

THE PARACELS IN THE "KINGDOM OF COCHINCHINE" BELONGING TO THE "EMPEROR OF ANNAM OU DE VIETNAM" DURING THE REIGN OF KING THIEU TRITHROUGH GEOGRAPHICAL PUBLICATIONS IN FRANCE (1841-1847)***Dr. Nguyen Thanh Minh**

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Received 09th December 2025; Accepted 15th January 2026; Published online 23rd February 2026

Abstract

Among the works published in France during the reign of King Thieu Tri in Dai Nam, those in the field of geographical science provided the world with the clearest, most systematic, and comprehensive understanding of the Paracels archipelago and the sovereign state over these entities in the South China Sea.

Keywords: Sovereignty, islands, King Thieu Tri.

INTRODUCTION

The publications we have selected, analyzed, and excerpted for illustration below focus on information regarding the origin of the geographical name "Indo-Chine/Indochina" and the main states on this peninsula in the first half of the 19th century; which countries and territories were incorporated into the "d'An-nam ou de Viet-nam/An Nam or Vietnam Empire" at that time; which country's maritime territory within the vast Nguyen Dynasty empire the Paracel Islands, the common name for both Hoang Sa and Truong Sa at that time; and whether the indigenous inhabitants of this empire regularly had a presence and asserted historical sovereignty over the archipelago.

The origin of the name Indo-Chine/Indochina and its territorial parts through scientific geographical publications in France during the reign of Emperor Thieu Tri

In 1841, the publication entitled *Géographie universelle ou Description de toutes les parties du monde sur un plan nouveau d'après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe* [World Geography, or, Description of the whole world according to a new plan based on the great natural divisions of the globe]¹, Volume V: "Asie Orientale et Afrique" [East Asia and Africa], was published in Paris. This was part of the large multi-volume work of Conrad Malte-Brun [1775-1826], a French geographer and journalist of Danish origin, studying the geographical history between ancient and modern peoples, along with a general theory of mathematical geography, physical geography and political geography; Reviewed, edited, and updated with new discoveries by Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot [1790-1845], a French geographer, geologist, and naturalist. In Volume V of the work, under "LIVRE CENT CINQUANTE-UNIÈME: Suite de la Description de l'Asie. -Description générale de l'Inde orientale ou de l'Indo-Chine. -Description de l'Empire birman. -Possessions anglaises. -Iles Andamar et Nikobar" [Volume 151:

Continuing the description of Asia. -General description of the East Indies or Indochina. -Description of the Burmese Empire. -British colonies. -The Andamar and Nikobar Islands], the book discusses the history of the different names for this geographical area and the origin of the name Indo-Chine/Indochina, which spread from the mid-19th century, as follows:

"In all of Asia, we only have to describe the part that includes the Burmese Empire, the British East Indies, the Kingdom of Siam, the independent Malacca principalities, and l'empire d'Annam [the Annam Empire], including the kingdoms of Tonkin [Northern Vietnam], Cochinchine [Southern Vietnam], and Cambodge [Cambodia, the former Dong Nai-Ha Tien region and the interior]. This region has no common name. Sometimes it is called *presqu'île au-delà du Gange* [the peninsula beyond the Ganges], but, strictly speaking, it is not a peninsula. Some geographers have called it *Inde extérieure* [Outer India]; this name is more characteristic than the first. But because these countries were sometimes under the rule of the Chinese Empire, and because most of the peoples living there were very similar to the Chinese, whether in appearance, size, skin color, or customs, Religion and language; so a few years ago, we proposed calling this vast region of the globe by a new, but clear, expressive and rather catchy name: Indo-Chine. We were about to abandon this initiative when we learned that an English scholar settled in Calcutta [now Kolkata, India] had almost the same idea (Dr. Leyden: *Memoirs on Indo-Chinese Languages, in Asiatic Researches, Volume X*).

From there, de Rienzi [French traveler, 1789-1843] proposed calling it *grande Chersonèse d'Or* [Great Golden Chersonèse]²; Balbi [Italian geographer, 1782-1848] called it *Inde transgangaïque* [Transgangan Indian]; but why not simply call it *Inde orientale* [Eastern] India, instead of Hindoustan, which is actually *Inde occidentale* [West India]³.

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« De toute l'Asie, il ne nous reste à décrire que la partie qui comprend l'empire des Birmanes, l'Inde orientale anglaise, le royaume de Siam, les États indépendants de Malacca, et l'empire d'An-nam, qui se compose des royaumes de Toung-king, de Cochinchine et de Cambodge. Cette région ne porte aucun nom généralement reconnu. On la désigne quelquefois sous celui de *presqu'île au-delà du Gange*, et pourtant ce n'est pas, à proprement parler, une péninsule. Plusieurs géographes l'ont nommée *Inde extérieure*; cette dénomination est plus caractéristique que la première. Mais comme ces pays ont été quelquefois soumis à l'empire de Chine, et comme la plupart des peuples qui les habitent ressemblent beaucoup aux Chinois, soit par la physionomie, la taille et le teint, soit par les mœurs, la religion et le langage, nous avons proposé, il y a plusieurs années, de désigner cette grande région du globe sous le nom nouveau, mais clair, expressif et sonore, d'*Indo-Chine*. Nous allions abandonner cette innovation, lorsque nous avons appris qu'un savant anglais établi à Calcutta a eu presque la même idée ⁽¹⁾.

