

VIETNAM CULTURE SERIES

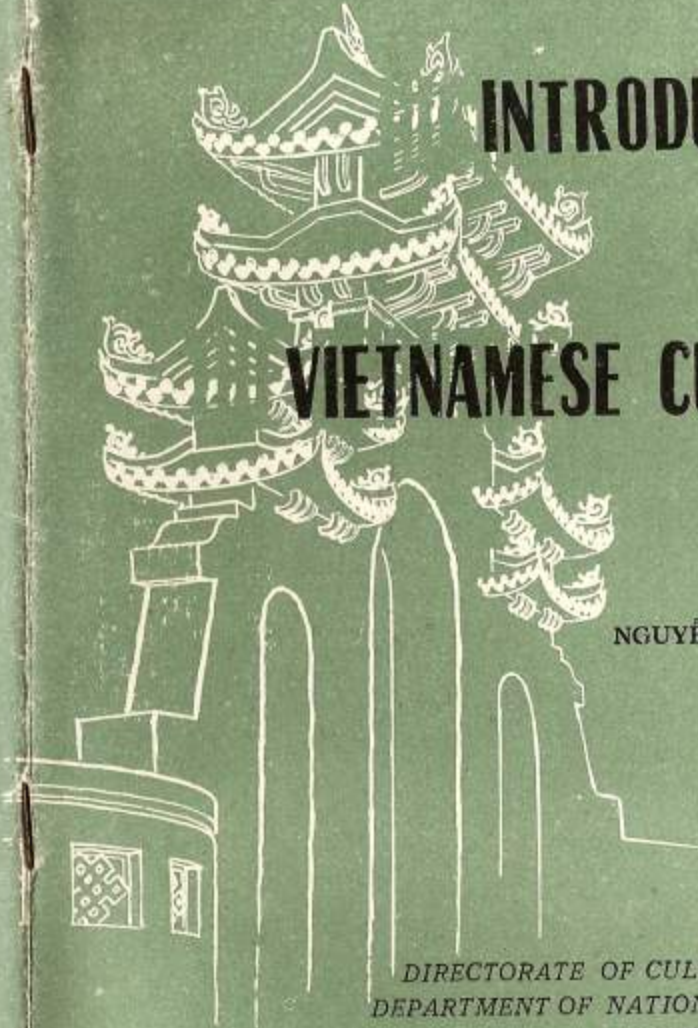
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VIETNAM CULTURE SERIES



# INTRODUCTION TO VIETNAMESE CULTURE

NGUYỄN-KHẮC-KHAM

DIRECTORATE OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS  
DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION  
SAIGON — VIETNAM

## INTRODUCTION

As its title indicates the Vietnam Culture Series, jointly published by the Directorate of Cultural Affairs and the Vietnam National Commission for Unesco, has the modest objective of introducing various facets of Vietnamese culture.

Each booklet features one aspect of Vietnamese life and institutions, and sketches a main structure or a principal pattern without going into detail.

It is our fervent hope that these brochures will contribute to an understanding of the land and people of Vietnam, thus falling under the scope of Unesco's Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.

Nguyễn-Đình-Hòa

*Secretary General*

*Vietnam National Commission for Unesco*

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# introduction to vietnamese culture

VIETNAMESE CULTURE

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VIETNAM CULTURE SERIES No. 1

INTRODUCTION  
TO  
VIETNAMESE CULTURE

by  
NGUYỄN-KHẮC-KHAM

*directorate of cultural affairs  
ministry of national education  
saigon, vietnam*

VIETNAM CULTURE SERIES No. 1

Vietnam Culture Series. No. 1  
INTRODUCTION TO VIETNAMESE CULTURE  
(= Văn-Hóa Tùng-Thư 19)

