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Jesuits' Journeys in Chinese Studies

Yves Camus
Macau Ricci Institute

Abstract

There is a general agreement among scholars that “Chinese Studies” or “Sinology” (with its cluster of various disciplines), was initiated by the Christian Catholic missionaries of the Jesuit order who have lived in China since the last decades of the Ming dynasty. The purpose of this paper is to examine how these prolonged “Journeys,” towards knowledge, understanding, appreciation and mutual collaboration, have developed, inside and outside of China, into a Jesuit tradition which is still very much alive and thriving.

The first stage, from the late Ming and the Qing dynasties, until the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773, is well known. This paper attempts to discern the main areas in which Chinese Studies developed in this first period of contact.

The second stage: after the restoration of the Society of Jesus (1814), a new generation of Jesuits came to live and work in China. They resumed various forms of “Sinological research” in a number of areas, particularly in Shanghai where a “*Bureau d’Études Sinologiques*” (Office of Sinological Studies) was established.

The third stage: the tradition of Jesuit Chinese Studies continued after the foundation of the People’s Republic of China, though not in China proper. In synchrony with changes happening in the world, and particularly under the influence of the Second Vatican Council, these studies were not only pursued on an individual basis, as in the early stages of Jesuit presence in China, but also by the founding of the **Ricci Institute**, in three, and now four locations, dedicated to Chinese studies (Taipei, Paris, San Francisco, and Macau). The paper presents in its last part the development of these research centers, and their different orientations to Sinology research.



It is with sincere gratitude to the Organizing Committee of this Conference, and particularly to Professor 杨慧林 Yang Huilin, for the kind letter of invitation I received, that I am taking part in this “World Conference on Sinology 2007”. It is particularly fitting that it be hosted by the School of Liberal Arts of the prestigious Renmin University, of China. It will be all the more important as a “World Conference”, not only by the great number of its participants, but because it has for its purpose to promote a deep and broad evaluation of “Sinology” as it steadily develops around the world. In its early ages, “Sinology” was known outside of China as

a new and highly specialized discipline. Nowadays it has become quite widespread, with many fields of research endeavor, not only abroad but in China proper, under a variety of different names, such as: 汉学 *hanxue*, 国学 *guoxue* or “Chinese Studies”.

Among the many topics proposed by the Organizers of the Conference, one has particularly attracted my attention, with some surprise: “*Sinologists and Missionaries*”. Obviously, in the recent development of Chinese Studies, this is not a leading topic. We may also ask if it will become a mainstream topic, in the future of Sinology. I asked myself what questions perhaps lay hidden in the proposition of such an inquiry. Would it not be better stated “Missionaries and Sinologists”? For what reasons are the two terms made opposites?

When using the term “missionaries”, we first recall that China has known, at different times in its long history, successive and various approaches of charismatic personalities arriving from abroad, to share and propagate new views of life and doctrines. This was already the case during the 汉 Han dynasty, when the Buddhist traditions entered China. This topic has been brilliantly researched by Professor Erik Zürcher in his famous work: *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*.¹

Later the arrival of other religions was noted, in official dynastic records. In 635, 阿羅本 Alopen, heading a group of 21 Christian monks from Eastern Syria, reached 長安 Chang'an. Worth mentioning also are the cases of other European emissaries arriving at the Mongolian court, with a diplomatic or religious “mission.” Giovanni dal Piano dei Carpini (1182-1251), stayed in Karakorum for three years (1243-1246). John of Montecorvino, a Franciscan born in Italy in 1256, was the first Catholic missionary who died in Beijing in 1328. Though important topics for research, none of these emissaries or “missionaries” has generated anything that could be considered as the start of “Sinology” or “Chinese studies.”

It is commonly accepted that Sinology developed in Europe at the time of the Enlightenment, due to the influence of the Jesuits' presence in China, and their favorable approach to its culture. Professor D. E. Mungello has brilliantly exposed this influence in his seminal work *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*.² The purpose of this paper is of course not to sum up here again all the controversies generated by this “accommodation” policy, so dear to Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and to some of his fellow Jesuits.

¹ Zürcher, Erik, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. Volume I - Text ; Volume II - Notes, bibliography & indexes, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1972.

² Mungello, David E., *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1985, 1989.

Let us try to evaluate the Jesuit contributions to Chinese Studies, as we may reflect on them nowadays, from the “modern” world’s point of view.

The Jesuit presence in China has been divided into five periods. In their many labors in China, “Chinese Studies” have progressed accordingly. Hence, the title given to this paper.

I. Discoveries and Explorations

If we follow Louis Pfister, himself a Jesuit, in his preface to the *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773* (Biographical and bibliographical notes on the Jesuits from the ancient China mission),³ the first period covers from 1580 to 1672, that is nearly one century, from the landing in Macao of Michele Ruggieri arriving from Goa (the first Jesuit ever to receive or to adopt a Chinese name: 羅明堅, 1543-1607), the elder of Matteo Ricci (利瑪竇, 1552-1610) until the year of the arrival of Thomas Pereira (徐日昇, 1645-1708), a great friend of the Emperor 康熙 Kang Xi (1662-1723).

Pfister characterizes this period as particularly remarkable for the great number of books composed and printed in Chinese, a fact which, by itself, is already a great achievement. It presupposes not only a mastery of the language, but also the organization of a pool of translators and of printing equipment. But the books published were not only those necessary for the missionary work of the Jesuits. To satisfy the *literati*, i.e., scholars and officials’ curiosity for whatever was related to 西学 *xi xue* or “Western Learning”, there were also many books on mathematics, astronomy and physics.

All this great intellectual activity was based first and foremost -- this is not an exaggeration -- on a “ground breaking” linguistic exploration.

Between 1583 and 1588, in 肇慶 Zhaoqing, 廣東 Guangdong province, but without any learning manuals, Ricci and Ruggieri started compiling what was to be the first bi-lingual European-Chinese, that is “Portuguese-Chinese” dictionary. The manuscript has been lost for years, kept unknown in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. It was fortuitously discovered in 1934 by

³ Pfister, Louis, S.J., 1833-1891. *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773*, Shanghai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932-1934, p. xxiii-xxv. Chinese edition: 明清間在華耶穌會士列傳：1552-1773 / [法] 費賴之著；梅乘騏，梅乘駿譯。上海：天主教上海教區光啟社，1997.

the Jesuit historian Pasquale M. d'Elia (1890-1963), and has only recently been reproduced and published in 2001.⁴

The late Paul 楊福綿 Yang Fu-Mien, a Jesuit specialist in Chinese dialectology, writes in the “Historical and Linguistic Introduction” to the book that, on the basis of the Romanization scheme devised by the two Italian authors of the Dictionary, it is possible to prove that they were learning to speak “Mandarin”. But he adds: “By comparing the phonological and lexical features of the Mandarin dialect as described by Ruggieri with those of the Northern Mandarin dialect, we are able to prove that the official or standard Mandarin dialect of the late Ming dynasty was not based on the Northern Beijing dialect, but, most probably was based on a commonly accepted Southern dialect variety of Mandarin, more specifically the dialect of Nanking and its nearby environs.”⁵

