

Introduction

This is an attempt to reconstruct a period of Vietnamese history by studying certain aspects of the foreign relations of the Nguyen rulers of southern Vietnam with the kingdom of Champa during the years 1558 till 1776. Nguyen rule over southern Vietnam began in 1558 with the appointment of the Nguyen family patriarch, Nguyen Hoang, to the position of governor of the province of Thuan Hoa in central Vietnam. This study begins in 1558, the year Nguyen Hoang took up the governorship of Thuan Hoa, and ends with the collapse of the Nguyen government in 1775. In that year, the last Nguyen ruler, Phuc Thuan, had to flee the capitol, Phu Xuan, in the face of an all-out attack by the Le-Trinh Army of the north.

The period studied also chronicles the Vietnamese expansion from the Red River Deltas, in the north, to the central highlands and subsequently, the Mekong Delta, in the south. This southward expansion was the result of the policies of the nine successive rulers from the Nguyen family. They are Nguyen Hoang (1558-1613), Nguyen Phuc Nguyen (1613-1635), Nguyen Phuc Lan (1635-1648), Nguyen Phuc Tan (1648-1687), Nguyen Phuc Tran (1687-1691), Nguyen Phuc Chu (1691-1725), Nguyen Phuc Tru (1725-1738), Nguyen Phuc Khoat (1738-1765) and Nguyen Phuc Thuan (1765-1776).

The 17th and 18th century history of southern Vietnam is one of the least studied periods of that country's historiography by the Vietnamese. One reason for this neglect is that the Vietnamese government considered this period in the country's history as divisive and unhealthy for national unity. This was further complicated by the fact that it was the later Nguyen Dynasty (1802-1945) the direct descendants of the earlier Nguyen, who surrendered Vietnam to the French in 1883. They were seen as traitors or betrayers of the nation.

Even less explored is the foreign relations of the Nguyen. It is hoped that by bringing to light the external dimension of Nguyen rule in southern Vietnam – in this case, with Champa, several questions pertaining to the nature of Nguyen rule can be answered. This includes a look at how the Nguyen first used foreign relations to bolster their image where they were placed in a position to act as a de facto independent state, and later to achieve its purpose of state formation.

This study will also investigate how the Nguyen conducted themselves in relation to foreigners. This raises the question as to whether, in its dealings with foreigners and its neighbours, the Nguyen considered itself an independent state or conversely merely saw itself as an extension of the Le rule. This thesis puts forth the claim that by the 18th century, there was a shift in the stance of the Nguyen from being traditionally bound to their northern rulers to being an independent nation with its identity forged in south Vietnam. This is most apparent in its foreign relations.

In the opening years of the 18th century, the Nguyen began to conduct foreign and tributary relations independently. Freed at last from conditions that had impeded their direction to the South, the Nguyen began to act as overlords when dealing with its neighbours.

This study intends to show that its dealings with foreigners and the experiment of imposing tributary relations on its neighbours is evidence of the Nguyen's projection of themselves as rulers of a separate state. The tributary system was also a source of economic strength where tribute items were used for trade.

The following aspects will be given scrutiny to flesh out this thesis. Firstly, it is important to consider how foreign relations bolstered the image of the Nguyen and eased its transition into becoming a de facto kingdom. This then leads to the second aspect, the evolution in the growing strength of the Nguyen vis-à-vis the Le Dynasty towards a real possibility of an independent statehood. The third aspect is an examination on how relations with weaker states and upland tribes allowed the Nguyen to structure a tributary system where it occupied a central position. Finally, this study will

investigate the internal efforts of building a governmental apparatus to consolidate its position as a polity.

This study is not confined to the study of state-to-state relations. Foreign relations here refers to all forms of contact with external entities which include foreign nationals (traders and missionaries) living in Nguyen Southern Vietnam and also include non-state groups, non-Vietnamese elements living within or beyond the boundaries of Nguyen Southern Vietnam. The study of the foreign relations of the Nguyen has to be understood in the context of the process of state formation, more precisely, how foreign relations were used to realise the ambition of the Nguyen. Before proceeding with this, it would be pertinent to throw light on both the primary and secondary material employed in the drawing of this picture.

The case in study is the Nguyen's relations with Champa or what remained as Champa in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is hoped that through this study, the nature of the Nguyen's foreign relations can be demonstrated more succinctly.

Literature Review

Generally, the period between 1529 and 1802 in Vietnamese history can be characterized as volatile. The period is associated with civil wars between the Mac Dynasty and the Le Restoration loyalists, followed in 1627 by a standoff between the Trinh in the north and the Nguyen in the south. It was also a period which saw an increase in Vietnam's foreign contacts, both in the north and the south. Past works on this subject are a useful quarry that this study will make frequent reference to.

