

## 12 • Cartography in Vietnam

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The study of maps made in Vietnam over the past five centuries has barely begun. Any person attempting to examine the Vietnamese cartographic tradition must cast a wide net to gather the scattering of detail in various forms that helps us understand how this tradition came to be. Although scholars of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (such as Henri Maspero, Leonard Arousseau, and Emile Gaspardone) laid the bibliographic foundation for the study of Vietnamese cartography, the colonial period saw almost no work on historical maps. The only major exception was Gustave Dumoutier's 1896 study of an early itinerary to the south (see below).

The main work available to us is a collection of maps called the *Hồng-đức bản đồ* (Maps of the Hồng-đức period [1471–97]), which was published three decades ago by the Viện Khảo-Cổ (Institute of Historical Research) in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City).<sup>1</sup> Besides reproductions of the maps, the work presents a good index to the names recorded on the maps and a brief introductory study of the maps (in Vietnamese and, in a shorter version, French) by Trương Bửu Lâm. This introduction forms the core of our knowledge about pre-1800 Vietnamese maps. It is supplemented by several articles published in Hanoi over the past decade by Bùi Thiết that look at indigenous maps of the old capital (now Hanoi).<sup>2</sup> Bùi covers the same time period as the previous study but extends it into the nineteenth century. Thái Văn Kiểm also produced several pieces dealing with mapping during the Nguyễn dynasty (1802–1945).<sup>3</sup> Yet no synthesis exists for the half millennium of premodern Vietnamese mapping.

To attempt such a study in North America is difficult. The major collection of old Vietnamese manuscripts, including maps, is that developed by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi and taken over by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1954–55. This collection is now held at the Viện Nghiên Cứu Hán Nôm (Sino-Nom Institute) in Hanoi, though its documents are still identified by the French system (A. plus a number).<sup>4</sup> The imperial library in Hue was divided in the late 1950s, with the Nguyễn dynasty archives going to Da Lat (now in Ho Chi Minh City?) and the pre-1800 material deposited at the Viện Khảo-Cổ. Little serious damage appears to have been done to any of these collections during the

war. Upon the French withdrawal, microfilm copies were made of the most important documents in Hanoi, and collections of the microfilms were deposited in two locations, the above-mentioned Viện Khảo-Cổ and the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris. Other manuscript collections exist at the Société Asiatique in Paris (the Henri Maspero Collection, designated by HM plus a number) and the Tōyō Bunko (Oriental Library) in Tokyo.

The only historical Vietnamese maps available in the United States are black-and-white reproductions (and sometimes reproductions of reproductions). The maps in the published *Hồng-đức bản đồ* are photographic reproductions from the negatives of a Japanese microfilm, and the white-on-black illustrations are often none too clear.<sup>5</sup> In general, the American scholar of Vietnamese maps is dependent on collections of the Ecole Française d'Ex-

1. Trương Bửu Lâm, ed., *Hồng-đức bản đồ* (Saigon: Bộ Quốc-gia Giáo-dục, 1962). Although A.2499 (reel 141, no. 253) is the main copy of this work, the scholars of the Viện Khảo-Cổ used an almost identical copy (on microfilm) from the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo (number 100.891); *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, XVI–XVII, XXVIII–XXIX.

2. See Bùi Thiết, “Sắp xếp thế hệ các bản đồ hiện biết thành Thăng Long thời Lê” (Establishing the generations of known maps of the city of Thăng Long from the Lê dynasty, 1428–1787), *Khảo Cổ Học* (Archaeology) 52, no. 4 (1984): 48–55, esp. 49–50.

3. Thái Văn Kiểm, “Lời nói đầu” (Introduction), in *Lục tỉnh Nam-Việt (Đại-Nam nhất-thống chí)* (The six provinces of southern Vietnam [Record of the unity of Đại Nam]) (Saigon: Phủ Quốc-vụ-Khanh Đạc-Trách Văn-Hóa, 1973), Tập Thương, v–XIII; idem, “Interprétation d'une carte ancienne de Saigon,” *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, n.s., 37, no. 4 (1962): 409–31; idem, *Cố đô Huế* (The old capital of Huế) (Saigon: Nha Văn-hóa Bộ Quốc-gia Giáo-dục, 1960).

4. For the holdings of this collection, see its catalog as microfilmed in 1954–55 (reel 3, nos. 8–9), containing cards for over 3,600 documents. A document with a map contained in this microfilm collection is noted in this chapter by the document's reel and number(s). A list of the nearly six hundred microfilmed documents may be found in G. Raymond Nunn, ed., *Asia and Oceania: A Guide to Archival and Manuscript Sources in the United States*, 5 vols. (New York: Mansell, 1985), 3:1054–60. All original documents designated by A. are in Hanoi; only microfilm copies of them exist elsewhere. For a list of early maps, including most in this chapter, see also Trần Nghĩa, “Bản đồ cổ Việt Nam” (Old maps of Vietnam), *Tạp Chí Hán Nôm* (Hán Nôm review) 2, no. 9 (1990): 3–10.

5. To avoid confusion, note that the grids of lines drawn on the maps in the published *Hồng-đức bản đồ* were not on the originals and were intended only as an index grid for the transcription of the Chinese characters.

trême-Orient microfilms now at Cornell University and the University of Hawaii, Honolulu. I have consequently found it difficult to obtain a sense of the physical composition of the maps discussed below. Since the maps are nearly all in manuscript, not printed, and bound in the Chinese fashion, questions of format, medium, size, scale, material, and exact style of illustration must be left to someone who is able to undertake a hands-on study of existing maps, preferably in Hanoi. Where such description appears below, it depends on Joseph E. Schwartzberg's examination of manuscripts held in France. He has graciously allowed me access to his notes. Any problems in interpretation are naturally my own.

In this chapter I attempt to gather what data I can on premodern Vietnamese maps, given the restrictions above, and to provide a historical outline for the further study of Vietnamese cartography. As we shall see, no maps exist for the country of Đại Việt (Great Viet) from the earliest major dynasties, the Lý (1010–1225) and the Trần (1225–1400). Countrywide mapping appears only in the first century of the Lê dynasty (1428–1527). The following Mạc dynasty (1528–92) seems to have done some mapping, but the earliest existing body of maps was produced for the two families ruling under the Lê after the latter's restoration (1592–1787), the Trịnh in the capital and the Nguyễn on the southern border. Atlases and itineraries were compiled in the north, and an itinerary was made in the south. A final surge of mapping took place during the nineteenth century when the Nguyễn dynasty reunified and took power over the entire country, now known as Đại Nam (Great South). Unfortunately, we have little information on how any of this mapping was done. During the thousand-year period, the country we call Vietnam grew from its original center in the north around Hanoi all the way south down the east coast of the Indochinese peninsula. Most of this extension occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as newcomers permeated the lowlands occupied by Chams and Khmers and came in contact with other Southeast Asian peoples around the Gulf of Siam. Vietnamese cartography from 1600 to 1900 reflects this growth.

The Vietnamese style of mapping is essentially a Chinese one. Its development parallels the formation of the Chinese model in Vietnam over the period from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The Vietnamese intelligentsia, being literate in Chinese, could read texts from China, but the question of how far they were exposed to Sinic cartographic precepts must remain open. Vietnamese terms for “map” are variants of the Chinese word *tu* (Sino-Vietnamese *đồ*), meaning illustration, drawing, plan, and by extension map—*bantu* (*bản-đồ*), *ditu* (*địa-đồ*), *yutu* (*du-đồ*), *quantu* (*tòan-đồ*).

## COSMOGRAPHY

*Non nước* is one term the Vietnamese use for their country. It means quite simply “mountain and water” in Vietnamese (not Sino-Vietnamese), and this concept seems to underlie the Vietnamese visual approach to spatial representation. Rolf Stein has demonstrated the importance of this concept into the twentieth century through the study of miniature gardens. Here we see, set up in the courtyards of both homes and temples, containers of water with rocks placed in them. On these rocks are grown or set live miniature plants, with ceramic models of buildings, humans, and animals. The symbolic mountain and water form the landscape in which the integration of natural and supernatural is shown. In a number of the famous temples of Vietnam whose origins go back almost a millennium, we find magical representations of the universe (heaven, earth, and water) in the form of the miniature mountains and ponds (fig. 12.1).<sup>6</sup> Here we have what seems to be the original form of Vietnamese cosmography, a graphic portrayal of their universe. This portrayal is simple, and for that very reason the Vietnamese appear to have retained it as their image of the world around them, of the magical and fertile forces at large in the natural world.

Linked to this image is the construction of artificial mountains by Vietnamese kings for their court rituals during the tenth and eleventh centuries. In 985, 1021, and 1028, first Lê Hoan, then the Lý kings Thái-tổ and Thái-tông, celebrated the royal birthdays by having mountains built of bamboo, called Mountain of the South, Nam Sơn, and using them as the centerpieces of the accompanying rituals. The construction of 985 was built on a boat in the middle of a river and was associated with boat races (perhaps the dragon boat festival). In the celebration of 1028 there were five peaks, one in the center (Mount Meru?) surrounded by four peripheral ones (possibly indicating the cardinal directions). Among these peaks was coiled a dragon (or water spirit).<sup>7</sup> Here too we have the imagery of mountain and water serving as nearly as we can tell to represent the cosmos and its powers in a smaller form and paralleling the temple structures of Angkor and Pagan in contemporary Cambodia and Burma.<sup>8</sup>

6. Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 13–21, 36–37, 52, 58, 77, 83, 89–91, 103, 104, 109.

7. Stein, *World in Miniature*, 39–40 (note 6); Ngô Sĩ Liên (fifteenth century), *Đại-Việt sử-ký toàn-thư*, 3 vols., ed. Ch'en Ching-ho (Tokyo, 1984–86), 1:190, 214, 219(14).

8. On Angkor and Pagan, see Eleanor Mannikka, “Angkor Wat: Meaning through Measurement” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), and Michael Aung-Thwin, *Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985).



FIG. 12.1. VIETNAMESE COSMOGRAPHY. This drawing of a miniature garden in the temple of Trần Vũ (Hanoi) in the early 1940s shows the pattern of mountains and water in Vietnamese cosmography.

Size of the original: 12.7 × 19.2 cm. From Rolf A. Stein, "Jardins en miniature d'Extrême-Orient," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 42 (1943): 1–104, esp. pl. III.

Although there are no sources to say whether this form of royal ritual continued beyond 1028, we may easily transfer the imagery to the Buddhist structures of the following three centuries. Just north of the capital of Thăng-long (now Hanoi) lay the temple of Vạn-phúc, which we know has existed since at least 1057. It is a 140-foot brick tower built on ascending terraces and flanked by two sacred ponds. Though the temple is built in Chinese fashion, the existence of the ponds was a distinctively Vietnamese trait and continued the conjunction of mountain and water as cosmic symbolism.<sup>9</sup> This style of Buddhist temple, the tower, continued from the eleventh century into the fourteenth, the years of the Lý and Trần dynasties. The Vietnamese state of these centuries was more akin to its contemporaries in Southeast Asia than to the Song state in China. The Vietnamese administration depended on personal ties, not bureaucratic ones, and its cosmology was Hindu-Buddhist.

An attempt to strengthen central power occurred in the mid-thirteenth century, but the Mongol threat and subsequent invasions in the second half of the century

deflected it. Royal power primarily covered the area immediately around the capital, while outer areas were controlled indirectly through local intermediaries or powerful figures (royal or otherwise) designated by the throne. In either case, the capital had no direct control over these outer areas. The king gained access to their resources only so far as the area remained loyal to the center. No maps of Đại Việt exist from these centuries, though the Vietnamese history *Đại-Việt sử-ký toàn-thư* (Complete book of the historical records of Great Viet, 1479) mentions two that dealt with the outer reaches of the kingdom, one from the late eleventh century, the other from a century later. The first was drawn up by the famous minister Lý Thường Kiệt in 1075 and covered the then southern frontier with Champa (south of Nghệ-an Province and the Col des Nuages, the old

9. Louis Bezacier, *L'art vietnamien* (Paris: Editions de l'Union Française, 1954), 135 ff.; idem, *Relevés de monuments anciens du Nord Việt-nam* (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1959), pls. 14–23; Stein, *World in Miniature*, 14–15 (note 6).

“southern border,” Nam-giới).<sup>10</sup> The map of the 1170s, called the *Nam-bắc phiên-dới địa-đồ* (Atlas of the boundaries to the south and north), resulted, we are told, from a royal inspection tour of the coasts and the frontiers.<sup>11</sup> The *Đại-Việt sử-ký toàn-thư* specifically noted “the mountains and the streams” (*sơn xuyên* in Sino-Vietnamese) as being the focal points for each effort.

In general, however, there is little evidence that the Vietnamese before the fifteenth century had either much inclination to map or the centralized control needed to bring data together for an atlas of the country. The cosmography, which in its simplest form required just the symbols of a mountain and a pond, continued through these centuries. Linked to it were the spirit cults, based as they were in specific localities across the country. This spiritual geography, though unmapped, provided a sense of place for the Vietnamese. It also reflected the influence of the Chinese science of geomancy. As Ungar has noted, “One envisions a spiritual map of sacred places: nodes of potent configurations of mountains and waters, connected by subterranean ‘veins’ (*mạch*) through which geomantic energy flowed.” During these centuries, the Vietnamese were growing ever more conscious of their cultural territory and its boundaries. Rather than a vague conception of their own territory fading into the distance, they began to develop a sense of where it ended and of what cultural configurations lay on the other side. This territory had originally included the Hundred Yue (in Sino-Vietnamese Việt) and stretched from the Yangtze River in the north to Champa in the south.<sup>12</sup> Across the Vietnamese northern border lay China and its encroaching power, while to the south and west were Southeast Asian peoples and kingdoms, the Chams, the Thais/Laos, and others.

By the late fourteenth century, the Vietnamese were explicitly setting themselves apart from their neighbors. In the 1370s the Vietnamese royal court banned “northern” (Chinese) clothing and the Cham and Lao languages. Over half a century later (in the 1430s), the first Vietnamese geography, *Dư địa chí* (Geographical record), modeled on the classic Chinese text the “Yu gong” (Tribute of Yu), continued this effort to draw a cultural line between the land of Đại Việt and the peoples beyond its borders.<sup>13</sup> Yet the Vietnamese maintained their nonvisual approach to their land. Even though both Vietnamese and Chinese texts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were rich in detail on the riverine nature of Vietnam,<sup>14</sup> no maps exist to show us the view from these times of either the intricate pattern of water communications or the territorial separation of Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese.

## MAPS OF ĐẠI VIỆT

Maps became important for the Vietnamese when the government of Đại Việt adopted the Sinic bureaucratic model in the second half of the fifteenth century. Following half a century of crisis from the 1370s to the 1420s (Cham invasions, 1371–90, the Hồ regime, 1400–1407, and the Ming occupation, 1407–27), the liberator of Vietnam, Lê Lợi, established a new dynasty that continued many of the elements of the old world. The new king was, however, very interested in maintaining a stronger resource base for the central government and acted to establish a system of public land that would ensure it. At the same time, the Lê court was ideologically open, and a new strand of modernist Neo-Confucian thought modeled on that of Ming China appeared, advocated by younger scholars.

After three decades of intermittent strife, the modernist group of scholars, with a young king supporting them, overcame the resistance of the conservative military oligarchy that had helped found the dynasty. The young king, Lê Thánh-tông (1460–97), promptly took the opportunity to change the orientation of the state. During the 1460s, he initiated triennial Neo-Confucian examinations, used the successful scholars in his government, and established a centralized bureaucratic administration. The government, staffed by literati-officials, now penetrated all the way to the village and was able both to preach the new moral precepts and to gain a stronger control of local resources. Almost immediately, a large amount of information began to flow from the provinces into the capital of Thăng-long, including population figures in 1465. Local officials were expected to travel throughout their jurisdictions and to know them at first hand. Within a hundred days of arriving at their posts,

10. *Đại-Việt sử-ký toàn-thư*, 1:248 (note 7). Specifically, the mapping covered the three territories of Bô-chính, Địa-lý (Lâm-binh), and Malinh (Minh-linh); see *Hồng-đức bản-đồ*, 16–17, 46–48, 193 (note 1).

11. *Đại-Việt sử-ký toàn-thư*, 1:299 (note 7); Emile Gaspardone, “Bibliographie annamite,” *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient* 34 (1934): 1–173, esp. 45–46 (#21).

12. Esta S. Ungar, “From Myth to History: Imagined Politics in 14th Century Vietnam,” in *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, ed. David G. Marr and A. C. Milner (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986), 177–86, quotation on 179; on Vietnamese geomancy, see Pierre Huard and Maurice Durand, *Connaissance du Việt-Nam* (Hanoi: Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1954), 70–71.

13. O. W. Wolters, *Two Essays on Đại-Việt in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Council on Southeast Asia Studies, Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1988), 31, 32, 41; John K. Whitmore, *Vietnam, Hồ Quý Ly, and the Ming (1371–1421)* (New Haven: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1985), 16; Nguyễn Trãi (1380–1442), “Dư địa chí” (Geographical record), in *Nguyễn Trãi Toàn Tập* (Complete collection of the works of Nguyễn Trãi) (Hanoi, 1969), 186–227, esp. 222–23.

