

characteristic of Chinese writing since the Han period and which seems to bear so clearly the stamp of decadence.

This play with allusion and quotation is not, however, a product of that period, for we find definite indications of it in earlier periods, as for instance in the Li-sao and perhaps also in the Shi and Shu. It is after all, merely an expression of the primitive tendency to flock or herd together and develop a kind of community poetry which can be observed so well in China over a long period.

Nevertheless, this tendency to work with allusions was strongly developed in the Han period, or perhaps it might only seem to us to be so or we may realize it more clearly because of the fact that the originals of the quotations are for the most part preserved for us whereas those dating from earlier periods are frequently missing.

And so the poetry of this period fits in well with the framework of the entire Han culture, that is building with old bricks in order to create a new and more comprehensive house.

This insight into the workshop of a Han poet may well disappoint many of us, but not the Chinese to whom this appears as the quintessence of scholarship and fine taste, but some poetic significance cannot be denied to a poem of this type. In particular the basic idea is a poetic one and some genuine feeling is expressed in the fear of premature death. It should also not be forgotten that it is just the allusion as expressed here, that brings to the mind of the connoisseur the entire literature in question the complete environment of the quotation—and gives rise to a whole series of thoughts. This indication of a thought, like a single note taken from a complete chord, belongs also to the finest media of other² and our own poetry.

² One typical example amongst many which just comes to my mind. The Nishmat prayer "The Blessing of Song" which plays a great role in the Jewish liturgy is one of the finest specimens of the post-Biblical revival of Hebrew literature. This prayer, full of quotations, is recited on the morning of every Sabbath and Festival after the reading of a whole range of selected psalms for the day. It is also presented for recital at the close of the Haggadah. And the most remarkable thing is that it contains in the second part quotations from three psalms, viz. XXXV, 10, CIII, 1, and XXXIII, 1, consisting of one verse only. This indication is sufficient to bring home to everybody the three psalms in full.

THE ATTRIBUTION TO MICHAEL BOYM OF TWO EARLY ACHIEVEMENTS OF WESTERN SINOLOGY

by WALTER SIMON

The First Part of Kircher's *China Illustrata*¹ is devoted to the Nestorian Tablet. This had occupied Kircher already in his *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus*², but in *China Illustrata* he added *inter alia* a contribution by the Jesuit Father Michael Boym (1612-59). On pp. 7-10 we find Boym's letter of 4 November 1653, and furthermore (i) an engraving of the inscription (facing p. 12³), dated 1664, and due to a Chinese hand, (ii) a romanization of all the Chinese characters, due to Boym (pp. 13-21), (iii) a literal translation, likewise due to Boym (pp. 22-8), and (iv) a reproduction of the Latin translation (though with certain changes) which Kircher had published in his *Prodromus Coptus*⁴. Through the medium of Italian⁵ the latter translation went back to a Portuguese⁶ translation of the

¹ Amsterdam, 1667.

² Rome, 1636, pp. 50, etc.

³ In certain other prints of the same edition the engraving is to be found at the end of the work.

⁴ pp. 54, etc. The differences are all of minor importance only, such as e.g. the new heading *Interpretatio III (China Illustrata, p. 29)* and the addition, there, of the word *paraphrastica* after *Declaratio*, or various changes in the wording of the translation, additions of explanations in parentheses, and changes in the numbering of the paragraphs. A further change consists in the addition of Boym's name on p. 34: while the sentence in *Prodromus Coptus* (p. 70) runs: *Fuit autem hujus scripturae duplex facta interpretatio; praesens admodum conformis est illi quae facta fuit Pequini, quae et elegantior est, et magis propria, Sinicaeque phrasi magis conformis*, Kircher added in *China Illustrata* the following words between *Pequini* and *quae et elegantior est*: "deinde etiam a P. Michaele Boymo denuo ex Sinico Exemplari exposita".

⁵ The Italian version has been reprinted as *Pièce justificative D* (pp. 78-84) in H. Havret, *La Stèle chrétienne de Si-Ngan-Fou, IIIe Partie, Commentaire partiel et pièces justificatives, Chang-Hai, 1902 (Variétés Sinologiques, No. 20)*. "*Pièce justificative A*" represents "*La Première Version (1625)*", which is evidently referred to by Kircher in the quotation reproduced above (n. 4), when he speaks of "*duplex facta interpretatio*".

⁶ H. Havret, *La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-Ngan-Fou, IIe Partie, Chang-Hai, 1897 (Variétés Sinologiques No. 12)*, p. 328, n. 2, suggests that this Portuguese translation was due to J. Rho. About the attribution to Rho of the Latin translation see A. C. Moule, *Christians in China*, London, 1930, pp. 33, 34, n. 10.

