

Matteo Ricci's *Xiqin Quyī* – A Jesuit's Expert Musicking in Ming China

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Declaration

I, Wong Tsz hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “Matteo Ricci’s *Xiqin Quyī* – A Jesuit’s Expert Musicking in Ming China”, submitted as partial requirement for the Ph.D. in Musicology, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the Ph.D. in Musicology and about the general completion rules for the The Doctoral Degree Regulations.

Signed

Date

For my grandparents.

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慚予廿載探詩源，
世人抵掌爭笑喧。
已知他日當覆甌，
且將什襲藏林園。
陽春有調歌偏苦，
下里翻能混聾瞽。
試從今日訪知音，
盡棄黃鐘鳴瓦釜。

許學夷

《贈邱念先社兄時梓澄江詩選》

Abstract

Matteo Ricci (利瑪竇, 1552-1610) war ein italienischer Missionar und der vielleicht erste europäische Gelehrte, der China besuchte und dabei viele wichtige Erkenntnisse mitbrachte. Matteo Ricci selbst komponierte Musik, nämlich „Xiqin Quyí Bāzhāng“ (西琴曲意八章), welches aus acht Liedteilen mit chinesischem Text besteht. Leider sind die Noten verloren. Die vorliegende Arbeit versucht eine Rekonstruktion von Riccis Liedertexten mit Hilfe des Jesuiten-Wörterbuchs „Xi Rú Ěr Mù Zī“ (西儒耳目資) sowie mit musikalischen Aufzeichnungen aus einem Brief von Sabatino de Ursis, datiert auf den 23. August 1608. Ziel der Rekonstruktion ist es, die Funktion der Musik im jesuitisch-chinesischen Guanhua-Lernprozess zu untersuchen und eine Annäherung an die Lieder des „Xiqin Quyí“ vor vierhundert Jahren zu versuchen.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Hypotheses

The Italian Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci (利瑪竇, 1552-1610) played a vital role in the cultural encountering between the Ming court and the European Catholic world during late 16th century and early 17th century. This research thesis aims to examine Ricci's musical work *Xiqin Quyi* (西琴曲意) with a functional perspective, and accordingly Ricci's role and his achievement in the cross-cultural mediation.

Matteo Ricci composed music, but the musical scores are lost. From scattered pieces of historical material, mainly from Jesuit's journals and correspondences, brief descriptions were given in exhibiting how such musical encountering occurred during Ricci's time. Ricci successfully gained access to the imperial palace – the Forbidden City – to seek the imperial approval for Jesuit's mission in China. A small clavichord¹ was given to the Wanli emperor (神宗) as a gift; four imperial musicians were later instructed to learn how to play the instrument after the Jesuits.² Music became an ice-breaker to establish a diplomatic connection between Beijing (Peking) and Rome. Furthermore, Jesuit missionaries in China applied European musical knowledge in learning the Chinese language.

Music functions differently nowadays than 400 years ago, so is how people were taught and trained to perform music. Therefore, the narrative description of 'music' and 'musician' would not be comprehensible enough to understand how music was used and perceived in Ming China, as the definitions of 'music' and 'musician' today differs from 400 years ago. Music shall thus not be seen as a thing but a form of human activity. Back to the Jesuit musical activities in Ming

¹ Different terms were used by Ricci to name the instrument, including *clavicembalo* and *manicordio*; I use *clavichord* in this paper for unity.

² Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 208.

court, this research further aims to discover what form of musical activities were conducted, who conducted them, and how they were conducted. Considering music as a form of human activity, as music is made by mankind, the centre of this musical encountering is the actors; this thesis begins with the hypothesis that these actors include Matteo Ricci. This thesis will then examine the role of these actors under the definition of Eric Ash's expert mediator.

Historiographical research has so far given insufficient attention to this part of the history as few primary sources are available. As an all-out effort to try reconstructing Ricci's eight songs from their lyrical pronunciations, this thesis demonstrates the closest picture of how *Xiqin Quy* may have looked like, if not sounded like. Through this reconstruction, this thesis may unfold the entanglement of the Jesuits' linguistic and musical knowledge for the first time.

1.2. Towards Matteo Ricci's Music and His Role in the Context of Cross-Cultural Encountering – A Bibliographical Essay

The musical activities of Matteo Ricci and his fellow Jesuits were often academically under-researched. For a critical summary of the previously established bibliographical materials, Tao Yabing (陶亞兵) assured two things which Ricci achieved in cross-cultural music encountering: he introduced European keyboard as well as the European harmonic structures into Chinese culture, and introduced Chinese music to Europe through his journal.³ Ricci established himself as an all-round scholar in Ming society with notable works in different disciplines including theology, mathematics, and cartography; his musical work *Xiqin Quyin* however, projected comparably limited influence in the Greater China. Ricci's journal, edited by Trigault, although catching European attention in Jesuit's East Asia mission, gave little descriptions on Chinese music; nevertheless, it opened a new chapter in Catholic missions and cultural encountering - Ricci's story attracted more Jesuit missionaries to the East Asia. They later followed his footsteps to travel to China, among them were several musically talented Jesuits to continue Ricci's musical diplomacy. In late 17th century to early 18th century, Europeans found themselves indulged in the wave of *Chinoiserie* - celebrated with even more vibrant cultural connections between the two continents.

Yet, for this research's purpose, I shall not take 'cultural encountering' in music for granted without realizing what exactly has happened, when and where did it happen, who made it happen and how. Tao's vision of China and the West may serve as one reference - where China is represented by the Forbidden City and the south-eastern cities with the Jesuits' presence; while Europe is represented by Catholic strongholds where the missionaries began their journeys. Pure historiographical perspective is too wide and too vague for the analysis in this paper. This research begins with two starting points that could be useful in

³ Tao Yabing (陶亞兵), *Exchange between Chinese Music and Western Music during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (明清間的中西音樂交流) (Beijing: Oriental Press, 2001), 26.

contextualizing the musical encountering: Ricci and his fellow Jesuit's preparation for the Chinese mission, and Ricci's own composition "Xiqin Quyi BaZhang" (西琴曲意八章, *Eight songs for a Western string instrument*)⁴ – of which the original scores remain missing; a study of the Eight Songs is however still possible with the lyrics, which were preserved and republished through centuries.

The study of Jesuit's musical preparation begins with the protocol of Jesuit education: The *Ratio Studiorum* (*Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*), which includes a wide range of disciplines including grammar, poetry, rhetoric, logic, natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics and mathematics.⁵ In 1572, Matteo Ricci entered the Roman College and studied two years Rhetoric and three years Philosophy. In the second year of the College's curriculum, one may find *Musica libris demonstrata quatuor* by College teacher French theologian Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples for an introduction to music theory. It is highly plausible that the Roman College had a strong musical environment during Ricci's study time. In fact, the *Ratio Studiorum* gave special emphasis to incorporate humanities studies: literature, history and drama, and traditional clerical subjects of theology.⁶ With the implementation of the study programme, Jesuit colleges became the cultural centre of European cities with plentiful productions of plays and ballets.⁷

On Ricci's music, despite limited primary sources being available – for instance,

⁴ *Xiqin Quyi* was first published in 1628 under *Ten Chapters of an Exceptional Man* (崎人十篇), in ed. Li Zhizhao (李之藻), *First Collection of Treatises on Heavenly Studies* (天學初函, *Tianxue chuhan*) (Taipei: Student Books, 1965 [1628]). The version used in this thesis is edited by Wang Yuchun (汪汝淳), in *Reprint of Ten Chapters of an Exceptional Man, vol. 2, with Xiqin Quyi Bazhang* (重刻崎人十篇 二卷, 附西琴曲意八章). With hand written notes by Liu Xintan, 1842 (清道光二十二(壬寅)年劉信坦手書題記). Archive no. A 246.2 150, The rare book collections in the Fu Ssu-Nien Library (FSNL), Taipei: Academia Sinica.

⁵ Gianni Criveller and César Guillén-Nuñez, *Portrait of a Jesuit - Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2010), 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁷ On the cultural contribution of Jesuit Colleges, see: John W. O'Malley, *Introduction: 'Ratio Studiorum: Jesuit Education, 1548-1773* (Boston College, 1999), David J. O'Brien, "The Jesuits and Catholic Higher Education," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 13 (1981), John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Ricci's journal and the lyrics of *Xiqin Quyi*. I attempt to reconstruct the intonations of Ricci's songs with a three-step plan: 1) Translating the lyrics into Late Ming *Guanhua* (官話, LMGH) with *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (西儒耳目資, XREMZ), the earliest comprehensive Chinese dictionary made and used by the Jesuits in late Ming China; 2) Examining the tone-patterns in lyrics and then examining the possible melodic feature within. 3) Analyzing the pronunciation of *Xiqin Quyi* lyrics with the help of PRAAT, a linguistic analysis software. The whole examination will be contextualized together with Christopher Small's *Musicking* theory.⁸ This reconstruction means however not reconstructing Ricci's music, but this will be the closest step ever taken into examining the melodic feature of Ricci's composition, and thus may further investigate Ricci's special role as an expert mediator⁹ in cross-cultural music encountering, which will be later explained under the notion 'musicking'.

1.2.1. The motive and musical activities under the context of transcultural encountering of Matteo Ricci.

Even by modern definition, Ricci can be considered a sinologist for his thorough understanding of Confucianism, which he regards more as a traditional worship and philosophy than a pure religion, as the basis for preaching Christianity in China. This includes the references of Heaven (*Tian*, 天), which he found similar to the Catholic heaven. Taoism and Buddhism, on the contrary, are based highly on personal references, which made connections to the Christian God impossible.¹⁰ Although such adaptation provoked conflicts after Ricci's death,¹¹ these adaptations, based on early Jesuit's accommodation strategy commonly

⁸ The *Musicking* theory will be further explained in Ch.5.3, see Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998),

⁹ The term expert mediator will be explained further in Ch.5.5, see Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004)

¹⁰ A brief discussion of Matteo Ricci's strategy in incorporating Confucius thoughts to challenge Buddhism and Taoism could be seen in Choy Wai-man (蔡惠民), 'Saving Confucius, Repel Buddhism' (拯儒排佛), *Spirit (神思)* 80 (2009): 81-102.

¹¹ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 239.

seen in art and in music, could be regarded as some of the earliest examples of trans-cultural interactions between China and Europe. Matteo Ricci himself gives his first-hand description of Chinese culture in his major work, *Fonti Ricciane: documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579-1615)*¹², also known as “the Commentaries on China”. It constitutes a comprehensive synthesis of all of Ricci’s previous works demonstrating his cross-cultural capacity in various fashions, including religious, philosophical, scientific treatises, letters reports, and music.¹³

To remind the readers how the presumption of Ricci’s expert musicking corresponds to the historical background, in *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, Hsia gives an in-depth narration of Ricci's activities in China. Hsia explains how Ricci's Confucianism study had helped him to emerge among the Chinese intellectuals for cross-cultural encountering and knowledge transfer. Hsia also noticed that the cultural encountering between China and the European world was based on a quasi-equal power status,¹⁴ the power balance between the Ming Empire and the European world has created criteria for the expert mediating process. Another key feature of expert mediator is the multi-lingual competence. In Liam Matthew Brockey’s *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724*, comprehensive description is given on the difficult learning process experienced by Ricci and his fellow Jesuits in China.¹⁵ Brockey’s book is also a

¹² *Fonti Ricciane* is one of the most comprehensive modern editions of Ricci’s manuscripts. There are other different prints and translations of Ricci’s journal. The Italian version with Ricci’s original title edited by Trigault: *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2000); French translation: *Histoire de l'expédition chrétienne au royaume de la Chine 1582-1610*, trans. Georges Bessière (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1978); English translation: *China in the sixteenth century: the journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*, trans. Louis J. Gallagher (New York: Random House: 1953), Chinese translation: *China in the 16th Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610* (利瑪竇中國札記), ed. He Zhao Wu (何兆武), trans. He Gao Ji (何高濟), Wang Zun Zhong (王遵仲), Li Shen (李申) (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1983). This thesis will refer mainly on *Fonti Ricciane*, yet due to the difference in annotations from different translations/ editions, citations are taken also from other versions.

¹³ Study on Ricci's translation works could be found in Louis Pfister (費賴之), *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine (1552-1773)* (Shanghai : Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932).

¹⁴ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford university Press, 2010), 109-113.

¹⁵ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 243-286.

notable source for a comprehensive understanding of Jesuit activities in China. Decent translations on previously not translated Chinese sources are provided in his book. Brockey also gave special attention to Jesuit's introduction of European scientific knowledge to China in order to gain a foothold in major Chinese cities for their missionary works.¹⁶

More recent publications on Jesuits' China mission include Christopher Johns's *China and the Church: Chinoiserie in Global Context*. It explores how the first Jesuit mission led by Matteo Ricci has contributed to the later construction of *Chinoiserie* in Europe. The key to make evangelical inroads in China are intellectual accomplishment and personal virtue. The Jesuits began to admire Chinese civilization, and have found parallels between the Chinese Confucian philosophy and Christianity.¹⁷ Despite the early success contributed by Matteo Ricci and his Accommodation Strategy in Ming dynasty, the Jesuits in Qing dynasty failed to maintain footholds in China, and was eventually repelled by the Qing emperor Kangxi, John argues that the *Chinoiserie* was a "vicarious punishment by the West of a previously admired polity that had haughtily rejected Catholic Europe's most precious commodity - the 'true' religion."¹⁸ Although Johns regards the Jesuit mission in China a subsequent failure after the Chinese Rites Controversy, the Jesuits efficaciously remained and served in the Forbidden City until early 19th century. Although the proselytization was interrupted, many missionaries continued to be crucial knowledge mediators, among them were Jesuits painters such as Giuseppe Castiglione (郎世寧, Lang Shining, 1668-1766) and Matteo Ripa (馬國賢, Ma Guoxian, 1682-1745), who gave close descriptions of Qing China through their paintings.¹⁹

¹⁶ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 25-56.

¹⁷ Christopher Johns, *China and the Church: Chinoiserie in Global Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 38-39. On the Jesuit painters in Ming-Qing Court, see also: Friederike Biebl, "The Magnificence of the Qing – European Art on the Jesuit Mission in China," *MaRBLe Research Papers* Vol. 6 (2014): 223-240.

To come close to understanding the musical competence of the Jesuits within the context of expert ‘musicking,’ a recent publication is offered by Rüdiger Funiok and Harald Schöndorf, *Ignatius von Loyola und die Paedagogik der Jesuiten: Ein Modell fuer Schule und Persoenlichkeitsbildung*. This book focuses mainly on the educational effort put forth by the Jesuits. In Jesuits colleges, subjects such as mathematics, astronomy, and physics were taught. Trainings in theater, dance and music were also provided in Jesuit schools, especially music – young students received extensive musical training, especially in singing. Music is often used in various festive occasions, in Munich for instance, were musical pieces by Orlando di Lasso (around 1532-1594) performed to the public on Sundays and public holidays in the St. Micheal’s Church. Di Lasso was also the musical director of the Jesuit churches in Munich from 1564 until his death. On July 6, 1597, the Jesuits in Munich held a grand consecration, followed by a theatrical piece “Triumphus divi Michaelis Archangeli Bavarici” - music by Georgius Victorinus; story by Jesuit historians Jacob Gretser and Matthäus Rader.²⁰

Jesuit musicians were not only active in Europe, some of the other Jesuits in China in Ricci’s time were well-practiced musicians; they include Lazzaro Cattaneo and Diego de Pantoja. Notable composers, such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, were recruited into Jesuit colleges to teach new forms of church music. New church music aimed at emphasising a more spiritual focus during a time when church music was heavily criticized for its use of secular tunes, noisy instrumentations, and theatrical singing.²¹ Although the use of music in Jesuit colleges and churches was being criticized by some elder members of the Roman Catholic Church, the use of music continued in the Jesuit Order. Senior Jesuit

²⁰ Rüdiger Funiok and Harald Schöndorf, *Ignatius von Loyola und die Paedagogik der Jesuiten: Ein Modell fuer Schule und Persoenlichkeitsbildung* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2017), 265. Further readings on German Jesuits’ musical activities, see also: Alexander J. Fisher, "Music and the Jesuit ‘Way of Proceeding’ in the German Counter-Reformation," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* Vol. 3 (2016): 377-397.

²¹ This also explains Jesuit college’s other main interest in theatrical education under the background of Counter Reformation, this is further backed by Elizabeth Anne Dyer, “*The Emergence of the Independent Prologue and Chorus in Jesuit School Theatre c.1550–c.1700, Derived from a Comparative Analysis of Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit School Theatre, Lay Youth Confraternity Theatre and the Oratorio Vespertina of the Congregation of the Oratory*,” (PhD diss., University of York, 2011).

leaders carefully planned the use of music in colleges. Outside Jesuit colleges, choral music was used in the Divine Office, religious ceremonies and festivals, and as well as in theatre and drama.²² The all-around education received by the missionaries laid the foundation for their future expert mediating tasks.

1.2.2. Ricci's Music - Contextualizing the early Jesuit Music in Ming Court

The clavichord presented by Ricci caught Wanli emperor's interest; four eunuchs of the Forbidden City were sent to learn how to play the clavichord. Ricci then asked Diego Pantoja to teach four eunuchs from the imperial palace how to play the harpsichord. After one month all the eunuchs had mastered playing skills.²³

Ricci composed *Xiqin Quyi* with Chinese lyrics that transport the ideologies of the Catholic Church. *Xiqin Quyi* was well received in China according to Ricci's own description in *Fonti Ricciane*. The lyrics were later reprinted in various Chinese publications and proved to be well-received.²⁴ Ricci wrote in his letters that in 1605 Masses in China were sung to the accompaniment of the clavichord in the Jesuit church.²⁵ Influenced by the instrument, subsequent Chinese writers used a variety of descriptive and colourful terms for the instrument.²⁶

²² Thomas Frank Kennedy, "Jesuit and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years," *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 71-100. Thomas Frank Kennedy noted that music carries significant weight in Jesuit education, music was very useful within various spheres of college life in promoting the Christian doctrine of the Counter Reformation, and this is especially the case after the foundation of Roman Seminary in 1564; various church services and activities where Matteo Ricci was often engaged in; Jesuit church services were often conducted together with the use of choir and keyboard music.

²³ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 208.

²⁴ Ricci's lyrics were reprinted in: Guo Zizhang (郭子章), *Binyisheng Yangcao* (蟻衣生養草), Liu Ning (劉凝), *Tianxue Jijie* (天學集解), Zhang Ruling (張汝霖), *Xishi Chaoyan Xiaoyin* (西士超言小引), and Hirata Atsutane (平田篤胤), *Honkyō gaihen* (本教外篇).

²⁵ Tao Yabing (陶亞兵), "Researches on the historical materials of musical exchange between China and the Western world before 1919 (1919 年以前的中西音樂文化交流史料研究)" (PhD diss., Central Conservatory of Music, 1992), 31.

²⁶ among many translations: 大西洋琴 daxiyang qin ('musical instrument from the Atlantic'), 雅琴 ya qin ('graceful instrument'), 藩琴 fan qin ('foreign instrument'), 天琴 tian qin ('heavenly

Keyboard instrument was also used at Ricci's funeral, one and a half year after his death, where music by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Francisco Guerrero was played; the use of keyboard instruments by Jesuits was thus not uncommon in Late-Ming court.²⁷

On Ricci's lyrics, some metaphors and paraphrasing in *Xiqin Quyi* are found comparable to Catholic apophthegmas and paradeigmata. The arrangement of Chinese texts in *Xiqin Quyi* was based mainly on Ricci's own interpretation and adaptation of Bible Exemplas.²⁸ It is important not to ignore that the Chinese lyrics of *Xiqin Quyi* were created after the music was composed, and therefore could not be regarded as mere translations of pre-existed texts, rather, at least partially, musical work as well.

