The Early Dutch Sinologists : a study of their training in Holland and China, and their functions in the Netherlands Indies (1854-1900)

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE COMPILATION OF DICTIONARIES

Hoffmann's Japanese dictionary

The compilation of Chinese dictionaries in the Netherlands should be seen in the context of J.J. Hoffmann's Japanese and Chinese dictionaries.[1] After he became Von Siebold's assistant in 1830, he began studying Chinese and then Japanese, and soon started compiling a Japanese–German dictionary for his own use. He based himself on the Japanese thesaurus 書言字考 *Shogen jikō*, which contained Chinese explanations of Japanese words. In 1835, a lithographic reprint of this thesaurus was published in Von Siebold's and Hoffmann's *Bibliotheca Japonica*.[2] Hoffmann finished the "skeleton" or general plan of his dictionary in 1839,[3] and continued working on it in the 1840s and 1850s.

During more than 200 years, Japan had had regular contacts with the West only through the Dutch settlement in Nagasaki. Especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, many Japanese studied the Dutch language, and several Dutch–Japanese dictionaries were compiled. When Japan was forced to open its doors by the Americans in 1853, Dutch was the *lingua franca* for all contacts with the West. In the following years, the Dutch government wished to maintain this precedence of the Dutch language, mainly for commercial purposes. Therefore in 1854 and 1855, Minister of Colonies[4] Pahud in secret letters asked J.H. Donker Curtius, the Dutch chief in Nagasaki, and Hoffmann, the newly appointed professor in Leiden, for their advice. They were to report about the best means to promote the knowledge of the Dutch language among the Japanese, in particular among interpreters, and to promote Japanese studies in the Netherlands.

Both advised in the first place to compile Japanese grammars, conversation guides, and dictionaries. In 1855 Hoffmann also proposed, in the newly established Literary Section of the Academy of Sciences, to buy Chinese type in order to print books for Chinese studies. At the time he could not yet disclose that these were primarily intended for printing Japanese studies, since all correspondence with the Minister about this subject had been classified as secret. The next year Hoffmann sent Pahud a detailed plan for publications. He suggested publishing first the Japanese grammar that had been compiled by Donker Curtius, and then concise Dutch–Japanese and Japanese–Dutch dictionaries etc., expecting that this could

be finished within a year; in the end he casually remarked that his own grammar and dictionary could then be published.[5] And indeed, as a first result in 1857, Donker Curtius' grammar came off the press at Sijthoff in Leiden; it was edited by Hoffmann and published at the expense of the Ministry of Colonies.[6] In 1858 a set of Chinese type was acquired in Hong Kong, of which new matrices were made in Amsterdam. In 1860, one set of type was placed with the publisher Sijthoff in Leiden.[7]

Surprisingly, the first book printed with the new type was not published by the Ministry but by Hoffmann himself. In 1861, he published as his own venture his *Shopping Dialogues / Winkelgesprekken*, a practical Japanese–English–Dutch conversation guide. At the same time, Hoffmann and Sijthoff set up a budget for the printing of Hoffmann's grammar and dictionary for the Ministry of Colonies. Sijthoff was prepared to print 1,000 copies of both works for *f* 15,897.00.[8]

When the British Minister in the Netherlands, Lord Napier, heard about the dictionary and the new type, he suggested adding English explanations, thus making it a Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary. In that case, the British government would be prepared to pay a subsidy amounting to about half of the costs, as soon as the dictionary came off the press.[9] Although officials at the Ministry of Colonies welcomed this idea, under these conditions Hoffmann found a subsidy unprofitable and impractical. But he fully agreed with the suggestion to add English explanations:

> My dictionary would only serve its purpose if an English explanation were added to the Dutch explanations. Other nations are also looking forward to the publication of this dictionary. If I restrict myself to the publication of a Japanese–Dutch dictionary, then in Britain or America they will soon make it into a Japanese–English one and this imitation will push aside the original work abroad.[10]

A few months later the new Minister of Colonies, J. Loudon, decided not to accept the British offer and to publish the Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary at the expense of the Dutch government only.[11] Four months later, in January 1862, this item appeared on the budget, and *f* 6,500.00 was reserved for its publication during that year, to be paid upon declaration of expenses. Hoffmann was officially notified on 1 February 1862, and he was thereby 'charged' to edit and publish his dictionary.[12] Half a year later he was also allowed a personal remuneration of *f* 3,000 in total.[13]

Despite these favourable circumstances for publishing Hoffmann's dictionary, from now on a period of optimistic promises and almost continuous delays began that was to last for forty years. Only the high expectations of Hoffmann's grammar were fulfilled, but the dictionary was never completed and ended in a failure.

Hoffmann first worked on his grammar, which he considered an indispensable introduction to the dictionary, expecting it could be printed within two years. Actually it took six years, and one of the reasons for the delay is obvious. In 1862, Hoffmann had for the first time come into direct personal contact with Japanese;[14] this and subsequent contacts led to numerous additions. Finally, in 1868 Hoffmann's grammar appeared in Dutch as *Japansche spraakleer* and simultaneously in English as *A Japanese Grammar*.[15] The English edition was soon sold out, and a revised English version appeared in 1876.[16]

The English edition was highly acclaimed abroad, and a long review article appeared in *The Saturday Review*.[17] Another review in *The Friend of India* stated:

> As the work of a philologist who has never been in Asia, and who has never heard the language spoken except in his intercourse with Japanese in France, England and especially the Netherlands, the minuteness with which Dr. Hoffmann handles his subject may well excite astonishment.[18]

For this reason, the Minister of Foreign Affairs suggested to his colleague at Colonies, E. de Waal, to make Hoffmann a Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion, but the latter found that this should wait until the whole dictionary was published.[19]

A few years earlier, in 1863, shortly after he had been charged to publish his dictionary, Hoffmann announced that the manuscript now contained all necessary words and was finished in this respect, but that the translations were in German; according to him, these could without any difficulty be changed into Dutch and English.

Four years later, in 1867, Hepburn's Japanese–English dictionary appeared.[20] In 1870 Hoffmann wrote to the Minister that he expected printing of the letter A could begin within a few months, but that the publication of Hepburn's dictionary had made a certain revision necessary.[21] He had first used a traditional Japanese word order,[22] not the Western alphabetical order, and he now decided to use Hepburn's alphabetical order. However, he did not wish to change his historical and literal spelling into Hepburn's phonetic spelling.[23]

Unfortunately, during the last ten years of his life, Hoffmann's health had deteriorated so much that the burden of rearranging and editing became too heavy for him. He had first hoped Schlegel could help him, but in 1875 he changed his mind and recommended his student Lindor Serrurier. The latter was willing to do so on condition that he could at the same time accept another job—otherwise his prospects of finding work seemed bleak. He optimistically expected that he could finish this task within four years! Thereupon, in April 1875 Serrurier was charged by Royal Decree to edit the dictionary under Hoffmann's guidance.[24] At the same time,

the Ministry sold the Chinese type at Sijthoff to Brill, and a contract was concluded giving Brill the monopoly, on certain financial and other conditions, to print works containing Chinese and Japanese characters for the government.[25]

A few months earlier, in January 1875, Hoffmann, who was now too ill to finish the dictionary on his own, had already been made a Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion for his contributions to Dutch scholarship.[26]

At some time it was decided to publish the Japanese–Dutch and Japanese–English dictionaries, like the grammars, in two separate editions. In the years after 1875, only a few sheets of both were printed. Serrurier did very little work for various personal reasons, such as his law studies until 1877 and from then on his curatorship in the Ethnographical Museum. Accordingly, when Hoffmann passed away on 19 January 1878, Professors Kern and Schlegel were asked to investigate the matter. In their report they held to the original high expectations, optimistically estimating that the dictionary was far enough along and that Serrurier could still complete the job. There was a lot to be done, the most serious problem being that quite a few words were without any translation and were only followed by examples of use. They calculated that Serrurier could finish the editing in about seven years—if he worked five evenings a week for ten months per year![27]

They also advised to cancel the Dutch edition, since the Dutch language had long ceased to be the *lingua franca* in Japan. But the Minister decided to keep both editions, as otherwise no Dutch interest would be served by this publication.[28] The dictionary was to be published in instalments in order to profit earlier from scholarly comments and to check Serrurier's progress.[29]

Three years later, by the end of 1881, the first two instalments of Hoffmann's *Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek* and *Japanese–English Dictionary*, comprising the letters A and O, were finally published.[30] In a review article, Schlegel highly praised this publication, considering it a reason for pride on the part of the Dutch government and Dutch nation. The printing, too, was beautiful, surpassing anything published in other countries—this would enhance Brill's position as a paramount printer of Chinese and Japanese. But Schlegel also had a few points of criticism; these were, however, all based on his knowledge of Chinese, not Japanese. Apart from a few obviously wrong characters, he typically pointed out that Serrurier—following Hepburn—had wrongly translated the word *onara* as "a destructive wind" (*een verwoestende wind*), while from the Chinese characters 放屁 one could easily see that this should mean "a foul wind, a fart" (*een stinkende wind, een scheet*). Schlegel rebuked any prudishness in scholarly works, although it was commendable in children's books. In a dictionary an equivalent forceful expression (*Kraft-Ausdruck*) should be sought as a translation of every word.[31]

During the next eleven years, from 1882 to 1891, no new instalments appeared. This was in part due to the slackness of Serrurier, who in 1881 became director of the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden and who was more interested in ethnology than in Japanese. But during these years he was also not pressed by the Ministry or by Schlegel; no correspondence about the Japanese dictionary could be found in the Colonial archives in the period from 1883 to 1891. Therefore, another reason for the delay was probably the publication of Schlegel's four volume Dutch–Chinese dictionary in 1882–91. It would have been technically impossible for Brill, and financially for the Ministry to print and publish two such large dictionaries at the same time. Besides, Schlegel was very eager to have his dictionary published quickly.

The relation between Serrurier and Schlegel, which had been disturbed since 1875, had in the meantime deteriorated even more because of various conflicts. Accordingly, when Serrurier in 1892 finally published the third volume of the Japanese dictionary containing the letter B, Schlegel wrote a very critical review in which he showed anger about the delay and pointed out numerous mistakes; he also blamed Serrurier for his "verbosity."[32] In privately published pamphlets, a debate between Serrurier and Schlegel ensued, in which they did not abstain from vicious personal attacks; for instance Serrurier reproached Schlegel for having a liking for pornography.[33] Thereupon, seeking to find support for his view, Schlegel asked the British japanologist W.G. Aston[34] for his opinion, which he even published in *T'oung Pao*. According to Aston, this dictionary was "a very defective work," both in method and accuracy. Many important sources had not been used, leading to a great number of omissions, "even though it gives a fair number of new words."[35] It was no wonder that the dictionary was so defective, since both Hoffmann and Serrurier had never been in Japan.

Despite these criticisms, Serrurier optimistically went on with his editing, and announced to Minister Van Dedem that a fourth volume, comprising the letters P and R, was about to appear. When asked how much time was necessary for completion of the whole dictionary, he now answered that he hoped to finish it in eight to ten years.[36] But subsequently only a few sheets of the fourth volume were printed, and no further volumes appeared.[37]

In 1896, Serrurier decided to leave the Netherlands and move to the Indies, mainly because he did not receive the necessary government support for the museum. He wished to continue editing the dictionary in Batavia, and after arrival requested Governor-General Van der Wijck to allow him the assistance of a Japanese clerk. He found arguments for this in a letter from Aston dating from many years earlier, when the first two instalments of the dictionary had appeared. In it, Aston had pointed out quite a few mistakes but given him the following sympathetic advice:

> Many of the errors would have been avoided, if you had had Japanese assistance. Now, why should not the Dutch Government procure you the help of a native scholar? He need not be a very learned man, there should be nothing in it in the smallest degree derogatory to yourself. In Japan no European scholar dreams of doing serious work without native help and revisions. Even at the British Legation, where the standard of Japanese scholarship is as high as anywhere else, there is always a Japanese literate at hand for consultation in cases of difficulties. *Such men too keep one from making mistakes in common matters which are apt to escape the notice of scholars*.[38]

Van der Wijck forwarded his request to Minister of Colonies J.T. Cremer, but the latter now refused to give approval, since he did not wish to further increase the expenses on the dictionary;[39] subsequently he even decided to stop publication altogether.[40] Serrurier protested, still wishing to continue, because he felt a moral obligation towards his teacher Hoffmann to do so.[41] Therefore in 1899 Cremer asked advice from Professors De Groot and Kern as to the need for the dictionary. Both advised against continuation, since the dictionary had now become completely outdated. De Groot explained that, on the one hand, there was no longer a need for this dictionary, as other dictionaries in various European languages had appeared after Hoffmann's death. At most, all that was not included in the other dictionaries could be collected and published in a journal on Japan. The delay in printing was blamed on the lack of drive of the editor Serrurier. On the other hand, when Hoffmann had started to compile his dictionary, Japanological studies were still in their infancy, and words and expressions were entered without due sifting or criticism. In the meantime, much more had become known about stylistic variations within the Japanese language. De Groot's conclusion was that discontinuation of publication would not harm scholarship in any way. Kern agreed, adding that the "agony of the dictionary" (*lijdensweg van het woordenboek*) proved there was no hope of completion. Cremer then decided to follow their advice without the least hesitation.[42] Brill was partially compensated by the Ministry.[43] Two years later, in 1901, Serrurier passed away, 55 years old.[44] The 27 volumes of the Japanese–German (24 vols.) and Japanese–Dutch (4 vols.) manuscript dictionaries were later transported back to the Netherlands and are now kept in the Leiden University Library.[45]

Manuscript Chinese dictionaries and word lists

Apart from his Japanese dictionary which he compiled for himself, starting in 1849 Hoffmann also worked on a Chinese–Dutch dictionary with Mandarin transcription for his students. Some of these students were very young: Gustaaf Schlegel was only 9 years old when he began to study Chinese, and Maurits Schaalje and Jan Francken were only 14 and 16; they

needed such a dictionary. Like his Chinese grammar, this dictionary only existed in manuscript and it was never printed; it was actually a card file, copied by hand by each student. It contained the vocabulary of the texts that they had read with Hoffmann, with his lexical explanations. Hoffmann's original manuscript has survived in the Utrecht University Library. It is written in German and has the title "*Wên tszé yáo-liŏ* [*Wenzi yaolüe*] 文字要略, *schinesisches Handwörterbuch.* Bearbeitet von Dr. J. Hoffmann, Leiden 1849–1854." It consists of a large stack of about 2,000 small cards, 22 cm high, arranged in alphabetical order; on each card one or more characters and combinations of characters are explained. This dictionary not only gave pronunciations in Mandarin, but also in Cantonese and sometimes in Hakka. All of Hoffmann's students copied it, translating it into Dutch. St. Aulaire's copy is also kept in Utrecht, consisting of a stack of about 800 larger cards, 10 cm high, with Dutch explanations.[46]

After the first Dutch student-interpreters arrived in Amoy around 1858 and started to learn the Amoy and Tsiangtsiu dialects, they followed Hoffmann's example and began to compile their own dictionaries. At that time there were no dictionaries or textbooks of those dialects except two works by Medhurst and Doty.[47] W.H. Medhurst's *Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language* (Batavia & Macau 1832)[48] contained mainly the literary language, not the colloquial, and E. Doty's *Anglo–Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (Canton 1853) was not much more than a thematic word list. Medhurst's dictionary provided the Tsiangtsiu pronunciation from the Chinese rhyme dictionary *Shiwu yin* 十五音,[49] while Doty gave the Amoy pronunciation. In the absence of a suitable dictionary, each of the students therefore immediately began compiling Chinese–Dutch and Dutch–Chinese dictionaries.[50] This was a very slow process, in particular for the colloquial language, "because every expression, every word, had to be written down out of the mouths of the Chinese."[51] Francken started to compile an Amoy–Dutch dictionary of the colloquial, while Schlegel worked on a Dutch–Chinese dictionary of the written language specially for use in written translation from Dutch into Chinese. These two dictionaries were later published, and will be described in detail below.

Other students also compiled their own dictionaries, but only a few have survived. Schaalje compiled an Amoy–Dutch dictionary, which he finished in Amoy in 1864, with 9,674 entries.[52] Many years later, long after his appointment as an interpreter and while on leave in the Netherlands in 1889, he also compiled a Dutch–Chinese dictionary of the colloquial language of Amoy with about 7,000 entries. This is essentially a reverse version of Francken's Chinese–Dutch dictionary published in 1882.[53]

Another Dutch–Amoy dictionary known to have existed was compiled by the Dutch merchant A. Bloys van Treslong Prins.[54] In 1874, he present-

ed some pages of his manuscript to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences for publication, but it was refused. The reason given was that many Dutch words were lacking and, more importantly, Francken's dictionary was still at the press.[55]

Von Faber also compiled a Chinese–Dutch dictionary. After his retirement, in 1898 he offered the unfinished manuscript for sale to the government, but this was rejected.[56]

Apart from dictionaries, some students also made collections of sayings or special word lists. De Grijs compiled a list of almost 300 Amoy sayings with the title *Chineesche spreekwoorden, verzameld en vertaald door C.F.M. de Grijs* (Chinese sayings collected and translated by C.F.M. de Grijs).[57] Schaalje compiled a collection of 951 sayings, entitled *Dictons van het Emoi dialect bijeen verzameld door M. Schaalje* (Sayings in the Amoy dialect collected by M. Schaalje).[58] Francken made a list of more than 2,000 Amoy sayings.[59] Special Hokkien vocabularies are, for instance, the lists of the names of family relationships by Schlegel[60] and Schaalje.[61]

While studying in China, the students compiled a list of more than 100 standard translations for the names of government officials and institutions in the Indies.[62] They knew that the native Chinese officers did not translate these, but only transcribed the Dutch names in Chinese characters,[63] just as the Malay and Javanese did in their writing systems. The Dutch interpreters highly disapproved of this manner of representation and wished to use Chinese equivalents. Schaalje's copy of the standard list has survived; it is entitled *Namen van Ambtenaren & Collegien in Nederlandsch Indie* (Names of officials and boards in the Netherlands Indies) *Yandi guanxian* 燕地官銜.[64]

Later, when Schlegel began teaching Chinese in Batavia in 1871, he started making a Dutch translation of E. Doty's *Manual* for his student Roelofs, which he finished in Leiden in 1873. Schlegel also changed the Amoy pronunciation into Tsiangtsiu, giving it the title *Nederlandsch–Chineesch handboekje van het Tsiang-tsiu dialect, door Rev. Doty, bewerkt door G. Schlegel, 1873* (Dutch–Chinese manual of the Tsiangtsiu dialect, by Rev. Doty, edited by G. Schlegel, 1873).[65] Just as Schlegel and his fellow students had copied Hoffmann's dictionary and grammar during their studies in Leiden, Schlegel's students would copy this manual. Five copies have survived that were made by B. Hoetink, H.N. Stuart, A.A. de Jongh, B.A.J. van Wettum, and an unknown student.[66]

There also existed several Hakka vocabularies. Schaalje made or copied an abridged translation of Doty's *Manual*, with the pronunciation indicated in the two Hakka dialects of Kia Ying Chow and Chonglok, entitled *Ka yin tsiu P'ak wá* (嘉應州白話 *Jiayingzhou baihua*, The colloquial language of Meixian).[67] Von Faber made a Hakka vocabulary with a preface, introduction, stories, and dialogues, which he presented to the Batavian

Society of Arts and Sciences for publication in 1866. The Board, considering it of little scholarly value, followed Von Faber's alternative suggestion to present it to the government for publication. This work would be useful for government officials on Banka and Western Borneo, who could learn enough from it to engage in daily conversation. It was to be printed by the Government Press. But because of the insufficiency of Chinese type at the Government Press, the publication was cancelled in 1871.[68]

Linguistic problems

A compiler of a dictionary of Southern Fujianese is confronted with four types of problems: 1. the choice of dialect (in this case, Amoy or Tsiangtsiu); 2. the choice of a transcription system; 3. the difference between colloquial and literary readings of characters; and 4. the lack of characters to represent the colloquial language.

