

Administrative and urban planning in Thang Long - Hanoi from 11th - 14th centuries

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Abstract. After more than 1000 years under the domination of the Northern feudal dynasties, the efforts of the Ngo - Dinh and early Le dynasties definitively wrested back Vietnam's independence and confirmed the nationalism. These shaped favorable conditions for the Ly dynasty to transfer its capital to Dai La, which was renamed Thang Long in 1010. Not until 10th century, the Dai La - Thang Long area used to be an important economic, political and military center in the Red River Delta from the occupation by Chinese Tang colonialists until 10th century. During the next 4 centuries under the Ly and Tran dynasties, the feudal leaders brought this area to a much higher level of development. Basing on materials from different sources, we can conclude that the capital of Thang Long was organized into administrative units, including wards, alleys and streets. Established in 1230, Binh Bac provincial service office (ty Binh Bac), was the earliest administrative known unit in Thang Long in the period from 11th to 14th centuries. Area planning of the Thang Long Citadel during the Ly-Tran dynasties strictly comprised of 2 main areas: administrative-bureaucratic and economic-folkloric areas. However, these areas were not clearly separated but rather linked together. Thang Long Citadel provided an evidence of flexible and harmonious elements, as well as of the Vietnamese people ability to exploit natural conditions for planning and construction. Generally, Thang Long Citadel from 11th - 14th centuries was the initial period of urbanization but with sharp imprints of nature. This resulted in a wild and natural Thang Long in its early stage as the capital of the country.

1. After over a thousand years under the domination of the Northern invaders, the great efforts of the Ngo, Dinh and early Le dynasties affirmed solidly the independence, the mature of the national consciousness and the formation of a unified nation. This was the basis, on which the leaders of the Ly

dynasty could have made decisions as premises for the national development at a higher level. Ly Cong Uan - with the quality of a talented strategist as well as the person who inherited historic premises – decided to move the capital from Hoa Lu to Dai La. The move was officially implemented in Autumn, in July, 1010. "... the king left Hoa Lu for the palace in Dai La. When he temporarily

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stopped the ship under the town, the golden dragon appeared on the ship. It was the reason why Dai La was named Thang Long." [1] The capital move marked the important turning-point in the development of Dai La - Thang Long Citadel. The construction of the new citadel made the stature of a new city - the capital city - the economic and political centre of the independent nation of Dai Viet which gradually developed into a powerful nation.

In fact, it wasn't until Ly Cong Uan located the capital did the centre of Hanoi at present begin to bark into the urbanization. This process had occurred hundreds of years before the Northern feudalists decided to choose this area as the administrative centre of Giao Chi district and then the Southern donation office. In the late 15th century, the city of Tong Binh - Dai La under the Chinese Tang dynasty was a populous centre. Based on the history of the Chinese Tang dynasty, the authors of Hanoi thousands of years ago indicated that there were 15, 000 people in the inner and outer areas of the city [2]. The book "Viet Su Luoc" records that when Cao Bien built the city of Dai La in 865, there were 5,000 house spaces⁽¹⁾.

Ly Cong Uan wrote in the royal proclamation: "The city of Dai La, the ancient capital of Cao Vuong, in the centre of heaven and earth, has the position of a rolling dragon and a sitting tiger, is located in the middle of the South, the North, the East and the West and is convenient because there are hills in the front and rivers at the back. This area is

large and flat; its position is higher and brighter; the inhabitants are not sunken and gloomy and every living thing is green and prosperous". It proves that Dai La at that time was the gathering place of four directions, the political centre with populous population under the late donation of the Northern invaders.

The history book by Dang Xuan Bang indicates that under the Chinese Tang dynasty, Tong Binh District - the chief town of Giao Chi District at that time had 11 villages (huongs) [3]. In the early 5th century, with the reform by Khuc Hao in 907 when "Huongs" were changed into "giaps", each "giap" had a headman and a vice headman who controlled the tax payment [4], the administrative units in Dai La City may have been changed from "huong" into "giap".

When becoming the capital of Dai Viet, the urbanization in Dai La - Thang Long Citadel had more conditions to develop more rapidly. It is certain that this area attracted a lot of inhabitants from all parts of the country, mainly from the Northern plains and midlands. There hasn't been any source of documents which show directly and accurately the number of inhabitants in Thang Long under the Ly dynasty (1009 - 1225). However, through the scattered records in the great collections of history written by the Imperial Court, it is certain that the inhabitants in Thang Long Citadel in this period were organized into the administrative units as wards.