This notion of division dominating the period is addressed in the works of Le Thanh Khoi,¹ Phan Huy Le and his colleagues in Hanoi.² Another theme which has also received attention for

¹ Le Thanh Khoi, *Histoire du Viet Nam des Origines a 1858*, Paris: Sudeasie, 1981, pp. 253-264. Le Thanh Khoi's other work is, *Le Viet Nam: Histoire et Civilisation*, Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1955.

² Phan Huy Le et al., *Lich Su Viet Nam, Tap I*, Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi, 1976, pp. 291-293.

this period of Vietnamese history is the southward movement (Nam Tien) of the Vietnamese people. The Nguyen's territorial expansion in the south became the focus of historians such as Jean Chesneaux,³ Phan Khoang,⁴ and Tran Trong Kim.⁵

While most general works on Vietnamese history only devote certain parts of their discussions on the Nguyen rule in southern Vietnam, likewise, the same could be said of scholarly works that centre specifically on the later Nguyen Dynasty. The pioneering works are those by Leopold Cadiere, a Catholic missionary of the French Foreign Missionary Society (Missions Etrangères des Paris) who had served in Vietnam during the early part of the twentieth century. Cadiere, a founding member of the Association des Amis du Vieux Hue (Association of the Friends of Old Hue) in 1913, started his research on Nguyen rule via a survey of the historical geography of Quang Binh, the earlier administrative centre of the Nguyen.⁶ His subsequent works deal with a wide range of subjects relating to Nguyen rule, including the shifting of official residences of the Nguyen,⁷ the subject of Nguyen Phuc Nguyen's Christian wife,⁸ and on the trade of Thuan Hoa.⁹ Perhaps the most important contribution by Cadiere is his explanation of the estab-

³ Jean Chesneaux, *Contribution a l'histoire de la Nation Vietnamienne*, Paris: Editions Sociales, 1955.

⁴ Phan Khoang, *Viet Su Xu Dang Trong 1558-1777: Cuoc Nam-Tien Cua Dan Toc Viet-Nam* [History of Vietnam in Dang Trong 1558-1777: The Epic of the Southward Movement of the Vietnamese People], Saigon: Nha Sach Khai Tri, 1969.

⁵ Tran Trong Kim, *Viet Nam Thong Shi (Viet Nam Su Luoc A History of Vietnam)*, trans. Tai Gelai, Beijing: Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1992. [In Chinese] For the Vietnamese version see Tran Trong Kim, *Viet Nam Su Luoc*, Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Van Hoa Thong Tin, 1999.

⁶ L. Cadiere, "Geographie Histoire Du Quang Binh d'après les annales Impériales", *Bulletin d'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* (hereafter *EFEO*), Vol.2, 1902, pp. 55-73. For more of Cadiere's works, see Bibliography.

⁷ L. Cadiere, "Les Residences des rois de Cochinchine avant Gia-Long", *Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indochine*, 1913, pp. 103-185.

⁸ L. Cadiere, "Au Sujet de L'Épouse de Sai Vuong", *Bulletin des Amis de Vieux Hue* (hereafter *BAVH*), Vol.9, No.3, 1922, pp.221-232.

⁹ L. Cadiere "Un Voyage En 'Sinja' sur les cotes de Cochinchine au XVIIIe siècle", *BAVH*, Vol.8, No.1, 1921, pp.15-29.

lishment of the Nguyen rule as an independent entity.¹⁰ This is particularly clear in his description of Nguyen Phuc Khoat, the eighth ruler's (r. 1738-1765) unilateral elevation to royal status.¹¹

With regard to the Nguyen's foreign relations, Cadiere described the lives of two Europeans, namely, Father Alexander de Rhodes and Thomas Bowyear, an English trader.¹² Cadiere's pioneering works were based mainly on Vietnamese primary sources that had just been introduced when he began conducting studies on Vietnamese history. This includes gazetteers, chronicles and biographical sketches. Due to his reliance on such sources, Cadiere's accounts were, at times, merely translations of Vietnamese sources into the French language. However, Cadiere's access to missionary records, helped provide some balance in his writing. In many ways, Cadiere's works provide the basis for studies on Nguyen rule in southern Vietnam.

Another French scholar is Charles Maybon whose *Histoire d'Annam*, from 1592 to 1820 is the earliest single volume of work that addresses Vietnamese history during the period of the civil war between the Nguyen and the Trinh.¹³ It traces the confrontation between the two families to the time when the Nguyen's paramount position in the Le Court was lost to the Trinh following the death of the family's patriarch, Nguyen Kim, who was the leader of the Le Loyalist movement. The movement was formed to restore Le rule in Vietnam following the usurpation of the throne by the Mac in 1529. Apart from discussing the formation of a separate statehood under the Nguyen in the south, Maybon also looked at the interaction between the Nguyen and Europeans. His work is a pioneering effort that demonstrates the importance of

¹⁰ L. Cadiere, "Le Mur de Dong Hoi: Etude Sur L'etablissement des Nguyen En Cochinchine", *BEFEO*, Vol.6, 1906, pp.87-251.