1.2.3. Reconstructing Ricci's Music

It is important to stress once again early Jesuits in China's attempt to use musical knowledge in mastering the Chinese *Guanhua* (官話). Jesuit Lazzaro Cattaneo, once helped Ricci in producing the first Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary (葡漢詞典)²⁹ by identifying the Chinese pronunciation with the help

instrument'), 鐵絲琴 tie si qin ('iron wire instrument'), 七十二琴 qishier qin ('72-string instrument'), 手琴 shou qin ('hand instrument'), 洋琴 yang qin ('foreign instrument'), and 大鍵琴 dajian qin ('big keyboard instrument').

²⁷ David Francis Urrows, "The Music of Matteo Ricci's Funeral – History, Context, and Meaning," *Chinese Cross Currents* 9 (2012): 110-112.

²⁸ See: Li Sher-shiueh (李爽學), "Western Lyrics in Late-Ming China: The Use of Classical and Medieval Exempla in Matteo Ricci's *Xiqin Quyi* (基督教精神與歐洲古典傳統的合流 - 利瑪竇的西琴曲意初探)," *Unitas (聯合文學)* 203 (2001): 130-140. The content of lyrics will be discussed in details in Chap. 4.1.

²⁹ The authorship of this dictionary is not entirely clear. Wang Mingyu (王銘宇) argues that the translations of many words in this collection are originally from Southern dialects; therefore the Chinese translator's mother tongue is likely to be the Fukien dialect. See: Wang Mingyu (王銘宇), "A Study on the Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci (羅明堅、利瑪竇《葡漢辭典》詞彙問題舉隅)," *Academic Journal of LIYUN (Language Volume) (勵耘語言學刊)* 1 (2014): 138-150.

of musical knowledge.³⁰ Musical notations are also found in later Jesuit-made dictionaries; later Jesuit Basile Brollo's Chinese-Latin Dictionary (漢拉詞典) was illustrated with five musical intonations for five tones in Chinese.³¹

This leads to the possibility to reconstruct the lyrics via Music Information Retrieval (MIR) process through PRAAT.³² After the translation and transcription, recordings of the Eight Songs are made with a steady tempo and spot the existence of vowels in the lyrics; this will be cross-examined with the finding of tone-patterns (平仄譜) of *Xiqin Quy*. The reconstruction of *Xiqin Quy* lyrics means not reconstructing the music, but a crucial step stone to understand the expert musicking of Matteo Ricci. Through understanding the performance of this expert musicking, further discussions on Matteo Ricci's role could be opened.³³

1.2.4. Matteo Ricci's Musicking – A Functionalist Approach in Researching The Jesuit's Use of Music

The actual use of music is crucial in contextualizing Matteo Ricci's musical activities. Christopher Small provides a thoughtful analysis of the social context of Western art music. in his book *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*, Small takes a social constructional standpoint in clarifying that music is a form of communal ritual through which social relations or meanings are

³⁰ Kim Hoon-Ho (金薰鎬), "The Ming Dynasty Mandarin Phonetics Reflected in the Pin Yin Romanization System of Western Missionaries (西洋傳教士的漢語拼音所反映的明代官話音系)," *Research in Ancient Chinese Language (古漢語研究)* 1 (2001): 33.

³¹ See: Takata Tokio (高田時雄) "A Brief Study of Tones in Late Ming Guanhua (明末官話調值小考)," *Essays on linguistics (語言學論叢)* 29 (2004): 146. Original document see: 'Operis ratio et usus' in *Borgia Cinese* 475. Further discussed in Chap. 4.4 and Chap 4.5.

³² Recent researches based on MIT with PRAAT could be found in: Ali Cenk Gedik, "Automatic Transcription of Traditional Turkish Art Music Recordings: A Computational Ethnomusicology Approach" (PhD diss., İzmir Institute of Technology, 2012); A massive musicological research programme based on PRAAT on Hindustani music 'Music in Motion - The Automated Transcription for Indian Music (AUTRIM) Project by NCPA and UvA' (2004-2012) could be another useful reference. Accessed January 3, 2016, <https://autrimncpa.wordpress.com>.

³³ This is further discussed in Chap. 5.

enacted, sustained and contested. Thus, musical meaning could be understood through metaphorical representation, as well as through its resemblance to social relations and myths. Small stresses the importance of understanding music not as a thing but as an activity, “something that people do. The apparent thing ‘music’ is a figment, an abstraction of the action, whose reality vanishes as soon as we examine it at it all closely.”³⁴

Music is a gestural language and form of storytelling through which the people making music engage and express their understandings of the world.³⁵ Hence, musicking is closely connected with issues of politics and identity. Small’s musicking theory raises the conciseness, to make aware of the relativistic nature of human musical theories or myths, so that people can be better positioned to exercise personal control over their musical lives.³⁶ Small reminds us the critical composition of ‘music’, which is not instruments or notations, but people. Music exists not without the involvement of human being, just like any other performances and forms of art. Therefore, what we understand as ‘music’ or ‘musicking’ is actually a chain reaction of different movements and involvements. Small’s musicking theory, in this regard, laid the foundation for further discussion on how music could be considered as a form of human behaviour. “To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composition), or by dancing.”³⁷

By recognizing this, I regard Small’s theory a suitable scope in understanding Ricci’s musicking – furthermore, Ricci’s expert musicking; especially when modern definitions of ‘musician’ and ‘composer’ do not apply to the early

³⁴ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 2.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

Jesuits who have practiced music. Small's theory allows turning the vague question of 'what music means to people' into one single aspect of human musical behaviour, and it is the musical behaviour of Ricci and his fellow Jesuits that requires a new perspective to be understood. Accordingly, the musicking theory may help answering the question: What did the Jesuit musical behaviour achieve in the context of Chinese-European musical encountering.

1.2.5. From Musicking to Expert Mediator: Matteo Ricci's Expert Musicking

Perhaps Ricci was not a 'professional' musician nevertheless, he was capable of undertaking musical activities in the Catholic Church and was able to arrange appropriate resources as well as manpower to assist him in fulfilling musical assignments for the diplomatic purpose. Also significant is Jesuit's use of musical knowledge in learning the Chinese language, which the multilingual competence is considered a crucial feature of the expert mediator.³⁸ The collective perception of 'musicking' and 'expert mediator' is therefore needed to explain the 'deeds' and 'role' of Matteo Ricci, as well the other Jesuits in China under his command. Regardless if music could be considered as a universal language, the use of music – musicking, could be highly communicative; would Ricci's finely tuned musicking, i.e. 'expert musicking' be one feature that contributes to his expertise of mediation?

I find the musical capacity of Matteo Ricci, as well as of his colleagues, academically underestimated and under-researched. Systematic singing courses were given in Ricci's time in Roman College, which consists of plain-chant *cantus firmus* (recitation on tones), and figured chants. Gifted students were

³⁸ Multilingual competence is regarded as a crucial feature of Ash's expert mediator; one positive example is given in his book on Thomas Digges's supervision and implementation of the Dover Harbour project. See: Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 55-86.

selected to undertake *quadrivium* (acoustic) training, which was considered as a branch of mathematics.³⁹ Later evidence demonstrates Jesuit's critical use of musical knowledge in learning the Chinese *Guanhua* (官話).

The musically initiated activity will be further examined under the framework of Small's 'musicking' theory. This research reviews the 'expert musicking' process of the Jesuits in China led by Matteo Ricci – a process carried out with thoughtful arrangements. The thoughtfulness of such process could be seen persuasive in the case of music teaching to imperial musicians, the later composition of Chinese lyrics to suit to the Eight Songs (*Xiqin Quyi*), and the extensive use of musical knowledge in learning the Chinese *Guanhua* (Late ming *Guanhua*, LMGH).

While the musicking theory illustrates the 'deed', I adopt the notion 'expert mediator' in analysing the 'role'. Eric H. Ash introduced the concept 'expert mediator' in his *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England*. Ash uses the term to describe people who served the state as 'experts' - first found in Elizabethan England in early-modern Europe. According to Ash, the 'expert mediator' could be defined by his advanced knowledge and by his intermediary position. Expert mediators "served as the intellectual, social and managerial bridge between the central administrators who were his patrons on the one hand, and the various far-flung objects of their control on the other."⁴⁰

From studying the bibliographical materials, I deduced that the involvement of music and musical activities in the Jesuit's China mission was not a

³⁹ David Francis Urrows, "The Music of Matteo Ricci's Funeral – History, Context, and Meaning," *Chinese Cross Currents* 9 (2012): 106. Urrows further suggests that instrumental training was available at the Roman College, which includes sackbuts, cornetti, trumpets, viols, harps, and harpsichords.

⁴⁰ Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 8.

discourteous outcome, but more a thoughtful process to assist the achievement of missionary goal. This thesis will further contextualize a theoretical framework of Small's musicking theory and Ash's definition of expert mediator. Furthermore, with the linguistic software PRAAT⁴¹, this research will be able to reconstruct the intonations of *Xiqin Quyí*, and examine Matteo Ricci's expert musicking through the relation between musical knowledge and Late Ming *Guanhua* (LMGH) learning, which may eventually serve as a critical and useful perspective in understanding Matteo Ricci's 'expert musicking'.

⁴¹ PRAAT is a linguistic freeware developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink, University of Amsterdam.

2. Mission Background

2.1. Ming China and Europe

The Ming Dynasty was established by Hongwu (洪武) emperor Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋) in 1368 replacing the Yuen (元) Dynasty, which was devastated by corruption. Hongwu emperor implemented a series of policies to mend the nation from years of war.⁴² In the early 15th century, the Ming Empire was at its golden age. Led by Admiral Zheng He (鄭和), seven treasure voyages were dispatched by the order of the emperor Yongle (永樂) between 1405 and 1433. The voyages travelled across East and South Asia, Arabian Peninsula and East Africa. At least 37 countries were visited during the voyages.⁴³ The demonstration of military and political supremacy earned the Ming Suzerainty various new members; by 1587 the Tribute Embassies of Ming China count 35 countries,⁴⁴ reassuring Ming's dominance over the region. In modern terms, Ming was an undeniable world superpower.

Meanwhile in Europe, after the discovery of the New World in 1492, the rise of European capitalism and colonialization highlighted the dawn of early modern Europe. In the quest for new markets, the Portuguese finally reached China in 1513; and by 1517, a small envoy was sent by the Governor of Portuguese India, Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515), to negotiate with the Ming Chinese authority on a trade agreement. After bribing several Chinese officials, the Portuguese envoy made their way to the Forbidden City in 1521, but negotiation

⁴² The Reign of Hongwu (洪武之治) was highly praised: "The emperor was diligent days and nights to secure the livelihood of civilians (宵旰圖治以安生民)." See: *Transcript of Veritable Records of Ming (鈔本明實錄)*, Book 2, Chap. 196 (卷一百九十六) (Beijing: Thread-Binding Books Publishing House, 2005), 383. Own translation.

⁴³ Charles O. Hucker, "The Ming Dynasty: Its Origins and Evolving Institutions," *Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies* 34 (1978): 83. Note: All translations of official titles of Ming/ Qing China in this thesis are based on his work.

⁴⁴ J. K. Fairbank and S. Y. Têng, "On The Ch'ing Tributary System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6 (1941): 151-2. (135-246)

For a concise history of Ming China, See: John W. Dardess, *Ming China, 1368-1644: A Concise History of a Resilient Empire*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012).

soon terminated due to the sudden death of Zhengde (正德) emperor. The envoy was sent back to Guangzhou and was later imprisoned by local officials while Portuguese attacks on Chinese coastal villages were reported since 1518, the Ming court soon decided to expel the Portuguese 'barbarians' from China.⁴⁵

By mid-1521, military conflicts broke out between the two superpowers near Tunmen (屯門, Tāmão)⁴⁶; the first between Ming China and Europe, and again in 1522 near Sai Tso Wan (西草灣)⁴⁷. Ming navy defeated the Portuguese fleet.⁴⁸ Yet, Portuguese never gave up setting foothold in South China. After another round of long negotiation, the belligerents, represented by Leonel de Sousa of Portugal and Wang Bo (汪柏), the Vice Maritime Inspector (海道副使) of Guangdong respectively, came to a peace agreement. Portuguese traders were granted the pass to trade in Guangzhou and to build houses in Macau – a de facto allowance of Portuguese residency in Macau.⁴⁹ Portuguese settlers even offered support to the Ming coastal defence by defeating pirates who attack villages and fleets on the South China coastline.⁵⁰ Benefited significantly from the *Haijin* (海禁) between China and Japan, Portuguese merchants became the

⁴⁵ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford university Press, 2010), 52-53.

⁴⁶ The exact location of Tunmen is unclear, but highly likely it is the nowadays Lantau Island in Hong Kong, see: Jing Guoping (金國平), "Contributos para uma identificação documentada de Tumon [Tamão] (Tumon 雜考)" in *O Ocidente ao Encontro do Oriente (西力東漸)* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 2000), 19-42.

⁴⁷ Sai Tso Wan is actually located near Lei Yue Mun (鯉魚門) in Hong Kong, See: Jing Guoping (金國平), "Uma tentativa de identificação do lugar da batalha naval da armada de Martim Afonso de Melo Coutinho (1521-1522 年間的中葡軍事衝突 - "西草灣"試考)" in *O Ocidente ao Encontro do Oriente (西力東漸)* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 2000), 1-19.

⁴⁸ Tang Kaijing (湯開健), *Historical Researches on Early Macanese Settlement (澳門開埠初期史研究)* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1999), 2.

⁴⁹ How the agreement was made remains unclear. But there were accuses that Wang Bo took bribe from the Portuguese when they fled to southern Macau (時佛郎機違禁潛住南澳, 海道副使汪柏受賄從與之), see: Guo Fei(郭棐), "The Biography of Ding Yizhong (丁以忠傳)," in *Guangdong Tongzhi (in Siku Quanshu) 廣東通志 (四庫全書本)*, Chap.40. The agreement was never meant to be an official recognition from the central Ming government until 1557, where Portuguese residency in Macau was officially reported for the first time. See: Huang Hongzao (黃鴻釗), "Wang Bo Allows Portuguese to have Trade Relations Privately (汪柏私許葡人通市)," *Academic Journal of One Country Two Systems ("一國兩制"研究)* 24 (2015): 187-192.

⁵⁰ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford university Press, 2010), 54.

sole brokers of trade between the two countries and contributed considerably to the Ming taxation with their silver import.

It is worth mentioning that silver was crucial in Ming society, because after years of unsuccessful attempts to deter counterfeit coins, silver became the only accepted currency for Ming taxation,⁵¹ following the Ministry of Revenue's (戶部) suggestion in 1565:

“Coins are spent with endless supply in the Capital, the Taxation of the Commercial Tax Office (宣課司) has thus very limited revenue. This further encourages the non-cooperation of indecent civilians. The increase in official coin supply would encourage even more forged coins; the decrease in official coin supply would, however, encourage the hoarding of existing official coins in the market. The harder we try to prohibit forged coins the harder may the official coins be eventually circulated in the market. By changing the rule now, it will bring convenience to the civilian, and no fixed exchange rate (between coins and silver) will be ever needed. Taxation of the Commercial Tax Office (宣課司) and all official salaries shall then be paid by silver only.”⁵²

The unification of using silver as the only accepted tax payment was further ratified in 1581 by the Grand Secretary (內閣首輔) Zhang Juzheng (張居正)

⁵¹ On Ming monetary policy, see: Cheung Sui Wai (張瑞威), “On the Two Conditions for Legal Money: A Study of the Monetary Policy of Ming China during the Jiajing Era (論法定貨幣的兩個條件：明嘉靖朝銅錢政策的探討),” *Journal of Chinese Studies* (中國文化研究所學報) 60 (2015): 183-196.

⁵² Original Text: “京師用錢無窮，而宣課司所收有限，遂使奸民乘機阻撓。錢多則濫惡相欺，錢少則增值罔利，故禁愈煩而錢愈滯。自今準折，宜從民便，不必定其文數。宣課司收稅，各衙門折俸，且俱用銀。” From *Transcript of Veritable Records of Ming* (鈔本明實錄), Book 17, Chap. 546 (卷五百四十六) (Beijing: Thread-Binding Books Publishing House, 2005), 125. Own translation.

under his reformed taxation plan - Single Whip Method (一條鞭法).⁵³ The basic unit of taxation and *corvée* - *Ding* (丁), which refers to abled men aged 16 to 60 in China, was integrated with a nation-wide land-tax assessment, and it was then calculated into one single rate for tax payment in silver. The silver collected would have been then used for official services, as well as for goods and supplies from the market.

Zhang's reform bought temporary prosperity to the Ming Empire.⁵⁴ Yet after Zhang's death in 1586, the Wanli emperor became even less interested in politics. The indolent emperor, in protest of the court's opposition to designate Zhu Changxun (朱常洵, 1586-1641)⁵⁵ as the crown prince, refused to hold court for 20 years.⁵⁶ The emperor's absence in politics greatly hindered Ming administration, the political vacuum in Ming court thus gave imperial eunuchs unprecedented power and influence over political decision-makings on a daily basis.

Eunuchs were, however, not supposed to intervene in politics. By early Ming, when Hongwu emperor (明太祖) reigned, the eunuchs count not more than 100. By the end of Ming Dynasty, the number soared to some 70 thousand.⁵⁷ Although staffing eunuchs in the imperial office was not uncommon, the admiral Zheng He, for instance, was also a eunuch; the number was never this proliferated. The giant eunuch structure was constructed with 24 offices, each

⁵³ Further readings on Single Whip Method, see: Liang Fangchung (梁方仲), *The Single Whip Method of Taxation in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956). For a detailed discussion on how the silver-based taxation affected Ming economy, see: Kent Deng, "Miracle or mirage? Foreign silver, China's economy and globalisation of the sixteen to nineteenth centuries," *Pacific Economic Review* 13 (2008):320-357.

⁵⁴ Zhang's biography, see: Liu Zhiqin (劉志琴), *A Critical Biography of Zhang Juzheng (張居正評傳)* (Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 2006).

⁵⁵ Later known as the Prince of Fu (福王), son of the Imperial Concubine Zheng (鄭皇貴妃, 1565-1630).

⁵⁶ Ray Huang (黃仁宇), *1587, a Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline (萬曆十五年)* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2006), 66-67.

⁵⁷ Charles O. Hucker. *The Ming Dynasty: It's Origins and Evolving Institutions* (Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1978) 93.

responsible for specific tasks. They included the care of utilities, ceremonial equipment, apparel, stables and seals; the provision of fuel, food, music, paper and baths; the handling of documents; the upkeep of buildings and grounds; and the manufacture of textiles, art objects and craft goods. Eunuchs also supervised the palace treasury.⁵⁸ The eunuchs basically ran the country.

One of the most important tasks eunuchs handled was delivering official papers. Eunuchs handing paper works received training and education in the imperial palace under the Eunuch School (內書堂) and were later assigned to the Palace Secretariat (文書房) to be the emperor's personal secretary. As the tension rose between the emperor, the central government and the emperor's chief of staff - the Grand Secretary, eunuchs became the 'mediator' between different political stakeholders. While the emperor was absent in court, the eunuchs became the messengers for transporting edicts. Edicts were double-checked by eunuchs, giving the eunuchs great opportunity to literally change the edicts in order to suit their own interest, bypassing ministries and the Grand Secretary. In late-Ming time, many imperial edicts were in fact issued by top eunuchs instead of the emperor himself.⁵⁹ Under the emperor, the Directorate of Ceremonial (司禮監) commands all eunuchs. Unlike any other dynasty in China, eunuchs were staffed not only in the Forbidden City, but their works were sometimes assigned across the nation as well.

This abrogating practice came to no surprise upset government officials and the literati in Ming China. Eunuchs were supposed to be the emperor's personal service and his personal service only, therefore Eunuchs' interference in politics was not only seen as inappropriate but also indecent. Eunuch's interference in politics further discouraged many decent officials of scholarly background to

⁵⁸ Charles O. Hucker. *The Ming Dynasty: It's Origins and Evolving Institutions* (Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1978) 94.