Some records in annals indicate that ward names in Thang Long Citadel under the Ly dynasty were Thai Hoa, Bao Thien, Phung Nhat, Co Xa, Bo Cai, Thinh Quang, Tay Nhai, An Hoa, Khau Giang and etc. In the Tran dynasty (1226 - 1400), apart from the wards

⁽¹⁾ The book "Dai Viet's Record of the Historian recorded that there were 40,000 house spaces. From our point of view, the number recorded in Viet historical summary is suitable because there wasn't such a large number of inhabitants in Dai La City in the 14th century.

which had existed in the Ly dynasty, there were such new other wards as Hac Kieu, Nhai Tuan, Toan Vien, Cac Dai and etc.

In the geography book composed in 1435, Nguyen Trai showed us some additional ward names in Phung Tien District, most of which may have existed in Thang Long Citadel in the previous period. For example, "the ward of Tang Kiem made palanquins, canopies, armours, and parasols; the ward of Yen Thai made shoes; the wards of Thuy Chuong and Nghi Tam wove fabric and silk; Ha Tan ward burned limestone; Hang Dao ward dyed cloth; and Ta Nhat ward made fans. There were big fish in Tay Ho. Think Quang ward had longane fruit. Dong Nhan sold "diep y" shirts."

Thus, from different sources of information, we have known a system of administrative unit names in Thang Long in the 11th - 15th centuries. In 1230, the number of wards in Thang Long Citadel was first mentioned when the king allowed to "build the wards on the left and right hand sides of the citadel, imitating the previous generations to divide the capital into 61 wards" [5]. This event leads us to the conclusion that most of the wards in Thang Long in the 11th - 15th centuries were formed in the Ly dynasty. With more than 200 year construction and development from the capital location, the appearance of Thang Long under the Ly dynasty was basically planned. It was the most fundamental basis for the capital development in the next periods.

It doesn't mean that we deny the development as well as the urbanization which occurred rapidly in Thang Long during several centuries. It is certain that under the Tran dynasty, the number of

inhabitants and the size of the capital were different. Thang Long Citadel under the Tran dynasty was the meeting place for not only domestic but also oversea inhabitants who came to live and do business in different ways. The sources of ancient handwritings recorded many times that the inhabitants from the North and the South crossed the ocean in order to reside here. In 1272, 30 ships of Chinese Song people who fought against the Chinese Yuan dynasty carried women, children and riches to Dai Viet in order to ask for a permission to reside and the king of the Tran dynasty permitted them to live in Giai Tuan ward or the event in 1302, a Taoist hermit from the North - named Xu Song Tao - who followed the traders' ship into Dai Viet was allowed to live at the An Hoa River bank" [5]. Many war prisoners from Chiem Thanh became farm slaves in the area of Cao Xa (now it is the village of Phu Thuong, Nhat Tao). They are the evidence of the continuous population development in Thang Long Citadel from the capital location. In addition to the natural urbanization, the central state in power had many measures to plan and build new residential areas around the capital. In 1362, King Tran Du Tong "ordered his servants to plough a hectare on the Northern bank of the To Lich River in order to cultivate onion, garlic and vegetables for sale and called that ward "Tan Vien"" [5].

The population increase and the extension of residing units were two main factors and often occurred in Thang Long during the 11th - 14th centuries. However, at the end of the Tran dynasty and especially under the Ho dynasty (1400 -1407), this tendency was partly slowed down because of political changes; and it is because Thang Long was no longer the administrative centre

of Dai Ngu nation when Ho Quy Ly built the new capital in Tay Do (Thanh Hoa). The Ho dynasty with its short existence didn't have enough effort to create factors that caused the decline of Thang Long. The development of Thang Long during four centuries under the Ly and Tran dynasties was not only lost but also turned into the motivation for the great changes of this land's appearance in the late 15th century when Thang Long became the capital of the feudal nations of Vietnam under the Le dynasty.

2. For a long time, defining completely the number and names of the wards in Thang Long under the Ly-Tran dynasties has been an unsolved problem for the researchers who study the history of Hanoi. Little information in the geography books and annals is not enough for us to define accurately the borders of these units. On the other hand, the change in quantity and administrative unit names and the establishment time of each ward have been unsolved problems. However, based on some sources of documentations and bibliographies in combination with popular documentations, we define the relative positions of some wards in the current map of Hanoi. This helps us to have the first overall understanding about the appearance of Thang Long Citadel under the Ly-Tran dynasties [6,7].

In the first planning, residential areas were mainly formed on the left and right hand sides of the citadel. This completely suits the natural conditions of this land ten centuries ago.

In the East and the North, there were hamlets along the Red River Dyke from the area of West Lake to the South. Ancient bibliographies and popular documentations

recorded Hoe Nhai ward on the flamboyant planted road to Dong Bo Dau Wharf. Now they are the streets of Hoe Nhai, Hang Than, Yen Phu. Beside Long Bien Brigade was Giang Tan ward, then renamed Ha Tan and Thach Khoi, and now there remain Thach Khoi Thuong Communal House at 64 Yen Phu road and Thach Khoi Ha Communal House at 12 Hang Than street where limestone used to be burned in order to serve the capital. In the South is Co Xa ward, where King Ly Nhan Tong in 1108 ordered to dike as so to prevent floods and then in 1911 its name was changed into Phuc Xa. It is in the East of the current road of Yen Phu.

