

# Vân-đôn

## A Trade Port in Vietnam

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### I. The Prosperity of Vân-đôn 雲屯

Vân-đôn was the major trade port of Vietnam for a long period of time. Its importance is attested by the numerous generally terse entries in the official history of the country, *Đại-Việt Sử-kí Toàn-thư* 大越史記全書, where we find the following passages concerning Vân-đôn.

A. Lý Anh-tôn 李英宗, the tenth year of Đại-định 大定 (1149 A. D.). In the second month of spring, trading ships from the three countries, Qua-oa 瓜哇, Lô-hạc 路貉 and Tiem-la 暹羅, entered the Hải-đông 海東 (East of the Sea). They asked for a place to live and sell their wares. On an island they were allowed to establish a settlement, called Vân-đôn 雲屯 where they bought and sold precious commodities. They also presented tributary goods to the Court.

B. Lý Cao-tôn 李高宗, the ninth year of Trinh-phù 貞符 (1184 A. D.). Traders from Tiêm-la, Tam-phật-tế 三佛齊 and other countries entered Vân-đôn market town, presented the tributary goods to the Court, and asked to be allowed to trade.

C. Trần Nhân-tôn 陳仁宗, the seventh year of Thiệu-bảo 紹寶. [Trần] Lộng 弄 who was the Upper Grade Hầu (Marquis) Văn-chiều 文昭侯 surrendered to Thoât-hoan 脫驪 (the Mongol General). Previously [Trần] Ich-Tắc 益稷 who was Vương (Prince) Chiêu-quốc 昭國, Phạm Cự-Địa 范巨地, Lê Diễn 黎演, Trịnh Long 鄭隆 and others, along with their families had surrendered to the Nguyên (Yüan). Originally Ich-Tắc . . . sent a private letter to a merchant of Vân-đôn asking the Nguyên troops to come down to the south. When the Mongols invaded, he actually surrendered.

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\* This article is a translation of the Japanese text as it was published in 1939, *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報, Tōkyō, Vol. 9. pp. 277-309, with no later additions.

D. Trần Nhân-tôn, the third year of Trùng-hung 重興 (1287 A. D.). At this time the Nguyễn (Yüan) navy attacked Vân-đồn. Hung-đạo Vương (興道王 Trần Quốc-Tuân 陳國峻) left the affairs of the borderland entirely in the hands of Nhân-huệ Vương [Trần] Khánh-Dư 仁惠王 [陳]慶餘, who was the adjutant general of Vân-đồn. Khánh-Dư fought and was defeated. When the ex-emperor [Thần Thánh-tôn 陳聖宗] heard about the defeat, he sent a private envoy with orders that Khánh-Dư be sent to the court in chains. Khánh-Dư told the envoy that he would willingly accept punishment in accordance with military regulations, but asked for two or three days to try out a recovery stratagem, saying that if he was defeated, it would not be too late to behead him. The envoy granted his request. Khánh-Dư calculated that since the barbarian army had already crossed over, their transport ships would be right behind them. Therefore, he gathered his remaining soldiers and waited for them. Soon the transports arrived as he had expected. He fell upon them and won a victory, capturing a vast quantity of provisions and weapons and took numerous prisoners as well. He immediately sent a report to the court. [Upon receipt of the news,] the ex-emperor forgave his earlier crime and said, "The grain and weapons on which the Nguyễn 元 army depended are now ours. But since they have not been so informed, they may behave violently." Then he released the prisoners and let them go to the Nguyễn camp and tell in detail what had happened. The Nguyễn withdrew as expected. Thus, the common people suffered less severely than the precious year. This was largely due to Khánh-Dư. When Khánh-Dư was first appointed to govern Vân-đồn, the people there customarily depended on trade for their livelihoods. They relied on the "guests from the north" for whatever they ate, drank and wore. And for this reason they customarily wore "northern" clothing. After reviewing the militia of villages, Khánh-Dư issued an order which said that since Vân-đồn's local troops were used for defence against the Northern barbarians (Chinese), they should not wear Northern-style hats which made them hard to distinguish from their foes in the heat of battle. He commanded that they wear instead *Ma-lôi* 麻雷 hats, [Note] "hats made of woven bamboo named after a village called Ma-lôi of the village (*hương* 鄉) of the circuit Hồng 洪路", and said that any who disobeyed this order would be punished. But Khánh-Dư had first ordered his own family's people to buy *Ma-lôi* hats, and their ship anchored in the harbor. Then he had his servants secretly tell the villagers that the previous day they saw a ship selling these hats anchored in the bay. The villagers rushed to buy the hats, and the hats, which had been bought for only 100 *tiền* 錢 (perforated coin), were then each sold for a whole bolt of cloth. This scheme gained Khánh-Dư thousands

of bolts of cloth and led the Chinese to make up a "congratulatory" poem which included the stanza: "chickens and dogs of Vân-đồn were all astonished." Perhaps under the guise of the admiration of the fame, a satire was expressed actually.

E. Trần Dụ-tôn 陳裕宗, the eighth year of Thiệu-phong 紹豐 (1348 A. D.), the tenth month of winter. Trading ships from the country Đổ-bồ 闍蒲 came to the village on the sea called Vân-đồn to secretly buy pearls. [Note] "蠣 is pronounced 駢 (biển), which means pearl. 蛛 is also pronounced 朱 (châu) and it is also written as 蠶." Many people of Vân-đồn stole the "pearls" in the water and gave them to them. As things turned out, both were punished.

F. Trần Dụ-tôn, the ninth year of Thiệu-phong 紹豐 (1349 A. D.). At Vân-đồn trấn (trading post), the officials of trấn 鎮 and lộ 路 (circuit), and the Sát-hải-sứ 察海使 (Inspector of Maritime affairs) were created; a garrison called Bình-hải 平海 was posted to maintain order. It was during the Lý Dynasty that trading ships came and entered into the seaports of Diễn Châu 濱州, Tha-viên 他員 etc. But when the sea routes changed and these ports silted up, most ships shifted to Vân-đồn. This was the reason why the imperial order was issued.

G. Trần Dụ-tôn, the third year of Đại-trị 大治 (1360 A. D.). In the tenth month of winter. Trading ships from Lộ-hạc 路鶴, Trà-oa 茶哇, [Note] "哇 is pronounced 鴉 (a)", Tiêm-la 暹囉 and other countries came to Vân-đồn to engage in trade, and presented [to the Court] different sorts of rare objects.

H. Trần Dụ-tôn, the sixth year Đại-trị (1360 A. D.). In the sixth month, [the government] confiscated the belongings of the family of Ngô Dẫn 吳引 who was head of the military outpost of the commune of Đại-lai 大來. Formerly at the time of Minh-tôn 明宗, Dẫn's father could acquire large pearls of Ngô-công 蜈蚣, and brought them to Vân-đồn. The merchant ship inclined consequently, the owners of the ship wanted to procure the rare articles and spent all their possessions to buy them. Because of this Dẫn became rich. Minh-tôn gave him Princess Nguyệt-so'n 月山公主 in marriage.

I. Trần Trùng-quang 鄭 陳重光帝, the fifth year of Trùng-quang (1413 A. D.). The first month of spring. The emperor commanded Nguyễn Soái 阮帥, Nguyễn Cảnh-I 阮景異 and others, leading his troops across the sea to Vân-đồn, Hải-đông and other seashores, to plunder provisions and attack the stationary Ming 明 troops.

J. Lê Thái-tôn 黎太宗, the first year of Thiệu-bình 紹平 (1434 A. D.). In the ninth month, Nguyễn Tôn-Từ 阮宗徐 and Lê Dao 黎遙 who were both the managing officers of the circuit of Yên-bang 安邦路總管, were degraded three ranks and removed from office. The dynasty had prohibited both officials and common people from privately selling foreign goods. When ships from Qua-oa arrived in Vân-đồn trading post, Tôn-Từ and others were in charge of investigating and making an accurate count of the ship's cargo. After they had once reported the actual amount, they schemed to alter the accounts and themselves privately sold goods worth more than nine hundred *mân* 緡 (*mân* = a thousand cash). [Tôn-Từ] himself and Lê Dao each took possession of one hundred *mân*. They were punished, the facts being disclosed.

K. Lê Thần-tôn 聖宗, the eighth year of Quang-thuận 光順 (1467 A. D.). Seafaring vessels of Tiêm-la came to Vân-đồn village, and presented to the Court a memorial of golden leaf and tributary goods. The Emperor refused to accept them.

Enteries similar to A, D, F, I, and K appear in the *Khâm-định Việt-sử Thông-giám Cương-mục* 欽定越史通鑑綱目 and entries similar to A, C, D, F, H, and I are found in the *Đại-Việt Sử-kí* 大越史記 of Tây-so'n 西山 edition.

According to these materials, Vân-đồn was a flourishing commercial port where trading ships from the various countries of the South Seas—Qua-oa 瓜哇, Lô-hạc 路貉, Tiêm-la 暹羅, and Tam-phật-tê 三佛齊—gathered (see A, B, E, G, J, and K). In the middle of the twelfth century, a settlement was established in this area and foreign merchants lived there<sup>1)</sup> (see A). In the Trần Dynasty, Vân-đồn's importance increased along with the decline of the seaports of the Eastern Coast of Middle Vietnam, and officials of the administrative units of *trần* 鎮 and *lộ* 路, and the inspector of maritime affairs, were nominated there in the middle of the fourteenth century (see F). The trade at Vân-đồn was very profitable (see H).