⁵⁹ Robert B. Crawford, "Eunuch Power in the Ming Dynasty," *T'oung Pao* 49 (1961): 135.

keep serving the Ming court. Ming emperors, however, seemed to have enjoyed this informality of staffing eunuchs. Eunuchs provided the emperor with a convenient device to bypass the bureaucracies; it also avoided the endless obstructions and moral exhortations that were inevitable between the emperor and his literati officials.⁶⁰ This gave further privileges to the eunuchs as they reported directly to the emperor and could be able to ignore bureaucratic red tapes. Ming Empire's six-year war with Japan following the invasion of Korea in 1592 costed the Ming court dearly.⁶¹ Wanli emperor soon raised the taxes for revenue collection. The high taxation resulted inflation, and attracted more peasants to undergo castration and to become a eunuch, as more eunuchs were needed for revenue collection all over China.⁶²

Matteo Ricci arrived in China during the golden age of eunuchs. Ricci and his fellows would have had to deal with the castrated officials frequently, although Ricci's comments on the unmanly men were often negative:

“These eunuchs, who are for the most part an idiotic, barbaric, arrogant people, devoid of conscience and of shame, carried out these offices with such cruelty that, in a brief time, one saw the whole of China in revolt and in an even worse state than it had previously been on account of the Korean War.”⁶³

⁶⁰ U.H. Mammitzsch, “Wei Chung-hsien (1568-1628): a Reappraisal of the Eunuch and the Factional Strife at the Late Ming Court” (PhD. Diss., University of Hawaii, 1968), 30-31.

⁶¹ For a detailed study of Ming China's war in Korea, see: Kuwano Eiji, “Chosŏn Korea and Ming China after the Imjin Waeran: State Rituals in the Later Chosŏn Period” in ed. James B. Lewis, *The East Asian War, 1592-1598: International Relations, Violence and Memory* (London: Routledge, 2015) 294-322.

⁶² Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996) 25.

⁶³ FR 2, 81-82, translation from Mary Laven, *Mission to China: Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit Encounter with the East* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011) 168.

Nevertheless, Ricci would need to rely on the eunuchs to get things done; some high ranking eunuchs also saw the potentials in cooperating with the Jesuits. A few eunuchs even converted to Catholicism later, including the notable Great Chancellor Achilleus Pang Tianshou (龐天壽, ?-1657).⁶⁴ Jesuit's connection with the eunuchs ensured convenience to gain access to political stakeholders, and eventually to reach the Ming palace.

2.2. Destination China, the Jesuit expansion in the East Asia

After the Jesuit Society's establishment in 1540, the Jesuits were eager to spread the Catholic belief to the new world. Francis Xavier, one of the founding members of the society - also known as the Company of Jesus - was the first Jesuit to set sail to Asia. After 13 long months of travelling, Xavier finally arrived in the Portuguese controlled Goa in 1542. One year before Xavier's arrival, the Jesuit school of Santa Fe (Holy Faith) was already founded in Goa to train potential Catholic preachers. It was later expanded to be the St. Paul's College (Not to be confused with St. Paul's College in Macau). Some 2000 children from India and South East Asia attended school there.⁶⁵

More Jesuits reached Goa by the beginning of the 17th century. In 1602, almost at the same time when Ricci arrived in Beijing, 72 Italian and Portuguese Jesuits arrived Goa and in the coming years, between 1603 and 1607, more than 6000 converts were baptized there. Jesuit activities also spread from Goa, in the peninsula of Salsette for instance, there were some 14 churches with 45000 worshipers. The growth of the Jesuit community could also be observed in its

⁶⁴ Pang also assisted the Jesuit missioning in the imperial court, see: Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, "The Miraculous Conversions at the Chinese Imperial Court related by Michael Boym SI" (paper presented at the international conference Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World, University of York, June 9-11, 2011).

⁶⁵ Jose Kalapura, "The Legacy of Francis Xavier: Jesuit Education in India, 16th-18th Centuries," in *St Francis Xavier and the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise. Assimilations between Cultures*, ed. by Ignacio Arellano and Carlos Mata Induráin (Navarre: Universidad de Navarra, 2012), 91-111.

increase in Professed House. By 1609, there were 37 in Goa, 92 in St. Paul's College and 33 in Novices.⁶⁶ Together with the teaching of knowledge from Europe, the Jesuits also introduced the printing press with movable types to India for distributing Christianity to the natives.⁶⁷

Jesuits then reached out from India to Japan, on August 15, 1549, when Xavier arrived in Kagoshima (鹿児島), Japan's southern capital on the island of Kyushu (九州).⁶⁸ By 1580, the Christian community in Japan already consisted of 150000 converts, with 200 churches and 85 Jesuits; among which were 20 Japanese brothers and 100 acolytes. By 1590, the number of Jesuits increased to 136 with 170 acolytes and 300 menial staff – more than 600 catholic personnel in total. The Jesuits in Japan operated the printing press, the training, the seminars, and maintained the churches with financial independence.⁶⁹ Yet after *Shogun* Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康) issued an edict in 1614, expelling all foreign missionaries, many Jesuits fled to Macau, China's southern gate.⁷⁰ The Jesuits' next destination was the massive and undiscovered land of Ming China

2.3. Macau and Jesuit Education in East Asia.

2.3.1. Background

Jesuit's existence in Macau could be traced back to the beginning of the Portuguese colonialization of Macau in the 1500s. Melchior Nunes Barreto, one of the early Jesuits in Macau, stayed shortly in Macau on 20th November 1555

⁶⁶ Donald F. Lach and Edward J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume III: A Century of Advance. Book 4: East Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 840.

⁶⁷ On the Jesuit contribution to printing press in India, see Henry Hosten, *The Collected Works*, Vol. 1, Vidyajyoti College Archives, Delhi. The Hosten Collection is also available in the Goethals Library and Research Centre, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.

⁶⁸ For the Jesuit activities in Japan, see: Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁷⁰ Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 184-185.

before travelling to Japan.⁷¹ The first Jesuits who settled in Macau were Luis Fróis and Giovanni Battista Del Monte who arrived in Macau on 24th August 1562. A house was built for the Jesuits to prepare for the mission to the Far-East.⁷² One year later, Macau was still a small village with merely 5000 inhabitants, among them some 900 Portuguese as well as many local Catholic followers.⁷³ On 28th August 1563, Jesuits Francisco Pérez, Manuel Teixeira, Francis Xavier and Andre Pinto arrived in Macau. Aimed at proselytizing China, they were instructed by the Jesuit Provincial, António de Quadros (1559-1572), to establish a forward base in Macau. Jesuit Francisco Pérez built another house for residence in 1565 and later changed it to a school.⁷⁴ At the same time, a small church was built, but the Portuguese residency in Macau was not yet permanent – it was only until 1557 when the residential permit was officially approved.⁷⁵ Jesuits soon began teaching the locals – similar to what they did in other newly proselytized land. Finally, in 1574, the construction of St. Paul's Church began.⁷⁶

The city of Macau had always been a school for the Jesuits, educating and cultivating many workers who have propagated Christianity not only in China and Japan but also in other neighbouring countries.⁷⁷ In 1542, the Jesuits in Macau began establishing their infrastructure by promoting education - a Reading and Writing School was built in 1571⁷⁸ and operated in 1572.⁷⁹ The

⁷¹ See: letter from Fernão Mendes Pinto to the priest Baltasar Dias. Macao, 20th November, 1555 in Rebecca Catz, *Cartas de Fernão Mendes Pinto e outros documentos* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1983), 60-65.

⁷² Luís Filipe Barreto, *Macau: Poder e Saber. Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Presença, 2006) p.114.

⁷³ Henri Bernard (裴化行), *Aux portes de la Chine. Les Missionnaires du XVIe siècle, 1514-1588* (天主教十六世紀在華傳教志), trans. Xiao Junhua (蕭濬華) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), 109-10.

⁷⁴ Louis Pfister (費賴之), *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les J ésuïtes de l'ancienne mission de Chine 1552-1773, Tome I: XVIe & XVIIe siècles* (Shanghai : Mission Catholique, 1932), 10.

⁷⁵ Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Pelos Mares da China* (Lisbon: Clube do Coleccionador, 1999), 82.

⁷⁶ Luís Filipe Barreto, *Macau: Poder e Saber. Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Presença, 2006), 137.

⁷⁷ Álvaro Semedo, *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China*, trans. He Gaoji (何高濟) (Shanghai: Shanghai AncientBook Publishing House, 1998), 210.

⁷⁸ Beatriz Basin da Silva, *Cronologia da história de Macau (16th–18th Century)* (澳門編年史 (16–18世紀)), trans. Xiao Yu (小雨) (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1995), 17.

⁷⁹ Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões*, 2 vols. (Porto: Tipografia Fonseca, 1935), 62.

school's first principal was António Vaz (1517-1589), who was assisted by eight Jesuit priests.⁸⁰ A Latin class was later introduced to the school.⁸¹ Class size gradually increases but kept at 200. The school's second principal, Cristovao da Costa (1529-1582) reported in 1577 that 150 students were enrolled. Later in 1584, priest Lourenço Mexia (1539-1599) wrote that "the school has 200 students, who learn how to write, read, and sing."⁸² In 1592, almost 20 years after the school's establishment, the same number of students was taught.⁸³ The development of the Jesuit school in Macau occurred considerably fast and continued to be a major focus of the Jesuits in Macau – especially after the school's incorporation into St. Paul's College (officially established in 1594).

In 1580, Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607) established the 'St. Martin Biblical School', Jesuits first step stone in missionary training in Macau. In explaining the purpose of St. Martin School, Ruggieri wrote to Everard Mercurian on 12 November 1581:

"I call the school the "Biblical School" because here we preach to and baptize the Chinese. The school is very important and is appreciated by non-Christians. It can be regarded as the grand opening of the conversion of gigantic China. I study the Chinese language here the Catholic fellows here will undoubtedly be the best translators and will help the missionary work tremendously."⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua diocese*, vol. 3, *As ordens e congregações religiosas em Macau* (Macau: Tipografia Sio Sang, 1944), 152.

⁸¹ Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões*, 2 vols. (Porto: Tipografia Fonseca, 1935), 62.

⁸² Liu Xianbing (劉羨冰), *Bilingual Elite and Cultural Exchange (雙語精英與文化交流)* (Macau: Macau Foundation, 1995), 14-15.

⁸³ José Montanha, "Apparatos para a historia do bispado de Macau," in *Igrejas de Macau*, ed. Maria Regina Valente (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1993), 14.

⁸⁴ Original text: "Chiamase questa casa de' Catecumenj, perchè qui catechizzamo e battizzamo gli Cini che si fanno cristianj. Fu molto necessaria per questo fine e grande edificatione degli gentili. Si sustenta de elemosine che si domandano a questi mercatorj. Il che è alcuno travaglio. Se Sua Santità potesse agiutare questa casa solamente con una elemosina de mille scudj, i quali pagandose in Roma

Therefore, before St. Paul's College, which was aimed to train missionaries for the Japanese mission, there was already an institutional establishment in aiming the Chinese mission by the Jesuits through religious and language training. Before St. Paul's College is finally opened in 1594, some 20 Jesuits students enrolled in this Biblical School to learn the Chinese language, they include Ruggieri, Ricci, Antonio de Almeida (1556-91), Duarte de Sande (孟三德, 1547-1599), and Francesco de Petris (1563-93).⁸⁵

Despite Jesuit's high aim in tertiary education, the primary education remained an important part of the later St. Paul's College. In the annual report of the College in 1616, it was described that 'one priest teaches reading, writing and arithmetic and another one teaches singing'.⁸⁶ Wu Li (吳歷, 1631-1718), one of the earliest Chinese Jesuit fellows in Macau, stated that "the Jesuit school consists of a college and a primary school. Classes start at 8 am and end at 12 am with a bell."⁸⁷

ad alcuno mercantre de Lisboa verebbono sicurj qui, e basterebbono per sustentare questa santa opra, che è grande principio della conversione di questo gran regno di Cina; la quale certo con ogni sforzo se devia pretendere; perchè è la più disposta gente per recevoir la fè santa che ogn'altra natione, sendo de grande ingegno e habilità, di quiete grande e obediencia. Ha mirabile subordinatione nel governo di questa gente, intanto che si può dire che non si può far cosa, per piccola che sia, che non intenda il superiore, e a modo di fanciulli di scola questa gente cina è castigata, come V. P. terà di questo particular aviso." in Matteo Ricci, *Le lettere dalla Cina*, in *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.*, 2 vols., II. (Macerata: Premiata stab. tip. F. Giorgetti, 1911-1913), 402. Chinese translation is available in Matteo Ricci, *Complete Works of Fr. Matteo Ricci, SJ, Volume 4, Letters (II)*, trans. Luo Yu (羅漁) (Taipei: Guangqi Press, 1986), 432. Translation adopted from: Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 58.

⁸⁵ Henri Bernard (裴化行), *Aux portes de la Chine. Les Missionnaires du XVIe siècle, 1514-1588* (天主教十六世紀在華傳教志), trans. Xiao Junhua (蕭濬華) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), 189, mentioned in : Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 58.

⁸⁶ Jerónimo Rodrigues, "Cartas ânuas do colégio de Macau, 27-1-1616; Tomé Vaz, Cartas ânuas do colégio de Macau 8-1-1692, mentioned in Lei Heong lok (李向玉), *Cradle of Sinologists: Research on St. Paul School of Macau* (漢學家的搖籃: 澳門聖保祿學院研究) (Beijing: Chinese Publishing House, 2006), 29-30.

⁸⁷ Wu Li (吳歷), *Wu Yushan Jizhan zhu* (吳漁山集箋注), vol. 2 (Beijing: Chinese Publishing House, 2007), 179, mentioned in : Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 58.

Before the further elaborations on Jesuits' educational efforts in East Asia, the development of Jesuits' schooling, especially in linguistic training, demonstrates great similarities with the educational reform in Elizabethan England proposed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539-1583), Gilbert's vision of a new college - the Queen Elizabeth's Academy, unlike the "school learning" provided in traditional universities at Oxford or Cambridge, requires student to study "matters of action meet for present practice, both of peace and war... for the service of their country". Gilbert saw the importance of multilingual competence, therefore, other than the academic languages, such as Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, foreign languages such as Spanish, French, Italian and German were also taught - which were absent in a traditional English university's syllabus. Students were encouraged to refine their oratorical skills in English, not in Latin. "In what language soever learning is attained... the appliance to use is principally in the vulgar speech, as in preaching, in parliament, in council, in commission, and other offices of the Common Weal."⁸⁸ Gilbert's academy aims in training the future experts who are capable in negotiating expertise - the expert mediators.

The God's soldiers have suffered setback in Japan, at the same time they have to avoid the chaotic naval combats during the 19-year long Anglo-Spanish War, the General of Jesuits in Rome authorized the creation of a college offering tertiary education in Macau in 1594 by upgrading the Madre de Deus School. This was later known to be the St. Paul's College, the first European university in Asia.

⁸⁸ Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 13-14.

2.3.2. Establishment of St. Paul's College (1597-1762)

After the third General Consultation of Missionaries in Nagasaki (長崎), 1592, Alessandro Valignano's proposal of establishing a new college was supported by the head of the China Mission, Duarte de Sande; it was later decided that a separate new college would be established. As previously mentioned, before the St. Paul's College in Macau, there was already another Jesuit school (later a college), also named after St. Paul in Goa. The new Jesuit College was preferred to be built in Macau than in Goa for two main reasons: 1) Goa had a stronger focus on missionary works in India, Malacca, and Morocco, not Japan, and 2) the outbreak of plague in Goa, 1578, greatly hindered the local educational development; school buildings were later abandoned. The decision of setting the college in Macau was to no surprise protested by the Goa Jesuits, who considered Goa to be the better place for the new college.⁸⁹ Yet many other Jesuits wished to maintain the secrecy of Jesuits missionary training and, therefore, was Macau preferred.⁹⁰

Rome soon authorized the construction of the St. Paul's College in Macau, which was located near the Jesuit residence in Macau.⁹¹ The decision of establishing a European university for the purpose of missionary-training in Macau was approved by the Portuguese viceroy in India and the vicar general in Goa; the construction was also supported by King Philip II of Spain (Reign 1554-1558). The foundation of St. Paul's College (Macau Seminary) was established first by merging the Macau primary school and the Chapel of São Martinho.

⁸⁹ Sebastião Gonçalves, *Primeira parte da história dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1962), 142.

⁹⁰ Manuel Teixeira, "The Japanese in Macau," *Review of Culture* 17 (1993): 164.

⁹¹ Louis Pfister (費賴之), *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine 1552-1773 (在華耶穌會士列傳及書目)*, trans. Feng Chengjun (馮承鈞) (Beijing: Chinese Publishing House, 1995), 16.

St. Paul's College in Macau also received considerable financial support from Sebastian I (1554-1578), King of Portugal, who ordered the allocation of some 1000 silver taels of customs revenue from Malacca to the college annually from 1574 onwards. After Sebastian I died in 1578, the new king, Henry I (1512-80), doubled the amount.⁹² Extra funding was given to establish the St. Ignatius Seminary under the St. Paul's College, which was specialized for the Japanese mission. Paulo dos Santos of the Japan mission contributed 12000 taels for silver for the training of 12 young missionaries.⁹³ Almost 100 years later, after the success of Ricci in Ming court, the Seminary of St. Joseph was established in 1732 tailor-made for the Chinese mission under the St. Paul's College. The College was also equipped with a General Library of some 5000 books and an Archive of The Japanese Province.⁹⁴

Alessandro Valignano's idea of St. Paul's College in Macau was highly based on the Jesuit colleges founded in Europe. He developed the Basic and Superior Studies of the College, where its pedagogical practices were based on Claudio Aquaviva's *Ratio Studiorum* (1591).⁹⁵ Valignano adopted the system and regulations of Coimbra University – mainly the Arts College statutes dated 1559 and 1565 – to East Asia.⁹⁶

St. Paul's College was consisted of three main institutions: a primary school for children of the local residents and Portuguese families; the St. Ignatius Seminary, established especially for the Japanese missionaries; and later the St.

⁹² Wang Wenda (王文達), *Aomen zhanggu* (澳門掌故) (Macau: Educational Press, 1999), 93.

⁹³ *Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do ano de 1650*. BA, 49-V-13, fol. 641, 53-83.

⁹⁴ Benjamim Videira Pires (潘日明), *Embaixada Mártir* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de. Macao, 1988), 16.

⁹⁵ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 247–49.

⁹⁶ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *Macau, primeira universidade do Extremo-Oriente* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1994), 17–18.

Joseph Seminary, designed for the Chinese mission.⁹⁷ Thanks to the optimal geographic location of Macau, the St. Paul's College became the cradle and forward base of Jesuits in East and Southeast Asia, including China and Indochina.

Despite the steadfast effort in establishing various seminaries, the St. Paul's College of Macau did not meet the conventional definition of a 'Catholic university', as Catholic canon was not taught in Macau. The St. Paul's College also had neither medicine faculty, law faculty, nor any natural science faculties. In modern standard, the size of the College hardly satisfied the definition of a 'university'. Yet the College's strong focus on humanities in tertiary education was highly accredited. Qualified graduates were entitled to receive an official diploma from St. Paul's; established scholars from St. Paul's were granted doctoral titles.⁹⁸ The "Annual Report of the Province of Japan" indicated in 1645: "Macau seminary is a university that teaches from elementary knowledge to theology and grant doctoral degrees to people who acquired knowledge from the university."⁹⁹

Jesuits began cultivating students since young age. There were far more students in the primary school than in the Seminary. The number of students of the Seminary was reported to be merely 50 during 1594-1645.¹⁰⁰ The number of students in the Seminary did manage to expand in the later years. A report

⁹⁷ Álvaro Semedo mentioned in 1643: "only 90 Portuguese and Macanese children studied in the primary school." See: Benjamin Videira Pires (潘日明), *Os extremos conciliam-se: Transculturação em Macau (殊途同歸: 澳門的文化交融)*, trans. Su Qin (蘇勤) (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992), 37.