The Tsiangtsiu and Amoy dialects are closely related variants of Southern Fujianese or Southern Min (Minnanhua), which in Southeast Asia is usually simply called Hokkien (Fujianese). Southern Fujianese can be divided into five main subdialects: 1) Amoy (Xiamen), 2) Quanzhou, 3) Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou), 4) Longyan and 5) Datian.[69] The Amoy and (especially) Tsiangtsiu dialects are widely spoken by Chinese in Southeast Asia.[70] For this reason, W.H. Medhurst chose Tsiangtsiu pronunciation for his dictionary. Another reason was the existence of the Chinese rhyming dictionary *Shiwu yin*, which has Tsiangtsiu (or more properly Zhangpu 章浦) pronunciation. Medhurst compiled his dictionary mainly by rearranging the entries of *Shiwu yin* according to the alphabet, giving transcriptions and adding some classical quotations as examples. In 1832, when Medhurst published his dictionary, Amoy was still closed to Western shipping, but it had for centuries served as the main port for the Fujianese junk trade with Southeast Asia. Only after 1843, when it was opened for foreign trade, did Amoy become an important international harbour, where many missionaries began to work. E. Doty was one of them, and he published his *Manual* in 1853.[71]

The Dutch student-interpreters also had to choose a system of transcription. Medhurst's system was based upon the idiosyncracies of English pronunciation; for instance, he wrote *e* for [i], *ew* for [iu], *oo* for [u], and *ey* for [e].[72] This system was already outdated in the 1850s. Doty's system was much more practical and general, mostly using the same letters that would later be used in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA, 1886). Doty wrote that his system, "with one or two minor variations, is that employed by most of the missionaries residing at Amoy."[73] The missionary Carstairs Douglas, who came to Amoy in 1855, also devised a system similar to

Doty's, and later used it in his dictionary in 1873. Schlegel's system was also an adaptation of Doty's system, making use of some elements of that of Medhurst; it was a cosmopolitan system not based on Dutch pronunciation. Probably Schlegel also knew Lepsius' *Standard alphabet*, a book that from 1862 on was bought by all of Hoffmann's students. Schlegel wrote in the introduction to his dictionary in 1884:

> As will be seen, our system of transcription differs in some respects from that of Douglas, though we did our best, during our stay in China [1858–62], when we had fixed upon our system of transcription, to convert him to it; in which we only partially succeeded.[74]

Schlegel then gave two examples. The most important difference with Douglas' system was that Schlegel used one and the same phoneme, *ts*, in words such as *Tsing* and *Tsan* (曾, in Mandarin *céng* and *Zēng*), following *Shiwu yin*, whereas Douglas followed Medhurst's English spelling rules and distinguished *ch* and *ts*, writing *Cheng* and *Tsan*. Moreover, Schlegel spelled *-ing*, like most other languages, where Douglas wrote *-eng*. In these respects Schlegel's transcription was closer to the later IPA than Douglas'. All Amoy transcription systems used the same diacritics as Medhurst did to indicate the tones.[75] The missionaries' spellings later became the basis for the Romanised Amoy that was used in Bible translations and other writings; it was even used as an alphabetic version of the Amoy dialect, and is still being used to write the colloquial language.[76]

The third linguistic problem was the existence of both a colloquial and a literary pronunciation of characters. All Chinese dialects have characters which have two or more pronunciations, one of which is "literary" and the other "colloquial," but Southern Min dialects have the most extensive set of double readings.[77] Historically speaking, these different pronunciations in Fujian can be explained as belonging to different linguistic strata originating in migration from Northern China during the Qin and Han dynasties (221 B.C. – 220 A.D.), the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–550), and in the literary standard in the Tang dynasty (618–907).[78] The first two strata went through many phonological changes, resulting in the colloquial pronunciation, while the last retained more ancient phonological features that survived in the literary pronunciation. The literary pronunciation was later influenced by Mandarin, so some of the literary pronunciations are close to Mandarin. In the nineteenth century, the literary pronunciation was still used for reading, reciting, and learning by heart Chinese texts. It was therefore called *ziyin* 字音, "pronunciation of the characters," in English usually called "reading pronunciation" or "literary pronunciation." It was clearly distinguished from *baihua* 白話 or *suhua* 俗話, "colloquial" or "spoken language." Most differences between the two are in the finals of each syllable (17×); there are but very few in the initials

(2×) or in both (2×).[79] In *Shiwu yin*, these two kinds of pronunciations are distinguished in colour; literary pronunciations are printed in red and colloquial in black. In the twentieth century, the literary pronunciation disappeared from use as reading pronunciation. Starting in the 1900s, Chinese schools began teaching Mandarin, thereby replacing the literary pronunciation by Mandarin.

On the other hand, many literary pronunciations have been taken over in the colloquial language as loanwords and exist side by side with the colloquial pronunciations, expressing different meanings or used in other contexts. This phenomenon also exists in European languages, where words of the same etymological origin borrowed at different times can coexist, for instance English "pauper" and "poor," or Dutch *pact* and *pacht*. In Southern Fujianese these two pronunciations are now called *wenduyin* 文讀音, "literary *reading*," and *baiduyin* 白讀音, "colloquial *reading*." They are written with the same Chinese character, and are therefore called different "readings," but linguistically these are different words. For example, the character 馬, "horse," has two pronunciations: *má˘* is the literary pronunciation used in *má˘ siāng* 馬上, "immediately," while *bé* is the colloquial pronunciation used in *bé ts'ia* 馬車, "carriage."[80] The character 月, "moon, month," also has two pronunciations: *goát* is the literary pronunciation used in personal names, while *géh* (Tsiangtsiu *goéh*) is the colloquial pronunciation used for the word "month."

In addition to the cognate words described above, etymologically unrelated words can also be used as colloquial readings. For instance, the character 肉, "meat, flesh," has the literary reading *dziók* (as in *dziók kuì* 肉桂, "cinnamon") and the colloquial reading *bah* (as in *bah mī˘* 肉麵, "pork and noodles, bami"). When a character is used in this way, it is called *xun* 訓, "gloss, explanation" or *xunduzi* 訓讀字, "character to be read as a gloss."[81] Some characters even have three readings: literary, related colloquial, and unrelated colloquial. For instance, the character 乾, "dry" has the literary pronunciation *kan* and the colloquial pronunciation *koa˘*, but it is also used to represent the colloquial word *ta*, "dry." It depends on the context which of these three pronunciations should be used, for instance: 乾糧 *kan* niû˘, "dry provisions;" 果子乾 ké tsí *koa˘*, "dried fruits;" and 乾草 *ta* ts'aó "dry grass, hay."[82]

The fourth problem was the insufficiency of Chinese characters to represent the spoken language. In Southern Fujianese, just as in other dialects except standard Mandarin, not all words could be written with characters.[83] In the sixteenth century, some Minnanhua popular literature was published in the colloquial language, making special use of characters or even creating new ones, but by the nineteenth century most of these colloquial characters were but rarely used.[84] *Shiwu yin* still has a few of these

specially created characters, but mostly uses standard Chinese characters as glosses.

There were four ways of writing non-cognate colloquial words to cope with this lack. The first way was using a gloss character (*xunduzi* 訓讀字). The second way was using another character with the same sound (*baizi* 白字); for instance, the characters 查某 were used for writing *tsa bó*, "woman," in which case the literal meanings of these characters, "to search" and "someone," are irrelevant. The third way was to add the mouth radical 口 to an existing homophone character, showing that the character represented the sound only. In Southern Min dialects, this was often applied to foreign loanwords, just as in Mandarin.[85] An example is *lan* 嚂, which was sometimes used in *hô lan* 荷嚂 "Holland."[86] In Cantonese this method of adding the mouth radical is used widely for creating characters for dialect words.[87] The fourth way was the creation of a new character, but this was rarely done. One example is 賻 for *pak*, "to rent," which like most Chinese characters consists of a radical and a phonetic.[88]

All Western dictionary makers were confronted with this problem of representation in characters. Medhurst solved it by making use of a Chinese dictionary (*Shiwu yin*), which already had characters, and translating the entries into English. Doty made ample use of gloss readings or just left out one or more characters. Douglas, to his regret, had to leave out Chinese characters altogether, because no characters could be found for about one-third of the words in the colloquial language; besides, printing characters in Europe was also a problem at the time.[89]

The publication history of Francken en De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary (1864–1882)

After J.J.C. Francken passed away in 1864, it took more than eighteen years before his manuscript dictionary was edited and finally came off the press in 1882. It was published by the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences as *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (Chinese–Dutch dictionary of the Amoy dialect). The delay was caused in the first place by technical and financial problems with the printing of Chinese characters. The Batavian Society did not have Chinese type, and it lacked the means to buy a set of such type, so the printing had to be entrusted to the Government Press, which could only do it very slowly and in time left over from other jobs.[90] Another cause was the problem of editing, since there were too few Dutch sinologists available for the task. The first editor, Schlegel, left the Indies in 1872; he was succeeded by De Grijs, who was living far away in Semarang, which was very inconvenient. Fortunately, during most of these years some sinologists were members of the Board

of Directors of the Batavian Society: Schlegel in 1870–2, Groeneveldt in 1875–95, and Albrecht in 1878–85. It was due to them that the dictionary was published at all.

The vicissitudes in the publication history of this dictionary are well documented in the minutes of the Batavian Society.[91] In January 1866, almost two years after Francken passed away, Governor-General Sloet decided to donate the 36 books and five manuscripts from his estate to the Batavian Society.[92] Half a year later, in June 1866 the Board of Directors of the Society decided to place the printed books in the library of the Society, and to consider publication of the manuscripts.[93] Albrecht, who was Francken's successor in Surabaya, wrote a *nota* for the Board of Directors with a description of these, which included:

1. A manuscript copy of Hoffmann's Chinese–Dutch dictionary.
2. "A Chinese-Dutch dictionary arranged according to Tsiangtsiu pronunciation of the Hokkien dialect, which is generally spoken on Java. As only few and very insignificant works on this dialect exist, Francken's manuscript certainly is the most complete dictionary, and for that reason very valuable. It contains many expressions that until now no one has collected, which considerably enhance its value."
3. A Dutch–Chinese dictionary in draft, which was a reversed version of the preceding.
4. "A collection of more than 2,000 Chinese sayings with translation and explanation, unique in its kind, and the more noteworthy, because they provide deep insight into the manners and customs of the Chinese nation."
5. Translations of some Chinese classical works into Dutch, typical of a student.

Albrecht concluded that nos. 2 and 4 were valuable and could be published without much editing.[94] The Board decided to ask Schlegel, who was a member, if publication was desirable from a scholarly point of view and if he would be willing to correct the proofs.[95]

One month later, Schlegel gave his comments. According to him, Hoffmann's dictionary could not be published because the copyright was held by the author. Francken's collection of sayings was the "richest ever made by a sinologist," but the Chinese–Dutch dictionary was the most important:

> The advisor was present when this dictionary was compiled and can state with confidence that it is one of the most excellent products in the field of Chinese linguistic studies and well worth the cost of publication.

The only problem was the insufficiency of Chinese type at the Government Press, because the available characters were almost constantly needed for printing official works.[96] Schlegel thought it would be best to acquire another set of type from the Netherlands.[97] Finally, he declared that he was willing to correct the proofs. The costs of buying Chinese type, according to him, would amount to at least *f* 2,400. Since this was too expensive for the Batavian Society, the Board decided to have the two Chinese manuscripts printed by the Government Press.[98]

Five months later the Batavian Society obtained Government support. In February 1867, Governor-General Mijer decided to have the dictionary printed by the Government Press without cost to the Batavian Society, but on condition that it would be done in spare time between other printing jobs. And it was not altogether free, because the Batavian Society would have to provide the paper needed, pay for the carving of extra characters and pay an allowance of *f* 16 per sheet of 8 pages to the printing personnel.[99]

The printing proceeded very slowly, and almost four years later hardly anything had been printed; all private efforts to urge the printer failed. In December 1870 Schlegel, who was now a member of the Board of Directors of the Batavian Society, suggested officially requesting the government to speed up the printing of the dictionary, and the Board decided to act accordingly.[100] But this was also to no avail, and in March 1871, the Board had to acknowledge that despite all efforts, it had not succeeded in publishing Francken's two manuscripts, mainly because of the lack of Chinese type. Von Faber's handbook on the Hakka dialect had not been published for the same reason.[101]

Half a year later, in October, Schlegel presented a *nota* with the results of inquiries as to the price of Chinese type in China. He asked the directors to consider buying a set of 240,000 type for *f* 2,700 at the American Mission Press in Shanghai. These were smaller type than those of the Government Press and they could be used very well in combination with European letters. For the time being no decision was made, and the question was never raised again.[102]

For Schlegel there was also another personal interest at stake. From February to June 1872, the Batavian Society's printer Bruining & Co. would print his *Sinico-Aryaca*.[103] During this period Bruining would borrow Chinese type from the Government Press, and Schlegel arranged for the carving of about 800 new characters for his book.[104] This certainly would not speed up the printing of Francken's dictionary. Besides, Schlegel was also teaching Roelofs, and he probably had little time left to spend on the editing and proof-reading of the dictionary.

After Schlegel left the Indies on sick leave in June 1872,[105] Von Faber took over the work of editing and supervising the printing of the dictionary, but after a few months he was obliged to resign. According to the

president of the Batavian Society, T.H. der Kinderen, Von Faber resigned because of the pressure of his official work, even though a fee was offered to him.[106] Von Faber was at that time the only Chinese interpreter in Batavia; another reason was perhaps that his major dialect was Cantonese, not Hokkien, and therefore he may have felt unqualified for this task. Another editor had to be found, and when Der Kinderen visited Semarang in the beginning of November 1872, he asked De Grijs to take care of the editing and proofreading, which he was willing to do.[107] In his preface (*voorbericht*) to the dictionary, De Grijs explained that he considered it his sacred duty to do this for his good friend Francken, adding that only a few sheets had been printed at that time. The Government Press was to send the manuscript and the proofs to De Grijs.[108] In January 1873 De Grijs wrote that he would start correcting as soon as he received the proofs.[109]

In the meantime, in 1873 and later in 1875, Schlegel wrote reports to the Minister of Colonies, pleading for a training course in Leiden and a professorship for himself. Both times he also suggested the printing and correcting of Francken's dictionary should be continued in the Netherlands. He argued that in two or three years time only 16 sheets had been printed (128 pages), and that it would take many years before the dictionary could be finished in Batavia. Since there was also Chinese type in Leiden, it could be printed there as well.[110] The Minister gave no comment on his suggestion about the dictionary, but he accepted his plan to train Chinese interpreters in Leiden.

Surprisingly, Schlegel did not mention in his reports that De Grijs had been charged with the editing, although Der Kinderen must certainly have told him. The reason was probably that Schlegel wished to continue the editing himself and perhaps even felt a grudge against De Grijs. Nor did he mention De Grijs' name as one of the compilers in the introduction to his own dictionary.[111] But later developments would show that De Grijs' editing inadvertedly brought about much inconvenience and slowed down the printing process even more.

In December 1873, almost a year after De Grijs had agreed to do the editing, he received the first proofs. After checking a few sheets of the dictionary, which he now saw for the first time, he discovered that some sentences in literary style should be omitted and that much should be added. He asked permission to make additions, considering that probably no similar work would be published in the near future. The Board allowed him to continue editing according to his suggestions.[112] Only now was Francken's manuscript sent to him; he received it in March 1874.[113]

Still the printing process was heavily hampered. One and a half years later, in July 1875, Groeneveldt, who on 9 March of that year had become a member of the Board, made inquiries into the printing and discovered that only one sheet per month was being printed:

> If the correction process had been organised in another way, three sheets could be printed per month. The problem is that the Chinese characters are inserted in the proof, and therefore a large part of the copy has to be set up again.

The Board thereupon asked De Grijs to change his working method.[114] In August, De Grijs wrote that he would try once again—apparently he had tried before—to have the characters set up in proof at the Government Press, instead of adding them to the first proof.[115] This time he was successful, as is shown by one surviving page of proof with written corrections in his hand.[116] On this page about half of the characters were directly printed in proof, and De Grijs added the other half in spaces left open for them. This made it unnecessary to set up the whole page again.[117]

If three sheets a month could have been printed, as Groeneveldt had said, the printing could have been finished in a few years. But four years later, only about half of the dictionary was printed. In the meantime, Groeneveldt and Albrecht had successfully pleaded with the Governor-General against the need and usefulness of a large number of Chinese interpreters, indirectly opposing Schlegel's training ambitions. At a meeting of the Board of the Batavian Society in April 1879, Groeneveldt now also raised doubts about the need and the quality of Francken's dictionary. He found that in 1866 Schlegel had greatly exaggerated its value, when he considered it "one of the most excellent products in the field of Chinese language studies." More correct was Albrecht's opinion that because of the lack of works on the Tsiangtsiu dialect, it was at the time "the most complete dictionary and therefore very valuable." Groeneveldt considered this dictionary the work of a promising beginner, carefully edited, but far from complete; in the past it would have been valuable because no similar work existed. If it had been published right away, it would have been very useful for Dutch sinologists and others in the Indies. It was highly unfortunate that, probably on Schlegel's advice, characters had been added for all words and expressions. These would be of use only for those who also studied the written language, and even for them, characters at the beginning of each main entry would have sufficed. Because of this, the dictionary had become twice as large as it should have been. For other users, officials and merchants, characters would be distracting and make the language seem more difficult than it actually was. Moreover, they slowed down the publication: after twelve years, only about half was ready. Meanwhile an excellent dictionary had been published by Carstairs Douglas,[118] missionary at Amoy, who was not a beginner and had spent many years on his dictionary, and had access to extensive materials compiled by his predecessors. Having this dictionary in which all Chinese characters were omitted,[119] no Dutch sinologist would make use of Francken's work.

