

AN OVERVIEW OF THE TUTELARY DEITY WORSHIP IN HAI PHONG BEFORE INNOVATION IN 1986

Abstract: *It often has difficulties in studying the history of religions and beliefs because of the discontinuity of time and sources of material, however, it is necessary because it contributes to pointing out the historical characteristics and the movement and development trends that have occurred in the past. Based on historical sources, survey materials, people's memories, and research of previous scholars, this article shed a light on the belief of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong in the pre-innovation period (1986) on the basic aspects including beliefs and objects of worship, place of worship, and the rituals practices of the community.*

Keywords: *Belief; Worship; tutelary; Hai Phong; before 1986.*

Introduction

The process of forming and developing the belief of the tutelary deity (tín ngưỡng thờ thành hoàng) in Vietnam in the past reflected the changes in the concept of deity and deity worship (ritual) of the village community under the influence of the institution and state policy on worship (tế tự). Hai Phong is a coastal city located in the Red River Delta region, so it has features of geography, ecology, culture, society, belief, and religion. The development of the land, the diversity of the topography of residence, the process of merging

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administrative units and the characteristics of the inhabitants have made the belief of the tutelary deity worship in Hai Phong not only carry the common features of regional beliefs in northern Delta but also manifests its own unique features.

Based on the historical data, people's memories, previous research, and statistics of management agencies in Hai Phong, this article indicates the basic characteristics of the context of formation and development, worship facilities, sacred objects, sacredness and taboos, rituals and community worship the tutelary deity in the pre-Doi Moi period (the 1986 landmark). Specifically, the materials that we have accessed mainly represent the worship of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong in the early decades of the twentieth century, before Doi Moi (1986), which is part of the picture of the folk religion in Hai Phong before the later revival movement.

1. The background of the cult of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong before Doi Moi

The belief of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong was born and developed in the general context of Vietnam, however, it was closely linked with the history of the land, ecological and environmental characteristics and the inhabitants of Hai Phong.

According to *Đại Nam nhất thống chí*, under Tran dynasty, An Lao district of Hai Phong belonged to Dong Trieu châu, Tan An phủ (fu). During the Le Dynasty, the districts of Vinh Lai, An Lao, Nghi Duong, Thuy Duong, An Duong... belonged to Hai Duong province and then there was a change in administrative units under the Tay Son dynasty. In the Nguyen Dynasty, King Minh Menh set up Kien Thuy phủ including the An Duong; Kim Thanh phủ including An Lao district, Ninh Giang phủ including Vinh Bao district. In 1898, the court combined An Duong and An Lao districts of Kien Thuy phủ; Thuy Nguyen district of Kinh Mon phủ and Tien Lang district of Nam Sach phủ to establish Kien An province, Vinh Lai and Vinh Bao districts belonged to Hai Duong

province¹. *Đồng Khánh dư địa chí* (Chorography) also recorded that Kien Thuy phủ was Kinh Mon phủ in the late Le Dynasty and the early Nguyen Dynasty. In the year Minh Menh 18 (1837), Kien Thuy phủ was established including 2 districts of An Lao and Nghi Duong, unifying the two districts of Kim Thanh and An Duong belonging to Hai Duong province².

Although the land has existed for a long time, the name Hai Phong has only appeared for more than 100 years, associated with the event that King Tu Duc made the decision to establish Nha Hai Phong at the request of Pham Phu Thu- the Governor-general of Ninh Hai- in 1877³. In 1888, the French colonial government officially established Hai Phong city, however, the city only took part of Hai Phong's land, and the rest was transferred to Kien An province.

The development process of Hai Phong was basically associated with the adjustment of administrative units, migration, reclamation, and border expansion over time. The inhabitants' religious consciousness and worship practices were associated with the historical and regional context. Therefore, the worship of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong showed the unique characteristics of the core land - Kien An, Kien Thuy (phủ, province, district), as well as, a relationship of "geographical location – history" and "cultural - local identity"⁴ with the contiguous areas of the former Hai Duong and Dong Trieu provinces (Quang Ninh today).

In general, the "core" land of Hai Phong - Kien An - Kien Thuy has terrain including mountains, rivers, lakes, and plains. Therefore, its inhabitants have worshiped *the mountain god, river god, water god, and human god*. The mountainous terrain is somewhat narrow, concentrated mainly in Nghi Duong and An Lao areas, with mountains such as Elephant mountain (Tuong Son), Tien Hoi mountain, Phuon mountain (Phan Son), Doi mountain (Doi Son), Tra mountain (Tra Son), Do mountain (Do Son), etc... The mountain gods have been worshiped such as Cao Son, Bach

Ho, and Son Dao... Kien Thuy phủ had 3 large rivers flowing into three sea mouths as follows: Van Uc, Cua Rieng, and Cua Do⁵ since the worship of water gods such as Linh Lang Dai Vuong, Thuy Phu, Nam Hai Dai Vuong was common there. People worshiped both natural gods and human gods in some places. Many human gods have been associated with the land and wars such as Dong Hai Dai Vuong Doan Thuong, Nam Hai Dai Vuong Pham Tu Nghi, Tay Hai Dai Vuong Ly Hai⁶, Ngo Quyen, Tran Quoc Tuan... Besides, people worshiped the God of the Soil and the Ground (thổ thần) in some villages. Villagers with a local mentality believed that “in order to be at peace, they sometimes have to worship those who died at sacred hours, manifested themselves to the people through the disorder in the region”⁷, people also worshiped the god of children, the god of beggars died at sacred hours, some places people chose to worship the gods of the North (China) associated with Vietnamese legends.

The belief of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong came from the connection with the land adjacent to Hai Duong and Quang Ninh in the period before the 19th century. For example, there was An Lu temple to worship the famous doctor Tue Tinh in Thuy Nguyen district since the 14th century, the residents originated from Cam Giang district led by Pham Viet Trinh moved to this land to establish a village and built a temple to worship the native god⁸. And there were temples for worshipping Diem Tuoc god throughout the coastal areas of Do Son and Tra Co, Yet Kieu god in Nam Hai fishing village, Kien Thuy district originated from the event that more than 10 families in Thuong Triet canton (tổng), Nam Sach phủ who expanded their fishing range and settled in the Van Uc river, forming Dong Cong fishing village, later changed to Nam Hai village⁹.

The worship of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong also derived from the relationship of religious consciousness. For example, the typical case is the worship of Chu Dong Tu in Coc Lien village (Minh Tan,

Kien Thuy), it comes from environmental, natural, social, and commercial similarities since people have chosen the god of Pho Hien to worship. Or people in Ha Ly hamlet chose the god Nguyen Cong Tru to add to the sanctuary when they built a new communal temple¹⁰.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the increase in population and the expansion of administrative boundaries formed many new villages, there were many new tutelary deities who led inhabitants to cultivate and establish new villages. For example, the villages of Kinh Truc, Thai Lai, Hoa Nghia, Tu Sinh were established around 1909-1910 in the context of expanding route 35 from Hai Phong to Do Son. The people there worshiped the tutelary deities like Tran Van Mai, Tram Duc Vu Khoi, and Le Van Thuoc who founded the villages and led people to build a life on the new land¹¹.

