

DETERMINING THE ORIGINS OF THE *AN NAM CHÍ NGUYÊN*

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Abstract

Despite being a very valuable book, *An Nam chí nguyên* (Ānnán zhì yuán) 安南志原 has long caused doubt and controversy among Vietnamese and international scholars. Of all its aspects (title, compiler, structure, date, etc.), the provenance of the book is the most controversial topic. This paper, by recounting the history of questioning the origin of the book, as well as introducing and examining some related documents, aims to contribute to determining the clear and reliable provenance of each part of the book. The paper suggests that *An Nam chí nguyên*'s parts mostly originated from gazetteers which were compiled by officials of the Míng Dynasty. Thus, the paper contributes to affirming the value (reliability, originality, rarity, etc.) of the book. Concurrently, the paper thoroughly explains the origin of the title *An Nam chí nguyên* and put an end to the long-standing controversy about this title. Through the survey and comparison between relevant documents, the paper also discusses the role and contribution of Gāo Xióngzhēng (Cao Hùng Trưng) 高熊徵 - the only identified author who is often attributed to *An Nam chí nguyên*, to the book. Finally, the paper proposes some issues that need to be investigated further to have clearer and more accurate perceptions of the textual issues of the book.

Keywords: *An Nam chí nguyên* (Ānnán zhì yuán) 安南志原; *Origins of book*; *Gazetteer*; *the Míng Dynasty*; Gāo Xióngzhēng (Cao Hùng Trưng) 高熊徵

1. Introduction

An Nam chí nguyên 安南志原 (Chin: Ānnán zhì yuán; hereafter *ANCN*), as it is often called, is a book of great value in different aspects (geography, history, culture, literature, etc.) of premodern Vietnam. It has been cited and utilized for nearly 300 years (from the middle of the 18th century). However, many debates still surround the book, the most prominent being the question of its origins. The extant versions of *ANCN* (typically [1], [2]), which are

preserved at the Institute of Sino-Nôm Studies in Hà Nội, mostly include a line of notes that seem to attribute the compilation of *ANCN* to Gāo Xióngzhēng 高熊徵 (V: Cao Hùng Trưng; 1636 - 1706), a scholar-official of the Qīng Dynasty¹. However, the book's content arouses suspicion about that attribution. Going back through the history of studying the book, we have found many misconceptions, doubts and debates by scholars about its true origins.

Before 1760, Lê Quý Đôn 黎貴惇 (1726 -

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1784) was the first scholar to mention *An Nam chí* 安南志 as the title of the book and Gāo Xióngzhēng 高峯 as the compiler. But he confused readers by noting that Gāo Xióngzhēng was a scholar of the Míng Dynasty [3]. The confusion about the reign which Gāo Xióngzhēng belonged to may be due to Lê Quý Đôn's carelessness or lack of information about the past. However, was this (as well as the way he referred to the book as *An Nam chí*, not *ANCN*) a real mistake, or did Lê Quý Đôn dimly recognize the version he read as a Míng Dynasty imprint? After that, in the 19th century, the court historians of the Nguyễn Dynasty in *Khâm Định Việt sử thông giám cương mục* 欽定越史通鑑綱目 (r.1856 - 1883) [4] and *Đại Nam nhất thống chí* 大南一統志 (r.1856 - 1883) [5] cited repeatedly and acknowledged Gāo Xióngzhēng as *ANCN*'s compiler. However, the way they refer to the book as *An Nam chí* or *An Nam chí kỷ yếu* 安南志紀要, or sometimes *Giao Chỉ di biên* 交趾遺編 also causes confusion for readers.

French scholars such as L. Cadier, J. Pelliot (1904) [6] and L. Arousseau (1920) [7] were the first modern scholars to be aware of or come across *ANCN*, but owing to the lack of careful textual examination, they too easily came to the conclusion that *ANCN* was a book of the Qing Dynasty compiled by Gāo Xióngzhēng and spread their conclusions widely in the academic world. However, H. Maspero (1910) [8] and E. Gaspardone (1932) [9] gradually recognized the Míng Dynasty imprints of the book, especially in its three-volume part, through their elaborate study of extant *ANCN* versions. E. Gaspardone also speculated that the *An Nam chí nguyên tự* 安南志原序 (Chin: *Ānnán zhì yuán xù*; hereafter *ANCNT*) was not written by Gāo Xióngzhēng but by a certain compiler in the Míng Dynasty. However, E. Gaspardone could not find any specific Míng Dynasty text related to the *ANCN* and the *ANCNT*, nor did he see a clear distinction between the first part (ie. *ANCNT* and *Tổng yếu* 總要) and the three-volume part of the book.

He could only hope: "Thus, this book, owing to the influence of *Cương mục* 綱目, has been known as *ANCN* by Gāo Xióngzhēng, a scholar living in the late seventeenth century. However, it may be considered [instead] as *An Nam chí* by an unknown 15th-century author through more comprehensive surveys [...]. Perhaps an accidental discovery in *Thực lục* 實錄 or in a Chinese library one day will dispel the doubts that still obscure the correct view of this *Ānnán zhì* 安南志 (V: *An Nam chí*; hereafter *ANZ*) and will allow us to write the history of this book from that view" [9, p.58-59].

It was only in 1981 that a Chinese scholar, Zhāng Xiùmín 張秀民, through studying many Chinese bibliographies, discovered that *ANCN* had two parts: the first part consisting of the *ANCNT* and *Tổng yếu*, which was actually a large part of Gāo Xióngzhēng's *Ānnán zhì jìyào* 安南志紀要 (V: *An Nam chí kǐ yào*; hereafter *ANZZY*) (still preserved in Nánjīng University Library/南京大学图书馆 of China with shelf number 03970, with slight differences compared to *ANCN* in terms of Chinese characters and structure)²; and the latter part (i.e. the three-volume part of the book) which was thought to be *Jiāozhǐ zǒng zhì* 交趾總志 (V: *Giao Chỉ tổng chí*; hereafter *JZZZ*), a book compiled in the Yǒnglè reign (永樂, 1402 - 1424) by the Míng officials who were ruling Đại Việt 大越. Therefore, he assumed that Gāo Xióngzhēng's role in *ANCN* was rather modest. He also asserted that it was incorrect to consider the title to be *ANCN*, but rather *Ānnán zhì* 安南志 (V: *An Nam chí*) [10]. These findings are significant for reconstructing the origins of *ANCN*. However, Zhāng Xiùmín's claim about the *JZZZ* was supported with no evidence. He also did not fully explain the origins of the *ANCN*, although he recognized many anomalies in its preface (*ANCNT*). Despite those textual discrepancies, he still attributed the preface and the entire *Tổng yếu* to Gāo Xióngzhēng. In addition, the title of the book, which he suggested was *ANZ*, was merely speculation.

In 2020, the Chinese scholar Chéng Sījiā 成思佳 proposed a new hypothesis that *ANCN* is a relatively complete manuscript that derives from Gāo Xióngzhēng's *ANZ* and that Gāo Xióngzhēng's *ANZ* itself derives from *Jiāozhǐ zhì* 交趾志 (V: *Giao Chỉ chí*; hereafter *JZZ*). He suggested that *JZZ* was a book by an unknown Ming author and that *ANCNT* was originally its preface. In contrast to Zhāng Xiùmín, Chéng Sījiā acknowledged Gāo Xióngzhēng's roles in collecting, editing, and preserving *ANZ* or *ANCN* [11].