From Dong Bo Dau Wharf (the area of Hoe Nhai Pagoda in Hang Than Street) along the Red River Dyke to the North was the position of An Hoa ward, where the ceremony cremating King Ly Hue Tong took place in 1226. Ancient history records: "Thu Do killed Ly Hue Tong at Chan Giao Pagoda ... ordered the mandarins to cry, bore a hole in the Southern Citadel wall to make the door (the people at that time called it the bored door) and move the coffin to Yen Hoa ward for burning [5]. This affirms that An Hoa ward was next to the administrative and political zone of the State. In 1302, a Chinese Taoist hermit, Xu Song Tac came to our country and was allowed to reside in this award by King Tran [5]. In 1427, Le Loi urged his officers to build a wall from An Hoa ward to the city's Northern gate in order to fight against the Chinese Ming invaders. Under the Nguyen dynasty, this ward's name was changed into Yen Phu, the current city's gate of Yen Phu.

In front of An Hoa ward was Tam Tang camp beside West Lake, where guilty women were persecuted to do drudgery. Later,

Princess Tu Hoa, the daughter of King Ly Tran Tong asked for a permission to live there and cultivate mulberry and raise silkworms together with the palace maids. In the Tran dynasty, this ward's name was changed into Tich Ma. Then later, the Trinh Lords allowed building Kim Lien Pagoda on the foundation of Tu Hoa Palace under the Ly dynasty and now there are remainders.

Along the To Lich River which ran near the ancient city to the West, we saw the peaceful life of the inhabitants in the edge of West Lake, who did cultivation work together with the activities of traditional handicrafts. It was Toan Vien ward that specialized in growing garlic and vegetables for sale; the residential area of Thuy Chuong with alcohol brewery to provide for the city was the place where King Ho Quy Ly ordered to build a palace in 1391. The book "Tay Ho chi" records: "The palace in the South of the lake, in front of which was the river, was Thuy Chuong Palace, built by the Tran dynasty for feasts. Later, the Ho dynasty broke it apart and brought its wood and tiles to Tay Do. Under the Le dynasty, the local people built Ling Lang temple on this old ground. Under the Hong Duc dynasty, its old name was used for the ward. This name remained in the late Le dynasty. Thus, there is the village of Thuy Chuong today."⁽²⁾ Farther is the area of Buoi where its residents lived with fabric weaving and paper making in the wards of Nghi Tam and Yen Thai. The exciting life closely connected with labour and production was recorded in Tung Tay Ho proses by Nguyen Huy Luong in the late 18th century.

The legend has it that there was Thai Hoa ward in the West, where the house of high-ranking mandarin Ly Thuong Kiet was located under the Ly dynasty. The Vietnamese history summary records that Thai Hoa Brigde spanned the To Lich River next to Chuc Thanh Temple and today Chuc Thanh Pagoda is still located in the village of Ho Khau in Thuy Khue Street. It is certain that Thai Hoa ward was near the current area of Ho Khau.

The famous ward of Tay Nhai in the North, which was mentioned many times in the bibliographies, was connected with such geographic names as Tay Market, Tay Duong Brigde and Tay Duong Gate of the citadel. Some researchers are of opinion that Tay Duong Brigde is Giay Brigde at present. Is it possible that Tay Nhai ward was the residential area around this place and near the Northern gate of Thang Long Citadel in the past?

The busy commercial area in the East (near the To Lich River's gate connected with the Red River) beginning with Giang Khau ward (later changed into Ha Khau ward) with shops and inns until Bach Ma Temple (36 Hang Buom Street) was recorded in the books of "Viet dien u linh and Linh Nam chich quai". This was the residential area in the Eastern gateway of the city, where the exchanges of Thang Long Citadel with all parts of the nation and where the important political events took place. In 1309, this was the place where parliamentarists were punished and it became the jam where Duong Nhat Le was imprisoned by King Tran Nhue Tong in 1390. This ward was close to Dong Market, which was the commercial centre of Thang Long during historical periods.

⁽²⁾ Tay Ho chi, the material translation by the Department of History.

