

Edward Bernard's Chinese Map

Abstract: This article assembles scattered pieces of evidence to demonstrate that the famous Chinese 'Selden map', acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1659, was duplicated in the later seventeenth century by the Oxford mathematician and orientalist Edward Bernard (1673–91), as part of his abortive attempt to edit a definitive corpus of classical and post-classical mathematical texts. It was Bernard's copy, and not the original Selden map, that was publicly exhibited in Oxford in the eighteenth century. Some discussion is also furnished of other Chinese maps received in contemporary Oxford comparable to the Selden map, notably what I name the 'Brown/Styleman' map, presented to the Bodleian Library in 1698. These discussions will help us to rethink how contemporary European scholars might have approached oriental maps.

Keywords: Chinese Cartography, Selden Map, Seventeenth Century Oxford, Bodleian Library, Edward Bernard, Thomas Hyde.

Chinese maps, as distinguished from maps of China, were rare commodities in early modern England. The most famous surviving example is the so-called 'Selden map', a watercolour map dating from the late Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) of what is really the whole of East and Southeast Asia, with an emphasis on maritime routes. It was acquired by the famous scholar John Selden (1584–1654) sometime before 1653, when it was mentioned in his will, and it came to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, by his bequest, in 1659.¹ The main purpose of this article is to retrieve some scattered pieces of evidence to show that this map was in fact duplicated in the later seventeenth century, and that it was the copy, and not the original, that was publicly exhibited in Oxford the eighteenth century. I also offer some comments on other Chinese maps received in contemporary Oxford comparable to the Selden map, notably the 'Brown/Styleman' map, as I shall call it, presented to the Bodleian Library in 1698. The second purpose of this article is to answer the question of why the Selden map was copied at all. For, as I shall reveal, the Selden map was selected for inclusion in an ambitious but abortive edition of classical mathematical writers and their commentators planned in Restoration Oxford, and this in turn gives us a valuable and hitherto unnoticed context for how this seemingly exotic map was viewed by scholars of the time.

The Selden map was not the first Chinese map to reach England. That was probably the map 'made in that land on paper made of bark' brought back by the explorer Thomas Cavendish (1560–92) in 1588, and summarized by Richard Hakluyt (1552?–1616) in the first edition of his *Principall Navigations* of the following year.² The next was printed by Samuel Purchas (1577–1626) in the third volume of his *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625) from an original captured in Bantam (Banten) by the sea captain John Saris (c. 1580/1–1643); Purchas had acquired this map, said to measure four feet high by five feet wide, from the papers of, once again, Hakluyt.³

The evidence for these two maps is fairly well known.⁴ The evidence for the next is not. This occurs in the *Pyramidographia* (1646) of the intrepid John Greaves (1602–1652), Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford (1643, deprived 1649) and explorer of the pyramids of Egypt. In his study of the pyramids Greaves wrote, in the context of the history of building defensive walls,

... As at this day the *Chinese* have done, against the irruptions of the *Tartars* on the North, and West parts of *China*, for many hundred miles: The which appeares by a large Mappe of mine of that Countrey, made, and printed in *China*.⁵

Thus Greaves's map was printed rather than hand-drawn (as was the Selden map), and it clearly depicted the Great Wall. As the Saris map was also large, and included a prominent depiction of

the Great Wall to the north and west, it is tempting to suspect that the Greaves and Saris maps are one and the same. But given that the latter was, we are told, recovered in the Biblioteka Czartoryskich in Kraków in the 1980s, this seems less likely, and the origin and fate of the Greaves map remain mysterious.⁶

After its receipt Selden's map was stored in the Bodleian in what is now Duke Humfrey's Library, 'in Pluteis Superioribus', or 'in the upper cupboards' at the west or Selden End of the library, the last item in its series, probably because of its unusual dimensions, and possibly because it took some time to be processed by the library.⁷ One of the earliest demonstrable sights of it by a reader is supplied by the German scholar of Ethiopic, Hiob Ludolph (1624–1704). He visited the Bodleian in late 1683 and made friends with Bodley's Librarian, the orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), and encountered once again one of Greaves's successors as Savilian Professor of Astronomy, Edward Bernard (1673–91), also a keen orientalist. We will encounter Hyde and Bernard at greater length below. Ludolph recalled being shown among other oriental rarities a 'Tabulam Chorographicam Tzchinensis regni pictam non admodum scite', i.e. a chorographic map of the Chinese kingdom, but 'not particularly well drawn'.⁸ This was not a very auspicious start for the Selden map.

<insert image of Selden Map>
The Selden Map (Bodleian, MS Selden supra 105)

Ludolph will have been shown around the library by Hyde, and Hyde himself was soon to have occasion to examine the Selden map himself with especial care. This was in the summer of 1687, when Hyde enjoyed the company in the library of a native Chinese person, Shen Fuzong (d. 1691). Shen was a Chinese convert, a speaker of the Fujian dialect, but at least competent in both literary Chinese and Latin, who, in the brief window of tolerance afforded by the reign of the Roman Catholic James II, was visiting England in the company of his Jesuit minders. He accepted an invitation to Oxford, where he described the Bodleian's now substantial collection of books written in Chinese characters, and discussed with Hyde aspects of Chinese language, script, numbers, weights, measures, calendars, geography, epistolography, games, and religion.⁹ Their work on Selden's map is visible on the map itself, where many of the place-names are accompanied, faintly, by Hyde's vocalisations and Latin glosses.¹⁰ The two men also continued their work onto a separate piece of paper marked 'ex magnâ Mappa Chinensi', 'from the large Chinese map.' Onto this Shen copied various place names with phonetic glosses, voicing translations into Latin aloud, which Hyde, evidently sitting next to him, then rendered on the same page in his tiny script. Most interestingly, as Robert Batchelor first noted, Shen copied out the Chinese compass rose ('compass book' or 'compass box', as Hyde was taught to translate it) from the middle of the top edge of the map, and Hyde unusually glossed this diagram in a mixture of English and Latin.¹¹ This page is of additional note because Hyde returned to it after 1700, adding a long annotation, again in English, referring to his further explanation 'at large' of the Chinese lunar calendar in his own study of ancient Persian religion, finally published in 1700 as the *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*. This is further evidence that Hyde saw these papers as core materials for what would have been one of the more extraordinary publications in early modern Europe, his *Adversaria* or *Varia Chinensia*, had its author been able to secure a financial backer.¹² Hyde later did get a plate engraved from this sheet, with English text, as an offshoot of his collaborative project in the final years of his life with his friend the London merchant Thomas Bowrey (d. 1713) to publish an engraved collection of oriental scripts and grammars, ostensibly for mercantile use, and funded by Bowrey. But this venture foundered, and in the event the plate only published in Gregory Sharpe's edition of Hyde's essays in 1767.¹³

The first publication to be realised from the remarkable encounter of Hyde and Shen was Hyde's 'Epistola de mensuris et ponderibus Serum seu Sinensium' ('Letter on the measures and weights of the Seres or Chinese'), appended to the second edition of Edward Bernard's *De mensuris et ponderibus antiquis libri tres* (1688, first ed. 1685), revised and republished by Hyde as a

free-standing work in 1688 too. It was accompanied by a plate of Chinese engraved by the university chalcographer, the Dutchman Michael Burghers, from the characters of Shen as preserved in Hyde's papers, one of several oriental plates Hyde commissioned throughout his career, and of which he also retained a portfolio of prints.¹⁴ In his essay, Hyde appealed to various different kinds of sources, including maps, namely the Jesuit Martino Martini's landmark *Atlas Sinensis* of 1655, part of the great Amsterdam Blaeu *Atlas novus*, but also an indigenous Chinese map, 'which I received from the distinguished gentleman Master George White, English merchant.'¹⁵ This was George White (fl. 1665–1702), an independent trader who had made his fortune operating chiefly in Siam. In 1684 he donated to the Bodleian two Chinese hanging scrolls, of the Earth and of the Heavens.¹⁶ White, elder brother to the notorious adventurer Samuel 'Siamese' White, had arrived back in England on the *Resolution* in August 1684, reaching London in September in the company of two Siamese ambassadors, on their way with their entourage and merchandise to the French court. (It should be emphasised that this Siamese presence in England was not an official embassy, but an unplanned diversion brought about by a near miss with Barbary pirates.)¹⁷

Four letters from the scholar Thomas Smith (1638–1710) in London to his friend Edward Bernard in Oxford illustrate the brief stir caused by White and his exotic companions. White, who had imported his own considerable merchandise too, amazed observers with his 'most excellent curiosities, which I have seen, as a map of the world according to the Geography of the Chineses.' Smith's next letter further detailed White's 'rich and fine curiosities', this time expanding his list to include a map of China and a world map (both Chinese pieces), a map of Siam, and Japanese and Chinese sea charts.¹⁸ Smith was, we must assume, comfortable with the distinctions between these various remote nations, but when Bénigne Vachet, the French missionary travelling with the Siamese—Smith found him a tedious zealot—was finally granted an audience with Charles II, both Charles and his mistress's trivial chatter shows that they assumed White's companions to be Chinese.¹⁹ Smith fared a little better, obtaining a sample of the 'Siam Alphabet' from one of the two Siamese ambassadors, which eventually made its way into Thomas Hyde's hands; while Bernard acquired, probably from this same visit, a letter from the 'King of Siam.' Hyde had his Siamese alphabet engraved.²⁰ White himself may have visited Oxford later in 1684, the year in which he presented the Bodleian with his two maps.

