

Four Europeans and the Court of Old Vietnam: Travelers' Ventures and Rivalries in the Mid-Eighteenth Century

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ABSTRACT

The middle of the eighteenth century saw numerous Europeans in Cochinchina, now part of Vietnam. Travel accounts describing their contacts with the Cochinchinese, the Court, and with one another were written by Pierre Favre, a Swiss cleric; Pierre Poivre and Robert Kirsop, French and British merchants, respectively; and Johann Koffler, a Czech Jesuit at the Court. The rivalries seen in these accounts reflect early European aspirations for influence in the area and foreshadow Vietnam's fall to France in the following century.

KEY WORDS

Vietnam	Cochinchina
Hue	Pierre Favre
Pierre Poivre	Robert Kirsop
Johann Koffler	Vo-Vuong
Jesuits	eighteenth century
Elzear des Achards de la Baume	Roman Catholic missionaries



Johann Koffler, a Jesuit serving at the Court of the ruler of Cochinchina, now part of Vietnam, reports an inauspicious event that occurred around 1754. The ruler of Cochinchina, having invited to the Court a celebrated hermit, received from his visitor a mysterious prophecy that ended with these ominous words:

. . . When the native people here . . . disappear; when new men appear, then this kingdom will pass into other hands and will be governed by foreigners.¹

The hermit's unpropitious prediction would be fulfilled, of course, in the following century, when in 1867 France would succeed in taking Cochinchina by force, becoming its colonial master for roughly the next hundred years.² But in fact, European desires and projects to exert control over Vietnam were already evolving in the eighteenth century, at the very moment that the ruler of Cochinchina was listening to the hermit's forecast of dire change. The travel writings of Johann Koffler, the Jesuit serving the Cochinchinese ruler, and of three other Europeans, representing different nations, professions, and religious institutions, who were in Vietnam during the 1740s and early 1750s, provide an intriguing inside view of the early conflicting European ambitions in Vietnam as well as of the relationships between the Europeans and the Court of Cochinchina. The accounts of the travelers foreshadow more sinister events to come.

The part of Vietnam known in the eighteenth century as Cochinchina, along with the region called Tonkin, to the north, constituted, at this time, an independent polity, nominally ruled by the Le Dynasty, but in fact governed by the viceroys of the Trinh family in the north and

of the Nguyens in the south. Cochinchina and Tonkin were bounded on the north by China, which until the year 939 had controlled the area for approximately a thousand years. The two regions shared with China such important aspects of culture as religion, where Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism predominated, and certain governmental traditions such as the concept of the mandariate, an administrative system in which a hierarchy of officials was selected on the basis of intellectual merit.

European interest and involvement in Cochinchina and Tonkin had begun as early as classical times, when Roman navigators came to the area. Along with Marco Polo, who is reputed to have visited there, other distinguished travelers included Odoric of Pordenone, Tomé Pires, Fernão Mendes Pinto, and the sixteenth-century Portuguese poet Camões, who experienced a shipwreck on the stormy shores near the mouth of the Mekong River in the southern part of present-day Vietnam, and who later briefly memorialized the area in his renowned poem "Os Lucíadas" (1572).³ European missionaries were also among the early visitors, first arriving in Tonkin in the sixteenth century, and coming to both Tonkin and Cochinchina in considerable numbers throughout the two centuries that followed.

Literary accounts of what these early travelers had seen and heard soon began to appear in print, and were quickly translated into various European languages. Some of the narratives, for example, Christoforo Borri's relation of his experiences in Cochinchina, originally published in Italian in 1631 and two years later in English as *Cochin-China: Containing Many Admirable Rarities and Singularities of the Country*,⁴ and Giuliano Baldinotti's short narrative about Tonkin, which appeared in Italian in 1629 and in French in a collection during the same year as "Relation du voyage fait au Royaume de Tunquin nouvellement découvert,"⁵ could be read, as can much of the literature of travel, as stories of adventure, so new and engaging were the details presented. One of the most prolific among the seventeenth-century writers was the French Jesuit, Alexandre de Rhodes, whose eight books on Cochinchina are useful, not only as a source of information on seventeenth-century Vietnam, but as a key to the intellectual outlook of the

writer and the European society of which he was a part.⁶ Other early missionaries, for example, Joseph Tissanier,⁷ François Pallu,⁸ and voyagers, such as Samuel Baron,⁹ William Dampier,¹⁰ and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier¹¹ produced accounts which stand out among travel writings because they presented copious amounts of new information about the areas visited. European knowledge of Southeast Asia was greatly enhanced by their work.

Accounts of journeys to Cochinchina and Tonkin continued to reach readers in the first half of the eighteenth century. This was, of course, the period when the Asian destination of most interest to European readers was China. Although travel accounts about Cochinchina and Tonkin neither equaled in numbers those concerning China nor created an atmosphere of admiration for these areas in the same way that writings about China produced the "chinoiserie," the vogue of China that flourished in Europe during this period, travel writing on Cochinchina and Tonkin was, nevertheless, impressive, both in quantity and quality.

Cochinchina at mid-century was a prosperous nation, enjoying a period of peace which had lasted for seventy years. The country was ruled by the viceroy Nguyen Phuoc-Khoat (1738-1765), who in 1744 proclaimed himself Vuong, or prince. *The Le emperor* continued to be monarch in name only.¹² Numerous foreign visitors were to be found during this period in Cochinchina's capital, Hue; the city hosted in the 1740s and early 1750s more than a few Europeans, four of whom would later write engaging accounts of their experiences there. This group included Johann Koffler, the Jesuit, originally from Bohemia, who served the Court as royal physician; Robert Kirsop, an English merchant; Pierre François Favre, a Swiss national and secretary to the Pope's representative to Cochinchina, Mgr. Elzéar des Achards de la Baume of France; and Pierre Poivre, a French representative of the Compagnie des Indes, who had first become acquainted with Cochinchina as a missionary of the Société des Missions Étrangères.

