HƯƠNG YÊN PHỔ TỰ

English translation

Hương Yên Phổ Tự — manuscript copy by Đinh Nho Chú, 1988

Gia phả họ Đinh Nho — Hương Sơn, Hà Tĩnh

Uncertain readings are marked [?]. The critical apparatus is given in the French volume.

Contents

§ 1 LỜI NÓI ĐẦU (avant-propos) · p. 1–3
§ 2 et 3 TỰA (1795) et LỜI BẠT (1898) · p. 5–8
§ 4 BÚT TÍCH Ở NHÀ THỜ HỌ (inscriptions du temple ancestral) · p. 9–10
§ 5 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ nhất à Đời thứ ba · p. 11
§ 6 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ tư à Đời thứ bảy · p. 12–13
§ 7 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ tám (les six fils de Đinh Nho Công) · p. 14–15
§ 8 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ chín, et ouverture de la dixième · p. 15–17
§ 9 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười một, et ouverture de la douzième · p. 17–18
§ 10 PHỔ KÝ — fin de la douzième génération · p. 19
§ 11 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười ba (début) · p. 20
§ 12 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười ba (suite) · p. 20–21
§ 13 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười bốn · p. 21–22
§ 14 PHỔ KÝ — fin de la quatorzième génération, ouverture de la quinzième · p. 22–23
§ 15 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười lăm (suite) · p. 23
§ 16 PHỔ KÝ — les quatre épouses de Đinh Bảo Hiên · p. 24
§ 17 PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười sáu · p. 25
§ 18 PHỔ KÝ — fin de la seizième génération, Đời thứ mười bảy · p. 26–29
§ 19 PHỔ KÝ — fin de la dix-septième génération, Đời thứ mười tám · p. 30–31
§ 20 PHỔ KÝ — dernières entrées, et fin du registre généalogique · p. 32–33
§ 21 PHỤ LỤC — ĐỨC CHÍNH BI (stèle du gouvernement vertueux) · p. 35–38
§ 22 PHỤ LỤC — BIA CỦA TỔ THỨ TÁM et BIA RĂN CON CHÁU · p. 39–40
§ 23 PHỤ LỤC — SỰ TÍCH BÀ TIẾT PHỤ (histoire de l'épouse vertueuse) · p. 41–42
§ 24 PHỤ LỤC — fin du SỰ TÍCH BÀ TIẾT PHỤ, et THƠ TIỄN BIỆT · p. 43–45
§ 25 PHỤ LỤC — troisième poème, versions en vers, et VĂN TẾ CHỒNG · p. 46–47
§ 26 PHỤ LỤC — fin du VĂN TẾ CHỒNG et sa traduction · p. 48–49
§ 27 PHỤ LỤC — fin du VĂN TẾ, et THƯ TẠ MẸ · p. 50–51
§ 28 PHỤ LỤC — fin du THƯ TẠ MẸ, et THƯ TẠ BÀ LÊ PHU NHÂN · p. 52–53
§ 29 PHỤ LỤC — fin du THƯ TẠ BÀ LÊ PHU NHÂN, et VĂN TẾ CỤ ĐINH NHO HOÀN · p. 54–55
§ 30 PHỤ LỤC — BÀI TÁN BỐN VỊ PHÚC THẦN HỌ ĐINH · p. 57–58
§ 31 PHỤ LỤC — fin du BÀI TÁN et son apparat (CHÚ THÍCH) · p. 59–60
§ 32 PHỤ LỤC — CHÚ THÍCH, notes (12) à (33) · p. 61–62
§ 33 PHỤ LỤC — GIAI THOẠI : NGÔI MỘ RÚ TRAI et ĐỀN BẠCH VÂN · p. 63–64
§ 34 PHỤ LỤC — fin de ĐỀN BẠCH VÂN, et TƯ LIỆU THAM KHẢO · p. 65–68
§ 35 PHỤ LỤC — suite du TƯ LIỆU THAM KHẢO, barème des rangs, et BINH CHẾ CHÍ · p. 69–70
§ 36 PHỤ LỤC — THÀNH ĐÔNG KINH THỜI LÊ et NGHỆ TĨNH THỜI LÊ · p. 71–72
§ 37 PHỤ LỤC — QUỐC TỬ GIÁM, VĂN MIẾU, HỌC VỊ THỜI TRẦN – LÊ · p. 73–74
§ 38 PHỤ LỤC — SƠ LƯỢC VỀ VIỆC HỌC TẬP VÀ THI CỬ THỜI XƯA · p. 75–76
§ 39 PHỤ LỤC — THUẬT NGỮ VĂN HỌC THƯỜNG THỨC (glossaire littéraire) · p. 78–79
§ 40 PHỤ LỤC — structure du KINH NGHĨA, formes officielles, et THƠ ĐƯỜNG LUẬT · p. 80–81
§ 41 PHỤ LỤC — le PHÚ (formes de phrase et structure), et le VĂN TẾ · p. 82–83
§ 42 PHỤ LỤC — structure du VĂN TẾ, et le VĂN SÁCH (fin du volume) · p. 84–86

LỜI NÓI ĐẦU (avant-propos)

[p. 1]

FOREWORD

Our Đinh family originates from Gia Viễn district, Ninh Bình province (the old territory of Ái). Around the sixteenth century, when the country fell into turmoil, the family took refuge in the territory of Hoan (Nghệ Tĩnh). Of those who fled, some settled at Nam Đàn, some at Nghi Lộc, some at Nghi Xuân, and some at Hương Sơn.

At Hương Sơn (Yên Ấp commune, also called An Ấp), the Đinh family passed through six generations with only one male heir each. Not until the seventh-generation ancestor, Đinh Nho Công — doctoral laureate (Tiến sĩ) and imperial censor (Ngự sử) — were six sons born: Đinh Nho Trạch (Hương cống laureate), Đinh Nho Huân (died young), Đinh Nho Hoàn (Hoàng giáp laureate), Đinh Nho Thận *[?]*, Đinh Nho Thưởng (district magistrate), and Đinh Nho Côn (Tổng binh Đồng tri). Đinh Nho Huân died young; Đinh Nho Hoàn had no son and an heir had to be appointed for him. The four remaining sons thus became the four ancestors of the four Đinh branches. Later the branch of Đinh Nho Thưởng moved to Can Lộc and that of Đinh Nho Côn to Thanh Chương. At An Ấp in Hương Sơn there remained only the senior branch, that of Đinh Nho Trạch, and one junior branch, that of Đinh Nho Thận *[?]*. The senior branch already had its genealogy — the present *Hương Yên phổ tự*; the junior branch is currently completing its own.

As for the senior branch's genealogy, the first to compile it was Đinh Nho Hoàn, the eighth-generation ancestor. It was unfortunately destroyed by fire. Đinh Nho Hoàn's son-in-law, the doctoral laureate Nguyễn Trọng Thường of Trung Cần, then set about recording the Đinh genealogy anew under the title *Đinh phổ lược sao* (Abridged Copy of the Đinh Genealogy).

In the early nineteenth century the twelfth-generation ancestor, Đinh Thái Lãng, gathered material from stone inscriptions and printed sources, consulted the doctor Nguyễn's *Đinh phổ lược sao*, collected the recollections of the elders, and composed the *Hương Yên phổ tự*, with a preface written in the year Ất Mão (1795) by the son-in-law of Đinh

[p. 2]

Nho Tế — the doctoral laureate Phan Bảo Đình of Yên Đồng, Đức Thọ (1747–1826).

At the end of the nineteenth century, the fourteenth-generation ancestor Đinh Bảo Hiên again wrote a *Hương Yên phổ tự*. According to its postface, dated the year Mậu Tuất (1898), this volume continues the *Thế thứ lược sao* of an uncle of the lineage, with additions and clearer annotation.

The *Hương Yên phổ tự* was originally written in Chinese characters. Around 1926–27 an uncle of the family, Đinh Nho Tuyên *[?]*, translated the genealogy into quốc ngữ; my elder brother Đinh Nho Sắt *[?]* then revised the translated portions and asked the Phó bảng laureate Nguyễn Cử *[?]* to translate in addition the stele inscriptions, funeral orations, poems and songs. Several stelae at the Temple of Literature were also photographed, thereby completing the quốc ngữ *Hương Yên phổ tự*.

During the Land Reform the genealogy was lost. When it was recovered, the pictures and documents had largely been lost or torn. My brother had to grope his way, research, and enquire in one place and another before he could rewrite the missing parts. To this day the genealogy stands restored very nearly as it was.

Considering that a genealogy may be lost, and that once lost its rewriting demands great labour, I have copied out my brother's volume with the intention of producing several transcripts. In copying, I have set aside an appendix section to record funeral orations, stele texts, parallel couplets and poems together with their translations and notes, along with the accounts and anecdotes and the historical materials bearing on the study of the genealogy.

Lastly I wish to record here the words of Professor Đặng Thai Mai concerning our lineage: "The Đinh are a great family. It is said that tracing them back one reaches the time of Đinh Tiên Hoàng; Đinh Điền and Nguyễn Bặc were the two meritorious officials of that dynasty. Later their descendants migrated to the village of

[p. 3]

Gôi Mỹ, Hương Sơn district, Hà Tĩnh province. Around the Later Lê period and then under the Nguyễn, the Đinh genealogy records the names of many ancestors who passed the higher examinations. The ancestral temple still displays a plaque from the Lê era honouring the virtuous widow, wife of Đinh Nho Hoàn — himself a doctoral laureate who rose to the first and second mandarinal ranks, was sent on embassy to China, and died on the road during his mission. She was a woman famed for her beauty and her learning, an intimate friend of the woman of letters Đoàn Thị Điểm… The family library still preserves the poems she exchanged with her husband and with her friends. On the day Đinh Nho Hoàn died she was still young; but once her husband's coffin had been brought home and the funeral rites concluded, she took her own life.

For our generation today, all these tales of a scholarly lineage, of examination success and mandarinal office, of a death upon an embassy road, or that gilded plaque engraved with the words *Tiết hạnh khả phong* in honour of a young widow, are no more than pages from the history of manners of the feudal age. Yet for centuries the descendants of the Đinh — beyond the pride they take in it, deserved or not, which is another matter — have seen in it a tradition of diligent study, and what the ancients called loyalty and steadfastness, within the thought-world of an age now gone and never to return."

(*Memoirs of Đặng Thai Mai*. Tác phẩm mới Publishing House, 1985 — page 119)

Summer 1988

TỰA (1795) et LỜI BẠT (1898)

PREFACE

From of old, every great family has had its genealogy. A genealogy records the deeds of the ancestors of former generations so that later descendants may know them. It is because there is a root that there are branches and leaves, and that they remain connected to one another.

Our Đinh family once had a mandarin of the rank of Tả Thị lang (generation …) *[?]* who had compiled a genealogy recording the origins of the ancestors, covering only a few generations. It was unfortunately destroyed by fire. But there came afterwards a stipendiary scholar (Hiệu sinh) of the Lê period, whose literary name was Thái Lãng (twelfth generation). Though still young in years, he had received what his fathers handed down and knew the earlier history. When he came of age, considering what the ancestors had meant to leave to their descendants, he searched among stone inscriptions and printed matter, and in the *Đinh phổ lược sao* of the lord Nguyễn of Trung Cần; then,

weighing all this against the testimony of the elders, he compiled a genealogy under the title *Hương Yên phổ tự*.

This phổ tự begins from the founding ancestor and descends to the fathers and mothers. The virtues of loyalty and filial piety, honesty of character, down to taboo names, literary names, dates of birth, death anniversaries and the location of graves — all are fully recorded.

That later descendants do not forget their ancestors is owed to the phổ tự the stipendiary scholar copied out. Thanks to it, the genealogy of the mandarin Tả Thị lang, though burnt, survives as if it still existed, and the merit of forebears across a hundred generations remains visible: this is truly a cause for gladness.

Thus prefaced.

Autumn of the year Ất Mão (1795)

Written by the doctoral laureate Phan Bảo Đình

SECTION 3 — LỜI BẠT (postface de 1898)

TỰA (1795) et LỜI BẠT (1898)

POSTFACE

From our first ancestor, titled Marquis Công Tây *[?]*, down to the titled Baron Nhân Phái *[?]*, some ploughing and some studying, the Đinh family has handed down through the generations one continuous vein of kindness; the source of its good fortune is deep and its course long.

Then our ancestor the lord Thiêm Đô took up that way and widened it further.

The water of a clear, still well flows out in abundance to form what are today the other branches. That we, the later descendants, truly receive its warmth is because the source is distant and the boughs many.

Each junior branch having its own ancestral temple, the family seldom assembles, so much so that within a single lineage the generational ranks are unknown and people address one another wrongly.

Last year we discussed with the elders of the lineage the holding of family assemblies according to the *Gia lễ*: at the winter solstice, sacrifice to the first ancestor; at the beginning of spring, sacrifice to the ancestors; and again at the beginning of spring, a joint sacrifice gathering the ancestors of all branches. We also drew up a chart setting out the order and number of persons in each generation, line by line, for ease of consultation. But the ancestors to be shown are finite in number, while the descendants grow more numerous by the day, without end from generation to generation: not all can be written in.

Formerly an uncle of the lineage, the lord Đồng retired from office, of literary name Hy Nho, had compiled a *Thế thứ lược sao* setting out clearly the descent of each generation and distinguishing the branches. Where it was not yet clear who had begotten whom, it remained easy to memorise and easy to continue in writing.

Having such an old manuscript to hand, I have added what was wanting: the dead are written in ink *[?]*, the living in cinnabar; when they die, their names are gone over again in ink. The boughs settled in other villages are likewise all recorded. Compiled in this way, the work shows above the antiquity of the stock and, below, the proliferation of branches and leaves *[?]*.

Alas! In former times the genealogy was not handed on, those who preserved it were few, and the people of past generations can hardly have avoided omissions. But that from now on the descendants should know how to continue its writing — that is my earnest hope.

I hope further that our descendants, and all our branches, will heed the saying of Mr Liễu Trọng Sinh *[?]*: "A great family should hold itself in reserve, not push itself forward" *[?]*; and that they will follow the teaching of our mandarin Tả Thị Lang: "Go forward to serve as a man of duty, withdraw to turn towards the land." Let them exhort and encourage one another in this, and the stock, however ancient, will not be forgotten, and the branches will lengthen day by day. That is my ardent hope.

Year Mậu Tuất, tenth of the Thành Thái era, after the day of the beginning of spring (1898)

The retired provincial governor,

of literary name Bảo Hiên, respectfully.

BÚT TÍCH Ở NHÀ THỜ HỌ (inscriptions du temple ancestral)

[p. 9]

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE

Above the entrance gate stand three large characters:

來 也 遠 — *Lai dã viễn*: "Come from afar"

meaning that the ancestors came from afar, came from elsewhere, came from Gia Viễn.