Thus, the worship of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong before 1986 was in the general context of the belief of the tutelary deity in Vietnam, as well as, arose in the ecological, cultural, historical, and spiritual context of the inhabitants of this land.

2. Characteristics of the worship of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong before Doi Moi

2.1. Faith and objects of worship

Faith and practices of the worship of the tutelary deity in Hai Phong before Doi Moi came from people's belief in the existence of one or more tutelary deities with the function of protecting the village and community.

Based on the criteria of origin, locality, and chronology, Ngo Dang Loi collected data about the tutelary deities of 552 old villages and communes of Hai Phong, compared them with the current place names, and arranged them according to chronology since Hung Vuong period. Hundred of the tutelary deities have been counted associated with specific dates and monuments¹².

However, in my opinion, the dating of the tutelary deities in Hai Phong is relative. Because the legends of the deities (thần tích) have been added through the time. Nguyen Duy Hinh enumerated 16 gods in the communes of Kien An district that were given the title *Duong Canh Thanh Hoang* in *Bach Than* (Collection of AE of The French School of the Far East). However, most of the names of the gods are made of beautiful letters (mỹ tự)¹³, or the God of the Soil and the Ground such as Kieu Thien Dong, or specifying the name Duong Canh Thanh Hoang, Ban Canh Thanh Hoang associated with the place name like Ky Vi, Cuu Doi, Thuy Tu, Trinh Xa¹⁴.

The system of the tutelary deities in Hai Phong before Doi Moi can be generalized to some characteristics as follows:

Divinity system of diverse origins reflects polytheistic consciousness

Stemming from the concept of animism, the worship of natural gods flourished in the lives of the inhabitants of Hai Phong. Based on legends, the legends of the deities (thần tích), and god-worshipping customs in Hai Phong, it can be said that the system of natural gods is quite diverse in association with nature. Those are the mountain gods such as Cao Son, Quy Minh, Duc Thanh Son Dao, Bach Ho. They were popularly worshiped in mountainous areas and high mounds. The water gods including Linh Lang, Thuy Phu, Long Vuong, Long Hau, Bat Hai, Sat Hai, and Thanh Mau Can Hai were worshiped in coastal areas, rivers, and lakes. The natural gods like Trang Rong Dai Vuong Thien Than, Moc Hoang Ton Than, Thien Chu Hoang Thai Hau¹⁵ were worshiped in Tien Lang area, De Nhat Dong Cong Thong Che Vu Huyen Linh was worshiped at Phu Luu temple in Thuy Nguyen.

There were places where the worship of both the water gods and the mountain gods. Although the gods have been “humanized” in terms of biographies and merits, becoming generals under the Hung

Vuong period, heroes who contributed to fighting the enemy to save the country, to fighting wild animals to protect the villagers, however, the natural imprint of the gods is still kept in the name such as a high mountain, white tiger, water god, dragon king... which arose from the worship of nature and the desire to harmonize with nature of agricultural inhabitants.

Besides, the human gods worshiped as tutelary deities have been also popular in Hai Phong. Especially national heroes, generals or natives of Hai Phong, famous generals who have some connection with the land of Hai Phong such as Pham Tu Nghi, Le Chan, Ngo Quyen , Tran Hung Dao, Truong Nuu, Nguyen Cong Tru... Notably, Ngo Quyen has been worshiped in many villages in the Bach Dang river basin such as Gia Vien, Luong Xam, Dong Khe. According to Phung Ngoc Trung, the whole of Hai Phong city currently has 28 villages and 1 historical site worshiping Ngo Quyen in 36 worshiping places and there may have been 37 villages worshiping Ngo Quyen in the past¹⁶.

In addition, there were also scholars/ academic figures (khoa bảng), career ancestors such as Minister Nhu Van Lan (Thượng thư) doctor in the exam of the year Quy Mui, Quang Thuan (1463) during the reign of King Le Thanh Tong at the age of 20. He was also the grandfather of Nguyen Binh Khiem (Trạng trình) who was worshiped in Dong communal temple in Nam Tu village, Kien Thiet commune. And Nguyen Cong Hue was the teacher of making statues profession since the villagers of Bao Ha (Vinh Bao) worshiped him as their ancestor. Some gods who were Chinese such as Chu Chich Cong (worshiped at Dai Tra communal temple), Quang Te Minh Duc, and Hoang Te Khuong Huu (Quan Muc) were worshiped as tutelary deities according to localized legends.

Many gods have been worshiped in one temple and most of them have been ordained by feudal dynasties.

According to the Inventory Report of the year 1976 - 1977 of Hai Phong Museum, there are a number of worshiping places

dedicated to many gods such as “in Ky Vi and Lap Duong villages, Tien Lang district, each village worships 7 gods, Xuan Cat village worships 6 gods. And in Thuy Nguyen district, Loi Duong village worships 9 gods, Dang Dong worships 8 gods, Tra Son worships 7 gods, Truc Dong worships 6 gods; in Kien Thuy district, Dong Mo village worships 7 gods, Tru Khe worships 6 gods, Phuc Loc worships 5 gods; An Lao district, Ang Son village worships 11 gods, Van Dau worships 17 gods, An Luan worships 6 gods; Do Son has a temple to worship 5 gods”¹⁷.

In addition, a number of other relics such as the communal temple and shrine of Dao Tu in Thuy Nguyen district worshiped three tutelary deities ¹⁸; Ca and Tay communal temple (Thuy Nguyen) worshiped 8 tutelary deities; Phuc Liet communal temple and shrine (Thuy Nguyen) worshiped 9 tutelary deities. In Thuy Nguyen district “only 11 communes along the Bach Dang river have 18 communal temples and dozens of shrines. Among them, there are 9 communal temples or shrines that worship a god. There are 15 remaining temples that worship from 2 to 9 gods” ¹⁹; Dai Tra temple worships 18 gods²⁰, which are also ordained by 24 edicts ordained by the king (sắc phong). Nguyen Duy Hinh’s study of the tutelary deities of Kien An recorded in *Bach Than Luc* also mentioned the phenomenon of worshipping many gods, for example, the communal temple of Tam Xa village (An Lang) dedicated to 4 gods²¹.

The sanctuary of a communal temple, a temple, or a shrine worshipping the tutelary deities in Hai Phong clearly shows polytheism, syncretism, and tolerance. Expressed in the duality of the gods like natural gods and human gods, mountain gods, and water gods; yang gods (male gods), and yin gods (goddesses). In which, one or a few main deities are worshiped and others are sub-worshiped. Identifying the main worshiped gods can be based on the following factors: 1. The royal decrees/ edicts ordained by the king (sắc phong) to identify Ban Canh Thanh Hoang; 2. The

legends of the deities (thần tích) recorded worshipping; 3. Consciousness and sacredness experience of the villagers; 4. Rituals. The ritual plays the most important role because the main worshiped god will be chosen as the god who enjoys the “great event”- the great sacrifice. The sub-worshiped gods are often in relation to the main deity, according to traditional customs, or are integrated. The case of worshipping in the communal temple of Dai Tra village is an example. 24 edicts ordained by the king²² (sắc phong) for the 18 gods in this communal temple, there are human gods (clear or ambiguous biography), natural gods, male gods and goddesses, mountain gods, water gods, etc... Chu Xich Cong was given the title Duong Canh Thanh Hoang. The number of sub-worshiped gods in Dai Tra temple can be seen actually more than in the praying literature (10 more gods and ancestors of the clans).