¹¹ L. Cadiere, "Les Changement des Costumes de Vo Vuong", *BAVH*, Vol. 1915, No. 4, pp. 417-424.

¹² L. Cadiere, "Les Europeens Qui Ont Vu Le Vieux-Hue: Le P. De Rhodes", *BAVH*, 1915, pp.231-249 and "Les Europeens Qui Ont Vu Le Vieux Hue: Thomas Bowyear (1695-1696)", *BAVH*, Vol.7, No.2, 1920, pp.185-240.

¹³ Charles B. Maybon, *Histoire d'Annam, de 1592 a 1820*, Paris: Librairie Plon, 1920. Maybon's other works include, "Une Factorie Anglaise au Tonkin au XVII siecle (1672-1697)", *BEFEO*, 1910.

both European and indigenous Vietnamese sources in understanding Nguyen rule in southern Vietnam.

Like Cadiere, Maybon's works also rely heavily on Vietnamese court sources. Hence, in discussing factors that characterised events at the turn of the 19th century with the defeat of the Tayson and the proclamation of the Nguyen Dynasty, Maybon proposed that the new Nguyen Dynasty was a triumph of the Nguyen in restoring the fortune of the earlier Nguyen. This claim is challenged more recently by scholars such as Nola Cooke, who propose instead that the Nguyen rulers of the 19th century, who were the direct descendants of the earlier Nguyen, helped to perpetuate the restoration myth as a means of legitimising their royal lineage.¹⁴

Among Vietnamese scholars however, the study of Nguyen rule in southern Vietnam only became an important topic in the South during a brief period between late 1950s and early 1970s. The impetus was buoyed by the search for of a *raison d'être* for the existence of the State of Vietnam (1949-1955) and later, the Republic of Vietnam (1956-1975) in the South following the partitioning of the country into two halves by the Geneva Accord in 1954. The first major work which emerged from this is Phan Khoang's survey of the trade of Nguyen Southern Vietnam during the 17th and 18th centuries, published in 1969.¹⁵ In fact, it is the first singular volume devoted to the history of the Nguyen rulers. The work however, draws mainly from the Nguyen court chronicles without much reference to other sources. In contrast, Nguyen Thanh Nha's studies on the economic history of Vietnam during the 17th and 18th centuries published in 1970 is now considered a fine demonstration of scholarship that combines the utili-

¹⁴ Nola Cooke, "The Myth of the Restoration: Dang-Trong Influences in the Spiritual Life of the Early Nguyen Dynasty (1802-47)", in Anthony Reid (ed.), *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900*, London: Macmillan Press, 1997, pp. 269-299.

¹⁵ Phan Khoang, *Viet Su Xu Dang Trong 1558-1777*, Saigon: Nha Sach Khai Tri, 1969.

sation of indigenous sources with non-Vietnamese sources.¹⁶ Apart from tracing the Nguyen as well as the Trinh's economic history, this later study also includes a chapter on the foreign relations of the two political entities. However, by limiting the discussion on foreign relations to a single chapter, it did not leave much room for the exploration of various other themes that dominate the Nguyen's foreign relations. It was also around this time in 1967 that Nguyen The Anh published an annotated bibliography on Vietnam's relations with the West.¹⁷

If the historians of the south had attempted to use the rule of the Nguyen rulers over southern Vietnam to justify the existence of the modern southern regime, their counterparts in the North did just the opposite. For the historians of the Hanoi regime, the Nguyen of the 17th and 18th centuries was considered a renegade entity that reflected the national division they were facing. The Nguyen's breakaway was looked upon in the same light as the modern day southern regime that had tried to make permanent what was to be the temporary division provided in the 1954 Geneva Accord. Two major works on the general history of Vietnam were published in the north which included sections on Nguyen rule in southern Vietnam. In both cases however, foreign relations received scant attention.¹⁸ Apart from that, the Nguyen were cast in a negative light. As stated earlier, the ancestors of the regime that eventually surrendered Vietnam to the French in the late 19th century were presented as feudal which is a description repugnant within the Communist ideology.

Other works from the same era but of a different persuasion includes the work of Dang Phuong Nghi, a French-trained Vietnamese scholar, who examined the public institutions of Viet-

¹⁶ Nguyen Thanh Nha, *Tableau Economique du Vietnam aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siecles*, Paris: editions Cujas, 1970.

