

Hai Ba Trung Belief and the Generals in Vietnam

Associate Prof. Dr Pham Lan Oanh

Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies

Summary

Hai Ba Trung (Trung Trac and Trung Nhi) are two Vietnamese heroines in history who rebelled against the Dong Han Dynasty (Eastern Han). They established a court in the Northern Delta for Viet people. Responding to Hai Ba Trung's appeal, many people participated in their uprising and became generals under Trung Vuong court. In 43 A.D, the Dong Han Dynasty sent General Ma Vien and the troops to suppress the uprising. Hai Ba Trung and their generals defeated against the Dong Han invaders. Hai Ba Trung and the generals all sacrificed. It has been a thousand years, connected the philosophy concept "born as generals died as saints", people living in the Northern Delta of Vietnam worship to Hai Ba Trung and their Generals. Regarding the sanctification (The historical figures myths; The localization of historical figures, the historicalization of historical figures based on belief concepts and the analysis of the belief influenced forces), this article confirms the Hai Ba Trung beliefs and the worshipping the historical figure and national generals are the historical consciousness mind of the Vietnamese people.

Keywords: Hai Ba Trung, myth, historicalization, localization, historical consciousness.

1. Openwords

The uprising led by Hai Ba Trung in 40 - 43 AD against the Dong Han troops marked a glorious milestone in the history of Vietnam in the nation-building and defending process. Vietnamese descendants admired and worshipped Hai Ba Trung, and their generals connected philosophy: “Born as generals died as Saints”. The worshipping has become a cohesive nucleus of cultural elements, created folklore activities for the inhabitants living in the Red River Delta. This worship is an integration of folklore culture in the festival, the customs associated with cultural activities. The author of this article made several papers presented in international conferences and several monographs published in Vietnam¹. In this article, the author considerate the worshipping to Hai Ba Trung and their generals in the flow of Hai Ba belief and the Vietnamese religious culture.

2. The historical figure worshipping belief

The religious belief defined by Prof. Dao Duy Anh: “Belief: the superstitious admiration for a religion or a doctrine”². According to Dr Nguyen Ngoc Mai “Belief in French is croyance with the meaning of “belief, religion, prestige (old)” and in English, “belief” is “belief, religion”³. According to the *etymology*, the belief explained as “revered faith”. The term of belief and religion both existed in Western languages. However, regarding the scientific terminology, Western researchers use the only *religious* term. In Vietnam, President Ho Chi Minh in the first legal documents, he used only the word *religion*⁴. Currently, in Vietnam, both terms: belief and religion legally recognized⁵.

In terms of research, religious researchers advocate using a scientific term: religion. Folklore researchers, cultural researchers, use both terms: religion and beliefs. The author in this article uses both terms: religious and belief and belief understanding as following: *Beliefs are a way that people are expressing the reasonable beliefs in the sacred world. The sacred world varies according to the concept of time, of individual and of a different community. Beliefs understood as a lower level than religion, and however, for everyday life, the belief is more important than practising it.*

¹ Including *Hai Ba Trung beliefs in the Red River Delta* (Pham Lan Oanh, 2010), *The folklore festival in Hat Mon village* (Pham Lan Oanh, 2013) and *The Hai Ba Trung worship in Me Linh commune, Me Linh district, Hanoi City* (Pham Lan Oanh, 2017).

² Dao Duy Anh, *Han Viet Dictionary*, Truong Thi Publisher, third Edition, Sai Gon, 1957, p 283.

³ Nguyen Ngoc Mai, *About Belief Culture*, Website of Literature Department, Hanoi University of Education, published 15/3/2020.

⁴ See Dang Nghiem Van, “Religion or Belief”, *Religion studies magazine*, nr (43), 2007.

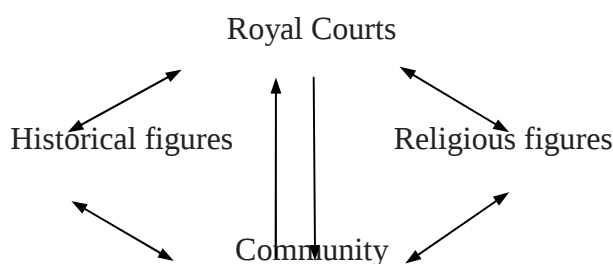
⁵ See *Laws of religion and Beliefs*, nr 02/2016/QH 14, dated 18/11/2016.