14. Wolters, *Two Essays*, xvii, xxxviii n. 21 (note 13).

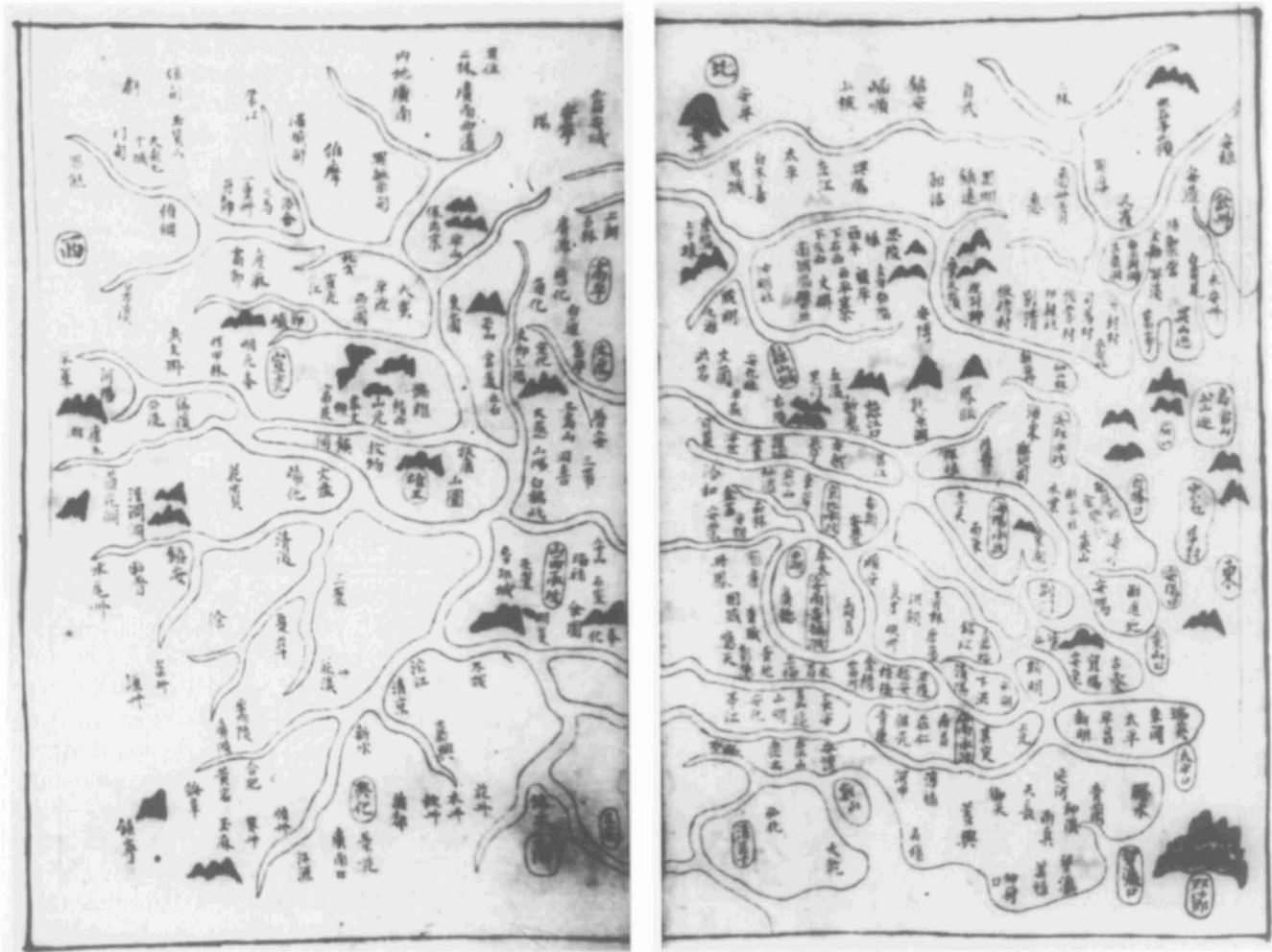


FIG. 12.2. TÔNG-QUÁT MAP. This possibly sixteenth-century (Mạc) map (the earliest extant Vietnamese map?) shows the country of Đại Việt but emphasizes the north rather than what

was then the south (home of the Lê). North is at the top. Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

the officials had to submit a detailed report on their jurisdictions.<sup>15</sup>

In 1467 the king sent the twelve provinces an order to map the country. In it he commanded the officials to draw careful maps of their provinces' topography, illustrating the mountains and streams and pointing out the strategic areas, the communication routes, and historical and contemporary features. These maps were then to be sent to the capital where, in 1469, they were combined with data on the numbers and different types of local communities to establish the official maps for the twelve provinces. Twenty-one years later, in 1490, Thánh-tông accepted the *Thiên-hạ bản-đồ* (Maps of all under heaven [the empire]) as the official atlas for his realm, now expanded to thirteen provinces with the conquest of Champa in 1479 and the annexation of its northern territories.<sup>16</sup>

The Hanoi scholar Bùi Thiết has stated that there

appear to be no existing maps from this first period of Vietnamese cartography.<sup>17</sup> As we shall see below, all the maps known to us that can be linked to these original maps are seventeenth century or later. Yet there is one map, unstudied as far as I know, that offers the possibility of being from before 1600. It is unlike what comes to be the standard Lê dynasty map and has much information on it. It will require a detailed examination for full understanding. Here I can only introduce it and make some initial comments.

This map, which I shall call the Tông-quát map, is fixed as a sort of appendix to the Lê atlas in a section called

15. John K. Whitmore, *Transforming Đại Việt: Politics and Confucianism in the Fifteenth Century* (forthcoming), chap. 5.

16. *Đại-Việt sử-ký toàn-thư*, 2:665(62), 676(11), 736(8) (note 7); Gasparone, "Bibliographie," 46 (#22) (note 11).

17. Bùi, "Bản đồ," 49-50 (note 2).

“Bản-quốc bản-đồ tổng-quát mục-lục” (Index and overview of the maps of our country).<sup>18</sup> It is unrelated to the written text attached to it and is totally concerned with Đại Việt, making almost no mention of any neighboring country or people (a local prefecture in southwestern China being the lone exception). Bearing a northern orientation, this map is a sketch drawn in a simple style (fig. 12.2). It apparently covers two sides of a sheet and consists of a line drawing showing the rivers and the land between them. No pattern was used to show water in the rivers, and only a few scattered mountains are drawn in, employing the standard Chinese three-ridge style.<sup>19</sup> Location is shown by the numerous written names, with no signs. The result is a map that gives a sense of crowded places and of water where there is no land. Hence, stylistically, it could easily represent an early Vietnamese attempt to render a picture of the country.

The information provided by the names on the map seems rather mixed, at least from my initial examination of it. There are over three hundred names, fifteen of them circled for emphasis. These fifteen place-names include the capital city, called here An-nam Long-biên Thành (a reference to the days of Tang dynasty control in the region), the West Lake outside the capital, the site of the cult to the legendary Hùng kings, and twelve provinces. The term for province, used only for the five central (Red River Delta) provinces (Kinh-bắc, Hải-dương, Sơn-tây, Sơn-nam, and An-bang), is *thừa-chính* (seat of the provincial government), derived from the term applied in the 1460s. The other seven provinces, in the northern and western mountains and the then-southern plains, are identified by name only. The curious point here is that one of these “provinces” is Cao-bằng, which did not become a separate province until the late seventeenth century. On the other hand, the normal twelfth province of 1469, the southernmost one of Thuận-hóa, is here listed uncircled in its two old parts of Thuận-châu and Hoa-châu. The new thirteenth province, listed in 1490, Quảng-nam, south of Thuận-hóa, also appears uncircled but is shown as an estuary. Overall, this map shows a decided lack of interest in the southern area. There is no emphasis on Thanh-hoa and Nghệ-an provinces, which formed the home base of the Lê dynasty, and the Western Capital (Tây-kinh), the original home of the Lê, does not appear at all.

The most important evidence for an early date for this map is that An-bang Province is not called An-quảng, as it was from the late sixteenth century on, and Thái-nguyên is not called Ninh-sóc, as it was between 1469 and 1490.<sup>20</sup> The capital is also known as Phụng-thiên, a term Lê Thánh-tông used for it. Although this set of terms might have come from the late fifteenth century, my inclination is to see the map as a product of the Mạc dynasty in the following century. This new dynasty ignored the

sites significant to its predecessor, did not control the south—hence its lack of focus in that direction—and had a decided interest in the northern mountains (especially Cao-bằng, where it would take refuge on its defeat). In addition, the Mạc had a strong reason, as I shall discuss below, to maintain the institutions of Lê Thánh-tông’s Hồng-đức period (1471–97). Until a more detailed study of the terms on this map can be made, we may see it as the only extant pre-seventeenth-century Vietnamese map.

The standard Lê dynasty atlas derives from the cartographic activity of the second half of the fifteenth century, but all extant copies show signs of having been redrawn in the seventeenth century or later. First of all, An-quảng is the contemporary name for An-bang Province, and this change occurred after the Lê Restoration of 1592. In addition, the map of the capital shows the location of the Trịnh *chúa*’s (lord’s) residence, the palace of the prince (*vuơng phủ*). This is another indication of a post-restoration date, since the Trịnh held power in Thăng-long only after they had placed the Lê back on the throne.<sup>21</sup>

The Lê atlas consists of fifteen maps: the entire country, the capital, and the thirteen provinces (fig. 12.3). The maps generally have a western orientation<sup>22</sup> and are more sophisticated than the Tổng-quát map discussed above. In particular, water is shown in the rivers (the flow of the current) and the sea (roiling waves), thus providing a greater sense of the solidity of the land. The mountains are drawn in the same three-ridge style, but now they fill out the landscape more and provide a better sense of Vietnam’s topography. Human constructions (walls, temples, and palaces), when drawn, are shown in frontal elevation on these maps. All other features are noted by written terms. The main purpose of these maps is administrative, and consequently they record the locations of the various jurisdictions (province, prefecture, and district), generally in rectangular boxes with no hierarchy present. Other names record either mountains or riverine features, with an occasional human construction noted, not drawn.

The map of Đại Việt as a whole includes borderlands of the countries to the north and south, China and

18. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, 50–53 (note 1).

19. For the style of mountains in Chinese cartography, see David Woo, “The Evolution of Mountain Symbols in Traditional Chinese Cartography,” paper presented at the 1989 annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers.

20. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, 189, 196, 198 (note 1).

21. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, XI, XIV–XV, XXV (note 1); see also Bùi, “Bản đồ,” 50–52 (note 2).

22. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, 2–49 (note 1). The maps of Kinh-bắc and Thái-nguyên have an eastern orientation and those of Hải-dương and Lạng-son a northern one. The Lê atlas also came to be known as *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, but I will refer to it in this chapter as the Lê atlas to avoid confusion with the larger collection and published volume.

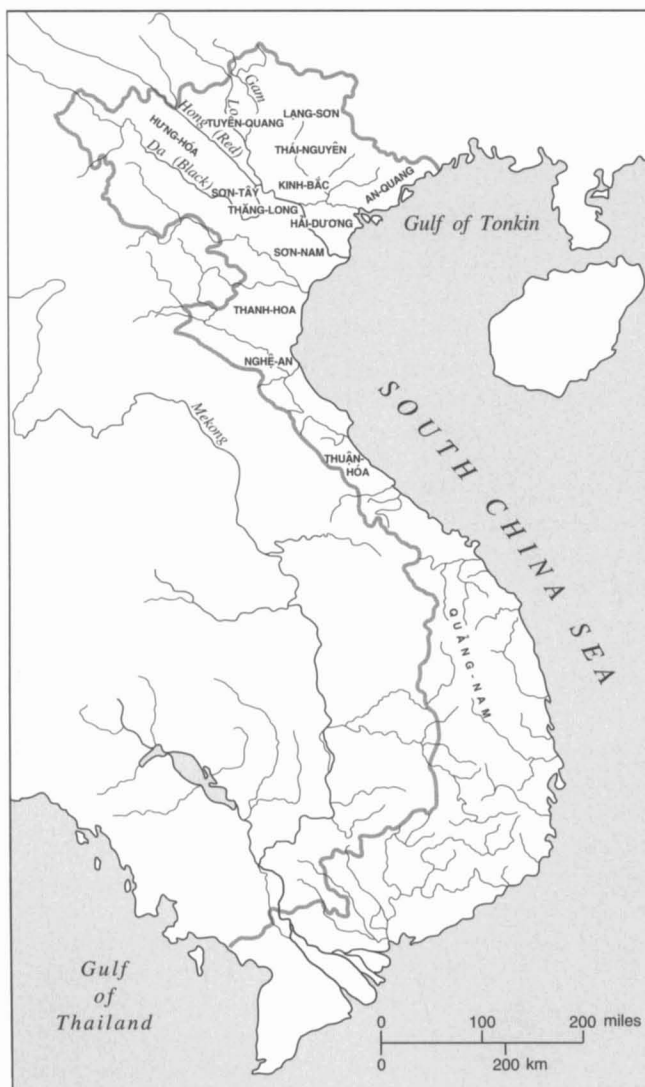


FIG. 12.3. REFERENCE MAP FOR THE STUDY OF ĐẠI VIỆT CARTOGRAPHY.

After Nguyễn Khắc Viện, *Vietnam: A Long History* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1987), 99.

Champa, and shows what demarcates Vietnam from these two states: walls on the north and a stone inscription on the south (fig. 12.4).<sup>23</sup> To the northwest is the southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan, and to the northeast are the southeastern Chinese provinces of Guangxi and Guangdong, marked by fortresses and noted as being respectively “location of the Hundred Yue” and “location of the Yue, capital of Chao To” (Triệu Đà, king of Nam Việt in the second century B.C.). These latter phrases are the result of the Vietnamese cultural boundary construction of the fourteenth century. The two Vietnamese capitals are located: Trung-đô (Thăng-long [Hanoi]) in the central Red River Delta and Tây-kinh (the

Western Capital) in the upriver part of Thanh-hoa Province. The only temples on this map reflect a ritual configuration. At the center, just outside the capital, lies the temple to the spirit cult of Lý Ông Trọng, a mythic hero believed to have helped the great Chinese emperor Qin Shihuang (third century B.C.) fight the barbarians and to have protected the Vietnamese capital region thereafter.<sup>24</sup> North, east, south, and west of the capital in the delta are four Buddhist temples (Phả-lại, Quỳnh-lâm, Phổ-minh, and Thiên-phúc on Mount Phật-tích), standing guard over the Vietnamese domain.

The map of the capital, Thăng-long, is the major city map we have for Vietnam before 1800 (fig. 12.5). It is strictly for government activities and court rituals, showing little of the thriving everyday and commercial life.<sup>25</sup> The shape of the outer citadel is irregular, fitted as it was within the watercourses surrounding the city. The imperial city within the citadel is, however, decidedly regular, with its proper Sinic north-south orientation. Outside the walls of the citadel are shown the Bả-thiên Buddhist tower, a central part of Vietnamese Hindu-Buddhist cosmography from the middle of the eleventh century, and the fifteenth-century site of the Nam-giao ceremony, the Confucian sacrifice to heaven. There are also the White Horse Temple (Bạch-mã từ) and the temple of Trần Vũ, sites of ancient cults, as well as the National College (Quốc-tử-giám). Within the walls of the citadel are various government buildings and palaces, together with the grounds where the Confucian examinations were held.

The maps of the delta provinces (Kinh-bắc, Sơn-tây, Hải-dương, An-quảng, and especially Sơn-nam; fig. 12.6) reflect the riverine nature of their environment.<sup>26</sup> In them we find such features as the intertwining of streams meandering through the delta (*ngã-ba*), canals (*kinh*), bridges (*cầu*), channels (*cửa*), and estuaries (*môn*). In human terms, we see Buddhist temples (*tự*) and spirit cults (*miếu*), as well as some guard stations (*tuần*) and the occasional major historical site (such as the old capital at Cổ-loa) or tomb (for example, that of the old Tang governor Gao Pian). In the northern and western provinces (Thái-nguyên, Tuyên-quang, Hưng-hóa, and Lạng-son), mountains are the dominant feature, both drawn and noted. Passes (*ải*) are indicated, as well as a scattering

23. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, 4–5 (note 1).

24. Keith W. Taylor, “Notes on the *Việt Điện U Linh Tập*,” *Vietnam Forum* 8 (1986): 26–59, esp. 38.

25. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, 8–9 (note 1); Hoàng Đạo Thúy, *Thăng Long, Đông Đô, Hà Nội* (Hanoi, 1971), plate between 46 and 47; Nguyen Thanh-nha, *Tableau économique du Viet Nam aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Editions Cujas, 1970), 111–17.

26. On this environment, see Pierre Gourou, *Les paysans du delta tonkinois: Etudes de géographie humaine* (1936; Paris: Mouton, 1965), 17–108 (“Le milieu physique”).



FIG. 12.4. ĐẠI VIỆT FROM THE LÊ ATLAS. This seveneenth-century (Trịnh) copy of the late fifteenth-century map shows the country in its classic premodern format (west is at the top).

Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

of other natural features. The main human features are military camps (*doanh*), guard posts (*tuần*), and walled cities (*thành*). Lạng-sơn Province shows a large fortress with a gate leading into the Chinese province of Guangxi. Because the Lê dynasty base was originally in the two southern provinces of Thanh-hoa and Nghệ-an, these two maps come first in the atlas. But they, together with the newer provinces of Thuận-hóa and Quảng-nam, share the same features. They are part of what is now central Vietnam, and they have narrow lowlands lying between the mountains and the sea, with short streams running parallel to each other, usually from west to east. The prominent feature is consequently the estuary (*môn*).

The political situation of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries ensured that the cartographic pattern established by the Lê king Thánh-tông in the late fifteenth century would continue. When the dynasty fell

into chaos following the death of Thánh-tông's son Hiên-tông in 1504, later rulers made various efforts to restore what Thánh-tông had established in his great Hồng-đức period. This was achieved only when the powerful minister Mạc Đăng Dung seized the throne and began his own dynasty in 1528. His legitimacy and that of his family lay in rebuilding central power along the bureaucratic lines Thánh-tông had first set up sixty years earlier.<sup>27</sup> As far as we can tell from the surviving evidence, the Mạc retained and developed the fifteenth-century institutions. If the Tổng-quát map is a Mạc production, they continued the Hồng-đức provincial organization, at least in the territory they controlled.

27. John K. Whitmore, "Chung-hsing and Ch'eng-t'ung in Đại Việt: Historiography in and of the Sixteenth Century," in *Textual Studies on the Vietnamese Past*, ed. Keith W. Taylor (forthcoming).



