

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SISTERS TRUNG :

THE UPRISING OF THE AUTOCHTHONS

It is a fact of history that a tribe called Lạc-việt lived, from time immemorial, in some places of the departments of Giao-chỉ[?] and Cửu-chân. The Lạc-việt was not the only tribe, but one of the many tribes that populated these departments. They occupied the district of Mê-linh, the district of Châu-diên and the area of Đông-sơn. Both historical documents and archeological findings confirmed their existence up to the 3rd century B.C.

If it is obvious that the Lạc-việt people existed, it is not so obvious about their origin or their relationship with the Vietnamese. Ngô Sĩ Liên, the Vietnamese historian of the 15th century, did not bother pondering these questions. He had confused men with ghosts, he confused Lạc-việt with Việt-nam. For him, not only Lạc-việt, but Nam-việt of Triệu Đà or any other Việt was part of Việt-nam¹ in ancient times. Since his Complete History of Đại-việt came into existence, the Vietnamese people thought the same way. And the historians repeated, one after another, what Ngô Sĩ Liên had said¹. They did so, both because this view

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1: The fact that other historians followed what Ngô Sĩ Liên said is easily understandable. Documents on Vietnamese ancient history are scarce. When in their painful search for sources, they got the work of Ngô Sĩ Liên, they considered it as a precious document and forgot to question what the author was saying.

flattered their patriotism and saved them from the trouble of a time-consuming research into obscure documents.

As we have seen, the Lạc-việt were aborigenes of where history found them. They did not come from the Việt kingdom of Câu Tiễn as Leonard Arousseau pretended. The character Việt that entered into their tribal name did not have an ethnic, but geographical meaning. They were only one among the many ethnic groups that lived in the region of Ngũ-lĩnh.

What was peculiar to the Lạc-việt was that they were predominant in the departments of Giao-chỉ and Cửu-chân and that they had a relatively advanced social and political organization. Their land was called Land Lạc², This land was governed by a king Lạc³, those who composed the court of this king were Mandarins Lạc⁴, and there were many generals Lạc⁵. The Lạc people tilled their land for their living.

2. Land Lạc or Lạc-diên 駱田 : It is said that the Lạc people had to profit the tide to be able to use this land.

3. Lạc-vương 駱王 : There is no doubt that the title Lạc-vương is a historic title. The text that mentioned the titles Lạc-vương, Lạc-hầu, Lạc-tướng was repeated some centuries later with the titles changed into Hùng-vương, Hùng-hầu, Hùng-tướng.

4. Lạc hầu 駱侯 : The Complete History of Ngô Sĩ Liên, while changing Lạc-vương into Hùng-vương, still kept the historic titles Lạc-hầu and Lạc-tướng.

5. In the Quảng châu ký, cited in the Records, book 113 page 2, it is said that "the people Lạc tilled the soil for their living". Nhân thực kỹ điền 人食其田

The Lạc-việt society was very much disturbed in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Repeatedly the Lạc land was attacked. First a certain 'son of King Thục'⁶, came with 30,000 fighting men, defeated Lạc-vương and reigned⁷ over the Lạc-việt people with the title An-dương-vương.⁷

In 196 B.C. the king of Nam-việt, Triệu Đà, put down An-dương-vương, divided the area into two departments, Giao-chỉ and Cửu-chân, and appointed two governors to supervise them.⁸ From the former Lạc organization, there remained only the Lạc-tướng who functioned as heads of the Lạc-viet districts in the name of Nam-việt king.⁹

In 111 B.C., the Lạc-việt people shared the fate of Nam-việt, when this kingdom fell into the hands of the Hán Anterior. The new rulers retained the administrative units¹⁰ put up by the Triệu family. They retained also the Lạc-tuong in the positions they had before but organized many¹¹ other districts in the new departments.

6. 'Son of King Thục' or Thục-vương-tử 蜀王子 as written in the Giao châu Ngoại Vực ký, cited in the Thủy Kinh Chú 水經注, book 37, page 32.

7. An-dương-vương 安陽王 : King of An-dương. In the department of Hán-trung 漢中 there was a district called An-dương. It might be some connection with the title An-dương-vương.

8. In the Giao-châu ký cited in the Records by Tư Mã Trinh, commentator under the Đường dynasty (617-907), it is said that Triệu Đà 'lệnh nhị sứ điễn chủ Giao-chỉ, Cửu-chân nhị quận' 令二使典主交趾九真二郡 book 113, page 3.

9. According to the Giao-châu ký, the Lạc-tướng were given 'copper seal and green silk' or đồng-ấn thanh-

But things changed with the Hán Posterior. After the usurpation of Vương Mãng, the Hán wanted to enforce a new policy. It is not to say that the Lạc-việt resisted every change. When Tích Quang and Nhâm Diên introduced the Chinese wedding ceremonies, they had accepted willingly and gratefully. But this did not mean that they were ready to welcome the Chinese way of life. And this time, the Hán wanted to propose just that to the autochthons. Moreover, the result of a law enforcement depended much on the officials who did the job. When these officials ranked among those who were waiting for a cover to satisfy their ambition, trouble was sure to come.

For the colons, the new laws were not so much an unbearable burden. Strict or loose, they were theirs. But the autochthons had their own way to interpret the change in the life formula. Used to be oppressed, they construed that China was imposing more oppression. When this oppression was brought home to them by bad prefects and governors, revolt became inescapable.

This situation struck all the ethnic groups. The Lạc-việt, however, had a reason to stand up first. . Suc -

thụ, 銅印青綬.

10. The Triệu 趙 did not have a tight organization in the Lạc-việt territory. Maybe the establishment of two departments was the only thing the king of Nam-việt did.

11. Besides the districts that existed under the power of the Lạc-tướng, the Han created new district for a more effective government.

ceeding Tịch Quang, Tô Định¹² carried more shadow by contrast. Rude but sensitive to the avenues of selfish acquisitions, he put in vigor the Hán policy with a special eagerness. Everybody felt harrassed. Especially the Lạc-việt had to abandon their laws, pride for past generations. And suddenly all the Lạc-tướng disappeared... What would¹³ come next ?

Then a lady took up the challenge. This was Trưng Trắc, daughter of the Lạc-tướng of Mê-linh¹⁴. Her husband,¹⁵ by name Thi¹⁶, was also son of a Lạc-tướng¹⁶, and was also full of vengeance. Trưng Nhi¹⁷, her sister, was no less vengeful. Together they stood up and off they headed to a mass uprising. The History of the Hán Posterior recorded:

A woman of Giao-chỉ, named Trưng Trắc, with her sister Trưng Nhi, stood up in revolt. She attacked her department. The autochthons of Cửu-chân, Nhật-nam, and Hợp-phô supported her. They fought in more than 60 towns of Lĩnh-ngoại(18). Trắc proclaimed herself queen.(19).

12. Tô Định 蘇定: He was not the worst of the prefects, but his image worsened in contrast with Tịch Quang, his predecessor.

13. There was no mention of any killing of the Lạc-tướng by the prefects, but there was also no mention of any Lạc-tướng at all.

14. Mê-linh 麤冷: One of the 10 districts of Giao-chỉ.

15. Thi 詩: According to Thủy Kinh Chú of Lịch Đào Nguyên, the name of Trưng Trắc's husband was Thi, not Thi Sách.

16. This was son of the Lạc-tướng of Châu-diên 朱戴

20

Later , Tư Tri recounted the same event with circumstantiated details :

On the 15th year of Kiến võ (21), 12th lunar month, Trưng Trắc, daughter of the Lạc-tướng of Mê-linh in Giao-chí, very audacious, resented strongly against the prefect of Giao-chí, Tô Định, who enforced the law in an oppressive manner.