INTRODUCTION

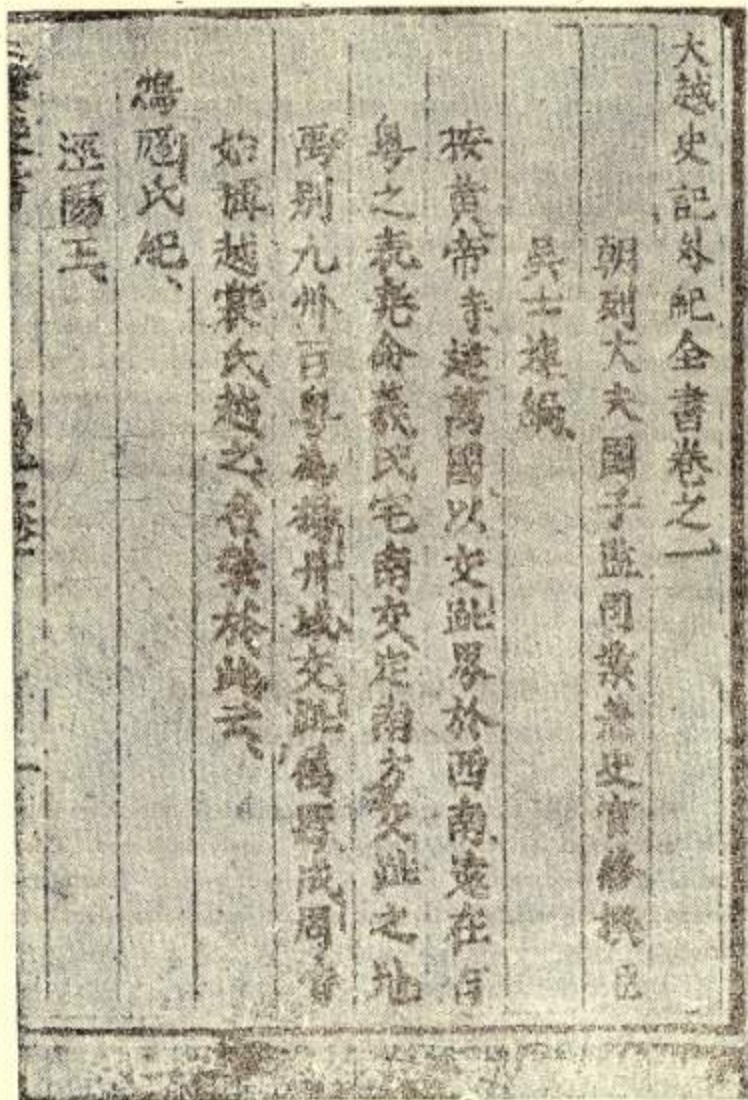
TO

VIETNAMESE CULTURE

NGUYỄN-KHẮC-KHÁNH

Printed in Vietnam

Ministry of National Education  
Directorate of Cultural Affairs  
Hanoi, Vietnam



A page of THE HISTORY OF ĐẠI-VIỆT, written at the  
beginning of the 15th century by Ngô-Si-Liên



The history of Vietnamese culture points out characteristics which, at first glance, seem to be contradictory, but which actually complement each other to present a unified over-all picture. Vietnamese culture, in the last analysis, emerges as diversified in origin but as basically homogeneous.

Diversified in origin, because Vietnamese culture has developed through different ages: the Mesolithic, the Neolithic, the Dongsonian ones. It has been moulded by Chinese culture with the impact of Confucianism and Taoism; by Indian culture with Buddhism diffusion; and influenced by the West with the coming of Christianity and the acceptance of Western thought.

Diversified in origin but basically a single culture, because its various constitutive elements, far from proving mutually exclusive, have jelled smoothly to form an eminently Vietnamese civilization.

## DIVERSE MANIFESTATIONS OF VIETNAMESE CULTURE

The two-fold characteristics of Vietnamese culture we have just mentioned (diversity, unity) are widely reflected. They can be seen very clearly in such important cultural manifestations as speech, writing, literature and art. Let us consider these briefly.

### A. VIETNAMESE SPEECH AND WRITING

#### 1) Speech : the language.

The Vietnamese language has been enriched by numberless



The first page of «GIA-ĐỊNH THÀNH THÔNG-CHÍ»  
the Complete Geography of South Việt-Nam, written  
under the reign of Gia-Long by Trịnh-Hoài-Đức  
(1765-1825)



Chinese words and expressions, but it is not recognized by Orientalists as having its origins in the Chinese language. German linguists like Kuhn and Himly lean to the opinion that the Vietnamese language belongs to the Pegouan, Thai or Mon-Khmer group. Henri Maspero maintained that it is of Thai origin, and the Reverend Father Souvignet traced it to the Indo-Malay group. A.G. Haudricourt has recently refuted the thesis of Maspero and concluded that Vietnamese is properly placed in the Austro-Asiatic family. None of these theories quite explains the origin of the Vietnamese language. One thing, however, remains certain: Vietnamese is no longer a pure language. It seems to be a blend of several languages, ancient and modern, encountered throughout history following successive contacts between foreign peoples and the people of Vietnam.

Comparative linguistics has uncovered a quite regular correspondence between certain phonemes of the Vietnamese language and of the Austro-Asiatic languages group. But this evidence does not allow us to conclude that Vietnamese and vocables of the Austro-Asiatic group are to be placed in the same family. To begin with, most words of the Austro-Asiatic family are polysyllables with prefix and suffix adjuncts. Next, only morphological study can establish clearly the relationship between the two groups: but unfortunately Austro-Asiatic languages morphology has not yet reached its full development. Under such conditions, it is not now possible to make a substantial and effective comparison between Vietnamese and the Austro-Asiatic languages. Nevertheless, lexicologists have maintained that the Austro-Asiatic element has certainly played an important role in the formation of Vietnamese words. In the domain of ethnology, archaeology and sociology, irrefutable evidence has been discovered that the Vietnamese people made contact with Austro-Asiatic races (Negroids, Melane-

sians and Indonesians) in antiquity. It is quite natural that these contacts would manifest themselves in the Vietnamese language. In prehistoric times, Vietnam must have been inhabited by an autochthonous race whose blood undoubtedly mingled with that of other races who immigrated there. The first of such races were the Melanesians. They were followed in the second century B.C. by the Indonesians. Vietnam was enriched with new words from each successive wave of immigrants. The greater part of the words which these newcomers gave to our language were words pertaining to mountains, flowers, animals and the like.

Such was the character of the Vietnamese language before its contact with Chinese culture.