Hyde once again studied the White maps with Shen's assistance. Of White's two scrolls, they focused on the terrestrial: Shen redrew the northern parts of the map on a separate sheet, and he and Hyde then annotated this copy in their customary fashion, Shen supplying place-names in characters and romanized vocalizations, and Hyde adding Latin glosses. This exactly mirrors Hyde and Shen's work on the Selden map. It was not plain sailing even for Shen, however: Hyde's annotation that many of the northern toponyms must be Tartar (i.e. Manchu) 'because their meanings do not make good sense in Chinese' must be a rendition of what Shen himself was telling him aloud.²¹

Further Chinese materials arrived in Oxford in the 1680s and '90s. Most were printed books or almanacs,²² but, of relevance to the present enquiry, in probably 1696 Bernard himself, along with Arthur Charlett (1655–1722), Master of University College, received at their request from the Fort St George chaplain George Lewis a parcel of chiefly Indian manuscripts. This was accompanied by a letter explaining that also *en route* to Oxford from different senders were 'Three Volumes of China Books, stamped on Wood, which is their so much vaunted way of Printing', as well as a further three Chinese books; 'I presume, they'll all be presented to your University.'²³

Returning to strictly cartographical materials, in 1698, a further Chinese map arrived in the library, presented by one Alexander Brown, described as an East India merchant from Fife, who also gave several other striking oriental texts.²⁴ These were entered into the Benefactors' Register with the paradoxical coda: 'En Libros sine Calamo aut Chartâ aut Atramento exaratos!' ('Behold, books written without pen, paper, or ink!'). This map, printed in Beijing in 1679,

reprints a late Ming map that has gone through many iterations starting at least as early as 1593. It is again very large, but is this time untouched by the pen of Hyde. What is omitted from the Benefactors' Register is that the map was given to Brown by a merchant named John Stileman, information preserved in the original list of Brown's donations (see Appendix).²⁵ As Brown has never been properly identified in this context, and Stileman's role has until now been invisible, it is worth supplying some details about these men, because this puts us in a position—as we are not with the Selden map—to make some secure observations about this map's provenance.

Alexander Brown was avowedly a Fifer, but it is hard to be sure which one he was of the men of this name baptised there in this period.²⁶ From what follows, it will be evident that we can identify him as the ship's surgeon who collected plants in the East in the 1690s, which he distributed to the London naturalists James Petiver and Hans Sloane, the botanizing treasurer of the East India Company Charles Du Bois, and to Jacob Bobart (1641-1719), superintendent of the Physic Garden in Oxford.²⁷ Brown was one of several such useful surgeons, of which the best known is James Cuninghame (c. 1665–1709), who was himself in China (Amoy/Xiamen) collecting plants and other materials between 1697 and 1699.²⁸ Brown is easily confused with his fellow surgeon, acquaintance, and orientalising botanist, Samuel Browne, surgeon to Fort St George.²⁹ Our Alexander is referred to by Petiver as 'Dr', and, if he be the 'Alex^r Browne' who compiled a medical commonplace book now among the Sloane manuscripts and bearing the date 1683, Brown as a younger man certainly collected readings from the physicians Michael Ettmüller and Theodore Craanen, as well as from the chemist and philosopher Robert Boyle, whom he appears to have known slightly. But I have traced no record of Brown as a medical graduate.³⁰

Alexander was also a supplier to the celebrated botanist Leonard Plukenet, who in his *Almagesti Botanici Mantissa* of 1700 named a genus after the *ingeniosus* and *perhumanus* Brown, thanking him for braving the wild promontories of the Cape of Good Hope in order to collect samples for him.³¹ This is surely our man, travelling to and from the Far East. The identity is confirmed by a passage in a letter of Petiver to Jacob Bobart in Oxford, dated 21 June 1698:

I suppose you are acquainted with Dr Alexander Brown who I understand is now att Oxford. I am told he hath got a Numerous Collection at *the* Cape & other places & as I am informed hath more *than* duplicates of most of them, & I doubt not but he is able to furnish you, for I doe not understand he hath given any but to Dr Plukenet . . .³²

Bobart had some success, as several of Brown's specimens surviving today are accompanied by labels bearing Alexander's name.³³ Brown's donation of orientalia to the Bodleian took place on 10 August 1698, so he evidently spent some months in Oxford in late summer that year, bearing plants for the Botanic Garden and oriental texts for the Bodleian Library. (Hyde, incidentally, had earlier compiled some 'Annotationes' at Bobart's request on Arabic, Persian, and Turkish plants names, partially printed as a contribution to Robert Morison's Oxford herbal, but then 'discontinued, because nothing would be allowed for that Labour by our worthy Delegates, blinded with malice and ignorance', so the librarian and the botanist were well acquainted.)³⁴ From labels in the herbaria of Petiver and Robert Uvedale we can place Brown in 'Carwar' (i.e. Karwar, on the south-western coast of India) in 1692 and St Helena in 1697, and in that year too Brown wrote to Petiver about some plant samples he had recently couriered from 'your namesake' (James Cuninghame?) in Fort St George.³⁵ It is this last location that connects Brown to Stileman, the originator of Brown's Chinese map.

John Stileman or Styleman (1652-1734) had first gone to Bantam in 1663 as an East India Company apprentice, was soon promoted to secretary to the company there, returning in 1670 to London after a successful first sortie. He later petitioned the company's court to be named their factor in Tonqueen (or Tonking, i.e. modern northern Vietnam, around Hanoi) in 1679, having been resident there already 'several years.'³⁶ He was living in Fort St George,

Madras (Chennai) by 1681, was appointed Bookkeeper to the Council by 1692, elected mayor of Madras three times annually between 1692 and 1695, Judge-Advocate in 1696, and finally returned home in 1699 to join the London-based directorship of the EIC.³⁷ He died a wealthy man in 1734, rejoicing in a fifth marriage and £2000 in EIC stock.³⁸ As he did not leave Madras until after his map had been given to the Bodleian by Brown, it is most likely that Stileman communicated it to Brown at Fort St George, and that the phrase ‘Brought from thence [China] by Mr John Stileman Merchant’ in the original English list of Brown’s gifts applies only to the first leg of this map’s long journey westwards.

Having finally reached Oxford and the Bodleian, the Brown/Stileman map became a popular sight. We read in an early eighteenth century list of rarities ‘worthy to be taken notice of in the Bodleian Library’ that these include ‘a map of China, printed in Chinese from blocks’, a description which points to the Brown/Stileman map, and not the Selden map.³⁹

We can now see that there were by the turn of the century at least four Chinese maps available for study in Oxford, and indeed there may have been some privately owned ones too. Hyde, for instance, also possessed a celestial map, which he described as ‘A China Planisphere or map of their constellations (rowld up)’; it is among the Royal manuscripts in the British Library today.⁴⁰

Returning now to the Selden map, however, the next recovered mention comes in a note from 1705 by Bodley’s assistant librarian the antiquary Thomas Hearne (1678–1735) on a visit to the library by the celebrated astronomer Edmond Halley (1656–1742):

To-day Mr. Halley coming to ye Library, Mr Hudson [i.e. Hyde’s successor as Bodley’s Librarian] shew’d him Mr. Selden’s large MS Map of China (whereof there is a Copy amongst Dr. Bernard’s MSS. that is to be put into the Anatomy Schoole) to which Mr Hyde added some Explicatory Notes. Mr. Hally having taken a view of it, concluded it to be full of faults, from some which he knew to b[e] so from his own observations.

Although Halley, like Ludolph two decades earlier, was not impressed, Hearne’s note usefully recognises the presence of Hyde’s hand on the map itself, and also introduces the startling claim that ‘Dr. Bernard’, i.e. Edward Bernard, possessed a ‘Copy’ of the Selden map.