On the gate pillars is a couplet:

In the household, filial sons; in the state, loyal subjects: this work of merit and wisdom shone across three hundred years of empire.

In life, a glorious name; in death, an illustrious title: this vein of spirit passes unbroken to countless generations of descendants.

Glosses on difficult terms: [?]

— **Huân**: merit earned in service. — **Du**: design, strategic wisdom. — **Bỉnh bỉnh**: dazzling, radiant.

— **Tam bách niên thiên hạ**: "three hundred years of empire"; an allusion to the Later Lê, whose dynasty from Lê Lợi to the last sovereign lasted nearly three centuries — precisely 360 years (1428–1788).

— **Mệnh mạch**: originally the vital breath of a person; hence, by extension, the vital character of anything — as one says "the arteries of the economy", or "irrigation is the lifeblood of agriculture".

— **Thằng thằng**: descendants in throngs, in whole companies. — **Vân nhưng**: remote posterity, great-grandchildren.

Provisional rendering given by the copyist:

Filial sons in the house, loyal subjects to the country: that merit shone under the Later Lê dynasty;

A fragrant name in life, a manifest presence after death: this spiritual vein soaks into the posterity of ten thousand generations.

[p. 10]

In the temple hangs a couplet acknowledging kinship, presented by a Đinh family *[?]* of Nghi Lộc and composed by the Hoàng giáp laureate Đinh Văn Chấp:

The genealogy keeps its root — how should we dare forget? The two territories of Hoan and Ái have passed through the generations;

The lineage shares the same soil and is not other than it: Lam and Hồng, through a thousand ages, are one single land.

Provisional rendering by the copyist:

The gia phổ keeps its root, would we dare forget it? Hoan and Ái, two territories, across so many generations;

The lineage is one with this land and not distinct from it: Lam and Hồng, forever, one single country.

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ nhất à Đời thứ ba

[p. 11]

⟦ First generation ⟧

ĐINH PHÚC DIÊN

He dwelt in the hamlet of Bình Hòa. His former holding still retains *[?]* a paddy field of one sào known as the locality of Cây Đồng *[?]*. The household's means being often insufficient, he had to go to the localities of Thác Lác *[?]* and Tham Chàng *[?]* to clear waste land, petitioning for title in return for paying tax. The household's fortunes then became comfortable again.

Later, having distinguished himself in putting down rebels, he was granted the title of Tả hiệu điểm, Marquis of Công Tây *[?]*.

He lived to ninety-three.

★

⟦ Second generation ⟧

ĐINH PHÚC TRƯỜNG

He studied under Master Trần in the territory of Ái.

He held learning in high regard and often assisted those eager to study.

At twenty-four he passed with distinction at the fourth level *[?]*. At twenty-seven, at the dissertation examination *[?]*, he again placed high.

He lived to sixty.

★

⟦ Third generation ⟧

ĐINH PHÚC BẢO

He passed the fourth level at nineteen. Failing the dissertation examination *[?]*, he turned to medicine. Many in the village were indebted to him.

He lived to seventy-three.

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ tư à Đời thứ bảy

[p. 12]

⟦ Fourth generation ⟧

ĐINH CHÍNH TÍNH

He passed the fourth level at twenty.

Forbearing and kindly by nature, he readily helped everyone. In the canton people leaned on him as on a pillar of stone.

He lived to seventy-one.

★

⟦ Fifth generation ⟧

ĐINH PHÚC KHÁNH

Gentle and conciliatory by nature, and dutiful towards his parents, he passed the fourth level at twenty-five.

Having some means of his own, envying no one, caring only to do good, he was esteemed by everyone in the village.

Later he left the world of his own accord and asked to restore the Thanh Uyên pagoda. Then, with a gourd of wine, a bag of poems, a bamboo flute and a silken string *[?]*, seated in a small boat [fishing] by the river *[?]*, he made this his contentment.

(In former times the Phố river ran from Phúc Dương commune (Sơn Trung), passed before the Thanh Uyên pagoda, then ran straight towards the territory of Mân Xá village. Before the pagoda lay a chain of retention ponds, and before those ponds more than a hundred mẫu of alluvial ricefields then belonging to Mân Xá.)

He lived to eighty-two.

★

⟦ Sixth generation ⟧

ĐINH HỮU LUÂN (1602–1676)

Hữu Luân was born at the hour of the Horse, on the 7th day of the fifth month of the year Nhâm Dần, in the second year of the Hoằng Định era under King Lê Kính Tông (1602).

Diligent in study, he made his name very early: at sixteen he passed

[p. 13]

the fourth level (1617); at nineteen he had already entered the military bureau *[?]* of the prefecture (1620).

The South being then troubled by rebels, he left family life *[?]*, exerted himself in putting them down for the country's sake, earned military merit, and the king appointed him assistant magistrate of Đông Ngàn. Under his administration the harvests were good and the people content. When a Chinese ship was driven ashore by a storm, he took it to heart to bring rescue. When those merchants departed, he further supplied them with money and rice for the journey.

Six or seven months later, those same merchants sent him, in gratitude, a skilled geomancer named Ngô Tinh *[?]*. On Master Ngô's advice, he had both his parents reburied together at Rú Trai and established his dwelling *[?]* at Nương Cụ *[?]*. Although Nương Cụ suffered fire twice, the household's fortune thereafter grew day by day and the neighbourhood became more prosperous. He therefore settled there for good and requested registration in the village of Gôi Mỹ. Master Ngô stayed half a year before returning.

He died on the 18th day of the third month of the year Bính Thìn (1676), first year of the Vĩnh Trị era under King Lê Hi Tông, aged seventy-five.

★

⟦ Seventh generation ⟧

ĐINH NHO CÔNG (1637–1695)

An excellent student, he passed the fourth level with distinction at fourteen. At eighteen, circumstances obstructing him *[?]*, he turned to ploughing and generally worked the fields at Thác Lác and Thiên E–Liên *[?]*. At twenty-eight he gave up the plough and returned to study. In 1669 he passed the regional examination with the title Hương giải; in 1670, at the metropolitan examination, he was received doctor.

He first served as imperial censor, then was appointed military inspector of his own district. Known for integrity, capability and uprightness, he was singled out by the king, who personally bestowed on him four characters — "ngôn ngữ phong lăng" *[?]* — and raised him to Thiêm đô Ngự sử in the Censorate.

He was later granted the posthumous dignity of Anh nghị đại vương.

He lived to fifty-nine.

His principal wife bore three sons: Nho Trạch, Nho Huân and Nho Hoàn; his secondary wife likewise had three sons: Nho Thận *[?]*, Nho Thưởng and Nho Côn.

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ tám (les six fils de Đinh Nho Công)

[p. 14]

⟦ Eighth generation ⟧

I — ĐINH NHO TRẠCH (1656–1711)

He was received Hương cống at eighteen. Disliking noise and bustle, he built himself a house on Mount Tiêu Sơn and delighted in the life of forests and springs.

His contemporaries called him the Immortal of the Tiêu Wind, or the Old Immortal *[?]*.

He lived to fifty-six.

II — ĐINH NHO HUÂN

a good student, died young.

III — ĐINH NHO HOÀN (1671–1716)

His literary name was Mặc ông *[?]*. Intelligent and widely learned, he passed the fourth level at fourteen, Hương giải at twenty-three, and Hoàng giáp at thirty.

In 1702, deputy administrator of Sơn Tây; his government was moderate.

In 1704, military governor of Cao Bằng. The people were greatly attached to him and foreign merchants held him in high esteem: they raised a stele commemorating his merits, called the "stele of virtuous government". He was promoted Thượng bảo tự khanh.

In 1715 he was appointed vice-ambassador of a mission to China. The mission completed, he caught a chill and died in China.

The court posthumously conferred on him the dignities of Kim tử vinh lộc đại phu, Tả Thị lang of the Ministry of Rites, and Thọ Sơn Tử *[?]*.

He was later raised to the dignity of Đặc đạt đại vương.

He lived to fifty-six.

His principal wife, of the Lê family, bore three daughters: the first married into the Văn family of Đông Tràng — widowed, she adopted a son of the village Phan family to maintain the ancestral rites *[?]*; the second married the doctoral laureate Nguyễn Trọng Thường of Trung Cần; the third married Nguyễn Đăng Quý, magistrate of Quỳnh Lưu.

His secondary wife was **Phan Thị Viên**, from Do Lễ commune, Hưng Nguyên district, married at sixteen. A woman of letters, she left behind

many poems and writings.

After her husband's coffin had been brought home and the burial completed, she hanged herself. When the matter was reported to the court, it praised her fidelity, conferred on her the title Trinh nhất á thảy phu nhân *[?]*, granted a gilded plaque bearing the three characters *Tiết phụ môn* ("Gate of the Virtuous Wife"), and assigned ten mẫu of ricefield at Tam Tang *[?]* as ritual land.

(Đinh Nho Hoàn had no son; but before departing on his embassy he had designated as heir to the ancestral rites **Đinh Nho Hoành**, son of his elder brother.)

IV — ĐINH NHO THẬN *[?]*

V — ĐINH NHO THƯỞNG

district magistrate.

VI — ĐINH NHO CÔN

He was first magistrate of La Sơn, then commander of troops *[?]* in the circumscriptions of Đông Thành and Lương Sơn. He finally held the office of Tổng binh Đồng tri (Marquis of Hương Nghĩa) *[?]*.

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ chín, et ouverture de la dixième

[p. 15, foot]

⟦ Ninth generation ⟧

+ Đinh Nho Trạch begat:

I — ĐINH NHO THỰC (1679–1757)

Generous by nature, he held the office of Huấn đạo quán chiếu [1] *[?]*.

He donated to the commune sixty mẫu of ricefield at Bãi Vàng as ritual land.

He lived to seventy-nine.

II — ĐINH NHO GIA

(Went on embassy to China — died young)

III — ĐINH NHO LIÊU *[?]*

(scholar-student)

[p. 16]

IV — ĐINH NHO LÂM

(scholar-student passed the qualifying examination — held the office of câu kê [2])

V — ĐINH NHO THÁI

(scholar-student passed — without issue)

VI — ĐINH NHO HOÀNH

(Designated heir to the rites of Đinh Nho Hoàn — title of Triều liệt đại phu)

+ Đinh Nho Thận `[?]` begat:

I — ĐINH NHO THÀNH (scholar-student)

II — ĐINH NHO NGỤ *[?]* (scholar-student)

III — ĐINH DUY PHIÊN *[?]*

(Marquis Trung Doãn *[?]* — without issue)

+ Đinh Nho Thưởng begat the father of Đinh Nho Bí *[?]*, whose name is not known. Nho Bí was later received Hiệu sinh and acted as Đồng tri phủ. His descendants now reside in Thuần Chân *[?]* commune, Can Lộc (Vượng Lộc).

+ The Marquis of Hương Nghĩa begat the Marquis of Tiên Nhuệ *[?]* (name unknown).

[1] The scholar-student who passed the qualifying examination, and the Collegiate student who passed the first three rounds of the metropolitan examination, were appointed to the office of Huấn đạo with extended duties, and to that of giám bạ. (Those who failed received a Huấn đạo post with lighter duties.)

[2] King Lê Thánh Tông had a pavilion built in the flower garden of the South Gate, called the Quảng Văn pavilion, in which was placed a drum known as the "petition drum": any commoner who felt wronged came and beat three long rolls, whereupon an official came out to receive the complaint.

Later the practice of drumming lapsed, and the Quảng Văn pavilion was used for expounding the ten articles of moral instruction. The câu kê was precisely the official delegated [by the Tả, Đãi Hà] `[?]` to deliver that exposition, twice a month…

[p. 17]

⟦ Tenth generation ⟧

Sons of Đinh Nho Thực:

I — ĐINH NHO TẾ (1705–1765)

A benevolent man. In his youth he served his mother with great filial devotion; grown up, he lived in perfect harmony with his younger brothers by the second wife. He knew how to conduct himself and how to choose his company: thus he associated with the Collegiate student Võ of Tuần Lễ *[?]*, and was close to the doctor Phan of Việt Yên before the latter had made his way. He loved poor scholars — so much so that he gave one his daughter in marriage.

He is also credited with the restoration of our commune's Văn chỉ: from a cramped and leaking building he made a spacious and finished edifice *[?]*.

He lived to sixty-one.

II — ĐINH NHO TUẤN

III — ĐINH LƯƠNG HUỆ *[?]*

IV — ĐINH NHO MINH

V — ĐINH NHO DẦN

VI — ĐINH NHO TUNG

VII — ĐINH NHO THIỀU

VIII — ĐINH NHO THÂN

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười một, et ouverture de la douzième

[p. 17, foot]

⟦ Eleventh generation ⟧

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Tế:

I — ĐINH NHO QUÝ

Chỉ huy Đồng tri, Marquis of Hoan Trung *[?]*

He lived to sixty-seven.

II — ĐINH NHO KHÊ *[?]*

Scholar-student.

— The wives of Nho Quý and of Nho Khê *[?]* were descendants of the doctoral laureate Nguyễn Trọng Thuyên *[?]* of Trung Cần.

III — ĐINH NHO HÀNH

Died young, without issue.

[p. 18]

+ Sons of Đinh Nho C… *[?]*:

I — ĐINH NHO ĐÍNH *[?]*

II — ĐINH NHO TÂN

+ Son of Đinh Lương Huệ:

ĐINH HỮU NHO

+ Son of Đinh Nho Minh:

ĐINH VĂN PHIỆT *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Dần:

I — ĐINH NHO THIÊN

II — ĐINH NHO VIỆN *[?]*

III — ĐINH NHO DOAN *[?]*

+ Son of Đinh Nho Tung:

ĐINH NHO ĐẠI

+ Son of Đinh Nho Thiều:

ĐINH NHO VIỆN *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Thân:

I — ĐINH NHO THỂ *[?]* (Huyện thừa)

II — ĐINH NHO CẦU *[?]* (Huyện thừa)

⟦ Twelfth generation ⟧

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Quý:

I — ĐINH NHO VƯỜNG *[?]*, styled ĐINH THÁI LÃNG

(Title of Triều liệt đại phu, Thị giảng of the Hàn lâm Academy — died aged 56)

II — ĐINH NHO THÌN

III — ĐINH NHO TRINH (without issue)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Khê `[?]`:

I — ĐINH NHO TRỰ *[?]*

II — ĐINH NHO THÁI

[In the service of the lord Thị Nguyễn Trọng Đường, military inspector of Thuận Hóa. Died at Phú Xuân in 1786] — without issue.

