

## 5. MAPS OF SOUTHERN VIETNAM, c.1690

### GIÁP NGỌ NIÊN BÌNH NAM ĐỒ [MAPS OF THE PACIFIED SOUTH IN THE YEAR OF GIÁP NGỌ]

Translated and interpreted by David Bulbeck and Li Tana

The series of maps called *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ* covers the length of Vietnam under the suzerainty of the Nguyễn kings, from the north border with the Trịnh to the Mekong delta at the south. The maps were incorporated with the materials compiled by the court of the Nguyễn dynasty during the nineteenth century. The original copy is held by the Hán-Nôm Institute, Hanoi, under accession number A.2499.<sup>1</sup> Copies of the maps are also held by the Toyo Bunko (Toyo Bunko X-75), Tokyo, from which source come the two reproduced here.<sup>2</sup> The version from which we worked are negative copies, published in 1962 with an accompanying Vietnamese translation under the title *Hồng Đức Bản Đồ* by Trương Bửu Lâm (Bộ Quốc Gia Giáo Dục, Saigon).

*Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ* means 'maps drawn in the year of *Giáp Ngọ*, when the south [region under the Nguyễn] was pacified'. Indeed 1774, the year when the Trịnh armies moved southwards from the Red River delta and defeated the Nguyễn, was a year of *Giáp Ngọ*. However, as Trương Bửu Lâm (*loc. cit.*, p. 17) points out, the title is contradicted by the note written beneath it on the cover to the maps. The note reads '[These maps are] drawn and presented by Đốc Xuất Đoàn Quận Công', which is to say Nguyễn Hoàng who ruled between 1558 and 1613 under the title Đoàn Quận Công. Nguyễn Hoàng did not experience any attacks from the north, nor did his reign include any year of *Giáp Ngọ*.

As Trương Bửu Lâm (*op. cit.*) notes, these and some related maps include some names of early Nguyễn emperors such as Noãn, Ánh, Chủng, Luân, Hoàn and Lan. He infers they were probably copied and compiled before any of these

<sup>1</sup>An annotated copy is also held by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.

<sup>2</sup>Quảng Bình at the north (Figure 3) and Quy Ninh in the centre (Figure 4).

words became taboo, i.e. before 1807.<sup>3</sup> The title *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ* might seem to fix the date at 1774. Or they could have been copied beforehand, because the title might merely signal when the maps were presented by the Nguyễn to the victorious Trịnh, as recorded by a direct reference in *Phủ Biên Tạp Lục* (Miscellaneous Records in the Border Area).<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless the originals on which these maps were based must have been drafted well before 1774, although a date as early as the reign of Nguyễn Hoàng is not acceptable. The evidence from the maps themselves dates their origin to between 1687 and 1690.

1690 is the last possible date because Thái Khang prefecture, as it appears on the maps, was renamed Bình Khang in that year. The same source, *Đại Nam Thực Lục Tiền Biên* (Veritable Record of Đại Nam's Initial Period), further tells us that Diên Ninh prefecture (as it appears on the maps) was renamed Diên Khánh in 1742.<sup>5</sup> Other archaic names found on the maps confirm the point. For instance the small area where the king of Champa lived, called Chiêm Thành or Champa, had been replaced by the establishment of Thuận Thành Trấn in 1693, then marking the end of the kingdom of Champa. Similarly the *Gia Định Thành Thông Chí* (Gazetteer of the Gia Định Citadel) records that the Nguyễn had set up Gia Định prefecture in the Mekong delta by 1698,<sup>6</sup> but the old name 'Đồng Nai' appears on our maps. Finally the former region of Hoài Nhơn, which had been renamed Quy Nhơn in 1602, generally retained that name except for the interval between 1655 and 1742 when it was called Quy Ninh,<sup>7</sup> the name shown in *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ*.

The last point further indicates that the maps were drawn after 1655. More precisely they were drawn after 1687, as they show the Nguyễn capital at Phú Xuân (Huế), the situation which prevailed only from 1687 onwards.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup>The point made by Trương Bửu Lâm further explains why the three *thuộc* of Quy Ninh — Thi Ngạn, Thi Lượng and Thi Đôn — appear as Thân Ngạn, Thân Lượng and Thân Đôn in *Phủ Biên Tạp Lục* and *Đại Nam Thực Lục Tiền Biên*. The original names, as shown in *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ*, were changed to avoid using 'Thi' which was a personal name of the Nguyễn emperor Tự Đức.

<sup>4</sup>*Phủ Biên Tạp Lục*, vol. 1, p. 47b.

<sup>5</sup>*Đại Nam Thực Lục Tiền Biên*, vol. 10, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup>*Gia Định Thành Thông Chí*, vol. 2, p. 12, Saigon, 1972.

<sup>7</sup>*Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí*, vol. 2, p. 1072, Tokyo, 1941; *Đại Nam Thực Lục Tiền Biên*, vol. 10, p. 136.

<sup>8</sup>*Đại Nam Thực Lục Tiền Biên*, vol. 6, p. 89.

