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RESEARCH ON TONKIN – COCHINCHINA CIVIL WAR (VIETNAM) DURING THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES THROUGH WESTERN MATERIALS

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Abstract. Introduction. The article researches Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War (in Vietnamese history, also known as Dang Trong – Dang Ngoai War or Trinh – Nguyen War) that took place from the early 17th century to the late 18th century in Vietnam. **Methods and Materials.** When researching this matter, the author used Western materials, including writings, reports, correspondences, diaries, etc., of Western missionaries, merchants, and travellers used to operate in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries. The author combines two main research methods of historical science (historical method and logical method) with other research methods (system, analysis, synthesis, comparison, etc.) to clarify the article’s contents. **Analysis.** In the 17th and 18th centuries, the struggle for political power between two powers: Trinh Lord in Tonkin and Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina, caused Vietnam to undergo a fierce civil war that lasted for more than a century. This civil war was scattered mentioned in Western missionaries, merchants, and travellers’ materials (including writings, reports, correspondences and diaries), operating in Vietnam during this period. The cause of the civil war outbreak, force correlation between two sides, happening of some battles and using foreign resources of Trinh Lord and Nguyen Lord to defeat the enemy, those were the contents recorded by Westerners. Despite not much adequate, researchers also have a basic visualization of Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War’s panorama taking place in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries. **Results.** Based on researching several contents related to Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War, mentioned in writings, reports, correspondences, and diaries of Westerners present in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries, the author analyzed to draw out the advantages and limitations of these materials. On that basis, the author initially clarifies its value for the research and assessment of Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War of Vietnamese scholars at present and in the future.

Key words: Civil war, Vietnam, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Trinh Lord, Nguyen Lord, 17th century, 18th century.

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ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ГРАЖДАНСКОЙ ВОЙНЫ ТОНКИН – КОХИНХИНА (ВЬЕТНАМ) В XVII–XVIII ВВ. ЧЕРЕЗ ПРИЗМУ ЗАПАДНЫХ МАТЕРИАЛОВ

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Аннотация. Введение. В статье исследуется гражданская война Тонкин – Кохинхина (в истории Вьетнама также известная как война Данг Чонг – Данг Нгоай или война Трин – Нгуен), которая длилась с начала XVII до конца XVIII в. во Вьетнаме. **Методы и материалы.** В основу работы положены западные материалы, в том числе отчеты, переписка, дневники западных миссионеров, торговцев и путешественников, которые посещали Вьетнам в XVII и XVIII веках. Для более полного изучения данного вопроса в качестве основных методов исследования автор использует исторический и логический методы, а также применяет такие методы исследования, как системный подход, анализ, синтез, сравнение и др. **Анализ.** В XVII и XVIII вв. политичес-

кая борьба за власть между двумя родами – Лорд Трин в Тонкине и Лорд Нгуен в Кохинхине – вызвала во Вьетнаме жестокую гражданскую войну, которая длилась более века. Причины начала гражданской войны, соотношение сторон, участвовавших в борьбе, военные столкновения и использование иностранных ресурсов Лорд Трин и Лорд Нгуен для разгрома врага – обо всем этом можно прочесть в материалах западного происхождения. Хотя эти свидетельства не всегда объективны, но они помогают создать общее представление панорамы гражданской войны Тонкин – Кохинхина в XVII и XVIII веках. *Результаты.* Автору удалось установить преимущества и недостатки исторических материалов западного происхождения, уточнить их значение для оценки вьетнамскими учеными гражданской войны Тонкин – Кохинхина и обозначить перспективы изучения.

Ключевые слова: гражданская война, Вьетнам, Тонкин, Кохинхина, Лорд Трин, Лорд Нгуен, XVII век, XVIII век.

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Introduction. The 17th and 18th centuries were a turbulent period in Vietnamese history. During this time, various political forces' confrontation led to several wars for gaining the right to rule this nation¹. In particular, the conflict between Trinh Lord's governments in Tonkin and Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina that took place from the first half of the 17th century to the late 18th century was considered one of the critical events that had a profound effect on the history of Vietnam in this period. In essence, that was a civil war. Because at that time, both Trinh Lord and Nguyen Lord, although they held absolute power over the land they governed, still recognized the supreme rulership of the Emperor of the Later Le dynasty², and they were also the high ranking mandarins of this dynasty [63, pp. 174-175].

In fact, in the 17th century, Trinh Lord and Nguyen Lord's direct conflicts mainly took place in the period of 1627–1672. After 46 years of fierce fighting, both sides were exhausted in terms of human and material, so they had to cease war and accepted a state of long-term national division in 1672. Gianh River, also called Linh Giang in the historical record, became the boundary that divides Vietnam into two regions. The region from Linh Giang to the South was called Cochinchina under the rule of Nguyen Lord, and the area from Linh Giang to the North was called Tonkin, under the management of the government of Trinh Lord. However, that does not mean that after 1672, conflicts between these two powers altogether ceased. In fact, more than a century later (1672–1774), two sides were always in a state of “cold war” with the preparation and strengthening of their military, economic and defence potential as

well as enlisting the support of Western countries (Portugal, Netherlands, UK, France, etc.) to oppose their political opponent. That made this civil war practically occur in the period of 1627–1672 and last until the end of the 18th century. It was not until 1774, when the final battle between Tonkin and Cochinchina took place with the victory of Trinh Lord (Tonkin), that this civil war ultimately ended.

Researchers can find several Han script bibliographies on the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War, recorded by the official historians of the Later Le dynasty³ or the Cochinchina government's officials in the 17th and 18th centuries⁴ or the National Historiographer's Office of Nguyen Dynasty in the 19th century⁵. However, these historical records had certain limitations. The first was that they paid too much attention to presenting the progression of seven battles between Trinh Lord in Tonkin and Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina in the 1627–1672 period, but paid little attention to the “cold war” that took place from after 1672 to the late 18th century. The second was the objectivity of the historical records⁶. The above limitations could be completely overcome when researchers use the original documents recorded by Westerners who appeared in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries. Because for this war, they are bystanders, had no relation with both forces participating in the war. Therefore, they would not have any reason to record what they witnessed about this war dishonestly.

So, Westerners recorded the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries, but who are they? They were missionaries of different religious orders⁷, came

to Vietnam to evangelize the people of this country. They were the Western merchants⁸ who brought European goods to Vietnamese for sale, and at the same time bought indigenous products, aromatizers and medicinal herbs and took them back to the West. They could also be travelers⁹ who came to Vietnam to satisfy their curiosity and expand the understanding of this nation and people. So why did they take notes on this civil war? Apparently, their work (evangelization, trade, tourism) had nothing to do with the civil war for political power between Trinh Lord and Nguyen Lord, which took place in Vietnam at that time. However, the fierce and brutal context caused by this conflict brought Western missionaries, merchants, and travellers certain obstacles in their work. Therefore, in the writings, correspondences and reports sent to Europe at that time, even in diaries of personal journeys, the Western missionaries, merchants, and travellers directly or indirectly mentioned the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War along with its adverse effects at each particular period.

