

THE TRAVELS IN FRANCE OF THE SIAMESE AMBASSADORS 1686-7

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Jean Donneau de Vizé, the editor of the *Mercure Galant*, a court circular during the reign of Louis XIV, published in 1687 an account of the visit of the Siamese ambassadors to the court of Louis XIV entitled *Voyage des Ambassadeurs de Siam en France* (1). The visit lasted from 18 June 1686 to 1 March 1687. The most important places and persons seen by the ambassadors are noted, and often the addresses made to them and their replies recorded.

The first in rank of the three ambassadors was Ok Phra Wisut Sunthon (Kosa Pan), who was soon accepted as a person of charm and intelligence, and who completely outshone the others. Rama IV, King Mongkut, in a communication to Sir John Bowring (2), noted "from this person extraordinary our ancestors were said to be descendants"; Kosa Pan came to a sad end, however, after service under both Kings Narai and his usurper Petracha. The second ambassador was the elderly Ok Luang Kalayan Rachai Maitri, who had formerly been on a mission to China and who prided himself in speaking directly. The third, a young man named Ok Khun Si Wisan Wacha, appears to have possessed no intrinsic merit but a father on an ambassadorial mission to Portugal (3). A description of their qualities and standing appeared in a frequently reproduced print made in Paris at the time of their visit, as well as in the accounts of their embassy of 1685 of Chaumont and Choisy.

The purpose of the embassy was rather more than to return that of the Chevalier de Chaumont and the Abbé de Choisy, who came back to France with the Siamese ambassadors in the same ships. The wily Phaulkon, effectively chief minister to the Siamese King Narai, was seeking a political alliance with the French to act as a counterbalance to the growing commercial and political power of the Dutch, already well-entrenched in Malacca, Java and the Moluccas. A convert himself to Catholicism, Phaulkon dangled the possibility of conversion of King Narai before the French court, where the king's pious mistress, Madame de Maintenon, together with the king's confessor, the Jesuit Père de la Chaise, wielded considerable power. However, Phaulkon had suppressed the pressing remarks regarding the king's conversion in Chaumont's speech at his audience in Ayutthaya on 18 Octo-

ber 1685, and knew full well that to approach the matter too directly would be to court disaster.

The equally wily Père Tachard is often seen as Phaulkon's real ambassador and organized the armed expedition which was to accompany the new French embassy to return with the Siamese ambassadors; Songkhla, already offered to the French, was to be exchanged for Bangkok, and Mergui thrown in as well. Lanier (4) is harsh on Phaulkon's intentions, which he sees as stemming primarily from the desire for personal gain; what is certain is that Phaulkon's policies unleashed a chain of events over which he had no real control and which cost him his life.

The French version of the Siamese ambassadors' visit was not the only contemporary account of their journey. The ambassadors themselves kept a record. According to Donneau de Vizé, "Not only do they each evening compile memoirs of what they have seen during the day, there is even a Mandarin with them who writes up their Voyage in Siamese Verse." (5) They were so assiduous in keeping their records for their king that they went so far as to have their attendants count the number of trees in the parks of different palaces seen.

The ambassadors were said to be accompanied by eight Siamese nobles (consistently referred to as "mandarins" by the French) and twenty of their own servants. However, only six were marked in a contemporary print as taking part in the solemn audience at Versailles, together with six servants, and, while four Siamese mandarins accompanied their excellencies when they visited Flanders, only two are noted as staying behind in Paris. Two of the mandarins were delegated to lay out King Narai's presents before the audience, and later received praise from Monsieur le Duc (the heir to the collateral house of Condé) for their conduct. Towards the end of their stay, one of their servants was upbraided for some misdemeanour in front of the entire Siamese delegation, and was about to be punished (whipped?), but was saved by the intervention of the gentleman-in-waiting who accompanied them throughout their journey, M. Torf (sometimes called Storf and even Stolf by de Vizé), who said the delegation would lose in reputation if the servant



were punished for an offence neither knavish nor of a similar nature. The first ambassador said their reputation was important, but the servant's behaviour was like that of a painter who, after a year of work, by one unfortunate brushstroke ruined a picture; he nevertheless acceded to the request. This situation was the reverse of one which occurred on their journey to Paris between Chambord and Orléans, when their coachman, or the state of the road on which they were travelling, caused them to be tipped from their carriage. M. Torf had "wished to treat him as he deserved"; but the first ambassador successfully defended him, saying no one had been hurt and the man had suffered enough trouble already for what had happened.

One of the attendants they brought was not Siamese, but Portuguese, and served as interpreter. He is mentioned but once, when M. Vaneroni, the official French interpreter of Italian, at the Comédie Italienne, translated the address of M. Cinchio to the ambassadors. Vaneroni "speaks Portuguese as

well as the ambassadors' interpreter who was born in Siam and is the son of a Portuguese who has taken residence there." His services were probably not much used in France, but it was reasonable for the Siamese to have thought they might be; Portuguese was the *lingua franca* for communication with Europeans in Ayutthaya in the seventeenth century, and even Phaulkon used Portuguese in his dealings with the French.

One other person is specifically mentioned as being an interpreter; he had spent "many years in the [French Catholic] mission which had been established in Siam and was already in orders; he speaks French well, and better still Latin, and is called Mr Antoine." When in Cambrai, this interpreter was taken up by the Archbishop and spent the night in the archbishop's palace, since His Eminence wished to ask him many things about Siam.

Though the ambassadors learned some French from the Abbé de Choisy on board their vessel travelling to France, the

bulk of the interpretation at the highest level seems to have fallen to the Abbé de Lionne, who, as a missionary in Siam, had learned to speak the language fluently and had been ordered by his superior to accompany the mission to France. He was, according to the Marquis de Sourches (6), the third son of the late Marquis de Lionne, Secretary of State and Knight of Malta, who renounced the world, took orders, and followed the Bishop of Heliopolis to the Indies. He was present at the audience at Versailles, and after the first ambassador had delivered his harangue, "the Abbé of Lionne, who had [previously] translated it, read it in French." He interpreted the king's enquiries about the King of Siam's health and the rest. He was present at the formal lanch after the audience, and on many other occasions; he is, for example, specifically mentioned by name as interpreting at the audience with Monsieur le Duc.

