

Local Rule of Đại Việt under the Lý Dynasty: Evolution of a Charter Polity after the Tang-Song Transition in East Asia

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Abstract

Empirical research into Đại Việt before the 14th century has made little progress since the 1990s. To improve this situation, I here examine how the Lý dynasty (1009-1226), the first long-lasting dynasty of Đại Việt, established stable local rule after the “Tang-Song Transition” in China that changed the entire picture of East Asia (including both Southeast and Northeast Asia). This paper focuses on two issues. First are the local administrative units and their governors. The nature of both higher units like lộ (circuits), phủ and châu (provinces), and basic units like hương and giáp (districts?) will be examined. Second, I examine non-institutional channels of local rule by the imperial family. By combining such administrative and non-administrative means, the Lý central court enforced a considerably stable local rule for two centuries. Finally, I attempt some preliminary comparisons with the local rule of Goryeo (918-1392) in the Korean peninsula, a polity that shared many features with Đại Việt in the process of localization of the Tang and Song models. I hope this approach of viewing small empires from the standpoint not of their “goal” (modern states) but of their “start” (charter polities), will enrich the discussion of East Asian small empires.

Keywords

Đại Việt, the Lý Dynasty, Local rule, Tang-Song Transition, Goryeo

I. A SOLAR POLITY OR A CENTRALIZED STATE?

During the 1970s and the 1980s, the conventional “Sinicised” image of Đại Việt (Vietnam) as a strongly centralized bureaucratic state was replaced, especially for its early phase before the 14th century, with a more “Southeast Asian” image of a polity with physically loose administrative institutions and bold ideological claims of the ruler’s universal authority.¹ Even in Vietnam, the Marxist model of “Asiatic Mode of Production” was appropriated for the phase before the 14th century in order to explain the simplicity of administrative apparatus and the closeness between the ruler and the ruled (compared to the “centralized feudal system” with “despotic” rule after the 15th century).² In his recent global

¹ See, for example, Oliver W. Wolters, “Le Van Huu’s Treatment of Ly Than Ton’s Reign,” in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography*, ed. C. D. Cowan and Oliver Wolters (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 1127-1137, and Keith W. Taylor, “Authority and Legitimacy in 11th Century Vietnam,” in *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, ed. David Marr and A. C. Milner (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986). They worked on such topics as political authority and legitimacy, and their articulation in historiography and literature. Sakurai Yumio (“Richo-ki [1010-1225] Koga deruta kaitaku shiron [The Red River Delta during the Lý Period],” *Tonan Ajia Kenkyu* 18, no. 2 (1980) (Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University) and do, *Land, Water, Rice, and Men in Early Vietnam: Agrarian Adaptation and Socio-Political Organization*, Keith W. Taylor, ed., Thomas A. Stanley (trans.), n.d.) shed light on the small scale and the diversity of agricultural production that must not have supported a monolithic centralized administration. Despite his initial hesitation in the first edition of his mandala theory (Oliver W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspective* [Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1982]), Wolters finally treated Đại Việt till the 14th century as one of Southeast Asian mandalas (Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, revised ed. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999). In Russia, Poliacoff (Poliacốp, A.B. [Vũ Minh Giang và Vũ Văn Quân trans.], *Sự phục hưng của nước Đại Việt thế kỷ X-XIV* [The Revival of Dai Viet during the 10th to 14th Centuries], Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, 1996.) also doubted the centralized and confucianistic rule before the Trần Dynasty (1226-1400).

² See Lê Kim Ngân, “Một giả thiết về kết cấu kinh tế của xã hội Việt Nam từ thế kỷ X đến thế kỷ XIV: Nguồn gốc phát sinh và sự tiến triển của nó (A hypothesis concerning the economic formation of Vietnamese society from the 10th to the 14th centuries: Its origine and evolution),” in Viện Sử học (Institute of History), *Tìm hiểu xã hội Việt Nam thời Lý-Trần* (Research in Vietnamese society during the Lý-Trần period), Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội, 1981, and Tran Quoc Vuong, “Traditions, Acculturation, Renovation: The Evolutional Pattern of Vietnamese Culture,” in *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, ed. David Marr and A. C. Milner (1986), for instance.

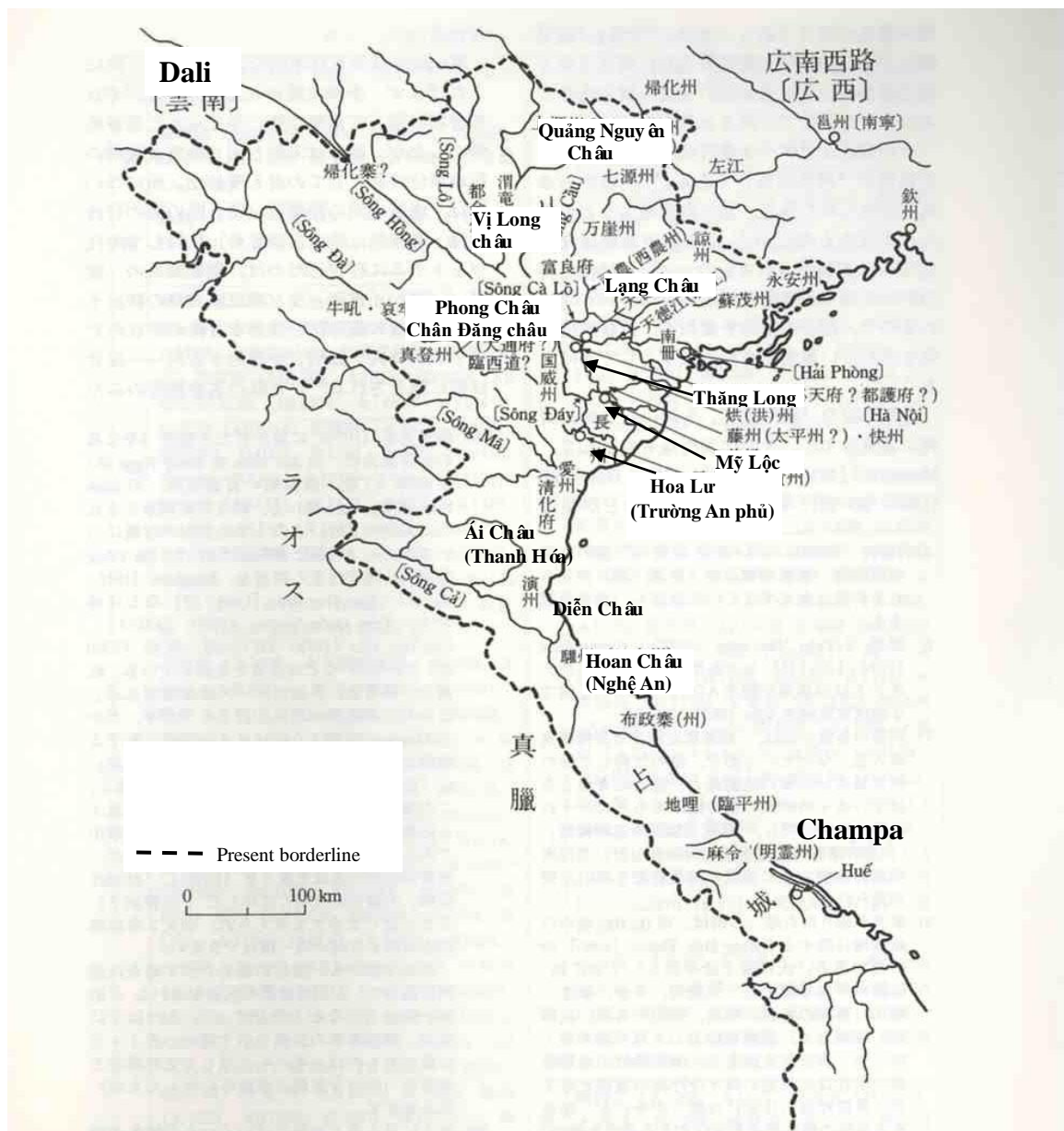
comparisons, Lieberman described Đại Việt before its collapse in the 14th century as a “solar polity”, in which the central power could enforce strong control only in the core region, and cultural integration in both horizontal and vertical directions was still in an early phase³. Nevertheless, orthodox historiography in Vietnam still insists that the Lý Dynasty (1009-1226), the first long-lasting dynasty of Đại Việt after its foundation in the 10th century, had already established a centralized state system, though it had not yet been “despotic” as the phase after the 15th Century⁴. This gap partly reflects the current political framework of Vietnam which eulogizes the “unity in diversity” of the nation. At the same time, however, scholars should pay more attention to methodological problems of earlier debates (both inside and outside Vietnam), including deficiencies in theoretical considerations and textual/empirical examinations concerning the relationship between the dynastic constitution and the daily reality.

Taking such academic circumstances into consideration, I consider here how the central power of the Lý Dynasty enforced a stable local rule during the period of the “Tang-Song Transition”

³ Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c.800-1830, volume 1: Integration on the Mainland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and *volume 2: Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴ For recent arguments, see Phạm Đức Anh, “Về tính chất tập quyền trong thiết chế chính trị triều Lý (On the Centralized Nature of Power in the Lý’s Administration [1009-1225],” *Nghiên cứu Lịch sử* (Historical Studies) 426 (2011) and Trần Thị Vinh, “Thể chế chính trị Việt Nam thế kỷ XI – XIII dưới triều Lý (Vietnamese Political Regime during the 11th to the 13th Centuries under the Lý Dynasty),” in Ủy ban Nhân dân Thành phố Hà Nội (The Peoples Committee of Hanoi city), *Kỷ yếu hội thảo khoa học: 1000 năm vương triều Lý và kinh đô Thăng Long* (Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium: 1,000 Years of the Lý Dynasty and the Thăng Long Capital), Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Thế giới, 2009. See also general histories (like Viện Sử học, *Lịch sử Việt Nam thế kỷ X – đầu thế kỷ XV* [The History of Vietnam from the 10th to the beginning of the 15th Century], Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội, 2002) and the general evaluation of the Lý Dynasty in the memorial publications of the 1,000th anniversary of the Thăng Long Capital (as Nguyễn Quang Ngọc ed., *Vương triều Lý [1009-1226]* [The Lý Dynasty (1009-1226)] [Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Hà Nội, 2011]). The paper of Phạm Đức Anh is of special interest because of his criticism of Japanese and American scholars on the one hand, and his inductive examination of local administrative units on the other.

Map 1. Đại Việt during the Lý Period [adapted from Map 6-1 in Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 228]



of the Sinic World. My investigation of the local rule of the Lý Dynasty rests mainly on inductive analysis of major sources and partly on inferences drawn from comparison with China and Korea. To attain my goal, I examine two issues. The first is the modification and localization of the Chinese-modeled hierarchy of local administrative units. The second is the non-institutional relationship between the imperial court and local powers.⁵

⁵ Such inductive research was conducted first by Sakurai Yumio, “Richo-ki” and then by me (“Vetonamu Richo-no gunji-kodo to chiho-shihai (Military Activities and Local Rule of the Ly Dynasty in Vietnam),” *Tonan Ajia Kenkyu* (Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto Universi-

II. LOCAL UNITS AND THEIR GOVERNORS

1. Three Interpretations of the *Lộ* (Circuit) System

Along with the famous record of the relocation of the capital to Thăng Long in the seventh lunar month of 1010, the dynastic annals *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (hereafter TT) also include the following well-known record for the end of 1010.

Converted ten units of *đạo* 道 into twenty-four *lộ* 路 units and [among these *lộ* units?] made Hoan Châu (present-day Nghệ An and Hà Tĩnh area) and Ái Châu (Thanh Hóa) *trại* 寨.

Many textbooks and general histories mention this event as evidence of centralized rule, regarding *lộ* units as local administrative units of the highest rank. However, as Sakurai Yumio pointed out⁶, this record is not entirely reliable⁷, first of all because the event is not recorded in other annals of Đại Việt, namely, *Đại Việt sử lược*⁸ (hereafter SL⁹). Regarding the *lộ* (circuit)

ty) 24, no. 4 (1987), and “Vetonamu Richo-no chiho gyosei-tan’i to chiho tochisha (Local Administrative Units and Local Rulers of the Ly Dynasty in Vietnam),” *Tonan Aija Kenkyu* 26, no. 3 (1988), both with insufficient theoretical analysis. Recently I resumed the research and published my findings in chapter 6 of my book (Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*) in Japanese with lists of toponyms accompanied by unit names (Ibid, 229-236: Tables 6-1 to 6-4). The most basic list based on the two dynastic annals, namely *Đại Việt sử lược* and *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (Ibid, 232-4: Table 6-2), was also reproduced in Momoki, “Local Rule of Đại Việt under the Lý dynasty: Evolution of a Charter Polity after the Tang-Song Transition in East Asia,” paper presented at the annual congress of AAS, Toronto, March 15-18, 2012. The current paper elaborates the arguments of this AAS paper, also with the table (see the end of the paper).

⁶ Sakurai, “Richo-ki,” 274.

⁷ TT itself is contradictory, because an entry for the year 1002 had already recorded that ten *đạo* were replaced with *lộ*, *phủ* and *châu*. In 1222, TT again tells that the whole country was divided into twenty-four *lộ*. Moreover, Hoan Châu and Ái châu are never called *trại* after 1010. The record that Hoan Châu and Ái châu were made *trại* may have been invented after the Trần demarcation during 1256-73 (recorded in TT), when Thanh Hóa and Nghệ An were treated as *trại* in contrast to the *kinh* 京 region (probably covering the Red River Delta) as the boundary of civil examination. If so, the record of *trại* in 1010 is of no use for the purpose of investigating the nature of *trại* units during the Lý period that indeed appear in the annals as shown in the Table in the end of this paper. See also note 40 below.

⁸ Cheng Ching-ho (*Kogobon Daietsu Shiriyaku* (A Collated Text of *Đại Việt sử lược*),

system in particular and the hierarchy of local administrative units in general, there are actually three different interpretations.

