

NOËL GOLVERS

Senior Researcher, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Fac. Arts: Sinology
ORCID: ORG/000-0001-7517-7191
e-mail: Noel.golvers@kuleuven.be

TWO NEW LETTERS FROM MICHAEL BOYM, SJ IN EUROPE (1656; 1658), AND THE EDITORIAL DOSSIER OF HIS VARIOUS EUROPEAN WORKS ON CHINA

ABSTRACT. Golvers Noël, Two new letters from Michael Boym, SJ in Europe (1656; 1658), and the editorial dossier of his various European works on China (*Dwa listy Michala Boyma SJ do Europy (1656; 1658) i edytorskie dossier jego rozmaitych prac powstałych w Europie na temat Chin*).

Both items, now in Munich but originally from the library of Jacob Golius in The Hague, represent two so far unknown autograph letters of Michael Boym (1656; 1658). The contents reveal his initiatives to get his manuscripts (*Atlas; Medicus Sinicus* and a so far unknown title on moxibustion) printed. Both letters are also the first documents which shed a clear light on the network between Rome and the Amsterdam printer Blaeu, in which were involved Jacob Golius, his brother in Rome, the Carmelite Caelestinus a Sancta Lidwina, and the Antwerp hagiographers Bollandus and Henschenius; this was the same network as the one behind the printing process of Martini's *Novus Atlas Sinensis*.

Keywords: Michael Boym; Jesuit science in 17th c.; Jacob Golius; Leiden; network Rome–Antwerp–Leiden–Amsterdam; Jesuit atlases from China.

In 1987, Edward Kajdański published his master article on the “*Medicus Sinicus*” of Michael Boym (1612–1659),¹ to which he added, in 2000, a small booklet, after the discovery of Boym's manuscripts in Cracow: *Rediscovered Michael Boym's medical manuscripts. A part of Medicus Sinicus found in Cracow* (Gdańsk University Press). To these can be added now two other autograph letters of Boym, of 1656 and 1658 respectively, found in a miscellaneous volume of 54 letters, once addressed to the Amsterdam orientalist and mathematician Jacob Golius (Den Haag, 1596 – 28 September 1667). This volume was certainly part of the papers Golius kept on his private study, which were sold in 1696 in The Hague by the auctioner Johannes du Vivie.² Contrary to Golius's Oriental

¹ Kajdański 1987.

² Johannes du Vivie was active as a book auctioneer (“Dutch: “boekverkoper”) between 1678 and 1728, see Mellot, Queval 2004: 209.

manuscripts, which were bought by Narcissus Marsh, bishop of Armagh (20 December 1638 – 2 November 1713) and which later arrived in the Bodleian Library,³ this collection of autograph letters arrived in Munich, where it is still now in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: 2° Cod. ms. 452. This volume does not appear in the auction catalogue of 1696,⁴ but the doc. has a small piece of paper, referring to “Monsi(eu)r / Monsieur Vivie / Boekverkooper / par (?) tod / Leijden”, which proves it was – in all probability at the same occasion – offered for sale in the same auction house.

Apart from letters from and to Martino Martini – Boym’s fellow father and diplomatic ‘rival’ in Rome in 1655⁵ – this volume contains also two autograph letters of Michael Boym, so far overlooked. The letters were originally addressed by Boym to the Dutch Orientalist, the one after he left Rome and before he left Genoa to Lisbon, and the other from Tunquin / Tonking, both with a rather urgent request for taking care of the publication of several of his manuscripts, especially the manuscript of his *Magni Cathay quod olim Serica et modo Sinarum est Monarchia Quindecim Regnorum Octodecim Geographicae Tabulae*, the *Medicus Sinicus* and a new title *Acus Empirica seu Ignis Medicus*. The new information of both letters concerns mainly the editorial process of his works, and gives – so far unknown – details on the network in the background of his request: this network appears also to be substantially the same as that used by M. Martini for the publication of his works.