In a following development, Paul Yang Fu-mien stresses also the important fact, mentioned by Ricci himself in his memoirs,⁶ that he compiled “during the winter of 1598” — that is ten years later — “a completely different dictionary, namely, a *Chinese-Portuguese dictionary*.” With his Jesuit companion Lazzaro Cattaneo (郭居靜, 1560-1640), who, as an excellent musician, was able to note the tonal variations, they compiled an alphabetically ordered vocabulary, that included Romanization with diacritical marks for the five tones.⁷ It was entitled *Vocabularium sinicum, ordine alphabetico europaeorum more concinnatum et per accentus suos digestum* (Chinese vocabulary arranged in the usual alphabetical order of the Europeans and arranged according their accents). Ricci ordered that these “accents” or marks be used by his fellow Jesuits for better clarity in written communication. Up to now, this work has not been rediscovered, although it had apparently been mentioned later by Daniello Bartoli, S.J. (1608-1685) who calls it *Vocabulario Sinicoeuropeo* (Chinese-European Vocabulary) and by Kircher, who names it *Dictionarium Sinicum*.⁸

These “Sinological” *premières*, so to say, were soon to be followed by others of the same kind. Nicolas Trigault (金尼各, 1577-1628) who arrived in Macao in 1610 — the year Ricci died in Beijing — compiled a larger dictionary curiously called 西儒耳目資 *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi*, that is “an aid for the ears and eyes of Western scholars” (we would now say: an “audio-visual” aid),

⁴ Ruggieri, Michele, 1543-1607; Ricci, Matteo, 1552-1610, *Dicionário português-chinês* = 葡漢辭典 = *Portuguese-chinese dictionary*, Editor John W. Witek (魏若望), Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional Portugal; Macau, Instituto Português do Oriente; San Francisco, Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, 2001.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 208-209.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁷ These marks borrowed by Ricci are reported to have been invented by ancient Greek scholars of Alexandria. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁸ Daniello Bartoli, S.J., *Dell' historia della Compagnia di Giesù*, 1665 (Bartoli, 1825, v. 16: 196-200). *Ibid.*, p. 185.

published in 杭州 Hangzhou in 1626, and using, with some modification, the Romanization scheme devised by Ruggieri and Ricci.⁹

But Jesuits of that period were not only “linguist-explorers”. They recorded for themselves, as Marco Polo did, what they had observed.

The first description of that kind worth mentioning is Ricci’s memoirs, written in Italian during the last two years of his life (1608-1610). Nicolas Trigault, in his journey back to Europe in 1615, edited these memoirs and translated them into Latin. This new version was first published in Augsburg, Germany. Despite its “missionary” original title in Italian *Della entrata della Compagnia de Giesù e Christianità nella Cinà* (On the entry of the Society of Jesus and Christianity into China), the text is full of precise data concerning the name and geographical position of the country, the natural products, the arts, language and literature, the government, the customs, superstitions and the religious traditions Ming dynasty Chinese culture. The Latin version by Trigault has successively been translated into the main European languages and more recently (1983) in Japanese and Chinese. Such a “description” has inspired many others in later ages. Among the most important works of that period are Alvarez Semedo’s *Relazione della Grande Monarchia della China* (Report on the Great Monarchy of China, Rome 1643, in Italian), or the *Nouvelle Relation de la Chine* (A new report about China, Paris 1688), a French version of a manuscript in Portuguese by Gabriel de Magalhaens, a work later on translated into English. As the others, this work has been a source for better knowledge and positive understanding.

These descriptions of the various features of China and its culture were soon accompanied by maps.¹⁰ Martino Martini (衛匡國, 1614-1661), who was 29 years old when he reached China (1643), is credited for drawing the best collection of Chinese maps of his time. Known as *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, it was published during a trip to Europe, in Antwerp (1655).¹¹ This work, like the maps of China drawn by Ruggieri-Ricci, Semedo or Boym, relied as much on geographical knowledge gained through travel experience across the country, as on Chinese sources. The 廣輿圖 *Kuang yu tu* (Enlarged terrestrial atlas, ed. 1579) by 朱思本 Zhu Siben

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁰ On this special field of cartography in Chinese Studies, cf. Chang Min-min, *China in European maps: a library special collection / compiled and edited by Min-min Chang*. 地圖中國：圖書館特藏 / 編輯者周敏民. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University of Science and Technology Library, c2003. 香港：香港科技大學圖書館, c2003.

¹¹ Cf. Blaeu, Joan, 1596-1673, 朱思本 Chu Ssu-pên, 1273-ca. 1335, Martini, Martino, 1614-1661, *Novus Atlas Sinensis*: 1655. *Faksimiles nach der Prachtausgabe der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*. Einführung von Yorck Alexander Haase, Stuttgart, Müller und Schindler, 1974. Case contains an introductory volume (14 p.; 40 cm.) and a portfolio (50 cm.) containing a photo reprint of 2 chapters of the original text by Martino Martini and all the maps from the 1655 ed. of *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, which was published by J. Blaeu, Amsterdam as part 6 of his *Theatrum orbis terrarum sive Novus Atlas*; title from introductory volume.

(1273-1337)¹², was still lacking of more accurate calculations. Martino Martini died relatively young at the age of 47. Yet he is also known for his history of the Manchu conquest, written in Latin under the title of *De bello Tartarico in Sinis historia* (1654), a great success in Europe, with twenty eight editions in eight languages.¹³ To this, he added some broader research on Chinese history titled *Sinicae historiae decas prima res à gentis origine ad Christum natum in extrema Asia, sive Magno Sinarum Imperio gestas complexa* (The first ten divisions of Chinese history, affairs in far Asia from the beginning of the people to the birth of Christ, or surrounding the emerging great empire of the Chinese), Munich 1658 and Amsterdam 1659). In such a work, Martini shared with Ricci the same spirit of accommodation, inserting into the historical narrative some comments on Chinese classical literature, with a favorable interpretation of Confucian values. It was a first but excessive attempt to integrate Chinese and Biblical chronologies.¹⁴

On the front of scientific research, as in the field of cartography, Jesuits of this period have also had important and well known contributions to Chinese studies. Johann Adam Schall von Bell (湯若望, 1592-1666) remains famous for the role he played in the reform of the Chinese calendar, with the risks involved in these efforts. His many unpublished writings should not be forgotten as they show that this reform was the fruit of comparative studies that Schall did on European and Chinese astronomies. This remains an important field of research central to a better understanding of the Chinese world and its ways of life.

On some other more modest field of knowledge, the Jesuit Michał Piotr Boym (卜彌格, 1612-1659) is a less known figure. Yet, in the short time he stayed in China (1643-1652), right in the middle of the Manchu conquest, he was able to do research on the Chinese flora, particularly in 海南 Hainan, with sketches of plants and notes on their pharmacological usage in Chinese medicine and ordinary life. His *Flora Sinensis* in Latin has just been recently studied, reproduced and translated in Polish, in *Gnieszno*.¹⁵

In the same period of Jesuit activities in China, in 1623 or 1625, near the ancient imperial capital 長安 Chang'an (present day 西安 Xi'an) or at nearby 鰲屋 Zhouzhi, beside the 崇仁寺 Chongren Temple where it had been housed for several centuries, was unearthed a stele now very famous. The Jesuit Álvaro de Semedo (曾德照, 1585-1658) has narrated this discovery. The stele had been erected in 781 to commemorate, as is engraved on it, "the Propagation of the

¹² Cf. Mungello, *op. cit.*, p. 116-124: "Martini's *Novus Atlas Sinensis*".

¹³ E. Zürcher, "From Jesuit Studies to Western Learning", in *Europe studies China: papers from an International Conference on the history of European sinology*, London: Han-Shan Tang Books, [Taipei] The Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, 1995, p. 267.

