LIVING AND TRADING IN HỘI AN: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NGUYỄN PORT IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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Inside courtyard of Dương Thương Assembly Hall in Hội An. July 2016

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Declaration of Candidate

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

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Abstract

Hội An was formally established as the Nguyễn Lord's foreign trading port in the late sixteenth century. It was a major entrepôt in the East Asian trade network in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, attracting Japanese, Chinese, and European traders. It has been the subject of numerous historical studies which have emphasized the cosmopolitanism inherent in an international port. Archaeological investigation followed Hội An's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1999. These have focused on the influence of the Japanese and Chinese communities on the architecture of the town. This thesis builds upon these previous works to understand how the port and the town evolved during these two centuries.

This research employs a maritime cultural landscape approach to highlight the role of trade in the development of Hội An. Trade was the primary economic activity of the town, as such Hội An grew so as to always facilitate it. In addition, trade attracted various foreign communities who influenced the port through their traditions and their interactions with each other. The maritime cultural landscape approach helps understand this dual impact on Hội An. This thesis has thus established a timeline for the development of Hội An based on the interactions of Japanese, Chinese, and European traders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Hội An, also at times called Faifo[1] in the historical sources, (Figure 1.1) is a small port town located in Quảng Nam province in central Vietnam. It was formally established as a town in the sixteenth century on the Thu Bồn River, and has since spread north to the coast. It was a popular trade destination in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thanks to its safe and easily accessible harbour, as well as its low duties. The seventeenth-century missionary Alexandre de Rhodes (1854:156–157) described it as a rich port where the Portuguese, Chinese and Japanese met to trade because of its convenience. Li Tana (1998:69) quotes an eighteenth-century Cantonese trader: "The goods that can be brought from Quảng Nam are so abundant that it seems nothing cannot be obtained from there, it is superior to all other ports of Southeast Asia."

Figure 1.1 Map of Vietnam indicating the location of Hội An

[1] For more on the debate surrounding the origin of Hội An's name, see Chen 2002:10.

The port attracted trade mainly from China and Japan but also Europe and Southeast Asia. As they depended on monsoon winds for travel, these merchant communities stayed in Hội An for several months at a time; some merchants even settled permanently (Vu 2011:194). The town reflects this meeting of peoples in its architecture and spatial layout. Its importance declined after the Tây Sơn Rebellion (1778–1802), a violent episode of Vietnamese history, from which a ravaged Hội An had difficulty recovering from (Wheeler 2001:189–206). Hội An became practically obsolete in the nineteenth century after the emergence of the deeper port at Đà Nẵng 30 km north. Much of the town was again affected by conflict during the Vietnam War (1955–1975). Since then, Hội An has remained largely untouched, and is considered a well-preserved example of a Southeast Asian port of the Age of Commerce, notable for its wooden architecture and organic growth (Tran 1998:115–116). In 1999, UNESCO declared "Hội An Ancient Town" a World Heritage Site (UNESCO 1999:14).

Historians have described the way people traded with each other, and how they lived together in Hội An (Reid 1993; Li 1998; Showa Women's University Institute of International Culture 2000; Vu 2011). Contemporary accounts, as well as a seventeenth-century painting (Figure 1.2) depicting Hội An, show it as a single street (Chen 2002:299–300; Wheeler 2001:38). The "old town" was built by at least three cultures other than Vietnamese and today is four streets wide. The Japanese and Chinese would have had significant influence in the town, but it remains uncertain what proportion of the population they represented. Today the architecture of the old town is a blend of Vietnamese, Chinese, and Japanese architecture, with some French and Southeast Asian influence. The iconic Japanese Bridge illustrates the blend of cultures in Hội An. It is thought to have been built by the Japanese but was rebuilt after a fire by the Chinese community in the seventeenth century. It was restored at least five more times since then by different communities who have all left traces of their building traditions (Tran 2008:18). It is not immediately apparent what impact the local non-elite Việt-Cham population had on the built environment, but they must not be discounted.

This thesis will study the development of Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by assessing the known archaeological record of Hội An, focusing primarily on the built environment and the historical record. One of the major aims of this research is to go beyond the conventional economic role of the port in order to understand how a cosmopolitan port town such as Hội An functioned. As such, this thesis will consider issues concerning the expression of identity and ethnicity through the built environment as well as those concerning the spatial organization of economic activities.

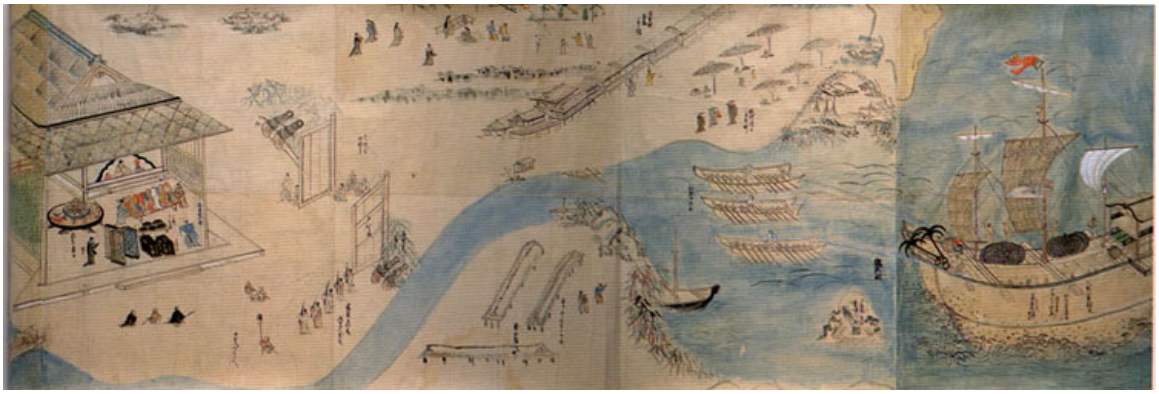

Figure 1.2 Section of Japanese Edo Period picture scroll depicting the Japanese quarter of Hội An (the row of buildings) and what is thought to be the headquarter of Quảng Nam Nguyễn Lords. Image taken from Hoi An: Ancient Town of Hoi An Thrives Today (Showa Women's University Insititute of International Culture 2000)

The primary research question is:

How was the development of Hội An influenced by maritime trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

The aims of this thesis are:

- To examine historical accounts to assess the social, cultural and economic fabric of Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
- To analyse archaeological studies about Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
- To understand the physical development of the township and its stages of expansion
- To document the impact of trade and cosmopolitanism on the built environment by identifying the changing economic, social, and cultural sub-divisions within Hội An.

1.1 Historical Background

From the tenth century, there were two major groups occupying the territory now known as Vietnam: the Đại Việt in the Red River Delta region in the North, and the Cham in Central and Southern Vietnam. Quảng Nam province was first inhabited by the Cham, before it was conquered by the Vietnamese in the fifteenth century. The Cham were a Malayo-Polynesian seagoing people who first came to Vietnam by boat in the first millennium B.C.E from Borneo (Shaffer 1996:11–17; Vickery 2009:45). Though early historians of Champa depicted it as a single kingdom, it is now understood to have been a number of independent polities whose importance and relationships to each other varied through time (Hardy, Cucarzi, and Zolese 2009; Vickery 2009).

The Cham kingdom based around the Thu Bồn river valley was prominent in the fifth to eighth centuries; it was superseded first by Panduranga in the South, and then Vijaya, located between the Thu Bồn and Panduranga (Hardy 2009; Vickery 2009). Despite this, the Thu Bồn valley remained an important player in regional trade thanks to its port, Cừa Đại Chiêm (Port of the Great Champa), located on the river (Hardy 2009:108; Phan 2011:17; Tran 2011:45). There is archaeological evidence of this trade both along the Thu Bồn and on the nearby Cham islands where Islamic and Chinese ceramics have been found (Nakamura 2000).

From the fifteenth century, the Đại Việt started a slow expansion into the south. Though the Lê Dynasty had once been mighty, by the sixteenth century the Lê Emperor held little power and was controlled by three constantly warring families: the Trịnh, the Mạc, and the Nguyễn. In 1546, Trịnh Kiểm took control of the Lê power; ten years later he sent his military commander Nguyễn Hoàng south. Nguyễn Hoàng slowly distanced himself from the Trịnh as he settled the South. Nguyễn Hoàng's descendants built a new state, Đàng Trong, and called themselves the Nguyễn Lords. They established their capital in Phú Xuân, which became the Nguyễn Dynasty Imperial City of Huế in 1802. The Nguyễn established themselves during what Anthony Reid dubbed the "age of commerce," when international maritime trade thrived in Southeast Asia (Reid 1993). As opposed to their northern counterparts, the Nguyễn Lords embraced this trade, developing Hội An to welcome foreign merchants (Reid 1993; Li 1998).

The exact circumstances of Hội An's establishment are not known, though it is suspected that it grew from being a landing place where the Chinese and Japanese could trade with each other as well as the local population (Wheeler 2006a:187). It was formally established by the Nguyễn Lords sometime in the 16th century on the Thu Bồn river, a bit closer to the coast than Cừa Đại Chiêm due to silting (Dror and Taylor 2006:133). It is accessible from two points: the mouth of the Thu Bồn River, which historical sources claim was 2 leagues away (9.65 km), or through the Cổ Cò river (which no longer exists today) from Turon bay, 30 km north of Hội An (Dalrymple 1791–1797:87, 241; Chen 2002:300; Dror and Taylor 2006:133; Morel 2010a:87, 97, 2011:3; Phan 2011:18; de Rhodes 1854:146). Hội An was served by the island of Cù Lao Chàm, located about 18 km from the coast. This island provided seafarers with a safe haven as well as fresh water, and was used for trans-shipment to the mainland (Wheeler 2001:52–53, 122). It was a well-known stopping point in South China Sea trade from at least the Tang period (618–906), and continued to be used in the early modern period (Wheeler 2001:117).

Hội An became a major player in the East Asian trade network in the seventeenth century as a result of the Chinese Ming Dynasty's strict foreign trade policies, which banned export of certain goods to Japan. To circumvent the ban Japanese rulers issued permits, known as Red Seals, to go to Southeast Asia where they could indirectly trade

for Chinese goods (Yoshiaki 2011; Li 1998). Hội An became a popular port with the Japanese from the early 1600s until 1635 when all trade out of Japan stopped. During that time, between 70 and 86 Japanese ships visited Hội An (Li 1998; Vu 2011). In addition to Chinese goods, Japanese traders were interested in luxury goods produced in Cochinchina, such as silks and woods (Li 1998:59–77). The Japanese presence in Hội An waned after 1635 when new foreign policies prohibited Japanese nationals from leaving the country and only allowed ships from China, Korea, or the Dutch East India Company to trade in Japan. A few years later, Hội An's Chinese community grew when Ming loyalists escaping the newly established Qing Dynasty sought refuge in Southeast Asia (Chen 2002:319–325).

The Nguyễn also sporadically traded with Europeans. The Portuguese, Dutch, and English had a small presence in Cochinchina – as the Nguyễn never fully trusted them, most European ventures failed quickly. Europeans had a stronger presence in Đà Nẵng, then called *Tourane* or *Turon,* especially from the mid eighteenth century onwards, because the bay was deeper and more accommodating to large European seagoing vessels. The missionary Chritoforro Borri even notes in the early seventeenth century that the Nguyễn "king" offered the Portuguese land near Đà Nẵng to build a city, and urged the Portuguese king to accept this offer as soon as possible (Dror and Taylor 2006:135). Over a century later Pierre Poivre established himself in Đà Nẵng, which he recommended as a base for a French counter due to its deep harbour, and sent M. Laurens to handle business in Hội An (Morel 2010a:47). They often commuted between the two ports and described the difficulty they had travelling on the Cổ Cò river, which was already dried up in places at that time (Morel 2010b:4).

Though they promoted trade, the Nguyễn government still established their foreign port 150 km from the capital (Wheeler 2001:75). The Lord gave the Japanese and Chinese a plot of land to build a city for trade; they established themselves as separate self-governed communities (Dror and Taylor 2006:133). Several contemporary sources report doing business with or being welcomed by the Japanese or Chinese governor in Hội An: de Rhodes met with the Japanese governor in 1640 and Laurens received an invitation from the Chinese governor in 1750 (Morel 2010b:10; de Rhodes 1854:146). Borri claims that this is due to the "good nature and civility of the *Cochinchineses*" who "allow [strangers] to live according to their own laws" though Olga Dror notes that this was more likely to be a precaution taken by the rulers in order to keep foreigners separated from the court and concentrated in one place, thus easily monitored (Dror and Taylor 2006:114, 134).

In the late eighteenth century, Đà Nẵng replaced Hội An as the major central Vietnamese port. This was partly due to political changes, but also because the Thu Bồn River became too silted to allow passage to large ships. Đà Nẵng was established directly on the coast, and thus has a much deeper harbour.

1.2 Significance

As a World Heritage Site, the significance of Hội An has been well established. It fulfils criteria ii — "to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design" — and v — "to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change" (Tran 1998:116; UNESCO 2015:16). As such, archaeologists have extensively surveyed and recorded the area, with particular attention paid to architecture and style. Historical studies have meanwhile described the way the various communities built neighbourhoods separated from each other that reflected their cultures (Li 1998; Phan 2011; Vu 2011; Wheeler 2001).

This thesis will give a more nuanced interpretation of this World Heritage Site by bringing the historical and archaeological narratives together. By trying to understand how the different groups influenced the growth of the town, this thesis sets out to obtain a more complete picture of the area's past use. This may lead to further study into the relationship of Hội An's inhabitants to the built-environment or into the expression of cultural identity by East Asian traders, for example. Furthermore, a maritime cultural landscape approach will enhance traditional understandings of the economic use of space in Hội An, thus highlighting the value of archaeology for historical studies and encouraging dialogue between the two disciplines.

1.3 Limitations

The first limitation of this research will be access to sources, both physically and linguistically. Japanese institutions have undertaken several archaeological projects on the town, particularly in the 1990s before Hội An was made a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The results of these surveys have only been published in the Japanese language, though there is a short (47 pages) publication, *Hội An: Ancient Town of Hội An Thrives Today,* which records some of the work. While valuable, this publication is not academic and is thus of limited use to this study. A few archaeological reports are also archived in various institutions in Vietnam and are not accessible. The UNESCO World Heritage listing has brought international notice to Hội An, which has resulted in numerous English-language historical studies and a conference held there in 1990. Despite this, there have been few English-language archaeological works produced on the historical port.

A large limitation is the bias in the historical record. The contemporary accounts were written by a variety of people (Japanese, Northern Vietnamese, European, government leaders, traders, missionaries, monks) who inherently bring their biases. People have partial views of what they see, sometimes because they are not privy to the whole picture, sometimes because their personal history and culture interfere to skew the image presented. Thus, special care must be taken to incorporate those biases into the interpretation of the historical record. This will be addressed further in Chapter 3. Similarly, the author's own biases must be acknowledged and kept in mind throughout the process of writing this thesis.

1.4 CHAPTERS

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study area and research question. It also provides the historical context of Cochinchina in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the significance and limitations of this study. Chapter 2 is a literature review, it addresses the theories and scholarly discourse relevant to this research. It discusses three main themes: Vietnamese historiography, maritime cultural landscapes, and the use of urban social theories in the study of ports. Chapter 3 explains the methods used in the archival research and survey of Hội An, the results of which are related in Chapter 4. This chapter first describes the morphology of the town, then the place of the Japanese, Chinese, European, and local communities. Finally, it describes the built environment, focusing on community buildings and commercial structures. The results are analysed in Chapter 5, which begins by recreating the layout of Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It then addresses the economic and socio-cultural landscapes, the expression of the Chinese merchant identity in the built environment, and concludes with a discussion on the place of Hội An in the age of commerce discourse. Chapter 6 summarises the results and proposes future avenues of research.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

There are two views of Vietnam in the scholarship. Traditionally, historiography has tended to emphasise ties to China, a view left over from French colonialists who believed that Vietnam's culture depended entirely on their northern neighbour (Lieberman 2003:338; Reid and Tran 2006). China has in fact had significant influence on Vietnam; the Đai Việt dynasties drew upon many aspects of Chinese governance and Confucian belief systems in building their state. Recent scholars have however criticised this view and advocated for a more independent development of Vietnam (Li 1998; Lieberman 2003). They have shown that the Chinese aspects of culture that previous scholars had underlined were in fact only important at the elite level, and that Vietnamese peasantry was much more closely related to other Southeast Asian states. Furthermore, Lieberman (2003:340) has argued that Chinese influence waned the further the Đai Việt advanced South.

