



SCUOLA
NORMALE
SUPERIORE
PISA

SCUOLA NORMALE SUPERIORE
CLASSE DI LETTERE
DISCIPLINE STORICHE
(PHD DISSERTATION)

Comparison and Comprehension

**Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) *SJ.* and the Story of the *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (1626)
in Late Ming Empire**

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Anno Accademico 2013/2014

Pisa

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List of Abbreviations

ARSI -- Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome

BNR -- Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Rome

BAV -- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome

BNF -- Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

XREMZ -- Nicolas Trigault, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* 西儒耳目資, Beijing: Wenzhi gaige chubanshe, 1957.

(Containing: Yysp, *Yi Yin Shou Pu* 譯引首譜

Lyyp, *Lie Yin Yun Pu* 列音韻譜

Lbzp, *Lie Bian Zheng Pu* 列邊正譜)

De Christ. Exped. -- Nicolas Trigault, trans., *De Christiana Expeditione apud sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesu*, Lugduni, 1616.

Della entrata. -- Matteo Ricci, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Quodlibet, 2000.

Due Let. del 1610 e 1610. -- Nicolas Trigault, *Due Lettere annue della Cina del 1610 e del 1611 scritte al M.R.P. Claudio Acquaviva*, Roma, 1615.

DOMB -- L.Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

FR -- Pasquale M.D'Elia S.I, ed., *Fonti Ricciane*, Roma: La Libreria Dello Stato, 1942.10.

Fanghao Liushi. -- Fang-hao 方豪, *Fang-hao liushi ziding gao* 方豪六十自定稿 (Essays at the age of Sixty), Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1969.

HOCP -- William H.Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992

Lettere 1625 and 1626. Lettere dell'Ethiopia dell'Anno 1626. fino al Marzo del 1627. E Della Cina dell'Anno 1625. fino al febraro del 1626. Roma, 1629.

Luo Chang-pei -- Luo Chang-pei 羅常培, *Luo Chang-pei yuyanxue lunwen ji* 羅常培語言學論文集 (Essays of Linguistics), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2004.

Nicolas Trigault. -- C.Dehaisnes, *Vie du père Nicolas Trigault de la compagnie de jésus*, Tournai: 1864.

Notices Bio.et Biblio. -- L.Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jesuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773*, Chang-hai, 1932-1934.

Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621. -- *Relatione delle cose più notabili scritte ne gli anni 1619, 1620, &1621 dalla Cina*, Roma, 1624.

SKZM -- Ji-yun 紀昀, ed., *Qinding Siku Quanshu Zongmu* 欽定四庫全書總目 (Annotated Catalogue of the Complete Imperial Library), Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1997.

XSK -- *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (The Continuing Complete Imperial Library), Shanghai, Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1995.

SKCM -- *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 (Preserved Books of the Complete Imperial Library), Tainan, Zhuangyan wenhua shiye, 1997.

ZGTZ -- Fang-hao 方豪, *Zhongguo tianzhujiao renwu zhuan* 中國天主教人物傳 (Biography of Christians in China), Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1988.

Introduction

As far as is known, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* 西儒耳目資 is the only book talking about the Chinese language among those composed in abundance by Nicolas Trigault, SJ. Years before, the same Father had written about Chinese on his way back to Europe as procurator of the Society of Jesus in China,¹ but from a different perspective.

In May 1613, in Cochin, a port city on the West coast of India from where he would embark for Europe, Trigault compiled the *Annual Letter* of 1610. This *Letter* would be addressed to Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615), SJ., the Superior General of the Society of Jesus from 1581 to 1615. There is no doubt that this *Letter* circulated inside the Company after reaching Rome, and that it was read by the Superior General and other ecclesiastics. As a result of its publication in 1615, they were informed and impressed by what Nicolas Trigault had written, and they also felt such angst in the depth of Trigault's heart.

In this *Letter*, not very different from other annual letters, Trigault accounted for every aspect of the Chinese society and the missionary enterprise in progress there. Chinese had been discussed more specifically than it had been treated by Matteo Ricci in his diary, *Della entrata della compagnia di Giesù e Cristianità nella Cina* (from now on *Diary*), which was to become known to Europeans in 1615. In the 1610 *Annual Letter*, about Chinese Nicolas Trigault had said,

La forma di battezzare, che nella Cina fin hora si è usata, è stata la Latina, scritta con caratteri Cinesi, ciò non era senza qualche pericolo, havendo loro caratteri assai dalli nostri differenti, nè potendo essi esprimere altri suoni se non quelli della lingua loro, e vi sono alcune delle nostre consonanti, come B. D. R. le quali nella lingua Cinese, non hanno lettera alcuna corrispondente, si che in vece di loro bisognava servirsi d'alcun'altro suono manco differente, che sia possibile; dico suono, perche vocali, ò consonanti essi non hanno, servendosi per esprymere le cose, e parole di Ieroglifici, in cambio di lettere, hanno però alcuni suoni, che corrispondono in qualche parte alle vocali, e consonanti nostre. Di più non usano mai due consonanti senza vocale in mezo, e terminano le parole per vocale ordinariamente, tolte alcune poche, che finiscono per M. & N.² Di qui si può cavare quanti caratteri mancavano nella lingua Cinese, per

¹ Edmond Lamalle said this mandate was “l'improviste”, see Edmond Lamalle, *La Propagande du P. Nicolas Trigault: en faveur des missions de Chine* (1616), in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, Ian-Iun., 1940, p.53. At any rate, this order has to be linked to another Jesuit Francisco Pasio, see Edmond Lamalle, p.55 and ARSI., Jan.Sin.15. f.269a.

² Nicolas Trigault had added Latin letter “L” in the XREMZ, see Yysp, p.125 (f.39a).

scrivere la forma latina del battesimo, e dovendosi prender da quella i più simili suoni, se bene non faceva tanta variazione, che rendesse invalida detta forma, tuttavia in cosa si grave era dovere cercare via più sicura. Oltre che un'istesso carattere in varie Città, varie cose significa, e poteva essere, che in qualche Città proferita detta forma, ogn'altra cosa significasse, che quella, che pretende la Chiesa, con pericolo grandissimo dell'anime. S'aggiunge di più che le parole latine come peregrine i Cinesi non le potevano imparar' a mente: sì che questi neofiti scordandosi facilmente detta forma non potevano battezzare i Catecumeni, che stavano moribondi, e così morivano senza battesimo con grandissimo dolore de gl'uni, e de gl'altri. Si è dunque rimediato a quest'inconveniente con ridurre totalmente detta forma, in lingua Cinese, sicché i putti ancora possono in caso di necessità battezzar quelli, che stanno per morire. Hò voluto riferir tutto questo, acciò sappino i posteri, in che tempo si sia introdotta quest'usanza nella Cina.³

Here, some information on this letter needs be provided. Before the *1610 Annual Letter*, Nicolas Trigault had composed the *Annual Letter* of 1611 in Nanjing, the southern political centre of the Ming Empire, in August 1612. So, the *1610 Annual Letter* was written later than that of 1611. For there had been another *1610 Annual Letter* written by Gaspare Ferreira (1571-1649, Chinese name: Fei Qi-gui 費奇規), S.J., in Portuguese in November 1611. In this letter, Father Ferreira had witnessed the fatal illness and death of Matteo Ricci, all of which had been later incorporated into the *Diary* of Matteo Ricci. On the base of this letter, as Nicolas Foss pointed out, Trigault had composed his own and signed as writer.⁴ But such an impression of Chinese would have deepened, since he began his inter-regional travels in China (see map 1: “*Nicolas Trigault’s Travelling in China*”).

In 1607, Trigault sailed with other Jesuits to Goa, a Portuguese-governed port located in West India. After spending more than two years there teaching and promoting the local evangelic enterprise, He was sent around the mid-1610s to Macau. There he may have learnt Chinese, for there was a *Collegio* supplying the missionaries with Chinese language courses.⁵ This study was still not enough to complete the mission in China, so he had much more to learn after penetrating the continent. Like other Jesuits in China, Trigault also had a Chinese name: Jin Ni-ge 金尼閣 (sometimes the *Ge* “閣” is

³ Nicolas Trigault, *Due Lettere annue della Cina del 1610 e del 1611 scritte al M.R.P. Claudio Acquaviva* (from now on *Due Let. Ann. 1610 e 1611*), Roma, 1615, pp.13-14.

⁴ See Theodore Nicholas Foss, *Trigault, S.J. – Amanuensis or Propagandist: the Role of the Edition of Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, in Lo Kuang, ed., *International symposium on Chinese-Western cultural interchange in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the arrival of Matteo Ricci, S.J. in China* (supplementary), *September 11–16, 1983*, II, Taipei, 1983, pp. 1-94, in particular p.8; and *FR*, II, p.530.

⁵ Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Na Companhia dos livros, manuscritos e impressos nas missões jesuítas da Ásia Oriental 1540-1620*, Macau: Universidade de Macau, 2007, pp.183-184.

substituted with another character pronounced in the same way “各”),⁶ with the courteous name “Si-biao” 四表, “Tianxia” 天下 (Under the Heaven) or person who comes from the extreme land.⁷ Following the example of Matteo Ricci and his predecessors, Nicolas Trigault contacted the Chinese *literati*, presenting himself as *litteratus*, even in the eyes of the Westerners.⁸

On 21 December 1610, Nicolas Trigault, together with Father Feliciano da Silva (1579-1614) and Manuel Dias (1574-1659), entered Shaozhou 韶州, a city located in the West of Guangdong Province for the first time. Then Trigault passed through Nanchang, and finally arrived in Nanjing at the beginning of February, 1611. Nanjing had been the centre for missionaries who wanted to learn Chinese,⁹ a single language diffuse throughout China: the so-called Mandarin. There, the newly arrived missionary, under the supervision of Father Alfonso Vagnoni (1566-1640), Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640) and a Chinese *xiucai* 秀才 (Licentiate) but already converted Philippe, made considerable progress in Chinese.¹⁰ Two months later, he came to Hangzhou, with Father Cattaneo and “un fratello il più antico di questa missione” Sebastian Fernandez (1562-1621).¹¹ The latter was his interpreter when he was in Hangzhou, and Trigault persuaded Yang Ting-yun 楊廷筠 (1562-1627), who was baptized as Michael in 1611, to embrace Christianity.¹² Then, he returned to Nanjing in July or August. By the end of August, he reached Beijing to seek the advice of Niccolò Longobardi, the Superior of the Society of Jesus in China, about the missionary affair. From November 1611 to August 1612, he was in Nanjing,

⁶ According to the tombstone of Nicolas Trigault in Hangzhou, which was destroyed, the “尼閣” were engraved, see Fang-hao: *Hangzhou dafangjing tianzhujiao gumu zhi yange* 杭州大方井天主教古墓之沿革 (History of Dafangjing’s Catholic Cemetery in Hangzhou), in *Fang-hao liushi ziding gao* 方豪六十自定稿 (Essays at the age of Sixty, since then *Fanghao Liushi*), Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1969, vol.2, pp.1940-1946. As regards “尼各,” see Han-lin 韓霖 and Zhang-geng 張廣’s *Shengjiao xinzheng* 聖教信證 (ca.1680) (Testament of Saint Religion), in BNR, 72.C.481, f.8a.

⁷ Dehaisnes thought “Trigault” was a family name, which in Gaelic means “les trois bois” (the three woods?), see C.Dehaisnes, *Vie du père Nicolas Trigault de la compagnie de jésus* (from now on *Nicolas Trigault*), Tournai: 1864, p.3 and note 2 on the same page. Ji Xiang-xiang 計翔翔 is of a different opinion. For him, “Jin” 金 is transliterated from “Gault”, “Gold” in German, and then it was translated into “Jin” 金 in Chinese, see Ji Xiang-xiang, *Mingmo zai hua chuanjiaoshi Jin Ni-ge muzhi kao* 明末在華傳教士金尼閣攷 (Jin Ni-ge: The Missionary in Late Ming China), in *Shijie Zongjiao yanjiu*, 1995, vol.1, pp.72-78. Fang-hao held a different opinion from Ji Xiang-xiang on his Chinese name, see Fang-hao, *Fanghao Liushi*, vol.2, pp.1587-1588.

⁸ Anne-Marie Logan and Liam M.Brockey, *Nicolas Trigault, SJ: A Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens*, in *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol.38, 2003, pp.157-167.

⁹ ARSL, Jap.Sin.100. f.11b.

¹⁰ *Due Let. Ann. 1610 e 1611*, p.180. But this cannot be hailed as progress. Trigault himself also acknowledged that “this companion was completely ignorant of Chinese”, when he was in Hangzhou; see *Due Let. Ann. 1610 e 1611*. p.222.

¹¹ *Due Let. Ann. 1610 e 1611*, p.196; Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l’ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773* (from now on *Notices Bio.et Biblio.*) Chang-hai, 1932-1934, p.54; Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire Des Jésuites De Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma, Paris, 1973, p.89.

¹² *Due Let. del 1610 e 1611*, p.210. On Yang Ting-yun, we will see him later.

engaging in the study of Chinese.¹³ In the meantime, he appeared once in Shaozhou.¹⁴ By the end of his first stay in China, Nicolas Trigault's first-hand knowledge of Chinese had been greatly increased, and his excellent proficiency in the language had deeply impressed Niccolò Longobardi. He wanted to make Trigault be an expert in Chinese, in composition, in history, and in literature, who "comme les pères Ricci, Cataneo et Pantoia", could translate or compose works for Chinese *litterati* and exert upon them the growing influence which Western science was giving them.¹⁵ In the eyes of Longobardi, Nicolas Trigault could be compared with these three Fathers to whom Nicolas Trigault referred later in the *XREMZ* in a laudatory tone.

Undoubtedly, his improvement in Chinese during this period was due partly to the help of Lazzaro Cattaneo, Alfonso Vagnoni, the converted *litteratus* Philippe, of Nanjing, Sebastian Fernandez and those men in Macau, and partly to such inter-regional travel. Thanks to this, Nicolas Trigault accumulated not only the first-hand information about the China mission, but also one bulk of Chinese knowledge, in particular, the different dialects of Chinese. All cities, except Beijing, are in the South of China, speaking their respective dialects. Such observation, serving as a most credible argument, had been incorporated first into the *1610 Annual Letter* and then into the *XREMZ*.

In spite of the fact that Nicolas Trigault had to refresh his Chinese when he returned to China at the beginning of 1621¹⁶ because of his four-year propagandist trip from 1614 to 1618 in Europe,¹⁷ his knowledge of Chinese seems to have matured. In contrast with his first travels in China, the second began from Shaozhou in 1621, passing consequently through Nanchang, Jianchang and Hangzhou, Kaifeng, and stopped in Jiangzhou in February 1624, where he began to compose the *XREMZ*, in which there was not much different information on Chinese from that of the *1610 Annual Letter*, save some subtle distinctions, as we have seen before (see *Note 2*). In other words, the *XREMZ* of 1626, even though it resulted from one evangelic journey made by Nicolas Trigault alone and no other Jesuit had

¹³ Nicolas Trigault was in Nanjing in November 1611, see Theodore Nicholas Foss, *Trigault, S.J. – Amanuensis or Propagandist: the Role of the Edition of Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, p.8.

¹⁴ See C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.103.

¹⁵ See C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.106.

¹⁶ *Relazione delle cose più notabili scritte ne gli anni 1619, 1620, &1621 dalla Cina* (from now on *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*), Roma, 1624, p.151. Trigault seemed to have learned little Chinese when he was in Macau, see *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, pp.145-146.

¹⁷ Lamelle, Edmond, *SJ., La Propagande Du P.Nicolas Trigault en Faveur Des Missions de Chine* (1616), in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (from now on *La propagande*), Jan.Iun. 1940, pp.49-120, A.B.D. c.m., *Le P.Nicolas Trigault: Une Tournée de propagande missionnaire 1615-1617*, in *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, Janvier 1941, n.329, pp.42-56; and C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, pp.119-142; and R.Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610*, Oxford University: 2010, pp.287-290.

personally been involved in its production, has its collectively intellectual roots in the *1610 Annual Letter*.

This *Letter*, out of the propagandistic purpose, must have been re-edited intentionally. Nicolas Trigault had been ordered by Niccolò Longobardi to compose two Annual Letters, in order to “complete and put in order the information”.¹⁸ Therefore, the new edition must have been compatible with the tone of the propaganda trip in Europe. Besides these two and various other publications, among which there was the famous Latin edition of Matteo Ricci’s *Diary*, Trigault also participated in the General Congregation (5 November 1615) in Rome, reporting on the China mission, its *status quo*, and problems, to the Roman Church and to delegates of the Provinces from all over the world.¹⁹ The question on Chinese language, one of the points Nicolas Trigault had to explain to his European colleagues, had been highlighted and shown to the Roman clergies and, as H.Dunne proclaimed, only the Holy See could deal with.²⁰

Nicolas Trigault hoped to be allowed by the Roman Church to use Chinese in the Catholic liturgy. With regard to the choice of one language between Chinese and Latin for the baptism, he favored the former. The Latin form of Baptism wasn’t always without its danger, as he pointed out. Given that Chinese was a language different from Latin, having no sound to be expressed directly; lacking the consonants *b*, *d*, *r*; and presenting different dialects, he concluded that it would make no sense to transliterate the Latin form of baptism into Chinese, since Chinese characters, used as corresponding to Latin letters, could be pronounced in different ways and, consequently, their meaning varied from place to place. This resembled the situation in Europe, where vernaculars competed with Latin and challenged its hegemony. At that time, since the vernacular languages in Italy had already been used in the liturgy, as Nicolas Trigault exemplified in the 1614 letter to Claudio Acquaviva, then it should have been acceptable also to use Chinese.²¹ The Roman Courtiers had to take it into serious consideration, seeing the issue even simply from the point of view of linguistics. On Thursday, 26 March 1615, concerning the Chinese liturgy, the Holy Office finally allowed the use of Chinese for the celebration of the Mass, the translation of the liturgical books. Incomprehensibly, this permission to use Chinese as

¹⁸ See also Edmond Lamelle, *La propagande*, p.52.

¹⁹ See Edmond Lamelle, *La Propagande*, p.59.

²⁰ George H.Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of The Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (from now on *Generation of Giants*), Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962, p.162.

²¹ ARSI., Jap.Sin.100, f.16a.

the liturgical language was never put into effect.²² At any rate, it is possible to call the *1610 Annual Letter*, together with other writings imported in Europe, a work of propaganda, aimed at persuading the European people. Undoubtedly, information from this short letter reveals that Nicolas Trigault had been a firm supporter of the Policy of *Accommodatio*, established by Matteo Ricci, one of the most important figures of the Jesuit mission in China. As regards its far-reaching significance in theology and politics, the question of Chinese had run throughout the missionary lifetime of Nicolas Trigault, but the problem it posed, according to Trigault's knowledge of Chinese and other sources of those forebears, some of whom he had even encountered personally, had true urgency, or else they couldn't expect success in the evangelic enterprise.

There is, for the question of Chinese, far broader context, both practical and theoretical.

Nicolas Trigault was an expert in linguistics. He was born to a merchant family on 3 March 1577, in Douai, a city under the reign of Spain until 1667. His father Joanne Trigault was a leather merchant and his mother was Maria Leriche. At age 8 or 9, Nicolas Trigault began studying at the School of the Society of Jesus at his hometown and his education there lasted until the end of September 1594.²³ During this time, he spent one year in the inferior class, one year in the second class, two years in syntax, one year in Humanities, two years in rhetoric and another two years in philosophy. Young Trigault, according to C.Dehaisnes, was good at mastering the most difficult languages. In 1594, after getting an art licence by the University, Trigault joined the Society of Jesus.²⁴ He passed all the required examinations, designed by the founder of the Society of Jesus Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) to select the virtuous and the energetic, and became novice.²⁵ Clearly, young Trigault possessed such qualities. On 29 May 1596, he left for Lille, continuing to study Humanities, especially rhetoric and literature, but also sciences such as physics, mathematics, geography, astronomy and medicine, making himself a qualified Jesuit.²⁶ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Nicolas Trigault taught rhetoric to second-year students in the College of Ghent.²⁷ On 21 April 1606 he decided to leave for

²² See George H.Dunne: "Who Killed Cock Robin", in *Generation of Giants*, pp.162-182.

²³ The brief biography of young Nicolas Trigault is based on "Album novitiorum Domus probationis Tornacensis" in C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, pp.217-219 (Latin version) and pp.219-222 (French version). In the opinion of C.Dehaisnes, Trigault started his study at the age of 8 in the College of Anchin, see C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.7.

²⁴ C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.9.

²⁵ See C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.12.

²⁶ See C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, pp.17-18.

²⁷ See C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault* p.18. In *Sina Catal. Brev. et Triennal. 1621-1755*, discipline that Nicolas Trigault had taught, as it puts, is "litt. hum.", see ARSI., Jap.Sin.134., f.301a, 303a, and 307a. In addition, in the light of documents, Nicolas Trigault had been docent for eight years, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.134., f.307a, or nine years, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.134.,

Portugal. Nicolas Trigault was ready to say farewell to his childhood and youth, a very important period that had furnished him with a high-level education so that he could take charge of such a daunting task such as missionary work in a remote land. Many years later, in China, he said to his Chinese friends,

愚曉數國談論，各有本文之趣。

I, the Humble, have had knowledge of several languages. Each has its point of interest.²⁸

With such knowledge, Nicolas Trigault was able to compare European languages with Chinese. At the same time, he faced another historical fact concerning Latin and its competition with other local languages in Europe. The dominant position of Latin, as the ecclesiastical language of the Roman Church, was firmly established, but challenged by the vulgate which was becoming diffuse.²⁹ Nevertheless, the *Council of Trent* (1545-1563) had refused the use of vulgar languages in the Catholic liturgy (5 September 1562) and the translation of the *Bible*.³⁰ But that remained limited to theory. In practice, even in Italy, the dialects, as Nicolas Trigault had pointed out, had been applied to religious liturgy. Mentioning the disadvantage of European languages, defined by Nicolas Trigault as *congyin zhizi* 從音之字 (Word following sound, “phonogram”), compared with Chinese which had been perceived as *congyi zhizi* 從意之字 (Word following significance, “ideogram”), Nicolas Trigault argues,

必待其音，則傳其意，故不能通異鄉之談者，亦不能通異鄉之文。蓋雖所用同音之號者，字字之號，號號之音，每每可認，但其音音之意，未能通也。

Following sound, Word can transmit signification, only when sound is successfully captured. Thus, people cannot read the script of other countries, if they cannot communicate with others from these countries first. So, although the symbols used to represent sounds and words could be identified, the significance in each Sound cannot be transmitted.³¹

f.301a. He set out from his hometown for Portugal on 21 April 1606, and embarked from there for India in February 1607. So Trigault began his teaching career before the year 1600.

²⁸ Yyyp, p.61(f.7a).

²⁹ The competition of languages in Europe, see Peter Burke, *Lingue e comunità nell'Europa moderna*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006, pp.81-114.

³⁰ See Peter Burke, *Lingue e comunità nell'Europa moderna*, p.103.

³¹ Nicolas Trigault, *Little Preface to the Lyzp*, in Lbzp, p.6 (f.3b).

Such judgement results from the comparison between two types of language. Putting aside Nicolas Trigault's definition as another question of terminology, of *congyin zhizi* ("phonogram"), his words highlighted a very obvious fact, that is, the variation of European languages. This, alongside the prosperity of the vulgate throughout Europe, was destroying gradually the dominion of Latin and, somehow, had affected the strategy of the missionaries on the local mission. These European strangers learnt the language of the regions where they were staying to convert the indigenous people, but also taught European languages, or Latin, or the vulgate to the local people.³² Both these things usually went in parallel with the expansion of the evangelic enterprise. Same to the Jesuits in Japan who had the same question,³³ when the missionaries arrived in China, they found they had to face the same problem, but with even more urgency. Contrasted with the competition in Europe between Latin and the vulgate, the problem in China, and in Japan as well, was of different pronunciation between Mandarin and dialect. Dialects were pronounced differently but written equally as Mandarin. If the transliteration of the Latin Baptism into Chinese were done, not only would the pronunciation change, but also the meaning. Obviously, his experience in Europe and what he observed later in China, which had been incorporated into the *1610 Annual Letter*, had allowed him to refuse the *transliteration*, while supporting the *translation*. At the bottom of his heart, he hoped this could be passed down to posterity, just as he wrote in his letter with optimism: "I wanted to relate all this, so that posterity will know, when this use was introduced in China". As a consequence, he wanted the missionaries in China to make every effort to learn Chinese, not only to communicate with the native-speakers, but also to express the most appropriate information of the gospel to those converted Christians during the religious liturgy.

In both cases, the question of Chinese was always of first importance for the missionaries in China.

Although his later work, *XREMZ*, repeated almost all the points on Chinese treated in the *1610 Annual Letter*, the context of this book was richer. It was not written for European readers, even though it had been conceived at first as "dictionary", as we will see, and it diffused only inside the Society of Jesus. It was not prepared to convince Chinese people of the urgency and necessity to study Chinese out of ecclesiastical purpose, either, even if it is still a book aimed at helping to study Chinese. Clearly, this notion of Chinese, through the *1610 Annual Letter*, is furnishing us, those possible observers of

³² See Peter Burke, *Lingue e comunità nell'Europa moderna*, p.106.

³³ Alexandro Valignano SJ., *Il Cerimoniale per i missionary del Giappone*, Roma, 1946, pp.24-25; and J.F.Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-century Japan*, London; New York: Routledge, 1993, pp.178-188.

this event, with a fully historical conception of the story and the history of the *XREMZ* in the course in which it was being formed. Probing into this course, we are able to make clear the shaping of the *XREMZ*, a Jesuitical text on how to deal with Chinese; its relationship with the Chinese *literati* and the Western Fathers; its relationship with the Chinese texts; the issues of the publication on its production process and reproduction; the structure of the text and the text itself, its impact after the publication circulated in the community of the learned scholars both in China and Europe and so on. The answers of such questions must be found in the history of the Jesuit mission in China.

The *XREMZ* must be distinguished starkly from the *1610 Annual Letter*. The emergence of the *XREMZ* has to be attributed to the missionary expansion and, alternatively, to the development of the evangelic enterprise in China. After the long preliminary work by Ricci, missionaries and, above all, the Superior Niccolò Longobardi held an opinion on enlarging and intensifying the Apostolate (“*d’enlargir et d’intensifier l’apostolat*”).³⁴ On the other hand, the financial situation and its dependence on the Province of Japan,³⁵ and the lack of a sufficient number of Jesuits for these existed residences and for the establishment of five new residences in another five cities,³⁶ all of them had impeded the progress of this project. The mandate of Nicolas Trigault to Europe was to find a solution, and he went back to China triumphant. With all he had obtained from this mission, he had poured into the Jesuit mission a stream of new energy, helping the damaged Society of Jesus recover from the first Persecution in 1616.³⁷

This anti-Christian movement, well-known as *Jiao'an* 教案 (religious incident) in Chinese, was launched by Shen-que 沈澣 (1565-1624), the vice-minister of Rites from 1615 to 1619 at the Court of Nanjing, the Southern Capital of Imperial Ming, with a memorial to the throne in May 1616. This incident had caused some damage, as the residences in Beijing and Nanjing were shut down. But this provocation, frankly speaking, had ended with little success.³⁸ When Trigault was back in China, the

³⁴ See Edmond Lamalle, *La propagande*, p.53. See also Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724* (from now on *Journey to the East*), Harvard University Press, 2007, p.62.

³⁵ See Edmond Lamalle, *La propagande*, pp.53-54.

³⁶ See Edmond Lamalle, *La propagande*, p.77.

³⁷ Newly arrived Jesuit Vinceslao Pantaleone recorded in an optimistic tone the return of Nicolas Trigault, “Perché quest’anno (di cui mi tocca à scrivere) è quello, nel quale il P. Nicolò Trigautio co’ suoi compagni è giunto col favore divino a’ confini della Cina, tengo per certo, che V.P.e tutti li Nostri d’Europa, habbiano gran desiderio di sapere, con che successo habbiamo finalmente passati li turbulentissimi mari d’Oriente noi, e questi doni, che in molta copia ci furono dati dalla liberalità de’ piissimi Principi Christiana nella Cina”, see *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, p.62; see also Edmond Lamalle, *La propagande*, pp.68-69.

³⁸ Geoege H.Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, pp.128-146; see also Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East* pp.63-69; R.Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, p.291.

height of the storm seemed to have passed. Inside the Society, an optimistic mood was diffuse. As early as in 1619, the Jesuit had had faith in re-cultivating Christianity, for the tempest was going to calm down, “abbonacciandosi” as they felt.³⁹

But for the Jesuits, “they would not repeat the indiscretions into which the excessive optimism of the years 1611-1615 had led them.”⁴⁰ Specifically, when Shen-que, with the advent of Wei Zhong-xian 魏忠賢 (1568-1627), one of the most powerful eunuchs, was summoned to appoint a grand secretary in 1621-1622 in Beijing, anti-Christian words reemerged. More circumspection was to be required. Answering to Shen-que’s accusation, the so-called *Three Pillars* Xu Guang-qi 徐光啓 (1562-1633), Yang Ting-yun and Li Zhi-zao 李之藻 (1571-1630) defended immediately, this event was more likely to be involved in the political power struggle.⁴¹ Worse still, these three statesmen, politically, were not so eminent as C.Dehaisnes had accounted to his possible European readers.⁴² Xu took a post much inferior than that of Shen-que.⁴³ In 1624, when Nicolas Trigault was moving to Shanxi, Xu was at home after refusing to accept a post supplied by the clan of Wei Zhong-xian. In the summer of 1623, Li Zhi-zao was deprived of the office. In March 1625, Yang Ting-yun was also removed from the post.⁴⁴ The Jesuit mission, under their protection, went ahead, they seemed helpless in the face of a crisis linked closely with the political. In this case, to adjust the strategy of the spread/transplant of Christianity was necessary. Around 1624, when Manuel Dias Jr. intended to choose another man to take the place of Nicolas Trigault in Shanxi, Xu Guang-qi wrote him and recommended Alfonso Vagnoni for this post, because the Father, more or less unknown, could bring it to greater fruition with less danger.⁴⁵ The Prudence inside the Society of Jesus in China was still necessary.

Even so, the Jesuit mission was continuing to move inland. Some changes in missionary geography appeared. In 1617, the residence in Nanxiong 南雄 had been sold by Jesuits Gaspar Ferreira and Manuel Dias, because of the attack of Shen-que.⁴⁶ Of the same period is the Shaozhou 韶州 residence;

³⁹ See *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, pp.3-4.

⁴⁰ George H.Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, p.160.

⁴¹ Around Shen-que’s accuse, see Huang Yi-long 黃一農, *Liangtou she: Mingmo qingchu de diyidai tianzhujiaotu* 兩頭蛇: 明末清初的第一代天主教徒 (Two-Headed Snakes: the First Christian Generation among the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty) (from now on *Liangtou she*), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006, pp.118-122.

⁴² C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.175.

⁴³ See Liang Jia-mian 梁家勉, *Xu Guang-qi nian pu* 徐光啓年譜 (Chronicle of Xu Guang-qi), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981, pp.112-148.

⁴⁴ About Li Zhi-zao, see *Xu Guang-qi nianpu*, p.149; Yang Ting-yun, see *Xu Guang-qi nianpu*, p.153; Xu Guang-qi, see *Xu Guang-qi nianpu*, pp.150-169.

⁴⁵ Fortunato Margiotti, *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, Roma: Edizioni “Sinica Franciscana”, 1958, p.90.

⁴⁶ George H.Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, p.140.

though I have not been able to trace references to this place during my survey of the *Annual Letters* (1619, 1620, 1621, 1625 and 1626).⁴⁷ Meanwhile, more places at the level of *subprefecture* or district, because of the local Christian converts, began to touch Christianity.⁴⁸ In 1616, Father Pierre Van Spiere, with Chinese brethren Sebastian Fernandez, because of the attack, transferred to Huguang 湖廣 (present-day Hubei 湖北 Province and Hunan 湖南 Province), under the protection of a mandarin for more than two years, then they moved to Nanjing in 1619.⁴⁹ In 1621, Father Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) reached Shaanxi and then Shanxi, accompanied by one mandarin Doctor Ma,⁵⁰ where he sowed seeds of Christianity by visiting and baptizing the family of Han-yun and his younger brother Han-lin 韓霖 in Jiangzhou 絳州 of Shanxi 山西 Province.⁵¹ Within about twenty days, Giulio Aleni converted some local people (*gaigna quelques ames à Dieu*).⁵² In this respect, they were well prepared for the arrival of Nicolas Trigault.

Therefore, when Nicolas Trigault was mandated to Henan 河南 in 1623, and then to Shanxi in 1624 at the invitation of Han-yun and, finally, to Shaanxi 陝西 in 1625 because of the inviting letters of Wang-zheng 王徵 and other local Christian converts, his Jesuit mission in this period was in keeping with the territorial expansion of Christianity in China. In this course, there was no liberty, but only obligation, which allowed him to take action. As a matter of fact, it was Johann Terrenz Schreck (1576-1630), a German Jesuit and arrived in China in 1619, rather than Nicolas Trigault, who was presumed initially to be mandated inland. But Father Terrenz was not well-versed in Chinese at that point. As a result, Father Trigault was commanded to assume this mission, “in the guise of teaching mathematics and other sciences, whereby it could avoid complication.”⁵³ These two men had different specialties. Terrenz was a brilliant scientist and, especially, an excellent mathematician. No book on humanistic

⁴⁷ See *Lettere dell’Ethiopia dell’Anno 1626. fino al Marzo del 1627. E Della Cina dell’Anno 1625. fino al febraro del 1626* (from now on *Lettere 1625 and 1626*), Roma, 1629. In the light of the *Relatione* of 1620, there were priests and fraternities in Beijing, Hangzhou, Nanchang and Jianchang, see *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, p.70. Nevertheless, in 1621, Nicolas Trigault visited Shaozhou for a while, see C. Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.170.

⁴⁸ Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China Volume One: 635-1800*, Brill, 2001, pp.543-551.

⁴⁹ See *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, p.42; L.Pfister, *Notices Bio.et Biblio*, pp.147-148.

⁵⁰ See *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, pp.192-193. Further information on this Doctor Ma, see “Ma San-chi” in *DOMB*, vol.1, pp.2-4. Michel Trigault and Joseph Dehergne thought Father Aleni was in Shanxi and Shaanxi in 1620, see Michel Trigault’s *Lettre du R.P. Michel Trigault Douisien de la Compagnie de Jesus*, Liège, Jean Tournay, 1644, p.260; and Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire Des Jésuites De Chine de 1552 à 1800*, p.7.

⁵¹ See *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, p.222.

⁵² See Michel Trigault, *Lettre du R.P. Michel Trigault Douisien de la Compagnie de Jesus*, p.260.

⁵³ Fortunato Margiotti, *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, p.86.

subjects had been found in his works.⁵⁴ While, besides science and mathematics, Trigault was also an advantage to literature.⁵⁵ The latter enables him to pay attention to disciplines such as language, literature, and philosophy. This is why he was able to compose *Kuangyi* 況義 (*Aesop's Fables*) in Xi'an in 1625.⁵⁶ *XREMZ's* future fate, because of the profession division inside the Society of Jesus and because of Nicolas Trigault's persona, seemed already pre-determined in the moment when he was called for the return to the mission field in 1623.

In summary, in the context of the Roman concerns about the use of Chinese as a liturgical language inside the Catholic Church and in that of the adjustment of the missionary expansion in China (both in strategic and, as a result, geographical terms),⁵⁷ the history of the *XREMZ* is included in the history of the China mission. When Nicolas Trigault began his journey westward, he would be warmly received by the newly converted Chinese of these areas. They believed that more stability for Christianity needed the arrival of a foreign missionary.⁵⁸ Really Nicolas Trigault not only sent the evangelic message from Heaven to the enthusiastic believers of the remote areas with the building of two new residences in Shanxi and Shaanxi,⁵⁹ but also brought *tianxue* 天學 (Learning from Heaven), among which there was *XREMZ*.

Nicolas Trigault was a writer of a good number of compositions. These Chinese texts are *Tui linian zhanli fa* 推曆年瞻禮法 (*De computu ecclesiastico*)(1625), *Kuangyi* (1625) and *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (1626) and all were published in Xi'an. These texts in European languages are *Vita Gasparis Barzae, Belgae, e Soc.Jes.*(1610), *Rei Christianae apud Japonios commentariis* (1615), Matteo Ricci's Latin version *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e christianità nella Cina* (1615), *Histoire du massacre de plusieurs religieux de Saint-Dominique* (1620),⁶⁰ *De christinanis apud Japonios triumphis, sive de*

⁵⁴ A considerable number of writings by Johann Terrenz Schreck concern astronomy, see L. Pfister, *Notices Bio.et Biblio.*, pp.156-158.

⁵⁵ Nicolas Trigault taught mathematics to the Chinese in Kaifeng 開封 in 1623, see ARSI., Jap.Sin.114, f.395b.

⁵⁶ The original text can be found in the BNF and is edited in the *Chinese Christian Texts from the National Library of France* (Nicolas Standaert, Ad Dudink, and Nathalie Monnet, ed., Taipei, 2009), vol.4. This document at the National Library of France and the Library of Cambridge University is presented in a handwritten form. Thus, it is doubtful if the work were published in 1625. One earliest document mentioning this book as "Aesopi selectae Fabulae" was in 1686 (see ARSI., Jap.sin.I.193, p.14). Trigault gave no information in the letter in 1627 to his friend Montmorency, SJ. about this book when he was talking about the recent writings he had completed in China. Probably, the *Kuangyi* was never printed, see Ge Bao-quan 戈寶權, *Zhongwai wenxue yinyuan* 中外文學因緣 (Chinese literature and foreign literature), Beijing, Beijing chubanshe, 1992, pp.401-437.

⁵⁷ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, pp.61-62.

⁵⁸ See Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, p.549.

⁵⁹ See *Lettere 1625 and 1626*, p.67.

⁶⁰ C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.307.

gravissima ibidem contra Christi fidem persecutione exorta anno 1612 usque annum 1620 (1623, Munich),⁶¹ *Pentabliblion Sinense* (1626), *Annales Regni Sinensis* (1627), and a lot of *Annual* (1610, 1611, 1620,⁶² 1621) and variant private letters.⁶³ Among them the *XREMZ* was the latest one to be comprised in Chinese. It has been studied by many scholars.

For most Chinese scholars, this book is a rich phonetic source for studying Chinese of the Ming (1368-1644) Dynasty. The initiative in-depth study should be contributed to Luo Chang-pei 羅常培's *Yeshuhuishhi zai yinyunxueshang de gongxian* 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻 (*The Jesuitical Contribution to the Phonology*)(1929). Besides, there are three Ph.D. dissertations:⁶⁴ Chen Liang-chi (1987), Tan Hui-ying 譚慧穎 (2008), Xue Zhi-xia 薛志霞 (2008); three Master degree theses:⁶⁵ including Zeng Xiao-yu 曾曉渝 (1989), Wang Song-mu 王松木 (1994), Zhang-miao 張苗 (2007), and other papers,⁶⁶ including Xie Yun-fei 謝云飛 (1975) and so on, and all of them have more or less followed (or near) Luo Chang-pei's research. From the point of view of modern linguistics, their research revolves around how Nicolas Trigault and his companions had used foreign phonetics symbols, that is to say, Latin letters, to analyze the phonemes of Chinese language: "Phones", "Syllables," "Tones" and so forth. Usually, this research has supplied us with a certain way of perceiving the *XREMZ*. In particular, we are able to identify, owed to the phonetic analyses, the Chinese pronunciation used in the *XREMZ* with Nanjing dialect.⁶⁷ This is consistent with Nicolas

⁶¹ C. Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.305.

⁶² See L.Pfister, *Notices Bio.et Biblio.*, p.119.

⁶³ A number of personal letters are preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, see J.Van de Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, t.6, Bruxelles, 1906, p.243, 244, 247, 248, 254, 256.

⁶⁴ Chen Liang-chi, *Eine funktionell-strukturelle und historisch-vergleichende Untersuchung des Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (1626, Hangzhou) – *Eine vergleichende Studie zur traditionellen chinesischen Lexikographie*, (Univ.Thrier.); Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi* 西儒耳目資源流辨析 (On the Formation and Effects of An Audio-visual Aid to Western Scholars), Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2008; Xue Zhi-xia, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi xintan* 西儒耳目資新探 (New Study on the *XREMZ*), (Nanjing University).

⁶⁵ Zeng Xiao-yu: *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yinxi yanjiu* 西儒耳目資音系研究 (Study on the Phonological System of *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi*), (Southwest China Normal University); Wang Song-mu, *Hsi Ju Erh Mu Tzu suo fanying de mingmo guanhua yinxi* 西儒耳目資所反映的明末官話音系 (Phonology of Late Ming Dynasty Mandarin Reflected in *Hsi Ju Erh Mu Tzu*), (National Chung Cheng University); Zhang-miao, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yinxi ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu* 西儒耳目資音系及相關問題研究 (Study on the Phonological Study of *Xi ru Er mu Zi* and some related problems), (Soochow University of China).

⁶⁶ Xie Yun-fei, *Jin Ni-ge Xi Ru Er Mu Zi xilun* 金尼閣西儒耳目資析論 (Analysis on *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi*), in *Journal of Nanyang University*, vol.8/9, 1975, pp.66-83.

⁶⁷ Luo Chang-pei, *Yeshuhuishhi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian* 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻, in *Luo Chang-pei yuyanxue lunwen ji* 羅常培語言學論文集 (Essays of Linguistics, from now on *Luo Chang-pei*), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2004, pp.251-358, and Xue Zhi-xia, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi xintan*, p.121. Meanwhile, someone is of a different opinion. For example, Li Xin-kui 李新魁, *Ji biao xian shanxi fangyin de Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* 記表現山西方音的西儒耳目資 (Shanxi Dialect Documented by the *XREMZ*), in *Yuwen yanjiu*, 1982, vol.1, pp.126-129; Jin Xun-gao 金薰鎬, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi fei shanxi*

Trigault's early study experience in the Chinese language. But their studies on the phonetic question of the *XREMZ* is based on modern phonetics, which was born only in 1867 with the *Visible Speech* by Alexander Melville Bell. In other words, they have deprived Nicolas Trigault of his own knowledge about these phonetic elements in the history whereby this book was born.

In addition, there is an interesting understanding of *XREMZ* in focusing on its relation with the culture of European background. One example comes from Chien Hung-yi's thesis for the master degree: *Loci, Image, and Lexicography: How Trigault's Learning Influenced the Siju Ulmoçu* (2010). The young author tried to incorporate the book of Trigault into the socio-cultural context, which emerged and was intensified because of the encounter between Europe and China. The *XREMZ*, "as an attempt to integrate the Chinese and the European elements to create a unique lexicography", "represents a mixed intellectual background, and this background must be understood through the analysis of the Renaissance culture and the contemporary knowledge of the Chinese language and script."⁶⁸ The "Renaissance culture" is related to the Art of memory which had effected on the composition of the *XREMZ*, as the example of the design of the "phonetic *wheels*" and the "tabulation of Chinese syllables."⁶⁹ Starting from this point, Chien established a relationship of the *XREMZ* with European knowledge, "how a missionary's intellectual background contributes to his analysis of a foreign language."⁷⁰ It is evident that Nicolas Trigault's education in his hometown enabled him to take charge of this job. The abovementioned Tan Hui-ying had also tried to explicate the terms in the *XREMZ*, by investigating its origin of knowledge. In her opinion, these applied terms were properly new to Chinese, as *Jiuping zhuang xinjiu* 舊瓶裝新酒 (To put new wine: *content* in old bottles: *form*).⁷¹

To sum up, these studies, in particular, Chien's creative research, give another perspective to examine the book of *XREMZ* by tracing it back to its European roots. They insisted however that Nicolas Trigault had to subject himself to the feature of the Chinese language, as a result of the contact

fangyan bianxi 西儒耳目資非山西方言辨析 (On non-Shanxi Dialect in the *XREMZ*), in *Yuwen yanjiu*, 1996, vol.2, pp.44-49.

⁶⁸ Chien Hung-yi 簡宏逸, 場所、影像、詞書編纂: 金尼閣的教育背景如何影響西儒耳目資(Loci, Image, and Lexicography: How Trigault's Learning Influenced the *Siju Ulmoçu*), Thesis of Master degree (National Taiwan Normal University), 2010. p.4.

⁶⁹ The "phonetic wheels" refers to *Wanguo yinyun huotu* 萬國音韻活圖 (Moveable Wheel of the Universal Sound and Rhyme) and *Zhongyuan yinyun huotu* 中原音韻活圖 (Moveable Wheel of Central Land Wheel of Sound and Rhyme); while, the "tabulation of Chinese" to *Yinyun jingwei zongju* 音韻經緯總局 (General Table of Sound and Rhyme) and *Yinyun jingwei quanju* 音韻經緯全局 (Complete Table of Sound and Rhyme).

⁷⁰ Chien Hung-yi, *Loci, Image, and Lexicography: How Trigault's Learning Influenced the Siju Ulmoçu*, p.99.

⁷¹ See Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi*, pp.29-47.

between Europe and China.⁷² And thus, the distinction between two linguistic systems is too radical to be ignored. Without doubt, Nicolas Trigault had defined many concepts from the point of view of Europe.⁷³ But it does not mean knowledge he was displaying is absolutely unseen in China, specifically, when we take into account the background in China. In other words, the dichotomy of the *XREMZ*, European origin on the one hand, and Chinese elements on the other, is not so sharply evident. When this book was conceived, both sides were comprised and united. Today, the history of the *XREMZ*, both the context whence this book was borne, and the text composed in that context, remains obscured. For this reason, I intend in the following pages to represent them, in elucidating a more reliable image/interpretation of the *XREMZ*, textually and contextually.

Continuing all the preceding remarks, I shall divide this research into two parts. The first is to discuss the composition of the *XREMZ*, addressing two sections: the collaborators in the course of compiling the *XREMZ* on the one hand, and Chinese books in the *XREZM* on the other. In consideration of the fact that Chinese collaborators play a crucial role, the first section lists narratively both converts and sympathizers, who altogether constituted a local Christian community, and their relationship with the Catholic mission (or, particularly, Learning from Heaven), Jesuit Father Nicolas Trigault, and finally the *XREMZ* itself, from the standpoint of Chinese *literati* rather than that of the missionaries, in the intellectual community at the local level, for example, Jingyang 涇陽 of Shaanxi and Jiangzhou 絳州 of Shanxi. The contribution of the Western missionaries to the study of Chinese will be mentioned in the second section, with the aim of illustrating another intellectual context of the *XREMZ*: as a direct result, the composition of the dictionaries. Among them there was a rhyme and character dictionary, which would have been expended into the *XREMZ* by Nicolas Trigault. The last section concerns Chinese resources, including some Chinese vocabularies and other books, which Nicolas Trigault had analysed selectively and critically. These printed books had formed one textual base for the *XREMZ*.

The second part is to analyse specific aspects of the *XREMZ*, which will contain two sections. The first is to analyse the text: sequentially, from *form* (textual structure) to *content* (text itself), by probing each section; that is, *Yi Yin Shou Pu* 譯引首譜, *Lie Yin Yun Pu* 列音韻譜 and *Lie Bian Zheng Pu* 列邊

⁷² See Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi*, pp.98-99, and see also Luo Chang-pei, *Yesuishi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian*, p.297.

⁷³ Chen Liang-chi “conjectures that Trigault may have derived his concept from an interpretation of the Cratylos dialogue in Plato”, quoted from Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, p.870.

正譜, and the role each of them plays, as to resolve the question: “what *is* the *XREMZ*.” The second section intends to re-evaluate a number of terms, which had dispersed throughout the volumes. Then, Trigault re-defined the notion of *Chinese*, and *Chinese character*, by comparing them with European languages, and expected to constitute the theoretical base of the whole *XREMZ*. These components were used to render the *XREMZ* a new text which would be distinguished from the pre-existing one which had been diffused inside the Society of Jesus. In the history of the Jesuit missions in China, the *XREMZ* was given the character of that epoch, that is, a piece of missionary writing with a propagandist purpose. This was evident only if read while considering that epoch, and the geographical place, and historical moment of its composition and circulation.

This is the story of the *XREMZ*, which had been made part of the history of Jesuit missions in China in their early stages, but is not so remarkable in comparison with other missionary writings: Matteo Ricci’s *Xiguo jifa* 西國記法 (Mnemotecnica occidentale) (1596), as a prime example, which had been elaborated by Jonathan D. Spence in *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (1984). But the history of its formation is noteworthy: this period is not only important for Nicolas Trigault and missionary life in China, but is also a phase in which the contact between Chinese society with Westerners was much closer than ever before. The present work aims to make this period better known, and understood.

Part I

The Making of the *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* 西儒耳目資: Chinese, Europeans and Books

In 1623, as they saw that the political situation was beginning to calm down again, Jesuits began to move from Hangzhou, where they had been saved by Yang Ting-yun from the anti-Christian movement (1616 - 1622), to other mission fields. Nicolas Trigault was selected to follow the steps of his forerunner Giulio Aleni, marching westward alone, since he spoke good Chinese.¹ In the following years, he would visit Henan, Shanxi and Shaanxi, with an aim to build new residences, which had been planned by Niccolò Longobardi when he assumed the post of Superior of the China mission in 1611.² Apart from Henan, the Jesuit mission knew the other two provinces, thanks to the mission of Giulio Aleni who had baptized at least eighteen people at Jiangzhou.³ Meanwhile, the early converted Wang-zheng was eagerly expecting the arrival of some missionaries to promote the evangelical enterprise. As early as 1619, he had expressed at his invitation such a desire, and two years later, Han-yun did the same. Their requests were not realized until 1623, when everything appeared restored to normality. This mission should have been accomplished by Father Aleni, but his mission was disturbed in 1621 by a visitor to the Province, who, a friend of Shen-que, issued a manifesto against Christianity in Shanxi.⁴ So, Nicolas Trigault was mandated to bring this mission to fruition. He was certainly also hoping to preach the gospel to the people of Henan Province with this opportunity.

The three provinces, Henan, Shanxi, and Shaanxi are in Central China. In particular, the south of Shanxi, the southeast of Shaanxi and the major part of Henan are contiguous, and are called *Zhongyuan* 中原 (see map 2: “*Central Plain of China*”) whence Chinese civilization was born. Prior to the expansion of Christianity, there were some local intellectual communities: *Luoxue* 洛學 (School of

¹ In one letter to the Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian I (17 April 1573 – 27 September 1651), dated 30 October 1624, Trigault wrote, “quod ad me attinet, jam hujus linguae difficultater oblivione diuturna oblitteratus, Deo laus, et in hac aetate resarcivi: jam expedite sine interprete cum omnibus ago, et jam annus est ubi in remotissimis provinciis solus peregrinor, Christi fidem disseminans.”, see *Appendice*, in C. Dehaisnes, *Vie du père Nicolas Trigault de la compagnie de jésus* (from now on *Nicolas Trigault*), Tournai, 1864, p.275.

² See Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724* (from now on *Journey to the East*), Harvard University Press, 2007, p.61.

³ *Historia Sinarum Imperii*, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.102, f.214a.

⁴ See George H.Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of The Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (from now on *Generation of Giants*), Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962, p.151.

Luoyang) in Henan, *Hedong zhixue* 河東之學 (School of the River East) in Shanxi,⁵ and *Guanxue* 關學 (School of the Guanzhong) in Shaanxi. Intellectually, they could be identified under the common label of Neo-Confucianism, as they stressed *shixue* 實學 (Practical Learning), the significance of which I will address later. Inevitably, after the arrival of Nicolas Trigault, they would encounter Christianity. But this does not suggest that they maintained the same attitude towards this exotic *School of Christianity*. Xin-quan 辛全 (1588-1636), a native of Jiangzhou, was considered the leader of the School of the River East, and a disciple of Cao Yu-bian 曹于汴 (1554-1630). The latter was a friend of Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits in Beijing, and had prefaced Diego de Pantoja's *Qike* 七克 (Seven Victories) (1614) and Sabatino de Ursis's *Taixi shuifa* 泰西水法 (Hydraulic Methods of the Great West). Perhaps Xin-quan had heard something about missionaries from his master and friends.⁶ But Li Sheng-guang 李生光, one of his students, had composed *Chongzhen bixie* 崇禎辟邪 (Ward off Evils), a script against Christianity.⁷ Looking into Xin-quan's personal circle, there were two completely different attitudes, staying side by side, towards the same doctrine of Christianity. Not all the Chinese *literati* with the same *background*, in this case neo-Confucianism, accepted Christianity, nor did they all reject it.

In this sense, the success of Nicolas Trigault, when moving to these three Provinces, rested on others who were willing to welcome him.⁸ Obviously, his success was not related to the learned of Henan. In October 1623, Nicolas Trigault reached Kaifeng 開封, the Capital of this province, and began to spread the Faith by discussing geography, geometry, and astronomy with the Chinese *literati*, a strategy initiated by Father Ricci and strengthened by the 1621 rules. These rules were devised by the senior Jesuits in China and the Visitors to Macau on the basis of forty years of collective experience. A major point of these rules was “the use of science as a means not only to spread Christianity but also to

⁵ Geographically, the *River East* refers to the region located at the Eastern side of the Yellow River, covering, more or less, the present-day Shanxi Province.

⁶ About the social network of Xin-quan, see Huang Yi-long 黃一農, *Liangtou she: Mingmo qingchu de diyidai tianzhujiaotu* 兩頭蛇: 明末清初的第一代天主教徒 (Two-Headed Snakes: the First Christian Generation among the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty) (from now on *Liangtou she*), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006, pp.289-290; and Li Huan-yang 李煥揚 ed., *Zhili Jiangzhou zhi* 直隸絳州志 (Local History of Jiangzhou), 1879, vol.11, ff.15a-16a, and Shi-cheng 施誠, ed., *Henanfu zhi* 河南府志 (Local History of Henan), 1867, vol.40, f.12a.

⁷ See *Zhili Jiangzhou zhi*, vol.11, f.18a; but this book cannot be found in his bibliography, see *Zhili Jiangzhou zhi*, vol.19, f.29b; and Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she*, pp.290-292.

⁸ The *Handbook* retains the same standpoint, but attributes this to the *guanxi* (relationships) from the point of view of sociology, see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China Volume One: 635-1800*, Brill, 2001, pp.567-572.

defend the mission.”⁹ But Trigault was aware that these learned people were completely indifferent to religious and philosophical questions. They were also disinterested in Nicolas Trigault’s book, which he carried everywhere, and which was to be developed into the present-day *XREMZ*. So he had to leave this city after three or four months of fatigue and hard work.¹⁰ After having baptized the governor and all his family, he left them to Rodrigo de Figueiredo (1594-1642), a Jesuit from Portugal who would remain there until 1641, while Trigault moved to Shanxi.¹¹ Shipping along the Yellow River, he landed safely at Shanxi and began an arduous and dangerous journey in order to reach Jiangzhou. In February or March 1624, he arrived at his destination, where he did what had been done in Kaifeng, but here his efforts paid off.¹² The local learned had a positive reaction, not only to astronomy and mathematics, but also to philosophy and religion. Their enthusiasm for the Learning from Heaven would bring about the emergence of the *XREMZ*. But the story of the *XREMZ* had not nearly reached its end. By keeping in touch with the Jesuit mission of Nicolas Trigault, the story would involve Lv Wei-qi 呂維祺 when he passed by Xin’an 新安, and Wang-zheng when he entered Shaanxi. The production of the *XREMZ* was woven into Nicolas Trigault’s mission in China.

This reminds us of a familiar, but alternative history. As the strategy of Christian expansion was adjusted, the *literati* at the local level were becoming more and more important, and played a crucial role. Although the Jesuits still preferred the center (for example Kaifeng), the lack of the local converted *literati* and their support had brought their missions to failure, even if Western science had fascinated some audiences. In contrast with Kaifeng, Jiangzhou and Jingyang were merely two sub-prefectures. But as Nicolas Trigault’s different experience shows, he had accomplished his mission in Jiangzhou and Jingyang with the assistance of those converted *literati* and other laymen, holders of a degree as low as *xiucai* (Licentiate).

No doubt the support of the higher mandarins was still required for the missions. Despite the fact that Shen-que, the most dangerous enemy of the Society of Jesus in China of that time, died in 1624, his successor remained hostile to Christianity.¹³ Alfonso Vagnoni believed that “the apostolic mission will always be in danger of being broken off without an implicit recognition of the authority at the level

⁹ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.75.

¹⁰ C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, pp.178-179; and Fortunato Margiotti, *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, Roma: Edizioni “Sinica Franciscana”, 1985, p.85.

¹¹ C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, pp.179-180.

¹² Fortunato Margiotti, *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, p.88.

¹³ *Histoire De Ce Qui S’Est Passé Au Royaume De La Chine En L’année 1624*, Paris, 1629, p.11.

of the State,” so he tried to capture the kindness of these higher officials of Shanxi.¹⁴ Trigault did the same in Shaanxi. He had been under the shelter of Zhang Wen-da 張問達, the retired *Libu shangshu* 吏部尚書 (Minister of Personnel), who would secure his safety. But the people, because of the relationship with the local converted *literati*, were also made part of the local sympathizers. Together, they all became the backbone of the effort to spread and, where possible, localize (from the point of view of the comparison between Christianity and Confucianism) the Christian faith. They were involved in the China mission from beginning to end. One of the main achievements was to help the edition of *Jesuitical* compositions (which were more like translations), as Jesuit authors were not trained in the style of Chinese language: its grammar, syntax and so on. For the Jesuits, these scripts were about missionary strategy, such as forming and sustaining the relationship between the Jesuit missions and Chinese society, and proselytization.

But for the Chinese, there was a different opinion. There were several types of *Jesuitical* composition. Apart from some of the European texts, the Jesuits themselves undertook the translation into Chinese, and most had the help of Chinese collaborators. They either wrote down the Chinese version of a text which the Jesuit translators had explained to them orally, or they revised the style of a drafted translation already prepared by a Jesuit.¹⁵ Trigault’s Chinese writings were composed of both types. As for the first method, he had used it to transcribe *Aesop's Fables*, in collaboration with Zhang-geng 張賡, a converted Chinese Christian from Fujian 福建, into Chinese, in a book entitled *Kuangyi* 況義 (1625). As for the second one, he applied it to the edition of the *XREMZ* (1626), but complicated it quite a bit. There was a group of Chinese *literati* who took part in this creation. Their participation was not simply for the need of stylistic elegance, but also out of the passion they had for the text edition. Even in a larger context, such collaboration cannot be confined to the Chinese cooperators who helped Nicolas Trigault, since the draft of the *XREMZ*, as we will see, was a dictionary that had already been previously redacted by a group of Jesuits. Out of their own motives, a dialogue surrounding the *XREMZ* unfolded. In dialogue, they might have encountered questions about terms, contents, structure of the text, and so on. Having answered them, the transmission of knowledge from Europe to China, and vice versa, was in sight. As a consequence, the newly edited *XRMEZ* was realized.

¹⁴ Furtunato Margiott, *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, p.96.

¹⁵ See R.Po-chia Hsia, *The Catholic mission and translation in China, 1583-1700*, in Peter Burke and R.Po-chia Hsia, ed., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp.39-51, especially p.46.

To sum up, the completion of this book required people from both West and East, and a corpus of books as reference. It also required the solution of some technological problems of printing and publication. This part will concentrate on these aspects, since they were essential to the production of the *XREMZ*.

1) Who were these Chinese collaborators and why did they participate in this cultural enterprise in a context where neo-Confucianism met Christianity? And what role were they to play in this process?

2) Apart from these Chinese assistants, there was another group of Western contributors who were mentioned only by Trigault. Who were they, and what contribution did they make to the composition of the *XREMZ*? What was the relationship like between them and Nicolas Trigault?

Without these two groups of people, the *XREMZ* would never have been possible.

3) In the course of their cooperation, Trigault and his Chinese peers consulted various Chinese books, taking them as either good or bad examples. Some of them had even been incorporated into the *XREMZ* to compose some of its parts.

Taken together, all of these factors finally reshaped the image of this book from a pre-existing *Rhyme and Character Book* to the present-day *XREMZ*. After its publication, the newly edited *XREMZ* was distributed and may have been read by potential readers, both inside and outside the community of Christian converts.

Chapter I

Chinese Collaborators and the Making of the *XREMZ*

In composing the *XREMZ*, a group of Chinese people took part in the enterprise in different ways. Many scholars such as Luo Chang-pei 羅常培 (1930),¹⁶ Du Song-shou 杜松壽 (1979),¹⁷ Li Xin-kui 李

¹⁶ Luo Chang-pei, *Yesuhuishi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian* 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻, in *Luo Chang-pei yuyanxue lunwen ji* 羅常培語言學論文集 (Essays of Linguistics), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2004, p.259.

¹⁷ So far, Du Song-shou has supplied us with the most complete list of names including Wang-zheng, Han-yun, Zhang Zhong-fang, Zhang Wen-da those who had prefaced to *XREMZ*, Lv Wei-qi, Wei Zi-jian, Chen Ding-qing, Li Cong-qian, Li Can-ran, see Du Song-shou, *Luomahua hanyu pinyin de lishi yuanyuan – jianjie mingji zai xi'an chuban de Xi Ru Er Mu Zi*

新魁 (1982),¹⁸ Ji Xiang-xiang 計翔翔 (1994),¹⁹ Jin Xun-gao 金薰鎬 (1994, 1996),²⁰ Wang Song-mu 王松木 (1994, 2009),²¹ Huang Yi-long 黃一農 (2006),²² Tan Hui-ying 譚慧穎 (2008),²³ Mao Duan-fang 毛端方 (2011)²⁴ and so on²⁵ gave it attention. This research has not sufficiently explained the relationship between the Chinese participants, Nicolas Trigault, and Christianity, and therefore has not explained the reason why they participated in the project. To answer all these questions, I will list all the people on the Chinese side, their roles and their intellectual backgrounds, if possible, so as to find out why they had dedicated themselves to this activity, even though many of them were not Christian.

There are two versions of the list of Chinese collaborators. One is Nicolas Trigault's version, and the other is from Wang-zheng. In *Wenda xiaoxu* 問答小序 (*Little Preface to the Wenda*), Trigault

羅馬化漢語拼音的歷史淵源—簡介明季在西安出版的西儒耳目資 (The History of the Romanization: the XREMZ in the Late Ming Dynasty), in *Shanxi shida xuebao*, vol.4, 1979, pp.64-70.

¹⁸ Nobody but Han-yun was mentioned in Li Xin-kui, *Ji biao xian shanxi fangyin de Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* 記表現山西方音的西儒耳目資 (Shanxi Dialect Documented by the XREMZ), in *Yu Wen Yan Jiu*, vol.1, 1982, pp.126-129.

¹⁹ Ji Xiang-xiang referred only to Wang-zheng, Ji Xiang-xiang, *Jin Ni-ge yu zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* 金尼閣與中西文化交流 (Nicolas Trigault and China-West Cultural Exchange), in *Journal of Hangzhou University*, vol.24, 1994, pp.51-57.

²⁰ By citing Wang-zheng's words, Jin Xun-gao had alluded almost to Wang-zheng, Han-yun, Lv Wei-qi, Wei Zi-jian, Zhang Zhong-fang, Zhang Wen-da, Chen Ding-qing in his *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi de chengshu jiyi tizhi* 西儒耳目資的成書及其體製 (The formation of the XREMZ and its Structure), in *Hebei xuekan*, vol.4, 1994, pp.72-82. In another *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi fei shanxi fangyan bianxi* 西儒耳目資非山西方言辨析 (On non-Shanxi Dialect in the XREMZ), in *Yuwen yanjiu*, vol.2, 1996, pp.44-49, he mentioned only Wang-zheng, Han-yun and Lv Wei-qi.

²¹ Wang Song-mu had alluded to Wang-zheng, Lv Wei-qi, Han-yun and Zhang Wen-da, see Wang Song-mu, *Hsi Ju Erh Mu Tzu suo fanying de mingmo guanhua yinxi* 西儒耳目資所反映的明末官話音系 (Phonology of Late Ming Dynasty Mandarin Reflected in *Hsi Ju Erh Mu Tzu*), Thesis of Master degree (National Chung Cheng University), 1994; *Mingdai dengyunjia zhi fanqie gailiang fang'an jiqi sheji linian* 明代等韻家之反切改良方案及其設計理念 (Design Concepts of the Phonology Experts in Ming Dynasty), in *Wen yu zhe*, vol.15, 2009, pp.195-252.

²² Huang Yi-long had illustrated Zhang Wen-da, Zhang Zhong-fang, Wang-zheng, Lv Wei-qi, Han-yun, Chen Ding-qing, Wei Zi-jian and their charges by putting them in the context of the Jesuit mission, see Huang Yi-long, *Liangtuo she*, pp.101-104.

²³ Tan Hui-ying had mentioned Wang-zheng, Han-yun, Zhang Wen-da, Zhang Zhong-fang, Chen Bao-huang and Chen Ding-qing, but had mistaken Chen Bao-huang for Chen Ding-qing. See Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi* 西儒耳目資源流辨析 (On the Formation and Effects of An Audio-visual Aid to Western Scholars), Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2008, pp.25-27.

²⁴ Although Mao Duan-fang had mentioned Chen Ding-qing, Zhang Wen-da and Zhang Zhong-fang, Han-yun, he considered Wang-zheng, on China's side, the main figure in co-editing the XREMZ. See Mao Duan-fang, *Wang-zheng yu Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* 王徵與西儒耳目資 (*Wang-zheng and Xi Ru Er Mu Zi*), in *Journal of Huaibei Normal University*, vol.32, n.6, 2011, pp.23-29.

²⁵ Only Wang-zheng, Zhang Wen-da and Zhang Zhong-fang are mentioned in Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, p.869; Xu Zong-ze 徐宗澤 named those men who had composed the preface to the XREMZ, that is, Zhang Zhong-fang, Han-yun, Zhang Wen-da and Wang-zheng, see Xu Zong-ze, *Mingqingjian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要 (Annotated Catalogue of Missionaries' Writings in the Ming and Qing Dynasty), Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2010, pp.321-324. Based on Xu Zong-ze's description, Albert Chan repeated these four men, see Albert Chan, *S.J., Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome*, M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, New York, 2001, pp.431-432.

mentioned Han-yun, Lv Yu-shi and Wang-zheng as those who had contributed to the *XREMZ*.²⁶ From the list that Nicolas Trigault gave, we can assume that he considered himself the leader of this group. Apart from his, Wang-zheng also provided a list, which included more Chinese participants. He added Wei Zi-jian 衛子建, Zhang Wen-da 張問達, Zhang Zhong-fang 張鍾芳, Chen Ding-qing 陳鼎卿 to his list of names.²⁷ For Wang-zheng, the *XREMZ* was a collective work, even if he regarded Nicolas Trigault as its initiator, and all these people served in the making of the book. And yet, his list is far from complete, because Chen Bao-huang 陳寶璜, Li Cong-qian 李從謙, Li Can-ran 李燦然, and Lai-lin 來臨 are not named. These four participants had been in charge of what could be described as the technological aspects of the work, such as printing, engraving, and transcribing, but had nothing to do with the creation of the text. Besides, there is a Yan Shao-xuan 儼少宣, whose name appeared only in the bookmark of the Hangzhou 杭州 version. Neither Nicolas Trigault nor Wang-zheng mentions him, but the reproduction of the *XREMZ* around 1627 in Hangzhou had depended on help.

1. Wang-zheng 王徵

1.1 Brief Biography of Wang-zheng

Wang-zheng (courteous name: Liang-fu 良甫; nickname: Liaoyi daoren 了一道人²⁸/Kui-xin 葵心) was born on 12 May 1571, in Jingyang, a small county close to Xi'an and under the influence of the School of the Guanzhong (*guanxue*). In the intellectual history of China, it had an important position, as it constituted a branch of neo-Confucianism. The celebrated philosopher Zhang-zai 張載 (1020-1077) was believed to have founded this School. One of the points this School stressed was Practical Learning (*shixue*), which, as Zou Yuan-biao 鄒元標 (1551-1624), a friend of Matteo Ricci and

²⁶ *Yysp*, pp.109-110 (ff.31a-b).

²⁷ Wang-zheng, *XREMZ shiyi* 西儒耳目資釋疑 (*Explication of XREMZ*), in *Yysp*, pp.47-48 (ff.6a-b).

²⁸ There is debate surrounding the nickname of “Liaoyi daoren”. Huang Yi-long considered it full of Christian significance, see Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she*, p.103. But Wang Xin-jing 王心敬 believed that “Liaoyi” was to express his will not to yield to the peasant rebellion of Li Zi-cheng 李自成 (1606-1645), which broke out in 1629. But Wang-zheng had adopted this name as early as in 1626, so Wang Xin-jing’s statement is not correct, see Wang Xin-jing, *Guanxue xubian* 關學續編 (The Continuation of *Guanxue bian*), in Feng Cong-wu 馮從吾, *Guanxue bian* 關學編 (Collections on *Learning of Guanzhong Plain*), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987, p.82.

Cattaneo Lazzaro,²⁹ put it, was about “Yi xue xing qi dao ye zhe” 以學行其道也者 (to realize the Way in the light of this Learning).³⁰

Feng Cong-wu 馮從吾 (1556-1627), a native of Xi'an and the 1589 *jinshi* 進士, was regarded as the leading figure of the School of the Guanzhong (*guanxue*) by his contemporaries. In 1592, he was sent back to Xi'an, because of political failures, and he lived as a scholar until 1627. During this period, he was hired as an instructor in the Temple of Baoqing 保慶, and then moved to the School of Guanzhong 關中書院 (*Guanzhong shuyuan*) which had been built in 1609 because of an increasing number of students. Feng's fame extended beyond Xi'an. Several times, he was invited to teach in Huayin 華陰. Besides, some of his students had constructed schools: for instance, in Weinan 渭南, a city not far from Xi'an, to spread his master's thoughts.³¹ When Feng was in Huayin, he had a student named Gu Cheng-li 顧唱離 who was from Suzhou 蘇州 in present-day Jiangsu 江蘇 Province. Clearly the School of the Guanzhong (*guanxue*) had a national impact, and it did not fail to live in peace with other doctrines of its time. For example, Feng's study was also deemed to be the same as the *School of Ercheng* 二程 and *Zhu-xi* 朱熹 (1130-1200),³² the source of the School of Luoyang (*luoxue*). Between them there was exchange and even integration, and they were flexible enough to embrace others.

This feature could also be seen in Wang-zheng. He was a representative of the School of the Guanzhong (*guanxue*),³³ but Wang-zheng's own intellectual self-image was that of a convert who piously embraced Christianity.

In 1594, Wang-zheng became *juren* 舉人, a provincial degree, and then failed, nine times, to pass the higher Imperial Examination, which was held every three years. In 1622, he succeeded in becoming a second class *jinshi* 進士, a degree at the national level, at the age of 52. Then, in the second half of the same year he was posted as a Judge to Guangping 廣平, a city in the county of Beijing. In 1624, he went back to Jingyang because of the death of his mother. At the end of 1626, he assumed the same

²⁹ Chen Shou-yi 陳守頤, *Mingmo qingchu yesuhuishi de rujiaoguan jiqi fanying* 明末清初耶穌會士的儒教觀及其反應 (The Early Jesuits' Conception of Confucianism and its Repercussions in China, in *Guoxue jikan*, vol.V, No.2 (1935), pp.1-64, specially, pp.44-45.

³⁰ Wang Xin-jing, *Guanxue xubian*, in *Guanxue bian*, vol.1, p.73.

³¹ Quoted from Chen Shi-long 陳時龍, *Mingdai guanzhong diqu de jiangxue huodong (II)* 明代關中地區的講學活動(下) (The Jiang-xue Activities in Guanzhong District during the Ming Dynasty II), in *Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishixue bao*, 2007, vol.28, pp. 93-129.

³² See Wang Xin-jing, *Guanxue xubian*, in *Guanxue bian*, vol.I, p.75. “Ercheng” refers to Cheng-hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and Cheng-yi 程頤 (1033-1107). Both are important proponents of Neo-Confucian and natives of Luoyang.

³³ See Wang Xin-jing, *Guanxue xubian*, pp.80-83.

post in Yangzhou 揚州, a city in Southeast China. Probably during this period, when he was at home, he met Nicolas Trigault. In the winter of 1628, he again returned home when he heard news of the death of his father. In 1631, he was nominated as “Liaohai jianjun dao” 遼海監軍道, a military supervisor in the Shandong 山東 Province. The same year, he and his colleague Sun Yuan-hua 孫元化 (1582-1632), a student of Xu Guang-qi and a friend of many missionary fathers, proposed to fight against the increasing threat from Manchu, and revolts inside the Empire with Western weaponry firearms. Unfortunately, they were defeated by the military uprising. Sun was sentenced to death, while Wang-zheng was dismissed and sent back to his native land in 1632. From then on, he was not in charge of official employments. Frankly speaking, the public career of Wang-zheng was finished.³⁴

But another part of Wang-zheng’s life was much more important. Apart from his these years in office, he spent the rest of his life witnessing the growth of the gospel in China.³⁵ He might have been acquainted with Li Zhi-zao in Beijing, thanks to the 1598 Imperial Examination.³⁶ In 1615, he read Diego de Pantoja’s *Qike* (Seven Victories), given to him by a friend in Jiangzhou. This book struck him deeply. One year later, he went to Beijing for the Imperial Examination, where he met Pantoja. After discussing with him, Wang-zheng better understood the Christian doctrine.³⁷ He was baptized as Philippe by the same Father in Beijing around 1616.³⁸ Without doubt, Pantoja and his book had left a deep impression, and remoulded his philosophy of life. From then on, Wang-zheng grew into one of the most important Chinese Christians.

In 1619, Wang-zheng expected some missionaries to start a new mission in his hometown, as is recorded in the *Relatione dell’anno 1619*,

Da questa stessa residenza di Ham Ceu andarono quattro de’ Nostri alla Provincia di Xèn Si, (ch’è delle più remote della Cina, e dove niuno della Compagnia era stato in missione) chiamati

³⁴ Zhang Bing-xuan 張炳璿, *Wang Duan-jie xiansheng zhuan* 王端節先生傳 (Biography of Wang-zheng), in Song Bo-yin 宋伯胤, *Ming jingyang wang-zheng xiansheng nianpu* 明涇陽王徵先生年譜 (Chronicle of Wang-zheng) (from now no *Wang-zheng*), Xi’an: Shaanxi shifan daxue, 2004, pp.211-214.

³⁵ See Wang-zheng, *E la ji ya you zao zhu qi tu shuo ziji* 額辣濟亞牖造諸器圖說自記, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.189.

³⁶ See Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.11.

³⁷ Wang-zheng, *Weitian airen jilun* 畏天愛人極論, in BNF, Chinois 6868, ff.4a-b.

³⁸ See Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.25. Fang-hao dated his baptism to 1615 or 1616, see Fang-hao, *ZGTZ*, vol.1, p.227; or in *DOMB*, pp.1116-1167. Fortunato Margiotti thought this might happen between 1601 and 1602 (Abbracciò il cattolismo tra il 1601-02), see Fortunato Margiotti, *Il cattolismo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, p.83. But the “abbracciò”(embrace) could be read as “to be in contact with” Christianity. Pasquale M.D’Elia also insisted that Wang-zheng was baptized much earlier, “certo nel gennaio 1603 era già battezzato”, see *FR*, II, p.593, note 1.

On 18 March 1617, Father Pantoja was exiled from Beijing as part of the persecution. Meanwhile, Wang-zheng was in Jingyang in 1617 and 1618 (see Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.23; and L.Pfister, *Notices Bio.et Biblio.*, p.71). So, Wang-weng met Pantoja and was baptized in 1616.

con grande istanza da un fervente Cristiano, graduato già, & licenziato, che si chiama Filippo. Venticinque giorni posero nel camino, faticosissimo per cagione de' monti, che bisognava passare. Ma perche trovarono le cose mal disposte, e Filippo ingiustamente perseguitato da' suoi compatrioti, restarono con esso d'accordo, che passata la furia della tempesta, fussero con nuovo avviso richiamati.³⁹

Because of “the fury of the tempest” (la furia della tempesta) which reminds us of Shen-que’s anti-Christian movement in Nanjing, Wang-zheng’s demand was delayed for a while. But his passion for Christianity was not diminished. In 1621, he wrote a preface for Yang Ting-yun’s *Daiyi pian* 代疑篇 (Explanation of the Doubts), in which he highlighted the importance of “Faith” in *xixue* 西學 (“Western Learning”).⁴⁰ On 12 September 1624 Wang-zheng, along with Zhang Zhong-fang, a local *literatus* who had been converted, sent another letter to the Vice Provincial Manuel Dias, for “a missionary to baptize his family.”⁴¹ One year later, Trigault finally entered Shaanxi.

Wang-zheng played a prominent role in Trigault’s mission in Shaanxi. Besides editing the *XREMZ*, Wang-zheng also accompanied Nicolas Trigault, who had just recovered from a six-month illness, together with Zhang Zhong-fang, to Xi’an, where the famous Nestorian Stele had been discovered not long before.⁴² Although the cooperation between them lasted for only a while, a well-built foundation had been laid for the coming missionaries Johann Adam Schall von bell (1591-1666) and Alvaro Smedo. In the Winter of 1626, Wang-zheng went to Beijing to await his second appointment. There, he met Longobardi, Terrenz, and Schall von Bell. With their support, Wang-zheng transcribed a book about western mechanics *Yuanxi qiqi tushuolu zui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最 (1627). In 1630, he helped to establish a Church in Xi’an, because “these *literati* from the Extreme West are able to wake up China.”⁴³ In 1634, he established a “Renhui” 仁會 (Society of Mercy) at home, in collaboration with native comrades.

³⁹ *Relazione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, pp.38-39. This message might be addressed to Niccolò Longobardi who, together with Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649), had been in Hangzhou.

⁴⁰ See Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.25.

⁴¹ Fortunato Margiotti, *Il cattolicesimo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, p.91; see also *Lettere dell’Ethiopia dell’Anno 1626 fino al Marzo del 1627. E Della Cina dell’Anno 1625. fino al febraro del 1626* (from now on *Lettere 1625 and 1626*), Roma, 1629, p.117.

⁴² See *Lettere 1625 and 1626*, p.119, and *Dichiaratione di una pietra antica, scritta e scolpita con l’infrascritte lettere, ritrovata nel Regno della Cina*, in *Annue Giappone, MDCXXV-MDCLV*, in ARSI., Hist.soc., I.50, p.2.

⁴³ The original text is “因遠西諸儒，振鐸中土”. Regarding this church, see Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.64. C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.188.

In 1637, Wang-zheng translated the Italian Jesuit Agostino Tudeschini (1598-1643)'s *Duhai kuji* 渡海苦跡 into Chinese with the aid of the French Jesuit Etienne Le Fèvre (1598-1659) and entitled it *Du Aoding xiansheng donglai duhai kuji* 杜奧定先生東來渡海苦跡.⁴⁴ In 1640, he edited *E la ji ya you zao zhu qi tushuo ziji* 額辣濟亞牖造諸器圖說自記, the last book regarding mechanics. The Term “*E la ji ya*” 額辣濟亞, transliterated into Chinese from the Latin word *Gratia*, suggests its close relationship with Christianity.⁴⁵

As we can see above, Wang-zheng's life is divided into two phases. One is the phase of his work as a government official which was achieved through the Imperial Examination; the other, which occupied most of his life and happened after he left the bureaucracy, was devoted to the Christian mission in China. The two ways of life existed in harmony and no contradiction was to be found. Such coincidence becomes clearer once we gain insight into his intellectual world.

1.2 Wang-zheng's Intellectual World

Wang-zheng's intellectual world can also be cut into two phases. In 1643, envisaging that Li Zi-cheng, the leader of the peasant rebellion, would come to meet him, Wang-zheng made one rhyming couplet for himself, wherein he wrote,

自童年時，總括孝弟忠恕于一仁，敢謂單傳聖賢之一貫；迄垂老日，不分畏天愛人之兩念，總期自盡心性于兩間。

When I was young, I considered both the doctrine of the filial and fraternity (孝弟, *xiaodi*) and the principle of benevolence and loyalty (忠恕, *zhongshu*) essential within the concept of mercy (仁, *ren*), insisting on an all-pervading unity within the doctrine of the sages (referring to Confucianism). When I grow old, I will not distinguish between *the Reverance for Heaven* and the *Love for Human Beings*, but I will make an all-out effort to recognize them.⁴⁶

In the different stages of Wang-zheng's life, there were two sorts of philosophy. Initially, when he was young, he was heavily influenced by Confucianism. It was the concept of mercy (*ren*) essential to the

⁴⁴ See Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.83. Agostino Tudeschini had been in Shanxi and Shaanxi from 1637 to 1639.

⁴⁵ See Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.87.

⁴⁶ See Zhang Bing-xuan, *Wang Duan-jie xiansheng zhuan*, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.211.

doctrines of the Sages, that captured his imagination. Then, when he was mature, it was “*weitian airen*” 畏天愛人, another concept that had a profound effect upon him.

1.2.1 Wang-zheng and Neo-Confucianism

Wang-zheng began his study with his uncle Zhang-jian 張鏊 (1545-1606, courteous name: Zhan-chuan 湛川), an erudite scholar of the School of the Guanzhong (*guanxue*).⁴⁷ He cared about the Practical Learning (*shixue*), “engaging in the Practical Learning both in practice and in mind, as to help the world.”⁴⁸ Specifically, this Learning concerns two areas of life:

在家，則日用倫常事事求慊于心；歷官所至，則念念切於民生國計。利不興不已，害不除不已。已故官雖不踰五品，而功績則卓乎古循良之遺徵。

When at home, his daily morality in every aspect closely followed that of the conscience; when at work, he cared about the interest of the common people and the State. He never stopped giving beneficence [to the common people and the country] and removing malady from [the common people and the country]. Thus, even if his office were as low as *wupin* 五品 (degree five) his accomplishment would have gone beyond an honest service in ancient times.⁴⁹

So there were two sides of Zhang-jian’s life; time spent at home and time spent at work, but both concentrated on the daily interest of the common people and the State. This was far beyond anything a traditional Chinese *literatus* could have hoped to achieve, as Wang-zheng had once revealed to his cousin Zhang Bing-xuan (1587-1661), son of Zhang-jian, in a piece of eulogy,

未嘗不動聖主賢臣之想。

I never stopped dreaming of serving a Sage King and being a capable subordinate.⁵⁰

Wang-zheng wished to rely upon Sage Kings, and to be a capable subordinate to serve the country. This is the traditional political notion for all the Chinese *literati*, namely, the concept of *dejun xingdao* 得君行道 (realizing the doctrine through virtuous kings) grounded in the neo-Confucianism of Zhu-

⁴⁷ See Wang Xin-jing, *Guanxue xubian*, in *Guanxue bian*, vol.1, pp.77-79.

⁴⁸ The original text is “身心經濟之實學”, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.15.

⁴⁹ Wang Xin-jing, *Guanxue xubian*, in *Guanxue bian*, vol.1, pp.78-79.

⁵⁰ Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.86.

xi.⁵¹ This is why Wang-zheng insisted on repeating the Imperial Examination after so many failures, because it was the only way to realize his dream at that time. He never felt totally disappointed in his lack of success, since he could reach this aim in other fields. When illustrating the reason why he wanted to publish the *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo lu zui*, he said,

學原不問精粗，總期有濟于世人；亦不問中西，總期不違于天。茲所錄者，雖屬於技藝一務，而實有益於民生日用，國家興作甚急也。

What matters is not whether the Learning is delicate or rough, but whether it can benefit the world. What matters is not whether it is from the West or from China, but whether it goes against Heaven. Although [this book] is about crafts (which is not traditionally important in China), it is beneficial to daily use and the livelihood of the people, and it is urgently required for the national resurgence to be possible.⁵²

With this idea in mind, he paid a lot of attention to fields such as crafts and the building of local businesses, and later to the Learning from Heaven, which were less common from a Confucian standpoint.⁵³ It did not matter whether the learning was visible or invisible,⁵⁴ whether it was Chinese or Western, as long as it could serve Chinese society. In this sense, it is right to claim that Wang-zheng's sympathy for Christianity (or Learning from Heaven) grew from his early education, occupied by the Practical Learning (*shixue*) of neo-Confucianism. Just as he thought when he first glanced at the *Qike* (Seven Victories), "(This) is, without doubt, the regularity of not feeling regret or disgrace [with which you can measure your behavior]." This feeling echoed Confucianism (or *Mencius*), which had led him to the Learning from Heaven.

1.2.2 Wang-zheng and the Learning from Heaven

Christian identity, inspired by Diego's *Qike* (Seven Victories) in 1615, was gradually taking root in the depths of Wang-zheng's heart, and took over the second half of his life. In a poem of 1637, Wang-

⁵¹ The notion of *dejun xingdao* is quoted from Yu Ying-shih 余英時: *Mingdai lixue yu zhengzhi wenhua fawei* 明代理學與政治文化發微 (On Neo-Confucianism of the Ming Dynasty and Political Culture), in *Songming lixue yu zhengzhi wenhua* 宋明理學與政治文化 (Neo-Confucianism of the Song and Ming Dynasty and the Political Culture), Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 2004, pp.250-332.

⁵² Wang-zheng's *Preface* to the *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.116.

⁵³ Regarding what was "common study" (Zhengjing xueye, 正經學業), see Wang-zheng, *Liangli lue zixu* 兩理略自序 (Preface to the *Liangli lue*), in Song Bo-ying, *Wang-zheng*, p.163.