The 16th year of Kiến võ, 2nd lunar month, Trưng Trắc, with her sister Trưng Nhị, rose in revolt. The autochthons of of Cửu-chan, Nhat-nam and Hợp-phô supported her. They attacked 65 towns. Trắc proclaimed herself queen, established her capitol in Mê-linh. The prefect of Giao-chí and other prefects fortified their residences for self-defense. (22).

Out of these two passages, the cause of the uprising, as well as its demension appeared readily. One can see the battle-front that divided the autochthons on the offensive side, and the Chinese colons on the defensive. The prefect of Giao-chí and those of other departments did not escape. They stayed and did their best to organize the resistance, waiting for the recue forces of the Central Government. The movement of liberation led by Trưng Trắc in 39, had made her queen in the spring of 40. Losing much of its tumultuosity, the war continued in Giao-chí. In other departments, it lost momentum and died down soon.

17. Trưng Nhị 徵 貳: She shared all the way the fate of her sister.

18. Lĩnh-ngoại 嶺 外 : Meaning the same area as Ngũ-lĩnh.

19. Phạm Việp, op. cit., book 54, page 7.

20. Later means a lapse of time of 6 centuries. The History of the Hán Posterior was written under the Tống (420-477) and Tư Tri was accomplished in 1066.

But 15 centuries after the event, Ngô Sĩ Liên gave another picture. Repeating what Chinese documents had recorded, he was deeply influenced by the patriotic tale entitled "The two Ladies Trưng"²³ that appeared at the same time with that of HỒng-bàng. Combining history and legend, Ngô Sĩ Liên^{wrote} in his Complete History :

²⁴
In the year Kỷ-hợi, because the prefect of Giao-chí, Tô Định was ambitious and cruel in his administration, Queen Trưng stood up and fought against him.

²⁵
In the year Canh-tí, the 2nd lunar month of spring, the Queen, angry at Tô Định, who was enforcing strictly the law and had killed her husband, rose in rebellion with her sister Nhị and besieged the residence of the governor. Định fled to Nam-hải. The departments of Cửu chân, Nhật-nam and Hợp-phô supported her. She pacified 65 towns of Lĩnh-nam, proclaimed herself Queen and reigned under the family name Trưng. (26).

Important new elements were given, or by adding to, or by omitting, or by modifying, the Chinese texts. The cause of the uprising, for example, was doubled: beside the strict policy enforced by the cruel Tô-Định, appeared the conjugal responsibility that prompted Trưng Trắc to revenge the killing of her husband.

21. The 15th year of Kiến-võ corresponds to the year 39 of the Christian era.

22. Tư Trị, book 43, page 291.

23. The Two Ladies Trưng or Nhi Trưng Phu-nhân = 徵夫人
This tale was a combination of history, and mythology.

24. Kỷ-hợi 己亥 corresponds to the year 39 of the Christian era or the 15th year of Hán Kiến-võ.

25. Canh-tí 庚子 corresponds to the year 40.

This additional cause was sociologically anachronical and historically false. We have seen that the Lạc-việt people of Cửu-chân in the time of Nhâm Diên did not know marriage at all. And the time of Nhâm Diên's prefecture was about a decade before Trưng Trắc's uprising. On the other hand, the Lạc-việt of Giao-chỉ were civilized only under Tích Quang, that means a decade or so before Cửu-chân. How the conjugal responsibility, so recently introduced from China, could affect Trưng Trắc so deeply ?

On the historical side; to say that Tô Định had killed the husband of Trưng Trắc, was to impute to the prefect of Giao-chỉ a crime that he never committed. The memoir of a man, named Lịch Đào Nguyên, who passed by Mê-linh in the 6th century, testified to the contrary. That memoir, Thủy Kinh Chú, said that the husband of Trưng Trắc, by name Thi, fought with her during the uprising, and shared with her the defeat two years later.

26. Complete History, book 3, page 1.

27. In Thủy Kinh Chú, book 37, page 62, we read: Châu-diên Lạc-tướng tử danh Thi, sách Mê-linh Lạc-tướng nữ danh Trưng Trắc vi thế. Trắc vi nhân hữu đảm dũng tướng Thi khi tặc. Mã Viện tướng binh thảo. Trắc, Thi, tâu nhập Cầm-kê.

朱戴駱將子名詩，索麓冷駱將女
名徵側為妻。側為人，有擔勇，將詩
起賊。馬援將兵討。側詩走八禁谿。

The son of the Lạc-tướng of Châu-diên, named Thi, asked to marry the daughter of the Lạc-tướng of Mê-linh named Trưng Trắc. Trắc was a woman full of courage and determination. She carried him into rebellion. Mã Viện brought forces to put them down. Trắc and Thi fled into Cầm-kê.

Of greater importance was the omission of the words man di, the barbarians,²⁸ when Ngô Sĩ Liên described "the dimension of the uprising. The text of the Vietnamese historian intentionally conveyed the idea of a revolt in which the whole population participated. In consequence, "the four departments, namely Cửu-chân, Nhật-nam, Hợp-phô and Giao-chỉ had swept away Chinese domination. This area, from spring of 40 to 42 would have been entirely under the rule of Trưng Trắc. What a magnificent accomplishment. Unfortunately, this magnificence existed only in the imagination of Ngô Sĩ Liên.

The reality was that only the autochthons took part in the revolt of Trưng Trắc. The reality was that, while the autochthons attacked, the prefects of the area, including Tô Định, did not escape to anywhere. They stayed in their departments and organized the defense with the colons. The reality was also that, while in other departments the liberation movement of the autochthons quieted down gradually, in Giao-chỉ, the prefect managed to train a troop of 12,000 men in order to join the main army to be sentⁱⁿ by the Central Government.²⁹

28. In The History of the Hán Posterior, the text was: Cửu-chân, Nhật-nam, Hợp-phô man di giai ứng chi 九真, 日南, 合浦蠻夷皆應之. In Tử Tri, we find the same sentence, with man lý 蠻夷 instead of Man di. In the Complete History, the reading is: Cửu-chân, Nhật-nam, Hợp-phô giai ứng chi.

29. In Thủy Kinh Chú, there is this detail: "In the 19th year of Kiến-võ (43) Mã Viện reported to the emperor in these terms: "I cautiously entered Giao-chỉ with a troop of Giao-chỉ of 12,000 men which co-operated with the main army of 20,000 men..."

It was this obvious distortion that made the Sisters Trưng heroines of Vietnam. It was this distortion that led the historians and writers to ignore the presence of the Chinese colons who would eventually become the main element of the Vietnamese people. It was also this distortion that entailed the treacherous idea that only the autochthons who finally got rid of China had gained independence.

The independence gained to the autochthons by the Sisters Trưng came to an end at last, when the army led by General Mã Viện³⁰ came. Here, again, the text of Tư-
Tri :

³¹
The 17th year of Kiến-võ, the 12th lunar month. Trưng Trắc continued her attack through the year. The emperor gave order to the departments of Trường-sa (32), Hợp-phô, Giao-chỉ, to provide boats, chars, to get roads, bridges, rivers and supplies ready. He made Mã Viện General Subduer of the Waves, made general Lưu Long (33) his aide, mandated them to punish Giao-chỉ.

The 18th year of Kiến-võ (34), Mã Viện headed through a thousand miles of thick brushes, came upstream of Lake Lăng-bạc (35), imposed to Trưng Trắc a smashing defeat, chased her into Cam khe (36). The rebels were dispersed.