In classifying the folklore beliefs, the author of this article uses the classification by Prof. Dr Ngo Duc Thinh. According to him, folklore beliefs, including:

- Ancestor worshipping
- Individual beliefs
- Profession beliefs
- God-worshipping

The Goddess worship including The Goddess of the Village, Mother Goddess worship, worshipping the national heroes, Earth Goddess, Mountain Goddess and Water Goddess⁶. In the cult of goddess worship, there is worshipping to historical figures. The belief of Worshipping Hai Ba Trung and the Generals classified in the category of the worshipping humane God, worshipping national heroes.

On the other hand, regarding the development of beliefs, the relation between interacted forces took an account:



There always exist mutual interacted forces: from the royal court to the community, from the historical figures to the religious figures. The interaction related to the worshipping of Hai Ba Trung and the Generals occurred from time to time till the present day.

3. Hai Ba Trung and the generals - the process of shaping a religious culture

To enter the sacred world of the goddess cult – in the form of national liberal heroes, the worship of Hai Ba Trung and Generals have modified for a long history constructing and defending of Vietnam. This cultural modelling process reflected in the following three specific areas:

3.1. The process of mythical historical figures

According to contents of the legend, the legendary, the precious biography (Ngoc pha – pedigree), we see a legendary process related to Hai Ba Trung. For example, the birth case of beautiful twin girls, the growing up period of Hai Ba Trung is smart and intelligent.

⁶ Ngo Duc Thinh (Ed et al., 2001), *Beliefs and the Belief culture of Vietnam*, Social Science Publisher, Hanoi, p 20, 21.

The maturity of two Ba is to raise an uprising, the victory and ascend to the throne. Furthermore, the deaths - Trung Vuong sisters sanctified. The misty sanctification layers of their story produced as resulted by the Confucianist and beliefs the local people in the feudal times.

The early book written about the textualization of the legend of Hai Ba Trung is *Viet dien u linh* (*Collection of Stories on the Shady and Spiritual World of the Viet Realm*), 1329 and *Linh Nam chich quai* (*Selection of strange stories in the land of Linh Nam*), compiled in the late of Tran dynasty. Next, several texts compiled in the early Le dynasty (XV century), for example, the text wrote by Nguyen Co in the year of Hong Duc 1470, another text wrote by Le Tung in the second year of Hong Thuan in 1510. Then, scholar Nguyen Binh compiled in the frist year of Hong Phuc 1572. Moreover, the Superintendent Nguyen Hien certified documents under the Le Dynasty, King Le Y Tong (1735-1740). Finally, the recognition and ordination amongst to villages throughout the country under the reign of King Le Canh Hung (1740-1786). In the 8th year of Gia Long (1809), King Nguyen gathered all the tutelary Gods documented in over the country built a Citadel Temple of Tutelary Gods in Hue city to worship. In 1810, the Feudal Court sent local officials to go around to look for National Legendary Heroes. In 1814, a remarkable number of Goddess ordained and conferred by the King to worship. From then until 1945, the Nguyen Kings continued to confer ordinations for the tutelary Goddess in villages of Vietnam.

In 1938, both French and Vietnamese ethnologists at the Ancient Far East Institute conducted investigations, collected the worshipping tutelary Goddess in Vietnamese villages. The investigation documented and archived at the Institute.

All these affidavits now archived at the Institute Information of Social Science of Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences in Hanoi. In 2005, with the sponsored of TOYOTA Foundation, the declarations summarized in the *Bibliography of Legendary and Ordained certificates*. A Large number of replicas of ordained certificates of villages now archived at Han Nom Research Institute of the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences. Prof. Dr Dinh Khac Thuan confirmed at the legendary appeared from the end of Tran Dynasty and Le Dynasty in the 15th century. The Legendary became popular in the 16th century. Then, they documented and duplicated in the 18th and the 19th century in parallel with textualization and conferring Tutelary Goddess. Most of the Ordained certificates kept in the Communal House

made under Le Trung Hung reign (the 17th and the 18th centuries), then, Tay Son regime and Nguyen dynasty (the 19th century to early the 20th century)⁷.