This paper will contribute to the discussion of the origins of *ANCN* by conducting a textual analysis of the extant versions and comparing them with two new documents that I have recently found in China. It aims to address the complex issue of the origins of the book *ANCN*. Based on the research results of previous scholars and our new documentary findings, the examination of the provenance of the *ANCN* book is presented in two parts: 1) the provenance of the *ANCNT* and *Tǒng yěu*; 2) the provenance of the main book (three-volume part) of the book *ANCN*.

2. The origin of the *An Nam chí nguyên tự* and the *Tǒng yěu*

According to the surveys by Zhāng Xiùmín [10] and Chéng Sījiā [11], the *ANCNT* and the *Tǒng yěu* are fully present in Gāo Xióngzhēng's *ANZZY* with insignificant differences in terms of wording. In fact, they constitute a major part of *ANZZY* (currently kept in the Nánjīng University Library). The question is whether the *ANCNT* and the *Tǒng yěu* were entirely composed by Gāo Xióngzhēng or not. Zhāng Xiùmín's answer is: yes [10]. Chéng Sījiā, however, persuasively rejects that idea, believing that *ANCNT* was the preface of the *JZZ*. He also argues that the first part of *Tǒng yěu*, which covers the Míng Dynasty, derived from the *JZZ* [11]. Generally speaking, Chéng Sījiā agreed with some previous scholars (such as [3], [8], [9], [10] etc) on the vestiges of the Míng texts in the *ANCN*. However, the

attribution of the origin of the *ANCN* to a certain *JZZ* is backed by no valid evidence. Chéng Sījiā's speculation is based on Gāo Xióngzhēng's *Sīmíng fǔzhì xù* 思明府志序, in which the 3 characters “交趾志” (*JZZ*) appear [11]. Furthermore, *JZZ* has not yet been found. By contrast, we have found solid pieces of evidence to indicate the origins of different parts included in *ANCN*. We suggest that both the *ANCNT* and the *Tǒng yěu* are derived (but not entirely) from *ANZ*, which was compiled by the Míng official-scholar Sū Jùn 蘇濬 (1542 - 1599). The following is a brief introduction to Sū Jùn and an analysis of the *ANZ*.³

Sū Jùn, whose courtesy name was Jūnyǔ 君禹, was a native of Sūcuò village 蘇厝村, Jìnjiāng 晉江, Quánzhōu 泉州 (present-day Sūcuò village 蘇厝村, Dōngzhuāng town 东庄镇, Xiùyǔ ward 秀屿区, Pútián city 莆田市, Fújiàn province 福建省, China). He obtained a doctorate in 1577 during the reign of the Míng emperor Wànlì 萬曆 (r.1572-1620) before serving as Shǎnxī Assistant Administration Commissioner 陝西參議, Guǎngxī Judiciary Commissioner 廣西按察使, and Guǎngxī Administration Vice Commissioner 廣西參政. Sū Jùn's books are quite numerous, such as: *Guǎngxī tōng zhì* 廣西通志 (42 volumes), *Zhōuyì míng míng piān* 周易冥冥篇 (4 volumes), *Yìjīng ershuō* 易經兒說 (4 volumes), *Zǐxī jí* 紫溪集 (34 volumes), *Sìshū ershuō* 四書兒說 (4 volumes), *Wéi biān wēi yán* 韋編微言 (1 volume), *Jiǔ jīng* 酒經 (1 volume), and *ANZ*.

Regarding *ANZ*, several reference books indicate that it formed a single volume. *Xú shì hóng yǔ lóu shū mù* 徐氏紅雨樓書目 (Volume 2), completed in 1602 by Xúbó 徐勃, for instance, mentions it: “*ANZ*, 1 volume, by Sū Jùn” (安南志一卷 (蘇濬)) [12]. *Fújiàn tōng zhì* 福建通志 (Volume 38) by Chényǎn 陳衍 (1856 - 1937) states: “Sū Jùn also composed *ANZ* in a single volume” (蘇濬尚有安南志一卷) [13]. As far as we know, the Fújiàn Provincial Library (福建省图书馆) currently stores a wood-block printed version of *ANZ* (1 volume) compiled by Sū Jùn (shelf number 200000224 [14]). Although the date of printing is unknown, it can be said

with certainty that the version dates back to the Míng Dynasty. Unfortunately, we have so far been unable to find other copies of this text. During this research, however, we have been able to consult a number of ANZ texts, including *Guǎngxī tōng zhì* 廣西通志 (Volume 34) which was compiled by Sū Jùn, edited by Dài Yào 戴耀 (1542—1628), and printed in 1599 during the Wànlì reign [15]; *Nán níng fǔ zhì* 南寧府志 (Volume 11) which was compiled by Fāng Yú 方瑜 (Míng period), augmented by Liáng Xuàn 梁炫, and printed in the Míng Chóngzhēn reign (崇禎, 1628 - 1644) [16]; *Míng wén hǎi* 明文海 (Volume 349) edited by

Huáng Zōngxī 黃宗羲 (1610 - 1695), included in the *Qīndìng Sīkù quánshū* 欽定四庫全書 (completed in 1793) [17]; *Yuèxī wén zài* 粵西文載 (Volume 18) edited by Wāng Sēn 汪森 (1653-1726), first printed in 1704 during the Kāngxī reign [18]. A general consideration of these documents suggests that ANZ is a one-volume book, containing the preface (*Ānnán zhì xù* 安南志序; hereafter ANZX); the *zhì* 志 section (a brief geographical and historical record of An Nam from the beginning to the late sixteenth century), and the *lùn* 論 section (a short comment on An Nam).

