

# M<sub>astering</sub> m<sub>andarin</sub> and m<sub>in</sub>-Chinese in m<sub>anila</sub> and m<sub>acao</sub>:

Revitalizing Older Linguistic Documentation

Séance scientifique du labo organisée par Otto Zwartjes

Coordonnée par

Otto Zwartjes Université de Paris

18-12-2020

Laboratoire d’Histoire des Théories Linguistiques (HTL)

HTL est une Unité Mixte de Recherche (n°7597), dont les tutelles sont le CNRS, l’Université de Paris et l’Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle.

Zoom link:

<https://u-paris.zoom.us/j/87284142780?pwd=eGdOeW9CRUhITjIHR2ZNdVl1dlc1Zz09>

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## Introduction

During the age of the great discoveries, colonization and “spiritual conquest”, Europeans had different reasons to document, describe and study the great variety of non-European languages in all the continents of the world. In these new circumstances, there was a need for language documentation (field work), learning, and teaching. Missionaries started to write grammars and dictionaries and other works. In particular Jesuits were interested in Chinese Culture, History, Confucianism and other disciplines and wrote an impressive number of works on other disciplines than linguistic manuals.

—Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), who wrote on Christianity and the Confucian classics and with Ruggieri a dictionary Portuguese-Chinese;<sup>1</sup>

—Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628), who translated Ricci’s *De Christiana expeditione*, which became very popular in Europe,<sup>2</sup> as well as the Fables of Aesop into Chinese (his romanization system is discussed further below). He is the author of a Chinese dictionary (*Xiru Ermu Zi*, “Aid to the Eyes and Ears of Western Literati”, 1626);

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<sup>1</sup> Matteo Ricci, *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*; Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, *Dicionário Português-Chinês*.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas Trigault, *De Christiana expeditione*. See also David E. Mungello, *Curious Land*, 46–48.

—Martino Martini (1610–61), who wrote works on history<sup>3</sup> and contributed to cartography, participating in Joan Blaeu’s (1596–1673) Atlas<sup>4</sup> as well as authoring theological works in Chinese. He wrote a grammar of Chinese;<sup>5</sup>

—Pedro (Petrus) Chirino (1557–1635), who published a history of the Philippines<sup>6</sup> and compiled a Chinese dictionary;

—Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660), who wrote several books on the history of Vietnam and compiled a trilingual dictionary Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin and a grammar of Vietnamese in Latin, both published in the same volume;<sup>7</sup>

—João Rodrigues (c.1561–c.1634), who wrote a history of the Japanese church as well as works on Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Shintoism. He was the author of two grammars of Japanese, written in Portuguese;<sup>8</sup>

Chinese studies by Westerners started almost simultaneously in China and in the Philippines. It has been often postulated, and this is almost universally accepted in modern scholarship, that the strategy of the Jesuits was diametrically the opposite from that of the Dominicans. As we read, for instance in Paternicò (2011: 21-22),<sup>9</sup> “Valignano had the merit to realize immediately the importance of learning the Chinese language, not only in order to have a direct contact with the population, but also, at a higher level, to have a key to access the Chinese civilization”.

Notwithstanding, we cannot easily say that Jesuits, as a direct consequence of their “accommodationist” approach focused exclusively on the style of the Mandarin “literati”, and that Franciscans and Dominicans did not. Juan Bautista de Morales (1597–1664) did not only learn Mandarin, but also Hokkien or Southern Mǐn, Chin-cheu, and we read from the following fragment that there is hardly any difference between the strategies of the Jesuits and the Dominicans in this respect. Mandarin Chinese, the acquisition and knowledge of the official lingua franca, Mandarin, was crucial for the understanding of the culture and the ideas of Nation, Confucius, and the rites of ancestors, etc. as we read in the following fragment of Saint Vincent: “Jean-Bâtiste resta dans la ville, où en peu de tems il se perfectionna dans la langue des Sçavans, qu’on nomme ordinairement *Mandarine*. L’intelligence, qu’il avoit acquise de celle de Chin-Cheo, l’aida merveilleusement, pour prêcher, pour adminstrer les Sacremens, & pour s’instruire à fond de tout ce que les livres Chinois & les Rituels du pays contiennent du culte & de la Religion des Lettrez, aussi bien que des sacrifices, que cette Nation rend à Confucius & aux Ancêtres” Saint Vincent 1702: 351).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Martino Martini, *De Bello Tartarico historia* and *Sinicae historiae decas prima*.

