The Global Trajectory of Nicolaas Witsen's Chinese Mirror

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Published in:
The Rijksmuseum Bulletin

Citation for published version (APA):
can scarcely express to you how greatly it pains me to have been the cause of such a priceless piece, a remnant of Chinese antiquity, meeting such an ill fate.” There it lay, shattered into a dozen shards: the most prized work in Nicolaas Witsen’s (1641-1717) collection of Asian objects (fig. 1). In late 1705 Witsen, burgomaster of Amsterdam, had wanted to show a learned friend a Chinese mirror, found in a grave in Siberia. The two Dutchmen had corresponded for a year about this artefact, which was inscribed with seemingly ancient yet inscrutable characters. Now Witsen had dropped it. The friend who expressed his regret was the antiquarian Gijsbert Cuper (1644-1716). He waxed lyrical about Witsen’s cabinet which, in terms of Asian art, was probably the richest in Northern Europe. On show were Indian and Ceylonese votive sculptures, Chinese and Japanese paintings, and jewellery, maps, books and ceramics. The account confirms the importance Witsen attached to his mirror. Fortunately, before his friend’s fateful visit he had already ordered an engraving to be put into print. Over the next few years, Witsen and Cuper frantically sent copies to their learned contacts. The Siberian mirror became a topic of wide-ranging discussion, from the philosopher Leibniz in Hanover to the Augustinian order in
Rome, from the Chinese community in Batavia to missionaries in Beijing and Pondicherry (fig. 2). Whereas the multitude of Chinese material culture present in the Netherlands around 1700 was almost never discussed in writing – porcelain and even paintings apparently not deemed worthy of scholarly interest – this mirror received a wholly different treatment. What made it so important in the eyes of Witsen, Cuper and their contemporaries?

Previous studies have noted the mirror’s presence in Witsen’s collection. This article will chart the object’s global trajectory: from its manufacture in Han dynasty China to its use on the Eurasian steppe and its subsequent reception in the early eighteenth-century European Republic of Letters and beyond, a route that ultimately led back to China. This small object mobilized a cultural network that connected Amsterdam to the rest of the world around 1700.

The mirror arrived in Witsen’s hands through a Russian friend. He included an illustration and explanation of the object’s inscription in the 1705 edition of his book *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (fig. 3). After failing to procure a translation in Europe, Witsen had sent it to the Chinese community in Batavia (now Jakarta) by way of Johan van Hoorn (1653-1711), the recently appointed governor of the Dutch East India Company (voc). This was not such a surprising step. Witsen, himself a director of the trading company, repeatedly ordered Chinese books in Batavia, from where access to Guangzhou was relatively common. As he told Cuper, ‘a learned man among [the Chinese] has translated it’: ‘I have sent [an image of] the mirror to Batavia where there are more than ten thousand Chinese. No one understands it, but the governor-general had it brought to China to show to learned Chinese and ask them for an explanation. So it happened: the dish is made more than 1800 years ago and it is surely in ancient Chinese, now mostly unknown.’

Strikingly, while Witsen and Cuper not only valued the object’s historical
relevance, they also recognized how it embodied geographical interconnectivity. As they appealed to Chinese scholarship to interpret the mirror, they were among the first Europeans to see China as very similar in its appreciation of learning, books and academies: it also had its own, sophisticated tradition of antiquarianism.¹⁰ Witsen himself immediately ordered Chinese books to provide context: ‘God willing in the years to come I shall receive more explanations from the Indies of this Chinese wisdom. They have provisionally sent me twenty or thirty suchlike devices of kings and learned folk printed both in ancient as well as in contemporary Chinese.’¹¹ Cuper later confirmed that Witsen had received from China:

‘a book with many images of these mirrors, including that very same one that has been found in Siberia; [he told me] that the most ancient mirrors were marked by interlocking lines, and that
Verklaring van het omischrif, in de ronde kring, der voorgaande Metaele Spiegeli; uit de Sinelche taale (ten besten doenlyk was) overgezet tot Batavia, den 22 December 1704, en by de Sinezen geschat over de 1800 Jaaren out te zyn.

in de binnenste omteck by A, ziet men de letteren, as ze op de spiegel vertoewaaen, en syne symanle letteren by de Sinezen gebruikelijk geweeest voor veel Reenen.

in de buitenste omteck by B, zyn de bedenkelaghe Sinelche letteren tot verklaring van het mode Schrift, lier tevens gesteld.

Onderricht hoe de Sinezen de Letteren in het omischrif lezen en uitspreken.


Ten-bie-keat. Dit is. Goed is sauzer, rein en onkromen in omtrek geheel.

Lijceng pik-tien. Dit is. Goed is zoo schoon, als klaar en helder water.

See-kuen-tso-ien. Dit is. Iemand heer en Vorst benaam en in veel zachen gebruikt worden, noot de zelve aansagen als zijn God; zieh wetende ender so bekozen, want alle deinde zoo zal het hem geven.

See-kei-ambien. Dit is. Als water dat op en ophoort.

Koos tik tei-easheen. Dit is. Maar wanneer een Koning iemand tot Staat vertoef, en ziet dat zijn gedrag goed en wel, zoo onderwagen by hem in oogen, naar een grooten en gelycke Zoon.

Koos phin-tien. Dit is. Men is kog wor zijn kler als men goed doet, maar als men goed en uyt-maadde zoo is het Gods alleen verheugt.

Ten bid-ti-ey. Dit is. En zoo ischou by het skimel der Zoeme.

Koos koos-tei-tieng-tien. Dit is. En wanneer man als den by de Machtigen zal ontsussen worden als een God gekoete, om dat er niemand Gods geloeft te.
This book may well have been the *Chongxiu Xuanhe Bogutu* (see below) or a similar work. Thus, soon after the mirror’s excavation, scholars discussed its antiquity, origin, trade, use and meaning in an attempt at an integrated approach to Western and Chinese scholarship. The following article will embrace a similarly symmetrical analysis. It will first identify the mirror’s decoration, inscription, and archaeological context. Then it will address the object’s European afterlife and how this extended to Asia.

The only Chinese antiquity published earlier in Europe was the famous Nestorian Stele (illustrated and translated in Athanasius Kircher’s *China Illustrata* of 1667). This documented the Christian presence in Asia and dated from AD 751.13 As will become clear, the Witsen mirror was much older. It provoked a range of historical, geographical and philosophical discussions, centring around two issues. Most essential was the age of Chinese civilization in comparison to the West. A further question concerned language: was Chinese older than Hebrew and the Egyptian hieroglyphs?

Though the mirror is now lost, there remains an extraordinary amount of specific source information, both written and visual. This makes Witsen’s cherished item stand out among the many Asian objects in Amsterdam around 1700, and revelatory of new ideas sparked by the increasing relevance of Chinese civilization in Europe.

### The Witsen Mirror

Witsen describes the object as ‘a steel mirror of over 20 cm in diameter, the reverse of which is shown in the accompanying image; it was sent to me, the reverse being polished smooth just like the Chinese and Japanese mirrors made to the present day from a certain metal alloy: it shows ancient Chinese letters’.14 The detailed engraving allows for a hypothesis about the mirror’s meaning, origin and date. This is a worthwhile exercise as it concerns, to our knowledge, the first documented Chinese bronze mirror in a European collection (figs. 3, 4).15 Witsen received another, similar object in 1715, of which a drawing, but not a translation, survives in his correspondence (fig. 5).16

The detailed engraving of the Witsen mirror (fig. 3) shows that the decoration adheres to the earliest and most lasting principles of mirror design: radial symmetry with a rotating viewpoint and division of the mirror surface into quadrants. It urges the user to read the design in a circular fashion, whereby the lower part of the design looks coherent with the upper part upside down.17 The decoration is divided into concentric circles. A perforated central knob (to which a cord could be fastened) is surrounded by twelve round flat studs in groups of three,
separated by bird-like figures. This is encircled by a narrow rope groove and a plain raised band, with eight linked arcs enclosing a raised decoration of spirals. Two rope grooves enclose a ring of raised seal script characters. A wide, plain outer border slopes down slightly to the outer rope band. This design has been described in Western literature as the central arc type, while Chinese scholarship identifies it as the linked arc pattern *lianhu wen* 连弧纹.¹⁸

There are five main types of inscriptions for linked arc mirrors, of which *qingbai* 清白, used for the Witsen mirror, is one (see below). On average the mirrors measure approximately 14 cm in diameter and are dated to

Fig. 6
Decorated back of Mirror with Qingbai inscription (broken and repaired), found in a Western Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 9) burial in Changsha, Hunan province, China. Diameter 14.4 cm, 289 g.
Photo: © Changsha Municipal Museum.
the mid- to late Western Han period (206 BC-AD 8). Witsen’s belief that the mirror was at least 1800 years old (i.e. second century BC) is therefore close to the usual date of these linked arc qingbai mirrors (fig. 6).

A Religious Interpretation?
‘It is remarkable that these letters are more than a thousand years old and the common man cannot read them,’ says Witsen. ‘This is a device or symbolium from one of the ancient Chinese emperors, around the time of the so learned and pious Confucius of whom was said, with more reason than was said once about Plato and Seneca, “O Saint Confucius!”’ With this statement Witsen connects the mirror to the idea that ancient Chinese history would reveal a parallel with Christianity. Westerners generally portrayed Confucius (? 551 - ? 479 BC) as one of the ‘virtuous pagans’. This was a favourite argument of the Jesuit missionaries, the only Europeans with access to the Chinese imperial court. They held that Confucius (like the Hebrew prophets) had taught proto-Christian teaching before Christ’s actual coming. This idea legitimized their extensive scholarship on China. It seems to have seeped through in the translation of the Witsen mirror, attributed to the ‘learned man’ from the Chinese mainland. In Noord en Oost Tartarye, the inscription is translated as a monotheistic paean:

天無紀絜
God is pure, immaculate and wholly un tarnished.

清白天
God is as beautiful as pure and clear water.

事君忠天
One who is held dear by a king or ruler and called upon in many circumstances, should look up to that one as his God: keeping themselves from insulting others, for this is how they shall fare in turn.

水之弇明
Like water which flows out and recedes.

玄錫之汪洋
But when a king raises someone to the peerage, and sees that his behaviour is just, then the rejoicing in his heart will be as vast as the entire ocean.

恐世世
One is fearful of their Lord when one does evil, but if one keeps to the straight and narrow path, then the heart is always overjoyed.

天日志美
And as beautiful as the light of the sun.

外承之嵩
And then amongst men one shall be regarded as a God on Earth, for there is none [more?] equal to God.

