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## The Rise of the Coast: Trade and State in Early Dai Viet<sup>1</sup>

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I am most grateful for the invitation to address the Toho Gakkai on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, especially as my father was in Tokyo fifty years ago, and to have the chance to utilize the scholarship of Yamamoto Tatsuro (my teacher briefly at Cornell University), my colleague Momoki Shiro, and a visitor to the University of Michigan, Ide Seinosuke.

As we consider the extent and impact of the trade between Song China and other parts of Asia, we need to examine political and cultural aspects as well as the economic. Stretching from the Song epoch through the Yuan and into the Ming, increasing international trade linking the southeast coast of China to the Mediterranean had a major impact on the world of Southeast Asia. It strongly affected the classical states of Angkor and Pagan (in modern Cambodia and Myanmar) and gave major impetus to Majapahit in eastern Java and Vijaya in central Champa. What, then, was the role of Dai Viet in this trade? And how did this trade affect Dai Viet? I shall suggest that the impact for the Vietnamese was great, politically and culturally as well as economically.

The general historiography on Vietnam has tended to downplay trade and international commerce among the Vietnamese. Considered 'Confucian' and China-oriented following the millennium of control from the north, Dai Viet needs to be examined much more on its own terms. In the period from the tenth century to the fourteenth, Dai Viet and its capital of Thang-long (now Hanoi) operated in ways similar to those of Angkor and Pagan, I believe. Yet, as I shall suggest here, Dai Viet felt the impact of the Song trade earlier and in a much stronger way than did its neighbors to the west. The Song trade led to a major change in the Vietnamese state and marked the beginning of major cultural changes in Vietnamese society.

Here I wish to join Professor Momoki in interpreting the process of politics and commerce through the initial centuries of Dai Viet, the tenth through the fourteenth.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, I do not have direct access to the scholarship in Japanese, so my thoughts and comments must be considered provisional and I look forward to help from you on this topic.

What I am proposing here, via the discussion of trade, international and domestic, is a different view of Vietnamese history, one that is in keeping with thought on other parts of mainland Southeast Asia. Last year we re-examined the history of Champa at an inspiring conference in Singapore. This paper carries that thought over to the history of Dai Viet. Good work on Vietnam is now being done on the early modern period; we also need to examine the years prior to that era, especially the tenth to fourteenth centuries. To the usual north/south emphasis, we need to add an east/west interpretation, more

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Li Tana for her excellent work that has helped in this study.

<sup>2</sup> Momoki Shiro, "Dai Viet and the South China Sea Trade from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century," *Crossroads*, 12, 1 (1998), pp. 1-34.

specifically, a riverine one that speaks of upriver/downriver interaction. We have made such interpretations for the Chao Phraya and Irrawaddy valleys. Now let us do so for the Red River valley as well. Such a view provides a different twist on Vietnamese history that will help us to understand the dynamics of the Ly and the Tran dynasties as well as a more specific look at the Chinese role in the society and culture of their southern neighbors.

Specifically, the focus on commerce, oft ignored heretofore, offers us the opportunity to approach the Vietnamese from the sea and the coast, to examine the culture of the eastern coastal region, and to gauge its impact on Vietnamese society at large. This approach also leads to a somewhat different view of the Vietnamese interaction with China in these centuries. I shall begin with a look at how Dai Viet was put together in the tenth and eleventh centuries, how its regions were brought together. I then speak of economic change and the role of trade, once Dai Viet had formed, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I next move to the impact of the economic changes and of the trade in the thirteenth century on the politics and culture of Dai Viet, specifically the coastal control of the Tran dynasty based on the commercial development. This development anticipated what would happen at Pegu and Ayudhya later to the west, except that here the capital did not shift to the coast; rather the coast took control of the old capital itself. The rise of the coastal culture, wealth, and power consequently led to a split with the inland, upriver core of Dai Viet. In the fourteenth century, attempts at integration of lower and upper, coastal and inland Dai Viet continued as the coastal culture drew in inland elements even as it superseded them (generally seen as a struggle between Buddhism and Confucianism). Yet the coastal zone and its literati culture continued to have a tendency to split along pro-Vietnamese and pro-Chinese lines, all the way from the Tran prince Ich Tac in the Mongol wars of the late thirteenth century to the Mac family support of the Ming occupation in the early fifteenth.

Let us see how this different approach to Vietnamese regionalism and culture allows us to understand the beginnings of an independent Vietnam.

## I. Forming Dai Viet

Following the breakup of the Tang dynasty in China and the emergence of local powers through the tenth century and into the eleventh, there was the gradual formation of a growing political power that came to be called Dai Viet. My approach here is that of the mandala, how a variety of contesting local powers came to recognize one of those powers as dominant and became part of that power's developing political network.

The study of the classical states of Southeast Asia always attempts to deal with the question of how a central power could form out of the varied regions it came to encompass. Thus any such study needs to understand these regions first before dealing with the capital and its power. In Vietnam, the power of the Tang dynasty had controlled local aspirations for almost three centuries, not allowing regional powers to rise and compete for control. Once this strong northern hold had dissipated by the tenth century,

such regional powers began to emerge and in them we can see the pattern of power at the beginning of Dai Viet.

Specifically, it is the mid-tenth century episode of the 'Twelve Warlords' that sets this pattern out for us. Following the work of Tran Quoc Vuong and K. W. Taylor, we can see it as follows.<sup>3</sup> In broad terms, the Tang organization of what we now call northern Vietnam reflected the regionalism within which the local political powers operated. Upriver where the Red River comes out of the mountains from what is now Yunnan was Phong. This region had seen a strong intermixture of Tai and Vietnamese peoples that had split during the salt wars with Nanzhao in the 860s.<sup>4</sup> Next downriver, in the upper delta, was Giao. Here lay the bulk of the Vietnamese population, a large Buddhist establishment, and the old capital of the Chinese province, Dai-la. Further downriver, to the east and southeast, existed the lower delta, on the fringes of Giao and undesignated under the Tang due to its swampy nature and resulting low population density. Truong covered the southern edges of the delta and the hilly areas beyond it. Ai, Dien, and Hoan stretched south along the coast (now Thanh-hoa, Nghe-an and Ha-tien provinces) with their own short river valleys.