Henri Maspéro asserted that *đạo* during the Đinh and Lê periods was a unit of military and inspectional affairs as was the case of the Tang, but *lộ* was rather analogous to the Tang's military unit of *dodufu* 都督府 under *đạo*, and each region had several *lộ* units which belonged to the *lộ* of the seat of regional government (*phủ lộ* 府路).¹⁰ In Maspéro's opinion¹¹, as was the case of the Tang, *châu* 州 (province) were the highest-ranking administrative units at the beginning of the Lý Dynasty, with some *phủ* 府 units that were honorific titles conferred upon important *châu* units. After that, however, *phủ* became the highest-ranking administrative units, while *châu* came to designate mainly settlements of non-Annamese ethnic groups.¹² In the late 12th Century,

Tokyo: Soka Daigaku Ajia Bunka Kenkyu-sho (The Institute for Asian Culture, Soka University), 1987: 16-19), and Momoki (*Chusei Daietsu*, 17-19, 161-2) think SL was compiled not at the end but in the early phase of the Trần period. Foreign scholars (including Poliacoff and I) emphasize the value of SL, even though the original was carried away by the Ming invaders and only crude copies by the Chinese survive in modern times. On the contrary, Vietnamese scholars tend to stick to the orthodoxy of TT (completed in 1479 and recognized as official annals) as well as late early modern studies of historical evidence such as *Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí* 歷朝憲章類誌 by Phan Huy Chú and *Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục* 欽定越史通鑑綱目 by the historiography office of the Nguyễn Dynasty, regardless of their uncertain bases for the period before the 13th century.

⁹ Because TT and SL both contain few entries for most years, the date of the quoted record hereafter will be shown simply as TT-1010 (the year 1010 of TT) or SL-1115/1 (the first lunar month in the year 1115 of SL). Dates in the lunar calendar are converted to those of the Christian Era mechanically, regardless of the lag at the end of a year. The Chinese chronicle *Xu Zizhi Tongjian Changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (hereafter CB, a chronicle of the Northern Song compiled by Li Tao 李燾) will be cited in the same way, even though it contains far more entries for each year.

¹⁰ Henri Maspéro, "Études d'histoire d'Annam II: La géographie politique de l'empire d'Annam sous les Lí, les Trần et les Hồ (X^e-XV^e siècles)," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* tome 16 (1916) fasc. 1, 41.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

¹² Besides ordinary *zhou* 州, which were administrative units situated between *xian* 縣 (Vietnamese < huyện, district) and *dao* 道 (Vietnamese < đạo, circuit), there were two other kinds of *zhou* in Tang China, namely, autonomous regions of non-Han ethnic groups (*jimi-zhou* 羈縻州) and honorific titles conferred upon *xian*. In the case of Lý Đại Việt, there were only two types of *châu*: the *jimi zhou* type (ordinarily ruled by non-Annamese local chiefs called *châu mục* 州牧 or *thủ lĩnh* 首領, but sometimes governed by Annamese governors *trị châu* 知州 when they were too fragmented or lacked powerful local leaders); and honorific titles conferred upon *huyện* 縣 units. The core area of the Red River Delta (under the jurisdiction of *Đô hộ phủ* 都護府) was divided into *huyện* units without founding *châu* units. Maspéro, "La géographie politique," 37-38.

the entire territory of Đại Việt was divided into five *phủ* units, namely, Đô hộ phủ (covering the Red River Delta), Đại Thông phủ 大通府 (Northwestern hills?), Thanh Hóa phủ (Southern provinces), Phủ Lương phủ (Northeastern mountains) and Bắc Giang phủ 北江府 (the border area with Chinese Guangdong and Guangxi).¹³

Đào Duy Anh¹⁴ simply believed that the twenty-four *lộ* units recorded in TT-1010 were the highest-ranking administrative units. However, TT-1010 lists the names of only two provinces, Ái Châu and Hoan Châu, which were denominated as *trại* 寨 (military jurisdictions in the periphery?). Anh tried to identify the rest with two assumptions. First, there may have been many *lộ* units to which only one *phủ* (governed by *trị phủ* 知府 or *phán phủ* 判府) or *châu* (governed by *tri châu* 知州) belonged because the territory of Đại Việt was small.¹⁵ Therefore, a place name recorded as a *phủ* or a *châu* may have been equivalent a *lộ* unit. Second, the number twenty-four in TT-1010 may have copied the number at the end of the Lý period recorded in TT-1222. Anh listed twenty-four regions as units that were equivalent to *lộ* and already existent by the end of the Lý. In mountainous areas, there were *châu* units of the *jimizhou* type governed by *thủ lĩnh* chiefs, which were on the same level as *huyện* units in the lowlands. In addition, there were units such as *hương* 鄉 and *giáp* 甲 in the lowlands (similar status to *huyện*), and *trại* 寨 and *động* 洞 in the mountains (similar to *châu* of the *jimizhou* type).

¹³ Ibid, 30-31, 40. Maspéro made this identification mainly based on *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答, a Chinese source compiled c. 1178 that lists four *phủ*, 13 *châu* and three *trại* of the country of Annam, but he added the fifth *phủ* of Bắc Giang based on a misreading of SL. His identification of these *phủ* appears to be overly speculative. Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 247 n. 48, 252 n. 65.

¹⁴ Đào Duy Anh, *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời—Nghiên cứu địa lý học lịch sử Việt Nam* (The Territory of Vietnam through Historical Periods: A Study on Historical Geography of Vietnam), (Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Khoa học, 1964), 90-93. Despite his more inductive approach to research, Phạm Đức Anh, “Về tính chất tập quyền” still follows Anh’s framework

¹⁵ For the Trần Period, Maspéro wrote the same thing. See Maspéro, “La géographie politique,” 45-46.

Sakurai Yumio,¹⁶ who did not comment on Maspéro's work, criticized the systematic interpretation of Vietnamese scholars, not only because the 1010 event was not recorded in SL, but also because both TT and SL recorded few real names of *lộ* (see the Table below). In Sakurai's opinion, the *lộ* system covering the entire territory during the Lý Period (before 1222?) was not effective, if it was not an invention of the compiler of TT. The highest-ranking units included *lộ đạo*, *phủ* and *châu*, the second ranking *quận*, *huyện* and *trấn*, the third ranking *giáp*, *hương*, *thôn* 村, *ấp* 邑 and *xã* 社. Every place name was given a unit title quite arbitrarily, to the extent that the titles no longer functioned to designate a position within a unified administrative system. There were of course semi-independent *châu* units outside the Red River Delta, which derived from *jimizhou* units during the period of Chinese protectorate (usually governed by indigenous chiefs like *châu mục* or *thủ lĩnh*, but sometimes by *trị châu* governors who were despatched temporarily by the central government to secure strategic positions). Even in the Red River Delta, there remained semi-independent local powers (called *châu* or *đạo*) which would be the major actors in the civil war at the end of the Lý Period. The distribution of such hereditary local powers on the one hand and *phủ* and outer palaces (*hành cung* 行宮) on the other suggests that the central court was able to control directly only limited areas, including the Thăng Long capital, Thiên Đức phủ (where the first emperor Lý Công Uẩn was reportedly born), the West floodplain and the lower delta.

Before reviewing these contrasting explanations through an inductive approach, we should remind ourselves of two features of the Chinese models that might have influenced the Lý system. First, when a place name recorded in the form of the title(s) of the governor/leader may include different categories of title: one indicating the person's real function/post, one indicating a nominal position corresponding to the person's bureaucratic rank, or one indicating the person's peerage. Titles of each category can bear the place name with a unit title that corresponds to the official/peerage title. Such place names and unit titles can vary

¹⁶ Sakurai, "Richo-ki"; *Land, Water*, chap. 3.

depending on a number of factors including the status and honor of the recipient and the literary tendency to employ ancient place names and/or unit titles (especially for the titles indicating the rank or peerage) as eulogistic denominations. A person can hold two or three real functions at the same time, including temporary tasks. Though records related to a person’s promotion or biography may record all categories he held at the same time, ordinary records only mention the category corresponding to the event to be recorded.¹⁷ Second, according to the standard view in Japanese academia, the *lu* (Vietnamese < lộ) under the Song Dynasty (960-1279) which inaugurated the *lu* system was basically a unit of superintendence (in military, judiciary and financial spheres), although its administrative function was gradually strengthened. *Lu* itself did not have its own office, and the post of a *lu* official was often held by a high-ranking *fu* or *zhou* official in the area which the *lu* supervised.¹⁸

¹⁷ For instance, according to Nguỡng sơn Lĩnh Xứng tự bi minh 仰山靈稱寺碑銘 inscription (erected in 1126), Lý Thường Kiệt, a famous eunuch general, held the title of Tr í Ái Ch âu Cửu Ch ân quận Thanh Hóa trấn chư quân châu sự 知愛州九真郡清化鎮諸軍州事 (director of the affairs of military troops and districts in Ái Ch âu = Cửu Ch ân quận = Thanh Hóa trấn?) (Phan Văn Các and Claudine Salmon, eds., *Văn khắc Hán nôm Việt Nam tập 1* (越南漢喃銘文匯編第一集 北屬時期至李朝; *Sino-Vietnamese Epigraphic Sources, vol 1: The Peiriod of Chinese Domination to the Ly Dynasty*), Hà Nội: Viện Nghi ên cứu Hán Nôm and École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1998, 165). Both Ái Ch âu and Cửu Ch ân quận are old names of Thanh Hóa, probably employed as eulogistic names. Because this title indicates a military governorship, the real regional name Thanh Hóa must be accompanied by the unit title of *trấn* rather than *phủ*, which is related to civil administration. During the Trần Period, we can find a more complicated set of titles in Tiên Long sơn Kim Cương tự Hiền Diêu th áp bi văn 仙隆山金剛寺顯曜塔碑文 erected in 1367, Phan Văn Các et. al, ed., *Văn khắc Hán nôm Việt Nam tập 2* (越南漢喃銘文匯編 第2集陳朝; *Sino-Vietnamese Epigraphic Sources, vol 2: The Tran Dynasty*), 2 vols (Hà Nội: Viện Nghi ên cứu Hán Nôm; Jia Yi: Zhongzheng daxue wenxueyuan [嘉義：中正大学文学院], 2002), 478-9, which lists the full set of official and peerage titles of Khai Quốc đại vương Trần Cung Tịnh 開国大王陳恭靖, including titles related to local governorship such as Hoàng Châu Trường An phủ Nghê An phủ lộ đô nguyên soái 黃州長安府又安府路都元帥 (super-marshal of Hoàng Ch âu = Trường An phủ and Nghê An phủ lộ?, a title probably indicating a military rank), sư trì tiết Nghê An phủ lộ Đại An hải môn trấn chư quân sự 使持節又安府路大安海門鎮諸軍事 (Military Commander of Đại An hải môn trấn of Nghê An phủ lộ, a real post?), hành Nghê An do 安尹 (Provisional governor of Nghê An(?), seemingly not a real post).

¹⁸ Kobayashi Takamichi. “Sodai no koiki-kukaku lo nitsuite (On the Large Jurisdiction of

Then, how should we understand the *lộ* system of Đại Việt during the Lý Period? Though few specific *lộ* units and *lộ* officials are named in the annals, the following records appear to show the character of the *lộ*.

In this year, the whole country suffered a large famine. [Emperor Thái Tông] issued an edict ordering Nguyễn Châu of *xu mật viện* 樞密院 (Ministry of military administration?) to let runaways in *lộ* units 諸路逃人, whenever they recognize a local bridge or a route, make a filling there with wooden tablet on the top of it for the convenience of traffic in all directions (TT-1042).

Robbers rebelled. [Emperor Cao Tông] issued an edict ordering to draft healthy male adults to stuff them into military troops. The *lộ* officials 路官 [were ordered to] command them to arrest robbers (TT-1207).

Divided the whole country into 24 *lộ* circuits. [In every circuit] a Circuit Princesse 路分公主(?) settled there, and bond servants and slaves, and soldiers in the circuit as well, were divided into *giáp* troops (TT-1222).

In the Trần Period, *lộ* official(s), *trấn* official(s) and official(s) of *sát hải sứ* 察海使 (maritime inspector?) were appointed at the same time at the famous trading port of Vân Đồn 雲屯 (which itself was called Vân Đồn trấn) (TT-1349). It is quite likely that the *lộ* in Đại Việt was originally not a general administrative unit but a unit of superintendence which covered other administrative unit(s). Though *lộ* officials under the Trần had broader administrative functions,¹⁹ those under the Lý (and officials of *đạo* which reappear in the end of the Lý Period as well) seem to have had only military and policing functions (like *anfushi* 安撫使 of the Song), as Maspéro asserted.²⁰ This can explain why *phủ*

Lu in the Song Era),” *Shiteki* 25 (2003).

¹⁹ Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, chap. 8.

²⁰ Such records as “Went to Hồng Lộ 烘路 to train soldiers” (SL-1209) and “General of Khái Lộ 快路將軍”(SL-1215/1) may also show the military nature of *lộ* units. A military draft supervised by Tô Hiến Thành and Phi Công Tán (1160), an imperial order to Phi Công Tán, leading one hundred thousand soldiers, to pacify deserters from the army who plundered inhabitants (TT-1163) and another military draft (TT-1179) may also have been recorded as the tasks of *lộ* officials.

and *châu* units appear in the Table far more frequently.²¹ They must have been recognized as general units of the highest rank.

Because the line and staff of the Lý bureaucracy must have been small and primitive compared to the Chinese-modeled large and complicated bureaucratic systems,²² it was also possible that the jurisdictions of a *lộ* and a *phủ* or *châu* overlapped, as Đào Duy Anh thought. If so, more local governors probably held posts of both *lộ* and *phủ* or *châu* than in the Song. Otherwise, only one suitable title may have been actually conferred upon such a governor according to the political situation and the rank, status or fame of the appointee.²³ Moreover, as will be discussed again in the Conclusion, the local unit was perceived as an indicator of political power rather than a territory, and the governor’s title (even that of a real function) often existed without an official post and facilities. In this situation, an event in a locality could be recorded with a unit name following any of the overlapping titles conferred upon the area or to its leader, or with its customary denomination. In other words, an area could be called *phủ*, *châu* (more often because these denominations had long been employed) and sometimes *lộ* (though it had not yet taken root) depending on the context of events and records. Such a situation must have led Sakurai to find “arbitrary denominations”, though it does not necessarily exclude the effectiveness of the system itself. In sum, the three interpretations in question each explained a single issue from a different angle.