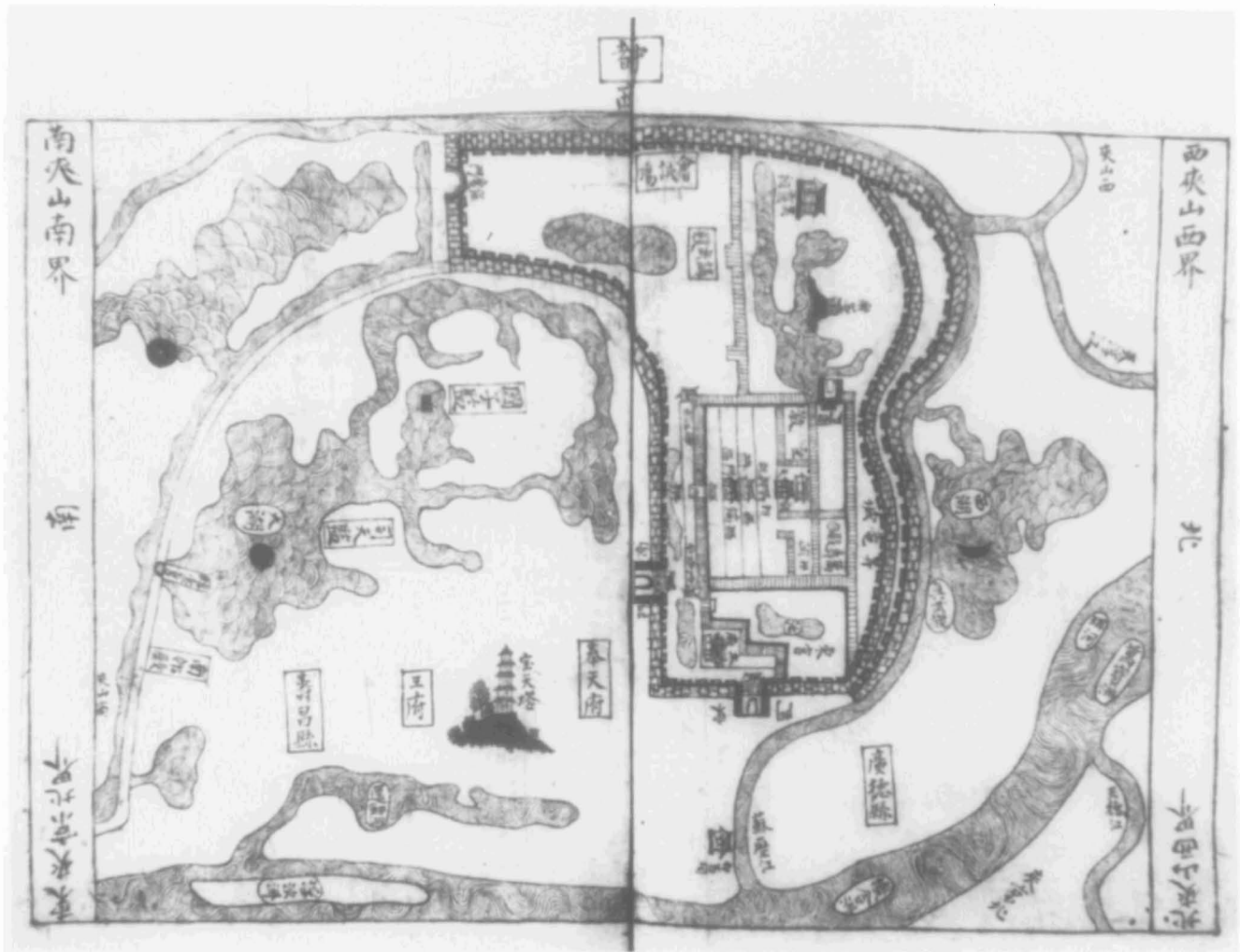


FIG. 12.5. THE CAPITAL FROM THE LÊ ATLAS. This seventeenth-century (Trịnh) copy of the late fifteenth-century map shows the Vietnamese capital of Thăng-long (now Hanoi), fitted within the waters of the Red River and its delta (west is at the top).

Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

The Trịnh military regime, which brought the Lê back to the throne, picked up the Hồng-đức institutions preserved by the Mạc. The Trịnh did not, however, emphasize the civilian elements as they contested the Lê legacy with their erstwhile allies, the Nguyễn. The latter had established their base on the southern frontier in the newest province of Quảng-nam during the sixteenth century and now claimed that the Trịnh were usurpers. Since these two families remained at loggerheads for almost two centuries, the cartographic tradition stayed frozen: both sides considered Thánh-tông's thirteen provinces to be the established pattern.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the collection that we now call the *Hồng-đức bản đồ* began to come together. Lê/Trịnh literati evidently redid the Lê atlas, continuing the Hồng-đức work with minor changes. One

scholar, Đỗ Bá, compiled the above-mentioned “*Bản-quốc bản-đồ tổng-quát mục-lục*,” joined it with the (possibly) Mạc map, and placed it at the end of the redrawn atlas late in the century. He also added the set of four itineraries that I shall discuss in the following section.<sup>28</sup> To all appearances, these remained the official maps of Đại Việt for the following century to the end of the Lê dynasty in 1787. Despite population growth, little change occurred in the organization of the kingdom.<sup>29</sup>

The major geographical change for the Trịnh zone of Đại Việt came later in the seventeenth century when their

28. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, xv–xvi, xxvii–xxviii, 52–53, 68–69 (note 1).

29. Đặng Phương-nghi, *Les institutions publiques du Viêt-Nam au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1969), 77–79; Gaspardone, “Bibliographie,” 47 (note 11), noted a report of a 1723 “newly established map” that maintained the old Hồng-đức system.



FIG. 12.6. A PROVINCE FROM THE LÊ ATLAS. This seventeenth-century (Trịnh) copy of the late fifteenth-century map shows Son-nam Province in the southeastern portion of the

Red River Delta and its watery domain (west is at the top). Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

forces were finally able to drive the Mạc out of the latter's refuge in the northern mountain prefecture (*phủ*) of Cao-bằng. The Mạc remnants had fled there following their defeat in 1592 and had received diplomatic protection from the Ming dynasty in China. The Ming themselves were defeated by the Manchus in 1644, but for the next two decades the Lê/Trịnh court was, first, uncertain about the Qing dynasty's intentions and, second, totally involved in its attempt to smash its recalcitrant Nguyễn rivals in the south. Then in 1667 the Trịnh seized Cao-bằng, but the Chinese forced them to give it up through diplomatic pressure two years later. Finally, in 1677 the Trịnh managed, this time by diplomacy, to regain the territory.<sup>30</sup> There are three surviving maps of Cao-bằng within the *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, and they were probably drawn in the two years between the original conquest

and the Chinese-induced surrender, that is, 1667–69. These maps show the prefecture as a whole, the fortified camp of Mục-mã, and the region of Cao-bằng city, known as Phục-hòa.<sup>31</sup> The style of the first map is once more simplistic, similar to that of the *Tổng-quát* map. Again the rivers are merely outlined, while the pattern of mountains in this highland area remains more similar to that of the Lê atlas, thus bestowing a better topographical sense. A different element, like the itineraries below, is the indication of roads and trails throughout the territory. Administrative units are shown by their

30. Keith W. Taylor, "The Literati Revival in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 18 (1987): 1–22, esp. 17; *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, XIV, XXVII (note 1).

31. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, 174–85 (note 1).

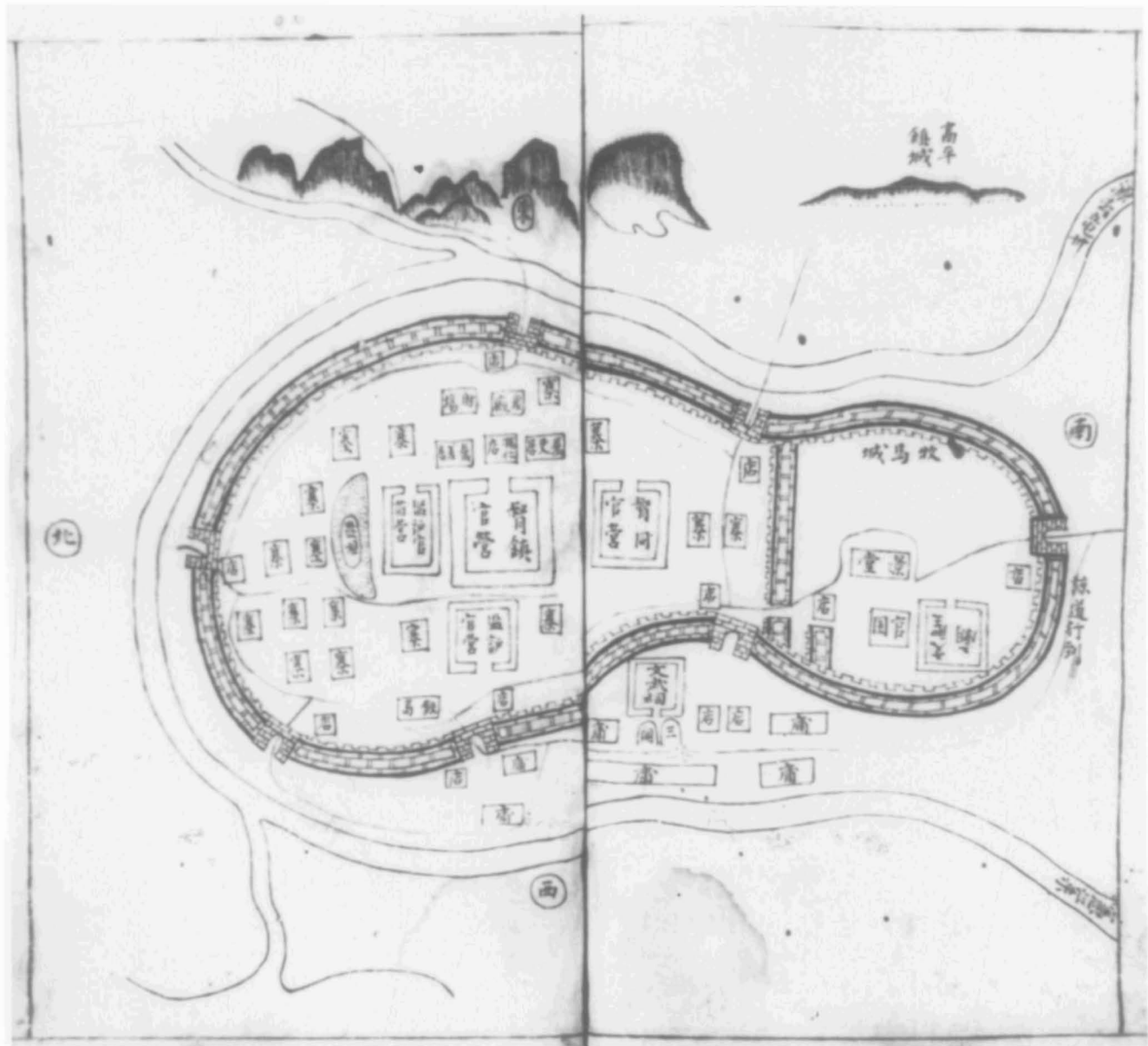


FIG. 12.7. MAP OF THE MỤC-MÃ FORTIFICATION. This seventeenth-century (Trịnh) map of the Mục-mã fortress, Cao-bằng Prefecture, in the northern mountains near the Chinese border, shows the military and civil settlement of the Mục stronghold (east is at the top).

Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

names in ovals. Besides the mountain terrain and its settlements (*tông*), the major elements of the prefectural map are military: eleven camps (*đôn*), the main fortification of Mục-mã, and the walled city of Phục-hòa. The second map is a detailed study of the Mục-mã fortification (fig. 12.7), locating the walls, twelve strong points (*điểm*), sixteen camps (*trại*) within the walls, and five settlements (*phô*) just west of the fortress. Compared with the detail of this map, the third map—of the walled city and its immediate environs—is merely sketched in. These

maps, undoubtedly deriving from the 1667 military campaign and its aftermath, supplemented the standard provincial map of Thái-nguyên (to which Cao-bằng Prefecture then belonged) in the Lê atlas.

When the Nguyễn dynasty was establishing itself after 1802, an unknown scholar brought these seventeenth-century northern maps—those collected by Đỗ Bá (the Lê atlas, the *Tổng-quát* map, and the set of four itineraries discussed in the next section) and the three Cao-bằng maps—together with the *Binh-nam đồ*, the major

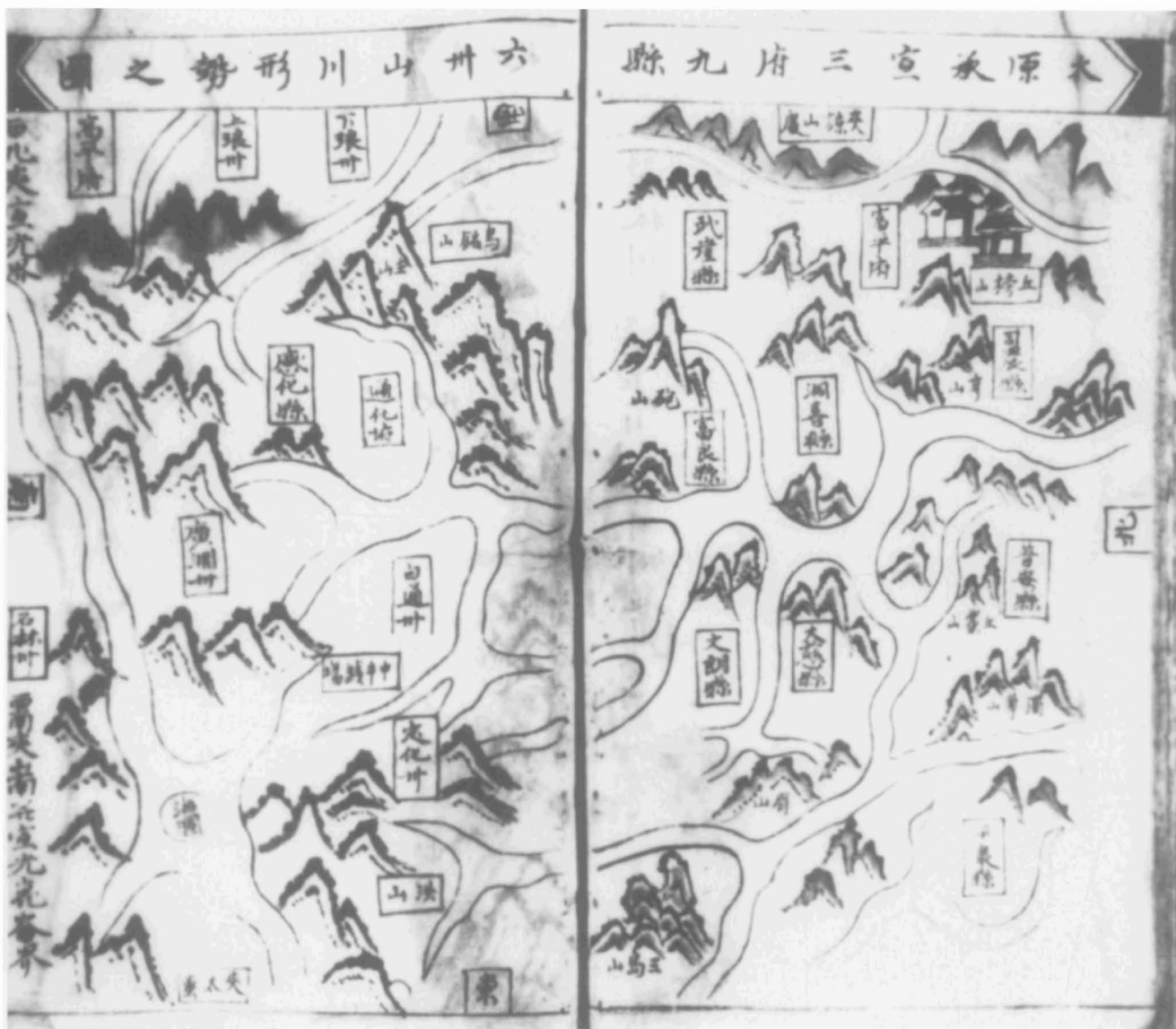


FIG. 12.8. A PROVINCE FROM THE AN-NAM HINH-THẮNG ĐỒ. This possibly mid-eighteenth-century (Trịnh) copy of the late fifteenth-century map shows the northern highland province of Thái-nguyên and the new vertical style of illustrating the mountains (west is at the top).

Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.3034).

map made in the south, and the *Đại-Man quốc-đồ*, a later one from the north (both discussed below), probably to help set up the administration of the then newly unified country.<sup>32</sup> This came to form the present collection called the *Hông-đức bản đồ*. Although this is the most important collection, others are known to exist, evidently copies (at least in part) of it.

The chief example of a later version is the *An-nam hình-thắng đồ* (Illustrated maps of An-nam).<sup>33</sup> The versions of the Lê atlas maps found in the *An-nam hình-*

*thắng đồ* are basically the same as in the *Hông-đức bản đồ*; even the orientation of each map is the same (Kinh-bắc an eastern one, Hải-dương northern). Yet the style of the drawing differs greatly (fig. 12.8). Although again only lines are used to delineate water and land, the mountains have moved from the earlier three-ridge style toward the naturalistic landscape mode with its vertical exag-

32. *Hông-đức bản đồ*, XIV, XVII, XXVII, XXIX (note 1).

33. A.3034 (reel 114, no. 171).

geration, just as in Chinese cartography.<sup>34</sup> In this way the Vietnamese imitated the karst formations of their northern border. The mountains are no longer mere outlines but are well drawn, with specks of vegetation on them. Temples and walls are given a more Chinese quality as well. One map even shows waves lapping the shore. Somewhat arbitrarily, I believe that the redrawing of the maps now in the *An-nam hình-thăng đồ* took place in the eighteenth century. The one substantive change that leaps to the eye is in the center of the map of the country. No longer is the temple to the cult of Lý Ông Trọng there (though it is on the map of Sơn-tây Province); rather, the Bảo-thiên tower now stands at the capital. The emphasis on this Buddhist protective element at the center of Đại Việt may have been a result of the Buddhist resurgence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In general, we may say that the tradition of the Lê atlas remained a strong one in Vietnamese history. It appears in a number of different versions and artistic styles through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and into the twentieth. Yet the information contained on the maps varied little. As Joseph Schwartzberg has noted in viewing these collections, "There appears to be a variety of individuals drawing the maps, which would help to account for the wide variety of styles in the depiction of particular types of features. Here and there are some idiosyncratic touches."<sup>35</sup> A good example of how far this atlas tradition continued and of how little it actually changed may be seen in an artistically redrawn version from the early twentieth century (see below). This version almost exactly maintains (with a few errors) the information contained in the Lê atlas of at least two centuries earlier.<sup>36</sup>

### ITINERARIES OF ĐẠI VIỆT

The other major type of Lê dynasty map is the itinerary, generally tracing the route from the Vietnamese capital to a location on or beyond either the southern or the northern border. This type of cartography seems to have begun with the great military expedition led by Lê Thánh-tông as he crushed the southern state of Champa in 1471. The *Đại-Việt sử-ký toàn-thư* noted that on this campaign the king consulted a map of Champa as his armies moved south and began to change the names linked to the mountains and rivers there. With the Vietnamese marching into Champa, Thánh-tông became apprehensive about the difficulties of knowing the terrain and had a local chief help draw up another, more detailed map of the area, focusing on strategic points and on good routes through the mountains and across the streams.<sup>37</sup> These efforts undoubtedly laid the foundation for the first of four sets of maps, the route south to Champa, in the *Thiên-nam tứ-chỉ lộ-đồ thư* (Book of maps of the major routes of Thiên-nam). Again, when the maps were

originally drawn is unknown. The term Thiên-nam (South of Heaven) implies the fifteenth century, since Thánh-tông was the first to use it.