This has seemed an extraordinary claim, but a handful of contemporary references corroborate it. First, Bernard’s own manuscripts were catalogued for the union catalogue of English and Irish manuscript collections that conventionally bears his name, the *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ (CMA)* (marked ‘1697’ but really appearing in 1698), or ‘Bernard’s Catalogue.’ There, we read that Bernard’s personal collection included a ‘Regni Sinensis Mappa, cum locorum Characteribus Sinicis’ (‘Map of the Chinese kingdom, with the places in Chinese characters’).⁴¹ After Bernard’s death in early 1697 and considerable wrangling, his manuscripts and some of his printed books were purchased by the university from Bernard’s widow, and the Bodleian indeed acquired this item, as well as a fragmentary early seventeenth-century Chinese ‘letter’.⁴² Only the latter can today be located.⁴³ There is little doubt however that Bernard owned such a map. Its existence is noted not only in the published *Catalogi Manuscriptorum*, but also in contemporary lists of Bernard’s manuscripts and *libri annotati*, where it is described as ‘in Pergameno’, i.e. parchment.⁴⁴

Bernard had certainly been interested in sinological topics from at least the mid 1670s. In a letter of 15 December 1675, for instance, Ludolph thanked Bernard for recommending to him *La Science des Chinois* (Paris, 1673), a translation into French of the Confucian *Zhongyong* 中庸 via the Latin *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis* published in Paris in the previous year, itself reprinted from the 1669 Jianchang/Goa parallel Chinese/Latin edition of the Jesuit missionary Prospero Intorcetta.⁴⁵ Bernard’s correspondents also brought him news of their own Chinese exploits: in 1682 Bernard’s friend the Haarlem scholar Evaldus Rulæus declared his intention to devote himself to the Chinese language by comparing and correcting the characters of the text and

translation of the controversial Nestorian Stele as published by Athanasius Kircher with those in a Chinese printed book in his possession, as well as with characters commonly encountered on Chinese porcelain, specimens of which he owned.⁴⁶ Two years later Ludolph was full of the promises of his new friend the pioneering botanist and sinologist Christianus Mentzelius, whose *Sylloge minutiarum lexici Latino-Sinico-Characteristici* (Nuremberg, 1685) would indeed prove an impressive first attempt to understand Chinese script. It soon found its way to the Bodleian.⁴⁷ Much later, Mentzelius presented a copy to the same library of his *Kurtze chinesische Chronologia oder Zeit-Register aller chinesischen Käyser* (Berlin, 1696), bearing a dedicatory manuscript couplet addressed to the library itself.⁴⁸

It was probably via Ludolph, too, that Bernard received a printed sample title-page for a purported third volume of Mentzelius's major project, a Chinese-Latin dictionary, to be entitled *Chinensium lexici characteristici, inscripti* 字 彙 韻 圭, in other words an edition of the major late Ming *Zihui* dictionary (1615), the lexicon that first established the received classificatory system of the 214 radicals.

<insert Mentzelius image>

Sample title-page for Mentzelius's *Chinensium lexici characteristici, inscripti* 字 彙 韻 圭

Mentzelius, as he stated in his *Sylloge*, had acquired from the East printed copies of both the *Zihui* and a rarer dictionary called the *Hai pien* or 'Great Sea'.⁴⁹ He interleaved one of his two copies of the *Zihui*, entering translations on the interleaves. This enterprise, distributed into nine volumes, was fairly well known at the time and to subsequent scholars, and was discussed, for instance, in the *Monatliche Unterredungen* for 1690, and by T. S. Bayer in his 1731 survey of European sinology to that date. Printing this work, however, got no further than these sample title-pages, of which this is a previously unrecognised exemplar.⁵⁰ The entire manuscript dictionary disappeared from the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin during the Second World War.⁵¹

When Shen visited Oxford in 1687, he conversed with Hyde, as we have seen, about weights and measures, but in fact the first edition of Bernard's *De mensuris et ponderibus antiquis* of 1685 had already included a scattering of Chinese distance words, probably all from Martino Martini's discussion in his *Atlas Sinensis*.⁵² Unfortunately we have no definite evidence that Bernard met Shen when he visited. We do however have Bernard's request to Smith, in the postscript of a letter describing James II's disastrous visit to Oxford in 1687, for a copy of the recent Jesuit apologia-edition of several Confucian texts, the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris, 1687), the very book James II had asked Hyde for upon his visit to the Bodleian.⁵³

A few years later, Bernard and Smith corresponded politely with the scholar and temporarily displaced Irish bishop Narcissus Marsh about Marsh's attempt to correlate Chinese and biblical chronology, but, as Smith and Bernard wrote privately to one another, neither had much confidence in Marsh's attempt: 'ingenious, but withal very groundless & vaine.' I have not been able to recover Marsh's essay itself, but Marsh evidently worked on the assumption that the Hebrew text was 'infallible in all the niceties of numbers', a position Smith considered naïve; whereas Smith, as he informed Bernard, preferred an astronomical solution. If, he argued, the eclipses recorded by Jesuit Philippe Couplet in the chronological tables published in the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* could be co-ordinated with some exact year in the Julian period, then 'by repeated tryalls' with Kepler's tables, we would in theory be able to reconcile, at last, the Chinese and Western calendars.⁵⁴

Closer to our current concerns, in 1690 Bernard was after information from Smith in London on a map of 'Oriental Tartary', 'partly printed, partly written.' This was the 'large map' of Siberia made by Bernard's erstwhile correspondent the Amsterdam statesman and orientalist Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), engraved in 1687 and 1688, and reminds us of Hyde and Shen's earlier interests in the northern extremities of the White terrestrial map.⁵⁵ Witsen brought copies of this map with him as ambassador extraordinary to the English court in 1689, where it caused a

stir, as it did too in the circle of the experimental philosopher Robert Hooke, Smith's informant on such matters.⁵⁶ Witsen and his activities were fairly well known in England, not least through his correspondent and fellow Sinophile Isaac Vossius, based in Windsor.⁵⁷ Vossius even passed (and probably doctored) a letter from Witsen with a map of Nova Zembla to the editor of the *Philosophical Transactions*, who published it in late 1674, a publication that launched a disastrous English naval expedition, resulting in shipwreck and much loss of life. Unsurprisingly things cooled between the two men thereafter.⁵⁸ Witsen had also earlier granted access to a version of his Siberian map to the sinological charlatan Andreas Müller, whose essay 'Imperii Sinensis Nomenclator Geographicus', published in 1679 and partially based on this source, was dedicated to Witsen.⁵⁹ Hyde, too, picked up the contemporary enthusiasm for all things 'Tartar: among his list of promised, but in the event unforthcoming, works we find a 'Dissertatio de Tartariâ' in octavo.⁶⁰ Witsen himself owned at least one genuine Chinese atlas of China, as it had been given to him in late 1683 by the Jesuit Philippe Couplet when the latter was visiting Amsterdam, and he also referred to 'een vry volmackte kaert' ('a rather well-made map') of China constructed there 1645 which he had consulted. For a while too Witsen held from Couplet the manuscripts of the publication that would eventually appear as the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* in Paris in 1687. Witsen himself claimed to receive letters 'every year from *Pekin*'.⁶¹

But why would Bernard want a copy, specifically, of Selden's Chinese map? Happily there is a recoverable answer to this question. Bernard was very much a creature of the great John Fell (1625–86), Dean of Christ Church, who in the Restoration directed his considerable energies towards establishing a learned press for his university. One of the many projects he cultivated was an overambitious scheme developed by Bernard to produce a multi-volume edition of the classical mathematical writers, with some modern additions.⁶² In Fell's words,

Ante annos jam aliquot publice testatum fecimus, nobis in animo fuisse editionem veterum omnium Mathematicorum hic loci adornare, & typis nostris excudere. In eam porro rem, scriptores pro seculi in quo vixerunt, & Argumenti quod tractarunt ratione, in classes atque ordines distinximus; adnotatis subinde neotericorum inventis, quæ aut Artem promoverent, aut laboris compendia facerent.⁶³

[Some years ago we advertised that we intended to furnish this place with an edition of all the ancient mathematicians, and to print it with our type. To that end we separated such writers into classes and series according to the age in which they lived and the subject which they treated, with such discoveries of the moderns added thereto as either advanced the art or effected an abridgement of labour.]

As Bernard's plans show, in practice this would have meant good editions of the Greek writers with the best Latin translations, followed by editions of later, especially Arabic, Persian, and Syriac, texts, and accompanied a selection of by modern works elucidating such writings.

Very little came of Bernard's leviathan scheme—in G. J. Toomer's words, 'it would have taken twenty such men a lifetime of dedicated labour to carry out what he proposed'—but fortunately Bernard's conspectus for what would have been the most ambitious editorial project of its age survives, in two versions. In Bernard's first version, for a twenty-one volume collection, the volume that was to be headed by Ptolemy's *Geography* (volume sixteen) was to number among its flotilla of accompanying texts, coming after Solinus's *De mirabilibus mundi*, and before Roger Bacon's *De situ orbis*, a 'Mappa Chinæ manu Sinensi picta: in Arch. Seld.'⁶⁴ In Bernard's second prospectus, now for a fourteen-volume edition, his thirteenth volume was to commence again with the *Geography* of Ptolemy, followed by over twenty other texts from Arabic, Greek, and Latin geographers, including once more the 'Mappa Regni Sinici, à Chinensi quodam depicta. ex Arch: Seld.' These are obviously references to the Selden map, and signal that Bernard intended an edition of it.⁶⁵

The next question is when Bernard turned his attentions to the Selden map. Dating absolutely either of Bernard's prospectuses for his mathematical writers is difficult. Bernard was certainly fundraising for the mathematical writers project by mid-1671—at which point the veteran mathematician Seth Ward, now Bishop of Salisbury, declared himself delighted to assist as long he was not the first to do so—and it may be that plans had gradually been coming together from as early as 1668.⁶⁶ The twenty-one volume scheme must belong to 1672 at the latest, because in the preface to Fell's edition of Aratus, another publication most likely ghost-edited by Bernard, published for the New Year of 1672, Fell announced the project with a promise to deliver it 'in around twenty volumes.'⁶⁷ In the prospectus Fell then drew up later in that same year for his revived Oxford press, project number fifteen is Bernard's mathematicians, now specifically in twenty-one volumes.⁶⁸ Four years later in the preface he contributed to John Wallis's edition of Archimedes's *Arenarius* (1676), Fell lamented the collapse of his *editio veterum omnium Mathematicorum* because of the failure to secure funding, and so Bernard's revised prospectus in fourteen volumes most likely dates from between these two editions.⁶⁹ But for the present purpose it is the earlier date that is significant: for Bernard had certainly settled on the Selden map as worthy of inclusion in his mathematical edition, and hence of copying, by 1672 at the latest, placing this encounter with the Selden map at least a decade and a half before the visit of Shen to Oxford.