Then came the period of Chinese domination, of the dynasties of Han, Wou, T'sin, Leang, T'ang, and Ming. Chinese culture had a golden opportunity to spread among the Vietnamese people and a large quantity of Chinese words, generally in the fields of philosophy and morals, were introduced into our language. But the words borrowed from the Chinese, exactly like those of Austro-Asiatic origin have become Vietnamese. For example, Chinese written symbols remained as they had been written but they received a Vietnamese pronunciation. To speak Nho (Chinese characters pronounced in the Vietnamese manner) or to speak the literary language, is to speak Vietnamese. Once Vietnamized with its foreign accent removed, the Chinese language would be listened to with pleasure: the people of Vietnam would find no trace of cacophony in it.

As for other linguistic contributions, Vietnamese has been enriched with words from French and English. Initially, these words represented new objects or new functions previously





CATHECHISMVS  
in octo dies diuisus.

Phép giảng tám  
ngày

Dies Primus.

Ngày thứ nhất.

**S**uppliciter petamus ab  
Optimo Caeli Domino ut  
adiuet nos, ad hoc ut in-  
telligamus probe legem Do-  
mini intelligendum au-  
tem ad hoc est neminem esse  
in hoc seculo qui diu uiuat,  
vix enim perstringitur ad  
septuagesimum aut octo-  
gesimum aetatis annum  
quereendus est igitur a no-  
bis modus ut possimus diu  
uiuere, hoc est, vitam  
sempiternam adipisci  
hoc enim uere prudentis  
est cetera omnes huius  
mundi artes quamuis diuisi-  
sij acquirendis sint apta  
minime tamen eripere  
nos poterunt ab ignobilitate & miseria, quia cadere in eas  
incit.

**T**a căn cứ đức Chúa  
bởi giúp sự cho  
ta biết rõ rằng đấng  
Chúa là như thế nào  
vì thấy ta phải hay ở  
thế này chẳng có ai sống  
lâu; vì chúng ta  
đến bảy tám mươi tuổi  
chẳng có nhiều. vì  
chẳng ta nên tìm đấng  
nào cho ta được sống lâu,  
là kiếm hàng sống  
thật là việc ngu-ời cuên  
tỏ. khác phép thế  
gian này, dù mà làm  
cho người được phú  
quí: sau sẽ chẳng làm  
được cho ta ngày sau

The first form of romanized Vietnamese writing : a page of the bilingual Latin-Vietnamese Catechism published in Rome, in 1651, by the Reverend Alexandre de Rhodes, considered as the codifier of the Quốc-Ngữ (National Writing System)

unfamiliar to the people of Vietnam. Later, technical and scientific words were added. Like the earlier words from other languages, these new French and English words were Vietnamese-ized, in their turn.

2) Writing

Did the Vietnamese possess their own system of writing before the Chinese cultural contact? This is a question which archaeology has so far been unable to answer. Vietnam did not recognize Chinese characters as its official writing system until the 9th century. But once the Nho was chosen as the official language vehicle, Sino-Vietnamese literature enjoyed the same prosperity as national Vietnamese literature.

From the Đinh and the Lý dynasties to about the middle of the Trần dynasty, there existed a sharp difference between Sino-Vietnamese literature and popular literature. The former was reserved exclusively for writing, while the latter was utilized especially for popular oral literature: folk songs, proverbs and sayings. But these two forms of literature-oral and written-lived compatibly together instead of engendering mutual opposition, because they had a common ground: the Vietnamese spoken language. However wide might be the range of popular oral literature, however refined might be the written Sino-Vietnamese literature, there remained always the Vietnamese tongue as the unifying and regulating element:

With Hàn-Thuyên, pioneer in the literary use of demotic characters, writers began to use common Vietnamese terms for literary works, and local characters and writing began to play an ever-larger rôle in Sino-Vietnamese literature.



During the course of the 17th century, European missionaries arrived to preach Christianity in Vietnam and the Far-East. Up to that time apart from the Sino-Vietnamese characters utilized by the bourgeoisie and the nobility, there was in use only the involuted and quite complicated demotic script. The latter was devoid of rules and consequently could not serve as a language vehicle for reaching the people. It was therefore necessary to find some other kind of writing if the missionaries were to succeed in their work. After quite considerable study of European phonetic transcription, the missionaries invented a new type of writing. It was at first thought that this writing would be restricted to Catholic missionary activities. There was little reason to believe that it would break ecclesiastical boundaries and spread rapidly among the population at large. But naturally, the demotic script, involuted and indecipherable, had to yield, finally, to the new type of writing.

Furthermore, one could explain the decline of the demotic script by the suppression of the triennial examination system (1915 in the North Vietnam, 1918 in the Center Vietnam) by the reorganization of the communal (village) education with its certificate of elementary studies based on the romanized language, by the creation of the Romanized script, and by other causes, both political and social. And finally, the adoption of the Romanized script could be interpreted as a spontaneous choice of the people in favor of a writing system which more adequately fitted the expression of Vietnamese thought and facilitated the historic mission of the Vietnamese people.

A phonetic language par excellence, the romanized system of writing provided for the transcription not only of all the borrowed words but even of all the original Vietnamese words.

Thanks to the romanized script, the traditional values of our national literature, both those which were expressed in demotic characters and those which were written in Chinese characters, were able to be preserved to our own times. But the effective contribution of the romanized script is not limited to the past. It is oriented also to the future, and will help to create a literature truly worthy of a people with a history of more than 4,000 years.