Traditionally, researchers also painted Vietnam as a highly agrarian society with little interest in seafaring (Pham 2013; Lockard 2010). It was thought that because of the fertility of the Red River Delta and the large coastal plains to the immediate south that allowed for expansion, the Vietnamese never had any need to participate in the regional trade network. This interpretation has been disproven in recent years by historians such as Charles Wheeler (2003, 2005, 2006b), Kenneth Hall (2013), and Craig Lockard (2010) among others, who have taken a "maritime view" of Vietnam. These scholars have argued that though Vietnam never had a strong navy or a large sea going merchant community, rivers and the sea were central to people's lives. They have put forward the fact that the majority Vietnam's geography is characterised by mountains and valleys, making the sea the easiest way to travel. Da Shan, a Chinese monk visiting central Vietnam in 1695 wrote "there is no way to go between two prefectures [via land]. When one goes to a seaport, that is the prefecture. If you want to go to another prefecture you must sail from one port onto the sea and, following the mountains, proceed to the other port" (quoted in Lockard 2010:221 and Wheeler 2003). Thus these scholars have determined that while the Vietnamese may not be a "maritime" culture, they can be considered a "coastal" or "littoral" society (Lockard 2010; Pham 2013; Wheeler 2003).

"The sea connects" has long been a theme in Southeast Asian scholarship, which has only recently been applied to Vietnam, and it is particularly appropriate for Central and Southern Vietnam. One major aspect of this idea is that port cities become the site for cross-cultural exchange (Haneda 2009). Lockard (2010:245) describes ports as "places of economic exchanges as well as cosmopolitan gateways for the import and export of people, goods, and ideas." Eric Tagliacozzo (2007) argues that Southeast Asian coastal cities were set up to facilitate international trade and were thus open to foreign ideas. Unlike Indian or East Asian ports, Southeast Asian ports (with the exception of Batavia)

were not the final destinations in trade but rather stopovers and entrepôts. As a result, their success was entirely dependent on their ability to attract foreign trade; as Tagliacozzo (2007:916) puts it: "a perspicacious leader might tamper with and manipulate these processes [the changing flows of trade] by carefully adapting the nature of the city itself." The role of foreign merchants in the development of coastal cities in Southeast Asia is however not limited to local elites trying to attract them. Because of the reliance on monsoon winds for travel, merchants often had to stay in Southeast Asian ports for months waiting for the winds to change. They created permanent settlements in or near the ports, which they imbued with their culture and identity (Li 1998; Lockard 2010; Reid 1993). They thus had a much more direct role in the development of the port and surrounding city.

This interpretation of Southeast Asian ports, and of Hội An in particular, is based on Anthony Reid's seminal two-volume study *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1800* (1988, 1993), which argues that the rise of international trade fundamentally changed the social, cultural, and political fabric of Southeast Asia. This era marked a period in which Southeast Asian traders were major players in global trade and states rose around cosmopolitan trade cities (Reid 1988: xiii–xvi). This trend in commercialization, urbanization, and state centralization was however reversed in the seventeenth century, which "marked not only a retreat from reliance on the international market but also a great distrust of external ideas" (Reid 1993:328). Scholars such as Li Tana (1998) and Tagliacozzo (2007) have built upon this model and argued that Southeast Asian ports such as Hội An were thus only successful because of foreign influence.

Other scholars have denounced this interpretation as one that is not applicable to mainland Southeast Asia and takes agency away from the local population. Victor Lieberman (1995:800) was the first to argue that the development of Burma, Siam, and Vietnam was not primarily impacted by maritime trade but by a number of other heterogeneous factors such as population increases, agricultural intensification, or territorial and demographic expansion (with territorial expansion comes the assimilation of frontier populations such as the Tai, Mon, and Cham). Furthermore, the seventeenth-century crisis that Reid described did not happen in these states; for example Chinese trade with Vietnam was still strong until the 1750s (Lieberman 1995:802). Wheeler (2003, 2006b) and Lockard (2010) have also written about the role of the local Cham and Vietnamese populations of Quảng Nam province in the operation of the port. Wheeler argues that even though they disappeared from the chronicles after the sack of Vijaya in 1471, "Cham people constituted a key component, if not a majority, of the population in the Hội An region" (Wheeler 2006a:183). The earliest Vietnamese inhabitants would have lived alongside the Cham, creating a multiethnic Việt-Cham population. This group, according to Wheeler, would have been crucial to the operation of Hội An; not only did they provide hinterland commodities, but they also provided food and lodging, as well as services such as piloting and boat repair (Wheeler 2006a:169). Women also held

important roles in the local market and as brokers. The "temporary wife" phenomenon was common around Southeast Asia; foreign merchants, particularly the Chinese, took "temporary wives" who helped run their business locally (Keyes 1977:263; Lockard 2010: 237–238; Reid 1993:93; Wheeler 2006a).

Hội An is poised in between these two views as it was established at the height of the age of commerce but continued to thrive until the late eighteenth century. Though foreign influence is evident in the built environment, the impact of local population is not immediately clear. This thesis will show that maritime trade was fundamentally important in the development of the town, but as a foreign trading city it was kept at a distance from the Nguyễn capital and thus may not have had as great an impact on the state as Reid posited.

2.1 Maritime Cultural Landscape

The maritime cultural landscape was originally thought of as a maritime equivalent of the cultural landscape. The *Kulturlandschaft* concept was first used by German cultural geographers such as August Maitzen and Wilhelm Müller-Wille; it was seen as a way to visualise the use of land by agrarian peoples through their material remains (Westerdahl 2011:734). As such, the first iteration of the maritime cultural landscape also focused on the subsistence aspect of culture. This maritime cultural landscape in fact represented a network of sea routes and harbours, which can be appraised as human economic activity on or near the sea (Westerdahl 2011). Until the 1990s, the concept was used in this way to study seafaring. In the first English publication on maritime cultural landscapes, Westerdahl (1992:5) proposed a new definition of the concept, which took a more ethnographic approach to include the "whole" culture: "the maritime cultural landscape signifies human utilisation (economy) of maritime space by boat: settlement, fishing, hunting, shipping and its attendant sub-cultures, such as pilotage, lighthouse and sea-mark maintenance." This definition is still indeed subsistence oriented but really emphasises that there is such a thing as a maritime culture that is completely separate from an inland culture. In the rest of the article, Westerdahl (1992) presents the maritime cultural landscape as a cognitive landscape, which he takes to be "the mapping and imprinting of the functional aspects of the surrounding in the human mind."

For Westerdahl (1992, 2006, 2011), the maritime cultural landscape is much easier to identify when taking a cognitive approach focusing on traditional knowledge and use, than in the archaeological record. The cognitive landscape is the way people visualise their landscape, it is the mental map they create in which they locate themselves and everything around them. Westerdahl (1992, 2006, 2011) thus recommends the use of historical sources, ethnography, and oral history, as well as the study of place names: those assigned to physical places such as towns, harbours, and islands, but even more

importantly those assigned to the intangible, such as sailing routes, beacons, or hazards, reflect maritime cultures. These place names enable the researcher to recreate (to a certain extent) the mental map used by seafarers to navigate. Many scholars have since adopted a "view from the sea" perspective in their research; studies of landing places have in particular taken this view (see for example Ilves 2004). Ole Crumlin-Pedersen has suggested that this perspective may help us understand the establishment of coastal cities (Westerdahl 2011:740). Independently of the development of the maritime cultural landscape concept, historians of Vietnam such as Li Tana (2006) and Charles Wheeler (2003) have recently advocated for a "view from the sea" approach to understanding Vietnamese state formation and identity. Though it is outside the scope of this thesis, this approach may certainly be a way to explain the establishment of Hội An.

Westerdahl (2011:746) further divides the maritime cultural landscape into seven sub-landscapes in order to have a more holistic approach. These seven sub-landscapes are: the economic landscape, the landscape of transport and communications, the power landscape, the outer resource landscapes (materials supplied for boatbuilding), the inner resource landscape (surplus for expeditions), the cognitive landscape, and the recreative landscape. He mentions a possible eighth landscape, the urban landscape, but explains that it often falls within the transport and communication landscape and requires individualised attention.

The transport and communication landscape is central to Westerdahl's conceptualisation of the maritime cultural landscape. In fact, he describes the maritime cultural landscape in one instance as the "network of sea routes, with harbours and related constructions and remains of human origin, below as well as above the water" (Westerdahl 2006:60). By their nature, maritime, riverine, and lacustrine environments developed a culture of transport and communication, characterised by rapid transmission of information and spatially extended networks (Westerdahl 1999:141, 2006:61). Towns — and port towns especially — are thus nodes of contact within this transport network (Westerdahl 2006:60). In this conceptualisation, maritime culture comes about in these points of contacts, which Westerdahl (1999:141–142; 2006:61) refers to as maritime enclaves. The topic of maritime enclaves will be addressed in further detail in section 2.2.

The maritime cultural landscape concept has had a huge impact on maritime archaeology, and has been applied to a variety of places and periods. It has sometimes been used under different names such as "coastal archaeology," "island archaeology," "waterscape" or "seascape" (Westerdahl 2011:754; Fowler 2015:23). Ben Ford (2011a:771) sees the coast as a "metaphorical and literal bridge" between land and sea which must thus combine theories and methods from both maritime and terrestrial archaeology. His definition of landscape is based on perception: "a landscape includes the space that a person can see or perceive; it includes smells or noises that are perceptible beyond the line of sight, as well as adjacent places that one can see in the

mind's eye and connect to one's current viewscape" (Ford 2011b:2). Like Westerdahl, he views the maritime landscape cognitively and warns that because of this, it can be difficult to see in the archaeological record, and may never be completely knowable (Ford 2011b:3). Anthony Parker (2001), on the other hand, retains an economic point of view in his treatment of maritime landscapes, focusing on the study of transport and trade. In opposition to this, Ian McNiven (2004), Julie Mushynsky (2011), and then Jennifer McKinnon, Mushynsky, and Genevieve Cabrera (2014), prefer the term "seascape" which allows them to emphasise cultural and spiritual connections to the sea over economic use.

Many scholars, including Parker (2001), Aidan Ash (2007), and Madeline Fowler (2015), have used the maritime cultural landscape as a research design, since it lends itself well as a method for data organisation. Fowler (2015) argues that the way the elements that reflect maritime cultural landscapes are organised is crucial in creating the model or visualisation (following Ford and Westerdahl's discussions, she categorises these elements as tangible, intangible, or thematic). In her opinion, a thematic approach is the most holistic. She thus organises her results according to landscape type: ritual/cultic landscape, cognitive/toponymical landscape, topographic landscape, transport landscape, social landscape, power landscape (Fowler 2015). Ash (2007) on the other hand organises his results according to activity: navigation, fishing, and recreation. In this sense, a maritime cultural landscape approach helps the researcher understand the degree of "maritimity" in the study area. Determining maritimity asks "how maritime is this?" In other words, material culture can be considered maritime or terrestrial or somewhere in between (Mushynsky 2011:29).

The maritime cultural landscape has mostly been used in a Western context; as it was developed in Northern Europe, it follows that there have been many maritime cultural landscape studies of the Baltic Sea (for example, the Norrland Coastal Survey by Westerdahl from 1975 to 1982). There have also been a few studies in the British Isles, as well as in other parts of Europe. Thomas McErlean, Rosemary McConkey, and Wes Forsythe's (2002) survey of Strangford Lough is an oft-cited study of Northern Ireland. Wouter B. Waldus and Wesley van Breda (2011) have applied the maritime cultural landscape to a riverine context in the Lower Rhine. There have been a number of studies in the Americas, as evidenced by Ford's edited volume *The Archaeology of Maritime Landscapes* (2011c), which contains case studies from California, the Great Lakes, Rhode Island, the Caribbean, Mexico, and Panama among others. The maritime cultural landscape concept has also been popular in master's theses and PhD dissertations in Australia: for example Ash's (2007) study of Port Willunga, Brad Duncan's (2006) research on Queenscliffe, Fowler's (2015) PhD dissertation on the Point Pearce aboriginal mission (Burgiyana), Andrea Smith's (2006) Kangaroo Island honour's thesis, and Danielle Wilkinson's (2013) study of Robb Jetty in Western Australia.

Maritime cultural landscape approaches have also recently been used in Africa and the Pacific, as evidenced by new research of the port of Mombasa, Kenya, and of Saipan, but has not yet been used as such by archaeologists in Southeast Asia (Breen and Lane 2004; McConkey and McErlean 2007; McKinnon et al. 2014). Southeast Asia is particularly well suited for a maritime cultural landscape approach; in fact many anthropologists and historian take a maritime approach without necessarily using the term "maritime cultural landscape." Traditionally, Southeast Asianists have divided the area into "maritime Southeast Asia" (Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, East Timor, Indonesia, and the Philippines) and "mainland Southeast Asia" (Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar), though more and more scholars have argued that in some cases, the differences are not as strong because they are in fact (with the exception of Laos, and even this is debatable) all connected by the sea (Reid 1993, Tagliacozzo 2007).

Furthermore, Bennet Bronson's (1977) Upstream-Downstream model shows that the maritime cultural landscape approach can be appropriate in Southeast Asia. Bronson's model describes a network of trade centres along river valleys and their relationship to each other. He presented it as a hypothetical model intended to be used in insular Southeast Asia but it has since been used and proven to work in other Southeast Asian states, including in Central Vietnam (Bronson 1977; Tagliacozzo 2007; Yamagata 2006). Bronson envisioned six hierarchical centres along a river, the strongest of which, A, is located at the mouth of the river on the coast (Figure 2.1). A has various degrees of control over the other centres on the river, who supply it with goods from the hinterland to trade with an overseas centre. The Upstream-Downstream model in conjunction with a maritime cultural landscape approach could be used in Vietnam, including around the Thu Bồn river, where Hội An is located. Bronson's model particularly parallels the outer resource and inner resource landscapes presented by Westerdahl (2011:746), which relate to materials needed for boat building and surplus for expeditions.

The maritime cultural landscape approach has been used more often on regional scales rather than on a single settlement or port, especially when emphasis is placed on the cognitive landscape or on the relationship with the non-maritime hinterland culture. Westerdahl's (2006) conceptualisation of maritime enclaves further strengthens the view that maritime cultural landscapes are best viewed on large scales as these centres of maritime culture are at the intersection of a whole network of land and sea routes, with the implication that all aspects of this (extensive) network should be regarded when studying the maritime cultural landscape. It is however still appropriate on a single node of such a network in order to emphasize maritimity, by using it as a methodology the way that Fowler (2015) and Ash (2007) do. As these towns are established with the sole purpose of facilitating maritime trade, the impact of the sea on their development must be continually considered. The most salient elements of maritime culture in these towns will be the port structures such as marinas, jetties, boatyards, and warehouses. Hội An is a special case in which those structures are not evident, however the role of maritime trade

can still be traced through the built environment as ports represent a concentration of maritime activity.

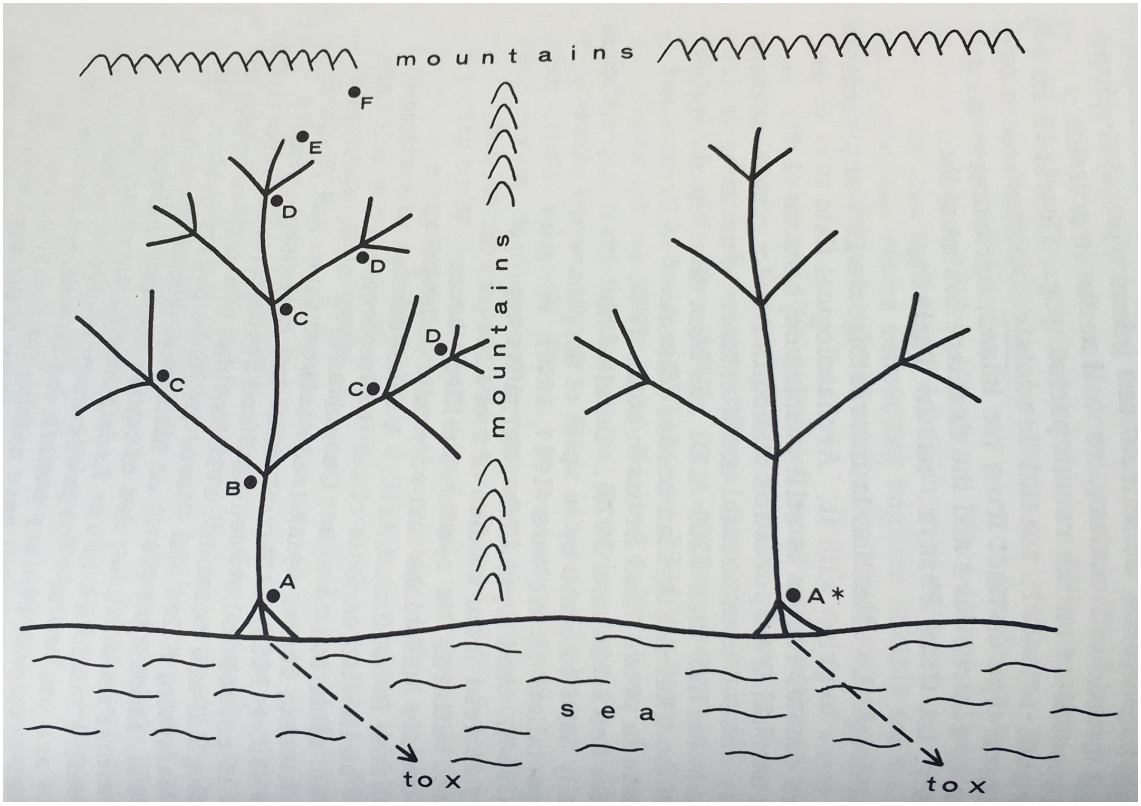

Figure 2.1 Bennet Bronson's Upstream-Downstream Model (Bronson 1977:42)

2.2 Port Cities

Port cities are seen as transit points between land and sea. Westerdahl (1992, 1999, 2006, 2011) views maritime cultural landscapes as a part of wider transport zones, which contain roads and sea routes, as well as inland waterways, making ports the points where people change transportation modes. Transit points could however be used once or not leave a trace in the archaeological record. A port city is thus also a "maritime cultural centre" or "maritime enclave," which Westerdahl (2011:749) explains is a permanent settlement of people engaged in various maritime activities and assisting in sea transport. In fact, Westerdahl (2006) sees maritime enclaves as the origins and centres of maritime culture. He defines maritime culture itself as "the compound of cultural experience, the customs, the cognitive systems and the material cultural products which are created in what I have called maritime cultural centres or maritime enclaves" (Westerdahl 2006:61). These centres are thus a concentration of "maritime remains" such as sailing marks, beacons, loading places, anchorages, inns, and other cultural deposits (Westerdahl 2006:97). Parker (2001) shares this view of ports, and adds that these kinds of transit

points tend to be urban (Parker 2001:25). His study of Bristol emphasizes this concentration as he analyses transport and communication through topography and vessel type as Westerdahl does (1999, 2006), but also civic life, class, ceremonies, festivals, and religion in order to understand the development of the medieval port (Parker 1999).