What, then, was the pattern of local power within this broad regional situation? The site of each of the major local powers ('Lords') is shown on Taylor's map. Upriver, Phong was controlled by the Kieu who steadfastly held their own against the downriver powers. Two of the Lords, brothers, were Kieu in this upriver segment. Giao in the midriver portion had seven of the Lords. This had been the earlier base of power for the Ngo in their resistance to northern threats after the collapse of Tang control. By mid-century, five Lords led localities scattered throughout it. Two more existed on the fringes of Giao, one upriver towards Phong, a brother of two of the five in central Giao, the three of them from an oldline Tang-Viet family. The other was at the lower edge of the midriver segment, facing the deeper, unruly portion of the delta. This Pham family seems to have controlled and protected the interface of the mid- and lower-delta zones. In the unnamed lower delta and coastal zone, there was only one Lord, Tran Lam, a Chinese of Guangzhou descent. His base was at Bo-hai, a seaport. His significance at this time may have been enhanced by later Tran dynasty texts as a prophetic precursor of coastal and Tran developments yet to come. On the southern edge of Giao lay Truong, site of no identified Lord, but home to Dinh Bo Linh who would defeat the Lords and be seen in Tran dynastic texts as the First Emperor, assisted by Tran Lam. On the west, lay challenging forces further upriver in the mountains, ultimately backed by Nanzhao. Further south, Ai, Dien, and Hoan formed the outer areas of the Viet realm, all coastal and contested by the next realm to the south, that of Champa. On the north, in the mountains, lay another potential realm, this one Tai, that would contest the area with both Dai Viet and the Song dynasty in China.

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<sup>3</sup> K.W. Taylor, "The 'Twelve Lords' in Tenth Century Vietnam," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 14, 1 (1983a), pp. 46-62, see p. 54 for a map of the regions; *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley CA : University of California Press, 1983b), pp. 274-275; Tran Quoc Vuong, trans., *Viet Su Luoc* (Hanoi: NXB Van Su Dia, 1960), pp. 44-47.

<sup>4</sup> J.K. Whitmore, "Colliding Peoples: Tai/Viet Interactions in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries," AAS, San Diego, 2000.

Out of this regional *mélange* emerged the realm of Dai Viet in the century after 960. First Dinh Bo Linh, then Le Hoan, and finally the three strong kings of the Ly, the first successful Vietnamese 'dynasty,' formed Dai Viet out of these regions, beat back Nanzhao to the west, established control of the southern fringe by defeating Champa, and crushed the Tai effort at autonomy on the north. The Dinh and Le families had based themselves at Hoa-lu up in the southern hills of Truong. Ly Cong Uan, operating in Giao, the midriver core of the delta, shifted his base to the old Tang capital, now called Thang-long, and worked to integrate the localities of the delta into his realm. The Dinh, through marriage, had already begun to bring the regions together, with the old royal Ngo family of Giao, and, in addition, brought in the Pham and Tran families on the downriver and coastal fringes of Giao. Le Hoan defeated the Song effort to bring the territory back into the Chinese empire and fought off Champa (the latter allied with the Ngo of Giao) on the south. He set up his sons in the different regions, including the lower delta.<sup>5</sup>

The three great rulers of the Ly (1009-1072) established Dai Viet in the upper delta, molding together Giao and Phong through force and marriage. At the center of this achievement was the Buddhist establishment, with numerous temples throughout Giao. These Ly kings actively supported and worked to build up this religious establishment, repairing old temples and having new ones constructed. Statues and bells were donated, and monks encouraged.<sup>6</sup> These rulers also pursued the linking of local spirit cults with the Buddhist temples and with themselves as guardians.<sup>7</sup> Gradually, through the eleventh century, the Ly throne forged Dai Viet out of the varied regions on the basis of the traditions of the upper delta and steadily strengthened itself against the local powers. The blood oath and royal cults (to Indra [De Thich], for example) came to play major roles in the Ly monarchy.<sup>8</sup> By the 1070s, Dai Viet was able both to have a child ascend the greatly strengthened throne and to repel a Song attack.

How then did the region to the east, downriver, the lower delta, the coast fit into the Ly regime? It does not appear to have been of very great significance.<sup>9</sup> Some contacts took place between the Ly kings and the coast through the mid-eleventh century. The second Ly ruler twice traveled to a river mouth and there performed an agricultural ritual. The following king also traveled to the coast several times on 'royal progresses.'<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> K.W. Taylor, "The Rise of Dai Viet and the Establishment of Thang-long," in K.R. Hall & J.K. Whitmore, eds., *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History* (Ann Arbor MI : Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1976), pp. 157-170; Henri Maspero, "La Géographie Politique de l'Empire d'Annam sous les Li, les Tran, et les Ho (Xe-XVe s.)," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, 16, 1 (1916), pp. 29-30.

<sup>6</sup> K.W. Taylor (1976), pp. 172-176.

<sup>7</sup> K.W. Taylor, "Authority and Legitimacy in Eleventh Century Vietnam," in D.G. Marr & A.C. Milner, eds., *Southeast Asia in the Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries* (Singapore : Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986a), pp. 139-176.

<sup>8</sup> J.K. Whitmore. "'Elephants Can Actually Swim'," in Marr & Milner (1986), pp. 126-127; Taylor (1976), pp. 175-181.

<sup>9</sup> Maspero (1916), pp. 30-40.

<sup>10</sup> *Viet Su Luoc* (1960), pp. 84, 95-98; *Dai Viet Su Ky Toan Thu* (TT), (1697 ed.) ;2, 25b, 30a, 37a; 3, 17b-25a; Taylor (1976), pp. 176-177; K.W. Taylor, "Looking Behind the Vietnamese Annals," *The Vietnam Forum*, 7 (1986b), pp. 58-59.

Interestingly, the acts of the second ruler involved ritual associated with Chinese-style literati, and the third ruler had both a greater coastal contact and a greater interest in just such Chinese scholarship. In the following century, from 1117 to 1127, the Ly ruler also traveled downriver to perform such agricultural ritual. Such a coastal/literati configuration would blossom in later centuries.

Yet, overall, Ly Dai Viet, like Angkor and Pagan, was focused on the upper, midriver portion of its territory and paid relatively little attention to the lower, deltaic, coastal segment downriver.