We can now discern the nature and original purpose of Bernard's Chinese map: it was a line drawing of the Selden map, to be used as the source for the engravings that would form the plates for this section of Bernard's proposed edition of the 'ancient' mathematical writers. (We do not know who Bernard commissioned to make his drawing, but Burghers the university engraver is the obvious suggestion.) This supplies us with an important context for what is now the earliest known reaction to the Selden map in its Western repository. That we find the Selden map—as well as a host of Near Eastern texts—threaded by Bernard into a line of geographical learning from antiquity to modernity shows that Bernard hoped to fold this unique map into an editorial venture anchored in the master-text of Ptolemy's *Geography*. The Selden map was therefore for Bernard neither an artefact of difference, valued for its exoticism, nor conversely a document suggestive of the new global village. For Bernard, it was a geographical text, comprehensible within established western learned paradigms, and to be located within, and tested against, the scholarly tradition of ancient Greek geography and its methodological legacy. This was to be an exercise of assimilation.⁷⁰

This attitude Bernard shared with the Jesuit cartographer and historian of China, Martino Martini, whose *Atlas* shaped Western ideas not just about China but about how Chinese techniques and practices were compatible with, or at least comparable to, Western traditions. As Martini commented about measure, for instance, 'mensura autem ac mensurandi modi parum differunt à Strabonis, Melæ, Plinii & Solini, nos iter nostrum dividimus per passus, milliariam illi per pú: Chang: Li: P'u: ç'an quæ explicabo' ('In measures and the manner of measuring they differ little from Strabo, Mela, Pliny, and Solinus, for just as we divide up our journey into feet and miles, so they measure by *pú*, *chang*, *li*, *p'u*, *ç'an*, as I shall explain'). This easy convertibility encouraged Martini to substitute for Chinese terms Roman equivalents: why not call a *pú* a *lapis* or a *cippus* on the analogy of (ancient) Roman milestones, he remarked, for the Chinese too used such stones to mark their roads?⁷¹

Nevertheless, Bernard's original mathematical intention was soon forgotten, and his copy of the Selden map indeed turned swiftly into an artefact. Hearne's comment that the Bernard map was 'to be put into the Anatomy Schoole' refers to the earliest Oxford museum, at this date under the management of Hearne himself. This museum in the Anatomy School—the *schola medica* in the Schools quadrangle and hence part of the same complex as the Bodleian itself—had been operational since the early 1630s under the oversight of the adjacent library. It probably attained its operational peak in Hearne's age, dwindling thereafter, and closing in around 1780.⁷² Hearne's inventory of this museum includes, as exhibit no. 339 of the collection, 'A very odd

mapp of China. Very large, & taken [i.e. copied] from Mr. Selden's. on the Professors Desk.⁷³ Hearne's surviving manuscript inventory is based on a prior, lost list that the antiquary Richard Rawlinson independently copied in 1709, and as the same item occurs under the same number in Rawlinson's list (which extends to 389 items), we can be confident that the Bernard copy was indeed displayed in the Anatomy School shortly after 1705.⁷⁴ But for Hearne, it was simply a 'very odd mapp.'

The next sighting we have of Bernard's imitation comes from the German visitor Conrad Zacharias Von Uffenbach, who visited the university in 1710. He recalled in great detail the contents of the Anatomy School in his *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland* (Ulm, 1752-54), where he noted:

Merkwürdiger war die mappa Geographica von dem Königreiche China, mit der Feder gerissen, welche D. Bernard mit grossen Kosten vorsich habe in dem Lande selbst verfertigen lassen. Sie ist wohl viermal so groß, als unsere gemeine Land Charten.⁷⁵

[Noteworthy was the geographical map of the kingdom of China, drawn with a pen, which Dr Bernard at great expense to himself had manufactured in that country. It is about four times larger than our own land maps.]

Uffenbach must have confused pieces of information about the original and the copy here, and he may have been led to this, and to all the other specific observations he made about the objects in the Anatomy School, by the explanatory labels pinned near each object. (A handful of these labels survive, in English, removed by Hearne and inserted into his manuscript diaries.)⁷⁶ Uffenbach's statement that the Bernard map was drawn ('mit der Feder gerissen') is important, as it confirms again the distinction between this map and the original watercolour, which could not have been described thus. Finally, in 1713 the Irish scholar Samuel Molyneux visited the Anatomy School, commenting on its displays merely, 'I saw nothing there very remarkably curious except it were a map of China.'⁷⁷ Once again, the map is now 'curious', like the merchant White's 'curiosities' encountered earlier, one better than 'odd' perhaps, but decisively a thing for display and wonder, and not for mathematical assessment. In short, Bernard's map of China had lost its scientific status.

No later mentions of Bernard's (or indeed Selden's) map have been traced until modern times. What I have demonstrated, however, is that there were two versions of Selden's map available in Oxford in the period: the first was the original, kept in the library, examined by Ludolph and Halley; and the second, seen by Uffenbach, Molyneux, and any other visitors to the Anatomy School, was a copy, commissioned by Edward Bernard as part of his abortive edition of the classic mathematical writers. This provides us with a more grounded context for thinking about what such maps might mean to early modern, as opposed to modern, Western scholars. But although Bernard, then Hyde, and later Halley approached the original Selden map as a source of technical information, Bernard's copy, like many a manuscript before it, was in the process of changing from text into artefact. Moreover, although the opportunity may have arisen serendipitously, the transfer of Bernard's map from library to museum is an early example of the practice of conserving an original while displaying a surrogate. Yet the meanings of the separate objects were cleaving apart, just as libraries and museums were, as only recently separable institutions, gradually disengaging from one another too.

[p. 363]

Mr Alexander Brown, of the Country of Fife in Scotland.

1. A large Map of China, with a description of it, printed in the Chinese Language. Brought from thence by Mr John Stileman Merchant.
2. A Discharge from the Custom-house, either of Macao or of Emoy, to some Armenian Merchant, for goods, partly written & partly printed in Chinese.
3. A Chinese Petition to a Mandarin, written upon fine Paper.
4. A Letter sent onboard an Armenian Merchants ship, with a present from 2 Chinese Merchants.
5. Two China Letters, the one sealed up, the other open.
6. A Schoolboys book in the Tilingua⁷⁹ Language, which is spoken upon the Coast of Choromandêl in the town of Madarasapatâm, by Fort St George.
7. A book said to be a part of the Shaster.⁸⁰
8. A large book, seeming to be very antient.
9. A long book in 3 Columns, which with the 3 last, are all engraven with a Stile, upon leaves.

[p. 364]

Dñs ALEX. BROWNE

Mercator ad Indos (Vir Amplissimus Fifo in Scotiâ ortus), pro suâ in Universitatē Oxon. Benevolentiâ, sequentes Chartas et Libellos ex Indiâ allatos, Bibliothecæ publicæ Bodlejanæ D.D: Aug. 10. 1698. Sunt verò,

1. Perampla totius Regni Chinensis Charta Sinicè impressa, cum annexâ Descriptione in linguâ Sinicâ.
2. Apocha linguâ Sinicâ pro mercibus.
3. Chartula supplicatoria ad quendam Mandarinum Sinicè scripta.
4. Epistola Sinica.
5. Binæ Literæ Sinicæ, quarum una clausa et obsignata, altera patens.
6. Libellus palmeus pro puerorum institutione, in linguâ Tilingâ regionis Choromandelensis circa Madraspatâm.
7. Eâdem linguâ Libellus palmeus, qui pars Libri **Shaster** habetur.
8. Eâdem linguâ Libellus palmeus antiquitatem præ se ferens.
9. Eâdem linguâ Libellus palmeus oblongior, qui (ut et præcedentes,) in segmentis foliorum Magnæ Palmæ stylo ferreo exarantur.

En Libros sine Calamo aut Chartâ aut Atramento exaratos!