III — ĐINH NHO CHÂU (without issue)

PHỔ KÝ — fin de la douzième génération

[p. 19]

(continuation of the sons of Đinh Nho Khê `[?]`)

IV — ĐINH NHO HỒNG (without issue)

V — ĐINH HỮU ĐIÊU *[?]***, or ĐẠO** (died aged 77)

VI — ĐINH NHO KHÁNH

+ Son of Đinh Nho Đính `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN KHANH

+ Son of Đinh Nho Tân:

ĐINH THẾ HÀO

+ Sons of Đinh Hữu Nho:

ĐINH BÁ DUY

ĐINH VĂN TRUNG (line dies out in the following generation)

+ Son of Đinh Văn Phiệt `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN HIẾU

+ Son of Đinh Nho Thiện `[?]`:

ĐINH DUY TÍCH

+ Son of Đinh Nho Viện `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN SĨ (line dies out in the following generation)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Doan `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN DANH (without issue)

ĐINH VĂN THANH (without issue)

ĐINH VĂN GIẢNG

ĐINH VĂN HỢP

+ Son of Đinh Nho Đại:

ĐINH HỮU LỰC (line dies out in the following generation)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Thể `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO TÚ

ĐINH NHO HÙNG

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Cầu `[?]`:

ĐINH ĐÌNH ỨNG *[?]* (settled in the village of Yên Nghĩa)

ĐINH VĂN MẬN

⟦ Thirteenth generation ⟧

Sons of Đinh Nho Vường *[?]*, styled Đinh Thái Lãng …

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười ba (début)

[p. 20]

+ Sons of Đinh Thái Lãng:

ĐINH NHO TỰ, taboo name BÌNH

ĐINH NHO TRUYỀN *[?]*

ĐINH NHO THỊNH

ĐINH NHO BẠT *[?]* (died aged 71)

ĐINH NHO TĨNH, styled ĐINH HY TĂNG (died aged 60)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Thìn, taboo name Thời `[?]`:

ĐINH NHẬT CHIẾU *[?]* (line dies out in the following generation)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Trự `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO ẤN (common name KÌNH *[?]*)

ĐINH VĂN CỬ (died aged 61)

+ Sons of Đinh Hữu Điêu `[?]`, or Đạo:

I — ĐINH KHẮC TUY *[?]* (Cô Bách *[?]*) — Without issue; he designated as heir to the ancestral rites Đinh Nho Nhiếp *[?]*, son of his younger brother Nho Khởi, and took as adopted son Văn Tính *[?]*, son of his elder brother Văn Cử.

II — ĐINH VĂN ĐẠT (Without issue; he designated as heir to the ancestral rites Đinh Văn Ấn, son of Đinh Nho Khởi)

III — ĐINH NHO NINH (died young, without issue)

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười ba (suite)

[p. 20, foot]

(continuation of the sons of Đinh Hữu Điêu `[?]`, or Đạo)

IV — ĐINH NHO KHỞI, or KHẢI (died aged 44)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Khánh:

ĐINH VĂN VI *[?]*

+ Son of Đinh Văn Khanh (or Kiên `[?]`):

ĐINH VĂN BẢY

+ Sons of Đinh Thế Hào:

ĐINH VĂN ĐOÁN, or ĐOAN

ĐINH VĂN TRINH

+ Sons of Đinh Bá Duệ `[?]` (or Duy, or Tuệ):

ĐINH BÁ NGOAN

ĐINH CƯ KÍNH *[?]* (without issue)

ĐINH VĂN ĐỘI, or ĐÔI (settled at Thọ Lộc)

ĐINH VĂN TRÀNG *[?]*

[p. 21]

+ Son of Đinh Văn Hiếu:

ĐINH VĂN GIAI, or GIA

+ Sons of Đinh Duy Tích:

ĐINH VĂN ĐIÊU *[?]*

ĐINH VĂN BẢN

+ Son of Đinh Văn Giảng:

ĐINH VĂN LAN

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Hợp:

ĐINH VĂN HOE *[?]*

ĐINH VĂN THAO, or SIÊM *[?]*

+ Son of Đinh Nho Tú (of Chắt Hanh `[?]`):

ĐINH VĂN ẤN

+ Son of Đinh Nho Hùng:

ĐINH VĂN QUY *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Đình Ứng:

ĐINH VĂN UẨN *[?]*

ĐINH VĂN UNG *[?]*

ĐINH VĂN PHÁN

ĐINH VĂN NHÃ

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Mận `[?]` …

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười bốn

[p. 21, foot]

(end of the thirteenth generation)

+ Son of Đinh Văn Mận `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN THANH

⟦ Fourteenth generation ⟧

+ Son of Đinh Nho Tự, taboo name Bình:

ĐINH NHO SIÊU *[?]*, taboo name LONG

+ Son of Đinh Nho Truyền `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO MƯU *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Thịnh:

ĐINH VĂN GIANG

ĐINH VĂN DUYÊN (without issue)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Bạt `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO DU *[?]*

ĐINH NHO HẠP, or HỢP

[p. 22]

+ Children of Đinh Nho Tĩnh, styled Đinh Hy Tăng:

ĐINH BẢO HIÊN (1831–1907) — licentiate (Cử nhân)

ĐINH NHO ĐIỂN `[?]` (1846–1884) — doctoral laureate (Tiến sĩ)

ĐINH THỊ … *[?]* — married the bachelor Trần Như Huệ *[?]* of Lương Điền, Thanh Chương

ĐINH THỊ HOAN — married the licentiate Đặng Thai Giai *[?]* of Lương Điền, Thanh Chương

+ Son of Đinh Văn Ấn:

ĐINH VĂN THIỀU (moved to Lương Điền; he designated as heir to the rites Đinh Văn Chi *[?]*, son of Đinh Văn Tính)

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Cử:

ĐINH VĂN HỪNG *[?]* (without issue)

ĐINH VĂN TÍNH (adopted son of Đinh Khắc Tuy, styled Cô Bách *[?]*) — died aged 60

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Khởi, or Khải:

ĐINH NHO NHIẾP *[?]* (heir to the rites of Cô Bách *[?]*)

ĐINH VĂN ẤN *[?]* …

PHỔ KÝ — fin de la quatorzième génération, ouverture de la quinzième

[p. 22, foot]

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Khởi, or Khải:

ĐINH NHO NHIẾP *[?]* (heir to the rites of Cô Bách *[?]*)

ĐINH VĂN ÂN *[?]* (died aged 59)

+ Son of Đinh Văn Vi `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN HẢI (or HẺN *[?]*)

+ Son of Đinh Văn Bảy:

ĐINH VĂN MỎI *[?]*

+ Son of Đinh Văn Đoạn `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN GIAI

+ Son of Đinh Văn Trinh:

ĐINH VĂN YÊN

+ Sons of Đinh Bá Ngoan:

ĐINH VĂN VINH (received bachelor)

ĐINH VĂN MẠO

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Điêu `[?]` (or Đạo):

ĐINH VĂN CỜ *[?]* (or HỒ *[?]*)

ĐINH VĂN … *[?]*

[p. 23]

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Học (or Hoe):

ĐINH VĂN KHANG

ĐINH VĂN BA

ĐINH VĂN MẶC *[?]*

ĐINH VĂN NGHIÊN *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Siêm (or Thảo):

ĐINH VĂN YÊN

ĐINH VĂN NGỤ *[?]*

ĐINH VĂN Y *[?]*

[[Fifteenth generation]]

+ Son of Đinh Nho Siêu `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN TÁNH *[?]*

+ Son of Đinh Nho Mưu `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO HỌC (or HOE, or VI *[?]*)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Du `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN MÂN *[?]* (or PHÚ *[?]* — without issue)

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười lăm (suite)

[p. 23, foot]

+ Son of Đinh Nho Mưu `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO HỌC (or HOE, or VI *[?]*)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Du `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN MÂN *[?]* (or PHÚ *[?]* — without issue)

ĐINH VĂN XÂN *[?]* (or CHẤN *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO BÌNH (or BẢY)

ĐINH VĂN TAM (died young)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Hạp, or Hợp (the elder Xuyên `[?]`):

ĐINH NHO AN (known as ông Bá Yên *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO BẰNG (received licentiate)

ĐINH VĂN BIÊN *[?]* (died young)

ĐINH NHO TUYÊN *[?]* (known as ông Nho Gia *[?]*)

ĐINH THỊ MƯỜI

(wife of Lê Trứ *[?]*, son of Lê Mỹ *[?]*)

+ Children of Đinh Bảo Hiên:

By the first wife:

ĐINH NHO CÔ *[?]* (No sons. His first daughter was the mother of ông Hàn Thực *[?]*; his second daughter was the mother of the canton chief Trần Kiều *[?]*.)

PHỔ KÝ — les quatre épouses de Đinh Bảo Hiên

[p. 24]

(continuation of: by the first wife)

ĐINH NHO QUẾ `[?]` (No sons. Five daughters: one married at Võ Liệt; one to Hoàng Xuân Viên *[?]* of Yên Hồ; one to Hà Huy Bả *[?]* of Sơn Thịnh; one to Phan Cổ *[?]* of Huế or Đà Nẵng; one to Phạm Kỳ *[?]* of Sơn Long.)

His wife was a daughter of the doctoral laureate Phan Sĩ Thục *[?]*.

ĐINH NHO THẨN `[?]` (known as ông Ấm Ba *[?]*)

His wife was a daughter of the elder Thượng Đào *[?]*, of Sơn Bằng.

ĐINH NHO BỘI `[?]` (known as ông Ấm Trân *[?]* — no sons; one daughter only, Đinh Thị Trân *[?]*, married to Đặng Văn Cận *[?]* of Diễn Châu.)

ĐINH THỊ … [known as Bà Ấm Nông *[?]*] (mother of Lê Kinh Quế *[?]*)

By the wife Nghị `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO QUÁN, or NGHỊ (known as ông Ấm Ngân *[?]* — without issue)

ĐINH THỊ EM (married to Thái Văn Thành *[?]*, of Sơn Long)

ĐINH NHO KIÊN (1887–1956)

His wife was Lê Thị Nga (1888–1981), daughter of the licentiate Lê Xuân Tường *[?]*, of Đức Hòa.

By the wife Hanh `[?]`:

ĐINH THỊ QUẢNG (married to the licentiate Lê Văn Luyện *[?]*, of Đức Trung)

ĐINH NHO KHÔN `[?]` (received licentiate)

His wife was Tôn Thị Bảy *[?]*.

By the wife Chinh `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO KHAM `[?]` (received bachelor)

His wife was a daughter of Cao Xuân Tiếu *[?]*, of Diễn Châu.

ĐINH THỊ … (married to the licentiate Thái Văn Chánh *[?]*, of Sơn Long)

ĐINH THỊ … (mother of Đào Hữu Chí *[?]*) — married to the bachelor Đào Hữu Mân *[?]*, of Sơn Bằng.

+ Son of Đinh Nho Điển `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO CẨN `[?]` (received bachelor)

PHỔ KÝ — Đời thứ mười sáu

(end of the fifteenth generation)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Cẩn `[?]` (settled at Hải Phòng):

ĐINH NHO QUẾ *[?]*

ĐINH NHO BÌNH

+ Son of Đinh Nho Thuận `[?]` (settled at Sơn Phúc):

ĐINH NHO NGẠCH *[?]*

⟦ Sixteenth generation ⟧

+ Son of Đinh Nho Tánh `[?]` (known as ông Cu Hồ `[?]`):

ĐINH NHO HÀNH ↑ *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Học (or Hoe, or Vi, or Thống `[?]`):

ĐINH NHO HIỀU *[?]* (or ĐÔN *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO HOÈ *[?]* (or LIỄU *[?]*)

+ Son of Đinh Văn Xân `[?]` (or Chấn):

ĐINH VĂN TẤN *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Bình:

ĐINH NHO MINH (1908–1987) — Resistance Medal, 2nd class *[?]*

ĐINH NHO OÁNH *[?]* (or ĐƯỜNG *[?]*)

+ Son of Đinh Nho An (or Yên):

ĐINH NHO DI *[?]*

+ Daughters of Đinh Nho Bằng:

ĐINH THỊ LONG NHÔN *[?]* (at Vĩnh Phú) — (her husband has died; two sons)

ĐINH THỊ ĐÔNG ANH *[?]* (Foreign Languages College 2 *[?]*) — her husband, Thắng *[?]*, works at the Vinh health service

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Tuyên `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO HƯỞNG *[?]*

ĐINH NHO HOÀNG

+ Children of Đinh Nho Thẩn `[?]`:

ĐINH THỊ … *[?]* — married the licentiate Nguyễn Vinh *[?]* of Nam Đàn

ĐINH NHO VIÊM *[?]* (known as ông Hàn Ty *[?]*)

PHỔ KÝ — fin de la seizième génération, Đời thứ mười bảy

[p. 26]

By the wife of the Lê family `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO NHƯỢNG *[?]* (received bachelor) — his wife was from Thanh Hóa

ĐINH THỊ CHUYÊN *[?]* — married Nguyễn Duy Phiên *[?]* of Sơn Tiến

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Tính, styled Đinh Văn Hừng or Ân `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN TÍCH *[?]* (died young)

ĐINH VĂN LỊCH

ĐINH VĂN BA (died young)

ĐINH VĂN CHI (heir to the rites of Đinh Văn Thiều)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Nhiếp `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO CHẤN *[?]* (bachelor, tribute student, commonly called the elder Hàn Công *[?]* — died aged 72)

ĐINH NHO ĐỄ *[?]* (known as ông Lý Dởn *[?]* — died aged 48)

ĐINH NHO HUY, or DI

ĐINH NHO YẾT *[?]*

ĐINH NHO ĐƯỜNG, or PHÙ *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Ân:

ĐINH VĂN NỊ *[?]*, or DI

ĐINH VĂN MAI (without issue)

ĐINH VĂN NIÊM *[?]*

ĐINH VĂN TỬ *[?]* (without issue)

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Hải (or Hẻn):

ĐINH VĂN SÁU

ĐINH VĂN BẢY

+ Son of Đinh Nho Cường `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO KHANG

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Trường `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO KIÊM *[?]*

ĐINH NHO CHÍNH

ĐINH NHO THUẦN *[?]*

ĐINH NHO YÊM *[?]*

[p. 27]

+ Children of Đinh Nho Nhượng `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO HÂN *[?]*

ĐINH NHO THÂN

ĐINH NHO CHUẨN

ĐINH THỊ LAN

ĐINH THỊ BÍCH

+ Son of Đinh Văn Lịch:

ĐINH NHO LƯỜNG *[?]*

+ Son of Đinh Văn Chi:

ĐINH NHO ĐÀM *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Chấn `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO HÀNG *[?]* (died in France)

ĐINH NHO CỬNG *[?]*, or HẠNH (in France)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Đễ `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO ĐOÀN, or ĐỒNG

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Huy, or Di:

ĐINH VĂN LOÁT *[?]*

ĐINH VĂN BÁT *[?]* (in France)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Đường, or Phù `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO CỰ *[?]* (in Hồ Chí Minh City)

ĐINH NHO CÒ *[?]* (lieutenant-colonel)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Vi `[?]`:

ĐINH VĂN DƯỠNG *[?]*

+ Son of Đinh Văn Sáu:

ĐINH VĂN LUYẾN *[?]*

⟦ Seventeenth generation ⟧

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Hành (known as ông Cu Hồ `[?]`):

ĐINH NHO LIÊN

ĐINH NHO GIÁO

ĐINH NHO VÕ

ĐINH NHO OÁNH *[?]*

[p. 29]

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Hiều `[?]` (or Đôn):

ĐINH VĂN MAI

ĐINH NHO HIẾU

ĐINH NHO TOẢN *[?]* (without issue)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Hoè `[?]` (or Liều):

ĐINH NHO LÝ (died young)

ĐINH NHO LỄ

ĐINH NHO XÁN *[?]*

ĐINH NHO THÌN (Polytechnic *[?]*)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Minh:

ĐINH NHO DIÊN *[?]* (marine engineer, ocean-going vessels)

ĐINH NHO LẠC *[?]* (at the Ministry of Culture)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Oánh `[?]` (or Đường):

ĐINH NHO NGUYÊN *[?]* (design engineer, Ministry of Transport)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Viêm `[?]` (known as ông Hàn Ty `[?]`):

ĐINH NHO LIÊM *[?]* (college *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO PHỤNG *[?]* (college *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO DƯỜNG *[?]* (major)

ĐINH NHO CHIÊM *[?]* (colonel)

ĐINH NHO KHOÁT *[?]* (engineer)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Đất `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO CHƯỞNG *[?]* (PhD, mathematics)

ĐINH THỊ KHƯƠNG *[?]* (PhD, economics and planning)

ĐINH THỊ PHƯỜNG *[?]* (staff, Polytechnic University)

ĐINH THỊ HƯƠNG *[?]* (engineer)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Bát `[?]`:

ĐINH THỊ BÌNH (engineer)

ĐINH NHO HẢI (provincial military command)

ĐINH NHO THANH (engineer)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Chúc `[?]`:

ĐINH THỊ PHƯƠNG HÒA *[?]* (physician)

ĐINH NHO HOÀNG (engineer)

ĐINH NHO HÀ (engineer)

ĐINH NHO HÀO

ĐINH THỊ PHƯƠNG HOA *[?]* (physician, the fourth *[?]*)

PHỔ KÝ — fin de la dix-septième génération, Đời thứ mười tám

[p. 30]

+ Children of Đinh Nho … `[?]`:

ĐINH THỊ TÍNH *[?]* (died young)

ĐINH THỊ OANH (PhD)

ĐINH NHO HỒNG (PhD)

ĐINH NHO LƯU *[?]*

+ Son of Đinh Nho Xuyến `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO KIM

+ Son of Đinh Nho Linh `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO SANH *[?]*

+ Children of Đinh Nho Hàm `[?]`:

ĐINH THỊ CẨM HÀ

ĐINH NHO CHÍ (engineer)

ĐINH NHO NGHỆ *[?]*

ĐINH NHO VIỆN (engineer)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Thành:

ĐINH THỊ PHƯỜNG LAN *[?]* (teacher)

ĐINH NHO LƯỢNG *[?]* (teacher)

ĐINH THỊ HẠNH

+ Son of Đinh Nho Đảng `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO GIẢNG

+ Son of Đinh Nho Hân `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO HOAN (Teachers' College *[?]*)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Thân:

ĐINH NHO LÂM

+ Children of Đinh Nho Chuẩn:

ĐINH NHO QUÁN (military physician)

ĐINH THỊ NGA (engineer)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Đàm `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO TẤN

+ Son of Đinh Nho Hàng `[?]`:

ĐINH TUẤN LỘI *[?]*

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Đoàn:

ĐINH VĂN TÙNG (brigadier general)

ĐINH VĂN BÁ

[p. 31]

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Cự `[?]`:

ĐINH HOÀNG HÀ *[?]* (electronics unit *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO BÌNH (doctorate, electromechanics *[?]*)

⟦ Eighteenth generation ⟧

+ Son of Đinh Nho Liên:

ĐINH NHO QUÝ (General University *[?]*)

+ Sons of Đinh Văn Mai:

ĐINH NHO KIỀU *[?]* (General University *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO TRANG

ĐINH NHO TRỌNG

+ Children of Đinh Nho Hiếu:

(no names given)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Lễ:

ĐINH NHO VIỆT

ĐINH … (Nam, Thanh, Tính, Bình, Minh, Liên)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Xán `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO NINH (Việt Đức Construction Company — Vinh)

ĐINH … (Thơm, Hảo, Quyết *[?]*)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Thìn:

ĐINH THỊ THƯỜNG, called HẰNG (upper secondary)

ĐINH THỊ THÚY (final year, Phan Bội Châu school)

ĐINH NHO THÁI (year 7, Vinh gifted school)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Diên `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO SƠN

ĐINH THỊ THU THỦY

+ Son of Đinh Nho Lạc `[?]`:

ĐINH NAM HẢI

+ Son of Đinh Nho Nguyên `[?]`:

ĐINH SONG HÀ

+ Son of Đinh Nho Liêm `[?]`:

ĐINH MỸ SƠN (engineer, Hydraulic Design Institute *[?]*)

PHỔ KÝ — dernières entrées, et fin du registre généalogique

[p. 32]

+ Children of Đinh Nho Phụng `[?]`:

ĐINH THỊ YẾN (Teachers' College *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO TÙNG, called RÓT *[?]* (Hydraulic Technical School *[?]*)

ĐINH THỊ MAI (Culture *[?]*)

ĐINH NHO TUẤN, called MỰC *[?]* (Hydraulic University *[?]*)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Dường `[?]`:

(no names given)

+ Sons of Đinh Nho Chiêm `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO ĐỨC

ĐINH NHO THỌ

ĐINH NHO LỘC (mathematics section, Vinh Teachers' College *[?]*)

+ Son of Đinh Nho Khoát `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO THẮNG (Lê Quí Đôn school *[?]* …)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Chưởng `[?]`:

ĐINH NHO KHIÊM (metallurgical engineer)

ĐINH THỊ KHÁNH

+ Children of Đinh Thị Khương `[?]` (her husband: Nguyễn Văn Quỳnh `[?]`):

NGUYỄN VIỆT HÙNG

NGUYỄN THANH SƠN

+ Children of Đinh Thị Phương Anh `[?]` (her husband: Dr Nguyễn Minh Dường `[?]`):

NGUYỄN THỊ PHƯƠNG LIÊN

NGUYỄN MINH HOÀNG

NGUYỄN MINH ĐẠO

+ Children of Đinh Thị Hương `[?]` (her husband: Lê Duy Dân `[?]`):

LÊ THỊ LOAN ANH

LÊ DUY TUẤN

+ Child of Đinh Nữ Hà Bình `[?]` (her husband: Nguyễn … Nghĩa `[?]`):

NGUYỄN PHƯƠNG THẢO

+ Children of Đinh Nho Hải:

(no names given)

+ Children of Đinh Nho Thanh:

ĐINH THỊ HIỀN TRANG

ĐINH NHO MINH

[p. 33]

+ Child of Đinh Phương Hòa `[?]` (her husband: Ngô Quang Toàn `[?]`):

NGÔ CHÍ LAN

+ Son of Đinh Nho Hoàng (his wife: Trần Thị Kim Anh `[?]`):

ĐINH NHO HÙNG

+ Children of Đinh Nho Hào:

(no names given)

+ Child of Đinh Thị Phương Hoa `[?]` (her husband: Trương Vĩnh Quang `[?]`):

TRƯƠNG PHƯƠNG LINH

(end of the phổ ký; the rest of the page is blank)

PHỤ LỤC — ĐỨC CHÍNH BI (stèle du gouvernement vertueux)

[p. 35]

APPENDICES

[p. 37]

STELE OF VIRTUOUS GOVERNMENT

(Stele raised by the Chinese merchants recording the merits of the military governor of Cao Bằng, Đinh Nho Hoàn)

From of old, the merits of great mandarins are celebrated only once they have left office: a temple is built, or a stele raised, and the devotion that inscribes their name year after year does not seem late.

Yet the military governor has been at Cao Bằng only a few months, and already we Chinese merchants sing his praises. It is because his uprightness and the mildness of his punishments have

won our admiration. This could not wait upon the reckoning of years: we have therefore raised a stele before our guildhall, to record his merits as follows.

He is a native of Nghệ An province, of a family of letters generation after generation, of doctors generation after generation. Received Hoàng giáp, he has served at court and in the provinces; he has besides the gift of decision, and can hold military affairs *[?]*. Soldiers and people alike are in his debt. We merchants cannot tell it all: we know only the singing that fills the streets and the praise that fills the market. As for what touches us directly, this is what we owe him.

Formerly the river at Giang Tây *[?]* was most perilous: bamboos grew midstream and small rocks broke the surface. Boats approaching still knew how to avoid them, but let a flood come and the current turn violent, and they could no longer swerve in time: the vessel would capsize *[?]*, the goods sink, and the losses year after year were beyond counting.

On his arrival he rode out himself to inspect, hired workmen to break up the exposed rocks *[?]* and had the midstream bamboos cleared. Since then boats pass without manoeuvring and without sinking. Our people, coming to that place, point at the river and say to one another: "All this we owe to his strength." That is his first merit.

Formerly, when our junks arrived, the citadel mandarin taxed them so harshly that we had to wait long. Today these abuses are abolished. Formerly the goods we brought were not inspected by the clerks, and the wares spoiled with waiting. Today the junk is inspected on arrival, the bolts of silk sealed without delay. On departure the pass is issued at once, and the market overseers dare extort nothing. That is his second merit.

[p. 38]

At the mouth of Mục Thành [1] the current carries ice *[?]*. At the end of winter or in spring the waters fall … *[?]*, and one must sometimes follow the frozen channel; if not swept away *[?]*, one runs aground, and it takes twelve days to reach the market. At the end of summer and in autumn the high, violent waters are harder still: the anchor will not hold, the pole breaks *[?]* — perilous days and certain delay.

Even so the tax did not fall, the provincial rate having long been fixed, and no one was moved by it. He alone, pitying merchants exposed to such danger, reduced it: we hold him in deep gratitude. He further gave us a sealed instrument, so that in future the tax collectors could no longer harass us. It was then that we saw what virtuous and equitable government is. That is his third merit.

We see that his heart is clear as a mirror, purer than crystal *[?]*. From of old there have been mandarins who loved soldiers and people; none had yet loved foreign merchants as he does.

Long ago the lord Dương Thúc Tử *[?]*, in robe and cap, of unhurried bearing, won the affection of a hundred peoples, and Mount Nghiễn Sơn *[?]* preserves a tall stele to his memory.

Today he is another Thúc Tử *[?]*, and Mount Nghiễn Sơn is this guildhall.

His loyalty moves even the beasts.

His virtuous government makes even the grasses green.

We respectfully wish him high office and great dignity. We merchants cannot say how much we think upon it.

[1] Mục Thành: that is, the citadel of Mục Mã ("horse-rearing"), the old seat of the Cao Bằng circumscription, west of the present town of Cao Bằng.

PHỤ LỤC — BIA CỦA TỔ THỨ TÁM et BIA RĂN CON CHÁU

[p. 39]

STELE

of the eighth-generation ancestor, on the donation of ritual land `[?]`

I, a humble man, this Mặc ông, come of a family that for many generations has tended the fields and for many generations also applied itself to study, holding stubbornly to country ways without seeking literary ornament *[?]*, and long preserving the plainness that heaven and earth gave it.

My father kept his household by rule. Received doctor at the Canh Tuất session, aged thirty-four, he rose to the office of imperial censor. In the year Ất Hợi, at fifty-nine, he joined the ancestors *[?]*; throughout the circumscription all praised his uprightness *[?]*. As he lay dying, the mat changed, he gave his children no singular charge *[?]*: one word only, that they be loyal and filial.

Twelve children were born; I am a younger son. At thirty, at the Canh Thìn session, I was received Hoàng giáp at the metropolitan examination. In the eighth month of the year Nhâm Ngọ I was appointed deputy administrator in Sơn Tây province; in the seventh month of the year Giáp Thân, military governor of Cao Bằng province. That province borders the land of the Tang; its climate is bitter cold. Turning towards my native place, it seems no bigger than a grain of rice, more than three thousand leagues away; I look back at the old mountains, the white clouds far off, the autumn wind blowing, and no word from home.

Thinking it over, if my father and I have paid our debt to books *[?]*, it is also because our forebears did no evil, so that the good shoot rose little by little — and not by one man's strength.

I therefore agreed with my elder brother to give the lineage one thousand thước of ricefield, and to give the village five thousand and one thước of land, that the sacrifice be held there once a year. Whether or not the fragrant glutinous rice of a single year profits this humble man, a sincere heart is graven for a thousand autumns, and may perhaps content my late father at the Yellow Springs.

I have this cut into stone, from the fourth year of the Vĩnh Thịnh era.

[p. 40]

STELE OF ADMONITION TO DESCENDANTS

Let the descendants of Mặc observe this:

Loyalty, filial piety, plainness, generosity

Purity, thrift, contentment in poverty

Going forward, be men of duty

Withdrawing, be good farmers

No pride, no debauchery

No offence against custom

No litigation

No gambling

Only then may you come near my hermitage *[?]*

The copyist's rendering

The descendants of Mặc ông must:

Be loyal, filial and sincere

Be upright, diligent and thrifty

Take joy in poverty

Going forward, become men of duty

Withdrawing, become good farmers

Do not be proud or licentious

Do not offend against custom

Do not go to law

Do not gamble at cards or chess

Only thus may you come near my hermitage.

PHỤ LỤC — SỰ TÍCH BÀ TIẾT PHỤ (histoire de l'épouse vertueuse)

[p. 41]

THE STORY OF THE VIRTUOUS WIFE

The virtuous wife was the second wife of the Tả Thị lang mandarin of our Đinh family. She came from the village of Do Lễ, prefecture of Hưng Nguyên (today Do Nha, Hưng Nguyên district, Nghệ Tĩnh).

Formerly, under the Cảnh Trị era of the Lê, the father of the Tả Thị lang received the king's commission as inspecting censor of the circumscription. That year a great drought came, and he was charged by decree with examining the prisons to see whether anyone was wrongly held. In the gaol of Nghệ An province there was then a registrar *[?]* of the Phan family, imprisoned for many years, whom the provincial mandarins held to be a prisoner who could not be released. Recognising that he was innocent, he freed him at once.

Later, having become Thiêm đô, he took the man into his service in the offices. Some years afterwards, the registrar's wife bore a daughter.

