentum of its own, independent from the empire," adding that "when the empire was in deepest trouble the south prospered most."55 These remarks form part of a larger argument in which Taylor attributed these observations to a discernible difference between "Chinese" and "Vietnamese." For him, stability in the "Vietnamese" area could only occur under local rulers, while a strong "China" would only cause unrest. But what Taylor perceived as the cause (a tradition of independent local rulers) and effect (a different political momentum that tended to isolate Jiaozhou from the rest of the Chinese empires), I see in reverse. It was only because of their actual degree of isolation from the rest of the empire that local rulers could consolidate their positions. The hazardous sea route was dictated by monsoon cycles and the main overland transport route to the Red River Delta during the Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties periods passed straight through the heart of the most concentrated area of bronze drum production and through the territory of an independent and warlike people. That drum producing society consequently afforded the Red River Delta a genuine degree of isolation from the rest of the empire, as is reflected in comments about the rebelliousness of Jiaozhou from the time of the Southern Qi (497-502):

Jiaozhou is a far distant borderland, in fact it ought to be classed as the wild circuit, and it relies on this distance to be the last to submit. This is indeed a constant occurrence.<sup>56</sup>

Jiaozhou is a completely isolated island that controls the outer lands and as a consequence of this it frequently relies on its strategic position not to submit to authority.<sup>57</sup>

This isolation is also reflected in the relatively small immigration of Siniticspeaking people into the Red River Delta area after the Three Kingdoms period and in the decline in the registered population there, in contrast to regions east of the Li-Lao country whose populations were swollen by immigrants fleeing trouble in the north.<sup>58</sup> Localized families of Sinitic ancestry such as the Du ( $D\tilde{0}$ ) and the Li (Lý) were able to take advantage of this isolation to rule the area semi-independently from the rest of the Chinese empires. The culmination of this trend during the Six Dynasties period was the uprising of Li Bi (Lý Bôn) in the mid-sixth century.

## The End of the Li-Lao

For the most part, the empires of the Six Dynasties period avoided large-scale military campaigns against the Li-Lao. Under the Jin and Liu-Song, they were largely left alone. Records of frequent sorties against them become more common during the Chen and Liang empires, when various strategies emerged to gain control of them. One record from the Jin shows the Li-Lao were trading with people under imperial control and depended on it for access to weapons (probably iron). In the late third century, the Jin history, *Jinshu*, records:

Teng Xiu governor of Guangzhou attacked the "southern bandits" [most likely another name for the Li-Lao] many times but was unable to control them, [Tao] Huang advised: "Those on the south bank look to us for salt and iron. If we cut off our trade with them they will melt down their weapons to make farming tools; if we do that for two years then we can wipe them out in one battle." By following this plan, Xiu was victorious.<sup>59</sup>

Another strategy for controlling the Li-Lao was to absorb them into the administrative system by deputing authority to their rulers. In the Daming reign period (457–65), the "great leader" Chen Tan of Hepu submitted to imperial authority and was appointed Dragon Galloping General. In 460 he requested an army so he could attack those who had not yet submitted and was rewarded for his loyalty to the Liu-Song with the additional post of governor of Gaoxing.<sup>60</sup> Although the text does not identify him as Li or Lao, Tan's former title, "great leader" (*da shuai*), belongs to a local ruler rather than an appointed official. The Tang also practiced this style of control in the Hepu area, hoping to open up traffic on the Ghost Gate Pass road.<sup>61</sup>

Shen Jungao, who was appointed to the inspectorate of Guangzhou in 576, was, according to his biography, a literary official with no military ability. He chose to deal with the Li and Lao peacefully. His biography notes that they had been warring with each other for generations, but by his determined efforts at peacemaking he had managed to achieve harmony among them. Unfortunately he died in office after only two years in the post.<sup>62</sup> Shen Jungao's manner of dealing with the Li-Lao seems to have been atypical. The most commonly recorded strategy for controlling them was by making military raids on recalcitrant Li-Lao areas. Many accounts remain of these raids, which began during the Liu-Song and were most numerous under the short-lived Liang and Chen dynasties (502–89).

Under the Liu-Song, Liang, Qi, and Chen dynasties there were sorties against the Li and Lao from Jinkang,<sup>63</sup> Yuezhou,<sup>64</sup> Yulin,<sup>65</sup> Xinzhou,<sup>66</sup> and Panyu.<sup>67</sup> One of the more interesting records, which relates back to the drum culture, is from the Liang, when a certain Ouyang Wei went south with Lan Qin from Hengzhou (now in Hunan) to attack the "Yi and Lao." He captured Chen Wenche alive, acquiring at the same time "an uncountable number of things" among which was a huge bronze drum, "the like of which had not been seen for generations," which he presented to the emperor as tribute.<sup>68</sup> The size of this bronze drum indicates a Heger type II drum rather than a smaller type I drum, and locates the expedition as against the Li-Lao of the south bank. Some of the sorties appear to have been part of regular military campaigns, for instance, near the end of the reign of Emperor Xuan of the Chen (r. 569–83), it was recorded that Ma Jing, the inspector of Guangzhou, and his well-trained soldiers would go deep into the Li grottoes every year and that they were repeatedly victorious in these expeditions.<sup>69</sup>

No record survives of any great decisive victory over the Li-Lao by any of the Six Dynasties empires. Their defeat seems to have resulted from small piecemeal engagements. A significant but temporary advance into their territory apparently followed the marriage of a local leader from Gaoliang Commandery, Lady Xian, to its governor, after which she supported the Chen and the Sui.<sup>70</sup> However, her descendants, and others in the Li-Lao country, let this friendship with imperial Tang authority lapse. Edward Hetzel Schafer, who made a broad survey of insurrections throughout the Tang, noted the general trend of events as follows:

After the first T'ang settlement of the south early in the seventh century, native resistance was concentrated in the western administrations of Jung and Yung, especially in the coastal counties between Canton and Hanoi. The Fêng and Ning tribes were always prominent in this resistance, which always threatened the main line of communications through Nam Việt.<sup>71</sup>

So the early Tang picture seems much the same as that during the Six Dynasties. However, Schafer's survey shows that the trend of insurrections in Lingnan moved gradually away from the old Li-Lao area to the lands to the north and west, around the Left Hand and Right Hand Rivers, and that the situation was further complicated by the rise of a powerful Nanzhao in the west. The casting of bronze drums in the Li-Lao country did not outlast the Tang,<sup>72</sup> although it did spread to other peoples in areas to the north. If the people of the Li-Lao country remained unconquered at this time, why did the bronze drum culture come to an end? The reason here is probably very similar to what occurred in the Red River Delta-the ruling classes of the time no longer regarded bronze drums as prestigious status symbols and preferred the regalia of imperial authority. Furthermore, the leaders of the Feng and Ning tribes mentioned by Schafer were representatives of a new ruling group, with a different origin from the unnamed Li-Lao chieftains of earlier years. Like the Li and Du families of the Red River Delta, they were powerful local families of mixed Sinitic and indigenous ancestry.73 Despite their involvement in insurrections and local power struggles, their way of life was now probably closer to that of imperial officials than to the earlier drum-owning native rulers.

# Concluding Reflections: The Li-Lao in National and Regional History

The story of the Li-Lao peoples challenges the dominant nationalist interpretations of the past in Vietnam and China. As shown above, unraveling their story during the Six Dynasties reveals trends that run counter to both the Vietnamese eulogizing of the period from the Han to the Tang as a repeated struggle to restore national independence, and the modern Chinese nationalist mythology that lauds the expansion of Chinese culture by peaceful mixing and interaction between ethnic groups. If we compare the "Chinese" Li-Lao country of the Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties with the contemporaneous "Vietnamese" Red River Plain, the recorded history of anti-imperial resistance and rebellion is the precise opposite of what national histories expound. For most of the millennium preceding independence in the tenth century C.E., the local rulers of the Red River Delta area were, for the most part, engaged with and accommodating toward the successive administrations from the north. In contrast, large areas of the Li-Lao country were ungovernable from the outside, and the final submission of people in modern southern and eastern Guangxi was only achieved under the Tang. Even then administration relied heavily on the practice of "halter and bridle"—deputation of authority to local chieftains—rather than on centrally appointed officials. The successive military campaigns against the Li and Lao also underline the ideological content of modern assertions about peaceful interethnic mixing among past groups in China: it took bloodshed over many years to incorporate the Li and Lao into the imperial administrative system.

No simple lines can be drawn in the Tongking Gulf region at this time that make sense in terms of contemporary classificatory categories like East or Southeast Asia, or in regard to linear progressions of "Sinification," or the supposed continuity of some prenational "Vietnamese" national consciousness. Instead, the story of the Li-Lao exemplifies the way the history of the region is one of interacting peoples and powers whose effects on each other could, often unintentionally, profoundly influence the future direction of neighboring groups, and of the way the expanding or contracting power of distant imperial centers could overlap and affect regional or localized interactions. If anything, the activities of the Li and Lao confirm Denys Lombard's argument that Southeast Asia cannot be considered in isolation from South China and vice versa, especially not at this early time.<sup>74</sup>

The Li-Lao story takes place within the overall framework of the contraction of Sinitic political and military power in the territories conquered by the Han Empire in the southwest, namely the Jiaozhi Ocean rim, from modern Yunnan to Guangxi, and the northern half of Vietnam. The Han Empire had seized large swathes of this region comparatively quickly, but later empires had trouble keeping hold of them. As successor empires faded here, new configurations of power sprouted, including large and long-lasting structures like Nanzhao and Dali in modern Yunnan, and Linyi and Champa in what is now central Vietnam, plus other smaller areas that failed to consolidate into any large polity but still remained beyond effective imperial control. Even though the Han had taken the Red and Pearl River regions with ease, later empires struggled even to supervise areas near Canton effectively. Part of the problem was that Sinitic-speaking settlers were comparatively few in the south, and most were concentrated in key centers such as Nanhai, Hepu, and Jiaozhi. Outside these areas, the overcommitted Later Han was forced to abandon smaller and more remote outposts like Hainan and the upper Left Hand River course.

Economically important areas such as Hepu and Jiaozhi were accessible by sea, and their luxury trade made controlling them worth the effort. As Li Tana has shown in Chapter 2, for much of this time Jiaozhi was the largest, wealthiest, and most sophisticated imperial holding in southern China. But the existence of the Li-Lao country, with its difficult terrain, warlike traditions, and an economic base able to support long-term independence, isolated Jiaozhi from the rest of the territory of the post-Han empires, turning it into a distant administrative island.<sup>75</sup>

By filtering direct and regular overland contact between the rich and populous Red River Delta and the Six Dynasties empires for centuries, the Li-Lao were to become, in effect, the unwitting midwives of later Vietnamese independence. By restricting normal imperial contact to large-scale armies or what was possible by sea, the intransigence of the Li-Lao facilitated the birth and development of a trend toward self-rule within the local Jiaozhi leadership which would ultimately result in the successful creation of a separate Việt kingdom in the tenth century. This page intentionally left blank

# PART II

The Jiaozhi Ocean and Beyond (Tenth to Nineteenth Centuries) This page intentionally left blank

## Chapter 5

"Slipping Through Holes": The Late Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Sino-Vietnamese Coastal Frontier as a Subaltern Trade Network

James A. Anderson

The tenth century was a period of significant new beginnings in the Tongking Gulf region. Political upheaval and the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907) farther north enabled the Jiaozhi elite under Đinh Bộ Lĩnh (923-79) to strike out on their own account and establish an independent kingdom, Đại Cồ Việt (968-1054). A few years prior to the appearance of the new Vietnamese kingdom, a new dynasty was also emerging in China, the Song (960–1279). The distant roots of the modern Vietnamese and Chinese political configurations that now control the gulf region thus go back to this eventful era. If Roman domination had allowed Roman rulers to regard the ancient Mediterranean as their own sea, the Tongking Gulf by contrast had for many centuries been a region populated by competing and cooperating mandala-style powers, as Li Tana has shown in this volume. Jiaozhi had been preeminent among them but not predominant. Now the different peoples along the shores of the Tongking Gulf would be confronted with the possibility of a genuine rivalry between two separate and increasingly dominant kingdoms pursuing their own interests in the region, if necessary at the expense of other long-established local communities. Creating the idea of a new bounded political space in northern Vietnam was thus the first step in a major historical shift that would eventually lead toward the nation-states we know today.

At the time, of course, such a development was inconceivable. The immediate problem was for the new Đại Cồ Việt kingdom to find a way to coexist with rising Song power to its north and Cham economic and military rivalry to its south, while still pursuing its own goal of political independence and economic prosperity upon which it depended. Court-based tribute relations served as a focal point around which traditional Sino-Vietnamese political, economic, and cultural exchange revolved, as is well known. However, I will argue that it was trade issues and not tributary protocol that would drive official Sino-Vietnamese exchanges in the crucial decades between asserting Vietnamese independence and actually securing it, as finally happened by the early eleventh century.

An important factor facilitating this Vietnamese success was the continuation of the preexisting South China Sea trade networks that the new Chinese and Vietnamese courts had inherited and that had mostly operated outside the spheres of authority to which the two new courts laid claim. Nevertheless, the wealth that these commercial networks generated made it hard for the two emerging powers on the gulf to avoid trying to control the peoples and exchanges that made the wealth possible. Eventually, securing the cooperation of local trading peoples and attempting to control unsanctioned trade would become the most significant recorded activity of court officials and personal envoys sent to the frontier region during these crucial decades, for both Song and Vietnamese courts. As this chapter will show, however, local frontier peoples continued to exercise agency in their own lives, despite the higher level political changes. On the ground locally they quickly learned how to manipulate the existence of a border between competing kingdoms by playing off the officials of one side against the other whenever it might serve their own interests.

The trading history of the South China Sea-Gulf of Tongking region has recently attracted the attention of a small number of scholars, in particular two with chapters in this volume (Li Tana and John Whitmore). Their insights into Đại Việt in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries have convincingly reconceptualized the kingdom at the time as a land-based regime with significant coastal trading links throughout the Tongking Gulf region and beyond, a network Li has called "the Jiaozhi Ocean system."<sup>1</sup> This approach has caused me to consider whether we could also fruitfully reenvision the tenth-century Đại Cồ Việt kingdom along similar lines. As this chapter will show, applying this new approach provides a more nuanced picture of social and economic linkages beyond the specific court-tocourt focus of most extant official documents like court chronicles.

Recognizing the dual motivation of early Vietnamese political leaders—that a desire for trade opportunities accompanied the drive for political authority—allows

us to factor into the early state-building process a new set of ambitions that in turn deepen our understanding of this and subsequent eras. This chapter shares the local narrative perspective pioneered by this new scholarship as it attempts to uncover local interactions only hinted at in the sources. Of necessity, my arguments must be hypothetical or speculative in places because my goal is to discern the shadowy figures, highly marginalized in official documents, of people who lived at a level below the local "men of prowess" whose connections to the coastal trading communities more powerful central leaders sought to dominate. Later court chroniclers may not have thought such communities warranted much attention, but I believe these traders were the hidden but essential "supporting cast" in the grand narrative of events, the people who operated what I call the subaltern trade network that is the subject of this chapter.

Before moving to a more detailed analysis and discussion of this network and those who ran it, I want to begin by introducing the physical, social, political, and economic factors at work in the region at this time.

#### Land and People

The communities that occupy me here inhabited a fairly short strip of coastal territory extending out from both sides of the modern-day Sino-Vietnamese border. On the Vietnamese side, the land formed part of the Red River Delta, and many distinct prehistoric coastal settlements have been discovered here, including the Hą Long, Đa Bút, Quỳnh Văn, Bàu Tró, and Sa Huỳnh settlements. The inhabitants of the Sa Huỳnh settlements and their culture have long been viewed as the direct ancestors of the Cham (of modern central Vietnam), who would become the principal economic rivals of the Vietnamese by the tenth century. The coastal region north of the Red River Delta also has supported inhabitants since the Neolithic period.<sup>2</sup> From the period of the Âu Lạc kingdom (257–207 в.с.е.), Chu Diên, located between the southern Red River Delta and the Thái Bình River, was said to provide shelter for coastal traders.<sup>3</sup> To the north of Chu Diên the coastal prefecture called Lục Châu during the Tang period (618–907), and Tô Mậu Châu after the tenth-century founding of the Đại Cồ Việt kingdom, was also the site of trading activity.

On the Chinese side of the early Song frontier area several inland riverside garrisons existed close to the coast, between Tô Mậu and the Song's Qinzhou prefectural seat at the mouth of the Qin River. These garrisons controlled the trade that moved from the hinterland regions out to the ports for transport north into China and south into other areas of Southeast Asia. On the Beilun River, which



Map 5. Upper Tongking Gulf in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

reaches the sea near the modern-day Dongxing-Móng Cái border zone, the sources show both a Jilindong Cave aboriginal settlement (*jilindong*) and, farther downstream, the Sibing garrison (*sibingguan*), with the Ruxi garrison (*ruxizhai*) closer to the coast. This particular military fortification was situated where it would have exercised some control over traders passing either down the Beilun or up and down the coast. The Duobu garrison (*duobuzhai*) was also located in this region near Lingshan Mountain. According to the demographic data included in the official history of the Song dynasty, the *Songshi*, by the Yuanfeng period (1078–86) there were 15,142 households established throughout the Qinzhou prefecture.<sup>4</sup>

Farther north still was the walled city of Anyuan, located near the modern-day city of Qinzhou at the confluence of the Ruhong and Qin Rivers, where these two rivers feed into the northernmost reaches of the Tongking Gulf. Anyuan commanded a large volume of trade from that region's hinterland, and the city was protected by the Ruhong garrison (*ruhongzhai*) to its northwest. A short distance to the east, across the top of the gulf, was Hepu, the prefectural seat of Lianzhou which was protected by the Sancun garrison (*sancunzhai*) to its south at the mouth of the Lian River. Since the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), Hepu, an important

source of pearls itself, had been an officially designated supply center for luxury items from Jiaozhi (northern Vietnam),<sup>5</sup> and, once the Song took control of the south China coastline, this status had been revived.

By the early years of the Song dynasty, the Chinese court at Kaifeng had formed a rather low opinion of the indigenous communities that inhabited the empire's southern frontier. This seems to have been largely due to the ability of local people, and locally posted court officials, to greatly enhance themselves economically and militarily through trade. The Southern Han kingdom (917-71), which had arisen from the chaos of Huang Chao Rebellion (875-84) and the fall of the Tang, had revived trade and pearl fishing in the Gulf of Tongking as a means of filling the royal coffers.<sup>6</sup> Its attention to the region's valuable products, and the security these trade items could purchase, continued until the mid-century arrival of Northern Song representatives. The last remaining heir to the Southern Han, Liu Zhang (942-80), had been wealthy enough to use his store of Hepu pearls to decorate a saddle and tack, which he presented to the Song court as a sign of his submission.7 Drawing attention to the region's wealth like this might have been a mistake, however, as it subsequently appears that the dynasty's founder, Song Taizu (r. 960–76), feared that other local figures might similarly enrich themselves out of reach of imperial sanction and decided to ban the pearl trade in the Hepu region in 972. Balancing trade potential with political stability would be the Song court's preoccupation in the Tongking Gulf after the early years of the dynasty, and so we turn our attention to this issue in the next section.

# **Trade and Politics**

Despite the 972 ban on pearling in Hepu, the Kaifeng court could not long avoid having to deal with matters on the southern coast, however reluctantly. In the summer of 974 a memorial arrived from the Guangzhou Prefecture requesting that the court pay greater attention to smugglers and thieves plying the southern coast. Taizu replied that "the customs of those inhabiting the seaboard corner of the empire are by nature greedy. Slipping through holes in the walls of our frontier to pillage would be commonplace behavior for them."<sup>8</sup> However, by the end of the same year, the emperor had issued an edict that exempted merchants trading in fresh medicinal herbs at southern ports from having to pay any commercial taxes.<sup>9</sup> Along with medicinal plants, salt and precious metals were important items of trade from the northern Gulf of Tongking coast, as the Song court's attempts to either monopolize or tax their circulations indicates.<sup>10</sup>

David Faure argues that the early Song court paid little attention to the control and administration of local communities in the first decades of the dynasty, allowing local leaders to govern more or less autonomously.11 This lack of imperial attention could indicate that Song authorities were busy enough consolidating power in the north against the threat of nomadic expansion from the Khitans. However, John Whitmore's hypothesis that there was a split between a coastal commercial zone, later the site of a Confucian cultural zone, and the mid-Red River Buddhist cultural zone at the heart of Lý imperial patronage could inform our understanding of the Southern Han's success in gaining local support and of the early Song court's reticence to involve itself extensively in the area.<sup>12</sup> Faure notes that the Southern Han leadership involved itself in the building of Buddhist monasteries and Daoist temples, much as the Lý imperial family extended its support for many locally important shrines and temples to tutelary spirits and locally prominent Buddhist schools. The Southern Han also had to contend with a local rebellion in 942 inspired by Buddhist notions of kingly authority, like the rebel Zhang Yuxian's assertion that he was a reincarnated Buddhist arhat with the title "King of the Middle Heavens and the Eight Kingdoms" (zhongtian baguowang).<sup>13</sup> The spread of Buddhist notions of kingship followed coastal and southern overland routes-already in place for both trade and pilgrimage from much earlier timeswhich were quite separate from the power centers of the North China Plain, from which the Song emerged out of the ruins of the Later Zhou dynasty (951-60).

A gradual movement away from the Vietnamese coast by the Former Lê and the Lý regimes would in time be matched by the movements of Song authorities southwest from inland Guangdong to the coastal centers of trade. This trend is evident in the Northern Song court's granting of degrees primarily to Guangdongarea candidates residing to the north of Guangzhou, the former seat of Southern Han power. By the Southern Song period, Confucian norms were firmly in place in Guangzhou elite society, and this shift in community values suggests that culture flows within this coastal trade network remained a vibrant source of transmission and exchange throughout the period examined in this chapter.

With the consolidation of the south China coast under Song authorities, the conquests of economically strategic sections of the coastal region signaled to the Vietnamese leadership that a new regional political arrangement was necessary. In 970 one of the Song's leading military leaders, General-in-Chief (*dajiang*) Pan Mei (925–91), defeated the Southern Han kingdom's armies at Fuzhou (in modern-day southern Hunan) and began the process of pacifying the Lingnan region south to Nanhai (modern Guangzhou).<sup>14</sup> In 971 Pan's armies had taken Nanhai and the Southern Han court. By 972 Hepu had fallen to Song forces, and Pan Mei

would soon receive his appointment as prefect of the region. At this same time the Song court ordered local officials at the port of Haimen (near modern-day Guangzhou) to begin the construction of seaworthy vessels to reestablish maritime links with Jiaozhou (northern Vietnam).<sup>15</sup> Such efforts marked the first step on the part of the Song to take control of the important Gulf of Tongking passage between the leading ports of the region. Conquest of the south China coast was not primarily a military exercise, but instead an effort to reposition Kaifeng to its own advantage in the existing network of trade. Although the Song's first ruler began with general misgivings about the loyalty of any power in the region, the Song court still sought supporters among the local leaders, encouraged by the possibility of increased trade from the Gulf of Tongking. This trend toward tradecentered ties would have a dramatic impact on Sino-Vietnamese relations and frontier management. Coastal and riverside trading communities that were located in the Gulf of Tongking region but connected to overland and maritime routes extending far into South and Southeast Asia would guide the most significant shifts in Sino-Vietnamese relations through the early eleventh century.

# The Subaltern Trade Network

The South China Sea/Biển Đông was a zone of transitional maritime trade that forged commercial links as far north as Okinawa to the east and Indian Ocean trade from the south. This area's maritime connections gave the region a special prominence as human settlement expanded along the coastline and inland along the most active waterways. A specific center of exchange formed in the Tongking Gulf region, yet there also existed localized economic competition and political wrangling that circumvented the domains administered by Vietnamese or Chinese court officials. An overarching theme of this book is to reveal the way that people at the margins in this center of exchange had for centuries continued to make local alliances and local deals in their own interests that largely ignored central authorities, unless those authorities deliberately intervened at the local level. At the same time during the period under review here, Vietnamese political leaders were shifting their attention from coastal to inland trade routes, partly to bring their interest in acquiring Chinese commodities into line with Song tributary practices, and partly it seems to me to bear less responsibility for managing the fluid and unrestrictable nature of a subaltern coastal trade network. Through activity that was at times outside the attention of court chroniclers, these local peoples, sometimes in concert with locally appointed officials, sought to adapt dictates from the region's

power centers, the Song and Đại Cồ Việt authorities, to suit the shifting circumstances of their lives along the Sino-Vietnamese coastal frontier.

The term "subaltern" derives from postcolonial studies and refers broadly to "subordinate social groups ... not represented within the terms of a dominant political system."<sup>16</sup> In this chapter I use the term to describe the various marginalized, liminal communities of the Tongking Gulf coastline. The region supported many different peoples, including those identified collectively today as the Dan (Tanka or Danjia). Dan had been marginalized trading communities living in boats along the south China coast since at least the early tenth century. The Dan of Qinzhou and nearby Hepu were pearl fishers and primary collectors of the valuable local products on which the regional circulation of luxury goods depended. R. A. Donkin notes that in Song period texts the Dan of this region were known as the "fish Dan," "oyster Dan," and "wood Dan," depending on which local product each community harvested for trade.<sup>17</sup> In addition to the Dan, other seafaring coastal peoples in the historical records include the Luting and the Maren, although the connection of these groups to the Dan has been difficult to ascertain from available sources.<sup>18</sup> Another group of communities, identified in premodern Chinese and Vietnamese texts as the Dich Lâo, from an early period inhabited a large region including modern-day western Guizhou, southwestern Yunnan, and northern Vietnam. The Đich Lâo, also known as the Kra, were present during Han expansion into the southwest, and their communities could be found along all the major routes that acted as the trading network through the Tongking Gulf region. Further inland were the upland Tai-speaking clans now called the Zhuang of southern China and the Nùng and Tày peoples of northern Vietnam. All these ethnic groups were collectively known as "seaside peoples" or, less generously, as Man barbarians in both Vietnamese and Chinese official records from the eleventh century. Historians need to take care not to concretize such labels. As Michael Churchman explains in this volume, ancient Chinese terms do not adequately reflect the social reality of historical ethnic groupings; and as Helen Siu and David Faure recognize for this era, the "evidence of intense interaction makes it problematic to classify local populations discretely into Han, Yao, Zhuang, and Dan."19 Of course, applying ethnic distinctions to peoples along the northern Vietnamese shoreline faces the same difficulty.

From the decline of the Tang dynasty at the end of the ninth century to the rise of the Đại Cồ Việt kingdom, the coastal region was controlled by individual clan leaders and chieftains. The administrators of Guangzhou and its immediate surroundings may have claimed to represent distant imperial power, but the coastal region beyond Guangzhou was still completely in the hands of indigenous communities. These communities connected through the coastal, river, and inland trade networks that circulated the valuable local products of the south. With the founding of the Southern Han (917-71) came the reestablishment of a local court intent on extending its authority along the coast and on gaining control of its most lucrative products, like pearls, and its wealth-generating trade links.<sup>20</sup> Farther to the southwest, during the dynastic period that followed the short-lived rule of the Dinh clan (968-80), Vietnamese rulers also made several attempts to control, or at least steer, the political and economic activity of their immediate neighbors along the region's maritime trade routes. The first post-Đinh ruler, Lê Hoàn (r. 980-1005), gained a strong sense of the Đại Cổ Việt kingdom's proper place in this region after a few years of rule. Not only did he force a reluctant acceptance of his position by the Song court, he also struck a decisive blow in the ongoing regional competition with Champa to his south. After the Vietnamese sacked the Cham capital of Indrapura in 982 and executed its ruler, Đại Cồ Việt seized a great deal of gold and silver from the Cham royal treasury.<sup>21</sup> Preparations for subsequent military expeditions against the Cham and the military pacification of the outlying territories Lê Hoàn claimed for his own sons led to confrontations with Tongking Gulf marginal communities that had until that time been left largely undisturbed. This trend toward territorial consolation would continue during the subsequent Lý dynasty (1010-1225).

In the decade following the 982 attack on Champa, Lê Hoàn enfeoffed his sons with territory beyond the capital. In a series of campaigns to secure control of these territories, he and his sons came into armed conflict with the existing local leadership.<sup>22</sup> In 989, for example, Lê Hoàn authorized a loyal upland chieftain, named Dương Tiến Lục in the sources, to lead an attack on the aboriginal prefectures of Ái Châu and Hoan Châu because the chieftain had concluded that local militia from these prefectures planned to resist Lê control.23 Armed conflict eventually spread to the local communities of the Song frontier region. During the spring of 995, Guangnan Western Circuit Fiscal Commissioner Zhang Guan and Qinzhou's Ruhong garrison commander Wei Zhaomei jointly presented a report to the Song emperor. Wei had witnessed more than one hundred warships from Vietnamese territory (called Jiaozhi by the Chinese) attack the Ruhong garrison, assaulting the local people and stealing produce from the granaries before leaving.<sup>24</sup> The immediate result of this attack was further unrest among frontier communities. In late 995, there was another incident involving three garrisons in Qinzhou prefecture, Ruhong, Duobu, and Ruxi, all of which, as mentioned earlier, bordered on the south China coast. When a local chieftain, Bộ Văn Dũng, and his followers from the Đại Cồ Việt frontier township of Triều Dương committed a murder, they all
fled to the Ruxi garrison on the Song side of the frontier, where the local commander Huang Lingde, likely from an upland Tai-speaking clan, offered the refugees official protection.<sup>25</sup> Lê Hoàn ordered the Triều Dương township's military leader Hoàng Thành Nhã, probably another upland official, to take an official dispatch to the Ruxi garrison to request the release into Vietnamese custody of the fugitives. Huang Lingde, however, refused to turn them over. What this intriguing situation suggests is that, if circumstances required, local loyalties, and perhaps even parochial ties like kinship, could still outweigh the force of royal orders for local officials in this frontier region.

In 996, after determining that Lê Hoàn was still firmly in control, the second Song emperor Taizong (Zhao Kuangyi, 939–97) sought to resolve the matter of the fugitive Bộ Văn Dũng and his followers by sending an imperial representative to override the recalcitrance of local officials. The emperor appointed Vice Director of the Ministry of Works Chen Yaosou as fiscal commissioner and sent him with an imperial edict to Lê Hoàn's court. When Chen arrived in south China, tributary protocol required that he delegate the task to a lesser official, so he chose a local militia leader from Leizhou's Haikang garrison, Li Jianzhong, to seek an audience with Lê Hoàn and present the Song court's edict. This was also a shrewd move, since a militia officer from the Tongking Gulf region would have brought local knowledge and expertise to the mission. Chen himself traveled to the Ruxi garrison, where he found Bộ Văn Dũng still residing with 130 of his followers, including women and children. Chen arrested the entire group and asked Hoàng Thành Nhã and his delegation from Triều Dương to take custody of the prisoners, warning the Vietnamese official to treat them with leniency.<sup>26</sup> The Chinese court response remained closely tied to tributary protocol with the demand for clemency from its vassal partner, but the underlying Song concern for cross-border collusion seems even more apparent in this situation.

This concern was clearly understood by the Vietnamese leadership, which had taken steps to suppress autonomous activity in the frontier region. Subsequently, Lê Hoàn signaled his thanks for Bộ Văn Dũng's capture by having twenty-five captured pirates presented to Chen Yaosou's delegation, along with the message that Vietnamese officials had already met with local leaders and been given guarantees that they would not cause disturbances.<sup>27</sup> This exchange and these assurances likely occurred after Lê Hoàn's own 996 springtime expeditions against four coastal upland settlements had conveniently demonstrated the reach of his power when provoked.

Reference to the movement of people across the frontier area became more and more common in the sources about this time, as both the Song and Đại Cồ Việt courts reached farther into this region, and groups chose sides in search of economic or security benefits. One example of this occurred in 1001, when the Qinzhou administration reported that a group of people from the Đại Cổ Việt market town of Hiệu Thành Tràng had arrived at the border garrison to submit to Song authority. They included the Tai-speaking local leader Hoàng Khánh Tạp and several hundred of his followers, acting very much as Bộ Văn Dũng and his followers had done in the earlier cross-border excursion. In this region the Hoàng clan would be regarded today as part of the Zhuang ethnicity, which Michael Churchman in this volume has linked to the earlier Li-Lao people. Reviewing the situation of his frontier, the third Song emperor, Zhenzong (Zhao Heng, 968–1022), saw no benefit in upsetting relations with his Vietnamese vassal to accommodate these refugees. Sending word that he sympathized with the group's desires, he nevertheless ordered that they be sent back to their home region. This, however, would not be the end of the tale.

Vietnamese ruler Lê Hoàn's death in 1005 quickly led to civil war between his sons. Coastal frontier communities once again sought to rearrange the local political order, which resulted in a second wave of refugees. In 1006 the Guangzhou prefect Ling Ce made the following report:

All of Lê Hoàn's sons are competing to take over as the ruler, and the general populace will most certainly rebel. Hoàng Khánh Tạp and another local leader Hoàng Tú Man are among several thousands of people who disobeyed the Vietnamese court's troops, and the Hoàng forces were massacred by court troops for challenging Lê authority. Survivors have arrived at the border to surrender and pay allegiance to the prefectural government of Lianzhou. The Hoàng leaders petitioned the Lianzhou prefectural authorities to dispatch two thousand men to Jiaozhou to calm the upheaval, while Hoàng Khánh Tạp and others showed their desire to be assigned to the vanguard of this force.<sup>28</sup>

The *Songshi* account notes that the Song court quickly offered Hoàng Khánh Tạp a minor official post and moved the local leader and his followers to a post in modern-day southern Hunan, far from the site of coastal unrest. The Chinese court's response suggests that the Song had already moved away from any strategy of seeking short-term political advantage over the Lê leadership along its coastal frontier with the Đại Cồ Việt kingdom. Maintaining regional stability and exercising political influence through trade links among local communities had become more important. This approach by the Song would nonetheless have a devastating impact on the political base of the Lê regime. In 1009 the new Đại Cổ Việt ruler Lê Long Đình (r. 1006–9) sought to strengthen his access to inland trade by requesting a loosening of restrictions on trade with the Song garrison at Yongzhou. Constantly challenged for power by his brothers following the death of his father Lê Hoàn, Lê Long Đình seems to have been desperate to secure a strong relationship with the Song court. As soon as the Vietnamese envoy had entered Song territory, he issued the request that officially sanctioned trade between the Song and the Vietnamese kingdom be permitted at Yongzhou (modern-day Nanning). When Yongzhou's fiscal commissioner made this request known to the emperor, Song Zhenzong replied:

Many of the people who live by the seaside have suffered from the plundering and raiding of Giao Châu. Therefore, I had earlier allowed only trade between Lianzhou and the Ruhong Citadel, so that it would be possible to control this section of the border. The region now in question involves territory right beside the Song interior. This change in trade would certainly not benefit us.<sup>29</sup>

The emperor ordered that the existing restrictions on trade should remain in place, concluding that increased economic activity in which the Vietnamese court could be involved could lead to greater political instability. Lê Long Đình's court, however, sought trade links as a matter of political survival, and shortly after the Song proclamation was made the Lê dynastic order collapsed and was replaced by the Lý.

Throughout this period of political transition, local unrest continued. In 1009 the Guangnan Western Circuit administrator reported that the indigenous inhabitants of Qinzhou had rebelled and pillaged the Dan community in that city port's harbor. Ruhong garrison commander Li Wenzhu dispatched imperial troops to suppress the disturbance, but Li was killed in the attack and his forces withdrew.<sup>30</sup> From his court in Kaifeng, Emperor Zhenzong subsequently ordered his Vietnamese vassals to cross the frontier court to capture the bandits, but Đại Cồ Việt kingdom was in turmoil and there was no immediate response. The next year (1010), Vietnamese forces sent by Long Đình's former military advisor and now new ruler Lý Công Uẩn (r. 1010–28) caught thirteen persons of Địch Lâo ethnicity and presented the captives to the Chinese court.<sup>31</sup> From this point, the Vietnamese leadership would exercise a greater influence than would Song authorities on the coastal frontier and its trading communities. A few years later, in 1014, the new Lý ruler made another gesture of reassurance to the Song court. After subduing a Hezhe "barbarian" community (possibly Hani?) that year and seizing their herd of horses, Lý Công Uẩn turned the entire herd over to Song authorities. Horses were an extremely valuable trade item, bought at considerable expense for military purposes from traders residing in the neighboring Dali kingdom of modern-day Yunnan. This was not only an appropriate sign of deference from the new Vietnamese rulers but also a clear signal of the new Vietnamese court's commitment to the region's standing political and trade arrangements. The local peoples may have been conducting the trade, but the courts now knew how to manipulate the trading environment to their own benefit.

# **Concluding Reflections**

In the Tongking Gulf region, a non-state approach to historical inquiry over the long term reveals that a sense of interconnectedness, of the movement of peoples and commodities knitting together a trading zone or a center of exchange where people's lives overlapped at the local level, had appeared long before any effective boundaries could be imposed by later polities. As Fernand Braudel argued for the Mediterranean world-that it "has no unity but that created by the movements of men, the relationships they imply, and the routes they follow"<sup>32</sup>—so too was the Tongking Gulf littoral and its thriving subaltern economy in these centuries. Within this zone, the marginalized, liminal communities of the coastal areas played a very important role in shaping the region's economic and political destinies. The coastal peoples of the South China Sea and Gulf of Tongking regions, often regarded as barbarians by the civilized elites in distant capitals, participated in a regional trading network with an enormous reach. Shaped by the seasonal monsoons, they formed an essential link between Indian Ocean maritime traders and insular Southeast Asian trade-powered kingdoms with the south China gateway to inland East Asian markets.