The double characteristic of Vietnamese culture (diversity, unity) is apparent, finally, in the literature and arts of Vietnam.

## B.— LITERATURE

Two main streams of foreign influence upon Vietnamese literature can be discerned. Chinese cultural influence was predominant from the second century B. C. to the 19th century, at which time Western civilization began to assume the dominant influence.

### 1) Influence of Chinese Culture.

The Vietnamese people felt the influence of China from Antiquity. From the second century B. C. to the tenth century of our era, Vietnam was several times under the domination of China, and enjoyed only brief periods of independence. For a thousand years, Chinese thought and literature were spread among the Vietnamese population.

In the 10th century, under the Đinh dynasty — the first independent national dynasty — Chinese literature was widespread. Most of the prose and poetry of this period was written



by Buddhist monks. The reason was that Buddhism had been introduced into Vietnam towards the period of the Souei of China, in the 7th century. Such highly esteemed monks as Vô-Ngãi, Phụng-Đĩnh, Duy-Giám of the Đĩnh dynasty and of the later Lê dynasty (968-1009), exchanged their verse with the great poets of China, such as Thâm-Thuyền-Kỳ, Trương-Tịch, etc. Other monks such as Trương-Ma-Ni, Đặng-Huyền-Quang and, in particular, Ngô-Chân-Lưu and Sư-Thượn, composed poetic works which, about a century later, aroused the admiration of Lê-Quý-Đôn, who was forced to recognize that even the writings of the Song paled before the poetic genius of Sư-Thượn and Chân-Lưu.

From the time of Lý to that of Nguyễn, Sino-Vietnamese literature was marked by distinguished writers. A large amount of poetry and prose flourished during this time. Among these were «The Fisherwoman» a gracious poem by Trịnh-Hoài-Đức, an outstanding writer of the reign of Gia-Long; patriotic poetry of Phạm-Ngũ-Lão; the proclamation of peace by Nguyễn-Trãi and many other admirable pieces of Mạc-Đĩnh-Chi, Trương-Hán-Siêu, Phạm-Sư-Mạnh, Nguyễn-Phi-Khanh, Nguyễn-Bình-Khiêm, Lê-Quý-Đôn, Ngô-Thời-Sĩ, etc...

Among those literary works cited as representative, some were completely Chinese in inspiration or imitation. A further, quite eloquent proof of the people's wish for independence from the Chinese even in the field of literature was the treasuring of all the poetic productions in the vernacular, which existed long before Lê, and which were handed down by successive generations of poets both known and unknown.

Lacking documents, we have few samples of Vietnamese popular literature before the Ly dynasty. But in compensation,



*Emperor Tr-Diêc's inkpot made of precious stone. Panegyric written and autographed by the sovereign himself. Picture representing the eight immortals crossing the Chinese Sea (of ink).*



sufficient documents remain from later dynasties to enable us to form a satisfactory critical judgment. To begin with, there are admirable popular songs whose leading themes were drawn from the agricultural life or from the exemplary life of women writers who lavished advice on their husbands and exhorted them to study. Outside of these songs, we ought to mention the « Gia Huân Ca » of Nguyễn-Trãi, numerous poems of King Lê-Thánh-Tôn, of Nguyễn-Bình-Khiêm, of Nguyễn-Phạm-Trần, of Đỗ-Uông, of Lê-Quý-Đôn and of many other remarkable poets like Nguyễn Bá-Lân author of « Trương Lưu Hầu Phú » and Đặng-Trần-Côn, author of « Chính Phụ Ngâm » which the poetess Đoàn-Thị-Điễm later translated into Nôm verses. Special mention must be given equally to Nguyễn-Dinh-Tố, author of « Bài Tán ông Tiến-Sĩ » and Nguyễn-Hữu-Chính, author of « Cung-Oán » and of « Quách-Tử-Nghi Phú ».

In spite of the remarkable abundance of poetical works which characterize the dynasty of Lê, one must turn to the dynasty of Nguyễn to find the true masterpieces. This dynasty has been made illustrious by the great poets who wrote in Nôm characters. The most formidable of these has been without doubt Nguyễn-Du the immortal author of « Kim-vân-Kiêu » of which a contemporary critic has made this enthusiastic statement : « After the amending of Kinh-Thi (The Book of Verses) by the Master Confucius, there have not been any other poems to equal it. We could say the same thing about Nguyễn-Du, who left us a poem unsurpassed and unsurpassable : « Kim-vân-Kiêu ».

This historic summary of our Sino-Vietnamese literature and of our demotic literature attests to the originality of our old poetic productions which knew how to preserve intact the best qualities of the Vietnamese race in spite of the overpowering influence of Chinese forms.



*Reverend Father Alexandre de Rhodes,  
codifier of the Quốc-Ngữ, or Romanized National Script.*



## 2) Influence of Western Thought and Culture.

The first indications of Occidental influence on Vietnamese culture can be traced back to the invention of the national script (Quốc-Ngữ) in the 17th century by Catholic missionaries. This new system of writing officially adopted since the beginning of the 19th century for use in literature and education has greatly contributed to the spread of western thought and culture.