The subject of urban ports was addressed in Jan Bill and Birthe Clausen's (1999) edited volume *Maritime Topography and the Medieval Town.* In the introduction, Bill defends the use of the term "maritime town topography," as towns that developed around a harbour or port had to build specialised structures that allow them to participate in maritime activities. These structures, such as wharves, jetties, warehouses, or boatyards, directly impact the physical appearance of the town, giving it a distinct "maritime town topography" (Bill and Clausen 1999:7). The economic perspective is ubiquitous in the papers of this volume, which analyse the establishment and development of ports in terms of their role in trade.

Recent research into ports has favoured a more social approach, though due to their nature, the economic factors still stay central. As established in the first section of this chapter, ports attract visitors from a variety of social and geographic backgrounds, many of which stay on a semi-permanent or permanent basis. These visitors are all trying to maintain and emphasise their identity while in a foreign land; historical studies have tended to focus on food and dress (see for example Lockard 2010) but Adam Rogers (2013) argues that social background and geographic origin can also be communicated in the built environment. He makes the case that structures are imbued with "identity, motives, and experiences," which can be studied through interpretive models such as domestic architecture and human behaviour analysis in order to move away from a purely descriptive study of ports (Rogers 2013:185). A more social approach can in particular help researchers emphasise the cosmopolitanism of port cities.

The concept of identity and communication in the built environment is central to urban studies, which is why Michael E. Smith (2011) proposes using a number of theories from that field in archaeology. He discusses eight theories he believes can be applied to further the archaeological understanding of cities: environment-behaviour theory, architectural communication theory, space syntax, urban morphology, reception theory, generative planning theory, normative urban theory, and city size theory.

Environment-behaviour theory studies the mutual effects of people and building, focusing on levels of meaning in the built environment (Smith 2011:173–174). Architectural communication theory is usually more focused on civic architecture and the messages leadership wants it to convey (Smith 2011:174–175). Space syntax looks at movement and access within the built environment to comment on social interaction (Smith 2011:176). Urban morphology studies the form of towns and their expansion (Smith 2011:176–177). Reception theory relates to the way people experience the city through movement (Smith 2011:177–178). Generative planning theory relates to cities

and neighbourhoods that grow organically, through the decisions of the individual inhabitants, not a central authority (Smith 2011:179–180). Modern architects and city planners use normative theory to evaluate "good urban design;" Smith argues the theory can be used in the context of ancient cities because the way modern city planners are concerned with liveability, safety, and efficiency parallels ancient planners' concern that the city is in tune with their cosmology (Smith 2011:180–182). Finally, like its name suggests, city size theory is used to explain the size of cities; many scholars credit economy and technological advancement for the success and growth of cities (Smith 2011:182–183). Any or all of these theories can be used in the study of port cities as they can relate to both the social and economic factors that make up the town. It should be noted that in the case of ports, efficiency and safety are likely to be of higher concern than cosmology, so normative theory could be used in the modern sense.

Two of these theories are particularly suited for this study of Hội An: environment-behaviour theory, and generative planning theory. Amos Rapoport (1998, 2006) is a leading scholar in environment-behaviour studies and has extensively written on its theoretical and practical applications, including in archaeology. He proposes three questions to guide the discipline:

> "1) What biosocial, psychological, and cultural characteristics of human beings (as members of a species, as individuals, and as members of various groups) influence particular characteristics of built environments?
>
> 2) What effects do aspects of specific environments have on particular groups of people and under what circumstances (i.e., in what contacts, when, why, and how)?
>
> 3) Given the two way interaction between people and environments, what mechanisms link them?" (Rapoport 1998:2, 2006:59).

In other words, environment-behaviour studies explain both why and how people shape the built environment, and why and how the built environment shapes people (i.e. how they react to it). One way Rapoport (1998:3) does this is through the study of culture in housing; the concept of "culture" is however too abstract and general to be directly applied to dwellings, so he endeavours to dismantle it into more actionable concepts. He sees culture first as a subsistence strategy that then becomes a system of symbols and ideas, which evolves to be a way of life, and that is what is reflected in the built environment. He concludes that though "culture" cannot be related to the built environment, concrete expressions of culture such as social variables, lifestyles, and activities, can be (Rapoport 1998). Social variables, for example kinship and networks or social roles and status, are easily identifiable in buildings such as housing. The use of

colour, materials, location, spatial organisation, and the like, reflects these variables (Rapoport 1998:13). Lifestyles are expressed through activities, which Rapoport (1998) argues help explain the nature of housing because they reflect wants and needs that affect the choices people make in their dwellings. He applies his theory to the kitchen: how food is cooked varies cross-culturally, and can be associated to other activities and meanings (ritual, familial ties, gender roles), which affect the design of the kitchen (Rapoport 1998:10). Though he is not an archaeologist, Rapoport (2006) believes that environment-behaviour studies and archaeology can complement each other, especially with archaeology's growing concern with the vernacular and the "people without history." It is a basic tenet of archaeology that material culture reflects the social variables that Rapoport has been discussing, so archaeologists can use environment-behaviour studies to strengthen their inferences about behaviours.

Generative planning theory is based on Christopher Alexander's *A Pattern Language* (1977), which posits that towns or communities cannot be designed by a central authority, they are built over time by the individuals who live there. This theory has rarely been applied in archaeology but studies of modern cities have demonstrated that neighbourhoods that were constructed by their inhabitants tend to be more socially beneficial (Smith 2011:179). It is unknown if there was any kind of formal planning in the development of Hội An, but it is likely that each ethnic community built what they needed (both on a socio-cultural and economic level) without any say from the Nguyễn Lords.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that maritime cultural landscapes in addition to social urban theories are appropriate approaches for the study of the port of Hội An in Central Vietnam. As an entrepôt in the Southeast Asian trade network, the two aspects of Hội An that would have influenced its physical appearance and development the most are its cosmopolitanism and role as a maritime economic centre. These theories offer a lens through which to address the development of Hội An within the wider "age of commerce" discourse.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

3.1 ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

The archival research consisted of reading primary historical sources in order to understand what Hội An looked like in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This helped prepare the survey described in the second part of this chapter. In order to get the best image of the port, it was decided that the accounts of contemporary visitors and traders would be used. Though many historians draw heavily upon official dynastic chronicles to study Vietnam, this type of document does not describe locations in enough detail. Works like the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (the Complete Annals of the Dai Viet, completed in 1697), can be used for context, and even to understand how trade was conducted, but do not provide an image of the port. Visitors on the other hand, tend to describe new places in great detail. Casual visitors or religious missionaries write out of curiosity, whereas official representatives and traders are more practical, describing the strengths and weaknesses of the port.

As they were the largest communities living in Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the first accounts that were searched for were those of the Chinese and Japanese traders. Unfortunately, these sources are not easily accessible. It is still important to have their voices represented in the data however, so the research relied heavily on secondary sources that use these primary accounts. One such secondary source is Chingho Chen's *Historical Notes on Hội An (Faifo)* (2002), which draws on Chinese, Japanese, and European accounts to describe the history of the Chinese in Hội An. In addition, though written accounts are not accessible, there are a few iconographic sources from the Chinese and Japanese communities that are available. Two Japanese scrolls, the "Sea map trade with the State of Jiaozhi," referred to as the "Chaya Scroll," and the "Avalokitesvara," have been used in studies of Hội An. Both scrolls were produced by the Chaya family, a prominent trade family based in Nagoya, whose member Chaya Shinrokuro lived in Hội An (Chihara 2011). The "Avalokitesvara" is an image of a monk but comes with notes about the voyage from Nagoya to Quảng Nam (Ogura 2011). The "Chaya Scroll" depicts this voyage, with a large portion dedicated to Hội An. The scroll measures 78 cm x 498 cm and is currently housed at Jomyo Temple in Nagoya; there is a reproduction at the Folklore Museum in Hội An. Chihara Daigoro (2011) and Ogura Sadao (2011) have produced analyses of the Chaya Scroll and concluded that it depicts the "Japanese Street" in Hội An.

The European sources were far easier to find. Four European communities have written about Hội An: the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French. Both merchants and missionaries are represented in the historical sources.

The earliest account by a Westerner is by the Portuguese Tome Pires whose *Suma Oriental* recounts his 1512–1515 voyage to Asia (Cortesao 1944). Pires visited Vietnam before Nguyễn Hoàng's time, thus his section entitled "Cochinchina" refers in fact to northern Vietnam. He however writes about visiting port towns in Champa, one of which may be Hội An, or an earlier iteration of the port (Cortesao 1944:113). There are no other known European sources from the sixteenth century, as the activities of Westerners in Quảng Nam really start in the seventeenth century. English navigator William Adams led two expeditions to Cochinchina in 1617 and 1618 on behalf of the East India Company's Hirado Factory. His logbook was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1916 alongside his correspondence and the journal of Edward Saris (also known as Edward Sayer), a member of Adams' crew (Purnell 1916).

The Jesuits had a significant presence in Indochina in the seventeenth century. They established a mission in Turon in 1615 to oversee activities in Cochinchina (Dror and Taylor 2006:31). Christoforo Borri and Alexandre de Rhodes both produced accounts of their time in Cochinchina in the first half of the century. Borri visited several towns in the region, including Faifo, between 1618 and 1622; after returning to Europe he published his story in 1631. This thesis uses the English translation of Borri's report, originally published by Awnsham and Churchill in 1732, re-printed and annotated by Olga Dror in 2006, alongside Samuel Baron's account of Tonkin annotated by Keith Taylor (Dror and Taylor 2006). He was able to return, but to Cochinchina only, in the 1640s. Credited with creating quốc ngữ, the latinised written Vietnamese still in use today, de Rhodes wrote a number of essays and books on his time in Vietnam, which were reproduced in *Voyages et mission du père Alexandre de Rhodes* (de Rhodes 1854). In addition, the order published reports of their activities in Siam and Indochina in 1680 (Angot 1680).

Name	Date	Nationality	Type
Tome Pires	1512–1515	Portuguese	Travelogue
William Adams	1614–1619	English	Log book
Christoforo Borri	1631	Portuguese	Missionary account
Alexandre de Rhodes	1620s–1640s	French	Missionary account
Missions Étrangères	1672–1675	French	Missionary account
Pierre Poivre	1749–1750	French	Merchant journal, reports, letters
British Missions	1778–1822	British	Merchant report
John Barrow	1792–1793	British	Journal
Alexander Dalrymple	1791–1797	British	Collection of journals, narratives, letters, reports

Table 3.1 European Primary Sources

The Dutch and British unsuccessfully attempted to establish trade relations in Hội An starting in the seventeenth century. The Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie,* VOC) were the first to make an attempt in the first half of the century, until eventually deciding to focus their attention on Tonkin (Kleinen and van der Zwan 2007; Hoàng 2007). A written record of letters, journals, and reports was kept by the VOC. A list of the relevant pages was collated by Truong Ban Binh and John Kleinen (2011). The English East India Company similarly had trouble establishing a counter in Hội An toward the second half of the seventeenth century. Several members of the company, including Thomas Bowyear in 1695, were sent to central Vietnam and reported back. Bowyear's journal was reprinted by Alexander Dalrymple alongside Robert Kirsop's 1750 account in the *Oriental Reperatory* (1791–1797), a reference book on Asia for the British East India Company. Between 1778 and 1822 the British tried to establish themselves four times to no avail (Lamb 1961:1–12). Alistair Lamb (1961) collected the documents associated to the four missions in 1961; of particular interest to this thesis is the Chapman mission in 1778. John Barrow (1806) lived in Quảng Nam in 1792 and 1793, in his account he laments how little trade there now is in "Fai-foo." Finally, there is one account by French merchant Pierre Poivre, who was sent in 1749, accompanied by M. Laurens, to determine whether Hội An would be an appropriate location for a French counter (Morel 2010a, 2010b, 2011).

3.2 Survey

The second part of the research consisted of locating and recording extant buildings and structures in Hội An from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. The goal was to understand both the evolution of the street and the distribution of the communities by mapping the remains. It was decided that the survey would only record public buildings as they would be easier to date and have identifiable ties to one community over another. These buildings are the bridge, communal houses, temples, meeting halls, ancestral houses and shrines, and water wells. These types of buildings were more likely to have associated material and documents, which would help date them. Furthermore, it has been established by archaeologists that the majority of the shop houses and dwellings in the old town were built during and after the nineteenth century (Tran 1998; Chu 2011; Hoang et al 2011). This is likely because Hội An was severely damaged during the Tây Sơn rebellion (1778–1802) and the Vietnam War (1955–1975). It should be noted that some shop houses have been turned into museums that are open to the public. One such house is Tan Ký House at 101 Nguyễn Thái Học, which has housed seven generations.

Many scholars have attempted to locate the Japanese and Chinese quarters, with varying results. Though the exact locations have not been determined, archaeologists and historians agree that Tran Phu street is the oldest, and that the communities likely established themselves along this street on either sides of the Japanese bridge, and that

the streets south of Tran Phu were built after the nineteenth century (Tran 1998; Chu 2011; Hoang et al 2011). The survey included buildings along Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai, Trần Phú, Nguyễn Duy Hiệu, Công Nữ Ngọc Hoa, Nguyễn Thái Học, Bạch Đằng and Phan Bội Châu streets (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Survey Area

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

This chapter reports the results of the archival research and survey. It is based on firsthand accounts of Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, twentieth-century historical and archaeological studies, as well as a survey conducted in July 2016. The first section describes the layout of Hội An. The second part is dedicated to the many communities living in Hội An. Finally, the third part assesses the built environment of Hội An using historical sources, archaeological research, and the aforementioned survey.

4.1 THE TOWN LAYOUT

Today, the "Historic Town of Hội An" technically runs from the end of Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai street on the western side, to Trương Minh Lượng street on the east, to Phan Châu Trinh street up north (Figure 4.1). Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai street is a slightly curved street that runs for around 400 m, half of which is parallel to the river, about 40 m to 50 m away from it; Công Ngữ Ngọc Hoa runs parallel to Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai, along the river. The western end of Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai opens up slightly, there is a large intersection named Sông Hoài Square; the street ends at the Japanese Bridge. There are a few tourist stops along this street, including the Cầm Phô communal house, Nguyễn Trường's ancestral house, and a few traditional nineteenth-century houses open for visits.