Chinese original. The layout of Boym's translation was remarkable. The Chinese lines (columns) of the Tablet as well as all the individual Chinese characters in each line are numbered, and the same numbering⁷ appears both in the romanization and in the literal translation (where the figures are printed above the corresponding Latin words). We are thus presented with a complete system of reference which enables the reader to look up the romanization and the translation of each Chinese character. The system of reference has been explained both by Boym in his above-mentioned letter and by Kircher at the beginning of his Chapter III⁸ (pp. 10-12), in which he also gives a short explanation of the tone marks, which will occupy us later.⁹

As is pointed out by Kircher,¹⁰ Boym's arrangement provides the student of the Inscription with both the reading and the translation of each Chinese character. Any reader is therefore able, so one might conclude, to prepare for himself a Chinese-Latin vocabulary which comprises all Chinese words (characters) occurring in the Inscription. This possibility, in conjunction with the seeming identity of the system of transcription, seems to have induced Professor Szcześniak (in his paper "The Beginnings of Chinese Lexicography in Europe with particular reference to the work of Michael Boym (1612-1659)"¹¹ to represent Boym's arrangement as amounting in fact to a Chinese-Latin Dictionary or Vocabulary,¹² about which he writes as follows: "In toto this formed an unusual kind of vocabulary, justified partly by the difficulties of printing Chinese characters at that time in Europe". After illustrating Boym's arrangement by reprinting the first fifty characters of the Inscription as numbered, romanized and translated by Boym, Professor Szcześniak continues: "However, in the French edition of the *China Illustrata*, 1670, Kircher included Boym's vocabulary now

⁷ Boym adopted the same method of numbering the Chinese characters and the Latin words corresponding to them in the *Elogium XXVI* which he contributed (as well as *Elogium XXV*) to Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Vol. I, Rome, 1652). No romanization has, however, been included in the case of the *Elogium*.

⁸ *De triplici Interpretationum Modo et Ratione Nota ad Lectorem*.

⁹ See below, p. 169.

¹⁰ *loc. cit.*, p. 11. It is strange to see that when exemplifying on the character for "month", which is the third character in the tenth column (line) of his plate, he should have adopted without querying Boym's two word transcription *chun yue* for the single character 月.

¹¹ *JAOS*, 67 (1947), pp. 160-5.

¹² The two terms alternate throughout Professor Szcześniak's paper: "The first two dictionaries, Chinese-Latin and Chinese-French, were compiled by Michael Boym, the Polish Jesuit, about 1650, and printed in Europe in 1667 and 1670. The few mentions of these vocabularies . . ." (p. 161). "Professor Pelliot, while not questioning the authorship of the Chinese-Latin dictionary, objects to the opinion of R. Chabrié, that is, that Boym was the author of the Chinese-French dictionary inserted in the French version of *China Illustrata* printed in 1670" (p. 162). The italics, but for *China Illustrata*, are mine.

compiled in conventional form, without characters, with only the French equivalents. It was the first phonetic Chinese-French dictionary prepared by Boym during his linguistic studies in China, and with the same intention, *viz.* to supply European students with a vast amount of lexicographical help and for practical use."

The Chinese-French Dictionary included in Kircher's *China Illustrata* had been attributed to Boym before; in most recent times this was done by R. Chabrié in his monograph *Michel Boym, jésuite polonais et la fin des Ming en Chine, 1646-1662*.¹³ P. Pelliot in his review article on Chabrié's book¹⁴ had, however, objected to this attribution. Professor Szcześniak, apparently unconvinced by P. Pelliot's explanation, renewed the claim. The line of argumentation taken by him can clearly be seen. By describing the layout used by Boym for the transcription as an "unusual kind of vocabulary" and the Chinese-French Dictionary as a "vocabulary now compiled in conventional form" he establishes a link between this and the former and as the former was certainly Boym's, Professor Szcześniak considers himself entitled to infer Boym's authorship for the latter. He sees a further strong argument in favour of his attribution in the alleged identity of transcription which I shall discuss later.

