

The École Française D'extrême-Orient (EFEO) with Conservation of Historic and Cultural Monuments in Hanoi (During 1900 - 1945)

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Abstract: To preserve more than 2,000 monuments in the urban area of Hanoi today, we need to acknowledge the great efforts of cultural institutions, Vietnam and international scientists contribution, notably EFEO in the 1900-1945 period. The paper analyzes EFEO activities in conserving Vietnam's cultural heritage in general and Hanoi's in particular. The combination of Vietnamese people protecting heritage and the contributions of EFEO scientists helped many valuable cultural and historical monuments of Hanoi capital not be destroyed. Notably, research experience of conservation and policy recommendations from EFEO scientists are valuable lesson in the field of management, conservation and promotion of Vietnamese historical and cultural heritage values today.

Key words: Cultural heritage; historical - cultural relics; relics reservation; Hanoi; EFEO (École française d'Extrême-Orient); heritage management; inventory of relics; ranking relics.

1. Introduction

Monuments are the sites, that preserves a lot of historic, cultural and traditional values - those humane values that have positive impacts on our national development. As a result, throughout the course of history, Vietnamese communities always uphold the preservation of historic and cultural monuments. In order to protect more than 2,000 historic and cultural monuments in Thang Long - Hanoi⁽¹⁾ through the two wars against the French and the American invaders, remarkable efforts of cultural institutions as well as Vietnamese and international scientists were recognized, which cannot fail to

mention significant contributions from scholars of the French School of Asian Studies (*The École Française D'extrême - Orient* - EFEO) during the period 1900 - 1945.

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⁽¹⁾ According to the statistic data of monuments in Hanoi City in 2007 (before being joined with Ha Tay Province)

As the intellectuals with positivist thinking and respect for culture, many French scientists gave prominence to preserving traces of the striking civilization of mankind in Egypt, when the French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte invaded this country. Similarly, when working for the apparatus of the French Colonial Government in Vietnam, a lot of French scholars strongly disapproved of the Government's intention to change the use of historic monuments. Despite the reason that "it was necessary to have barracks for 450 soldiers" [2, p.57] in order to stabilize the situation and deploy the ruling regime", French intellectuals still protested against the fact that the French army switched some ancient temples around Hoan Kiem Lake (*the Sword Lake*) and Van Mieu (*the Temple of Literature*) [23, p.1] into military barracks, after they took control over Hanoi (1882).

Paul Doumer - Governor General of Indochina (period 1897 - 1902) was a colonialist politician. As a scholar by nature, however, he had an ambition of making Hanoi become "a little Paris" [8, p.296]. Thus, he strongly protested against the destruction of Hanoi Citadel. He said: "I came too late to save special parts, specifically the gates of the citadel. Those monuments must have been preserved. They bore valuable particularities. Just for this, we have to respect the monuments. They are the very historic memories attached closely with this place; at the same time, they will make new areas of the City more beautiful" [6].

Before 1900, however, "there was no institution undertaking the responsibility for

management and conservation of historic sites in Indochina. Consequently, a lot of historic sites were damaged during the city planning work" [1, p.300]. "Many monuments of ancient Hanoi were destroyed to build other buildings that showed off the power of the colonial government" [7, p.228].

Under these circumstances, on January 20th 1900, the Governor General of French Indochina signed a decree on the establishment of the The École Française D'extrême-Orient (EFEO) (formerly the Archaeological Mission in Indochina (Mission archéologique d'Indo-Chine) - a group of French scientists founded in 1898). Initially, EFEO had two main tasks which included conducting research on cultures in Indochina and surrounding regions such as India, Japan, China, and Malaysia, etc. [1, p.329]. By April 1920, Albert Sarraut, Colonial Minister, assigned EFEO the task of "ensuring the maintenance and preservation of historic sites in French Indochina" [1, pp. 300 - 301] and "submitting the rankings of historic sites as well as recommending measures for preservation to the Emperor General of Indochina" [9, p.2255].

Immediately after establishment, EFEO started to carry out a lot of activities on cultural studies, fieldwork surveys, and consultancy, aiming at making recommendations for the colonial government in setting up policies, regulations, and management models concerning with listing and conservation of monuments.

1. Regarding to stocktaking and ranking work for monument conservation

With the first comments of EFEO, Paul Doumer - Governor General of French

Indochina - signed the “Decree on March 9th 1900 on the conservation of historic sites” [1, p.300], which “clearly defined the roles and responsibilities of EFEO in management of archaeological heritages, historic sites, and antiques in Indochina” [3, p.41].

In 1901, Sinh Tu (Sinh Từ) Temple was restored. In 1902, the Government of Tonkin (Northern Region) granted funding for restoration of O Quan Chuong (Ô Quan Chưởng) and the statue of the King Le near Hoan Kiem Lake [18]. From 1900 to 1902, Quang Yen (Quảng Yên) military barracks and the military school of windy instruments (located in the Temple of Literature since 1884) gradually withdrew from the monument. By early 1904, after being occupied and used as an isolated camp of cholera patients for a period, the Temple of Literature was decontaminated with chemicals and was given back to Vietnamese people for worship. It was then restored and provided with worship facilities, and its territory was also recognized in the City map [4, pp. 23 - 25].