<sup>4</sup> Martino Martini, *Novus atlas sinensis*.

<sup>5</sup> Martino Martini, *Grammatica sinica*.

<sup>6</sup> Pedro [Petrus] Chirino, *Relacion de las islas filipinas* and *Dictionarium Sino Hispanicum*.

<sup>7</sup> Alexandre de Rhodes, *Histoire du Royavme de Tynqvin* and *Dictionarium annamiticum, Lusitanum, et Latinum*.

<sup>8</sup> João Rodrigues, *Historia da igreja do Japao* [History of the church in Japan]; although the original has been lost, a copy made in Macao during the 1740s has been discovered and translated into English. See Michael Cooper, *João Rodrigues’s Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan*. His grammars are entitled *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* and *Arte breve da lingoa Iapoa*.

<sup>9</sup> Paternicò, Luisa Maria, *Martino Martini’s Grammar of the Chinese Language: The Grammatica linguae sinensis*. Tesi di Dottorato, Roma: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2011.

<sup>10</sup> This fragment demonstrates that both varieties had to be learned. It seems erroneous to attribute the second (Chincheu) for the studying of Confucius, here the author is referring to Mandarin.

It has been often postulated that the Jesuits' pedagogical learning strategies were different compared to those of the Dominicans in China. We have an impression of how Jesuits taught and studied Chinese in Mainland China, since they made use of the same tools which were designed for Chinese children, focusing on reading the Chinese Confucian canon and lessons in spoken Mandarin, and around 1620 a formal four-year program was established. In the "teaching programs", there was also space for the instruction of informal conversation, but the main focus in Jesuit education was to acquire proficiency in Classical Chinese with the goal of reading, understanding, interpretation and translation of Confucian works. Such a "teaching program" has been described by Brockey,<sup>11</sup> who summarizes that the novices acquired a familiarity of spoken *guanhua* during the initial six months while they started to begin learning to read and write characters, using Nicolas Trigault's *Xiru ermu zi* for building their vocabularies. They had to avoid the acquisition of any form of "inelegant style". The second stage of the program was learning to speak *guanhua* fluently, and, as Brockey<sup>12</sup> argues, the learners were introduced into the "courtesies used, when dealing with and speaking to the Chinese, as well as the accepted forms of table manners, the proper way to drink tea, the way to arrange one's hair, and other culturally specific practices". Furthermore, in Brockey's study we read that "students were also introduced to etiquette during their lessons by using speech books of the type employed by the missionaries since the 1590s". Brockey cites one such text written by the Jesuit José Monteiro, a dialogue between a priest and a Chinese Christian, entitled *Vera et unica praxis breviter ediscendi, ac expeditissime loquendi sinicum idioma suapte natura adeo difficile... In usum Tyronum Missionarium* ("The True and Only Brief Method for Quickly Learning to Speak the Chinese Language which by its nature is very difficult... For use in Training Missionaries"),<sup>13</sup> mainly a confession manual, but also including "small talk" about travel, food or the weather. The Dominican Domingo Fernández Navarrete (1618–86)<sup>14</sup> refers to a similar notebook and observes that such Jesuit notebooks were very popular among the Dominicans, who made ample use of them.

