

# THE USE OF TOPONOMASTICS IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF ANCIENT TEXTS

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*Manuscript received: 26/10/2021; Peer-reviewed: 01/11/2021; Accepted: 05/11/2021*

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## Abstract

This article uses the methods of textual criticism and interdisciplinary research with reference to toponymy, cultural studies and anthropology so as to analyze some place-names recorded in the copy of *Lĩnh Nam chích quái* (LNCQ) which is now preserved at the Institute of Sino-Nôm Studies in Hanoi (shelfmark A.2914). As a result, it can be concluded that the text of A.2914 was compiled by Đoàn Vĩnh Phúc in 1584 based on a text compiled by Vũ Quỳnh in 1492. Also, based on the place-names listed in LNCQ A.2914 and in maps such as the *Hồng Đức Atlas*, the *Thiên Nam road map*, the *Cảnh Hưng Atlas* and the *Đông Khánh geography*, this article clarifies the date of the copies of the *Hong Duc Atlas* which are preserved in Vietnam and Japan. This article argues for the necessity of identifying the stemma of extant manuscript versions in an effort to determine the "original text". Furthermore, the vocabulary and phraseology of these works need to be studied in combination with cultural research in order to identify the oldest version, an indispensable step before translating and publishing Han-Nom works.

**Keywords:** *Place-name; Han-Nom literature; Manuscripts; Maps*

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## 1. Introduction

The Han-Nom books collected by the École française d'Extrême-Orient (hereafter, EFEO) before 1945 consist mainly of manuscripts with extremely complicated bibliographical status. Many items do not include the author's name, the year of compilation, or the year in which the copy was made. The arbitrary copying practices by which "to hear something on the gravevine" cause further difficulties to the research, translation, and publication of Han-Nom books.

Therefore, the study of the texts contained in the various extant versions is still considered a mandatory operation for researchers before undertaking research or publication. There have been many books and articles on Han-Nom textual criticism, such as *Learning about The Han-Nom archives* [1] by the late scholar Thúc Ngọc Trần Văn Giáp (1886-1973), which is considered to be an indispensable book for the study of Han-Nom books. Another indispensable book for those who are interested

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in Han-Nom books is *Some problems of Han-Nom textual criticism* [2], published in 1983. Between 1983 and 2006 there were hundreds of articles published in the *Han-Nom Journal* by many authors on issues related to textual criticism in Vietnam such as the identification of the author, textual study, the study of naming taboos,<sup>1</sup> and epigraphic chronology. In addition, a number of monographs, doctoral theses, and master's theses on the books in the Han-Nom archives have been published. However, for a full discussion of issues in the textual criticism of Han-Nom literature which takes due account of the achievements of Chinese and Western textual criticism, we had to wait until the publication in 2006 of *The basis of Han-Nom textual criticism* [3] by Ngô Đức Thọ and Trịnh Khắc Mạnh, which satisfied the desire in Vietnam for a theoretical approach to the study of Han-Nom texts. However, that still seems insufficient in practical terms, for there is clearly a need to learn about the processes whereby books were collected and copied at the EFEO in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. My article "*Some thoughts on current issues in Han-Nom textual criticism*" [4] (pp. 249-273) helped to clarify past practices of collecting and copying Han-Nom works at the EFEO, while showing the limitations of traditional textual criticism, which tended to adopt the "late but complete" criterion for deciding upon a standard text, or the "systematic collection" method, which sought to create a new version through the "synthetic assembly" of variants. In our attempts to identify the versions collected or copied by the EFEO, we have to work under the constraints of the copying methods adopted by the EFEO in the first half of the twentieth century and their consequences, such as the preference for a large book size of 31 x 21 cm to copy materials of different sizes they collected, incomplete copies, missing names and titles, missing prefaces and postfaces, missing passages, missing volumes

(sometimes only a third of a book was copied). It is necessary to compare different versions of the same book in order to identify the oldest version of the text whatever its shortcomings may be, to identify the errors and omissions and to examine in detail the textual language so as to be able to ascertain the date of the text.

However, in Vietnam, in spite of many achievements in the field of research on materials in Nom 喃 (texts written in vernacular Vietnamese), research on the language of Han 漢 texts (texts written in literary Chinese, also known as Sinitic) leaves much to be desired. The reason for this situation is that so far we have not paid much attention to the historical investigation of Han texts in Vietnam. Also, as Lê Văn Quán put it in 1981: "The history of a language is closely related to the cultural history of a people who speak that language. It is inextricably linked to the development of literature and history. The ancient vestiges of the language are often left in writing for the next generations. The more ancient the language studied is, the more it must rely on written documents, if any" [5] (p. 135). As mentioned above, the biggest limitation of previous methods is that it has proved impossible to identify the original version of a text, or the one that is most closely related to the original, owing to the lack of comprehensive research on the developmental history of that text, and this makes it impossible to carry out the next steps in textual criticism which require linguistic study combined with cultural studies.

In order to ascertain the date of a given copy of a text, in addition to identifying the use of naming taboos which provides evidence of the antiquity of the text, the place-names or toponyms mentioned in the text also provide valuable evidence that tells us the period in which the text was copied. However, the study of place-names in texts has not yet received proper attention from scholars, owing to unfamiliarity with the

methods of regional geography, toponomastics, cartography and cultural studies, which are still very new to those who do research on Han-Nom bibliography. Toponyms contain social, historical, national and regional implications, so the study of place-names in the manuscripts collected and transcribed by the Library of the EFEO in the early twentieth century can help us to clarify some issues related to the texts of those works.

In this article I will explore some of the toponyms mentioned in *Lĩnh Nam chíh quái* (hereafter LNCQ) A.2914, and compare them with the maps collected by the EFEO in order to clarify two issues: 1. Whether or not the place names listed in LNCQ A.2914 are consistent with the date 1584. 2. Whether or not the place names in LNCQ can assist the dating of the copies of the *Hong Duc Atlas* (*Hồng Đức bản đồ* 洪德版圖) currently preserved in Vietnam and Japan.

## 2. Are the place names listed in *Lĩnh Nam chíh quái* A.2914 consistent with 1584?

### A summary of *Lĩnh Nam chíh quái*

*Lĩnh Nam chíh quái* 嶺南摭怪 (LNCQ) is a collection of folk tales written in Chinese and *Nôm* characters that appeared around the period of the Lý and Trần dynasties. It consists of two volumes containing 22 stories [6]. Up to now, researchers have accepted the opinion of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century scholar Lê Quý Đôn 黎貴惇 [7] (vol. 4, folio 3b) that Trần Thế Pháp 陳世法 was the original author [8] (p. 397). So far little is known about Trần Thế Pháp, except that his pseudonym was Thức Chi 式之 and that he resided in Thạch Thất 石室 district, Sơn Tây 山西 province (now Quốc Oai district, Hanoi city): these details come from an inscription on the first page of a version made in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Chính Hòa 正和 (1697). In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, LNCQ was re-compiled by Vũ Quỳnh 武瓊 (in 1492) and Kiêu Phú 喬富 (in 1493) respectively. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Đoàn

Vĩnh Phúc 段永福, using Vũ Quỳnh's version, added 17 stories from the collection *Việt Điện U Linh* to revise LNCQ so that it now consisted of 3 volumes. According to descriptions written by Lê Quý Đôn<sup>2</sup> [6] (folio 76b) and Phan Huy Chú 潘輝注<sup>3</sup> [9], the copy of LNCQ they both had in their hands consisted of three volumes of which the first two were the version attributed to Trần Thế Pháp, while the third was material added by Đoàn Vĩnh Phúc in 1584. However, neither of them mentioned any text deriving from Kiêu Phú's version. Later researchers relied on a version of Kiêu Phú's Chính Hòa edition (1697) to confirm that Kiêu Phú did indeed participate in the revision of LNCQ in 1493 and that he corrected details that he considered erroneous. On the question of whether or not there are any "Kiêu Phú episodes" in the extant variant copies of LNCQ, previous researchers have, through statistical analysis, identified the oldest versions of LNCQ that retain the episodes related to Kiêu Phú and some intermediate versions (Table 1).