Based on the experience learnt from management of cultural heritage in France and findings of the surveys and investigations on monuments in Hanoi, EFEO submitted to the Government a plan to do stocktaking and ranking of historic sites for restoration and conservation. As a result, on April 5th 1905, Jean Baptiste Paul Beau - Emperor General of Indochina - promulgated a decree on listing some historic monuments in Hanoi. According to the decree, the first 7 monuments that needed conservation included: Van Mieu (Văn Miếu) (the Temple of Literary), Quan

Thanh (Quán Thánh) Temple, Ngoc Son (Ngọc Sơn) Temple (the Temple of the Jade Mountain), O Quan Chuong (Ô Quan Chưởng), Hai Ba Trung (Hai Bà Trưng) Temple, Bach Ma (Bạch Mã) Temple (the Temple of the White Horse), and One Pillar Pagoda (Chùa Một Cột). This decree not only opened a new policy on management of monuments in Indochina, but also appeased the public discontent among Vietnamese people, after a wide range of sacred temples and pagodas were occupied and destroyed to make roads [24, p.346], [25, p.7642]



The Huc (Thê Húc) Bridge leading to Ngoc Son Temple in the early 20th Century
(Source: The Library of Social Science Information)

With the direct involvement of expertise of EFEO, in June 1905, the City government held a general survey on worship sites and land of all temples, pagodas, and shrines in Hanoi. More than 400 monuments in Hanoi were listed from the survey [12]. The actual drawings of monuments and the list of names and addresses of temples, pagodas and shrines helped to disclose “a lot of vestiges of heritage in Thang Long - Hanoi that very few people learnt about before” [3, p.42].

Diagram of Hanoi Temple of Literature in 1913

The Journal of Indochina, Vol.20 – for the period from July to November 1913).

By the end of 1924, based on the Decree dated April 3rd 1920 on re-organization of EFEO and reports submitted by the Colonial Minister, the Minister of Fine Arts, and the Minister of War, etc. on December 23rd 1924 the President of France promulgated a decree that instructed the application of the Law on Protection of Historic Sites (issued on December 23rd 1913) to the ranking and protection of historic monuments in Indochina. The decree had 39 articles [10, p.648] showing the important roles of EFEO in providing consultation for Governor General of French Indochina in approving, listing as

According to the Decree on December 23rd 1924, houses and buildings that had historic or artistic significance in French colonial Indochina and other protective countries would be ranked by the Governor General according to suggestions of the EFEO's director. The listed sites would be protected and cleaned, etc. The ranking criteria must conform to the laws of the Republic of France. The Governor General would make an announcement about the ranking proposal to owners of the sites. The ranking should be done within 6 months after the announcement was made (Article 2).

The government would recognize, by default, all monuments ranked in the list of historic and cultural sites for protection, according to the Decree on 9 March 1900. The list of recognized monuments and relevant regulations would be announced and re-announced by the director of EFEO

every 10 years. Three months after accomplishment of the ranking work, in addition, they would be promulgated in the Public Journal of Indochina and the Public Journal of France (Article 3).

Regarding to restoration and conservation of monuments, it is clearly regulated: It is prohibited to damage or move any parts of the listed monuments; it is also prohibited to do any restoration, repair or to make any changes in those monuments without approval from the Governor General” (Article 10). When urgent renovation of a listed monument is needed, the Governor General will authorize the use of houses in the monument site and surrounding areas (Article 12). Funding for restoration is granted from the government budget or other sources of finance in Indochina, according to the decision of the Governor General on the basis of the proposal from the director of EFEO (Article 11).

Regarding the policy for the listed monuments, the French Government stipulated: It is prohibited to confiscate any listed monument for public purposes, to build new projects in the listed monuments without approval from the Governor General (Article 8, 13) or to trade any of the listed monuments. It is also prohibited to do anything that may damage or deteriorate the listed monuments. It is restricted to place any advertisements in the listed monuments as well as in the surrounding area within the radius defined by leaders of the provinces or EFEO” (Article 13).

Based on the Decree on December 23rd 1924 issued by the President of France and the statement of the director of EFEO (attached with the Report No. 2979 on August 21st 1923 of the EFEO’s Council), the Governor General of French Indochina

signed a decree on listing and conserving historic monuments in colonial countries on July 11th 1925 [10, p.648]. Since then, EFEO had a solid legal framework to carry out activities in the area of heritage: not only it played the role of a research institute, but also it was run as a heritage management board, which directly set up records and proposals for monument ranking.

On April 15th 1925, Merlin M. - Governor General of French Indochina - signed a decree on recognition of 7 ancient citadels in Tonkin, including ancient Hanoi citadel, as historic monuments in Indochina. The items of ancient Hanoi citadel listed at that time included: Hanoi Flag - Tower (Cột cờ), Northern Citadel Gate (Bắc môn), Southern Main Gate (Đoan môn), 8 smaller gates, 6 dragon - carved stone steps and a dragon head in the artillery area, a bronze bell and a cannon used as a rack of the bell [10, p.648].