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Add. MS a.106

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Glasgow University Library

MS Hunter 299

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London

The British Library

MS Eur E. 192

MSS Royal 16 A XII-XIV

Royal 16 B I-XXVII

MS Sloane 3323

MS Sloane 3332

MS Sloane 3333

MS Sloane 4066

MS Sloane Or. 853a

Correspondence and papers of Thomas Bowrey

Oriental MSS and annotated books of Thomas Hyde

Oriental MSS of Thomas Hyde

Includes list of Hyde’s oriental MSS

Papers of James Petiver

Papers of James Petiver

Includes correspondence of Thomas Hyde

The Hyde-Shen working papers

The National Archives

PROB 11/666/396

Oxford

All Souls College

MS 239a

Printing prospectus by John Fell

The Bodleian Library

Lib. recs. b. 474, 475

Lib. recs. b. 903, 904

Lib. recs. c. 950

Lib. recs. c. 1069

Lib. recs. c. 1159

Lib. recs. e. 292

Lib. recs. e. 330

Lib. recs. e. 340

MS Ballard 49

MS Bodl. 887

MS Chin. d. 2

MS Hearne’s Diaries 46

MS Lat. misc. f. 3

MS Laud. Or. 145

MS Rawl. B 399*

MS Rawl. C 865

MS Rawl. D 261

MS Rawl. D 375

Lockey and Hyde’s catalogue of the Selden bequest

Bodleian Benefactors’ Register

Contains original list of Hyde MSS

Catalogue books in Arch. Seld.

Edward Bernard’s manuscript index to his *Catalogi*

Curatorial handlist

Curatorial handlist

Curatorial handlist

Includes papers relating to printing in Oxford, 1671-94

Type specimen of Bernard’s Euclid

Chinese letters owned by Bernard

Hearne’s diaries

Bernard’s first prospectus for his mathematical edition

The ‘Laud Rutter’

Hearne’s inventory of the Anatomy School collection

Rawlinson’s inventory of the Anatomy School collection

Papers of Thomas Hearne

Papers of Thomas Hearne

MS Selden supra 90	Includes Matteo Ricci's 'narracio breuis'
MS Selden supra 105	The 'Selden Map'
MS Siam. d. 1	'Epistola à Rege Siam'
MS Sloane 1811	Commonplace book of Alexander Brown(e)
MS Smith 5	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Smith 6	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Smith 9	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Smith 10	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Smith 45	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Smith 52	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Smith 57	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Smith 64	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Smith 116	Papers of Thomas Smith
MS Wood E 5	Includes Wood's lists of foreign readers in the Bodleian

The Queen's College
MS 596

Catalogue of Edward Bernard's books

ANNOTATED OR PRESENTED BOOKS

Oxford

Bodleian Library

4° D 25 Art.

Authorial presentation copy of Christian Mentzelius,
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Käyser* (Berlin, 1696)

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Chinese Books in Europe in the Seventeenth Century (David Helliwell):

<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/users/djh/17thcent/17thcu.htm>

English Short Title Catalogue: <http://estc.bl.uk>

Family Search: www.familysearch.org

Sherard Herbarium: <https://herbaria.plants.ox.ac.uk/bol/sherard/Explore>

¹ It is Bodleian, MS Selden supra 105, and see <<https://seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>>. The three major studies are Brook, *Mr. Selden's Map of China*; Batchelor, *London*; and Nie, *Selden Map of China*. Yet the map's origin and provenance remain unsettled. For the latter, see now the suggestion that the magnetic declination drawn on the map, if it corresponds to where the map was made, points to Aceh, at the northern end of Sumatra, in Kogou *et al.*, 'The origins of the Selden map of China.' For the printed maps of China, see Szcześniak, 'Seventeenth Century Maps of China'; Mungello, *Curious Land*, 116-124.

² Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 813-15; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, 53, 64, 328-29.

³ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 3: 401-4; Pennington, ed., *Purchas Handbook*, 12, 87, 150-1, 154, 429.

⁴ E.g. Brook, *Mr Selden's Map*, 130-34; Batchelor, *London*, 71-3, 135-38. Purchas also reprinted the Hondius map of China (1608). I exclude from this discussion the so-called 'Laud Rutter' (Bodleian, MS Laud. Or. 145), received by the Bodleian in 1637 from Archbishop Laud, as it is an entirely written text. On it see, e.g., Brook, *Mr Selden's Map*, 100-3.

⁵ Greaves, *Pyramidographia*, 24. In passing, Greaves's comparable Oxford contemporary the orientalist John Gregory consulted 'Arabick' and 'Ægyptian' maps in the Bodleian at around this time too (Gregory, *Works*, sg. a3r, p. 300 (2nd pagination), references respectively to two Laudian gifts, possibly a Turkish map (*Catalogi*, ed. Bernard [hereafter *CM4*, followed by cumulative index number], no. 1601), and a copy of the 'Tabula Bembina', presumably the first plate of Georg Herwart von Hohenburg's famous *Thesaurus Hieroglyphicorum* of 1610).

⁶ *Purchas Handbook*, 87, 154-55, citing Edward Kajdānski, letter to *Imago Mundi* of 1 May 1985, subsequently written up as 'The Ming Dynasty Map of China (1605) from the Czartoryski Library in Poland', in *Echanges Culturels et Religieux entre La Chine et L'Occident*, ed. Edward J. Malatesta *et al.* (Paris: Ricci Institute, 1995), pp. 183-90. Although it is the same map, it does not seem certain to me that it is the same exemplar, as the Polish exemplar measures 170 x 200cm, not quite the four by five foot, 'whereof a yard and some four inches square is the map itself' reported by Purchas. I am grateful to Anthony Payne for directing me to this article. (not traced).

⁷ It is not present at all in the initial catalogue of the Selden bequest chiefly made by the librarians Thomas Lockey and Thomas Hyde in the late 1650s (Bodleian, Lib. recs. b. 474, 475). The list behind the Selden section of the *CM4* concludes the 'Selden supra' (= 'in pluteis superioribus') category of shelfmark at no. 100, whereas in the published *CM4* we find two extra entries tacked on at the end, of which the Selden Map is the second (Lib. recs. c. 1069, fol. 12v; *CM4*, nos. 3489, 3490). Consultation of the slightly earlier curatorial handlist Lib. recs. e. 340, p. 179, from the mid-1680s, shows the map again no. 102, and then the handlists Lib. recs. e. 330, fol. [53]v, and Lib. recs. e. 292, p. 190, both dating from just after *CM4*, where the map has been pushed to no. 105, presumably to keep a bulky object at the end of a series. It is probably the 'Mappa regni Sinensis cum locorum nominibus Sinicis' of Bernard's own 1696 manuscript index to *CM4* (Lib. recs. c. 1159, fol. 531r).

⁸ Junker, *Commentarius*, 128. Junker treats this as the first meeting of Ludolph and Bernard, but they had been corresponding since at least 1675 (see below).

⁹ Their working papers are now British Library, MS Sloane Or. 853a, which may be supplemented by some of the items in Hyde's merchant friend and correspondent Thomas Bowrey's portfolio of papers, British Library, MS Eur E. 192. Hyde's own surviving collections of *orientalia* can be divided chiefly into two categories: those he sold to his university for £50 (Hyde wanted £55) in 1692, as listed in *CMA*, 1: 1: 286-87 (original list: Lib. recs. c. 950, fols. 5r-6v); and those listed as in his possession at his death (MS Sloane 3323, fols. 270r-72v), and subsequently acquired from his widow by the Royal Library (now MSS Reg. 16 A XII-XIV, and Reg. 16 B I-XXVII; see Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 11:295 for the sale). For Hyde and Shen see Poole, 'Letters of Shen Fuzong'; for their work together on the Bodleian's Chinese holdings see Poole, 'All Mr Boyl's pieces', 13-20. For Hyde see more generally Marshall, *Thomas Hyde: Stupor Mundi*; Feingold, 'Oriental Studies', 494-96, and now Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom*, 95-109.

¹⁰ Brook, *Mr Selden's Map*, 59-63.

¹¹ British Library, MS Sloane Or. 853a, fol. 23r. See Batchelor, *London*, 221-22. Hyde quoted from the annotations to this drawing again in his discussion of the historical origin of the magnetic compass in his *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, 495. On 'boxing the compass' see Brook, *Mr Selden's Map*, 103-5.

¹² Bodleian, MS Top. Oxon. b. 9, manuscript inserts of Hyde between cols. 972/3 and 974/5; Poole, 'Letters of Shen', 2-3. Hyde's draft contents list for this book, as expressed in his list of projects *in fieri* in MS Top. Oxon. b. 9, includes a chapter 'De eorum Literaturâ, et Libris, et chartâ' ('On their literature, books, and maps'), as well as a discussion of 'Geographica à Martino ommissa supra murum' ('geography beyond the Great Wall, omitted by Martini'). Hyde's fuller explanation of the Chinese lunar calendar may indeed be found in his *Historia veterum religionis Persarum*, 227-36, a work Hyde also fantasized about getting translated into the vernacular for a wider readership (see British Library, MS Sloane 4066, fol. 386r, noted too in Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom*, 97).