By the Song dynasty, this network had also produced an interregional maritime merchant culture. As Pierre-Yves Manguin notes, by the second millennium "a hybrid Sino/Southeast Asian shipbuilding tradition had eventually developed for ships regularly plying the South China waters that co-existed with the still lively indigenous traditions of China and Insular South-east Asia."<sup>33</sup> Coastal shipping and trade had been integral to local communities as far south as Funan, the ancient Khmer kingdom at the tip of the Indochinese Peninsula, and north to the Dan people inhabiting the Pearl River Delta. When Song and Lê representatives entered

the region, they did so in the same manner as would the early European explorers and conquerors in the sixteenth century, not by trailblazing new trade routes and forging new interregional bonds but instead by tapping into preexisting networks of coastal and riverine interaction. In the same way, both Chinese and Vietnamese state-building enterprises were superimposed upon an existing system of exchange of goods and peoples.

### Chapter 6

Vân Đồn, the "Mạc Gap," and the End of the Jiaozhi Ocean System: Trade and State in Đại Việt, Circa 1450–1550

John K. Whitmore

Vân Đồn, a network of island harbors stretching northeast of the Red River Delta into the Gulf of Tongking, was the major location of international trade for the kingdom of Đại Việt for about three and a half centuries. It first appeared in the chronicle of Đại Việt (Đại Việt sử ký) in 1149, and the last explicit reference to it was in 1467,<sup>1</sup> although other evidence suggests it was still in operation for almost half a century after that. There is no precise indication of when or how the port ceased to function. Sometime after references to Vân Đồn vanished, the strong flow of Vietnamese ceramics overseas in the late fifteenth century stopped.<sup>2</sup> Was there a relationship between these two circumstances? Though arguing from negatives is difficult, it would appear that the two circumstances were strongly related and that the crucial time for both of them was the disastrous reign of Lê Uy Muc Đế (1505–9). Using contextual evidence, both economic and political, I shall attempt to draw a broad picture of trade and state patterns that may help explain the disappearance of Vân Đồn within the wider context of the Tongking Gulf, since this event appears to mark a critical point in the transition from an earlier trade system to a later one there.

As we examine the trading pattern of the eastern coast of mainland Southeast Asia over the past millennium, we see two significant periods, the first from the twelfth century to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth, recently described by Li Tana,<sup>3</sup> the second from the late sixteenth century into the late eighteenth, presented by Li and Charles Wheeler.<sup>4</sup> Along this coastline there formed two polities, Đại Việt (Tongking, or modern northern Vietnam) and Champa (in modern central Vietnam). These shifting mandala states, each encompassing a variety of localities sheltered by the protection of its paramount ruler, competed with one another for the coastline and trade lying between them.<sup>5</sup> The first period was characterized by the Đại Việt principal port of Vân Đồn to the north and of Thị Nại in Champa to the south; the second was the time of Phố Hiến to the north and Hội An to the south. I wish to look at the transition between these two eras, particularly in the late fifteenth century. Emerging late in the first period was an increasing flow of Vietnamese ceramics. I shall look at this first trading system as it had come to exist in the mid-fifteenth century, then at economic and trade policy in the time of great change under Lê Thánh Tông (r. 1460–97); finally, within this context I attempt to understand the disappearance of this first trading pattern (and the port of Vân Đồn with its ceramic trade) before the rise of the second during the late sixteenth century.

In the 1550s, the Portuguese priest Gaspar da Cruz visited Đại Việt, controlled at the time by the Mac royal family. In his brief but most interesting description, he portrayed the region as being very like China in writing, dress, administration, and policies. With good government the land was populous and prosperous, its people dressing, eating, and living well. Yet he noted "they do not deal with other peoples outside their own kingdom." In regard to Champa, da Cruz had little to say.6 Some four decades earlier, Tomé Pires, the famed Portuguese apothecary of Malacca, reported that "Cochin China" (in context, Đại Việt) was "larger and richer" than Champa. He described the Vietnamese as being "a very weak people on the sea; all their achievement is on land." Their goods were gold and silver and "porcelain and pottery-some of great value," which went to China. Their fabrics were "fine and perfect." In exchange for these goods, the Vietnamese mainly gained sulfur from China and especially from the island world via Malacca. Yet "they rarely come to Malacca in their junks." Guangzhou was the major port of trade for the Vietnamese, whence they went to Malacca on Chinese junks. According to Pires, in Champa "there are no ports . . . for large junks." Its major products were aloeswood, "the true and best kind," and gold that they brought to Malacca. In general, according to Pires, Champa was "weak on the sea [... and] has no port of note."7

Yet, a century earlier, the Ming records of the Zheng He voyages and of their two-decade colonial occupation of the area of Tongking had shown a very different situation. Champa contained Xinzhou (the New District, or Vijaya), the central region's port of Thị Nại. Woods like calambac (aloeswood) were quite important commercially, along with rhinoceros horns and elephant tusks. In what had been (and would be again) Đại Việt to the north, a Chinese source from the Ming colonial period (1407–27), the *Annan zhiyuan*, and later Chinese documents spoke of the port of Vân Đồn as a place where many ships from the South Seas congregated. Vân Đồn was linked by sea routes to Fujian and Guangdong Provinces on the southeast coast of China, to the island of Hainan to the east, and to Champa and the rest of Southeast Asia to the south.<sup>8</sup>

So the question arises, what happened between the early fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century that led to the disappearance of both Vân Đồn and Thị Nại? I shall look at the development of the trading pattern in the mid-fifteenth century and then at the major policy changes in Đại Việt during the second half of the century before addressing the question.

### Trading Patterns of the Mid-Fifteenth Century

The port of Vân Đồn and the maritime system of Đại Việt were intimately tied up with the waters of the Gulf of Tongking (or the Eastern Sea), an offshoot of the South China Sea. These waters, with their seasonal winds and currents, facilitated travel north up the eastern shore of mainland Southeast Asia during the southwest summer monsoon, and then south down that coast during the northeast winter monsoon. This north-south coastal route was generally easier than proceeding east-west to and from Hainan Island.<sup>9</sup> The main historical questions thus became which ports of this coast would dominate the controlling and servicing of maritime trade moving north and south, and what competition would arise among the contending ports of this coast.

In the first centuries C.E., as Chinese society developed in the central Red River Delta, the dominant section of this coast was Jiaozhi, as the Chinese called this delta region. As Li Tana has discussed in this volume, Jiaozhi's agricultural development and growing population tied together the trade along this coast, from Hepu and Qinzhou north in modern Guangxi to the many river mouths south down the coast to the Mekong Delta. With the breakup of the Han dynasty and its overland silk route, the maritime route began to develop strongly, and gradually Indian influence overcame Chinese on this coast. In the process, competition arose among the coastal ports. Linyi (which would become Champa) emerged on the central coast to challenge Jiaozhi, while Jiuzhen and Rinan (present north-central Vietnam) became contested areas in this broadly dynamic zone.<sup>10</sup>

With the end of the Tang dynasty and of Chinese domination of former Jiaozhi in the ninth and tenth centuries, this coastal region became a much more fluid zone

bordering the developing political powers of the region. Numerous and varied local powers and ethnicities existed among the growing polities, from the Southern Han in the two Guangs and from Đại Việt in the central Red River Delta to Champa in the mountains and estuaries of modern central Vietnam (see chapters by Li, Churchman, and Anderson in this volume).

The surge of maritime trade accompanying the unification of China and the rise of the Song dynasty led to a major transition in commercial connections along this eastern coast through the tenth and eleventh centuries. Out of the transitory coastal interactions of the prior two centuries came the Jiaozhi Yang (Ocean) system, with the Gulf of Tongking at its core. Muslim trade was rising in importance, and Quanzhou on the Fujian coast became the Chinese link for it, especially during the Mongol Yuan dynasty. This Jiaozhi Yang system was characterized by interactions among coastal Đại Việt, Guangxi, Hainan Island, and Champa. In Đại Việt, the surge of international trade and the concomitant local manufacturing favored the lower (eastern) Red River Delta leading to its new port of Vân Đồn. This trade surge also favored Vijaya and its "new" port (Xinzhou) of Thị Nại in central Champa, with greater access to the Central Highlands and the latter's mountain products.<sup>11</sup>

Li Tana has described the commercial situation centering on the Jiaozhi Yang and the conceptual model of trade connections among the shores of Champa, Đại Việt, Hainan, and Guangxi.<sup>12</sup> She has analyzed the nature of these connections and their importance for all these lands that touched the sea here. Her research shows that all parts of the region, shores and hinterlands, took part in and profited from trading in high-value commodities like slaves, horses, aromatic woods, and salt. The ports of Thị Nại (Xinzhou) in Champa, Vân Đồn in Đại Việt, Qinzhou in Guangxi, and Yaizhou on Hainan were the main points of contact. In addition to the commerce among the seashores, Muslim participants and the connection with the Melayu Sea and Malacca just to the west ensured that these waters also formed a key part of the long-distance maritime trade network stretching between China and the Middle East.

To all appearances, the Jiaozhi Yang commercial region continued to flourish through the fifteenth century, even after the two-decade Ming occupation of Đại Việt. Champa and its port of Thị Nại were thriving, Malacca had risen in the Melayu Sea as the central port of Southeast Asia, and Đại Việt's port of Vân Đồn continued to operate. Now the Jiaozhi Yang system came to focus to the west on Malacca and its international connections, down to the north coast of Java, beyond it to the Spice Islands of Maluku, farther to the west and the Indian Ocean and beyond to India and the Middle East.<sup>13</sup> The journey to Malacca took place during the northeast monsoon and the return with the southwest one. Another connection was

the eastern route to the north coast of Borneo and beyond into the eastern islands, ports like Cebu (central Philippines) and Banjarmasin (southeast Borneo).<sup>14</sup>

The port of Vân Đồn and its network of harbors in the islands off the northeast coast of Đại Việt had survived the Ming occupation and continued to function. It sat on one edge of the Jiaozhi Yang, linked by trade to Qinzhou on the Guangxi coast, Hainan Island, and the Champa port of Thị Nại, as well as to the mountains of Yunnan and to the international sea routes beyond. Integrated with this commercial network there developed in the eastern Red River Delta (as well as in Vijaya behind Thị Nại) a flourishing manufacturing zone, with the production of ceramics a major part of it. Chu Đậu, not far from Vân Đồn by boat, was one such major production center. A significant amount of these ceramics would go out of Vân Đồn to foreign markets as far as Java and the Middle East.<sup>15</sup>

This pattern continued through the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1434, according to the court chronicle, two officials of the new Lê regime were severely punished for attempting to deal privately with goods brought by ships from Java. The Lê code has several articles (articles 612, 614-16) specifically citing Vân Đồn, which may have been part of the original law code compiled by the royal court at the beginning of the dynasty in the 1430s. Here the code declared that officials were not to go near Vân Đồn except on official business, no residents of that area were to bring Chinese goods to the capital of Thăng Long (modern Hanoi) unless specifically permitted, and local officials of the Vân Đồn area were not to go out to sea to meet incoming ships. All four articles were designed to limit interference from officialdom in trade as well as to stop smuggling or other illegal dealings through the port. Lê officials also had to be most transparent in their dealings with trading ships. The geography (Du địa chí) of 1435 noted that foreign visitors were restricted to the port and were not allowed to travel into the Red River Delta itself. To all appearances, the new government was trying to apply some structure and control to an otherwise fluid and prosperous commercial situation.16

The extent of this prosperous and fluid commercial situation may be gauged from the flourishing trade in ceramics through the century.<sup>17</sup> It was an exceptional time in this trade as Thai, Cham, and Vietnamese production seems to have grown greatly during the "Ming gap"—the disappearance of Chinese ceramics from the maritime trade as the Ming government restricted private Chinese trade abroad. Although undoubtedly not totally effective in blocking this trade from its south-eastern coast, the Beijing court's restrictions still significantly decreased overseas ceramics trading and set the stage for the expansion of its competitors to the south. Through the decades of prohibited exports, Southeast Asian production

and shipping appears to have soared, if recently excavated shipwrecks are any indication. Along with strong growth in the local ceramics trade, it is logical to assume that the ports linked to this production and trade thrived as well.

Roxanna Brown described the surge in Thai ceramics from the upper Chao Phraya valley, especially Sawankhalok ware, during this time. The celadon plates from the Sawankhalok kilns are a strong marker for this age of commerce and were joined by other wares from Suphanburi and Sukhothai. These Thai ceramics dominated the known cargoes in the middle years of this century. Somewhat later in these decades the Pandanan wreck occurred just northeast of Borneo, as described by Allison Diem.<sup>18</sup> Over 70 percent of the cargo was Cham ceramics from the Go Sanh kilns of the capital, Vijaya, on the Con River (now Binh Định Province in south-central Vietnam). These greenish glazed monochrome dishes seem to have been meant for daily use. Sharing some influence from China, the production of these ceramics reflected the Cham response to the opportunities of overseas markets.

At the same time, kilns in Đại Việt, especially those around Chu Đậu in the lower Red River Delta province of Håi Dương in Vân Đồn's hinterland, were also producing for international markets. The most famous example of its ware is the piece, dated to 1450, today located in the splendid Topkapi Palace collection in Istanbul. Pieces from these kilns in Đại Việt have been found in a number of shipwreck cargoes from the middle of the fifteenth century, and their production would continue through the century. The main items among these Vietnamese ceramics were blue and white stoneware. Influenced by Jingdezhen kiln patterns from China, these wares retained their own local flair and indigenous elements (especially birds). There were also influences in the form of market demands from Java (garuda, kendi [pouring vessels]) and as far west as the Middle East (shades of blue, large platters). Painted polychrome wares also came from Đai Việt.<sup>19</sup> Kilns flourished as the state of Đai Việt reestablished itself following the short Ming occupation, bringing peace and prosperity back after many decades of war and disaster dating at least to 1371, when Champa first successfully invaded the Vietnamese realm. Now the new Lê aristocracy from the southwest mountains controlled the land, and consumption and trade grew in the village-based economy. The eastern delta, with its manufacturing and commercial sites, thrived. Vân Đồn served as a key point in both internal and external trade networks, and through this port Đại Việt ceramics flowed south into the Southeast Asian networks (east Java, the Philippines), west to the Mediterranean, and north to the Ryukyus and Japan.

Vietnamese ships continued to be active in the seas connecting Vân Đồn, Hainan Island, and the Guangxi port of Qinzhou. In 1449 and 1457, the *Ming Shilu* (the official Ming records compiled in Beijing) noted Vietnamese involvement in this area. In the first instance, a man from Guangdong Province complained: "Qinzhou is very close to Jiaozhi. The clothes and language of the inhabitants are very similar to those of Jiaozhi, and it is difficult to differentiate these people." He wanted to Sinify the people of Qinzhou, in dress and speech and by means of village schools, thus distinguishing the locals from the Vietnamese. In the second, Guangdong officials reported that three-masted Vietnamese ships were constantly coming, in twos and threes, into Chinese waters after pearls, a total of more than 150 ships by that time.<sup>20</sup>

### Governmental Change and Economic Policy

The final third of the fifteenth century in Đại Việt was marked by a strong ideological change and the first significant penetration of the Vietnamese village by activist government officials. In addition, Đại Việt's military strength increased greatly and its foreign policy became significantly different. How did all these elements affect economic policy?

The foundation of the changes occurred in the 1460s as a young, unexpected ruler, Lê Thánh Tông (r. 1460–1497), took the throne and worked with his close literati advisors to establish the contemporary Ming pattern of bureaucratic administration in his realm.<sup>21</sup> Starting with the first real Sinic-style triennial examinations, the king began to select those scholars most steeped in the Chinese texts to serve him.<sup>22</sup> Next came thoroughgoing reform to the administrative structure, both central and provincial. In the process, Thánh Tông integrated the old aristocratic pattern into his new bureaucratic entity, while keeping the mountain aristocracy and their descendants in his capital of Thăng Long at the royal court or sending them out on military assignments and expeditions. Court discussions and economic policy thus involved both the aristocrats and the rising literati, all under the ever-vigilant view of the king.

In the second year of his reign (1461), Thánh Tông sent out an order to his provincial officials to encourage agriculture and to ensure that their people had enough to eat and wear. "Do not cast aside the roots [agriculture] and pursue the insignificant [trade/commerce]!" he declared. No con men, wanderers, or loafers would be allowed, and those not working hard on their lands were to be officially reported.<sup>23</sup> This was standard Chinese phraseology, but new to the Vietnamese court. Four years later, the king took the first step in developing his economic policy, making "legible" the resources of the realm. This meant writing down in village registers their human and material resources and bringing the registers into

the capital to be copied, every six years.<sup>24</sup> The government also took it upon itself to improve the general economic situation, establishing offices to handle dikes and encourage agriculture. Later Thánh Tông made rules for marketplaces and standardization of weights and measures. Overall, he exhibited a strong responsibility for the well-being of his people in their economic pursuits, agricultural and commercial.<sup>25</sup>

How then did Lê Thánh Tông and his new regime respond to foreign commerce and international trade? The chronicle of his reign, written by officials of the sixteenth-century Mac dynasty, made little direct reference to it (and only one mention of Vân Đồn).<sup>26</sup> We know that ships from Java, Sumatra, and Siam arrived in 1467, though only the latter explicitly at Vân Đồn. Yet the court had negative dealings with those from Sumatra and Siam, playing to Beijing in the years before the Champa invasion by seizing Chinese from off the former's ships and sending them back to China, while refusing the offerings of the latter. Thánh Tông thus refused to play the standard international games. More particularly, he and his court worried about the Tongking Gulf waters they shared with Guangxi. When a Chinese ship ran aground in the northern coastal province of An Bang in 1467, Thánh Tông was quite suspicious of possible Ming schemes and would not allow the Chinese to return home.<sup>27</sup>

Thánh Tông and his court were also suspicious of ethnic activities along their northern mountain border, and it is possible that these concerns extended out to sea. Just as they desired to maintain stability and dominance among the highland peoples living between them and the Ming,<sup>28</sup> as in An Bang, so too did they feel uneasy about the sea peoples and the scattered islands lying between them and the Chinese coast. This world was also difficult to manage to the satisfaction of the throne of Đại Việt. Too many opportunities existed there for mobile lawless groups to raise havoc for their own profit. In 1469, Thánh Tông declared that the state held a monopoly on weapons and forbade private individuals from possessing them, after which he put out an order that anyone who captured pirates would be promoted. A year later, the king sent his own elite Kim Ngộ troops out after such pirates. Just as significant, the king punished one of his naval officers, a captured Chinese who had ended up as a personal slave of the king while the latter was still a prince. This officer had violated orders and deserved execution, but recognition of his previous service saw the sentence commuted to becoming a common soldier tilling fields. Even a man with such a long personal relationship to the king was not immune from punishment. It would appear that Thánh Tông was quite serious about keeping the seas calm and controlled off his shores.29

Records from the Ming capital of Beijing reveal aspects of this coastal situation

as well. That these details reached the Chinese capital and made it into the court records there indicates the Ming seriousness about the coastal situation. Around this time (perhaps the 1467 incident mentioned above), a Chinese ship ran ashore on the coast of Đai Viêt on its way from Hainan Island to Qinzhou. The thirteen men on board were captured and kept in Đại Việt. The Thăng Long court sent most of them to agricultural colonies, but one, Wu Rui, was made a eunuch (as he later claimed) and spent about a quarter century as a palace attendant. Escaping after Thánh Tông's death in 1497, Wu returned to China and his story appeared at the court in Beijing. Was the ship "off course" as he claimed? It was most probably involved in regular trade, part of the coastal Jiaozhi Yang circuit described earlier; but, if so, the fact undoubtedly could not be disclosed, even after so long, at the inland imperial court.<sup>30</sup> Rather than being a chance occurrence, might this ship have been part of the standard travel and trade of the time, and might the incident have marked a change in approach by the court of Đai Việt, cracking down on such coastal contacts? Another Ming Shilu record from 1472 spoke of "Jiao people" sailing "large double-masted ships," again to the pearl beds, but also attacking merchant ships. Reports had come from Hainan Island and the Guangzhou coast on this matter. The Ming emperor called on Thánh Tông to end such activities. The court of Đại Việt denied its people would do such things, but noted that "pirates" ("over thirty ships") were bothering its own coast as well. Although the Vietnamese had driven them off, Thánh Tông still commented how difficult it was to keep track of the seagoing folk. Another Shilu item of that same year also mentioned dealings between men of Fujian and foreigners on the seas.<sup>31</sup>

# Đại Việ t Captures the Jiaozhi Yang System

At this point (1470), Thánh Tông and his court decided to strike against Champa, to put an end to Vijaya's constant raids against the old northern part of Champa that was now southern Đại Việt. As the Vietnamese state had changed from the older Southeast Asian-style mandala system to a Sinic bureaucratic administration, it had also changed its pattern of foreign relations to a stronger sense of being "civilized" versus those outside such civilization. Henceforth, the Vietnamese would not merely conquer, loot, and return home, leaving the Cham capital and territory to its own aristocracy; they would seek to destroy Champa almost entirely. From the early 1470s until the 1690s, whenever the Vietnamese state seized Cham lands the conquered territory was made part of its provincial administration. Đại Việt was beginning the vaunted Vietnamese march south (*nam tiến*).<sup>32</sup>

But was there an economic element to this campaign as well? While Thánh Tông made his case to his people and his ancestors in political, cultural, and strategic terms, he was undoubtedly also aware of the Jiaozhi Yang trading system, of Thị Nại's major place therein, and of the ceramic manufacture of Champa. Did he feel there was an economic competition between Đại Việt and Champa over the benefits to be gained from this export commodity? Though not emphasized in the record of Đại Việt, the economic well-being of society was a key element in the approach of the new government, and the manufacturing and commercial sectors in the eastern coastal region were strongly tied into the Jiaozhi Yang system. Thus, one factor in Đại Việt's strike to the south might have been to seize Thị Nại and to shift Champa's role in this trade to Đại Việt and Vân Đôn. Intentional or not, this seems to have been one result of the campaign—Thị Nại would apparently cease to be an international port and the Jiaozhi Yang system was ripped away from the Melayu Sea, sending shivers through Malacca.

Backed by his powerful new bureaucratic apparatus, Thánh Tông led his huge army south by land and sea to destroy Vijaya (modern Bình Định Province).<sup>33</sup> Its land was divided and its northern part became Đại Việt's thirteenth province, Quảng Nam. Many local people were brought north and settled in the Red River Delta, where they were ordered to take Vietnamese-style names and conform to Sinic morality. In addition, the king acted to open more lands in the lower delta and to increase the population there with a variety of peoples.<sup>34</sup>

The key question here is how did this crushing victory affect the Jiaozhi Yang system of international trade? There is almost no reference in the Vietnamese court chronicle to the trading system, either in the south (Champa's former system) or in the north (the port of Vân Đồn). Only in 1485 do two items of possible significance to this discussion appear, both indirect. From the far south, there was a report that a lack of ships was making it difficult for the new province of Quảng Nam to send its tax collection north. This dearth of shipping must indicate the complete disruption of the port of Thi Nai and the former trade of the region. At the same time, in the north, the royal court in Thăng Long set regulations for the formal reception of foreign envoys. Since these envoys came from Champa, Laos, Siam, Java, and Malacca, this would seem to indicate the continued functioning of Đại Việt's seagoing contacts and hence of Vân Đồn itself.35 The Mac historians of the next century, in a time of much less foreign commerce, may have paid little attention to such aspects under Thánh Tông. On admittedly slim evidence, we can conjecture that the focal point of trade along this eastern seaboard had shifted from Thi Nai to Vân Đồn.

The new paramount king of Champa did not forget what had been lost and

kept trying to gain Ming aid in recovering it, as Chinese court records suggest. In 1478, Thánh Tông complained to Beijing that a seagoing link between Champa (now located farther south) and the Ryukyu Islands had led to an attack on the southern Đại Việt coast, perhaps trying to recapture Thị Nại. In his diplomatic gamesmanship downplaying reports of Đại Việt's attack on Champa, Thánh Tông discounted any desire on his part to do such a thing, rhetorically asking why his kingdom needed (or would want) such a place, with only mountain goods and little in the way of agriculture and livestock. "Little benefit" would accrue to Đại Việt, he claimed, if such were the case. This reputed attack may have been a reaction by others in the Jiaozhi Yang network against the new dominance of Đai Việt, which may also have disrupted Java-Ming relations as well. Three years later imperial China complained that Đại Việt had interfered with an embassy from Malacca and that Malacca felt threatened by Đại Việt. Furthermore, in 1487, 1489, and 1495, the paramount king of Champa's last constituent polities, Kauthara and Panduranga, used his country's connections by sea with Guangzhou in his effort to restrain Đại Việt and to restore the prior situation. Beijing was not sympathetic, not least because the requests involved merchants and "the vast maritime regions."36

After the death of Lê Thánh Tông in 1497, Champa again approached Beijing. This time, its ruler got straight to the point—"The area of Xinzhou [Thị Nại] in our country has long been occupied by Annan [Đại Việt]." The king requested that his son be recognized by Beijing as ruler of Champa, "so that in future days he can protect the area of Xinzhou Port." In 1505, following the death of the next king, Thánh Tông's son Hiến Tông, Champa again requested the Cham prince be granted "Xinzhou port and other areas." For the Chinese court, once again the matter of merchants and their guile surfaced: "countries across the seas," in Ming eyes, were trying to manipulate Beijing to solve their own problems. The Ming court continued its policy of noninvolvement in these maritime affairs.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, after 1471, for more than three decades the court records in Beijing showed Champa repeatedly attempting to reestablish the Jiaozhi Yang commercial network by regaining its former port of Thị Nại (Xinzhou), now part of Đại Việt. We see no sign of it being used as the major port it had once been; but neither is there any explicit textual evidence that Vân Đồn was the major port it had been. The question remains: had the Jiaozhi Yang system been disrupted totally, readjusted, or affected in some other way?

Let us return to the shipwreck and ceramic evidence to see what it can reveal about international commerce over the final third of the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup> From the Pandanan wreck northeast of Borneo, with its heavy preponderance of Champa ware, to the Hội An (Cù Lao Chàm) wreck off the central coast of Vietnam, with its great amount of Vietnamese ware, the change appears to reflect the loss of the Champa port and the continued functioning of Vân Đổn. These Đại Việt wares came mainly from the eastern delta, especially Chu Đậu, but also perhaps from farther upriver around the capital of Thăng Long and Kinh Bắc Province. Before she died, the late Roxanna Brown was in the process of arguing that Đại Việt's conquest of Champa both destroyed the Vijaya kilns of Go Sanh and brought Cham potters north into the eastern delta of Đại Việt. She posited that their presence there led to the major increase in the later fifteenth-century export of Vietnamese ceramics and injected a specific Cham element (a particular form of bowl) into the Vietnamese style. If she was right, then Đại Việt's victory not only captured the northern territory of Champa but also Vijaya's place in the Jiaozhi Yang system as well as the role of Vijaya's ceramics in that system.<sup>39</sup>

The group of shipwrecks identified by Brown as Hongzhi (the Ming reign period from 1488 to 1505) carried much Vietnamese and varied Thai wares, plus the first sizable quantity of Ming blue and white along with some Burmese and Champa pieces. I would thus postulate a thriving port of Vân Đồn as the key node in the shifting Jiaozhi Yang system for these decades. Vietnamese wares moved out of the lower Red River Delta through this port and were joined there by the Chinese blue and white, the Thai and Burmese wares, and scattered Cham pieces perhaps left from earlier days. This occurred as Chinese private trade, and with it the flow of Ming ceramics, began to pick up once more. The flourishing Southeast Asian commerce and the desire of those lands to trade with China joined with the loosening of Ming government local control along its southeast coast to encourage merchants from such places as Malacca and Siam to come to trade. Such growing commercial contact involved Đại Việt, corresponding with the reappearance of the Chinese blue and white ceramics found aboard shipwrecks of the time and also seen at the royal palace in Thăng Long.<sup>40</sup>

I had initially believed that changes in court and government policy in the 1460s under Lê Thánh Tông led to the disengagement of Đại Việt from maritime commerce and the Jiaozhi Yang system, that emphasis on traditional Chinese economic policy (agriculture over trade), efforts to gain better control over hard-to-manage mountain and sea territories, and a foreign policy increasingly against foreign interactions had all acted to restrict Đại Việt's involvement in this trade. In the process, Vân Đồn had presumably shriveled and died as an international port, cut off by these policies. Yet, if we assume that the shipwreck and ceramic evidence dated to the Hongzhi period imply a functioning manufacturing sector that exported through a major port, then Vân Đồn must have continued and thrived as the key port for Đại Việt manufactures, since no other site seems to have been available. Economically, what the Hổng Đức period (1470–97) of Lê Thánh Tông seems to indicate was a policy of well-being for the general populace, one that ensured the proper functioning of the economy, in both its commercial and agricultural sectors. On this basis, we might assume that the stable and prosperous bureaucratic state that developed in fifteenth-century Đại Việt had the practical goal of advancing a well-run economic system and would have encouraged and facilitated this manufacturing and commercial network as part of the Jiaozhi Yang field. In fact, Vân Đồn had most likely become the key node in this network over the final quarter of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, replacing Thị Nại. As long as this bureaucratic structure continued to operate well, facilitating economic transactions, I would expect that internal and external commerce continued as well.

# Vân Đồn and the Jiaozhi Yang System End: The "Mạc Gap"

Roxanna Brown noted that this flow of ceramics stopped after the Hongzhi period (1505). Vietnamese, Cham, and Burmese wares all ceased to be found in wrecks of the Zhengde period (1506–20). The Chinese blue and white disappeared as well, as the Ming court restricted private trade once again. Only Thai wares, particularly Sawankhalok, continued.<sup>41</sup> If we equate the flow of Southeast Asian ceramics with the Jiaozhi Yang system and believe that Vân Đồn was the key node for this system in those decades, what happened? Brown suggested a "Mạc gap" for Vietnamese (and other) wares during the sixteenth century. It would appear that this "gap" actually marked the end of the Jiaozhi Yang system, the disappearance of Vân Đồn, and the transition into what would eventually be the new system, that of Hội An. How can we explain this?

The reason would seem to lie in the disastrous reign of Lê Uy Mục Đế (1505– 9) and the chaotic years that followed. Lê Hiến Tông had succeeded his father on Thánh Tông's death in 1497 and had maintained his father's system until his own death in 1504. Then after a short-lived reign came the ascension of Uy Mục Đế. The new ruler had been enraged when passed over for the throne in 1504 and turned fiercely against his father's Thanh Hóa kin and their allies. Instead, he utilized female kinship ties, via his mother, his adopted mother, and his wife, to establish himself in Kinh Bắc, Hải Dương, and northern Sơn Nam Province, just south of the capital. Empowering the kin of these women created a Red River Delta political base for himself. The avaricious maternal kin came to dominate the state, and much royal and aristocratic turmoil ensued. As Nola Cooke noted for the politics of Đại Việt, "The decay had begun under Uy-mục." This appears to have held true for the socioeconomic situation as well.<sup>42</sup>

Caught in the middle of these struggles was the local Cham community, already facing cultural conflict. Told that Chams were in revolt, the king ordered them exterminated. In the meantime, Cham servants of powerful families and of the aristocracy began fleeing south. Elements of this Cham community in the Red River Delta had probably continued to play roles in the Jiaozhi Yang system, both commercial and manufacturing (the potters), so this savage reaction against them would have disrupted Đại Việt's place therein. (There was one mention of a seagoing Cham caught in the middle of all this.) In addition, the rapacity of the royal maternal kin had a major impact on the economy as they grew high, mighty, and rich:

As a result [of their actions] in the residential area and the marketplaces, all those households that worshipped the guild founders had to hide [their wealth]. When [a number of named powerful figures] appeared on the roads, [officials and commoners] would run and hide in their homes and shops until [those powerful figures] had passed by. Throughout the land, people lost hope!<sup>43</sup>

Texts written immediately after Uy Muc Đế's reign spoke of the royal clan run amok, "wolfish factions" thriving, and the lowly lifted to power. Mountain areas were stripped of their trees, and coastal zones ran out of salt—such were those times.<sup>44</sup>

The chronicle reported that continued and increasing construction projects exhausted the people of Kinh Bắc and Hải Dương Provinces, two maternal kin bases that had close connections to the manufacturing and export trade. Such disruptions to manufacturing, commerce, and the environment would have led to the collapse of the export sector and with it the port of Vân Đồn and the Jiaozhi Yang system itself, at least as far as it affected Đại Việt. As a fitting epitaph for both, the court chronicle quoted an edict that declared, "Over the Four Seas, there was dire poverty/utter misery!"<sup>45</sup>

In the following years, any chance for revival of the port and the system would have been crushed by the constant turmoil in Đại Việt. Rival aristocratic families, especially the Trịnh and the Nguyễn, fought over the court and the throne. In 1516, a great revolt broke out in the lower delta against Thánh Tông's bureaucratic system. It involved surviving Chams, Buddhists, a reincarnation of Indra (Đế Thích), and an appeal to revive the pre-Lê dynasty of the Trần. One can

imagine maritime and commercial elements taking part in it as well. The rebels took the capital before being defeated.<sup>46</sup> By the time stability and prosperity returned to the Red River Delta in the mid-sixteenth century under the new coastal Mac dynasty (1528–92), including renewed ceramic production, a total change had occurred in the international trade system. The Portuguese had taken Malacca, and a new commercial regime was developing.<sup>47</sup> As Pires noted for both Đại Việt and Champa, they played little direct role in the new system. By the middle of the sixteenth century, according to da Cruz, Đại Việt, although doing well, was not part of the international economic system. Pires and da Cruz mentioned no ports of any consequence on the eastern seaboard of the Southeast Asian mainland.

Hence we arrive at the "Mac gap" and the disappearance of the Jiaozhi Yang system. Through much of the sixteenth century, the commercial situation around the South China Sea remained quite fluid, with the ever dynamic wokou (mixed Japanese and Chinese pirates) and traders active there. Eventually, in the second half of the century, the Portuguese set themselves up in Macao and the Spanish in Manila, as the Ming were opening up trade on their southeast coast and Japan was emerging from its civil wars.<sup>48</sup> In the midst of all this, a new commercial system began to form along the coasts of Đại Việt and the remaining Champa polities (Kauthara and Panduranga), just as the Vietnamese (and Chinese) southern push began to get underway in earnest. In the south, instead of a port reappearing at the "New District" (Xinzhou, or Thị Nại) in what is now Quy Nhơn, where one had existed since the twelfth century, the new port of Hội An rose at the pre-twelfthcentury port of Jiuzhou (the "Old District"), where the Cham polity of Amaravati had done its trading.49 Here Chinese and Japanese would gather to trade with each other, as well as with Vietnamese, other Southeast Asians, and Europeans. Encouraged by the rising Nguyễn polity on Đại Việt's southern border, this new trading regime expanded greatly. To the north, the inland port of Phố Hiến and the capital of Đại Việt itself would eventually join the new seventeenth-century international trade system, although without long-term success.50

Thus, for a hundred years, from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth, events in Đại Việt seem to have controlled the Jiaozhi Yang system, both positively and negatively, eventually leading to its destruction. Where Thị Nại and Champa had been the most important part of the system through the first two thirds of the fifteenth century, Lê Thánh Tông's strong and pragmatic bureaucratic state seems to have taken control of the system over the final third of the century and into the early sixteenth, eliminating Champa as a major competitor and opening the way for Đại Việt's own productivity to feed directly into the system. Though we have no knowledge of customs duties or government fees, the profits from this system must have helped underwrite the expenses of the burgeoning state. This all collapsed, internally and externally, apparently following the spiraling demands placed on key local areas under Uy Muc Đế and his grasping relatives, and any hope of revival was crushed by the political chaos that followed. By the time the Mac were established on the throne, the international commercial system itself was changing dramatically to the detriment of Đại Việt's participation. It was only toward the end of the sixteenth century that the maritime system reformulated itself, now focused on Hội An in the south.

### Chapter 7

# The Trading Environment and the Failure of Tongking's Mid-Seventeenth-Century Commercial Resurgence

lioka Naoko

Tongkingese raw silk was one of the most coveted mercantile commodities in the South China Sea region in the mid-seventeenth century. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Chinese private traders were engaged in exporting Tongkingese raw silk to its primary market in Japan. While several studies have focused on the Dutch role in this branch of trade,<sup>1</sup> little attention has been given to the Chinese merchants who preceded and competed with them,<sup>2</sup> except for Zheng Chenggong (1624–62) on Taiwan. It is generally believed that Zheng naval forces controlled the sea lanes linking East and Southeast Asian waters and manipulated the Japan trade until the regime's 1683 fall to the Manchu. In regard to the Tongking silk trade, as I have discussed elsewhere, most of the Chinese junks plying the Tongking-Nagasaki silk route belonged to a particular Chinese merchant called Wei Zhiyan. From the late 1640s to the mid-1680s, he and other traders from Fuqing had no trouble competing there with either Dutch ships or Zheng junks. Their activities formed a critical link in the chain that linked northern Vietnamese silk producers to distant Japanese markets and, by so doing, helped stimulate a commercial resurgence in mid-seventeenth century Tongking.<sup>3</sup>

While the main body of this chapter discusses the internal trading environment of mid-seventeenth century northern Vietnam (Đại Việt, or Tongking), with particular focus on the export silk industry and its problems, it must be stressed right at the start that this industry principally owed its mid-century prosperity as well as its later decline to factors outside Tongking and well beyond the control of its rulers. When the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722) decided to open the seas subsequent to the Zheng surrender, those external factors changed to the detriment of Vietnamese production. The export silk industry was unable to adjust and its principal overseas market was soon largely lost to renewed and expanded Chinese silk production and export.

The chapter begins by charting the changes in the wider political and commercial environment that fostered but later destroyed this short-lived Tongking commercial resurgence. Then it moves to examine the internal trading environment of mid-seventeenth-century northern Đại Việt, focusing on the problems in the silk industry and on the organization of foreign trade that would later make it so difficult to adjust to the challenges arising from the renewal of China's maritime commerce from the later 1680s.