⁹⁸ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *Macau, primeira universidade do Extremo-Oriente* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1994), 29.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁰⁰ Sebastião Gonçalves, *Primeira parte da história dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1962), 141–42, mentioned in: Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 59.

by Diogo Caldeira Rego indicated some 60-70 students,¹⁰¹ similarly German Jesuit historian Alfons Văth suggested the size of the Seminary may be 80 or more since Macau was already the hub of trade after Japan's *Kaikin*¹⁰² (海禁, maritime prohibitions) policy.¹⁰³

2.3.3. Subjects of St. Paul's College (1597-1762)

On 1 December 1594, the St. Paul's College was officially opened and, similar to European colleges, the school years began in September. The academic activity was followed by the Catholic profession of faith and student's Mass. The ceremonies were conducted by the principal and teaching staff according to Pope Pious IV's doctrine.¹⁰⁴ The timetables for lessons were carefully organized both for the Latin classes and for the arts, moral theology (cases) and dogma courses. Latin was still the lingua franca in the catholic world; its importance is equally reflected in Humphrey Gilbert's vision of a new academy.¹⁰⁵

Four main subjects were opened by 1594: reading and writing, grammar, humanities, and the arts.¹⁰⁶ The Latin class started at seven in the morning, where there was usually a fifteen-minute long speech in Latin, the same drill

¹⁰¹ Diogo Caldeira Rego, "Relao Caldeira Rego, seo e fortificãalao Caldei," in *Review of Culture* 31 (1997): 153-158.

¹⁰² Ming authority also has the same measure, I use *Kaikin* and *Haijin* to diffrenciate their orgins, namely Japan and China respectively.

¹⁰³ Alfons Văth (魏特), *Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J.: Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking, 1592-1666*, trans. Yang Bingchen (楊丙辰), Chap. 4 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1949), 78, mentioned in : Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 59.

¹⁰⁴ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos. *Macau, primeira universidade do Extremo-Oriente* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1994), 29, mentioned in : Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 59.

¹⁰⁵ Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 13.

¹⁰⁶ Sebastião Gonçalves, *Primeira parte da história dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1962), 141-42. There are several accounts of the earliest curriculum of St. Paul's College. See: Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos. *Macau, primeira universidade do Extremo-Oriente* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1994), 72; Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 59.

again in the afternoon. Teachers were instructed to pay special attention to students' spiritual lives;¹⁰⁷ all classes began and ended with a short prayer where students would kneel before a statue.¹⁰⁸ Similar to Jesuit schools in Europe, weapons were strictly prohibited in classes or on the patio.¹⁰⁹ In the following chapter 2.4, a detailed discussion is given concerning the Chinese learning in the St. Paul's College.

Comparable to St. Paul's College in Goa, the St. Paul's College in Macau successfully trained missionaries to prepare for the missions in China and Japan. Ricci, together with Ruggiere, were the first Jesuits to introduce new rules in accordance with local customs and cultures; this was later known to be the Jesuit's accommodation strategy¹¹⁰, and in Chinese: Matteo Ricci's Rule (利瑪竇的規矩).

2.3.4. Suppression of the Jesuits

On 21st July 1773, Pope Clement XIV promulgated the *Dominus ac Redemptor*, and the Society of Jesus was suppressed and later ordered to disband. The operation of St. Paul's College ended before that; drastic edict issued by Pombal in 1759 - four years after the Marquis of Pombal, Minister of Portugal - had banished all the Jesuits and their institutions from all Portuguese territories and possessions. So the Jesuits had to let other missionary personnel take over their work in Macao, first, the Saint Paul's College, then also the Saint Ignatius

¹⁰⁷ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos. *Macau, primeira universidade do Extremo-Oriente* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1994), 19.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹¹⁰ The discussion of the Jesuit's accommodation strategy in China is not the main thesis of this research. Previously published scholarly works on Jesuit's accommodation strategy in China includes: David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985). Johannes Bettray, *Die Akkomodationsmethode Des P. Matteo Ricci S.J. in China* (Rome: Analecta Gregoriana, 1955). Sangkeun Kim, *Strange Names of God: The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's «Shangti» in Late Ming China, 1583-1644* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005).

Seminary and the Saint Joseph Seminary. The Society of Jesus was forced to end their active service in Macau after 179 years. The St. Paul's College in Macau operated for 168 years (1594- 1762), some 665 young fellows from different European and Asian countries were educated.¹¹¹ Most of them would continue their missionary works in China for two centuries, while a handful of them, including Ricci, are recruited by the Ming and later Qing Empire as 'western experts' in different fields – each of them could be regarded as a success story in negotiating expertise.

After the suppression, the buildings of the St. Paul's College had partly been transformed into a military compound. In 1835 a fire in the kitchen spread beyond control and destroyed the whole complex. The Jesuit Order was restored in 1814, however the Jesuits did not return to Macao until 1890 at the instant request of the bishop of the diocese. The Jesuits resumed teaching in the diocesan seminary, which they had established in 1728 and later were entrusted with its direction. But due to reignited political tensions between Portugal and the Holy See, they were again expelled from Macao in 1910 and moved to Zhaoqing. Portugal authorities admitted them again in 1913 under the condition that they would work only in the Chinese part of the diocese of Macao.¹¹²

2.4. Learning Chinese

2.4.1. Learning Chinese in Macau and in China

Learning Chinese is difficult - not to mention the complexity of distinguishing different Chinese dialects. Although it is clear that the Jesuits adopted one single standard form of Chinese after years of trying, that is the Late Ming

¹¹¹ See: Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., Paris: Letouzey and Ané, 1973), 397-407.

¹¹² Yves Camus, "Jesuits: A Reading through the Prism of History" (paper presented at the 20th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies (EACS), Coimbra, July 26, 2014).

Guanhua (明末官話, LMGH), by the end of 16th century, as proved in *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (西儒耳目資, XREMZ), available information is scattered in finding how Jesuits managed to learn the Chinese language at an early stage. Some missionaries learned the Chinese language before entering China to begin missionary work, and not all of them learned Chinese in Macau, in fact, many missionaries did not learn Chinese at all until entering Mainland China. On the Jesuit's actual Chinese learning, a concise summary was made by Tang Kaijian (湯開建) in *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties*:¹¹³

“Ruggieri learned Chinese entirely by himself. He asked for a Chinese teacher to teach him Chinese, learning Chinese characters with the aid of pictures. He finished his primary studies of Chinese in Macau. Ricci and Cattaneo learned Chinese in Macau and Shaozhou;¹¹⁴ ...Wenceslas Pantaleon Kirwitzer (祁維材, 1588-1626) was a Bohemian, arriving in Macau in 1622. He learned Chinese for two to three years;¹¹⁵ As well as learning Chinese in St. Paul's College, António de Gouvea also taught grammar there;¹¹⁶ as to Michał Boym learning Chinese in St. Paul's College.”¹¹⁷

Tang further suggests that as the St. Paul's College was designated for the Japan mission, learning Chinese was not compulsory in every seminar. Based on

¹¹³ Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 63.

¹¹⁴ See: Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 247–251.

¹¹⁵ Auguste M. Colombel (高龍鞏), *Histoire de la mission du Kiang-nan: en trois parties* (江南傳教史), trans. Zhou Shiliang (周士良) (Shanghai: Guangqi Press, 2009), 120.

¹¹⁶ António de Gouvea, *Asia Extrema: Primeira parte - Livro II* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1995), 327–328; Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 221.

¹¹⁷ See: Edward Kajdański, *Michał Boym: Ambasador Państwa Środka* (中國的使臣卜彌格) trans. Zhang Zhenhui (張振輝) (Zhengzhou: Daxiang Press, 2001), 75.

Pfister and Dehergne's work, Tang further summarized a list of European missionaries with where they actually learned Chinese:

“Among the thirty Jesuits who entered China from 1594 to 1624, twelve certainly learned the Chinese language in mainland China: Diego de Pantoja (on the way from Nanking to Beijing), João Soerio (Nanchang), Gaspar de Ferreira (Beijing), Alfonso Vagnoni (Nanking), Sabatino de Ursis (Beijing), Nicolas Trigault (Nanjing), Álvaro Semedo (Nanjing), Francisco Furtado (Jiading), Jean Terrenz (Jiading), Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Beijing), João Froes (Hangzhou).”¹¹⁸

Tang backs Brockey's suggestion that there was no systematic Chinese language training provided under the St. Paul's College, at least not at the beginning of its operation. It was often the case that Jesuits learned Chinese on an ad-hoc basis.¹¹⁹ Tang further quotes Brockey:

“A number of factors converged to make the Jesuits abandon the idea of using the College of Macau for language training. First of all, the difficulties involved in smuggling men into the empire meant that new missionaries had to be sent as soon as an opportunity presented itself, not necessarily after they were grounded in Chinese. Moreover, once inside the empire, trained priests had few opportunities to return to Macau to teach their colleagues. The cloud of mandarin suspicion that fell over the colony from the 1590s until the 1610s as a result of its links with Japan only served to encourage the China Jesuits to dissociate themselves from Macau. By the time Ming authorities shifted their attention from the Portuguese to the Manchu, relations between the

¹¹⁸ Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 63.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

China mission and the Province of Japan had soured. After 1614 the College of Macau became the Japan Jesuits' headquarters in exile and was packed full with distrustful and despondent priests. Finally, the creation of the Vice-Province in 1619 and the end of the Nanjing affair in 1623 led the China Jesuits to move their teaching program away from the Portuguese colony and into the Ming empire for good."¹²⁰

From the given statements, it seems clear that Chinese language learning, although considered important, was unable to be taught under a systematic curriculum in St. Paul's College, mainly due to the difficulty in finding suitable teachers. Therefore, missionaries were often sent first to Mainland China and learned the language while they began their missionary work. The situation finally improved after some years of gathering experience and the Jesuit education was further formulated systematically under the Chinese *Ratio Studiorum* – this will be further discussed in chapter. 2.4.4.

Macau remained to be the 'language centre' of European missionaries throughout the years. Later in Qing Dynasty under Kangxi's reign, Christianity was completely banned in mainland China and European missionaries' movement was further restricted, making it even harder to learn Chinese. As a result, Macau and Guangzhou became one of the very few places for missionaries to settle and learn Chinese legally. On Chinese language, Kangxi himself also stressed the importance of Chinese knowledge to the 'Westerners' in a decree dated 17th December 1720 (康熙五十九年十一月十八日):

“Since Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) arrived, he misunderstood Charles Maigrot (1652-1730)'s words, he (Tournon) is not

¹²⁰ See Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 251.

familiar with the Chinese language, and gave inappropriate comments, if he himself (Tournon) knew something about Chinese syntax, his misunderstanding could still be forgiven, yet he does not know anything about Chinese syntax, nor Chinese characters, so how could he understand Chinese values and virtues?”¹²¹

This stipulation was confirmed in a memorial written by Zhao Hongcan (趙弘燦, 1655–1717), Governor General of Guangdong and Guangxi (兩廣總督)¹²², in 1710: “An imperial decree is granted [...]. Newcomers from the West should stay in Guangzhou to learn the Chinese language. If they enter Beijing and do not speak Chinese, they can hardly be used.”¹²³

Other than training missionaries and providing language learning opportunities to the Jesuits. St. Paul's College also contributed by providing new blood to the Jesuit's mission in China. According to Brockey, the College educated a considerable amount of Asian children and Christian children who grew up in Macau. Many of the graduates later became the ‘second wave’ of Jesuit missionaries to China.¹²⁴ They include: Sebastião Fernandes (鐘鳴仁, 1561-1622), João Fernandes (鐘鳴禮, 1581-1602), Francisco Martínez (黃明沙, 1573-

¹²¹ Original text: “因自多羅來時，誤聽閩當，不通文理，妄誕議論。若本人略通中國文章道理，亦為可恕。伊不但不知文理，即目不識丁，如何輕論中國理義之是非？” in “Decree to Westerners (論西洋人)”, Kangxi (康熙), *Diplomatic Correspondence between Kangxi and Rome (康熙與羅馬使節關係文書)*, ed. Chen Yuan (陳垣) (Taipei: Wenhai Press, 1974), 34-35. Own translation.

¹²² Governor General of Guangdong and Guangxi (兩廣總督) is the regional chief of military and interior affairs; Macau is also under its jurisdiction in Ming and Qing Dynasty.

¹²³ Original Text: “奉聖旨... 再，西洋新來之人，且留廣州學漢語，若不會漢話即到京裏，亦難用他。” *First Historical Archives of China, Compilation of Archives and Historical Documents of Macau Issues in the Ming and Qing Dynasties (明清時期澳門問題檔案文獻彙編)*, vol. 1, no. 45 (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1999), 88. Translation adopted from Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 64.

¹²⁴ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 143. Original document see: ARSI Jap-Sin 17:9, Ir-92v.

1606) António Leitão (徐必登, 1580-1611), and Domingos Méndez (丘良稟, 1581—after 1631).¹²⁵

2.4.2. In quest of learning the language

“The limits of my language are the limits of my world.”

–Ludwig Wittgenstein

Although the Jesuit colleges had provided the missionaries with extensive academic and spiritual training before sending them to the new world, learning the new language was nevertheless a whole new challenge. Jesuits missionaries used every bit of their time to try to learn new languages during their long journey, hoping that it may provide them with some foundation for future communication with the locals.

As previously described, the Chinese language consists of different local dialects, and the decision was later made among the early Jesuits that Mandarin Chinese, also known as *Guanghua* (官話, here refers to Late Ming *Guanhua*, LMGH,) shall be fluently learnt. *Guanhua* literally means the ‘official speech’ - the lingua franca of the Ming court (and the early Qing court). By 1587, the order was made by the Superior General, Claudio Aquaviva, that as many missionaries as possible (of the China mission) shall study the language.¹²⁶ Yet the tonal-sensitive language is very different to any European language. As

¹²⁵ Tang Kaijian (湯開建), *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 58.

¹²⁶ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 246. Original document see: Aquaviva to Valignano, Rome, 28 December 1587, ARSI Jap-Sin 3:13V.

stated by the Vice-Province, the Chinese language is 'more the language of birds than of men'.¹²⁷

The tonality is one challenge, the writing system is another. Chinese writing system has no alphabets, but only characters and to make things even worse, many characters share similar pronunciation with only slight differences in tones. An enormous amount of characters is needed to memorize in association with their pronunciations.¹²⁸

2.4.3. First Jesuit Chinese Dictionary

Ricci was one of the first Jesuits to have mastered the Chinese language, but it was not easy at all. Ricci demonstrated his talent in language procurement prior to his arrival in Macau. Goa, as first-stop to many Jesuits in the East Asia, Ricci arrived in Goa on 13 September 1578 and spent four years there where he taught, Ricci taught Greek and Grammar for three years at St. Paul's College in Goa. He was finally ordained as a priest in Cochin on 25 July 1580 after finishing his Theology study.¹²⁹ Having his academic study accomplished in Coimbra and in Goa, Ricci still had to study the Chinese language and culture. By the order of Valignano, Ricci arrived in Macau on 26th April 1582 and began his mission in China.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Ibid., 245. Original document see: Feliciano Pacheco, AL Central Residences, Vice-Province 1660, Huai'an, 19 July 1661, JAA 49-V-14:704r.

¹²⁸ Ming Chinese dictionary by Mei Yingzuo (梅膺祚) *Zi Hui* (字彙) (1615) collects 33179 characters. The dictionary is also translated as *The Comprehensive Dictionary of Chinese Characters*. See: Heming Yong, Jing Peng, *Chinese Lexicography: A History from 1046 BC to AD 1911* (New York: Oxford University Press), 295.

¹²⁹ BA, Cod. 49-V-5—*Série Provincia da China* (1600-1623): "Vida e morte do Padre Mateus Ricci," in Maria de Deus Manso, "Jesuit Schools and Missions in the Orient" in *In Permanent Transit*, ed. Clara Sarmiento, Sara Brusaca and Silvia Sousa (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 188.

¹³⁰ Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., Paris: Letouzey and Ané, 1973), 219.

The first attempt to overcome the challenge of learning Chinese characters could be seen in the first dictionary of Portuguese-Chinese vocabularies. Ricci, together with Ruggieri, edited the *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary* (葡漢詞典, *Dizionario Portoghese-Cinese*) between 1583 and 1588. The dictionary contains 189 folios. It lists Portuguese words in alphabetical order with their Chinese equivalence. This dictionary could be regarded the Jesuits' first example in Romanizing Chinese characters, as well as the first categorized summary of commonly used vocabularies for Jesuits of the China mission.¹³¹ Matthew Liam Brockey suggests that the editing of the dictionary could not have been done without native-speaker's assistance. In fact, by December 1584, the Jesuits in Zhaoqing hired a Chinese master to board with them and he gave lessons on a daily basis. He also proof-read Ruggieri's Chinese writings.¹³²

Yet the Portuguese-Chinese dictionary did not fully address the challenge of tackling the tonal nature of each Chinese character; the priority was given to certain vocabularies commonly seen in daily conversations. Ricci once expressed his frustration to his fellow: 'the Chinese language is so equivocal, having many words that mean more than a thousand things', each Chinese character has 'four variations of tone with a voice higher or lower', making it almost impossible to learn with insensible hearing ability.¹³³ Ricci might have been merely humble in saying that he was poor of hearing; he did, however, praise the excellent hearing capability of his fellow Lazzaro Cattaneo, who was

¹³¹ Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, *Dizionario Portoghese-Cinese* (葡漢詞典) ed. John W. Witek (魏若望) (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, 2001); David Chien and Thomas Creamer, "A Brief History of Chinese Bilingual Lexicography," *The History of Lexicography: Papers from the Dictionary Research Centre Seminar at Exeter, March 1986*, ed. R. R. K. Hartmann in *Studies in the History of the Language Sciences* 40 (1986): 35-47.

¹³² Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 249. Original document see: Francisco Cabral to Alessandro Valignano, Macau, 5 December 1584, in Matteo Ricci, *Le lettere dalla Cina*, in *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I., 2 vols., II. (Macerata: Premiata stab. tip. F. Giorgetti, 1911–1913)*, 429.

¹³³ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 247. Original document see: Ricci to Martino de Fornari, Macau, 13 February 1583, in Matteo Ricci, *Le lettere dalla Cina*, in *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I., 2 vols., II. (Macerata: Premiata stab. tip. F. Giorgetti, 1911–1913)*, 27.

able to identify the different tones in Mandarin Chinese from ‘the music that he knew’.¹³⁴ This is the first major development where Jesuit missionaries could overcome the problem of different words having the same or similar tones.¹³⁵ It allowed the Jesuits to be able to better systemize and categorize Chinese characters into the new dictionary – *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (XREMZ). Brockey further suggests that through categorizing the different tones of Chinese characters, it enlarged the lexical collection of individual Jesuit missionary speedily.¹³⁶

Matteo Ricci’s fellow Jesuit missionary Sabatien de Ursis gave his first hand description on how musical notations were used to master the Chinese tones in a letter written in 1608. De Ursis’s letter has brought a new hint to investigating the Jesuits’ quest of LMGH learning. Putting de Ursis’s letter together with XREMZ, edited by Nicolas Trigault (金尼閣, 1577-1628), Matteo Ricci, and Cattaneo’s –identification of tones as well as the use of musical knowledge in LMGH learning may be revealed. This will be further discussed in chapter 4.4.

De Ursis further stated that thanks to the effort of Ricci and other Jesuit fellows, the challenge of learning Chinese was ‘not that great as he had imagined’, as the biggest difficulty was identifying the variations of tones. Learning Chinese became ‘easy’ since by learning one syllable, one learned the meanings of ‘fifty or more entirely different things’. The new method was very well received among the Jesuits, so well that the succeeding Superiors insisted that new Jesuits joining the China mission shall have ‘some basic knowledge of music in order to learn the Chinese tones perfectly’.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ See: Chap. 4.3 for a more detailed discussion.

¹³⁵ Gabriel de Magalhães, Partial AL Hangzhou Residence 1640, Hangzhou, 30 August 1641, JAA 49-V12:479r.

¹³⁶ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 250.