Together with trading wards, in the East of the capital city were many handicraft wards which specialized in making different kinds of items in order to satisfy the demand for the city life and exchange. It was Tang Kiem Ward that specialized in making palanquins, armours, weapons, hammocks and canopies. Now they are Hang Trong Street and Hang Non Street. Hang Dao ward specialized in dying cloth. It is certain that Kieu Cac Dai Ward was later Dong Cac Ward under the Le dynasty and today it is the area of Hang Bac Street, which specialized in molding and exchanging silver. Duong Nhan Ward specialized in selling blue clothes (diep y) and was the area where Quang Dong businessmen came to do business and live. In the Ly dynasty, the ward's name was changed into Dien Hung and today it is the area of Hang Ngang Street.

Downward to the South, Thien Bao Ward, where Dai Thang 12 Storey Tower reflected in the Luc Thuy Lake (Hoan Kiem Lake) was built, was one of the famous works in Thang Long Citadel. In the late 19th century, this tower didn't exist anymore, but there was its trace on the foundation until the French came here to build a great church on it. It is possible that Bao Thien Ward was located in the area of Ly Quoc Su Street and Nha Chung Street. The residential area of Thang Long may have been expanded to the area of Dong Nhan ground with the construction of Hai Ba and Xuy Vuu Temples in Bo Cai Ward in 1160. At present, Hai Ba Trung Temple remains in Dong Nhan Street, Hai Ba Trung District.

In the South of the Royal Citadel, documents record the names of such wards as Think Quang (in the suburbs around the Cho Dua City Gate) where there was famous

longane fruit, Xa Dan Ward⁽³⁾ where the Ly dynasty built Vien Khau in order to sacrifice the Heaven and Earth. There are many ward names such as Phung Nhat, Giai Tuan, Hoa Thi, etc. whose positions haven't been defined until now. However, through the wards which have been already defined, we can imagine a system of residential areas surrounding and protecting the political centre of the capital as well as Dai Viet Nation. This makes Thang Long emerged with the administrative structure of the Eastern city's features.

Thang Long under the Ly-Tran dynasties were comprised of not only wards but also smaller residential units such as alleys and streets. Although there weren't many, some alley names were recorded in the historical annals.

In 1212, "the king ordered his mandarins to comfort the soldiers of Tu, but they were killed by the second commander, Nguyen Cuoc. The king got angry; Tu was the general to facity Cuoc outside Tay Duong City. At Pho Hy Alley, the mandarin was defeated and lost the precious sword that the king often carried. The king returned his horse and then escaped at Giao Tac Alley". In 1214, when the king heard that Nguyen Nghanh came, he went to Doan Ba's house at the ailey of Phien Cam". Right later in 1215, the king went to Dang Lao's house in Truong Canh from Thai Hoa Palace, came back to Noi's house to sign and endow Do An at the alley of Chi Tac". Thus, a series of various alley names were recorded only in the residential

⁽³⁾ The vestige of Xa Dam Ward was "dan Xa Tac" (dan Vien Khau). It was just discovered in the area at the end of Nguyen Luong Bang Street and at the beginning of Kham Thien Street in late 2006. Many building materials and the vestige of foundation architecture in the 10th - 14th centuries were discovered.

areas around Tay Duong Bridge. Dai Viet Record of Historians noted that the event in 1270, in July, the water level was the highest in Autumn; people was traveled in the streets of the capital by boats". Three top successful candidates were led to Long Mon Door of Phuong Thanh for sightseeing in the streets for three days in 1390" [5]. The ancient story narrated that King Ly Anh Tong often got out secretly for a walk in all streets of the city.

These things means that the wards in Thang Long Citadel at that time wasn't separated or thinly located around one area surrounded by a system of fortifications, but the citadel had its real stature of a developing city with crowded and dense streets, wards, alleys and hamlets. The appearance of the capital wasn't completely exposed through the system of administrative units. However, we partly understand an overall picture of Thang Long Citadel in the initial development stage from the capital location.

3. The process of increasing the population together with the increasing establishments of administrative units required an administrative management body of the State in order to implement its public functions of protecting the security and the society in the capital. On the other hand, the feudal states in Vietnam were always aware of controlling the localities as the foundation of economic and social construction of the nation. Especially, for Thang Long Citadel, the political administrative centre where many important events took place, that problem was more concerned than ever.

It is possible that the organization and management of Thang Long Citadel came into the world under the Ly dynasty, but there hasn't been any documentation which provides us the information about this body.

Through the ancient record of the historians, the earliest management body in Thang Long Citadel was known as Binh Bac provincial service office (ty Binh Bac), which was set up by the Tran dynasty in 1230. The leader was the post of "Kinh doan" who took over the judgment of the lawsuits in the citadel. In fact, "Kinh doan" was the post of mandarin who governed the capital generally, but not specialized in judging lawsuits.