Two months later, on May 16th 1925, the Governor General of French Indochina signed another decree to recognize other historic monuments in Tonkin, including 19 ancient monuments of Hanoi, such as: 1) Quan Thanh Temple; 2) Bach Ma Temple (White Horse Temple); 3) A group of monuments around Hoan Kiem Lake consisting of: Ngoc Son Temple (Temple of the Jade Mountain), Thap But (Pen Tower), Dai Nghien (Ink Slab) and other monuments looking at Hoan Kiem Lake; 4) Bao An Pagoda Gate; 5) Hai Ba Trung Temple; 6) Chua Mot cot (One Pillar Pagoda); 7) Ba Da Pagoda; 8) Pho Quang Pagoda; 9) Hong Phuc Pagoda; 10) Tran Quoc Pagoda (National Defense Pagoda); 11) Ly Quoc Su Pagoda; 12) Quan Chuong Gate (O Quan Chuong); 13) Nam Giao Stele in Hue Street; 14) Three stele in

the entrance of Ham Long Pagoda; 15) Two phoenixes and two lions in Hoi Dong (Hội Đồng) Shrine inside the Botanic Garden; and, 16) Hanoi Temple of Literature, etc. By 1925, 306 monuments in Vietnam had been listed, of which 89 ones were located in Tonkin [3, p.42]. Hanoi has the most listed monuments in Tonkin.



Quan Thanh Temple in the early 20th
Century

(Source: The Library of Social Science Information)

After 1925, the work of stocktaking and ranking was continually carried out for other monuments in Hanoi. Some ranking proposals made by EFEO were, however, rejected by the Resident Superior of Tonkin or the Government of France, as they were located inside the road - building plan or they were not architecturally recognized [16]. (See more Appendix 1: RFEO's proposal for listing Ham Long Pagoda in 1928)

To strengthen the ranking work, on January 28th 1932, the Mayor of Hanoi signed the Decision No.663, founding a Board of 13 members to review and create a list of the monuments that had not been recognized yet. EFEO was assigned to make a list, carry out investigations, and submit ranking files for the monuments that were not yet listed. The monument - descriptive files were more standardized [3,

p.42]. In addition to names, addresses, date of foundation, pictures or drawings, the list of monuments also mentioned names of the worship deities in each neighborhood as well as the number of land - lots, where the monuments were located, according to the City map of excerpts [12].

With great efforts, in 1950, EFEO set a new record by listing 1,256 monuments in the whole Indochina, of which 401 ones were located in Vietnam [3, p.42]. For Hanoi alone, 31 monuments were recognized and listed.

2. Restoration, protection, and handling of monument violations

Apart from the ranking task, EFEO also submitted recommendations on regulations involved with restoration and protection of monuments to the Colonial Government; at the same time, it always kept a significant role in instructing and supervising activities of monument conservation as well as dealing with violations of monuments in Hanoi.

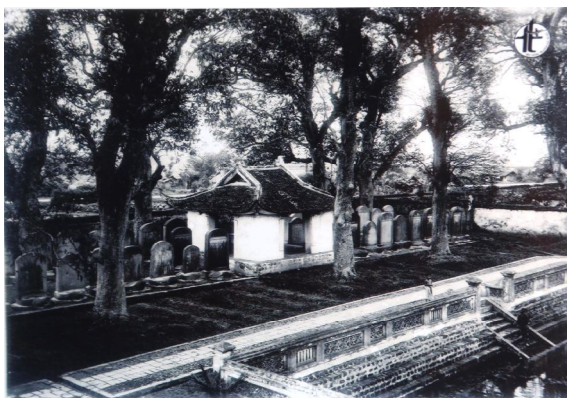
On July 11st 1925, the Governor General of Indochina promulgated a decree, regulating that when a listed monument needed repairing, it was obligatory to submit a proposal to the National Department of Ancient Monument Conservation for review and the department would submit it to the local government for approval afterwards [1, p.301].

The approval for repairing temples, pagodas, and shrines were then devolved to authorities at different levels, depending on the monument values. The City Mayor directly made decisions about repair of small temples and shrines. For ancient monuments that had been listed, it was necessary to consult EFEO [11]. With a lot of scientific investigations of monuments and plans for restoration, EFEO helped

many historic monuments in Hanoi to keep the ancient appearance without being deformed due to the restoration. Typically, Charle Batteur, an architect of EFEO, took part in the restoration of the One - Pillar Pagoda in 1922; or Henri Parmentier, an architect of EFEO, and contemporary directors of EFEO, including Louis Finot, Alfred Foucher, Claude - Eugène Maitre, Léonard Aourousseau and George Coedès, took part in supervision of the restoration of Hanoi Temple of Literature during the periods 1897 - 1901 and 1904 - 1945 [4, pp. 69 - 84].