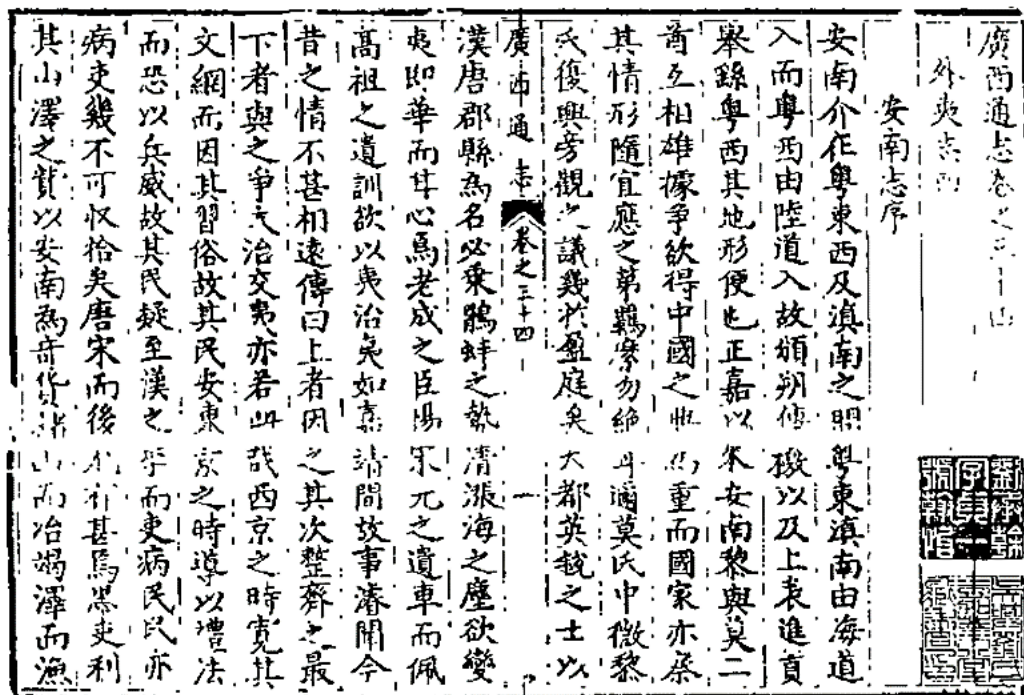


Figure 1. The first two pages of ANZ in *Guǎngxī tōng zhì* 廣西通志 (1599) [15]

Initial textual comparisons between the ANZ and the ANCN (and the ANZZY through the works of Zhāng Xiùmín [10] and Chéng Sijiā [11])⁴ reveal that the ANZ is identical to the first part of the ANCN (which consists of the ANCNT and the *Tǒng yǒu*). The ANCNT, interestingly, is similar to ANZYX of ANZZY. And the *Tǒng yǒu* of ANCN is similar to the *Kǚ yǒu* of ANZZY. These show clearly that the three-volume

part of ANCN has nothing to do with Sū Jùn's ANZ. In fact, it likely came from a completely different source which we present later in this paper. We have also conducted a detailed investigation on those identical texts and list their textual discrepancies. The following table [Table 1], for instance, examines the ANZX and the ANCNT (underlined characters are our own emphasis):

Table 1

ANZX (Guǎngxī tōng zhì [15])	ANCNT (Le Ngan-nan-tche-yuan [19])
<p>《安南志》序</p> <p>安南介在粵東、西及滇南之間，粵東、滇南由海道入，而粵西由陸道入，故頒朔傳檄，以及上表進貢，舉繇粵西，其地形便也。</p> <p>正、嘉以來，安南黎與莫二酋互相雄據，爭欲得中國之典為重，而國家亦察其情形，隨宜應之，第羈縻勿絕耳。</p> <p>邇莫氏中微，黎氏復興，旁觀之議，幾於盈庭。大都英銳之士，以漢、唐郡縣為名，必乘鵲蛙之勢，清漲海之塵，欲變夷即華而甘心焉。老成之臣，惕宋、元之遺車，而佩高祖之遺訓，欲以夷治夷，如嘉靖間故事。</p> <p>濬聞：今昔之情，不甚相遠。《傳》曰：「上者因之，其次整齊之，最下者與之爭」。夫治交夷亦若此哉。西京之時，寬其文網而因其習俗，故其民安。東京之時，導以禮法而恐之以兵威，故其民疑。至漢之季，而吏病民，民亦病吏，幾不可收拾矣。</p> <p>唐宋而後，尤有甚焉。墨吏利其山澤之貲，以安南為奇貨，赭山而冶，竭澤而漁，虎狼之性，反噬隨之矣。其號為強有力者，喜以功名自樹。今日召募，明日徵輸，馘首未聞，而捉擒立見，奈之何民不窮且盜也。元姑無論。我國家威德邁西京遠甚。然取之而不能守也。則其故可思已。</p> <p>西漢時，交州置官，為刺史者一，為郡守者二，邑令不數。我朝則列為三司，分為十七府，州縣且以百計，而又鎮以中官。彼其人豈皆飲冰茹蘗，匪躬之故耶？</p> <p>聞之掌故，若參政馮貴已有墨聲，而中官馬騏尤甚。初政若斯，後將安極？民之胥而夷也。勢也。昔合浦郡多墨吏，珠移之交；孟嘗為郡，去珠復還。嗟夫，今之世，安能盡得若人，布之南交，令夷人不敢輕中夏哉！</p>	<p>《安南志》原序</p> <p>安南介在粵東、西及滇南之國，粵東、滇南由海道入，而粵西由陸道入，故頒朔傳檄，以及上表進貢，由粵西，取其地形便也。</p> <p>明正、嘉中，安南黎莫二夷互相雄據，爭欲得中國之號為重，而中國亦察其情形，隨宜應之，第羈縻勿絕耳。</p> <p>迨莫氏中微，黎氏中興，旁觀物議，幾於盈庭。大都英銳之氣，以漢、唐郡縣為名，必乘蛙鵲之勢，而清海之塵；老成之臣，惕宋、元之遺車，皆欲以夷治夷，如嘉靖間故事。</p> <p>夫今昔之情，不甚相遠。《傳》曰：「上者因之，其次整齊之，最下者與之爭」。西京之時，寬其文網而因其習俗，故其民安。東京之時，導之以禮法而恐之以兵威，故其民疑。至漢之季，而吏病民，民亦病吏，載不可收拾矣。</p> <p>唐宋而後，尤有甚焉。墨吏利其山澤之貲，以安南為奇貨，赭山而冶，竭澤而漁，虎狼之性，反噬隨之。其號為強有力者，喜以功名自樹。今日召募，明日徵輸，馘首未聞，而捉擒立見。元始無論。</p> <p>西漢時，交趾置官，為刺史者一，為郡守者二，邑令不數。明初列為三司，分為十七府，州縣且以百計，而又鎮以中官。彼其人豈安飲冰茹蘗，匪躬之故乎？</p> <p>聞之掌故，若參政馮貴已有墨聲，而中官馬騏尤甚。初政若斯，後將安極？宜乎交人之屢叛也。昔合浦郡多墨吏，珠移之交；孟嘗為郡守，去珠復還。嗟夫，今之世，安能盡得若人，布之南交，令交人不敢輕中夏哉！</p>
<p>The Preface of the ANZ</p> <p>An Nam lies <u>between</u> Yuèdōng (Guǎngdōng), Yuèxī (Guǎngxī) and Diānnán (Yúnnán). From Yuèdōng and Diānnán, people enter [An Nam] by sea; from Yuèxī, they can enter by road. Therefore, when the court issues the calendar and transmits proclamations or [that country] submits a petition or pays tribute, [they] <u>all follow</u> the Yuèxī route, [because of] the topological convenience.</p>	<p>The Original Preface of the ANZ</p> <p>An Nam is <u>a country (sic)</u> located between Yuèdōng (Guǎngdōng), Yuèxī (Guǎngxī) and Diānnán (Yúnnán). From Yuèdōng and Diānnán, people enter [An Nam] by sea; from Yuèxī, they can enter by road. Therefore, when the court issues the calendar and transmits proclamations or [that country] submits a petition or pays tribute, [they] <u>follow</u> the Yuèxī route, <u>taking advantage of</u> the topological convenience.</p>

From the reigns of Zhèngdé (1506 - 1521), and Jiājìng (1522 - 1567) onwards, the two An Nam leaders of the Lê family and the Mạc family took turns fighting for domination, attached importance to being ordained by Zhōngguó (the Middle Kingdom). Our court also considered the state of affairs and responded accordingly. But [the court] only maintained a loose bond that prevents the connection from being broken.