Witsen acknowledges the complexities involved in translating ancient Chinese texts, noting that each ‘letter’ requires a separate interpretation worth an entire sentence. Even the Chinese scholar who received the mirror was unable to interpret all its moral teachings. Apparently, the translator sought meaning in an unstructured stack of seal script characters without knowing where the first sentence starts in the circular inscription. Yet the way he broke up the sentences actually only contributes to the confusion. Most of the lines in Witsen’s translation are rather fanciful, adding elements absent in the present characters. However, this is not to say that the poetic licence was complete. In fact, some of the sentences contain acceptable translations of individual characters. Witsen’s publication appears to be the first attempt to translate a Chinese antiquity into one of the European vernaculars.

Later scholars have identified the inscription on the Witsen mirror as a variant of the so-called qingbai 清白 or jingbai 精白 type. The full qingbai inscription has eight phrases of six characters. Based on the rhyme scheme, they can be divided into two stanzas of four phrases.
潔清白而事君
Making without blemish my pure whiteness to serve you,
怨陰驩之弇明
I resent that impure pleasures may cover up its brightness;
披玄錫之流澤
Wearing the shining lustre provided by the polished tin,²²
恐疏遠而日忘
I fear that I will be estranged and day by day be forgotten.
慎糜美之窮皚
Being cautious that my ravishing beauty exhausts brilliant whiteness,
外承驩之可說
I put aside the enjoyableness of pleasing [you].

慕窈窕之靈景
Admiring the divine spectacle of the fair and graceful [lady]
願永思而毋絕
I wish that there may be everlasting remembrance and never separation.

Although the Dutch translation was far from correct, it was not deliberately deceptive; as Witsen states, it was ‘the best doable’.³³ The most conspicuous difference is the absence of the divine in the modern translation. This may be explained as a misreading, in Witsen’s transcription, of the character for the grammatical particle er 而 as tian 天, heaven or sky (which is thereafter interpreted as God). In the ancient seal script (the script used for this mirror)

Fig. 7
Illustration of a Han dynasty mirror with qingbai inscription in the Bogutu. The seal script character for er 而 (misread as tian 天) is outlined in red.
Chongxiu Xuanhe Bogutu [lu] 重修宣和博古圖錄 (Antiquities Illustrated of Xuanhe Hall [or Xuanhue Period], Revised), 28.36a.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Research Library, 694 5, vol. 5.
These two characters are very similar. Someone unfamiliar with Chinese mirror inscriptions is likely to confound the two unintentionally.

Such confusion must have been the case for the compilers of Antiquities Illustrated of Xuanhe Hall, Revised (重修宣和博古圖[錄] Chongxiu Xuanhe Bogutu [lu]), or, for short, Antiquities Illustrated (Bogutu). This catalogue of the Huizong Emperor's collection of antiquities was the first to include mirrors with their inscriptions and interpretations. According to the scholar-official Hong Mai (1123-1202), the Bogutu was 'most imperfect and ridiculous'. Comparison with the actual objects led him to conclude that 'the errors and nonsense in it are too numerous to mention'. Regardless of this verdict, the catalogue set standards that lasted for six centuries. It was the most comprehensive work on bronze antiquities at that time, 'a book no one interested in ancient scripts could overlook'. The 'learned man' in China who translated the Witsen mirror probably had access to the standard antiquarian works, including the Bogutu (something which the similarity in visual layout of the transcriptions confirms, figs. 4 and 8). No other reading of the qingbai inscription is as close to Witsen's.

Since the Bogutu version also reads tian (heaven) instead of the grammatical particle er 而, Witsen's
translator can hardly be faulted for making the same error (figs. 7, 8). Yet his subsequent rendering of tian 天 as God is more questionable. This creative kind of translation was, in fact, central to the Jesuits’ strategy for accommodating Chinese beliefs: purportedly, the Chinese had always believed in a Lord of Heaven without realizing that this was the Christian God. This strategy aimed, ultimately, at influencing Chinese civilization from within. When Witsen related his mirror to ‘Saint Confucius’, he seemed to have embraced the essence of that approach. A ‘learned Chinese’ was credited with the translation. It is possible, however, that this was a Catholic convert or that the Jesuits played an indirect role. In fact, information about China was often distorted through a Jesuit lens. Witsen consulted the writings of the Flemish missionary Philippe Couplet (1623-1693) to conclude that his mirror was without doubt ancient, and that there was written a statement of a king, a great philosopher, or a scholarly man in their manner. Couplet had travelled with a native Chinese assistant from Beijing to Amsterdam to publish an edition of Confucius’s writings (fig. 9). In 1684 he gave Witsen, his ‘good friend’, a Chinese atlas and showed him an ancient Latin Bible found in East Asia, to underscore the Christian roots there (figs. 10, 11). Unsurprisingly, Witsen’s own Noord en Oost Tartarye at times displays the Jesuit influence.

The Mirror’s Original Meaning
With the mirror’s religious associations being later inventions, what was its original meaning? The qingbai text has been interpreted as a reference to marital love, expressing an idea of loyalty and missing. Mutual remembrance was one of the earliest and most common inscription motifs on bronze mirrors, often found in tombs. Mirrors were perhaps common farewell tokens – death being just one occasion of departure alongside taking up office or warfare. Witsen’s specimen may have exemplified mental constancy even when separation was inevitable.

Numerous variations of the qingbai inscription have been recorded, varying in length and in the characters used. Many non-standard characters are found in mirror inscriptions, including homophones and characters with missing strokes or even written backward. The characters were inscribed in two-part moulds of ceramic or stone before the mirror was cast. For reasons of space, signs were sometimes omitted or added. Such a flexible approach may suggest that few words were enough to suggest the whole because the text was well known. It could also indicate that the text itself was unimportant and that inscriptions served chiefly as

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Fig. 9
decorative modules.\textsuperscript{49} In any case, it often seems irrelevant to search for unambiguous meanings in these inscriptions.

Ever since the \textit{Bogutu}, however, Chinese connoisseurs have regarded inscribed mirrors as a specialized sub-field of antiquarianism. They categorized them separately from other bronzes (ritual vessels in particular). This may reflect an aesthetic of intertextuality, like the method of classifying mirrors according to the inscription’s first characters (such as \textit{qingbai}).\textsuperscript{50} Eventually, the connoisseurship exemplified in the \textit{Bogutu} was paralleled by the evaluation of the mirror by Witsen and his contemporaries, for which they even ordered antiquarian literature in Chinese. As will become clear below, the European scholars’ interest was sparked by the fact that this antiquity could be seen and touched. However, as most of them were philologists, their main effort went into decoding the inscription.

A Han Dynasty Origin

Bronze mirrors can be dated most securely when their archaeological context remains. The qualities of the alloy, the casting and other metallurgical processes provide other indications.\textsuperscript{51} Most of this information is lacking for the Witsen mirror. An attempt to date it is further confounded by the fact that Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) mirrors were often copied in medieval China, mostly in the Tang (AD 618-907) and Song (AD 960-1279) periods. Copies were not necessarily intended to trick consumers but were sometimes archaizing recreations made with sincere reverence for the past.\textsuperscript{52} Craftsmen reused old moulds or made new ones by taking
direct impressions of ancient mirrors. The claim that the Witsen mirror is a twelfth- to fourteenth-century copy of a Han original of the second century AD is, however, unconvincing.

Certain features distinguish later works from authentic Han specimens. The central knob of the later versions is usually smaller and flat instead of convex. The clear contours of original Han inscriptions make way for blurred characters. Whereas Han mirrors were of ‘white bronze’, which was fragile and brittle, Tang and Song dynasty brass copies contained a large proportion of zinc, prone to rust. A final mark of authenticity in linked arc mirrors is the border position relative to the surface, particularly the steepness of the slope from border to inner edge. The shading on Witsen’s illustration suggests a sizeable convex central knob. The clearly contoured characters likewise refer to a genuine
Han object. Witsen’s mention of a ‘steel’ mirror, its fragility and rustless appearance may all indicate that it was cast of white bronze during the Han dynasty. It is difficult to ascertain the steepness of the slope between the border and the inner edge on the basis of the image. Modern excavations, however, have yielded many qingbai mirrors that are practically identical to the Witsen mirror and have been dated to the Western Han period (see fig. 6). We therefore argue that the mirror should be dated in the first century BC-first century AD.

There is very little information known about the locations of bronze mirror manufacture within this timeframe. Archaeologists only recently unearthed the earliest known mirror-casting workshop, in Linzi (a district of the modern city of Zibo in Shandong). It was active from at least the third century BC to the Western Han dynasty, and has yielded mirror moulds with linked arc motifs (although not the qingbai inscription). There must have been many more workshops elsewhere that have not been discovered. In the absence of other evidence, Linzi is currently the only plausible starting point in the Witsen mirror’s global trajectory (see fig. 2).

Buried and Unearthed in Siberia
The caption to Witsen’s illustration notes that his mirror came from ‘a certain grave near Verkhhoturye’ in the middle Ural mountains (modern-day Russia). It arrived in Amsterdam with a small golden sculpture of a four-legged winged animal with a human head. Noord en Oost Tartarye illustrates this in a woodcut print, reporting that both objects came from ‘an ancient burial place where one has found human bones alongside, under a kurgan or tumulus’ (fig. 12). Additional ‘Tartar’ jewellery is depicted in even more detail. These must have been the objects ‘found in the temples and graves of the Chinese Tartars and others’, mentioned in the 1728 inventory of Witsen’s collection (fig. 13).

Reportedly, the Siberian curiosities were discovered at a latitude of 60° north. A large map in Witsen’s book on ‘Tartary’, or the lands of the nomadic peoples, specifies this location (figs. 14, 15). Here modern archaeologists have confirmed burials with metal artefacts belonging to different Eurasian cultures. At a crossroads of transcontinental migration, the area was home to tribes without a written record. The Sarmatians, who replaced an earlier Scythian group, are among the groups associated with the period from the second century BC to the fourth century AD, when Witsen’s mirror was made. His other ‘Tartar’ objects have been identified as Sarmatian and Scythian gold, some as old as the seventh century BC (see fig. 13). Unfortunately, it is not possible to say whether these items were buried.
together, and when. Modern excavations south-west of the area Witsen described have revealed many Sarmatian burials including a rich necropolis at Lebedevka dated to the second to third centuries AD. These graves, mostly of one or two individuals, contain objects imported from west and east such as amphorae, fibulae and even a Western Han dynasty mirror. It is possible that Witsen’s mirror was deposited around the same period – remaining buried for 1500 years before it was found and sent to Amsterdam.

Fig. 13 'Golden jewels unearthed in the ancient Tartar graves in Siberia', Noord en Oost Tartarye, Amsterdam 1705 (illustration added in 1785), following p. 748. Photo: © The Hague, Museum Meermanno | House of the Book, inv. no. 107 A 002.
Fig. 14

NICOLAAS WITSEN, Map of North and East Tartary, Amsterdam 1687. The area where the mirror was buried is outlined in red. Photo: © Isaac Massa Foundation Amsterdam – St Petersburg, State Library.

Fig. 15

Detail of fig. 14 showing Verkhoturye, Tobolsk and the 60°N parallel (ten degrees higher than on modern maps) outlined in red. Photo: © Isaac Massa Foundation Amsterdam – St Petersburg, State Library.