One other person might have been in a position to interpret, a "Siamese" priest with the very Portuguese name of Pinto, who was half-Siamese and half-Bengali, had been brought up by French missionaries from the age of nine, was in Paris presenting a thesis at the Sorbonne. There is no mention that he ever accompanied the party, though they did go to the Sorbonne on the occasion of the defence of the thesis.

Only one of the mandarins is ever named in de Vizé's account, one Raclan, who is reported to have said to the Abbé de Lionne when witnessing Louis XIV at dinner at Versailles, "If I knew how to speak French, I would speak to him, for his goodness appears to me so great that I think it would be greater than my boldness."

The account of the ambassadors' journey by Donneau de Vizé is in epistolary form, to an unnamed lady, and is divided into four volumes, to be considered, the author tells us, as a single work, perhaps because the division into volumes is without meaning. Volume one deals with the ambassadors' journey to Paris and audience at Versailles, and ends with the date 30 September 1686. Volume two starts with afterthoughts that should have been included in their proper place in audiences in volume one, and covers the ambassadors' stay in Paris after their audience; it ends with an abridged version in reported speech of the first ambassador's harangue to King Louis (which more logically should have appeared at the end of the previous volume), and is dated 30 November 1686. Volume three starts in the middle of the account, begun in the previous volume, of what the ambassadors saw at Versailles and goes on to cover the first part of their journey into Flanders. Volume four resumes the account of the Flanders trip, but returns to places previously covered, to include matters relating to incidents which occurred in Gravelines, Lille and Dunkerque; it then describes the ambassadors' activities on their return to Paris and their farewell audiences, with their harangues. The return journey to Brest is not described.

The reason for omitting the return journey from Paris to Brest is stated to be that the route was the same as that which the ambassadors took on their arrival. A much more practical reason is that the ambassadors requested a copy of de Vizé's account to take back to Siam, and this would explain the slipshod way in which it was put together. Since they left Paris a

few days after their farewell audience on 14 January, and departed from Brest on 1 March, Donneau de Vizé had less than six weeks to get the work through the press, have it bound, and copies delivered to Brest by the fastest means then possible. In the circumstances it is hardly surprising there are slips in the text or that there are afterthoughts ("J' ai oublié de vous dire que...") displaced from the largely chronological account. The author himself speaks of the "great precipitation" in printing the volume to satisfy the ambassadors' wishes that allowed some errors to creep into the text, but at several points vouches for the truth of his account, notably in the audience with Monsieur le Duc, at which he was present.

The work is not exclusively devoted to the Siamese ambassadors, since many pages are given over to architectural descriptions of buildings seen by them, and there is an extremely long section describing the engineering works undertaken to bring water to Versailles for the functioning of the palace and the "grandes eaux." As well as being an account of the visit of Siamese ambassadors (with the subliminal notion of their coming to pay homage to a mighty king), the work is also to be viewed as a panegyric of the Sun King himself, and no opportunity is lost of extolling his virtues and impressing on the ambassadors his achievements, resources, and interests. The ambassadors were clearly meant to be dazzled by what they saw, and to be treated in such a generous manner that they would report to their end of the earth the greatness of the French monarch.

De Vizé's work divides into seven chronological sections:

1. The ambassadors' journey to Paris (18 June - 31 July 1686)
2. Their stay at Berny outside Paris (31 July - 12 August)
3. Their entry into Paris and anticipation of audience (12-31 August)
4. Their audience at Versailles (1 September)
5. Their stay in Paris (2 September - 13 October)
6. Their journey to Flanders (14 October - 22 November)
7. Their second stay in Paris and farewell audience (22 November 1686 - 18 January 1687)

The stay at Berny was necessitated by having to wait for the arrival of King Narai's gifts (as well as those of Phaulkon) which, being very bulky and numerous (they came to 132 bales, according to de Vizé), had been sent on a different route by sea from Brest to Rouen. The journey to Flanders, not at the most propitious time of the year, was to impress on them the extent of recent conquests in war, as well as to show them a prosperous region of the country within a relatively short distance from the capital. The planned return journey via Normandy had to be abandoned because of the state of the roads and the need to arrive speedily at Brest to profit by favourable winds for the long sea voyage back.

Not covered in Donneau de Vizé's account, but to be found in those of Choisy (7) and Chaumont (8), is the sea voyage lasting six months from Siam to Brest (they left Ayutthaya on 22 December 1685 and did not reach Brest until 18 June 1686)

and the return journey Paris-Brest, as mentioned above. The journey back to Siam, which they reached after nearly seven months on 27 September 1687, is described in Tachard (9).

Using Donneau de Vizé, the ambassadors' two recorded journeys in France will be retraced here, and a thematic account given, though without dates (de Vizé abandoned any attempt to provide a dated account of their many social activities), of what they saw in the capital and Versailles. Their speeches and *bons mots* will for the most part be omitted, since they were mostly only flattering banalities of the kind expected of them. The first ambassador however passed as a wit; when asked at Berny if he like the way French women dressed, he said "They would be better still if they were dressed in the manner of my country." Asked what that was, he replied "They are half-naked." There was some raillery from the ladies at his supposed twenty-two wives, which he took in good part. Indeed it is clear that the ambassadors, particularly the principal envoy, had great success with the ladies, and to have witnessed the ambassadors eat was evidently a distraction as fashionable as the opera. Thai legends accredit the first ambassador with half-French progeny; while this would not have been impossible, it seems rather unlikely in the circumstances, as he was always very concerned to do the proper thing by the King his Master. Furthermore, the frantic pace of their social activities and travels allowed for little leisure.

The ambassadors were throughout made to feel as honoured as possible at the different towns they visited: guards headed by their commander were sent to greet them before their arrival in each town; they were boarded in the best lodgings available and had a cook and purveyor supplied by the royal household accompanying them; they were entertained by the principal dignitaries of the town, and met the local nobility and senior clergy. De Vizé gives far more information about the journey to Flanders, and relates in sometimes tedious detail the history of each town visited. He notes the principal sights seen, and the balls, concerts, comedies and fireworks that were organized for them. He also describes the ambassadors receiving the principal ladies of the places they saw, offering them fruit and jams themselves if their rank or beauty warranted it. The journey to Flanders in addition took on a more military aspect; they saw far more ramparts, citadels, forts and fortifications, and gave the word for the day to the commander of the troops, and their arrival and departure in each place was marked by cannon salutes.