The Qua-oa (Chinese Kua-wa) 瓜哇 in A and J, the Đô-bồ (Ch. Tu-p'u) 闍蒲 in E, and the Trà-oa (Ch. Ch'a-wa) 茶哇 in G all refer to Java (瓜 Qua is a miswriting of 爪 trảo). The Lô-hạc 路貉 in A can also be presumed to be the same as the Lô-hạc 路鶴 in G. Lô-hạc of A and Lô-hạc of G are undoubtedly Marco Polo's Locac, as is the Ch. Lo-hu 羅斛<sup>2)</sup> which appears in the chapter on Chan-ch'eng 占城 (Champa) of the *Sung Hui-yao* (section Fan-i) 宋會要(蕃夷), in the chapter on Chên-la 真臘 (Cambodia) of *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, in the chapters on Tan-mei-liu 丹眉流 of *Sung-shih* 宋史 (Vol. 486) and *Wên-hsien T'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 (Vol. 323) and also in the *Tao-i Chih-lüeh* 島夷誌略. Lo-hu corresponds to the region in the lower reaches of the Menam Chaopraya. Previous scholars have identified it

with the region of Lopburi (Lavo).<sup>3)</sup> Usually, Tiêm-la (Ch. Hsien-lo) 暹羅 in G and Tiêm-la (Ch. Hsien-lo) 暹羅 in K both refer to Siam under the Ayuthia dynasty. It is not clear, however, what the Tiêm-la (暹羅) in A and B are. According to the Ming 明 Dynasty records such as the *Ta-Ming I-t'ung-chih* 大明一統志 (Vol. 90), Hsien-lo was originally two countries, Hsien 暹 and Lo-hu 羅斛. In the Chih-cheng 至正 period (1341–1367 A. D.) at the end of the Yüan 元 Dynasty, Lo-hu annexed Hsien and became the country called Hsien-lo-hu 暹羅斛, shortened to Hsien-lo 暹羅. Therefore, in the *Tao-i Chih-lüeh* there occur only the names Hsien and Lo-hu; no country named Hsien-lo is recorded there. The Thai peoples did not become particularly active in Indochinese Peninsula until in the thirteenth century; and thus the country name Hsien-lo was only used after the middle of the fourteenth century in Chinese records. Therefore, the references to Tiêm-la (Hsien-lo) in the twelfth century records A and B are possibly erroneous. It may be that the Hsien-lo in A and B do refer to the land later named Hsien-lo, or that the two characters Hsien-lo are superfluous, or perhaps that another country's name was miscopied as Hsien-lo. If the third possibility is correct, Tiêm-la (Ch. Hsien-lo) 暹羅 might really be Tân-la (Ch. Chin-lo) 進羅 which might have been another transcription of Chân-lạp (Ch. Chên-la) 真臘 or Chiên-lạp (Ch. Chan-la) 占臘 (Cambodia). The question remains still open.

Vân-đồn was not only a point for trade with countries of the South Seas. As I will describe below, it was also an important place for dealings between Vietnam and China. Source D states:

The people there customarily depended on trade for their livelihoods. They depended on the "guests from the north" for whatever they ate or drank or wore. And for this reason they were accustomed to wearing "northern" clothing.

Here the "north" and "northern" refer, of course, to China. Source C tells us that Trần Ích-Tắc 陳益稷 made contact with the Yüan 元 through the traders at Vân-đồn and begged that the Yüan army advance into the south. As can be seen in source D, the Vietnamese troops destroyed the Yüan transport ships at Vân-đồn in the third year of Trùng-hưng 重興 (1287 A. D.), and thus the Mongol expedition to Vietnam from 1287 to 1288 (the year period Chin-yüan 至元 24 to 25 of the Yüan Dynasty) had to end in failure, principally because their military supplies did not hold out. It seems most probable that Vân-đồn was an important rear transport base. The *Yüan-shih* 元史 records, in Vol. 209, chapter on Annan, that in the twelfth month of the twenty fourth year of Chih-yüan (1287 A. D.) Chang Wen-hu 張文虎's grain transport ships fought with the Vietnamese army near Tun Shan 屯山. This battle is to be identified with that by Thràn

Khánh-Dur recorded in the D. text. Tun Shan must have been Yün-tun Shan 雲屯山 (Vân-đồn Sơn)<sup>4)</sup> which will be studied later. According to the text I, Trùng-quang Đế 重光帝, that is Trần Quý-Khóach 陳季擴, and his followers defeated the Ming troops, who had brought provisions and established garrisons in several places, including Vân-đồn and Hải-đông 海東. This account dates precisely from the period when the Ming army sent out by the Emperor Yung-lê 永樂 occupied Vietnam. At that time, too, Vân-đồn was an important rear communication point and major seaport; therefore, the Ming established a garrison there.

The Code of the Lê Dynasty, *Quốc-triều Hình-luật* 國朝刑律 includes references to Vân-đồn as well. The Lê code was largely based on the T'ang Code 唐律, although but it includes many distinctive provisions not found in the latter. In the Chapter Tạp-luật 雜律章 (miscellaneous stipulations) of the Lê code we find six provisions which deal with foreign affairs, especially foreign trade. Of these three concern Vân-đồn.

L. Any official who without good reason goes to any of the Vân-đồn settlements or checking stations of the frontier zone shall be punished with penal servitude or banishment. Those who report them shall be raised in rank one grade.

M. Any inhabitant of Vân-đồn village who brings northern goods to the capital, without obtaining the permit issued by the *An-phu-tử* 安撫司 (regional inspector's office?), travelling as far as Triều-đông-bộ 朝東步, and sells such goods privately without having them inspected by the *Đê-bách-tu* 提舶司 (inspection office of shipping), or when he comes back, without obtaining the permit issued by the *Đê-bách-tu*, arrives at the trading place, and wilfully returns to the village without receiving the inspection of the *An-phủ*[-*tu*] shall be penalized: in all these cases the offender shall be reduced in rank one grade and fined one hundred *quán* 貫 (ligature of coins). The person who reports the offence shall be rewarded with one-third [of the fine]. If anyone goes to other hamlets or villages to engage in private trade, he shall be reduced in rank three grades and fined two hundred *quán*. The person who reports the offence shall be rewarded as stated above. Any *An-phủ-tu* or *Đê-bách-tu* who fails to take note of such offenses shall be reduced in rank one grade. And if he deliberately allows such activities, he shall be punished as stated above and removed from office.

N. If foreign ships come to Vân-đồn to trade and the *Sát-hải-sứ* 察海使(司) goes out beyond the outer gate of the harbor to carry out inspection of their commodities, he shall be reduced in rank one

grade. If the trading ships wish to stay in the harbor for many days, the settlement heads must report this fact to the *An-phủ-tu* to obtain permit, that would permit them to stay. Any one (settlement head) who provides private accommodation shall be reduced in rank two grades and fined hundred *quán*. Those who report such offenses shall be rewarded with one-third [of the fine]. In case the staying foreign person is under the age to be inscribed in the census register, anyone (settlement head) shall be reduced in rank one grade and fined fifty *quán*. Those who report such offences shall be rewarded as stated above.<sup>5)</sup>

According to these passages (see also J and K quoted above), we understand that in the Lê period, as well, Vân-đồn was a gathering point for the trading ships of many foreign countries, and the code provided for strict control of overseas trade and the comings and goings at Vân-đồn, which was treated as a special trading port of the country. As the *Quốc-triều Hình-luật* was published in the twenty-eighth year of Cảnh-hưng 景興 (1767 A. D.)<sup>6)</sup>, the provisions quoted above are taken as regulations in force at that time, and thereby indicate the contemporary importance of the port of Vân-đồn. In the chapter on geography, *Dư-địa-chí* 輿地志, of Nguyễn Trãi's 阮薦 *Ức-trai Di-tập* 抑齋遺集, Vol. 6, which dates from the beginning of the Lê period, it is stated that:

Foreigners were not permitted to enter the inner districts (Nại-trần 內鎮) arbitrarily. They were only allowed to reside in Vân-đồn 雲屯, Vân-ninh 萬寧, Cán-hải 芹海, Hội-thông 會統, Hội-triều 會潮, Thông-linh 蔥嶺, Phú-lương 富良, Tam-kì 三奇, and Trúc-hoa 竹華.

Inner districts (Nại-trần) means four capital circuits (Tur-kinh Lộ 四京路); three seaports, named Cán-hải, Hội-thông and Hội-triều, all located in [the Province of] Nghệ-an 乂安; Thông-linh in [the Province of] Lạng-so'n 諒山; Tam-kì in [the Province of] Tuyên-quang 宣光; Trúc-hoa in [the Province of] Sơn-tây 山西. Hưng-hoá 興化 is the liaison center of detached offices of various local markets. The two regulations reveal to us the strict observance of inner and outer defense preparations.

On the seacoast in the south, foreigners were permitted to dwell in three seaports in Nghệ-an and in the north in Vân-ning 萬寧,—which is near the Kuang-tung border of China,—and in Vân-đồn, the port in question. The *Quốc-triều Hình-luật* had special regulations concerning Vân-đồn alone, as the above passage shows, but such regulations are not found for the other places mentioned in the passage of *Dư-địa-chí*. This special treatment of Vân-đồn may be interpreted as indicating its particular

importance. It is also possible that at the beginning of the Lê period several ports were permitted to be used for foreign trade but that later, of those ports, only Vân-đồn came to be especially regulated as an open port.

The references quoted above all are records from Vietnamese sources; there are also passages referring to Yün-tun (Vân-đồn) in Chinese records. The *Tao-i Chih-lüeh* 島夷誌略, section on Chiao-chih 交趾 states that:

Those who come in ships do not trade in the [Vietnamese] territory. They can only carry out trade secretly on board ships in the neighbourhood of Tuan Shan 斷山. They cannot go to the official markets. [Vietnam] is afraid that the Chinese might spy out the situation of the country.