60°N
Chinese mirrors in Siberian tombs were far from unique. They have been found throughout the Eurasian steppe, where they arrived by way of interactions along the different Silk Routes that began around the second century BC. Conversely, Siberian artefacts have been found inside ancient Chinese dynastic borders, probably the result of technological exchange, marriage alliances and other ethnic intermingling. On the battlegrounds of the different Eurasian tribes it is not always clear who was putting on pressure from the East. Perhaps the mirror was originally given to a Han Chinese when he departed for the so-called Han-Xiongnu wars (first century BC – first century AD). From there it may have travelled westward along the northern branch of the Silk Route, as a commodity or gift. Different ancient cultures of the steppe and the Great Chinese Plain allotted mirrors apotropaic properties, before and after death. They were often placed on the deceased’s breast with the reflecting side upward. All we can say about the archaeological context of the Witsen mirror is that it was probably deposited in a second-century grave of one of the nomadic tribes, to protect the dead and as a farewell token.

What is documented is how Witsen acquired his finds. Apparently, the locals who opened the graves were interested solely in gold and silver. It was only because he offered more than the metal value that Witsen was able to prevent them from melting the objects. His Dutch contact in Russia, Andreas Winius (1641-1717), had arranged for a sudden stream of burial goods on the order of Tsar Peter the Great (1672-1725). In Verkhoturye, Winius had observed saltpetre vapour coming from a mound. Farmers who opened it – saltpetre was a valuable ingredient of gunpowder – found not only the mirror but also idols, jewellery and other silver artefacts. Remains of the corpse were nearby, wrapped in a shroud.

Witsen’s learned contacts discussed these details. As we shall see, they speculated about the mirror’s origin in regard to their traditional historical framework, which was centred on the biblical Middle East. Their attempts to interpret this new piece of the scholarly puzzle proved wide-ranging. This was in large measure due to the quality of the engraving (fig. 3). In 1730 a similar mirror, found in the same area as Witsen’s, was included in Philip von Strahlenberg’s (1676-1747) Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm 1730, p. 398. Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek.
quality, no basis to even attempt a translation, and it does not seem to have impressed European scholars (fig. 16). 73

The Witsen Mirror in the Republic of Letters

The first to recognize the Witsen mirror’s importance was Gijsbert Cuper. One of the foremost antiquarians in the Low Countries, he had made his fame studying Egyptian religion. In one of his portraits he features with a statue of the deity Harpocrates, to which he devoted two books (fig. 17). 74 His collection included a few Chinese votive statues that may have been furnished by Witsen. 75 Cuper was Witsen’s most faithful correspondent, and their communication also involved objects such as tea, porcelain and images: 76 detailed pen drawings of Indian Buddhas and other bronze idols survive. 77 In 1704 Witsen sent his friend ‘two copies of the little dish that has been found in Siberia deep under ground, I think [the writing] is ancient Chinese and have already sent it to Batavia for a translation’. 78 Almost a year later the Dutch version and the engravings followed. 79

These inspired Cuper to write a fourfolio epistle focusing on the mirror’s purported connection to Confucius. To him, the object expressed Confucian humility before God, a virtue without parallel in Western philosophy. ‘If I ponder the explanation that was sent you, I admit that Confucius was a great man, who has recognized only one God’: although Socrates and Confucius had been contemporaries, the latter ‘has been held in great esteem to the present day’. In fact, Cuper had read with admiration a French translation of Confucius’s ethics, so ‘grounded on the nature and qualities of God and man’. 80 Cuper now hoped that a more detailed interpretation of the mirror would contribute to the ongoing Chinese Rites debate. This controversy concerned the ‘Saint Confucius’ for-
interpretations ‘so that these wise gentlemen speculate upon it and explicate it according to their knowledge’.83 This strategy worked. Cuper apparently received a bundle of the engravings of the mirror’s reverse: when his contacts, in turn, forwarded the engraving to others, additional questions of origin, function and meaning were addressed.84

For these scholars, who saw philology as their central occupation, the Chinese inscription was the main point of contention – though most of them had no knowledge of the language. Yet the work’s foremost attraction lay in the increasing relevance of material objects as scientific proof around 1700: the ideals of Realphilologie (philology of things) and ‘ocular inspection’ to complement literacy.85 Cuper always emphasized to his correspondents that he had touched the mirror with his own hands and seen it with his own eyes, and deliberately sent out the engraving without the translation. Throughout the decade leading to his death in 1716, he kept bringing up the image to his learned contacts.

Although the mirror broke when Cuper came to inspect it once again, the engraving ensured its afterlife throughout a Europe-wide network that eventually reached back to East Asia. Tracing this route not only completes the object’s cultural biography but also illuminates the agency of material culture, even after the disappearance of the physical object itself, to mobilize wide-ranging scholarship and in some cases even affect a world view.

European scholars had been excited about Chinese antiquity ever since 1650, when Witsen’s friend Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) had, on the basis of Chinese scholarship, doubted the validity of the Bible as a historical source. The Hebrew text could not accommodate a continuous civilization going back to 2900 BC (the Universal Flood having taken place in 2349 BC).86 Now this mirror, ‘one of the greatest antiquities that we have here from those lands’, seemed to offer the first factual, hands-on proof of the Middle Kingdom’s origins – set to confirm or explode the Eurocentric account of world history.87

The multi-faceted discussions about Witsen’s mirror therefore revolve around two main questions. First, how did the age of Chinese culture compare to the Western classical tradition, in relation to other supposedly ‘primeval’ civilizations such as Judaism? Furthermore, for the European philologists this ‘priority problem’ was intricately tied to questions of language. If Chinese was as old as the European languages or even older, how was it related to the primitive language, spoken by Adam before the Babylonian Confusion? As will become clear, the two themes of ancient chronology and universal language came together in the comparison of China to Egypt.

**The Priority Problem: Chinese and European Chronologies According to Guillaume Bonjour**

‘I myself have held it in my hands in Amsterdam ... and seen with my own eyes ... a plate inscribed with ancient Chinese letters, of an unknown or mixed metal ... When you or others desire the plate itself, I will put serious work into acquiring its image and description.’ These are Cuper’s words to Guillaume Bonjour (1670-1714) in Rome.88 The mirror features in no fewer than twelve letters to this young Augustinian friar, along with references to practical matters, such as auctions of antiquities in Amsterdam, and theoretical ones regarding chronology. After having asked ‘the mayor of Amsterdam if he wanted to send me the dish, found in a grave in Siberia, that was depicted and described’, Cuper expressed the ‘hope that the Roman Oedipuses will clarify these mysteries for us’.89

This appeal was inspired by Bonjour’s reputation as a scholar of oriental languages, albeit those of the Middle
East. At a young age, he had made his name with a study of the Coptic language. Coptic was deemed essential for understanding the origins of civilization as it was recognized (correctly) as the last language in which the Egyptian hieroglyphs were written. It seemed to be a link between ancient and more recent Middle Eastern history. This must have been on Cuper’s mind when he proposed consulting a colleague at the University of Franeker who worked on the shared origins of Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Syriac. For Bonjour, linguistic pedigrees were a means of defending the biblical chronology against the doubts of someone like Vossius, and this is where Chinese drew his interest.

The engraving of the mirror arrived safely in Rome, annotated with a Latin translation of the Dutch caption (now in the Biblioteca Angelica). Bonjour replied to Cuper that he had discussed the object with Bishop Artus de Lionne (1655-1737), a missionary in Guangzhou and Fujian in China. The bishop, who had returned to Rome in 1702, received the engraving of the Witsen mirror. He duly confirmed that ‘Chinese matrons are wont to use similar mirrors’, but could not provide a translation, pointing out that modern characters diverge from ancient ones:

‘There are four kinds of Chinese characters, one modern and commonly used, three primordial and ancient and already discontinued from use in daily writing for a long time: that the characters inscribed on the disk or mirror are the ancient and discontinued ones: but some of them are similar to the modern ones, and of those four, one means king, another heaven, another sun, another emperor: but that he could not interpret the writing because he didn’t know the others.’

Cuper now sent back the translation furnished by Witsen. He asked for further reactions from Roman scholars to this ‘symbol of one of the most ancient Chinese emperors, from around the time of Confucius, a very learned and pious man’. In early 1706, Bonjour wrote from the monastery of Montefiascone, where he had discussed the object with De Lionne and ‘two Chinese’ travelling in his company on their way to France. One of these was the adventurous Arcade Hoang (Huang Jialüe 黃嘉略, c. 1680-1716), born in Xinghua in Fujian, who had accompanied the bishop in Rome. It must have been Hoang who pointed out that translating the character tian 天 (heaven) as ‘God’ was so controversial. Bonjour writes:

‘This monument [the Witsen mirror] often mentions God, which truly surprises me. For the Chinese have no word to designate God simply and uncontroversially. But they either use the composite name Shangdi which means the Supreme Emperor, or they adhere to the word Tian, for the visible Heaven, which they venerate at present. Since Artus de Lionne and his two Chinese observed that the monument praises the character that designates Heaven, I think we can interpret Heaven to mean God.’

Hoang was apparently unable to correct Witsen’s comparison of God with water, which is not obvious in the original text. It inspired Bonjour to a semantic digression on how the heavens, water and the Divinity are similar in their clearness and beauty. He refers to a variety of Latin and Greek authors and also Confucius, in the Jesuits’ translation:

‘These words merit attention: “God is as beautiful as clear and liquid water”. The Hebrews call the Heavens Shamaim, or Sham-maim, which means “this water”. As the Church Fathers testify, the Holy Scriptures celebrate everywhere heavenly waters and so do even the pagans, such as Nonnus of Panopolis in
the sixth book of the Dionysiaca ... Therefore the God of the Chinese in this Chinese inscription is, to my mind, Tian, "as beautiful as clear and liquid water", namely the visible Heaven ... or the beauty that the Chinese inscription compares with the clarity and liquidity of water. I am completely convinced that the Chinese, in the past and now, attributed divinity to the visible Heaven. In describing the beauty of their God as the beauty of water, they appear similar to those pagans who attributed divinity to water. Propertius called the waters divine ... Virgil spoke of holy springs.98

What follows is a slew of references to Anastasius the Sinaite, Saint Augustine, Carolus Magnus, Cuper’s own book Harpocrates and finally an appeal to freedom of interpretation: ‘There’ll be no lack of lovers of allegories, tropes and figures who will translate the Chinese inscription in another manner.’99 Cuper’s reply, unsurprisingly, focuses on Egypt: a digression on the name of Osiris and no fewer than nine types of the deity Harpocrates ‘whose name’, the author says, ‘I so much enjoy explaining’.100 This exchange makes extensively clear how, for these authors, an antiquarian frame explains their interest in China. Their collaboration on ancient oriental languages – ranging from Coptic, Syriac, ‘Punic’ and ‘Egyptian’, to Chinese – aimed at the antiquarian completeness that was necessary to establish the accurate chronology of the world.