Thus, based on the policy by Vietnamese feudal dynasties, The Goddess and Sanctified heroes of Vietnam entered the Goddess system. The Confucian scholars supported, participated in documenting and compiling of folklore tales. The influence of the folklore literature spread deeply rooted in the cultural life of the nation, entering the ordained relics and pedigree⁸. This process of “legendary modification under the Feudal mandarin’s viewpoints”.⁹ After all, that products entered the history of the nation and *Dai Viet su ky toan thu* compiled by Scholar Ngo Si Lien is an example. Therefore, “to worship a spirit is alive or dead, prosperous or withered decided by beliefs performing and practice in secular life. The image of the spiritual character reflected over time”¹⁰.

3.2. The localization process of historical figures

We found traits related to Hai Ba Trung condensed in present Hanoi in the legends, the myths and the pedigree where the legend marked as the homeland of Hai Ba Trung. Where Hai Ba Trung settled the kingdom and ascended the Throne, this is Ha Loi village, Me Linh district, and another place Hat Mon village, Phuc Tho District where Hai Ba Trung started their uprising, fought against the invaders and sacrificed lives. However, the pedigree in Hat Mon and Ha Loi villages differ in content regarding the time of sacrificing and the time the pedigree documented.

In terms of the particular content, we use the genealogy of the book *Nam Viet Trung nu vuong Trac Nhi nhi vuong ngoc pha co luc* - the pedigree of Hai Ba Trung in Nam Viet according to documents wrote by Nguyen Vinh Phuc in 1983. Based on that book, the genealogy in Ha Loi village narrated as The costumes of Hai Ba Trung and their female Generals blown away by the wind in the battle against the Eastern Han troops. Two female Kings and their female Generals felt ashamed to run away to the top of the mountain where they all sacrificed. However, in the genealogy of Hat Mon village revealed Trung Vuong sisters thrown themselves into the Hat river for The God's order. It means Trung Vuong sisters' lives in real life do, and their tombs are the bed of the river. Nevertheless, regarding

⁷ See Đinh Khắc Thuan (2014), “The worshipping tutelary God in Vietnam in Han nom documents”, Religion research magazine, nr 4, p 115 -125.

⁸ See Pham Lan Oanh (2017), *The worship of Hai Ba Trung in Ha Loi village, Me Linh commune, Me Linh district, Hanoi city*, Literature Association publisher, Hanoi, p 61-79; 153-176.

⁹ Nguyen Tu Chi (1996), *A contribution research on Culture and Ethnic groups*, Culture and Information Publisher, Culture and Arts magazine, Hanoi, p 143.

¹⁰ Ta Chi Dai Truong, *Goddess, People and Viet land*, new version, Literature publisher, California, USA, 2000, p 31.

the female Generals of Hai Ba Trung, the genealogy mentioned slightly about them to compare with Hai Ba Trung, the narration mainly refers to their family status and their merits.

For example, on searching, there are 07 affidavits related to Bat Nan General, 6 of these affidavits in Thai Binh Province and another in Da Xuyen village, Cao Da, Ly Nhan now in Ha Nam province. However, the one found in Da Xuyen village showed more information, even specific details of Bat Nan General. In general, these seven affidavits associated with 07 different worship locations. Every location has their way to worship and taboo even though they all worship to the same person – Bat Nan general¹¹. From this specific case study, we conclude that the information narrated in legends or the genealogy or the myths about Hai Ba Trung and their Generals at any level, either the national level or regional level, the information and the worshipping localized specifically.

The heroine - the sacred saint worshipped in the scattered relics of villages are the female Generals of Hai Ba Trung. They heroines gathered around the main character - the heroine made them together in a sanctified system is King Trung, or Trung Trac, the older sister. However, Hai Ba Trung understood that the twins. Thus, the localized characteristic (of a village) and the regional characteristic (of inter-villages) or the national characteristic (out of villages) modified corresponding the locality where they worshipped. In other words, historical figures always clarified a specific local related to their backgrounds based on the legends, myths and the genealogy associated with the Generals.

3.3. The historical characterization process

Stem from a literature – history cohesion concept, the Confucianists “processed all the myths and legends must relate to history”¹². The historicalization of myths and legends phenomenon, whether characters narrated in legends and myths, ordained in relics or written in the genealogy, they were in real life or fictional, the characters will appear in real historical figures at Confucianist imagination through the times.

From the Confucian phenomenon as analyzed above, Hai Ba Trung entered Vietnamese history in a clear description. Since Hai Ba Trung took the throne, the exemption implemented within two years for the residences. This policy documented in Chinese history like *Hau Han thu* (the Late Han Dynasty) and *Thuy Kinh chu*. However, the Chinese historian used the word “dac” mean “to get” household taxes and land tax; Meanwhile, Vietnamese historian often uses the word “phuc” mean tax exemption.