As *An-nan Chih-yüan* 安南志原 says, in the section of the mountains and rivers 山川志, Vol. 1, of Tuan Shan that "Yün-tun Shan is the same as Tuan Shan", we understand that the spot for which the sailors were sailing to was Yün-tun (Vân-đồn). The *An-nan T'u-chih* 安南圖誌, written by Têng Chung 鄧鐘 of the Ming, includes a shipping route map for going west along the Kuang-tung Province seacoast from Lien-chou Fu 廉州府, and includes the names of major places in Vietnam marked by surrounding circles. Hai-tung Fu 海東府 (Hải-đông Phủ) and Yün-tun Chou 雲屯州 (Vân-đồn Châu), which are the names of the termini of this shipping route, are both circled. The passage giving the compass bearings from Fukien 福建 to the land of Vietnam says, at the end:

From Li-mu Shan 黎母山 of Hai-nan 海南, sailing for 15 *kêng* 更 (nautical watches) in the direction of *Kêng-yu* 庚酉 (255°-270°) the ship comes to Hai-t'ang Shan 海堂山, and sailing for 15 *kêng*, often turning in the direction towards Sole Hai 單亥 (330°) and *Ch'ien-hai* 乾亥 (315°-330°), the ship reaches Chi-ming Gate 鷄鳴門, which is the sea entrance of Yün-tun Chou.

This is the sea route going from Fu-chien to An-nan. If the ship starts from Kuang-tung, the counting begins from Tung-chiang Shan 東姜山, and it arrives at Yün-tun Chou in just 50 *kêng*. If the ship starts from Hai-nan, the counting starts from Li-mu Shan, and it arrives at Yün-tun Chou in just 30 *kêng*.

This shows that the sea routes, beginning either in Kuang-tung or Fukien, had Yün-tun Chou as their destination, notwithstanding whether or not they sailed by way of Hainan Island. The Hsi-yang chên-lu 西洋針路 section of the *Tong-hsi Yang-k'ao* 東西洋考, Vol. 9, also describes the sea route from Fukien to Annan:



Li-mu Shan 黎母山 [of Hai-nan 海南] [Note] “. . . using *Kêng-yu* 庚酉 (225°–270°) compass needle for 15 *kêng* 更 [the ship] reaches Hai-pao Shan 海寶山” Hai-pao Shan [Note] “using Sole *Hai* 單亥 (330°) and *Ch'ien-hai* 乾亥 (315°–330°) needle, by way of T'u-shan Sea entrance 塗山海口, sailing for 5 *kêng*, [the ship] arrives at Chi-ch'ang entrance 雞唱門 which is the sea gate of Yün-tun 雲屯海門”. Chiao-chih Tung-ching 交趾東京.

The *Ta-Ming I-t'ung-chih* 大明一統志, Vol. 90, section on Yün-tun Shan in the chapter on the mountains and rivers of An-nan, notes that:

Many trading ships from barbarian lands come to Yün-tun.

Similar passages occur in the *An-nan Chih-yüan* 安南志原, Vol. 1, in the chapter on the mountains and rivers.

In the *Ming Shih-lu* 明實錄, we find, for the sixth year of Yung-lê (1408 A. D.) the first month, nineteenth day (戊辰):

The office of the Management of Merchant Shipping (the *Shih-po t'i-chü-ssü* 市舶提舉司) was established in Yün-tun in Chiao-chih; a deputy superintendent was appointed there.

For the tenth month, twenty-eighth day (庚子), it is recorded:

To the Office of the Management of Merchant Shipping of Yün-tun additional appointments were made, one for each post; two Offices of the Management of Merchant Shipping were established at Hsin-p'ing (Tân-binh 新平) and Shun-hua (Thuân-hoá 順化); and three custom offices (*Ch'ou-fên ch'ang* 抽分場) were opened at Yün-tun, Hsin-p'ing and Shun-hua.

In the *An-nan Chih-yüan*, Vol. 2, the chapter on Government Buildings (Hsieh-shê 廨舍), there appears, along with references to *Shih-po t'i-chü-ssü* and *Ch'ou-fên-ch'ang* in Hsin-p'ing and Shun-hua, the following passage:

The *Shih-po t'i-chü-ssü* of Yün-nan-tun 雲南屯 in Chiao-chih is found in Yün-tun Hsien of Hsin-an Fu. The *Ch'ou-fên-ch'ang* of Yün-tun is found in Hsin-an Fu.

We can infer from these sources that among the three *Shih-po t'i-chü-ssü* and *Ch'ou-fên-ch'ang* established when the Ming conquered Vietnam, the first opened and the most important were those of Yün-tun. The nan 南 in Yün-nan-tun in the *An-nan Chih-yüan* is regarded as an interpolated character. In the first year Yung-lê, the Ming Emperor Yung-lê, Ch'êng-

tsu, 成祖永樂帝 reactivated the three *Shih-po t'i-chü-ssü* of Che-chiang 浙江, Fukien 福建, and Kuang-tung 廣東, which the Emperor Hung-wu, T'ai-tsu 太祖洪武帝, had once abolished. The *Ming-shih* 明史, Vol. 18, *Shih-huo chih* 食貨志, section on *Shih-po* 市舶, notes that post stages were established in each of the three *Shih-po-ssü* in the third year of Yung-lê (1405 A. D.), and goes on to say:

Then they established Chiao-chih Yün-nan *Shih-po t'i-chü-ssü* in order to receive tributary envoys coming from the Southwestern countries.

It is very difficult to explain the passage concerning the location of a *Shih-po-ssü* in Yün-nan. Pelliot suspects an error in these characters<sup>9</sup>. The present author also believes that Yün-nan must have been a miscopying of Yün-tun. It may be that the historical materials, on which the *Ming-shih* was based, contained 雲南屯, as in the *An-nan Chih-yüan*, and that this usage was, through a copying error, turned into Yün-nan.

The following passages are found in the *Khâm-định Việt-sử Thông-giám Cương-mục* 欽定越史通鑑綱目 (正編, Vol. 13), the first year of Bình-định Vương 平定王 (Lê Lợi 黎利, Thái-tổ 太祖), that is the sixteenth year of Yung-lê (1418 A. D.):

(A) In autumn, in the seventh month, the Ming established a pearl fishing area.

(B) The sea near Vân-đồn in Tĩnh-an 靖安 produces pearls. The Ming set up a pearl fishing compound to collect them. They forced thousands of people to work a day. In those days the Ming were endlessly demanding. (C) They made the people collect all products: peppers, incense, white deer, white elephants, nine tailed tortoises, hanging-down birds, white cheeked monkeys, snakes etc. These they took back [to China]. The general public became turbulent.

In the *Ming Shih-lu* the seventeenth year of Yung-lê (1419 A. D.), the third day (乙亥) of the eighth month, there occurs the statement that:

They created a Pearl fishing area office (*Chu-ch'ang-chü* 珠場局) in Ching-an Chou 靖安州 of Chiao-chih and appointed a Great Envoy (*Ta-shih* 大使).

The fact that, as I will explain later, Yün-tun was a part of Ching-an Chou would imply that the pearl fishing area in Ching-an Chou was the same as that for collecting the pearls of Yün-tun, mentioned in the above cited text of the *Cương-mục* 綱目. In the *Đại-Việt Sử-ký Toàn-thư*, the

first year of Thái-tồ (Lê Lợi), we find in the text following the article for the seventh month that:

The Ming set up a pearl fishing area; collected incense, caught white foxes, white deer, white elephants; searched for nine-tailed tortoises, "hanging-down" birds, white cheeked monkeys, snakes etc. and made them tributes [to the Ming].

and this shows with certainty that the quoted entry of the *Cương-mục* is based on the *Toàn-thư*. Passage B of the *Cương-mục* is not to be found in the *Toàn-thư*, and passage C has been rewritten in a style which emphasizes that the Ming vehemently demanded tribute and that the people resisted. Therefore, rather than concluding that passage B was based on some special historical materials other than the *Toàn-thư*, we should see it as an explanatory passage added by the compiler of the *Cương-mục* on his own account. Passage B is correct in saying that pearls were produced in the sea of Vân-đồn, as this fact of pearl production of Vân-đồn is also stated clearly in the note to the *Cương-mục* (正編, Vol. 17) entry for the eighth month of the fourth year of Thiệu-bình during the reign of Lê Thái-tông (1437 A. D.). Although the passage B can be regarded as a later addition, we understand that B is suitable for explaining that the pearl area of the Ming was created for the purpose of collecting the pearls of Vân-đồn, if we keep in mind that Vân-đồn of Tĩnh-an Châu was a pearl producing place. The dates of the *Ming Shih-lu*, the *Toàn-thư* and the *Cương-mục* all differ. It might appear at first glance that there is an error in the Vietnamese writings, but it could be that the dates for the beginning of pearl collection by the Ming or the opening of a *Chu-ch'ang* 珠場 there and the dates for the establishment of a *Chu-ch'ang-chũ* and *Ta-shih* are primarily different.

From the materials cited so far we can conclude that Vân-đồn was a major port in Vietnam's foreign trade. The name Vân-đồn (literally, "cloud-settlement") may have originally referred to the fact that the foreign trading ships gathering there like clouds. The next question is where was Vân-đồn located?

## II. The Location of Vân-đồn

Dumoutier and Kim Yung-kun 金永鍵 are two scholars who have paid attention to the question of Vân-đồn. Dumoutier asserted that Vân-đồn was Móng Cây 砦街 on the border between China and Vietnam; he also argued that Japanese went there to trade. Kim, who has examined the Vietnamese historical materials, corrected Dumoutier's error, denying that Japanese had traded there<sup>9</sup>. Kim is correct as far as he went, but

Dumoutier was also mistaken in his location of Vân-đồn: the argument that Vân-đồn was Móng Cáy is a hypothesis with no grounding in fact. There is, however, good evidence that Vân-đồn was southwest of Móng Cáy, on an island equidistant from Móng Cáy and Hải-phòng 海防.