Under the influence of European masterpieces, translated for the first time by famous writers such as Trương-vĩnh-Ký, Huỳnh-tĩnh-Cửa, Nguyễn-văn-Vinh and Phạm-Quỳnh, Vietnamese prose became richer, expressing its ideas in novel ways, and grew in fame with the production of varied and important literary works (novels, theatrical pieces, criticism, etc). Poetry kept pace with this western trend in Vietnamese prose, a trend which enables us to see the strength of the Vietnamese people and the productive vitality of their literature. Throughout the centuries, far from being absorbed by Chinese culture, Vietnam had known how to turn it to her own account, to derive from it new strength and energy for the preservation of her own talent. In much the same way, we have selected and assimilated the best of western culture to forge a new national culture which, according to Dương-quảng-Hàm, has met the needs of modern times while remaining faithful to the noble spiritual traditions of our people.

The characteristics which we have just seen in Vietnamese literature are found also in Vietnamese art. Despite the manifold influences of Chinese, Cham and French art, it is perceived to be as strongly original in its inspiration as it is in its expression.

## C.—VIETNAMESE ARTS

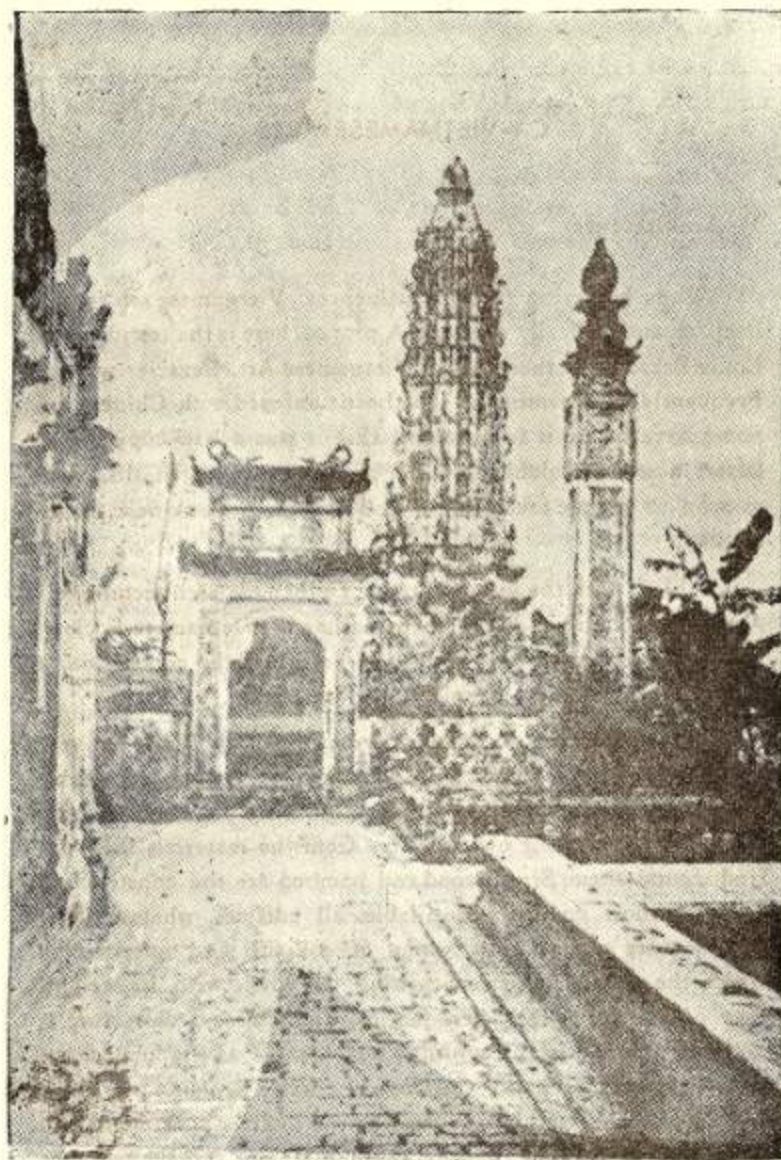
### 1) Architecture.

While betraying foreign influences, Vietnamese art reveals itself as authentically original. A propos, here is the testimony of Louis Bezacier, author of *The Vietnamese Art*. Bezacier writes: Frequently, Vietnamese art has been confused with Chinese art. Some have taken it for granted that it was a bad copy of the latter, a sort of colonial art. So grave an error will disappear as soon as people take a close look at various Tonkinese monuments.

Where does the originality of Vietnamese architecture lie? According to Lương-Đức-Thiếp, author of *Vietnamese Society*, it lies in its reflection of the way of living and the conception of life of the Vietnamese people. Thiệp writes:

The Vietnamese, by choice, live in the delta. Being not very fortunate and having not a large enough breathing space available in which to live, they are reduced to building pagodas, temples, sanctuaries, and their own shelters from the materials they can find around them: Since wood and bamboo are the construction materials most commonly available, all edifices, whatever they may be, are essentially a system of columns and rafters upon which the roof rests, strengthening the whole with its weight. One of the many characteristics of Vietnamese architecture is precisely the role of the columns which serve as support for the roof. On the other hand, the tropical climate explains why there are few walls or partitions separating the interior apartments and it explains the frequent absence of a door: one sees the entrance wide open or perhaps shaded with a blind. The most ancient type





*A picturesque model of Vietnamese architecture : a pagoda tower in the outskirts of Hanoi*

of shelter consists of four roofs, two principal and two accessory roofs, leaning on a wooden frame system which is in turn supported by a system of columns. The imperial palaces, the residences of the mandarins, the pagodas and the temples are modelled after the houses of the people, although they differ from these in their more spacious dimensions, in additional stories and by their shape which more frequently imitates that of the Chinese character Công 公 or Môn 門 and by their roof suggesting the image of a dragon or a phoenix.