Once more, we know the text only in its seventeenth-century form. As I noted earlier, the scholar Đỗ Bá brought it together with the Lê atlas and the "Bản-quốc bản-đồ tổng-quát mục-lục" late in the seventeenth century at a time when road maintenance had taken on added importance.<sup>38</sup> The four routes move from the Vietnamese capital of Thăng-long: south to the Cham capital (thirty-one pages of maps); northeast to the two regions of Khâm and Niệm along the coast near the Chinese border (ten pages of maps); northwest to the southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan (ten pages of maps); and north to the great gateway into the southeastern Chinese province of Guangxi (ten pages of maps).<sup>39</sup> The style of these maps also returns to that of the Tổng-quát map, with only lines separating land and water. Again, however, as in the Lê atlas, the topography is shown in the form of three-ridge mountains and the administrative units are indicated by names within boxes. Some human construction is sketched in, particularly the southern fortifications. Being itineraries, the maps show the paths to be taken through the landscape (fig. 12.9). Although the text of each section seems to speak of routes by land, water, and sea, what they mean is that the maps show the distinctive features of all three environments, differing from route to route.

The route to the southern border and Champa<sup>40</sup> begins by noting the features for the different environments: land—innns and bridges; water—rivers, canals, and harbors; sea—estuaries, currents, shallows, and deeps. Compared with the Lê atlas, the maps for these itineraries show much more detail of the common and commercial life in Vietnam. As we move across the southern provinces, we encounter villages, markets, innns, temples, guard stations, and other local institutions lying close by the road. Bridges, ferries, creeks, confluences of streams, rapids, estuaries, and dangerous places are noted. The route

34. Woo, "Evolution" (note 19).

35. Personal communication (July 1991).

36. Tạ Trọng Hiệp, "Les fonds de livres en Hán Nôm hors du Vietnam: Eléments d'inventaires," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 75 (1986): 267-93, esp. 285-86. See also Bui, "Bản đồ," 51-52 (note 2).

37. *Đại-Việt sử-ký toàn-thư*, 2:682(27) and 683(1) (note 7); Gustave Dumoutier, "Étude sur un portulan annamite du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive* 11 (1896): 141-204, esp. 141-42.

38. *Hồng-đức bản-đồ*, XII-XIII, xxv-xxvi (note 1); Henri Maspero, "Le protectorat général d'Annam sous les T'ang (I): Essai de géographie historique," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 10 (1910): 539-84, esp. 542; Nguyen, *Tableau*, 177-81 (note 25).

39. *Hồng-đức bản-đồ*, 66-137 (note 1). Curiously, the routes west into Laos are ignored; see Nguyen, *Tableau*, 195 (note 25).

40. *Hồng-đức bản-đồ*, 70-103 (note 1).

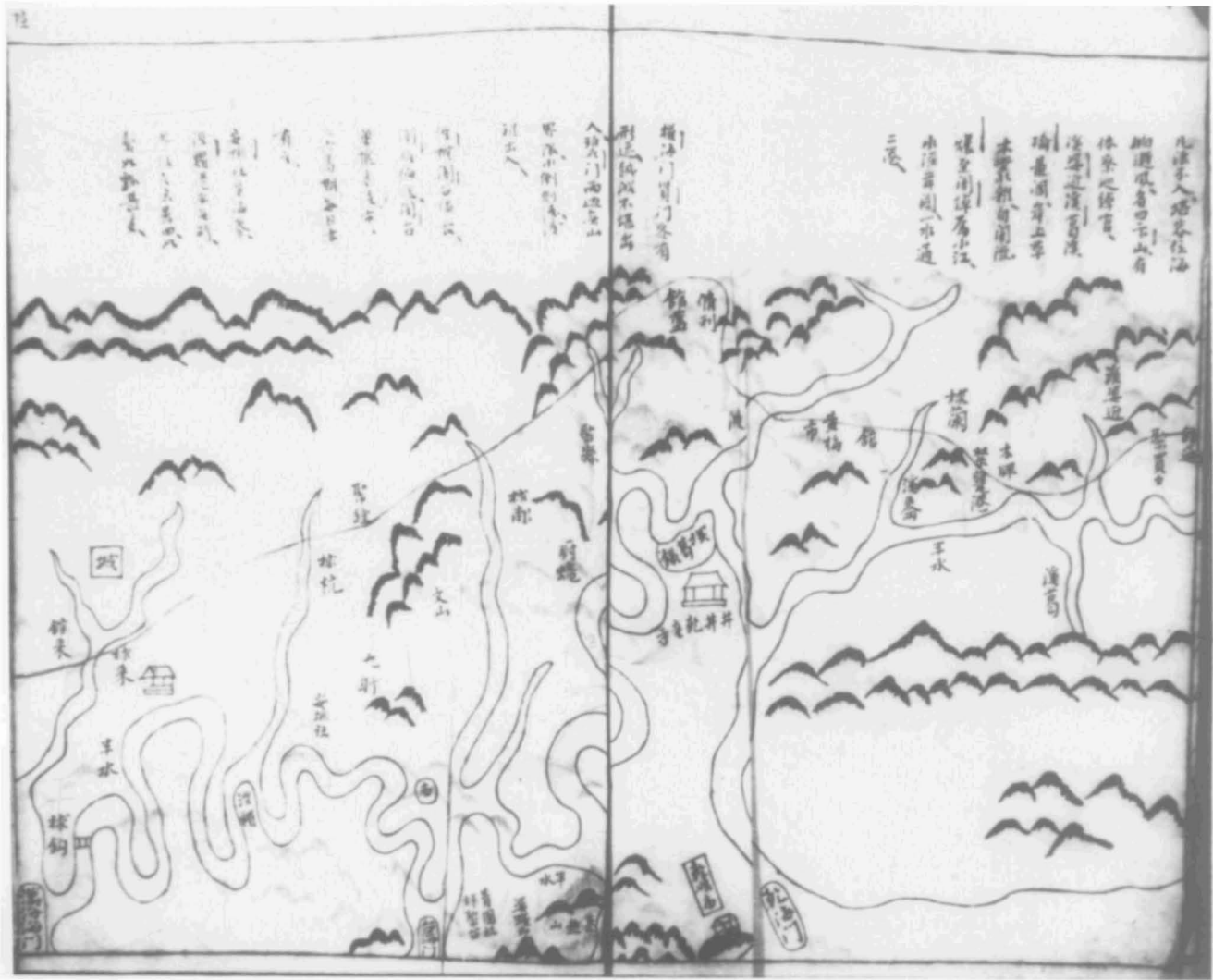


FIG. 12.9. THIÊN-NAM TỬ-CHÍ LỘ-ĐỒ THƯ, PORTION OF THE ITINERARY TO THE SOUTH. This portion of the seventeenth-century (Trịnh) itinerary shows the road through the mountainous area of southern Thanh-hoa Province and

northern Nghệ-an Province in north-central Vietnam (west is at the top). Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

moves out of the Red River Delta, across Thanh-hoa and Nghệ-an, past the old southern border (Nam-giới), and into the militarized zone. Here the Nguyễn, controlling the south, built their defensive walls, which the Trịnh assaulted sporadically without success for half a century (from the 1620s to the 1670s). Marked out on the map are the series of walls, known generally under the name Đông-hới, and the military support accompanying them: arms depots, camps, entrenched and artillery positions, granaries, and elephant stables. Interspersed among these features are the villages and markets of everyday life. This zone ends on the map at about Đà-nẵng. After that the detail lessens somewhat—not surprisingly, since it was an itinerary to the south made in the north. Going past the major port of Hội-an, villages, lagoons, estuaries, islands,

and more mountains are the major features along the coast as it stretches south. Beyond Nha-trang and Cam-ranh Bay, the capital of Champa is reached. Here distances are distorted as the northern sense of location became vague, trying to blend what mapmakers heard of the distant reality with the detail of their old maps.<sup>41</sup>

The other three routes in the collection all concern the north, going from the Vietnamese capital to some point on or near the Chinese border. The first moves to the northeast, going through the delta to the coast. Besides the usual inns, bridges, and streams, there is an emphasis on the sea, with its rocks and waves. The main local human institution noted is the market, perhaps indi-

41. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, XIII, XXVI (note 1).

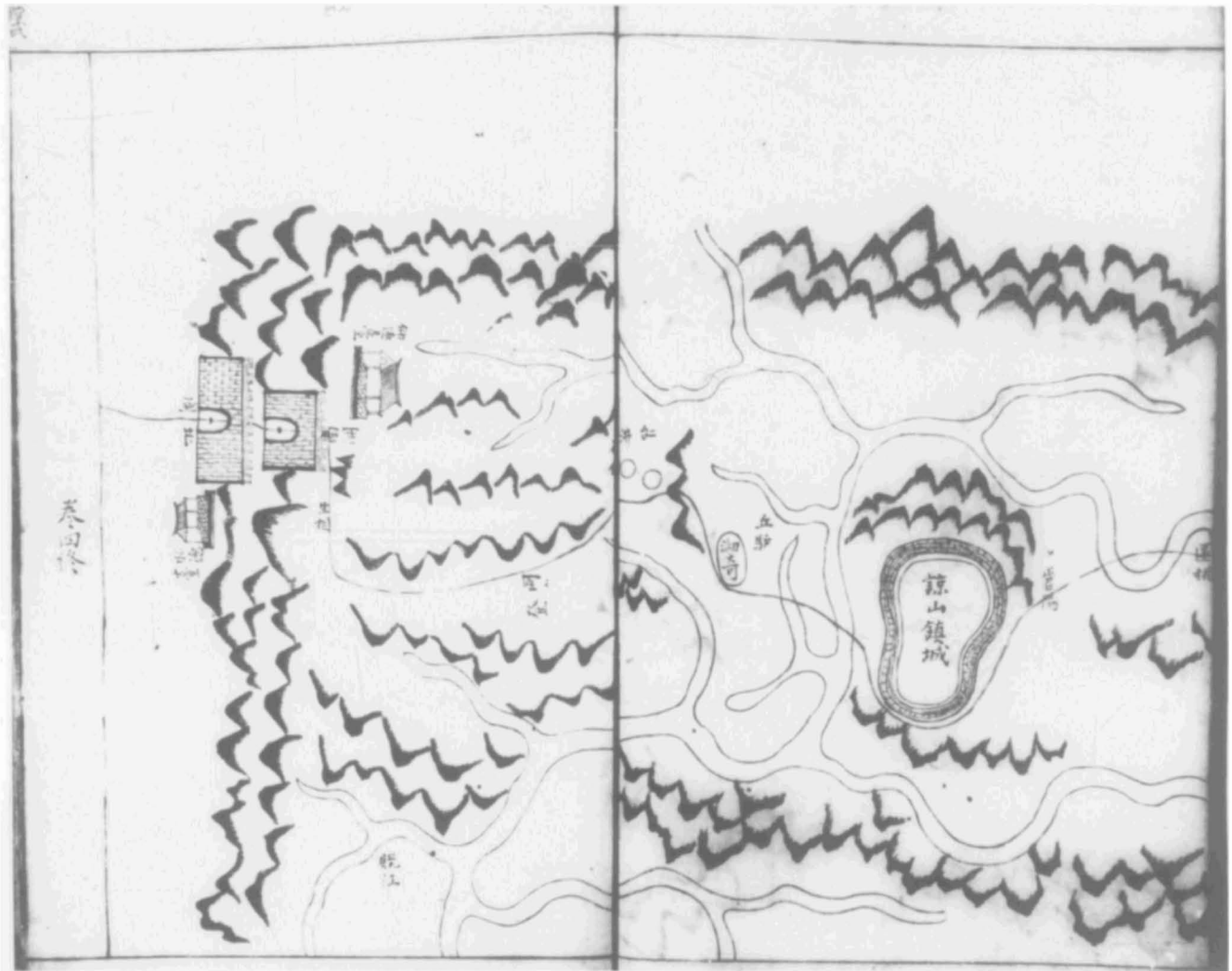


FIG. 12.10. *THIÊN-NAM TỨ-CHÍ LỘ-ĐỒ THƯ*, PORTION OF THE ITINERARY TO GUANGXI PROVINCE. This is the last portion of the itinerary to the north through Lạng-sơn Province (and its citadel) to the gateway leading into Guangxi

Province, the route generally taken by Vietnamese embassies to China.

Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

cating a commercial route. The second route goes to the northwest, through the mountains to Yunnan. Here the emphasis is on the mountains and on the rivers passing through them. Military camps and posts are indicated, but the main human feature, noted only by name, is the *tông* or upland community. The route moves upstream, through the headwaters, to Guangnan Prefecture in Yunnan. The final route was the official one for Vietnamese embassies traveling to the Chinese capital of Beijing. Going north from the capital, the map shows the usual features, natural and human. Markets, posts, and camps appear before the route moves upriver through various defiles past the walled city of Lạng-sơn to the great gate on the Chinese border leading into Guangxi Province (fig. 12.10). These maps do not show the mountain communities as those of the previous route do.

The *Thiên-nam tứ-chí lộ-đồ thư* is thus a guide to a good part of the kingdom of Đại Việt. The maps show us the “beaten paths,” the main communication routes throughout the kingdom, and much of the natural and human detail lying along these routes. They also show us the international routes of communication by land, ignoring the important sea connections. Yet, as I have noted, the maps cannot show us all of Vietnam at the time. The Lê/Trịnh cartographers were blocked by the Nguyễn and their defensive walls from penetrating the southern lands. Here Vietnamese society was expanding southward down the coastal lowlands through Cham territory into the Khmer domain, building roads as it went. For information on this area, we need to look at the *Bình-nam đồ* (Maps of the pacification of the south), covering “from [the walls of] Đông-hội to the border of

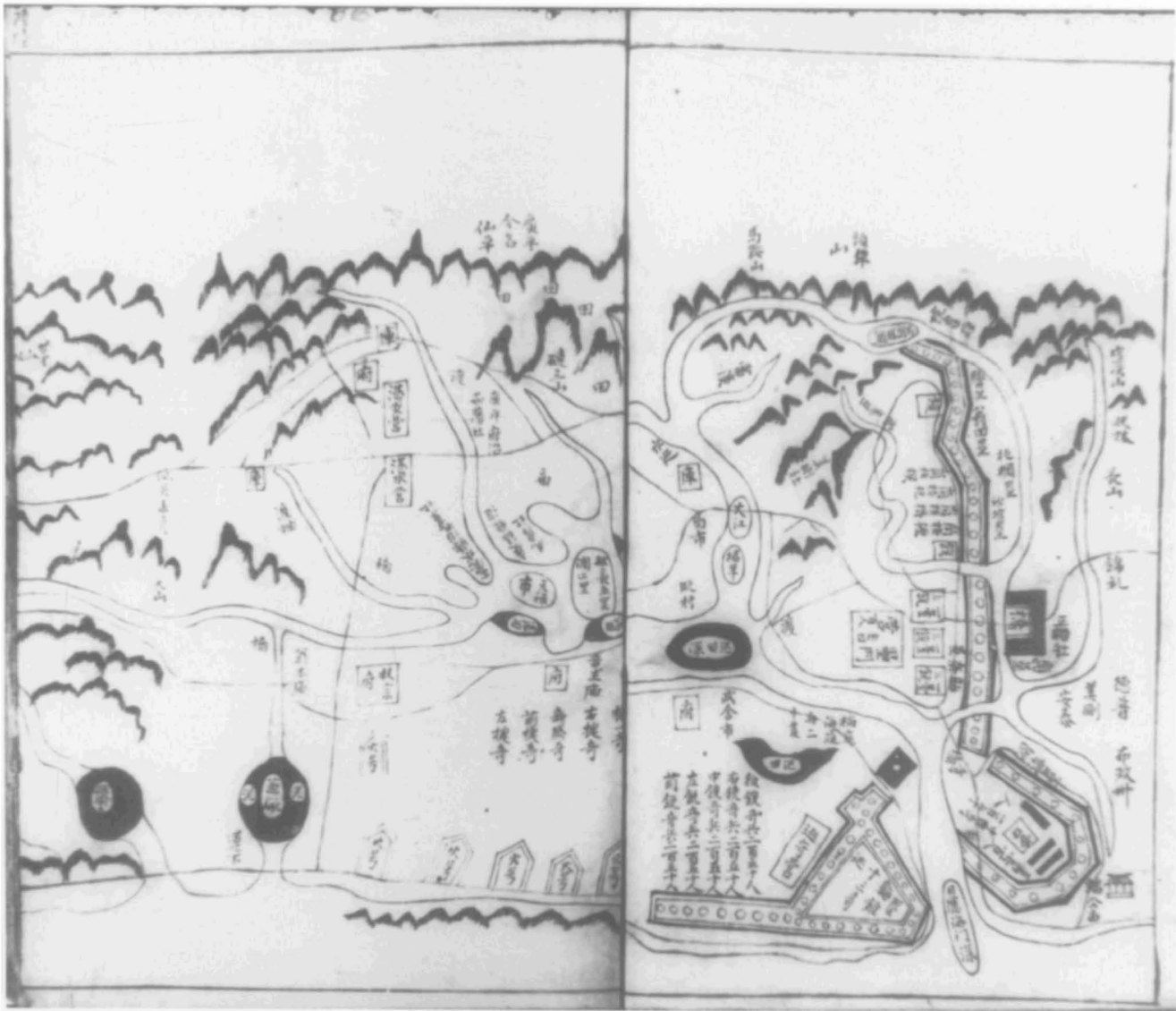


FIG. 12.11. *BÌNH-NAM ĐỒ*, NORTHERN END OF THE ITINERARY. This section of the seventeenth-century southern (Nguyễn) itinerary shows the fortifications on their northern border in Quảng-binh (formerly Thuận-hóa) Province (west is at the top).

Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

Cambodia” (twenty-eight pages of maps). It appears to date from 1654, according to the cyclic characters on the title page and information from the text.<sup>42</sup> These Nguyễn maps begin with much detail on their fortifications and the militarized zone (fig. 12.11). Their style differs little from that of the northern maps just discussed, though they are somewhat more artistic, with elephants pictured in the mountains and turtles in the sea. As we move south, we gain information not provided by the northern maps—on rice fields, residences, temples, troop strengths, and the depths of the channels in the estuaries. We even see a Buddhist tower adjacent to a lake in the

old cosmographic style. We pass the old Cham city, then Đà-nẵng, the international port of Hội-an, and Quy-nhơn, go beyond Lê Thánh-tông’s conquest of 1471 and Nha-trang, through the remains of Champa, until we reach Angkor in Cambodia (fig. 12.12). The detail lessens as we go farther south and gets quite thin beyond the boundaries of the fifteenth-century territory. Yet while the geographic relationship of the Mekong Delta and

42. *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, XIII–XIV, xxvi–xxvii, 138–67 (note 1); Nguyễn, *Tableau*, 179–80 (note 25). Tạ Trọng Hiệp believes the date should be 1774 at the earliest; notes from Joseph E. Schwartzberg.



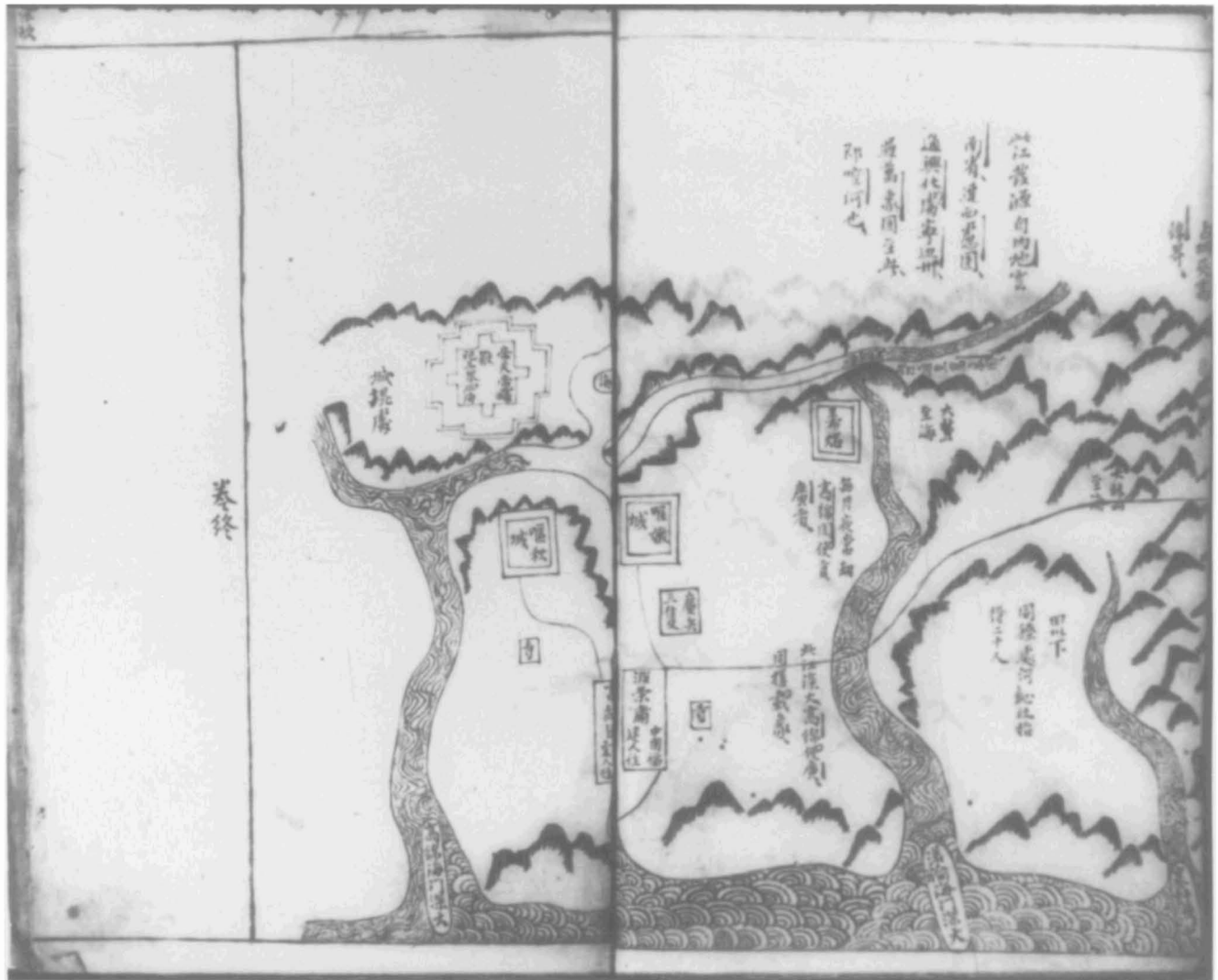


FIG. 12.12. *BINH-NAM ĐỒ*, SOUTHERN END OF THE ITINERARY. This section from the same map depicted in figure 12.11 shows Cambodia, giving a planimetric view of Angkor and the contemporary conception of the lower Mekong River (west is at the top).

Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

Angkor was beyond the ken of the Nguyễn cartographers, they did pick up some interesting detail from Cambodia. Angkor itself is shown in a planimetric view with an interesting configuration. The South China Sea commercial connection is noted, as Cambodia is stated to have a Cantonese settlement and a Fujianese entrepôt to the east (Ba-vinh Phô; whether Hokkien or Teochiu speakers cannot be determined). The Mekong connection to Laos and Yunnan is recognized, as is the King of Fire, a highland chieftain, and his connection with Cambodia. These maps explore the *Nam-tiên*, the Vietnamese push southward during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (fig. 12.13), and provide interesting data on the

social expansion and commercial interests of the Nguyễn domain.

Despite some problems, all the itineraries described so far, both northern and southern, appear to date from the latter half of the seventeenth century. This brings us again to the *An-nam hình-thắng đồ*, the collection of maps paralleling the *Hông-đức bản đồ*. Although the latter has been published in detail, the *An-nam hình-thắng đồ* still exists only in manuscript and has yet to be closely examined. As noted above, parts of this collection are much better illustrated than the *Hông-đức bản đồ*. On a very general impression, I am placing it in the eighteenth century, but the question needs to be addressed in detail. It

is a northern production and reproduces, with two additional sections, the Lê atlas (as I noted above) and the *Thiên-nam tứ-chí lộ-đồ thư* of the *Hồng-đức bản-đồ* (table 12.1). Yet the four itineraries are here untitled, somewhat longer, and treated as internal routes, not links to the borders and foreign parts. They do not start explicitly at the Vietnamese capital, and they do not end on foreign soil. The route to the south (well illustrated with mountains and temples) goes beyond the Cham capital, as Vietnamese society itself did; the route to the northwest ends at the border of Yunnan; and we see only the great gate as the culmination of the route to the north. Instead, these routes are seen as going *through* the Vietnamese provinces.

A very interesting addition is the untitled second section of the *An-nam binh-thắng-đồ* (fifty pages of maps). It is a detailed look at the northwestern mountains, their rivers, and the human settlements along the banks of these streams. Unlike the Lê atlas and the route to the south in the *An-nam binh-thắng-đồ*, this set of maps is very simply sketched, even more so than the *Tổng-quát* map. It consists only of lines indicating either the river-banks or the route being illustrated. Boxed-in names show communities, and names without boxes mark other features. Despite the region, no mountains are shown. The value of this section lies in the multitude of villages and other institutions shown lying along the streams.

The *An-nam binh-thắng-đồ* is thus possibly an eighteenth-century collection from the northern state of Đại Việt. Other collections also exist in different styles from about this time and place, combining the Lê atlas and the itineraries or including the latter alone. We see the *Toán-tập Thiên-nam lộ-đồ thư* (Compilation of route maps of Thiên-nam), the *Thiên-nam lộ-đồ* (Route maps of Thiên-nam), and the *Kiến-khôn nhất-lâm* (An overall view of the cosmos)<sup>43</sup> as eighteenth-century variants of both the atlas and the itinerary traditions. Eighteenth-century variants of Nguyễn cartography in the south are the *Binh-nam chỉ-chương nhật-trình-đồ* (Map of the daily stages on the route to the south)<sup>44</sup> and again the *Kiến-khôn nhất-lâm*, whose author, Phạm Đình Hổ, probably gained access to the Nguyễn mapping after the Trịnh forces took the Nguyễn capital in the wake of the Tây-sơn revolt. Two of these manuscripts, the *Toán-tập Thiên-nam lộ-đồ thư* and the *Binh-nam chỉ-chương nhật-trình-đồ* (fig. 12.14), represent the northern and the southern itinerary styles, and Schwartzberg has examined them in Paris. Apparently woodblock prints, they are illustrated in black ink, with red used to highlight roads and buildings. The first also used gray shading in the mountains. The two are probably typical of the pre-1800 cartographic style.<sup>45</sup>

The fourth section of the *An-nam binh-thắng-đồ*, however, is a strikingly illustrated trip through southern China



FIG. 12.13. REFERENCE MAP OF VIETNAMESE SOUTHERN EXPANSION. A very simplified map of the expansion. After *Vietnam: A Country Study*, ed. Ronald J. Cima, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, 1989), 22; based on information from Joseph Buttinger, *Vietnam: A Political History* (New York: Praeger, [1968]), 50.

by water (one hundred pages of maps). The drawings include mountains, trees, and settlements. The trip is called an embassy and possibly took place in 1729–30, though it ends before reaching the Chinese capital in northern China. The route goes through the mountains

43. Société Asiatique, Paris, HM2241 (all original documents designated HM are at the Société Asiatique), A.1081, and A.414 (reel 21, no. 58), respectively.

44. HM2207.

45. Gaspardone, "Bibliographie," 46–47 (note 11); Bùi, "Bản đồ," 52 (note 2); Schwartzberg notes.

TABLE 12.1 Comparison of Maps in the *Hông-đức bản đồ* and the *An-nam hình-thắng đồ*

<i>Hông-đức bản đồ</i>	<i>An-nam hình-thắng đồ</i>
1 Lê atlas, 15 maps (2 pages each for 9 maps and 1 page each for 6 maps)	1 Lê atlas, 15 maps (2 pages each for 9 maps and 1 page each for 6 maps)
2 “Bản-quốc bản-đồ tổng-quát mục-lục,” 1 map (2 pages)	2 Untitled (northwest mountains), 50 pages of maps
3 <i>Thiên-nam tứ-chí lộ-đồ thư</i> Route to the south, 31 pages of maps Route to the northeast, 10 pages of maps Route to the northwest, 10 pages of maps Route to the north, 10 pages of maps	3 Untitled ( <i>Thiên-nam tứ-chí lộ-đồ thư</i> ) Route to the south, 38 pages of maps Route to the northeast, 12 pages of maps Route to the northwest, 11 pages of maps Route to the north, 12 pages of maps
4 <i>Binh-nam đồ</i> , 28 pages of maps	4 <i>Sứ trình thủy hàng</i> (An embassy [to China] by water), 100 pages of maps
5 <i>Đại-Man quốc-đồ</i> , 1 map (2 pages)	
6 <i>Cao-bằng phủ toàn đồ</i> (The complete map of the prefecture of Cao-bằng), 3 maps (2–3 pages each)	

of northern Vietnam, the province of Lạng-sơn, and the great gate on the Guangxi border before picking up the Chinese river system and passing through Siming, Taiping, Nanning, and Guizhou. The final map is of Huaian Prefecture in Jiangsu Province, east-central China.

Two other Vietnamese sets of maps are probably also from the eighteenth century and are similarly rich in artistry. Both go all the way through China to the capital. In the first manuscript, for example, the rivers are in terra cotta, the roads red, the mountains gray, blue, or violet, walls (single and double) of the towns and cities in red, gray, or blue, and village residences in black and white (plate 30).<sup>46</sup> These sets of maps provide well-illustrated Vietnamese views of southern China and of life along its rivers. The view is from the river as both sides stretch away from it—bridges, walls, banners, dwellings, temples, and mountains. The temples are in frontal elevation with considerable detail, and the mountains are in the naturalistic style with vertical emphasis.

The only other Vietnamese map we have of a foreign country before the nineteenth century is also the only map we possess from the Tây-sơn dynasty (1788–1802). This is the *Đại-Man quốc-đồ* (Map of the country of the Great Man [Southern Barbarians]), drawn in the western Vietnamese mountain province of Hưng-hóa at the end of the eighteenth century (1798, with a preface of 1800) (fig. 12.15).<sup>47</sup> The “country” concerned is an overview of the Thai world to the west of Vietnam, stretching from the mountains in the north to the sea in the south. It is full of *mang* (in Thai *muang*) and *trình* (*chieng* or *xieng*), local polities that ruled the wet rice villages. At the center of the map is the Southern Barbarian country capital (apparently Ayudhya rather than Bangkok). Formerly it had been part of Xiêm-la (Siam), the map tells us. The depiction of the coast and its estuaries is inaccurate, as befits a map drawn at an inland site. The map has a

northern orientation, from the seacoast to the mountains. The rivers run from north to south with the Mae Nam Yom and Chao Phraya in the center. To the east is the Mekong River system and to the west another river, possibly the Salween. On the eastern side lie Xieng Khouang, the Lao-long capital (Vientiane?), the former Khmer capital (Angkor), and Champa. Like the mapmakers in the earlier *Binh-nam đồ*, these Vietnamese cartographers had difficulty with the Mekong and its delta. Neither portrays the great lake in Cambodia, and the entrances to the sea are confused. This map also shows a reliance on Chinese texts in the terms used for Siam and Cambodia. Such a mixture of prior text and contemporary report probably confused some of the political reality to the south and west. In general, though, the map appears to reflect what was then known, and it was meant to serve as a guide, listing the number of days’ travel between locations. Note that all these itineraries are by land or river, not by sea. The style is standard for most of the pre-1800 Vietnamese maps. Lines separate water and land, though as in Burmese maps many of the rivers are fringed by mountains that set off the streams and help define the land. The mountains are the usual three-ridge type and form a decoration on the eastern, northern, and western land fringes of the map, while also filling much of its surface. Lines connecting locations (boxed-in names) show the communication routes. Only the Thai capital is drawn with a double set of boxes and a gate.

46. HM2182 (untitled) and HM2196 (titled *Sứ trình đồ họa* [Illustrated map of an embassy (to China)]); for a description of the different routes taken by Vietnamese embassies north to Beijing, see Trần Văn Giáp, “Relation d’une ambassade annamite en Chine au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, n.s., 16, no. 3 (1941): 55–81, esp. 55–58.

47. *Hông-đức bản đồ*, XIV, xxvii, 168–73 (note 1).



FIG. 12.14. *BÌNH-NAM CHỈ-CHƯƠNG NHẬT-TRÌNH-ĐỒ*. A (possibly) eighteenth-century representation of southern itinerary style. This is part of the itinerary through Quảng-nam Province by the old Cham citadel of Chà-bàn.

Size of each folio: ca. 25.5 × 14.5 cm. By permission of the Société Asiatique, Paris (HM2207, fols. 18b-19a).

### MAPS OF ĐẠI NAM

Vietnamese cartography took a sharply different turn in the nineteenth century, becoming both more Western and more Chinese. The simplicity and sketchiness of the Lê style of maps were superseded by these international influences. While the Gia-long emperor (1802-19), founder of the new Nguyễn dynasty, harked back to the great Hồng-đức era of Lê Thánh-tông over three hundred years earlier, he made a conscious effort to bring Chinese influences more strongly into Vietnam. The Western influence came from the small group of Frenchmen who formed part of the international *mélange* the Nguyễn brought together to conquer the kingdom. This influence is par-

ticularly to be seen in the Vauban style of fortification adopted by the Nguyễn and blended with the Chinese ideological influence in building their new type of citadel.<sup>48</sup>

When the Nguyễn first gained power in 1802, one necessary initial task was to gather maps from all parts of the country and all prior regimes in order to begin the cartographic integration of Vietnam, now unified from China to Cambodia. The Nguyễn officials had to go beyond the frozen tradition of the Lê, based as it was

48. Alexander Barton Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model: A Comparative Study of Nguyễn and Ch'ing Civil Government in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 16.

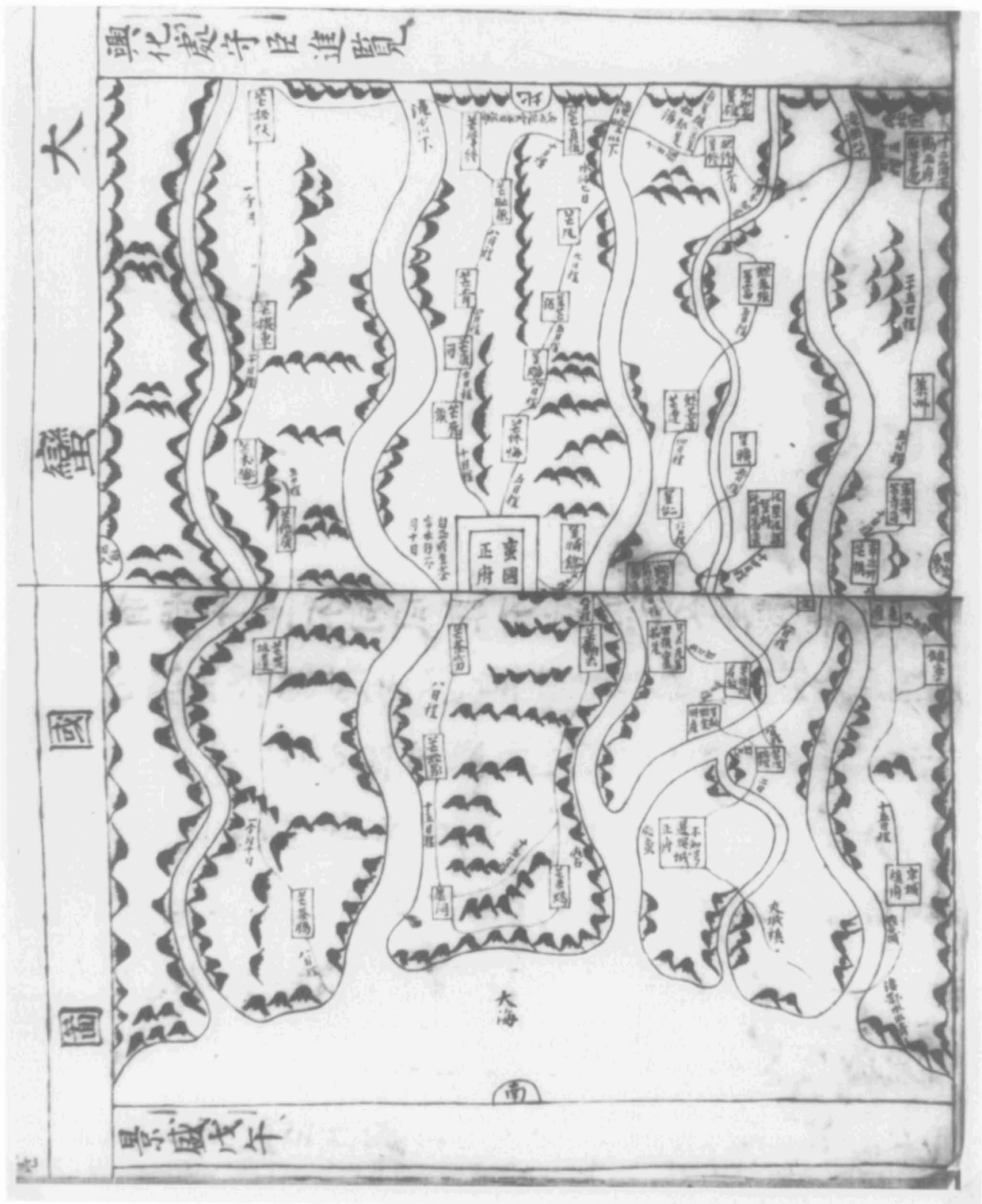


FIG. 12.15. ĐAI-MAN QUỐC-ĐỒ MAP. This 1798 (Tây-son) map of the Tai principalities to the west of Vietnam was drawn in the northwestern mountain province of Hưng-hóa and reflects its view of the Mekong, Chao Phraya, and possibly

Salween river systems (north is at the top [the book is rotated 90° counterclockwise]). Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2499).

on the fifteenth-century work, and add the territory that Vietnamese society had encompassed under its own regime in the south during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition, there was the broader Vietnamese knowledge of the international scene with which the Nguyễn had become so familiar during their years out of power. One result of this initial effort was the *Hồng-đức bản đồ* collection that I have used for the Lê period. Though it actually originated in the seventeenth century, the memory of its derivation from the greatness of the fifteenth century remained.