Methods and materials. In the process of studying this issue, the author uses original historical records (writings, reports, correspondences, diaries, etc.) recorded by Westerners (missionaries, merchants, travellers, etc.) who were present and worked in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries, referring directly or indirectly to the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War. These documents existed in two forms. Firstly, they were published in Europe as separate and typical works such as *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin* [47], *Divers Voyages et Missions* [46], *Relazione de' felici successi della Santa Fede Predicata da' Padri Della Compagnia di Giesu Nel Regno di Tunchino* [48] of Alexandre de Rhodes, *Relation de la nouvelle mission des pères de la compagnie de Jésus au royaume de la Cochinchine* [5] of Christoforo Borri, *Delle missioni de' padri della Compagnia di Giesu nella provincia del Giappone, e particolarmente di quella di Tumkino* [29] of Giovanni Filippo de Marini, *Voyages and descriptions* [16] of William Dampier, *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux de J.B Tavernier* [59] of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Journal du voyage de Siam fait en 1685 et 1686* [13] of François-Timoléon Abbé de Choisy, etc. Secondly, they were selected, edited, translated and published in a number of works such as *Mission de la*

Cochinchine et du Tonkin avec gravure et carte géographique [35] of Fortuné de Montézon et al, *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam: Christoforo Borri on Cochinchina and Samuel Baron on Tonkin* [18] (Olga Dror and K.W. Taylor editors and annotators), *La Geste française en Indochine: Histoire par les textes de la France en Indochine des origines à 1914* [57] of Georges Taboulet, *De Oost-Indische compagnie en Quinam, de betrekkingen der Nederlanders met Annam in de XVII eeuw* [6] of Wilhelm Jozef Maria Buch, *Aux origines d'une église. Rome et les missions d' Indochine au XVIIe siècle* [11] of Henri Chappoulie, *Histoire moderne du pays d'Annam (1592–1820)* [33] of Charles B. Maybon, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses: concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique, avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques* [30] of Louis-Aimé Martin, etc. The above-mentioned documents played an important role in providing a necessary basis for the author to conduct research accurately and objectively on the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Approaching the research issue from the perspective of history, the author applies the historical method, with the desire to reproduce systematically and accurately the panorama of the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries. To achieve this goal, the author applies methods of selecting, collating, system, synthesizing, statistics, comparison, and analyzing data and historical events and phenomena mentioned in the original material source (writings, reports, correspondences, diaries, etc.) of Western missionaries, merchants, and travellers, who operated in Vietnam in the period. On that basis, the author clarifies the advantages and limitations of this material source, at the same time, considers and evaluates its significance and value for the study of the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in the 17th and 18th centuries. That is the manifestation of the application of the logical method in the process of studying this issue. Thus, the clarified contents in the article are the result of the combined application of the research mentioned above methods.

Analysis. When researching writings, correspondences, reports and diaries of the

Westerners (including missionaries, merchants and travellers) who operated in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries, it could be realized that these documents mainly referred to the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in the following aspects:

The first was about the cause of the civil war. This content could be found in the documents of two Jesuit missionaries Alexandre de Rhodes¹⁰ and Cristoforo Borri¹¹. As a missionary who thoroughly and creatively applied the guideline of “adaptation to indigenous culture” [2, pp. 412–413], fluent in Vietnamese language and spent a long time in Cochinchina (1624–1626, 1640–1645) as well as Tonkin (1627–1630), so missionary Alexandre de Rhodes also more or less had a certain understanding of the political situation of Vietnam during this period. Talking about the cause of the outbreak of the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War, in three works *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin*, *Divers Voyages et Missions*, and *Relazione de’ felici successi della Santa Fede Predicata da’ Padri Della Compagnia di Gesu Nel Regno di Tunchino*, Alexandre de Rhodes said, Cochinchina was only split from Tonkin for less than 50 years. Still, 700 years earlier¹², this area was only one province of Tonkin. The person who started to bring Cochinchina out of dependence on the Tonkin government was the ancestor of Nguyen Lord who ruled Cochinchina at the time of Alexandre de Rhodes’s arrival in this land¹³. The ancestor that Alexandre de Rhodes mentioned here was Nguyen Hoang¹⁴. Nguyen Hoang was Trinh Kiem’s wife’s brother. In the second half of the 16th century, Nguyen Hoang noticed that his brother-in-law Trinh was secretly attempting to assassinate, to monopolize political power that belonged to him¹⁵. So, he asked his older sister (i.e. Trinh Kiem’s wife) to tell his brother-in-law to allow him to Cochinchina for the ruling. Trinh Kiem approved that petition along with another malicious scheme. He wanted to take advantage of the natural severity and social complexity of this southernmost land of Vietnam (Cochinchina) to kill his wife’s brother who was intending to gain power and opposed him. In a report on the missionary situation in Cochinchina called *Relation de la nouvelle mission des peMres de la compagnie de Jésus au royaume de la Cochinchine*, Cristoforo Borri – a Jesuit missionary who worked in this area from 1618 to 1621 said that in the first period of coming to rule this land,

Nguyen Hoang knew that his power was not strong enough to oppose Trinh Lord, so he still made peace with Tonkin by paying taxes in full to Tonkin [5, p. 83]. However, after his death (1613), his successor son Nguyen Phuc Nguyen went one step further in realizing the intentions to oppose the Tonkin government by strengthening the exchange relations with the Portuguese and declaring not to pay taxes to Tonkin [48, p. 140]. That made Trinh Lord become angry and bring troops to fight against Nguyen Lord in 1627, which triggered the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War lasting for more than 100 years.

The second was about the force correlation between Tonkin and Cochinchina in this civil war. This was one of the contents most frequently reflected in the materials of the Westerners who operated in Vietnam during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Regarding the Tonkin army’s size and strength in the fierce battle with Cochinchina, this issue was found in the documents of Samuel Baron¹⁶, William Dampier¹⁷ and two Jesuit missionaries named Giovanni Filippo de Marini¹⁸ and Joseph Tissanier¹⁹. Specifically, in *A Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen*, Dutch trader Samuel Baron said that the permanent army of Trinh Lord in the 17th century could not be below 140,000 people. In urgent cases, the Tonkin government could mobilize a force twice higher than this number. In addition to the infantry, Trinh Lord could also mobilize 8,000 to 10,000 war horses for the war against Nguyen Lord, 300 to 400 war elephants, about 220 war galleys with different sizes and sizes and 500 galleys used to transport foodstuffs, supplies and troops [18, p. 212].

