

the Republic of Letters, on the school in its urban social setting, or on the education and career of Daum's pupils. Ross has integrated all of these aspects in this bottom-up micro-history. Fortunately, he does so with reference to recent and critically evaluated literature, on the basis of excellent scholarship in the sources (e.g., 119 n. 48), and occasionally in comparison with *Fürstenschulen*, *Landesschulen*, and the German Jesuit school system. If only we had more such studies as this, then we could start adding force to the conclusion that despite the so-called Scientific Revolution, it was the poly-historical humanist tradition that in Germany (like it did in Amsterdam, as this reviewer concluded in his own dissertation a dozen years ago) continued to drill every new generation until long into the eighteenth century. That message is starting to sound louder and louder, repeated as it is by other historians of scholarship of what we might start calling a "school" in historiography. This is a valuable message at a time that the humanities are neglected more and more by the neoliberal ideology that pervades academia.

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Noël Golvers, *Libraries of Western Learning for China: Circulation of Western Books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission (ca. 1650–ca. 1750)*. Vol. 1: *Logistics of Book Acquisition and Circulation*; Vol. 2: *Formation of Jesuit Libraries*; Vol. 3: *Of Books and Readers*. Leuven Chinese Studies 23, 26, and 30. Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2012–15. Pp. 1875. US\$234.00 (paper).

"In the entire world there is not one nation, not even in Europe, where the use of writing and books is more familiar and even more necessary than in China," stated the Flemish missionary Ferdinand Verbiest in the late seventeenth century (1:16). He also opined that for this reason Chinese civilization was most suited to the Jesuits' aspirations, despite the cultural and geographical distance. The Jesuits were, more than the other Catholic orders, focused on scholarship, to serve the greater glory of God. They instigated libraries as the intellectual backbone of their Chinese mission: to support their teaching either directly, with devotional books, or indirectly, through erudition. The Chinese, having grasped the accuracy of Western knowledge, would be more willing to accept the teaching of the Christian God.

The three volumes under review, counting almost 1,900 pages, are the magnum opus of Noël Golvers, a Latinist with ample experience studying the China mission.

It is seldom that one comes across such a massive work of completely new scholarship, based almost exclusively on primary sources in Latin and a variety of other European languages. As few catalogs survive from the Jesuit colleges or collections of individuals, the author has made a painstaking reconstruction via extant copies that circulate in China (most of them listed in the 1949 catalog of Beijing's Beitang library) and archival documents, including letters and lists of desired books. He has thus identified approximately 5,800 European books the Jesuits imported to the Middle Kingdom. Golvers's first volume addresses the logistics of the ordering, buying, and shipping of books. The second volume discusses the installment of the libraries, and the third explores the books themselves and their readers.

Jesuit libraries in China (like their European counterparts) included religious literature and practical treatises, handbooks, dictionaries, and periodicals. They were "working libraries," not primarily intended for reference use by Europeans but rather for orally conveying Western knowledge to the Chinese. Golvers's term "Western learning" actually translates the Chinese concept of *xixue*, first formulated by the Italian missionary Giulio Aleni (1623), as complementary to the "solid learning" (*shixue*) of the late Ming empire. What did *xixue* entail? The Jesuits' own sophisticated educational program before leaving Europe, the *ratio studiorum*, included thorough training in classical scholarship, rhetoric, and logic. It is therefore surprising that these topics were not prominent in the libraries. Science took up more shelves, often in its applied versions: from chemistry, ballistics, and hydraulics to medicine, animals, cooking, and wine. It is among these practical applications that topics relevant to the humanities occur: acoustics, optics, architecture, and the arts and crafts.

The amount of library titles on these latter topics, in different languages, is truly impressive. Treatises on the visual arts ranged from Sebald Beham to Gianpaolo Lomazzo and Hans Vredeman de Vries; the work of Andrea Pozzo was translated into Chinese. Theory was directly related to practice since the Jesuits introduced the Chinese to Western devotional prints and murals with eye-catching chiaroscuro and linear perspective. The full canon of Italian architectural theory—Palladio, Serlio, Scamozzi—was also available, and even Vitruvius was apparently still deemed an indispensable building block by the time that Giuseppe Castiglione designed a new summer palace for the emperor. Another art with evident performative relevance was music: Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia* was imported in no less than twelve copies and partly translated into Chinese. In turn, Joseph-Marie Amiot used a number of Italian and French musicological treatises for his own treatise on Chinese music of 1780.