²¹ Phạm Đức Anh, “Về t ính chất tập quyền” also listed nine *phủ* units (p. 9) and 52 *châu* units (pp.19-20 n. 27).

²² Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, “Về cấu trúc xã hội chính trị thời Lý-Trần” (The Socio-Political Structure during the Lý-Trần Period), in Viện Sử học, *T ìm hiểu xã hội Việt Nam thời Lý-Trần*, 1981, 332.

²³ For the governor of *lộ* and *phủ* or *châu* during the Trần Period, Maspéro (“La géographie politique,” 45-46) also wondered whether a local governor was appointed to both sort of posts or received only one title as governor of these units depending on the level of honor accorded by the central government.

2. The Hierarchy of Local Units

How should we understand the hierarchy among various local units? First of all, were those units classified into three levels as was the case during later dynasties?

Maspéro failed to show concrete evidence that the five *phủ* units in the late Lý Period covered the whole territory of Đại Việt institutionally,²⁴ though they may have had a general mission to control surrounding areas. *Phủ* still appears to have been a unit to which an important *châu* was promoted, as Ái Châu was renamed Thanh Hóa phủ sometime during 1061 to 1111²⁵ and Hoan Châu may have been renamed Nghệ An phủ in 1101.²⁶ Maspéro's clear-cut distinction between *châu* (found in mountainous area) and *huyện* (in the Red River Delta) is also doubtful. Among *huyện* units in the Table in the end of this paper, some can be found in mountainous area as Liên huyện (TT-1039) or Hạ Liên huyện (SL-1062) in Lạng Sơn or Cao Bằng, and Bắc Như huyện (TT-1141) in Thái Nguyên or Bắc Cạn.²⁷ In the Red River Delta, only a few *huyện* units appear in Table 1, as Thái Bình huyện (TT-1015, in present-day Vĩnh Phúc or Hà Tây), Bình Hợp huyện (TT-1214, in Hà Tây) and Yên Duyên huyện (TT-1216, in Hà Tây.), although other *huyện* units appear in notes of TT, in which Lê Văn Hưu or Ngô Sĩ Liên may have employed unit titles under the Trần or the Lê.²⁸ On the contrary, as Sakurai pointed out, it is possible that some of the local powers that scrambled for hegemony at the end of the Lý Period bore the title *châu*, such as Đẳng (SL/TT-1208; SL-1209), Khóai (SL-1209) and Hồng (TT-1209; TT-1212).

²⁴ Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 252 n. 65.

²⁵ The date may have been during the latter half of the reign of Thánh Tông (1054–72), when Lý Thường Kiệt was dispatched to Thanh Hóa and Nghệ An to supervise officials and people there (TT-1111) or when he governed Thanh Hóa during c.1082–1101 (Hoàng Xuân Hãn, *Lý Thường-kiệt, Lịch sử Ngoại giao Triều Lý* [Ly Thuong Kiet; The Diplomatic History of the Ly Dynasty], Hà Nội: Sùng Nhị, 1949, 368).

²⁶ SL-1101 states “Change Hoan Châu to Nghệ An phủ”. This is the only record in the annals that treats Nghệ An as a *phủ*, while many records after 1011 call Nghệ An *châu*. However, the tombstone inscription of Đỗ Anh Vũ, who seized the power under the reign of Anh Tông (1137–75), mentions Nghệ An phủ. See note 55 below.

²⁷ Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 253.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 253. It is possible that the *huyện* units during the Lý Period were of the same rank as *châu*, rather than below *châu*, although the relationship between *huyện* and *ấp* is problematic as will be discussed below.

In the lowland, titles like *hương* 鄉 and *giáp* 甲²⁹ appear to have been more popular than *huyện* for the unit under the provincial (highest) rank. Such units as *hương* and *giáp* may have been units whose position had not yet been differentiated into the middle rank (like *huyện*) and the basic or lowest rank (like *xã* in the later eras).³⁰ Ấp 邑 units, which often appear at the end of the Lý Period, may not always have been elegant expressions of *huyện* as was the case in China.³¹ Nghĩa Trụ ấp (SL-1215/2), whose leader, Chu Đình, supported Nguyễn Nộn (an anti-Trần leader in Bắc Giang), seems to correspond with Nghĩa Trụ hương recorded in *Thiên uyển tập anh* (60b).³² The most important among the “various *ấp* of the Khóai region 快諸邑”(SL-1211/6) must have been Khóai Hương (SL-1215/3). “Various *ấp* of Phong Châu 峯州諸屬邑” (SL-1217) may have included Cam Giá giáp (TT-1117, present-day Đường Lâm in Hà Tây), where a certain “general of Cam Giá 甘蔗將軍 appeared (SL-1214/4). It is noteworthy that these *ấp* all had military functions. This implies that below the level of provincial units, there were customary units that had not yet been differentiated in terms of administrative hierarchy and whose politico-military power had not yet been dissolved or re-organized administratively.

In the southern provinces, place names are commonly recorded with the names of the province and the *hương* or *giáp*, as Đăn Nãi giáp of Aí Châu (TT-1034), Đổ Gia hương in Nghệ An châu (TT-1128), and Cao Xá giáp in Diễn Châu (TT-1198). In the

²⁹ *Annanzhi* (*An Nam chí* 安南志, commonly called *An Nam chí* 安南志), a record of the Ming rule of Đại Việt, quotes the *Ngọai Ký* annals of “the False Việt” 偽越外紀) to tell the origin of *hương* and *giáp*, according to which *hương* units were founded under the *xian* (*huyện*) rank during the late Tang Period but were replaced with *giáp* under the Liang of the Five-Dynasty Period. So far, no confirmatory Tang or Five-Dynasty record has been found.

³⁰ Some place names bearing the title *hương*, such as Siâu Lôi hương (TT-1068; SL-1115) and Thanh Oai hương (TT-1207), would bear the title *huyện* in the early modern era. See Sakurai 1987: 164-6. Phạm Đức Anh (“Về t ính chất tập quyền,” 10) regarded *huyện* and *hương* as units of the same rank, under which *giáp* was situated.

³¹ In the case of Bình Hợp, it was called *huyện* in TT-1214 but *ấp* in SL-1216/8.

³² Nghĩa Trụ đạo (SL-1214) was probably a military jurisdiction centering on Nghĩa Trụ hương. See Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 252 n., 63.

Red River Delta, a similar method of recording can be found, as Tín Hương of Đỗ Động Giang³³ (TT-1032). Religious sources related to the Lý-Trần Period also usually record place names as a combination of names of higher and lower rank. In *Thiền uyển tập anh*, a collection of biographies of Zen priests compiled in the 14th century, for instance,³⁴ five names of *hương* are recorded in combination with the name of Thiên Đức phủ as native or working places of priests. A number of *quận* 郡 units appear, as Phúc Đường quận 福堂郡, Mãn Đầu quận 滿斗郡 and Tiên Du quận 僊遊郡, some of which are accompanied by *hương* names like Phủ Đông hương in Tiên Du 僊遊扶董鄉 (4a, 9b, 66b) Thử Hương in Thanh Dật hương 清溢郡蝮鄉 (49a) and Tháp Bát hương in Mãn Đầu quận 滿斗郡塔鉢鄉 (62b). Aside from the question of whether these *quận* names were merely elegant denominations (of *huyện* rather than *châu*?) in non-official sources, the prevailing custom seems to have been to indicate a place name with a combination of two names (one of higher rank as *phủ*, *châu* or *quận* and the other of lower rank as *hương* or *giáp*) was prevalent. Place names below *hương* and *giáp* were seldom recorded,³⁵ probably because the state power could not penetrate easily into the level of natural villages. It is well known that, following the rise of Lý Công Uẩn, his native place Cổ Pháp hương was first promoted to the rank of *châu*, and then to Thiên Đức phủ. At least in the sphere of custom or reality, only two levels of denomination appear to have been discerned, namely, that of higher rank (including *phủ*, *châu*, and *quận*) and that of lower rank (including *hương*, *giáp*, and *trường*³⁶).

³³ The term *Giang* 江 originally meant a river but often indicated a region where the river flowed. *An Nam chí lược* (vol.1, the entry of Thanh Hóa phủ lộ), a topography of early Trần Đại Việt, explains that units under the *phủ lộ* of Thanh Hóa were called *giang*, *trường* 場, *giáp* or *xã*. However, the name Đỗ Động giang in the Red River Delta rather appears to be the highest-ranking regional name.

³⁴ See Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 234 (Table 6-4), 253-7. For the textual study of *Thiền uyển tập anh*, see Cuong Tu Nguyen, *Zen in Medieval Vietnam: A Study and Translation of the Thiền Uyển Tập Anh* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997).

³⁵ TT and SL mention some *xã* and *thôn* units as shown in Table in the end of this paper, while *Thiền uyển tập anh* mentions such combined names as Long Chiển in An Các hương 安格鄉壠塵 (21b) and Tư Lý in Kim Bồi hương 金牌鄉思理 (2b).

³⁶ Trường (also pronounced as Tr ường) was first recorded in the annals in 1119 as Khái Trường (TT). Kuang Lang trường (TT-1128), which reportedly presented drifted Song ships,

3. The Titles of Local Governors

Next, let us examine who (what kind of personnel) governed these units. While personal names are not recorded with the titles of the governors of lower-ranking units such as *huyện*, *hương* and *giáp*,³⁷ a number of governors of various higher-ranking units are recorded by name and title. As mentioned above, however, we know only a few personal names of *lộ* officials, that is, Nguyễn Đường 阮堂 and Nguyễn Thử 阮岬, both of whom are called Khoái Lộ generals (Khoái Lộ tướng quân 快路將軍) in SL-1215/1. Military commanders (*tướng* or *tướng quân*) are also recorded with the units as *đạo*³⁸ in the records of the civil war at the end of the Lý Period. The relationship between *lộ* and *đạo* (and the above-mentioned *ấp* units, which are also recorded as military powers) is unclear. Records of the heads of *trại*³⁹ suggest

appears to have been located in the famous port complex of Vân Đồn. *Thiên uyển tập anh* mentions a certain Đại Thông trường (70b). This name may have been related to the ferry Đại Thông đò 大通渡, the name of which was incised in a brick excavated at the 18 Hàng Diêu site of Thăng Long Imperial Citadel. During the Trần Period, such names as B á Tr àng 鉢場 (a famous production center of ceramics, recorded in TT-1352) and Vĩnh Ninh trường 永寧場 (the bricks of which were excavated both in Thăng Long and Hồ citadels) were recorded. Judged from these, *trường* appears to indicate centers of certain functions, such as handicrafts and transportation, that were controlled directly by the central court.

³⁷ A *chủ đô* 主都 (head) of *Tất t á c gi á p* is recorded in TT-1120. Whether this *gi á p* was a functional organization (for the production of lacquer) without a fixed territory or a local community is not known. The *quản gi á p* 管甲 (the chief of a *gi á p*?) recorded in TT-1025 without a place name appears to indicate an official rank rather than an actual position of a *gi á p* chief.

³⁸ *Tướng quân* of Bắc Giang đạo 北江道將軍 (see also note 35 below) and Phủ Lạc đạo 扶樂道 are both recorded in SL-1214/6.

³⁹ Lý Đài Giai 李台偕, who had been *quản gi á p*, was appointed as the head of B à H à trại (TT-1025). Trần Thiêm, *chủ đô* of Tuy ên Minh trại 宣明寨主都陳蟾, attacked the rebel Th ân Lợi 申利 in the vanguard together with Tô Tiêm 蘇漸, an imperial guard of thị vệ đô 侍衛都 (TT-1141). These records at least imply a control by the central court, if these heads were not dispatched from the center. In the case of H à Cao 何高, the chief of Qui H á trại 歸化寨, against which The Trần family made an expedition in 1220, appears to have been a powerful local chief (possibly related to the H à family in V ị Long ch âu) because the areas of Thượng Nguyên lộ and Tâm Đái Giang (the area of the confluence of the Red River, the Đà River and the Lô River) were all pacified after his death (SL). For the character of trại, see also Phạm Đức Anh, “Về t ính chất tập quyền,” 10).

that *trại* may also have been an official unit set up in the periphery (with a military function?) by the central court, rather than a customary local community.⁴⁰ Yet, its relationship with *lộ* is also unknown.

Regarding the *châu*, the unit that is recorded most frequently, four titles are recorded, namely, *thứ sử* 刺史, *thủ lĩnh* 首領, *châu mục* 州牧 and *tri châu* 知州.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that persons bearing the title *thứ sử* (Chinese < *cishi*) appear only in Chinese records⁴² of tributary missions, mainly from the Former Lê to the early Lý Periods, such as Lương Nhiệm Văn 梁任文 in 1010 (*thứ sử* of Trường Châu, former Tang province in the lower Red River Delta), Lý Nhân Mỹ 李仁美 in 1012 (*thứ sử* of Diên Châu), Lý Công Hiến in 1027 (*thứ sử* of Hoan Châu), Lý Ốc Tiên 李儻 in 1031 (*thứ sử* of Phong Châu) and Sư Nhật Thân 師日親 in 1031 (*thứ sử* of Ái Châu). Whether these persons really came from those provinces is unknown, because they are recorded in the annals of Đại Việt only with the title *viên ngoại lang* 員外郎, the title of an imperial personal attendant in China before the Tang. Whatever the case, there is no evidence that these titles were conferred upon the envoys by the Chinese side. It is likely that the ruler of Đại Việt (recognized by China as merely the ruler of Jiaozhou or Giao Châu in the Red River Delta) sent tributary envoys with ad hoc titles in order to demonstrate his rule over former Tang provinces outside Jiaozhou.⁴³ If so, *thứ sử* may have

⁴⁰ Though it is not clear how he regarded the nature of these units, Phan Huy Chú wrote “military posts outside the capital [were set] in *lộ*, *trấn* and *trại*, where governmental soldiers were stationed to defend”(Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí vol. 13, 5a). See also Geng Huiling 耿慧玲, Yuenan shilun: Jinshi ziliao zhi lishi wenhua bijiao 越南史論—金石資料之歷史文化比較 (Historical Research in Vietnam: Historical and Cultural Comparisons of Epigraphic Sources) (Taipei: Xin Wenfeng Chuban Congsi, 2004), 57.