Steles of Doctors in the Temple of Literature in the early 20th Century (In restoration)



Steles of Doctors in the Temple of Literature in the early 20th Century (After restoration – Source: Library of Social Science Information)

In the field of heritage protection, although EFEO was established by the colonial government for monument management, it courageously protected scientific perspective and raised proposals in opposition to the governmental decisions that could have caused damage to heritage sites.

According to the re-planning of Hoan Kiem Lake (the Small Lake), in April 1925, the City authority made a decision about filling in a part in the north of Hoan Kiem Lake (near Hang Khay Street at present). The director of EFEO sent an official letter to raise an objection to the decision, expressing clearly that EFEO would not be responsible for this work, because the islet in the lake and the surrounding area were listed as a historic site of Tonkin according to the ranking set up and approved by the director of EFEO. As a result, the Resident Superior of Tonkin sent an official note No.5537A on May 1st 1935, requiring the Mayor of Hanoi to stop temporarily all activities involved with filling up the lake [15]. Unfortunately, a part of the lake was eventually filled up, since the Mayor of Hanoi argued that the Decree on recognition of historic monuments in Indochina, which were submitted by EFEO, was neither signed by Emperor General of Indochina nor announced in the public journals yet; furthermore, if the decree was already signed, small lakes (like a pond) could not be ranked the same as other historic sites, anyway. Thus, it could not be applied in the City planning [1, p.370] (*see more Appendix 2: Planning of the area of Hoan Kiem Lake and the official note from the Resident Superior of Tonkin that required stopping the lake filling work in 1935*).

Based on reviewing and appraising the authenticity of documents, moreover, EFEO helped the City government to make decisions to handle appropriately many cases involved with lawsuits and land - use ownership.

In July 1929, the head female bonze of Trang Tin (Tràng Tín) Pagoda, (Nhan Bac - Nhân Bắc)) sent a letter to the Mayor of Hanoi, asking for a copy of the land map of Trang Tin Pagoda from the City Cadastral Map. As required by the Mayor of Hanoi, the director of EFEO carried out activities to review all documents, including Chinese - written ones as well, involved with the pagoda; and, on October 27th 1929, EFEO sent a reply to the Mayor of Hanoi, specifying that the original certificate of ownership (issued by the Nguyen Dynasty) showed the total area of the pagoda as 3 *sào* (equivalent to 1,080 m²); yet, the actual total area of the pagoda was 2,200m², according to the new measurement. Owing to this, the rest area of the pagoda land (1,120m²) was then legally approved by the City authority.

In addition to the function as a research institute, EFEO also undertook the responsibility to protect antiques and impose punishments on activities that caused damage to monuments. This was a really difficult task that resulted in a lot of conflicts between scientists and owners of the monuments as well as antique traders, who just paid attention to their own interests.

To undertake the task of antique protection, on June 21st 1926, Aurousseau L., Director of EFEO, sign a decision about sending EFEO special envoys to big seaports in Indochina to review and issue licenses for unlisted artifacts of fine arts, before they were shipped abroad. Based on the decision, the secretary of EFEO, was

assigned to do that work in Hai Phong seaport; whereas, Buochot M.J. was responsible for it in Saigon seaport. This work sometimes compelled the special envoys “behave like a gendarme”. With a lot of efforts, however, they made a significant contribution towards preventing artifacts of the monuments from being stolen, lessening the drainage of antiques in Indochina generally and Hanoi particularly; typically, when André Malraux’s wife⁽¹⁾ took part in stealing an ancient statue from the Angkor Wat (Cambodia); or when sites of heritage in Hanoi were deliberately destroyed.

For instance, when a part of Chinese scripts in an ancient stele, which had been listed in Hong Phuc (Hồng Phúc) Pagoda (Hoe Nhai (Hòe Nhai)), was carved away and then inscribed with the name of the pagoda’s head bonze (Duong Tam Vien (Dương Tâm Viên)), EFEO sent an official note No.1639 on May 19th 1936 to the Mayor of Hanoi. According to the proposal from EFEO, on July 1st 1936, the City authority issued the decision No.285 to dismiss Duong Tam Vien from the position of Hong Phuc Pagoda’s head bonze and forbade the bonze from being the head of any pagoda in Hanoi [13]. After this incident, for the entire French domination period, no more bonze in Hanoi was mentioned to “honor himself” the same way (*see more Appendix 3: The official note of the EFEO director that requires punishment for causing damage to the listed monument*).

3. Consultancy on a particular model of monument management in Hanoi

In addition to stocktaking and ranking of

⁽¹⁾ André Malraux was the Minister of Culture of France for several presidents of the Republic of France from 1945 to 1976.

monuments on the basis of research on customs, religious activities and habits of “organizations/unions” in the community of Vietnamese people, the French School of the Far East (EFEO) advised the City Council and the National Department of Ancient Monument Protection to build a model of “the Monument Management Council” for the purpose of administering and supervising activities in worship places.