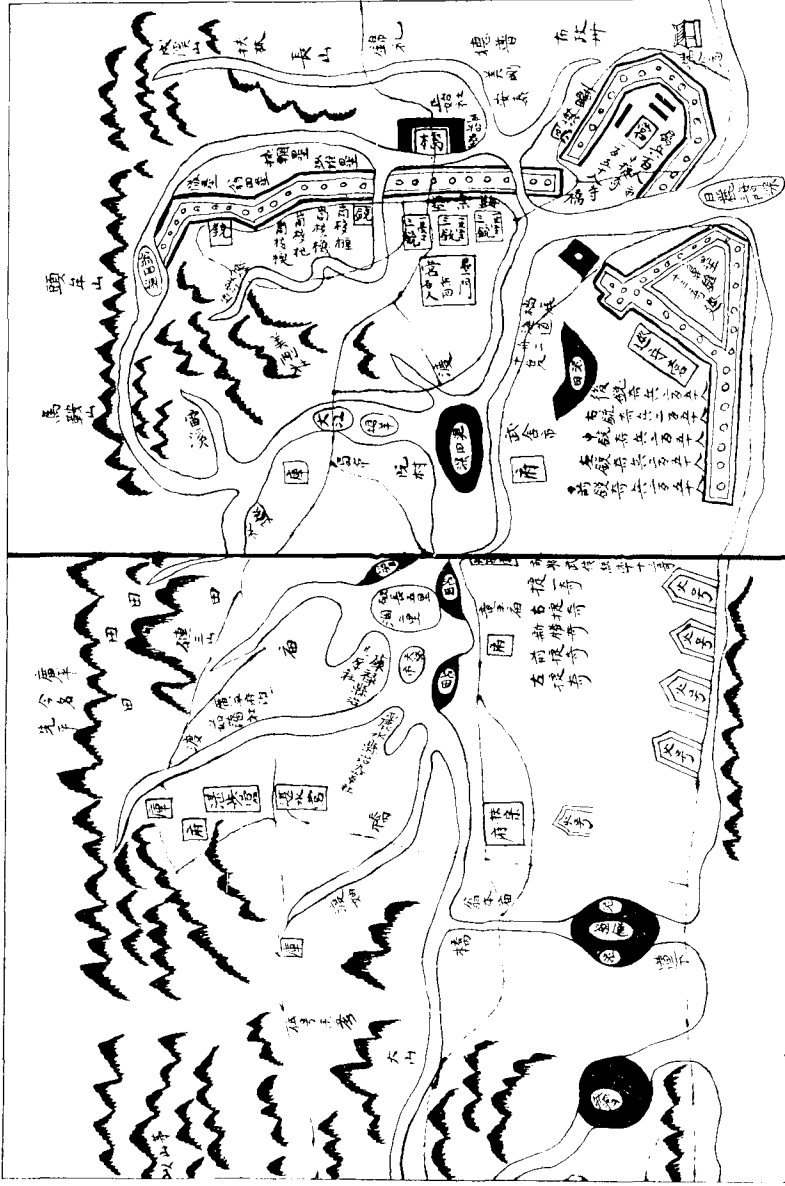


Figure 3. Vietnamese Map of Quảng Bình, c.1690. Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ.

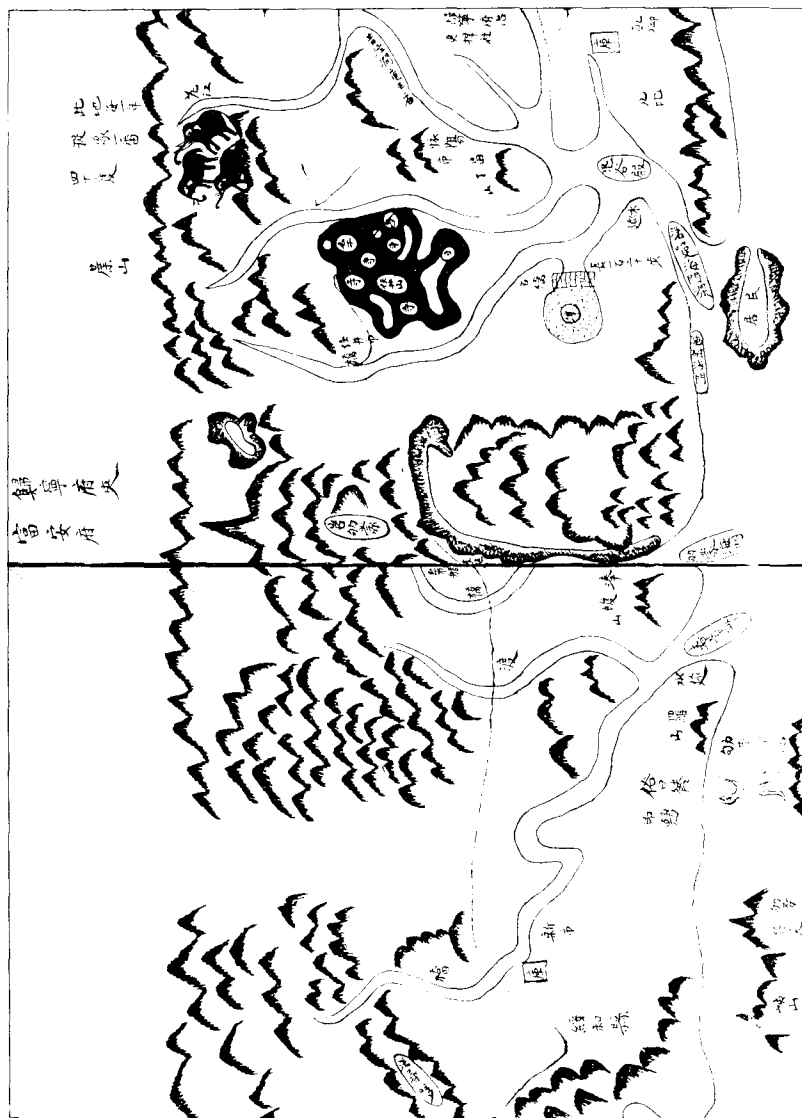


Figure 4. Vietnamese Map of Quy Ninh, c.1690. Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ.