⁴¹ See Momoki, Chusei Daietsu, 235-6: Table 6-5. Probably “Lý Bất Nhiễm, Count of Nghệ An châu 又安州伯李不染” (TT-1214) was also a local chief of Nghệ An with the title of count. Peerages conferred on local chiefs are also recorded in SL-1210/11 (Trần Tự Khánh, minh tự [a kind of lower peerage] of the Lower Region 順流明字陳嗣慶) and SL-1218/2 (Bạch Lãng, minh tự of mountainous barbarian in Ma Luận sách 麻論柵山獠明字白浪). Nguyễn Nộn 阮嫩 was promoted from the general of Bắc Giang đạo 北江道將軍 to the duke of Bắc Giang 北江侯 (SL-1214/6) and then to the prince of Bắc Giang 北江王 (SL-1216/5).

⁴² The most important ones are the official history of the Song (Songshi 宋史), the collected statutes of the Song (Songhuiyao jigao 宋會要輯稿) and CB.

⁴³ For information on these *thứ sử*, see Momoki, Chusei Daietsu, 142-3, and see also Wolters, “Le Van Huu’s Treatment,” 210-1.

been a title for use exclusively in diplomacy. However, SL-1056 tells that the title grand chief (*đại thủ lĩnh* 大首領) was replaced with *thứ sử*. In the Han China, *cishi* was often renamed *zhoumu* (Vietnamese < *châu mục*). Therefore, the title *thứ sử* may have been a eulogistic form of the titles of local chiefs.⁴⁴

The category *thủ lĩnh* appears to have been divided into several ranks, such as *đại thủ lĩnh* (grand chief) and *tiểu thủ lĩnh* 小首領 (petty chief), as was the case in Tang China⁴⁵. TT-1129 calls Hà Văn Quảng 何文広 a grand chief of Tây Nông châu (present-day eastern Thái Nguyên), while TT-1124 mentions both *thủ lĩnh* (Dương Tự Hưng 楊嗣興) and *tiểu thủ lĩnh* (Mạc Hiền 莫賢) of Quảng Nguyên châu (present-day Cao Bằng) at the same time. TT-1145 mentions five *thủ lĩnh* chiefs of Bồ Châu 蒲州首領五人. There could be plural *thủ lĩnh* chiefs in a local unit.⁴⁶ In contrast, *châu mục* only appear in important provinces as a single chief. Persons bearing the title *châu mục* are recorded as chiefs of such provinces as Bình Lâm châu in TT-1014 (present-day Cao Bằng), Lạng Châu in SL and TT-1029, SL-1072 and SL-1167 (Bắc Giang and Lạng Sơn), Vĩnh Yên châu in 1033 (on the border of Quảng Ninh with China), Phong Châu in 1036 (Vĩnh Phúc region), Thượng Oai in 1036 (unidentified), Vị Long châu⁴⁷ in 1082

⁴⁴ According to *Thiền uyển tập anh*, Chân Không thiền sư 真空禪師 was patronized by Lý Thường Kiệt and Lạng Châu thứ sử tương quốc Thân Công 諒州刺史相國申公 (65a). It is not clear whether this *thứ sử* was a real title or a eulogistic form of *châu mục*.

⁴⁵ For the Tang system, see Furuhashi Toru, “Todai ‘shuryo’ gogi ko — Chugoku seishi no yorei o chusin ni — (A Study of the Meanings of *shuling* in the Tang Period, Focusing on the Illustrations in Chinese Official Histories),” *Tohokudaigaku Toyoshi Ronshu* (Tohoku University Papers on Asian History) 11 (2007): 34-37. The grand chief was treated as official rank four or five, while the petty chief rank six.

⁴⁶ Judged from TT-1141, which mentions a *thủ lĩnh* of Kim Kê động, *thủ lĩnh* titles were not conferred exclusively on the chiefs of a unit bearing the title *châu*. Nevertheless, Ngụy Bàng 魏滂, a chief of Ma Sa động, is simply called “head” (*động trưởng* 洞長) in TT-1119. *Động* and *sách* are thought to have been basic units in the mountainous area, which could be promoted to the rank of *châu*.

⁴⁷ The chief of Vị Long châu who rebelled in 1013 is called *thủ lĩnh* (TT-1013), while the chief who married with a Lý princess is called *châu mục* (SL, TT-1082). As Maspéro (“La géographie politique,” 37) pointed out, the status of *châu mục* must have been higher than that of *thủ lĩnh* chiefs.

(Tuyên Quang region), Chân Đăng châu in 1113, 1132 and 1140 (Phú Thọ region). It is well known that families of *châu mục* such as the Thân 申 in Lạng Châu, the Lê 黎 in Phong Châu and Chân Đăng châu and the Hà 何 in Vị Long châu had close marriage ties with the Lý imperial family, having both received princesses from and offered women to the central court⁴⁸.

The conventional view that *thủ lĩnh* and *châu mục* chiefs were “indigenous autonomous chiefs” of “non-Viet ethnic minorities” in remote areas is not entirely adequate. First, not only *châu mục* but also *thủ lĩnh* could take part in the affairs of the central court. Sư Dụng Hòa 師用和 recorded in TT-1033 as Vĩnh Yên châu mục is identical with Soái Dụng Hòa 帥用和 recorded in Songshi in 1040 as a tributary envoy. Dương Cảnh Thông 楊景通 was the *châu mục* of Lạng Châu in 1072 (SL) but recorded in CB-1084 as governor of Quảng Nguyên châu 知広源州 in 1084. Dương Tự Minh, a *thủ lĩnh* of Phú Lương phủ (or châu), was married with two imperial princesses and entrusted with the affairs of Khê động (minority settlements) on the border 沿邊溪洞公事 (TT-1143). He was killed because he participated in an unsuccessful coup at the court against Đỗ Anh Vũ, who held the real power of the court (SL-1048, TT-1150). Second, ethnic boundaries in this period do not seem to have been as rigid as in later dynasties⁴⁹. Otherwise, it might have been difficult for the emperor to send his own princesses to the “barbarian” chiefs. The Lê family in Phong Châu and Chân Đăng châu claimed to be descended from Ngự Man vương Đinh 禦蠻王釘, the fourth son of the em-

⁴⁸ For the gender analysis of the Lý imperial family, see Momoki Shiro, “Gia đình của các vua nhà Lý và sự xuất hiện của vương triều phụ hệ (The Family of Ly Emperors and the Emergence of a Patrilineal Dynasty),” in Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội – Trung tâm Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn Quốc gia (Vietnam National University, Hanoi and National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities), *Việt Nam học, kỷ yếu hội thảo quốc tế lần thứ nhất, Hà Nội, 15-17.7.1998*. tập I (Vietnamese Studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress, Hanoi, 15-17 July, 1998, vol. 1), (Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Thế giới, 2000); do, “Những người đàn ông ngoài hoàng gia ở triều đình nhà Lý (Males From Outside the Imperial Family in the Lý Court).” In Ủy ban Nhân dân Thành phố Hà Nội, *1000 năm vương triều Lý*, 2009.

⁴⁹ TT-1148 tells, “Issued an edict to prohibit *thủ lĩnh* and *quan lang* 官郎 chiefs of mountainous barbarians in barbarian villages in the two *trấn* areas of Đại Thông and Quy Nhân 大通歸仁二鎮蠻里山獠首領官郎 from visiting the capital without reason. This implies “barbarian” chiefs often called on the capital, as the famous Nung Trí Cao visited Thăng Long in 1044 (SL/TT) to receive in audience with Thái Tông.

peror Lê Hoàn (r. 980-1004). They not only received imperial princesses but also presented women to the court, among whom was the mother of the emperor Anh Tông (r. 1137-75), who became the empress dowager after her son ascended the throne and supported her lover Đỗ Anh Vũ’s seizure of real power.⁵⁰ Such would have been impossible if *châu mục* had merely been the chief of an ethnic minority and there had been an absolute boundary between the Kinh people and other minorities.

Records of the title *tri châu* are concentrated in Nghệ An, the southern frontier through which strategic routes to Champa and Laos passed (TT-1041; TT-1073; TT-1131; SL/TT-1203; SL-1218). In addition, *tri châu* governors of Thượng Nguyên châu (present-day Bắc Cạn?) and Quảng Nguyên châu (the case of Dương Cảnh Thông mentioned above) are recorded in CB-1084 and CB-1086 respectively. The title *trí Lạng Châu quân sự* 知諒州軍事 (director of military affairs of Lạng Châu) was conferred in 1128 (SL) on Lý Sơn 李山, the father of the queen of Thần Tông, and *trí Nghệ An châu quân sự* was conferred on a eunuch named Phạm Du 范猷 in 1208 (SL). Apparently, the *tri châu* governors (and *tri châu quân sự* directors too) were appointed only temporarily on special occasions in provinces where *châu mục* or *thủ lĩnh* chiefs existed⁵¹. The appointment of trí Nghệ An châu was made on such occasions as three years before Thái Tông’s expedition to Champa (prince Lý Nhật Quang 李日光, TT-1041) and three years after the invasion of Cambodia (Mậu Du Đô 牟兪都, a close attendant of Thần Tông, TT-1131). The appointment of Lý Đạo Thành 李道成 (TT-1073) is usually thought to have been a relegation after the ascendance of Nhân Tông (r. 1072-1128). Lý Sơn’s appointment

⁵⁰ Concerning the marriage ties between the Lý and the Lê families, see Momoki, “Gia đình của các vua nhà Lý” and Geng Huiling, *Yuenan shilun*, 80-92. About Đỗ Anh Vũ, see Taylor, “Voices Within and Without,” in *Essays into Vietnamese Past*, ed. Keith W. Taylor and John K. Whitmore (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) and Momoki, “Những người đàn ông.”

⁵¹ A trí Nghệ An châu and a Nghệ An châu mục are recorded at the same time in SL-1203/7.

was, of course, a reward, while Phạm Du's appears to have meant eviction from the court. Appointments were not always made based on the necessity in the locale itself. The appointee could be an imperial family member, a close aid of the emperor including a eunuch or a powerful local chief (not confined to ethnic Kinh people, judged from the case of Dương Cảnh Thông). It is questionable to what extent these *tri châu* persons could play a different role from indigenous chiefs to enhance centralized administration.

Except for prince Khai Quốc vương Bồ 開國王菩 who was "stationed" at the former capital Hoa Lư (TT-1013), *phủ* governors are only recorded in the 12th century in Thanh Hóa phủ and Phú Lương phủ⁵². Along with the record of Dương Tự Minh, in which he is referred to as *thủ lĩnh* of Phú Lương phủ, there are other records of high-class officials who governed a *phủ*, though it is not clear whether they actually assumed the post at the locality or entrusted a representative with this function. Whatever the case, Lý Thường Kiệt with the title Thái Bảo 太保 supervised officials and people of Thanh Hóa and Nghệ An under the reign of Thánh Tông and again dominated Thanh Hóa during c. 1082-1011.⁵³ Thái uy⁵⁴ 太尉 Dương Anh Nhi 楊英珥 dominated (領) Thanh Hóa phủ (TT-1132). Thái uy Đỗ Anh Vũ "went to Phú Lương phủ to

⁵² *Songshi* (vol. 488) and *Songhuiyao jigao* (the part of fanyi 蕃夷, vol. 4: the account of Jiaozhi 交趾) state that a "đô hộ phó sứ" 都護副使 (vice-governor of Đô hộ phủ) named Nguyễn Thủ Cường 阮守疆 came to China together with a *thứ sử* named Lý Khoan Thá 李寬太 as tribute envoys in 1022. Thủ Cường's title may have been employed only for diplomatic purposes with China as the title *thứ sử*. Besides, *sĩ sư* 士師 of Đô hộ phủ is recorded (TT-1037; TT-1067; SL-1211/1). Đào Duy Anh (1964: 92) regarded *sĩ sư* as the governor of the capital. However, TT-1037 (There were many doubtful lawsuits, which the *sĩ sư* couldn't decide) and TT-1067 (Appointed Ngụy Trọng Hòa 魏仲和 and Đặng Thế Tư 鄧世資 as Đô hộ phủ *sĩ sư* and transferred ten secretaries to the post of jail supervisors 按獄吏), and the records of amnesties granted to the "prisoners of Đô hộ phủ" (SL-1072; SL-1097; TT-1128; TT-1130) all suggest that Đô hộ phủ during the Lý Period was a court or a jail. *Lingwai daida* of the Song (the entry of the country of Annam) mentions a building with a plate of Đô hộ phủ, which may indicate the building of court/jail.

⁵³ See notes 17 and 25 above.