To Bonjour, who devoted his life’s work to chronology, the question of how to reconcile a Chinese antiquity with the biblical history seems to have inspired a rigorous change in his ambitions. That same year he suddenly left the Augustinians in Rome to join the Chinese mission.101 This was, in the words of his only biographer, a ‘perplexing’ decision. Not long before, Bonjour’s scholarly acclaim had resulted in his honorific membership of the Papal Commission for the Reform of the Calendar. His star was rising and ‘nothing in ... Bonjour’s studies until 1707 could have predicted his decision to become a missionary-scientist’; moreover, ‘nothing indicates that religion was particularly involved’.102 In fact, whereas Bonjour’s earlier work had focused on the Middle East, his only demonstration of interest in East Asia was his correspondence about the Witsen mirror.103 It therefore seems likely that the arrival of this ‘monu-

ment’ of Chinese antiquity was at least a factor in this fateful shift.

It was one of the ironies of history that Bonjour’s credits in Catholic chronology determined his success in Beijing, where he was set to work on the imperial calendars. These had to confirm the legitimacy of the rule of the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (1661-1722). As the Son of Heaven, the emperor should be able to demonstrate how his commands aligned strictly with the celestial bodies. Bonjour was sent on a number of scientific journeys to the corners of the empire (Mongolia, Xinjiang and the Burmese border). Among the missionaries in China, he held a special position indeed as the only non-Jesuit to become so deeply involved in scientific research. He was also one of the very few missionaries who were widely known for their scholarship before they left Europe.

The trajectory of Bonjour’s departure confirms the importance of the mirror. On his way to an English ship bound for China, he continued to correspond about the object and even visited Witsen in Amsterdam. On 6 December 1707 he wrote to Cuper from Düsseldorf, ‘I should not hide further from you that I have departed from the city of Rome to China ... Soon I will proceed to Amsterdam ... If only I could meet you in Deventer.’104 Cuper was only too willing as so many of his questions had still remained unanswered, regarding the antiquity of the Chinese language in particular:
'I ask you urgently to organize your business so that you can come to me from Amsterdam ... The Chinese language comes to my mind: you know that it consists in few sounds, most monosyllabic; I remember furthermore reading somewhere that it has almost not changed in many centuries ... I therefore dare to ask you to inquire and finally teach me, by coming here or by writing, whether the literate people and the common Chinese use a different language, and how much labour and time one has to spend on the characters. The mirror, of which I sent you the engraving earlier, seems to dissuade me, because the Chinese in Batavia themselves have confessed that it contains various words they don't know.'

Bonjour’s visit to Amsterdam was one of those moments when Catholic missionaries and VOC officials set aside religious differences when sharing knowledge about East Asia. After speaking briefly to him, Witsen realized ‘that he is very versed in oriental languages and Chinese matters ... The missionaries of the Holy See are in our lands blackened in coal; nevertheless, out of love for such a remarkable man, earned solely by learning ... I gave him letters of recommendation for the governors of Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope.’ Upon arriving at the Cape, on 13 September 1708, Bonjour wrote a hasty note to Cuper. He hoped to be able to answer his questions from Hugli in Bengal where he expected to stay for some time: ‘I haven’t forgotten the information that you would like to have about China, if I am lucky enough to arrive there.’

It seems plausible that Bonjour’s shift from the Middle East, his core business until 1707, to East Asia was sparked by his confrontation with the Witsen mirror: a visible and tactile proof of the Chinese antiquity that threatened to upset the accepted Christian chronology he was taking such pains to defend. The aftermath of the correspondence confirms how a deeply felt concern with chronology inspired his choice. In 1708 Cuper lamented to the Augustinian friars in Rome that his friend had left for China, still amazed at ‘how such a unique and sophisticated knowledge of oriental languages ... could fall unto a single man, and a young one at that ... he taught with many examples that Sacred History agrees with the profane one’. Alluding to the letter from the Cape, he remained certain that Bonjour would establish how Chinese antiquities support the Hebrew Bible’s veracity: ‘I am certain that he will explain to us ... the magnitude and significance of the antiquities of the Chinese, and elaborate from there on the proofs in his dissertations that so admirably confirm the Hebrew chronology.’

On his journey, never to return to Europe, Bonjour was thus bothered by the casuistry of his friend, who continued to send letters by way of his VOC contacts. But in 1714 Cuper wrote of his fear ‘that something bad has happened to Bonjour in China, because I receive no letters from him’: he had read in an English newspaper that the emperor had killed all missionaries and taken their possessions. In the year of Bonjour’s death, Cuper remained adamant that, were his friend ever to have returned, he would have solved the priority problem between Europe and China.

Leibniz, Bouvet, Visdelou and Bignon on the Nature of the Chinese Language

For members of the Republic of Letters, the key to China’s antiquities lay in its script. Witsen and Cuper both corresponded with Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) in Hanover, who was Europe’s greatest Sinophile and had great expectations of a mutually beneficial ‘commerce of light’ between
The exchange with Witsen from early 1704 on gives a glimpse of the philosopher’s interest in the Chinese characters. He thought they were ancient logical symbols that expressed the structure of reality much more clearly than European languages did. Witsen, typically, answered that due to lack of time he had forwarded the letter to an Amsterdam mathematician ‘qui entend ces matieres’. Yet this central concern explains Leibniz’s interest in the Witsen mirror and its translation: ideas on the essence of language and thought itself were at stake.

Leibniz first asked Cuper for an image. The latter confirmed that he had ‘touched with his hands and seen with his eyes’ the ‘metal mirror inscribed in Chinese, as far as I can judge about such an obscure matter’. Leibniz then forwarded the engravings to the Royal Mathematicians, the elite Jesuit scientists sent by Louis XIV to China. First to receive the mirror was Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) in Beijing, who had become personal tutor to the Kangxi Emperor. His biography of the emperor had become a European best seller. For Leibniz, however, Bouvet’s main discovery was the hexagrams of the *Yijing* (Book of Changes) that he interpreted as a notation system for binary logic (fig. 18). The Witsen mirror seemed to hold a similar secret.

Leibniz also sent the engraving to Bouvet’s colleague Claude de Visdelou (1656-1737) in Guangzhou. The latter replied after nine years, having meanwhile been expelled by his Jesuit superiors (because he had criticized their rapprochement with the Chinese). It was not until he arrived in Pondicherry in South-Eastern India that he had occasion to analyse the Witsen mirror. Interestingly, he related the object to Northern Vietnam, a new French mission area. 'The marks are without doubt Chinese, of the kind that is used for reliefs. I recognize some; quite a few are misplaced or
unknown to me. In this fashion the Tonkinese adapt most characters to their needs,’ he wrote to Leibniz.\textsuperscript{122}

Leibniz, Bouvet and Cuper discussed the Chinese script more intensively with the Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662-1743) in Paris.\textsuperscript{123} As Royal Librarian, the abbot ordered thousands of Chinese volumes from the Jesuits. He was also confronted with the Witsen mirror. The origin of his expertise became clear when Cuper inquired about ‘votre Chinois’ who was, ‘with another able person, working on a Chinese Grammar’.\textsuperscript{124} This must have been the aforementioned Arcade Hoang who had exchanged Rome for Paris. He became a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres and ultimately married a Frenchwoman, never to return to China.\textsuperscript{125} His collaboration with Bignon ensured that the latter was credited with making Sinology possible in the European Republic of Letters, even though he himself had no understanding of the language.\textsuperscript{126} It is therefore striking that Bignon developed (in contrast to Leibniz and Bouvet) a negative view of Chinese civilization. In his discussion about the Witsen mirror, he did not support the greater antiquity of China and the presumed merits of its language.

\textbf{Fig. 18}
The diagram of the \textit{Yijing} \textit{(Book of Changes)} hexagrams that Joachim Bouvet sent to Leibniz in 1701. The Arabic numerals were added by Leibniz. Hanover, Leibniz Archive, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek.
Cuper begins by suggesting to Bignon (1710) that the Tartars have subjected the Chinese and enlisted them in their armies: ‘You have seen in the case of the Chinese Mirror that the [Chinese] have been in this area, and it is certain that the Khans of Tartary have repeatedly become masters of the northern part of China.’ On the basis of the Witsen mirror, he concludes that an ancient inscription (from Sri Lanka) is actually Chinese, but of the kind of ancient characters that are no longer recognized. Finally, he proceeds to the thesis that Chinese characters were more ancient than Egyptian hieroglyphs: Chinese was the Adamic language, in which God had spoken to the first man when he gave names to all things.

Bignon, however, is doubtful (he is sure ‘Chaldaic’, or Aramaic, is older than Chinese) even though he is aware that the Chinese have a history of ‘more than forty thousand years since the foundation of their monarchy’ (was this just a numerical slight?). He criticizes a civilization that ‘during all those years has made so few discoveries in the arts and sciences’. Yet it is language that is Bignon’s main point of interest:

‘their language is an assemblage of words without order or connectives ... I think it is filled with difficulties, and that is also the sentiment of our Chinese [Hoang] ... I would not dare to defend the assumption that this nation has ever had letters that are no longer known today. The hypothesis is really not to my liking. There has never been a people more attached to their habits than the Chinese, and in the history of this mighty realm one sees nothing that has been innovated, neither in the characters nor in the language.’

Bignon has the final word, highlighting his disbelief that the great number of monosyllabic words is proof of truly primordial status. The Chinese, lazy as they may be due to the ‘chaleurs du climat qu’ils habitent’, demonstrate ‘prompt understanding: they grasp things with half a word’, which explains the monosyllabic character of their speech. In the debate on the nature of the Chinese language, the Witsen mirror could apparently support different arguments: from Leibniz’s Utopian stance to Bignon’s pragmatic scepticism.

**Sperling and De la Croze**

**Compare China to Egypt**

In 1705 Otto Sperling the Younger (1634-1715), a legal scholar at the Copenhagen Chivalric Academy, received a copy of the Witsen mirror with the translation. The exchange that followed...
spells out how the object came to its end. Cuper told him how, when he desired to see it once again, Witsen ‘brought it from his Museum [i.e., cabinet] to the room in which he was wont to receive me, and before I could assist, it fell from his hand and broke into ten to twelve pieces’: even though it landed on a tapestry, it was too fragile because of the nature of the alloy.132

Sperling regretted the demise of ‘that Chinese steel dish or mirror’, but was consoled by the fact that the inscription seemed to support a comparison between ancient China and Egypt. This comparison, in fact, remained popular throughout the eighteenth century. It seemed to provide an answer to the aforementioned questions raised by China’s history and language. Sperling referred to Athanasius Kircher who, in Oedipus Aegyptiacus (1652–1654), claimed to have deciphered the Egyptian hieroglyphs in relation to other oriental languages.133 With similar self-conceit Kircher had progressed to his encyclopaedic China Illustrata, which had become the most-read book on China of the seventeenth century. It portrayed Chinese civilization as grafted on to an Egyptian foundation.