The only buildings specifically mentioned on the outward journey to Paris as having been seen by the ambassadors are the châteaux of Chambord (of which the ambassadors requested a plan), Fontainebleau and Vincennes. Even though they met the Bishop of Quimper in his seat, de Vizé does not say that they visited his cathedral, though since they stayed in Quimper two nights it is safe to assume they did. The reason for this lack of detail is probably that de Vizé simply did not have the information. There is greater detail given the nearer the ambassadors approached Paris; their success there allowed de Vizé to ensure his sources for the trip to Flanders.

During their stay in the Paris region from 31 July to 13 October and again from 22 November to 18 January, they had audiences with all the members of the royal family, including the collateral houses of Condé and Orléans. They met everyone in the nobility of note. As in the provinces, so in Paris it was evident that to have seen, watched eat, or better be offered fruit by the ambassadors was the desire of every "grande dame," to the extent that when the Duchess of Nemours, clearly afraid she would miss them, called on them unannounced at the Hôtel des Ambassadeurs, just before their farewell audience, they found there were no interpreters, but nevertheless managed to make themselves understood (the occasion must have been interesting if not amusing).

There is perhaps little point in enumerating all the personages they met, but two important persons they did not officially meet are worth mentioning. Though they stayed several days at Clagny, the residence of the Madame de Montespan, in order to visit the nearby park of Versailles at leisure, and had an accidental meeting there with the Count of Toulouse (the illegitimate son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan), they are not recorded as having met their hostess herself, who was officially in disgrace, though allowed a grace-and-favour residence of some splendour. It is a matter of speculation whether they did or not; at all events no meeting is recorded by de Vizé, well aware of what protocol permitted. Given their popularity, not least among fashionable ladies, it seems rather unlikely that Madame de Montespan would have passed up the opportunity of meeting them in her own residence. The other person there is no official record of them meeting was the King's current mistress, and possibly already at this stage his secret wife, Madame de Maintenon. Again, tact is likely to account for this omission by de Vizé, and it would seem most likely that they did unofficially meet this influential lady at court (10).

That they met numerous prelates of the church, particularly on their journeys, and members of the Jesuit order where they were to be found, is not surprising; the court was under the impression that they, and more importantly their monarch, were ready for conversion, though nothing the ambassadors said or did could have confirmed this impression. Indeed in Arras, they were treated to an extremely long and tedious harangue by the provost of the cathedral, in which the subject of conversion was dwelt on at length. The first ambassador replied very curtly, saying he understood there to be two points to the discourse, the first relating to the greatness of Louis XIV, with which they fully concurred, and the second relating to their conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, and for that they had bishops in the own country who could instruct them.

Chronological account of the ambassadors' journey from Brest to Paris

18 June At Brest, where they had arrived earlier than expected, they were given the honours of the place, greeted by

PLANCHE XII.



Contemporary print by de l'Armessin showing the three Siamese ambassadors to Louis XIV, with Kosa Pan, the first ambassador, in the centre.

- 600 cannon, saw the citadel, the magazines, went on board three men of war, and waited 13 days for the arrival of the king's envoy, M. Torf.
- 9 July They departed Brest in litters, because of the poor state of the roads in Brittany, and lunched ("dined" in the French, but at the time one dined in the early afternoon and supped in the evening) at Landerneau (Ladrinot). They slept (and presumably supped) at Foux.
- 10 July They continued to lunch at Châteaulin and reached Quimper, where their arrival was marked by the firing of cannon.
- 11 July At Quimper, where they met the Bishop of Quimper and received the compliments of all the religious orders.
- 12 July They departed Quimper to lunch at Hennebont, where a ball was arranged for them, and departed to sleep at Auray.
- 13 July From Auray they proceeded to lunch at Vannes, the seat of the parliament of Brittany, which gave them the honours and regaled them with a concert. It is not stated that they visited the Château de l'Hermine, the former palace of the Dukes of Brittany, though the

building is mentioned. They proceeded to spend the night at Muzillat.

- 14 July Leaving Muzillat, they lunched at La Roche Bernard, where they were able to leave the litters for coaches; the use of coaches required that the King of Siam's letter, which had always to be higher than they, be raised on a plank above their heads; the plank was removed and replaced each time they changed carriage. They slept at Pontchâteau, where the Duke of Coiflin had given orders that they be received with honour; flags and men at arms greeted them.
- 15 July They proceeded to lunch at Temples, where they entertained the Marquis and Marquise d'Assigny, whose charms and wit they admired, and moved on to spend the next two nights at Nantes.
- 16 July At Nantes, M. de Mollac, lieutenant-general and governor, assembled all the nobility on horseback, with ladies in carriages witnessing the event and cannon sounding. The mayor addressed them and proffered presents from the town. They were taken to the Prairie where many ladies were assembled, and to the Capucines, from where all the suburbs could be seen, which seemed to them like so many towns.
- 17 July The early part of the day was spent at Nantes, which they left to spend the night at Ancenis. There they bathed in the river Loire "which gave them much pleasure, for they bathe often in their country, and they even bathe here every day after meals."
- 18 July They proceeded to lunch at Ingrandes, where they again bathed in the river, and slept at Angers, where the mayor sent carriages to greet them; cannon were fired on their arrival, they were given presents and listened to addresses. M. d'Ernepont, who commanded the infantry in the town, was sick, but ordered his troops to receive them and went in a litter in the evening to their lodging to salute the ambassadors; he was invited to sup with them. There is no mention of their visiting any monuments.
- 19 July They lunched at Aurosiez and slept at Saumur, where they were given guards and officials displayed their zeal. Again, there is no mention of their visiting the castle.
- 20 July Proceeding to lunch at La Chapelle Blanche, they then moved on to sleep at Langeais, where the burghers donned arms to protect them and mounted guard.
- 21 July From Langeais, they moved on to lunch at Tours, where their reception, organized by M. de Nointel, the intendant, was such that they were often to speak about it afterwards; cannon, the provost and archers on horseback greeted them, speeches of welcome and presents were received from the judges and treasurers. They proceeded to spend the night at Amboise, where, there being no troops, "the burghers mounted guard around the lodging which had been prepared for them."