Four of the narratives produced by these travelers were to reach the public during approximately the next fifty years, while additional material remained in the form of manuscripts and letters. The four

published accounts were intended variously as a self-help manual for prospective merchants, economic arguments intended to influence politicians, a heated diatribe meant to discredit religious rivals, and a systematic and dispassionate presentation of daily life in Cochinchina and at the royal Court. An intriguing polyphonic representation of Cochinchina and European interests there in the 1740s and early 1750s emerges, enhanced by appealing stylistic touches and by the curious intersections of the four works in regard to the setting, characters, and ideas. Three major themes emerge: rivalry on the part of two European missionary groups, the Jesuits and the missionaries of the Société des Missions Étrangères, for religious domination in the country; commercial interests and spirited competition on the part of the Europeans, especially the French and English; and finally, the Europeans' contentious efforts for influence at the court.

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The most emotionally intense of the four accounts is that driven by the animosity between the members of the Missions Étrangères and those of the Society of Jesus; Pierre François Favre's relation entitled *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses sur la visite apostolique de M. de la Baume évêque d'Halicarnasse à la Cochinchine en l'année 1740* appears in Neuchâtel, although the indicated place of publication is Venice, in 1746.¹³ While the Bishop of Lausanne prohibited the work and Rome condemned it, the city of Berne lent Favre its support. His responses defending the book, published separately in 1747 and 1752, were appended to the 1753 edition of the work. Favre, a Swiss cleric, was born in Brétigny-S.-Barthélemy in 1706, ordained priest in Avignon in 1731, and appointed to several clerical positions before beginning his journey to Cochinchina in the capacity of secretary to de la Baume. Favre was thirty-three years old when he and de la Baume arrived at their destination.¹⁴

Mgr. Elzéar-François des Achards de la Baume, born in 1679 in Avignon, had served as Provost of the Cathedral of Avignon, and had been named Bishop of Halicarnasse by Pope Benoit XIII. Becoming associated with the Société des Missions Étrangères, de la Baume then began to hope for an assignment to a mission in East Asia. This in fact

came about in 1736 when Pope Clément XII appointed him Apostolic Visitor to Cochinchina to investigate and resolve the discord existing among the various groups of Roman Catholic missionaries there and in the neighboring areas of Cambodia and Champa.¹⁵

Favre's book-length report on the de la Baume mission, consisting primarily of nineteen letters, presents a running account of the frustrating experiences of the bishop and his secretary in Cochinchina. The narration, replete with minor details of daily confrontations between the Pope's representatives and the Jesuits, presents on the surface a picture of petty, at times even seemingly comical incidents. Underneath, however, is the depiction of the desperately frustrated and ill papal envoy and his equally despairing younger colleague as they discover the extent of the enmity within the Roman Catholic community in Hue.

Favre, who became a fierce opponent of the Jesuits, employs a literary allusion to cast aspersions on the Society at the very outset of his work by entitling it *Lettres édifiantes and curieuses*. Having given his book the same title as that of the Jesuits' letters from their worldwide missions, Favre quickly explains that unlike the letters of the Jesuits, his own are both impartial and accurate. The *Lettres édifiantes* of the Jesuits, Favre notes sarcastically, relate marvels that "exist only in the brains of those who write them" (1, Preface: 5). Baume and Favre had become embroiled in arguments with the Jesuits soon after their arrival in May of 1739. In his letters Favre fulminates against alleged Jesuit obstructionism in such matters, for example, as their control of the mail, which arrived on a Chinese ship only once a year. The Jesuits as well as the Franciscans refused, Favre states, to deliver letters addressed to de la Baume (1: 209-10). Other accusations involved interference with de la Baume's entourage, including the luring away of his physician and a domestic worker, and the theft of his watchdog, Turco. Worse yet, the dog was then given by the Jesuits to the Cochinchinese ruler, Vo-vuong, in the guise of a present from de la Baume. The ruler, expecting some entertainment, found the gift to be highly inferior when the dog refused to perform. Vo-vuong ordered that it be sent to the school of Father Jean Siebert, the Jesuit who served at the court as

physician, mathematician, mandarin, and “keeper of the dogs.” Siebert, Vo-vuong stated, would “teach it some tricks” (Favre 1: 207-8; 2: 21).

Among Favre’s literary devices for discrediting the Jesuits are anecdotes and recorded conversations which portray de la Baume’s and Favre’s adversaries in a highly unfavorable light. Favre describes, for example, a visit he made to the Jesuit Antonio Vasconcellos, the former Superior of the mission, who vigorously disagreed with de la Baume on Roman Catholic practices in CochinChina (1: 51), and who had refused to accept a series of decrees formulated mainly by de la Baume and published by Favre in Hue in May of 1741. Vasconcellos, Favre reports, had repeatedly been recalled by his superiors in Macao, but had stated that he was sick and unable to travel whenever a ship had been about to leave. Making his call at Vasconcellos’s residence, Favre found the Jesuit in bed, claiming to be ill with dropsy and appearing to be extraordinarily swollen. To test the truth of the matter, Favre put his hand on Vasconcellos stomach, causing the swelling to disappear as a pillow slipped out of the bed. Favre smilingly asserted that an act of Providence had suddenly cured the patient; then changing his tone, he itemized for Vasconcellos his many offenses over the years and concluded by taking the highly provocative step of ordering the Jesuit to leave the mission and return to Macao on the ship that was about to depart (1: 263-64).

Favre enumerates numerous Jesuit shortcomings. He forbade the Superior of the Jesuit mission, Père Lopes, and others to wear their hair long, tied with a colored ribbon (1: 183). The wearing of purple robes also had to be forbidden, in favor of black as prescribed by church canons (1: 282). Favre accused one Jesuit of drunkenness, and of having a young widow as an inseparable companion (1: 282). Doctrinal errors also received criticism. Some Jesuits were said to be omitting certain ceremonies in the administration of the sacraments and to be making the Christian ceremonies harmonize with local practices. As an example Favre points out that the Jesuits were approving wedding ceremonies simply by their presence and by their partaking of betel with the newlyweds (1: 93-94).