The central personality in this shared network of the two China mission procurators and Jacob Golius was Father Caelestinus a Sancta Lidwina, or, with his laic name, Petrus Golius (1597’s-Gravenhage, [The Hague], died in Surate, 1672), the brother of Jacob, and a connoisseur of Arabic as well.⁶ He lived in Rome in the residence of the Discalced Carmelitans, in *Santa Maria della Vittoria* near to the *Horti Sallustiani* (Monte Quirinale), and appears in Martini’s letters from Rome as his intermediary between Jacob Golius and the Amsterdam printer Johan Blaeu (1599–1673), the editor of his *Novus Atlas Sinensis*.⁷ This network had also an Antwerp section, and this in all probability

³ See Duyvendak 1936: 313 ff.

⁴ *Catalogus insignium in omni facultate, linguisque Arabica, Persica, Turcica, Chinensi etc. Librorum M.ss, quos Doctissimus Clarissimusque Vir D(ominus) Jacobus Golius (...) collegit Quorum Auctio habebitur in Aedibus Johannis du Vivie, Bibliopolae, ad Diem XVI. Octobris St(ylo) Novo, ad punctum hore nonae, Lugduni Batavorum, apud Johannem du Vivie, 1696; see a copy online.*

⁵ See my earlier contribution: Golvers 2011.

⁶ Converted by his uncle Canon Johannes Hemelaer(s) / Hemelarius in Antwerp. For biographical information see: De Boer 1911; Loop 2013: 114; 146–147; Antonio a S. Teresia 1937: 79 n. 23. Archival materials on him in the Roman archives of the Discalced Carmelites (S. Pantaleone) are no longer extant.

⁷ See a series of letters, in print in vol. 6 of the *Opera Omnia of Martino Martini* (Trento, 2019). For Blaeu’s connection with M. Martini, see Begheyn 2012.

since Martini's visits to the Flemish port city, at various moments, in the 1st half of 1654, including a meeting with Jacob Golius there: members of this Antwerp connection were the 'Bollandist' Fathers – hagiographic specialists – Johannes Bollandus (born Aug. 18, 1596, Julémont, near Liège – died Sept. 12, 1665, Antwerp) and Godefri/edus Henschenius (Venray 1600 – Antwerp 1681) – in Boym's letter erroneously called "Heinsius" – both living in the Antwerp Professed House, and directly involved in the transmission of the manuscript of Martini's *Novus Atlas Sinensis* to Amsterdam, and also by Boym called in the second letter as possible intermediaries for the printing of his manuscripts. Even when it is not said, the parallel with Bollandus – Henschenius's intervention to the benefit of Martini's *Atlas* suggests that also Boym was thinking of Blaeu as a printer, rather than the 'Officina Plantiniana'. The same Golius correspondence in Munich preserves even one short letter of Henschenius, which he addressed – after the receipt of Boym's letter – to Golius, to inform what happened with the ms. of *Magni Cathay*.⁸ As such, these letters are a substantial complement to a postscript in another letter of Boym, known already earlier, of 26 May 1658,⁹ in which he already reports to have sent his ms. *Medicus Sinicus* to 'Belgium': this does not need to be in contradiction with my former assumption that it was Blaeu he had in mind, as this geographical indication in this era always included all the territories of the former Federated XVII Provinces ("Belgicae Foederatae"), including thus Amsterdam, the hometown of Blaeu.¹⁰

Both letters give also some additional information on Boym's 'journey' between Rome (where he was certainly until early in 1656) and Lisbon: the