At the end of this paper¹⁵ I have reproduced a specimen page (p. 363) of the Chinese-French Dictionary, conjecturing, as far as I was able to do so, the Chinese characters,¹⁶ which, as mentioned above, are not included in Kircher's work. A cursory glance at this extract will suffice to realize the basic difference between Boym's work on the Inscription and the Dictionary. Through his special layout Boym obviously wished to facilitate a careful study of the Inscription and in particular to allay any doubts as to its authenticity. It is unlikely that Boym ever intended his work to be anything else, and there can be no question of its being an "unusual kind of vocabulary". As the specimen page clearly shows, the Chinese-French Dictionary on the other hand with its entries well arranged in alphabetical order, and within this order according to the tones, with its compounds and phrases given as further illustrations, is not merely a "vocabulary" but a dictionary fully deserving of this term. The language it records is the *spoken language of the time*, fairly close to the spoken language of today, but, as hardly needs pointing out, entirely different from the *literary language of Tarnig times*, not to mention the particular 駢文 *pyanwen* style in which the Inscription has been couched. Nor can it be concealed that, as

¹³ Paris, 1933, p. 255.

¹⁴ T.P., XXXI (1935), pp. 95-151, see pp. 136, 137.

¹⁵ See Specimen page after p. 169.

¹⁶ For the sake of comparison I have also added a transcription of the characters into *Gwoyue Romatzyh*.

was already explained by Father Havret,¹⁷ Boym was not too well equipped for the task he had set himself.¹⁸ The Chinese-French Dictionary on the other hand has been compiled with admirable competence and may well be the result of collective work carried on for a period of many years. As such, it must be regarded as an important early achievement of Western Sinology.

Professor Szcześniak adduces identity of the system of transcription used in the Inscription on the one hand and the Chinese-French Dictionary on the other as a further argument in support of his attribution: "The transcription of the French version of *China Illustrata* is the same as in the Latin edition. In the 'romanisation' there is no difference at all. The same *ça, çan, çao, çay, çu, çun, çay*, etc. we find in both editions¹⁹." I have dealt elsewhere²⁰ with certain features of Boym's transcription which differ from the transcription used in João Soeiro's Catechism (*Sanctae Legis Compendium*), which has likewise been attributed to Boym by Professor Szcześniak. These features include the use by Boym of the letter *y* (instead of *i*) as the last element of diphthongs and triphthongs. In the above quotation Professor Szcześniak twice mentions *çay* among the transcriptions to be found "in both editions". The transcription *çay* is indeed that used by Boym in his work on the Inscription. The Dictionary, however, writes *çai, ç'ai* [and *cai c'ai*]. Professor Szcześniak's short extract from the Dictionary deals with words ending in the triphthong *-oei*.²¹ It has apparently never struck him that Boym spelt the very word for "Inscription" as *poey* (not *poei*). The occurrence of the diphthong *-ai* (not *-ay*) can be further substantiated by an examination of the specimen page reproduced below from the Chinese-French Dictionary.

¹⁷ *loc. cit.*, p. 332.

¹⁸ Certain features of Boym's translation seem to point to his having worked with an informant. The translation of the opening words *yueh ruoh* 粵若 by "*Principium fuit*" may be due to a misunderstanding of the explanation given him by his informant that these words were to be understood as an initial particle ("beginning" = *principium*). In a similar way the mistranslation of the compound *kowdaw* 寇盜 "robbers and thieves" by "*ratiocinandi*" (Col. 13, Nos. 1, 2) may have originated through a confusion between *daw* "thief" and *daw* 道 "doctrine". The "*Interpretatio III*", available, as we have seen, in Kircher's *Prodromus Coptus* as early as 1636, renders *yueh ruoh* by *Dico itaque hoc modo*, correctly places the punctuation before *swu wu* 俗無 [which Boym erroneously understands to be part of the preceding sentence and accordingly translates (Col. 12, Nos. 54, 55) as *consuetudinem non habent*], and so offers for the four characters *swu wu kowdaw* the translation "*Latronibus caret et Assassinis*". It may be noted in passing that the compound *kowdaw* as being of too literary a flavour does not occur in the Chinese-French Dictionary but *tseir* 賊 is listed on p. 327 (Yě cě [= *yih tseir*]) and defined as *un larron, un voleur, un filou*.

¹⁹ *loc. cit.*, p. 164.

²⁰ "The China Illustrata Romanisation of João Soeiro's (Soeiro's) *Sanctae Legis Compendium* and Michael Boym" (*Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, Copenhagen, 1959, pp. 265-270).

²¹ *loc. cit.*, p. 164.