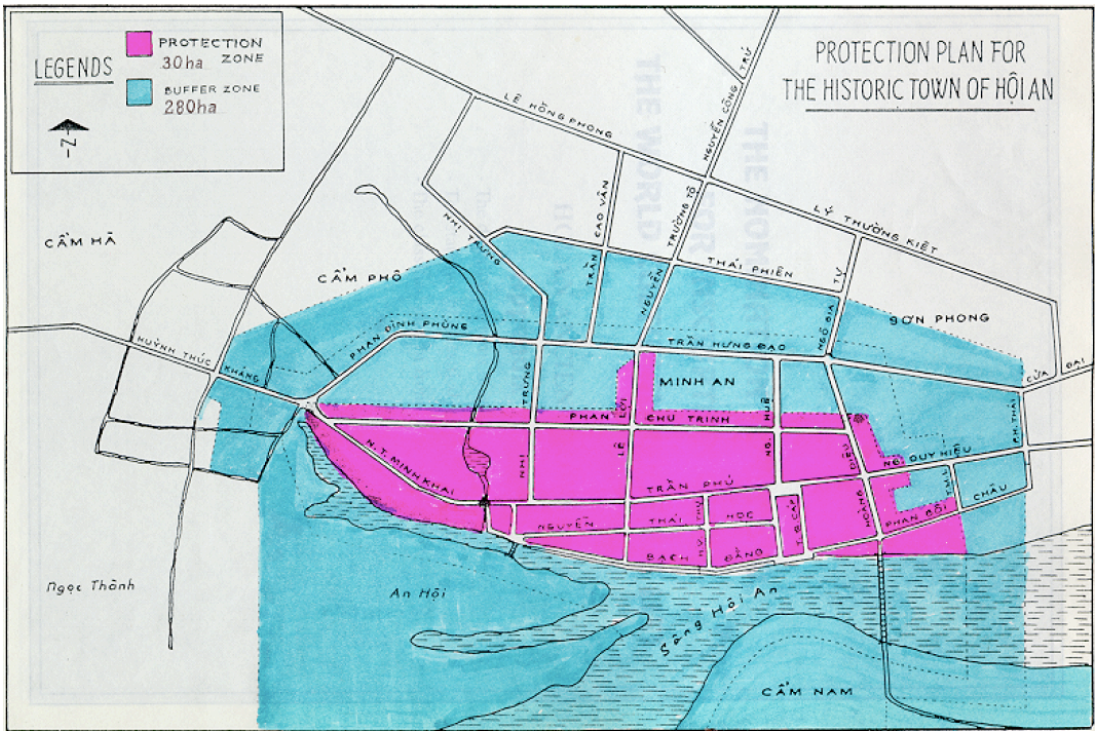

Figure 4.1 Protection Plan for the Historic Town of Hội An. From UNESCO Nomination Document (Tran 1998)

Trần Phú street does not run parallel to the river: near the bridge it is around 50 m from the water, whereas at the eastern end, 700 m away, it is about 150 m from the river. South of Trần Phú street lies Nguyễn Thái Học street, which runs parallel to Trần Phú and stops at the market (around 550 m from the bridge), and Bach Dang street, which runs along the water. This section of the town has the most tourist attractions, as the majority of the assembly halls are located there; tourists can also visit a number of pagodas, traditional houses, and museums on Trần Phú and Nguyễn Thái Học streets. These streets also contain a number of colonial era houses. Though the section east of the market is technically in the protected zone, it is more modern and contains few places to visit aside from the Triều Châu Assembly Hall, which was built in 1845.

Visitors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often describe Hội An as one street that was about one and half to two kilometres long (Chen 2002:300; Wheeler 2001:38). Willem Verstegen, Thomas Bowyear, and Da Shan all report that it was lined with houses on both sides (Chen 2002:299–300). Excavations conducted on Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai street (west of the bridge) show occupation dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereas occupation on Trần Phú street (east of the bridge) mostly dates to the eighteenth century (Nguyen 2009; Showa Women's University Institute of International Culture 2000:38; Showa Women's University 2001:191–192).

Da Shan provides more context for the street, explaining that the Japanese bridge is located at the end of the street and the village of Cầm Phô is across it; on the other side of the river is the village of Trà Nhiêu where larger vessels anchor (Chen 2002:300–301; Chuong 2011:293; Nguyen 2011:165). Furthermore, Borri explains: "this city is called Faifo, and is so large, that we may say they are two, one of *Chineses,* the other of *Japoneses*; for they are divided from one another" (Dror and Taylor 2006:133).

One of the most descriptive documents on the town is a sketch by Japanese merchant Kayoda Shichirobe in 1670 (Figure 4.2), who built a Buddhist temple and sent a letter to Japan in which he sketched out the location of the temple (Chen 2002:17). Chen quotes, but ultimately disagrees with, Professor Seiichi Iwao, who argued that because the Japanese bridge was the centre of the Japanese quarter, the temple must be located near it. The street to the East of the bridge (Trần Phú today) is without a doubt Chinese as it has numerous Chinese temples and assembly halls (Chen 2002:17–18). As the sketch shows the Japanese quarter east of the Chinese quarter, it was not near the so-called Japanese Bridge.

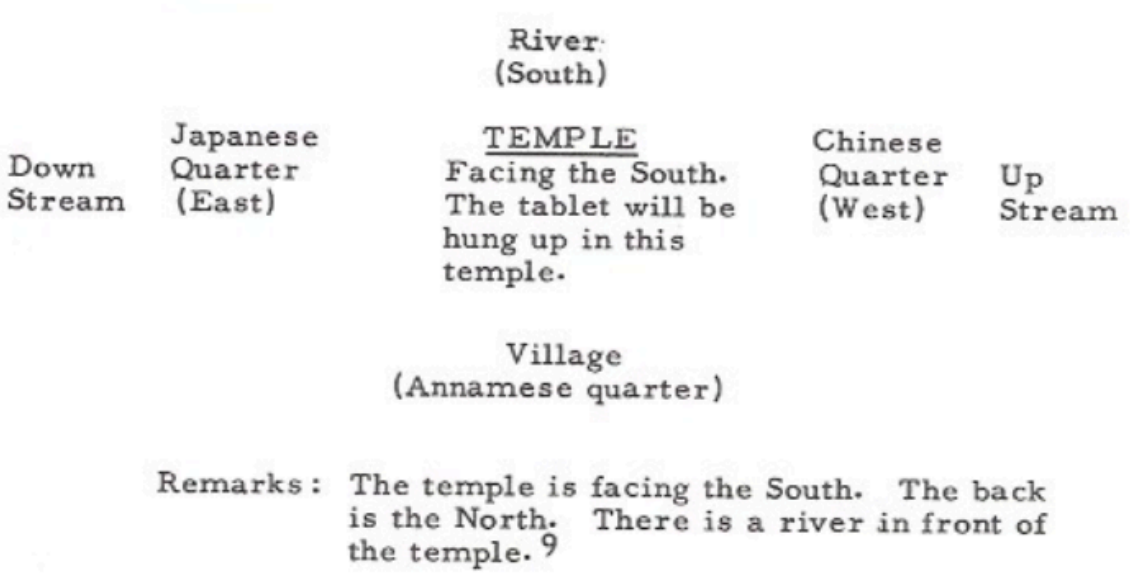

Figure 4.2 Reproduction of Shichirobe's sketch in Chen 2002:301

The evolution of the town can also be tracked through changes in the river, as it has always been reported to be on the water. The region has a very dynamic geomorphology that has heavily impacted Hội An. Vu Van Phai and Dang Van Bao (2011) conducted a study of the formation and development of the Thu Bồn estuary; of particular interest is the way they have dated various deposit types along the river. The town of Hội An, they explain, is mainly built on maritime deposits that formed 4,000 to 6,000 year ago, but river sediments have changed the shape of the river in the last 300 years (Vu and Dang 2011:80–81). Human activity since the seventeenth century has also greatly impacted the river: movement of sandy mud along the coast resulted in the river mouth moving south by hundreds of meters very quickly (Vu and Dang 2011:85). Land changes were also evidently apparent in the town itself: the Showa Women's University archaeologists report that Nguyễn Thái Học street was constructed in the nineteenth century in response to the riverbank moving south (Showa Women's University 2001:193).

Changes in the last century may also parallel changes to the river in Hội An in the period studied. In interviews conducted in the 1990s, many reported their ancestors having to build houses closer to the river because it was better for business (Showa Women's University 2001:194). One resident remembers that as a child in the 1960s, the river was much deeper and that "60 m size merchant ships were able to dock in" (Showa Women's University 2001:194). Photographs from the early twentieth century (Figures 4.3 and 4.4) also show distinct changes in the riverbanks. Figure 4.3, taken in the early 1920s, shows that the bend in the river to the west of the bridge has been filled in, it is where the Centre for Sports and Culture of Hội An currently stands. Figure 4.4, compared to Figure 4.5, shows how much the island directly across the river from Hội An has grown.

Figure 4.3 "Vue Générale de Faifo" (No Date) (EFEO Fonds Vietnam). The area within the blue circle has been filled in; the Center for Sports and Culture stands there today

Figure 4.4 "Vue Générale de Faifo" (1925) (EFEO Fonds Vietnam)

Figure 4.5 Satellite imagery of Hội An (Google Maps 2016)

The final type of evidence in understanding the layout of Hội An comes from the multitude of small alleys along Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai and Trần Phú street (Figure 4.6). Though the texts almost all refer to Hội An being a single street, these alleys may provide clues as to the delineation of land plots. The alleys are rarely more than 2 m in width and typically run on both sides of the street (toward and away from the river), though not always directly across from each other. Aside for one or two exceptions on the eastern end of the city (on Phan Bội Châu street), the alleys run along the sides of houses; in other words there aren't any houses whose front doors give onto the alleys. The alleys that run away from the river often contain wells, some lead to nineteenth-century ancestral houses or shrines. The alleys running toward the river are often shorter and do not contain any additional structures.

Figure 4.6 Map of the alleys in Hội An

Visitors at the end of the 18th century described the state of the town after the civil war; both Chapman in 1778 and Barrow in 1792 talk of the ruins of Faifo. Chapman writes: "the street laid out on a regular plan paved with flat stone and well-built brick house on each side. But alas, there was not little more remaining than the outward walls […]. Of the few remaining edifices left standing was a wooden bridge built upon piles over a narrow arm of the river with a tiled roof;" Barrow also notices left over walls (Barrow 1806:310–311; Lamb 1961:48). These accounts thus imply more brick or stone buildings in Hội An before the Tây Sơn rebellion. Furthermore, silting and the use of the larger ships for trade moved activities to the deeper bay up north in Đà Nẵng (Wheeler 2001:214–219). The accounts from the second half of the 18th century also show a movement toward Đà Nẵng: Chapman and Barrow, as well as Poivre and his crew, all anchor in Đà Nẵng bay, and are based out of there.

4.2 The Communities Living in Hội An

4.2.1 The Japanese

The height of the Japanese merchant community in Hội An was from 1590 to 1640 (Wheeler 2001:13). Their importance (both in size and power) waned after the Tokugawa foreign policy edicts in the 1630s that banned Japanese from leaving Japan. As the largest community in the early seventeenth-century, they would have had a significant settlement in Hội An, though evidence of this settlement is today scarcely found in the town.

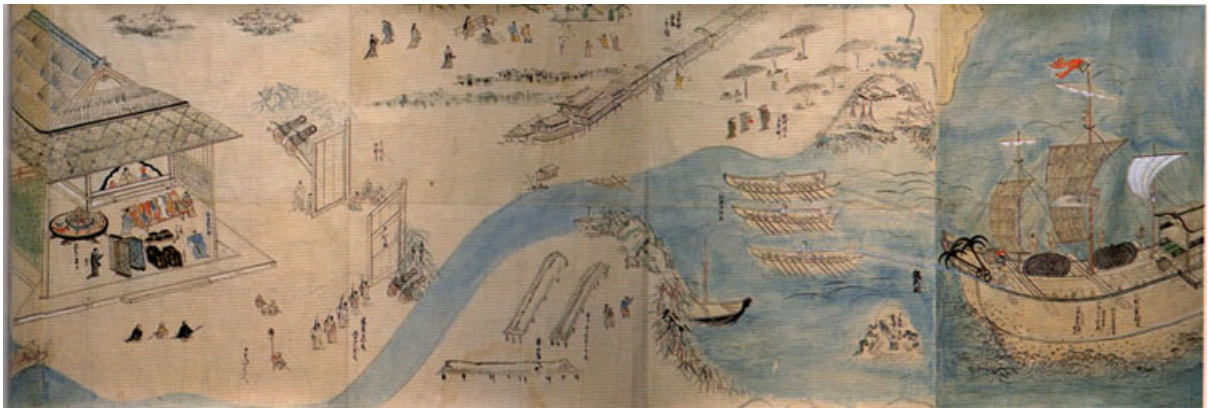

Figure 4.7 Detail of the Sea Map, housed at Jomyo Temple in Nagoya (Showa Women's University Insitute of International Culture 2000)

One of the strongest pieces of documentary evidence of Japanese presence is the "Sea Map - Trade with the State of Jaiozhi" (Figure 4.7), which depicts the voyage of a Japanese ship from Nagasaki to Hội An. There is no date on it and the artist is unknown, but it is attributed to Chaya Shinroku, a Japanese merchant from the early 1600s. Ogura Sadao (2011) and Chihara Daigora (2011) studied the scroll; according to Ogura there are four parts (the last is missing) with 18 notes, presumably made by the artist (Ogura 2011:180). Ogura's analysis concludes that the "street for permanent Japanese residents" mentioned in note 9, is in fact Hội An and that Japanese ships were lead from Đà Nẵng to Hội An by local pilots (Ogura 2011:183–184). The Japanese street is thus of a significant size and located on the northern bank of the Thu Bồn river. Ogura also identified the rows of smaller straw thatched houses on the opposite bank as the Chinese quarter, though Chihara does not agree with this assessment; he believes it is in fact a Cham or Vietnamese village. This village is located on the other side of the river from the Japanese quarter.

There are few mentions of the Japanese quarter in the European sources. Borri only comments that Hội An was "a city of the *Japoneses"* (Dror and Taylor 2006:179). Later,

de Rhodes describes staying in the house of a Japanese man while hiding from religious persecution in 1641. We know from de Rhodes' tale that this man owned two houses near the river, and that one of them had at least two stories as he describes using a ladder to sneak out of a window (de Rhodes 1854:320–321). In the late 1910s, French archaeologist André Sallet went looking for remnants of Japanese occupation in Hội An. He was disappointed however, and noted that the only Japanese building he had found is the Japanese bridge, which he describes in great detail, though he notes (with some disdain) that the decorations were added during repairs in 1915 (Sallet 1919:509–514).

By the 1640s the number of Japanese had greatly declined. Francisco Groemon of the Dutch East India Company reported in 1642 that there were only 40–60 Japanese living in Hội An (Chen 2006:299). Thomas Bowyear who visited in 1696, only counted four or five Japanese families (Dalrymple 1791–1797:87). Though de Rhodes refers to Hội An as a Japanese commercial centre, Pierre Poivre and Laurens do not mention anything about the Japanese during their stay in 1759, nor does Barrow in 1792 (Dalrymple 1791–1797; Morel 2010a, 2010b; de Rhodes 1854:146).

4.2.2 The Chinese

The early Chinese inhabitants of Hội An were merchants that Chen separates into two categories: those who stayed for several months waiting for the winds to change, and those who lived there permanently in order to accumulate local goods year-round in preparation for the trading season (Chen 2002:319). He also adds that there would have had to be a group that provided services to the other Chinese, such as inns, restaurants, groceries, and other shops (Chen 2002:320). This early population would not have been as significant as the Japanese but quickly grew in the late seventeenth century. The Chinese community has had the most lasting impact on the town.

The first factor in the growth of the Chinese community was the Tokugawa seclusion policies of the 1630s, which left a vacuum in Hội An's commercial life. Though the Japanese were no longer allowed to leave Japan, Chinese and Dutch still were still able to trade in Nagasaki. The Chinese thus continued bringing goods from Cochinchina, which remained one of Japan's biggest trading partners until the nineteenth century (Wheeler 2001:14). The second factor was the fall of the Ming Dynasty in 1644 and subsequent rise of the Qing Dynasty. A substantial number of Ming loyalists fled China for Southeast Asia, many ending up in Hội An (Chen 2002:319–325). Due to the size of this new community, the Nguyen ruler gave them a special status: the *Minh Hương*. This status gave the refugees rights such as the right to own land, to marry Vietnamese women, and to hold office. The Minh Hương also ran many aspects of trade such as controlling customs revenue in Hội An, which Wheeler notes was run out of Quan Công temple

(Chen 2002:331; Wheeler 2001:150).[2]

The Chinese brought with them cultural institutions such as assembly halls, temples, and guilds, which permeated life in Hội An from the eighteenth century onwards. These institutions were used mainly to create a sense of community within the Chinese. For example, the guilds, called *bang* in Vietnamese, are a mutual aid organisation that provide welfare, schooling, and funerary services, in particular for merchants and travellers without any family in Hội An (Chen 2002:354; Wheeler 2001:151). They are organised according to regional dialect; thus there is a guild for Fujian, Guangdong, Chaoshan (Teochiu or Teochew), and Hainan (Chen 2002:349). In addition, there is also the Trung Hoa guild that brings together all Chinese regardless of origin. It was established originally as the Dương Thương guild: the guild for Maritime Commerce (Chen 2002:350, 352).

Each guild has an assembly hall in which they meet to discuss issues regarding the community and trade. These halls also contain a temple, usually dedicated to the sea goddess Tianhou (Thiên Hậu in Vietnamese) (Chen 2002: 343–361; Wheeler 2001:150–158). This goddess was very important to the Chinese merchant community; altars dedicated to her were found on ships and in merchant communities all over Southeast Asia and in Nagasaki (Wheeler 2001:157–158). The temples and assembly halls (also called communal halls or *hội quán* in Vietnamese) will be addressed in the "Community Buildings" section of this chapter.

Visitors often commented on the presence of Chinese in Hội An, impressed by their numbers as well as the size and perceived affluence of their neighbourhood (Wheeler 2001:6, 41). Bowyear counts around 100 houses inhabited by Chinese in 1696 (Dalrymple 1791–1797:87). Chen quotes two anonymous (thought to be western) sources, one in 1744 who estimates 6,000 Chinese living in Hội An, and other who claims that "in 1750, there were 10,000 married and tax-paying Chinese" (Chen 2002:302). Poivre, in 1749, does not give a number but explains that the town is mostly inhabited by Chinese and that many of them also live in the inside of the country, all the way to Cambodia, Champa, and Laos (Morel 2010a:87, 92).

