A Study on Mercantile Facilities of Hue, the Capital of the Nguyen Dynasty

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Abstract
This paper clarifies the locations, operation and system of the markets in Hue, the capital of the Nguyen Dynasty as well as the architectural form of the shops and background to the formation and spatial structure of the markets. The findings of this study are as follows: shops were partitioned by brick walls with three bays as a basic unit. The markets outside the citadel formed a linear spatial structure as they were constructed by improving the existing shops that had been built one after another by the citizens along the streets or constructed without destroying the residential areas that had shops along the streets. The markets inside the citadel formed a concentrated spatial structure as they were constructed after removing unnecessary facilities in newly developed blocks. Markets in Hue were located outside and inside the citadel respectively and consisted of a pluralistic system with domestic and trade markets as well as open and government-run markets. The tax revenues collected from the markets were used to help the poor, to maintain and repair various facilities, and to operate the army. Markets played a central role in the maintenance and functioning of Hue both as the capital and as a city.

Keywords: Nguyen Dynasty; Hue; market place; spatial structure; architectural form

1. Introduction
Located at the central part of Vietnam, Hue was the capital of the Nguyen Dynasty (1802-1945), and the historical architecture and monuments throughout its entire area were registered as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1993.

Since October 1558, when the Dang Trong Dynasty built military camps in the region, Hue had been called Thuan Hoa; since July 1688, Phu Xuan; and since April 1744, the capital city. In December 1774, the city was occupied by the Tay Son Dynasty and used as its capital. In May 1801, Nguyen Phuc Anh, a descendant of the Dang Trong Dynasty, reclaimed Hue and in May 1802, ascended the throne as emperor Gia Long of the Nguyen Dynasty. From March 1803, the emperor began to construct the new capital of Nguyen on a large scale. This was an extension of the capital of the previous dynasty,1 which had been located in the imperial city and the whole area to the southeast of the palace. As the palace, government offices, ritual facilities, and other facilities, including streets, watercourses, and castle walls, were constructed up to the 1830s, Hue took the shape of the capital of the Nguyen Dynasty. As we can see from the names of its palace and various facilities, the inside of the citadel of Hue was built after the traditional capital system of China, whereas the city was surrounded by the Western-style castle wall called Vauban. It can be said that the construction of Hue was the result of reflecting both the regional situation that was under the influence of the Chinese culture and the situation of the time that required military facilities based on new technologies.

Studies on Hue were led by French researchers in the early 20th century. Through a vast amount of findings on Hue and the system, culture, architecture, and cities of Vietnam, they provided a lot of information that revealed the situation of Hue from the late 19th century to the early 20th century (Ref. 2). Along with this, the laboratory of Takeshi Nakagawa at Waseda University carried out field surveys and studies on a long-term basis with its focus on the restoration of Hue (Ref. 3). The precise findings of these researchers provided very important materials for understanding Hue. Among the studies conducted by the Vietnamese, the most noteworthy is the research of historian Phan Thuan An. He compiled an overview of the history of the capital of the Nguyen Dynasty and various facilities through a comparison of the literature and historical records and the actual conditions of the city (Ref. 4, Ref. 5).

The before-mentioned precedent studies focused...
mostly on the palace, ritual facilities or traditional housing but introduced markets or shops in a mere overview. In other words, they did not fully review the characteristics of the capital called Hue, which was built after the model of the capital of China.

In the Chinese capital system that provided a model for the construction of Hue, the market was an important component of the capital along with the palace, ritual facilities and government offices. The reason was that the market was a more important component than any other for the common people as well as for the emperor and bureaucrats to lead their daily lives. Certainly, markets in Hue were one of the most important components that enabled Hue to function both as its capital and as a city. In other words, it is indispensable to examine the markets for further understanding of the situation of Hue as the capitol and as a city.

Based on the above-mentioned viewpoint, this study aims to examine the locations and changes of the market places in Hue, operation and system of the markets, and architectural form of the shops and special structure of the markets. What is examined in this study will be a basis for understanding the spatial composition, change, and method of operation of Hue as well as the difference in the spatial structure resulting from the process and methods of constructing the capital.