Jesuit missionary Giovanni Filippo de Marini was present at Tonkin from 1646 to 1658. This was the period of time of the fourth (1648) and the fifth (1655–1660) battles between armies of Trinh Lord and Nguyen Lord. Therefore, during the process of evangelizing in this area, he had the opportunity to witness firsthand the scale of the Tonkin army mobilized by Trinh Lord to participate in these two battles. Those were recorded by him with quite specific numbers in the report bearing the name *Delle missioni de’ padri della Compagnia di Gesu nella provincia del Giappone, e particolarmente di quella di Tumkino*. Giovanni Filippo de Marini said, because at that time, Tonkin was in a state of war with Cochinchina, Trinh Lord

always prepared a relatively large army force. As early as 1641, the Tonkin army's infantry's total number of troops, including the regular and reserve forces, reached 335,000 people. Besides, Trinh Lord also held 12,000 cavalries, more than 2,000 war elephants and transport elephants along with 2,000 war galleys. Whenever Trinh Lord issued an order to attack, he could immediately mobilize 30,000 elite troops. That was not to mention 40,000 soldiers, or even more, garrisoned in the imperial capital. In Boccin (Bo Chinh, now Quang Binh province) – the area where direct battles between two sides took place and occupied in 1655–1656 by the Cochinchina army, Tonkin government arranged here the number of troops up to 60,000 people [29, pp. 62-63].

Working with Giovanni Filippo de Marini in Tonkin in 1658, missionary Joseph Tissanier in his report on missionary activities in this area named *Relation du voyage du P. Joseph Tissanier de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis la France Jusqu'au Royaume du Tonkin* also mentioned the mighty Tonkin army in the war with Cochinchina. He said that Trinh Lord held an army with nearly 50,000 troops and appointed nearly 60,000 troops to the border area bordering Cochinchina. In Trinh Lord's troops participating in the war, there were also 500 war elephants and 500 war galleys, fully equipped with weapons and means serving for war [35, p. 103].

Trinh Lord in Tonkin not only focused on building and strengthening the army during the wartime with Cochinchina but also when two sides ceased the war (1672), the permanent maintenance of a large army force that was ready to fight was still carried out by Trinh Lord. This was mentioned in *Voyages and descriptions of a Western traveller named William Dampier*, who arrived in Tonkin in 1688. As recorded by William Dampier, at that time, the Tonkin army had from 70,000 to 80,000 people, mainly infantry, including nearly 30,000 troops stationed in the imperial capital, to protect Le King and Trinh Lord. The remainder was in the southern border area, which borders Cochinchina. William Dampier also said that Trinh Lord's army force always seriously performed the drill and used many different types of cannons with different sizes [16, pp. 69-76].

In response to the Tonkin army's strength, to protect the area that he was ruling while seeking to defeat a political opponent or at least gain an advantage on the battlefield, Nguyen Lord in

Cochinchina also constantly built and strengthened the defence force. However, ruling on a region without a long history of reclamation and sparse population, Nguyen Lord could not have the same favourable conditions as Trinh Lord in Tonkin in organizing a military force on a large scale. In 1670 – a period of time quite close to the seventh battle between Trinh Lord and Nguyen Lord (1672), missionary Benigne de Vachet²⁰ who was evangelizing at Cochinchina, recorded in a memoir that the total number of troops in the Cochinchina army was 40000 people [57, p. 66]. Missioner Abbé de Choisy²¹, in the book *Journal du Voyage de Siam fait en 1685 et 1686*, also said that as of 1679, the Cochinchina army had about 30,000 troops. In which Nguyen Lord and three princes directly held 19,000 troops. The rest was placed under the command of generals, stationed permanently at the border area adjacent to Tonkin [13, p. 363].

To strengthen the defence capacity at estuaries against the Tonkin naval attack, Lords Nguyen in Cochinchina also focused on developing the galley squadron. Jesuit missionary Christoforo Borri in the report *Relation de la nouvelle mission des pères de la Compagnie de Jesu, au Royaume de la Cochinchine* said clearly that, in 1618, Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina had more than 100 war galleys, always ready to fight. Each war galley was equipped with cannons and muskets with full ammunition [5, p. 86]. Missioner Alexandre de Rhodes in work named *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin*, recorded the number of Cochinchina war galleys of 200 [47, pp. 22-23]. A report by The Dutch East India Company also said that in 1642, Nguyen Lord had about 230 to 240 war galleys. Each galley carried 64 people, including rowers and troops. They were armed with three guns [6, p. 122], spear and long-handled sickle to fight against Tonkin's war galleys. Meanwhile, as recorded by Abbé de Choisy, in 1685–1686, the Cochinchina court held 131 war galleys. Each galley carried two sailors, three commanders, six furnace burners, two drummers and 60 rowers. Also, three high ranking mandarins of three provinces in this area at that time had several own war galleys that were allocated as follows: 30 in Dinhcat province (Quang Tri), 17 in Cham province (Quang Nam), and 15 in Niaroux province (Khanh Hoa) [13, pp. 361-362]. Thus, the data on war galleys of Cochinchina in the 17th century recorded by some Westerners, as

mentioned above, was different. However, on the whole, the number of war galleys of Cochinchina was still less than that of Tonkin, as observed by missionary Alexandre de Rhodes [47, p. 19].

Besides, in response to Tonkin's powerful elephant troop force at that time, Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina also paid much attention to building this arm to promote the great advantages of elephants in the area ruled by him. In a report by The Dutch East India Company, in 1642, the Cochinchina government had 600 war elephants [6, p. 122] always ready to fight against Tonkin.

Thus, in general, it could be seen that Cochinchina's army forces, including the infantry, the navy and elephant troop were not as large and powerful as those of Tonkin. However, during this civil war, Tonkin could not defeat Cochinchina after several battles in the 1627–1672 period. The cause of this problem was mentioned by several Westerners who worked in Vietnam in the 17th century. Jesuit missionary Christoforo Borri in the report *Relation de la nouvelle mission des pères de la Compagnie de Jesu, au Royaume de la Cochinchine* confirmed that the army of Cochinchina displayed its fighting power both at sea as well as on the mainland thanks to artillery. This made it easier for Nguyen Lord to perform the ploy against Trinh Lord [5, p. 82]. In his work *A Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen*, Samuel Baron said that the weakness of the Tonkin army force was in the fighting spirit. Despite having a large army force, when approaching the border of Cochinchina, facing the opponent's enemy fortifications and trenches and being engulfed in the screams of Nguyen Lord army, especially when some people were dying due to battles or illnesses in their line, Trinh's troops often suffered from a mental breakdown, turned back and fled away. Furthermore, during the battles with Cochinchina, the Tonkin army was placed under the command of eunuchs. Samuel Baron said that was also one reason for the consecutive and prolonged defeats of the Tonkin army in this civil war [18, p. 213]. Also, missionary Alexandre de Rhodes in work named *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin*, pointed out that the quantity advantage of the Tonkin army would become limited when it had to move a long distance from Thang Long (Hanoi capital) before reaching the border of Cochinchina (Quang Binh province). During the battles, Trinh Lord wanted to apply

the “quick fight and quick win” strategy because the carried amount of food and supplies could only meet the army's essential needs in three or four months. On the contrary, Nguyen Lord tightly defended and deliberately lengthened the time to make Trinh Lord bog down in the battle and face food shortage. Therefore, Trinh Lord had to withdraw his army if he did not want to see his army starve to death [47, pp. 151-152].