4.2.3 THE EUROPEANS

As mentioned in the previous chapter, European accounts of Hội An come from merchants and missionaries. Both groups attempted to establish themselves in

[2] Chen provides an in-depth study of the establishment of the Minh Huong and their activities (Chen 2002:319-342).

Cochinchina without much success. They however left behind a large corpus of texts in their attempts, from which we are able to glean some information about the built environment in Hội An. Despite the Nguyễn Lord allegedly offering the Portuguese land to build a city near Đà Nẵng, none of these communities had any permanent foothold in Hội An; they had very little impact on the town physically or culturally (until the French colonised Indochina of course). All of the western accounts report renting houses or being offered a place to stay by the local governor or even the king. Edward Saris for example "toucke [sic] a house" in Hội An in April 1617 and Laurens passed an agreement to rent a house for a year, which he notes is unusual as they are typically rented on a month-to-month basis (Morel 2010b:7, Purnell 1916:104). This seems to be true outside of Hội An as well, as Borri explains that a house "fit for to make a residence of fathers" was given to Father Buzome in Đà Nẵng (Dror and Taylor 2006:140).

The only permanent structures by the Europeans any of the sources refer to are churches. Borri talks about the church that was built in Đà Nẵng by Father Buzome, but does not make any mention of one in Hội An (Dror and Taylor 2006:140). A century later, Poivre and Laurens are offered asylum at the Đà Nẵng church for their sick crew members (Morel 2010a:29; 2010b:7). The reports of French missionaries from 1673 to 1675 only mention that a local mandarin had given them permission to build a church and house in Faifo, but do not say what came of these plans (Angot 1680:148, 269). There is also reference to a fire in Hội An that burned down many houses and caused the missionaries to lose all of their possessions except for a few books and ornaments for the church, implying that the church had not yet been built (Angot 1680:259). It should be noted however that the word "*église"* is always capitalised in this text, making it difficult to discern whether the authors are referencing a church (a building) or the Church (the institution). Furthermore, when one missionary was sent to visit all the churches in Cochinchina, he was in fact tasked with visiting "all the places where Christians assemble" (Angot 1680:259–260)[3]. Poivre also notes that all churches in Cochinchina look like pagodas from the outside (Morel 2010a:91).

4.2.4 The Local Population

The majority of the contemporary sources, as well as recent scholarship, tend to focus on the Japanese, Chinese, and European communities while ignoring the local population. In fact Groemon states "few Cochinchinese are seen in this city" (Chen 2002:299). While the Chinese and Japanese were in fact the largest communities in Hội An, it seems

[3] "tous les endroits où l'on pouvoit assembler quelques Chretiens"

unlikely that the Cochinchinese were not present in the town at all. Wheeler is one of the first scholars to address this gap, studying the presence of both Cham and Vietnamese in the Hội An area, whom he describes as being the workforce that supported trade.

When the Vietnamese started settling Quảng Nam in the late 15th century, they did not do so in an empty territory (despite what dynastic chronicles may imply). Though they were now in smaller numbers, the Cham were still living in the Hội An region (Wheeler 2001:76). From then on there was a slow cultural transformation in a merging of Cham, Vietnamese, and other cultures to create a "new way of being Vietnamese" (Wheeler 2006a:187, Li 1998:99–116). No other sources provide any evidence of how or where the local Cochinchinese may have lived in Hội An, except perhaps the Japanese "Sea Map." Though Ogura identifies the thatched-house neighbourhood as Chinese, Chihara believes it is Cham or Vietnamese (Chihara 2011:39–40).

Sallet, who was convinced that Hội An had in fact been a Cham port before the sixteenth century, attempted to find evidence of their presence in the 1910s. Like with his Japanese survey, he was not fruitful, only noting a few bricks in the ground that look like those found at My Son, and some Vietnamese iconography that seems inspired by the Cham (Sallet 1919:501–506).

4.3 THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The built environment in Hội An can be divided into three general categories: community buildings, commercial structures, and housing. Community buildings (Figure 4.8) include temples, shrines, ancestral houses, communal houses and assembly halls. Commercial structures represent everything involved in trade, and housing is related to individual houses.

Figure 4.8 Map of survey area and community buildings

4.3.1 COMMUNITY BUILDINGS

Hội An had a very vibrant community life. People of similar origins tend to band together to support each other in a foreign country, and this was very evident in Hội An. The Chinese in particular worked hard to create a strong community, in fact the majority of the "community buildings" left in Hội An are Chinese. This type of buildings can be put into two categories: religious (temples and shrines, and ancestral houses), and socio-civic (communal houses and assembly halls). There is some overlap between the two categories, as the socio-civic buildings often contain an altar or an associated temple. The UNESCO World Heritage nomination document lists 14 temples and shrines, 19 ancestral houses, 18 community houses, and 5 assembly halls (Tran 1998). The focus here will be on buildings that date to before the nineteenth century and are located in Hội An or the section of Cầm Phô nearest to Hội An. Though ancestral halls are an important feature of the town, they all date to the nineteenth and twentieth century, and as such won't be addressed.

4.3.1.1 Religious Buildings

Quan Công Temple

Quan Công temple (Figure 4.9), also known as Guangong Temple, Quan Thánh Miếu, Quan Công Miếu, Quan Đê Miếu, Trừng Hán Cung, and Chùa Ông, is located at No. 24 Trần Phú, across the street from the current market. Chen recorded a stone memorial erected in 1753 that states that the temple was built 100 years ago, putting its founding around 1653; there is also a temple bell, which according to its inscription was cast in 1678 (Chen 2002:60; Chu 2011:281). The temple has been repaired at least four times since its establishment (Chen 2002:60). Behind it is located another temple, Quan Âm Tự, or Chùa Bà, with many inscribed panels hanging on the walls, the oldest of which is dated 1653 (Chen 2002:61). At the time of the survey in 2016, this back temple was undergoing repairs. Until 2015 it housed the Hội An Museum of History and Culture, which has now been relocated to the Hội An Centre for Monuments Management and Protection on Tran Hung Dao Street.

Figure 4.9 Quan Công Temple (June 2016 by author)

Cầm Hà and Bình Nhị temples

Cầm Hà (also known as Chùa Ông Chúa) and Bình Nhị (Chùa Bà Mụ or Bà Mối) temples are located on Phan Châu Trinh Street. Though Chen could not date its establishment, an inscription states the temple was originally situated between Cầm Phô and Thanh Hà districts, outside of Hội An proper. Hải Bình temple was added in 1626 (Chen 2002:62–63).

Vạn Thọ Đình and Quảng Yên Tự

According to Chen, "it is widely known that there existed in 17th century Hội An a pavilion named Vạn Thọ Đình and a Buddhist temple called Quảng Yên Tự" that no longer exist (Chen 2002:63). He reports that locals believe it was behind where the current Thuan Hoa Hội Quán (assembly hall) is, at No. 64 Trần Phú (Chen 2002:63). An inscription shows that Quảng Yên Tự has existed since at least the 1670s. Two additional halls were built behind these buildings and were later unified to become Minh Hưng Hội Quán, which at the time of Chen's writing was a primary school. There is in fact still a school behind the assembly hall.

Kim Sơn temple

This temple is located at 46 Trần Phú Street, and houses the Fukien Assembly Hall. The temple contains a plaque erected in 1757 that states it was founded 60 years previous, so 1697 (Chen 2002:66).

Japanese Temple

There is reference in the literature to a Buddhist temple built by Japanese merchant Kayoda Shichirobe in 1670. We know of the existence of this temple from a letter he sent to Japan to order a tablet; in it he gives a quick sketch of where the temple is located (Figure 4.2) (Chen 2002:301). He named the temple Matsumoto Dera, though it is also referred to as Tung Bon Pagoda (Nguyen 2009). This temple no longer exists and its exact location has yet to be determined.

4.3.1.2. Socio-Civic Buildings

Communal Houses

Communal houses serve a similar purpose to the Chinese assembly halls. They are a meeting place for Vietnamese people to deliberate on administrative and economic issues in their community, as well as for celebrations and religious events. The three listed here were established in the sixteenth century, possibly before the founding of the Japanese and Chinese settlements, and perhaps even before the establishment of the Nguyễn Lords.

They are located about 250 m on either side of the bridge. The nomination document lists the Hội An Sages house at No. 3 Lê Lợi, the Elephant house (Ding Ong Voi) at No 27 Lê Lợi, and the Cầm Phô house at No. 52 Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai as being built in the sixteenth century and renovated in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, No. 3 Lê Lợi was not open to visitors during the survey, and No. 27 Lê Lợi turned out to be a kindergarten school. Signs and photos exposed at the Cầm Phô Communal House at No. 52 Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai report on the three test excavations conducted in the front yard and near the gate. All three yielded Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese ceramics from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Showa Women's University 2001:191).

Chinese Assembly Halls

Fukien Assembly Hall

The Phúc Kiến Hội Quán (Fukien Assembly Hall) is the oldest Assembly Hall in Hội An. When Da Shan visited, it was located at Quán Thánh temple, though it is now at Kim Son temple, at 46 Trần Phú street, not far from Thuan Hoa hall and Quan Công temple (Chen 2002:66; Chu 2011:281). The front gate of the hall (Figure 4.10) is incredibly ornate, as is the second one (Figure 4.11), though the buildings inside are slightly more subdued. The first gate, on Trần Phú Street, seems to be a fairly recent addition as a photograph from the early 20th century (Figure 4.12) shows a grassy area and dirt track leading to second gate. The gate in this photograph is also far less elaborate.

Figure 4.10 First gate of Fukien Assembly Hall (June 2016)

Figure 4.12 Second Gate of Fukien Assembly Hall (June 2016)

Figure 4.11 Early twentieth century photograph of Fukien Assembly Hall, exhibited in the hall.

Dương Thương/Thuan Hoa

Like most of the previously mentioned buildings, there is no exact date for the establishment of this assembly hall (Figure 4.14). Though its name today references the five Chinese congregations, it's original name, Dương Thương Hội Quán, meant "Assembly Hall for Maritime Commerce" (Chen 2002:68). Maritime travel is still an important feature in this hall as evidenced by a large model of a Chinese junk (Figure 4.13). There is little evidence to help date the hall, though Chen believes its founding was precipitated by the influx of Chinese merchants in Hội An after Japanese trade restrictions in 1715 (Chen 2002:69). Furthermore, there is a 1741 stele in the *hội quán* that lists the rules and regulations of the guild. (Chen 2002:69).

Figure 4.13 Model of a Chinese junk in the temple within the hall (June 2016)

Figure 4.14 Thuan Hoa Assembly Hall (June 2016)

Triều Châu Assembly Hall

This building was actually established in 1845. However, excavations were undertaken in 1989 that provided evidence for prolonged settlement in Hội An. Coins found in the four excavations date from the eighth to the nineteenth century; coins from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries were only found between 0.4 m and 0.8 m depth (Hoang and Lam 2011:94–95).

4.3.2 Commercial Structures

As an international entrepôt, Hội An's main economic activity was trade; religious men and merchants alike commented on the dynamic and rich port town of Quảng Nam. For example Da Shan observed in 1695 that "the town is densely populated, abundant in seafoods, vegetables and fresh fruits which make the street always in a constant pandemonium" (Chen 2002:300). European merchants, sent by their companies, write in their reports and journals the manner in which trade is handled. A number of buildings and structures are involved in trade in this period: customs houses and stores, markets, wharf structures, and European companies' headquarters and factories. It should be noted that the previously mentioned Chinese assembly halls played a large role in trade, particularly the Dương Thương Hội Quán, and served similar functions to European factories.

4.3.2.1 The Customs House

Before entering the market, goods must go through customs. Though Laurens only mentions it in passing, Bowyear provides a very detailed description of the customs house (Dalrymple 1791–1797:79; Morel 2010b:6, 13).

> "In the evening the ship moored before the custom-house […]. We began to unlade [sic], and come to their custom-houses, of which there are three, in a square compound of about 100 paces over each way, at the upper end, right against the gate, stands the largest, in the middle of which the Mandarins and Officers sett [sic], the other two, which are somewhat inferior, on each side, all open to the middle of the square, on one of the gate, without, is a shed, where the soldiers watch, to see that all goes right from the ship, […] The goods being brought and set in two rows in the middle of the square, are one by one opened"

The customs house was thus a large complex on the riverside. Though Poivre and Laurens describe having to leave their goods at the customs house once, they also make mention of stores in Hội An where they leave merchandise (Morel 2010b:6). There is however no information on their location or proximity to the river or to their house.

4.3.2.2 The Market

It is not always clear in the contemporary written sources if there was a physical market place for trade, or if the whole town became one during peak trade season. Borri explains that Chinese and Japanese trade in Cochinchina "[was] managed at a fair held yearly at one of the ports of this kingdom, and lasting about four months" (Dror and Taylor 2006:132). Poivre comments that the market was closed on February 8, 1750 due to New Year's celebrations, though it is not clear if he meant the market place or just business in general (Morel 2010a:76)[4]. Neither Poivre nor Laurens mention going to a market, instead it seems that Laurens visited merchants or received them at the Company's rented headquarters (Morel 2010b:9, 12–13). Da Shan's descriptions also seem to support the idea of the whole town being a market: he writes that Hội An is a street lined with shops (Chen 2002:300; Wheeler 2001:38).

4.3.2.3 Wharf Structures

Historical sources do not describe any sort of built pier, quay, or wharf. Considering the numerous references to boats unloading directly from the river, it is likely that vessels docked at the riverbank without the need for a built structure. Bowyear explains that many ships were able to load and unload goods directly in the town from the river (Dalrymple 1791–1797:79). This is supported by Poivre and Laurens, and later by Edme Mentell, who published a geography volume in 1783 based on Poivre's notes and states that vessels anchored "in the town of Hué-Hâne [Hội An] itself, right in front of the shops" (Morel 2011:3)[5]. This practice continued on in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: a resident interviewed in the 1990s recalled vessels being docked behind the houses when they were a child in the 1960s (Showa Women's University 2001: 194).

This of course was only possible for vessels of a certain size. Though Bowyear was able to bring his ship to Hội An, Poivre's ship had to stay in Đà Nẵng; the latter claims that European vessels were too large but Chinese junks could easily moor in the river (Dalrymple 1791–1797:79; Morel 2010a:97). Kirsop notes that while the river had been large enough to accommodate larger vessels at one point, now they had to anchor "about a league from the town in another river, that communicates with the former" (Dalrymple 1791–1797:241). This may have been in practice for some time as Da Shan explains that ocean-going vessels moored at Tra Nhieu, on the opposite side of the river (Chen 2002:300).

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[4] "ce jour là il n'y a point de marché"

[5] "viennent mouiller dans la ville même de Hué-Hâne, devant les magasins de cette ville"

Today the riverbank has been concreted; it was being repaired in July 2016 (Figure 4.15). There are some wooden piles that can be seen all along the riverbank (Figure 4.16), possibly indicating remains of small wooden jetties, similar to the ones still in use (Figure 4.17). There are also steps along the bank going into the water (Figure 4.15); they currently don't have any associated structure.

Figure 4.15 View of the wharf and concrete stairs leading into the water (June 2016)

Figure 4.16 Wood fragments in the river in Hội An (June

Figure 4.17 Example of a small wooden jetty (June 2016)

4.3.2.4 VOC Factory

As aforementioned, most European sources indicate that they typically rented local buildings instead of building their own. There is however reference in historical studies to a Dutch Factory; it is not clear whether they built their own building, though it seems likely considering their activities elsewhere. There is one indication of its location in a footnote of Do Bang's "The Relations and Pattern of Trade Between Hội An and the Inland," which claims it might be where the old Tay Ho Engineering Workshop used to be (Do 2011:222). This has yet to be verified. The only thing left of the workshop is the front gate (Figure 4.18). It is located 1km east from the bridge. Interestingly, the section of Phan Bội Châu Street immediately adjacent to this area was only paved in 2014. No archaeological investigations were conducted at that time.

Figure 4.18 Remains of the Tay Ho Engineering Workshop gate (June 2016 by author)

4.3.3 HOUSING

The houses found in present day Hội An were all built in the nineteenth century, the majority of them are typical Chinese-style shop houses. These are long narrow houses typically containing a shop in the front, and a residential building in the back or top floor, separated by a courtyard (Figure 4.19). There is sometimes a bridge building on one side of the courtyard. The houses also have an outdoor area in the back (Hoang and Vu 2011:312; Tran 2008:15).

