The Chinese imprint

Printing and publishing Chinese religion and philosophy in the Dutch Republic 1595-1700

Dijkstra, G.W.H.

Publication date
2019

Document Version
Other version

License
Other

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
This dissertation discusses how Chinese religion and philosophy were represented in printwork created in the Dutch Republic between 1595 and 1700. Focusing on a variety of printed media, this study sheds new light on the representation of an often contentious subject matter to readers, and the publishing strategies of the producers. To this end, form, content, and material-technical aspects of various text types in Dutch and French are analysed to gain insights into the ways in which an early modern public of readers - who were very much divided on religious, political, economic, and linguistic fronts - could take note of Chinese religion and philosophy. Furthermore, this analysis reveals the ways this knowledge was embedded into seventeenth-century Dutch perceptions of themselves and the foreign world.

Interpretations and understandings of Chinese religion and philosophy were the result of processes of textual transmission in which producers played a fundamental role. This study thereby assesses the importance of authors, translators, printers, publishers, editors, illustrators, and booksellers in shaping the cultural consumption of China. As such, this dissertation proves that there was no singular image of Chinese religion and philosophy, but rather a varied array of notions on the subject. Perceptions differed according to type and aim of publication, in addition to a variety of motives and considerations related to the cultural, political, religious, and economic background of the producers.
The Chinese Imprint

Printing and Publishing Chinese Religion and Philosophy in the Dutch Republic
1595-1700

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT
ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex

ter overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde commissie
in het openbaar verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit
op woensdag 23 oktober 2019, te 13.00 uur

door

Geertruda Wilhemina Henrica Dijkstra
geboren te ’s-Hertogenbosch
Promotiecommissie

Promotores:
Prof. dr. E.M.P. van Gemert, Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. M.A. Weststeijn, Universiteit Utrecht

Overige leden:
Prof. dr. J.T. Leerssen, Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. J.A. Baggerman, Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. E.A. Kuitert, Universiteit van Amsterdam
Dr. D.H. van Netten, Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. B. Schmidt, University of Washington
Dr. J.L. Salman, Universiteit Utrecht
Dr. J.W. Spaans, Universiteit Utrecht

Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

Dit werk maakt deel uit van het onderzoeksprogramma The Chinese Impact: Images and Ideas of China in the Dutch Golden Age met projectnummer 276-69-004 dat gefinancierd is door de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO).
Table of Contents

Acknowledgements 9
Previously Published Materials 13

Introduction: The Commodification of Confucius in the Dutch Republic 15
Research Aims 20
Historiography 23

Early Modern Intercultural Contacts between China and Europe 23
Printing and Publishing in the Dutch Republic 27
The Dutch Republic and the Middle Kingdom 32
The History of the History of the Book 341

Methodology 36
Transtextuality 36
Religion and Philosophy 39
Definition of Terms 43
Outline 45

Chapter 1: Representations of China’s Religion and Philosophy in Dutch-made Books, 1595-1687 51
Introduction: The First Global Era 51
Publishing Books on China 53

Outline 54

Early Contacts between China and the Dutch Republic 58
The Mercantile Approach 58
Early Dutch Travelogues on China: Cornelis Claesz 59
Illustrating the Foreign Idol: the Devil in Calicut 65
Jesuits and Calvinists on Chinese Religion and Philosophy 79
The Missionary Perspective 79
The Society of Jesus in the Middle Kingdom 79
Jesuit Publications on Chinese Religion and Philosophy 84
Calvinist Considerations of China 100
The Further Reformation: Gijbrcht Voëtius and Johannes Hoornbeeck 104
### Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 2: The Vernacular and Latin Translations of Confucius: Confucius <em>Sinarum philosophus</em> (1687) and Pieter van Hoorn’s <em>Eenige voornam eegenschappen van de ware deugdt</em> (1675)</th>
<th>165</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction: Translating Confucius</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodating Chinese Religion and Philosophy</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outline</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athanasius Kircher</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>China’s Prisca theologia</em></td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Amsterdam Publication of <em>China Illustrata</em></td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kircher’s Chinese-Egyptian Hermeticism</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Latin Translations of Confucius</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Chinese from Confucius</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Manuscript to Print</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 1675 Dutch Edition of Confucius</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucius as a Guide to Virtue: Pieter van Hoorn</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batavia: a Chinese Town under Dutch Rule</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan van Hoorn’s Enduring Contact with the Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 1687 Jesuit Edition of Confucius in Latin</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Confucius Sinarum philosophus</em>: Bibliology and Paratext</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arguing for Accommodation</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translating Confucius <em>Sinarum philosophus</em></td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Simon Foucher</em></td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jean de Labrune</em></td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>François Noël</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3: Confucius in Dutch-made Learned Journals during the Last Quarter of the Seventeenth Century 223