The 19th year of Kiến-võ (37), the 1st lunar month, Mã Viện killed Trưng Trắc and Trưng Nhi (38).

of Giao-chỉ of 12,000 men which co-operated with the main army of 20,000 men...''

30. Mã Viện 馬援 : He has his biography in the History of the Hán Posterior, book 54.

31. The 17th year of Kien-võ corresponds to the year 41.

32. Trường-sa 長沙 : A department of China north of Hợp-phô.

33. Phù-nhạc-hầu Lưu Long 扶樂侯劉隆.

The decisive battle was quickly over. The 20,000 men army brought by Mã Viện with the 12,000 colons army provided by Giao-chỉ[?] department had easily defeated Trưng Trắc and company. Even Cầm-khê was not safe for the Trưng family. After almost a year of hiding here and there among the montagnards, Trưng Trắc, Trưng Nhị and Thi were captured and killed. Phạm Việp added that their heads were sent to Lạc-dương.

We have seen that Cửu-chân was also a habitat of the Lạc-việt tribe. So, after the debacle, a part of Trưng Trắc³⁹ army, under the command of Đô Long, took refuge among their tribal fellowmen in Cư-phong⁴⁰. To prevent further trouble, Mã Viện followed them, crushed them⁴¹. Giao-chỉ[?] was completely pacified in summer of '43.

But the work of Mã Viện was not yet finished. He fortified the residences of the districts, surrounding them with a rampart⁴². The district of Tây-vu was too big; he divided it into Phong-khê and Vọng-hải⁴³. Of course, he did not forget the main purpose of his being in Giao-chỉ[?]: to make the Lạc-việt people obey to the law of China. This

34. The 18th year of Kiến-võ corresponds to the year 42.

35. Lãng-bạc 浪泊. : According to Thủy Kinh Chú, it was in the district of Phong-khê.

36. Cầm-khê 禁谿 : It was written Kim-khê 金谿 by some authors. Its location was in the south west of Mê-linh.

37. The 19th year of Kiến-võ corresponds to the year 43.

task, Mã Viện accomplished very well. The History of the Hán Posterior summarized it in these sentences: "The law of the Việt and that of the Hán had about ten contradictory points. Viện explained the law of the Hán to the Việt people and had them abide by that law. From that time, the people of Lạc-việt⁴⁴ meticulously kept what general Mã enjoined them"⁴⁵. And from that time, too, the name Lạc-việt disappeared for good from history.

What Mã Viện thought good to be done, he had done it in summer 43. And his triumphal return to China took place only on October 44. The question is what did he do during the 17 months he still stayed in the area of Giao-chí? Did he make a trip down to the district of Tượng-lâm in the department of Nhật-nam, and planted a bronze column there in memory of his victory, as tradition insisted to say?⁴⁶ Did he go around and collect kettle-drums, famous products of the Lạc-việt, as history would like to testify?

38. The History of the Hán Posterior said: Chuyền thủ Lạc-dương 傳首洛陽. (book 54, page 8).

39. Đô-dương 都陽.

40. Cư-phong 居風: A district in the mountaneous part of Cửu-chân.

41. Tử Tri said that the rebels surrendered.

42. Mã Viện surrounded the district residences with a thành and in the Hán Posterior the districts were called thành.

43. Phong-kê 封谿 and Vọng-hải 望海 were respectively in the west (former) and in the east (latter).

44. It is good to remark that when Mã Viện explained the law, he explained only the Chinese law and enjoined the

Maybe he did both. Now, there is no more vestige of his bronze column, because it might have happened that this column had collapsed into the sea, as Thủy Kinh Chú suggested. But the kettle-drums are still being unearthed to fulfill their historical meaning.

A number of happenings are well-known about the kettle-drums. The first to be considered is that they belonged to the Lạc-việt. Did we not see that on his return, Mã Viện had brought back a large quantity of "Lạc việt đồng cổ"⁴⁷ or Kettle-drums of Lạc-việt? The second is that now the Mường are keeping good memory of their treasure of kettle-drums. They used to say: "The first kettle-drums were made under the reign of Dịt-Dàng.⁴⁸ Dịt-Dàng ordered to make hundreds and thousands of Kettle-drums. He kept the beautiful ones in his store-house and told to Chú Khóa, Thăng Lôi⁴⁹ to sell the ugly ones in the market"⁵⁰ The third happening is that the places where history recorded that the Lạc-việt have lived, the Mường are now living. And the fourth, archeology is digging up beautiful kettle-drums in country Mường, that is, in the places inhabited by the Lạc-việt, for example Đông sơn, Hòa-bình.

Lạc-việt to obey.

45. The fact is that from this mentioning, the name Lạc-việt was forgotten, and in its place history spoke of the Liêu.

46. See Tùy-thư 隋書 or History of the Tùy 隋 (590-617) in the edition Nhi Thập Ngũ Sử, book 53, page 2483.

47. Phạm Việp, op. cit., book 54, page 8.

From all these facts, the first conclusion might be that the Lạc-việt are the ancestors of the Mường. And the second is that, if now the Mường are not Vietnamese in the ethnic sense, formerly, the Lạc-việt were not Vietnamese, also in the ethnic sense.

Ngô Sĩ Liên was short in the second part of the revolt of Trưng Trắc. He said that the Sisters Trưng ended their lives by throwing themselves into the River Hát. He omitted the detail concerning the attitude of the Lạc-việt towards Chinese laws. Reading Trưng Trắc of Ngô Sĩ Liên and that of history, one may have the impression of facing respectively a princess, well-educated and in her best attire and a montagnard girl negligently clad.

But the tribal girl had played her role regarding her tribe. It was an important role indeed. She tried to restore the kingdom of Lạc-việt and continued the work of the ancient Lạc-vương. Unfortunately, she failed. Her failure sealed off for ever not only any hope for power for her tribe, but also its existence as a tribal identity as well.

This is only the half of what Trưng Trắc had done for history. The other half of her accomplishment is for

48. Dịt Dăng: Name Mường meaning a proper noun of their king.

49. Chú Khóa, thăng Lôi; Also proper nouns Mường.

the future. Thanks to her uprising, which entailed the uprising of tribal elements in other departments of the Giao-chỉ area, one reality had shown up: the existence of an ever-increasing body of Chinese colons who fought back against the autochthons and kept the Chinese government alive. Ngô Sĩ Liên intentionally ignored this reality. The Vietnamese historians of all schools, and the Vietnamese people, following the false path of Ngô Sĩ Liên, repeated the same falsehood. But Trưng Trắc, in the integrity of her historic role, insistently pointed to the growing elements that concurred to defeat her.