In addition to the international influences, two other elements need to be considered if we are to understand the cartographic development under the Nguyễn, one political, the other bibliographic. Although the Gia-long emperor reigned over all of Vietnam, now called Đại Nam (Great South), he chose not to rule directly in all parts of it. The Nguyễn court in Huế controlled central Vietnam (the old south and the base of its power for over two centuries) but decided to place viceroys in charge of the north and the far south. These viceroys, Nguyễn Văn Thành and Lê Văn Duyệt, respectively, thus stood between the throne and the people they administered.<sup>49</sup> In effect, the two were warlords. In the north, capital of the Lê dynasty and home of its officials, this indirect rule was meant to soothe injured feelings. In the south, the least developed section of the domain, it was merely convenient. In any case, this tripartite division hindered bureaucratic development throughout the country and hampered the accumulation of local data. The bureaucratic and cartographic development took place gradually over three decades. First, Thành in the north was removed in 1816 following the crisis over the newly appointed heir apparent, the future Minh-mạng emperor (1820–40). The latter, when he took the throne on his father's death in 1819, worked to extend the bureaucracy, but not in the south, where Duyệt held sway until he died in 1831. Only then did the throne move in, setting off a massive rebellion in 1833–34, which was crushed. Thus an integrated bureaucratic entity came to exist in Vietnam only in the mid-1830s, and the cartographic achievements followed suit.

The bibliographic development that occurred was a rejection of the atlas form used by the Lê and the adoption of the geography as it evolved under the Ming and Qing dynasties in China. This form was initially used by the Ming government in 1461 under the name *Da Ming yitong zhi* (Comprehensive gazetteer of the Great Ming). The phrase *yitong zhi* (Vietnamese *nhất thông chí*) would continue to be used for this form, and it appeared in Vietnam in the nineteenth century. The geography was organized by province and, within each section, dealt with a standard list of topics. The first such new geography to appear in Vietnam (though without maps) had

been the *Ô-châu cận-lục* (Modern record of Ô-châu), a study of the southern Thuận-an area from the sixteenth century during the Mạc dynasty. Now, in the surge of government borrowing from China, the Nguyễn chose to develop this form of writing, and the official country, capital, and provincial maps would eventually appear within it.

In 1806, probably not long after the compilation of the *Hồng-đức bản đồ* collection, Lê Quang Định completed the *Nhất-thông dư-địa chí* (Unified geography) for the Gia-long emperor. Even though it was without maps, it was similar to the work compiled by Đỗ Bá some 150 years earlier. Of the ten chapters, the first four cover routes south and north from the capital, now in the center at Huế, to the borders, and the final six look at the provinces without any particular topical organization.<sup>50</sup> As noted, the Nguyễn court in Huế during this first reign focused mainly on central Vietnam.

In the north, scholars carried on the Lê cartographic tradition as maps of the region appeared in various collections. In 1810 Đám Nghĩa Am compiled the *Thiên tải nhân đàm* (Concerning ideas of a thousand years), which reproduced the Lê atlas, following its basic pattern (such as the three-ridge mountains) while developing it stylistically. The map of the entire country provided a northerner's view of the southern expansion (fig. 12.16).<sup>51</sup> Just beyond Champa, Am put in Gia-định (the Saigon area), and in a new map of the “southwest” he followed it with Cambodia (Cao-miên) and Siam (Xiêm-la). In the process, he skipped over the southern coast lying between Gia-định and the old Cham capital. Other maps in the text, however, came from the southern *Binh-nam đồ* and cover this missing territory. Artistic touches that were added include tigers romping in the mountains, a crab on the shore, and fish in the sea. The old capital is no longer called the capital, just Thăng-long, and certain details were added to its map that appear to reflect contemporary reality. Somewhat later (1830), another such volume appeared, this time called the *Giao-châu dư-địa đồ* (Geographic maps of Giao-châu [an old Chinese name for northern Vietnam]), with three sections of maps.<sup>52</sup> Drawn in black ink, the maps have an overpainting in

49. Woodside, *Chinese Model*, 102–3, 136, 141–42, 220, 284–85 (note 48); Ralph B. Smith, “Politics and Society in Việt-Nam during the Early Nguyễn Period (1802–62),” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1974, 153–69.

50. A.1829; A.2667; Maspero, “Essai,” 543 (note 38); Leonard Arousseau, Review of Charles B. Maybon, *Histoire moderne du pays d'Annam (1592–1820)*, in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 20, no. 4 (1920): 73–121, esp. 83 n; Ralph B. Smith, “Sino-Vietnamese Sources for the Nguyễn Period: An Introduction,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30 (1967): 600–621, esp. 609; Thái, “Lời nói đầu,” x (note 3).

51. HM2125; Bùi, “Bản đồ,” 52 (note 2); Schwartzberg notes.

52. HM2240; A.2716 (reel 143, no. 267a); Schwartzberg notes.

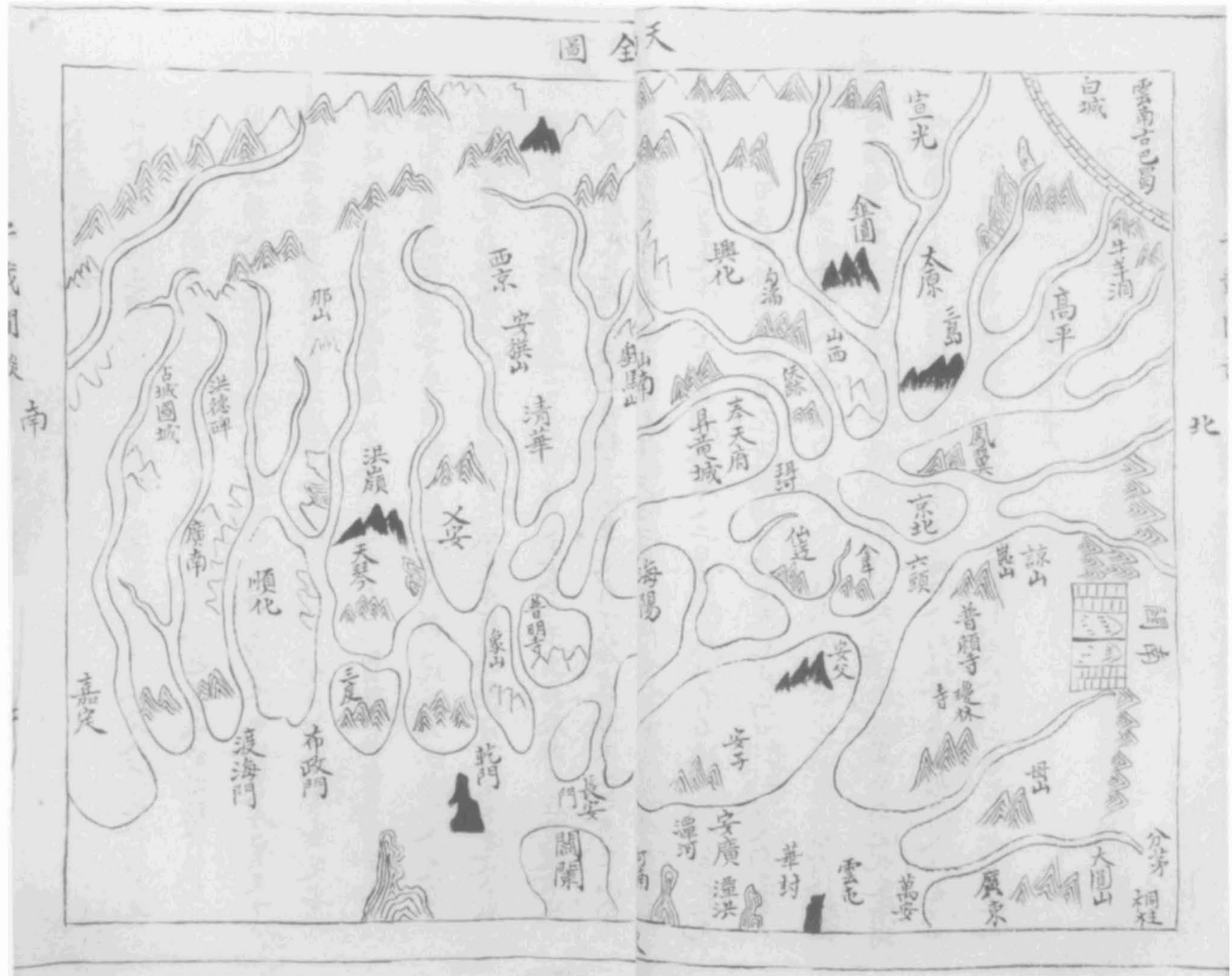


FIG. 12.16. *THIÊN TÀI NHÂN ĐẦM* MAP OF THE COUNTRY. This 1810 (Nguyễn) copy of the late fifteenth-century map of Đại Việt (or Thiên-nam) shows the traditional northern (Lê) view of the country and its limited concern for the Viet-

namese extension to the south (Gia-định) (west is at the top). Compare figure 12.3. Size of each folio: ca. 25.3 × 18.7 cm. By permission of the Société Asiatique, Paris (HM2125).

gray for water and shading in the mountains and red on the roads. The illustrations of the mountains go from the three-ridge style to a style representing more naturalistically the strongly vertical karst landscape, though in places more rounded than before. Interestingly, the islands off the coast, instead of being drawn merely as mountains jutting out of the water, are shown in perspective, with shoreline surrounding the peaks (fig. 12.17). The result is a better topographic sense and the beginning of a more realistic approach being taken by the Vietnamese cartographers. Even so, artistic touches appear here as well, including elephants and monkeys. The work also reproduces the map of the Great Man country—the Thai world—in a clearer format while leaving out some detail (such as a reference to Yunnan). A few years after

Dàm Nghĩa Am's text, there appeared the *Bắc-thành địa-dư chí* (Geographic record of the north), an examination of the northern provinces, again without maps. Each of the eleven provinces and the old capital (Thăng-long) had its own chapter.<sup>53</sup>

The south, operating almost independently under the viceroy Lê Văn Duyệt, had its own mapping efforts. In 1816, Trần Văn Học completed his map of Gia-định Province (the Saigon region), providing a planimetric view and strongly showing Western influence (fig. 12.18). Học,

53. A.1565 (reel 17, no. 45, and reel 143, no. 264a); A.81 (reel 188, no. 435; French copy); Maspero, "Essai," 543 (note 38); Arousseau, Review of Maybon, 83–84 n (note 50); Smith, "Sino-Vietnamese Sources," 608 (note 50); Thái, "Lời nói đầu," x (note 3); Woodside, *Chinese Model*, 142 (note 48).

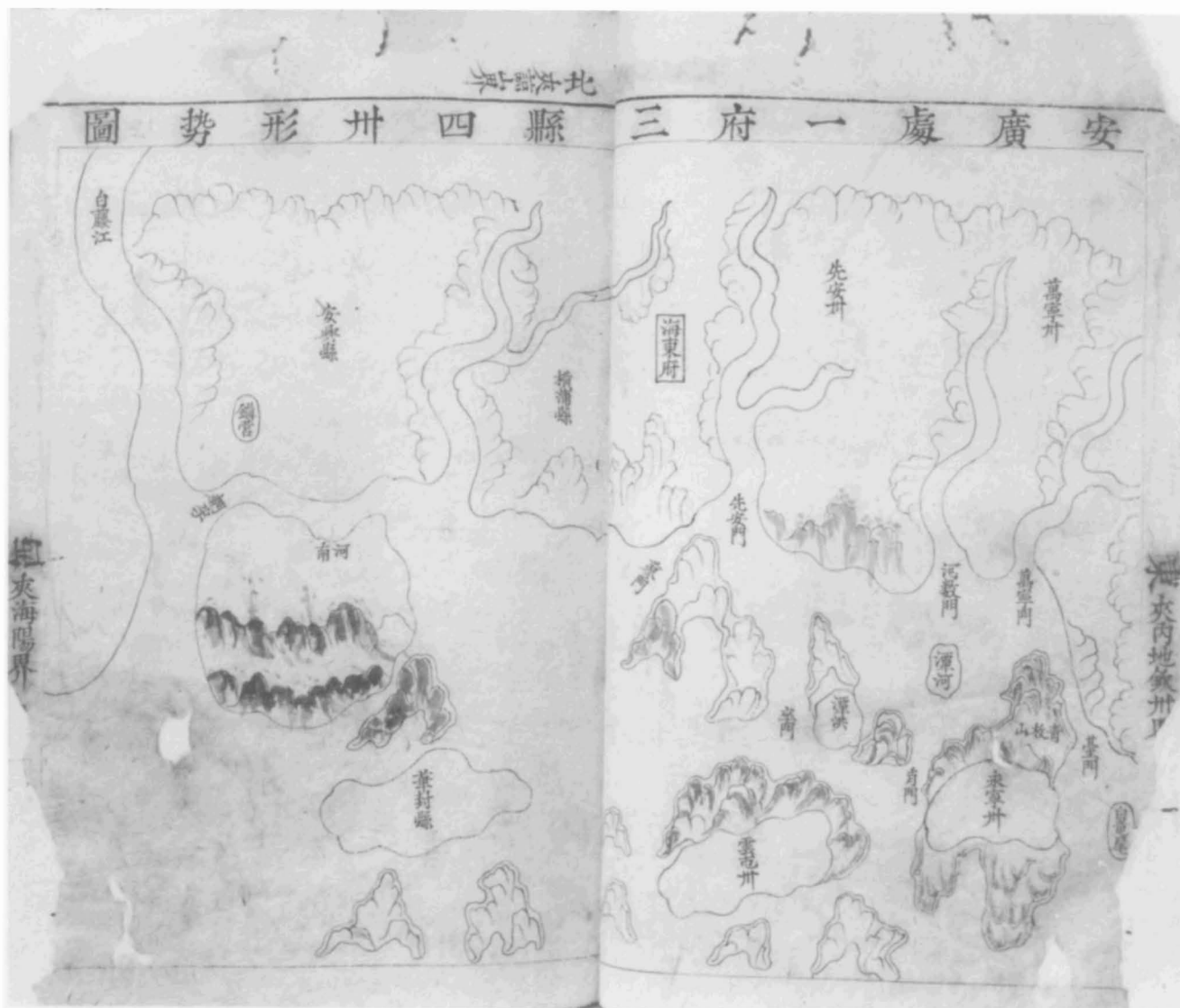


FIG. 12.17. GIAO-CHÂU DƯ-ĐỊA ĐỒ, A PROVINCE. This 1830 (Nguyễn) map of An-quang Province in northeastern Vietnam was a northern production but was drawn with a European-

style perspective of the islands (west is at the top). Size of each folio: ca. 25.3 × 17 cm. By permission of the Société Asiatique, Paris (HM2240).

long a companion of the Gia-long emperor, had had contact with the French in India and during the long campaign to conquer the country in the 1790s. He was involved in building the first of the Nguyễn's Vauban-style citadels, that of Saigon, in 1790 and became the main architect for later construction. The map well reflects Học's abilities in this direction. No longer do we have the sketched-in, impressionistic drawings of the Lê. The rivers give a sense of more precise measurement, and the citadel shows its Vauban origins. The roads, paths, and walls seem accurate, with buildings and ponds outlined along them. Unlike the earlier maps of Thăng-long in the north, this map provides a sense of the ordinary and commercial life going on within the city. However, no hills or changes in elevation are shown. Notations

provide the locations of various significant natural and human features, but unlike the Lê maps, there are no drawings of temples or other buildings. All is strictly orthogonal, with no frontal views (as of temples, gates, walls, and such).<sup>54</sup> Then, in the 1820s, the former governor of the south, Trịnh Hoài Đức, compiled the *Gia-định thành thông-chí* (Geography of Gia-định) covering the five provinces of the southern region, also without maps.<sup>55</sup> Within a decade, there appeared the *Nam-kỳ hội-đồ* (Collected maps of the south) with maps of the