Therefore Francken's dictionary was only destined for use by those who wished to learn something of the spoken language for their contacts with the Chinese. If things continued unchanged, another twelve years would be needed, and by that time the dictionary would perhaps be even more outdated. Groeneveldt suggested that publication should either be stopped altogether or continued without the characters. Before the Board of Directors made a decision, it asked Groeneveldt to inquire about the cost of publication at the Government Press.[120]

Four months later, in August 1879, Groeneveldt reported that about 20 sheets were still to be printed, costing *f* 480.[121] But if characters were omitted, only 8 to 10 sheets would suffice, and the printing could be finished within half a year. It would be best to economise in any possible manner on this dictionary, which in many ways was an unfinished work. Moreover, the tone signs were printed in a way that made them hardly recognisable, which was an important disadvantage to the user. Finally, Groeneveldt added that De Grijs fully agreed with his negative opinion on the dictionary.[122] The Board then decided to continue printing without Chinese characters, except at each main entry in the margin.[123] As in most Chinese dictionaries, there are 'main entries' consisting of one character. These are written in the margin, and their pronunciation and meanings are given. The 'main entries' are usually followed by a list of 'sub-entries' of two or more characters. These are compounds and sayings that always contain the same character as the 'main entry.' For instance, the main entry Taō 荳, "bean" has as one of its sub-entries taō gê, "bean sprouts" (p. 577).

From now on, the printing of the last third of the dictionary proceeded swiftly. In March 1882 the printing was finished except for the preface.[124] As a result of the change in editing, there is a clear dichotomy: pages 1 to 520 have Chinese characters in most entries, while pages 521 to 774 only have characters at the main entries in the margin.[125] Despite the simplification, however, the remaining costs were twice as much as estimated.[126] Finally, in October 1882, Albrecht reported that the dictionary was ready and could be sent to the members.[127]

There is another, less prominent dichotomy in the dictionary. During this long period of printing, the old Dutch spelling of Siegenbeek dating from 1804[128] was gradually replaced by the new spelling of De Vries and Te Winkel devised in 1864.[129] As a result, the first half of the dictionary was written in the Siegenbeek spelling, while the last half usually has the new spelling. Some examples of words spelled differently are *regtvaardig* (righteous), *ligchaam* (body), *fraaije* (beautiful), *blaauw* (blue) and *Chinesche* (Chinese) in the first half, which were spelled *rechtvaardig*, *lichaam*, *fraaie*, *blauw* and *Chineesche* in the second half.[130] The older spelling in the first half would only strengthen the feeling that the dictionary was outdated.

The publication of Francken's dictionary, despite its shortcomings, was

a great achievement for both the editors and the Government Press in Batavia. Unfortunately, little is known about its reception, apart from the negative comments by Groeneveldt, De Grijs, and later Schlegel.[131] Probably the sphere of use and the number of specialists was too small to invite publication of any review. Only one announcement of its publication is known, appearing in the *Indische Gids* of 1883; it gave no more information than De Grijs' preface.[132] But in 1889 Schaalje wrote in the introduction to his manuscript Dutch–Amoy dictionary that Francken's dictionary had been very useful to him. One reason for this was that he did not possess Douglas' dictionary.[133]

Description and evaluation

The full title of the dictionary is *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt door J.J.C. Francken en C.F.M. de Grijs* (Chinese–Dutch dictionary of the Amoy dialect by J.J.C. Francken and C.F.M. de Grijs). De Grijs probably preferred to use Amoy in the title because the main entries, compounds and sayings are first given in the Amoy pronunciation, and the main entries are alphabetically arranged according to this dialect. In his introduction, De Grijs presented the dictionary as purely of Amoy dialect, only providing a list of the names of eleven dialect variants of Hokkien or Southern Fujianese without any explanation.[134] On the other hand, Francken, Albrecht, and Schlegel always designated it as a Tsiangtsiu dictionary. Actually it is a dictionary of both the Amoy and the Tsiangtsiu dialect. In cases where the pronunciations in these dialects are different, Tsiangtsiu pronunciation is given on the next line. Except in the main entries, it is usually placed between brackets, or both pronunciations are connected by another large bracket (}). Sometimes the Tsiangtsiu pronunciations or expressions are explicitly indicated by the addition of the word *(Tsiangtsiu)*, *(Ts-ts.)* or a footnote.[135]

In contrast to Douglas' dictionary, colloquial and literary readings are not indicated as such. But footnotes are often added simply referring to another reading of a certain main entry (*zie verder onder…*), without mentioning the kind of reading. Sometimes cross-references are also supplied between the Amoy and Tsiangtsiu pronunciations, for instance between *-e* and *-oe*, but without any explanation.

For all practical purposes, as is the case nowadays in Southeast Asia, the distinction between the two dialects was probably not considered very important, since speakers of both can usually understand each other. It was also not felt necessary to distinguish explicitly between the literary and the colloquial styles. For the interpreters it was enough to get to know the meaning of words. In this respect, Douglas' dictionary is clearly superior

since it indicates the various dialect pronunciations and also the literary (Reading) and colloquial styles.

In total, the dictionary has about 33,000 entries, including about 5,000 main entries and about 2,000 sayings. Francken's collection of sayings was perhaps incorporated into the dictionary.[136]

Although the main entries are arranged alphabetically,[137] the compounds and sayings under each main entry are randomly listed. All sub-entries are conveniently written vertically, while simple compounds are mostly at the beginning and sayings at the end. Douglas listed all sub-entries continuously, as in most dictionaries, and divided them into paragraphs.

As mentioned above, about two-thirds of the dictionary has Chinese characters for almost all entries (pp. 1-520), while the rest only has characters in the margin for the main entries (pp. 521-774).

Two different fonts of characters were used. The large majority of characters are in the metal type acquired from the Netherlands from 1862 on, the same as that used by Brill, with regular additions. Since new matrices could not be made in the Indies, missing characters could only be carved in wood.[138] These were made in written style (*kaiti* 楷體), not in the style of printed characters (*Songti* 宋體). These carved characters appear in great numbers at the beginning of the dictionary, which was edited by Schlegel, for instance the character used for *k'ah* 籪, "fish basket."[139] Since Hoffmann had arranged that all new type made in the Netherlands would be sent to Batavia as well, some characters first appear in wooden and later in metal type, such as 虱 *sat*, "lice." For this character there appear two different carved characters on p. 38, but a metal type was used later on pp. 209 and 498 (*see* illustration 20).

The fundamental insufficiency of Chinese characters to represent the colloquial language often resulted in a loose relationship between the characters and the romanised words. The meaning is well represented, but not the colloquial words themselves. Therefore the romanised text is primary and the characters secondary, which is just the opposite of what a Chinese user or a sinologist knowing only Mandarin would expect. This dictionary uses the same methods of representing the colloquial words in characters as *Shiwu yin*, Medhurst and Doty did, as described above, but it does not strive at consistency. The various types of representation can be classified as follows.

1. No character could be found; in that case the character was simply left out, or (rarely) in compounds represented by a small circle (○) (p. 484).
2. One character may have two or more pronunciations (for instance 馬 *má˘, bé*; 乾 *kan, koa˘, ta*).[140]
3. One word is represented by two or more characters. For instance *kaó*, "to arrive," can be written as 到 or 至 which both have the

BA

at tēng / *» tuī* | 斷, doorbreken, in tweeën breken.

at lóh, | 下, ten onder houden, temperen.

at lóh t'aò, | 下 首, het hoofd buigen, bukken, bedaarder worden.

at hoe ki / *» hoa »* | 花 枝, een' bloemtak afplukken.

at sèng / *» suì* | 算, op de vingers tellen.

bó at sèng / *» » suì* 不 | 算, niet berekenen, bedenken (als de onkosten die nog van iets afmoeten).

at tse giáh beh hāi ih / *» » » boeh « »* zoo berekenen dat men elk (zijner schuldeischers) een deel kan betalen.

at tiaò, 按 憍, de maat slaan.

at tsèng t'au á / *» tsing « »* | 手 指, de vingers doen knappen.

Ba

痲 Bà *bà hong*, | 瘋, melaatschheid.

bà pì, | 痺, slapen (van den voet).

bà ioh, | 藥, geneesmiddel tegen melaatschheid; pijndoovend geneesmiddel.

bà bīn, | 面, mottig, pokdalig.

boē bà bīn, 不 | 面, zich niet schamen, schaamteloos.

ts'eu bà bà, 凉 | |, kil, verklimd, stijf van koude.

貓 Bà Lichtekooi, hoer.

bā ts'iong / *» ts'iang* | 娼, lichtekooi.

p'aī bà, 歹 |, do.

pi nó tsù bà, 嫖 子 |, do. (scheldwoord).

BAH

貓 Bà Wilde kat.

soa bà, 山 |, do.

bà dzi gán, | 兒 眼, katterige, dodderige oogen door dronkenschap.

鯊 Bà *pan bà*, 班 |, spaansche vlieg.

bà li, scheepshut (maleisch *balé*).

kap i bà lī, intiem met iemand zijn.

覓 Bā Zoeken naar, uitzien naar.

bā t'aò lāi | 生 路, naar eene kostwinning, betrekking uitzien.

bā ts'ù, | 厝, naar een huis uitkijken, zoeken.

碼 Bà Eene el, (van het Engelsche *yard*).

密 Bā *bā bā*, digt, geheim.

bā sún, 涘 筍, met zwaluwstaarten bevestigen.

bā lī, goed overeenstemen.

bā lí soaī, tamelijk, het kan er nog door.

霧 Bā Verstikt.

ts'iū bā / *ts'iōng »* 汚 跡, verstikt (van kleêren).

bā hióh / *laī »* 鷄 鷹, wouw. (Milvus Govinda).

bā hióh bā koe á / *laī hióh boáh ke á* 鷄 鷹 掠 鷄 子, de wouw steelt de kuikens weg.

bā bā, 峇 峇, op Java of in den Archipel geboren Chinees, *tiplap*.

Bah

肉 Bah Vleesch (varkens vleesch).

gù bah, 牛 |, rundvleesch.

iù bah / *iò »* 羊 |, schapenvleesch.

ti bah, 猪 |, varkensvleesch.

20. Page from Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary, 1882 (page edited by Schlegel). The last entry of the previous page, continued here, is 壓 at (ya).

same meaning; one is in Mandarin and the other in literary Chinese (p. 209).[141] In one instance, as many as four different characters are used for one colloquial word in different contexts: the main entry *ham*, translated as "eyelid" has itself no character, but in the four examples it is represented as 睭, 銜, 疔 and 蛉.[142] The representation by characters is often inconsistent; for instance *tsiep* (or *tsap*) (p. 709) is mostly written 汁, but also once with the carved character 浹 (in *koê tsiep*, p. 300).

4. The number of characters does not correspond to the number of syllables, for instance *bô ū tsit ê lē* 無此例, "that is not the custom, that is not usual."[143] Another example is *tsa p̲o̲ gín á* 男孩, "small boy."[144]
5. Colloquial compounds are represented by a synonym (gloss) in the written language instead of its component morphemes; for instance *ang î*, "female fortune-teller, witch,"[145] is represented by 女巫 (characters pronounced: *lú bû*); but elsewhere these two morphemes are written correctly 尪 (*ang*, p. 8) and 姨 (î, p. 153). Another example is *k'ià p̲o̲ bé ê tsa b̲ó̲* 騎報馬的女人, "a wicked woman, wife wearing the breeches,"[146] in which the last three characters are glosses.
6. Colloquial sayings are represented by a similar one in the literary language, which is customary and easier to understand. For instance *beh tsiáh kín, kòng p'oà oá¯* 欲食快打破碗, "by wanting to eat quickly break the bowl, i.e. to mess up something by hurrying too much."[147] If the individual morphemes were directly represented as 欲食緊攻破碗,[148] this would only be understood by dialect speakers well versed in this kind of representation. Another example is *kā kaó ɛ¯m haó* 咬狗不吠, "a biting dog doesn't bark;"[149] the latter two morphemes are elsewhere correctly written 唔 and 吼 (pp. 43, 86).

Apart from the above problematical representations in characters, the dictionary has a rather large number of character misprints, for instance mixing up 書, 晝 and 畫; 默 and 墨 (p. 26), and characters in the wrong order, for instance *tsít siáh tsiú* 一桌席 instead of 一席桌.[150] A few characters are even turned 90 or 180 degrees out of proper alignment (pp. 605, 625). Since the romanised text is primary, mistakes in the indicated pronunciation are more serious, for instance the wrong tone of *hó* 和 instead of *hô*; it has the same pronunciation as *hô* 荷 (p. 118); and *hat* 轄 instead of *hoat* 發 in the word *hoat tiaô* 發條, "spring (of watches, mattresses)."[151] Tsiangtsiu and Amoy pronunciations are sometimes mixed up. There are many mistakes in the diacritics for the tones and nasalisation,[152] and these are also difficult to distinguish, specially ^ and ˋ, and _ and ¯.[153] De Grijs was well aware of the unavoidable printing errors, in part caused by the long distance between Semarang and Batavia.[154]

During the printing process, doubts about the quality and usefulness of the dictionary were raised first by Groeneveldt in 1879. They were confirmed by De Grijs and later repeated by Schlegel in 1882.[155] This was mainly because of the publication of Douglas' much more detailed and better dictionary in 1873. A general comparison with Douglas' dictionary shows that Francken's translations are often typically those of a beginner, who had learned only one meaning of an expression, for instance ông iâ 王爺, "god said to investigate all that happens on earth,"[156] while the more general translation by Douglas is "title of imperial princes; name given to a great many idols" (p. 352). On the other hand, Francken has retained quite a few lively explanations, for instance *bōng ling hāng* 摸乳巷, "narrow alley, lit. 'breast-feel alley'," with a footnote by Schlegel: "Name of a narrow alley in Amoy, where one has to stretch one's arms in order not to bump into each other, and therefore often grabs the breasts of the women one runs into;"[157] while Douglas wrote "*bong-ling*, to touch a woman's breast (counted a pledge of illicit intercourse)" (p. 25). Other examples are *dziók gán* 肉眼, "meat/flesh eyes, (for someone who disrespectfully does not make a distinction between elders and youngsters),"[158] and *toā p'à˘ tsîm* 大冇蟳 "a large hollow crab; a fat but weak person, someone who seems rich but actually is not."[159] Moreover, Francken's translations of the main entries are often very detailed, for instance the various meanings of *sí* 死 ("to die," p. 504).

The dictionary still contains many classical expressions that were not sifted out by De Grijs, such as *pan bûn lōng hú* 班門弄斧, "to handle the ax at the door of *Pan*, (god of carpenters), *i.e.* to wish to show off one's knowledge in front of brighter people."[160]

There are some expressions that are typical of the Netherlands Indies, but not many, such as *kong si* 公司, "company, association; in the Netherlands Indies the common title of Chinese officers."[161] There are a few Malay loanwords, but the origin of these is usually not indicated, for instance *sa lông* 沙籠, "sarong" (p. 489); *lê long* 嚟撐, "auction" (from Malay *lelang*).[162] An interesting hybrid word is *ko p'i tê*, "infusion of coffee" (*aftreksel van koffij*, p. 583); this word consists of a loanword from Malay *kopi*, "coffee," combined with the Chinese word *tê* 茶 "tea, infusion."[163] Other typical Indies terminology is missing, such as *toā lát* 大叻 that was used by De Grijs himself to transcribe the Malay *tuan Raad*, "Gentlemen of the Court (*Raad van Justitie*),"[164] and even the common terms for Chinese officers such as *kah pit tan* 甲必丹.[165] These were probably not considered Chinese words.

The dictionary has many shortcomings, but the addition of the characters, especially the more or less complete representation on pages 1 to 520, is an advantage compared with Douglas' dictionary. In combination with its liveliness, this makes it a useful and entertaining reference work on the Amoy or Tsiangtsiu dialects for anyone who can read nineteenth-century Dutch.[166]

The publication history of Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary

In two of his *notas* pleading for a Chinese professorship for himself in Leiden in 1873[167] and 1875, Schlegel had already mentioned the need of a Dutch–Chinese dictionary. According to him, the existing English–Chinese dictionary, probably meaning Medhurst's dictionary of 1847–8, was only suitable for translating Christian tracts, not East Indies ordinances and proclamations. He announced that he had been compiling a Dutch–Chinese dictionary since he arrived in Amoy in 1858; at that time it was not yet completed.[168] Moreover, in his three-monthly report to the Minister in July 1875, he stressed how difficult it was for his students to translate government ordinances. His own manuscript dictionary was too large and elaborate to have the students spend their valuable study time copying it.[169] Two years later in his inaugural lecture in 1877, he repeated this plea for government support.[170] During these years there was no written reaction from the Ministry.

In the summer of 1881, almost three years after his last group of students had left, and just before the publication of the first two instalments of Hoffmann's Japanese dictionaries, Schlegel wrote an elaborate *nota* to Minister of Colonies Van Goltstein about the need for a Dutch–Chinese dictionary, announcing that his own dictionary was now ready for the press. He explained again that the existing English–Chinese dictionaries were totally insufficient for the needs of Dutch interpreters in the Netherlands Indies. Their work was altogether different from that of the British interpreters at the legation and consulates in China, who took care of the correspondence with Chinese authorities, but who usually did not themselves translate into Chinese. They only needed to give an oral explanation to their Chinese clerks, who then wrote the Chinese letter, which after due checking by the interpreters was copied and dispatched. For translating from Chinese into English, they had good dictionaries at their disposal. But in the Indies, the main task of the Dutch interpreters was translating Dutch ordinances, laws, rules of tax-farming (*pachtvoorwaarden*) etc. into Chinese, and not translating from Chinese into Dutch. After arrival in the Indies in 1862, Schlegel had experienced the need of a good and complete Dutch–Chinese dictionary. The difficulties of translating into Chinese were almost insurmountable; searching for the correct translation of technical and legal terminology was extremely time-consuming, and often without success.

Schlegel then gave explanations of some peculiarities of the Chinese language and writing system, which do not seem directly related to his dictionary, but give an impression of the difficulty of the Chinese language in general and dialects in particular.

After fourteen years of compiling, he had advanced enough in 1872 to

start editing, which he had been doing continuously since then. Now the letters A to U were finished and ready for the press; and he would only need a few years to complete the letters V, W, and Z.