¹⁷ Nguyen The Anh, *Bibliographie Critique Sur Les Relations Entre Le Viet Nam Et L'Occident*, Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1967.

¹⁸ Phan Huy Le, *Lich Su Viet Nam, Tap I* (A History of Vietnam, Vol.I), Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi, 1976, pp. 296-303 and Phan Huy Le, et al., *Lich Su Che Do Phong Kien Viet-Nam, Tap III* [A History of the Feudal System in Viet Nam, Vol.III], Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Giao Duc, 1960.

nam during the 18th century.¹⁹ His work, published in 1969, covers both the Trinh North and Nguyen South. Nghi relied on both Vietnamese and European materials. Special attention was given to the *Lich Trieu Hien Cuong Loai Chi* (Institutions of the Various Dynasties), the record of the public institutions of the various dynasties.

Another was the French scholar, Pierre-Yves Manguin's study which centres on Nguyen and Champa's relations with the Portuguese. It is one of the few available works that describes Nguyen's foreign relations with a single state or power.²⁰ In his work, Manguin, who relied on Portuguese archives, established new dimensions in Nguyen studies with particular reference to Nguyen's foreign relations.

The Canadian scholar, Alexander Woodside's study of the later Nguyen dynasty is the latest on the Nguyen.²¹ Even though the work concentrates on the successors of the Nguyen rulers, Woodside's study is built on a careful examination of the 18th century Nguyen. Woodside also suggests that the rulers of the Nguyen dynasty were not only direct descendants of the Nguyen rulers, but that they were also the ones who had established some of the insti-

¹⁹ Dang Phuong Nghi, *Les Institutions Publiques Du Viet Nam au XVIIIe Siecle*, Paris: Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, 1969.

²⁰ Pierre-Yves Manguin, *Les Portugais sur les Cotes de Viet Nam et Du Campa: Etude sur les Sources Portugaises (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siecles)*, Paris: Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, 1972. His other related work is *Les Nguyen, Macau et le Portugal: Aspects Politiques et Commerciaux d'une Relation Privee en Mer De Chine 1773-1802*, Paris: Ecole Francaise D'extreme-Orient, 1984.

²¹ Alexander B. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model: A Comparative Study of Vietnamese and Chinese Government in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1978. Woodside also discussed the earlier Nguyen in his "Conception of Change and of Human Responsibility for Change in the Late Traditional Vietnam", in David K. Wyatt (ed.), *Moral Order and the Question of Change: Essays on Southeast Asian Thought*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982 and Alexander B. Woodside, "Central Vietnam's Trading World in the Eighteenth Century as Seen in Le Quy Don's 'Frontier Chronicles'", *Essays into Vietnamese Past*, K. W. Taylor & John Whitmore (eds.), Ithaca: Southeast Asian Program, Cornell University, 1995, pp. 162.

tutions that continued to function in the later Nguyen dynasty era. More importantly, Woodside claims that these institutions such as the Foreign Office continued the policy of the early Nguyen. The case of the Nguyen's relations with the Jarai people of the central highlands as well as the Nguyen's relations with Cambodia are examples he cites to substantiate his claim.²²

After a lull of more than twenty years since the publication of Phan Khoang and Nguyen Thanh Nha's work, two Chinese academicians completed their studies on the Nguyen rulers. The first was Yang Baoyun who submitted a doctoral thesis to the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in 1992, and the second is Li Tana who completed her studies at the Australian National University in 1993. Yang Baoyun gave an overview history of the Nguyen rulers (whose regime he described as a principality) tracing the state's formation process with a chapter dedicated to the Nguyen's foreign relations.²³ Yang Baoyun's work relied heavily on Vietnamese and Chinese sources. The result is a study that conforms to the historical ideas expounded by the Nguyen Court historians.

Li Tana's studies examine the socio-economic changes that took place in Nguyen Southern Vietnam and how these changes contributed to the development of Nguyen rule.²⁴ Li Tana argues that Nguyen Southern Vietnam had emerged as a new alternative Vietnam as compared to the Vietnam of the Red River Delta in the north. Li Tana's work is a path breaking effort that challenges the boundary of enquiries into Nguyen rule over southern Vietnam by utilising a combination of indigenous as well as non-indigenous sources. More information on the sources is ex-

²² Ibid.

²³ Yang Baoyun, *Contribution a l'histoire de la Principaute des Nguyen au Vietnam Meridional, 1600-1775*, Geneve: editions Olizane, 1992.