Behind most of these criticisms was a fundamental point of dis-

agreement between the representatives of the Société des Missions Étrangères as well as most other Roman Catholic missionaries, on the one hand, and the Jesuits, on the other, which was beyond the power of de la Baume and the Jesuits to bridge: this concerned the interpretation by the Jesuits of the Cochinchinese observation of certain rites honoring their ancestors and Confucius. Because the Jesuits at this time, both in Cochinchina and in China, considered the rites to be a social rather than a religious observance, they permitted their converts, through a methodology known as accommodation, to continue to perform them; the other orders found the rites to be religious in nature and generally forbade their observance. While a papal decree of 1715 had made it clear that one could not be a Christian and observe the rites, the disagreements had continued. It was in fact contention over this matter, known as the Rites Controversy, that had led Pope Clement XII to send de la Baume to Cochinchina. A similar mission, headed by Cardinal de Tournon, had been sent in 1705 to China by Pope Clement XI. When de la Baume and his party arrived in Cochinchina they were warned by a well-wisher that they would face the same fate as De Tournon had in China; and indeed this prediction proved to be correct. The motif of De Tournon's ill-fated mission and his death in China recurs in Favre's narrative as both the fate of the mission and the personal destiny of de la Baume seem to replicate those of de la Baume's predecessor.¹⁶

De Tournon did not succeed in China in resolving the conflicts between the Jesuits and their adversaries. Jesuit opposition there, motivated by the fear that the very impressive successes of their China mission would be completely invalidated by the insistence of rival missions that converts could not practice the rites, resulted in great difficulties for the ailing De Tournon, and was in part at least responsible for his death in Macao in 1710. Favre relates that a second mission, headed by George Ambrose de Mezzabarba, Patriarch of Alexandria, which had been sent to China in the 1720s, had in fact sent a representative to Cochinchina to try to settle the "disorders" that were rumored to be rampant there as well (1: 118-20).

De la Baume's insistence in Cochinchina that the rites could not be permitted there naturally antagonized the Jesuit missionaries. The

envoy, suffering from poor health, and facing the obstacles placed in his way by the Jesuits, like De Tournon, expired in the course of his mission in April of 1741. In accordance with a papal brief empowering de la Baume to appoint an acting head of the mission if necessary, Pierre Favre then succeeded to de la Baume's position as chief of the delegation. The Jesuits, as would have been expected, disputed Favre's succession to the position although they finally accepted it (1: 227 and 238).

In addition to the Rites Controversy which alienated the representatives of the Société des Missions Étrangères from the Jesuits, distrust among the missionaries was also fostered by national rivalries. Of the Jesuits who had arrived in Cochinchina since the start of the century almost two thirds were Portuguese while none were French.¹⁷ The missionaries of the Société des Missions Étrangères, in contrast, were predominately French. Competition between Portugal and France in regard to missionary work in Cochinchina had long been intense. Portugal, through the system of royal patronage known as the *Padroado*, which had developed through a number of papal decrees of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had held control of missionary activities in all of Southeast Asia. The French, however, beginning in 1659, had begun to gain influence in Cochinchina and Tonkin when the Pope appointed French bishops for the region without seeking approval from the Portuguese throne. Hostility between the French and Portuguese missionaries themselves was a result of these new developments.

In an attempt to carry out his goal of resolving the disputes between the rival groups of missionaries in Cochinchina, de la Baume, acting on the authority given him by the Pope, had assigned jurisdiction over different parts of the country to various orders and groups. Favre records that de la Baume would in fact have liked to expel the Jesuits altogether, but did not have authority to do this (1: 138). Attacking de la Baume's decree on the matter of jurisdiction, the Jesuits insisted that this violated the *Padroado* of the King of Portugal; they succeeded in getting the Franciscans to oppose the decree as well (1: 140-42).

The contention between the French and the Portuguese missionaries is illustrated by the attempts of each to gain influence at the royal

Court. Favre was highly resentful of the Jesuits' influence with Vo-vuong, the Cochinchinese ruler, noting sarcastically that the Jesuits claimed to "have been born for the Court, for the Princes, and for the 'Grands,'" while the French, in the Jesuits' view, were destined for the area of Champa, "and for these savage people" (2: 18-19).¹⁸ But Favre developed his own strategy for securing influence at Court for his own mission. One source of support was the Christian Prince Om-bin, who assisted de la Baume and Favre at critical times throughout their stay (1: 88 and 242). Favre also succeeded in making contact with another influential figure closer to the ruler, arranging for an interview with the "grand mandarin, Minister of State and War," whose protection he hoped to gain. Favre reports that during their "pleasant conversations," the grand mandarin asked who was the greatest king in Europe. When Favre answered, the King of France, the mandarin remarked, "You are no doubt French." Favre, a Swiss national, replied that whether he was or wasn't, he would have to answer in the same way. The mandarin then indicated that he had always thought France surpassed by far all the other kingdoms of Europe, in somewhat the same way that the Empire of China surpassed all the kingdoms of Asia. The mandarin invited Favre to stay and dine at the palace, and afterwards sent him home in his beautiful galley (1: 242-43).

Favre felt assured, as a result of this cordial reception, of the mandarin's protection. But while a positive atmosphere prevails in this regard, the thematics of suspicion and enmity continue to dominate Favre's account. Jesuit criticism of Favre's approach to the mandarin came at once. According to Favre, the Jesuits presupposed that he was attempting to achieve some type of official position at Court. They therefore, Favre reports, spread stories that he was in fact ignorant of the arts. Favre confides resignedly to the reader that he doesn't care if the public knows that unlike the Jesuits he cannot predict an eclipse or set off fireworks; he claims proudly that he knows and practices no profession other than that of missionary, later stating with typical irony that he has always worked at making converts, especially among the Jesuits, but that he has not been able "to convert a single one of them" (1: 243-44 and 2: 73). Favre's quarrels with the Jesuits continue to the

end of the mission in Cochinchina, follow him to Europe, and eventually bring about the book in which he continues to try to defeat his adversaries.