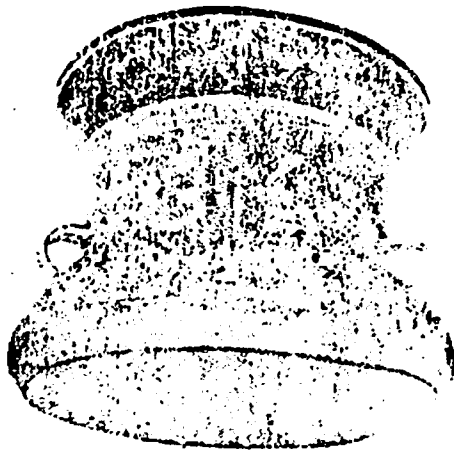
One of the testimonies showing the colon population was the puzzling number 'more than 60 towns'⁵¹ recorded in the documents. What were they? Did they designate the districts, owing to the fact that districts then were called thành? No. The number of districts was much inferior. Here were the districts:

Hợp-phố	5
Giao-chỉ	10
Cửu-chân	7
Nhật-nam	5
Total	<u>27.</u>

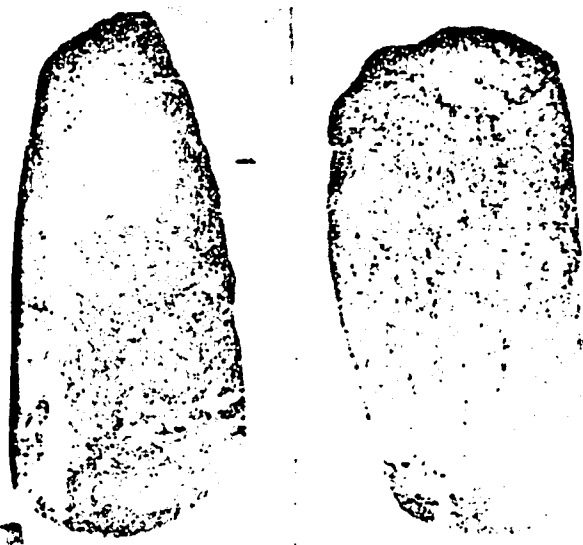
Then, what meant by thành in the Chinese texts? If they did not mean district the only signification they might

50. Lịch-sử Việt-nam, page 48. Truyền thuyết Mường kể rằng những trống đồng đầu tiên được đúc dưới thời vua Dị Dạng

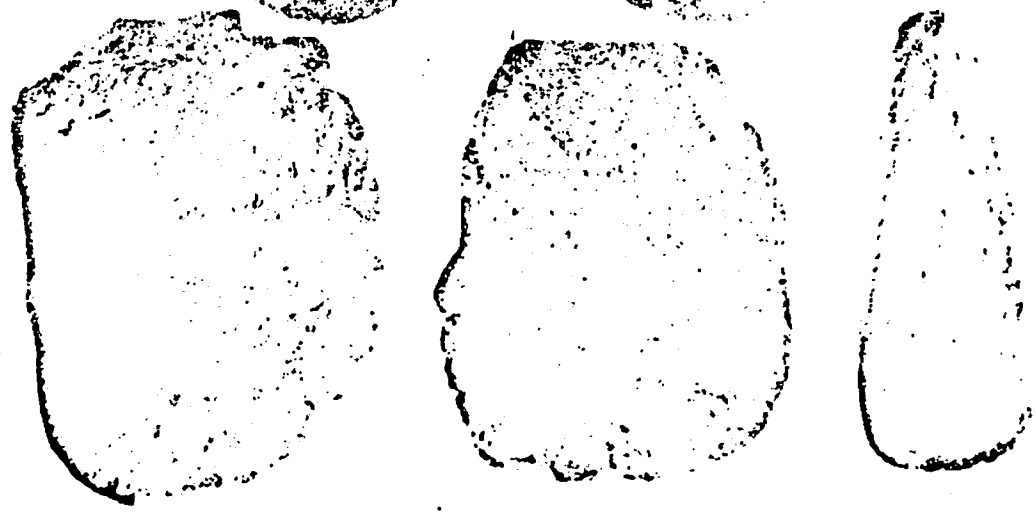
Kettle-drums
of
Dông - sơn



Neolithic
of
Bác - sơn



Mesolithic
of
Hoa-binh



still have was the settlement sites of the colons. The war was between the autochthons and the Chinese, and wherever the two racial elements confronted, fighting took place. This way, thành would have meant the villages of the colons. But were all the colon villages attacked? Certainly not. The autochthons dared not venture far from ^{their} strongholds. They attacked only the villages bordering their territory. The majority of the settlements of the colons in the delta were left unharmed. If the colon villages close to the Lạc-việt people numbered already more than 60, there would have been many more of them ^{elsewhere} in the department of Giao-chí and in the Giao-chí area.

It was these colons who were going to play a decisive role in the future.

Dĩ Dạng sai lúc hàng trăm, hàng nghìn trống đồng, trống
nào đẹp thì để lại kho, trống nào xấu thì sai "chú. Khoa
thăng lỗi" mang đi bán.

51. Tư trị said that the number of the towns attacked was 65. But this is only a guess. "More than 60" might be 61 or 12 or 63...

CHAPTER FIVE

CHINESE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FAR SOUTH COLONIES

Why China did not expand farther than the limits reached in 111 B.C. by LỘ BÁC ĐỨC ? The answer might lie in these sentences of the History of the Hán Posterior, repeated by Tứ Tri :

Giao-chi⁷ was an area abundant in precious things. Up to now, the majority of the governors and prefects were men of bad moral standing. They exploited the people, then asked for moving away. Therefore, people were outraged. They expelled them and said : "Taxes are too heavy; our lives are unbearable; we gather to plunder and rebel (1).

This way of administering the colonies not only irritated the autochthons but also made the colons deeply uneasy. From time to time appeared a good official^{but}, these officials were too much spaced out to resemble faint lights in the midst of immense darkness. When to the discontent of the aborigines and the colons was added the restless ambition of the Lâm Ấp people at the south borders of Nhat-nam, all hope for further expansion for China² seemed vanished.

1. Pham Việp, op. cit., book 61, page 14; Tứ Tri, book 58, page 391. The bad administration of the governors and prefects and the exploitation of the people had for cause the great distance between the far-south colonies and the Central Government: the complaints of the people could not be heard in the capitol.

2. The southward expansion of China stopped since 111 B. C. But the southward trend would continue when the Chinese colons became independent from China and sought for more space to live.

After the victory of Mã Viện in 43, the Giao-chí area was calmed down for almost a hundred years. This did not mean that the behavior of the officials was getting better, it meant rather that the people became more subservient. Little by little, however, general uneasiness came to a head. At the occasion of the attack of Lâm-ấp³, in Nhật-nam, trouble emerged.

Lâm-ấp people were the autochthons of the district of Tượng-lâm. These people lived on either side of the^{south} borders of the Nhật-nam department. Naturally rebellious, they gathered more strength under the leadership of a man called Khâu Liên. This Khâu Liên was son of a công-tào⁴ in the district. He killed the sub-prefect and made himself ruler. That was in the year 137.

That was also a time when the popularity of the Chinese officials in the Giao-chí area was at its lowest ebb. There was no more respect for authority. When the governor Phần Diên⁵ organized an expedition against Khâu Liên, his men resisted. The soldiers, taken from the troops of Giao-chí and Cửu-chân⁶, balked at the idea of facing a far-away war. Instead of going to Nhật-nam, they assaulted the residence of the governor. The riot was immediately put.

3. About Lâm-ấp, see Chapter One, pages 18-21.

4. Công-tào 功曹 : See Tư Trị, book 98, page 899.

5. Phần Diên 槃演 : He was thứ-sú of the area of Giao-chí.

6. These soldiers belonged to the area of Giao-chí and the department of Cửu-chân.

down, but the expedition had to be postponed.⁷

In 138, the deputy governor, Giả Xương,⁸ led an army to Nhật-nam. The reluctance of the soldiers resulted in a defeat. Giả Xương and his men were besieged by Khâu Liên. Almost a year passed and the Chinese forces were still in captivity. And all the provisions in Chinese camp were alarmingly exhausted.