Depuis ce temps, M. de Rienzi a proposé de la nommer la grande Chersonèse d'Or; M. Balbi l'a appelée *Inde transgangaïque*; mais pourquoi ne la nommerait-on pas simplement l'*Inde orientale*, par opposition à l'Indoustan, qui est bien l'*Inde occidentale*?

(1) M. le docteur Leyden: Mém. sur les langues indo-chinoises, dans les *Asiatic Researches*, vol. X.

Excerpt from the origin of the name Indo-Chine/Indochina in volume V of the publication published in Paris in 1841: Malte-Brun (Conrad), Géographie universelle ou Description de toutes les parties du monde sur un plan nouveau d'après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe, Cinquième Édition, Revue, Corrigée, et Aumentée de toutes les nouvelles découvertes par M. J. J. N. Huot, Tome Cinquième, Paris: Furne et Cie., Libraires-Éditeurs, 1841, p. 341.

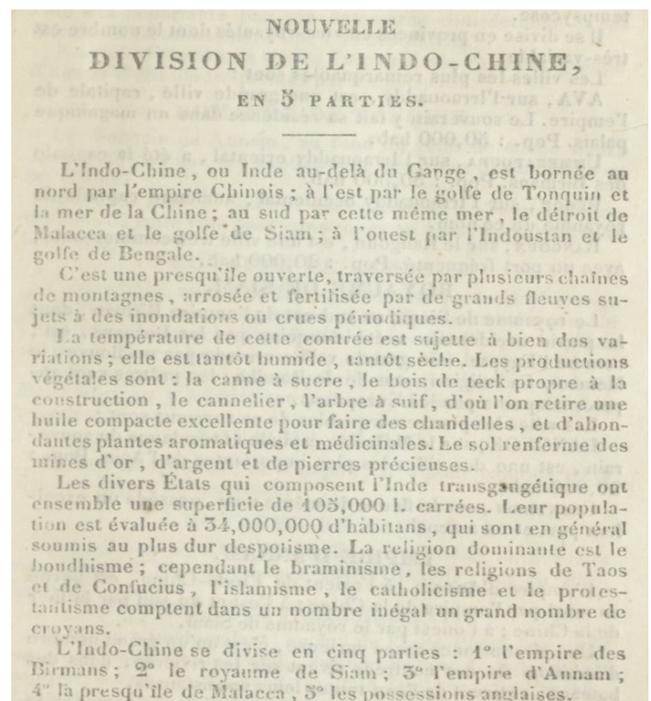
Regarding the main territories of the Indo-Chinese/Indochina peninsula, in the geographical work entitled *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, entièrement refondue et mise au niveau des connaissances actuelles [New World Geography, completely revised and updated with modern knowledge], which includes a treatise on the globe, describing the topography, history and politics of each country along with detailed information on the religion, customs, industries and level of civilization of the inhabitants, compiled by Abbot A. Le François, commonly known as Crozat; Accompanying this is M. Gerdar's "Table of Longitude and Latitude, Temperature of Various Locations and Overseas Currencies," published in Paris and Nancy in France in 1846, which wrote in the section "DE L'ASIE" [Asia], under the heading: "NOUVELLE DIVISION DE L'INDO-CHINE, EN 5 PARTIES" [New Division of Indochina, comprising 5 Territories] that:

"Indo-Chine [Indochina], or Inde au-delà du Gange [India beyond the Ganges], has its northern boundary bordering the Chinese Empire; its eastern boundary bordering Tonquin Bay [Dong Kinh/Dang Ngoai] and the Chinese Sea [South China

Sea]; its southern boundary also bordering this sea, the Malacca Strait and the Gulf of Siam; its western boundary bordering the Indian subcontinent and the Bay of Bengal. This is an open peninsula, surrounded by many mountain ranges, irrigated and deposited with alluvial soil by large rivers, and frequently flooded." or rising water levels.

The temperature of this area varies with the seasons; sometimes humid, sometimes dry. Plant products include: sugarcane, teak wood used as building material, cinnamon, animal fat from which a thick oil is obtained, excellent for making candles, and many aromatic and medicinal plants. The land contains many deposits of gold, silver, and precious stones. The various states that made up Transgangaïan India (also known as Indochina) had a total area of 105,000 lieues carrées (square miles, 1 lieue = 4.829 m²). The population was estimated at around 34,000,000 people, often subjected to harsh rule. The main religion was Buddhism; however, Brahmanism (an ancient name for Hinduism before Christ), Taoism and Confucianism, Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism had uneven numbers of followers.