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As Favre leaves Cochinchina to return to Europe, he requests and receives from his supporter the grand mandarin a letter of recommendation to the Chinese captain of the ship on which he will sail to Canton (1: 7). In Canton, in December of 1741, Favre in turn, recommends to the Chinese captain "M. le Poivre," who was preparing to leave Canton on his first trip to Cochinchina on the ship of the same captain (1: 34). Favre, whose stay in Canton had overlapped with Poivre's, praises his friend's modesty and benevolence (2: 34) although he later spoke less flatteringly of him.¹⁹ This "M. le Poivre" was the twenty-two year old Pierre Poivre, at this point a missionary, later to turn merchant, who would become well known for his theories on agriculture; Poivre, like the group of economists in France now known as the Physiocrats, held that agriculture was the foundation of a nation's economic success. Poivre's writings about Cochinchina bring into focus a second source of European rivalry in that country, trade.

Born in 1719 in Lyons, France, Poivre had attended the seminary of the Société des Missions Étrangères in Paris, which had then sent him to China and Cochinchina. Having also studied botany, agriculture, and natural history, Poivre continued to explore the latter subject as well as commerce during the first period of about a year and a half that he spent in Cochinchina.²⁰ During his return trip to Europe, Poivre's ship was taken by an English warship and he lost an arm in the fighting. As a result of the accident, he resolved to change his profession and to serve his country rather than the Church (*Relation abrégée* 58-59) through the development of his commercial ideas. Accordingly, he proposed two projects to the French Compagnie des Indes, which had looked for an opening of commercial relations with Cochinchina for some time; one of Poivre's projects was the establishment of a company office in Cochinchina. The proposal was accepted and Poivre was again sent to Cochinchina where he arrived in August of 1749.

While Poivre wrote a considerable amount concerning his theori-

es of agriculture and trade and his experiences in various parts of the world, he himself did not publish any of his works. His thin volume, *Voyages d'un philosophe* (1768),²¹ his best known work, which was widely translated and appeared in many editions, was compiled by others from his many manuscripts. The *Voyages*, in which Poivre develops the Physiocrat theory concerning agriculture as the basis of every nation's well being, makes use of his personal observations on Cochinchina, among other countries. In addition, his unpublished work "Relation abrégée des voyages . . ." discusses his experiences in setting up trade relations in 1749-50 with the ruler of Cochinchina.²²

Poivre discusses the Cochinchinese cultivation of sugar, cotton, rice, pepper, tea, and other crops, and uses the example of sugar to elaborate upon one of his firmly held convictions, his opposition to slave labor. The sugar produced by free men in Cochinchina, he notes, is cheap and abundant. Compare this, he instructs the reader, to that "cultivated and prepared by the wretched slaves of our European colonies" (*Voyages* 125). "Liberty and property," he continues, "form the basis of abundance, and good agriculture: I never observed it to flourish where those rights of mankind were not firmly established" (*Voyages* 127).

An indication of Poivre's strong sense of commercial rivalry appears in his discussion of how the Dutch became a power in the Indies because of their system of commerce there, namely their cultivation of spices. "The ignorance and cowardice of other European commercial nations," he states, allowed this to happen. Poivre's belief that assertive action on the part of France could bring his country a share in this "inexhaustible source of riches" (*Relation abrégée* 61) resulted in his second proposal to the French Compagnie des Indes which comprised a plan to transplant spice plants to two French islands (*Relation abrégée* 63 and 85).

Among Poivre's memorable contributions to the picture of Cochinchina at mid-century is his discussion of the negotiations between himself and Vo-vuong, the Nguyen ruler, in regard to the establishment of trade relations between Cochinchina and France. Vo-vuong, who was generally receptive to European traders as well as to missionaries,

was nevertheless cautious about dealing with foreigners seeking to enter into the life of his country,²³ and he controlled trade relations carefully. Poivre relates that, having made his way to the Court, several days journey from the port at which he arrived, he spent two months in audiences with the ruler to negotiate an exchange rate acceptable to both sides. His matter-of-fact account of these meetings concentrates not on colorful descriptions of the setting but on the actions taken and the results achieved. In the end, Poivre states, he achieved his aim. He praises the ruler's cordiality and notes that Vo-voung invited him to stay at Court and gave him a letter and a gift for his counterpart, Louis XV of France. Poivre collected for the benefit of the French East India Company such merchandise as sugar, silks, metals, wax, white and black pepper, and ivory. Although he declined the invitation to remain at Court and did not immediately open the company office, Poivre relates, the French did begin to send to Cochinchina an annual trading ship from their establishment in Pondicherry, India (*Relation abrégée* 81).

Poivre's enthusiastic tone is moderated somewhat when, while recounting his successes in Cochinchina, he notes the fraud and monopolies that one has to contend with there, and he suggests his distrust of the Cochinchinese when he mentions the difficulties his clerks had in dealing with the negligence and disloyalty of the Cochinchinese interpreters (*Relation abrégé* 78-79). What he fails to say here about his own trials in dealing with the infidelity of a Cochinchinese employee emerges from another source.

While Poivre's polished and smoothly flowing account reflects a great sense of self-satisfaction in regard to his mission, a report by his competitor Robert Kirsop, an independent British merchant who was in Cochinchina in 1750, a year after Poivre's trade-related visit, presents the Frenchman and his venture in quite a different light.²⁴ Kirsop detailed his own experiences in Cochinchina in an account that appeared in the early 1790s and again in 1808 in a collection of material entitled *Oriental Repertory* by Alexander Dalrymple.²⁵ Dalrymple, an official of the English East India Company, who himself visited Cochinchina in 1760, provides notes to Kirsop's report, "Some Account of Cochinchina"

China, by Mr. Robert Kirsop, Who Was There in the Year 1750.”

The British at mid-century had relatively little contact with Cochinchina. The most significant relationships had involved a late seventeenth-century diplomatic mission under Thomas Bowyear and a factory or commercial establishment on Poulo Condore, an island off the southern coast of the country, that had lasted for only a few years early in the eighteenth century. British attempts to develop diplomatic and commercial ties with Cochinchina would, however, continue throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁶

Robert Kirsop, in his narrative about his own successful attempts at establishing a trading relationship with the Cochinchinese, and Alexander Dalrymple, through his annotations to Kirsop's work, provide helpful advice to other merchants who might wish to try their luck in Cochinchina: they encourage them to learn the language; suggest suitable presents to bring, such as well-bred dogs, and indicate to whom they should give the gifts; and they stress the importance of hiring a Cochinchinese woman to manage their household affairs (244-50). Kirsop approaches his subject in a lively, straightforward, often conversational manner, and his comments on the country, like his advice to future merchants, shows his highly practical nature: while admiring the pleasant atmosphere of the area near the river in Hue, for example, he also notes the utility of the river for transportation, and in his brief description of the royal palace he observes with an eye toward function that the guns are not well mounted (249).