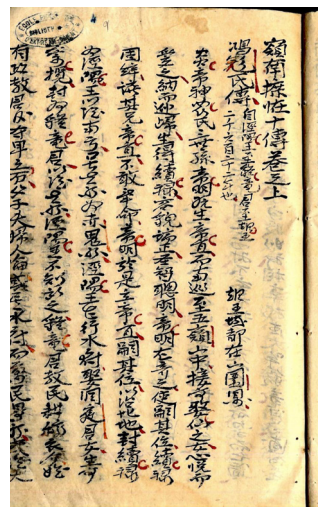
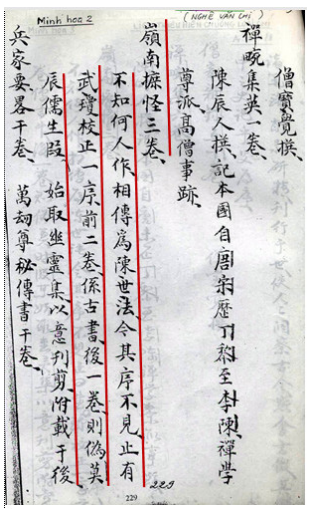
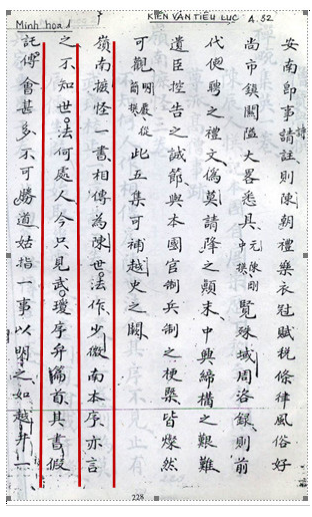
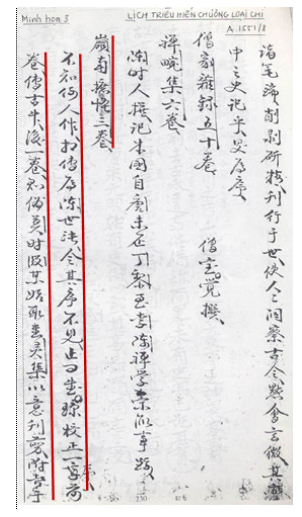
The study of the text of LNCQ has continued in recent years, and 13 more variants have been discovered by making comparisons with the 7 versions that researchers used initially for statistical purposes [10] (vol. 1, p. 92). As a result, the current total is twenty versions of LNCQ, including 15 in Vietnam and 5 in foreign countries (1 copy in France and 4 in Japan) [11]. On the basis of statistics focusing on similarities in the number of stories, the structure and other details, the lineage of LNCQ has been mapped out. As a result, two copies of LNCQ were found that were in accordance with the descriptions of Lê Quý Đôn and Phan Huy Chú, namely manuscript A.2914 in the Institute of Sino-Nom Studies (VHN) and manuscript HV.486 in the Institute of History in Hanoi. In my doctoral thesis in 2005, I relied upon the use of Lê Dynasty taboo names and ancient toponyms in the A.2914 version to conclude that A.2914 is the only manuscript



copied in the late Lê Dynasty from the version of LNCQ compiled by the scholar whose family name was Đoàn in 1584, which in turn was based upon the version containing Vũ Quỳnh's preface in 1492 [12]. At the same time, based upon the use of Nguyễn Dynasty taboo names, I identified the editorial techniques used in the

Nguyễn Dynasty which tended to shorten works dating from the Lê Dynasty and thus I was able to demonstrate that manuscript HV.486 was not produced in the Lê Dynasty as thought by previous researchers [13]. In the following section, I shall examine some of the toponyms that appear in LNCQ A.2914 .

**Table 1: Lĩnh Nam chí quái and related sources**

<p>Lĩnh Nam chí quái 嶺南撫怪 (VHN, A.2914)</p>	<p>Art and Literature section (Nghệ Văn Chí 藝文) in Lê Quý Đôn's Complete history of Đại Việt 大越通史 (VHN, A.1389)</p>	<p>Lê Quý Đôn's Kiến văn tiểu lục 見聞小錄 (VHN, A.32)</p>	<p>Phan Huy Chú's Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí 歷朝憲章類誌 (VHN, A.1551/8)</p>
			

### 3. The toponyms mentioned in Lĩnh Nam chí quái A.2914

#### 3.1. The place-name “Hải Môn” in the Tale of Tản Viên Mountain

The story of Tản Viên 傘圓 mountain contains the following passage: The king [35a] from Hải Môn returned through Thần Phù Hải Khẩu to find a place where the land is high and airy, and simple-hearted folk customs prevail and lived there.” 王往自海門由神符海口而歸尋其高爽清光之地民俗純朴之風而居焉。 The toponym that appears here as “Hải Môn” (海門)

is given as “Hải quốc” 海國 in the version of LNCQ with the shelfmark HV.486 and in later copies of LNCQ. The modern translators of LNCQ retained the Sino-Vietnamese phonetic transcription “Hải Môn” when translating the text [13] (p. 81). So the question is this: is “Hải môn” a place-name?

Toàn tập Thiên Nam lộ đồ thư 纂集天南路圖書 [14], which was copied in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Cảnh Hưng (1741), mentions the place-name Hải Khẩu 海口 and records as follows: “Hải Khẩu was originally Hải Môn of Hà Hoa district” 海口初河花海門也 .