# The Seventeenth Century, a Time of Turmoil and Opportunity

The seventeenth century was a period of turmoil in Đại Việt. In 1592 the Trinh ruling family came to power, paying lip service to a captive Lê emperor whom they had restored after a fifty-year civil war against the usurping Mac. But the Trinh lords (chúa) were frustrated by their inability to "complete" this restoration, as they saw it. To their south the Nguyễn lords were securing their power over central and southern parts of present-day Vietnam; by the late seventeenth century, Trinh Tongking and Nguyễn Cochinchina would coexist as two independent polities. After repeated battles between 1627 and 1672 had failed to dislodge the southern rulers, a peace was declared in 1673.4 To the north, the Trinh faced another potentially disastrous threat. In 1592, the usurping Mac clan had been driven from Thăng Long (modern Hanoi) to the mountainous region bordering China. As Niu and Li further discuss in this volume, the Mac long remained influential there, awaiting a chance to retake Hanoi. It was only in 1667 that the Trinh conquered their Cao Bằng stronghold, forcing the Mạc remnants to flee to China. Ten years later, the last Mac attempt to invade northern Vietnam was defeated by chúa Trịnh Tạc (r. 1657-82).

Meanwhile in Japan the Tokugawa *bakufu*'s (the central government of Japan from 1603 to 1868) drastic shifts in foreign policy during the 1630s created a new trading environment. Previously, under the "Red Seal" trading system (from 1604 to 1635), Japanese merchants played a pivotal role in commercial exchanges between Tongking and Japan, with at least thirty-seven "Red Seal" vessels heading to Tongking for trade.<sup>5</sup> Such distinguished Japanese merchant families as the

Chaya and Suminokura had been engaged in business there. Portuguese merchants were also important players in trade between Tongking and Japan. From their base in Macao, they had conducted a lucrative "silk for silver" exchange since the late sixteenth century. Then, in 1626, a direct Macao-Tongking route was inaugurated by Jesuit missionaries, following Japanese Christians who had migrated to Tongking via Macao.<sup>6</sup> Trinh Tráng (r. 1623-57) tolerated the Jesuits to attract more Portuguese ships to his domain.7 In 1635, the Japanese government took the further step of prohibiting subjects from leaving the country or returning from overseas. Some Japanese residents of Tongking responded by investing in Portuguese shipping, so from 1636 to 1638 Portuguese brought much more Tongkingese than Chinese raw silk to Japan.8 Others continued trading with Japan by placing a Chinese agent, or nachoda, on their junks.9 Wada Rizaemon (died 1667), also known by his Christian name Paolo de Vada, was an outstanding example. He was arguably one of the most influential foreigners at the midseventeenth-century Trinh court. Not only did he trade with Japan, he also sent his junks to Taiwan, Manila, Ayutthaya, Makassar, and Batavia.<sup>10</sup> When the Portuguese were expelled from Japan in 1639, they too opted to continue trading there by investing in, or consigning goods to, Chinese junks traveling between Macao and Tongking. By eliminating the Japanese and Portuguese, the bakufu made the VOC and, more important, Chinese traders, the sole agents of foreign trade connecting Nagasaki to the rest of the world for the next two hundred years.

In 1624, the Dutch failure to settle on mainland China had led them to establish Casteel Zeelandia on the western coast of Taiwan. Lacking direct access to continental China, the VOC's supply of raw silk relied on Chinese boats plying between Fujian and Taiwan, many under the influence of Zheng Zhilong (Chenggong's father). In 1637, when preparing to end the Portuguese trade, the Tokugawa bakufu had asked if Dutch merchants could bring as much raw silk as the Portuguese. With China off-limits, the VOC envisioned the export potential of Tongkingese raw silk and set out to take over the trade formerly in Japanese hands.<sup>11</sup> In 1637, the *Grol* left Japan for Tongking, inaugurating direct Dutch shipping between the two places.<sup>12</sup> Trinh Tráng welcomed its arrival because he was eager for European weaponry to counter the superior Nguyễn artillery as supplied by the Portuguese.<sup>13</sup> The Dutch established diplomatic relations with the Trinh and set up a trading factory. In the early 1640s, when Zheng Zhilong began direct trade with Japan, bypassing the Dutch on Taiwan, Tongkingese raw silk became more important for the VOC, as it allowed the company to remain competitive in the Japanese market.<sup>14</sup>

In an attempt to suppress Zheng activities and to consolidate control over the Chinese littoral, the Qing introduced a series of restrictive maritime policies beginning in 1646. In 1655, a *haijin* (maritime prohibition) banned Chinese people from all maritime activities, severely disrupting coastal and overseas distribution circuits. In order to remove any possible liaison between the local population and Zheng's naval forces, from 1661 residents of coastal provinces like Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Shandong were forcibly relocated approximately fifteen to thirty kilometers inland.<sup>15</sup> That same year, Chenggong landed on Taiwan and ousted the Dutch from the island in early 1662. As Qing influence advanced in coastal areas, Chinese maritime traders found it increasingly difficult to fit out their junks or attract traveling merchants at any Chinese ports.<sup>16</sup> This difficulty helped inspire Chenggong's son and successor, Zheng Jing (1642–1681), to seek a relationship with the Spanish at Manila and the English at Banten.<sup>17</sup> Few junks managed to sneak past the Qing inshore patrol during the 1670s. In 1681, the number of Chinese junks visiting Nagasaki touched rock bottom.<sup>18</sup>

Coastal commerce also suffered during the mid-century. One extant record reveals that three or four Chinese junks had visited Tongking annually during the late 1630s.<sup>19</sup> In the 1640s, however, chaos surrounding the Ming-Qing transition prevented many of them from sailing at all.<sup>20</sup> When Dutch merchants arrived in Tongking in 1643, they reported local farmers were considering quitting sericulture for rice cultivation because there had been so few prospective buyers recently, suggesting the absence of foreign traders from the Tongking market during those years.<sup>21</sup> Along with the Zheng presence on Taiwan, warfare in southern Chinese provinces also had significant ramifications for coastal commerce. In 1671 the power struggle between the Kangxi emperor and three Chinese generals based in Yunnan, Fuzhou, and Guangdong culminated in an anti-Manchu movement called the Revolt of the Three Feudatories. Early in the revolt, Geng Jingzhong (died 1682) in Fuzhou and Shang Kexi (died 1680) in Guangdong briefly encouraged foreign trade. They not only dispatched their own junks to Nagasaki but also protected Chinese junks visiting their ports against the Qing coast guard. Their initiatives soon failed, however, and both surrendered to the Qing in 1676. As Chinese ports became increasingly difficult to access by sea, Tongking provided a safe haven and trading ports for junks chased away by the Qing fleet.<sup>22</sup>

The border region and the gulf coastline joining Tongking and China became a hive of pirate activities, as the chapter by Niu and Li shows. Commercial traffic between Thăng Long and Macao via the Hainan Strait often fell foul of piracy and regional governments failed to control it. In 1660, for instance, the Trịnh proved unable to capture a Chinese pirate leader named Thun.<sup>23</sup> In the 1680s, pirate numbers and attacks increased so much that, in 1690, the Qing court sent an army to the northern edge of the gulf and requested the Trịnh join a coordinated antipiracy

operation along the its coast.<sup>24</sup> From a trading perspective, however, it is worth noting that frequent pirate attacks on commercial ships here indicated economic relations still continued between Tongking and Guangdong.

At least three different groups of Chinese traders participated and competed in the Tongking market. First, from the second half of the 1640s to the late 1680s, the Wei brothers from Fuqing were the major figures in the Tongking-Japan trade. From 1653 to 1684, junks under the influence of the Zheng were also involved in transporting Tonkingese silk products to Japan. In 1673, at the height of commercial competition between the two merchant groups, English traders observed that the "Chinese in Taiwan were chiefly bent on attacking the Tonkin junks bound for Japan."<sup>25</sup> They succeeded at least once during the summer of 1676, when Zheng naval vessels ambushed and plundered a Wei junk on its way to Japan.<sup>26</sup>

Overland trade between China and northern Đại Việt was another critical factor shaping Tongking's position in the South China Sea region. Though little is known about this border traffic before the Qing incorporated these southern provinces into its administration in 1681, the flow of goods between Tongking and Guangxi was important enough to catch the attention of European traders.<sup>27</sup> During the 1660s and 1670s, both the VOC and the English East India Company (EIC) made a real effort to open up their own overland trade between Thăng Long and southern China, but to no avail.<sup>28</sup> When the Revolt of the Three Feudatories disrupted the flow of commerce between the silk producing regions of the Yangzi River Delta and the areas under the rebels, silk goods stopped coming into provinces like Yunnan, Sichuan, and Guizhou. Merchants from Guangxi responded to the changed conditions by crossing the mountains to Tongking. With the arrival of these overland traders, the price of raw silk soared on the Tongking market.<sup>29</sup>

European traders came to Tongking primarily for two reasons: its geographical proximity to China, and its potential as supplier of raw silk. Until 1673, one Portuguese vessel—either a *galliot* or a smaller *naveta*—regularly visited northern Đại Việt.<sup>30</sup> In 1681, however, a Chinese trader reported that the Portuguese, who used to stay in a house at Phố Hiến, had vanished from Tongking.<sup>31</sup> Spanish merchants from Manila were another group of regular visitors to Tongking from the early 1650s.<sup>32</sup> They took local products such as silk and musk back to Manila in exchange for silver and brimstone.<sup>33</sup> From 1669 to 1682, the French also attempted to open regular trade with Tongking, but failed miserably.<sup>34</sup> Then English EIC merchants arrived in northern Đại Việt and set up a factory in 1672, aiming to cut into the Japan trade they had prematurely abandoned in 1623.<sup>35</sup> The *bakufu*'s stern refusal dashed English hopes for reopening their Japan trade, so the Tongking factory was given the new purpose of supplying finished silk products for the European

market.<sup>36</sup> However, after the Qing opened Guangdong to trade with the EIC in 1685, Chinese silk products became more popular on the London market because silk products cost much less in Guangdong than in Thăng Long. Beside the obvious price advantage, English merchants also found it more fruitful to collaborate with Chinese suppliers as they found them much more willing to adapt to European fashion trends than were Vietnamese producers.<sup>37</sup> Lacking a reason to keep a factory in Tongking, the English closed it in 1697.<sup>38</sup> Three years later, the VOC also ended its Tongking operation.<sup>39</sup> By the turn of the eighteenth century, European merchants had disappeared from Tongking, leaving only a few Catholic missionaries living locally.

Maritime traders from neighboring Southeast Asian ports also left their footprints in Tongking in the mid-seventeenth century. During the 1670s and 1680s, King Narai of Ayutthaya (r. 1656–88) dispatched junks annually with ambassadors on board.<sup>40</sup> As was often the case with Siamese junks, these royal delegates were part of a commercial venture orchestrated by the king himself.<sup>41</sup> Armenian merchants also traded between Ayutthaya and Tongking.<sup>42</sup> Chinese junks from Batavia sometimes called at Tongking on their way to Japan;<sup>43</sup> junks from Palembang and Malacca also appeared occasionally.<sup>44</sup> The EIC merchants observed that the arrival of these junks made everything expensive in the Tongking market.<sup>45</sup> All the foregoing illustrates that seventeenth-century Tongking was well connected to a network of regional foreign commerce.

After the last Zheng clan leader surrendered in 1681, allowing restrictions on coastal and offshore trade to be subsequently lifted, many private junks from mainland China set sail. Junks from Ningbo began coming to Tongking, with some returning directly to Ningbo and others sailing first to Nagasaki.<sup>46</sup> The demise of Chinese junks plying the profitable Tongking-Nagasaki silk trade may well have been an unintended consequence of this enthusiastic seaward rush after the Qing conquest of Taiwan. In the face of this sudden new wave of Chinese junks, the Japanese government issued a new set of regulations that limited the total volume of foreign trade at Nagasaki. Strict annual quotas were imposed on the volume of silver exported by Dutch ships and Chinese junks. Under these circumstances, Tongking lost its relevance for the commercial traffic that had sneaked through the haijin in previous decades. Throughout the 1690s, Chinese merchants who found raw silk rare and expensive in northern Đại Việt shifted their principal source of supply from Tongking to Ningbo,<sup>47</sup> causing Ningbo to supplant Tongking as an export hub for raw silk destined for Japan. No Chinese junk from Tongking appeared in Nagasaki from 1694 to 1696.48 In 1697, a single junk from Tongking was recorded in Nagasaki, and its nachoda told Nagasaki officials that 49

there were no junks bound for overseas at any harbor of Tongking [when he left]. In the past, a number of commercial junks visited [Tongking] to obtain local products. Junks from Tongking visited Nagasaki for many years. However, in recent years, no junks came to Tongking for trade.

# The Red River Delta and Phố Hiến

One of the most important aspects of the domestic trading environment at this time was that Thăng Long, the capital and central market town, was far inland, requiring foreign traders to navigate complicated river networks to access it. The Red River basin was hazardous for oceangoing vessels to traverse, and at least two major channels led to Thăng Long and Phố Hiến, its international entrepôt. Contemporary Europeans called the first, the modern Thái Bình River, either the Tongking or "Araquaron" River; and the second, the Phủ Lý River that connected the Đáy River and Red River, the "Rockbo," or sometimes in French missionary accounts the "Luc-va" River.<sup>50</sup> Figure 7.1 provides a schematic representation of these rivers systems.



Figure 7.1. Diagrammatic representation of commercial river systems in the Red River Delta. Modified from Sakurai Yumio, "Rakuden mondai no seiri: Kodai kõga deluta kaitaku shiron" (A Preliminary Essay on Reclamation in the Ancient Red River Delta), *Tõnajiajia kenkyū* 17 (1979): 11, fig. 4.

In 1636, when the VOC began considering Tongking as its main silk supplier for Japan, Nicolaes Couckebacker, who was head of the Hirado factory, consulted Japanese sailing itineraries and discovered Japanese merchants chose not to sail into the "Tongking" River. When asked why, they said that, despite depths of up to seventeen feet, the coastline around the estuary made it difficult for ships to navigate out to sea, and its more northerly location meant that it took Japanese traders twenty to twenty-five days, sometimes thirty, to circumnavigate Hainan Island before reaching the open sea. Undeterred, Couckebacker believed that their better European sails would spare the Dutch ships such a long journey.<sup>51</sup> Dutch and later English ships used the mouth of the Văn Úc River to access the Red River via the Thái Bình River.<sup>52</sup> After entering the Văn Úc, they moored at a small village called "Domea" because European vessels were too large to navigate farther upriver.<sup>53</sup> There they hired local barges and pilots to transport their goods west via the Luộc River, which eventually joined the Red River southeast of Phố Hiến.<sup>54</sup>

Junk traders in contrast preferred the Đại An estuary of the Đáy River which flowed into the gulf far south of the mouths of the Thái Bình and Văn Úc Rivers. In 1676, English merchants reported that two junks from Japan had arrived at the bar of the Rockbo River and were sailing to Phố Hiến. In 1688, English captain William Dampier noted that Chinese and Siamese junks took the shallower "Rokbo" route to Phố Hiến. When his own ship reached Phố Hiến, he found several Chinese junks riding in the middle of the "Rokbo" River.<sup>55</sup> This and other evidence<sup>56</sup> indicate that it was customary for junks, whether Chinese, Japanese, or Siamese, to use the Đáy River to access Phố Hiến, a route unsuitable for large European ships.<sup>57</sup>

Knowing the different routes taken by European and junk traders helps explain the development of certain trading towns in seventeenth-century Tongking, in particular Phố Hiến. The different itineraries show that each route crosses the other at Phố Hiến, which is why it emerged as the entrepôt for foreign trade and gateway to the capital's markets in the early seventeenth century.<sup>58</sup> Going up to Phố Hiến traders might take different channels, but from Phố Hiến to Thăng Long there was only one route, straight up the Red River. From the government's perspective, Phố Hiến was the perfect location for a checkpoint and customs post to control the movement of people and goods. Because all traffic was funneled along the Phố Hiến-Thăng Long route, the villages, places, and people in between affected the production of silk and subsequently the silk export trade with which this chapter is concerned.

#### Natural Conditions

As we have seen, for at least five decades in the mid-seventeenth century an overseas demand existed for Tongkingese silk, and there were plenty of foreign merchants willing to visit Tongking in search of it. Yet once the Qing ban on maritime activities was lifted, the Tongkingese silk export industry proved incapable of adjusting to renewed Chinese competition. The second half of this chapter will consider the internal circumstances of the local silk industry and the problems that made it so vulnerable by the 1690s.

The trade and production of raw silk were subject to weather conditions. First, the trade cycle was driven by the monsoons. Junks departed Nagasaki for Tongking between December and February, powered by the northeastern monsoon. They sailed southward along the coast of China, skirted south of Hainan Island, and thence cruised back north along the Vietnamese coast. Under normal circumstances, they usually reached Tongking by late March, and left within a few months, as the southwestern monsoon usually failed by the end of July. If they departed any later, they faced a high possibility that the winds would reverse en route and force them to turn back to Tongking. After roughly a month, they would sail into Nagasaki between late August and early September.

In Tongking villages, silk production took place twice a year, and April–May was the peak period of summer production. Japanese and Chinese residents, who moved the product to market, purchased raw silk from the villages and transported it to Thăng Long in time for the recently arrived junks.<sup>59</sup> Silk was produced again during October and November, but "winter silk" was less than half the quantity of summer silk. At first, foreign ships did not overwinter, so competition for this silk was less intense and its price became correspondingly lower.<sup>60</sup> From the early 1650s, however, some Chinese merchants began to take advantage of this cheaper silk by wintering in Tongking and buying silk to ship out the following summer, when the first junks arrived.<sup>61</sup>

This regular seasonal pattern of production was easily disturbed. Farmers in northern Đại Việt had to deal with difficulties caused by both dry and wet conditions. The land was regularly ravaged by drought and floods, and often by a combination of both, as Sakurai Yumio's survey of agricultural disasters in Đại Việt during the Lê dynasty (1428–1788) has shown.<sup>62</sup> Table 7.1 tabulates natural disasters in seventeenth-century Tongking as recorded in the dynastic chronicle<sup>63</sup> and European and Japanese sources. Although it is impossible to assess the economic seriousness of the damage each event inflicted, the list helps us understand

Year	Type of disaster	Source
1634	Famine	<i>Toàn thư</i> , 3: 946 (see note 64)
1641	Heavy rain, floods	<i>DB</i> , 1641–42: 65 (see note 11)
1649	Heavy rain, floods	<i>GM</i> , 2: 389 (see note 19)
1653	Floods	Kurihara, 17 (see note 62)
1654	Floods	DN, August 1654, 21 (see note 20)
1657	Big storm, floods	<i>Toàn thư</i> , 2: 960
1660	Epidemic, low harvest	<i>DB</i> , 1661: 49–51
1663	Floods	Toàn thư, 3: 974; DB, 1663: 689-92
1664	Drought	DB, 1664: 549
1667	Floods	Toàn thư, 3: 98
1669	Drought	Toàn thư, 3: 988
1670	Drought, epidemic	<i>Toàn thư</i> , 3: 990
1673	Floods	IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2:73v (see note 22)
1675	Drought	<i>Toàn thư</i> , 3: 1003
1679	Floods	<i>Toàn thư</i> , 3: 1003
1681	Drought, famine	Toàn thư, 3: 1010; KH, 1: 3 42–43, 417
		(see note 22)
1682	Famine, epidemic	<i>KH</i> , 1: 343, 417, 420 (see note 22)
1683	Famine, floods	<i>KH</i> , 1:418
1684	Floods	Toàn thư, 3: 1014; KH, 1:418
1685	Drought, floods	<i>KH</i> , 1: 607
1687	Drought	<i>Toàn thư</i> , 3: 1016
1693	Drought	<i>KH</i> , 2: 1566

Table 7.1. Natural Disasters in Tongking, 1634-93

the frequency of the natural disasters that local people and the silk industry had to endure.

Successful sericulture depended on two basic factors: a good crop of mulberry leaves to feed the silkworms and adequate labor to cultivate the silk. In the Red River Delta, mulberry fields were often located on sand banks, beyond the dikes and along the rivers. Naturally, these fields were especially susceptible to damage caused by heavy rain and floods.<sup>64</sup> In 1653 and 1654, for example, Tongking produced little silk because a strong current had swept away vulnerable mulberry trees. Without their food, silkworms starved.<sup>65</sup> Fields might also be artificially flooded to divert flows and save towns, as happened in 1673. When the water threatened Phố Hiến, the governor sought to prevent the town from being flooded by "raising banks and making several contrivances to divert its course another way."<sup>66</sup> When mulberry trees were destroyed by water overflowing riverbanks,

silkworms once more perished. Such wet conditions caused another problem: it was extremely difficult to keep goods dry and undamaged for a long period of time. "Damage caused by white worms and dampness of the earth" could seriously harm commodities in the warehouses.<sup>67</sup> In Phố Hiến, a Chinese merchant called Lin Yuteng owned a warehouse that reportedly "very seldom went dry for it is built on a [man-] made bank in the midst of [a] ditch."<sup>68</sup> EIC merchants described such storehouse conditions as "so bad and hazardous of fire, water and rats."<sup>69</sup> Even so, Lin's warehouse was considered one of the best-protected in Phố Hiến.

During winters, on the other hand, dry weather might impact significantly on the local economy and agriculture. Monsoon winds blew from the northeast along the China coast and across the Gulf of Tongking. They could carry so much water vapor out to sea that severe water shortages resulted on land. Drought was almost inevitably followed by famines and epidemics, all of which caused a shortage of manpower that hindered silk production. When there were insufficient workers to care for silkworms or reel silk off cocoons, silk products simply stopped coming onto the market, as happened in the first few years of the 1680s. This was a time of extreme hardship for local Vietnamese. In 1681 Tongking was hit by a massive drought, causing rice to fail and hundreds to die from starvation and widespread disease.<sup>70</sup> To alleviate the food shortage, the ruler granted a *chop* (or pass), without asking for any gifts or charges, to any ships that would bring only rice.<sup>71</sup> Then in early 1682 a second famine killed a large proportion of the silk weavers and many of the poor who spun silk in nearly all the villages of Kinh Bắc and Sơn Tây, the two main silk textile producing provinces in Tongking.72 Samuel Baron, at the time employed by the EIC in Tongking, probably exaggerated when he claimed this famine "swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants" in the early 1680s,73 but Chinese merchants reported that "a third of the population" had perished from mass famine that same year,<sup>74</sup> while French priests reported that "poor people were gathering together in groups and going to plunder anywhere where they knew they would find something to eat."75 In 1681 and 1682, no new silk products came on the market.

Drought damage was so devastating that it took several years for those regions to recover, so in 1684 silk was still very rare in Tongking.<sup>76</sup> The country struggled through the rest of the decade before, in 1689, the "rice price dropped and the people of Tongking found some relief in their lives" once more.<sup>77</sup> Even a milder drought, like that recorded in 1693, might still have bad effects on the silkworms because they were sensitive to dry weather. Finally, diseases also attacked the

worms, or insects killed them, and scarcity drove up the market price of silk as a result.<sup>78</sup> Natural calamities like these made the market erratic: traders might find the silk supply disrupted or nonexistent when they arrived, or the price too high for them to make a good profit.

### Man-Made Disasters: Fire, Theft, and Violence

Man-made disasters equally impacted badly on the silk industry. Fire, robbery, and theft were common and undermined the security of trading prospects. Foreign vessels laden with marketable commodities were rich targets for thieves and bandits. For instance, when English navigator William Adams led a Japanese ship to Tongking in 1619, thieves attacked his cargoes more than once.<sup>79</sup> In the mid-1630s, Japanese traders told the Dutch that when they cruised upriver to Thăng Long they took guns to protect themselves against the robbers and other malicious people found everywhere along the rivers, and that their merchandise had to be protected against theft and fire while it was stored in the warehouses.<sup>80</sup> In 1645, Wada Rizaemon witnessed ninety-two brigands attack a Chinese junk sailing up to Thăng Long and kill all its crew.<sup>81</sup>

Furthermore, the capital often suffered from fires during dry spells. The impact of any fire was worsened by the city's construction and by local administrative difficulties. In 1626, Giuliano Baldinotti, the first Catholic priest to visit Thăng Long, noted that fires had already destroyed the city several times. When a fire broke out, it spread quickly because the city was densely populated and most houses were constructed from bamboo and thatch, both highly flammable.82 William Dampier called such simple structures *cajan* houses.<sup>83</sup> Although there was a "reservoir of water" in the city used to quench fires, thousands of houses could be burned down before a fire could be extinguished. Houses could be quickly reconstructed, however, thanks to their simple structures.<sup>84</sup> Fire was a serious threat for business, given that commodities had to be kept intact in warehouses before their shipment. According to the English who arrived at Phố Hiến in 1672, apart from the chúa's residence, the Dutch factory, and a few Chinese houses, every other building was a cajan building, so nowhere was secure from the danger of fire.<sup>85</sup> Once a fire broke out, all people could do was spread wet mats on their valuable property and hope the wind would change direction and let their house escape the flames.<sup>86</sup> If commodities could easily be targeted for theft under normal conditions, a fire entailed much greater risks. After landing in Tongking,

English merchants were soon warned that "the people frequently set [foreign merchants' warehouses] on fire to steal [the commodities] under the pretense of coming to help quench" the blaze.<sup>87</sup> In the summer of 1673, Phố Hiến suffered two suspicious fires within a short period. The first broke out in a house next to Lin Yuteng's,<sup>88</sup> which belonged to another Chinese.<sup>89</sup> Only a week later, another fire started in a house in Lin Yuteng's compound and destroyed at least one hundred houses in Phố Hiến.<sup>90</sup> Although the causes of these fires were unknown, the English merchants recognized that two fires in the same small place in such a short period of time were clearly unusual. Finally, fires, robberies, and theft in the area around Thăng Long and Phố Hiến could also follow local political instability, whether directly or indirectly.

As Sakurai Yumio has pointed out, recurring warfare between the Trinh and the Nguyễn also badly affected the Tongking economy.<sup>91</sup> Between 1627 and 1672 the Trinh led seven expeditions south against the Nguyễn.92 The chúa's absence from Thăng Long at these times easily triggered social unrest around the capital, which in turn could seriously affect commercial transactions. Thus in 1643, two Dutch merchants, Antonio van Brouckhorst and Jan van Elseracq, observed that while Trinh Tráng led his army to the south, rumors circulated around the capital that the Mac were preparing to attack Thăng Long. As the story spread, most principal merchants fled the capital, and farmers in the surrounding area complained that thieves and rogues were disrupting trade. As people could not travel to Thăng Long without being threatened by bandits, merchandise stopped coming into the capital from other parts of the country. Commercial transactions there came to a halt and Dutch traders could do no business for five or six consecutive days.93 From 1655 to 1660 the Trinh's fifth and longest military campaign against the Nguyễn brought about serious social instability and an economic downturn. Reflecting the loss of life and dire economic situation during these six years of combat in the southernmost province of Nghệ An, exports of Tongkingese raw silk on both Dutch ships and Chinese junks showed a clear plunge during this period.94 Table 7.2 summarizes the wars, mutinies, and other social unrest that could have adversely affected silk production from 1627 to 1692.

On top of the chronic hostility against the Nguyễn until 1672, and the Mạc until 1677, internal political instability might also trouble the commercial environment in Tongking. Internal divisions in the *chúa*'s court inevitably led to social unrest. Every time the *chúa*'s influence weakened, either from illness or because of his absence from Thăng Long, growing security concerns caused numbers of people to flee the capital. In 1645, for instance, when Trịnh Tráng fell seriously

Year	Type of disaster	Source
1627	Attack on the Nguyễn	Cadière, 128–30 (see note 4)
1634	Attack on the Nguyễn	Cadière, 141–45
1643	War against the Nguyễn and	Cadière, 145–58; and Van der Plas, 22
		Mac aggression (see note 21)
1645	Civil war	Van der Plas, 22
1648	Attack on the Nguyễn	Cadière, 159–66
1652	Conspiracy	DN, 7 August 1652 (see note 20)
1655-60	Nguyễn attack on Tongking	Cadière, 166–210
1657	Social unrest	DN, 20 August 1657
1661	Attack on the Nguyễn	Cadière, 211–14
1672	Looting in Phố Hiến	IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2: 60r (see note 22)
1672	Attack on the Nguyễn	Cadière, 214–32
1673	Fires at Phố Hiến	IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2:93v
1674	Mutiny in Thăng Long	IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2r: 118r-119r;
		<i>KH</i> , 1: 109–10 (see note 22)
1677	Revolts in Cao Bằng	<i>KH</i> , 1: 209–10
1682	Mutiny	<i>KH</i> , 1: 343, 417, 420
1683	Mutiny	<i>KH</i> , 1:417–18
1692	Potential succession crisis	IOR, G/12/17, pt. 8:347r

Table 7.2. Man-Made Disasters in Tongking, 1634-93

ill, his son, Trinh Tac, was selected to succeed, but the choice triggered a revolt by Tac's other son, Trinh Lich, in which four thousand people were killed. Dutch merchants observed that local traders fled to the countryside at this time and commercial activities came to standstill.95 Trinh Tráng eventually passed away in 1657, and Tac succeeded him. Anticipating the insurrection and bloodshed that normally followed such occasions, all the residents of Thăng Long reportedly took refuge in nearby villages. Until they returned, commercial transactions were suspended.<sup>96</sup> The Canh Tri era (1663–72) under Trinh Tac enjoyed relative peace and political stability until 1672, when rumors spread of an insurrection in the east.<sup>97</sup> When he heard that 5,000 starving people had joined the uprising, the governor of Phố Hiến advised foreign residents to prepare their defenses and have weapons ready on all occasions. If the mob moved to ransack one town after another, the governor feared Phố Hiến might attract them because the foreigners who lived there meant more booty for them.<sup>98</sup> In the summer of 1674, elite Thanh Hóa and Nghệ An troops mutinied in the capital.<sup>99</sup> Amid the chaos Wei Zhiyan, the younger of the Wei brothers, lost more than two thousand taels.<sup>100</sup> In 1683, when Trinh Căn (r. 1682-1709) was installed as chúa, Tongking experienced

another succession crisis.<sup>101</sup> In 1697, the *chúa*'s prolonged illness made Thăng Long residents apprehensive for their families' safety. Anticipating "troubles and tumult" and fearing plunder by the soldiers, they sent their wives, children, and money to the countryside.<sup>102</sup>

Recurring wars and political unrest provided no incentives for foreign traders to settle in Tongking. Comparing the security and stability of Nagasaki to the uncertainty of Thăng Long indicates why Chinese traders like the Wei brothers were keen to remain in Nagasaki as long as they could and eager to obtain permanent residency in Japan.<sup>103</sup> Their ability to accumulate commercial capital and the smooth handover of the business from one brother to another were certainly facilitated by the fact that their wealth was kept in Nagasaki and not in Thăng Long or Phố Hiến. In Tongking, the chúa could confiscate the assets of wealthy foreign merchants at will, as happened most spectacularly in the case of the aforementioned Wada Rizaemon. This Japanese merchant had once amassed as much as fifty thousand taels in assets, but when he passed away Trinh Tac declared himself the principal heir, seizing the whole property and leaving Wada's mother and son a mere six hundred taels.<sup>104</sup> The arbitrary seizure of such an important foreign merchant's assets could hardly encourage lesser foreigners to engage in economic activities that might accumulate capital in Tongking, at the mercy of the Trinh lord. Over the course of the seventeenth century, when Nagasaki transformed itself from an obscure fishing village into a busy international port, it also developed the legal, administrative, and economic infrastructure that enabled the bakufu to foster and control foreign trade. In contrast, Tongking's political and military volatility, compounded by the already difficult natural conditions, helped ensure that the local export silk industry would be particularly vulnerable to any serious external competition.

# Conclusion

As the foregoing analysis has shown, the rise and fall of the seventeenth-century Tongking silk export industry occurred in, and responded to, the unusual opportunities created by an extraordinary set of circumstances that reshaped the commerce of the whole Tongking Gulf region (and beyond) for nearly half a century. The chaos surrounding the Ming-Qing transition in southern China meant Chinese participation in the export silk industry was largely suspended for several decades in the middle of the century, and it was mainly by capitalizing on this temporary shift of emphasis to another gulf shore that the Tongking silk industry was able to
become a leading exporter. As long as the Tongking silk industry enjoyed privileged access to the Japanese market, on which it was heavily dependent, it was able to flourish, despite its inherent problems of organization and supply. Even at its height, however, Tongking's silk industry remained undercapitalized and was unable to guarantee a regular supply due to its vulnerability to internal disasters, both natural and man-made. Its slender window of opportunity closed when the Qing government lifted the maritime ban in 1684. When China reopened and silk from the lower Yangzi River Delta once again started flowing into overseas markets, the Tongkingese silk export industry proved incapable of adjusting to renewed Chinese competition. As local silk lost its competitive edge through the late 1680s, Tongking found it impossible to adjust to changing commercial conditions in the region and its brief commercial resurgence ended.

## Chapter 8

# Chinese "Political Pirates" in the Seventeenth-Century Tongking Gulf

Niu Junkai and Li Qingxin

Like all pirates throughout the centuries, the seventeenth-century pirates of the Gulf of Tongking cruised the seas and harassed passing ships and junks. But unlike those in the rest of the South China (or Eastern) Sea, most of the pirates active in the Tongking Gulf came from either Southern Ming or Mac armed forces, and were involved in the politics of the time. Since most of them had mandarin titles and political ambitions, we have called them here "political pirates." Chinese and Vietnamese regimes benefited from their activities, but none could control them completely. This was a most interesting period for the Gulf of Tongking. Political turmoil and confusion were unprecedented, as power was contested within the borders of both sides—the Southern Ming and the Qing fought over southern China, and the remnant Mac held out in Cao Bang, in northern Dai Việt, against the Restored Lê dynasty whose powerless kings were closely controlled by Trinh lords. At this time of strife, Chinese pirates thrived and the Gulf of Tongking provided their best stage, allowing them to roam freely across political, state, and geographic boundaries.

This chapter outlines this complicated story and seeks to untangle the intertwined relationships between Vietnamese political regimes and the gulf's political pirates or outlaws, men who were most often beyond the influence of court politics. It begins with a brief discussion of how the Tongking Gulf region easily became a pirate haven during times of political turmoil, before moving on to consider relations of the Lê-Trịnh and Mạc courts with the anti-Qing pirates that roamed the gulf in the mid to later seventeenth century.



Map 6. Tongking Gulf in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

## The Tongking Gulf as a Pirate Haven

The waters of the Tongking Gulf lie largely between the Leizhou Peninsula (in modern Guangdong), Hainan Island, and the coast of modern northern Vietnam. Many harbors of all sizes, and innumerable islands, dot the gulf's 130,000 square kilometers. The area between Leizhou and the northern Vietnamese coastline, known from the Ming dynasty as the "Western Sea" (Xihai), was a watery world shared by fishermen and seafarers from all coastal areas. It was never easy for central governments to control at the best of times. During periods of catastrophic political turmoil, the many harbors and uninhabited islands scattered from Leizhou and the Yuexi (west Quangdong) coast down to northern Vietnam formed a natural arena for illicit traders, bandits, and pirates. Thus, as the Ming dynasty was beginning

its long collapse, *wokou* (Japanese pirates, and also Chinese pirates pretending to be Japanese) from Zhejiang, Taiwan, and Fujian cruised into Guangdong and Guangxi waters and soon established themselves there. The resulting rise in piracy placed a heavy policing burden on the Leizhou administration because it was responsible for patrolling the sea in three directions.<sup>1</sup> In 1566, a military unit called the Water Garrison (*shuizhai*) was finally set up specifically to patrol the Guangdong coast.<sup>2</sup>

From at least this time, the Western Sea was renowned as a center of smuggling and piracy According to a local source compiled in 1562, the two shores of the Western Sea could accommodate more than one hundred ships at berth, attracting rampant smuggling to this area. Many smaller ports along its western coast, like Baili, Baisha, and Santiao, could also accommodate dozens of ships, making them attractive for smugglers. But the principal haven in this chain of smugglers' ports was Longmen Island,<sup>3</sup> the largest of the Longmen Islands group that lie just offshore from the estuaries of the Qinjiang and Yuhongjiang Rivers, a little south of Qinzhou. Local chronicles compiled between the Jiajing (1522-66) and Wanli (1574-1620) reign periods describe Longmen (meaning Dragon's Gate) as a strategic place, as later would Pan Dinggui under the Qing, whose text recognized its military significance as the gateway to Quizhou.<sup>4</sup> It was also a natural pirate lair. As the chronicle of the Jiajing period explained, the Longmen River, which was sixty miles along the coast southwest of Qinzhou City, appeared here like a dragon with the mountains facing it forming a natural "gate"; seventy-two channels ran from the islands to the sea. From here, ships could slip secretly eastward toward Hepu or westward to Tongking, one day's sail away, whereas overland access was only possible across treacherous mountain paths. In addition to these advantages for illicit maritime activities of all sorts, the center of Longmen Island was flat, making it an ideal place for docking ships and training troops.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, pirates often occupied it as their base.