The third was the evolution of some battles between Tonkin and Cochinchina armies. Based on the Vietnamese's original historical materials in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, it could be known that, during the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War, two sides fought seven times in the 1627–1672 period. In which Trinh Lord brought troops to attack the South up to 6 times (1627, 1633, 1643, 1648, 1661–1662, 1672) and only one time Nguyen Lord proactively attacked the North (1655–1660) [63, pp. 117-164]. From 1672 onwards, two sides declared a cease-fire, but the “cold war” continued for more than 100 years. It was not until 1774, taking advantage of when Nguyen Lord government in Cochinchina was dealing with the outbreak and widespread of Tay Son uprising²², that Trinh Lord in Tonkin once again launched an attack against this area. This was the last battle in the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War, marked by a victory for Trinh Lord [62, pp. 290-204, 346-346; 63, pp. 315-322].

However, it's regrettable that the whole course of the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in the 17th and 18th centuries was not mentioned systematically, fully and completely in the documents of Westerners working in Vietnam at this period. Researchers today can only find some materials or generalized records of the civil war's results at each specific time [47, p. 19; 15, p. 381] or somewhat brief and discrete descriptions of some battles between Trinh Lord and Nguyen Lord armies. This was completely explainable, since Westerners came to Vietnam at different times, it may be the moment of a battle in progress, but also the time when two sides ceased fire. They recorded documents during those specific times. Therefore, it was evident not to cover the entire civil war with all conflicts that took place between the two sides.

Of the eight battles between the Tonkin and Cochinchina armies between 1627 and 1774, the documents recorded by Westerners

operating in Vietnam during this period also mentioned only three battles that took place in 1627, 1643 and 1672.

Jesuit missionary Alexandre de Rhodes mentioned the first battle between the Tonkin and Cochinchina armies in 1627 in three works compiled by him named *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin*, *Divers Voyages et Missions*, and *Relazione De' Felici successi della Santa Fede Predicata Da' Padri Della Compagnia di Gesu Nel Regno Di Tunchino*. Specifically, on March 19, 1627, he and missionary Pedro Marquez²³ arrived in Cua Bang (Thanh Hoa province), started the mission of evangelization in Tonkin. At that time, Trinh Lord was leading troops to fight against Nguyen Lord. Alexandre de Rhodes witnessed and recorded the Tonkin army's mighty scale moving towards the Cochinchina border at that time. The leading troop consisted of more than 200 war galleys fully equipped with weapons. Trinh Lord's squadron included 24 larger and more splendid decorated war galleys would follow. These galleys had sails made of smooth fabric and rope braces plaited from red silk thread. Behind the Trinh Lord's fleet was another squadron with more than 200 galleys, and further followed by more than 500 large-sized transport boats carrying food to serve both the navy and the infantry. Also, in Trinh Lord's army, there were 300 war elephants carrying cannons. As estimated by Alexandre de Rhodes, the total number of the navy and the infantry reached 120,000 people, excluding sailors and commanders [48, pp. 137-139; 46, p. 92]. However, after two months of fighting, Trinh Lord found that invading and defeating Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina was not as easy as he imagined. At that time, Nguyen Lord arranged on the mountain peaks in the border area the dummies dressed in Portuguese costumes, holding sticks and guns, pointed straight towards the Tonkin army. That made Trinh Lord's troops become panic-stricken and dare not attack because thinking that the Portuguese were providing weapons and helping Nguyen Lord against them. Besides, Nguyen Lord's army also carried out a scheme of laying many ropes²⁴ and pointed stakes hidden underwater at estuaries to prevent the Tonkin's navy from attacking. Meanwhile, the prolongation of the war caused Trinh Lord to face more food shortage problems and risk of rebellion among the troops. Therefore,

Trinh Lord decided to withdraw his army [47, pp. 27-28, 151-152].

The third battle between Tonkin and Cochinchina armies took place in 1643, presented by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier²⁵, a French traveler in the document *Relation nouvelle & singuliere du royaume de Tunquin, avec plusieurs figures & la carte du Pais*, based on recording his brother's telling about this event. To fulfil his intention of defeating Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina, Trinh Lord in Tonkin mobilized a powerful force with 8,000 war horses, 94,000 troops and 722 war elephants which 130 were used for combat and the rest was used to transport food. Trinh Lord also had 318 long and narrow war galleys, equipped with paddle and mast [59, p. 24]. Baptiste Tavernier also said that the Cochinchina military force at that time was stronger than Tonkin. Therefore, after penetrating Nhat Le estuary (Quang Binh province) to attack Nguyen Lord but having no result, Trinh Lord had to withdraw his troops. However, to increase the defence, Trinh Lord dispatched several generals to stay to guard the vulnerable areas bordering Cochinchina.

The seventh battle between Tonkin and Cochinchina armies took place in 1672, mentioned in a letter written in 1766 by Jesuit missionary Nuntius de Horta²⁶. He mentioned 1671²⁷, Trinh Lord in Tonkin made an expeditionary into Cochinchina with unprecedented drastic nature. Trinh Lord prepared very thoroughly and mobilized 80,000 elite troops for the war, aiming for a resounding victory. Meanwhile, the army of Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina at this time had less than 25,000 troops. Despite this, after three days of fighting, Tonkin's army suffered heavy losses, having destroyed 17,000 troops. Therefore, Trinh Lord had to withdraw his army and no longer attempted to wage war with Cochinchina [30, pp. 581-582].

The fourth was about establishing the relationship and using Lords Nguyen and Trinh Lord's foreign resources to win or advantage the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War. When entering this civil war, both Trinh Lord in Tonkin and Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina wanted to defeat the enemy to gain dominance over Vietnam's entire territory at that time. To achieve this goal, both sides directly or indirectly seek foreign assistance, especially in the military. This was

recorded by Westerners present in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries.

In the report *Relation de la nouvelle mission des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus au Royaume de la Cochinchine*, Jesuit missionary Christoforo Borri, who was present in Cochinchina in the first half of the 17th century, mentioned the interest of Nguyen Lord in Western weapons, especially cannons. According to him, one of the reasons that Nguyen Lord had enough courage to rebel against Trinh Lord in Tonkin was that for a long time before that, he ordered fishers to collect a variety of cannons of the West from the Portuguese and Dutch ships were sunk by the storm near the coast of Cochinchina²⁸. Early access and regular training with the Western cannons and harquebus made the Cochinchina troops proficient in using these weapons. Missioner Christoforo Borri also said that promoting commercial activities with Japanese merchants has brought Nguyen Lord many weapons from this country, especially catane swords with excellent quality [5, pp. 82-83].