Indo-Chine (Indochina) was divided into five parts: 1° Burmese Empire; 2° Siamese Kingdom; 5° Annam Empire; 4° Malacca Peninsula; 5° British Colonies."⁴



Excerpts about the five territories in Indo-Chine/Indochina in a publication published in the cities of Paris and Nancy in 1846: Crozat (L'Abbé A. Le François), Nouvelle géographie universelle, entièrement refondue et mise au niveau des connaissances actuelles, Suivie de Tableaux des Longitudes et Latitudes, des Températures de divers lieu et des Monnaies étrangères, par M. Gerdar, Paris: Ve Desbles, Libraire, Nancy: L. Vincenot, Libraire, 1846, p. 299.

"The Annam Empire or Vietnam" and its dependent territories through scientific geographical publications in France during the reign of Emperor Thieu Tri

Regarding the Annam Empire or Vietnam and the territories under its sovereignty, in "LIVRE CENT CINQUANTE-

TROISIÈME: Suite de la Description de l'Asie. -Empire d'Annam. -Première section. -Description du royaume de Tonking avec le Laos [Volume 153: Continuing the description of Asia. -The Annam Empire. -First part. -Description of the Tonkin kingdom with Laos], in volume V of the work attributed to Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot, published in 1841 as mentioned in section 1, it is recorded as follows:

"Invading the central regions of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, the geographical clarity increasingly diminishes, Finally, it gives way to almost complete ambiguity. L'empire d'Annam/The Annam Empire, which we are about to explore, comprises three or four royaumes/kingdoms and a number of other conquered pays/territories or tributaries/dependent territories. First, these are the kingdoms known to Europeans as Tonking [Dong Kinh/Dang Ngoai], Cochinchine [Dang Trong], Kambodje [Cambodia, the former Dong Nai-Ha Tien region and inland], a country called royaume de Bao [Bon Man Kingdom], Laos, and several small autonomous territories located on the mountain ranges separating the Annam Empire from China."5.

« En pénétrant dans les parties centrales de la péninsule indo-chinoise, les clartés de la géographie, s'affaiblissant de plus en plus, cèdent enfin la place à une obscurité presque complète. »
 L'empire d'Annam, que nous allons parcourir, se compose de trois ou quatre royaumes et de plusieurs autres pays conquis ou tributaires. Ce sont d'abord les royaumes connus des Européens sous les noms de Tonking, de Cochinchine, de Kambodje, d'une contrée appelée royaume de Bao, du Laos, et de quelques petits territoires indépendants situés dans des montagnes qui séparent l'empire annamite de la Chine proprement dite.

Excerpt from the Annam Empire and its territories in Volume V of the 1841 Paris edition: Malte-Brun (Conrad), op. cit., 1841, p. 372.

At the end of the section on Indochina in the aforementioned Volume V, the Annam or Vietnam Empire and its sovereign territories are further detailed in the "TABLEAU STATISTIQUE des principaux États de l'Indo-Chine ou de l'INDE-ORIENTALE" [Statistical Table of the Main States of Indochina or East India] with quite a lot of detail. According to this, the Annam or Vietnam Empire had an area of 33,500 lieues carrées [square sea miles, 1 lieue = 4.829 m²]; a population of 19,000,000 people; a population density of 561 people/square sea mile; an income of 90,000,000 francs/French francs; and a standing army of 150,000 people. The administrative regions of the Annam Empire included:

"The Ton-king Kingdom [Northern Annam] or Annam septentrional [Northern Annam], divided into 12 provinces. The Cochinchine Kingdom [Southern Annam] or Annam méridional [Southern Annam], divided into 15 provinces. The Kambodje Kingdom [Cambodia Kingdom], divided into 3 provinces.

The Tributaires [Subordinate States]: including the Petit-Laos Kingdom [Little Laos Kingdom], the Tiem Kingdom [Tiem Kingdom], the Lantchang Part [Lan Xang Part], and the Bao Kingdom [Bon Man Kingdom].

The independent tribes [Autonomous Tribes]: including the Loyes [Lôi/Cham], Mouangs [Muong/Man], and Moi or Mouis [Moi] ethnic minorities."6.