Kirsop, introducing the theme of mistrust in his detailed discussion of the numerous aggravations involved in making trade arrangements with the Cochinchinese, stresses the importance of working carefully with the mandarins at the Court, but only, he cautions, with those having the authority to work with you (242). He then discusses the errors of the French in this regard and the crisis they provoked during the mission of Pierre Poivre the previous year. Kirsop notes with some condescension that Poivre, hurried directly to the Court and “made a very splendid appearance,” presenting the ruler with a letter from the French monarch, Louis XV, “a pair of poor little horses, a pair of large looking Glasses, a Telescope, and several other Bagatelles”

(251). Because Vo-vuong personally received the French quite warmly, Poivre made the mistake, Kirsop explains, of disregarding the mandarins. The latter, resenting his behavior, suspected that the "lofty appearance" of the French indicated "that they had something more in view" than trade. Through Poivre's Cochinchinese translator, Michel Cuong, the mandarins allegedly learned of Poivre's ultimate plans, which Kirsop explains to the reader, he cannot "lay open," but which the mandarins suspected might lead to land being "possessed by Strangers in the heart of their own Country." Eventually the ruler, Vo-vuong, too, became uneasy with the overtures of the French, and "wished them gone." Kirsop further claims that Poivre requested that the French be allowed to "occupy a bit of Ground, and the King dropt him as cool a denial," much to Poivre's disappointment. Learning of Michel Cuong's treachery, near the time of his departure from Cochinchina, Poivre employed a deceptive manoeuver to lure Cuong on board his ship and then set sail, kidnapping him to Mauritius. Kirsop notes that even before this, Poivre and his party had begun to "behave in a stiff and surly manner" with the Cochinchinese. Unfortunately the kidnapping caused an "uproar" throughout the country. Prior to this unpleasantness, the competitive and judgmental Kirsop explains, "the Cochinchinese never knew the difference of Europeans." Vo-vuong retaliated two months later, Kirsop reports, by destroying most of the churches of the European Christians, their books and papers, and by sending all but one of the Christian priests out of the country (252-54).

Though not related by Kirsop, the end of the story of the kidnapping by Poivre came in 1752 when Joseph François Dupleix, the head of French operations in India, Cuong had returned to his homeland. The suspicions of Vo-Vuong's mandarins in regard to Poivre's menacing intentions in Cochinchina, incidentally, may not have been exaggerated: in 1768, when the French were still trying to establish themselves in Cochinchina, Poivre was asked if the approach of commerce and diplomacy should be continued or if more forceful means should be used. Poivre responded, "Force is the only method to be used."²⁷

Kirsop does not elaborate on Vo-vuong's expulsion of the foreign

missionaries beyond a brief mention of who was permitted to remain. In fact, among those exiled were nine Jesuits, nine members of the Société des Missions Étrangères, nine Franciscans, and two missionaries of the Sacred Congregation of the Propoganda.²⁸ Exempted from the expulsion, in Kirsop's words, was "one German, who professing Physick, was kept to attend the King's household" (254). This was the Jesuit Johann Koffler, who would later relate in his narrative the sinister prophecy made by the hermit. Like the Jesuits who served at the Court of the Emperor of China during the seventeenth century, Jesuits were also retained a century later by the rulers of Cochinchina in the capacities of doctors, astronomers, artists, and mathematicians. At the time of Vo-vuong's expulsion of the European missionaries, Koffler was one of three Jesuits who served at the Court and whom the ruler liked personally. The other two, Xavier de Monteiro and Juan de Loureiro, though exiled, were permitted to return to Hue.

De Loureiro, a naturalist and physician from Portugal, was, it should be mentioned, another prominent European writer—a member of the Royal Society of London and the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon²⁹—who would provide information about Cochinchina; his *Flora Cochincinensis* was published in Lisbon in 1790.³⁰ Enroute home from Cochinchina to Portugal in 1778 de Loureiro was approached by the French in India who wanted him, because of his expertise on Cochinchina, to return there as a diplomat with a mission to offer French military aid to Cochinchina in its struggles against Tonkin and other enemies. The plan was to gain favor and influence for the French before the British could gain the same for themselves.³¹ De Loureiro, who was by then sixty-eight years old and anxious to continue his return trip to Portugal, refused the offer. Two of De Loureiro's letters concerning his book on the plants of Cochinchina and his promise to write commentaries on Koffler's book were published along with Koffler's narrative in 1803.³²

De Loureiro's colleague, Johann Koffler, who was born in Prague in 1711, had been sent by the Society of Jesus to Macao in 1740 and to Cochinchina; he took his religious vows in 1744, and lived in Cochinchina for a total of about fourteen years, serving as physician at the

Nguyen Court for approximately seven of these years.³³ Koffler remained in Cochinchina until 1755, but, probably because he had continued his missionary work instead of confining himself as directed by the ruler to the practice of medicine and astronomy, he was ill-treated by Vo-vuong during his final years of service. When he finally left Cochinchina to return to Europe, Koffler was sick and exhausted from the effort of maintaining the Church while continuing his work at the Court, a task that involved incessant struggles with the ruler. He was taken prisoner, perhaps in Portuguese Macao as were other Jesuits, and jailed in Portugal by the forces of the anti-Jesuit Portuguese Minister Pombal, who in 1759 had ordered the expulsion of all Jesuits from Portuguese colonies. Through the intervention of the Empress of Austria, Maria Theresa, Koffler regained his freedom in 1767. He died in Vienna in 1780. While in Pombal's prison, Koffler recorded his fourteen years of observations and experiences in Cochinchina. Two of his fellow prisoners, the Jesuits Anselm von Eckart and Laurent Kaulen, later edited Koffler's manuscript, Eckart dividing it into sections and reordering and annotating it, and Kaulen deleting personal material in order to present only a historical record. After Koffler's death Kaulen sent the manuscript in the original German to the publisher Christophe de Murr,³⁴ who published it in Latin, as *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio* in 1803.³⁵ The work, providing a wealth of information, comprised 126 pages in the Latin version.