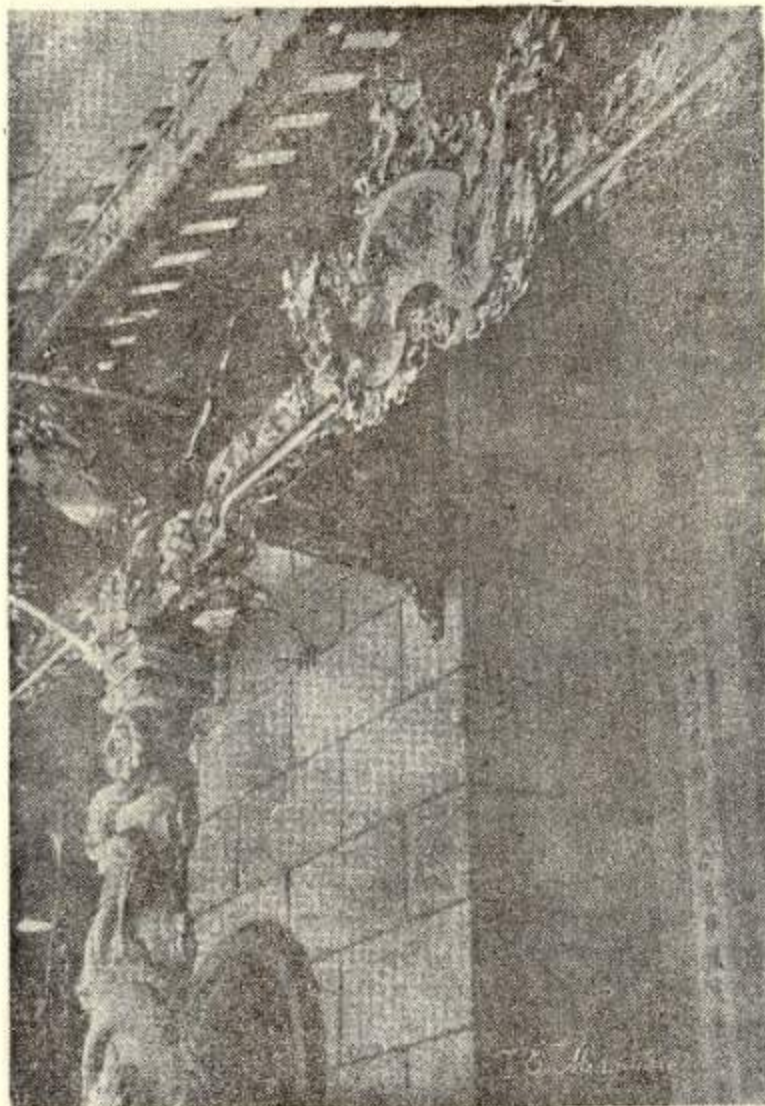
Buildings constructed for military purposes have their own architecture. The antiquity of the latter is borne out by such historical monuments as the citadel in Cồ-Loa, which is in spiral form, the fortifications of Đại-La constructed by the Chinese governor Cao-Biến on the left bank of the river Tô-Lịch (867) ; the citadel of Hoa-Lư erected by King Đinh-Tiên-Hoàng at Ninh-Binh (900) ; that of Long-Thành, begun by King Lý-Thái-Tổ and which had occupied the ancient site of the Đại-La fortifications ; the ramparts of Tây-Đô in Thanh-Hóa which date back to the times of the Hồ dynasty etc.

These varying structures reveal an influence, more or less, of Chinese architecture, while a certain number of other structures, dating from the dynasty of Nguyễn (like the Imperial City, Hoàng-Thành) and certain fortifications in the Vauban manner built with the cooperation of French military officers give evidence of French influence. But whatever may be its origin or influences, Vietnamese architecture still preserves its own total originality.

## 2) Sculpture.

Vietnamese sculpture shows the same dualism we have seen in the rest of Vietnamese art : while welcoming foreign influen-





*A model of Vietnamese sculpture: a dragon-shape carved column and a fronton carved after traditional motives.*

ces, it remains faithful to the national spirit. Of all foreign influences that have contributed to its enrichment, that of China has been the most important. Chinese influence is revealed in the choice of subjects as well as in the motives of sculpture. Like Chinese sculpture, Vietnamese sculpture centers readily on the statues in pagodas and in the objects of private or public worship. As far as motives are concerned, it has likewise borrowed them from the Chinese, showing a marked predilection for the *Tứ Linh* (the four fabulous animals) and the *Tứ Quý* (the four seasons).

The second foreign influence on Vietnamese sculpture is that of Cham art. During the excavations of the *Phật-Tịch* pagoda, archaeologists uncovered the statues of women having wings and large breasts; the remains of plinths on which were carved low reliefs, representing flute-players; pieces of porcelain ornated with garlands; and other motives quite different from those in current use by the Vietnamese. As an explanation for the existence of Cham art side by side with Vietnamese art, it is postulated that Cham artists were forced to contribute to the construction of this pagoda, which dates from the time of the *Lý* dynasty.