The Hán emperor convened his advisors for an emergency meeting. The general opinion of the high mandarins was to form a big army, choose a big general, and send them to Nhật-nam to punish Lâm-ấp.⁹ But Lý Cố, a high ranking official, disagreed. Articulately, he rejected the reasoning of other mandarins point by point, then presented his proposal. Among other things, he said :

Each area has its hero. Let us choose among the most courageous and able generals, and make them governor and prefects. Let us order them to stay in Giao-chí, because now in Nhật-nam, soldiers are few, provisions are scarce. If it is already impossible to keep, a fortiori, it is impossible to fight. We will move north the officials and people of Nhật-nam, let them depend temporarily on Giao-chí; when peace comes, let them go back to their home towns. As for the revolt, let us use the autochthons to fight against the autochthons. Let us give out gold and silk to encourage them. To those who are able to sow dissidence among themselves, let us promise high titles and abundant rewards. (10).

7. It was postponement like this one had helped Khâu Liên to consolidate the ground of his new territory.

8. Giả Xương 賈昌 .

9. Lý Cố 李固 His biography is found in the History of the Hán Posterior, book 93, pages 1-11.

The imperial council fully agreed with Lý Cồ. Two¹² able men were chosen : Trương Kiêu¹¹, native of Nam-dương¹³ was made governor of Giao-chỉ¹³ area; and Chúc Lương, native of Trường-sa, prefect of Cửu-chân. These two men took immediately their functions. They used soothing words to placate the people of Lâm-ấp. All the autochthons sur-¹⁴rendered to the Hán.

The implication in the proposal of Lý Cồ might be more important than the pacification of Nhật-nam itself. First, thanks to this passage, phrases like "people of Nhật-nam", "people of Giao-chỉ"¹⁵ proved their full meaning. To a number of historians, these phrases should be understood as the aborigines of Nhật-nam, of Giao-chỉ. Here they pointed unmistakably to the Chinese colons. Not only Lý Cồ ranged them on the same side with Chinese officials, but also spoke of them as of those whom China had¹⁶ to save from the hands of the aborigenes.

Secondly, the proposal of Lý Cồ showed that, about a hundred years after the revolt of Lạc-việt, the department

10. See Từ Tri, book 52, page 352.

11. Trương Kiêu 張 喬 : He was official at Ích-châu and had the reputation of dealing well with the rebels.

12. Nam-dương 南 陽 : A department called Lạc-duong under the Tần, close to Nam-quận.

13. This is the version of Chinese documents. In reality surrender did not mean that Khâu Liên ceased to be supreme chief of Tượng-lâm, or Lâm-ấp.

14. Chúc Lương 祝 良 was described as "tính đa dũng quyết¹⁶性多勇决 (man of courage and determination).

of Giao-chỉ⁹ had become a place where the colons were preponderant. In 138, Giao-chỉ⁷ was not only safe for the Chinese to settle, but also a safe haven for the colons in danger everywhere.

Thirdly, the people of Nhật-nam, moving to Giao-chỉ⁷ stayed there only temporarily. Their home was in Nhật-nam. They would go back there when Nhật-nam would be pacified. This indicated that Chinese colonies had spaced out along the coast down to the farthest department of China.

Nhật-nam, with the country of Lâm-ấp at its side, could not keep the peace for long. In 144, turmoil rose up again. The governor of Giao-chỉ⁷, by name Hạ Phường¹⁷ tried to calm the people and he succeeded.

But, the same causes always produced the same effects. In 178, the autochthons of Giao-chỉ⁷, by name, Ô Hứa¹⁸, rebelled against Chinese officials. The autochthons of other departments did the same. Wicked people took advantage of this general disorder to satisfy their ambition. A certain Lương Long¹⁹ of Giao-chỉ⁷, in connivence with the prefect of Nam-hải, worked with his 10,000 men to betray the Central Government. Chu Tuấn²⁰ was chosen to save

15. People of Giao-chỉ⁷ or Giao-chỉ nhân 交趾人. people of Cửu-chân or Cửu-chân nhân 九真人. These phrase; meant rather the natives of these department, not the aborigenes.

16. It is clear by the argument of Lý Cô that the people he designated as Nhật-nam men were Chinese.

the situation. On his way to accept the governorship, he mobilized some 5,000 strong men, formed out of them two divisions. On the borders of Giao-chí[?] area, he made sure about his enemies, then proceeded with the military forces under his command. Lương Long was killed; a number of Long's followers surrendered. But restlessness continued.²¹

Six years later, Giã Tung came to Giao-chí[?]. His administration was one of openness. He sent emissaries to every corner of his area to inquire the causes of unrest. Some replied: " Taxes are too heavy, we are all exhausted. The capitol is too far away. We don't know^{how} to make our complaints heard. Life becomes unbearable. So, we plunder and rebel"'. Giã Tung did his best to re-assure his subjects. He told to his people to mind their businesses. He appealed the dispersed to come back to their own villages. Most of all, he selected good officials to serve the people. These reforms pleased very much the inhabitants. In the pe-

17. Hạ Phương 夏方 : Tư Tri wrote : Giao-chí thứ-sử Cửu-
 ciang Hạ Phương chiêu dụ, hăng chi 交趾刺史九江夏方
 招誘降之 . When Ngô Sĩ Liên copied that sentence, he
 wrote : Cửu-chân thứ-sử Hạ Phương chiêu hăng giả nhi phủ
 dụ chi. Tư Tri, book 52, page 356; Complete History, book
 3, page 6.

18. Ô-Hứa 烏許 : The Ô-Hứa appeared as rebels four years
 before Lương Long joined them.

19. Lương Long 梁龍 : He had about 10,000 men under his
 command and had also the support of the prefect of Nam-hải,
 Không Chi 孔芝 .

20. Chu Tuân 朱儁 : His biography is in the History of
 the Hán Posterior, book 101, pages 8-11.

riod of one year, order was restored. In the streets and in public places, children used to sing:

Father Già came late
So we were rebellious,
Now peace has come
We will never revolt again.²³

After three years of hard work, Già Tung left Giao-chí for the capital. Fortunately, at the same time, the department of Giao-chí had a good prefect, by name Sĩ Nhiếp.²⁴ This man was a scholar, a politician, and a protector of the people. Because of his excellent administration and his very long time in office, he became exceptionally popular.²⁵ The inhabitants often honored him by the title "king". Later, long after his death, the kings of Vietnam gave him also the posthumous title of king. Based on all that, Ngô Sĩ Liên had made Sĩ Nhiếp a historic king. He presented his story as that of a reigning king, with all the honor reserved to this dignity. In reality, Sĩ Nhiếp was an appointee of the Hán, and a prefect of Giao-chí.

Sĩ Nhiếp was native of Thương-ngô.²⁶ His father was prefect of Nhật-nam for a time. In his youth, Sĩ Nhiếp made his study in China, was graduated Híu-liêm.²⁷ He had all the attributes of a politician and a gentleman, responsible,

21. People were not satisfied with the policy of Chu Tuân.

22. Già Tung 賈琮 : This governor, because of his eagerness and dedication had won the hearts of the people.

generous, hospitable. His time was a time of general unrest in the empire. The Han dynasty was in its decline. In many places, officials let loose their ambition at the expense of their subjects and even of the central Government. In the Giao-chỉ²⁸ area, Governor Châu Phù was killed by the insurgent aborigenes. Then Sĩ Nhiếp obtained from the throne to name three of his brothers to the position of prefect: Nhất in Hợp-phô²⁹, Vĩ in Cửu-chấn³⁰, Võ in Nam-hải³¹. Well surrounded by the members of his family, he became a force against the followers of Tôn Quyền³² who was trying to overthrow the Hán dynasty.