⁵⁴ During the Lý Period, the titles of prime ministers followed the ancient Chinese model, such as *thái sư* 太師, *thái phó* 太傅, *thái bảo* 太保 and *thái uy* 太尉. See Fujiwara Riichiro, "Betonamu Richin-cho kansei ko, saisho seido ni truite (A Study of bureaucratic organization in Vietnam during the Lý-Trần Period, on the system of prime ministers)," *Siso* (Kyoto Women's University) 44, 1987: 4-9, and Nguyễn Duy Hình, *Văn minh Đại Việt* (The Civilization of Đại Việt), Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Văn hoá-Thông tin và Viện Văn hoá, 2005: 460-1.

evaluate officials and fix the number and items of family registers” (TT-1147).⁵⁵

Unique titles for governors accompanied by terms such as *thủ* 守 and *phán* 判 are also recorded.⁵⁶ Lý Hiến with the title *trung thư* 中書李獻 (TT-1125) and Nguyễn Quyền with the title *trung thư hỏa* 中書火阮權 (TT-1149) are both recorded as *thủ Phú Lương phủ*. Đỗ Nguyên Thiện with the title *nội thường thị* 內常侍 杜元善 (TT-1127), Lương Cải with the title *ngự khô thư gia* 御庫書家梁改 (TT-1130) and Dương Chương 御庫書家楊掌 with the title *ngự khô thư gia* (TT-1135) were appointed as *thủ Thánh Hóa phủ*. Phạm Tín 范信, who also held the title *ngự khô thư gia*, was appointed as *phán Thanh Hóa phủ* (TT-1127). According to the system of the Tang and the Song, *shou* (Vietnamese < *thủ*) indicated a post higher than the appointee’s rank, while *fan* (Vietnamese < *phán*) indicated the contrary case. In pre-Tang China, the title *zhongshu* (Vietnamese < *trung thư*) indicated an imperial secretary, while *nội thường thị* was a Tang post of eunuch who was a close aid of the emperor. *Thư gia* is recorded from the reign of Thánh Tông on for secretaries of the Lý emperor, while *ngự khô* must have meant the imperial treasury. The term *hỏa* (and its head *hỏa đầu* 火頭) often appears in the records of the Lý-Trần Period to indicate the units of such people as palace guards, secretaries and miscellaneous imperial court servants.⁵⁷ Đỗ Nguyên

⁵⁵ According to his tombstone “Cư Việt quốc Th á uy Lý c ông thạch bi minh tự 鉅越国太尉李公石碑銘序 (Phan Văn Các and Claudine Salmon, eds., *Văn khắc Hán nôm Việt Nam* tập 1: 190), “three *phủ* units of Nghệ An, Thanh Hóa and Phú Lương were all lands where Anh Vũ was enfeoffed.”

⁵⁶ Đào Duy Anh (*Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời*, 92) wrote that the governor of phủ during the Lý Period was called *tri phủ* 知府 or *phán phủ*, probably based on the speculation of *Lịch triều Hiến chương loại chí*. Of course, *thủ phủ* and *phán phủ* discussed below are all variants of *tri phủ*. However, the title *tri phủ* itself is recorded only in Bảo Ninh Sùng Phúc tự bi 保寧崇福寺碑 (Phan Văn Các and Claudine Salmon, eds., *Văn khắc Hán nôm Việt Nam* tập 1: 190), which tells that Hà Di Khánh 何彝慶 (who is called Vị Long châu mục in SL/TT-1082) governed (“trí”) Vị Long châu.

⁵⁷ Concerning the terms that indicated imperial service units and their heads, see Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 94-5, 107-9. See also Nguyễn Duy Hình, *Văn minh Đại Việt*, 460-1, and Geng Huiling, *Yuenan shilun*, 471-2.

Thiện was given the title deputy prime minister (*tham trí chính sự* 參知政事) together with the title *thủ Thánh Hóa phủ*. Their appointments aside, however, the only remaining records of above-mentioned persons, including Thiện, concern the moves of Phạm Tín (TT-1129) and Dương Chương (TT-1137) to the post of *viên ngoại lang*. Compared to imperial princes and high-ranking officials who governed *châu* or *phủ*, these “nameless” officials are likely to have been controlled tightly by the emperor through personal patronage. Through these officials, in the first half of the 11th century, the imperial power may have enforced more stable rule in strategic regions outside the Red River Delta such as Phú Lương and Thanh Hóa.⁵⁸

III. NON-INSTITUTIONAL CHANNELS OF LOCAL RULE

1. Imperial Tours and Outer Palaces

During the first three reigns (Thái Tổ, Thái Tông and Thánh Tông), the Lý emperors and imperial princes often had to lead expeditions in person to suppress disobedient *châu* or other units.⁵⁹ Subjugation of the regions outside the Red River Delta

⁵⁸ Soldiers of Thanh Hóa phủ were dispatched to escort a Chama prince back to the country (SL-1152), to suppress rebels of Cổ Hoàng giáp in Thanh Hóa (SL-1192) and Đại Hoàng in Ninh Bình region (SL-1203/9). Soldiers of Thanh Hóa were also ordered to suppress Tứ Mạc (the Trần family) (SL-1210). When the then prime minister Đàm Dĩ Mông 譚以蒙 attacked the rebels of Đại Hoàng, he brought “Phú Lương archers 富良弩手” into battle (SL-1205). These imply that the Lý government relied much on the military forces from these two *phủ* units. In the case of Thanh Hóa, the record in TT-1228 of “the former system” of detailed categorization and registration of manpower in Thanh Hóa phủ in units of *xã* which appears to have been universalized after the Trần Period, may also support the view of intensive rule enforced in Thanh Hóa in the 12th Century.

⁵⁹ During the reign of Thái Tổ (1009–28), for instance, Thái Tổ himself made expeditions to Cử Long 莒隆 in Ái Châu (SL/TT-1011), Diên Châu (SL-1012) and Vị Long châu (SL/TT-1013), while prince Dục Thánh vương 翊聖王 made expeditions to Kim Hoa bộ 金華步 (SL/TT-1014), châu units of Đô Kim, Vị Long, Thường Tân and Bình Nguyên (together with Vũ Đức vương—TT-1015) and Như Hồng trại 如洪寨 (TT-1022); The crown prince Khai Thiên vương 開天王 made expeditions to Bồ Chính trại (SL/TT-1020), Phong Châu (SL/TT-1024); Diên Châu (SL/TT-1026) and Tất Nguyên châu (SL/TT-1027); Prince Khai Quốc vương made an expedition to Đô Kim châu (SL/TT-1024); Prince Đông Chinh vương 東征王 made an expedition to Văn Châu (SL/TT-1027). See Momoki, Chusei Daietsu, 229-30: Table 6-1.

required demonstrations of the military power and charisma that the emperor and his princes possessed. From the reign of Nhân Tông (1072-1127) till the end of the 12th century, however, local rebellions are seldom recorded, although every emperor ascended the throne in his infancy. Both the central government and its local rule were apparently more stable than during the first stage of the Lý dynasty. The close control of Thanh Hóa phủ and Phú Lương phủ must have contributed to this stability.

Nevertheless, we should pay proper attention to the frequent imperial tours. In total, 65 tours are recorded in SL and/or TT⁶⁰. The first three emperors made 22 tours, Nhân Tông made 25 tours and four emperors after him (excluding the last emperor, Chiêu Hoàng, of whom no tour is recorded) made 18 tours. The three major purposes of the tour were to attend agricultural rituals (22 times), to hunt elephants (13 times) and to visit temples or shrines (10 times).⁶¹ These tours must have functioned to demonstrate imperial power and authority and to reaffirm the relationship between sovereign and subjects, as was the case of the royal tours to visit or repair pagodas undertaken by the kings of Pagan.⁶² Anh Tông (r. 1137-75) reportedly traveled all over the country.

Traveled [as far as] islands in the sea and inspected topography of mountains and rivers [of the whole country] because his majesty wanted to know people's pain and the distance of roads (TT-1171)

Again traveled [as far as] islands in the sea in southern and northern [peripheries] and had scenery drawn (TT-1172).

⁶⁰ Ibid., 244: Table 6-6. The number does not include wartime moves and processions inside the capital.

⁶¹ The empress dowager Linh Nhân, mother of Nhân Tông, who shared the sovereignty with Nhân Tông (see Momoki, "Gia đình của các vua nhà Lý," 265), "traversed mountains and rivers and wanted to build temples and towers" (TT-1085). Her travel must also have been occasions to demonstrate imperial authority.

⁶² See Michel Aung-Thwin, *Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 53. See also Wolters, *History, Culture and Region* (revised ed.), 30.

These tours were intended to show the emperor's sovereignty all over the national territory in a symbolic way.⁶³ In terms of economy, imperial tours may have been necessary to collect and consume local products, not all of which could be transported to the capital through the official taxation system.

For the purpose of military expedition and imperial tour, a number of outer palaces (*hành cung*) were built in strategic points. Some of them were not merely temporary camps. Records of agricultural ceremonies such as *tích điền* 籍田 (ploughing by the emperor) performed at the outer palaces of Bồ Hải khẩu (in present-day Thái Bình city), Lý Nhân (on the bank of the Red River in Hà Nam) and Ứng Phong (in the western part of Nam Định) indicate that rice fields under the direct imperial control were attached to the outer palaces.⁶⁴ Because ceramics sherds were found together with the sherds of saggars, there must have been a kiln in Ứng Phong outer palace,⁶⁵ where visits by emperors were often recorded from 1101.⁶⁶ In 1205, a rebel in Đại Hoàng (present-day Ninh Bình) named Phí Lang 費郎 defeated the army of the government somewhere in Nam Định, then “burned Ứng Phong outer palace and its grain stored in the granary”(SL). Moreover, almost contemporaneously with the first record of Ứng Phong outer palace in 1101, famous Buddhist centers of An Lão Sơn temple 安老山寺(SL-1099) and Chương Sơn tower 章山塔 (SL-1108) were built in the same vicinity. As a crucial relay point

⁶³ Cao Tông (r. 1175-1210) also “traveled mountains and rivers everywhere. Wherever the imperial palanquin went and there was a deity, he conferred a title and erected a shrine to worship [the deity]” (TT-1189).

⁶⁴ Sakurai, *Land, Water*, 192-201. Concerning the outer palaces in the lower delta region, see also Momoki Shiro, “Một luận điểm mới về lịch sử khai phá vùng hạ lưu châu thổ sông Hồng trong giai đoạn Lý-Trần (I) Hệ thống hành cung thời Lý” (Some New Arguing Points on the History of the Reclamation of the Lower Red River Delta during the Lý-Trần Period [I]: The Network of Outer Palaces in the Ly period), in Viện Việt Nam học và Khoa học Phát triển, *20 năm Việt Nam học theo định hướng li ên ngành* (Institute for Vietnamese Studies and Development Science, *20 Years of Vietnamese Studies Following the Direction of Interdisciplinary Research*) (Hà Nội; Nhà Xuất bản Thế giới, 2008).

⁶⁵ Dr. Nishimura Masanari (an archeologist) and I visited Bến Đền site in Minh Thuận commune (a place thought to have been the center of the outer palace) on August 7, 2002 and found on the ground some sherds of ceramics, saggars, together with sherds of Lý bricks and tiles.

⁶⁶ In 1151, prince Long Xưởng 龍昶, the eldest son of Anh Tông, was born at Ứng Phong outer palace (TT). This means Anh Tông then stayed there with his wife or his wife lived in Ứng Phong. In either case, the outer palace must have had permanent architecture.

from Thăng Long to southern centers such as Hoa Lư and Thanh Hóa,⁶⁷ Ứng Phong must have been fully provided with the necessary functions for a power center.

During the reign of Anh Tông, similar centers were reportedly established on or beyond the periphery of the Red River Delta, such as the mobile camp (*hành dinh* 行營) of Yên Hưng trại (TT-1147, in the southwestern alluvial land of present-day Quảng Ninh province), the residences (*đệ* 第) of Phú Lương (TT-1155) and Quảng Nguyên châu (TT-1156), and Quốc Oai outer palace (SL-1156). Yên Hưng could control routes to China by both land and water, while it may also have been an agricultural frontier, as was the case of Bồ Hải khẩu. It is well known that the Lý court made great efforts to subjugate the mountainous area of Phú Lương and Quảng Nguyên in order to control the route to China, the source of gold and the minorities on the border. Benefitting from these conditions, the Nung family tried to establish their own polity in the mid-11th century.⁶⁸ Quốc Oai may also have functioned as a junction between the delta and the hilly area. The constructions were apparently linked with the above-mentioned policies to strengthen central power and authority over the countryside, such as the intensive rule undertaken by the imperial entourage in Phú Lương and Thanh Hóa, the imperial tours over the whole country and military drafts under the *lộ* officials.

The outer palaces (and the headquarters of *phủ* as well) on and beyond the periphery of the delta were, of course, surrounded by hereditary local chiefs. Even in the lower Red River Delta, the relationship between the outer palaces and indigenous political powers in the countryside was more complicated than earlier studies supposed. For instance, the clear-cut division between

⁶⁷ Judged from its position, Lý Nh ân may have been a relay point to centers on the eastern bank of the Red River such as Ngự Thi ên (in the northwestern corner of present-day Thái Bình province?) and Bồ Hải khẩu. In addition, it was also a relay point to Hoa Lư (on the water route) because Thái Tông returned there via Hoa Lư on his way back from Champa (TT-1044).

⁶⁸ On the "rebellion" of the Nung family, see James Anderson, *The Rebel Den of Nung Tri Cao: Loyalty and Identity along the Sino-Vietnamese Frontier* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2007).

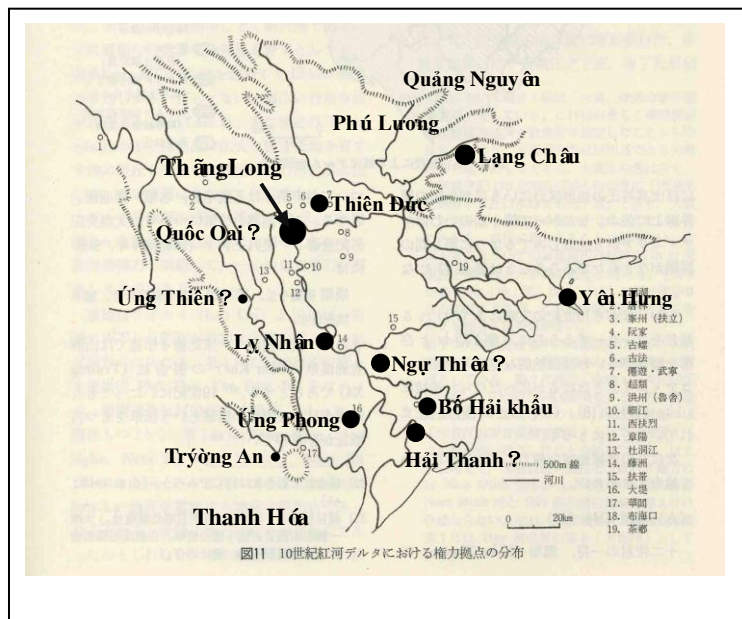
semi-independent territories of hereditary local powers and the areas controlled directly by the central government proposed by Sakurai Yumio is not so plausible.⁶⁹ The location of Mỹ Lộc (to the north of present-day Nam Định city) as the center of the Trần family is especially problematic. It lies only about ten kilometers distant from Ly Nhân outer palace, which Sakurai regarded as one of Lý centers in Western Floodplain.⁷⁰ Moreover, he ignored Hải Thanh outer palace recorded in SL (1157; 1202; 1206⁷¹), which

⁶⁹ Regarding other sub-regions in the Red River Delta, Sakurai thought that while the territory of local powers in the 10th Century usually corresponded to that of later districts, that in the end of the Lý Period corresponded to the territory of later provinces. Such expansions occurred due to the development of supra-local hydraulic works (Sakurai, *Land, Water*, chap. 3). As mentined above, smaller military powers in units of *ấp* and/or *hương* still played considerable roles in the civil war in the end of the Lý Period.