The child was three when her father fell gravely ill. As he lay dying, taking his daughter's hand, he lamented: "I owe it to the Thiêm đô mandarin of the Đinh family that my case was reviewed and I was freed: it is as if he had given me back my life. That debt is wide as the sea and high as the sky, and I do not know when it can be repaid. But you are a girl — how could you help me in it?" Having spoken, he breathed his last.

Later the girl's mother, amid the disorders of war *[?]*, went up to Thăng Long and settled at the Đồng Xuân market, near the South Gate. The girl was then fifteen; her face and her bearing won everyone's praise. The rich families *[?]* of the capital sent letters and messages beyond counting, but the mother had consented to give her to no one.

Yet in this there was a design of Heaven. The third son of the Thiêm đô had by then taken up his father's career: received Hoàng giáp at the Canh Thìn session, under the Chính Hòa era, he had been appointed to a ministry, and everyone had heard of him.

One day, at leisure, he went walking among the shops of the South Gate and, seeing a clean stall, stepped in to rest. At first he did not know whose it was; an old woman came out to receive the customer. The old woman, seeing him,

[p. 42]

was startled, and asked the attendants what mandarin this was and from what country he came. The coffer-bearer *[?]* told her. Hearing it she was astonished and filled with joy, and asked again whether he was not the son of the Thiêm đô mandarin. The attendant said he was. "The Thiêm đô mandarin saved my husband's life, and my husband died without knowing how to repay him. To return the peach for the plum — that is for now."

She therefore invited him to take tea, and said to him respectfully: "This old woman is the wife of the registrar of your circumscription. Your father drew my husband out of prison as he would have drawn him out of death. My husband died without discharging that debt. And now today I see before me the son of the Thiêm đô mandarin. I have only one daughter. When my husband was dying, tormented *[?]* at not having repaid that kindness, he took her hand and lamented. She is grown now: if you would look kindly on her, I would offer her to serve you, to discharge that deep debt and content the soul of the departed." So saying, she called her daughter to come and greet him.

The Thị lang sat thinking for about half an hour, then said: "From of old, the meetings that make marriages are fixed beforehand. To find a good person today is another kindness left me by my late father." And he took her as secondary wife.

Entering her husband's house, she was sixteen. The four virtues — work, bearing, speech and conduct — were all accomplished in her; she knew letters and wrote well. The principal wife, Madame Lê, likewise praised her as gentle and well-mannered.

In the year Ất Vị of the Vĩnh Thịnh era of the Lê, the Tả Thị lang was ordered on embassy to China. The carriages were setting out gladly when she accompanied him as far as the Lã Côi *[?]* relay station and said: "I have heard that a man of talent who cannot be a general may be an envoy, and that to settle the affairs of the realm by speech is likewise a fine thing. I beg you to keep a loyal and steadfast heart, like the good envoys of former times, and not to let yourself be held back by the thought of a wife and children *[?]*."

She further composed ten poems for him, saying: "I offer them so that you may read them on the road and find some solace." Of those ten pieces, the genealogy has been able to recover only three.

As he set out, he took off the silk tunic *[?]* he was wearing and gave it to her. She stood watching him go, her heart heavy, filled with grief. When …

PHỤ LỤC — fin du SỰ TÍCH BÀ TIẾT PHỤ, et THƠ TIỄN BIỆT

[p. 43]

(continuation of the narrative)

… at home, one lamp, one pillow, sleep that would not come; from dawn to dusk a sadness beyond measure. Often, moved by what she saw, she composed verses telling of the far frontier marches — and not all could be gathered.

One day, having gone to visit her mother's family, her relatives wished to keep her. She said: "My husband has gone on embassy, the road is long and hard, and my anxiety is extreme; how should I

stay here and amuse myself? This very day I wish to return and live beside the principal wife, with a respectful and obedient heart."

Madame Lê too loved her greatly, and they lived under one roof in the best accord.

Unhappily, having reached China and completed his mission, he fell ill and died. When the sad news reached the house, she laughed and spoke as usual, showing no grief. Outside, everyone blamed her for it and wondered at it.

When the coffin, brought back from China, reached the frontier pass, she heard of it, went and prostrated herself before it, and that night, back in her room, took the silk tunic he had given her and hanged herself with it. Madame Lê, overcome with grief, at once had the shroud prepared. At the laying-in, there was found in the sleeve of her tunic an envelope containing a funeral oration for the Tả Thị lang and two letters *[?]* of thanks, one to Madame Lê and one to her mother — in her own hand, still very clear; they will be copied further on.

Madame Lê, having read them, was stricken; she carried the text before the Tả Thị lang's coffin, and sent the letter and money to mother Phan.

Madame Lê also composed a funeral oration for the virtuous wife. Shortly after, a day was chosen to bury the Tả Thị lang, and the virtuous wife was laid beside him.

When the household brought the letter to the Phan house, all lamented; only the old mother said: "From of old, few are the women who carry virtue through to the end; who would have thought my daughter capable of it? To die so is as to live — what is there to complain of?

I beg you to answer my daughter's soul that she should follow the Thị lang and serve him up among the silver clouds, and not remain unreleased on account of an old woman."

[p. 45]

FAREWELL POEMS

These are three of the ten poems composed by Phan Thị Viên on her husband's departure for the embassy

Poem I

Rendered from the Sino-Vietnamese:

Once the step is taken, mountains and rivers will all be strange.

What the heart would say in secret cannot be said in full.

A day will come when I learn the art of the "brocade of interwoven characters" and send it, that you may return and stay no longer in the cold of the Northern land.

(Kỷ hử: somewhat)

Poem II

Rendered from the Sino-Vietnamese:

That Đỗ Mục or Lưu Thần should meet an immortal maiden is an easy thing;

That Tô Vũ or Phú Bật should discharge an embassy well is harder.

I beg you, do not let yourself be held by care for a young wife;

Bring back rather the two words, loyalty and uprightness.

Copyist's note — **Tô Khanh**, that is Tô Vũ, sent under the Han on embassy to the Xiongnu in 100 BC, was detained there until his hair was white before he could return home.

Phú Bật: a man of the Song period, studious and gifted, praised by Phạm Trọng Yêm, who rose to be military commissioner at Vũ Ninh; under Emperor Song Renzong he went twice …

PHỤ LỤC — troisième poème, versions en vers, et VĂN TẾ CHỒNG

[p. 46]

(end of the note on Phú Bật)

… on embassy to the Khitan, and brought it about that the two states of Song and Khitan enjoyed peace for some decades. Having later asked to retire, he was raised to Grand Preceptor, with the title Duke of the Realm.

Poem III

Rendered from the Sino-Vietnamese:

Today the city is still the Southern land;

Another day, robe and cap will be those of the Northern court.

In your office as envoy, your firmness must be like the burning sun and the autumn frost.

As for me, still young, why should I ask to be adorned *[?]*?

Verse renderings given by the copyist

Poem I

To set out is no longer one's own country;

To speak the heart's depth cannot be done.

I shall weave the "Hồi văn" as of old,

That the cold Northern sky be soon left behind.

Poem II

That Lưu and Đỗ meet an immortal is easy fortune;

That Phú and Tô complete an embassy is rare success.

Do not trouble yourself over your wife;

Come home "loyal and upright", and the heart will be content.

Poem III

Today the city is still Southern sky;

Another day, at the Northern court, you will be the envoy.

"Flowing frost and burning sun" — you will bear them;

Who bids me adorn myself? I care nothing for it.

[p. 47]

FUNERAL ORATION FOR HER HUSBAND

by Madame Phan

Alas!

My husband, where have you gone *[?]*?

Why this going without return?

Why the plumed banner *[?]* …

Why these rains and this grief *[?]* …

Ah!

Once, light furs and a well-fed horse;

Now, smoke and mourning *[?]*.

Once, at the long pavilion, the farewell;

Now, upon the road, lamentation *[?]*.

Far, far, the news the wild goose brings;

Distant, distant, the sky *[?]*.

The soul is consumed before the phoenix mirror;

The bowels break beneath the silken robe.

Ah!

Born for the examinations,

The name borne on the stone tablet *[?]*;

Died for the affairs of state,

The will … *[?]*.

It is a glory and it is a mourning;

What to forsake, what to weep for?

Should I not know it?

Things are hard and turn about *[?]*,

Fate and tears, how far *[?]*?

Should I not know it?

A single day in the world of men

Is a thousand days in the realm of shades.

Ah!

The mandarin-duck pair has lost its mate;

A woman's heart, a foolish love.

… *[?]*

… *[?]*

PHỤ LỤC — fin du VĂN TẾ CHỒNG et sa traduction

[p. 48]

(end of the Sino-Vietnamese text)

The verses of this final sequence remain largely obscure; they are illuminated by the copyist's rendering that follows, from which the English below is made.

Ah!

Born to diligence *[?]*

… *[?]*

At the Nine Springs is my husband;

Why should I not go there *[?]*?

At the hearth is my mother;

Why does my heart waver *[?]*?

The heart consenting, the eyes closed,

It is done, it is done.

Alas, my husband,

Consider this, consider this.

Alas! Ah!

The copyist's rendering

Alas!

My husband, where have you gone?

Why depart and not return,

Leaving me to grief?

That plumed standard, why did it fall so soon?

That feathered canopy, why was it borne away so fast?

Ah, what sorrow!

Once, in splendour,

On horseback, clad in furs;

Now, in mourning,

White carriage and red banner.

Once, the farewell of departure,

[p. 49]

The poems we exchanged;

Now, the funeral chants,

The grief upon the road *[?]*.

I watched for news the wild goose brings: none came.

At the sky's edge, towards what place should I look?

I gaze at the phoenix mirror and my soul departs;

I see the silken robe and my bowels tighten.

Alas!

Living, he was of the examinations,

The stele keeps his name;

Dying, he died for the state,

His will fulfilled *[?]*.

Dying or living, so it goes:

What use is lamentation?

How should I not know it?

The dead do not come back to life;

What use are tears?

How should I not know it?

One day in the world of the living,

A thousand ages in the realm of shades.

Alas!

Mandarin ducks, phoenix birds,

In an instant parted from their flock.

A woman's foolish love,

The weariness of solitude.

The lone pillow is cold;

Beside whom shall I sigh?

The cypress boat drifts;

Beside whom shall I waver *[?]*?

Grieving Heaven grants me to live

To the age of white hair *[?]*;

Humble estate of reed and willow,

Vainly held back to the end *[?]*.

To live, and to be parted …

PHỤ LỤC — fin du VĂN TẾ, et THƯ TẠ MẸ

[p. 50]

(end of the rendering of the oration)

Better to die *[?]* and follow him,

To be the bird with joined wings,

To be the tree with grafted boughs.

Alas!

A servant at the pillow, bearing the cloth *[?]*,

From first to last a single fidelity.

My father is at the yellow springs:

His heart, surely, approves me.

My mother may look for me in vain;

She will understand, I think, my intent.

I close my eyes, my heart at peace *[?]*:

This life is over.

Alas, my husband,

Look kindly into your wife's heart.

Oh! What sorrow!

(Translator: the Phó bảng laureate Nguyễn Cự)

[p. 51]

LETTER OF THANKS TO HER MOTHER

by Madame Phan Thị

The text is in Sino-Vietnamese; the copyist's rendering begins at the foot of the page and continues on the next leaf. The English here follows that rendering, as in the previous section; verses not yet covered by the copyist are left in transcription only.

The copyist's rendering

When warmth and cold are far from the pillow,

The duty of gladdening one's parents wrings the heart.

The Ban lan dance has not yet been danced before the courtyard *[?]*;

Whence comes this letter of farewell?

The fault lies there …

PHỤ LỤC — fin du THƯ TẠ MẸ, et THƯ TẠ BÀ LÊ PHU NHÂN

[p. 52]

(end of the rendering of the letter to her mother)

What am I to do with what I feel?

My strength is weak and slight *[?]*.

The more so is feeling walled apart *[?]*.

… *[?]* — I am ashamed to have been born a girl.

By good fortune it was granted me to meet a husband.

That happiness did not last long *[?]*.

At least I have not drawn upon my mother the reproach of others.

The dream still seems askew *[?]*:

How came this misfortune to fall upon my husband?

I, your child, am not like others.

I swear not to follow the daughter of Trường nor the wife of Lý *[?]*.

A woman must take care to remain unstained.

Some have said that your child took after her line.

Today I ask to die and follow my husband.

I swear I have not two hearts.

These few lines of blood-tears that I send you

Will stand in place of the visit to the mother's house *[?]*.

A vermilion heart not yet lost

Recalls with regret the boundless kindness *[?]*.

Here then are a few taels of silver that I beg you to accept, to celebrate your long life.

[p. 53]

LETTER OF THANKS TO MADAME LÊ

by Madame Phan Thị

The text is in Sino-Vietnamese; the copyist's rendering begins at the foot of the page and continues on the next leaf. As before, the English follows that rendering; verses it does not yet cover remain in transcription only.

The copyist's rendering

I humbly consider, I your servant:

Of a station like foam and duckweed,

Of a frail constitution,

Of a house of low estate,

Should I dare boast of being a gentle and good daughter?

Sheltered in the shade of the great tree,

I had the fortune to be taught by you, Madame,

…

PHỤ LỤC — fin du THƯ TẠ BÀ LÊ PHU NHÂN, et VĂN TẾ CỤ ĐINH NHO HOÀN

[p. 54]

(end of the rendering of the letter to Madame Lê)

To have lived together was an honour … *[?]*

Your forbearance I owe to the song of Chung tư [1].

Since the horse's hooves took to the road,

You and I had but one same thought.

Then came the day the plumed banner fell like snow:

You and I remained, a cypress boat adrift.

We had sworn to serve our husband with one same fidelity,

But our two paths now take different ways.

To burn incense at the ancestral shrine,

To tend still to the offerings — that falls to you.

To straighten the robe and appear before the Jade Emperor,

If I do not die, who then will serve him?

The heart is long, but life is short.

The jade that sinks — how should I regret it?

The day of my death will be as the time when I lived.

This vermilion heart, I dare beg you to look upon it.

Translator: the Phó bảng laureate Nguyễn Cự

[1] *Chung tư: a poem in the Book of Odes celebrating the woman …*

[p. 55]

FUNERAL ORATION FOR ĐINH NHO HOÀN

by the emperor of the Qing

Đinh Nho Hoàn died in China on the 28th day of the twelfth month of the year Ất Vị, the eleventh year of the Vĩnh Thịnh era of the Lê, the fifty-fifth year of the Kangxi era of the Qing. The Chinese emperor greatly lamented him and had him honoured with the *Trung lao* sacrifice *[?]*. He further composed the following imperial text:

Ah! Man of the southern marches,

What man does not live?