The tutelary deities had a blood relationship

Some localities in Hai Phong have a legend that records the custom of worshipping many gods related by blood such as My Cu communal temple (Thuy Nguyen) worships 4 siblings (3 males and 1 female) of the Ly family, who have martial arts, helped the people to fight tigers, after dying the epiphany to help Hung Due Vương fight the enemy; Ca temple (Chinh My, Thuy Nguyen) worships 9 gods including 04 cousins of the Hoang family who helped King Ly Thanh Tong against Champa²³; Vinh Khe temple worships 3 gods, including Vu Giao and Vu Trong who are brothers whose festival is held on the day of birth (January 7 of the lunar calendar); Kien Bai communal temple (Thuy Nguyen) worships two brothers Ngoc and Bich who died at a young age and then epiphany to help King Tran defeat the Nguyen army and they were given the title: Trung Quốc Cảm Ứng Thượng Đẳng Thần and Lôi Công Uy Diệu Thượng Đẳng Thần; Trinh Huong communal temple (Thuy Nguyen) worships 3 brothers of Dao family such as Dao Te, Dao Dai, and Dao Do as generals of King Le Dai Hanh fight against the Song invaders; Trai Kanh communal temple (Thuy

Nguyen) worships three brothers of Ly family (Ly Pha, Ly Hoang, Ly Quang) who were mandarins under King Dinh Tien Hoang, helping to quell 12 warlords.

These legends often explain the history of the land, the settlement process of the clans, or the relationship among the villages related to the “blood- relation” of the tutelary deities.

Some tutelary deities were worshiped in many localities

According to statistics from 1976-1977 of Hai Phong Museum, there were 83 places to worship Pham Tu Nghi, 29 places to worship Doan Thuong, 28 places to worship Ngo Quyen, 24 places to worship Tran Hung Dao, 22 places to worship Princess Lieu Hanh...”²⁴. These are the gods who are worshiped as tutelary deities in many places in Hai Phong. In, Pham Tu Nghi, Doan Thuong, Ngo Quyen, and Tran Hung Dao have biographies or merits closely associated with this land; Lieu Hanh is a goddess who is worshiped in association with the development of Three Palaces and Four Palaces beliefs in the Red River Delta. Some other tutelary deities are worshiped in many places. For example, Thien Chu has been worshiped in An Tu and Ho Tu Ngoai communal temples of Tien Lang; Cao Son and Quy Minh have been worshiped in 9 places in Kien An²⁵.

Although the worship of tutelary deities is common, there is no stereotype, the “local identity” of each village is expressed through legends, consciousness, rituals, and taboo (hèm).

Worshiping the post-gods in the places of worship the tutelary deities

The worship of the post-gods (hậu thần), those who donated land and money for the construction and restoration of communal temples and temples was a common phenomenon in Hai Phong before 1986 in the form of memorial steles and rule of worship. For instance, Dong Khe communal temple worshiped a post-god Tran The Nho (a villager who was a mandarin under the Nguyen dynasty

and had the merit to restore the communal temple; Ngoc Tinh communal temple (Tan Trao commune, Kien Thuy district) had a stone stele recording that the goddess is Mrs. Bui Thi Trat (during the Nguyen Dynasty) who contributed to the construction of the communal temple; Cuu Doi communal temple (Tien Lang) worshiped the tutelary deity Dao Quang, had two steles of merits; Nhu Thuong communal temple (Quoc Tuan commune, An Hai district) still preserves 2 steles of post-god dated the 10th year of Tu Duc, 1857; Trang Due communal temple (Le Loi commune, An Hai district) preserves a post-god stele recorded those who contributed to the communal temple.

For the people of Hai Phong, the belief of the tutelary deities is also closely linked to the stories of the god's epiphany through the legends of the deities and edicts ordained by the king, as well as, it is also the functions such as blessings or misfortunes for individuals and for the whole community. People believe that worship is the way to be blessed.

2.2. Worship facilities

In the early twentieth century, the belief of the tutelary deities was studied through “the custom”²⁶, or “sacrifice of villages”²⁷ taking place in the sacred space of a village, or “inter-villages”²⁸ including shrines, temples, communal temples etc., According to Pierre Gourou, when looking at the public architecture of Vietnamese villages “will find the religious concern of the people” and the starting point of relationships among villages²⁹. The worship facilities of the tutelary deities in Hai Phong before Doi Moi has some characteristics as follows:

Regarding the location of the communal temples, it is closely associated with the concept of “good feng shui” of the sacred land, or the biography, merits, and incarnation of the tutelary deities. For example, Trinh Xa temple placed the corpse of the tutelary deity Ngo Ly Tin³⁰; the relics worshipping Ngo Quyen were the

places associated with the king's victories and epiphanies along the Bach Dang river; the communal temples, the temples were the place of the incarnation of the god, like in Dai Tra village, the communal temple was the place where "buried" Chu Xich Cong. Based on the concept of feng shui and sacred spaces³¹, the worshiping facilities of the tutelary deities were located in a prime location such as the shape of a dragon's head, the round well on the left is a dragon's eye"³². Ha Dau communal temple (An Hai) is an example; Vinh Khe communal temple (An Hai) ³³ towards the South, the river, based on a mountain, the spacious landscape. The sanctification of the space for worshiping gods³⁴ was a clever behavior of the residents in Hai Phong to protect the relic and avoid all infringing activities such as grazing cattle, cutting firewood, and stealing worshiping objects. The list of the legends of the deities (thần tích)- edicts ordained by the king (thần sắc) of Dai Tra village clearly stated that "The place to worship the gods was originally mounds, mountains, and trees, then people built pedestals and a communal temple, which is a place only for worshiping and strictly forbidden other activities (planting trees, killing animals, building houses...)"³⁵.

Many stories about the retribution of the gods for trespassing the relics, stealing things, disrespecting the gods, or the sad ending of some people who participated in "destroying the temples" during the period before 1986 are still being mysteriously told. In the minds of the people, that is the clearest proof of the sacredness and transcendence of the gods and the tutelary deities in the land of Hai Phong.

The worship of the tutelary deities at two/multi places is popular and still maintained in some localities to this day. The concept is that the temples and shrines are "private houses"- the permanent residence of the tutelary deities since worship is daily taken place. While, communal temples are conceived as "offices"- a place of work since the tutelary deities appear in "great events". The

sacrifice ceremony therefore also follows the order from the shrines (nghe), temples (đền), to the communal temples (đình) with the procession of the gods to the communal temples to attend the festival. In Hoa Lieu village (before 1945), public sacred spaces included a pagoda, a temple, a shrine, a communal temple, a temple to worship Confucius, and a temple (quán) to worship the God of the Soil and the Ground (thổ địa) and rest for the locals or occasional visitors)³⁶.