Recently, the Mạc family gradually declined, the Lê family was restored, and the opinions supporting the policy of looking on have almost filled the court. The bright and sharp scholars in the Great Capital (Běijīng) bring up [the history that An Nam was put under] the commandery and district system in the Hàn and the Táng Dynasties. They propose to definitely take advantage of the competition between 'clam and stork' [in order to] sweep away the dust into the Great Sea (Nán hǎi), so that the Yí (Barbarians) will turn into subjects of Huá (Chinese) contentedly. As for the loyal old officials, they were wary of the defeats of the Sòng and the Yuán Dynasties, remembering the precept of [our] Gāozǔ (Founding Emperor) and wishing to use Barbarians to rule Barbarians, as the precedent of the Jiājìng reign.

Jùn (I) have heard: The past and present circumstances may not be very different from each other. Zuǒ zhuàn wrote: "The best way is to act on it, the second-best way is to reform and pacify it, the worst way is to dispute with it". The way to rule the Jiāo (Giao) barbarians is roughly the same! During the Western Hàn Dynasty, [the court] expanded discipline and culture, respected the customs, so that people were left in peace. During the Eastern Hàn Dynasty, [the court] used rules of etiquette to guide [the people], but [also] used troops to threaten [the people], so the people were suspicious. Towards the end of the Hàn Dynasty, the officials were anxious about the people, so the people were also afraid of the officials. It became almost impossible to get the situation under control.

From the Táng and the Sòng Dynasties onwards, the situation was even worse. The corrupt officials who were greedy for the wealth of the mountain and

During the reigns of Zhèngdé (1506 - 1521), Jiājìng (1522 - 1567) of the Míng Dynasty, the two An Nam barbarians of the Lê family and the Mạc family took turns fighting for domination, attached importance to being vested with the title by Zhōngguó (Middle Kingdom). Zhōngguó also considered the state of affairs and responded accordingly. But [the court] only maintained a loose bond that prevents the connection from being broken.

When the Mạc family gradually declined, the Lê family was restored, the atmosphere supporting the policy of looking on have almost filled the court. [The scholars with] a bright and sharp spirit in the Great Capital (Běijīng) bring up [the history that An Nam was put under] the commandery and district system in the Hàn and the Táng Dynasties. They propose to definitely take advantage of the competition between 'clam and stork' so as to sweep away the dust into the Sea. As for the loyal old officials, they were wary of the defeats of the Sòng and the Yuán Dynasties, all wishing to use Barbarians to rule Barbarians, as the precedent of the Jiājìng reign.

Ah! The past and present circumstances may not be very different from each other. Zuǒ zhuàn wrote: "The best way is to act on it, the second-best way is to reform and pacify it, the worst way is to dispute with it". During the Western Hàn Dynasty, [the court] expanded discipline and culture, respected the customs, so that people were left in peace. During the Eastern Hàn Dynasty, [the court] used rules of etiquette to guide them, but [also] used troops to threaten them, so the people were suspicious. Towards the end of the Hàn Dynasty, the officials were anxious about the people, so the people were also afraid of the officials. Therefore, it became impossible to get the situation under control.

From the Táng and the Sòng Dynasties onwards, the situation was even worse. The corrupt officials who were greedy for the wealth of the mountain and lagoon, considered [their

lagoon, considered [their positions in] An Nam as a great opportunity. So they dug until the mountain become bare, dredged until the lagoon was empty. [They] were cruel as tigers and wolves, so caused a backlash. As for the powerful and influential figures [among them], they were eager to make fame for themselves, so [they] recruit [the people] today, requisition tomorrow. They had never heard of their dismissal but found themselves immediately arrested. How can we know how to stop people from being destitute and consequently stealing! The Yuán Dynasty [’s matter] is left aside for the moment. As for our Dynasty, power and virtue far surpassed the Western Hàn Dynasty. Nevertheless, after seizing the land, [our Dynasty] could not keep it. The reasons can be thought of.

During the Western Hàn Dynasty, in Giao Châu/Jiāozhōu, a position of zhōu (then a unit of inspection) inspector general and two positions of the jùn (commandery) governor were set, while the positions of yì (district) governor were numerous. In our Dynasty, Three Offices (respectively charged with military affairs, civil administration, and legal affairs) were set, while [the entire territory was] divided into seventeen fǔ/phủ (prefecture), under which zhōu/châu (sub-prefecture) and xuàn/huyện (district) were up to one hundred. And eunuchs were also stationed there. Was it possible that all those people had poor livelihoods but were still self-sacrificing for the Dynasty?

I heard the old history: People like Governor Féngguì had a bad reputation, but eunuch Mǎqí was much worse than that. The governance was already so from the beginning, how much could it be later? The people behave like that, so do the Yí (Barbarian) people, that’s inevitable! In the past, since most officials in Hépǔ [Commandery] were greedy, the pearls had been taken away to [the headquarter of] Giao châu. When Mèngcháng took the position of Commandery Governor, the pearls were returned. Ah! How could we get such people to station them to Nam Giao/Nánjiāo so that the Barbarian people would not look down on Zhōngxià (Center of Civilization)!

positions in] An Nam as a great opportunity. So, they dug until the mountain become bare, dredged until the lagoon was empty. [They] were cruel as tigers and wolves, so caused a backlash. As for the powerful and influential figures [among them], they were eager to make fame for themselves, so [they] recruit [the people] today, requisition tomorrow. They had never heard of their dismissal but found themselves immediately arrested. The Yuán Dynasty [’s matter] need not be mentioned at all.

During the Western Hàn Dynasty, in Giao Chí/Jiāozhǐ, a position of zhōu (then a unit of inspection) inspector general and two positions of jùn (commandery) governor were set, while the positions of yì (district) command were numerous. In the early Míng Dynasty, Three Offices (respectively charged with military affairs, civil administration, and legal affairs) were set, while [the entire territory was] divided into seventeen fǔ/phủ (prefecture), under which the zhōu/châu (sub-prefecture) and xuàn/huyện (district) had to count hundreds. And eunuchs were also stationed there. Was it possible that all those people had poor livelihoods but were still self-sacrificing for the Dynasty?

I heard the old history: People like Governor Féngguì had a bad reputation, but eunuch Mǎqí was much worse than that. The governance was already so from the beginning, how much could it be later? That is why the people of Giao repeatedly rebel! In the past, since most officials in Hépǔ [Commandery] were greedy, the pearls had been taken away to [the headquarter of] Giao châu. When Mèngcháng took the position of Commandery governor, the left pearls were returned. Ah! How could we get such people to station them to Nam Giao/Nánjiāo so that the Giao people would not look down on Zhōngxià (Center of Civilization)!