¹⁴ Cf. Mungello, *op. cit.*, p. 124-133: "Martini's *Sinicae historiae decas prima*".

¹⁵ Miazek, Monika, *Flora Sinensis, Michała Boyma SI = 中國植物志*, Gnieszno, Collegium Europaeum Gnesnense, 2005, 287 p.

Ta-Chin Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom". The first Western description and study of the stele mentioning the presence of Christianity in China during the 唐 Tang dynasty was done by the Jesuit Emmanuel Diaz Junior (陽瑪諾, 1574-1659). He had been in China since 1610. His essay in Chinese, the 唐景教碑頌正詮 *Tang Jing jiao bei song zheng quan* (Correct interpretation of the praise on the Tang stele of the Luminous doctrine), was published in 1644 with the complete Chinese text and a sentence by sentence commentary.

Before concluding this first period of Jesuit presence in China and their contribution to Chinese studies, the first European translations of some Confucian classics have to be mentioned. Ricci himself, already in 1593, had translated into Latin under the title *Tetrabiblion Sinense de moribus*, "The Chinese Four Books on morals", with short commentaries, a document nowadays lost and probably never published. Every Jesuit newcomer in China had to transcribe and study it.¹⁶ Later on, Ignacio da Costa (郭納爵, 1599-1666) did a Latin translation of the 大學 *Da Xue* under the title *Sapientia Sinica* (Chinese wisdom). At this translation a fellow Jesuit, Prosper Intorcetta (殷鐸澤, 1625-1696) added his translation, also in Latin, of the 中庸 *Zhong Yong* under the title of *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis* (Politico-moral science of the Chinese), plus a *Vita Confucii, principis sapientiae sinicae* (Life of Confucius, Prince of the Chinese wisdom) and the first part of the 論語 *Lun Yu* under the title *Sententiae* (Maxims). All these translations, printed on wood and later assembled in one volume with their Chinese texts, have been published partly in 廣州 Guangzhou (Canton) in 1667 and in Goa in 1669.¹⁷

II. Amidst Controversy, Deeper Contacts

With these translations of some Chinese classics begins the second period of the Jesuit presence in China. It extends thorough the long reign of Emperor 康熙 Kang Xi (1662-1723). In this period of about sixty years, the apostolic policy of accommodation adopted by Matteo Ricci generated strong counter reactions among the Jesuits themselves and other missionaries of different religious orders. Due to the first developments of what later became the Chinese Rites Controversy, this period is therefore full of tension, including in the outlying provinces.

Nevertheless, Jesuit Chinese studies and explorations continued. They were made on a deeper level of knowledge and interpretation. As communication with European intelligentsia developed, through slow but frequent mail, and travel back and forth, this age saw the birth of European Sinology. In the scope allotted to this paper, let us limit ourselves to the contributions

¹⁶ Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

of the Jesuits. And to get some order, let us place the most important ones under specific headings.

First, the effort to translate the Confucian classics, accompanied with commentaries, continued.

To Prospero Intorcetta, just mentioned *supra*, is attributed a complete *Paraphrase* of all the Confucian books, a work that he left in Rome in 1671, perhaps under the title *Lucubratio de tetrabiblio Confucii* (Intensive study of the four books of Confucius).¹⁸

More important, due to the influence it has had in Europe is a collective work called *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive scientia Sinensis latine exposita* (Confucius, philosopher of the Chinese, or the Chinese learning explained in Latin, Paris 1687). The work has a Chinese title 西文四書直解 *Xi wen si shu zhi jie* (A Straight Forward explanation of the Four books in Western Language). Composed mainly by Philippe Couplet (柏應理, 1622-1693), Prospero Intorcetta, Wolfgang Hertdrich (思理格, 1625-1684), and François de Rougemont (魯日滿, 1624-1676), this important work has an introduction in two parts. The first includes a presentation of the Chinese Classics and of their main commentators, plus some short notes on Daoism and the 道士 *dao shi*, on Buddhism and the bonzes, on the literati and the philosophers, and a table of the 64 hexagrams and their interpretation. The second part explains the world conception of the Chinese, the difficulties encountered by Ricci and the solution he adopted, the original purity of Chinese culture and its notion of God, the Supreme Being. This is followed by the Life of Confucius and the translations with commentaries, mentioned *supra*, all done by Intorcetta. Couplet has added various *Chronological Tables* (published in Paris, 1686-1687): two of the sexagesimal cycles (from the year 2952 before C.E.¹⁹ till the beginning of the C.E. and after it until the year 1683) plus a genealogy of the first three imperial families since 黃帝 Huang Di, the Yellow Emperor, with his 86 successors.²⁰

Second, thanks to the better knowledge of the language acquired from the labor of translations, some **dictionaries and grammars** were compiled.

These translations and commentaries have been done with the help obtained through the compilation of badly needed dictionaries and grammars. As the academic idiom in the West

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 322 and 328.

¹⁹ C.E.: Christian Era, Common Era.

²⁰ Cf. D.E. Mungello, "A study of the prefaces to Ph. Couplet's *Tabula Chronologica monarchiae Sinicae* (1686)" in Heyndrickx, Jérôme, ed., *Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623-1693) : The man who brought China to Europe*, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1990. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, XXII, pp. 183-199.

was still commonly the Latin language, mention should be done here of the 文字考 *Wen zi kao* (Research on the Characters), a work by Wolfgang Hertdrich about which Philippe Couplet wrote in 1682: "His great Chinese-Latin dictionary is being printed with this title."²¹ Yet, the whereabouts of the book remain unknown. Intorcetta himself had composed *Grammatica linguae Sinensis* (Grammar of the Chinese language), printed in Europe sometime during the XVIIth century.²²

Philippe Couplet, during his stay in Europe (1682-1692), is also reported to have left in Paris a *Chinese Grammar*, which became a reference for others to come, and a *Chinese Dictionary*, very clearly written, work of the missionaries, on which a later dictionary in 9 volumes in-folio by Mentzell has been based.²³

A man of many talents, Ferdinand Verbiest (南懷仁, 1623-1688) rearranged the Chinese Grammar made by Martino Martini. Furthermore, with him and others, a new field of Sinology is open, the Manchu studies. Known for his proficiency in Manchu language, Verbiest is the author of the first *Grammatica tartarea* (Manchu grammar) also titled *Elementa linguae tartaricae* (Elements of the Manchu language) that was printed in Beijing.²⁴

In his many memorials to the emperor written in Chinese (for instance the 儀象志 *Yi xiang zhi*, on the theory, usage and fabrication of astronomical and mechanical instruments, a work in 14 volumes; Beijing, 1673),²⁵ Verbiest had obviously to coin new Chinese terms and to explain them. He had similarly to do so when he added some comments to his famous 坤輿全圖 *Kun yu quan tu* (Map of the terrestrial globe, Beijing 1674), or in the explanation of the map 坤輿圖說 *Kun yu tu shuo* (Beijing, 1672), a work that contains essential cosmographic and geographic notions,²⁶ or finally in his many writings in which he had to justify European astronomy in comparison with the Chinese counterpart.²⁷

But on the field of Linguistics, the greatest contribution has probably been that of Joseph Henri Marie de Prémare (馬若瑟, 1666-1736), known for his *Notitia linguae sinicae* (Note on the Chinese language), composed in 廣州 Guangzhou (Canton) in 1728, printed in 4 volumes, in Malacca (1831) and later on translated into English (Canton, 1847). According to the French

²¹ Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 328.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 358, and Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, p. 290.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 356. Cf. Golvers, Noel, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinard Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687)*. Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries, Nettetal, Steyler Verlag, 1993. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, XXVIII.