In particular, the tutelary deity Thien Quan Dai Vuong³⁷ was worshiped in temples and communal temples. In addition, Nghia Ly village (Vinh Bao) worshiped the tutelary deities such as Nam Hai Dai Vuong, Dieu Ung My An Ton Than, Anh Linh Tho Ky Ton Than at the temple and communal temple; Nam Hai village (Kien Thuy) worshiped the tutelary deity Yet Kieu in the temple and communal temple; Dai Thang commune (Tien Lang) worshiped the tutelary deity Pham Kha Tue in the shrine and communal temple. Currently, these relics still maintain worship.

The development process of the belief in tutelary deities is also reflected in the transformation of the worship space from shrines, and temples to communal temples. However, the estimation of the date of the communal temples in Hai Phong is mainly based on historical documents (Huong ước- Village regulation), architecture, sculpture, and remaining artifacts (stone steles, statues, objects...). Nowadays, a number of communal temples are well-known dating as early as the 17th century (Later Le Dynasty) such as Hang Kenh, Kien Bai, Nhan Tho, Don Luong, etc. Most of the communal temples were built or completely rebuilt in the Nguyen Dynasty associated with the process of institutionalization of sacrifices from the central to local levels such as Gia Loc was built in 1816, Luong Nang was built in 1820, An Bien was largely restored in 1929; Bac

was restored in 1923; Thuong Dien was built in 1930; Tu Lam was restored in 1943.

Before 1945, each village and hamlet had a small communal temple and the whole commune would have a large communal temple called Ca/Dai communal temple. Later, the process of merging villages and the deterioration and damage of communal temples led to the phenomenon of amalgamation. For example, Dong Du village used to be Dong and Doai communal temples worshipping General Dai Pham as the tutelary deity and his 5 children, however, when the Dong communal temple was destroyed, people worshiped the tutelary deities in Doai communal temple (Dong Du communal temple)³⁸; Thanh Lang village (Thuy Nguyen) formerly had 3 hamlets with 3 communal temples (Dong, Bac, and Ngoai communal temples) worshipping Vu Hong and Vu Thi Le Hoa as the tutelary deities, however, the Dong and Ngoai communal temples were destroyed since villagers of 3 hamlets worship their tutelary deities in Bac communal temple; An Lu temple (Thuy Nguyen) was built in the early 20th century to worship son Tran Hung Dao and his son (Tran Quoc Tang). When the temple for worshipping the tutelary deity Tue Tinh in the village was destroyed, villagers brought this tutelary deity to worship in the village temple (đền) in 1948³⁹.

During the second period of the resistance war, many monuments were destroyed and rituals were interrupted. In this context, many communal temples in Hai Phong were completely destroyed, some communal temples only remained the old foundations, and some communal temples lost their space for worship, worshipping objects. Some relics worshipping the tutelary deities were transformed into non-religious functions, used as the company headquarters and the cultural room (An Bien communal temple), classrooms, and temporary market (Lac Vien communal temple). The old people in Dai Tra village still remember that

“During the resistance war against the French, when the ‘demolition of the resistance war’ was carried out, the communal temple Dai Tra was destroyed, only kept the main sanctuary.

Some communal temples became the warehouse of the cooperative. The worshiped items were scattered and lost. Some items were preserved by individuals in their private houses. Villagers moved the worshiped items to pagodas. The pagoda set up an altar to worship the tutelary deities behind the ancestral house. In 1990, the communal temple was restored, and the old people brought back worshiping objects to make sacrifices”⁴⁰.

Some statistics have also shown the decline in the space for worshiping the tutelary deities in Hai Phong during this period. According to the data of the Hai Phong Museum (inventory in 1976 and 1977), there were 191 communal temples, 173 temples, shrines, and 320 pagodas across Hai Phong city. In 1996, there were 117 communal temples, 53 temples, shrines, 238 pagodas⁴¹. The Survey of Hoang Van Lau in Kien Thuy showed that 10 communes such as Ngu Doan, Tan Trao, Dai Ha, Huu Bang, Dong Phuong, Thuy Huong, Thuan Thien, Kien Quoc, Minh Tan, and Thanh Son, there were 40 previously. communal temples, 33 temples, shrines, and 34 pagodas, however, by 1992, 02 communal temples, 8 temples, shrines, and 24 pagodas remained (including new buildings). For the whole district of Kien Thuy (20 communes and towns), there are only 9 communal temples left like Quy Kim communal temple (Hop Duc), Tan Trao communal temple (or Kim Son or Tan Trao), Ninh Hai communal temple (Anh Dung commune)⁴².

After Doi Moi (1986), some communal temples have been restored or rebuilt in some localities, however, there have had localities that have not or have not been able to restore the village communal temples. For instance, in the case of Thuan Thien commune, Kien Thuy district, the communal temples of all three

villages in the commune (Hoa Lieu, Uc Gian, and Xuan Uc) were completely destroyed and have not been able to rebuild. Therefore, the worship of the tutelary deities has integrated with other local religions.

2.3. The ritual of worshipping the tutelary deities and the taboos

In the rite of sacrifice to the tutelary deities in Hai Phong in the past, the “great event” (Đại sự lễ) was the time to practice the biggest ritual of the year, which is called a religious festival (lễ hội tín ngưỡng) at present. The ceremonial sequence mainly followed or tried best to emulate the pattern of sacrifice (mô thức tế tự) prescribed by the Ministry of Rites (Bộ Lễ). It was found in the legends of the gods and in the village regulations (hương ước) of Hai Phong, including the old village regulations and some reformed village regulations (thời kỳ cải lương⁴³). Specifically, the ritual of sacrifice to the tutelary deities was regulated in terms of the subject who performs the ritual (celebrants/ chủ tế, deacons/ bồi tế), time and space for performing the ritual, the sequence of rituals and praying texts (văn tế), and the offerings.

According to the motif in the legends of the gods, the first person to perform the ritual of worshipping the tutelary deities must be the local people. Then, the king or mandarins performed a ritual to thank the god’s merits. Therefore, the celebrant was often defined as someone with an important status- the local chief. The 1935 Dai Tra village regulations stipulated sacrifices that “*The village chief must appoint high-ranking dignitaries and elders to be the celebrant*”.

The time for the ceremony was divided into the big ceremony, small ceremony, and daily ceremony. In addition to the “great event” there was also the full moon day, the first day (according to the lunar calendar), the day of peace and the New Year, followed the circle the Spring and the Autumn (Xuân Thu nhị kỳ). Depending on the custom of each village, the “great event” could be the date of

birth or the date of death (the death anniversary) such as in Dai Tra communal temple (Dong Phuong), Kim Son communal temple (Tan Trao), or it was the anniversary of an event related to the merits of the tutelary god such as the “great event” of the communal temple of Quynh Hoang (An Hai) from the 10th to the 16th day of February (lunar calendar) according to the legend that it was the time when the tutelary deities Nguyen Uy and Nguyen Cong Lang returned from winning the battle.

In Hai Phong, as well as in other localities, the common offerings offered to the tutelary deities included chicken (kê xuy), pork (chư xuy), white wine (rượu trắng) and fruit (tửu quả), incense (huong) and candles (đèn nến), votive paper (vàng mã), betel nut (phù lư), sticky rice 9 xôi) and local specialties, or seasonal agricultural products. For example, the ceremony of the death anniversary of Tran Quoc Thi in Dai Tra communal temple on the 4th day of September (lunar calendar) used to offer ripe persimmons, and green rice, they are symbols of the season⁴⁴. In the sacrifice ceremony of Diem Tuoc Dai Vuong in Do Son, the indispensable offerings consisted of a tray of rice and the ritual of killing buffalo to sacrifice to the god, with the symbols of the legend of the god's footprints and the legend of the communal temple. At Nghe temple (An Bien ancient shrine), the offerings to worship the god were fresh vermicelli and crab meat (long Dang Hai Giai)⁴⁵.