The more and more urgent requests from the younger interpreters in the Indies for publication of the dictionary moved Schlegel to ask Minister Van Goltstein to publish it at the expense of the Ministry. This could of course not be a private enterprise, since no financial profit could be gained from it; only the government would be able to undertake it. The Dutch government had shown its true scholarly spirit by publishing Hoffmann's Japanese dictionary, since that book would profit the British more than the Dutch. Therefore Schlegel hoped that the Minister would not object to publication of a Dutch–Chinese dictionary that besides its scholarly use would mainly fulfil a practical need:

> A need, which, I fear, can never be supplied for in the future, since my patience to continue and finish the gigantic labour spent on this dictionary was only supported by my scholarly zeal and the wish to facilitate my former colleagues, the Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands Indies, in their official work for the government.[171]

Schlegel continued that, despite his official duties and the preparation of other scholarly works, he had spent twenty-four of the best years of his life on this dictionary, in the hope of doing a useful job and trusting that the government would not let that labour of almost a quarter of a century go to waste. Publication could be effected in a gradual manner without too much burdening the Treasury. Brill would be prepared to publish the dictionary on the same conditions as Hoffmann's Japanese dictionary. Moreover, it should be understood clearly that the publication of this dictionary would not be subject to delays. It was ready for the press, while the Japanese dictionary had still had to be edited sheet after sheet. It would comprise about 200 sheets of 16 pages, of which each year 40-45 sheets could be printed, so the printing could be finished in about five years. Schlegel added one proof page which he had set to give an example of his manner of editing and to show that he had already reached the letter V. This page contained the words from *vaderlandslievend* (patriotic), *vaderlandsliefde* (patriotism) to *vaderons* (the Lord's Prayer), all words that were apt to evoke warm feelings in the Minister and other government officials.[172]

Bureau A[1] suggested asking Governor-General F. s'Jacob if this dictionary was necessary and how many copies would be needed; it could possibly be subsidised indirectly by subscribing in advance for a certain number of copies. But Secretary General H. van der Wijck considered it unnecessary to consult him: "Officials of the Internal Administration or the judiciary would be sensible enough not to try to speak Chinese with the Chinese, but to force them to speak Malay."[173] The dictionary was only

necessary for the interpreters. If the government would only pay for the copies needed for government use, this would amount to rejecting Schlegel's proposal, and that would be wrong. But it would also not be advisable to publish the dictionary at the expense of the government: the government would then get stuck with 500 copies that it had to sell. He advised to show hearty appreciation of Schlegel's proposal—and write that it could not be published by the government, but could possibly be subsidised.

Minister Van Goltstein thereupon wrote to Schlegel that he had read Schlegel's letter about his dictionary with the greatest interest. He agreed with the usefulness of the dictionary for the Chinese interpreters, but not with the proposal to publish it at government expense. It should remain a private enterprise, for which a yearly subsidy for a certain period could be considered. He asked Schlegel to consult with Brill and make a detailed proposal.[174]

Schlegel answered a week later, sending a calculation of the costs. The dictionary was to be published in four volumes of about 800 pages each, totalling 3,200 pages, and 400 copies were to be printed. If printed at the expense of the government, the latter would obtain the whole edition at *f* 75 per copy, in total *f* 30,000, which could be paid in four instalments upon the appearance of each volume. But since the Minister wished it to remain a private enterprise that could be subsidised, Schlegel and Brill made another calculation which would cost *f* 6,000 less. A subsidy of *f* 24,000, that is *f* 4,000 per year for six years, would suffice. The publisher would supply 60 copies to the Ministry. Brill would undertake the remaining *f* 6,000 at their own risk, expecting to sell 80 copies. They would also pay for a large number of matrices for new characters, which would remain the property of the government.

Schlegel finally gave two other arguments for government support. When even the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (Dictionary of the Dutch language) by Professor De Vries, a dictionary that was bought by thousands of Dutchmen, had to be highly subsidised by the government,[175] it was no wonder that a dictionary of an Oriental language could not be published without considerable subsidy. And in view of the high profits to the Dutch State from Chinese industry and commerce in the Indies, and in particular the tax-farming of government assets (*verpachting van 's Lands middelen*), it was to be hoped that the Minister would subsidise a dictionary that would mainly be used for the Netherlands Indies' government and its Chinese subjects.[176]

Before making a decision, Minister Van Goltstein asked Bureau A[1] to do some preliminary research. In the first place, he wished to receive a list of existing Chinese dictionaries in order to find out if a translation into one or more of the most common European languages should be added in case of government support, just as with Hoffmann's Japanese dictionary.

The result was a list of six dictionaries, four of which were in English.[177] In the second place, Van Goltstein wished to know the total costs of Hoffmann's dictionary until now. These were as of then *f* 16,447.21.[178]

Secretary General H. van der Wijck had an interview with Schlegel, after which he concluded that the addition of an English text[179] "would not greatly increase the sale of the dictionary, considering that the British made use of Chinese clerks for translating into Chinese and this dictionary would be of no help for the spoken language."[180] Schlegel agreed that this subsidy would require a considerable amount of money, but he could not persuade Brill to offer more liberal conditions. He told Van der Wijck that, during the years of the Atjeh War (1874–9), he had been waiting with his proposal, but now he dared wait no longer, fearing that publication might be cancelled because of his death or some other circumstance. "Indeed an awful thought for the author, that all that work would for ever remain in manuscript only!"[181] Van der Wijck advised the Minister to accept Schlegel's proposal.

Van Goltstein then made his decision accordingly and reported to the King, asking for Royal Approval for *f* 24,000 over six years for the publication of the dictionary, of course on condition that Parliament would approve the budget. He ended his report to the King as follows:

> If publication would not be realised now, the existing need for a Dutch–Chinese dictionary would probably never be met, owing to the almost insurmountable problem of compilation, as a result of which a scholar would very rarely have the courage to take upon himself that task and bring it to a favourable conclusion.[182]

The King gave his approval by Royal Decree of 27 July 1881,[183] and Parliament also assented. In December of that year, as soon as the government budget for 1882 had been approved,[184] Brill immediately began printing.[185] A few months later, when ten sheets were ready, Schlegel asked Van Goltstein when the subsidy would be payable. The Minister answered that it could be claimed at the end of the year, and he requested to be sent immediately 60 copies of the printed sheets.[186]

The next week Schlegel had these sent to the Ministry. Actually, these were 20 half sheets of 8 pages each, comprising 160 pages. This was the beginning of volume III, which would contain the letters O-S. On the reverse side of the provisional title page the reason for this was explained:[187] in this way the dictionary could be of immediate practical use, because it contained adjectives, adverbs, and verbs composed with the prefixes *om-*, *on-*, *ont-*, *op-* and *om-* (about, un-, in-, on, over-),[188] probably since these words were often difficult to translate.

Minister Van Goltstein sent ten copies to Governor-General s'Jacob, asking if he needed more. He would await his answer before distributing the other

copies.[189] In October, Brill sent the second set of printed sheets (nos. 21-46, pp. 161-368) to the Ministry, thereby completing the first instalment. Soon afterwards Governor-General s'Jacob's answer arrived, saying that he needed fourteen copies: twelve for the interpreters, one for the honorary advisor of Chinese affairs (Groeneveldt) and one for the Batavian Society.[190]

The first complete instalment also contained a Dutch and English introduction and a new title page.[191] The full title was: *Hô Hoâ Bûn-Gí Luī-Ts'am* 荷華文語類參 *Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek met de transcriptie der Chineesche karakters in het Tsiang-tsiu dialekt. Hoofdzakelijk ten behoeve der Tolken voor de Chineesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië, bewerkt door Dr. G. Schlegel, Hoogleeraar in de Chineesche Taal- en Letterkunde aan de Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden* (Dutch–Chinese dictionary with the transcription of the Chinese characters in the Zhangzhou dialect. Mainly for use by the Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands Indies, edited by Dr. G. Schlegel, Professor of Chinese Language and Literature at the National University in Leiden).

The Minister made a list of persons, institutions and libraries that were to receive copies, mainly following the list for Hoffmann's dictionary, and sent it to Schlegel for comments.[192] Typically, Schlegel suggested deleting the names of Willem Vissering, Kern and other Leiden professors, because they were studying Japanese or other languages, not Chinese. He proposed to add the British Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society and the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the French government, and Chinese and Japanese diplomats in Europe, etc.; this was accepted. But his suggestion to add Legge, d'Hervey de Saint Denis, and other sinologists, was not; the Minister wished to keep nine copies at the Ministry for future use. The final list included the King of the Netherlands, the Dutch Royal Library, KITLV, Dutch universities and the Indies Institute in Delft. Twenty-eight copies for foreign institutions and persons were distributed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[193]

From now on, new instalments were issued regularly. When volumes III (1884) and I (1886) had been completed, half of the dictionary had appeared, but it already comprised 2,682 of the expected total of 3,200 pages. In April 1886, Schlegel wrote a preface in Dutch and English to volume I, in which he explained the enlargement of the dictionary, expecting it to have double the size of the original estimate. This was caused by delays in the printing process, since the Chinese type at Brill was insufficient for such an elaborate dictionary. According to Schlegel, 4,000 new type had had to be made for the first two volumes, mainly by combining existing characters, and this was a very time-consuming job for Brill's type-setter.[194] On the other hand, these delays had given Schlegel more time to enrich and complete his dictionary, and the subscribers would receive a work almost twice as large for the same subscription price (*f* 80).[195] Moreover,

Schlegel was happy to receive news from many interpreters in the Indies about the usefulness of the dictionary and the benefits that they had derived from it. In this preface he also thanked his student Abram Lind and Mr. F. de Stoppelaar of Brill for helping him read the proofs.[196]

Of course, the enlargement of the dictionary would have financial consequences. A year later, in 1887, the fixed period of six years of subsidy was nearing its end. At Schlegel's initiative, Brill and Schlegel wrote letters to Minister of Colonies J.P. Sprenger van Eyk asking for an extension. Brill requested an extension of the *f* 4,000 subsidy for another three years, explaining that as to the quantity of sheets printed, they had more than fulfilled the contract, but that the dictionary was not complete; another 130 sheets were necessary according to Schlegel.

In his explanatory letter, Schlegel referred first to his two letters of 1881 about the urgent need of a Dutch–Chinese dictionary. He added that he had been using all his spare time in editing and compiling the dictionary. His purpose had always been to make it as complete as possible. When necessary, he made excerpts of foreign publications on Chinese literature and used information given him by interpreters in the Indies, adding these to the dictionary. Schlegel remarked casually that the dictionary was also appreciated abroad: a few days ago he had learned that he had been awarded the Prix Stanislas Julien for his dictionary.

Giving an estimate of the size of such a dictionary was always difficult, Schlegel continued, but the calculation made by him and Brill in 1881 had seemed at that time reliable. While editing, Schlegel found that he had to add a lot of material from sources in the Leiden University Library that were not available in Batavia.[197] Moreover, the printing process was often delayed because they had to wait for the new Chinese type that were made in Amsterdam, and since it was being printed anyhow, Schlegel incorporated the newly collected materials in the dictionary. He was convinced that the Minister would not refuse an extension of the subsidy even though the costs would be a little higher. The publication of this dictionary was a matter of great national interest:

> A wrong translation of ordinances, publications, laws etc. for the so numerous Chinese population in our Colonies, a wrong interpretation in the courts, can not only lead to gross injustices, but also to large damages, both to the government and to its subjects, as I experienced too often during my stay in the Indies.[198]

Until then 220 sheets had been printed, about 2/3 of the whole dictionary, which would be 130 sheets larger than estimated. Brill would also have to pay for the production of hundreds of matrices, which according to contract would remain government property. From this, new type could be made cheaply for the Government Press in Batavia.[199]

All officials at the Ministry immediately agreed with Brill's request. The main argument was that if it were not approved, publication of the dictionary would have to be discontinued, and that would be extremely regrettable. Secretary General H. van der Wijck remarked: "When publishing scholarly works, it seems that one can never be free from limping horses coming behind."[200] But he also wrote that Schlegel had now assured him that the work was finished and would not be enlarged. He advised the Minister to await the budget for 1888 for the final decision. Sprenger van Eyk replied to Brill and Schlegel accordingly.[201]

In December 1887, the Dutch Parliament approved the continuation of the *f* 4,000 subsidy for three years, and in January 1888, Royal Approval was obtained as well.[202] With this extension the total government subsidy would amount to *f* 36,000.

This time publication continued smoothly, and indeed, three years later the last instalment was published. The next year a Supplement with errata list was added.[203] The publication dates of the four volumes in fourteen instalments were as follows, the date of the last instalment of each volume being the date of that volume.

Vol. III (O-S), no. 1, October 1882; no. 2, May 1883; no. 3, May 1884
Vol. I (A-G), no. 1, November 1884; no. 2, May 1885; no. 3, December 1885; no. 4, May 1886
Vol. II (F-N), no. 1, December 1886; no. 2, June 1887; no. 3, December 1887
Vol. IV (T-Z), no. 1, July 1888; no. 2, June 1889; no. 3, February 1890
Supplement (*Aanhangsel*) with additions and errata list, April 1891[204]

Schlegel's last estimate was correct: the whole dictionary now contained 327 sheets (including preface and introduction 331 sheets).[205] The total number of pages was 5,220,[206] two thousand more than the original estimate.

The reception of the dictionary

After the publication of the first instalment of the dictionary, there appeared a few notices and reviews in the Dutch and English press. In December 1882, it was first mentioned in the *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* (The bookseller's newspaper) as "a work of which the Dutch printers could be proud, as there would be few printers, perhaps a single one in foreign countries, where Chinese type were so abundant and were set with

so much knowledge and thoroughness." A notice quoting from this review appeared in *De Indische Gids* in 1883.[207]

At the same time, the journalist J.A. Uilkens announced the publication in an article entitled "Again a Chinese Dictionary" (*Alweer een Chineesch woordenboek*) in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* of 12 December 1882. He had received Brill's Dutch–English prospectus of the dictionary and lamented the exorbitant costs of *f* 40,000 at this time of crisis—which he by mistake computed to be almost twice as high as officially announced, almost coinciding with the final costs. Since the number of European interpreters of Chinese was to be reduced to four, the dictionary would therefore cost *f* 10,000 per head! But Uilkens also stated:

> Still the dictionary can become very useful in the future, since the continuous increase of the Chinese population in these regions in numbers, riches and influence, will despite the cutback that has been ordered, make necessary a number of European officials proficient in the Chinese language and customs, for checking and restraining the influence of the Chinese … .[208]

He ended by saying that the printing seemed fine and the dictionary should presumably be rather complete since Schlegel had worked on it for 25 years.

In January 1883, a review appeared in *The London and China Express*.[209] This would be the first and for the time being only review written by a sinologist. The reviewer remarked first that it seemed strange that Schlegel had chosen the Tsiangtsiu dialect, of which there were already the dictionaries by Douglas and Medhurst, but the explanation in the introduction gave a very good reason for this. Then he agreed with Schlegel that the British government had done little to encourage the compilation of Chinese dictionaries. He regretted this, as it accounted in part for the interpreters' dependence on native clerks at the British consulates in China. This "dictionary promises to be an extremely useful work," but as Schlegel had invited criticism, the reviewer pointed out a few objections to its arrangement. In the first place, Schlegel did not distinguish among colloquial, literary, and classical phrases, and his explanation in the introduction about the styles chosen left the reader in doubt: Schlegel first stated that he had collected "the written language," then "the whole vocabulary of the language, as well as the colloquial as the written language," finally writing that the phrases were "all in classical Chinese." However, a glance at the contents showed that the last-named was not strictly adhered to:

> Such expressions as *Ts'a put to* [差不多], for "ongevéér," [about, roughly] and *Put iao* [不要] for "onwillig," [unwilling] cannot certainly be called classical, and should barely find place in any literary composition; and as a matter of fact a large proportion of the phrases given might be looked for in vain in the classics.

Although many phrases were not purely classical, they were "good," and the reviewer suggested that in future instalments Schlegel should distinguish these three styles using suffixed letters, as was done in Satow's English and Japanese dictionary.[210]

Another point of criticism was that Schlegel had used Medhurst's tonemarks, such as grave and acute accents, which the reviewer found confusing. Schlegel should rather use the traditional Chinese system with signs at the four corners of the characters.[211]

There was nothing else to find fault with in the dictionary, which was "well and carefully compiled, and beautifully printed." The reviewer finally remarked:

> Only one thing is needed to give it a still wider circulation than it is sure to acquire, and that is, that Dr. Schlegel should publish an English edition of it.

The next year, after instalment 3 of vol. III had come out, another short notice was published in the same weekly. Here the reviewer wrote again that it seemed a pity "that this enormous mass of really good work by a most competent scholar should have to appear in the Chang-chow [Tsiangtsiu] dialect." He also repeated his major point of criticism:

> We are still at a loss to know whether Dr. Schlegel has employed the classical, literary or colloquial phrases quoted; at all events we are given specimens of all. For the rest, the work is most carefully compiled, and will rank high in European–Chinese literature.[212]

In the Netherlands only one long review appeared, which however was not written by an expert. When the second instalment of vol. III appeared in May 1883, it was just in time to be shown at the Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam, where the reviewer came to know of it. On Sunday 13 May 1883, his article was published in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. The author praised the knowledge and energy of the Leiden professor and the high quality of the printing. Of course, the professor's knowledge could not be fully appreciated at an exhibition, but only in the study room after using it for a long time. Leafing through the book and reading a few entries, one could clearly see that these were not the fruits of one summer. The author praised Schlegel's ambition to give idiomatic translations. "Thanks to this ambition, one leafs through the dictionary with pleasure, which can rarely be said of dictionaries." Just as De Vries' *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* did to a greater extent, Schlegel's dictionary dedicated a short article to each relatively important word. These often comprised a few pages, explaining the meaning or use in different senses, with many quotations from Chinese authors. One could say that parts of the dictionary "read like a novel."[213]

The author ended his review with two suggestions. After quoting from

the "very appreciative" English review mentioned above, he also expressed the hope that an English edition would soon be made under supervision of Schlegel. In that case, he advised acquisition of a second, smaller set of type to print the innumerable examples in the text. The book would be less bulky and easier to handle, but the reviewer was aware of possible financial objections.

Both suggestions were never realised. No English edition appeared, and Brill continued using the large type until 1964. The advantage of this type became evident when H.A. Giles had the second edition of his Chinese–English dictionary printed by Brill in the years 1908–12, exactly because Brill's type was larger and clearer than that used by Kelly and Walsh in Shanghai for the first edition (1892).[214]

At the International Conference of Orientalists held in Leiden in September 1883, Schlegel not only presented his catalogue of Chinese books in Leiden, but also gave a lecture entitled "Sur l'importance de la langue Hollandaise pour l'interprétation de la langue Chinoise"[215] (On the importance of the Dutch language for understanding Chinese). This was mainly an apology for using Dutch, a language of but limited distribution, for such an extensive dictionary. The reasons were, as he had written in his introduction, in the first place because the dictionary was intended for the Chinese interpreters in the Indies, to help them in translating Dutch legal texts into Chinese. In the second place, it could be useful for the Japanese, because Dutch–Japanese dictionaries were very defective and the Japanese could read Chinese anyhow. A third and new reason for preferring the Dutch language was that Schlegel had discovered there were many similarities between Chinese and Dutch, showing that there was some truth in the nickname for the Dutch as "the Chinese of Europe." When translating Chinese into English, French, German, and Dutch, he had personally experienced that Dutch was better suited to precisely render Chinese idioms than the other three. In his dictionary many examples of this could be found, while he now only gave a few examples.[216]

According to Schlegel, it would be relatively easy to construct an English–Chinese or French–Chinese dictionary on the basis of his Dutch–Chinese dictionary. And even with a superficial knowledge of the Dutch language, and with the help of Dutch–English or Dutch–French dictionaries, an Englishman or Frenchman could easily consult this dictionary. Still, he was fully aware that this dictionary, be it large, was incomplete. To make a complete dictionary would be beyond the powers of one person.