Koffler's narrative, while for the most part impersonal in tone, owing perhaps to the careful editing it received, nevertheless conveys an impression of the scholarly and erudite nature of its author. The report is replete with literary allusions to both the ancient classics and modern literature. Koffler's discussion, for example, of Vo-vuong's elephants arrayed for battle is accompanied by a quotation from Pliny (15, 1911: 571); a tiger hunt leads the author to recall Virgil's words in the *Aeneid* about the joys of hunting (16, 1911: 280, note 4).

The account, at least as it was finally published, does not, like those of Pierre Poivre, Pierre Favre, and Robert Kirsop, deal with relationships among the Europeans in Hue, but concentrates instead on life in Cochinchina and at the Court. The narrative is in fact considered to

be one of the most valuable descriptions of the Nguyen Court of this period.³⁶ Relations with Europeans are mentioned only occasionally, as when Koffler refers briefly to the trading ships that arrive from Batavia, Macao, and France, and when he praises the commercial skills of the Cochinchinese women who negotiate purchases in the “boutiques of foreign merchants of all countries” (16, 1911: 585). The intense controversy between the Jesuits and the papal emissary, de la Baume, who arrived in Cochinchina at about the same time as did Koffler, is not even mentioned in the latter’s narrative. Koffler did not have to compete with other Europeans for access to the Court and the ruler himself. Yet, in the end, his rewards were limited.

While Koffler wrote sparingly of the other Europeans in Hue, awareness of his presence on the part of one of the other visitors, Pierre Poivre, is documented in a colorful caricature. Probably because he was a former member of the rival missionary group, the *Société des Missions Étrangères*, Poivre appears not to have been well disposed toward the Jesuit. Having observed Koffler during his trip to Cochinchina in 1749-50, Poivre comments with some sarcasm, “I saw this Jesuit on a gilded galley, dressed in a black flowered robe of gauze-like fabric.” Koffler’s “flame-colored shirt” and his “extremely large doctoral hat, studded with imitation gems,”³⁷ were also singled out for comment by Poivre.

Koffler, in spite of the harsh treatment he received from Vo-vuong toward the end of his stay in Cochinchina, including exclusion from the Court after he failed to cure a high-ranking royal concubine,³⁸ and eventually even imprisonment during the ruler’s second persecution in 1753,³⁹ is favorably impressed by the nation in various ways. The Cochinchinese form of government Koffler finds to conform to the “most equitable laws” (15, 1911: 451), and he notes positively the restrictions placed on the ruler (16, 1911: 283). The Jesuit in a letter speaks more critically of the power of the mandarins who served Vo-vuong and opposed the missionaries.⁴⁰ He praises the “docile character” of the Cochinchinese men, and finds that the women compare favorably with European women in regard to their appearance, personality, and conversational abilities (16, 1911: 583-85). Koffler is, how-

ever, highly critical of the religions of Cochinchina, especially that of the common people, which, he states, is a "chaos where all is doubt, ugliness, confusion, and darkness" (16, 1911: 598).

Koffler provides abundant evidence of the beauty of the country. While exoticism cannot be said to constitute an actual theme in his narrative, numerous exotic details are to be found: the extended account of a royal tiger hunt, with an appealing picture of Vo-vuong drinking tea while resting (16, 1911: 280); a description of the royal palace with its dragons of white clay at the summit and at the angles of the roof, holding golden pendants in their mouths; the shimmering goldfish (15, 1911: 573-75); and the finery of the royal concubines, "adorned with gold and precious stones" (16, 1911: 273).

Koffler's insights into the society of the Court are unique. His extended description of each of the three classes of royal concubines serves as an example. The sad existence led by the royal consorts after the ruler dies, segregated, wearing ash-colored clothing, and often in tears, was evidently observed by Koffler himself. As seen earlier, the missionary, in his capacity of royal physician, was permitted to treat the concubines, as was one of his Jesuit predecessors in this position, Father Jean Siebert. We learn, incidently, from Pierre Favre that Siebert told the members of de la Baume's mission "that the most common illness" of the concubines whom he visited came "from the black jealousy that devours them, some against the others" (Favre 2: 21). Koffler, describing the first class of concubines and their great beauty, provides another allusion to classical literature, commenting that these women can be considered "new Helens" (16, 1911: 275).

Perhaps most intriguing among Koffler's reminiscences are those concerning the ruler himself. The Jesuit refers to Vo-vuong in his correspondence as a selfish person and notes that he has an "inconstant heart,"⁴¹ continually changing his mind. But Koffler also notes that the ruler demonstrated friendship for him that was quite unusual.⁴² Although Koffler's editor, his fellow prisoner Kaulen, deleted from the manuscript most personal material, a few glimpses of the ruler and his European guest in informal settings demonstrate the congeniality that existed between them. Koffler, for example, at the beginning of his stay

at Court was often asked to perform music for Vo-vuong. While the ruler enjoyed listening to the cithern, a type of stringed instrument played with a plectrum, Koffler notes, he called it a woman's instrument; he did not care much for the flute. When Koffler, however, in a tour de force, played both instruments at the same time, Vo-vuong seemed "agreeably surprised," perhaps, the reader suspects, more by Koffler's dexterity than by the music itself (16, 1911: 276-77).