Before Doi Moi, some villages also held cooking contests (thi cỗ) in the festival of worshipping the god, such as in Hang Kenh communal temple, there was the custom of meal contesting (8 bowls or 12 bowls or 4 bowls and 12 plates) with all kinds of dishes of clams, oysters, snails, mussels, pork, chicken⁴⁶ offered to the tutelary deity Ngo Quyen in February. Or in Dai Tra village, “In the past, there were also cooking contests held in the communal temples, who made beautiful dishes, delicious dishes, and big dishes brought them to the communal temple to compete with each

other”⁴⁷. At Thu Khe Temple (Thuy Nguyen), it had a custom called *cỗ qua lộ*, it consisted of a tray of wine and a few plates of fish to invite passersby to eat and drink in order to reenact the ceremony to welcome Tran Quoc Tuan and other generals came back on August 20 (lunar calendar)”⁴⁸.

In my opinion, the most unique feature of the offerings to worship the tutelary deities in Hai Phong is the pig (*lợn ông bò*) which has been handed for generations. The pig is not a proper name, it is a “reverential” way of calling a large, beautiful pig chosen to sacrifice to the tutelary deities with the hope that the gods will bless all villagers”⁴⁹. This offering was popular in the pre-Doi Moi period and has been restored in many localities today, such as: the pig procession in Ky Son village (Tan Trao), Xuan La village (Thanh Son), Tu Doi village (Kien Quoc).

The celebrants were officials who were knowledgeable in Confucianism since the tutelary deity praying text used to follow norms and was carefully examined by an association (*hội tự văn*). Depending on each period and place, the praying text to the tutelary gods was adjusted y in terms of content and form. Currently, at Hoa Lieu temple, the villagers still retain the handwritten copy of the praying text in Chinese characters including all the rituals of the year in communal temples, temples, shrines, and ancestral temples.

Like other villages in the Red River Delta, the rites of worship of the tutelary deities in Hai Phong before Doi Moi basically included the water ceremony (*lễ mộc dục*), the announcement ceremony (*cáo yết*), the main sacrifice (*lễ tế chính*) and the thanksgivings ceremony (*lễ tế tạ*) and the festival with folk games. The festival of sacrifice to the tutelary deities used to last for half a month, in addition to the sacrifice rituals, there were many festivals and fun activities such as wrestling, and cockfighting competition with the participation of a large number of villagers. The festival created a

happy atmosphere and gave rise to the “sympathy” and cohesion of community members.

In particular, Hai Phong is a coastal land with a dense system of rivers and canals and faces the sea since festivals related to rivers and fishery are outstanding like fishing festivals and fishing procession (rước cá sủ vàng) in the village of Ngoc Tinh (Tan Trao), rowing boat festival (Dai Hop, Kien Thuy), swimming festival (Ngo Duong village, An Hoa commune, An Duong district); festivals related to the cultural and historical characteristics of each locality such as wrestling festival (Kim Son and Kien Thuy villages), buffalo fighting festival in Do Son.

The remarkable point in the rite of worshipping the tutelary deities is that the taboos (*hèm*) have been preserved from the past and restored in the present period. Although the interpretation of *hèm* in each period is different due to socio-economic changes and people's mentality, the instructions of *hèm* related to the “sacred objects” have been clear. A famous *hèm* festival at Tri Yeu village festival (An Hai) on February 7-11 (lunar calendar) commemorated the Holy Dragon (Đức Thánh Chàng Rồng). In this festival, the celebrants used thorns to pin their clothes with the symbol of the tutelary deities wounded while fighting. Or the *hèm* ritual at the communal temple of Vinh Khe (An Hai) on the 7th day of the first lunar month was the ritual of “giao điệt” in front of the communal house between two elderly people, representing six great clans, symbolizing the spirit of loyalty of two tutelary deities Vu Trong and Vu Dao- the generals who helped King Tran Nghe Tong fight foreign invaders.

In order to ensure the solemnity of the ritual of worshipping the tutelary deities, the regulations on abstinence and taboo were also common in localities in Hai Phong. For the participants, in addition to the criteria of family background and morality, the participants in the sacrifice rituals must keep strict precepts (*trau giới*) and not be mourning; males or females who carried

palanquins depending on the locality in order to preserve dignity. It was strictly forbidden to cause riots and disunity in the community. “In the village when there is a festival and ritual, no one is allowed to drink, speak rudely and arrogantly”⁵⁰.

Although the precepts (*traí giới*) were unwritten regulations, they were obligatory. Because it is difficult to monitor, it requires a high sense of self-discipline from dignitaries. The purpose is to keep a clean body and mind before entering the “communication” ritual with the tutelary deities.

In addition, there were taboos and prohibitions related to the tutelary deities in Hai Phong during this period such as abstinence, forbidding women and people with punishments, and mourning from entering the communal temple. Taboo related to mourning was typical such as not allowing the funeral to pass through the communal temples, if reluctantly passing, they must stop the trumpets, and drums and quietly pass.

2.4. The community of worshipers

In Vietnam, the worship of tutelary deities is associated with villages, cultural and spiritual activities, and religious practices of the agricultural community. In the administrative organization at all levels during the feudal period, the commune was the lowest level-connecting the State apparatus with the people, in order to perform two main functions such as land management and males (*dân đinh*). Meanwhile, villages and hamlets were traditional units of residence, existing on the basis of two principles: “origin and same place”⁵¹ with all the elements as follows: long-standing residence, geographical location, infrastructures, organizational structure, language, beliefs, customs, practices, and especially the law (called: convention, contract). Therefore, for many generations, Vietnamese villages have been considered to have the power of “autonomy”, and “self-management” that the central government used to aspire to “stretching” to manage both material and spirituality.

During the Nguyen Dynasty, the organization of villages consisted of three main institutions: 1- Inhabitants: all men aged over 18; 2- Council of elders (kỳ dịch or kỳ mục): nominally elected by the people, but actually they were people who had both real estate, and status; 3- Officials (lý dịch): officials at the commune level were responsible to the monarchy for affairs in the village⁵². In terms of caste, which was directly related to the activities of villagers, the organization of the village was reflected on the axis: 1- Dignitaries (Chức sắc); 2- Assistants of Dignitaries (Chức dịch); 3- Candidates, students; 4- Old Males (Lão hạng); 5- Males (Dân đinh); 6- Children (Ti ấu⁵³). Therefore, the hierarchical system of the communal temples (“ngôi thứ chôn đình trung”⁵⁴) was arranged based on two criteria: “vương tước” (according to the position bestowed by the king) and “thiên tước” (according to the principle of respect integrity).