Schlegel ended his lecture with an appeal to the British government to appoint a commission of eminent sinologists for compiling Chinese–English and English–Chinese dictionaries, as had been done with the large Sanskrit dictionary published at the expense of the Russian govern-

ment.[217] He hoped that the conference would support him in this appeal, which it did.[218] A lively discussion about dictionaries ensued.[219]

After more than half of the dictionary had been printed, in May 1887 Schlegel obtained international recognition for his work when he was awarded the Prix Stanislas Julien. This prize had been created by Julien in his testament in 1872, by which he left a yearly interest sum of 1,500 francs to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres to found an annual prize for the best publication concerning China (*meilleur ouvrage relatif à la Chine)*. The prize was awarded for the first time in 1875 to James Legge for his translation of *The Chinese Classics*.[220] Other compilers of dictionaries who were awarded the prize were Seraphin Couvreur in 1886 and 1891 for his *Dictionnaire Chinois–Français* and H.A. Giles in 1911 for the revised edition of *A Chinese–English Dictionary*. Some of Schlegel's friends were also laureates: d'Hervey de Saint-Denys in 1876 for his *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine* and Henri Cordier in 1880 for his *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Other contemporary Dutch laureates were Willem Vissering in 1879 for *On Chinese Currency* and J.J.M. de Groot, who thrice won a shared prize, in 1894 for *Le code du Mahâyâna*, and in 1898 and 1902 for different volumes of *The Religious System of China*.[221]

For such a large dictionary, notices and reviews were scarce. Certainly hardly anyone would be able to judge this combination of languages: Dutch and Chinese, and the latter in Tsiangtsiu pronunciation. Only a few other reactions to the dictionary are known.[222] In 1887, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* mentioned that the Society had received Part I, instalments 1 and 2 of this "valuable" dictionary from the Netherlands government.[223] At some time between 1890 and 1892 a German newspaper ranked the dictionary as one of the "megastructures of our century" (*Riesenbauten unseres Jahrhunderts*) together with the Firth of Forth Bridge (built in 1882–90) and the Eiffel Tower (1889).[224] And in the section about the Netherlands in his article "Half a decade of Chinese studies (1886–1891),"[225] Schlegel's friend Henri Cordier first of all mentioned the dictionary. He said full of praise: "This Dictionary is one of the best and most complete work[s] of the kind published on the Chinese language."

In 1892, after the American anthropologist Frederick Starr (1858–1933), professor at the University of Chicago, visited Leiden and other places, he mentioned the dictionary in an article about anthropological studies in Europe. After writing that Kern and Schlegel were "men, who without being professional anthropologists, have more or less directly done work of importance to anthropological science," he praised Schlegel's dictionary:

> Professor Schlegel's Chinese Dictionary is far more than a "word-book" and is a treasury of ethnological material to which all students must refer.[226]

This opinion was ten years later repeated by Dr. J.D.E. Schmeltz, then director of the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden (1897–1909), in his obituary of Schlegel:

> When we, in 1882 appointed as curator, came here, a little earlier the first instalment of his above-mentioned dictionary had appeared. Leafing through it our eye fell on a notice about shell-money which attracted our attention on account of a recent publication by one of our friends in Hamburg.[227] We continued leafing through; from then on we immediately as it were devoured each instalment of this work, and drew mainly from it our knowledge about the ethnography of the Chinese Empire. Each time we wished to obtain knowledge about any subject, we profited from this work, … which will continue to be an 'eternal monument' for the deceased.[228]

In 1892 Schlegel published a review of De Groot's *The Religious System of China* (vol. I), in which he first dilated upon De Groot's choice of the English language.[229] A Dutch reviewer in the Amsterdam newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* had disapproved of De Groot's use of English in a government-subsidised publication, since in this way the British would profit more from it than the Dutch.[230] Schlegel denounced the narrow-mindedness of this reviewer, at the same time lamenting the loss of Latin as the common language of scholarship in Europe, which loss had been disadvantageous to the smaller languages and profitable to the larger ones. De Groot had written this work with government approval in English in order to reach a wider audience, and it would have been regrettable if he had done so in Dutch.

Nine years after his energetic apology for the use of Dutch in 1883, Schlegel now took quite an opposite view, writing:

> This author had the weakness to publish his major opus, a complete "Dutch–Chinese dictionary" in four large volumes … in the Dutch language. Of all his works this dictionary has given him the least satisfaction. The enormous treasure of ethnographic and other useful information lies buried in it because the Germans, British, French and Russians do not read Dutch.[231] And, in order to refute the statement by the *Handelsblad* for ever, I may add that in the Netherlands it is *not* being read *at all*. And that neither the *Handelsblad*, nor any other of the large Dutch newspapers deigned to notice it, and that the author could have just as well published this book, which was also heavily subsidised, in Turkish or in the language of Kamchatka.
>
> If he had written it in English, it would not only have had a larger market, but it would also have been better known and appreciated. This experience is really enough to deter a Dutch scholar from writing in the Dutch language.

After labouring for so many years, he may have been disappointed by the lack of attention for his completed dictionary. Perhaps he was also still irritated by Ferguson's criticism (*see* next section), and Serrurier was possibly not the only person accusing him of "pornography." Schlegel's younger colleague and collaborator Meeter may have vented similar objections

during his stay in Leiden in 1888–94; he would later publish an extremely critical review (*see* below). Schlegel's remarks were probably the result of momentary feelings of dejection, since just a little earlier he had written to the Minister that the dictionary was without exception highly praised in the foreign press![232]

And indeed, the dictionary would still be highly acclaimed for years and considered a reason for pride in the Netherlands. Internationally it was also well respected. In his obituary of Schlegel, Cordier would praise the dictionary as his major work, saying that it was easy to consult without knowing Dutch.[233] In 1917 Couling wrote in his *Encyclopaedia Sinica*: "Schlegel published a very fine Dutch–Chinese Dictionary in four volumes in 1882–1891."[234]

International scholarship may not have profited from the dictionary as much as it could have done if it were in English, but for its primarily intended users, the Dutch interpreters of Chinese in the Indies, it was an extremely useful tool. At least, Schlegel wrote in his preface of 1886 that he had received reports from many interpreters in the Indies about the usefulness of the dictionary and the profit they had derived from it.[235] His student A.E. Moll showed his appreciation by making a list of about 1,300 corrigenda, mostly mistakes in tones and characters, which was printed in the Supplement.[236]

Only one review by a Dutch sinologist is known, namely by Meeter in his article comparing Schlegel and Carstairs Douglas in 1895.[237] It should be remembered that Meeter had only studied Hakka, not Hokkien, in China; as a journalist he was known for his outspoken views, and he had left Leiden in 1894 after a conflict with the university, probably with Schlegel. In this article Meeter also vented some extremely negative comments on Schlegel's morals and on his dictionary. He disapproved of his "interest in Chinese women, mainly women of a special kind: prostitutes" during his studies in China, as could be discerned from his study on Chinese prostitution and his translations of "obscene novels." He only seems to have appreciated Schlegel's work on secret societies. Perhaps partly as a result of this, his comments about the dictionary were extremely negative:

> By its sheer proportions, in particular if interleaved with white pages and bound into many volumes filling a complete shelf in a bookcase, this dictionary undeniably makes an overwhelming impression on the layman in Chinese linguistics. However, it is a dictionary of the *written* or so-called *book-language* of the Chinese, so that a student of practical Chinese linguistics [meaning the colloquial language] shall probably consult it either in vain or shall often be led astray by the tendency of the compiler to find or … to make up an equivalent in Chinese of every Dutch word—which is of course impossible because of the difference in customs and traditions. Therefore it is a book for the European armchair scholar, who, without ever having been in China, wishes to study the Chinese language for pleasure, and he will not notice the

> many lacunae, but will see on each page of the contents that the materials for this extensive work have been mainly drawn from the obscene Chinese novels mentioned above. But the Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands Indies for whom, according to the title, it has been compiled in the first place, will probably leave it neatly standing in their book cases as a useless thing.[238]

One month later, Borel wrote a letter to the editor agreeing "with pleasure" with most of Meeter's article,[239] writing:

> Professor Schlegel now and then needs something like this for his pedantic and ridiculous behaviour towards anyone disagreeing with him.[240]

After giving some examples of Schlegel's objectionable behaviour (including towards himself), he wrote that he was unpleasantly struck by Meeter's allegation that Schlegel had translated "obscene novels." Borel considered the stories from *Jingu qiguan* as "high literature," and Schlegel remained a sympathetic person to Borel on account of his translations of these novels and his introductions to them. Unfortunately, Borel did not elaborate on the quality of Schlegel's dictionary—he probably had too much respect for Schlegel's linguistic knowledge—only commenting with one sentence:

> It is a pity, as Mr. P.M. says appropriately, that he inserted precisely the obscene parts of that literature everywhere in his dictionary, as a result of which this is also a dictionary of Chinese pornography.[241]

Both reviewers had a grudge against Schlegel, and a favourable opinion could hardly be expected from them.

In any case, according to Schlegel, there was another group who unexpectedly profited from the dictionary. They were not the Japanese, as he had expected, but Chinese in the Indies, among whom the dictionary was in great demand.[242] Learning better Dutch was for them a way to improve their standing in colonial society, and it was probably also useful for the native Chinese interpreters.

Still, like Hoffmann's *Japansche spraakleer* and *Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek*, a large number of the printed volumes remained unsold in Brill's storehouse, mostly in the form of unbound printed sheets. Most unfortunately, in 1977 these sheets ended up in the paper shredder,[243] while the bound copies were unofficially sold at knockdown prices. A few stray students of Chinese were lucky enough to obtain a copy of the nowadays highly coveted dictionary.[244]

J.H. Ferguson: an offensive and scandalous work

Starting in 1882, the Minister of Foreign Affairs regularly sent three copies of each new instalment of Schlegel's dictionary to J.H. Ferguson, Minister

Resident and Consul General of the Netherlands in China. These were respectively destined for the Chinese government, the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai and the Dutch Legation.[245]

However, Ferguson failed to comply with the instruction to forward the instalments, and kept them at the Legation instead. When the dictionary was complete, in 1892, he sent letters to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, G. van Tienhoven, in which he objected against presenting it to the Chinese government, saying it contained many politically and morally offensive expressions. He explained this in two letters of 15 February and 13 March 1892. Unfortunately, these letters could not be found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but their contents can be reconstructed with the help of the comments by others and a similar letter by Ferguson to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk of 15 March.[246]

From this letter it becomes clear that it had all begun with the Chinese literator Hsië Shan-tsien,[247] who was employed at the Chancellery of the Legation in Peking. He had drawn the attention of the two Dutchmen working at the Legation, Jan Rhein, the Secretary-Interpreter, and Ferguson, to these objectionable expressions. In his first letter of 15 February, Ferguson only mentioned that vol. IV contained expressions that "would sound most offensive and rebellious to the Imperial Government and all Chinese loyal to the dynasty."[248] He gave a few examples, for instance two quotations to illustrate the word *verdelgen* ("to exterminate"): "to exterminate the Tatars and Manchus" 收清滅滿 and "to exterminate the Tatar [Qing] dynasty" 反滅清朝.[249]

One month later, on 13 March, Ferguson wrote a second letter, now objecting to expressions that were highly offensive to morality. According to him, these obscene expressions came from novels that were forbidden in China itself[250] and could only be found among "the scum of the Chinese emigrating to the Indies;"[251] these expressions had been used thoughtlessly and needlessly in the explanations of words and in quotations. The Dutch translations of these were too disgusting to be fit for copying, and Ferguson only provided a list of almost one hundred numbers of pages on which they appeared.[252] He found it incomprehensible that the professor had used quotations using such dirty brothel language (*vuile bordeelentaal*) in his dictionary, which was to be used for training youngsters to serve the country. Why had he not chosen his quotations from the many excellent classical works in China? Ferguson expected that the Minister would understand that the introduction of this dictionary in China would be extremely harmful to friendly relations between the Netherlands and China.

For a better understanding of Ferguson's arguments and the ensuing discussions, some examples of contested expressions are given here. Some of them concerned bodily functions such as urinating, defecating or giving birth, for instance one example given for *pissen* (to urinate): "They shit and

pissed for fear." 嚇得他屁滾尿流.[253] But most of them had sexual connotations, for instance one phrase for *betasten* (to feel up): "He stretched his hand and felt the lower part of her body." 就伸手去摸他下體.[254] Some were descriptions of the sexual act, for instance for *minnestrijd* (love battle): "Wenxin then let Zhenkong go, pushed Xianru on a chair and began a wild love battle with her." 文新放了真空，隨把閒如推倒椅上，乓乓乓乓大弄起來.[255] Many of the latter were quotations from stories about prostitutes, for instance one phrase for *gebroekt* (deflowered): "I heard that after you had been deflowered, you didn't wish to receive any client." 聞得你自梳弄之後，一個客也不肯相接.[256] For words without primary sexual connotations, sometimes also similar phrases were chosen, for example for *overeind* (upright, standing): "His penis stood immediately upright" 陽物驀然擧托起來.[257] In general, these erotic phrases are not of the kind that R.H. van Gulik would have translated into Latin in his *Sexual Life in Ancient China*.[258]

Each time Minister of Foreign Affairs Van Tienhoven received one of Ferguson's letters, he forwarded it to his colleague, Minister of Colonies Van Dedem, asking him for his comments.[259] After the first letter about the politically offensive expressions, Bureau A[1] of the Ministry of Colonies observed that these had not been invented by Schlegel, but had been quoted from official publications (as Schlegel wrote in his introduction). If the Chinese government were as sensitive as Ferguson thought, it could be offended by some of them, but not by all. In any case, the matter was not worthwhile to spend many words on, and since the Chinese government would profit precious little from the dictionary, and this kind of presents were usually immediately stolen by the "gentlemen with the coloured buttons" to be sold to the highest bidder, one could refrain from presenting it to the Chinese government for the sake of Ferguson's peace of mind. But there was no reason not to present it to the Royal Asiatic Society.

When the second letter about the obscene expressions arrived the next week, Bureau A[1] agreed that these were certainly of very low-down quality (*laag gehalte*), but observed that the dictionary was not made for schoolboys, but for the interpreters. Perhaps it would be useful for them to be able to read all literary products circulating among the Chinese in the Indies. However, "certainly professor Schlegel could have chosen better quotations, but they are there now regardless." Van Panhuys, the chief of Bureau A[1], concluded again that presentation to the Chinese government was not necessary, and Secretary General Van der Wijck agreed.

But in the margin of their draft letter for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister Van Dedem wrote quite a different comment:

> It seems ridiculous that a Dutch–Chinese dictionary should not contain obscene words. This confirms my opinion that Mr. Ferguson is a man of strange ideas and I would consider it desirable to inform Mr. Schlegel of his letters

> and ask for his comments. From the East Indies point of view, methinks, it is also important to know if we are represented in China by a sensible man.[260]

The draft letter was cancelled, and Minister Van Dedem wrote first to Schlegel, asking his opinion about Ferguson's two letters.[261]

Schlegel answered a week later that he had with the greatest surprise, not to say indignation,[262] taken note of Ferguson's letters. He first explained how Ferguson had been motivated by feelings of spite and resentment. Almost twenty years earlier, when Ferguson was leaving for China, Schlegel had at his request had a short conversation with him. After Ferguson posed him a few absurd questions, Schlegel was obliged to tell him that these questions showed that he knew nothing about China; and that it was impossible to explain China in half an hour to someone who was totally ignorant. And in 1876, Schlegel had told the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Ferguson moved the Consulate General from Shanghai to the quiet and cheaper Chefoo in Shandong mainly for personal financial gain.[263] Later Schlegel heard that Ferguson for this reason had always held a grudge against him.

Although Schlegel deemed an answer to Ferguson's remarks beneath the dignity of himself and of scholarship, he still gave a lengthy apology for his dictionary. He began by explaining that it was in the first place destined for serious men of scholarship, not for schoolchildren. A dictionary should contain all vocabulary, including expressions that might be offensive to narrow-minded ears. In the second place, it was destined for the Chinese interpreters in the Indies, who would have to know the names of all kinds of crimes and misdemeanors, and in particular the vices occurring so often among the Chinese in the Indies (according to Schlegel).[264]

Such expressions should be present in this dictionary, which Professor Frederick Starr had praised as an encyclopaedic and ethnographic work. Prudishness was not fitting in such a work, as Schlegel had written in his review of Hoffmann and Serrurier's Japanese–Dutch dictionary in 1882. For instance, it would be easy to find dozens of similar "indelicate and disgusting" (*onkiesche en walgelijke*) expressions in the large Sanskrit–German dictionary published in Saint Petersburg by the Russian government.[265] No one had ever thought to comment on this, just as no one objected to descriptions of types of human lice in works on Natural History or "disgusting" gynaecological diseases in medical works. Scholarship did not distinguish between decent and vulgar (*fatsoenlijk en gemeen*), and the most dirty expression in a language was for the linguist just as important as the most refined, as P.J. Cosijn, professor of Dutch language in Leiden, had recently remarked.

Besides, all expressions in the dictionary, except those preceded by an asterisk, were taken from books printed in China that were generally known,

many even from the Chinese *Penal Code*, and not, as Ferguson had stated, "from novels that can be found among the scum of Chinese emigrating to the Indies," because that scum cannot read.

Perhaps in a novel such indelicate expressions could be offensive, but not in a scholarly work. Besides, one should not forget that "Chinese ears are not as morbidly fastidious as ours at the present time."[266] When reading older Dutch literature, one could see that one century earlier, our ears and eyes were just as little squeamish as in present-day China.

The omission of such expressions in the presently existing Chinese dictionaries had given rise to the most deplorable mistakes of missionaries while preaching the Gospel. For example, the British missionaries in Amoy used to translate "children" in the well-known saying of Jesus "Let the children come to me …, for to such belongs the kingdom of God." as *sió kiá˘ á* (小囝仔). This was literally correct, but in Amoy and environs this word was nowadays used to designate a catamite (*schandjongen*).[267]

When Schlegel heard about this, he had made a comprehensive list of such ambiguous expressions that was gratefully copied by all missionaries in Amoy, and incorporated in Douglas' Amoy dictionary.[268]

Schlegel had therefore not hesitated to enter these in his dictionary, not with an immoral, but with a very moral purpose, namely to warn against the many pitfalls in language, in particular in the Chinese language. It would be desirable to do the same in the Netherlands, and French and Dutch dictionaries should warn schoolboys of the meanings of the French verb *baiser*, originally meaning "to kiss," which was now only used to express sexual intercourse.