The aim of this workshop is to bring together scholars who are involved in the publication of many hitherto unknown or understudied documents regarding the earliest testimonies of Mandarin Chinese and the so-called "Early Manila Hokkien" Chinese, the language spoken by the Chinese minority in Manila (the so-called "Sangleys"):

- *Bocabulario de lengua sangleya por las letras de el A.B.C. (ca. 1620)* (Ms British Library, Add. Ms. 25317)
- *Diccionario Hispanico-sinicum* (first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) (Ms University of Santo Tomás Archives, Manila, Philippines)
- *Arte de la lengua mandarina (Libellus Hispanicus de pronuntiatione Characteribus Chinensium)* (attributed to Francisco Díaz, ca. 1642) (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Marsh 696)
- *Diccionario de Lengua Mandarina, cuyo primer author fue el R.P. Fr. Francisco Diaz* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris Ms "Chinois 9275")
- *André Palmeiro's Epistola (Macao, 8/V, 1632)*

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<sup>11</sup> Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 261.

<sup>12</sup> Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 262.

<sup>13</sup> A copy is housed in the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, Lisbon (Ms. Azul 421 (=Monteiro Praxis"). I have not been able to see this copy yet.

<sup>14</sup> Domingo Fernández Navarrete, *Tratados historicos, políticos, ethicos, y religiosos de la Monarchia de China...*, 70.

## Program

|               |  |                                    |
|---------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 14h00 - 14h20 | Welcome. Preliminary remarks   | Otto Zwartjes                      |
| 14h20 – 15h00 | Early Spanish-Chinese lexicography in the Philippines:<br>the <i>Bocabulario de lengua sangleya por las letras de el A.B.C.</i> (ca. 1620)                                 | Henning Klöter<br>Hans-Jörg-Doehla |
| 15h00 – 15h40 | The <i>Dictionario hispanico-sinicum</i> and other 17 <sup>th</sup> and 18 <sup>th</sup> century<br>Chinese Language Materials in the University of Santo Tomás,<br>Manila | Regalado Trota José                |
| 15h40 – 15h50 | <b>BREAK</b>   |                                    |
| 15h50 – 16h30 | Multi-lingualism and romanization systems in 17 <sup>th</sup> century East<br>Asia: André Palmeiro's <i>Epistola</i> (Macao, 8/V, 1632)                                    | Paolo de Troia<br>Otto Zwartjes    |
| 16h30-17h00   | The descriptions of Mandarin Chinese by Francisco Díaz and<br>Antonio Díaz compared  | Otto Zwartjes                      |
| 17h00-17h30   | <b>Discussion</b>  |                                    |

**“Early Spanish-Chinese lexicography in the Philippines:  
the *Bocabulario de lengua sangleya por las letras de el A.B.C.* (ca. 1620)”**

Prof. Dr. Henning Klöter (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)  
Dr. Hans-Jörg Döhla (Universität Tübingen)

Over the past decades, Chinese linguistics has emerged as an established field in the intersections of sinology and linguistics. There is, however, a strong tendency in the field to study standard languages, i.e. Classical Chinese and Mandarin, and to neglect regional Sinitic varieties as an object of linguistic analysis. This also applies to the field of Missionary Linguistics where modern scholarship mostly pays attention to those missionary oeuvres dealing with the lexical and grammatical description of Mandarin Chinese. In our contribution, in contrast, we will generally focus on those missionary works which were composed in the Philippines (under Spanish rule) at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. and which contain descriptions of the Sinitic regional language known as Southern Min. Southern Min dialects are currently spoken by some 50 million speakers in China’s Fujian province, the island of Taiwan and in overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Especially in Southeast Asia, Southern Min dialects are widely known under the glossonym *Hokkien*, which is the Southern Min word for [the province of] Fújiàn. The Hokkien community members in Manila have been known since at least the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. as *Sangleys* or *Sangleyes*.

As far as early Manila Hokkien (EMH) sources compiled by missionaries are concerned, there are a few incunabula (Loon 1966, 1967) and at least five extant manuscripts (Loon 1967, Klöter 2011), only one of each group of sources having been documented and analyzed systematically by Loon (1967) and Klöter (2011). EMH lexicography, however, has been neglected so far by scholarship, a fact already criticized by van der Loon (1967).