As Cuper’s main interest was Egyptology, this comparison with China would keep him occupied for the last eight years of his life. He found a like-minded correspondent in the Berlin librarian Mathurin de la Croze (1661–1739). Depending on VOC connections for Chinese books, the latter had amassed the largest European collection of Sinica.134 Although he was very negative about Kircher, ‘the greatest imposter and most barefaced liar the Republic of Letters has ever produced’, De la Croze was likewise certain about the Egyptian origin of Chinese language, art and civilization.135

At the end of 1708 Cuper sent to Berlin his last remaining copy of the engraving of the Witsen mirror, the translation and a summary of Bonjour’s interpretation. He now expected that the Chinese books in the Prussian Royal Library would shed light on whether a Chinese army, embassy or exiles had been responsible for the mirror’s presence in Siberia, and he ruminated on the ability of modern Chinese to decipher its script.136 De la Croze’s first reaction was surprisingly dismissive. ‘This inscription cannot be as ancient as the Chinese of Batavia say. That nation [China] has always greatly exaggerated its antiquities.’137 Later he confirmed his doubt that the mirror displayed a script no longer used today, as he himself was, apparently, able to make a working translation at first sight, which he added on a separate folio (fig. 19):
'I have immediately recognized the two first letters and some others that are no different from today's letters, as you can see from the paper attached to this letter. If I would have had the reading of the Chinese – I mean the pronunciation in European letters – instead of [Witsen's] explanation (that is certainly a too drawn-out paraphrase), I would have tried to give a literal translation in Latin or French. For the rest I see nothing surprising in [the mirror] in regard to where it has been found. From the times of Genghis Khan and his successors, the Chinese and Tartars have mingled substantially … furthermore I have suspected that this nation came from Egypt, not only because of the hieroglyphics.'

De la Croze goes on to emphasize the Egyptian origin of Chinese civilization, pointing out, for instance, that Chinese dragons were actually crocodiles, and that the stork was a symbol for medicine in both Egypt and China.

A final exchange discusses the Witsen mirror in relation to the supposed Jewish presence in China. De la Croze suggests that the Jesuits (whose reports he deems untrustworthy) mistook Muslims for Jews. Cuper is less certain, arguing that Judaeo-Christian migrations may have peopled first China and then Siberia: 'because [Witsen's] mirror, found in a grave, testifies that the [Chinese] people have been there more than 1800 years ago, and the histories testify that the Chinese have occupied Siberia and the bordering land more than 1000 years ago, and that they have sent colonists.' For Cuper, the penetration of Christians to East Asia had already been proven by the aforementioned Chinese Bible that Father Couplet had shown to Witsen.

By this point, scholars in the Netherlands were in serious need of someone who could properly translate Chinese. Cuper consulted the orientalist Adriaan Reland (1676-1718) who had in turn engaged 'a certain Frenchman named Masson' in Utrecht. Mr Masson promised to translate some of the hundred Chinese manuscripts that Reland owned but could not read. He also announced the writing of a dissertation on the Chinese language that argued its affinity to Hebrew. Yet in early 1714, De la Croze lambasted the Frenchman, 'frankly believing that he does not know the elements of the Chinese language'. He eventually called Masson's Dissertations Chinoises 'worthy of compassion': this text apparently argued that the Chinese characters derived from the 'primitive' signs with which the first man wrote in Hebrew or another primordial, Adamic language.

De la Croze's stern words of criticism are surprising, coming from someone who had been arguing for the past four years that Chinese characters developed from Egyptian hieroglyphics. For him, the Witsen mirror still confirmed the traditional historical account, with the Middle East as the origin of civilization.

Conclusion

Of the many millions of works of Chinese material culture that reached the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not one gave rise to so much discussion as the Han Dynasty mirror from Nicolaas Witsen's collection. This specimen was both exotic and an antiquity. Moreover, its various aspects were extraordinarily well documented in text and image: the circumstances of its excavation, its material and visual properties, its inscription and the translation. The combination of, on the one hand, an object to be seen and touched – physical proof of the antiquity of Chinese civilization – and, on the other, a text to be subjected to the rigours of European philology, made this a highly attractive object of scholarly speculation.

Witsen's own statements on the mirror's origin and meaning were remarkably scrupulous estimates. In contrast, the discussions that followed for a decade were more speculative,
as few of the scholars involved had any knowledge of Chinese. The only check on the validity of their claims took place when Arcade Hoang stepped in. Witsen himself also arranged for a meeting with a Chinese visitor, the medical doctor Zhou Meiye 周美爷, who joined Johannes van Hoorn upon his return to the Netherlands in 1709. He could ‘read and write everything in Chinese’ and, incidentally, spoke Dutch ‘as well as a Dutchman’. Yet Witsen did not bring up his mirror, which had broken four years earlier (moreover, as he wrote to Cuper, he had something else on his mind: how Chinese medicine could assist in his failing health).

One historian has identified the essence of Witsen’s approach as the concern with the increasingly problematic biblical story of early history including the Fall, the Flood and Babel. ‘With Leibniz and Cuper he speculated on the shared roots of the languages that were spoken all over the known world … he was deeply fascinated by the supposedly symbolic nature of hieroglyphs and Chinese characters.’

As Witsen’s own Noord en Oost Tartarye had revealed, Asia was a much more complex place than had previously been realized, hard to capture within a single narrative. His ancient mirror posed questions not only about Chinese migrations to Siberia but also about the spread of Judaism and early Christianity in Asia and about the nature of the Chinese script.

How were the characters related to the Adamic language? Was there a common Egyptian origin for Chinese and European civilizations? The most pressing issue to Witsen, Cuper and their contemporaries was how to salvage European chronology. If East Asian civilization was indeed older than the Western one and even the Flood, this would substantially modify the Eurocentric self-image.

The Witsen mirror figured as a significant piece in the puzzle of the history and geography of a world that was stretching, and exceeding, the limits of the Western imagination. Among the Chinese wares that were increasingly common in Dutch households, this object was the single most evocative one in terms of China’s antiquity, language and civilization. The range of the discussions about this object illustrate to what extent networks of information connected Europe to East Asia and the new questions this posed (see fig. 2). The mirror was therefore both a repository of, and a reflective surface for, the global circulation of knowledge that had come into being around 1700 in its material and mental dimensions. Amsterdam, ‘that very famous emporium of the world’, was one of its central nodes.

NOTES

* The authors are members of the research project The Chinese Impact: Images and Ideas of China in the Dutch Golden Age at the University of Amsterdam, funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research. They owe a debt of gratitude to Lloyd de Beer, Biqing Ouyang, Marten Jan Bok, Lucrezia Botti, Jan van Campen, Trude Dijkstra, Barend ter Haar, Wilt Idema, Jing Zhichun, Nikolay Kradin, Bruno Naarden, Sascha Priewe, Su Wenjie and Alexey Tishkin for their help in preparing this article. Any mistakes are of course their own.

1 ‘Ick kan haast aen V.Weled. niet betuijghen, hoe seer dat het mij doet, dat ick als oorsaak ben, dat soo een kostelijk stick, en overblyf sel van de Chinesen oudtheijt, dat ongeluck is overkoomen’, Gijsbert Cuper to Nicolaas Witsen, 3 November 1705, University Library, Amsterdam (hereafter: uba), Be 36, fol. 91v. See also below, note 132.

2 Undated description of Witsen’s collection by Cuper, Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague (hereafter: kb), 72c31, fol. 164r.

3 The Catalogus van de uitmuntende en zeer vermaarde konst- en natuurkabinetten...


6 As a young man, Van Hoorn had been part of a widely published trade embassy to Beijing (1666). The voc did not establish a trading post until 1729, but earlier vrijburgers (free citizens) from Batavia were trading regularly with Guangzhou, a centre of arts and crafts production. See F. Hertroijs, Hoe kennis en vriendschap met China ontstaan, Utrecht 1977 (PhD diss. Vrije Universiteit), p. 102.

7 The voc did not establish a trading post until 1729, but earlier vrijburgers (free citizens) from Batavia were trading regularly with Guangzhou, a centre of arts and crafts production. See F. Hertroijs, Hoe kennis en vriendschap met China ontstaan, Utrecht 1977 (PhD diss. Vrije Universiteit), p. 102.

8 ‘Een geleerde onder hen heeft het vertaalt,’ Witsen to Cuper, 20 October 1705; Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 22, vol. 2, pp. 308-09.

9 ‘dien spiegel na Romen en elders gesonden, dat de paters jesuiten te vragen of zij de charac ters konden uytleggen, nimant was die het konde doen, zelff die lange jaeren in Sina hadden gewoont, bekenden sulx niet te konnen doen, alleen dat hen het gebroken Sinees te sijn, ik snt het dan na Batavia alwaer meer als tiendensent Sinesen sijn, nimir ant verstaaet het, dog de generael dede het overbrengen na Sina om aen geleerde Sinesen te vertonen, en die explicatie te versoeken, so als geschiede, de schotel is dan gemaakt voor achtnichendert jaer, en het is sekerlijk out Sinees, nu meest onbekent.’ Witsen to Cuper, 4 November 1705; Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 22, vol. 2, pp. 308-09.


12 ‘un livre out il y avoit beaucoup des copies de ces miroirs, et meme celuy la, qui a eet trouve en Sibirie; que les plus anciens miroirs etoient marques de linies entrelassees, et que c’etoit la plus ancienne escriture. J’ay vu ce livre, et j’y ay trouve tout ce que Mr. Witsen m’avoit dit, et je ne pouvois pas assez admirer cette rarete, et la diversitez des caracteres, qui s’y rencontrent’. Cuper, undated description of Witsen’s collection, KB 72C31, fol. 144v.


14 ‘een Spiegel van Stael, ruim een span in de midlyen groot, der gedaenste als hier nevens de verkeerde zyde word vertoont, en my toegezonden is, wezende de andere zyde glat gepolyest, zoo als de Sinesche en Japansche Spiegels noch heden uit Sina om aen geleerde Sinesen te vertonen, en die explicatie te versoeken, so als geschiede, de schotel is dan gemaakt voor achtnichendert jaer, en het is sekerlijk out Sinees, nu meest onbekent.’ Witsen to Cuper, 4 November 1705; Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 22, vol. 2, pp. 308-09.

15 The Swedish officer Philipp von Strahlenberg owned two Chinese bronze mirrors while exiled to Siberia, but he gave them away before returning to Europe in 1730. See note 73.