As to the expressions about "exterminating the Tatar dynasty," these were all taken from ordinances against the Secret Societies in China by the Tatar (Manchu) government itself. Schlegel stated that he could not mention the sources of the quotations without tripling the size of the dictionary, and that these were generally omitted in bilingual dictionaries of modern languages. Other political quotations were simply misunderstood by Ferguson.[269]

Schlegel concluded that he had been obliged to extensively disprove Ferguson's objections, which were evidence of his lack of knowledge and scholarship, and were only inspired by his animosity to Schlegel and his cowardly sycophancy to the Manchu government. There was no reason for the Dutch government to refrain from disseminating the dictionary.

A few years earlier Schlegel had, at the request of General Tcheng Kitong of the Chinese Legation in Paris, given him a copy of *The Hung-League* to send to Peking without any problem, although it contained clear hints that Schlegel sympathised with the Chinese patriots who wished to see a real Chinese emperor on the throne. It was now generally known what patriotic Chinese thought about the ruling dynasty, as had been ex-

pounded in Schlegel's and De Groot's writings. But Ferguson, despite his twenty years' stay in China, was not at all aware of these facts, since he completely relied on the clique of Chinese officials for his opinions.[270]

Schlegel dared to guarantee that no Chinese official would be offended by the "political" quotations contested by Ferguson: they would perfectly well understand that these only functioned as explanations of words without any ulterior motive.

Moreover, even if Ferguson's comments were justified, and the presentation of the dictionary could be understood as a provocation to the Chinese government,[271] there would be no reason not to offer it. The Dutch government was not responsible for what Schlegel had written, and there was no reason to painstakingly spare the Manchu government, since that government was not so scrupulous toward the Dutch government. The Governor-General of Guangdong, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, had written slanderous lies about the treatment of the Chinese subjects in the Dutch colonies, about oppressive taxation and enforced naturalisation.[272]

Schlegel ended his letter with another attack on Ferguson, about whom J.J.M. de Groot and others could give more information. Schlegel advised the government to replace Ferguson as soon as possible.[273]

Schlegel's letter was forwarded to Minister Van Tienhoven, who on 2 July again charged Ferguson to present the dictionary to the Chinese government.[274]

In the meantime, Ferguson's letter to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk arrived at the Ministry of Colonies. Bureau A[1] reported to Minister Van Dedem that Ferguson even went so far as to confide to the Governor-General his foolish objections against Schlegel's dictionary. But Pijnacker Hordijk seemed not to have attached much importance to the matter, since he just forwarded Ferguson's letter without any comment. Subsequently, Minister Van Dedem informed the Governor-General of Schlegel's report and the reply to Ferguson.[275]

Despite the repeated directives to present the dictionary, Ferguson held to his objections and added a few in a letter of 29 August. Now he stated that the use of some expressions would be considered "high treason" in China, giving the following examples: "They will swallow up the Chinese empire in a single bite" 一口食盡大清國[276] and "to overthrow the Qing dynasty and restore the Ming dynasty" 反清復明.[277] Schlegel's argument that these were "quotations from government ordinances against the Secret Societies" was true, but they had of course been mentioned in order to interdict all writings in which they appeared, and certainly not to recommend them as classical expressions. Ferguson mentioned again the large number of "highly disgusting quotations."

This was not the first time that Ferguson had refused to present a sinological work from Leiden to the Chinese government. In 1878 he had

done the same with Willem Vissering's *On Chinese Currency* for similar but less serious political reasons. Subsequently it had been offered to several Chinese authorities by private agents.[278] Ferguson now suggested this solution for the dictionary to avoid any trouble.

Another problem was that all instalments had arrived heavily damaged in China and some were missing; Ferguson needed one more complete set. Moreover, the copy to be presented to the Imperial Library should be bound in yellow silk and wrapped up decently, as was customary in China, which would be quite expensive.

Van Tienhoven again forwarded this letter to Van Dedem, whose opinion remained unchanged.[279] A few weeks later Van Tienhoven asked what to reply to Ferguson about the yellow silk. Would the Ministry of Colonies be willing to pay for the binding? Van Dedem again asked Schlegel's opinion.[280]

Schlegel replied that the only European book presented to the Chinese Emperor had been bound in lemon-yellow morocco leather (*citroengeel Marokkijn*) with yellow silk lining. Books presented to a sovereign were usually bound, and this courtesy could also be shown to the Chinese Emperor. But the binding need not be very expensive, because the yellow silk used in book covers in China would not cost much. According to Schlegel, Ferguson only brought forward this problem in order to postpone the presentation of the dictionary *ad calendas graecas*. Van Dedem agreed to this binding and informed Van Tienhoven.[281]

Four months later, on 26 April 1893, Van Tienhoven sent new and seemingly final instructions to Ferguson. He wrote that he had found no new objections in Ferguson's last letter except the binding, which could be provided easily. Van Tienhoven added that instalments of the dictionary had been presented before to several Chinese diplomats, who never showed any objection. The dictionary should be bound as Schlegel had suggested, at the expense of the Ministry of Colonies. But the Minister also made a concession: it could be presented in the name of the author instead of the Dutch government, with the Dutch Legation acting only as intermediary.[282]

Ferguson, who was known as a tenacious and even stubborn man, did not answer this letter and failed to comply with the repeated instructions.[283] The next year, after 22 years of service in China, and at 68 years of age, he handed in his resignation. He left Peking on 8 December 1894 and was discharged on 22 January 1895. At the same time his successor, F.M. Knobel (1857–1933), was appointed. When the latter arrived in Peking in November 1895, he found the Legation and its archives in a great mess.[284]

Three years later, when Knobel returned to Holland on the occasion of Li Hongzhang's visit, he wrote to Schlegel that he had discovered four copies of the dictionary in the Chancellery, and asked him what to do with

them. Without referring to the conflict with Ferguson, Schlegel answered on 14 June 1896 that one copy was obviously for the Legation, another should be offered to the Chinese Emperor, and the last two could be given to the Russian Mission in Peking and to the "Peking Oriental Society," unless Li Hongzhang knew a better destination. Perhaps a copy could be offered to Li Hongzhang on his coming visit to The Hague[285] at the beginning of July. In this way, Li Hongzhang could see that his language was being studied in a scholarly and practical manner in the Netherlands. Schlegel added:

> We Dutchmen cannot impress the Chinese Government by *military* ostentation, because in that respect all other nations are superior to us, but we can make an impression with our scholarly, peaceful endeavours in Chinese language studies.[286]

Thereupon Knobel wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, *jonkheer* J. Röell, conveying this suggestion, asking permission to handle the "three or four copies" in Peking, which were all in bad shape according to the above-mentioned letter of 26 April 1893. No further correspondence could be found in the archives, and Knobel probably never received any answer from Minister Röell. Half a year later he wrote on the draft of the letter: "In case Foreign Affairs does not answer to this, it is best to let the matter take its course. Peking, Nov. '96 Kn."[287] That is probably how the matter ended.

Schlegel and Li Hongzhang in 1896

In 1896, Li Hongzhang at 74 years of age made a tour around the world, first visiting Russia, where he attended the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II, and then Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Britain, and the United States, but not Japan which had just brought a humiliating defeat to China in the war of 1894. During his visit to the Netherlands on 4 to 8 July,[288] a copy of Schlegel's dictionary was indeed presented to him by Minister Röell, specially bound and with a printed dedication to Li.[289] On the evening of Sunday 5 July, the Dutch Government received Li Hongzhang almost in royal fashion with various festivities in the Kurhaus, which had been opened in 1885 at the seashore in Scheveningen near The Hague. Besides a banquet in the dining hall lavishly decorated in Chinese style with Schlegel's assistance, the programme included a motion picture, a concert, and fireworks. At the banquet, Li was seated between Minister Röell of Foreign Affairs and, with his interpreter in between, Minister Bergsma of Colonies. Some of the many other prominent guests were W.P. Groeneveldt, who had just retired as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies and who still knew enough Mandarin to engage in conversation

with the Chinese guests,[290] the member of Parliament J.T. Cremer (who would become Minister of Colonies a year later on 26 July 1897), several old Governors-General of the Indies, Professor Schlegel,[291] Minister-Resident Knobel, but also his predecessor J.H. Ferguson and the latter's 25-year old son Th. T.H. Ferguson, who had been appointed as the official interpreter for the Dutch government.[292]

At the initiative of the director of the Kurhaus, Bernhard Goldbeck, Schlegel had made a translation of his words of welcome, the menu and the programme, a copy of which was printed by Brill on yellow silk bordered with gold. The same texts were printed on yellow paper and offered to all participants in a special edition of the *Courrier de Schéveningue*.[293]

At the dinner Li asked who had translated these texts, and had a short conversation with Schlegel, who was sitting opposite. At this well-known incident in Dutch sinology, highly embarassing for Schlegel, he, the professor of Chinese in Leiden, was unable to converse with the Chinese guests, since he did not know Mandarin. The conversation must have taken place by means of written notes, as Schlegel was used to doing in such cases, or with the help of Li's interpreter. Li Hongzhang asked Schlegel how old he was and where in China he had studied.[294] According to Schlegel, Li Hongzhang was surprised to find five Dutchmen who knew Chinese in a country as small as the Netherlands, while in Germany he had met none.[295] At the request of Goldbeck and in answer to Schlegel's text, Li later wrote a poem and a short notice in the *Golden Book* of the Kurhaus, in the first sentence of which he praised Dutch literary achievements: 荷蘭多文學 "Holland has many literary men."[296] Li Hongzhang was very pleased with his visit to the Netherlands. He would give Chinese decorations to quite a few Dutchmen, such as Mr. Wirtz, director of Hotel des Indes where he stayed, and probably also Groeneveldt.[297]

Schlegel later wrote an article about Li's visit to the Kurhaus that was published in *T'oung Pao*, with both texts, but very understandably, he did not mention a small drama that was behind all this. He had made a mistake in his translation, really a translator's nightmare, by addressing Li Hongzhang as Li Hongzao 李鴻藻. Not only was this name wrong; Li Hongzao also happened to be one of Li's enemies in the government. Afterwards it became clear that Li Hongzhang was highly displeased on this account.

In November, Schlegel sent ten offprints of his article, in which he had of course corrected the mistake,[298] to Knobel in Peking, asking him to forward copies to Li Hongzhang and others. In his letter to Knobel, Schlegel, who was dearly missing appreciation for his dictionary, also complained that he had not received a decoration from Li Hongzhang:

> It somewhat surprised me that Li, who had so lavishly distributed Chinese decorations in the Netherlands, had forgotten me. Methinks, and this is also

> the opinion of Mr. Groeneveldt and others, that he could also have thought of the representative of Chinese scholarship in the Netherlands.
>
> At least the public here was highly surprised.
>
> Perhaps you may on account of this find an opportunity to point out this omission to His Excellency Li. I do believe that the Dutch–Chinese dictionary offered to him in itself affords me a sufficient ground for this claim.[299]

For the time being, Knobel only forwarded the off-prints without referring to Schlegel's merits. Li Hongzhang immediately replied in English, in a letter of thanks that he signed in Chinese, saying:

> I have to thank Your Excellency for forwarding to me in behalf of Professor Schlegel four copies of a pamphlet by him as a souvenir of my visit to Scheveningen. I will keep one copy and distribute the others as requested. Pray convey my thanks to the Professor for this interesting paper, in which he displays much ability as a sinologue.[300]

Knobel reported to Schlegel on 13 January 1897, forwarding Li Hongzhang's and others' letters of thanks, which were to be returned, and on 11 March 1897 Schlegel replied. He was very grateful for the letters, but also explained in detail the origin of the mistake, repeating his claim for a decoration:

> The most important letter was certainly the one by Li Hongzhang himself. As I got to know him, as "every inch a Chinese," his statement that I "display much ability as a sinologue" is of special value, the more so since I had to edit the Chinese text and to have it printed in six hours' time, because Mr. Goldbeck appeared so late with his request.
>
> This was also the reason for the misprint in the name on the programme. Since it was impossible to find in European newspapers how the name of Li Hongzhang should be written in Chinese characters, because—except the surname Li—his given name Hongzhang could even be written in twenty ways, I telegraphed to Paris and got the false report Hongzao, who happens to exist as well and even to be an enemy of Hongzhang.[301] I can understand perfectly well that His Excellency was offended by this—yet not I should be blamed, but professor Cordier in Paris, who gave me a wrong name, and there was not enough time to do further research into the characters 李鴻章. As His Excellency will see, the mistake has now been corrected in the printed article, and that will exist longer than the ephemeral programme of the Kurhaus in Scheveningen.[302]

Schlegel stressed that his claim on a Chinese decoration was not based on this article, but on the dictionary and a recent article about the Chinese inscription in Kara Balgassun.[303] Moreover, Schlegel reminded Knobel that he, similarly to the former German diplomat Von Brandt, had been "the first and only person who had both in Dutch newspapers and in *T'oung Pao* defended China against Japan, and had written with great appreciation about Li, while the whole of Europe was enchanted with Japanese civilisation (?) and railed at the humiliated China."

In consequence, Knobel wrote a long letter to Li, repeating Schlegel's reasons for the mistake and giving two arguments for accepting Schlegel's apologies, namely his support for China and his dictionary and article about the inscription, ending with a subtle request for recognition of Schlegel's merits.[304] In the archives of the Dutch Legation, only Knobel's Dutch draft letter could be found, not a Chinese or English translation, nor any answer from Li Hongzhang. But in February of the next year, Schlegel did finally receive his highly coveted decoration from the Chinese Emperor: the Order of the Double Dragon.[305]

Description and evaluation

In his introduction, Schlegel explained his ideas about what a dictionary should be, stressing the importance of "equivalence" of idiomatic expressions. He wrote that his dictionary was "constructed upon a quite different plan from that of other bi-lingual dictionaries." According to him, the latter seem to be more suitable for a foreigner to look up words that he does not understand, while the need of a native speaker who wishes to translate from his own language into the foreign language has almost always been neglected.[306]

> In other words, our bi-lingual dictionaries give, it is true, the [literal] translation or explanation of the words, but not the exact equivalent.[307]

Schlegel gave many examples of various German and French idioms that are missing or according to him translated incorrectly in German–Dutch and French–Dutch dictionaries, to show that these are no "dictionaries of equivalents, but only translated vocabularies." Schlegel's dictionary was not primarily intended for Chinese to learn Dutch, but to facilitate a Dutchman (or other European) translating from Dutch (or any other European language) into Chinese. He had therefore tried to give the genuine Chinese equivalent for Dutch expressions and had added phrases to show the use of words and the shades of meaning (*nuances*). All examples were extracted from Chinese authors or composed by Chinese teachers. He had not contented himself with giving a list of translations without any explanation, as Medhurst had done. Shades of meaning had been clearly indicated, so that the translator knew which word to choose. He also gave idiomatic expressions and sayings.[308] According to Schlegel, Chinese equivalents for Western expressions could always be found, and therefore he concluded:

> We trust that our Dictionary will prove that, in reality, Chinese thought and expression is not so different from ours as is generally thought, and that it will be possible, with the help of a *good* dictionary, to translate all the products of Western thought into Chinese.[309]

Schlegel gave some details about the compilation process that help to explain the structure of the dictionary. He stated that he had avoided "the cliff whereupon his predecessors have been wrecked, as they contented themselves by simply reversing a Chinese and English dictionary."[310]

As has been shown above, making reverse translations into Chinese was a common exercise for students of Chinese in the nineteenth century. Although his was not a reverse dictionary, Schlegel also partly used a reverse method in compiling it. Wishing to collect the whole vocabulary of the written language, he searched Chinese works, translating words and phrases into Dutch. These words and phrases were written on small sheets of paper and kept in a wooden box, easily accessible to the compiler. They were later copied and arranged as copy for the dictionary,[311] probably resulting in a card file similar to Hoffmann's Chinese–Dutch dictionary, but sorted according to the Dutch word used as a translation. In this manner, he actually presented the Chinese text as a 'translation' from the Dutch. In the introduction to his dictionary he described his method as follows:

> we never studied or read without pen or pencil and a flyleaf at hand. Complete sentences and expressions from Chinese authors were copied out, and inserted alphabetically in the Dictionary, at the different words contained in such a sentence or expression.[312]

Besides words collected while reading, Schlegel must also have incorporated words from his own translations into Chinese. He recounted elsewhere that when translating East Indies government ordinances containing technical and juridical terminology, he sometimes spent days searching for suitable Chinese equivalents. He had to search through voluminous works and documents on these subjects to find the correct translation. If nothing suitable was found, a new term was coined with the help of a Chinese teacher or clerk, which had the disadvantage of not always being understandable.[313] These words were probably also inserted in the dictionary.

While editing his dictionary after his return to Leiden, Schlegel must have consulted a Dutch dictionary in order to complete the entries. Presumably he used the *Nieuw woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (New dictionary of the Dutch language) by Van Dale of 1872–4.[314] When one compares the entries of Schlegel's dictionary with those of Van Dale, it turns out that Schlegel inserted many rare words from Van Dale, for instance compounds of *aal* (eel): *aalschaar* (eel scissors), *aalspeer* (eel spear), *aalsteker* (eel catcher) etc. Such words are usually followed by a translation only, without quotation.

Another dictionary that he consulted in Leiden was "a Dutch–Japanese–Chinese dictionary." He did not give any title, but most of his quotations are from the large dictionary 和蘭字彙 *Oranda ji'i* (1855–8).[315] In his introduction he quoted lavishly from this dictionary to show that

its translations were not "equivalent" (idiomatic). For instance, the Dutch expression *Dat gaat hem het een oor in en het ander oor uit* (in one ear and out the other) was only explained in Japanese as 彼ハ其事ヲ直ニ忘ル, meaning "he forgets this affair straightaway," neglecting the purely Chinese equivalent 一耳入一耳出 ("entering into one ear and leaving the other ear").[316] But in the main text of his dictionary, Schlegel still often made use of its other translations, again vaguely indicating their source as "a Dutch–Japanese–Chinese dictionary."[317] He probably checked all entries with this dictionary.