Comparing the two prefaces, it can be said that *ANZX* contains information that was later edited and became *ANCNT*, notably the following details:

- The author's name in the line: "Jùn (I) have heard" (濬聞) was removed and replaced by "Ah" (夫). Consequently, the author of the *ANCNT* became anonymous.
- The date mentioned in the preface was changed. For instance, "From the reigns of Zhèngdé, Jiājìng onwards" (正、嘉以來) was replaced by "During the reigns of Zhèngdé, Jiājìng of the Míng Dynasty" (明正、嘉中). Or "Recently, the Mạc family gradually declined, the Lê family was restored" (邇莫氏中微, 黎氏復興) was replaced by "When the Mạc family gradually declined, the Lê family was restored" (迨莫氏中微, 黎氏中興) etc.
- Textual indications that related to the Míng (the "contemporary dynasty") were changed, such as: "remembering the precept of [our] Gāozǔ (Founding Emperor)" (而佩高祖之遺訓), "As for our Dynasty, power and virtue far surpassed the Western Hàn Dynasty. Nevertheless, after seizing the land [our court] could not keep it. The reasons can be thought of" (我國家威德邁西京遠甚。然取之而不能守也。則其故可思已) were omitted; "Our Dynasty" (我朝) was replaced by "the Early Míng Dynasty" (明初); and "our state" (國家) by "Middle Kingdom" (中國).
- The gentle attitude toward Vietnam (Giao Chỉ) was changed to a contemptuous and disdainful one. For example, "The people behave like that, so do the Yí (Barbarian) people, that's inevitable!" (民之胥而夷也。勢也。) was changed to "That is why the people of Giao repeatedly rebel" (宜乎交人之屢叛也。).

Making a comparison between the *ANZ*'s *zhì* and the *Tǒng yěu* in the *ANCN*, we obtain the following results:

- The first part of the *zhì* in the *ANZ* and the *Tǒng yěu* are basically identical, with only a few slight differences in terms of character-

usage. For example, some details of the Chinese military defeats in Vietnam were omitted from *Tǒng yěu* (such as the event in which the Sòng general Hóu Rénbǎo 侯仁寶 was killed in 981).

- The sections concerning the Míng in *zhì* and *Tǒng yěu* show different tones toward the ruling dynasty. In the *ANZ*, the term "our [Míng] Dynasty" (我朝) is employed, while in the *Tǒng yěu*, this was changed to "The Míng Dynasty" (明朝). The phrase "Our Tàizǔ" [Our Founding Emperor] (我太祖) was changed to "Míng Tàizǔ" (明太祖) [Founding Emperor of Míng Dynasty], the name "Lê Quý Ly" (黎季犛) was changed to "Hò Quý Ly" (胡季犛), etc.
- The *zhì* in the *ANZ* covers events until around 1595. It is followed by a general *lùn* (comments) on An Nam written by Sū Jùn. Meanwhile, the *Tǒng yěu* continues recording the chronology of An Nam from 1595 to 1691. The section comes to an end with the comments of Gǔ Yīngtài 谷應泰 (1620 – 1690) and Lǐ Xiāngēn 李仙根 (1621 – 1690) [1].

In sum, it is evident that Sū Jùn's *ANZ* was edited and supplemented (likely by Gāo Xióngzhēng) to become the first section of the *ANCN*. The *ANCNT* originated in the *ANZX* (by Sū Jùn) and most of *ANCN*'s *Tǒng yěu* could be derived from Sū Jùn's *ANZ*. As a result, it can be said with certainty that the title that is usually read "*ANCN*" is incorrect, as has been suggested in the past by prominent scholars (e.g., Lê Quý Đôn [3], E. Gaspardone [9], Zhāng Xiùmín [10], Chéng Sījīā [11], etc.). In fact, the title "*ANZ*" might only cover the first part (the *ANCNT* and the *Tǒng yěu*) of the existing *ANCN* texts. The rest (three-volume part) likely comes from a completely different source with a different title as analyzed below.

3. The origin of the three-volume part of the *An Nam chí nguyên*

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, it was Zhāng Xiùmín who suggested that

the three-volume part of the *ANCN* might have been compiled by the Míng officials during the Yǒnglè reign. Without any solid evidence, he claimed that the three-volume part is the *JZZZ* [10].

Although we have not yet confidently confirmed that the three-volume part is the *JZZZ*, we agree that the section was produced by the Míng officials, likely in the early 15th century. That point of view is supported by our new reexamination of the “*An Nam*” entry in the famous collection *Dàmíng yītǒng zhì* 大明一統志 (hereafter *DMYTZ*)⁵ [20].

DMYTZ is the national gazetteer of the Míng Dynasty, compiled by Lǐ Xián 李賢 (1408-1466), Péng Shí 彭時 (1416-1475) and others under the instructions of the Míng emperor Yīngzōng (明英宗, 1427-1464). The Míng officials were able to complete the compilation of *DMYTZ* in only three years (1458 – 1461) thanks to earlier syntheses of bibliographies and gazetteers that had existed before (such as, *Dàmíng zhì* 大明志, *Huányǔ tōngqú* 寰宇通衢 etc.) and local reports

(most of which have been lost). The scale of *DMYTZ* (90 volumes only), which was modest as a “national gazetteer” of the whole Ming empire, also made it possible to complete it quickly.

The *An Nam* entry in *DMYTZ* is included in the section *Wàiyí* 外夷 (“Foreign Barbarians”, Volumes 89, 90) that is dedicated to the Míng’s surrounding principalities: 朝鮮 (Korea), 日本 (Japan), 安南 (An Nam), 占城 (Champa), etc. Comparing the *An Nam* entry to the three-volume part of the *ANCN*, a considerable similarity is recognized. That is, most of the *An Nam* entry in the *DMYTZ* appears in the *ANCN*, comprising sections of *Yángé* 沿革 (territorial and administrative organizations), *Shānchuān* 山川 (mountains and rivers), *Gǔjī* 古跡 (historical relics), *Fēngsú* 風俗 (customs), *Tǔchǎn* 土產 (local products), *Mínghuàn* 名宦 (reputable officials) and a short note on An Nam’s borders [19]. In each of the above sections, the recorded contents in the *DMYTZ* are usually shorter (sometimes only a list of entries are presented) than those in the three-volume part of the *ANCN*.