## II. Trade and Economic Change

As the new political form of Dai Viet emerged through the middle of the eleventh century, economic changes occurred concomitantly with the developing power structure. The major changes took place, first, in and around the core region surrounding the capital of Thang-long. This midriver lowland region paralleled such areas in Angkor and Pagan and involved the structural development of the major temples of the area. The second region of economic change was downriver and along the coast, linked heavily to the surge of international trade coming out of Song China at the time.

The first stage of this economic growth has yet to be closely examined, to my knowledge, and I can only postulate, by analogy, what it might have been like. By applying the scholarship on the economic change of the other major inland empires in what are now Cambodia and Myanmar, we may gain a sense of how Dai Viet developed at the same time. The key point is that temples lay at the center of this growth.

There have yet to be studies of this phenomenon for the middle Red River area, the core of Dai Viet's original development. We know from the Chronicle that the first half of the eleventh century, especially the early Ly decades, saw the construction of many new Buddhist temples. For example, around 1030, "nearly one thousand" were said to have been built in the early years of the second Ly reign.<sup>11</sup> A recent publication has listed and illustrated the current incarnations of 38 such early temples, mainly in the internal, midriver area.<sup>12</sup> While some of the political, cultural, and religious aspects of these temples have been discussed, their economic dimension has not, to my knowledge. Until such studies take place, we can only look at the other mainland centers for possible suggestions. Lieberman, in his recent discussion of the 'charter states,' sees temple networks as a key element in agricultural and hence economic expansion, growing "dramatically in organizational complexity and number." In the process, these networks served three prime functions. First, they concentrated and distributed resources, land, livestock, and seed. Second, they also brought together talented individuals and their skills, scholars, artisans, and technicians. Third, they developed the infrastructure for

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<sup>11</sup> Taylor (1976), pp. 174-175.

<sup>12</sup> Vo Van Tuong, *Nhung Ngoi Chua Noi Tieng Viet Nam* (Vietnam's Famous Pagodas) (Hanoi : NXB Van Hoa-Thong Tin, 1994), pp.74-211.

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opening new lands to production.<sup>13</sup> Out of the stability and prosperity rising from this system came an increasing density of population and economic velocity. Within the growth of wealth and patronage, demand and trade rose. Thus, through analogy, we would postulate that the growth of temple complexes in the midriver zone of the Red River meant a greater political stability for the Ly regime, more land under cultivation, greater production of rice, more people involved in the central economy, and a rising demand for goods.

As this economic development was occurring in the central, midriver zone through the mid-eleventh century, it would have had an impact on surrounding zones, especially those further upriver and downriver. The greater population, economic exchange, and demand, that is, market forces, in the central lowlands would have extended up into the hills for the goods to be found there. It was undoubtedly no coincidence that at this time Dai Viet joined the Song to crush the attempt at highland autonomy by the Nung.<sup>14</sup> Simultaneously, as at Angkor and Pagan, the midriver zone connected via the downriver zone with the major east-west international route to draw its goods up from the coast.<sup>15</sup>

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Through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially with the shift of the Song capital south in 1126, there was a heavy involvement of Chinese merchants with this international trade. As the Song trade surge reached along the coastal zone of Dai Viet, it interacted strongly with the inland economic forces in the midriver area as well as providing an even greater pull on the upriver zone for the greatly desired highland goods. This flow enhanced the growth, prosperity, and wealth of the core of Dai Viet and the political control of the Ly dynasty.<sup>16</sup> Yet, at the same time, these economic forces, both internal and international, led to major changes in the loosely controlled lower Dai Viet, the coastal zone. Increasingly, I would postulate, this lower, relatively open region of Dai Viet's mandala became an area of multicultural interaction and economic development. Inhabitants from the provinces of China's southeast coast flowed down into this area and helped to transform it economically, culturally, and politically. Along with the commercial flow up and down the Red River valley through this zone, there was also what we might call industrial development, the production of goods for both local consumption and the trade upriver and along the international routes.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> V. B. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2003), I, pp. 227-228, 95-97, 358, 362-365; K.R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (Honolulu HI : University of Hawaii Press, 1985), pp. 148-161; "Economic History of Early Southeast Asia," in Nicholas Tarling, ed., *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1999 ), I, pp. 229-245; M.A. Aung-Thwin, *Pagan : The Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu HI : University of Hawaii Press, 1985), pp. 172-182.

<sup>14</sup> James Anderson, *The Rebel Den of Nung Tri Cao* (Seattle WA :University of Washington Press, forthcoming).

<sup>15</sup> Lieberman(2003), I, pp. 93-95, 221-223; Hall (1985), pp. 173-177; Aung-Thwin (1985), pp. 104-105, 113-114.

<sup>16</sup> Momoki (1998), pp. 1-34; K.R. Hall, "Local and International Trade and Traders in the Straits of Melaka Region, 600-1500," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 48, 2 (2005), pp. 213-260; Sufumi So & Billy K.L. So, "Population Growth and Maritime Prosperity: the Case of Ch'uan-chou in Comparative Perspective, 946-1368," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 45, 1 (2002), pp. 96-127.

<sup>17</sup> Li Tana, "A View From the Sea : the Gulf of Tonkin Trading Zone," *Toyoshi Kenkyu* (forthcoming).

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The center of these developments from the mid-twelfth century would appear to have been the port of Van-don, on an island off the eastern coast of the delta,<sup>18</sup> though the coastal zone of Dai Viet in fact stretched southward along the edges of Thanh-hoa and Nghe-an provinces in what is now the northern part of central Vietnam. For Van-don, the Chronicle records contact with traders from Java, the world of coastal Southeast Asia, and the Gulf of Siam. There are also references to the local Chinese population, as we shall discuss below. Interestingly, Van-don and the new Champa port of Thi-nai (Quynhon) in Vijaya both seem to have appeared on the north and central coasts of present day Vietnam simultaneously, from the mid-twelfth century, to have thrived on the international trade between eastern Java and southern China, and to have had political and cultural contacts with surrounding areas, Angkor for Vijaya<sup>19</sup> and southern China for the coastal zone of Dai Viet.