- 22 July Leaving Amboise, they went to Blois, where they stayed two nights and "where they received the customary presents."
- 23 July At Blois; no indications are given as to how the day was spent.
- 24 July From Blois, the ambassadorial party moved on to lunch at Chambord, where they asked for a plan of the château, and saw a pheasant and duck preserve. They slept at St. Laurent des Eaux (St. Laurent Nouan); before reaching this place, their coachman accidentally tipped them out of their carriage.
- 25 July They moved on to spend the night at Orléans; nothing is said of their reception, but Jacq-Hergoualc'h, quoting the *Journal* of the Marquis de Dangeau, says they disliked their stay. It is known from much later in de Vizé's account that they visited the glassworks in the city, run by M. Perrot.
- 26 July From Orléans, they lunched at Artenay, and slept at Toury in l'Ile de France.
- 27 July They then moved on to lunch at Méréville and sleep at Malesherbes.
- 28 July They next visited Fontainebleau; the governor, the Marquis of St. Eran, was taking the waters, but had given orders that they be shown the château in detail; they were greeted here by the head of Foreign Missions, M. Brisancier, who in a discourse lasting a quarter of an hour, thanked them for favours received by the priests in Siam, and the interpreter, most probably the Abbé de Lionne, "had a happy enough memory to retain it almost in entirety and, what is even more surprising, the first ambassador took up all the points of the compliment and replied to each."
- 29 July After spending the night at Fontainebleau, the ambassadors moved on to lunch at Melun, where they were given all the honours they could expect of the notables, and then went to Vincennes. They did not stay in the château, which was full of workers renovating it; they were lodged instead in "the most convenient house in the locality." There the third ambassador caused some confusion by refusing to sleep in a room above the first ambassador, as he would be placing himself above his king's letter.
- 30 July The next day they visited the park, the animals kept therein, and the château (workmen notwithstanding) and where the Père de la Chaise, the king's confessor, called to show his gratitude for the way in which the King of Siam had received the Jesuits. Here the first mention is made of the great crowds that came to see the ambassadors out of curiosity.
- 31 July They proceeded from Vincennes to Berny, "two leagues from Paris," to the château, which was filled with furnishings from the king's stores in their honour, and where they awaited their presents coming up the Seine. This residence was built by Mansard, uncle of the king's architect, for the Puysieux family, was then owned by the Marquis de Lionne, and was currently the property of the Abbé de Ste Geneviève (it was

probably suggested as a temporary residence by the Abbé de Lionne).

From 12 August to 14 October the ambassadors were lodged in the *Résidence des Ambassadeurs*, rue de Tournon, Paris. An account of what they saw is grouped with their second stay in the capital on their return from Flanders.

Chronological account of the ambassadors' journey to and from Flanders

- 14 Oct (Monday) The ambassadors left Paris with four of the Siamese "mandarins." They ate lunch at St. Denis, where they visited the treasure and the tombs of the French kings in the Benedictine abbey, the height, length and width of which they examined. They slept at Beaumont, where as elsewhere they were addressed by the notables and offered wine.
- 15 Oct They left Beaumont to lunch at Tilliar and sleep at Beauvais, where they were greeted by the burghers bearing arms, and received the usual compliments and presents; the evening many came to see them sup.
- 16 Oct At Beauvais they visited the cathedral and were treated to a display of horsemanship by the King's Grenadiers; they left to sleep at Breteuil.
- 17 Oct From Breteuil, they left for lunch, witnessed by the local nobility, at the castle belonging to Mr Descerreux, son-in-law of the king's wetnurse, in whose grounds they fired blanks; they moved on to sleep at Amiens, where a twenty gun salute and the burghers under arms greeted them; the mayor addressed them, speaking of the advantages of commerce.
- 18 Oct At Amiens the burghers paved a way for them through huge crowds of spectators to the cathedral; after seeing this, they were taken to the bishopric escorted by the bishop, and they requested to return again to the cathedral, the vault of which they said was one of the finest things they had seen in France; they left Amiens to lunch and sleep unexpectedly, because of bad weather and damaged roads leading to Arras, at Dourlans, where they were welcomed as usual and visited in detail the ramparts and the citadel; they showed gallantry towards the wife of the King's lieutenant and towards the ladies who watched them eat; the first recorded order of the day was noted as being "Prosperity in Travel."
- 19 Oct After leaving Dourlans, they lunched at Sarbret, where they were served "with the same magnificence as in Paris" in the single house available, designed as a post-house and containing only horses; they then moved on to sleep at Arras, French since 1640, which they approached towards 3.30 pm, to be met by 12 companies of soldiers. All the notables were lined up to greet