A draft submitted to the City Government on February 15th 1927 includes 7 regulations on the use and worship activities in religious sites as below: Each religious site would be administered by a management board of 5 to 8 members, including: One chief, one deputy chief, one treasurer, and other members; the board would appoint those who would be responsible for taking care of the religious site and choosing the people who would be doing worship activities, overseeing their work and submitting a list of those people to the City Mayor [1, p.301]. Each regulation in the proposal was very specific. At the same time, the board would have the power to send a report to the City Mayor, asking for dismissal of those who violated the regulations.

Thus, although management boards of temples and pagodas (such as the literary club (Tur văn hội) and the Council of the Temple of Literature Restoration before 1898, etc.) were people - elective organizations at first, the model of “Monument Management Board” was an institution to administer religious sites closely and scientifically. Yet, the Colonial Government finally decided to cut down the regulations, as religions were sensitive issues; moreover, the regulations were related to customs and traditions of Vietnamese people and

directly impacted on the role of notables in villages, whom the Colonial Government was trying to take advantage of to take control over villages[19].

On October 24th 1927, the Resident Superior of Tonkin ratified a decision about management of religious sites, according to which all temples and pagodas under the public property would be administered by a council that consisted of 3 to 5 members (the council would be elected by local people and then appointed by the Mayor). The council would have the power to submit a report to the City Mayor, asking for designation or dismissal of bonzes or janitors as well as approval of regulations in temples and pagodas [1, p.302].



The National Defense Pagoda
(*Chùa Trấn Quốc*) in the West Lake
in the early 20th Century
(Source: The Library of Social Science Information)

Since 1928, therefore, a wide range of management councils were established for temples and pagodas. The street heads and village heads were responsible for making a list of the council's member in their local area to be submitted to the City Mayor for approval and designation. Each monument management council, furthermore, had to set up specific regulations according to the

City instructions (on the basis of the regulations mentioned in the EFEO's Draft on February 15th 1927). Members of the councils were elected by people from notables, Confucian scholars, and those who had prestige. Activities of the monument management councils were supervised strictly by the Colonial Government. All worship and ceremonial activities as well as service, such as the drumming and cattle - killing, etc. in the temples and pagodas must be reported to the City authority.

On September 26th 1934, moreover, Virgitti H., the Mayor of Hanoi, asked heads of the management boards of temples and pagodas to report all activities of the councils using available form⁽²⁾ in order to provide necessary information to the Colonial Government to supervise more closely activities of religious sites, especially village communal temples, where traditionally discussions were held among villagers (see more in *Appendix 4.5: Report on establishment in 1927 and Report of the Management Board of Yen Ninh Ha Communal Temple submitted to the City Authority in 1932*).

Thus, from 1927 to 1934, the policy of establishing monument management boards to supervise activities at temples and pagodas was implemented broadly for all monuments classified as public property.

Since 1934, the City government started to implement the same policy for private religious sites. It promulgated an announcement, requiring owners of the private religious sites to show a land ownership certificate and complete the procedures for establishment of a management council within a certain period; if not, the religious sites would be confiscated.

To prevent the religious abuse and institutionalize the management of temples

and pagodas, in 1936, the Mayor of Hanoi issued the Decree No. 387 (on September 14th 1936) to change the name of the Management Council of temples and pagodas in Hanoi to the Management Board, which consisted of: 1 chairman, 1 vice chairman, 1 secretary, 1 treasurer, and 2 other members [1, p.304].

The duty of the management board was regulated specifically in the Circular No.240 on June 22nd 1936 by the City government, as below: "it, on behalf of the City authority, takes care of property in temples and pagodas (including houses, land, steles, and statues, etc.). Every repair or change in the temples and pagodas must be reported by the management board to the City Authority for approval. For communal temples and pagodas that are listed as ancient monuments, it is necessary to get the EFEO's agreement, before carrying out repairing activities. Bonzes and janitors just have the power to take care of the cleaning and worship activities, but they cannot make any changes or repair in the pagodas or temples" [11].

Obviously, specific consultancy of EFEO in the Draft on February 15th 1927, which the Resident Superior of Tonkin had been afraid of including into the Decree No.351 (October 24th 1927) on establishment

⁽²⁾ - When was the management council established?
 - Who are members of the council? And, were there any changes in the council membership for the past year?
 - What is the state of the building and land? What is the name of the bonze or janitor?
 - What are the names of those who rent land there? How much is the annual rent of the building or land? And, how much is the annual outcome?
 - How much is the total annual income?
 - How much is the total annual expenditure, for: worship? Housing? Bonzes and janitors? And other items?

of the Monument Management Councils, were legalized at that time. According to the new regulations, the management boards were allowed to get yield and rent from houses/land in the monument precincts in order to cover repairing and worship expenses. The City government of Hanoi just charged the land tax on the basis of the actual area of the monument. This not only helped the City Government get a certain income, but also lessened the burden of budget provision for restoration of the monuments within the system of Hanoi public property. The income earned from yield and rents was, however, too little; it was not enough to cover expenses in big monuments. According to the EFEO consultancy, consequently, the Mayor of Hanoi decided to cut down the land tax for the inner as well as the surrounding area of some typical monuments (the Temple of Literature in Hanoi, for instance) [4, pp. 69 - 84].