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A major part of this trade for Dai Viet involved large amounts of copper cash from the Song. Dai Viet had produced coins through the first half of the eleventh century, but from this time, probably as a combination of greater economic demand and the availability of the Song coins, the latter became the main source for the local economy. These copper cash came from the southeast coast of China on board junks from those provinces and supplied the developing economy of Dai Viet.<sup>20</sup> As the inland economy prospered, it drew this cash and other products through the coastal zone, in the process enriching the latter. In all probability, local production, as ceramics, grew in this zone as well.<sup>21</sup>

The full significance of the growth of the coastal zone, from north of Van-don south to Thanh-hoa and Nghe-an, may be seen in reports during the 1170s made by Chinese officials in Guangxi province just to the north. These reports, by the provincial officials Fan Chengda and Zhou Qufei,<sup>22</sup> seem overstated when applied to the entire realm of Dai Viet (An-nan), but if we apply them mainly to the coastal zone of Dai Viet, then the picture becomes clearer. Fan in particular emphasized the Chinese nature of the zone of contact between the two – a preponderance of Chinese goods and immigrants, dependent on China for items like paper and writing brushes. Fan argued to the Song court that the flow of manpower (in his terms slave trafficking), literati, and coins down the coast into this zone had to be stopped. For him, it was coastal Chinese (explicitly from Min –

<sup>18</sup> TT, 4, 6b, 20a; J.K. Whitmore, "Vietnam and the Monetary Flow of Eastern Asia, 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in J.F. Richards, ed., *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds* (Durham NC : Carolina Academic Press, 1983), p. 374; Li (forthcoming); Yamamoto Tatsuro, "Van-don, a Trade Port in Vietnam," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 39 (1981), pp. 1-28 (originally published in Japanese in 1939).

<sup>19</sup> J.K. Whitmore, "The Last Great King of Classical Southeast Asia : 'Che Bong Nga' and 14<sup>th</sup> Century Champa," *Symposium on New Scholarship on Champa*. Singapore, 2004.

<sup>20</sup> Whitmore (1983), pp. 365-366; Robert S. Wicks, *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia* (Ithaca NY : Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1992), pp. 54-61; Yamamoto (1981), pp. 19-23.

<sup>21</sup> John S. Guy, "Vietnamese Ceramics and Cultural Identity : Evidence From the Ly and Tran Dynasties," in Marr & Milner (1986), pp. 256-260; ; Li (forthcoming); Yamamoto (1981), pp. 19-20, 23-28; Momoki (1998), p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Whitmore (1986), pp. 119-123, 129-131; (1983), pp. 374-375; Momoki (1998), pp. 11-16.

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Fujian) who supplied the brains, and, as we shall see, this turned out to be true for the coastal zone of Dai Viet.

As Fan indicated, this zone was the meeting point of the “infamous traffickers from the southern part of the [Song] empire” with the “foreign merchants belonging to barbarian lands.” The local products were metals (gold, silver, copper) and animal products (elephants, rhinoceroses, kingfishers) from the mountains and pearls from the sea. In addition, more goods came from “all the southern barbarians to the west of the Chinese ports,” and these ports were quite close by.

What was taking place through the twelfth century was the formation of this coastal zone as an area of transition between the international and the internal, between lower and upper Dai Viet. The zone was much more commercial, open to the outside world, and involved more directly with developments in China than was inland Dai Viet. It resembled the contemporary situation near the mouth of the Yangtze up the coast where Ningbo (Mingzhou) formed such a coastal zone of cultural interchange involving China, Korea, and Japan. Ide Seinosuke,<sup>23</sup> in discussing the questions of influence and ‘national’ identity for Buddhist paintings, notes how Ningbo was “a portal of cultural exchange” and “a gateway” for the flow of multicultural patterns across the East China Sea. In such an open zone, exposed to influences from a variety of peoples and directions, it is very difficult, he notes, to pin down the specific identity of a cultural work. Within such a zone, individuals could mesh together what appealed to them and create multicultural items, through fusion if you will, that then flowed out in various directions. Such a fusion zone was a multifaceted interface drawing in elements from elsewhere, reworking them, and sending them out again, not merely as hybrid products but as new creations.

I would like to suggest that the eastern region of Dai Viet, that is, lower Dai Viet, formed just such a fusion zone behind the port of Van-don. It was a zone heavily influenced by the flow from the southeast coastal ports of China, as Fan Chengda indicated, but it was not merely Chinese. As in later centuries, further south down the coast at Hoi-an, it was the product of a joint effort involving visiting Chinese, local Chinese, other visitors, and indigenous inhabitants, all receptive to the international flow of goods and cultural influences.<sup>24</sup> It existed apart from the internal Buddhist world of the Ly dynasty around the capital of Thang-long in the midriver zone, yet not completely separate from it. In this coastal zone, stretching south to Nghe-an,<sup>25</sup> there arose a new culture, one more open to the sinic world than the capital region. Increasingly, from the twelfth century through the thirteenth, within this open coastal zone, we see the emergence of a literati culture different from the one that had come to exist upriver in the

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<sup>23</sup> Ide Seinosuke, “The Question of Identity in Chinese and Korean Paintings Imported to Medieval Japan,” Presented to the Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, November 4, 2004. I wish to thank Professor Ide for his permission to use this paper.

<sup>24</sup> Li (forthcoming); Li Tana, *Nguyen Cochinchina* (Ithaca NY : Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998); Hall (2005),

<sup>25</sup> Whitmore (1986), pp. 130-131; Emile Gaspardone, “Deux Inscriptions du Musee de Hanoi,” *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, 32, 2 (1932), pp. 475-480; Hall (1985), pp. 173-175, 184; Yamamoto (1981), p. 3.,

heavily Buddhist zone of the capital. Out of this new coastal culture would come a new government form and an upriver/downriver cultural split. Political allegiances in lower Dai Viet would be more problematic than those in upper Dai Viet.