- them at the city gate, and they entered the town to the sound of cannon and escorted by a double rank of infantry; the ambassadors greeted all the ladies gathered at their windows to watch them pass, and the bells of city rang out. At their lodging they asked how many homes and people Arras counted, and requested a plan. The rector of the Jesuits called, as did the magistrates; the deputy general and ordinary of the States of Artois addressed them at length; the order for the day was "Who attacks me, loses." Only the most important ladies were allowed to see them sup, there being too many wanting the privilege.
- 20 Oct At Arras they received visits in the morning from the notables and the nobility, at two in the afternoon they were taken in carriages to the citadel by the Count of Villeneuve and were received by the firing of cannon, were entertained to a demonstration of batallion exercises, were served a collation, saw the arsenal and drank many different liqueurs in the presence of the most distinguished ladies of the place. The first ambassador requested a plan of the town and was given it; they then went to the cathedral, where the crowd was great, and were received by the entire chapter, and addressed by the provost at considerable length, to which the first ambassador briefly replied, noting that the harangue spoke of the glory of King Louis, with which he concurred, and the conversion of the Siamese, for which they had bishops who could instruct them. They admired the church, and its organ; they saw the magazine in the city and the Abbey of St. Vaast, where something of the history of the Low Countries was explained to them; they then attended a concert organised by the wife of the president of the Council of Artois, Mme de Préfontaine, and the most important ladies of the place attended; many ladies came to watch them sup.
- 21 Oct They left Arras at 8 in the morning for lunch at Aisse and slept at Béthune, where they were lodged in the castle. The ambassadors saw the ramparts on foot, walked on the terrace, retained the lieutenant-colonel to supper, were entertained by violins after, and many ladies watching were offered fruits and jams.
- 22 Oct Lunched at Béthune, which they left to the sound of cannon, and slept at Aire, French since 1676; received by the firing of cannon, a reception and presents.
- 23 Oct At Aire, where they visited the fort of St. François and observed much new building in the square.
- 24 Oct After an early lunch at Aire, the left to sleep at St. Omer, taken by Monsieur, the King's brother, in 1677; cannon and troops greeted them, they were lodged in the town hall, many ladies came to witness them at supper and there was a ball in their honour afterwards.
- 25 Oct At St. Omer, where, among other notables, the bishop called on them, accompanied by the bishop of Ypres; they saw the cathedral because the bishop was half-expecting them; they also saw the large abbey of St. Bertin. They visited the square, had lunch with ladies, were given a collation by the Jesuits, followed by a concert; many people came to supper.
- 26 Oct After thanking people for their stay at St. Omer, the ambassadors went on to lunch at Regouge and sleep at Calais, where they were received by cannon and dignitaries.
- 27 Oct At Calais, where heavy rain in the morning did not stop them from visiting the fortifications, the port and the citadel.
- 28 Oct They left Calais to lunch at Gravelines, French since 1658; considered the plan with the engineer, and, as the weather was bad, their mandarins visited those places they did not have time to see themselves. They left to sleep at Dunkerque, where the company may have included the Prince and Princess of Bournonville, the Prince de Robert, the Countess of Sore.
- 29 Oct At Dunkerque, where they saw the fortifications, jetties and boats.
- 30 Oct At Dunkerque, where they saw the citadel built by the king, the garrison square, the sluices and the new dock.
- 31 Oct They left Dunkerque at 7 a.m., taking a covered boat along the Bergues Canal, visiting forts and redoubts. They got off the boat at Bergues to lunch at Rosbruck and sleep at Ypres, French since 1678.
- 1 Nov At Ypres, where they saw the citadel parade ground and defences; lunched with Mr Desmadrit, the Intendant of Justice in Dunkerque, who had invited the ambassadors when in Dunkerque. They were taken by boat to visit the locks a league from St. Omer; their functioning was demonstrated by two boats loaded with stones being raised in the water and the second ambassador said he had seen the like in China. They returned late and dined with M. de la Neuville, the commander of the garrison and the King's lieutenant; the health of the royal alliance was drunk to and the noise from the cannon was so great "that many panes of glass leapt at the joy of the occasion."
- 2 Nov They left Ypres to the firing of cannon, to sleep at Menin; the governor greeted the ambassadors at the town gate, two rows of soldiers lined the path to their residence; addresses and presents from the burghers. They supped in company, which included a Dutch lady of quality, who had come with her daughter to see the ambassadors.
- 3 Nov At Menin, they visited the outer walls of the fortifications on horseback, lunched, and left immediately afterwards to sleep at Lille, French since 1667. A grand reception by the nobility of the city and the region awaited them; the crowds were so great that it seemed to the ambassadors they were repeating their entry into Paris. The handsome streets were lined with troops and at supper there was a huge assembly, especially of ladies.
- 4 Nov At Lille, where M. de la Rablière, the commander of the town, took the ambassadors in carriages to the cita-

- del, where cannon were fired and the infantry drawn up in battle order. They inspected the ramparts, designed by Vaubin, in the company of the King's lieutenant, the major and the engineer, and visited a garden with a grotto inside the citadel. Then they were taken hunting, accompanied by a huge crowd estimated at more than twenty thousand from the town. The magistrates organized a comedy in the Town Hall, after which there was a concert lasting an hour and a half; this was followed by a magnificent spread; the crowds at supper were so great that only ladies were admitted.
- 5 Nov At Lille, in the company of the governor, the ambassadors visited the Mint in great detail and then saw the Comtesse Hospital, run by nuns, all the daughters of the nobility, and received bouquets of silk flowers of their making. They visited the parade ground in the afternoon, the arsenals and magazines and then went to the house of the Jesuits to be show an ingenious watermill, and offered a magnificent collation. They then supped with M. de la Rablière in considerable style and to the strains of a symphony orchestra; this was followed by a ball which lasted until after midnight.
- 6 Nov They ate very early to leave Lille for Tournai, taken by Louis XIV in 1667; the Count of Maulevrier, Lieutenant General of the King's Armies, governor of the town, the citadel and the region, sent troops to greet them and escorted them to their lodging; twenty rounds of cannon were fired. They received speeches from the Count and the magistrates, the most elderly touching on the possibility the Siamese king embracing the Christian faith, and were offered six bottles of wine. At five in the afternoon the Bishop of Tournai called, in the company of the governor of the citadel; an hour later a firework display took place before the ambassadors' windows, which was followed by a fire-fighting display; the Count's son joined them at supper along with the ladies.
- 7 Nov At Tournai, where at nine in the morning left in carriages for the citadel, visiting the galleries to the blast-holes. They saw the arsenal and requested the plan, but were told it was secret, though they were permitted to look at it. They witnessed the manoeuvres of young gentlemen at arms and returned for lunch to the sound of more cannon, eating in the company of many ladies. Then on horseback they visited military constructions and the parade ground. From there, they went to the Comedy, where the Countess of Maulevrier, the Countess of Medavy and twenty other ladies, said to be the most beautiful in the town, awaited them, and saw a comedy performed in Roman dress (so that the actors could display their fine costumes). More construction works had to be viewed with demonstrations of bombs, mortars and other military engines. After this, the Count conducted them to his residence for a concert, supper with more music, and many toasts. After this the Count took them to his apartments, and asked if they wished to smoke, which they declined; a firework display in the garden came next and this was followed by a ball.
- 8 Nov At Tournai, at nine, the ambassadors sent for the young Marquis of Maulevrier to breakfast with them, and those ladies who had risen in sufficient time came and watched. The Count of Maulevrier came to say farewell; they visited the cathedral of Tournai where the bishop awaited them and saw two paintings by Rubens. They then left for the town of Condé, French since 1667; the usual reception, cavalry, governor, compliments, and presents; slept in the finest apartments of the house of the Count of Sore, who however was absent.
- 9 Nov At Condé in the morning they visited on horseback the fortifications and the parade ground and lunched with the governor, M. Petau, in his residence. They then left for Valenciennes, French since 1667; as elsewhere, soldiers lined the route on arrival, cannon were fired; the magistrates were introduced, and M. Chateau, the town counsellor, addressed them, speaking of the manufactures of the town, and giving three lengths of the finest Valenciennes linen as samples; ladies watched them sup.
- 10 Nov They visited the citadel of Valenciennes and saw the cadets at exercise, lunched with the governor, drinking Italian wines and the best liqueurs; they praised pictures made of Valenciennes petit point, but declined to accept them as gifts; saw the fortifications and entertained ladies at supper.
- 11 Nov They left Valenciennes in the morning (with in their carriage the two pictures, richly framed, the governor had offered them the day before) and visited the nunnery of Denin, where they drank tea with the canons. They lunched in the village of Créon, and left for Douai, outside which cavalry awaited them. They entered the town by a gate reserved for kings and sovereign princes, with guards on horseback preceding their carriage and infantry lining the route; the gentry were assembled at the windows they passed; the governor greeted them with the chief of staff and introduced the magistrates; the governor sent musicians to play at their supper at which many ladies were present.
- 12 Nov They visited the foundry at Douai in the morning with the governor, then the cadet school, where a display was mounted by apprentice gunners and artillerymen; on to the fort, where they visited the towers, and were taken by the commander inside his residence to warm themselves, on account of the cold; important ladies were present and a fine meal eaten; they were invited to start with liqueurs to warm them. The first ambassador suggested the fortress commander's daughter go to Siam to marry one of his sons. They then visited the Jesuits of Douai where an entertainment was provided as well as another meal, from which they excused themselves; they were nevertheless obliged to sit at supper