54. Thái, "Interprétation" (note 3).

55. A.1561 (reel 100, no. 154); Smith, "Sino-Vietnamese Sources," 609-10 (note 50); Thái, "Lời nói đầu," x (note 3).



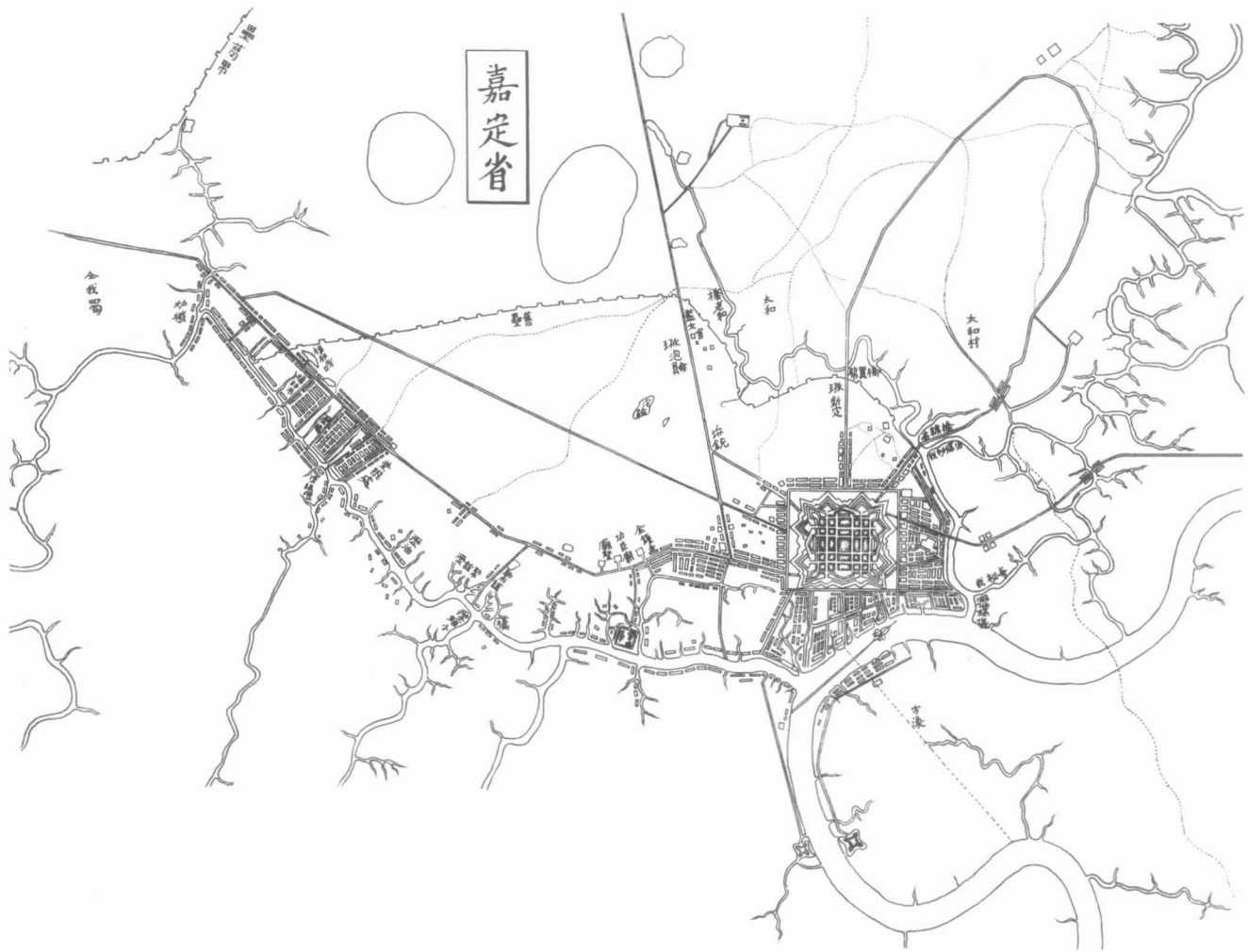


FIG. 12.18. GIA-ĐỊNH TỈNH, MAP OF SAIGON. This redrawing of the 1816 (Nguyễn) map depicts Saigon and its environs in a planimetric view using a European style, as drawn by the southerner Trần Văn Học (north is at the top).

Size of the redrawing: ca. 27.3 × 38 cm. From Thái Văn Kiểm, "Interprétation d'une carte ancienne de Saigon," *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, n.s., 37, no. 4 (1962): 409–31, esp. fig. 29.

entire country and of each of the now six provinces. These maps were also European in style.<sup>56</sup>

As I noted previously, the bureaucratic integration of the country occurred slowly through the 1820s and into the 1830s. In 1833 the Minh-mạng emperor had the *Hoàng-Việt địa-dư chí* (Geography of imperial Vietnam) compiled. It was quite brief, covering the country in only two chapters, focusing on the center and the north, still with no maps. A map of Hà-nội (the new name for Thăng-long) in the early 1830s now shows the same precision and design as Trần Văn Học's southern map fifteen years earlier.<sup>57</sup> Only in the late 1830s was Đại Nam sufficiently integrated to have equal information from all the provinces. While the detailed results would not be seen for several decades, we begin to get an effort to show the whole of Vietnam as it had come to be under the

Minh-mạng emperor. The apparent first attempt in this direction, the *Đại-Nam* (or *Nam-Việt bản-đồ* (Maps of Đại Nam), reflects the old tradition. It was a new edition, redrawn in a somewhat different style, of the *Hồng-đức bản-đồ* collection from over three decades earlier. It contained the Lê atlas, the four northern itineraries (*Thiên-nam tứ-chí lộ-đồ thư*), the Cao-bằng maps, the southern itinerary (*Binh-nam đồ*), and the map of the Thai world (*Đại-Man quốc-đồ*). What points to this decade as the collection's time of origin is that Cambodia is noted as Cao-miên Phủ (prefecture) and that it no longer contains

56. A.95 (reel 13, no. 29); Woodside, *Chinese Model*, 142 (note 48).

57. A.71 (reel 12, no. 25); A.1074 (reel 135, no. 220); Maspero, "Essai," 544 (note 38); Arousseau, *Review of Maybon*, 83 n (note 50); Smith, "Sino-Vietnamese Sources," 609 (note 50); Hoàng, *Thăng Long*, plate between 54 and 55 (note 25).

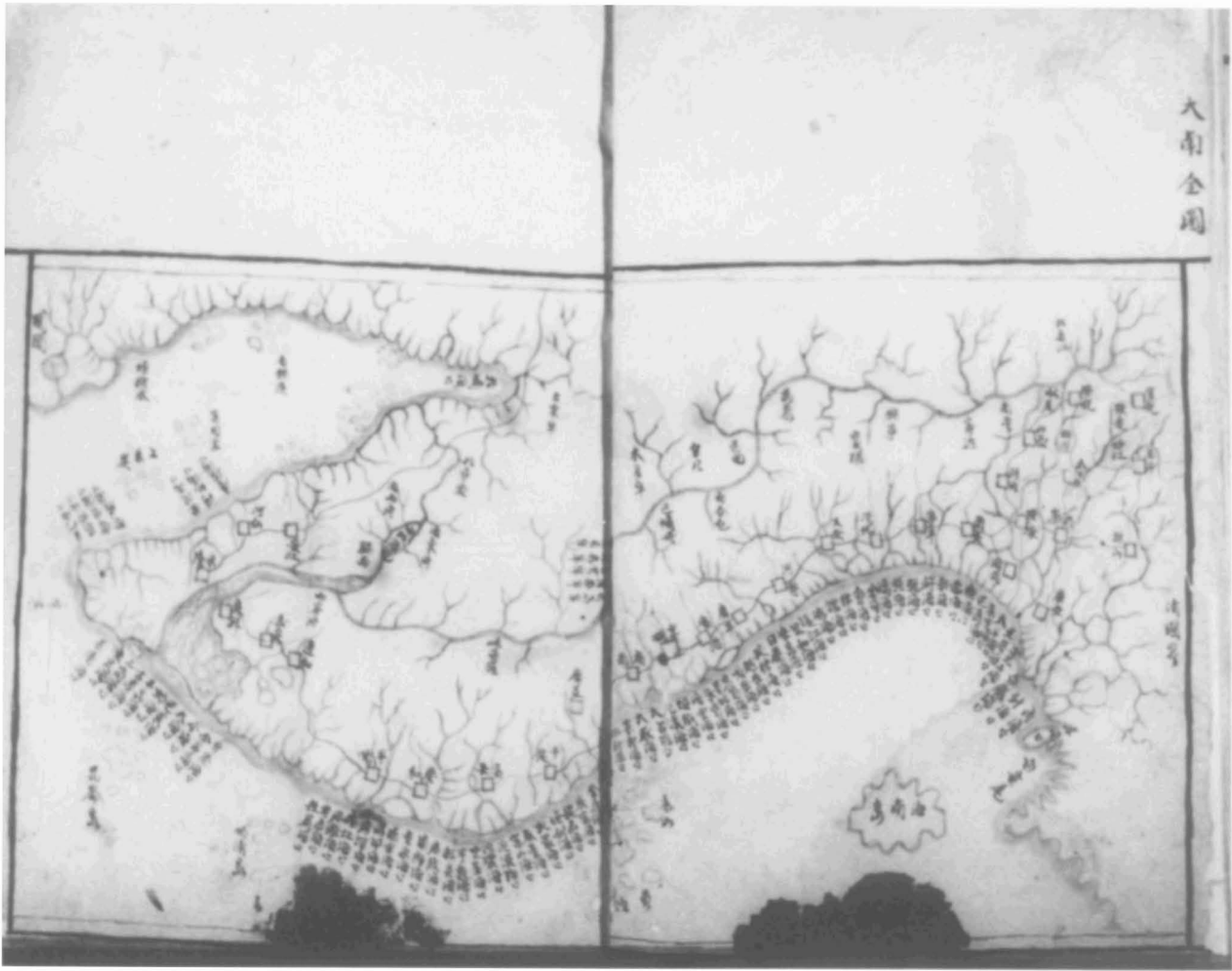


FIG. 12.19. MAP OF THE COUNTRY IN THE ĐÀI-NAM TỒAN-ĐỒ. The 1839 (Nguyễn) map of the entire country of Đại Nam portrays a better sense of the Mekong River system and the great lake in Cambodia (west is at the top). It is drawn in a European style.

Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.2559).

the drawing of Angkor.<sup>58</sup> Thus Cambodia had lost its sovereignty, as symbolized by Angkor, and had become in Vietnamese eyes a part of their own administrative apparatus. This was the result of Vietnam's temporary conquest of Cambodia in the mid-1830s.

At the same time, the Vietnamese court had become relatively open to technological and military advances from the West.<sup>59</sup> Thus encouraged, other Vietnamese cartographers had begun to use Western techniques in drawing a new set of maps for the now integrated country, which stretched all the way to the Gulf of Thailand. In 1839 there appeared the *Đại-Nam toàn-đồ* (Complete maps of Đại Nam).<sup>60</sup> The map of the entire country shows thirty-two provinces (including Cambodia) and eighty-two estuaries extending along the entire coastline of nineteenth-century Vietnam (fig. 12.19). This map has

taken on the more realistic Western form, showing with greater accuracy the shape of the coast and the hydrographic complexities, even of the Mekong River system (as the great lake of Cambodia). The provincial maps are individualized, are European in outline, and concentrate more on the natural features. They show the river systems in a dendritic manner, and though the mountains are only jotted in, using a simple three-ridge style, many of them are named. Large forests are also shown. The maps seem to be newly drawn, breaking with the previous tradition. Yet about this time there appeared two maps now contained in a copy of the northern set of itineraries, called

58. A.1603 (reel 139, no. 245); Schwartzberg notes; *Hồng-đức bản đồ*, x (n. 4), xxiv (n. 5) (note 1).

59. Woodside, *Chinese Model*, 281–84 (note 48).

60. A.2559 (reel 18, no. 43).

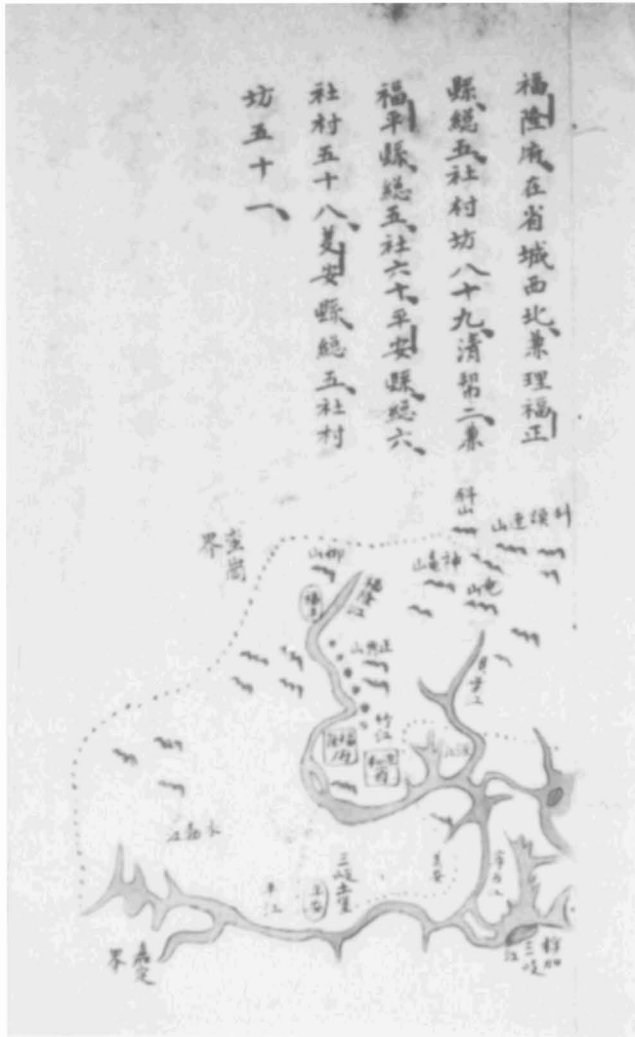
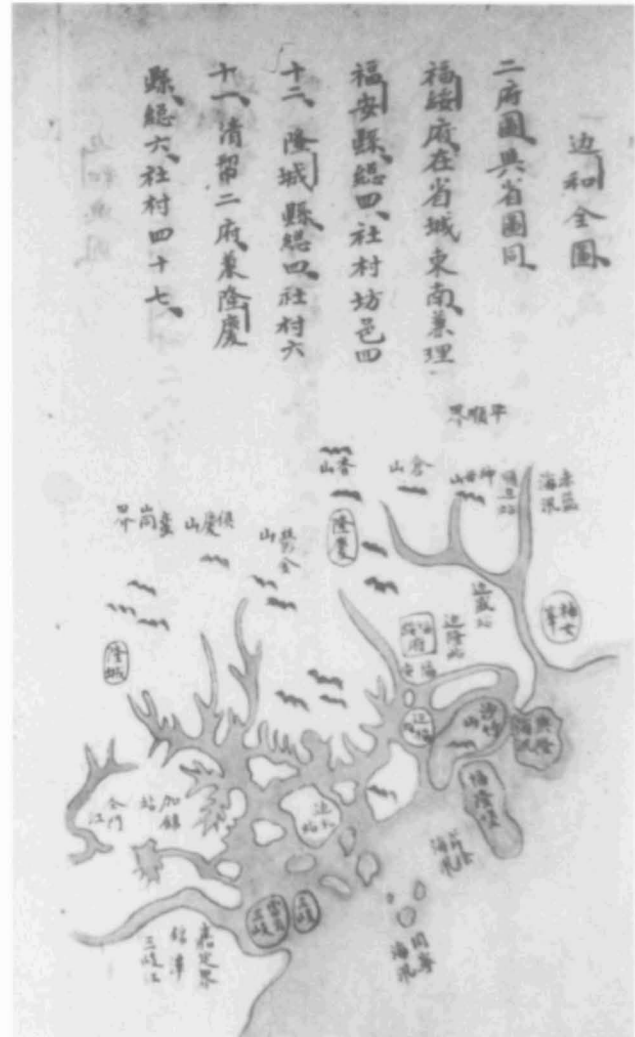


FIG. 12.20. MAP OF A PROVINCE FROM THE ĐẠI-NAM NHẤT-THỐNG DU-ĐỒ. This map from an early 1860s national atlas shows Biên-hòa Province in the south.



Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.68).

*Thiên-nam tứ-chí lộ-đồ thư dẫn* (Introduction to the book of maps of the major routes of *Thiên-nam*), that are simpler, more traditional versions of the map of the entire country in the *Đại-Nam toàn-đồ*.<sup>61</sup> All three maps show Indochina, its estuaries, and the coastline around to Cambodia (as well as the latter's great lake) from a similar perspective. The latter two maps, one simpler than the other, thus share much with the 1839 map but are less precise.

Also in the *Thư dẫn* manuscript is a sky chart, showing only patterns of stars. No identification is offered for any star or cluster of stars, and no title exists for the celestial map itself. It is merely attached to the manuscript. The only other sky chart I have seen in the Vietnamese documents is a clearly Chinese one included in a later edition of the *Thiên-hạ bản-đồ* (Maps of all under heaven [the

empire]), the original name of the Lê atlas. Here the stars and star clusters are named and linked to the zodiac. In addition, at the center of the sky chart and oriented to it is an oversimplified, unscientific map of China and East Asia. Although it shows Korea, Japan, and the Ryūkyūs, the view of Vietnam (*An-nam*) and Southeast Asia gives no indication of Vietnamese knowledge. It is the only map of East Asia I have seen in any Vietnamese manuscript.<sup>62</sup>

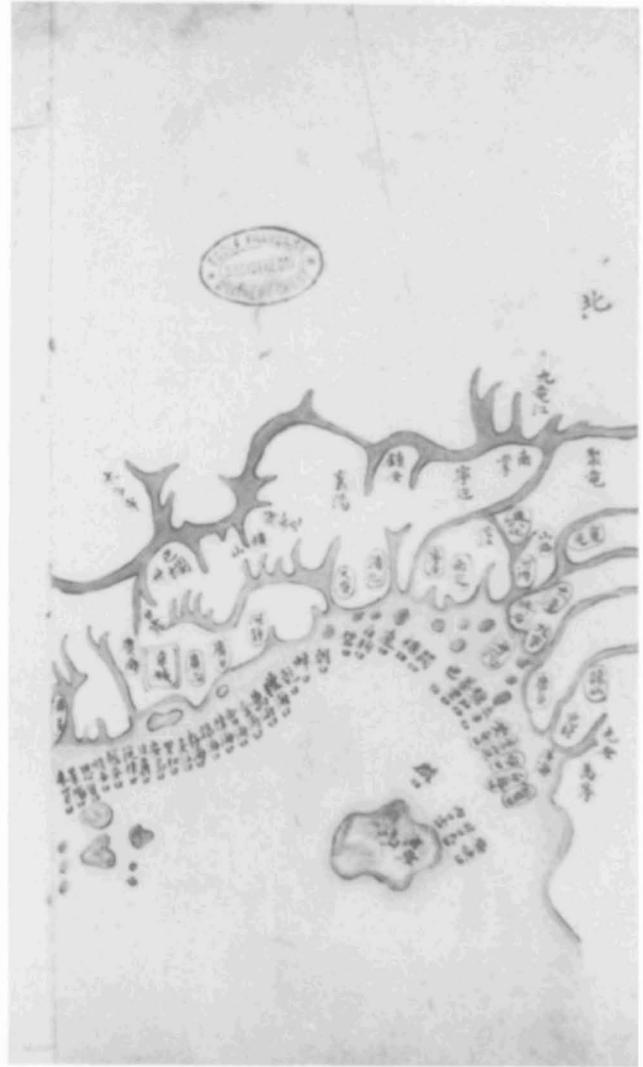
Although the *Thiệu-trị* emperor (1841–47) also put together a short geography of his country (the *Đại-Nam thông-chí* [Record of Đại Nam]), it was the following *Tự-đức* emperor (1848–84) who was able to produce the

61. A.73 (reels 9–11, no. 22); A.588 (reel 156, no. 305); Woodside, *Chinese Model*, 145 (note 48); Schwartzberg notes.

62. A.1362 (reel 21, no. 55); Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France, B.439–40.



FIG. 12.21. MAP OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE ĐẠI-NAM NHẤT-THÔNG DU-ĐỒ. From the same manuscript as figure 12.20, this map shows all of Đại Nam as well as bordering countries.