Illustrative of this pattern is that, in the 1280s during the Mongol wars, a problem existed for the Tran prince Khanh Du. He and his men had great difficulty distinguishing the coastal inhabitants from the northern troops in their dress, so Khanh Du ordered the former to replace their northern style hats with ones in a different, indigenous style. To quote the Chronicle of Dai Viet, "... the people [around Van-don] customarily depended on trade for their livelihoods. They relied on 'guests from the north' for whatever they ate, drank, and wore. And for this reason they customarily wore 'northern' clothing."<sup>26</sup> Also, within this zone, stretching south through Thanh-hoa and Nghe-an, there came to exist the literati culture that utilized the paper and writing brushes brought south. Already in the eleventh century, as we have noted, there was a seeming inland contact with this region for ritual purposes, the sort specialized in by the literati.

During the mid- and late-twelfth century, inscriptions appeared in this zone that demonstrate the literati nature of the coastal world. First (in present Thai-binh province) there was the 1159 inscription for the powerful court minister Do Anh Vu with major scholarly allusions to the Chinese classical era, especially the Duke of Zhou, famed for his ministerial support of a young king. What we have, in Keith Taylor's term, was the use of "the vocabulary of Confucian moral teaching" and no reference to the Buddhism of the midriver zone. In this inscription were mentions of "merchants arriving from afar," of Anh Vu's hold on Nghe-an and Thanh-hoa, major parts of the coastal zone, and of teachers and scholars, literati most likely from this coastal zone and both of whom involved with government. The "brush-and-ink men" took part in a major ceremony. Yet this great man, Do Anh Vu, would be vilified in later literati texts. Though Anh Vu had those coastal links, he remained within the inland world of the capital of Thang-long. In turn, scholars from without, as Keith Taylor has termed them, probably from the coastal zone, maintained records in their libraries and archives that would be brought together in the thirteenth century, first by Tran Pho in his Record of Viet (*Viet Chi*) and then by Le Van Huu in his official Chronicle of Dai Viet (*Dai Viet Su Ky*) of 1272 (more below). Hence, the thriving literary scene of the prosperous coastal zone stood outside the court and the inland Buddhist cultural scene. A second inscription, from 1157 in present Hai-hung, was from Anh Vu's mother's family and confirms the basic pattern of the first inscription. It too had classical Chinese allusions. A third inscription, from later in the twelfth century and also in Hai-hung province, was compiled by the top scholar in an examination of 1185.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> TT, 5, 53a-b; as translated by Yamamoto (1981), pp. 2, 5.

<sup>27</sup> K.W. Taylor, "Voices Within and Without : Tales From Stone and Paper About Do Anh Vu (1114-1159)," in K.W. Taylor & J.K. Whitmore, eds., *Essays Into Vietnamese Past* (Ithaca NY : Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995), pp. 59-80; Ha Van Tan, "Inscriptions From the Tenth to the Fourteenth Centuries Recently Discovered in Viet Nam," in Taylor & Whitmore (1995), pp. 53-54. For the *Viet Chi* and the *Dai Viet Su Ky*, see K.W. Taylor (1983b), p. 351; (1986b), pp. 49-50, 60-63.

While Dai Viet was forming in the central area of the Red River from the tenth century into the second half of the eleventh, the Song dynasty to the north had unified China and begun a massive involvement in international commerce. This effort would be enhanced in the twelfth century with the move of its capital into the Yangtze valley. What this meant for Dai Viet was the major growth of its more vacant coastal zone and an increasingly heavy Chinese presence through this area. This presence would eventually lead to a great shift in power in Dai Viet and the growing involvement there of a new group of intelligentsia, more classical Chinese in orientation than Buddhist.

南宋  
海沿の勢力  
増大

Through the twelfth century and into the thirteenth, the two major economic forces were at work; though separate, they intertwined and reinforced each other. The first was the agricultural development linked to the rise of the Ly state and of the Buddhist temples and estates that provided the strong foundation for this state. This took place in the midriver section that formed the core of Dai Viet. The second occurred on and near the coast and was linked to the surge of trade out of and into Song China. The latter naturally had a strong Chinese component. The first created a growing internal demand for foreign goods which moved up from the coast. The second responded to the increasing external demand for goods, especially from the highlands. These came down river to the coast or were created in the growing eastern coastal zone. Overall, the increasing economic integration of Dai Viet's territory would lead to major political and cultural change.

① 内陸(農業)  
② 沿海(商業)  
↑  
相互促進  
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政治的・文化的変化

Thus, through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the eastern zone along the coast of Dai Viet grew disproportionately in economic strength. The port of Van-don emerged and became a strong regional base within East and Southeast Asia. Given the flow of goods up and down the Red River system, including the flood of Song copper cash, the infrastructure and population of this coastal zone would have grown greatly. A considerable portion of this growth involved a Chinese population that moved down the coast from the ports of Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang. As part of the growing South China Sea network of Chinese commerce, this sector began to wield an increasing power within Dai Viet. By the thirteenth century, the power had begun to shift and, with it, a new cultural force began to appear in Vietnamese society.

中国移民の増加  
南沿の商業  
貿易の中心  
東部沿海の発展

### III. Coastal Control, Administrative Change, and the Literati

By 1200, I postulate, lower Dai Viet, the coastal zone, had become a prosperous center of international trade and a cultural region that drew in much outside influence, especially from down the southeast coast of China. Out of this economic and cultural complex, there arose the political power of the Tran family, formerly from Fujian and originally fishermen in this coastal zone. Though not explicitly linked to the internal and international commercial forces of the twelfth century, this family of Chinese coastal descent emerged in the midst of these forces and appear to have taken advantage of them eventually to forge a political unity over both lower and upper Dai Viet. Where, elsewhere to the west (in Ayudhya and Pegu), local power would rise and bring the capital to the coast, in Dai Viet the coastal power emerged and seized power in the capital of Thang-long itself, blending into the inland core's ritual life.

VN  
南沿の支配  
中心

The coastal commercial forces that we see in twelfth and thirteenth century Dai Viet were the beginnings of dynamics that were spreading along the shores of mainland Southeast Asia. At this time, it was the eastern coast of the mainland that felt the main impact of the Chinese trade surge. Both the eastern zone of Dai Viet and the central coast of Nagara Champa to the south saw major economic changes and power shifts at this time. For the latter, it was the emergence of the port of Thi-nai at Quynhon and its hinterland of Vijaya. This region joined forces with elements at Angkor to dominate Champa and to push aside the old port (now Hoi-an) and the political power of Amaravati to the north.<sup>28</sup> In later centuries, riverine and coastal powers like Phnom Penh, Ayudhya, and Pegu would also lead to capital displacements away from Angkor and Pagan.