²⁴ Li Tana, *Nguyen Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Ithaca: Cornell University, Southeast Asian Program, 1998.

plained by Li Tana and Anthony Reid in their volume on Nguyen sources.²⁵

At the same time, established scholars such as Keith Taylor²⁶ and Nola Cooke²⁷ began to devote their attention to the Nguyen rulers of this period, echoing Anthony Reid's call for more studies on the Early Modern Era of Southeast Asia.²⁸

Despite the numerous studies available on the Nguyen rule over southern Vietnam, either direct or indirect, few are dedicated to foreign relations. Yet, foreign relations remains one of the major developments that had contributed enormously to the process of state building of the Nguyen. This study is an effort to address this area of Nguyen history and is an attempt to illuminate a key element of the process of state formation.

Works on Nguyen-Champa relations have been mainly confined to the efforts by French scholars, who, due to their colonial connections with Indochina, were naturally the pioneers in the study of the Chams and their ancient kingdom of Champa. Scholars like George Maspero, Etienne Aymonier, E. Durand, L. Finot and George Coedes²⁹, focused their works entirely in establishing

²⁵ Li Tana and Anthony Reid (eds.), *Southern Vietnam Under the Nguyen: Documents on the Economic History of Cochinchina (Dang Trong), 1602-1777*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993.

²⁶ Keith Taylor, "Nguyen Hoang and the Beginning of Viet Nam's Southward Expansion", in *Southeast Asia in Early Modern Era*, Anthony Reid (ed.), Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993, see also his "The Literati Revival in Seventeenth Centuries Vietnam", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, March 1987, pp. 1-22.

²⁷ Nola Cooke, "Regionalism and the Nature of Nguyen Rule in Seventeenth Century Dang Trong (Cochinchina)", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 1998, pp. 122-161. For her other works, see Nola Cooke, "Nineteenth-Century Vietnamese Confucianization in Historical Perspective: Evidence from the Palace Examination (1463-1883)", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, March 1994, pp. 270-312.

²⁸ Introduction of Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in Early Modern Era*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

²⁹ See G. Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, Paris, 1928; E. Aymonier, "Legendes Historiques de Chame", *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, Vol. XIV, No. 31, 1889, pp. 5-92 and "Premiere Etude sur les Inscriptions Tchames", *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. XVIII, 1891, pp. 5-86; E. Durand, "Bal Canar", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient (BEFEO)*, Vol. V, 1905, pp. 382-386,

the historical positions of the Chams and Champa without paying much attention towards the construction of links between the Chams and the Vietnamese. The exception being Maspero whose study of the Cham have been dominating the scene for more than half a century. In recounting the history of Champa, Maspero focused on the kingdom's long struggle against the Vietnamese. The study stopped at 1471, the year Champa was defeated by Emperor Le Thanh Tong. For Maspero, it marked the end of Champa.

Maspero's 1471 notion was left unchallenged for many years until around the 1980s when a group of scholars belonging to the Centre for Indochinese Research began to conduct research on this aspect of the Cham history. P. B. Lafont, originally an expert on ethnic minorities in the highlands of Vietnam and Laos, began to direct research projects that investigate into this area. This culminated in a seminar on Champa held in Copenhagen where several papers relating to the Chams were discussed. They include Lafont's introduction, entitled, "On the Relations between Champa and Southeast Asia" and Henri Chambert-Loir's paper entitled, "On the Historical and Literary Relations Between Champa and the Malay World".³⁰ Another paper of similar interest was by Eric Crystal which looks into the broader question of Champa as a factor in the Study of Southeast Asia³¹ where he tries

L.Finot, "La Religion des Chams d'Après les Monuments, BEFEO, Vol. I, 1901, pp. 12-33; and G. Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, Paris: 1964, also published as *The Indianised States of Southeast Asia*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1968.

³⁰ Henri Chambert-Loir, "Notes sur les Relations Historiques et Littéraires entre Campa et Monde Malaise", in *Actes du Séminaire sur le Campa, organised by the University of Copenhagen, 23 May 1987*, Paris: 1988, p. 95-106. This was later republished as "Catatan Hubungan Sejarah dan Sastra antara Campa dengan Dunia Melayu", in Ismail Hussein, P-B. Lafont & Po Dharma (eds.), *Dunia Melayu dan Dunia Indochina*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka, 1995, pp. 217-234.

³¹ See for instance, P. B. Lafont, "On the Relations between Champa and Southeast Asia" & H. Chambert-Loir, "On the Historical and Literary Relations Between Champa and the Malay World", in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Champa, University of Copenhagen (1987)*, Paris: Centre for the Study of History and Cultures on the Cultures of the Indochinese Peninsula, 1994, pp. 65-75 & 87-99; Eric Crystal, "Champa and the Study of Southeast Asia", in *Le Campa*

to explore the ethnicity of the Chams. A somehow related paper is Nguyen The Anh's "Indochina and the Malay World: A Glimpse on Malay-Vietnamese Relations to the Mid-Nineteenth Century", published in *Asia Journal*, in 1996.³² Nguyen The Anh's paper however, focuses mainly on the Vietnamese dimension.