These policies enabled the management boards (consisting of Vietnamese people) to get self - reliance in carrying out repairing, ceremonial and worship activities in the monuments. As all the activities were done explicitly and publicly, those management boards made a considerable contribution towards preservation of customs and conservation of temples and pagodas in Hanoi (for instance, the Management Board of the Temple of Literature, the Management Board of the Voi Phuc Temple (Kneeing Elephant Temple), and the Management Board of Yen Phu Communal Temple, etc.). After the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded (September 1945), the model of the monument management boards was continuously maintained, improved, and applied by the Revolutionary Government in the Cultural Movement for National Salvation.

4. Consultancy on changing the use of the monuments

During the City re-planning from 1888 to 1945, the French Colonial Government built 69 construction works in Hanoi (such as the Palace of the Governor General, the Hall of the Resident Superior, cultural, healthcare, and educational centers, etc.) [1, pp. 207 – 208], in addition to road building. To accomplish this, the City Government confiscated a lot of houses and land. Some temples and pagodas had to be destroyed and moved to another place, such as: Nghia Quan Communal Temple, Hang Voi Pagoda, Phuc Co Pagoda on Hue Street, Bich Luu Pagoda on Tho Nhuom Street, Nghia Dung Village Pagoda, Yen Thai Communal Temple, and Hoi Dong Shrine in the Zoo, etc.). This caused damage not only to the spiritual life of Vietnamese people, but also the monuments. Before the situation, keeping on the consulting role of the Archaeological Mission in Indochina, EFEO advised the Colonial Government to apply a treatment policy towards monuments by the ownership type (public or private property). According to the policy, the government would provide funding for repair in the monuments of public property (such as the Temple of Literature, the Statue of the King Le, and the One Pillar Pagoda, etc.), when they were damaged; yet, there would not be any compensations, when they were moved or demolished for construction of public infrastructure [18]. For the temples, pagodas, and shrines of private property (recognized by the land - ownership certificate), the government would not provide funding for repair; yet, there would be a compensation if they were moved or demolished for clearance based upon pre-agreement.



Panorama of the Temple of Literature
in the early 20th Century

(Source: Library of Social Science Information)

To institutionalize this policy, on April 14th 1918, the Governor General of Indochina promulgated a decree on requisition of land and works for public purposes in Indochina. In the spirit of the decree, the City government transferred some land lots of public property with an appropriate area to village people, where temples or pagodas were destroyed completely in order to rebuild the new ones (Yen Phu (Yên Phú) Communal Temple in Hang Ruoi (Hàng Rươi) Street was demolished in 1921 [14]; Song Son (Sòng Sơn) Communal Temple in Hang Bot (Hàng Bột) Street was demolished in 1932 [23, p.1], etc.). For the monuments, of which just a part was destroyed (for example, a part of Giao Phong Communal Temple, Dong Ha (Đông Hà) Communal Temple in Hue (Huế) Street, Ngoc Ha (Ngọc Hà) Communal Temple in Son Tay (Sơn Tây) Street, and Dong Mon (Đông Môn) Communal Temple in Hang Can (Hàng Càn) Street were demolished in 1932 [23]), there would be a compensation for repair or some adjacent land would be provided instead, if the monument was of private property (See Appendix 6: List of the monuments demolished or moved away in 1932).

Concerning this issue, EFEO played a role in examining documents of Han - Nom

language in order to identify the ownership of monuments, based on which the City government would make a decision about compensation for the demolished monuments in clearance as well as make a land - ownership certificate for re-built temples and pagodas.

EEFO also monitored and settled violations of the preservation regulations in rebuilding temples and pagodas. According to the regulations, before rebuilding a temple or a pagoda, the management board or the owner, the head bonze, the janitor of the temple/pagoda had to submit a proposal and a construction planning to the City Mayor for approval; then, the rebuild work could be carried out exactly as approved.

In 1940 - 1941, Trang Lau and So Trang villagers submitted a letter to the City authority, claiming that since March 6th 1981, there had been a phrase “Thượng đẳng Thần từ” (First - class deity shrine) in Chinese in the front the village communal temple. However, after the temple was rebuilt, the phrase was replaced by “Trang Lâu Thần từ” (The deity of Trang Lau). After checking the picture taken before the temple was demolished, EFEO proposed the Mayor of Hanoi to send an official letter to the management board of Trang Lau Communal Temple, requesting to change the phrase back to the original one as that in the ancient communal temple.