For Dai Viet, there would be no such displacement of the capital, no move of the central power down towards the coast. Instead, the coastal power reached upriver and gained control of the capital, leaving it in its old location and bringing new elements into it. In the process, the coastal patterns with their greater Chinese participation would begin what over two centuries later would be the major transformation of Dai Viet.

李陈  
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The transition of power from the Ly to the Tran, from inland control to coastal, has not been studied in detail. (Indeed, curiously, dynastic founders in Vietnam have yet to be examined as such to any degree.) O.W. Wolters looked at this Ly/Tran transition in an article discussing the differences between the chronicles of the thirteenth century (recompiled in the fifteenth century) and the fourteenth.<sup>29</sup> Despite interesting differences, both texts were generally favorable to the new Tran family and agreed that the Ly were having problems. Regionalism and local leaders were asserting themselves against the capital. The Ly had already linked themselves to the rising power of the Tran downriver in lower Dai Viet, and the first quarter of the thirteenth century was a tale of how the regional power conflicts across the Red River delta resolved themselves. The Hong region halfway between the capital and the coast was a major element in this question, as its leaders, especially Nguyen Non, stood against both the upriver and the downriver powers. This was not only a political question. Disruptions of communications along the waterways of the delta affected the merchants and their riverine trade. The Tran on the coast would have had a very strong interest in maintaining access to the main center of population and wealth upriver from them. The result was that, through very tense circumstances and dealings with the Ly, this coastal power eased its way into control of the capital and the core inland zone.

Having used its intermarriages with the ruling Ly family to place a young male of its own on the throne in Thang-long, the Tran also had to resolve the problem of the regional powers that had allowed their own rise. In particular, Hong stood in its way. Through

<sup>28</sup> Whitmore (2004).

<sup>29</sup> O.W. Wolters, "Narrating the Fall of the Ly and the Rise of the Tran Dynasties," *Asian Studies Association of Australia Review*, 10, 2 (1986), pp. 24-32. The thirteenth century chronicle was the *Dai Viet Su Ky* of Le Van Huu (see below), recompiled in the fifteenth century as the *Dai Viet Su Ky Toan Thu* by Phan Phu Tien and Ngo Si Lien. The fourteenth century chronicle was the *Viet Su Luoc*.

the 1210s and 1220s, the joint Ly/Tran forces overcame the local powers until, finally, Hong fell and, to quote the fifteenth century Chronicle, "The state (quoc) became one."<sup>30</sup> This is normally taken as meaning the standard unification of the new dynasty. I would suggest that in this instance it means more than that. Rather, here it indicates the removal of any barrier between lower and upper Dai Viet and indeed that for the first time these two zones were effectively brought together. This is confirmed in a note of the fourteenth century *An Nan Zhi Lue* (*An Nam Chi Luoc*) that, when the Tran took power, they integrated their homeland, the lower delta (Long-hung, Thien-truong as well as Truong-an down the coast), into the core region of upper Dai Viet (the Ly capital and homeland).<sup>31</sup>

As the Tran and their coastal forces took control of the capital, they quickly blended into the existing ritual pattern of the core inland region. Staging the blood oath of allegiance in 1227, the Tran drew together the regions of Dai Viet as the Ly had done two centuries earlier and they also continued the royal rites to Indra (De-thich) established by the Ly in the mid-eleventh century.<sup>32</sup> But in addition the Tran moved quickly to change the pattern that had allowed them themselves to reach the throne, the regional power arrangement and intermarriage with those powers. In the process, it would appear that the Tran drew on the sinicized coastal culture whence they had just recently emerged. As O.W. Wolters described it, the Tran set up patrilineality and primogeniture as the key rules of succession, a strong sense of the clan, and marriage strictly within it. To enforce this, they also established the institution of the senior, abdicated king who ruled while his young eldest son, the junior king, reigned. Other members, male and female, supported the throne.<sup>33</sup>

陈-著  
中国印  
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Having thus controlled the court, the Tran also brought in sinic elements to aid in ruling the state. These elements as well doubtless came out of their coastal culture. A more strictly classical Chinese examination gradually took the place of the Three Religion examination held sporadically during the Ly.<sup>34</sup> Through the middle of the thirteenth century, the Tran acted to push central control out into the regional areas, for the first time utilizing scholars from the examinations to fill some of these offices. Population registers appeared as well as an effort to streamline the diking systems of both the Red and the Ma rivers (the latter in Thanh-hoa).<sup>35</sup>

李三教  
陈科考

The basis for these mid-century administrative changes (as yet unstudied in any depth) were the literati who began to rise via the examinations. Through the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth, these scholars of classical Chinese came almost entirely out of the coastal zone, east and south of the capital. This literati surge emerged from lower Dai

<sup>30</sup> TT, 5, 5b; O. W. Wolters, "On Telling a Story of Vietnam in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 26, 1 (1995), p. 66.

<sup>31</sup> Le Tac, *An Nam Chi Luoc* (Hue : Vien Dai Hoc Hue, 1961), pp. 28-29, 19 (Chinese).

<sup>32</sup> TT, 5, 4a-b; Whitmore (1986), pp. 126-127, 132; Le (1961), p. 46; Phan Huy Chu, *Lich Trieu Hien Chuong Loai Chi*, trans. (Hanoi : NXB Su Hoc, 1961), II, p. 206.

<sup>33</sup> Wolters (1995), pp. 63-74; *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asia*, rev. ed. (Ithaca NY : Southeast Asian Program, Cornell University, 1999), pp. 143-151, 229-237.

<sup>34</sup> Phan Huy Chu (1961), II, pp. 69, 87; III, pp. 6-8; TT, 5, 7b, 11b.

<sup>35</sup> Phan Huy Chu (1961), II, p.7; III, p. 48; TT, 5, 4b-5a, 8a, 11b, 17a, 20a.

Viet, stretching south down into Thanh-hoa, the transition zone of commerce and culture that had formed in the previous century. It would thus appear that the major impact of the Song trade on Dai Viet was to form this zone and to cause the resulting spread of its culture into the capital and government of Thang-long.