EMPIRE D'ANNAM OU DE VIET-NAM.					
33,500.	19,000,000.	561.	90,000,000.	150,000.	
SUPERFICIE EN LIEUES CARRÉES.	POPULATION.	DIVISIONS ADMINISTRATIVES.		PRINCIPALES VILLES.	
7,500.	15,000,000.	ROYAUME DE TON-KING OU <i>An-nam septentrional.</i> (DIVISÉ EN 12 PROVINCES)			Ketcho. — Héan. — Hun-nan. — Douma. — Chin-ka. — Hanyints. — Latcho.
		Chou-nam (province du Midi)			
		Chou-dong (province de l'Est)			
		Chou-hoi (province du Nord)			
		Chou-hoi (province de l'Ouest)			
		Chou-koung-hien.			
		Chou-lang.			
		Chou-thai.			
		Chou-thouyeb.			
		Chou-houng.			
		Chou-cho-sang.			
		Chou-thangh.			
Chou-nghé.					
Le groupe des îles des Pirates.					
8,000.	2,000,000.	ROYAUME DE COCHINCHINE OU <i>An-nam méridional.</i> (DIVISÉ EN 15 PROVINCES)			Hud. — Nhatrang. — Cam-maigne. — Phuyen. — Hong-scha. — Fato. — Quinson. — Touron.
		1° Dans la partie supérieure: Cham. — Dinh-cath. — Dong-ngoi. — Hue. — Quang-binh.			
		2° Au centre: Talamp. — Nhat-ra. — Nhatrang. — Phuyen. — Quang-nghia. — Qui-minh.			
		3° Dans la partie inférieure: Dong-nai. — Long-bo. — Mytho et Saigong.			
		L'Archipel de Paracels.			
12,500.	1,000,000 ?	ROYAUME DE KAMBODJE. (DIVISÉ EN 3 PROVINCES)			Sougong. — Panomping. — Kambodje.
		1° Au nord, le Pé-kheng.			
		2° Au sud, le Nan-kheng.			
		3° Au sud-ouest, le Kankao ou Pontiamo. — Le Poulo-Condor.			
Archipel Hastings, partie méridionale de l'Archipel Kambodje.					
5,500.	1,000,000 ?	ÉTATS TRIBUTAIRES.			Han-niech. — Saoudapoura. — Bao. — (Ces tribus n'ont que des villages.)
		Laos (Royaume du Petit-Laos.)			
		Ile de Tiem.			
		Partie du Lantchang.			
Royaume de Bao.					
Tribus indépendantes.					
Loyes. — Mouangs. — Moïs ou Mouis.					

Excerpts on statistics concerning the "empire of Annam or de Viet-nam" and its dependent territories in Volume V of the publication published in Paris in 1841: Malte-Brun (Conrad), op. cit., 1841, pp. 386-387.

Also in the publication by Abbot A. Le François, commonly known as Crozat, and under the pseudonym M. Gerdar, published in 1846, it is mentioned in section 1 that the Annam Empire and its territories are also briefly described in the subsection "EMPIRE D'ANNAM" [The Annam Empire] as follows:

"The Annam Empire lies in the east of Indo-China, bordered to the north by the Chinese Empire; to the east and south by the Chine Sea; and to the west by the Kingdom of Siam.

It is quite strange that the majority of the inhabitants of these areas live on rivers and canals, on boats, and earn their living by water-based occupations.

Annam comprises five main kingdoms, namely: the Kingdom of Cochinchine [Southern Vietnam - from Quang Binh to the former Khanh Hoa], the Kingdom of Tonquin [Northern Vietnam - from Ha Tinh up to the border] [Vietnamese-Chinese border], the Kingdom of Cambodia [Cambodia - the old Dong Nai-Ha Tien region and inland], the Kingdom of Bao [Bon Man - the old Tran Ninh region], the Kingdom of Laos [Laos], and some autonomous territories."7.

EMPIRE D'ANNAM.
 L'empire d'Annam, à l'orient de l'Indo-Chine, est borné au nord par l'empire de la Chine; à l'est et au sud par la mer de la Chine; à l'ouest par le royaume de Siam.
 Une circonstance assez curieuse, c'est qu'un grand nombre d'habitans de ces contrées vivent sur les rivières, dans des bateaux, et tirent de l'eau toutes leurs subsistances.
 Il se compose de cinq royaumes principaux, savoir: le royaume de Cochinchine, celui de Tonquin, celui de Camboje, celui de Bao, celui de Laos et de plusieurs pays indépendans.

Excerpt on the Annam Empire and its dependent territories from a publication published in Paris and Nancy in 1846: Crozat (L'Abbé A. Le François), *op. cit.*, 1846, p. 300.

The origin of the name and territories of Cochinchine/Dang Trong belonging to the Annam Empire through scientific geographical publications in France during the reign of Emperor Thieu Tri

Regarding the origin of the name and territorial scope of Dang Trong belonging to the Annam Empire, in "LIVRE CENT CINQUANTE-QUATRIÈME: Suite de la Description de l'Asie. -Empire d'An-nam. -Deuxième section. -Description des royaumes de Cochinchine, de Cambodge, etc..." [BOOK 154: Further description of Asia. -The Annam Empire. -Part two. -Description of the kingdoms of Dang Trong - from south of the Gianh River to Binh Thuan, Cambodia - from Dong Nai to the old Ha Tien and inland, etc.], in volume V of the work attributed to Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot, published in 1841 as mentioned in sections 1 and 2, it states:

"South of Tonking [Dong Kinh/Dang Ngoai], we find Cochinchine [Dang Trong], a geographical region that has become ambiguous due to conflicting accounts by many authors. This land, including Tonking [Dong Kinh/Dang Ngoai] under the common name Annam [An Nam], was divided about 600 years ago. The natives called it Drang Trong [Dang Trong] or royaume du dedans [inner kingdom]: this is l'Annam méridional [South Annam]. As for the name Quinam [Quang Nam], which a keen observer considered to be the name of the entire kingdom (according to Wusthof), it seems to be only the name of an ancient province (according to Alexandre de Rhodes). The Japanese called it Cotchin-Tsina [Dang Trong], that is, l'ouest de la Chine [the land west of China], was called Cochinchine [Dang Trong] by Europeans. The nature of the location, the scope of the country, and the European language defined the name Cochinchine [Southern Vietnam], or if you prefer, Annam méridional [Southern Annam], referring to the coastline stretching from Tonkin [Northern Vietnam] to Tsiampa [Champa, the former Ninh Thuan-Binh Thuan region], 150 lieues [sea miles, 1 lieue = 4.829m] long and 30 to 50 miles wide [i.e., Southern Vietnam stretching from the southern border of Ha Tinh to the northern border of the former Ninh Thuan]."8.