In Hai Phong, there are many famous villages with a long history such as Du Le, Dong Khe, Co Am, Co Trai, Bao Ha, and Hoa Lieu. Although they have undergone administrative division, and expansion, many villages still retain their relationship with each other in terms of names, regions, occupations of villagers, and especially the worship of gods and the tutelary deities. The villages in Vinh Bao district with dozens of villages named Am such as Co Am, Thuong Am, Ha Am, Trung Am, Nam Am, Lien Am, Ngai Am, and Hoi Am since they formerly belonged to a canton. In Dong Phuong, there are 4 villages worshipping the tutelary deities: Chu Xich Cong and Tran Quoc Thi because these villages were separated from Dai Tra.

Like the other villages in the North, the villages of Hai Phong had a complex structure with many overlapping relationships such as village relations, family and clan relations, geographical relations, age, and occupation relationships⁵⁵. If the stability of the family relationship was determined by ancestor worship, the cohesion of the village was greatly influenced by the institution of community

worship, especially the tutelary deities worship. These two types of worship refer people to their origins and history. The worship of the tutelary deities included all the inhabitants of the village, in addition to the peasants, there were also mandarins and dignitaries of the village. The rituals were usually held by the head of the village, the chief of the commune, but the decision to operate the whole festival was taken by the organizations in the village, typically the “giáp”.

According to Nguyen Tu Chi, the administrative unit “giáp” was a form of organization in the village exclusively for male residents, with a hereditary character. Although the “giáp” was more or less related to the neighborly relationship and bloodline, it mainly took the age relationship as the core⁵⁶. The “giáp” rotated or assigned works preparing for the festival of worshipping the tutelary deities, and participated directly in the deacon work, procession, logistics, and games. For example, in Kim Son village (Tan Trao), when a new village was established and had a communal temple named Đương, it still maintained 3 “giáp” that took turns in charge of the general work of the village. Then, the population of the village increased, and the villagers established a new village named Doai, and built a new communal temple since the old village had 4 “giáp”. The special feature is that “giáp” were arranged according to clans⁵⁷ and the main force in the organization of worshipping gods, and festivals, as well as, “giáp” also teamed to participate in the wrestling competition every year.

Historically, the community worshipping the tutelary deities in Hai Phong can be found through village conventions, including regulations on the behavior of villagers, the organization of sacrifices, and taboos towards the tutelary deities. It was a community that shared the same beliefs, practices, and codes of conduct with the tutelary deities in order to satisfy religious needs, it also adjusted the lifestyle, transmitted living values of the community, and collective mental security. The conventions of Dai Tra, Hoa Lieu, and Kim Son Villages, in addition to the regulations

on organizational structure, land, dikes, marriage, and funeral customs, there were also regulations on celebrants, time of sacrifice, amount of money used for sacrifices, human behavior. Over time, it has been normative, oriented to living values for the community.

As for the belief in the tutelary deities, in addition to the village community associated with communal temples, temples, shrines, etc., there was also an expanded religious community. It was the inter-village communities worshipping one or several tutelary gods that reflected the relationships among villages. Lac Vien communal temple (Ngo Quyen district) worshiped Ngo Vuong Thien Tu (also known as Ngo Quyen) as the main god, and Doan Thuong, Pham Tu Nghi, and 3 other gods⁵⁸. In the past, Lac Vien communal temple had relationships with neighboring villages which worshiped Ngo Vuong, Dong Hai Doan Thuong, and Nam Hai Pham Tu Nghi. In particular, it must be mentioned that “the friendly relationship between Lac Vien and Duong Lam, Son Tay-the homeland of Ngo Vuong and Bo Cai Dai Vuong is increasingly developed through pilgrimages, through mutual assistance in the preservation and promotion of national cultural heritage”⁵⁹.

Dong Ninh and Chang Xuyen (Trinh Xuyen) communal temples in Tien Minh commune worshiped four tutelary deities such as Princess Huy Thau Trinh Thuc, Princess A Lang Phuong Vien, Princess Doan Dung Thuc Dieu and Ly Xa Ky were inhabitants of Dong Ninh who were generals to help King Le Dai Hanh fight against foreign invaders. Since before the August Revolution in 1945, there was a custom of friendly relationship (lệ giao hiếu⁶⁰). Deo communal temple and pagoda in Nui Deo town (Thuy Nguyen district) and Thuong Son temple in Nui Hai, Thuy Duong commune worshiped the mountain god Duc Thanh Son Dao who previously had a relationship. The communal temples of 4 villages such as Dai Tra, Lang Con, Phong Cau, and Duc Phong had a friendly relationship with the Phao Dung festival for a long time, but it was interrupted, it was restored in 1992-1994. Then, the Decree 406-

TTg dated 8/8/1994 on banning the production, trading, and burning of firecrackers took effect from 01/01/1995, and the activities of the villages were no longer maintained.

It can be said that for each community worshipping the tutelary deities in Hai Phong, the tutelary deities were *the historical memory*, and rituals and festivals were *the environments for cultural transmission* between generations, creating a sense of community about religion and culture of the community. The tutelary deities worship not only meets religious needs but also orients lifestyle, regulates behavior, contributes to the propagation and education of community values, and creates spiritual security for the whole community.

Conclusion

On the basis of the collected data, it can be said that before 1945, the belief in worshipping the tutelary deities in Hai Phong was official – institutional. It was an important ritual of the village community, under the regime ritual (chế độ tế tự) of the feudal state. When the last feudal court finally ceased to exist, the ordination of gods was discontinued, and wars and ideological changes posed great challenges. The period from 1945 to 1986 experienced a profound decline in the belief in worshipping the tutelary deities in Hai Phong in most aspects such as worship facilities, ritual practices, and festivals. Moreover, the belief in the tutelary deities and the worshipping community also experienced a lot of turmoil and loss. As a result, many communal temples could no longer be kept intact or disappear; many edicts ordained by the king (thần sắc), legends of the deities (thần tích), statues, and worshipping objects have been damaged or lost; many rituals lost their originality while the community's memory faded.

The belief in worshipping the tutelary deities in Hai Phong was born and developed in the general context of the Northern Delta but it was associated with the local history, culture, and ecology since it has changed over time, under the influence of many subjective and objective factors in each historical period. Changes could be led by

policies of states, administrative units, population growth, changes in occupational structure, climate change, natural disasters, and the processes of industrialization and modernization.

However, it can be said that although the belief in worshipping the tutelary deities in Hai Phong was temporarily interrupted or faded, it was an underground circuit flowing in the religious consciousness of the people there. The excitement of religious life today in Hai Phong is the continuation of that underground circuit./.