The most influential member of the team is perhaps Po Dharma, who had started work initially on the post-1471 Cham kingdom of Panduranga and its relations with the Vietnamese. Through this study, Po Dharma was able to push the study of Vietnam-Champa relations beyond Maspero's long established 1471 barrier.³³ More recently, the present writer began to investi-

et Le Monde Malais, Paris: Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de la Peninsule Indochinoise, 1991, pp. 65-76.

³² Nguyen The Anh, "Indochina and the Malay World: A Glimpse on Malay-Vietnamese Relations to the Mid-Nineteenth Century", *Asia Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 1996, pp. 105-131. The same paper was earlier published in the Malay language entitled, "Hubungan Sejarah di antara Vietnam dan Dunia Melayu", in Ismail Ali, P.B. Lafont and Po Dharma (eds), *Hubungan Dunia Melayu dan Indochina*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1995.

³³ Po Dharma, "Kesusastraan Cam", in *Kerajaan Campa*, Jakarta (PN. Balai Pustaka) 1981, pp. 197-215, Po Dharma, "Kesusteraan Cam", in Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi (ed.), *Alam Melayu: Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Campa*, Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pelancongan & Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1988, pp. 279-298, Po Dharma (ed.), *Akayet Deva Mano: Versi Cam dari Hikayat Dewa Mandu Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pelancongan Malaysia & Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1989, Po Dharma, "Peranan Tamadun Melayu dalam Masyarakat Campa", Ismail Hussein, Aziz Deraman & Abd Rahman Al-Ahmadi (eds.), *Tamadun Melayu, Jilid I*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka, Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1989, pp. 261-263, Po Dharma, "Deux Princes Malais au Campa, Leur Role dans la Vie Socio-Politique et Religieuse de ce Pays", in *Le Monde Indochinois et La Peninsule Malaise: Contribution Francaise au Deuxieme Congres International sur la Civilisation Malaise organise par Le Ministere de la Culture et du Tourisme de Malaisie*, Kuala Lumpur: Embassy of France, 1990, pp. 19-28, Po Dharma, G. Moussay & Abdul Karim (eds.), *Akayet Inra Patra (Hikayat Inra Patra/Epopoe Inra Patra)*, Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia & Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1997 and Po Dharma, G. Moussay & Abdul Karim (eds.), *Nai Mai Mang Makah (Tuan Puteri dari Kelantan/La Princesse qui Venait du Kelantan)*, Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Pelancongan Malaysia & Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 2000.

gate closely into the relations between the Nguyen and Champa, or what remained as Champa during the 17th and 18th century.³⁴

Sources on Nguyen Southern Vietnam

In the course of reconstructing the history of Nguyen rule in southern Vietnam through a study of the tributary and foreign relations of the Nguyen rulers, a variety of materials have been examined, with greater attention paid to primary sources. The lack of emphasis on the subject by existing research means that a major portion of this study is reconstructed through the consultation of original documents. However, this also involves a re-examination of secondary materials.

The original materials used in this research can be broadly divided into four categories: first, contemporary Vietnamese archival sources written in the 18th century and the sources compiled by the Historical Academy of the later Nguyen Dynasty during the 19th century. Secondly, the travelogues of visitors to Nguyen Southern Vietnam during the 17th and 18th centuries and thirdly, Christian missionary reports of the French Foreign Missions. There are also non-Vietnamese original documents, written either

³⁴ See Danny Wong Tze-Ken, "Relations Between the Nguyen Lords of Southern Vietnam and the Champa Kingdom: A Preliminary Study", *SEJARAH*, No. 5, 1997, pp.169-180; Danny Wong Tze-Ken, "Nhưng moi quan he giua Nguyen va vuong quoc Champa: Buoc nghien cuu khoi dau"(Relations Between the Nguyen Lords and the Champa Kingdom: a Preliminary Study), *CHAMPAKA*, (Journal of the International Office of Champa, San Jose, California) No. 1, 1999, pp. 59-75.[In Vietnamese]; Danny Wong Tze Ken, "Les Relations entre les Champa et les Nguyen (XVIIe-XVIIIe siecles) D'apres archives Vietnamiennes"(The Relations Between Champa and Nguyen Lords during the 17th & 18th Century, based on Vietnamese Sources), Paper presented at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Maison D'Asie, Paris, 27 April 1998; Danny Wong Tze Ken, "Vietnam-Champa Relations and the Malay-Islam Regional Network in the 17th-19th Centuries". Paper presented at the Workshop on Borders and Borderland, organised by SEASREP and Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), LIPI, Jakarta, 25-26 March 2004; and Danny Wong Tze Ken, "Vietnam-Champa Relations during the 17th-18th centuries". Paper presented at the International Symposium on New Scholarship on Champa, organised by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore, 5-6 August 2004.

in the original Chinese or Japanese. The most important were the royal chronicles of Cambodia and the Champa Archives.