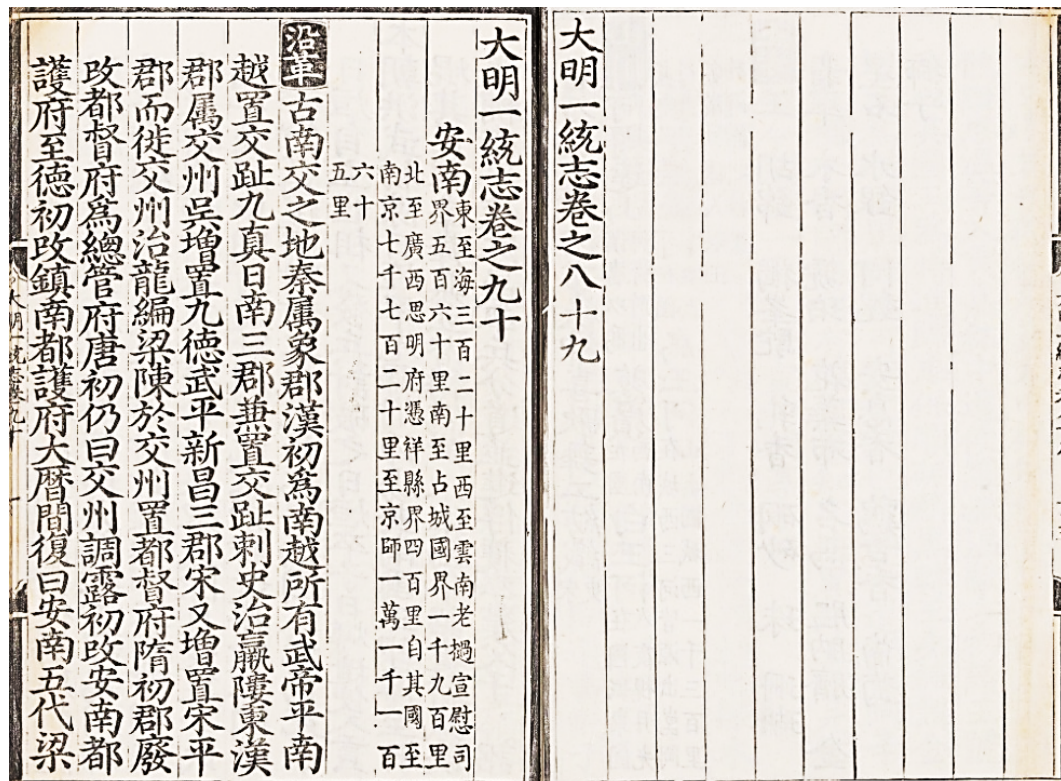


Figure 2. The first page of the *An Nam* entry in *Dàmíng yītǒng zhì* 大明一統志 (1463) [20]

The following table [Table 2] is a textual examination of the *Fēngsú* section in the two documents (the underlined is the author's emphasis):

Table 2

The three-volume part (ANCM) [19]	<i>An Nam (DMYTZ)</i> [20]
<p>風俗</p> <p>《文獻通考》：<u>五嶺以南地方遐阻，夷獠雜居不知禮義。其性輕悍，以富為雄豪，爭奪兼并，役屬貧弱，俘掠不忌，古今患之。爰自前代至于唐朝多委宿德重臣，撫寧其地也。</u></p> <p>《偽越外紀》：<u>其人或椎髻，或剪髮文身跣足，口赤齒黑，尊卑皆食檳榔，一年再稻，一歲八蠶，桑麻蔽野，多魚鹽之利。衣食完足，然習性乖戾。多讐怨攻擊。無父子之親。故非重臣良將不可以鎮定。法令制度不可以化馴也。</u></p> <p>《安南志畧》云：<u>交，愛州人個儻好謀，驩，演人淳秀好學餘皆愚樸。平居不冠立常叉手席坐盤足，見尊貴跪以參拜為禮也。</u></p> <p>《交趾通志》云：<u>荒奇之地也。民皆徒足跣。惟貴者行有革履。乘有抵鴉。每歲元旦三日，皆具盤餐以祀先祖。男女率齋香拜佛。鞦韆蹴鞠，遊戲歌舞，仍拋接團球。扯拽繩索。較勝者飲酒，負者飲水。</u></p> <p>初九日為玉皇誕辰，皆往道觀瞻拜禮供。三月三日為上巳節，具湯餅祀先祖。官僚士庶飲酒為樂。四月八日，為浴佛節，焚香禮佛，菓菜祀先。五月五日各採花草預製藥材。七月十五日。具格盤影衣以祀祖。或作盂蘭盤會，以薦亡人。鄉里並有競渡之戲。八月田家殺牲以祀田神。及本境之神。有唱傀儡綠竿搏手等戲。或作佛會以祈福也。歲終則盡其所有極誠敬厚祭先人。鳴炮竹，相宴樂，燃燈徹夜。而貧者以此夕自相配合焉。此特民風土俗之大槩而已。至於山川隔限濶遠之處，又多有不同者，難於具載。詳見各府州縣之下。</p> <p>國朝克平之後，其仕宦詩書之家，附近城郭衝要湊集之地。有所瞻仰者，多效華風。其邊方鄉村里社遐遠之處，尚循故態。未能盡革。</p> <p>抵鴉。其制用布一長幅。仍襯寘之，掛於曲木下。木上覆以大席。貴者坐布中。兩人舁之而行。</p> <p>格盤。具菜菓湯餅等物，以荷葉盛之。仍以荷葉蓋之也。</p> <p>影衣。裝青紅紙作人狀，視如人影，故曰影衣。</p> <p>團球。或綿或絹，製如小兒拳。綴綵帶二十條於其上。</p>	<p>風俗</p> <p><u>夷獠雜居不知禮義</u> 〈《文獻通考》：<u>五嶺以南地方遐阻，夷獠雜居不知禮義。其性輕悍，以富為雄豪，爭奪兼并，役屬貧弱，俘掠不忌</u>〉。</p> <p><u>土俗獷悍</u> 〈《宋史》-安南國傳〉。<u>不解種麥</u> 〈《偽越外紀》〉。<u>椎髻剪髮</u> 〈同上：其人或椎髻，或剪髮文身跣足，口赤齒黑，尊卑皆食檳榔，一年再稻，一歲八蠶，桑麻蔽野，多魚鹽之利〉。</p> <p><u>好浴善水，平居不冠</u> 〈《安南志[畧]》：<u>暑熱好浴於江，故便舟善水。平居不冠，立常叉手，席坐盤足</u>〉。</p> <p><u>待客以檳榔</u> 〈同上：謁尊貴，跪膝三拜。待客以檳榔，嗜鹹酸海味〉。</p> <p><u>交愛人個儻好謀。驩演人淳秀好學</u> 〈同上〉。</p>
<p>Customs</p> <p><u>Wénxiàn tōng kǎo: "[Regions] to the south of the Wǔlǐng/ Ngū Lǐnh, the land is remote and isolated, the Yí (Di) and the Liáo (Lào) peoples live together without knowing what etiquette is. They are impulsive and aggressive. They consider prosperity as heroism. They annex each other by force. They force the poor to serve and to depend on them, plundering and capturing without</u></p>	<p>Customs</p> <p><u>Yí and Liáo peoples live together, do not know etiquette</u> (Wénxiàn tōng kǎo: [Regions] to the south of the Wǔlǐng, the land is remote and isolated, the Yí (Di) and the Liáo (Lào) people live</p>

hesitation. They do not respect anything. [Chinese Dynasties] have always worried about that people. Therefore, the previous dynasties until the Táng period all appointed senior officials with high virtue to comfort them.

Ngụy Việt ngoại ký (Chin: *Wěi Yuè wái jì*): “People in that land either put their hair in a mace-shaped topknot or cut it short. They get tattooed, walk with their barefoot, and have red lips with black teeth. Both upper and lower people eat betel nut. They harvest two rice crops and raise eight generations of silkworms a year. While mulberries and hemp spread over the fields, their resources of fish and salt are rich. Food and clothing are never insufficient, but they have twisted habits and personalities. They often fight for grudges and do not have an intimate tie between the father and the son. Thus, without a great official and a good general, it would be impossible to pacify it. Laws and regulations will not be able to enlighten and domesticate them.”