The ordering of the entries is not strictly alphabetical. Main entries are always first followed by their compounds as sub-entries, not by the next word according to the alphabet. These main entries are usually printed in larger type than the compounds. For instance, the main entry *Burger* (civilian, in large type) is followed by compounds in smaller type: *Burgerdeern* (middle-class girl, non-alphabetically combined with the synonyms *Burgerdochter* and *Burgermeisje*), *Burgerdeugd* (civilian ethics), etc. to *Burgerzoon* (middle-class boy). The latter is followed by the next main entries in larger type: *Burgerij* (citizenry) and *Burgerlijk* (civil, etc.).[318]

Each main entry and compound is followed by the Chinese character text and Schlegel's Tsiangtsiu transcription. Since this was a dictionary of the written language, only literary readings were provided, even if the word itself was usually pronounced in the colloquial. For example *rijtuig* (carriage) is followed by the combination *paard en rijtuig* 馬車 *má kí*, while these characters would in the colloquial be pronounced *bé ts'ia*,[319] the normal word for "carriage." These literary readings were probably taken from *Shiwu yin*. Schlegel must have intensively used this dictionary, since his own copy, with handwritten transcriptions of the pronunciation of most entries, is worn and has been repaired (*see* illustration 8).[320]

Although Schlegel stated in his introduction that the dictionary only provided translations in the written language, he quite often added the Tsiangtsiu colloquial. These additions are indicated in a similar fashion as in Francken and De Grijs' dictionary. The literary pronunciation is then followed by a second, colloquial pronunciation printed between brackets. This is either a colloquial pronunciation of the characters or a free translation. For instance, *eene zweep klakken* (to clack a whip) 拂鞭 *hut pien* (*sut bé-pi*).[321] In a few cases colloquial characters are provided, for instance *grafheuvel* (burial mound) has 墓丘 *bō k'iu* (*bōng ku* 墓龜) (Vol. I, p. 1431). In rare cases only colloquial expressions are given, for example *dieventaal* (thieves' slang) is followed by some examples of that slang (Vol. I, p. 881). The colloquial expressions may be preceded by the word 'Colloquial', 'Coll.' or 'C,' but mostly the user just has to deduce this from the brackets. The reason for inserting the colloquial words was perhaps that Schlegel wished to warn against colloquialisms in written translations.

Apart from the Tsiangtsiu literary and colloquial pronunciations, Schlegel sometimes provided those in other dialects that he happened to know, such as Amoy and Cantonese. For instance, *guava* is followed by translations into Amoy, Tsiangtsiu, and Tong'an 同安 dialect, and in Cantonese (Vol. I, p. 1466). There are also a few examples of Mandarin pronunciation to explain the characters used to write Western names; for instance, the name John Napier 若往納白爾 is unrecognisably represented in literary Tsiangtsiu as *Dziák-óng Láp-pík-dzí*, but in Mandarin it is *Johwang Nahpihr*.[322] Only one example of a Hakka pronunciation could be found.[323]

The quoted phrases and texts often contain Chinese personal and geographical names. In the Dutch translations of these, Schlegel used the French transcription system for Southern Mandarin. In contrast to Hoffmann, who devised his own transcription system for Mandarin, Schlegel always used the French transcription in his Dutch translations. He explained this as follows in his preface to *Het gebloemde briefpapier* (The flowered letter paper):[324]

> When translating personal and geographical names we followed the French spelling, because as long as no generally accepted Alphabet for imitating the sounds of foreign languages has been adopted,[325] the use of different spellings only leads to hopeless confusion.

In the introduction, Schlegel announced that terms coined by foreign sinologists or extracted from their works were all marked with an asterisk. He warned users that these new terms for Western techniques should be used with caution, as they were not generally understood (*see* illustration 21).[326]

For some new European matters or concepts, Schlegel did not add an asterisk, but gave an explanation, for instance for *turf* (peat), which to his knowledge was seldom or not used as fuel in China. He first translated it as *dimiantan* 地面炭, literally "earth surface coal," a term which he presumed to have been created by a European. He also mentioned the Dutch–Japanese–Chinese dictionary's translation *nitan* 泥炭, which actually later became the modern Chinese word for "peat." Finally Schlegel added a list of fifteen compounds including *turf*, for which he created translations, from *turfboer* (peat seller) 賣地面炭者, via *turftonster* (woman who measures pieces of *turf* in a barrel) 量地面炭婆 to *turfzolder* (peat attic) 地面炭棚.[327] The usefulness of this list for a Chinese translator in the Indies was of course dubious.

Schlegel usually indicated the different meanings by dividing the translations into two or more sections, and by indicating the different meanings in brackets. As the reviewer in *The London and China Express* remarked, Schlegel did not indicate the style of the phrases (classical, literary, col-

Chevalier-d'industrie 光棍 *kong kùn*; v. ZWENDELAAR.

Chicane (rechtsverdraaiing) 枉曲 *óng k'iok*; ik ben door zijne —s berooid geworden 被他枉曲致我困窮 *pī t'a óng-k'iok, tì ngá k'ùn-kiŏng*; — (gemeene streek) 詭計 *k'uí kè*; 奸計 *kan kè*.

Chicaneeren 行枉曲之事 *hîng óng-k'iok tsi sū*; 用詭計 *iōng k'uí-kè*; 用奸計 *iōng kan-kè*; 用詭詐 *iōng k'uí-tsè*; v. PLAGEN.

Chicaneur z. HAARKLOVER; RECHTSVERDRAAIER.

***Chiffonnière** 匱櫃 *tók kuī*; 抽斗匱 *t'iu-tó kuī*.

Chignon 髮鬌 *pī t'è*; 假髻 *ké koat*; 假髻 *ké kè*; v. PRUIK.

***Chijl** (melksap, gedurende de spijsvertering gevormd) 精液 *tsing ik*; 津液 *tsin ik*.

***Chijm** (spijsbrij) 糜 *bî*; beter 消食汁液 *siao-sît tsiep-ik*.

Chimère z. HERSENSCHIM.

Chimonanthus fragrans 臘梅花 *láp-moĕ hoâ*; 九英梅 *kiú-ing moĕ*.

China, deze naam is eene verbastering van den naam van het rijk *Tsin* 秦 waarvan één der vorsten in het jaar 221 v. Chr., alle kleine feudale staatjes, waarin het rijk toen verdeeld was, onder zijne heerschappij bracht, en zich tot Keizer over geheel China deed uitroepen. De indische Boeddhisten noemden het rijk dientengevolge *Tsîna* en schreven dit 支那 *Tsi nâ*; 支那 *Tsi-ná*; 指那 *Tsí-ná*; of 震旦 *Tsìn-tàn*; 眞丹 *Tsin-tan*; van daar verbreidde deze naam zich zoowel naar het Westen, Perzisch چین *tsjien* en Arabisch جين *dzjien* of صين *ssien*, als naar het Oosten, Maleisch *Tjina*. In de Engelsche taal, die evenmin als de Nederlandsche eene beginletter *Ts* bezit, is die dubbelklank teruggeven door *Ch*; en zoo ontstond de schrijfwijze *China* (die eerst nog *Tschiena* uitgesproken werd, maar thans in het Engelsch *Tschijna* klinkt). De somtijds door Nederlanders gebruikte spelling *Sina* is echter geheel foutief, en het is beter *China* te schrijven, hoewel het wenschelijk ware, dat de goede spelling *Tsina* weder ingevoerd werd. De Chineezen zelve noemen hun land 中國 *Tiong kok* (het Middelrijk); 中華 *Tiong hoâ* (de Bloem van het Midden); 華夏 *hoâ hā* (de bloemrijke *Hia*); 赤縣 *ts'ik hiēn* (het roode district). Dikwijls wordt — ook naar de regeerende dynastie genoemd, en zoo heeft het achtereenvolgens de namen van 漢國 *Hàn kok*; 唐國 *Tông kok* of 唐山 *Tông san* gedragen. Thans heet het 大清國 *taī Ts'ing kok*, het Rijk der groote, reine dynastie, of 天朝 *t'ien tiaŏ*, het hemelsche hof.

Chinaasappel [1]) 橙 *tîng*; 橙棖 *tîng*

1) De — is wel degelijk eene oorspronkelijk Chin vrucht. Daar de Nederlanders echter hunne —en meestal uit *Messina* betrekken, is de foutieve spelling *Sinaas* (Messina's)*appel* in zwang gekomen.

21. Page from vol. I of Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary (1885).

loquial Mandarin). He did, however, indicate vulgar words (*vulgo*, *laag woord voor* … "low word for…"), and colloquial Tsiangtsiu words.

Sometimes he gave more or less precise sources of quotations or added footnotes on the source, in particular in the later instalments. Very unfortunately, these are a small minority. The value of the dictionary would surely have been greatly enhanced if he had indicated more sources.[328] As an apology, Schlegel once wrote that it was not customary to provide this information in bilingual dictionaries, exaggerating that, if added, the size of the dictionary would be tripled.[329] In this respect, Serrurier was much more conscientious in his Japanese dictionary, always giving sources, and also providing a bibliography of works quoted.

The sources that are mentioned by Schlegel are Chinese and Western dictionaries, translations from Chinese and sinological studies, Chinese books, and Western scientific and other works. Here only the most frequently quoted sources can be mentioned. When he adopted a translation of a (technical) term from an earlier dictionary, he often indicated the source, for instance "Medhurst Dict." or "Perny," sometimes commenting on it or adding a question mark (?) indicating doubt. The most cited dictionaries and vocabularies are the following, in chronological order:

W.H. Medhurst, *English and Chinese Dictionary* (2 vols.) (1847–8).
S. Wells Williams, *A Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect* (1856).
B. Hobson, *A Medical Vocabulary in English and Chinese* (1858).
J.J. Hoffmann and H. Schultes, *Noms indigènes d'un choix de Plantes du Japon et de la Chine* (1852, Dutch revised edition 1864).
W. Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary* (4 vols.) (1866–9).
P. Perny, *Dictionnaire Français–Latin–Chinois de la langue Mandarine parlée* (1869–72).
C. Douglas, *Chinese–English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1873).
S. Wells Williams, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1874).
G. Lemaire and P. Giquel, *Dictionnaire de l'Arsenal de Fou-tcheou* (1874).
W.F. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual* (1874).
J.J.C. Francken, *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (1882).

He often quoted from a few native dictionaries:

"The little Tsiang-tsiu dictionary" [*Shiwu yin*]
"a Dutch–Japanese–Chinese dictionary" [*Oranda ji'i*; *Yakken*]
Kangxi Dictionary [*Kangxi zidian*]

The translations by sinologists that are most often mentioned are the following:

> James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (1861–72), with volume and page numbers.
> Eduard Biot, *Le Tcheou-Li ou rites des Tcheou* (1851), with volume and page numbers.
> "Chinese Penal Law" (*Chin. Strafwet*), with paragraph numbers from Staunton's translation.[330]

Some other sinological works often mentioned are old textbooks: J.F. Davis, *Chinese Moral Maxims* (1823); J. de Prémare, *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* (English translation of 1847);[331] E.C. Bridgman, *Chrestomathie* (1839, 1841); St. Julien, *Examen critique* (1841), J. Edkins, *Chinese Conversations* (Shanghai, 1852), etc. Some modern works were Vissering, *On Chinese Currency* (1877), various articles by Hoffmann, Schlegel's *Hung-League*, *Het gebloemde briefpapier* (*Hoa Tsien Ki*, 1866), *Uranographie* (1875) etc.; A. Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature* (1867), J.J.M. de Groot's *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen* (1883); articles from *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, etc.

Chinese books often mentioned are the encyclopaedia *Gezhi jingyuan* 格致鏡原[332] and the *Sacred Edict*. There are quotations from "a Japanese Encyclopaedia," probably *Wakan Sansai Zue* 和漢三才圖會. There are also explicit quotations from other Classics such as *Liji* 禮記 and *Erya* 爾雅, and from various Chinese philosophers.

The quotations in the colloquial (Mandarin) language are all from novels and short stories, but their sources are rarely indicated. There are many quotations from stories in *Jingu qiguan* that were read in Schlegel's classes, such as *The Oil-Vendor* 賣油郎 (protagonist Qin Zhong 秦重), *Du Shiniang* 杜十娘, *Wang Jiaoluan* 王嬌鸞, *Nian'er niang* 廿二娘, and from *Huajianji* 花箋記 (*Hoa Tsien Ki*, featuring protagonists Yaoxian 瑤仙 and Liang sheng 梁生). There are also many quotations from erotic novels such as *Wu feng yin* 五鳳吟 and in particular *Yu Lou Chun* 玉樓春 (with protagonists Wenxin 文新 and the women Yuniang 玉娘, Cuilou 翠樓 and Chunhui 春暉). The quotations from these novels were often in colloquial style and would not be helpful for the student when translating East Indies ordinances.

There are quotations from Chinese translations of Western documents and books, such as China's treaties with Britain (1858) and with the Netherlands (1863),[333] and J.F.W. Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy* (London, 1849).[334] There are also quotations from Chinese translations of East Indies ordinances and proclamations, but these are almost all without any indication of the source.[335]

The best-documented Western source is the Chinese Bible, from which innumerable quotations appear, mostly with a precise indication of the source. These are all from the so-called Delegates' Version of 1854–5, which was the standard Bible in classical Chinese (*wenli* 文理) from 1855 to 1919.[336] This translation was made by a committee of learned missionaries,[337] who were assisted by equally learned Chinese including the very talented Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–90s), and its quality was widely acclaimed. But Schlegel often commented on the translation, considering it too literal, not idiomatic and sometimes incomprehensible. In those cases, he would give an alternative Chinese translation using an original Chinese metaphor instead of the literally translated one. For example *zoekt en gij zult vinden* (seek, and you shall find) is literally translated in the Delegates' Version as 尋則遇之, while according to Schlegel it would have been better to use a well-established Chinese expression that is easier to understand: 誠求有應 (earnest seeking will meet a response).[338]

Sometimes the same Chinese quotation appeared in different translations, for instance a phrase from *The Oil-Vendor*: 今日眾小女都有客, "Today all girls have guests," which appeared with *altemaal* (all, Vol. I, p. 223), *bespreken* (to order, p. 455), *deern* (girl, whore, p. 833) and *gezelschap* (company, p. 1379).[339]

As Professor Frederick Starr wrote in 1892, Schlegel's dictionary is much more than a "word-book"; it is an encyclopaedic dictionary. Some quotations are so long that they give much more than linguistic information about certain subjects. There are many translations of technical texts, for instance about a watch crystal (*horlogeglas*, Vol. II, pp. 196-7), a sleeping chair (*slaapstoel*, Vol. III, pp. 848-50), sugar refining (*suikerstoken*, Vol. III, pp. 1202-3) and tables of multiplication (*vermenigvuldiging*, Vol. IV, pp. 631-3).

Apart from quotations, Schlegel also provided short translated texts, often printed in vertical columns, some of which were probably composed by himself. Examples are the announcement of the opening of a lawyer's office in Batavia in 1863 (*advocaat*, Vol. I, pp. 129-30), the appointment of a Chinese officer in the Indies (*patent*, Vol. III, pp. 406-7), an announcement of the gas company in Batavia (*gas*, Vol. I, p. 1226) and other official announcements and advertisements.[340]

Some of these full-text documents were original Chinese texts, such as models of birthday letters (*verjaarbrief*, Vol. IV, pp. 571-3), sale contracts from a popular encyclopaedia (*verkoopcontract*, Vol. IV, pp. 588-9) or a Chinese courtroom sentence (*vonnis*, Vol. IV, pp. 876-7).[341] Other texts were taken from Hong Kong newspapers.[342]

Schlegel also often provided instructions to the translator, for instance that a certain noun should be translated as a verb (*wenschelijkheid* (desirability, Vol. IV, p. 1157); *begunstiging* (favouring, Vol. I, p. 340)), or that

a certain word should often be left out in translation (*hij* (he), Vol. II, p. 140).[343] The user is warned to carefully translate difficult words such as the Dutch *neef* (meaning both nephew and cousin; to be translated into Chinese with one of eight different possible terms, Vol. II, pp. 1081-2).

Schlegel gave the standard translations of names of East Indies officials and institutions adopted by the interpreters (*[Hoog]gerechtshof* (High Court, Vol. I, p. 1328); *secretaris* (secretary, Vol. III, p. 830).[344] In general, the older transcriptions of these Dutch terms are not given, with a few exceptions such as *notaris* (notary, 梁礁 *niû˘-ta*, Vol. II, p. 1126).[345] The user is advised against designating the *hoofdschout* (chief of police, Vol. II, p. 178) with the colloquial name 大狗 *toā kaó*, because this literally means "large dog." Actually, this is probably just a transcription of Malay *toean skout*, "Mr. *schout*."[346]

There are also, as the Dutch reviewer in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* wrote in 1883, many short articles often occupying as much as several pages. In this respect Schlegel's dictionary resembles that of Perny, who may have inspired him; Schlegel took over his family tree (*geslachtboom*) with names of family relationships (Vol. I).[347] These articles are on a great variety of subjects. Some subjects were part of Schlegel's language course, for example *spellen* (spelling, an explanation of *Shiwu yin*, Vol. III, pp. 956-61), *toon* (tones, Vol. IV, pp. 155-9). Others were about Chinese music (*muziek*, Vol. II, pp. 1016-20), names (*naam*, Vol. II, pp. 1027-30), riddles (*raadsel*, Vol. III, pp. 549-51), spiritism (*spiritisme*, a hot topic at the time, Vol. III, pp. 978-81), theatre (*tooneel*, Vol. IV, pp. 160-2) or about scientific or technical subjects such as the names of organs and bones in the body (*anatomie*, Vol. I, pp. 232-8) and the working of a clockwork (*uurwerk*, Vol. IV, pp. 385-90), both lavishly illustrated.

There are also many short comments on Chinese customs, such as *afscheidskus* (goodbye kiss, not done in China, Vol. I, p. 171), *hoed* (hat, Vol. II, p. 147), *klapperman* (night watchman, Vol. II, p. 455), *visitekaartje* (name card, Vol. IV, pp. 786-7).

Legal matters were also often explained, and while *burgerlijke stand* (registration of births, marriages and deaths) was translated 戶籍, as it is presently in China, Schlegel also delved into the *Zhouli* to search for a similar system in Chinese history (Vol. I, p. 738-9). He did the same for *tolk* (interpreter, Vol. IV, p. 150).[348] And he gave a succinct explanation of the *legitieme portie* (child's statutory share of an inheritance), which was normal in Dutch law, but highly controversial among the Chinese in the Indies (Vol. II, p. 688).

Some articles were contributions to the scholarly debates of the nineteenth century, such as a long exposé about the best translation of the name of God. This debate, the so-called "term question,"[349] was mainly about the choice between *Shangdi* 上帝, propagated by the British, and

Shen 神 as preferred by the Americans. Schlegel contributed to this debate in his typical manner, based on his wide reading of Chinese literature and personal experience as an interpreter. He proposed to use *Tiangong* 天公 or simply *Tian* 天 (Vol. I, pp. 1401-4).

Another subject in which Schlegel was particularly interested was zoology. There is a long article about *kat* (cat; one can read time from their eyes; Vol. II, pp. 402-3); an article about *klauwier* (shrike, Vol. II, p. 457), *nachtegaal* (nightingale, Vol. II, p. 1042), *wouw* (kite, Vol. IV, p. 1244) and many other birds. There are also many articles about botany (names of plants, sometimes with long quotations, passim), astronomy (names of stars, passim), and the theme of his doctoral thesis: children's games (*hinken*, to hop, Vol. II, p. 142; *spiraal*, spiral, Vol. III, pp. 977-8).