Nguyen Lord also regularly bought Western guns to strengthen the military's combat capacity. In 1658, at the time of the fifth battle (1655–1660) between the Cochinchina and Tonkin armies taking place, Nguyen Lord gave the Jesuit missionary Pedro Marquez 10,000 silver ingots to go to Macao to buy cannons for the Cochinchina army, and Pedro Marquez completed the assigned duty [11, pp. 173, 237]. In 1695, Nguyen Lord had a problem with British trader Thomas Bowyer about supplying Cochinchina cannons that fired bullet sizes from 7 to 8 live [33, p. 98]. Pierre Poivre²⁹, a merchant from the French East India Company to Cochinchina in 1749, also recalled that, as seen around Nguyen Lord's palace, there were 1,200 cannons, and all were made of brass. Among them, there were many cannons of different sizes bearing Portuguese and Spanish badges. They were brought to the trading port of Faifo by European merchants (known as Hoi An city, Quang Nam province at present) and sold to Nguyen Lord [14, p. 90; 33, p. 99]. The Cochinchina government also had the opportunity to access Western weapons through donations of the foreigners, although in limited numbers. In 1682, the French East India Company, through missionary Louis Laneau³⁰ – Titular Bishop of Metellopolis, gave Nguyen Lord two cannons [53,

p. 49]. Or in 1689, the Macao Senate gave Nguyen Lord two bronze cannons in exchange for the exemption of some taxes from the Cochinchina government [33, p. 99].

Trade relations with Western merchants, especially the Portuguese, gave the Cochinchina army many cannons to service the war with Tonkin. However, Nguyen Lord also clearly saw the potential risks, if too dependent on Macao's weapons. So, the Cochinchina government wanted to implement a more proactive plan for the manufacture of cannons. Finally, in 1658³¹, Nguyen Lord also achieved his objective. A Portuguese named João da Cruz³² went to Cochinchina to help Nguyen Lord cast the Western cannon [9, pp. 312-313]. Missioner Louis Chevreuil³³ – a French missionary who was present in this area from 1663 to 1665 said that João da Cruz received respect and preferential treatment from Nguyen Lord because he was able to manufacture beautiful cannons for the Cochinchina army. Every year, in addition to the money the Nguyen Lord government gave to his family, João da Cruz was also paid 500 équi for his salary [9, p. 313]. In fact, thanks to João da Cruz, the Portuguese gun-casting technique was quickly introduced into Cochinchina. It was received and applied by the Vietnamese in making a large number of cannons at a later stage.

If in Cochinchina, Nguyen Lord strengthened his military might through relations with Western countries, especially the Portuguese, in Tonkin, a similar process took place in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, the chosen Western force was not Portuguese but Dutch. In fact, Trinh Lord in Tonkin initially moved to establish relations with the Portuguese. When the Jesuit missionary Giuliano Baldinotti³⁴ arrived in Tonkin together with the Portuguese merchants in 1626, they received a warm welcome from Trinh Lord in the hope that the Portuguese would support and aid Tonkin in the war with Cochinchina at that time [4; 33, p. 93]. However, due to knowing the good relationship between the Portuguese and Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina, although Trinh Lord wanted to entice the Portuguese, inwardly, he still had certain scepticism. In his report on Tonkin's mission situation from 1626 to 1627 named *La Relation Sur le Tonkin du P. Baldinotti*, Giuliano Baldinotti mentioned Trinh Lord's asked him and the Portuguese merchants made an oath that they

should always be good and loyal friends to Tonkin. They must also pledge not to go to Cochinchina to help Nguyen Lord [4, p. 76]. Alexandre de Rhodes – a Jesuit missionary working in Tonkin from 1627 to 1630 also confirmed this in work named *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin* [47, p. 124]. However, then Trinh Lord found that the Portuguese did not want to give up their long-standing friendship with Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina, so the enthusiasm he gave to the Portuguese at first was gradually reduced.

Realizing that he could not expect anything from the Portuguese, Trinh Lord promoted the establishment of relations with the Dutch in the hope could rely on the Dutch's power of dominating the sea surface at that time to defeat Cochinchina. In 1637, the Tonkin government offered The Dutch East India Company for helping them fight Cochinchina. In 1641, when the ship *Meerman* of The Dutch East India Company arrived in Tonkin, Trinh Lord zealously welcomed and received Dutch merchants as soon as they arrived at Ke Cho (Hanoi capital). This was certainly not out of the purpose of wanting to have a Dutch commitment to support Tokin in the fight against Cochinchina. After that, Trinh Lord also wrote some letters to the representatives of The Dutch East India Company in Batavia (Jakarta, Indonesia) and Formosa (i.e. Taiwan), with the desire to establish frequent commercial relations and received help from the Dutch during his war with Nguyen Lord [33, pp. 94-95]. In particular, the relationship between Tonkin and the Dutch had a critical turning point in 1643. In *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin*, Jesuit missionary Alexandre de Rhodes said, at that time, after being unable to resolve previous conflicts with the Cochinchina government, at the request of Trinh Lord, the Dutch decided to send three war galleys to Tonkin to join the Trinh army to fight against Nguyen Lord [47, p. 19; 58, pp. 15-20]. This event put an end in relations between the Dutch and Cochinchina. From then to the late 17th century, the Dutch only went to do business in Tonkin. Trading in weapons between Tokin and the Netherlands was also recorded during this period [33, p. 98]. In 1658, when the missionary Tissannier arrived in Tonkin, he recorded a Dutch taught a Trinh Lord's martial mandarin to make grenades used in war [35, p. 95]. It showed that at that time, the Dutch more or less had the transfer of

Western weapon manufacturing techniques to the Vietnamese in Tonkin.

In addition to trading with the Dutch to acquire Western weapons for the war against Cochinchina, Trinh Lord in Tonkin also established relations with the British. In the documents on the commercial transactions between the British and Tonkin in the 17th century, Trinh Lord government's purchase of cannons, ammunition, gunpowder and saltpetre was always mentioned. Like the Portuguese in Cochinchina, the British in Tonkin also intended to help the Trinh Lord government manufacture Western cannons in this area. In 1678, British merchants operating in Tonkin asked Bantam Presidency (Java) to send a gunmaker to this area to teach Western gun-casting techniques to the Vietnamese. Through this, the Vietnamese probably learned the Western method of casting guns. Besides, Trinh Lord also purchased cannons from British merchants to serve the war against Cochinchina in the 17th and 18th centuries [18, p. 213; 33, pp. 97-98].