DICTIONNAIRE CHINOIS & FRANÇOIS
(La Chine d'Athanas Kirchere, Amsterdam 1670, p.363), left column

1 <i>daylau</i> 意勞	<i>Tái lão</i>	nos travaux succedent mal.
2 <i>koouday</i> 口袋	<i>Kèu tái</i>	fac.
3 <i>daytz</i> 帶子	<i>Tái gũ</i>	une ligature, un ruban. un lien ou tout ce qui sert à lier, à attacher, & à bander.
4 <i>day baur</i> (bor): <i>how</i> 待薄: 厚	<i>Tái pò: beu</i>	traiter mal. bien.
5 <i>shibtair</i> 戲臺	5 <i>Hì tái</i>	theatre.
6 <i>tair</i> 臺	<i>Tái</i>	autel. une tour, chose haute, & élevée.
7 <i>tai</i> 胎	<i>Tái:</i>	le ventre.
8 <i>yeou tai</i> 有胎	<i>Yèu tái</i>	estre grosse, ou encinte.
9 <i>dang chu</i> 當初	<i>Tani çò</i>	le commencement.
10 <i>gaidang</i> 該當	10 <i>Cái tani</i>	chose deüé, chose d'obligation, & de devoir.
11 <i>dang</i> 當	<i>Tám</i>	au lieu d'autre chose à la place, ou bien en compensation.
12 <i>bub gaan dang</i> 不致當	<i>Pú càn tani</i>	je ne puis pas avec tant.
13 <i>dang buchii</i> 當不起	<i>Tani pú kè</i>	je n'ose pas, je n'ay pas le cœur n'y le courage.
14 <i>dangpub</i> 當舖	<i>Tani píu</i>	boutique de celuy qui prête ayant des gages.
15 <i>dangtour</i> 當舖	15 <i>Tani tèu</i>	crediteur ou qui prête ayant des gages.
16 <i>dang</i> 當	<i>Tani</i>	donner à celuy qui prête avec gage.
17 <i>shuo-de dang</i> 說得當	<i>Xuè tè tani</i>	chose bien dite.
18 <i>woendang</i> 穩當	<i>Vèn tani</i>	chose assurée.
19 <i>tarnng ni</i> 塘泥	<i>Tán ní</i>	barrer, crouster ou couvrir quelque chose d'une autre.
20 <i>tarnng bib</i> 塘壁	20 <i>Tán piè</i>	blanchir les murailles.
21 <i>sheng tarnng</i> : — <i>tarnng</i> 升堂: □ 堂	<i>Xim tani</i> : <i>sò</i>	donner audience, estre attentif.
22 <i>tang</i> 湯	<i>tani</i>	du bouillon.
23 <i>tang ji</i> 燙鷄	<i>Tani kè</i>	plumer des poules.
24 <i>dan: shuang</i> 單: 雙	<i>Tani: xo.ám</i>	simplicité, sincérité.
25 <i>liann dan</i> 鍊丹	25 <i>Lièn tán</i>	alchemie.
26 <i>daan dah</i> 膽大	<i>Tani tá</i>	grand courage.
27 <i>wu daan</i> 無膽	<i>Vũ tani</i>	craintif, lâche, poltron, coyon, couard.
28 <i>yeou daanchib</i> 有膽氣	<i>Yèu tani kè</i>	courageux, genereux, hardy.

DICTIONNAIRE CHINOIS & FRANÇOIS
(La Chine d'Athanase Kirchere, Amsterdam 1670, p.363), right column

29 <i>wu daanchih</i> 無膽氣	<i>Vu tán kî</i> il est craintif, lâche, poltron, sans cœur.
30 <i>leengdann</i> 冷淡	30 <i>Leni tai</i> frilleux. estre trompeur & broüillon.
31 <i>showdann</i> 壽誕	<i>Xeu tai</i> jour de la naissance.
32 <i>dann</i> 淡	<i>Tai</i> infipide, sans gout, point salé.
33 <i>tuh tarn</i> 吐痰	<i>Tù tai</i> vomir de flegmes, rendre la pituite.
34 <i>tarn chyn</i> 彈琴	<i>Tán-koi</i> jouer du manocordium. vaisseau de terre à deux enfes où on tient du vin.
35 <i>tan</i> 灘	35 <i>Tân</i> cours, ou courant de leau.
36 <i>tann shyi: chih</i> 歎息: 氣	<i>Tân sié: bi</i> soupirer.
37 <i>tann tong</i> 探通	<i>Tân tuih</i> regarder à travers des jaloufies escoutant, & voyant.
38 — <i>dau</i> 刀	<i>Chi tao</i> couteau envenimé.
39 <i>yib dau jyy</i> 一刀紙	<i>Yè tao chi</i> une main de papier.
40 <i>shaang yib dau</i> 賞一刀	40 <i>Xani yè tai</i> donner une estafilade avec un couteau.
41 <i>shueydao</i> 睡倒	<i>Xiú tao</i> se coucher.
42 <i>iundao hwadao</i> 暈倒滑倒	<i>Yün tao hoá tao</i> tomber en deffailance, mourir. s'écrouler, choir petit à petit, se retirer doucement, se diminuer, dechoir.
43 <i>daw shoei</i> 倒水	<i>Tào xiú</i> verser leau.
44 — □□	<i>Tào sié</i> tonner faire bruit, parler d'un ton fier & arrogant.
45 <i>daw bao</i> 倒好	45 <i>Tào hao</i> plus avant il y a bonne
46 <i>gongdaw</i> 公道	<i>Câm tao</i> justice & équité.
47 <i>dawdii</i> 到底	<i>Tào ti</i> finalement, enfin.
48 <i>taurtzouole</i> 逃走了	<i>Tào ceü leao</i> fuir, se mettre en lieu de secreté.
49 <i>tao</i> 討	<i>Tiò</i> chercher, demander.
50 <i>tao rau</i> 討饒	50 <i>Tiò jào</i> demander pardon.
51 <i>tawl</i> 筭兒	<i>Tiò 'h</i> bain, bourse, compliment.
52 <i>fengday</i> 封袋	<i>Fumi tai</i> porte lettres, poche ou sac où on met les lettres.
53 <i>teh lai fengbay</i> 特來奉拜	<i>Tè lai fumi pái</i> à deffsein, avec deliberation.