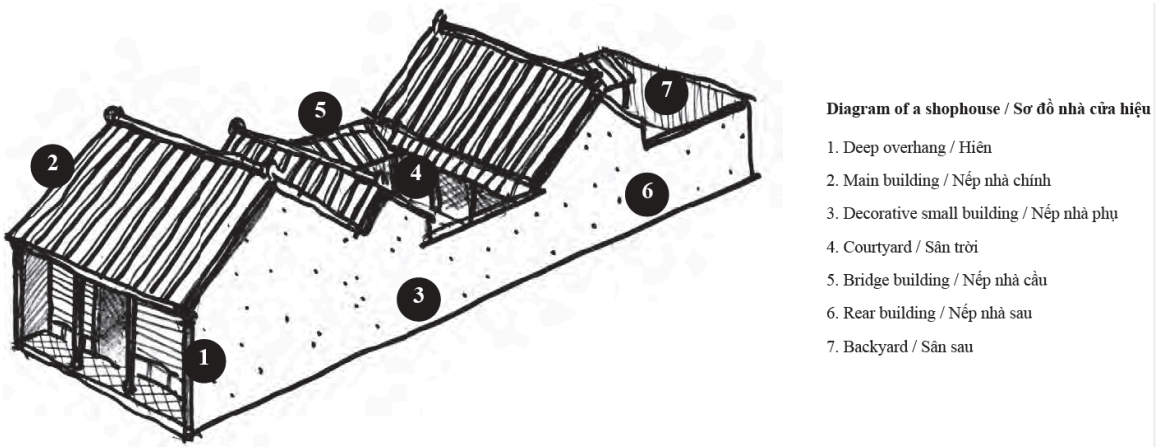

Figure 4.19 Sketch of a typical shophouse (Tran et al 2008:15)

Some sources provide descriptions of the houses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Borri, for example, claims all the buildings are wooden, made of "the best timber in the universe" from trees called *tin* (ironwood) (Dror and Taylor 2006:105). This wood is very strong and heavy, so much so that it does not float and is sometimes used as anchors; it is black or red and when stripped is "so smooth and slick, that [it] scarce need any plaining [sic]" (Dror and Taylor 2006:105). The houses are designed with monsoon floods in mind; they are built on pillars and have removable boards "to let in the air in hot weather; or to leave free a passage for the water and boats" (Dror and Taylor 2006:106). Poivre describes common houses made of bamboo and upper class houses of wood or stone. They have a front room used for entertaining and conducting business; it has bamboo panels that can be lifted up to let cool air in during the day (Morel 2010a:88).

The two types of houses (common and upper-class) are also evident in the Japanese "Sea Map," which depicts large ornate houses on one side of the river and smaller thatched-roof houses on the other. Chiara Daigoro provides an architectural analysis of the painting, in which he compares the buildings of the "Sea Map's" Japanese street to buildings depicted in contemporary sketched of Nagasaki. He notes that they share very similar features: both have two stories and two tiered roofs, as well as *udatsu* rafters and half-moon windows (Chihara 2011:33–43). He also believes that the smaller houses on the other bank are in fact Cham, as they seem to be built on stilts (Chihara 2011:39–40). The thatched-roof houses are also depicted in an illustration by William Alexander in the late eighteenth century, though it is not specified where on the Thu Bồn River these houses are (Figure 4.20).

Many houses in Hội An have been restored in the last few decades as a result of the World Heritage nomination. On occasion, excavations accompanied these restorations. For example, ceramic and architectural remains found at No. 85 Trần Phú were dated to the eighteenth century (Showa Women's University Institute of International Culture

2000:38). Excavations at No. 16 Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai yielded ceramics dating back to the seventeenth century (Nguyen 2009). Studies of various houses along Trần Phú and Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai were also conducted through collected documents from the residents such as deeds, registrations documents, and family histories, as well as through interviews. All the documents collected were from the eighteenth century on, none were associated with the early Japanese families. The oldest document was the 1739 sale contract for No. 3 Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai (Showa Women's University 2001:192).

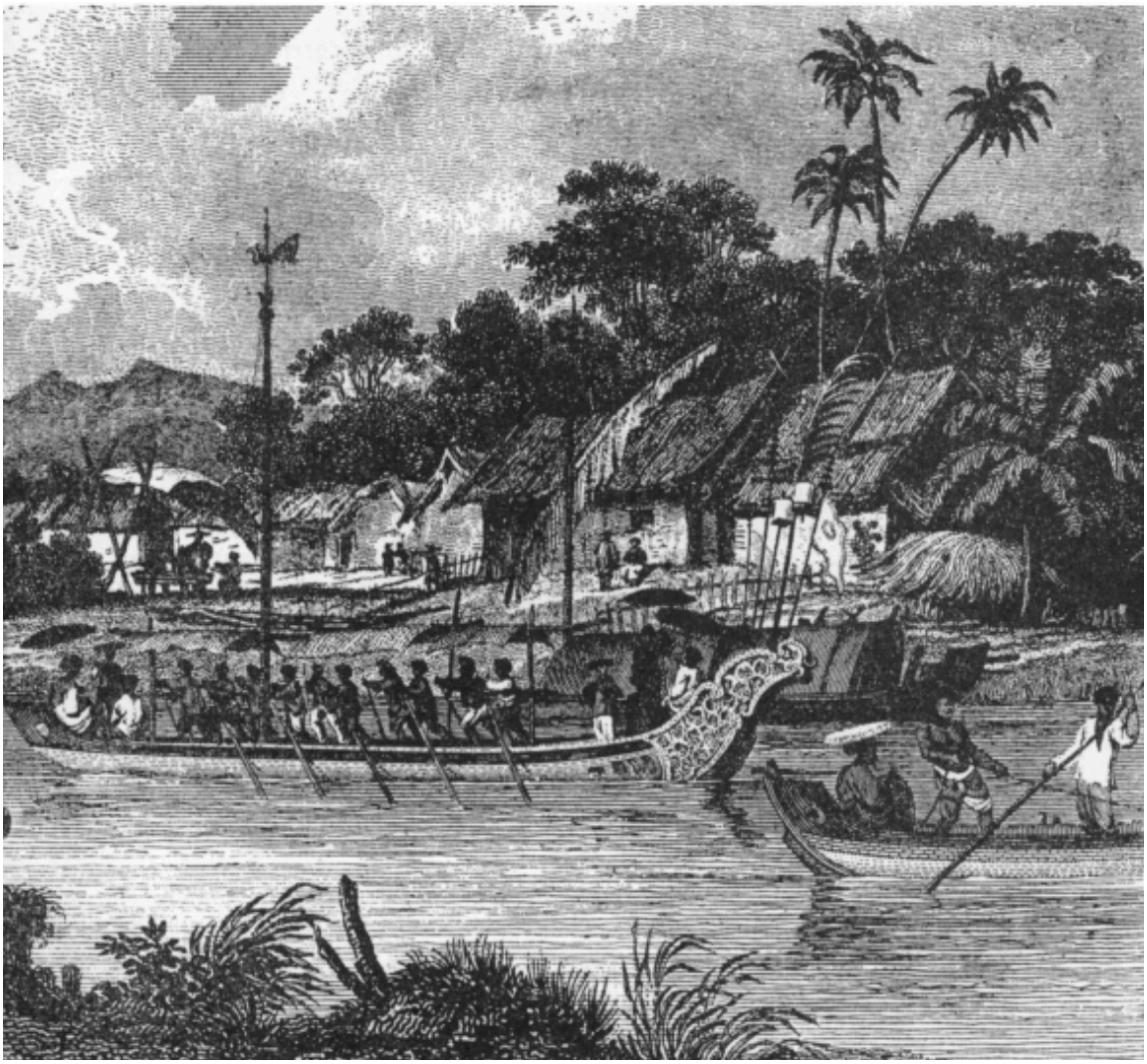

Figure 4.20 "Boats on the river Faifo" illustration by William Alexander 1792 (Lamb 1961:45)

4.3.4 Additional Built Heritage

4.3.4.1 Japanese Bridge

The Japanese Bridge and its origin have been extensively discussed in the scholarship. It has been known as the "Japanese" bridge since at least 1695, when it is mentioned as so in Da Shan's travel account; it is not mentioned by this name by Borri (Chen 2002:300). It was renamed "Lai Vien Kieu," meaning "Bridge of Friends from Afar" in 1719 by Lord Nguyễn Phúc Chu (Chen 2002:355; Chuong 2011:293). It is unknown when or why the bridge came to be known as the Japanese bridge. Many hypothesise that the name comes from its proximity to the Japanese quarter, though no contemporary source has confirmed that.

Figure 4.21 The Japanese Bridge in 1903.

Indeed, the bridge currently has no Japanese features at all, though it should be mentioned that it has undergone at number of repairs and restorations, including in 1763, 1875, and 1917 (Chen 2002:357). Figures 4.21 and 4.22 show how much the bridge has changed in just one century. There are very few descriptions of the bridge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We know from Father Bénigne Vachet, who lived in Hội An from 1673 to 1693, that it was already a covered bridge in the seventeenth century (Cadière 1920:349). In 1778, Chapman described a destitute Hội An with only a few remaining buildings, including "a wooden bridge built upon piles over a narrow arm of the river with a tiled roof" (Lamb 1961:48). Tourism in Hội An has exerted a lot of

pressure on the bridge, which receives 4,000 visitors a day. There are plans to restore and conserve it in the near future (Filek-Gibson 2016).

Figure 4.22 The Japanese Bridge in June 2016.

4.3.4.2 Wells

There are a number of wells all throughout Hội An. Wells are an important feature in any Vietnamese town, and are still frequently in use. Some of the wells in the Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai and Trần Phú area may be quite old as they are of the typically Cham brick-lined style, similar to the one in Figure 4.23. At this time, there is no certain methodology to date the wells. Though determining dates would have certainly helped track the evolution of Hội An, developing that methodology was beyond the scope of this thesis.

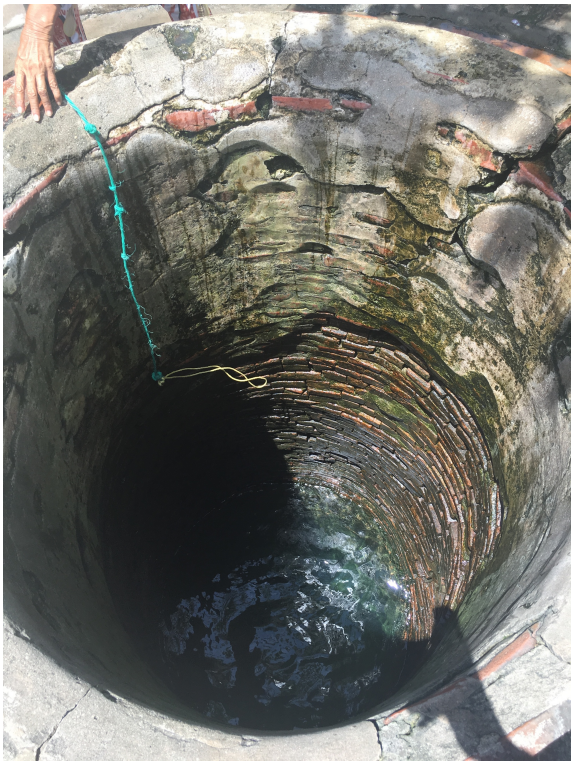

Figure 4.23 Cham well located on Cu Lao Cham Island (June 2016)

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

The maritime cultural landscape approach, used in conjunction with the urban theories laid out in the second chapter of this thesis, provides a structure with which to understand the role of maritime trade in Hội An. To emphasize the dual impact of trade on the town, the structures described in the previous chapter are discussed below as part of the economic landscape on one hand, and the socio-cultural landscape on the other, following an analysis of the general layout.

5.1 URBAN LAYOUT

The information presented thus far allows us to begin sketching the layout of Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Two things are clear: first, Hội An consisted of a single street along the river, and second, the Chinese and Japanese communities lived separately but near enough to each other that they could be considered living in the same town. According to Borri, Hội An came to be when the Vietnamese "King" gave the Japanese and Chinese land to build a city. He does not name the "King" but by the time he was in Cochinchina, there had only been two Nguyen Lords: Nguyễn Hoàng, who reigned from 1558 to 1613, and Nguyễn Phúc Nguyên, whose reign started in 1613 and would end in 1635, after Borri's 1618–1622 trip (Li 1998:183). As Saris mentions the Japanese street in 1617, this places the formal establishment of Hội An between 1558 and 1617. This does not however rule out informal, perhaps even illegal, Japanese or Chinese settlements that predate this.

The area had been settled by the Sa Huỳnh and the Cham since at least the eighth century, even in what is today Hội An proper, as evidenced by the excavations at Triều Châu Assembly Hall (Hoang and Lam 2011). On the other side of town, excavations at Cẩm Phô Communal House showed activity from the sixteenth century onward. These are the oldest dates established by archaeology, on opposite sides of the Japanese Bridge, confirming previous assertions by scholars that the "Great Street" was Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai and Trần Phú streets. Da Shan, however, specifically named the village of Cẩm Phô, located on the other side of the Japanese Bridge, implying it was separate from Hội An (Chen 2002:300–301; Chuong 2011:293; Nguyen 2011:165). Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai was thus not a part of Faifo proper, though it would have still been an important thoroughfare. This is confirmed by the presence of a non-Chinese Communal House at the far end of Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai Street. The historical sources also describe the street as being one to two kilometres long, meaning it may have extended up to 1.3 km past Triều Châu Assembly Hall on the easternmost edge of the current "historic town" (Figure 5.1) (Chen

2002:300–301; Chuong 2011:293; Nguyen 2011:165; Wheeler 2001:38). This remains true even when considering Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai as part of Faifo.

The original settlements were thus concentrated on the Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai – Trần Phú axis, near the water. Considering the importance of the waterway to the inhabitants of Hội An, and the known silting phenomenon of the Thu Bon river, it could be postulated that Trần Phú (and its continuation, Nguyễn Duy Hiệu) used to be parallel to the water. Previous studies have concluded that Nguyễn Thái Học and Bạch Đằng streets, south of Trần Phú, were established in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; this area was thus either empty land or did not exist.

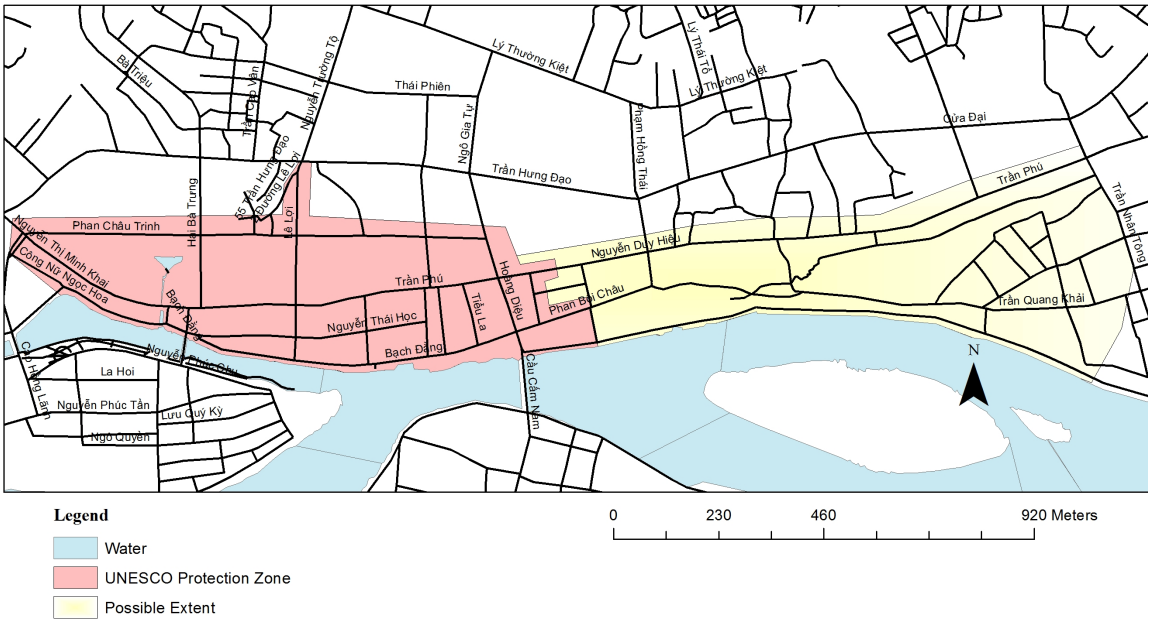

Figure 5.1 Street map of Hội An showing the current "old town" and the possible extent of the seventeenth century town.

Using this basic layout, the following chapter discusses the use of space by social groups and economic activities. The maritime cultural landscape approach emphasises the maritimity of the features of Hội An, that is the degree to which they can be related to the sea. The environment-behaviour and generative planning theories on the other hand highlight the fact that people construct their built environment to reflect their wants and needs. Due to their nature, ports need to be highly connected to the sea (via the river in the case of Hội An) and thus have a “maritime town topography,” which is evidenced by specialised structures that support trade. As it was established as a foreign port, the development of Hội An followed trends in regional trade. The influence of trade on the town can be seen in the specialised economic structures, but more importantly it can be seen in the social and cultural institutions brought in by the foreign merchants who inhabited it.