The book "Lich Trieu hien chuong loi chi" by Phan Huy Chu records: "At the beginning of the Tran dynasty, about the period under the reign of Kien Trung (1225 - 1232), the capital was named Binh Bac provincial office (ty Binh Bac). Later under the reign of Thanh Tong, Thieu Long (1258 - 1273) changed the capital name into "Kinh su dai an phu su" and chose the expired post "An phu su" of the streets to keep this post. Hien Tong under the reign of Khai Huu (1329 - 1341) changed this post into "Kinh do dai doan". Thuan Tong under the reign of Quang Thai (1388-1398) renamed the post "Trung doan do". The Le dynasty initially followed the Tran dynasty to name the post "Trung do phu doan, thieu doan". Hong Duc defined the mandarin policy and renamed the post "Phung Thien phu doan, thieu doan". Then this post remained in the generation of Trung Hung [8].

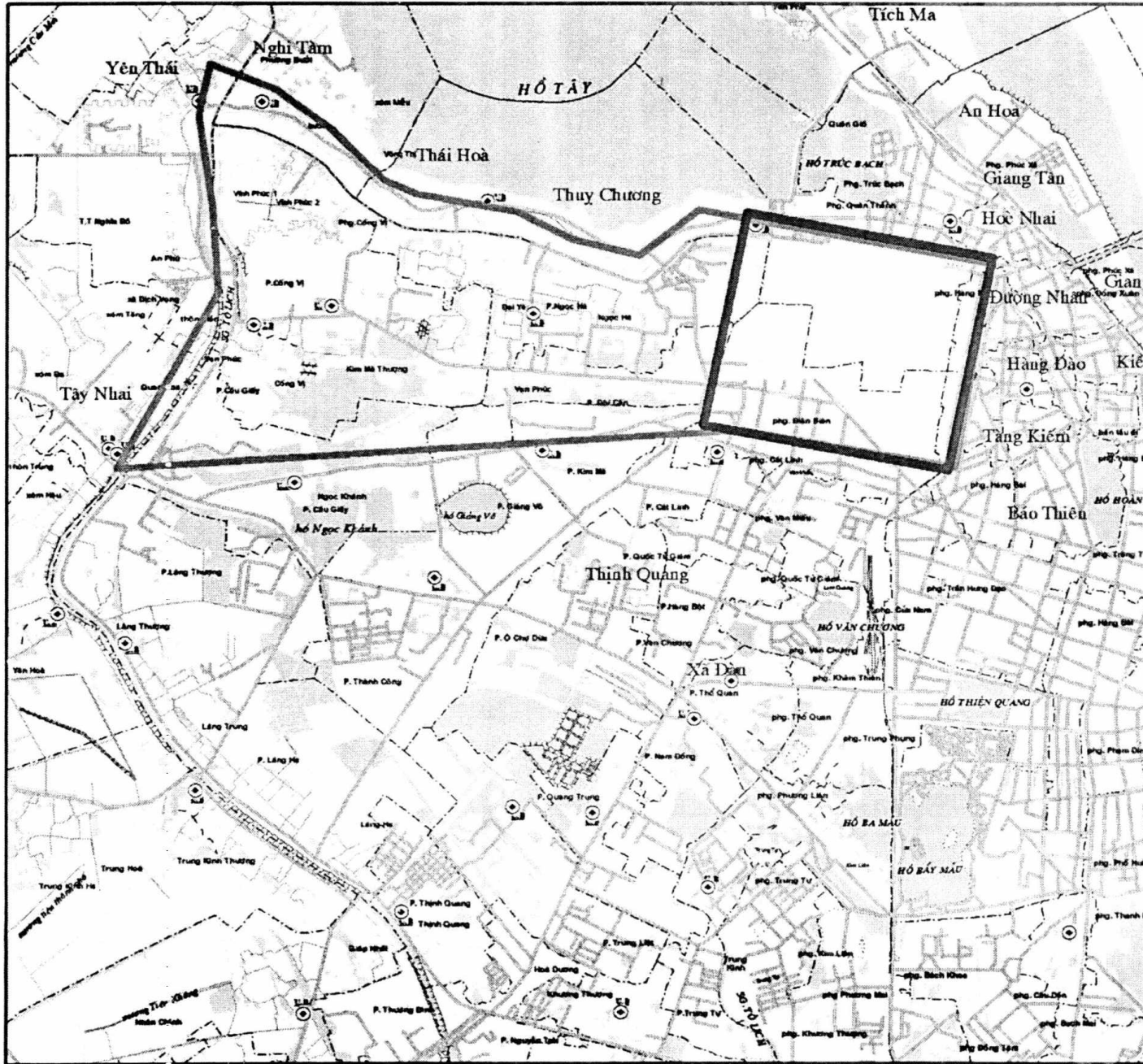
Therefore, the administrative office in Thang Long Citadel existed under any dynasty and the leading post of that office played an important role. Although the citadel area was considered as a district, through the fact of the leaders in Thang Long at that time, we can see that the Tran dynasty attracted much attention to this post and had a policy for selection. The one who wanted to become the leader of this governing office in Thang Long must have experienced the real governing work in the streets in the district.