Clearly the missionaries in China had little time for poetry and literature other than hagiography. Rhetorical theory was taught almost entirely on the basis of Cicero. The study of history and antiquities was a more precarious topic, as is evident from the li-

brary holdings of structured chronological tables. European sacred history, based on a literal reading of the Bible, could not accommodate the Chinese time line, which predated not just the Mosaic and Greco-Roman traditions but even the Universal Flood. Calendar calculation was therefore “the core of the Jesuit activities and one of the main *raisons d’être* of the Jesuit presence” in China. In need of “a compromise with the chronology of the Chinese annals,” they scoured European and Middle Eastern documents for reference moments such as eclipses (3:386–87). Even Isaac Newton’s *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728) circulated, alongside refutations of it. Why the missionaries also had books on Roman antiquities—stripped of pagan nudity—is less clear. Their sizable collection of texts about ancient Egypt may have been related to the persistent suspicion that Chinese civilization had an Egyptian origin, as similarities between the scripts suggested. These controversies about the chronology and genealogy of civilizations may also explain the presence of works in Hebrew and ancient Greek.

Obviously, the Jesuits also collected grammars and dictionaries of the more modern languages, testifying to the variety of their backgrounds and the fact that they operated in an Asian context that was itself multilingual. They would have taught Latin to young converts and, if needed, translated information from several European vernaculars, such as newspapers shipped by the Dutch East India Company. Portuguese was a *lingua franca* throughout the South Chinese Sea (and so was Malay, which, incidentally, did not feature in the Jesuits’ libraries). New arrivals in mainland China would first have been confronted with Cantonese, whereas to communicate with the court they needed to learn the more formal *guanhua* Chinese. To complicate matters further, the Qing emperor and his close circle spoke and wrote in Manchu. The trilingual and even quadrilingual dictionaries (French-Chinese-Mongol-Manchu) documented in the Jesuit libraries evoke the challenges they faced.

Golvers identifies the various uses to which the Jesuits’ books were put other than reading: lending, displaying, translating, annotating. The libraries were to some extent opened to the Chinese. Books were presented during guided tours of the Jesuit residence and offered as gifts. Illustrated works would “compensate to an important extent for the linguistic threshold” (3:482). Thus “Western books and libraries were . . . part of a culture of attraction and a policy of self-promotion towards the Chinese” (3:597). In 1675 the missionaries received the Kangxi emperor. He seems to have owned a small collection of Western books on his private shelves and, in a display of consummate cultural superiority, offered some of these books as gifts to the Jesuits, including a Dutch atlas marked with Chinese annotations.

The Jesuit libraries in China testify to “one of the most noteworthy examples of intercultural meeting in history,” concludes Golvers (3:598). In light of the *cultural*

nature of this meeting, it is remarkable that books on the humanities took so little prominence. To impress the Celestial Empire, the Jesuits evidently put more faith in modern science than in the European classical tradition, which, in China, seemed no longer so classical. Yet it is also possible that the shelves devoted to “Western learning” simply do not tell the full story. Golvers’s monumental study mentions but does not address the double nature of the Jesuit libraries in China: besides the Western books, they also had a section with texts in Chinese, often in a separate room. To get an impression of what is missing from his analysis one might quote an Italian missionary, whose *molestissimum studium* of historical sources in Chinese kept him from reading Western books (3:549). The Jesuits’ effort to come to grips with three millennia of Chinese erudition may have constituted the most daunting premodern attempt at intercultural understanding. Golvers expresses the hope that his volumes will inspire more research into the “diffusion of European book[s] and learning in the Early Modern period” (3:9). Much more essential, it seems, would be to complement his work with an analysis of how books and learning in Chinese became available to Europeans.

Thijs Weststeijn

Peter Mack and Robert Williams, eds. *Michael Baxandall, Vision and the Work of Words*. Studies in Art Historiography. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015. Pp. 204. US\$104.95 (cloth).

Michael Baxandall (1933–2007) was perhaps the most enigmatic of the great art historians. His early books *Giotto and the Orators* (1971), *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (1972), and *Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (1980) seemed to open up the field of art historical inquiry to an unprecedented degree. All three books shed dramatic new light on how people in the past thought about, wrote about, and looked at art, and the latter two appeared to attain the art historical Holy Grail of uniting a sensitive attention to formal qualities with a rigorous analysis of social context. Young art historians of my generation eagerly prepared themselves to follow in his footsteps. And then, like a dose of cold water, came *Patterns of Intention* (1985). The grand statement of method we had anticipated took the form of a set of case studies that seemed not only less convincing than those Baxandall had handled formerly, but also to have been deliberately chosen to demonstrate the limitations of art historical inquiry, as opposed to the almost unlimited possibilities apparently opened up by his earlier books. This was not, indeed, the first time that Baxandall had issued clarifications of his approach that seemed intent on foreclosing on the pos-