5.2 Economic Landscape of Hội An

The main economic activity of Hội An has intrinsically been connected to trade, mostly driven by Japanese and Chinese merchants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These merchants were initially attracted by the silk, then by other local luxury goods such as black sugar, pepper, and fragrant woods (Li 1998:63, 66). It was also a convenient entrepôt with low duties that allowed the Japanese and Chinese to trade with each other and with other non-Southeast Asians, in addition to gaining access to local goods. This trade relied on the monsoon winds, which could be used to travel to Vietnam in January–February, and back to China or Japan in June–August. Upon arrival in Cochinchina, vessels often called at Cu Lao Cham Island waiting for permissions, before entering the mouth of the Thu Bon River to Hội An (Chen 2002:299; Wheeler 2001:52–53, 117, 121).

The historical sources along with the interviews conducted by Showa University confirm that smaller vessels were able to moor in Hội An and unload goods directly into nearby shop houses. None of the sources reference any type of built structure except Poivre who only once uses the word "quai," meaning wharf, dock, or quay (Morel 2010a:97)[6]. In this sentence the word "quai" does not however necessarily refer to a physical dock, rather it emphasizes the ease with which goods are loaded and unloaded. It is more likely that the entire river bank served as a dock, without the need for a permanently built quay. Laurens does in fact describe seeing vessels moored all along the length of town (Morel 2010b:12)[7]. The essential role of the river and the elongated form of the town support this idea. Rather than a wharf running along the town, small wooden jetties may have been used, in the same way they are used today (Figure 4.17). These are often used today as silting can make it difficult to approach the bank for some vessels. The small wooden remains (Figure 4.15) found in the river may indicate a tradition of building temporary jetties. This also aligns with accounts of vessels unloading directly into the shop houses: each merchant built their own private jetty to facilitate their business. Though this is tied to the smaller scale Chinese and Vietnamese activities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an analogous system may have been in place during the height of international trade in Hội An. All of the accounts of European traders report more difficulty mooring in the Thu Bồn River, no doubt due to shallow depths. Poivre's

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[6] "Les sommes chinoises et les bateaux du pays y abordent facilement et ont la commodité de charger et de décharger de bord à quai:" The Chinese junks and local boats easily berth there [Hội An] and have the convenience of loading and unloading straight onto the dock.

[7] "Ayant eu besoin de parcourir la ville de Faifoo tout le long du rivage, j'ai vu quantités de sommes:" During my walk along the banks of the city of Faifo, I saw a number of junks.

expedition was based out of Tourane, their goods brought to Hội An on the Cổ Cò River using lighter boats and then transported to the house by coolies (Morel 2010b).

Customs practices may have been different for Europeans and Chinese. While Wheeler claims that Quan Công temple handled customs until the 1820s, Bowyear's description of the customs house in 1695 does not resemble the temple. According to Bowyear, the customs house was a large three-building complex located near or on the water: "the ship moored before the custom-house" (Dalrymple 1791–1797:79). Quan Công temple is located on Trần Phú street, around 150 m from the water, and has two small buildings, one in front of the other; it was built in 1653 so it existed at the time of Bowyear's visit. There are two explanations for this discrepancy. The first is that Quan Công served as an office for Chinese merchants, while Europeans visited this other location. The second is that Quan Công temple was in fact one of the three buildings mentioned by Bowyear.

Bowyear's description more closely resembles Dương Thương Hội Quán, the Assembly Hall for Maritime Commerce, today called Minh Huong Assembly Hall. This assembly hall is composed of several buildings around a courtyard. It is also believed to have been the location of the seventeenth century Vạn Thọ Định pavilion and Quảng Yên Tự temple (Chen 2002:63). Its role as an assembly hall dedicated to maritime trade may mean that it was used as a customs house, though Chinese guilds tended to be reserved for Chinese use, making Bowyear's involvement unusual.

Anthony Reid (1993:91) explains that there were two main ways to conduct business in the age of commerce. In the large cities of insular Southeast Asia the market had always been the central place for trade. Big international transactions as well as the everyday sale of foodstuffs took place in "free markets in which anyone could take up a stall on paying a regular fee to the authorities." Reid (1993:91) notes that toward the end of the age of commerce, the larger transactions were happening outside the market through personal negotiations, this was particularly true with Europeans. In the Northern Vietnamese and Siamese capitals however, trade was more formally organised: certain streets or quarters were designated for the sale of specific goods (Reid 1993:91). Hội An more closely resembles the insular model in this regard. The market of Hội An started as a seasonal fair determined by the monsoon winds, from about February to June. Borri describes: "the *Chineses* and *Japoneses*, drive the chief trade of Cochin-China, which is managed at a fair held yearly […] and lasting about four months," and goes on to say that it is held in Faifo (Dror and Taylor 2006:132–133). The short length of the fair would imply a temporary (probably open air) market constructed specifically for the fair. Wheeler (2001:39) writes of an "open market across from the temple to the sea goddess Quan Âm" but does not explain how he came across that information. "The temple to the sea goddess Quan Âm" refers to Quan Công temple located across the street from the

current market. The current market building was originally built by the French in the 19th century; it was demolished and rebuilt in the late 2000s. It is possible that the temporary Chinese-Japanese fair was held in that general area as well. This location makes sense as it is near both quarters and is located on what would have been empty land (Figure 5.2). There is however no concrete evidence that proves or refutes this; the market could have been anywhere along the river. The possible relationship between Quan Công temple as a custom house and the market at this location is however interesting to note.

Sources from the eighteenth century indicate a shift away from conducting business in a market toward merchants working out of their own shops or houses. Indeed, they describe Hội An as a town consisting mostly of shops (as does Da Shan in 1695). Laurens never mentions visiting a market but instead goes to see the Portuguese *feydor* and receives local merchants at his headquarters (Morel 2010b:9, 12–13). The proliferation of shop houses attests to this practice; they are owned by individuals who do business out of their front rooms. There are a number of theses shop houses from the eighteenth century, including No 3 Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai, which was built sometime before 1739 (when it was sold) (Showa Women's University 2001:192). Both styles of business described by Reid are present here. The street lined with shops could mirror the Northern Vietnamese model of dedicated quarters, though there is no indication of specialised shops. Laurens' experiences are however very much in line with Reid's assertion that European transactions were not always part of the market. It should be noted that the shift came after the arrival of the Ming refugees, who were some of the first foreigners to permanently settle in Hội An in significant numbers. It is likely that with a stable, permanent merchant population trading year-round, the temporary market fell out of favour. Additionally, with the emergence of larger European vessels, Đà Nẵng was starting to grow as an alternative port.

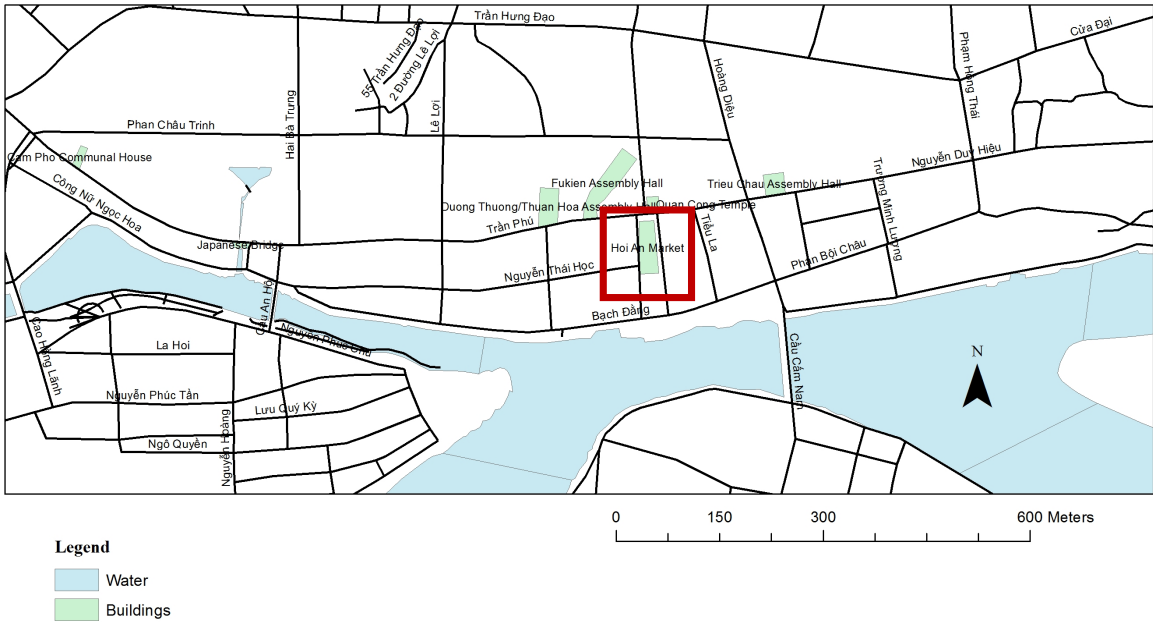

Figure 5.2 Street map of Hội An showing the location of community buildings. The current market (emphasized in red) is located on the southern side of Tran Phu street. Quan Công temple is located directly across the street

5.3 Socio-Cultural Landscape of Hội An

Though the Japanese and Chinese dominated Hội An at different times, the historical sources make it clear that both communities were present in significant numbers until the mid-seventeenth century. After the Tokugawa bans and the fall of the Ming Dynasty, the Japanese community dwindled while the Chinese quarter grew. Today, little remains of the Japanese community's presence, while there are many traces of the Chinese.

All of the Chinese community buildings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are concentrated 400 m to 600 m east of the bridge on Trần Phú, near the current market (Figure 5.3). Considering their role (which will be addressed below) they can be assumed to be the centre of the Chinese quarter. These buildings date to the second half of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, after the arrival of the Ming refugees. The oldest Chinese building (in fact the oldest standing building in the "old town") is Quan Công temple, thought to date to at least 1653. From that central location, the Chinese quarter grew to overtake all of what is today Hội An's "old town."

The location of the Japanese quarter is less evident as there are no built remains apart from the Bridge. As Cẩm Phô was separate to Hội An, the Japanese quarter would have been located somewhere along the two kilometre stretch of road to the east of the bridge.

Due to its name, it has been assumed that the Japanese quarter was directly adjacent to the bridge, meaning it would be between the bridge and the Chinese quarter. Shichirobe's letter disputes this idea: according to the included sketch (Figure 4.2), the Japanese quarter is east of the Chinese quarter. The letter was written in 1670, after Quan Công temple was built, so the Chinese quarter in question was likely in the same location as it is today. This would put the Japanese quarter further along the street, perhaps even past the UNESCO World Heritage delimitation. As Hội An was affected by two major conflicts (the Tay Son Rebellion, 1778–1802, and the Vietnam War, 1955–1975) the lack of historical buildings in that area is not surprising, though excavations have proved that it has been occupied for centuries (Hoang and Lam 2011:94–95).

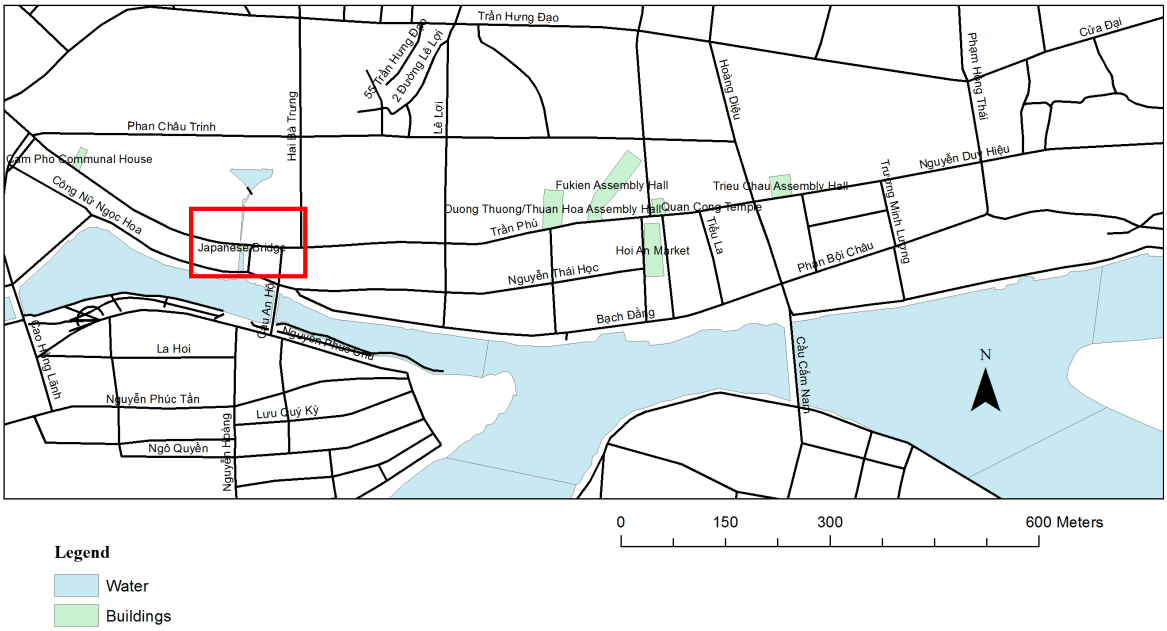

Figure 5.3 The Japanese bridge is emphasized in red in this map. A part from the Bridge, Cam Pho Communal House, and the Market, the buildings indicated in green on this map are of Chinese origin.

There is some evidence supporting this theory. First is the *Sea Map* illustration, which shows the Japanese quarter as fairly close to the shore (Figure 4.7). The large building on the left has however been described as the "Headquarter of the Quảng Nam Nguyen Lords," possibly representing the Dinh[8], which is located further down the river (Showa Women's University Institute of International Culture 2000:32). The proximity of the

[8] The Dinh (here named Dinh Chien or Dinh Ciam) is the administrative capital, where the governor resides. It was established very early on as a military garrison (Chen 2002:286; Wheeler 2001:74). Borri refers to this town as *Cacciam*, Mentelle calls it *Kietta,* and Laurens *Digne* (Dror and Taylor 2006:140; Morel 2010b:12, 2011:3). It is located one league (4.8 km) up the Tho Bon river from Hoi An (Morel 2011:3).

Japanese quarter to the shore may thus just show its location relative to the Dinh. Second, the location of the Dutch factory could help confirm the location of the Japanese quarter. When the Dutch attempted to establish themselves in Hội An, they were interested in trading with both the Japanese and the Chinese. They also had a strong relationship with Japan, where they had operated a factory since 1607. The VOC may have thus chosen to establish themselves in Hội An in a location that was near both the Japanese and the Chinese. If Do Bang's assertion that the factory was located on the site of the old Tay Ho Engineering Workshop is in fact true, it could represent a midpoint between the Japanese and Chinese quarters (Figure 5.4) (Do 2011:222).

It should be noted that there is even less evidence supporting the idea that the Japanese were established closer to the bridge. The strongest evidence is in fact the name of the bridge, which has been known as the Japanese Bridge since at least 1695, so it must have some association with the Japanese community. Perhaps the Japanese did in fact build it, or perhaps it was referred to as such because it connected the local village of Cẩm Phô to the Japanese, even if they were a kilometre or more away.

Figure 5.4 Location of the the Tay Ho Engineering

5.4 The Chinese Merchant Identity

As was explained in the second chapter of this thesis, there are two main facets to port cities: they are centres of trade and they bring together different communities. A look at historical ports on the UNESCO World Heritage List shows that many are

included because they exhibit an interchange of human values. Both the economic and socio-cultural aspects of port cities are reflected in the built environment. In Hội An, this duality is best exemplified in the Chinese merchants. The dual identity of "Chinese" on one hand and "merchant" on the other is reflected in both community buildings and housing.

The Assembly Halls epitomise the expression of Chinese merchant identity in Hội An. Assembly Halls are social and economic institutions that were brought from China to Hội An and other Southeast Asian ports such as Melaka, George Town, Singapore, and Batavia (Jakarta). They can be traced back to the sixteenth century in China as trade guilds used to regulate business (Moll-Murata 2008:217–219). With the global economic expansion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, travelling merchants brought these organisations to China's frontier regions and to Southeast Asia (Moll-Murata 2008:217; Naquin and Rawski 1987:48; Purcell 1965). These associations have several names, the most common in Southeast Asia being *hui guan*, "assembly house" for common-origin associations, *gong suo, "*public hall" for occupational associations, and *bang,* mutual aid associations (Moll-Murata 2008:215). The current guilds in Hội An are all *hui guan* (*hội quán* in Vietnamese) based on dialect and origin, though Dương Thương, the Assembly Hall for Maritime Commerce, could have been considered a *gong suo*. The Hội An *hui guan* also serve as *bang*, as they provide assistance to the community. In China and overseas alike, the halls became more than purely economic organisations, they took on the role of the municipal government, providing fire-fighting and policing services, schools, orphanages, cemeteries, as well as maintaining public infrastructure such as roads and bridges (Moll-Murata 2008:223; Naquin and Rawski 1987:45–46, 49).