⁵⁴ In the same preface, Wang-zheng wrote, "有跡之器具，粗可指陳；無形于理譚，猝難究竟" (Visible techniques can be roughly sketched; meanwhile, invisible doctrines are difficult to understand thoroughly): This shows that from Wang-zheng's point of view Western Learning (*xixue*) could be divided into two types, visible (material) and invisible (spiritual). See Wang-zheng, *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui*, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.116.

zheng deprecated his own life, as he recalled his past. He wrote, “I still remember the road along which I came. I have been frustrated, derided and impoverished for half of my life. But I have overcome all the difficulties with the help of the Lord.”⁵⁵ After more than two decades of love for the Lord and the suffering in his life, Wang-zheng had entrusted his salvation to Him. At the core of this passion for the Learning from Heaven is “*weitian airen*” 畏天愛人 (“the Reverance for Heaven and the Love for Human Beings”).⁵⁶

Wang-zheng once had a dialogue with an anonymous guest who told him that the notion “*weitian airen*” was not a newly found concept but had been already discussed by Chinese sages. He did not understand why Wang-zheng cared so much about this.⁵⁷ The latter responded,

余惟求天之所以命我者而不得，故屢學之而屢更端；總期得其至當不易之實理云耳。乃釋典盡費參究而迄不見其要歸。

I have been in search of the reason why Heaven has sent me, but I found nothing. Thus, I keep studying [to find the reason] and changing my mind, hoping to find an unchangeable and credible principle [for this reason]. So, I have probed into the classics, but so far I haven't found anything.⁵⁸

This “*weitian airen*” was exactly the answer he was waiting for. This search for an answer started from a Chinese question and ended in a European solution. Thereafter, Wang-zheng took it as an infallible creed that remained for the rest of his life.

These four characters “*weitian airen*” comprise two points: “To love and admire the *Lord of Heaven*, who is the Lord of the Universe” (愛慕天主萬物之上) and “To love others as oneself” (愛人如己).⁵⁹ Between them there is no contradiction.

真知畏天命者，自然愛天主；真能愛天主者，自然能愛人。然必真真實實能盡愛人之心之功，方是真能愛天主。

⁵⁵ The original text is “分明認得來時路，半生潦倒從人笑，百樣顛危賴主扶”，in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.78.

⁵⁶ With a little difference, Hsia translated the expression “*weitian airen*” into “The fear of Heaven and the Love of Man”, see R.Po-Chia Hsia, *Translating Christianity: Counter-Reformation Europe and the Catholic Mission in China, 1580-1780*, in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, ed., *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003, pp.87-108, specially, p.93.

⁵⁷ See Wang-zheng, *Weitian airen jilun*, ff.1b-2a.

⁵⁸ Wang-zheng, *Weitian airen jilun*, f.3a.

⁵⁹ Wang-zheng, *Weitian airen jilun*, f.44a.

People who really show reverence for the order consigned by Heaven will love the *Lord of Heaven* sincerely; he who sincerely loves the *Lord of Heaven* will love people sincerely, too. But only those who have really exerted themselves in loving people will love the *Lord of Heaven*.⁶⁰

To love the Lord of Heaven is nothing but to love the common people in daily life. This had already affected the practice of Wang-zheng, as seen in the work of the Society of Mercy (*renhui*). Wang-zheng gave priority to the following acts: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, healing the sick, accommodating the wanderers, ransoming the captured, burying the dead, i.e. all of the seven visible mercies, so as to bring this real love into effect.⁶¹

The notion of “*weitian airen*” also supported Wang-zheng spiritually. In his mediocre political life, he felt consoled by the *Lord of Heaven*. In 1638, he composed *Liangli lue* 兩理略, documenting the work he had done while serving as a Judge in Guangping and Yangzhou. Sometimes, things did not always go so smoothly. In these cases, Wang-zheng always remembered this notion,

獨時時將畏天愛人念頭提醒，總求無愧於心。

I always remind myself of the Doctrine “*weitian airen*” (“the Reverance for Heaven and the Love for Human Beings”) when I serve my people, so as to avoid any regret.⁶²

Moreover, this doctrine supplied him with the new command, so to speak, to “do anything out of one’s own will” (只憑自家意思去做, *zhi ping zijia yisi quzuo*),⁶³ and to give up the traditional command to rely upon the Sage King and to make oneself a capable subordinate. Wang-zheng wrote,

愛民真心，純然由赤衷而出，即天心且感格響應矣。

The heart that loves the human being is purely generated by a sincere willingness to do so. It is the Lord of Heaven who interacts with the Heart.⁶⁴

Furthermore, “Loving the common people” is equal to “Loving the country,”

⁶⁰ Wang-zheng, *Renhuiyue yin* 仁會約引 (Introduction to the Regulars of the Society of Mercy), in *Renhuiyue suoxing tiaomu* 仁會約說行條目 (Regulars of the Society of Mercy), in BNF, Chinois 7348, f.1b; and Wang-zheng, *Weitian airen jilun*, f.46a.

⁶¹ Wang-zheng, *Weitian airen jilun*, f.46b; see also Wang-zheng, *Renhuiyue suoxing tiaomu*, ff.1a-b.

⁶² Wang-zheng, *Liangli lue zixu*, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.163.

⁶³ Wang-zheng, *Liangli lue zixu*, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.163.

⁶⁴ Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.86.

重國即亦重民，愛民即亦愛國。

To have the State in one's heart is the same as having the common people in heart. To love the common people is same as to love the State.⁶⁵

Like Wang Yang-ming 王陽明 (1472-1529)'s "Shiguo youjia" 視國猶家 (to regard the State as private family),⁶⁶ Wang-zheng took the duty to love his people, as a Christian to mean "caring about even the slightest events of each person."⁶⁷ Enough to perceive of the foundation of the Society of Mercy (*renhui*), its conduct was regulated in the light of Italian Jesuit Giacomo Rho (1593-1638)'s *Aijinxing quan* 哀矜行銓 (On Mercy).⁶⁸ Thus, this society was established according to the Learning from Heaven. In the everyday life of Wang-zheng, being a good Confucian was changed into being a good Christian.

1.2.3 Wang-zheng's Double-identity

Even so, this does not mean that Wang-zheng had given up Confucianism entirely. Instead, we find that his mind embraced both philosophies. For him, the essence of the "*weitian airen*" was mercy (*ren*), embodying two points: to *Love the Lord of Heaven*, and to *Love others as oneself*. The *Love* in the case of the latter is the worldly equivalent to *Love* in the case of the former. The very idea of "to *Love* others as oneself" encourages Wang-zheng to build the Society of Mercy. He declared,

人生世間，種種苦趣，不可勝言，疇克盡免。凡觸于耳與目者，那能弗惻于心？弗惻于心，非仁。惻于心而不見之行，無濟于彼，尤非仁也。

In the mortal world there is endless suffering and we should do our best to get rid of it. Everything that penetrates the eyes and ears, must also touch the heart. If the heart is not touched, there is no mercy. If the heart *is* touched, but there is no action in practice [to get rid of this suffering], it serves nothing and is the worst kind of mercy.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.86.

⁶⁶ Wang Yang-ming, "Da Nie Wen-wei" 答聶文蔚 (Answer to Nie Wen-wei), in *Wang Yang-ming quanji* 王陽明全集 (Complete Collection of Wang Yang-ming), Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji chubanshe, 2010, vol.2, p.86.

⁶⁷ Wang-zheng, *Liangli lue zixu*, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.163.

⁶⁸ Wang-zheng, *Renhuiyue yin*, in Wang-zheng, *Renhuiyue xianxing tiaomu*, f.2b.

⁶⁹ Wang-zheng, *Renhuiyue yin*, in Wang-zheng, *Renhuiyue xianxing tiaomu*, f.2b.

Looking at the dark side of human life, Wang-zheng believed that the tragically mortal life could be protected only by mercy, a passion germinated from *ceyin zhixin* 惻隱之心 (“Feeling of Commiseration”) which can be traced back to the *Mencius*.⁷⁰ As Wang-zheng himself stated in the couplet, the mercy (*ren*), born from his earlier Confucian study, had run through his whole life. The two phases of the mercy (*ren*) converged and yielded the same significance on two different intellectual grounds. The boundary between Christianity and Confucianism in Wang-zheng was not so easy to distinguish.

In order to support this conclusion, I will cite one final case. In 1643, foreseeing the coming danger of the peasant rebellion by Li Zi-cheng, in addition to that rhyming couplet, Wang-zheng also engraved one tombstone for himself whereupon he inscribed the following words,

Ming/Jinshi/ Fengzhengdafu/ Shandong Anchasi Qianshi/ Fengchi/ Jianliaohaijunwu/ Liaoyi daoren/
Liangfu Wangzheng/ zhi mu.

明/進士/奉政大夫/山東按察司僉事/奉敕/監遼海軍務/了一道人/良甫王徵/之墓

As a response to the revolts, Wang-zheng wanted to underline his *jinshi* degree of the Ming Dynasty, and the office “Jianliaohai junwu” that he had undertaken, which was the highest that he reached during his career. He also wished to highlight his nickname “liaoyi daoren”. On 10 April 1644, Wang-zheng died during a hunger strike, because he refused to yield to the pressure of Li Zi-cheng. As a Christian, this “suicidal” behaviour had gravely violated the rules of the Roman Church. But Wang-zheng hoped to retain his faith in the Ming Dynasty.⁷¹ His action was viewed as the *Sha shen cheng ren* 殺身成仁 (“Self-killing for the sake of Virtue”) of a Chinese *literatus*, a norm highly valued by the Confucians when they had to face the downfall of the dynasty in which they were living. Wang-zheng ended his life in a traditional Confucian manner, in spite of the fact that he had been a very devout Christian for years. Again, this double-identity was evidenced in this Christian *literatus*. But this time his Confucian identity won over his Christian one.

⁷⁰ See *Gongsunchou* 公孫醜 in *Mencius* 孟子, Book I; *Gaozi* 告子 in *Mencius*, Book I.

In naming a newly built bridge, Wang-zheng revealed to the public his opinion on the relationship of mercy (*ren*) with his faith in the *Lord of Heaven*, see Wang-zheng, *Longqiao mingyi* 龍橋名義 (Words about the name of Dragon Bridge), in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.209.

⁷¹ See Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.92.

In Wang-zheng, such double-identity, partly neo-Confucian and partly Christian, is the answer of the question why Wang-zheng, as a previous disciple of neo-Confucianism, was prepared to be such pious convert, that he received the Learning from Heaven and was finally involved in Nicolas Trigault's mission. This type of intellectual context also created an environment in which the *Learning* and the arrival of Nicolas Trigault would be tolerated and welcomed.

1.3 Wang-zheng's Social Network

Now it is necessary to introduce the social network of Wang-zheng, or, better to say, his circle of friends. Generally speaking, this circle was cut into two different levels.

As with other *literati*, the habitual frequentation of the Imperial Examination had made Wang-zheng known to others as *tongnian* 同年 (term for those who took part in the Imperial Examination the same year and who used this occasion to build their proper social relations). They were Huang Daozhou 黃道周 (1585-1646), Zheng-man 鄭嫚, Ni Yuan-lu 倪元璐 (1593-1644) and Huang Jing-fang 黃景昉 (1596-1662),⁷² all of whom had sympathy for the Western missionaries. Besides, Wang-zheng had been familiar with Xu Guang-qi, Li Zhi-zao, and Yang Ting-yun, the three Great Pillars of Chinese Catholicism. In addition, Wang-zheng had made friends with the local *literati* when he was in office. In Yangzhou, he was friend of Wu Wei-zhong 武位中, who was responsible for the education in the city and the friend of both the Jesuits and of his relative Zhou Yan-ru 周延孺 (1593-1644), who was later to be nominated as Premier. These men, stretching all over China, helped Wang-zheng to create one national social network.

Wang-zheng lived in another smaller social community, confined territorially to his native companions. In this list, we can find Lai-fu 來復 (courteous name: Yang-bo 陽伯, nickname: Xing-hai 星海), a native of Sanyuan 三原, a county in eastern Jingyang. Both of them belonged to an Association in which every member shared not only compositions and other academic accomplishments, but also the same political standpoint. They were called *tongzhi* 同志 (Comrades with the same political ideals and other interests). They had both undergone the political pressure from Wei Zhong-xian and his followers. Because of their integrity and bravery against them, they were honored as *guanxi erjin* 關西二勁 (Double *Unyieldings* of Guanxi).⁷³ There still were Lai Yu-ting 來于

⁷² See Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she*, p.123; Song Bo-ying, *Wang-zheng*, pp.27-28.

⁷³ Yang Ting-fu 楊廷福, Yang Tong-fu 楊同甫, ed., *Mingren shiming biecheng zihao suoyin* (xia) 明人室名別稱字號索引 (下) (Index of Room name, nickname and cortese name of the people in Miny Dynasty II), Shanghai: Shanghai guji

廷, *juren* of 1594 and savior of Wang-zheng when the latter fell into danger in 1631; Wen Zi-zhi 溫自知, son of Wen-chun 溫純 (1539-1607) who had been the Minister of Personnel at the Nanjing court and had fame among *literati* nationwide;⁷⁴ the previously mentioned Zhang Bing-xuan who had been governor of Man 滿 County in present-day Hebei 河北 Province; Jiao Yuan-pu 焦源溥 (?-1644), native of Sanyuan and the 1613 *jinshi*, who had prefaced Wang-zheng's *Liangli lue*, and Zhang Zhong-fang, whom Wang-zheng had respected as his "master and friend" (師友, *shiyou*).⁷⁵

Contrasting with that national network, this society was composed of men who were mainly, if not always, *xiuca* (Licentiate) or *jinshi*. They had failed the Imperial Examination, but still maintained a certain influence in the locality. Just as Wang-zheng had highly praised Wen-chun's contribution to his native land when he said,

士大夫居鄉，必有一段不朽功德利賴一鄉，令鄉之人，久久感頌不能忘。

Literatus, when at home, should always do immortal beneficence to his hometown. All the natives will extol and remember his contribution forever.⁷⁶

Certainly, these words were also appropriate for Wang-zheng himself, and for other *literati* of this local community who behaved as Wen-chun had practiced at home.

Without doubt, these two social networks played different roles in Wang-zheng's life. Thanks to other notable Chinese *literati* from all over the nation (for example, from Li Zhi-zao), he had knowledge of the Learning from Heaven. Wang-zheng himself, when he became a member of this social network, also publicized the missionary enterprise, and we will find later that he brought Nicolas Trigault's *XREMZ* to Beijing. Thus, it can be correctly claimed that this social network, whose center at the national level seems to be Beijing/Nanjing, had pushed forward the expansion of the Jesuit mission into other provinces, by means of such a social relationship.

chubanshe, 2002, p.197. About this Society, Wang-zheng mentioned once, "吾社友星海來道台" (My Society fellow and Guardian Lai Xinghai), see Li Zhi-qin 李之勤, ed., *Wang-zheng yizhu* 王徵遺著 (Writes of Wang-zheng), Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987, p.71; more information on the friendship of Wang-zheng with Lai-fu, see Song Bo-ying, *Wang-zheng*, p.20, p.22, p.213; Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she*, p.131.

⁷⁴ See Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.10; pp.16-17.

⁷⁵ Wang-zheng, *Jianerwen ziji* 簡而文自記, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.200.

⁷⁶ Wang-zheng, *Qingbei chuanjian wengongyigong shanchengci beiji* 清北創建溫恭毅公繕城祠碑記, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.208.

The establishment of the social network at the local level was the last step of the Jesuit expansion from center to periphery, a step which was cultivated by the local converted *literati*. Moreover, these *literati*, no matter whether they were converted or not, were sympathetic to the arrival of the Jesuit mission, because they shared the same Practical Learning (*shixue*). In our case, Christianity was first introduced by Wang-zheng in his native land. Around him, based on this local social sphere, a Christian community was formed.

1.4 Wang-zheng and the XREMZ

There was a social ground, an intellectual ground, and an appropriate local *literatus* who was fascinated with this Learning from Heaven, and was sincerely waiting for the missionaries' arrival. All these elements constituted a social context supporting Trigault's mission. Accordingly, the Jesuit was able to perform his work successfully, reaped much fruit from this mission.

In Trigault's self-preface to each volume of the *XREMZ*, Wang-zheng's Chinese name "Wang-zheng" 王徵, birthplace "Qinjing" 秦涇 and work title "jiaozi" 較梓 were inscribed. "jiaozi" is a job consisting of two tasks, namely, proof-reading and publication. Generally speaking, only erudites were allowed to undertake this job.⁷⁷ Of course, Wang-zheng was qualified enough to do this. But he had done much more, as he himself proclaimed,

余小子徵特周旋終其役耳。

I, the little fellow Wang-zheng, have been fully immersed in the whole work [of the compilation of the *XREMZ*].⁷⁸

Therefore, he must have met Trigault as early as when the Jesuit was still in Shanxi.

The Contribution Wang-zheng made to the *XREMZ* is the following: he had thoroughly checked the text *Wenda* 問答 (Ask and Reply), first composed by Trigault in Jiangzhou in cooperation with Han-yun and then revised in Xin'an with Lv Yu-shi. In this *Wenda*, there was a conversation between Nicolas Trigault and Wang-zheng about Chinese language, which might have enabled both to better understand the Chinese language and European languages as well. We see this in *Sanyun*

⁷⁷ Sometimes, "jiaozi" was assigned to an entity. For example, for the publication of one copy of Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 in 1607, the publication house Yanyi Tang 燕貽堂 undertook the role, see ARSL, Jap.Sin.I.44/Jap.Sin.I.45.

⁷⁸ Wang-zheng, *Explication*, in Yysp, p.48 (f.6b); see also Wang-zheng, *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui*, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.115.

duikao 三韻兌攷 (from now on *Duikao*), composed by Wang-zheng, which was a part of the whole *XREMZ*. In the *Duikao*, Wang-zheng proved that what Trigault taught about the rhymes was correct, while, the other three Chinese rhyme books were wrong. Considering the *Duikao*, Trigault said,

三韻兌攷者，良甫王君，依旅人五十字母。母各五聲之韻，兌攷三韻之母而作也。

The *Sanyun duikao* is edited by Signor Wang. In my opinion, there are fifty *zimu* 字母 (“mother words”, rhymes/finals). Each “mother word” has five tones. This book is made with the aim of competing with the rhyme knowledge of the other three rhyme books of China.⁷⁹

Trigault wanted to tell his readers that this part was done independently by his Chinese friend. But the Jesuit Father must have intervened in the composition. In discussing the order of five single-letter finals (*a, o, u, i, e*), Trigault stated,

元母單者，其先後俱無所以然之故。余從上古所定，今世所用西方之序，是也。

There is no rule to explain the order of the single-letter final. I attribute this to the ancient custom, that is still used today in the West.⁸⁰

In fact, the order that Wang-zheng used matched what Trigault said. It is probable that Wang-zheng heard of the “usage in the West” before he composed this text, otherwise he could not have accomplished it so correctly. In other words, Wang-zheng so far had sufficient knowledge of Latin letters and *xihao* 西號 (“Western symbols”).⁸¹

In addition, Wang-zheng added two other pieces to the book, *XREMZ xu* 西儒耳目資敘 (*Preface to the XREMZ*) and *XREMZ shiyi* 西儒耳目資釋疑 (*Explication of the XREMZ*, from now on *Explication*). The latter required financial support from Zhang Wen-da and Zhang Zhong-fang for its publication of the book. At the beginning, Zhang Zhong-fang questioned whether it was worthy of

⁷⁹ Yysp, p.187 (f.70a). The other three rhyme books are: *Hongwu zhengyun* 正韻, *Dengyun* 等韻 and *Shenyun* 沈韻, which I will discuss later.

⁸⁰ Yysp, p.220 (f.86b).

⁸¹ Nicolas Trigault acknowledged, “非君善認西號，烏能若是” (Because you knew Western symbols, you are able to write this book), see Yysp, p.217 (f.85a); Wang-zheng must have been good at this language. He once edited one *Xiyang yinjue* 西洋音訣, a script about how to remember the pronunciation of Latin letters, see Chen-yuan 陳垣 (1880-1971)’s *Jingyang Wang-zheng zhuan* 涇陽王徵傳 (Biography of Wang-zheng), in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.227, and *Shaanxi sheng jingyang xianzhi* 陝西省涇陽縣誌 (Local History of Jingyang County), Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1969, vol.1, p.335.

publication. In order to remove his doubt, Wang-zheng composed this *Explication* wherein he put at least fifty novelties of the *XREMZ*, and said,

觀者肯一細心理會，自見良工苦心，應不疑余有偏嗜矣。爰為之疑，列耳目資內創發此中所未有者。[...] 不第用釋敬一之疑，並以釋後來凡讀此書者之疑云。

If the reader dedicated himself to reading [the book], he will be able to discover the hidden intention of the author. So, he should not think that I am prejudiced. To get rid of the doubts, I enumerate the unseen creations. [...] This is not only to clear up the doubts of Jing-yi (referring to Zhang Zhong-fang), but also of posterior readers.⁸²

Finally, Zhang Zhong-fang was persuaded to finance the printing. In the end of this *Explication*, Wang-zheng was even going to revise the *Lbzp*, the third *pu* of the *XREMZ*, within three years, and to develop it into a *zixue zhi daquan* 字學之大全 (“Comprehensive and Complete Word Learning Book”).⁸³ He would never have hesitated to plunge himself into this book. However, because of the civil service and other occupations, he was forced to abend it completely.

Naturally, being Learning from Heaven, the *XREMZ* had aroused the interest of Wang-zheng. He once wrote,

名理如淵，正匯字學之海。學海不澄，名理奚自而流。西儒殫竭心力，急急成此書者，政欲資之。徧閱此中文字，可為後來翻譯西學，義理之淵海耳。

Norm and Principle are like the deep pool, which will be poured into the Sea of the word learning. If the Sea is not so clean, where will the pool go? This book [*XREMZ*] these Western *literati* have dedicated to composing is for this very purpose. After the whole book is read, it will help to transmit “Western Learning” (*xixue*), the sea of virtue and principle (義理, *yili*).⁸⁴

With this book, Western *literati* could learn Chinese, and in turn, transmit the “Western Learning” (*xixue*), which was the *sea* of virtue and principle (*yili*). In Wang-zheng’s opinion, this book was also useful for the Chinese *literati*, because he believed that this book would benefit society. For this reason, he supported the creation of the *XREMZ*.

⁸² Wang-zheng, *Explication*, in *Yysp*, p.38 (f.1b).

⁸³ See Wang-zheng. *Explication*, in *Yysp*, p.47 (f.6a).

⁸⁴ Wang-zheng. *Explication*, in *Yysp*, p.37 (f.1a).

All in all, Wang-Zheng was the leading figure in the course of the Jesuit mission in the Central Plain of China, and in the course of the emergence of the *XREMZ* as well, because of his intellectual background of neo-Confucianism and Christianity, and his social network at the national and local level. He was the most suited man to promote the Learning from Heaven. He knew everybody, and organized them by assigning them to their appropriate work. Around him, these participants assembled themselves and formed a small Christian community.

2. Lv Wei-qi 呂維祺

2.1 Brief Biography and Neo-Confucianism of Lv Wei-qi

Lv Wei-qi 呂維祺 (August 23, 1587-March 2, 1641, courteous name: Jie-ru 介孺; nickname: Yu-shi 豫石) was another Chinese collaborator who appeared both in the name list of Nicolas Trigault and Wang-zheng. He was native of Xin'an 新安, bordering on Shanxi Province, a small town of Luoyang 洛陽 in Henan. In 1612, Lv passed through the Provincial Examination and became *juren*, and *jinshi* one year later at the Imperial Examination. Wei-qi assumed various posts in local and central government. In early 1621, he resigned and went back to his hometown, where he lived with his father until he was summoned back to resume another post in Beijing in 1628.⁸⁵ During this period, Lv Wei-qi set up a school *Zhiquan jianghui* 芝泉講會 (1622) in his native town.⁸⁶ Around him, there was a group of scholars and students from every part of the country, resisting the threat of Wei Zhong-xian who sought to shut down all the schools. From 1628 on, Wei-qi penetrated the central political power first at the court of Beijing, and then at that of Nanjing. In 1635, he was forced to go back to Xin'an, because of the riots. In 1641, he was captured and killed by the rebels.

Lv Yu-shi was a leading figure in neo-Confucian philosophy. His master Meng Hua-li 孟化鯉 (1545-1598) was native of Xin'an and the leading scholar of the region. Meng's thought followed directly that of another famous scholar, You Shi-xi 尤時熙 (1503-1580), a native of Luoyang. You Shi-xi supported Wang Yang-ming's doctrines, insisting that all the *dao* 道 ("way"/"doctrine") should be

⁸⁵ *DOMB*, p.1014-1017.

⁸⁶ *Zhiquan Jianghui/Zhiquan Shuyuan* 芝泉書院, see Shi-cheng 施誠, ed., *Henanfu zhi* 河南府志 (Local History of Henan), 1867, vol.29, f.371a.

found in Wang's *Chuanxi lu* 傳習錄 (1522), a book which comprehensively contained Wang's philosophy.⁸⁷ Lv Wei-qi once talked about the thought of his master. Contrasting with the false doctrine which was full of empty talk, and could not have a practical application, his master went in another direction,

先生力行孝弟古道淑人，且理財用人齊家化俗隨試而効。

Setting an example for us, our Master devoted himself to carrying out the doctrine of filial and fraternity (*xiaodi*), to cultivate the virtuous person by obeying the ancient Way (*dao*). Additionally, he succeeded in conducting the finance, selecting the right people (to deal with public affairs), regulating the family and changing (bad) customs.⁸⁸

This opinion is further stressed in a letter Lv Wei-qi addressed to his friend. After criticizing the current scholars, Lv gave his own opinion,

學問不足經世，又何學之為？以此思之，學力事業非兩事也。

If the learning does not serve society, why is it studied? Thus, learning cannot much be separated from devotion to social activity.⁸⁹

He called on his contemporaries to pay attention to the reality and to practice the Teaching, the essence of the Practical Learning (*shixue*), rather than only to overestimate hypocritically the importance of the Doctrine. This point also seemed to be found in Wang-zheng. Really, there was material to support their friendship from an intellectual point of view.

In 1628, Wang-zheng composed a long essay *Shiyue* 士約 (*On Literati*), discussing how a *literatus* should behave. In this writing, he criticized bad behavior and the negative mood that were prevailed among the *literati* in those days, hoping to get rid of them. Finally, he suggested that the *literati* should look after the welfare of the common people and engage in practical business. He pointed out that *Weixue bianshi shixue* 為學便是實學 (“to learn is to practice learning”), which, however, should be

⁸⁷ *Henanfu zhi*, Vol.40, f.10b. Wang Yang-ming was one of most important Chinese intellectual and Neo-Confucian philosophers in the history of China.

⁸⁸ Lv Wei-qi, *Lixue yunpu xiansheng zhuang* 理學雲浦先生傳 (Biography of Neo-Confucianism Master Yunpu), in *Mengyunpu Ji* 孟雲浦集 (Collection of Meng Yunpu) (*SKCM*, Vol.167), p.615.

⁸⁹ Huang Zong-xi 黃宗羲, *Mingru xue'an* 明儒學案, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985, vol.54, p.1313.

attributed to Lv Wei-qi.⁹⁰ To a larger extent, this was also essential to both the School of the Guanzhong (*guanxue*) and the School of Luoyang (*luoxue*).

In spite of the difficulty in judging whether this had determined the attitude of Lv toward the missionaries, he must have been one of the *literati* who did not detest the Learning from Heaven.

2.2 Lv Wei-qi and the XREMZ

It is unclear whether or not Lv was familiar with other missionaries before he met Nicolas Trigault. He might have been known to Han-yun and Wang-zheng in 1613 when he was in Beijing for the Imperial Examination.⁹¹ Thus, he might have heard something about these foreigners and their learning. But the encounter between Lv and Nicolas Trigault occurred much later. Trigault remembered that he met Wei-qi, when he was transferring to Shaanxi via Xin'an,

未幾，過新安，邂逅豫石呂君，出其帙，甚許可。又間多所訂正。

Not long ago, I passed by Xin'an and met Signore Lv Yu-shi unexpectedly. I presented him with my book, which was highly acclaimed by him. Finally, he helped me to correct it.⁹²

This 'unexpectedly' hints that the meeting happened by accident. They had not even communicated when Nicolas Trigault was in Kaifeng in 1623. Clearly, Lv Wei-qi had much sympathy for Trigault and his word learning (or other sorts of Western Learning), otherwise he would not have dared assist him.

As a matter of fact, Lv was able to be involved in this job, because he was an expert in Chinese language. He composed one multi-volume rhyme book *Yinyun riyue deng* 音韻日月燈 (1633), which contained: *Yunmu* 韻母 (Rhymes), *Tongwenduo* 同文鐸 (Rhyme Book) and *Yunyue* 韻鑰 (Key of Rhymes). This book sometimes was called *Zhengyun tong* 正韻通 in honor of *Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻 (Authentic Rhymes of the Hongwu Reign) which Nicolas Trigault had adopted as one basic reference. Clearly, Lv's Chinese knowledge could benefit the composition of the XREMZ. Lv had added a list of references to *Yinyun riyue deng*, in which the XREMZ was inserted, with many other rhyme books.⁹³ It does not imply that XREMZ had largely influenced the work of Lv. Zhao Yin-tang 趙蔭棠 (1893-1970), the modern Chinese linguist, pointed out that the *Yinyun riyue deng* was short of

⁹⁰ Wang-zheng, *Shiyue*, in *Wang-zheng yizhu*, pp.169-177.

⁹¹ Wang-zheng was in Beijing in 1613, see Song Bo-ying, *Wang-zheng*, p.20.

⁹² Nicolas Trigault, *Little Preface to the Wenda*, in *Yysp*, p.110 (f.31b).

⁹³ See Lv Wei-qi, *Juanshou* 卷首 (Introduction), in *Tongwenduo*, in *Yinyun riyue deng* (XSK, vol.252), vol.4, f.2b.

innovation and simply followed what Yuan Zi-rang 袁子讓, another author of *Zixue yuanyuan* 字學元元 (The Origin of the Word Learning) (1603), had learned about traditional rhyme learning.⁹⁴ This claim could be reaffirmed by another fact. Lv retained that the number of *initials* was 36, and that of *finals* was 106, while Nicolas Trigault fixed the number of *initials* at 20, and that of *finals* at 265.⁹⁵ On certain points of Chinese they were inconsistent. But they were not so deeply different that they could not be reconciled. For instance, both of them used the concept of “Son” (子, *zi*) (it refers to one sound of Chinese character in the *XREMZ*), as a result of the combination of “Mother” (it refers to the *initial*) with “Father” (it refers to the *final*).⁹⁶

Given the convergence and divergence that occurred between their work, we can say that while there was some difference in their knowledge, there was also much that they shared. In the case of the latter, Lv could contribute to the *XREMZ*.

3. Han-yun 韓雲

3.1 Short Biography of Han-yun

Han-yun (? , courteous name: Jing-bo 景伯) was the third person documented both by Nicolas Trigault and Wang-zheng. Compared with his younger brother Han-lin 韓霖, Yun was less known.⁹⁷

韓雲, 字景伯, 萬曆壬子科中第七名。任徐州知州, 改漢中府推官, 再起葭州知州。藏書數萬卷, 法帖數千卷; 與徐玄扈相國, 董思白宗伯諸先生稱文字交; 與西士講音韻之學, 輯耳目資; 星麻兵農, 無不究心。詩工七言律, 字摹蘇、王。所著有武德內外編, 勞人草農書。其自讚像云: “交游海內海外, 家住江北江南。學參天上天下, 品不人先人后。”性雖好奇特, 亦矯俗不群者與。于州城議築銃台, 作銃數十門置台上。...

Han-yun (courteous name: Jing-bo) was the seventh position of the Provincial Examination in the Year *Wanli renzi*. He was ordered at first as the Governor of Xuzhou and then as Judge in Hanzhong, and

⁹⁴ Zhao Yin-tang, *Dengyun yuanliu* 等韻源流 (History of the Rhyme Division), Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1974, p.155; and also SKZM, vol.44, p.596. But Yuan Zi-rang talked not only about Rhyme and Sound, but also the form of Chinese character, see *Zixue yuanyuan* (XSK, vol.255), pp.240-248.

⁹⁵ For number of the initials, see Lv Wei-qi, *Introduction to Yunmu*, in *Yinyun riyue deng* (XSK, vol.252), vol.1, f.1b; for the number of the finals, see *Introduction to Yunyue*, in *Yinyun riyue deng* (XSK, vol.252), f.4b. For the number of the initials and of the finals in the *XREMZ*, see Yysp, p.107 (f.30a) and pp.133-134 (ff.43a-b).

⁹⁶ See Lv Wei-qi, *Introduction to Yunmu*, in *Yinyun riyue deng* (XSK, vol.252), f.1. and Yysp, p.125 (f.39a). But the concepts of “Mother” and “Father” in these two scholars are different.

⁹⁷ For the study of the relationship of Han-lin with Christianity, see Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she*, pp.229-310.

finally assigned to Jiazhou as Governor. Han-yun collected more than ten thousand volumes and libretti for calligraphy. He made friends with Xu Guang-qi and Dong Si-bai. But he also discussed with the Western *literati* the learning regarding sounds and rhymes, editing one *Er Mu Zi*. He had good knowledge of Astronomy, Calendar, Military, and Agriculture. He also was an expert at composing, and was fond of the calligrapher with the style of Su and Wang. His writings contain *Wude neiwai bian* and *Laoren caonong shu*. “I make friends with people from all over the world, and take the whole of China as my home.” Then he continued to describe himself: “My study is of Heaven and Earth. I do dislike to follow others blindly.” Although fascinated by peculiar characteristics, he was used to staying away from the masses. He once managed to build a fort, with dozens of cannons at his disposal.⁹⁸

In light of the rich – but very brief – biography of Han-yun, many aspects of his life can be deduced. Han-yun obtained in 1612 the title of *juren*. It seems he had never passed the Imperial Examination. He was appointed Governor of Xuzhou with the *juren* title. This was very exceptional at that time. Maybe, his broad social relationship had helped him access the post as soon as the situation allowed.⁹⁹ Han-yun also remained in a national social circle, in which there were Dong Qi-chang 董其昌 (1555-1636, courteous name: Si-bai 思白) and Xu Xuan-hu 徐玄滄, known as Xu Guang-qi. The former was a statesman at the Beijing Court, and a prominent painter and calligrapher as well. Dong Si-bai was friend of Han-lin, for whom he had composed a piece of script in his library.¹⁰⁰ Xu Guang-qi was partly his friend, and partly his master.¹⁰¹ Apart from them, Han-yun also sustained a tighter local community. He was a member of the society “Jiaoximeng” 郊西盟 (?) which consisted of the local *literati*.¹⁰² Some of them may have had a common interest in knowledge brought by the Flemish Father.

We also find on this script that Han-yun was giving considerable attention to the military matter. In 1633, together with his youngest brother Han-xia 韓霞, Han-lin, and some generals, Han-yun organized one local armed force to fight against the rebellion.¹⁰³ In this event, Han-yun had gotten

⁹⁸ There are four *Local History of Jiangzhou* recording the lifetime of Han-yun. They were composed in different periods. Three were done in the Qing Dynasty in 1670, 1765, and 1879. The latest *Xinjiangxian* 新絳縣志 (New Local History of Jiangxian) was printed in 1929. The following passage is excerpted from Liu Xian-di 劉顯第, *Jiangzhouzhi* 絳州志 (Local Historical of Jiangzhou), 1670, vol.2, p.56.

⁹⁹ See Huang Yi-long, *Liangtoushe*, p.231.

¹⁰⁰ Li Huan-yang 李煥揚 and Zhang Yu-zhu 張于鑄, ed., *Zhili jiangzhou zhi* 直隸絳州志 (Local History of Jiangzhou), 1879, vol.16, f.5b.

¹⁰¹ Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ*, in Yysp, p.4; and Han-yun, *Preface to Alfonso Vagnoni's Dadao jiyuan* 達道紀言, in BAV, R.G.Oriente.III 227 (6).

¹⁰² *Zhili jiangzhou zhi*, vol.15, f.32-3.

¹⁰³ *Zhili jiangzhou zhi*, vol.16, f.23-25.

himself involved in the name of *xiaolian* 孝廉,¹⁰⁴ an honorable title for *juren* in the Ming Dynasty. It demonstrated – even very implicitly – that Han-yun exerted a *de facto* effect on local affairs, which should have been performed officially, regardless of his lack of any public office.

As regards the two texts: *Wude neiwai bian*, of military, and *Laorencao nongshu*, of agriculture, their aim was to help the State immediately. The military aspect and the agriculture aspect, both seen in his master Xu Guang-qi, were an important object of the Practical Learning (*shixue*).¹⁰⁵ Like many of his other contemporaries, Han-yun devoted himself to its practice.

3.2 Han-yun and the XREMZ

This brief biography also recorded Han-yun's association with Western *literati*. Though the biographer did not mention their names, it is clear that *Er Mu Zi* (XREMZ in abbreviation) resulted from the inter-cultural conversation between them and Han-yun.

Prior to the story of Han-yun with Nicolas Trigault, his passion for the Learning from Heaven had already been sparked. He was baptized as Stephen before 1620.¹⁰⁶ In 1621, Giulio Aleni arrived in Jiangzhou under his invitation, and he baptized most of his family, and his younger brother Han-lin as Thomas.¹⁰⁷ Much earlier than Han-lin, Han-yun had been one of the most prominent figures to promote the Jesuit mission at Jiangzhou at the early stage of the missionary expansion. This land had been well cultivated to receive Nicolas Trigault and other missionaries. In 1624, Han-yun and an unrecognized Christian, Paul, a Chinese *literatus* baptized in Beijing,¹⁰⁸ after their persistent requests, finally saw the Flemish Father move from Kaifeng to Jiangzhou. Trigault was very much content with the work he had accomplished. He told the Duke of Bavaria,

nunc in provinciam Xamsi (Chan-si) evocatus veni, ubi gravissimi non pauci viri fidem christianam amplectuntur, et hodiè due ex imperatorio sanguine in catechumenorum numerum adsciscuntur; quorum alter est mille et amplius regionum nepotum princeps.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ See *Zhili jiangzhou zhi*, vol.16, f.24.

¹⁰⁵ Catherine Jami, Peter Engelfriet, and Gregory Blue, *Introduction*, in Catherine Jami, Peter Engelfriet, and Gregory Blue, ed., *Statecraft & Intellectual Renewal in Late Ming China: the Cross-Cultural Synthesis of Xu Guangqi (1562-1633)*, Brill, 2001, pp.1-15.

¹⁰⁶ *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, p.219, and Joseph Dehergne, *Les Chrétientés de Chine de la Période Ming (1581-1650)*, in *Monumenta Serica*, vol.XVI, 1957, pp.1-136, especially p.102. Han-yun knew his master Xu Guang-qi ten years ago, so he might know the Learning from Heaven around in 1615, see Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ (1625)*, in Yysp, p.4.

¹⁰⁷ See *Relatione 1619, 1620 and 1621*, p.218.

¹⁰⁸ See C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.182.

¹⁰⁹ *Appendice*, C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.275.

It is reasonable to imagine that the sphere of conversation between Nicolas Trigault and the audience must have been full of friendship. At that point, the missionary presented a strange book in which there were two ways to search for Chinese words. At that point, this book still remained unknown to the Chinese, but it had captured the public's attention. Han-yun expressed his feeling,

朝夕論道，偶及字學，如剝蔥皮，層層著盡。

The Father is discussing [with us] the “*dao*” 道 (“way”) from morning to night. He referred by chance to the *zixue* 字學 (“word learning”) and explicated it, as peeling an onion from exterior to interior.¹¹⁰

“By chance” suggests two things. Nicolas Trigault was likely to have referred to word learning without any plan. Besides, it indicates the “way” (*dao*) discussed by Han-yun and Nicolas Trigault was a multi-faceted learning, encompassing at least astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and religion. The word learning was only in part pertaining to this comprehensive learning. All of them had aroused strong feelings in Han-yun and other listeners.

From the point of view of Han-yun, “Peeling an onion”, however, did not only pertain to the word learning, but also to the Learning from Heaven (sometimes, he called it “*tianrenxue*” 天人學: Celestial-Human Teaching). He wrote,

西庠天學，修身以事天人學，格物以窮理；字學乃文學之一，為天人學之基。

Learning from Heaven at the Western schools is to cultivate the persons to serve the Celestial-Human Teaching, to *investigate the objects to approach the Principles*. The word learning, one branch of literature, is the base of the *Celestial-Human Teaching*.¹¹¹

After applauding the Western word learning, he also itemized the disadvantage of the same kind of learning in China,

知偶然，不知當然，知當然，不知自然，知自然不知所以然。

¹¹⁰ Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1625), in Yysp, p.5.

¹¹¹ Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1625), in Yysp, p.3.

They learn about the occasion, but not “how it should be.” They know the “how it should be,” but not “how to be natural.” They understand the “how to be natural,” but not “*why* it should be.”¹¹²

The Learning from Heaven was very different. It was introduced initially by Matteo Ricci and was required to be more profound in its inquiries. This spirit, found in the *XREMZ* and also in other Jesuit texts, would necessarily serve the State.¹¹³

Motivated by all these abovementioned elements, Han-yun and his companions expected Trigault to write this book, and the latter agreed. “Thus we [Nicolas Trigault and Han-yun] have discussed the matter many times” (於是彼此再三問難),¹¹⁴ and ultimately coined a *Wenda* (Ask and Reply) after three drafts. This *Wenda* was the first version Nicolas Trigault and his Chinese friend had composed. Based on this, Trigault had consulted two other Chinese *literati* after his departure for Shaanxi: Lv We-qi in Xin’an firstly and Wang-zheng in Jiangzhou secondly. No doubt, in composing the *XREMZ*, Han-yun is the first Chinese to have been involved in the enterprise. He was under the care of “*quanding*” 詮訂, responsible for commenting, judging and examining the whole text. Apart from this, he also prefaced the *XREMZ* on the first day of the year 1625, according to the Chinese lunar calendar, in his study room Mingdan-zhai 明旦齋.¹¹⁵

Clearly, Han-yun had run throughout the whole course of the composition of the *XREMZ*. In other words, he must have taken part in the whole course of the mission of Nicolas Trigault in Shanxi and in Shaanxi.

4. Zhang Zhong-fang 張鍾芳 and Zhang Wen-da 張問達

These two persons have been marked *only* on the name list of Wang-zheng,

冢宰誠字張先生與其季子敬一則所為捐資刻傳之者。

¹¹² Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1625), in Yysp, p.4.

¹¹³ See Yysp, pp.4-5. Xu Guang-qi also stressed this spirit, see Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.76.

¹¹⁴ Nicolas Trigault, *Little Preface to the Wenda*, in Yysp, p.110 (f.31b).

¹¹⁵ See Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1625), in Yysp, p.6. Yang Ting-yun also called his study room “Mingdan-Zhai”, see Yang Ting-yun, *Preface to the Qike* (Seven Victories), of Diego de Pantoja, in ARSL., Jap.Sin.I.84, f.1b. “Mingdan” 明旦 implies “Morning of the second day”, or “Dawn” or “Tomorrow”. This name, for the Christian converts, might have possession of Christian implication.

The Premier Signor Zhang Cheng-yu and his youngest son Jing-yi have financed the woodblock printing¹¹⁶ and the publication.¹¹⁷

These two men are father and his third son (季子, *jizi*). Their contribution is the finance of the publication of the *XREMZ*. Seemingly, Zhang Cheng-yu and Zhang Jing-yi were interested in participating in this cultural activity.

4.1 Zhang Zhong-fang

Son Zhang Zhong-fang (?), courteous name: Jing-yi 敬一) was a native of Jingyang and he became the *xiucai* (Licentiate) at the annual exam held at the county level. He never accessed any further examination. Before the arrival of Nicolas Trigault, he had been converted as Paul. Together with Wang-zheng, they delivered letters to the Vice-provincial to call for the mission in Jingyang. He also accompanied Trigault to Xi'an and arranged for him to reside in the house of his father Zhang Wen-da, in order to avoid trouble and antipathy from some local officials.¹¹⁸

Before he read the *XREMZ*, Zhang Zhong-fang already had knowledge of the Western Learning, through various Western writings.

西儒他所著書，種種名理，悉皆發此中從來所未發，故一書出而人競購，業已膾炙人口，其必傳于世，可無疑矣。今茲耳目資或總不能越我音韻以傳諸書之範圍，即間出巧法，想皆此種所已備者，君獨何嗜之偏，而必欲授之梓？

Books from Western *literati* are occupied with sorts of norm and principle (名理, *mingli*), which are unheard so far. Thus, men will not hesitate to buy them, as long as they are published. These books have been well known to the world and will be passed down from generation to generation. But the *Er Mu Zi* is not incomparable to other rhyme books. Even though its methods appear to be very smart, they are seen in other Chinese books. Why do you love and want to publish only this book?¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Traditionally, there are two methods to print ancient Chinese books: one is the woodblock printing, and the other is typesetting. Wang-zheng might have used the former manner to print the *XREMZ*, see Li Xuan-yi 李宣義, *Wang-zheng zhushu yiban souji xulue* 王徵著述遺版搜輯序略 (Brief View of Wang-zheng's Surviving Printing Boards), in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, pp.300-310.

¹¹⁷ Wang-zheng, *Explication*, in Yyisp, pp.47-48 (ff.6a-b).

¹¹⁸ *Lettere 1625 and 1626*, p.117.

¹¹⁹ Wang-zheng, *Explication*, in Lysp, p.37 (f.1a).

Zhang Zhong-fang had passion for the learning of the Western *literati*. But he was suspicious of the *XREMZ*, so he was reluctant to print this book. For this, Wang-zheng wrote the long *Explication* to give weight to the necessity of this activity. Because of his suggestions, Zhang Zhong-fang read this book,

偶得是書而卒業焉。[...]不但耳目若為朗豁，即心志亦若藉以發。

By accident, I got this book and read the whole. [...] It enlightens not only the Ears and Eyes, but also the *Xin-zhi* 心志 (Heart and Mind).¹²⁰

The expression ‘*by accident*’ rhetorically reveals he read the book “attentively” after the whole *XREMZ* was completed. Truly, Zhong-fang did not personally participate in the composition of the *XREMZ*. But after reading this book, he was inspired, and then turned to his father Zhang Wen-da for financial support.

4.2 Zhang Wen-da

Zhang Wen-da (courteous name: Cheng-yu 誠宇/De-yun 德允; nickname: Gukou Bingfu 谷口病夫¹²¹), was father of Zhang Zhong-fang and in 1583 he became *ci tongjinshi chushen* 賜同進士出身, a rank of third class in the Imperial Examination. He had been in charge of varying posts both in local and central government. In 1621 he was nominated as Minister of Personnel. Four years later, he was deprived of office and even required to pay back a large sum of essentially “invented” money, because he was accused of conspiracy by his political opponent.¹²² And yet, the financial support for the publication of the *XREMZ* implies that the Zhang Family was not reduced to poverty. Perhaps the penalty was not executed, or was done so much later.¹²³ Zhang was familiar with Meng Hua-li, for

¹²⁰ Zhang Zhong-fang, *On the Printing of the XREMZ* (1626), in Yysp, p.2.

¹²¹ Yang Ting-fu, Yang Tong-fu, ed., *Mingren shiming biecheng zihao suoyin* (xia), p.371. “Kukou bingfu” was placed on his preface (1626), see Zhang Wen-da, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1626), in Yysp, p.35 (f.6a).

¹²² “Biography of Zhang Wen-da”, in Zhang Ting-yu 張廷玉, ed., *Mingshi* 明史 (History of Ming), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997, vol.241.

¹²³ When did Zhang Wen-da die? The biographer of Zhang Wen-da said Zhang was condemned in 1625, “before long, Wen-da died” (頃之，問達卒), without giving an exact date. Zhang Wen-da’s *Preface to the XREMZ* dated “Tianqi liunian bingyin xia wuyue guihairi” (天啓六年丙寅夏五月癸亥日), namely, 22nd day of the fifth month 1626, according to the Chinese lunar calendar. So Zhang died after that date. The same biography of *Mingshi* also recorded that Zhang Wen-da recovered his public fame in 1628, that is, the first year of the reign of the Emperor Chong-zhen 崇禎 (1628-1644). The title *Taibao* 太保, a post to assist the young ruler, was conferred to him in the manner of “zeng” 贈 (“donate”), see *Mingshi*, vol.241, “Biography of Zhang Wen-da”; and Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she*, p.103. The “zeng” 贈 traditionally happened posthumously. Therefore, Zhang Wen-da died between the 22nd day of the fifth month 1626 and the year 1628. L.Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang thought that Zhang Wen-da died in 1625, in *DOMB*, p.814.

whom this ex-minister, together with other local gentries, composed one article in inscription in honor of him.¹²⁴

Before taking part in the publication of the *XREMZ*, Zhang Wen-da had contacted other Westerners.¹²⁵ He must have sympathy with the Western *literati*, or else he would not have allowed Nicolas Trigault to use his apartment when he was sinking into a political whirlpool. After he was distracted from the political struggle, Zhang Wen-da spent the rest of his life reading and teaching at home. Among the books he read, there was *Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻 (Authentic Rhymes of the Hongwu Reign) (1375). The ex-minister found a lot of defects in it.¹²⁶ In those days, he also read Trigault's *XREMZ* because of the presentation of Wang-zheng,

一日，友人良甫王子手一編過余而言曰：“此新訂西儒耳目資也。”

One day, my friend Wang-zheng came to me with a book, and said to me, “This is the newly edited *XREMZ*.”¹²⁷

Obviously, when Wang-zheng, the friend of Zhang Wen-da, was making known to him the “newly edited” *XREMZ*, this book had already been finished. Naturally, Wen-da did not participate in the composition of it. After reading this book, Zhang Wen-da was convinced that it was helpful for the study of the words and rhymes (字韻學, *ziyunxue*),¹²⁸ and for this reason, he had a passion for its publication. He would also compose a preface to the *XREMZ*.¹²⁹

In this cultural event, the father and the son were financially responsible. But their generosity towards this cultural cooperation shows its further significance. Because of the worsening conditions of the sponsor's economic situation – the Kingdom of Portugal – the promised stipends for the Society of Jesus had become difficult.¹³⁰ Financial support from the Zhang family guaranteed the outcome of the *XREMZ*. More importantly, for Zhang Wen-da and Zhang Zhong-fang, their faith in the publication of

¹²⁴ Sun Qi-feng 孫奇逢, *Zhongzhou renwu kao* 中州人物攷 (Biography of Great Persons in Zhongzhou) (published around in 1844), vol.1, f.43b. Zhongzhou 中州 refers to Henan.

¹²⁵ Zhang Wen-da might maintain friendship with Matteo Ricci, see Huang Yi-ong, *Liangtou she*, p.105.

¹²⁶ Zhang Wen-da, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1626), in *Yysp*, pp.28-30 (ff.2b-3b).

¹²⁷ Zhang Wen-da, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1626), in *Yysp*, p.30 (f.3b).

¹²⁸ See Zhang Wen-da, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1626), in *Yysp*, pp.32-33 (ff.4b-5a).

¹²⁹ In the letter addressed to Montmorency, Trigault mentioned this script of Zhang Wen-da, “Supremi quondam totius regni tribunalis praeses, suo sumptu illud edidit, et insigni proemio cohonestavit”, see C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.282.

¹³⁰ See Dauril Alden, *Some considerations concerning Jesuit enterprises in Asia*, in *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionaço no Oriente*, Lisboa, 2000, p.56-57.

this book was influenced firstly by Wang-zheng and then confirmed by the *XREMZ* itself. After reading it, they were convinced. To some degree, their reaction was the earliest reception of the *XREMZ* among Chinese readers.

5. Wei Zi-jian 衛子建 and Chen Ding-qing 陳鼎卿

These two men were inserted only in the name list of Wang-zheng, and there is very little information about them. In light of the brief script by Wang-zheng, I hope to catch a glimpse of the relationship between them and the *XREMZ*.

5.1 Wei Zi-jian

Wang-zheng talked about Wei Zi-jian's contribution to this enterprise by comparing him with Han-yun and Lv Yu-shi,

讚成之者，豫石呂銓部，景伯韓孝廉，子建衛文學。

The book is approved of by Yu-shi Lv Quanbu, Jing-bo Han Xiaolian, Zi-jian Wei Wenxue.¹³¹

Wei played the same role to Han-yun and Lv Yu-shi. He must have been involved in the composition of the texts. Wei had a courteous name Zi-jian 子建, and held a title as “*wenxue*” 文學, that concerned local education. He was known to Wang-zheng, of course. Huang Yi-long believed – with certain doubt – that Wei Zi-jian was from Jiangzhou.¹³² Most probably, Wei Zi-jian had participated in the conversation of Nicolas Trigault with the learned local listeners, and he had interest in what Trigault said about the Chinese language.

5.2 Chen Ding-qing

Equally rare is the information we can find on Chen Ding-qing,

至於一字一音，一點一畫，細加校讐，而毫不致于有差遺者，則金先生之門人鼎卿陳子之功為最。

¹³¹ Wang-zheng, *Explication*, in *Yyyp*, p.47 (f.6a).

¹³² Huang Yi-long thought Wei Zi-jian and Wei Dou-shu 衛斗樞 were the same person, see Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she*, p.103.

Signor Chen Ding-qing, the student of Signor Jin (Nicolas Trigault), has examined the whole text scrupulously, without making even one mistake in examining words, sounds, points or strokes (of Chinese). To achieve such accuracy, his contribution is very important.¹³³

Ding-qing 鼎卿 was his courteous name. As discussed above, Trigault moved westward alone in Henan and Shanxi. But in 1624 when he was in Jiangzhou, he was instructing two catechumens day and night, and with great pleasure.¹³⁴ Among these two catechumens there must have been Chen Ding-qing. Probably during this period, Chen began to learn Latin letters from Nicolas Trigault.¹³⁵ Hence, Ding-qing was able to take charge of the role of textual revisor.

Although Nicolas Trigault said nothing about them in the *XREMZ*, he was acquainted with them. They were among the successes Trigault had obtained from this mission.

6. Lai-lin 來臨, Chen Bao-huang 陳寶璜, Li Congqian 李從謙 and Li Can-ran 李燦然

These names appear in a very hidden manner. We find them only in some corners of the *XREMZ*. None were mentioned by Nicolas Trigault or Wang-zheng.

6.1 Lai-lin

The Chinese name Lai-lin comes into view only at the end of the preface of Wang-zheng to the *XREMZ*, engraved vertically on the ultimate column: “Chiyang/Lai-lin/shu” 池陽/來臨/書.¹³⁶ In this phrase, *Chiyang* 池陽 is the earlier name of the county Sanyuan 三原, his native land. Lai-lin received the courteous name Yu-zhong 馭仲. Here Lai-fu comes to mind, who may have been Lai-lin’s older brother, because both of them came from the same county and shared the same family name.¹³⁷ Lai-lin

¹³³ See Wang-zheng, *Explication*, in Yysp, p.48 (f.6b).

¹³⁴ In the letter to the Duke Bavaria, Nicolas Trigault wrote, “Obruo occupationibus, et hunc diem totum usque ad noctem crudiendis duobis illis catechumenis magna mea voluptate consumpsi,” see *Appendice*, C. Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.276,

¹³⁵ Huang Yi-long identified Chen Ding-qing with Chen Suo-xing 陳所性, the native of Jiangzhou, see Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she.*, p.103.

¹³⁶ Wang-zheng, *XREMZ xu* 西儒耳目資敘 (Preface to the *XREMZ*), in Yysp, p.24 (f.9b).

¹³⁷ Yang Ting-fu, Yang Tong-fu, ed., *Mingren shiming biecheng zihao suoyin (xia)*, p.197. Lai-fu’s courteous name is Yang-bo 陽伯. Traditionally, “bo” 伯 means eldest brother in one family, while “zhong” 仲 the second oldest, hence, Lai-lin was younger brother of Lai-fu.

Apart from what I’m discussing in the text, there is some information from at <http://pm.findart.com.cn/857070-pm.html> (Last check: 20 September 2013) about the life of Lai-lin. Lai was a student of the Guozijian 國子監 (School of the Sons of State). In 1632, he undertook the Governor of Weizhou 蔚州, a city in present-day Hebei Province, and organized the local

pertained to one broad social network. He once helped a mandarin from Shaanxi to revise and correct his selection of poems.¹³⁸ In the *XREMZ* he transcribed (書, *shu*) Wang-zheng's preface. Logically, the transcription took place only after Wang-zheng had finished his preface, but before the publication of the *XREMZ* itself.

6.2 Chen Bao-huang

The name Chen Bao-huang was engraved upright on the last page of each volume as “Wenling/Chen Bao-huang/jiandui.” 溫陵/陳寶璜/檢兌.¹³⁹ Wenling 溫陵 is the old name of Quanzhou 泉州, a city in Fujian in Southeast China and very far from the Central Plain of China. Therefore, Chen Bao-huang came from Quanzhou. In the publication of the *XREMZ*, he was “*jiandui*” 檢兌 (more often written as “*jianyue*” 檢閱), which consisted of examining and checking the text before its printing. It is evident that he alone was in charge of this work throughout, since there was no other “*jiandui*” found in the whole *XREMZ*. Today we still can find some slight modifications on the printings of the preserved copies. Clearly, Chen Bao-huang had worked diligently.¹⁴⁰ To be competent for this work, Bao-huang must have been familiar with Latin letters.

6.3 Li Cong-qian and Li Can-ran

These two names were inscribed only on the last page of the *Lbzp* in the form of two independent vertical lines side by side: “Xianlin/Li Cong-qian/shu” 咸林/李從謙/書 (Board-written by Li Cong-qian of Xian-lin) and “Baling/Li Can-ran/kan” 霸陵/李燦然/刊 (Board-engraved by Li Can-ran of Baling).¹⁴¹ Xianlin 咸林 is the old name of Huaxian 華縣, a county near to Xi'an; and Baling 霸陵 refers to Xi'an.¹⁴² So, both of them were native of the Guanzhong Plain (關中, *Guanzhong*).

scholars to compose a *Weizhou zhi* 蔚州誌 (Local History of Weizhou). His name also can be found in the poems of two authors, originally from the Royal Family of the Ming Dynasty.

¹³⁸ See Wang Zhong-min 王重民, *Zhongguo Shanbenshu tiyao* 中國善本書提要 (Annotated Catalog of Ancient Chinese Books), Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1984, p.439.

¹³⁹ *Yysp*, p.270 (f.111b); *Lyyp*, p.322 (f.154b); *Lbzp*, p.316 (f.134b).

¹⁴⁰ See *Yysp*, p.153(f.53a), and p.155(f.54a). In these two folios, some words have been substituted by two smaller characters. It proved that the printing board was examined and corrected, after it was engraved. Errors were erased and replaced with the correct ones.

¹⁴¹ *Lbzp*, p.316 (f.134b).

¹⁴² Xianlin 咸林 is the alternative name of Huaxian 華縣, see Zhu-fang 朱方, Liu Jun-ren 劉均仁, ed., *Zhongguo diming dacidian* 中國地名大詞典 (Grand Dictionary of the Chinese Places), Beijing, 1930, p.152. On “Baling”, see Shu Qi-shen 舒其紳, ed., *Xi'an fuzhi* 西安府志 (Local History of Xi'an), Taiwan: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970, vol.1, p.139.

Performing as Board-writer and Board-engraver, their employments were the last two steps before this book was printed. Although it is not sure whether they knew the author or not, they must have had some knowledge of Latin letters when working on this book.

These four men, contrasting with the previously mentioned participants, are less known to the public. Although they were all technically minded, they facilitated the publication of the *XREMZ*.

7. Conclusion

So far, collaborators from the part of China, united thanks to the production of the *XREMZ*, have been accounted for. Of course, there were many more participants, among them certainly had to be a “Literati Graduati Chan” staying together with Nicolas Trigault, who had drawn themselves, undocumented, into such an enterprise.¹⁴³ They worked together on a new book, as they were friends of the Flemish Father, or students, or listeners, or converted Christians, and were in charge of different roles as editors, proofreaders, text correctors, proponents, engravers, printers, financial supporters, and even safeguards (in the case of Zhang Wen-da). The division of labor, systemized by Wang-zheng as a collective activity, was necessary to fabricate the *XREMZ*.

Individually, nevertheless, these men had to be distinguished from one another. They constituted a complicated group of participants, in which Wang-zheng and Lv Wei-qi were neo-Confucians; Zhang Wen-da was a retired mandarin and a sympathizer of the School of Luoyang (*luoxue*), who had accused Li-zhi 李贄 (1527-1602) of interrupting good customs and altering Confucianism;¹⁴⁴ Wang-zheng, Han-yun, Zhang Zhong-fang, and Chen Ding-qing, student of Nicolas Trigault, were converted Christians. Their gathering around the making of the *XREMZ* indicates, to a larger degree, the cooperation of neo-Confucianism with Christianity at the local level. The Chinese took the initiative to embrace the missions of Nicolas Trigault in these remote provinces.

These areas had little political importance at that time, but they were the centers of neo-Confucianism in the late Ming Dynasty. Rather than Matteo Ricci’s hostility to neo-Confucianism, we find these Chinese scholars being in concordance with the Learning from Heaven. With neo-

¹⁴³ See *Historia Sinarum Imperii*, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.102, f.220b.

¹⁴⁴ See Jacques Gernet, *La Politique de Conversion de Matteo Ricci et l’Evolution de la Vie Politique et intellectuelle en Chine aux environs de 1600*, in *Sviluppi scientifici, prospettive religiose, movimenti rivoluzionari in Cina*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1975, pp.115-144. On Li-zhi, we will see him later in Chapter II.

Confucianism this group of Chinese *literati* provided a new perspective on the Learning from Heaven. The two sides: the Learning from Heaven on the one hand, and neo-Confucianism on the other, converged. As we can see in the case of Wang-zheng as well as in the case of other participants, that he found in the Learning from Heaven the solution they were seeking to the pressing social crisis, which was due to the military threat of the Manchu, and the increasing number of peasant rebellions, and political, social and economic problems. This solution was the so-called Practical Learning (*shixue*). It had already been emphasized by Xu Guang-qi and been put into action.¹⁴⁵ But in this case it should be different from Xu Guang-qi's experience. Catherine Jami and her colleagues Peter Engelfriet and Gregory Blue have posed the following question,

Was the emergence of a “concrete studies” movement mainly an expression of a sense of political urgency that opened the door to official success for people like Xu Guang-qi who had plans for concrete action?¹⁴⁶

My answer to this is affirmative, but it needs some clarification. Unlike Xu Guang-qi, most of the Chinese *literati* around the making of the *XREMZ* in the Central Plain of China experienced political failures or had only little success. Before knowing the Learning from Heaven, these men had already been instructed in neo-Confucianism and had plans for concrete action. Some of them, after encountering Christianity, re-molded their identity through this *Learning* even more than they did with Confucianism, as the example of Wang-zheng shows. However, they did not leave concrete actions, in order to continue what the traditional Confucians had taken charge of. In this context, from the community of neo-Confucianism emerged a group of Chinese cooperators and readers. This feature is explained by the arrival of Nicolas Trigault with other Jesuits, and obviously by their successful mission in these remote areas. Unlike the residences in Beijing and Nanjing and in other metropolises, which were too fragile to be sustained during periods of instability, these provinces were far from the political center and the notable *literati* provided a more stable base, spiritually and materially, for the spread of the Jesuit missions.

In a word, thanks to the support of the Chinese participants politically, financially, culturally (intellectually), Trigault founded two new residences: Shanxi and Shaanxi with other evangelistic accomplishments before he left for Hangzhou.¹⁴⁷ Among these fruits included the *XREMZ*.

¹⁴⁵ Catherine Jami, Peter Engelfriet, and Gregory Blue, *Introduction*, pp.1-15.

¹⁴⁶ Catherine Jami, Peter Engelfriet, and Gregory Blue, *Introduction*, p.14.

From the Chinese collaborators emerged a question. Geographically, the assembly was an ultra-regional cooperation between different Christian groups. They spoke different dialects. But this should not have happened when they were working together on a book which concerned the script, and in particular the pronunciation of Chinese. In other words, the language this book was about to employ must be one used nationwide. Thus, it must be Mandarin: the official language they, including Father Nicolas Trigault, were using to communicate with each other.

Chapter II

European Contributors and the Making of the *XREMZ*

Apart from these three Chinese *literati*, Nicolas Trigault named also three western Fathers in his self-preface to the *XREMZ*: Matteo Ricci (1552-1610, Chinese name: Li Ma-dou 利瑪竇, courteous name: Xi-tai 西泰), Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640, Chinese name: Guo Ju-jing 郭居靜, courteous name: Yang-feng 仰鳳) and Diego de Pantoja (1571-1618, Chinese name: Pang Di-wo 龐迪我, courteous name: Shun-yang 順陽) and their contributions to the *XREMZ*:

人具靈才，以理為本，理靜屬性，理動生意。意生於內而未表於外者，必不能通於外。但人心好通，不認自囿於內，則其表於外之法，必巧。以近用言，以遠用字。言擊耳鼓，字照目鏡，總出內意於我外，或響或現，進通於他人之內矣。惟內意於人有大同小異外，外表於人有大異小同，何也？內意根於本理之自然，故大同；外表根於人定之偶然，故大異。[...]天下之言字，大都無不異，而音韻之總籟無不通者，此理之本然，內意之當然。在余西庠天人二學中，今不具論。惟是言字之所以然乃文學之一，旅人童而習之，不敢以知為不知，又豈敢強不知以為知？幸至中華，朝夕講求，欲以言字通相同之理，但初聞新言耳鼓則不聰；觀新字目鏡則不明，恐不能觸理動之內意。欲救聾瞽，捨此葯法，其道無由。故表之曰：耳目資也。然亦述而不作。敝會利西泰，郭仰鳳，龐順陽實始之，愚竊比於我老朋而已。

¹⁴⁷ *Lettere 1625 and 1626*, p.67; few fruit was obtained in Henan, see C. Dehainses, *Nicolas Trigault*, pp.178-179; Fortunato Margotti, *Il cattolismo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738*, p.85.

Human Beings hold the Spirit, because they live with Rationality.¹⁴⁸ Rationanlity is essential to quietness; and it brings forth the *Yi* 意 (Meaning) when in motion. The *Meaning* has a disposition to stay inward and not outward. Thus, it cannot be captured from the outside. But the human mind is born to communicate. It is unwilling to imprison itself inside. Thence, the way to represent [it] exteriorly must be brilliant. The *yan* 言 (“spoken words”/spoken language) are used to communicate with the nearby; while the *zi* 字 (“written words”/written language) are used to communicate with the remote. “Spoken word” strikes the eardrum, while “written word” lights the lens of the eyes, and both shed light on “inner meaning” (內意, *neiyi*) openly, in form of Voice and Image. Therefore, one can perceive others’ “inner meaning.” Simply, the “inner meaning” is always common to everyone, while the exterior representation varies. Why? The “inner meaning” springs from the Rationality by nature, thus it is universally common. Contrarily, its representation is determined arbitrarily by the individual and, consequently, differs. [...] “Spoken word” and “written word” are different all over the world. Even so, the voices, coming out from *yin* 音 (sounds) and *yun* 韻 (rhymes), are commonly communicated. This Principle ought to be, and is the naturalness of the “inner meaning.” At the Western schools, it is contained in the Celestial-Human Learning which I am not going to discuss. Well, the reason why “spoken words” and “written words” do so is part of the literature, which I was taught when I was young. So, I dare not pretend to be ignorant of what I really know. How can I pretend to have known what I do not know. From the moment I landed in China, I began to study [Chinese] day and night, believing that the transmission between “spoken word” and “written word” to be natural. Initially, nevertheless, the eardrum could not catch the new “spoken word” clearly. Nor could the lens of the eyes reflect the new “written word.” I am afraid I will not thus touch the “inner meaning” which activates the *Principle*. To recover from deafness and blindness, there is no other way than this prescription. So, I called it *Er Mu Zi*. [For me], [this] is to transmit [the prescription] rather than to invent. Li Xi-tai, Guo Yang-feng and Pang Shun-yang, from our humble Society, have taken the initiative [for the prescription]. What I am about to do is to compare myself to those old friends.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Chinese convert Zhang-geng held in his *Xiantian yiyi* 先天易義 the same idea. They are named *bagua* 八卦 (Eight symbols), based on *lingxing* 靈性 (Spirit), rather than on Corpus and Substance, because the former is changing and in motion forever”, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.I.34/37:3/1, f.2b. No less Christian influence can be seen. He considered *Yijing* to be a book on the Creator, “Indeed, it is the Creator who makes his image in appearance in the world and comes in front of the common people through the Great Saints.” In ARSI., Jap.sin. I.34/37:3/1, f.2a. Here this Chinese *litteratus* had integrated Chinese Classics with the Catholic doctrine.

¹⁴⁹ Nicolas Trigault, *Self-preface* to the *XREMZ*, in Yysp, pp.49-50 (ff.1a-b). Notice that the translation ‘to compare myself to those old friends’ (竊比於我老朋) textually is improper, for the original one is “竊比於我老彭” (to compare myself to Lao-peng, an ancient virtue) see *Transmission*, in *The Analects*, vol.7. “朋” and “彭” both pronounce as *Péng*. Maybe, for this reason, Trigault was confused with these two characters. Ironically, his mistaken transcription, no matter whether deliberate or not, appears closer to the text, here.

This script should explain the reason why Trigault had to compile the *XREMZ* by stressing the requirement of Han-yun, and in the same edition there is also some information about this book. This, evidently, is not what I want to focus on here. Nor is the notion of “inner meaning” (*neiyi*), which I will address later, as it is essential to build the theory around the *XREMZ*.

In this excerpt, Nicolas Trigault told his readers his experience in learning Chinese at a moment in which he had not been in China for long. He had difficulty. So, he sought a solution by taking advantage of one *prescription* which would save him from deafness and blindness. It was a metaphor for *Er Mu Zi* 耳目資, the object we are talking about. This book, as indicated the title *er* (ears) and *mu* (eyes), was to deal with “spoken word” and “written word”, correspondingly. These were two aspects of a language, but the situation must be more complicated in the case of Chinese. Just as Nicolas Trigault himself reveals to us, the transmission between “written word” and “spoken word,” with the help of Human Voice, had been taught as a truth in Europe, which should remind us of his early humanistic education there, but this method failed to work in China. Clearly, Trigault, and other Westerners as well, had encountered a language which was much more different than any they had seen before in Europe. In this language, “written word” was not so consistent with “spoken word,” so it was not so easy to master it with the method he had learned at the Western schools. Being a novice of learning Chinese, Nicolas Trigault had to appeal to the help of predecessors, Matteo Ricci, Lazzaro Cattaneo, and Diego de Pantoja. He strongly believed, as he was going to benefit from it, that the *Er Mu Zi* would help him remove this obstacle while he was beginning to learn Chinese. Naturally, it would be about these two aspects of one language, focusing solely on Chinese. It was never likely to discuss “the differences of linguistic representations between East and West,” nor “whether dictionaries classified by sounds rather than by the Chinese system of radicals were easier to use.”¹⁵⁰ In order to apply this method born out of Europe, comparison between Chinese language and the European ones appears to be necessary. These comparisons serve to handle the relationship of “written word” to “spoken word,” before the *Er Mu Zi* was developed into the present-day version.

Unfortunately there is no such information about the early edition of the *XREMZ* and how it coped with the difficulty in this relationship. Nicolas Trigault mentioned it only at the house of Han-yun, which he certainly had demonstrated in Kaifeng while he failed to catch the attention of the local learned. Even though he was able to speak Chinese so fluently that he did not need any interpreters,

¹⁵⁰ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Translating Christianity: Counter-Reformation Europe and the Catholic Mission in China, 1580-1780*, in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, ed., *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003, pp.87-108, specially, pp.93-94.

Trigault still took one book as dictionary in hand in the course of the Jesuit mission. This book was used in two cases as the following indicates.

嚮者，旅人初适晉，館於景伯韓君明旦齋中。彼時，或與此中人士交談，得聞未知難知之音，或展閱此中奇書，得遇未知難知之字，一開旅人字學音韻之編，則能察音察字，隨手可得，不待一詢之人也。

Not long ago, the Traveler arrived in Shanxi and resided in the room Ming-dan Zhai 明旦齋 of Signor Han Jing-bo. Sometimes I heard certain Chinese characters without knowing the pronunciation, when I was communicating with the Chinese *literati*; sometimes I encountered certain Chinese characters unknown when I was reading Chinese books. Then, I would look up my rhyme and character book. [With which], I was able to hear the Sound and find out the word in a handy manner. So, I did not need the help from others.¹⁵¹

The first impression of the so-called rhyme and character book, on which basis the *XREMZ* would be developed later, is that it was very convenient. Trigault could take advantage of it either in the communication with the Chinese people, or when he was reading Chinese books alone, so that he could avoid disturbing others. The difficulty that Trigault had was in *Listening and Reading*, two parts which correspond to the rhyme and character book. These are two dimensions that a beginner of the foreign language will encounter. The *XREMZ* was to solve two problems: the Sound, invisibly as “spoken word,” never heard before on the one hand, and the Chinese character, visible as “written word,” never seen before. This piece of prescription would be opened to all the Chinese when the *XREMZ* was published. Before that, it was only a dictionary circulated inside the Society of Jesus, aimed at the missionaries. Because of this, just like the brief expression “*shu er bu zuo*” 述而不作 (to transmit [the Learning] rather than to invent) manifested, the Flemish Father attributed the fashion of the *XREMZ* to Western forebears.¹⁵²

As a consequence, logically and naturally, this would extend to the notion of Chinese in the eyes of the Europeans of that day. Which kind of work had these Western forebears done by applying the method, so to speak, of the transmission between “spoken word” and “written word” to the study of Chinese? And, finally, did that help to make the *XREMZ*? From this point forward, I will try to chronologically depict this so as to construct the context of the *XREMZ* from the standpoint of the West.

¹⁵¹ Nicolas Trigault, *Little Preface to the Wenda*, in Yysp, pp.109-110 (ff.31a-b).

¹⁵² *Transmission*, in *The Analects*, vol.7.

1. Knowledge of Chinese Language in Europe

There was little communication between Europe and China before the sea route to the East was opened by the Portuguese; not to mention the knowledge of Chinese, which was still unfamiliar in Europe for a long time. Perhaps, we will turn to the book *Il Milione* of Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant who had been said to be in Yuan 元 China (1279-1368) for years (17 years from 1275 to 1292), in which, however, we cannot find even one word to describe this language. Even so, this book did not fail to provoke the interest of the Europeans in this far eastern country. Later, albeit very slowly, along with the Portuguese expansion in Asia, driven by economic enterprise, more information about Chinese language became known to the Europeans. Before the Spanish writer Juan González de Mendoza (1545-1618) published his large-scale book, referring to the Chinese language, some adventurers composed similar texts in the form of a *Tractado* or a *Relacion*. They are the Portuguese Dominican Gaspar da Cruz (c.1520-1570) and his *Tractado em que se cotam muito por esteso as cousas da China* (1569-1570), and Spanish Martin de Rada (1533-1578), member of the Order of Saint Augustine, and his *Relacion de las cosas de China que propriamente se Llaman Taylin* (1575). The description of the Chinese language from these two documents has been defined by John DeFrancis as “the first Western account of the fascinatingly different Chinese writing.”¹⁵³ Cruz wrote,

The Chinese have no fixed letters in their writing, for all that they write is by characters, and they compose words of these, whereby they have a great multitude of characters, signifying each thing by a character in such sort that one only character signifies “Heaven”, another “earth”, and another “man”, and so forth with everything else.¹⁵⁴

This oriental language was far different than any other in the rest of the world, and harder to study by foreigners. Martin de Rada even assured his natives of this language most incomprehensible and barbaric.¹⁵⁵ So, it is no surprise to find a number of Chinese interpreters employed by the Portuguese merchants and religious missionaries (including Gaspar de Cruz himself) to help them communicate

¹⁵³ John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, University of Hawaii Press, 1984, p.133.

¹⁵⁴ Quoted from DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language*, pp.133-134; see also the Chinese translation Cruz's *Zhongguo zhi* 中國志 (Reports on China) in He Gao-ji 何高濟, trans., *Shiliushiji zhongguo nanbu xingji* 十六世紀中國南部行紀 (Traveling of South China in the 16th Century), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990, p.112.

¹⁵⁵ Martin de Rada, *Ji daming de zhongguoshiqing* 記大明的中國事情 (Hearing and Seeing in Ming China), in *Shuiliushiji zhongguo nanbu xingji*, p.210.

with the local Chinese,¹⁵⁶ although Martin de Rada never hung back but knew the language so well that he could read some Chinese historical books by himself.¹⁵⁷

From their writings, some points could be derived. First of all, Chinese is a language very difficult to be mastered in the eyes of Europeans, for it is completely different. No fixed letters compose one character, and each character has its own meaning. Secondly, those Europeans, when they arrived and did business in China, did not engage themselves in much study of Chinese, but relied heavily upon Chinese interpreters, though Martin de Rada had petitioned in a letter addressed to one local official of the Fujian Province for a place in China in order to learn Chinese and to present God and His further meaning to the Chinese people.¹⁵⁸ His request was surely rejected. Those Europeans in China did not learn Chinese, and there is no mention of European society either in Asia, or in Europe. This would influence the method of the early Jesuits in Macau to learn Chinese.

And yet, these books, after being published and issued in Europe, had become an authoritative description of Chinese. Following them, it is Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China*, in which he told his European readers that Chinese was one of most curious things on his mind,

no tienen numero de letras, al modo que nos otros, sino que todo lo que escriben, es por figuras, y lo aprenden en mucho tiempo, y con gran dificultad, porque casi cada palabra tiene su charater.

Continuing he says,

El cosa admirable, que con hablarse en aquel reyno muchas lenguas, y unas diferente de otras, se entienden todos generalmente por escrito, aunque no se entiendan hablando: la causa es, porque una mesma figura y charater, acerca de todos significa una mesma cosa, aunque la pronuncien con diferente vocabolo, los unos que los otros.

For this reason, Mendoza concluded,

¹⁵⁶ See Cruz, *Zhongguo zhi*, in *Shiliushiji zhongguo nanbu xingji*, pp.138-142; p.157; Martin de Rada, *Chushi Fujian ji* 出使福建記 (Visiting in Fujian Province), in *Shiliushiji zhongguo nanbu xingji*, p.173, p.174, p.176, and p.177.

¹⁵⁷ Martin de Rada, *Ji Daming de zhongguoshiqing*, in *Shiliushiji zhongguo nanbu xingji*, p.185.

¹⁵⁸ See Martin de Rada, *Chushi Fujian ji*, in *Shiliushiji zhongguo nanbu xingji*, p.180.

desta manera se comunican con ellos los Japones, los lechios, los de samara, los del reyno de Quachinchina, y otros comarcanos sin entenderse quando se bahlan masque Griegos, y Tudescos.¹⁵⁹

As many other Europeans of his time who had never been to China personally, Mendoza's writing was based on the description of his predecessors, which became the usually similar notion of Chinese language. Such overview of Mendoza, because of his broad readership, was known to the amazed Europeans.¹⁶⁰ Through personal observation and narration, confused by truth and falsity, such an early image of Chinese was shaped, stayed, and rooted in the minds of the Europeans for several centuries.¹⁶¹ This perception was commonly received even in the writings that were composed and sent back to Europe by those missionaries who had observed this language more dedicatedly. Partly for this reason, after giving a sketch of the Jesuits' study of the Chinese language, T.S.Bayer (1694-1738), a Sinologue from St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, blamed these men in his *Museum Sinicum* (1730),

Nothing was added to Samedo's description of the Chinese language in the writings of Trigault or Magalhães, nor even in those of Martini, nor in those of Gabiani, Couplet, Rougemont, Grelon, Le Gobien or anybody else in the field.¹⁶²

We might be persuaded by his words as a result of what Matteo Ricci had recorded in his *Diary*. He wrote,

E cominciando dalle sue lettere, o più tosto caratteri al modo degli Hieroglifichi degli Egittij, conciosia che il loro parlare sia assai diverso dallo scrivere,...

E' vero che molto lettere sono dell'istesso sono, sebene di diversa figura, e ciascheduna significa molte cose.

In questo modo di lettera, parola per parola, vi è una grandissima commodià, che possono molti regni, di lingua diversissimi tra sé, usare et intendersi con una stessa lettera, compositione e libri, come in effetto

¹⁵⁹ Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China*, Roma: 1585, p.104. p.105 and p.105.

¹⁶⁰ Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Brill, 2001, p.879.

¹⁶¹ See John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language*, pp.134-135.

¹⁶² Bayer, *The Preface*, in Knud Lundbæk, *T.S.Bayer (1694-1738): Pioneer Sinologist*, London and Malmö: Curzon Press, 1986, p.47. Giandominico Gabiani (1623-94), Italian Jesuit in the China mission 1656-94; Adrien Grelon (1618-96), French Jesuit in China 1656-96; and Charles Le Gobien (1653-1708), procurer for the China mission in Paris, see Knud Lundaek, *T.S.Bayer (1694-1738): Pioneer Sinologist*, p.47, note 29.

avviene a questa lettera della Cina, che è anco commune al regno di Giappone, di Coria, di Cocincina e di Leuchio, tanto tra sé diversi nella lingua che né una parola l'intendono gli uni agli altri, e con tutto facilmente si intendono nello scrivere senza imparare la lingua altrui e dentro della stessa Cina.¹⁶³

This Italian Father seemed to have almost copied Mendoza's words. It was reasonable for Bayer to be so depressed. Really, nothing was written by Francis Xavier (1506-1552), the first Jesuit who wanted to enter China, about this language, despite the fact that he had some Chinese merchants "explain to him the principles of the Chinese language and its script," and he also "saw Japanese children studying Chinese and noted that they were taught the meaning, not the Chinese sound," and he even had a well-planned endeavor to write a book about the origin of the world and the life of Jesus Christ in Japan in Chinese.¹⁶⁴ These projects would be ended by his death in 1552. But Bayer's complaint appeared a bit exaggerated. Progress, even very slight, was gained after their industrious labor for the study of the Chinese language. At the very least, the method to learn Chinese was to be perfected in the course of time.

2. Michele Ruggieri and the Study of Chinese

In comparing Chinese characters to Hieroglyphics, Matteo Ricci made a distinction between the Chinese language and European languages. He had already realized that Chinese in speech (*parlare*) was different than that in writing (*scrivere*). This perception was passed to Nicolas Trigault as he translated Ricci's *Diary* into Latin. As a result of this knowledge, the method used in Europe to learn one language did not function at all in China. They had to seek a new solution to treat the Chinese language.

Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607, Chinese name: Luo Ming-jian 羅明堅), a Jesuit from Italy, was the first to witness a new method to grasp Chinese. In 1579, he was summoned by Visitor Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) to Macau from the Fishery Coast of India. Because of the inability of Francis Xavier and his successors to enter into conversation with the local authorities of China, the Visitor asked Ruggieri to dedicate his time to Chinese study, both in writing and speaking.¹⁶⁵ At that time,

¹⁶³ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo V*, Libro Primo, in *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina* (from now on *Della entrata*), Macerata: Quodlibet, 2000, pp.26-27; and see also Matteo Ricci, *Al p.Fabio de Fabii S.J.* [Shaozhou, 12 novembre 1592], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, Macerata: Quodlibet, 2001, pp.158-159.

¹⁶⁴ Bayer, *The Preface*, in Knud Lundbæk, *T.S.Bayer (1694-1738): Pioneer Sinologist*, pp.43-44.

¹⁶⁵ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.245.

there was no model to follow. Matteo Ricci recorded that his native companion had one Chinese painter, who knew little Portuguese, instruct his study of Chinese. To make a word clearer, this painter “painted the figure on a card of which the word wanted to tell,” as seen in the example of the Chinese character *ma* 馬 (“horse”).¹⁶⁶ With many toils and debates,¹⁶⁷ Ruggieri first opened the door to learn this difficult language, “incominciò a dar principio a questo esercizio.”¹⁶⁸ But this method remained expedient. With the fruits reaped from the initial lessons in Macau, Ruggieri began studying more systemically after he entered China. He made noticeable progress, so that he could compose something in Chinese. Along with the mission by daily contact with the *literati*, the study should proceed in two ways, just as João Rodrigues referred to the Japanese study, either naturally by daily contact with native speakers, or by grammar, rules, teachers and books.¹⁶⁹ Besides, they had some tools to learn this language more conveniently. One of the most significant inventions, without doubt, should be the compilation of the *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary*, whose appearance, in the eyes of Brockey, was to alleviate the problem of memorizing characters.¹⁷⁰ But it would be better to say it served to help memorize the pronunciation, since “spoken word” and “written word” were far more different in Chinese than those in Europe.

This lexicon was rediscovered by Pasquale D’Elia (1890-1963) in 1934 in Rome, who had ascribed it to Michele Ruggieri, in collaboration with Matteo Ricci who had, as D’Elie noted, Romanized Chinese characters, between 1583 and 1588.¹⁷¹ Then, it was brought to Europe by Ruggieri. So, Nicolas Trigault might not have known this dictionary because it had been taken to Europe; or Michele Ruggieri edited this dictionary by himself in Europe, and Trigault had never heard of it (in this case we could conclude that Matteo Ricci had not participated in co-editing this dictionary). In any aspect, the dictionary was the work of Father Ruggieri.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo I, Libro Secondo, in Della entrata*, p.114; and Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.246.