¹³ British Library, MS Sloane 3323, fol. 217r; Hyde, *Syntagma dissertationum*, 2: plate 1. Hyde and Bowrey's developing plans can be tracked through their voluminous correspondence in MS Eur E. 192. Anna Winterbottom, private communication, notes Guildhall Library, MS 3041/8, including a loose sheet of paper in the hand of Thomas Bowrey, headed 'Persons to whom given Copies of Alphabets &c.'

¹⁴ British Library, *olim* MS Royal 16 B XVI, now Or.70.bb.9, itemised in MS Sloane 3323, fol. 271r, along with Hyde's other oriental plates. Two other, differently organised sets of these engravings survive, both again in the British Library (ESTC).

¹⁵ Hyde, *Epistola*, sigs. D1r-D2r (White), D2v (Martini), E1v ('Chinese tables and maps').

¹⁶ Today Bodleian, Sinica 123/1, 2; for the donation see Bodleian, Lib. recs. b. 903, p. 426. The trend for merchants to donate (Far Eastern) *orientalia* to the Bodleian is visible from least as early as 1663, when the merchant Jeremiah Carter presented a set of objects including a Chinese handkerchief, writing brush, silver measuring weight, fragments of a nut, a Japanese fan, and a 'little tube from which nicotine smoke is inhaled' (Benefactors Register, 1: 400, accompanied by a catalogue in Chinese, suggesting that Carter acquired these as a set).

¹⁷ For the Whites see Collis, *Siamese White*; Keay, *Honourable Company*, 200-4; and Farrington and Pombejra, *English Factory in Siam*, 2: 1389-90 and index. For the Siamese context see Baker and Phongpaichit, *History of Ayutthaya*, 160-70.

¹⁸ Bodleian, MS Smith 57, p. 27-8 (letter of 11 September 1684), 29-30 (letter 16 September 1684); this second letter also includes some data for Bernard on Siamese coinage. Smith had first reported on the arrival of the 'monkey-faced' Siamese in his two immediately prior letters to Bernard, of 23 August and 1 September (MS Smith 57, pp. 23-4, 25-6). See Winterbottom, 'Company Culture', 68; Batchelor, *London*, 210-14. On Smith's monkey comparison, compare John Evelyn on the Bantamese ambassadors in London in 1682: they 'much resemble[ed] in countenance some sort of monkeys' (*Diary*, for 19 June 1682).

¹⁹ Bénigne Vachet, 'Memoires', in Launay, *Histoire de la Mission de Siam*, 1: 131-35 for his interview with Charles II; also van der Cruysse, *Louis XIV et le Siam*, 265-66.

²⁰ British Library, MS Sloane 3323, fol. 270r (list of Hyde's manuscripts including his Siamese papers); MS Royal 16 B IV (the original manuscript, annotated on fol. 1r by Hyde 'given by the Syam Ambassadors at London'); Or.70.bb.9, fols. 8, 9 (Hyde's retained copies of the engraved versions); Bodleian, MS Smith 116, p. 9 (list of Bernard's manuscripts, including an 'Epistola à Rege Siam'); MS Siam. d. 1 (the letter itself); Poole, 'Letters of Shen', 2, n. 5.

²¹ British Library, MS Sloane Or. 853, fol. 37r: 'Pleraque hæc nomina videntur esse Tatarica, quia significationes non bene quadrant in ling. Sinensi. Sed omnium locorum in chinâ, nominum rationes sunt ferè semper perspicuæ' ('Most of these names appear to be Tartar, because their meanings do not make good sense in Chinese. Whereas for all places in China, the grounds for the names are almost always clear'). Timothy Brook, private correspondence, informs me that Shen was clearly having trouble translating some of the strictly Chinese inscriptions too.

²² See Helliwell, 'Chinese Books in Europe in the Seventeenth Century', at <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/users/djh/17thcent/17theu.htm>.

²³ 'Part of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. George Lewis', 421; Pickering, 'Putting nature in a box', 139-42. The intermediary recipients of the two separate shipments of Chinese books were Gilbert Dolben (i.e. he of the Inner Temple, whose brother was in Madras), and John Evans (i.e. future bishop of Bangor and then Meath). See Foster,

Alumni Oxonienses, s.n., for both. The fate of these books is not known. Lewis himself later donated his cabinet of oriental manuscripts and objects to Cambridge University Library, where it remains.

²⁴ Bodleian, Sinica 92, c. 136 x 124 cm. See Li Xiacong, *Descriptive catalogue*, 157-59. (Li does not list the Selden or White maps; see also David Helliwell's comments at <https://serica.blog/2012/02/15/atlas-of-guangdong-province/>.)

²⁵ The original list (in the hand I suspect of Humfrey Wanley) of Brown's gifts with Hyde's autograph translation is preserved in a volume of Thomas Hearne's papers, now MS Rawl. D 261, pp. 363-64. Hyde's translation corresponds exactly with the text in the Benefactors' Register, 2: 46-7. Slightly misreported by Macray, *Annals*, 167-68.

²⁶ At least three baptised in Fife towns between 1660 and 1680: in Kirkcaldy (1661), Anstruther (1663), and Wemyss (1670) (www.familysearch.org).

²⁷ What fragments we know about Browne are chiefly collected in Dandy, rev. and ed., *Sloane Herbarium*, 98-9. See also Stearns, 'James Petiver', 269, n. 59; Desmond, *European Discovery of the Indian Flora*, 35, and Pickering, 'Putting nature in a box', 122, 263. Among Petiver's papers we find too 'An abstract of Bontius his Animadversions upon Garcias ab Orta with some additional Remarks by Mr Alex. Browne', dated 12 June 1695 (MS Sloane 3332, fols. 67r-70v).

²⁸ Jarvis and Oswald, 'Collecting activities of James Cuninghame', 135-53; Pickering, 'Putting nature in a box', 12, 146-49; Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 220-23.

²⁹ They were distinguished by Pulteney, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 2: 62-3. For Samuel see Dandy, *Sloane Herbarium*, 99-102; Desmond, *European Discovery*, 33-5; Winterbottom, 'Medicine and Botany', in Damodaran *et al*, *East India Company and the Natural World*, 36-42; Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, 218, 224.

³⁰ British Library, MS Sloane 1811. See fol. 3r for implication that Brown knew Boyle ('I was told by Mr Boyle that a draught of new milked milk is good for easing the nephretick pains caused by Cantharides', then followed on the following verso by 'Collections' strictly from various printed works of Boyle). I can find no evidence for a Scot of this name taking a medical degree in Leiden, Oxford, or Cambridge in this period.

³¹ Plukenet, *Almagesti Botanici Mantissa*, 69. Petiver, Plukenet's rival, does not credit (Alexander) Brown in the various instalments of his *Musei Petiveriani* (London, 1695-1703).

³² British Library, MS Sloane 3333, fols. 145v-47r (Petiver's retained copy), quotation from fol. 145v.

³³ Brown's specimens are preserved in three of the herbaria in the keeping of the Oxford University Herbaria. First, labels specifying a provenance from Brown may be found on four sheets of the Morison Herbarium, with the locations of the 'Coast of Coromandel' (no date), 'Fort St David on the Coast of Coromandel' (1697), St Helena (1697), and again the 'Coast of Coromandel' (1698), in the hand of Charles Dubois. Secondly, Brown's name is present on labels on nine sheets of the Sherard Herbarium, available through the database <https://herbaria.plants.ox.ac.uk/bol/sherard/Explore>. Finally, Brown labels are present in the Dubois herbarium itself, alongside samples from St. Helena, India, and South Africa (database under development). I am very grateful indeed to Stephen Harris, Druce Curator of Oxford University Herbaria, for his assistance in this matter. In the older printed literature, see Vines and Druce, *Account of the Morison Herbarium*, 297.

³⁴ Bodleian, MS Top. Oxon. b. 9, Hyde's inserts (see note 12 above). Hyde's 'Annotationes' for Bobart were intended for the third volume of Robert Morison's *Historia plantarum universalis Oxoniensis* (2nd vol., 1680), but they were in the event cancelled, and only one proof copy survives (London, Natural History Museum, shelfmark 58 005 OXF F CATUNIT, as identified by Mandelbrote, 'Robert Morison's *Plantarum Historia*', 366, who judges Bobart to have corrected this proof 'probably in 1698'). Hyde in the same biographical papers also informed Wood that medicine had been his first passion, and that his initial study for this had included 'Botanicks.' Bobart and 'Dr Hyde' were later sent packets of melon seeds from France, enclosed in a letter to their friend Thomas Smith from [Edward?] Maynard (MS Smith 52, fols. 166-67, [1680s]), but this Hyde may be James Hyde, the regius professor of medicine.

³⁵ MS Sloane 3333, fol. 65v (copy). For the data from Uvedale and Petiver's *horti sicci*, both later acquired by Hans Sloane, see the references in *Sloane Herbarium*, 98-9.

³⁶ Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar . . . 1660-1663*, 322; *Calendar . . . 1664-1667*, 307, 402; *Calendar . . . 1668-1670*, 192, 204, 339; *Calendar . . . 1677-1679*, 300, 308. For this period of East India Company history, see the lively account in Keay, *Honourable Company*, 193-216 (ch. 10).