This study was basically conducted based on the literature and historical materials. In addition, various maps, preceding studies, and the real estate transaction documents acquired from field surveys are used to make a historical inquiry into the locations of the markets. Materials from actual measurement and photographs are also used to review the architectural form of the shops.  

2. Development and Spatial Structure of Markets Outside the Citadel

2.1 Locations and Development of Markets Outside the Citadel

In 1820, an order was given to pay regular prices for the purchase of foodstuffs for the emperor and other goods necessary for government offices (Ref. 6). The order, which took effect before the market was established inside the citadel, was given for the markets that had been formed outside the castle from the Dang Trong Dynasty to the early Nguyen Dynasty (Ref. 7, Ref. 8).

Markets had already been formed in the area outside the castle in the east of Hue in the early Nguyen Dynasty and grew so big as to provide commodities necessary for the government.

In May 1837, emperor Minh Mang ordered his army to improve the stores built by the citizens along the streets bordering the river Ta Ho Thanh Ha into tile-roofed buildings with 89 Gian and named the market Gia Hoi Thi. The reason was that the shops had thatched-roofs and were built so sloppily that they were vulnerable to fire. Facing the river, a two-story pavilion, Qui Gia Dinh, was constructed in front of the market.

Separately from Gia Hoi Thi, a long stretch of shops was built from Dong Gia Kieu to Tran Binh Dai at the same time. With its total length of 390 Truong, 252 Gian of shops were constructed by the government and 147 Gian by private citizens.

From the northeast of Gia Hoi Kieu to the southeast of Dong Gia Kieu was the location of Gia Hoi Pho, which belonged to the fifth quarter of De Ngu Phuong, Dong Gia Pho from the north of Dong Gia Kieu to the south of The Lai Kieu and Dong Ho Pho from the north of The Lai Kieu to nearby Tran Binh Dai belonging to the seventh quarter of De That Phuong.

These three market places were also called Thanh Dong Tam Hanh. Along with these markets, Dinh Thi Pho was established from Gia Hoi Kieu to Dinh Thi Ha Ap with a total length of 452 Truong. Because it was divided into eight Hanh, this market was also known as Duyen Giang Bat Hanh (Ref. 9, Ref. 10).

As the bridges, reference points for the locations of the markets, crossed Ta Ho Thanh Ha from the east to the west, we can see that Gia Hoi Pho from the northeast of Gia Hoi Kieu to the southeast of Dong Gia Kieu was located to the east of Ta Ho Thanh Ha (Fig. 1, Fig. 7). Through real estate transaction documents (Ref. 12) and maps (Ref. 11, Ref. 13) of the early 20th century, it was confirmed that De Ngu Phuong, De That Phuong, and The Lai Kieu-identifiers of the location of Thanh Dong Tam Hanh—were situated throughout the entire area of Bach Dang Street to the east of Ta Ho Thanh Ha (Fig. 1). A map produced at the end of the 19th...
2.2 Architectural Form of Shops and Spatial Structure of Markets

It was stipulated that shops in Hue should be built based on a unit of three Gian with brick walls between the neighboring shops to prevent fires. Bricks should be used for pillars as well. The shops had 'open doors' at the front and 'a small door' at the back. As the walls of the shops stretched in a straight and long line, they formed 'a series' of shops. Thanh Dong Tam Hanh was shops connected together along the streets bordering on Ta Ho Thanh Ha and a 5 Thuoc-wide alley was formed in the rear of the shops. Dinh Thi Pho was tile-roofed shops facing each other on either side of the streets from Gia Ho Kieu to Dinh Thi Ha Ap (Ref. 10). We can see that a series of shops with three bays in size and brick walls in-between were built along the streets. The markets outside the citadel had a kind of linear spatial structure.

The size and architectural form of traditional shop buildings extant outside the castle and the spatial structure of markets formed on the basis of those elements are basically in agreement with the above-mentioned records from the literature. In other words, shops were built by a unit of three bays in size at the front and partitioned by brick walls on either side (Fig.2.), and thus formed a sphere of markets as they were located in a row along the streets (Fig.5.-a & b).