16 ‘Eyendelijk met het laetste schip van Archangel … sent men mijn een roent metael schoteltje dat in Siberien in een grafstede is gevonden, van gedaenste als het andere dat ik hebbe,
daer staen oude Sinesche letteren op, so ik gissse meer als dusent jaar out, want sij zijn
van gedenkwaerdige andere die UEd. heeft
gesien welcke out zijn over de agtien hondert
jaer. Sij sullen in afschrift UEd. werden
toegesonden, en ik salse na batavia doen
overgaen ter vertalinge’. Witsen to Cuper,
to January 1715; Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8),
engravings, 7 November 1715, no. 75, p. 441.
The drawing shows a version of the tonghua
inscription in 36 characters, which was (like the qinghai inscription, further discussed
below) common on so-called linked arc
mirrors of the Western Han dynasty. The
transcription and translation are based on
B. Karlgreen, ‘Early Chinese Mirror Inscrip-
tions’, Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern
Antiquities 6 (1934), pp. 5-79, esp. pp. 23-4:

千秋萬歲長不一
与天毋極如日之光
延年益壽去不羊

From it I make a mirror, it is right that it
should have (it is suitable for ) a decoration
延年益壽去不羊
May you have extended years and increased
longevity; may [the mirror] eliminate what is
baeful

May you be as unlimited as Heaven; [the
mirror] is like the light of the sun;

May you have a thousand autumns and ten
thousand years; may you have joy without end.

Comparison with other recorded tonghua
inscriptions shows that the last two charac-
ters should not be ‘— but rather 極未央.
See Ibid., p. 73, and Tian Min 田敏, Handai
tongjing mingwen yanjiu yi xiangai jiuyi guiju
wenn jing minwen weili 漢代銅鏡銘文研究—以相
思、吉語、規矩紋鏡銘文為例. Inscriptions on
Han Bronze Mirrors’, Shijiazhuang 2012
(Master’s thesis, Hebei Normal University),
p. 17-8.

S.E. Cahill, ‘All Is Contained in Its Reflection:
A History of Chinese Bronze Mirrors’, in
L. von Falkenhausen (ed.), The Lloyd Cotsen
Study Collection of Chinese Bronze Mirrors
Volume I: Catalogue, Los Angeles 2009,

M. Rupert and O.J. Todd, Chinese Bronze
Mirrors: A Study Based on the Todd Collection
of 1000 Bronze Mirrors Found in the Five
Northern Provinces of Suiyuan, Shensi, Shansi,
Honan and Hopei, China; Peiping 1966,
p. 40. Kong Xiangxing 孔祥星 and Liu Yiman 劉一曼,
Zhongguo Tongjing Tudian 中國銅鏡圖典,

19 Changshashi Bowuguan 長沙市博物館 (eds.),
Chu feng Han yun. Changshashi bowuguan
cang jing 楚風漢韻. 長沙市博物館藏境,
Beijing 2010, pp. 16-17. Examples measuring up
to 18 cm are also known, e.g. Li Dewen
李德文 and Hu Yuan 胡援 (eds.), Lu’an
Chutu Tongjing 六安出土銅鏡. Beijing 2008,
cat. no. 138. According to Witsen, his
mirror’s diameter measured over a span
(the distance between the thumb and little
finger of an outstretched hand); Cuper
wrote to Sperling that it was ‘slightly larger
than the image’ (see below, note 132).

20 ‘Het is bijzonder deze letters syn al over de
daysent jaer verout, en de gemene man kan
se gants niet lesen, het is een devies (symbo-
lium) van een der oude Sinesche keyers,
omtrent de tijt van de so geleerde en vrome
Confutius, van wien men met meer reden
als eertijds een ander van Plato en Seneca
uittreip, O Heylige Confutius’. Witsen to
Cuper, 20 October 1705; Gebhard, op. cit.

21 ‘Sancte Confuci, ora pro nobis’, exclaimed
the libertine philosopher François La Mothe
le Vayer (1588-1672) in his Vertu des païens
(1641). P. Hazard, La Crise de la conscience
européenne, 1680-1715, Paris 1961, p. 21. As
early as the late sixteenth century, some lines
of the Confucian Classic Da Xue (The Great
Learning) had appeared in A. Possevino,
Bibliotheca Selecta quae agitur de Ratione
Studiorum, Rome 1593, vol. 1, p. 583. The first
Dutch translation was P. van Hoorn, Eenige
voornamse eegenschappen van de ware deugdt,
voorzichtigheydt, wyshydt en volmaeckheydt,
getrocken uyt den Chineschen Confucius,
Batavia 1675.

22 D.E. Mungello, Curious Land: Jesuit
Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology,
Honolulu 1985, remains the standard work.

23 ‘God is zuiver, rein, en onbesmet in zyn
geheel./ God is zoo schoon, als klaar en
helder water./ Iemand door een Koning, of
holding, moet de zelve aanzien als zyn
God: zich wachtende andere te beledigen,
moet de zelve aanzien als zyn
vorname eygenschappen van de ware deugdt,
voorzichtigheydt, wyshydt en volmaeckheydt,
getrocken uyt den Chineschen Confucius,
Batavia 1675.

24 God is zuiver, rein, en onbesmet in zyn
geheel./ God is zoo schoon, als klaar en
helder water./ Als wanneer een Koning iemand
tot Staat verheft, en ziet dat zyn gedrag goed
en wel is, zoo ver-
heugt hy hem in zijn Hert zoo groot als de
geheele Zee./ Als water dat op en afloopt./ Maar wanneer
een Koning door een Koning, of
holding, moet de zelve aanzien als zyn
vorname eygenschappen van de ware deugdt,
voorzichtigheydt, wyshydt en volmaeckheydt,
getrocken uyt den Chineschen Confucius,
Batavia 1675.
Witsen, op. cit. (note 14), p. 750. According to the sinologist J. Duyvendak, the translation’s last sentence is unfinished; see Yang, op. cit. (note 5), p. 340. The characters have been matched with translated lines based on the phonetic transcription at the bottom of Witsen, op. cit. (note 14), p. 750.

24 ‘dog Uwel Edele believe te weten dat [in] de sinese schriften ieder letter een sin verbetel en dat het studie is die sinnen uyt te leggen en te verstaen en dat de uytlegger van dese mijne spiegel op batavia niet al te seer ervaerden was, so wert geoordeelt dat er nog meer insteekte en dat er nog meer sederlessen op staen verbeten’. Witsen to Cuper, 20 October 1705, Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 21, vol. 2, p. 307.

25 Yang, op. cit. (note 5), p. 332, seems to assume that Witsen’s transcription, although erroneous, was put in the conventional order starting with 潔清白. In reality Witsen’s translator was clearly unfamiliar with the qingbai inscription and started the sentence in a different place.

26 Especially in lines 3, 6 and 8.


28 jie 聚, qing 清, bai 白, jun 素, shui 水, yan 奄, xi 脩, wang 汪, yang 洋, kong 恐, ri 日, mei 美.

29 Kircher published a Latin translation of the Nestorian Stele in 1667; see note 13.

30 Yang, op. cit. (note 5). Whether the inscription is called qingbai or jingbai depends on whether the first character was written with a water or rice radical left of 青. Since the character on Witsen’s mirror is qing 清, qingbai will be used throughout the text to refer to this type of mirror inscription.


35 Xuanhue may refer to the Xuanhue Hall or the Xuanhue Period.

36 More than one catalogue was completed; the extant one is the ‘revised’ one. The surviving book contains only bronzes, including bells only discovered in 1123, so it could not have been completed earlier. The last three of the thirty juan (chapters) are devoted to mirrors (113 in total). See P.B. Ebrey, Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong, Seattle 2008, pp. 151-53.


39 The transcription in Boguta 28.36b reads 潔清白天事君志治之弇玄錫之物汪洋恐天日志美之外承可說虞高願兆思天無紀, which is strikingly close to Witsen’s reading, unlike any of the other 13 qingbai inscriptions recorded in Ferguson’s major compilation. See Fu Kaise 福開森 [J.C. Ferguson], Lidai Zhulu Jijin Mu 历代著錄吉金目, Beijing 1938.

40 Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) is usually credited with inventing this approach. See Mungello, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 55-67.

41 The first in-depth study of Chinese literati who worked closely with the Jesuits (who liked to conceive of them as converts) is R. Hart, Imagined Civilizations: China, the West, and Their First Encounter, Baltimore 2012.

42 ‘Mr Witsen ... a trouvé dans la Chronologie du père Couplet, qu’un Empereur y a plusieurs siècles, avoit jusque là [i.e., Siberia] pousssé ses conquêtes. Que ce miroir étoit sans doute
ancien, et qu’il y étoit écrit un apothéogme d’un Roy, ou d’un grand philosoph, ou homme a leur mode savant’. Cuper’s undated description of Witsen’s collection, KB 72c31, fol. 144r.

43 The Guang yutu (Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas) is the oldest extant comprehensive atlas of China by Luo Hongxian (1504-1569). Witsen had the manuscript of Couplet’s Confucian translation in his possession for some time: ‘Ik hebbe het origineel nu tot parijs gedruk enig tijt onder mij gehadt, want Couplet was myn goede vrint.’ Witsen to Cuper, 9 April 1713.

44 Cahill, op. cit. (note 17), p. 25, note 17.

45 Brashier, op. cit. (note 32).

46 See Fu, op. cit. (note 39), pp. 1267-68, 1273-74, 1276-77, 1280, 1285, 1291, 1314, 1336.

47 Mirror inscriptions regularly insert the particle er 而, sometimes in the most random places of a sentence, see Changshashi Bowuguan, op. cit. (note 19).


50 Cahill, op. cit. (note 17), p. 25, note 17.

51 Ibid., p. 17. Even if there is a solid date for the burial this would only give a terminus ante quem for the manufacturing date, as mirrors could be collected and handed down through generations.

52 L. von Falkenhausen, ‘Introduction’, in The Lloyd Cotsen Study Collection of Chinese Bronze Mirrors, Volume II: Studies, Los Angeles 2011, pp. 10-33, esp. p. 32. For example, a Han dynasty linked arc type mirror (with a zhaoxing inscription) was imitated during the Ming dynasty, inscribed with a jiajing reignmark of the yimao year (corresponding to AD 1555).


but is, like the Witsen mirror, of the central arc type or linked arc pattern decoration.


69 Koryakova and Epimakhov, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 249-50.


72 Peters, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 395-97; Cuper to De la Croze, 4 December 1708; G. Cuper, Lettres de critique, d’histoire, de littérature ... écrites à divers savans, Amsterdam 1742, no. 7, p. 19. The reference to saltpetre may have been intended to deflect charges of intentional grave robbery.

73 For a discussion of both mirrors see Li Xueqin 李學勤, Si hai xun zhen 四海尋珍, Beijing 1998, pp. 289-94. ‘[E]ine Metallene oder von Klockenspeisfe gegossene Platte ... ist zwischen den Irbyht- und Toboll-Strohm in einem Todten-Hügel gefunden worden ... Von dieser Sorte findet man viel hundert in denen dortigen Gräbern’. P. von Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm 1730, p. 399. Von Strahlenberg, a Swedish officer, lived as a prisoner of war in Tobolsk from 1711 to 1721. Irbit is 300 km from Verkhoturye.