⁸See in the same collection in the Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv 2° Cod. ms. 452, no. 3, G. Henschenius's letter dated on XVI Aug. MDCLIX (1659): "Amplissime Domine, Michaelis Boym a Societate nostra sacerdotis, ac viri plane apostolici, litteras accepi a Regno Tumquin prope Sinas scriptas XVIII Novembris anni MDCLVIII, quibus petit (?), uti ait se praecedentibus litteris petiisse (quas nondum accepi) ut ex Ampl(issi)mâ Dom(inatio)ne V(estr)â intellegerem, quid de libro 'Magnum (sic) Cathay' inscripto fecerit, et si non potuit illam excudere, ut (?) ego illum reciperem. Quae non dubitem, quin in adiunctis litteris explicentur, quas ab eo accepi. R(everendus) P(ater) Bollandus Amplissimam Dom(inatio)nem V(estr)am humanissime salutatur, cui obsequium nostrum offerimus. Antwerpiae, XVI Augusti MDCLIX. Amplissimae Dom(inati)onis V(estr)ae addictissimus servus in Chr(ist)o Godefridus Henschenius Societatis Iesu sacerdos."

⁹Autograph in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI, JS 162, f° 206r.). See here a (hardly legible) PS: "Mitto in Belgium placidum (.) librum cui titulus Medicus Sinicus, ...et magnam utilitatem translatus a me ex Sinico. Multa habet...et quae Societati nomen atque genti et Missioni reputationem adferre possunt. Mihi certe magno labore constitit, et rogatus a multis in Europa fuit".

¹⁰The use of the term "*Belgium*" in historical sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is somewhat ambiguous. The study by Andriessen (1957: 69) has proven that, at least in Jesuit sources from the Low Countries in the first half of the 17th century, "*Belgium*" indicated both the southern (Spanish) and the northern (independent) Low Countries. This use seems to be continued in the letters of 'Flemish' Jesuits of the second half of the same century in China, such as François de Rougemont, Philippe Couplet, and Ferdinand Verbiest (see further evidence in Van der Linden 1931; Bonenfant 1961).

journey went over Genoa – where the Procurator of the Far Eastern Mission of Italy had its basis – and was thus parallel to Martino Martini (1655) and Prospero Intorcetta (1672), when returning from Rome through (Florence and) Genoa to Lisbon and China.

*

In the second part of this contribution, I will publish the text of both letters, with all the uncertain readings which are still open for a better understanding; part of the uncertainties go back to the fact that both letters were bound in a miscellaneous volume, as a result of which several characters are disappearing in the spine.¹¹

Letter 1

Magnifice ac Ill(ustrissim)e D(omi)ne,

Gratia et Pax a Deo P(at)re et D(omi)no nostro Jesu Christo.

Existimo iam ad manus Ill(ustrissimae) D(ominationis) V(est)rae pervenisse cum meis literis Magni Catay Mappas et etiam rerum, quae ad regna illa pertinent descriptionem. Simul etiam informatio ibi adiuncta fuit circa pr[a]Jelum, nam Mappae et Europaeis et Sinicis characteribus incidi debent. Haec ego libenter direxi ad Ill(ustrissimam) D(ominationem) V(est)ram¹², quia Orientalium rerum peritum et avidum esse didici¹³ et germanus Ill(ustrissi)mae D(ominationis) V(est)rae ordinis Discalceatorum Carmelitarum, amicus meus R(everendus) P(ater) Caelestinus hoc persuasit. Si fortasse aliquid in illis mappis particularibus legi nequeat, aut omittatur aut certe incisum imitari curet, sicut scriptum est.

Quod restabat erat aliqua dedicatio facienda; ego multos habeo, quibus possem et deberem, sed cum dif<f>icile sit ne aliquis offendatur ex Regibus et Principibus, dedicare statui hoc opus Deo. Igitur praemisso titulo libri, de quo monui, ac etiam imagine illa operis, loco dedicationis haec sequentia verba curet magnis literis imprimi:

*Deo
Maximo Optimo
Immense Aeterno Infinito Omniscio
Ingenito Patri
Unigenito Filio JESU Christo*

¹¹ The underscores in the transcription are the ones on the autograph; I assume they are made by Golius, during the reading of the letter, as they are absent in the other Boym letters in ARSI.

¹² Namely Jacob Golius.