³⁷ Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1: 484, 496, 553, 559; 2: 13, 66; 3: 551; Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam*, 357.

³⁸ His will is The National Archives, PROB 11/666/396, fols. 311v-13v, given 12 August 1734, proved 28 August 1734; Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 923, 926-27 (funerary inscriptions); *Victoria County History: Kent*, 2: 162-83, for Bexley (manor and almshouses).

³⁹ Bodleian, MS Rawl. D 375, p. 101. Selden's Chinese compass, of the same provenance as Selden's Chinese map, is noted in the same list on p. 99; it is now Oxford, Museum of the History of Science, inv. no. 44055.

⁴⁰ British Library, MS Sloane 3323, fol. 271v; MS Royal 16 B XXVI; Batchelor, *London*, 312, n. 97.

⁴¹ *CMA*, 2: 1: 226 (no. 7369). Bernard's own massive manuscript index to this project is now Bodleian, Lib. Recs. c. 1159. It includes his useful list 'Sinica, Iaponica, Cataica' (fols. 531r, 532r). His annotation 'Gol' is for books bought by Bernard for Marsh at the Leiden auction of Jacobus Golius's library in 1696, and hence to be found under Marsh in the published *CMA*. These included five maps (*CMA*, Ireland, no. 1946 'Charta Chinensis quatuor MSS', and

1947, 'Charta Geographica Chinensis ampliss. MS'), entries in fact copied word for word from the Golius auction catalogue (*Catalogus insignium . . . librorum M.SS. quos . . . Jacobus Golius . . . collegit*, 27).

⁴² Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 4: cols. 707-10; Macray, *Annals*, 163, 165; Bodleian, *Summary Catalogue*, nos. 8811, 8812.

⁴³ It is now Bodleian, MS Chin. d. 2 (*Summary Catalogue*, no. 8811), bearing on its dorse the faint annotation 'Epistola Chinensis', in the hand of Thomas Hyde. See also Helliwell, 'Chinese Books'.

⁴⁴ Compare MS Smith 116, p. 10, and Queen's College, Oxford, MS 596, under the heading 'Chinenses MSS.' The former may be a copy of the latter, following Smith's note; the latter has hitherto been misidentified.

⁴⁵ MS Smith 5, p. 153. The editor of the Parisian imprint, Melchisédech Thévenot, sent a copy to Thomas Hyde (Hyde to Thévenot, 24 June 1673, in Hyde, *Syntagma*, 2: 464). Another certain piece of Smith sinologica, discussed in one of his letters, is Schall *et al.*, *Historica relatio* (see Smith to Bernard, 11 September 1684, MS Smith 57, p. 27). This book itself includes a folding map of China, closely derived from the first map of Martini's *Atlas Sinensis* (1655), the 'Imperii Sinarum nova descriptio.' An uncommon book in Oxford then as now—the only contemporary copy I have traced was that of Thomas Barlow, now Bodleian, 8° A 80 Linc.

⁴⁶ Bodleian, MS Smith 5, pp. 296-97, Rulaeus to Bernard, [6 April] 1682. Rulaeus is somewhat obscure, but he received a legal doctorate from Harderwijk in 1677 (see his *Disputatio juridica inauguralis* published there in that year), and, as his correspondence with Bernard shows, he had visited Oxford where Bernard had befriended him, as well as the Greek scholar Humphrey Hody. Bernard and he in particular shared oriental interests, and their correspondence contains some interesting anecdotes, including an account of Edward Pococke and Bernard disagreeing about the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel points. Eight letters of his to Bernard survive in MS Smith 5, and one response in MS Smith 9.

⁴⁷ MS Smith 5, p. 162, letter of 14 May 1684. Mentzelius's lexicon is Bodleian, BB 17(2) Med. See also MS Smith 10, p. 12. For Mentzelius's work see Kraft, 'Frühe chinesische Studien in Berlin', esp. pp. 107f; Mungello, *Curious Land*, 200-3, 236-44; Lundbæk, *Bayer*, 37, 109-11, 134-35. In 1685 too appeared Smith and Bernard's acquaintance Isaac Vossius's *Variarum observationum liber*, a collection including Vossius's extravagantly sinophilic essay, 'De artibus & scientiis Sinarum' (69-85). Smith reported to Bernard on 1 September 1684 that Vossius's book was in press, furnishing a list of the four dissertations then printing, including the Chinese one as the third (MS Smith 57, p. 26).

⁴⁸ Bodleian, 4° D 25 Art.

⁴⁹ MS Smith 10, p. 12; Mentzelius, *Sylloge*, sig. a2v; for the *Hai pien* and what is probably Mentzelius's copy of it, see Mungello, *Curious Land*, 217. Hyde had earlier informed Mentzelius by letter about this dictionary, the existence of which he would have known from Semedo, *History of . . . China*, 33. But Hyde also claimed that his library held certain *juan* of the *Hai pien* dictionary, which indeed it did, among the 'Bodley' manuscript series: see *CMA*, nos. 2810-13. For Bayer's German translation of Hyde's (lost) letter see Kraft, 'Frühe chinesische Studien in Berlin', 108, from the copy in Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 299. Mentzelius himself was not a prolific correspondent with the English: he and Oldenburg opened but failed to maintain a correspondence in 1668 (*Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, 5: 289-93, 392-94), and he was reported to have written to Robert Boyle in 1685, a letter unfortunately lost (*Boyle Correspondence*, 6: appendix 4).

⁵⁰ Mungello, *Curious Land*, 202.

⁵¹ Tentzel, *Monatliche Unterredungen* ([October] 1690), 900-1, in the context of a discussion of the character for tea; Bayer, *Museum Sinicum*, 69-70 (= Lundbæk, *Bayer*, 82-3).

⁵² Bernard, *De mensuris et ponderibus antiquis* (1st ed., 1685), sigs. [(e2)]v (the Chinese 'che' and 'cheam'), [(g2)]v ('li', 'pu', and 'can'). This work was appended to Pococke, *Commentary on Hosea*, but is often encountered separately.

⁵³ MS Smith 47, fol. 46v, Bernard to Smith, 4 August 1687: Bernard's postscript requests Smith to purchase for him 'Confusii Sinica fol° about 14 or 15^s', a useful estimate of its retail price in London at that point; compare the copy in the library of St John's College, Oxford, which bears the contemporary price of 16s 6d (Old Library, L.7.3). See further Poole, 'Letters of Shen', 18. Alas the original Bodleian copy of this work was sold as a duplicate. Compare Hearne: 'Dr. Hyde has interpreted in Latin some of the Chinese words in Confucius's works. See Arch. Bod. A. num. 1. &c. & so also of some other Chinese Books in yt Place' (*Collections*, 1: 120). From the Hyde-Shen draft catalogue of Chinese books in MS Sloane 853a, fol. 44r, we can see that this is equal to *CMA*, no. 2784 and the following items.

⁵⁴ See Bernard to Marsh, 27 December 1690, having sent a 'Sinicall letter', and mentioning Marsh's own 'dissertation upon the chronology of the Chinese' (MS Smith 4, p. 41). I quote from MS Smith 47, fol. 75v (Bernard to Smith, 9 October 1690); and MS Smith 57, p. 171 (Smith to Bernard, 15 November 1690). For Marsh's displacement from Dublin to London and then Oxford in his own words see Gillespie, *Scholar Bishop*, 24-5. Extensive correspondence between Smith and Marsh after Bernard's death, detailing their aborted plans to secure all of Bernard's books and manuscripts for Marsh, can be found in MSS Smith 52 and 64.

⁵⁵ For Witsen's cartography see Keuning, 'Nicolaas Witsen as a Cartographer'. The map is very rare: there is only one recorded copy in Great Britain, in the British Library.

⁵⁶ MS Smith 57, p. 174, curatorially dated '[1690]', evidently followed chronologically by MS Smith 57, pp. 135-36, Smith to Bernard, 8 May 1690, where we find: 'I cannot yet light upon Mr Hook to enquire after Monsieur Witsens map of Tartary but I wil make it my buisines to find him or Sir Chr. Wren to bee satisfied about it very speedily', and see p. 137 following, 17 May 1690, for Smith's doubts about the map. Hooke recorded in his memoranda for 26 March 1689, 'Witsens Map of tartary & Relation', then for 10 September 1689, 'saw map of Tartary by Witsen.'

This, along with some other ‘Tartar’ materials noted in his memoranda, including several other accounts and a ‘Grammer’ (presumably the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest’s Manchu grammar?), prompted his Gresham lecture of 1 December: ‘I Read my Lecture of the Description of Tartary. Shewd Witsens Map.’ Witsen was elected an FRS on St Andrew’s Day, 1689, and a letter on the Tartary maps he had sent to the society from the President, Sir Robert Southwell, together with Witsen’s reply, were soon published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1691 as ‘An Account of a large and curious map of the Great Tartary.’ (I cite Hooke’s memoranda from Felicity Henderson’s forthcoming edition, with thanks; they are otherwise available in Gunther, ed., *Early Science in Oxford*, 10: 69-265.) Witsen himself had visited England as a young man, but there is no direct evidence of him in the Bodleian; but his brother Jonas, in contrast, signed the Bodleian’s register for foreign readers on 10 October 1668 (MS Wood E 5, fol. 111r), and presumably met Hyde then.