A late seventeenth century date is also commensurate with the depiction of the Mekong delta area. The maps show settlement beginning to open up the area, but exclude several places which became important during the eighteenth century, such as Vũng Tàu and Phố Đài.<sup>9</sup>

As Figures 3 and 4 show, a lot of information has been drawn and written on the maps. Originally we copied the maps, replacing the symbols and characters with modern cartographic symbols and direct translations of all the government installations, temples, tombs, fields, lakes, bays, ponds, mountains, villages and other toponyms, commentaries presumably written when the maps were copied, etc. However, as David Marr pointed out, even people fully familiar with Vietnam's geography would find great difficulty in matching the translated maps to the present landscape, so that a more useful approach could lie in interpreting the maps. Close scrutiny of Dr Marr's large-scale maps of Vietnam then allowed us to locate the c.1690 features upon the modern landscape, as presented here (Maps 3 to 12).

Matching toponyms were the most important clue during the exercise. When toponyms could not be matched, shape of the river systems was the most useful criterion, for these appear in *Giáp Ngõ Niên Bình Nam Đồ* in a detailed and basically correct, albeit somewhat transformed version. Otherwise the courses of the c.1690 roads compared to the modern roads, and direct scalar estimates, were used to locate places. Hence many of the places shown on our interpreted maps are very precisely identified, and we feel confident that the great majority would be accurate to ten kilometres or less.

As our Maps 3 to 12 are interpretations we have corrected any obvious errors which are likely to be sources of confusion. For example our maps do not follow the originals in depicting the Great Trường Sa on the mainland, nor in placing the Kim Bồng and Thị Phú harbours both one river mouth to the north of their correct location. Analogously the original maps attribute Triệu Phong with two prefecture offices, and here our interpretation (Map 7) excises the one depicted quite far from modern Triệu Phong. On the other hand we have refrained from making corrections which involve any speculation. For instance our Map 6 follows the original (Figure 3) in showing only a single defensive wall at the Nguyễn-Trịnh border, even though two such walls had apparently been built by the early seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup>

Our interpretations concentrate on installations of vital political and military importance and places of main economic significance. The general distribution of

<sup>9</sup>While the maps include a harbour called Phố Đài immediately southwest of Man Lý (Map 12), it cannot be the same Phố Đài (Cù Lao Đài Phố) which became an important place along the Đồng Nai River in the late eighteenth century.

<sup>10</sup>*Đại Nam Thực Lục Tiền Biên*, vol. 2, pp. 38-40.

these forts, government offices, granaries, toll-booths (for collecting overland trade levies), markets, guesthouses and harbours are shown in the three small-scale maps (Maps 3 to 5). The decreasing concentration from north to south of these places, notably the offices, agrees with the general picture of Nguyễn Vietnam contained in the written sources. The small-scale maps also show the prefecture borders, as sketchily indicated in *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ*, and drawn by us to follow the modern counterparts or, when not the same line, major watersheds. Maps 6 to 12 then give the detailed locations of the forts, etc., usually prefecture by prefecture, as well as supplementary information on the Nguyễn military and economic organization and on any Cham installations.

Our interpretations do not include all the information which might be considered relevant to the economic historian, for the following reasons. (i) While following a sensible pattern of generally decreasing frequency from north to south, the fields in *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ* can match up against only a small fraction of the fields presumably under cultivation, so the point of plotting them would be unclear. (ii) Overland transport appears to have been primarily served by a continuous road from the north to the Mekong delta, with connecting branches in the better populated areas. But attempting to plot the road would not impart further information, and rather cross-cut the coastline's complex drainage system in a confusing way. (iii) Information on all the administrative divisions beneath the prefectures, and the attributes of the harbours, would clutter the maps if added there. Accordingly those data are summarized below.

### **Administrative Divisions (from *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ*)**

Quảng Bình prefecture: Khang Lộc county, Lệ Thủy county, Minh Linh county.<sup>11</sup>

Triệu Phong prefecture has five counties: Phú Vang, Hương Trà, Quảng Điền, Hải Lăng, Vũ Xương.

Thăng Hoa prefecture has four counties, Tân An,<sup>12</sup> Duy Xuyên, Hà Đông, Lễ Dương; and eight *thuộc* (upcountry divisions), Hà Bá, Sài Tân, Thương Nhân, Sơn Dung, Vồng Nhi, Chu Tượng, Liêm Hộ, Hoa Châu.

Quảng Ngãi prefecture has three counties, Mộ Hoa, Chương Mỹ, Bình Sơn.

Quy Ninh prefecture has three counties, Tuy Viễn, Phù Ly, Bồng Sơn; and three *thuộc*, Thì Ngạn Thuộc, Thì Lượng Thuộc, Thì Đôn Thuộc.