The Nguyen were not known for maintaining substantial historical records. This was simply due to the fact that the Nguyen rule was originally a provincial administration. This provincial position deprived the Nguyen of the services of highly educated scholars. Apart from that, despite its claim to royal status, the administrative system of the Nguyen remained rudimentary, thus it lacks extensive administrative records. This lack of direct original sources was also a result of the political upheaval and wars that took place after the fall of the Nguyen in 1776. During that period, much of the original documents of the Nguyen administration were either lost or destroyed.

Later researchers, this writer included, owe much to Le Quy Don, an official of the Le-Trinh army that entered Phu Xuan in 1776 for recording eye witness account on the Nguyen rule. During the first few months of Le-Trinh occupation of Phu Xuan, Don had the opportunity of going through the surviving archives of the Nguyen. He also conducted interviews with former officials and collected documents from some of their families. The end result is his *Phu Bien Tap Luc* (Miscellaneous Records of the Pacification of the Frontiers), which serves as a major source in this study.³⁵

Also valuable to this study is Le Duy Dan's *Nam Ha Tiep Luc* (*Record of the Region South of the River*),³⁶ compiled shortly after the establishment of the Nguyen Dynasty (1802-1945) in 1802. The work is a first in the historiographical attempt to justify the existence of the Nguyen rule during the Nguyen Dynasty. However, Dan, a Tien Si (graduate of the Vietnamese Imperial Examination) laureate of 1775, was originally from the north and had not been to the south. He is believed to have consulted surviving Nguyen documents while compiling the *Nam Ha Tiep Luc*.

The second category of the Nguyen archival sources came from the efforts of the Quoc Su Quan (Historical Academy) of the

³⁵ *Phu Bien Tap Luc* (Miscellaneous Records of Pacification in the Border Area), MS. A. 184.

³⁶ *Nam Ha Tiep Luc* (Selected Records of Nam Ha), MS. A. 586.

Nguyen Dynasty. In 1820, Emperor Minh Menh (r. 1820-1840) ordered the setting up of this institution with “the aim of verifying and recording the truth”.³⁷ Out of the efforts of the court historians are a compendium of histories and biographies of eminent personalities, some of which are consulted in this work.

Another main source used is the *Dai Nam Thuc Luc Tien Bien* (Veritable Records of the Former Nguyen, hereafter *Tien Bien*), completed in 1844 during the reign of Emperor Thrieu Tri (r. 1840-1848). The 12-volume text records the reign of the respective Nguyen rulers, beginning with Nguyen Hoang, and ending with Nguyen Phuc Thuan. Due to a 70 years lapse between the fall of the Nguyen rule in 1776 to the date of its completion, much of the information contained in the *Dai Nam Thuc Luc Tien Bien* were probably drawn from the *Phu Bien Tap Luc* and *Nam Ha Tiep Luc*, as well as whatever fragmented pieces of documents that the court historians could piece together.

Given the nature of the commissioned origin, the *Tien Bien* is less forthcoming in details and tends to be muted in many instances. Apart from that, the manner in which it was written, especially the utilization of the posthumous term of royalty used for the Nguyen rulers and their families, complicates the actual situation of Nguyen rule. Despite its shortcoming, *Tien Bien* remains a relatively reliable source for its chronology of events, and this study uses it mainly as a guide to mapping out various events of Nguyen rule in southern Vietnam.

Apart from the *Tien Bien*, the court historians also produced a six-volume biography of eminent personalities of the Nguyen rule known as the *Dai Nam Liet Truyen Tien Bien* (Biography of the Former Dai Nam).³⁸ The text also includes a list of monks from China who had served in the Nguyen domain.

³⁷ *Dai Nam Thuc Luc Tien Bien* (Veritable Record of the Former Dai Nam), MS VHv 1320, (hereafter, *Tien Bien*), preface: pp. 2-3.

³⁸ *Dai Nam Liet Truyen Tien Bien* (Official Biographies of Dai Nam’s Initial Period), MS. VHv. 172.

Another important primary source material is the *Dai Nam Chinh Bien Liet Truyen* (Biographies of the Dai Nam)³⁹ which describes Nguyen's dealings with its neighbours including Champa. Even though it is a biographical collection during the period of the establishment of the Nguyen Dynasty and the subsequent reign of the Nguyen rulers, Volume 31-33 of its first collection contains 'biographies' (descriptions) of the Nguyen's neighbours, which including Champa and their interaction with the Nguyen.