¹⁶⁷ Debates on its effect were between two extreme attitudes. Both Antonio Monserrate and Alberto Laerzio praised the accomplishment of Ruggieri in Chinese before he entered into China, see R.Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, p.42; meanwhile, there were the local Jesuits and the Portuguese merchants at Macau held many doubts, see Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, pp.246-247.

¹⁶⁸ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo I, Libro Secondo, in Della entrata*, p.114.

¹⁶⁹ J.F.Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-century Japan*, London, New York, Routledge, 1993, p.180. Some Jesuits, among them had Francis Cabral, held on to oppose to this systematic analysis of Japanese, see J.F.Moran, *Ibid.*, p.182.

¹⁷⁰ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.247.

¹⁷¹ See Pasquale D’Elia’s note, in “Dizionario Europeo-Cinese”, ARSI., Jap.Sin.198.

¹⁷² The doubt about Ricci’s role in this dictionary, see also Zhang Xi-ping 張西平, *Xifang hanxue de dianjiren Luo Ming-jian* 西方漢學的奠基人羅明堅 (Luo Ming-jian: the Sinology Founder), in *Lishi yanjiu*, vol.3, 2001, pp.100-115.

However, it was still premature, and some voices were left empty with no explanation in Chinese. Clearly these terms, when translated from Portuguese (or other European languages) to Chinese, did not yet have appropriate Chinese terms. Each folio contains three columns: the first is in Portuguese, arranged in alphabetical order from A to Z; the second column at the middle contains the Latinized letters; the third to the right contains Chinese characters. These Chinese characters, when grouped together, were written from left to right, opposed to the Chinese handwriting-manner at that time. In this sense, this dictionary was finished at the hands of the Western father, or of some Chinese who had already well known the European manner of writing. More details about the dictionary can be specified. According to the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998) (see voice “dictionary,” p.512), a “dictionary” is defined as “a book that lists the words of a language in alphabetical order and gives their meaning, or that gives the equivalent words in a different language.” The one we are dealing with is a bilingual dictionary between Portuguese and Chinese. As we can see from the alphabetical order it used, it was devised to handle the translation of Portuguese into Chinese, rather than the reverse. But this dictionary is bilingual in another sense, since it contains the Latinized letters and the corresponding characters. Thus, this dictionary comprised both “translation” and “transliteration.” As far as “translation” is concerned, this dictionary initially expressed the opinion of the compiler on some special terms. For example, Michele had translated “Crador” as “Tianzhu/sheng/wanwu” 天主/生/萬物 (*Lord of Heaven creates the Universal*).¹⁷³ This notion would be passed to later Jesuits and their works, if they used this dictionary as a reference model. The latter aspect, very possibly, was inspired by their early study in Europe of the syntax of Latin and Greek, with which this European learner could write down “spoken word” in the form of Latin letters.¹⁷⁴ This “transliteration,” like the one this dictionary had used, was still premature. Although most of the Latinized letters were given with no accents, it afforded the users a more convenient tool to learn Chinese. Moreover, as long as transliteration was decided, all of the characters would be pronounced in an uniform manner, that is, *guanhua* 官話 (Official Language/Mandarin), which also was the language they had learned to speak.¹⁷⁵ Only by this

¹⁷³ “Crador” in ARSI., Jap.Sin.198, f.63b.

¹⁷⁴ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.244. The study of syntax is a very important section for Jesuit education in the *Ratio Studiorum*, see Claude Nicholas Pavur, ed., *The Ratio Studiorum: the Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005, pp.173-189. Possibly this method was influenced also by the Japanese who studied Chinese. Matteo Ricci said he knew that the Japanese used another language made with an Alphabet similar to the European ones, “con la quale scrivono la loro lingua senza aver bisogno di quest'altra moltitudine di lettere diverse”, see Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo V, Libro Primo*, in *Della entrata*, p.28.

¹⁷⁵ The Language that Ruggieri learned to speak was Mandarin, see Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo I, Libro Secondo*, in *Della entrata*, p.114. The Language that Jesuits had studied in China was Mandarin, see Nicolas Trigault, transl., *Caput Quintum*,

could Ruggieri, and other Jesuits as well, communicate fluently with the local governors, when they moved from Guangdong to Zhejiang 浙江. Michele Ruggieri had set the goal of the Jesuit mission in China as intended to draw the attention of the erudites.

Despite the fact that this Portuguese-Chinese dictionary had supplied the base for the future ones, both in translation and transliteration, it was more likely to concentrate on the translation from Portuguese to Chinese and the transliteration in order to read the Chinese interpretation, rather than on the translation from Chinese to Portuguese (or other European languages), nor on the transliteration of the single Chinese character into Romanized letters. As a result, this dictionary was not sufficient to read Chinese classics. In other words, the question about the transmission of Chinese language from “spoken word” to “written word,” should be solved in the coming dictionaries. In the future, Latin letters should be systemized and listed alphabetically, matching them with Chinese characters.

All in all, they needed to compile a better dictionary.

3. Matteo Ricci and Lazzaro Cattaneo

Being the first Jesuit who had lived in China, Michele Ruggieri was celebrated in Rome. Sometimes, his letters would be read out at mealtimes at the Jesuit colleges of Europe. Information supplied by Ruggieri about Chinese language, such as the information demonstrated in the letter to Pope Gregory XIV (1535-1591), would be known to the younger listeners and give them a fully imaginary opinion on the China mission, and on this language as well.¹⁷⁶ In this way, he would retain his influence upon the China mission. Ironically, the reason for which Michele Ruggieri was transferred out of China was due to his inability to study Chinese. Matteo Ricci said frankly to his European readers, “il Ruggero era già vecchio e no poteva imparare la lingua Cinese.” Alessandro Valignano, when explaining to General Claudio Acquaviva why Ruggieri had to leave China for Europe, also stressed that Ruggieri was old and burdened. And he added, “he is leaving here because he does not have good pronunciation of the language.”¹⁷⁷ Behind such rhetorical tones, they seemed to have hidden intentionally one fundamental reason for which Ruggieri was sent to Rome, that is, his

Liber I, in *De Christiana Expeditione apud sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesu* (from now on *De Christ.Exped.*) Lugduni, 1616, p.27.

¹⁷⁶ Camilla Russell, *Imagining the “Indies”*: Italian Jesuit petitions for the overseas missions at the turn of the seventeenth century, in Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci, Stefania Pastore, ed., *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi per Adriano Prospero*, Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2011, vol.II, pp.179-189. Michele Ruggieri's letter to Pope Gregory XIV, “Ad Beatissimum Sumum Pontificem Gregorium Xiiii”, in BNR, 3405 Mss. Gesuitici 1276.

¹⁷⁷ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo XI*, Libro Secondo, in *Della entrata*, p.170. Explanation of Alessandro Valignano, quoted from R.Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, p.108.

different understanding of the missionary policy adopted in China. This could be perceived from a piece of a script Ruggieri wrote at the beginning of the *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu* 天主聖教實錄 (Véritable exposé de la religion chrétienne) (1584), “*Tianzhu xingshi*, yuan yu xi guo, liu bu si fang” (天主行實, 源於西國, 流布四方/*The biography of the Lord of Heaven*, from the West, circulates all of the world).¹⁷⁸ The notion that the religion was European deviated radically from what Matteo Ricci expected to display for his Chinese audience. But it is possible to confirm this last point that Alessandro Valignano highlighted by the fact that Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci were using inconsistent tones and finals.

In conclusion, Matteo Ricci and his brethren would benefit from their colleague’s accomplishment, but also learn from his lesson.

3.1 Matteo Ricci

On 7 August 1582, Matteo Ricci landed in Macau and dedicated himself to the study of Chinese at once, as he stated in the letter, dated 13 February 1583 to Martino de Fornari, *SJ.*,

Subito mi detti alla lingua cina et prometto a V.R. che è altra cosa che né la greca, né la todesca; quanto al parlare è tanto equivoca che tiene molte parole che significano più di mille cose, et alle volte non vi è altra differentia tra l’una e l’altra che pronunciarsi con voce più alta o più bassa in quattro differentie de toni; e così quando parlano alle volte tra loro per potersi intendere scrivono quello che vogliono dire; ché nella lettera sono differenti l’una dell’altra. Quanto alla lettera non è cosa per potersi credere se non da chi lo vede o lo prova come ho fatto io. Ha tante lettere quante sono le parole o le cose, di modo che passano di settanta mila, e tutte molto differenti et imbrugliate....Tutte le parole sono d’una sola sillaba; il loro scrivere più tosto è pingere, ... Tiene questo utilità che tutte le nationi che hanno questa lettera, se intendono per lettere et libri, benché siano di lingue diversissime.¹⁷⁹

This is something we have read in the writings of other Europeans, and something we also hear for the first time in this description. This Italian observer of the Chinese language had used “*lettera*” (sometimes, but less often, he employed also “*parola*”), one European concept whose significance will be explained later, to describe the “written word” of Chinese, and “*lingua*” to designate the “spoken

¹⁷⁸ Michele Ruggieri, *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu*, BNR, Ges.man. 72.b.333, f.1a.

¹⁷⁹ Matteo Ricci, *Al p.Martino de Fornari S.J.* [Macao, 13 febbraio 1583], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.45.

word” of Chinese.¹⁸⁰ In the *lingua*, except for the dialects (*lingue diversissime*) there were in China, Ricci had given attention to one particular *lingua* whose voice (*voce*) could be distinguished by four different tones (*quattro differentie de toni*) as he found. This knowledge was to be incorporated into the later dictionary he compiled, where he increased this number to five. In the *lettera*, “to write is rather to paint” (*il loro scrivere più tosto è pingere*), he reminds us of the notion Matteo Ricci had of comparing the Chinese language to Egyptian Hieroglyphics, which, he would rather intentionally distort than apply “correctly” in his *Xiguo jifa* (*Mnemotecnica occidentale*).

Initially, Matteo Ricci studied the Chinese language in a manner also practised by Michele Ruggieri, when Ricci was residing in Duanzhou 端州 [that is, Zhaoqing 肇慶].

其居端州幾十載，初時言語文字未通，苦心學習，按圖畫人物借人指點，漸曉語言，旁通文字。

He had been in Duanzhou for decades. At the beginning he did not know “spoken word” and “written word.” So he dedicated himself to learning them. By learning Chinese by drawing figures and objects, and under the instruction of masters, he came to know how to speak “spoken word” and to read “written word.”¹⁸¹

The aforementioned Li-zhi, who later changed his attitude toward Matteo Ricci from sympathy to suspicion, had also referred to the Italian Father’s study of the Chinese language in Zhaoqing,

He lived in the south and in Zhaoqing nearly two decades, reading every book of our nation, asking teachers to help him note the pronunciations and meanings of the words... so that now he is fluent in speaking and writing our language, and following our rituals.¹⁸²

Both *lingua* and *lettera*, two sides of the Chinese language, had been studied by Matteo Ricci. He would learn it better than his Neapolitan colleague, Michele Ruggieri, with his virtue and diligence, and also by learning the language more systematically.

¹⁸⁰ More examples can be found in many other places, see Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Girolamo Costa S.J.* [Pechino, 10 maggio 1605], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.397, and Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Claudio Acquaviva S.J.* [Pechino, 15 agosto 1606], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, pp.428-429; see also Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo II, Libro Terzo*, in *Della entrata*, p.202.

¹⁸¹ Giulio Aleni, *Da xi Li Xitai xiansheng xingji* 大西利西泰行跡 (Biography of Matteo Ricci), in BNF, Chinois 1015, f.3a.

¹⁸² Quoted from R.Po-Chia Hsia, *Translating Christianity: Counter-Reformation Europe and the Catholic Mission in China, 1580-1780*, p.95.

Matteo Ricci learned Chinese from Chinese masters. In a letter to Girolamo Costa, *S.J.*, of Siena, dated 12 October 1594, Matteo Ricci revealed to his native Father some information about his study of Chinese. He said that in that year (1594), for the first time in seven or eight years, he employed a Chinese master to help him in composition. He also received two lessons every day.¹⁸³ He must have learned this language more intensively than before, just as he did in Nanchang with João Soerio (1566-1607), a Portuguese Jesuit who had accompanied him to this city. This program of study for Chinese, synthesized in the *Diary* and letters of Matteo Ricci, could be considered useful for the whole Jesuit Order in China.

João Soerio was not given a course of Chinese by the Chinese teacher immediately. Instead, it was Matteo Ricci who read to him every day from the *Quattro Libri* (Four Books: the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Great Learning*, the *Analects* and the *Mencius*) and one of the *Cinque Dottrine* (Five Classics), the material used in Chinese schools.¹⁸⁴ But this didn't always happen. Sometimes, Chinese masters were responsible for the teaching of the *Four Books* and Ricci himself for one of the *Five Classics*, as could be seen when Matteo Ricci was instructing two Jesuits: Antonio Almeida (1557-1591) and Francesco de Petris (1562-1593) in Shaozhou. They heard one same *lingua* ("spoken words"). After *listening*, João Soerio was already familiar with a considerable number of *lingua*, so he could participate in the course of the Chinese master who was usually invited to the residences of the Jesuits in the city. Some youngsters from Macau also attended this course, which was held daily. Still, he took *Four Books* and *Five Classics* as text, reading to his students. Besides, he had taught them to write the *lettere* and to read the *lingue* as "udindo ai suoi naturali legerla e parlarla."¹⁸⁵ Matteo Ricci did not tell us how long this kind of study should last. Usually, the course was said to be completed when all the books were read to the learners.¹⁸⁶ Ricci spoke highly of this program. The composition in Chinese (for example of the catechism and other books) still had to be further studied, but it had become much easier.¹⁸⁷ Besides that, the study of Chinese served also to translate into Latin these *Four Books*, which comprised good philosophies and good moral documents, as ordered by Visitor Alessandro Valignano.¹⁸⁸

In sum, the study of the Chinese language was a first obstacle Jesuits had to cross. The said Soerio was concerned with Chinese language very much, even when he was ill.¹⁸⁹ With the aid of Chinese

¹⁸³ Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Girolamo Costa S.J.* [Shaozhou, 12 October, 1594], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.189.

¹⁸⁴ Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Claudio Acquaviva S.J.* [Shaozhou, 10 December, 1593], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.184.

¹⁸⁵ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo XIII*, Libro Terzo, in Matteo Ricci, *Della entrata*, p.260.

¹⁸⁶ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo VIII*, Libro Terzo, in Matteo Ricci, *Della entrata*, p.228.

¹⁸⁷ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo VIII*, Libro Terzo, in Matteo Ricci, *Della entrata*, p.228.

¹⁸⁸ Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Claudio Acquaviva S.J.* [Shaozhou, 10 December 1593], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.184.

¹⁸⁹ Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Claudio Acquaviva S.J.* [Dalla Cina, 18 Ottobre 1607], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.436.

teachers and Chinese Classics, Matteo Ricci and his colleagues, apart from the basic knowledge of the Chinese language they had accumulated for conversation, conversion, and composition, were allowed to write the most normal *lettere* and speak the most popular *lingua* at that time, that is, Mandarin. To speak it well, Matteo Ricci had the Chinese teachers note the pronunciations, but this did not function efficiently. There were traditionally two manners to help pronunciation: “read as” (直音, *zhiyin*) and “reverse-correspondence” (翻切/反切, *fanqie spelling*).¹⁹⁰ To take advantage of them, Jesuits had to have in mind previously a good number of Chinese character, which was just as difficult as learning pronunciation. And they could not rely upon the dictionaries compiled by the Chinese scholars, who often offered either “read as,” or “reverse-correspondence,” or sometimes both, in their dictionaries. They needed a newly devised dictionary and method.

We still have to remember the dictionary which Matteo Ricci had compiled, in collaboration with Lazzaro Cattaneo, who entered China in 1594, and the Chinese brother Zhong Ming-ren 鐘鳴仁, better known as Sebastian Fernandez (and called Bastiano by Matteo Ricci in his *Diary*), the son of a Chinese family who was educated at the schools of the Jesuits in Macau, while they were on their way to Nanjing in the winter of 1598 after having failed to put a new residence in the Capital of Beijing. The freezing of the Grand Canal (大運河, *dayunhe*) stopped them at Linqing 臨清 in the Shandong 山東 Province for a while. There, they compiled this dictionary.¹⁹¹ Afterwards, Matteo Ricci went back to Nanjing alone *per terra* with two other servicemen.¹⁹² Thereafter, this dictionary was compiled with no other Chinese assistance, except some Chinese religious men and possibly some Chinese servicemen. It was not designed for the Chinese. Unfortunately, this dictionary has not yet been found. About this dictionary and its formation, Matteo Ricci had a few words to say.

Non persero tempo i Padri in questo camino, nel quale per esser loro i più vecchi della Missione, et avere seco il fratello Bastiano, che sapeva molto bene la lingua della Cina, fecero un bello Vocabulario e messero in regola et ordine le cose di questa lingua, con che da lì avanti il doppio più facilmente si poteva imparare. Percioché advertirno che questa lingua, per esser composta di parole o lettere monosillabe, era

¹⁹⁰ “Read as” is to pronounce like a certain Chinese character which has the same pronunciation, and is the more common method; “reverse-correspondence” is to pronounce a certain Chinese character by using two other characters, each of which represent initial and final sounds respectively.

¹⁹¹ It is called Latin-Chinese dictionary in *Historia Sinarum Imperii*, ARSI., Jap.Sin.102, f.165b.

¹⁹² Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Girolamo Costa S.J.* [Nanchino, 14 agosto 1599], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.360; and Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo IV*, Libro Quarto, in *Della entrata*, p.289. It seems impossible that they edited this dictionary while they stayed in Shandong, for Matteo Ricci left for Nanjing almost with no stop at Linqing, see Note 1 and 4 in Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Girolamo Costa S.J.* [Nanchino, 14 agosto 1599], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.360.

molto necessario intendere e pronunciare l'accento e l'aspiratione, quando vi è, di ciascheduna delle parole; con la qual pronunciatione si distinguono et intendono molte lettere e parole che, senza questo, parevano esser l'istesse; che è quello che faceva questa lingua più difficile d'imparare. E, distinguendo bene le parole che sono aspirate, notorno cinque modi di accenti differenti; nel che agiutò molto il Padre Cattaneo che, con la musica che sapeva, gli osservava e distingueva assai meglio. Per questo stabilirno cinque varietà de accenti et un modo di haspiratione, che avevano tutti da usare nello scrivere il suono della lettera con nostre lettere; e come si aveva da scriver tutto, accioché tutti fussero uniformi, e comandò il Padre Matteo che questo si osservasse da qui avanti da tutti, e non scrivesse ogn'uno come gli pareva, al modo che sin'ora si faceva con grande confusione. Con il quale mode si poté comunicare questo et altri vocabolarij, che dipoi si facero, a tutti, et esser tutto molto ben inteso; e parhymente uno si poté servire de' scritti et annotatione de gli altri con molto frutto et utilità di questa scientia fra' nostri.¹⁹³

Without doubt, this dictionary had followed Ruggieri by making use of transliteration “per esser composta di parole o lettere monosyllable”, but was far more “beautiful.” Unlike Michele Ruggieri who, leaving aside the fact that he poorly pronounced Chinese *lingua*, did not differentiate the accent and the aspiration from one another, Matteo Ricci managed to solve this problem of differentiation. It seems that this dictionary tended to make clear the transliteration from Chinese to latinized letters. Specifically, Matteo Ricci and his colleagues established five varieties of accents and one mode of aspiration, all of which had been used in the transliteration, just as Matteo Ricci stated, “nello scrivere il suono della lettera con nostre lettere.” They built a very significant relationship between the *sound* of Chinese (*suono della lettera*) and *our* Latin letters, so that the focus of such *Latinization* was only on the *sound*. Until now, with a stable and regular order, the transmission of Chinese between “spoken word” (*lingua*) and “written word” (*lettera*) was accomplished. After, Matteo Ricci commanded that this dictionary, with its rules, should be followed by others who were about to make their own dictionaries (si poté comunicare questo et altri vocabolarij), inasmuch as the study of Chinese would benefit from it.

So far, this dictionary cannot be measured with others, because of its disappearance. But the rule had been strictly obeyed in later dictionaries, which were focused on transliteration between Chinese

¹⁹³ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo III*, Libro Quarto, in *Della entrata*, pp.287-288, and see Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesu: La Cina Terza parte dell'Asia*, Roma, 1663, p.307.

and other European languages, as shown by the succession of Matteo Ricci's *Xizi qiji* 西字奇跡 (1605) and Nicolas Trigault's *XREMZ* (1626).¹⁹⁴

The four-piece booklet *Xizi qiji* (Miracles in the Western Letters) was composed for Cheng Da-yue 程大約 (?), courteous name: You-bo 幼博), the famous contemporary ink production expert, when Ricci was living in Beijing. Cheng Da-yun had inserted it into his collection *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 (Ink Garden of Family Cheng) around the same year.¹⁹⁵ This text contains two manners of writing, Romanized letters staying on the right side, and their corresponding Chinese characters on the left. The whole booklet could be divided into two. The first three pieces narrate religious stories about the *Lord of Heaven* and his miracles in the world. And the second part, entitled “shu wen zeng You-bo Chengzi” 述文贈幼博程子 (Composition for Signor Cheng You-bo), is like a postscript, in which he distinguished *Lettere* (by using *wen* 文 “text”, *zi* 字 “word”, and even *shu* 書 “book” to express the same significance in *Lettere*) from *Lingue* in transferring the thought of ancient sages, preserving the civilization, coherently granting and executing the policy of the State. In a word, he gave superiority to the *Lettere* over the *Lingue*. After having praised the prosperity of Chinese civilization thanks to the unification of the *Lettere*, he explained “accidentally” the reason to compose the text,

程子聞敝邦素習文，而異庠之士且文者殊狀，欲得而諦觀之。

Signor Cheng finds our humble land accustomed to learning the *Lettere*. He has been surprised by scholars at schools and the *Lettere*, at which he hopes to have a look personally.¹⁹⁶

Matteo Ricci fulfilled this wish, but pointed out that the contribution of the *Lettere* to the civilization in “our humble land” was far less than that in China.¹⁹⁷ This was typical of the modest tone of the Jesuits. Matteo Ricci was showing that Western letters could have, just as the title suggested, the same function of narrating the miracle stories of the *Lord of Heaven* that the Chinese *characters* had. Finally, he tried

¹⁹⁴ According to Luo Chang-pei, the *XREMZ* was in common with *Xizi qiji* in many aspects, see Luo Chang-pei, *Yesuishi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian*, in Luo Chang-pei, p.258, p.271, p.274; and Chang Mark, SJ., *The Latin Phoneticization of Chinese Characters of Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault* (Chinese version), in *International Symposium on Chinese-Western Cultural Interchange in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of Matteo Ricci, S.J in China*, Taipei, 1983, September 11-16, pp.87-96. There were differences among them, see Luo Chang-pei, *Yesuishi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian*, in Luo Chang-pei, pp.273-274; and Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi*, pp.89-91.

¹⁹⁵ Matteo Ricci, *Xizi qiji*, in BAV, R.G.Oriental III 231 (12); the following quotation comes from *Mingmo luomazi zhuyin wenzhang* 明末羅馬字注音文章 (Latinized Texts in Late Ming China), Beijing: Wenzhi gaige chubanshe, 1957.

¹⁹⁶ *Mingmo luomazi zhuyin wenzhang*, p.28.

¹⁹⁷ See *Mingmo luomazi zhuyin wenzhang*, p.29.

to demonstrate a well-devised system of transliteration from Chinese to its form of Western letters more regularly. In this, he did not forget to refer to Lazzaro Cattaneo, his Italian-born companion who had helped to observe and distinguish five varieties of accents, and one mode of aspiration “far better” (*assai meglio*). Someone may have done the same work before his, but not as well as he did.¹⁹⁸

3.2 Lazzaro Cattaneo

The Italian Jesuit Cattaneo was born to a noble family in Sarzana, in northwestern Tuscany in 1560. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1581 and landed in Goa in 1589. Five years later, he arrived in Shaozhou, and settled there with Matteo Ricci. From then on, he might have begun dealing with the Chinese language and its study regularly under the supervision of Matteo Ricci and some Chinese masters. With regard to his achievement in this language, besides his work on the dictionary, Lazzaro Cattaneo might have composed other manuals in collaboration with Ricci, to help Westerners learn Chinese.¹⁹⁹ In *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu*, there was a *Vocabularium ordine alphabetico Europeo more concinnatum, & per accentus suos digestum* attributed to him, but it should be the same as the 1598 dictionary.²⁰⁰ Anyway, because of his musical skill, Cattaneo played a crucial role in the study of the Chinese language, which Nicolas Trigault would greatly appreciate. He repeated his work in the *XREMZ*, except that he wrote in Chinese,

音韻之學，旅人之土產；平仄之法，旅人之道聽。音韻敢吐平仄，願有請焉。何也？平仄清濁甚次，敝友利西泰，首至貴國，每以為苦。惟郭仰鳳精于樂法，頗能覺之。因而發我之蒙耳！

Learning of sounds and rhymes is the native science of the traveler (referring to Nicolas Trigault); whereas *ping-ze* 平仄 learning of five tones (the *ping* 平 (even) tones: *qingping* 清平 (clear-even) and *zhuoping* 濁平 (muddy-even); the *ze* 仄 (oblique) tones: *shang* 上 (rising), *qu* 去 (departing) and *ru* 入 (entering)) is done “in transit” (道聽, *daoting*). Why does the sound and rhyme learning work with *ping-ze* learning? My friend Li Xi-tai (Matteo Ricci), when he landed in China not long ago, had suffered

¹⁹⁸ Nicolas Trigault made mention of Ricci’s contribution, “qui tum a duobus antiquissimis Sociis institutus, reliqui hodieque observant, ...”, see Nicolas Trigault, *Caput Tertium*, Liber IV, in *De Christ.Exped.*, p.337. This phrase was not found in Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo III*, Libro Quarto, in *Della entrata*, p.288; and *FR*, II, pp.32-33. As “a compiler rather than an author”, Trigault was not impacted much by Matteo Ricci’s Romanization, when translating the *Diary*, see Theodore Nicholas Foss, *Nicholas Trigault, S.J. – Amanuensis or Propagandist: the Role of the Edition of Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, p.10, and pp.17-18.

¹⁹⁹ L.Pfister, *Notices Bio.et Biblio.*, p.56.

²⁰⁰ *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu*, in *ARSI*, Jap.Sin.I.193, f.7.

greatly of *ping-ze* learning. Only Guo Yang-feng (Lazzaro Cattaneo), because he was an expert in the study of musicology, was able to discern them. Thanks to him, I was inspired.²⁰¹

Due to the fact that *ping-ze* learning was Chinese, it was not easily understood. Trigault confirmed this statement, when someone asked him to clarify the notion of *ping* (even), *ze* (oblique), *qing* 清 (clear), *zhuo* 濁 (muddy) *shen* 甚 (sharp), *ci* 次 (round), *qing* 輕 (light) and *zhong* 重 (heavy),

輕重平仄清濁甚次，中華自幼學習，自然知之；旅人敝土未知，勉而學之，故勉而補之。

In China, *qing* (light), *zhong* (heavy), *ping* (even), *ze* (oblique), *qing* (clear), *zhuo* (muddy), *shen* (sharp), and *ci* (round) are taught at childhood and known by nature. But the traveler knew nothing of them in the humble land. So, he had to learn them, even reluctantly cramming.²⁰²

However, this learning was critical in learning the Chinese language as it removed the obstacle of the *fanqie* (or, *qiefa* 切法) *spelling*,

輕重平仄清濁，與甚次中，切法之闕揆，字學傢，必不可不精心者也。

Qing (light), *zhong* (heavy), *ping* (even), *ze* (oblique), *qing* (clear), *zhuo* (muddy) and *shen* (sharp), *ci* (round), *zhong* (middle), as a whole, are the key to move forward *qiefa* 切法 (the method of the *fanqie spelling*). All of the word learning scholars have to treat it carefully.²⁰³

Traditionally, China's *fanqie spelling* (see note 191) had accents and aspirations incorporated into the given two characters, so they did not need to be represented individually. But Jesuits' *fanqie spelling* was different, by separating accents and aspirations from the proper characters. It would facilitate the study of Chinese, in particular, the *lingua*, once *ping-ze* learning had been mastered. The sound of Chinese was Latinized, with the corresponding accent and aspiration (if there were any) added separately. Lazzaro Cattaneo answered intelligently the question Trigault had posed, "Why does the sound and rhyme learning work with *ping-ze* learning"? with such a contribution.

²⁰¹ Yysp, pp.144-145 (ff.48b-49a).

²⁰² Yysp, p.144 (f.48b).

²⁰³ Yysp, p.157 (f.55a). The importance of the tones in learning spoken Chinese, see also Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.260.

The relationship between Trigault's and Ricci's conception of the *zi* 字 (“written word”) and *yan* 言 (“spoken word”) remains to be discussed. The uniformity of the transliteration from the dictionary (1598) to the text *Xizi qiji* (1605), and then to the pre-existing *XREMZ*, ran through the course of the study of Chinese. Somehow, the dictionary of 1598 was a ripe fruit these Jesuits had reaped from many years of study. With it compiled, such an accomplishment could be studied by others. But this study did not rely on *lingue* and *lettere* equally. Although Matteo Ricci had dedicated himself to both sides when starting to learn Chinese, these dictionaries and scripts from Ruggieri to Ricci were still focused more on speech than on script. Even in Matteo Ricci it was easy to find such an imbalance. In 1589 when Matteo, with a Chinese interpreter who instead did not know any European language, decided to meet with Viceroy Liu Jie-zhai 劉節齋 (?), he was able to speak Chinese very well.²⁰⁴ In that period, Ricci had Chinese teachers who helped him compose in Chinese even after 1589.²⁰⁵ Moreover, Some Jesuits in China did not have a proper way to write Chinese. Diego de Pantoja (1571-1618), a Spanish Jesuit who embarked to Macau in 1599,²⁰⁶ was sent to assist Matteo Ricci in Nanjing one year later. From then on, he accompanied Matteo Ricci on his return to Beijing. On their way to the northern Capital, Pantoja had practiced conversation with a boy from Nanjing who spoke Mandarin well.²⁰⁷ Once, when they were residing in Beijing, Pantoja wished to present the Emperor of Ming China with a map, and a certain Doctor Paul had transcribed on it words of the vulgate into literate ones, “Paulus vero Doctor descriptiones factas lingua vulgari in linguam Literatam vertit.”²⁰⁸ He was unable to write China's *lettere* correctly.

Hereafter, the aforementioned 1621 rules addressed some issues concerning either the proper way of writing Chinese characters, or the correct way to teach baptismal names to converts to avoid mispronunciation.²⁰⁹ These rules should be demonstrated in the *ratio studiorum* for the study of the Chinese language which was designed under the direction of Manuel Dias the elder between 1622 and

²⁰⁴ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo I*, Libro Terzo, in *Della entrata*, p.192.

²⁰⁵ Matteo Ricci, *Al p.Girolamo Costa S.J.* [Shaozhou, 12 October 1594], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.189; *Al p.Nicolò Longobardo S.J.* [Pechino, 2 September 1602], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.369.

²⁰⁶ There are three dates about the arrival of Pantoja at Macau: 1) 1597, see in *DOMB*, p.116; 2) 1599, see L.Pfister, *Notices Bio.et Biblio.*, p.69; 3) while, Fang-hao said Pantoja presented himself in China in 1599, see *ZGTZ*, pp.139-146.

²⁰⁷ Matteo Ricci said this boy spoke “lingua Cina” well, see Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo XI*, Libro Quarto, in *Della entrata*, p.339; while, Trigault replaced “lingua Cina” with “Nanchinensis linguae”, see Nicolas Trigault, trans., *Caput Undecimum*, Liber IV, in *De Christiana Expeditione*, p.388.

²⁰⁸ *Historia Sinarum Imperii*, in ARSL., Jap.Sin.102. f.172

²⁰⁹ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, pp.74-75.

1624.²¹⁰ Here, I will not reiterate this study plan that they would give to the Jesuits in China, which has been richly illustrated by Liam Matthew Brockey and R. Po-Chia Hsia.²¹¹ To be sure, however, the Chinese language which, including both *lingue* and *lettere*, Dias the elder had decided to employ, had a high degree of uniformity and standardization. They would be even further balanced in future study. As a result, the policy that the China mission should pay greater attention to the conversation with the learned was to abided.

4. Western *literati* (plural) and the XREMZ

Apart from what we have mentioned above, we know almost nothing about the rest of the pre-existing XREMZ. But as a consequence of the Jesuit mission, it was inevitably expected to help the European users who were learning Chinese, and enable them to speak most standard *lingue* and write most standard *lettere* in their own way, for example, the way of speaking that we have found in the dictionary of 1583-1588, the 1598 dictionary and the *Xizi qiji* of 1605. It was another collective accomplishment these Jesuits, with the help of their Chinese friends and brethren.

Without doubt, Matteo Ricci, Diego de Pantoja, and Lazzaro Cattaneo, as three forerunners of the Jesuit mission in its early stage in China, played a crucial role. The building of the residences in Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Jiading 嘉定 was due to Cattaneo's industrious work. Apart from those two, the Spanish Father Diego de Pantoja, who was said to be a genius in the study of languages, had mastered Chinese in a short time. In Nanjing he also attended a course held by Lazzaro Cattaneo with the aim of regularizing the sound of the *Manichord*, a musical instrument. In a letter (1602) addressed to a certain Jesuit Luigi de Guzman, the *Provinciale nella Provincia di Toledo*, he voiced his opinion on Chinese,

Haveranno più di quaranta mila lettere diverse, ancorché molte di esse sono composte di altre lettere. Non hanno Alfabeto, nè cosa, che si gli assomigli, come tra noi; mà per significar ciascuna cosa, hanno una lettera diversa da tutte l'altre, & le parole sono d'una sillaba, & non più; ancorche le lettere sieno tante: & quelle che s'usano alla giornata, comunemente saranno da otto, ò dieci mila.²¹²

²¹⁰ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, pp.256-257.

²¹¹ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Learning the Language of Birds*, in *Journey to the East*, pp.243-286; and R.Po-Chia Hsia, *Language Acquisition and Missionary Strategies in China, 1580-1760*, in *Missions d'Évangélisation et circulation des saviors XVIIe – XVIIIe Siècle*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011, pp.211-229.

²¹² *Relazione dell'Entrata d'alcuni Padri della Compagnia di Gesu nella China*, Roma: MDCVII, p.60.

As concerns the first glance of a foreigner at this language, Pantoja remains consistent with others. To a larger degree, the understanding of Chinese, through writings, *the learning* “in transit” (*daoting*), and personal experience, pervaded the whole modern history of Europe. In this sense, the science knowledge Nicolas Trigault was presenting with the *XREMZ* was not as new as others, like the work he assumed in the emergence of the *XREMZ*. He presented himself as “*zhuanshu*” 撰述, a post pointing either to *Author*, or a person who transmits mainstream knowledge. He repeatedly answered the question “Why does the sound and rhyme learning work with *ping-ze* learning?” in his *XREMZ*. Thus, this present-day *XREMZ*, based on that pre-existing edition, which was produced by these Western innovators in China, was developed and its function remained essentially unchanged,

Compos em lingua Sinica hum livro intitulado *Si ju lm mo çu* pera ajuda dos Padres aprenderem mais facil as letras sinicas, repartido em tres tomos, a modo de vocabolario sinico.²¹³

In some ways, the *XREMZ* is transcribed as “*A help for the Ears and Eyes of the Western Literati*,” as many scholars had called it.²¹⁴

But Nicolas Trigault did much more. Doubtless, he was the author of the present-day *XREMZ*. With this book, he theorized such thinking that had been hidden in those variant dictionaries and texts, and gave publicity to this study of the Chinese language for outsiders, specifically, the possible readers of China, since they had been attracted by this learning. In the course of the production of the *XREMZ*, he and his Chinese colleagues had consulted many Chinese books.

Chapter III

Chinese Books and the Making of the *XREMZ*

²¹³ ARSI., Lus.58., f.272a.

²¹⁴ Giorgio Casacchia, *The Xi Ru Er Mu Zi by Nicolas Trigault: A Missed Opportunity to Have Dictionary Alphabetically Arranged in Ming China*, in *Ming Qing Yan Jiu*, 1994, pp.9-17. See also Tan Hui-ying’s translation “*An Audio-visual Aid to Western Scholars*”, in Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi*. Standaert’s “*An Aid to the Ears and the Eyes of Western Scholars*”, see Nicolas Standaert, *The Transmission of Renaissance culture in seventeenth-century China*, in *Renaissance Studies*, vol.17. 2003, pp.367-391, specially, p.381; L.Pfister also translated it into ‘*Aide yeux et oreilles pour les Européens*’, see L.Pfister, *Notices Bio.et Biblio.*, p.117. In BNR, the *XREMZ* (containing only *Lyyp* and *Lbzp*) was transcribed into “*Vocabolario della lingua Cinese ad uso dei Letterati Europei con pronuncia ed accenti*”, BNR, 72.C483.1 and 72.C483.2.

To create the *XREMZ*, Nicolas Trigault had read and consulted a good number of Chinese books. They are found in the whole *XREMZ*, and most of them are Chinese dictionaries, which are further classified into two sorts: the rhyme book (韻書, *yunshu*) and the character book (字書, *zishu*). Both deal with Chinese characters, but on different levels. The rhyme book, as the name indicates, identifies a given character by tones and rhymes. Usually, this type of dictionary uses the *fanqie spelling* to record the pronunciation of characters, while the character book is aimed at examining a given character by its components, especially by radicals (部首, *bushou*) and laterals (邊旁, *bianpang*). Besides these two types of dictionaries, Nicolas Trigault also mentioned Six Classics (六經, *liujing*) which pertained neither to rhyme book, nor to character book, but only to one historical expression, which, as we shall see later, was used by the Chinese scholars to decorate dictionary composition. These texts and notions, although most of them were attacked by Nicolas Trigault, had furnished him with a textual base to build the *XREMZ*.

Hence, this part intends, in analyzing these dictionaries and the notion of Six Classics, to illustrate which role they played in the making of the *XREMZ*. This includes what their relationship with *XREMZ* was and, finally, the perception of the *XREMZ* when these elements from the Chinese books were incorporated into it.

1. Rhyme Book (*yunshu*)

1.1 A Historical Introduction

Rhyme books refer to a series of books in which Chinese characters are listed according to the combination of initials, finals, and tones, in terms of the *fanqie spelling* (reverse-correspondence). Historically, the first rhyme book is attributed to Li-deng 李登's *Shenglei* 聲類 (Types of Sounds) of the Three Kingdom period (220-280). This book had characters grouped under the five notes of the ancient Chinese musical scale: *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵, *yu* 羽.²¹⁵ It did not survive, but was partially preserved in later rhyme books.²¹⁶ After it, there were Shen-yue 沈約 (441-513, courteous name: Xiu-wen 休文)'s *Sisheng pu* 四聲譜 (Libretto of Four Tones) and Liu Shan-jing 劉善經

²¹⁵ *Jiangshi zhuan* 江式傳 (Biography of Jiangshi), in *Weishu* 魏書 (History of Wei Dynasty), vol.91.

²¹⁶ See Xuehai chubanshe 學海出版社, ed., *Guyin gaishuo* 古音概說 (Introduction to Chinese language), Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1986, p.60.

(ca.610?)’s *Sisheng zhigui* 四聲指歸 (Lieu for Four Sounds). Shen-yue is the first man to have conceptualized four tones (四聲, *sisheng*) as *even* (*ping*), rising (*shang*), departing (*qu*), and entering (*ru*).²¹⁷ His work did not survive, but had an impact on *Qieyun* 切韻 (Cutting Rhymes) (601) and *Guangyun* 廣韻 (Broad Rhymes) (1008) two vital rhyme dictionaries.²¹⁸ The *Qieyun* was composed by the scholar Lu Fa-yan 陸法言 (?) with his eight friends of the Sui 隨 (581-618) Dynasty. It synthesized other circulating rhyme books and inserted characters into different groups according to their pronunciation by *fanqie spelling*. The structure of the whole book was devised according to four tones which would become a model for later composers.²¹⁹ For this reason, although it was not handed down, its vestiges were believed to have been used by composers of the Tang 唐 (618-907) Dynasty and of the Song 宋 (960-1279) Dynasty, who assimilated this influential book to their own.²²⁰ They were Sun-mian 孫愐’s *Tangyun* 唐韻 (Tang Rhymes)(751) and Chen Peng-nian 陳彭年 (961-1017) and Qiu-yong 邱雍’s *Guangyun*. These three rhyme dictionaries (*Qieyun*, *Tangyun* and *Guangyun*) were retained consistently alongside each other in many aspects, but differentiated ostensibly among themselves from the number of rhymes they contained. *Qieyun* had 193 rhymes, *Tangyun* had 195 rhymes, and *Guangyun* had up to 206 rhymes. The first two dictionaries were lost in the course of time, leaving only *Guangyun* to posterity. This dictionary retained the advantages of the previous rhyme books and was precise in dealing with rhymes. It was rendered as a sample for later editors. With it revised, there were *Jiyun* 集韻 (Collected Rhymes) (1039) and *Libu yunlue* 禮部韻略 (Rhymes of the Ritual Minister) (1037) produced under the direction of the chief editor Ding-du 丁度, both having 206 rhymes.

Starting from the late Song Dynasty, the edition of the rhyme book was not consistent in its number of rhymes. Han Dao-zhao 韓道昭 (1170-1230), the scholar from the Jin 金 (1115-1234) Dynasty, was the first man to have captured such tendency in his *Wuyin jiyun* 五音集韻 (Collected Rhymes in Five Sounds)(1212), in which he reduced the number of rhymes from 206 to 160, far fewer than ever before. After a short while, two scholars of Song China produced rhyme books; Wang Wen-yu 王文郁 edited the *Pingshui yunlue* 平水韻略 (1227), based on *Libu yunlue*; while Liu-yuan 劉淵 compiled the *Renzi*

²¹⁷ Translation of Four Tones, see William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (from now on *HOCP*), Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992, pp.33-34.

²¹⁸ See *Guyin gaishuo*, p.89.

²¹⁹ See *Guyin shuogai*, p.61.

²²⁰ See Lin-yin 林尹, *Zhongguo shengyunxue tonglun* 中國聲韻學通論 (Study on Chinese Phonology), Taipei: Liming wenhua, 2006, pp.23-24.

xinkan libu yunlue 壬子新刊禮部韻略 (1252). The former reduced the number of rhymes to 106, and the latter to 107. During the Yuan 元 (1271-1368) Dynasty, Huang Gong-shao 黃公紹 composed *Gujin yunhui* 古今韻會 (Rhymes Assemble)(?), which was soon lost, while Xiong-zhong 熊忠 composed *Gujin yunhui juyao* 古今韻會舉要 (1297), by revising *Gujin yunhui*. Both of them had 107 rhymes. All these books, comprising *Qieyun* and *Tangyun*, ended up in the *Guangyun/qieyun* system that employed the same model for grouping rhymes.²²¹ For this reason, this system enjoyed certain conservative characters and left out the pronunciations and rhymes, which was out of keeping with reality.²²²

In addition, the varied number of rhyme divisions suggests that the system was not so stable. It was influenced heavily by social transition, war, population migration, and national economic development. Rhymes were further assimilated and refined, so as to be closer to their pronunciation in reality.²²³ Such tendency was seen in Han Dao-zhao's *Wuyin jiyun* (Collected Rhymes in Five Sounds), as leading the rhyme book composition in a different direction, which also caused the collapse of the so-called *Guangyun/qieyun* system. Zhou De-qing 周德清 (1277-1365)'s *Zhongyuan yinyun* 中原音韻 (Sounds and Rhymes of the Central Plain) (1341) from the Yuan Dynasty and Luo Shao-feng 樂韶鳳's *Hongwu zhengyun* (Authentic Rhymes of the Hongwu Reign), of the Ming Dynasty, are two most celebrated examples in reaction to such changes. The former contains 19 rhymes, with no four tones assigned, and the latter 76 rhymes. In *Zhongyuan yinyun*, all the characters were grouped by Zhou De-qing into these 19 rhymes, then further into four tones: *light-even* (陽平, *yangping*), *heavy-even* (陰平, *yinping*), *rising* and *departing*. The onset of each rhyme-tonal group is a common character, for example, Dong 東 (east), inserted into the first rhyme-tonal [uŋ] rhyme, with *heavy-even tone*; a homophonic group, which was supposed to be known by the learners and which also leads this group. With the use of “read as”; another manner of making sound by knowing the sound of a character that rests on another much commonly used character, the *fanqie spelling* was abandoned. Although the *Zhongyuan yinyun* was not well received by later compilers, it held a great influence as a response to the change of the Chinese

²²¹ See Xie Yun-fei 謝雲飛, *Zhongguo shengyunxue dagang* 中國聲韻學大綱 (Chinese Phonology), Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1995, p.130.

²²² See *Guyin shuogai*, p.68.

²²³ See *Guyin shuogai*, pp.87-92.

language, even in the Qing Dynasty.²²⁴ By implication, the change was still prevailing when the *XREMZ* was produced.

Of course, everyone should have their own opinion of how many rhymes there are. But Nicolas Trigault was not content with the three rhyme books *Hongwu zhengyun*, *Dengyun* 等韻 and *Shenyun* 沈韻, which, as we will see later, had many errors in the knowledge of the rhymes, in particular their number. He stated,

若字學，自然有一定之數者，理也。豈容任意增減哉？

As far as the word learning (*zixue*) was concerned, the number [of rhymes] is definitive. It is the law. How can it be enlarged or diminished arbitrarily?²²⁵

In these books, this law was not respected at all.

三韻之母，彼餘此乏。

The number of rhymes [in them], either superfluous or insufficient, is constantly inconsistent.²²⁶

The different backgrounds of these books reflected the various periods of the Chinese language in history. On the other hand, however, the criticism of Nicolas Trigault of the Chinese rhyme books with the aim of finding an infallible single one, mirrored his opinion of the rhyme book at that time.

1.2 *Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻 and *Yunhui xiaobu* 韻會小補

1.2.1 *Hongwu zhengyun*

The sixteen-volume *Hongwu Zhengyun* (Authentic Rhymes of the Hongwu Reign) was compiled by Luo Shao-feng 樂韶鳳 (?-1380), Song-lian 宋濂 (1310-1381) and other scholars, under the order of Zhu Yuan-zhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398), the founder of the Ming (1368-1644) Dynasty. They absorbed some rhymes into others, and their number was reduced from 206 to 76. Counting on Mao-Huang 毛晃

²²⁴ See Zhao Yin-tang, *Zhongyuan yinyun yanjiu* 中原音韻研究 (Studies on the *Zhongyuan yinyun*), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936, vol.1.

²²⁵ See Yysp, p.219 (f.86a). Here, the word learning is one of most significant concepts, linked closely with the method to study language.

²²⁶ See Yysp, p.128 (f.40b).

and Mao Ju-zheng 毛居正's *Zengxiu huzhu libu yunlue* 增修互注禮部韻略 (1223) and other rhyme books, they built a word stock by gathering 12,245 characters with their pronunciations and explanations. These characters, as a whole, were grouped into the proper homophonic column, first according to four tones and then the rhymes. Being a State-sponsored dictionary, the editors hoped to introduce it as a pattern at the national level, with the Chinese sounds made uniform under the “*Elegant Sound of the Central Plain of China*” (壹以中原雅音為定, *yiyi zhongyuan yayin weiding*), and opposed to the so-called pervading *Wu-dialects* (吳音, *wuyin*) spoken primarily in most parts of Zhejiang, the whole Shanghai 上海, southern Jiangsu and the west of Jiangxi 江西 (see map 3: “*The Wu Dialects*”).²²⁷ But the following view is false: that the sound of the *Hongwu zhengyun* is “*Elegant Sound of the Central Plain of China*.” In my opinion, it is no more than a standard political slogan. In this imperial dictionary, no accent from the Central Plain of China was heard.²²⁸ As some research shows, the so-called standard sound is closer to the Nanjing dialect pertaining, ironically, to the *Wu-dialects*.²²⁹ Worse still, because of the numerous errors, this dictionary was not diffused throughout the whole Ming Dynasty. After it was published, another *Hongwu tongyun* 洪武通韻 was composed to deal with the errors in it, under the order of the same Emperor. Even at the end of the Ming Dynasty, a scholar called Yang Shi-wei 楊時偉 composed one *Zhengyun jian* 正韻賤 (1631) out of the same motive.²³⁰ All of them failed to render the *Hongwu zhengyun* acceptable among the circle of the learned. Despite this, Nicolas Trigault considered it “a book that can be commonly read all over the world.”²³¹ So, it was made the most reliable Chinese dictionary in the *XREMZ*.

The *Hongwu zhengyun*, sometimes called *Zhengyun* 正韻 by Nicolas Trigault, is discussed twice by him. It was first mentioned when Trigault was deploring these rhyme books, because of their varied number of rhymes. But *Zhengyun* was less condemned compared with the other two rhyme books for the following reasons: firstly, the *Zhengyun* does much better in the number of rhymes.

²²⁷ The geographical confines of the Wu-Dialects, see Chao Yuen Ren 趙元任, *Contrasting Aspect of the Wu Dialects*, in Chao Yuen Ren: *Aspects of Chinese Socio-linguistics*, California: Stanford University Press, 1978, pp.34-47.

²²⁸ See Wang-li 王力, *Zhonghua yinyunxue* 中華音韻學 (Chinese Phonology), Taipei: Taishun shuju, (first edition 1934), pp.508-510. But the *Guyin shuogai* is of a different opinion, see Guyin gaishuo, pp.89-90.

²²⁹ Zhao Yin-tang, *Zhongyuan yinyun yanjiu*, pp.26-28.

²³⁰ Review of *Hongwu zhengyun* and of Yang Shi-wei's *Zhenyunjian* 正韻賤, see SKZM, vol.42, pp.563-564 and vol.44, p.593. See also Ye Ming-li 葉名澧, *Qiaoxi zaji* 橋西雜記 (Accounts of the West Bridge), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, pp.47-48.

²³¹ The original text is “天下通用之書也”, *Yyyp*, p.251 (f.102a).

正韻平上去入，俱有母，則其母雖少于沈，等二韻，但其少，勝於乏者。況全于他韻之餘乎。故余常曰：定母，不在多寡，在中而已。

In *Zhengyun* four tones: *even*, *rising*, *departing* and *entering*, are assigned to the proper rhymes. The number of rhymes in [*Zhengyun*] is less than that of *Shenyun* and *Dengyun*. But as the saying goes, less is better than nothing. In fact, its rhymes are more complete. So I say: the number of rhymes is not as great as it should be, but is sufficient.²³²

This method of the *Zhengyun* of amalgamating some rhymes, thereby reducing the number of rhymes in sum, was well received by Nicolas Trigault, since it would much facilitate the user in taking advantage of the Chinese dictionary.

In addition, the way that the *Zhengyun* dealt with the rhymes had won Trigault's confidence. In discussing the rhyme 支 (*zhi*) [-i], which could be found both in the *Zhengyun* and the *Shenyun* (while in the *Dengyun* it was replaced with another rhyme 脂 (*zhi*)), Trigault pointed out that both 支 (*zhi*) and 脂 (*zhi*) were not considered as rhyme, but just *zizi* 字子 (son word, that is, *syllable*). All three rhyme books were wrong, among them the *Dengyun* was the worst, for it had changed the rhyme system irregularly, without any consideration for the ancient custom. Consequently, he praised the work of the *Zhengyun* which followed the ancient custom. Finally, he proclaimed, "Today I have reformed the ancient rhymes, but out of the same reason."²³³ In fact, the exaltation of the *Hongwu zhengyun* as imitating the ancient system was not initiated by Trigault. The Chinese editors of the *Zhengyun* had already boasted of themselves in the same tone.²³⁴ Their statement is somewhat exaggerated, however. The history of Chinese can be divided into three phases in the course of its evolution: *Shangguinyin* 上古音 (Old Chinese), *Zhongguinyin* 中古音 (Middle Chinese) and *Jindaiyin* 近代音 (Modern Chinese) (ca.13rd Century – 20th Century).²³⁵ What the Chinese editors were proclaiming belongs to Modern Chinese. In the same way, Nicolas Trigault's book was sharing one meeting point with the State-sponsored book.

²³² Yysp, p.228 (f.90b), and see also Yysp, p.128 (f.40b).

²³³ The original text is "今愚所改於古者，亦然", see Yysp, pp.230-231 (ff.91b-92a).

²³⁴ Song-lian, *Preface to the Hongwu zhengyun* (SKCM, v1:207), f.4a.

²³⁵ See *Guyin gaishuo*, p.87. Baxter divided the history of Chinese into four periods: Old Chinese, Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Old Mandarin, see *HOCP*, pp.14-15. Both divisions have inserted *Hongwu zhengyun* into the phase of Old Mandarin(/Modern Chinese).

The second time that Nicolas Trigault spoke of the *Hongwu zhengyun* was when he found some advantages in the Chinese rhyme books. He said,

[音韻諸卷]雖無多字，而詰訓寬，故音韻諸卷，不可廢。

Despite the fact that [in those rhyme books] there are not many characters, they are apt for explanation and pronunciation. For this, they cannot be discarded.²³⁶

He, therefore, had some of them inserted into the *Yysp*. They are *Zhengyun*, *Yunhui xiaobu* 韻會小補 and *Shenyun*. About the role of the *Zhengyun* in the *XREMZ*, he explicated thus,

邊正后譜，字字有數，乃指卷卷張張之幾。數者有二，上數在中字之下者，指洪武正韻而言，下數在西字之下者，指韻會小補而言。每數一方之內，又有二。右者指卷，左者指張。

The end of the *Lbzp* carries a word stock of *Chinese words*.²³⁷ Beneath every character are two groups of numbers, belonging to the number of the volume, and the pagination [in this volume], separately. The upper group under the Chinese character complies with that of the *Hongwu zhengyun*; while the lower under the Latinized letters refers to that of the *Yunhui xiaobu*. Each group comprises two numbers. The number on the right side indicates that the Character will be found in this volume, while the number on the left indicates the pagination [in the given volume].²³⁸

Being an Imperial dictionary,²³⁹ Nicolas Trigault was content with incorporating it into the *XREMZ*, taking it as word stock with another Chinese dictionary *Yunhui xiaobu*. The learner could find out the explanation and pronunciation of each Chinese character in a manner which had been familiar with the Chinese learners.²⁴⁰

1.2.2 *Yunhui xiaobu*

²³⁶ *Yysp*, p.251 (f.102a).

²³⁷ As we will see, concept “Chinese Word” contains two writing manners: in form of Chinese and in form of Latinized letters.

²³⁸ *Yysp*, p.251 (f.102a).

²³⁹ The authority of the *Hongwu zhengyun* was not so absolute. Lv-kun 呂坤 (1536-1618) was a different opinion on some pronunciations in *Hongwu zhengyun*, but was not ready to correct them. Instead, he followed “what the readers wanted.” (聽讀者之所從耳), see *Fanli* 凡例 (*Sample*), in *Jiaotai yun* (*XSK*, vol.251), p.474. As an official dictionary, the authority of the *Hongwu zhengyun* is recognized commonly in society, even though there is a sea of errors in it.

²⁴⁰ With this arrangement, Trigault hoped the people would take advantage of two ways of pronunciation: “read as” (*zhiyin*) and “reverse-correspondence” (*fanqie*) applied in the *Hongwu zhengyun* and *Yunhui xiaobu*, see *Yysp*, p.254 (f.103b).

The thirty-volume *Gujin yunhui juyao xiaopu* 古今韻會舉要小補, abbreviated to *Yunhui xiaobu*, was composed by Fang Ri-sheng 方日昇 in 1606, on the basis of *Gujin yunhui*.²⁴¹ Ri-sheng re-examined 12,652 characters that the old *Gujin yunhui* had collected. Besides, he also dealt with the pronunciations and explanations, and added new ones.²⁴² Therefore, the text was remarkably enlarged. Nicolas Trigault spoke highly of this dictionary,

韻會小補者,譯義較諸家獨詳。旅人寶之,以發我蒙, [...] 余嘗謂其書, 稱為大全, 可矣。

With more details, *Yunhui xiaobu* is better at explanation than the rest of the similar sort. The traveler (referring to Nicolas Trigault) cherishes it, for it has enlightened his Chinese study. [...] Once, I asserted that it is really a grand and comprehensive book.²⁴³

The point of value is the distinction between the *Yunhui xiaobu* and other rhyme books. He found the former far better. For this reason, he took it as another word stock. But the sound of each word in this dictionary was given a Latinized letter as the pronunciation by Nicolas Trigault. This setting was for the usage of Westerners, while he also believed that the Chinese would profit from it, as long as they became informed of the Western words (Latinized Chinese characters).²⁴⁴ Even so, the Chinese cooperator did not stop questioning the application of this *Yunhui xiaobu*,

韻會小補, 人多未知, 指之何用?

Almost nobody knows *Yunhui xiaobu*. Why do you put it here?²⁴⁵

In his opinion, this Chinese dictionary was not fit to be placed here, because of its unpopularity. Trigault answered the question by providing a solution with the help of *Shenyun* 沈韻 books, a series of rhyme books composed according to the rhymes of Shen-yue (441-513). As Trigault observed, almost all these rhyme books employed the same system to arrange and distribute the rhymes. Thus, the pagination of every volume and folio in all the *Shenyun* rhyme books is consistent with the others. This

²⁴¹ See Li Wei-zhen 李維楨, *Preface to the Yunhui xiaobu*, in the *Gujin yunhui juyao xiaopu* (*SKCM*, vol.212). Song Bo-yin had mistaken *Yunhui xiaobu* for *Gujin yunhui juyao* 古今韻會舉要 (Illustration of Rhymes), another Chinese rhyme book in 1297, see Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.42, note 2. Even it has been wrongly transcribed as *Yunhui xiaopu* 韻會小譜, see *Lbzp*, p.8 (f.4b).

²⁴² *SKZM*, vol.44, p.597.

²⁴³ *Yysp*, p.251 (f.102a).

²⁴⁴ *Yysp*, p.254 (f.103b).

²⁴⁵ *Yysp*, p.252 (f.102b) and p.269 (f.111a).

Yunhui xiaobu was done by the rhymes of Shen-yue. So, if you locate the position of one given character in this book, you will find it in the same place in other *Shenyun* rhyme books. Hence, Trigault designed one *Yunhui xiaobu zimu mulu* 韻會小補字母目錄 (*Rhyming Index of Yunhui xiaobu*) in which every rhyme had been placed in the relative volume with the position indicated. With this, users who do not possess the *Yunhui xiaobu* are able to look for Chinese characters with one of the *Shenyun* rhyme books, which were more diffuse at that time.²⁴⁶

But this solution was not perfect. Trigault was not aware of one fact; that not all the cognate dictionaries arranged the rhymes in a uniform manner. *Yunjing* 韻經 (Rhyming Libretto), a book fabricated from the Ming Dynasty, and attributed to Shen-yue, contains only 106 rhymes, one less than the *Yunhui xiaobu*.²⁴⁷ Even the order of the rhymes is inconsistent. In fact, errors are seen everywhere in the *Yunhui xiaobu*.²⁴⁸ All in all, one comes to the conclusion that this Chinese rhyme book is not as perfect as Trigault had imagined. And yet, Trigault had it inserted into his *XREMZ*, thanks to its extensive pronunciations and explanations.

1.3 *Shenyun* 沈韻 and *Dengyun* 等韻

The *Shenyun* and *Dengyun* are two rhyme books often attacked by Nicolas Trigault. But the expression *Shenyun* here does not refer to one specific rhyme book, but points to a group of rhyme books, which, in the eyes of Nicolas Trigault, were not different. First of all, they are in agreement with the model for arranging rhymes,

沈韻諸卷，母母俱同。

All rhymes in each volume of *Shenyun* rhyme books are displayed in a similar manner.²⁴⁹

Secondly, all of them comprise the same number of rhymes. In discussing the number of rhymes in these three rhyme books, he announced,

正韻總計七十有六，沈韻眾書，有一百零七，等韻一百六十。

The number of rhymes is 76 in *Zhengyun*, it is 107 in these *Shenyun* rhyme books, and it is 160 in *Dengyun*.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ See Yysp, pp.266-270 (ff.109b-110b).

²⁴⁷ See SKZM, vol.44, pp.591-592, and *Yunjing* (SKCM, v.1.:206), pp.1-47.

²⁴⁸ “*Gujin yunhui juyao xiaobu*”, in SKZM, vol.42, p.562.

²⁴⁹ Yysp, p.252 (f.102b).

The *Shenyun* contains 107 rhymes, while the *Dengyun* containing 160. With these, almost both sorts of rhyme book are under attack by Trigault. He even stated that these rhyme books are not so consistent with each other.

1.3.1 *Shenyun*

The expression “*Shenyun*” is a bit ambiguous. It is related to Shen-yue, who first composed the *Sisheng pu* (Libretto of Four Tones), and other writings regarding rhyming knowledge. As usual, he is believed to be the first man to have named four tones.²⁵¹ Unfortunately, this book was not found as early as in the Sui (581-618) Dynasty.²⁵² Therefore, it is hard to learn about how many rhymes it contained. But as mentioned elsewhere, the *Guangyun/qieyun* system of the earlier phase increased the number of rhymes from 193 to 206.²⁵³ For this reason, the *Guangyun/qieyun* system at times was defined as the *Shenyun* system.²⁵⁴ In contrast with them, the *Shenyun* rhyme book discussed by Nicolas Trigault had only 107, far less than what the *Shenyue* system should have. It is likely that Trigault was investigating another series of rhyme books which did not pertain to the *Shenyun* system. So, the *Shenyun* in the *XREMZ* comes much later, because the number of rhymes had been greatly reduced.

Again, we look back on Liu-yuan’s *Renzixinkan libu yunlue*, which was rearranged in light of the rhymes of *Shenyun*, but consisted only of 107 rhymes. Liu-yuan distributed them to four tones: 30 rhymes were left for the *even* tone, 30 rhymes for the *rising* tone, 30 rhymes for the *departing* tone, and the remaining 17 being left for the *entering* tone. Later, some scholars synthesized two rhymes, both belonging to the *rising* tone, as one, and diminished the total number to 106. This sort of rhyme book was outlined as *Pingshui Rhyme* 平水韻, because Liu-yuan was from Pingshui 平水, a city located in Shanxi Province.²⁵⁵ If we can compare it with the rhyme distribution that the *XREMZ* adopted, there is no difference between the two books. The book discussed by Trigault, to be sure, was one of the *Pingshui* rhyming books. Like most other rhyme books, Liu-yuan’s book did not survive. But it was incorporated into another, for example, into *Gujin yunhui*. These *Pingshui* rhyming books, as reference for the Civil Examination, were very popular with Chinese learners. There was opportunity for Nicolas

²⁵⁰ See Yysp, p.126 (f.39b), p.127 (f.40a).

²⁵¹ See Yao Zhen-li 姚振黎, *Shenyue jiqi xueshu tanjiu* 沈約及其學術探究 (Shenyue and His Study), Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1989, pp.186-194; and *HOCP*, p.303.

²⁵² *SKZM*, pp.591-592.

²⁵³ Xie Yun-fei, *Zhongguo shengyunxue dagang*, p.130.

²⁵⁴ See *Guyin gaishuo*, p.89.

²⁵⁵ See *Guyin gaishuo*, p.67.

Trigault and his European brethren to come into contact with these books, because most of their Chinese friends took part in this Civil Examination. As usual, this rhyme system, because of the sharp social transition, had been out of touch with reality, and was being criticized by the scholars.²⁵⁶ So, when Nicolas Trigault was criticizing the *Pingshui* rhyming books (or *Shenyun* rhyme books), his Chinese peers, who were armed with the spirit of the Practical Learning (*shixue*), could respond to him positively.

1.3.2 *Dengyun*

By “*Dengyun*,” I mean a study of rhymes, which is called in Chinese *Dengyun xue* 等韻學 (Study of the Rhyme Division). The core of this study is on a number of rhyme-tables. For this, Zhao Yin-tang even named it *yinbiao* 音表 (Table of Sounds) with the aim of seeking the sounds of the Chinese characters in light of the *fanqie* spelling.²⁵⁷ These *tables*, grouped together, result in new dictionary types which are called *Dengyun tu* 等韻圖 (Table of Divisions and Rhymes, from now on rhyme-table), or, to be brief, *Dengyun*. They concentrate on sounds and rhymes, but are much more complicated. One of the earliest rhyme-tables is *Yunjing* 韻鏡 (Mirror of Rhymes) (1161), which also provided a model (see fig. 1) for late learners. Each *table* is a chart or *turn* (轉, *zhuan*).²⁵⁸ In a particular chart, there are variant sections to work out a sound. Within the first chart of the Dong 東 rhyme, and *Mirror of Rhymes*, Chinese characters *dong* 東, *dong* 董, *song* 送 and *wu* 屋 are placed in a row corresponding to the rhyme [-uŋ] and [-uk] (for *wu* 屋 only) or final. Another 36 characters (usually called *zimu* 字母 “mothers of characters” and consonants in the Chinese rhyme books), corresponding to the initials, are further grouped into twenty-three columns, and inserted into seven sections according to seven voices (七音, *qiyin*, referring to the initials). The sound, for example, *feng* 風 (wind), is heard when the *fei* 非 (in this case the “*f*” is initial) contacts the *dong* 東 (in this case the “*ong*” is final) in light of the *fanqie* spelling. Because the voice of the initial and the tone of the final are self-acting, the production of each sound possesses voice and tone automatically. Subsequently, all the sounds are distributed to into four sects, according to four tones. Each sect is further subdivided into four rows, that is, four divisions (四等, *sideng*). “division” (等, *deng*) is a nuclear factor, which is decided according to medial (介音, *jieyin*:

²⁵⁶ Zhao Yin-tang, *Zhongyuan yinyun yanjiu*, p.1.

²⁵⁷ Zhao Yin-tang, *Dengyun yuanliu*, p.1.

²⁵⁸ Term “Turn” and its translation, see *HOCP*, p.42.

[i], [u],[ü]) among them.²⁵⁹ Finally, each particular character is put in one fixed cell. Meanwhile, a certain number of cells remains blank, which suggests the *fanqie spelling* does not give birth to a sound which corresponds to a definite character.

It requires a bit of patience to learn that these characters in the “cells” cannot be considered Chinese characters, but sounds which are in the form of Chinese characters. Usually, this sound is the onset of homophones. In order to simplify the usage of the rhyme-table, Chinese designers had already collected all the characters which contain the same rhyme, regardless of other more subtle distinctions. This sort of rhyme forms one category of rhymes (韻類, *yunlei*), which is submitted to one leading rhyme, defined in Chinese as “*yunshe*” 韻攝.²⁶⁰ One leading rhyme constitutes one table or two, and all of them, including the whole Categories of Rhymes, give birth to a complete *Table of Divisions and Rhymes*. Its dimension, that is, the number of the rhyme-table, is not stable in history because of the inconsistent number of finals and initials.

The rhyme-table is thought to have originated in the late Tang Dynasty, alongside the rise of Buddhism in China. During the Song Dynasty, its compilation reached its prosperity. The *Sisheng dengzi* 四聲等子 (Rhymes in Four Tones) (ca.997-1126); Zheng-qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162)’s *Qiyin lue* 七音略 (Summary of the Seven Voices) (before 1161); the aforementioned *Yunjing* (Mirror of Rhymes) (1161); *Qieyun zhizhangtu* 切韻指掌圖 (Cutting Rhymes in the Palm) (ca.1176-ca.1203) are the best known. Generally speaking, the rhyme-table was always developing in parallel with the development of the *Guangyun/qieyun* system, so much for the number of rhymes it handled.²⁶¹ The design of the rhyme-table began its second phase in the Yuan Dynasty. Unlike the previous period where the rhyme books of the *Guangyun/qieyun* system were heavily employed, *Zhongyuan yinyun* and *Hongwu zhengyun* were preferred in this era.²⁶² Between these two periods, there was also Liu-jian 劉鑑’s *Jingshizhengyin qieyun zhinan* 經史正音切韻指南 (1336), which was made by reference to Han Dao-zhao’s *Wuyin jinyun* (Collected Rhymes in Five Sounds), as a reaction to the transition of the Chinese language. This rhyme-table contained also 160 rhymes, as many as in Han Dao-zhao’s rhyme book.

But like the closing of the rhyme books, the rhyme-table in the course of time appeared old-fashioned, as a result of either great reliance on the former, or the rapid transformation of the Chinese

²⁵⁹ Wang-li, *Zhonghua yinyun xue*, pp.84-86.

²⁶⁰ Wang-li, *Zhonghua yinyun xue*, pp.101-102. As a variant rhyme-table shows us, the leading rhyme does not always comprise all the same kind of rhymes, see Wang-li, *Zhonghua yinyun xue*, p.104.

²⁶¹ See Zhao Yin-tang, *Dengyun yuanliu*, p.119.

²⁶² Zhao Yin-tang, *Dengyun yanjiu*, p.119.

language. No additional elements were used to reform them, but only more and more rules which were created as a remedy for the problems resulting from social transition.²⁶³ To change this situation, scholars from the Ming Dynasty began to seek a better solution for the rhyme-table.

Trigault's rhyme-table comprises 160 rhymes, which are further divided into four groups. 44 rhymes were distributed to the *even* tone, 43 to the *rising* tone, **46** to the *departing* tone, and 26 rhymes being to the *entering* tone.²⁶⁴ But in total, the number of rhymes is 159, different from 160 as Trigault himself claimed. We know both *Wuyin jiyun* (Collected Rhymes in Five Sounds) and *Jingshizhengyin qieyun zhinan* contain 160 rhymes: 44 rhymes pertain to the tone *even*, 43 to the tone *rising*, **47** to the tone *departing*, and 26 pertaining to the tone *entering*. In analogy with them, Trigault might have mistaken 47 rhymes of the tone *departing* as 46. This small error, however, does not prevent us from concluding that the rhyme-table, like these mentioned above, had lost contact with reality, so far as the sharp social transition was concerned.

Furthermore, speaking of the rhyme-table, Trigault found some much more serious errors. Traditionally, these initials in the Chinese rhyme books are defined as mothers of characters (字母, *zimu*). However, for Trigault, this concept was indicated for *final*; he therefore used *zifu* 字父 (“father words”) to describe the *initials*. Thus, the mother of characters (*initials* in the Chinese rhyme books) cannot work with the real *zimu* 字母 (*finals* in the *XREMZ*), for two mothers cannot give birth to one word *zizi* 字子 (“son word”). It was a matter that violated not only the “natural truth” (自然之理, *ziran zhili*), but also the question of traditional family values.²⁶⁵ Acting as reformist to the Chinese rhyme books, Trigault was very sure that his proposal could remove any defects, by replacing the traditional rhymes with Western symbols, for instance, Latin letters. One can find something similar to the reformation of the rhyme book, *Jiaotai yun* 交泰韻 (1603) written by Lv-kun 呂坤 (1536-1618), who was planning to reform the rhyme-table but failed. These problems for which Lv-kun was seeking a solution, in the opinion of Zhao Yin-tang, could only be resolved by the modern *fanqie* spelling, namely, *pinyin* 拼音, one kind of system to transcribe the sound of Chinese into Latin script.²⁶⁶ In this respect, Nicolas Trigault was echoed by other Chinese scholars, but he was successful where they had not been.

²⁶³ See Xie Yun-fei, *Zhongguo shengyunxue dagang*, p.188, Zhao Yin-tang, *Dengyun yuanliu*, p.131. Lin-yin attributes this problem to people who do not properly understand rhymes and the related knowledge, see Lin-yin, *Zhongguo shengyunxue tongyun*, pp.126-127.

²⁶⁴ See Yysp, p.222 (f.87b).

²⁶⁵ See Yysp, p.136 (f.44b), p.139 (f.46a).

²⁶⁶ See Zhao Yin-tang, *Dengyun yuanliu*, pp.131-139.

1.4 Other Rhyme Books in the *XREMZ*

In discussing the knowledge of the rhymes and sounds, Nicolas Trigault had mentioned other rhyme books, some of which are not recognized.

The first book he mentioned was about tones. When a Chinese asked Trigault if the sub-tones of the *even* tone: *shangping* 上平 (up-even) and *xiaping* 下平 (down-even) in the Chinese rhyme books could correspond separately to *qing* 清 (voiceless) and *zhuo* 濁 (voiced) in the *XREMZ*, Nicolas Trigault answered: “No!” He explained that the *even* tone was divided in the Chinese rhyme books into *shang* 上 (up) and *xia* 下 (down) because this tone comprised too many characters to be put in one single volume. These *shang* 上 (up) and *xia* 下 (down) refer correspondingly to “volume 1” and “volume 2.”²⁶⁷ But there was an exception, as he affirmed,

余曾見有一書，分稱陰陽者，則與清濁之義相合也。

I once read a book. It used *dark* (陰, *yin*) and *light* (陽, *yang*) [to represent *down-even* tone and *up-even* tone], two of which are identical with the *voiceless* tone and the *voiced* tone.²⁶⁸

As usual, however, *voiceless* and *voiced* in the Chinese rhyme books are for the *initials*. But Nicolas Trigault had distributed them to two sub-tones of the *even* tone, thus linking them to the *finals*.²⁶⁹ As a matter of fact, in the *Zhongyuan yinyun*, Zhou De-qing had used *dark* and *light* to comply with two sub-tones of the tone *even*: *down-even* and *up-even*. Besides, he also criticized his contemporaries who had mistaken *shang* 上 (up) and *xia* 下 (down) as referring to “volume 1” and “volume 2.”²⁷⁰ Maybe Trigault had read the book of *Zhongyuan yinyun*, as we will see. More importantly, Trigault had equated his concept of *voiceless* and *voiced*, as a group, with the concept of *dark* and *light*, as another group in this Chinese rhyme book. With this, both groups were used by Nicolas Trigault to describe the *finals*. In other words, difference remained only superficially.

²⁶⁷ In Bi Gongchen 畢拱辰’s *Yunlue huitong* 韻略匯通 (ca.1642), he perceived *shangping* 上平 and *xiaping* 下平 as “Yin 陰” and “Yang 陽”, see Zhao Yin-tang, *Zhongyuanyinyun yanjiu*, p.72

²⁶⁸ Yysp, p.149 (f.51a).

²⁶⁹ See Yysp, p.149 (f.51a). see Wang-li, *Zhonghua, yinyun xue*, pp.62-65.

²⁷⁰ Zhou De-qing, *Preface*, in *Zhongyuan yinyun*, pp.13-15.

名二意實一耳。

The difference is found only in name, and the meaning is largely the same.²⁷¹

The maintaining of the same significance between the terms of Nicolas Trigault and that of some Chinese books would be found throughout the whole text of the *XREMZ*.²⁷²

The next book Trigault referred to is still about tone. He did not speak much about it,

但甚次之名，疑前古所有。旅人觀書少，未之或見耳。然有用深淺者，如字學三正中，但略意之而未能分之，故難從。

Already, there are “sharp” (甚, *shen*) and “round” (次, *ci*) in Ancient China. The traveler has not read many books and has no idea about them. A certain *Zixue sanzhenzhong* uses “deep” (深, *shen*) and “low” (淺, *qian*) to illustrate them, but insufficiently to distinguish them from each other. Thus, it is hard to follow this book.²⁷³

Sharp, *round* and *middle* (中, *zhong*) were used in the *XREMZ* to describe the “coda” in finals: Single-letter-mothers (一字元母, *yizi yuanmu*, including: a, i, u, e, o), some two-letter-mothers (二字子母, *erzi zimu*) and three-letter-mothers (三字孫母, *sanzi sunmu*) take them, but they appear only in the end of the coda of the finals.²⁷⁴ Trigault was sure that this knowledge could be found in China, which however was insufficient to distinguish the three. As a matter of fact, even the traditional *fanqie spelling*, which the Chinese character employed, could not separate them from the *final* as independent subjects.²⁷⁵ In anticipation of the disadvantage in the *fanqie spelling* of China, Trigault had pointed out at the beginning,

中華具其理，未具其名。

²⁷¹ Yysp, p.140 (f.46b).

²⁷² Fang Yi-zhi received Nicolas Trigault’s conceptions, nominating them with other two terms to describe *voiceless* and *voiced*, see Wang-li, *Zhonghua, yinyun xue*, pp.62-65, and Fang Yi-zhi 方以智, *Tongya 通雅*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988, vol.50, p.1471.

²⁷³ Yysp, p.156 (f.54b).

²⁷⁴ See Yysp, pp.153-157 (ff.53a-55a). Single-letter-mother, two-letters-mother, and three-letters-mother, all are defined as rhymes, will be discussed later (in Part II).

²⁷⁵ See also Luo Chang-pei, *Yeshuhuishhi zai yinyunxueshang de gongxian*, in *Luo Chang-pei*, pp.267-273.

In China, there is a principle [of these three terms], but no name.²⁷⁶

Nicolas Trigault cited the Chinese book *Zixue sanzhenzhong* as an example to buttress his point, by comparing “deep” and “low,” of the Chinese concept, with “sharp” and “round,” of his own. Again, this is a matter of terminology, whose solution is only given in his fashion, that is, the usage of Western symbols.

The last book is Zhou De-qing’s *Zhongyuan yinyun*. To correct the rhyme misused in the Opera of the Yuan Dynasty (元曲, *yuancu*), particularly the opera of North China, the author compiled this book and conserved the sound of this area, even though he was a native of Jiangxi Province. This book, as a reformation of the previous *Guangyun/qieyun* system, puts the rhymes under 19 leading rhymes (*yunshe*). After publication, this book played an important role in the creation of the Opera of North China, Chinese lyrics (詞, *ci*) and other rhyme books.²⁷⁷ Nicolas Trigault also thought that this *Zhongyuan yinyun* was useful for the poets to compose poems rhythmically, so it had grouped the same rhymes together. The *XREMZ* though, was not for composing poems, but for helping to seek the characters more conveniently, so he did not take advantage of this arrangement.²⁷⁸

From these yet unrecognized Chinese books that I have already mentioned, Nicolas Trigault seemed to have benefited from some knowledge, particularly when he found that the ideas in them were consistent with his. The distinction was as much superficial as it was in name (or in form). From this point, we shall conclude that the *XREMZ* is nothing but a new type of rhyme book. In this newly designed rhyme book, Latin letters and other Western symbols would be used to replace the corresponding phonetic elements that were employed in the Chinese rhyme books. And a new method of usage would be presented by Nicolas Trigault to the learners who were still ignorant of it.

2. Chinese Character Book (*zishu*)

2.1 A Historical Introduction

²⁷⁶ Yysp, p.153 (f.53a). The argument is questioned by Xiong Shi-bo 熊士伯 who disagreed with what Nicolas Trigault said, see Luo Chang-pei, *Yesuishi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian*, in *Luo Chang-pei*, pp.270-271.

²⁷⁷ See Zhao Yin-tang, *Zhongyuan yinyun yanjiu*, pp.34-74

²⁷⁸ See Yysp, p.235 (f.94a).

Apart from the rhyme books, Chinese character books were also criticized by Trigault. Whereas the former concern rhymes, tones, and sounds which focused always on invisible elements, the latter tend to seek Chinese characters by looking into a body consisting of simple strokes, which are material elements that can be seen and analyzed before our eyes. In speaking of this sort of lexicon, we shall touch on Xu-shen 許慎 (ca.58–ca.147), the great scholar who had systemically studied Chinese characters for the first time in his masterpiece *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Illustration of Figures and Letters) (ca.100).²⁷⁹ In this book, Xu-shen used six methods of writing (六書, *liushu*): Form imitation (象形, *xiangxing*), Indication (指事, *zhishi*), Form and Sound (形聲, *xingsheng*), Joined meaning (會意, *huiyi*), Reciprocal (轉註, *zhuanzhu*) and Borrowing (假借, *jiajie*) to analyze the sounds, senses, and forms of over nine thousand characters (9353 in total).²⁸⁰ Then he distributed Chinese characters to 540 classifiers (部/部首, *bu/bushou*) as the later scholars called them, according to its graphic meaning (section of number, of human body, of daily instrument, of animal, of botany, of nature) decided by *liushu*.²⁸¹ Usually, the classifier was made into a whole by bringing the residual part, which in the *Shuowen jiezi* often decides pronunciation or significance of one Chinese character. As initiated by Xu-shen, the later lexicographers followed his model when compiling dictionaries of their own.²⁸² But of course there was a slight modification. Despite the invariable structure of Chinese characters, the importance of *liushu* as the theoretical base for analyzing the Chinese structure became less evident. During the Tang (618-907) Dynasty, the number of classifiers had been largely reduced, and the classification of the classifiers was a bit different. As Françoise Bottéro points out, the lexicons of this period include five Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscript word lists and Zhang-shen 張參's *Wujin wenzi* 五經文字 (Words of Five Classics) (776). They dealt only with the script of the characters, “their appearance and structure,”²⁸³ and thus were less linked to the concept of *liushu* and its graphic meaning. The maintaining of the shift would also be seen in the following period.

²⁷⁹ Sun Jun-xi 孫鈞錫, *Zhongguo hanzixue shi* 中國漢字學史 (History of the Study on the Chinese Character), Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1991, p.22.

²⁸⁰ On their definition, see also Léon Wieger, *SJ.*, *Introduction*, in *Caractères Chinois*, Taichung: Kuangchi Press, 1963, pp.10-12; Andreina Albanese, *La lingua cinese e le sue principali caratteristiche*, Bologna, editrice Club, 1989, p.46-50.

²⁸¹ Zou Xiao-li 鄒曉麗, *Shuowen jiezi 540 bushou shuyi* 說文解字 540 部首述議 (Study on 540 Classifiers of *Shuowen jiezi*), in *Shuowen jiezi yanjiu* 說文解字研究 (Study on the *Shuowen jiezi*), Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1991, pp.365-373, in particular p.368, Meanwhile, there are 36 classifiers left alone, with no corresponding characters contained, see Zou Xiao-li, *Shuowen jiezi 540 bushou shuyi* 說文解字 540 部首述議, p.370.

²⁸² See Willian G.Boltz's review on Françoise Bottéro's *Sémantisme et classification dans l'écriture chinoise : les systèmes de classement des caractères par clés du "Shuowen jiezi" au "Kangxi zidian"*, Paris, Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1996, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol.120, no.3 (Jul.- Sep.,2000), pp.471-474.

²⁸³ Quoted from Willian G.Boltz's review, p.472.

The first example I shall cite comes from Xing-jun 行均's *Longgan shoujian* 龍龕手鑿 (997), aimed at studying the Buddhist texts. Within this lexicon, the author fixed the number of the classifiers at 242, and then grouped them into four tones. For the first time the classifiers worked with four tones.²⁸⁴ He also built a mixed section (雜部, *zabu*), so as to gather characters which could not be reduced to classifier and residual part. At the same time, he incorporated some classifiers as one, which, for Françoise Bottéro, "is to eliminate the semantic significance of the classifier altogether and to utilize it instead entirely as an orthographic element."²⁸⁵ Truly, Xing-jun had shifted the understanding of the semantic significance of the classifier, and the graphic sense of the character was further weakened. Also, the number of vernaculars was increasing in abundance in this period, because there were many Buddhist texts to be translated. The present character books were always distinguished from the previous books; for example, Zhang-shen's *Wujing wenzi*, which collected only 3235 words used in the Five Classics, much less than those in the *Longgan shoujian* which contained around 26,430 words. Of course, Zhang-shen did not need to design an additional mixed section for his dictionary.

Such thinking of Xing-jun would retain a great influence on the following editions of character books, as we can see in Han Dao-zhao's *Wuyin pianhai* 五音篇海 (1208), which was edited based on Han Xiao-yan 韓孝彥's *Sisheng pianhai* 四聲篇海. In light of his rhyme book *Wuyin jiyun*, Han Dao-zhao assigned all these classifiers, which had been reduced to 444, to 36 initials accordingly, except for a mixed section for some indivisible Chinese characters. In the course of time, the semantic classifiers seemed to be less important in understanding Chinese characters. Toward such kind of innovations, we shall see two opposing attitudes of Nicolas Trigault.

Such tendency also surfaced in Mei Yan-zuo 梅膺祚's *Zihui* 字彙 (Collection of the Words) (1615), but in a different way. Although the mixed section was not given to the *Collection of the Words* anymore, Mei Yan-zuo arranged the classifiers according to the number of strokes each of them contained. The same was done for the residual part of the character. This change, in the words of the author himself, was a reaction to *Sisheng pianhai*'s classifiers arrangement, which was giving trouble in seeking the Chinese characters. He properly tried to alleviate the usage of classifiers in this course.²⁸⁶ As for the notion of *liushu*, its importance was diminishing in composing the Chinese character books, but it was still retained as the key to analyzing the structure of the Chinese characters. This was

²⁸⁴ Sun Jun-xi, *Zhongguo hanzixue shi*, pp.110-111.

²⁸⁵ Quoted from William G. Boltz's review, p.473.

²⁸⁶ See Mei Yan-zuo, *Zihui fanli* 字彙凡例 (Samples of the *Zihui*), in *Zihui* 字彙 (XSK, vol.232-3), p.392.