The *Ming Shih-lu*, the fifth year of Yung-lê (1407 A. D.), the first day (癸未) of the sixth month, notes that when the Ming conquered Vietnam, there was a Yün-tun Hsien which belonged to Ching-an Chou 靖安州 of Hsin-an Phủ 新安府, and a section of Thiên-hạ bản-đồ tổng-sổ 天下版圖總數 of the *Thiên-nam Dư-hạ-tập* 天南餘暇集, mentions that in Hải-đông Phủ 海東府 of Yên-bang Xứ 安邦處, there was Vân-đồn Châu of four villages (xã 社) and ten hamlets (thôn 村). The *Việt-sử thông-giám Cương-mục* (正編, Vol. 4), Lý Anh-tông, 李英宗, the tenth year of Đại-định 大定 (1149 A. D.), states that:

Vân-đồn belongs to Hải-đông. The Lê 黎 made it into Vân-đồn Châu. This place is the present county (tổng 總) Vân-hải of the District Nghiêu-phong 堯封縣 of [the Province] of Quảng-yên 廣安.

The *Đại-nam Nhất-thông-chí* 大南一統志, in the section of the District Nghiêu Phong of the Province of Quảng-yên, states:

It seems to me that the name of Vân-đồn Châu was created first by the Lê Dynasty. It is located in the border area of islands adjoining the sea of China (Ch'ing 清), there are only two settlements. In the sixteenth year of Minh-mạng (1835 A. D.), the Present Dynasty first established the names of local officials which were controlled concurrently by the governor of the Sub-prefecture of Vạn-ninh 萬寧知州. In the third year of Thiệu-trị 紹治 (1843 A. D.), the name of Vân-đồn Châu was abolished anew, and the place became simply the County of Vân-hải 雲海總, the names of the officials were discontinued, the county head 該總 created, placing him under the District of Nghiêu-phong.

Furthermore, the *Đông-Khánh Địa-dư-chí* 同慶地輿誌, chapter of the Nghiêu-phong Huyện, records that:

Vân-hải Tổng has three xãs or lýs 里 (villages): Quan-lan Xã 觀爛社 Minh-châu Xã 光珠社, and Hường-hoá Lý 向化里.

The 1923 gazetteer<sup>10)</sup> for the Province of Quảng-yên, in the possession of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, says that Vân-hải Tổng belongs to Hoàn-hồ Huyện 橫蒲縣, and it is located to the southeast of Hoàn-hồ Huyện<sup>11)</sup>. It also lists the names of three xãs and five thôns in Vân-hải

Tông. The three *xã*s were Hướn-g-hoá Xã 向化社, Quan-lan Xã 觀爛社, and Quang-châu Xã 光珠社 (formerly called Minh-châu 明珠). The five *thôn*s are Điền-xá Thôn 田舍村, Đông-linh (lãnh) Thôn 東嶺村, Ngọc-vừng Thôn 玉暈村, Phụng-hoàng Thôn 鳳凰村, and Trà-bản Thôn 茶板村. These entries indicate that the name Vân-đồn survived until the Nguyễn 阮 Dynasty; it was renamed Vân-hải in the Thiệu-trị period. This Vân-hải Thôn was first belonged to Nghiêu-phong Huyện and later to Hoàn-bổ Huyện.

Among the numerous islands scattered in the sea east of Tonkin, there is an island called Ile des Sangliers (Boar Island), or I. Minh Tiao, about fifty kilometers east of Hải-phòng 海防, at about E 116°80 and N 23°20. The island is approximately eighteen kilometers long, lying north-east to southwest. On a 1:100,000 map of Indochina, published by the French colonial government (Fig. 1), a rather large settlement recorded as "Huyện de Vân Hải, Quan Lan (Xã)" is shown slightly south of the center of the island. In the northeast of the island is a settlement called "Quang Chau (Minh Chau)". There can be no doubt that this Vân Hải (Hải) corresponds to Vân-hải Tông, though there remains a question as to when Vân-hải became a Huyện 縣. Quan Lan, Quang Chau (Minh Chau) are of course the place names Quan-lan Xã and Quang-châu Xã (Minh-châu Xã) cited in the *Đông-khánh Địa-dư-chỉ* and in the 1923 gazetteer. The name I. Minh Tiao is derived from Minh-châu. In the *Minami Shina Kai Suiro Shi* 南支那海水路誌 (*the Records of Sea Routes in the South China Sea*), Vol. 1, page 325, this island is called "Quan (Koan) Lan Island (Van Hai)" thereby showing that the island is called by the names of either Quan-lan 觀爛 or Vân-hải 雲海. The village named Hướn-g-hoá Xã which was said to have belonged to Vân-hải Tông is not to be found in current maps. Ngô-vi-liễn's *Nomenclature des Communes du Tonkin* (1928) gives only two villages for Vân-hải Tông, Quan-lan and Quảng-châu. Thus, Hướn-g-hoá must have disappeared as a place name in recent times. As mentioned above, in addition to the three *xã*s, there were five *thôn*s which belonged to Vân-hải Tông. It appears, however, that all five of them were located elsewhere than on the island of Vân-hải (Ile des Sangliers). The 1:100,000 map shows an island called Ile de la Table lying to the north of Vân-hải Island, and there we find a Điền-xá 田舍 in its northeastern part, a Trà-bản 茶板 near its center, and a Đông-lãnh (Đ. Vinh) lying between the two. It is likely that this Đông-lãnh is Đông-linh (lãnh) Thôn. About five kilometers southwest of Vân-hải Island is the island of N. Phụng-hoàng 鳳凰山; Phụng-hoàn Thôn must be a settlement on this island.

A map in the *Đông-Khánh Địa-dư-chỉ* has the name Ngọc-vừng Điền 玉暈鳥 (to be corrected as Đảo 島) on an island to the right (that is, east) of Phụng-hoàng Điền (to be corrected as Đảo) and corresponding to the left edge of an island on which appear the names Minh-châu Xã and



Fig. 1. Map showing the Island of Vân-hải and its vicinity; approximately 1:250,000

Quan-lan Xã. Assuming this map is correct, we could expect the place named Ngọc-vững to be found on Vân-hải Island. None the less, the 1:100,000 map does not show that name on Vân-hải Island, but does show “Ngoc Doa (Ngoc Vong)” as the name of a settlement on Ile Danh Do La, to the northwest of N. Phụng Hoàng. It seems probable that Ngọc-vững Thôn refers to this settlement. The gazetteer of 1923 notes that of the five *thôn*s all except Trà-bản belonged to Quan-lan Xã. If

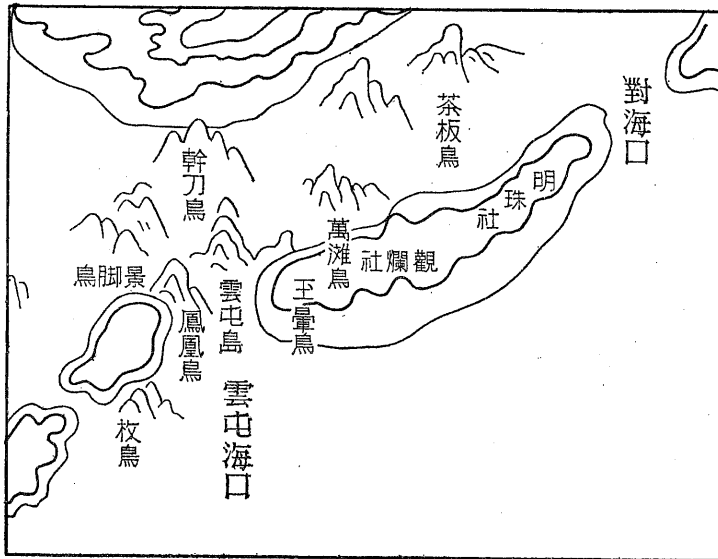


Fig. 2. Traced figure of a part of the map found in the *Đông-khánh Địa-dư-chí*

even *Điền-xá Thôn* belonged to *Quan-lan Xã*, one would expect that *Trà-bản* also belonged to the same *xã*. By and large we can conclude that all five *thôn*s were located elsewhere than on the island of *Vân-hải*, but the most important part of *Vân-hải*, the administrative center of *tổng* 總 and the two *xã*s of *Quan-lan* and *Quang-châu*, were all on that island. On the basis of the foregoing identifications of place names, we shall be able to conclude that the *Vân-đồn* was located on *Vân-hải* Island since the *Lý* Dynasty.

As the historical sources relate that there was pearling in the sea near *Vân-đồn* and that the Ming established a *Chu-ch'ang* 珠場 there, it is plausible to imagine that the place names *Minh-châu Xã* and *Quang-châu Xã* reflect the fact that they were pearl producing places. The *An-nan Chih-yüan*, Vol. 1, chapter on *Shan-ch'uan* 山川 (mountains and rivers), states that "Tung-lan Shan 洞蘭山 (Mount *Động-lan*) is located in *Yün-tun Hsien* 雲屯縣 and produces *an-hsi* incense 安息香 (benzoin)". This *Tung-lan Shan* is probably the "N. Đông Lang" shown about 2.5 kilometers to the south of *Quan-lan Xã* on the 1:1,000,000 map. The same chapter on *Shan-ch'uan* of the *An-nan Chih-yüan* mentions that there is a mountain called *Ch'a-chiao Shan* 茶校山 (Mount *Trà-giáo*) in *Yün-tun Hsien*: but as there is *Trà-bản Thôn* on the *Ile de la Table*, and *Trà-bản Đảo* in the map of *Đông-khánh Địa-dư-chí*, it is strongly probable that *Trà-giáo Sơn* 茶校山 is a miswriting of *Trà-bản Thôn* 茶板村 and is located on the *Ile de la Table*. If that is correct, then the territory of *Yün-tun Hsien* was not limited to the island of *Vân-hải*. In the *Đại-nam Nhật-thông-chí* 大南一

統志, chapter on Sơn-xuyên 山川, the Province of Nghệ-an, there is a reference concerning Điệp-phụ 蝶阜, saying "It seems to me that this is the place where Vân-đôn was established in the ninth year of Thiệu-phong 紹豐 in the Trần 陳 Dynasty." But this is erroneous.