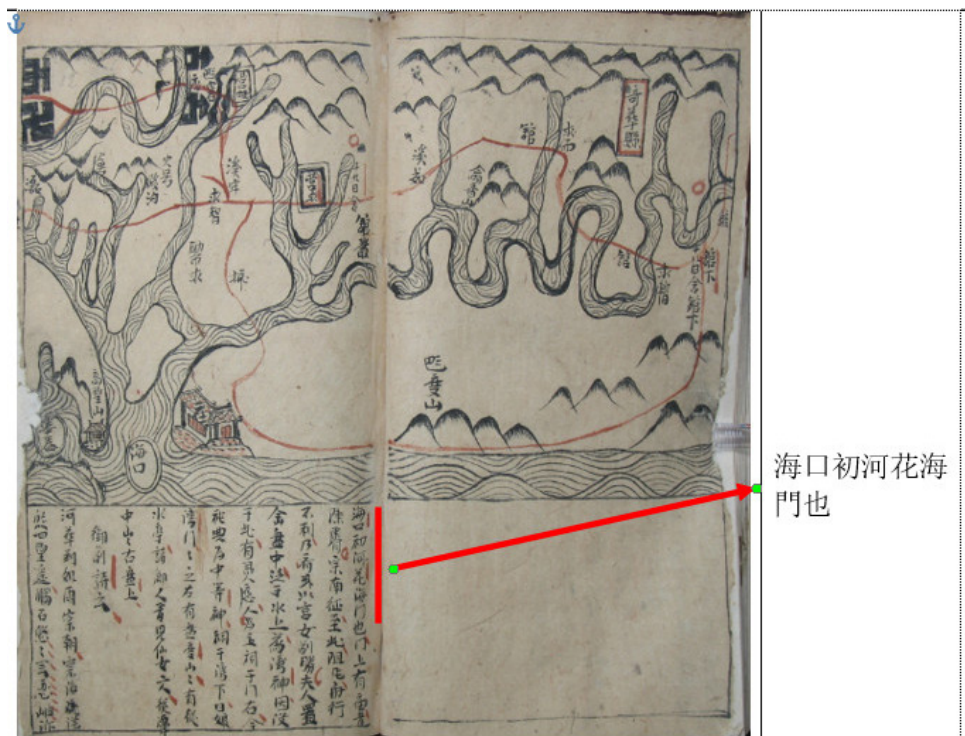


Figure 1. Text mentioning the place-name Hải Khẩu

From this it appears that “Hải Môn” is the old name for “Hải Khẩu”. “Hà Hoa district” is mentioned in this source but which province was “Hà Hoa” to be found in? According to the *Đại Nam nhất thống chí* (The official geographical records of Vietnam; hereafter DNNTC), “It was Hà Hoa during the Trần Dynasty, but during the Minh period and the Lê Dynasty it was Kỳ La; during the Lê Dynasty, it was Kỳ Hoa; in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Thiệu Trị (1841) the name was changed to its current name” (i.e. Kỳ Anh district) [15]. From all this it appears certain that the original name of “Hải Khẩu” was “Hải Môn”. It is not clear when the change from “Hải Môn” to “Hải Khẩu” took place, but *Toản tập Thiên Nam tứ chí lộ đồ thư* 纂集天南四至路圖 (Thiên Nam road map in four directions), which is bound together with the *Hồng Đức atlas* preserved at Hiroshima University, contains the toponym “Hải Khẩu môn” (Hải Khẩu Gate): to the south of this place are “Cao Vọng Mountain” and “Vũng Áng” (now in Kỳ Anh district, Hà Tĩnh province).

Also mentioned in LNCQ is “Thần Phù Hải

Khẩu” 神符海口: is this too a toponym? The version of *Thiên Nam tứ chí lộ đồ thư*, which is bound together with the *Hồng Đức atlas* and preserved in the Shidō Bunko 斯道文庫 [folio 34], clearly mentions the place-name “Thần Phù Hải Khẩu”. According to DNNTC, Thần Phù was part of Nga Sơn district, Thanh Hoa 清華. Thần Phù Mountain, also known as Thần Đầu 神投 or Giáp Sơn 夾山, was in Thiết Giáp commune, Nga Sơn district, Thanh Hoa. (See Fig. 2)

From this evidence it can be confirmed that the “Hải Môn” mentioned in LNCQ A.2914 was in fact a toponym used in the Trần Dynasty which in the Lê Dynasty was called “Hải Khẩu”. “Thần Phù Hải Khẩu” was also a toponym current in the Lê Dynasty, and this an example of the overlap of toponyms from the Trần Dynasty to the Lê. It therefore seems clear that manuscript A.2914 derives from the version revised by Đoàn Vĩnh Phúc in 1584: this is the only version mentioned by the scholars Lê Quý Đôn and Phan Huy Chú in their writings.



Figure 2. Different sources mentioning Hải Khẩu

<p><i>Toàn tập Thiên Nam lộ đồ</i> (copied in 1741, now preserved in France). In the middle, close to the river and the sea patterns, are the two characters Hải Khẩu 海口. On the left is Cao Vọng Mountain (Cao Vọng Sơn 高望山), on the right is the Chế Thắng phu nhân Temple (Lady Chế Thắng, i.e. Bích Châu Temple) also known as Bà Hải Temple.</p>	<p>The version of <i>Thiên Nam tứ chí lộ đồ thư</i> in Hiroshima University: Hải Khẩu Gate 海口門 is in the middle, emphasized in circle and on the left is Cao Vọng mountain (Cao Vọng Sơn 高望山).</p>
<p><i>Đông Khánh dư địa chí</i> (Descriptive geography of the emperor Đồng Khánh). On the left is Cao Vọng Mountain (Cao Vọng Sơn), on the right a “temple” 廟 in a circle, and next to it is Hải Khẩu village 海口村, now in Kỳ Linh commune, Kỳ Anh district, Hà Tĩnh province.</p>	<p>The place-name Hải Khẩu (in circle) and the temple of Chế Thắng Phu nhân in Hải Khẩu village, Kỳ Linh district, now Kỳ Anh, Hà Tĩnh (according to GPS).</p>

### 3.2. The place name “Cổ Sở” 古所 in the Tale of the Temple of the God Minh Ứng in Cổ Sở district

The Tale of the Temple of the God Minh Ứng in Cổ Sở 明應古所神祠傳 in LNCQ A.2914 reads as follows: 按杜善史記、王姓李名服蛮、古所州人也。李太祖来遊幸至古所渡、望見江

水山川秀氣、有感於心、索酒酌之、曰:朕觀此方、山奇水秀、苟有人傑地靈神、祈者受吾明享。 “According to the chronicles written by Đỗ Thiệu, the family name of the king (王 vương, i.e. the deity) is Lý and his given name is Phục Man, and he comes from Cổ Sở district. King Lý Thái Tổ traveled to Cổ Sở river crossing place

and, looking into the distance and seeing elegant mountains and rivers, his heart was moved. So he took some wine to pour onto the ground and said: 'I consider that this place has miraculous mountains and beautiful rivers. If there are great men and spirits of the earth here, please accept my offering.'" Following the title of the book in this version, there is a note added by the copyist which states that "the temple is in Cổ Sở commune, Đan Phượng district. Lý Phục Man temple is customarily called Vương Đản by the local people" 廟在丹鳳縣古所社. 李服蛮俗曰王袒.

The toponym "Cổ Sở" 古所 appears in manuscript HV.486 as "Yên Sở" 安所. Does this then mean that "Cổ Sở" is an ancient place-name? According to previous researchers, the word "Cổ" (ancient) which occurs as the initial element of place-names such as Cổ Pháp 古法, Cổ Loa 古螺 and Cổ Tiết 古節 is equivalent in meaning to the modern words denoting commune or village and is a very ancient usage. The word "Cổ" is in fact a phonetic variant of the word "Kẻ" (ancient meaning 'urban area'). The word "Kẻ" found in *Nôm* toponyms was transliterated into Sino-Vietnamese names using the character "Cổ" 古: thus Kẻ Trai became Cổ Trai (in Thừa Thiên Huế province), Kẻ Nưa became Cổ Ninh (in Thanh Hóa province), and Kẻ Noi became Cổ Nhuế (in a suburb of Hanoi) [16] (p. 141). It is evident, then, that "Cổ Sở" is an older toponym than Yên Sở, but does it appear in other documents?

The *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* 大越史記全書 (Complete Annals of Đại Việt) records that in 1016, King Lý Thái Tổ 李太祖 "when going to see mountains and rivers, arrived at Cổ Sở river crossing; appreciating the good air of the mountains and rivers, he was touched, so he conducted a ceremony by pouring wine on the ground and praying, saying, 'I consider that this place has miraculous mountains and beautiful rivers, if there are great men and spirits of the earth here, please accept my offering.'" [17] (p.

245).



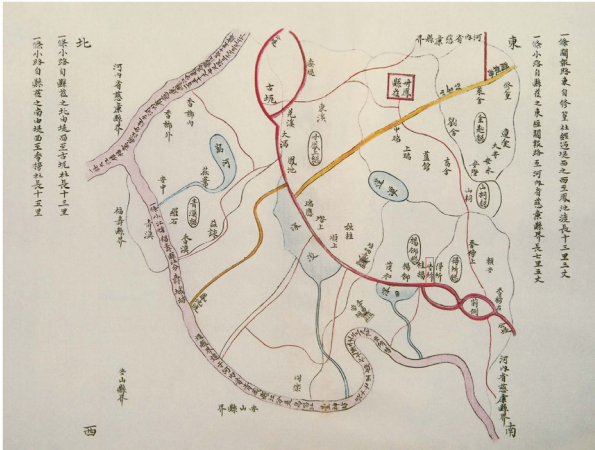
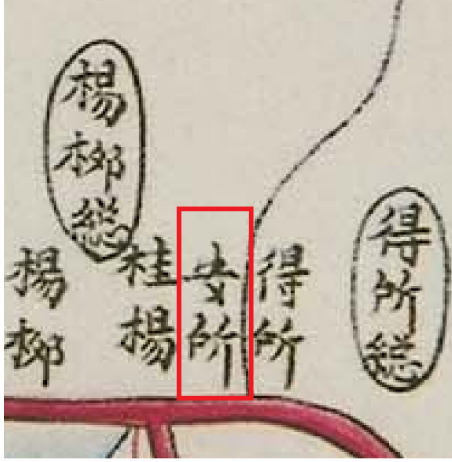
The *Việt Điện u linh* 粵甸幽靈 (Collection of stories on the shady and spiritual world of the Viet realm) also records this event in a tale of the god Lý Phục Man [19] (p. 40). "In the past, King Lý Thái Tổ [1010-1026] when traveling to see the local area reached Cổ Sở river crossing and he felt touched seeing that the scenery of mountains and rivers was very beautiful. The king therefore took wine and, pouring some on the ground, prayed: 'I realize that this landscape is miraculous and unlike anywhere else, if there are great men here please accept the cup of wine that I give.'"