Another glimpse of Koffler conversing informally with Vo-vuong occurs when the ruler views some portraits of European women in décolleté attire. Vo-vuong quickly pushed the pictures aside, commenting, "The women of your country appear to me to be quite unreserved in publicly exhibiting 'their nudity' this way." Koffler assured him that what the ruler was seeing was actually the invention of painters and not the representation of "usual dress" (16, 1911: 284). Koffler's correspondence provides an additional example of the ruler's informality with his foreign visitor. Koffler relates that Vo-vuong had permitted him to appear bareheaded before him, and describes how the ruler once took him by the hand to meet his favorite concubine.⁴³

* * * * *

Johann Koffler left Cochinchina in 1755. In the years following his departure relations between the Nguyen Court and the European governments which were interested in Southeast Asia remained unsettled. The period saw continually more intense French efforts for influence and political power in the area. In 1787 France agreed to provide assistance to the ruler Nguyen Anh against his enemies; when, however, the French government revoked this promise of support in 1789, the French bishop and diplomat Pigneau de Béhaine independently helped Nguyen Anh regain the throne; the ruler became the emperor Gia Long, head of a reunited Cochinchina and Tonkin in 1802. Although under Gia Long, the empire, by then known as Annam or Vietnam, was still not fully cognizant of the dangers of European imperialism, distrust of the European powers intensified and isolation from Europe began. The successors of Gia Long, more openly hostile toward European governments than their predecessor had been and more suspicious of the motives of European missionaries, instigated increasingly severe persecu-

tions of foreign religious groups. Finally, by the middle of the nineteenth century, France together with Spain, using the Vietnamese religious persecutions of their missionaries as a reason for military action, sent a naval expedition against the country. Eventually, in 1862, Vietnam was forced to sign a treaty which among other provisions required the ceding of portions of Cochinchina, which by then comprised the very southern part of the empire, to France. In 1867 France annexed Cochinchina's remaining provinces, thus completing the French takeover of the south. The north and center of the empire, Tonkin and Annam, would become French protectorates by 1883, thereby ending independence for all of Vietnam.

* * * * *

In his *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio* Johann Koffler does not record the reaction of the ruler Vo-vuong in 1754 to the hermit's dire prophecy that in time Cochinchina would pass into the hands of others and would be governed by foreigners. But given the insights provided by the travelers' reports into what Vo-vuong was witnessing in his country in the 1740s and early 1750s, one can imagine how he may have received the hermit's augury. Having been deceived by the Frenchman, Pierre Poivre, who had turned to force and kidnapped a Cochinchinese national; still suspicious of the ultimate intentions of the fractious French and Portuguese missionaries who had struggled for religious domination in his country; and finding that even now his once favored Court physician, Johann Koffler, was disregarding his orders to give up missionary endeavors and concentrate instead on court duties, Vo-vuong's distrust of Europeans must have reached a new height; he may indeed have sensed the loss of independence that his country would eventually suffer and have foreseen that the prediction of the hermit was, in fact, correct.

NOTES

¹ Joannes Koffler, *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio*, ed. Anselm von Eckart (Nuremberg: Christophe de Murr, 1803); quoted from the French translation, Jean Koffler, “*Description historique de la Cochinchinae par Jean Koffler (1766)*,” trans. V. Barbier, in *Revue indo-chinoise* 15 (1911): 448-62, 566-76; 16 (1911): 273-85, 582-607, at p. 596. Subsequent references will be to this translation and will be included in the text. Koffler’s name appears in a variety of spellings. I have followed the version used by the Library of Congress. In regard to the date of the bonze’s prophecy, a letter written by Koffler, summarized by Charles B. Maybon in his informative article, “Jean Koffler auteur de *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio*,” *Revue indo-chinoise* 17 (1912): 539-53, at p. 548, gives the date as 1744; the date 1754, however, given by Koffler in his narrative, seems to me more likely.

² For an excellent general history of Vietnam up to the end of the nineteenth century, see Joseph Buttinger, *The Smaller Dragon: A Political History of Vietnam* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1958).

³ Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas de Luís de Camões*, ed. Emanuel Paulo Ramos (Lisbon: E. L. Fluminense, 1983), Canto X, stanza 129.

⁴ Christoforo Borri, *Relatione della nuova missione delli PP. della Compagnia di Giesu, al regno della Cocincina, scritta dal padre Christoforo Borri . . . che fu uno de primi ch’entrarono in detto regno . . .* (Rome: F. Corbelletti, 1631).

⁵ Giuliano Baldinotti, *Lettere dell’ Ethiopia dell’anno 1626 sino al marzo del 1627, e della Cina dell’anno 1625 sino al febraro del 1626. Con una breve relatione del viaggio al regno di Tunquin, nuovamente scoperto* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1629); the French translation appeared in Gaspar Paes, *Histoire de ce qui s’est passé es royaumes d’Ethiopie, en l’année 1626 jusqu’au mois de mars 1627. Et de la Chine, en l’année 1625 jusques en février de 1626. Avec une brève narration du voyage qui s’est fait au royaume de Tunquin nouvellement découvert* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1629).

⁶ De Rhodes’s most significant travel narratives on Vietnam are

Divers voyages et missions du P. Alexandre de Rhodes en la Chine, et autres royaumes de l'Orient, avec son retour en Europe par la Perse et l'Armenie (Paris: S. Cramoisy et G. Cramoisy, 1653) and *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin et des grands progrès que la predictation de l'évangile y a faits en la conversion des Infidelles. Depuis l'année 1627 jusques à l'année 1646*, trans. Henri Albi (Lyon: Jean Baptiste Devenet, 1651). See Peter C. Phan, *Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1998), and Barbara Widenor Maggs, "Cosmopolitanism in Early Travel Literature: Alexandre de Rhodes in Vietnam," forthcoming in *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, and "Science, Mathematics, and Reason: The Missionary Methods of the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam," scheduled to appear in the July 2000 issue of *The Catholic Historical Review*.

⁷ Joseph Tissanier, *Relation du voyage du P. Joseph Tissanier de la Compagnie de Jesus, depuis la France, jusqu'au royaume de Tunquin. Avec ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable dans cette mission, durant les années 1658, 1659 et 1660* (Paris: E. Martin, 1663).

⁸ François Pallu, *Relation abrégée des missions et des voyages des évêques français envoyés aux royaumes de la Chine, Cochinchine, Tonquin et Siam* (Paris: Denys Bechet, 1668).

⁹ Samuel Baron, "A Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen," in Awtnsham Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 3rd ed., 6 vols., vol. 6 (London: H. Lintot, 1746).

¹⁰ William Dampier, *Voyages and Descriptions*, Vol. 2, Part 1, *A Supplement of the Voyage around the World, describing the countreys of Tonquin, Achin, Mallaca, etc.* 2nd ed. (London: J. Knapton, 1700).