Being the products of the Nguyen Court, the Nguyen chronicles and other sources tend to provide favourable views of the Nguyen rulers. In contrast, *Dai Viet Su Ky Toan Thu* (Complete History of Dai Viet, hereafter *Toan Thu*),⁴⁰ the histories produced by the Le Court is useful in providing an alternative view of Nguyen rule.

This study also referred to the geographical gazetteers regarding Nguyen Southern Vietnam. The 12 volume *Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi* (Gazetteer of Dai Nam),⁴¹ compiled in 1882 under orders from Emperor Tu Duc (r. 1848-1883) and led by Cao Xuan Duc is also a very important source providing Duc information that is not readily available in the chronicles.

In looking at the Nguyen's dealings with Champa, particularly during the period of Nguyen domination of that state beginning in 1694, the Champa archives of Panduranga is extremely important. The materials are useful in illuminating the relations between the Nguyen and an autonomous Champa.⁴²

³⁹ *Dai Nam Chinh Bien Liet Truyen* (Biographies of Dai Nam), *So Tap*, Vol. 31-33, Ms. VH 1678.

⁴⁰ *Dai Viet Su Ky Toan Thu* (The Complete Records of Dai Viet), MS. A. 3 and MS. HM. 2197 A.

⁴¹ *Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi* (Gazetteer of Dai Nam), MS A. 853.

⁴² The archives of Champa consulted in this study come from a collection of Cham documents in Han characters deposited at the Asiatique Societe, Paris. See Po Dharma, P. B. Lafont (comp.), *Catalogues du Collections Cams*, Paris: Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de la Peninsule Indochinoise, 1989. See also Ishizawa Yoshiaki, "Les Archives Cam Redigees en Caracteres Chinois au Fonds de la Societe Asiatique avec Annotation Analyse", *Historical Science Reports of Kagoshima University*, Vol. 29 July 1980, pp. 13-40.

Studies dealing specifically on relations between Vietnam and Champa are few. The pioneering work was that by Po Dharma, whose pioneering studies on the relations between the Vietnamese and the Chams focused on the last phase of Champa's existence as a political entity named Panduranga.⁴³ More recent works on the relations between Vietnam and Champa including the present writer's study on the Nguyen's relations with Champa.⁴⁴ It is clear that arising from these studies, there are many questions remained unanswered of which further studies have to be conducted. The present work is such effort that geared towards filling up part of that gap.

Chapterisation

To explain the foreign relations of the Nguyen with Champa, this study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One provides the setting and background that are seminal to the discussions of subsequent chapters. In this chapter, Vietnam's brief history, its geographical setting and a discussion on how foreign relations is viewed in Vietnamese history is put forth.

Chapter Two deals with the beginning of Nguyen's contact with Champa as part of their contact with foreigners. It traces the origin of Nguyen rule vis-à-vis the career of Nguyen Hoang, the Nguyen's patriarch who started as a provincial governor in 1558 and who decided to focus his attention on building his sphere

⁴³ Po Dharma, *Le Panduranga (Champa): ses rapports avec le Vietnam, Vol. I & II*, Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1987.

⁴⁴ See Danny Wong Tze-Ken, "Relations Between the Nguyen Lords of Southern Vietnam and the Champa Kingdom: A Preliminary Study", *SEJARAH*, No. 5, 1997, pp.169-180; Danny Wong Tze-Ken, "Nhưng moi quan he quia Nguyen va vuong quoc Champa: Buoc nghien cuu khoi dau"(Relations Between the Nguyen Lords and the Champa Kingdom: a Preliminary Study), *CHAMPAKA*, (Monographs of the International Office of Champa, San Jose, California) No. 1, 1999, pp. 59-75.[In Vietnamese], Danny Wong Tze Ken, "Vietnam-Champa Relations and the Malay-Islam Regional Network in the 17th-19th centuries", *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, No. 5, March 2004 and Danny Wong Tze Ken, "Historical Relations Between the Chams and the Malays: Four Phases of Linkages". Paper presented at the 40th Anniversary International Symposium of the Japan Society of Southeast Asian Studies, Tokyo, 9 December 2006.

of influence in the south. Chapter Three throws light on the importance of foreign relations to the survival of the Nguyen in the face of Nguyen-Trinh War that lasted from 1627 to 1672. It was during this period that the Chams were considered a contested power vis-à-vis the Nguyen.

Chapter Four is an attempt to look at how Champa fell to the hands of the Nguyens and how changes began to take place with the establishment of a Nguyen prefecture command in the former Cham land. The establishment of the tributary relations between the Nguyen and Champa is discussed in Chapter Five. This chapter will end with the fall of the Nguyen in 1776. The year also marked the temporary cessation of relations between the Nguyen and Champa which was only resumed with the establishment of the Nguyen Dynasty in 1802.