¹¹ See Phạm Lan Oanh (2017), p 514-518 and Index 1, p 541-553.

¹² Kieu Thu Hoach (2006), *Folklore Literature of Vietnamese people – genres*, Social Science Publisher, Hanoi, p 46.

In the book, *Dai Viet su ky toan thu* at *Trung Nu Vuong* period (wrote about Hai Ba Trung reign) described that: “In the first Canh Ti year (10 A.D) - the 16th year of Han Kien Vu reign in China, The King Trung suffered oppression by Chinese To Dinh mandarin who also killed her husband. Trung Vuong and her younger sister - Trung Nhi attacked the official base, planned running to Nam Hai. The districts of Cuu Chan, Nhat Nam and Hop Pho all responded support Trung Vuong. They gained 65 citadels in Linh Nam, claimed themselves as the Kings, declared Trung Vuong”¹³. “Le Van Huu mentioned: Trung Trac, Trung Nhi are women, called upon all the area including Cuu Chan, Nhat Nam, Hop Pho and 65 citadels in Linh Ngoai responded, proclaim the king, to establish a nation is easy as turning a hand”¹⁴. “The Female King was brave, chased and threw To Dinh troops away. She established the nation proclaimed herself as the King; nevertheless, because of being a woman, she could not make success in rebuilt”¹⁵.

In the book *Viet su thong giam cuong muc tien bien*, the narrative of Hai Ba Trung had varied: “It was Spring in February, Trung Trac - the young woman of Giao Chi district uprose to fight against To Dinh mandarin, forced him out of the land, proclaiming herself as the King... In December, in the winter, the Han Dynasty appointed Ma Vien as the general together with deputy general Luu Long and the marine commander Doan Chi went to fight Trung Vuong in March, Springtime, the Ma Vien’s troops arrived in Lang Bac fought and defeated Trung Trac. Trung Trac retreated to Cam Khe ... In 43 A.D ... in January, the springtime, Trung Trac and her younger sister Trung Nhi fought with Han troops. Hai Ba Trung lost and died”¹⁶.

Approaching the historical archives, the *historicalization the character of Hai Ba Trung* is a continuous accretive process. From *Hau Han thu* – the book of Late Han dynasty *Thuy Kinh chu* the use of the document as a basis for the argumentation are different. From a historical perspective, the Vietnamese feudal dynasties viewpoints and the Vietnam Communist Party viewpoints on Hai Ba Trung are clear and consistent. Hai Ba Trung images

¹³ Ngo Si Lien, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, The History book of Dai Viet, Cao Huy Giu translated, Dao Duy Anh edited, investigate and references, Social Sciences Publisher, Hanoi, volume 1, Second edition, Hanoi, 1972, p 91.

¹⁴ Ngo Si Lien, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* – The History book of Dai Viet, Cao Huy Giu translated, Dao Duy Anh edited, investigate and references, Social Sciences Publisher, Hanoi, volume 1, Second edition, Hanoi, 1972, p 92.

¹⁵ Ngo Si Lien, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (The History book of Dai Viet), Cao Huy Giu translated, Dao Duy Anh edited, investigate and references, Social Sciences Publisher, Hanoi, volume 1, Second edition, Hanoi, 1972, p 91.

¹⁶ National historian Board of Nguyen Dynasty, *Việt sử thông giám cương mục tiền biên*, translation by The History Institute, Literature – History - Geography publisher, Hanoi, 1957, volume 1, p 82-84.

always promote the courage, resilience and pride of patriotism to protect the country and for the unification of the country started by Hai Ba Trung.

Regarding the female generals under Hai Ba Trung reign, in the Research works of Vietnam History conducted in 1971 listed more than 15 female generals participated Hai Ba Trung uprising.

Nguyen Khac Xuong published the book *The Female Generals of Trung Vuong reign*¹⁷ in 1976 mentioned 22 female generals.