Out of the four still existing lexicographic oeuvres concerning EMH, i.e. *Dictionarium Sino Hispanicum*, *Dictionarium Hispanico Sinicum*, *Vocabulario de la lengua Española y China No. 1* and *Bocabulario de lengua sangleya por las letras de el A.B.C.*, the latter one will be the center topic of our presentation. After presenting a description of the formal setup of the *Bocabulario* (ca. 1617), which does not follow the lexicographic model of Antonio de Nebrija, we will address a number of research questions providing preliminary answers within the scope of the current state of the art:

- 1) What does the *Bocabulario*, especially the orthographic fingerprints evidenced in the Spanish metalanguage, reveal about its author and/or scribe? Moreover, what does the language and metalanguage tell us about the purpose behind its elaboration and, in conjunction with that, about the didactic dimensions and the practices of missionary linguistics in the Sangleys community?
- 2) Which lexicographic model does the *Bocabulario* follow?
- 3) What does the *Bocabulario* reveal about the linguistic structure of Early Manila Hokkien (EMH)?
- 4) What does the *Bocabulario* reveal about the sociolinguistic configuration of the Sangleys speech community, and, by extension, about the social encounter between Sangleys, Spanish colonizers and the native Philippine population?

References:

Loon, Piet van der. 1967. The Manila incunabula and early Hokkien studies (part 2). In: *Asia Major* 13, 95–186. [contains the edition of *Doctrina Christiana en letra y lengua china* (Manila, 1607)]

Klöter, Henning. 2011. *The language of the Sangleys: A Chinese vernacular in missionary sources of the seventeenth century*. Leiden, Boston: Brill. [contains the edition of *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu* (Manila, ca. 1620)]

**THE *DICTIONARIO HISPANICO-SINICUM* AND OTHER 17<sup>TH</sup> AND 18<sup>TH</sup>  
CENTURY CHINESE LANGUAGE MATERIALS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF  
SANTO TOMÁS IN MANILA**

Regalado Trota José  
Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás, Manila

The *Dictionario Hispanico-Sinicum* is a Spanish-Chinese dictionary which is comprised of four columns: one each for the Spanish word, its counterpart in Chinese characters, the pronunciation of the Chinese word in romanized Hokkien, and the pronunciation in romanized Mandarin. Based on internal evidence it was produced in Manila somewhere between 1624-1642, when the Spaniards had missions in Formosa. Researchers from National Tsing Hua University (NTHU) of Taiwan who “re-discovered” the *Dictionario* in April 2017 in the University of Santo Tomás in Manila recognize it as among the earliest written sources not only for Hokkien, but also for Western-Chinese lexicography. Its Manila provenance is borne out by the presence of Tagalog words among the entries, which also showed how the Manila Chinese had accepted local words in their language. Dominican biographers credit Father Juan Bautista de Morales with a *Diccionario Sinico*; although he was in China in 1633-1640 and then in 1648-1664, he may have worked on the *Dictionario* preparatory to his leaving Manila.

Today’s University of Santo Tomás in Manila began as a *colegio* or boarding school for boys founded by the Dominicans in 1611. The Order of Preachers had been in the Philippines since 1587, with their mother house erected in Manila. Though the conversion of China was one of the principal goals for sailing out into the Pacific, the Dominicans decided to establish their principal stations in the Philippines. The University’s Archives and Library were formed from the documents and publications generated throughout the school’s history, as well as by donations from the Dominicans themselves—who juggled mission assignments with teaching posts—and their benefactors.

In this paper, the *Dictionario Hispanico-Sinicum* will be presented in its Dominican and Philippine context. This will be complemented with brief introductions of related Chinese language materials from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, now kept in the University of Santo Tomas’ Archives and Rare Books section.