¹³⁷ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 250. Original document see: Nicolò

XREMZ was finally published in 1626 in Hangzhou (杭州). Although the musical notation directory was not printed with the dictionary (probably due to the fact that the Hangzhou published version of XREMZ targeted the Chinese audience, who did not know much about European musical notation system), the circulation of the musical notations-to-Chinese system seems to have been extensive among the Jesuits. Since Cattaneo's identification of tones, the use of European musical knowledge in identifying the Chinese tones (in LMGH) helped the learning progress, yet how it has helped the learning of Chinese was unclear – this is also one of the foci of this paper and will be further discussed in details in chapter. 4.

The printing of XREMZ marked a milestone on the Jesuit's quest of LMGH in China. The Chinese learning and later publications of Jesuit books in the Chinese language were mostly observed in Mainland China, but not in Macau. Brockey explains that, first, it was extremely difficult for foreigners to gain access from Chinese officials to enter China, and therefore once there is a chance, Jesuit missionaries would have been sent right away from Macau. Second, Ming China was at war with Japan during 1592 to 1598 in Korea, and later had countless battles with Japanese pirates until 1610s. The Jesuit link to Japan would have made them very suspicious and would have brought unnecessary trouble to the Jesuits if any missionaries were to be sent back to Macau again as the returned foreigners could be easily mistaken as spies that provided foreign agencies with intelligence of China. The situation became even more complicated by the year of 1614, when Catholicism was completely banned in Japan by Tokugawa shogunate (徳川幕府) and Macau became the main base of the Jesuits in-exile from Japan – Jesuits also had to avoid being mistaken as Japanese spies. Although Jesuits suffered a setback in 1616 in China,

Longobardo, Appontamentos a cerca da ida do nosso Padre Procurador a Roma, Nanxiong, 8 May 1613, ARSI Jap-Sin 113:303r.

and several key Jesuits were deported back to Macau, Jesuits regained Ming court's trust in 1623 and were ordered to the Palace.¹³⁸ The uneasy relationship between Ming court and Jesuits made settlements and learning Chinese in mainland China even more challenging.

The development of Jesuit education in China, especially of Chinese language learning, has brought the need for a new curriculum. Although the methodology of Chinese learning gained some success already, Jesuit missionaries were able to expand their readings to Chinese literature and classics. After the edition of XREMZ, a 1598 letter written by Nicolò Longobardo at Shaozhou suggested that a learning program of two phrases shall be implemented: first on speaking and second on studying the *Four Books* (四書, *Sishu*). Longobardo later joined two Macanese coadjutors, António Leitão (ca. 1581 - 1611) and Domingos Mendes (1582 - 1652) in studying the Chinese classics of tradition *Qin*, also known as *Jing* (經).¹³⁹ The collection of Chinese literature procured by the Jesuits by 1616 suggests a similarity to the usual collection of a Chinese scholar, yet how many rare or valuable books or artworks (which are also typical in Chinese scholars' collection) were acquired by the Jesuits remains unknown.¹⁴⁰

Shaozhou was nevertheless one of the major bases for Jesuits to learn Chinese; Nanjing and Beijing too. In March 1605, Alfonso Vagnone (高一志, 1568-1640) described how the missionaries learned the language: 'In this house, there is

¹³⁸ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 251. Note: the Nanjing affair shall be in 1616, not 1623.

¹³⁹ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 252. Original document see: Longobardo to Girolamo Centimano, Shaozhou, 5 February 1598, in Matteo Ricci, *Le lettere dalla Cina*, in *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I., 2 vols., II. (Macerata: Premiata stab. tip. F. Giorgetti, 1911–1913)*, 468.

¹⁴⁰ Adrianus Dudink, "The Inventories of the Jesuit House at Nanking," in *Western humanistic culture presented to China by Jesuit missionaries (XVII-XVIII centuries)*, ed. Federico Masini (Rome: Institutum historicum S. I., 1996), 156. (119-157)

only one priest and a native brother who know the language, as well as we three priests who are studying, meaning that only a fractions get done of what should if we were all well trained hands.¹⁴¹ Meanwhile in Beijing, Sabatino de Ursis and Diego de Pantoja learned Chinese alongside with Matteo Ricci and Sebastião Fernandes.

Far away from Macau, the Jesuits in China had no choice but to integrate themselves in the Ming Chinese society; through total immersion in a language environment, Jesuits learned how to speak phrases and colloquial sayings of various subjects, which eventually made the procurement of new vocabularies easier. One of the Jesuits Rodrigues, agreed, that by such social engagement, missionaries may learn how to speak LMGH in a more natural way, which is often different from what they learn in class, an effort that Rodrigues descried to be of ‘extraordinary diligence’.¹⁴² Ricci’s close friend Trigault also describes their success in 1615:

“We (the Jesuit missionaries) have seen (China’s) most noble provinces; we enter every day into conversation with the principle citizens, the magistrates and the men of letters; we speak the native language of the Chinese; we have learned by careful enquiry, their habits, customs, laws and ceremonial and, finally (what is of the greatest importance), day and night we have their books in our hands.”¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 252. Original document see: Vagnone to (Portuguese Colleague?), Nanjing, 16 March, ARSI FG 730-I:1r.

¹⁴² Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 253. Original document see: João Rodrigues, *Arte Breve da Lingoa Iapoa* (facsimile, transcription, and Japanese translation), trans. and ed. Hino Hiroshi (Tokyo: 1993), 360.

¹⁴³ Mentioned in Arnold Horrex Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin – The Jesuits at the Court of China* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), 245.

2.4.4. Further Development and Use of Dictionaries

After Ricci's success in entering the Forbidden City in 1601, Jesuits in China have gained much greater confidence in expanding their mission. The good news of the Jesuits' success in China also reached Rome; upon Rome's demand, a standardized curriculum is soon introduced to ensure the quality of missionary training - the guiding rules for China Vice-Province, sent by the Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi (1563-1645) to Gabriel de Matos (1572-1645), stated explicitly that the decision of 'the books, the methods, and the amount of time for study' made by individual missionary shall be prohibited, instead, a *Ratio Studiorum* was favoured in order to standardize general studies, LMGH knowledge, and Chinese thought.¹⁴⁴

Vitelleschi's intention was clear: the Superior General wished to homogenize the pedagogic program and training of Jesuit personnel so that a model curriculum could be later applied to all Jesuit colleges worldwide, that is, to multiply the success stories of individual Jesuit experts. By 1599, the first draft of *Ratio Studiorum* was already well circulated among Jesuit colleges and provinces, which allowed flexibility in handling cultural environments of different nations. The new curriculum was put into discussion likely between 1622 and 1624 under the direction of Manuel Dias the elder, rector of St. Paul's College in Macau for more than ten years.

Dias was very much aware of the Nanjing affair (南京教案, 1616), which resulted in the expelling of four experienced Jesuit fellows. Dias managed to speak with the veterans; they included Nicolò Longobardo, Alfonso Vagnone, Giulio Aleni, Nicolas Trigault and Gaspar Ferreira, who were skilled in Chinese language

¹⁴⁴ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 256. Original document see: Gabriel de Matos, *Ordens dos Vizitadores e Superiores Universais da Missão da China com Algumas Respostas do Nosso Reverendo Padre Geral*, Macau, 1621, JAA 49-V-7: 223r/v.

(LMGH) learning. Dias examined their study plan, learning materials, and school organizations, and summarized their experience into one single curriculum. Like the European version, the new *Ration Studiorum* for China aimed primarily at training the new blood for the proselytizing task, as well as at carrying on Matteo Ricci's legacy. Dias then proposed his new curriculum to the China Province.¹⁴⁵

Dias's plan consisted of three phases and a total of four years of study. The first phase began with six months of learning *Guanhua*; the second phase, one and a half year long, focused on reading Chinese texts, especially from the Confucian canon. This was usually aided by a fellow Jesuit (often a Macanese coadjutor). The third phase was two years long, where students had intensive lessons with a Chinese master. At this point, writing and composition training were emphasized; examples from Chinese classics are further studied, so that even foreigners may understand them the same way as a Chinese scholar. Chinese language learning was only half of the entire curriculum; the other half emphasized moral and systematic theology. Although Dias's plan would bring an immediate shortage to missionary personnel due to its four-year long duration, a considerable long time for preparation when compared to the time spent by Jesuits on other missions, Dias insisted that his plan shall not be amended into a shorter one as it was 'for the service of God, the good of the Society, and the conversion of souls as that of philosophy in Europe'.¹⁴⁶

To ensure well-structured education under the new *Ratio Studiorum*, each academic year was divided into semesters, with two classes per day, six days per

¹⁴⁵ For an in-depth description of Dia's Chinese *Ratio Studiorum*, see: 'A *Ratio Studiorum* for China' in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 255-263.

¹⁴⁶ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, "The Harvest of the Vine: The Jesuit missionary Enterprise in China, 1579-1710" (PhD diss., Brown University, 2002), 330. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China*, (Macau?), 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 311r.

week. Each day, students have one hour of lessons in the morning and 45 minutes in the afternoon, with recitation each day. Rectors of these schools were the superiors of the residences where lessons were given. They were responsible for supervising the learning progress of students and sometimes even for student counselling. Eventually, rectors were allowed to make decisions on whether to speed up or slow down the progress on an individual basis, and rectors were reminded to prevent students from excessive trainings. Sunday was school-free and during summer, students had two months of vacation, where studies were prohibited during the first week of each month. Rector may have encouraged students to study Chinese works written by Jesuit authors during the rest of the vacation.¹⁴⁷

The first two years of study were to be conducted by a ‘master who reads in Portuguese’, namely a European missionary or a coadjutor (likely from Macau). They were to evaluate the learning curve of students and to spot the potential missionaries. The Vice-Provincial was responsible for finding capable teachers even if it meant needing to remove the person from his original occupation.¹⁴⁸ These teachers included musicians, astronomers, physicians and theologians; many of whom were already ‘experts of the field’. Teachers were constantly reminded to respect students and to be tolerant towards them, ‘and neither get annoyed nor irritate them if they ask about the same thing many times.’¹⁴⁹ The attention on students’ individuality and specific talent is another criterion of Jesuit’s groundwork in training future experts.

¹⁴⁷ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 259-260. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China*, (Macau?), 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 312r.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 260. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China*, (Macau?), 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 311v.

¹⁴⁹ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, “The Harvest of the Vine: The Jesuit missionary Enterprise in China, 1579-1710” (PhD diss., Brown University, 2002), 335. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China*, (Macau?), 1642, JAA 49-V-7:313r/v.

Although Jesuit schooling stopped in Nanjing after the 1616's incident, Dias's *Ratio Studiorum* could still be widely implemented in other cities in China, and unlike Macau, there were abundant Chinese masters available, who were able to teach the Jesuits standard LMGH.¹⁵⁰ Still, the challenge of speaking and writing the Chinese language remained enormous. According to Dias, the lack of an 'arte' in LMGH, the variations of tones, the ambiguity in meanings, and the multitude of characters could be formidable challenges to learn the pronunciation.¹⁵¹

During the first six months of LMGH learning, students were encouraged to repeat their lessons aloud daily to ensure proper pronunciation, 'because as difficult as the tones are to grasp at first, they are as helpful for the rest of your life for speaking and writing Chinese words in Portuguese.'¹⁵² To better memorize the characters, students were taught with a *bifolio*, which is a list of Chinese terms and their definitions in parallel columns, similar to the format of the Chinese-Portuguese dictionary, 'the indices that Diego de Pantoja made (more like a vocabulary book)'. Dias recommended the use of. Vocabularies lists are available in European libraries, but it is not clear to which texts these instructions referred to.¹⁵³ Students were warned not to produce their own list of lexicons to ensure the consistency of study.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 260. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China, (Macau?)*, 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 313r/v.

¹⁵¹ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 260. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China, (Macau?)*, 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 313v.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 260. Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China, (Macau?)*, 1642, JAA 49-V-7: fols. 313v-314r.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 261. Examples of vocabulary-lists are in ARSI Jap-Sin IV 7, BNL Reservados 3306, and BNL Reservados 7974.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 261. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China, (Macau?)*, 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 314v.

According to the plan, the second task of the first phase focused on speaking LMGH fluently. Similar to the *Ration Studiorum* in the European Jesuit colleges, which required the student to speak Latin during most of their school time, students in China were required to speak LMGH all the time except during recess.¹⁵⁵ To enhance the learning effect, the Chinese *Ratio Studiorum* also encouraged rectors to assign domestics to each student so that students could practice LMGH with native speakers daily, even after finishing the study, the young Jesuits would continue this practice in their own residences.¹⁵⁶

The third task focused on writing. During the first six months, at least 30 minutes each school day was spent merely training writing. Special attention was already given to the correct order of brushstrokes in writing Chinese characters so that students could write them ‘like the Chinese’ – native Chinese students also learned how to write Chinese characters with the correct order of brushstrokes.¹⁵⁷ Following Ricci and Ruggieri’s learning path, students learned from the standard Qianzi wen (千字文, Thousand Character Classic), together with the characters’ Romanized pronunciations ‘with aspirations and accents’. Writing independently in Chinese characters was at this stage regarded as ‘a waste of time’, but students were required to translate part of their past lessons into Latin or Portuguese for an hour on Sundays or feast days, so to prove that the students actually understood the meaning of Chinese texts correctly.¹⁵⁸

The Jesuits’ learning of Chinese vocabularies was supported by the further development of Chinese dictionaries. Ricci completed his *Xizi qiji* or *The Miricle*

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 261. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China*, (Macau?), 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 314v.

¹⁵⁶ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 261. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China*, (Macau?), 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 312r.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 263. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China*, (Macau?), 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 313r.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 263. Original document see: Manuel Dias the elder, *Ratio Studiorum para os Nosso que ham de Estudar as letra e lingua da China*, (Macau?), 1642, JAA 49-V-7: 314r.

of *Western Letters* (西字奇跡, first edition Peking, 1605), which was a selection of Romanized Chinese characters, and later, the most comprehensive phonologically indexed dictionary - *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (西儒耳目資, XREMZ) or *An Aid to the Eye and Ear of Western Scholars* edited by Trigault (first edition Hangzhou, 1626).¹⁵⁹ The Trigault-Ricci dictionary was very well received by Jesuit fellows, as well as by Chinese scholars, and it was reprinted many times.¹⁶⁰

Jesuits well recognize the importance of language; only through active communication, may Jesuits' catholic values, thoughts and their expertise in various fields be transferred and understood; part of the roles as described under Ash's model of expert mediator. Yet, language capacity alone does not guarantee success; the use of a language has everything to do with its context. To understand the context in Ming China, one must understand Confucianism, for it was highly revered among Chinese intellectuals for centuries, among these intellectuals, many were China's political and social elites.

2.5. Understanding Confucian

As mentioned earlier, Matteo Ricci's Rule (利瑪竇的規矩) - the pillar of Jesuits' Accomodation Strategy, based, to a large extent, on Jesuits' effort in embedding catholic belief into the Confucius value. Jesuits' Confucius reading beings with *Quin* (經), the focus of *Quin*, or *Jing*, not only demonstrated Jesuits' language ability, it also laid the foundation of the Jesuit's establishment as Confucius scholars. Again, this demonstrates a resemblance to Ash's concept of an expert

¹⁵⁹ Coblin categorizes the Jesuit's Romanization of LMGH pronunciation in three different forms: the first was the Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, the second was Ricci's *Xizi Qiji* (西字奇跡), and the third was XREMZ. See: Weldon South Coblin, "Notes On the Sound System of Late Ming Guanhua", *Monumenta Serica* 45 (1997): 262.

¹⁶⁰ Albert Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue* (New York: Armonk, 2002), 430-432.

mediator; Ricci and his fellows have to walk the walk and talk the talk to become Confucius scholars.

The most important Chinese collections in the Jesuit bibliography included: *Four Books* (四書, *Sishu*), which included four major Confucius works - *Great Learning* (大學, *Daxue*), *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸, *Zhongyong*), *Analects* (論語, *Lunyu*), and *Mencius* (孟子, *Mengzi*). Also the *Five Classics* (五經, *Wujin*), which included *Classic of Poetry* (詩經, *Shijing*), *Book of Documents* (尚書, *Shangshu*), *Book of Rites* (禮記, *Liji*), *I Ching* or *Book of Changes* (易經, *Yijing*), *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋, *Chunqiu*). The Jesuit's endeavour in studying the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* was later summarized in Philippe Couplet (柏應理, 1623-1693) and Prospero Intorcetta (殷鐸澤, 1626-1696), *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive Scientia sinensis latine exposita*. The book was dedicated to the French King Louis XIV, with the King's coat of arm printed on the second page. *Four Books* and *Five Classics* were translated *Tetrabiblion* and *quinque voluminae* respectively.¹⁶¹ The Jesuits gave considerable attentions to the *Five Classics*; they ranked each of the *Five Classics* of equal importance and significance as they dealt with the legends of the three great ancient rulers: Yao (堯), Shun (舜) and Yü (禹) – the great ancestors of the *Huaxia* (華夏) civilization. The *Four Books* ranked just second to the *Five Books*, but all nine works were the basis of study for whoever aspired to literary degrees.¹⁶²

Historian David E. Mungello considers *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* as one of the most notable accommodative scholarly works of the Jesuits. First, the Jesuits made relatively accurate translations of the Confucian literati culture – when compared to their translations of Buddhist and Taoist sources. Second,

¹⁶¹ Philippe Couplet (柏應理) and Prospero Intorcetta (殷鐸澤), *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive Scientia sinensis latine exposita* (Parisiis: Apud Danielem Horthemels ... 1687).

¹⁶² David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985), 263-264.

Ricci's accommodation formula, as demonstrated in this book, gave lucid room to suit the rapid change in cultural and political realities during late Ming – early Qing political transition.¹⁶³

Both the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics* were core materials for the imperial exam (科舉, *Keju*) in Ming dynasty (also in the later Qing dynasty). Ming emperor Yongle further commissioned the reediting of the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*, some 400 scholars participated in the edition.¹⁶⁴ For the purpose of accommodation, and also to establish themselves as refined Confucius scholars, Ricci, and his fellow Jesuits paid special attention to the development of Neo-Confucian, which Ricci fiercely challenged.¹⁶⁵ Mungello notes one particular example of how the knowledge of *Four Books* and *Five Classics* helped backing up Jesuit's position – the Neo-Confucius considered *Taiji* (太極) as the concept of a cosmological basis, as stated in the *Complete Collection of Nature and Idea* (性理大全, *Xing Li Daquan*). Jesuit authors noted that *Taiji* was merely stated in the appendix of *Yijing* (易經), one of the *Five Classics*. The term also did not appear in the text proper of any of the *Four Books* nor *Five Classics*, the Jesuits hence used this example to prove that the Neo-Confucian's cosmology was not firmly based on the ancient Classics.¹⁶⁶

The example of *Taiji* is one of the many examples of how Jesuit's knowledge of Confucian helped to build a bridgehead in the Ming literati society. The ultimate goal was of course to accommodate the Christian god into the Confucian culture. Matteo Ricci in his *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (天主實義, *Tianzhu Shiyi*) clearly stated that:

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 248-249.

¹⁶⁴ David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985), 265.

¹⁶⁵ Mungello notes that Ricci had spent 20 years to study the *Books* and *Classics*. See: David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985), 266.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 266-267.

“Our Lord of Heaven is the Sovereign on High mentioned in the ancient (Chinese) canonical writings (as the following texts show): Quoting Confucius, the Doctrine of the Mean says: "The ceremonies of sacrifices to Heaven and Earth are meant for the service of the Sovereign on High." Chu Hsi comments that the failure to mention Sovereign Earth (after Sovereign on High) was for the sake of brevity. In my humble opinion what Chung-ni (i.e. Confucius) intended to say was that what is single cannot be described dualistically. How could he have been seeking merely for brevity of expression?"¹⁶⁷

Ricci further argued:

“One of the hymns to the Zhou sovereigns (in the *Book of Odes*) runs as follows:

The arm of King Wu was full of strength;

Irresistible was his ardor.

Greatly illustrious were Cheng and Kang,

Kinged by the Sovereign of High.