" Au midi du Tonking nous trouvons la Cochinchine, dont la géographie est devenue obscure à force d'avoir été traitée par beaucoup d'écrivains qui se contredisent. Ce pays, compris avec le Tonking sous le nom général d'An-nam, en fut démembré il y a environ 600 ans. Les indigènes le désignent sous le nom de Drang-trong ou royaume du dedans: c'est l'An-nam méridional. Celui de Quinam, indiqué comme le nom du royaume entier par un bon observateur (1), paraît n'être que celui d'une ancienne province (2). Les Japonais l'ayant appelé Cotchin-Tsina, c'est-à-dire le pays à l'ouest de la Chine, les Européens le désignèrent sous la dénomination de Cochinchine. »
 « La nature des lieux, l'extension de la nation et celle du langage européen bornent le nom de Cochinchine, ou, si l'on veut, d'An-nam méridional, à la côte qui s'étend depuis le Tonking jusqu'au Tsiampa, sur 150 lieues de long et 30 à 50 de large. »

Excerpt on the origin of the name and territorial scope of Cochinchine/Dang Trong from Volume V of the publication published in Paris in 1841: Malte-Brun (Conrad), *op. cit.*, 1841, p. 378.

Regarding the specific territorial components of Cochinchina, in "TABLEAU STATISTIQUE des principaux États de l'Indo-Chine ou de l'INDE-ORIENTALE" [Statistical Table of the Main States of Indochina or East India] in Volume V of the aforementioned work, it is shown that Royaume de Cochinchine ou An-nam méridional [Kingdom of Cochinchina or Southern Annam] had an area of 8,000 lieues carrées [square sea miles, 1 lieue = 4.829m], a population of 2,000,000 people, divided into 15 provinces, with 3 land territories and 1 sea territory, specifically:

1. In the Upper Region [Upper Dang Trong], including: Cham [Cham - formerly Quang Nam], Dinh-cath [Dinh Cat, formerly Quang Tri], Dong-ngoi [Dinh Ngoi, the southern part of Quang Binh and northern part of Quang Tri], Hué [Hue], Quang-binh [former Quang Binh].
2. In the Center [Central Dang Trong], including: Tsiampa [Champa, the former Binh Thuan], Nha-ra [part of the former Ninh Thuan], Nha-trang [Nha Trang, the former Khanh Hoa], Phuyen [former Phu Yen], Quang-nghia [Quang Nghia/Quang Ngai], Qui-ninh [Quy Ninh/Quy Nhon, formerly Binh Dinh].
3. In the Lower Region [Lower Dang Trong], including: Dong-nai [Dong Nai], Long-ho [Long Ho], Mitho [My Tho], and Saïgong [Saigon].
4. L'Archipel de Paracels [Hoang Sa Archipelago, the general name for the Truong Sa Archipelago at that time].
Main cities: Hué [Hue], Nha Trang [Nha Trang], Cam Ranh [Cam Ranh], Phu Yen [Phu Yen], Hon Khoi [Hon Khoi/Van Phong Bay], Hoi An [Hoai Pho/Hoi An], Quy Nhon [Quy Nhon], Da Nang [Da Nang]"9.

ROYAUME DE COCHINCHINE OU An-nam méridional.	
(DIVISÉ EN 15 PROVINCES.)	
1° Dans la partie supérieure: Cham.— Dinh-cath.— Dong-ngoi.— Hué.— Quang-binh.	Hué.— Nhatrang.— Camaigne.— Phuyen.—
2° Au centre: Tsiampa.— Nha-ra.— Nha-trang.— Phuyen.— Quang-nghia.— Qui-ninh.	Hone-coha.— Faifo.— Quinon.— Touron.
3° Dans la partie inférieure: Dong-nai.— Long-ho.— Mitho et Saïgong.	
L'Archipel de Paracels.	

Excerpt from a statistical summary of the four land and sea territories and major cities in the Royaume de Cochinchine ou An-nam méridional/Kingdom of Cochinchina or Southern Annam, in Volume V of the 1841 Paris edition: Malte-Brun (Conrad), *op. cit.*, 1841, p. 386.