¹¹ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux* (Paris: G. Clouzier, 1679).

¹² For background on Nguyen Phuoc-Khoat see Le Thanh Khoi, *Histoire du Vietnam des origines à 1858* (Paris: Sudestasie, 1981) 263 and 309, and Alastair Lamb, *The Mandarin Road to Old Hué: Narratives of Anglo-Vietnamese Diplomacy from the 17th Century to the Eve of the French Conquest* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1970) 62-67.

¹³ I have used the second edition, Pierre François Favre, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses sur la visite apostolique de M. de la Baume évêque d'Halicarnasse à la Cochinchine en l'année 1740*, 2 vol. in 1 (Venice: Frères Barzotti, 1753). Further citations will be to this edition and will be included in the text.

¹⁴ On Favre's life see *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, R. Aubert, ed. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1967) 16: 770.

¹⁵ Adrien Launay, *Histoire Générale de la Société des Missions-Étrangères*, 2 vols., (Paris: Téqui, Libraire-éditeur, 1894) 1: 532-35.

¹⁶ On the Rites Controversy and the De Tournon Mission, see Arnold H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin: The Jesuits at the Court of China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California, 1942). See also Basil Guy, "'Ad Majorem Societatis Gloriam': Jesuit Perspectives on Chinese Mores in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, eds., *Exoticism in the Enlightenment* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990), and Bonnie B. C. Oh and Charles E. Ronan, eds., *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1552-1773* (Chicago: Loyola UP, 1988).

¹⁷ Montézon, Fortuné de, *Mission de la Cochinchine et du Tonkin* (Paris: Charles Douniol, 1858) 386-89.

¹⁸ The small kingdom of Champa to the south of Cochinchina, was at this time under the control of the Nguyen but had its own prince. See Le, 266.

¹⁹ See Charles B. Maybon, "Quelques documents inédits concernant Pierre Poivre," *Études asiatiques à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi 2* (1925): 143-157.

²⁰ Pierre Poivre, "Relation abrégée des voyages faits par le Sieur [Poivre] pour le service de la Compagnie des Indes, depuis 1748, jusqu'en 1757," in Henri Cordier, "Voyages de Pierre Poivre de 1748 jusqu'à 1757," extracted from *Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises* (1918) and reproduced in *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Géographie orientales*, 3 (Paris, 1922): 55-137. This work by Poivre was not published during the eighteenth century. Subsequent references will be to the Cordier edition in *Mélanges* and will be included in the text.

²¹ Pierre Poivre, *Voyage d'un philosophe, ou, Observations sur*

les moeurs et les arts des peuples de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et de l'Amerique (Yverdon: n.p., 1768; I have used the English translation, *Travels of a Philosopher: or, Observations on the Manners and Arts of Various Nations in Africa and Asia. Translated from the French of M. Le Poivre, Late Envoy to the King of Cochin-China, and Now Intendant of the Isles of Bourbon and Mauritius* (London: T. Becket and Co., 1769). Subsequent references will be to this translation and will be included in the text.

²² Poivre left several additional unpublished works that concern Cochinchina: See Henri Cordier, "Voyage de Pierre Poivre en Cochinchine," *Revue d'Extrême-Orient* 3 (1885): 81-121, 364-510; Henri Cordier, "Mémoires divers sur la Cochinchine (1686-1748). III: 1744," *Revue d'Extrême-Orient* 2 (1884): 324-45. See also Nguyen The-Anh, *Bibliographie critique sur les relations entre le Viet-Nam et l'occident* (Ouvrages et articles en langues occidentales) (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1967).

²³ Lamb 63.

²⁴ Lamb 63.

²⁵ Robert Kirsop, "Some Account of Cochin China, by Mr. Robert Kirsop, Who Was There in the Year 1750," in Alexander Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, 2 vols. (London: G. Bigg, 1791-93) 1: 241-54. Subsequent references will be to this edition and will be included in the text. A German translation of Kirsop's narrative was published in *Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen*, vol. 8, A. M. Rochon, *Reise nach Madagaskar und Ostindien, Nebst T. Bowyear's and Robert Kirsop's Nachrichten von Cochinchina*, trans. G. Foster (Berlin, 1792).

²⁶ On British relations with Cochinchina in the eighteenth century, see Lamb.

²⁷ Pierre Poivre, "Réponse de P. Poivre au Ministre," in Georges Taboulet, *La Geste française en Indochine: histoire par les textes de la France en Indochine des origines à 1914* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1955) 1: 153. See also Lamb 61-64.

²⁸ Charles B. Maybon, "Jean Koffler auteur de *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio*," *Revue indochinoise* 17 (1912): 539-53, at p. 539.

²⁹ Maybon, "Jean Koffler," 543 note 3, and Koffler, "*Description historique de la Cochinchine* par Jean Koeffler," Barbier, trans. *Revue indo-chinoise* 16 (1911): 600.

³⁰ Juan de Loureiro, *Flora cochinchinensis*, 2 vols. in 1 (Lisbon: Academy of Sciences, 1790). The work was reprinted in Latin with annotations in Berlin in 1793; an excerpt from Loureiro's work also appeared in English: Carl Dietrich Eberhard König, *Tracts Relative to Botany, Translated from Different Languages* (London: Phillips and Fardon, 1805).

³¹ Lamb 68-70.

³² Loureiro, Letters, in Koffler, "Description historique," *Revue indo-chinoise* 16 (1911): 599, 603.

³³ Jean Koffler, "Description historique," *Revue indo-chinoise* 15 (1911): 448, 450.

³⁴ Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 544-47.

³⁵ Joannes Koffler, *Historica Cochinchinae descriptio*; see note 1 above, and Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 546-47.

³⁶ Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 547.

³⁷ Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 541.

³⁸ Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 551-52.

³⁹ Barbier, Introduction, "Jean Koffler, *Description historique . . .*," *Revue indo-chinoise* 15 (1911): 448.

⁴⁰ Koffler, Correspondence quoted in Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 549.

⁴¹ Koffler, Correspondence quoted in Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 549.

⁴² Koffler, Correspondence quoted in Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 553.

⁴³ Koffler, Correspondence quoted in Maybon, "Jean Koffler" 549.

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