- in their lodging, so that the many ladies who were waiting to see them would not be disappointed.
- 13 Nov They left Douai to sleep at Cambrai, taken by Louis XIV only nine years previously, and were received at the town gate by crowds, cannonades, cavalry and the governor, the Count of Monbron, and a double row of infantry lined the route. The ambassadors were presented with lengths of Cambrai cloth. The archbishop called in the evening and took away one of their Siamese interpreters from Ayutthaya to learn over supper more about Siam. The governor supped with them, with the ladies of the town watching.
- 14 Nov At Cambrai; met the Count of Monbron the next morning who took them to see the fortifications, the citadel and the ramparts; a display by cadets then lasted until dusk, when the ambassadors called on the archbishop in the cathedral, which they visited and the organ of which was played for them.
- 15 Nov They left Cambrai to lunch at Fain, and thence to Péronne in Picardy; all shops were closed in their honour and the Marquis d'Hoquincourt, the governor, and all the nobles and notables greeted them at the town gate, where the governor, and the mayor presented them with the keys of the town; cannon were fired and the bells rang out as they passed through the soldiers on parade to reach their residence, where above the doorway the arms of Siam had been mounted, surrounded by laurel and flowers. The governor and the gentlemen of the town called and delivered speeches; church bells rang throughout the evening, and all the windows were lit up and the streets filled with torches. The crowd of ladies was great at supper, though not all could be admitted.
- 16 Nov At seven the next morning, they left Péronne, after receiving the compliments of the governor and all the notables at the town gates, to the sound of bells ringing and firing cannon; lunched at Fesnes and continued to sleep at St. Quentin. The King's lieutenant, Mr d'Abancourt, in the absence of the governor, did the honours; the bishop of the town thanked their king for allowing the Christian religion to be practised in his country without hindrance; the square was illuminated and all the windows had lanterns. They supped as usual, with a great number of ladies, after which there was a concert, and the evening finished with a volley of harquebuses from the Town Hall.
- 17 Nov At St. Quentin, the ambassadors sent their mandarins and secretaries to visit the cathedral in the morning, finished breakfast at nine, and asked to hear the bells of the cathedral again before departure; to do this they stood at their windows to listen. They left with fanfares and a considerable escort to sleep at La Fère, after the usual reception and a visit by the Duke-Bishop of Laon, a peer of the realm, who was invited to sup with them; only ladies were allowed to watch and receive fruits, jams and compliments.
- 18 Nov The ambassadors left La Fère at eight to the sound of cannon firing and accompanied by troops, lunched at Croucy-le-Château, and went on to Soissons, arriving in the dark at six in the evening, to find the town illuminated in their honour; the finest furniture was carried to the Bishop's Palace where they stayed (the see was vacant at the time), and where the arms of Siam were everywhere to be found. There was the usual reception and speeches, which lasted so long that they did not sup until nine, in the company of the intendant; after which they saw a firework display in the courtyard of the palace.
- 19 Nov They rested at Soissons the following morning, and the intendant and his son came to join them for lunch, witnessed by many ladies; they visited the cathedral of Soissons and the monastery of St Jean des Vignes, some gardens and the newly-planted mall. The intendant, M. Bossuet, gave a supper for them in his residence in the evening, followed by a ball and a masquerade, which finished very late.
- 20 Nov After lunch they departed Soissons to the customary sound of firing cannons and muskets and with an escort; arrived late to stay at Villers-Cotterets in a storm, making it impossible to visit the palace of Monsieur. They declined the invitation of the palace guardian to stay there in his absence.
- 21 Nov They left Villers-Cotterets to lunch at Nanteuil, where, for want of time, they saw only the exterior of the residence of the Marquis de Coeuvres, who was related to their interpreter the Abbé de Lionne. They slept at Dammartin, a hamlet near Paris.
- 22 Nov They left Dammartin to return to Paris, to resume residence at the Hôtel des Ambassadeurs.

During this journey the two remaining Siamese mandarins saw in Paris the Royal Plant Garden, the Law Courts, the College Louis-le-Grand, and lunched in the Seminary of Foreign Missions; they also saw to the King of Siam's commissions.

Thematic account of the Ambassadors' stay in the Paris region

Berny

From 31 July to 12 August while waiting for their presence to come by sea and up the Seine, the Siamese party stayed at the Château of Berny. There they received visits from, among others, M. de Bonneuil, the ambassadors' initiator at court; the Abbé de Dangeau, a friend of the Abbé de Choisy; M. du Mets, royal treasurer; the Prince and Princess of Issinguen, the Princess of Bornonville, and the Marquis and Marquise de Laver-

din, who gave an impromptu display of horsemanship in the grounds. They also paid a visit to nearby Sceaux, the property of the Marquis de Seignelay, Minister of State, and paid an incognito to the College of Louis the Great.

Court Formalities

The three most formal occasions of the ambassadors' stay in France were:

1. Their entry into Paris on 12 August 1686.

Some 60 carriages of members of the royal family, led by the Duc de la Feuillade, the Marshal of the Court, and all those obliged in some way to Siam took part in the procession, the route of which took them from Rambouillet, through the Faubourg St. Antoine, the Porte St. Antoine, the Rue St. Antoine, the Rue de Ste Honoré, across the Pont Neuf, into the Rue Dauphine to the Rue de Tournon where the Hôtel des Ambassadeurs was located. The crowds to watch the spectacle were so great that the procession was halted at times for up to half-an-hour.