Mostly built from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, the shops had one to three stories and, according to the records, those with more than two-stories began to be built from the late 19th century (Ref. 9). Regardless of the number of stories, the shops generally had three bays in width and depth. Their interior was built with wooden pillars and exterior walls, with bricks (Fig.5.-c). Though it was confirmed that some were maintained as shop buildings only without any extensions, most shops were connected to the residential space in the rear of the shops. Due to this, almost no alley that was formed at the back of the shops has been identified. Some shops were identified to have had open doors at the front of the building and a small door leading to the residential space at the back, and mezzanines inside the shops to store goods (Fig.2.).

The front of the shops had an addition of colonnades, which were divided into two types: one directly connected to the roofs of the main shop buildings and
the other with separate gable roofs. The colonnades are used for displaying goods or space for entrances and exits (Fig.5.-a, Fig.5.-b).

Though most walls on either side of a colonnade were closed, we can see from the trace of closing the arch-shaped opening that it was possible to pass through the colonnade of neighboring shops (Fig.3.). This can actually be confirmed from the colonnade at the front of houses bordering on the streets inside the citadel (Fig.4.), and a study published in 1916 confirmed that the spot beside the colonnade of a shop located on Bao Vinh Street was open (Ref. 17). The authors do not know exactly when colonnades were added to the front of shops, but it is presumed to have been in the early 20th century at the latest, space for pedestrians was formed between shops and streets as colonnades stood in a row along the streets.

In 1837, emperor Minh Mang established five market places outside the citadel. These markets had a linear spatial structure as they were connected with each other along the streets. But depending on the conditions of their locations, they show a different process of formation.

Gia Hoi Thi, 89 Gian of shops constructed along the streets, was an improvement of the shops that had already been randomly formed along Ta Ho Thanh Ha. The fact that the market was not a new construction but an improvement means that the spatial structure of the existing market was reflected in Gia Hoi Thi. Since the Dang Trong Dynasty, shops had actually been connected in a row outside the citadel of Hue (Ref. 7) and during the reign of emperor Gia Long, citizens built shops along the streets bordering on the Ta Ho Thanh Ha (Ref. 8). In other words, prior to the construction of Gia Hoi Thi, the shops built one after another by the citizens had already formed a market of linear spatial structure.

Thanh Dong Tam Hanh and Dinh Thi Pho also had a linear spatial structure. Unlike Gia Hoi Thi that was an improvement of existing shops, however, these markets were newly constructed in residential areas crowded with houses (Ref. 8). Nonetheless, no records are identified to show that in the process of constructing these new markets, existing houses were moved or demolished. This means that Thanh Dong Tam Hanh and Dinh Thi Pho were constructed without demolishing existing houses. It is easily understandable that despite the crowded houses, space for the streets was still needed and this space was used for the construction of new buildings without removing existing buildings. Though shops in Thanh Dong Tam Hanh and Dinh Thi Pho were not built successively but simultaneously, these markets formed a linear spatial structure as they were constructed along the streets while maintaining the spatial structure of the existing residential areas (Fig.8.).
3. Locations of Markets Inside the Citadel and Formation of Spatial Structure

According to the record of Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi, Phu Xuan Thi-which was renamed Tay Loc Thi in the Minh Mang reign- was located to the west of Phu Xuan Xa Dinh (Ref. 18); Nam Tho Thi, in Duc Tuy Phuong; Bac Truong Thi, in Ha Thanh Phuong; and Dong Phuoc Thi, in Dong Phuoc Phuong (Ref. 19). Unlike this record, Dai Nam Thuc Luc records that in October 1826, when the improvement of streets and residential blocks was complete, Nam Tho Thi was established in Phuc Tuy Phuong (Ref. 20). Although Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi has a record that Nam Tho Thi was located in Duc Tuy Phuong, Duc Tuy Phuong does not exist among the 95 residential area names of quarters (Phuong) governed by the army (Ref. 21). It is thought that Duc Tuy Phuong was a mistaken record of Phuc Tuy Phuong.

Phu Xuan Xa, where Phu Xuan Thi was located, was one of the eight villages that were transferred to a new location during the expansion construction of Hue, which began in March 1803 (Ref. 22). Therefore, Phu Xuan Thi is likely to have been built at this time. And we can see that it did exist at the latest in the Minh Mang reign when it was renamed Tay Loc Thi. In 1909 when Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi was compiled, it was recorded that Phu Xuan Thi had already been closed. It is believed that Bac Truong Thi and Dong Phuoc Thi were constructed after December 1888, because Dai Nam Thuc Luc published a compilation of the history only up to December 1888.