¹³ *Didici...persuasit*: the source of Boym's information on Golius's knowledge on the Far East was his brother Caelestinus, but certainly also M. Martini, who before arriving in Rome in the Autumn of 1655 met Golius several times in the 1st half of 1654, both in Amsterdam and Antwerp, and to whom he had transmitted oral information and several Chinese manuscripts. On Golius and Martini, see Paternicò 2018 and my contribution Golvers 2014 (especially 125–129).

*Procedenti ab utroque Sancto Spiritui
 Sinicum Mundum, Ca-tay vocatum
 Europaeis ac Sinicis characteribus expressum
 atque descriptum
 Domino et omnipotenti suo Creatori
 inutilis creatura
 Dicat humillime
 Michael Petrus Boym Polonus e Societate JESU //*

(^o 8v.) *Veniet etiam ad manus Ill(ustrissim)ae D(ominationis) V(estr)ae liber fructuum, Flora dictus¹⁴, qui Viennae est impressus et incisus¹⁵, dedicatus Ungariae Regi¹⁶; re[cu]dere illum quoque poterit, omissâ dedicatione ad Regem, atq<ue> operi huic adiungere. Ubi vero fuerit res perfecta, exempl<a>ria mihi etiam eo modo, sicut etiam superioribus literis¹⁷ sig<ni>ficiavi, mittet.*

Ego vero iam perficio Medicum Sinensem; er<unt> ex una columna litterae Sinicae, ex aliâ interpretatio et etiam aliquae figurae. Titulus operis est: Medicus Si<nensis> seu Methodus investigandi pulsum, et ex illo praeterita a<c> futura symptomata praedicendi in Sinarum Imperio <mul>tis a diluvio annis reperta et ad haec tempora per trad<itio>nem et scripturam conservata etc¹⁸. Res curiosa¹⁹ mi<hi> magno labore constat, omnino a nostrate Europea arte div<ersa> et certior et facilior. Illam ego Ill(ustrissim)ae D(omi)n(ationi) V(estr)ae mita<m> et, ne pereat labor, curabo fieri plura exemplaria ut om<ni>no veniat liber ad manus eius, quem curabit sicuti es<t> imprimere et exemplaria consueta nobis transmittere. <Sed?> primum exspecto ut Catay librum expedit, immo et al<iud> opus curiosum submittam. Curet quam primum Catay expe<dire> et statim saltem tria exemplaria mittere Bataviam < vel > Giacatara(m)²⁰ ad Ill(ustrissim)am D(ominum) Maetsuycker²¹, rogando ut mihi M<a>caum (?) transmittat vel Macasariam ad P(atres) cum mea i(n)scriptione; illi curabunt Macaum in

¹⁴More precisely *Flora Sinensis*; this is to my knowledge one of the earliest – if not the earliest – example of the use of ‘Flora’ combined with a topographical reference, to indicate a book, describing systematically the plants of one particular area.

¹⁵More precisely in Viennae Austriae: M. Rictius, 1656, i.e. very recently, as this reference in this letter dates from Febr. 1656; therefore, Boym uses the future tense (*veniet*), as the copy he had sent (or intended to send) to Golius could not yet have arrived in Amsterdam (we learn from indications in the correspondence between M. Martini and Golius that it took 2 months for a letter to arrive from Rome to Amsterdam, and thus somewhat less for spanning the distance Genoa – Amsterdam).

¹⁶The Hungarian King to whom the text was dedicated was Leopold I (1658–1705); Roman Emperor; King of Hungary, etc.

¹⁷These earlier letters of Boym to Golius are apparently lost.

¹⁸Almost literally the same formula as Boym used in his list of books he planned to publish in 1654: “Medicus Sinicus seu singularis ars explorandi pulsum & praedicendi & futura symptomata & affectiones aegrotantium a multis ante Christum saeculis tradita & apud Sinas conservata; quae quidem ars omnino est admirabilis & ab Europaea diversa” (M. Boym, *Briefve relation*, p. 73).

¹⁹Res ‘curiosa’, and ‘liber curiosus’ (below): according to the common practice in the 17th century, the epithet “curiosus” refers to a work with learned contents.