Phú Yên prefecture has two counties, Tuy Hòa, Đồng Xuân.

Thái Khang prefecture has three counties, Tân Định, Tân Khang,<sup>13</sup> Quảng Phúc.

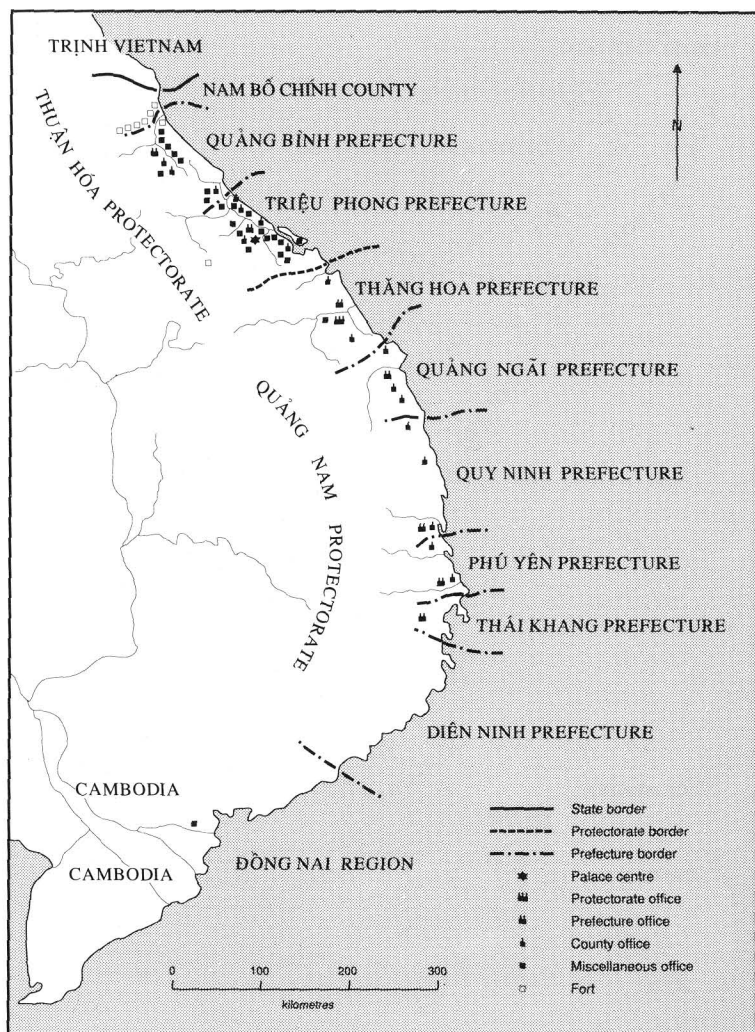
Diên Ninh prefecture has three counties, Vĩnh Xương, Phúc Điền, Hoa Châu.

<sup>11</sup> Unlike the following cases, the divisions of Quảng Bình are not specified in a caption on the original map.

<sup>12</sup> Tân An and Tân Khang do not appear in any other source.

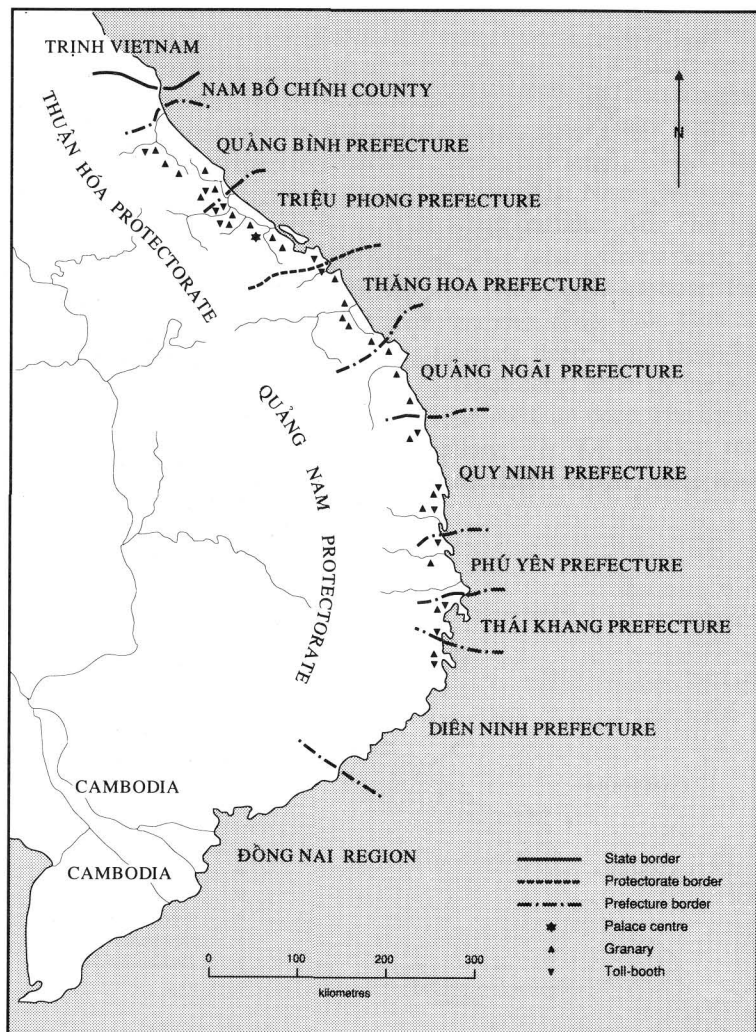
**Harbours described by *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ***