For the locations of the market places inside the citadel, we can refer to the record of Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi: 95 Phuong inside the citadel were divided into 9 zones and governed by the army.

Roughly speaking, the 1st zone referred to the whole area to the east and south of the imperial city; the 2nd zone, the whole area to the west of the imperial city; the 3rd zone, the whole area to the east of the 1st zone; the 4th zone, the whole area in the northeast inside the citadel of the capital; the 5th zone, the whole area in the southwest of the capital; the 6th zone, the whole area to the west of the 2nd zone; the 7th zone, the whole area in the northwest of the capital; the 8th zone, the whole area in the north of the capital, and the 9th zone, the whole area of Tran Binh Dai (Ref. 21).

Phuc Tuy Phuong, where Nam Tho Thi was established, belonged to the 2nd zone together with Ngo Mon, Chuong Duc Mon, and Thuan Cat Phuong. Cung Ton Mieu was built in Thuan Cat Phuong; it was confirmed through maps that Cung Ton Mieu was located to the northwest of the imperial city. In the early 20th century, it was reported that a market was located to the north of Cung Ton Mieu (No. 139 of Ref. 15 and Ref. 16). Because the arrangement of the facilities that were depicted in the map made in 1885 (Ref. 23) corresponds to the record of Dai Nam Thuc Luc, we can see that Nam Tho Thi was located in this place (Fig. 6., Fig. 7.).

Phu Xuan Thi was located to the west of Phu Xuan Xa Dinh, which was situated to the north of Tien Nong Dan. Because Tien Nong Dan was located in the northwest of the capital and Phu Xuan Xa Dinh was situated to the north of Tien Nong Dan (No. 70 of Ref. 15 and Ref. 24), the location of Phu Xuan Thi can be easily identified.

Dong Phuoc Phuong, the former location of Dong Phuoc Thi, is situated to the east of the imperial city (No. 236 of Ref. 15 and Ref. 24). Ha Thanh Phuong, the location of Bac Truong Thi, belongs to the 4th zone together with Phong Dinh Phuong, the location of Thuong Thanh Vien and Yang Tho Lau; Thuong Du Phuong, the location of Tien Y Tu; and Tu Dich Phuong, the location of Tu Dich Quan (Ref. 21). The market located to the north of Thuong Thanh Vien (No. 57 of Ref. 15 and Ref. 24) is presumed to be Bac Truong Thi (Fig. 7.).

Hoang Viet Luat Le, which was enacted in 1812 based on Da Qing Lu Li of the Qing Dynasty China (Ref. 25), stipulates that foreign envoys visiting Hue to pay tributes can open a market in Hoi Dong Quan (Ref. 26). As can be seen from its name, Hoi Dong Quan in Hue was built in reference to the system of Hui Tong Si Yi Guan in the Beijing of the Qing Dynasty and was the lodge and translation & interpreting office for foreign delegations (Ref. 26, Ref. 27). It was not until August of the leap year 1805 that Cong Quan, an official residence for foreign delegations, was constructed in Hue (Ref. 28, Ref. 29) and in September 1835, the name was changed to Tu Dich Quan. Except for Cong Quan, no lodges for foreign delegations are identified, which means that Cong Quan and Tu Dich Quan were the same facilities as Hoi Dong Quan.

Cong Quan, which was built in August of the leap year 1805, was located inside the citadel of the capital. It is recorded that envoys from Lan Xang arrived in Hue in December of the same year to pay tribute and stayed in Cong Quan inside the citadel of the capital (Ref. 29, Ref. 30). In July 1825, Cong Quan was
moved to the north of Ngu Ha (Ref. 31, Ref. 32, Ref. 33), which was to the south of the streets in Dong Bac Mon (No. 81 of Ref. 15 and Ref. 24). As this location was close to both land routes and waterways that connected Perfume River, Ta Ho Thanh Ha, and Ngu Ha, we can see that the place was selected for trade because foreigners could gain easy access to it (Fig. 7.).