In another hymn, we read:

¹⁶⁷ Original text: “吾天主，乃古經書所稱上帝也。《中庸》引孔子曰：「郊社之禮以事上帝也。」朱注曰：「不言『后土』者，省文也。」竊意仲尼明一之，以不可為二，何獨省文乎？” Text and translation from: Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (天主實義)* ed. Thierry Meynard, trans. Douglas Lancashire, Peter Hu Kuo-chen (Chestnut Hill, MA : Institute of Jesuit Sources, Boston College, 2016), 96-97.

How beautiful are wheat and barley.
Whose bright produce we shall receive!
The bright and glorious Sovereign on High
(Will in them give us a good year).¹⁶⁸

Ricci argued again:

“In the ‘Oath of Tang’ (in the *Book of Documents*), it is stated:
The sovereign of Xia is an offender, and, as I fear the Sovereign on High,
I dare not but punish him”¹⁶⁹

Ricci subsequently adopted the Chinese term *Sovereign on High* (上帝, *Shangdi*) to represent the Christian god. To relate this part of the accommodation strategy to Ricci’s *Xiqin Quy*, the term *Sovereign on High* was used four times, and *Lord of Heaven* (天主, *Tianzhu*) one time in the lyrics.

According to Diego de Pantoja, the Jesuits’ engagement in studying Confucius canons earned them a reputation among Chinese scholars, who suggested that

¹⁶⁸ Original text: “《周頌》曰：「執兢武王，無兢維烈。不顯成康，上帝是皇。」又曰：「於皇來牟，將受厥明，明昭上帝。」《商頌》云：「聖敬日躋，昭假遲遲，上帝是祗。」” Text and translation from: Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (天主實義)* ed. Thierry Meynard, trans. Douglas Lancashire, Peter Hu Kuo-chen (Chestnut Hill, MA : Institute of Jesuit Sources, Boston College, 2016), 98-99.

¹⁶⁹ Original text: “《湯誓》曰「夏氏有罪，予畏上帝，不敢不正。」” Text and translation from: Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (天主實義)* ed. Thierry Meynard, trans. Douglas Lancashire, Peter Hu Kuo-chen (Chestnut Hill, MA : Institute of Jesuit Sources, Boston College, 2016), 98-99.

if the foreign priests ever return to Europe, they would no doubt be elected Pope.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Mentioned in Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 253. Original document see: Letter from Pantoja to Luis de Guzman, Peking, 9 March 1602, in Diego de Pantoja, *Relación de la entrada de algunos padres de la Compañía de Jesús en la China* (Seville: Alonso Rodríguez Gamarra, 1605), 116r.

3. Ricci and his music in the context of China's knowledge in Italy and vice versa

3.1. Matteo Ricci's Educational Background

Matteo Ricci was born on 6 October 1552 in Macerata to Giovanni Battista and Giovanna Angiolelli. From an old and respectable upper middle class family, his father, Giovanni Battista, was a pharmacist by profession, a prosperous shopkeeper, and had a good reputation in town. That helped him to get elected to serve on the local town council. Giovanni had great expectation of the young Matteo Ricci, and sent his son to school very early on to study Latin with the priest and schoolmaster Niccolò Bencivegni. When Ricci was seven, Bencivegni left Macerata to join the newly formed Society of Jesus. Although not much is known about Ricci's family, it is certain that Ricci's family was big: Giovanna gave birth to nine boys and four girls, of whom Matteo was probably the eldest.¹⁷¹

In 1651, The Jesuits had established a college in Ricci's hometown Macerata; with free tuition and highly renowned quality of education, Jesuit colleges were no lack of academic elites and subject-specific experts. Matteo Ricci was soon enrolled in Roman College, with some 140 boys, among them many boarders, and most of them were from upper class families of the region. During the seven years of study at the Jesuit College in Macerata, Matteo Ricci spent the first year learning Latin grammar and acquiring the fundamentals of Greek syntax. There were intensive Latin lessons focused on prosody and poetry, with another two to three years of reciting the writings of Cicero and of some Roman poets while learning Greek grammar; Greek prose, and works of Demosthenes, Plato, Homer, Pindar and most importantly, Aristotle; Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetics constituted the main texts for this grade, a foretaste of a full-blasted Aristotelian program in the next stage of Jesuit education. Straight class

¹⁷¹ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 2.

disciplines were observed under the supervision of Jesuit fathers with suitable awards and punishments, students were encouraged to engage in various competitions and exercises. With the demanding workload, memory exercise was crucial. The intense exercise of memory, through oral declamations and written compositions, translations and reviews, was upheld by the rule of Latin conversation among the pupils, except during breaks from the full academic routine, with classes in the mornings and afternoons, six days a week, except on feast days.¹⁷²

The strong focus on lingual training helps laying the basis of negotiating expertise, especially through rhetorical skill. The main aims of Jesuit education could be further derived into two major directions: The first goal was to learn Latin and Greek through a graduated program of Lower Studies starting with the beginner's grammar class, gradually to middle and then upper grammar, later on, humanities and rhetoric class. The second goal was to instruct the moral virtues of a Christian through routine and example.¹⁷³

3.2. Rome in the Time of Matteo Ricci

After the 65-year long Habsburg Valois war, peace was finally observed in Italy. In 1559, the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed between Henry II of France and Philip II of Spain, but despite the predominant Spanish control over most city-states of Italy, the Papal States still enjoyed great sovereignty. Rome was under the reign of Pope Pius V (1566-1572), often considered as one of the strongest popes in history. Just five years after his papacy, he had to confront the imminent threat of the Ottoman Empire; Pope Pius V assembled the Holy League – Rome's finest military allies; the allied fleet fought hard against the Islamic naval force in the Battle Lepanto, and successfully stopped the

¹⁷² Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 4.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 5.

Ottomans' expansion into the Mediterranean, consequently maintained western dominance over the region. Under Pope Pius V, Rome is one of the most important economic and politic hubs in Europe; with its wealth, the Papal city has attracted great artists and scholars during the Renaissance. The influx of the talented promotes the development of new technologies, new visions and new philosophies in early modern Europe.

Ricci arrived in Rome in 1568. The 16-year-old followed his father's wish to study law in *La Sapienza*, or *Studium Urbis*, the University of Rome. Giovanni Battista hoped that his son may have a better future in a bigger city than Macerata, and optimistically, after study, Ricci may become a lawyer and may seize a position in the Papal States administration. *La Sapienza* was founded in 1303 by Pope Boniface VIII; it is one of the oldest universities in Europe. Ricci stayed there for only three years as on 15 August 1571, just short of his nineteenth birthday Matteo confessed to god and joined the Sodality of the Annunciation at the Roman College of the Jesuits.¹⁷⁴

The Jesuit Order was not the only order eager of promoting Catholic beliefs through investing in education. In response to the Protestant Reformation, Rome as the Catholic centre was in the midst of the Counter Reformation movement. Pope Pius V's predecessor, Gregory XIII was also a major supporter of Catholic educational reform, he renewed the papal seminary in 1573, sponsored the German College in 1551 (and the same year the Roman College); as Cardinal Morone describes, the pope's wish was to prepare a 'Trojan Horse' to introduce Catholicism into Germany, the German College has a strong focus on educating potential German secular clergy, among the new blood, are many young noblemen and sons of urban patricians. Many of them later became

¹⁷⁴ Ana Carolina Hosne, *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570-1610: Expectations and Appraisals of Expansionism* (London: Routledge, 2013), 27.

crucial Jesuit members. Under Gregory's auspices, many other national colleges were established in the following years with a similar objective.¹⁷⁵

The first Jesuit secondary school was established by Ignatius in Messina, Sicily, in 1548. By 1556, 40 Jesuit colleges were built or were in the process of being founded. The Jesuit's enthusiasm in education could be observed in General Claudio Aquaviva's Act in 1584:

“Hic tractatus iis constitutionibus commendatus, qui et studiorum praxim, et doctrinae solidioris, autorumque delectum, sicut oportet, informet, ac moderetur, nostrorum omnium Patrum votis, iam inde ab ortu, ac primordio Societatis expetitus est: quod cum in caeteras instituti nostri partes excolendas strenue ab iis, qui praesunt incumbatur, pars ista tamen, quae literariis studiis recte instituendis temperandisque continetur, nondum plene excolta, nec ad eam speciem, ac splendorem, quem in optatis esse doctissimo cuique par est perducta videretur. Duo plane sunt Societatis nostrae praesidia, ac firmamenta, ardens pietatis studium, et praestans rerum scientia.”¹⁷⁶

Comparable to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's vision in education in training young experts for the service of their country, Ignatius's goal was to train young Jesuit soldiers faithful to the church and the god. Ignatius's idea of placing value in school as an apostolic ministry was being continued in the Society after his death, by 1773 and when the Jesuit Order was suppressed, the Society was staffing 176 Seminaries for the training of priests, directing fifteen Universities

¹⁷⁵ Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 113.

¹⁷⁶ Georg Michael Pachtler, *Ratio studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes collectae, concinnatae, dilucidatae*, ed. Karl Kehrbach, Tomus 2, *Ratio studiorum ann. 1586, 1599, 1832, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica 5* (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Comp., 1887), 26-27.

and teaching in nine others, and was conducting some 640 secondary schools.¹⁷⁷

3.3. Ricci in Roman College

The Roman College or Collegio Romano was the first Jesuit university established by the Jesuit's founder, Saint Ignatius of Loyola. On 23rd February 1551, the Roman College opened its door to potential students. Similar to the aim of the German College, the Roman College aimed to train future Jesuits with a standardized educational protocol; the Roman College was later ratified as the Pontifical Gregorian University, in honor of its Patron, Pope Gregory XIII.

In 1553, two years after the opening of the Roman College, already some 250 students have graduated. By the time Loyola passed away in 1556, there were already 46 Jesuit colleges and when Ricci first arrives in Goa, India in 1579, the number of Jesuit colleges had been further expanded to 144 around the world.¹⁷⁸ By then, the Society of Jesus was already the second largest religious order in Rome, ceding in numbers only to the many orders of St Francis, some 315 Jesuit members are in Rome according to the report of Jesuit scholar Gregory Martin. Altogether, in around 1575, there were over 1,100 male and 978 female members. The Society of Jesus was the rising star in the catholic world.¹⁷⁹

Jesuits' endeavour in negotiating expertise was also evident within the Catholic Church; not only was the Jesuit Society successful in networking experts and

¹⁷⁷ Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006), 35.

¹⁷⁸ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 14.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

expertise, the new-established Jesuit Order was favoured by the pope. Jesuit's special connection with the Vatican could be seen on several occasions, for instance, one professor from the Roman College, Spaniard Francisco de Toledo, expert in the study of Classic Theology, has held the post of Preacher at the Papal Court during the pontificate of Gregory XIII, he then became the first Jesuit Cardinal in 1593. Twelve other Jesuit preachers have attended to the sermon cycles at St Peter's Basilica, and other Jesuits have preached in their own churches and after public executions, serving the community with great dedication. The Jesuits excelled in sacred oratory: 'wisdom speaking copiously', as Cicero defines oratory by putting eloquence and reason to serve the mysteries of the Christian faith.¹⁸⁰

After moving twice, the Roman College finally settled down in Piazza thanks to a generous donation in 1560 by Marchesa della Valle, Vittoria della Tolfa, a niece of the late Pope Paul IV.¹⁸¹ On 17 September 1572, Ricci entered the Roman College after a short stay in the Jesuit College in Florence.¹⁸² The College had already 920 students who were divided into different classes: Theology: 60 Jesuit and 100 non-Jesuit students; Philosophy: 215 students; the rest were assigned in Rhetoric, Humanities, and Grammar. To further strengthen the supervision of academics, 26 scholastics were entrusted directly to the future general of the Society, Claudio Acquaviva.¹⁸³

Jesuit students were taught to live humble and unadorned, Ricci is no exception - when he presents himself at the college, his modest possessions consist of an old coat, four shirts, three handkerchiefs, one towel, three books, and some dry bread. He swore 'to observe with divine grace all the constitutions and rules,

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 12.

¹⁸¹ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 13.

¹⁸² FR, 557 (N. 969).

¹⁸³ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 12.

and the way of life in the Society of Jesus, to be indifferent and resigned in order to reach the degree and courtesy that the Society demands, and to be as obedient as possible to all the orders'.¹⁸⁴

In 1572, Vincenzo Bonni succeeded as the new the Rector of the college; the new Rector is a doctorate in Civil Law, previously Rector of Jesuit College in Loreto. The syllabus of Roman College was supervised under the Prefect of Studies, his study plan *de ratione et ordine studiorum collegii Romani* was first seen published in 1579, four years after his death. This study plan was further developed into a more comprehensive version, later known as the *Ratio Studiorum (Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu)*.

To name some of the experts who have mediated knowledge to the younger generation in Jesuit colleges, notable professors during Ricci's study time in Roman College included: Christopher Clavius (1538-1612), mathematician and astronomer from Bamberg, Germany, who had designed a new and more accurate calendar, which was later promulgated under Gregory XIII in 1582, to replace the Julian Calendar, Clavius was thus literally the father of modern system of time; Martino de Fornari and Orazio Torsellini have taught Matteo Ricci rhetoric; Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) from a noble family in Chieti, Valignano, Master of Novices, also Ricci's mentor; Fabio de Fabii (1543-1615), Co-Novice, a young Roman nobleman who has been newly ordained before Ricci's admission. Fabio later served important posts in the Society, rising from Master of the Novitiate to Rector of the Roman College, then Assistant of Italy for the General, and Provincial for the Roman Province of the Society; Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), erudite theologian who has first made his reputation expounding on Aquinas at the University of Louvain in the Spanish Netherlands. Called to a new chair of controversial theology at the Roman College, Bellarmino has lectured on theological dispute against Protestants in

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 13.

the academic year 1576-1577, which Ricci has most probably attended. Bellarmino was later promoted to Cardinal in 1599, the second Jesuit to be thus honoured.¹⁸⁵

3.4. Ratio Studiorum

The rationale of Jesuit education was summarized in the *Ratio Studiorum*, the code of studies for Jesuit schools. Based on the system of an orderly progress in studies that then distinguished the University of Paris, the *Ratio Studiorum* attempts to reflect in the school curriculum the principal features of the spirituality of the Spiritual Exercises; a series of meditations is outlined by Ignatius, expressing his insights into the truths of finding God in all things and in the world, and of companionship with Christ in working for the Kingdom of God.

The *Ratio Studiorum* was a collaborate work of Jesuit educators to standardize a practical system of education. The first draft was written by Jerome Nadal, probably between 1548 and 1552, during the life-time of St. Ignatius.¹⁸⁶ The second version was based on Nadal's draft, sent from Messina to Roman College for review.¹⁸⁷ The third was written by James Ledesma (1519-1575), senior Jesuit scholar who has studied in Alcalá, Paris, and Louvain. He later taught in Roman College from 1557 until his death in 1575. As the college's Prefect of Studies, he had outlined all key points concerning classical studies in the *Ratio Studiorum*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 14-15.

¹⁸⁶ Robert Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education : Its History And Principles Viewed In The Light Of Modern Educational Problems* (St. Louis: Herder, 1903), 108.

¹⁸⁷ MHSI, "Litterae quadrimestres ex universis, praeter Indiam et Brasiliam (1546-1552)," vol. I, 349-358.

¹⁸⁸ MHSI, "Monumenta Paedagogica Societati Iesu quae primam Rationem Studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere," 10-12.

The *Ratio Studiorum* was finalized in 1599; supervised by the fifth General Superior of the Society, Claudius Aquaviva (1543-1615) who later states the six guiding principles of the Studiorum:

- 1) Professors shall follow to St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) as the standard in theology.
- 2) Professors shall bear in mind to always consolidate faith and piety through teaching.
- 3) High teaching standard, teachers are ought to give their own thoughts on the subject matter before delivering knowledge to students and encourage students to put knowledge into practice.
- 4) Principle concerning the public advocacy of opinions; the formal defence of Jesuit values in the light of public disputations.
- 5) The method of discreet development; the Prefect of Studies has supervision over decision-makings in Jesuit schools.
- 6) Attention to a former decree, upon the manner of treating the Aristotelian philosophy.¹⁸⁹

The 1599 version remained the authoritative outline of Jesuit education until the society's suppression in 1773. Despite the general regulation, the plan itself was flexible to different circumstances and individual needs – very similar to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's proposal.¹⁹⁰ Jesuit superiors may thus introduce an adaptation, which is also the case of the Chinese province, where a Chinese *Ratio Studiorum* is later developed.

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Hughes, *Loyola and the educational system of the Jesuits* (New York: C. Scribner, 1912), 148-149.

¹⁹⁰ Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 13-14.

The finalized *Ratio Studiorum* is more a code of laws than principles, a handbook of methods with four main prospects:

- 1) Rules for the Provincial Superior (*Provincialis*), for the Rector (*Rectoris*), and Prefect of Studies (*Praefecti Studiorum*);
- 2) General regulations of the Professors of the Theology and Philosophy (*Regulae Communes omnibus Professoribus Superiorum Facultatum*): Scripture, Hebrew, Dogmatic Theology, Ecclesiastical History, Canon Law, and Moral Theology;
- 3) Rules for the Professors of Philosophy, Physics, and Mathematics.
- 4) Rules for the teachers of the Lower Department (*Regulae Praefecti Studiorum Inferiorum*), comprising the literary branches. In the Lower Department, there are originally five classes (schools), later added to six: the three (or four) Grammar classes, very similar to Gymnasium; plus the class of Humanities and the class of Rhetoric (for freshman and sophomore). Besides Latin and Greek, other branches are taught from the beginning under the name of "Accessories"—especially History, Geography, and Antiquities.¹⁹¹

The importance of conveying knowledge is again observed in the *Ratio Studiorum*; throughout the four main aspects, one may find that the general subjects were also included in the study plan. The *Ratio Studiorum* handled subjects of languages, mathematics and sciences not simultaneously, but successively. In Lower Studies (*Studia Inferiora*) usually there were five

¹⁹¹ Robert Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education, its History and Principles viewed in the light of modern educational problems* (St. Louis: Herder, 1903), 115.

(sometimes six) classes for Literary Studies, with complementary subjects such as History and Geography. The Literary Studies could be further divided into:

1) Lower Grammar - Introduction to syntax in Greek: reading, writing, and a certain portion of the grammar. Teaching materials were taken from Cicero, also fables of Phaedrus and Lives of Nepos.

2) Middle Grammar - In-depth grammar knowledge; featuring selected epistles, narrations, descriptions and similar works from Cicero, also the Commentaries of Caesar, and some of the easiest poems of Ovid. In Greek: the fables of Aesop, selected dialogues of Lucian, and the Tablet of Cebes.

3) Upper Grammar - Full understanding of grammar; including all the exceptions and idioms in syntax; figures, rhetoric, and metrical structure of language. In Greek: the eight cases of speech, the rudiments. Teaching materials were selected from epistles of Cicero, the books, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, and equivalent readings; in poetry, some selected elegies and epistles of Ovid, also selections from Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and the Eclogues of Virgil, the fourth book of the *Georgics*, or the fifth and seventh books of the *Aeneid*. In Greek: St. Chrysostom, Aesop, and relevant.

4) Humanities - Introduction to the basics of expression, which was taught in three ways: through the knowledge of a language, through some erudition, and through sketches of the precepts pertaining to rhetoric.