Nhật Lệ harbour, deep; Minh Linh or Tùng harbour, Việt harbour, deep; Eo harbour (giving access to the major port of Thanh Hà); Tư Khách harbour; Cảnh Dương harbour; Chu Mãi harbour, shallow; Độ ải harbour, medium-deep; Câu Để harbour, medium-deep; Đà Nẵng harbour, deep and large (also a major port); Đại Chiêm harbour (otherwise known as Hội An port, also a major port); An Hoà harbour, medium-deep; Hoà Hợp harbour, deep and large; Chu Ổ harbour, medium-deep; Sa Kỳ harbour; Tiểu (small) harbour; Đại Nham harbour; Mỹ Á harbour; Sa Huỳnh harbour, shallow; Kim Bồng harbour; Thì Phú harbour; Nước Ngọt harbour, deep; Nước Mặn harbour, deep (also a major port); Thị Nại harbour; Cù Mông harbour; Xuân Đài harbour; Mây Nước harbour; Phú Yên harbour, deep; Rắn Rắn harbour; Tiểu (small) harbour, deep; Trúc Tích harbour; Nha Du harbour, medium-deep; Nha Trang harbour, deep; Vĩnh Hoan harbour, deep; Cam Tinh harbour, deep; Man Lang harbour, deep; Man Lý harbour; Phố Đài harbour, medium-shallow; Xích Lam harbour, medium-deep; Pha Ly harbour, medium-shallow; Cạn harbour, medium-shallow; Tắc Kế harbour, medium-shallow; Mỹ Tho harbour, deep and large; Nước Lộn harbour, deep and large; Cao Miên harbour, deep and large.

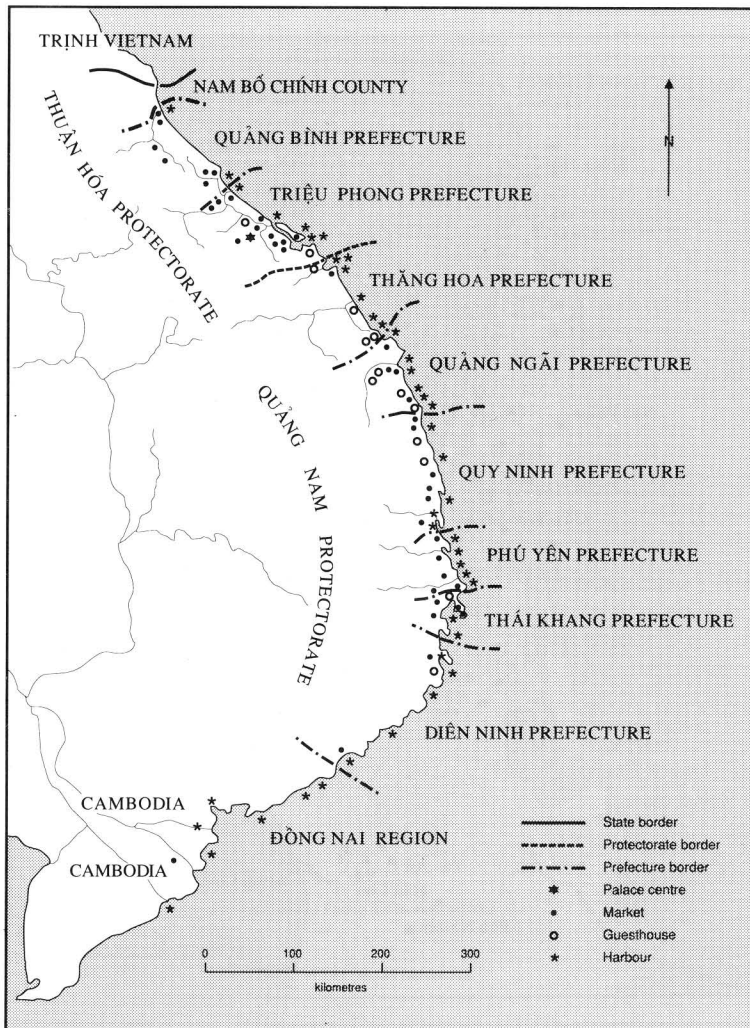


Map 3. Southern Vietnam in c.1690: Offices and Forts.  
As Extracted from *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ*