In addition, there is the stele *Cổ tích từ bi* 古跡祠碑 (Inscription of the temple at a historic spot)<sup>4</sup>, rubbing No. 00025 preserved at VHN, which was erected at the temple of Yên Sở commune, Dương Liễu canton, Đan Phượng district, Hà Đông province, for the worship of Lý Phục Man. In the inscription, there is the following passage: 陳太宗時巡遊至古所見山川奇秀命酒酌之 "During the reign of Trần Thái Tông, the King was traveling on a visit to Cổ Sở and saw beautiful mountains and rivers, so he ordered that wine be poured for worship". At the end of the inscription, there is a list of names and the date is expressed as "Eternal Vĩnh Tộ era of the Royal Kingdom". Vĩnh Tộ (1619-1629) was an era-name during the reign of King Lê Thần Tông (r.1619-1643; 1649-1662). However, it is obvious that the stele was rebuilt in the Nguyễn Dynasty because the toponym Cổ Sở was changed to Yên Sở. The first line of the inscription reads: "The epitaph and the inscription of the temple of Yên Sở commune recording the rebuilding of the wall and the inversion of the tiles" 安所神祠碑文并銘再立墻瓦事. The epitaph was composed by Bùi Duy Thanh, a resident of Bích Câu ward, and completed by Nguyễn Tự Phụ, a native of the commune. It is possible that Bùi Duy Thanh relied on passages in the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* and some documents from the Lê Dynasty to

rewrite the original inscription. In addition to recording the legend of the temple at Cổ Sở as mentioned in the *Đại Việt Sử ký Toàn thư* and the *Việt điện u linh*, in the middle of the epitaph there is also an Imperial Edict, dated the 22th day of the 9<sup>th</sup> lunar month of the 14<sup>th</sup> year of the Hồng Định 弘定 era (1614), granting Cổ Sở commune permission to create a cult that would last forever. At the end of the epitaph there is a list of names and the date is expressed as “Vĩnh Tộ 永祚 era of the Royal Kingdom”. Although the stele was rewritten in the Nguyễn Dynasty, the

appearance of the toponym Cổ Sở on the stele is completely consistent with the way in which it is recorded in the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, the *Việt Điện u linh* and other sources from the Lê Dynasty. By the Nguyễn Dynasty, the toponym Cổ Sở was no longer in use for the name had been changed to Yên Sở, now in Từ Liêm district, Hanoi city. Thus, it is evident that the toponym Cổ Sở recorded in LNCQ A.2914 preserves the Lê Dynasty name, which proves that manuscript HV.486 in the Institute of History was copied later after the name had changed.

Figure 3. Cổ Sở

		<p>The stele “Cổ tích từ bi”. The words outlined in rectangle read in translation, “Trần Thái Tông traveled on a visit to Cổ Sở”.</p>
 <p><i>Đồng Khánh dư địa chí</i> (Dong Khanh geographical map - Từ Liêm district)</p>		<p>Outlined in rectangle is the toponym “Yên Sở”.</p>



### 3.3. The place name “Cổ Than” (古灘) in the legend of Thạch Thần, Đô Lỗ in Cổ Than

Besides the toponym “Cổ Sở”, there is also the name “Cổ Than”, which appears in the legend of Thạch Thần and Đô Lỗ in Cổ Than (古灘都魯石神傳 LNCQ.A2914).

The place name “Cổ Than” (古灘) appears in LNCQ manuscript HV.486 as “Đại Than” (大灘). The legend as recorded in LNCQ is as follows.

“I think that this story is included in Đỗ Thiện’s records. The king, whose original surname was Cao and whose taboo name was Lỗ, was the good official who helped An Dương Vương. His common name was Đô Lỗ, and he concurrently held the title Thạch Thần, which was also the name of the God who was the spirit of Thạch Long. In the past, in the time of Cao Vương [i.e., Cao Biền/Gao Pian, a governor-general of the Tang Dynasty], he went to fight the Nam Chiếu [Nanzhao] invaders and returned to patrol the Vũ Ninh district. He saw in a dream an abnormal person arrive whose body was nine feet tall: his form was multi-layered like a rock, his hair was in a bun which suggested he was brave, and he wore red trousers with a belt. Cao Vương asked, “What is the name of the God?” The God replied, “My name is Cao Lỗ. In the past, I was an assistant general for King An Dương Vương who often chased and fought the enemy, and defeated them.”  
按杜善本傳記、王本姓高諱魯、乃安陽王良臣輔佐也。俗号都并虜号石之神。其亦本於神名石龍之精也。昔高王之時平南昭復巡遊武寧州、至地頭如夢見異人、身長九尺、石貌樓層、錐髮胆力赤裙束帶來謂高王曰、你某名神。神曰、神名高魯。昔輔安陽王用為將軍常有却敵大攻破

Cổ Than is an ancient toponym, and it has not yet been found in other sources. Is it possible that the name “Cổ Than” was replaced by “Đại Than” in the HV.486 version? Based on the

place-names “Vũ Ninh châu”<sup>5</sup> and Cao Lỗ temple, I searched for places in Bắc Ninh province recorded in *Đồng Khánh geography* 同慶地輿志 and found Đại Than commune (now Cao Đức commune, Gia Bình district, Bắc Ninh province). Đại Than commune is located next to the confluence of three rivers: Nhật Đức river (i.e., Thương river), Nguyệt Đức river (i.e., Cầu river) and Chiêm Đức river (i.e., Thiên Đức river, now Đuống river). According to DNNTC, Nguyệt Đức River (i.e. Cầu River) had a tributary that comes from Bạch Hạc river in Sơn Tây, “flowing through the territory of Yên Phong, Việt Yên and Võ Giàng districts for 112 *ly* [1 *ly* is around 500 meters], reaching Phả Lại river in Quế Dương district, and flowing into Đại Than river in Gia Bình district” [15] (page 94). However, on satellite maps, Đại Than commune no longer exists and is replaced by Cao Đức commune (the time of the change is unknown). Cao Đức commune contains Bình Than village, Bình Than river crossing and Cao Lỗ temple.

Bình Than village located in Đại Than commune is recorded in an entry for 1282 in the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, as follows: “In October, in winter, the King went to Bình Than<sup>6</sup> and stationed himself in Trần Xá to meet the princes and mandarins of all levels to discuss strategies for attack and defense, and to divide and assign roles to each of them [42a] to guard vulnerable places [17] (p. 48). Thus, the place name Bình Than in the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, as correctly noted by the modern translator of *Dai Viet Su ky Toan thu*, is “a section of Lục Đầu river, flowing through Chí Linh district”, which in *Dong Khanh geography* is referred to as Đại Than commune (now in Cao Đức commune, Gia Bình district, Bắc Ninh province).