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When satisfying the required examination, that person was nominated as "An phu su" of Thien Truong District, which was the hometown of the Tran dynasty and in which there was the palace of the king's father. When satisfying the required examination, that person was then appointed as "Tham hinh vien su" and after that was appointed as "Kinh su dai doan". Therefore, for nearly 200 years under the Tran dynasty, there were many governing mandarins famous for their righteousness, generosity and talent in Thang Long.

It was Tran Thi Kien, the person in Cu Xa Village, Dong Trieu District, Hai Duong, that first worked as "mon khach" of King Hung Dao, and was later appointed as "An phu su" of Thien Truong District. He was an incorruptible mandarin. In 1297, he kept the post of "Dai an phu su" of the citadel. He was good at principles of the books of changes and had the talent of judging the lawsuits. He solved problems on the basis of laws and never took bribes. Once on the occasion of the death anniversary, he was given a tray of feasts. Thi Kien asked why he was given a tray of feasts, a man answered: "Because I lived near the governing office. I don't beg for anything". However, a few days later when that man had a problem and came to ask for help, Thi Kien stuck his finger down his own throat so that he vomited all the things he had eaten. The historian - Ngo Si Lien praised Thi Kien because "Thi Kien acted oddly in order to shape the begging evil so that he could damn the people at that time. Similarly, An Anh was so thrifty that he could shape the luxurious habit of Quan Trong". He worked as a mandarin until the generation of Minh Tong and reached the post of "Ta boc xa".

Nguyen Trung Ngan in Tho Hoang Village, Thien Thi District, Hung Yen and Truong Do, who was the vicar-general of Truong Do District at the end of the Tran dynasty, was a loyal mandarin. He was praised for his uprightness, talent, righteousness and generosity in the historical books. These mandarins of Thang Long Citadel in the 13th - 14th centuries partly reflected the importance of this area in the development of Dai Viet.

Thang Long with a quite simple structure and administrative system certainly hasn't made its appearance as a capital with its own features. Obviously, the construction and development during several centuries under the Ly-Tran dynasties enabled Thang Long Citadel to have a different appearance. The structure and administrative management system were not only the premises for the development of this land, but also made Thang Long be a capital. The stature of a chief town of the dominating government gradually made room for the capital of a great independent nation which was rising together with the dragon flying impetus of the whole people.

4. The results of the research on the administrative system, architecture and fortification of Thang Long Citadel under the Ly-Tran dynasties in the past few years were the important bases for us to initially recognize the appearance of the ancient capital nearly 10 centuries ago.

Some people think that if we want to identify the border and appearance of Thang Long Citadel, it is necessary to rely on the scope of the systems of fortifications. However, it is noted that the systems of fortifications in Thang Long Citadel were not

the administrative borders. In reality, there were residential areas outside the city, but in a certain area which often had a socio-economic relation with the urban areas. Many areas in the Royal Citadel didn't necessarily have the features of one administrative - political system, especially under the Ly-Tran dynasties. In the last analysis, Thang Long, at first, was well planned with two areas of administration and residence.

4.1. *The administrative-bureaucratic area*

First of all, Thang Long was known as the capital, the important political centre of Dai Viet nation under the Ly-Tran dynasties. Therefore, much attention was paid to the construction of this administrative-political area (it was surrounded by the system of fortifications and was the living and work place of the king and the patrician class) under any dynasty by the feudal nations in Vietnam. However, it is necessary to concede that this area of Thang Long Citadel experienced changes, ups and downs. Under the Ly-Tran dynasties, Thang Long used to be sizeable with splendid palaces and this area once became deserted because of natural disasters, wars and even the changes in the imperial palace. However, recognizing the administrative area plays a decisive role in the awareness of Thang Long in the 11th - 14th centuries.

Located in a high land area, in the centre of the Forbidden City and Royal Citadel was a complex of palaces the centre of which was the palace of Can Nguyen - Thien An, where the king gave the audience and many political activities of the nation took place. For later successive years, many additional

palaces were built in this area in order to satisfy the demand of the king and the royal family.

The descriptions through the ancient bibliographies partly help us understand clearly the planned space of the central palace zone. "In front of Can Nguyen Palace is the place for watching the audiences given by the king; on the left hand side is the palace of Tap Hien; Giang Vo Palace is on the right hand side. The door of Phi Long is connected with Nghenh Xuan Palace, the door of Dan Phuong is connected with the door Uy Vien; Cao Minh Palace is built in the South; all of them have dragon verandas; there are corridors in the verandas leading to the four directions around. The palaces of Long An and Long Thuy, where the king takes a rest are built behind Can Nguyen Palace. Nhat Quang Palace is built on the left hand side; Nguyet Minh Palace is built on the right hand side; the palaces of Thuy Hoa and Long Thuy, where imperial maids live, are built at the back" [1].