The last foreign influence on Vietnamese sculpture has been that of the French art, introduced into Vietnam during the last century.

Despite the different influences we have discussed, Vietnamese sculpture has learned how to preserve its own personal stamp. We may learn to prize this from such valuable artworks as the statues of *Lê - Đại - Hành* at *Hoa - Lư* and *Lý - Ông-Trọng* at *Kê-Trèm*. The original style of works like these suggests no connection with the other statues of the pagodas.



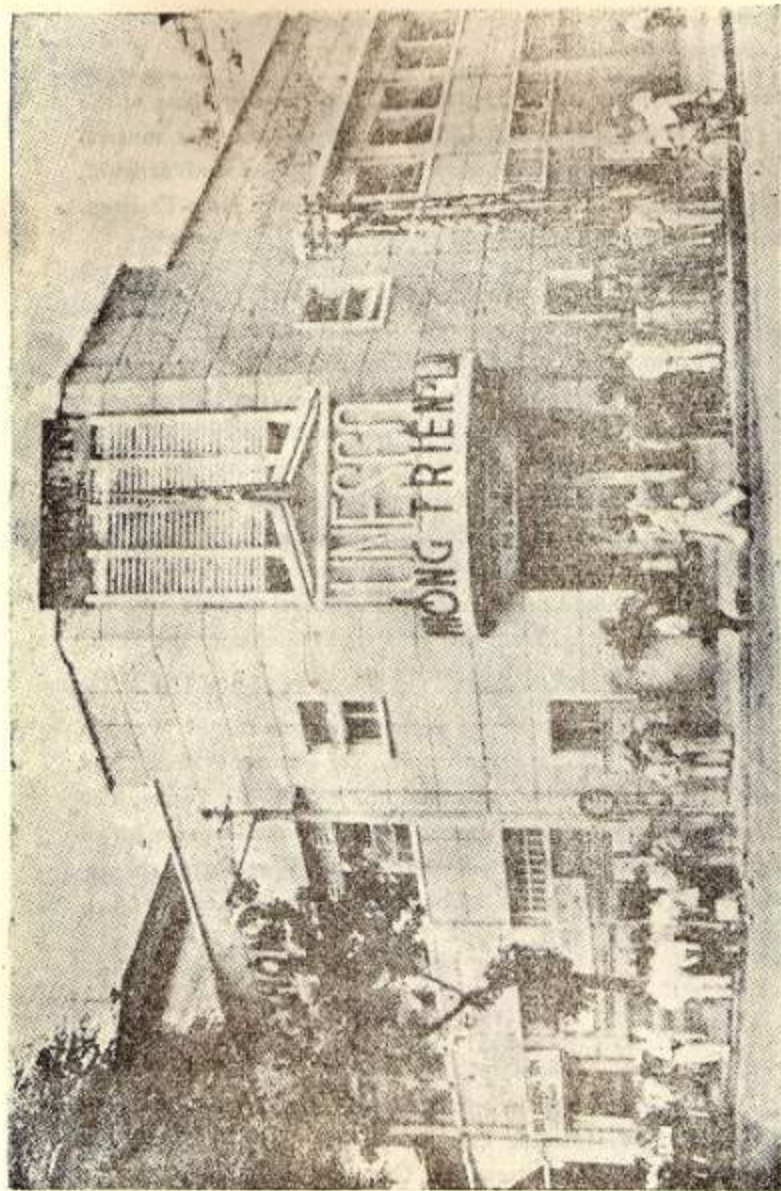
### 3) Painting

In the domain of painting, our artists still take their inspiration from Chinese models. In the many art-works we might mention, there are the *Tứ-Linh*, the *Tứ-Quí*, the *Ngũ-Phúc* (the five Felicities), the *Tam-Đa* (the Three Abundances) etc. These were motives dear to the painters of the Middle Empire. However, far from limiting themselves to the study and imitation of Chinese models, Vietnamese painting also knew how to absorb for itself what it found most useful from contact with French models. At the present, serious and praiseworthy efforts are being made by the National School of Fine Arts to reconcile into a harmonious synthesis the diverse Occidental and Oriental influences, and we have every reason to believe that a new era will soon open for Vietnamese art.

Meanwhile, the originality of our national painting has continued to show itself brilliantly in a sphere where it remains matchless : that of popular paintings, such as one finds on sale on the occasion of Tet, depicting the beautiful flute players or the pear-shaped mandolin, the familiar animals and the scenes of children playing. Here are some appropriate comments of appreciation by *Lương-Đức-Thiếp* : Those popular paintings, while remarkable for their naive simplicity of art, truly reflect the satirical spirit of the Vietnamese people and reveal at the same time a high degree of color-sense by their authors. The soul of our race is manifest in them : young, ingenious, with nothing to hamper its unrestricted blooming.