In 1983, when author Nguyen Vinh Phuc wrote the book, *Hai Ba Trung Uprising in Hanoi* expressed that in Chinese history books such as *Hau Han thu* and *Thuy Kinh chu* mentioned only two participants names in Hai Ba Trung uprising are Do Duong and Chu Ba. In *Dai Viet su ky toan thu* - the history book by Ngo Si Lien mentioned no specific name despite affirmation that 65 citadels responded to the uprising. Ngo Si Lien spent a chapter to write about 75 Generals of Hai Ba Trung¹⁸ in the districts of Hanoi city at that time. In 2005, when the book entitled *Hai Ba Trung Uprising in Hanoi and nearby* reprinted, the author still kept the chapter writing about the Generals (from page 209 to 282) to introduce the Generals participated the Hai Ba Trung uprising. Unfortunately, the author omitted the generals in Phu Tho province who participated in Hai Ba Trung uprising.

In 2000, according to Bui Thiet “there more than 500 characters participated in Hai Ba Trung resistance uprising. These characters worshipped in about 300 villages, the number of generals was quite large in places, for example, in Hai Duong, Hung Yen, Hanoi, Vinh Phuc and Phu Tho”¹⁹.

In 2003, Le Kim Thuyen published the book *Hai Ba Trung and Female Generals in Vinh Phu land: relics and tales*²⁰, introduced 75 Generals under Hai Ba Trung reign worshipped in Vinh Phuc province at that time.

In 2008, when the author of this paper did a PhD thesis entitled *Hai Ba Trung belief in the Red River delta*²¹. The data mainly based on the Ordained relics and ordained affidavits

¹⁷ Nguyen Khac Xuong, *Female Generals of Trung Vuong reign*, Women publisher, Hanoi, 1976.

¹⁸ Nguyen Vinh Phuc, *Hai Ba Trung uprising in Hanoi*, Hanoi Publisher, 1983, p 169- 204.

¹⁹ Bui Thiet (2000), *The ancient Viet Nam*, Youth Publisher, Hanoi, p 370.

²⁰ Le Kim Thuyen, *Hai Ba Trung and Female Generals under Trung Vuong reign in Vinh Phu province, Relics and Tales*, Culture, Information and Sports Department published, 2003.

²¹ Phạm Lan Oanh, *Hai Ba Trung Beliefs in the Red River Delta*, Social Science Publisher, Hanoi, 2010, p 275 - 346, had published the following list of relics (It might have changed to the present)

Bac Giang province: 7 relics

Bac Ninh province: 34 relics

Ha Nam province: 62 relics

Ha Noi City (including Ha Tay province and Me Linh district of Vinh Phuc Province, four communes of Hoa Binh province according to the territory legislated by Vietnamese Government from 8-2008): 162 relics

archives at the Social Science Information Library - The Institute of Social Sciences of Vietnam (now called The Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences). The author also researched archived at the Institute of Han Nom Research and dossiers and lists of relics where Hai Ba Trung and generals worshipped (Achieve in Relic-Museums of Red river delta Management Boards of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Vietnam). Based on individual fieldwork research, Pham Lan Oanh published a list of 448 relics that worship Hai Ba Trung and Generals. It is an obvious remarkable number of relics ever stated.

In 2013, Bui Van Tam confirmed that there about 20 shrines are worshipping the female General²² of Hai Ba Trung only in Nam Dinh province

The latest updated document to October 31, 2012, Hai Ba Trung Temple Management Board in Ha Loi Commune provided the number of 95 Generals worshipped in the area of 42 districts, cities located in eleven Northern provinces cities from Bac Giang to Ninh Binh. Besides, there two names Nang Bau and Ba Y mentioned, but the worship place is unknown. The number of male Generals counted with 144 names worship locations. Also, there 05 Generals with unknown places of worship are Truong Minh Tu, De Nhat Dao Son, De Nhi Man Son, De Tam Chi Son and De Tu Ngoa Son.

Thus, it is temporally to recognize the number of Generals participated Hai Ba Trung uprising. These Generals worshipped as deities and blessed Saints in locations based on the archives. The archives included ordained certificates, pedigrees, legends and the cultural activities associated with local traditions recognized.

4.The beliefs of historical figures or the historical consciousness of Vietnamese people

Vietnam is a country having a particular geographical-political position. Vietnam located at a crossroads between the North and the South, the East and the West; therefore, in a way, it suffered invasions from invaders from different directions. Therefore, the

Hai Duong province: 12 relics
 Hai Phong city: 8 relics
 Hoa Binh province: 2 relics
 Hung Yen province: 30 relics
 Nam Dinh province: 18 relics
 Ninh Binh province: 11 relics
 Phu Tho province: 30 relics
 Quang Ninh province: 1 relic
 Thai Binh province: 24 relics
 Vinh Phuc province: 47 relics

In total of 14 provinces/cities = 448 relics

²² Bui Van Tam, "Several characteristics of worshipping Goddess Lieu Hanh in Nam Dinh Province", In *Worshipping Female Goddess in Vietnam and Asia, identities and Values*, authors, the World publisher, Hanoi, 2013, p 345.

development of true heroes beliefs marked a dominant phenomenon in Vietnamese religious culture.