Notes:

- 1 Quốc Sử Quán triều Nguyễn (Viện Sử học dịch, 2006), *Đại Nam nhất thống chí*, Nxb. Thuận Hóa, Huế, Quyển 17, Tập 3, tr. 437 – 438.
- 2 Viện Viễn Đông Bác Cổ & Viện Nghiên cứu Hán Nôm (2003), Ban biên tập: Ngô Đức Thọ, Nguyễn Văn Nguyên, Philippe Papin, Phan Văn Các, Lê Việt Nga, Dương Thị The), *Đồng Khánh Dư Địa Chí*, Tập 1, Nxb. Thế giới, Hà Nội.
- 3 Ngô Đăng Lợi (2010), *Hải Phòng: Thành hoàng và lễ phẩm (Hai Phong: the tutelary deities and offerings)*, Nxb. Dân Trí, Hà Nội, tr.15.
- 4 Trần Quốc Vượng (2014), “Vị thế địa – lịch sử và bản sắc địa – văn hóa của Hội An” (The geographical position - history and local identity - culture of Hoi An), in trong Trần Quốc Vượng (2014), *Trong cõi*, Nxb. Hội nhà văn, Hà Nội, tr.129 - 144.
- 5 Viện Viễn Đông Bác Cổ & Viện Nghiên cứu Hán Nôm (2003), Ban biên tập: Ngô Đức Thọ, Nguyễn Văn Nguyên, Philippe Papin, Phan Văn Các, Lê Việt Nga, Dương Thị The), *ibid*.
- 6 According to legend in some villages worshipping Ly Hai in Kien Thuy district (Ham Duong, Dong Loi, Vinh Bao, Nghi Duong), this god was the sworn brother of General Doan Thuong, who had the merit of defeating the sea invaders who died in battle, was ordained as Tay Hai Dai Vuong by the court.
- 7 Nguyễn Văn Huyền (2003), “Góp phần nghiên cứu một vị thành hoàng Việt Nam: Lý Phục Man” (Contributing to the study of a Vietnamese tutelary deity: Ly Phuc Man), in trong: Nguyễn Văn Huyền (2003), *Tác phẩm được tặng giải thưởng Hồ Chí Minh – Góp phần nghiên cứu văn hóa Việt Nam (tập 1) [The work was awarded the Ho Chi Minh Prize - Contributing to the study of Vietnamese culture (volume 1)]*, Nxb. Khoa học xã hội, Hà Nội, tr. 445.
- 8 According to the book *Thần phả an trang* during Lê dynasty, recorded a biography of Tue Tinh and wrote that Tue Tinh (Pham An Lu) was the ancestor of the Pham clan.

- 9 Mai Kim Thanh (2017), “Truyền thuyết và lễ hội dân gian ở Kiến Thụy, Hải Phòng” (Legends and folk festivals in Kien Thuy, Hai Phong), *Luận văn thạc sĩ ngôn ngữ và văn hóa Việt Nam*, Đại học Khoa học – Đại học Thái Nguyên, tr. 35.
- 10 Hội đồng Lịch sử Thành phố Hải Phòng (1990), *Địa chí Hải Phòng (Chorography of Hai Phong)*, Tập 1, Xí nghiệp in Hải Phòng, tr.163.
- 11 Ngô Đăng Lợi (2010), *Hải Phòng thành hoàng và lễ phẩm (Hai Phong: the tutelary deities and offerings)*, Nxb. Dân Trí, Hà Nội, tr. 97.
- 12 Ngô Đăng Lợi (2010), *ibid.*
- 13 Including: Trần Công (Minh Kha), Đào Tề (Nghĩa Dụ), Quảng Tề cư sĩ (Hà Liễn), Thánh Chu Chu Vương (Lạng Côn), Phạm Công Tử (Cầm Hoàn), Đô Thống (Cầm Khê), Phô Tề cư sĩ (Bằng Đán), Phạm Quý Vệ (xã Tiên Lãng), Đào Lang (xã Cang Nha), Trần Triều Đại Liêu Ban Khai Nội Hào Quốc Công (Thường Sơn).
- 14 Nguyễn Duy Hình (1996), *Tín ngưỡng thành hoàng Việt Nam (Belief in the tutelary deities in Vietnam)*, Nxb. Khoa học xã hội, Hà Nội, tr. 507 – 508.
- 15 Ủy ban Nhân dân Thành phố Hải Phòng (2019), Quyết định số 1628/QĐ-UBND ngày 12 tháng 7 năm 2019 *Về việc phê duyệt Danh mục kiểm kê di tích có giá trị lịch sử- văn hóa và danh lam thắng cảnh trên địa bàn thành phố Hải Phòng (Regarding the approval of the inventory of relics of historical-cultural value and scenic spots in the area of Hai Phong city.)*.
- 16 Phùng Ngọc Trung (2018), *Tín ngưỡng thờ Ngô Quyền ở Thành phố Hải Phòng (Belief in worshipping Ngo Quyen in Hai Phong City)*, Luận Văn thạc sĩ, Trường Đại học KHXH&NV Hà Nội, tr. 5. Xem tại: https://repository.vnu.edu.vn/flowpaper/simple_document.php?subfolder=57/17/31/&doc=57173113935676494497179741863455404870&bitsid=9af58f3d-922f-443a-aba6-eb0f55b363db&uid=. Truy cập: 10/5/2021).
- 17 Dẫn theo: Ngô Đăng Lợi (2010), *ibid*, tr. 91 – 92.
- 18 The gods worshiped include: Linh ứng Cương Nghị Đại Vương, Duyên Nghị Khoan Hòa Đại Vương, Mỹ Ngọc Yếu Diệu Đoan Dong Đào Hoa Phi Tiên Công Chúa.
- 19 Văn Duy, Lê Xuân Lụa (2012), *ibid*, tr. 190.
- 20 The gods ordained by the royal decrees in Dai Tra village, including: Chu Xích Công, Trần Quốc Thi và Thái Kính Phi Công Chúa Phúc Thần Tôn Thần, Tả Hữu Kim Ngân Nhị Đế Anh Linh Tôn Thần, Tả Hữu Thái Phi Hoàng Hậu Tôn Thần, Hồng Vũ Linh Ứng Nhị Vị Tôn Thần, Cao Sơn đương Xã Bạch Hồ Uy Linh Thiên Tướng Chi Thần, Nam Hải Đại Vương...
- 21 Nguyễn Duy Hình (1996), *ibid*, tr. 126.
- 22 Dating from years Vĩnh Khánh (1730), Cảnh Hưng (1784), Quang Trung (1790), Cảnh Thịnh (1793) to the Nguyen kings (Tự Đức, Khải Định, Đồng Khánh, Thành Thái, Duy Tân).