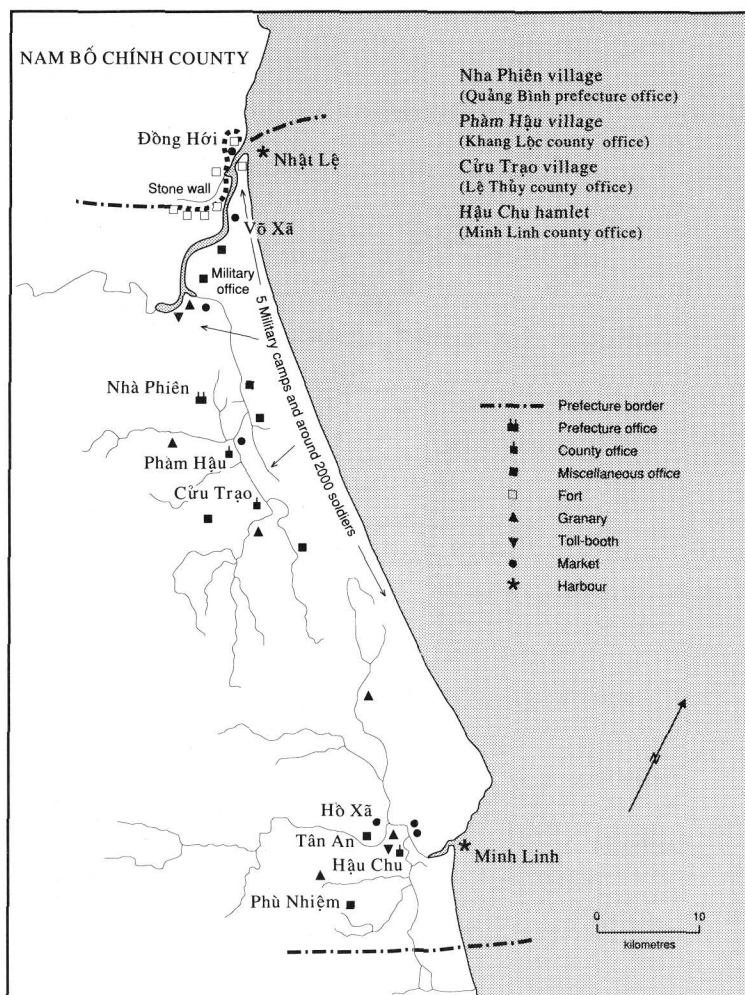




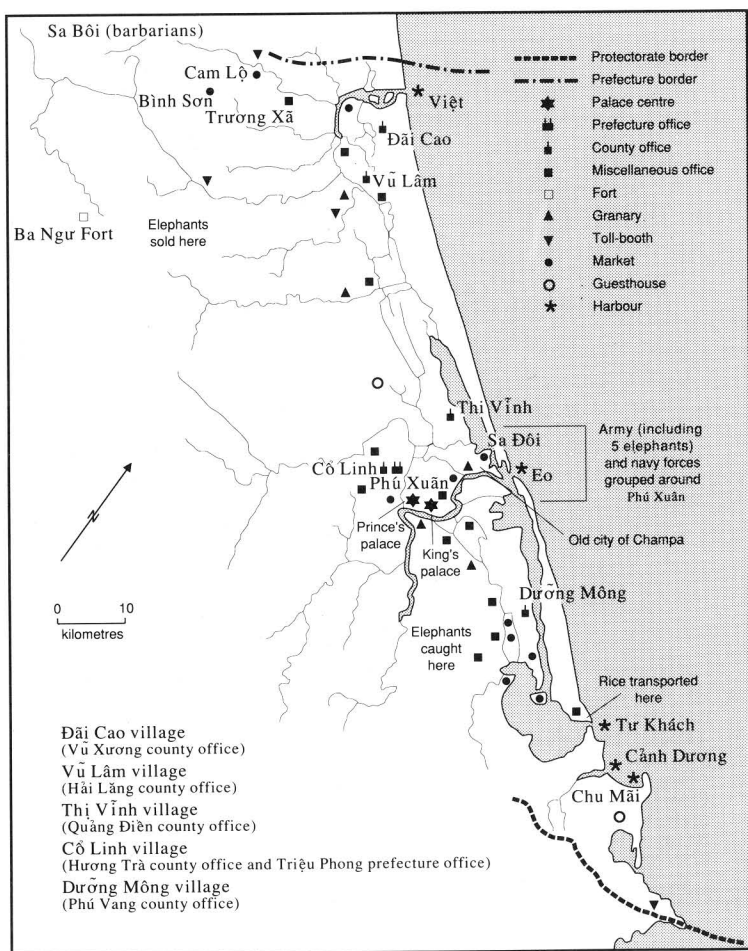
Map 4. Southern Vietnam in c.1690: Granaries and Toll-booths.  
As Extracted from *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ*