⁷⁰ When a coup occurred in the court and Cao Tông and his sons fled separately, the then Trần leader Trần Lý gave protection to Prince Sam (Huệ Tông) and let him ascend the throne at Ly Nhân outer palace (SL-1209/7).

⁷¹ According to Viên Quang tự bi minh 圓光寺碑銘 inscription erected at the end of the Lý Period (Phan Văn Các and Claudine Salmon, ed., *Văn khắc Hán nôm Việt Nam* tập 1: 235), Hải Thanh outer palace was located “on the left side” of Viên Quang temple. The temple is now located in Xuân Nghĩa commune, Xuân Trường district, although its original location is unknown. Early modern tradition of chùa Keo (Thần Quang tự 神光寺) in Thố Bành tells that the temple was originally located in Giao Thủy hương 膠水鄉 (a palace name in the river mouth of the Red River on the Nam Định side) and called Nghiên Quang temple. Regarding chùa Keo, see Nguyễn Xuân Nam, “Dấu ấn văn hóa thế kỷ XI-XII ở Nam Định góp phần với văn hóa Thăng Long – Đại Việt thời Lý tỏa sáng (Vestiges of the Culture during the 11th – 12th Centuries in Nam Định Which Contributed to the Illuminating Culture of Thăng Long - Đại Việt),” in Trường Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn, *Kỷ yếu hội thảo khoa học: Lý Công Uẩn và vương triều Lý (kỷ niệm 990 năm Thăng Long-Hà Nội)* (University of Social and Human Sciences, The Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium: Lý Công Uẩn and the Lý Dynasty, For the Commemoration of the 990th Anniversary of Thăng Long-Hà Nội), Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2001, 309. Nghiên Quang temple in Hải Thanh 海清嚴光寺 is mentioned in *Thiền uyển tập anh* (25a) as the base of zen master Không Lộ 空路. Viên Quang tự bi minh inscription mentions another zen master Giác Hải 覺海, whose biography is also included in *Thiền uyển tập anh*. And the 15th century collection of legends *Lĩnh-Nam chích-quái* 嶺南摭怪 has an account of the magical power of these two masters. It is likely that the reclamation of Hải Thanh area was partly led by Buddhist sect(s). In every charter polity, religious sects played large economic and social roles. Regarding the centers of the Trần family and other related centers in Nam Định and Thố Bành, much information is introduced in local publications such as Sở Văn hóa-Thông tin Nam Hà (Nam Hà Provincial Bureau of Culture and Information), *Kỷ yếu hội thảo khoa học: Thời Trần và Hưng Đạo đại vương Trần Quốc Tuấn trên quê hương Nam Hà* (The Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium: The Trần Period and Hưng Đạo đại vương Trần Quốc Tuấn in the homeland of Nam Hà), 1996, and Sở Văn hóa Thông tin Thố Bành (Thố Bành Provincial Bureau of Culture and Information), *Thố Bành với sự nghiệp thời Trần* (in lần thứ hai có chỉnh lý, biên soạn và bổ sung) (Thố Bành with the Achievements in the Trần Period, the second edition with revision and supplementation), 2001.

Map 2. Outer palaces and other centers during the Lý Period



was probably located near the mouth of Red River (in present-day Xuân Trường district). Mỹ Lộc 美祿 (located) must have been located just between Ly Nhân and Hải Thanh. Across the Red River from Ly Nhân, there was another base of the Trần family at Đa Cương hương 多岡郷 or Tinh Cương hương 星罡郷 in present-day Hưng Hà district,⁷² where Ngự Thiên outer palace may have been located. Remember that Bồ Hải khẩu outer palace in Thái Bình was established on the site of the former center of Trần Minh Công, one of “twelve lords” in the 10th Century⁷³. If outer palaces could be built at centers of local power, the subjugated local powers may have played some roles in the management of the palaces and surrounding facilities. If so, the Trần family would have been able to extend their power not “despite” but “thanks to” the outer palaces nearby, such as Ly Nhân and Ngự Thiên, through the service related to them.

⁷² After the coup in 1209 mentioned in note 70, Prince Sam first took refuge in Hải Ấp Lưu Gia thôn 海邑劉家村, which is identical with the home village of Lưu Khánh Đàm 劉慶譚 (a powerful courtier, possibly a eunuch, in the early 12th Century) in present-day Hưng Hà district. There he was given protection by the Trần family, the Tô family on its maternal side.

⁷³ See Sakurai, *Land, Water*, 130-2, 200-1.

2. Local Rule by Princesses?

As mentioned above, the Lý family had close ties with the Thân family in Lạng Châu through marriage between Lý princesses and Thân male chiefs.⁷⁴ The ties were so strong that Huệ Tông tried to take refuge in Lạng Châu when he and his mother (Đàm Thái hậu 譚太后) were pressed to leave the capital by Trần Tự Khánh in the first lunar month of 1214 (SL). Further evidence of the close relationship is the rebellion of Thân Lợi in 1139, in which the present-day Northeast (Đông Bắc) region as a whole seems to have been involved. After the death of Thần Tông in 1137, Thân Lợi claimed to be a son of Nhân Tông and rebelled. He occupied Phú Lương phủ and intended to attack the capital, but he was defeated by Đỗ Anh Vũ at Quảng Dịch and Long Lệnh châu and fled to Lạng Châu, where he was arrested (SL-1139, TT-1141). It is quite likely that he belonged to the Thân family in Lạng Châu and claimed the throne based on his maternal line.⁷⁵ In such marriage alliances, the princesses were not simply the puppets of male-centric policies.⁷⁶

Thiên Thành công chúa 天成公主, a daughter of Thánh Tông who married Thân Đạo Nguyên 申道元⁷⁷ (SL-1066), presented to Nhân Tông a “tortoise with three legs and six eyes 三足六眸龜” (SL-1079) and two white elephants (SL-1106).⁷⁸ These records

⁷⁴ This relationship is analyzed closely with recent information regarding archeological sites and local worship related to these persons in in *Sở Văn hóa, Thể thao và Du lịch tỉnh Bắc Giang, Ủy ban Nhân dân huyện Lục Ngạn (Bắc Giang Provincial Bureau of Culture, Sports and Tourism, People’s Committee of Lục Ngạn district), Hội thảo Khoa học: Bảo tồn và Phát huy các giá trị di sản văn hóa Lý – Trần, tỉnh Bắc Giang (Scientific Symposium: Preservation and Exhibition of Cultural Values in the Lý – Trần Period in Bắc Giang province)*, 2010.

⁷⁵ See Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 208.

⁷⁶ I presented a brief argument about the role of princesses in local rule in my previous works. See Momoki, “Gia đình của các vua nhà Lý,” 262, and *Chusei Daietsu*, 220-1.

⁷⁷ Đạo Nguyên’s mother was Bình Dương công chúa 平陽公主 (SL-1066) who married Lạng Châu mục Thân Thiệu Thái 申紹泰 (SL/TT-1029). Thiệu Thái’s father Thừa Quý 承貴 was also recorded in 1027 in Chinese sources as a “son-in-law of Lý Công Uân.” See Momoki, “Vetonamu Richo no gunji kodo,” 406.

⁷⁸ *Thiên uyển tập anh* tells that when Zen master Chân Không (see note 44 above) passed away in 1100, the Empress Dowager, Thiên Thành công chúa (天城公主), and the nun Mậu Nhân, who was a disciple of Chân Không, all offered things for his memorial (66a). Probably this Thiên Thành is identical with Thiên Thành who married in 1066 and reportedly died in 1149 (TT).

imply a princess who married into a local family maintained her own property right.⁷⁹ This assumption is probably substantiated by the records below:

[Ordered to] construct the residence (*đệ* 第) of Thụy Thiên công chúa 瑞天公主 at Lạng Châu (TT-1147).

Thụy Thiên công chúa arrived at Lạng Châu (TT-1148).

Đinh Khôi attacked Lạng Châu and caused it to surrender, then plundered the residence of Thiên Cực công chúa 天極公主 and went away (SL-1212/1).

Recent excavations at Cầu Tử Shrine site in Lục Ngạn district revealed a large architectural remnant of the 12th to 13th Century associated with various high-quality artifacts similar to those found in Thăng Long and other major sites in the Lý Dynasty, including ceramics, bricks and rooftiles, and especially square tiles with decorations of lime flowers.⁸⁰ According to local tradition, Bình Dương công chúa and Thân Thiệu Thái had two “palaces” in present-day Tòng Lệnh commune (where another large archeological site called chùa Cao was found) in Lục Nam district and Phương Sơn commune in Lục Ngạn district.⁸¹ The residences of Thụy Thiên and Thiên Cực may have been as magnificent as the architecture found in Cầu Tử and the “palaces”, which were all constructed in the center of Lạng Châu on the Lục Nam River.

It is not clear whether Thụy Thiên công chúa was married to a local chief or not. It is not impossible that she lived alone in the estate of Lạng Châu. Nor is it clear whether the above Thiên Cực công chúa is identical with the princess of the same title who

⁷⁹ TT-1013 states, “allowed nobles and princesses to supervise various taxes in different ranks.” Princesses in general were guaranteed their own rights of property and profit, though through what mechanism princesses received the profit is unknown.

⁸⁰ See Trịnh Hoàng Hiệp, “Di tích đền Cầu Tử (The Cầu Tử Shrine site),” in *Sở Văn hóa, Thể thao và Du lịch tỉnh Bắc Giang, Ủy ban Nhân dân huyện Lục Ngạn, Hội thảo Khoa học* 2010: 8-9. Cầu Tử shrine worships Bình Dương công chúa.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

married Lạng Châu mục Hoài Trung hầu 懷忠侯 in 1167 (SL). Tô Trung Tự 蘇忠嗣, the maternal uncle of the Trần leader Tự Khánh, committed adultery with Thiên Cự công chúa at her residence in Gia Lâm (on the opposite side of the Red River with Thăng Long) and was killed by her husband Quan nội hầu Vương Thượng 關內侯王尚 (SL-1211/6). Thiên Cự công chúa recorded in 1211 and 1212 (who was young enough to commit adultery) may have been a different person from the Thiên Cự who married in 1167. In either case, it is obvious that a married princess could possess properties including residences and estates.⁸²

The presents given by Thiên Thành công chúa may be understood as auspicious items given as tribute symbolizing peaceful rule in Lạng Châu. Such tribute is usually the duty of the governor of the locality. In the case of Thiên Thành công chúa, she may have assumed such a role after the death of her spouse as the widow of a patriarch. However, the property rights and political powers were not confined to those within a patriarchal framework. According to TT-1222, as quoted above, the whole country was divided into 24 *lộ* units and Circuit Princesses (?) settled there. Bond servants and slaves, and soldiers in the circuit as well, were divided into *giáp* troops. Then TT-1224 explains why Trần Thủ Độ, who would “produce” the transfer of the throne to the Trần family in the following year, could seize absolute power in the court of Huệ Tông:

The Emperor’s illness became worse day by day, [However, his majesty] did not have an heir to succeed to the throne, and princesses were stationed at circuits to make the circuits their domains. [Therefore his majesty had to] charge Commander-in-chief Trần Thủ Độ with troops of the palace guard to guard the forbidden area.

According to this logic, Trần Thủ Độ would not have been able to seize power if princesses had stayed at the central court. With such political power and influence, princesses who went out to local areas may have taken part in the local rule in a broader

⁸² If Thiên Cự whose estate in Lạng Châu was plundered in 1212 was indeed the person who married in 1167, it is not impossible, though not plausible, that she inherited the Lạng Châu estate after her spouse died.

sense.

IV. OVERVIEW AND COMPARISON

Among various local units during the Lý Period, two ranks can be discerned. Units of the higher rank were usually called *châu*, while those of lower rank were called *hương* in lowland and *sách* or *động* in mountainous areas. It is unlikely that the state's power penetrated into natural villages below the rank of *hương*. These units appear to have been regarded as customary ones in a general sense rather than functional units set up administratively by the dynastic government. Following individual historical and political conditions, some of these units could have had different denominations from popular ones like *châu* and *hương*. It is doubtful whether the central court could replace such customary units with more strictly controlled administrative units (such as *huyện* and *xã* in later periods) even in the core region of the Red River Delta. The central court could only intervene in those units by promoting (or downgrading) the rank or status of those units, for example from a *hương* to a *châu* or from a *châu* to a *phủ*, based on the strategic importance or the merit and honor of the units concerned. Some functional units, including *lộ* as military jurisdictions, were set up administratively from above. When such a jurisdiction overlapped with a customary one, however, it was seldom recorded as a substantial entity.

The customary units were generally governed by hereditary indigenous chiefs such as *thủ lĩnh* and *châu mục* in *châu* units. Sometimes imperial family members or high-ranking courtiers were dispatched to govern those units. While local chiefs could be mobilized to participate in the affairs of regions other than their own, the governors dispatched from the center do not appear to have always enforced a more centralized administration than that undertaken by indigenous chiefs. In two *phủ* units of Phú Lương and Thanh Hóa, however, more "nameless" imperial attendants

or secretaries (of private character) were appointed as governors in the first half of the 12th Century. This implies that more intensive rule was introduced into these ruling centers outside the Red River Delta.