*Đông-khánh Địa-dư-chí* 同慶地輿誌, the Province of Quảng-yên 廣安省, the District of Nghiêu-phong 堯封縣, states that:

Vân-đôn Đảo 雲屯島 (Island) rises straight out of the water at the Sea-entrance (海口) of Vân-đôn.

and also that:

Vân-đôn Sea Entrance: It is in Quan-lan Xã. Outside the entrance there is Mai 枚 Island. It is also called Mai Sea Entrance. On the right side of the entrance is Ngọc-vị Island 玉彙島, on the left is Cảnh-cước Island 景脚島, and inside the entrance, Phụng-hoàng Island 鳳凰島 rises straight out of the water. To the east of the island is Vân-đôn entrance, to the west is called the Điều-lai (Tiao-lai) Channel 掉来江道. The depth of the bay at high tide is eighteen *xích* 尺, at low tide is ten *xích*. The channel is one thousand four hundred *xích*, wide.

The *An-nan Chih-yüan*, Vol. I, chapter on Shan-ch'uan, records:

Yün-tun Shan, namely Tuan Shan 斷山, is located, in the middle of the open sea of Yün-tun Hsien. Two mountains face each other with the channel between them. They set up a wooden palisade and built a water gate. The houses of the people line both banks. In the Lý and Trần periods, trading ships from many countries gathered there in great numbers.

Though these passages include the names Vân-đôn Island, and Yün-tun Mountain, they do not appear to be referring to Vân-hải Island. The 1:100,000 map indicates two islands, N. Thượng Mai 上枚 about five kilometers south of Vân-hải Island and N. Hạ Mai 下枚 two kilometers further away to the southwest. The Mai Island 枚島 referred to in the *Đông-Khánh Địa-dư-chí* must be one or both of these. The Ngọc-vị Island 玉彙島 mentioned in the same *Địa-dư-chí* seems to be a miscopying of Ngọc-vượng Island 玉暈島; and it is said to be to the right of the sea entrance (harbor entrance). Thus, Ngọc-vượng Island would correspond to Vân-hải Island. According to the text of the *Địa-dư-chí*, Cảnh-cước Island is said to be to the left of the Sea entrance, and since it is sketched on the map in the upper left of Phụng-hoàng Island, so it may be identified



with the Ile Danh Do La.

In the *Địa-du-chi* map, Vân-đồn Island is in between Ngọc-vượng Island and Phụng-hoàng Island and it is indicated as being more inside Vân-đồn Sea Entrance than the other two. Two small islands, Ilot Est (N. Ngói) and Ilot Ouest (N. Thông), are lined up to the west of Vân-hải Island; it is possible that they were called Vân-đồn Đảo. They are small islands, but they may have acquired the name Vân-đồn from being in the gateway to the port. If we assume, however, that the *Địa-du-chi* is not that accurate, it is also possible to consider Mai Đảo to be N. Hạ Mai and Vân-đồn Đảo to be N. Thượng Mai. According to the *Chih-yüan*, Yün-tun Shan are two mountains facing each other, indicating two islands opposite each other in the water. In this region there are two pairs of islands facing each other, Ilot Est and Ilot Ouest and N. Thượng Mai and N. Hạ Mai. The reference could be to either pair. The *Chih-yüan* passage tells us that the channel existed between them, indicating that ships passed between the two islands, that there was a wooden palisade and that the trading ships gathered. So this implies that Yün-tun Shan was not the N. Thượng Mai and N. Hạ Mai pair, which have large sea lanes on both sides and which are on the open sea. The description seems to fit the Ilot Est, Ilot Ouest pair better. On the other hand, the statement that Yün-tun Shan was in the middle of the sea points to identifying it with the N. Thượng Mai and N. Hạ Mai islands. The Vân-đồn Đảo of the *Địa-du-chi* and the Yün-tun Shan of the *Chih-yüan* seem to refer to the same island, and the identification of that island with N. Thượng Mai and N. Hạ Mai looks more compelling; but at this stage, one had better not draw final conclusions.

But in either case, the islands that could be identified with Yün-tun Shan are all of no importance, with no settlements on them. While Yün-tun Shan was the point to which foreign trading ships steered, there is no reason to think that Vân-đồn Trang 雲屯庄, Vân-đồn Châu 雲屯州, or Vân-đồn Huyện 雲屯縣 had to be all located on these islands. The *Chih-yüan* statement that Yün-tun Shan was "in the middle of the open sea of Yün-tun Hsien" implies that it was not the administrative seat of Yün-tun Hsien but was part of it. The route map to Vietnam in the *An-nan T'u-chih* 安南圖誌 shows the place names Kuan-lan Shê 社 and Yün-tun Chou on two islands slightly separated and standing side by side. If this map is correct, then it might seem probable that Yün-tun Chou was not on Vân-hải Island and that it corresponds to Vân-đồn Đảo.

The fact, however, that of all the islands in this region, the most important, with large settlements, is Vân-hải Island, plus the identification of Vân-đồn with Vân-hải Tông in the Vietnamese records mentioned above, makes it extremely probable that the heart of Vân-đồn Huyện or Vân-đồn Châu was on Vân-hải Island. Perhaps it is possible that on the

map of *An-nan T'u-chih*, the name of Yün-tun Chau was written at the spot of Yün-tun Shan, the point to which the ship proceeded, because Yün-tun Shan was a part of Yün-tun Chou. But the author wants to keep the details of this question open.

It might appear strange that Vân-đồn, a major port for the foreign trade of Vietnam was located on an island, but this can be explained in terms of the policy of the Vietnamese government. The *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, the chapter on Chiao-chih (Vietnam), states that this country has no foreign trade, and, as mentioned above, the *Tao-i Chih-lüeh* 島夷誌略 states, that "those who come in ships do not trade in the [Vietnamese] territory. They can only carry out trade secretly on board ships in the neighbourhood of Tuan Shan. They cannot go to the official markets. [Vietnam] is afraid that the Chinese might spy out the situation of the country." According to the *Quốc-triều Hình-luật* of the Lê Dynasty and the *Dư-địa-chí* of Nguyễn Trãi, foreigners were not permitted to enter the country freely, and trading at Vân-đồn was strictly regulated. *Đại-Việt Sử-ký* (Tây-sơn edition), the tenth year of Đại-định (1149 A. D.) of Lý Anh-tôn, states, concerning the establishment of a settlement at Vân-đồn, that "because seaborne merchants brought luxury goods and tributes in abundance, the Emperor commanded that a settlement be established on an island in the sea. It was called Vân-đồn and people were asked to stay there".

Thus from the beginning, the settlement of Vân-đồn may have been established on an island in the sea on the basis of a deliberate policy of isolation followed by the Vietnamese government. Namely, Vân-đồn was not a naturally developed port. Therefore, with the development of Hưng-yên and other ports, better endowed with the geographical and economic requirements for shipping and trade, Vân-đồn faded away completely. The statement in the *Đại-nam Nhật-thông-chí* that Vân-đồn Châu was abolished and Vân-hải Tông was instituted indicates Vân-đồn's loss of importance. Furthermore, the Nguyễn Dynasty does not seem to have taken any special measures to protect Vân-đồn.

### III. Artifacts from Vân-hải Island

In 1936, I made a study trip to French Indochina and during my stay in Hanoi, carrying out research at the library of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, using its book collection, I was able to determine approximately the above mentioned location of Vân-đồn which I had been interested in. I wanted personally to examine the probable historical site, but, since it was on a remote island, I had little real hope of realizing my wish. However, while I was in Hanoi, Kahachi Mawatari 馬渡嘉八, of the Mitsui Bussan Company 三井物産, happened to come to Hanoi

from his residence in Hon-gay. When I told him of my desire to visit Vân-hải Island, he told me that, quite by accident, Mitsui Bussan was mining silica sand on that island. I wondered whether some artifacts appeared in the course of digging out the silica, and with Mawatari's kind assistance, I was able to visit Vân-hải Island myself.

In the afternoon of May 21, 1936, I set out from Hanoi by car with Naohiko Oda 小田直彦 and his son Chikashi 親, who were also living in Hanoi. We passed Bắc-ninh, Sept Pagodes, Đông-triều, and then after arriving at Va-chai, on the opposite bank from Hong-gay, we departed a little before 10 o'clock that evening for Vân-hải Island in a motorboat provided by Mawatari. Vân-hải Island is about 40 kilometers in a straight line east-southeast of the point from which we set out, and about 60 kilometers by the route the boat followed. From the eastern part of Baei d'Along, famous for its picturesque natural beauty, we passed along the Baie de Fai-tsi-long, approached the eastern part of the north shore of Vân-hải Island, and reached the anchorage of "la Tortue", a spot opposite Ile de la Table, at about 3 a.m. the following morning. We waited for sunrise, then landed at the wharf amidst snowy heaps of pure white silica transported there. Directed by the Vietnamese on-the-job supervisor, we followed the tracks for the handcar about a kilometer to the east, where more than a hundred men were digging sand. When I asked them whether they ever found artifacts, they said that they frequently dug up porcelain and coins. Hearing this, I went to nearby private houses, in Quang-châu Xã 光珠社 on the northeast tip of the island, and collected the artifacts they had found. I was also able to obtain several fragments that were dug up on the day I visited. The conditions under which they were excavated are unknown, but the layer of pure white silica in which they were discovered runs from about four meters where it is deepest, and between 1 and 1.4 meters deep at the place where the workers were digging. When I asked the workmen whether they knew the name Vân-đồn, I was told by one of them, I do not know how reliably, that there was a settlement by that name about a kilometer south of the anchorage at which we had landed. I went by motorboat from la Tortue to Quan-lan Xã 觀爛社 in the southwest part of the island. We landed on a beach northwest of the village and carried out a survey of artifacts there, particularly at the home of the headman. I collected a few coins and pieces of porcelain said to have been excavated there, then returned to the motorboat. We left Vân-hải Island after 5 p.m. and returned to Va-chai at nearly 10 p.m. that same day. I did not see any other important ruins or relics in Quang-châu Xã or Quan-lan Xã.