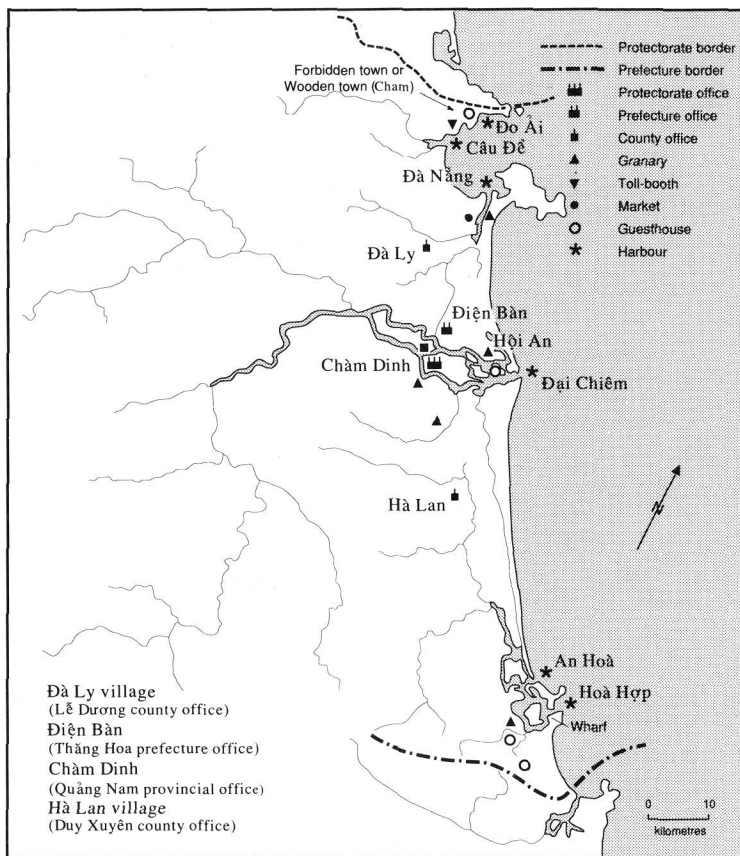
Map 5. Southern Vietnam in c.1690: Markets, Guesthouses and Harbours.  
 As Extracted from *Giáp Ngọ Niên Bình Nam Đồ*



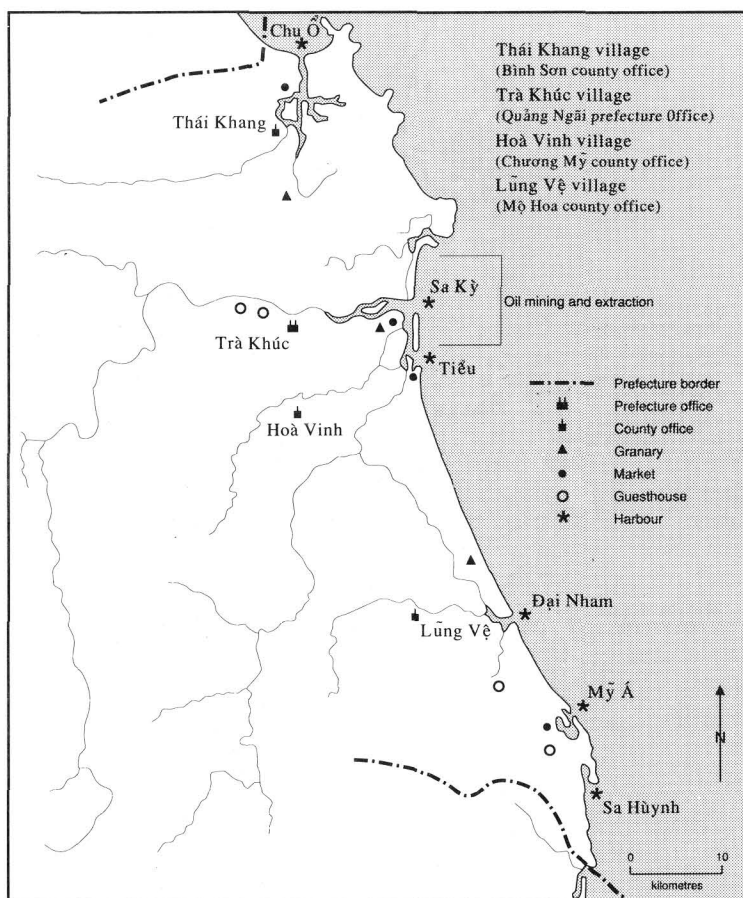
Map 6. Quảng Bình Prefecture, Thuận Hóa Protectorate, c.1690



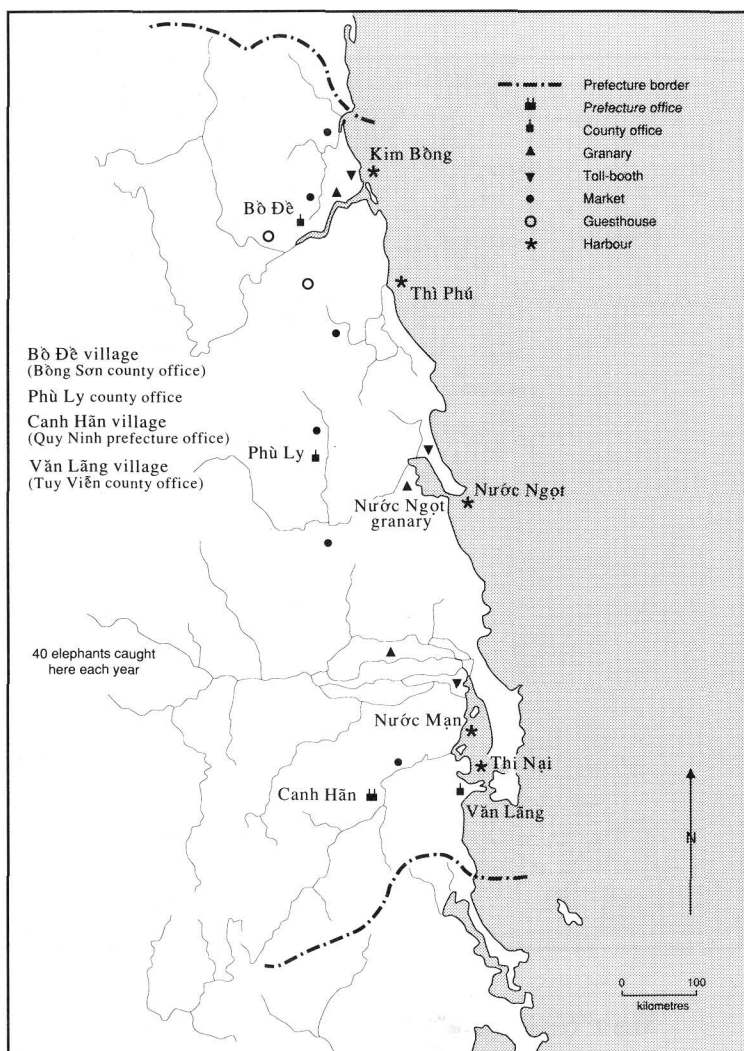
Map 7. Triệu Phong Prefecture, Thuận Hóa Protectorate, c.1690