From 1930 to 1938, EFEO continually sent a lot of letters to the Mayor of Hanoi, the Resident Superior of Tonkin, and the Governor General of Indochina, discussing the change in the use of some monuments. EFEO always kept its viewpoint on heritage protection and asked the City authorities not to demolish any listed monument for construction of new works. As a result, some proposals were successful in heritage protection; for instance, the opposition to

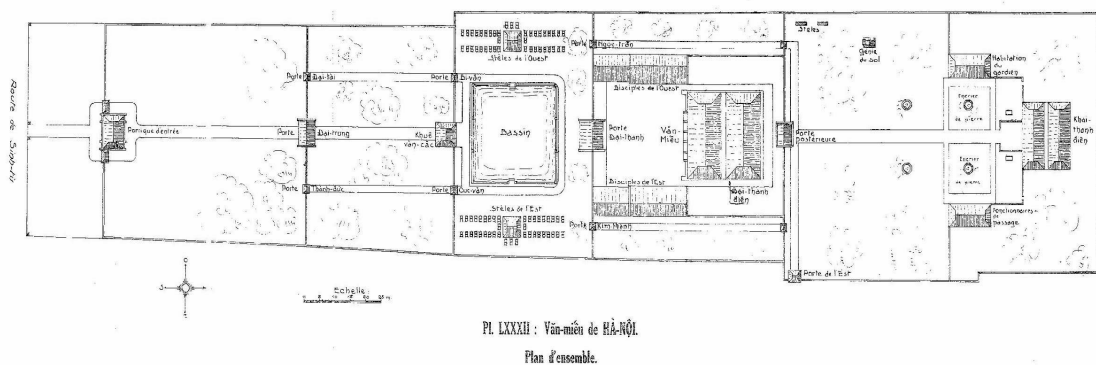
the confiscation of the entrance area of Hai Ba Trung Temple (Dong Nhan) for a cemetery; and, the proposal about preservation of a part of Hanoi ancient citadel in the Zoo during the repair of the Palace of Indochina Governor General (period 1931 - 1935) [16]. This demonstrates that scholars of EFEO always followed the principles as genuine scientists, when they undertook the missions assigned by the French Government or when they encountered collisions with the governmental authorities.

5. Research works and papers on Vietnam's history and culture as well as Hanoi heritage

In addition to management and conservation of heritage, French and Vietnamese scholars, members of EFEO, also left us a lot of research works and papers on Vietnam's history, culture, and Hanoi heritage.

Of all works on the City history, it is firstly necessary to mention Louis Bezacier - a well - known architect and author working for EFEO. For two year alone (1900 and 1901), he published 33 papers (enclosed with drawings) in the Official Journal of the French Indochina (from Volume No.140 to Volume No.152). Those

papers talked about history and architecture of temples and pagodas in Hanoi, such as: The Temple of Jade Mountain (Ngoc Son Temple), Nam Giao Temple, One-Pillar Pagoda, Duc Khanh (Đức Khánh) Pagoda, Quan Su (Quán Sứ) Pagoda, Lien Phai (Liên Phái) Pagoda, and Ho Quoc (Hộ Quốc) Pagoda, Huyen Chan (Huyền Chân) Temple, Nhat Chieu (Nhất Chiếu) Temple, Hai Ba Trung Temple, Xien Phap (Xiển Pháp) Temple, Linh Lang Temple, and, Viet Dong (Việt Đông) Club - House, etc. He also published a lot of articles in the EFEO Journal during period 1914 - 1959, such as: *Vietnam Arts* (Sur l'Art Annamite - June 1914), *List of Historic Monuments in Tonkin and Annam* (Liste des monuments historique du Tonkin, Annam et Cochinchine - 1926), *Religious Architecture in Tonkin* (L'Architecture religieuse au Tonkin - 1938), *Architecture of Buddhist Pagodas in Tonkin* (Le Panthéon des pagodes Boudistiques du Tonkin - 1943). His most typical work is the publication *Ancient monuments in North Vietnam* (Relevés des monuments du Nort Vietnam - 1959) that introduces 85 maps and outstanding historic sites that were listed in Tonkin.



Drawing of the Temple of Literature in Hanoi made by Louis Belzacier in 1935

(Source: EFEO (1959), Relevés de monuments du Nord, Edition Paris, série D)

Belzacier L. was then followed by Léonard Aourousseau, who also had a lot of papers on Hanoi, including the article “The

Temple of Peace” (i.e. the Temple of Literature) published in the Official Journal of the French Indochina in 1931. In this

article, he described the temple and commented: the architecture of the Temple of Literature in Annam was a copy the Temple of Literature in Qufu of Shandong Province in China, but its size is smaller [5].

Apart from French scholars, Vietnamese scholars also had a lot of in - depth research works on historic monuments in Hanoi. In 1940, Tran Van Giap published a paper titled “*Steles of Doctors in the Temple of Literature in Hanoi*” (Autour des stèles du Văn Miếu de Hanoi); in 1942, his published a book titled “*Emperors of Annam and Buddhism*” (Les Emperreurs d’Annam et le Bouddhisme), which emphasized the significant influence of Buddhism on the Emperors in Vietnam (in which he mentioned their contributions towards building pagodas and temples).

After Tran Van Giap, for the period from 1949 to 1951, Tran Ham Tuan published continually 8 monographs on the “Chùa Một Cột” (One Pillar Pagoda), “Đền Ngọc Sơn” (the Temple of Jade Mountain), “Chùa Trấn Quốc” (the Pagoda of National Defense), “Quán Trấn Vũ Temple” (Quan Thanh Temple), “Chùa Lý Quốc Sư” (Ly Quoc Su Temple), and “Văn Miếu” (the Temple of Literature) in the EFEO’s Journal.