Photograph courtesy of Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (microfilm collection, A.68).

major geographic work of his dynasty, finally integrating the geographical text with the maps. First, in the early 1860s, his court produced the *Đại-Nam nhất-thông du-đồ* (Geographic maps of the unity of Đại Nam). Here we have maps of the provinces (and even of some prefectures) encompassing all of Vietnam to the southernmost province of An-giang.<sup>63</sup> These maps show some Western influence in their boundaries, river systems, and coastlines. The style in general, however, has the standard three ridge mountains scattered about and other physical features similar to the Lê pattern (fig. 12.20). The map of the country has become more international, showing more of the surrounding countries than earlier maps had done. The Mekong River system, for example, is better understood (fig. 12.21).

This work forms the bridge between the *Đại-Nam toàn-đồ* of the 1830s and the major project to follow. It continued and brought forward the new realistic emphasis from Europe, which the Vietnamese joined to the Chinese geographic tradition. The new work, the *Đại-Nam nhất-thông chí* (Record of the unity of Đại Nam), based on the *Da Qing yitong zhi* (Comprehensive gazetteer of the Great Qing realm, completed 1746) in China, was begun in 1865 and completed in 1882. For the capital of Huế, the capital region (Thừa-thiên), and each of the twenty-nine provinces, there is a map and a description following the Chinese pattern: the province

63. A.3142 (reel 138, no. 240); A.490; A.1307 (reel 19, no. 52); A.68 (reel 13, no. 28); A.1600 (reel 137, no. 230).

as a whole, its constituent parts, physical nature, climate, customs, cities, schools, taxes, mountains, rivers, temples, biographies, and products.<sup>64</sup>

The TỰ-ĐỨC geography was the only one in the nineteenth century to cover the entire country. This was so even though the six southern provinces were lost by the end of 1867. The emperor never gave up hope of reacquiring them, and the cartography represented the wish to reintegrate the land. Immediately after the French conquest of northern and central Vietnam in 1884–85, the new ĐÔNG-KHÁNH emperor (1885–89) brought out his own geography, the *Đông-khánh địa-dư chí-lược* (Geographic summary of the Đông-khánh era), more Europeanized still and covering just central and northern Vietnam. There also appeared during this reign a collection of maps called the *Đại-Nam quốc cương-giới vị-biên* [or *vung-biên*] (Boundaries of Đại Nam), by Hoàng Hữu Xứng.<sup>65</sup> There is one map for the entire country, one for the capital, and one for each of the thirty-one provinces. The country map is about halfway between the traditional style and that of the West. The Indochinese peninsula is generally recognizable, but the form of the coastline is like the old style. The Mekong system resembles that of the *Đại-Nam nhất-thông dư-đồ* map. The provincial maps are similar, partway between the realistic and the traditional styles.

Then, two decades afterward (1909) under the Duy-tân emperor (1907–16), a reedition of the *Đại-Nam nhất-thông chí* came out, though only for central Vietnam. This edition has seventeen chapters, with a map for each, covering eleven provinces, the capital, and the capital region, plus maps for the country, for central Vietnam, and for the forbidden city within the capital. These maps are even more Western in style, with the four points of the compass shown and a legend defining the signs used on the map (including railroads). The rivers and coastlines are quite realistic, but mountains are not shown.<sup>66</sup>

By this time, Vietnamese scholars under French colonial control had begun to develop a new style, one less realistic and more Sinic. We see this in two map collections. The first, the *Nam bắc kỳ hoa đồ* (Illustrated maps of the northern and southern regions), is a copy of the early 1860s *Đại-Nam nhất-thông dư-đồ*. It shows the developing realistic influence of French cartography. But it also has decided Chinese features—a roiling sea and the vertical, karst-style mountains. The second collection is a curious pastiche of earlier works. Called the *Tiên-Lê Nam-Việt bản-đồ mô-bản* (Copy of the atlas of Vietnam of the former Lê dynasty), it is an artistic, colorful rendering (with a few errors) of the Lê atlas.<sup>67</sup> Tạ Trọng Hiệp believes it comes from the early twentieth century, produced by scholars working for the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi.<sup>68</sup> The one addition to the

Lê atlas is the last map, a new drawing of the country map from the *Đại-Nam toàn-đồ* of 1839. This map shows the coastline and river systems of Indochina. Yet its rendering is a step away from the realistic Western style of the nineteenth century and a move toward the impressionistic Sinic style. In effect, these two works seem to represent a choice by Vietnamese literati in the French colonial system to reject scientific detail for artistic Chinese style.

Other maps from the middle to late nineteenth century are of the citadels adapted by the Nguyễn from the French Vauban style. The Archive d'Outre-Mer has a number of such maps, those of Hà-nội, Sơn-tây, Tuyên-quang, Nam-định, and Nha-trang.<sup>69</sup> Each is drawn somewhat differently, but all in Western style, reflecting variety therein as well as in the designs of the walls themselves. Yet despite the differences, all these maps reflect the continuity from the original Vauban design as well as from Trần Văn Học's 1816 Gia-định map. These maps, however, are not the urban maps that Học's was. In this sense they are more like the maps of Thăng-long from the Lê period, showing only the walls and certain government and court ritual buildings, not the common, commercial life.

The French, in their sweep across northern Vietnam in the 1880s, seem to have availed themselves of local maps to aid their efforts. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich hold maps that the French apparently picked up and used in the campaign.<sup>70</sup> They may even have copied or commissioned some of them in order to gain local knowledge of the terrain. The existence of romanized script (*quốc ngữ*) on the maps indicates their adaptation to French needs. Three maps are of Hà-nội, two others of Ninh-binh and Nam-định, provinces in the southern portion of the Red River Delta, two of Sơn-tây Province, and the other six of mountain areas to the north and north-

64. A.1448 (reel 20, no. 54); A.69 (reel 191, no. 457); Maspero, "Essai," 544–45 (note 38); Arousseau, Review of Maybon, 83 n (note 50); Smith, "Sino-Vietnamese Sources," 609 (note 50); Thái, "Lời nói đầu," x–xi (note 3).

65. HM2133; A.1342 (reel 179, no. 395); A.748 (reel 145[2], no. 2586).

66. A.537 (reels 9–11, no. 17); HM2133; Arousseau, Review of Maybon, 83 n (note 50); Smith, "Sino-Vietnamese Sources," 609 (note 50); Thái, "Lời nói đầu," xi (note 3); Tạ, "Fonds," 284–85 (note 36); Schwartzberg notes.

67. Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, Viet.A.Geo.4; Schwartzberg notes.

68. A.95 (reel 13, no. 29); Tạ, "Fonds," 285–86, pls. 5–6 (note 36).

69. Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France, Est. A.80–81, 83, 85, and B.331; Schwartzberg notes.

70. Département des Cartes et Plans, Res. Ge. A.394–96, 15298, D.9069–71, 9148, F.9443–44; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Sin. 82–84; Schwartzberg notes.

west (Lào-cai, Thái-nguyên, and Lạng-son). The maps continue the earlier mode, being generally drawn in black ink with other colors used to illustrate different features (roads in red, rivers in blue, and mountains in brown or gray). Citadels (Hà-nội and in the provinces) are drawn to show their Vauban characteristics. These thirteen maps provide some indication of the cartography available locally in the north during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Other local maps also exist from the Nguyễn period. The card catalog from the collection in Hanoi lists a number of village maps, but I have seen no example of them.<sup>71</sup> Another type of local map was most significant for the central government, the land record (*địa bộ*). These records, village by village, show each piece of land in outline, along with its dimensions and type. The government undertook the surveys somewhat piecemeal, though we as yet know little of how the officials proceeded (some of the records have been lost). In dealing with land and land taxes from 1836 to 1875, the Nguyễn government divided its territory into three zones similar to, but not exactly the same as, its earlier political jurisdictions. In the old Đại Việt of earlier centuries, from Hà-tĩnh to the Chinese border, the taxes were heavy on communal lands and light on private lands. In central Vietnam, from Quảng-bình to Khánh-hòa, taxes were moderate and equal on both communal and private lands. In southern Vietnam, from Bình-thuận through the Mekong Delta, taxes were light in general. The development of the land records followed these same zones. The oldest records were undertaken in the first years of the dynasty (1805–6) in the nine northernmost provinces of the first zone. Then, from 1810 to 1818, the surveys took place in the central zone. No original surveys exist from the Gia-long period for the four provinces in the southern section of the first zone or in the third zone to the south. About 1830, the northern and central surveys already done were confirmed, then the four provinces not yet done in the first zone held their surveys in the early 1830s. Finally, the provinces of the southern zone held theirs in 1836 following the defeat of Lê Văn Khôi's rebellion in the mid-1830s. Right after that, in 1837–40, four marginal northern provinces were resurveyed, and evidence exists for mapping of newly developed lands in the south.<sup>72</sup>

The final set of Vietnamese maps that concern us are quite different ones, and they bring us back to where we began—the pattern of mountain and water. These maps are diagrams of the Nguyễn imperial tombs (fig. 12.22). Differing greatly from Western diagrams of the tombs, they feature both mountains and water and reflect the increasingly strong Sinic influence of the Nguyễn period. Stein has pointed out the strong parallel between tombs and the miniature gardens he has studied.<sup>73</sup> Even as the

Vietnamese became more Sinic through the nineteenth century, these maps show that they retained the basic magical elements of mountains and water that underlay their cartography into the modern era.

## CONCLUSION

The development of Vietnamese cartography followed efforts of the governments to centralize and extend their control over the country. Mapping was linked to the bureaucracy, and the atlases were meant to show the locations of the different jurisdictions, often recording as well the number and types of villages in each district. The Vietnamese government sought to gain access to the resources of the realm, human and material. These resources came out of the villages, and the maps were meant to show their spread. Thus premodern Vietnamese maps as they exist today were tied strongly to the government's adoption of the Chinese model, and with it the Chinese mode of bureaucracy. That the maps were generally Sinic in style followed therefrom. The atlases served as bureaucratic tools in the efforts of the imperial court to manage the villages. In the earlier centuries, during the Lý and Trần dynasties when indirect control was the norm, the Vietnamese throne had had neither the control nor the inclination to map the country. During the Lê and Nguyễn dynasties the bureaucracy provided the means, and its purpose—resource control—the aim for doing so. Thus the major efforts at mapping (or reproducing earlier maps) took place at times of bureaucratic strength: the last third of the fifteenth century, the second half of the seventeenth century, the 1830s, and the 1860s.

Vietnamese mapping was internal, not external. The itineraries mainly led to the borders, north and south, and no farther. The southern route first went to the capital of Champa, but this territory soon became Vietnam-

71. A.1844, 1895–96, 2964 from the microfilm of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient catalog list (reel 3, nos. 8–9).

72. Smith, "Sino-Vietnamese Sources," 616–17 (note 50); Nguyễn Thê Anh, "La réforme de l'impôt foncier de 1875 au Viet-Nam," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 78 (1991): 287–96, esp. 288–89. No illustration exists of the *địa bộ*. My description derives from personal observation of the documents in Da Lat during my visit there with Ralph Smith in March 1966. This material, not yet studied to my knowledge, apparently is now held in Ho Chi Minh City. On the mapping of newly developed land in the south, 1838–40, see Paul J. Bennett, "Two Southeast Asian Ministers and Reactions to European Conquest: The Kinwun Mingyi and Phan-thanh-Gian," in *Conference under the Tamarind Tree: Three Essays in Burmese History* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1971), 103–42, esp. 110, and Louis Malleret and Georges Taboulet, eds., "Foire Exposition de Saigon, Pavillon de l'Histoire, la Cochinchine dans le passé," *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, n.s., 17, no. 3 (1942): 1–133, esp. 40–42.

73. Stein, *World in Miniature*, 104, 111–12 (note 6); Thái, *Cô đô Huế*, pls. 29, 36 (note 3).

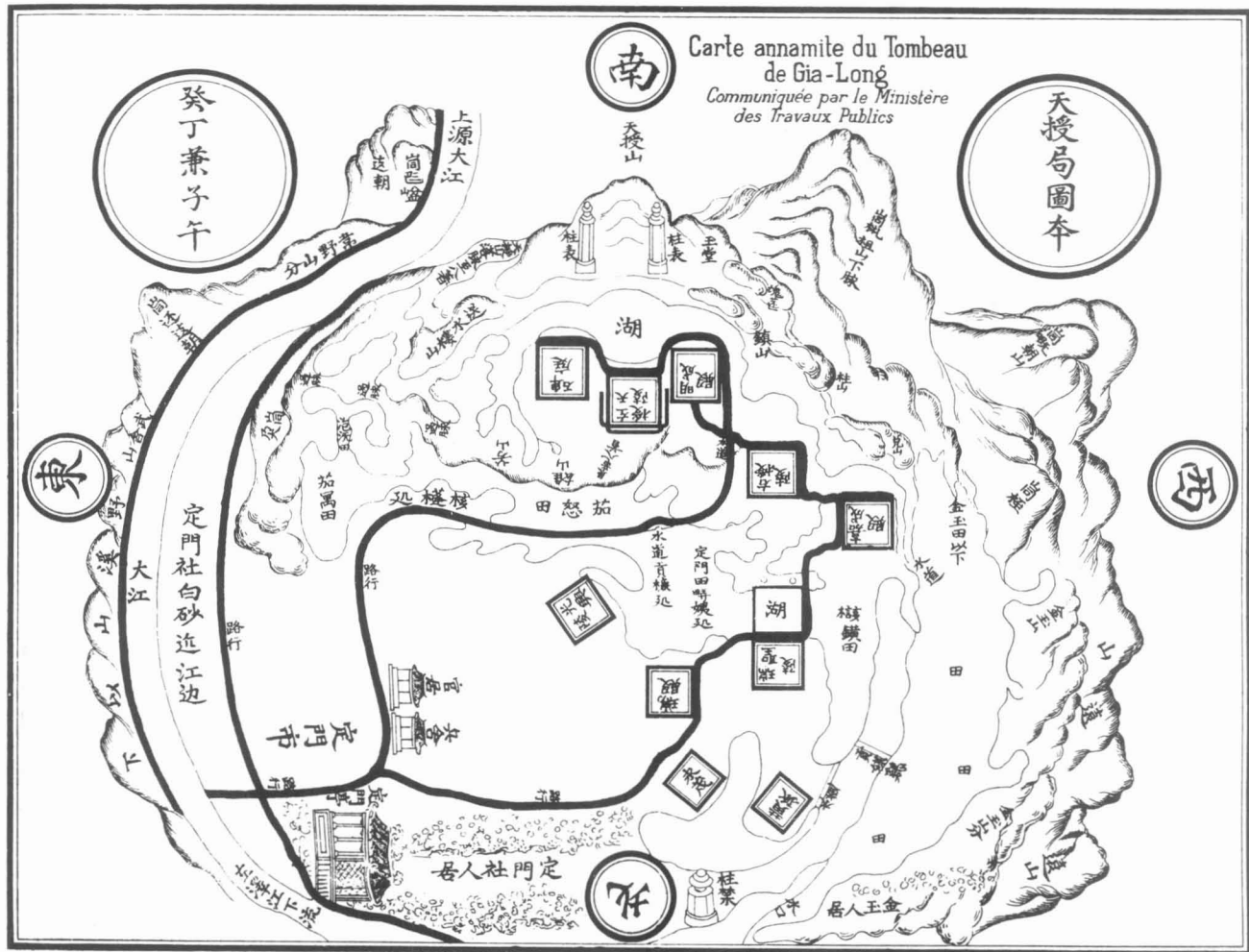


FIG. 12.22. THE NGUYỄN TOMBS, HUẾ. This redrawing of the Vietnamese diagram of the Gia-long emperor's tomb with the rare (imperial) southern orientation shows again the cosmological mix of water and mountains.

From Charles Patris and L. Cadière, *Les Tombeaux de Hué: Gia-Long* (Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1923), pl. XXI.

ese. It eventually went to Angkor, which in turn became (temporarily) part of Vietnam. Only the routes into China and Siam were non-Vietnamese subjects of Vietnamese cartography, and these were by land. Sea routes, as illustrated in charts, are not to be found. However, the international contacts of the Vietnamese in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did lead to inclusion of more of mainland Southeast Asia in maps of the country. Still, East Asian, general Asian, and world maps are essentially unknown in the Vietnamese collections. The itineraries supply interesting descriptive detail for Vietnam itself and remain within the cultural framework of the pre-1800 style. They do not seem to have made the change into the realistic style of the mid-nineteenth century. The new style seems to have been reserved for the government atlases.

This chapter marks a beginning, and many questions inevitably remain. Much more work is still to be done on Vietnamese maps, using both those documents on microfilm and the manuscripts held in Hanoi. Such work will undoubtedly bring forth significant cartographic materials, the interpretation of which will change the synthesis supplied here. In particular, we must examine the documentation of the nineteenth century more closely in order to gain a better sense of the cartographic efforts of the Nguyễn government. We need to understand better both the Western and the Chinese elements available to the Vietnamese and their use of them. Overall, we must use the cartographic materials to further our understanding of Vietnamese society and its development in the early modern world.