Results. From the early 17th century to the late 18th century, Vietnam had to go through one of the most prolonged and most fierce civil wars in its formation and development history. That was the civil war between two political forces: Trinh Lord in Tonkin and Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina. It was worth noting that this civil war was not only recorded by Vietnamese historians but was also mentioned directly or indirectly in the documents of Western missionaries, merchants and travellers present in Vietnam at that time. They went to Tonkin and Cochinchina at different times. Moreover, their time spent in these two regions was not too long, making Westerners records of the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in the 17th and 18th centuries not comprehensive and complete. The confusion or non-profound explanation of some contents or the inconsistency in the records and data related to this civil war could be easily found in Westerners' documents. This was an unavoidable problem. Because Westerners would inevitably encounter certain obstacles and difficulties in terms of language and perception when recording and researching Vietnamese history in a relatively long period, full of complicated fluctuations in the 17th and 18th centuries. Even so, when connecting these somewhat discrete, scattered and unsystematic materials, researchers can still have

the most basic and general visualization of the appearance of the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War. In which the cause of the civil war, the force correlation between two sides, the happenings of some battles as well as the calculation of Trinh Lord and Nguyen Lord in using external resources to defeat the opponent were the most mentioned contents in the documents recorded by Westerners working in Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries. In particular, it must be seen that objectivity is the most prominent advantage of these documents compared with the historical materials compiled by the Vietnamese at the same time. Therefore, it has contributed to supplementing valuable historical materials, helping Vietnamese researchers to have a more multidimensional and comprehensive approach in the process of reproducing the panorama of the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War as well as assessing its influence and impact on the history of Vietnam in the ancient and medieval period.

NOTES

¹ In the 17th and 18th centuries, Vietnam underwent two major civil wars. The first was the civil war between Trinh Lord in Tonkin and Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina from 1627 to 1774. Then, from 1787 to the late 18th century, this country continued to be engulfed in the fire of battle when facing a civil war between Nguyen Anh's force – a descendant of Nguyen Lord and Tay Son's force – the monarchy was set up from the peasant uprising movement in Cochinchina in the late 18th century [60, pp. 293-297, 368-401; 63, pp. 117-164, 315-322].

² Later Le dynasty was the longest standing monarchy in Vietnamese history. The Late Le Dynasty was established by Le Loi – the leader of the Lam Son uprising in 1428. This dynasty underwent two stages of development: the Early Le period from 1428 to 1527 and the Revival Le period from years 1533 to 1789 [25, pp. 316-349, 391-433; 62, pp. 233-366].

³ The happening of the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in the period 1627–1672 was mentioned in *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (大越史記全書: Complete Annals of Dai Viet) – a set history book compiled by Ngo Si Lien and other official historians of Later Le dynasty in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries and printed in 1697 [54, pp. 612, 617, 666-667, 669, 673, 677-686, 703-704].

⁴ Nguyen Khoa Chiem (1659–1736) – a mandarin of Nguyen Lord government in Cochinchina wrote *Nam triều công nghiệp diễn chí* (南朝功業演志:

History of the Southern Dynasty) in 1719. In this work, he presented the evolution of Nguyen Lord and Trinh Lord's fighting in the 17th century [26, pp. 7-9].

⁵ *Đại Nam thực lục* (大南實錄: Veridical records of Dai Nam) was a great history set of Nguyen dynasty, started to be compiled in 1821 and completed in 1894. The history set consisted of two parts: Tien Bien and Chinh Bien. The Tien Bien part included 12 volumes, recording the history of nine Nguyen Lord generations and mentioning many contents related to Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in the 17th and 18th centuries [42, pp. 42-191]. *Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục* (欽定越史通鑑綱: A mirror of Vietnamese history prepared by imperial order) was a history set compiled by Quốc sử quán triều Nguyễn (阮朝國史館: The National Historiographer's Office of Nguyen Dynasty) in the period of 1856–1884. This history set recorded the history of many monarchies of Vietnam. In which, the section on the Later Le dynasty mentioned the civil war between Trinh Lord in Bac Ha (Tonkin) and Nguyen Lord in Nam Ha (Cochinchina) [43].

⁶ The book *Nam triều công nghiệp diễn chí* (南朝功業演志: History of the Southern Dynasty) was compiled by Nguyen Khoa Chiem – a mandarin of Nguyen Lord. Meanwhile, Nguyen Lord was one of two forces participating in the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War, so the records in this book would not surely ensure objectivity. Meanwhile, two history sets *Đại Nam thực lục* (大南實錄: Veridical records of Dai Nam) and *Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục* (欽定越史通鑑綱: A mirror of Vietnamese history prepared by imperial order) were compiled under the direction of the Nguyen Emperors. They were descendants of the Nguyen Lords, so in recording the Vietnam history in the 17th and 18th centuries, especially the Trinh – Nguyen War, it will be difficult to avoid praising and defending Nguyen Lords and deliberately downplaying the role of Trinh Lord [63, pp. 174-176].

⁷ In the 17th and 18th centuries, Jesuit missionaries such as Alexandre de Rhodes, Christoforo Borri, Giuliano Baldinotti, Giovanni Filippo de Marini, Joseph Tissanier, Nuntius de Horta etc., as well as a missioner of The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris such as Louis Chevreuil, Benigne de Vachet, Abbé de Choisy, etc., used to work in Vietnam. They recorded the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in their writings, reports, correspondences, and diaries in such a process.

⁸ Among the Western merchants who came to Vietnam in the 17th and 18th centuries, Samuel Baron – an employee of the English East India Company and Pierre Poivre – a merchant of the French East India Company, were two people who mentioned the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in their reports, writings and correspondences.

⁹ William Dampier and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier were two Western travellers who directly or indirectly recorded the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War in their traveller's notes.

¹⁰ Alexandre de Rhodes was born on March 15, 1593 in Avignon, in a Jewish family. On April 14, 1612, he joined the Jesuits in Rome and was ordained a priest in 1618. At the end of the year, he was accepted by the Jesuit Superior for Eastern Asia's mission after having applied three times for a missionary trip between 1614 and 1618. He arrived in the Portuguese capital to board the ship to Eastern Asia, but because he was suspended for too long in Goa until May 29, 1623, he reached Macao. Initially, he planned to go to Japan to the mission, but his wish was unsuccessful, so he was sent to Vietnam. He came to Cochinchina, Vietnam, for the first time in December 1624 and returned to Macao to go to Tonkin, Vietnam, in July 1626. On March 19, 1627, he arrived in Tonkin and was expelled from the area in May 1630. From 1630 to 1640, he taught theology at the Institute of Madre de Deus. Between 1640 and 1645, he returned to the mission in Cochinchina. In July 1645, he left Cochinchina for Macao and then went to Europe. In 1654, he went to Persia and died at Isfahan on November 5, 1660 [40, p. 106].

¹¹ Christoforo Borri was one of the Western missionaries who had merit in bringing Christianity into Vietnam in the first half of the 17th century. He was born in 1583 in Milan (Italy) and died on May 24, 1632, in Rome. In 1601, he joined the Society of Jesus. In 1618, he went to Cochinchina (Vietnam) and served for the mission work there until 1621. During this time, he wrote a report called *Relatione della nuova missione delli P.P. della Compagnia di Gesù al Regno della Cocincina*, published in Europe in 1631. Besides the contents related to the Jesuit missionary situation in Cochinchina, he also recorded natural conditions, politics, economy, society, culture, etc., of this area [34; 40, p. 34–35].