²⁰Old Italian variant name of Jacatra / Jakarta; cf. Brandano 1689: 102: “Giacatara, comunemente chiamata ‘la Nuova Batavia’.”

²¹I.e. Johan Maetsuyker (Amsterdam 1606–1678), a *Lovaniensis*, and the only Catholic Governor-General of the VOC, between 1653 and 1678 (see Van Putten 2002: 80–85).

Sinas. Ego vero Goa²² certo mitto sequenti anno istum Medicum, vel si haereo (?) in Europa, ex Lusitania. Quan<do> Ill(ustrissima) D(ominatio) V(est)ra poterit literas mihi scribere et significare, statim si recepit has meas literas et scripta <trans>missas et hanc epistolam.

Interea me illius humanitati commendo. Deum oro ut illum conservet <..> me et suam voluntatem edoceat ac salvum faciat.

<i>Genuae 1656 Febr(uarii) 20</i>	<i>servus inutilis</i>
<i>Non desunt naves Amstelodami</i>	<i>P(ater) Michael Boym</i>
<i>quae omnes vadunt Lisbonam</i>	<i>Presbyter (?)</i>
<i>et erunt etiam aliae in Indiam Orientalem</i>	
<i>Gia<ca>taram. Igitur literas et in Lusitaniam et in Indiam <....?></i>	

(f. 8/2r.)

transmittere, ac quas in Indiam mittet unas Goam alias Macaum alias Macasariam inscribat. Et quae in Lusitaniam ibunt iubeat reddi n(o)stris Patribus Jesuitis in S. Antam²³. Titulus: R(everen)do P(atri) Michaeli Boym Societatis JESU.

(f. 8/2v.)

*Magnifico et Perillustri
D(omi)no Jacobo Golio
Matheseos et Orientalium
Linguarum Professore
Digniss(im)o*

*Leydae
Lugduni Batavorum.*

In this letter – in which some passages remain obscure – are mentioned several of Boym’s works: (a) The *Flora Sinensis*, printed already in 1656 in Vienna, dedicated to the King of Hungaria, i.e. Leopold I, of which Boym had sent a copy to Golius; (b) His manuscript of *Magni Cathay (...)*, with the maps and the descriptive text (“*descriptionem rerum*”), also sent, on the suggestion of Caelestinus, from Rome to Jacob Golius for being printed in Amsterdam; for

²² Boym’s intention was to leave very soon Genoa for Lisbon, where he indeed arrived in less than one month, and wherefrom he sailed for Goa on 30 March 1656, a normal date of departure for the ships of the ‘*carreira da India*’; under normal circumstances, they expected to arrive then in Goa in September of the same year (see the data in Bentley Duncan 1986). The only risk was that Boym would have arrived in Lisbon when the ships had already left the harbour; in that case he should wait one year in Lisbon, as many of his colleagues experienced. In fact, Boym arrived in Goa on 6 November (Bosmans 1913: 4), and the harbour of Goa was sieged for one year by the Dutch.

²³ *Colégio de Santo Antão-o-Novo* in Lisbon, the Jesuit college, where the Indipetae were mostly temporarily located; also the centre of the Portuguese *Procurator Missionum Orientalium*, and of the *Aula da Esfera*.

this title the question of the ‘*dedicatio*’ was still open, apparently due to a large number of possible candidates, and in order to avoid discussions and problems, Boym decided to dedicate it to God; in addition, he asks that three copies of the atlas *Magni Cathay* – after the printing had been finished – would be sent from Amsterdam to the Far East, more precisely to Batavia, to Joh. Maetsuiker, Governor General (“*Opperhoofd*”) of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) in Batavia / Jacatra (1606–1678), who was expected to forward the copies through the Jesuits in Manila or Macassar²⁴ to Macau; (c) in addition, he confirms working on the manuscript of his *Medicus Sinicus* (“*perficio*”) which he intends to be printed in 2 columns with the Chinese text (in Chinese characters or in a romanization?) on one side and the interpretation on the other side, also accompanied by figurative representations. He gives instructions for further correspondence of Golius with him, for the period after he left Europe, either via Amsterdam and the VOC route, or through Lisbon and the ships of the ‘*carreira da India*’.