Non-institutional channels of rule also played important roles in enhancing the influence of the central court in local society. The emperors and princes in the first three reigns had personally to lead expeditions to subjugate local powers in and beyond the peripheral areas of the Red River Delta. From the reign of the fourth emperor Nhân Tông, imperial tours made on the pretext of religious and ritualistic purposes played similar roles to the military expeditions as demonstrations of imperial power and charisma. A number of outer palaces with not only military but also economic and religious facilities were set up at strategic points and could function as centers of local rule. Princesses, especially those who married into families of local chiefs, also participated in the politics of the local communities, having their own property and political influence that were not incorporated into the framework of patriarchal family system.

Through this combination of means, the Lý government extended its control over local communities, even outside the Red River Delta, by the early 12th Century. This was a significant gain for a solar polity. Nevertheless, as mentioned in note 19, the military draft in 1160 (TT) caused large-scale unrest:

Ordered Phi Công Tín, leading one hundred thousand soldiers, to pacify deserters from the army who plundered inhabitants (TT-1163).

The confused battles that took place at the end of the Lý Period indicate that indigenous military powers had remained intact even in the Red River Delta. In the hilly areas surrounding the delta, conflicts with “mountainous barbarians (sơn lao 山獠)” escalated from the 1150s.⁸³ From the reign of Anh Tông (1137-75), the extension of central power to local communities appears to have exceeded the capacity of a solar polity and ultimately caused

⁸³ The activities of *Son lao* recorded mainly in the western edges of the delta (1152; 1184; 1185) may have been influenced by the general expansion of Tai people in northern mainland Southeast Asia. See Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 240.

the collapse of the Lý ruling system as a whole.⁸⁴

Finally, let us examine the local administrative system of Goryeo (before the Warirer Regime that was established in the end of the 12th Century) in comparison with that of Đại Việt in order to understand the wider regional background against which Đại Việt localized Chinese models (mainly those of the Tang and the Song).

In the case of Goryeo, high-ranking local administrative units were originally powerful and/or honoured settlements or families which had inherited the title of *gun* 郡(quận) or *hyeon* 県(huyện) from the Silla Period (–935). They dominated weaker settlements of various categories including ordinary “villages” (*chon* 村) and settlements that were discriminated like *bugok* 部曲, *hyang* 鄉, *jin* 津 and so 所. Especially powerful settlements or families could be conferred the title of *bu* 府 (Vietnamese < phủ). They not only dominated their own subordinate units like *chon* and *bugok*, but also controlled surrounding high-ranking units like *ju* 州 (châu), *gun* 郡 (quận) and *hyeon* 県 (huyện), which in turn, dominated similar subordinate units. The royal court also set up its own subordinate units such as *jang* 莊 and *cheo* 処 as economic bases. In the beginning of Goryeo, most *gun* and *hyeon* units did not have officials appointed by the central government. In other words, the chief of such a unit was not given a title by the central government though the locality itself was given a title as an administrative unit. Instead, such *sokgun* 属郡 and *sokhyeon* 属県 units were controlled by a nearby *gun* or *hyeon* which had officials appointed by the central government. And the central power never penetrated into lower-rank units, where local chiefs governed as non-career officials (*hyangri* 鄉吏) throughout the Goryeo Period. Units of lower-rank such as *bugok*, *hyang*, *so* and *jang* were often promoted to *ju*, and *gun*, and *hyeon* were often

⁸⁴ Of course, this does not exclude the argument of Sakurai regarding the advance of large-scale agricultural development in the delta, and the possibility of colder climate after the long Middle Ages Anomaly as well, as the background of the Lý collapse.

promoted to *ju* or *bu*. It is quite likely that most local unit names in Đại Việt originally indicated settlements or local chiefs, with some units directly controlled by the central government such as *trại* (of military functions in the periphery) and *trường* (of economic functions).⁸⁵ Promotions and degradation of unit titles, and the incompetency of the state power below the high-rank local units as well, were also ordinary matters in Đại Việt during the Lý Period that the central government.

From the reign of Seongjong 成宗 (982-97), the central court tried to impose governors of *ju* and *hyeon* (outer offici→als or *oeguan* 外官) who were selected from the central bureaucratic apparatus upon *gun* and *hyeon* areas. Though many *sokgun* and *sokhyeon* remained, mainly in southern regions, the *oeguan* system was almost complete by 1018,⁸⁶ following Chinese models from the late-Tang to the Song Periods. The title of *ju* (or *gun* 軍) varied based on the importance of respective units and the status of the appointees, such as *jeoldosa* 節度使, *bangeosa* 防禦使, *anmusa* 安撫使 and *jiju* 知州 (after 1018). In this system, the title of *hyeonryeong* 県令 was that of lesser *ju* units. Above such a system centered on *ju* and *hyeon*, centers such as four “capitals (*kyeong* 京),” “protectorates general (*dohobu* 都護府)” and *muk* 牧 units were set up to control governors of surrounding high-

⁸⁵ See Hatada Takashi, *Chosen chusei shakaishi no kenkyu* (A Study of the Social History of Medieval Korea), Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1972. People who lived in such units as *bugok*, *hyang* and *so* were regarded by Hatada as people of discriminated status. Recent studies, however, treat them as commoners. See Chosenshi Kenkyukai, ed., *Chosenshi Kenkyu Nyumon* (A Research Guide to Korean History) (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2011), 118. Between ordinary commoners (*baekjeong* 白丁) and slaves (*nobi* 奴婢), there must have been various groups who had special legal status and specified forms to serve or pay tribute to the state. Such a situation is also found in Đại Việt (see Katakura Minoru, *Betonamu zenkindai-ho no kisoteki kenkyu* [A Preliminary Study of the Pre-Modern Legal System in Vietnam] [Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 1987]), though the denomination of such groups as settlements (possibly including *giáp* and *xã*) is still to be studied. The tripartite status system of Pagan in Burma with *asan* or *adhi* (who were subject to ordinary tax), *kywan-to* or *ahmu-dan* (who were subject to specified labor or tribute) and bondsmen/slave should also be remembered. Concerning Pagan, see Aung-Thwin, *Pagan*, 79-91; Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, vol.1, 113.

⁸⁶ Four *doho*, eight *muc*, fifty-six *jjugunsa* 知州郡事, twenty-eight *jinjan* 鎮將 and twenty *hyeonryeong* 県令 were appointed in this year. See Sudo, 1980, “Korai shoki no Chiho Seido (Local Administration in Early Goryeo),” in *Korai-cho kanryo-sei no kenkyu* (A Study of the Bureaucracy of the Goryeo Dynasty), ed. Sudo Yoshiyuki, (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1980), 192-200.

er-ranking units. Here, Tang (*dohobu*) and ancient Chinese (*muk*) denominations were employed, and those units were still regarded as *ju* of special status, as was the case of *fu* in Tang China.⁸⁷

In the larger jurisdictions of *do* 道, which numbered ten in 995 but were reorganized into five *do* and two *gye* 界 in 1186, wide-area superintendents (*gamsa* 監司) were appointed to inspect military, financial, judicial, administrative and other affairs. Song-modeled titles like *jeonunsa* 轉運使 (-1029) and *ancholsa* 按察使 were employed for the superintendents. In the peripheral jurisdictions in the Northwest, Northeast and Southeast, special military commanders were appointed as *byeongmasa* 兵馬使 or *dobuseosa* 都部署使.⁸⁸ Their jurisdictions were sometimes called *no* 路 (Chinese < *lu*; Vietnamese < *lộ*).⁸⁹ Though the diversity of denomination of high-ranking units and their governors (and probably the system in which local units were basically divided into two levels) was common to both countries, such a centralized and bureaucratic system of local rule was absent in Đại Việt in this period.

Regarding non-institutional channels, Goryeo was quite different from Đại Việt. Though both polities were established based on the federation of local powers, princesses of the Goryeo royal family did not marry into powerful local families.⁹⁰ Goryeo

⁸⁷ Ibid., 176-231.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 231-55.

⁸⁹ The central court appointed military commanders (usually *byeongmasa* 兵馬使) of Northern and Eastern territories (Bukgye 北界 and Donggye 東界) permanently in the 11th Century. The territories were indicated both as Northwestern Region (Seobuk myeon 西北面) and Northeastern Region (Dongbuk myeon 東北面), and Northwestern Circuit (Seobuk no 西北路) and Northeastern Circuit (Dongbuk no 東北路). Probably because these two peripheral areas were under military superintendency, the areas themselves may also have been referred to as circuits, as shown in the record “two provinces of Mun and Yong in Northeastern circuit 東北路文勇二州” (*Goryeosa* or the official history of Goryeo, the 7th year of the king Munjong (1053).

⁹⁰ Instead, the royal family in the mid-Goryeo Period enforced endogamy as did the Trần in Đại Việt. This means that the political and administrative centralization in both charter polities was not always accompanied by Confucianization. Probably it was more important for Goryeo to exclude the power of the maternal side than for the Lý. As for marriage alliances

kings often went in procession to Seo Gyeong 西京 (present-day Pyeongyang), the second capital, from where the first king, Wang Geon, emerged. But they seldom traveled to other places outside the main capital Gae Song.

In sum, local rule in Goryeo and Đại Việt shared many initial conditions based on the nature of actual local-power units and Tang-modeled theory of hierarchy and denominations, with which both charter polities had to pursue the common goals of small empires in the Sinic World, namely, uniform and centralized rule over the whole country⁹¹ and patrilineal succession to the throne. However, different systems developed in these polities due to not only domestic but also inter-state conditions. Among the latter conditions, confrontation with Kitan and Jurchen may have made Goryeo more eager to introduce Song models in terms of centralized *ju* and *hyeon* administration in the core region and the system of military superintendence in the northern (and southeastern) peripheries as well. For Đại Việt, it may have been more important to maintain Tang (and pre-Tang) systems in order to claim the position of the Southern Empire with equal status to the real Chinese Empire that was the Song.

with local chiefs (of other ethnic groups), the Lý seems to have been more loyal to the Tang model.

⁹¹ On the similarity of both polities in the economic sphere such as land-holding and tax systems, see Momoki, Chusei Daietsu, chap. 1.

Table: Local units recorded in SL and TT [Momoki, *Chusei Daietsu*, 232-3]

Unit	Place names (source and year)
京 Kinh	昇龍 Thăng Long 京 (TT-1010; 1014; 1024; 1028) , 南京 Nam Kinh (SL,TT-1014)
城 Thành	華閩 Hoa Lư 城 (SL,TT-1010) , 大羅 Đại La 城 (SL,TT-1010; TT-1028; SL,TT-1078; SL-1165) , 昇龍 Thăng Long 城 (TT-1010) , 長安 Trường An 城 (TT-1028)
行宮 Hành cung (行宮 Hành dinh, 第 Đệ)	愛州行宮 Ái Châu hành dinh (TT-1035, SL-1035 [愛州]) , 驩州行宮 Hoan Châu hành dinh (TT-1036, SL-1036 [Hoan Châu 驩州]) , 古覽行宮 Cổ Lãm hành dinh (TT-1043) , 蒞仁 Lý Nhân 行宮 (TT-1044 [蒞仁行殿 Lý Nhân hành điện] ; SL-1067; SL-1070 [蒞仁宮 Lý Nhân cung] ; SL-1077; SL-1080; SL-1111; TT-1125; TT-1137; SL-1146; TT-1148; TT-1154; SL-1214) , 霽潭 Dâm Đàm 行宮 (TT-1060) = 窑潭 Giao Đàm 行宮 (SL-1060; SL-1065) , 布海 (口) Bô Hải (khẩu) 行宮 (SL-1065) , 究瀾 Cửu Lan 行宮 (SL-1065) , 啓瑞 Khải Thụy 行宮 (SL-1068; SL-1092; TT-1117) , 応豊 行宮 (SL-1101; SL-1102; SL,TT-1123; TT-1124; SL,TT-1125; TT-1126; TT-1127; TT-1151; TT-1154; SL-1205; SL-1206) , 安興寨 行宮 Yên Hưng trại hành dinh (TT-1147) , 富良第 Phú Lương đệ (TT-1155) , 広源州第 Quảng Nguyên châu đệ (TT-1156) , 国威 Quốc Oai 行宮 (SL-1156) , 御天 Ngự Thiên 行宮 (TT-1156) , 海清 Hải Thanh 行宮 (SL-1157 [Thanh Hải 淸海?] ; SL-1202; SL-1206)
路 Lộ	鳥路 Ô lộ (SL-1030; SL-1037) = 鳥路 Điều lộ (TT-1030; TT-1037) , 乂安 Nghệ An 路 (TT-1154*) , 烘路 Hồng lộ (SL-1209) , 快路 Khoá lộ (SL-1215) , 上源 Thượng Nguyên 路 (SL-1220)
府 Phủ	京府 Kinh phủ (TT-1010) , 天德 Thiên Đức 府 (SL,TT-1010; SL in the beginning of the reign of Thái Tông; Thái Tông, Thánh Tông and Nhân Tông; TT-1128; SL in the beginning of the account Thần Tông; Anh Tông and Cao Tông) , 長安 Trường An 府 (SL,TT-1010; TT-1013; SL,TT-1028; SL,TT in the beginning of the account of Thái Tông; SL,TT-1044; TT-1141*; TT-1154*) , 応天 Ứng Thiên 府 (SL, TT-1014) , 都護 Đô Hộ 府 (TT-1037; TT-1067; SL,TT-1072; SL-1097; SL-1107; TT-1126; TT-1130; SL-1198; SL-1210; SL-1218) , 乂安 Nghệ An 府 (SL-1101) , Thanh Hóa 淸化府 (SL,TT-1111; TT-1127; TT-1128; TT-1129; TT-1130; TT-1132; TT-1135; TT-1136; TT-1137; TT-1152; SL-1192; SL-1198; SL,TT-1199; SL,TT-1203; SL-1210) , 富良 Phú Lương 府 (TT-1125; TT-1127; SL-1139 = TT-1141; TT-1142; TT-1147; TT-1149) , 星罌 Tinh Cương 府 (SL-1225) , 安華 An Hoa 府 (SL in the end of the account of Huệ Tông)
州 Châu	古法 Cổ Pháp 州 (T-1009, TT in the beginning of the reign of Thái Tông; TT-1010; TT-1034; T-1161) , 驩州 Hoan Châu (TT-1010; TT-1014; SL,TT-1025; SL,TT-1029; SL,TT-1031; TT-1034; SL,TT-1036; SL-1101) = 乂安 Nghệ An 州 (TT-1036; TT-1037; TT-1041; TT-1044; SL-1069; TT-1125; SL,TT-1128; TT-1128; SL,TT-1132; TT-1134; SL-1136; TT-1137; SL-1148; TT-1152; SL,TT-1177; SL,TT-1203; SL-1208; TT-1216; SL-1218; SL-1225) , 愛州 Ái Châu (TT-1010; SL,TT-1011; TT-1028*; SL,TT-1029; SL,TT-1035; SL,TT-1043; SL-1050; SL-1061) , 濱州 Diễn Châu (SL,TT-1012; SL,TT-1026; TT-1103; SL-1192; TT-1198) , 渭龍 Vị Long 州 (TT-1012; SL,TT-1013;