The maritime territories of the Annam Empire and resource exploitation activities in the Paracel Islands in Cochinchine/Dang Trong through scientific geographical publications in France during the reign of Emperor Thieu Tri

In addition to the mainland territories of the Annam Empire, scientific geographical works from 1841-1847 also described and cataloged the empire's maritime territories. Four groups of islands and archipelagos are mentioned in Volume V of the 1841 publication by Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot, including:

"Le groupe des îles des Pirates" [Pirate Islands Group] in "Royaume de Ton-king ou An-nam septentrional [Kingdom of Dang Ngoai or Northern Annam]";
 "L'Archipel de Paracels" [The Paracel Islands - the general name for the Spratly Islands at that time] in Royaume de Cochinchine ou An-nam méridional [Kingdom of Cochinchina

or Southern Annam]; “Ile Poulo-Condor” [Con Lon/Con Dao Island] and “Archipel Hastings” [Ha Tien Archipelago] in the “Royaume de Kambodje” [Kingdom of Cambodia - the old Dong Nai-Ha Tien region and inland].¹⁰

Regarding Con Dao, the books of Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot record the following:

“Poulo-Condor ou l’île Condor [Con Lon or Con Dao Island], meaning île aux Calebasses [Gourd Island], located south of Cochinchine [Dang Trong], 16 lieues [sea miles, 1 lieue = 4.829m] from the mouth of the Kambodje River [mouth of the Cambodian River, i.e., the mouth of the Mekong River]. To be precise, this is a group of islands, including a harbor with a capacity of eight ships, and a fairly good and spacious anchorage. Ships going to China often stop there to buy provisions, especially “Especially buffalo, sometimes weighing up to seven hundred pounds, and Chinese pigs; rice and some fruits were also brought there, especially bananas, sweet potatoes, beans and gourds.

The island is covered with high mountains, but has no streams; the land is arid and full of poisonous insects; therefore, the island is mainly inhabited by refugees from Kambodje [Cambodia, the region from Dong Nai to the old Ha Tien and inland] and Cochinchine [Dang Trong, the region from Quang Binh to the old Khanh Hoa], who live there in misery. The British tried to establish a settlement there, but were unable to do so because the island’s inhabitants were very unfriendly to them.”¹¹.

« Poulo-Condor ou l’île Condor, c’est-à-dire île aux Calebasses, est située au sud de la Cochinchine, à 16 lieues de l’embouchure du fleuve de Kambodje. C’est, à proprement parler, un groupe d’îles, parmi lesquelles il y a un havre capable de contenir huit vaisseaux, et un mouillage assez bon et très spacieux. Les navires qui vont en Chine y achètent des vivres, surtout des buffles qui pèsent quelquefois jusqu’à sept quintaux, et des cochons de race chinoise; il y vient aussi du riz et plusieurs fruits, surtout des bananes, des patates douces, des fèves et des calebasses. »

Cette île est couverte de hautes montagnes, et cependant elle manque de sources; son sol aride est infesté d’insectes venimeux; aussi est-elle principalement habitée par des réfugiés du Kambodje et de la Cochinchine, qui y vivent misérablement. Les Anglais ont essayé d’y former un établissement, mais ils n’ont pu y parvenir, tant les habitants sont peu traitables.

The following excerpt describes Poulo-Condor/Con Dao as one of the maritime territories of the Annam Empire in Volume V of the 1841 Parisian publication: Malte-Brun (Conrad), op. cit., 1841, pp. 383-384.

Regarding the Paracel Islands the collective name for both Hoang Sa and Truong Sa at that time the books of Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot not only described the geographical features located in the sea of Dang Trong, part of the Annam Empire, but also clearly stated the frequent

presence of indigenous people exploiting the resources there. The book states:

“The Paracel Islands [the common name for the Paracel and Spratly Islands at that time] were a labyrinth of small islands, rocks and shoals, which, according to the most reliable maps, stretched 50 lieues [nautical miles, 1 lieue = 4.829m] southeast of Hainan Island, in front of the coast of Cochinchine [Southern Vietnam]. However, French navigators sailed in the surrounding area without encountering any rocks or shoals; from this, they concluded that the archipelago was actually smaller than depicted on the maps.

The archipelago comprises several island groups, the main ones being Amphitrits [Amphitrite/An Vinh], Discovery [Discovery Reef] and Voadore [Swallow Reef]. Some of these islands are covered with forests. The Cochinchinois [Southern Vietnam] used to go there to fish every year.”¹².

« L’archipel de Paracels est un labyrinthe d’îlots, de rochers et de hauts-fonds qui, selon les cartes les plus accréditées, s’étend à 50 lieues au sud-est de l’île d’Hai-nan, devant les côtes de la Cochinchine. Mais des navigateurs français ont navigué aux environs sans rencontrer ni rochers ni hauts-fonds; d’où l’on conclut que cet archipel est moins étendu en réalité qu’il ne paraît sur les cartes (2). »

Il se compose de plusieurs groupes, dont les principaux sont ceux d’Amphitrits, de Discovery et de Voadore. Quelques unes de ces îles sont couvertes de bois. Les Cochinchinois s’y rendent tous les ans pour la pêche.

An excerpt acknowledging that the Paracel Islands, located off the coast of Cochinchine/Dang Trong, belonged to the Annam Empire and that its inhabitants regularly fished there, is found in Volume V of the 1841 Parisian publication: Malte-Brun (Conrad), op. cit., 1841, p. 384.