Trigault's approach when he first encountered Chinese characters.²⁸⁷ For him, there was nothing particular about its form, except that it consisted of two parts: *shadow* (邊, *bian*, “radical”) and *corpus* (正, *zheng*, “the remaining part of the character”). Here is their relationship,

蓋正字者, 如体; 邊者, 如影。

The *zheng* seems to be corpus; while the *bian* seems to be shadow.²⁸⁸

There were two basic factors to form a character. Provided that both of them were identified and fixed, the assumed word could be perceived. The Chinese lexicons had maintained this, but used an inconvenient method. Nicolas Trigault pointed out that the Chinese lexicons had dealt with the corpus (*zheng*) far better than with the shadow (*bian*),

其所列邊字之法, 不准。取其難, 棄其易。誰知其意哉? 列正之法, 算畫而已, 易排易遇也。列邊之法, 有取其意者, 有取其音者, 有無取其意, 無取其音而散排之者, 三者並難。取其意者, 正韻海篇也; 取其音者, 五音篇海也。

The method of listing *shadows* is irregular, for they have maintained the difficult one, abandoning the easy. Who can understand them? The method of arranging the corpora is as simple as counting the number of strokes in them and listing them in that order.²⁸⁹ On the other hand, the method of arranging the shadows is done variably in light of either the meaning [of shadow], or the sound [of shadow], or one untidy order regardless of the first two methods. All three have the same difficulty. Among them, the Zhengyun haipian tracks the meaning, and the Wuyin pianhai tracks the sound.²⁹⁰

Before proceeding, I must point out that this account came from Nicolas Trigault's personal experience when he began to learn those two Chinese lexicons (and other similar types). In fact, these dictionaries also bewildered the native learners.²⁹¹ Yet, the solution Trigault sought is not difficult. First of all, the Chinese character was broken up into two parts: shadow (*bian*) and corpus (*zheng*), with the help of the notion of “six manners of writing” (*liushu*). Then, stimulated by the method used to list the corpora

²⁸⁷ See Yysp, p.244. I will return to this argument later.

²⁸⁸ See Yysp, p.244. “Shadow” and “Corpus” connect closely with the notion *liushu* 六書 which could be used to distinguish Chinese character from Latin letter. This will be further discussed later on.

²⁸⁹ The mentioned *Wuyin pianhai*, *Zihui*, Li-deng 李登's *Chongkan Xiangjiao pianhai* 重刊詳校篇海 (1608), Zhang-fu 章黼 (?)'s *Xinjiao jingshi haipian zhiyin* 新校經史海篇直音 (1575), and *Pianhai leibian* 篇海類編 (?) had used the same method to arrange the corpora.

²⁹⁰ Yysp, p.247 (f.100a).

²⁹¹ See Yysp, p.246 (f.99b).

(*zheng*), Trigault also proposed to consider the number of the strokes in the shadow (*bian*). This method shares some similarities with Mei Yan-zuo's lexicon. Today, some residual pages of this dictionary from Xujiahui 徐家匯 Jesuit Library (namely, Zikawei Collection) of Shanghai can be read.²⁹² It suggests the Jesuits in Shanghai knew and even took it as reference to the study of the Chinese language. There is no evidence that Trigault had read Mei Yan-zuo's *Zihui*, but the turning point of this dictionary suggests that there should be broader space in which to comprehend the relationship of the "six manners of writing" (*liushu*) with the making of the Chinese lexicons.²⁹³ Indeed, Trigault was aware of the change and found resonance among Chinese scholars, as we can see the unanimous agreement between the *XREMZ* and the *Zihui*. In some way, the *XREMZ* reflected the social tendency of that time in the field of lexicography.

2.2 Zhengyun haipian

Zhengyun haipian 正韻海篇 (The Sea of the Authentic Rhymes), or *Haipian* 海篇 for short, seemed to be rather diffuse at that moment, as can be seen in the words of Father Trigault,

海篇之書，其竹簡處處不同。

The book of *Haipian* has possession of variant *zhujian* 竹簡.²⁹⁴

The term "*zhujian*" 竹簡 is a metaphor for "book." There were many different versions of it. Nothing more was known about this book, besides Nicolas Trigault's criticism, which leaves us with a first impression of it. According to different meanings, this *Haipian* had distributed the shadows (*bian*) into different categories: astronomy (sun, moon, wind, and cloud), geography (mountain, water) and so on.²⁹⁵ They were often seen in other dictionaries, too. In one section of *Haipian huitong* 海篇匯統 (ca.1621), the editor Tang Xian-zu 湯顯祖 (1550-1616) placed shadows (*bian*) in different sections according to their naturalness, covering from astronomy, geography, seasons, plants, to animals, and so

²⁹² This copy of the dictionary (with calling number: AFTH) now is kept in the Fusinian 傅斯年 Library.

²⁹³ See also Dang Huai-xing 黨懷興, *Song, Yuan, Ming liushuxue yanjiu* 宋元明六書學研究 (Study on Six-writings during the Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasty), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2003, pp.303-307.

²⁹⁴ See Yysp, p.252 (f.102b) and p.265 (f.109a). Lv Wei-qi mentioned "*Haipian*" in his reference list, see Lv Wei-qi, *Introduction of the Tongwenduo*, in *Yinyun riyue deng* (XSK, vol.252), f.2b.

²⁹⁵ Yysp, p.247 (f.100a).

forth.²⁹⁶ This dictionary had been called *Haipian* in short by Antonio Montucci (1762-1829).²⁹⁷ There is no more information to prove that they were talking about the same book, but it is right to claim that there were a number of dictionaries, as Nicolas Trigault had pointed out, that employed the same model for dealing with the shadows (*bian*). One can be found in the hands of the Jesuits. Alvaro Semedo (1586-1658), a Portuguese Jesuit, came to China in 1613. He had alluded to one certain *Haipien* or *Mare Magnum* in Latin in his *Relatione della Grande Monarchia della Cina* (1678). This *Relatione* was completed in Europe in 1640.²⁹⁸ With the help of Étienne Fourmont (1683-1745), an Orientalist from France, more information about this dictionary could be excavated from his *Meditationes Sinicae* (1737). In the writing of this French sinologist, Semedo spoke of two types of dictionaries in China, one is much simpler and briefer, while the other is much larger and is entitled *Haipien*, or *magnum characterum mare* – the grand sea of Chinese characters. The characters of the *Haipien* had been distributed according to eleven categories.²⁹⁹ Although there is no more information about how the dictionary dealt with the *shadows*, the manner of the Chinese characters' division, to be sure, should not have been strange to Nicolas Trigault.

These dictionaries, including *Haipian* and *Pianhai*, were well known in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe.³⁰⁰ Both of them were well known by the Jesuits in China as well. But the *Haipian* caused some difficulty in usage.

此法極難。蓋邊字多無意義者，又將列之何門哉？

This method is too hard [to be studied]. Worse still, how can we categorize these shadows (*bian*), if none of them takes on meaning?³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ See *Haipian huitong* 海篇匯統 (or *Yinshi haipian*, 音釋海篇) (Sea of Sounds), in BAV, Borg.cin.262, ff.80a-84b. This dictionary is very common to another *Pianhai leibian* 篇海類編. But the latter was faked by a certain scholar in late Ming China, see Yang Zai-wu 楊載武, *Pianhai leibian zhenwei kao* 篇海類編真偽攷 (On the Falsity of the *Pianhai leibian*), in the *Xihua shifan daxue xuebao* (zhexue shehui kexue ban), no.1, 2007, pp.31-34.

²⁹⁷ See the handwriting note of Antonio Montucci added to the *Haipian*, he called *Haipian huitong* as *Haipian* in BAV, Borg.cin.262.

²⁹⁸ Semedo Alvaro, *Relatione della Grande Monarchia della Cina*, Roma et Bologna, 1678, pp.103-104.

²⁹⁹ Stephanus Fourmont, “Prima de caelo, de sole, de luna, de ventis, de tonitru, de pluvia, de igne, & c.; Secunda de tempore, de anno, & c.; Tertia de terra, de loco, de homine, diversisque hominis statibus, de sonis, de coloribus; Quarta de instrumentis & utensilibus, inter quae, arma, pondera, mensurae, pocula, naves, currus, & c.; Quinta de corpore, ejusque membris; Sexta de floribus & arboribus; Septima de dificiis, de cibo & potu, de avibus & brutis, & c.; Octava de cyclo, de sortibus, de litteratura, de mineralibus; Nona de variis hominum negotiis; Decima de vestimentis, de numeris, de adjectivis & contrariis; Undecima de characteribus difficulioribus, qui in *su xu*, in *ye kim*, in *xi kim*, in *li ki*, in *chun cie*, in *siao hio*”, in *Meditationes Sinicae*, 1737, cum Approbatione et Privilegio Regis, in BAV, R.G.Oriente II 165, pp.114-115.

³⁰⁰ Knud Lundbaek, *T.S.Bayer (1694-1738): Pioneer Sinologist*, pp.197-203.

³⁰¹ Ysp, p.247 (f.100a).

There is another disadvantage in this dictionary,

必欲用此法，先學五百餘字之意，然後可。況知其意，未知其門。就使二者俱知，亦幸而中耳。

To utilize this method, you have to remember all of the five hundred shadows (*bian*) and their significance. Then, it is possible [to operate]. But even with the significance studied, you may fail to find which category it belongs to. You would be so fortunate to know both the category [which the given Chinese character belongs to] and the meaning [the five hundred shadows].³⁰²

For these Westerners, when they began to study Chinese from scratch, these five hundred classifiers were just as difficult to be grasped as new words. To remove this obstacle, Trigault was confident that his method that was born from the Society of Jesus would be sufficient, as we will see below.

2.3 *Wuyin Pianhai*

Wuyin pianhai 五音篇海 (Sea of the Five Voices), abbreviated as *Pianhai* 篇海, is another character book that had been claimed in the *XREMZ*. Unlike the *Zhengyun haipian*, the *Pianhai* can be recognized as the *Chenghua dinghai chongkan wuyin leiju sisheng pianhai* 成化丁亥重刊五音類聚四聲篇海 (1467), of Buddhist Wen-ru 文儒, which was already developed from the *Sisheng pianhai*, of Han Xiao-yan and Han Dao-zhao. The total number of the classifiers is 444, with 36 initials distributed.³⁰³ Han Dao-sheng 韓道昇 spoke highly of this book as a “luminous light penetrating into a dark room.”³⁰⁴ But Nicolas Trigault countered this view, asserting that this method would bring about even more difficulties in looking for Chinese characters,

其排邊字，不從其意，而從其音。今邊字，多如半字少用之號。知其音者寡，欲用此法，先學五百餘字之音，尚或知之未足。若未通何排所取之音，豈能遇所尋之字乎？

The arrangement of shadows (*bian*) [in *Pianhai*] does not follow the meaning, but the pronunciation. The so-called shadow (*bian*), is rarely used, and it is only a part [of the Chinese character]. Its pronunciation is rarely known. To utilize this method, you have to learn the pronunciation of the five hundred shadows

³⁰² Yysp, p.248 (f.100a).

³⁰³ “*Sisheng pianhai*”, in SKZM, vol.43.

³⁰⁴ The original text is “久居暗室，豁然而覩明焉”，see Han Dao-sheng, *Preface* to the *Sisheng pianhai* (*SKCM*, vol.1:187).

(*bian*). And yet, it seems still to be insufficient. If you do not know thoroughly the pronunciation, how can you find out the particular character?³⁰⁵

Even given that we can solve this problem, there is another one that renders this method inappropriate. Trigault pointed out,

夫三十六母，余所謂字父，其聲不全，而獨全音之首也。夫音首半聲固難分之，學者欲用此法，恐未能遽學焉。

The so-called thirty-six *mu* 母 (“mothers”, initials in the Chinese rhyme books), which I have named as *zifu* 字父 (“father words”, *initials*), do not have the capacity to yield a complete sound, but sound only initially. It is hard to discern the sound of initial from the rest. Hence, learners cannot learn this method very quickly, if they expect to practice it.³⁰⁶

Here is the question of terminology again. From the point of view of Nicolas Trigault, the so-called 36 initials had been wrongly conceived, because the initials were only part of a sound and could not be pronounced alone. As a result, the arrangement of the classifiers should not be classified according to the initials. Thus, after learning that defect, Nicolas Trigault completely refused to adopt the method that *Pianhai* had claimed.

2.4 Conclusion

Before Nicolas Trigault proposed his own idea, he had been prepared to abandon both methods, with which he was disappointed,

兩篇之法，俱如海水難浮，難得其路矣。

With these two methods, the learner is lost at sea. It is impossible for him to stay afloat.³⁰⁷

Of course, learners will never reach the shore, if they follow these two methods. To lead them in the right direction, Trigault told them his solution. As was seen before, inspired by these Chinese lexicons

³⁰⁵ Yysp, p.248 (f.100a).

³⁰⁶ Yysp, p.249 (f.100b).

³⁰⁷ Yysp, p.247 (f.99b).

which had listed the corpora (*zheng*) by calculating the strokes each of them had contained, Trigault applied this method for dealing with the shadows (*bian*),

每遇難知未知之字，先視其邊，或左，或右，或上，或下等類。算其畫數，輒立目錄指之；得邊字，又算正字之畫。邊正彼此之畫，乃字字指南耳。

Every time, you first have to find out the shadow (*bian*) when you encounter an unknown character at the beginning. Maybe, it sits on the left, or on the right, or above, or beneath, and so on. Inasmuch as the number of strokes in it is known, you can find it from the Catalogue of the shadows (*bian*). After that, you turn back to do the same thing with the corpus (*zheng*). The number of strokes both in shadow (*bian*) and in corpus (*zheng*) is the compass of the words.³⁰⁸

With no meaning and pronunciation to be taken into account, the notion of “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) lost its semantic sense. In this manner, Trigault composed also his *Lbzp*, as we will see later. As for the extent to which Trigault had incorporated the similar idea of China into his book, there is no more to tell. Putting into consideration the fact that both *Haipian* and *Pianhai* had comprised far more words, he designed two catalogues of the shadows (*bian*) for them, and thereby formed them into the *XREMZ* in order to supplement the word stocks of the *Hongwu zhengyun* and the *Yunhui xiaobu*.³⁰⁹

3. Six Classics (*liujing*)

The Chinese expression *liujing* 六經 (Six Classics) appeared once when the Chinese were nervous about whether the *Hongwu zhengyun* and the *Yunhui xiaobu* were comprised of enough characters,

正韻韻會二譜，皆無多字。恐先生之功不全。

The *Zhengyun* and *Yunhui* do not contain many words. I'm afraid that your efforts are in vain.³¹⁰

To calm him down, Nicolas Trigault bore the responsibility to tell his Chinese colleague the truth,

六經之字，俱在其中。豈不全哉？

All the characters from the Six Classics (*liujing*) have been included. Is this not sufficient?³¹¹

³⁰⁸ Yysp, pp.249-250 (ff.101a-b).

³⁰⁹ See Yysp, pp.257-265 (ff.105a-109a).

³¹⁰ Yysp, p.251 (f.102a).

³¹¹ Yysp, p.251 (f.102a).

With this, he tried to impress on the listener the importance of referring to these two Chinese dictionaries. From the point of view of Nicolas Trigault, the words in the Six Classics were adequate for use. Besides, there were two Chinese lexicons *Pianhai* and *Haipian* joined by him to the *XREMZ* to look for those rarely used words.³¹² Hence, Nicolas Trigault founded a rich word storehouse in which each character came to light, and its pronunciation and explanation as well.

Nevertheless, it is unrealistic that “all the characters from the Six Classics (*liujing*) have been included,” as Trigault claimed. In illustrating this question, it is necessary to make clear the historical notion of the Six Classics. Traditionally, Six Classics refer to *Book of Songs* (詩, *shi*), *Book of History* (書, *shu*), *Book of Rites* (禮, *li*), *Book of Music* (樂, *yue*), *Book of Changes* (易, *yi*), *Spring and Autumn* (春秋, *chunqiu*). These are six of the most important texts in Confucianism. As a whole, they are the guidelines for political, moral and daily behavior in China’s society. However, the *Book of Music* was missing, after the anti-Confucianism policy of *Fenshu kengru* 焚書坑儒 (Burning of the books and burying of the scholars) in Qin 秦 (221-207 BC) China. There was no so-called Six Classics, because it does not contain the six Chinese Classics anymore.

Historically, the notion of the Six Classics is always in connection with Chinese lexicons. There were two schools sponsored by the State: *daxue* 大學 (Adult School) and *xiaoxue* 小學 (Small School). At these schools the Six Classics, being taken as textbooks, were taught to the children at the age of eight. For the learners, these Classics supplied not only the direct understanding of these ancient Sages, but also a word storage. In proceeding with the history, some examples shall be given to illustrate the association of the Six Classics with Chinese character books.

The aforementioned Zhang-shen’s *Wujin wenzi* made for itself a word stock by gathering characters from the surviving Xi-ping Stone Classics (熹平石經, *xi-ping shijing*). Xi-ping 熹平 was the era name of Emperor Ling 靈 (156-189)’s reign from 172 to 178. These Stones were inscribed and stood at the Imperial Academy of Luoyang, capital of the Eastern Han 東漢 (25-220 AD) Dynasty, comprising the full text of seven classics: *Book of Chang*, *Book of History*, *Book of Songs*, *Book of Rites*, *Spring and Autumn*, *Classic of Filial Piety* (孝經, *xiaojing*) and *The Analects* (論語, *lunyu*). So far, there are different editions of these Classics. Cai-yong 蔡邕 (132-192), an excellent Chinese scholar in his time,

³¹² Yusp, p.252 (f.102b).

took initiative to petition Emperor Ling to unify them, so that “the words of Six Classics could be corrected” (求正定六經文字, *qiu zhengding liujing wenzi*).³¹³ In 185, all the stones stood. These Classics, inscribed on the stones, were made part of the most important standard texts. By acting as an official vocabulary, they were used to correct other later versions orthographically. Another feature of this story is the relationship between the notion of the Six Classics in the memorial of Cai-yong, and the Classics that were carved on the stones. Besides the Five Classics, there were another two important Confucian texts, the *Analects* and the *Classic of Filial Piety*, that were preserved, but no *Book of Music* was mentioned. The notion of the Six Classics was nothing but rhetorical, inconsistent with the *Stone Classics*. To speak of this feature, I can cite more examples, but from another standpoint. In the aforementioned *Jiaotai yun*, Lv-kun told the readers that he had picked characters from *Thirteen Classics*, *Twenty-one Annals* and some poems.³¹⁴ Meanwhile, another Chinese character book *Zihui* with *Five Classics* had to replace Six Classics, as the word stock.³¹⁵ Although the significance of the notion of the Six Classics in compiling the Chinese lexicons was stressed, it was not taken into account in practice. Nicolas Trigault also agreed with the view of the Six Classics, but compiled his own word stock by basing it on the Chinese character books whose number of vernaculars had been largely expanded.

In fact, some Western missionaries also realized that there were no Six Classics. Carlo di Orazio (1673-1755), a Franciscan Friar from Castorano in Italy, stated frankly that the *Book of Music* had disappeared for a long time.³¹⁶ Some documents of the Society of Jesus suggest that China’s Jesuits were aware of this question, too. In one piece of script “Reposta breve sobre as Controversias do Xanty, Tienxin, Limhoen, e outros nomes e termos sinicos” were listed only *Book of Songs*, *Book of History*, *Book of Rites*, *Book of Changes*, *Spring and Autumn*, and *Four books*.³¹⁷ No *Book of Music* was mentioned. Furthermore, we are informed that this document was concerned with the issue of the translation “Deus” (God) in Chinese, as read from its title. By considering the importance of the Classics in dealing with the term “Deus” (God), they had drawn the attention of the Western fathers. Thus, to overlook such an influential Classic as the *Book of Music*, if it did exist, seemed to be incredible for the Jesuits.

³¹³ “Cai-yong”, in *Houhanshu*, Book 60.

³¹⁴ See *Sample of Jiaotai yun*, (*XSK*, vol.251), p.473.

³¹⁵ See *Sample of Zihui*, (*XSK*, vol.232), p.392.

³¹⁶ Carlo Horatii da Castorano, *La Parva elucubratio super quosdam libros sinenses* (1739), “De sexto libro Canonico dicto 樂經 Iō kiñg”[...]“sed iste Liber est iam cum tempore deperditus: Tamen haec tradition perseverat, et probatur etiam ex ipsis Libris Canonicis, in quibus pluries fit mentio de dicto Libro Musicae”, f.64.

³¹⁷ *Indie Orientali Cina dal 1623 al 1674*, in *SPF* (Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide), f.147a, and f.173a.

As a matter of fact, Matteo Ricci was clear that there were no Six Classics in the world. In the preface to Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 (Real Meaning of the Lord of Heaven), Feng Ying-jing 馮應京 (1555-1606), the Chinese convert and friend of the Jesuits in China, claimed to have found a good number of phrases around the term *Shangdi* 上帝 (Sovereign on High) in so-called Six Classics.³¹⁸ On the discussion of the six classics by Matteo Ricci, he only mentioned “Cinque Dottrine” (Five Doctrines), instead “Six.”³¹⁹ The Italian Father knew very well that there were no Six Classics.

The notion of the Six Classics was used to illustrate the building of the word stock, and to confer superiority and righteousness to the dictionaries as well. In the preface (1669) of one revised *Zihui*, Han-tan 韓荃 (1637-1704) wrote, “Word Learning (*zixue*) is born from the Classics’ interpretation.”³²⁰ Here the Classics refer only to the *Five Classics*.³²¹ Nicolas Trigault was no exception, in his insertion of the notion of the Six Classics into the *XREMZ*. Here it is worthwhile to point out another aspect of this notion, but for the Jesuits in China. Jesuits had been taught the importance of the Chinese Classics as part of a policy of cultural assimilation. Such reconciliation of the values of Confucianism with those of Christianity was seen even as late as in Alexandre de la Charme (1695-1767)’s *Xingli zhenquan* 性理真詮 (?).³²² Both sides, China on the one hand and Europe on the other, had furnished Nicolas Trigault with one textual background which, in turn, gave sense to the use of the Chinese expression “Six Classics” (*liujing*) in the *XREMZ*.

4. Conclusion

In the matter of the compilation of a Chinese dictionary, the fact that Chinese scholars were already unsatisfied by badly designed dictionaries should be highlighted. In *Jiaotai yun*, Lv-kun reported something on the difficulty in taking advantage of the Chinese dictionaries when he was young,

余少從里兒遊，讀邊字。長而恥之。積韻家書慮數十，浩浩茫茫，未知所入也。

³¹⁸ Feng Ying-jing, *Preface to the Tianzhu shiyi*, in BNR, 72.c.474 (1), f.1a.

³¹⁹ Here, the “Cinque Dottrine” are equal for Matteo Ricci to “Five Classics”, see *FR*, I, pp.42-43.

³²⁰ The original text is “字學，本乎解經”，in *Zengbu xuanjin zihui* 增補懸金字彙 (The Revised *Zihui*), in BAV, R.G.Oriente. III.283, f.1a.

³²¹ *Samples of Zengbu xuanjin zihui*, f.2b.

³²² Alexandre de la Charme, *Xingli zhenquan* 性理真詮, in BNR, 72.c.546.1, ff.7b-8a.

In my childhood I was used to learning Chinese from my peers, and reading only the second half of a particular character. I was ashamed of this when I grew up. I gathered several dictionaries, but was not clear on how to use them effectively.³²³

This was the motivation for Lv-kun to edit a well-conceived dictionary. And so was for Nicolas Trigault and his Western colleagues, who had suffered the same arduous experience, as we have seen above. They also needed one more convenient manner to take advantage of the Chinese lexicons so as to promote the study of the Chinese language. The reformation of the Chinese lexicons was under way: rhyme book and character book, corresponding to the content that Jesuits had to learn: *lingua* and *lettera*.

In all the preceding discussions about the relationship of the *XREMZ* with the variant Chinese dictionaries and the notion of the Six Classics (*liujing*), it must be admitted that the present Chinese lexicons furnished Nicolas Trigault with first-hand information, not minding whether it was negative or positive, about the two sorts of the dictionaries in China. He subsequently devised his own, with all the defects and inconvenient facts excluded and all the advantages preserved. So, with the knowledge Nicolas Trigault had attained from his early study in Europe, his personal experience in China, his Chinese friends and the Westerners, the future *XREMZ* should be far better than both the rhyme book and the character book in China.

In a word, these Chinese lexicons and the notion of the Six Classics (*liujing*) supplied a model on which to base the *XREMZ*'s textual body. Although from this body we are still far from drawing an outline of the structure of the *XREMZ*, we shall see that Nicolas Trigault was trying his best to decorate his dictionary with China's color. In selecting the tone of some characters, Trigault reasoned his choice, by turning back to the Chinese rhyme books, but emphasized,

音韻之書從古，愚亦不敢從今。

Usually, the rhyme books go after the ancient ones. I do not dare to change this rule.³²⁴

³²³ See Lv-kun 呂坤, *Preface to the Jiaotai yun* (*XSK*, vol.251), f.1a.

³²⁴ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lyyp*, p.4; see also *Yysp*, p.236 (f.94b).

In a similar way, the editor of the *Hongwu zhengyun* said that his Chinese dictionary “revived completely the study of the ancient rhymes.”³²⁵ This statement finds an echo in Trigault, but both claims are not true, as we have seen before.

All in all, when the *XREMZ* was designed, it drew from the current development of the Chinese dictionary. In the meantime, many elements, such as Latin letters, which were not known to the Chinese people, were introduced by Trigault and incorporated into the book of the Jesuits. For some Chinese, these factors brought about a very fascinating charm.

Chapter IV

Nicolas Trigault and the Formation of the *XREMZ*

Rome was not built in a day. Neither was the *XREMZ*. Relying upon assistance offered by Chinese peers, Chinese language resources from the amount of Chinese books, and the Western fathers’ groundbreaking work, Nicolas Trigault edited the *XREMZ*. This work had been well prepared before it was edited. Some documents attributed this work to Wang-zheng.³²⁶ But this is not entirely true. Wang-zheng had witnessed the whole course of the forming of the *XREMZ*, as we have already seen. But before him, Han-yun had prefaced this book at the beginning of 1625, according to the Chinese lunar calendar. This suggests that the *XREMZ* appeared formally as early as 1625. In other words, there were already at least two editions of the *XREMZ* when Han-yun and Wang-zheng read it.

1. The Road to the Production of the *XREMZ*

With the pre-existing dictionary rhyme and character book, Nicolas Trigault arrived in Jiangzhou in February 1624. Han-yun’s preface was meant for the version that was finished here. Trigault said of this event:

景伯殊甚怪之，曰：吾儕未能是，必有巧法在。幸傳我勿吝。余謂，字法信有巧，然係西字之號，未習西字，似乎難傳。景伯貪知故請不已，且疑旅人之有吝也。若是，奚敢不承大命哉。顧念旅

³²⁵ The original text is “音韻之學，悉復於古”，see Song-lian, *Preface to the Hongwu zhengyun* (*SKCM*, v1:207), f.4a.

³²⁶ *Jingyangxian zhi* 涇陽縣誌 (Local History of Jingyang County), in *Shaanxi sheng tushuguancong xijian fangzhi conggan wu* 陝西省圖書館藏稀見方志叢刊(五) (Collections of the Rare Local History in the Library of Shaanxi Province, Vol.5), Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2006, vol.17, f.3a; and Li Zhi-qin, *Wang-zheng yizhu*, p.288.

人先用西號之法傳之誠難。惟因西號漸習中原；字學之概，則又似可會通而易曉也者。于是彼此再三問難，爰為之次第其說，幾成帙矣。

Jing-bo was very interested [in this book] and asked, “We cannot do it. There must be an ingenious method behind it. Please tell us and do not be stingy.” I replied, “Really the method for learning Chinese is very brilliant, but deals with the symbols of the Western words. If these words are not captured first, the method is not so easily taught.” But Jing-bo insisted and doubted that I was unwilling. For this reason, I accepted his request. Indeed, it is hard for the Chinese learners to understand the method in the form of Western symbols initially. Gradually, they will become customary in China; the word learning seems to be understood by both [the West and China] and is, therefore, easily grasped. To this end, I wrote this book based on this discourse, after much dialogue between us [Trigault and Han-yun].³²⁷

It was actually Han-yun who initially called for the completion of the *XREMZ*. He was curious about this new dictionary and its method of learning. But Nicolas Trigault retained some doubts about it because the word learning he was going to demonstrate was focused on Western symbols (referring to Latin Alphabet and symbols of five tones), which were not yet identified in China. So the planned book would be concerned simply with the word learning. It was supposed to be aimed at Chinese readers who had no knowledge of Western symbols. Nicolas Trigault was the first Westerner who taught the Western symbols and their practical application publicly in China. The conversation in Jiangzhou properly carried out the part that the pre-existing rhyme and character book did not yet contain. Thereafter, the first version of the *XREMZ* was published here, just as Han-yun declared, “after many times of correction, this book is finished.”³²⁸ This preface of Han-yun was completed on the first day of the first month in 1625 according to the Chinese lunar calendar. So far, the *XREMZ* could be considered finished. But this version was still different from that edited in 1626. In the same preface to the *XREMZ*, father Trigault revealed some information about the textual structure of the book,

五閱月始成此書，書分二譜。

After five months the book is finished, with it divided into two *pu*.³²⁹

The preface of Nicolas Trigault in the present-day *XREMZ* is dated to the first month of 1626 according to the Chinese lunar calendar, almost exactly one year after the preface of Han-yun. So far, the present-

³²⁷ Yysp, p.110 (f.31b).

³²⁸ The original text is “三易其稿始成”, Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1625), in Yysp, p.5.

³²⁹ Nicolas Trigault, *Self-preface to the XREMZ*, in Yysp, p.51 (f.2a).

day *XREMZ*, consisting of three volumes, was considered complete. But Trigault wrote in his preface that the book he spent five months on was divided into two volumes, which contradicts the present-day *Wenda* (Ask and Reply) where the author says that the *XREMZ* was a three-volume publication.³³⁰ Nicolas Trigault's preface must therefore have been written for another edition of the *XREMZ*. In the same preface, Nicolas Trigault expressed his debt to Han-yun without mentioning Wang-zheng and Lv Wei-qi. As it was stated above, his preface was composed for the *XREMZ* of the Jiangzhou edition, which included two volumes and was the foundation for the future *XREMZ*. The word learning was exposed to the public for the first time through the Jiangzhou edition.

Along with Nicolas Trigault's travels to other Chinese provinces, the story of the *XREMZ* continued. At the end of 1624, Trigault left for Shaanxi, crossing Xin'an. He encountered two Chinese learned men on the road.

未幾，過新安邂逅豫石呂君，出其帙，甚許可，又問多所訂正；今寓關中，良甫王君酷愛其書，必欲壽之剞劂，輒又互相質証，細加評攷而成此問答之篇；此則旅人問答之所由作也。

It was not long before I met Signore Lv Yu-shi and presented to him my writing. He applauded it highly and made corrections to it. Now I'm on the the Central Plain of Guanzhong. Signore Wang Liang-fu loved this book so much that he expected it to be published, looking forward to handing it down. Thus, we re-examined it thoroughly through discussion. Finally we ended up with this *Wenda*. That was the route along which my *Wenda* was compiled.³³¹

Here is the history of the *Wenda* (Ask and Reply) which involved Han-yun, Lv Yu-shi and Wang-zheng respectively. Because of their attendance, the *Wenda* was definitely completed in Jingyang. A new section of *Sanyun duikao*, resulting from the conversation of Nicolas Trigault and Wang-zheng, was attached to *Lie yinyun pu Wenda* 列音韻譜問答 (Ask and Reply of Rhymes and Sounds, from now on *Wenda* of the *Lyyp*). Up to this time, an entire *Wenda* was said to be finished, by including *Wenda* of the *Lyyp* and *Lie bianzheng pu Wenda* 列邊正譜問答 (Ask and Reply of Shadow and Corpus, from now on *Wenda* of the *Lbzp*), as corresponding to the pre-existing rhyme and character book. The conclusion of the *Wenda* (Ask and Reply) also suggests the accomplishment of the *Yiyin shoupu* 譯引

³³⁰ Yysp, pp.112-113 (ff.32b-33a).

³³¹ Yysp, pp.110-111 (ff.31b-32a).

首譜, the first part of the present-day *XREMZ*, which, nevertheless, appeared afterwards. It was the same edition Zhang Zhong-fang was referring to in his preface,

西儒耳目資者, 泰西大儒四表金先生所作, 以資耳目者也。書分三譜: 首譯引, 次音韻, 次邊正。
XREMZ, created by the great Occidental *Literatus* of Signore Jin Si-biao, is devised to help the Ears and Eyes. This book has three *pu* 譜 (booklet) *Yiyin shoupu*, *Lie yinyun pu*, and *Lie bianzheng pu*.³³²

Now, it makes sense to proclaim that a three-*pu XREMZ* was published at that time. Later on, when Zhang Zhong-fang asked his father to support the publication, this three-volume *XREMZ* was about to be published. But some other writings needed to be inserted first. These are the prefaces by Chinese *literati* and Nicolas Trigault himself, and the *Explication* of Wang-zheng. Taken together, they constitute the last part of the present-day *XREMZ*. Apart from Han-yun's preface, which was composed at the beginning of 1625, the other prefaces were written in 1626, according to the date given by the texts themselves, even though Trigault's is supposed to have been written as early as 1625, when the Jiangzhou edition was completed.

- (1) Zhang Zhong-fang's *Ke XREMZ* 刻西儒耳目資 (On the Printing of the *XREMZ*) (ca.1626);
- (2) Wang-zheng's *XREMZ Xu* 西儒耳目資敘 (Preface of the *XREMZ*) (ca. First Month, 1626);
- (3) Zhang Wen-da's *Ke XREMZ Xu* 刻西儒耳目資序 (Preface of the *XREMZ*) (22nd day of the Fifth month, 1626);
- (4) Wang-zheng's *XREMZ Shiyi* 西儒耳目資釋疑 (*XREMZ* Explication) (ca. Spring, 1626);
- (5) Nicolas Trigault's *Zixu* 自序 (Self-preface) (1st day of the First Month, 1626).³³³

³³² Zhang Zhong-fang, *On the Printing of the XREMZ* (1626), in Yysp, p.1.

³³³ All the dates are given according to the traditional Chinese lunar calendar. Among these writings, the *Explication* of Wang-zheng is sometimes treated as independent from the rest, see Yang Shengxin 楊繩信, ed., *Zhongguo banke zonglu* 中國版刻綜錄 (Catalogue of Woodblock Printing in China), Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987, p.91; Tianjin tushuguan 天津圖書館, ed., *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu shuming suoyin* 中國古籍善本書目書名索引 (Index of Ancient Chinese Books), Shandong: Qilu shushe, 2003, p.187.

Thus, the *XREMZ* must have been printed after Zhang Wen-da composed his preface, that is, after the 22nd day of the Fifth Month, 1626. Nicolas Trigault wrote once to his European friend that there was one Chinese Mandarin who, beside one piece of preface, helped to publish the book with his money.³³⁴ No doubt, this high Official is Zhang Wen-da. With the joining together of these six pieces of writing, a completed *XREMZ* was visualized, just as any other well-designed Chinese book. As in the *Explication* of Wang-zheng, these writings were to clear up public doubts about it. Moreover, as C.Dehainses recorded, “Un ancien président du tribunal suprême voulut même l’éditer à ses frais; et il écrivit en tête de ce livre une introduction remarquable dans la quelle il faisait le plus grand éloge du P.Trigault.”³³⁵ For the missionaries in China, Zhang Wen-da’s preface was a great inspiration. Finally, the *XREMZ* was completed.

In the course of time, Nicolas Trigault and his Chinese friends developed this book from a rhyme and character book to the present a multi-volume work. The content was obviously enlarged by the *Wenda* (Ask and Reply), which constitutes the main body of the *Yysp*. Alongside this, even the presumed purpose of this book was changed. At the beginning, the pre-existing book circulated only inside the Society of Jesus, and the study on Western symbols was kept unknown to others. But now this study was made public in China. Its audience seemed also to have changed from Westerners to Chinese scholars. On this I shall cite an example. In 1938, Pasquale D’Elia transcribed the title of *XREMZ* into “*Aiuto per l’occhio e per l’orecchio del letterato occidentale*,” no different from notions we have seen before. Nevertheless, four years later, when the three-volume *Fonti Ricciane* was published, he adopted a new translation “*Aiuto [dato] dal letterato occidentale all’occhio e all’orecchio [del Cinese]*” for this title.³³⁶ From his standpoint, this *XREMZ* was supposed to help the Chinese people with the support of the Western *literatus*. This is a *drastic* shift in meaning. This is just one small episode. Father D’Elia might have been familiar with the *XREMZ*, for he had listed all of its surviving copies in Rome in his footnote to the essay *Daniele Bartoli and Nicolas Trigault*. Therefore, he could compare it with Matteo Ricci’s 1598 dictionary and conclude,

³³⁴ C.Dehainses, “Supremi quondam totius regni tribunalis praeses, suo sumptu illud edidit, et insigni proëmio cohonestavit,” in C.Dehainses, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.282.

³³⁵ C.Dehainses, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.199.

³³⁶ See Pasquale M.D’Elia, *Daniele Bartoli e Nicola Trigault*, in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, vol.3, 1938, pp.77-92, especially p.87, note 27; and *FR*, II, p.183, note 4.

Né migliore è il raffronto fatto ivi stesso col dizionario del TRIGAULT, *Aiuto [dato] dal letterato occidentale all'occhio e all'orecchio [del Cinese]* 西儒耳目資 che non somiglia per niente all'opera di cui si tratta qui.³³⁷

“l'opera di cui si tratta qui” is a reference to the dictionary of 1598 by Matteo Ricci. After reading the *XREMZ*, Pasquale D'Elia changed his opinion on this book. It was dedicated by *Occidental literatus* to the Chinese, different from how he had conceived of it several years earlier. Nicolas Trigault was the *Occidental literatus* as D'Elia stressed here. But is it correct to claim that the learners of China were Nicolas Trigault's addressees?

2. Nicolas Trigault and the *XREMZ*

Before giving an answer to this question, I shall discuss the concept of *xiru* 西儒. The Western/Occidental *literatus* (西儒/西士, *xiru/xishi*) could be recognized in the eyes of the Chinese people in early seventeenth century. These men came from the remote West to China with specific motivations. Their image came into being in front of the Chinese people, alongside the development of the Jesuit missions in China. Before Matteo Ricci, no missionaries or Chinese *literati* had conferred on the European foreigners the title “*literatus*,” except “Osciano” 和尚 (Buddhist). Matteo Ricci reported to his European readers some information about the name his predecessors in China had given themselves,

In questo tempo fece il P.Matteo un altro Catechismo delle cose della nostra santa fede, più copioso di quello che si fece prima, il quale, oltre l'esser breve, era fatto al modo e stato in che allora stavano i Padri, nominandosi i nostri in esso con nome simile agli Osciani.³³⁸

The catechism Matteo Ricci was about to compose was his *Tianzhu shiyi* of 1603. One of the earliest examples of catechism was Michele Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu* of 1584, where the author used the term *Osciano* for Jesuit Fathers.³³⁹ Matteo Ricci did not agree with the content of this booklet, for

³³⁷ *FR*, II, p.32, note 1.

³³⁸ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo XIII*, Libro Terzo, in *Della entrata*, pp.259-260.

³³⁹ See ARSL., Jap.Sin.9.II, f.264r and *FR*, I, p.199 and p.199, note 5. Michele Ruggieri gave his residence the name of *Xianhua si* 僊花寺 (Ecclesia e fior novello degli santi). As usual, “temple” (寺, *si*) refers to the Buddhist temple in Chinese, but Ruggieri used it to name the Church. See also Jacques Gernet, *La politique de conversion de Matteo Ricci et l'évolution*

the Osciano was nothing more than an Idol. Maybe, under the advice of Qu Ru-kui 瞿汝夔 (1549-1611), the first converted of Matteo Ricci in China in 1605, a shift in nominating the Jesuits themselves was accelerated.³⁴⁰ In 1595, Father Valignano ordered the Jesuits stationed in China to grow hair and beards, in order to avoid the Chinese misconception about them being idols. Since then, Matteo Ricci began to call himself “il predicatori letterati,” rather than those previous names.³⁴¹ With this new name, the Jesuits distinguished and distanced themselves both from Buddhism and Daoism. Four years later, Matteo Ricci made an important decision. He started to dress like the followers of Confucius, putting on the robes of the Confucian.

Il vestito che pigliò il Padre Matteo in questa entrata era tutto de' Predicatori letterati, che è assai honesto et la berretta è in Croce assai simile alla nostra berretta da prete.³⁴²

When he presented himself to his Chinese friends, they applauded him as a real *litteratus*. “Il grande letterato forastiero, il signor. Si thai (che così chiamano al Padre Matteo per nome grande) Ricci,” they commented.³⁴³ In the eyes of Matteo Ricci’s Chinese friends, the *Letterato Forestiero* of his *Diary* was following the doctrine of Confucius and pointing out the falsity of the doctrine of the Idols which had been accepted by the major part of the *litterati* of those days.³⁴⁴ Matteo Ricci and his followers of the the policy of accommodation were kept from both the Buddhists and “the *litterati* of today,” that is, the neo-Confucians, who were detested by Matteo Ricci as Confucianism of Today (今儒, *jinru*). With the image of the *litteratus* (or Letterato Forestiero), Catholicism was not considered a sort of religion anymore, but one piece of socialized doctrine in which almost all the religious factors were hidden to adapt to Confucianism.

In Ricci’s *Tianzhu shiyi*, the dialogue unfolded between a *Chinese litteratus* and a *litteratus* from the West, namely, Western *litteratus*, and it was about the doctrine of Christianity which was believed to be found convergent in the Chinese Classics. Such compatibility was accepted by the Chinese *litterati*. Li Zhi-zao wrote,

de la vie politique et intellectuelle en Chine aux environs de 1600, p.117. More information about Ruggieri’s affinity with Christianity and Buddhism, see R.Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, pp.94-96.

³⁴⁰ See Chen Shou-yi 陳受頤, *Mingmo qingchu yesuhuishi de rujiaoguan jiqi fanying*, pp.1-64, especially p.11. See also Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo VII*, Libro Quarto, in *Della entrata*, p.312.

³⁴¹ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo IX*, Libro Terzo, in *Della entrata*, p.231. This “Predicatori letterati” was called by Father Longobardi “*Daoren*” 道人 (Doctrinor) in Chinese, see *FR*, I, p.338, note 3.

³⁴² Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo VII*, Libro Quarto, in *Della entrata*, p.312.

³⁴³ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo VII*, Libro Quarto, in *Della entrata*, p.313.

³⁴⁴ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo VII*, Libro Quarto, in *Della entrata*, p.312, and p.313.

東海西海，心同理同，所不同者，特言語文字之際。

The Mind, as well as the Principle, from both the East Sea and the West Sea is no different. The difference is seen only in the languages and letters they employ.³⁴⁵

With hard work on a voluminous literary writing, Matteo Ricci and his companions finally established the relationship of Western *litteratus* with *Chinese litteratus* by highlighting that both had common points. The geographical boundary was taken aside, though the name “Western *Litteratus*” still demonstrated foreignness.³⁴⁶

With Western *litteratus* (*xiru*) linked to one particular social identity, they were to assume a double-personality: they imitated Chinese *litterati* in dressing, lifestyle, speaking, reading (Chinese Classics) and even sometimes in *opinions*. They came from the West, teaching the knowledge of Europe in the guise of the Learning from Heaven, even though the science of such kind they took in China was selected, *solum interponimus iudicium in seligendo* (“we interpose by selecting the unique judgment”) out of the requirement of the religious missions.³⁴⁷ Among them there was Nicolas Trigault, both in the eyes of the Westerners, as depicted by the Flemish Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), and of the Chinese (see image: “*Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*”). The above mentioned Han-yun put Nicolas Trigault after Matteo Ricci as *houjin zheren* 後進哲人 (Philosopher as protégé) as discussing the doctrine from the West.³⁴⁸ Similarly, in the eyes of Wang-zheng, who wrote,

金四表先生，乃天下極西國人，慕我明崇文之化，梯航九萬里，作賓于王。

Signor Jin Si-biao comes from the Extreme West (極西, *jixi*). Having the greatest admiration for the Culture-only civilization of the Great Ming, he reached China, after ninety thousand miles of travelling by sea and by land. He is esteemed as an honored guest of the Emperor.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ Li Zhi-zao, *Preface to the Tianzhu shiyi*, in BNF, Chinois 6820, f.3b.

³⁴⁶ Willard Peterson emphasized, “From the way he conducted himself after 1595, it seems clear that Matteo Ricci had decided that acting as a *litteratus* did not jeopardize his Christian mission even as it diminished his foreignness”, Willard Peterson, *Learning from Heaven: The Introduction of Christianity and Other Western Ideas into Late Ming China*, in D.Twitchett and F.W. Mote, ed., *The Cambridge History of China: Vol.8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp.789-839, especially p.801. Actually, such tension in the Learning between China and Europe went throughout the whole history of the Jesuit mission in China.

³⁴⁷ Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Claudio Acquaviva S.J., Preposito Generale* [Pechino, 15 agosto 1606], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p.429; and see also Nicolas Standaert, *The Transmission of Renaissance culture in seventeenth-century China*, pp.368-377.

³⁴⁸ Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1625), in Yysp, p.5.

³⁴⁹ Wang-zheng, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1626), in Yysp, p.12 (f.3b).

As usual, the travel was very arduous and long (ninety thousand miles). The Jesuits undertook such a long journey not only out of a great admiration for Chinese civilization, but also because they intended to preach Christianity in China and convert its people. The *XREMZ*, from the first draft to its fruition, had possession of such an affinity with these Western *literati* (*xiru*), especially with Nicolas Trigault, who presented it to the public.

It is *Ermuzi* that Nicolas Trigault wanted to present. To speak of *Ermuzi*, I shall talk about the opinion of the Eyes (目, *mu*) and Ears (耳, *er*) in the Chinese writings of the missionaries in China in that day. Very often, eyes and ears were referred to in visualizing and hearing. Spanish Father Diego de Pantoja once distinguished their functions. He wrote very briefly,

目所視，色加光也；耳所聽，聲音而已。

What the Eyes are watching is color with lighting; while, what the Ears are hearing is merely utterance and sound.³⁵⁰

Another Jesuit Johann Schreck in his *Taixi renshen shuogai* 泰西人身說概 (Study of the Extreme West on human body) (1643) held the same idea. He listed five organs and put the eyes and ears in the most relevant positions. For this, he explained to the readers,

五官中最尊貴者，莫如眼睛。其視力能遠大，亦更細微，屬人身第一公用，故列于首章。眼既屬第一尊貴之官，故其位置不宜低下[.....]。凡人務學，欲博聞事理，交接世人，惟耳為最要之器具，屬人身尊貴之官，故位置亦在高處。

Among the Five Organs, eyes are most respectful. They can gain great insight. Being most important, they are to be discussed in the first chapter. Since the eyes are most esteemed, their position should be very high.[...]. For everybody who studies and hopes to enrich knowledge and communicate with others, the ears are the most meaningful media and the esteemed organ. For this, its position should be higher as well.

³⁵¹

Just as the term “Extreme West” (泰西, *taixi*) demonstrates in the title “*Taixi renshen shuogai*,” the sort of knowledge they were talking about had a European origin. Underneath, its meaning and sense was

³⁵⁰ Diego de Pantoja, *Tianzhu shiyi xupian* 天主實義續篇 (The Extended Tianzhu shiyi), in ARSI., Jap.Sin.I.83a, f.42b.

³⁵¹ Johann Terrenz Schreck, *Taixi renshen gaishuo* 泰西人身說概, in BNR, 72c.486.1, vol.2, ff.6a-b, and f.10a.

extended to the religious context, as can be seen in the same work of Father Pantoja.³⁵² It is also true for the *XREMZ*. Nicolas Trigault described the function of eyes and ears as media to communicate with the world outside, but discerning them more carefully and devoting importance only to language.

音韻包言，邊正包字。言者可聞，字者可覽。是耳目之資，全在言字之列也。言既列，則分音韻。字既列，則分邊正。

Sounds and rhymes are included in “spoken words” (*yan*); and shadows and corpora are included in “written words” (*zi*). The “spoken words” (*yan*) can be heard, and the “written words” (*zi*) can be seen. Therefore, the help to ears and eyes is completely up to the arrangement of the “spoken words” (*yan*) and the “written words” (*zi*), respectively. As far as the “spoken words” (*yan*) are listed, sounds and rhymes can be discerned; as far as the “written words” (*zi*) are done, shadows and corpora can be distinguished.³⁵³

When Nicolas Trigault inserted “ears” and “eyes” into the title of the *XREMZ*, it does not prevent us from concluding that he was dealing with the same subject that he had learned in Europe and that he used in another context in China: “spoken words” (*yan/lingue*) and “written words” (*zi/lettere*), two aspects of Chinese.

Such kind of knowledge, assumed in the form of the *XREMZ*, could be understood universally. At first this book was conceived as a dictionary that could help Westerners in the study of the Chinese language.³⁵⁴ Later on, it was re-edited to be of use also to Chinese people.³⁵⁵ The *XREMZ* was meant for anyone interested.

Two hundred years later, Italian sinologist Antonio Montucci decided to edit a Chinese-European dictionary on the basis of variant dictionaries that he had collected.³⁵⁶ There were already similar dictionaries published in Europe around that time. But the bright spot of Antonio Montucci’s plan was the fact that his project was similar to what Wang-zheng tried to do two hundred years earlier. The main difference between Wang-zheng’s and Antonio Montucci’s dictionaries is that the latter was supposed to be dedicated only to the European readers. As a matter of fact, as we shall see later,

³⁵² For example, in Diego de Pantoja’s *Tianzhu shiyi xupian*, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.I.83a, ff.25a-b, f.34a, f.42b.

³⁵³ Yyp, p.112 (f.32b). On the definitions of “Shadow” and “Corpus”, see in Chapter II, 2.1 “A Historical Introduction”.

³⁵⁴ The original text is “this book serves only the traveler who is suffering from deafness and blindness” (此書原以供旅人聾瞽之用耳), see Nicolas Trigault, *Self-preface* to the *XREMZ*, in Yyp, p.51 (f.2a).

³⁵⁵ The original text is “like sane men, the gentlemen have no need of the medicine books. But it is not inutile for them to have preserved these books” (大方之家，雖無所用之。第瞽之無疾者，時蓄醫書，恐亦未足為累也), see Nicolas Trigault, *Self-preface* to the *XREMZ*, in Yyp, p.51 (f.2a). The Chinese discussant held the same opinion, see Yyp, p.112 (f.32b).

³⁵⁶ See Antonio Montucci, *Urh-chih-tsze-teen-se-yin-pe-keaou: Being A Parallel Drawn between the two Intended Chinese Dictionaries* (from now on *Being A Parallel Drawn*), London, 1817, pp.56-58.

Antonio Montucci did not read the whole of Trigault's book, because the first *Yysp* was missing, the theoretical introduction leading to the other two *pu*. Seen in this light, it is not hard to conclude that the *XREMZ* must be attainable for both sides: Europeans and Chinese. In usage, there is a loose link between *Xiru* and *Ermuzi*. Even Wang-zheng declared that the *Ermuzi* must be available to ten thousand countries (萬國, *wanguo*).³⁵⁷ Just like Christianity, this learning was universal.

Perhaps all the remarks are to conclude that the *XREMZ* was aimed at both sides. However, in one letter addressed to Montmorency, his Flemish friend and also a Jesuit, dated 13 September 1627 from Hangzhou, Nicolas Trigault expressed his own opinion on this book.

Scripseram autem sinicè, quod mihi nunc satis est expeditum tribus tomis, Sinarum characteres ad nostraram vocalium et consonantium ordinem ita revocavi, ut intra triduum a Sinis totum artificium intelligatur. Opus a grammatico grammaticum, Sinis stupor fuit, quod mirarentur hominem externum errores suos, quibus in hac materia scatebant, emendasse, opus hoc est esca amplissima, et quae jam multos in Christi sagenam compulit.[...] Hoc sinis, aliud nostris. Quinque illorum volumina quae illis tanti sunt, quanti nobis sacra Biblia, latina paraphrasi explicavi, quod de alio volumine, quod *tetrabiblion* vocant, fecerat olim P. Mattheus Riccius; hoc opus imperfectum vult a me poliri P. noster Provincialis, ut nostrarum qui hic recentes veniunt studium facilius fiat: nam alioquin Europaeis est inutile.³⁵⁸

Here, “artificium” is a reference to “our system of script,” just as C. Dehaisnes has translated it, that was focused on the transliteration between Chinese and Latin letters.³⁵⁹ It was only one aspect of the work Trigault was doing as a grammarian (*opus a grammatico grammaticum*), that, however, must be linked to the sounds.³⁶⁰ By this, Father Trigault said that the Chinese were fascinated by the accomplishment of one “outsider” (hominem externum) who had pointed out so many errors in the Chinese texts. The Chinese interlocutor, after talking with Trigault about *Lyyp*, the second part of the *XREMZ*, turned to criticize his native Chinese learners,

本國之人，未知元音元韻所以然之理，真聾而自以為聰者，可慚也。

³⁵⁷ Wang-zheng, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1626), in *Yysp*, pp.23-24 (ff.9a-b).

³⁵⁸ C. Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.282. Florent De Montmorency (18 September, 1580-13 August, 1659?) was a Flemish Jesuit and ecclesiastical writer of the *Dictata in universam Aristotelis logicam: in libros priorum Analyticorum Aristotelis* (Collège d'Anchin, Douai, 1608-09).

³⁵⁹ C. Dehaisnes translated the Latin phrase “a Sinis totum artificium intelligatur” into “les habitants du pays pouvaient comprendre notre système d'écriture.”, see C. Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.295.

³⁶⁰ Aristotle, “e.g. grammar, which is one science, studies all articulate sounds.” see Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1003b20-1.

Men of this country, although understanding little of “the whys and therefore” of primordial sound (*yuanyin*) and primordial rhyme (元韻, *yuanyun*), always pretend themselves to be clever. In fact, he remains deaf. How shameful.³⁶¹

As a consequence, many of them were pushed into the “bag” of Christianity, as Trigault had written to Montmorency. In the course of forming the *XREMZ*, Nicolas Trigault changed the purpose by directing the *XREMZ* at Chinese readers. “These are for the Chinese, while others are for us” (*Hoc sinis, aliud nostris*), he reported. Here, those others for Europe are Chinese Classics (*Tetrabiblion*) which were about to be translated into Latin, first by Matteo Ricci and then by Nicolas Trigault. These were the duties the Western *literati* had to assume at that time. This letter would be read out after reaching Europe, in the usual manner of communication between the Jesuits in China and in Europe. Accomplishments of the Jesuit mission in China were always boasted in a propagandistic tone.

Conclusion

The previous pages are dedicated to illustrating the making of the *XREMZ*, which was assembled by bringing together various elements. Based on a pre-existing rhyme and character book which had been diffused within the Society of Jesus, and which would determine the usage of the future *XREMZ*, this *XREMZ* was embodied gradually by Nicolas Trigault, with the help of a group of Chinese *literati*, a good number of China’s rhyme books, character books and other elements of China’s lexicography. It was opened along with the expansion of the Jesuit missions in China, and it stopped when Nicolas Trigault was ordered to give up this mission, for Manuel Dias hoped that he would write for European readers, “aliud nostris” as Nicolas Trigault himself put. In October 1626, Nicolas Trigault went back to Hangzhou, following the Yellow River.³⁶² But the history of the *XREMZ* was continually extended

³⁶¹ Yysp, p.243 (f.98a).

³⁶² Dehainses recorded sympathetically the feeling of Nicolas Trigault when the latter was told to abandon the provinces after a lot of work, “Mais il n’osa, il ne voulut pas, comme il le dit lui-même, opposer une trop grande résistance aux ordres de ses supérieurs; et quittant le champ à peine défriché et les vastes deserts encore inféconds qu’il arrosait de ses sueurs depuis trois à quatre ans, il revint dans les provinces orientales de la Chine”, see C.Dehainses, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.189. Trigault abandoned his mission at the beginning of its fourth year, specifically at the beginning of October 1626. At that time, the Yellow River must have not frozen. See Ke Su-juan 可素娟, *Huanghe bingling yanjiu* 黄河冰凌研究 (Research on the Freezing of the Yellow River), Ji’nan: Huanghe chubanshe, 2002, p.53. Because Ke Su-juan did not furnish us with all the frozen cases in the history of the Yellow River, my synthesis is based only upon a possibility.

from these remote regions to the traditional centers of the Jesuit missions in China, and finally to the whole continent.

This book might have had an impact on China's scholars of that time, since it was reprinted around or before 1628, according to a single piece of colophon (see fig. 2), well-known as *shupai* 書牌 (Book Remark), which had been inserted into certain remaining copies.³⁶³ It is one single-side-folio colophon, consisting of two parts. The principal one is a square divided into two columns. The first column on the right is occupied by the title *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* 西儒耳目資 in Chinese. Near to it, there is another column. At the top there are: *Yi yin pu* 譯引譜, *Yin yun pu* 音韻譜 and *Bian zheng pu* 邊正譜, three Chinese subtitles of each *pu* that are slightly different from those in the text of the *XREMZ*. Under them, there is a piece of script and some words are engraved.

自利西泰先生觀光中國，而有唐之景教重光，茲刻通會華夷字學，以集大成，為后賢習字要訣者，遍攷沈韻篇海諸書，訂正字母翻切之謬，法簡理精。得是書也，不惟中國無難識之字，誤讀之字，且補中國有音無字之缺，又通遠國奇異之字，此聖朝同文盛事，而博雅者所樂觀也。故因張太宰之刻而廣行之。

After Signor Li Xi-tai 利西泰 reached China, Jingjiao 景教 (Religion of Jing) of the Tang (618-907) Dynasty started to revive. Thus, this work is modified to comprehend the word learning both of China and of the Alien, and it is a superior masterwork, because it provides a method to study Chinese for the late learners. All other vocabularies, including *Shenyun* and *Pianhai*, had been examined, all the errors of the *fanqie spelling* had been corrected. The method is simple, but the principle is ingenious. If this book is read, there will be no unknown words in China, and no words being misread. Moreover, the shortcoming that Chinese language cannot be used to express “spoken words” through “written words” will be remedied. Besides, this book can communicate with the strange words of the extreme remote countries. It shows the prosperity of the *Unification* of languages of our Saint Dynasty, which the *literati* must be happy to have seen. Therefore, it is widely issued, after Zhang Tai-zai put it into print.³⁶⁴

In terms of book review, the anonymous writer expressed warm approbation of the book, by listing a number of its advantages. He believed that the word learning of this book would benefit the study of the Chinese language. Eventually, he concluded that this book was good for the *Unification* of

³⁶³ The remaining copies holding the colophon can be found in the Fusinian Library of Taipei (Call number “Aft031r”) and the National Library of Taiwan (Call number “平 1080 (164)”). Both have put the colophon first. Besides, this colophon is attached to the edition of 1933.

³⁶⁴ *Colophon* attached to *Yyisp*, p.274.

languages, in a tone that could be heard in many Chinese dictionaries. By probing into such a brief introduction, readers who read of this colophon would immediately capture the general information it contained.

Besides, there is a vertical line *Jingfengguan cangban* 景風館藏板 (Print Board of Jingfengguan) at the extreme left side of it. Some information about its publication could be deduced. *Jingfengguan* 景風館 is the printing house which was placed in Xi'an, in honor of the ancient Christian sect of *Jing* 景 in China, as the rediscovered Nestorian monument of 781 A.D. had called it. Accordingly, this printing house had printed *XREMZ* in Xi'an. It is said that the printing boards of the *XREMZ* were transported from Xi'an to the Vatican before 1949.³⁶⁵ The remaining section of the colophon is another vertically single line, containing more information on the edition. This line can be cut into three sections from top to bottom: “Wulin Liya cangban” 武林李衙藏版 (Print Board of Liya in Wulin), “Fanke bijiu” 翻刻必究 (Reproduction must be investigated), and “Yan Shao-xuan faxing” 儼少萱發行 (Distributed by Yan Shao-xuan). Among them, *Wulin* is the nickname of Hangzhou. In all probability, the issuer Yan Shao-xuan came from this city. But *Wulin Liya* 武林李衙, translated literally as *Official Court of Li in Hangzhou*, was no longer one governmental branch, as Albert Chan *SJ* had thought that the reproduction of the *XREMZ* related to local government in 1627.³⁶⁶ *Liya* 李衙, as many *Ya* in other similar cases, was private rather than official in late Ming China. This institute was held by a certain man whose family name was *Li* 李.³⁶⁷

Irregularly, this line lies outside on the left of the whole square. It suggests that there are two different editions: *Jingfengguan* and *Wulin liya*, and the latter emerged later. After an examination of these two remaining copies, page by page and volume by volume, correspondingly, no discrepancy has been found. Surely, both Printing Houses used the same printing boards, and that of Hangzhou had copied the one of Xi'an.

³⁶⁵ Du Song-shou, *Luomahua hanyu pinyin de lishi yuanyuan – jianjie mingji zai xi'an chuban de Xi Ru Er Mu Zi*, pp.64-70.

³⁶⁶ See Albert Chan, *SJ*, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome*, pp.431-432.

³⁶⁷ See Shen-jin 沈津, *Shuo Benya cangban* 說本衙藏板 (On the Print Board of *ya*), in *Chang Bide jiaoshou bazhijinwu shouqing lunwenji* 昌彼得教授八秩晉五壽慶論文集 (Collections for the 85th Birthday of Professor Chang Peter), Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 2005, pp.211-220. (My friend Li-ling suggested that I read this interesting article, for which, I am very grateful.)

To be sure, the reproduction happened in the same year or some years later.³⁶⁸ With the present information, it is not easy to come to a formal conclusion. I try to approach this definitive answer by starting from the question of *Taboo* that the Chinese texts had to be concerned with at that time. The editor did not prevent *XREMZ* from using the prohibited characters that appeared in the name of the Emperors of the Qing Dynasty: Shun-zhi 順治, Kang-xi 康熙 and Qian-long 乾隆. As it is well-known, the *Taboo question* in the Qing Dynasty was observed more rigorously than in the Ming Dynasty. Probably, this text was published before 1661, the year when Emperor Shun-zhi died.³⁶⁹ By investigating more details in the colophon, the date could be better confirmed. There is an expression *shengchao* 聖朝 (Saint Dynasty) in the colophon. It is impossible to call the Ming Dynasty “Saint Dynasty” during the rule of the Manchu, if this publication did come out in the Qing Dynasty. This indicates that the publication of the *XREMZ* came as early as 1644. It *was* a product of the Ming Dynasty.

Tracing the last point left in this colophon, I manage to confine the date of the reproduction to a definite moment. The anonymous writer of the colophon named by Zhang Wen-da as Zhang Tai-zai 張太宰. “Tai-zai” 太宰 is the respectful title of Minister of Personnel. Likely, this writer knew Zhang Wen-da and his relationship with the *XREMZ*. According to the custom to mention a dead person in China, the character “*gu*” 故 (the late) was added before the name or the post, so as to show respect, if Wen-da did die before the publication of the book. Regarding this script, the *XREMZ* was republished when Zhang Wen-da was still alive. As discussed elsewhere (in chapter I, “4.2 Zhang Wen-da”), the ex-minister died after 1626, but before 1628. So, the book was reprinted in this period when Nicolas Trigault was still alive. With the republication, more persons would know of it. Of course, its history would continue.

Moreover, all of these elements involved in these cultural activities made the *XREMZ* a dictionary aimed at the Chinese and meant for their benefit. In the eyes of some Chinese scholars, this dictionary could be incorporated into the Learning from Heaven and given an image of missionary writings,

³⁶⁸ The same case can be seen in Alfonso Vagnoni’s *Tianzhu shengjiao shengren xingshi* 天主聖教聖人行實. It had been printed in Hangzhou and Fu-jian the same year 1629, see Alfonso Vagnoni, *Tianzhu shengjiao shengren xingshi*, in BNF, Chinois 6693, Chinois 6695.

³⁶⁹ Jerry Sheu, Yng-chien, ed., *Zhongguo yinshuashi luncong* 中國印刷史論叢 (The Encyclopedia of Chinese Printing History), Taipei: Zhongguo yinshua xuehui, 1997, vol.1, pp.218-9. The same deduction could be found in one letter of Klaproth attached to one copy of *XREMZ*, in BAV, Borg.Cin.440-441. I say “Probably”, because the Emperor Shun-zhi and his government executed a relatively lenient *Taboo* policy. So, the republication may occur before 1661.

which comprised variant virtue and principle (義理, *yili*),³⁷⁰ as a reaction to the reality that the Chinese dictionary was badly designed. But this image, and the propagandistic tone in Nicolas Trigault's letter of 1627, would not last forever. Sometimes, it remained only in the course of fabrication of works such as the Learning from Heaven in order to draw the attention of Chinese listeners; sometimes, it was heard in the propagandistic travelling, and in the letter to Europe when it arrived, together with other writings of the missionaries; and sometimes, it was heard when it circulated amongst those who were fascinated by works such as the Learning from Heaven, together with other similar writings. Besides that, it was a dictionary by a *litteratus* of the West, just as the copy preserved in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu* in Rome whose title was transcribed into *Vocabularium Sinicarum Vocum ad pronunciationes europeas accommodatarum*.³⁷¹ Antonio Montucci took the *Lyyp* and the *Lbzp* as good examples among the Chinese dictionaries, calling them "two curious indexes."³⁷² Western *litteratus* (*xiru*), which seems so important that it cannot be separated from *Ermuzi* 耳目資, was discarded. In the next chapters, I will enter the topic of the *XREMZ*'s structure and content.

³⁷⁰ Yang Ting-yun's understanding of virtue and principle (*yili*) of the West, see his *Daiyi pian* (Explanation of the Doubts) (1621), in BNF, chinois 7093, vol.1, ff.18a-20b.

³⁷¹ See ARSI, Jap.Sin.127. The similar translation *Vocabularium Sinarum ad vocabula Europea & pronunciationes juxta accentus* could be found in a *Catalogue* of 1686, see ARSI, Jap.sin.I. 193, f.14.

³⁷² See Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.27, and see also Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.261.

Part II

Western Symbols and the Path to Construct *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi*

Before analyzing in detail each volume, I shall clarify the term “*pu*” 譜, that Nicolas Trigault employed in the *XREMZ* to name his three *Yiyin shou pu* 譯引首譜 (from now on *Yysp*), *Lie yinyun pu* 列音韻譜 (from now on *Lyyp*) and *Lie bianzheng pu* 列邊正譜 (from now on *Lbzp*). The “*pu*” means a sort of “book” treating the different items, such as lyrical rhymes and tones, family genealogy, and so on, arranging them according to a certain order. This use of the term “*pu*” in the *XREMZ* is identical to the one used in the Chinese texts. So, I take the term “*pu*”, instead of “*volume*” to mean these three parts: *Yysp*, *Lyyp* and *Lbzp*.

Introduction

Western Symbols and Word Learning (字學, *zixue*) of the *XREMZ*

1. Western Symbols and the Bilingual Design of the Frontispiece

Simply looking at the layout of this text, partly in Latinized Chinese and partly in standard Chinese, it should be clear that *XREMZ* is marked by a sort of bilingual design. Through the examination of some extant copies, we notice that in the *XREMZ* both cover and frontispiece have the same layout, and they can be distinguished only by their different subtitles. The cover was designed in a simple way, as were many other ancient Chinese books. The title *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* 西儒耳目資 is traced with brush pen in black ink on the upper left side of the cover. Beneath it, the subtitle of each *pu* is written in a much smaller size. In this way, title and subtitles are clearly recognized. From the cover, the reader is able to find out immediately to which *pu* each volume belongs. Moreover, this design suggests to the reader that he is dealing with a multi-volume work.

Following the cover is a single-folio frontispiece (see fig. 3), with a square on its right side. In the middle of it stands the Chinese-written title *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi*, drawn in ancient Chinese calligraphy. Two lines, written vertically, are traced next to the title: *Tianqi bingyin/mengchun wangri* 天啓丙寅/孟春望

日 on the right end and *Liaoyidaoren/Liangfu/zixing* 了一道人/良甫/梓行 on the left one.¹ This tells us that the *XREMZ* was put into print by Wang-zheng in the first month of 1626, according to the Chinese lunar calendar. The square is surrounded by a few other elements. There are four groups of Chinese characters. At the top is a Chinese-written line: *zimingzi yuanmu* 自鳴字元母 (“vowels”), under which are five Latin letters (A, E, I, O, V), inscribed in capital form. Similarly, there are two lines containing other characters, *tongmingzi yuanfu* 同鳴字元父 (“consonants”), traced vertically on both sides. Two groups of Latin letters in capital form are arranged from top to bottom inside the square: C, CH, K, P, T, J, V, F, G, L on the right; and M, N, S, X, H, B, D, Q, R, Z on the left. In total, the number of the *tongmingzi yuanfu* (“consonants”) is twenty. Nicolas Trigault called these phonetic symbols *yuanyin* 元音 (“primordial sounds”), including both *zimingzi yuanmu* (“vowels”) and *tongmingzi yuanfu* (“consonants”).

It is important to highlight one point about these *yuanyin* (“primordial sounds”): the capital form of “V” in the *zimingzi yuanmu* (“vowels”) corresponds to the small letter of “u”, instead of that of “v.” The small letters “u” and “v” are usually distinguished in Chinese, being written in two different characters: respectively 午 [U] (“midday”) and 物 [Voe] (“substance”). And both characters are found in different sections of the *XREMZ*: the former is *yuanmu* (“final”) while the latter being *yuanfu* (“initial”) and play consequently different roles in spelling one sound.² Beside these Latin letters, there is another Chinese line written at the bottom: *wusheng xihao* 五聲西號 (“Western symbols of five tones”). Above them, five Western symbols of tones: ~, ‘, ¯, ` , ^ are engraved. Given such design, the readers can have a first impression on what the *zimingzi yuanmu*, *tongmingzi yuanfu* and *wusheng xihao* are before reading the content of the *XREMZ*.

The *verso* of the frontispiece is designed in a similar way, but what the inscription tells is different. The Chinese subtitles *Yysp*, *Lyyp* and *Lbzp* are placed in the middle of the square, corresponding to each individual *pu*. As before, the Chinese line *zimingzi yuanmu* (“vowels”) is at the top and the two *tongmingzi yuanfu* (“consonants”) are on the two sides. Even though the layout corresponds to the one described above, this time Chinese characters are employed, whose pronunciation, however, is similar

¹ “Tianqi bingyin” 天啓丙寅: the sixth year of the reign of the Tianqi (天啓) Emperor, that is the year 1626; “Mengchun wangri” 孟春望日, the first month in spring [of 1626].

² In present-day Chinese both 午 and 物 have the same pronunciation [Wu], and can be distinguished only by their tone: Wǔ 午 and Wù 物. Moreover, Nicolas Trigault also distinguished the Latin letter *I* from Latin letter *J*. The former is written 衣 (I) and the latter 日 (Jě).

to those Latin letters on the *recto* of the frontispiece. Still, some difference is to be noted, because not all the Latin letters are correspondingly represented in this group of Chinese characters. First of all, we find that the corresponding Chinese character for *Q* has disappeared, because it shares the “same attribute” (同德, *tongde*) with another alphabetic letter “*D*.”³ Trigault thought there was no need to repeat the two alphabetic letters. It is a matter of fact that the Flemish father had already excluded the letter “*Q*”, when he taught Wang-zheng the knowledge of Latin letters in Jingyang. In 1627, Wang-zheng managed to apply this knowledge for the *Qiqi tushuo* 奇器圖說 (Illustration of the Wonderful Machines). In this book, the list of Western symbols, including five *zimingzi yuanmu* 自鳴字元母 (“vowels”: *a, e, i, o, u*) and fifteen *tongmingzi yuanfu* 同鳴字元父 (“consonants”: *ç, ch, k, p, t, j, v, f, l, m, n, s, x, h*) perfectly corresponds to the frontispiece we are reading, both in its number and in its order.⁴ Wang-zheng stated,

西字止二十號耳。

Western words comprise only twenty symbols.⁵

Probably, even though Wang-zheng had been responsible of the whole enterprise (the design of the frontispiece included), there must have been another Latin alphabetical system used to design it, since Latin letter *Q* appeared on the *recto* and disappeared on the *verso*.

We also find that the place which should have hosted the corresponding sound for *B, D, R, Z* is left blank, and no Chinese character is employed. Such detail suggests that the designer was conscious of the fact that the initial sound of *B, D, R, Z* did not exist in Chinese. Their disappearance on the *verso* means that these Western symbols were not as simple as alphabetic letters, but they were phonetic symbols introduced by Nicolas Trigault to comply with the same ones in Chinese. Evidently, Nicolas Trigault had no intention to instruct the readers in Latin during the composition of the *XREMZ* from 1624 to 1626. If we think of this conclusion in a larger context, we can rethink the attitude of Trigault toward the use of Latin in the Catholic liturgy in China. For him, there was no need to study Latin in

³ See *Yyyp*, p.122 (f.37b).

⁴ Wang-zheng, *Sample*, in *Qiqi tushuo*, in BNF, Chinois 5661, f.4a. Wang-zheng enumerated the Latin letters and its combination as twenty-five, dividing them into *ziming* and *tongming*, Wang-zheng, *Preface* to the *XREMZ*, pp.7-24 (ff.1a-9b).

⁵ Wang-zheng, *Sample*, in *Qiqi tushuo*, f.3b.

the Kingdom of China (“*fieri non potest ut linguae latinae studium in Sinense regnum inducatur*”), as he reported it in a memorial submitted to the Roman Church in 1616.⁶

Lower on the same page, the “*wusheng xihao*” and its five Western symbols of tones have been substituted correspondingly by *yinyun wusheng* 音韻五聲 (Five Tones in Sound) and their Chinese terms: *ru* 入 (entering), *qu* 去 (departing), *qing* 清 (clear-even), *shang* 上 (rising), and *zhuo* 濁 (muddy-even). Therefore, all Chinese characters have been traced on this page, according to Western symbols. Through this comparison, Chinese readers might know the relationship of Latin letters (or Western symbols) with Chinese characters, and what these Western symbols meant in the book. It is designed to be a tool, as we can see these two modes of writing (Chinese characters and Latin letters/Western symbols) in a parallel manner elsewhere through the whole text of the *XREMZ*. Between them it is claimed that Chinese was the “official” language of the *XREMZ*, and that it was used to explore Western symbols. Furthermore, by relying on Chinese characters, Chinese readers were even able to imitate sounds of Western Symbols. For them, this frontispiece (and the whole text of the *XREMZ* as well) becomes not only visual, but also legible. Probably, such a frontispiece seemed to be intentional, since there was no Latin study in China at the moment when Trigault was writing his *XREMZ*.

While the Jesuits in Japan had already taught Latin in 1601 to the local population (or local scholastics) – even if the learning level never reached a decent standard in the eyes of Alessandro Valignano –⁷ there was almost no study of Latin in China.⁸ Certainly, there had been the Latin training and other European languages (Italian and Portuguese) systematically taught to the Chinese in Macau since 1572. But the class of Latin was for those who would be ordained into the Society of Jesus, and not for the secular students.⁹ In 1621, Li Zhi-zao was one of the few to know that the twenty-three alphabetical letters (Latin) were used to create the language of the West,¹⁰ but such kind of information was generally rare. Probably, he learned Latin from some Jesuit father. In China, Latin lessons would have likely developed within a Jesuit mission. Wang-zheng’s knowledge, for instance, derived from Nicolas Trigault, with whom he composed the *XREMZ*. Later on, he tried to translate some Latin texts

⁶ “*De fide inter Sinas propagata ut peculiare fidei propagandae tribunal*”, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.125, f.109a.

⁷ J.F.Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan*, Routledge, 1993, pp.167-168; see also Peter Burke, *Lingue e comunità nell’Europa moderna*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006, p.65.

⁸ Latin courses were offered in the Colegio Sao Paulo in Macau, see Dong Hai-ying 董海櫻, *Xiren hanyu yanjiu shulun – 16-19 shiji chuqi* 西人漢語研究述論——16 – 19 世紀初期 (The Studying of the Chinese Language by the Westerners from the 16th to the early 19th century) (PhD dissertation), Zhejiang University, 2005, pp. 22-23.

⁹ Isabel Pina, *Jesuítas Chineses e Mestiços da Missão da China (1589-1689)*, Lisboa: CCCM, I.P., 2011, pp.199-204.

¹⁰ Li Zhi-zao, *Preface to Daiyi pian*, in BNF, Chinois 7093, ff.4a-b.

into Chinese when he reached Beijing, but failed.¹¹ Considering Wang-zheng's effort, we conclude that the study of Latin was quite necessary in the opinion of some learned Chinese. There were a good number of texts composed in European languages waiting to be translated. As early as the year 1621, Yang Ting-yun had shown attention to the translations of European publications, brought to China by Nicolas Trigault.¹² It is evident, however, that the knowledge of Latin letters that Trigault (and other Jesuits) was to pass on, was still insufficient to help the Chinese people read Latin texts. Such phenomena seemed to remain unaltered, even after the Roman Church ordained some native Chinese into the priesthood.¹³

As a matter of fact, Trigault was quite conscious of the little knowledge of Latin letters in China when he decided to compose the *XREMZ* in 1624. He acknowledged honestly to his Chinese friend that the word learning would have been understood by the Chinese only if the Western symbols had been studied at the beginning of the learning process.¹⁴ Unfortunately, such word learning would have been resulted slow and complicated, given the lack of knowledge of Latin letters in seventeenth-century China. In order to learn the method for the study of Chinese language, these symbols had to be stressed in order to become familiar to learners, as we have observed from the design of the frontispiece.

On the other hand, throughout my analysis I will try to show that the frontispiece introduces only one aspect of the word learning, which concerns the Western symbols. To a certain degree, this partial approach suggests again the importance of Western symbols in learning Chinese language. But we have to point out that the *XREMZ* is also talking about another aspect of the word learning, which was focused on the way of writing Chinese characters by their division into two components: *bian* 邊

¹¹ Wang-zheng, *Preface to Yuanxi qiqi tushuolu zui*, in Song Bo-yin, *Wang-zheng*, p.115.

¹² Yang Ting-yun, *Daiyi pian* 代疑篇 (Explanation of the Doubts), in BNF, Chinois 7093, ff.21a-b.

¹³ Fang-hao, *Wu Yu-shan shenfu lingxi niandai, jinduo didian ji ladingwen zaoyikao* 吳漁山神父領洗年代，晉鐸地點及拉丁文造詣考 (Priest Wu Yu-shan, his baptism, priesthood and study of the Latin Language), in *Tianzhujiao xueshu yanjiusuo xuebao*, vol.1, 1969, pp.117-126.

¹⁴ Trigault stressed many times the importance of the Western symbols in the *XREMZ*, see Yysp, p.77 (f.15a) and p.217 (f.85a), see also Chapter IV of this dissertation. With these Western symbols, Nicolas Trigault aimed to create a correspondence between Chinese characters and Latin letters in the form of transliteration. I wish to refute some studies (for example Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One: 635-1800*, Brill, 2001, pp.870-871; and Fang-hao, *Ladingwen chuanru zhongguo kao* 拉丁文傳入中國考 (History of Latin Letters in China), in Fang-hao, *Liushi ziding gao* 方豪六十自定稿 (Essays at the age of Sixty), Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1969, vol.1, pp.1-38.) that have, on the contrary, given emphasis only to the transliteration of Chinese characters into Latin letters. No doubt, both the pre-existing Latinization texts, for example Matteo Ricci's *Xizi qiji*, and the more innovative *XREMZ* supplied a standard transliteration for the Jesuits, but the missionaries used it to learn Chinese in reading and writing, rather than transliterate the Church-related Latin words into Chinese graphs, and conversely

(“shadows”/“radicals”) and, *zheng* 正 (“corpora”/ “the remaining part of Chinese character”).¹⁵ Both of them constituted an entire word learning.

But, what is the *word learning* of Nicolas Trigault?

2. Word Learning in the *XREMZ*

The Chinese expression *zixue* 字學, translated literally as “word learning”, was used very often by Nicolas Trigault in the *XREMZ*. Before reading into its meaning in the text of the *XREMZ*, I shall give a brief and very general description of this expression in the Chinese books. In the *Gujin shiwu kao* 古今事物攷 (The Origin of the Things) of Wang San-pin 王三聘 (1501-1577), the voice *zixue* 字學 was defined as “wenzhi zhixue” 文字之學, that means, the study on the language. Undoubtedly, this “language” was exclusively confined to Chinese. The “study on the language” consisted of three branches: “tizhi” 體製 (lines and spots of the Chinese script); “xungu” 訓詁 (explanations of words, namely, the meanings of the words); “yinyun” 音韻 (sounds and rhymes).¹⁶ Wang San-pin came from Zhouzhi 周至, a county not far from Xi’an and lived in Late Ming Empire. His definition was attainable for other scholars, as seen in the example of Han-yun, who described the *zixue* (“word learning”) only with a few modifications. Han-yun also emphasized that there were three branches: “bianpang” 邊傍 (sides/radicals of the characters), “yinyun” 音韻 (sounds and rhymes of the characters) and the last “xungu” 訓詁 (meanings of the characters).¹⁷ The last example comes from the Qing Dynasty and was defined by the editor of the the *Siku Quanshu Zongmu* 四庫全書總目 (Annotated Catalogue of the Complete Imperial Library, from now on *SKZM*). The editors of the *SKZM* used a new term “xiaoxue” 小學 (lesser learning), instead of *zixue* (“word learning”) to contain the following three branches: “xungu” 訓詁, “zishu” 字書 and “yunshu” 韻書. The *XREMZ* was reviewed by the editors of the *SKZM* and then inserted into the “yunshu” of the *SKZM*, as a book of “*cunmu*” 存目.¹⁸

¹⁵ So, it is not exact that the *Yiyin shou pu* 譯引首譜 is called by Albert Chan a “General introduction to phonology”, see Albert Chan, *SJ., Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome*, Armonk, New York: M.E.Sharpe, 2002, p.430. Here, the *yi* 譯 and *yin* 引 correspond to two mentioned aspects of the Chinese character, respectively.

¹⁶ Wang San-pin 王三聘, *Gujin shiwu kao* 古今事物攷 (The Origin of the Things), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, vol.2, p.27.

¹⁷ Han-yun, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1625), in Yysp, p.3.

¹⁸ Introduction for “*Xiaoxue lei*” 小學類 (Section of Lesser Learning), in *SKZM*, and “*XREMZ*”, in *SKZM*, vol.44, p.598. The definition of “*cunmu*” (存目), in part “*Epilog*”, note 108.”

The above list is sufficient to give a general opinion of the *zixue* (word learning) in China. It contained at least three important aspects of a Chinese character: meanings (that is “xungu”訓詁, which was traced back to *Erya* 爾雅, one of the oldest dictionaries to explain Chinese characters); rhymes and sounds (that is “yinyun”音韻, which takes the *Guangyun* 廣韻 as the first one); and the scriptural components (that is “tizhi”體製/ “bianpang”邊傍/ ”zishu”字書: in this case, the book of *Shuowen jiezi* is taken as the example).

When Nicolas Trigault was in Jiangzhou, he might have learnt about the knowledge of Chinese “word learning” from his friend Han-yun and used this term to describe the “word learning” of his own. But he did not intend to follow the concept of the word learning (*zixue*) of China. In speaking of his own method he altered it a bit. In a sentence where Trigault was trying to make distinction between voice, sound, rhyme and *yan* 言 (“spoken word,” a human utterance possessing meaning), he referred to the Chinese expression of *zixue* 字學. He wrote,

今聲之總名，在字學之外，此不必論，言在訓詁之內，旅人不敢以為知，獨音韻屬耳資者，可昌言之。

Generally, voices are not included into the *zixue* (Word Learning), so I won't discuss it here. Otherwise, the *yan* 言 (“spoken words”) is limited to the “xungu” 訓詁, with which I am not familiar. Only the sounds and rhymes are conducted by the Ears, so I will tell of them.¹⁹

By this brief paragraph we cannot have a definite concept of the *zixue* 字學, except for the fact that it was reduced by Nicolas Trigault to the learning of sounds and rhymes. But it is sure that Nicolas Trigault's *zixue* (Word Learning) had nothing to do with the “xungu” 訓詁, a study focusing on the explanation of the words. Nicolas Trigault claimed that he was not familiar with the “xungu” 訓詁, so he did not deal with the “spoken words” (*yan*). But probably the true reason was because he did not have any reason to supply the meanings for the words, but was confined exclusively to sounds and rhymes, that is, the first stage in the construction of a “spoken word” (*yan*). He did not agree with some Chinese scholars about the concept of the “word learning”. Nicolas Trigault limited his Word Learning to the sounds and rhymes, two objects involved by Chinese rhyme books. But at the same time, the

¹⁹ Yysp, p.114 (f.33b).