Letter 2

Perillustris ac Magnifice D(omi)ne,

Gratia et Pax a Deo P(at)re et Domino nostro JESU Ch(ris)to.

Miror nullum responsum ad meas toties datas etiam ex Indiis, Goâ videlicet, Meliapore et ex Regno Siam²⁵ literas ad Ill(ustrissimam) D(ominationem) V(estram); dubitare enim nequeo quin Romanae meae literae et simul Cathay cu(m) mappis imprime(n)dus liber²⁶ ad manus illius per nostros patres²⁷ non devenerit. Quaeso literas eiusdem exemplaris multiplicet, et per naves Hollandicas, quae singulis annis plures Giacatarum proficiscuntur mittat dirigendam Macasariam vel Tumquinem aliquam epistolam, et clare ac distincte respondeat. Si enim aliquid obstitit quominus prelo illas (sicut petii et germanus Ill(ustrissimae) D(ominationis) V(estr)ae Carmelita²⁸ adpromittebat hoc Ill(ustrissimam) D(ominationem) V(estra)m facturam) potuerit, hoc ipsum scribat, sed librum cum mappis P(at)ri Bollando mittat vel P(at)ri Godifredo Heinsio²⁹ Antwerpiam. Quodsi autem videt opus, quod mihi tanto labore constitit, lucem exe(mplaria), partim illis patribus tribuat, partim aliquas per dictas vias op(erâ) navium Hollandicarum mittat.

Medicum Sinicum seu Methodum pulsuum explorandorum in Sinarum imperio fere ab ipsis

²⁴It is only since 1615 that the Jesuits had a residence in Macas(s)ar; most relevant publication: Jacobs 1988.

²⁵Where he arrived in early 1658 (Pelliot 1935: 131).

²⁶This shows that Boym had opened the contact with Golius already from Rome, and sent his manuscript of the Cathay atlas from Rome.

²⁷From the next paragraphs, I assume ‘*nostris Patres*’ were, apart from the Jesuits in Rome, Bollandus et Henschenius in Antwerp, including probably also the Fathers of the *Missio Hollan-dica*, which was based in Antwerp as well.

²⁸I.e. the aforementioned Caelestinus a Sancta Lidwina.

²⁹More exactly: Henschenio.

diluvii temporibus admirabilem, et quae nihil commune cum Europaea habet, iam absolvi, et absolutam misi in Europam. Res certe nova et quam Europaei doctissimi medici mirabuntur et unde multa addiscere in mortalium commodum discere et depromere poterunt.

Modo non minus curiosum opus prae manibus habeo etiam admirabile; titulus illius est: Acus empirica seu ignis medicus fere plerisque morbis curandis idoneus, in Sinarum imperio simul cum arte pulsuum explorandorum repertus et admirabili successu absque alia pharmacorum ope frequentatus. Paraliseos, epilepsiae et podagrae, amentiae et difficillimis aliis morbis <...>. Si itaque illum librum Magni Catay procuravit lucem videre, audebo haec illius manibus et fidei arcana vulganda mundo per typum committere.

Nova non scribo, quod ipsi Hollandi haec scribunt.

Interea illum pro Deo commendo diligentissime ut et vitam ac incolumitatem illi tribuat et etiam ad alteram aeternam in viam salutis dirigat.

In Regno Tunquim 1658 Novemb(ris) 18

Servus inutilis

P(ater) Michael Boym Jesuita.