The place-name “Đại Than” appears very early in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century poetic essay *Bạch Đằng giang phú* 白藤江賦 by Trương Hán Siêu 張漢超 (d. 1354): “Wading through Đại Than estuary,

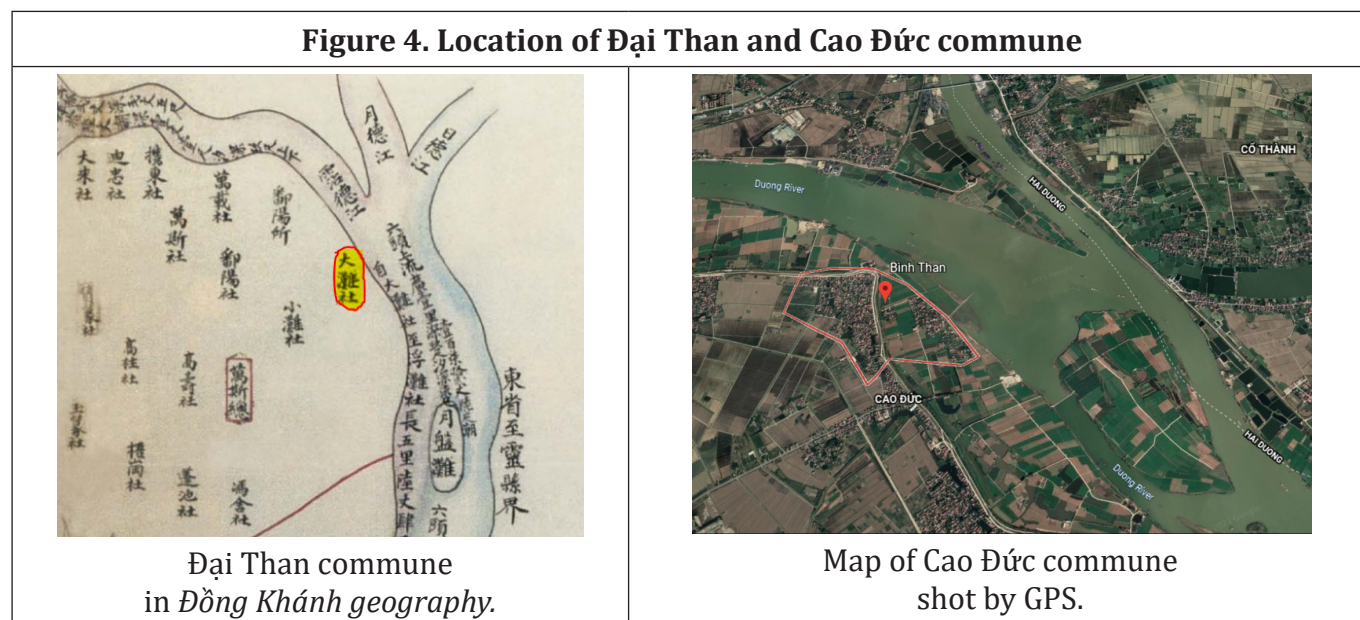
back to the side of Đông Triều, go on to Bạch Đằng river, the floating boat glides ahead” 涉大灘口、遡東潮頭、抵白藤江、是泛是浮.<sup>7</sup> “Đại Than estuary”, “Đông Triều” and “Bạch Đằng” are all famous places in the battles against the Mongol invaders in the 13th century. The waterway described in Trương Hán Siêu’s essay begins at Đại Than estuary in Đại Than commune, next to the confluence of the Cầu, Thương and Đuống rivers which is upstream of Lục Đầu river; from there it divides into two branches, one flowing into Hải Dương and the other to Hải Phòng. The place-name “Đại Than” is also recorded in the section “Lục Đầu River” in DNNTC: “... This river consists of one branch flowing from a river in Phượng Nhãn district, Bắc Ninh province, and from Thiên Đức, and another branch from the Nguyệt Đức river which flows to a confluence in Bình Than, to Lý Dương commune, formerly known as Lão Nhạn basin, then the immense body of water divides into two branches, one from Lâu Khê river crossing that flows south,

the other from Linh Hội river that flows east. Together they form the Lục Đầu river, and the alluvial bank in the middle of the river is called Đại Than bank. [15] (page 468).

In addition, according to legend and to the imperial edict bestowing a title promulgated in 1938, which is now preserved at the Library of Social Sciences in Hanoi (Q.40 18/IV, 43), at that time Đại Than village belonged to Vạn Ty canton, Gia Bình district, Bắc Ninh province.

Like the place-name “Cổ Than” in LNCQ A.2914, the place-name “Đại Than” has been found to have appeared as early as the Trần Dynasty and it remained unchanged until the beginning of the 19th century. It is not yet known when Đại Than village changed into Cao Đức commune, but in the old Đại Than commune there can still be found Bình Than village, Bình Than river crossing and Cao Lỗ temple, which appeared very early in LNCQ and the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*.

Figure 4. Location of Đại Than and Cao Đức commune



In summary, from the study of the toponyms in manuscript LNCQ A.2914 compared with the toponyms in HV.486, I have demonstrated that the toponyms in A.2914 are ancient place-names actually reflecting the date 1584. However, why

did the copyists of HV.486<sup>8</sup> include Nguyễn Dynasty place-names in their copy? Was it a random choice or were there specific reasons? As mentioned above, the EFEO Library seems to have provided some regulations<sup>9</sup> for copyists in

order to distinguish between the copies held by the Library and those copied later. Were Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms one of the criteria used for distinguishing between the originals and the copies? We will try to examine this problem through the chronology of the copies of the *Hồng Đức Atlas* currently preserved in Vietnam and Japan.

#### **4. Examination of the chronology of the copies of the *Hồng Đức Atlas* through the place-names in *Lĩnh Nam chích quái***

##### **4.1. The copies of the *Hồng Đức Atlas* currently preserved in Vietnam and Japan**

There are four copies of the *Hồng Đức Atlas* currently preserved in Vietnam and Japan. These are the copy A.2499 at VHN; the copy with the same symbol A.2499 (on the cover) at the Shidō Bunko, Keiō Gijuku University, Japan; the copy preserved at Hiroshima University; and the copy preserved at the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo. Below I give a brief description of each of them.

###### **4.1.1. The *Hồng Đức bản đồ* 洪德版圖 at VHN**

This has the shelfmark A.2499 (its photocopy has the shelfmark VHc.2077). The first two folios (1a and 2a) contain the words *Hồng Đức bản đồ* (rewritten by Mr. Lê Xuân Hòa when restoring it in 1984). On the folio 3a are the words *Hồng Đức bản đồ* A.2499 (from this page onwards the book is the original copy owned by the Library of the EFEO). On the folio 86b there is a marginal note: “Restored in the 30th year of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Quý Mùi, 1984. Thanh Hoàng Khê Lê Xuân Hòa, a collaborator of the Institute of Sino-Nom Studies, Hanoi.”

###### **4.1.2. The *Hồng Đức bản đồ* at the Shidō Bunko, Keio Gijuku University, Japan**

This has the shelfmark G本ベトナム (G.Betonamu) 363/1. It consists of 89 folios, and the cover bears the shelfmark A.2499, showing that it was copied from the *Hồng Đức bản đồ* at VHN.

###### **4.1.3. The *Hồng Đức bản đồ* at Hiroshima University<sup>10</sup>**

This has on the cover the year 1937 and some French words; below them is the stamp of Hiroshima University, number 98846. No page numbering is visible in the PDF images I have relied upon.

###### **4.1.4. The *Hồng Đức bản đồ* in the Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko)<sup>11</sup>**

This has the shelfmark X-2-24, X-75 [19] [20]. There is also a microfilm, No. 100,891, made by Bửu Cầm, Đỗ Văn Anh, Phạm Huy Thúy, Tạ Quang Phát and Trương Bửu Lâm which was introduced in the book *Hồng Đức Atlas*, published in 1962 by the Ministry of National Education, Saigon city [21].