**Multi-lingualism and romanization systems in 17<sup>th</sup> century East Asia: André Palmeiro's  
*Epistola* (Macao, 8/V, 1632)**

Paolo de Troia (Sapienza, Rome)

Otto Zwartjes (Université de Paris, HTL)

ABSTRACT

André Palmeiro's *Epistola* opens with a short introduction in which several characteristics of the three languages are described. After this section, the *Oratio Dominica Pater Noster* follows, displayed in five vertical columns; from left to right the Latin version, followed by Japanese (Japonicé), two columns for Chinese (Sinicé), the first with Chinese characters, and the second in romanization, and finally Vietnamese (Annam). The Chinese and Vietnamese columns are accompanied by several observations and comments related to the pronounce. After the *Oratio Dominica* the author explains some differences in word order of the three languages in the translated text and in particular the translation of "God" is explained. At the end of the *Epistola* a quadri-lingual vocabulary is appended, arranged thematically, starting with the words for Heaven and Earth, the Lord, men and a list of kinship terms, followed by inanimate concepts, such as the air, fire, earth, water, some body parts, and finally some numbers (counting). The epistle has not been published yet. It is an important document, since it is written in 1632, a crucial period in the study and documentation of these Asian languages, i.e. six years after the completion of Nicolas Trigault's *Xiru Ermu Zi* in which the romanization of Chinese was established, twelve years after the publication of João Rodrigues's grammar of Japanese, published in Macao, and in the same period, other Jesuits described Vietnamese, such as Cristoforo Borri, who described tones in 1633, Francisco de Pina who mentions 'toadas' around 1623, and finally, the Portuguese Jesuits Gaspar do Amaral and Antonio Barbosa whose works have been lost, but survived in the printed grammar and dictionary of Alexandre de Rhodes.

*References*

Anonymous (attributed to Francisco de Pina). 2002[17th century]. *Manuductio ad linguam tunckinensem*. In: Roland Jacques: *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics Prior to 1650/L'oeuvre de quelques pionniers portugais dans le domaine de la linguistique vietnamienne jusque'en 1650*. Bangkok: Orchid Press.

Rhodes, Alexandre. 1651. *Dictionarium annamiticum, lusitanum et latinum*. Roma: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.

Rodriguez, Ioam. 1620. *Arte Breve da Lingoa Iapoa tirada da Arte Grande da mesma lingoa*. Amacao: no Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de Iesv.

Trigault, Nicolas. 1626. *Xiru ermu zi* 西儒耳目资. ['Aid to the Eyes and Ears of Western Literati']. Hangzhou.

## The descriptions of Mandarin of Francisco Díaz and Antonio Díaz compared

Otto Zwartjes (HTL)

In the sale catalogue of Jacob Golius's (Dutch professor of Mathematics, Persian and Arabic) 1696 we find the following title: "Libri Chineses, &c. M.S. 6. Vocabularium Hispanico-Sinense, cum annotat. J. Golii. item libellus Hispanicus de pronuntiatione Charact. Chinesium. in octavo, charta serica". This title indicates that number 6 of the catalogue was seen as one work consisting of two parts, the *Vocabularium* and the *Libellus*, although the title of the second part is not a Latin translation of the title as it appears in the Manuscript: "Arte de lengua mandarina", but as a Spanish booklet on how to pronounce Chinese characters, in octavo, Chinese paper". It is likely that this text appended to the Dictionary is a fragment of the "Arte" which has been considered to have been lost. In this fragment we find important data related to the romanization of Chinese in this period. Furthermore, the text will be compared with the introduction to another version of the Dictionary, the *Diccionario de Lengua Mandarina, cuyo primer autor fue el R.P. Fr. Francisco Diaz* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris Ms "Chinois 9275") of Antonio Díaz. Both texts belong to the same tradition and share many features, although there are also some fascinating discrepancies in style, approach, metalinguistic terminology and the romanization of Chinese