(f° 8/3)

Perillustri ac Magnifico

D(omi)no Jacobo Goliae (?) Ley-

dae Batavorum Matheseos

Professori Amico Meo

Colendiss(im)o

Leydae Batavorum

*

This second letter is inspired by Boym's frustrations for not having received any answer on the letters that he had previously sent since the former letter from Genoa from various parts of his journey to the East, more precisely from Goa, Meliapur (São Tomé de Meliapor, Mylapore or Mayilappur) and Siam. For correspondence from Holland, he recommends the route through the Dutch ships of the VOC, which every year sailed to Jacatra / Batavia; in case of obstacles for the printing, he asks to return the manuscript. He asks to send the ms. of *Magni Cathay (...)* to the Jesuits in Antwerp, either to Father Bollandus or to Henschenius, who probably should return it to him (?).

In the same period, he finished the *Medicus Sinicus* manuscript and was preparing another work, titled *Acus Empirica*³⁰ or *Ignis Medicus* – nowhere else mentioned, to my knowledge – which must have been a book on Chinese moxibustion, applied with acupuncture needles. The positive effects of these Chinese treatments are situated on the domain of many of the most difficult

³⁰Empiricus – without known parallel examples – in this case is not the Greco-Latin derivation of Greek *empeiria* (> *empeirikos* >) *empiricus*, referring to experience, but a variant of *"empyricus", derived from Greek pyr: 'fire' > *empyrikos > Lat. *empyricus, synonym of Latin 'igneus'; for this term, I have so far no direct parallel: 'Acus Empirica' thus being not an 'experienced' needle, but a 'fiery' needle, in perfect harmony with its use within the therapy of moxibustion (commonly called in Latin: *combustio*).

diseases. By writing this treatise, Boym was to my knowledge the first European – in absolute terms – to communicate on this technique to a European public. In case Golius would have succeeded in printing the atlas *Magni Cathay*, Boym would send also this new work to him for being printed. We do not know what happened with these manuscripts afterwards, and whether they ever arrived in Amsterdam. Nor do we know in what way they arrived in their actual location: the manuscript of *Magni Cathay* in the Vatican Library (BAV, F. Borg.cinese, 531) is probably one of the transcriptions Boym had made, according to his own statement in the letter of 20 February 1656.³¹ Part of his medical manuscripts in Cracow, which E. Kajdański found again, have a call number, which refers to the *Bibliotheca Regia* of Berlin, and were therefore probably acquired through Dutch East Asia, namely Batavia and the ships of VOC. The manuscript of *Acus* – if it was ever finished – has not left any trace to my knowledge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

- Fr. Antonio a S. Teresia 1937: Fr. Antonio a S. Teresia, “Monumenta missionaria Carmelitana. III. Relatio de Statu atque de Fructibus Spiritualibus Missionum Nostrarum Orientis Saeculi XVII”. *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum* 13.1, 1938: 68 – 97.
- Andriessen 1957: Andriessen, J. 1957. *De jezuieten en het samenhorighheidsbesef der Nederlanden, 1585–1648*. Antwerpen: Nederlandsche Boekhandel.
- Begheyn 2012: Begheyn, P. 2012. “The contacts of Martino Martini with the Amsterdam printer Johann Blaeu.” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* 81: 219–231.
- Bentley Duncan 1986: Bentley Duncan, T. 1986. “Navigation between Portugal and Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” In *Asia and the West. Essays in Honor of Donald F. Lach*. Ed. by C.K. Pullapilly and E.J. Van Kleij, 3–25. Notre Dame Univ.: Notre Dame, Ind.: CrossCultural Publications.
- Bonenfant 1961: Bonenfant, P. 1961. “Du Belgium de César à la Belgique de 1830. Essai sur une évolution sémantique.” *Annales de la Société Royale d’Archéologie de Bruxelles* 50: 31–58.
- Bosmans 1913: Bosmans, H. 1913. “Lettres inédites de François de Rougemont, missionnaire belge de la Compagnie de Jésus en Chine au XVIIe siècle.” *Analectes pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique. 3me série* 9: 21 – 54.
- Boym, M., *Briefve relation de la notable conversion des personnes royales, & de l’estat de la religion chrestienne en la Chine*. 1654. Paris: Cramoisy.
- Brandano, A., *Historia delle guerre di Portogallo*. 1689. Venezia: presso P. Bagnoni.
- De Boer 1911: De Boer, C. 1911. “Golius, Petrus.” In *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, Deel 1. Ed. by P. J. Blok and P. C. Molhuysen, P. a P., col. 951–952. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff’s Uitgeversmaatschappij.
- Duyvendak 1936: Duyvendak, J.J.L. 1936. “Early Chinese Studies in Holland.” *T’oung Pao* 32: 293–344.
- Golvers 2011: Golvers, Noël. 2011. “Michael Boym and Martino Martini: a contrastive portrait of two China missionaries and mapmakers.” *Monumenta Serica* 59: 259–271.
- Golvers 2014: Golvers, Noël. 2014. “Martino Martini in the Low Countries (1st half of 1654).” In