- 23 Ủy ban Nhân dân Thành phố Hải Phòng (2019), Quyết định số 1628/QĐ-UBND ngày 12 tháng 7 năm 2019 Về việc phê duyệt Danh mục kiểm kê di tích có giá trị lịch sử- văn hóa và danh lam thắng cảnh trên địa bàn Thành phố Hải Phòng (*Regarding the approval of the inventory of relics of historical-cultural value and scenic spots in the area of Hai Phong city*).
- 24 Ngô Đăng Lợi (2010), *ibid*, tr. 93.
- 25 Nguyễn Duy Hình (1996), *ibid*, tr. 174.
- 26 Phan Kế Bính (2006), *Việt Nam phong tục (Vietnamese customs)*, Nxb. Văn hóa thông tin, Hà Nội, tr. 90.
- 27 Đào Duy Anh (2002), *Việt Nam văn hóa sử cương (Vietnamese cultural history)*, Nxb. Văn hóa Thông tin, Hà Nội, tr. 248.
- 28 Hà Văn Tấn (2005), “Làng, liên làng và siêu làng (mấy suy nghĩ về phương pháp)” [Village, inter-village and super-village (thoughts on the method)], in trong: Hà Văn Tấn (2005), *Đến với lịch sử văn hóa Việt Nam (Cultural history of Vietnam)*, Nxb. Hội nhà văn, Hà Nội.
- 29 Pierre Gourou (Hội KHLN Việt Nam dịch - 2004), *Người nông dân châu thổ Bắc Kỳ (Les paysans du Delta Tonkinois)*, Nxb. Trẻ, Hà Nội, tr. 244.
- 30 Trung tâm Khoa học Xã hội Nhân văn Hải phòng (2002), *Một số di sản văn hóa tiêu biểu của Hải Phòng (Some typical cultural heritages of Hai Phong)*, Tập 2, Nxb. Hải Phòng, tr. 144.
- 31 Nguyễn Công Thảo (2009), “Sự biến mất của những bóng ma tiếp cận dưới cái nhìn nhân học sinh thái” (The disappearance of ghosts, the approach from an ecological anthropological perspective), in trong Nhiều tác giả (2009), *Sự biến đổi của tôn giáo tín ngưỡng ở Việt Nam hiện nay (The change of religions and beliefs in Vietnam today)*, Nxb. Thế giới, tr. 203-226.
- 32 Trung tâm Khoa học Xã hội Nhân văn Hải phòng (2002), *ibid*, tr. 88-89.
- 33 Trung tâm Khoa học Xã hội Nhân văn Hải phòng (2002), *ibid*, tr. 120.
- 34 Nguyễn Công Thảo (2009), “Sự biến mất của những bóng ma tiếp cận dưới cái nhìn nhân học sinh thái (The disappearance of ghosts, the approach from an ecological anthropological perspective), in trong Nhiều tác giả (2009), *Sự biến đổi của tôn giáo tín ngưỡng ở Việt Nam hiện nay (The change of religions and beliefs in Vietnam today)*, Nxb. Thế giới, Hà Nội, tr. 215 - 217
- 35 *Thần tích – thần sắc làng Đại Trà, tổng Đại Trà, phủ Kiến Thụy, tỉnh Kiến An, (Legends and the royal decrees of the gods)* lưu trữ tại Viện Thông tin Khoa học Xã hội (1995).
- 36 “Tóm tắt nội dung di tích Đền – Chùa Hòa Liễu, xã Thuận Thiên, huyện Kiến Thụy, Thành phố Hải Phòng – Di tích lịch sử văn hóa cấp Quốc gia” (*Summary of content about the relic Temple and Pagoda Hoa Lieu, Thuan Thien commune, Kien Thuy district, Hai Phong city - National historical and cultural relic*). Compiled by Phạm Đăng Khoa (2008), p. 10.
- 37 The tutelary deity, Thien Quang Dai Vuong, is the name recorded in the ancient Chinese in sacrificial text (*Bản văn tế cổ bằng chữ Hán*)

preserved in Hoa Lieu village. In addition, the elders in the village also saved the transcription and translation of the royal decrees (sắc phong) of the deity in the temple (the lost Chinese version) in which the name of the god is Tuy Muc Duc Bao Trung Hung Thuong Dang Than, without biography and background of god.

- 38 Trung tâm Khoa học Xã hội Nhân văn Hải phòng (2002), *ibid*, tr. 65.
- 39 Trung tâm Khoa học Xã hội Nhân văn Hải phòng (2002), *ibid*, tr. 125 – 126.
- 40 In-depth interview with Mr. N.V.T (male, 73 years old), Dai Tra village, Dong Phuong commune, Kien Thuy district, Hai Phong.
- 41 Figures are cited under Ngô Đăng Lợi (2010), *ibid*, tr. 92.
- 42 Hoàng Văn Lâu (1992), “Di sản Hán Nôm tại huyện Kiến Thụy, Hải Phòng” (Sino- Nom heritage in Kien Thuy district, Hai Phong), *Tạp chí Hán Nôm*, số 2 (13).
- 43 The old conventions are the conventions/contracts written in the period before 1900 by the Tu Van Association of the villages; Cai Luong conventions (*Huong ước cải lương* or *Cải lương hương chính*) are associated with the process of French colonialism trying to intervene in the self-governance system of the villages in order to regulate and dominate the activities of this administrative unit around the first decades of the twentieth century.
- 44 In-depth interview with Mr. N.X.M (male, 80 years old), Dai Tra village, Dong Phuong commune, Kien Thuy district, Hai Phong.
- 45 Trịnh Minh Hiền (2011), *Lễ hội truyền thống Hải Phòng (Traditional festivals in Hai Phong)*, Nxb. Thanh Niên, Hà Nội, tr. 29.
- 46 Trịnh Minh Hiền (2011), *Sđd*, tr. 66.
- 47 In-depth interview with Mr. N.V.N (male, 76 years old), Dai Tra village, Dong Phuong commune, Kien Thuy district, Hai Phong).
- 48 Văn Duy, Lê Xuân Lạ (2012), *ibid*, tr. 214.
- 49 In-depth interview with Mr. P.V.T (male, 84 years old), Ky Son village, Tan Trao commune, Kien Thuy district, Hai Phong.
- 50 Viện Thông tin Khoa học Xã hội (1995), *Tlđđ*.
- 51 Trần Quốc Vượng (Chủ biên, 2010), *Cơ sở văn hóa Việt Nam (The basis of Vietnamese culture)*, Nxb. Giáo dục Việt Nam, Hà Nội, tr. 46.
- 52 Nguyễn Từ Chi (2003), *ibid*, tr. 275 – 276.
- 53 Đào Duy Anh (2005), *Việt Nam văn hóa sử cương (Vietnamese cultural history)*, Nxb. Văn hóa Thông tin, Hà Nội, tr. 143 - 144.
- 54 Nguyễn Từ Chi (2003), *ibid*, tr. 279.
- 55 Phan Đại Doãn (2006), “Thiết chế truyền thống làng Việt trong hệ thống chính trị ngày nay” (Traditional Vietnamese village institutions in today’s political system), *Tạp chí Nghiên cứu Lịch sử*, số 11, năm 2006, tr. 3 – 9.
- 56 Nguyễn Từ Chi (2003), “Cơ cấu tổ chức của làng Việt cổ truyền ở Bắc Bộ” (The organizational structure of a traditional Vietnamese village in

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- 57 Based on the genealogy of the first clans to reside in Kim Son (such as the Pham, the Mac clans), there were about 15-16 generations living in Kim Son land and some other documents can surmise that the village Kim Son was established more than 600 years ago (about 1388 - 1400). Duong village has 3 Giáp with 4 clans: Đoàn Đắc, Đoàn Quang, Đinh Văn, Đỗ Văn. Đoài village has 4 Giáp with 13 clans: Nguyễn Hữu, Nguyễn Duy, Nguyễn Quý, Nguyễn Đức, Đặng Kim, Đặng Quang, Đặng Bá, Đặng Trinh, Bùi Xuân, Nguyễn Xuân, Vũ Thế, Vũ Công.
- 58 Three gods were co-worshiped as: Hồng Ninh Trung Tông Hoàng Đế, Nam Dương Đế Nhất Quý Nương Minh Diệu, Phụ Quốc Tuấn Sát Đông Hải Sứ Giả.
- 59 Trung tâm Khoa học Xã hội Nhân văn Hải phòng (2002), *ibid*, tr. 92.
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