The struggle for imperial power was fierce between the Hán and the new Ngô dynasty³³. Both sides are aiming at having the southern departments. Finally, Tôn Quyền succeeded to put his man, Bộ Khúc, at the head of Giao-chỉ area, which became Giao-châu in 210. Sĩ Nhiếp and his brothers had to obey the new regime. During all this time of turmoil

23. Già Phụ lai văn 賈父來晚,
Sứ ngã tiên phản 使我先反
Kim kiên thanh bình 今見清平
Bất cảm phục phản. 不取復飯

24. Sĩ Nhiếp 士 燮 : Ngô Sĩ Liên considered him as a ruler of Vietnam.

25. Sĩ Nhiếp was respected and loved by his department as well as by the refugees from the disorder of inner China.

26. Thương-ngô was a department in the Giao-chỉ area, so Vietnamese historians were inclined to consider him as compatriot.

27. Miêu-liêm 考 廉 : A grade equivalent to the doctorate.

and change, the departemnt of Giao-chỉ and other depart-
ments of the area enjoyed peace and security.³⁴

After the death of Sĩ Nhiếp, Tôn Quyền made some
changes. He divided the old Giao-chỉ area into two châu,³⁵
namely Quảng-châu,³⁶ covering Nam-hải, Hợp-phố, Thường-ngô,³⁸
and Úât-lâm,³⁷ with Lữ Đại as governor; and Giao-châu,³⁹ co-
vering the three far-south departments, with Đái Lương as
governor. At the head of Giao-chỉ department he appointed
Trần Thời.⁴⁰ Sĩ Huy, son of Sĩ Nhiếp, got the department of
Cửu-chân.

Of course, Sĩ Huy was displeased with this arrangement.
He thought that at least he should succeed his father in
Giao-chỉ. So, he tried to undo the plan of the Ngô. With
the forces under his command, he occupied Giao-chỉ and
kept Đái Lương and Trần Thời out of Giao-châu. Tôn Quyền
gave mandate to Lữ Đại to restore order at any price. Lữ
Đại used a member of Sĩ Nhiếp's family⁴¹ to induce Sĩ Huy to
surrender, assuring him that he would have his life safe.

28. Châu Phù 朱符 : Tư trị said that Châu Phù 'vi di
tặc sở sát 為夷賊所殺 (book 66, page 442).

29. Sĩ Nhất 士壹 : Prefect of Hợp-phố.

30. Sĩ Vĩ 士蕢 : Prefect of Cửu-chân.

31. Sĩ Võ 士武 : Prefect of Nam-hải.

32. Tôn Quyền 孫權 : Founder of the Ngô dynasty in South
China, in the decline of the Hán dynasty.

33. The Ngô 吳 : The Ngô reigned in South China from 210
to 279, when Ngô Hạo surrendered to the Tấn. The History of
the Ngô or Ngô-thư 吳書 was written by Trần Thọ 陳壽
under the Tấn dynasty (265-420).

But when Sĩ Huy did surrender, Lữ Đại killed him. Lữ Đại⁴² also restored to Giao-châu its Giao-chỉ boundaries.

When Tôn Quyền removed Lữ Đại from Giao-châu, the prefect of Hợp-phố, Tiết Tông⁴³ petitioned to retain Đại or to replace him by able men. He gave a sketch of bad administration in the past, then said: "In case Đại cannot come back, the new governor should be a man subtle and cautious, he should be a man of intelligence and resourcefulness, so that, being at the head of eight departments, he could pacify the rebellion of Cao Dương⁴⁴. If the new governor would be only a good bureaucrat, able only to solve ordinary problems, wicked men would gather and the situation would result in calamity"⁴⁵.

Tiết Tông made a good prediction. The situation of

34. Ngô-Thư, biography of Sĩ Nhiếp, book 4, page 1041, said that Sĩ Nhiếp died in the 6th year of Hoāng vũ, that corresponds to 226. Ngô Sĩ Liên said that he was in office "more than 40 years", and decided that he began his function in Giao-chỉ on 187. This date must be revised.

35. Châu 州 : province.

36. Quảng-châu 廣州 : In comparison of Giao-chỉ, Quang chau had less importance at its beginning, but would grow in importance afterward.

37. Lữ Đại 呂岱 : The biography of Lữ Đại is found in Ngô thư, book 15, page 1062, in the edition Nhị Thập Ngũ Sử.

38. Giao-châu 交州 : The first time this appellation appeared was in 210, but then it covered the whole Giao-chỉ area. Now, for the first time, it covered only three departments in the far-south.

39. Đái Lương 戴良 : He had not much influence.

40. Trần Thời 陳時 :

Giao-châu got worse after Lữ Đại than before him. Tôn Tư,⁴⁶ who replaced Lữ Đại, was among the rank of bad officials. Đặng Tuân⁴⁷ who came to help Tôn Tư was by no means better. Responding to the secret wish of the people, Lữ Hưng⁴⁸ killed both Tôn Tư and Đặng Tuân. But Lữ Hưng himself was soon assassinated by a partisan of Tôn Quyền, named Vương Thông.⁴⁹ All these killings were mostly motivated by partisanship. The Ngụy was also vying for imperial power. Lữ Hưng was on the side of the Ngụy while Tôn Tư and Đặng Tuân were appointees of the Ngô.⁵⁰

Reviewing the situation of Giao-châu after the death of Lữ Hưng, Tư Trị wrote: "Giao-chí was sinking. Mountains quaked. Wicked men fought one another. The empire was in chaos. It was a time of general danger for China".⁵¹ Giao-châu became the battlefield between the Tần and the Ngô. The partisans of the Ngô tried to destroy anyone appointed

41. The man used by Lữ Đại to induce Sĩ Huy into surrender is named Sĩ Khuông by Ngô Thử and Sĩ Phụ by Tư Trị (book 70, page 470).

42. Ngô Thử, book 15, pages 1062, 1062.

43. Tiết Tông 薛宗: Biography of this man is found in Ngô-thử, book book 8, page 1048.

44. Cao Lương 高良. A trouble maker in the departments of Uất-lam, Thương-ngô, Nam-hải and Châu-nhai.

45. See also Complete History, book 4, pages 2-3.

46. Tôn Tư 孫諮: Partisan of the Ngô. he was resented by the people when he wanted to send 30 pea-cocks to the capitol Kiên-nghiệp 建業 of the Ngô.

47. Đặng Tuân 鄧荀: At that time he had the title of Sát-chiến 祭戰.

by the Tấn and vice versa, until emerged a strong man, called ⁵²Đào Huýnh, who became governor in 271 and stayed in office for thirty years, that is until his death. He was appointed by the Ngô, who, ⁵³since 264, had decided that Giao-châu covered only Giao-chí, Cửu-chân and Nhật-nam.

After ⁵⁴Lữ Húng, the followers of the Tấn occupied high positions in Giao-châu. Đào Huýnh and a number of other generals were sent by the Ngô to recapture these positions. During the fighting, Đào Huýnh proved to be the most capable. Once victor, he became governor and created three new departments, where the autochthons showed greater unrest, namely ⁵⁵Vũ-bình, ⁵⁶Tân-xương and ⁵⁷Cửu-đức. Many tribal leaders reconciled themselves with him. When Ngô Hạo surrendered to the Tấn, in 280, he did the same.

⁵⁸Ngô Ngạn, successor of Đào Huýnh, was also a good man. But soon fighting and killing for positions took place.

48. ⁵⁹Lữ Húng 呂興 : He was given by the Ngô the title "An-nam tướng quân", the first time the word An-nam was used to replaced Giao-châu. But it is to remark that this An-nam covered all seven departments.