Regarding the historical image of Hai Ba Trung, there 17 relics worshipped Hai Ba Trung, the remaining relics worshipped the Generals – however, The Female Generals are more favourably. At present, Ha Loi temple is the most significant worship space in Me Linh district where considered as the ancient capital under Hai Ba Trung reign. Besides, there are temples worshipped 95 Female Generals and 144 Male Generals as a symbol of the will and the power of the national unity.

“The mythologization historical character is popular in Vietnam, because, the national heroes and outstanding historical figures of Vietnam worshipped nationwide in temples and Communal Houses in the country. *Such worship practising divinized historical characters*. It is not strange when a historical figure became the core of different legends. Hai Ba Trung is an example. Hai Ba Trung worshipped in places. However, the legend of Hai Ba differed from each other in details in Ha Loi, Hat Mon, Tan Hoi and Dong Nhan. The differences associated with local folklore activities. In some cases, biographies of two different historical figures are the core of the same myth”²³.

Finally, the official localization process marks the completion of the cultural framing process. This process integrated the historical characters into the sacred world, the world of beliefs in association with local cultural traditions. “The villager overstated because the divinized image seen as a total embodiment of history. In another case, the overstatement leading to wholly omitted, or in other words, the omit created sceptical questions.

Human characters divinized through the time reflected the mind of people connected to their social circumstances. In other words, when we connect the related legends of the same historical figure, the historical component traits of that figure will emerge. This historical figure characterized through the history, of course, the originated character will be recognized”²⁴.

Thus, the worshipping beliefs of Hai Ba Trung and their Generals have developed through feudal dynasties more than a thousand years in addition to ninety years under The Democratic Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

²³ Dinh Gia Khanh, *Vietnamese Folklore Culture in South East Asia*, Social Science Publisher, Hanoi, 1993, p 319.

²⁴ Ta Chi Dai Truong, “History of a Legend: Phu Dong Thien Vuong” in the *History of Vietnam in folklore*, Thanh Van Publisher, California, USA, 1996, p 78.

The historical images originated from different social status and families, living at varied political circumstances. However, the historical images still develop, imprinted in Vietnamese people minds. Therefore, from this perspective, the worshipping Hai Ba Trung and their Generals proved a historical consciousness of Vietnamese people.

5. Conclusion

Approaching beliefs of Hai Ba Trung in the Red River Delta from geographical-cultural²⁵ perspective, we can see the connection between Hai Ba Trung worship and the Generals worship took place in 14 provinces and cities. The phenomenon created a *cultural strip of Hai Ba Trung beliefs* that concentrated in a large area along the Day River (Hat Giang – a tributary of the Red River).

In the Red River Delta region, there are distributions of legendary regions associated with the *Four Immortal beliefs*:

- Legendary region of Hung King, Son Tinh - Tan Vien surrounding Viet Tri city.
- Thanh Giong legend surrounded Co Loa area.
- Chu Dong Tu legend surrounded Pho Hien area.
- Legendary of Lieu Hanh in the coastal area.

Amongst four legendary mentioned above, the Hai Ba Trung worship beliefs (associated with 17 relics) and the Generals worship (associated with 431 relics / 448 relics) recognized as a buffer region between the *Four Immortal beliefs* interwove and extended to the coastal land. “The Hai Ba Trung legends are popular in areas of Tam Dao, Vinh Lac, Lap Thach, Vinh Yen and Me Linh districts”²⁶. The characteristic of a buffer region emerged: “The transitional junction between the fatherland Vinh Phu, the cultural sub-region Kinh Bac together with the central delta culture Thang Long - Hanoi. This transitional road goes from Me Linh through Vinh Lac to Phuc Tho and Thach That, the confluence of the Day River is the centre”²⁷.

Accompanying the legends is historical divinized figures, pedigrees explained the presentations of ordained certificates given to Hai Ba Trung and Generals. The legends went through history from the Ly, Tran, Le, Tay Son and Nguyen dynasties.