⁵⁷ For Vossius’s Sinophilia see Poole, ‘Vossius, Hooke, and the early Royal Society’s Use of Sinology’; Weststeijn, ‘Vossius’ Chinese Utopia’.

⁵⁸ [Witsen], ‘A letter’; Jorink, ‘Isaac Vossius and the Scientific Communities’, 152-53; Davids, ‘In the Shadow of Jesuits’, 203.

⁵⁹ Andreas Müller, ‘Imperii Sinensis Nomenclator Geographicus’ (Jena, 1679; Berlin, 1680), one of several appendices to his *Historia Sinensis*, an edition of al-Baydāwī’s (really Abū Solaymān Banākātī’s) fourteenth-century Persian world history, the *Rawṣat uli’l-albāb*. See Bayer, *Museum Sinicum*, 43-4 (= Lundbæk, Bayer, 66-7), and also 188-90 for Müller’s letter of 28 April 1679 to the astronomer Johannes Hevelius, promising work ‘in reformatione mapparum Asiae’; and Lach, ‘Chinese Studies of Andreas Müller’, 570-1. Hooke and his friend the merchant and linguist Francis Lodwick worked on a translation of Müller’s ‘account of Tartary’, as Hooke again noted in his Memoranda (5 December 1689).

⁶⁰ See note 12 above.

⁶¹ Keuning, ‘Nicolaas Witsen as a Cartographer’, 100-1; Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*, 85; Golvers, ‘Verbiest’s Manchu Fragment’, in Naarden *et al.* eds., *The Fascination with Inner Eurasian Languages in the 17th Century*, 413. Witsen is quoted first from *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, 42-3, and then from ‘An Account of a large and curious map of the Great Tartary’, 493.

⁶² Smith, *Vita . . . Edwardi Bernardi*, 23-6; Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning*, 231-34; Poole, *Fell’s New Year Books*, xxxii-xxxiii, lix.

⁶³ Archimedes, *Arenarius*, sig. a2r.

⁶⁴ Bodleian, MS Lat. misc. f. 3, fols. 43v, 45r. Earlier on in this same volume was to be the ‘Mirabilia Chinæ per Patrem Matthæum’, to be edited again from a Selden manuscript. This is the final item of MS Selden supra 90, fols. 46r-51r, inc. ‘Hæc est narratio brevis et compendiosa rerum mirabilium regni Chinæ’; ‘Matthæus’ is Matteo Ricci.

⁶⁵ Bodleian, MS Smith 6, p. vii. The prospectus was printed from this MS in Smith, *Vita . . . Edwardi Bernardi*, Appendix (see 34-6 for this volume).

⁶⁶ Oldenburg to Bernard, 27 June 1671 (MS Smith 45, p. 68) = *Oldenburg Correspondence*, 8: 126-28. Toomer is willing to place the inception of the project as early as Bernard’s visit to Leiden in late 1668-early 1669, where he acquired a copy from a manuscript in the possession of Jacobus Golius of the last three books of Apollonius in Arabic (now Bodleian, MS Thurston 1), as Fell alludes to this as part of the preparations for their project in his preface to Archimedes, *Arenarius*, sig. a2r.

⁶⁷ Aratus, *Phainomena*, sig. *3r-v (‘viginti plus minus voluminibus’).

⁶⁸ All Souls College, MS 239a, fol. 641.

⁶⁹ Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, 231-35; Feola and Mandelbrote, ‘Learned Press: Geography, Science, and Mathematics’, 326-27; Poole, *Fell’s New Year Books*, xxxi-xxxv (Bernard), 18-27 (Aratus), 38-42 (Archimedes). But as late as 1680 Fell was still including ‘The Ancient Mathematicians’ in a published list of books ‘making ready’ for the press (‘An advertisement concerning the printing and publishing of ancient and other usefull books’, Bodleian, Wood 658, no. 775). In that year Bernard too was corresponding with Leibniz about mathematical *inedita* in Oxford libraries, but without much resolve to edit them, Bernard now having become distracted his equally disappointing plans for Josephus (*Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, ser. I, vol. 3, p. 430, and see pp. 443-44 for Leibniz’s reply). Bernard had hopes that Euclid might be saved from the ruins, and he got as far as paying for the engravings and setting a type specimen (it is MS Bodl. 887; see Madan, *Oxford Books*, 3: no. 3141 for this and related documents). Bernard’s Euclid had a complex collaborative afterlife (see e.g. the division of labour agreed upon in 1698, MS Ballard 49, fol. 228r), and some of his work fed into the eventual Oxford 1703 edition. As for Ptolemy, Philip Beeley, personal communication, remarks to me that Leibniz was aware in the early 1680s of Isaac Vossius’s plans ‘with several other distinguished men in England’ for ‘restoring geography’, a scheme perhaps arising from Vossius’s earlier intention to edit Ptolemy’s *Geography*, first announced at the end of the preface to his 1639 Amsterdam edition of Scylax. See Leibniz to Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, 7 February 1682, in *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, ser. I, vol. 3, p. 520 (‘Occupatus est [*sc.* Vossius] cum aliis aliquot egregiis in Anglia viris, in restituenda Geographia et in hoc certe argumento aliquid inprimis praestare potest. Excussit enim itinera Batavica, et nunc Anglicorum quoque copiam habet, in veteribus ipse versatissimus’). One wonders whether this equally abortive project had some relation to Bernard’s earlier plans. For Vossius’s geographical schemes, see Karel Davids, ‘In the Shadow of Jesuits: Isaac Vossius and Geography’, in Jorink and van Meert, eds., *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689)*, pp. 189-206.

⁷⁰ Compare Marshall on Thomas Hyde: ‘a man secure in an ancient intellectual tradition who is able to reach out for new knowledge and accommodate it to that tradition’ (Thomas Hyde, *Stupor Mundi*, 3).

⁷¹ Martini, *Atlas*, 16. Compare Hyde’s description of his book on oriental games, which in his own manuscript bibliography he subtitled ‘ubi *Classicorum* Authorum loca ad Ludos spectantia explicantur’ (MS Top. Oxon. b. 9, inserts between cols. 972/3 and 974/5, my italics), despite the preponderance of oriental sources, ancient and modern, his book.

⁷² C[raster], ‘Recovery of a missing manuscript’; idem, ‘Anatomy School Catalogues’, 292-3; Philip, *Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 90, 111-12; Poole, ‘Skeletons, crocodiles, human skin’, 14-15.

⁷³ Bodleian, MS Rawl. B 399*, p. 52. This collection included several other Chinese items, including an unidentified Chinese printed book (p. 51). See note 16 above for the 1663 gifts to the Bodleian from the merchant Jeremiah Carter. We might compare too the repository in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which likewise received in 1682 a collection of oriental items including Chinese chopsticks, a printed book, and a manuscript letter (Trinity College, Cambridge, Add. MS a.106, fol. 26r).

⁷⁴ Bodleian, MS Rawl. C 865, item 9.

⁷⁵ Von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, 3: 115. Quarrell and Quarrell, ed. and trans., *Oxford in 1710*, 22, give ‘completed’ for ‘verfertigen’, which is misleading.

⁷⁶ E.g. Bodleian, MS Hearne’s Diaries 46, fols. 85a, 115a, 119a.

⁷⁷ Samuel Molyneux to Dr Thomas Molyneux, 28 February 1713, printed in *London Letters of Samuel Molyneux*, 110.

⁷⁸ Of these nine texts, only one other besides the map has been identified in the modern collections, and only conjecturally so, being no. 6, ‘perhaps’ MS Sansk. f. 12 (see *Summary Catalogue*, no. 27578, following Winternitz and Keith, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 116).

⁷⁹ i.e. Telugu.

⁸⁰ In Buddhist and Hindu contexts, ‘Shaster’ or ‘Shastra’ is a general term for a book or treatise, encountered as a suffix, and is not the title of any specific work. The definite notion of ‘the Shaster’ had been spread by Lord, *Display of Two Forraigne Sects*, where is mentioned the ‘Booke of their Law, called the SHASTER’, ‘which is to them as their Bible’ (second title-page; B2r), a claim further popularised by Herbert’s *Some Yeares Travels*, 40-3, 47, and repeated by a correspondent of the Royal Society from the Far East in 1698 (*Philosophical Transactions* 20 (1698), 275): ‘It is well known that there is amongst the *Bramines* a language called, the *Sanscreet* . . . the *Shastrum* being to them what the Bible is to Christians’. This manuscript has not been traced, but early eighteenth-century lists of Bodleian ‘In Archivio’ books (i.e. library exotics and valuables) include a ‘Shaster seu lib. creationis, qui Indorum Religionem continet, Malabaricè’ (e.g. Lib. recs. e. 340, p. 147).