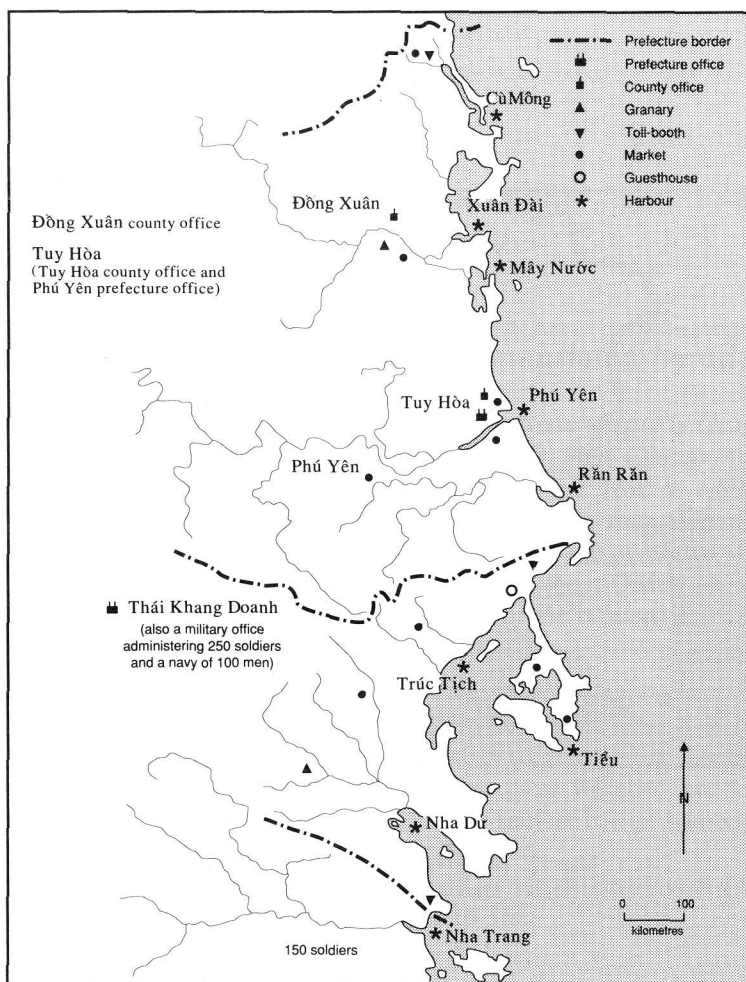
Map 8. Thăng Hoa Prefecture, Quảng Nam Protectorate, c.1690



Map 9. Quảng Ngãi Prefecture, Quảng Nam Protectorate, c.1690

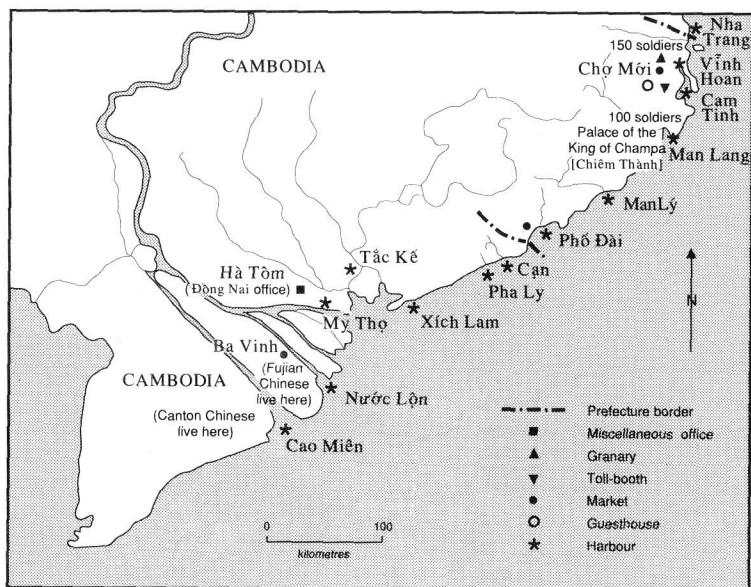


Map 10. Quy Ninh Prefecture, Quảng Nam Protectorate, c.1690



Map 11. Phú Yên and Thái Khang Prefectures, Quảng Nam Protectorate, c.1690





Map 12. Đồng Nai Region and Diên Ninh Prefecture,  
Quảng Nam Protectorate, c.1690