Sinologist Jean-Pierre Abel Rémusat (1788-1832), it is neither a simple grammar nor a rhetoric; it is a nearly complete treatise on literature including the usage of particles and Chinese grammar rules, with stylistic remarks, ancient locutions, common idiom, proverbs, most commonly used figures of style with a lot of examples quoted, translated and commented when necessary. And Rémusat continues: “the author [...] has sought to render all methods superfluous”, and has supposed that, as he did, every one “can learn Chinese through practice instead of learning it through theory.”²⁸ It is certainly through this practice that Henri de Prémare has been able to translate some maxims quoted from the 書經 *Shu Jing*, eight odes from the 詩經 *Shi Jing* and a Chinese tragedy from the 元 Yuan dynasty, 趙氏孤兒 *Zhao shi gu er* (The Orphan of the House of Zhao), that has inspired Voltaire’s drama *L’Orphelin de la Chine* (Paris, 1755). Among other linguistic contributions, de Prémare is also credited for a large Latin-Chinese Dictionary, in-4°, etc.

Third, Geographer’s maps are drawn.

This time, it was not at the initiative of the Jesuits but of the Emperor. Joachim Bouvet (白晉 1656-1730), one of the first six mathematicians sent by the king of France, Louis XIV, arrived in China in 1687. From 1708 to 1715, he worked on a survey of the various provinces and the preparation of maps of the empire. Another geographer, Jean-François Gerbillon (張誠, 1654-1707) made and published in 1692 his *Carte nouvelle de la Grande Tartarie* (New map of the Great Tartary or Manchuria).

Fourth, Histories of various kinds were also written. The same Bouvet is the author of the *État présent de la Chine* (The present state of China, Paris 1697), with engraved figures done in Paris by Giffart but based on Bouvet’s sketches which he had offered to the king of France. The book was followed by a *Portrait historique de l’Empereur de Chine* (Paris, 1697), republished as *Histoire de l’Empereur de Chine* (History of the emperor of China) in La Haye (1699), where Bouvet makes comparisons between the king and the Chinese emperor. Due to the Chinese Rites controversy, the care taken to present Chinese civilization through its glorious present state, as Bouvet did, or its best traditions, as did other Jesuits through their translations, led naturally to the study of its long history and its institutions. Dominique Parrenin (巴多明, 1665-1741) did a literal translation in French, which he calls *Histoire de la Chine* (History of China), of 資治通鑑綱目, 前編 *Zi zhi tong jian gang mu, qian bian* (Comprehensive Mirror to aid in Government, first part) of 司馬光 Sima Guang (1019-1086), where history is mirrored in the institutions established for good governance. Yet, Parrenin translated only the part related to the times of 伏羲 Fu Xi till 堯 Yao!

²⁸ Quoted by Pfister, *ibid.*, p. 524. The impressive detailed content of the *Notitia linguae sinicae* is given p. 525.

Fifth, Chinese Rites are better studied and explained.

The Chinese Rites have been the object of great attention and study by the Jesuits, in various works and numerous documents and letters. All are rich sources of cultural and anthropological information. Already in 1668, Intorcetta had composed quite a long treatise called *Testimonium de Cultu Sinensi* (Testimony on Chinese Cults), published in Paris in 1700 (318 pages in-8°). Probably related to it is a larger manuscript, apparently also written by Intorcetta, in which the author quotes as authorities all the Chinese texts related to these rites in memory of Confucius and of the family ancestors.²⁹

In the same year of this publication in Paris, Joachim Bouvet, with four other missionaries, presented a memorial to the emperor asking for an authoritative interpretation of the rites, which were objects of the controversy. The imperial answer was that they were purely civil usages of reverence without any religious significance.

François Noël 衛方濟 (1651-1729), some years later, published in Prague his *Philosophia Sinica* (Chinese philosophy, 1711), in which he gathered quotations of Chinese philosophers related to their notion of the Supreme Being, the meaning of the rites honoring the ancestors and the moral duties in family and social life. Another book followed: *Historica notitia rituum et ceremoniarum sinicarum...* etc. (Historical notice on the Chinese rites and ceremonies, Prague 1711), a book that was ordered to be withdrawn and remains extremely rare.³⁰ It is equally worthwhile to note that Noël had also translated the 道德經 *Daode Jing*.³¹

It is not in the scope of this paper to delve more neither into the controversy itself nor on its aftermath. Yet, parallel with it (if not a part of the controversy), some other research had been done in the same period of time by a few Jesuit missionaries, and not less gifted, on the early ages of Chinese culture and language.

In their admiration for Chinese civilization, they were searching for some hints of similarities between Chinese culture and language (as signified by early Chinese characters or expressed in the 易經 *Yi Jing*) and the religious notions or the narrated events in the biblical traditions, such as the Diluvium and its dates. Hence great efforts were made in the search for a concordance between Chinese ancient historical records and biblical history. In this search that

²⁹ Pfister, *ibid.*, p. 326.

³⁰ Pfister, *ibid.*, p. 418.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

goes beyond the scope of Chinese studies, particularly remarkable have been Joseph Henry-Marie de Prémare (馬若瑟 1666-1736) with his studies of Chinese philology³² and Joachim Bouvet. Yet, the “Figurative” reading of Chinese ancient culture, by aiming at proving too much, ended in failure.³³

This might have also been the result of the debates stirred up in Europe by the work of Louis Le Comte (李明, 1655-1728), *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (New Memoirs on the Present State of China, Paris, 1696), where an extremely positive image of Chinese civilization was given.

III. In Utter Rejection, Mutual Curiosity

As far as Chinese studies are concerned, the third period of Jesuit presence in China is also brief, only spanning about fifty years (1722-1773) under the reigns of the emperors 雍正 Yong Zheng (1723-1736) and 乾隆 Qian Long (1736-1796), until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Yet, by the contributions of the persons involved in Chinese studies, and by the unfortunate conclusion given to this Jesuit presence in China, this period is not less remarkable.

One of the first newcomer Jesuit missionaries of that time was Antoine Gaubil (宋君榮, 1689-1759), a man extremely gifted. He wrote a great number of books, some published in Paris. By browsing on their titles, one immediately notes the great progress done in Chinese studies. Here are some instances.

First on astronomy: *Histoire abrégée de l'astronomie chinoise* (A Brief History of Chinese Astronomy, Paris 1729), with a supplement on the Chinese cycles and notes on solar eclipses as mentioned in the 書經 *Shu Jing*, the 詩經 *Shi Jing* and the 春秋 *Chunqiu*; a *Traité de l'astronomie chinoise* (Treatise on Chinese astronomy) from the beginning of history till the 漢 Han, and then till the XVth century C.E., including tables and Chinese methods of computation, etc. The text is followed by several collections of scientific observations done in different exact scientific disciplines and gathered by his fellow Jesuit companions, including catalogs of comets (one catalog spanning the year 613 till the year 1539).

³² Cf. Lundbæk, Knud, *Joseph de Prémare, 1666-1736, S.J. : Chinese philology and figurism*, Århus, Denmark, Århus University Press, 1991.

³³ Cf. Witek, John W., *Controversial ideas in China and in Europe: a biography of Jean-François Foucquet, S.J., (1665-1741)*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1982. Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., v. 43.