Introduction: ‘Confucius Can be Found in Amsterdam’ 223

The Dissemination of China 224

Outline 225

The Learned Journal in the European World of Print 228

The Emergence of the Erudite Periodical 228

Learned Journals of the Dutch Republic 234

French Huguenots and the Publication of Learned Journals 236

The Erudite Press and China before 1687 238

Pierre Bayle’s Nouvelles de la République des Lettres 239

Discussing and Reviewing Confucius Sinarum philosophus 245

The Antiquity of China 253

Martino Martini and the Universal Flood 254

Isaac Vossius Versus Georg Hornius 257

Critiquing Confucius 263

The Jesuits and the Jansenists: Antoine Arnauld 263

The Mediating Role of the Editor 264

Conclusion 267

Chapter 4: China and the Chinese Rites Controversy in Dutch Newspapers at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century 271

Introduction: Shifting Representations of China and Confucius 271

Dynamic China 273

Outline 274

Publishing News in the Dutch Republic 276

‘The Dutch Miracle’ of News Publication 276

Dutch Newspapers in French 279

Compiling News in Mercureum 280

News from China 281

Is News from China even News? 281

Newspapers as Vehicles for Discussing and Debating China 283

Reports on China in Dutch-made Newspapers 284

Reporting on the Economic Interests of the Dutch 284
Advertising China 286
The Middle Kingdom in French-language Newspapers 290
The Kangxi Emperor and Louis XIV 290
Diverging Reports in French and Dutch 293
The Chinese Rites Controversy in the Public Eye 297
Louis le Comte’s Nouveaux mémoires sur l’état présent de la Chine 299
A War of Pamphlets 304
The Chinese Rites Controversy in News Digests 307
Conclusion 311

Epilogue: The Waning of Dutch Demand for China? 315
Conclusions 316
Research Aims 316
Economic Considerations Related to the Production of Print 318
Mercantile, Missionary, and Cultural Entrepreneurial Perspectives on China 320
Expanding and Rethinking the Corpus of European Sources on China 325
Dutch Printwork for the Republic of Letters 326
Transtextuality as Theoretical and Methodological Framework 328

Summary 333
Samenvatting 343

Bibliography 353
List of Sources 353
Literature 363
Unlike our seventeenth century Dutch forebears, we went to China by plane. While they were confined to the drudgery of life at sea for months at a time, we arrived safe and sound from Amsterdam in Shanghai in less than 11 hours. In 2016, our team of the NWO-project ‘The Chinese Impact: Images and Ideas of China in the Dutch Golden Age’ visited China to take part in the international seminar on the ‘Entangled Cultural Histories of the Low Countries and China’, generously hosted by Shaoxin Dong of the Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies of Fudan University. During the day, we were treated to stimulating presentations and discussion, and in the evening we ate, drank, and made merry. I will never forget playing pool in a smoke-filled hole in the wall, where the bartender adhered to the Chinese custom of serving beer warm. While it made our drinks less refreshing, it certainly added to the already very Chinese ambiance. It was a wonderful first – yet certainly not last – visit to China, which was made all the more special by the truly intercultural meeting of minds I was fortunate enough to be part of.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my fellow travellers Thijs Weststeijn, Willemijn van Noord, and Lennert Gesterkamp. Here, I also like to include Lia van Gemert and Frans Grijzenhout who, although may not have been with us in China physically, certainly came along in spirit. Not only did we travel across the world together, they all accompanied me in my journey towards the completion of this dissertation. Thijs and Lia:
thank you both for your invaluable support, encouragement, and advise throughout my time as a PhD candidate. I have indeed been very lucky to have had not one, but two, supervisors who cared so much about me and my work. Your combined attention to detail drove me to finally learn not to write ‘European’ when I meant ‘Dutch’ and not to use ‘unsurprisingly’ ten times in a single paragraph. Thank you very much for guiding me, often with big doses of patience, through the subtleties of scientific research and writing.

I would also like to thank Frans Grijzenhout and Lennert Gesterkamp for their much appreciated assistance and suggestions during numerous team-meetings – thank you both for your time and patience. I must express special gratitude to my comrade in arms Willemijn van Noord, without whom this four-year long reconnaissance of ‘Academia’ would not only have been much harder, but exceedingly lonely to boot. I am not one for silent contemplation and, fortunately, neither were you and I wouldn’t have missed our joint struggles for the world.