5) Rhetoric - The training towards the perfection of expression, featuring oratorical and poetical disciplines. Oratorical training focused on the practicality and beauty of expression. The poetical training aimed at vernacular expressions based on outstanding authors of the time, often based on historical events or national matters. In Greek: advanced

knowledge of authors and of dialects. The Greek authors, whether orators, historians, or poets, were to be ancient and classic: Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and others of the kind, including Saints Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom.¹⁹²

The core of Jesuit's educational philosophy is excellence; excellence in the sense of exploring and developing individual talents, some of them will eventually become experts and expert mediators - while not everyone could become a great artist, a great artist could come from anywhere; some people may be more gifted than the others - but the potential for fostering one's talent shall not be limited. This attitude collaborates with the Christian Humanism tradition, whatever is the highest in humankind is to be fostered, and by self-reflection, one sees the image and likeness of God - "The glory of God is a living man" (*Gloria Dei est vivens homo!*), wrote Irenaeus in the Third Century; "the life of a man is the vision of God" (*Vita hominis visio Dei*). Irenaeus's belief seemed to be endorsed by Jesuit education. Other than academic curriculum, opera, ballet, and drama have received considerable emphasis in the early Jesuit schools despite some opposition. Ignatius insisted that the best of the Renaissance discoveries be employed in Jesuit schools, despite the opposition of some early Jesuits who believed such things to be pagan. Jesuit schooling strived to cultivate imagination and a sense of aesthetics sense. A collection of literary, philosophical, and natural science education was included in the Jesuit curriculum; a handful collection of well-related subjects instead of simultaneously teaching numerous random subjects. Frequent repetition of knowledge after teaching was encouraged to achieve better learning effect.

Achieving the excellence in education is not all; Jesuit students were encouraged to cultivate a sense of wonder in parallel with Spiritual Exercises

¹⁹² Robert Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education, its History and Principles viewed in the light of modern educational problems* (St. Louis: Herder, 1903), 118.

(*Exercitia spiritualia*). First drafted by the Jesuits founder Loyola, the Spiritual Exercises are the protocol of mental exercises consists of prayers and meditations. Long before the introduction of *Ratio Studiorum*, the Spiritual Exercises was finalized and approved in 1548 by Paul III.¹⁹³ The collaboration of educating excellence and spiritual training forms the Jesuit tradition of education for worship. The Exercise was divided into four thematics "weeks" lasting up to 28-30 days.¹⁹⁴ As previously mentioned, the *Ratio Studiorum* gave great flexibility to individual adaptations. In the Rules of the Rector in *Ratio Studiorum*, Ignatius wrote:

“The purpose of the Society in conducting colleges and universities is two-fold: First, she wants to equip her members with a good liberal education and with other skills required in her ministry, and secondly she wants to provide them with an opportunity to share with students in the classroom the fruits of their training. The rector’s chief concern should be the spiritual development of the young men committed to his care, but he should make every effort to achieve the goals which the Society has in mind in founding and conducting schools.”¹⁹⁵

Similarly, the flexibility of education was encouraged in the Rules of the Provincial:

¹⁹³ Adriano Prosperi, “The Two Standards - The Origins and Development of a Celebrated Ignatian Meditation,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2 (2015): 364.

¹⁹⁴ Michael Counsell, *2000 Years of Prayer* (London: Canterbury Press, 2004), 203.

¹⁹⁵ Original text: “Cum ideo collegia et universitates Societas amplectatur, ut in his Nostri commode possint et doctrina, ceterisque rebus, quae ad adjuvandas animas conferunt, instrui; et quae didicerint ipsi, communicare cum proximis; post religiosarum et solidarum virtutum curam, quae praecipua esse debet, in illud maxime incumbat, ut finem hunc, quem in gymnasiis admittendis Societas sibi proposuit, Deo juvante, consequatur.” From *Regulae Rectoris: 1, Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, (Paris: apud Firmin Didot Fratres, 1801), 20. Translation adopted from: Allan Peter Farrell, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599, translated into English, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes* (Washington D.C., Conference of the Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), 14.

“In view of differences in places, times, and persons, there are bound to be certain variations in the order and time schedule of studies, in the holding of repetitions, disputations, and other exercises, as well as in vacations. Therefore, if the provincial thinks that in his province some special arrangement will make for better progress in studies, he should refer the matter to the general so that adjustments may be approved which will satisfy his needs, but in such wise that they will conform as nearly as possible to the general plan of our studies.”¹⁹⁶

As Scottish-American educator Gilbert Highet (1906-1978) described the basics of *Ratio Studiorum* in 1669:

“The success of Jesuit education is proved by its graduates. It produced, first, a long list of wise and learned Jesuit preachers, writers, philosophers, and scientists. Yet if it had bred nothing but Jesuits, it would be less important. Its value is that it proved the worth of its principles by developing a large number of widely different men of vast talent: Corneille (Pierre Corneille, 1606-1684) the tragedian, Descartes (René Descartes, 1596-1650) the philosopher and mathematician, Bossuet (Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, 1627-1704) and Bourdaloue (Louis Bourdaloue, 1632-1704) the orators, Moliere (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, 1622-1673) the comedian, d’Urfè (Honoré d’Urfé, 1568-1625) the romantic novelist, Montesquieu (Charles-Louis de Secondat, 1689-1755) the political philosopher, Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694-1778) the

¹⁹⁶ Original text: “Et quoniam pro regionum, temporum, ac personarum varietate in ordine et statutis horis studio tribuendis, in repetitionibus, disputationibus et aliis exercitationibus, itemque in vacationibus, potest varietas accidere: si quid in sua provincia magis expedire ad majorem in litteris profectum existimabit, referat ad Praepositum Generalem; ut ea demum statuatur, quae ad omnia necessaria descendant, ita tamen, ut ad communem ordinem studiorum nostrorum maxime accedant.” From *Regulae Provincialis*: 39, *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, (Paris: apud Firmin Didot Fratres, 1801), 3. Translation adopted from: Allan Peter Farrell, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599, translated into English, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes* (Washington D.C., Conference of the Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), 13.

philosopher and critic, who although he is regarded by the Jesuits as a bad pupil is still not an unworthy representative of their ability to train gifted minds.”¹⁹⁷

Like the students of Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s Queen Elizabeth’s Academy, Jesuit students are trained to think critically and creatively. For reasoning is the fundamental of leadership quality, this leads to the all-around study in different disciplines, and students were taught to master knowledge on a gradual basis, and examine subject matter regularly, so that one day, they could become experts and expert mediators themselves.

3.5. Ricci’s Knowledge about Chinese Music and Literature

Back to Ming China, the Confucius teaching, or conveying knowledge, was understood and received in a very different way. Confucius said, ‘It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused. It is by the Rules of Propriety that the character is established. It is from Music that the finish is received (興於詩，立於禮，成於樂).’ In terms of Confucian cultivation, poetry is regarded as the language of instruction, rites as the daily practice, and music, the ultimate accomplishment of virtue.¹⁹⁸ Jesuits in China have to engage themselves in understanding the Chinese music – the supreme achievement of a scholar.

Ricci’s knowledge of Chinese music was mostly based on his observation of the use of music in Chinese society, for instance, in Chinese theatre (*Ju*, 劇):

“Sono amicissimi di comedie assai più che i nostri. E così vi sono molte migliaia di giovani che si occupano in questo: altri che vanno per diverse parti, altri che stanno sempre nelle città grosse dove son chiamati e ben

¹⁹⁷ Gilbert Highet, *The Art of Teaching* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 198-199.

¹⁹⁸ Guoping Zhao, Zongyi Deng, *Re-envisioning Chinese Education: The Meaning of Person-making in a New Age* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 97.

paghi nelle feste pubbliche e particolari. Ma questa è la più vile e vitiosa gente di tutto il regno. E molti putti sono comprati da alcuni maestri che gli insegnano a cantare e fare comedie e balli per guadagnare con essi. Tutte queste comedie si fanno ne' loro conviti; e così nell'istesso tempo stanno mangiando e bevendo e udindo le comedie. Gli argomenti di esse, anzi l'istesse comedie, quasi tutte, sono antiche di istorie o fittioni, e puoco si fa di nuovo. E quei che fanno questo essercitio, quando sono chiamati, vengono apparecchiati a tutte le comedie ordinarie. E cominciandosi il convito, presentano il libro a quello che quivi tiene il primo luogo, e sceglie quali comedie vuole che si faccino. E sono molte, perché durando i conviti otto o dieci ore alle volte, altrettanto dura il fare le comedie, le quali si recitano tutte cantando, e puoco si parla in esse al modo commune.¹⁹⁹

Ricci further described his understanding of Chinese musical instruments from local religious ceremonies, first in a Taoist ritual: *bonzi taoisti*

“Il proprio offitio di questi tausù è scongiurare i demonij e cacciarli fuori delle case dove si sentono apparire; e fanno questo di doi modi. L'uno è dare certe figure bruttissime degli stessi demonij per attaccare nelle case, dove si sente o si teme avere qualche spirito immondo; con le quali figure, stampate e pinte in carta gialla con inchiostro nero, guadagnano molto. L'altro è l'andare loro stessi a scongiurare e purificare le case; e fanno questo con spada nella mano e con tante grida e strilli che paiono essi gli stessi demonij.

Un altro offitio a loro proprio è chiedere pioggia nel tempo di siccità, e serenità nel tempo di molta pioggia, e impedire le inondazioni di acque et altri infortunj pubblici e particolari. E se loro facessero quello che promettono senza nessuna vergogna, si potrebbe dare qualche scusa a

¹⁹⁹ FR, 33 (NN. 45).

quelli che li chiamano; ma essendo tanto bugiardi in tutto quello che promettono, non so che scusa se gli possa dare.

Pare che alcuni di loro sanno, o seppero, arte magica; se non vogliamo dire che tutto quello che contano di questi huomini è pura bugia.

Risiedono negli tempij del Cielo e della Terra, e sono agiutanti ne' sacrifici che il Re fa in persona o fanno altri da sua parte, con che guadagnano molta autorità; e loro fanno la musica di questa cappella con tutti gli instrumenti musici della Cina, che, sonati tutti insieme, fanno una grande disconsonantia alle nostre orecchie.

Sono chiamati anco a essequie et offitij de' morti, e vanno a essi vestiti con le sue cappe molto pretiose, sonando sempre flauti et altri simili instromenti.

Sono anco chiamati a certe processioni, che fanno per santificare le case nove o cacciare di qualche strada ogni spirito immondo, che sogliono in molti luoghi fare li capi delle strade ogn'anno, hora in una strada, hora in altra, alle spese di tutti i vicini."²⁰⁰

On another occasion, dated 3 March 1599, Ricci described a Confucius ritual he has visited in the Forbidden City:

“Fu un giorno menato il Padre a vedere la armonia del Re, che era fatta da' religiosi di quella setta che chiamano tausū [道士], et alla salo o tempio de Cielo [大祀殿] dove stanno gli stessi religiosi. La musica o armonia si faceva per prova del sacrificio del Confuzo [孔夫子] che il giorno seguente avevano da fare; dove gli stessi religiosi, vestiti con le

²⁰⁰ FR, 130 (NN. 195).

sue vesti del sacrificio, che erano assai pretiose, facevano le loro cortesie. E per esser questa prova pubblica e solenne, et aveva da star presente il nostro amico Guan Sciansciu [王尚書], che era il Presidente di questi riti, hebbe il P. Matteo il luogo con i figliuoli e corteggiani del detto Sciansciu [尚書], assai commodo.

Era grandissimo il numero e varietà degli instrumentali che vi erano, e molti di loro che non si possono usare se non in occasi simili. Aluni erano di bronzo, come le campane [編鐘], e campanelle [鈴], baccili [鈸, 響板] e altri [韻鑼, 鐘鑼]; altri di pietra [編磬] e di pelle [大鼓, 柷, 應鼓, 搏拊]; altre di corde di leuto [琴, 瑟], altri di flauti [簫管, 篪, 埙笛]; e di organi, ma senza mantici, che con la bocca gli davano il vento [排簫, 鳳笙簫, 笙]; altri erano come animali [獸] e con bacchette davano ne' loro denti. E' questi tutti insieme sonavano con il concerto che era possibile dargli; perchè, nel vero, pareva che non avevano nessuna consonantia, e tali che, anco gli stessi Cinesi confessano che si perse tra loro l'arte di questa armonia che avevano gli antichi, e così restano gli nudi stromenti."²⁰¹

Good understanding of Chinese literature is a prerequisite for becoming a literatus in Ming China. Ricci's understanding of classical Chinese writings not only helped shaping his literary status among the Chinese literati, he was able to handle bilingual communication adeptly through citing pertinent literature. Summerized by Landry-Deron, Ricci's goal was to spread the Christian religion, and to bring to China the knowledge of Europe through Chinese language, history, and literature. Ricci strived to express the message of god in the language of the locals and sought to make understood what he considered useful for preaching. Ricci's translations and his own writings on philosophy, geography and science aim to convey a new realm, a world from the perspective

²⁰¹ FR, 70-71 (NN. 553).

of reasoning.²⁰²

Landry-Deron notes that in terms of bilingual communication Ricci's contribution is not negligible.²⁰³ In addition to attributing names to the Chinese musical instruments, Ricci has provided translations of different places on his world map - the first set of Chinese names for European lands in transliteration. Ricci also drew the attention of Chinese scholars to the European alphabet system, which was different from other alphabetic scriptures of the Indian, Persian and Turkish languages previously introduced to China with a very limited readership.²⁰⁴

Europeans' first impression of Chinese writings was a translinguistic medium. Francois Xavier noted that the Japanese language was written in Chinese characters, and therefore, Chinese writing system is known to be independent of any spoken forms. Matteo Ricci confirmed this finding with his descriptions of different Chinese dialects with the same writings, which aroused considerable interest in Europe. The early standardizing of the Chinese writing system in Qin dynasty unified the Chinese characters throughout the empire, and the same characters could be attributed to different spoken forms. Landry-Deron notes that this phenomenon shed light on the concept of a 'universal language' to promote peace on the European continent. One of the universal language's promoters, Francis Bacon, in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605), also mentioned the Chinese writing system, for its characters correspond not to exact words, but to things or notions; in countries whose languages are not mutually comprehensible, one can nevertheless read the writings of both, as the characters are accepted more generally than the languages.²⁰⁵

Landry-Deron also mentions Ricci's own transcribed texts in pamphlet, namely

²⁰² Isabelle Landry-Deron, *La Chine des Ming et de Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). Le premier dialogue des savoirs avec l'Europe* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf / Institut Ricci, 2013), chap. 5, Kobo.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Isabelle Landry-Deron, *La Chine des Ming et de Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). Le premier dialogue des savoirs avec l'Europe* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf / Institut Ricci, 2013), chap. 5, Kobo.

Mingmo Luoma zi zhuyin wenzhang (明末羅馬字注音文章, Texts transcribed in Roman letters in late Ming).²⁰⁶ Landry-Deron considers Ricci's work useful for the work of reconstructing ancient pronunciations for the study of historical Chinese phonology.²⁰⁷ Although useful, the pamphlet offers very limited source for a phonetic reconstruction, rather, the transcribed texts could be considered as an interlanguage in second language acquisition.²⁰⁸

Landry-Deron regards Matteo Ricci's influence, in terms of linguistics, limited but positive both in China and in Europe. Ricci's description of the Chinese language, with its different spoken forms, were nevertheless accurate on the substance, above all, Landry-Deron considers Ricci's greatest achievement was to establish a trueful dialogue of cultures.²⁰⁹ Ricci's relentless effort in learning, translating and transcribing has earned him loyal friends, some of them actively assisted Ricci in Chinese publications. Among them, four of Ricci's Chinese works were summoned into the *Siku Quanshu* (四庫全書) - the imperial book collection of the Qianlong Emperor, including Ricci's *Xiqin Quyi*.

3.6. The Institutionalized Use of Music in Ming China

Ming court also has its own musicking. The institutionalization of music has a long history in China. Long since Qin dynasty, the state-operated Music Bureau (樂府, *Yuefu*) was established to coordinate musical performances for the state,

²⁰⁶ The four short articles are: "Xin Er Bu Hai Yi Er Ji Chen (信而步海疑而即沉)", "Er Tu Wen Shi Ji She Kong Xu (二徒聞實即捨空虛)", "Yin Se Hui Qi Zi Su Tian Huo (姪色穢氣自速天火)" and "Shu Wen Zeng You Bo Cheng Zi (述文贈幼博程子)" in Matteo Ricci, *Mingmo Luoma zi zhuyin wenzhang* (明末羅馬字注音文章, Texts transcribed in Roman letters in late Ming) (Beijing: Language Reform Press, 1957).

²⁰⁷ Isabelle Landry-Deron, *La Chine des Ming et de Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). Le premier dialogue des savoirs avec l'Europe* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf / Institut Ricci, 2013), chap. 5, Kobo.

²⁰⁸ Cheng Siukei (鄭紹基), "On the Initial System of Matteo Ricci's Xizi Qiji: A Reconstruction Based on Its Remaining Fragments (明末傳教士利瑪竇《西字奇蹟》殘篇聲母系統構擬)" in ed. Center for Chinese Linguistics, Division of Humanities, HKUST, *Ding Bongxin Jiaoshou Rongxiu Jinian Lunwenji* 《丁邦新教授榮休紀念論文集》. (Hong Kong: Center for Chinese Linguistics, Division of Humanities, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 2004) 68-94.

²⁰⁹ Isabelle Landry-Deron, *La Chine des Ming et de Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). Le premier dialogue des savoirs avec l'Europe* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf / Institut Ricci, 2013), chap. 5, Kobo.

and was responsible for new compositions as well as musicianship's training. To contextualize the actual musical activities in China during the reign of Ming, it is important to have a brief overview on the institutionalization of music in Ming governance.

Official musical activities were managed under the Ministry of Rites (禮部, *Li Pu*) and its subordinate, the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (太常寺, *T'ai-Ch'ang Ssu*). The Ministry of Rites was one of the Six Ministries (六部, *Liu Pu*), they were the administrative core under the Department of State Affairs (尚書省, *Shang-Shu Sheng*). The Ministry of Rites was generally responsible for overseeing all imperial and court rituals, for codifying rituals, for managing foreign dignitaries, for supervising state-sponsored education, for monitoring Taoist and Buddhist communities, and for managing the civil service recruitment examination (貢舉, *K'o-chü*).²¹⁰ To highlight the success of the Jesuits as expert mediator in negotiations, it is worth mentioning that in Ming dynasty, the Ministry of Rites had a close connection with the Grand Secretaries. Many Grand Secretaries were promoted from the Ministry, including the powerful Senior Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng (張居正). The Ministry of Rites was therefore an invaluable connection within the Jesuits' networking in Ming court. Xu Guanqi (徐光啟, 1562-1633), Jesuits' reliable friend, was himself the Imperial Secretary of the Ministry of Rites, Xu's assistance to the Jesuits was in many occasions potent and crucial.

The Court of Imperial Sacrifices was one of the Nine Courts (九寺, *Chiu Ssu*) in the central government. It was responsible for the conduct of major state sacrificial ceremonies according to the regulations prescribed by the Ministry of Rites.²¹¹ Ricci's successor Adam Schall von Bell was later assigned as the Chief

²¹⁰ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (中國古代官名辭典) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 306-307.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 476.

Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (太常寺卿, *T'ai-ch'ang Ssu Ch'ing*) for his notable service in the Ming (and later Qing) court.²¹²

Under the Court of Imperial Sacrifices were two musical divisions, namely the Imperial Music Office (神樂觀, *Shen-yüeh Kuan*)²¹³ and the Music Office (教坊, *Chiao-fang*)²¹⁴. The establishment of the Imperial Music Office had a coherent bond with the very establishment of Ming dynasty. Ming's first emperor, the Hongwu emperor (洪武帝), Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋), believed that he was protected by the Taoist God *Xuan Wu* (玄武, also known as *Zhen Wu* (真武)). He believed that the god saved his life and assisted him in gaining power.²¹⁵ Hongwu emperor later established the Imperial Music Office in 1379.²¹⁶ With the establishment of the Office, the emperor commissioned the making of the Collection of Daoist Imperial Music Decreed by the Great Ming Dynasty (大明御制玄教樂章), standardizing the use of music in Taoist rituals and ceremonies. The Collection further encouraged the use of secular music, as quoted in the historical memoir *Yue Shi Bian* (閱世編) "(the Imperial Music Office) praised and promoted (Taoism), and adopted the fine melodies of *Shang* and *Yu*; their ensemble played the instrument *Sheng*, and were almost undistinguishable from comedians."²¹⁷

²¹² Original Text: "大歐邏巴國人湯若望。今官太常寺卿。" in Tan Qian (談遷), *Travel in the North* (北遊錄), ed. Wang Beiping (汪北平) (Beijing: Chinese Publishing House, 1960), 277 -278.