Second, on history, he composed an *Histoire de Gen-tchis-can et de la dynasty des Mongou* (History of Genghis Khan and of the Mongol Dynasty, Paris 1739); an *Histoire de la grande dynastie des Thang* (History of the Great Tang dynasty, Paris 1791); a *Traité de la Chronologie chinoise* (Treatise on Chinese Chronology).

Third, on geography: some maps, of Canton (1723), and a *Description de la ville de Pékin* (Description of the City of Beijing, Paris 1765), and two interesting maps: a *Carte des provinces formant frontière entre la Russie d'une part, et la Turquie d'Asie, la Perse et la Tartarie, de l'autre* (Map of the provinces forming the frontier between Russia on the one hand and Asian Turkey, Persia and Tartary on the other, drawn in 1728 for 雍正 Yong Zheng's brother), and an other similar one *Carte des provinces limitrophes de la Turquie, de la Perse et du Mongol* (Map of the provinces bordering Turkey, Persia and Mongolia, drawn in 1729 for the same royal prince). Plus numerous notes taken on his journeys, for instance one about *Les Juifs de Chine* (The Jews of 開封 Kaifeng, 1723).

Gaubil also did some important translations: the 書經 *Shu Jing* (Paris, 1770); le 易經 *Yi Jing* et le 禮記 *Li Ji*; the 步天歌 *Bu tian ge* (Song of the walk in the sky, sent with notes to Paris in 1734) — it is a short description of the sky, in verses composed in 600 C.E. by 丹元子 Dan Yuanzi (隋 Sui dynasty, 589-620).

In his enormous correspondence with the European intelligentsia, Gaubil has shared with many interested friends what he had learned by living 37 years in China. As Jean-Joseph Amiot had written about him: "Theology, physics, astronomy, geography, sacred or profane or ancient or modern history, sciences, literature, everything was keeping him alternatively busy," etc.³⁴

Some of his other companions were not less remarkable in science and workmanship. August von Hallerstein (劉松齡, 1703-1774) was mainly an astronomer.³⁵ Pierre Noël Le Chéron d'Incarville (湯執中, 1706-1757) was a botanist and Director of the Imperial Gardens. He compiled the first *Herbier des plantes de Chine* (Herbarium of plants of China) and perhaps the first *Dictionnaire Français-Chinois* (French-Chinese dictionary, achieved in 1752), made of 1,362 pages in two columns. The book is now kept at the French National Library in Paris.³⁶

³⁴ On Gaubil, see Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 667-693.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 753-760.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 795-799.

Special mention of course should be made of Joseph-Marie-Anne de Moyriac de Mailla (馮秉正, 1669-1748), also a cartographer but mainly known for his translation into French of the huge Chinese historical master piece edited by 朱熹 Zhu Xi (1130-1200), the 通鑑綱目 *Tong jian gang mu* (Universal Mirror, main lines and facts). It took de Mailla more than six years to finish his project, which is rather made of translated abstracts of the original work plus additions related to the Ming and Qing dynasties. Despite these shortcomings, this *Histoire Générale de la Chine* (General History of China), published later in 12 volumes by Grosier, has remained for many years the most complete history of China known in Europe.³⁷

In this period of Jesuit presence in China before the suppression of the Society of Jesus, an other important publication in Europe, as such indirectly related to “Chinese studies” proper, should nevertheless be mentioned: the *Description géographique, [...] de la Chine [...]*, by Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674-1743).³⁸ The work was based on the letters of his fellow Jesuits, sent for many years from China.³⁹

The latest Jesuit superior in China was Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot (錢德明, 1719-1793), a linguist, historian, musician and musicologist, an extraordinary man. Here are some of his most important and peculiar works.⁴⁰

Letter sur les caractères chinois (On Chinese Characters, 1764), in which he proves that they have nothing in common with Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Grammaire tartare-mandchoue (Tartar-Manchu Grammar, Paris, 1788), in French.

Dictionnaire mandchou-français (Manchu-French Dictionary, 3 vol. in 4°, Paris, 1789-1790).

Dictionnaire universel de la langue mandchoue (Universal Dictionary of Manchu Language, 1781), unpublished because entries are classified according to topics.

Dictionnaire polyglotte (Polyglot dictionary) in five languages (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchu, Mongol, Chinese) and three scripts (Tibetan, Manchu, Chinese), compiled in the Imperial Palace with the cooperation of the best local scholars. As Amiot says, it was less a dictionary than a kind of theological, philosophical and moral compendium made at the intention of Buddhist believers.

³⁷ *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou Annales de cet Empire; traduit du Tong-kien-kang-mou par de Mailla*, Paris, 1777-1783, in 12 volumes, with maps and plans. – Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 601-602.

³⁸ *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise. Enrichie des Cartes générales et particulières de ces Pays, de la Carte générale et des Cartes particulières du Thibet et de la Corée*, by Jean-Baptiste du Halde (Paris, P. G. Le Mercier, 1735).

³⁹ *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine par des missionnaires jésuites* (1702-1776), 34 volumes. There have been many editions and translations.

⁴⁰ Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 837-860.

Écritures des peuples tributaires de la Chine (Scripts of tributary peoples of China, 2 vol.), a work containing various books in Tibetan, Sanskrit, Persian scripts with corresponding Chinese characters and Latin script transcription.

Rituel des Tartares-Mandchous (Ritual of the Tartars-Manchus, posthumous 1804).

Art militaire des Chinois (Military Art of the Chinese) or *Recueil d'anciens traités sur la guerre* (Compendium of ancient treatises on war) Paris, 1772. Amiot translated three of the six Chinese treatises: the 孫子 *Sun zi*, 吳子 *Wu zi* and the 司馬法 *Si ma fa*.

Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois tant anciens que modernes (Report on the music of the Chinese, be they ancient or modern, Beijing, 1776), based on a translation he made of the 古樂經傳 *Gu yue jing zhuan* (Commentary on the ancient music), in three parts dealing with the categories of sounds, of pipes and of tones.⁴¹

Mémoire sur les danses religieuses des anciens Chinois (Report on the religious dances of the ancient Chinese, Beijing, 1788).⁴²

Amiot died in Beijing in 1793, twenty years after the suppression of his religious order.

IV. Through Research, Rebuilding Lost Friendship

After the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814, Jesuits were again received in China but not until 1842, at the request of some Catholic communities in the 江南 Jiang'nan region. This period would last for about 100 or so years, until the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949.

Many missionary and scientific activities developed beyond the first fifty years of presence. A magnetic and meteorological observatory (观象台) was established in 徐家匯 Xujiahui (Zi-ka-wei) accompanied by a Museum of Natural History. Another observatory for astronomy research was also installed in 舍山 Sheshan (Zo-se), both places near Shanghai. Some time later, in 天津 Tientsin, a Museum of Paleo-anthropology was particularly developed by Teilhard de Chardin during his sojourn in China for research (1923, 1926 [discovery of the sinanthrop], 1939-1946).

Chinese studies were resumed, with long term planning. First, a "Bureau d'études sinologiques" (Office for Sinological Studies) was established in Xujiahui, and in 1892 the first

⁴¹ Cf. Amiot, Joseph Marie (1718-1793) and Roussier, Pierre Joseph (1716-1790?), *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois*, Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1973.