#### **4.2. The contents of the *Hồng Đức Atlas* and associated works**

1. The *Hồng Đức bản đồ* includes a table of contents; maps of Annam (the whole country), of Trung Do (Thang Long) and of all 13 thừa tuyên, in other words provincial level localities (Thanh Hoa, Nghệ An, Sơn Nam, Sơn Tây, Kinh Bắc, Hải Dương, Thái Nguyên, Tuyên Quang, Hưng Hóa, Lạng Sơn, An Quảng, Thuận Hóa and Quảng Nam). In the thừa tuyên maps, all 53 prefectures, 181 districts and 49 sub-districts (州) are clearly identified. The editor is identified as Đỗ Bá 杜伯, an imperial examination candidate (儒生中式) whose pseudonym was Đạo Phủ 道甫, and who came from Thanh Giang 青江, Bích Triều 碧潮. In addition, the following separate works are appended to extant manuscripts.

2. The topographical work *Giao Châu chí* 交州志 was compiled by Trương Phụ (Zhang Fu) 張輔 and Mộc Thạnh (Mu Cheng) 沐晟 in the Ming Dynasty during the Vinh Lac reign, after the defeat of Hồ Quý Ly. This deals with the position and territory of the Giao Châu area with the three roads to Giao Chỉ (Giao Chỉ đạo 交趾道三, those from Guangxi 廣西, Guangdong 廣東 and Yunnan



雲南 (all in China).

3. *Toản tập Thiên Nam tứ chí lộ đồ thư* 纂集天南四至路圖書 (Thiên Nam road map in four directions) was compiled in 1686 by Đỗ Bá 杜伯, pseudonym Đạo Phủ 道甫, under the orders of the Lord Trịnh Căn 鄭根.<sup>12</sup> This atlas consists of 4 volumes: vol. 1 contains a map of the roads and rivers from Thăng Long 昇龍 to Chiêm Thành 占城; vol. 2 covers the roads from Kinh Kỳ 京畿 (the capital) to Jinzhou 欽州 and Nianzhou 念州 in Guangdong, China; vol. 3 covers the roads from Phụng Thiên 奉天 (Thang Long) to Guangxi and Yunnan in China; and vol. 4 covers the roads from the Imperial city to Bac Quan Gate 北關門 (now Huu Nghi Border Gate).

4. *Giáp Ngọ niên Bình Nam đồ* 甲午年平南圖 (The map of the pacification of the south in the Giáp Ngọ year) was compiled by “Grand Duke

Đoàn” 端郡公, whose real name was Bùi Thế Đạt 裴世達 of Nghệ An, in the years 1774-75.<sup>13</sup> It includes 14 maps of the routes from Đồng Hới to the southernmost point of Đàng Trong, bordering Cao Mien (now Cambodia).

5. *Cảnh Thịnh tân đồ đại man quốc* 景盛新圖大蠻國 (New map of the country of Dai Man made in the Cảnh Thịnh era) is a map of the province of Đại Man, here referred to as a country. At the end there is a short introduction by Nguyễn Kính 阮敬 dated the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 9<sup>th</sup> month, 1800.

6. *Cao Bằng phủ toàn đồ* 高平府全圖 (Complete map of Cao Bằng prefecture), compiled anonymously, is a map of the whole of Cao Bằng prefecture. It includes a textual description of the map itself (Cao Bằng đồ thuyết 高平圖說) and a map of Muc Ma town.

**Table 2. The *Hồng Đức* atlas and related works**

		The Institute of Han-Nom Studies A.2499	Shidō Bunko, Tokyo /Gベトナム (G.Betonamu) 363/1 (A.2499)	Hiroshima University 98846	Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo X-2-24, X-75
1	<i>Hồng Đức atlas</i> 洪德版圖	2b-25b	2a-27b	2b-29a	2a-27b
2	<i>The record of Giao Châu</i> 交州志	26-29b	28a-30a	29b-31b	28a-30a
3	<i>The Thiên Nam to four directions road map</i> 纂集天南四至路圖書	30a-64a	30b-65a	32a-66b	31b-65a
4	The map of the pacification of the South in the Giáp Ngọ year 甲午年平南圖	65a-79b	65b-82a	67a-81b	65b-80a
5	New map of Đại Man made in the Cảnh Thịnh era 景盛新圖大蠻國	80a-82a	82b-84a	82a-84b	80b-83a
6	Entire map of Cao Bằng prefecture 高平府全圖	82a-83b	84ba-89ba	85a-89b	83ba-88b
Total number of folios		86	89	89	88

To conclude this section, we can say that the contents of the three copies of *Hồng Đức bản đồ* in Japan are identical to the copy at VHN. While the copies at the VHN, Hiroshima University and Tōyō Bunko all have multi-layered sea and

river patterns, the copy in the Shidō Bunko has a single-layer pattern (see Fig. 5, below). However, the four copies differ in their usage of Chinese characters and in some of the appended notes and this shows that they were copied by four

different individuals. Owing to the limited scope of this article, I shall only refer to *Hồng Đức bản đồ* itself here and shall leave the supplementary materials for another occasion.<sup>14</sup>

**4.3. The place name “Kim Hoa” 金華 in LNCQ and the Hồng Đức bản đồ**

In the tale of Sóc Thiên Vương, LNCQ has the following original note: “The temple is in Tiên Thiên commune, Kim Hoa district. There is another temple on the west side of the lake, in Tảo Châu commune, Từ Liêm district” 其廟在金華縣、僊遷社。又廟慈廉縣藻州社邊西湖。 Version HV.486 of LNCQ contains no notes, however.

In order to determine if Kim Hoa district was a toponym in the Lê Dynasty, I shall consider the copy of *Hồng Đức bản đồ* preserved in the Shidō Bunko, Tokyo.

According to a note in the Shidō Bunko copy, the district in Bắc Hà prefecture that was known as Kim Hoa during the Lê Dynasty had changed its name to Kim Anh district. According to DNNTC, Kim Hoa was an old district name which had existed from the Quang Thuận 光順 era (1460-1469) under King Lê Thánh Tông of the Later Lê Dynasty up to the first year of Thiệu Trị (1841) in the Nguyễn Dynasty, when it became

known as Kim Anh district [16] (vol. 4, page 71). The reason for the change was avoidance of the taboo name of Hồ Thị Hoa 胡氏華, the mother of King Thiệu Trị.

According to another note in *Hồng Đức bản đồ*, Từ Liêm 慈廉 district used to be the capital of Hoài Đức 懷德 prefecture, now part of Hanoi. According to DNNTC, Từ Liêm district in the Han Dynasty was called Luy Lâu 贏婁 district; but in the Sui Dynasty it became known as Giao Chỉ 交趾 district. During the Tang Dynasty, in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Vũ Đức 武德 (621), the district was separated and the two parts were named Từ Liêm 慈廉 and Châu Tư 慈州, taking their names from the rivers Liêm 廉 and Từ 慈. In the Quang Thuận era of the Lê Dynasty it belonged to Quốc Oai 國威 prefecture in the Sơn Tây 山西 area. In the 12th year of Minh Mệnh (1831), it was transferred to Hoài Đức 懷德 prefecture. It is clear, therefore, that the toponyms Kim Hoa 金華 and Từ Liêm 慈廉 date back to the Lê Dynasty.

The two versions of *Hồng Đức bản đồ* with the same shelfmark A.2499 (the versions in the Shidō Bunko and the Institute of Sino-Nom Studies) both add toponyms of the Nguyễn Dynasty in addition to the Lê Dynasty toponyms at the same locations, as indicated in Table 3.