I will provide a list of the artifacts from Quang-châu Xã and Quan-lan Xã<sup>12)</sup>. The artifacts from Quang-châu Xã are particularly interesting, including, in addition to Vietnamese coins, Chinese coins from the T'ang to

the Ch'ing Dynasties. Coins from the Northern Sung were especially numerous. Among the porcelain artifacts there were several pieces which belong to the Sung tradition and appear to date to the Sung period. Though many Vietnamese coins came to light, they were all from the end of the Lê Dynasty or the Tây-sơn period; no Nguyễn Dynasty coins were found.

Quang-châu Xã is now very small village, and at the time I visited it, silica digging was underway a mile or so to the southwest of the settlement. It is most probable that the discovery of these objects in the sand indicates that they are connected with the activities of the port of Vân-đồn. Since the anchorage at la Tortue, on the north side of Vân-hải Island, is the best anchorage in that area, well protected from the winds and waves of the open sea, one would expect that it was a major anchorage in the days of Vân-đồn's prosperity as well. The *Thiên-nam Dư-hạ-tập* 天南餘暇集 states that "there are four *xãs* (communes) and ten *trangs* (villages) in Vân-đồn Châu." Whether or not the Quang-châu Xã was a central area in Vân-đồn Châu, it must have been the location of one of those four *xãs* or ten *trangs*. In Quan-lan, unlike Quang-châu, no excavations were being carried out. The artifacts found here were completely different from those collected at Quang-châu. There were no Chinese coins or Sung porcelain, only blue and white porcelain from the late Ming or later; of Vietnamese coins, apart from one Đuan-Khánh thông-bảo 端慶通寶, a coin from the early sixteenth century, there were several thousand Minh-mạng thông-bảo 明命通寶 which were dug up in a jar. Until excavations have been carried out at Quan-lan Xã, it is dangerous to compare the artifacts from the two villages, but of the pieces I collected, all those unmistakably dating to the fifteenth century or earlier were found in Quang-châu Xã.

In the following tables of Chinese and Vietnamese coins, all the items from Vân-hải were collected in Quang-châu unless otherwise noted. It may be superfluous, but I have also included a listing of coins<sup>13)</sup>, mainly those of China, I acquired elsewhere in Indochina, while travelling to Hung-yên 興安, to Cồ-loa 古螺, which is known as An-dương Vương's 安陽王 capital, and to Hoa-lư 華閩, where the two dynasties of Đinh and Former Lê ruled. As for a few of these coins that I was unable to identify, I sought the learned advice of Seizō Irita 入田整三.

This tabulation of coins reveals that, in contrast to the great variety of coins dug up at Quang-châu Xã, Quan-lan Xã produced only two kind, the Đuan-khánh thông-bảo and the Minh-mạng thông-bảo. Neither of these coins was found at Quang-châu. Furthermore, there were no Nguyễn Dynasty coins among those from Quang-châu. These points suggest that the artifact-bearing region near Quang-châu declined along with the decline of Vân-đồn. Many Chinese coins, particularly Sung coins, were

## CHINESE COINS

Name of coin	Site				Comments
	Vân-hải	Hưng-yên	Cồ-loa	Hoa-lư	
K'ai-yüan t'ung-pao 開元通寶	4	1			Blank on back
Ch'ien-yüan chung-pao 乾元重寶	1				T'ang, Su-tsung 唐肅宗 (756-762 A.D.) iron coin
T'ai-p'ing t'ung-pao 太平通寶		2			Sung, T'ai-tsung 宋太宗 (976-997)
Ch'un-hua yüan-pao 淳化元寶	1				"
Chih-tao yüan-pao 至道元寶	1				"
Hsien-p'ing yüan-pao 咸平元寶	2	2			Sung, Chên-tsung 眞宗 (997-1022)
Ching-tê yüan-pao 景德元寶	2	1		1	"
Hsiang-fu yüan-pao 祥符元寶	4	1			"
Hsiang-fu t'ung-pao 祥符通寶	2	1	1		"
T'ien-hsi t'ung-pao 天禧通寶	2			1	"
T'ien-shêng yüan-pao 天聖元寶	4	1			Sung, Jên-tsung 仁宗 (1022-1063)
Ming-tao yüan-pao 明道元寶			1		"
Ching-yü yüan-pao 景祐元寶	1				"
Huang-sung t'ung-pao 皇宋通寶	15	5		1	"
Chih-ho t'ung-pao 至和通寶	2				"
Chia-yü yüan-pao 嘉祐元寶	1	1(?)			"
Chia-yü t'ung-pao 嘉祐通寶	5				"
Chih-p'ing yüan-pao 治平元寶	3			1	Sung, Ying-tsung 英宗 (1063-1067)
Hsi-ning yüan-pao 熙寧元寶	15	2		1	Sung, Shên-tsung 神宗 (1067-1085)
Yüan-fêng t'ung-pao 元豐通寶	22	16	2		"
Yüan-yü t'ung-pao 元祐通寶	10	9		1	Sung, Chê-tsung 哲宗 (1085-1100)
Shao-shêng yüan-pao 紹聖元寶	6	1		1	"
Shêng-sung yüan-pao 聖宋元寶	7	5			Sung, Hui-tsung 徽宗 (1100-1125)
Chêng-ho t'ung-pao 政和通寶	9				"

Name of coin	Site				Comments
	Vân-hải	Hưng-yên	Cồ-loa	Hoa-lư	
Hsüan-ho t'ung-pao 宣和通寶	2				"
Ch'un-yü yüan-pao 淳祐元寶	1				Sung, Li-tsung 理宗 (1224-1264)
Huang-sung yüan-pao 皇宋元寶	2				"
Hung-wu t'ung-pao 洪武通寶	1				Ming, T'ai-tsu 明太祖 (1368-1398)
K'ang-hsi t'ung-pao 康熙通寶	3	1			Ch'ing, Shêng-tsu 清聖祖 (1662-1722)
Li-yung t'ung-pao 利用通寶			1		Wu San-Kuei 吳三桂 (1674-1678)
Hung-hua t'ung-pao 洪化通寶	2	1			"
Ch'ien-lung t'ung-pao 乾隆通寶	13	28			Ch'ing, Kao-tsung 高宗 (1735-1796)
Hsien-fêng t'ung-pao 咸豐通寶	2				Ch'ing, Wên-tsung 文宗 (1851-1861)

## VIETNAMESE COINS

Name of coin	Site				Comments
	Vân-hải	Hưng-yên	Cồ-loa	Hoa-lư	
Đoan-khánh thông-bảo 端慶通寶	1 (Quan-lan)				Lê, Uy-mục-đê 黎威穆帝 (1505-1509)
Cánh-hưng thông-bảo 景興通寶	126	numerous			Lê, Hiên-tông 顯宗 (1740-1787)
Cánh-hưng thái-bảo 景興太寶	1				"
Cánh-hưng đại-bảo 景興大寶	1(?)	1			"
Cánh-hưng cự-bảo 景興巨寶		8			"
Cánh-hưng vĩnh-bảo 景興永寶		7			"
Cánh-hưng tuyên-bảo 景興泉寶	2	1			"
Chiêu-thông thông-bảo 昭統通寶	12	10	1		Lê, Mẫn-đê 愍帝 (1787-1789)
Thái-đức thông-bảo 泰德通寶	4	2			Tây-sơn, Nguyễn Nhạc 西山阮岳 (1778-1793)
Quang-trung thông-bảo 光中通寶	112	numerous			Tây-sơn, Nguyễn Huệ 阮惠 (1788-1792)
Quang-trung đại-bảo 光中大寶	1				"
Cánh-thịnh thông-bảo 景盛通寶	160	numerous			Nguyễn, Quang-toán 阮光纘 (1793-1801)

Name of coin	Site				Comments
	Vân-hải	Hưng-yên	Cổ-loa	Hoa-lư	
Cảnh-thỉnh thông-bảo (big-coin) 景盛通寶 (大錢)	1				"
Gia-long thông-bảo (big-coin) 嘉隆通寶		13			Nguyễn, Thê-tồ 阮世祖 (1802-1819)
Minh-mạng thông-bảo (big-coin) 明命通寶	numerous (Quan-lan)				Nguyễn, Thánh-tồ 聖祖 (1820-1840)
Thiệu-trị thông-bảo (big-coin) 紹治通寶			1		Nguyễn, Hiến-tồ 憲祖 (1841-1847)

found at Quang-châu, but because such coins were also found at Hưng-yên 興安, and Cổ-loa 古螺 and Hoa-lư 華間<sup>14</sup>), these Chinese coins were used fairly widely within Vietnam. A Yüan period record, the *An-nan Chih-lüeh* (Vol. 14), chapter on penal policy, states that, "Coins of the T'ang and Sung periods are used in trade." The severe scarcity of currency in the Sung Dynasty, when copper money was draining out of China into the Southern countries, is a well-known historical fact. It is very likely that some of that copper money came to Vietnam. There are no coins from the Lý or Trần Dynasties listed in the above table; this lack is not at all a phenomenon confined to these sites but is generally true of copper coins in Vietnam<sup>15</sup>).