Being next to northern Vietnam and far from Chinese government posts was another factor making Longmen a natural base for pirates and private traders. One Ming map, called the "Map of Coastal Guangdong," even showed Longmen as the boundary between Ming China and Tongking.<sup>6</sup> Controlling Longmen was therefore vital for Qinzhou's security and, at some point, the Ming government ordered that a *danzong* (military officer in charge of fishermen), with 108 soldiers and six warships, be stationed there, as well as setting up a military camp in the Longjiang River estuary.<sup>7</sup> Longmen became an important center for anti-Qing forces, second only to Taiwan, where Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) was based. As we will see below, anti-Qing "political pirates" occupied Longmen several times, and later attacked it after the Qing government took control of the island. Of course, Chinese outlaws were not the only pirates to take advantage of the Tongking Gulf's many hiding places to prey on shipping or coastal towns. Vietnamese did as well. Ông Phú and his men, who were based in Đại Việt, were notorious on the Quangdong coast for their assaults on Qinzhou, which they attacked or plundered on several occasions. So strong were they that it required the Ming army to cross the border in late 1608 before their power was broken.<sup>8</sup> In 1629, Mạc Kính Mão and his band also plundered Qinzhou.<sup>9</sup> Other Vietnamese pirates from the Sino-Vietnamese coastal border region equally prowled the gulf, like Phù An Hầu from Hoa Phong District, Xí Dương Bác from Quan Lan village, Phù Trung Bác from Đồ Sơn, Ông Trao Lộc and his brothers from Đông Hải and Jiangping,<sup>10</sup> and Đô Dũng who occupied the island of Daimao off Qinzhou.<sup>11</sup> However, with the exception of Ông Phú (who is discussed again later), none of these pirates were political players in the great drama that would unfold in the Tongking Gulf region during the chaotic Ming-Qing transition of the midseventeenth century.

# The Lê-Trịnh Court and the Southern Ming

The establishment of the Southern Ming regime greatly affected relations between China and Đại Việt. Virtually from the start, both the Longwu (1645-46) and Yongli (1647-62) regimes sought aid from Vietnam. After Longwu dispatched Lin Can to the capital, Thăng Long (now Hanoi), the Lê sent a tribute mission by sea as far as Fuzhou in modern Fujian, to request the title "King of Annam,12 which Yongli granted in 1647.13 A few years later, in 1651, he granted the new title "Vice-King of Annam" to Trinh Tráng.14 This award was politically significant because for more than a century, from the time of Mac Đăng Dung (1541), the Ming had refused to grant a royal title to the Đại Việt ruler, who had to make do officially with the lesser title "Governor of Annam."15 While this gesture would win aid from the Lê-Trinh court in Thăng Long, the Southern Ming also tried to make sure of the loyalty of the Mac in Cao Bằng by returning to their leader the title of "Governor of Annam," which the remnant Mac had not held for nearly sixty years. Between 1647 and 1651, when Yongli was forced to leave Nanning for Guizhou in Anlong, the Southern Ming maintained close relations with the Vietnamese regimes in what was a sort of honeymoon period. It seems likely that the Lê-Trinh assisted the Southern Ming with money, troops, elephants, rice, and weapons.16 On one occasion the Restored Lê court reportedly even promised 20–30,000 taels of silver each year to help the Southern Ming. It also protected some high Ming officials by allowing them to hide in Đại Việt.

Since most of Guangxi was under Qing control in the 1650s, after Yongli moved to Yunnan in 1656 his only route for communicating with his main supporter, the Taiwan-based Zheng Chenggong, was through Vietnamese territory. But as the Qing army won firm control of southern China, and the border zone increasingly fell into Oing hands, the attitude of the northern Đai Viêt court toward the Southern Ming began to change. When Southern Ming officials passed through Vietnamese territory, they were now increasingly obstructed. For example, in 1658 when Zheng Chenggong sent Xu Fuyuan to Yunnan, he was required to kneel before Trinh Tac. This was an unprecedented demand: since the Yuan dynasty, Chinese envoys had customarily refused to kneel to the Vietnamese king, let alone to someone who was, however exalted, still technically only one of his officials. Because Xu Fuyuan insisted on maintaining this tradition and would not kneel, he was refused access to Vietnamese territory and had to go back to Taiwan. When he tried to debate the request with Vietnamese officials, they told him that some Chinese officials had knelt to the Trinh lord the year before.<sup>17</sup> This seems to suggest that Trinh Tac was trying taking advantage of the weakened status of the Southern Ming to raise his own internal status.18

When the Qing army entered Yunnan and the Yongli emperor escaped to Burma, the two Vietnamese regimes in Tongking began to accept that the Qing dynasty had won. The Mac submitted first in 1659, and were soon followed by the Lê-Trinh in 1660. Both Vietnamese regimes had to do three things to be allowed to establish relations with the Qing. The first was to surrender any Ming officials hiding in Vietnam, which both Lê and Mac did. The Lê handed over Prince Guang Ze Wang and two high officers called Yang Xiang and Guo Zhiqi,<sup>19</sup> while the Mac returned Prince De Yang Wang.<sup>20</sup> The second was to surrender the seals that the Ming or Southern Ming had conferred on them. The Mac promptly handed back theirs in 1661, but the Lê only complied in 1666.<sup>21</sup> The third and most important condition was to help attack the Southern Ming army. The Lê and the Mac cooperated with the Qing for their own reasons, and despite their apparent compliance they still managed to protect some Ming officials and offered a more or less open door to anti-Qing Chinese who wanted to move to Đại Việt.22 Some high Ming officers became Lê government officials.23 For example, Li Kelian, who had presided over the Southern Ming Ministry of War, escaped to Vietnam and became governor of Tuyên Quang in the late seventeenth century, according to the Li family genealogy.<sup>24</sup> His two brothers, Li

Wobi and Li Kegui, became famous textile craftsmen and innovators in their new country.<sup>25</sup>

# The Lê-Trịnh Court and Piracy

It was against this changing background that anti-Qing Chinese piracy operated in the mid-seventeenth-century Gulf of Tongking and was tolerated, or sometimes protected, by both the Mac and the Lê-Trinh courts. Repressing pirates in this period was a far more complicated matter than simply a military action between government forces and outlaw bands. Many pirates at this time were themselves often ex-officials of the Ming, meaning that, to a large extent, they were political refugees rather than simple desperados without a political agenda. Even if they had previously been ordinary outlaws, the fluid political circumstances of the time enabled shrewd bandits to play one side against the other by accepting political protection from different local powers in turn. Chaozhou native Huang Hairu, who had ravaged Hainan Island in 1644, is one such example.<sup>26</sup> Because "political pirates" were generally more sophisticated than ordinary bandits, they had greater skill at the diplomatic game and understood better how to benefit from the divided politics of the two states along the gulf's coastal rim. Conversely, while their existence caused headaches for both Chinese and Vietnamese authorities, they did provide the four different (and unequal) regimes of the mid-seventeenth century with opportunities for political negotiation and maneuvers. We will consider one example of this phenomenon in detail, the story of the most famous pirate group of the mid-seventeenth-century Tongking Gulf, the forces of Deng Yao and his subordinate, Yang Yandi (or Yang Er).27

Deng Yao had been a famous officer of the Southern Ming and at the same time a notorious pirate. In 1651, his forces had occupied the strategic stronghold of Longmen Island,<sup>28</sup> and held it for eleven years. The golden era of Deng Yao's band came in the mid-1650s. In 1655, they attacked Qinzhou, killing many inhabitants and robbing the city and the neighboring area.<sup>29</sup> Then in 1656 they pillaged the Qinzhou Temple of Literature, removing bronze utensils—some from the Tang and Song dynasties—and recast them into weapons. In 1659, Deng and his men attacked Qinzhou once more, but their defeat there began the group's decline. In 1661, the Qing army defeated the Longmen pirates and Deng Yao fled to northern Vietnam,<sup>30</sup> before escaping to a Qianlongshan temple in Guangxi, where he was finally arrested and killed by the Qing army.<sup>31</sup>

In 1662, not long after the Qing arrested Deng, a pirate force led by Yang

Yandi briefly retook control of Longmen Island.<sup>32</sup> Yang Yandi and his main subordinates<sup>33</sup> would form one of the most formidable of the Tongking Gulf's "political pirate" forces. Yang himself would also later become one of the most famous of them in Vietnam, after his remaining forces joined with those of Chen Shangchuan<sup>34</sup> to flee to the central Vietnamese breakaway state of Quinam (Cochinchina, or Đàng Trong in Vietnamese) seeking asylum shortly before the fall of the Zheng in Taiwan. They were sent to the far southern Mekong Delta by the suspicious Nguyễn ruler where their men, with other Ming loyalist exiles, settled and helped to develop the area agriculturally and commercially. Known as the Longmen troops (Long Môn in Vietnamese), the former pirates served with Nguyễn forces fighting the Khmer.<sup>35</sup>

Yang Yandi's background is obscure. According to Chen Jinghe, he was a local commander of the Ming army,<sup>36</sup> but another source suggests he originally came from an ethnic minority background in the Suixi district, because he reportedly rebelled with Zu Zeqing in the Kangxi period and was described as "Tuzei" (native bandit) in the local chronicle.<sup>37</sup> A third source, Du Zhen, said Yang was the subordinate of a Qinzhou man,<sup>38</sup> and thus might have been a native of that area himself. Whatever the case, Yang Yandi first became notorious in 1656, when his forces ravaged the Tongxi seaport of Hainan Island, plundering many of its inhabitants, robbing the merchant ships they found there, and killing the merchants who resisted.<sup>39</sup> In 1659 and 1660, his men plundered Yaizhou several times and ravaged other parts of the Tongking Gulf such as Leizhou and Hainan. Their activities were so effective at the time that communications between Hainan and Canton were disrupted. At the height of his strength, Yang controlled thousands of subordinates and more than eighty warships that roamed the Gulf of Tongking.<sup>40</sup>

In 1663, Yang's forces quit Longmen. They were next reported in 1666–67, hiding on the northern Vietnamese coast, where their piracy continued unchecked. At the time, Yang Yandi and his men were under the protection of the provincial governor of a place recorded as Håi Nha (probably Håi Durong Province), a man named Phan Phủ Quốc. When Qing officials came to arrest Yang in 1666, Phan Phủ Quốc not only refused to help but actually attacked the Qing force.<sup>41</sup> When the Qing government demanded the Lê-Trịnh court arrest Yang,<sup>42</sup> his band fled to Taiwan for shelter. As late as 1679, they were still strong enough to capture Haian barracks, an important Qing army installation on the Leizhou Peninsula.<sup>43</sup> Yang Yandi's forces were finally comprehensively defeated in February 1682, shortly before the fall of the Zheng regime in Taiwan, causing them to flee to Cochinchina for asylum, as noted above.<sup>44</sup> This makes Yang Yandi the only anti-Qing Chinese

pirate chief who actively engaged with the two great rival Vietnamese ruling families, the Trinh in the north and the Nguyễn farther south.

Yang's time under the protection of Phan Phủ Quốc demonstrates how entangled politics and piracy could become at this time. This Vietnamese official dared to refuse the Qing request to surrender Yang to the Qing army outright and later even attacked their troops. That he was emboldened to act in such a dangerous way was perhaps because the Qing government had not yet granted the Restored Lê king the official title of "King of Annam," nor had the Lê-Trinh returned the seals previously granted them by the Southern Ming. But that very same month things changed dramatically: seven days later, after the Lê gave up the Yongli seals, Beijing decided to dispatch two officials to recognize the Lê ruler as king of Annam.<sup>45</sup>

After this, the political balance shifted in regard to anti-Qing pirates. The Lê-Trịnh regime supported the Qing by attacking the Yang Yandi group and other such pirates in the Gulf of Tongking, as the Chinese chronicles relate.<sup>46</sup> This shift in support was especially seen in the later seventeenth century. From the 1680s to the early 1690s, the most notorious gulf pirates were led by Fang Yunlong and Zhu Quan.<sup>47</sup> The Fang group, of mixed Chinese and Vietnamese membership, was mostly based in Vạn Ninh, in Đại Việt, and its second-in-command was a Vietnamese known in the Chinese records as Xin Enchong. They often plundered Longmen and Qinzhou. After the Qing army asked the Lê-Trịnh court to eradicate them, the Trịnh army captured Enchong and handed two hundred Chinese pirates over to the Qing government.<sup>48</sup>

The 1666 handing over of Southern Ming seals to Beijing also played a decisive role in ending the Mac regime. The Southern Ming had previously protected the Mac; but once the Lê-Trịnh court surrendered its Ming seals to the Qing, its last link with the Southern Ming had been cut. With the Lê king now officially recognized as king of Annam by the Qing,<sup>49</sup> the Trịnh army confidently attacked Cao Bằng and captured it in 1667.

# The Mac and Tongking Gulf Pirates

The final settlement of the Mạc-Lê rivalry in northern Vietnam would take another decade after the fall of Cao Bằng, and once more the internal politics of Đại Việt would be caught up with politics in China. This was because the Mạc regime in Cao Bằng had been deeply involved in Sino-Vietnamese affairs. At the end of sixteenth century, when the Mạc were driven out of the Red River plains by the victorious Lê-Trịnh army, the Ming had helped the Mạc to set up a holdout regime

in Cao Bằng.<sup>50</sup> During the Southern Ming period, various Ming princes sheltered there, like Prince De Yang Wang and Prince Guang Ze Wang, as well as generals like Yang Xiang. Mạc Kính Diệu even went as far as to swear an oath to Ming officials to fight the Qing,<sup>51</sup> and in 1659 the Mạc united with the Ming army for this purpose.<sup>52</sup> The Cao Bằng regime had also helped the Ming to guard the border: in 1616, for instance, Mạc officers arrested Tạ Văn An on behalf of the Ming after he had plundered Guangxi from Vietnam.<sup>53</sup> At other times, however, the Mạc harassed the Chinese borders themselves, especially in Zhenan (Yunnan) and Guishun (Guangxi) Districts.<sup>54</sup>

In 1667, when the Lê army conquered Cao Bẳng, Mạc Nguyên Thanh escaped to Yunnan and then to Nanning, where he asked the Qing to help him to take back Cao Bẳng. In 1669, the Qing dispatched Li Xiangen and Yang Zhaojie to mediate on the Mạc's behalf. Li negotiated with Lê officials for three months, and persuaded the Lê to return Cao Bằng to the Mạc. The Qing regarded the Mạc as a Qing tributary and insisted that the Lê inform the Qing government before the Lê launched any attacks on the Mạc.<sup>55</sup> In 1677, however, when the Qing asked for help to attack the Southern Ming supporter Wu Sangui, the Đại Việt court used the opportunity to inform the Qing that the Mạc had aided Wu. They hoped this would be regarded as a high crime and would enrage the Qing. Shortly after, the Lê-Trịnh captured Cao Bằng<sup>56</sup> and, not surprisingly, the Qing turned a blind eye, even though some Qing officials believed the Mạc had not aided Wu.<sup>57</sup>

There is little trace in the sources of a close relationship between the Mac in mountainous Cao Bằng and Chinese pirates in the Tongking Gulf but, as noted above. Vietnamese pirates were also active in those waters and most of the betterknown ones had some contacts with the remnant Mac. In the first half of the seventeenth century, on the Van Ninh coast of Đai Việt, all the inhabitants were described as "loyal to the Mac dynasty,"58 and although some of these people reportedly surrendered to the Lê, the court could not control them. The Đồ Sơn region near modern Hai Phòng and its surrounds was an important pirate zone, and its most powerful pirates belonged to the Phù An Hầu group. The most famous pirate of all, Ông Phú (or Vũ Vĩnh Trịnh), was apparently loyal to the Mac. These groups plundered the Tongking Gulf seaboard for a living. Qinzhou, the nearest Chinese town, reported pirate alarms virtually every year from 1598,59 with Ông Phú's group alone plundering there six times. These pirates did not simply depend on their booty to make a living but also engaged in some business. Ông Phú's group, for instance, often traded with Oinzhou merchants, while some pirates had been merchants before turning outlaw. For example, in 1605, when Xí Dương Bác (or Bùi Dùng) came to Qinzhou as a merchant, he was obstructed by

a Chinese officer called Li Bowei and suffered severe losses. Swearing revenge, he joined Ông Phú's forces and plundered Qinzhou.<sup>60</sup> In December 1607, Ông Phú led nearly one thousand pirates and thirty-four warships in another attack on Qinzhou, plundering the city and killing several Ming officers and dozens of merchants. A month later, in January 1608, they returned with four thousand men but, unable to reenter the city, they robbed the outlying areas instead. Finally, in October 1608 the Ming army crossed the border and destroyed them, killing four hundred pirates and arresting one thousand.<sup>61</sup>

The leaders of these pirate bands often boasted official titles granted by the Mac or the Lê, and most of their subordinates came from the Mac army. Both the Lê dynasty and Mac regime tried to utilize these armed groups, and when either fought pirates at the request of the Ming dynasty they always used the opportunity to attack those who cooperated with their political rivals. For example, when Lê-Trịnh forces joined with the Ming to arrest the pirates who plundered Qinzhou in 1607 and 1608, the Lê arrested Marquis Phù An and Marquis Phù Trung, who had taken no part in the pillaging. The real reason for their arrest was that they were considered disloyal to the Lê, though they were charged with connections to piracy.<sup>62</sup>

## Conclusion

As the foregoing discussion has revealed, the seventeenth-century Tongking Gulf was not only an important site of contestation between the rival northern Vietnamese courts but also between the Southern Ming and the Qing. In every case, these internal rivalries were further complicated by bilateral relations involving the four parties and entangled with the activities of pirates who supported or maneuvered between the different sides. The Tongking Gulf provided many havens for remnants Ming and Mac forces, where they could survive through piracy and by slipping between two countries and four regimes at a time of turmoil generally in the gulf. But when circumstances changed, and the political turmoil finally died down after the new regimes in China and Đại Việt took firmer hold of their territories and established friendly relations with each other, little living space remained for such well-organized and large-scale pirate navies. Their like would not be seen again in the Tongking Gulf until similar conditions of political and military disruption-although on a much smaller scale-returned there toward the end of the eighteenth century, when dynastic overthrow in Vietnam in the 1770s opened the door for pirate navies to ply their trade once more, under the banner of competing Vietnamese political rivals.

# Chapter 9

# Chinese Merchants and Mariners in Nineteenth-Century Tongking

Vũ Đường Luân and Nola Cooke

In 2006, a leading Vietnamese economist observed in a Chinese newspaper that "Sino-Vietnamese trade is more frequent than domestic trade between northern and southern Vietnam." As several chapters in this book have shown, this pattern of interregional economic interaction in the Tongking Gulf is a centuries-old phenomenon. This impulse to exchange and the economic complementarity on which it rested have helped interknit different parts of the gulf shores and hinterlands over centuries, and these innumerable transactions between local peoples have always resurfaced in the wider Tongking Gulf region whenever circumstances allowed, with or without official sanction. This chapter brings our horizontal view of this region to its conclusion at the start of the colonial era, when Western military intrusion into the gulf waters finally curbed the endemic, large-scale piracy and unregulated trade that had marked the region since the seventeenthcentury Ming-Qing transition. The chapter focuses on coastal and maritime exchanges in the last century of Vietnamese independence and draws its evidence largely from Vietnamese and Chinese archives or published primary sources, plus certain eyewitness Western accounts.<sup>2</sup>

# South China's Maritime Trade with Early Nineteenth-Century Tongking

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, junk traffic between China and Southeast Asia continued to flourish.<sup>3</sup> Sarasin Viraphol estimated the combined

carrying capacity of Chinese and Southeast Asian junks around 1830 at 85,000 tons, while the English East India Company, in its last years as monopolist of European trade with China, was moving only about 30,000 tons.<sup>4</sup> From the 1830s, however, economic relations between southern China and Southeast Asia began to change rapidly. First, the British free port of Singapore displaced Bangkok as Guangzhou's major trading partner; then the advent of commercial steamships began a process that, by the middle of the century, would revolutionize the system that had regulated Guangzhou's trade for nearly 150 years. Before the end of the century, steamships had invaded the inland waterways of China and dominated its long-haul maritime transport.<sup>5</sup> Within a couple of decades of their first appearance in the 1830s, Chinese shipping companies were increasingly preferring to use these faster, more secure steamers, many of them leased in Hong Kong and thus British-flagged. In 1863, French officials in Saigon pointed to this trend to explain an apparent decline in the amount of Chinese junk shipping that year.<sup>6</sup>

Both of these important changes tended to cut the Tongking Gulf off from the most important international maritime transport routes. Singapore's easy access from the new primary Vietnamese port of Saigon in far southern Vietnam made this port important commercially for the new Nguyễn dynasty, which had taken over the country in 1802. After the second king, Minh Mạng (r. 1820–41), decided to renew state-run trading expeditions to Southeast Asian ports in the 1820s, both official Vietnamese missions and illicit private traders were often seen plying the Singapore route and its surrounding waters.<sup>7</sup> But although the Tongking Gulf could play no real role in this booming long-haul international maritime traffic, its waters continued to attract regional commerce involving southern Chinese junk merchants, coasting small traders, pirates, and other seafarers from both sides of the porous coastal frontier, as this chapter will show.

Unfortunately, our only direct information for this interregional trade at the time is contradictory and undoubtedly inaccurate. There are two basic sources. One is the information about Tongking gathered from Chinese merchants in far southern Vietnam by English East India Company envoy John Crawfurd. He reported that, in the early 1820s, annual Chinese trade with Tongking averaged eighteen junks from Hainan Island, each of about 120 tons; six from Guangdong of about 120–150 tons each; seven from Amoy of about the same tonnage; and seven from Chaozhou of about 150 tons each. It totaled on average about thirty-eight largish or medium-sized junks carrying 5,000 tons. Crawfurd was also told that no really big junks (over 3,000 piculs, or 180 tons) could navigate upriver to Hanoi, although that was the location of the principal market. (Iioka's chapter in this volume confirms that was also the case in the seventeenth century.) There

they unloaded a variety of everyday manufactured consumer goods like paper, porcelain, tea, confectionary, dried fruits, and so on,<sup>8</sup> and took on mixed cargoes mostly comprising areca, cardamom, cotton, salted fish, rice, varnish, stick lac, and other local products used in dyeing, plus gold and silver bullion.<sup>9</sup> Of these, rice and bullion were officially prohibited exports and thus qualified merchants who exported them as smugglers. Anthony Reid's analysis of Crawfurd's data for all Vietnam indicates about 115 Chinese junks traveled there from Fujian and Guangdong each year, carrying about 19,400 tons of cargo. In addition to the thirty-eight to Tongking, forty-eight went to central Vietnamese ports (carrying about 7,800 tons) and twenty-nine to Saigon, carrying about 6,500 tons. Crawfurd believed there were only about 116 Chinese junks trading to all Vietnam, with a carrying capacity of about 20,000 tons.<sup>10</sup>

Official Nguyễn archival figures for junk arrivals in 1825 and 1826 reveal quite a different picture, as Table 9.1 shows. According to this source, almost half the junks visiting Vietnamese ports in those years were from Chaozhou in Quangdong Province, while the same number (ten) came from Hainan Island on the Tongking Gulf's eastern shore. The remaining three were from Guangzhou. None were recorded from Fujian, despite Crawfurd's information that seven mediumsized junks usually traded to Tongking from Amoy (Xiamen). In the later eighteenth

	Chaozhou	Hainan	Not clear	Empty junk	Quangzhou	Leizhou
1825						
Nam Định	10	10	0	1	3	0
Quảng Nam	1	0	1	0	0	0
Gia Định	2	5	0	0	0	0
Bình Định	0	1	0	0	0	0
	(shipwreck)					
Total	14	16	1	1	3	0
1826						
Nam Định	9	4	12	2	3	0
Quảng Nam	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gia Định	0	3	0	0	1	0
Bình Định	0	1	0	0	0	0
Nghệ An	2	2	4	0	0	2
Thanh Hóa	2	0	0	0	0	0
Quảng Ngãi	0	0	0	0	1	0
Huế	0	0	3	0	0	0
Total	14	10	19	2	5	2

Table 9.1. Chinese Junks Visiting Vietnam, 1825-26

century, comparatively lax Qing regulatory control in Hainan had encouraged merchants from south Fujian and Chaozhou to transfer their bases of operations to Hainanese ports,<sup>11</sup> so perhaps Crawfurd's informants counted as Fujianese a number of formerly Fujianese junks now operating out of Hainan. Whatever the case, the one thing that seems true about both sets of figures, the second set especially, is that they do not reflect the full commercial reality of the early 1820s or later.

In the first place, virtually no trade was officially recorded for central Vietnamese ports in the mid-1820s, although Hokkien-speaking merchants with luxury goods to sell the court considered Huế a major port at the time, and the English commercial commentator William Milburn reported early in the 1810s that up to thirty Chinese junks might anchor at one time near the court.<sup>12</sup> Later Nguyễn archival records recorded a total of about fifty junks trading to central Vietnamese ports between 1840 and 1848, twenty-four of which came from Chaozhou.<sup>13</sup> Gaps in the archival records make these figures indicative only, but nevertheless they do suggest a steady, if perhaps declining, Chinese merchant traffic to central Vietnamese ports during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Second, we know that Saigon's trade is seriously under-reported in these official data. By the mid-1820s, the decentralized local government there (Gia Định Thành) was effectively autonomous under Lê Văn Duyệt, the most powerful man in the kingdom after the king. Lê Văn Duyệt favored Qing Chinese and Ming Hurong (Chinese loyalist exiles who had earlier quit China and rejected the Qing) commerce and settlement in Gia Định, as did his officials, all of whom were local men at the time. By the mid-1820s, however, Minh Mang was becoming increasingly concerned at the rising level of Chinese settlement and commercial activities in the south. In 1827 he officially banned Qing subjects there from exporting Vietnamese rice<sup>14</sup> although, as Choi Byung Wook has shown, many found ways around the prohibition until Lê Văn Duyệt's death in 1831. The subsequent large-scale antidynastic rebellion allowed Huế to impose central authority directly on the far south.<sup>15</sup> Given the strength of local loyalties here, and their own likely involvement in commercial activities, it is not unreasonable to assume that Gia Định Thành officials understated trading data sent to Huế in the 1820s.<sup>16</sup> Crawfurd's information is more credible for a place where he spent months observing local life, and he recorded that about forty-five small Chinese junks from Bangkok traded about 6,300 tons to Saigon, along with the twenty-nine junks he listed from southern Chinese ports.<sup>17</sup> The contemporary observer whose estimate of average annual trade was probably closest to the mark, however, was Jean Chaigneau, one of Gia Long's long-serving French naval officers. In the early

1820s he wrote that "about three hundred Chinese junks, great and small, varying in size from one hundred to six hundred tons," traded in the country's ports annually.<sup>18</sup>

Clearly, surviving official records do not tell the full story of Chinese maritime trade with Tongking. Other scattered sources point to much larger Chinese seaborne commercial involvement at the time. In Nam Định, the main entry point for larger merchant junks, enough merchants from Fujian and Guangdong congregated to set up native place associations (hôi quán) in the early nineteenth century that still remain today.<sup>19</sup> In 1819, a French missionary living in what would soon become Ninh Bình Province remarked on the "great number" of Chinese boats that sailed to Hanoi every year and suggested using them to bring in new missionaries, dressed as Chinese, since "Chinese come and go [in Tongking] without any danger."20 Crawfurd was told in the early 1820s that about one thousand Chinese merchants and traders lived in Hanoi.<sup>21</sup> In 1841, Baoging, a Chinese envoy sent to Tongking to invest Thiệu Trị (r. 1841-47) as Vietnam's king, noted in his journal that "the upper [levels of] commerce in Annam [in this context, Tongking] are entirely in the hands of Chinese merchants coming from Fujian and Guangdong."22 Three of Hanoi's famous thirty-six commercial streets were full of Chinese selling imported items like silk, herbal medicines, sugar, ceramics, porcelain, and so forth.23

Given the flourishing picture of Chinese maritime commerce suggested by these other sources, it is necessary to look beyond official Nguyễn records or Crawfurd's information to illuminate Tongking's early nineteenth-century seaborne trade more fully. One useful approach to this issue is to consider the view from the Chinese side of the gulf coast, and the next section begins by revealing what a different perspective shows about the nature of this trade.

## A Flotilla of Small Traders along a Porous Coastline

In 1744, the Guangdong governor complained to Beijing about a frustrating situation that had undoubtedly existed for centuries along the Tongking Gulf coast, and certainly continued throughout the precolonial nineteenth century. The geography of the gulf made it impossible for officials to control the movement of large numbers of very small junk operators, who took advantage of prevailing winds to trade in Tongking without the knowledge or approval of either the Chinese or Vietnamese government. He wrote: Jiangping is the only land connection between Guangdong and Annam [in this context, northern Vietnam], and in theory it should be easy to control the people who sneak in and out. Yet the land of all Guangdong ends at the sea, from Chaozhou in the east to Lianzhou in the west, which ranges 3000 *li*. Those people trade overseas and the poor who live on waterborne transportation are countless. . . . [A]s long as the wind is blowing in the right direction [small boats] can go to [Tongking] without difficulty, and it is extremely hard to know whether those who left have came back or not.<sup>24</sup>

In the eighteenth century, the livelihoods of many scores of thousands of southern Chinese thus depended, directly or indirectly, on their commercial relations with, or other waterborne activities in, northern Vietnam. This situation persisted into the nineteenth century. Members of this annual fleet of uncontrolled shipping dealt in all manner of exports that were prohibited by the Nguyễn, ranging from precious bullion to silk to kidnapped women and children, for whom a ready market existed in southern Chinese brothels and households. What attracted so many of the small-scale peddlers, however, was rice. It was the most plentiful commodity produced in the Red River Delta and a highly restricted export, but that never stopped its widespread trade.

The abundance of Tongking rice made it cheap locally: in 1812, for instance, the missionary René-Jacques Tessier reported that one piaster bought more rice than a man could consume in two months.<sup>25</sup> A dearth of circulating currency in northern Vietnam at the time no doubt encouraged local producers to sell rice to Chinese traders, no matter how small the apparent return. After the court extracted 200,000 copper quan from Tongking in early 1810, it so worsened the local economy<sup>26</sup> that a few weeks later the decentralized regional Bắc Thành administration petitioned the king, Gia Long (r. 1802-19), for permission to cast coins from a mixture of iron and tin.<sup>27</sup> Not surprisingly, the debased coinage found little favor with the population.<sup>28</sup> In 1811 a further report on the inadequacy of the northern money supply prompted the court to order more silver and zinc mines to be opened there, although of course such long-term measures could have little immediate effect on the current situation.<sup>29</sup> The root cause of the problem at the time may well have been Huế's general disregard for the north under Gia Long,30 compounded by the king's own professed antipathy toward economic development and his preference for poor but obedient subjects.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the case, in the 1830s and 1840s, after direct central rule had replaced regionally decentralized administrations in northern and southern Vietnam, French missionaries in Tongking tended not to report the sort of grinding poverty and economic hopelessness that had so disturbed their earlier confreres.

Despite their relative abundance, rice harvests often fluctuated markedly from year to year, causing the government to try to control supply as far as possible. Minh Mang, who knew the export ban was ineffectual, was thus reportedly nervous at the news of famine in Guangdong and Guangxi, understanding as he did that Chinese traders would come to Tongking in even greater numbers to procure the staple cereal. In 1824, when famine broke out in Guangxi, the king ordered his officials to monitor the shipping routes carefully,<sup>32</sup> but the law of supply and demand was more powerful than royal orders. The low Vietnamese rice price—in 1826 about one silver tael per picul (sixty kilos)<sup>33</sup> compared to the four to five taels Guangxi traders could expect for the same quantity<sup>34</sup>—always guaranteed that large numbers of small traders would slip along the coast to the delta, if only to secure their own food supply during times of shortage. For most of the time, Tongking's rice production easily coped with this external demand, as well as regularly sending 500,000 phuong (about 14,300 tons) of rice to the Huế court every year in the early 1830s.<sup>35</sup> After the fields in the Mekong Delta region were finally surveyed in 1836,36 Tongking was revealed to contain about three times as much arable land as the six southernmost provinces, although of course its population was many times higher.

In the Minh Mang era, when the central government was making real attempts to stop or at least seriously hinder rice smuggling, the presence of these numerous small junk traders made its task virtually impossible. Even trying to determine whether rice was being exported or traded internally could be a headache, because Chinese junks that had paid their port taxes were also allowed to transport cargo and passengers along internal Vietnamese rivers.<sup>37</sup> This naturally complicated matters on their return trip, since no one could know whether their load of rice was bound for China or for some other northern Vietnamese market before the junk actually left the coast.<sup>38</sup> To counter this widespread ploy, in 1832 Minh Mang banned Vietnamese junks from being built in the Chinese style, so Chinese smugglers could be recognized more easily.<sup>39</sup>

Smuggling always responded to changing circumstances, so despite these early efforts to suppress it scattered references in the official records indicate that the illicit rice trade later ballooned, especially in the calamitous mid-century years of the Taiping Rebellion. In 1855, for instance, "hundreds" of junks from China were reported to be smuggling rice through one route alone, from upriver beyond Trực Cát post (An Dương District, Hải Dương Province).<sup>40</sup> Then in 1861, Quảng Yên provincial authorities reported they had discovered Chinese traders were hiring three hundred to four hundred small junks in Nghiêu Phong harbor for secret trading with local people.<sup>41</sup> The official records also noted another form of Chinese collaboration with Vietnamese to procure rice: in Quang Yên districts like Hải Ninh, Hoành Bồ, and Nghiêu Phong, in the first third of every year local people reportedly cruised through neighboring areas buying up spring rice on behalf of Chinese merchants. Hanoi-based Chinese merchants also lent money at very high interest rates to peasant cultivators who, if they defaulted, had to sell their rice very cheaply to acquit the debt. Given the multiple uncertainties of life at the time, such defaults were not unusual. Almost all the rice acquired in these various ways would end up in China.<sup>42</sup> Finally, it was also common along the Quang Yên and Hải Durong coasts for Chinese junks to put into port pretending to be victims of pirate attack, but in fact seeking to buy rice, while others would claim strong winds had driven them off course but then stay for months to trade illicitly.<sup>43</sup>

The large numbers involved made this smuggling impossible to control, and two firsthand European reports suggest that some officials had given up trying to do so from at least the 1840s. The first report, which implies some low-level official collusion in smuggling, was from a Spanish Dominican missionary. He wrote that, between 1844 and 1846, more than three hundred small Chinese junks, each with an estimated capacity of about twenty-five tons, had loaded rice at Ninh Håi (later Håi Phòng) harbor.<sup>44</sup> The second report comes from the mid-1850s, a time of floods and food shortages in Tongking. In 1855, local difficulties prompted Håi Durong provincial officials to request that the court prevent Chinese junks from entering Truc Cát estuary, to stop them buying rice there. Shortly afterward, the court banned Chinese trading junks from spending more than ten days in port, a potentially costly and disruptive restriction that would deny legitimate junk crews sufficient time to put together an adequate cargo, all in order to reduce the opportunity for illicit trading.<sup>45</sup> Yet in 1857 Bishop Pierre Retord reported that Chinese rice smuggling was flourishing because of collusion by corrupt local officials.

According to the missionary, mandarins had forbidden rice from being moved between provinces and kept a close watch to confiscate and fine any Vietnamese found transporting it. However, "what they do not allow to the local people they normally accord to the Chinese," who, because of the ravages of the Taiping Rebellion in southern China, "come here every year to get an immense amount of provisions." The mandarins pretended to drive off the Chinese merchants but secretly took large bribes to allow them full freedom to transact their business. The previous year (1856) had been notable in that respect, because "the Chinese came in great number to Tongking, not to bring goods to sell here [as they had none] but quite simply to buy rice.<sup>246</sup> Retord ended his letter grimly: 1857 was another famine year, something local people largely blamed on the court for allowing the Chinese to strip the granaries the previous year, and rice was currently four times more expensive than at any other time since his arrival in 1832.

If smuggling by small coasting junk traders was uncontrollable, it was not the only major waterborne difficulty the Nguyễn faced in nineteenth-century Tongking. Piracy (by both Vietnamese and Chinese) was endemic and increasingly rampant during the spiraling difficulties of the second half of the century.

## Pirates

As Niu and Li have discussed in this volume, piracy developed in the Tongking Gulf during periods of dynastic upheaval or decline, whether in Vietnam or China. Chinese fishermen and pirates had been recruited in the 1780s by the successful Tây Son rebels (1772–1802), for instance, to form an important part of their navy.<sup>47</sup> Remnant units of these pirates had troubled the Tongking coast early in the Gia Long reign but by 1808, leaderless and disorganized, the last of the old Tây Son fleet had been smashed by the victorious Nguyễn navy.<sup>48</sup> Although the Nguyễn had taken Tongking from remnant Tây Son forces in 1802 almost without a fight, the comparatively harsh administrative regime established there soon caused deepening popular disaffection and mounting social unrest.<sup>49</sup> Banditry was rife and, by the 1820s, widespread lawlessness encouraged opportunist new pirate bands on the coast. They soon began threatening gulf shipping.

These pirates operated in a number of ways. Some used small junks disguised as fishing boats to surround unwary trading vessels,<sup>50</sup> while others sailed much larger craft. In 1830 some had become bold enough to cruise south down the coast, from Thanh Hóa as far as Quảng Nam, Quảng Ngãi, and Phú Yên (in modern central Vietnam), robbing commercial traffic and official transport junks and even attacking naval bases.<sup>51</sup> Vietnamese commercial junks were particularly vulnerable to bigger pirate vessels because, even if carrying rich cargoes, they were officially denied the right to carry effective weapons. In any case, by then some Chinese pirates were better armed than the Chinese and Vietnamese navies. Their big junks could carry three to four hundred men and might boast twenty to thirty cannons, which were resupplied from captured naval vessels or plundered military posts.<sup>52</sup> Luckily for the official forces, however, Chinese pirates in nine-teenth-century Vietnamese waters were typically broken into many small competitive groups that were often so antagonistic toward each other that pirate fleets

fought fierce battles among themselves.<sup>53</sup> It made for a complicated maritime situation in the Tongking Gulf for much of the nineteenth century.