**Table 3. Toponyms in Hồng Đức bản đồ**

No.	Thừa tuyên name	Prefecture name	Lê Dynasty Place-name	Nguyễn Dynasty Place-name
1/1	Nghệ An 乂安	Trấn Ninh 鎮寧	Chu Lang châu 珠琅州 district	Quang Lang 桃榔 district
2/2	Sơn Tây 山西	Quốc Oai 國威	Từ Liêm 慈廉 district	Hoài Đức 懷德 prefecture belonging to Hà Nội
3		Tam Đới 三帶	Tam Đới 三帶 prefecture	Vĩnh Tường 永祥 prefecture
4		as above	Phù Khang 扶康 district	Phù Ninh 扶寧 district
5		Quảng Oai 廣威	Minh Nghĩa 明義 district	Tùng Thiện 從善 district
6/3	Kinh Bắc 京北	Kinh Bắc 京北	Kinh Bắc 京北	Bắc Ninh 北寧 province

No.	Thừa tuyên name	Prefecture name	Lê Dynasty Place-name	Nguyễn Dynasty Place-name
7		Thuận An 順安	Thuận An 順安 prefecture	Thuận Thành 順成 prefecture
8		as above	Gia Định 嘉定 district	Gia Bình 嘉平 district
9		Từ Sơn 慈山	Vũ Ninh 武寧 district	Vũ Giàng 武江 district
10		Bắc Hà 北河	Bắc Hà 北河 prefecture	Đa Phúc 多福 prefecture
11		as above	Kim Hoa 金華 district	Kim Anh 金英 district
12/4	Hải Dương 海	Thượng Hồng 上洪	Thượng Hồng 上洪 prefecture	Bình Giang 平江 prefecture
13		Hạ Hồng 下洪	Hạ Hồng 下洪 prefecture	Ninh Giang 寧江 prefecture
14/5	Thái Nguyên 太原	Cao Bằng 高平	Cao Bằng 高平 prefecture	Cao Bằng 高平 province
15/6	Lạng Sơn 諒山	Trường Khánh 長慶	Trường Khánh 長慶 prefecture	Trùng Khánh 重慶 prefecture
16		as above	Thất Tuyền 七泉 islet	Trường Định 長定 islet
17/7	Yên Quảng 安廣		Yên Quảng 安廣 prefecture	Quảng Yên 廣安 province
18/8	Thuận Hóa 順化	Tiên Bình 先平	Tiên Bình 先平 prefecture	Formerly Tân Bình 新平 2 districts, 2 châu now belong to Quảng Bình 廣平 province
19			Khang Lộc 康祿 district	Phong Lộc 豐祿 district
20		Triệu Phong 肇豐	Triệu Phong 肇豐 prefecture	Triệu Châu 肇州 prefecture
21			Vũ Xương 武昌 district	Đăng Xương 登昌 district
22			Đan Điền 丹田 district	Quảng Điền 廣田 district
23			Kim Trà 金茶 district	Hương Trà 香茶 district
24			Tư Vang 思榮 district	Phú Vang 富榮 district
25			Điện Bàn 奠磐 district	Quảng Nam 廣南 province
26/9	Quảng Nam 廣南	Tư Nghĩa 思義	Tư Nghĩa 思義 prefecture	now belongs to Quảng Ngãi 廣義 province
27			Bình Sơn 平山 district	Bình Dương 平陽 district
28			Nghĩa Giang 義江 district	Chương Nghĩa 彰義 district
29		Hoài Nhân 懷仁	Hoài Nhơn 懷仁, Quy Nhơn 歸仁	now belongs to Bình Định 平定 province



Table 3 shows that 9 out of 13 *thừa tuyên* (provincial level localities) are mentioned and in addition a total of 29 place-names from the Lê Dynasty. What must be noted is that Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms were added. This shows that the two versions were both copied in the Nguyễn Dynasty. It appears, then, that the copy in the Shidō Bunko was copied by Emile Gaspardone from the version now at VHN when he was working at the *École française d'Extrême-Orient*; long after his death it was donated to the Shidō Bunko. The difference between the two is that in the Shidō Bunko version the river stripes and sea stripes that distinguish between land and river and sea as in the VHN copy are missing [22].

On the other hand, the two copies of the *Hồng Đức bản đồ* in Hiroshima University and the Tōyō Bunko do not reflect the change of toponyms enforced by the Nguyễn Dynasty. The *Hồng Đức bản đồ* in Hiroshima was photographed in 1937 from a copy of the *Hồng Đức bản đồ* preserved in an unknown location in France.

Regarding the chronology of the copies, although the original atlas compiled in the year 1490<sup>15</sup> in Hồng Đức era does not survive, the toponyms found in the *Hồng Đức bản đồ* reflect the names and administrative levels of the Hồng Đức era. For example, in the map of the entire country, the place name Yên Bang is recorded, although it is accompanied by its new Nguyễn Dynasty name, Yên Quảng: the change of name was due to the taboo on the name of Lê Duy Bang 黎維邦 (1557-1573). Similarly, the toponym Tân Bình 新平 in the map of Thuận Hóa *thừa tuyên* was changed to Tiên Bình owing to avoidance of the taboo name of Lê Duy Tân 黎維新 (1600-1619). According to the section on the history of Quảng Yên province in DNNTC, “The map of the 21<sup>st</sup> year of the Hồng Đức era [1490] referred to this place as Yên Bang land” and “From the Gia Thái 嘉泰 era [1573-1577] onwards, in order to avoid the taboo name of King Lê Anh

Tông (1532-1573), its name was changed to Yên Quảng” [15] (vol. 4, pp. 9-10). DNNTC also describes Tân Bình as follows: “During the Trần Dynasty, it was called Tân Bình prefecture; during the Lê Dynasty, its name was changed to Tiên Bình prefecture” [15] (vol. 2, p. 9). Thus, the maps preserved in the Tōyō Bunko and Hiroshima University (photoengraving) and the maps currently preserved in France<sup>16</sup> are copies of the *Hồng Đức bản đồ* that were made after 1600. Owing to the absence of Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms, it can be confirmed that these are the oldest extant copies of the Lê Dynasty text of the *Hồng Đức bản đồ*. The maps in VHN and the Shidō Bunko include Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms and so must have been copied in the late 19th or early 20th centuries.

Why did the EFEO Library, when making a copy of the Lê Dynasty version, include Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms? Extant copies of original maps such the *Hồng Đức bản đồ* preserved in the EFEO Library needed to be easily distinguished from later copies made by the EFEO Library, for after 100 years the paper used for copying would look much the same as the paper of the original. The explanation for the inclusion of Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms, it seems to me, is probably that the director of the EFEO Library, who was also an Orientalist, considered that inserting Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms into copies of Lê Dynasty maps would enable the copies to be easily distinguishable from the originals. Even if both the Lê Dynasty and Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms were copied correctly as in the version in the Shidō Bunko, the sea and river patterns would also show that the Shidō Bunko version was copied later because the sea patterns of the Lê Dynasty versions (at Hiroshima University, Tōyō Bunko) and the sea patterns of the A.2499 version (at VHN) are the same.

See the illustrations of the place Yên Bang (now Yên Quảng) in the copies of the Hong

Duc Atlas in the Institute of Sino-Nom Studies, Hiroshima University Tōyō Bunko and Shidō Bunko archives below:

**Figure 5. Yên Bang (now Yên Quảng) in copies of the *Hồng Đức bản đồ***



Thus, only the two versions in Hiroshima University and the Tōyō Bunko do not include Nguyễn Dynasty toponyms. This is definitely true because they were copied from an older version at an earlier time, and that they are not products of the Nguyễn Dynasty like the versions at the Shidō Bunko and the Institute of Sino-Nom Studies. Certainly, the textual problems posed by the *Hồng Đức bản đồ* will continue to be studied, but the Lê Dynasty toponyms in LNCQ A.2914 will help us to refine the chronology of the various copies of the *Hồng Đức bản đồ* in

Vietnam and abroad.