¹² In this detail, Alexandre de Rhodes made a confusion. He went to Vietnam to evangelize, write and publish *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin*, *Divers Voyages et Missions*, and *Relazione de' felici successi della Santa Fede Predicata da' Padri Della Compagnia di Giesu Nel Regno di Tunchino* in the 17th century. That means that 700 years ago, that he mentioned here, were the 11th century. At that time, Vietnam had the national name Dai Viet under the rule of the Ly dynasty. The southern border was only limited to Ha Tinh province, meaning it excluded the territory of Cochinchina in the 17th century. From then to the 14th century, through different methods, Quang Binh, Quang Tri, Thua Thien, Quang Nam, and Quang Ngai were merged into Dai Viet's territory. In particular, along with Emperor Le Thanh Tong's "Southward" advance in 1471, Dai Viet's border was extended to Binh Dinh

and Phu Yen nowadays. Thus, from the second half of the 15th century onwards, the entire territory of Cochinchina in the 17th century was really managed by the Vietnamese [3, pp. 99-100; 23, pp. 65, 68-69; 31, p. 62].

¹³ Nguyen Lord, who ruled Cochinchina when Alexandre de Rhodes arrived in this area (1624), was Nguyen Phuc Nguyen (1563–1635). He was the sixth son of Nguyen Hoang and the second Nguyen Lord, who ruled Cochinchina from 1613 to 1635. This was also the Tonkin – Cochinchina Civil War outbreak [20, p. 20; 21, p. 120].

¹⁴ Nguyen Hoang (1525–1613) was known as Lord Tien, the first Lord of the Cochinchina, who dominated this area from 1558 to 1613. He was considered the beginning of the territory expansion trend southward of Vietnamese people in the 17th and 18th centuries [45, pp. 42-66; 61, pp. 84-85].

¹⁵ After Le Thanh Tong's reign (1460–1497), Later Le dynasty fell into a state of crisis and depression. In that context, in 1527, Mac Dang Dung usurped the throne of Later Le, founded the Mac dynasty, and located the imperial capital in Thang Long. A high ranking mandarin of the Later Le dynasty, Nguyen Kim, cherished his intention to oppose the Mac dynasty, so he found a descendant of the Later Le dynasty named Le Duy Ninh crowned emperor in 1533. From here, Dai Viet fell into a devastating civil war lasting until 1592, historically called the Southern and Northern Dynasties War between the forces of Mac dynasty in Thang Long and the force of Later Le Dynasty supported by Nguyen Kim and stationed in Thanh Hoa. While the confrontation with the Mac dynasty was going on, in 1545, Nguyen Kim was poisoned to death. The Southern dynasty's political power should have been transferred to his two sons, named Nguyen Uong and Nguyen Hoang. However, Nguyen Kim's son-in-law (i.e. Trinh Kiem) attempted to kill Nguyen Uong to monopolize the power. Nguyen Hoang, due to fear that his brother-in-law would kill him, obeyed Nguyen Binh Khiem's advice and applied for the ruling of Thuan Hoa land part of the Cochinchina region later. Here, he took care of building and consolidating his force, preparing the intention against the Trinh family in Thang Long [64, pp. 11-13].

¹⁶ Samuel Baron (unknown year of birth and year of death) was a Dutch merchant born in Ke Cho (Tonkin). His father was Hendrik Baron – an employee of The Dutch East India Company, and his mother was a Vietnamese woman. In 1659, he was sent back to Holland by his father. During the years of 1671–1672, he became an employee of the English East India Company. From 1678 to 1783, he mainly resided in Tonkin. During this time, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier published a book about Tonkin in Paris (1679). However, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier never set foot in Tonkin. He wrote this book mainly based on the

Jesuits' documents, so there was much inaccurate content in the book. Realizing this, Samuel Baron decided to write the book *A Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen*, pointing out the errors, and at the same time providing an authentic picture in many fields of the Tonkin region. This was one of the valuable documents with profound significance in studying the North and North Central region of Vietnam in the 17th century [18, pp. 74-83].

¹⁷ William Dampier was born in 1652 in East Coker in Somerset UK. He was an explorer who travelled the world three times in 1679, 1703 and 1708. In particular, after the first world expedition ended (1691), in 1697, he published *A New Voyage Round the World* series of books. He talked about what he saw and heard and his practical experiences in his journey in Tonkin (Vietnam) in 1688. He died in the Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London in 1715 [22, pp. 1-46, 83-84; 39, pp. 277-278; 50, pp. 124-125, 145, 333].

¹⁸ Giovanni Filippo de Marini (1608–1682) was an Italian Jesuit missionary. In 1625, he studied at St. Andrea's School of the Society of Jesus (Rome) and was ordained a priest in 1637. In 1640, he went to the Far East to preach the Gospel. From 1646 to 1658, he evangelized in Tonkin (Vietnam). In the process, he wrote the report *Delle missioni de' padri della Compagnia di Giesù nella provincia del Giappone, e particolarmente di quella di Tumkino*. In addition to the content about the missionary situation in this area, he also mentioned the political, social and cultural fields of Tonkin [1, p. xiv; 29, pp. 3-358].

¹⁹ Joseph Tissanier (1618–after 1688) was a French Jesuit missionary. In 1658, he went to Tonkin for evangelization. However, in 1663, he and other Jesuit missionaries had to leave Tonkin because of the Trinh Lord government's deportation order. During his stay in Tonkin, he recorded his missionary activity and other Jesuits in *Relation du voyage du P. Joseph Tissanier de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis la France Jusqu'au Royaume du Tonkin*. Joseph Tissanier also mentioned some contents related to the war between Trinh Lord in Tonkin and Nguyen Lord in Cochinchina [35, p. 392; 37, pp. 370-371].

²⁰ Benigne de Vachet was a missionary of The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was born in 1641 in Dijon city, France. In 1668, he had ordained a priest and went to Siam on February 13, 1669. From 1671 to 1676, he accompanied Bishop Lambert de la Motte to visit the Cochinchina mission area twice. After many years of serving for Cochinchina and Siam's mission work, from November 1691, he moved back to the Paris Seminary and died there on January 19, 1720 [7, p. 237; 36, p. 337].

²¹ François-Timoléon Abbé de Choisy was born August 16, 1644 in Paris. He was the youngest son of Jean III de Choisy, the lord of the Balleroy region. From 1662 to 1666, he studied philosophy and theology

at Sorbonne. In 1683, he joined The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. In 1685, he accompanied the French ambassador Chevalier de Chaumont to Siam. The things Choisy witnessed or heard during his journey in this country were recorded in the book *Journal du voyage de Siam fait en 1685 et 1686*, including the Tonkin region's content (Vietnam). He died on October 2, 1724 in Paris [10, pp. 62-63; 12, p. 262; 19, p. 1; 56, pp. 406-407].