The early Nguyễn emperors tried to eradicate Chinese piracy, but its fragmentary nature worked against them. When one leader was arrested, another emerged; the arrest of a particular band made little difference to the many others. Controlling Chinese pirate forces in the vicinity of the Sino-Vietnamese border was equally tricky. Their activities were so deeply embedded in the lives of the Chinese and Vietnamese communities there that most local people were involved in piracy or smuggling to some extent. Despite Qing government support, therefore, Nguyễn antipirate campaigns made little headway. Even when the Northern Citadel administration appointed a Chinese fisherman called Trần Quý to lead an armed antipirate sea patrol in the gulf, the initiative backfired badly. In 1831, the patrol turned pirate and plundered the Cát Bà coastal area of Quảng Yên Province before Trần Quý could be arrested and killed.<sup>54</sup>

In 1850 Bishop Retord, who had lived in Tongking since 1832, acknowledged this communal aspect of piracy when he wrote:

Bandits and pirates have been causing . . . many evils here. Last year they infested all the Tongking and Cochinchina coast, coming in groups of fifty to sixty junks, the smallest with women and children [on board] to transport the stolen goods; the larger well armed [ones] had numerous crewmen, for fighting and pillaging.<sup>55</sup>

Two English steamships, hunting pirates, had then suddenly appeared and sank at least sixty pirate vessels, killing or drowning many crewmen, before dispersing the rest. But within a few months, Retord reported, pirates had "regrouped and begun their depredations again."

Matters became significantly worse from that same year, after the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) began to devastate southern Chinese coastal provinces and create a steady supply of pirate recruits from among the displaced or desperate coastal people of Quangdong and Fujian. Later still, pirate ranks would be swelled by deserters and others fleeing the defeated Taiping forces. As early as the late 1830s, the high provincial official Nguyễn Công Trứ had warned that failed Chinese trading junks were turning to piracy,<sup>56</sup> but three decades later, according to Catholic scholar Nguyễn Trường Tộ, it was almost impossible to tell legitimate Qing trading junks from pirates because one so often turned into the other. In 1866 he wrote that, once in the estuaries, "some became pirate ships, others turned into trading ships; some that entered to trade left as robbers; some that had previously come to trade were now robbers; those who failed in commerce became robbers."<sup>57</sup> It had long been the case that Chinese fishermen, traders, and pirates might be interchangeable individually, according to circumstances, but by the middle of the nineteenth century this old pattern seems to have become increasingly prevalent.

Chinese seafarers had also started to settle in communities on several offshore islands, like the Chàng Son group and Cát Bà, earlier in the century.<sup>58</sup> In 1838, for instance, the same Nguyễn Công Trứ reported he had wiped out Qing Chinese pirates on one of the Chàng Sơn Islands who had built fifty houses and planted five hundred hectares of rice.<sup>59</sup> An analysis of entries in the dynastic veritable records, Dại Nam thực lục, indicates that Quảng Yên Province and its offshore islands, with their notorious seafaring communities, was the main center for piracy by the mid-nineteenth century. During the Tư Đức reign (1848-83), for instance, fortyseven cases of piracy (56 percent of all cases reported in the Tongking Gulf) occurred here, although the real number would have been much higher had China-based pirates across the border in Guangxi been included. These communities could appear deceptively peaceful, apparently harmless fishing villages in the summer, which might transform into bases for pirates or smugglers in autumn. In the deteriorating conditions of the later mid-century, some eyewitness accounts suggest that these dangerous settlements were growing to alarming sizes. In an 1872 French report, for instance, the author described cruising past a large village on Cát Bà Island comprising seven to eight thousand Chinese, with two hundred heavily armed junks, only to find when his ship passed by again a few months later that it seemed no more than a big fishing village. Such large groupings represented a major headache for local authorities from the later 1860s because the state's ongoing fiscal crisis, following the loss of southern resources after the French annexation of all Cochinchina in 1867, made central funding of any concerted and effective action against these dangerous forces increasingly rare. In the case of Cát Bà, the menacing community persisted until 1877, when French authorities in Hai Phòng removed the Chinese as part of a pirate eradication program.60

By mid-century, then, piracy was entrenched and beginning to spiral out of control; and once more Chinese pirates became involved with anti-dynastic rebels in northern Vietnam. The Lê pretender, Tạ Duy Phụng, whose widespread anti-dynastic northern revolt (1861–65) played such an important role in forcing Tự Đức to accept the 1862 French annexation of three far southern provinces, cooperated

with many Chinese pirate groups in order to control the coast.<sup>61</sup> Then in the mid-1860s, after anti-Qing bandits from Yunnan, Guangxi, and Guangdong spread to the Tongking highlands, a close relationship developed between some of them and pirate groups. In 1871, for instance, Hoàng Tề and Tô Tứ successfully coordinated their pirates and bandits to raid villages in Quảng Yên and Hải Dương, and Nguyễn forces found it difficult to suppress them.<sup>62</sup> By the 1870s, the situation had deteriorated sharply, as one of the first Frenchmen in Tongking recorded, and local people were its main victims:

Chinese bandits were . . . causing a lot of bloody evils. . . . Their junks, which were armed with many cannons, went up rivers in Tongking. Because authority was shaky, people were banned from owning any kind of guns. Left unprotected, the Annamese people had no other choice but to run away. Most villages were attacked unexpectedly. At that time, men, women, and children would be gathered into junks and taken to China. They made the men . . . work as slaves in Cuba or Peru. The women and children were forced to do even more disgusting things.<sup>63</sup>

As with smuggling, piracy grew in response to worsening social and economic conditions in the gulf region, especially after mid-century rebellions and civil unrest in both kingdoms weakened central authority and threatened the livelihoods of coastal people all along the contiguous gulf shores. However much the Vietnamese government tried to organize or officially limit commerce, the precarious situation of many coastal people on both sides of the border pushed large numbers of them to find ways around the bans and restrictions. By the 1850s and 1860s, piracy and smuggling in the gulf was an everyday part of life for tens of thousands of people, with a profound effect on the economy of northern Vietnamese coastal provinces. After many unsuccessful assaults on pirates, in 1874 Huế finally decided to enlist French help through a joint commitment to act against piracy,<sup>64</sup> but it was only after the 1885 Franco-Chinese Treaty of Tianjin that anti-piracy initiatives began to make real progress in the gulf. By the 1890s, many larger pirate bands had been smashed, while the widespread use of steamships put more lucrative commercial traffic out of the reach of smaller pirate communities. When Chinese rights to live and trade in the coastal area of Tongking were recognized by the French colonial state, and a specific legal framework was established to deal with Chinese in Tongking, most signs of piracy disappeared from its coast as Chinese communities were integrated into its emerging commercial centers.

# Hesitant Attempts at Change Stifled by Colonial Intrusion, 1865-74

If the Taiping Rebellion was a milestone in the decline of Qing power in southern China, the 1862 loss of the three richest provinces in far southern Vietnam (called Nam Kỳ or Lower Cochinchina at the time) was an economic and financial catastrophe for the Nguyễn. Not only had the wealthiest area of the kingdom been excised, just as the court was saddled with a huge reparations bill to pay to the victorious invaders, but the principal port and point of contact with the wider Southeast Asian trading world had been lost as well. With increasing pressure on official revenues, by the mid-1860s the court turned to the idea of selling revenue farms on former royal monopolies, as often occurred in Southeast Asia at the time, in Siam especially. Similar arrangements had occasionally been reported in Tongking from much earlier in the century, although details are sketchy. In 1811, for instance, French missionary Pierre Eyot had remarked that internal commerce was being badly affected by the high rate of customs duties imposed by tax farmers (of unspecified ethnicity but probably Chinese) who had paid "a very high price" for the right to collect the duties.<sup>65</sup> In 1830, another missionary, François-Xavier Marette, had reported that the administration had sold a revenue farm on river ferries to a Chinese who was making a good profit from it by raising the charges.<sup>66</sup> In 1834 official records also showed that Minh Mang had ordered the officials supervising gold mining in Tongking's mountainous provinces to find a Chinese revenue farmer willing to collect the state mining tax at the price of 100 taels per year.67

The move to embrace tax farming in the mid-1860s was far more wide ranging than these examples, however, and represented a major policy shift. In 1865, the court gave up its forty-five year struggle against opium smuggling, in which the first of its many prohibitions dated back to 1820.<sup>68</sup> Instead it opted for an opium revenue farm that was initially sold for a countrywide total of 382,000 *quan*, of which the thirteen provinces of northern Vietnam accounted for a tiny share, less than 70,000 *quan*.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, it proved to be very lucrative: fifteen years later, in 1881, the Chinese merchant Hầu Lợi Trinh offered 1,780,500 *quan* annually for the opium monopoly of the thirteen provinces north of Quảng Trị, over twenty-five times the original price, but almost immediately a different Chinese bid 370,500 *quan* more.<sup>70</sup>

Another hesitant new step was the attempt to allow a controlled trade in previously prohibited commodities like precious metals and rice, using a combination of tough export licenses and Chinese revenue farmers to collect what was owed. By 1867, the old royal monopoly on trading in metals had been replaced by a tax.<sup>71</sup> In 1869 the court appointed Bành Đình Tú, a Chinese merchant of Nam Định Province, as revenue farmer for tin exported through the new port the government had built at the Trà Lý estuary, near Nam Định town. In return he paid fifty thousand *quan* a year (or 6,250 silver taels).<sup>72</sup>

Less successful than this milking of the transit trade from Yunnan was the experiment in official rice trading. In 1865, with rice smuggling uncontrollable, the Nguyễn court decided to legalize rice exports under strict conditions. It approved limited commerce through the new Trà Lý port, widened the Cấm River estuary (the later Hai Phòng area), which was also approved for official rice trading, and taxed every thousand cân (six hundred kilos) of exported rice at three silver taels. In 1866, up to ninety-nine small junks arrived to load legal rice. Official records showed thirty of them shipped 818.5 tons (at an average carrying capacity of only 27 tons per junk). It seems likely that the actual quantity must have been higher, at least another 1,800–1,900 tons, because in 1866 sixty-nine junks had joined an official pirate eradication campaign off the Cam River estuary in return for a fiveyear exemption from rice export duty at its estuarine ports.73 Naturally those exempted junks are not mentioned in the tax records, but it is unlikely that they failed to take advantage of the benefit they had fought to earn. The full weight of the new tax thus fell on the thirty legal junks, which paid a heavy 4,091 silver taels (an average of 136 taels each) in export duty.<sup>74</sup> The next year their number declined slightly to twenty-nine, with twenty-five junks loading rice at Trà Lý (but only three at Håi Phòng). Together they paid 5,563 silver taels, an average of 222.5 taels per junk.75 Analyzing the tax yield thus indicates that this cautious attempt at legal rice trading had not even attracted medium-sized junks (over fifty tons), as the amount of paddy exported only rose by 25 percent.

The export figures for 1866–67 suggest that this half-hearted authorization of rice exports could not stem the flood of smuggling. On the one hand, the mid-1850s regulations that required junks to load and depart within ten days made it impossible for large junks, which could benefit from economies of scale, to operate effectively, as they needed more time to source and accumulate paddy at the two approved ports, while, on the other hand, the exorbitant export tax acted as a disincentive for many capital-poor coasting traders, as Håi Phòng officials tried to explain to Huế in 1867 when seeking a reduction in the rate.<sup>76</sup> Ironically, the most likely result of this economically inefficient arrangement was to prolong, perhaps even further encourage, illicit dealings in rice, something the heavy official tax now made even more profitable.

These hesitant steps toward internal change were soon overtaken by events.

After French adventurer Jean Dupuis tried to force his way to Yunnan in 1872, partly to trade salt that was a prohibited export there,<sup>77</sup> the ensuing diplomatic incident was finally only settled by a commercial treaty in 1874. This agreement officially opened a number of Vietnamese ports to international trade, often under the oversight of French consular officials or customs officers. Hai Phòng became a French concession at this time, and a new commercial tariff system imposed a 5 percent duty by value on imported and exported goods there, plus 10 percent for salt. Opium was still controlled, and rice exports required a temporary government license and attracted a 10 percent duty.<sup>78</sup> Despite the advent of a new system, the nature of maritime trade hardly changed immediately. In the initial nine months of the new regime (1876), 133 foreign ships visited Håi Phòng, of which 113 were Chinese, each with an average carrying capacity of only 21.5 tons.<sup>79</sup> In the first half of 1877, 168 Chinese junks brought 5,571 tons of cargo (on average 33 tons each), while 131 left Håi Phòng with only 4,236 tons of cargo, at an average of 32 tons each.<sup>80</sup> Small Chinese junk traders clearly still predominated, as is equally obvious from the commodities traded in 1875-76. The most valuable imports were medical materials (worth 47,109 taels),<sup>81</sup> Chinese paper (worth 7,756 taels), and porcelain (worth about 5,000 taels), along with metals like silver, bronze, and iron to make up for the domestic shortfall created by endemic banditry and fighting in the mountainous mining areas of Tongking since the later 1860s. The principal exports were about 6,500 tons of raw cotton, about 1,600 tons of transshipped Yunnan tin (worth 21,000 taels), about 1,200 tons of rice and rice flour,<sup>82</sup> more than 12 tons of salt, and a few tons of beans and brown tubers.<sup>83</sup> Most imports and exports, therefore, continued to be the same sort of everyday items as had always predominated. This finding confirms the continued economic intermeshing between Tongking and southern China, and also the significance to its economy of small-scale coasting trade to and from nearby parts of China, including Hong Kong, a situation that would persist into the twentieth century.<sup>84</sup>

With Håi Phòng under French control from 1874, the Nguyễn had encouraged Chinese traders to use the new port at Trà Lý as their main commercial entry point. So competeitive was it between 1874 and 1884 that the French considered opening a port there for European shipping as well.<sup>85</sup> Nam Định's success, however, largely arose from Huế's decision not to impose on its trade the same tough restrictions on rice exports that slowly choked Hải Phòng from 1876 to 1881. The court had previously encouraged Chinese rice merchants to establish premises in Hải Phòng,<sup>86</sup> but now, under the economic pressure, their numbers dwindled, and the remainder several times begged for French intervention to save their businesses. While the rice export ban had never been total, since 25,000 tons

passed through Håi Phòng in 1880, Nam Định's competitive threat to the development of the French port persisted until the establishment of French rule in Tongking in 1885 guaranteed its supremacy. Trà Lý remained an important Chinese port for two decades, but in the first quarter of the twentieth century silting gradually destroyed its economic significance. By then, however, the greater part of Chinese trade with Tongking had already moved beyond the small coasting junks of previous centuries to larger steamships, many European flagged but Chinese leased, that mostly transported bulk coal and rice.<sup>87</sup>

## Conclusion

For most of the nineteenth century the Tongking Gulf was effectively a backwater in terms of long-haul international commerce, but changing the perspective from a national to a regional one reveals the gulf's continued existence as a maritime trading zone whose various shores were still interdependent economically. As in Han-era Jiaozhi, Red River Delta rice surpluses in nineteenth-century Tongking remained indispensable to the long-term survival of neighboring areas along the shared coastline. In the later period, from at least the eighteenth century and undoubtedly much earlier, rice moved farther north and everyday Chinese goods came south, largely thanks to a flotilla of small Chinese junk traders able to exploit local contacts and knowledge, where necessary, to circumvent state commercial restrictions. Waterborne Chinese, whether fishermen, pirates, smugglers, merchants, or traders of every sort, knit together this gulf economic zone. In a centuries-old pattern of behavior, many assumed several roles, opportunistically shifting between fishing, smuggling, piracy, and trading as circumstances allowed.

From the mid-nineteenth century, however, political upheavals, natural disasters, wars, and famine began to blight coastal society along the gulf's shores. Previously powerful and confident Qing and Nguyễn dynasties faced the shock of uncertain futures as European powers challenged them, in the gulf region and elsewhere. At the local level, in coastal Tongking and its offshore islands, many maritime people responded to these threats to national political stability by effectively taking their fate into their own hands, banding together to do whatever necessary to survive the difficult times. Previously endemic illicit trading boomed; whole pirate communities put down roots and might grow to menacing sizes. At the grassroots level, Chinese pirates assisted Vietnamese rebels or bandits and people on both sides of the porous Sino-Vietnamese border engaged in secret trades with each other that their governments prohibited but were powerless to stop. In increasingly chaotic conditions, especially in 1870s and 1880s Tongking, many innocent people suffered the consequences of these activites, ranging from famine to enslavement or death. It would require implementation of more effective Western technologies of control in later decades to curb these centuries-old impulses in the Tongking Gulf, although even then time would show they had been pushed underground rather than eradicated.

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### Notes

### Preface

1. Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

Introduction. The Tongking Gulf Through History: A Geopolitical Overview

My thanks to Nola Cooke for her generous participation in the ongoing development of this chapter, and to John Whitmore, James Anderson, Judith Cameron, and Michael Churchman for their help.

1. Views like "Guangxi will jump from the position of 'nerve end' to the pivot of traffic" can often be found on Guangxi websites. See, for example, 27 July 2008, http://www.chinanews.com.cn.

2. Keith W. Taylor, "Preface" to *Essays into Vietnamese Pasts*, ed. K. W. Taylor and John K. Whitmore (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995), 6.

3. Victor B. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c.* 800–1830, vol. 1, *Integration on the Mainland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 342.

4. Denys Lombard, "Another 'Mediterranean' in Southeast Asia," *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 1 (2007), http://csds.anu.edu.au/volume\_1\_2007/Lombard.pdf; on seeing Southeast Asia as another Mediterranean, see the monumental work on premodern Southeast Asia by Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988, 1993).

5. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 1: 276.

6. Miriam T. Stark, "Early Mainland Southeast Asian Landscapes in the First Millennium A.D.," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (June 2006): 5–6.

7. Nishimura Masanari, "Settlement Patterns on the Red River Plain from the Late Prehistoric Period to the 10th Century AD," *Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Bulletin* 25 (2005): 102; Vu Trung Tang, Nguyen Xuan Huan, and Vu Ngoc Thanh, "Bac Bo Delta Estuarine Area," http://coombs.anu.edu.au/~vern/bac-bo/estuary.html, accessed 4 June 2009. 8. For a comprehensive analysis of Vietnamese scholarship on Bronze Age Đông Sơn culture, see Haydon Cherry, "Digging Up the Past: Prehistory and the Weight of the Present in Vietnam," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 4 (2009): 84–144.

9. Charles Higham and Tracey L.-D. Lu, "The Origins and Dispersal of Rice Cultivation," *Antiquity* 72 (1998): 867–77, cited by Cameron in this volume.

10. John Phan, "From Sino to Vietnamese: A New Hypothesis for the Birth of the Vietnamese Language," paper presented at the international workshop "Vietnam, China and Chinese in Vietnam: New Research on Chinese in Vietnam, Past and Present," the Australian National University, Canberra, 28–29 July 2010.

11. Historical texts and brick tombs found in the Red River Delta both confirm much smaller numbers of Han-speaking people lived here after the third century c. E. Household numbers for Jiaozhi also declined remarkably, suggesting out-migration between 280 and 464.

12. Kenneth Hall thinks that they crossed through modern Nghệ An and then used the Mekong River to enter Cambodia. See Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 173, 184.

13. Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea," in *Southeast Asia-China Interactions: Reprint of Articles from the Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, ed. Geoff Wade (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2007), 131.

14. *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (The Complete Annals of Đại Việt], ed. Chen Jinghe (Chen Chingho), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo Tōyōgaku bunken senta, 1986), 1:163 (hereafter cited as *Toàn thư*). See also Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 240–41; John K. Whitmore, "Colliding Peoples: Tai/Viet Interactions in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, San Diego, 2000.

15. Li Tana, "A View from the Sea: Perspectives on the Northern and Central Vietnamese Coast," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (hereafter *JSEAS*) 37, 1 (2006): 83–102.

16. Phan, "From Sino to Vietnamese," 2.

17. China's Western or Former Han dynasty (207 B.C.E.–25 C.E.) was based in Changan; the Eastern or Later Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.) was based in Luoyang. The Southern Han (917–971) was a local regime based in Panyu (Guangzhou).

18. Taylor, Birth of Vietnam, 263.

19. See the inscription of 1159, "Cự Việt quốc Thái Ủy Lý công thạch bi tịnh tự." In Claudine Salmon's analysis, the character *ju* means "great, huge." Phan Văn Các and Claudine Salmon, *Épigraphie en chinois du Việt Nam / Văn khắc Hán Nôm Việt Nam* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient; Hanoi: Viện nghiên cứu Hán Nôm, 1998), 192.

20. *Yuanhe junxian zhi* (Prefectures and Districts in the Yuanhe Period) (821; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 38:955–66.

21. My translaion from Wei Zheng et al., *Suishu* (History of the Sui Dynasty), 24, http://www.sidneyluo.net/ a/a13/024.htm. Tang records say that slave raids were common

practice among the peoples in Lingnan, Yunnan, and Annam (Đại Việt) at this time, and the ancient texts provide many details of the practice among different peoples and tribes.

22. Toghto et al., *Songshi* (History of the Song Dynasty), 40 vols. (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1927–36), *juan* 284: 2–3.

23. James Anderson, *The Rebel Den of Nùng Trí Cao: Loyalty and Identity Along the Sino-Vietnamese Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press in association with National University of Singapore Press, 2007).

24. David Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984), 9–12.

25. John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast: Trade, State and Culture in Early Đại Việt," *JSEAS* 37, 1 (2006): 103–22.

26. Lieberman, Strange Parallels, 1:362-65.

27. Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida* (On the Lingwai Region) (1178; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 47: "The court's business of obtaining horses is concentrated in the district of Yong. It is Yong where valuables and curiosities are gathered."

28. Li, "View from the Sea." As John Whitmore notes in his chapter, the name of Đại Việt's major port, Vân Đồn, first appeared in the official records only twenty years after the founding of the Southern Song. See *Toàn thu*, 1:290.

29. Whitmore, "Rise of the Coast," 113-14.

30. My thanks to the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences and Humanities for allowing me to visit in May 2004.

31. *Toàn thu*, 1:321. The Southern Song era *Lingwai daida* confirms both that Qinzhou area commerce involved considerable wealth and that the Vietnamese elite took part in it. See Li, "View from the Sea," 101–2.

32. Another example was Mac Đăng Dung, who usurped the Lê throne in 1527 and founded the Mac dynasty which ruled northern Vietnam until 1592, when Lê restoration forces finally drove them from the Red River Delta. In this case, however, his ancestors came from the fishing (or Dan) people of Guangdong. That a man descended from this marginalized ethnic group, so long hidden from history, could still rise to power in Đại Việt highlights the special nature of the Tongking Gulf region at this time.

33. Whitmore, "Rise of the Coast," 103-22.

34. Sun Laichen, "The Ming Role in China's Southern Expansion," in *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor*, ed. Geoff Wade and Sun Laichen (Singapore: NUS Press; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 54.

35. John Whitmore, "Paperwork: The Rise of the New Literati and Ministerial Power and the Effort Toward Legibility in Đại Việt," in Wade and Sun, *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, 107.

36. Nola Cooke, "Nineteenth-Century Vietnamese Confucianization in Historical Perspective: Evidence from the Palace Examinations (1463–1883)," *JSEAS* 25 (1994): 279. As Cooke's analysis shows, the number of high examination graduates produced during the latter decades of this century was unique in Vietnamese history. 37. Whitmore, "Paperwork: The Rise of the New Literati," 107.

38. Sun Laichen, "Chinese Military Technology and Đại Việt, ca. 1390–1497," in *Việt Nam: Borderless Histories*, ed. Nhung Tuyet Tran and Anthony Reid (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 99–110.

39. *Toàn thu*, 2:683–711, for the conquest of a number of mountainous chiefdoms. Others in the upper Red River and Black River areas had been subjugated in the 1440s.

40. For a discussion of this term, see Li Tana, "The Rise and Fall of the Jiaozhi Ocean Region," in *The Perception of Maritime Space in Traditional Chinese Sources*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer and Roderich Ptak (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2006), 125–40.

41. Toàn thư, 2:786-87.

42. Taylor, The Birth of Vietnam, 299.

43. By the late 1770s one Cantonese merchant dismissed Tongking entirely, saying that "while valuable items were abundant in Quảng Nam [modern central Vietnam], only rice could be obtained from the Tongking area." Lê Quý Đôn, *Phủ biên tạp lụ*c (Miscellaneous Nguyễn Records) (Saigon: Phủ Quốc vụ khanh đặc trách văn hóa, 1973), 34b.

44. I am grateful to Nola Cooke for this idea and her suggestions.

45. Roxanna Brown, *The Ceramics of South-East Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1988), 28–29; John Stevenson and John Guy, *Vietnamese Ceramics: A Separate Tradition* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, with Avery Press, 1997), 54.

46. Momoki Shiro, "Đại Việt and the South China Sea Trade from the 10th to the 15th Century," *Crossroads* 12, 1 (1998): 2–3.

47. Cooke, "Nineteenth-Century Vietnamese Confucianization," 281.

48. K. W. Taylor, "The Literati Revival in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam," *JSEAS* 18 (1987): 1–22.

49. George Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 114–20; Hoang Anh Tuan, *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations, 1637–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), Appendix 3; Momoki Shiro, "Japan and Vietnam in the Asian Trade System in the Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries," in *Pho Hien: The Centre of International Commerce in the XVIIth–XVIIIth Centuries* (Hanoi: The Gioi, 1994), 44; Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce,* 2:18, 24. For the impact of imported foreign silver, see Li Tana, "Tongking in the Age of Commerce," paper accepted for the AAS-ICAS joint conference, Honolulu, March 31–April 4, 2011.

50. Nola Cooke, "Southern Regionalism and the Composition of the Nguyen Ruling Elite (1802–83)," *Asian Studies Review* 23 (1999): 215–28. Also see Cooke, "The Myth of the Restoration: Dang-Trong Influences in the Spiritual Life of the Early Nguyen Dynasty (1802–47)," in *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies*, ed. Anthony Reid (London: Macmillan, 1997), 269–95.

51. Cooke, "Southern Regionalism," 223-24.

52. Wu Xiaofeng, *Mingqing guangxi shangpin jingji shi yanjiu* (A Study of Guangxi's Commercial Economy in the Ming and Qing Periods) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2005),

191–92. Between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries the population of Guangdong increased by 32 percent. Jiang Jian Ping, *Qingdai qianqi migu maoyi yanjiu* (A Study on Rice Trade in the Early Qing Dynasty) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1992), 200–201. The profits from cash-crop production were so good that few people willingly grew rice.

53. Chu Hong-yuan, *Cong bianluan dao junsheng: Guangxi de chuqi xiandaihua, 1860–1937* (Rebellion to Militarism: First Stage Modernization in Kwangsi, 1860–1937) (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1995), 27.

54. Xie Yuyao, *Taiping tianguo qianhou guangxi de fanqing yundong* (Anti-Qing Movements in Guangxi Around the Taiping Rebellion Period) (Beijing: San Lien, 1950), 38–47.

55. Huang Bin, *Jindai yuegang keshang yu guangxi chengzhen jingji fayu* (Modern Cantonese Merchants and Commercial Economy in Guangxi) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 8.

56. Guangdong's participation in Guangxi's commercial exchanges was so crucial that a well-known saying in Guangxi is "a market without Cantonese merchants is not a market." Wu Xiaofeng, *Mingqing guangxi shangpin jingji shi yanjiu*, 137.

57. See *Tuần ty thuế lệ* (Tax Regulations in Ports and Poll Boxes), MS in Han-Nom Institute, Hanoi, shelf number A.978. It is analyzed in Li Tana, "'National' and 'Overseas' Markets in Early Nineteenth-Century Vietnam: A View from the Mountains and the Sea," in *Proceedings of Dynamic Rimlands and Open Heartlands: Maritime Asia as a Site of Interactions* (Osaka: University of Osaka; Singapore: NUS Press, 2006), 177–79.

58. Wu Xiaofeng, *Mingqing guangxi shangpin jinji shi yanjiu*, 191–92; Jiang Jian Ping, *Qingdai qianqi migu maoyi yanjiu*, 200–1.

59. Before the Taiping Rebellion, Guangxi had been so poverty ridden that leaders of secret societies were often called *mifan zhu* (masters with rice for their followers). Xie Yuyao, *Taiping tianguo qianhou*, 32–35.

60. The gulf's volume of trade into Chinese ports was the smallest of all those administered by the China Maritime Customs in the first decades of colonialism. See Takeshi Hamashita, *Zhongguo jindai jingji shi yanjiu* (Studies on Modern Chinese Economic History), Chinese trans. Gao Shujuan and Sun Bin (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2006), 446–48, 471–73.

### Chapter 1. Textile Crafts in the Gulf of Tonking

1. Charles Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

2. Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31, 2 (1958): 3–127.

3. John Guy, Oriental Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia: Ninth to Sixteenth Century (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1986), 5.

4. Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan (Museum of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region), *Guangxi Luobowan Hanmu* (The Han Dynasty Tombs at Luobowan, Guangxi) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988).

5. *Ouluo yicui: Guangxi Baiyue wenhua wenwu jingpin ji* (Treasures from Ou and Luo: A Collection of Selected Cultural Relics from the Hundred Yue in Guangxi), ed. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan (National Museum of China) and Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan (Museum of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006).

6. J. A. Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

7. Yunnansheng bowuguan (Yunnan Provincial Museum), Yunnan jinning Shizhaishan gumuqun fajue baogao (Excavation Report of the Shizhaishan Site in Jinning, Yunnan) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1959); Jessica Rawson, *The Chinese Bronzes of Yunnan* (London: Sidgewick and Jackson, 1983).

8. Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan (Museum of the Guangxi Nationality Autonomous Region), *Guixian Luobowan Han mu* (Luobowan Han Dynasty Tombs in Guixian County) (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1988), 145–47.

9. Judith Cameron, "Textile Technology and Austronesian Dispersals," in *The Archaeology of Lapita Dispersal in Oceania*, ed. G. R. Clark, A. J. Anderson, and T. Vunidilo (Canberra: Pandanus Press, Australian National University, 2001), 177–83; Judith Cameron, "Textile Technology in the Prehistory of Southeast Asia," Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 2002; Judith Cameron, "Spindle Whorls," in *The Origins of the Civilization of Angkor*, vol. 1, *The Excavation of Ban Lum Khao*, ed. C. F. W. Higham and R. Thosarat (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 2005), 211–16.

10. Charles Higham and Tracey L.-D Lu, "The Origins and Dispersal of Rice Cultivation," Antiquity 72 (1998): 867–77.

11. Higham, Bronze Age of Southeast Asia.

12. Judith Cameron, "Fibre Preparation During the Proto-Historic Period in Central Vietnam: Technological Continuity at Sa Huynh Sites," paper presented at the Sa Huỳnh Conference, Quảng Ngãi Province, Vietnam, 22–25 July 2009.

13. Hoàng Xuân Chinh and Bùi Văn Tiến, "Văn hóa Đông-sơn và các trung tâm văn hóa trong thời Đại Kim Khí ở Việt Nam," (Đông Sơn Culture and Cultural Centres during the Metal Age of Vietnam), *Khảo cổ học* 31 (August 1979): 40–48; Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 7.

14. Léonard Aurousseau, "Le première conquête chinoise des pays annamites," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 23 (1923): 137–264.

15. Taylor, Birth of Vietnam, 314.

16. Henri Maspero, "Bulletin critique," T'oung Pao (1924): 373-93.

17. Claude Madrolle, "Le Tonkin ancien," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 37 (1937): 263–333.

18. Taylor, Birth of Vietnam, 314.

19. Ibid.

20. Cameron, "Fibre Preparation."

21. Hoàng Xuân Chinh and Bùi Văn Tiến, "Văn hóa Đông-sơn."

22. John Tessitore, "View from the East Mountain: An Examination of the Relationship between the Dongson and Lake Tien Civilizations in the First Millennium B.C.," *Asian Perspectives* 28 (1988–89): 31–65.

23. John Vollmer who observed mineralized textiles on bronze artifacts excavated in Yunnan coined the term "textile pseudomorph". See John E. Vollmer, "Archaeological Evidence for Looms from Yunnan," in *Looms and Their Products*, ed. Irene Emery and Patricia Fiske (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1979), 78–90.

24. D. S. Robin Yates, "The Development of Some Early Chinese Weapons," *Needham Research Institute Newsletter* 16 (February 1998): 3–4.

25. Ma Chengyuan, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1986).

26. Cameron, "Textile Technology in the Prehistory," 40.

27. Ibid., 90.

28. Higham, Bronze Age of Southeast Asia, 136.

29. Yunnansheng bowuguan (Yunnan Provincial Museum), *Yunnan jinning Shizhaishan gumuqun fajue baogao* (Excavation Report of the Shizhaishan Site in Jinning, Yunnan) (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1959).

30. Rawson, Chinese Bronzes of Yunnan.

31. Dieter Kuhn, *Textile Technology: Spinning and Reeling*, part 9 of *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

32. Huang Ti and Wang Dadao, "Commentary on the Plates," in Rawson, *Chinese Bronzes of Yunnan*, 220.

33. Vollmer, "Archaeological Evidence for Looms from Yunnan," 34-40.

34. Yunnansheng bowuguan (Yunnan Provincial Museum), "Excavation of an Ancient Cemetery at Lijiashan in Jiangchuan County, Yunnan Province," *Kaogu Xuebao* 2 (1982): 97–140.

35. Vollmer, "Archaeological Evidence for Looms from Yunnan," 78-89.

36. Yunnansheng bowuguan (Yunnan Provincial Museum), "Yunnan jinning Shizhaishan gumu disici fajue jianbao" (Preliminary Report of the Fourth Season Excavation of the Shizhaishan Cemetery), *Kaogu Xuebao* 9 (1963): 480–95. Retting is the process of soaking and washing fibers prior to spinning and weaving.

37. Judith Cameron, "New Research into Dongson Cloth from Waterlogged Sites in Vietnam," in Uncovering Southeast Asia's Past: Selected Papers from the Tenth Biennial Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, The British Museum, London, 14th–17th September 2004, ed. I. Glover and L. Bacus (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006), 196–203.

38. Kuhn, Textile Technology: Spinning and Reeling.

 Phạm Minh Huyền, Văn Hoá Đông Sơn (Đông Sơn Culture) (Hanoi: Khoa học xã hội, 2004).
40. Bùi Văn Liêm, Nguyễn Kim Thủy, and Nguyễn Sơn Ka, Báo cáo khai quật mộ thuyền Yên Bắc Duy Tiên Hà Nam lần thứ nhất (First Report on the Boat Coffin Found in Duy Tiên, Hà Nam Province) (Hanoi: Viện Khảo cổ, 2001).

41. Professor Matiji Strlic, personal communication, September 2004.

42. Bui Chi Hoang, "The Phu Chanh Site: Cultural Evolution and Interaction in the Later Prehistory of Southern Vietnam," *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 28 (2008): 67–72.

43. Judith Cameron et al., "Kết quả nghiên cứu vải trong văn hoá Đông Sơn tại di tích Đông Xá (Hưng Yên) trong hợp tác khoa học Việt Nam-Úc lần thứ nhất" (Textile in Đông Sơn Culture Found in the Đông Xá Site (Hưng Yên): First Co-operation Between Vietnam and Australia), *Khảo cổ học* 2 (2009): 20–25; Peter Bellwood et al., "Ancient Boats, Boat Timbers, and Locked Mortise-and-Tenon Joints from Bronze/Iron-Age Northern Vietnam," *International Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 36, 1 (2007): 2–20. Radiocarbon dating conventionally uses BP ("before present", with "present" defined as 1950).

44. Historical boundaries for this period are shown in Albert Herrmann, *An Historical Atlas of China* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966), 14–15.

Chapter 2. Jiaozhi (Giao Chi) in the Han Period

1. The Earlier Han tombs are concentrated in the Guilin, Wuzhou, Yulin, and Qinzhou areas, which proves that the population of this area was relatively dense and communication was relatively convenient.

2. Wu Xiaoling, "Gudai Qinzhouwan diqu de duiwai jiaowang shulun" (A Brief Account of the Overseas Contacts of the Ancient Qinzhou Area), *Guangxi shifan daxue xuebao* (Journal of Guangxi Normal University) 3 (2003): 126–31.

3. *Shuijing zhu* (Commentary on the Waterways Classic), Wenyuange edition of *Siku quanshu* (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries), *juan* 37: "The Western Shu [of Sichuan] also sent troops to fight [Trung] Trắc." (The term *juan* referred originally to separate physical volumes, but is now also used for chapters in single works.)

4. Meng Wengtong, Yueshi congkao (Studies on Vietnamese History) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1983), 69.

5. Hanshu (History of the Han Dynasty), Wenyuange edition, juan 28.

6. Liang Fangzhong, *Zhongguo lidai hukou, tiandi, tianfu tongji* (Statistics on Households, Land, and Land Taxes of Chinese Dynasties) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1980), 18–19.

7. Ge Jianxiong, *Xihan renkoudili* (Historical Demography of the Western Han Dynasty) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), 46.

8. These statistics are also an indication of the extent to which the traditional Lac lords participated in Han administration, as Taylor has pointed out. Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 33.

9. *Hanshu* (History of the Han Dynasty) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1970), 4: 1628–30.

10. "[Hepu] does not produce rice but its sea produces treasures. It is next to Jiaozhi; they often trade with each other and rice was traded between the two. The governors here were often corrupt and so greedy that they did not know where to stop their grabbing. The pearls [produced in this area] were moved to the territories of Jiaozhi. Traders stopped coming [to the Hepu area] and people lost their livelihood. The poor starved on the roads." *Houhanshu* (History of the Later Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), "Xunli zhuan" (Biographies of Upright Officials), *juan* 9: 2473 (on Meng Chang).

11. Ibid: 2462 (on Ren Yan).

12. In an excavation of 2006, in the Phia Vài Cave, Nà Hang district, 150 km north of Tuyên Quang, Vietnamese archaeologists found a female skeleton around 4,000 years old. In her eye sockets they found two seashells, identified as *Cypraea arabica*, the exact shape and purple color as described in the Chinese texts. Nguyễn Lân Cường, "Paleoanthropology in Vietnam," *Vietnam Archaeology* 2 (2007): 27.