### Conclusion

Many people have written about the complexity and multiple variants of the manuscripts formerly preserved at the EFEO and now at VHN, but now we have a better understanding of the EFEO Library's methods of collecting and copying texts. Therefore, we are in a better position to identify the oldest versions in the collection of *Han-Nom* books stored at the Institute of Sino-Nom Studies. Through the study of the toponyms in LNCQ that reflects the

toponyms in use in 1584 and the identification of the chronology of the various copies of the *Hong Duc Atlas* with reference to the place names in LNCQ, this article has shown the importance of identifying the various versions collected and copied by the EFEO. Furthermore, I have sought to demonstrate that, in addition to the detailed study of taboo names and textual language, it is also possible to make use of the study of toponyms applying the methods of geography and cultural studies, and to use toponomastics as a basis for the evaluation of extant versions and for determining the textual relationships between the various extant versions. It is also possible that the toponyms in the extant manuscripts will enable us to identify the date of production of other *Han-Nom* manuscripts. This article will hopefully stimulate new endeavors in the study of *Han-Nom* texts, which continue to pose thorny bibliographical problems.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Before 1945, in Vietnam, when writing Chinese characters, it was the custom to abstain from using (including speaking and/or writing) the birth first name of the king and members of the royal family of the ruling dynasty, which were considered taboo names. Whenever there was a need to write these Chinese characters, they were written in a non-standard way by omitting or adding strokes. However, depending on the period, avoidance of those names was sometimes relaxed. See Ngo Duc Tho, 1997, *Chữ Hủy Việt Nam Qua Các Triều Đại (Taboo characters of Vietnamese dynasties)*, Nhà xuất bản Văn Hóa, Hanoi, p.172 [24].
- <sup>2</sup> Lê Quý Đôn, *Đại Việt thông sử*, Sinitic version, A.1389 (The Institute of Sino-Nom Studies; hereafter VHN), folio 76b. In the Art and Literature section of *Đại Việt thông sử* he wrote as follows: “LNCQ consists of 3 volumes, it is not known by whom it was written though it is said that Trần Thế Pháp was the author; the preface is missing, except for the preface by Vũ Quỳnh written when proofreading. The first two volumes were

said to be ancient books. The last volume was written by an author whose last name is Đoàn, living in the False Mạc period, who took extracts from the collection of U Linh, trimmed them to his liking and added them at the end of the book”. (嶺南摭怪 三卷, 不知何人作, 相傳為陳世法, 今其序不見, 止有武瓊校正一序. 前二卷係古書, 後一卷則偽莫辰儒生段始取幽靈集, 以意刊剪, 附載于後。)

- <sup>3</sup> Phan Huy Chú, *Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí*, A.1551/8, VHN). In the Literature section, he wrote: “LNCQ consists of 3 volumes, it is not known by whom it was written; it is said to be by Trần Thế Pháp; now the Preface is not found, except for the Preface written by Vũ Quỳnh when proofreading. The first two volumes were said to be ancient books. The last volume was written by the author whose last name is Doan, living in the False Mạc period, taking from the collection of U Linh, trimmed it to his liking and added at the end of the book”. (『嶺南摭怪』三卷, 不知何人作, 相傳為陳世法, 今其序不見, 止有武瓊校正一序. 前卷傳古書, 後一卷莫時段某始取幽靈集, 以意刊剪, 附載于後。)
- <sup>4</sup> The text of the epitaph has been kindly provided by Master Trần Văn Quyển, TICES Institute, Thang Long University.
- <sup>5</sup> Vũ Ninh châu: according to DNNTC, Vo Giang district from the Trần Dynasty onward was called Vũ Ninh district, and during the Ming Dynasty invasion it was called Vũ Ninh châu (Wuning zhou in Chinese) and belonged to Bắc Giang prefecture. (DNNTC, volume 4, p. 66). Now it is Võ Giàng district, Bắc Ninh province.
- <sup>6</sup> According to the annotation added by the modern translators of *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, Bình Than is “a section of the Lục Đầu river, which flows through Chí Linh district, Hải Hưng province today (present-day Hải Dương province).
- <sup>7</sup> Đông Châu Nguyễn Hữu Tiến translated this as: “Through Đại Than estuary, to Đông Triều river crossing, to Bạch Đằng river, the boat floating sluggishly.” Source: *Khảo về địa dư và lịch sử tỉnh Quảng Yên* (Survey of the geography and history of Quang Yen province), *Nam Phong*, volume XIV, No. 8, June 1924 [25].
- <sup>8</sup> The first page of HV.486 is stamped with the words “Xuân Hội Lê thị gia tàng” (the Book stored at



the Lê family in Hội [Khê], Xuân [Trường]). His family name was Lê, full name Lê Trọng Hàm (1872-1931). The biography of Lê Trọng Hàm is included in Trần Văn Giáp's *Tìm Hiểu Kho Sách Hán Nôm*. Culture Publishing House, 1984, p. 188) [1].

<sup>9</sup> I have not found specific regulations on copying at the EFEO Library. Basing on the actual situation of the Han-Nom bookstore, the accounts of people who were working for the EFEO Library at the time, the person in charge of the Han-Nom bookstore at the Library of Social Sciences and some articles by Dương Thái Minh (Head of the Documentation Department of The Institute of Sino-Nom Studies), it seems that the EFEO Library may have made regulations for copying manuscripts.

<sup>10</sup> I thank Mr. Trần Văn Quyến for having provided me with the PDF.

<sup>11</sup> The *Hồng Đức Atlas* preserved in the Tōyō Bunko is a manuscript copy. See the article by Nguyễn Thị Oanh, *Thư mục sách Hán Nôm tại Đông Dương văn khố* (Bibliography of Han-Nom books in the Oriental Libarary), *Tạp chí Hán Nôm* No. 4 (21), 1994, pp. 63-77 [19], and the article *Vài nét về Đông Dương văn khố và kho sách Hán Nôm tại đây* (A little about the Oriental Archives and the Han-Nom book collection there), *Tạp chí Hán Nôm* No. 1(18) 1994, pp. 33-38 [20].

<sup>12</sup> In 1962 Trương Bửu Lâm dated the map to the period from 1630 to 1653. Later, in 1994 Phạm Hân proved that it was completed in 1686.

<sup>13</sup> Trương Bửu Lâm (1962, ix) [21] identified “Grand Duke Đoàn” as Nguyễn Hoàng (1525-1613) and stated that it was compiled in the year of Giáp Ngọ 1594. Later, Trần Đại Vinh and Trần Việt Ngạc (2014, p. 4-5) identified “Grand Duke Doan” as Bùi Thế Đạt who drew the map in the years 1774 and 1775.

<sup>14</sup> See also the entry *Hồng Đức bản đồ* in *Di sản Hán Nôm - Thư mục đề yếu* ( *Catalogue des livres en HanNom* [26] and the introduction to Bửu Cầm *et al.*, eds, *Hồng Đức bản đồ*, Tủ sách Viện khảo cổ, số III, Bộ Quốc Gia Giáo Dục, Saigon 1962 [23].

<sup>15</sup> Trương Bửu Lâm has stated that, “in the naming of the thừa tuyên, we feel that these maps must have been made in the Hồng Đức era. After the

Hồng Thuận era (1510-1516) under King Lê Tương Dực, the largest administrative division was no longer termed thừa tuyên or đạo but trấn” [21].

<sup>16</sup> According to *Di sản Hán Nôm - Thư mục đề yếu* (*Catalogue des livres en HanNom*), the two copies preserved in France are the Nam Việt map, 1603 (Paris, EFEO. MF. II/4/510) and the *Hồng Đức bản đồ*, A.2499 (Paris, EFEO. MF. II/2/312). Since the copy of *Hồng Đức bản đồ* in Hiroshima University is almost identical to the A.2499 of the Institute of Sino-Nom Studies, we can assume that the French version of which the Hiroshima version is a copy is the A.2499 version before the toponyms of the Nguyễn Dynasty were added.

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### Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank the National Foundation for Science and Technology Development (NAFOSTED, Project number: 602.06-2020.310) for financial support.