	<p>TT-1015; SL-1060; SL,TT-1082; SL-1180), 平林 Bình Lâm 州 (TT-1014), 離州 Ly Châu (SL-1014)? 都金 Đô Kim 州 (TT-1015; SL,TT-1024; SL,TT-1036; TT-1037), 常新 Thường Tân 州 (TT-1015; SL,TT-1036; SL,TT-1037), 平原 Bình Nguyên 州 (TT-1015; SL,TT-1036; TT-1037), 儻猶 Thảng Do 州 (TT-1022*; TT-1039; SL,TT-1041), 永安 Vĩnh Yên 州 (SL,TT-1023; TT-1033), 峯州 Phong Châu (TT-1024; SL,TT-1036; SL-1073; SL-1217) = 峯輪 Phong Luân 州 (SL-1024), 七源 Thất Nguyên 州 (SL,TT-1027; TT-1149), 文州 Văn Châu (SL,TT-1027; SL,TT-1042; SL,TT-1043; TT-1149), 諒州 Lạng Châu (SL,TT-1029; TT-1032; SL-1059; SL,TT-1060; SL-1072; SL,TT-1079; SL,TT-1091; TT-1128; SL-1139 = TT-1141; TT-1146; TT-1147; TT-1148; SL-1167; SL-1198; SL-1208; SL-1209; SL-1211; SL-1212; SL,TT-1214), 定源 Định Nguyên 州 (SL,TT-1033), 真登 Chân Đẳng 州 (TT-1033; SL-1047; SL,TT-1068; TT-1113; TT-1132; TT-1140; SL-1194), 六州 Lục Châu (TT-1033)? 彘源 Trệ Nguyên 州 (SL,TT-1033), 古州 Cổ Châu (SL-1034; SL-1161), 上威 Thượng Oai 州 (TT-1036), 広源 Quảng Nguyên 州 (TT-1038; SL,TT-1039; SL,TT-1041; SL,TT-1076; SL,TT-1078; TT-1079; SL,TT-1081; TT-1124; TT-1125; TT-1127; TT-1128; TT-1142; SL-1143 = TT-1145; TT-1156), 万涯 Vạn Nhai 州 (TT-1039; TT-1041), 武勒 Vũ Lạc 州 (TT-1039), 弄石 Lộng Thạch 州 (TT-1039), 定辺 Định Biên 州 (TT-1039), 雷火 Lợi Hỏa 州 (B-1041)? 平婆 Bình Bà 州 (B-1041)? 思浪 Tư Lăng 州 (SL-1041) = 思琅 Tư Lang 州 (TT-1041; SL-1143 = TT-1145), 武寧 Vũ Ninh 州 (SL,TT-1043; SL-1059), 登州 Đẳng Châu (TT-1044), 西源 Tây Nguyên 州 (SL-1060), 羅順 La Thuận 州 (SL,TT-1061), 忙貫 Mang Quán 州 (SL-1065); 几郎 Kỳ Lang 州 (SL-1068), 居連 Cư Liên 州 (TT-1069), 地哩 Địa Lý 州 (TT-1069; TT-1075; TT-1104) = 臨平 Lâm Bình 州 (TT-1075), 麻令 Ma Lệnh 州 (TT-1069; TT-1075) = 明靈 Minh Linh 州 (TT-1075); 布政 Bộ Chính 州 (TT-1069; TT-1075), 蘇茂 Tô Mậu 州 (SL,TT-1078), 石犀 Thạch Khê 州 (SL,TT-1089), 東梁 Đông Lương 州 (SL-1105), 司農 Tư Nông 州 (SL,TT-1117), 農州 Nông Châu (TT-1127), 西農 Tây Nông 州 (TT-1129; TT-1140; TT-1141) = 西農 Tây Nông 州 (SL-1139), 太原 Thái Nguyên 州 (TT-1140), 陸令 Lục Lệnh 州 (TT-1140; TT-1141) = 隆令 Long Lệnh 州 (SL-1139), 上源 Thượng Nguyên 州 (SL-1139; SL-1177) = 上原 Thượng Nguyên 州 (TT-1140; TT-1141), 下農 Hạ Nông 州 (TT-1140), 富良 Phú Lương 州 (SL-1142), 通農 Thông Nông 州 (TT-1145), 蒲州 Bồ Châu (TT-1145), 大黃 Đại Hoàng 州 (TT-1198; TT-1214), 国威 Quốc Oai 州 (SL,TT-1207; TT-1208; SL-1213), 藤州 Đẳng Châu (SL,TT-1208; SL-1209), 快州 Khoá Châu (TT-1209), 洪州 Hồng Châu (TT-1209; TT-1212), 井州 Tỉnh Châu (SL-1213), 大通 Đại Thông 州 (SL-1214), 究連 Cứu Liên 州 (TT-1216; SL-1218)?</p>
道 Đạo	<p>臨西 Lâm Tây 道 (TT-1036; TT-1037), 安州 An Châu 道 (SL-1057), 大通 Đại Thông 道 (SL-1207), 南柵 Nam Sách 道 (SL-1207), 可了 Khả Liễu 道 (SL-1207), 扶帶 Phù Đái 道 (SL-1207), 北江 Bắc Giang 道 (SL-1212; SL-1213; SL-1214), 扶樂 Phù Lạc 道 (SL-1213; SL-1214). 平樂 Bình Lạc 道 (SL-1214)</p>
郡 Quận	<p>嘉林 Gia Lâm 郡 (SL,TT-1062)</p>
県 Huyện	<p>石河 Thạch Hà 県 (TT-1010), 太平 Thái Bình 県 (TT-1015), 連県 Liên Huyện (TT-1039) = 下連 Hạ Liên 県 (SL-1062), 慈廉 Từ Liêm 県 (TT-1063)*, 都臘 Đô Lạp 県 (SL-1068), 石室 Thạch Thất 県 (TT-1116)*, 博茹 Bác Như 県 (TT-1141), 嘉遠 Gia Viễn 県 (TT-1141)*, 兵合 Bình Hợp 県 (TT-1214), 安治 Yên Duyệt 県 (TT-1216)</p>
鎮 Trấn	<p>潮陽 Triều Dương 鎮 (SL,TT-1023), 永康 Vĩnh Khang 鎮 (TT-1044), 望国 Vọng Quốc 鎮 (SL,TT-1047), 大通 Đại Thông 鎮 (TT-1148), 帰仁 Qui Nhân 鎮 (TT-1148), 雲屯 Vân Đôn 鎮 (TT-1184)</p>
	<p>Ái Châu 愛州寨 (TT-1010)? Hoan Châu 驩州寨 (TT-1010)? Ngũ Hoa</p>

寨 Trại	五花寨 (TT-1014), Phi ân 番寨 (SL-1025) = Định Phi ân 定藩寨 (TT-1025), Bà Hòa 婆和寨 (TT-1044), Hòa 和寨 (TT-1128), Nhật Lệ 日麗寨 (TT-1132), Tuyên Minh 宣明寨 (TT-1141), Yên Hưng 安興寨 (TT-1147), Qui Hóa 歸化寨 (SL-1158; SL-1190; SL-1220)
洞 Động	武建 Vũ Kiến 洞 (TT-1039; SL-1062), 雷火 Lôi Hỏa 洞 (SL,TT-1041)? 平安 Bình An 洞 (TT-1041)? 婆四 Bà Tứ 洞 (TT-1041)? 勿惡 Vật Ác 洞 (SL,TT-1048), 決旱 Quyết Hạn 洞 (SL-1050), 大瓮 Đại Ph á 洞 (SL-1050), 文湘 Văn Tương 洞 (SL-1050), 勿陽 Vật Dương 洞 (SL,TT-1050), 沙蕩 Sa Đãng 洞 (SL-1061), 麻沙 Ma Sa 洞 (SL-1064; SL-1083; SL,TT-1119), 金鷄 Kim Kê 洞 (TT-1141), 蜆洞 Nghiễn Động (SL-1205), 猪洞 Trư Động (SL,TT-1209), 朱麻 Chu Ma 洞 (SL-1214), 安丁 Yên Đình 洞 (SL-1219)
栅 (冊) Sách	司蒙 Tư Mông 栅 (SL-1184) = 思蒙 Tư Mông 冊 (TT-1184), 鄭栅 Trịnh Sách (SL-1184), 烏米 Ô Mễ 栅 (SL-1184), 蕩沛 Đãng Bãi 栅 (SL-1184), 万米 Vạn Mễ 栅 (SL-1184), 靈栅 Linh Sách (SL-1185) = 炎栅 Viêm Sách (TT-1185), 枯栅 Khô Sách (SL-1211), 安樂 An Lạc 栅 (SL-1217), 麻論 Ma Luận 栅 (SL-1218), 蒙栅 Mông Sách (SL-1223)
鄉 Hương	延蘊 Di ân Uẩn 鄉 (TT-1009) = 古法 Cổ Pháp 鄉 (SL-1009; TT-1010), 冰山 Băng Sơn 鄉 (TT-1028*), 多麼 Đa Mi 鄉 (TT-1028*), 信鄉 Tín Hương (TT-1032), 土磊 Thổ Lôi 鄉 (TT-1068) = 超類 Siêu Loại 鄉 (TT-1068; SL-1115), 杜家 Đỗ Gia 鄉 (TT-1128), 太平 Th á Bình 鄉 (TT-1131), 冷涇 L ảnh Kinh 鄉 (TT-1136), 沛鄉 Bái Hương (SL-1184), 高舍 Cao X á 鄉 (TT-1198), 清威 Thanh Oai 鄉 (TT-1207), 古蔑 Cổ Miệt 鄉 (SL-1208), 安朗 Yên L ảng 鄉 (SL-1210), 即墨 Tức Mặc 鄉 (SL-1210), 穫鄉 Qu ách Hương (SL-1211), 芮曳 Nhuê Duệ 鄉 (SL-1214), 多感 Đa Cảm 鄉 (SL-1214), 快鄉 Khoái Hương (SL-1215), 扶董 Phù Đồng 鄉 (TT-1220; TT-1225*)
甲 Giáp	但乃 Đản Nãi 甲 (SL,TT-1029), 竜池 Long Trì 甲 (SL-1050), 甘蔗 Cam Gi á 甲 (TT-1117), 直邪 Trục T à 甲 (TT-1117)? 漆作 Tắt Tác 甲 (TT-1120), 古宏 Cổ Ho àng 甲 (SL-1188; SL,TT-1192)
場 Trường	快場 Khoái Trường (TT-1119), 桃榔 Quang Lang 場 (TT-1128), 平隆 Bình Long 場 (SL-1161)
邑 Ấp	林邑 Lâm Ấp (SL-1203), 陀某 Đà Mỗ 邑 (SL-1203), 雜字 Tạp Tự 邑 (SL-1207), 海邑 Hải Ấp (SL,TT-1209; SL-1210; SL-1211), 灘邑 Than Ấp (SL-1211), 芮邑 Nhuê Ấp (SL-1211), 池邑 Trì Ấp (SL-1212), 神溪 Thần Khê 邑 (SL-1213), 个屢 Cả Lũ 邑 (SL-1213), 義住 Nghĩa Trú 邑 (SL-1215), 慈廉 Từ Liêm 邑 (SL-1216), 兵合 Bình Hợp 邑 (SL-1216), 平槁 Bình Kiều 邑 (SL-1219)
江 Giang	杜洞 Đỗ Động 江 (SL,TT-1032), 五峴 Ngũ Huyện 江 (SL-1050; SL-1061), 南平 Nam Bình 江 (SL-1059), 洮江 Thao Giang (TT-1096), 梁江 Lương Giang (SL-1096), 大黃 Đại Ho àng 江 (TT-1154; TT-1203; TT-1204), 芒貫 Mang Quán 江 (SL-1164), 拖幕 Đà Mạc 江 (SL-1208), 歸化 Quy Hóa 江 (TT-1209; SL-1220), 三帶 Tam Đái 江 (SL-1213; SL-1220), 宣光 Tuyên Quang 江 (SL-1220)
社 Xã	馭望 Dịch Vọng 社 (TT-1063*), 譚舍 Đàm Xá 社 (TT-1141*), 麻浪阿杲 Ma L ảng A Cảo (L ảng Cảo?) 社 (SL-1209)

村 Thôn	古碑 Cỗ Bi 村 (TT-1028*), 譚舍 Đàm Xá 村 (TT-1028*), 杜家 Đỗ Gia 村 (SL-1185), 劉家 Lưu Gia 村 (SL,TT-1209), 象奴 Trượng Nô 村 (SL-1214)
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+Year with an asterisk shows the place name appears in a comment of TT's compilers.