2. Their solemn audience at Versailles on 1 September 1686.

This was described at length by Donneau de Vizé and has been commented on by Lanier (11), Jacq-Hergoualc'h (12) and Smithies (13); a description falls outside the scope of this paper. The full pomp of Versailles was laid on for the occasion, with Louis XIV surrounded by the Dauphin, the Duke of Chartres, the Duke of Bourbon, the Count of Toulouse, Monsieur his only brother, Monsieur le Duc, the Duke of Maine, the Duke of Monpensier, and the entire court. It was followed by a lunch at Versailles at which the Duc de la Feuillade and the Chevalier de Chaumont were present, and then came separate audiences the same day in their respective apartments with the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Anjou, the newly-born Duke of Berry (the Maréchale de la Mothe responding), with Monsieur, and with Madame, wife of Monsieur (14). The ambassadors saw for the first time on their way to Versailles the exteriors of the châteaux of St. Cloud and Meudon, which they were to visit later.

3. Their farewell audience on 14 January 1687.

In very similar fashion to the solemn audience for the presentation of King Narai's letter, the ambassadors' farewell audience took place in the same manner, in the same room, and with the king on the same silver throne, though in a less resplendent costume. In all, the ambassadors were granted 16 audiences and gave 16 discourses (ten of which have survived), all on the same day.

In addition, there was a number of other formal occasions of lesser importance, when they presented their compliments to members of the royal family. These were audiences on 4 September with the Duke of Chartres at St. Cloud and with Mademoiselle, an audience on 5 September with Madem-

oiselle d'Orléans at the Luxembourg Palace, with Madame la Grande Duchesse in attendance, an audience with the Princess of Carignan at the Hôtel de Carignan, and audiences at the Hôtel de Condé with Monsieur le Duc and his son the Duke of Bourbon.

They were also entertained both at Versailles and St. Cloud, respectively by Louis XIV and his brother, Monsieur. They saw while visiting Versailles in detail, before their departure for Flanders, the king at dinner and were received in private audience with him; they were received on the same occasion by Madame la Dauphine, Madame la Duchesse, the Duchess of Bourbon, and met the Duke of Rochefoucauld, the Marquis of Beringhen, and the Count of Brionne.

On 24 November they were at St. Cloud, attending a lavish party organized by Monsieur in his palace. It began at 3 p.m., the Dauphin, his wife, Monsieur and Madame doing the honours to a great throng of ladies and gentlemen of the court, with the ambassadors in the place of honour; there was a concert, a ball, a performance of *Bajazet* by Racine, and a supper; the royal hosts left just before midnight for Versailles and the ambassadors returned to Paris.

Two days before their farewell audience, on 12 January 1687, they were again at Versailles to witness the king lunch and attend a court supper.

Monuments, Palaces and Institutions in Paris

Among the monuments of Paris, specific mention is made of the ambassadors' visit to Notre Dame for the occasion of the Assumption, the Bastille (where they saw the armoury), the Invalides (still under construction), Montmartre (where they visited the convent), the Porte St. Denis and the Porte St. Martin, the Louvre (where they saw the Royal Wardrobe and the Arms Room), the Old Louvre (for the late queen's apartments), the Pont Neuf, and the palace of the Tuileries. They attended a concert at the Hôtel de Guise, and met on their insistence Mlle la Princesse de Guise, called on Monsieur le Prince, in succession to his late father, at the Hôtel de Condé (after their return from Flanders), and attended a concert at the Hôtel d'Arras, Rue de Seine.

The ambassadors were taken to see many institutions in Paris, mostly those founded by the king. Those noted by de Vizé were the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, Rue de Richelieu, the Palais Royal (M. Le Brun was Director), the Gobelins (M. and Mme Le Brun were in attendance), the Observatory (led by M. de Cassini), the Royal Printery (directed by M. Mabre de Cramoisy), the Convent of the Chartreux, the Jesuit Fathers house at Monlouis (where they met the king's confessor, the Père de la Chaise), the church of St. Médéric, the Sorbonne to hear the defence of a thesis written by a half-Siamese, the College of Louis-le-Grand, the church of the Feuil-

lans (to hear a Te Deum by Lully for the restoration of the King's health), the Val de Grâce, and the Foreign Missions.

Entertainments

The ambassadors saw a number spectacles while in the Paris region. They paid an incognito visit, prior to their solemn audience, to the College of Louis-le-Grand to witness *Clovis*. This bears the sub-title "La France Chrétienne" and was an heroic poem dedicated to Louis XIV by Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, first published in 1657. Donneau de Vize gives an account of a ballet figuring the trials of Hercules who conquers Flanders, enters Holland, brings peace and prosperity, gives help overseas to Canada, Hungary, Sweden and Algiers, sustains the true religion and destroys heresy.

They went three times to the Comédie Française. On two occasions they saw plays by Molière (1622-1673), *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670) and *L'Avare* (1668). Just prior to their departure from Paris to return home, they also saw the comedy *L'Inconnu* (1675), by Thomas Corneille (1625-1709), the younger brother of the more famous Pierre (1606-1684).

They were taken once to the Comédie Italienne, but we are not told what they saw; it was most likely a traditional *commedia dell'arte* piece.

They twice went to the Opéra. On both occasions they saw works by Lully (1632-1687), and both dated from the year (1686) the ambassadors saw the pieces. They were *Arcis et Galatée* and *Armide*.

At St. Cloud, as noted above, they saw on 24 November the tragedy *Bajazet* (first produced in 1672) by Racine (1639-1699); the play was possibly selected specifically for them for its oriental theme and harem setting.

In addition, they attended two concerts in hôtels particuliers, one concert at St. Cloud and two concerts in churches. They also saw fashionable distractions like "The Game of the World" and the waxworks.

Personalities

Apart from formal audiences with princes of the blood, the ambassadors also met M. de Croissy, Minister of State, the Marquis de Seignelay, Minister of State for the Marine, the musician Lully, the jeweller M. de Montarsis, the Duchess of Sully, the Marshal and the Marchioness of Crequy, the King's enameller, Father Tachard and others.