Such institutions create and reinforce cultural ties in the Chinese community by providing an affiliation as well as aid to people far from home, becoming a point of contact for visitors and immigrants. Like most *hui guan*, the Hội An assembly halls all contain a temple or shrine, often to the Goddess of Mercy, patron of fishermen and sailors (Purcell 1965:39). As such, the halls took on cultural and religious roles as well by being a central place of worship and putting on celebrations for the community (Moll-Murata 2008:223; Naquin and Rawski 1987:48). These halls were thus literal places of assembly used both for economic purposes (meetings and storage facilities) and for socio-cultural purposes (lodging, schooling, worship, celebrations) (Naquin and Rawski 1987:48). The buildings that house them then become symbols cementing each Chinese sub-community's presence in Hội An.

As with all public buildings, the Halls send a message, in this case of unity but also of prestige. They are very elaborately decorated and colourful, some more than others. The Fukien Assembly Hall for example is one of the most impressive buildings in Hội An, as is the Cantonese Hall, whereas Dương Thương is relatively understated (Figures 5.5 and

5.6). Individuals are also able to express their own personal wealth and social standing through these structures by donating to the guild or temple. Chen reports that the donors' names are often found on plaques throughout the halls and pagodas (Chen 2002). At first, the Chinese community of Hội An may have been separated by origin, and though these halls generally reinforce solidarity Naquin and Rawski (1987) also explain that they can heighten hostility between communities. The merchant guild would have been open to all communities regardless of origin, even more so later when it was turned into an Assembly Hall for all five Chinese groups.

Figure 5.5 Fukien Assembly Hall (June 2016)

Figure 5.6 Thuan Hoa Assembly Hall (June 2016)

The Chinese merchant culture is also made visible in vernacular architecture when studied through the lens of environment-behaviour theory. This theory posits that certain aspects of culture are tangibly expressed in the built environment: aspects such as social variables (kinship, gender, status) and activities. The house thus reflects the wants and needs of its inhabitants through its structure, layout, and decoration, and through the use of the space by people. Most of the houses found along Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai, Trần Phú, Nguyễn Thái Học, and Bạch Đằng streets are shop houses; they are divided into two parts: the shop and the home. The shop part is located at the front of the house on the street, and always on the bottom floor and is the largest part of the house. The residential part is either located in the back of the house or solely on the top floor. This layout clearly emphasizes how central business was to their lives. The preoccupation with maritime trade is also seen in the fact that through time, the houses are built progressively closer to the river. This is confirmed by the interviews conducted by Showa University with older inhabitants of Hội An who specifically recall their parents and grandparents wanting to be close to the river to benefit business (Showa Women's University 2001:194). These shop houses are common in Chinese quarters all over Southeast Asia, particularly in the Malay Peninsula. In addition, there is evidence of Chinese adaptation to local conditions. Like other Southeast Asian communities, the Cham preferred elevated houses to protect them from floods (Reid 1993:63, 66). The Chinese in Hội An, still favoured building their houses on the ground but designed them with pillars and removable boards (Dror and Taylor 2006:106). Furthermore, they are a mix of wood and brick, which Reid explains was typically used by merchants to protect their goods (Reid 1993:70).

5.5 Conclusion: Hội An in the "Age of Commerce" Discourse

Reid argued in the second volume of his work, *Expansion and Crisis*, that the rapid expansion of maritime trade between 1430 and 1650 brought about fundamental changes in Southeast Asia. During this period, powerful cosmopolitan cities grew thanks to their role in regional and international trade. Not only were they the setting for markets and fledgling financial institutions, they were also administrative centres (Reid 1993:62–130). In fact, he notes that "indigenous languages did not usually distinguish between the city and the state" (Reid 1993:87). The influx of people attracted by wealth caused the cities to become "uncontrolled agglomerations of compounds, ditches, lands, and markets" (Reid 1993:78). Despite this, as they were also home to a ruling elite, they retained some degree of formal planning. All the major cities of the region still had a centre that followed traditional cosmic principles, even when they were difficult to discern (Reid

1993:77–85). Often, the elite planned centres were walled, and foreigners were not allowed inside, so informal settlements of merchants and immigrants formed around these centres (Reid 1993:88). In fact Europeans saw these cities as "no more than an aggregate of villages" (Reid 1993:87).

Only some of Reid's discussions apply to Hội An. There is no evidence of formal planning in seventeenth century Hội An, no elite core, and little indigenous presence. Though the aforementioned *Sea Map* (Figure 4.7) places the "Headquarter of the Quảng Nam Nguyen Lords" in close proximity to the town, there is no such building existing today, nor any archaeological evidence to support its presence. The small arbitrarily located alleys show that the town grew organically, following the movements of merchants, uncontrolled by the Nguyễn Lords or by a cosmic ideology. The European observation that towns are "aggregate of villages" is apt: it could be argued that Hội An was composed of a Chinese village, a Japanese village, and at least one indigenous village. According to Da Shan's writings and Shichirobe's letter (Figure 5.7) there could have even been two indigenous villages in close proximity to Hội An: Cẩm Phô west of the bridge and a second one to the north, between the Chinese and Japanese quarters (Chen 2002:300–301; Chuong 2011:293; Nguyen 2011:165). The survey and archival research have not revealed any further information on the direct impact of the local population on the built environment. The Vietnamese and Cham are rarely mentioned by contemporary accounts (at least not in Hội An) and extant structures from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are all Chinese. In fact, Hội An was often described as a Chinese town and accounts imply a strict separation between the foreign merchants and local population. This separation was common throughout Southeast Asia, but was accentuated in Vietnam (Reid 1993:88). Hội An, Cochinchina's foreign trading hub, was located several kilometers away from both the Quảng Nam capital, and the Nguyễn capital.

The impact of a cosmopolitan city and of foreign trade on the development of the Vietnamese state, is however beyond this thesis. Reid asserts that states emerged around these cities and that trade networks created a structure upon which Islam and Christianity were disseminated. Furthermore, capitalist concerns led to the rise of centralised "bureaucracies," with political centres moving to the coast from the interior. There is indeed evidence of such bureaucratic administrations at work in Cochinchina. For example, Poivre relates his many negotiations with mandarins, but these are all in Huề (Morel 2010a). Trade in Hội An is regulated by Japanese or Chinese governors with similar roles to the *syahbandar* mentioned by Reid: "leading foreign merchants [...] typically appointed by Malay rulers to ensure that protocol was observed and port dues were paid by the foreign merchants arriving by sea" (Reid 1993:120).

The impact of maritime trade on Hội An is undeniable; without it the town wouldn't exist. It fits within the majority of the criteria for Reid's age of commerce cities: it is near

a major water way that connects it to the sea, it is cosmopolitan, and its growth was rapid and uncontrolled (Reid 1993:77). The two most important features of the town are its elongated shape and the numerous Chinese assembly halls. The former is due to a preoccupation with staying close to the water to facilitate business. The latter illustrates the role of foreign traders and their need to create a community far from home. That said, in order to comment on the impact of maritime trade on the rest of the state, the relationship between Hội An and the capital, as well as with the hinterland, must be addressed.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

6.1 READDRESSING THE AIMS AND THE RESEARCH QUESTION

This study sought to answer the following primary research question: how was the development of Hội An influenced by maritime trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? This thesis set out four aims to help guide the study and answer the question.

The aims were:

1. To examine historical accounts to assess the social, cultural and economic fabric of Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Whenever possible, this study used first hand historical accounts of Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These were mainly European journals and reports by merchants and missionaries, which were accessed online. On occasion, this thesis relied on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources quoted in recent historical studies such as Chen's (2002) or Wheeler's (2001). As outsider observations, these sources described trade operations and life in Hội An.

2. To analyse archaeological studies about Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth century

Following Hội An's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List, archaeologists from Japan and from Vietnam have conducted investigations in and around the town, though few have since published their results. These studies have found that this area has been inhabited since the eighth century, though the majority of the activity started after the fifteenth century. None have so far focused specifically on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though scattered finds from that period have been recorded throughout the town.

3. To understand the physical development of the township and its stages of expansion

The development of Hội An can be traced through four main phases: before the formal establishment of the town, the Japanese Era, the Chinese Era, and the period after decline in the nineteenth century. Hội An was formally established sometime between 1558 and 1617. Archaeological and historical studies have shown that the region had

been involved in trade for a few centuries before then, including with Chinese and Japanese merchants. There was at least one major local village, Cẩm Phô, west of the bridge, and potentially informal Chinese and Japanese settlements. During this time, the Japanese were the largest foreign community trading in Hội An; their era lasted until the 1640s. The Chinese quickly filled the vacuum left by the Japanese. After the defeat of the Ming Dynasty, the Chinese community of Hội An grew such that western sources count between 6,000 and 10,000 Chinese in the mid sixteenth century, compared to the 100 households Bowyear reported in 1695 (Chen 2002:302; Dalrymple 1791–1797:87). This population growth meant the expansion of the Chinese quarter, which came to overtake the whole town and neighbouring Cẩm Phô. Though the Europeans tried to establish themselves in this period, the Chinese remained the dominant community until the Tây Sơn Rebellion (1778–1802), which destroyed many of the seventeenth and eighteenth century structures. At the same time, Đà Nẵng started developing as the region's main port because of the Thu Bồn's increasingly shallow depths. Even so, Hội An continued to grow: Nguyễn Thái Học and Bạch Đằng Streets were established in the nineteenth century (Showa Women's University 2001:193).

4. To document the impact of trade and cosmopolitanism on the built environment by identifying the changing economic, social, and cultural sub-divisions within Hội An

This thesis addressed this aim by studying the built environment in relation to the economic landscape on one hand and the socio-cultural landscape on the other. The economic landscape of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was surprisingly more difficult to reconstruct, as there are no structures directly related to trade remaining. Historical sources however helped to understand how trade was conducted in Hội An and identify the potential locations of the early market and the custom house. This thesis found that the economic and socio-cultural landscapes of ports are in fact linked as cosmopolitanism is a direct result of trade. As a successful port, Hội An attracted Japanese, Chinese, and European merchants who settled in the town on a semi-permanent and permanent basis. There are no extant buildings from the Japanese community; though excavations have confirmed the presence of Japanese trade through ceramics and coins, the exact location of the Japanese quarter has yet to be determined. Based on the historical sources presented in this thesis, the Japanese quarter may have been east of the current "Old Town of Hội An," somewhere along Nguyễn Duy Hiệu Street (Figure 6.1). The Chinese had the most lasting influence on the built environment of Hội An. The oldest building in Hội An is the Chinese Quan Công temple, built in 1653; there are two other Chinese buildings that are securely dated to the late seventeenth century: Dương Thương Assembly Hall established in the 1670s, and the Fukien Assembly Hall (and Kim

Sơn Temple) built in 1697. Several Chinese shop houses can be dated to the mid eighteenth century closer to the Bridge including Number 85 Trần Phú, Numbers 3, 7, and 16 Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai (Nguyen 2009:25; Showa Women's University 2001:192).

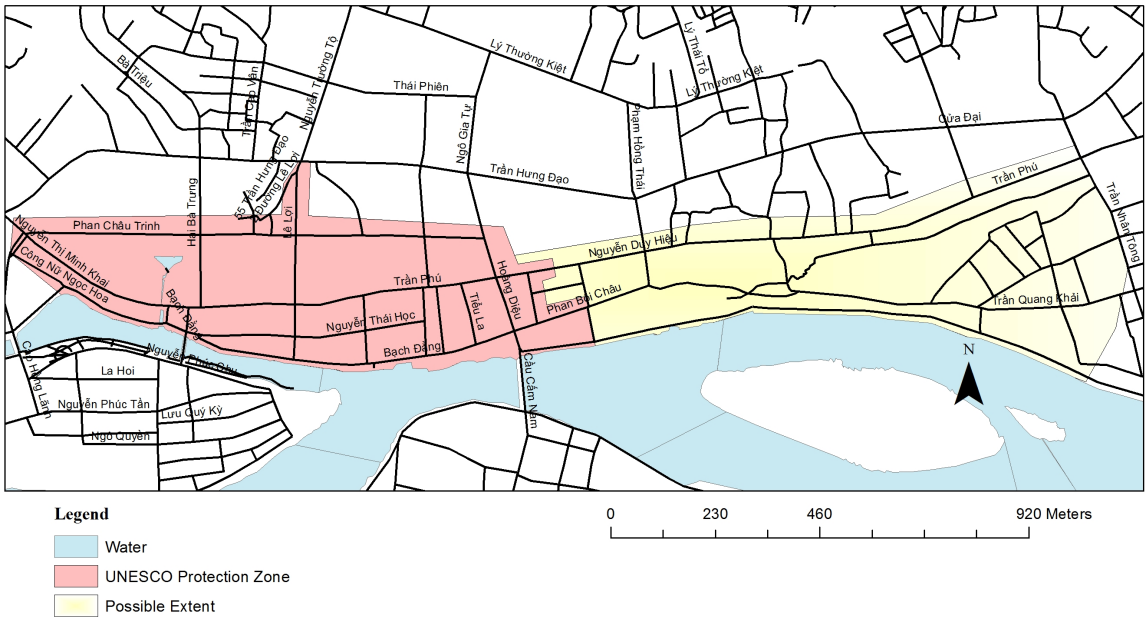

Figure 6.1Street map of Hoi An. The Japanese Quarter may have been located in the area indicated in yellow

In summary, how was the development of Hội An influenced by maritime trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Maritime trade is intrinsically linked to the development of Hội An, as it was established by the Nguyễn Lords as a foreign port. Its built environment reflects both a concern with facilitating trade and the diversity of the population it attracted as a result of its activities.

6.2 Limitations and Significance

The largest limitation of this study was access to the material. This thesis was constrained to using primary sources that have been published in recent years – such as Borri's account, translated and published in 2006 by Olga Dror – or that are available online. Furthermore, sources written in languages other than English and French were not consulted in their original language; the author acknowledges that information can be lost in translation. Whenever possible, multiple translations were used. Finally, the conclusions of this thesis remain untested as it was not possible to conduct excavations at this time.

This thesis has provided a more nuanced view of Hôi An: typically, archaeological studies have focused on architecture, whereas historical studies emphasized the town's cosmopolitanism. This research has used the results of these studies in combination with a maritime cultural landscape approach to emphasize the role of trade in this entrepôt. It has thus provided a timeline of Hôi An and a general understanding of how trade is conducted, which can be built upon and used in more specfic studies in the future.

6.3 Future Research

This thesis has established a broad timeline for the development of Hội An in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It has done so by looking at the town's morphology and communal buildings. Further archaeological research needs to be conducted to confirm the conclusions of this study. First, extending the study area to the neighbouring districts and villages will likely give answers as to the establishment of the town and the interaction of foreign traders with local peoples. For example, Chu Quang Tru (2011:281) reported that Chuc Thanh Temple, located only 1 km away from the old town, was built in 1454 by a Chinese monk. Chen (2002) also suggests that Tra Nhieu was an important urban centre; it is mentioned by Da Shan and on an inscription[9]. Furthermore, Hoang Dao Kinh and Vu Huu Minh (2011) conducted a partial survey of a 45 km^2 area on both sides of the Thu Bồn River, which revealed over 200 architectural "vestiges" including the possible remnants of the *dinh* citadel.

The next step is to locate the Japanese quarter. A deeper investigation of Japanese textual sources might help narrow down its location. In addition, the Showa Women's University studies showed that there was indeed some sort of record keeping in place relating to property. These seem to be kept by the current inhabitants, so there must be community involvement in future projects. Information could also be garnered from André Sallet's journals and notes of his surveys in the early twentieth century, which were recently collected (but not published) by les Amis du Vieux Hué. Then, excavations should be conducted at various points along the eastern end of Trần Phú and Nguyễn Duy Hiệu streets. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics of the town, excavations should not just take place around community buildings, but focus on shop houses and other private buildings if possible.

With a clear notion of the spatial organisation of the port town, more thematic studies can be conducted. Though this thesis described a number of urban theories in the

[9] The inscription reads: "At the very beginning, the group settled in Trà Nhiêu, later they moved to Hoi An, where, utilizing the advantages of being near to the rivers and plains and of having access to various resources, they built the town with streets and market quarters." (Chen 2002:326).

second chapter, they were only applied superficially in the discussion. Both generative planning theory and environment-behaviour theory aim to understand what people want and need. The application of these theories would help draw a more detailed picture of the day to day activities of the people of Hội An. Research into the locations and growth of the Chinese, Japanese, and indigenous quarters with a generative planning view, may for example help identify the role of the local population in Hội An. A deeper analysis of shop houses using environment-behaviour theory would also be beneficial to understanding merchant identity. As a foreign trading town, Hội An could also be included in a comparative study of East Asian traders in Southeast Asia. The Chinese were important players in both regional and local trade in pre-modern and modern Southeast Asia. Hội An could then be compared to other ports such as Melaka and George Town in Malaysia, Singapore, Jakarta (Batavia) in Indonesia, Bangkok in Thailand, or Manila in the Philippines.

In order to more fully address Hội An in the context of Anthony Reid's age of commerce discourse, a wider view must be taken. Because Hội An was established specifically to keep foreign trade at arm's length, it is difficult to understand its impact without looking at the rest of the state. Applying a regional maritime cultural landscape approach to Quảng Nam province or even Cochinchina would address the relationship of Hội An with the hinterland, other towns, and the capital. Such a study would certainly add to current trends in scholarship, which tend to give "maritime Vietnam" more credence.

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