One further claim has been made by Professor Szczeniak in his paper, *viz.* the attribution to Boym of the indication of the tones by tone marks, which are in fact identical in Boym's transcription of the Inscription and in the Chinese-French Dictionary. There is no doubt that the indication of the tones in the way still surviving nowadays in the French transcription of Chinese must be regarded as a further important early achievement of Western Sinology. The system, however, was devised long before Boym's time. Its attribution to Boym is due to a mere oversight on the part of Professor Szczeniak. When referring to Boym's contribution to *China Illustrata* he overlooked the fact that the beginning of the third chapter, in which these tone marks are explained, was not written by Boym but by Kircher who, far from attributing their invention to Boym, mentions in a general way their use by "Our Fathers": *Hinc ad facilitandam linguam Sinensem, N.N. P.P. [=Nostris Patres] juxta Musicas notas UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA ascensus descensusque Sinicorum accentuum in pronunciatione observandorum disposuerunt.*²²

Professor Szczeniak has reaffirmed his attribution to Boym of both the Chinese-French Dictionary and the tone marks in his papers in *Osiris*²³ and in *Monumenta Serica*,²⁴ but in the light of the foregoing explanations these attributions would appear unfounded. While we are well informed on the origin of the tone marks, the authorship of the Chinese French Dictionary must be the object of further investigations, to be conducted, as was already hinted at by Paul Pelliot, by comparing it with similar early dictionaries, so far preserved only in manuscript.

²² On p. 236 Kircher actually mentions P. Jacobus (= [Diego] Pantoja) as the originator of the tone marks: ". . . P. Jacobus primus notas invenit, quas supra Europaeo modo scriptas dictiones Sinicas sequenti modo expriment . . ." According to Ricci it would, however, appear that the credit should in the first instance go to Father Lazzaro Cattaneo [who taught Pantoja to play the clavicembalo]: [In 1598 Ricci and Cattaneo] "distinguendo bene le parole che sono aspirate, notorno cinque modi di accenti differenti; nel che agiutò molto il P. Cattaneo che, con la musica che sapeva, gli osservava e distingueva assai meglio". See *Le Opere storiche* del P. Matteo Ricci, ed. by P. T. Venturi, Vol. I, Macerata, 1911, p. 300, and now also *Fonti Ricciane*, ed. by Pasquale D'Elia, Vol. II (Rome, 1949) pp. 32, 33 and Vol. I (1942) p. cxxviii. Golius, writing in 1654, also confirms the early date of the tone marks. In the chapter he contributed to Martini's Atlas (Edition of 1655 with German text, pp. III-IV) he writes as follows [I have modernized the orthography]: "Hiernach werden fürgelegt die eigene Sinische Wörter auf Latiniſch geschrieben, samt ihren Accentibus, so allererst für 60 jahren in Sina umb dieser ursach halber erdacht sind."

It may be noted that the musical notes refer to the *starting pitch*, not the *tone movement*. It is for this reason that the rising tone (上聲 *shaangsheng*), said to start at MI, is marked by a *gravis*, and the falling tone (去聲 *chiuhsheng*), said to start at FA, is marked by an *acutus*. Reference to *tone movement* would have resulted in reversing the two tone marks.

²³ *Osiris* X (1952), pp. 390, etc.

²⁴ *Monumenta Serica*, XIV (1949-55), p. 501. "An analysis of the vocabulary and a comparison with the Inscription confirms the present writer's opinion previously expressed that it is a genuine Boym's work".