I am indebted to the Chinese Impact Advisory Board for their essential contributions to both my dissertation and to the project as a whole. I am grateful to professors Anne Gerritsen, Michael Keevak, Stacey Pierson, Nicolas Standaert, Jing Sun, and Hilde de Weerdt for the time and effort taken to participate in annual meetings. You truly made the project interdisciplinary and your comments and suggestions have greatly improved my research. I also thank Djoek van Netten for her comments on the first chapter of my dissertation during the annual Huizinga Institute retreat.

I am also indebted to the Departments of Dutch Language and Culture, and History at the UvA, and Art History at the University of Utrecht for their guidance and enthusiastic incorporation of my research – special thanks to the Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Golden Age, which indeed is a meeting place for the like-minded. My appreciation also goes out to the Huizinga Institute, for organising a variety of interesting masterclasses and lectures, and for providing plenty opportunity for socialising. Thanks to my copy-editor Jodi van Oudheusden-Peita for her conscientious and involved proofreading.

The Department of Book Studies at the University of Amsterdam has now been my academic home for more than ten years, and my gratitude goes out to all those involved. My sincere thanks to the people manning the
Reading Rooms of the Special Collections for hauling hundreds of books from the depot to the desk – even when the elevator gave out. Thanks to the curators for their enthusiasm and their advice, and for making me love the written word in all its forms. Lisa Kuitert, thank you so much for your guidance and advice and for kindly teaching me the ropes of academia – you made numerous new and daunting experiences so much easier on me.

My gratitude goes out to my friends and colleagues, with special thanks to Geert Janssen and the AIO-club. I thoroughly enjoyed our animated meetings and the pizza with drinks afterwards. I furthermore appreciate my office mates for their patience and compassion. I would like to mention Martje aan de Kerk, Lucas van der Deijl, Rindert Jagersma, and Rosanne Baars in particular – thank you so much for the very welcome companionship of the last four years; may we still meet each other often.

Finally, in these sentences between ‘professional’ and ‘personal’ acknowledgement I mention Paul Dijstelberge, as you truly belong in both categories (as for that matter, many people mentioned above). I hope you know how much your friendship and guidance means to me. I fell in love with book history in part because of you, and your ongoing encouragement has made the infatuation stick. When the going got tough, you kept your sense of humour when I lost mine, and for that alone, I can’t thank you enough.

The journey towards completing my dissertation would, of course, have been impossible without the loving support of my friends and family. My parents Trudy and Will and my brother Willem Wouter have fed and nurtured my love for history and books from a very early age: without their encouragement I would never have made it to where I am today. My gratitude and love also goes out to my mother-in-law Karen, and my late father-in-law Louis. I am very sorry he could not see both his son and myself as Doctors of Philosophy. My thanks to my sisters-in-law Myra and Inger, and their partners Rens and Julian and, of course, to my fabulous nieces.

Minke, thank you so much for your friendship, I appreciate our times together very much, and your unwavering check-ins meant the world to me. Thanks to you, Died, Jules, and Louie for ever being there for me. Emma, thank you for everything, and for celebrating those wins – big or small – with me. Koen and Floris, thank you so much for your compan-
ionship and for luring me away from my dissertation by introducing me to very addictive board- and computer games. To you all, there is much more to say, yet I hope you know how much I appreciate you. Finally, to Jim: I love you and I like you. You’re my best friend and greatest supporter. Thank you for showing me that I can do it alone, but making it so that I never have to.
Previously Published Materials

A first version of some parts of this study have been published earlier. Selections of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 appeared in ‘Confucius at “De Batavische Mercurius”: Governor General of the Dutch East Indies Pieter van Hoorn and the first vernacular translation of the Chinese Confucius’ was published in D. Cappa, et al., Cultural encounters. Cross-disciplinary studies from the late Middle Ages to the Enlightenment, Berlin, Vernon Press, 2018, pp. 109-124. “It is said that…”: The Chinese Rites Controversy in Dutch newspapers and periodicals in the seventeenth century’ appeared in Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis, vol. 23, 2016, pp. 172-191, and ‘Constructing Confucius in the Low Countries’, De zeventiende eeuw, vol. 32, no. 2, 2016, pp. 137-164, which was co-authored by Thijs Weststeijn. Weststeijn was primarily responsible for section I ‘The First Latin Translations’, while I focussed mainly on section II ‘The 1675 Dutch Edition’. Section III ‘The 1687 Latin Edition’, as well as the Introduction, and Conclusion and Aftermath were written jointly.