Now, let us turn to the porcelain artifacts found on Vân-hải Island. I have depended heavily upon the specialist knowledge of Fujio Koyama 小山富士夫 of the Institute for the Oriental Porcelain Studies, because ceramics are completely out of my field of study. All the following descriptions were written based upon informations kindly given by Koyama.

### CERAMIC ARTIFACTS

1. Celadon small bowl. Height: 4.5 cm. Diameter: 8.4 cm. Undecorated, and covered with a translucent pale gray-greenish brown glaze. The rim is unglazed. Of grey kaolinic clay. Product of a kiln in Vietnam, showing influence of the Southern Sung Lung-ch'uan 龍泉 kiln.

2. Celadon medium-sized lobed plate. Height: 4.9 cm. Diameter: 16.3 cm. With a translucent pale gray-green glaze. The impressed design of circling flowers is distinctive to Vietnamese wares. Of coarse grayish-white kaolinic clay. Influenced by the Southern Sung, probably dating from that period. (Plate I, fig. 1)

3. Shard of the base of a celadon medium-sized plate. Decorated along the inner rim with an impressed design of floral scrolls, flower motif in the center. The glaze has oxidized and turned yellow. Of coarse grayish-white kaolinic clay. Probably from the same kiln as 2.

4. Celadon small, deep bowl. Height: 6.7 cm. Diameter: 11.7 cm. Undecorated, covered with a gray-yellow-green glaze through reduction, with crackles. Of coarse light grayish-brown kaolinic clay. Shows influence of the Southern Sung.

5. Celadon deep bowl. Height: 7.5 cm. Diameter: 12.7 cm. Undecorated, covered with a thick, translucent and pure green glaze through full reduction, with bubbles all over. The interior of the foot is unglazed. Of light gray-white kaolinic clay. Probably dates from the Ming Dynasty.

6. Pale celadon medium-sized plate. Height: 3.9 cm. Diameter: 15.9 cm. Decorated with an impressed design of flower in the center. Covered with a thick, translucent pale yellow-green glaze with double crackles all over. The glaze has completely come off the inside. The interior of the foot is unglazed. Of coarse semi-kaolinic clay. The style shows the influence of the Southern Sung. The foot ring is small.

7. Pale celadon small bowl. Height: 6 cm. Diameter: 15.7 cm. Inside decorated with an impressed design of flower with two lines incised. The outside is incised with three lines. Covered with a thick, translucent and yellow-green glaze, slightly oxidized with double crackles. The glaze has come off considerably at the rim. Of semi-kaolinic pale gray-brown clay. Shows influence from the Southern Sung; may date from the Southern Sung or early Ming period.

8. Pale celadon bowl. Height: 4.9 cm. Diameter: 12.3 cm. Tortoise motif applied in relief is in the bottom. The lip is slightly lobed. Covered with a thick, translucent and pale green glaze, with crackles all over. Of light gray-brown semi-kaolinic clay. (Plate I, fig. 2)

9. Shard of the lip of a pale celadon bowl. Covered with a thick, translucent and pale gray-yellow-brown glaze, oxidized to a loquat shade (soft orange), with fine double crackles. Of light gray semi-kaolinic clay.

10. Shard of the body of a pale celadon bowl. Ridged with lotus petal pattern on the exterior. Covered with a thick, translucent, dusky yellow-green glaze, with double crackles. Of gray semi-kaolinic clay. (Artifacts 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 appear to be from the same kiln.)

11. Three shards of the base of a celadon plate. Decorated inside with impressed design, with four spots. Covered with a thick, transparent and pale olive glaze, with double crackles. Of firm, slightly coarse semi-kaolinic clay. Influenced by the Northern Sung: has the characteristic Sung foot ring. Probably Sung period product of Vietnamese kiln.

12. Pale yellow glazed medium-sized plate. Height: 3.5 cm. Diameter: 15.7 cm. Decorated with circling flowers impressed inside, covered with a thin, transparent, and pale yellow-brown glaze, with fine bubbles all over. Most of the glaze has come off the exterior. Of white kaolinic clay. The thin-walled form derived from the Northern Sung wares, but the design on the interior is distinctive to Vietnamese, and it seems no similar



pieces are to be found in China.

13. Pale bluish-gray porcelain small plate. Height: 3.7 cm. Diameter: 14 cm. Plain, but incised with lines on the interior and exterior. Covered with a thin, transparent and pale bluish-gray glaze. The rim and foot are unglazed, and the glaze has come off part of the interior and exterior. Shows influence of the Northern Sung *Ying-ch'ing* 影青 ware. Made in Vietnam in the Sung period.

14. Pale bluish-gray porcelain medium-sized plate. Height: 3.4 cm. Diameter: 16.7 cm. Covered with a translucent (slightly devitrified) and pure pale bluish gray glaze through full reduction. The rim and interior of the foot are unglazed; the interior of the foot is burnt, developing a light reddish-brown color. Badly rust-stained from the soil. Modeled on the Northern Sung *Ying-ch'ing* ware, with the characteristic Northern Sung bent outside curve, probably made in Vietnam in the Northern Sung period. (Plate II, fig. 1)

15. Shard of a pale bluish-gray porcelain plate. Decorated with an impressed design of paired fish in the bottom. Since the glaze was imperfectly reduced, a grayish-white color developed. The glaze has come off the exterior, and the interior is rust-stained by the soil. Imitates the style of the Northern Sung Ting-yao 定窯 ware; is thin-walled. Corresponds to the Sung period, probably to the Northern Sung.

16. Pale bluish-gray porcelain small bowl. Height: 5.9 cm. Diameter: 15.8 cm. The interior is decorated with an impressed floral scrolls, with a lobed lip. Covered with a rather thick and grayish-white glaze with crackles all over. The glaze has the distinctive luster and marked tendency to peel off characteristic of Vietnamese ware. Of grayish-white semi-kaolinic clay. The style is based on the Southern Sung ware but with Vietnamese features. (Plate II, fig. 2)

17. Pale bluish-gray porcelain small bowl. Height: 5.5 cm. Diameter: 14.5 cm. Undecorated, covered with a transparent and pale bluish gray glaze, with crackles all over, and five spots in the bottom. Of semi-kaolinic, grayish-white clay. One half is badly damaged. Probably from the same period as 16; Southern Sung style.

18. White glazed medium-sized plate. Height: 3.5 cm. Diameter: 14.3 cm. Undecorated. Five spots in the center. The glaze is transparent slightly grayish-yellow tinged with white, with a remarkable luster, with crackles all over. Of pure white chalky clay. The inside of the foot has the brownish-green glaze characteristic of Vietnamese ware from the Sung through the Ch'ing periods. The style resembles that of the Sung ware; probably the Sung period.

19. White glazed broad bowl. Height: 5.1 cm. Diameter: 13.4 cm. Undecorated. The glaze is transparent white faintly tinged with yellow, with small bubbles and crackles all over. Of fine, pure white, chalky

clay. Shows the Sung influence. (Plate III, fig. 1)

20. Three shards. Similar to 19.

21. White glazed broad bowl. Height: 2.7 cm. Diameter: 20 cm. Undecorated, covered with thin and translucent glaze, with fine crackles. Flat bottomed without foot. A pale gray-yellow-greenish glaze, originally covered the whole bowl, remains in only a few places in which the glaze was especially thick. Of extremely coarse eggshell-colored clay. Sung period.

22. Hard baked small, deep bowl. Height: 6 cm. Diameter: 16.3 cm. Flat bottomed without foot, warped all over. No glaze. Of a coarse, light grayish red-brown clay. So-called *Namban kaiki* 南蛮灰器 (Southern Barbarian ash receptacle). Dating uncertain, but probably made in Vietnam in the Ming period. (Plate III, fig. 2)

23. Fragment of the rim of a white-glazed bowl. Decorated with a ridged lotus petal pattern on the exterior. A white slip underneath the glaze which is transparent white, slightly tinged with yellow, with a tendency to peel off, and fine crackles all over. Of light red coarse clay. Reflects influence of Southern Sung Lung-ch'uan 龍泉 celadon wares, but no similar examples are known.

24. Two shards. The glaze did not reach the point of fusion, did not result in color development. Both of grayish-white coarse semi-kaolinic clay.

25. Hard baked small bowl of red earthenware unglazed. Height: 6 cm. Diameter: 15.9 cm. Of fine, viscous, dark red clay. The firing temperature did not reach 1,000 degrees. A recent product of a local folk kiln. Similar pieces have been excavated in Java area.

26. Hard baked shard of earthenware. Of viscous, dark grayish-brown clay. Fired at a temperature exceeding 1,200 degrees. Probably recent product of local folk kiln.

27. Fragment of dark green glazed bowl. The glaze is thin, translucent dark green. Of dark gray clay containing extremely coarse iron particles. A crude product, probably a recent product of a local folk kiln.

28, 29 and 30. Blue and white small plates. Each height: 2.5 cm. Diameter: 28 and 29 are 13.8 cm. 30, 14.2 cm. The center is decorated with a design of distinctively floral scrolls, and the exterior with a design of three orchids. A crude product, and the color is blackish blue, except where reduction was complete. Of white kaolinic clay, slightly tinged with gray. Probably made in an Vietnamese kiln at the very end of the Ming period. Similar to what in Japan is called "Annamese blue-and-white ware" 安南染附. (Plate IV, fig. 1)

31. Blue and white bowl. Height: 5.5 cm. Diameter: 12 cm. Decorated with scroll pattern in the bottom, flowering plants on exterior. Since it was not completely fired, the glaze shows some loss of transparency. The blue is tinged with purple or black. Crudely made, similar to what

in Japan is called "Annamese blue-and-white ware". Probably dates from the Ch'ing Dynasty. Artifact from Quan-lan Xã.