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The new examinations, beginning in 1232, 1239, and 1247, produced graduates almost exclusively from the coastal zone, what would be the eastern and southern provinces of Hai-duong, Son-nam, and Thanh-hoa.<sup>36</sup> Gradually, these scholars took administrative positions, both in the capital and in the provinces, and increasingly through the rest of the century these coastal scholars gained greater significance until, in 1323, the Chronicle of Dai Viet listed thirteen of them whose influence lasted from the late thirteenth century through the middle of the fourteenth.<sup>37</sup> These scholars came from the coastal zone, and a number of them directly challenged the Buddhist orientation of the inland zone.<sup>38</sup> What resulted was a cultural divide between the core area around the capital with its strong Buddhist establishment and the coastal zone with its classical Chinese beliefs. In addition, there seems to have been a correlation between this coastal literati culture and the appearance of Nom literature in these same years. This literature, utilizing Chinese characters to express the Vietnamese language, seems linked to Hai-duong in the east.<sup>39</sup>

In 1253, the Tran had established a National College (Quoc-hoc-vien/Quoc-tu-vien) with images of Confucius, the Duke of Zhou, Mencius, and the 72 Sages and orders for scholars to focus on the classical Chinese texts.<sup>40</sup> By 1272, they ordered a coastal scholar, Le Van Huu of Thanh-hoa, to compile the official Chronicle of Dai Viet (*Dai Viet Su Ky*) covering almost 1500 years of the past of their country. In this Chronicle, Huu provided a strong sense of coastal thought. Geomancy was part of it, and the use of the past for critical comment another. As he examined this past, Huu spoke against the inland culture, seeing it as being ignorant of the proper behavior and setting a bad example for the people. Too many wives, a lack of piety for the paternal line, and too short a mourning period on the death of the king – all these, and others besides, were problems.<sup>41</sup>

Based on their estates in the expanding coastal zone, the Tran princes of the thirteenth century too took part in this literary culture, writing a style of poetry different from that of the earlier centuries. Where the inland Ly poetry had been strongly focused on Buddhist expression, this new form blended description of nature with a strong sense of their country's past.<sup>42</sup> One of the Tran princes, the aforementioned Ich Tac, founded the

<sup>36</sup> Phan Huy Chu (1961), III, 7-8; *Dai Viet Lich Trieu Dang Khoa Luc* (DKL) (Saigon: Bo Quoc-gia Giao-duc, 1962), pp. 12-17, 22-24.

<sup>37</sup> TT, 6, 41b.

<sup>38</sup> Phan Huy Chu (1961), I, p. 188; TT, 7, 17b-18a, 36a-b.

<sup>39</sup> TT, 5, 30a; 6, 41b; DKL (1962), p. 16.

<sup>40</sup> TT, 5, 17a.

<sup>41</sup> J.K. Whitmore, "The Vietnamese Confucian Scholar's View of His Country's Early History," in Hall & Whitmore (1976), pp. 193-197; E.S. Ungar, "From Myth to History: Imagined Politics in Fourteenth Century Vietnam," in Marr & Milner (1986), p. 179.

<sup>42</sup> J.K. Whitmore, "From Classical Scholarship to Confucian Belief in Dai Viet," *The Vietnam Forum*, 9 (1987), pp. 50-52; Huynh Sanh Thong, *The Heritage of Vietnamese Poetry* (New Haven CT : Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 3-5, 116-118.

first known school of classical Chinese studies, the source of a number of renowned Vietnamese scholars. These scholars, of course, came predominantly from the coastal zone.<sup>43</sup>

陸澄程 inland 同盟 劉子孫 王公大臣  
Yet it was this very Tran prince, Ich Tac, who demonstrated the open allegiance of the coastal zone, an allegiance not tied directly to Dai Viet and its inland capital of Thang-long. Existing in this transitional fusion zone, individuals could tie their loyalties and follow their interests in other directions besides upriver. Ich Tac chose to go with the Mongol forces, not merely, I would think, due to his strong belief in classical Chinese thought, but also because of the coastal zone's ties to the north. Leading a group and its families, Ich Tac acted through a Van-don merchant to contact the new rulers of China and to encourage their involvement in the south. When this involvement failed, blocked by the prince's kin, he followed his allegiance north with the retreating Mongol forces.<sup>44</sup> Another such was the scholar Le Tac, later the author of the *An Nam Chi Luoc*.<sup>45</sup>

王公大臣 陸澄程 劉子孫 治民  
These Mongol wars of the 1280s led to the greater involvement of the Tran princes, Ich Tac's successful kin, in the central and regional government of Dai Viet. The administrative experiment of the mid-thirteenth century was thereby displaced by this princely rule. The literati, as we have noted, continued their rise, but now generally within the entourages of the powerful, especially those of the princes. By 1300, following the coastal based Tran success and victory in the wars, the political integration of lower and upper Dai Viet had been achieved. What remained were the cultural differences between the two zones. The following century would resolve this question.

#### IV. Cultural Fusion

Given the regional imbalances within Dai Viet and the increasing socio-economic stresses and strains across the realm, there was a strong need for Thang-long to bring the segments of the country more forcefully together. The fourteenth century would see two major efforts in this direction, the first using an internal Buddhist basis, the second the basis of the new sinic-oriented coastal culture. By the end of the century, the first (Buddhist) would be fading as the second (classical Chinese) was on the rise, incorporating elements of the first but rejecting the Buddhist pattern.

安子山 inland!  
Through the first third of the fourteenth century, the Tran kings worked to fuse the many Buddhist elements across the land into a monolithic force that would support the throne and stabilize the realm. This was based on the Truc-lam (Bamboo Grove) sect of Thien (Dhyana/Chan/Son/Zen) Buddhism. Established by the senior ruler Nhan-tong at the beginning of the century, this sect continued under the auspices of his son and grandson, Anh-tong and Minh-tong. Though linked to a site in lower Dai Viet to the east, this sect seems to have been more a part of the inland culture from the capital region. An important text of this effort was, I believe, the *Viet Dien U Linh Tap* (Secret Powers of Viet) from 1329 that related tales of supernatural spirits. These spirits were called upon

<sup>43</sup> TT, 5, 31a; Phan Huy Chu (1961), IV, p. 64.