The recognition of the Paracel Islands as part of the maritime territory of Cochinchina and the frequent presence of indigenous fishermen there is also mentioned in the 1846 publication by Abbot A. Le François, commonly known as Crozat, and M. Gerdar, as discussed in sections 1 and 2. Under the subsection “ROYAUME DE COCHINCHINE” [Kingdom of Cochinchina], the book states:

“Cochinchine [Cochinchina] lies on the eastern coast of Cambodia [Cambodia, the former Dong Nai-Ha Tien region and inland], a land renowned for its fertile soil, providing all the produce as in India.

Hue [Hue] is the capital of the entire l’empire d’Annam [Annam Empire]. It is a very important city, thanks to its considerable trade and massive fortifications. Population: 400,000 people.

Not far from the coast is l’archipel des Paracels [Hoang Sa archipelago - the general name for the Truong Sa archipelago at that time], an archipelago and coral reef frequently visited by fishermen.”¹³.



In the "TABLEAU des principales positions géographiques de l'Indo-Chine, ou de l'Inde-Orientale" [Table of principal geographical locations of Indochina or East India] published in 1841 by Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot, as mentioned above, the Paracel Islands are shown as being within a series of main coordinate locations belonging to Dang Trong (Southern Vietnam) such as Quiquik [Vung Quyt/Dung Quat, in Quang Ngai], Nha Trang [Nha Trang], Xuandai [Xuan Dai, bay in old Phu Yen], Padaran (cap) [Dinh Cape/Ca Na Cape, 40 km south of Phan Rang], Phanri [Phan Ri], Saigon [Saigon], Paracels (iles) entre 15o 46' et 17o 8', 106o 50' et 110o 24' [Paracel Islands] The Paracels are located between 15°46' and 17°8' North latitude, and 106°50' and 110°24' East longitude. With this list, the geographical coordinates of the entities belonging to the Paracels archipelago at that time basically corresponded to the actual coordinates of Vietnam's Hoang Sa archipelago today. This shows that by the mid-19th century, world geographers had gradually separated the term Paracels to refer specifically to the Hoang Sa archipelago rather than using it to refer collectively to both the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa archipelagos as before.

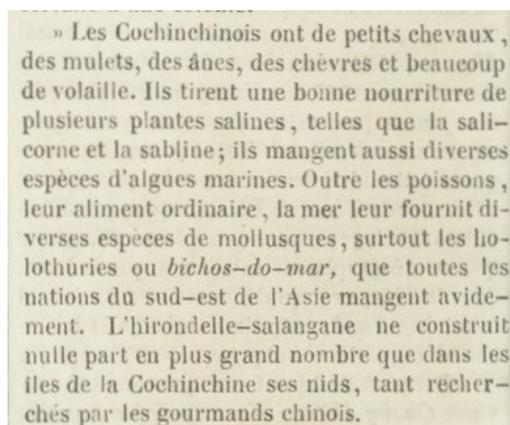
Quiquik	15	25	»	106	10	»
Nha-trang	12	»	»	107	»	»
Xuandai	13	22	»	106	54	»
Padaran (cap)	11	23	»	106	42	»
Phanri	11	10	»	106	13	»
Sai-gong	10	50	»	101	22	45
Paracels (iles) entre	15	46	»	106	50	»
	17	8	»	110	24	»

Excerpt showing the coordinates of the Paracel Islands and some other place names in Cochinchine/Southern Vietnam in the List of Main Geographical Locations of Indo-China/Indochina in Volume V of the publication published in Paris in 1841: Malte-Brun (Conrad), op. cit., 1841, p. 387.

Regarding valuable seafood that the inhabitants of Dang Trong (Southern Vietnam) focused on exploiting in the Paracel Islands and the islands to the east of the coast, sea cucumbers and swallows' nests were two commodities with high commercial value for both domestic and international markets, especially the Chinese market. Chinese merchants often eagerly sought out swallows' nests from Dang Trong because it had the largest production in Southeast Asia, bringing them high profits. A book by Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot from 1841 states:

"The Cochinchinois [Southern Vietnam] have small horses, mules, donkeys, goats and various kinds of poultry. They obtain good food from many kinds of salt-producing plants, such as salicorne and sabline; they also eat many kinds of seaweed. Besides fish, which is their usual food source, the sea also provides them with many kinds of mollusks, especially sea cucumbers or bichos-do-mar, which are prized by all Southeast Asian countries. Nowhere is the hirondelle-

salangane/swallow/bird nesting more abundantly [in the islands] of Cochinchine [Southern Vietnam], which is sought after by Chinese connoisseurs."15.



Excerpt on sea cucumbers, swallows, and bird's nests of Cochinchine/Southern Vietnam in Volume V of the publication published in Paris in 1841: Malte-Brun (Conrad), op. cit., 1841, p. 380.