³¹ “Ne pereat labor, curabo fieri plura exemplaria ut omnino veniat liber ad manus eius, quem curabit sicuti es<t> imprimere et exemplaria consueta nobis transmittere.”

- Martino Martini, Man of Dialogue*. Ed. by L. Paternicò, C. Von Collani, and R. Scartezzini, 113–135. Trento: Centro Studi Martino Martini.
- Jacobs 1988: Jacobs, H. 1988. *The Jesuit Makasar Documents (1615–1682)*. Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, vol. 134, Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1988.
- Kajdański 1987: Kajdański, E. 1987. “Michael Boym’s *Medicus Sinicus*.” *T’oung pao* 73: 161–189.
- Loop 2013: Loop, J. 2013. *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martino Martini S.J. Opera Omnia*. (Trento, 2019). Ed. F. Masini, L.M. Paternico & D. Antonucci. Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento.
- Mellot, Queval 2004: Mellot, J.-D., Queval, E. 2004. *Répertoire d’imprimeurs / libraires (vers 1500 – vers 1810)*. Paris: BNF.
- Paternicò 2018: Paternicò, Luisa. 2018. “Jacob Golius and Martino Martini: the Enlightenment Encounter and the *Additamentum*.” In *Catholicism’s Encounters with China. 17th to 20th Century*. Ed. by A. Chen Tsung-ming, 185–205. Leuven: F. Verbiest Institute.
- Pelliot 1935: Pelliot, Paul. 1935. “Michel Boym.” *T’oung Pao* 31: 95–151.
- Van der Linden 1931: Van der Linden, H. 1931. “De namen België en Nederland door de eeuwen heen.” *Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques* 17: 189–218.
- Van Putten 2002: Van Putten, L.P. 2002. *Ambitie en onvermogen: gouverneurs-generaal van Nederlands-Indië 1610–1796*. Rotterdam: Uitgeverij ILCO-productions.

DWA LISTY MICHAŁA BOYMA SJ DO EUROPY (1656; 1658)
I EDYtorskie DOSSIER JEGO ROZMAITYCH PRAC
POWSTAŁYCH W EUROPIE NA TEMAT CHIN

Streszczenie

Artykuł zawiera transkrypcję dwóch nieznanych dotychczas listów Michała Boyma (1612–1659), polskiego jezuitę, misjonarza w Chinach, który w swoich pracach naukowych przybliżył europejskim czytelnikom wiadomości o dalekowschodniej florze, medycynie i geografii. Prezentowane w artykule listy, znajdujące się obecnie w Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (2° Cod. ms. 452), a pochodzące pierwotnie z kolekcji Jacoba Goliusa w Hadze, ukazują sieć powiązań europejskiego rynku wydawniczego w XVII wieku, rozciągającą się między Niderlandami i Rzymem, z której korzystali jezuici, by upowszechnić wyniki swej misjonarskiej, a zarazem naukowej działalności. Prezentowane listy rzucają nowe światło na plany wydawnicze Michała Boyma, zrealizowane za jego życia tylko częściowo ze względu na skomplikowane okoliczności towarzyszące jego podróży z Chin do Europy.