The records by the Chinese envoys when they came here in this period show that "The accommodation of the chieftain was in the four storey building. The chieftain lived on the second floor. His soldiers lived on the fourth one. There were the palaces of Thuy Tinh, Thien Quang, etc. Particularly, there was a notice board with words "An Nam Domination District" on the first floor. These floors were all red-lacquered; the pillars were drawn with dragons, cranes and fairies. At the palace gate, there were two great bells hung in the first floor. When people had any problem, they rang the bell"⁽⁴⁾.

⁽⁴⁾ Pham Thanh Dai, *Que Hai ngu hanh chi*, the translation by the Department of History

The architectural traces of a large scale at 18 Hoang Dieu Street, in the West of Kinh Thien Palace clarified the doubt about the appearance of this area. Around the administrative area was the system of sentry-boxes which were secretly and strictly protected. "...there are 8 troops such as Ngu Long Troop and Vu Thang Troop on the left and right hand sides; each troop has 200 people who are all military force soldiers (Thien binh tu); moreover, there are 9 troops such as Hung Luoc and Dung Kieu to receive command"⁽⁵⁾.

The traces and names of the door system through the sources of bibliographies and the archaeological results enable us to conclude that the overall space of Thang Long Citadel under the Ly-Tran dynasties consisted of different areas. Inside the citadel, there were not only administrative-political areas, but also entertainment and pleasure areas, belief and spirit areas of the court, the western area (later it was the area of Thap Tam Trai) of which played an important role.

If we study carefully the maps of Thang Long under the Le dynasty and especially the map of Hanoi in 1973 by Pham Dinh Bach, it will be easy for us to recognize that in the later centuries, the Western area of Thang Long still had natural imprints. Many lakes stretched out successively; many areas were deserted like buffer zones; the central area was separated from the residential areas. These created the mystery and supernatural power of the ancient capital. According to the sources of materials, there used to be the capital's famous imperial parks, pagodas (such as Chan Giao Pagoda and Dien Huu

Pagoda) and Taoist Palace (Thai Thanh Palace and Canh Linh Palace) in this area. In case of emergency, the moats in the west of the capital became the convenient waterway to get out of Thang Long.

The administrative area was built in the East, next to the commercial areas outside the Eastern gate, but it consisted of many classes, creating certain safety for the Royal palace. Later, the Eastern area became the Eastern palace where the crown princes studied and lived before they succeeded to the throne.

A quite narrow area restricted by natural water lakes surrounding the royal citadel in the South became the place where many important activities took place. Here, the doors of Dai Hung and Doan Mon, the main way leading to the imperial palace, were for the diplomatic delegations.

4.2. *The economic-folkloric area*

Moving out of the strong walls of the Royal Citadel, we could mix with the exciting life in the streets and wards in Thang Long. Before becoming the governing office of the government, the capital of Dai Viet nation, Thang Long had been an economic centre and a quite developed city. The economic picture was much diversified with various industries, which made Thang Long wealthy and prosperous.

The economic-folkloric area included some agricultural villages and helmets, industrial and commercial streets and a system of markets and wharfs. Free trade between the inner areas of and the outer areas of the capital was implemented through the system of city gates. We haven't known accurately how many city gates there were in the citadel of Dai La under the Ly

⁽⁵⁾ Chu Khu Phi, *Linh Ngoai dai dap*, the translation by the Department of History.

dynasty. Some city gates were as follows: Hoe Nhai, Tay Duong (Cau Giay), Truong Quang (Cho Dua Gate), the Southern gate (Cau Den Gate), and Van Xuan (Dong Mac Gate).

The capital was recorded in annals and other materials: Trieu Dong Gate (the area of Hoa Te Slope wasn't the main part of the economic structure, but there existed some areas in Dai La Citadel and especially the suburban villages mainly in the South and the West.)

The handicraft villages were scattered in many streets and wards, but concentrated in the Eastern and Western areas of the citadel with a various career structure. A system of handicraft wards with many traditional careers of the residents who moved from the trade villages to the Eastern areas of Thang Long. It not only created a diversified economic picture, but also formed a special administrative-social structure. It was the mixture of rural and urban areas; wards and villages were considered as administrative units; wards were the organizations of industrial and commercial activities. This special feature existed in most of the wards in Thang Long in its own development process. In addition to the Eastern area, the areas around West Lake were the areas where many handicraft careers developed, including the wards which specialized in cultivating mulberry, raising silkworm, weaving silk such as Tam Tang camp (later was changed into Tich Ma ward, then Nghi Tam), paper making in Yen Thai, Ho Khau, and etc.