13. *Guangzhou ji* (Records on Guangzhou), collected in *Yiwen leiju* (Collection of Literature Arranged by Categories), 6 vols. (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1969), 6:2156. The Juyan prefecture could be the Cu Lien prefecture mentioned in the Lê dynastic annals, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, located in today's central Vietnam. *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (The Complete Annals of Đại Việt), ed. Chen Jinghe (Chen Chingho), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo Tōyōgaku bunken senta, 1986), 1: 245, year 1069 (hereafter cited as *Toàn thư*). Purple shells were produced in three areas, Jiaozhi, Poli (Bali), and Hainan. *Suishu* (History of the Sui Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 6: 1838: "Poli kingdom: from Jiaozhi across the sea, passing the Chitu and Dandan kingdoms one would reach this kingdom." "Its sea produces patterned seashells and purple shells." Cited in *Liangshu* (History of the Liang), 3 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 4: 793.

14. *Shangshu dazhuan*, Wenyuange edition, *juan* 1: "From the East Sea there came beard and eyes of fish, from the South Sea there were fish skin, pearls, and big shells." For an excellent study on shells in ancient China, see Egami Namio "Migration of the Cowrie-Shell Culture in East Asia," *Acta Asiatica* 26 (1974): 1–52. I am grateful to Judith Cameron for bringing this source to my attention.

15. *Hanshu*'s "Treatise on Economics" (*Shihuo zhi*) recorded five grades and values of seashells. *Hanshu*, 24: 1178.

16. Wu Zhuo, "Xinan sichou zhilu yanjiu de renshi wuqu" (A Blind Spot in the Study of the Southwest Silk Route), *Lishi yanjiu* (Historical Studies) 1 (1999): 37–49.

17. Hanshu, 29: 11-12.

18. Olov Janse, Archaeological Research in Indo-China, 3 vols., vol. 1, The District of Chiu-Chên During the Han Dynasty: General Considerations and Plates (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947), 25.

19. *Nanzhong baqun zhi* (Records of the Eight Prefectures in the South), collected in *Yiwen leiju, juan* 87, 6: 2233: "There is sugarcane in Jiaozhi, a few centimeters round and over 200 centimeters long. It looks like bamboo. It is very sweet when it is cut and consumed. When pressed and dried for a few hours it will become candy, and melt as soon as it goes in the mouth. People call it stone honey."

20. Qi Han, *Nanfang caomuzhuang* (Descriptions of Southern Plants): "Honey fragrant paper is made from the bark of honey fragrant tree. Its color is light brown, with patterns of fish eggs. It is extremely fragrant, pliable but strong, even when soaked in water it will not tear." http://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hant.

21. Yiwen leiju, juan 85, 6: 2184-85.

22. Wang Jia, *Shiyi ji* (Researching Lost Records), *juan* 9: "Twill paper was presented by Nanyue. . . . The people in the south make seaweed into paper and its texture is twilled, which is why the paper is called twill paper." http://ziliaoku.jxwmw.cn/system/2008/11/20/ 010081399.shtml.

23. Janse, *Archaeological Research in Indo-China*, 1: 60–62; see plate 139 for heaps of potsherds.

24. Liang Bing Meng, "Handai hepu yu beibu wan haishang sichou zhilu" (Hepu of the Han Period and the Maritime Silk Road of the Gulf of Tongking), paper presented at the conference "A Mini Mediterranean Sea? The Gulf of Tongking Through History," Nanning, Guangxi, China, 14–15 March 2008).

25. Ge Hong, *Baopuzi* (Master Who Embraces Simplicity), http://www.chinapage.com/ big5/literature/bp01.htm.

26. The Chinese name of this Dâu Temple was Fayun (Pháp Vân in Vietnamese), "Temple of Clouds."

27. Minh Chi, Ha Van Tan, and Nguyen Tai Thu, *Buddhism in Vietnam* (Hanoi: The Gioi, 1993), 20.

28. "Eight harvests of cocoons within a year: this happens in Nhật Nam." Liu Xinqi, *Jiaozhouji* (Records on Jiaozhou), cited in "Wudu fu" (Poetic Essay on the Capital of the Wu), in *Wenxuan* (Selections of Refined Literature) (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 1: 102.

29. Deng Jia Bei, "Hepu yu xuwen zai haishang silu shifa gang diwei yu zuoyong bijiao yanjiu" (Comparison of Hepu and Xuwen as Departure Points on the Maritime Silk Road), *Zhongguo defang zhi* (Journal of Local Gazetteers) 10 (2005): 58.

30. Cited from Charles Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 110.

31. Ibid., 9: "Innovations, particularly those concerning the Đông Son culture, are necessarily of local inspiration by the ancestors of the present inhabitants."

32. Ibid., 130.

33. Ibid., 125.

34. Wan Fubin et al., "Yuenan dongshan tonggu zai renshi yu tonggu fenlei xinshuo" (New Views on the Đông Sơn Bronze Drums and their Categories), *Guangxi minzu xuanyuan xuebao* (Journal of Guangxi University of Ethnicities) 6 (2003): 80.

35. Nguyễn Giang Hải, "Ancient Metallurgy in Vietnam: An Ethno-Archaeological Investigation," *Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Bulletin* 25 (2005): 123.

36. Nishimura Masanari, "Settlement Patterns on the Red River Plain from the Late Prehistoric Period to the Tenth Century AD," *Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Bulletin* 25 (2005): 102. Franz Heger seemed to have started the view that the bronze drum culture was replaced by Han Chinese; see his *Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südost-Asien* (1902), Chinese translation by Shi Zhongjian et al., *Dong nanya gudai jinshu gu* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2004), 302–3.

37. Taylor, Birth of Vietnam, 59.

38. Kenneth R. Hall, Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia Trade and Statecraft in Early Southeast Asia (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 5.

39. Taylor, Birth of Vietnam, 56-57.

40. Wang Gungwu, *Nanhai maoyi yu Nanyang huaren* (The Nanhai Trade and Chinese in the Nanyang), trans. Yao Nan (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 46.

41. See *Cihai: Lishi dili* (Ocean of Words: Historical Geography), the most authoritative dictionary of Chinese historical geography (Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu chubanshe, 1980), 98.

4. Đào Duy Anh, Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời (Vietnamese Lands Across All Dynasties) (Hanoi: Khoa Học, 1964), 53–55, 61, 69.

4. Wu Xiaoling, "Haishang sichou zhilu yu qinzhou de fazhan" (The Maritime Silk Road and the Development of Qinzhou) *Qinzhou shifan Gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* (Journal of Qinzhou Normal College) 17, 4 (2002): 126.

44. O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999), 27.

45. Giovanni Arrighi, "Historical Perspectives on States, Markets and Capitalism, East and West," *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* (January 2008), http://www.japanfocus.org/-Giovanni-Arrighi/2630.

46. Wang, Nanhai maoyi, 118-19.

47. For example, "People in Cửu Chân again took Nhật Nam and became strong" (160 c.e.); "Cửu Chân attacked the citadel of Jiaozhou and the area was shaken" (248 c.e.). *Toàn thu*, 1: 129, 139. See also Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 32.

48. *Toàn thu*, 1: 170–74. Even Jiaozhi did not remain a single unit under Vietnamese rule. In the third century c.E. the lands of modern Son Tây, Vĩnh Phúc, and Nghệ An were beyond the control of Jiaozhi for generations.

49. Pamela Grossley, Helen Siu, and Donald Sutton, *Empire at the Margin: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 6.

50. *Jiaozhou yinan waiguo zhuan* (Accounts of Countries South of Jiaozhou): "Around [the Bronze Pillar] there are about a dozen small countries and all are ruled by Xitu." Cited in *Taiping yulan* (Imperially Reviewed Encyclopedia of the Taiping Era), *juan* 790.

51. For the period 100–300 c.e., "the connection with Han China played an important role in the establishment of new social structures. Influence from China penetrated the Sa Huynh culture and became stronger in the beginning of the first millennium; it was caused by various factors, among which the political one is most significant. . . . In this same time, we cannot ignore the influence from India, but the connection with India seems to be weaker than with China. The material culture of this phase also reflects some features which were inherited from the earlier Sa Huynh culture." Lam Thi My Dzung, "Central

Vietnam During the Period from 500 BCE to CE 500," paper presented at the conference "Early Indian Influences in Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Movements," 21–23 November 2007, Singapore; see also Trần Kỳ Phương, "The Mỹ Sơn Sanctuary of Champa Kingdom in Central Vietnam: The Oldest Hindu Temple in Southeast Asia (Fourth–Thirteenth Centuries CE)," paper presented at the conference "Early Indian Influence in Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Movements," Asia Research Institute, Singapore, 21–23 November 2007.

52. Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 60; see also Higham, *Bronze Age of Southeast Asia*, 333: "Exotic Iranian, Roman, Indian and Chinese artefacts reveal participation in an exchange network, while the presence of rings and seals engraved in characters of the *brāhmī* script confirm knowledge of an Indian writing system." Pierre-Yves Manguin pointed out earlier that Indianized states did not sprout in Indonesia before the fourth century; see his "Southeast Asian Shipping in the Indian Ocean during the First Millennium A.D.," in *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, ed. Himanshu Prabha Tay and Jean-François Salles (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), 182.

53. *Houhanshu* (History of the Later Han Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 10: 2849, *juan* 86, "*Nanman xinanyi liezhuan*" (Biographies of the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians): "the Ailao region produces copper, iron, lead, tin, gold, silver, pearls, amber, crystal, glass, *kechong*, peacock, jadeite, rhinoceros, elephant, gorilla, etc."

54. Goods no longer needed to be "carried on backs" along small winding paths that did not allow the use of carts, so the only obstacle to a larger volume of the Nanhai trade flowing between Canton and Yangzhou during the years 623–728 was now removed. In one Tang officer's words: "The merchants of the various countries from across the sea may now daily transport their merchandise, so that the wealth of tusks, hides, feathers, and hairs (skin) and that of fish, salt, clams, and oysters can, on the one hand, meet the needs of the treasury and, on the other hand, satisfy the demands of the Jiang Huai region." Wang, *Nanhai maoyi*, 117.

55. Ibid., 130.

56. Ibid., 131.

57. On Panpan: "Linyi is at its north and there is a small sea between them. From Jiaozhou by ship it would take 40 days to arrive here." *Jiu Tangshu* (Old History of the Tang Dynasty), *juan* 197 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 6: 5271.

58. Wang, Nanhai maoyi, 132.

59. Trương Đắc Chiến, "Vài nét về tình hình nghiên cứu mộ gạch từ trước tới nay ở Việt Nam" (Brief Accounts of Studies of Brick Tombs), via personal communication with Hoàng Anh Tuấn. I am grateful to Hoàng Anh Tuấn for sending this article to me.

Chapter 3. Han Period Glass Vessels in the Early Tongking Gulf Region

This chapter is an expanded version of a paper presented at the Fourth Worldwide Conference of the Society for East Asian Archaeology, 3-5 June 2008, Beijing. For fruitful discussions, assistance in obtaining photographs, and other help my sincere thanks go to An Jiayao (Beijing), Robert H. Brill (Corning), Judith Cameron (Canberra), Catherine Delacour (Paris), Jean-Paul Desroches (Paris), Simone Griessmayer (formerly Heidelberg, now Zürich), the Han Dynasty Tombs Museum (Hepu), Huang Qishan (Nanning), James Lankton (London), the Lào Cai Provincial Museum (Lào Cai), Rosemarie Lierke (Bad Schwalbach), Ulrike Middendorf (Heidelberg), the Museum of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (Nanning), Nguyễn Giang Hải (Hanoi), Phạm Minh Huyền (Hanoi), Andreas Reinecke (Bonn), and E. Marianne Stern (Hilversum). In particular I thank Chen Liang (Heidelberg) for his patient help with translating from the Chinese.

1. Cecilia Braghin, "Polychrome and Monochrome Glass of the Warring States and Han Periods," in *Chinese Glass: Archaeological Studies on the Uses and Social Context of Glass Artefacts from the Warring States to the Northern Song Period (Fifth Century B.C. to Twelfth Century A.D.)*, ed. Cecilia Braghin, Orientalia Venetiana 14 (Florence: Leo Olschki, 2002), 31–34.

2. Phạm Minh Huyền, "Một trung tâm văn minh cổ đại đầu nguồn Sông Hồng ở đất Việt" (An Ancient Cultural Center at the Source of the Red River in Vietnamese Territory), *Khảo cố học* 1 (1997): 38–63 (group 5); Phạm Minh Huyền, "Dong Son Drums Discovered in Lao Cai Town in 1993," *Tonan Ajia kokogaku* 17 (1997): 45–59 (group 5); Brigitte Borell, "The Han Period Glass Dish from Lao Cai, Vietnam," paper presented at Nineteenth Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Congress, Hanoi, Vietnam, 29 November–5 December 2009. Yet another glass bowl was found in Bắc Ninh Province, Vietnam. See Yuko Hirano, "Regional Trade and Its Development in the Iron Age of Vietnam: From the Study of Glass Ornaments," *Vietnam Archaeology* 3 (2008): 46.

3. James K. Chin says that around 5,000 Chinese tombs of the Han dynasty can currently be identified in the Hepu region. See James K. Chin, "Ports, Merchants, Chieftains and Eunuchs: Reading Maritime Commerce of Early Guangdong," in *Guangdong: Archaeology and Early Texts (Zhou-Tang)*, ed. Shing Müller, Thomas Höllmann, and Putao Gui, South China and Maritime Asia Series 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 219; Francis Allard, "Frontiers and Boundaries: The Han Empire from its Southern Periphery," in *Archaeology of Asia*, ed. Miriam T. Stark (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006), 240–42.

4. Huang Qishan, "Guangxi fa xian de Han dai boli qi"(Glassware of the Han Dynasty Discovered in Guangxi), *Wenwu* 9 (1992): 46–48; Huang Qishan, "Guangxi Han dai boli yu hai shang si chou zhi lu" (Glass of the Han Dynasty from Guangxi and the Maritime Silk Road), in *Hai shang si chou zhi lu yan jiu: Zhongguo, Beihai Hepu hai shang si chou zhi lu shi fa gang li lun yan tao hui lun wen ji* (Research on the Maritime Silk Road: Hepu Harbor (Beihai, China), the Starting Point of the Maritime Silk Road. A Collection of Conference Papers), ed. Wu Chuanjun and Lü Yusheng (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006), 154–63; Huang Qishan, "Guangxi Han dai boli yu Yue ren hai shang si chou zhi lu de tan suo" (Research into Han Period Glass in Guangxi and into the Maritime Silk Road of the Yue People), in *Ouluo yicui: Guangxi Baiyue wenhua wenwu jingpin ji* (Treasures from Ou and Luo: A Collection of Selected Cultural Relics from the Hundred Yue in Guangxi), ed.

Zhongguo guojia bowuguan (National Museum of China) and Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan (Museum of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), 268–81.

5. Huang, "Guangxi Han dai boli yu hai shang si chou zhi lu," 161–62; Zhao Hongxia, Li Qinghui, Gan Fuxi, and Cheng Huangcheng, "Guangxi Hepu diqu chutu Han dai gu boli de zhizi ji fa X-yingguang fenxi" (PIXE Study of Ancient Glass Samples from the Han Dynasty Unearthed in Hepu County, Guangxi), *He Jishu* 30 (2007): 32. The exceptionally wealthy tomb 1 at Huangnigang contains elaborate jades in addition to the glass cup. See *Ouluo yicui*, 141–43, 258. Its occupant was Chen Bao, the governor of Hepu Commandery. This information came from Xiong Zhaoming, personal communication, 2009.

6. In the Guixian, Qichelu tomb 5 they had carefully been placed inside a bronze dish or basin, and in Hongtouling tomb 34 the glass cup had been placed in a lacquer container. Huang, "Guangxi Han dai boli yu hai shang si chou zhi lu," 155–56. Huang, "Guangxi Han dai boli y Yue ren hai shang si chou zhi lu de tan suo," 268 and 270.

7. Catherine Delacour, *Arts Asiatiques* 60 (2005): 137, figs. 36–37; cf. Simon Kwan, *Early Chinese Glass* (Hong Kong: Art Museum, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001), fig. 49, nos. 9 and 12, fig. 50, 5 and 6; Wei Zhuangfan and Rong Xiaoning, eds., *Guangxi wenwu zhen pin* (Gems of Cultural Relics in Guangxi) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2002), no. 232; Huang, "Guangxi Han dai boli yu Yue ren hai shang si chou zhi lu de tan suo," 269–70, figs. 7 and 9.

8. A Chorus of Colors: Chinese Glass from Three American Collections (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1995), 34, no. 4; Brigitte Borell, "Trade and Glass Vessels Along the Maritime Silk Road," in *Glass Along the Silk Road*, ed. B. Zorn and A. Hilgner (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum-Tagungen, 2010), 134, fig. 10.

9. Such a technique is suggested for the Mediterranean glass vessels in the last centuries B.C.E. until the first century C.E., before being superseded by the technique of glassblowing that was invented in the first century B.C.E. and then gradually developed. E. Marianne Stern and Birgit Schlick-Nolte, *Early Glass of the Ancient World, 1600 B.C.–A.D.50: Ernesto Wolf Collection* (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1994), 71–81; Rosemarie Lierke, *Die nicht-geblasenen antiken Glasgefäße: The Non-Blown Ancient Glass Vessels* (Offenbach/Main: Deutsche Glastechnische Gesellschaft, 2009), 30–39.

10. An Jiayao, *Early Chinese Glassware*, trans. Matthew Henderson, Oriental Ceramic Society Translations 12 (Hong Kong: Millennia, 1987), 6, 35, nos. 5–8; reconsidered in An Jiayao, "Ancient Glass Trade in Southeast Asia," in *Ancient Trades and Cultural Contacts in Southeast Asia*, ed. Amara Srisuchat (Bangkok: Office of the National Culture Commission, 1996), 131.

11. Shi Meiguang, He Ouli, and Zhou Fuzheng, "Investigation on Some Chinese Potash Glasses Excavated in Han Dynasty Tombs," in *Archaeometry of Glass: Proceedings of the Archaeometry Session of the XIV International Congress on Glass, 1986, New Delhi, India*, ed. Hari C. Bhardwaj (Calcutta: Indian Ceramic Society, 1987), 15–20; An Jiayao, "Ancient Glass Trade in Southeast Asia," 131; Rose Kerr and Nigel Wood, *Science and* 

*Civilization in China*, vol. 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology, part 12: Ceramic Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 464–67, 625–27.

12. Huang Qishan, "A Preliminary Study of Han Dynasty Glass in Guangxi," in Scientific Research in Early Chinese Glass, ed. Robert H. Brill and John Martin (Corning, N.Y.: Corning Museum of Glass, 1991), 185-92; Robert H. Brill's comment in Fan Shimin and Zhou Baozhong, "Some Glass in the Museum of Chinese History," in Scientific Research in Early Chinese Glass, 197; Robert H. Brill, "Scientific Research in Early Asian Glass," in Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress on Glass, Beijing, October 1995, vol. 1, Invited Lectures (Beijing: International Academic Publishers, 1995), 270-79; Robert H. Brill, "Chemical Analyses of Some Glasses from the Collection of Simon Kwan," in Kwan, Early Chinese Glass, 450; Gan Fuxi, Cheng Huansheng, and Li Qinghui, "Origin of Chinese Ancient Glasses-Study on the Earliest Chinese Ancient Glasses," Science in China Series E: Technological Sciences 49, no. 6 (December 2006): 701-13, esp. 709-10; Gan Fuxi et al., "Zhongguo gu dai boli de qi yuan-Zhongguo zui zao de gu dai boli van jiu" (Origin of Ancient Glass in China-Studies on the Earliest Chinese Glass), Zhongguo kexue (China Science) 37, 3 (2007): 382-91, esp. 388-89; Robert H. Brill and Hiroshi Shirahata, "The Second Kazuo Yamasaki TC-17 Lecture on Asian Glass: Recent Lead-Isotope Analyses of Some Asian Glasses with Remarks on Strontium-Isotope Analyses," in Ancient Glass Research Along the Silk Road, ed. Gan Fuxi, Robert H. Brill, and Tian Shouyun (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009), 156-58.

13. See, for instance, Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli wei yuan hui, (Guangzhou Municipal Administration Commission of Cultural Heritage) et al., *Guangzhou Hanmu* (Excavation of Han Tombs at Guangzhou), (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), plates 78, 1; 97, 7,11; 166, 6; Olov Janse, *Archaeological Research in Indo-China*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), pl. 103, 1; 120, 2.

14. Compare for instance, Susan N. Erickson, "Boshanlu—Mountain Censers of the Western Han Period: A Typological and Iconological Analysis," *Archives of Asian Art* 45 (1992): 6–28, figs. 4–8.

15. Shi, He, and Zhou, "Investigation on Some Chinese Potash Glasses," 15, 18; Huang, "Preliminary Study of Han Dynasty Glass," 188; Brill, "Chemical Analyses of Some Glasses," 450; Wei and Rong, *Guangxi wenwu zhen pin*, 181.

16. In the ancient period glassmaking and glassworking were two separate crafts requiring different technologies and techniques. In glassmaking glass is fused from its raw materials; in glassworking it is remelted from ingots or cullet.

17. Robert H. Brill, *Chemical Analyses of Early Glasses* (Corning, N.Y.: Corning Museum of Glass, 1999), 1: 156, no. 5770, 2: 358, no. 5770; Huang, "Guangxi Han dai boli yu hai shang si chou zhi lu," 158, G1–G8, G27; Huang, "Guangxi Han dai boli yu Yue ren hai shang si chou zhi lu de tan suo," 272, 274, G1–8, G56.

18. Shi, He, and Zhou, "Investigation on Some Chinese Potash Glasses," 19; Kerr and Wood, *Ceramic Technology*, 464–66, 632; James Lankton and Laure Dussubieux, "Early Glass in Asian Maritime Trade: A Review and an Interpretation of Compositional Analyses," *Journal of Glass Studies* 48 (2006): 136.

19. Julian Henderson, *The Science and Archaeology of Materials: An Investigation of Inorganic Materials* (London: Routledge, 2000), 24–25, 38–39, 48–51; Gan Fuxi, "Origin and Evolution of Ancient Chinese Glasses," in Gan, Brill, and Tian, *Ancient Glass Research Along the Silk Road*, 7–8.

20. A  $K_2$ O-SiO<sub>2</sub> glass with a low level of CaO and moderate level of  $Al_2O_3$ . Lankton and Dussubieux, "Early Glass in Asian Maritime Trade," 136.

21. Zhao Hongxia et al., "Guangxi Hepu diqu chutu Han dai gu boli de zhizi ji fa X-yingguang fenxi," 27–33; Li Qinghui et al., "PIXE Study on the Ancient Glasses of the Han Dynasty Unearthed in Hepu County, Guangxi," in Gan, Brill, and Tian, *Ancient Glass Research Along the Silk Road*, 397–411.

22. Andreas Reinecke, Nguyễn Chiều, and Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung, Neue Entdeckungen zur Sa-Huynh-Kultur: Das Gräberfeld Go Ma Voi und das kulturelle Umfeld in Mittelvietnam (Cologne: Linden Soft, 2002), 189–200.

23. Ge Hong (284–343), *Baopuzi neipian jiao shi* (Inner Chapters of the Master who Embraces Simplicity, Collated and Explained), ed. and annotated Wang Ming (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 2: 22. For help with the translation the author thanks U. Middendorf, Heidelberg, and R. Overbey, Heidelberg. It is of special interest that the term *zhu* used by Ge Hong for making the bowls is taken from the vocabulary used for casting metal; in this context it seems to imply that the bowls were formed by introducing hot glass to a mold.

24. In 220 the southern region was divided in two large parts, Jiaozhou and Guangzhou. See Michael Loewe, "Guangzhou: The Evidence of the Standard Histories from the *Shi ji* to the *Chen shu*, a Preliminary Survey," in Müller, Höllmann, and Gui, *Guangdong: Archaeology and Early Texts*, 59, 78, map, bottom.

25. Tomb 2061 at Hengzhigang, Guangzhou, excavated in 1954. See Fan and Zhou, "Some Glass in the Museum of Chinese History," 196–97, fig. 4 (with comment by R. H. Brill, in particular, on the presence of some lead and barium in the glass), 200, analysis no. 6; An Jiayao, "Ancient Glass Trade in Southeast Asia," 132, fig. 10; Kwan, *Early Chinese Glass*, 48 fig. 50, 1; An Jiayao, "The Art of Glass Along the Silk Road," in *China: Dawn of a Golden Age (200–750 AD)*, ed. James C. Y. Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 58, fig. 4; Yang Boda (ed.), *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji 4: Zhongguo jin yin boli falangqi quanji 1: boliqi* (Complete Collection of Chinese Fine Arts, vol.4: Complete Collection of Chinese Gold, Silver, Glass and Enamel, part1: Glass) (Shijiazhuang Shi: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2004), no. 59; Borell, "Trade and Glass Vessels Along the Maritime Silk Road," 136 fig. 11.1.

26. Henan Nanyang shi wenwu kaogu yan jiu suo (Nanyang Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Henan Province), "Henan Nanyang shi Chenpeng cun 68 hao Han mu" (Tomb No.68 of the Han Period at Chenpeng Village in Nanyang City, Henan), *Kaogu* 10 (2008): 33–39, fig. 7.5, and plate 2.4; Borell, "Trade and Glass Vessels Along the Maritime Silk Road," 136 fig. 11.2.

27. On saltpeter, see references in note 18.

28. After An Jiayao, *Early Chinese Glassware*, 25; cf. also Joseph Needham, Ling Wang, and Kenneth Robinson. *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 4, *Physics and Phys-*

*ical Technology, Part I, Physics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 107–8; An Jiayao, "Glass Vessels and Ornaments of the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties Periods," in Braghin, *Chinese Glass*, 46–47.

29. Remains of a Western Han town, discovered in Shiwan near Hepu, are still awaiting full investigation. See "Starting Point of Marine Silk Road Confirmed," *China Today*, December 2002, http: //www.chinatoday.com.cn/English/e2002/y200212/c4.htm, accessed 3 June 2010. Also Xiong Zhaoming, personal communication, March 2009.

30. An Jiayao, *Early Chinese Glassware*, 2–3, fig.1; 35, no.4; 40, no.3; 44, analysis 3; Kwan, *Early Chinese Glass*, 48, fig. 50, 11; An Jiayao, "Art of Glass along the Silk Road," 58, fig. 47. The tomb is that of Liu Jing, named king of Guangling in 58 c.e.; see Borell, "Trade and Glass Vessels Along the Maritime Silk Road," 128, fig. 1.

31. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, A. Ghosh, and Krishna Deva, "Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India* 2 (1946): 102, fig. 42, 2, and plate 34, B, 1; Vimala Begley et al., *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu: New Excavations and Researches, 1989–1992*, 2 vols. (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1996, 2004), 1: 64, fig. 2.33.

32. Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), 88–89, 228–29 (60: 20.6a).

33. E. Marianne Stern, "Early Roman Export Glass in India," in *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*, ed. Vimala Begley and Richard D. De Puma (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 117–18. For other Mediterranean glass vessels found in South Asia, see also Stern and Schlick-Nolte, *Early Glass of the Ancient World*, 72–79, esp. 308–9, no. 89, 320–22, nos. 95–96; Peter Francis, Jr., "Beads and Selected Small Finds from the 1989–1992 Excavations," in Begley et al., *Ancient Port of Arikamedu*, 2: 518–19; P. J. Cherian et al., "The Muziris Heritage Project. Excavations at Pattanam—2007," *Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology* 4 (2007): 7, pl.1D.

34. Vimala Begley, "Arikamedu Reconsidered," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87 (1983): 473; Begley et al., *Ancient Port of Arikamedu*, 1: 19–25, 107–13; 2: 5–6.

35. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, *History of Indian Glass* (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1969), 50–51; Samarendra N. Sen and Mamata Chaudhuri, *Ancient Glass and India* (New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy, 1985), 57, 164.

36. It is unlikely that the glass vessel was made in India as there is no tradition of using glass vessels there for eating and drinking in the early period, probably due to the ritualistic laws of religious pollution. See Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 332.

37. They come mainly from Ta Chana, Suratthani Province, on the east coast, and Bang Kluay, Ranong Province, on the west coast; the fragments are kept in the Suthi Ratana Foundation at Tha Wang, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand. James Lankton et al., "Chinese Han Period Glass Cup Fragments in Peninsular Thailand" (for archaeometry), and Brigitte Borell, "Fragments of Han Period Glass Vessels from Southern Thailand" (for archaeological aspects), papers presented at the Nineteenth Congress of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association, Hanoi, 29 November–5 December 2009.

38. At least nine carnelian ear spools (see Francis, "Beads and Selected Small Finds," 496–97, table 13; 520–21, figs. 7.51, 7.52). Unfortunately, they were not found in an undisturbed archaeological context.

39. Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli wei yuan hui et al., *Guangzhou Han mu*, plates 90, 6; 114, 6; 174, 5; Guangxi Hepu xian bowuguan (Guangxi Hepu County Museum), "Guangxi Hepu xian Muzhuling Han mu de fa,"(Excavation of Han Tombs at Muzhuling in Hepu County, Guangxi), *Kaogu* 2 (2007): 35, plate. 8.5, from Muzhuling tomb 6; Brigitte Borell, "The Glass Vessels from Guangxi and the Maritime Silk Road in the Han Period (206 B.C.E. to 220 c.E.)," paper presented at Twelfth International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Leiden, the Netherlands, 1–5 September 2008 (in press).

40. Bérénice Bellina, *Cultural Exchange Between India and Southeast Asia: Production and Distribution of Hard Stone Ornaments (VIc. BC–VIc. AD)* (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2007), 48, 53, 56.

41. For more detailed accounts, see Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31, pt. 2 (1958): 8–30; Yü Ying-shih, *Trade and Expansion in Han China: A Study in the Structure of Sino-Barbarian Economic Relation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967): 172–87; Yü Ying-shih, "Han Foreign Relations," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 451–60; Gang Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activities and Socioeconomic Development, c. 2100 B.C.–1900 A.D.* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997), 6–7; Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula: Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road (100 BC–AD 1300)*, trans. Victoria Hobson, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Sect. 3, Southeast Asia 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 18–21; Loewe, "Guangzhou" 68–74; Chin, "Ports, Merchants, Chieftains and Eunuchs" 223–27; Allard, "Frontiers and Boundaries," 233–38.

42. Michael Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. Twitchett and Loewe, 1: 169–70; Yü Ying-shih, "Han Foreign Relations," 458.

43. Needham et al., Science and Civilization in China, vol. 4, Part III, Civil Engineering and Nautics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 441–42, 445–46; Sabine Werner, "Zur frühen chinesischen Seefahrt," in Zur geschichtlichen Bedeutung der frühen Seefahrt, ed. Hermann Müller-Karpe (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), 88–89; Deng, Chinese Maritime Activities, 24–27; Thomas Höllmann, "Panyu: Die südliche Pforte nach China während der Han-Zeit," in Schätze für König Zhao Mo: Das Grab von Nan Yue, ed. Margarete Prüch and Stephan von der Schulenburg (Frankfurt: Braus, 1998), 111.

44. Deng, Chinese Maritime Activities, 77–78; Höllmann, "Panyu," 110–11.

45. Although James K. Chin considers that "the earliest maritime trade zone should be located in the Gulf of Tongking, with Rinan, Xuwen and Hepu as its major ports," Francis Allard writes that "Panyu remained an important port" despite the main points of embarkation

being located further south and west along the gulf coast. For these points, see Chin, "Ports, Merchants, Chieftains and Eunuchs," 223; Allard, "Frontiers and Boundaries," 237.

46. Needham, Civil Engineering and Nautics, 444.

47. After Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade," 19–20; cf. also Angela Schottenhammer, "Schiffahrt und Überseebeziehungen bis ins 3.Jahrhundert: Ein Überblick," in *Han-Zeit: Festschrift für Hans Stumpfeldt aus Anlass seines 65.Geburtstages*, ed. Michael Friedrich (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 611–12; Roderich Ptak, *Die maritime Seidenstrasse: Küstenräume, Seefahrt und Handel in vorkolonialer Zeit* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2007), 86–87.

48. Heidrun Schenk, "The Dating and Historical Value of Rouletted Ware," Zeitschrift für Archäologie Aussereuropäischer Kulturen 1 (2006): 123–52.

49. Sophie Péronnet, "Overview of Han Artifacts in Southeast Asia with Special Reference to the Recently Excavated Material from Khao Sam Kaeo in Southern Thailand," paper presented at Twelfth International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Leiden, 1–5 September 2008; Bérénice Bellina-Pryce and Praon Silapanth, "Weaving Cultural Identities on Trans-Asiatic Networks: Upper Thai-Malay Peninsula—An Early Socio-Political Landscape," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 93 (2006): 278, fig. 10; For research on the Kra Isthmus region and presumable crossings of the peninsula, see Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *Malay Peninsula*, esp. 30–32, 42–44, 82–89.

50. Phaedra Bouvet, "Étude préliminaire de céramiques indienne et "indianisantes" du site de Khao Sam Kaeo IVe–IIe siècles av. J.-C.," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 93 (2006): 353–90.

Chapter 4. "The People in Between": The Li and Lao from the Han to the Sui

1. These terms are anachronistic in the period under discussion, as are the names of the modern states from which they are derived; in this chapter, they are employed with this in mind. The names Pearl River and Red River are also anachronisms, but I have retained them in preference to the less well known names Yu and Pu in use at the time.

2. The anachronism of the term "colonization" becomes apparent when it is applied to parts of the Han Empire that have become territories of modern nation-states (such as northern Vietnam and Korea) but not to neighboring territories (like Yunnan or Manchuria), which were obviously just as foreign to Han "China" as the territories that ended up belonging to other nation-states today.

3. "Guangzhou" here refers to the larger administrative units ruled from the area of the modern city of the same name. To avoid confusion between this larger area and its administrative capital, I shall refer to the city by its English name "Canton" despite the anachronism involved.

4. For sections that address the Li, Lao, and Wuhu in precisely this manner, see Jiang Bingzhao, *Baiyue minzu wenhua* (Culture of the Hundred Yue Peoples) (Shanghai: Xuelin

Chubanshe, 1988); Hu Shouwei, *Lingnan gushi* (Ancient History of Lingnan) (Shaoguan: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1999); Wang Wenguang and Li Xiaobin, *Baiyue minzu fazhan yanbian shi* (The Development and Evolution of the Hundred Yue Peoples) (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2007)

5. Two works that have addressed this problem as it relates specifically to the idea of a single Yue people are Heather Peters, *Tattooed Faces and Stilt Houses: Who Were the Ancient Yue?* (Philadelphia: Department of Oriental Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1990); and William Meacham, "Is an Anthropological Definition of the Ancient Yue Possible?" in *Lingnan guyuezu wenhua lunwenji* (Collected Essays on the Culture of the Ancient Yue People in South China), ed. Chau Hing-wa (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Urban Council, 1993), 140–54.

6. For example, the common "cropped hair and tattooed body," *duanfa wenshen*, from the Xiaoyaoyou chapter of *Zhuangzi*, which referred originally to practices of the people of the Yue state, i.e., the area around modern Shanghai, became associated with the term "Yue" wherever it was used.

7. *Liangshu* (History of the Liang) (Bona ed.), *juan* 3: 33b, records that Li Bi (Lý Bi) of Jiaozhi fled into the "Lao grottoes" after his defeat by the Liang forces, showing that the name Lao was also used for people to the west of the Red River plain. Note that this reference and all subsequent references to Chinese primary sources are to volumes (*juan*) of woodblock printed books. The term *juan* referred originally to separate physical volumes, but is now also used for chapters of single works. Woodblock pages are conventionally referred to as "side a" and "side b." All quotations from standard dynastic histories are from Bona editions and referred to in the format above.

8. From its distribution, the term seems to have an initial connection with those who dwell in upland areas rather than on the plains, but by the fifth century it had become a more general term interchangeable with Li.

9. Houhanshu (History of the Later Han), juan 86: 9b.

10. Although now only a tonal difference remains in Mandarin, in Cantonese and Sino-Vietnamese they are still distinct syllables.

11. The most comprehensive survey of the changes in meaning of these three names and their geographical distribution can be found in Ruey Yih-fu, "Laoren kao," (Investigation into the Lao People), *Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo qikan* (Academia Sinica, *Bulletin of the Institute for History and Philology*) 28 (1957): 727–71. Ruey also believed it was possible to classify Li, Lao, and Wuhu as discrete ethnic groups based on their recorded cultural characteristics.

12. It is highly unlikely that such far-flung areas as the Red River and Sichuan all spoke a single "Lao" language belonging to the same family. In addition, sometimes the names Li and Lao are themselves confused: the *Chenshu* (History of the Chen), *juan* 9: 6b, for instance, records an expedition against the "Yi and Lao" that resulted in the capture of a certain Chen Wenche, but in the *Liangshu*, *juan* 32: 11b, the same Chen Wenche is referred to as a "Li commander" (*li shuai*).

13. The relationship between these two language families is still unresolved. Even if they were ultimately related, their common ancestry lies far beyond the era under discussion here and is therefore irrelevant to the question whether Li and Lao were blanket terms.

14. Use of the term *Man* was more or less confined to southern peoples, whereas *Yi* was a very general term that eventually completely lost its original sense of "eastern barbarians." However, both were applied to ever more distant peoples as Chinese knowledge of geography expanded.

15. Namely the Song geographical encyclopedias *Taiping huanyu ji* (Record of the World in the Taiping Period) and *Yudi jisheng* (Records of Famous Places). No earlier sources are extent in their entirety. The earlier *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* (Illustrated Guide to the Counties and Commanderies of the Yuanhe Era) of the Tang is unfortunately missing several chapters relating to central Lingnan.