There are also fully quoted poems (*berekening*, calculation, Vol. I, pp. 413-4; *ouderdom*, old age, Vol. III, pp. 298-9; *rijm*, rhyme, Vol. III, pp. 633-4; *tent*, tent, Vol. IV, p. 58; *toorts*, torch, Vol. IV, p. 165), and lines from German poets to show the similarity of Chinese and Western thought (*Helena*, Vol. II, p. 98; *hemel*, heaven, Vol. II p. 104). Equivalents of the names of ancient Western gods and proverbial historical figures are also given, for instance Diana 嫦娥 (Vol. I, p. 860) and Nero 桀 (Vol. II, p. 1090).

Schlegel's special interest in dirty stories and indecent language is also well represented in the dictionary. Ferguson was not completely off the mark with his objections; indeed many more examples can be found than he did. The dictionary contains names for various sexual matters[350] and terms used in brothels, many of which are hidden in the dictionary between neutral words. Some pages containing much indecent language can be found at *bijslaap* (intercourse, Vol. I, p. 562); *geil* (horny, p. 1272); *hoer* (whore, Vol. II, pp. 153-5), *minne* (love, and its compounds, pp. 943-7); *scheede* (vagina, Vol. III, p. 748); *voelen* (to feel, Vol. IV, pp. 831-2). There are also a number of Hokkien and Cantonese (!) curses (*aluinwater*, alum water, Vol. I, p. 225; *zeug*, sow, Vol. IV, p. 1306; *karperogen*, carp's eyes, Vol. II, p. 398; *verdoemd* 3, damned, Vol. IV, p. 512). In one case Schlegel's translation of a dirty word was represented by ***, since in the Chinese original the character was represented by a circle ○ (*vervloeken*, to damn, Vol. IV, p. 719).

To illustrate technical and scientific terminology, the dictionary contains 68 woodcuts, a list of which is provided in the Supplement. Many of these are copied from "a Japanese Encyclopaedia," namely *Wakan Sansai Zue*. Other illustrations are copied from Western works.

This dictionary is different from most others for several reasons, as Schlegel wrote in his introduction. He certainly had a talent for finding "equivalents"—both idiomatic and cultural—of Chinese expressions. Many examples can be found, for instance *'t is alle dagen geen Kermis*

(Christmas comes but once a year, 不得夜夜元宵, literally: it can't be Lantern Festival (last day of the New Year's Festival) every evening, Vol. II, p. 424). Another example is *de arm der wet* (the arm of the law) translated into Chinese as "the net of law" 法網 (Vol. I, p. 254). Typical of his precise analysis is the example of 'lightning' (*bliksem*, 電, Vol. I, p. 595) which should idiomatically often be translated as 'thunder' (*donder*, 雷) in Chinese. However, his translations are not without faults, and the reader may not agree with every choice Schlegel made.[351]

In another way it was also different from other dictionaries: it is a very personal dictionary. Not only the selection of vocabulary and expressions was partly dictated by Schlegel's personal predilections, but he also often vented his personal opinions. He commented upon the translations by other sinologists (Legge, Biot, the Delegates' Bible etc.). He also often added personal observations, experiences and anecdotes, for instance about a discussion with missionaries on how to translate the English word *gentleman*.[352] He commented on Dutch and Chinese law about rape by favouring the more cynical Chinese view (Vol. IV, pp. 593, note). He sometimes took the opportunity to criticise the Indies government, for instance for its lack of understanding of Chinese gambling (*speler* (player), Vol. III, p. 956, no. 1). These opinions, in combination with the many well-chosen lively quotations, and the explanations of Chinese customs, contrasting them with Western customs, make it "read like a novel," as one reviewer wrote.

Indeed, this "word-book" contains a wealth of anthropological information, but it lies hidden in the dictionary. There is no systematic way to extract this data, because it is often classified under words where one would not expect it.

Schlegel strove to make the dictionary as complete as possible, therefore he seems to have inserted all vocabulary collected on his sheets. The disadvantage of this indiscriminate insertion was that the dictionary also contains a large number of translations that are of value only from a scholarly point of view, but are impractical and useless for interpreters. For instance, for a very practical matter, such as the oath, he quoted a phrase from the *Shujing* for "So help me God" (*Zo waarlijk helpe mij God almachtig*) 天棐忱.[353] His wish to find an 'equivalent' in this case resulted in a disputable and useless phrase.

Unfortunately, Schlegel's dictionary was not to become a *classic* dictionary that would long be in use. Apart from the impractical scholarly digressions and the unavoidable mistakes in any work of this size made by only one person, and the use of Tsiangtsiu pronunciation which was only practiced by Dutch interpreters in the Indies, there are several reasons for this which cannot be blamed on Schlegel. One was the change in the function of the interpreters in 1896. From then on, translating and interpret-

ing would only be requested from the sinologists if it were for "important reasons." In 1900, ordinances were still being translated into Chinese in Batavia, but the last known printed translation dates from 1891, and the last known manuscript from 1900. The translation of ordinances perhaps stopped entirely in 1916, when the Bureau of Chinese Affairs was established in Batavia.[354]

Moreover, the Chinese on Java were becoming less Chinese, adopting Malay as their common language. As a result, there was no need to translate East Indies ordinances into Chinese; the Malay translation would be sufficient. The Chinese Council in Batavia also began keeping some of the records in Malay instead of Chinese from 15 January 1909 on, and from 1920 on exclusively used Malay.[355]

But the dictionary also soon became outdated because of changes in the Chinese language. After 1900, the Chinese written language underwent an enormous change owing to the introduction of new words as translations of Western terminology. A large proportion of these words entered the language by way of Japan, where standard translations had been made earlier.[356] For example, the modern translations of such common words as 動物 "animal" (*dier*), political terms such as 共和[國] "republic" (*republiek*), and juridical terms such as 檢察官 "public prosecutor" (*Officier van Justitie*) do not appear in Schlegel's dictionary. Instead of these, he gives for "animal" 獸, 物, 畜, 蟲, 生物 (beast, etc.), etc.; for "republic" 不立王之國 (state without a King), etc.; and for "public prosecutor" 明刑師爺 (master clarifiying the punishments).[357] Moreover, after the Literary Revolution of 1917 in China, colloquial Mandarin gradually replaced the classical and documentary styles.

For these reasons, the dictionary was probably only used for a relatively short time. In the late 1930s, after the establishment of the Sinological Institute by J.J.L. Duyvendak, it was mainly known to his students as an interesting and entertaining source of indecent words.[358] Nowadays the translator of Dutch into Chinese can usually find only indirect inspiration in Schlegel's dictionary.

On the other hand, if Schlegel had compiled a Chinese–Dutch dictionary—which this one already is to a certain extent—and had used a Mandarin transcription, it would probably have been useful for a much longer time, and might still be consulted by Dutch students of pre-modern Chinese literature.

Van de Stadt's Hakka dictionary (1912)

The third and last Chinese dictionary compiled by a Dutch sinologist in the Indies was P.A. van de Stadt's *Hakka-woordenboek*. When he published

the dictionary, Van de Stadt was General Agent of the Billiton Mining Company (*Billiton maatschappij*). He had already studied Hakka in China, and had been an Official for Chinese Affairs for nine years from 1898 to 1907; he had been stationed in Rembang and Makassar for five years and in Mentok (Banka) for four. Since 1907 he was living on Billiton.

The dictionary was printed at the Government Press (*Landsdrukkerij*) in Batavia in 1912. It is a practical dictionary of the Hakka dialect as spoken on Banka and Billiton (Belitung), with transcriptions mostly according to the "Ka-Yin-Tsju" (Kia Ying Chow, Meixian) dialect, which was locally the most widely spoken. Van de Stadt's aim was to fill the need of a handbook on Hakka for the European officials working in the tin mines, since very few Europeans could speak Hakka and there were hardly any tools for learning the language. He left out the book-language and thereby "sacrificed the requirements of scholarship to those of practical use." But by doing so he gave a much truer representation of a Chinese dialect as spoken in the Indies than the earlier works by Francken and Schlegel, which makes his work similar to that of Schaank. Accordingly, the dictionary included many loanwords (*bastaardwoorden*) from Malay and Dutch. Van de Stadt explicitly disclaimed completeness for both the Dutch–Hakka and Hakka–Dutch parts of the dictionary.

From the preface (*voorrede*) it is clear that Van de Stadt compiled the dictionary on his own initiative. Unfortunately, except for the dictionary itself, no further information could be found about the background or the publication history, and hardly anything about the reception of this dictionary.

A short anouncement appeared in the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* of 3 October 1912, summarising the preface and stating "We think that with the publication of this book a really felt need has been satisfied," and "it is sold at the reasonable price of *f* 5 at G. Kolff & Co." [359] In advertisements in the same newspaper it was praised as:

> A very practical dictionary, that can be extremely useful for all those who have to deal with Chinese, in particular for European officials at the tin mines on Banka and Billiton.[360]

The dictionary consists of a short preface, an introduction about pronunciation (with instructions and including some dialect variations, pp. VII-IX), intonation (without explanation of how to pronounce the tones, but the advice to ask a literate Chinese to read aloud the characters given as examples of the six tones, following Schaank, p. IX), a few pages about syntax (pp. IX-XIII), a list of consulted works about the Hakka dialect (including MacIver's Hakka dictionary[361] and Schaank's *Het Loeh-foeng dialect*, pp. XIII-XIV), and a comparative table of the transcription systems of Van de Stadt, MacIver, and Schaank (pp. XIV-XXXI).[362] At the end of the

book there are lists of geographical names (pp. 408-9) and errata (pp. 410-2; this list is not exhaustive).

The main body of the dictionary is divided into two parts. The first (pp. 1-324) is a Dutch–Hakka vocabulary containing about 7,500 entries, with many sub-entries; the second part (pp. 325-407) is an alphabetical Hakka–Dutch vocabulary of about 4,600 Hakka 'roots' (*wortels*) with characters and Dutch translations. Van de Stadt instructed the user to check these in the first part in order to better understand the meaning of the Chinese syllable. This is also necessary in order to find the full word if that is composed of two or more syllables. Some dialect variations can also be searched in this list.

In the first part, Dutch words are followed by Chinese characters and Hakka transcriptions. If no characters were known to Van de Stadt, syllables are represented by small circles (○). The number of characters (or circles) matches perfectly the number of syllables in transcription. This is a different, more scientific solution to the impossibility of representing a dialect fully in Chinese characters than Francken and De Grijs had chosen half a century earlier. The circles are used in quite a few colloquial expressions, in particular onomatopoeias, for instance *klotsen* (to splash, p. 118) ○ ○ ○ ○ *kít kít kép kép*.

The dictionary was printed with the old Government Press type from Holland. For (dialect) characters that were not available in metal type, new wooden type were carved, just as in Francken and De Grijs' dictionary.[363]

As in Schlegel's dictionary, different connotations of each word are given between brackets, for instance the many Chinese translations for *dragen* (to carry, pp. 56-7) and *koeli* (coolie, p. 119). Van de Stadt also provided some directions for translation of difficult words or morphemes, such as *ge-* (prefix of the past participle, p. 72), *mijn* (my, p. 152), *naar* (to, p. 153), *neen* (no, p. 155).

There are sometimes short phrases as examples, all of a very practical nature, such as *wiens fout is het?* (whose mistake is it? p. 70) 倷儕個錯過 *nài sa kài tshò kwò*;[364] *voor hoeveel is het verpand?* (pawned for how much? p. 275) 當幾多錢 *tòng kí to tshiên*; *ik wil graag een gulden voorschot* (I would like an advance pay of one guilder, p. 291) 我愛支一盾錢 *ngâi òi tsji yit tún tshiên*.

Quite a few common Dutch sayings are included with lively Hakka equivalents, for instance *de beste stuurlui staan aan wal* (the best coaches are in the stands, p. 239) 看花容易綉花難 *khòn fa yùng yì siù fa nân* (literally: it is easy to watch [embroidered] flowers, but difficult to embroider them); *nieuwe bezems vegen schoon* (new brooms sweep clean, p. 30) 新亞嫂三年早 *sin a sáu sam nyên tsáu* (literally: a new daughter-in-law rises early for three years).

This dictionary is meant for learning to speak and understand Hakka

as spoken in the Indies; therefore, loanwords from Malay and Dutch are included in great numbers. Van de Stadt wrote in his preface:

> As a sinologist one may feel annoyed with loanwords such as *min-thap* (Malay *minta*) and *tó-lông* (*tolong*), but it is a fact that on Banka and Billiton these are the words mostly used for "to request" and "to help," and as such they should in my opinion be included in this dictionary of the spoken language.[365]

For easy identification, the loanwords are printed in the dictionary in italics (here they are underlined). Some examples are: *mijn* (mine, on Banka and Billiton, p. 152) 巴力 *pa lit* (Malay *parit*, moat), *politieoppasser* (police guard, p. 190) ○ ○ *o pat* (Malay *oppas* from Dutch *oppasser*), and *vertegenwoordiger* (agent, on Billiton, p. 279) 卦儕 *kwà sa* (Malay *kuasa*, authorised representative).

There are many examples of hybrid loanwords, such as *hospitaal* (hospital, p. 99) ○ ○ 屋 *sa kit wuk*, ○ ○ 間 *sa kit kien* (Malay *sakit*, ill; literally: sick house, from Malay *rumah sakit*, Dutch *ziekenhuis*); *ui* (onion, p. 255), on Banka and Billiton also called ○ ○ 菜 *wun tong tshòi* (Malay *untung*; fortune, good luck, literally: lucky vegetable), because the Hakka word for onion *khiau thêu* has the same sound as *khiau* meaning "poor" and is therefore unlucky.

Apart from Malay loanwords in Hakka, the dictionary is full of Malay words that were used and known by Europeans in the Indies, but that are uncommon in modern Dutch, such as *barang* (luggage, p. 18), *ketela* (sweet potato, p. 113), *mandiën* (to take a bath, p. 141), *pangkal* (jetty, harbour, p. 183), *tandakken* (to dance, p. 241), etc.

Names of Dutch colonial institutions and officials are translated into the colloquial names, not the 'official' ones prescribed for written translations by Schlegel. For instance, *resident* and *gouverneur* are both translated as 大王 *thài wông* (literally: great king); *assistent-resident* has two translations: 二王 *ngi wông* (on Billiton; literally: second king), ○ ○ *pui tut* (Malay *petor*; used in other places; from Portuguese *feitor*, trader); *controleur* is simply transcribed 官都力 *kon tu lit*.[366]

For the names of Chinese officers, both a common Chinese transcription (in Hakka pronunciation) and a native Hakka version are given, for instance *kapitein* (p. 110) 甲必丹 *kap pit tan*, 甲太 *kap thái*, and *luitenant* (p. 138) 雷庭蘭 *lûi thîn lân*, ○ ○ *lit lan*.[367]

Schlegel's translations are used only for judicial officials, such as *rechter* (judge, of the *landraad*, p. 197) 同審官 *thûng sjím kwon* and *advocaat* (lawyer, p. 7) 狀師 *tshòng s*. A new term with a formal translation is *ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken* (Official for Chinese Affairs, p. 14) 漢務司 *hòn wù s*, who is addressed as: 大人 *thài nyîn* (literally: great man).

The dictionary contains a lot of vocabulary about work and life in the tin mines, useful for European officials including medical doctors. Some

examples of technical terms are *centrifugaalpomp* (centrifugal pump, p. 43) 麒麟頭 *khî lîn thêu* (literally: Chinese unicorn's head), terms for different kinds of ore: *erts* (ore, p. 66) (*met zand gemengd*, mixed with sand) ○ 沙 *kak sa*; (*schoon tinerts*, clean tin ore) 錫砂 *siak sa*, 錫米 *siak mí*; (*verspreid liggend erts*, scattered ore) 狗跡砂 *kéu tsiak sa* (literally: dog track sand). Organisational terms are for instance *eten vrij* (free food, food paid by the employer, p. 67) 食頭家 *sjit thêu ka* (literally: to eat [from] the boss),[368] *dagtaak* (day's task, certain amount of earth moved, p. 46) 冒 ○ *màu po* (Malay *borong*, total; literally: to venture the total amount). Social terms are for instance *oostindisch doof* (pretending not to hear, p. 54) 詐聾 *tsà lung*; *onbetrouwbaar* (unreliable, negligent in one's work, p. 163) ○ ○ ○ ○ 做事 *la la li li tsò `s*. Medical terms include the names of diseases, such as *eczeem* (eczema, p. 62) 發癬 *pot sién*, 濕癬 *sjip sién*, physical defects such as *met maar één kloot* (having only one testicle, p. 117) 單 ○ *tan hák*, and outward characteristics of man such as *centenbak* (*hanglip*) (Neanderthal jaw, p. 43) 神龕 ○ [嘴] *sjín kham tsjòi* (literally: idol shrine mouth).

Compared with Schlegel's dictionary, there are some interesting modern words, although nowadays also in part superseded, such as *republiek* (republic, p. 200) 民主國 *mîn tsjú kwet*; *automobiel* (automobile, p. 16) *tsh` hâng tsjha* 自行車, *thièn fó tsjha* 電火車; *fiets* and *rijwiel* (bicycle, pp. 69, 207) 腳車 *kiok tsjha*, 踏車 *tháp tsjha*; 腳踏車 *kiok tháp tsjha*.

Dirty and abusive words have not been avoided, but are not as conspicuous as in Schlegel's dictionary. For instance *wat een lul van een vent* (what a bastard, p. 138) ○ 奘棍 àn lín kwùn.[369] The meaning of one of the most vulgar Hakka curses is given in a less offensive manner: *geslachtsomgang met je moêr* (sexual intercourse with your mother, p. 80) 屌你亞姆 *tiáu ngî a mi*.

While the earlier dictionaries were all the works of pioneers, Van de Stadt could consult and make use of several other dictionaries and studies of the Hakka dialect.[370] Although it is the shortest dictionary of all, this enhanced its usefulness and reliability. It appears to be an accurate and intelligent guide to the language as spoken on Banka and Billiton.

Fourteen years after Van de Stadt's dictionary had been printed, another simple language textbook was published by Tjen Fo Sang: *Eenvoudig leerboekje voor het Hakka–Chineesch* (Muntok: Typ Bankatinwinning, 1926). This was a systematic language guide with more grammar and practical sentences, but it lacked Chinese characters. It was reprinted four years later, showing the practical need for such guides among European officials in the tin mines.

Schlegel had already noticed Van de Stadt's talent for languages at his entrance examination in 1892. After the publication of his Hakka dictionary, Van de Stadt did not stop his language studies. A few years later he studied Japanese and went to Japan for two years. When he returned to the

Indies he was appointed Advisor for Japanese Affairs, working at the Office for Japanese Affairs in Batavia from 1921 to 1932. During that time he compiled both a Dutch–Japanese and a Japanese–Dutch dictionary, which were published in 1922 and 1934.