The most exciting trade centre of the citadel concentrated in the North-East area beside the Nhi River and the To Lich River. There were a lot of streets, wards, markets

and wharfs in this area such as Dong Market, Giang Khau Wharf and Trieu Dong Wharf (Dong Bo Dau). Beside, at the city gates (the area between the inner and the outer of the city, between the administrative-bureaucratic area and the economic-residential areas), the markets were often busy industrial and commercial centres (there were four big markets at the four citadel gates in four directions: the North (Dieu Duc Gate), the South (Dai Hung Gate), the East (Tuong Phu gate, Dong gate) and the West (Phuc Quang gate). Of these, the Eastern market and the Western market were the biggest ones recorded in history books.

The economic-folkloric area was the residing place of the farmers, handicraftsmen, merchants, generally common people, a part of whom were the local residents and most of whom were immigrants. This created a picture, both diversified and varied. Thang Long became the destination and the meeting place of four directions and eight ways.

5. In the context of limited source of materials about Thang Long in the 11th -14th centuries, the sketch of the administrative structure and planning of Thang Long under the Ly-Tran dynasties is only at the initial step, but with our understanding, we can make some comments on this city in the first centuries from the capital location.

First, the thing which is easy to recognize from the capital of Dai Viet under the Ly-Tran dynasties is that the organization system was clearly and specifically arranged according to stratification. It is the basis for management. This system was comprised of wards, alleys and streets, creating its management and association. This explains why many resistance wars against foreign

aggressors, especially the resistance war against Chinese Yuan - Meng aggressors in the 13th century. In a short period of time, the Court of Tran encouraged the evacuation of all the residents in the citadel of Thang Long quickly in order to implement "the scorched-earth policy".

Moreover, Thang Long Citadel was completely planned with the areas of its own functions and duties from the capital location. This made favorable conditions for the management of the citadel and its residents. But it is necessary to realize that the citadel was divided into various areas. These areas were not separated, but closely linked together and helped one another develop. In the ancient citadel of Thang Long, there were two important gates which were recorded in sources of materials. They were Hung Dai Gate (the Southern gate) and Dong Hoa Gate (the Eastern gate). This is not only the area where many important political, economic and cultural activities of the nation took place, but also known as the exchange place of the political-administrative area and the economic-folkloric areas. On the other hand, it is difficult for people to distinguish clearly the economic properties of many areas in the citadel because each area was a mixture of many economic factors such as agriculture, handicraft and commerce.

Apart from the socio-economic relations among areas, Thang Long-Hanoi had the relations with suburban areas through the system of city gates. The widening of city gates made Thang Long expanded and liberated and worth being the first class capital city of Dai Viet under the Ly-Tran dynasties.

Second, Thang Long under the Ly-Tran dynasties provided evidence of flexible and harmonious element as well as the Vietnamese people's ability to exploit the natural condition for planning and construction.

Basically, the fortification system of Thang Long relied on natural conditions, especially the system of lakes and rivers, the waterways with the Red River, the To Lich River and the Kim Nguu River. The system of rivers and streams here was both the system of natural moats for the protection of the central area and the convenient water traffic system in connection with the areas in the citadel, between Thang Long and the other areas in the whole country.

It can be easily recognized that in any architecture of Thang Long, there were the systems of sullage pits which were completely constructed. That was the Vietnamese people's ability to exploit the natural condition in Thang Long with tropical climate and monsoons in the land of low terrain which was often threatened by floods. Between the palaces, storeys were a system of dwells, ponds and lakes, rivers and streams, which made the area of royal palaces both inaccessible, liberal and natural.

In the late 19th century, after many changes and expansions, the planned space of Thang Long was not basically much different from what it had been in the period of capital location. When studying the map of Hanoi in 1973 by Pham Dinh Bach, we recognize that the citadel of Dai La and the system of rivers and streams was the most important rampart as well as the basis to determine the border of Thang Long - Hanoi.

And thirdly, Thang Long citadel in the 11th - 14th centuries was at the initial stage of the urbanization. Thang Long at that time was imprinted with natural features. Beside the citadel, in the South was Long Dam (Thanh Tri) full of reservoirs and lakes; in the West was the area of cotton fields, where there was Thanh Chua Pagoda. In the inner city, the Misty Lake (Dam Dam) which was just separated from the Nhi River and which contained immensity of water. There were forests of old bamboos and woods around the lake. The old history books recorded that elephants, tigers, crocodiles and many other kinds of animals appeared in the citadel many times. The popular belief in Thang Long considered genie Thiet Lam as Lim - the tutelary god of many wards and helmets in Hanoi. These things made Thang Long primitive and natural when it became the capital of Dai Viet.

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