Of the two geographical works analyzed above, the publication entitled Géographie universelle ou Description de toutes les parties du monde sur un plan nouveau d'après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe [World Geography, or, Description of the entire world according to a new plan based on the great natural divisions of the globe], Volume V: "Asie Orientale et Afrique" [East Asia and Africa], by Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot, published in Paris in 1841, was subsequently reprinted by Furne et Cie in 1845-16 and 1847-17. In addition, in 1845, Aux Bureau de Publications Illustrées also published the work of Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot entitled Précis de la géographie universelle ou Description de toutes les parties du monde sur un plan nouveau d'après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe [A Concise World Geography, or, A Description of the Whole World in a New Scheme Based on the Great Natural Divisions of the Globe]18. All three books retain the same content about the Indochina Peninsula, the Annam Empire, the Kingdom of Dang Trong, and the Paracel Islands as the 1841 edition, including the volume number and page numbering, so we only introduce the titles and do not need to provide further information.

Conclusion

Having clarified the origin of the geographical name "Indo-Chine/Indochina," the world geographical works cited in this article have delved into describing the five main states on this peninsula in the first half of the 19th century. The "d'Annam ou de Viet-nam/An Nam or Vietnam" empire was one of five states in "Indo-Chine/Indochina," which were formed from the unification of the countries and territories of Tonking [Dong Kinh/Dang Ngoai], Cochinchine [Dang Trong], Kambodje [Cambodia, the former Dong Nai-Ha Tien region and inland], Royaume de Bao [Kingdom of Bon Man, the former Tran Ninh region], and three states in Laos: Royaume du Petit-Laos [Kingdom of Little Laos], Royaume de Tiem [Kingdom of Tiem], Partie du Lantchang [Part of Lan Xang], and Tribus indépendantes [Autonomous Tribes] of the Loyes [Loi/Cham], Mouangs [Muong/Man], Moi or Mouis [Moi]. Besides its mainland territories, these geographical works also

acknowledge that the Annam Empire, or Vietnam, had four main maritime territories: “Le groupe des îles des Pirates” (Pirate Islands Group) in the “Royaume de Ton-king ou An-nam septentrional” (Northern Annam Kingdom); “L’Archipel de Paracels” (Paracel and Spratly Islands) in the “Royaume de Cochinchine ou An-nam méridional” (Southern Annam Kingdom); “Ile Poulo-Condor” (Con Lon/Con Dao Island); and “Archipel Hastings” (Ha Tien Islands) in the “Royaume de Kambodje” (Cambodia Kingdom - the area from Dong Nai to the old Ha Tien and inland). Notably, these works further acknowledge that the inhabitants of the Southern Annam Empire annually migrated to the Paracel Islands for exploitation. With the clear, concise, and highly scientific content mentioned above, the geographical works in France during the period 1841-1847 enriched the international body of documentary evidence, contributing to the affirmation of Vietnam’s historical and territorial sovereignty over the Paracel Islands in the East Sea in the mid-19th century.

Notes

- 1 In this text, words in parentheses (...) are from the original quoted text; while words in quotation marks [...] are our direct translation/explanation to help readers follow along. Some entries and place names are also used verbatim from the original text, with notes in quotation marks [...], so that readers can directly understand the etymology in the quoted documents.
- 2 “Chersonèse d’Or” was mentioned in the *Géographie/Geography* at the beginning of the Common Era by the Greek astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus/Ptolemy/Ptolemy [90-168], possibly corresponding to the present-day Malay Peninsula [located between Thailand and Malaysia], or the island of Sumatra in Indonesia.
- 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 Malte-Brun (Conrad), *Géographie universelle ou Description de toutes les parties du monde sur un plan nouveau d’après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe*, Cinquième Édition, Revue, Corrigée, and Aumentée de toutes les nouvelles découverts par M. J. J. N. Huot, Tome Cinquième, (Paris: Furne et Cie., Libraires-Éditeurs, 1841), 372, 386-387, 378, 386, 386-387, 383-384, 384, 387, 380.
- 4, 7, 13 Crozat (L’Abbé A. Le François), *Nouvelle géographie universelle, entièrement refondue et mise au niveau des connaissances actuelles, Suivie de Tableaux des Longitudes et Latitudes, des Températures de divers lieu et des Monnaies étrangères*, par M. Gerdar, (Paris: Ve Desbleds, Libraire; Nancy: L. Vincenot, Libraire, 1846), 299, 300, 300-301.
- 16 Malte-Brun (Conrad) et Cie., *Libraires-Éditeurs*, 1845).
- 17 Malte-Brun (Conrad), *Géographie universelle ou Description de toutes les parties du monde sur un plan nouveau d’après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe*, Cinquième Édition, Revue, corrigée, et augmentée de toutes les nouvelles découverts, par M. J. J. N. Huot, (Tome Cinquième. Paris: Furne et Cie., Libraires-Éditeurs, 1847).
- 18 Malte-Brun (Conrad), *Précis de la géographie universelle ou Description de toutes les parties du monde sur un plan nouveau d’après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe*, Cinquième Édition, Revue, corrigée, mise dans un nouvel ordre et augmentée de toutes les nouvelles découverts, par M. N. Huot, Tome Cinquième, (Paris: Aux Bureau de Publications Illustrées, 1845).

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