To live by the examinations —

That is a glorious life.

Ah! Man of the southern marches,

What man does not die?

To die for the affairs of state —

That death is as life.

I pour you three cups in offering;

If your soul is present, come and receive them.

(The copyist's rendering, given above.)

PHỤ LỤC — BÀI TÁN BỐN VỊ PHÚC THẦN HỌ ĐINH

[p. 57]

EULOGY OF THE FOUR TUTELARY SPIRITS OF THE ĐINH FAMILY

Upon the nine steps of the throne, heaven is continued and the realm governed;

Below, ten thousand subjects are filled with virtue and drunk with humanity.

There is a land, there are ancestral spirits;

Good fortune flows upon the lineage, kindness soaks the village.

The lord Anh Nghị (1) opens the source of the Đinh *[?]*;

He built the foundation of good fortune from of old until now.

For a time the dragon awaited the clouds;

Divine omens appeared on strange days.

At the lands of Thác Lác (2), early hailed as censor;

At the place called Eo Trèo (3), already promised to the high examinations.

He plucked the cassia branch in the palace of the moon,

And by the road of clouds passed to the rank of Bá tài (4).

Golden brush, gleaming imperial tablet;

The words "phong lăng ngôn ngữ" (5) add to his glory.

From first to last, one same integrity;

Renown first, spiritual power thereafter.

The rank of Đặc Đạt (6), and already the flowering succession (7);

The line of high office lends lustre to a house of name.

Stele of Tây Giám, tablet of Đông Ba (8);

The Canh Tuất session first, then the Canh Thìn session (9).

At the frontier marches, when he held the military government,

His repute for plainness shook Chinese and barbarians alike (10).

At Cao Bằng, virtuous government has its stele (11);

The "Embassy Collection of Mặc ông" has its poems of the journey to China (12).

The jade banner fell *[?]* (13), the snow of Yên kinh covered it (14);

Yet the ancestral temple he had restored betimes.

From the time he returned to hold his charge [15],

Half to the affairs of state, half to those of the house.

He raised a few hermitages and pagodas in quiet places [16],

Established the ritual lands and shared their tillage between village and lineage [17].

— 57 —

[p. 58]

Clearly cut upon the stele [18] …

That the descendants may long observe it.

At the rank of second deity, Madame Phan [19]:

To beauty of bearing she added the lustre of letters.

When the embassy carriage took the road,

At Lã Côi [20] they opened their hearts to one another.

Feeling remained *[?]* [21], clouds of sorrow and winds of bitterness;

The yellow tunic [22] he consented to take off and give her.

She watched afar for news the wild goose brings;

The poems sent are there still, the silken robe [23] is here still.

The carriage crossed the northern pass on the very day of return [24];

She resolved to carry her sacrifice through [25].

A letter of thanks to her mother, an oration to weep for her husband:

A few lines of blood-tears, a heart of frost and rime.

The plaque of the Virtuous Wife, its three golden characters;

The ricefields of Tam Tang, the incense of a thousand springs.

The royal decree sets her level with her husband;

That small measure of fidelity is worth all glory for ever.

The Marquis of Hương Nghĩa, complete in letters and arms [26]:

To examination titles he joined the science of strategy.

At La Sơn first, the ox-knife for the trial [27];

At Kỳ Anh he commanded, then passed to Tổng binh [28].

He had followed in the steps of his father and elder brothers [29],

And left to village and country the benefit of his memory.

For a time he refitted the weapons [30];

With one hand he held the shield [31] — the merit is handed down still.

His fame as tiger-general rang at the guarded marches [32];

He begot the unicorn [33] and his line returned to the scholars.

Above he shielded the state, below he sheltered the people.

One single house, four tutelary spirits — what glory!

PHỤ LỤC — fin du BÀI TÁN et son apparat (CHÚ THÍCH)

[p. 59]

(end of the poem)

Generation upon generation the temple grows and rises;

Our people honour our spirits.

Below, the descendants; above, the fathers;

The ancestors' precepts are cut in stone.

Let the company of sons and younger brothers read and remember:

No litigation, no gambling;

No pride nor debauchery, no insolence nor disorder.

Let the line of loyalty and filial piety keep its plainness;

Let it accept honest poverty and live by thrift.

If the rule of the house can be kept —

Going forward as a man of duty, withdrawing as a good farmer —

Then each year, at the spring-opening feast and the solemn sacrifice,

Lineage and village assemble and present the offerings *[?]*.

Sincerity of heart reaches the prayer of the incense;

In the shrine a presence hovers, and the spirits answer.

Let each put his whole faith in it.

The book says: "the spirits hearken to concord."

A thousand years of peace and harmony:

The trunk will stand the firmer, and the line of high office the longer.

Đinh Bảo Hiên

NOTES

[1] **Anh Nghị đại vương**, that is Đinh Nho Công (father of the great lords).

[2] and [3] Tradition relates that he was an excellent pupil as a child, and passed the fourth level with distinction at fourteen. At eighteen, poverty being too great, he had to leave study for the plough. One day, ploughing in the fields of Thác Lác (now Sơn An commune, Hương Sơn), the young Đinh Nho Công saw an old woman pass who said to him: "Master Censor, why do you not go home and study? What are you still doing here?" Struck by the strangeness of it, he stopped ploughing and went home. From then on he left the plough for study. He had become friends with a Collegiate student of the Trần family, of Thanh Hóa. In 1669 he sat the regional examination and was received

Hương giải. In 1670, on the road to the metropolitan examination, having reached Eo Trèo (now Đức Truyền *[?]* commune, Đức Thọ district), he suddenly met his friend Trần. The latter said to him calmly: "I am no longer of this world, but I shall

[p. 60]

help you in the examination hall; later I ask only that you raise a small hermitage for me." So saying, he vanished. Nothing was to be seen but a silver cloud far off. Astonished at this appearance and disappearance, he went to visit the Trần household: his friend was indeed dead. Arriving at the capital for the metropolitan examination, he was received doctor and later rose to the office of imperial censor.

Later generations hold the words of the old woman at Thác Lác and those of the lord Trần at Eo Trèo to be omens foretold by the spirits.

(4) **Bá tài**: imperial censor.

(5) He had a reputation for integrity, capability and uprightness; the king rewarded him with a gold coin and the four characters "ngôn ngữ phong lăng", **written in his own hand**.

(6) **Đặc Đạt đại vương**, that is Đinh Nho Hoàn (son of the great lords).

(7) **Hoa kế**: to have taken up the family's career.

(8) **Stele of Tây giám, tablet of Đông Ba**: under the Lê, those received doctor were proclaimed by herald, their names posted on the golden tablet hung at the Đông Hoa gate — the eastern gate of the royal citadel — and cut on the stelae raised before the Quốc Tử Giám.

It is called *Tây giám* because the word "west" denotes study: thus *tây tịch*, the mat placed to the west, is the seat reserved for the teacher.

It is called *Đông Ba* and not *Đông Hoa* by taboo on the name of Lady Từ Dũ, mother of King Tự Đức. The old site of Đông Hoa looked out on Hàng Cân and Hàng Đường streets.

(9) **Canh Tuất, Canh Thìn**: Đinh Nho Công was received doctor in the year Canh Tuất (1670); Đinh Nho Hoàn was received doctor *xuất thân* in the year Canh Thìn (1700).

(10) and (11) **Hoa di**: the Tày and Nùng of Cao Bằng, together with Jiangxi, Jiangnan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian and Huguang. While military governor of Cao Bằng, Đinh Nho Hoàn was lenient and kindly, and his administration was simple; the merchants were grateful and raised a stone stele at the guildhall to show their thanks. That stele is called **Đức chính bi**.

(12) **Mặc ông sứ tập**: Mặc ông is the literary name of Đinh Nho Hoàn; *Hoa trình* means the road to China.

In 1717, after the death of Đinh Nho Hoàn, his son-in-law, the doctor …

PHỤ LỤC — CHÚ THÍCH, notes (12) à (33)

[p. 61]

(continuation of note (12))

… Nguyễn Trọng Thường gathered the poems composed by Đinh Nho Hoàn during his embassy to China, in which he sings the landscapes of the road: the Nhị Hà river, the Nam Quan gate, the city of Ngô Châu, Mount Trường Tỵ *[?]*, the temple of Mã Viện…, together with farewell poems and

pieces exchanged with friends. Appended were the text concerning the establishment of the ritual lands, the inscription of the stone chime, and the exhortation to the descendants to loyalty and filial piety.

(13) **Tiết ngọc**: from *ngọc tiết*, the jade seal an envoy carries as his credential. *Sảy* means to fall, to fail. *Tiết ngọc sảy* therefore means that the envoy has died.

(14) **Yên kinh**: the old capital of the state of Yan in the Warring States period, later called Peking, as against Nanking, capital under the Ming.

This line means that he died at Peking during his embassy, having taken cold from wind and frost. He was dead, but the plan to restore the ancestral temple he had formed beforehand.

(15) **Trì trang**: to put one's baggage in order, to prepare for departure. Under the Lê, a mandarin about to leave on a distant mission was allowed three months' leave to set his house in order and settle his affairs.

(16) **Tĩnh túc**: quiet and solemn.

(17) **Hương tộc phân canh**: village and lineage share the tilling between them.

(18) **Bi ký, khánh minh**: the text cut on the stele, the inscription on the stone chime.

(19) **Trinh nhất á thần phu nhân**, that is Madame Phan Thị Viên.

(20) **Lã Côi**: the relay where envoys were seen off and welcomed, in Gia Lâm district, Bắc Ninh province — today near Yên Viên station.

(21) **Tình lưu khứ**: the attachment between the one who goes and the one who stays.

(22) **Áo hoàng hoa**: *Hoàng hoa* is the title of a poem in the Book of Odes consoling the envoy on mission. The hoàng hoa tunic is the envoy's robe.

Nguyễn Trọng Thường, a native of Trung Cần, Thanh Chương (today Nam Đàn), received doctor under the Vĩnh Thịnh era, Tả Thị Lang at the Ministry of Finance, went on embassy and died at Hankou. His son Trọng Đường and his grandson Trọng Đường were both received doctors and both sent on embassy. Trọng Đường's son Trọng Vũ went twice. Scholars of the North presented them a poem containing the line "four generations, five hoàng hoa" — meaning four generations and five embassies.

(23) **Là**: the name of a kind of fine silk.

Let us recall here a passage from the funeral oration she composed for her husband: Liêu

[p. 62]

liêu nhạn tín — Vọng vọng thiên nhi — Hồn tiêu loan cảnh — Trường đoạn la y (No news from the wild goose — The horizon wears out the gaze — Before the phoenix mirror the soul dissolves — Before the silken robe the bowels break and the liver withers).

(24) **Qui sấn**: the funeral carriage returning.

(25) **Tuẫn tuấn** or **tùng tang** *[?]*: to die following one's husband. (Confucianism teaches women the three obediences: in the father's house obey the father, married obey the husband, the husband dead obey the son. That is: before marriage follow one's father, married follow one's husband, and the husband dying, die with him.)

(26) **Marquis of Hương Nghĩa**, that is Đinh Nho Côn.

[27] **Thí ngưu đao**: *thí* means to try, *ngưu đao* the buffalo-butchering knife. The phrase denotes using a butcher's knife to kill a chicken — great talent set to a small task. *Thí ngưu đao* thus means holding an office unworthy of one's abilities.

[28] From the office of Quản quân Đốc lĩnh of the two circumscriptions of Lương Sơn and Yên Thành, he was raised to that of Tổng binh of the province, garrisoned at Kỳ Anh.

[29] **Đã nối gót cha anh từ trước**: he had already taken up the family's career and followed in the steps of his father and elder brothers.

[30] **Binh đao**: to recruit soldiers to fill out the ranks.

Some read *Từ phen tu bổ binh đao*, whose sense is unclear.

[31] **Quyền can**: to command with flexibility.

[32] **Biên thú**: to defend the frontier.

[33] **Lân nhi**: descendants of the unicorn, that is, children of a house of good lineage.

PHỤ LỤC — GIAI THOẠI : NGÔI MỘ RÚ TRAI et ĐỀN BẠCH VÂN

[p. 63]

TALES

The tomb at Rú Trai

It is told that in the reign of King Lê Kính Tông, in Đông Ngàn district, Bắc Ninh province, there lived an assistant magistrate of great kindness named Đinh Hữu Luân, a native of An Ấp commune, Hương Sơn district (Nghệ Tĩnh).

One day a Chinese ship was driven ashore by a storm. The vessel was badly damaged, the cargo entirely lost, many of the men injured — by good fortune none had died. Moved with pity, the assistant magistrate did all he could to help the shipwrecked. When the ship was repaired and about to sail home, he further gave them money for the voyage.

Six or seven months later those same merchants returned, bringing with them a skilled geomancer named Ngô Tinh, and said to him: "You gave us back our lives, and we dare not offer gold or jade to so pure a heart; we bring you therefore this master, who has made the fortune of many in our country, that we may repay, however little, what we owe you. Be pleased to accept him."

The assistant magistrate rejoiced greatly, pleaded illness to leave his post, and took his household and Master Ngô home to his native place, where they roamed among mountains and waters.

Some months later Master Ngô said to him one day: "The land of Hương Sơn has many fine sites. There are places where two dragons contend for the pearl, where the phoenix salutes the moon. To set a grave in such a place would bring you deep ricefields and breeding buffalo, granaries of rice and chests of silver — or else high office and great dignities, imperial sons-in-law and provincial dukes, for several tens of generations perhaps. What is your wish?"

He answered at once: "Wealth and honour are the dream of this world; who would not want them? Yet since our forebears *[?]* came here from the territory of Ái, near a hundred years now, each generation has had but one son, and births have come late. And though every generation applies itself to study, few succeed at the examinations. I would beg you to give your attention

[p. 64]

to that; for the rest, I ask no … *[?]* more."

The master mused a while, then said, smiling: "You are truly a plain man, and your family truly a loyal and generous one. Well then, let it be this place. Here you will be poor, but the descendants will be many and cheerful, and study will prosper *[?]*. No brilliant fortune, but never ruin either *[?]*. In every age there will be someone who passes the examinations — generation after generation."

He broke in quickly: "And where, then?"

"At … Trai Sơn, Trai Sơn, which the local people call Rú Trai."

At these words he thanked him warmly, and with his household had both his parents buried together at Rú Trai.

From that time the descendants of the Đinh have multiplied; every generation has been poor, and every generation has had someone received at the examinations.

The temple of Bạch Vân

Đinh Nho Công was very poor in his youth. He went to school, had to leave it for the plough, then left the plough for school.

Having resumed his studies, he became friends with a Collegiate student of the Trần family, from Thanh Hóa. They had grown close in the capital. Around 1668 they parted to go home and prepare for the examinations.