²² In the late 18th century, the Cochinchina government fell into a state of crisis and depression. The high tax system and the power abuse of high ranking mandarin Truong Phuc Loan made the people feel dissatisfied. In that context, the uprising movement broke out in many parts of this area. In which, the largest scale and influence was Tay Son uprising. In 1771, in the Tay Son area (An Khe, Gia Lai province), three brothers Nguyen Nhac, Nguyen Hue, and Nguyen Lu raised the flag of the uprising. The uprising quickly spread to other areas (Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, Quang Ngai). In 1777, the Tay Son forces destroyed the Nguyen Lord government in Cochinchina. In 1786, Nguyen Hue – one of three Tay Son uprising leaders, brought troops to Tonkin and overthrew Trinh Lord [20, pp. 39-47; 38, pp. 209-212].

²³ Pedro Marquez (unknown year of birth and death) was a half-Japanese Portuguese Jesuit missionary. In the period of 1627–1630, he went to Tonkin with Alexandre de Rhodes to preach the Gospel. Meanwhile, in the Cochinchina area, he undertook missionary work in 1618–1626 and 1655–1663. In such a process, he assumed Superior's position of the Society of Jesus many times in this mission area [35, p. 390].

²⁴ Vietnamese historical documents compiled in the 18th century and nineteenth centuries said that Nguyen Lord ordered iron nets and iron chains at estuaries, especially in Bo Chinh area (Quang Binh) – the border between Cochinchina and Tonkin to stop the navy of Trinh Lord [41, p. 59; 44, p. 134].

²⁵ Jean-Baptiste Tavernier was a famous French traveller. He was born in 1605 in Paris. From 1631 to 1668, he made six journeys to different parts of Asia. These journeys were rewritten by him in book *Six voyages de J.B. Tavernier* published in Paris in 1676. In 1679, he published the book *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux de J.B. Tavernier, chevalier, baron d'Aubonne. Qui n'ont point esté mis dans ses six premiers voyages*. In which, the fourth part of the book mentioned the land of Tonkin (Vietnam). He died in Moscow in 1689, while on the way to conquer Asia once again [18, p. 80; 55, pp. 167-191].

²⁶ Nuntius de Horta (unknown year of birth) was an Italian Jesuit missionary. From 1760 to 1764, he undertook missionary work in Tonkin (Vietnam). In 1766, while in Ile de France to prepare to return to

Europe, he was informed that Tonkin co-religionists were about to face fierce religious prohibition by the Trinh Lord government. So, he decided to return to this mission area. In 1767, he was imprisoned by the Tonkin government for a quite long time and died in prison in 1778 [30, p. 137; 35, pp. 330-331, 395].

²⁷ Regarding this timeline, perhaps missionary Nuntius de Horta was confused because, according to Vietnamese history, the seventh battle between the Tonkin and Cochinchina armies occurred in 1672 [62, pp. 303-304].

²⁸ According to Christoforo Borri, during his stay in Cochinchina from 1618 to 1621, fishers picked up 60 cannons from the wrecked Portuguese and Dutch ships, including a few cannons of massive size [5, p. 81].

²⁹ Pierre Poivre was a missionary of The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and also a merchant. On August 23, 1719, he was born in Lyon (France) in a silk business household. After a period of time working at the Paris seminary, in 1740, he went to the Far East to evangelize. His trip to China and Macau from 1741 to 1746 made him realize the benefits of establishing trade relations with countries in the Far East. Therefore, after returning to Europe in 1747, he gave up missionary work and began working for The French East India Company. In 1749, he went to Cochinchina (Vietnam) as the French East India Company representative to establish trade relations with the Nguyen Lord government. In the process, he also promptly recorded a report that mentioned many different fields of this land. In 1766, he was appointed as Intendant of the Isles de France (Mauritius) and Ile Bourbon (Réunion) islands. In 1772, Pierre Poivre returned to France, lived in Hyères town, Southeastern France, for the rest of his life and died there in 1786 [32].

³⁰ Louis Laneau was a missionary of The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was born on May 31, 1637, in Mondoubleau, France. On July 4, 1669, he was appointed Titular Bishop of Metellopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Siam. He made certain contributions to the establishment of relations between France and Siam. He promoted the evangelization of The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in this country in the late 18th century. He died in Ayutthaya on March 16, 1696 [17, p. 185; 49, p. 266].

³¹ Two scholars Léopold Michel Cadière and Charles B. Maybon, said that João da Cruz came to help Nguyen Lord cast guns in 1615 [8, p. 125; 33, p. 98]. However, after careful research, scholar Pierre-Yves Manguin said that João da Cruz was not present at Cochinchina before 1658. Because in 1651, Nguyen Lord sent 5,000 Kati (3,000 kg) copper to Macao and asked the Portuguese to cast cannons for the Lord. If João da Cruz were present at Cochinchina, Nguyen Lord would not have done so [28, pp. 205-206].

³² João da Cruz (1610? – 1682) was a Portuguese (or Spanish) knowledgeable about Western cannon casting technique. In 1658, after working in the Kingdom of Cambodia for a while, he went to Cochinchina to help the government in this area cast cannons. With that merit, he received respect and generous treatment from Nguyen Lord. His presence and activities in weapon manufacturing at Nguyen Lord court in the late 17th century initially promoted cultural exchange relations between Vietnamese and Westerners in science and technology [9, pp. 312-313; 52, pp. 35-39].

³³ Louis Chevreuil was born in 1627 in Rennes, France, was a missionary of The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. In 1661, after joining The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, he went to Siam to evangelize. From July 1664 to March 1665, acting as Vicar general of Bishop Lambert de la Motte, he came and operated in Cochinchina. However, it was not long before Nguyen Lord's government in Cochinchina banned Christianity; he was deported and had to return to Siam in April 1665. From 1666, he did missionary work in Cambodia. In 1670, he was arrested by Portugal in Macao. After being released (1673), he returned to Siam to work and died there on November 10, 1693 [27, p. 1275; 35, p. 250; 51, p. 17; 52, pp. 40-41].

³⁴ Giuliano Baldinotti was an Italian Jesuit missionary, born in 1591 in Pistoia, near Florence, who died in 1631 in Macao, China. He joined the Jesuits in 1609. Twelve years later (1621), he set off to the East to the mission. While visiting Macao, where many Portuguese people lived, Baldinotti decided to go to Tonkin. On February 2, 1626, he and Portuguese merchants and a Japanese missionary Giulio del Piano departed from Macao and reached Ke Cho (Tonkin) on March 7, 1626. Trinh Trang Lord wanted to establish a regular relationship with the Portuguese at that time, so he welcomed Baldinotti and the merchants very kindly. Because of his excellence in astronomy and mathematics, Baldinotti attracted the special attention of Trinh Lord, and the Lord asked him to stay longer. During this time, he had the opportunity to go in and out of the royal palace, witness many royal activities and regularly experienced daily life in Ke Cho. However, due to the absence of knowledge of the native language, his mission in Tonkin failed to achieve results [4, pp. 71-78; 24, pp. 97-98].

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