### 4) Music.

The same foreign influences can be traced in Vietnamese



*UNESCO mobile exhibition of Eastern and Western Water-colour paintings held at the Saigon Information Hall from April 25 to May 5, 1960*



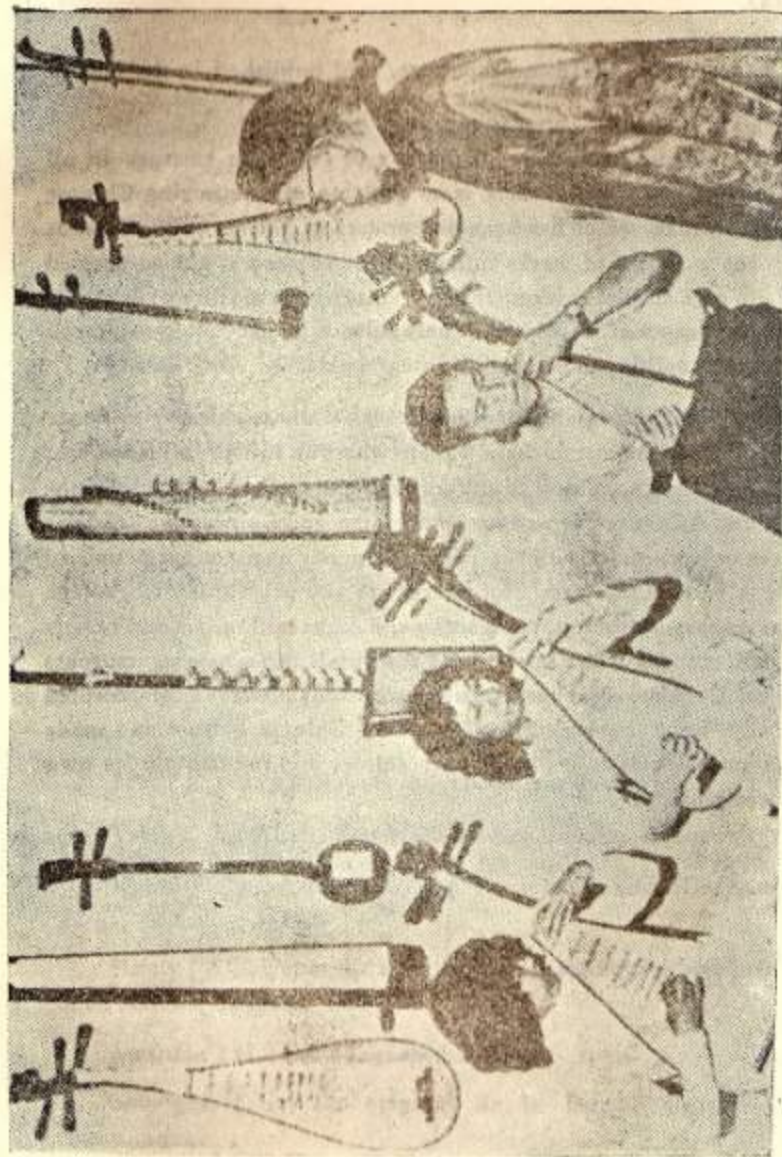
music. The Cham influence dates back to the beginning of the Lý dynasty. Indeed, it was in the latter period that musical tunes of Cham inspiration were composed. Sad and languid, these were known by the names of Nam-Bình, Nam-Thương, Nam-Ai and Nam-Khách.

Chinese influence on Vietnamese music had been officially recognized during the Hồng-Đức dynasty. In 1470, King Lê-Thánh-Tôn ordered Thân-Nhân-Trung, Đỗ-Nhuận and Lương-Thế-Vinh to undertake research on Chinese music. He instituted two ministries to facilitate this research: the ministry of Oriental Arts engaged in the production of musical pieces, while the Ministry of the Execution of Music employed singers and trained them in the art of singing. Each of these two ministries was placed under the direction of a Great Minister. Both of them were in charge of rites and ceremonies at the Royal Court under the reign of Quang-Hưng, from the year 1578. But later, the Court lost interest in music, which became a speciality of private groups.

When the Vietnamese people came in contact with Western civilization they evinced enthusiasm for European music and their interest in the old traditional music declined. Today, The National Conservatory of Music, created by the Department of National Education, has set itself the task of renovating the national music of Vietnam on the basis of a new synthesis of Occidental and Oriental arts.

### CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion to this summary study of the characteristics of Vietnamese culture, it may be apropos here to reproduce a passage written by George Condominas on the



*A class of traditional Vietnamese Music at the Saigon National School of Music*



panorama of Vietnamese culture, and published in the journal *France-Asie* :

« Thus, the virile originality of Vietnam emerges in all spheres. Certainly, there is no question of minimizing Chinese influence, which has been preponderant, but not so absolute, as the majority of works intended for the general public seemed to give the impression, that the cultural personality of Vietnam had been suffocated by Chinese culture, of which it was alleged to be nothing more than an integral part.

« It is undeniable that there was a Chinese cultural influence on Vietnam, just as there was elsewhere an Indian influence. But that ancient subsoil of culture common to the people of South-east Asia (a crossroads for both Indian and Chinese cultures) has survived intact with the remote minority mountaineers unused to foreign contacts. Moreover it has also profoundly tinged the language, customs, manners, social organization, art and beliefs of modern Vietnam. It will absorb all the opposing currents of Occidental art just as it gratuitously absorbed or accepted by force the multiple elements of Chinese culture and made use of these to build its own culture and to maintain its own originality.



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