74 G. Cuper, Harpocrates seu explicatio imagunculæ, Amsterdæ 1676; Harpocrates et antiqua monumenta, Utrecht 1693. He had seen the silver Harpocrates statue, found in Nijmegen, in Johannes Smetius’s collection.

75 ‘Idola Sinensia’, sold in 1716 for 1 guilder and 18 stivers, see the record of the auction of Cuper’s possessions in KB 72H29, cf. 72C32. These may have been similar to the Chinese statues that were excavated in 2013 near Cuper’s house. The excavation report is due to be published by E. Mittendorff et al. in Rapportages Archeologie Deventer 45 (forthcoming).

76 Witsen to Cuper, 26 November 1707; Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 27, p. 317. See also 20 August 1710, no. 33, p. 326; 29 November 1712, no. 46, p. 349.


78 ‘Hiernevens twee dubbelde van het schoteltje dat in Siberien diep onder de aarde is gevonden, ik zie het een voor out Sinees, en heb het rechts na Batavia om vertaling gesonden’. Witsen to Cuper, 8 December 1704; Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 20, vol. 2, p. 305. We have not been able to locate the copies (probably similar to the 1715 drawing, fig. 5) in the surviving correspondence.


80 ‘als ik die uijtlegginghe, soo U.Weled. is toe ... er een Godt, ende dat hij erkent heeft maar eenen Godt, ende dat Confutius is geweest een groot man, gesonden, overweeghe moet ik bekennen, dat Confutius is geweest een groot man, ende dat nae sijn doot eerst de groove afgoderije is gekomen in dat schoon en kostelijk landt ende het dunckt mij seer aenmerckelijk, dat op den eygensten tijdt bij de Grieksen is geweest Socrates, en bij de Chinesen Confutius, doch dese heeft meer navolghers gehadt, en is tot nu toe in groote weerde gebleven ... lck heb voor dezen met verkmaen sijn leven, off sijne morale gelesen, getrochen uit een grooter boeck, tot parijs ... gedrukt [i.e., Jean de la Brune, La Morale de Confucius, Paris 1688]. Ende mij staat voor,
that daer in soo schoon sedelussen waaren, als van een mensch souden kunnen vooroorkoomen, gegrondt op de natuurre en egenschap van Godt en van den mensch’. Cuper to Witsen, 3 November 1705, UB A Be 36, fols. 90r-9iv.

81 ‘die groove en schandelijke affgoderije is een van de grootste oudtheden, die men uit de Reipublicae illius consulem’, ‘lanx mei vidi apudi illustrem virum Niculaum Witsen, Reipublicae illius consulem’, ‘lanc et incognito vel mixto metallo literis Sinicis vetustis inscripta; … Quod si vel te ipsum vel alios desiderium teneat videnti etiam lancem, ego id operam dabo seriam, ut eandem pictam atque exscriptam accipiam’. Cuper to Bonjour, 15 June 1704;


83 ‘de geleerden in Duuyslant, tot Londen en Parijs, het zelve aenstonden in haere journalen op hun eigen naam aent licht souden geven’, ‘opdat sjij heeren geleerden daerop speculeeren en sulx expliceeren na haer verstant’, Witsen to Cuper, 11 November 1710, UB A Be 50, fol. 145r. This colleague was also known as Favre or Fabri (possibly his mother’s name).

84 In 1710 Cuper asked for additional images of the ‘in Sibierien gevonden rariteyten’ to forward to Rome and Berlin; Cuper to Witsen, 11 November 1710, UB A Be 50, fol. 145r.

85 The term oculare ispezione was used by Carlo Cesare Malvasia in 1686, see T. Weststeijn (ed.), Art and Knowledge in Rome and the European Republic of Letters, 1500-1750, (ed.), Cesare Malvasia in 1686, see T. Weststeijn was used by Carlo oculare ispezione 11 November 1710, UB A Be 50, fol. 145r.


87 ‘het Chinees spiegel off schootel ... is dit een van de grootste outheden, die men uit die landen alhier heeft’, Cuper to Witsen, 3 November 1705, UB A Be 36, fols. 90r.

88 ‘Ipse Amstelaedami lancem et unam icunculam manibus tractavi, et oculis meis vidi apudi illustre virum Niculaum Witsen, Reipublicae illius consulem’, ‘lanx et incognito vel mixto metallo literis Sinicis
pretari’. Bonjour to Cuper, 16 June 1705, KB 72 H10. Here again we see misinterpretation of seal script characters, reading grammatical particle er而 as the character tian (heaven). The character for sun 日 is there (although here it should be interpreted to mean ‘day’) and ‘emperor’ and ‘king’ were probably read into the character jun 君 which means lord, but this character only features in the inscription once, so it is puzzling where the second interpretation came from. Perhaps the (incorrectly) transcribed character song 神 was misread as di帝 (emperor).

93 Cuper to Bonjour, 22 August 1705; Hoogewerff, op. cit. (note 88), no. 18, p. 73.

94 ‘symbolum unius ex vetustioribus imperatoribus Chinensium, circa tempus Confuicii, viri docti valde et pi’. Cuper to Bonjour, 8 December 1705, Hoogewerff, op. cit. (note 88), no. 19, pp. 74-75. The letter includes an excerpt from Witsen’s letter (see note 8) translated into Latin. Cuper pressed Bonjour again on 6 March 1706, no. 20, p. 76.

95 ‘Cum Episcopus Rosaliensis, ejusque duo symbolum unius ex vetustioribus imperato -

96 ‘Deum iterum ac saepius nominat monumen -

97 In line 2 of Witsen’s transcription there is no character to signify water, only those signifying ‘clear’, ‘pure’ and ‘heaven’ (interpreted as God). The comparison with water may have been added because the transcription of line 4 contains the character shui 水 (water). (In the official full qingbai inscription this would actually have been a version of the character huan 順 but it has become illegible in Witsen’s engraving.) In Classical Chinese, pronouns, subjects, and verbs are often omitted when they are inferable. The translator may have decided that this was the case in line 2 and therefore inferred ‘water’. Another option is that Witsen’s translator made the same error as De la Croze later (see note 158 and fig. 19), who transcribed the seal script character for the particle zhi 之 as shui 水 (water). However, this character is not in line 2 of the text, where the translator mentions ‘water’.

98 ‘Juvant conjecturam haec verba: Deus est tam pulcher, uti clara et liquida aqua. Hebraei vocant Coelos Shamaim, quasi Sham-main, hoc est Illic aquae. Caelestes aquas celebrant passim sacrae paginae, agnoscent liberaliter Sancti Patres, admiserunt Gentiles ipsis, e quorum fabulis Nonnus in sexto Dionsiacorum ... Deus ergo Inscriptionis Sinicæ est meo judicio Sinarum Thien tam pulcher uti clara et liquida aqua, utpote Coelum materiale ... sive illius pulchritudinem, quam Sinica Inscriptio aquaporat cum claritate et liquidate aquae ... Mihi persuasissimum est Sinas aque olim ac hodie, tribuisse divinitatem Coelo materiali. Quod pulchritudinem Dei sui pulchritudine aquae descripserint, similis se praebuerunt illis gentilibus, qui Divinitatem attribuebant aquae. Divinas dicit aquas Propertius ... Fontes sacros Virgilius’, Bonjour to Cuper, 15 February 1706; Cuper, op. cit. (note 72), pp. 21-22.

99 ‘Non deerunt amatores Allegoriarum, troporum, figurarum, qui alio traducant Inscriptionem Sinicam’. Bonjour to Cuper, 15 February 1706; Cuper, op. cit. (note 72), p. 22.

100 Cuper to Bonjour, 5 January 1707, in Hoogewerff, op. cit. (note 88), no. 21, p. 78.


102 Ibid., p. 241.

103 Some of Bonjour’s notes in the Biblioteca Augustiniana in Rome (ms.lat. 63) and his Antiquitas temporum (ms.lat. 49) mention works on Chinese history and language.

104 ‘cogit me plane ut te amplius non celer meum ex urbe Roma discemus ad Sinas ...
Modo pergo Amstelodamum ... Utinam possem convenire te Daventriam'. Bonjour to Cuper, 6 December 1707, KB 721H29.
The meeting did take place, see note 113.

105 'rogoque te vehementem in modum, ut ita res tuas velis constituere, ut Amstelaedamo ad me possis excurrere. ... Sed venit mihi in mentem lingua Sinica, eam scis constare ex paucis vocabulis, et maximam partem monosyllabis; memini me allicubi legisse, illam propertea vix a multis saeculos mutatum esse; id quod contrarium caetero quin omnibus evenit alis. Quare equidem petere te audeo ut eam in rem inquirere deligenter velis, et me vel redux vel per litteras docere, quid hujus tandem rei sit, et an gentis politae sapientes non teneantur aliam linguam, quam qua vulgo Chinenses utuntur, discere, operamque suam et tempus impendare characteribus. Mihi certe contrarium suadere videtur spectulum, cujus ad te e charpent mivi olim, cum ipsi Chinenses, qui in Batavia Indiae consistunt, falsi sint varias eo in cognitis voces contineri'. Cuper to Bonjour, 16 January 1708, KB 721H29.

106 Hertroijs, op. cit. (note 7). Earlier, Cuper himself lobbied with Witsen to send missionaries to the East on voc ships, Witsen to Cuper, 7 August 1706, see Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 23, p. 311.

107 'Ipsum eruditum esse, et linguarum orientalium, imo rerum Sinensium versatissimum, brevi temporis colloqui percepi ... Missionariorum Romanarum sedis atto apud nos carbone sunt notati, nihilominus amore insignis talis viri, qui de studiis tantum meretur ... dedi ipsi litteras commendatias ad gubernatorem generalem Bataviae, et promontorii Bonae spei'. Witsen to Cuper, undated (1708); Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 28, pp. 318-19. Cuper had asked Witsen to welcome Bonjour and provide a recommendation for the Cape, 23 December 1707, vBA Be 36, fol. 98v.

108 'Comme le temps presse pour me rembarquer, je me reserve de vous les marquer avec quelques reflexions, que j’espère vous envoyer d’Ougly dans le royaume de Bengale, ou je serais obligé de sejourner quelque temps ... Je n’ay pas oublié les notices que vous souhaites avoir de la Chine, si j’ay le bonheur d’y arriver'. Bonjour to Cuper, 13 September 1708, KB 721H29.

109 ‘quomodo tam singularis et tam recondita eruditionis linguaram ... Orientalium cognitio cadere potuerit in unum virum, et quidem juvenem valde ... res Aegyptiacae et temporum ratio ... multas exemplis docuisse Sacram Historiam cum profana consentire'. Cuper to Adoedatus Nuzzi, 18 February 1708; Hoogewerff, op. cit. (note 88), no. 90, p. 94.