Flemish father differentiated his own from these rhyme books in China, by introducing Western symbols.²⁰ While penetrating the text of the *XREMZ*, we become ever more sure that the word learning Nicolas Trigault was talking about was different. He said,

敝上字學有定號，以分辨萬音韻之籟，如中華有六書，以分辨萬物之意。

In our humble land the word learning (*zixue*) is furnished with certain symbols as to discern ten thousands of rhymes and sounds. These symbols play the same role as “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) in China. The “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) is used to discern the meanings of ten thousands of the objects in the world.²¹

This “humble land” was indicated by Nicolas Trigault as his native land, and these symbols that the word learning of the “humble land” was using were Latin letters. Through them, Trigault was able to analyze the phonetic elements (sounds and rhymes). And then, he applied them for the study of the Chinese language. In China there was the same kind of word learning, just as the rhyme books mentioned by these Chinese scholars, focusing on the sound and rhyme. But Trigault found it insufficient to make the distinction between *zimu* (“mother words”, rhymes) and *zizi* 字子 (“son words”, syllables/sounds), because both of them had already been represented in the form of Chinese characters.²² It is clear that the difference between these two types of word learning was the application of the symbols and, as a consequence, the question of terminology about the phonetic elements (see Chapter VII). Analyzing in detail this difference would have led Trigault to criticize the *zixue* (word learning) of China, and approve his own from the standpoint of “a Western expert in word learning” (西字學家, *xizixuejia*), who could write directly the sounds in the form of the Western symbols.²³ Without doubt, Nicolas Trigault had taken his own word learning to substitute the part which in China was assumed by the rhyme books, but he changed the contents, by replacing them with Western symbols as we will see in the following Chapter.

In this sentence we also find Trigault comparing his own word learning with the concept of “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) in Chinese language. They focused on different languages. Of course,

²⁰ Nicolas Trigault, *Little Preface to the Wenda*, in *Yysp*, pp.109-111 (ff.31a-32a).

²¹ *Yysp*, p.115 (f.34a).

²² See *Yysp*, p.133 (f.43a), and see also *Yysp*, pp.140-141 (ff.46b-47a).

²³ See *Yysp*, p.143 (f.48a).

there are different types of word learning among them. Once the Chinese interlocutor of the *XREMZ* asked Nicolas Trigault,

貴國字學，算畫察字乎？

Is the “word learning” (*zixue*) used in your country to look for the word by calculating the number of the strokes [as in the case of Chinese character]?²⁴

“To look for the word by calculating the number of the strokes” is the method used by the Chinese character books, because all the Chinese characters were considered to be composed by variant strokes. Clearly this person had little knowledge of European languages. In his imagination the word learning (*zixue*) of China might be interchangeable with the European. Naturally, Trigault refused and pointed out that the words in Europe were coined by the Western symbols.²⁵ Through this dialect, the concept of the word learning (*zixue*) was perceived from the different standpoints of both Nicolas Trigault and the Chinese interlocutor. According to the latter, the word learning (*zixue*) concerns the way of writing Chinese characters, while from the standpoint of Trigault there was a different word learning (*zixue*) in Europe. No doubt, Trigault agreed to use the expression word learning (*zixue*) to describe the word learning of China, which was completely different from his own. In a sentence from the *Lie bianzheng pu wenda* 列邊正譜問答 (Ask and Reply of the Lbzp), Trigault alluded to the expression word learning (*zixue*) again, contrasting it, however, with the sounds and rhymes.²⁶

In sum, there were two types of word learning in the *XREMZ*, and both were accepted by Trigault. Unlike the concept of the word learning (*zixue*) in the eyes of the Chinese scholars mentioned above, who had submitted both the rhyme books and character books to the word learning of China, Trigault viewed both rhyme books and character books as two types of word learning, and distinguished them by confining the word learning of Rhymes and Sounds to the knowledge of Europe, and the word learning of Chinese characters to the knowledge of China. As a result of such division, they were aimed straightly at two different languages: *congyin zhizi* 從音之字 (“phonogram”) of Europe and *congyi zhizi* 從意之字 (“ideogram”) of China (see Chapter VI). It is noteworthy, however, that these two types of word learning in the *XREMZ* were intended to deal with one language, instead of two. Trigault merely used the phonetic knowledge of the *Congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”) to analyze the sounds and

²⁴ Yysp, p.245 (f.99a).

²⁵ See Yysp, p.245 (f.99a).

²⁶ See Yysp, pp.243-244 (ff.98a-b).

rhymes of Chinese. But they were treated differently: the word learning of the rhymes and sounds dominated most of the text, while the word learning of Chinese characters was given little space. This feature, as the reflection of the fact that there was no training of the Latin letters, is very clearly evidenced in the textual arrangement of the entire *XREMZ*.

In the following work, I will try to clarify such features of the textual arrangement, by focusing on the analysis of each section, that is, *Yysp*, *Lyyp* and *Lbzp*, including *form* (textual structure) and *content* (text itself). Both of them constituted the two types of word learning. Then, I will re-evaluate a number of terms, widespread throughout the whole three *pu*. In light of these terms, Trigault re-defined the notion of “sound” and “rhyme” in China, by comparing and contrasting them with those in Europe, aiming to constitute the theoretical basis of his own word learning. These components, in my opinion, are necessary to make the *XREMZ* different from other Chinese rhyme and character books.

Chapter V

Yi Yin Shou Pu 譯引首譜: An Introduction to Word Learning

From an historical perspective, there is a question of *anachronism* in the process of making the *XREMZ*, since the *Yysp* was conceived much later, and joined to the pre-existing rhyme and character book, as its “introduction.” With this *pu* added, Nicolas Trigault could demonstrate theoretically the proper use of his rhyme and character book.

After catching a glimpse of the outline of the *Yysp* from the *Yiyinshoupu mulu* 譯引首譜目錄 (*Contents of the Yysp*), which was put at the beginning of this *pu*,²⁷ we find that the *Yysp* consists of two parts: *Wheels and Tables* (圖局, *tuju*) and the Ask and Reply (*Wenda*) (see below). The “*Wheels and Tables*” (*tuju*) contains two *wheels*: *Wanguo Yinyun huotu* 萬國音韻活圖 (Movable Wheel of the Universal Sounds and Rhymes, from now on *Universal Wheel*)²⁸ and *Zhongyuan yinyun huotu* 中原音韻活圖 (Movable Wheel of the Chinese Sounds and Rhymes, from now on *Chinese Wheel*); and two tables: *Yinyun jingwei zongju* 音韻經緯總局 (General Table of Sounds and Rhymes, from now on

²⁷ It is different from the edition of 1957 in Beijing. The latter placed the *Contents of the Yysp* in the end of the *Yysp*. Comparing it with other surviving copies and with the textual structure of the *Lyyp* and *Lbzp*, it should be put at the beginning of Trigault’s *Little Preface*.

²⁸ Chien Hung-yi has translated the *Yinyun huotu* 音韻活圖 into *Phonetic Wheels*. See Chien Hung-yi, *Trigault’s Phonetic Wheels*, in *Annual of Graduate School of Chinese Literature Soochow University*, 2009, vol.5, pp.435-450.

General Table) and *Yinyun jingwei quanju* 音韻經緯全局 (Complete Table of Sounds and Rhymes, from now on *Complete Table*). They are demonstrated first. The Ask and Reply (*Wenda*), that is, the “Xi Ru Er Mu Zi Wenda” (西儒耳目資問答, Ask and Reply of the XREMZ) is divided into two sections: *Lie yinyun pu Wenda* 列音韻譜問答 (Ask and Reply of Rhymes and Sounds, from now on *Wenda* of the *Lyyp*) and *Lie bianzheng pu Wenda* 列邊正譜問答 (Ask and Reply of Shadow and Corpus, from now on *Wenda* of the *Lbzp*), and is presented later. With this textual arrangement Trigault drew his own opinion,

圖局照現目鏡，問答擊響耳鼓，故表之曰譯引首譜。先目後耳何？學法有序，目必先明，耳后易聽故也。

Wheels and Tables are to reflect upon “the mirror of eyes” 目鏡 (*mujing*), while *Wenda* (Ask and Reply) is meant to strike “the drum of ears” 耳鼓 (*ergu*). Thus, it is called *Yiyin shoupu* 譯引首譜. Why does it deal with the eyes first, and the ears later? Every method has its own order to learn. Only when the eyes become brighter, the ears are easier to be made bright.²⁹

Later I shall discuss the meaning of the title *Yiyin shoupu* 譯引首譜. Here Trigault thought it right to learn *Wheels and Tables* first, and *Wenda* later from a methodological point of view. And yet, he did not suggest that people should understand immediately all four *Wheels and Tables*, as there is a great number of concepts that Trigault would only explicate later in the *Wenda*. By looking at such an arrangement, there is a crucial point of note. Except for the last part of the “Ask and Reply of the Lbzp”, which concerns the “word learning” of Chinese characters, the rest discusses only rhymes and sounds, a fact which suggests that the author held greater store.

1. The *Wheels* and the *Tables*

To some extent, *Wheels and Tables*, and *Wenda* (Ask and Reply), together construct a comprehensive textual structure which allows readers to gain knowledge of “word learning”, visually as well as audibly. The visual knowledge has to be introduced through *Wheels and Tables*. They can be further divided into two groups, each containing two sections.

1.1 *Wanguo Yinyun huotu* 萬國音韻活圖 and *Zhongyuan yinyun huotu* 中原音韻活圖

²⁹ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Yysp*, p.53 (f.3a).

They are two *Wheels* (see fig. 4.). Trigault had added an *Illustration* to each of them. Just as their names suggest, both refer to *yin* 音 (“sounds”) and *yun* 韻 (“rhymes”), but on two dimensions: the universal and the Chinese.

1.1.1 *Wanguo Yinyun huotu*

The *Universal Wheel* consists of seven concentric circles. Each circle is cut into numerous – but very small – cells in which Chinese characters and Western symbols are inserted regularly. Amongst them, the most exterior circle, and the most interior, are filled with different Chinese characters, while the remaining five circles are full of Latin letters. The Latin letters in these five circles are the same both in order and in quantity. Each circle has one cell which remains empty. When these five blank cells are aligned, they form one vertical line. Other four cells in the most exterior circle are filled with very small circles. Trigault had named this *Wheel*,

萬國音韻活圖者，人籟也，包括萬音，而不出其範圍。

The *Movable Wheel of the Universal Sounds and Rhymes*, concerning human voice (utterance), contains all the sounds and no one is excluded.³⁰

It is a movable circle, where the human voices (utterances) could be registered by Western symbols. In the *Illustration of the Universal Wheel*, Nicolas Trigault displayed how the Wheel worked.

人籟如籥，其吹于人口者，總計之二十有九。如孔，所調元音，具不同響。西國有號，以為字。其號相對相會，實生萬音而不止一國之音已也。

The human voice (utterance), making sound in a flutelike tone, possesses twenty-nine rhyme units. As flying from holes (of flute), they are tuned as different “primordial sounds” 元音 (*yuanyin*). In the West, people use symbols to represent the primordial sounds, and viewed them as *Zi* (字, “words”). After combining and unifying them, symbols give birth to tens of thousands of sounds, which do not belong to only one country.³¹

Looking at the *Wheel*, the “primordial sounds” (*yuanyin*) were represented by Latin letters and inserted into five circles. They are arranged by Nicolas Trigault in this order: a, e, i, o, u, ‘ç, ç, ‘ch, ch, ‘k, k, ‘p,

³⁰ Yysp, p.56 (f.4b).

³¹ Yysp, p.56 (f.4b).

p, t, t, j, v, f, g, l, m, n, s, x, h, b, d, r, z. The total number is 29. All of them were set into correspondence with Chinese characters in the outmost, except for Latin letters *b, d, r, z* that are not found in Chinese. For this reason, there are four hollow cells in the largest circle. To some extent, these Chinese characters are borrowed because they were pronounced as if they were Latin letters; but on the other side, these Latin letters are phonetic symbols, far from being a real “Word.” Chinese characters in the interior circle are paralleled by five tones: *qing* 清 (clear-even), *zhuo* 濁 (muddy-even), *shang* 上 (rising), *qu* 去 (departing), *ru* 入 (entering), and each has been enclosed by one series of *shen* 甚 (“sharp”) and *ci* 次 (“round”), which are the “coda” in finals. Since Nicolas Trigault had stressed that tonal knowledge was rooted in China, then Chinese sound could be produced by the moveable Wheel, with the tonal symbols installed on it. No doubt, only when the elements of Chinese sounds are included in the Wheel, a comprehensively universal Wheel can be considered finished.

One human sound can be represented in the form of Western symbols by pushing certain cells to the blank part. Usually this procedure starts from the internal circle, which is the fifth circle according to Nicolas Trigault. Accordingly, the most exterior circle is the first one. As Trigault explains, to make the sound of *Yi* 衣 (cloth)³² “ī”, it is enough to drive the cell “i” from the fifth circle to fill in the blank cell of the same circle and, in the same way, to get the tone *Qing* (“clear-even”). So, the two are aligned. The *Yu* 魚 (fish) “iu”, *Yue* 月 (moon) “iuě”, *Yuan* 遠 (remote) “iuèn”, and *Juan* 倦 (tiring) “kiuén” work as just described.³³

As far as these samples are concerned, there are a couple of observations that need be made. The size of the *Wheel* could be enlarged by adding more circles, so that it could encompass the sounds of all languages in the world.³⁴ Here, Trigault assembled only five Latin letters’ circles, because the sound of Chinese could be composed at most by five Latin letters. Like this, it is important to see why Trigault had picked the samples only from Chinese sounds. Trigault tried to prove, implicitly or explicitly, that the movable Wheel could visualize all the human sounds alike, in the light of the Western symbols, no matter the language.

There is another observation worth discussing. The sound *Juan* 倦 (tiring) “kiuén” cannot be made by moving the cells as Trigault advised. The order of Latin letters should be *k, i, u, é, n*, from the fifth

³² Modern *Pinyin* is placed in front of the Chinese character, which is different from what Nicolas Trigault used at his time.

³³ *Yusp*, pp.57-58 (ff.5a-b).

³⁴ *Yusp*, p.59 (f.6a).

circle to the first circle, while, according to Trigault's explanation, the order would rather be *k-i* (both are in the fifth circle), *u, é, n*,

以第五圈之空方推之，加以第五圈之格 *k*。

[You can] push the *k* of the fifth circle to fill the blank cell in the same circle.³⁵

It could not bring about the sound at all, for “*k*” and “*i*” come from the fifth circle. In case the “*k*” really came from the fifth circle and the sound “*kiuén*” existed, then the order of the cells from “*i*” to “*n*” should be the fourth, third, second and first. Probably, Trigault had realized the problem before composing the sound “*kiuén*”. He tried at once to re-adjust the order to include the Latin letter “*n*”, as early as the sound “*iuèn*” was being made. By comparison with the first three sounds (*i, iu, iuě*), the “*n*” in “*iuèn*” should be taken from the second circle. Instead, he said the opposite,

推第四圈之空方，以第四之擲 *n* 加之。

[You can] push the *n* of the fourth circle to fill the blank cell in the same circle.³⁶

It seems that the order for picking Latin letters had been completely inverted. He substituted the first circle with the fifth one, and the fifth the first one. Even so, “*kiuén*” could not be made. If the Latin letter “*n*” were from the fourth circle, and “*k*” were from the fifth circle, then the order of this sound is altered in this way: *i, u, é, n, k*. Of course, Latin letters “*iuénk*” can be created by the *Universal Wheel*, but not the sound of Chinese characters, because the two *tongming* 同鳴 (“consonants”: *n* and *k*) in Chinese, generally speaking, must be put before *ziming* 自鳴 (“vowels”: *i, u, é*).³⁷ Besides, two consonants cannot be put together.³⁸ In making the sound “*kiuén*”, the Father, the reviser, and proofreader of the *XREMZ* did not realize his grave mistake.³⁹

In order to make the sound “*kiuén*”, the “*k*” should have been from one circle still prior to the first circle, that is, the most interior circle from which the “*i*” had been picked. If possible, there should be a “zero” circle from which the Latin letter “*k*” could be taken. In this case, one should need to add the

³⁵ Yysp, p.57-58 (ff.5a-b).

³⁶ Yysp, p.57 (f.5a).

³⁷ The five samples (or some of them) are repeated by Nicolas Trigault, see Yysp, p.124 (f.38b), pp.159-160 (ff.56a-b).

³⁸ See Yysp, p.59 (6a).

³⁹ Tan Hui-ying thought it was an error committed by the Chinese transcriber, but she did not pay attention to the fact that even if the Chinese had been transcribed in the right way, the “*kiuén*” was still impossible to be written, see Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi*, pp.67-68.

“zero” circle in the *Universal Wheel*, in order to visualize the pronounced “*kiuén*”. This was possible, because the circles in this *Wheel* could be added or diminished. So, the solution to choose the letter “*k*” by adding another “zero” circle was not a serious enterprise, but very significant, in that it could well reflect the thought of Nicolas Trigault by appealing for language knowledge from a universal point of view. In other words, Trigault’s attitude toward Chinese language was shaped according to the standpoint of universal language, as can be seen in the proposed solution.

1.1.2 *Zhongyuan yinyun huotu*

The *Chinese Wheel* looks like the mini-version of the *Universal Wheel* which Nicolas Trigault had described specifically in the *Illustration*,

此中原音韻活圖，繼萬國音韻活圖而設也。蓋首圖如礦之初掘，轉會元音之號，就中無用之音韻如土沙。然實含有用之音韻，若金之在礦內也者。是無用之渣，與有用之寶，挾之俱來，其何能一掘棄之？況萬國之人，各以本國所用音韻為寶。愚曉數國談論，各有本文之趣，各自可寶，烏能遽捨？今幸至中華，得聞大雅音韻之言，獨以中原音韻為寶，他國之音姑可土沙置之矣。爰定中原音韻活圖。

The *Chinese Wheel* is designed on the basis of the *Universal Wheel*. The first *Wheel*, like a goldmine, makes many useless sounds and rhymes, in light of the combination of the symbols of the *primordial sound*. However, it produces also many useful sounds and rhymes, as gold in the mine. So, in the mine one finds waste residue and treasure and cannot abandon it altogether. Furthermore, people from different countries cherish the sound and rhyme of their own. I, the Humble, have had knowledge of several languages. Each has its point of interest and, thus, it is prized. Nobody would like to abandon it [of their own]. Now I am happy to be in China and hear such elegant language with its sound and rhyme. I cherish only sound and rhyme of China, leaving aside the rest as mineral waste residue. For this reason, I have designed the *Chinese Wheel*.⁴⁰

Like the *Universal Wheel*, it is a composite circle. Six concentric circles are arranged regularly, and are classified into three groups.⁴¹ Each contains two circles, filled with different content. The two most exterior circles are held by the so-called *zimu* (“mother words”, *finals*), which comprise two types of letters: Chinese characters in the outside one, and Latin letters and their various combinations in the

⁴⁰ Yysp, p.61 (f.7a)

⁴¹ Yysp, p.61 (f.7a).

inside one. There are fifty cells. Two circles in the middle are filled by twenty *zifu* 字父 (“father words”, *initials*). The outside one is full of Chinese characters, while the inside one of Latin letters. The two most interior circles are related to five tones: *clear-even*, *muddy-even*, *rising*, *departing*, *entering*. In them, there are five cells. Like the other two circles, Chinese characters are inserted in order to indicate five tones; while the inside one is filled with Western symbols. Each tone is placed and encircled by “sharp” (甚, *shen*) and “round” (次, *ci*), both are the “coda” in finals.

Unlike the *Universal Wheel*, the *Chinese Wheel* leaves no space for the blank cell, and the two most exterior circles are pinned so that they remain fixed, therefore only the circle of *zifu* (“initials”) and that of tones can be moved. When cells from different circles are aligned, the Chinese sound is made. Automatically, two manners of spelling are generated. One is to rely upon the combination of Western symbols, and the other depends on the *fanqie spelling*⁴² of two Chinese characters. In this way, both the Chinese who had not yet studied Latin letters and the Europeans who did not know Chinese characters were able to take advantage of this Wheel.

As Trigault stated, the *Chinese Wheel* contains only the sounds of Chinese. Hence, although it came right after the *Universal Wheel*, it had been largely redesigned. First, *yuanyin* (“primordial sounds”) were separated into *zimu* (“finals”) and *zifu* (“initials”). Then, they were put into proper cells. Five Chinese tones were assigned to Western symbols. The number of the circles is fixed exactly at six, and is neither increased nor diminished. By moving some of the cells, they were lined up in order to make one Chinese Sound. For this reason, the *Chinese Wheel* is useful only for Chinese language. By looking into this Wheel, we find that a Chinese sound contains only three factors: *zifu* (“initials”), *zimu* (“finals”), and tones.

In virtue of the Western symbols, the *Universal Wheel* was designed by Nicolas Trigault in order to make the sounds of all human languages,

不但有字之音寓於中，凡萬國俚語，即有所不用者，按圖對之，無不于此會歸焉。但熟西字之號，唾手指之，不難矣。...萬國之人，于其大全之中，偶然各取所中各意。乃各國所用，而偶然定之，則各國相通之言語備之。

⁴² The “*fanqie spelling*” consists in pronouncing a certain Chinese character by using two other characters, each of which represents the initial and the final sound, respectively.

Not only the sounds of the written words are retained in it (*Universal Wheel*), but the vernaculars (dialects), not yet used, are included in it. Provided that you are familiar with the Western symbols, it is easy to look for [sounds].[...] Anybody can select the sounds that he wants. Each country is able to pick arbitrarily its own and regulate the sounds. With this method the commonly used language is prepared.⁴³

It is a world of sound, containing all language. In this sea, the elements of the sounds are identified with the Western symbols and their combinations. The Chinese language could not be excluded from this law. In other words, the sounds of Chinese language could be treated as any Latin language.⁴⁴

1.2 *Yinyun jingwei zongju* 音韻經緯總局 and *Yinyun jingwei quanju* 音韻經緯全局

The two *Tables* (see fig. 5) concern only Chinese rhymes and sounds. If the *Wheel* is to illustrate how the *sounds* are made by the Western symbols, then the *Tables* are used to explicate what should happen after three elements of the Chinese sound: *zifu* (“initials”), *zimu* (“finals”), and tones work together.

1.2.1 *Yinyun jingwei zongju*

The initial part of the *General Table* is covered by the title *Yinyun jingwei zongju* in Chinese, written in the middle. Four Chinese sentences of explication follow,

字縱行同俱同母，字橫行同俱同父，母同字表同韻子，父同字表同音子。

Words arranged in the same column possess the same *zimu* (“mother words”, “finals”/rhymes) and words arranged in the same row possess the same *zifu* (“father words”, initials). Words holding the same *zimu* (“mother words”) are called *zizi* (“son words”, sounds/syllable) of same-rhyme [with same rhyme], while words holding the same *zifu* (“father words”) are called “son words” of the same sound [with the same initial].⁴⁵

⁴³ Yysp, p.58 (f.5b); and Yysp, p.59 (f.6a).

⁴⁴ The relation of the *Universal Wheel* with Ramon Lull (ca.1232-1316), a Spanish mystic and the contributor to the *Ars combinatorial*, has been recently underlined, see Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi*, pp.48-70; Chien Hung-yi, “Trigault’s Intellectual Background and Its Influence”, in *Loci, Image, and Lexicography: How Trigault’s Learning Influenced the Siju Ulmoçu*, pp.17-44, Wang Song-mu, *Mingdai dengyunjia zhi fanqie gailiang fang’an jiqi sheji linian*, in *Wen yu zhe*, vol.15, 2009, pp.195-252, in particular, pp.228-235.

⁴⁵ Yysp, p.63 (f.8a).

These four rules explain how to use the *General Table*. But Chinese users were probably confused by the terms *zimu* (“finals”), *zifu* (“initials”) and *zizi* (“sounds”/“syllables”). In order to benefit from them, people had first to learn these concepts.

After this cover page comes the content of the *General Table*. One vertical column on the far right of this *table* is filled with fifteen *tongming zifu* 同鳴字父 (“initials”). At the top there is a horizontal row occupied by fifty *ziming zimu* 自鳴字母 (“finals”/rhymes). These *zimu* (“finals”/rhymes) are paralleled by single Chinese characters or by a couple of Chinese characters. In the former case the single characters were employed, because they were equal to the corresponding phonetic symbols as *zimu* (“finals”/rhymes); while in the latter case a couple of Chinese characters are assembled in a cell because sounds of the phonetic symbols could not be represented by a single Chinese character, but only by the *fanqie spelling* (see note 41).⁴⁶ When the column and row intersect, they create numerous cells. The sounds of the Chinese characters, resulting from the encounter of *tongming zifu* 同鳴字父 (“initials”) with *ziming zimu* 自鳴字母 (“finals”), were inserted in these cells in two ways of writing. Latin letters were ordered on the left, and a single Chinese character or a couple of Chinese characters were ordered on the right. A couple of Chinese characters were employed, because the occurrence between “initial” and “final” is not necessary to make sound. For example, “vo” cannot be represented by any single Chinese character, so Trigault used “wu”物 [v] and “a”阿[a] to fill the cell. The sounds in the form of Alphabetical letters were called *ziyin* 子音 (Sounds of *son words*).

Trigault supposed the *General Table* collected all the sounds of Chinese, without distinguishing the five voiced consonants ‘ç, ‘ch, ‘k, ‘p, ‘t from the five voiceless consonants: ç, ch, k, p, t. Nor he did not include five tones in the *General Table*.⁴⁷ Thus, the number of the *ziyin* 子音 (“sounds”/“syllables”) amounts to 750, plus 50 sounds of *zimu* (“finals”) and 15 of *zifu* (“initials”). So, the total number of the sounds (or *syllables*) in the *General Table* is 815.⁴⁸ In this way, all the “sounds of son words” could be found in the form of Latin letters, while some of them could not be found in the corresponding Chinese characters. So, the number of sounds (*syllables*) assumed by Chinese characters is less than that of *sounds of “son words”* in Latin Letters. It is proved to be right that Latin Letters were able to make

⁴⁶ See Yysp, p.75 (f.14a). The reason why Nicolas Trigault borrowed the same pronunciation from Chinese characters for *zifu* (“initials”), but not for *zimu* (“finals”) is because he was of a different opinion on the concepts of *zifu* and *zimu*. Each sound of Chinese is made either by the *zimu* and its combinations, or by the combination of *zifu* and *zimu*. Therefore, *zifu* cannot be found in Chinese characters, but only adopted according to its similar pronunciation.

⁴⁷ See Yysp, p.75 (f.14a), p.77 (f.15a).

⁴⁸ See Yysp, p.75 (f.14a).

more sounds than the *fanqie spelling* of Chinese could do, which was viewed by Wang-zheng as a creation,

創定總音總韻，雖中原所用有音而無字者，西號俱能書之。

With the *General Table* created, all the sounds in Chinese, even those with no corresponding characters to visualize its sounds, can be represented by Western symbols.⁴⁹

Wang-zheng's words might remind us of Lv-kun's effort to represent all the sounds in Chinese, but in vain. Nicolas Trigault's job really opened a door for solving the questions that had bewildered the Chinese linguists. The importance of grasping Latin letters needed to be reemphasized.⁵⁰

With the *General Table*, Trigault also proved that the sounds of Chinese characters, made by the *Chinese Wheel* and even by the *Universal Wheel*, could be realized and visualized by Latin letters. These sounds are part of universal sounds, and all can be represented by Western symbols, just as Nicolas Trigault called them "Sounds of Western Symbols" (西號之音, *xihao zhiyin*).⁵¹ It is an important turning point for us to understand how rhymes and sounds in the form of Latin letters were used to trace the sounds of Chinese characters and then the Chinese characters themselves. But before the tones were assigned to these sounds, they were still unable to be recognized as the specific ones. This process would be finished in the *Yinyun jingwei quanju* 音韻經緯全局.

1.2.2 *Yinyun jingwei quanju*

Compared to the layout of the *General Table*, the *Complete Table* was not that different, but considerably extensive. As Nicolas Trigault stated, the *General Table* is seen as seed, while the *Complete Table* gained the fruits from the seed. So the number is greatly multiplied.⁵²

The vertical column of the *Complete Table* on the far right is still *tongming zifu* ("initials"), but the number goes up to 20, including the five voiced consonants: 'ç, 'ch, 'k, 'p, 't. All of them are paralleled with Chinese characters. The *ziming zimu* ("finals"/"rhymes") at the top row have been joined with five tones, each of which is further distinguished by the "coda" in finals: "sharp" (甚, *shen*), "round" (次,

⁴⁹ Wang-zheng, *Explication*, in Yysp, p.39 (f.2a).

⁵⁰ See Yysp, p.77 (f.15a).

⁵¹ See Yysp, p.77 (f.15a).

⁵² See Yysp, p.105 (f.29a).

ci), and “middle” (中, *zhong*). So the total number of rhymes is 265.⁵³ They are cut into fifty groups according to their combination, and each group is further divided into five, from “*a*”, “*á*”, “*à*”, “*ǎ*”, “*ǎ*” at the beginning to “*iuēn*”, “*iuên*”, “*iuèn*”, “*iuén*”, “*iuě*n” in the end. The order of the combinations is made according to Western usage.⁵⁴

The column and the row of the *Complete Table*, when crossed, make up 5,300 cells, as pieces disposed in the Chinese Chess Board (象棋, *xiangqi*), and many of them have been left blank. Among them there are only 1403 cells filled, because the encounter of *zifu* (“initials”) with *zimu* (“finals”) does not always result in sounds in the form of Chinese characters. Moreover, there are 104 sounds of the *zimu* (“finals”). So the number of Sounds in the form of Chinese characters is 1507,⁵⁵ much less than the number of Chinese characters. “There are around 14, 000 Chinese words”, Nicolas Trigault stated.⁵⁶ This gap was caused by the fact that the *Complete Table* picked only one character from each group of homophonous Chinese characters.⁵⁷ Here, the last point is that all these sounds of “son words” (or *syllables*) in the *Complete Table* remain solely in the form of Chinese characters (single Chinese characters). Clearly, the *Complete Table* was devised solely for the Chinese language. Trigault called them *zi* 字 (Word). In the light of the *Complete Table*, they could be found with the help of the Western symbols.

Through these two *Tables*, Trigault wanted to demonstrate how it was possible to go from *sound* in the form of Western symbols to *sound* in the form of Chinese characters, devising a method to make the sounds of the Chinese characters. For this reason, Nicolas Trigault called these two *Tables* “Guide books for the *Lyyp*”.⁵⁸

The two *Tables* had some aspects in common with the Chinese rhyme-table (等韻圖, *dengyun tu*), as can be seen when comparing the rhyme-table of the *Mirror of Rhymes* with the *Complete Table*. Both of them employ a series of *tables*, which contain various phonetic elements such as initials, finals,

⁵³ See Yysp, p.107 (f.30a).

⁵⁴ For their order, Nicolas Trigault confirmed that it was done according to the order prevailing in the West, see *Sanyun duikao wenda*, in Yysp, pp.219-220 (ff.86a-b).

⁵⁵ See Yysp, p.107 (f.30a). Nicolas Trigault set also the rule about how to make a sound: “the *zifu* (“initial”) is put ahead, then the *zimu* (“final”) follows. When they encounter, the *ziyin* (“sound”/“syllable”) is born” (先父後母, 相會而寫), see Yysp, p.107 (f.30a).

⁵⁶ Nicolas Trigault, *Self-Preface* to the *XREMZ*, in Yysp, p.51 (f.2a).

⁵⁷ See Yysp, p.105 (f.29a).

⁵⁸ The original text is “列音韻譜指南也.” see Yysp, p.107 (f.30a).

tones and the like. Taken together, all the phonetic elements were used to determine a sound, and then place it in a definite cell, as a representative *sound* of each homophonous group. The extent to which Trigault had been influenced by the rhyme-table of China remains disputable. To be sure, he could have had access to the improvement of the rhyme books in China, when he and his Chinese helpers were sketching his own *Tables*. For example, the distinction between the four divisions (*sideng*) in each tone, already in decline during the Ming Dynasty, had disappeared from the rhyme-table of China at that time.⁵⁹ The Flemish father did not recur to it in his own *Tables*. In these respects, the difference between the rhyme-table of China and that of Nicolas Trigault was not so drastic.

Therefore, the *Complete Table* looked like the improvement of the rhyme-table of China by way of introducing Western symbols, instead of the Chinese characters. But this change radically differentiated the *Tables* of Nicolas Trigault from those of China. With these Western symbols, Trigault re-categorized the phonetic elements of the Chinese language. From the standpoint of Trigault, the Chinese scholars of the rhyme-table were wrongly using two Chinese characters as the *initials* and *finals* to make sounds of Chinese characters. Instead, both of them had already been *zizi* (“son words”, sounds/syllables) at the moment when they were meant for the production of another *sound* of “son words.” The combination between two “son words” should not be allowed to give birth to the *sound* of “son words”. With the new phonetic symbols, here is the question of terminology about the phonetic elements. Maybe for this reason, the Father emphasized that the two *Tables* were not easily studied, and could be grasped only by those who “have energy to spare.”⁶⁰

1.2.3 Conclusion

With the help of the *Universal Wheel*, the *Chinese Wheel*, the *General Table* and the *Complete Table*, Nicolas Trigault was showing in a visual manner that his method allowed to search for the sound of the Chinese characters proceeding from the universal level to Chinese.

But the four *Wheels* and *Tables* have to be distinguished clearly. If the *Wheels* were designed in virtue of Trigault’s knowledge of European language, then, the *Tables* were created on the basis of his understanding of Chinese rhyme knowledge. Somehow, the *Wheels* on the one hand and the *Tables* on the other, represent two sorts of language knowledge. It is Nicolas Trigault who helped bridge this gap. During this course, the Flemish Father introduced many terms that were not understood by the Chinese

⁵⁹ See *Guyin gaishuo*, p.93.

⁶⁰ See *Yysp*, p.74 (f.13b), and pp.107-108 (ff.30a-b). This phrase originates from *The Analects*, book1, Verse 6, with a little modification.

scholars of his time. In order to learn and benefit from them, Trigault elaborated them in the *Wenda* (Ask and Reply), which, as a sea of theory surrounding Western symbols and their phonetic use, would supply the readers with many possible linguistic responses.

2. The *Wenda* 問答 (Ask and Reply)

The *Wenda* follows *Wheels and Tables*. Like many other missionary compositions of the early stage of Jesuit missions in China, the *Wenda* was composed in the form of a dialogue between a Western *literatus*, and a Chinese *literatus* around the linguistic knowledge between West and East.⁶¹ During the conversation, the Western *literatus* clarified a good number of doubts advanced by the Chinese, while the Chinese accepted almost all of what the Western *literatus* said. Sometimes the Chinese pointed out some mistakes that the Westerner had made, and the latter acknowledged them willingly. The Chinese appeared to have learned well what this Westerner had taught him.⁶² In a word, the dialogue went forward amicably and effortlessly.

However, the *Wenda* (Ask and Reply) was never a real dialogue. It was more of a treatise, composed in a formalized written-language, rather than with the illusion of spoken-language. For instance, to the Chinese *literatus* who hoped to know how to write Latin letters, the Westerner replied,

筆書其號不難，筆畫其音，非口口相授，則旅人不能矣。

It is not difficult to depict the Western symbols. It is hard to register sounds in pen, if not by the oral instruction.⁶³

Then, he drew immediately all the Western symbols, pairing them with Chinese characters that had the same pronunciation. In this way, the Chinese were able to learn to pronounce even without the instruction of the Western *literatus*. But who are the two interlocutors in this *Wenda*? Ever since the creation of the *XREMZ*, the Westerner was considered Father Nicolas Trigault and the Chinese *literatus*

⁶¹ The conversation form of the missionary writings could be traced back to Michele Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu*. In speaking of the reason why he composed this text, Ruggieri said, “第天主義理精微，難以闡發，故作二人問答於是篇” (The Doctrine of the *Lord of Heaven* is so delicate that it is difficult to be illustrated at once. Hence, I made up this *Answer and Reply* [to solve this question]), BNR, 72.B.333, f.1b. As usual, the language used by the missionaries in the conversation was *vernacular*, see Federico Masini, *La scrittura in caratteri, base comune di una grande cultura dell'Asia Orientale?* in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Nuova Serie, volume LXXVIII (II), Fasc.1-4, 2005, pp.311-320.

⁶² See Yysp, p.141 (f.47a).

⁶³ Yysp, p.121 (f.37a).

was, in order, first Han-yun, then Lv Wei-qi, and finally Wang-zheng, those who had spoken with Trigault in person. If we reflected on the emergence of the *XREMZ*, which was a pre-existing rhyme and character book, we need to view it as the collective effort of the Jesuits in China, which was already in circulation in the missionary community before Nicolas Trigault was to present it to the public. In this sense, the *Wenda* undertook a task of cross-cultural communication, with Trigault and other Jesuits of the Society on one side, and these Chinese *literati* on the other. Composed in the form of a conversation, the *Wenda* would convey efficiently the information to the audience and transmit at the same time the propagation of faith.⁶⁴

If the *Wheels* and *Tables* had visually realized the word learning of the *XREMZ*, then the *Wenda* (Ask and Reply) would re-visualize them theoretically. In this way, Nicolas Trigault demonstrated his word learning. However, the *Wheels* and *Tables* focused only on the rhymes and sounds of Chinese language, that is, the *yan* (“spoken words”). In fact, the text which the *Wenda* had comprised was far broader, for it also concerned the writing of Chinese characters, that is, the *zi* (“written words”). It consists in the following two parts: the *Wenda* of the *Lyyp* and the *Wenda* of the *Lbzp*, as will be seen in the text. Only taking into consideration both parts of the *Wenda*, the word learning of the *XREMZ* was regarded as whole. In this respect, when Trigault said that “the first *pu*, containing *Wheels* and *Tables* and *Wenda*, constitutes a basis for the remaining two *pu*”,⁶⁵ his words must be clarified, or straight-out corrected. But the inconsistency between the text and the words of Trigault was precisely giving an answer to the partial design of the frontispiece, and would remind us of his anxiety about the lack of Latin knowledge in China.

Such partiality in the textual arrangement occurred again when Nicolas Trigault developed the *Wenda*, the theoretical part of the Word Learning.

3. Word Learning: “Yi” 譯 and “Yin” 引

We have already heard about the two characters “yi” 譯 and “yin” 引, mentioned by Nicolas Trigault while describing the textual arrangement. He said *Wheels* and *Tables* concern the eyes, while the *Wenda* (Ask and Reply) concerns the ears. But this explanation had nothing to do with the title *Yi Yin*

⁶⁴ About the relationship between conversation and conversion, see R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Translating Christianity: Counter-Reformation Europe and the Catholic Mission in China, 1580-1780*, in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, ed., *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003, pp.87-108, in particular, pp.93-94.

⁶⁵ The original text is “首譜圖局問答，全為後來二譜張本”，see Yysp, p.112 (f.32b).

Shou Pu 譯引首譜. In fact, the text itself provides a key to their meaning. At the outset of the *Little Preface* to the *Yysp*, Nicolas Trigault explained them clearly,

譯者資耳，引者資目。俱先傳行，用救不聰不明之癖，旅人聾瞽。故此作首。

The “yi” 譯 helps the ears; and the “yin” 引 the eyes. These two have to be elaborated first in order to save the people from blindness and deafness. Because the traveler has been ill with blindness and deafness, the *pu* was put in the beginning.⁶⁶

The two terms “yi” 譯 and “yin” 引 are related to ears and eyes, respectively. But we still do not know why the traveler was blind and deaf, and how the “yi” 譯 and “yin” 引 could be of help. It will not become clear until we read the *Little Preface* of Trigault to the *Wenda*,

旅人幸至大國，不能遽聆聽人之言，不能遽覽明文之字，恒以聾瞽雙疾爲患。患婉則生巧法矣。夫巧者，雙葯也。一者調聾耳鼓，一者磨瞽目鏡。漸令聾者略聰，瞽者略明而已！

How luckily the Traveler could reach such a Great Country. Nevertheless, he could not hear immediately the words people were speaking (*yan*, “spoken words”). Nor could he read a text (*zi*, “written words”). So he has been suffering deafness and blindness for a long time. Given this disease, an effective treatment is given. It is ingenious and it is a piece of twofold prescription: the first is to tune the ear drums of the deaf, and the other is to polish the mirror of eyes of the blindness. Gradually, the deaf improves in hearing, and the blind in reading.⁶⁷

As a traveler coming from the Extreme West (*jixi*), Trigault had some difficulties in studying Chinese. He could not speak or read Chinese. He had become, so to speak, blind and deaf: the Chinese language is among the most difficult to be mastered. But Nicolas Trigault also found out that the Chinese rhyme and character books, which contained many errors and disadvantages, had made the study of Chinese more difficult, as we have seen in Chapter III. Like a physician, he analyzed the pathology and made an effort to “heal” these problems by offering a two-fold remedy concerning the problems he faced: reading the “written words” (*zi*) and listening to the “spoken words” (*yan*). It seems that this double

⁶⁶ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Yysp*, p.53 (f.3a).

⁶⁷ *Yysp*, p.111 (f.32a).

recipe functioned well, because the Chinese found him to speak fluently Chinese.⁶⁸ Obviously, this method was worth Chinese publication. To speak of them, Trigault had applied two Chinese terms “yi” 譯 and “yin” 引, which demonstrated the essential features of these two types of word learning of the *XREMZ*.

3.1 “Yi” 譯: “Translation of Voices”

The term “yi” 譯 was related to a conversation among people from different areas of ancient China. In the *Shuowen jiezi* (Illustration of Figures and Letters), Xu-shen defined the character “yi” 譯 as “*Chuan yi siyi zhi yan zhe*” (傳譯四夷之言者), which could be translated literally as “people who interpret the languages of the “yi” 夷 (“barbarians”) from “*sifang*” 四方 (“the four directions”).⁶⁹ Here the “yi” 夷 corresponded to those who did not belong to the Middle Kingdom according to Chinese cultural orthodoxy. They lived nomadically, and spoke language. Thus, an interpreter was required for communication between them, and the people of the Middle Kingdom. In the Ming Dynasty, there was a state-sponsored office, the *siyiguan* 四彝/(夷)館 (“Chamber of the people from the *Four Directions*”), which recruited students and learned people so that they could learn the languages from these subordinate countries.⁷⁰ During the Qing Dynasty, the *siyiguan* 四夷館 functioned as it had before, but the word “yi” 夷 had been replaced by another “yi” 譯. This change might stem from the origin of the newly established Manchu Government, whose members were considered as barbarian before their reign of China. It seems that the term “yi” 譯 had the meaning of “interpreter” in different languages by that time, but was devoid of any cultural offense.

Besides that explanation of the “yi” 譯, we find another use of this term in Chinese texts. In the preface to the *Qiyin lue* (Summary of the Seven Sounds) by Zheng-qiao, he wrote on this character,

⁶⁸ Trigault learned Chinese so well that the Chinese *literati* praised him, “俾胸中天人之學，無不可以翻譯” (You can express and convey any Celestial-Human Teaching in your mind), see Yysp, p.111 (f.32a).

⁶⁹ Xu-shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963/2004, p.213.

⁷⁰ Lv Wei-qi had edited one certain *Siyiguan ze* 四彝館則 (Rules of the Siyiguan) (*XSK*, vol.749), in which he had written *Siyiguan* 四彝館, replacing the *yi* 夷 with the *yi* 彝, which designates one of the minorities in Southern China. Instead, *Mingshi* 明史 (History of Ming) records this Institute as “*Siyiguan*” 四夷館, see Zhang Ting-yu, ed., *Mingshi*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997, vol.74.

七音之作，起自西域，流入諸夏。梵僧欲以此傳教天下，故爲此書。雖重百譯之遠，一字不通之處，而音義可傳。

The *Qiyin* 七音 (Seven Sounds),⁷¹ originated from *xiyu* 西域 (Western Regions), were brought into the Middle Kingdom. The Buddhists of ancient India made this book (the *Qiyin*), with the aim of diffusing them [i.e. the Seven Sounds]. Although it comes from a place located at a distance of one hundred “*yi*” 譯 [from us] and no language can be used to for an exchange with [us], the “*yinyi*” 音義 (“meaning of the sound”) can still be conveyed.⁷²

Zheng-qiao used “*yi*” 譯 to describe the distance through which the book of the *Qiyin* (Seven Sounds) had been transported from the Western Regions into the Middle Kingdom, inferring this through a reflection on the different languages spoken between the Middle Kingdom and the Western Regions. At the same time, Zheng-qiao affirmed that the “*yinyi*” 音義 (“meanings of sounds”), that is, the phonetic elements, had remained unchanged. As the “*ziyi*” 字義 (“meanings of words”) can be translated, so can *sounds* be transferred between different languages, according to the Chinese author, without any modification to their meanings, that is, the phonetic elements. Hence, the translation of “*yinyi*” 音義 (“the meaning of a sound”), like that of “*ziyi*” 字義 (the meaning of a word), is considered to be “*yi*” 譯, the action of the translation. Zheng-qiao then wrote:

華僧從而定三十六為之母。輕重清濁不失其倫。天地萬物之情備于此矣。雖鶴唳風聲，雞鳴狗吠，雷霆經耳，蚊蟲過目，皆可譯也，況於人言乎？

Chinese Buddhists followed them [i.e. the seven sounds] and drew 36 *mu* 母 [“initial sounds” in Chinese rhyme books]. In them, *light* (輕, *qing*), *heavy* (重, *zhong*), *clear* (清, *qing*), and *muddy* (濁, *zhuo*)⁷³ do not lose their order. And through them all the sentiments between Heaven and Earth are expressed. Any sound, be it a sharp shout of a crane, the voice of the wind, the crow of a cock, the bark of a dog, a thunder penetrating our ears, or flying insects passing by in front of our eyes, all could be “translated” (譯, *yi*), not to mention the human voice.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Traditionally, they are *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵, *yu* 羽, *banzhi* 半徵 and *banshang* 半商, all of which concern consonants.

⁷² Chen Xin-xiong, *Yinlue zhengbu* 音略證補, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1978, p.274.

⁷³ All of them in Chinese rhyme books are linked to the consonants.

⁷⁴ See Chen Xin-xiong, *Yinlue zhengbu*, p.274.

As constituting the act of “translating” sounds, the “*yi*” 譯 was realized on the basis of initial sounds. All sounds can be translated objects, and between them there is no geographical variation. Sounds both from the Western Regions and from the Middle Kingdom could be reduced to a certain determined substance, in other words, those phonetic elements.⁷⁵ In China, the “meanings of sounds” (*yinyi*) were represented by thirty-six *zimu* 字母 (“initial sounds” in Chinese texts). Naturally, they could be found also in the languages of the Western Regions, but in a different form.

Hence, there are two meanings of the *yi* 譯 in Chinese texts: one dealing with *word meaning*, the other with *sound meaning*. The former can be viewed as the translation from one language to another, while the latter refers to the phonetic transliteration between sounds of different languages. Nicolas Trigault seemed to have treated the *yi* 譯 as meant in the latter sense. He stated,

萬物之怒號，均為聲。假如風吹曰聲，禽獸之鳴亦曰聲，不止人說之為聲也。

All of the howls and roars emitted by all living things are called sounds. The whistle of the wind as much as the cry of an animal is called a sound. It cannot be limited only to the voices that human beings emit.⁷⁶

As the *Universal Wheel* has already shown before, this was the point from which Nicolas Trigault moved forward with his theory, for all sounds can be expressed and “translated” by using Western symbols. Like Zheng-qiao, Trigault used the term “*yi*” 譯 to deal with “the voices that human beings emit”, and represented them in the form of Western symbols. In a word, the term “*yi*” 譯 means *transliteration*. In this way, Trigault and his Western brethren were able to learn to pronounce the sounds of Chinese by using these symbols, which they had learned from childhood in Europe. Yet, on the other hand, much as the concept of “*yi*” 譯 in the *XREMZ* was the same that Chinese readers could find in traditional Chinese culture, Western symbols were unknown to them. To take advantage of the “*yi*” 譯 in the *XREMZ*, Chinese people who were interested in it had to learn Western symbols.

3.2 *Yin* 引: “Guide of Form”

⁷⁵ Zhou-chun 周春 (1729-1851), whom we will encounter later on, acknowledged that the debate on the *fanqie* spelling did not change the essence of its phonetic elements, see Zhou-chun, *Fulu* 附錄 (Appendix), in *Shisanjing yinlue* 十三經音略 (Summary Discussion on the Thirteen Classics), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, pp.21-22.

⁷⁶ See Yysp, p.113-114 (ff.33a-b).

Before speaking of the term “yin” 引, let us briefly review what a Chinese character *was* in the eyes of the Jesuits contemporary with Trigault. They used the analogy of Egyptian hieroglyphics to Chinese characters, as we can see in the observations of Matteo Ricci, Martino Martini and others.⁷⁷ Trigault also gave prominence to such an analogy, by reiterating Matteo Ricci’s words,

Eorum scribendi componendique ratio, quae hieroglyphicis illis Aegyptiorum figuris similis est, non parum a loquendi consuetudine discrepant.⁷⁸

In the *XREMZ* he defined the Chinese language a set of *congyi zhizi* (“ideograms”), thus making a distinction from the *congyin zhizi* (“phonograms”) of Europe. He said,

今字不同之多，其法所從之路，總分兩端而已。從物之意，一也；從口之音，一也。從意者何？萬物之類，每有本號，像其意者；從音者何？人籟之響，每有本號，效其聲者是。從意如繪，從音如奏。繪者先意后音；奏者先音後意也。

In general, there are many sorts of words, that can be grouped into two categories according to their origin. One is the word that imitates the meaning of an object; and the other is the word that imitates a human utterance. What is the word that imitates the meaning of the object? Each object has its own symbol, which conveys its meaning; and what is the word that imitates the human utterance? Each utterance has its own symbol, which complies with it [when an utterance is made]. The words to imitate the meaning of an object look like drawings, while the words to imitate the human utterance seem to sing in tune. The painter draws the picture first and makes sounds later; while the musician makes sounds first and assigns signification later.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Martino Martini, “Literae tamen illae à *Fohio* inventae, ab his, quae nunc in usu versantur, olim diversae, ad Aegyptiaca hieroglyphica accedebant, ut figura rem significandam ipso adspectu exhiberet”, in Martini Martinii, *Tridentini, e societate Iesu, Sinicae Historiae decas Prima, res à gentis origine ad Christum natum in extrema Asia, sive Magno Sinarum Imperio gestas completa*, in BAV, R.G.Storia v. 170, Amstelaedami, 1659, p. 22. Matteo Ricci said that there were no letters other than hieroglyphs, “Gia averà inteso V.r. che questo regno non ha altre lettere che hieroglifiche, cioè che ogni cosa per sé come ha il suo proprio nome,…” Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Fabio de Fabii SJ*. (Shaozhou, 12 novembre 1592), in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, p. 159. The quite exaggerated opinion is probably from Athanasius Kircher’s (1602-1680) masterpiece *China Monumentis* (1667), where Chinese was led back to Egyptian hieroglyphs. He asserted that Fu-xi 伏羲, the inventor of the Chinese language, had been the descendent of Noel, see D’Athanasius Kircher, *La Chine*, Amsterdam, 1670, p. 303; see also D.E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989, pp. 143-156

⁷⁸ Nicolas Trigault, *De Christ.Exped.*, p. 25, and see also Nicolas Trigault, *Regni Chinensis description ex varij autoribus*, Lugd. Batav. ex offic. Elzeviriana, 1639, in BAV, Stamp. Chig. VI.1426, pp. 55-56.

⁷⁹ Lbzp, p.4 (f. 2b).

Unlike the “words to imitate a human utterance”, words in China are *congyi zhizi* (“ideograms”). They were first perceived as a picture of the object of the Universe, and then assigned a sound. So, Chinese characters were visible entities, seen as possessing a concrete form. As for the Chinese language, the features of “ideograms” were believed to be related to “six methods of writing” (*liushu*), which were considered the invention of Chinese. Trigault also mentioned the concept of “six methods of writing” (*liushu*), but giving it a definition of his own,

六書所生之字，以象萬物之意者，屬目，故有形有體。

Born from the *liushu* (“the six manners of writing”), the *zi* (“written words”) are meant to represent the meaning of an object in the Universe, so they are perceived by the *eyes* and, accordingly, have form and body.⁸⁰

As for the term *liushu* (“six manners of writing”), Nicolas Trigault only focused his attention on its role in coining the signification, leaving out its phonetic sense, which will be discussed later.⁸¹ And yet, Trigault was not ready to apply to the semantic sense of the term “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) on the analysis of Chinese characters. He took it as a theoretical instrument in order to deconstruct the form of any Chinese character into two smaller parts: *bian* (邊, “shadow”⁸²) and *zheng* (正, “corpus”, i.e. the remaining part of the Chinese character). Unlike the sounds and rhymes of a *congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”) which are sensed by the ears, the form of a *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”) is sensed by the eyes, which trace the path constructed by the *bian* (“shadow”) and the *zheng* (the remaining part of the Chinese character). Here the term “yin” 引 was properly intended for this indication.

In a dictionary of the Dominican missionary edited by Francisco Diaz (1606-1646), we find a series of explanations for the “yin” 引. They are all linked to the functions of “*inducir*” (leading) and “*guiar*” (guiding), conveying the general idea of finding the right direction. In some places Francisco Diaz also cites examples from the Bible in order to explain these functions.⁸³ Nicolas Trigault was doing similar

⁸⁰ Yyyp, p.244 (f. 98b).

⁸¹ On the concept of the “Ideographic of Chinese”, see also John De Francis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, University of Hawaii Press, 1984, pp.133-148.

⁸² “Shadow” is referred to the “radicals” of Chinese characters, which I will discuss in chapter VI.

⁸³ There are five explanatory voices for the *yin* 引: “1) Incaminar, inducir; 2) guiar, atraer; 3) guiar, encaminar, como en Angel a Tobias la estrella a los Rey; 4) atraer así al fuego como la yesca. 5) traer, trase el fuego como el humo, atraer con buenas palabras ut al colorico”, see in “*Vocabulario de letra China con la Explicación Castellana por el Padre Fr. Francisco Diaz*”, in BAV, Borg. Cin. 412, f. 32b. On the relationship of Francisco Diaz (and Juan Bautista de Morales) with the *XREMZ* of Nicolas Trigault, see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635-1800*, Brill, 2001, p.268.

job for the Chinese, ever since the misleading method of Chinese character books, as we saw before (see Chapter III). After learning about the method of the Flemish father, the Chinese interlocutor was absolutely convinced of its efficacy, and said,

先生引之，有功而無勞。

You guide [the learners], who will do more, while working less.⁸⁴

In such understanding of the term “yin” 引, Nicolas Trigault sided with both the Chinese and the Westerners.

3.3 Conclusion

With the terms “yi” 譯 and “yin” 引, Nicolas Trigault explained two types of word learning. Here we still find a lack of textual balance between the two when both were introduced. The part concerning “yi” 譯 takes up almost all the text of the *Yyyp*, while the “yin” 引 is discussed far less. Nicolas Trigault justified this structural characteristic:

敝土性理，人學之一，有云：雷震有二：有電有響，電響並出，乃觀電與聞響者，有先有后。說者明解其故，謂，耳緩受響，目急受光。蓋響自空來者，氣有所阻，故緩；光自空來者，氣不能蔽，故急也。夫音韻與字學相比之義，亦如此。音韻屬響，耳緩受，故須多言，始能傳之；字學屬光，目急受，故不必多言，自能傳也。

Our humble land is inclined to rationality, that is a branch of the “study of the human being” (人學, *renxue*). As the saying goes, “thunderstorm comprises lightning and thunder, and both of them occur simultaneously. But people see them in a different order.” A narrator knows how to explain and says, “Ears are always lazy to hear the thunder; while eyes are sensitive to receive the lightning. The thunder goes through the sky, but is impeded by the air. So it reaches [the ears] later. Instead, the lightning is quicker to be perceived by the eyes, because it is not impeded by the air when penetrating the sky. The learning of sounds and rhymes (音韻, *yinyun*) and the study of words (字學, *zixue*) are analogous to them. The ears are lazy to hear rhymes and sounds (“spoken words”). So this learning needs a lot of discussion. On the contrary, the eyes are more sensitive to receive words (“written words”), so there is no need for many words [to talk about it]”⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *Yyyp*, p.250 (f.101b).

⁸⁵ *Yyyp*, pp.243-244 (ff.98a-b).

The difference was taken into account because of the different roles played by the eyes and the ears in the different word learning. A similar explanation could also be found in some Chinese texts. In the preface to Pan Sui-xian 潘遂先's *Shengyin fayuan tujie* 聲音發源圖解, a book about sounds and tones, Lu Wen-chao 盧文弨 (1717-1796), one of the most famous scholars of the Qing Dynasty, spoke of some different features between Chinese, and languages from the Western Regions (*xiyu*),

西域貴耳，中國貴目。貴耳故以能審音者為賢，貴目故以能識字者為賢。

In the Western Region [languages] rely more upon the ears, while in China [language] relies more upon the eyes. Thus, in the former case, those who are better at discerning sounds will be considered the learned; in the latter case, those who are more capable of reading words will be considered the learned.⁸⁶

Nonetheless this diversity was probably due to the different features emerging from the comparison between various languages. The *eyes* and *ears* are relied upon in different proportions. After many years of study of the Chinese language, Trigault was aware that it was a language different from those he had learned in Europe. When he decided to present the Western word learning, aiming at solving the problems of Chinese rhyme and character books for the Chinese, he had to pay more attention to this word learning, because he was in a society in which almost nobody yet knew Latin or Latin script.

4. Conclusion

So far we have described the whole *Yysp*, whose textual arrangement was chosen to introduce the word learning of sounds and rhymes, that is to say, of Latin letters and other Western symbols, which were the focus of the *XREMZ* that Nicolas Trigault intended to disseminate among his Chinese readers.

For such a theoretical introduction of the *XREMZ*, Trigault, the linguist from the West, had introduced two types of word learning. In speaking of the word learning of sounds and rhymes, Trigault employed phonetic elements, such as Latin letters and other Western symbols, to analyze (or rather “translate”) the sounds and rhymes of Chinese; and in dealing with Chinese characters, he treated them by maintaining the concept of “six manners of writing” (*liushu*), as Chinese linguists had also done. There were two different concepts of this *word learning*, and both of them had their own foci. Nicolas

⁸⁶ Lu Wen-chao, *Baojingtang wenji* 抱經堂文集 (*Essays of the Baojing Study Room*), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, Vol.3, p.35.

Trigault decided to consider Chinese by stressing its phonetic (or alphabetic) aspect, whereas Chinese scholars had the tendency to think of European languages by emphasizing their graphic character.

Nevertheless, in the course of time, Chinese scholars would get used to understanding the word learning of the West, just as we will see in the example of Liu Xian-ting 劉獻廷 (1648-1695), a celebrated scholar in early Qing China. He had knowledge of Latin letters, and stated that “the language of the red barbarians [referring to the countries of Europe] employs Latin letters to reproduce the sounds of their native land”.⁸⁷ It does not matter whether Liu Xian-ting had studied Latin letters from the *XREMZ*, for there were other texts about them: for example, Ricci’s *Xizi qiji*, widespread at that time. However, it is right to claim that the Western word learning could be accepted by the Chinese scholars only gradually, as Trigault had foreseen.

After understanding the two word learning systems, Chinese learners could immerse themselves in the study of the whole *XREMZ*. The Chinese interlocutor acclaimed,

學者能曉首譜之理，自能習兩譜之用，先生所嘉惠于我學人，豈淺顯哉？噫，寧獨西儒可資耳目也耶？

So, if learners are taught the principle of the first *pu* [*Yyyp*], they will know how to use the remaining two *pu* [i.e. *Lyyyp* and *Lbzp*]. We have greatly profited from you. Oh! How can you think that it only serves the eyes and ears of the Western *literati*?⁸⁸

From that moment on, they were able to take advantage of the two other *pu*: *Lyyyp* and *Lbzp*, which had circulated in the Society of Jesus in the form of the pre-existing rhyme and character book, exactly as the Jesuit Fathers had done.

Chapter VI

Word Learning: *Lie yinyun pu* 列音韻譜 and *Lie Bianzheng pu* 列邊正譜

In comparison with the *Yyyp*, the *Lyyyp* and *Lbzp* were much different. They shared a much longer history, for they had appeared as rhyme and character books, and had already circulated inside the

⁸⁷ The original text is “紅夷文字，必用蠟底諾以合其土音”，in Liu Xian-ting, *Guangyang zaji* 廣陽雜記 (Stories in Beijing), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936, vol.3, p.138.

⁸⁸ *Yyyp*, p.256 (f. 104b).

Society of Jesus in China. But they were still a dictionary remaining somewhat unknown to Chinese scholars. Nicolas Trigault worked out the *Yysp* to help the Chinese to understand and the proper use this dictionary. Therefore, in the present study I shall give indication of how Trigault and his Chinese collaborators tried to illustrate the usage of this dictionary, by analyzing the text of these two *pu*. But the subject of this study is not limited to the *Lyyp* and *Lbzp*, but also includes the *Yysp*, the content of which is relevant to the edition, as well as the use, of the two remaining *pu*.

1. *Lie yinyun pu* 列音韻譜: From Sounds to “Spoken Words”

The *Lyyp* is the second *pu* of the *XREMZ*. Textually, it corresponds to the rhyme part of the pre-existing rhyme and character book. Methodologically, it is to be related to “*yi*” 譯 “translation of voices.” With this *pu*, Trigault and students of the Chinese language meant to cure what they had called “deafness”, that is, the problem of hearing Chinese sounds. Historically, this *pu* should be linked to the study of the Chinese language when the Jesuits were in China. As usual, they began learning to speak Mandarin as standard Chinese. This part of the rhyme book consisted of lists of words, which were divided according to the different groups of homophones.⁸⁹ Such features would be evidenced in the text of the *Lyyp*. The presence of numerous homophones is considered as a peculiar feature of the Chinese language.

1.1 Textual Structure of the *Lyyp*

The *Lyyp* also has the same cover and frontispiece designs, displaying the Chinese title *Lie Yin Yun Pu* 列音韻譜. Immediately after them follows Trigault’s *Benpu xiaoxu* 本譜小序 (Little Preface to this *pu*) which represents a sort of theoretical introduction, even though it is very short and repeats concepts already expressed in the *Wenda* of the *Lyyp* in the *Yysp*. The learner had to read the latter in order to learn more about the former. After this preface comes the *Benpu yongfa* 本譜用法 (Usage of the *pu*) which was added to the aim of providing the reader with a method according to which the *Lyyp* is to be used.

This part is followed by the *Yunmu mulu* 韻母目錄 (Index of Rhymes), in which we find fifty leading rhymes (*yunshe*). The *Index* contains two types of rhymes: one written in Chinese characters and one in Latin letters. However, some leading rhymes are only written in the Latin alphabet, for there

⁸⁹ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 260-261.

are no corresponding single Chinese characters. So, Trigault left these spaces *wuqie* 無切 (no *fanqie* spelling), or two Chinese characters. Under every leading rhyme is the number of the page where it can be found in the *Glossary*. Before passing to the *Glossary*, Nicolas Trigault added an explanation of how to make “sounds” (字子, *zizi*), by distinguishing between “initial” (字父, *zifu*) and “final” (字母, *zimu*) phonemes, and five tones. So, even the learner needed not read the whole *Yysp* and the *Benpu yongfa*, but could simply take advantage of the final *Glossary* as a dictionary, by relying upon this explanation. That is why, for example, the *Lyyp* in Antonio Montucci's copy lacked all of them, that is, the whole *Yysp* and the *Benpu yongfa*, except the *Index*, the explanation and the *Glossary*, but considered it a good lexicon. They were probably seen as the necessary parts of the original pre-existing rhyme book.

After the explanation, we have the *Glossary* (see fig. 6). It is structured in the light of the *Complete Table*, with the fifty leading rhymes, which are obtained by considering also the five tones and aspirations. Yet this *Glossary* collected all the Chinese characters in homophone groups where rhymes and tones were the same. If we take the first folio of the *Glossary* as an example, the *tongming zifu* (“initials”/“consonants”) are divided into two lines and arranged vertically on the right: voiceless *tongming zifu* (“consonants”): *ç, ch, k, p, t, j, v, f, g, l, m, n, s, x* are written in one line standing on the right; six voiced: *‘ç, ‘ch, ‘k, ‘p, ‘t, h* in another one, on the left. Next to them, on the left, there is the clear-even tone (清平, *qingping*), though no corresponding Western symbol is given, which means that all the sounds in this section have the clear-even tone. On its left is *ziming zimu* (“final”/“rhyme”) “*ā*” whose tone is clear-even. Then, we have *gongsheng zizi* 共生字子 (“syllable”/“sound”), which generates from the occurrence of *tongming zifu* with *ziming zimu*, and the tones. With this, words which share the same rhyme are grouped together in homophonic groups. Regarding the *fanqie* spelling, there are two sorts: one is in the form of Latin letters, and the other in the form of Chinese characters. This hints at the fact that the two manners are similar, at least insofar as they represent the same sound. Both Western and Chinese readers can find a suitable way to pronounce these sounds. To a certain extent, it also can give a judgment on the difficulty of the application of Latin form in China at that time, as the majority of the Chinese were not accustomed in employing them.⁹⁰ After going through the entire text, there was no explanation to be given on Chinese characters, but only on their sounds. It was not by chance, for the *Lyyp* was meant to list only sounds, not words, these being two different concepts in the eyes of Nicolas Trigault,

⁹⁰ See Luo Chang-pei, *Yesuhuiishi zai yinyunxue shang de gongxian* 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻, in *Luo Chang-pei yuyanxue lunwen ji* 羅常培語言學論文集 (Essays of Linguistics), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2004, p.266.

今音韻定有意者，曰言，本譜列之。蓋雖用字以傳其意，然當其列之初，第聞其音韻之聲，而不觀其點畫之形。后列邊正之譜，則反是矣。

Yan 言 (“spoken words”) represent the meanings [of objects in the Universe] which are determined by *yin* 音 (“sounds”) and *yun* 韻 (“rhymes”). “Spoken words” are lined up in the *pu* [*Lyyp*]. Although the meaning [of the “spoken word”] is transmitted by the *zi* 字 (“word”) which, when heard, at the beginning is only *sheng* 聲 (“voice”) of rhyme and sound, without regarding the *xing* 形 (“form”) of points and strokes. What the *Lbzp* will do is completely opposite.⁹¹

Essentially, “spoken words” (*yan*) belong to voice and, thus, are perceived audibly, while “written words” (*zi*) are perceived visibly.

1.2 *Yan* 言, *Yun* 韻 and *Yin* 音 and *Lyyp*

With the help of sound (*yin*) and rhyme (*yun*), the “spoken word” could be made. The *Lyyp* intended to list all the words, but just at the stage of “spoken words.” In the process, we have to turn back to the *Wenda* of the *Yysp* in order to have an idea of how Nicolas Trigault built this course.

1.2.1 *Yan* 言 (“Spoken Words”)

Yan 言 (“spoken words”), along with sound (音, *yin*), rhyme (韻, *yun*) and voice (聲, *sheng*) are perceived audibly, when the eardrum is struck, though they are distinguished at a different level. For Trigault, *voice* is defined in a broadest sense than the other elements, which include the human voice and the rest of the universe. On the contrary, “spoken words” have a much smaller scope.

人聲有意者曰言。

The *yan* 言 (“spoken word”) is a kind of human voice which, however, assumes meaning.⁹²

We read that the difference that would distinguish a “spoken word” from other kinds of human utterances is that it has a meaning. On the contrary, sound (*yin*) and rhyme (*yun*) alone need not

⁹¹ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lyyp*, p.2 (f.1b).

⁹² *Yysp*, p.114 (f.33b). Similar words could also be found in Aristotle, “For the voice is a sound which means something,” see Aristotle, *De Anima*, 420b33-34.

necessarily have meaning, just as the *Wheels* and *Tables* have shown,⁹³ not to mention the human voice. So, the sound (*yin*) and rhyme (*yun*) are between “spoken words” and *voice*. Starting from this distinction, Nicolas Trigault avoided dealing with *voice* and “spoken words” in the *Lyyp*, and only dealt with sound (*yin*) and rhyme (*yun*). From this standpoint, he claims that the *Lyyp* was not intended to give explanations of these *sounds*, and thus, it was not a formal vocabulary.

1.2.2 *Yun* 韻 (“Rhyme”)

Trigault also made a distinction between sound (*yin*) and rhyme (*yun*).

蓋多音同鳴之葉，曰韻。

When many sounds are made, the harmonizing rhyme is called *yun*.⁹⁴

If we consider the *Wheels* and *Tables*, we see the rhyme (*yun*) agrees with the *ziming zimu* 自鳴字母; while the sound (*yin*) results from the combination of *ziming zimu* (“initials”) and *tongming zifu* (“finals”): i.e. *zizi* 字子 (“son words”), which are essentially monosyllables from a phonetic point of view. Alternatively, the *rhyme* is included in one *sound* and it must be found in *each*. For this reason, Nicolas Trigault stated that “rhyme is dispersed more widely than sound”, for the former appears in variant sounds, while the latter exists only through the medium of the occurrence between *tongming zifu* (“initials”) and rhyme.⁹⁵

Despite that, the concept of rhyme (*yun*) in the *XREMZ* was not unfamiliar to a Chinese speaker. In his *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 (The Literary Mind and the Carving of the Dragon), Liu-xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-532) described the nature of the rhyme and said, “a rhyme can be sensed as harmonizing sounds” (同聲相應謂之韻, *tongsheng xiangying weizhi yun*).⁹⁶ Both Trigault and Liu-xie agreed on the character of the rhyme, even if they had derived it from completely different sources. The convergence indicates that the Chinese reader would perceive the term rhyme (*yun*) according to the same perspective, but on the ground of Chinese knowledge. Nicolas Trigault had merely represented them in the form of Latin letters. This makes the *Lyyp* different from all other Chinese rhyme books.

⁹³ See also Yysp, pp.113-114 (f.33a-b).

⁹⁴ Yysp, p.114 (f.33b).

⁹⁵ Yysp, p.114 (f.33b).

⁹⁶ Quoted from Wang-li, *Zhonghua yinyun xue*, p.44.

1.2.3 Yin 音 (“Sound”)

The term *yin* 音 (“sound” or “human sound”) is another pervading concept in the *XREMZ*. For it Trigault did not write a clear definition, as he had done with the terms *yan* (“spoken word”) and *yun* (“rhyme”). He did, however, conceive it as different from the human voice,

人性雜而不純，半靈半蠢。惟靈則上通于神，惟蠢則下通于異類。其內如此，其外亦如此。聲屬外者，又安得不如此也。人聲出於不靈，故亦不靈，[...] 人音出於靈，故亦靈焉，如能調能切，是也。夫人聲出於不靈，故在字學外，故不論，人音出於靈，因其能調能切，能辨音韻之籟，則定夫某號某號而識之。是號者，字之所由起也。

Humanity is impure, and lives together with spirit and stupidity. Thanks to the spirit, humanity can be near to God. Because of stupidity, it is as humble and low that it is an animal. It is true for the interior aspect [of humanity]. And so is it for the exterior aspect. Voice belongs to the exterior aspect. Generally speaking, the *human voice* (utterance) comes from the non-spirit of humanity, so it is not spiritual. [...] The *human sound* springs from the spirit of humanity and is spiritual as well. So, it can be harmonized and pronounced. Thus, the *human voice* must be excluded from the *zixue* 字學 (“word learning”), for it is not spiritual, and will not be under discussion. *Human sounds*, generated from the spirit, can be harmonized and pronounced. And the rhymes (of *human sounds*) and sounds are able to be discerned and, therefore, can be presented through certain symbols. These symbols will give birth to *zi* 字 (“words”).⁹⁷

Basically, the two concepts of human voice (utterance) and human sound were set apart from one another, as far as they came to be determined by different sides of humanity. Because of such attributions, *human sounds* could be captured by human beings and represented through certain symbols. And finally, these symbols might give birth to a *zi* 字 (“word”). As a consequence, the invisible *sound* could be transformed into a certain visible *word*. This was a kind of word, that Trigault called the *congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”) of Europe, distinguishing it from the *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”).

1.2.4 Yuanyin 元音 (“Primordial Sound”)

Human sounds were further analyzed by Nicolas Trigault, by introducing another concept of *yuanyin* 元音 (“primordial sounds”),

⁹⁷ Yysp, pp.116-117 (ff.34b-35a).

元音，人聲之自然也。其號亦曰字，由人意所定，而匪自然。故元音無不同，而號無不異。[...]歐邏巴三十多國所定之號俱同。旅人用之。

Primordial sounds are the natural voice of the human being⁹⁸. Consequently, its symbols are called *zi* (“words”) and determined by Human Will, rather than by nature. Thus, primordial sounds are essentially the same, but symbols vary. [...] In Europe there are more than thirty countries using the same symbols that I am using right now⁹⁹.

Undoubtedly, *yuanyin* (“primordial sounds”) can only be uttered by a human being. In other words, because they are the essence of the *human voice*, which is determined by nature and is thus universally common. There is no geographical variety. Though the symbols, when they were invented to represent *yuanyin* (“primordial sounds”), were arbitrarily created in line with geographical differences and, thus, must vary from one another in different areas. In Europe, these symbols were undoubtedly the letters of the Latin alphabet; while there were other kinds of “*letters*” used to do this in China and in other places. Hence, *yuanyin* (“primordial sounds”) assumed a double-character in different stages during their development. Essentially, they are universally identical; formally, however, they are individualized specifically by the *symbols* of different regions. In this respect, Nicolas Trigault broke the relationship of *yuanyin* (“primordial sounds”) with geographical nations and – even if implicitly – the relationship between *human sounds* and nations, since they are constituted of *primordial sounds*.

Furthermore, *human sounds* and symbols are not so strictly identified with one other, neither in time nor in space. Nicolas Trigault said to his interlocutor,

元音之號，定音而不定意。此初起之法也。蓋元音出於人籟之自然者，必在於號之先。惟於有號之後，人人用音用號，以定万物之意。

The symbols of *primordial sounds* are used to designate the sound, without taking into account its meaning.¹⁰⁰ This is the rule at the initial stage [of the sound]. Maybe, since *primordial sounds* are essential to the naturalness of the human voice and thus must have been generated before the invention of symbols. Only after symbols were invented, men used them and sounds as well to define the meaning of everything on earth.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ There is a similar indication in the sentence: “Primordial Sound originates from the naturalness of Human Voice (“utterance”)” 元音出於人籟之自然者 (*Yuanyin chuyu renlai zhi ziran zhe*), see Yysp, p.118 (f.35b).

⁹⁹ Yysp, p.119 (f.36a).

¹⁰⁰ See also the conclusion of David Diringer, *The Alphabet*, Vol.1, “Names of Letters”, pp.167-169.

¹⁰¹ Yysp, p.118 (f. 35b).

There is no doubt about the fact that these symbols were invented for primordial sounds. They are artificial products, so they are different in different parts of the world. And yet, thanks to this remarkable feature, it is said to be right that all *human sounds*, no matter where they came from – be it China, Europe, or any other part of the world –, could be visualized uniformly by one set of *symbols*, as their essence is the same as the one of primordial sounds. Of course, the *human sounds* from China could be dealt with thusly.

As for the Chinese, they had never heard of the concept of primordial sounds, nor that of Western symbols, when Nicolas Trigault decided to use them in his study of the language. As a matter of fact, the Chinese interlocutor acknowledged frankly, but feeling like very much fortunate, said,

異哉此法。凡我華人，夢想實不及此。今聞所未聞。豈非天乎。

How different this method is! I dare say all the Chinese cannot dream of this. I have never heard of this before. It must be the Heaven (referring to the Will of the Heaven)¹⁰².

Then he expected Nicolas Trigault to explain to them, from the concepts of *ziming zimu* (“rhymes”/“finals”) and *tongming zifu* (“initials”), down to the other phenomena concerning rhymes and sounds. The response of Chinese scholars to Trigault’s account is not surprising. Obviously the Jesuit Father had learned phonetics from the European point of view. In Aristotle’s *De interpretatione*, we find the same concept of *sound*, *voice* and *symbols* of scripture,

Now spoken sounds are symbols of affections in the soul, and written marks symbols of spoken sounds. And just as written marks are not the same for all men, neither are spoken sounds. But what these are in the first place signs of – affections of the soul – are the same for all; and what these affections are likenesses of – actual things – are also the same.¹⁰³

In this treatise, Aristotle studied the origin of sounds. Sounds, “produced with voice”, are the symbols of the affections of the soul; on the other hand, the symbols of scriptures are the symbols of the sounds. This general conception seems to have dominated the Indo-European views on languages.¹⁰⁴ It is upon this Western knowledge that Nicolas Trigault based his own linguistic theory of the *sounds* of Chinese,

¹⁰² Yyyp, p.120 (f. 36b).

¹⁰³ Aristotle, *De Interpretatione*, 16a3-9.

¹⁰⁴ See Chad Hansen, *Chinese Ideographs and Western Ideas*, in *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1993, vol52, pp.373-399.

by visualizing the phonemes in Latin letters which, as referred to above, were essential to his word learning. Nicolas Trigault said to his Chinese friends:

敝上字學有定號，以分辨萬音韻之籟，如中華有六書以分辨萬物之意。若欲通聾人耳資法，必先通西學分辨音韻之號，而後可！

In our humble land, the word learning assigns the fixed symbols to the sounds and rhymes so that they can be discerned. This can be compared with the “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) in China, which has been employed to recognize the signification of things in the universe. If a deaf wanted to be cured, he should have to learn how to discern the symbols of the word learning of the West at the start.¹⁰⁵

Using the Western symbols, Nicolas Trigault split a single Chinese sound into the phonetic units that he heard. Then, he recomposed them, and could thus represent the sound in the form of Western symbols, just as we have seen in the *Wheels* and *Tables*. Consequently, we have to refute Antonio Montucci's translation of the title *Lyyp* into *Dictionnaire chinois suivant l'ordre des mots*.¹⁰⁶ The French word *mot* is apparently not a good translation. In a much stricter sense, what Nicolas Trigault collected are not words, but only “spoken words.”

1.3 From Sounds to “Spoken Sords”

With the help of the *primordial sounds* – the cornerstone to deal with Chinese sounds –, Nicolas Trigault adopted a method to search for “spoken words.” According to this method, all of the *human sounds* should be symbolized by the “composition and unification” of Western symbols.¹⁰⁷ There is a three-step way to discover words and their meanings.

本譜用法，一聞其音，則得其位；得其位，則得其字；得其字，則得其意。

According to the usage of this *pu*, (1) when the *sound* [of a Chinese “spoken word”] is heard, the position of the sound can be located [in the *Lyyp*]; then, (2) when the position of the “spoken word” is determined, the “written word” can be located. And finally, (3) when the “spoken word” is found, the meaning can be obtained.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Yysp, p.115 (f.14a)

¹⁰⁶ Antonio Montucci's translation, see the copy *Lyyp* in BAV, Borg.cin.440.

¹⁰⁷ The original text is “Xiangdui xianghui”相對相會, see Yysp, p.56 (f.4b).

¹⁰⁸ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu yongfa*, in *Lyyp*, p.6 (f.3b).

The *Lyyp*, however, had been interrupted at its second stage, i.e. that from *sounds* to *words*, as long as “spoken words” are heard. For example, if one needs to search for the sound [pā], the listener could discern the following phonemes: the *ziming zimu*, “a” (“rhyme”), the *tongming zifu*, “p” (“consonant”), and the even tone “-”. Then, he should look in the *Index of Rhymes*. The rhyme “a” is listed in the first “leading rhyme [a]” and begins in the first folio of the *Glossary*. After that, he should turn to page one, where he would find the section “even tone”. The pronunciation “pā” would be found on the following page. Besides that “pā”, “there is another *fanqie* spelling spelled by two Chinese characters “百沙” (*bǎi/shā*). Under this sound “pā”, there is a homophone group sharing the same rhyme [a]. All the Chinese characters that are pronounced as “pā” can be found here. Yet, when reading the voices of this homophone group, he would also notice that Nicolas Trigault does not tell the reader how they should choose the one corresponding to the sound they had heard. Such a situation might remind us of the transliteration of some catechism texts from Latin into Chinese characters, where no translation, that is to say, no explanation, was needed, just as we find for example, in a catechism text about religious rules. Indeed, such catechism texts consisted in Chinese and Latinized characters, but lacked any explanation about the meaning of the text itself.¹⁰⁹ As a dictionary was already diffuse in the Society of Jesus, Nicolas Trigault was not ready to add the explanation. He had left the last step, i.e. the one from the word to its meaning, aside for another *Lbzp* and another two Chinese dictionaries: *Hongwu zhengyun* and *Yunhui xiaobu*.¹¹⁰ Hence, the two *pu* are interconnected. Moreover, it is evident that the *sounds* in the form of Western symbols were not suitable to distinguish a specific single sound from the others belonging to the same homophone group. To a certain extent, this is also the reason why the *Lyyp* only deals with the *sounds* of a group of Chinese characters, though not with a *single* character.

Nonetheless, Trigault’s pattern was comparable to the one of some Chinese rhyme books: for example, Zhou De-qing’s *Zhongyuan yinyun* (Sounds and Rhymes of the Central Plain). The author of this text had listed an index of rhymes in the form of Chinese characters, and had then attributed the sounds to each given section according to the disposition of rhymes and tones. So was Lv Wei-qi’s *Yinyun riyue deng* 音韻日月燈, which was published later than the *XREMZ*. Lv Wei-qi set a part called *Yunmu* 韻母 (Rhyme), in which all the Chinese characters were grouped according to rhymes and tones. After that, each character would reappear in the section called *Yunyue* 韻鑰 (Key of Rhymes) in

¹⁰⁹ See in BNR, fondo gesuitico 1254.14.

¹¹⁰ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu yongfa*, in *Lyyp*, p.8 (f.4b).

which each word was given its pronunciation, and the explanation of its meaning.

In the field of Chinese lexicography, this suggested to Nicolas Trigault how to organize his rhyme book. He merely replaced the phonemes in their Chinese form with the ones in Western symbols. No one before him had done anything similar in the history of Chinese rhyme books.

2. *Lie Bian Zheng Pu* 列邊正譜: From Forms to “Written Words”

As far as the third *pu* of *Lbzp* is concerned, it shares some points with the *Lyyp*. Historically, the *Lbzp* had also been diffused in the Society of Jesus in China, as a part of the pre-existing rhyme and character book, so that the Jesuits could avoid many difficulties in reading Chinese texts. Textually, the *Lbzp* had the same structure which would make it available for its users even without needing the *Yysp*. Nevertheless, it dealt with another aspect of the Chinese character, namely written words.

2.1 Textual Structure of the *Lbzp*

Apart from the cover and the frontispiece, the next part of the *Lbzp* comes from Nicolas Trigault’s *Benpu xiaoxu* 本譜小序 (Little Preface to this *pu*), which tells its readers that this *pu* is about “written words,” the form that can be perceived visually, so no longer about “spoken words.” Then, it is followed by the *Benpu yongfa* 本譜用法 (Usage of this *pu*) in which Nicolas Trigault intended to present to the reader how to find out the *sound* and meaning of a particular Chinese character when it was read in Chinese texts. Though, this course can be completed only with the help of another two Chinese dictionaries, *Hongwu zhengyun* and *Yunhui xiaobu*.

After them, there is a *Table* entitled *Wanzi zhiyin zongwang* 萬字直音總綱 (General Table of Ten Thousand of *Direct Sounds*). “Direct sound” 直音 (*zhiyin*) means a manner of Chinese spelling, “read as”. Like the *Complete Table*, this *table* itemizes all the sounds with the most commonly used Chinese characters. Each sound represents a group of sounds, the pronunciations of which are the same. Besides, Nicolas Trigault added the sound in Western symbols to each direct sound. In this way, the readers, both the Chinese and non-Chinese, could proceed to take advantage of the *pu*. This part is followed by *Bianhua mulu* 邊畫目錄 (Index of the Shadows), which classifies all the shadows (*bian*) into nineteen blocs according to the number of the strokes which each shadow (*bian*) contains. For those Chinese characters that are hard to be divided into shadow and corpus, Nicolas Trigault set an

independent section, *zazi huajie* 雜字畫界 (“mixed section”).

After this *Index of the Shadows*, there is a single folio, *Biaoyin xihao tu* 表音西號圖 (Table of the Sounds in the form of the Western Symbols). As on the frontispiece, Trigault arranged consonants (*tongming zifu*), both as Latin letters and as the corresponding Chinese characters, on two sides. The five vowels (*ziming zimu*) are arranged on the top of the folio, while the five tones are on the bottom. Both are also written in two forms. On this page, Nicolas Trigault drew single-letter-mothers (元母, *yuanmu*), two-letter-mothers (子母, *zimu*), three-letter-mothers (孫母, *sunmu*), four-letter-mothers (曾孫母, *zengsunmu*), and the regular formation of the syllable (字子, *zizi*) along with the increasing number of Latin letters in *zimu* (“mother words”, *finals/rhymes*), by giving a series of examples. These examples are expressed once again in two forms. With the help of this pattern, it is possible to write the sound in the form of Western symbols. In speaking about the role of this *table*, Nicolas Trigault had pointed out,

西號指音之便，所以能佐中字指意之妙。

The convenience that the Western symbols have is in pronouncing Chinese. They help the Chinese language, which represents meanings ingeniously.¹¹¹

As a consequence, the *Lbzp* assumes a double advantage of both Western symbols and Chinese characters. The learners, whether they were Chinese or non-Chinese, would benefit from this *pu*. In this *table*, it is also interesting to point out that Trigault arranged the order of the sounds in the form of Latin letters according to the number of the letters each sound contained, that is to say, he conceived a single Latin letter as corresponding to one stroke in the Chinese character.¹¹² Trigault seems to treat Latin letters and Chinese characters as if they were alike, if one takes this analogy into account.