Nam Tho Thi was a government-run market established by the state (Ref. 19) and private citizens as well as the government could build markets outside the citadel. This fact shows that the difference in the spatial structure of markets resulted from the difference in locations and methods of formation of the markets.

In the case of the shops inside the castle, their spatial structure can be confirmed from a record concerning Nam Tho Thi. According to the record, Nam Tho Thi had shops with 100 Gian surrounding the marketplace and inside them; four rows of buildings of 14 Gian in size and Lac Hoi Dinh were constructed at the center (Ref. 20). This arrangement of Nam Tho Thi can be clearly confirmed from the map produced in 1885. The map shows that to the north of Cung Ton Mieu, where Nam Tho Thi was located, buildings surround a block and inside the block are four buildings arranged in long rows, and a facility consisting of a building close to a square is at the center (Fig. 6.). It can be seen that hundreds of bays of shops were concentrated in a block to form a concentrated spatial structure, which was different from the linear spatial structure of the markets outside the citadel.

Nam Tho Thi was established in 1826, 23 years after the start of the expansion construction of the capital city in 1803 (Ref. 20). Until then, major facilities for the capital, including the palace, ritual facilities, government offices, and castle walls, had been constructed. In 1825, one year prior to the establishment of Nam Tho Thi, a gridiron road system and residential blocks surrounded by streets were formed inside the citadel of Hue (Ref. 34). They were newly formed by removing the existing houses and by readjusting the land after moving eight villages to new locations according to the expansion project of the capital (Ref. 22). This means that unlike the space outside the citadel where shops and houses had already existed, new buildings could be constructed inside the citadel without the influence of the existing conditions. Nam Tho Thi was established in a newly developed block after removing unnecessary facilities so that hundreds of bays of shops could be built in a location.

Fig. 7. The Locations of Facilities Related to Markets in Hue (Left (a): Ref. 16 and Ref. 24. Right (b): Ref. 23)

Fig. 8. Spatial Structure of Markets in Hue

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As a result, the market formed a concentrated spatial structure (Fig. 8.).

4. A Pluralistic Tax Policy System Concerning Markets in Hue

Outside the citadel, the people at large could build shops and peddlers, who mediated goods that were produced from various parts of Nguyen (Ref. 35), conducted commercial activities with merchants and Hue citizens at the roadside (Ref. 9, Ref. 10). This means that the markets in Hue outside the citadel were not government-run but open markets and that they were also domestic markets for the transaction of domestic goods with domestic consumers.

The Ministry of Revenue managed the merchants or residents who were engaged in commercial activities in these markets as well as collecting the building tax for shops and the sales tax. Both the ministries of Revenue and Works managed the sizes and locations of shop buildings and in Dinh Thi Pho, Hanh Truong undertook the liaison with the government. If citizens constructed shops, 20 Man for one Gian was imposed on them. If they paid 120 Man in a lump sum, they could do business for good, and yet the land tax was imposed for building the shops (Ref. 19). Separately from these taxes, a sales tax was imposed on all merchants doing business in the markets, and peddlers who paid such taxes could carry out commercial activities at the roadside of the markets. In 1837, 1,286 Man was collected as tax revenue from peddlers and 30,240 Man from merchants who owned their shops. These shop building and sales taxes were used to help the poor, to repair and maintain the streets and bridges, and to operate the army (Ref. 10).

Nam Tho Thi, Bac Truong Thi, and Dong Phuoc Thi, which were located inside the citadel, are recorded under the item of Ly Thien So Ty run by Quan Thu in Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi (Ref. 19). This record clearly shows that they were government-run markets. In particular, the three markets were included under the head of Ly Thien So Ty, which managed supplies and food for the meals of the emperor, various national ceremonies, and government offices. This means that the three markets played the role of a government supply market, which provided supplies for the government. Because the supplies were consumed at home, these markets were also domestic markets.

There are records showing that foreign merchants gathered in the markets located outside the citadel (Ref. 9) and foreign delegations visiting Hue for tributes could open a market at their official residence for five days and trade with the merchants of Hue (Ref. 26). The records show that an international trade market as well as domestic market existed in Hue. This fact also shows that trade between Nguyen and foreign countries was carried out under a dual system of the private trade between merchants and the tribute trade through delegations and that the locations of the trade were also divided into the markets outside the citadel and the official residence of foreign envoys inside the castle.