The One Pillar Pagoda (Chùa Một Cột) in the early 20th Century

(Source: The Library of Social Science Information)

Regarding to research literature left us by EFEO, it is essential to mention valuable files of monuments, which are now kept in the National Archive I. Out of more than 400 files on temples, pagodas, and shrines in Hanoi, apart from administrative documents, pictures, drawings, and literature in Chinese language, etc. (See more Appendix 7), there are research works and investigations provided by EFEO [1, pp.432 - 682]. The reports made by the management councils (according to the form instructed by the City authority on the basis of the EFEO’s draft) also contain a lot of information about customs of people in Hanoi at that time. Particularly, documents and data relating to restoration and repair of monuments under the supervision of EFEO enable us to determine the date of many monuments at present. A typical example is the case of the Temple of Literature in Hanoi: Based on information about the repairs from 1888 to 1945, we have determined the date of some items; for instance, the horizontal lacquered board “Forever Master” hung in the forecourt and another one hung in Dai Thanh (Đại Thành) Gate date from 1888. The temple of Mau Lieu Hanh (Mẫu Liễu Hạnh) in the formerly Khai Thanh (Khải Thánh) area (Thai Hoc (Thái Học) area, at present) was built before 1888 [21, p.7]. A number of works, including: the main gate made of ironwood; 3 main compartments of Dai Thanh Temple; Dai Trung (Đại Trung) Gate; stone steps in the Constellation of Literature Pavilion (Khuê Văn Các); Dai Thanh Temple; and, houses on the left and the right (Tả Vu and Hữu Vu), etc. were built in 1905 and 1906 [20, p.9]. The foundation of all works in the Temple of

Literature was raised by 10 cm, compared with the previous one, during the restoration lasting from 1904 to 1909 [1, p. 92 - 93].

For the significance mentioned above, research works and papers as well as information and data of investigations provided by the EFEO scholars are really very valuable for research on history, culture and monuments in Hanoi. The works of Belzacier L., Léonard Auroussau, and Tran Van Giap, etc. not only gave introductions about typical historic monuments in Hanoi, but also made comparisons, which showed similarities and differences between the architecture of Vietnam and those of China, India, Champa, and France, etc. Especially, the drawings enclosed in archive files on monuments [1, pp.432 - 682] and specific pictures made by Belzacier L. are extremely precious documents for us to reconstruct the monuments, which were demolished during the wartime.

In conclusion, for the entire 45 years since the establishment day, although EFEO could not separate completely from influence of the political system in Indochina, as a scientific research institution, it still remained relatively independent in carrying out activities in heritage conservation. Despite criticism and even repression from public opinions and some colonial authorities as well, members of EFEO consistently undertook the role of consultancy, supervision and handling for all activities involved with protection, repair, verification, and violation of monuments. Data and information of investigations and fieldwork provided by EFEO are the very scientific grounds for the French colonial government to promulgate policies, regulations, and management models for cultural heritage conservation in Indochina

generally and Vietnam specifically.

It suggested the policy on monument management, ranking and protection as well as the policy on treatment towards monuments by type of ownership. Especially, the model of monument management council - a particular organization that EFEO advised the French Colonial Government to use in Hanoi - is a really creative application appropriately to the context of monument conservation in Vietnam in the early 20th Century.

Owing to clever combination of the monument protection sense among Vietnamese people and contribution of EFEO scholars, more than 400 monuments in Hanoi (both listed and unlisted) were inventoried, repaired, and preserved despite difficulties in the wartime. Of those monuments, some typical ones can be enumerated here, including: Hanoi ancient citadel, the Temple of Literature (*Văn Miếu - Quốc Tử Giám*), a group of monuments in Hoan Kiem Lake and the Temple of Jade Mountain (*Đền Ngọc Sơn*). Without the EFEO's efforts to protect those monuments, they cannot be preserved to keep sufficient criteria for recognition of the World Cultural Heritage (Thang Long Citadel), the World Documentary Heritage (82 steles of doctors in the Temple of Literature), or the National Special Monument (the Temple of Literature, Hoan Kiem Lake and the Temple of Jade Mountain).

In addition, research works and papers on historic monuments together with drawings of hundreds of temples and pagodas in Hanoi provided by EFEO are extremely valuable for research on Hanoi history and culture as well as ranking, restoration, and rebuilding of monuments at present.

Before the strategic mission in preservation and improvement of Vietnam's cultural heritage values with a lot of difficulties caused by land transgression, sanctification, commercialization, and renewal of monuments during restoration, etc. at present, looking back for over a century, we can realize more the significance of research works and investigations made by the EFEO scholars for the purpose of monument conservation as well as their "enthusiasm and brave" in making policy - recommendations on management and ranking of historic - cultural monuments in Hanoi in the first half of the 20th Century.

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