Đinh Nho Công passed the qualifying test, then was received Hương giải at the regional examination. On the road to Thăng Long for the metropolitan examination, having reached Eo Trèo (today Đức Trường *[?]* commune, Đức Thọ district), he suddenly met his friend Trần. The latter said: "I am no longer of this world, but I shall help you in the examination hall. Later, I ask only that you raise a small hermitage for me." So saying, he vanished. Nothing was to be seen but a silver cloud far off.

Astonished, Đinh Nho Công went to visit the Collegiate student Trần: his friend was indeed dead. Received doctor at the metropolitan examination in the capital, he remembered the promise …

PHỤ LỤC — fin de ĐỀN BẠCH VÂN, et TƯ LIỆU THAM KHẢO

[p. 65]

(end of the tale of the Bạch Vân temple)

… his late friend. Together with the Đặng family of Sơn Thịnh, he then raised for the lord Trần a temple at the very spot where he had seen the silver cloud, and named it Bạch Vân — the White Cloud.

The Bạch Vân temple was built on a rise called Mai phụ, or Cồn Mai, in Sơn Thịnh commune, Hương Sơn district, Nghệ Tĩnh. There are still preserved there a pair of wooden horses and a few parallel couplets recalling the old story, such as: *Mai phụ thiên thu thắng địa, Bạch Vân dạ thị mộng trung sinh* ("Cồn Mai is a place of excellence; the Bạch Vân temple was born of a dream"), or this couplet: *Hoàng giáp hà niên xuân bảng trổ `[?]`, Bạch vân dạ thị mộng trung sinh* ("In what year was the ancestor helped at the examinations? The Bạch Vân temple was born of a dream") [(1)].

[(1)] The couplet being worn away, a few characters may have been miscopied.

[p. 68]

REFERENCE MATERIAL

Abridged extracts from Phan Huy Chú's "Quan chức chí"

Ngự sử (censor)

Under Thánh Tông, when the system of offices was recast, only the Đô Ngự sử, the Phó Đô Ngự sử, the Thiêm Đô Ngự sử, the Giám sát Ngự sử, and thirteen Giám sát Ngự sử for the circuits were instituted.

Thị Lang (vice-minister)

Thánh Tông, around 1460–1470, established the six ministries, each with a Thị Lang of the left and of the right; their rank was of the *tòng tam* class.

Lang Trung (bureau director)

Under the Hồng Đức era, when offices were recast and ranks fixed, the Lang Trung was placed in the *chánh lục* class.

Xuân Phường, Dụ Đức, Trung Doãn *[?]*

These offices were created in the first year of Hồng Đức (1470), ranking with the *chánh tam* and *chánh tứ* classes. They are merely honorary titles granted to mandarins.

Điểm Kiểm

Under Hồng Đức, when offices were recast, the Đô Kiểm Điểm and the Kiểm Điểm of the left and right were instituted, in the *tòng nhị* and *chánh nhị* classes. From the Restoration onward, to avoid the taboo name of Trịnh Kiểm, the title was changed to Hiệu Điểm.

Tổng Binh sứ (military commissioner)

Under Hồng Đức, when offices were recast, the Đô Tổng Binh, the Tổng Binh Thiêm sự and the Tổng Binh Đồng tri were added, in the *chánh tam* class and below.

Trấn Ty (circuit government)

From the Restoration onward the Trấn Thủ was instituted. Only three regions — Cao Bằng, Lạng Sơn and Nghệ An — were given a Đốc Trấn, frontier affairs there being heavy and pressing *[?]*; and Thanh Hóa, an essential place, was given a Lưu Thủ of its own. The titles differ, but the duty of holding the circuit is one and the same.

PHỤ LỤC — suite du TƯ LIỆU THAM KHẢO, barème des rangs, et BINH CHẾ CHÍ

[p. 69]

Đốc Đồng, Đốc Thị

The offices of Đốc Đồng and Đốc Thị were created at the beginning of the Lê Restoration. In the circuits a Đốc Đồng was appointed to try lawsuits. In Nghệ An a Đốc Thị was appointed for frontier affairs. The office of Đốc Đồng went to mandarins of the fourth and fifth class and below; that of Đốc Thị to mandarins of the third and fourth class.

Tri Phủ (prefect)

At the beginning of the Lê, mandarins were appointed for the circuits, with the offices of Tri Phủ and Đồng Tri Phủ. In the middle of the Hồng Đức era, thirteen *thừa tuyên* were created, placing prefectures under circuits and districts under prefectures; when the offices were fixed, the Tri Phủ was placed in the *tòng lục* class.

Tri Huyện (district magistrate)

At the founding of the Lê dynasty, each district was given a Tuần sát holding the seal, together with a Chuyển vận sứ and a Chuyển vận phó sứ. In 1460 Thánh Tông changed the Chuyển vận sứ into the Tri Huyện, and the Tuần sát into the Huyện Thừa. At the beginning of the Hồng Đức era (1470), when offices and ranks were recast, the Tri Huyện was placed in the *chánh lục* class.

(According to the VSTGCM *[?]*, chapter 22, folio 21b, the office of Tri Huyện, by the regulation of the second year of Hồng Đức, was ranked in the *tòng thất* class, and that of Huyện Thừa in the *tòng bát* class.)

Tản quan: mandarins holding only a rank title, without effective office.

Tản quan title of the* tòng tứ *class: Triều liệt đại phu.

Tản quan title of the* chánh ngũ *class: Hoằng tín đại phu.

Abridged record of the system of offices under the Bảo Thái era (1720)

***Tòng nhị* class**: the ministers of the six ministries (the Đô Ngự sử coming last among the ministers), the Tả Hiệu Điểm.

***Chánh tam* class**: Đô Ngự sử, Đô Chỉ huy sứ, Đô Tổng Binh sứ.

***Tòng tam* class**: Thị Lang of the left and right, Tổng Binh Đồng tri.

***Chánh tứ* class**: Trung Doãn of the left and right.

***Chánh ngũ* class**: Thiêm đô Ngự sử, Quản Lĩnh.

***Chánh lục* class**: Lang Trung of the six ministries.

***Tòng lục* class**: Tri Phủ.

***Chánh thất* class**: Đồng Tri Phủ.

***Tòng thất* class**: Tri Huyện.

***Chánh bát* class**: professor at the Quốc Tử Giám.

***Tòng bát* class**: Kinh Lịch, Chủ Sự, Huyện Thừa.

***Chánh cửu* class**: Huấn Đạo.

Abridged extracts from the "Binh chế chí" *(Phan Huy Chú)*

+ 1600–1619: the palace guard at the capital was drawn exclusively from Thanh Hóa and Nghệ An; as for the troops of the four circuits, only volunteers and able-bodied men were retained, the rest being merely entered on the rolls, summoned when needed and dismissed once the business was done.

+ 1722: levies began in the four circuits to fill the ranks alongside the Thanh–Nghệ troops, at the rate of one man in five on the register. The Thanh–Nghệ soldiers were called *ưu binh*, those of the four circuits *nhất binh*.

+ 1733: amnesty for deserters and those missing from the rolls in the four circuits.

+ 1739: men discharged from the four circuits were selected to fill out the ranks; a system of village militia associations was also established there, required to procure their own weapons and to set up watch-posts.

+ 1740: additional recruitment of *ưu binh* in Thanh–Nghệ.

+ 1741: additional recruitment of village militia in three circuits, with regulations for drilling and for supervising corvée men.

+ 1742: creation of the prefectural guard corps, selected from the village militia …

(pages 9–11)

PHỤ LỤC — THÀNH ĐÔNG KINH THỜI LÊ et NGHỆ TĨNH THỜI LÊ

[p. 71]

THE CITADEL OF ĐÔNG KINH UNDER THE LÊ

As to the structure of its ramparts, the citadel of Đông Kinh still rests on the foundation *[?]* of Thăng Long, the eastern capital of the Lý and Trần periods.

1. The outermost enclosure still bears the name Đại La.

2. The second enclosure is called Hoàng Thành, the Royal Citadel. It opens by three gates: the East gate, or Đông Hoa gate (its old site looked out on Hàng Cân and Hàng Đường streets); the South gate, or Đại Hưng gate (its old site corresponding roughly to the present Cửa Nam *[?]*); and the Bảo Khánh gate (Giảng Võ quarter).

3. The innermost enclosure is called Cung Thành, or Phượng Thành. Its main gate, opening southward, is called Đoan Môn; on either side are two lesser gates, Đông Tràng An and Tây Tràng An.

(Hà Nội, capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, p. 61)

NGHỆ TĨNH UNDER THE LÊ

In 1469 Lê Thánh Tông redrew the map of the realm in order to attach the prefectures and districts to the *thừa tuyên*. The territory of Hoan (southern Nghệ An and Hà Tĩnh) and that of Diễn were joined to form the *thừa tuyên* of Nghệ An, comprising nine prefectures, twenty-five districts and two territories. Present-day Nghệ Tĩnh corresponds to the prefectures of Đức Quang, Anh Đô, Diễn Châu, Hà Hoa, Trà Lân, Quỳ Châu and Lâm An of that *thừa tuyên*.

Prefecture of **Đức Quang**, six districts: La Sơn, Thiên Lộc, Nghi Xuân, Chân Lộc, **Hương Sơn**, Thanh Chương.

Prefecture of **Anh Đô**, two districts: Nam Đường, Hưng Nguyên.

Prefecture of **Diễn Châu**, two districts: Đông Thành, Quỳnh Lưu.

Prefecture of **Hà Hoa**, two districts: Thạch Hà, Kỳ Hoa.

Prefecture of **Trà Lân**, four districts: Kỳ Sơn, Tương Dương, Vĩnh Khang, Hồi Ninh.

Prefecture of **Quỳ Châu**, two districts: Trung Sơn, Thúy Vân.

Prefecture of **Lâm An**, one territory: Quỳ Hợp (Hương Khê).

… As elsewhere, the *thừa tuyên* of Nghệ An at first had *[?]* two services: the Thừa ty, in charge of administration and justice, headed by the Thừa ty chính sứ; and the Đô ty, in charge of military affairs, headed by the Tổng Binh. In 1471 the Ty Hiến sát was added, in charge of justice and inspection, detached from the Thừa ty's competence,

[p. 72]

and headed by the Hiến sát sứ.

The seat of Nghệ An under the early Lê was at Lam Thành (Hưng Nguyên district). Under the Restoration, the Thừa ty and Hiến ty remained at Lam Thành, while the Trấn ty was moved to Dinh Cầu (Hà Trung commune, Kỳ Anh district), and later to Dũng Quyết (the city of Vinh).

(History of Nghệ Tĩnh, vol. I, pp. 145, 146, 147)

+ Under the Lê Restoration, Thanh Hóa was renamed Thanh Hoa.

+ Thanh Chương was formerly called Thanh Giang; under Trịnh Giang, the taboo on the lord's name forced the change to Thanh Chương.

+ Can Lộc was formerly called Thiên Lộc; the name was changed in 1862.

PHỤ LỤC — QUỐC TỬ GIÁM, VĂN MIẾU, HỌC VỊ THỜI TRẦN – LÊ

[p. 73]

THE QUỐC TỬ GIÁM

+ Lê Quí Đôn's *Kiến văn tiểu lục* records: "The Great College building had three bays, with a transverse wall and a roof of bronze tiles… The teaching halls stood to the east and west, each of the two rows having fourteen bays… The students' quarters of the three colleges each formed three rows of twenty-five bays, two students to a bay."

A student of the upper college received one *quan* of cash a month.

A student of the middle college, nine *tiền* a month.

A student of the lower college, eight *tiền* a month.

+ A Collegiate student of the Quốc Tử Giám who passed three rounds of the metropolitan examination was assigned to the upper college; two rounds, to the middle college; one round, to the lower college.

+ **Giám sinh**: one who had passed the four rounds of the regional examination was admitted to study at the Quốc Tử Giám.

Sinh đồ: one who had passed three rounds of the regional examination.

Nho sinh trúng thức: sons of officials admitted to study at the Chiêu văn quán and Tú Lâm các, having passed one or two rounds of the metropolitan examination.

Ấm chức: descendants of mandarins of the fifth class and above, admitted to office by hereditary privilege.

Nhiêu nam: a mandarin's son exempt from tax and corvée.

(LTHCLC by Phan Huy Chú) [?]

THE VĂN MIẾU

From the first metropolitan examination of 1442 to the last in 1526, the Lê dynasty held twenty-six sessions and produced 984 doctors. Eighty-three doctoral stelae raised under the Lê are still preserved today at the Văn Miếu.

(Hà Nội, capital of the SRV, p. 6…) *[?]*

DEGREES UNDER THE TRẦN AND LÊ

Under the Trần, those received at the *thái học sinh* examination (the metropolitan examination) bore the title of *thái học sinh* — the equivalent of the doctor of later periods. From 1247 the grades of Trạng nguyên, Bảng nhãn and Thám hoa — the *tam khôi* — were further instituted, awarded to those

[p. 74]

who had most distinguished themselves. The first three *tam khôi* were all very young: Nguyễn Hiền, Trạng nguyên, at twelve; Lê Văn Hưu, Bảng nhãn, at seventeen; Đặng Ma La, Thám hoa, at thirteen. Lê Văn Hưu later became a great historian, author of the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* in thirty books, completed in 1272. In 1304 the Trần allowed the *tam khôi* laureates, among them the Trạng nguyên Mạc Đĩnh Chi, to go out by the Long Môn gate of the Phượng Thành and walk the streets of the city for three days.

(Hà Nội, capital of the SRV, p. 48)

PHỤ LỤC — SƠ LƯỢC VỀ VIỆC HỌC TẬP VÀ THI CỬ THỜI XƯA

[p. 75]

OUTLINE OF STUDY AND EXAMINATIONS IN FORMER TIMES

In former times a student learned chiefly by himself, and himself sought out a teacher. The state kept but one school, the Quốc Tử Giám, reserved for the sons of mandarins. Later the Quốc Tử Giám also admitted sons of the people. Those who studied there were called *giám sinh*.

To recruit talent, the state held examinations: the regional, the metropolitan, and the palace examination.

Scholars of the realm wishing to sit the regional examination first had to pass a selection: the commune drew up a register of guarantee, the district and province held a preliminary test, admitting candidates to three or four rounds. Under the Lê Restoration, even those already received at the regional examination were re-examined. A *sinh đồ* re-examined kept his title if he succeeded; if he failed, he had to study three years more before presenting himself again; if he failed once more, he was sent back to the village to perform corvée *[?]*. Officials, *nho sinh* and … *[?]* likewise had to be re-examined like the *sinh đồ*.

The regional examination. It began with a dictation; the first round dealt with the Four Books and the meaning of the Classics; the second with edicts, rescripts and memorials; the third with poetry and rhymed prose; the fourth with dissertation. He who passed all four rounds was called *Hương cống*, or *tứ trường*; he who passed three, *Sinh đồ*, or *tam trường* [(1)].