As mentioned above, markets in Hue formed a pluralistic system, which was divided into domestic and trade markets. The domestic markets were again divided into two types: the one located outside the citadel that helped Hue citizens maintain their daily lives and the other inside the citadel that provided supplies for the government (Fig. 9.).

5. Conclusion

Hue was constructed after the model of the Chinese capital system. To better understand the situation of Hue as the capital and as a city, it is therefore indispensable to examine the markets as well as the palace, ritual facilities, and government offices in Hue. Based on the literature and field surveys, this study examined the development and locations of its markets, operation and system of the markets, architectural form of shops, and spatial structure of the markets.

The markets in Hue consisted of markets located inside and outside the citadel respectively. Of the two, the markets outside the citadel continuously expanded as the center of commercial transactions. Markets outside the citadel were basically managed by the government but could be built by private citizens. They were also open markets where peddlers were engaged in commercial activities with citizens of Hue.

Shops, generally with three bays as a basic unit, were partitioned from neighboring shops by brick walls and had open doors at the front and a small door at the back.

As mentioned above, markets outside the citadel formed a linear spatial structure as shops were built in a row along the streets, whereas markets inside the citadel had a concentrated spatial structure. This difference resulted from the construction process of Hue, and construction periods and the locations of the markets. In other words, the spatial structure of Gia Hoi Thi was the result of improving the shops that citizens had built one after another along the streets. Also, the spatial structure of Thanh Dong Tam Hanh and Dinh Thi Pho was the result of constructing the markets without destroying the residential areas that had already been formed.
While markets outside the citadel were established under the influence of their existing spatial structure, markets inside the citadel were constructed in newly developed blocks after removing unnecessary facilities. Because of this, shops with hundreds of bays could be constructed in a location, thereby forming a concentrated spatial structure.

The tax revenues collected from the markets were used not only to maintain various facilities in Hue but also to help the poor and to operate the army. Markets in Hue played a pivotal role in not only maintaining citizens' daily lives but also maintaining Hue and its functioning both as the capital and as a city.

Foreign merchants carried out commercial activities in the markets outside the citadel and foreign delegations conducted the transaction of goods at their official residences. This is to say that markets in Hue undertook the role of an international trade market as well as domestic market, and the trade of the Nguyen Dynasty with foreign countries was carried out in a dual system of private and tribute trades.

Markets in Hue were composed of a pluralistic system with domestic and trade markets, and the domestic markets divided into open markets outside the citadel and the state-run markets for government supplies inside the citadel.

This study compared and examined the locations of major facilities that constitute the capital, and the methods of their operation and changes. The findings of the study can provide an important clue to more specifically understanding the characteristics of Hue. Because markets were an important component of the capital, they may have changed while affecting each other. For further studies, identification of new historical materials, in-depth reviews, and more extensive field surveys will be needed. The authors hope these findings will be used for further studies and be instrumental in better understanding Hue, the capital of the Nguyen Dynasty.

**Appendix**


**Notes**

1. Ref.1, p.43 records the city as Phu Xuan Thanh.
2. Except for preliminary surveys, we carried out field surveys four times in total, in August and December 2007 and August and December 2008. We express our sincere gratitude to those at the Hue Monuments Conservation Center and the laboratory of Takeshi Nakagawa at Waseda University for their kind cooperation for our field surveys.
3. Ref.10, p.75 records the length as 3 Ly.
4. Dai Nam Thuc Luc records 'Dong Gia Pho' as 'Dong Ba Pho', and 'Dong Gia Kieu' as 'Dong Ba Kieu'. These names will be spelled on the basis of Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi.
5. Ref.10, p.75 records the length as 3 Ly.
6. Ref.32, p.9 records that another official residence was built in 1819, and yet it is not confirmed in Dai Nam Thuc Luc.
7. According to Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi, Quyen 2, Thu Thien Phu Thuang, Dinh Phu, p.19, of the total tax revenues of 105,716.88 NGUYEN collected from Thua Thien Phu in 1906, 13,280.13 NGUYEN was sales and land taxes collected from these markets.

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