16. These were Chunzhou, Xunzhou, Douzhou, and Yuzhou. They lay within a triangle made by modern Yulin, Yangjiang, and Rong Counties.

17. Houhanshu, juan 86: 4a. The text uses a homophonous character for li.

18. *Nanzhou yiwu zhi* (Monograph on Strange Things from the Southern Provinces), a work written during the time of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu (222–78 c.E.) quoted in the *Taiping yulan* (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era) (Song ed.), *juan* 786: 3b.

19. Sanguozhi (Monograph on the Three Kingdoms), juan 53: 10b. Zhuguan is another name for Hepu.

20. Jinshu (History of the Jin), juan 57: 6a.

21. Songshu (History of the Song), juan 97: 4a.

22. Nanqishu (History of the Southern Qi), juan 14: 20a, b.

23. Ibid., 14: 25b, 26a.

24. For details of the formation of this class, see Keith Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 48–57. For details of the administration of the area during the Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties periods, see 70–151.

25. The areas in which Han brick tombs have been uncovered also show that the spread of Sinitic settlement was confined to coastal and riverside areas such as Canton, Wuzhou, Hepu, Xuwen, the Red River Delta area, and the lands directly to its south (modern Nghệ An and Thanh Hóa).

26. Houhanshu, juan 86: 9a, 9b.

27. *Sanguozhi, juan* 49: 9b, notes that during Shi Xie's rule in Jiaozhou, hundreds of scholars from the central states (now northern China) sought refuge from disaster there. Notable examples are the scholar Liu Xi, his pupil Xue Zong, and Mouzi, the author of the book *Lihuolun* (Treatise on Settling Doubts).

28. Houhanshu, juan 24: 12a.

29. Ibid., 86: 10a.

30. Jiu Tangshu, juan 41: 41a.

31. Nanzhou yiwu zhi, quoted in Houhanshu, juan 86: 7b.

32. Bowuzhi (Monograph on Various Matters) (Wenyuange ed.), juan 2: 5b, 6a.

33. Ibid., 2: 6a/b.

34. Nanqishu, juan 41: 1b.

35. Concrete records from the Six Dynasties period are scarce. *Songshu*, juan 92: 5a, records that in the seventh year of Yixi (410) the Jin dynasty rebel Lu Xun fled from Shixing to Jiaozhou, where he eventually met his end, but states only that he went to Jiaozhou from Hepu.

36. Yoshikai Masato, "Dooko saihen no jidai—issennenki no betonamu, minamichuugoku" [The age of remaking the bronze drums—Vietnam and southern China in the first millennium C.E.], *Tooyoo Bunka* 78 (1998): 199–218.

37. Wang Kerong, Qiu Zhonglun, and Chen Yuanzhang, *Guangxi zuojiang yanhua* (The Cliff Paintings on the Left Hand River in Guangxi) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), 193.

38. See Yoshikai, "Dooko saihen no jidai," figs. 8 and 9, 212-13.

39. Wang, Qiu, and Chen, Guangxi zuojiang yanhua, 204.

40. Jiang Tingyu, "Yueshi tonggu di chubu yanjiu," (Preliminary Research on Yue-Style Drums) in *Gudai tonggu xueshu taolunhui lunwen ji* (Collected Essays from the Scholarly Conference on Ancient Bronze Drums) ed. Zhongguo gudai tonggu yanjiuhui (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 1982), 152–60.

41. Houhanshu, juan 86: 9b.

42. Taiping yulan, juan 785: 8b.

43. *Nanyuezhi* (Monograph on Nanyue), a lost fifth-century work by Shen Huaiyuan quoted in *Taiping huanyu ji, juan* 166: 4a.

44. Nanzhou yiwu zhi, quoted in Taiping yulan, juan 786: 3b.

45. Ibid., 803: 10b.

46. *Gujinzhu* (Commentaries on Things Ancient and Modern), a Jin era (265–420) work quoted in *Taiping yulan, juan* 803: 5a. In fact, the administrative commandery of Yulin did not reach to the coast, so it is most likely that the tribute of pearls and coral was actually from the coast of Hepu.

47. *Taiping huanyu ji, juan* 167: 8a. Folio 11b also records pearls as a product of these two areas.

48. Liu Xun, *Lingbiaoluyi* (Records of Oddities from Beyond the Passes) (Wenyuange edition) Middle Juan: 3a. "Green Pearl" was a woman's name.

49. *Wulu dilizhi* (Monograph on the Geography of Wu), a late third-century work by Zhang Bo, quoted in *Taiping huanyu ji, juan* 170: 5a.

50. *Shuyiji* (Records of Narrated Oddities), a late fourth-century work quoted in the *Taiping yulan, juan* 807: 4b.

51. Wulu dilizhi, quoted in Taiping yulan, juan 971: 8a.

52. Jinshu, juan 26: 11a.

53. In the area around modern Beiliu and Yulin, where finds of Heger type II drums are most concentrated, there were abundant natural resources of copper. Three drum production sites dating from the Six Dynasties period have also been found near Beiliu, right at the heart of the heaviest concentration of type II drum finds. See Yao Shun'an, "Beiliuxing

tonggu zhuzao yizhi chutan" (Preliminary Discussion on the Remains of a Casting Site for Beiliu-Style Drums), *Kaogu* 6 (1988): 556–61.

54. It is interesting to note that the social significance of the drums for the people of the Red River Delta was not discovered by the Vietnamese until the twentieth century. The oldest extant native Vietnamese history, the Trần dynasty (1225–1400) work *Việt sử lược* (Short History of the Việt) (Han Nom Institute, Hanoi, shelf number VHv 1521), does not even mention them.

55. Taylor, Birth of Vietnam, 113.

56. Nanqishu, juan 40: 6b.

57. Ibid., juan 58: 15a, 15b.

58. Taylor, Birth of Vietnam, 56-57, 120-21.

59. *Jinshu, juan* 57: 5a. This probably took place in the last years of the Wu dynasty (220–80), as Tao Huang was the prefect of Cangwu around that time.

60. Songshu, juan 97: 4a.

61. Edward Hetzel Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 31.

62. Chenshu, juan 23: 3b.

63. *Songshu, juan* 54: 10b. Jinkang was located on the south bank of the Pearl River close to the Yunkai mountain range.

64. *Nanqishu, juan* 14: 25b, 26a. The Qi founded Yuezhou for military control of the Li-Lao.

65. Liangshu, juan 47: 4b.

66. *Chenshu*, *juan* 8: 1a, 1b. This Xinzhou is modern Xinxing in Guangdong and seems to have been on the eastern edge of the Li-Lao country.

67. Ibid., 12: 1a, near Canton.

68. Ibid., 9: 6b. This probably occurred during the Datong period (535-46).

69. Ibid., 21: 17a. These "Li grottos" more than likely lay to the south of the Pearl River. The armies who went to fight there set out from the Canton area, at a time when the area directly to the north belonged to a different administrative unit.

70. See Geoff Wade, "The Lady Sinn and the Southward Expansion of China in the Sixth Century," in *Guangdong: Archaeology and Early Texts*, ed. Shing Müller, Thomas Höllmann, and Putao Gui, South China and Maritime Asia Series 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 1–21.

71. Schafer, Vermilion Bird, 69; for the survey of insurrections, see 61-68.

72. *Lingbiaoluyi*, written at the end of the ninth century, records that drums were already being dug up in Gaozhou, where they were treated as curiosities, indicating that production had already ceased in the area. See Jiang, "Yueshi tonggu di chubu yanjiu"

73. The Feng family was well known as descendants of Feng Bao (Chen governor of Gaoliang) and Lady Xian. The Ning family of the area around Hepu and Yulin were descendants of an official of the Liang sent as governor to the Yulin area. Yang Hao, "Lingnan ningshi jiazu yuanliu xinzheng," (New Evidence for the Origin of the Ning Clan of Lingnan) *Kaogu* 3 (1989): 269–73.

74. Denys Lombard, "Another 'Mediterranean' in Southeast Asia," *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 1 (2007): 3–9, http://csds.anu.edu.au/volume\_1\_2007/Lombard.pdf.

75. Charles Holcombe has referred to the Red River Delta in a similar fashion as an "oasis of civility." See Charles Holcombe, "Early Imperial China's Deep South: The Viet Regions Through Tang Times," *T'ang Studies* 15–16 (1997): 125–56.

Chapter 5. "Slipping Through Holes": The Late Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Sino-Vietnamese Coastal Frontier as a Subaltern Trade Network

Earlier versions of sections of this chapter appeared in James Anderson, *The Rebel Den of Nùng Trí Cao: Loyalty and Identity Along the Sino-Vietnamese Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the work of the author.

1. See Li Tana, "A View from the Sea: Perspectives on the Northern and Central Vietnamese Coast," and John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast: Trade, State and Culture in Early Đại Việt," both *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37 (February 2006): 83–102, 103– 22 respectively.

2. Charles Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 82, 304–8.

3. Đào Duy Anh, *Yuenan li dai jiang yu: Yuenan li shi di li yan jiu* (Vietnam's Frontier Through History: Studies in Vietnamese History and Geography), Chinese trans. Zhong Minyan, annotated Yue Sheng (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1973), 37.

4. Toghto et al., *Songshi* (History of the Song Dynasty), 40 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985), *juan* 90: 2244 (hereafter cited as *Songshi*).

5. Jennifer Holmgren, *Chinese Colonisation of Northern Vietnam: Administrative Ge*ography and Political Development in the Tongking Delta, First to Sixth Centuries A.D., Oriental Monograph Series 27 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1980), 6.

6. David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007), 23.

7. Zhang Fu, *Hepu xianzhi* (Gazetteer of the Hepu District) 1685 edition, 2 reels (Beijing: National Library Microfilm Copy Documentation Center, 1992), 1: 6a. See also Li Tao (1115–84), *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* (Draft for a Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), 20 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), juan 7: 267 (hereafter cited as *XZZTJCB*).

8. XZZTJCB, juan 7: 338-39.

9. Ibid., juan 7: 340.

10. Faure, Emperor and Ancestor, 25.

11. Ibid.

12. See Whitmore, "Rise of the Coast," 103-22.

13. Sima Guang, *Xin jiao Zizhi tongjian zhu* (The Newly Collated "Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government"), ed. Zhang Yu (1865–1937), 16 vols. (Taipei: Shijie, 1962), juan 283: 9239. See also Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor*, 25.

14. Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư (The Complete Annals of Đại Việt), ed. Chen Jinghe (Chen Chingho), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo Tōyōgaku bunken senta, 1986) (hereafter cited as *Toàn thu*) 1: 180 *XZZTJCB, juan* 11: 349–50.

15. XZZTJCB, juan 13: 282.

16. Stephen Morton paraphrases Homi Bhabha's reference to the term in *The Routledge Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, ed. John McLeod (London: Routledge, 2007), 167.

17. R. A. Donkin, *Beyond Price, Pearls and Pearl-Fishing: Origins to the Age of Discoveries* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998), 200. See also Anders Hansson, *Chinese Outcasts: Discrimination and Emancipation in Late Imperial China*, Sinica Leidensia 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 118.

18. Hansson, Chinese Outcasts, 112-13.

19. David Faure and Helen F. Siu, *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), 13.

20. Faure, Emperor and Ancestor, 22-23.

21. Toàn thư, 1: 198.

22. Đào Duy Anh, Yuenan lidai jiangyu, 148.

23. Ibid.

24. The *Toàn thu* account interprets events differently by noting that Lê Hoàn sent an envoy, Đỗ Hanh, to lead an embassy to the Song court. At that time the Song was afraid that this embassy was an invading army. Song officials Zhang Guan and Wei Zhaomei presented their memorial reporting on this Vietnamese-region attack, and they are quoted as placing the blame squarely on the Đại Cổ Việt authorities. *Toàn thu*, 1: 194.

25. Anderson, Rebel Den of Nùng Trí Cao, 52-53.

26. Songshi, juan 488: 14,063.

27. Ibid.; Anderson, Rebel Den of Nùng Trí Cao, 53.

28. Songshi, juan 488: 14,065; Anderson, Rebel Den of Nùng Trí Cao, 56-57.

29. Songshi, juan 488: 14,065; Anderson, Rebel Den of Nùng Trí Cao, 59.

30. Anderson, Rebel Den of Nùng Trí Cao, 59.

31. See Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jiben* (Draft of Documents Pertaining to Song Official Matters), 1809 ed., 16 vols. (Taipei: Shijie, 1964), *juan* 4: 28.

32. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 1: 276.

33. Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Trading Ships of the South China Sea: Shipbuilding Techniques and Their Role in the History of the Development of Asian Trade Networks," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36, 3 (1993): 274.

> Chapter 6. Vân Đồn, the "Mac Gap," and the End of the Jiaozhi Ocean System: Trade and State in Đai Viêt, Circa 1450-1550

This chapter is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Roxanna M. Brown and her great contribution to our studies. My thanks also to Allison I. Diem for her valuable studies of Champa trade ceramics and shipwrecks. 1. Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư (The Complete Annals of Đại Việt, hereafter *Toàn thư*), 4 vols. (Hanoi: Khoa Học Xã Hội, 1998). The citations appear in the standard form of *juan* (or chapter) and page, recto or verso. Here the references are *Toàn thư*, 4: 6b; 12: 41a.

2. Roxanna Brown termed this phenomenon the "Mac gap," alluding to the sudden dearth of Vietnamese ceramics in the sixteenth century, the period in which the Lê dynasty was overthrown by a usurping general, Mac Đăng Dung, and his successors. The new dynasty lasted from 1528 to 1592, when the Lê finally regained the throne after decades of civil war. The argument in this chapter basically derives from Brown's work; see below.

3. Li Tana, "A View from the Sea: Perspectives on the Northern and Central Vietnamese Coast," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (hereafter *JSEAS*) 37, 1 (2006): 83–102.

4. Li Tana, Nguyễn Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998); Charles Wheeler, "Re-Thinking the Sea in Vietnamese History: Littoral Society in the Integration of Thuận-Quảng, 17th–18th Centuries," JSEAS 37, 1 (2006): 123–53; Wheeler, "One Region, Two Histories: Cham Precedents in the History of the Hội An Region," in Việt Nam: Borderless Histories, ed. Nhung Tuyet Tran and Anthony Reid (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 163–93.

5. John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast: Trade, State, and Culture in Early Đại Việt," *JSEAS* 37, 1 (2006): 103–22; Whitmore, "The Last Great King in Classical Southeast Asia: 'Che Bong Nga' and Fourteenth Century Champa," in *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society, and Art*, ed. Bruce Lockhart (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2010): 158–204.

6. Charles R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (1953; Nandeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967): 73–74.

7. Tomé Pires, *The Suma Orientale of Tome Pires* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 112–15; Donald F. Lach, *Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Europe: The Sixteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 564–65.

8. W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China," *Toung Pao* 16, 1 (1915): 87, 91–93; Tatsuro Yamamoto, "Vân Đồn, a Trade Port in Vietnam," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 39 (1981): 8–9.

9. Roderich Ptak, "The Gulf of Tongking: A Mini-Mediterranean?" paper presented at the conference "A Mini Mediterranean Sea? The Gulf of Tongking Through History," Nanning, China, 14–15 March 2008.

10. See Li in this volume; Trần Kỳ Phương, "The Champa Polities in Central Vietnam as the Midway Entrepots Between South and East Asia on the 'Maritime Silk Route'," paper presented at the conference "A Mini Mediterranean Sea?" March 2008; Keith W. Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

11. Li, "View from the Sea," 83–102; Ptak, "Gulf of Tongking"; John Chaffee, "At the Intersection of Empire and World Trade: The Chinese Port City of Quanzhou (Zaitun), 11th–15th Centuries," in *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400–1800*, ed. Kenneth R. Hall (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2008), 99–122; Đỗ Trường Giang, "Sự Phát triển của nền hải thương Champa thời ký Vijaya cuối thế kỷ X đến cuối thế kỷ XV (The Development of the Maritime Trade of Champa in the Age of Vijaya, Late 10th–Late 15th Centuries)," in *Việt Nam trong hệ thống thương mại Châu Á thế kỷ XVI–XVII* (Vietnam in the Commercial System of Asia, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), ed. Nguyễn Văn Khánh (Hanoi: Thế Giới, 2007), 104–26.

12. Li, "View from the Sea," 83–95; see also Leonard Y. Andaya, *Leaves from the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 22–24, 40–46, 68–77.

13. For a general sense of the widespread trade and communication from the northeast coast of Africa to the southeast coast of China during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, see the essays by Jay Spaulding, Elizabeth Lambourn, Stewart Gordon, Kenneth Hall, and John Chaffee in Hall, ed., *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking*.

14. Kenneth R. Hall, "Multi-Dimensional Networking: Fifteenth-Century Indian Ocean Maritime Diaspora in Southeast Asian Perspective," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, 4 (2006): 454–81; Hall, "Coastal Cities in an Age of Commerce: Upstream-Downstream Networking and Societal Development in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Maritime Southeast Asia," in Hall, ed., *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking*, 176–204.

15. Li, "View from the Sea," 95–102; Nguyễn Văn Kim, "Hệ thống thương cảng Vân Đồn qua các nguồn tư liệu lịch sử, điền dã và khảo cổ học (The Harbor System of Van Don as Seen through Historical and Archaeological Materials), *Khảo cổ học* (Journal of Archaeology) (2006–4): 48–65; Li Tana, "The Ming Factor and the Emergence of the Việt in the 15th Century," in *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor*, ed. Geoffrey Wade and Sun Laichen (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2010), 87–89; Kerry Nguyen-Long, "Trade and Exchange in the 16th–18th Centuries Through the Prism of Hội An," in Nancy Tingley, *Arts of Ancient Viet Nam: From River Plain to Open Sea* (New York: Asia Society, 2009), 245–47, 255–56; Tingley, *Arts of Ancient Viet Nam*, 14–15, 282–85.

16. Yamamoto, "Vân Đồn, a Trade Port," 3–4, 6–7; *The Lê Code: Law in Traditional Vietnam*, ed. and trans. Nguyễn Ngọc Huy and Tạ Văn Tài, with Trần Văn Liêm, 3 vols. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987), 1: 263–64; 2: 314–15, 318–19; Nguyễn Trãi et al., *Du địa chí* (Geography) (Hanoi: Khoa Học Xã Hội, 1969), 224.

17. Roxanna M. Brown, "Ming Gap? Data from Southeast Asian Shipwreck Cargoes," in Wade and Sun, *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, 358–74; Brown, "Discernible Divide: Hongzhi (1488–1505) and Zhengde (1506–1521) Shipwreck Ceramics," paper presented at the "Symposium on Chinese Export Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia," Singapore, 12–14 July 2007. See also Bùi Minh Tri, "Tìm hiểu ngoài thương Việt Nam qua 'con đường gốm sứ trên biển"" (Examining the Foreign Trade of Vietnam in Terms of 'the Maritime Ceramics Route')," *Khảo cổ học* (2003–5): 49–57, 69; Nguyễn Văn Kim, "Hệ thống thương cảng Vân Đồn," 58; Nguyen-Long, "Trade and Exchange," 256–60; Tingley, *Arts of Ancient Viet Nam*, 308–9; Li, "The Ming Factor," 88–89.

18. Allison I. Diem, "The Significance of Cham Ceramic Evidence for Assessing Contacts Between Vijaya and Other Southeast Asian Polities During the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries CE," paper presented at the "Symposium on New Scholarship on Champa," Singapore, 5–6 August 2004; Diem, "The Significance of Pandanan Shipwreck Ceramics on Evidence of Fifteenth Century Trading Relations Within Southeast Asia," *Bulletin of the Oriental Ceramics Society of Hong Kong* 12 (1998–2001): 28–36; Diem, "Vietnamese Ceramics from the Pandanan Shipwreck Excavation in the Philippines," *Taoci, Revue Annuelle de la Société Française d'Étude de la Céramique Orientale* 2 (2001): 87–93; Diem, "Ceramics from Vijaya, Central Vietnam: Internal Motivations and External Influences (Fourteenth–Late Fifteenth Centuries)," *Oriental Art* 45, 3 (1999): 55– 64; personal communication with R. M. Brown, 17 March 2008. See also Bùi Minh Tri, "Tìm hiểu ngoài thương Việt Nam," 56–57; Nguyen-Long, "Trade and Exchange," 246–47.

19. See notes 17-18 above.

20. Geoffrey Philip Wade, "The *Ming Shi-lu* (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty) as a Source for Southeast Asian History, Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hong Kong, 1994, 1502, 1570.

21. John K. Whitmore, "Literati Culture and Integration in Đại Việt, c.1430–c.1840," in *Beyond Binary Histories*, ed. Victor B. Lieberman (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 222–26, 230–32.

22. Nola Cooke, "Nineteenth-Century Vietnamese Confucianization in Historical Perspective: Evidence from the Palace Examinations (1463–1883)," *JSEAS* 25, 2 (1994): 277–81.

23. Toàn thư, 12: 7b.

24. Ibid., 19a; John K. Whitmore, "Paperwork: The Rise of the New Literati and Ministerial Power and the Effort Toward Legibility in Đại Việt," in Wade and Sun, *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century*: 106–16.

25. *Toàn thu*, 12: 40a-b; 13: 9a, 12a; Whitmore, "Literati Culture and Integration in Đại Việt," 232-33.

26. *Toàn thu*, 12: 33a–b, 41a, 42b; John K. Whitmore, "Chung-Hsing and Cheng-T'ung in Đại Việt: Historiography of and on the Sixteenth Century," in *Essays into Vietnamese Pasts*, ed. K. W. Taylor and John K. Whitmore (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995), 124–30.

27. Toàn thư, 12: 28b-29a.

28. Ibid., 37a–b, 39a–40a, 41a; John K. Whitmore, "China Policy in the New Age: Lê Thánh-tông and Northern Relations," paper presented at the Association of Asian Studies Conference, Chicago, 24–27 March 2005.

29. Toàn thu, 12: 50a, 52b, 53b–54a. For a Dutch exploration of this northeast coast two centuries later, see Hoang Anh Tuan, *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations*, 1637–1700 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 106–9.

30. Leo K. Shin, "Ming China and Its Border with Annam," in *The Chinese State at the Borders*, ed. Diana Lary (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 91–92, 99–100.

31. Wade, "The *Ming Shi-lu*," 1647–48, 1652. For more on pirates in the Tongking Gulf in later centuries, see Chapters 7–9 by Iioka, Niu and Li, and Vũ and Cooke in this volume.

32. John K. Whitmore, "The Thirteenth Province: Internal Administration and External Expansion in Fifteenth-Century Đại Việt," in *Asian Expansions*, ed. Geoffrey Wade (London: Routledge, forthcoming); Li, *Nguyễn Cochinchina*, 18–24. It required the bloody Cham revolt of the 1690s to reverse this policy enough to allow the continued existence of a small vassal Cham state (Panduranga, in the area of modern Phan Rang) until it was finally transformed forcibly into a Vietnamese province in the 1830s. See Nola Cooke, "Later-Seventeenth-Century Cham-Viet Interactions: New Light from French Missionary Sources," *Annalen der Hamburger Vietnamistik* 5–6 (2010), 13–52.

33. John K. Whitmore, "The Two Great Campaigns of the Hồng-Đức Era (1470–1497) in Đại Việt," *South East Asia Research* 12, 1 (2004): 127–30; Andaya, *Leaves from the Same Tree*, 45.

34. Toàn thư, 12: 73b; Li, "The Ming Factor," 94-96.

35. Toàn thư, 13: 44b-45a, 48a.

36. Wade, "The *Ming Shi-lu*," 1691–92, 1730, 1784–87, 1797–99, 1837–41; Andaya, *Leaves from the Same Tree*, 46; Anthony Reid, "Hybrid Identities in the Fifteenth-Century Straits," in Wade and Sun, *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century*: 323–24, 327.

37. Wade, "The Ming Shi-lu," 1857-58, 1910-13.

38. Brown, "Ming Gap? Data from Southeast Asian Shipwreck Cargoes," 368–69, 372–74; idem, "The 'Mac Gap' and Vietnamese Ceramics," paper presented at Second International Conference of Vietnamese Studies, Ho Chi Minh City, 15 July 2004; idem, "Discernible Divide"; idem, "Southeast Asian Trade Wares, Sixteenth Century," chart, 2007; personal communications with R. M. Brown, 29 January, 1 & 2 February, 17 March 2008; Tingley, *Arts of Ancient Viet Nam*, 14–15, 284–305; Nguyen-Long, "Trade and Exchange," 255, 257–60; Nguyễn Đình Chiến, "Ceramics from Shipwrecks off Việt Nam," in Tingley, *Arts of Ancient Viet Nam*, 315–18, 326, 329; Frank Pope, *Dragon Sea* (Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt, 2007): 206–7, 263–66, 277. Mensun Bound, as presented in Pope, has argued strongly for a date of 1437 for the Hội An wreck. If true, it would shift our understanding of Đại Việt's place in the Jiaozhi Yang considerably.

39. Personal communications with R. M. Brown, 22 February and 18 April 2008. The abstract of her proposed paper ("Champa Prisoners as Chu-Đau Potters?") for the Third International Conference of Vietnamese Studies, Hanoi, 4–7 December 2008, never presented, was

Using shipwreck and land-based archaeology, this paper will present evidence that supports the historical claim that Vijaya was destroyed in AD 1471. It will also present the idea that Champa potters were taken north to work in the potteries of Håi Durong province. When the Go Sanh kilns of Bình Định were discovered in the 1970s, they were assigned to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries based on the evidence that one of their primary products—bowls with monochrome glaze and an unglazed stacking ring on their interior bottom—matched similar bowls from northern Vietnam. At that time the northern bowls were thought to be fourteenth century. Shipwreck evidence now shows that the northern bowls were not made before 1471. In other words, the northern Vietnam versions of the bowl post-date the Champa bowls. Shipwreck evidence also shows that the export of ceramics from northern Vietnam increased dramatically very soon after 1471.

40. Gang Zhao, "Restructuring the Authority of the Ancestor: Zhu Yuanzhang's Role in the Evolution of Ming Maritime Policy, 1400–1600," in *Long Live the Emperor! Uses of the Ming Founder Across Six Centuries of East Asian History*, ed. Sarah Schneewind (Minneapolis: Society for Ming Studies, 2008): 92–97, 100, 102; Nguyễn Đình Chiến, "Gốm sứ nước ngoài phát hiến được trong khu hoàng thành Thăng Long" (Foreign Ceramics Discovered in the Royal City of Thăng Long)," in Nguyễn Văn Khánh, *Việt Nam trong hệ thống thương mại Châu A*, 651–53.

41. Brown, "Ming Gap?" 372, 374; Brown, "'Mac Gap' and Vietnamese Ceramics"; Brown, "Discernible Divide"; personal communications (see notes 38–39); Zhao, "Restructuring the Authority of the Ancestor," 93–94. See also Bùi Minh Tri, "Tìm hiểu ngoài thương Việt Nam," 62–63.

42. Nola Cooke, "Regionalism and the Nature of Nguyễn Rule in Seventeenth-Century Đàng Trong (Cochinchina)," *JSEAS* 29, 1 (1998): 129–30, quotation 130; Lê Quý Đôn, Đại Việt thông sử (General History of [Lê] Đại Việt), Vietnamese trans. Ngô Thế Long (Hanoi: Khoa Học Xã Hội, 1978): 133–34, 136 (91a–b, 93a–b); *Toàn thu*, 14: 39a–47b.

43. Toàn thư, 14: 47a-51b, quotation 49b-50a.

- 44. Whitmore, "Chung-Hsing and Cheng-T'ung," 118-20.
- 45. Toàn thư, 14:51a-b.

46. Whitmore, "Chung-Hsing and Cheng-T'ung," 121, 127–28; *Toàn thu*, 15: 27a–b, 30b, 33a; Cooke, "Nineteenth Century Vietnamese Confucianization," 286–92; Cooke, "Regionalism and the Nature of Nguyễn Rule," 130–31.

47. Hall, "Coastal Cities in an Age of Commerce," 177–204; John K. Whitmore, "Secondary Capitals of Đại Việt: Shifting Elite Power Bases," in Hall, *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking*, 168–69; Đinh Khắc Thuân, *Lịch sử triều Mạc, qua thư tịch và văn bia* (History of the Mạc Dynasty Through Documents and Inscriptions) (Hanoi: Khoa Học Xã Hội, 2001), 184–229.

48. Zhao, "Restructuring the Authority of the Ancestor," 96–98, 102; Martin Krieger, "The Formation of the Commercial System of Asia in the Early Modern Period," in Nguyễn Văn Khánh, *Việt Nam trong hệ thống thương mại Châu Á*, 23–25; Momoki Shiro and Hasuda Takashi, "Vietnam in Early Modern East and Southeast Asia," in Nguyễn Văn Khánh, *Việt Nam trong hệ thống thương mại Châu Á*, 366–68.

49. Wheeler, "One Region, Two Histories," 176-84.

50. Li, *Nguyễn Cochinchina*, chaps. 3, 4; Claudine Salmon, "Opacité du commerce entre Canton et Hué: Une mystérieuse affaire de cloche (1693)," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 92 (2005): 321–38; Iioka's chapter in this volume; Charles Wheeler, "Missionary Buddhism in a Post Ancient World: Monks, Merchants, and Colonial Expansion in Seventeenth-Century Cochinchina," in Hall, *Secondary Cities and Urban* 

*Networking*, 205–31; Nguyen-Long, "Trade and Exchange," 247–54, 260–63; *Pho Hien: The Centre of International Commerce in the 17th–18th Centuries*, ed. Association of Vietnamese Historians (Hanoi: The Gioi, 1994). Curiously, the name Vân Đồn reappeared, this time in the south and inland, at the commercial juncture in the An Khê valley where trade between highland and lowland took place. The oldest Tây Son brother, Nhạc, held an official position there, according to Maurice Durand, Histoire des Tây Son (Paris: Indes Savantes, 2006), 50.

Chapter 7. The Trading Environment and the Failure of Tongking's Mid-Seventeenth-Century Commercial Resurgence

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1. The most important works are P. W. Klein, "De Tonkinees-Japanse zijdehandel van de Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie en het inter-Aziatische verkeer in de 17e eeu (The Tongkingese-Japanese Silk Trade of the Dutch East India Company in Intra-Asian Traffic During the 17th Century)," in *Bewogen en bewegen: De historicus in het spanningsveld tussen economie en cultuur* (Moved and Moving: History in the Tension Between Economy and Culture), ed. W. Frijhoff and M. Hiemstra (Tilburg: Gianotten, 1986), 152–77; and Hoang Anh Tuan, *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations, 1637–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

2. With the exception of Henriette Buggé, "Silk to Japan: Sino-Dutch Competition in the Silk Trade to Japan, 1633–1685," *Itinerario* 13 (1989): 25–44.

3. Iioka Naoko, "Wei Zhiyan and the Subversion of the 'Sakoku'," in *Offshore Asia: Maritime Interactions in Eastern Asia*, ed. Fujita Kayoko, Momoki Shiro, and Anthony Reid (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, forthcoming).

4. L. Cadière, "Le mur de Dồng Hới: Étude sur l' établissement des Nguyễn en Cochinchine," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 6 (1906): 87–254.

5. Iwao Seiichi, *Nanyō Nihnmachi no kenkyū* (A Study of Japanese Settlements in Southeast Asia During the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 10–11.

6. Gonoi Takashi, "Nihon iezusukai no tōnanajia fukyō to nihonjin shisai" (The Catholic Church in Japan and its Missionary Works in Southeast Asia in Relation to Diasporic Japanese Communities)," *Nihon Rekishi* 361 (1981): 58–59.

7. Gonoi Takashi, "Iezusukai hikaiin no kongergasan to kaisōka (*Congregação* and the Ranking of Non-Jesuits in Asia: The Relationship Between *dōjuku* in Japan and *cate-chista* in Tongking)," *Shigaku Zasshi* 103 (1994): 25, 52–54.

 Nagazumi Yōko, "17 seiki chūki no nihon-Tonkin bōeki ni tsuite (The Tongkingese-Japanese Trade in the Mid-Seventeenth Century)," *Jōsai daigaku daigakuin kenkyū nenpō* 8 (1992): 32.

9. Madalena Riberio, "The Japanese Diaspora in the Seventeenth Century: According to Jesuit Sources," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 3 (2001): 69.

10. Japanese operations in Tongking virtually ceased when Wada died in 1667. Nagazumi Yōko, *Shuinsen* (Red Seal Ships) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001), 209–21; Iwao Seiichi, *Zoku nanyō nihonmachi no kenkyū* (More Research on Japanese Settlements in Southeast Asia During the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1987), 99, 272.

11. Department van Kolonien, *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India* (Daily Journal Kept at Castle Batavia) (hereafter *DB*), 31 vols. numbered by date (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1896–1931), 1636: 67–74.

12. J. M. Dixon, "Voyage of the Dutch Ship 'Grol' from Hirado to Tongking," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 11 (1883): 180–214.

13. Li Tana, Nguyễn Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998), 43–46.

14. Leonard Blussé, "No Boat to China: The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635–1690," *Modern Asian Studies* 30 (1996): 66–68.

15. Cheng K'o-ch'eng, "Cheng Ch'eng-Kung's Maritime Expansion and Early Ch'ing Coastal Prohibition," in *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. E. B. Vermeer (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 238–40; Liu Shi-feng, "17, 18 seiki no chūgoku to higashi ajia: Shinchō no kaigai bōeki seisaku wo chūshin ni (China and East Asia During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Qing Policies Toward Foreign Trade)," in *Ajia kara kangaeru 2: Chiiki shisutem* (Asian Perspective 2: The Asian Regional System), ed. Mizoguchi Yūzō et al. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993), 94–96.

16. Pang Xingping, "*Kai-hentai* kara mita shinsho no kaikin to Nagasaki bōeki (Chinese Junk Trade with Nagasaki During the Period of Maritime Ban in the Early Qing Seen from *Kai hentai*)," *Osaka keidai ronshū* 55 (2004): 232–33, 238.

17. E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 1492–1898, 55 vols. (Cleveland: A.H. Clark, 1903–9), 42: 119.

18. Both Dutch and Japanese sources agreed that 1681 saw the fewest Chinese junks in Nagasaki. Iwao Seiichi, "Kinsei nisshi bōeki ni kansuru sūryō teki kōsatsu (Quantitative Analysis on the Trade Between Japan and China During the Early Modern Period)," *Shigaku Zasshi* 62 (1953): 12; Arano Yasunori, "Kinsei chūki no Nagasaki bōeki taisei to nukeni" (Trading System and Contraband Trade at Nagasaki)," in *Nihon kinseishi ronsō* (Collected Essays on the History of Early Modern Japan), ed. Bitō Masahide sensei kanreki kinen kai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1984), 407.

19. Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (General Letters by the Governors-General and Councilors to the Board of Directors [Heren XVII] of the Dutch East India Company, hereafter *GM*), ed. W. P. Coolhaas (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1964), 2: 699.

20. Dagregisters van de factorij te Deshima (Daily Records of the Dutch Factory on Deshima at Nagasaki) (hereafter DN), 16 October 1642, National Archives, The Hague, Archives of the Dutch factory in Japan (hereafter NFJ) 56; DN, 7 November 1643, NFJ 67.

21. C. C. van der Plas, *Tonkin 1644/45: Journaal van de Reis van Anthonio van Brouckhorst* (Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut vor de Tropen te Amsterdam, 1955), 22.

India Office Records, British Library, London (hereafter IOR), G/12/17, pts. 3: 195v, 2: 130v; *Ka-i hentai* (Changing Condition of Chinese and Barbarians, hereafter *KH*), ed. Hayashi Harukatsu and Hayashi Nobutoku (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1981), 1: 359–60, 388–92.

23. DB, 1661: 52-53.

24. KH, 2: 1276-77.

25. DN, 9 July 1673, NFJ 85. English translation quoted from C. R. Boxer, Jan Campagnie in Japan, 1600–1850: An Essay on the Cultural, Artistic and Scientific Influence Exercised by the Hollanders in Japan from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1950), 183.

26. DN, 5 August 1676.

27. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 1: 38r

28. Hoang, Silk for Silver, 104–9; Alain Forest, Les missionnaires français au Tonkin et au Siam, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles (Paris: Harmattan, 1998), 2: 20.

29. KH, 1: 208–9.

30. George Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 113–14.

31. KH, 1: 316–17.

32. Hoang, Silk for Silver, 55-56.

33. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2: 109r.

34. Forest, Missionnaires français au Tonkin, 2: 16–17; Hoang, Silk for Silver, 56–57.

35. Letter from William Gyfford in Tongking to the English factory at Banten, 23 October 1675, IOR G/12/17, pt. 2: 143v–144r.

36. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China,* 1635–1834 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 31–40; C. R. Boxer, "Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1672–1674, or Anglo-Dutch Rivalry in Japan and Formosa," *Transactions of the* Asiatic Society of Japan 2nd ser. 7 (1930): 139–203; D. K. Bassett, "The Trade of the English East India Company in the Far East, 1623–84, Part II: 1665–84," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1960): 145–57.

37. Anthony Farrington, "A New Source for Chinese Trade to Japan in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25 (1985): 189.

38. Hoang Anh Tuan, "From Japan to Manila and Back to Europe: The Abortive English Trade with Tonkin in the 1670s," *Itinerario* 29 (2005): 73–92.

39. For a comprehensive study of seventeenth-century Tongking-Dutch relations, see Hoang, *Silk for Silver*.

40. IOR, G/12/17, pts. 3: 64v, 4: 205r, 5: 37, 7: 279r, 8: 309v.

41. Iioka Naoko, "Ayutaya kokuō no tainichi bōeki: Sakoku ka no Nagasaki ni raikōshita shamu-sen no tokōkeiro no kentō (Siamese Crown Trade with Japan, 1679–1728)," *Nanpo Bunka* 24 (1997): 81–82.

42. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 6: 1–2; Anthony Farrington and Dhiravat na Pombejra, *English Factory in Siam, 1612–1685* (London: British Library Publishing Division, 2007), 1: 476, 490, 502.

43. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2: 130v.

44. Ibid., pt. 3: 167v, 198v.

45. Ibid., 195v.

46. The last such junk was recorded in 1724. Iioka, "Ayutaya kokuō no tainichi bōeki," 98.

47. KH, 2: 1565–66.

48. Iioka, "Ayutaya kokuō no tainichi bōeki," 98.

49. KH, 2: 933-34.

50. Forest, Missionnaires français au Tonkin, 2: 129, 131.

51. Report from Nicholaes Couckebacker to Batavia, 21 April 1626, in *DB*, 1636: 67–74.

52. Samuel Baron, "A Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen," in *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam: Christoforo Borri on Cochinchina and Samuel Baron on Tonkin*, ed. Olga Dror and K. W. Taylor (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006), 239.

53. William Dampier, *Voyages and Discoveries*, intro. and annotated by Clennell Wilkinson (London: Argonaut Press, 1931), 16. For more on the Red River Delta transportation system, see Charles B. Maybon, *Histoire moderne du pays d'Annam (1592–1820)* (Paris: Typographie Plon-Nourrit, 1919).

54. For the names of rivers and tributaries, see Sakurai Yumio, "Chin chō ki koga delta kaitaku shiron (The Red River Delta in the Tran Dynasty, 1225–1400)," *Tōnanajia kenkyū* 27 (1989): 275–300.

55. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, 14, 18.

56. See Iioka Naoko, "Literati Entrepreneur: Wei Zhiyan in the Tonkin-Nagasaki Silk Trade," Ph.D. dissertation, National University of Singapore, 2009, 23–34.

57. Nguyen Thua Hy, "Pho Hien as Seen from European Sources," in *Pho Hien: The Centre of International Commerce in the 17th–18th Centuries*, ed. Association of Vietnamese Historians (Hanoi: The Gioi, 1994), 84.

58. For the establishment of Phố Hiến, see Truong Huu Quynh, "The Birth and Development of Pho Hien," in *Pho Hien*, 27–38.

59. Nagazumi, Shuinsen, 143.

60. Murakami Naojirō and Nakamura Takashi, *Batavia-jō nisshi* (Japanese Translation of Extracts from *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1970), 1: 255–56.

61. Kurihara Fukuya, "Oranda higashi indogaisha to Tonkin 1653-nen: Generale Missiven 1654 yori (The Dutch East India Company and Tonkin in 1653: Seen from the 'General Missive' of 1654)," *Tokyo jōshidaigaku syakaigakkai kiyō* 21 (1993): 17.

62. Sakurai Yumio, *Betonamu sonraku no keisei* (The Formation of Vietnamese "Traditional" Villages) (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1987), 251–97.

63. Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư (The Complete Annals of Đại Việt), ed. Chen Jinghe (Chen Chingho), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo Tōyōgaku bunken senta, 1986) (hereafter *Toàn thư*).

64. Nishimura Masanari, "Hokubu vetnam kõga heigen ni okeru wajūgata teibõkeisei ni kansuru shiron" (The Formation of Enclosed Dykes in the Red River Plain), *Tōnanajia kenkyū* 45 (2007): 208; Sakurai Yumio, "Tōnanajia kinsei no kaishi (Beginning of the "Early Modern" in Southeast Asia)," in *Nihon no kinsei* (Early Modern Japan), ed. Asao Naohiro (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1991), 344–45; Kurihara, "Oranda higashi indogaisha to Tonkin," 9–10.

65. DN, 20 and 24 August 1653, NFJ 66.

66. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2: 73r.

67. Ibid., 1: 44v.

68. Ibid., 1: 31r.

69. Ibid., 2: 122v.

70. KH, 1: 342–43.

71. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 7: 278r. In Tongking, the chúa's *chop*, or seal, was required to approve every move a merchant made, from arrival to departure.

72. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 7: 282r.

73. Baron, "Kingdom of Tonqueen," 245.

74. KH, 1: 417.

75. Forest, Missionnaires français au Tonkin, 2: 57-58.

76. *KH*, 1: 343, 417–18, 420.

77. KH, 2: 1116.

78. KH, 2: 1566.

79. Christopher James Purnell, *The Log-Book of William Adams, 1614–19* (London: Eastern Press, 1916), 260.

80. Letter from Couckebacker in Hirado to Batavia, 21 April 1636, DB, 1636: 71.

81. Nagazumi, Shuinsen, 213.

82. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, 36.

83. *Cajan*, of Javanese and Malay origins, means the leaves of the nypa palm or sometimes a woven mat made from them. Henry Yule, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (London: J. Murray, 1903), 140.

84. Giuliano Baldinotti, "La relation sur le Tonkin du P. Baldinotti," *Péninsule* 30 (1995): 124.

85. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 1: 11v, 31r.

86. Letter from William Keeling in Hien to William Gyfford in Hanoi, 18 November 1673, IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2: 93v.

87. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 1: 28v.

88. Lin Yuteng was a long-time business associate of Wei Zhiyan.

89. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2: 93r.

90. Ibid.

91. Sakurai, Betonamu sonraku, 282-88.

92. Cadière, "Mur de Đồng Hới," 87–254.

93. DN, 26 May 1643, NFJ, 57. Also see Van der Plas, Tonkin 1644/45, 18-19.

94. Iioka, "Literati Entrepreneur," 226.

95. Keith Taylor, "A Literati Revival in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 18 (1987): 9; *Toàn thu*, 3: 950; Van der Plas, *Tonkin 1644/45*, 100. While European sources mentioned Trịnh Lịch as the eldest son, the Vietnamese official chronicles referred to Trịnh Lịch as Trịnh Tạc's younger brother. I owe this information to Hasuda Takashi.

96. DN, 20 August 1657, NFJ 70.

97. Nguyễn Thế Anh, "State and Civil Society Under the Trịnh Lords in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam," in *La société civile face à l'État dans les traditions chinoise, japonaise, coréenne, et vietnamienne*, ed. Léon Vandermeersch (Paris: EFEO, 1994), 376–77.

98. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 2: 60r.

99. Ibid. 118r–119r. Chinese traders witnessed the mutiny in Tongking (see *KH*, 1: 109-10) as did Baron (see "Kingdom of Tonqueen," 250–51).

100. DN, 9 July 1675, NFJ 88.

101. *KH*, 1: 417–18, 420–21.

102. IOR, G/12/17, pt. 8: 347r.

103. Iioka, "Wei Zhiyan and Subversion of 'Sakoku."

104. Nagazumi, Shuinsen, 220-21.

Chapter 8. Chinese "Political Pirates" in the Seventeenth-Century Tongking Gulf

1. *Guangdong tongzhi* (Gazetteer of Guangdong Province), ed. Huang Zuo, 72 vols., compiled in 1557 (Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 1997), 2: 19.

2. *Daming huidian* (Complete Legal Codes of the Ming), ed. Li Dongyang and Shen Shixing, 180 vols., compiled 1576 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2007), 131: 12.

3. *Yuedaji* (Records on Guangdong)), ed. Guo Pei, 32 vols. (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1998), 32: 907–9.

4. Pan Dinggui, *Annan jiyou & Annanzhuan ji qita erzhong* (A Journey to Annam and Two Other Sources) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), 3.

5. *Yuemin xunshi jilue* (Accounts of Guangdong and Fujian), ed. Du Zhen, 6 vols., reprint (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1984), 1: 23.

6. This account is noted in the *Cangwu zongdu junmenzhi* (Military Accounts of the Commandery of Cangwu Area), vol. 5 and *Yuedaji*, 32: 907–9.

7. The source gives no indication of when this appointment occurred. *Yuemin xunshi jilue*, 1: 23.

8. Niu Junkai, "The Qinzhou Incident and the Relationship Between China and Vietnam During the Wanli Period of the Ming Dynasty," *Haijiao shi yanjiu* 2 (2004): 69–76.

9. *Ming huaizong chongzhen shilu* (Chronicles of the Ming Chongzhen Emperor), 17 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan suo, 1962) 2: 4, 6.

10. Zhang Jinxin, Yujiao ji (An Account of Conquering Jiaozhi) (Shanghai: Shang wu yinshuguan, 1935), 152.

11. Lianzhou zhi (Gazetteer of Lianzhou), 20 vols. (1721; reprint Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), 5: 34.

12. Phan Huy Chú, *Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí: Bang giao chí* (A Reference Book of the Institutions of Successive Dynasties: Foreign Relations), Han Nom Institute, Hanoi, shelf number A2061, Vhc2058 fol. 29; *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (The Complete Annals of Đại Việt), ed. Chen Jinghe (Chen Chingho), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo Tōyōgaku bunken senta, 1986, hereafter *Toàn thư*), 3: 950.

13. Toàn thư, 3: 951-52.

14. Ibid, 951; Phan Huy Chú, Bang giao chí, 30.

15. Niu Junkai, "The Mac Dynasty in Annam and the Institutional Changes in Sino-Vietnamese Relations," *Southeast Asia Affairs* 2 (2004): 68–70.

16. *Toàn thu*, 3: 952; *Mingmo diannan jilue* (A Brief Account of Southern Yunnan at the End of Ming), in *Yunnan shiliao cong kan* (Historical Sources on Yunnan) (Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 4: 715.

17. Xu Fuyuan, *Jiaoxing zhaigao* (A Trip to Jiaozhi), in *Yihai zhuchen* (Dust of Pearls from the Ocean of Arts) ed. Wu Xinglan, 8 ser. (Nanhui: Wushi tingyi tang, 1796–1820), ser. G: 14–15.

18. Đại Nam thực lục tiền biên (Veritable Records of Đại Nam, Early Compilation, hereafter *Tiền biên*),manuscript copy held in the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, shelf number EFEOB VIET/A/HIST 3.

19. *Mingqing shiliao* (Archival Materials of the Ming and Qing Dynasties), Ser. C, 10 vols. (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2008), 10: 996.

20. *Qing shengzu shilu* (Chronicles of Qing Shengzu Emperor Kangxi), 300 vols.(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 5: 15.

21. Ibid., 19: 5.

22. "In our country there was much gold hidden by the Chinese . . . between 1645 and 1647 when the Qing army marched to southern China, many of the southern Chinese officials escaped [to our country] with the government treasure, this must have been the result of those acts then." Phạm Đình Hổ, *Vũ trung tùy bút* (Essays in the Rain) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju,1992), 87.

23. See Niu Junkai, "Researches on Relations Between South Ming and Vietnam," in *Yatai yanjiu luncong* (Collected Writings of Asia-Pacific Studies) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2008), 5: 281–306.

24. Lý Văn Phúc, *Lý thị gia phả* FG, Han Nom Institute, Hanoi, shelf number A1057, fol. 7.

25. Li Wobi introduced colored brocade in Vietnam, and Li Kegui created southern brocade. Ibid., fols. 4-6.

26. For Huang Hairu, see Mao Changshan and Chen Lanbin, *Wuchuan xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Wuchuan), 10 vols. (1888; reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2003), 5: 207, Zheng Junxiu and Song Shaoqi, *Haikang xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Haikang), 8 vols. (1687; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1966), 1: 28, Wang Fuzhi, *Xuwen xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Xuwen), 15 vols., compiled 1911, reprint (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1966), 2:249, and Nie Jiqing, *Lingao xianzh* (Gazetteer of Lingao), 12 vols. (1892; reprint, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1966), 6: 855. When the Qing army came to Guangdong, he initially surrendered, but in 1648 he went over to the Ming and began killing local Qing officials and pillaging Leizhou and nearby areas, including Hainan. In 1650, Qing troops beat his group, which was then annihilated during its escape by a hurricane at sea.

27. He is known as Dương Ngạn Địch in Vietnamese.

28. Huang Shaomei and Wen Ruofu, *Qinzhou zhi*(Gazetteer of Qinzhou) (1723; reprint, Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001) *juan* 1: 28 *Lianzhou zhi* (Gazetteer of Lianzhou) (1721; Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), *juan* 5: 40.

29. Huang and Wen, Qinzhou zhi, 1: 29-30.

30. Vũ Phương Đề, *Công dư tiệp ký* (Notes Taken in the After Hours), Han Nom Institute, shelf number A44, fol. 12.

31. Qinzhou zhi, 1: 31; Qing shengzu shilu, 4: 15.

32. Lianzhou zhi, 5: 42.

33. Mao Changshan and Chen Lanbin, *Wuchuan xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Wuchuan District) 5: 377; Lei Xuehai and Chen Changqi, *Leizhou fuzhi* (Gazetteer of Leizhou), 20 vols. (1811; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2003), 14: 370.

34. He is known as Trần Thường Xuyên in Vietnamese. Born in 1626 in Wuchuan, Guangdong Province, Chen came from a wealthy family who had moved there from Fujian generations before. When the Yongli regime was set up, he was studying for the examinations but quit to join the Southern Ming. After fleeing to Vietnam, he married there and returned to his home village at least once, in 1690, when his large contribution enabled the building of the spacious Chen family temple that still exists in Tiantou village. For his contribution to the settlement of far southern Vietnam, he is still venerated by many ordinary Vietnamese there as "General Chen." Zheng Huaide/Trịnh Hoài Đức, *Jiadingcheng tongzhi/Gia Định Thành Thông Chí* (Gazetteer of Gia Định [far southern Vietnam]), 3 vols. (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996), 221–22; Zheng Huaide, *Genzhai shiji*, quoted in Chen Chingho, "Qingchu Zhengchenggong canbu zhi yizhi nanqi" (Immigration of Koxingka's Troops into Southern Vietnam in the Early Qing Period), *Xinya xuebao* 5, 1 (1968): 451–54; Chen Shunxi, *Luanli jianwenlu* (Records on a Chaotic Period), in *Mingshi ziliao congkan* (Collections of Ming Primary Sources), ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo, 5 vols. (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1983), 3: 233; Ruan Yingqi, "Chen Shangchuan

de shixi jiqi zai yuenan de kaifa huodong" (Genealogy of Chen Shangchuan and His Opening of Southern Vietnam), in *Collected Essays on Local History of the Asian-Pacific Region: Contributions of Overseas Chinese*, ed. Lin Tianwei (Hong Kong: Research Center of Asia, University of Hong Kong, 1991), 227–32; and notes from Li Qingxin's fieldwork in 2005 and 2007 on the Leizhou Peninsula and in Tiantou village.

35. Yang was murdered by one of his lieutenants, Huang Jin (Hoàng Tiến), in 1688 in Mỹ Tho. *Tiền Biên*, 6: 5–8.

36. Chen Jinghe (Chen Chingho), "Qingchu Zhengchenggong canbu zhi yizhi nanqi," 451–54.

37. Suixi xianzhi (Gazetteer of Suixi), 12 vols. (1848; Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1966), 2: 15.

38. Yuemin xunshi jilue, 1: 23.

39. *Lingshui xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Lingshui), 10 vols. (1673; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2003), 2: 39.

40. Huang and Wen, Qin Zhou Zhi, 1: 34; Lianzhou zhi, 5: 46.

41. Qing shengzu shilu, 19: 4.

42. Ibid., 14: 25, 19: 4; Toàn thư, 3: 982.

43. Wang Fuzhi, *Xuwen xianzhi*, 10: 439. Vietnamese records give the year of Yang's arrival in Cochinchina as 1679, although eyewitness European sources confirm it was 1682. See Nola Cooke, "Later-Seventeenth-Century Cham-Viet Interactions: New Light from French Missionary Sources," *Annalen der Hamburger Vietnamistik* 4–5 (2010): 13–52.

44. *Qinzhou zhi*, 1: 34; Zheng Huaide/ Trịnh Hoài Đức, *Gia Định Thành thông chí*,3: 121.

45. Qing shengzu shilu, 19: 5.

46. Ibid.: "Jiaozhi has devoted itself to civilization and also helped with pacifying bandits. This deserves high praise."

47. Qinzhou zhi, 1: 36; Lianzhou zhi, 5:42.

48. Qing shengzu shilu, 148: 20. Toàn thư, 3: 1018.

49. When the Lê officials argued about Cao Bằng with Li Xiangen, they said, "There is no sense in having two kings in one country." Li Xiangen, *Annan shishi jiyao* (A Note on Annam) (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1996), 102.

50. Xiao Yunju, *Jiangli anmo ji* (Praising the Lê and Comforting the Mạc), Han Nom Institute, Hanoi, shelf number A. 948.

51. Li Xiangen, Annan shishi jiyao, 93; Qing shengzu shilu, 45: 11.

52. *Qingdai dangan shiliao congbian* (Archival Materials of the Ming and Qing Eras), 14 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 6: 341–48.

53. *Ming shenzong shilu* (Chronicles of Ming Shenzong emperor), 596 vols. (reprint Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan suo, 1962), 538: 5.

54. Niu Junkai, "The Mac Regime of Gaoping in Annam and its Relations with the Ming and Qing Dynasties," *Journal of the South Seas Society* 56 (2001): 102.

55. Li Xiangen: *Annan shishi jiyao*, 113–14; *Qing shengzu shilu*, 42: 3; Li and other Qing officials thought Nguyễn Thanh was troublesome and had a low opinion of him.

56. Phan Thanh Giản et al., *Việt sử thông giám cương mục* (Imperially Ordered Annotated Text Completely Reflecting the History of the Việt) (Taipei: National Library, 1969), 3091; Trần Văn Vi, *Lê sử soạn yếu* (A Concise History of the Lê), Han Nom Institute, Hanoi, shelf number A.1354, 7: fol. 2–3.

57. Qing shengzu shilu, 102: 5-6.

58. Wang Yining, *Dongyue shucao* (A Brief Account of Guangdong), 5 vols. (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997), 4: 237.

59. Ibid., 4: 248.

60. Ibid.; Zhang Jinxin, Yujiao ji, 15.

61. Niu, "The Qinzhou Incident," 69-76.

62. Ibid.

Chapter 9. Chinese Merchants and Mariners in Nineteenth-Century Tongking

1. Võ Tri Thanh, *Yazhou Zhoukan* (Hong Kong), 28 May 2006. Thanks to Li Tana for this quote.

2. The authors are grateful to Li Tana, for generously sharing important sources from her own research, and to the archives of the Missions-Étrangères de Paris (hereafter AMEP).

3. Anthony Reid, "The Unthreatening Alternative Chinese Shipping in Southeast Asia, 1567–1842," in *Pho Hien: The Centre of International Commerce in the 17th–18th Centuries*, ed. Association of Vietnamese Historians (Hanoi: The Gioi, 1994), 75–76.

 Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade*, 1652–1853 (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1977), 180.

5. Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast,* 1700–1845 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), esp. 2–3, 46–48, 111–13.

6. "Le commerce de Saigon pendant l'année 1863," *Revue Maritime et Coloniale* 12 (1864): 140–41.

7. Li Tana, "Ships and Shipbuilding in the Mekong Delta, 1750–1840," in *Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750–1880*, ed. Nola Cooke and Li Tana (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 120–30; Choi Byung Wook, *Southern Vietnam Under the Reign of Minh Mang (1820–1841)* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2004), 75–76.

8. Early 1820s manuscript by Jean Chaigneau cited in John Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China*, Oxford in Asia (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987), 520.

9. Ibid., 512-13.

10. All figures are from Anthony Reid, "Chinese Trade and Southeast Asian Economic Expansion in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: An Overview," in Cooke and Li, *Water Frontier*, 29.

11. James Kong Chin, "The Junk Trade between South China and Nguyen Vietnam in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in Cooke and Li, *Water Frontier*, 57.

12. Ibid., 60; and William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 2 vols. (London: Black Parry, 1813), 2: 457.

13. Calculated from *Châu bản triều Nguyễn* (Nguyễn Dynastic Archives), held at Vietnam National Archives, No. 1, Hanoi. For the Minh Mạng reign, vol. 83, fols. 24, 75. For the Thiệu Trị reign, vol. 1, fols. 179, 183, 185, 210, 301; vol. 6, fols. 64, 289; vol. 25, fols. 4, 9, 11, 76; vol. 30, fols. 322, 340; vol. 32, fol. 38; vol. 34, fols. 4, 6, 40, 49, 85, 91, 94, 143, 244; vol. 35, fol. 404; vol. 39, fols. 220, 272, 310, 320, 355, 367; and vol. 46, fols. 10, 24, 49, 55, 86, 216, 221.

14. Rice exports had been allowed here under license, according to Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy*, 519.

15. Choi Byung Wook, "Nguyen Dynasty's Policy Toward the Chinese on the Water Frontier in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," in Cooke and Li, *Water Frontier*, 87–97.

16. Another example of how little regard officials of the Gia Định Thành administration might pay to imperial directives that contradicted local practice occurred in 1830, when the French missionary Joseph Marchand arrived in Saigon on a Chinese junk carrying five hundred Qing Chinese settlers. The principal port official invited Marchand to share a mat and questioned him for some time in a friendly way. Within a day his arrival was common knowledge but nothing happened, despite Minh Mạng's mid-1820s ban on the entry of Europeans, and of missionaries especially. Marchand to unknown, 4 and 18 June 1830, in AMEP, vol. 1251, fols. 39–40, 44.

17. Crawfurd, Journal of an Embassy, 414.

18. Ibid., n. 520. Chaigneau used the term "Cochin China," not "Annam," so he may have meant the former Nguyễn realm of Đàng Trong, the territory south of the fifteenth parallel which the French always referred to as "Cochinchine."

19. Vũ Ngọc Lý, *Thành Nam xưa* (Old Thành Nam) (Nam Định: Sở Văn hóa Thông tin tỉnh Nam Định, 1997), 138–39.

20. Eyot to Baroudel, 24 April 1819, AMEP, vol. 701, fol. 898.

21. Crawfurd, Journal of an Embassy, 470.

22. Cited in Thành Thế Vỹ, *Thương nghiệp Việt Nam hồi thế kỷ 17, 18, 19* (Vietnam's Foreign Trade in the 17th, 18th, and 19th. Centuries) (Hanoi: Hội sử học Việt Nam, 1961), 177, referring to a French translation of the journal by Henri Fontanier in "Une mission chinoise en Annam," *T'oung Pao* sér. 2 (1903): 13.

23. Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, *Thăng Long-Hà Nội thế kỷ XVII–XVIII–XIX* (Thăng Long-Hà Nội in the17th, 18th, and 19th. Centuries) (Hanoi: Hội sử học Việt Nam, 1993), 162. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, overland trade from China was undoubtedly more significant, but most of it probably remained among the flourishing mountainous communities and Chinese miners for whom it was mainly destined. For a longer discussion see Li Tana, "Domestic' and 'Overseas' Markets in Early Nineteenth-Century Vietnam: A View from the Mountains and the Sea," in *Proceedings of Dynamic Rimlands and Open Heart*-

*lands: Maritime Asia as a Site of Interactions* (Osaka: University of Osaka; Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2006), 166–75

24. Report of Governor Wang Anguo of Guangdong to the throne, January 1744, in National Archives No. 1, Beijing, copied files of the Grand Council (*Junji chu lufu zouzhe*), file 7773, fol. 7. Thanks to Li Tana for the translation.

25. Tessier to his confreres, 25 April 1812, AMEP, vol. 694, fol. 129. The quantity was probably one picul (sixty kilos). In the early 1820s, one tael contained the same amount of silver as 1.5 piasters, according to Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy*, 517.

26. Eyot remarked directly on the link between the removal of coinage to the Huế court and the decline in the local commerce: "general poverty increases and *sapèques* [the French name for Vietnamese copper *quan*] are becoming rare due to their continually being transported to Cochinchina [in context, Huế]." Eyot to Boiret and the Missions-Étrangères de Paris (MEP) College, 30 July 1810, AMEP, vol. 694, fol. 61.

27. Đại Nam thực lục chính biên (Veritable Records of Đại Nam, Primary Compilation, hereafter *DNTL*), Vietnamese trans. Nguyễn Ngọc Tỉnh et al., 10 vols. (Hanoi: Giáo dục, 2004), 1: 784 for the extraction of coinage (Tongking contributed about 40 percent of the 510,000 *quan* sent to Huế), and 1:789 for the request to cast valueless coinage.

28. Eyot to Chaumont, 12 May 1812: "The king does not mint coinage and the little that he did mint has ruined those involved in it; now they tell us that it is being minted from another metal of inferior value and our Tongkingese have little respect for it." AMEP, vol. 694, fol. 120.

29. *DNTL*, 1: 814. Mining was also a chancy enterprise: only a month earlier, the Bắc Thành administration had sought a tax exemption for gold, saltpeter, and sulfur mines in Hung Hóa and Tuyên Quang, where production had petered out that year (1813).

30. Nola Cooke, "The Myth of the Restoration: Dang-trong Influences in the Spiritual Life of the Early Nguyen Dynasty (1802–47)," in *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies*, ed. Anthony Reid (London: Macmillan, 1997), 279–86.

31. Crawfurd reported that some of Gia Long's favorite French officers had advocated "the encouragement of industry" in his realm, only to receive this blunt response. Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy*, 509.

32. *DNTL*, 2: 381-82.

33. *Muc luc châu bản triều Nguyễn* (Index of the Nguyễn Archives) (Hanoi: Văn hóa, 1998), vol.2 (1825–26), xxxiii. It averaged 1.3 *quan* per thirty kilo box. One silver tael bought 2.65 copper *quan* in 1813.

34. Ibid.

35. *DNTL*, 5: 579–80; the entry is for 1832.

36. The total area of cultivated land in Cochinchina was 630,075 main. DNTL, 4: 983.

37. For example, see Muc luc châu bản, 2: 151

38. Unpublished palace memorials, cited in Robert Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea: The World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 116. Thanks to Li Tana for this reference.

39. *ĐNTL*, 3: 271.

40. Ibid., 7: 360.

41. Ibid., 749.

42. Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, Thăng Long-Hà Nội, 164

43. *DNTL*, 6: 803–4; refers to 1845.

44. The measurement was in Spanish quintals, about five hundred per junk, thus totaling 7,500 tons from this port. Cited in Julia Martinez, "Chinese Rice Trade and Shipping from the North Vietnamese Port of Håi Phòng," *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 1 (2007): 84, http://csds.anu.edu.au/volume\_1\_2007/Martinez.pdf.

45. *DNTL*, 7: 403, 413.

46. Martinez, "Chinese Rice Trade," 84.

47. Dian H. Murray, *Pirates of the South China Sea Coast, 1790–1910* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987), 35–39.

48. For the successful antipirate campaigns of these years, see *DNTL*, 1: 458, 509, 665, 787.

49. For the 1820s, see Shiraishi Masaya, "State, Villagers, and Vagabonds: Vietnamese Rural Society and the Phan Bá Vành Rebellion," *Senri Ethnological Studies* 13 (1984): 345–99. Numerous eyewitness accounts of the equally bad situation here under Gia Long exist in the MEP archives. For instance, for the early unpopularity of the new regime, see Longer to Boiret, 4 June 1805 (vol. 693, fols. 918–19) and Eyot to Boiret, dated only 1805 (vol. 693, fols. 923–24); for worsening poverty, banditry, and social unrest, see among others Eyot to Boiret, 23 April 1808 (vol. 694, fols. 14–17), Eyot to Chaumont, 12 May 1812 (vol. 694, fol. 120), Eyot to Chaumont, 22 June 1814 (vol. 694, fol. 182), Guérard to de La Bissachère, 28 October 1815 (vol. 694, fol. 209), Guérard to Chaumont, 14 May 1816 (vol. 694, fol. 227), and Eyot to Barondel, 17 March 1818 (vol. 694, fols. 316–17).

50. Yoshiharu Tsuboi, *Nuớc Đại Nam đối diện với Pháp và Trung Hoa* (Đại Nam Versus France and China), Vietnamese trans. Nguyễn Đình Đầu (Hanoi: Hội Sử học Việt Nam, 1992), 164. The original is *L'Empire vietnamien face à la France et à la Chine* (Paris: Harmattan, 1987).

51. *ĐNTL*, 3: 52.

52. Murray, Pirates of the South China Sea, 91-94.

53. *DNTL*, 2: 733, 825; 3: 160.

54. Ibid., 3: 160.

55. Retord to the directors of the MEP seminary, 2 May 1850, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* 23 (1851): 277.

56. *DNTL*, 5: 494.

57. Trương Bá Cần, Nguyễn Trường Tộ, con người và di thảo (His Life and Last Writings) (Ho Chi Minh City: Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh, 2002), 368.

58. F. Romanet du Caillaud, *Histoire de l'intervention française au Tong-king de 1872* à 1874 (Paris: Challamel, 1880), 36–37.

59. *DNTL*, 5: 380-81.

60. Romanet du Caillaud, Histoire de l'intervention française, 37.
61. Kiều Oánh Mậu, *Bản triều bạn nghịch liệt truyện* (Stories of Rebellions Against the Current Dynasty), Vietnamese trans. Trần Khải Văn (Saigon: Bộ Quốc-gia giáo-dục, 1963), 120–22.

62. *ĐNTL*, 7: 1305.

63. Romanet du Caillaud, Histoire de l'intervention française, 33.

64. Georges Taboulet, *La geste française en Indochine* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1956), 745.

65. Eyot to Chaumont, 17 July 1811, AMEP, vol. 694, fol. 97. In 1812 he wrote that "commerce was dying" because the tax farmers were charging "a very high tax" at every customs post, despite regulations to the contrary, in order to recoup their investment as "they pay a lot for [the right to collect] the customs." Eyot to Chaumont, 12 May 1812, AMEP, vol. 694, fol. 120.

66. Marette reported the levy (*octroi*) on river crossings was run as a Chinese revenue farm ("le gouvernement . . . afferme les octrois à des Chinois"). However, this financial arrangement by the decentralized Tongking administration may not have survived the 1831 administrative centralization that brought the area under direct central control. Marette to his father, September 1830, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* 6 (1833–34): 63.

67. *Khâm định Đại Nam hội điển sự lệ* (Compendium of Institutions and Administrative Cases of Đại Nam), Vietnamese trans. Trần Huy Hân and Nguyễn Thế Đạt, 15 vols. (Huế: Thuận Hóa, 1993), 11: 211.

68. Ibid., 498-99.

69. One smaller province is missing from the list, giving a twelve province total of nearly 65,000 *quan*. The government also charged import duties on the opium, as the source noted elsewhere that duty on imported opium had yielded 14,000 *quan* in the first three years of operation. *DNTL*, 7: 898 and 1169–70 respectively.

70. *DNTL*, 8: 469.

71. Ibid., 7: 1053.

72. Ibid., 1170.

73. *DNTL*, 7: 1026–27. If the other sixty-nine junks were as small, they would have shipped at least 1,850 tons. Given their earlier antipiracy role, however, those junks may have been larger.

74. Ibid., 1169.

75. Ibid., 1055.

76. Ibid.

77. For more detail, see Jean Dupuis, L'ouverture du Fleuve Rouge au commerce et les événements du Tong-king, 1872–1873 (Paris: Challamel, 1879).

78. Romanet du Caillaud, Histoire de l'intervention française, 445.

79. Ibid., 464-66.

80. Tsuboi, Nước Đại Nam đối diện với Pháp, 306.

81. Some of these imports were produced from exported local materials. Chinese from Long Tcheou annually flocked to northern Vietnam to buy cheap medical herbs, some of which, after being processed in China, were sold at high prices in Tongking. See Florence Yvon-Tran, "Artisanat et commerce villageois dans le Việt-Nam prémoderne, du XIe au XIXe siècle," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 89 (2001): 240. Imported Chinese medicines were about 25 percent more expensive than locally produced ones.

82. By the mid-1890s, the five-year (1894–98) average annual quantity of paddy exported from Indochina was 77,080 tons, ranging from a low 45,000 tons in 1894 to a bumper 136,600 in 1898. Nevertheless, Tongking only accounted for 10 percent by value of these rice exports. At this time, the local economy was still deeply enmeshed with that of southern China: if overall Indochina exported more than three times as many goods by value to foreign countries as to France, Tongking exported about twenty-three times more goods by value to Hong Kong and China as to France (15,385,129 francs compared to 673,119 francs). "Rapport sur le commerce extérieur de l'Indochine en 1898," 1 September 1899, Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence (hereafter CAOM), Indochine, ancient fonds, N01 (12), carton 237.

83. Romanet du Caillaud, Histoire de l'intervention française, 458-62, 465-66.

84. The balance of trade was quite even, with China exporting ninety million francs worth of goods to Indochina and importing ninety-four million francs worth of Indochinese goods, but over 60 percent of them were rice and its derivatives (57 percent of all exports) and coal from Tongking (4 percent of all exports). See "Note de 15 avril 1902," in CAOM, Indochine, 19838.

85. Gilles Raffi, "Haiphong: Origines, conditions et modalités du developpement jusqu'à 1921," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Provence, 1994, 65.

86. *ĐNTL*, 8: 67.

87. For more on this later period, see Raffi, "Haiphong," 381-82; and Martinez, "Chinese Rice Trade," 85-88.

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# Glossary

#### **Place Names**

Anlong 安龍 Anyuan 安遠 Âu Lạc 甌駱 Baili 白黎港 Baisha 白沙港 Baizhou 白州 Beiliu River 北流江 Beilun River 北侖河 Cangwu 蒼梧 Chaozhou 潮州 Châu Ái 愛州 Chenpengcun (site) 陈棚村 Chitu 赤土 Chu 楚 Chu Diên 朱鳶 Chunzhou 春州 Đại Cồ Việt 大瞿越 Daimao Island 瑇瑁島 Dali 大理 Dandan 丹丹 Dayu Mountain 大庾嶺 Dian 滇 Diễn Châu 演州 Đông Sơn (site) 東山 Dongting 洞庭湖 Douzhou 竇州 Duobu garrison 咄步砦 Fuzhou 富州 Ganquan (site) 甘泉 Gaoxing 高興 Gaoyao 高要

Guangzhou 廣州 Guishun 歸順 Guixian 貴縣 Hải Dương 海陽 Hải Nha 海牙 Haian barracks 海安營 Haikang garrison 海康寨 Haimen Gate 海門 Hengzhigang (site) 橫枝崗 Hengzhou 衡州 Hepu 合浦 Hiệu Thành Tràng 効誠場 Hoa Phong 华封 Hoan Châu 驩州 Hongtouling (site) 红头岭 Huazhou 化州 Jiangping 江坪 Jiaozhi Yang 交趾洋 Jiaozhou 交州 Jilindong 吉林峒 Lac Việt 駱越 Land Zhenla 陸真臘 Lingshan 靈山 Linyi 林邑 Linzhang 臨漳 Longmen Island 龍門島 Luobowan (site) 羅泊灣 Luc Châu 陆州 Min 閩 Nanhai 南海 Nandoucun (site) 南斗村 Nanliu River 南流江 Nhât Nam 日南 Ningpu 寧浦 Panpan 盤盤 Panyu 番禺 Pearl River 珠江 Poli 婆利 Pu (Red River) 濮江 Qin Mountains 秦嶺 Qin River 欽江 Qinzhou 欽州

Right Hand River 右江 Ruhong garrison 如洪寨 Ruhong River 如洪江 Ruxi garrison 如昔寨 Sancun garrison 三村寨 Santiao port 三條港 Shizhaishan (site) 石寨山 Sibing garrison 思稟管 Suixi 遂溪 Tanshishan (site) 曇石山 Thái Bình 太平 Tô Mâu Châu 蘇茂州 Tongxi seaport 桐棲 Triều Dương 潮陽 Wangniuling (site) 望牛嶺 Xihai (Western Sea) 西海 Wuhu 烏滸 Xinxing 新興 Xitu 西屠 Xuwen 徐聞 Yaizhou 崖州 Maoniu dao (yak road) 旄牛道 Yuexi 粤西 Yuezhou 越州 Yuhong River 漁洪江 Yu (Pearl River) 鬱江 Yulin 鬱林 Yuzhou 禺州 Zhenan 鎮安 Zhuguan 朱官

# Terms and Expressions

bakufu 幕府 (J) biliuli 碧琉璃 Danjia 蛋家 Danzong 蛋总 Er dang 耳鐺 haijin 海禁 Hezhe 鶴柘 Li 黎 Li general 俚帥 Li-Lao 俚, 獠(僚) Luting 盧亭 Ma ren 馬人 Nùng 儂 manyi guchuan 蠻夷賈船 nachoda 船頭 (J) purple shells 紫貝 traveling merchants 行賈 trống (drum) 掱 (V) Zhongtian baguowang 中天八國王 Zhongyuan 中原

# Primary Sources Mentioned in the Book

Annan jiyou 安南記遊 Annan zhiyuan 安南志原(交阯總志) Annan shishi jiyao 安南史事紀要 Bån triều ban nghich liệt truyện 本朝叛逆列傳 (V) Baopuzi 抱樸子 Bowuzhi 博物志 Cangwu zongdu junmenzhi 蒼梧總督軍門志 Châu bản triều Nguyễn 阮朝硃本 (V) Chenshu 陳書 Công dư tiệp ký 公餘捷記 (V) Daming huidian 大明会典 Dư địa chí 與地志 (V) Dongyue shucao 東粤疏草 Đại Nam thực lục chính biên 大南實錄正编 (V) Đại Nam thực lục tiền biên 大南實錄前編 (V) Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư 大越史記全書 (V) [Guangxu] Lingaoxianzhi [光緒] 臨高縣誌 [Guangxu] Wuchuan xianzhi[光緒]吳川縣誌 Gujinzhu 古今注 Hanshu 漢書 Hepu xianzhi 合浦縣志 Houhanshu 後漢書 Huangchao jingshi wenbian xubian 皇朝經世文編續編 Jiangli anmoji 獎黎安莫集 (V) Jiaoxing zhaigao 交行摘稿 Jiaozhou vinan waiguo zhuan 交州以南外國傳 [Jiaqing] Leizhou fuzhi [嘉慶] 雷州府志

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