⁴² Cf. Lenoir, Yves and Standaert, Nicolas, *Les Danses rituelles chinoises d'après Joseph-Marie Amiot*, Bruxelles, Lessius, 2005.

volume of the “Variétés Sinologiques” series (Sinological varieties) was published. By looking at the catalog of the series, the “variety” of topics dealt with in these monographs is astonishing. From the start till 1938 that is in 46 years of operation sixty-six volumes were printed and published by the printing press of 土山灣 Tushanwan (T’ou-sè-wè) in Xujiahui. Here is a brief summary of the various categories of topics researched:

On geography, 10 volumes; on history, 5 volumes; on astronomy (and earthquakes), 3 volumes; on inscriptions (Xi’an and Kaifeng), 4 volumes; reference books (comparative chronologies, biographies, index), 5 volumes; on civil institutions (examinations, ownership, marriage, trade, administration, civility, law), 9 volumes; on various topics, 3 volumes; on literature, 4 volumes; on philosophy (朱熹 Zhu Xi, 王陽明 Wang Yangming), 2 volumes; on Christianity, 2 volumes; on religions (in particular on the Chinese religious traditions), 19 volumes (by the Jesuit Henri Doré, 1859-1931).

Although these publications were done in French, not all authors were European or French: 19 studies have been done by 7 different Chinese Jesuits. Most important are the reference volumes on *Synchronismes chinois: chronologie complète et concordance avec l’ère chrétienne de toutes les dates concernant l’histoire de l’Extrême Orient (Chine, Japon, Corée, Annam, Mongolie, etc.)* (2357 av. J.-C. – 1904 apr. J.-C.),⁴³ published in 1905 by Matthias Tchang, or the *Concordance des Chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne*,⁴⁴ published in 1910 by Pierre Hoang. We shall also note that, without Louis Pfister’s work in two volumes, frequently quoted in this paper⁴⁵ and published in this series in 1934, we would probably ignore the important contributions in Chinese studies done by the early Jesuits.

Not included in the “Variétés Sinologiques” series, published in Shanghai, this period saw also in Northern China, 献县 Xianxian (河北省 Hebei province), the publication of new and renowned Sinological works. Among the most outstanding Jesuit sinologists of that period, is Léon Wieger (戴遂良, 1856-1933) with his impressive bibliography of Chinese linguistics, history, philosophy, Chinese classics, Taoism, Buddhism, folklore, etc.⁴⁶ Despite his outdated

⁴³ Chinese Synchronisms: complete chronology and concordance with the Christian era of all dates concerning the history of the Far East (China, Japan, Korea, Annam, Mongolia, etc.) (2357 B.C.E.–1904 C.E.). Reprinted in 1967.

⁴⁴ Concordance of the Chinese and European neomenic chronologies. Reprinted in 1968.

⁴⁵ See note 3.

⁴⁶ Wieger, Léon, 1856-1933. All these publications, quoted from the Library of Congress, have first been published in China, in French:

[1] *Rudiments de parler et de style chinois, dialecte du [Ho Kien Fu]* par le P. Léon Wieger. 1895.

[2] *Bouddhisme chinois. Extraits du Tripitaka, des commentaires, tracts, etc.* Par le P. Léon Wieger ... 1910.

[3] *Taoïsme ...* 1911.

[4] *Chinois parlé, manuel ... koan-hoa du Nord, non-pékinois.* 1912.

results in etymology, his manual on Chinese characters, first published in 1915, translated and reprinted many times, has helped many students of the Chinese language to face the challenges involved in learning to read and write Chinese.

Similarly, new and scholarly dictionaries appeared, the most famous one being the *Dictionnaire Classique de la Langue Chinoise* (Classical dictionary of the Chinese language), compiled in 1,080 pages with appendix and index by François-Séraphin Couvreur.⁴⁷ First published in 1890 as *Dictionnaire chinois-français*, it has been reprinted many times, with additions and corrections. This one man work remains an essential reference tool. Its characteristics are remarkable: first, the number of entries, about 21,400 single characters, included some corrupted *graphies* (perhaps the greatest number of single characters entries contained in any Chinese dictionary published in the West); secondly, the entries explain the meanings of each character by quoting the Chinese Classics and texts of various origins, like modern and contemporary literature, official documents, novels, plays or even vernacular language. Based on Chinese dictionaries, particularly the 康熙字典 *Kang Xi zi dian*, it is an outstanding result of erudition among many other dictionaries published in the same period of time by Jesuits and other missionaries.

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- [5] *Chinese characters, their origin, etymology, history, classification and signification. A thorough study from Chinese documents*, by Dr. L. Wieger, S. J. Tr. into English by L. Davrout. 1915.
 - [6] *Chine à travers les ages : hommes et choses. Précis, Index biographique, Index bibliographique*. 1920.
 - [7] *Chine moderne ...* par le P. Léon Wieger, S. J. 1920.
 - [8] *Chinese characters, their origin, etymology, history, classification and signification. A thorough study from Chinese documents*, by Dr. L. Wieger, S. J. Translated into English by L. Davrout, S. J. 1927.
 - [9] *History of the religious beliefs and philosophical opinions in China from the beginning to the present time*. By Dr. Leo Wieger, s. j. Translated by Edward Chalmers Werner. 1927.
 - [10] *China throughout the ages*. By Dr. Leo Wieger, S. J. Translated by Edward Chalmers Werner ... 1928.
 - [11] *Textes historiques; histoire politique de la Chine depuis l'origine, jusqu'en 1929*. Par le P. Léon Wieger S.J. 1929.
 - [12] *Chinese characters, their origin, etymology, history, classification and signification. A thorough study from Chinese documents*, by Dr. L. Wieger, S. J. Translated into English by L. Davrout, S. J. 1940.
 - [13] *Bouddhisme chinois*. 1951.
 - [14] *Chinese characters; their origin, etymology, history, classification and signification; a thorough study from Chinese documents*, by L. Wieger. Translated into English by L. Davrout. 1965.
 - [15] *Folk-lore chinois moderne* [a selection of tales drawn principally from Yu'an Mei, translated into French. Sienhsien] Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1909. 1969.
 - [16] *History of the religious beliefs and philosophical opinions in China from the beginning to the present time*, by Leo Wieger. Translated by Edward Chalmers Werner. 1969.
 - [17] *Pères du système taoïste : Lao-tzeu, Lie-tzeu, Tchoang-tzeu*, par Léon Wieger. 1975.
 - [18] *Taoism : the philosophy of China*, by Leo Wieger; edited by Charles Lucas; [translated by Edward Charles Werner]. 1976.
 - [19] *Moral tenets and customs in China* / L. Wieger; [translated and annotated by] L. Davrout. 1981.
 - [20] *Laozi. Tao-te-ching / Lao-tzu; with summaries of the writings of attributed to Huai-nan-tzu, Kuan-yin-tzu and Tung-ku-ching*; a new translation by Derek Bryce & Léon Wieger. 1999.
 - [21] *Laozi. Tao-te-ching / Lao-tzu; with summaries of the writings of attributed to Huai-nan-tzu, Kuan-yin-tzu and Tung-ku-ching* ; a translation by Derek Bryce & Léon Wieger. 2005.

⁴⁷ Sienhsien Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1890.

Séraphin Couvreur is also known for his several annotated translations, in Latin and French, of most of the Chinese classics, not less than 13 volumes.⁴⁸

V. Deepening and Broadening Experience

With the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949 begins the latest and present period of continued Jesuits endeavors in Chinese studies. Despite the fact that these endeavors were not allowed to develop in China proper, they have not been lacking in creativity. One may say that they developed under two different formats.

The first has been the research done by some individuals. Let us just quote a few instances.