An Nam chí lược (Chin: *Ānnán zhì lüè*): “People of Châu Giao (the Red River delta) and Châu Ái (Aìzhōu, present-day Thanh Hóa) are liberal, not bound, and ingenious. People of Châu Hoan (Huānzhōu) and Châu Diển (Yǎnzhōu) (two châus which covered present-day Nghệ Tĩnh area) are simple-hearted, handsome, and eager to learn. [People from] other regions are stupid and rustic. In daily life, they don’t wear a coronet. When they stand up, they cross their hands. When sit down, they cross their legs. When they meet a noble elder, they kowtow, considering it polite”.

Jiāozhǐ tōngzhì: “[Here] is a desolate land. Most people walk with their barefoot. Only noble people walk with shoes and travel by palanquins. Every year, on the three days of the Lunar New Year, they prepare the feast to worship their ancestors; men and women bring vegetarian foods and incense to worship Buddha; They also play swinging, kicking a leather ball, singing and dancing, tossing “còn”, and playing tug-of-war. The winners can drink wine, while the losers have to drink water.

On the 9th day of the first Lunar month, which is the birthday of Ngọc Hoàng/Yù Huáng, men and women come to the Taoist temple to worship and make offerings. On the 3rd day of the 3rd Lunar month comes the Celebration of Thượng Ty/Shang jǐ, [people] make tea and cakes to worship ancestors; officials, scholars and common people all drink alcohol to entertain themselves. The 8th day of the 4th Lunar month is the day of “Bathing Buddha” Festival when people often go to offer incense to worship the Buddha, and prepare fruits and cooked food to worship their ancestors. On the 5th day of the 5th

together, without knowing what etiquette is. They are impulsive and aggressive. They consider prosperity as heroism. They annex each other by force. They force the poor to serve and to depend on them, plundering and capturing without hesitation).

Cruel local custom (*Sòngshǐ* - “*Ānnán guó chuán*”). **Not know how to plant barley** (*Ngụy Việt ngoại ký*). **Put their hair in a mace-shaped topknot or cut the hair** (Ditto: “People in that land either put their hair in a mace-shaped topknot or cut it short. They get tattooed, walk with their barefoot, and have red lips with black teeth. Both upper and lower people eat betel nut. They harvest two rice crops and raise eight generations of silkworms a year. While mulberries and hemp spread over the fields, their resources of fish and salt are rich”).

Love bathing, good at swimming, do not wear coronet usually (*An Nam chí lược*: In the hot weather, they enjoy bathing in the river, so they are also good at boating and swimming. In the hot weather, they enjoy bathing in the river, so they are also good at boating and swimming. In daily life,

<p>Lunar month, people go to pick flowers or leaves to make medicine. On the 5th day of the 5th Lunar month, people go to pick flowers or leaves to make medicine. On the full moon of July, people display “leaf trays” and joss paper clothing to worship ancestors or perform the Vu Lan/Yú Lan ritual to salvage the souls of dead people. Everywhere in the countryside, a rowboat contest is held. In the 8th Lunar month, farmers slaughter cattle to worship the god of the fields and the god of the community. They also play games, sing Buddhist verses, perform puppet shows, climb ropes, wrestle, or organize Buddhist rituals to pray for good fortune. At the end of the passing year, people try their best to make sacrifices to their ancestors politely and respectfully. Then, they burn fire crackers, happily eat and drink together, light the lamp all night. The poor people can get married on the occasion of New Year’s Eve. Those are just a few outlines of this country’s customs. As for the places separated by the river and the faraway dirt road, there are also many different features. It is difficult to record everything here. They will be depicted in detail in the part recording about prefectures, sub-prefectures and districts.</p> <p>After the imperial court pacified [An Nam], families of officials and [literati who were versed in] Shī 詩 and Shū 書, who were living in the vicinity of the walled cities, strategically important or crowded places with reverence [to the Chinese civilisation], often followed Chinese customs. As for the rural villages in remote and peripheral areas, they still follow the old habits and cannot be thoroughly reformed.</p> <p>Palanquin: use a long cloth with lining on top, and tie it to a curved pole which is covered with a wide mat on the pole. The rich or classy man sat on a palanquin, carried by two people.</p> <p>Leaf tray: food, fruits, and cakes are put on lotus leaves, then covered by another lotus leaf.</p> <p>Joss paper clothing: cutting red and blue paper into human figures (hence it is called “joss paper clothing”).</p> <p>Ball: a child’s hand-sized one that is made of either cloth or silk and with 20 tassels of different colors on it.</p>	<p><u>they don’t wear a coronet. When they stand up, they cross their hands. When they sit down on a mat, they fold their legs).</u></p> <p>To treat the guests, use betel leaf and areca nut (Dittos: <u>When [people] come to see a noble person, they kneel down and bow 3 times.</u> To treat guests, they use betel leaf and areca nut. They enjoy salty and sour foods and seafood as well).</p> <p><u>The people of Châu Giao (the Red River delta) and Châu Ái (present-day Thanh Hóa) are liberal, clever. The people of Châu Hoan and Châu Diển (two châus which covered present-day Nghệ Tĩnh area) are simple-hearted, gifted, eager to learn.</u> (Ditto).</p>
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We can see that with a common textual structure, *DMYTZ* summarized the documents that would later form the three-volume part of the *ANCN*. For example, the *DMYTZ* presents the cited sources in the same order as they appeared in the *ANCN*, including *Wénxiàn tōng kǎo* 文獻通考 by Mǎ Duānlín 馬端臨 (1254 – 1323), *Nguy*

Việt ngoại kỷ 偽越外紀 (unknown origin, likely a historical record of Đại Việt during the Lý, Trần dynasties), and *An Nam chí lược* 安南志略 by Lê Tắc/Lí Zè 黎崱 (1263 - 1342). *Nguy Việt ngoại kỷ* is mentioned only in the *ANCN*, and is not found in other documents. However, the *DMYTZ* also deducted a large amount of information

that appears in the *ANCN*. This indicates that the *DMYTZ* consulted with the pre-existing document(s) that would later be included in the *ANCN*. The brevity of the entry of An Nam in the *DMYTZ* is not difficult to explain given the fact that An Nam was only one among many polities that were described in the section of “Foreign Barbarians” (*Wáiyí*, 2 volumes). The *An Nam* entry only consists of less than half of Volume 90 of the *DMYTZ* [20].