²⁵ Tran Quoc Vuong, *Vietnam in Geographical-Cultural Perspective*, Culture and Ethnicity Publisher, Art and Culture magazine, Hanoi, 1998, p 30.

²⁶ Vu Tu Lap chief Editor, *Culture and residences in the Red River Delta*, Social Science Publisher, Hanoi, 1991, p 126.

²⁷ Vu Tu Lap chief Editor, *Culture and residences in the Red River Delta*, Social Science Publisher, Hanoi, 1991, p 136.

The cultural framing process depends on other factors. It originates from the feudal government policies in order to get the consensus amongst communities in ordinary life and national defence. It brings pride of cultural tradition associated with customs of villagers. The villagers experienced the *benefits* of spiritual practices. It quickly and effectively meets the specific aspirations of villagers. That cultural framing process made historical figures shimmering but realistic in written material as well as the cultural practices in the villages.

If the ordained certificates took an account as the landmarks accepted, then, the values and the realizing process Hai Ba Trung beliefs took place continuously and persistently. The beliefs went through festivals, penetrated the ordinary life of villagers and followed them to expanded land. The continuation factor and cultural preservation associated with the women role affirms the long historical tradition of Vietnam. “Trung Trac proclaimed as the King, then created independence sovereignty is bravely opposed the “suzerain ambition” of the Han empire. The woman was the leader of the uprising”²⁸. Moreover, that is “a vast uprising movement. ... Especially, many women are generals”²⁹.

As analysis mentioned above, the Generals participated Hai Ba Trung's uprising now worshiped in localities at different scales. There are General worshiped in different locations such as Dao Phuong Dung³⁰ and Phung Vinh Hoa³¹. There are Generals worshiped in one location like Ba Tia, Ba Tia communal house, Vinh Ninh hamlet, Vinh Quynh commune, Thanh Tri district, Hanoi. General Phung Thi Chinh worshiped in the temple of Tuan Xuyen village, Van Thang commune, Ba Vi district, Hanoi. General A Rong is worshiped in My Loc temple, My Loc village, Viet Hung commune, Vu Thu district, Thai Binh province.

Thus, Hai Ba Trung belief - a long history tradition associated with the proud history Vietnam which had affirmed also including the *Generals Worship belief*. *Generals of Hai Ba Trung understood that they participated and supported Hai Ba Trung uprising. Later, they sacrificed for the national sovereignty and worshiped by villagers as Blessed Goddess or Tutelary Goddess in temples or in the Communal Houses, Shrines as a singular Goddess or together with others Goddess.*

The worshipping process concretized in the formal rituals in the Communal House associated with the tutelary gods of a village. That is a miniature ritual form of the royal court

²⁸ Viet Nam history, Social Science Publisher, Hanoi, 1971, volume 1, p 83.

²⁹ Viet Nam history, Social Science Publisher, Hanoi, 1971, volume 1, p 81.

³⁰ Also known as Phuong Dung Princess or Nga Hoang Phuong Princess, Nga Hoang Nuong. She is worshipped in 11 relics and a cluster of relics in Bac Ninh province (1 relic), Thai Binh (2 relics) and 8 relics in Hanoi.

³¹ Also Known as Vinh Hoa, Vinh Hoa Princess. She is worshipped in 7 relics and a cluster relics in Vinh Phuc province (3 relics), Hanoi (4 relics).

but performs in villages for agricultural residents. Of course, each Goddess associated with her pedigree together with taboos made them as a distinctive figure to create the cultural identities amongst villages³².

This worship is the most outstanding characteristic of the Hai Ba Trung beliefs tradition, or in another words, it is the Extends of Hai Ba Trung belief, which in, the Generals of Hai Ba Trung also worshipped. It is also a contribution to create the unique characteristics of Vietnamese culture./.

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³² This is clearly shown in the 13,211 affidavits submitted to the Ancient Far East in 1938. A complete affidavit includes information in three languages: Han Nom, French and Vietnamese included name and dignity of the declarant and the reason for declaring the ordained Goddess and Ordained Certificates. The end is the pledge of accurate testimony, name, signature, seal and confirmation of the Chief of commune and the Chairman. The main content consists of 3 parts: *The legend of The historical figure / Goddess; the Title of the Historical figure / Goddess; Worship ritual*. The *Worship rituals* is the most significant part shown the differences between localities because it contains many taboos, forbidden associated with the Goddess.

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