49. Vương Thông: 王通 : Partisan of the Ngô.

50. In 264, the Ngô apparently surrendered to the Ngô but in reality tried to hang on to power until 280.

51. Tư trị, book 79, page 12.

52. Đào Huýnh 陶璜 : He had his biography in Tân thư book 97, page 1234 in the edition Nhị thập ngũ sử.

53. Vũ-bình 武平.

54. Tân-xương 新昌.

55. Cửu-đức 九德.

The Tấn emperor seemed willing to recognize the winner. Disorder continued for many decades. In 380, the prefect of Cửu-châu, Lý Tôn,⁵⁷ even took over the residence of the governor and declared independent. The following year, Đỗ Viện⁵⁸, a colon native of Giao-châu, got the governorship. He killed Lý Tôn and pacified the area. When he died, his son, Đỗ Tuệ Độ⁵⁹, succeeded him.

Đỗ Viện and Đỗ Tuệ Độ were known, not only by their success in suppressing rebels. They had also successfully faced enemies coming from the south. The king of Lâm-ấp, Phạm Đạt, in 339, came and attacked Cửu-châu, then Giao-chí.⁶⁰ Đỗ Viện expelled him. In 413, another Lâm-ấp king Phạm Hồ Đạt,⁶¹ renewed the attacks. The son^{of} Đỗ Viện not only expelled him, but killed him.

56. Ngô Ngạn 吳 諤 : His biography is in Tân-thư, book 57.

57. Lý Tôn 李 遜 : He escaped from Quảng-châu to Giao-châu. The governor of Giao-châu, Đỗ Viện, distributed all his possessions to his soldiers to encourage them. They killed Lý Tôn.

58. Đỗ Viện 杜 瑗 : is introduced as "Giao-chí nhân" man of Giao-chí. This meant Chinese colon born in Giao-chí.

59. Đỗ Tuệ Độ 杜 慧 度 : See Tư Trĩ, book 116, page 779.

60. Phạm Đạt 范 達 : He was a descendant of a Chinese, named Phạm Văn. This Phạm Văn was servant of Lâm-ấp king Phạm Chí. He became Chí's Prime Minister, then usurped the throne. This origin explained the aggressive attitude of Lâm-ấp.

61. Phạm Hồ Đạt 范 胡 達 : Not to confuse with Phạm Đạt. This second Đạt was killed by Đỗ Tuệ Độ.

Lâm-ấp attacks were renewed in 415. Chinese generals were able to reject them. But it was not enough to be always on the defensive. So, ĐỖ Tuệ-ĐỘ headed an expedition into the territory of Lâm-ấp in 420. He defeated his enemies, killed more than the half of Lâm-ấp soldiers. The king of Lâm-ấp surrendered. ĐỖ Tuệ-ĐỘ agreed and let free all the Lâm-ấp people he had captured.

⁶²
⁶³
 Phạm Dương Mại, who became king of Lâm-ấp after Phạm-Hồ Đạt, was a type of active warrior. In 431, he led an uncessessful attack on Cửu-chân. The next year, instead of fighting, he made an diplomatic initiative. With copious presents, he sent an ambassador to the new emperor of the ⁶⁴Tống to ask the mandate for governing Giao-châu. This seemed both audacious and impudent. The Tống emperor repudiated the request, at the same time understood the challenging message : If Lâm-ấp was unpunished, it continued to harrass Giao-châu.

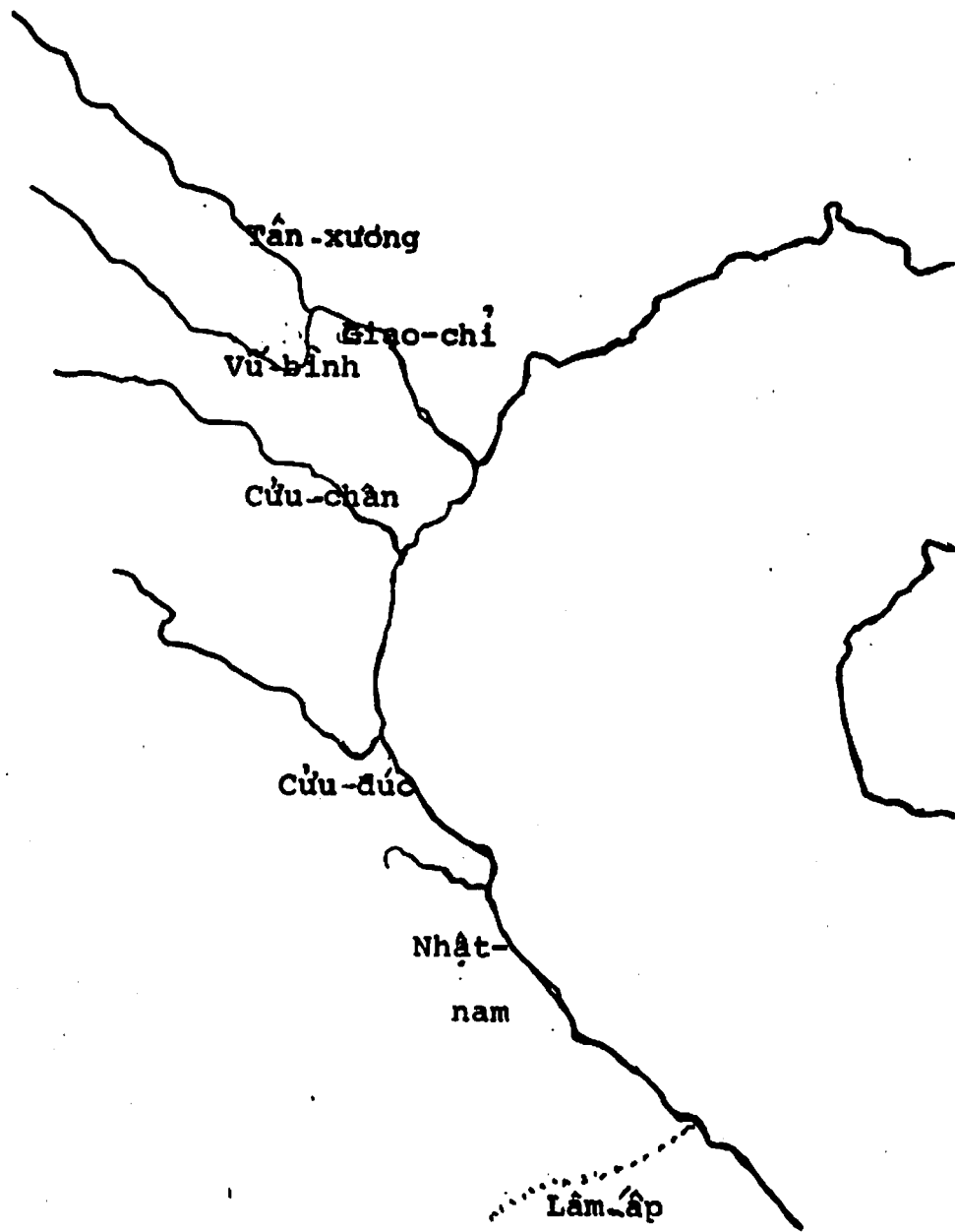
So, in 446, by imperial order, the governor of ⁶⁵Giao-châu, Đản Hòa Chi, commanded a big army to bring war to Lâm-ấp. He was efficiently aided by a general, named ⁶⁶Tống Xác. At the approach of the Chinese, Phạm Dương Mại

62. See Tên-thư 晉書, book 10, in the edition Nhị thập Ngũ Sử, pages 1099, 1100. See also Complete History, book 4, page 8.