On the other hand, there is some information mentioned in *DMYTZ* that does not appear in *ANCN*, such as a general record of An Nam, Giao Châu phủ 交州府, Bắc Giang phủ 北江府, Lạng Sơn phủ 諒山府 (in the *Yángé* section); ô mộc 烏木 (in the *Tũchăn* section); Zōng Què 宗懋 (in the *Míngchuān* section); seas (in the *Shānchuān* section); Thiên Sứ quán 天使館 (in the *Gújī* section) etc. Also, in the *Fēngsú* section, *DMYTZ* added details that come from *Sòngshǐ* (*Annán guó chuán*⁷) and *An Nam chí lược* etc. Here come two possible explanations. The first is that *DMYTZ* supplemented information on An Nam from other sources. The second is that *ANCN* omitted or misrepresented the information that appeared in the *DMYTZ*. The first possibility can be attested in the structure of the *Yángé* section, in which, *DMYTZ* recorded information on An Nam after 1418 (for instance, about the Lam Sơn uprising, the establishment of the Lê Dynasty, and Sino-Vietnamese diplomatic relations under the Lê Dynasty) which one can find nowhere in *ANCN*. The second possibility is best supported by the evidence found in the *Yángé* section of *ANCN*, in which some administrative units such as “phủ” (prefecture), “châu” (sub-prefecture or mountainous district), and “huyện” (district) in An Nam are not mentioned. The *ANCN* appears to have lost the first 1 or 2 pages of the *Yángé* section. *DMYTZ* can be consulted to fill out those possible missing pages. Specifically, the Míng official geography might supplement the

introductory section with a brief description of the administrative units in An Nam and the names of seventeen “phủ” and “châu” (including many “huyện”). The *DMYTZ* fully inherited and maintained the *Yángé* section which belonged to the pre-existing three-volume part and would later be reproduced in *ANCN*. In short, some of the contents of the *ANCN* (which appear in Volumes 1 and 2 of the three-volume part) are present in the *DMYTZ*. Obviously, it is impossible to say that *DMYTZ* directly imported the contents of the *ANCN* because the earliest version of the latter appeared in Vietnam in as late as the 18th century [3]. Nor can it be said that the *ANCN* inherited from the *DMYTZ* (because the former possesses a much richer content than the *An Nam* entry in the *DMYTZ*). It can be thought that both texts might have inherited one or a series of pre-existing texts on An Nam which obviously contained what had appeared before 1461 (when *DMYTZ* is completed). Although it is still not possible for us to determine exactly what these texts were, we can reach a conclusion that the three-volume part of the *ANCN* is definitely not the work of Gāo Xióngzhēng. In fact, it must have been compiled during the early Míng Dynasty (likely between 1418 and 1461). Now, it is our responsibility to trace the text(s) that transmitted content to the three-volume part of the *ANCN*.⁸

4. Concluding remarks

It can be said that the *ANCN* has undergone a complex textual trajectory which resulted in lengthy scholarly misunderstandings and controversies. Although there are still unanswered questions, our efforts at surveying and conducting textual investigation and comparison have led to a number of significant findings.

Most of the *ANCN* versions that are currently found in Vietnam are derived from local

gazetteers compiled by the Míng officials. They include the ANZ compiled by Sū Jùn (during the Wànlì reign) and a possible “zǒng zhì”/“tōngzhì” (comprehensive gazetteer) (?) compiled by officials of the Yǒnglè court. Therefore, the ANCN is a significant primary source, highly reliable in presenting the Míng’s perceptions of “An Nam/Giao Chí” during the 15th and 16th centuries. Our new findings on the ANCN’s textual evolution highlights its documentary and historical value. At the same time, we also suggest that Gāo Xióngzhēng’s contribution to the ANCN is not perhaps as much as have hitherto thought. His efforts were probably mainly focused on a section that covers the brief history of An Nam for nearly 100 years (from the late 16th to the late 17th centuries) which is located at the end of the *Tǒng yǎu* in the ANCN. What is more, if Zhāng Xiùmín [10] and Chéng Sījiā [11] are correct in their analysis, Gāo Xióngzhēng’s roles seem to be very modest, mostly collecting and summarizing relevant contemporary available texts on An Nam.

Our findings also raise some new questions that need to be resolved. They include these: how did the Sū Jùn’s ANZ became an important part of the ANCN and what role did Gāo Xióngzhēng play in this process? What sources were transmitted to the three-volume part of ANCN and did Gāo Xióngzhēng have any role to play? How and when did the ANCN came into being? The responsibility to solve these challenges is for the next scholarly generation.

Notes

¹ All texts are handwritten with different titles. Of all the titles, ANCN is the most common one. Most of those versions include the following note: “edited by the Confucian Scholar of Sīmíng Prefecture Gāo Xióngzhēng” (思明府儒學教授高熊徵纂輯), on the first page of the *Tǒng yǎu*.

² This version also has some different but negligible parts. They are: *Ānnán zhì jìyào xù* 安南志紀要

序 by Huáng Liángjì 黃良驥, *Ānnán zhì jìyào zìxù* 安南志紀要自序 by Gāo Xióngzhēng, *Ānnán zhì tú* 安南志圖 collected by Gāo Xióngzhēng, *Fù gò nǐ dàdào fǔ yǔ Ānnán guówáng shū* 附刻擬大道府與安南國王書 composed by Gāo Xióngzhēng [10], [11].

³ Some details about Sūjùn’s ANZ and its relationship with the ANCN have also been presented by us in the paper: “Những luận giải mới về *An Nam chí nguyên*” at the 6th International Conference on Vietnamese Studies - 2021 (ICVNS2021) co-organized by the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS) and Vietnam National University (VNU) in Hanoi on October 28-29, 2021.

⁴ We are unfortunately unable to access this entire text. Thanks to Assoc. Prof. PhD. Nguyễn Tuấn Cường (Institute of Sino-Nôm Studies), we were able to approach a small part of the text. On this occasion, we would like to sincerely thank him for his help.

⁵ E. Gaspardone [9, p.54] mentioned the *DMYTZ* (along with *Yuè jiào shū* 越嶠書 by Lǐ Wénfèng 李文鳳 (1500 - 1559), *Huáng yú kǎo* 皇輿考 by Zhāng Tiānfù 張天復 (1513 - 1578) in the ANCN textual studies section. However, he did not seem to pay full attention to the close relationship between the *DMYTZ* and the ANCN, because he only recognized the similarity in the list of 17 “phủ” (prefecture) of Annam in the above books, therefore did not estimate full the importance of *DMYTZ* in the origins of ANCN.

⁶ For details on the *DMYTZ* as well as the relationship between the *DMYTZ* and the ANCN, see Nguyễn Thanh Tùng, “*An Nam chí nguyên* trong *Đại Minh nhất thống chí* (*DMYTZ*)”, in *Nghiên cứu Hán Nôm 2021*, Proceedings of the National Scientific Conference by the Institute of Sino-Nôm Studies, Thế Giới Publishers, Hanoi, 2021, pp.937-951.

⁷ In fact, *Sòngshǐ* does not contain *Ānnán guó chuán* 安南國傳 but only *Jiāozhǐ chuán* 交趾傳. Perhaps *DMYTZ* was a bit confused here or the author of *DMYTZ* changed the title *Jiāozhǐ chuán* into *Ānnán guó chuán*. In general, in *DMYTZ*, there are many mistakes, omissions, amendments that have been criticized by scholars from the past to the present.

⁸ For example, E. Gaspardone [9, p.54] also mentioned

Yuè jiào shū, *Huáng yú kǎo* in the ANCN textual studies section (together with *DMYTZ*) and shows a possible relationship between them. However, he failed to connect them to the ANCN. If we further compare all of them together, we can find out that the similarity in the records of *Yuè jiào shū* (Volume 1) or *Huáng yú kǎo* (Volume 18) with *DMYTZ* is due to the fact that they have inherited the records of *DMYTZ*. Particularly, *Yuè jiào shū* also inherited considerably from *An Nam chí lược* by Lê Tắc.

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