Early on after their formal audience they were treated to a troop display in Paris, organized by the Marquis d'Uxelles and the Princes of Hanover, Holstein, Harmestein and Hanau, and were entertained by them afterwards.

Monuments visited from Clagny

In order to appreciate the scale of the works at Versailles, the ambassadors spent some days at the nearby Château of Clagny, the residence of Madame de Montespan. They were spared nothing, and spent four days inspecting just the gardens of Versailles; the Trianon, the Orangery, the Menagerie, the vegetable garden, the mall, the various ponds and pools, coppices, walks, and reservoirs, the nearby hills, the labyrinth, the colonnade, the water theatre, the reservoirs and the water system. They were also shown over the interior of the palace in detail, visiting the king's apartments, the cabinet of curiosities, the grand staircase, the royal chapel, the royal kitchens, the kennels and the stables.

They also saw the Châteaux de Marly, St. Germain en Laye (where the governor the Marquis de Montchevreuil entertained them), the Machine de Marly (supplying some water to Versailles), the Châteaux of Meudon and Maintenon, and the Maison de St. Cyr.

Conclusion

This in resumé form lists the places seen in France by the Siamese mission of 1686-7. The ambassadors returned in the company of the second French embassy led by Simon de la Loubère and Claude Céberet de Bouilly, leaving Brest on 1 March 1687 and arriving off the Chao Phraya on 27 September 1687, having stopped only twice, at the Cape and Batavia. While the first two Siamese ambassadors accompanied their French counterparts, the third read to King Narai the account of the ambassadors' journey.

However, we should not forget that the Siamese ambassadors, visit was purely formal, like their receptions. The real transactions were going on behind their backs, conducted by Tachard, who showed his hand during the second French mission to Siam of 1687-8. Though technically led by La Loubère, Tachard disputed this (15), and La Loubère left having accomplished nothing. It is perhaps satisfying that all Tachard's intrigue and double-dealing came to naught.

Within a year of the return of the Siamese ambassadors, the political situation changed completely. Phaulkon was arrested and killed while King Narai lay dying, Petracha usurped the throne and killed likely claimants, the French troops were evicted and the design to convert the kingdom dropped. Missionaries were still allowed to function, though with many restrictions. Siam sent no further mission to France for nearly two hundred years, when in 1860 King Mongkut sent ambassadors to Napoleon III with again a French priest, Father Larmandy, acting as interpreter.

REFERENCES

- (1) A 160 typescript photographic reproduction of the text, with some pages in facsimile, was produced by Chalermnit Books, Bangkok, in 1985.
- (2) Bowring, Sir John, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, London, 1856, Vol. 1, pp. 64-65.
- (3) Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h in his "Les ambassadeurs siamois à Versailles le 1er septembre 1686 dans un bas-relief d'A. Coysevox", *JSS* Vol. 72, 1984, details the further appearances in Siamese history of the ambassadors, pp. 30-33.
- (4) Lucien Lanier, *Etude Historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam de 1662 à 1704*, Versailles, Aubert, 1883.
- (5) Wannee Pooput, in "Les échos dans la littérature et la pensée thai..." in *Phra Narai, Roi de Siam, et Louis XIV : Etudes*, Paris 1986, p. 106, suggests that a copy of this has been located. The publication of this in modern Thai was announced for 1987 but does not seem to have appeared to date. Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h in his "La France et les français vus par les ambassadeurs de Siam" in the same volume, p. 94, indicates there exists a hasty and approximate translation of a Siamese text into French of a letter from the ambassadors to Phaulkon in the Archives Nationales (Colonies) describing their embassy. It is most unfortunate that this does not appear to have been published in full to date either.
- (6) *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Paris, 1882, Vol. 1, p. 401, cited in Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *JSS*, 1984, op. cit.
- (7) Choisy, Abbé de *Journal du Voyage de Siam fait en 1685 et 1686 par M.L.D.C.*, Paris, 1687.
- (8) Chaumont, Chevalier de, *Relation de l'Ambassade de Mr le Chevalier de Chaumont à la Cour du Roy de Siam*, Paris, 1685 [1686].
- (9) Guy Tachard, *Second Voyage du Père Tachard et des Jésuites envoyés par le Roi aux Indes et à la Chine*, Paris, 1689.
- (10) Jacq-Hergoualc'h, in his *JSS* article of 1984 and M. Smithies in "The Ladies at Versailles on 1st September 1686," *Siam Society Newsletter (SSN)*, Vol. 2, No. 2, June 1986, both argue for her presence at the solemn audience of 1 September 1686. Donneau de Vizé makes clear that neither Madame la Dauphine nor Mademoiselle were present at audiences at Versailles on 1 September 1686, so my own article stands in need of correction; see note 14 below.
- (11) Lanier, op. cit.
- (12) Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *JSS* 1984, op. cit.
- (13) Michael Smithies, *SSN* 1986 op. cit. and *The Discours at Versailles of the first Siamese Ambassadors to France 1686-7*, Bangkok, Siam Society, 1986.
- (14) The ten principal discourses delivered by the first ambassador at the ambassadors' audience and farewell were printed separately by the Principal Printer to the King and Director of the Royal Printery, Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy, who himself met the ambassadors and showed them round his printing works some time between November 1686 and January 1687 (even providing braziers in the works so they should not feel the cold). These were reprinted with translations into English, together with a complete list of their presents, by the present author (*The Discourses at Versailles of the First Siamese Ambassadors to France 1686-7*, cited above). However, a correction is needed; it is clear from Donneau de Vizé's account (not then to hand) that, though seven of the audiences of reception took place on the same day, 1 September, and in the same palace, they were granted in different rooms before varying but not always different persons. However, the audiences with the two children of Monsieur, the Duke of Chartres and Mademoiselle, did not take place until 4 September, at St. Cloud, and that with Madame la Dauphine, who had given birth to the Duke of Berry the day before the ambassadors' reception, took place on their return visit to Versailles at a date unspecified by de Vizé, towards the end of the September or the beginning of October. The audiences of farewell (de Vizé notes there were sixteen in all, but only ten of their addresses seem to have survived) all took place on 14 January 1687 at Versailles, but again in different apartments and not always with the same courtiers present.
- (15) See Chapter 3 "L'ambassade de Simon de la Loubère" in Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h *Etude historique et critique du livre de Simon de la Loubère "Du Royaume de Siam," Paris 1691*, Paris, 1987, which draws on unpublished archival material by Céberet and Tachard.