[(1)] According to Hoàng Xuân Hãn in "La Sơn phu tử", published in Paris in 1952, a mandarin's son received at three rounds was called trúng thức, while a commoner's son received at three rounds was called … `[?]` — a note appearing in the "Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí" …

[p. 76]

The metropolitan and palace examinations. Only one received at the regional examination might sit the metropolitan, whose first round dealt with the meaning of the Classics and the Four Books; the second with edicts, rescripts and memorials; the third with poetry and rhymed prose; the fourth with dissertation.

He who passed the metropolitan then sat the palace examination in the royal courtyard, where a dissertation was set. Those received bore the title of doctor and their names were proclaimed. There were three classes of doctor: the **first class** comprised the *tam khôi* — trạng nguyên, bảng nhãn, thám hoa; the **second class**, called *tiến sĩ xuất thân*, or hoàng giáp; the **third class**, called *đồng tiến sĩ xuất thân*, or simply tiến sĩ. The doctors received cap, robe, belt and tablet, and a banquet; finally they gave thanks and returned home in honour.

Under the Nguyễn the grade of trạng nguyên was abolished. In 1825, one who passed three rounds of the regional examination was called *Tú tài* (formerly *Sinh đồ*), and one who passed four, *Cử nhân* (formerly *Hương cống*). In 1829 the grade of *Phó bảng*, nearly equivalent to the doctorate, was added.

The first placed at the regional examination is called *Giải nguyên*; at the metropolitan, *Hội nguyên*; at the palace, *Đình nguyên*. One received at the metropolitan sometimes fails at the palace; and one received at the regional has little chance at the metropolitan, since regional examinations were held in several places (Hà Nội, Nam Định, Nghệ An, Thừa Thiên, etc.) while the metropolitan was held only at the capital *[?]*. He who came first at both regional and metropolitan is called **Nhị nguyên**; he who came first at all three, **Tam nguyên**.

(After the "Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí" of Phan Huy Chú)

Further notes

— Subordinate officers under the prefectural mandarin examined the *sinh đồ* and drilled the students.

— *Giám sinh* and scholars already examined … entered for the regional examination *[?]*.

— Since there were examinations at district and prefecture, there existed the titles *received at the district* and *received at the circuit*. Such candidates sometimes failed the regional examination — thus the *district-received* Hoạt *[?]*, or the *circuit-received* Tố *[?]*.

PHỤ LỤC — THUẬT NGỮ VĂN HỌC THƯỜNG THỨC (glossaire littéraire)

[p. 78]

COMMON LITERARY TERMS

Tựa (preface): an element outside the body of the text, placed at the front of the book, to be distinguished from the *bạt* or afterword. It is also one of the forms of introducing and criticising a work.

A preface is sometimes written by the author himself, sometimes by the one who publishes the text, or again by researchers or critics.

A book, when published, may carry several different prefaces.

Depending on who writes it, a preface may take on various characters. As to content, it ordinarily comprises the following parts:

— to present the origin of the book, the reason for its publication, the circumstances of its appearance;

— to set out the sense and importance of the question raised and resolved in the work;

— to summarise the main content and the structure of the book.

If the preface is not by the author, it may further include a presentation of him, a commentary and an appraisal of the work. Prefaces to reprints generally add an account of the differences between the new edition and the first.

Bạt (afterword): also called *hậu từ*, *hậu ký*, or *thay lời bạt*. A text written after the main body of the work — that is, the whole text excluding notes and other appended matter — in order to clarify further its content, meaning and value.

An afterword is sometimes written by the author himself (*lời tự bạt*). A number of novelists in world literature are in the habit of placing such an afterword after their work, and some have named it "the last testament of the charac-

[p. 79]

ters I created".

The afterword is most often written by researchers or critics. It may be seen as the critic's conversation with his readers, once they have together become acquainted with the author and his work.

[Here follows a quotation of one paragraph from Nguyễn Tuân's afterword to Nguyễn Huy Tưởng's novel Sống mãi với thủ đô *— see facsimile, p. 79. A twentieth-century text still in copyright; not reproduced.]*

What the passage says, and why the copyist kept it. Nguyễn Tuân defines the afterword-writer's position through a craftsman's comparison: the novel is a picture laden with meaning and feeling, and he himself aspires only to be the joiner who cuts it a frame to its measure, in good wood. He then anticipates the objection of the devoted reader of Nguyễn Huy Tưởng, for whom the thirty-six completed chapters already form a whole to which an afterword would add mere ornament; to which he answers that he hopes only to have fashioned a fitting setting, and that this care may please such a reader.

The passage thus illustrates exactly the two traits the glossary has just set out: the afterword as the critic's conversation with the reader, and the commentator's modesty before the work. The copyist — or his elder brother — probably chose it for that reason, but also because the comparison of frame and picture sums up fairly well what the Phụ lục does for the phổ ký.

Tứ thư (the Four Books): the four canonical works of Confucian scholars — the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects* and the *Mencius*.

Kinh nghĩa: a genre of disputation proper to the school and to the examinations of the feudal period, in which the student had to expound a saying drawn from the Classics or from the store of folk songs and proverbs. Thus the piece "Mẹ ơi con muốn lấy chồng" by Lê Quý Đôn (*Poetic and Literary Anthology*, vol. III, p. 83).

The *kinh nghĩa* was at first composed in prose; only later was it written in parallel prose — a genre of regular phrasing, measured cadence, and strict parallelism of words and sense …

PHỤ LỤC — structure du KINH NGHĨA, formes officielles, et THƠ ĐƯỜNG LUẬT

[p. 80]

… complex, making abundant use of classical allusion.

The *kinh nghĩa* is composed in three manners:

lưỡng phiến: division into two parallel sections.

tản hành: one follows the idea stated in the topic sentence and expounds it step by step, with no fixed number of sections, each of which may consist of only three to five parallel sentences.

bát cổ: eight members; the essay has eight sections, of which the four principal ones (3, 4, 5, 6) must each be subdivided into two members.

1. *phá đề* (broaching the topic) — 2. *thừa đề* (taking it up)

3. **khởi giảng**: to set out the general sense of the topic

4. **khai giảng**: to unfold the idea of the topic

5. **trung cổ**: middle section, to make the sense of the topic explicit

6. **hậu cổ**: following section, to comment on and broaden the sense of the topic

7. **kết cổ**: concluding section, to sum up the idea of the topic

8. **thúc đề** or **kết tị**: close

Chiếu (edict): what the king promulgates in writing for the people's knowledge, on a general matter of state under the feudal regime.

Chế (rescript): a text laying down state regulation; a political or diplomatic document.

Biểu (memorial): a piece addressed to the king.

Thơ Đường luật (Tang regulated verse): three forms — the octave (*bát cú*, 8 lines), the quatrain (*tứ tuyệt*, 4 lines), and the extended form (*bài luật*). Among these the octave, and especially the seven-syllable octave (*thất ngôn bát cú*: 8 lines of 7 characters), is held to be the fundamental form, since all the others may be derived from it. Its composition is as follows:

As to the plan, four parts

+ ***đề**: phá đề *and* thừa đề**, lines 1 and 2

+ ***thực***: to make the idea of the topic explicit, lines 3 and 4

+ ***luận***: to develop the idea broadly, lines 5 and 6

+ ***kết***: to conclude the whole, lines 7 and 8

As to tonal law and* niêm*

[p. 81]

+ within each line … *[?]* alternate in turn;

+ within each pair of lines — each *liên* — the corresponding characters of the odd and even lines must bear opposite tones (except the fifth and seventh characters of the first *liên*);

+ in two adjacent lines, the movement of the upper *liên* must differ from that of the lower. To this end, the second character of the even line of the upper *liên* must bear the same tone as the second character of the odd line of the lower *liên*. This sameness is called *niêm*, "glue", because it makes two lines belonging to two distinct *liên* adhere to one another.

Concretely (b = level tone, t = oblique tone):

b — b — t — t — t — b — b (rhyme)

t — Ⓣ — b — b — t — t — b (rhyme) ⌐ *niêm*

t — Ⓣ — b — b — b — t — t

b — Ⓑ — t — t — t — b — b (rhyme) ⌐ *niêm*

b — Ⓑ — t — t — … … …

+ **the* bất luận *rule**. Following the law to the letter being too constraining, the rule was framed: "first, third, fifth — free; second, fourth, sixth — strict" (the first, third and fifth characters may be of any tone; the second, fourth and sixth must conform to the law).

— **As to parallelism**: the lines of the *thực* section and those of the *luận* section must answer one another, sense to sense and word to word.

— **As to rhyme**: Tang regulated verse uses a single rhyme, always in the level tone (the rhyme falls at the end of lines 1, 2, 4, 6 and 8 — five rhymes; for the quatrain, four).

Phú (rhapsody): a literary genre peculiar to China, a mixed form partaking of verse and prose. The *phú* "belongs to the line of ancient poetry" (Ban Gu); it "receives its mandate from the poets and takes its foundation in the *Songs of Chu*" (Liu Xie). The *phú* sets forth reality directly — "it gives body to things" — yet magnifies and amplifies the real.

PHỤ LỤC — le PHÚ (formes de phrase et structure), et le VĂN TẾ

[p. 82]

In short *[?]*, the *phú* is a rhymed composition (ancient form), or one with rhyme and regularly fixed cadence (Tang-style *phú*).

The Tang *phú* is a form of parallel prose. Its law lies chiefly in the construction of the phrase and the arrangement of rhymes *[?]*. As to rhyme, one follows either the *độc vận* manner (a single rhyme throughout), or *hạn vận* (rhymes given in advance), or *phóng vận* (any rhyme allowed).

Construction of the phrase. In the ancient or "flowing water" *phú*, the number of syllables and of phrases is not fixed; parallelism may even no longer be required.

+ In the four-syllable *phú [?]*, each line has four syllables.

+ In the seven-syllable *phú [?]*, each line has seven.

+ For the Tang *phú*, phrase construction follows these rules:

**a)* bát tự *phrase `[?]`: two members, or two lines, of four syllables each, heavy and light syllables alternating.* Example*:

> *(To conduct oneself keeping the heart hidden; to wander freely as one pleases.)*

b) song quan *phrase: two members, each of an unfixed number of syllables but not fewer than five, with the same alternation.* Example*:

> *(Skilled at charming those who love misty landscapes; to hold the visitor who roams the land of rocks.)*

c) cách cú**: *two members, each divided into two parts of four, six or more syllables.* Example*:

> *(In the morning a few cups of green tea cool the bowels — what matter the earthen jar and its dull look; at meals a few bowls of coarse rice fill the belly — what matter the chipped and lopsided tray.)*

d) hạc tất** *("crane's knee"): each member has three parts, that is three reading pauses, the number of syllables varying.* Example*:

[p. 83]

> *(Three meals a day: one pats a belly full of greens — the gentleman does not eat to be sated; five watches a night: one sleeps a snoring sleep — in times of peace the door is left open.)*

(Hàn nho phong vị phú — Nguyễn Công Trứ)

Structure. A *phú* is ordinarily divided into five parts:

+ **lung**: the part that embraces the whole topic and stirs its general idea

+ **biện nguyên**: to state the origin and meaning of the piece

+ **thích thực**: to state the facts and the significance

+ **phu diễn**: to develop the significance broadly

+ **nghị luận và kết**: to add discussion and conclude

Văn tế (funeral oration). A lyric genre combined with narration, used to recount the life, career and character of the one to whom sacrifice is made, while expressing the feelings of the author and of all towards him.

As to content, an oration always contains two main ideas: to tell of the dead, and to express the feelings and attitude of the living at the hour of final parting.

As to form, the oration may be written in several manners:

+ **in prose**: thus Nguyễn Hữu Chỉnh's *Oration for my sister*;

+ *in* tán**: *thus Mạc Đĩnh Chi's* Oration for a princess*;

+ *in* lục bát**: *thus* Weeping for those sacrificed after the Hà Thành poisoning of 1908* (anonymous);

+ *in* song thất lục bát**: *thus Nguyễn Du's* Văn chiêu hồn*;

+ *in* phú**: *some are written in the ancient or "flowing water" manner (thus* Visit to an old battlefield *by Tiết Lý Hoa `[?]`), but most orations follow the Tang* phú *(thus Phan Bội Châu's* Oration for Phan Chu Trinh*).

PHỤ LỤC — structure du VĂN TẾ, et le VĂN SÁCH (fin du volume)

[p. 84]

The plan of a funeral oration ordinarily comprises four sections:

+ **section I**: general reflections on life and death, and the reason for weeping over the deceased

+ **section II**: an account of the deceased's merits

+ **section III**: the expression of regret for him

+ **section IV**: the expression of affection and remembrance, and the prayer of the officiant

In some orations, sections III and IV are sometimes merged into one.

Văn sách (dissertation). A disputational genre proper to the school and to the examinations of the feudal period, in which the student was required to answer the questions set in the topic, so as to test his knowledge and his judgement.

The *văn sách* divides into two forms: *văn sách mục* and *văn sách đạo*.

The *văn sách mục* is the long form: one or more headings are stated, and under each are set questions on the Classics, on history or on current affairs, to which the student must reply.

The *văn sách đạo* is the short form: the student is given a few questions on a single matter or issue.

The *văn sách* may be composed in prose or in parallel prose. It requires answering exactly to the sense of the questions, with reasoning, explanation and clear demonstration. The plan follows in principle the order of the questions set; they may also be rearranged for coherence, but nothing may be added or left out.

Composing a *văn sách* at the examinations required certain obligatory formulas *[?]*:

— **The opening.** At the regional examination, the three characters

[p. 85]

"… *[?]* ối sĩ vãn" ("permit me to say: this scholar has heard"); at the metropolitan examination, the three characters "đối sinh vãn" ("permit me to say: this student has heard"); and at the palace examination, the four characters "thần đối thần văn" ("your servant ventures to say: your servant has heard").

The opening paragraph had to embrace the whole of the topic.

— **The body**: the actual answer to the questions. One had to begin with a sentence in Chinese — "tư thừa sách văn như lược trần chi" ("obeying now what the question asks, I set out summarily what follows") — and then answer the questions one by one, each answer to be preceded by the modest formula "thiết vị" ("I venture to think that").

— **The close**: always a sentence in Chinese — "Sĩ giả hạnh phùng thịnh thế tòng sự văn trường, quản kiến như tư, vị tri khả phủ, nguyện chấp sự kỳ trạch nhi tiến chi" ("this scholar has had the fortune to live in a prosperous age and to enter upon the career of letters; his views are as narrow as these, and he does not know whether they are fitting; he begs the examiners to be pleased to choose him and advance him").

[p. 86]

(blank page — end of the volume)