32, 33, 34. Blue and white small plates. Each height: 2.1 cm. Diameter: 14 cm. Decorated with scroll pattern in the center with circling flower spray, circling flowers on the exterior as well. The glaze is a transparent white with a celadon tone, grayish-white where the firing was imperfect. The blue is a beautiful indigo blue, blackish where the firing was bad, steel blue where the design was applied thickly. Of white kaolinic clay. A crude product, probably of a folk kiln in Vietnam in the late Ming or early Ch'ing period. Inside the foot rim of 32 is the inscription 多和, perhaps the era name written by an illiterate potter. Vietnamese era names include Thái-hòa 太和 (1443-53), Nguyên-hòa 元和 (1533-48?) and Chính-hòa 正和 (1680-1705). Assuming this inscription is an era name, it must be one of these, most likely Thái-hòa. Item 34 is an artifact from Quan-lan Xã. (Plate IV, fig. 2)

35, 36. Blue and white medium-sized dishes. Each height: 2.7 cm. Diameter: 15.3 cm. A design of chrysanthemum, orchid, bamboo, crags, and banks is drawn in the interior, three designs of "cloud" character are drawn on the exterior. The interior of the foot ring has Chinese letters Tuyền-thuận 泉順 for 35 and Kim 金 for 36. Covered with slightly bluish transparent white glaze. Of white kaolinic clay. Of crude manufacture. Produced from a mould. Probably Ch'ing Dynasty product of Vietnamese kiln. Item 36 is an artifact from Quan-lan Xã.

The sites of the kilns for the Vietnamese ceramics, are unknown in most cases, detailed research remains to be carried out. But from the variety of ceramic artifacts excavated, however, it is reasonable to conclude that the kilns were quite numerous in Vietnam<sup>10</sup>. The artifacts from Vân-hải Tông, described above, display several types. According to Koyama, they date from the Sung (possibly the Northern Sung) to the Ch'ing periods, and, while they clearly show strong Chinese influence, are regarded as Vietnamese wares. The question of the locations of their kilns is of great interest, but all that can be said at present is that they were brought on trading ships from the west, either to be used at Vân-đồn or, in the majority of cases, to be sold as trade goods and taken to other lands. Similar Vietnamese wares excavated in Indonesia were probably brought from the port of Vân-đồn in the trading ships of the South Seas countries.

This study was based mainly on the artifacts found in the course of silica digging on Vân-hải Island. Excavations at Quan-lan and on neighboring islands would doubtless unearth various other artifacts. Since the anchorage is better at Quang-châu Xã than at Quan-lan Xã and since older artifacts were found at Quang-châu Xã, one may hypothesize that the

ancient site of Vân-đồn harbor was near Quang-châu Xã. Firmer conclusions must await further excavations, but there can be no doubt that the Quang-châu Xã artifacts are associated with the international trade at Vân-đồn.

The author wishes to express his deep appreciation to Kahachi Mawatari 馬渡嘉八 who made possible the field study at historical site of the port, and also to Fujio Koyama 小山富士夫, Seizo Irita 入田整三, Kim Yung-kun 金永鍵, and Satoshi Nakajima 中島敏 for their learned support and collaboration.

### NOTES

- 1) The equivalent passage found in the *Đại-Việt Sử-kí* 大越史記 (Tây-so'n edition) clearly states that merchants engaged in the maritime trade were asked to settle in Vân-đồn.
- 2) Toyohachi Fujita 藤田豊八: *Tao-i Chih-lüeh Hsiao-chu* 島夷誌略校註, fols. 33-34, in: *Hsüeh-t'ang Ts'ung-k'é* 雪堂叢刻.
- 3) H. Yule and H. Cordier: *Travels of Marco Polo* Vol. II, 1921, pp. 276-80. P. Pelliot, Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, *BEFEO*, IV, 1904, pp. 234-7.
- 4) *Tao-i Chih-lüeh Hsiao-chu*, fol. 13.
- 5) The Lê Dynasty Criminal Code *Quốc-triều Hình-luật* cited here is from texts in the author's possession or from the *Lịch-triều Hiến-chu'o'ng Loại-chi*, 歷朝憲章類誌, Vol. 37.
- 6) Tatsurō Yamamoto 山本達郎: An'nan Reichō no kon'in hō 安南黎朝の婚姻法 (Marriage law of Vietnam under the Lê Dynasty), *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報, Vol. 8, 1938, p. 249.
- 7) *Ming Shih-lu* 明實錄, Yung-lê 永樂 1, eighth month.
- 8) Pelliot: Un Ouvrage sur les premiers temps de Macao. *T.P.* XXXI, 1934, p. 60.
- 9) Kim Yong-Kun 金永鍵: Unton to Nihonjin 雲屯と日本人 (Vân-đồn and the Japanese), *Rekishigaku Kenkyū* 歴史學研究, Vol. 7, 1937, pp. 66-70.
- 10) Nomenclature des Huyệns, Cantons et Villages de la Province (de Quảng-yên): Documents destinés au Dictionnaire de l'Indochine annamite, en préparation par la Résidence de France à Quảng-yên, Protectorat du Tonkin de la République Française.
- 11) There was a crumbling stone embankment to the north of Quan-lan Xã 觀爛社, but since there were villagers who knew when it had been constructed, it appeared not to be especially old.
- 12) The artifacts are now stored in the Oriental Culture Academy, Tokyo Institute.
- 13) These coins which have been listed as Chinese are probably founded all by Chinese mints. Occasionally, however, Vietnamese mints would simply copy Chinese coins. Further research into Vietnamese coinages may reveal a few Vietnamese copies among the listed Chinese coins. Here for convenience they will be treated as Chinese.
- 14) A. Schroeder: *Annam, Etudes numismatiques* 大南貨幣圖錄, pp. 368, 372-77.
- 15) See Schroeder, op. cit., and D. Lacroix: *Numismatique annamite*, 1900.
- 16) For Vietnamese ceramics see Fujio Koyama 小山富士夫: Annan no tōji 安南の陶磁 (Vietnamese ceramics): *Tōki Kōza* 陶器講座, Vol. 21, 1937, pp. 1-57.



Fig. 1 (approximately 3:5)

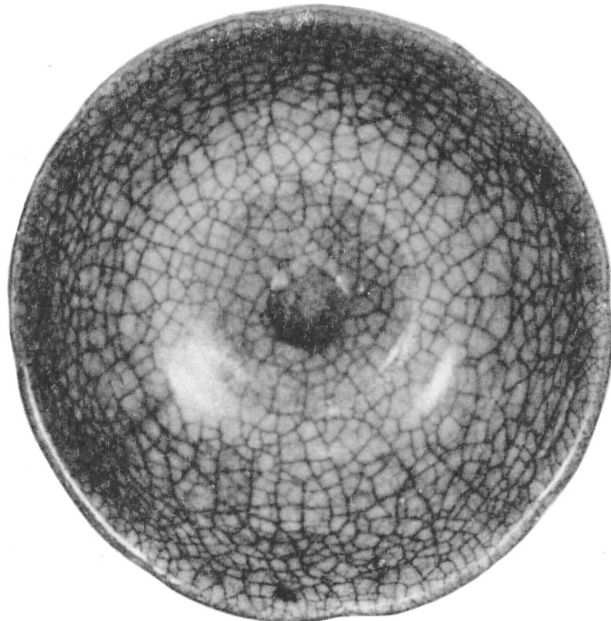


Fig. 2 (approximately 3:5)

Plate II

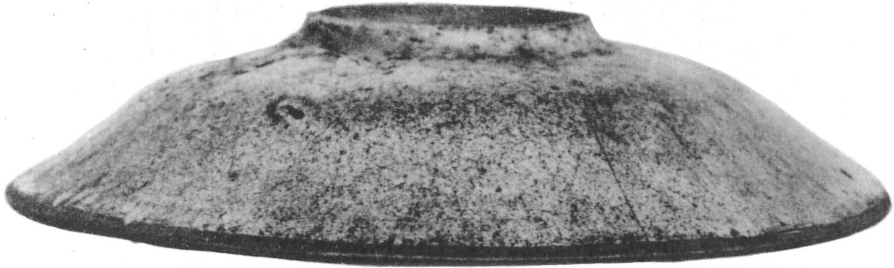


Fig. 1 (approximately 7 : 10)

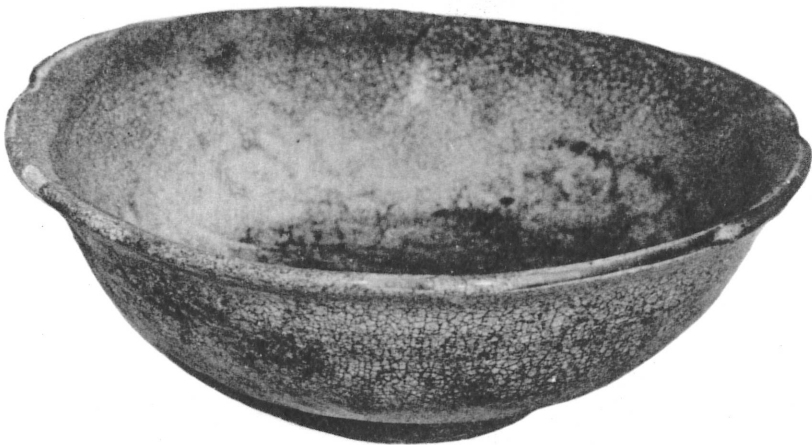


Fig. 2 (approximately 7 : 10)



Fig. 1 (approximately 7 : 10)



Fig. 2 (approximately 2 : 3)

Plate IV



Fig. 1 (approximately 3 : 5)



Fig. 2 (approximately 3 : 5)