The last part is the *Glossary*, the biggest and most important of the whole *Lbzp*. In light of the *Index*, all the Chinese characters are included in nineteen sections, apart from the additional mixed section (*zabu*). To make the *Glossary* clearer, I shall take the first page as an example (see fig. 7). The title in Chinese, *Lie Bian Zheng Pu* 列邊正譜, is put on the far right. Next to it there are two columns: *Zhongzi zhixia Hongwu zhengyun zhi shu ye* 中字之下洪武正韻之數也 (“The number under the

¹¹¹ *Lbzp*, p.40 (f.20b).

¹¹² See also *Yysp*, p.254 (f.103b).

Chinese Word is associated with *Hongwu zhengyun*”) on the right; and *Xizi zhixia Yunhui xiaobu zhi shu ye* 西字之下韻會小補之數也 (“The number under the Western Word is associated with *Yunhui xiaobu*”) on the left. Under them, there is a line, *Ershu fanzai youzhe zhijuan fanzai zuozhe zhizhang* 二數，凡在右者指卷；凡在左者指張 (“Two numbers [of each group]: the number on the right refers to *juan* 卷 [the scroll number]; the number [of every group] on the left referring to *zhang* 張 [the folio pagination]”). These two groups of numbers refer to the ones which are written under the Chinese characters and the Western symbols in the columns on the left. After knowing these numbers in this *pu*, one can enter the *Yihuajie* 一畫界 (One-stroke section) in which all the shadows (*bian*) contain only one stroke. It starts from the shadow *yi* 乙. All the characters that share the same shadow *yi* 乙 are grouped together.

As we can see, each character, including even the shadow *yi* 乙, contains two groups of numbers as referred to above. Despite the fact that Nicolas Trigault acknowledged that Western words belonged to the Western culture, he never denied that the Chinese learner could grasp them.¹¹³ That is also why the Chinese could take advantage of the *XREMZ*. At this point, this dictionary was for the Chinese. The purpose of this *Lbzp* seems by now to have been completed. Nicolas Trigault reported clearly,

今言韻定有號者，曰字。本譜列之。故雖用音以傳其意，但其列之之初，第觀其點畫之形，而不聞其音韻之聲也。

Written words (*zi*), which represent “spoken words” (*yan*) by means of symbols, are registered in this *pu*. Although the sound can convey the meaning [of the “spoken word”], what we have is a form composed by *dian* 點 (*spots*) and *hua* 畫 (*lines*), as soon as it is written. Though the voice of its sounds and rhymes [i.e. its pronunciation] cannot be heard.¹¹⁴

As the *Lyyp* only collects “spoken words,” the *Lbzp* only registers “written words.” The “written word” is still written as a *form*, which means that it can be perceived visually, because of the *spots* and *lines* that it contains. Hence, the presence of Western words in the book was intended to help the reader to learn how to pronounce them. This was supposed to be helpful only for the Western reader, exactly like Matteo Ricci had noted the pronunciation of Chinese characters when he was studying Chinese in Zhaoqing. Yet, Trigault also provided the learners with pronunciation by using *Hongwu zhengyun* and

¹¹³ See *Yysp*, p.254 (f.103b).

¹¹⁴ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lbzp*, p.3 (f. 2a).

Yunhui xiaobu, in the form of the *fanqie spelling* of China, which was more familiar to the Chinese learners. In comparison with the *Lyyp*, the *Lbzp* seems to be less creative in search of the written word of Chinese, but yet another revised character book in line with the social tendencies of the time. But just as we have seen previously, the coexistence of the Western word and Chinese character represented two sorts of word learning, which respectively correspond to “phonogram” (*congyin zhizi*) and “ideogram” (*congyi zhizi*). It is relevant to remark that the latter was for Trigault, as well as for other Europeans, strictly related to his European background, in particular, to the European conception of Egyptian hieroglyphs. When Trigault tried to find a way to detect the written word by looking at the spots and lines of a given Chinese character, he might have been thinking of such a concept.

2.2 From Forms to “Written Words”

2.2.1 *Congyi zhizi* 從意之字 in the *XREMZ*

Just as we have seen before, there are two kinds of *words* in the *XREMZ*: *congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”) and *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”). The former can be composed by one single Latin letter,¹¹⁵ or by the combination of many Latin letters. Nicolas Trigault called both of them *xizi* 西字 (“Western words”), distinguishing them from other types of words, such as the *congyi zhizi* (“ideograms”) or *zhongzi* 中字 (“Chinese words”). At the time when Nicolas Trigault thought of Chinese characters as *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”), this conception was usually considered just as valid as in the case of Egyptian hieroglyphs, which had been explained in symbolic and allegorical terms, although according to Erik Iversen, a modern scholar, Egyptian hieroglyphs are phonetic, as well.¹¹⁶ This notion was obscured only “by the persistence of a tradition” that dated back to Diodorus Siculus, a Greek historian, who stated:

For their writing does not express the intended concept by means of syllables joined one to another, but by means of the meaning of the objects which have been copied, and by their figurative meaning which has been impressed upon the memory by practice.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ See *Yysp*, p.74 (f.13b).

¹¹⁶ Wayne Senner, ed., *The Origin of Writing*, University of Nebraska Press, 1989, p.19.

¹¹⁷ Quoted from Wayne Senner, ed., *The Origin of Writing*, p.19.

The idea of Chinese as related to Egyptian hieroglyphs was the one generally accepted in the early modern history of Europe. In the meantime there was another understanding of the Chinese writing system which considered it as an alphabetical one, having a certain resemblance to Latin letters.¹¹⁸ However, the latter will be soon abandoned, as more and more information about the Chinese language reached Europe, as a consequence of the increasing and deepening contact between Europe and China. As a result, the conception that considered the Chinese writing system as similar to Egyptian hieroglyphs was deepened, in particular after the publication of Kircher's *China illustrata*. Kircher had even entitled a chapter of his book "*Des caractères hiéroglyphiques des Chinois*" ("Hieroglyphic Characters of Chinese"). Later on, his view on the Chinese language will be questioned by the German philosopher Leibniz (1646-1716) in his writings on China.¹¹⁹

Undoubtedly, the idea of the Chinese language as *congyi zhizi* ("ideogram") compares favorably with the one of Egyptian hieroglyphs, when Nicolas Trigault started working on Chinese. But his views would be remarkably enriched, as he found,

蓋從意之字，本初無音，其有音者，人後所定也。

As usual, the words of *congyi zhizi* ("ideogram") had no sounds in the beginning. They were sounded only after people added their sounds to them.¹²⁰

Sounds of a *congyi zhizi* ("ideogram") came much later than meanings, so that the form and the sound of a word did not reside simultaneously in the same symbol, but could be separated from one another. As a consequence of this time span between the origin of *form* and that of *sound*, two different stages were hypothesized: from the point of view of "written words," Chinese was rendered much closer to Egyptian hieroglyphs; from the point of view of "spoken words," that is to say, phonetically, Chinese could be treated as a Western language. We can find a similar conception also from some Chinese intellectuals. In 1471, Wan'an 萬安 composed a piece of the preface to the *Wuyin pianhai* and reflected upon the origins of Chinese. He wrote,

¹¹⁸ See Wayne Senner, ed., *The Origin of Writing*, p.17.

¹¹⁹ See Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Writings on China*, trans. Daniel J.Cook and Henry Rosemont, Jr., Open Court Publishing Company, 1994, pp. 133-134, and see also Dong Hai-ying, *Xiren hanyu yanjiu shulun – 16-19 shiji chuqi*, pp. 72-78.

¹²⁰ *Lbzp*, p.39 (20a). Almost one century later, French Jesuit Joseph Prémare in *Liushu shiyi* 六書實義 (*The Real Sense of the Liushu*) (ca.1721), in BAV, Borg.Cin 357(10), repeated a similar thought. It seems to be a pervading opinion among the missionaries in China.

字書，載道之器也。然有形有聲之不同。形，母也，聲，子也。形具於未有聲之前，聲成於既有形之後。

The character book is an instrument for the “way” (*dao*) [of Confucius]. But each word contains *form* and *sound*. The *form* is its mother; while the sound is its son. The *form* [of a word] appears earlier, the *sound* is made much later.¹²¹

The difference between the two is that Nicolas Trigault used Western symbols to represent sounds, hence a *form* different from the Chinese character itself.

In the *Lbzp*, Trigault shed light on the hieroglyphic feature of the Chinese language, but leaving aside its phonetic feature. As we have discussed before, Nicolas Trigault had relied heavily upon the concept of “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) when analyzing the units which make up Chinese characters.

字體多雙，則有邊有正。邊者，在字之旁者是，邊字之外，或在左右，上下，四方者，俱曰正。蓋正字者，如體，邊者，如影。日在我左，影在我右。日在我先，影在我后。日在我上，影在我下。相反亦然。今後譜列邊列正，如前譜列音列韻，故邊正是其表也。

Generally speaking, the body of each word contains *bian* and *zheng*. The *bian* stands aside; while the *zheng* appears on the left or right, at the bottom or top, or around. Hence, the *zheng* is the *corpus*, and the *bian* is like a *shadow*. If the sun were on my left, then my shadow must be on the right; if the sun in my front, then my shadow is behind my back; if the sun is above me, then my shadow is under my feet, and vice versa. Now the *Lbzp* registers the *zheng* and the *bian* which, like the previous *Lyyp* listing *yin* (“sound”) and *yun* (“rhyme”), are only the representation.¹²²

With the concept of “six manners of writing” (*liushu*), Nicolas Trigault was able to divide Chinese characters into two parts: the *zheng* (“corpus”) was seen as the component which constitutes the body of this character; and the *bian* (“shadow”) strictly depends upon the *corpus*. As a composition of the two elements, the form of Chinese characters could be drawn as a painting. He said,

蓋中華之字，甫具筆畫，即定其意，既定其意，即定其音。三者備則字字成矣。

¹²¹ Wan'an, *Preface*, in Han Xiao-yan 韓孝彥 and Han Dao-zhao 韓道昭, *Chenghua dinghai chongkan gaibing wuyinleiju sishengpianhai* 成化丁亥重刊改併五音類聚四聲篇海 (XSK, vol.229), p.245.

¹²² Ysp, pp.244-245 (ff.99a-b), and p.249 (f.101a).

Chinese words have a meaning, as they are drawn through *bihua* 筆畫 (“drawing lines”, or simply, “strokes”); then, it is assigned to a sound. Chinese words are coined after the three elements have been assembled together.¹²³

These three elements are stroke, meaning and sound. They emerge in this order in the process of creation of a Chinese character. The concept of the “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) will allow Nicolas Trigault to consider Chinese as *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”). But he decided not to deal with all three elements in his *Lbzp*. He did so only with the strokes of shadow (*bian*) and corpus (*zheng*).

2.2.2 Nicolas Trigault’s *bian* 邊 and *zheng* 正

Finally, Trigault could follow this understanding of the Chinese character to edit his own lexicon. Though, in defining the term *bian* and *zheng* he seems to disagree with those Chinese scholars. Let’s start from the concept of “word” and its relative units in the Chinese text.

In the preface to the *Shuowen jiezi*, Xu-shen tried to retrieve the origin of Chinese characters and concluded,

倉頡之初作書，蓋依類象形，故謂之文。其後形聲相益，即謂之字。

Anciently, when Cang-jie was engraving his book, he imitated the form of the objects, that is called *wen* 文 (“drawn image”). Later on, *forms* and *sounds* worked in cooperation, and their combinations became more and more numerous. These are called *zi* 字 (“words”).¹²⁴

This is Chinese scholars’ earlier concept of *zi* 字 (“words”). It includes not only an image, but also a sound. The semantic sense of a word only concerns the stage of *wen* (“drawn image”). These “drawn images”, that is to say, the first Chinese words, were considered as *zimu* 字母 (“mothers of words”). In the history of Chinese characters, they gave birth to the family of *zi* 字 (“words”) thanks to the “six manners of writing” (*liushu*), which had been adopted as a principle to create words. Only during this process were the semantic and the phonetic features incorporated into the word. On the basis of this conception, Xu-shen created 540 *bushou* (部首, “heads”) and established a principle to classify these words.

¹²³ Yysp, p.158 (f.55b).

¹²⁴ Xu-shen, *Preface*, in *Shuowen jiezi*, p.314.

其建首也，立一為耑。方以類聚，物以群分。

The first word is set as the head [of each group]. Thus, objects of the same kind and substances of the same kind are grouped together.¹²⁵

Their heads were distinguished according to their different *forms* and *meanings*. Words were classified according to the heads. This suggests that all words led by the same head retain the same attributes, so that the meaning of a word is determined by its head. Once the reader had understood the meaning of this head, he could also guess the other words under this head. In the *Shuowen jiezi* Xu-shen called these first words *bu* 部 (“classifiers”)¹²⁶ and the first classifier is *shang* 上 (“high”). Although the number of classifiers was fixed at 540 in Xu-shen's book, it was flexible and changeable in the history of the different lexicographical editions. Moreover, the semantic sense of classifiers became less and less important.

When Nicolas Trigault studied Chinese, he must have consulted many Chinese character books. In a dialogue with some Chinese speakers, he recorded the following unhappy experience,

旅人初至大國，不但我耳如聾，目亦如瞽。瞪目而視字，不能遽受字學之光，即用邊正諸卷尋覓，費工難見，每以為苦。

After the traveler had reached the great country, he had trouble with deaf ears, and blind eyes. He read words with his eyes wide open, but could not yet be illuminated by the word learning. He even looked up in the character book which had been composed according to *bian* (“shadow”) and *zheng* (“corpus”), but he still failed. He suffered intense pain.¹²⁷

Although those Chinese character books were poorly edited, they gave him firsthand information about the concepts of *bian* (“shadow”) and *zheng* (“corpus”), when he intended to edit a new edition. He re-categorized them, which we can recognize by taking a closer look at its three indices. The first two are the *Index of the Wuyin pianhai* and the *Index of the Zhengyun haipian*, and were attached to the *Yysp*. In these two indices, the so-called *bian* (“shadow”) are treated in the same way, both as far as their order and their number are concerned. But were the *bian* (“shadow”) in these two indexes the *bu* 部

¹²⁵ Xu-shen, *Preface*, in *Shuowen jiezi*, p.319. The second part of the paraphrase is the explanation of a Chinese proverb: *Fang yi lei ju wu yi qun fen*, “Each method has its own features, each animal has its own features”.

¹²⁶ Sometimes these classifiers are also called *bushou* 部首 and *pianpang* 偏旁.

¹²⁷ *Yysp*, p.246 (f.99b).

present in the Chinese text? In the Vatican Library there is a ten-volume Chinese Dictionary: *Pianhai* 篇海.¹²⁸ It is a revision of the *Wuyin pianhai*, but entitled by Li-deng 李登 *Chongkan xianjiao pianhai* 重刊詳校篇海 (Reprint of the Pianhai). At the bottom of the blue box containing the ten volumes there is an Italian translation of the title: “*Dizionario per ordine delle chiavi.*” The “order of the keys” in this dictionary is made according to the *bu* 部. So, “*chiave*” in this title is to be seen as the translation of “*bu*”. Still in the same library there is an incomplete Latin-Chinese Dictionary in which the compiler translated the *bianhua mulu* 邊 piēn 畫 hoě 目 mǒ 錄 lǒ as “*Sinarum Linguae Clavis*”.¹²⁹ Accordingly, *bian* is equal to *clavis* (*chiave*).

The third index I shall mention is another *bianhua mulu* contained in the *Lbzp* of Antonio Montucci. Regarding the two *bianhua mulu*, they only differ in the fact that the first “*Sinarum Linguae Clavis*” contained less *bian*. It is evident that the “*bian*” in the *XREMZ*, the “*bu*” in the Chinese lexicons, and the “*chiave*” in the eyes of the Europeans mean the same thing. Thus, the term “*bian*” in the *XREMZ* must be what “*bu*” 部 and “*pianpang*” 偏旁 are in the Chinese lexicons.¹³⁰ As a consequence, the *zheng* (“corpus”) is the remaining part of Chinese characters.

However, the *bu* 部 in the Chinese lexicons and the *bian* in the *XREMZ* are not interchangeable. For Nicolas Trigault, it is *zheng* (“corpus”), rather than *bian* (“shadow”), which carries the semantic sense. In other words, the role of the *bu* in the Chinese lexicons is transferred to the *zheng* (“corpus”) in the *XREMZ*. As regards the concept of the *bian* (“shadow”) in the *XREMZ*, Nicolas Trigault deprived it of its semantic sense. It is worthwhile to quote Antonio Montucci's comment on the term *bian*. He maintained that the editor of the Twins (*Lyyp* and *Lbzp*) had applied the most appropriate denomination for the radicals of the character, *bian*, by translating it as “laterals” (Chinese character “邊” is translated literally into “side”).¹³¹ He wrote,

When Radicals are conspicuous, external, and not derogating from the foregoing and following principles, they ought to be adopted as such, even in case they had neither a *Signification*, or a *Sound* allotted to

¹²⁸ *Pianhai*, in BAV, Borg.Cin.255. This dictionary does not belong to the collection of Antonio Montucci.

¹²⁹ *Dizionario Cinese-lantino scritto da Languasio Quangtoni*, in BAV, Borg.cin.392, ff.2b-3a. This Dictionary came from the collection of Antonio Montucci

¹³⁰ About the relationship among the “claves”, “*bian*” and “*bu*”, see also the translation of Stephanus Fourmont's *Meditationes Sinicae*, in BAV, R.G.Oriente II, 165, p. 60. Here the author replaced “*bu*” with “*tribunalia*”.

¹³¹ Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Drawn*, p.26, and p.35.

them: as many Chinese lexicographers have done, and particularly the Authors of the celebrated Twins above described.¹³²

Neither the sound nor the signification that the *bian* ought to have assumed in the Chinese lexicons were stressed by Nicolas Trigault in the *XREMZ*. Nor did Trigault take account of the semantic sense of the *zheng* (“corpus”) when composing his own *Lbzp*.¹³³ Now a new Chinese lexicon was being written, one based on Trigault’s understanding of the *bian* (“shadow”) and *zheng* (“corpus”).

After distinguishing between *bian* (“shadow”) and *zheng* (“corpus”), Trigault passed from abstract theory to the concrete problem he had to face. He studied Chinese lexicons carefully and declared that the bad method for arranging the *bian* (“shadow”) was the reason that had brought about this inconvenience. He appreciated the method of arranging the *zheng* (“corpus”) in the Chinese lexicons, which had regularized the *zheng* (“corpus”) according to the number of strokes it had.

字學家所列正者，妙不可加。

The method that lexicographers use to deal with the *corpus* is too smart to be discredited.¹³⁴

He introduced this method to deal with the arrangement of the *bian* (“shadow”) and said,

邊字亦有畫，何為不然？旅人之法，蓋在此。

The *bian* (“shadow”) contains strokes, too. Why not adopt [this method for arranging the *zheng* (“corpus”)]? It is the focus of the method of the traveler.¹³⁵

In the light of this method, Trigault succeeded in searching for the given character and consequently its meaning and pronunciation. The first step is to check the number of the strokes contained in the *bian* (“shadow”) and then those contained in the *zheng* (“corpus”). Trigault wrote a *bianhu mulu* 邊畫目錄 (Index of the Shadows). Each *bian* (“shadow”) is grouped orderly according to the number of its strokes. Therefore, users will find the corresponding *bian* in the *Index* by counting the strokes. If we

¹³² Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Drawn*, p.41.

¹³³ Nicolas Trigault wrote, “The arrangement of the *zheng* (“corpus”) will not abide by the significance, nor by the sound.” (正字之排，不從其意，不從其音), see Yysp, p.249 (f.101a).

¹³⁴ Yysp, p.247 (f.100a)

¹³⁵ Yysp, p.249 (f.101a).

take the Chinese character *pu* 譜 (“booklet”) for example (see fig. 8), we notice that “*pu* 譜” consists of “*yan*” 言 (“to speak”) which is a shadow, and “*pu*” 普 (like the adjective “widespread”) which is the *corpus*. The shadow “言” contains seven strokes. So, the learner will find this character in the seven-stroke section of the *Index*. In the same section he will also see a number in Chinese, in this case, ninety-six. This number corresponds to the folio where the section in the *Glossary* of the *Lbzp* containing all the Chinese Words having “*yan*” 言 as a shadow begins. So, here we find “*pu*” “譜”, as well. These words are further subdivided according to the number of the strokes contained in each *corpus*, and cover the folios from f.96b to f.99a. The next step is to calculate the strokes of the *corpus* “*pu*” “普”. Since it contains twelve strokes, it can naturally be found in the twelve-stroke section, located in f.98b. Finally, we look up for (or re-discover) the word “*pu*” “譜” in the *Lbzp*. Under the Chinese character “*pu*” “譜” there are the Western word “*pù*” and two different groups of numbers.

Nicolas Trigault achieved the goal of finding “written words,” starting from the conception of Chinese characters as *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”). Meanwhile, he had not paid attention to their ideographic aspect. Such “negligence” would not prevent him from introducing a practical and helpful method through the edition of this dictionary. On the other hand, however, Trigault had already redefined the birth of the meaning of Chinese characters on the basis of another aspect. He preferred to attribute their meaning to the custom of the human being. He stated,

夫用元音元號之會，以定萬物之意，豈有難哉？不則，中華音意具定者，豈天造地設乎？以人用而相通矣，獨彼此立法迥乎不侔！

It is not so hard to establish the meaning of an object in the Universe through the combination of the symbols of *primordial sounds*. Otherwise, do you think that the sound and the meaning of Chinese words are determined by Heaven and Earth? They are commonly applied because of the usage of human beings. Among them there are differences only because of the way of determination [of the meaning].¹³⁶

Even if very implicitly, Nicolas Trigault affirmed that the meanings of Western words have the same human origin. Hence, both in China and in Europe, the signification of the word is due to mankind. In Chinese, the meaning was assumed with the human being, and not with the word itself. Because of this

¹³⁶ *Yysp*, p.118 (f.35b).

human interference, what was essential in making sense of the concept of *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”) was now completely removed. This is an interesting shift in the view of the *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”).

Undoubtedly, Trigault shared a point with some Chinese lexicons, insofar as both had abandoned the influence of the “six manners of writing” (*liushu*) on their composition. Nonetheless they followed divergent paths.

3. Conclusion

After briefly presenting the *Lyyp* and the *Lbzp*, by investigating their texts, we can formulate a general opinion about these two *pu*. As I have stated many times, they were two aspects of the pre-existing rhyme and character book: the aim of the *Lyyp* was to find Chinese characters by starting from rhyme and sound; the one of the *Lbzp* to find them out by taking into account shadow and corpus. These are two methods which had been employed by the Society of Jesus when they meant to study Chinese aside from their missionary purpose. This kind of dictionary would not necessarily have been published, if no Chinese scholar had asked Nicolas Trigault to edit it. It is obvious that this pre-existing book could also be seen as an independent one, and could therefore be separated from the whole *XREMZ*, as we saw in the case of Antonio Montucci. Accordingly, they had a different image when they were taken individually. Unlike the *Yysp* which was a kind of theoretical introduction to the *XREMZ*, these two *pu* were only intended to experiment in practice the word learning system that Trigault was introducing. That is to say, when the pre-existing rhyme and character book was circulating in the Society of Jesus, there were no terminological questions. Such questions became urgent only when these two *pu* were meant for another group of learners who still ignored such word learning systems (as we will soon see). Therefore, in these two *pu*, there is no space for the user to penetrate the concept of phonemes and morphemes: for example, sound (*yin*), rhyme (*yun*), shadow (*bian*) and corpus (*zheng*), and many other related terms. To fully understand them, the users, especially the Chinese, needed the help of the *Yysp*.

These new terms, based on Nicolas Trigault’s own understanding of the language, had enabled him to compile a different dictionary. But we also find that many Chinese lexicons had shared some points with Trigault’s. Bi Zi-yan 畢自巖 (1569-1638), who was known to some Jesuits, recorded a dictionary in his collection of essays, *Shiyinyuan canggao* 石隱園藏稿 (Writings at the Garden Shiyin). This dictionary was composed by scholars from the remote provinces of China who had benefited from both

Hongwu zhengyun and *Haipian zhiyin* 海篇直音. So the users could search for Chinese characters according to their *form*, and then their sounds and meanings.¹³⁷ This dictionary, like almost all other Chinese lexicons, did not use Western symbols, and as a result, could not avoid their concomitant disadvantages. And yet, this shows that Trigault's dictionary was meant to be accessible to Chinese society, since Trigault provided many modifications of existing Chinese dictionaries.

Differences in cultural backgrounds do not always cause difficulties in understanding different lexicons. The Chinese, through the theoretical introduction of the *Yysp*, could follow the *Lyyp* and the *Lbzp*. In this process, Father Trigault explained conscientiously the transformation of a language between two completely different representational methods: the *Western Word* and the *Chinese Word*. This represents another essential aspect which makes the *XREMZ* exceptionally different and innovative, with respect to other Chinese vocabularies.

Chapter VII

Terms: Chinese “*Letras*” and Chinese Characters

In the biography of Nicolas Trigault, French Jesuit C. Dehaisnes spoke of the *XREMZ*. He wrote,

Les chrétiens indigènes l'avaient prié de composer un grand ouvrage de linguistique, sorte de dictionnaire grammatical dans lequel seraient marqués tous les rapports qui pouvaient exister entre le chinois et les langues européennes.... il avait fallu pour ce travail et l'immense érudition qu'exige toujours le premier dictionnaire, et un esprit assez ingénieux et assez inventif pour trouver des rapports entre des langues essentiellement différentes [...]¹³⁸.

His description is partially correct, because the *XREMZ* never refers to two languages, but only to Chinese. Irrespective of the methods followed in the Twins – from sound to the “spoken word” in the *Lyyp*, or from form to the “written word” in the *Lbzp* –, Trigault wrote two *pu* to learn Chinese through two different methods. In the former *pu* he registered the “spoken word” in Western symbols, while in the latter he listed the “written word” through *bian* (“shadow”) and *zheng* (“corpus”). These two *pu* were concerned with two aspects of Chinese: “spoken word” (*lingue*) and “written word” (*parole*), but

¹³⁷ Bi Zi-yan, *Shiyinyuan cangao* (SK, vol.1293), vol.2, ff.14b-15a.

¹³⁸ C. Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.198.

not in line with what Father Dehaisnes had pointed out that Nicolas Trigault wanted to emphasize “les rapports” between Chinese language and European languages, even though we have seen that Nicolas Trigault’s understanding of Chinese was deeply influenced by his knowledge of European languages.

For Trigault, to establish “*rappports*” in the *XREMZ* meant to disclose the difference between *Western* and *Chinese words* and then find a connection between the two. To reach his goal, he had to face two matters. Firstly, the possibility of transliteration between *Western Word* and *Chinese Word*, as evidenced in the parallel list of Western and Chinese words in both *pu*; secondly, the possibility of maintaining unchanged the meanings of words despite the two different writing systems. Alternatively, how Western words can represent the meaning of the corresponding Chinese Words, and vice versa. Such kind of transformation, from the point of view of Nicolas Trigault, should be based on Spirit, which is common to all human beings, just as we have argued before. Such a kind of knowledge can be even traced back to Ancient Greece and its famous thinkers, among whom Aristotle must be mentioned. This question, for Nicolas Trigault and other Jesuits, will inevitably devolve into a question related *strictly* to Christian theology.

1. Introduction: the Question of *Mingmu* 名目 (“Terminology”)

In a certain sense, the composition of the *XREMZ* could be seen as a “re-formation” of Nicolas Trigault's view on the Chinese language. This re-formation concerns Chinese phonemes, which were employed by Nicolas Trigault in the *XREMZ* with Western symbols, so they could enable him to write a new better dictionary.

For this project, the first step to do was to search for the appropriate terms to explain concepts unique to the Chinese language. Nicolas Trigault should have presented them much earlier, but was halted by a “technical” problem. He explained to his Chinese audience,

第前者未敢傳旅人何能察音所聞，何能察字所觀之法，蓋以名目未定，愚不能講，君未易通也。
今耳目略得其譯引之資，雖吃雖跛，傳行亦可。

Before, I could not transmit the method of how to discern sounds by hearing, and how to search for the “written word” by reading, because *mingmu* 名目 (terms) were still unclear. Thus I was unable to make it

clear, and you would not easily understand it. Today, my eyes and ears have obtained some help from the *yi* 譯 and the *yin* 引, though still stutteringly and stumblingly, I can transmit [it].¹³⁹

As Trigault himself acknowledged, he could not speak well Chinese at that moment, so he had difficulty deciphering the terms, and consequently, the method of learning this language. He was able to do that only when he had a good knowledge of it, and at a level at which he could freely express his own opinion about it. For Europeans, the question of terminology not only referred to translation from one to another, but also to a question related to the exchange of knowledge.¹⁴⁰ In the history of Jesuit missions in China, the dispute around terminology had its own significance, especially when it penetrated the social context between China and Europe. For this reason, they must have been very prudent when dealing with the question of terminology.

A very important dimension of the question of terminology is its fidelity to its essential nature, especially when it came to a social context that both the Chinese and the Europeans were able to share. We will take as an example the terms of *fu* 父 (“father”) and *mu* 母 (“mother”). In speaking of them, Nicolas Trigault mentioned also the expression “*mingmu*” 名目,

父母之名，特借其名目用之。凡字能生他字，胥可稱之曰父曰母。

The Chinese characters “father” (父, *fu*) and “mother” (母, *mu*) are borrowed as terms. When words give birth to other words, all of them can be defined as fathers and mothers.¹⁴¹

“Father” and “mother” are two of the most important terms to indicate respectively the *initial* and the *final* of Chinese in the *XREMZ*. They are called *father* and *mother* because they have such a capacity to give birth to other words. The term is similar to a metaphor, as far as its essence is *natural*. Aristotle had mentioned the question of the “noun” in his *Poetics*,

Every noun is either “ordinary” or “rare” or “metaphorical” or “ornamental” or “invented” or “lengthened” or “curtailed” or “altered”.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Yysp, p.112 (f.32b).

¹⁴⁰ See Peter Burke, *Lingue e comunità nell'Europa moderna*, pp.157-159.

¹⁴¹ Yysp, p.139 (f.46a).

¹⁴² Aristotle, *De Arte Poetica*, 1457b[20.]4-6.

A “noun” might be different anywhere, but the essence in it must be absolutely the same, with no geographic or temporal limitation. For Trigault, the question of terminology could not be reduced simply to a question of equivalence in translation, but it also concerns the understanding of a culture from the standpoint of a Westerner. He had to find the appropriate words to define the elements hidden in the Chinese language on his own.

2. Definition of Chinese Rhyme and Sound

The aim in defining Chinese rhyme and sound was to reconstruct them in Chinese with the help of Latin letters. Thus, during this process, a way to romanize Chinese characters appears, even though Trigault confined this kind of Romanization to sounds, and never intended to substitute Chinese words.

2.1 *Yuanyin* 元音 (“Primordial Sounds”) and Latin Letters

As we have seen before, the first feature of the *XREMZ* noticed at first sight is the use of Latin letters. Today these letters are commonly known as Latin *zimu* 字母 in modern Chinese, a term which was used by Nicolas Trigault, but which has a completely different meaning. At the time when Trigault used them, these words were considered symbols of *yuanyin* 元音 (“primordial sounds”), which consists of all *human sounds*, including *Chinese sounds*. Trigault constructed his whole theory from this point of departure.

To make *yuanyin* (“primordial sounds”) clearer, it is necessary to deal with their relationship to the Latin alphabet. The Latin alphabet Nicolas Trigault used contained twenty-three letters; it seems that this was also accepted in other missionary writings, and even in some Chinese books.¹⁴³ The letters were arranged in the following order: a, e, i, o, u, c, k, p, t, j, v, f, g, l, m, n, s, x, h, b, d, r, z. In the *XREMZ*, the number of letters is far fewer than that of *yuanyin* (which was twenty-nine in total), which is because the concept of *yuanyin* has to do with *sounds*. Among them there are sounds being represented through the combination of Latin letters. Therefore, *primordial sounds* do not only include twenty-three single Latin letters, but also some combinations, for example, “ch.” As usual, these missionaries treated the Chinese language from the point of view of phonology, as when they had

¹⁴³ See Ferdinand Verbiest, Gabriel de Magalhães and Lodovico Buglio, *Yulan xifang yaoji* 禦覽西方要紀 (Book for the Emperor on the West) (1669), in BAV, Borg.Cin.350(11), f.5b. Some Chinese scholars confirm this position, too, see You-tong 尤侗, *Waiguo zhuzhici* 外國竹枝詞 (Lyrics of the Foreign), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991, p.18. But the same. Gabriel de Magalhães recorded that there were 24 Latin letters, see *Nouvelle Relation de la Chine, contenant la description des particularitez les plus considerables de ce grand Empire*, Paris, 1688, p.84.

learned Latin and Greek in Europe. They saw Chinese as a monosyllabic language. Father Ruggieri reported his observation in a letter to Pope Gregory XIV (1535-1591):

Characteres litterarum quibus utuntur, iidem in toto Regno sunt, immo et Japoniis, et Cochinciniis, et Siamiis sunt communes. Sunt autem infinitae propemodum figurae vocum monosyllabarum, quae singulae dictionem faciunt.¹⁴⁴

In this letter Ruggieri repeated some information we have seen elsewhere. He was aware that Chinese characters (which he defined as *idiomata*) were all different from one another, and had their own meaning. Meanwhile, Ruggieri also stressed a phonetic aspect, by pointing out that Chinese was monosyllabic: a vowel (final symbol), or the combination between vowel and consonant (final and initial symbols). Over the course of time, such observations would be made by other Jesuits in a more detailed way. For example, in a document called *Bonae memoriae pater*, its transcriber pointed out that two consonants, when joined, could not be pronounced.¹⁴⁵ Elements concerning the phonology were outlined, and helped the missionaries to form their own opinions on the phonetics of the Chinese language. Trigault agreed with Ruggieri's and Ricci's views, as well. In a letter dated 1614 addressed to Claudio Acquaviva, which would be answered two years later, Trigault wrote,

Ex eo quod Sinae aliquibus nostrorum tonis carent ut R, P, D ecclesiastica et quia monosyllabae sunt eorum dictiones, pleraque Sanctorum nostrorum nomina efferre non possunt.¹⁴⁶

In this letter Nicolas Trigault repeated a question that was becoming of primary concern to the Society of Jesus, and to the whole Catholic Church as well. Meanwhile, this observation, in which Nicolas Trigault began to explore the Chinese language by thinking of it in comparison with the languages of Europe, helped him to establish a relationship between the two in terms of sounds. So far, although outlining the ideographic characters of the Chinese language, Trigault was never wrong in treating Chinese as a monosyllabic language, which, when heard, could be *monogeneticized*, as in the case of transliterations of Chinese words into Latin letters.

2.2 Rhyme and Sound: *Ziming zimu* and *Tongming zifu*

¹⁴⁴ Michele Ruggieri, *Ad Beatissimum Sumum Pontificem Gregorium XIII*, in BNR, 3405 Mss.Gesuitici 1276, f.2b.

¹⁴⁵ ARSL., Jap.Sin.150, f.9a.

¹⁴⁶ ARSL., Jap.Sin.100, f.15b.

I. *Ziming* 自鳴 (“self-pronunciation”) and *Tongming* 同鳴 (“co-pronunciation”)

To re-define the concept of rhyme, Nicolas Trigault first elaborated them from a general point of view, and then from the specific point of view of Chinese, on the basis of the primordial sound of a given term. He divided this primordial sound into two parts: *ziming* (self-pronunciation) and *tongming* (co-pronunciation).¹⁴⁷ Then, he further distinguished them from one another,

開口之際，自能琅琅成聲，而不藉他音之助，曰自鳴；喉舌之間，若有他物厄之，不能盡吐，如口吃者期期之狀，曰同鳴。夫同鳴者，既不能盡，以自鳴之音配之，或于其先，或于其後，方能成全聲焉。

When the mouth opens, the voices that can be uttered automatically, without needing the assistance of other sounds, are called self-pronunciation (*ziming*). And the voices that are detained between the throat and the tongue, seeming to be stuffed and stammered, and thus, which cannot burst out directly, are called co-pronunciation (*tongming*). Therefore, co-pronunciations can generate a complete sound, only when appealing to the help of co-pronunciations, which can be placed in front of, or behind it.¹⁴⁸

Self-pronunciations are independent; on the contrary, co-pronunciations cannot be emitted individually, if they have no help from self-pronunciations.¹⁴⁹ In this case, the human voice must be produced by self-pronunciations alone, or by the combination of self-pronunciations and co-pronunciations. All of them are represented in Latin letters. Among them there are five primordial sounds: a, e, i, o, u, which belong to self-pronunciations; and twenty-four: ‘ç, ç, ‘ch, ch, ‘k, k, ‘p, p, ‘t, t, j, v, f, g, l, m, n, s, x, h, b, d, r, z belonging to co-pronunciations. Through the co-pronunciation of unification and combination, all *human voices* can be written as different sounds. These sounds will give birth to the word (字, *zi*), since “symbols are the source of the words”.¹⁵⁰

There were other Jesuits of the idea that Latin letters were capable of making sounds, just as we can see in *Xifang dawen* 西方答問 (Questions and Answers over the West) (1637), of Fathers Giulio Aleni

¹⁴⁷ The original text is “primordial sounds (*yuanyin*) contain two sorts of sound: *ziming* (“self-pronunciation”) and *tongming* (“co-pronunciation”) (元音之類有二，一曰自鳴；二曰同鳴), in *Yysp*, p.119 (f.36a). Self-pronunciations are referred to the vowels, and co-pronunciations are referred to the consonants.

¹⁴⁸ *Yysp*, p. 120 (f.36b), see also *Yysp*, p.122 (f.37b).

¹⁴⁹ The original text is “in the universe, no human voice can be exceptional” (萬國之籟，無能跳越之者), *Yysp*, p.120 (f.36b).

¹⁵⁰ The original text is “是號者，字之所由起也”, *Yysp*, p.117 (f.35a).

and João Fróis (1591-1638) and *Yulan xifang yaoji* (Book for the Emperor on the West) (1669). The editors of these two books left the same comments on the *XREMZ*, when introducing the languages of the Extreme West. They said,

遠西又以二十三字母爲主，當二十三筆法，以二十三筆字，互相配，則成人物之名目。其用甚活。凡萬國語音，與風雨鳥獸之聲，皆可寫出。

In the Extreme West there are twenty-three *zi-mu* 字母 (Alphabetic letters). These letters are treated as twenty-three strokes, and can be considered as twenty-three words. They work together and produce all the categories and the human being. The use of these letters is very ingenious. Languages and voices of the tens of thousands of countries, and sounds of the wind, the rain, birds and beasts, everything can be registered by these letters.¹⁵¹

In comparison with Nicolas Trigault, his European contemporaries maintained that Latin letters could be used to represent the voices and sounds of the universe. And yet, they did not make the distinctions between Latin letters and Latin symbols of primordial sounds. Although both the letters of the Latin alphabet and the symbols of primordial sounds were written in Alphabetic letters, they had to be distinguished. For Trigault, it is primordial sounds which made sounds and voices, and Latin letters can *only* represent them. These letters, through various combinations, play the role transporting of sounds and voices. This dissimilarity might not have been so significant for these Jesuits, otherwise they would not have suggested that Chinese readers they should read the *XREMZ* in order to gain more information. But for Trigault, it was fundamental to illustrate the concept of primordial sounds. He absolutely based this concept on his knowledge of Europe, though adjusting it to the features of the Chinese language. For instance, he did include Latin letters “b, d, r, z” among co-pronunciations (*tongming*), but they were excluded immediately from the *sounds* of the Chinese language.

Undoubtedly, the definition of primordial sounds, self-pronunciations (*ziming*), and the co-pronunciations (*tongming*) was related to European sources. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle wrote,

A Letter is an indivisible sound, yet not every such sound, but only one which can form part of a group of sounds. For even brutes utter indivisible sounds, none of which I call a letter. The sound I mean may be either a vowel, a semivowel, or a mute. A vowel is that which without impact of tongue or lip has an

¹⁵¹ *Xifang dawen*, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.II.22, ff.11a-12b; *Yulan xifang yaoji*, in BAV, Borg.Cin.350(11), ff.5b-6a.

audible sound. A semivowel that which with such impact has an audible sound, as S and R. A mute, that which with such impact has by itself no sound, but joined to a vowel sound becomes audible, as G and D. These are distinguished according to the form assumed by the mouth and the place where they are produced; according as they are aspirated or smooth, long or short; as they are acute, grave, or of an intermediate tone; which inquiry belongs in detail to the writers on meter.¹⁵²

Of course, the concept of letter in the *Poetics* concerns a language with which Aristotle was acquainted, and that must be a language of phonograms: Ancient Greek.¹⁵³ Although dealing with another type of language which Aristotle never knew, Trigault seemed quite faithful to Aristotle's views on language, maintaining the same concept of letter, though nominally, the elements concerning language were different. To define such "letter," Nicolas Trigault called it *yuanyin* ("primordial sound") in Chinese. Accordingly, the term *tongming* ("co-pronunciation") could correspond to the "mute" in the words of Aristotle, and the term *ziming* ("self-pronunciation") to "vowel" or "semivowel". Thanks to his understanding of the Chinese language, in Trigault's opinion these concepts had to be accommodated to the case of Chinese.¹⁵⁴ These terms, essentially identical, could be shared by both Chinese, and by other languages across the globe.

2.2.2 *Zimu* 字母, *Zifu* 字父 and *Zizi* 字子

2.2.2.1 *Zimu* 字母 ("Mother Words")

The difference between self-pronunciations and co-pronunciations is not only evidenced in "the form assumed by the mouth and the place of articulation," but also in the role they are going to play in *human sounds*. There are five self-pronunciations, which are defined as *ziming yuanyin* 自鳴元音 ("primordial sounds of self-pronunciations"), "the origin of all *human sounds*".¹⁵⁵ In Europe, they are symbolized as "a", "e", "i", "o" and "u". All of the different self-pronunciations could be represented by these five primordial sounds of self-pronunciations and their various combinations.

There are five *yuanmu* 元母 ("single-letter mothers"/"primordial mothers"), which are represented directly by the five primordial sounds of self-pronunciations: "a", "e", "i", "o", "u". Then, with their combinations, acting like "mothers," give birth to double-letter words which are called *zimu* 字母

¹⁵² Aristotle, *De Arte Poetica*, 1457a2-4.

¹⁵³ Vivien Law, *The History of Linguistic in Europe: From Plato to 1600*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 29.

¹⁵⁴ Tan Hui-ying thought the term *yuanyin* reflected the prejudice of Nicolas Trigault toward Chinese pronunciation, with which he was still unfamiliar, see Tan Hui-ying, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi yuanliu bianxi*, p.31.

¹⁵⁵ The original text is "西字學家，其提綱曰，自鳴元音，萬音之元也”，in Yyp, p.123 (f.38a).

(“two-letter-mothers”/“son-mothers”): for example, “iu” which comes from the combination of “i” and “u”. Thirdly, we have three-letter words, which are *sunmu* 孫母 (“three-letter-mothers”/“grandson-mothers”): for example, “iue.” And finally, four-letter combinations are possible. They are known as *zengsunmu* 曾孫母 (“four-letter-mothers”/“great-grandson-mothers”): for example, “iuen.”¹⁵⁶ There would be more combinations, but Trigault insisted that he had brought together only those which appear in Chinese, and as a result the number was reduced to fifty, as seen in the *General Table*. At this moment, tones had not yet been added.

All of these self-pronunciations, from *yuanmu* to *zengsunmu*, were named by Trigault as *zimu* (“mother words”). It is worthwhile to remark that some mother words among them resulted from the combination of self-pronunciations and co-pronunciations: for instance, “M”, “N”, “L”. These letters of co-pronunciation must have a final position and therefore came after *self-pronunciations*.¹⁵⁷ Otherwise, the three *co-pronunciations* should be regarded as *zifu* (“father words”) and be placed at the beginning of a “son word” – another important concept, as we shall see. Clearly this kind of arrangement was suitable for Chinese language, now that Father Trigault was already familiar with the language.

The fact that this idea, centered on “mother words” (字母, *zimu*), was taught to Trigault’s Chinese peers does not imply they did not already know it. In fact, the *zimu* 字母 had been used in Chinese rhyme books for quite a long time. It is believed that Shou-wen 守溫, a Buddhist living between the end of Tang Dynasty and the beginning of Song Dynasty (907-960), created a *sanshi zimu biao* 三十字母表 (*Table of thirty Zimu*), drawing inspiration from Sanskrit letters, which had entered China with the arrival of Buddhism at the beginning of the Eastern Han (25-220 AD).¹⁵⁸ The “*zimu*” of Shou-wen was not associated with *self-pronunciations* as in the *XREMZ*, but with *initial sounds* when it was incorporated into the *fanqie spelling* in the form of Chinese characters. Sometimes it was called *sheng* 聲 (“voice”), or *mu* 母 (“mother”). The number of *zimu*, because of the evolution of the Chinese language, is consistent with the historical record. It had been fixed at thirty-six during the Song Dynasty, but it was never stabilized.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ See Yyp, pp.123-124 (f.38a-b).

¹⁵⁷ See Yyp, p.125 (f.39a). This kind of *zimu* is similar to the *yunhua fuyin* 韻化輔音 (“rhymized consonant”), see Luo Chang-pei, *Zhongguo yinyunxue daolun* 中國音韻學導論 (Guideline for the Chinese Phonology), Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1949, pp.56-57.

¹⁵⁸ Qian Da-xin 錢大昕 is of a different opinion, see Wang-li, *Zhonghua yinyun xue*, pp.74-75.

¹⁵⁹ Luo Chang-pei, *Dunhuangxieben shouwen yunxue canjuan ba* 敦煌寫本守溫韻學殘卷跋 (Preface for the Fragmentary Scripture of Shouwen in Dunhuang), in Luo Chang-pei, *Luo Chang-pei*, pp.504-517.

With the term “*zimu*” in Chinese rhyme books, Nicolas Trigault did not at all agree. In the *Dengyun sanshi liumu duikao* 等韻三十六母兌攷, in insisting on the fact that the term “*mu*” 母 should be assigned only to self-pronunciations, Wang-zheng re-evaluated all of the thirty-six *mu* in the Chinese rhyme books. He concluded that only four *mu* 母: *yu* 喻, *ying* 影, *yi* 疑 and *wei* 微 could be ascribed to *ziming zimu*;¹⁶⁰ the rest belonging to *tongming zifu*.¹⁶¹ Chinese rhyme books, from the standpoint of Nicolas Trigault and his supporters, were incorrect.

2.2.2.2 *Zifu* 字父 (“Father Words”)

The term *tongming zifu* alludes to another aspect of primordial sounds. In Chinese texts they are linked to *initials*. According to Nicolas Trigault, *zifu* should be like this,

同鳴未遇自鳴，無名之溪澗耳。浙浙淒淒鳴鳴咽咽，不能成聲。迨配自鳴，如匯于長川而後滔滔汨汨，成夫同音同韻焉。故同鳴之音，同鳴之號，可稱為父。

Before *tongming* meets *ziming*, it sounds like a common creek, running and murmuring, but cannot make any sound. Provided that it cooperated with the self-pronunciation, it runs like a rivulet, merging into a long river and running loudly in such a way: they make the same sounds and share the rhyme. As a result, the sounds of co-pronunciations and their symbols are called *fu* 父 (“consonants”).¹⁶²

The co-pronunciation does not work alone. It makes sounds when working with the self-pronunciation, as we have seen in the case of the term “mute” in the *Poetics* of Aristotle, and it corresponds to consonants¹⁶³. Though not all of the twenty-four co-pronunciations in the Chinese language could be found: *B*, *D*, *R*, *Z* do not exist. This observation regarding the Chinese language was the main point upon which Nicolas Trigault depended in order to support the Catholic liturgy in Chinese, instead of in Latin.

2.2.2.3 *Zizi* 字子 (“Son Words”)

¹⁶⁰ Nicolas Trigault and his Chinese cooperater did not pay attention to the fact that each Chinese sound consisted in two parts: *initial* and *final sound*. Even in the cases where some Chinese words only had *initial sounds*, for example, the aforementioned *yu* 喻, *ying* 影, *yi* 疑 and *wei* 微, whose initial sound is even written as a vowel which, however, is identified essentially with the “initial”. Thus, in the Chinese Rhyme books, *yu* 喻, *ying* 影, *yi* 疑 and *wei* 微 could be considered as *zifu*, see also Wang-li, *Zhonghua yinyun xue*, pp.40-41.

¹⁶¹ See Yysp, pp.186 (f.69b).

¹⁶² Yysp, p.131 (f.42a).

¹⁶³ See Yysp, p.131 (f.42a).

As we can see in a family, in which father and mother give birth to their offspring, so do *zifu* (“father words”) and *zimu* (“mother words”).

有父有母，相會，字子自然生矣。

There are father and mother. When they meet, they will generate the *zizi* 字子 (“son words”) naturally.¹⁶⁴

This son word is the offspring, which results from another kind of *fanqie spelling* that Nicolas Trigault was about to introduce. But he did not provide a clear definition of this term.

貴國字學，所云立類曰母，從類曰子者，是也。但立類從類何？立類立韻也，從類從韻也。

The word learning in your country considers the *mu* 母 (“mother”) as creating a category; while the *zi* 子 (“son”) is to follow this category. And then, what category does the *mother* create? And what category does the *son* follow? The category the *mother* wants to establish is rhyme, and this rhyme is the one that the *son* has to follow.¹⁶⁵

In fact, the concept of *lei* 類 (“category”) that Trigault described, lacks correspondence in the Chinese texts he had read. There are two types of *categories*: *shenglei* 聲類 (“category of sound”) and *yunlei* 韻類 (“category of rhyme”).¹⁶⁶ The former refers to the *shangzi* 上字 (“upper characters”) of the *fanqie spelling* and represents initial sounds, while the rhyme category is *xiazi* 下字 (“lower characters”), representing final sounds but used rarely in the Chinese texts. They play two different roles in making sounds. Trigault saw “mother” as *rhyme*. Naturally, the son must inherit this rhyme from the mother.¹⁶⁷ Alternatively, every human sound, when it is made, must contain a rhyme. If we observe the process of generation of son words, I think it would be comparable to the generation of a syllable, as we can read in the *Poetics*:

A syllable is a sound without meaning, composed of a mute and a letter that has a sound.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Yysp, p.125 (f.39a), see also Yysp, p.158 (f.55b).

¹⁶⁵ Yysp, p.133 (f.43a).

¹⁶⁶ See Lin-yin, *Zhongguo shengyunxue tonglun*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁷ Trigault affirmed that “the sound of a mother word is the rhyme of a son word” (母音，子之韻也), see Yysp, p.140 (f.46b).

¹⁶⁸ Aristotele, *De Arte Poetica*, 1456b[20.].5.

Like Aristotle, Trigault accepted the principle that son words come from the unification of self-pronunciations and co-pronunciations. Though for Trigault it was also possible that some son words had *only* self-pronunciations. Both of them stressed that syllables and son words were still far from being *real* words: no signification was yet assigned to them. When Nicolas Trigault and his Jesuit colleagues became familiar with the Chinese language, this background knowledge made them conceive the sounds of Chinese as monosyllables consisting in one mute letter and “one letter having sound.”

2.2.2.4 Five Symbols for *Tones* and Other signs

The way of representing the sounds of Chinese in Latin letters was far from complete. Besides the terms *zifu*, *zimu*, and *zizi*, symbols for the five tones and other signs had to be found. As far as the symbols of the five tones are concerned, Trigault also converted them to Western symbols, as seen in the example of the *Chinese wheel*.

内小圈分方惟五。五者五聲；雙平清濁，三仄上去入也。上是中字，下是西號。蓋雖西土未知平仄之妙，今旅人定有五號可以分之。

The smaller circle at the centre [of the *Wheel*] is cut into five sections, identified with the five tones. Among them there are two tones (*clear-even* and *muddy-even*) belonging to the “even” (平, *ping*) pattern; there are three tones (*rising*, *departing*, and *entering*), belonging to the “oblique” (仄, *ze*) pattern. Each section is composed by two strata [correspondingly]: Chinese characters are placed in the outer strata; while Western symbols are placed in the inner one. Although we are ignorant of the ingenuity of the five tones in the West, the traveler is able to distinguish them in virtue of the five symbols.¹⁶⁹

In the history of the study of the Chinese language, Jesuit Lazzaro Cattaneo, as we have already mentioned in other places, was the first man to distinguish these five tones correctly, and remark them with Western symbols (“*con nostre lettere*,” as Ricci described). For Trigault, these five tones played a role in multiplying the number of sounds,

中華所用之音極少，而字則極多，與敝土相反。音少必難免同音之亂。故中華先聖出巧法以救之。每總音乘五聲，則音雖少，而能多矣。

¹⁶⁹ Yusp, p.62 (f.7b).

The number of sounds employed in Chinese is very small, but the number of Chinese characters is rather large, which is completely in contrast with [the case in] my humble land. When sounds are few, it is more likely to cause confusion because of their similarity. So, the wise men of Ancient China thought of a method to solve this problem. Every single sound is multiplied with five tones, and then the number of the sounds is greatly increased.¹⁷⁰

The symbols of the tones were necessary to create a Chinese sound with Western symbols. They are inherent characteristics of the Chinese language. There would be no distinction between Chinese and European sounds, if the symbols of the five tones were not added to Latin letters.

In addition to these five symbols, some co-pronunciations were named by Nicolas Trigault as *zhongyin* 重音 (“voiced sounds”), decorated with a special “c”-sign, in order to be differentiated from their alternative pronunciations: *qingyin* 輕音 (“voiceless sounds”): *c, ch, k, p, t*.

西法，重音皆有號。惟純雜不同。純號曰黑 h，雜號于本號之上，左有小鈎，如 c 是也。

According to Western custom, all the voiced sounds have to be marked by certain signs. Among them there is a distinction between purity and mixture. The pure voiced sound is “h”, whereas the mixed voiced sound is outlined with a “c” on the left shoulder of the letter of the voiceless sound.¹⁷¹

The signs of voiced sounds cannot be dealt with like the symbols of Latin letters and of the five tones. Nonetheless, the signs, together with other symbols helped to form an entire group of Western icons. Taken together, the three key terms *zimu*, *zifu*, and *zizi*, essential to the emergence of the *sound*, and symbols of tones and signs of voiced sounds, they were able to stand correctly almost for every Chinese sound.

So far Trigault had almost re-defined the phonemes of the sounds of the Chinese language by calling them *zifu* (“initial sounds”), *zimu* (“final sounds”) and *zizi* (“syllables”/“sounds”), and by presenting them in the form of Western symbols. In his book, he did not intend to change their inherent nature. He once tried to ask his Chinese interlocutor not to take the terms he was using here seriously, for these were borrowed to help others better understand.¹⁷² For Trigault, the question of terminology matters only in form. Just as he showed through the movement of the *wheels* and the *tables*, all the

¹⁷⁰ Yysp, p.147 (f.50a).

¹⁷¹ Yysp, p.145 (f.49a).

¹⁷² See Yysp, p.131 (f.42a).

sounds in China or in Europe can be perceived as the composition of the primordial sounds (*yuanyin*) and their various combinations. There were essentially no distinctions between the terms.

3 字(*zi*): Western Symbols and Chinese Characters

3.1 字(*zi*) in the *XREMZ*

From then on, Chinese sounds were “seen” directly, as the phonograms of *congyin zhizi*. That is to say, it was possible to write the sounds of Chinese with Latin letters, i.e. to transliterate Chinese characters into Latin “letters.” In this process, the image of “Chinese” had changed as well. As *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”), Chinese characters were given a form to “see” their meanings through the combination of *bian* (“shadow”) and *zheng* (“corpus”). But written with Western symbols, Chinese characters were considered as *congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”) and were given another form to “see” the meaning through human sounds. In the *XREMZ*, these two kinds of 字 (*zi*) outlined different aspects of words: “written words” (*zi*) and “spoken words” (*yan*). As for their relationship, we might be confused by Trigault when we read,

蓋幾筆畫之會，中華曰字；幾元音之會，敝土曰言，每音各有意焉。

Generally speaking, a *zi* 字 (“written word”) in China is an set of strokes; while a *yan* 言 (“spoken word”) in our humble land is composed by primordial sounds, and each sound has its own meaning.¹⁷³

It seems that he would like to attribute the characteristics of using “written words” (*zi*) only to Chinese and the characteristic of using “spoken words” (*yan*) to European languages. But it is in two different respects on which he based this opinion. We can see in the words of the Chinese interlocutor, who seems to have understood what Nicolas Trigault was talking about. He said,

言字之分，是矣。蓋言有于有字之先，字有于有言之後。字之音韻，言也；言之筆畫，字也。

This is to make a distinction between “spoken words” and “written words.” To be sure, “spoken words” were born earlier than “written words.” And “written words” were born later than “spoken words.”

¹⁷³ Yysp, pp.118-119 (ff.35b-36a).

“Spoken words” (*yan*) are the sounds and rhymes of “written words” (*zi*), and “written words” (*zi*) are the strokes of “spoken words” (*yan*).¹⁷⁴

These words were the answer to Nicolas Trigault's assessment when the Flemish Father had tried to distinguish these two terms from another point of view,

言者無所不有，未始厭野人之蠻，字則未能盡然，獨愛處文人之地。

“Spoken words” can be found everywhere, and he even does not refuse a Barbarian society; instead, “written words” tend to live exclusively in a civilized society.¹⁷⁵

Historically, they were born in two different stages. Yet, the “written word” was superior to the spoken one, as belonging to “civilized” societies. Europe was certainly a “civilized” society. Thus it had not only the “spoken word,” but also the “written word” in the form of Latin letters. Indeed, as we have stated before, all Latin letters, including both single letters and their combinations, as representations of human sounds, could be transformed into 字 (*zi*) (“written words”), after passing from symbols to words by considering their meanings. On this topic I will write later. Here it is worthwhile to point out that the definition of 字 (*zi*), even from the standpoint of Nicolas Trigault himself, should be much broader in dimension. It was a concept universally valid, for both the case of China and Europe.

For this reason, I do not agree with the definition of modern linguist Chao Yuen Ren 趙元任 (1892-1982) who tried to call a Chinese 字 (*zi*) a *word-syllable*, so including its monosyllabic feature and its meaning, and distinguishing it from the English sense of “word.”¹⁷⁶ Undoubtedly 字 (*zi*) were *painted* and consisted of various strokes, but they were still *written*. Moreover, they were not directly uttered. This comparison was drawn from two different dimensions of a word: that is why Nicolas Trigault had distinguished between “written word” and “spoken word,” or why Matteo Ricci had always used *lingue* to describe “spoken words,” and *parole* for “written words.” If we look at the system of pronunciation of the so-called word-syllable, when the sound of a 字 (*zi*) was represented in the form of Western symbols, we find that there is no difference for the Jesuits among “word-syllables” of China and

¹⁷⁴ Yyssp, p.113 (f.33a).

¹⁷⁵ Yyssp, p.113 (f.33a).

¹⁷⁶ Yuen Ren Chao, *Rhythm and Structure in Chinese Word Conceptions*, in *Aspects of Chinese Sociolinguistics: Essays by Yuen Ren Chao*, California: Stanford University Press, 1976, pp. 275-292, in particular pp.277-278.

“words” of Europe. In other terms, it was a road that would lead to render 字 (*zi*) identical to a European “word”.

3.2 字 (*zi*): “*Letras*” and Chinese Characters

In the *XREMZ* there are two types of 字 (*zi*): “*zhongzi*” 中字 (“Chinese words”) and “*xizi*” 西字 (“Western words”). The former is a combination of strokes, while the latter in Europe is a combination of Western symbols, namely, Latin letters. They were distinguished immediately, after the Jesuits began to study the language of China. Even so, in the Jesuit texts, both have been called “letters” by the Jesuits of that time.

The concept of 字 (*zi*) will be tested here, as we did with the “question of terminology,” by reading the documents of the missionaries. The first interesting document is the rediscovered *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary*. In this lexicon, written by Ruggieri, the Portuguese “*letra*” is translated into Chinese as *zi* 字,¹⁷⁷ and in another folio, which does not belong to the dictionary, “*letra*” was translated as *zhengzi* 正字 (“regular word”), *caozhi* 草字 (“cursive word”) and *zhuanzi* 篆字 (“seal word”), a series of different Chinese styles of writing.¹⁷⁸ The two different voices on “*letra*” were provided by two different people. Probably the first voice had been transcribed by a Westerner. Father Pasquale D’Elia supposed that it had been Matteo Ricci or Michele Ruggieri.¹⁷⁹ The second corresponded to the Chinese writing custom, and as a result, the copyist must have been an indigenous Chinese, or a person well-accustomed to Chinese writing. Furthermore, another difference is in the interpretation of these voices. The latter emphasized the mode of writing from the point of view of calligraphy; whereas the former preferred to read “*letra*” as 字 (*zi*). However, both agreed that “*letra*” and 字 (*zi*) were identical. This knowledge could be proved also in Father Ruggieri’s writing, in which he said,

Haec enim sicut nos facimus litteras componunt, sed singulas res singulis litteris expriment.¹⁸⁰

When he proclaimed such a characteristic of Chinese, he must have compared Chinese with European languages, and called both of them “*letters*.” It is easy to find differences between them. In Chinese, a

¹⁷⁷ ARSI, Jap.Sin.I.198, f.112a.

¹⁷⁸ ARSI, Jap.Sin.I.198, f.167b.

¹⁷⁹ See *FR*, II, p.32, Tavola V. Father Pasquale D’Elia did justify his position. My judgment is based on the word order. The transcriber wrote the voices from left to right, contrary to the traditional word order in China: from top to bottom first, and then from right to left.

¹⁸⁰ Michele Ruggieri, *Ad Beatissimum Sumum Pontificem Gregorium XIII*, in BNR, 3405 Mss.Gesuitici 1276, ff.2b-3a.

single “*letter*” signifies only one object. We find the same view in Matteo Ricci’s *Diary*, in which he wrote, “E cominciando dalle sue lettere, o più tosto caratteri al modo degli Hieroglifichi degli Egitij, ...”¹⁸¹ The “*lettere*” are therefore equal to “*caratteri*,” namely, *zi* 字 (“Chinese characters”),¹⁸² although they still do not coincide with those of Europe, for the 字 (*zi*) in Chinese are composed as “Hieroglifichi degli Egitij.”

In the context of European languages, this “*letra*” must refer to Latin letters. In the *XREMZ*, Trigault called these letters Western symbols. But at the same time, they are 字 (*zi*),

西號，但有音即有字。

Western symbols, when given a sound, become 字 (*zi*).¹⁸³

字 (*zi*) matches the term “*letter*.” Such a view on the Chinese language does not allow for the “*letter*” to be endowed with additional content, when this language encountered the languages of Europe. They were distinguished from representations, but they could correspond naturally to the same structure: for example, to “*letras*” in Europe, when Chinese was also treated as *congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”).

Since Western Words are defined as *congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”), then Chinese, its sounds being represented in the form of Latin letters, was Romanized and was thus seen as *congyin zhizi* (“ideogram”) as well. The sounds and forms of Chinese, which had been synthesized in perfect harmony in a Chinese word, could be separated from one another,

蓋音與字可得相離。若有字矣，而未定其音，是能書而不能念者。如有音矣，而未定其字，是能念而不能書者。但等韻無字之音，不能傳之。余用西號，則能補之也。

Sound and “written word” can be separated from each other. It is likely to write down a “written word” when its sound is undermined. Similarly, a “spoken word” is able to pronounce one sound with the “written word” unfixed. But in the rhyme book of *Dengyun*, some sounds cannot be deduced, if they lack the corresponding “written words.” If I have recourse to Western symbols, this problem can be solved.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Matteo Ricci, *Capitolo V*, Libro Primo, in *Della entrata*, p.28.

¹⁸² See also the title of Francisco Diaz’s dictionary, *Vocabulario de letra China con la explicacion Castellana*, in BAV, Borg.Cin.412. John DeFrancis maintained that “letter” and “character” for Nicolas Trigault were different, see John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984, p.293.

¹⁸³ Yysp, p.74 (f.13b).

¹⁸⁴ Yysp, p.151 (f.52a).

In the light of the traditional *fanqie spelling*, some sounds could be made through the combination of *final* and *initial sounds* in Chinese characters, but lacked a corresponding sound in the form of a single character.¹⁸⁵ On the contrary, this sound can be visualized by means of Western symbols. This too proves that Chinese words and sounds can be separated from one another. There is also another possibility: that Chinese characters and Latin letters, when the latter were to represent the sounds of the former, could proceed in an analogous way.

4. Romanization of Chinese Characters

4.1 Introduction

Despite the equality between Chinese characters and Chinese “*letras*,” they are involved in two completely different linguistic systems: ideograms on the one hand, and phonograms on the other. So, how are Chinese “*letras*” able to guarantee the same meaning assumed by Chinese characters?

“Different language gives rise in different minds. As a result, they spread all the world,” said Father Diego de Pantoja.¹⁸⁶ In the context of the biblical interpretation, the “confusion of tongues” forever divided human society, as men were prevented from communicating with each other. This was no exception for ancient Chinese society, which had been isolated from Christendom and had developed its own civilization. Father Pantoja elaborated this phase of the history of China for his Chinese readers,

伏羲始作書契文字，教耕稼，興宮室，豈前人皆愚，至今方有哉？惟天主分雜其語，原音更易，文字悉失；數百年之間又分於四方，人最少，居未定，故作文字，立法度，興宮室等業，皆有所不暇謀，則是自開闢數千年之實傳悉忘矣。

Fu-xi took the initiative to invent *wen* 文 (“drawn images”) and *zi* 字 (“words”), to instruct [people] to plough and cultivate, to build houses and palaces [for people]. Were these ancestors too stupid to do this before Fu-xi? No. *The Lord of Heaven* had confused the speeches and altered the original sounds. All letters had by then disappeared. People had scattered over the world over hundreds of years. At that time, there was little population and the people were unsettled. Therefore, they did not spare time to engage in

¹⁸⁵ See Wang-li, *Zhonghua yinyun xue*, p.158.

¹⁸⁶ The original text is “語異心異，乃始相離”，see Diege de Pantoja, *Renlei yuanshi* 人類原始 (On the Origin of the Human Being), in *Pangzi yiquan* 龐子遺詮 (Dissertations Posthumes du P.de Pantoja), in ARSI., Jap.Sin.I.82, f.21b.

inventing *drawn-images* and *words*, making laws, building houses and palaces, and so on. Thus, the real doctrine which had spread for thousands of years had been completely forgotten.¹⁸⁷

A foreigner had incorporated the ancient history of China into the universal history based on the Bible, as a result of the “confusion of tongues.” For this reason, the Chinese language, as well as many other arts in China, had developed its own features, separately from the rest of the world. Such a difference might become more obvious if we think of the fact that this opinion was in line with the trend in seventeenth-century Europe in the search for a universal human language. Chinese was a candidate for the list of a universal languages, because of its dual characteristics: unity and simplicity.¹⁸⁸ Certain Europeans believed that Chinese could represent objects of the Universe, and that it was a “natural or ‘real’ rather than conventional” language. They had seen the universality of Chinese writing in its neighboring countries, where they believed in “the Chinese characters’ ability to represent things and therefore to be Real characters.”¹⁸⁹ For the Europeans of that century, the difference between the Chinese language and the languages of Europe was undenied, and the belief that the difference between Chinese and the languages of Europe was still supported by the interpretation of the story of Babel.

Nevertheless, Nicolas Trigault did not include in the *XREMZ* the history of the Chinese language into the universal historiography of Christendom. He was not even interested in the “confusion of tongues,” in order to trace the roots of the Chinese language and its relationships with other languages. Nor had he accepted the idea that the Chinese language could be chosen as the universal one. He distinguished Chinese from the languages of the rest of the world because they were born individually in geographical terms. Among them, there was no difference in essence, but in form, which was not so radical. Instead, he believed that these two languages, *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”) and *congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”), could faithfully represent the same object in the universe, by associating them with their *neiyi* 内意 (“inner meaning”), with a single spirit, standing behind *all* languages.

4.2 *Neiyi* 内意 (“Inner Meaning”) and *Neili* 内理 (“Inner Reason”)

4.2.1 Inner Meaning (*neiyi*)

¹⁸⁷ Diego de Pantoja, *Renlei yuanshi*, in *Pangzi yiquan*, ARSI., Jap.Sin.I.82, f.22b. The Father narrated also the story of the “Tower of Babel” in *Renlei yuanshi*, in *Pangzi yiquan*, ARSI., Jap.Sin.I.82, ff.21b-22b.

¹⁸⁸ D.E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, p.175.

¹⁸⁹ D.E.Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, pp.183-185.

What is this *neiyi* 內意 (“inner meaning”) Nicolas Trigault mentions? And what role will it play in the relation between these two languages? Before answering these questions, it is better to relay all the passages where “inner meaning” is mentioned. We will then clarify what the *neiyi* (“inner meaning”) is in the text of Nicolas Trigault.

1) The first time that the expression appears is in the self-preface to the *XREMZ*,

人具靈才，以理為本，理靜屬性，理動生意。意生於內而未表於外者，必不能通於外。但人心好通，不認自圍於內，則其表於外之法，必巧。以近用言，以遠用字。言擊耳鼓，字照目鏡，總出內意於我外，或響或現，進通於他人之內矣。惟內意於人有大同小異外，外表於人有大異小同，何也？內意根於本理之自然，故大同；外表根於人定之偶然，故大異。[...]天下之言字，大都無不異，而音韻之總籟無不通者，此理之本然，內意之當然。

Human Beings have the Spirit, because they live with reason. Reason is essential to quietness; and it brings forth the *yi* 意 (“meaning”) when in motion. The “meaning” (*yi*) has an inclination to go inward and not outward. Thus, it cannot be captured from the outside. But the human mind is born to communicate. It is unwilling to imprison itself. Thus, the way to represent [it] exteriorly must be ingenious. The *yan* (“spoken word”) is used to communicate with the nearby (what is near/close); while the *zi* (“written word”) is used to communicate with the remote (what is far/remote). “Spoken words” strike our eardrums, while “written words” strike the lens of our eyes, and both shed light upon an “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) openly, in the form of voice and image. For these reasons, one can perceive others’ “inner meaning” (*neiyi*). Simply, the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) is common to everyone, while the exterior representation varies. Why? The “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) springs from rationality by nature, thus it is universally common. On the contrary, its representation is determined arbitrarily by the individual, and consequently differs. [...] “Spoken words” and “written words” are different all over the world. Even so, the voices, coming out from *yin* (“sounds”) and *yun* (“rhymes”), are commonly communicated. This principle ought to be, and is, the naturalness of the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*).¹⁹⁰

2) This expression reappears when Trigault intended to explain the reason why the part concerning our ears had to be debated firstly, and that concerning our eyes later.

¹⁹⁰ Nicolas Trigault, *Self-preface* to the *XREMZ*, in *Yysp*, p.49 (f.1a). This passage was already quoted when I was discussing about the contribution of Western Jesuits to Nicolas Trigault’s word learning.

言字嘗喻之。雖俱內理外生之孫，內意外生之子，惟言曰舅也，字弟也。蓋內意出於人外，必先於近則有言，而後及於遠則有字。

“Spoken words” and “written words” can be used as metaphors. Both are the grandsons of the “inner reason” (*neili*) and the sons of the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*). Among them, “spoken words” are the older brothers, while “written words” are the younger. Generally speaking, the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) is released, it first spreads nearby through the “spoken word,” and then remotely through the “written word.”¹⁹¹

3) The last time that Trigault mentions this concept is in the *Lbzp*, in which Trigault expressed the same opinion as we have seen above,

蓋其內意出于外者，雖有定言，能通于在近在此他人之內，然近未能至遠，此未能至彼也。故既定言，以至其近，又宜定字，以至其遠矣。

Indeed, the exterior representation of the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) can be spoken through the spoken word, but nearby, and cannot go very far. Thus, the “spoken word” is devised to communicate nearby, while the “written word” has been invented to go further.¹⁹²

Beside these writings, Trigault also made use of another notion, *neishen* 內神 (“inner spirit”), to describe the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*). He introduced the function of the five senses: *hearing*, *sight*, *touch*, *smell* and *taste* that will show the inner spirit in their own ways.¹⁹³

At this point, the meaning of the term “*neiyi*” (“inner meaning”) comes to the surface. It originates from the “inner reason” (*neili*) when it moves. Trigault also pointed out that the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) has a tendency to be expressed through the five organs of the five senses. All of them let us perceive it in an ostensible way. The senses of *hearing* and *sight* are responsible for the expression of the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*), in terms of “spoken words” (*yan*) and “written words” (*zi*), respectively. The universally identified “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) will put a certain feature into the “spoken word” and into the written one. As Trigault had shown that “written word” and “spoken word” were born at different

¹⁹¹ Yyyp, p.113 (f.33a).

¹⁹² Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lbzp*, p.3 (f.2a). Here, Nicolas Trigault described the different roles of the “spoken word” and the “written word” in transmitting the “inner meaning” in terms of space and time. A similar opinion can be found also in Matteo Ricci, *Xizi qiji*, in *Mingmo luoma zhuyin wenzhang*, Beijing: Wenzhi gaige chubanshe, 1957, pp.27-28; and in Giulio Aleni, *Xixue fan* 西學凡 (Summary of Western Learning), in BNR, 72.C.470.1, f.1b.

¹⁹³ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lyyp*, p.1 (f.1a).

moments, no one doubted that the object which both of them were to represent were the same. Moreover, thanks to the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*), “spoken words” and “written words” in different areas of the world would be identified with one another. All in all, it would be right to come to the conclusion that the difference resulting from the geographical distance, and from the time span could be ignored. In the course of this movement, “spoken words” and “written words” were employed as different presentations of the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*).¹⁹⁴ But there is more to say: it is the “inner reason” (*neili*) which leads the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) to be moved.

4.2.2 Inner Reason (*neili*)

This “inner reason” (*neili*) was placed by Nicolas Trigault at the heart of his linguistic theory. He had related it to the movement of the human mind, “the human mind is born to communicate. It is unwilling to imprison itself.” This human mind had pushed forward the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*), and at last it had been expressed orderly in the form of “spoken words” (*yan*) and of “written words” (*zi*). This order should actually be corrected by taking the natural reason as the first reason, and the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) as the second; on the contrary, “spoken words” (*yan*) and “written words” (*zi*) are the result (representation). Here I shall refer to the *Ratio Studiorum*, the plan of Jesuit education to train missionaries before they were sent to take charge of religious posts. This *Ratio Studiorum* answers the question concerning the movement of the human will,

Nihil hic disseratur de praescientia seu praedefinitione actuum liberorum, neque de gratuita motione, que Deus movet voluntatem humanam.¹⁹⁵

It is God who moves the human will (*voluntatem humanam*). Nicolas Trigault accepted this idea, indeed, he relates reason to God in the *XREMZ*,

靈神，本性之光，造物主之像也。

Spirit, the light of natural reason, is the image of the Creator.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Esa Itkonen did not consider the impact of “Innate Idea” on the linguistic theory of European seventeenth century, see Esa Itkonen, *Universal History of Linguistics: India, China, Arabia, Europe*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991, p.261.

¹⁹⁵ Claude Nicholas Pavur, ed., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, St.Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005, p.81.

God is present in natural reason. The “inner meaning” (*neiyi*), and in turn the “spoken word” and the “written word,” all of them, reflect the will of God. Starting from this point, the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) of the *XREMZ* must be different from that of the *soul* in Aristotle, even though the Greek philosopher also thought that it did not move itself.¹⁹⁷ It shows that Nicolas Trigault had his own theoretical source to introduce the relationship of language with “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) and “inner reason” (*neili*), even if we have seen similarities in many other respects between Trigault and Aristotle.

Through these suggestive – though very short – passages, Nicolas Trigault managed to connect “spoken words” (*yan*) and “written words” (*zi*) with “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) and “inner reason” (*neili*). Relying upon this relationship, Trigault wanted to show the connection between words and objects of the universe. Undoubtedly, he would not agree with those Europeans of the seventeenth century who had seen Chinese as conventional and natural. Rather, he insisted that all languages, both in China and Europe, had an affinity with mankind, as having resulted from a convention to human society. Going beyond this exterior differentiation, they were all basically the same as the representation of the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*), the “inner reason” (*neili*), and the will of God. For this reason, the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*), the “inner reason” (*neili*) and the will of God were made identical with the entirety of mankind. So, “written words” and “spoken words” had to proceed in a parallel way. The distance remaining between Chinese characters as ideograms and Chinese “*letras*” as phonograms could be shortened and abandoned. And finally, Chinese characters could be equated with Chinese “*letras*,” as we have seen in the *Lyyp* and in the *Lbzp*.

Until then, the transliteration of Chinese characters into Latin letters might have contributed to a further understand of the belief shared by some missionaries that the alphabet, which was “revealed by God to Adam,” “constitutes a superior form of knowledge because, being based on phonology, only they are able to transcribe actual *words*.”¹⁹⁸ Although Father José de Acosta had thought of Chinese and Japanese as two writing systems in which the images of words were very close to the object in nature, these two did not mean actual words at all, and were not actually letters. The belief that the

¹⁹⁶ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lbzp*, pp.1-2 (ff.1a-b), and see also Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lyyp*, pp.1-2 (ff.1a-b).

¹⁹⁷ See Aristotele, *L'Anima*, p.32.

¹⁹⁸ Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: the American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 187.

Latin alphabet was superior to those used in other languages dominated the European mind.¹⁹⁹ From the standpoint of Trigault we have seen another view on Chinese. Since there was no distinction between Chinese characters and Chinese “*letras*,” then there was no distinction between *congyin zhizi* (“phonogram”) and *congyi zhizi* (“ideogram”), nor between Chinese and other languages in describing objects. From this point, he would like to reject the idea maintained by Acosta and his other European brethren. In speaking of the conveyance of the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*), he even stated that Chinese (“written words”) was superior to those languages (“spoken words”) in Europe. He wrote,

今從意之字，不待其音，自能傳意；從音之字，未知其音，不能傳其意焉。故中華從意之字，鄰國幸而用之。雖風氣之音，大不相通，但使中文如本地之文，即無不通之者。矧中華一統之內，多省如此。普天之下人意所通，果一一用中文從意之字，同文之理，行且大通於天下矣。寧不深可幸哉？

Congyi zhizi (“ideograms”) can convey meanings without leaning on *sounds*; while *congyin zhizi* (“phonograms”) cannot convey meanings if they don’t have a sound [of the objects of the universe]. What luck that the peoples living close to China can make use of *congyi zhizi*, even if among them are differences in pronunciation out of convention. They read Chinese texts as reading their own writings, and they always understand them. So it is in China, where most of the provinces have their proper dialects. The “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) of the universe can be understood by all mankind. And if all employ the *congyi zhizi* of Chinese, guaranteed by the reason which is to unify the texts, the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) can spread throughout the whole world, and can be understood. What a benefit this would be.²⁰⁰

This passage is similar to one we have read before. Trigault did not disagree with what these missionaries had observed. The impression on such features of Chinese must have been strengthened partly after Trigault had traveled China, from South to North, and from East to West, and partly also because of his personal experience of what was happening to the rise of the local languages (national languages) in Europe. He said to his Chinese interlocutor that Europeans from different areas could not

¹⁹⁹ Anthony Padgen, *The Fall of Natural Man*, p. 187 and p. 190.

²⁰⁰ Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lbzp*, p.6 (f.3b). Nicolas Trigault’s translation of his *Diary* into Latin, “Hic porro scribendi modus, quo singulis rebus singulos appingimus characteres, etsi memoriae sit permolestus, tamen adfert secum insignem quantum nostrisque inauditam commoditatem. Nam nationes alioqui sermone inter se diversissimae, si communibus in scribendo characteribus utantur, librorum literarumque commercio communicant, tametsi alia aliam minime assequatur colloquendo. Ita Iapones, Corai, Caucinciae, Leuhiae communes habent libros, tametsi eos efferendo, ita inter se discrepent, ut alter alterius ne verbum quidem intelligat, eundem tamen omnes librorum sensum assequantur, licet praeter suum idioma aliud nullum norint. In ipso quoque regno Sinarum Provinciae singulae ita ferè sermone inter se discrepant, ut nihil habeant omnino commune. Et tamen librorum ac literarum est omnibus commune commercium.”, see Nicolas Trigault, *De Christ. Exped.*, p.27.

develop a conversation in a uniform language, because they spoke their own languages. They could do that, only in case they mastered the others' languages before.²⁰¹ Somehow, he also liked the tendency to search for a universal language in seventeenth-century Europe. He had never meant to replace Latin letters with Chinese characters, nor Latin with Chinese.²⁰² Probably Chinese characters, as “written words,” were supposed to convey the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) more faithfully than “spoken words,” because in China there were so many different dialects, seen as constituted by “spoken words,” that could not communicate with each other. Thus Latin catechism texts, when they were to be translated into Chinese, would keep the meanings unaltered. Instead, the *transliteration* from Latin into Chinese characters would destroy the meanings and bring about disastrous consequences.

In the *XREMZ*, Nicolas Trigault did not touch upon the question of the Chinese language around the Catholic liturgy, which was debated inside the Roman Church at that time. His endeavor to build a relationship between Chinese characters and Chinese “*letras*” leads us to rethink and clarify his attitude toward this question. As we have seen in the *Annual Letter* of 1610, Trigault felt reluctant to transliterate Latin texts which had to be presented in China into Chinese characters. He still held this attitude in the *XREMZ*. The results of this persistent attitude will be disastrous in the conference of Jiading from 1627 to 1628, where his support, siding with Alfonso Vagnoni, for the translation of the term “Deus” (God) into Chinese *Shangdi* 上帝 (Sovereign on High) was rejected by other Jesuits.

5. Conclusion

In re-forming the phonetical terms in the Chinese rhyme books, Nicolas Trigault represented them in the form of Western symbols. These terms, on the whole, can be divided into two categories. Some are nominally similar, but distinctive from each other substantially, like the term *zimu* 字母; some are nominally different, but the same in nature, as in the cases of *yin* 陰 (light) and *yang* 陽 (heavy) in the Chinese rhyme texts and *qing* 清 (clear) and *zhuo* 濁 (muddy) in the *XREMZ*. In this way, he included these terms in the *XREMZ*, and published the transliteration of the Chinese language into Western symbols. However, Trigault did not intend to change the essence of the phonemes that had been represented by Western symbols, just as we can see in the *XKZM*. The revisor of the *SKZM* compared

²⁰¹ See Yysp, p.61 (f.7a) and p.118 (f.35b).

²⁰² Boleslaw Szcześniak described wrongly *XREMZ*, in Szcześniak's *The Beginnings of Chinese Lexicography in Europe with Particular Reference to the Work of Michael Boym (1612-1659)*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol.67, No.3 (Jul.-Sep., 1947), pp.160-165, in particular p.161.

the *zimu* 字母 in the *XREMZ* to the rhymes in the Chinese rhyme books, the *zifu* to the *zimu* 字母 in the Chinese rhyme books and so on.²⁰³

The similarity can even be extended to the linguistic thoughts of Nicolas Trigault and Chinese scholars. Yu Chun-xi 虞淳熙 (1553-1621), a Chinese *literatus*, wrote a preface to the dictionary *Pianhai leibian* 篇海類編. In it he said,

嘗聞心託聲于言，言寄形于字。字也者，言語之體貌，文章之宅宇也。

I have heard that *xin* 心 (“heart”/“mind”) entrusts written words (*zi*) with spoken words (*yan*), and that spoken words (*yan*) are symbolized in terms of written words (*zi*). Written words (*zi*) are the *corpus* of spoken words (*yan*) and the base of the compositions (文章之宅宇, translated literally as “the house of the articles”).²⁰⁴

Yu Chun-xi died in 1621 and certainly could not hear of the *XREMZ*. And yet, he had appeared in the writing of Matteo Ricci. We also see him involved in a debate on God with Matteo Ricci and criticize Catholicism. Furthermore, he had sent some books about Buddhism to Ricci and hoped that his colleague think about Buddhism in a proper manner.²⁰⁵ Yu Chun-xi did not had a positive idea of Catholic doctrine. There is no information to describe in detail his personal relationship with Nicolas Trigault, but he would have certainly embraced his opinion on the language.

As for the question of terminology, Nicolas Trigault did base his opinion on the background of European knowledge. He acknowledged to his Chinese friend that the “inner meaning” (*neiyi*) was associated with the “Philosophy of the West.”²⁰⁶ This distinction will be made clearer, by comparing it to the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites), one of the most important Chinese classics in the field of linguistic thought. In a chapter on music, the relation of music with *yin* 音 and *sheng* 聲 is elaborated,

凡音之起，由人心生也。人心之動，物使之然也。感於物而動，故形於聲。聲相應，故生變；變成方，謂之音；比音而樂之，及干戚羽旄，謂之樂。

²⁰³ *SKZM*, p.598.

²⁰⁴ Yu Chun-xi, *Preface to the Pianhai leibian*, in ARSI, Jap.Sin.II.123.

²⁰⁵ See *FR*, II, p.306, and p.532.

²⁰⁶ The original text is “敝西性理之學,” in Nicolas Trigault, *Benpu xiaoxu*, in *Lbzp*, pp.1-2 (ff.1a-b).