110 ‘quamquam certus sim eum nobis explicaturum ... antiquitates Chinensium, quae utique magni etiam ponderis sunt, et unde depromptis in dissertationibus suis argumenta, quibus sacrī codicis Hebraei ratio temporum mirificae firmatur'. Cuper to Nuzzi, 25 August 1709; Hoogewerff, op. cit. (note 88), no. 90, p. 96.

111 ‘Cum navibus, quae ultimo hoc anno petent Indias Orientales, scribam ad eum'. Ibid.

112 ‘Bonjourio mali quid accidisse in China vereor, quia nullas ab eo literas accipio’. Undated note in Cuper’s handwriting following the letter of 13 September 1708, KB 721H29. Reference to a London newspaper of 5 February 1714.

113 ‘que les langues Chinoise ou l’Egyptien ne soient les plus anciennes ... si le pere Bonjour nous estoit rendu, je m’imagine, qu’il ne seroit pas d’un de ces sentiments, et qu’il pourroit decider cette contestation’. Cuper to Bignon, 10 June 1714, KB 721H7.


115 ‘une nouvelle manière d’Arithmétique que j’avois inventee, qui ... au lieu de nos dix caracteres ne se sert que de deux o et i ... C’est que les anciens caracteres du célèbre Fohy, un des premiers princes des Chinois qui a vécu bien avant 3000 ans ... sont justement cette Arithmétique’. Leibniz to Witsen, 2 March 1704, see G.W. Leibniz, Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Göttingen 2013, 1st series, vol. 23, no. 101, p. 141.

116 Witsen to Leibniz, 6 June 1704, referring to César Caze d’Harmonville (1641-1720). Ibid., no. 292, pp. 405-06.

117 ‘manibus tractavi et oculis meis vidi Aprili proximo Amstelaedami ... Iam ex metallo litteris, si quid judicare possum de re tam obscura, Chicinis inscripta’. Cuper to Leibniz, 10 September 1704. Ibid., no. 500, p. 704.
118 Cuper sent Leibniz the image on 10 April 1705, see G.W. Leibniz, *Der Briefwechsel mit den Jesuiten in China (1689-1714)*, Hamburg 2005, p. 757.


120 Leibniz to Bouvet, 18 August 1705, and Leibniz to Visdelou, 20 August 1705, Leibniz, *op. cit.* (note 118), no. 57, pp. 486, 494.


122 Visdelou to Leibniz, 9 February 1714; Leibniz, *op. cit.* (note 118), no. 70, p. 605.


124 Hoang’s partner was probably Etienne Fourmont (1683-1745) or Nicolas Fréret (1688-1749).


127 ‘Vous avez vu ... par le Miroir Chinois, que les premiers ont été dans ces quartiers; & il est constant que les Chams de Tartarie se sont par reprises rendus maîtres de la partie Septentrionale de la Chine’. Cuper to Bignon, 7 October 1710; Cuper, *op. cit.* (note 72), no. 22, p. 251.

128 ‘Puisque les Chinois ont été maîtres de cette Isle, je m’imagine, ... que ce sont de vieilles Lettres de ce Peuple, qu’il n’entend pas aujourd’hui lui-meme. Telles sont les Lettres qu’on a trouvées dans un Sepulchre en Siberie ecrites sur un Miroir de Metal, qui est entre les mains de Mr. Witzen, & dont je vous ai, si je ne me trompe, envoyé copie, il y a a long-temps’. Cuper to Bignon, 23 June 1714; Cuper, *op. cit.* (note 72), no. 49, p. 334.


130 ‘Rien n’a plus l’air d’un paradoxe que l’opinion de ceux qui donnent à la langue Chinoise la prérogative de l’ancienneté sur toutes les autres généralement. Je scais bien que ces peuples comptent plus de quarante mille ans ... Est-il glorieux à une nation que se pique d’esprit d’avoir pendant tant d’années fait si peu de découvertes dans les Arts, et dans les sciences? ... Leur langue est un assemblage [illegible] de mots sans ordre, et sans liaisons ... Pour moi je la crois remplie de difficultés, et c’est aussi le sentiment de notre Chinois. ... Scavoir si cette nation a eu autrefois des lettres qui ne sont plus connues aujourd’hui, c’est ce que je n’entreprendrai pas de défendre. Cette hypothese cependant ne ferait guéres de mon gout. Jamais peuple n’a esté plus attaché à ses usages que celui de la Chine: et dans l’histoire de ce puissant royaume, on ne voit pas qu’il ait esté rien innové, ni dans les caractères, ni dans la langue’. Bignon to Cuper, 11 July 1714; KB 72117, fol. 408.

131 ‘J’ai bien de la peine à croire que le grand nombre de monosyllabes soit une preuve secure de l’ancienneté d’une langue ... Ne pourroit on pas dire que cela vient uniquement de la paresse, et de la vivacité des chaleurs du climat qu’ils habitent les rendent extremement mols. Mais en mesure ils ont la conception fort prompte, et entendent les choses à demi mot. Cela pose il est aisé de comprendre que les monosyllabes, ont deu, et doivent estre fort a la mode parmi ces peuples’. Bignon to Cuper, 24 February 1715; KB 72117, fol. 441r.

132 ‘Vidi iterum Amstelaedami lancelm illam, est aliquantum pictura major, sed dolce mecum infortunium quod illi objectum est. Illustr. Witzienius eam cum Musaeo in cubiculum, quo me recipere constituerat, intulerat, & deo et antequam adessem, e manu ejus cecidat, fractaq[ue] est in 10 vel 12 frusta, licet caderit in tapetas ex [illegible] molli factos; adeo fragilis erat, ex quibuscunque [illegible] demum metallis (neque enim unius generis
est) fuerit conflator’. Cuper to Sperling,
29 November 1705; KB 72H19, fol. 96v.
Fols. 96v-97v contain excerpts from
Witsen’s letter to Cuper, 20 October 1705,
see note 8.

133 ‘Doleo profecto non mediocriter fatum
chalbyis istius, sive lancia, sive speculi
istius Sinensis ... Sed consolatur me ejus
explicatio, quae licet Kirkerianelae [sic] valde
similis sit, quam in Oedypo suo tractat’.
Sperling to Cuper, 16 January 1766;
KB 72C45, fol. 98v.

134 De la Croze to Cuper, 18 April 1711;
KB 72H19.
De la Croze lobbies for Bourguet, a French

135 ‘le plus grans imposteur & le plus hardi
menteur que la Republique des Lettres
ait jamais produite’. De la Croze to Cuper,
16 January 1713, KB 72H19, fol. 24v.

136 Cuper to De la Croze, 4 December 1708,
KB 72H18; Cuper, op. cit. (note 72), vol. 7,
pp. 18-19.

137 ‘Cette inscription n’est peut être pas si
ancienne que le disent les Chinois de
Batavia. Cette nation a de tout tem[p]s
été forte portée à exagerer ses antiquitez’.
De la Croze to Cuper, KB 72H19, fol. 18r
(undated attachment, c. 1710-13).

138 ‘J’ai reconnu d’abord les deux premières
lettres & quelques autres, qui ne diffèrent
en rien de celles d’aujourd’hui, comme vous
verrez dans le papier que j’ai joint à cette
lettre. Si au lieu de l’explication, qui est
assurément une paraphrase trop étendue,
j’avois eu le lecture en Chinois, je veux
dire la prononciation écrite en lettres
Européennes, je me serois bien fait fort
d’en donner une explication litterale en
Latin, ou en Français. Au reste je ne vois
rien de surprenant dans cette piece, par
 rapport au lieu où elle a été trouvée. De
tems de Cinghis Cam & de ses successeurs
les Chinois & les Tartares ont été assez
confondus ensemble ... j’ai soupçonné
autrefois que cette nation venoit d’Egypte,
non seulement à cause des Hieroglyphiques’,
De la Croze to Cuper, undated (c. 1710-13),
KB 72H19, vol. 1, fol. 17.

139 De la Croze to Cuper, 27 September 1709,
KB 72H18, fol. 34v.

140 De la Croze to Cuper, 17 January 1711,
KB 72H19, fol. 5v.

141 ‘car son Miroir, trouvé dans un tombeau
temoigne que ce dernier People y a été il y a
plus de 1800 ans, & les Histoires temoignent,
que les Chinois ont occupé il y a plus de
mille ans la Siberie & le Pays voisin, qu’ils
y ont envoyé des Colonies ... & Mr. Witzen
me mande que ... le Jesuite Couplet lui a
montré devant quelques personnes une Bible
Latine manuscrite, trouvée chez les Idolatres.
Le Christianisme des Siberiens est prouvé
encore’. Cuper to De la Croze, 1 May 1712;
Cuper, op. cit. (note 72), no. 32, pp. 107-08.
Witsen himself was more cautious: this Bible
might have been taken to China by Marco
Polo, Witsen to Cuper, 8 February 1714;
Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8), no. 56, p. 374.

142 Reland to Cuper, 11 February 1712, KB 72H11.
‘[Masson] demeure proche d’Utrecht, et il
s’entend ou Chinois: car Mr. Reland me
mande, que nous aurons une Dissertation
de sa façon sur cette Langue’. Cuper to
De la Croze, 19 October 1712; Cuper, op. cit.
‘Dissertation critique sur la langue Chinoise’,
in J. Masson and S. Masson, Histoire critique
de la republique des lettres, Utrecht 1712-18,

143 ‘Je vous dirai franchement que je ne crois pas
qu’il sache les elements de la langue Chinoise’.
De la Croze to Cuper, 27 March 1713;
KB 72H19, fol. 29r. Cf. Cuper, op. cit.
(note 72), p. 127.

144 Masson based his theory on the radicals
which are up to the present day used to order
Chinese characters in a dictionary. Modern
scholarship uses the 214 Kangxi Radicals, De
la Croze mentions a total of 320. ‘les Dissertations
Chinoises sont dignes de compassion
... on pourrait refuter Geometricalement son
systeme, en faisant voir par l’art combinatoire
le resultat des 320 mots radicaux Chinois
comparez avec les 5640 mots Hebreux de
l’ancien Testament ... La langue Chinoise ne
peut pas etre une langue Originale’. De la
Croze to Cuper, 14 January 1714; KB 72H19,
fols. iv-2r.

145 ‘Dien Sinesen Heer konde alles lesen, en
schrijven, dat Sinees was’. Witsen to Cuper,
5 December 1710; Gebhard, op. cit. (note 8),
no. 36, pp. 332-35; F. Valentijn, Oud en nieuw
Oost-Indien, derde deel, The Hague 1858,
p. 539 (first ed. Dordrecht/Amsterdam 1724-26).

146 E. Jorink, Reading the Book of Nature in the
Dutch Golden Age, 1575-1715, Leiden/Boston
2010, p. 327.

147 Weststeijn, op. cit. (note 86).

148 ‘Amstelaedamum, celeberrimum illud orbita
terrarum empiorium’. Cuper to Bonjour,
16 January 1708, KB 72H19.