Mention has already been made of (the late) Paul 楊福綿 Yang Fu-Mien, who contributed to the development of Chinese dialectology by many scholarly articles and has published two important bibliographies: *Chinese dialectology: a selected and classified bibliography*⁴⁹ and *Chinese lexicology and lexicography: a selected and classified bibliography*.⁵⁰

His colleague in linguistics is Friedrich Weingartner (溫知新), who has established in Taipei a laboratory of applied linguistics. For many years, the research was done on the

⁴⁸ Couvreur, Séraphin, 1835-1919.

- [1] *Dictionnaire français-chinois* contenant les expressions les plus usitées de la langue mandarine, par le p. Séraphin Couvreur S.J., 1884.
- [2] *Quatre livres*, avec un commentaire abrégé en chinois, une double traduction en français et en latin et un vocabulaire des lettres et des noms propres par S. Couvreur, S. J., 1895.
- [3] *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise*, suivant l'ordre alphabétique de la prononciation, par F. S. Couvreur, S. J. 1911.
- [4] *Li ki, ou Mémoires sur les bienséances et les cérémonies*. Texte chinois avec une double traduction en français et en latin, par S. Couvreur, 1913.
- [5] *Confucius, Tch'ouen ts'iou et Tso tchouan*, texte chinois, 1914.
- [6] *Géographie ancienne et moderne de la Chine*, par F.S. Couvreur, S.J., 1917.
- [7] *Cheu king*, 1926.
- [8] *Chou king*, 1927.
- [9] *Quatre livres*, avec un commentaire abrégé en chinois, 1930.
- [10] *Géographie ancienne et moderne de la Chine*, 1934.
- [11] *Confucius, Chronique de la principauté de Lou*, 1951.
- [12] *Confucius. Confucius ... / entretiens traduits [du chinois] par le R. P. Séraphin Couvreur et préfacés par G. Dubarbier, ... illustrés par Viet Ho. Tao töking ... / pages de Lao-tseu, présentées par André Berry ... illustrées par Viet Ho*, 1973.
- [13] *Choix de documents : lettres officielles, proclamations, édits, mémoriaux, inscriptions / texte chinois avec traduction en français et en latin par S. Couvreur*, 1983.

⁴⁹ 國方言學分類參考書目, Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press, c.1981, xxxvii, 189 p.

⁵⁰ 中國詞彙學及辭典學分類參考書目, Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press, c. 1985, xlvi, 361 p.

phonology and syntactic patterns of some local languages still used by aboriginal tribes of Taiwan.⁵¹

On the field of history, the late Albert Chan (陈纶绪, 1915-2005), apart from many scholarly articles, has produced two outstanding books: *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*,⁵² and *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, A Descriptive Catalogue: Japonica-Sinica I-IV*.⁵³ This second volume is an irreplaceable reference tool for doing any research on the history of Christianity in China during the late Ming-Qing period, all the more useful that the above quoted part of the Jesuit Archives has not been scanned on the set of CD-ROMs done by the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome.

In history, Joseph Šebes, in *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.*,⁵⁴ has in his introduction clarified some historical points of the background of this important treaty between the Chinese and the Russian Empires.

The second format of Jesuit research on Chinese studies done in this period is the progressive establishment, through the past 40 years, and under different circumstances, of four research institutes, the first in Taipei (1966), then in Paris (1971), later on in San Francisco (1984) and, more recently, in Macao (1999). All of them call themselves “Ricci Institute”, meaning to share the same tradition of a respectful and learned approach to Chinese society, its language, history and culture. Yet, the focus of their fields of research is not the same. Although they are members of the International Ricci Association for Chinese Studies, they remain mutually independent.

The Taipei Ricci Institute, established by Yves Raguin (甘易逢, 1912-1998), has had for many years two main research orientations. One, rather new in the field of Chinese studies, was the Chinese spiritual traditions as developed in Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism.⁵⁵ Yves Raguin taught and published mainly in these fields.⁵⁶ Yet, as early as 1960 or so, he had been involved in the continuation of a multi-language dictionary project (Chinese, Latin, English,

⁵¹ Cf. Friedrich Weingartner, *Diacritics in Early Tayal Manuals*, Variétés Sinologiques No.92, © Taipei Ricci Institute, 2002.

⁵² Albert Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. xxxii, 428 p. : illustr., maps.

⁵³ 羅馬耶穌會檔案處藏漢和圖書文獻目錄提要 / 陳綸緒。Armonk, New York : M. E. Sharpe, 2002. xliii, 626 p., illustr.

⁵⁴ Joseph Šebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.*, Rome, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961. xxxv, 341 p.; folded maps.

⁵⁵ Raguin, Yves, *Terminologie Raisonnée du Bouddhisme Chinois*, Taipei, Association Française pour le Développement Culturel et Scientifique en Asie, 1985. vi, 472 p., illustr., indexes.

⁵⁶ His latest work was: *Ways of Contemplation East and West*. Part One: Structure of the spiritual world; Part Two: Travel in the spiritual world; Part Three: Spiritual writers and works; Part Four : Chinese spirituality. Taipei, Ricci Institute for Chinese Studies, 2001.

French, Spanish and Hungarian), initiated in Shanghai by the Hungarian Jesuit Jenő Zsámár (馬駿聲, 1904-1974), before 1949. Only the French and the Spanish versions went through the completion of two small size dictionaries.⁵⁷ Later on, in 1976, Raguin resumed the publication of the “Variétés Sinologiques” with a “New Series”. After an interruption of nearly thirty years, until now thirty new volumes were added to the series.⁵⁸

It was also at the Taipei Ricci Institute that Jean Lefeuve (雷煥章), in the preparation for the multi-language Chinese dictionary project, specialised, among many other activities, in the study of the most ancient Chinese scripts, the oracular inscriptions and the inscriptions on bronze. In good relations with other Chinese scholars in these fields, he published, in the above mentioned “New Series”, two volumes on the oracular inscriptions collections kept in some European museums.⁵⁹

These researches on the archaeology of the Chinese language and script have later on been inserted in some relevant 2,500 entries of the *Grand Dictionnaire Ricci de la Langue Chinoise*. This is a unique work, begun in 1949 by a group of Jesuits in Macao, and then in Taiwan, only recently published in Paris in 2002. It is an unparalleled publication effort in any European language, covering more than 4,000 years of the history of the Chinese language, the origins of its script, and extending up to the most contemporary usage. Specialized vocabulary is organized into 180 fields of knowledge: astronomy, Buddhism, medicine, finance, etc. Following the publication of the *Petit Ricci* in 1976 (6,000 characters and 50,000 expressions) mentioned above, and the *Dictionnaire de Caractères Chinois* (13,500 single characters) at the end of 1999, the *Grand Ricci*, as it is commonly called, encompassing about 300,000 entries, is the culmination of a joint effort by the Ricci Institutes of Paris and Taipei. More than 200 specialists helped prepare, revise and edit this work, including some of the leading names in French Sinology and Chinese lexicography. Here again, missionaries and Sinologists, as in the XVIIIth century, have shared the same labors, patience and passion.⁶⁰

This has been the greatest and longest common collaboration in one project between the Ricci Institutes of Taipei and of Paris. The latter had been established by Claude Larre (古從一,

⁵⁷ *Dictionnaire Français de la Langue Chinoise*, Copyright @ Paris, 1976 by Institut Ricci – Centre d’Études Chinoises, and *Diccionario Espanol de la Lengua China*, Copyright © Espasa-Calpe, S.A. Madrid.

⁵⁸ See the Taipei Ricci Institute website at www.riccibase.com.