<sup>44</sup> TT, 5, 47b-48a; Yamamoto (1981), pp. 1, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Le (1961).

to protect the throne and the Buddhist establishment and represented the midriver inland zone. The map in Keith Taylor's article shows that the cults of these spirits related much more strongly to the internal realm of the Ly and indeed had been honored specifically for their aid in defeating the pro-Mongol coastal efforts.<sup>46</sup>

Yet, by the 1330s, the increasing stresses and strains through the realm signaled that this effort to integrate the land using the inland Buddhist ideology was not working. At this point, I argue, Tran Minh-tong turned to the literati coastal culture for new answers. By choosing the scholar Chu Van An and bringing him from his famed local school south of the capital into the court, this king for the first time opted for an ideology based on classical Chinese thought. Chu Van An, of coastal Chinese descent, his colleagues, and his students looked to classical Antiquity (in China) for their answers to the present problems.<sup>47</sup> Their poetry reflected a strong concern for these problems. They spoke strongly against the inland Buddhist establishment and sought to initiate the coastal ideology into the state of Dai Viet.<sup>48</sup> Through the middle and late fourteenth century, as Dai Viet sunk ever deeper into trouble, this brand of thought reached into the court and the emerging power of another coastal product. The powerful minister Le (Ho) Quy Ly, also of Chinese coastal descent from Thanh-hoa, built his power through the catastrophic years of the invasions by Champa in the 1370s and 1380s, until seizing the throne in 1400. His ideology in power would be the culmination of the classical Chinese thought developed by the coastal literati.<sup>49</sup>

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This second effort at cultural integration would succeed where its inland Buddhist predecessor had failed. By the end of the fourteenth century, scholars were beginning to emerge from the old inland areas, north and west of the capital (and the coming Ming occupation would advance this process).<sup>50</sup> Texts from the troubled decade of the 1380s show the reformulation taking place of the myth and culture of Dai Viet. This great crisis finally led to the fusion of the inland and coastal cultures, linked to classical Chinese thought and seen as descending from figures of ancient myth and legend to the north. The *Viet Su Luoc*, mentioned earlier, set the stage for this with its genealogy of mythic kings,<sup>51</sup> but it was the *Linh Nam Chich Quai* that is most important for our discussion. This collection of tales has a coastal dimension missing from the inland Buddhist *Viet Dien U Linh Tap* of about a half century earlier. Just as the coastal Tran male had married the inland Ly princess to begin the new dynasty and the integration of the land just over 150 years before, two well known tales from this collection reflect the same themes. The most famous one involved Dragon King Lac (Lac Long Quan) from the sea and his marriage to Au Co, princess from the mountains – seen as the origin myth of the

<sup>46</sup> K.W. Taylor, "Notes on the *Viet Dien U Linh Tap*," *The Vietnam Forum*, 8 (1986c), pp. 26-59; (1983b), pp. 352-354 Ungar (1986), pp. 179-180.

<sup>47</sup> J.K. Whitmore, "Chu Van An and the Rise of 'Antiquity' in Fourteenth Century Dai Viet," *The Vietnam Review*, 1 (1996), pp. 50-61; O.W. Wolters, "Chu Van An: An Exemplary Retirement," *The Vietnam Review*, 1 (1996), p. 88.

<sup>48</sup> Whitmore (1987), pp. 53-56.

<sup>49</sup> J.K. Whitmore, *Vietnam, Ho Quy Ly, and the Ming, 1371-1421* (New Haven CT : Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University, 1985), chs. 2-4.

<sup>50</sup> Whitmore (1985), pp. 66-67; DKL, pp. 17, 20-21, 24-25; Phan Huy Chu (1961), I, 192, 290, 293.

<sup>51</sup> Wolters (1986), p. 28; Taylor (1983b), pp. 309-311, 351-352; Ungar (1986), pp. 180-181.

Vietnamese people. This tale quite explicitly tells of the coastal male and the inland female, the power relations between the two, and their connection to the mythic figures of China. The second tale, 'One Night Marsh,' also involved a coastal male and an inland princess. Linked to overseas merchants, trade, and Buddhism, it reflects the nature of the coastal fusion zone.<sup>52</sup> Cults still existing in this zone in the nineteenth century would seem to confirm this. Hung-yen province, deep in the delta, contained cults to Dragon King Lac and One Night Marsh.<sup>53</sup>

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The fourteenth century thus saw a dramatic change, a "watershed" in O.W. Wolters' term,<sup>54</sup> in the development of Vietnamese civilization. Gradually, the old core of Dai Viet, in the midriver zone, became integrated with the downriver coastal zone, and the cultural forces of each merged. By 1400, a new mythic foundation had come into existence for Vietnamese civilization. All this had begun with the trade surge of the Song and the resulting formation of the coastal fusion zone. The twelfth century had seen the increasing economic integration of coastal and inland, lower and upper Dai Viet. From this economic growth had come the political integration of the two zones under Tran rule in the thirteenth century and the resulting expansion of the literati coastal culture. Finally, the fourteenth century brought the cultural integration of coastal and inland Dai Viet with the literati thought of the former eventually displacing the Buddhist establishment of the latter.

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The Ming occupation of the early fifteenth century would both expose the fragility of coastal allegiance (the Mac family and other literati actively supporting the Chinese) and deepen the literati impact throughout lowland Dai Viet. A half century after this northern occupation, Dai Viet, now under the Le dynasty from the southern mountains of Thanh-hoa, would accept the contemporary Chinese model of the Ming. In the sixteenth century, the coastal Mac would work to consolidate this model, following the brief abortive effort of 1516 to bring back the inland Buddhist style.

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Thus, I feel, we need to acknowledge and incorporate the significance of Song trade for Dai Viet and the major changes therein resulting from this commerce.

<sup>52</sup> Taylor (1983b), pp. 5-6, 82-83, 303-305, 354-357; Ungar (1986), pp. 181-182; Eric Henry, "Chinese and Indigenous Influences in Vietnamese Verse Romances of the Nineteenth Century," *Crossroads*, 15 Suppl. (2001), pp. 13-14.

<sup>53</sup> *Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi*, trans. (Hanoi : NXB Thuan Hoa, 1996), III, pp. 308-309.

<sup>54</sup> Wolters (1999), p. 146.