All the modulations of the voice arise from the human mind, and the movement of the mind is produced by things (external to it). [The mind is moved] because of things external to it and which manifest in the form of sound. Changes are produced by the way in which those sounds respond to one another; and those changes constitute what we call the modulations of the voice. The combination of those modulated sounds in order to give pleasure and the (direction in harmony with them of the) shields and axes, and of the plumes and ox-tails, constitutes what we call music.²⁰⁷

The translator of the *Liji* has read *yin* 音 as “voice” and *sheng* 聲 as “sound”. Here we will not discuss these terms, but just focus on the generation of human sounds as it is described in this Chinese text. According to the *Liji* the utterance of human sounds is due to an external object, “the object of man’s striving is the maintenance of harmonious relations with nature, with himself, and with his fellow man,” so expressing a similar statement of Aristotle who insisted that the *soul* did not move itself, but the movement of human beings causes its movement.²⁰⁸ In the *XREMZ*, Trigault has taken the “inner reason” (*neili*) (and the Creator) as the radical reason which produces human sounds, deviating remarkably from both Aristotle, and from the text of the *Liji*.

Concerning the parallel of “written words” and “spoken words” which runs through the whole text of the *XREMZ*, this implies that the readers – coming from both Europe and China – would agree on this relationship, but not on the source of this knowledge.

Conclusion

In proposing an idea of how to read the *XREMZ*, I claim nothing but that a newly edited Chinese rhyme and character book relied upon Nicolas Trigault’s word learning. Indeed, although we have discussed the social background of this book in the history of Jesuit missions in China. No notion in this book will lead us to associate it with the debate on the Catholic liturgy inside the Society of Jesus at that time. After looking into the text of the three *pu* of *XREMZ*: *Yysp*, *Lyyp* and *Lbzp*, volume by volume and section by section, and after looking also into the knowledge background of word learning.

²⁰⁷ Li Xue-qin 李學勤 ed., *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 (Book of Rites), vol. 37, Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999, p.1074; and the English translation is quoted here, with a few modifications, from James Legge’s *Record of Music*, in *The Lî Kî*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885.

²⁰⁸ Geogre H.Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, p.287.

Trigault divided the three-volume Chinese dictionary into two parts. First of all, he took the *Yysp* as a theoretical introduction for two kinds of dictionaries: the rhyme book on the one hand and the character book on the other. Instead, the *Lyyp* and *Lbzp* were considered as two parts of the pre-existing rhyme and character book inside the Society of Jesus, and provided the practice of the word learning he hoped to demonstrate. In composing this *XREMZ*, he spent a lot of time making clear that Western symbols were the key to understand his learning of sounds and rhymes. Trigault said,

若欲通聾人耳資法，必先通西學分辨音韻之號而後可！

If you hope to understand the method to help the ears, you must learn to discern the symbols of sound and rhyme, by relying upon Western Learning.²⁰⁹

A sea of new terms and concepts comes forth, because of these Western symbols. But in the course of the construction of the text of the *XREMZ*, the spirit that “investigates the objects to approach the principles” (格物以窮理, *gewu yi qiongli*), as Han-yun said, comes to the surface. Regarding the *fanqie spelling* in the form of Western symbols, the Chinese interlocutor expressed his curiosity and cried out,

細哉，余始開眼矣。

How incisive and accurate [it is], I have never seen [this kind of *fanqie spelling*] before.²¹⁰

Such “incisive and minute” Spirit can also be found in other cases; for example, in distinguishing between the “coda” in finals: “sharp” (*shen*), “round” (*ci*) and “middle” (*zhong*) one may discern various *zimu* (“mother words”).²¹¹ This Chinese interlocutor even esteemed the *fanqie spelling* of Nicolas Trigault as *zhenli* 真理 (“real principle/truth”), for it could explain why it was so (所以然, *suoyi ran*).²¹² The Chinese dialogist could not stop praising this word learning,

先生之字學，如蔥入手，愈剝愈細。

Your word learning, when going into [the word analysis], like peeling an onion, is becoming ever more precise and accurate.²¹³

²⁰⁹ *Yysp*, p.115 (f.34a).

²¹⁰ *Yysp*, p.172 (f.62b).

²¹¹ See *Yysp*, p.78 (f.15b), p.154 (f.53b).

²¹² *Yysp*, p.173 (f.63a).

²¹³ *Yysp*, p.178 (f.65a).

Han-yun also included such word learning in Learning from Heaven. In the context of Jesuit missions in China, this marks that the *XREMZ* must be added to the list of missionary writings of that time. Apart from that, we see it as a rhyme and character book, this is another aspect of the *XREMZ*.

To rely on the publications as an attainable means to support missionary enterprises in China was a policy promoted initially by Matteo Ricci, and continued by his successor, even if contents and subjects of the publications had not always been consistent in the history of the Jesuit mission. In the publication of the 1620s, as an immediate result of the spreading of the Jesuit mission in China after the Nanjing incident, were also intended to help re-form the erudite image of the China Jesuits, whose reputation had been questioned because of the defamatory memorials of Shen-que. But the publications of the China Jesuits in China were never, as Liam Matthew Brockey claims, that the Jesuits embarked on “one of their most intense periods of composition and publication.”²¹⁴ In 1626, Li Zhi-zao composed *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函 (First Collection of the Learning from Heaven), in which he had included Giulio Aleni’s *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 (Areas Outside the Chinese Imperial Geographer) (1623) and *Xixue fan* (1623), and Francesco Sambiasi’s *Lingyan lishao* 靈言蠡勺 (1624), but the rest in this collection were all writings of before 1620, including most of those by Matteo Ricci and Diego de Pantoja. We have to point out that were still not enough missionary publications, which suggests that the publications were becoming one of the most significant means to promote the Catholic enterprise in China. By looking into the collection of *Tianxue chuhan*, we also find that various subjects were touched upon, as we can see in these three aforementioned compositions: the geography of the World, the general sketch of European knowledge, and the Catholic doctrines were included.

Somehow, this was the response to the 1621 rules, in which the China Jesuits in Macau had officially established that the use of science was allowed as a means not only to spread Christianity, but also to defend the mission, and that the Jesuits had the right to publish books in Chinese.²¹⁵ That is to say, the Jesuits in China had guaranteed a certain right to speak about the subject of the books, without the interference of the authority of the Roman Church (or the inquisitors of India), by means of the censor. We have heard Matteo Ricci frequently complain about the censorship of the Chinese books. For this he supplied two reasons: 1) there was almost no inquisitor [of India] who had the capability to read and speak Chinese; 2) the books they made here were never new things; he wrote, “*solum interponimus iudicium in seligendo*,” which we have discussed before (see Chapter IV). For Matteo

²¹⁴ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p. 80.

²¹⁵ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.75 and p.76.

Ricci, it is right to give these Jesuits in China the license of the censor, as it had been done in Japan.²¹⁶ His desire was realized as late as 1621 by the writers of the 1621 rules, and in the form of an internal review process.²¹⁷ Even the internal review was not rigorously exercised, since the Jesuits in the remote provinces of China were more independent to deal with their own missionary affairs. So Trigault was able to print the *XREMZ* without review. Nevertheless, the emblem of the Society of Jesus “I.S” on the left side of *Taixi yesuhuishi Jinnige zhuan* “泰西/耶穌會士/金尼閣/撰” (Extreme West /Jesuit /Nicolas Trigault /compiled) tells the reader that it is a book related to the Society of Jesus.²¹⁸

The *XREMZ* is a rhyme and character book produced by The Society in China. It had to be related to a phase in the history of The Society in China, in which the publication on secular themes was highly esteemed and much relied upon. Undoubtedly, it was also assumed with the aim to forward the evangelic enterprise in China by drawing the attention of Chinese people to the field of linguistics and lexicography, and *thus* to the doctrines of Christianity. In this respect, the *XREMZ* must be said to be highly successful, since there were a group of Chinese *literati*, who both fervently supported, and took part, in it.

After its publication, the *XREMZ* began to widely circulate, to develop another phase of its history, which, however, cannot be separated from the period from which the *XREMZ* was born.

²¹⁶ Matteo Ricci, *Al p. Claudio Acquaviva S.I.* [Pechino, 15 agosto 1606], in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere*, pp. 428-429.

²¹⁷ The internal review in the Chinese missionary books reads the following passage: 遵教規，凡譯經典諸書，必三次看詳，方允付梓，茲並鐫訂閱姓氏於後 (“According to the rules of the Church, each book after translation has to be read three times and then published. And the names of the readers are added”). Then the name would be listed in the following way: 耶穌會中同學[...]訂; 值會[...]准 (“Compiled by the Companions in the Society of Jesus [name of the author]; authenticated by the congregational leader [name of the congregational leader]”). The position of the internal review is always changeable. It can be on the verso of the frontispiece, or at the end of the introduction, or on the verso folio of the catalogue of the whole book. In Alfonso Vagnoni’s *Huanyu shimo* 寰宇始末 (De principio caeli, et terrae) (BAV, R.G.Oriente.III,221, int.15.), the internal review is even found at the end of the whole book. Actually, not all Chinese missionary publications were given an internal review. For example, there was no review of Alfonso Vagnoni’s *Tuiyan zhengdao lun* 推驗正道論 (Testament of the Right Doctrines).

²¹⁸ Nicolas Trigault, *Self-preface* to the *XREMZ*, in Yysp, p.51 (f.2a).

Epilogue

Travelling and Reception: the *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* in Europe and in China

In 1983, to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Matteo Ricci in China, Chang Mark, *S.J.*, delivered a lecture in Taipei entitled “The Latin Phoneticization of Chinese Characters of Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault”. In this lecture he spoke of the contributions of both fathers to the Latin phoneticization as follows,

利瑪竇和金尼閣的方案不但是兩個最早的漢語拉丁字母的漢語拼音方案，而且也是後來教會和外國漢學家，所擬拼音方案的鼻祖。原來利瑪竇和金尼閣的拉丁注音系統發表後，現代的歐美學者，及傳教士所制定的新羅馬字及拼音法，大多以他們的系統為楷模。他們的語音分析法，也給與當時的中國音韻學家，許多新穎的理論和啓示，並且興發起文字可以拼音的方式（拼音化），來表達感想。

Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault’s system of transcribing the pronunciation of Chinese are not only the first two of such kind of Latin phoneticization system, but also the model for the Roman church and the foreign sinologists who wanted to phoneticize Chinese characters. After the publication of the phoneticization system of Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, the modern European scholars and the missionaries usually took it as the model to make their own Phoneticization of Chinese characters. The method they attempted at analyzing the phonemes of Chinese also theoretically inspired many Chinese scholars, and they began to have the transcription (phoneticization) of Chinese in mind.¹

Then he listed Fang Yi-zhi 方以智, Yang Xuan-qi 楊選杞 and Liu Xian-ting 劉獻廷, three contemporary Chinese scholars of Nicolas Trigault who were probably influenced by Trigault’s *XREMZ*. He went so far as to conclude that their influence could be extended to the variant systems of phoneticization of Chinese in the nineteenth-century among the Europeans and the Romanization movement of the twentieth century in China.² Similar conclusions could be found also in the work of other scholars, for example, Jin Xun-gao 金薰鎬, who thought that the *XREMZ* had given one more

¹ Chang Mark, *The Latin Phoneticization of Chinese Characters of Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault*, in *International Symposium on Chinese-Western Cultural Interchange in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of Matteo Ricci, S.J. in China*, Taipei, 1983, pp.87-97, in particular p.94.

² Chang Mark, *The Latin Phoneticization of Chinese Characters of Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault*, p.94.

precise direction to the analysis of the phonemes of Chinese, and it was the source of the phoneticization of Chinese.³ Indeed, we might find many similarities of the phoneticization among the missionaries, but it is not necessary to conclude that the *XREMZ* was the model of these variant types of Chinese phoneticization. As we will see, the Chinese scholars Fang Yi-zhi, Yang Xuan-qi and others had read the *XREMZ*, but they had all treated it from the point of view of phonetics of that time, and they had not planned to replace the traditional phonology with it. Nor do we find that the *XREMZ* was relevant to the Romanization of Chinese in the twentieth century.

Indeed, after its publication, the *XREMZ* circulated in China and in Europe through collections and libraries. But as a newly edited rhyme and character book, it had not brought about as considerable an impact as we have seen in these articles. The lack of the study of Latin letters in ancient China and of the Chinese language in early modern Europe have both diminished and limited its impact, even if there was an existing readership during the circulation of the *XREMZ*, including both Chinese and Europeans (i.e. collectors of books, Jesuits and so on).

In the following pages, while investigating the circulation of the *XREMZ* in China and Europe (particularly Rome), I hope to make clear how the image (knowledge) of the *XREMZ* came into being in different social contexts.

1. The *XREMZ* in Europe

Nicolas Trigault did not provide much information on the circulation of the *XREMZ*, except that he hoped to send it as a gift for Father Montmorency via post, as he wrote in the letter of 1627,

Vocabularii mei opus integrum R.V. mittam; si cum his litteris defuerit, ne miretur, nam ex absentia Patris Vice-Provincialis vereor ut hoc anno destinari possit: tardius enim e missione mea per 50 dierum iter huc perveni, indè mittere possum.⁴

Besides this, there was no further information supplied by Trigault. In 1628, he died in Hangzhou and his plan seemed never to have been realized. In 1630 Michele Trigault (1602-1667, with Chinese name Jin Mi-ge 金彌閣), nephew of Nicolas Trigault and a Jesuit as well, arrived in China. According to

³ Jin Xun-gao, *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi de chengshu jiyi tizhi* 西儒耳目資的成書及其體製 (The formation of the *XREMZ* and its Structure), in *Hebei xuekan*, vol.4, 1994, pp.72-82.

⁴ Nicolas Trigault, *De rebus Chinensibus*, in C. Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.284.

C. Dehaisnes, Father Michele rediscovered and renovated (*retrouva et renouvela*) his uncle's writings, including the *XREMZ (Vocabulaire chinois)* and other compositions. C. Dehaisnes does not inform us how Michele Trigault had continued the work after that. It is evident, however, that Trigault's *XREMZ* was not given much attention inside the Society of Jesus at that time. In particular, after Father Adam von Schall Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688)'s impacts dominated the Society of Jesus, the effort of Michele Trigault seems to have been in vain.⁵ The destiny of the *XREMZ*, like the destiny of Nicolas Trigault in that time, was not so relevant.

But it does not mean that this book had been “forgotten” by the Society of Jesus at all. In the *Xifang dawen (Questions and Answers over the West)*, Giulio Aleni suggests his readers to study the *XREMZ* in order to gain a knowledge of Western languages from a general standpoint. After that, Ferdinand Verbiest's *Yulan xifang yaoji (Book for the Emperor on the West)*, which was about to be presented to Kang-xi 康熙, the great emperor of the Qing Dynasty, repeated Aleni's words regarding the *XREMZ*. Besides these two books, a brief biography of Nicolas Trigault was composed and inserted by Han-lin and Zhang-geng into *Shengjiao xinzheng (Testament of Saint Religion)* (ca.1680). This book was transcribed into Latin, shipped to Europe, and entitled “*Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu, qui post obitum S. Francisci Xaverii primo saeculo, sive ab anno 1581, usque ad 1681. In Imperio Sinarum Jesu-Christi fidem propagarunt. Ubi singulorum nomina, patria, ingressus, pradicatio, mors, sepultura, libri Sinice editi recensentur.*”⁶ The *XREMZ* was found in this *Catalogus*, with the Latin title “*Vocabularium Sinarum ad vocabula Europea & pronunciationes juxta accentus.*”⁷ Readers who consulted this *Catalogus* might have caught a glimpse of this title, by chance or on purpose, and would be captivated by such rare information released from such a simply-translated title, caring only about the Romanization of Chinese, that is, “sound and rhyme,” skipping over another aspect, namely, a dictionary arranged according a system of radicals. This translation is thought to be made by Jesuit Father Philippe Couplet (1622-1692),

questo catalogo fù la prima volta stampato in lingua cinese 165[] con l'approvato ed autorità de primi cristiani cinesi Hanyu Cum et Cham.⁸

⁵ C. Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, p.214.

⁶ ARSL., Jan.Sin.I.193.

⁷ ARSL., Jan.Sin.I.193, f.14.

⁸ ARSL., Jan.Sin.I.193, f.1b.

“Questo catalogo” refers exactly to the *Shengjiao xingzheng* of Han-lin and Zhang-geng. Couplet donated in 1685 some five hundred books to the Vatican Library, but there is not any mention of the *XREMZ* or any other books by Nicolas Trigault in the two inventories where the book donated by Couplet were registered.⁹ Couplet translated the *Shengjiao xingzheng* into Latin and rendered the books of Trigault, together with those of other missionaries, known to the Europeans, as the fruits Jesuit Fathers had gained from their missions in China. If a curious reader of that time wanted to check the *XREMZ*, he had to go to another library in Rome, that is, the library of the Society of Jesus (Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu) where a copy of the *XREMZ* had already been registered as early as 1654. Only there could he have gained an idea of how the *XREMZ* really looked like.

1.1 Martino Martini and the *XREMZ*

A bundle of Chinese books, among which there was a copy of the *XREMZ*, was shipped in Rome by Martino Martini (1614-1661, Chinese name: Wei Kuang-guo 衛匡國), a Jesuit from Trento in Italy, in 1654. After an investigation of the surviving copies in Rome and the related documents, it seems to be the first copy of the *XREMZ* in Rome. These books were introduced in Martino Martini’s “Brevis relatio de numero et qualitate Christianorum apud Sinas” (December 1654). In it Nicolas Trigault and his *De computu ecclesiastico* was referred to. Besides, no other item of Nicolas Trigault was mentioned.¹⁰ But a copy of the *XREMZ* must have been already in Rome, as far as the following statements concern. First of all, the Italian father did not list all of the works. Just as Martini himself explicated that “illi tantum numerantur, qui ad legem pertinent Christianam, omissis aliarum scientiarum, & atrium.” Only those concerning “*Christianam Legem*”(Christian laws) were collected.¹¹ Secondly, we can find the *XREMZ* in another catalogue “*Index librorum Sinensium juxta rerum classes distributus*,” with the call number, “Vocabularium Sinicar.pronuntiatio. P.Nicolai Trigault J.S. vol.III, Num.33.”¹² These two documents are intimately linked to one another and that the catalogue “was bound with Martini’s *Relatio*.”¹³ Thus, we know that the *XREMZ* had already been in Rome as early as 1654. Now we shall focus on the reasons that brought Martini to take the *XREMZ* to Rome in that year.

⁹ See “*Inventar codicum sinicorum*”, in BAV, Vat.lat.13209; “*Catalogus Codicum MMSS Orientalium Vaticanae Bibliothecae*,” in BAV, Vat.lat.13201, ff.281a-302b.

¹⁰ ARSI., Jap.Sin.II.152.1, f.20b.

¹¹ ARSI., Jap.Sin.II.152.1, f.18b; and in BAV, R.G.Oriente.III. 310.

¹² ARSI., Jap.Sin.II.152.2, f.30a.

¹³ Ad.Dudink, *The Japonica-Sinica Collections I-IV in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus: An Overview*, in the *Monumenta Serica* 50 (2002): 481-536, in particular p.492.

How was it treated after its arrival in Rome? To answer these questions, it is better to understand why Martino Martini was sent back to Europe in the first place.

1.1.1 The First *XREMZ* in Rome

The reason that Martino Martini returned to Europe as the Procurator of the Jesuit missions in China was quite simple: he had to make clear the question of rites in front of the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, which had been misinterpreted by the Dominican Juan Bautista de Morales (1597-1664), and prohibited in 1645.¹⁴ The question of rites, as the question of the Chinese language in the Catholic liturgy, had rendered the Jesuit missions more complicated for their entire history.

The question of rites was disputed between the Jesuits and the missionaries from other religious orders in China. Their debate was focused on whether the rites observed by the Chinese were mere civil ceremonies, or superstitious and idolatrous.¹⁵ The former standpoint was held by Matteo Ricci and his brethren in China, while missionaries from other orders, for example, Antonio a Santa Maria, Juan Bautista de Morales, Francisco Diaz and Francisco de la Madre de Dios held the latter opinion and compiled two “informaciones” which, according to George H. Dunne, brought the question into the public forum.¹⁶ In 1643, de Morales arrived in Rome and submitted to *Propaganda Fide* a memorial to condemn the rites observed by the Chinese Christians. On 12 September 1645, Pope Innocent X (1574-1665) also condemned these rites in a decree. In this context, Martino Martini, one of the most learned men of the Society of Jesus, was selected as the Procurator to go to Rome and to report on the situation for the men of the Roman Church.

In 1651, Martino departed from Fujian, with a certain converted Chinese, Dominic.¹⁷ The journey did not lack danger and adventure. From Fujian they embarked for the Philippines, passing by the way of Makassar. In May 1652, they were taken prisoner by the Dutch, and were transferred to Batavia, where Martino Martini left the first manuscript copy of his *Grammatica Sinica*, which was never

¹⁴ Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, p.356.

¹⁵ See George H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, pp.282-302.

¹⁶ See George H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, pp.297-198.

¹⁷ Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, p.450; see Noël Golvers, *Viaggio di reclutamento di M. Martini S.J. attraverso i paesi bassi nel 1654, a proposito di bussole geomantiche, collezioni di oggetti cinesi, proiezioni di Lanterna Magica, e del R.P. Wilhelm Van Aelst S.J.*, in *Società di Studi Trentini di scienze storiche*, 1995 (74/4), pp.447-474, in particular p.471; J.J.L. Duyvendak, *Early Chinese Studies in Holland*, in *T'oung Pao*, v.32, livr.5 (1936), pp.293-344, in particular p.301.

published. After eight months, they resumed the voyage. Passing to the north of England, they landed in Bergen, Norway, on 31 August 1653.¹⁸

Starting from Bergen, he and his Chinese peer moved southward. Going through Hamburg, they reached Amsterdam with intention to print his *Novus Atlas Sinensis*. Then, they arrived in Leiden in January 1654, where they encountered Jacob Golius (1596-1667), a famous professor of Arabic of his time. They met again in Antwerp in June 1654, as both Martini and Golius were greatly encouraged by the extraordinary results of the first meeting. In Antwerp, Martini also published the *De Bello Tartarico Historia*, a book concerning the history of the conquest of the Manchu in China. Martini also went to Brussels and Leuven. During the journey to Rome, Martino Martini and his Chinese peer presented the Jesuit missions in China and their adventurous travelling to various audiences, even taking advantage of a magic lantern when they were in Leuven in February 1654.¹⁹ Martini gave every necessary explanation to many the questions the public posed, such as whether the *Cataii* was same as Chinese. He also introduced some knowledge of the Chinese script. Golius learned a great deal from his Jesuit friend and after Martini's departure he supervised the first printing of Chinese characters in Holland, which were the first in all of Europe as well. He used Chinese characters, the "Catayan" names in Arabic script, the Chinese sounds Romanised in the system used by the Jesuits to write the cycle of twelve (*duodecim horae*), the cycle of ten (*decem cardines sue radices*), the cycle of sixty (*annorum sexaginta cyclus*), the 24 divisions of the year (*XXIV partes anni*), the 12 names of auspicious and inauspicious days (*XII dies electionis*), and a list of the 12 animal names (*nomina horarum, dierum, annorum*).²⁰ As Nicolas Trigault had triumphed over the Europeans, Martino Martini's travelling also enriched the knowledge of China in Europe. All of the information, addressed in terms of interviews and presentations, especially, in terms of the publication of the *De Bello Tartarico Historia* and of the Chinese *Atlas*, draw the attention of the Europeans, The men of that time were greatly inspired and had great interest of China, as it is clear from many Latin editions and translations of the *De Bello Tartarico Historia*. His activity caused a sensation among those who were awaiting an evangelic enterprise in the Far East. When he returned to China on 4 April 1657, there were ten new missionaries accompanying him, among whom was Ferdinand Verbiest.

¹⁸ Federico Massini, "Martino Martini": http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/martino-martini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (Last check: 18 September 2013), and *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, 2008, vol.71, ff.244-246.

¹⁹ Giuseppe O.Longo, *Il gesuita che disegnò la Cina: La vita e le opere di Martino Martini*, Milano: Springer-Verlag, 2010, p.81.

²⁰ J.J.L.Duyvendak, *Early Chinese Studies in Holland*, pp.301-305.

1.1.2 The *fructus* of the Jesuit Fathers

Martino Martini came to Rome at the end of the year 1654. He submitted a long report to the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, and used the examples of Matteo Ricci and other celebrated Jesuits in China to point out that those Dominicans were misinterpreting the question of rites. Mentioning Matteo Ricci and other brethren, he pointed out that the Chinese Christians could practice the rites in honor of Confucius and of the deceased. Attached to this Report, he also presented one piece of document, as we have mentioned above, *Brevis relatio de numero et qualitate Christianorum apud Sinas*, to the Cardinal Antonio Barberino (*Cardinalem Antonium Barberinum*). But this list did not comprise all the books Martini had brought to Rome, for several Chinese books and *Mss.* had been given to Golius, as “promotional gifts” to enrich the collection that Golius already had.²¹ In the *Brevis Relatio*, Martino Martini made quick mention of the success Jesuit Fathers had accomplished in China,

Brevis quidem Relatio est, sed ea omnia per compendium continet, quae Patres Societatis IESU in amplissimo Sinarum Regno ad Dei gloriam, & animarum salutem studii, ac laboribus non inutiliter procurarunt,²²

The books, now in Rome, were one important part of the fruits the Jesuits had obtained from their fatiguing labor. These books were the proof that the mission in China was successful. All in all, Martino Martini’s effort was not in vain. Two years later, on March 23, 1656, one decree “permitting Christians to practice the rites under the conditions observed by the Jesuits” was delivered by Pope Alexander VII (1599-1667).²³

Combined with the propagandistic mean, these books made part of strategy when the procurator of the China missions was sent back to Europe. Most of it remained in Rome in the different institutes of the Roman church. Not everyone was allowed to consult and study these books and the same is true for all other books on the same matters which were later brought to Rome by other missionaries. This is the reason why these books did not circulate for a long time. Of course, it is also the destiny that this copy of the *XREMZ* had to face. Today, we can consult another copy of the *XREMZ* in the ARSI, but not the same one as which Martino Martini had taken to Rome, and distinguished by the different call

²¹ J.J.L.Duyvendak, *Early Chinese Studies in Holland*, p.313; Noël Golvers, *Building Humanistic Libraries in Late Imperial China*, Roma: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2011, pp.57-58.

²² ARSI., Jap.Sin.III.52, ff.3-4.

²³ George H.Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, p.299.

number: “Jap.Sin.II,127.” We do not have enough information to trace the copy of Martino Martini. Maybe, it was lost after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773.²⁴

1.1.3 XREMZ: A Chinese Vocabulary

But when someone obtained at the time a permission to consult these Chinese books, he could easily have found what he was looking for. The books brought to Rome by the Jesuit missionaries in China, “opera nostrorum,” were divided into different sections: “Litteraturae” “Apologiae,” “Asceticae,” “Astronomiae,” “Catecheseos,” “Epistolae,” “Geographiae,” “Historiae,” “Juris,” “Mathematicae,” “Medicinae,” “Philosophiae rationis” and “Philosophiae moralis,” “Physicae,” “Poesos,” “Rituum sacrorum” and “Rituum profanorum,” “Teologiae dogmaticae” and “Theologiae moralis,” “Miscellanea”.²⁵ The XREMZ was catalogued under “Litteraturae,” and it went along with “Astronomiae,” “Geographiae,” “Mathematicae,” “Medicinae,” “Physicae” and “Philosophiae,” those scientific disciplines, as well as with “Catecheseos,” the explication of Christian doctrine. This index must have been made by someone who had a good knowledge of the Chinese language (which reminds us immediately of the above Chinese converted Dominic and Martino Martini himself), and registered these Chinese texts into the proper sections after they were placed in this stock.

Compared with a similar classification of books, the “*Catalogus Liborum Sinicorum*,” compiled in Beijing around the 1684, which registered different missionary works in Chinese, had a different arrangement.²⁶ Most probably, someone inside (or outside, but friend of) the Society of Jesus in Beijing helped to compose it. This *Catalogus* was divided into two sections: “*Libri mathematic et philosophici*” and “*Libri Sacri*”. The XREMZ belonged to the section “*Libri mathematic et philosophici*,” which were further divided into *tianxue* 天學 (Astronomy), *gewu* 格物 (Physics), *zhizhi* 致知 (Philosophy), *qianxiang* 乾象 (Astrology), and *lifa* 曆法 (Calendar). The compiler did not explicate which subdivision the XREMZ should belong to. All, however, according to the anonymous compiler of the catalogue, were used to explicate the doctrine of Christianity.²⁷ This *Catalogus* appeared to be much closer to the classification of the Chinese missionary books inside the Society of Jesus in China, as we can see in Xu Zong-ze 徐宗澤 (1886-1947)’s *Mingqingjian yesuhuishi yizhu tiyao* 明清間耶穌會士譯

²⁴ Albert Chan, S.J., *Preface to the Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, A descriptive catalogue: Japonica – Sinica I-IV*, New York, 2002, pp.xiii-xiv.

²⁵ ARSI., Jap.Sin.II.152.2, f.23v.

²⁶ A copy of this catalogue is maintained by BAV, R.G.O-Stragrandi 13; see also Henri Cordier, *Introduction*, in *L’Imprymerie Sino-Européenne En Chine: Bibliographie des Ouvrages Publiés en Chine par Les Européens au XVII et au XVIII siècle*, Paris, 1901, p.IX.

²⁷ BAV, R.G.O-Stragrandi 13.

著提要 (Annotated Catalog of Jesuit writings between the Ming and Qing Dynasty). Xu himself proclaimed that the division method adopted for the missionary writings in his *Annotated Catalog* was same to one employed by the *XKZM*. In fact, the *XREMZ* was put by Xu Zong-ze into the section “*kexue*” 科學 (scientific),²⁸ which in the *SKZM* is subject to the Section “Masters,” rather than in the division “Lesser Learning”(小學, *xiaoxue*) of the Section “Classics” in the *SKZM*. Comparable to the “*Catalogus Liborum Sinicorum*,” the *XREMZ* and other missionary works, except the following ones: *Yulan Xifang yaoji* 禦覽西方要紀, *Huogong qieyao* 火攻切要, *Wanguo yutu* 萬國與圖 and *Huangyu quanlantu* 皇輿全覽圖: what appeared only in the *Annotated Catalogue* of Xu Zong-ze, had been classified identically. The manner of the book classification in Xu Zong-ze and “*Catalogus*” had originated from the Society of Jesus in China, instead from *SKZM*. They must hold the same attitude towards the classification of the missionary writings.

The difference among the *Catalogus Liborum Sinicorum* and the division of the ARSI around the missionary works mirrors the different extent of the classification. Obviously, the librarian of the ARSI had a richer knowledge of book classification, inherited from the Renaissance or even the later Middle Ages when the learning as a body had been highly articulated and specialized.²⁹ Moreover, just as the Latin title in the *Index* of Martino Martini, as well as the title translated on the present-day copy in the ARSI: “*Vocabularium Sinicarum Vocum ad pronunciationes europeas accommodatarum*,”³⁰ the *XREMZ* was one Vocabulary of Chinese Voice accommodated to European Pronunciation, and contributed to the discipline of “*Litteraturae*”.

After finding the three-volume vocabulary, a reader in the seventeenth century could find a seat in the reading hall and open it calmly. He might soon realize that he had to change a bit the first impression, which was previously shaped by the *Catalogus* of Philippe Couplet, and that of Martino Martini as well, which spoke only of the “sound and rhyme” part. But the content of the *XREMZ* is much vaster, comprising also the “shadow (*bian*) and corpus (*zheng*)” parts, dealing with the system of radicals of the Chinese character. Besides, he was able to read a very long theoretical introduction about the *XREMZ* and how to make use of the remaining two *pu*. As a Westerner, he would not fail to recognize a sea of Romanized Chinese characters dispersed in this book, and even know how to

²⁸ In the same book, Xu Zong-ze also put the *XREMZ* into the section *Yuyan* 語言 (Linguistic) in the *Xujiahui* Library, see Xu Zong-ze, *Mingqingjian yesu huishi yizhu tiyao*, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2010 (reprinted), p.436.

²⁹ See Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*, London, 1965, pp.150-151.

³⁰ ARSI., Jap.Sin.II.152.2, f.30r, and ARSI., Jap.Sin.II.127.

pronounce them as pronouncing Latin letters. Certainly, he would find some difficulties in discerning the five tones; he could not understand what the first *Yysp* was about, for all of the theory was composed and introduced in Chinese which, at that time, was rarely studied in Europe.

When Martino Martini came back to Europe, there was almost no one who could study Chinese expertly. Maybe we could rethink of the Chinese-Portuguese dictionary of Ruggieri in the ARSI, but it had been already forgotten by his brethren and Romans. We have found in the collection of Golius at least 6 dictionaries of Chinese and different European languages, among which the “Compendium doctrinae Christianae, de creatione & salvatione generis humani” was transcribed as early as 1628,³¹ but Golius was still insufficient in the Chinese language, otherwise he would not have been looking forward to meeting with Martino Martini and asking many questions about this language. For this reason he might have difficulty reading Chinese books and *Mss.*, that Father Martini had given him.³²

The lack of Chinese knowledge in Europe did not change, even when the *XREMZ* was available in a Roman library. The hypothetical reader would encounter many unexpected difficulties. Obtaining the copy of the *XREMZ*, as we stated above, in the ARSI for example. This copy comprises three volumes, protected by a hard, cartel plate. Three volumes, from *Yysp*, to *Lyyp*, and to *Lbzp*, were signaled in order by Tom.1, Tom.2, Tom.3.

The first difficulty he had to face was that he might not know how to use this dictionary with other Chinese ones. The *Lbzp* of this copy starts from the text of *yihuajie* (“One-stroke section”) (f.1a). On the recto of this folio someone had transcribed “每字下面有兩層數目，上層係洪武正韻，下層係/韻會小補” and put them under the title *Lie bian zheng pu* 列邊正譜 by cutting them into two lines in terms of traditional Chinese writing manner, as if it were made by the Chinese.³³ It seemed to be the further explanation for the printed lines: 中字之下洪武正韻之數也/ 西字之下韻會小補之數也. Moreover, one piece of Latin script was added on the upper edge of the same page, corresponding to

³¹ The six dictionaries are: 1) *Dictionarium Chinense, hoc est, Lingua Belgica juxta Alphabeti ordinem, & Latine & Mandarinice quoque explicati Chinensium characteres*, in folio 2; 2) *Compendium doctrinae Christianae, de creatione & salvatione generis humani I: Epistolae & variorum contractuum formulae, item vera Rha. Barbari descriptio: item nomina Regum Chinensium &c. Lingua Mandarinica Sinensium eorumque characteribus traditae, cum vocum singularum per Latinas litteras expressione, & versione Latina in folio*; 3) *Alterum exemplum, sine vers. Latina, in folio*; 4) *Thesaurus rarissimus, in quo explicantur 10000 Characteres Chinensium lingua Hispan. in fol. chart. Serica.*; 5) *Vocabularium, in quo characteres Chineses Latinis litteris expressi Lusitan. explicantur in fol. charta serica.*; 6) *Vocabularium Hispanico-Sinense, cum annotat. J. Golii; item libellus Hispanicus de pronuntiatione Charact. Chinensium, in octavo, charta serica., in J.J.L.Duyvendak, *Early Chinese Studies in Holland*, pp.314-315, and pp.317-319.*

³² The lack of the study of the Chinese language in Europe during the travelling of Martino Martini, see Noël Golvers, *Viaggio di reclutamento di M.Martini S.J. attraverso i paesi bassi nel 1654, a proposito di bussole geomantiche, collezioni di oggetti cinesi, proiezioni di Lanterna Magica, e del R.P. Wilhelm Van Aelst S.J.*, p.456.

³³ They are translated literally as “There are two flats of [Chinese] number beneath every word. The upper one regards the Hongwu zhengyun, while the below one regarding the Yunhui xiaobu.”

these Chinese lines, “in hoc libro sunt 2 ordines numerorum infra quolibet/ character superior numerus indicat librorum appellatur/ *Hnú Vù Gín yûn*, 2dus numerus indicat *Yún hueí siao pú*.” So, it should have been clear to the reader what these two Chinese lines meant, and the relationship of the *XREMZ* with other Chinese dictionaries: *Hnú Vù Gín yûn* (that is *Hongwu zhengyun*) and *Yún hueí siao pú* (that is *Yunhui xiaobu*).

Besides, he might be confused by the Chinese characters without explanations. On the same page there are three Chinese characters signaled out and translated in Portuguese: 乞 (*qi*) “pedir,” 乳 (*ru*) “leite,” and 亂 (*luan*) “embrulhado”. These three characters were commonly used in China, but were still hard for the foreigners to be remembered. Clearly, this poor reader, before knowing a considerable number of commonly used Chinese characters, would be in despair, searching for the explanations of all the words. It seemed that the translator of these three Chinese characters had to give up, because there are no other Chinese characters marked in the same way, nor the other two *pu* of this copy.

Worse still, it was possible that the reader took the wrong volume. On the back page of each volume someone had marked with the Arab numbers. It is “1” on the *Lbzp*, “2” on the *Lyyp*, and “3” being on the *Yysp*. These three numbers were likely to be the first signal of this copy after they reached Rome, based on the following statements: 1) the Arab number was not employed in Ancient China; 2) the order of the Arab numbers was opposed to the call numbers of the three volumes. Clearly, the group of the Arab numbers was given by someone who was ignorant of Chinese, Chinese culture, and in particular, knowledge of ancient Chinese books. Fortunately, this error was corrected by others who had knowledge of the Chinese book, and of the Chinese language as well.

Undoubtedly, these difficulties would prevent him from reading fluently this *XREMZ*. But it is not the reader’s fault, nor was it the *XREMZ*’s. The problem was related to the lack of the study of Chinese in Europe. We have seen that there were some scholars who tried to translate Chinese characters, but they eventually failed to succeed. Obviously there was no readership of the Chinese books brought by the Jesuit missionaries from China.³⁴ Like these two decrees that were issued by the two Popes according to the words of the missionaries in China, no native European in Rome was able to penetrate these documents to make a proper judgment on the question of rites. When these books were presented and addressed to the Europeans and different institutes, there was obviously no cogent relation between them and the readership of these books. In the eyes of the Europeans, as well as of the procurators who

³⁴ See also Noël Golvers, *Building Humanistic Libraries in Late Imperial China*, pp.62-63.

were sent back to Europe, these books were only the silent – and collective – testimonies of the accomplishments of the Jesuit missions in China.

The *XREMZ* was no exception. This also resulted in its first reception in Europe in the seventeenth century as well as in the eighteenth century. For a common reader of these two centuries, the *XREMZ* was still very hard to read and understand because of the lack of a sufficient knowledge of Chinese language in Europe. Besides, it was not easy to get permission to access the libraries, as it happened to French sinologist Abel Rémusat (1788-1832) who had been refused admission to the Royal Library of France where he hoped to consult some Chinese books.³⁵ Bureaucracy slowed the circulation of books. Even almost two hundred years later, Antonio Montucci, the sinologist of Siena, stated directly that there was no copy of the *XREMZ* in the public libraries of Europe, except his own copy which he got in 1816, when making an effort to collect various Chinese dictionaries.³⁶ Naturally there would be little information about the *XREMZ*, and it had almost no impact at all on European sinology.

1.2 Antonio Montucci and the *XREMZ*

In 1817, Antonio Montucci reported that the *XREMZ* had been almost forgotten in Europe:

this curious old performance of Portuguese Missionaries never came to the knowledge of more recent Europeans, who penetrated into China under the present [Qing] Dynasty, and that the copies of it were almost all destroyed soon after its publication, by some accident or other. My copy, the only one known to all our contemporary *Sinologi*, has three leaves most neatly done in manuscripts, as further proof of the extreme rarity of this most elaborate and accurate performance.³⁷

Montucci might have felt sorrow for the “disappearance” of the *XREMZ*, and no one, not even the missionaries, had been aware of, and studied this Chinese book. However, the information of Antonio Montucci on the circulation of the *XREMZ* and its “disappearance” is not perfectly accurate. Besides the copy of the ARSI, there were at least three other copies of the *XREMZ* in Rome. Two of them are at

³⁵ Dong Hai-ying 董海櫻, *Xiren hanyu yanjiu shulun – 16-19shijichuqi*, 西人漢語研究述論——16—19 世紀初期 (The Studying of Chinese Language by Westerners from the 16th to the Early 19th Century) (PhD Dissertation), Zhejiang University, 2005, p.99.

³⁶ “*Catalogue de M.Antoine Montucci*”, in *Inventario del Museo Borgiano*, in BAV, Mus.Borg.P.F.Latino 767/Borg.Lat.767, f.235b.

³⁷ See Antonio Montucci, *Urh-chih-tsze-teen-se-yin-pe-keou: Being A Parallel Drawn between the two Intended Chinese Dictionaries* (from now on *Being a Parallel Drawn*), London, 1817, pp.26-27, and p.25.

the Vatican Library: one was in the Printed Books Department, and the other in the Manuscript Department. The copy in the Printed Books Department was an old and neglected edition.³⁸ Since most of the content had been lost, three volumes were wrapped as a single one. All the folios were disorderly bounded and paginated in pencil with Arabic page numbering from 1 to 159. Some folios were transcribed and kept in the same order of the printed ones. The same phenomenon happened to the copy of Antonio Montucci. The third copy, probably the one in best conditions, is preserved at the National Library of Rome (from now on BNR) and it is entitled “Vocabolario della lingua cinese (ad uso dei letterati europei) con pronuncia ed accenti.” It lies in the section “Collezioni speciali” (Special Collections), but includes only two volumes: *Lyyp* and *Lbzp*.³⁹ Outside Rome, there were other copies both in public and private European libraries. As Albert Chan maintains, there is at least one *XREMZ* at the London Royal Library, and one in the National Library of France in Paris.⁴⁰ Julius von Klaproth (1783-1835) also possessed one piece of the *XREMZ* in his library (though I am not sure it is the same that he had sold to Antonio Montucci).⁴¹ After a thorough investigation of the copies I was able to find in Europe, I believe it must be admitted that the limitation of the movement of the *XREMZ* was much less than we could have imagined. The circulation happened both inside the religious institutions and outside, for example, in the book market of Paris.

Even so, the *XREMZ* was outside the focus of attention in Europe, as Antonio Montucci observed. The pioneer sinologist T. S. Bayer had made a list of the contributors to the Chinese studies in Europe, in which he also referred to Nicolas Trigault, whose knowledge of the Chinese language Bayer knew from Ricci’s *Diary*, translated by Trigault in 1615. Nevertheless, there was no word given to the *XREMZ*, even if it was a quite “modern” lexicon, in which the rules were the same that Bayer himself supported, as seen in the arrangement of Chinese characters under their radicals.⁴² Probably, Bayer and others did not yet have any knowledge of this book then, until in 1816 when it was discovered by Julius von Klaproth and Antonio Montucci.

1.2.1 Antonio Montucci and the Discovery of the *XREMZ*

³⁸ BAV, R.G.Oriente.III.289.

³⁹ BNR, 72.C483.1 (*Lyyp*); 72.C483.2 (*Lbzp*).

⁴⁰ See Albert Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: Descriptive Catalogue: Japonica-Sinica I-IV*, p.432. But I cannot find the copy in the BNF.

⁴¹ Julius von Klaproth, *Catalogue des livres imprimés, des manuscrits et des ouvrages chinois, tartares, japonais, etc., composant la bibliothèque de Feu.M.Klaproth*, Paris, 1839, pp.49-50.

⁴² Knud Lundbæk, *T.S.Bayer (1694-1738): Pioneer Sinologist*, London and Malmö, Curzon Press, 1986, pp.176-177.

Antonio Montucci was born into a Sienese family on 22 May 1762. His father was an engineer and architect; his mother was the daughter of Antonio, a painter of Siena. Some years after his graduation from the University of Siena, he moved to Britain in 1789, where he stayed until 1806. During this period in Britain, he developed an interest in Chinese language and learned to speak Chinese with two Chinese students from the Neapolitan “Collegio de' cinesi.” He was one of the critics of the Orientalist Giuseppe Hager (1757-1819) and published a volume in London in 1804, as to criticize the former’s opinion on Chinese characters and the history of China. In the meantime, he had in mind composing a dictionary of his own for the first time.⁴³ In 1806, he settled in Berlin, where he had deepened his friendship with Julius Heinrich von Klaproth (1783-1835), another distinguished German sinologist of his time. During the period in Germany, Montucci retained still his strong interest in Chinese. In January 1817, he published the *Urh-chih-tsze-teen-se-yin-pe-keaou: Being A Parallel Drawn between the two Intended Chinese Dictionaries* (from now on *Being a Parallel Drawn*) in London. In this book he made reference to the copy of the XREMZ he had obtained. In 1827, he sold most of his Chinese collection, including the XREMZ, to Pope Leo XII (1760-1829). The same year Montucci went back to Siena. On 5 March 1829, he died and was buried in the St. Abbondio Church of Siena.⁴⁴

Antonio Montucci got the XREMZ in 1816 from his friend Klaproth. Relying upon three pieces of script attached to the *Lbzp*,⁴⁵ I manage to sketch briefly the provenance of this copy. Two of the three pieces of script were given by Julius von Klaproth, who had also composed some other pieces for Antonio Montucci’s collection in the BAV. They are one long letter, dated 5 May 1816 from Paris, and one supplementary note to this letter. The third was done by a Mr. Pillet. From this letter, we know that it was Julius von Klaproth who had first discovered and obtained the XREMZ. He told his friend that he had found in the missions of one particular bibliophile (entre les missions d’un particulier bibliomane) one Jesuitical work. After reading the letter, we can state this “Jesuitical work” refers to Nicolas Trigault’s XREMZ. This work was consisted only of two volumes: *Lyyp (le partie tonique)* and *Lbzp.(cette par clefs)*. The whole volume *Yysp*, and the frontispiece and self-preface of these two remaining volumes were missing. For this reason, both Klaproth and Montucci did not learn about the

⁴³ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.58.

⁴⁴ Stefano Valliani, “Antonio Montucci”, see http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-montucci_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (Last check: 19 September 2013) and in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, 2012, vol.76, pp.370-374; see also Henry McAnally, *Antonio Montucci*, in *Modern Language Quarterly*, 1946, 7, pp.65-81.

⁴⁵ BAV, Borg.Cin.401.

author, nor any information about the edition. Naturally they did not know the *Yyisp*.⁴⁶ Montucci later came to the conclusion that these books must be the product of some missionary in China,

Deux dictionnaires imprimés en Chine par les missionnaires et appelés par moi les Jumeaux, car ils sont l'ouvrage des même auteur et uniformes en tout, ils le rapportent tellement l'un à l'auteur qu'ils sont inseparables.⁴⁷

He did not know there was another volume which was to be put in front of the “Deux dictionnaires” and thus, the work of the unknown missionary should be *Triplet*, but not *Twins* (les Jumeaux). On 9 July 1816, under the help of *Monsieur* Pillet, Antonio Montucci obtained this copy from Julius von Klaproth. As we can observe from Montucci's book seal: “Ex libris A. Montucci J.C.ti & Philol Senensis 1816” on these two volumes, this copy arrived in Berlin in 1816. Apart from it, Montucci also bought two other Chinese dictionaries from Klaproth when the latter was in Paris.

Montucci purchased the *XREMZ* and other Chinese dictionaries because he needed them for his work. At that time he was presuming to compose Engravings, in which all the most usual characters would be explained, but accompanied with all those various forms which he was able to extract “from the manuscript and many classical Chinese printed dictionaries, whether obsolete, vulgar, or compendious.”⁴⁸ In that time, that is to say, at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Europeans, who usually did not belong to the missionaries of the Roman Church, especially after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, began to replace these missionaries in China. In spite of the fact that the failure to enter inland China, as happened to the delegation of George Macartney in 1792, the communication between China and the West seemed destined to be enlarged in the future more than ever, just as Montucci had imagined. He felt anxious about the forthcoming contact between the two worlds. For him it was necessary to have a better Chinese-European dictionary,

⁴⁶ Antonio Montucci thought they were printed much earlier than Mei Yan-zu's *Zihui* (1615), see Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.25. By 1839, Klaproth had known the author was Nicolas Trigault and there were three volumes, see Klaproth, *Catalogue des livres imprimés, des manuscrits et des ouvrages chinois, tartares, japonais, etc., composant la bibliothèque de Feu M.Klaproth*, pp.49-50.

⁴⁷ “*Catalogne de M.Antoine Montucci*”, in BAV, Borg.Lat.767, f.235b and f.249b. This Catalogue was made in 1824 by Montucci and presented for Pope Leo XII (1823-1829), see Francesco D'Aiuto and Paolo Vian, ed., *Guida ai fondi mscritti, numismatici, a stampa della biblioteca vaticana, t.I, Dipartimento Manoscritti*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 2011, p.364. See also Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Drawn*, pp.25-27.

⁴⁸ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.60.

If we except what may reach English Factories from the Imperial Court of China, what letter, what invoice, what book (the canonical and historical only excepted) will ever fall into the hands of Missionaries or Supercargoes, printed or written, with Characters having the same form and number of strokes, as those to be met with, either in the Imperial or in Mr.Morrison's Dictionary?⁴⁹

Montucci was unsatisfied with the Imperial Dictionary (that is, *Kang-xi zidian* 康熙字典) (1716), and the promised dictionary of Morrison, for the number of the variant forms of a Chinese character in both of them was poor, and would not serve the readers with reading letters, invoices, or books composed of variant characters. As a result, a dictionary that contained more variant forms of Chinese characters was required. In 1817, when he was publishing his *Being a Parallel Drawn*, he had possessed at least four manuscripts and twenty Chinese dictionaries, and the number of the Characters amounted to nearly twenty thousand.⁵⁰ This copy of the *XREMZ* – even incomplete – would push his work forward, just as Klaproth himself was sure that the *XREMZ* he had discovered would have, undoubtedly, “the highest importance for you [Montucci] and for your work” (la plus haute importance pour vous et pour votre travail). So he felt the necessity of giving his friend this notice, as Klaproth writes sincerely,

Quel avantage si vous aviez commencé votre travail sur ce ton[i]que, et combien cet ouvrage vous aurâit il epargne de peiné dans la recherche des variantes, que vous trouvez ici à coté ou en bas des caracteres⁵¹.

The copy would also help Antonio Montucci with the respect to the *real* composition of a Chinese dictionary for a beginner of the study of the Chinese language in Europe. In 1815, Robert Morrison (1782-1834) published in Macau one preface and two indexes of the Radicals, parts of his promised dictionary: *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language in Three Parts*, which would be finished in 1825, with the remaining two parts joined.⁵² As for the part which was already printed, Montucci was not convinced. He spoke out directly that “the sources of mistakes in this operation are not only one,” but “various and manifold for a beginner.”⁵³ There was much left to be done. The *XREMZ*, as we will see, would offer him a good sample in some respects.

⁴⁹ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.12.

⁵⁰ Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Draw*, p.18, and p.60.

⁵¹ “Letter of Klaproth”, in Lbzp, in BAV, Borg.Cin.401.

⁵² Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, note in p.3.

⁵³ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, pp.7-19.

Unfortunately, he lost passion for his Chinese collection. In 1827, Antonio sold his collection of Chinese books to the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, with a sum of money received from Pope Leo XII, so he could spend the remainder of his life in comfort. Together with the books, there was also an inventory of this collection, that was composed by Antonio Montucci and that was inserted by an Apostolic librarian into the “Inventario del Museo Borgiano”.⁵⁴ In comparison with Montucci’s own account of the text in his *Inventory*, the text we can now read in the library remains as the same as the original. The *XREMZ* is well protected. Montucci’s collection should have always been preserved in the *Congregation of Propaganda Fide*, if it, along with a great number of other collections of Cardinal Borgia, was not transferred to the BAV in May 1902.⁵⁵ Twenty years later, Paul Pelliot wrote this copy into the section “Fonds Borgia Chinois.” Today, this copy is preserved in the Manuscripts Department of the BAV, together with a great number of other Chinese dictionaries from the great Sinese sinologist.⁵⁶

1.2.2 Antonio Montucci’s *XREMZ*

The two-volume *XREMZ* is decorated with yellow Moroccan paper, and with the Chinese title engraved on the spine. There are two seals expanding over the whole text. Apart from the seal of “Ex libris A. Montucci J.C.ti & Philol Senensis 1816,” there is another seal of “Sac.Congr. De Prop.Fide.” These two seals tell the reader about its different owners. To express his predilection for the two-volume copy, Montucci called it “*The Chinese Twins*”.

The *Lyyp*, entitled in French “Dictionnaire chinois suivans: l’ordre des mots,” starts from the *Yunmu mulu* 韻母目錄 (Index of Rhymes), without the frontispiece and the self-preface of Nicolas Trigault. In the text from the rhyme “*a*” to the rhyme “*iuen*,” Antonio Montucci marked some words with red pen and joined the pronunciations he considered correct. For example, he joined the pronunciton of “*chân*” with the Character “嬋” (it is pronounced “*chán*” in modern Chinese), which was marked by Nicolas Trigault as “*tǎ*”.⁵⁷ Sometimes, he changed only the tone of the pronunciation

⁵⁴ *Inventario del Museo Borgiano*, in BAV, Mus.Borg.P.F.Latino 767/Borg.Lat.767

⁵⁵ Francesco D’Aiuto, Paolo Vian, *Guida Ai Fondi Manoscritti, numismatici, a stampa*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 2011, v.II, p.948.

⁵⁶ BAV, Borg.Cin.400 (*Lyyp*); Borg.Cin.401 (*Lbzp*).

⁵⁷ *Lyyp*, p.20 (f.3b).

with “Western symbols of tone.” Both of them are found very often, as to put right the pronunciation which Trigault had wrongly marked.

Just as in the case of the *Lyyp* of this copy, the frontispiece and the self-preface, *Wanzi zhiyin zongwang* (General Table of Ten Thousand of Direct Sounds) of the *Lbzp* were missing. Entitled “Dictionnaire chinois suivans: les racines,” the *Lbzp* starts from the *Bianhua mulu* 邊畫目錄 (Index of Radicals), that was composed, however, in the handwritten form. This *Index* in some places does not coincide with the printed one. Beneath each *bian* (“shadow”) in the printed *Bianhua mulu* there is a group of Chinese-written numbers. But in this handwritten *Index of Radicals*, all the numbers were replaced with Arabic numerals. Besides, the transcriber had added the Latin letter “*b*” to some numbers, as seen in the example of 36b, suggesting that this *bian* (“shadow”) on the recto of the f.36 was extended onto the verso of the folio of f.36, namely, f.36b. These adjustments reveal the fact that this copy was made for the sake of European custom, and as a consequence, was done in Europe. Besides, this handwritten *Index of Radicals* was not transcribed by Antonio Montucci. The seal “Ex libris A. Montucci J.C.ti & Philol Senensis 1816” was stamped by Antonio Montucci on this *Index*, as to avoid the overlap between the seal and the text. It seemed that this *Index* was finished first. This hypothesis is also confirmed by different graphs between the *Index of Radicals* and the annotations made by Antonio Montucci.⁵⁸ In fact, as we stated elsewhere, Montucci also reported that his copy had three leaves most neatly done in manuscript. By flipping through the pages, we find the sections, that is, from “*shi’er huajie*” 十二畫界 (Twelve-stroke section) to “*shiwu huajie*” 十五畫界 (Fifteen-stroke section) left for manuscript, containing precisely three folios.⁵⁹ Therefore I come to the conclusion that the copy, before being made part of the collection of Antonio Montucci, had been restored by someone who may have known Chinese. In all probability this copy had been circulating in Paris, while the anonymous transcriber had a better edition of the *XREMZ* of which to make use when he was transcribing these lost *Index of Radicals* and the mentioned stroke sections.

Apart from the marks Montucci or others left, some sections of the *bian* (“shadow”) in this “*Bianhua mulu*” were enlarged considerably. For example, in the “*sanhua jie*” 三畫界 (Three-stroke section), except that *Jin* 巾, *Chi* 彳, *Kou* 匚 and so on, *Zhi* 攴, *Wang* 亡, *Gong* 弓, *Yao* 彡 those radicals which had been excluded from this section by Nicolas Trigault were joined. The same happened to

⁵⁸ In the *Lbzp* of pp.309-310 (ff.131a-b), for example, there are annotations under which “*A.N*” or “*Montucci*” were left.

⁵⁹ *Lbzp*, pp.305-311 (ff.129a-132b).

other sections, as in the instance of the “wuhua jie” 五畫界 (Five-stroke section). These slight changes make sense to conclude that the opinion of the transcriber on the distribution of some strokes was not different from Nicolas Trigault’s, but more accurate. No doubt, Antonio Montucci had no choice but to consent to both these adjustments, just as he affirmed in the *Being A Parallel Drawn*,

Accuracy in counting the strokes is an essential requisite to the successful research of Characters in the Chinese Dictionaries arranged by Radicals, or Keys.⁶⁰

It is an important rule that all the Chinese dictionaries had to obey. Like Antonio Montucci had carefully annotated in the *Lyyp* in red pen, there were also his marks and annotations dispersing over the text of the *Lbzp*.

As far as handwritten folios in this *Lbzp* were concerned, it reminds me of another copy of the *XREMZ* in the same library, which however is placed in the Printed Books Department.⁶¹ This copy, entitled “Dictionnaire de la prononciation chinoise et européenne,” is protected by a red hardcover binding and inserted into one box, in which there are other five texts, composed by the missionaries in China or the converted Chinese, and all of them hold two types of the “Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana” seal: one is round and black, the other being elliptical and brown, except that Zhu Zong-yuan 朱宗元 (1609-?)’s *Da kewen* 答客問 (Response to the Questions of one Guest) which has only the round and black one. Seemingly this *Da kewen* had to be excluded from this group of texts, while the other five documents were forming one group. There is no trace of when and who had brought these books to Rome. Maybe they were one part of the missionary texts and were distributed to this library.

The copy *XREMZ* in the Printed Books Department is in poor condition, wrapped as a single volume. Most of the sections are missing. All the folios were disorderly bounded and paginated in pencil with Arabic page numbering from 1 to 159. Therefore I conclude that the pagination occurred much later. The major part of the whole copy comes from the *Lbzp*. Leafing through this copy, we find some handwritten folios. For example, part of the *Bianhua mulu* 邊畫目錄 (Index of Radicals) in the *Lbzp* was transcribed by hand, but the order and the size are equal to those of the printed one. After the *Index*, the handwritten folios are found everywhere in the text of the *Lbzp*. All of them, word by word, line by line, are identical with the originals, except for the fact that the transcriber did not write two

⁶⁰ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, pp.6-7.

⁶¹ BAV, R.G.Oriente.III.289.

groups of the Chinese numbers and Letters of *Western symbols*. As a result, readers who wanted to utilize this copy, would fail to learn pronunciation if they did not already know the Chinese characters. Furthermore, they would not know the meanings, which Nicolas Trigault furnished with two Chinese dictionaries by arguing for the two groups of Chinese numbers. There is no discussion that the transcriber knew Chinese, copying from another, better edition, at least one better edited *Lbzp*. In all probability, the binder and the transcriber were not the same person, but two, for the former did not know the Chinese language, as seen in the *Wanzi zhiyin zongwang* (General Table of Ten Thousand of Direct Sounds) of the *Lbzp*, in which the folios were in reverse order. Maybe, the transcription and the binding took place in different times and, most likely, in different locations as well.

The two copies of the *XREMZ* in the BAV (the one in the Printed Books Department, the other in the Manuscript Department) were restored. It is true to claim that there was some circulation of the *XREMZ* in Europe before Antonio Montucci proclaimed to have discovered his own *XREMZ* in the *Being a Parallel Drawn* in 1817. In comparison to its “forgotten” situation in the seventeenth century, these two copies in the BAV reveal some relationship of the *XREMZ* to the world. Although the extent of the readership of the *XREMZ* is unknown, it was developing in Europe. That is to say, some Europeans had drawn attention to the *XREMZ*, yet the number of the readers might be overlooked.

The survey of the traces left by readers in the two copies will make us think of the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, when some European scholars, who usually did not pertain to any religious order of the Roman Church, devoted themselves to the compilation of Chinese dictionaries and the study of Chinese, because they found that the Jesuits dealt with the Chinese language so little and so far from the needs of the Europeans. These European scholars collected many kinds of Chinese dictionaries, both in terms of manuscript and in terms of print, and studied them. As far as the copy of Montucci was concerned, it was not for studying theory or concepts, because the theoretical introduction *Yysp* was missing. In this respect, this copy offered a model only for editing a Chinese dictionary. This was the role that Antonio Montucci’s *XREMZ* played.

1.2.3 The 1804 Promised Dictionary and the *XREMZ*

Antonio Montucci was meant to compile a dictionary with a method facilitating the acquisition of the Chinese language to the European student. It was intended to comprise two parts: the first part was about the Index of the Chinese characters, arranged by the radicals (*Index of Radicals*); and the second

part was explanatory part, which should be arranged by syllables. In the course of elaborating how to compose a dictionary for the beginner of Europe, he referred to the newly “discovered” *XREMZ*.

The focus of the first part was to create an Index of Radicals. As to help the beginner to find the character as soon as possible, Montucci divided the Chinese character into two parts: radical and the remaining part. With regard to the concept of the “*Radical*” in Chinese, which, as we have discussed in the preceding parts, was identified with the *bian* (“shadow”) in the *XREMZ*, no sound and signification was taken into account. Montucci did the same with the “radical”. He did not hesitate to think that the *bian* 邊 in the *Lbzp*, for the Chinese character *bian* (邊, “side” literally) was “the most appropriate to their nature.” Thus, he called the “radical” the lateral (*bian*), which should be found as being “external,” conspicuous, and detached appearance either on the left or on the right, and either at the top or at the bottom. Like the *bian* 邊 in the *Lbzp*, the “radical” of Antonio Montucci was deprived of signification or sound, as “many Chinese lexicographers have done, and particularly the Authors of the celebrated *TWINS* above described.”⁶² By this, Antonio Montucci fixed the defect that was the bane of the existence to the beginner of Chinese studying from Chinese dictionaries, for example, the *Imperial Dictionary*. This *Dictionary* was commonly accepted by the European compilers of Chinese dictionares. Particularly, the arrangement of Chinese characters according to the 214 radicals interested them, among whom there was Robert Morrison, who had made this system into his promised dictionary. But Antonio Montucci was not content with such an arrangement of the radicals, because in their case the radicals as the elementary characters should be known and remembered previously. He wrote in his *Being a Parallel Drawn*:

The Imperial Dictionary was intended for Natives, not for Foreigners.⁶³

There was no convenience for the European users. Montucci took this sentence as the first Aphorism of his book. After the new definition of the conception *Radical*, he re-arranged the radicals, according to a series of eight rules. This method would make the beginner of Europe avail himself of the *Imperial Dictionary*, as well as of Morrison’s.⁶⁴

Apart from the first part of the *Dictionary*, Montucci planned to write also another part, which was supposed to contain only the explanation of each character. In order to arrange these characters in order,

⁶² Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Drawn*, p.35, p.41; and *Catalogue de M.Antoine Montucci*, in BAV, Borg.Lat.767/Borg.Lat.767, f.238a.

⁶³ Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Drawn*, p.32 and p.62.

⁶⁴ Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Drawn*, pp.51-53.

Antonio Montucci was planning to adopt the Alphabetical order, namely, the syllable and tone. Very soon, another maxim was put by him, who supposed this Aphorism was yet not observed by “our *Sinologi*,”

The Radicals, when significative, give the generic idea of signification to the Character, and the remaining Group gives it its sound.⁶⁵

Therefore, under the same syllable and tone, characters with different radicals were assembled together and, in turn, the European learners could learn more easily the pronunciation. Here the reference of the *Lyyp* of the TWINS was made to help arrange the syllables,

For the accurate Compilation of such a Rhyming Dictionary, no model could be better calculated for the Europeans, than that exhibited, in one of the TWINS above described.⁶⁶

Again, the Twins were used by Antonio Montucci to support his designation of one dictionary, which would far better facilitate the acquisition of Chinese by the European student, in particular the beginner. After each character was arranged in order according to the sound, Montucci divided the space allotted to each character into five unequal columns. Each of them contained different content, including the classical form of this character, all the various forms of each character, and the character “*Literae Adoptivae*,” which had other significations and even pronunciations but to represent the character in question, the explanatory part, and the character “*Literae Synonymae*” were needed.⁶⁷

The two parts of the 1804 planned dictionary: Index of the radicals and the explanatory part, consisted of the whole sketch of Antonio Montucci. He was convinced that with his method the dictionary of the year 1804 would facilitate the European beginners to take advantage of the Chinese dictionary. Obviously, Antonio Montucci had already acquired a knowledge of Chinese language at that time. As for the source of his Chinese knowledge (or knowledge of Chinese literature), he cultivated it from various publications (including a considerable number of dictionaries) of many Europeans and missionaries. It was “a Chain of events so well connected together” – as Montucci observed from the vicissitudes of Chinese literature in Europe – “that every individual engaged in this

⁶⁵ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.55.

⁶⁶ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.55.

⁶⁷ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, pp.56-58.

study ought to profess obligation to his fellow labourers, and particularly to those, who have published works of some use before him.”⁶⁸ For example, French Étienne Fourmont (1683-1745) was able to publish the *Meditationes Sinicae* in 1737, and the *Grammar* in 1742, because he based his knowledge on the publications of Martino Martini, Kircher, Couplet, Francesco Varo, and Bayer. For the same reason, Sir George Thomas Staunton made surprising progress in 1792 in the field of Chinese philology, thanks to these two volumes of Fourmont. In fact, on account of Antonio Montucci’s knowledge of the Chinese language, he had to be indebted to Fourmont, too. For instance, he accepted the latter’s concept of the initial as consonant and of the final as vowel in the Chinese language. In 1817, he applied these two concepts to the brief analysis of the *final* (vowel) and the *initial* (consonant) of the *Lyyp*.⁶⁹ Thanks to these works before him, Antonio Montucci could, in the eyes of George Thomas Staunton, qualify sufficiently for the task of composing one Chinese dictionary even as early as the year 1804.

So, when this copy of the *XREMZ* was brought to Berlin from Paris in 1816, there was no intellectual relationship between the two-volume *XREMZ*, and the 1804 planned dictionary. To measure and understand the importance of the incomplete *XREMZ*, Antonio Montucci, and Klaproth as well, had to resort to the former knowledge gained in past years. Therefore, even after nearly two hundred years of its publication, these two volumes were considered helpful for the composition of one Chinese dictionary. Antonio Montucci even had the intention of making it as a standard, arranged by tones, as we have seen the second part.⁷⁰ Besides, the convergence on the grasp of the *radical* and the *bian* 邊 (shadow) between Trigault and Montucci makes us think of one fact that there was no evident difference between them in compiling a better Chinese dictionary, even if, as we have seen before, they had a completely different social background. Trigault lived in China and relied upon the Chinese materials, the help of the Chinese scholars and of the Jesuit brethren, and this *XREMZ* was dedicated to the Chinese; while Antonio Montucci was living in England and was never in China. The sources he relied upon were the manuscripts of the missionaries, the Chinese dictionaries, and other works composed by the Europeans before him, with the aim to help the beginners of Chinese in Europe.

⁶⁸ Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Drawn*, p.84

⁶⁹ Antonio Montucci, *Being a Parallel Drawn*, p.21, and “*Catalogue de M.Antoine Montucci*”, BAV, Borg.Lat.767/Borg.Lat.767, f.235b.

⁶⁹ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.68.

⁷⁰ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, pp.27-28.

All in all, this was another kind of reception of the TWINS in the eyes of an excellent sinologist: Antonio Montucci, in nineteenth-century Europe, who had taken them as “two curious indexes: the one by Tones, and the other by Radicals.”⁷¹ To be sure, the formation of such reception should not be attributed to the *XREMZ* itself, as far as the lacking of the *Yysp* was concerned, but to the increasing of knowledge of Chinese in Europe. For this reason, Antonio Montucci was able to read it with sympathy, and to produce one similar Chinese dictionary, even at a time when the *XREMZ* had yet to be discovered.

As all the passion for the compilation of the *Dictionary* passed in Antonio Montucci, the story of this copy of the *XREMZ* ended in silence when he gave it, with a bundle of other Chinese books, to Pope Leo XII in 1827. At last, it was transferred to the Vatican. Again, like the copy of the *XREMZ* which was brought by Martino Martini in 1654, the *XREMZ*, after its discovery in 1816, was silenced. When trying to account for the circulation of the *XREMZ*, it was not necessary to the study of Chinese. For the success of a linguistic book, sometimes non-linguistic elements were taken into account. However, its reception, and the readership around it, were obviously completely different. The copy of the *XREMZ* in the seventeenth century of ARSI, which was related closely to the religious activities and a book still “insufficient” as a Chinese dictionary, and the copy of Antonio Montucci in the BAV which had been taken as a good model for the forthcoming European Chinese dictionary in the nineteenth century, both mirror the study of Chinese in Europe. From seventeenth-century Europe to the nineteenth century, Chinese study, while quite limited, was gradually progressing.

2. The *XREMZ* in China

The first readers of the *XREMZ* were the Chinese who had participated in its composition of the *XREMZ*. Some of the Christian readers had rendered it more palatable to other Chinese through the social network they had built, as in the case of Wang-zheng who had taken the *XREMZ* to Beijing by the end of 1626. From then on, along with the circulation of the *XREMZ*, began also the transmission of knowledge, and the reception of the *XREMZ* as well, among the other groups of the readers, that is to

⁷¹ Antonio Montucci, *Being A Parallel Drawn*, p.27.

say, the secular scholars. These two groups, to some degree, defined their own reception of the *XREMZ* in China society.

In general the Christian readers, or the supporters of the *XREMZ*, were inclined to associate the *XREMZ*, as well as other missionary works, with the Learning from Heaven (*tianxue*). Liu-ning 劉凝(? , Courteous name, Er-zhi 二至), a native of Jiangxi Province, and a converted Christian, inserted the preface of Wang Wen-da and of Wang-zheng into his collection *Tianxue jijie* 天學集解 (ca.1680-1700), in which he also included many other Chinese Christian texts.⁷² Liu-ning must have owned, or at least read one copy of the *XREMZ*. All the texts, as a whole, formed the explanation of the Learning from Heaven, as we can see in the title of the collection “*Tianxue jijie*,” in which the *tianxue* 天學 meant “Learning from Heaven,” and the *jijie* 集解 meant “Collection of the Explications.” Thus the *XREMZ* was, in the eyes of Liu-ning, properly used to make clear the Learning from Heaven. Wang-zheng had never considered that what the *XREMZ* was demonstrating were only the *xuyu* 緒余 (resting thing) of Trigault’s learning and thus, less important,

先生學本事天，与吾儒知天畏天，在帝左右之旨無二。同其儕入中國幾三十季矣，名利婚宦事，一切無然，獨嗜學窮理，不知老之將至。所刻實義、畸人、天問、表度諸書，莫不各殫奧妙，而此特先生所獨創。

Your knowledge is helpful to serve Heaven, which has no difference from Confucianism, such as the doctrine of understanding Heaven and of respecting Heaven, and the belief to stay on the left and the right of the god (天帝, *tiandi*). Your colleagues were in China for more than thirty years, regardless of fame, interest, marriage, or office, and were devoted to investigating the Discipline (窮理, *qiongli*), without realizing that old age was fast approaching. The printed *Shiyi* (Matteo Ricci’s *Tianzhu shiyi*), *Jiren* (Matteo Ricci’s *Jiren shipian*), *Tianwen* (Manuel Dias, jr.’s *Tianwen lue*), *Biaodu* (Sabatino de Ursis’s *Biaodu shuo*) all survey this delicate knowledge; and the *XREMZ* is your creation.⁷³

On account of Wang-zheng, the fundamental learning was to serve Heaven, as his companions Matteo Ricci, Manuel Dias, and Sabatino de Ursis had done. These men in China did nothing but *Investigate the Discipline*, one spirit that was highly valued by the Chinese Christians, and that would be

⁷² See Huang Yi-long, *Liangtou she: Mingmo qingchu de diyidai tianzhujiatou* 兩頭蛇: 明末清初的第一代天主教徒 (Two-Headed Snakes: the First Christian Generation among the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006, pp.72-74.

⁷³ Wang-zheng, *Preface to the XREMZ* (1626), in Yysp, pp.19-20 (ff.7a-b).

reevaluated in the twentieth-century China as the source of the modern and scientific spirit, supposedly helping the “backwardness” of China. The *XREMZ* was discussed an object in the field of lexicography (as two copies of the *XREMZ* in the Xujiahui 徐家匯 Library, or Zikawei Library), different from others, but not going beyond this doctrine of the investigation of the discipline. Being the receivers of the *Learning*, these Chinese *literati* harped on the same perception of the Jesuit writings and their other activities. This reception of the *XREMZ* by the Chinese Christians could be identified with the official attitude of the Society of Jesus in China, as we have investigated above in the “*Catalogus Liborum Sinicorum*” of Beijing in 1684.

This reception colored with religious significance was, however, not so evident to the other group of readers: the non-Christians. Qian Qian-yi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) inserted the *XREMZ*, with *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義, *Tianxue chuhan* (First Collection of Learning from Heaven), *Jiaoyou lun* (On Friendship), *Dizhen jie* (On Earthquake), *Qike* (Seven Victories), *Zhifang waiji* (Areas outside the Imperial Geographer) into his *Jiangyunlou shumu* 絳雲樓書目 (Catalogue of Jiangyunlou Library) (ca.1649-1650), and grouped all of them in the “*Tianzhujiao lei*” 天主教類 (Catholicism Division), distinguished it from “*Daozang lei*” 道藏類 (Daoism Division).⁷⁴ But for most of the Chinese readers, the *XREMZ* had nothing to do with religion, and was same in terms of the discipline of the knowledge, except that had been composed by a Westerner.

Wen Ting-shi 文廷式 (1856-1904, courteous name: Yun-ge 芸閣), the native of Pingxiang 萍鄉 in Jiangxi Province, wrote,

金尼閣之說，與各國文字皆不甚相合，蓋用西方拼音之法，而又欲審中國字音，以便於施行。其意欲奪神珙守溫之席矣。然西方音學，亦源於天竺，未見其能勝，故後世亦不復流傳也。

The learning of Jin Ni-ge on language is inconsistent with others. He intends to diffuse his learning by taking advantage of the Western *Pinyin* 拼音 (“Spelled-out Sounds”) method and by investigating the sound of Chinese. He had the intention of taking the place of Shen-gong 神珙 and Shou-wen 守溫 (both of them Buddhist, whose knowledge of the phonology is believed to have originated from India). But the Sound Learning of the West originated from India, so he cannot outdo them (Shen-gong and Shou-wen). Thus, his learning could not be handed down.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Qian Qian-yi, *Jiangyunlou shumu* (XSK, vol.920), p.404.

⁷⁵ Wen Ting-shi, *Chunchangzi zhiyu* 純常子枝語, Yangzhou: Jiangsu guangling guji keyin she, 1990, vol.35, p.543.

Ting-shi was aware of the motive of the *XREMZ* which was to make Chinese sound more compatible with the Western spelling (西方拼音之法, *xifang pinyin zhifa*), but he insisted that Trigault's knowledge, although it sounded unusual, was neither different from others, nor superior to those that had been in China. So he failed to make it popular with Chinese scholars. It was a universal view that the Qing scholars retained the *XREMZ*. For another type of reception, or better still, its importance in the eyes of the Chinese scholars, the *XREMZ* had to wait until the early years of the twentieth century.

2.1 The *XREMZ* before the 20th Century

With a handful of compositions in Chinese, the books of the Jesuits in China began to circulate both inside the converted community and outside the converted communities. For a long time, to read them was viewed as a “fad,” and diffused within the circle of the secular learners,

其所著書，多華人所未道，故一時好異者咸尚之。

The books (composed by the Westerners) usually talked about things unheard of by the Chinese, so they pay close attention to these books.⁷⁶

Among these objects there was the *XREMZ*. Shedding light on the surviving copies of the *XREMZ*, we find some owners who left their personal seal. Some readers had left their marks in red pen on some folios. There is also much writing in which the *XREMZ* is discussed. All of these traces help us to see the readership of the *XREMZ* among Chinese scholars, as well as its reception.

2.1.1 The Owners of the *XREMZ*

Many of the copies of the *XREMZ* were either given one, two, or more seals, as a confirmation of possession. From the different seals it provides an outline of the circulation of the *XREMZ* over the course of time. Recently, I had an opportunity to survey the surviving copies of the *XREMZ* in Taipei and Beijing, and one other copy preserved in the National Library of Congress which can be consulted digitally via the National Library of Taiwan in Taipei. Except that of the *Wusilanben* 烏絲欄本 (Handwritten edition in Black Lined Columns) in the Fusinian 傅斯年 Library, which holds no seal, the other copies comprise have at least one, including two copies of the *XREMZ* originally preserved in the Xujiahui Library. From these copies, (in order to confine the circulation to the Qing Dynasty, I will

⁷⁶ “Italy” in *Mingshi*, vol.326.

not list the seals obviously stamped by the collectors of the twentieth century), I will concentrate on the circulation of the *XREMZ* before the twentieth century.

2.1.1.1 Copy in the *Fusinian* 傅斯年 Library, Taipei

In the Fusinian Library, the copy originally pertaining to Yan Wo-si 嚴我斯 can be found, with the call number “A 423.9 210.” On the recto folio of Nicolas Trigault’s self-preface to the *Yysp*, there are four seals that can be identified from the lower to the upper. They are presented in the following order; “Chiwutang yanshi micang yinji” 尺五堂嚴氏祕藏印記, “Dongfang wenhuashiye zongweiyuanhui suocang tushuyin” 東方文化事業總委員會所藏圖書印, “Fusinian tushuguan” 傅斯年圖書館 and “Shiyusuo shoucang zhenben tushuji” 史語所收藏珍本圖書記.⁷⁷ These four seals appear also in other two volumes. According to the knowledge on the order of the Chinese seal on the publication, the higher the seal given on the same folio, the later the owner. Therefore, the first possessor was Yan Wo-si 嚴我斯 (1629-1698, courteous name: Cun’an 存菴),⁷⁸ and “Chiwutang” 尺五堂 was his private library which was situated in Huzhou 湖州 of Zhejiang. Yan was *ci jinshi jidi* 賜進士及第 (ranked first class in the palace examination) in 1664, and held a high position during the reign of the Great Emperor Kang-xi. Yan never lost his interest in the Western materials. In 1678, a Portuguese diplomat came to Beijing and presented the Emperor Kang-xi with the gift of a lion. Yan recounted it in one of his poems.⁷⁹

After more than two hundred years of silence, this book was included in the “Dongfang wenhua shiye zongweiyuanhui” 東方文化事業總委員會 (General Committee in Oriental Culture), instituted by the Japanese Government in 1925, as one book worthy of being conserved.⁸⁰ In 1945, after the Second World War, this book, with other materials, was confiscated by the Nationalist Government of China and then moved to Shiyusuo 史語所 (Institute of History and Philology) one year later. At the

⁷⁷ Miss Liu Li-jun 劉俐君 and Mr Zhang Jia-rong 張家榮, two librarians of the Fusinian Library, helped me recognize these Chinese seals. I appreciate their kind gesture.

⁷⁸ Biography of Yan Wo-si, see *Gui'an xianzhi* 歸安縣志 (Local History of Gui'an County), 1881, vol.37, ff.2a-3b.

⁷⁹ Yan Wo-si, *Chiwutang shishan chuke* 尺五堂詩刪初刻 (*SKCM*, vol.239), pp.425-426. This event happened in 1678.

⁸⁰ *Zhengli shuoming* 整理說明 (Explication of Edition), in *Xuxiu sikuquanshu zongmu tiyao/jingbu* 續修四庫全書總目提要/經部 (Annotated Catalogue of the Continuing Complete Imperial Library/Classics), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993, p.3.

end of 1948, some books from this collection, together with the Institute of History and Philology, were turned to Taiwan, where they remain to this day.⁸¹

2.1.1.2 Copy in the National Library of Taiwan, Taipei

The copy in the National Library of Taiwan, with the call number “01162.4,” had been in the hands of at least three persons at different times. In the course of the circulation, many of the books went missing, and only several parts of the *Lbzp* were left. The seals were gathered properly from these fragmentary folios. They include: “Huang Daozhou yin” 黃道周印, “Kaiguo shijia” 開國世家, “Lu zhong qi yin” 陸鍾琦印.⁸² “Tanxi” 覃谿, and “Weng Fanggang” 翁方綱.

The seal “Huang Dao-zhou yin” is identified with Huang Dao-zhou 黃道周 (1585-1646, courteous name: Youping 幼平, and Youxuan 幼玄), a native of Zhangpu 漳浦 from Fujian Province. He was very famous for his integrity in politics and his bravery, and for fighting against Wei Zhong-xian and the Manchu military.⁸³ Dao-zhou was also well-known as an expert in the *Book of Change* and Calligraphy. In a large-scale social network, he made friends with Han-lin⁸⁴ and Fang Yi-zhi 方以智. The former was the younger brother of Han-yun; while the latter, as we shall see, had read the *XREMZ* personally. It is evident that Huang was sympathetic towards the Westerns and their writing.

Until now, no information has been found on the seal “Kaiguo shijia” 開國世家 (Aristocratic Family of the State Founder). It seemed to belong to Huang Daozhou, whose ancestor had been the founder of the Tang (618-907) Dynasty. He had therefore used this seal.

Weng Fang-gang 翁方綱 (1733-1818, courteous name: Zhengsan 正三) was the owner of the seals: “Weng Fanggang” and “Tanxi.” Weng was an erudite scholar of his time: in 1752 he gained the degree *jinshi* and was summoned to compile the *Siku quanshu*, working with other scholars from all over the country. Leafing through his *Siku tiyao gao* 四庫提要稿 (Manuscript of Annotated Catalogue of the

⁸¹ Tang Man-yuan 湯蔓媛, *Introduction to the Fusinian tushuguan shanben guji tiba jilu* 傅斯年圖書館善本古籍題跋輯錄 (Collections of the Prefaces in Ancient Books in the Fusinian Library), Taipei, 2008, pp.14-15.

⁸² According to the National Library of Taiwan, it is Ling Zhong-qi 陵鐘琦, see *Guojia tushuguan shanbenshuzhi chugao/jingbu* 國家圖書館善本書志初稿/經部 (Ancient Books in Section “Classics”), Taipei: Guojia tushuguan, 1996, p.309.

⁸³ Hong-si 洪思, *Huang Dao-zhou nianpu* 黃道周年譜 (Chronicle of Huang Dao-zhou), Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1999, p.9.

⁸⁴ Li Huan-yang 李煥揚, Zhang Yu-zhu 張于鑄 ed., *Zhili jiangzhou zhi* 直隸絳州志 (Local History of Jiangzhou), 1879, vol.11.

Complete Imperial Library), his job was to cover all the Four Divisions: *jingbu* 經部 (Classics), *shibu* 史部 (Histories), *zibu* 子部 (Masters), and *jibu* 集部 (Personal Essays). In the section of *Classics*, Fang-gang reviewed a large number of Chinese lexicons. He may well have read the *XREMZ* for his work.

The third owner of the copy is Lu Zhong-qi 陸鐘琦 (1848 – 1911, courteous name: Shen-fu 申甫), a Beijing native. He was conferred the degree of *jinshi* in 1889. In 1911 he was mandated to Shanxi as *xunfu* 巡撫 (Provincial Governor). One month later he was killed at his post by the revolutionaries because of his anti-revolutionary position. After Lu Zhong-qi, this copy was put in the National Central Library of Nanjing, and was later moved to Taiwan at the end of 1948, where its circulation ended.

2.1.1.3 Microfilm Copy, Taipei

The microfilm of this copy was produced by the Palace Museum of Taiwan. Thus it can be consulted digitally in the National Library of Taiwan, and the Fusinian Library as well. Originally, this copy came from the National Library of Beiping 北平 (namely, Beijing) with the seal “Guoli Beiping tushuguan shoucang” 國立北平圖書館收藏. The latter library assigned to it the call number “平 1080 (164).” Just before it came to the Library of Beiping, the famous bibliophile Zheng Zhen-duo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958, courteous name: Xi-di 西諦) had possessed it for a time, with two seals: “Xi-di” 西諦 and “Zheng Zhenduo yin” 鄭振鐸印 being given. But he was not first one to have possession of this copy. It had been in the library of Feng Yun-hao 馮雲濠 (1807-1855, courteous name: Wuqiao 五橋), a native of Cixi 慈溪 in Zhejiang Province. He had his library seals “Cixi Fengshi Zuijingge tuji” 慈溪馮氏醉經閣圖籍 (Books of Fengshi in Zuijingge Building in Cixi) and “Wuqiao jingji” 五橋珍藏 (Rare Collection of Wuqiao) stamped.⁸⁵

2.1.1.4 The Copy in the National Library of China, Beijing

There is a copy of the *XREMZ* in the National Library of China, in Beijing. It holds two seals: “Hanfenlou” 涵芬樓 and “Haiyan Zhangyuanji jingshou” 海鹽張元濟經收. Both belong to the

⁸⁵ *Zhejiang sheng Cixi xianzhi* 浙江省慈溪縣志 (Local History of Cixi County), Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975, vol.3, p.683.

Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 Library in Shanghai, owned by Zhang Yuan-ji 張元濟 (1867-1959, nickname: Ju-sheng 菊生), the famous modern bibliophile of China.

This copy is distinct from other copies probably because many folios of the first volume, *Yysp*, were marked by red brush. The mark indicates a part already read. According to the marks, we know he read Wang-zheng's *Explication*, and marked some lines. He outlined the Chinese names of Western fathers and certain words of that must have interested him when he was reading the self-preface of Nicolas Trigault to the *Yysp*. He also read the rest of the text except the three *Indexes* attached to the end of the *Yysp*. The other two *pu* appeared to be less interesting and were left unread, for the reader left no mark on them.

2.1.1.5 The Copy in the Peking University Library, Beijing

This copy is protected by three hard-paper boxes. Each contains one volume with four pieces cut into it. This copy had been in poor condition, because the preface of Zhang Wen-da, of Wang-zheng, the *Little Preface* of *Lyyp* and of *Lbzp*, and many other pages, were restored and replaced with the handwritten text. Some passages of the first *Yysp*, precisely from f.37a to f.93a, including part of *Wenda of the Lyyp* and of *Sanyun duikao*, were inter-punctuated. The reader seemed to have paid more attention to these parts than to others. In virtue of two personal stamps: “Qizhi zhaoyintang zhang” 憩之趙蔭棠 and “Yintang fufu zhaoshi cangshuyin” 蔭棠夫婦趙氏藏書印, this copy was part of the collection of Zhao Yin-tang 趙蔭棠 (1893-1970, courteous name: Qi-zhi 憩之), a modern Chinese linguist. He was the author of the *Dengyun yuanli* 等韻源流 (*Study on the Learning of Rhyme Division*) and the *Zhongyuan yinyun yanjiu* 中原音韻研究 (*Studies on the Zhongyuan yinyun*). Both are focused on the study of Chinese rhymes. Thanks to the commentary of his mentor Qian Xuan-tong 錢玄同, we now know that Zhao had read the *XREMZ* when he was writing his dissertation *Zhongyuan yinyun yanjiu*, in 1932.⁸⁶

There are no documents to prove that Zhao had transcribed these lost pages and had inter-punctuated these folios. We are not even certain if the copy that Zhao was reading was the same, for other copies could equally be consulted. No doubt, however, Zhao's research coincided with the reader of the inter-punctuation, both of which focused on the part of “Rhyme and Sound.”

⁸⁶ Qian Xuan-tong, *Zhongyuan yinyun yanjiu shenchashu* 中原音韻研究審查書, in Zhao Yin-tang, *Zhongyuan yinyun yanjiu*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1956 (reprinted), p.3.

2.1.1.6 The Copy in the National Library of Congress

One copy of the *XREMZ* was shipped to the National Library of Congress before 1945.⁸⁷ Originally, this copy belonged to Cao-yin 曹寅 (1659-1712, courteous name: You-qing 幼清) before it was given to his maternal nephew Fu Chang-ling 傅昌齡. Thanks to their seals which were found on the first page of Wang-zheng's preface. From the lower to the upper they are "Dongting caoshi" 棟亭曹氏藏書 and "Changbai fucha jinzhai changling tushuyin" 長白敷槎菴齋昌齡圖書印.

Cao-yin had been responsible for the *jiangning zhizao* 江寧織造 of Nanjing, an important bureau which supplied silk and clothing material to the Chinese Royal Family from 1692 to 1712, and also framed a large-scale social network. In his circle of friends were some Westerners. In one poem, he expressed his appreciation of one Guo-ran 郭髯, who came from the Extreme West (泰西, *taixi*) and presented him one ink-stone as a gift.⁸⁸ By means of the *Dongting shumu* 棟亭書目 (Catalogue of Dongting), a number of missionary works, including *Xiyang lishu* 西洋曆書 (Western Books on Calendar), edited by Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Matteo Ricci's *Youlun* 友論 (or better known as *Jiaoyou lun* 交友論) (On Friendship), and a series of missionary astronomical books, were collected.⁸⁹ Later, Cao-yin's collections were conveyed to Fu Chang-ling 傅昌齡 (courteous name Fucha 敷槎, nickname Jinzhai 菴齋), the holder of the seal "Changbai fucha jinzhai changling tushuyin." Fu Chang-ling had inherited one rich Qianyitang 謙益堂 library from his father. Because of the impoverishment of the family, Chang-ling had to sell his collection. Perhaps the *XREMZ* was sold, entered the book market, and was brought to America.

Among the owners of the *XREMZ*, except Zhao Yin-tang, who purchased the *XREMZ* for the purpose of its study, other holders, as seen in Yan Wo-si and Cao-yin, were most likely to be attracted to it as novelties of the Extreme West. One copy, traveling among various owners in different periods, testifies to the continuous circulation of the *XREMZ* in China, even though it sometimes remained in silence, as if it had less attraction for the Chinese readers, and even though we are not sure whether all

⁸⁷ See Wang Chong-min 王重民, *Zhongguo shanbenshu tiyao* 中國善本書目提要 (A Descriptive Catalogue of Rare Chinese Books), Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1984, p.70.

⁸⁸ Cao-yin, *Yanshan ge* 硯山歌 (Song for Ink-stone Mountain), in Cao-yin, *Dongting ji* 棟亭集 (Collection of Dongting), Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978, vol.1, pp.197-198; vol.2, pp.685-686.

⁸⁹ Cao-yin, *Dongting shumu*, in *Zhongguo zhuming cangshujia shumu huikan* 中國著名藏書家書目彙刊, Beijing, Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005, vol.15, pp.128-131, p.348.

of the holders had read it. The book's circulation provided the only possibility for the transmission of its knowledge for some readers, such as those who had left the inter-punctuation, the marks in red brush on some copies, and the handwritten *Wusilanben* (Handwritten edition in Black Lined Columns). They had read the book of Nicolas Trigault, preferring the theory relative to the knowledge of rhyme and sound, and overlooking the content concerning the *Lbzp*. Such kind of tendency becomes far more manifest as we investigate the discussions of some Chinese scholars on the *XREMZ*.

2.1.2 The Qing Scholars' *XREMZ*: A Rhyme Book

Besides these collectors of the *XREMZ*, there was a group of Chinese readers who have read and left their comments on this book. Among these readers are Fang Yi-zhi 方以智, Fang Zhong-lv 方中履, Yang Xuan-qi 楊選杞, Wang Shi-han 王師韓, Xiong Shi-bo 熊士伯, Zhou-chun 周春, and the aforementioned Wen Ting-shi. In fact, the scale of the readership would be extended if we include those who had left their marks on the surviving copies, although we are unable to know their true reaction toward the *XREMZ*, negative or positive, which were two attitudes adopted very often by these Chinese readers.

2.1.2.1 Fang Yi-zhi 方以智 and Fang Zhong-lv 方中履

Fang Yi-zhi 方以智 (1611-1671, courteous name: Mi-zhi 密之) seemed to be one of the earliest readers of the *XREMZ*. In 1634, he completed one *Xiyu xinbi* 膝寓信筆, a book recounting his daily life in Nanjing.⁹⁰ In this book the *XREMZ* was mentioned, as captured in the following quote,

今日得西儒耳目資，是金尼閣所著。字父十五，母五十。有甚次中三標，清濁上去入五轉，是可以證明吾之等切。

Today, I got Jin Ni-ge's *XREMZ*. In this book there are fifteen "father words," fifty "mother words"; three codas in the finals: sharp, round, and middle; five tone-turnings: *clear-even*, *clear-muddy*, *rising*, *departing*, *entering*. This is useful to prove my study on the rhyme divisions.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬, *Preface to the Fang Yi-zhi quanshu diyice* 方以智全書第一冊 (Completions of Fang Yi-zhi, vol.1), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988, pp.1-97, particularly pp.36-37.

⁹¹ *Xiyu xinbi*, in Fang Chang-han 方昌瀚, *Tongcheng Fangshi Qidai Yishu* 桐城方氏七代遺書 (1888), f.19. Fang Yi-zhi mentioned Nicolas Trigault in the *Wuli xiaozhi* 物理小識, finished around in 1643, and he seemed to have known the scientific knowledge of Nicolas Trigault, see *Wuli xiaoshi* (SK, vol.867), vol.2, f.42a.

So Fang Yi-zhi must have read the *XREMZ* in the same year, or before. The aforementioned study on the rhyme division is reflected in his *Tongya* 通雅, a panorama work spanning almost thirty years, from 1637 to 1666, and is seen particularly in the chapter of the *Qieyun shengyuan* 切韻聲原. Fang Yi-zhi used some concepts of the *XREMZ*, for example, the five tones (*clear-even*, *clear-muddy*, *rising*, *departing*, *entering*) to prove his own five tones. By comparing the book of Nicolas Trigault to other rhyme books, Fang Yi-zhi did not exclude the *XREMZ* from the field of the study on the rhyme division.⁹² Such perception of the *XREMZ* was also found in the work of many later scholars. Among others there was Fang Zhong-lv 方中履, the son of Fang Yi-zhi.

Fang Zhong-lv (1638-1686?) was the author of the *Gujin shiyi* 古今釋疑, a book aimed at alleviating the doubts of the past. It was prepared before 1677. Two years later, he added a piece of self-preface. In 1682, this book was put in print.⁹³ According to the preface, Fang Zhong-lv may have read the *XREMZ* at the age of 20, that is, in 1658.⁹⁴ Like his father, Fang Zhong-lv held sympathy for the *XREMZ*. In discussing the arrangement of the initials, he said that Nicolas Trigault had placed the “ㄚ” (*ya*) at the beginning of the rhyme *table*, and thought that Trigault’s choice was made because he was still unfamiliar with the rhyme learning of China. A criticism had already been sustained by his father. Behind the critical reflections, there are different treatments of the “ㄚ” (*ya*) between Nicolas Trigault, and Fang Zhong-lv and his father.⁹⁵ The “ㄚ” (*ya*) was defined as *final* in the *XREMZ*, rather than *initial*, as Fang Zhong-lv maintained, even if Fang Zhong-lv had been aware of the fact that the “ㄚ” (*ya*) belonged to the *final*.⁹⁶ Besides, Fang Zhong-lv also supported the method of Nicolas Trigault on the *fanqie* spelling, the five tones, and the three codas of the finals, but all of them were interpreted through the concepts he learned from his father and the relative knowledge from the text of China.⁹⁷ Clearly, Fang Zhong-lv was not prepared for the acceptance of the concepts of these phonemes that Nicolas Trigault was defining in the *XREMZ*.

⁹² Fang Yi-zhi, *Ziyun lun* 字韻論 (On Rhyme), in *Tongya*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988, vol.50, pp.1500-1506.

⁹³ Yu Ying-shih, *Fang Yi-zhi wanjie kao* 方以智晚節攷 (Fang Yi-zhi’s Last Stage), Beijing: Sanlian chubanshe, 2004, p. 100 and p.115.

⁹⁴ Fang Zhong-lv, *Self-preface*, in *Gujin shiyi* (XSK, vol.1145), pp.20-21.

⁹⁵ Fang Zhong-lv, *Gujin shiyi*, pp.425-427, and Fang Yi-zhi, *Tongya*, vol.50, p.1474.

⁹⁶ Fang Zhong-lv, *Gujin shiyi*, p.428.

⁹⁷ Fang Zhong-lv, *Gujin shiyi*, pp.436-437, p.442, p.444.

Later on, Fang Zhong-lv's discussion about the rhyme learning was made by Zhang-chao 張潮 (1650-?) in his collection *Zhaodai congshu* 昭代叢書, with the title *Qiezi shiyi* 切字釋疑 (Explication of the fanqie Spelling).⁹⁸ By looking into this title Zhang-chao also read the *XREMZ* as a book concerning the learning of rhyme and sound, no different from Fang Yi-zhi and Fang Zhong-lv.

2.1.2.2 Yang Xuan-qi 楊選杞

Yang Xuan-qi and his story with the *XREMZ* started when he was residing in the house of Wu Qi-weng 吳期翁 in 1651. One day, Wu Yun-zhang 吳芸章, the son of Wu Qi-weng, displayed for Yang Xuan-qi the *XREMZ*. The latter was attracted by it.

予閱未終卷，頓悟切字有一定之理，因可為一定之法。為集胼肢外數章，以存其書之大指，並志予觀書之有得。

Even if I have not finished reading, I have realized that there is a certain “principle of the *fanqie spelling*,” which can be observed as a law. And I have transcribed some chapters so that I could conserve the main idea of this book. I have recorded the inspiration that I have obtained from it.⁹⁹

Several years later, he composed a rhyme book, entitled *Shengyun tongran ji* 聲韻同然集 in the house of Li-ping 李平, of Zhejiang Province, between 1658 and 1659. He may have incorporated the “principle of the *fanqie spelling*” into this book. According to the introduction of Luo Chang-pei, Xuan-qi, as many Chinese scholars had done, concentrated on the learning of rhyme and sound. Inspired by Trigault's three codas in the finals, Yang Xuan-qi also coined three corresponding terms: *hong* 宏 (“vast”), *zhong* 中 (“middle”), *xi* 細 (“thin”) and used them for both *finals* and *initials*.¹⁰⁰ The imitation and modification were also applied to the *Yinyun huotu* 音韻活圖 (Wheel of Sounds and Rhymes), of Nicolas Trigault. Taking it as a model, Yang Xuan-qi designated his rhyme wheel *Tongran zongpan* 同然總盤 (General Wheel of the Same Rhymes and Sounds). To fill the blank cells, Yang Xuan-qi used Chinese characters, instead of Latin letters, which were essential to Nicolas Trigault's *Wheel of Sound and Rhyme*. As a consequence, Yang Xuan-qi's design could not facilitate

⁹⁸ Yu Ying-shih, *Fang Yi-zhi wanjie kao*, p.126.

⁹⁹ Luo Chang-pei, *Shengyun tongran ji cangao ba* 聲韻同然集殘稿跋 (Illustration of the Torn *Shengyun tongran ji*), in *Luo Chang-pei*, p.498.

¹⁰⁰ Luo Chang-pei, *Shengyun tongran ji cangao ba*, in *Luo Chang-pei*, p.499-500.

the *fanqie spelling* at all, in spite of the fact that he was certain that the work of Nicolas Trigault was attainable for the improvement of the traditional *fanqie spelling* in China.¹⁰¹ But he failed to take advantage of the method, including the use of Latin letters.

2.1.2.3 Zhou-chun 周春, Xiong Shi-bo 熊士伯, and Wang Shi-han 汪師韓

Zhou-chun (1729-1815, courteous name, Tun-xi 菴兮), an erudite scholar in many fields, was a native of Zhejiang Province. In his *Xiaoxue yulun* 小學餘論 (Remnants of the Lesser Learning), which was later inserted into *Zhou Song-ai xiansheng yishu* 周松靄先生遺書 (Collections of Mr.Zhou Song-ai), Zhou-chun was fiercely opposed to Nicolas Trigault's study on the rhymes and sounds of Chinese.

明季西人金尼閣竊等韻之緒余，撰列音韻譜，究不過得其粗者，...又讀字悉依中原音，且有依其國土音者，而古音且盡廢矣。于字母外，更造字父字孫之說，尤爲不典。

The Westerner Jin Ni-ge had stolen a piece of the learning of the rhyme division, as to have completed his *Lie yin yun pu* at the end of the Ming Dynasty. But what he obtained is quite inexact...Moreover, he pronounced each Chinese character according to the sound of Central China [referring to the *Hongwu zhengyun*], and sometimes according to the sound of his native land. All the ancient sounds were abandoned. How ridiculous and shameful to have emphasized the *zifu* (“father words”) and the *zusun* (“grandson words”), more than the word mother.¹⁰²

Zhou-chun was likely to have only one *Lyyp* in hand. Naturally, his comments were focused on the rhymes and sounds. Distinct from others, Zhou-chun disapproved of Trigault's study. For him, the *Lyyp* was nothing but the remnant of the learning of the rhyme division of China. It was agreed that Nicolas Trigault used the concept of the *zimu* 字母 (“mothers of characters,” a concept from the standpoint of the Chinese rhyme knowledge) properly because this concept was used in the Chinese rhyme book. But Zhou-chun refused the concepts of “father words” and “grandson words,” two concepts invented by Nicolas Trigault.

Xiong Shi-bo came from Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi Province. Before 1709, he had completed his *Dengqie yuansheng* 等切元聲, one multi-volume book concerning the study of the rhymes and

¹⁰¹ Luo Chang-pei, *Shengyun tongran ji cangao ba*, in *Luo Chang-pei*, p.501.

¹⁰² Zhou-chun, *Xiaoxue yulun*, vol.11. in *Zhou Song-ai xiansheng yishu* (1804?), f.11a-b.

sounds, in which the *XREMZ* was individuated and examined in its eighth volume.¹⁰³ At the beginning of this volume he reported his intentions,

耳目資者，泰西金尼閣，字四表者，所著也。以泰西而詳於音韻，見絕域人心之靈。以西儒而精攷中華之文，見四表用心之巧。惟是切韻一道，經中華歷代賢哲之釐定，固有至理寓乎其中，知者絕少。因其不知，[...]。予潛心有年，頗識其理，不敢沒所長，亦不敢徇所短，為之平心，一一論定，惜不能起四表而質之。

Jin Ni-ge, of the Extreme West, has a courteous name: Si-biao and is the author of the *Er Mu Zi*. As a man from the Extreme West, he was good at the Learning of sound and rhyme, rendering visible the ingenious mind of the man from the distant quarters. Being a Western *literator*, he excellently mastered Chinese characters, showing his intelligent. Pitifully he did not have knowledge of the *fanqie spelling*. This has been studied by many Chinese scholars and it is unquestionably true. Because of his ignorance, [...]. I have engaged in this study for many years and have learned some principles. Therefore, I dare not overlook his advantage, nor defend his disadvantage, but evaluate his study calmly. How pitiful that I cannot question him personally.¹⁰⁴

In this brief description, Xiong Shi-bo very quickly introduced the knowledge background of Nicolas Trigault. As for Trigault's study of Chinese, Xiong Shi-bo was not convinced that Trigault had outdone the Chinese scholars in the field of the *fanqie spelling*. Although Xiong Shi-bo said his attitude toward the learning would be neutral, he had taken the book of Nicolas Trigault, just like other Chinese scholars, as an insufficient rhyme book. For him, the *fanqie spelling* was a native study that had been well developed in China.

Wang Shi-han (1707-1780, courteous name: Shu-huai 抒懷) was a native of Qiantang 錢塘 in Hangzhou. He made reference to the *XREMZ*. Wang Shi-han thought that the five finals: ㄚ (ya), 額 (e), 衣 (yi), 阿 (a), 烏 (wu) in the *XREMZ* coincided with the five rhymes in the syllable of the Manchu language. Different from Trigault, who had attributed both *finals* and *initials* to *yuanyin* 元音

¹⁰³ Besides, Xiong Shi-bo had mention of Nicolas Trigault in the ninth volume, when discussing the syllables of Manchu language, see Xiong Shi-bo, *Dengqie yuansheng* (XSK, vol.258), vol.9.

¹⁰⁴ Xiong Shi-bo, *Dengqie yuansheng* (XSK, Vol.258), vol.9.

(“primordial sound”), Wang Shi-han perceived these five, elements of the syllable of the Manchu language, as *yuanyin*.¹⁰⁵

It is true to claim that the *XREMZ* had drawn the attention of the Chinese, and was read by some Chinese scholars during its circulation there. These readers of the *XREMZ* above, as a whole, composed its readership throughout the whole Qing Dynasty. Their inclination was clear and undoubted, as focusing on only the part of the rhymes and sounds. Not all of them agreed with the learning of Nicolas Trigault. But all of them considered the *XREMZ* a rhyme book, and measured it, and its variant concepts against the knowledge of the rhyme, that the readers of the Qing Dynasty had been taught and had accumulated previously as a form of native learning. Hence they made use of the terms from the Chinese rhyme books, rather than the terms of Nicolas Trigault, when treating his study on rhyme. The above mentioned Yang Xuan-qi claimed to have understood the *fanqie spelling* of the *XREMZ*, and became conscious of the necessity of the reformation of the *fanqie spelling* in China. He, and other scholars as well, were reluctant to put the method of Nicolas Trigault in practice.¹⁰⁶ Theoretically, he sided with the study of Trigault, but abandoned it in practice, without taking into account the Latin letters that were essential to the reformation of the *fanqie spelling* in China.

The time-span of its circulation in the Qing Dynasty, the diffusion of the *XREMZ* among the Chinese scholars, and the recognition of some terms all implied that the Chinese readers took a closer look at the book of Nicolas Trigault. There would have been the transmission of the knowledge that Nicolas Trigault had intended to present to the Chinese. But he did not succeed at that time. There was no reception of the knowledge of the *fanqie spelling* in the form of Latin letters among the Qing scholars.

Yet the political situation would impact the Jesuit activity. Giorgio Cacashia believed that the Qing scholars missed the opportunity of rendering the *XREMZ* into an alphabetical dictionary for two reasons. Firstly is “the deeply-rooted unwillingness to stress the unsatisfactory sides of the traditional characters,” and secondly the establishment of the Manchu government in 1644. Thus, the scholars did

¹⁰⁵ Wang Shi-han, *Hanmen zhuixue xubian* 韓門綴學續編 (*XSK*, Vol.1147), p.533.

¹⁰⁶ Luo Chang-pei, *Self-preface*, in *Hanyu pingyin zimu yanjinshi* 漢語字母拼音演進史 (History of the Chinese Phoneticization), in *Luo Chang-pei wenji* 羅常培文集 (Collections of Luo Chang-pei), Ji'nan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999, vol.3, pp.4-5.

not dare imitate this method.¹⁰⁷ But the extent to which the political situation had impacted the missionary text was doubtful. More evidence is drawn from the registration of the *XREMZ* in the *SKZM*, as a *yunshu* 韻書 (rhyme book).¹⁰⁸ Being a rhyme book (*yunshu*) and being prepared for the use of interpretation,¹⁰⁹ the registration of the imperial editor became an official standpoint of the *XREMZ* at the national level. Two centuries later, as we see from the copy of the *XREMZ* in the form of the microfilm in Taiwan, originally in the National Library of Beiping, it was treated just as the imperial editor had treated it.

Moreover, the significance of the *XREMZ* in the *SKZM* should be understood to a larger extent, in which the missionary texts were re-valuated by these imperial compilers from from Sinocentric standpoint. Besides the *XREMZ*, many other missionaries' works were included in the *SKZM*. On account of them the imperial editors spoke out frankly,

外國之作，前史罕載。然既歸王化，即屬外臣，不必分疆絕界....

Writings of the foreigners were hardly preserved in previous dynasties. Since they have observed the teaching of the Son of the Heaven, they are called vassals. There is no boundary [between us and them]....

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In a self-delusion, all of the foreign compositions found their proper interpretation, based on the context of Chinese culture. In speaking of the “father words” (*zifu*), “mother words” (*zimu*), and “son words” (*zizi*), the editors of the *SKZM* found the corresponding terms in the study on the rhymes (韻學, *yunxue*) in China: initials, finals and syllables.¹¹¹ For these Chinese readers, the *XREMZ* was on par with a rhyme book, supplementary to the same knowledge of China. They did not realize that Trigault's *XREMZ*, even if part of it was basically a rhyme book, was a reformation of the Chinese rhyme book by relying on Latin letters.

Such reaction by the Chinese readers to the *XREMZ* could be interpreted by some Chinese as their own arrogance. Before the *XREMZ* was issued, Wang-zheng had already worried that his contemporaries would overlook the fifty innovations that the *XREMZ* had contained, because of their

¹⁰⁷ Giorgio Casachia, *The Xi Ru Er Mu Zi by Nicolas Trigault: A Missed Opportunity to Have Dictionaries Alphabetically Arranged in Ming China*, in *Ming Qing Yanjiu*, 1994, pp.9-17, in particular p.10.

¹⁰⁸ See *SKZM*, p.598. But the *XREMZ* in the *SKZM* was treated as *cunmu* 存目, “titles were worthy of being preserved, but texts were not necessary to be preserved in the Complete Imperial Library”.

¹⁰⁹ See *SKZM*, p.598.

¹¹⁰ *Illustration*, vol.3, in *SKZM*, p.33.

¹¹¹ See *SKZM*, p.598.

said arrogance.¹¹² Unfortunately, the attitude of the Qing scholars towards this book would not be likely satisfy him. There was no ground for receiving the word learning of Trigault and thus, no ground for Latin letters. Between 1837 and 1844, before Qian Xi-zuo 錢熙祚 reprinted the copy of the *Qiqi tushuo* (Illustration of the Wonderful Machines), he changed some symbols in this book. He replaced all the symbols of Latin alphabet that was employed by Wang-zheng with Chinese characters, for example, *jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, as to indicate a diagonal and so forth.¹¹³

In the struggle of opposite standpoints in the perception of one book (or new knowledge), the scholars of the Qing Dynasty vanquished the supporters of the *XREMZ*, and the Learning from Heaven as well. Until the collapse of traditional Chinese society and re-arrival of the Western Learning, their dominant position would never be questioned. After that, the reception of the *XREMZ* would be remoulded by Chinese scholars, while Nicolas Trigault's rhyme book and its meaning would be re-evaluated.

2.2 The *XREMZ* in the 20th Century

In 1933, together with the National Library of Beiping and the Peking University Library, Liu-Fu 劉復 (1891-1934), better known as Liu Ban-nong 劉半農, re-published the *XREMZ* in Beijing. It was the first time in history that the *XREMZ* had been reprinted. The motivation for its reprinting seemed to be quite technical, because Nicolas Trigault had found a method to represent the sounds of Chinese in the form of Romanization, which was quicker and easier than the *fanqie spelling* of China.¹¹⁴ We have heard a similar praise for the *XREMZ* from Wang-zheng and other Chinese scholars of the Qing Dynasty. It is evident that the perception of the *XREMZ* by these Chinese scholars, through the era of Liu Ban-nong coincided. But such agreement between them deserves to be examined against a broader social context and background. They lived in different societies, in which the same *XREMZ*, both from the textual point of view and from the conceptual point of view, possessed a different meaning. The scholars of the twentieth century were in search of a method of Romanization, and that of the *XREMZ* was an excellent model.¹¹⁵ Such being the case, this book needed to be reprinted, as few extant copies were available at that time.

¹¹² Wang-zheng, *Explication*, in *Yyyp*, p.45 (f.5a).

¹¹³ Fang-hao, *Ladingwen chuanru zhongguo kao*, in Fang-hao, *Liushi ziding gao*, Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1969, vol.1, pp.1-38, especially, p.3.

¹¹⁴ Liu-fu, *Postscript*, in *Lyzp*, pp.319-320.

¹¹⁵ Liu-fu, *Postscript*, in *Lyzp*, p.320.

It is not sure whether the passion of Chinese scholars for the *XREMZ* was inspired by Luo Chang-pei and his *Yesuishi zai yinyunxueshang de gongxian* 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻 (Contributions of Jesuits to Phonology of the Chinese Language), which was published in 1929 in Beijing. But he did confer a different image to the *XREMZ*. In his very long research paper, Luo Chang-pei summed up three contributions of the *XREMZ* to the rhyme learning of Chinese: 1) to make use of Latin letters as the symbols of the sounds; 2) to be a source for the study of the Sound Value (音值, *yinzhi*) of Chinese at the end of the Ming Dynasty; 3) to open a new door for the study of Chinese phonology by the introduction of Latin scripts.¹¹⁶ Except for the second point, the other two focused on Romanization, a topic that had already been hotly debated. Luo Chang-pei made the *XREMZ* part of the history of the Romanization in China,

如果要推測國語羅馬字或北方話拉丁化的來源，西字奇跡和西儒耳目資要算是最初的濫觴了。

In China, the origin of the Romanization of the National Language or the Latinization of Northern Mandarin should be traced back to the *Xizi qiji*, and to the *XREMZ*.¹¹⁷

Trigault's book was perceived differently by Luo than by those arrogant scholars of the Qing Dynasty.¹¹⁸ It was not merely a rhyme book, as all the Chinese linguists had defined it, but also a book that for the first time Latinized Chinese. The latter aspect had been seriously overlooked by the Qing scholars.

It is noteworthy, however, that there was no intellectual heritage between the works of the two missionaries, and the Romanization of National Language (國語, *guoyu*), the standard Chinese with the nationally unified pronunciation, because the latter had been accomplished one year previously. On 26 September 1928, the Chinese Minister of Education of China had promulgated the “Guoyu luomazi pinyin fang’an” (國語羅馬字拼音方案, *Project of the Romanization of the National Language*). Liu Ban-nong, Qian Xuan-tong 錢玄同 (1887-1939), Chao Yuen Ren (1892-1982) and Li Jin-xi 黎錦熙 (1890-1978), three celebrated linguists of that time who were the main facilitators of this project, had

¹¹⁶ Luo Chang-pei, *Yesuishi zai yinyunxueshang de gongxian*, in *Luo Chang-pei*, pp.251-358.

¹¹⁷ Luo Chang-pei, *Hanyu yinyunxue de wailai yingxiang* 漢語音韻學的外來影響 (Foreign Impact on the Phonology of Chinese), in *Luo Chang-pei*, p.364.

¹¹⁸ Liu-fu, *Postscript*, in *Lyzp*, p.318. The original text is “苟吾國學人，早能虛心來納，恐三百年來，清儒論韻，造詣之深，當非今日所能意象” (If the Scholars [of China] had been modest enough to accept [the Rhyme Learning of the *XREMZ*], the accomplishment that the Scholars of the Qing Dynasty in the rhyme learning would have done so greatly that it could not be imagined, not even today).

the aim to replace Chinese characters with a Romanization of Chinese. The above mentioned Luo Chang-pei did not take part in this project, but he supported the Romanization Movement. He even expressed his opinion publicly, in a preface to the *History of the National Language Movement* (1930):

談到文字改革的問題,我到現在還主張用註音符號輔助漢字的讀音,用國語羅馬字創造未來的新文字。As far as the reform of the Chinese language is concerned, I am an advocate of employing the Mandarin phonetic symbols (註音符號, *zhuyin fuhao*) to help to spell Chinese characters. Meanwhile, I agree to create new Chinese letters through the Romanization of Chinese.¹¹⁹

The Jesuits in China had sowed the seeds of the Romanization, as he concluded at the end of his article.¹²⁰ After more than three hundred years of disregard, the XREMZ finally found its recognition from a society in which some scholars were trying to reform the Chinese language. The XREMZ was connected with the modern history of China: these scholars were convinced that such a reform could help Chinese society, which was in cultural crisis in the 1920s.

This is a story that can be traced back to the year 1840 when the British broke down the tightly shut door of the Qing Dynasty with their warships. After their victory in the First Opium War (1840-1842), and the defeats of the Qing Dynasty against the Europeans, Americans, and later the Japanese, the ever-arrogant and close-minded Chinese faced the new world and gradually began a process of de-isolation. Ever more Chinese intellectuals began to reflect on their society and tried to save it from its seeming backwardness. Some of them paid attention to popular education, But the Chinese language had prevented the common people from receiving it. Lu Gang-zhang 盧戇章 (1854-1928), from Xia'men 廈門 in Southeast China, in his *Yimu liaoran chujie* 一目了然初階 (Catch a Quick Glance)(1892) pointed out frankly,

中國字, 或[]是當今普天之下之字之至難。

Chinese characters could be considered the most difficult letters in the world.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Luo Chang-pei, *Preface to the Guoyin zimu yanjinshi* 漢語拼音字母演進史 (History of the Chinese Phoneticization), in *Luo Chang-pei wenji* 羅常培文集 (Collections of Luo Chang-pei), Ji'nan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999, vol.3, f.5.

¹²⁰ Luo Chang-pei, *Yesuhiishi zai yinyunxueshang de gongxian*, in *Luo Chang-pei*, p.309.

¹²¹ Lu Gang-zhang, *Preface*, in *Yimuliaoran chujie*, Beijing, Wenzhi gaige chubanshe, 1956, p.2 (f.1).

The Chinese people had to spend a lot of time learning the language before they were able to learn the practical studies (實學, *shixue*), such as mathematics, chemistry, and physics, which were thought to be able to save China from weakness and poverty.¹²² The reform of the Chinese characters was one of the necessary tasks they had to accomplish. To reach this goal, Lu Gang-zhang composed the mentioned *Yimu liaoran chujie*. In this book, he proposed to reform the traditional Chinese spelling, by replacing it with a new system of letters, which he had invented on the basis of Latin letters. This new method, called *Qieyin* 切音/*Pinyin* 拼音, consisted in transcribing the sound of Chinese characters into “alphabetical” ones, just as missionaries Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault in China had transcribed them into Latin letters, with the aim to indicate the sounds of Chinese more easily. Lu Gang-zhang was the first Chinese to apply in practice the *Pinyin* for the study of the Chinese language,¹²³ but failed, because of the many drawbacks to his overly-complex system. Nevertheless, the reason to reform the Chinese language by relating it to the country’s fate did not lack resonance among his contemporaries, and for future innovators.

Some of them went further in dealing with the reform of the Chinese language, in particular after the so-called Revolution of 1911. The revolution did not produce the ideal society expected by its supporters.¹²⁴ The young Republic, born in 1912, would collapse, if there were not to be another kind of revolution: as Qian Xuan-tong put it, a *lunli geming* 倫理革命 (moral revolution).¹²⁵ Its essence was to read Chinese tradition of the “disease” rooted in Confucian doctrines. These reformers of the Chinese language realized that to confine the reform to the method of making sound was not enough. They hoped to abolish Chinese characters, and to replace them with Latin ones, for they saw Chinese characters as a vehicle for Confucianism that would transmit its doctrines to the younger generations. In his famous article *Zhongguo jinhou wenzi wenti* 中國今後之文字問題 (Question of the Chinese language in the future), dated 15 April 1918, Qian Xuan-tong, as one of leading figures of the “New Culture” Movement (新文化, *xinwenhua*), expressed such an attitude toward the reform of the Chinese language.¹²⁶ This attitude was never seen in the case of Lu Gang-zhang, but it faithfully reflected the thinking of the men of the “New Culture” Movement and their attitude toward Chinese history, and its culture. They fought against all traditional culture, all traditional thought, and most importantly, against

¹²² Lu Gang-zhang, *Preface*, in *Yimuliaoran chujie*, Beijing, *Wenzi gaige chubanshe*, 1956, p.3 (f.2).

¹²³ So far, there had been Song-su 宋恕 who was the first one to put the *Qieyin* in theory in 1891, see

¹²⁴ Benjamin I.Schwartz, *Themes in Intellectual History: May Fourth and after*, in John K.Fairbank, ed., *The Cambridge History of China: Republican China 1912-1949, Part I*, Cambridge University Press, 1983, volume.12, p.419.

¹²⁵ Qian Xuan-tong, *Zhongguo jinhou wenzi wenti*, in *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 (New Youth), 15 April 1918, vol.4, no.4.

¹²⁶ Qian Xuan-tong, *Zhongguo jinhou wenzi wenti*, in *Xin Qingnian*, 15 April 1918, vol.4, no.4.

Confucianism. They strove to introduce new conceptions of equality, humanity and more scientific knowledge from Europe, America and Japan, in order to build a new country and a new society.¹²⁷

For the men of the “New Culture” Movement, Chinese characters conveyed only superstitious beliefs, such as degenerated Daoism and Confucianism, but could not assume the role of the transmission of new knowledge from the West. In a word, Chinese characters had to be abandoned. To take the place of Chinese characters, Qian Xuan-tong chose Esperanto as the last solution. But he also allowed the limited use of Chinese, and one foreign language; for example, English or French, as the solution for this transitional era. Interestingly, but not insignificantly, Chen Du-xiu 陳獨秀 (1879-1942), the editorialist of the magazine *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 (New Youth) and a leading figure of the “New Culture” Movement, firmly refuted the proposal of Qian Xuan-tong. He preferred to replace Chinese characters with their Romanized equivalents, siding with other well-known figures of that time, such as Cai Yuan-pei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), Fu Si-nian 傅斯年 (1896-1950), Hu-shih 胡適 (1891-1962), and Chao Yuen Ren. Years later, Qian Xuan-tong himself recanted his previous views, and embraced the Romanization of Chinese.¹²⁸ In 1925, the above-mentioned Liu-fu founded the Society of Several Members (數人會, *shuren hui*) in Beijing, with the aim to draw up a project for the Romanization of the National Language (國語羅馬字拼音方案). In this society were also Qian Xuan-tong and Chao Yuen Ren, as well as other supporters of the movement. Three years later, in 1928, they finished the above-mentioned *Project of the Romanization of the National Language*.

In 1929, when Luo Chang-pei issued his article on the contributions of the *XREMZ* to rhyme learning, he was influenced by this social movement. In spite of the fact that the *XREMZ* had nothing to do with the history of Chinese Romanization, from 1892 when Lu Gang-zhang published his *Yimu liaoran chujie* to the 1928 *Project of the Romanization of the National Language*, it was made a part of its history, in which the Romanization of Chinese was given a new significance. Just as Luo Chang-pei explained why he had written the *History of the Chinese Phoneticization* (first edition in 1930, and revised edition in 1934),

¹²⁷ Guo Ting-yi 郭廷以, *Jindai zhongguoshigang* 近代中國史綱 (The History of Modern China), Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1979, 1980, 1986, pp.490-491.

¹²⁸ Qian Xuan-tong, *Zhongguo jinhou wenzi wenti*, in *Xin Qingnian*, 15 April 1918, vol.4, no.4. Liu Zhen-ping 劉振平, *Guoyu luomazi pinyin fanshi zhiding Beijing kaosuo* 國語羅馬字拼音法式制定背景考索 (Background of the Romanization of the National Language), in *Journal of Xinyang Normal University*, vol.32, no.2, 2012, pp.65-71.

我們如果承認國音字母對於文化推進跟教育普及上有相當的貢獻，我們就不能漠視這一段史實，不能埋沒這些前驅者的功績。

If we acknowledge the fact that the Romanization of the National Language is helpful for the progress of culture and of popular education, we ought not to overlook this history, and ought not to obscure the accomplishments of our predecessors.¹²⁹

Among these predecessors were also Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault.¹³⁰ In the eyes of the men of the first half of the twentieth century, the *XREMZ* should have contributed to the mass education of China, and to the progress of its culture, if the scholars of the Qing Dynasty had been more amenable. The modern Chinese linguists imagined a new image of the *XREMZ* that was completely different not only from that of the scholars of the Qing Dynasty, but also from the one Nicolas Trigault maintained, since the Flemish Father had never intended to replace Chinese characters with Latin script.

In 1957, the *XREMZ* was reprinted again in Beijing, as a document about the Chinese Phoneticization (拼音文字史料叢刊, *pinyin wenzi shiliao congkan*). One year later, precisely on 10 January 1958, Zhou En-lai 周恩來 (1898-1976), the first Premier of the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1976, reported a project called *Dangqian wenzi gaige de renwu* (當前文字改革的任務, Present Task of the Reform of the Chinese Language) at the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.¹³¹ In February 1958, Wu Yu-zhang 吳玉章 (1878-1966), then the chair of the Committee on the Reform of the Chinese Language (中國文字改革委員會, *Zhongguo wenzi gaige weiyuanhui*), addressed another report *Guanyu dangqian wenzi gaige zongguo he hanyu pinyin fang'an de baogao* (關於當前文字改革工作和漢語拼音方案的報告, Report on the Reform of the Chinese Language and the Project of the Romanization of Chinese Sound) to the fifth meeting of the First National People's Congress in Beijing.¹³² These two reports were not very different, as far as their contents were concerned. In their reports, three further tasks of the reform of the Chinese language were made known to intellectuals, and to the people of the Republic: 1) to simplify the script

¹²⁹ Luo Chang-pei, *Preface to the Hanyu pinyin zimu yanjinshi* 漢語拼音字母演進史 (History of the Chinese Phoneticization), in *Luo Chang-pei wenji* 羅常培文集 (Collections of Luo Chang-pei), Ji-nan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999, vol.3, p.5.

¹³⁰ Luo Chang-pei, *Hanyu pinyin zimu yanjinshi*, pp.8-9.

¹³¹ Zhou En-lai's report, in <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/69112/75843/75874/75994/5182927.html>.

¹³² Wu Yu-zhang's report, in http://big5.xinhuanet.com/gate/big5/news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2004-10/13/content_2084848.htm.

of the characters; 2) to popularize Mandarin; 3) to set and promulgate the *Pinyin*, which now is an official phonetic system for transcribing the sound of Chinese characters into Latin scripts. In his last point, the contribution of the Jesuits was again mentioned. In the report of Zhou En-lai we could see the Chinese name of Matteo Ricci, and that of Nicolas Trigault as well. The motive for the reform of the Chinese language was not different from that of before 1949, that was aimed at mass education. But the change was evident.

The reform of the Chinese language after 1949 was developed as part of a national project, all of the experts were assembled across the nation and they were under the leadership of the government. So we can surely conclude that the reprint of the *XREMZ* in 1957 was related to an action by the State. Moreover, the reform boasted the study of the Chinese language, and in turn the construction of socialism, by stressing the necessity of politics, a tone commonly used at that time. In 1958, after the fifth meeting of the First National People's Congress, a project called *Hanyu pinyin fang'an* 漢語拼音方案 (Project for the Romanization of the Chinese Sound) came into effect at the national level. In the slogans of the socialist propaganda system, the purpose of composing the *XREMZ* was questioned, as we can see in Luo Chang-pei's *Hanyu Pinyin fang'an de lishi yuanyuan* 漢語拼音方案的歷史淵源 (The History of the Project for the Romanization of the Chinese Sound). Even if it was quite implicit, Luo Chang-pei said that the reason Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault had learned Chinese was had "bieyou yongxin" 別有用心 (ulterior motives).¹³³ It had been definitively varied from the other writings he had composed about the *XREMZ*.

Since it was seen as a book that contributed to the building of a socialist country, which was based on the people, the reception of the *XREMZ* was re-formulated in China after 1949.

The *XREMZ*, during its travels in Europe and in China between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, did not make much contribution to the study of the Chinese language. In this respect, we must disagree with Chang Mark, *SJ*, and other contemporary scholars who have overestimated the influence of the *XREMZ* on the Latin phoneticization. Because of different attitudes in the readership, its reception was different. There was no Chinese study in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it became known to some European sinologists at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In China, there was no readership for Latin letters during the Qing Dynasty. Besides the Emperor Kang-xi, it seemed that the other Emperors and scholars of the Qing Dynasty had no passion for Latin

¹³³ Luo Chang-pei, *Hanyu pinyin fang'an de lishi yuanyuan*, in *Luo Chang-pei wenji*, p.73.

letters.¹³⁴ In the twentieth century, the *XREMZ* was again emphasized, as it mirrored the change in Chinese society. In many cases, however, this book was only a silent document. Sometimes it was “mistakenly” perceived as merely a rhyme book under the influence of other Chinese rhyme books. To some degree, the *XREMZ* was not a successful missionary work. In spite of its failure in the field of the study of Chinese, the book of Nicolas Trigault provides us with a useful perspective on how the readers of different societies treated different and foreign kinds of knowledge, even if in some respect it was nearly identical to their own. Such kind of perspective from the contemporary Chinese was also what Nicolas Trigault and the other Western missionaries had to confront when they presented themselves in China. At the beginning of the *Wenda* (Ask and Reply), Trigault reported an anecdote from Europe. A Western painter drew a figure and hung it on the wall. Later on, a shoe-maker saw it, saying the shoes of the figure were not portrayed. Hearing of it, the artist repainted the shoes. Shortly afterwards, the shoe-maker criticized the buttocks of the figure. The painter got very angry and said, “It is enough to comment the shoes, since you are a shoe-maker. Why do you talk about something beyond your capacity?” With this anecdote, Trigault wanted to argue that nobody should teach something to others before having learned it themselves. Comparing himself to the painter, Trigault hoped not to have to deal with the shoe-makers of his anecdote: those readers who were not experts in his word learning.¹³⁵ To some extent, this is also the situation in which Trigault found himself when the *XREMZ* was produced; caught between both Chinese and European “shoe-makers.”

¹³⁴ Fang-hao, *La Dingwen chuanru zhongguo kao*, in Fang-hao, *Liushi ziding gao*, pp.5-6.

¹³⁵ See *Yusp*, pp.109-111 (ff.31a-32a).

Conclusion

The present study has tried to decipher the complex story of Nicolas Trigault's *XREMZ*, by inserting it into the specific period of history in which contact between East and West was greatly intensified. By looking into this story, we gain a general idea of what the Jesuit mission consisted in this period, more than four decades after its arrival in China (Nicolas Trigault was mandated to the remote provinces of Henan, Shanxi and Shaanxi in 1623). Indeed, something had certainly changed by then.

In order to promote the Jesuit mission, Matteo Ricci, after building several of the earliest residences (Shaozhou, Nanxiong, Nanjing), moved northward, in the direction of Beijing. As he had shown much inclination to build relationships with local officials, and to settle down in the central cities, he followed this method and dreamt of entering the Imperial capital, to secure the mission at a national level. On 24 January 1601, he arrived in Beijing again (after his first failure in 1598), where he would encounter many mandarins and *literati* from all over the world. Together with Diego de Pantoja and other Jesuits, they had even planned to enter the Forbidden City, and to meet the Emperor. They had presented to him, through their eunuch friends, various gifts they had taken from the Extreme West. They failed, however, to be presented in person to the Emperor, falling well short of their ambitious plan to convert him to Christianity, which Alessandro Valignano had foreseen in vain.¹

But Matteo Ricci's reception in Beijing had protected, to a certain degree, other Jesuits in the provinces and in the local communities.² By placing the emphasis of the evangelic mission on the central cities, and by relying upon the elites and mandarins, Ricci wished not only to obtain political cover, but to also carry Christianity around China, when they were appointed to far away provinces, or had to move for filial love.³ In this sense, Matteo Ricci had accomplished both goals, as we can see from the geographical expansion of the Christian communities under the guide of the Jesuits in China even after the death of Matteo Ricci in 1610.⁴ By 1633, as Liam Matthew Brockey points out, the Jesuits no longer needed the protection of the mandarins, since by then the Jesuits could legitimize

¹ Alessandra Chiricosta, *Introduzione*, in Matteo Ricci, *Il vero significato del Signore del Cielo*, trans., and note by Alessandra Chiricosta, Roma: Urbaniana University Press, 2006, p.27.

² Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, Harvard University Press, 2008, p.50.

³ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.59.

⁴ Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China Volume One: 635-1800*, Brill, 2001, pp.534-554.

themselves by taking charge of important offices such as, for example, the direction of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau in the late Ming Dynasty, and then in the early Qing Dynasty.⁵

But Ricci's method had its limitations, as could be seen in the anti-Christian incident in Nanjing from 1616 to 1617. This so-called legitimacy could be easily removed, as soon as the political situation changed. As a matter of fact, other similar incidents followed, for the example the Calendar case by Yang Guang-xian 楊光先 (1597-1669), the anti-Christian *literatus*, from 1664 to 1665 in the reign of the Emperor Kang-xi.⁶ In January 1724, the Emperor Yong-zheng 雍正 (1678-1735) proscribed Christianity, and missionaries were sent to Guangdong and then to Macau. After that, the Jesuits seemed to lose all political protection from the court in Beijing.

As this policy was pursued, another limitation became immediately apparent: Mandarin was taken as an official language. Michele Ruggieri began to study it, and then Matteo Ricci regulated the method of its study; all the Jesuits in China had to master Mandarin. As an inevitable consequence, the conversation and then the conversion was focused exclusively on the *literati*, overlooking the *illiterati* and the uneducated, who were usually commoners and women. In one particular case in Fu'an 福安, a county in northern Fujian Province, these men flocked to the Dominicans, instead to the Jesuits, for the former could communicate with the local people in Fu'an dialect.⁷ In fact, as early as in 1603, Niccolò Longobardi, the future Superior of the Jesuit mission in China, had already begun to reflect on the policy of Matteo Ricci. He found that the Christian message that was met with indifference by the city folk of Shaozhou, was well received by the villages around it.⁸ So he sought to give new direction to his brethren, and encouraged them to go to the peripheries and to remote regions (see my *Introduction*).

Indeed, after Niccolò Longobardi was appointed Superior by Ricci in 1610, the geographical expansion of the Jesuit mission had already been enlarged, and had changed as well. But the central cities (metropolises and capitals of the provinces), in the course of time, were still preferred, and grand officials were still relied upon to have a safer missionary environment. The Fathers still spoke primarily Mandarin, and communicated only with the *literati*, even some of whom were lower-degree holders, as seen in the case of Nicolas Trigault in these three provinces and in the case of Giulio Aleni in Fujian

⁵ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, pp.90-91.

⁶ The opponents of the missionaries in China, see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China Volume One*, pp.503-533.

⁷ Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (from now on *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars*), Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard – Yenching Institute, 2009, pp.217-218.

⁸ See R.Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610*, pp.247-248, and 293-295.

after 1630.⁹ There is no need to overstate the difference between Ricci and Niccolò Longobardi. The latter and his successors maintained what he had inherited from Matteo Ricci.

Thanks to the arduous labors of Matteo Ricci and his colleagues, these baptized Chinese helped develop Christian communities at the local level. They were the first generation of native Christians in China, and started playing their role in promoting the evangelic message. Their enthusiasm for Christianity would be enforced, with the issue of the 1621 rules (see *Introduction*), which allowed Chinese converts to be instructed to catechize neophytes.¹⁰ They were growing into the backbone of the missionary enterprise, and bringing it forward, in case there were no Jesuits, just as the brothers Han (Han-yun and Han-lin) in Jiangzhou, and Wang-zheng in Jingyang, had done. There were also some Chinese Christian writers, for example, Li Zu-bai 李祖白, baptized by Schall in 1622 and executed on 18 May 1665 because of the anti-Christian movement from 1664-1665, who bravely published books about the Christian doctrine. Although the number of these native Christians was very small, and it was previously influenced by the Practical Learning (*shixue*) of neo-Confucianism, they constituted a much more stable social base for the expansion of Christianity, as we have seen in the case of Trigault. He was one of the first missionaries to exploit this situation, in particular after the 1616-1617 Nanjing incident. For Trigault, the mission in these three provinces was a cheerful experience, in which he had much success as I have described in *Chapter I*. The Catholic church, though it continued to experience various difficulties over time, had rooted itself in the local communities, along with the development of the earliest Chinese Christian families, and with the localization of Christianity, as we can see in the case of Jiangzhou, Jingyang, and Fu'an.¹¹

Another side of the story of missionary policy, that is, the policy of cultural accommodation, starting from Matteo Ricci, was questioned both inside and outside the Roman Church. Ever since more freedom was given to the missionaries after the 1621 rules, the coverage of this policy was much extended. As a direct result, the Jesuitical writings were produced in abundance. But not all the texts had a positive effect. The *XREMZ* was one of them. With the help of the phonetic knowledge of Europe, Trigault re-interpreted a handful of phonetic terms in the form of Western symbols, as yet unfamiliar to the Chinese (see *Part II*). In the meantime, he never felt distant from the current reformist thinking in China about the Chinese dictionaries, but considered them from a critical point of view (see *Chapter*

⁹ As regards the mission of Giulio Aleni with the lower-degree holders, see Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars*, p.212

¹⁰ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, p.75.

¹¹ About the case of Jiangzhou and Jingyang, see Huang Yi-long, *Liangtoushe*, pp.130-174, and pp.287-311; about the case of Fu'an, see Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars*

III), and from a foreign point of view, as well. Finally, the *XREMZ* was designed as a newly edited Chinese rhyme and character book. It was a Jesuitical text in the field of lexicography, but based on Trigault's early study in Europe, his personal experience in China, and his Chinese and Western friends.

Concerning its "re-formation" of the Chinese language, this book, after its publication, encountered two completely different attitudes. Wang-zheng, and other Chinese Christians, read the *XREMZ*, from the standpoint of a sympathizer, by grounding it in the Learning from Heaven, while the readers outside the Christian communities read it, measuring it against the knowledge of the Chinese language. In the latter case, some of them thought the *fanqie spelling* developed from China, rather than from India or Europe,¹² and some others believed that Chinese scholars could outdo those of the Western Regions in the study of Chinese rhymes and sounds, even if this Word Learning did not originate from China.¹³ They were reluctant to receive the *XREMZ*, as well as other disciplines pertaining to the Learning from Heaven, throughout the whole Qing Dynasty. The aforementioned scholar Qian Qian-yi of the Qing Dynasty at first had sympathy for the Learning from Heaven. But later, he considered it a malady, along with pretentious Buddhism and lecherous poems of *churen* 楚人 (People from *chu* 楚 Area, including most of the present-day provinces of South and East China). Qian Qian-yi believed that these three maladies had brought about the collapse of the Ming Dynasty.¹⁴ He, and other Chinese scholars as well, became enemies of the Learning from Heaven.

The policy of cultural accommodation found itself confronted by two completely opposite sides, with little comprehension between them, that is, between East and West. In this sense, it was defeated, just as the *XREMZ* failed to draw the Chinese scholars' attention. But it does not mean that such a policy did not function *at all* in the history of the Jesuit missions. It is not true, at least in the case of the first generations of the Chinese *literati*-Christians. Before they were converted, they were born into Confucian families, or into devout Buddhist families (taking the example of Yang Ting-yun). What caused the failure of the policy of Matteo Ricci is far more complicated. In 1705, the Emperor Kang-xi proscribed many Christian activities, and all Western missionaries who wished to remain in China had to swear by "the methods of Father Ricci."¹⁵ The direct reason why Kang-xi made such a decision was probably because of the "question of the rites," resulting from the Roman Church.

¹² Zhou-chun, *Fulu* 附錄 (Appendix), in *Shisanjing yinlue* 十三經音略 (*Summary Discussion on the Thirteen Classics*), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, pp.21-22.

¹³ Lu Wen-chao, *Baojingtang wenji* 抱經堂文集 (*Essays of the Baojing Study Room*), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, vol.3, p.35.

¹⁴ Qian Qian-yi, *Muzhai youxue ji* 牧齋有學集, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996, vol.3, pp.1481-1484.

¹⁵ R.Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610*, p.297.

One focus of the question of rites was on how to translate the term “Deus” (God): *Tian* 天 (Heaven), *Shangdi* 上帝 (Sovereign on High), *Tianzhu* 天主 (Lord of Heaven), and *Linghun* 靈魂 (Soul) were the terms which had been used by Ricci and his successors for decades. But the new Superior Niccolò Longobardi felt unsatisfied with these translations. By the end of the year 1627, Longobardi summoned the Jesuits in China and some famous Chinese converts, including Yang Ting-yun and Li Zhi-zao, to Jiading, a city near Nanjing and Hangzhou, two centres of the Jesuit mission in southern China at that time, to solve this question. As far as these terms and their historical background were concerned, this conference was somehow considered a reflection of the policy of cultural adoption, and thus of the method of Matteo Ricci. It also became an affair of all the Jesuit missions in East Asia, since João Rodrigues, a one of the foremost experts in Japanese language, was involved in the dispute about these terms, taking a standpoint opposite to that of Matteo Ricci.¹⁶

From Hangzhou came Nicolas Trigault and Lazzaro Cattaneo. At that time, Trigault had been in Hangzhou for more than one year after coming back from Shaanxi, where Alvaro Semedo would take his place and continue the evangelic enterprise. Meanwhile, Trigault engaged himself in writing for the readers of Europe, as Longobardi was expecting him to do. He was a faithful supporter of the policy of accommodation initiated by Matteo Ricci. Trigault had read many Chinese classics and other texts, preparing to translate some of them into a European language, and to compile a chronological history of China, from a standpoint sympathetic to Chinese culture. After many years of travelling through China, he had also spoken with the *literati*, both Christians and non-Christians who came both from the remote provinces and the metropolises. More importantly, he gained a rich knowledge of the Chinese language from this travel. Without doubt, Trigault was one of the “most well read” missionaries in China at that conference.¹⁷ He stood with Alfonso Vagnoni, who was working in Jiangzhou, and defended the use of the term *Shangdi*.¹⁸ We do not have enough details to reconstruct the scenario of the debates these Jesuit Fathers had in the conference. Little is known, too, about Trigault's reaction to the decision that was made by Longobardi and his supporters to ban the use of the term *Shangdi* in the texts. To be sure, Longobardi could put forth the examples from Japan. But in the case of Japan, the question of terminology was strongly influenced by the misunderstanding of the Japanese language, which happened when Francis Xavier first translated “Deus” into the Japanese word “Dainichi,” a word having a specific, different significance in Japanese Buddhism. So the Japan Jesuits transliterated the

¹⁶ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, pp.85-87.

¹⁷ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, pp.87.

¹⁸ *Historiae Sinarum Imperii*, in ARSI.,Jap.Sin.102, f.227b.

Christian terms, such as *God* and *Soul*, into Japanese.¹⁹ It was different in the case of China. According to Trigault, who can be relied upon as he had a deep knowledge of the Chinese language, Chinese characters were not appropriated for the transliteration of the Christian terms, because of the variant dialects, and also because of the lack of the consonants: *m*, *n*, and *l* in it. Furthermore, he believed, as we have seen in the *XREMZ*, that Chinese could convey the *Inner Meaning* of the word “God,” as the Latin language usually did. Naturally, he had a position opposite to Longobardi on this issue. But he failed to defend his and his respectful brethren’s standpoint. At the beginning of 1628, the meeting was dissolved. Trigault was disappointed when he came back to Hangzhou, destroyed physically and spiritually.²⁰

On 14 November 1628, after a Mass with Father Cattaneo, Trigault passed away unexpectedly (*morte improvisa fuit extinctus*).²¹ He was found kneeling in front of the Altar Cross. Hearing of this sad news, many Christians congregated and mourned the loss of such an extraordinary Father, whose character, altogether excellent, intelligent, sensitive, frail, and animated by inexhaustible religious passion, had contributed to the evangelic enterprise in China. He was buried in Da Fang Jing 大方井, a small villa in the Western part of Hangzhou. In this way, he could stay in that city forever. Previously, Da Fang Jing had belonged to Yang Ting-yun. In 1622, the pious Christian *literatus* donated it to the Jesuit fathers. Besides Trigault, thirteen other missionaries and Chinese brothers were buried there, including Lazzaro Cattaneo, who had been buried there as late as 1640, Jean de Rocha (1598-1623), Sebastian Fernandes (1591-1622), Pierre Ribeiro (1604-1640), João Fróis (1624-1638), Nicolas Fiva (1638-1640), Manuel Dias, Jr.(1610-1659), Louis Gonzales (1627-1632), Martino Martini (1643-1661), Humb Augery (1656-1673), Prospero Intorcetta (16590-1696), August Barelli (1698-1711) and Antonio Faglia (1694-1706).²² Today, the cemetery of Da Fang Jing is open to the public, as a place of interest, but it is also the evidence of the inter-cultural history between China and Europe. However, tourists can no longer find the original tombs. Instead, a new tomb was restored in the same place in 1985, serving mainly as a memorial to Martino Martini. In 1654, he brought a corpus of missionary writings, including Trigault’s *De Computu Ecclesiastico* and the *XREMZ*, to Europe, with the aim of solving the “question of the rites.” The propagandist trip of Martino Martini was a clear sign of the estrangement from Chinese society that some Jesuit missionaries felt.

¹⁹ George H.Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, pp.282-284.

²⁰ C.Dehaisnes, *Nicolas Trigault*, pp.211-213.

²¹ *Historiae Sinarum Imperii*, in ARSI., Jap.Sin.102, f.227b.

²² See Fang-hao, *Liushi zidinggao*, vol.2, p.1941.

Like the scholars of the Qing Dynasty, who remained hostile to the Western fathers and their learning, some of the missionaries were also in opposition to Chinese culture itself. Such kind of antagonism between East and West finally broke the Society of Jesus in China in 1724 for good, and in Europe in 1773. But Catholicism continued to exist in China and develop alongside its history of peace and conflict, and of orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

西儒耳目資

一 譯引譜

自利西泰先生觀光

中國而有唐之景教重光茲刻通會華夷字學以集大成爲後賢習字要訣者備故沈韻篇海諸書訂正字毋翻切之謬法簡理精得是書也不惟

一 音韻譜

中國無難識之字誤讀之字且補

中國有音無字之缺又通達國奇異之字此

一 邊正譜

聖朝同文盛事而博雅者所樂觀也故因張太守之刻而廣行之

景風館藏板

武林李衙藏板翻刻必究

嚴少萱發行

Fig. 2 Colophon of the XREMZ (p.119)

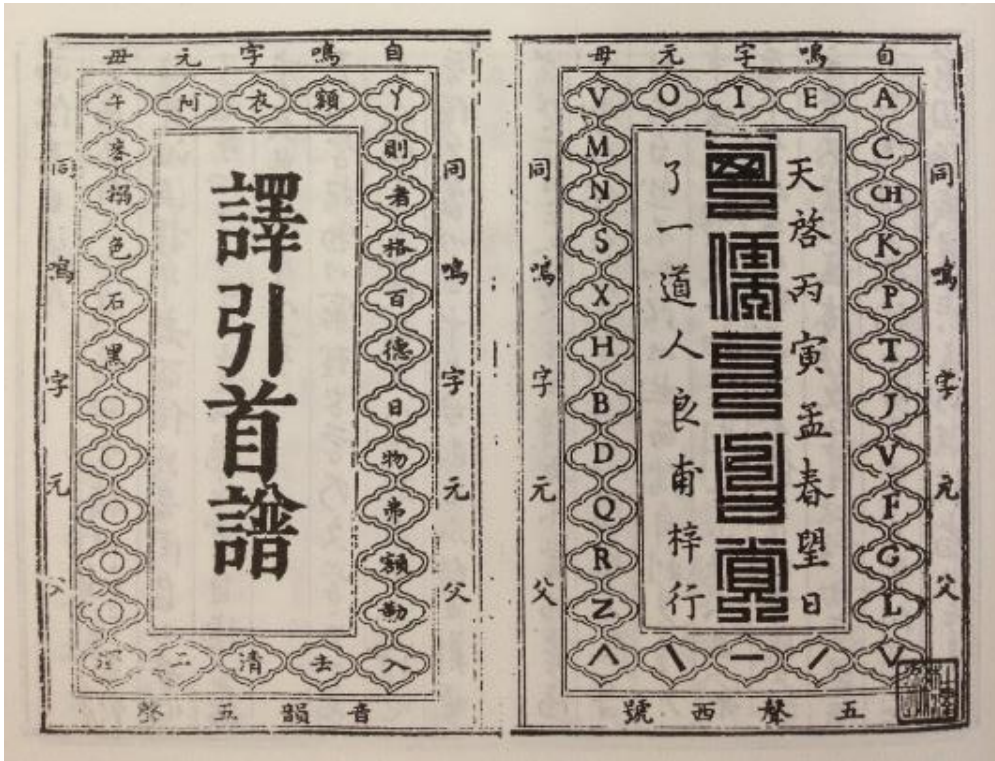


Fig. 3 (1) Frontispiece of the XREMZ – Yi Yin Shou Pu (p.123)

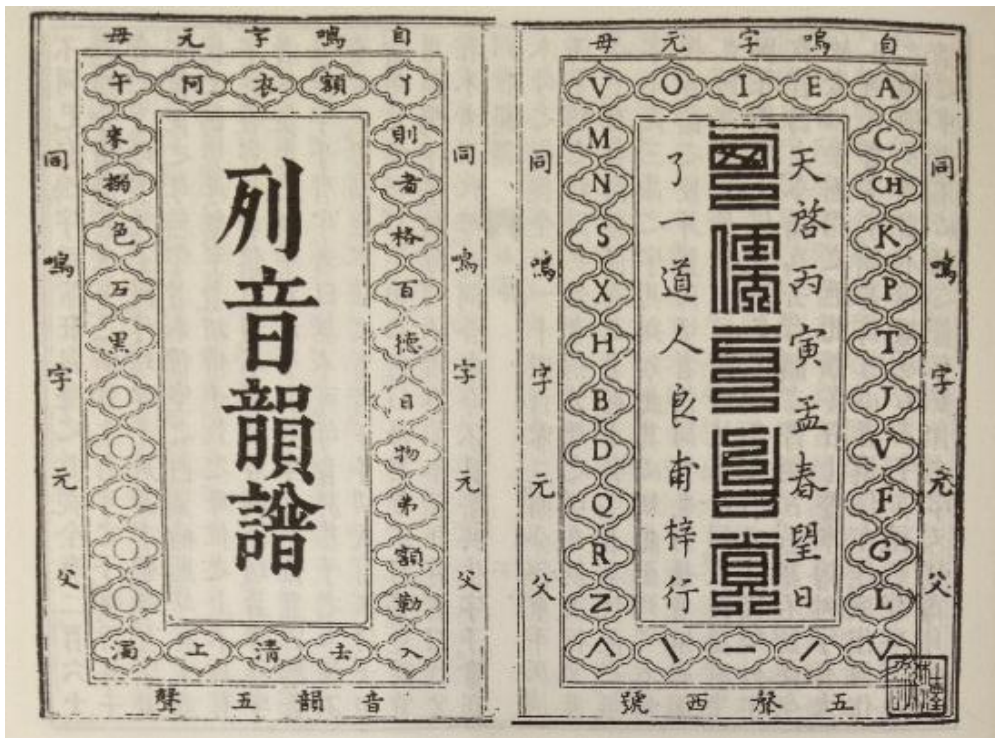


Fig. 3 (2) Frontispiece of the XREMZ – Lie Yin Yun Pu (p.123)

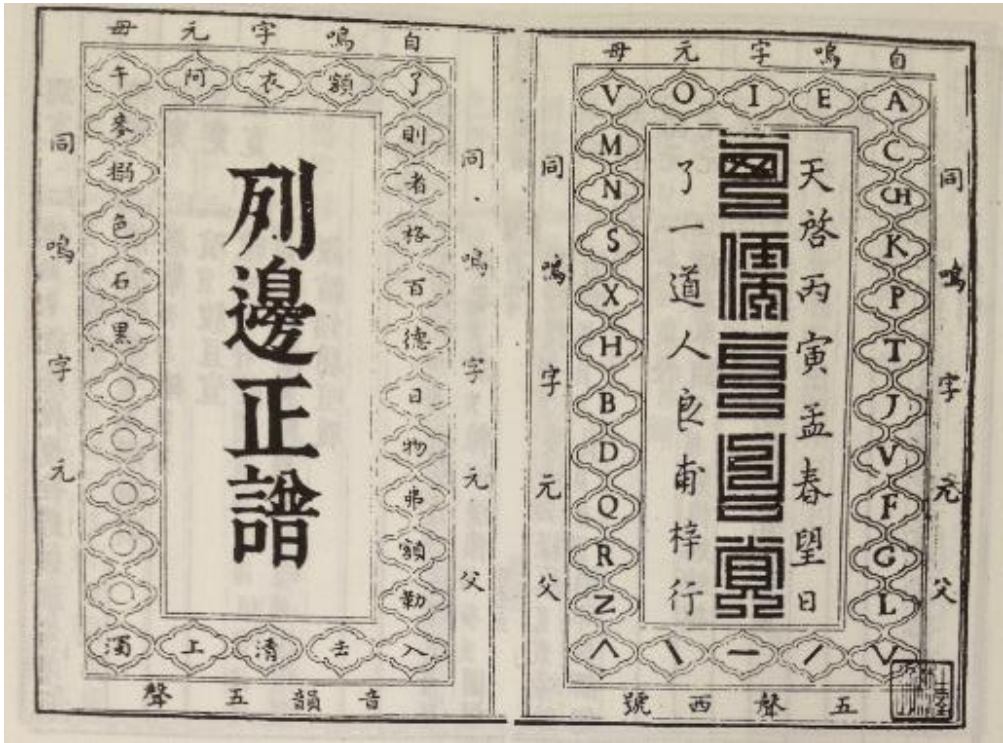
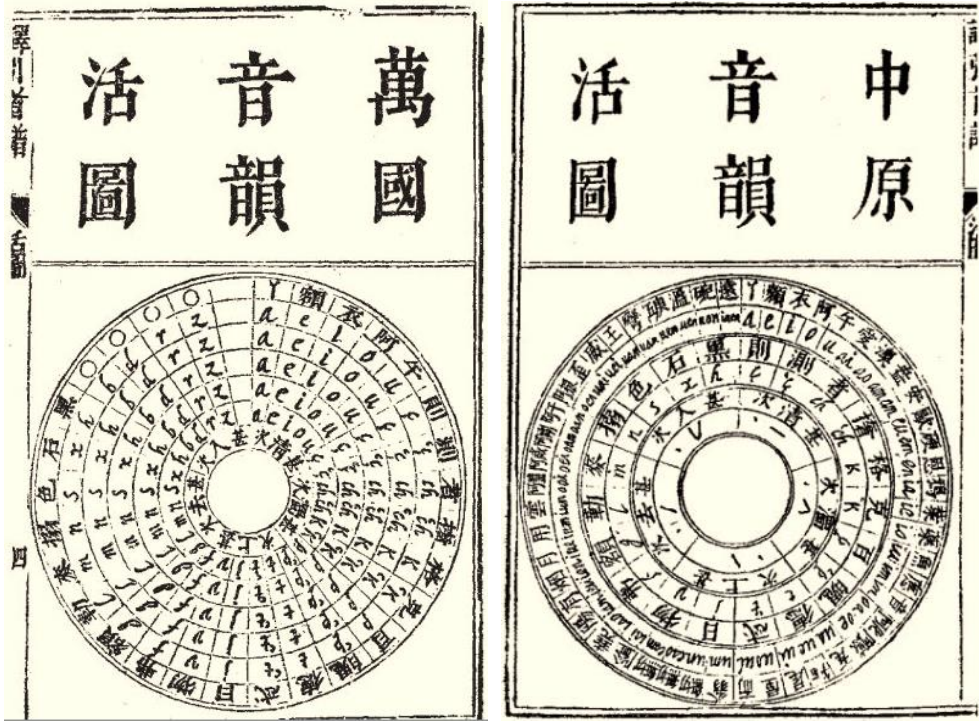


Fig. 3 (3) Frontispiece of the XREMZ – Lie Bian Zheng Pu (p.123)



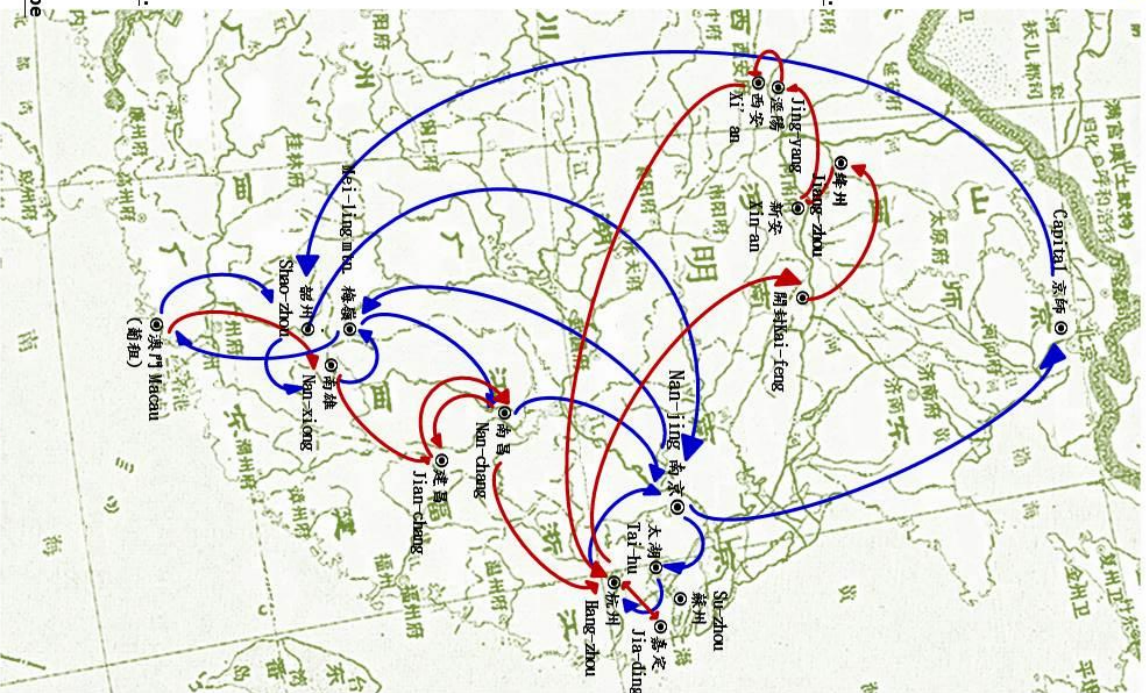
(1) Universal

(2) Chinese

Fig. 4 Wheel of Sound and Rhyme (p.134)

1st travel

Year	City
1610/M	Macao
1610 Dec. 21	Shao-zhou
1611 Jan.	Nan-xiong
1611	Mei-ling mtn.
1611	Nan-chang
1611 Feb/B	Nan-jing
1611 Apr.	Su-zhou
	Tai-hu
1611 May	Hang-zhou
1611 Jul.	Nan-jing
1611 Aug/E	Bei-jing
1611 Nov.	Shao-zhou
1611 Winter	Nan-jing
1612 Spring	
1612	Mei-ling mtn.
1613/B	Macao
1613 Feb. 9	left for Europe



→ 1st travel route

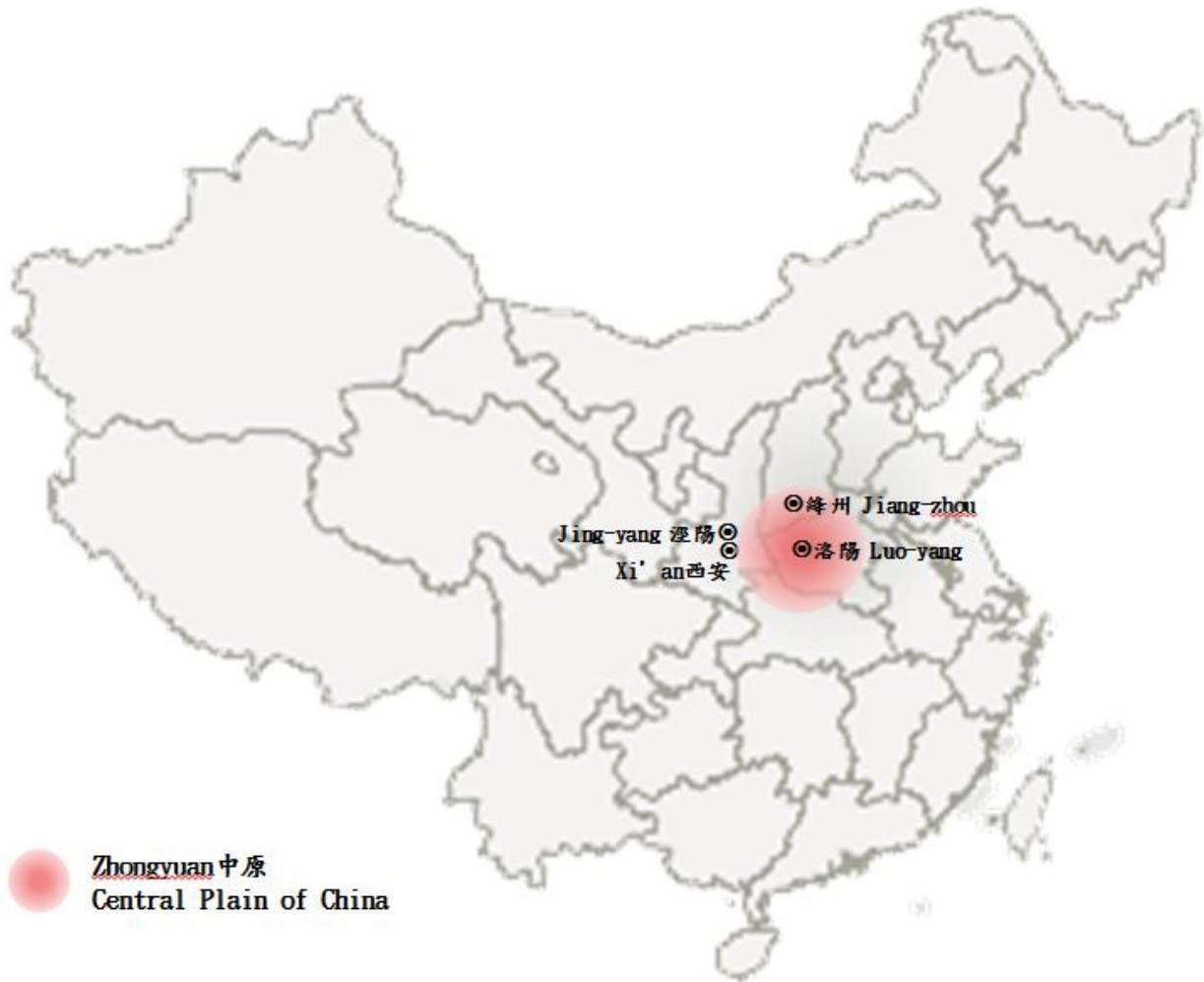
→ 2nd travel route

2nd travel

Year	City
1620 Jun. 22	Macao
1621/B	Nan-xiong
1621 Apr.	Nan-chang
	Jian-chang
1622/B	Hang-zhou
1623 Oct.	Kai-feng
1624/B	Jiang-zhou
1625 Apr.	
	Xin-an
1625 Apr.	Jing-yang
1625	Xi'an
1626	Hang-zhou
1626 Sep. 25	Hang-zhou
1627/E	Jia-ding
1628 Jan. 27	
1628 Nov. 14	Hang-zhou †

Maps

Map 1: "Nicolas Trigault's Travelling in China" (p.4)



Map 2: "Central Plain of China" (p.19)



Map 3: "The WU Dialects" (p.83)

(from Chao Yuen Ren 趙元任: *Aspects of Chinese Socio-linguistics*, California: Stanford University Press, 1978, p.35)

Image



**"Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume", by Peter Paul Rubens (p.114)
(from Wikipedia, 5.10.2013)**

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Post Scriptum

Più persone hanno contribuito alla realizzazione di questa tesi. Il primo ringraziamento va alle mie tre relatrici, la professoressa Antonella Romano (EHESS, Paris), la professoressa Elisabetta Corsi (Università “la sapienza”, Roma), la professoressa Maria Pia Paoli (Scuola Normale superiore, Pisa). La professoressa Antonella Romano mi ha aiutato mano a mano a costruire la struttura di questa tesi. Durante la preparazione di questo lavoro, la professoressa mi ha sempre trasmesso la sua allegria, accompagnandola anche da un pizzico di umorismo. In questo ambiente amichevole ho potuto imparare molte delle cose che ora mi accingo a presentare in questa tesi. La professoressa Corsi parla molto bene il cinese e questo mi è stato di grande aiuto per realizzare la traduzione del testo gesuitico dal cinese all’inglese, ma i suoi consigli mi hanno permesso anche di acquisire una profonda conoscenza del mondo gesuitico cinese in generale. *Last, but not least*, ringrazio la professoressa Maria Pia Paoli, che è stata sempre pronta ad aiutarmi nel mio studio e nella mia vita. Perciò il suo aiuto gentile mi ha consentito di portare avanti e concludere questa mia tesi con calma.

I miei ringraziamenti vanno anche al professor Carlo Ginzburg, che mi ha seguito durante il mio primo anno di studi in Italia; mi ha consigliato diverse letture per aiutarmi a trovare un’idea per il progetto. Se ora ho qualche idea nuova sulla storia, devo proprio questo dovuto a lui. Desidero ringraziare anche il professore Adriano Prosperi, con cui ho accumulato la mia prima conoscenza della storia gesuitica in Cina, attraverso un seminario, lavorando con lui, sull’argomento gesuitico e con i suoi consigli preziosi. Senza la validissima assistenza del professore Prosperi, la mia ricerca non avrebbe potuto avere inizio.

Nelle varie biblioteche di Roma, dove ho trovato non solo i libri che mi servivano, ma anche la gentilezza dei bibliotecari. Il sig. Paolo Vian (Biblioteca Vaticana, Roma), con i suoi colleghi (mi dispiace di non poter ricordarmi tutti i nomi), mi ha aiutato a decifrare i documenti manoscritti, con molta gentilezza e pazienza. Il signor Mauro Brunello mi ha salvato dal mare dei dubbi che mi hanno circondato quando leggevo i manoscritti dell’ARSI (Roma). A volte, il professore Noël Golvers (Leuven) ha assunto per me il ruolo di interprete dei documenti silenziosi di questo archivio. La Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma possiede un’ampia collezione di materiale cinese e un gruppo di specialisti, in particolare nella sezione dei manoscritti e rari, di cui ho beneficiato moltissimo.

I miei ringraziamenti anche alla professoressa Isabelle Deron (EHESS, Paris), che ho conosciuto quando sono stato a Parigi per due mesi. La discussione con lei ha allargato la mia prospettiva sulla storia dell’ordine gesuita, anche se sono ancora molto ignorante. La professoressa mi ha anche presentato una biblioteca fantastica: la Bibliothèque de l’Institut des hautes études chinoises, presso il Collège de France, dove ho potuto approfittare tanto dei libri quanto del personale, altrettanto fantastico. Non dimenticherò anche la gentilezza del professore Li Shih-shiueh 李奭學 (Taipei), che mi ha invitato all’Academia Sinica (Taipei) per due mesi di studio. Senza la sua accoglienza, non avrei potuto raccogliere la maggiore parte dei documenti che ho presentato nella mia tesi. Devo ricordare anche la gentilezza dei signori Zhong Chong-hui 鍾春暉 e Xia Xiao-xiong 夏小雄, i miei compagni dell’Università di Pechino, sempre pronti a darmi un mano quando avevo bisogno dei documenti cinesi. La loro assistenza ha portato avanti il mio lavoro.

Ricorderò anche le notizie preziose sulla storia cattolica della provincia di Shaanxi dal prete Hu Shi-bin 胡世斌 (Xi’an), che ho conosciuto quando sono stato lì. Ringrazio anche i professori Zhang Xiong 張雄 (PKU, Beijing), Wang Qing-jia 王晴佳 (Rowan University), Li Long-guo 李龍國 (PKU, Beijing), Zhu Xiao-yuan 朱孝遠 (PKU, Beijing), e la professoressa Vera Schwarcz (Wesleyan University). Senza il loro incoraggiamento e il loro suggerimento, non avrei potuto andare in Italia.

Terminando questa tesi, devo porgere il mio ringraziamento alla dottoressa Carla Forti, la ricercatrice Stefania Pastore, il signore Leonardo D'Olivo, la signora Melanie Rockenhaus, il professore Daniele Menozzi, il professore Nicolas Standaert, il professore Giuseppe Marcocci, il professore Eugenio Menegon, il professore Claudio Zanier, la signorina Wu Huiyi. Mi hanno aiutato, o a tradurre il testo da latino a italiano, o a controllare il mio scritto, o suggerendo come comporre la tesi, o fornendomi riferimenti bibliografici utili. Dopo avere finito di comporre il testo, ancora molto brutto, i miei compagni di Pisa sono stati audaci assumendo il compito di leggerlo e correggerlo con grande fatica. Tra di loro ricordo Allegra, Alessandro Capone, Alessandro Monti, Nicolò, Niccolò Caminada, Giorgio, Lorenzo, David, Giacomo, Alessio, Massimiliano, Ivan, Kelus, Sam. Alla fine, Peter Lieberman ha letto e sistemato tutto il testo con la sua magica penna rossa. Finalmente, grazie ai loro lavori, il testo è divenuto scorrevole.

Mettendo il punto alla fine dell'ultima frase della tesi, mi accorgo a un tratto che sta arrivando anche il giorno della partenza, dopo quattro anni di lontananza dalla mia famiglia. Non dimenticherò la "mama" d'Italia, Lucia Bellucci, i miei amici d'Italia, la professoressa M.O. Volpoët ed il professore Enrico Italia, il signor Carlo Coloru, la signora Fulvia Micheletti, la signora Valentina Quattrocchi, che hanno arricchito la mia vita in Italia.

In conclusione, dedico questa tesi alla mia famiglia. "Papà, ho vinto una borsa di studio e andrò in Italia fra poco". Quando ha sentito questa notizia, mio padre stava facendo la doccia. Si è fermato, con un po' di sorpresa. Ma subito mi ha chiesto quando sarei partito. Nel suo cuore, questo figlio è sempre in viaggio, da sud a nord, e da est a ovest, e non resta mai a casa con una vita più pacifica. Invecchia ogni giorno e ci sono io, il suo unico figlio. Ha paura di perderlo. Mamma stava a fianco. So bene che era felice per suo figlio. So bene che lei si preoccupava molto della mia salute. Non ha parlato molto. Con Papà, ha iniziato a ordinare la mia valigia, restando in silenzio, essendo la loro maniera di approvare la mia scelta. C'è anche un ringraziamento per mia sorella, il mio nipotino, ed il marito di mia sorella. Con i miei genitori, che non hanno mai mancato di darmi belle notizie, e gioie. Finalmente, c'è anche un ringraziamento per Chiu Ya-chieh, che è un carissimo regalo del Natale 2010. Mi ha accompagnato durante tutta la stesura del mio scritto, anche quando ero deluso per il mio studio, con molte simpatie e gentilezze, e in più mi ha aiutato con la formattazione della tesi e con il disegno delle mappe e delle figure.

Mingguang
6 novembre.2013