⁵⁹ *Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in France*, Variétés Sinologiques No. 70, © Taipei Ricci Institute, 1985, 397 pages. Language: Chinese, English, French, and *Several Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in Germany, Switzerland, The Netherlands, Belgium*, Variétés Sinologiques No. 77, © Taipei Ricci Institute, 1997, 509 pages. Language: Chinese, English.

⁶⁰ 利氏漢法辭典 *Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise* / 巴黎利氏學社 (Institut Ricci de Paris) ; 台北利氏學社 (Institut Ricci de Taipei), DDB, Paris. 6 vol., illustr., maps; 1 vol., Dossiers, Index et Concordance. Paris, 2001. ISBN : 2220046672.

1919-2001), a former missionary Jesuit in China but based in France. His Institute has for its main research orientation the philosophical foundations of Traditional Chinese Medicine. Under his inspiration the European School of Acupuncture was established. Larre himself translated into French, with commentary, the 道德經 *Daode Jing*⁶¹ and 淮南子 *Houai Nan Tseu*, Treatise VII.⁶² In cooperation, he published also various books of initiation to Traditional Chinese Medicine.⁶³ And like Jesuits did in earlier times in China, himself wrote an introduction to Chinese culture and civilization entitled *Les Chinois: Esprit et comportement des Chinois comme ils se révèlent par leurs livres et dans la vie, des origines à la fin de la dynastie Ming, 1644* (The Chinese: the spirit and behavior of the Chinese as they reveal themselves through their books and in life, from the origins till the end of the Ming dynasty, 1644).⁶⁴

In Taipei as in Paris, the Ricci Institutes have organized every three years, in cooperation with the Ricci Institute of San Francisco, the well known “International Colloquia of Sinology” founded by Joseph Dehergne (榮振華, 1903-1990), Jesuit, former missionary in China, also well known for his useful *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*.⁶⁵ The San Francisco Ricci Institute was established by Edward Malatesta, (馬愛德, 1932-1998) in 1984, with Francis A. Rouleau (1900-1984), former missionary in Nanjing and historian of the Jesuit mission in China. Malatesta had to help the elderly Fr. Rouleau in the preparation for publication of many archival notes. This task is not finished yet, entrusted to other helping hands, but it remains the major goal of the research orientations of this institute, founded, as its name indicates, “for Chinese-Western Cultural History.” As such, the activities of this Institute go beyond the scope given in this paper.

Obviously, in this latest period of Jesuit run research institutions dedicated to Chinese studies, some evolution in the orientations of Jesuit Sinological studies is visible. Although lexicography has remained a very important magnet to increase otherwise scattered man power and energy, the signs of the times have changed.

⁶¹ Larre, Claude, s.j. *Le Tao Te King : Le livre de la Voie et de la Vertu* de Lao Tseu. Paris, Desclée De Brouwer, 1977.

⁶² *Le Traité VII du Houai Nan Tseu : Les esprits légers et subtils animateurs de l'essence* = 淮南子 : 精神訓. Taipei : Institut Ricci, 1982. Variétés Sinologiques = Nouvelle Série, No.67. Analyse des structures d'expression et traduction, avec notes et commentaires, de la partie doctrinale du Traité VII du *Houai nan tseu* (HNT VII, 1a-7a).

⁶³ Larre, Claude, Schatz, Jean, Rochat de la Vallée, Elisabeth, *Survey of Traditional Chinese Medicine*, Paris, Institut Ricci, Maryland : Traditional Acupuncture Foundation, 1986.

⁶⁴ *Les Chinois : Esprit et comportement des Chinois comme ils se révèlent par leurs livres et dans la vie, des origines à la fin de la dynastie Ming, 1644*, par Claude Larre. Avant-propos de Jacques Guilhermaz. Préface de Léon Vandermeersch. Paris, Éditions Lidis, 1981-1982, 671 p., illustr., plates, maps. ISBN 2850320617.

⁶⁵ *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, by Joseph Dehergne, S.J. Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I.; Paris : Letouzey & Ané, 1973. Chinese edition: 在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編 / 榮振華著 ; 耿昇譯. 北京, 中華書局, 1995.

Discoveries and explorations of the past (first period of the Jesuit presence in China), “among controversies, deeper contacts” (second period), “in utter rejection mutual curiosity” (third period), “through research rebuilding lost friendship” (fourth period), the Jesuits’ long “journeys” in Chinese Studies have not been in vain. Yet, what Jesuits explorations generated in Europe as “Sinology”, this “specialized discipline reserved to initiated scholars,” still remains far from ideal. Academic discipline deals only with an ‘object’ of knowledge. But is this the true vocation of Sinology?

Scholars of contemporary “Chinese Studies,” no matter their fecund diversity, seem to follow the same pattern. They use linguistics and other reference tools offered by older generations of Chinese Studies scholars, but a greater part of them remain on the ground of political, social, economical research, as “an object of knowledge.” For most of this time, Chinese society and culture remain “observed” through the magnifying glass of critical inquiry.

If such a line continues to be followed, how much indeed can be learned, without the participation of the Chinese scholar? A wealth of experience comes from what is actually lived and experienced in Chinese society and culture. In this latest period of “Jesuits’ journeys” into China, the Macau Ricci Institute tries to open new paths through its activities with the people of China. Being the youngest Jesuit institution dedicated to Chinese Studies, it develops contacts and shares common concerns with its colleagues and confreres in China.⁶⁶

An important observation must be made to illustrate our point. As this paper shows, since Matteo Ricci’s arrival in China, among the many bibliographical references given in the tools available for research, *not even one relates to the literary arts*. Kept at the service of the imperial court, or apostolically busy in the provinces, Jesuits negligently passed over important manifestations of the social and individual life of the individual, as expressed through literary art. The astonishing results of past research must not lessen our admiration, or close our minds to the new realities of modern China.

Through its annual international conferences, the Macau Ricci Institute tries to offer opportunities to Chinese and non-Chinese scholars to express their views on matters of mutual concern. In these gatherings ‘Sinology’ experts, ‘contemporary’ observers, and “in depth” personal reflections blend together. The proceedings of these conferences are published in the Institute Studies Series.⁶⁷ Some of the main themes have also been dealt with in the Institute’s

⁶⁶ On the Macau Ricci Institute, see its website at www.riccimac.org.

⁶⁷ The series is presented on the MRI website.

bi-lingual quarterly publication called 《神州交流》 *Chinese Cross Currents*, now in its fourth year of existence.

Along this new line of approach, the next symposium of the Institute will be on “The Individual and Society in Contemporary Chinese Literature,” an international effort which, unknowingly, coincides with the call for a “New Sinology” recently made by Professor Geremie R. Barmé,⁶⁸ in which he writes: “Thus, our critical engagement with China goes against the grain of 'seeing' China as *merely* an object of professional academic inquiry. Quite to the contrary, our critical engagement is with a language and a 'culture' that has already altered our Anglophone habits of mind: an 'Other' that haunts us from *within*, in the sense of a common humanity that Pierre Ryckmans evocatively affirmed, using the phrase “we are *all* Chinese”; or which Benjamin I. Schwartz spoke of as part of the enterprise to “bring the experience of the entire human race to bear on our common concerns.”

I am happy to thus conclude this presentation of the “Jesuits’ Journeys in Chinese Studies” by quoting the above cited, strongly worded statements, written by renowned contemporary Sinologists. In this case, scholars and missionaries are in agreement.

⁶⁸ See “On New Sinology” at <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/chinaheritageproject/newsinology>, accessed on 2007.02.24.