63. Phạm Dương Mại 范陽邁: One of the most aggressive king of Lâm-ấp.

64. The Tống 宋 dynasty (420-407) succeeded to the Tấn since 420. About the request of Lâm-ấp, see Tứ Trị, book

MAP OF GIAO - CHÂU



Giao-châu 交州

Giao-chỉ 交趾, Vũ-bình 武平 Tân-xương 新昌

Cửu-chân 九真 Cửu-đức 九德 Nhật-nam 日南 Lâm-áp 林邑

tried to buy his time. He asked to surrender and offer as present 10,000 ounces of gold and 100,000 ounces of silver. But the Tông emperor knew well the trap. He told to Đản Hòa Chi to be careful. On reaching Châu-ngô, Đản Hòa Chi sent some envoys to Lâm-ấp camps, to probe the goodwill of Phạm Dương Mai. When these envoys were siezed by the enemies, Đản Hòa Chi furiously advanced his forces and besieged Lâm-ấp general Phạm Phù Long in the town of Khu-túc⁶⁷. Tông Xác dispersed the rescue army of Lâm-ấp⁶⁸. Khu-Túc fell to Đản Hòa Chi not long after; Phạm Phù Long was killed, and Chinese army continued its march to Tượng-phô⁶⁹. In an supreme effort to save his capital and his country, Phạm Dương Mai drove to the battle field all his population and his elephants. Remembering from a tale he read that elephants were scared of lions, Tông Xác made a huge lion and carried it before the Lâm-ấp elephants. In fact, the elephants stopped and drew back. They ran over the Lâm-ấp soldiers, sowed panic to the Lâm-ấp army which was killed both by Lâm-ấp elephants and by Chinese fighters. Phạm Dương Mai suffered a total defeat, and escaped by sea to the south with his family. Đản Hòa Chi's

122 page 820.

65. Đản Hòa Chi 檀和之; See Tông thư 宋書, book 5, edition Nhị Thập Ngũ Sử, page 1428; Tư Tri, book 124, page 835.

66. Tông Xác 宗慤: He had his biography in Tông thư book 76, page 1613.

67. Phạm Phù Long 范扶龍: The most capable general of

men looted Lâm-ấp capitol. Each Chinese fighting men got his share, except Tống Xác who did not touch anything at all.

It was an obvious opportunity for China to take over Lâm-ấp and advance its colonization. But China did not profit it. And it was understandable. The Chinese officials in Giao-châu gave China already enough trouble. To go farther might cause them to stand up against it.

An incident, happened in 468, showed clearly the mood of the colons, native of Giao-châu. In that year, Governor Lưu Mực died of illness. A colon, named Lý Trưởng Nhân,⁷⁰ killed all the officials 'coming from the north', and made himself governor. The Central Government at the same time named Lưu Bật governor of Giao-châu. Lý Trưởng Nhân did not allow him to come. Lưu Bật died while waiting Trưởng Nhân's permission. At the end of the year, Trưởng Nhân sent envoys to the capital to make his submission. He was pardoned by the emperor who recognized his governorship.⁷¹

The example of Lý Trưởng Nhân was imitated by his brother, Lý Thúc Hiến.⁷² When Trưởng Nhân died in 479, Thúc Hiến, by his own counsel, governed Giao-châu. After

Phạm Dương Mai.

68. Khu Túc 區 粟 : According to Thủy Kinh chú, one could arrive to Khu-túc after getting out of the district of Lu-dung of Nhật-nam. It was 'to the south of a high mountain...'. See Tứ trị (note), book 124, page 835.

69. Tượng-phô 象 浦 : Capitol of Tượng-lâm, that became

a while, he was criticized by his subjects. He asked Thái-tổ of the new Tề dynasty to give him the governorship. The emperor agreed to make him Commander of the army of Giao-châu and prefect per interim of Tân-xương and Vũ-bình, but named Thăm-Hoán⁷³ to be governor of Giao-châu. Emboldened by this imperial favor, Thúc-Hiến did not allow Thăm Hoán to enter Giao-châu. Like Lưu Bật, Hoán died while waiting in Uất-lâm. A month later, Thúc Hién was recognized as governor by the Tề emperor. In 485, Thúc Hién was replaced by Lưu Khải⁷⁴, but by another emperor⁷⁵, and by another cause.

In general, under the Tề dynasty, the officials of Giao-châu continued to do what they wanted. In 490. Governor Phòng Pháp Thặng⁷⁵ was a type of bookworm man. He read books day in and day out. The affairs of the area were run by a subaltern named Phúc Đẳng Chi.⁷⁶ Irresponsible and ambitious, Đẳng Chi abused his "pie-from-the-sky" power. When Phòng Pháp Thặng knew the conduct of

Lâm-ấp since 137.

70. Lý Trường Nhân 李長仁 : Tứ tri, book 132, page 882.

Lưu Bật 劉勃 : He was appointed in the 8th lunar month and died in the 11th month of the same year.

72. Lý Thúc Hién 李叔獻 : Tứ tri, book 135, page 900; book 136, page 908. See also Complete History, book 4, page 13.

73. Thăm Hoán 沈煥 : He died only about one month after his appointment to the governorship of Giao-châu.

74. Lưu Khải 劉楷 : When Lưu Khải came, Lý Thúc Hién felt that all resistance would be useless, he fled to China. This is another example showing that phrases, like

Dang Chi, he put him in prison. But Dang Chi knew how

to worked it out. Phong Pháp Thàng had a brother-in-law

in his office, named Thot Canh Thuc. Dang Chi bribed

this Canh Thuc who freed him. Then he aroused the po-

pulace in his favor, put Pháp Thàng under house arrest.

Pháp Thàng idle, came to Dang Chi to ask for books to

read. Dang Chi refused. He reported to the emperor that

Pháp Thàng became mentally ill. The emperor made him go-

vernor of Giao-châu. In the place of Pháp Thàng.

Abuse of power, irresponsibility, bribery, all

that summarized the burden that governors and prefects

were imposing on the inhabitants of Giao-châu. In the days,

when the colons were still a minority, this burden fell

mainly upon the autochthons. The uprising of Trung Trac

symbolized the response of the exploited. But how the

châu nhân 州人, man of the area, pointed to the colons, not to the autochthons.

75. Phong Pháp Thàng 風法堂, Complete History, book 4, page 12. 法堂: Tu tri, 137, page 915.

76. Phục Bang Chi 伏登之: He was named governor the 18th of November, 490. Tu Tri said: Thập nhất nguyệt, at Mao, di Dang Chi vi Giao-châu thũ sú. Pháp Thàng hoàn Chi lĩn-nhi tót. 十一月之卯, 伏登之, 交州刺史. 法乘還至朝而卒. book 137, page 916.

77. Thot Canh Thuc 荊景叔.

78. All the inhabitants of Giao-châu were exploited by the officials. But when the colons were still a minority, they felt the need to be protected against the autochthons, so they took the side of the officials, who were their countrymen. At the end of the 5th century, the colons were numerous enough to recognize their responsibility on the area in which they lived.

tribal efforts could prevail against the Chinese know-how of martial art? At this stage, however, the exploited were the colons themselves. Would they stand up against their Central Government as a gesture of repudiation of the burden above mentioned? Yes, they would, in the person of a colon named Lý Bí.⁷⁸

78. The uprising of Lý Bí was symbolic of a beginning in a new direction.