²¹³ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (中國古代官名辭典) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 425.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 141.

²¹⁵ For a detailed study of Ming's patronage of *Xuan Wu* or *Zhen Wu* worship, see: Noelle Giuffrida, "Representing the Daoist God Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior, in Late Imperial China" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2008).

²¹⁶ Liu Yonghua (劉永華), *Confucian Rituals and Chinese Villagers - Ritual Change and Social Transformation in a Southeastern Chinese Community, 1368-1949* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 51, and Shen Shixing (申時行), *The Code of Ming Dynasty* (明會典), Chap. 226 (卷二百二十六) (Beijing: Chinese publishing house, 1989), 1110.

²¹⁷ Original text: "至贊誦宣揚，引商刻羽，合樂笙歌，竟同優戲。" from Ye Mengzhu (葉夢珠), *Yueshi bian* (閱世編), Chap. 9 (卷九) (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1981), 202.

On the function of the Imperial Music Office, as described by the head of the Ministry of Rites Liu Zhong Zhi (劉仲質) in 1382: “The Imperial Music Office is responsible for the performance of music and dance, performances for the major rituals of Heave, Earth, gods, and goddesses, as well as the rites of religious temples and social events.”²¹⁸

The importance of the Imperial Music Office could be seen when the Ming capital was moved from Nanjing to Beijing in 1420, the Imperial Music Office moved along as well, including some 300 musicians and dancers; the Imperial Music Office had its own temple in Beijing inside the Forbidden City, west of Tian Tan - the Temple of Heaven (天壇), the Imperial Music Office facilitated its crucial role in royal rites and ceremonies in Ming court.²¹⁹

The Music Office was established at the beginning of Ming Dynasty, specialized in musician’s training and management. Unlike its ‘imperial’ counterpart, the Music Office had a less religious role in terms of musical performances and was responsible for performing fine music for official banquets.²²⁰ The best musicians of the Office would be chosen to play in the Imperial Music Office. In order to ensure the abundant supply of imperial musicians, the Music Office had a large staff; almost 4000 musicians were counted when the Zhengtong (明英宗) emperor ascended the throne.²²¹ The emperor later ordered the Ministry of Rites, that, “the Music Office had a massive staff, yet only a few shall be chosen; the rest shall be dismissed and sent back to their home. More than 3800 musicians of the Office were thus dismissed... this is to prove the

²¹⁸ Original text: “神樂觀職掌樂舞，以備大祀天地神祇及宗廟社稷之祭” from *Transcript of Veritable Records of Ming* (鈔本明實錄), Book 2, Chap. 145 (卷一百四十五) (Beijing: Thread-Binding Books Publishing House, 2005), 25. Own translation.

²¹⁹ Long Wenbin (龍文彬), *A Collection of Essential Material on the Ming Dynasty* (明會要) (Beijing: Chinese Publishing House, 1956), 341-342.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 339-340.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 342.

emperor's excellence in governance, and that he was not indulged in entertainments."²²²

Other than the Imperial Music Office and Music Office, a separate Bells and Drums Office (鐘鼓司, Chung-ku Ssu) was also established in Ming dynasty to manage palace musicians (eunuchs); they were specialized in providing musical signals at court audiences, and accompaniment for intimate palace entertainments.²²³

The musical institutions of Ming later became the spotlight of the confrontation between Taoist and Confucius ideologies. In 1499, a political conflict broke out between the Confucius staff under the Ministry of Rites and the Taoist staff under the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, later known as the Conflict Between Confucian and Taoist (儒道衝突).²²⁴ The political tide turned in favor of the Confucius literati – As part of Matteo Ricci's expert mediation, Ricci and his fellow Jesuits noticed the rising significance of Confucius belief in late Ming China, and thus dressed themselves as Confucius scholar, instead of Buddhist monks; through presenting themselves as Confucians, the Jesuits may further proselytize their belief to the Chinese people through negotiating knowledge, just like what the Confucians do. After years of preparation, Ricci and the Jesuit veterans have gained confidence in setting the Jesuit Trojan horse into China, also known as the accommodation strategy. Since music and the use of music have such a high status in Ming Confucian society, Ricci's

²²² Original text: “論禮部曰: 教坊樂工數多,其擇堪用者量留,餘悉發為民。凡釋教坊樂工三千八百餘人... 以宣宗勵精為治,而不免聲色之奉如此。” from Shen Defu (沈德符), *A Compilation of Gatherings From the Wild of the Wanli Reign* (萬曆野獲編) (Beijing: Chinese Publishing House, 1980), 15.

²²³ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (中國古代官名辭典) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 191.

²²⁴ For a detailed analysis of the conflict, see: Chen Te-Hsin (陳德馨), "The Conflict Between Confucian and Taoist :A Case Study of The Subordination of Taichang Temple in XiaoZong Reign (明代的儒道衝突研究—以孝宗朝太常寺的統屬問題為例)," *Journal of China University of Science and Technology* 58 (2014): 215-238.

Torajan horse has to be a singing one too – his composition “*Xiqin Quyi BaZhang*” (西琴曲意八章, *Eight songs for a Western string instrument*).

3.7. The Descriptive Uses of Music

‘Music’ and ‘literature’ are inseparable in the Chinese cultural history, as musical performances were very closely bonded with poetical writings; therefore literature creation is in fact an art of musicking. *Fu* (賦), *Shi* (詩), *Ci* (詞), and *Qu* (曲), for instance, were different literary forms that could be sung with *Ge* (歌), the song-form of the writings. As Zhao Yuyin (趙與峇) describes: “*Ge* and *Qu* (*Gequ* is also the equivalence of song) are especially for the ears of the literati on other things, sometimes with little concord to music.”²²⁵

To connect Ricci’s *Xiqin Quyi* with the Chinese literature tradition, long since Song dynasty, *Ci* and *Qu* became popular in Chinese literature writing. As Yip Wai-lim (葉維廉) explains:

“Both *Tz’u* (詞, *Ci*) *Ch’ü* (曲, *Qu*) can briefly be defined as song-lyrics of long and short lines written according to fixed rhyme and tone patterns, the names of which were originally designations of musical arts. There are some marked stylistic differences between the two. The most obvious is, of course, the different sets of tone-patterns in operation as a result of two different musical conventions. Then, there are also the degrees of sophistication and levels of diction which can be explained partly by their origins... *Ch’ü* was in part connected with street operas of

²²⁵ Original text: “歌曲特文人餘事耳,或者少諧音律,” from Zhao Yuyin (趙與峇), “Post Script to The Songs by Jiang Kui (《白石道人歌曲》跋)” in Lau Chor Wah (劉楚華), *Gem of Ci Poetry Music: Reconstruction of Songs by Jiang Kui (宋韻遺珍—白石道人歌曲重構)* (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 2016), 80.

the common folk. In its early stage before the poets took over the form for artistic manipulation, many of these song lyrics were replete with rustic humour and vulgar diction... It goes without saying that not all the poems can be put to music. Listening to a song and reading a poem are two quite different experiences. There is no place for intricate thought in a song: the audience would be carried along with the music and would have no time to stop and reflect as they can do in reading a poem. A poem to be set to music gives only a very simple, and even trite, emotional content and lets the music provide the texture of the emotion.”²²⁶

Ricci's *Xiqin Quy* bears the same name of 'Qu' as in Chinese literature. The very notion 'Qu' opens the discussion of musicking – Matteo Ricci's expert musicking. For a worthwhile discussion of the use and function of music - musicking, here is a helpful summary of the previously scholarly discussions on how the use of music could be instigated in a social context.

On a broader dimension, musicologist Alan P. Merriam explained how the 'use of music' could be described when music is employed in human society, to the habitual practice or customary exercise of music either as a thing in itself or in conjunction with other activities.²²⁷ He then expanded this description by elaborating the uses of music into four aspects after Melville J. Herskovits: *Material Culture and Its Sanctions, Social Institutions, Belief systems, The Control of Power and Aesthetics, Language*. Merriam and Herskovits' explanations hence led to a wide variety of social contexts where music is used.²²⁸

²²⁶ Yip Wai-lim (葉維廉), *Chinese Poetry: An Anthology of Major Modes and Genres* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), 306-308.

²²⁷ Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music*, (Illinois: Northwestern University, 1964), 210.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 216-218.

Bruno Nettl further demonstrated how the use of music could be observed from a social-cultural perspective, “music is associated with a plethora of activities. Mostly it is used for listening, with the audience passive and the degree to which it pays attention varying greatly. Rituals of all sorts are accompanied by music, which was also used as background sound for many types of activities. Here we might present a list of all the activities that involve music, from the concert, church, parade, a football game to the obligatory background (in the case of teenagers, foreground, at least in terms of volume) at parties, in supermarkets, on elevators, for traveling in cars.”²²⁹ Therefore, the use of music could be an infinite list: “Music affords dancing, singing (and singing along), playing (and playing along), working, persuading, drinking and eating, doing aerobics, taking drugs, playing air guitar, travelling, protesting, seducing, waiting on the telephone, sleeping... the list is endless.”²³⁰

Nettl’s perspective, although based on the social and cultural aspects of people making music, is still highly ethnomusicological. Ethnomusicology - where the word ‘ethno’ means the equivalence of ethnography (but not ethnic people) - serves as a discipline and methodology of musicology. Ethnomusicology emphasizes much on the practice of music ethnography. In other words, it is the study of ethnic music or ethnographic study of music. As Gilbert Chase puts it:

“The term “ethnomusicology” seems rather restrictive in the context of its wide geographical, temporal, and cultural scope. (...) I favor the idea

²²⁹ Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 250.

²³⁰ Eric Clarke, *Ways of Listening. An Ecological Approach to the Perception of Musical Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 204.

of an “ethnomusicology” of Western music; but I do not favor the terminology...”²³¹

Chase thus proposes:

“What we need is a term of larger scope that will contain the same idea—namely, the sociocultural approach to musicology. For this, I propose the term “cultural musicology” —by analogy with ‘cultural anthropology.’”²³²

Cultural musicology as a generalized approach to studying music serves not as a methodology. The term cultural musicology was further termed by Fidelis Smith:

“Musicology, as theory, historical research and critical analysis, cannot do without the reality of music itself, and not merely by itself but as understood in the total cultural web of its particular period. In order to understand music fully, we must also do research and creative thinking in philosophy and the aesthetics of world culture, in which music is an important factor. This type of musicology, which presupposes training in music, music theory and research techniques, perhaps could be called “speculative.” But that word has been worn rather thin. Another

²³¹ Gilbert Chase, “American Musicology and the Social Sciences,” in *Perspectives in Musicology*, ed. Barry S. Brook, Edward O.D. Downes & Sherman van Solkema (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1975), 220.

²³² *Ibid.*

possibility would be 'esthetico-musicology,' but a better term would be 'cultural musicology.'"²³³

Music as human behaviour obviously carries signifying capacities within and beyond the social context. To refine the term cultural musicology, Lawrence Kramer describes:

"Contrary to certain common objections, cultural musicology has never denied the existence of past interest in 'extramusical' or contextual issues. Nor has it shown any lack of interest in, indeed fascination with, the internal dynamics of musical works or genres. But it breaks with earlier approaches, including the ethnomusicological approaches to which it has sometimes been compared by regarding music, not as a vehicle or reflection of a relatively stable set of social, cultural, or historical conditions, but as a form of human agency that shapes and intervenes in such conditions, and does so, not exceptionally, but as an ordinary consequence of musical practice. The result is to disable the distinction (which is admittedly a practical convenience) between 'music' as a self-contained whole - whether that be the whole of the musical artwork or of genre or style or of organized sonority conceived on the largest scale - and the social and historical fields of the 'extramusical'."²³⁴

The scope of cultural musicology coincides with Small's Musicking theory; by bringing a cultural narrative to musicology, the focus turns to why music and

²³³ Fidelis Smith, "The Place of Music in a Franciscan Vocation and Apostolate," *Franciscan Studies* 19 (1959): 164.

²³⁴ Lawrence Kramer, "Signs Taken for Wonders Words - Music, and Performativity," in *Word and Music Studies: Essays in Honor of Steven Paul Scher and on Cultural Identity and the Musical Stage*, ed. Scher, Steven P., Suzanne M. Lodato, Suzanne Aspden, and Walter Bernhart. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 36-37.

its function are important to the social context, rather than defining what music is. Music historians and musicologists may research and write about the cultural significance embedded in musical scores or in lyrics, but that shall not undermine the further endeavour of recognizing music as a form of man-made sound phenomenon – ‘music’ as an object might have been preserved through sheets and instruments through centuries, but music was nevertheless played and heard by people.

To bring this scope back to the time of 16th-17th century, and space of Italy, Jesuit’s influence on Neapolitan society could be found in the case of Nicolò Ceva’s²³⁵ oratorio *Trionfo per l’Assunzione della Santissima Vergine* which was recovered in 2008 in the Library of the Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella. Naples in the 17th century was Europe’s second largest city, second only to Paris.²³⁶ Music functioned as a crucial way to promote Jesuit education and, from the recovered scores of Ceva’s composition, it is evident that musical activities were not only conducted inside Jesuit colleges in Naples but also in the provinces of the nearby area. Musical competitions were held in late 17th century where the best musicians of Jesuit colleges across Naples compete for the glory of *Congregazione dei Musicisti Napolitani* founded by the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore. Through the use of music, theatre, and other forms of art in Jesuit’s missions, the Jesuits also forged local cultures not only in the New World but also in homeland Europe. Only until 1734, where the first king of Naples Charles of Bourbon was elected, Jesuit musical and theatrical activities ceased.²³⁷

²³⁵ Little is known about Nicolò Ceva, he was the Kapellmeister (maestro di cappella) in the Jesuit Congregation of Mercanti in 1701, and was promoted to the Primicerius and Guardian of the Holy Congregation in 1703. In 1706 he became the head of music in Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo. See: Salvatore Di Giacomo, *I quattro antichi conservatorii di Napoli* vol. II (Napoli: R. Sandron, 1928), 163-164.

²³⁶ Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History (to 1815)* (London: Penguin, 2010), 39.

²³⁷ Anna Harwell Celenza and Anthony R. DelDonna, *Music as Cultural Mission: Explorations of Jesuit Practices in Italy and North America* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph’s University Press, 2014), 229

To proceed to the discussion on a cultural musicological perspective to Jesuit musical activities, the main activity remained the teaching of music as part of training missionaries for their work in the field and for the deployment of larger musical forces for processions and ritual; almost all of the major Catholic orders – Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans and especially, the Jesuits – were responsible for the cultivation of music and the teaching of musicians. After the success of operating European music in Mexico, polyphonic song books were first introduced to Manila from Mexico in early 17th century. A Manila book merchant lists Guerrero’s first book of motets (Venice, 1570), which proves the use of polyphony music, some of it by native musicians. The genres represented included virtually every type of music: Mass cycles, *motets*, *villancicos*, *canzonettas*, and polyphonic settings for Vespers, for the Salve service, and of the Te Deum.²³⁸

Further examples of the presence of the Jesuits in Paraguay from 1609 contributed to much of the same type of New World musical culture. In 1610, in the provincial of Paraguay, Diego Torres stressed the necessity of founding mission schools in the reductions where Christian doctrine could be taught in his instructions sent to the missionaries to the Indians.²³⁹ “The key was that music drew people to church, and once in church, the Jesuits could preach to them and hear their confessions”.²⁴⁰ The work of the superior of India Province, Francisco Xavier, and his brethren in India, Melaka, on the Moluccas, and in Japan, was accompanied by musical practice as well:

²³⁸ William J. Summers, “The Jesuits in Manila, 1581–1621: the Role of Music in Rite, Ritual, and Spectacle,” in *The Jesuits*, ed. John W. O’Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 663-664.

²³⁹ Johann Herczog, *Orfeo nelle Indie: i Gesuiti e la musica in Paraguay (1609–1767)* (Lecce: M. Congedo, 2001), 165-87.

²⁴⁰ Thomas Frank Kennedy, *Jesuits and Music: The European Tradition 1547-1622* (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1982), 33.

“At the appointment hour on Sundays and feast days, the church bells were rung. About thirty or forty children usually gathered at each church, where ‘with such great enjoyment’ the older children taught the tunes and lyrics to the younger that night and day they sang nothing else in the streets and marketplaces of the town.”²⁴¹

In his letters, Xavier revealed how the Christian faith was spread mainly among children, who were easier to approach and more open to new tunes. In particular, he reported the success on the Moluccas, where men and women, boys and girls were singing sacred songs. Instead of profane songs, one could hear sacred ones like the Our Father, the Ave Maria or God’s Commandments, all in the local language, sung by people who had already been converted as well as by pagans.²⁴² The Jesuits used music to catechize Indian boys and educate the colonists’ children for more than 200 years²⁴³.

Indigenous music was initially tolerated, but soon native musicians, such as the highly-skilled Guarani, were retrained. As for the specific repertory in Paraguay, little concrete evidence surfaced prior to the residence there of the Jesuit

²⁴¹ Original text: “Communis fere vox erat, quasi a tenebris eductam, fidei veritatem hominum coetibus illuxisse. Impressus est libellus hujus doctrinae carmine italico comprehensae, ut teneris puerorum mentibus facilius et firmiter haerent ea, quae ad christianam doctrinam spectant. Postquam ad templum ventum erat, uno ex provectoribus alta voce recitante, caeteri simul leni iucundoque concentu respondebant; postmodum, aliqui sigillatim, prout in tanto numero fieri poterat, interrogabantur; quibus peractis, lectionem magister, ordine illius libelli servato, praelegebat. Quam tam attente audiebat tumultuosa illa et clamorosa aetas, ut in sexcentorum discipulorum numero vix ullus strepitus audiretur: aderant enim, ut eos in officio continerent, in singulis templis aliqui sacerdotes, praeter nostros, qui apud pueros correctorum officio fungebantur. At pueri tam hilari animo doctrinam hanc imbibebant ut antiquas cantilenas in piam hanc melodiam converterent; nec aliud diu noctuque per vicos et plateas praeter hos sacros hymnos personarent. Qua de re parentes eorum cum summa laetitia Dei benignitatem summopere laudabant.” In Juan Alfonso de Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Jesu: historia* (Madrid: Excudebat Typographorum Societas, 1894), vol. 5: 184-185. Translation is adopted from John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 122.

²⁴² Antonio Alexandre Bispo, *Grundlagen christlicher Musikkultur in der außereuropäischen Welt der Neuzeit. Der Raum des früheren portugiesischen Patronatsrechts* (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1988), 604.

²⁴³ Paulo Castagna, “A música como instrumento de catequese no Brasil dos séculos XVI e XVII,” *D.O. Leitura* 12 (1994): 6-9.

composer Domenico Zipoli from 1717 to his death in 1726. His works are well documented in the Archivo Musical de Chiquitos in Concepci'on. Spanish Jesuits built solid infrastructure in musical education, both vocal and instrumental between 1617 and 1639 in Paraguay. This was made possible by two Jesuits with music experts: Belgians Jean Vaisseau, and Louis Berger.²⁴⁴

3.8. Functionalist Readings of the 17th Century Musicology from a Cultural Perspective

The previous discussion on the use of music leads to the discussion of 'what for'. The use of music could be highly political in Christian missions in the New World, for instance, Christian churches supplanted local mosques and temples, similarly, the implementation of prefabricated European music, functioned as a coordinated ritual system intended to overwrite indigenous rituals, especially ceremonial practices.²⁴⁵ The importance placed on music throughout early European colonialism betrays its role as both a superior language and a replacement of existing ones. Prior to arriving in India, the Portuguese Jesuit Vicar-General Miguel Vaz produced a 41-point plan that wrote into law; some extremely harsh measures meant to secure the conversion of the natives.²⁴⁶ New rituals mean new cultural grammar in terms of visual and audial elements.

These rituals imposed a new cultural grammar through sight, sense and sound. In his study of music and death rituals in 17th century Mexico, the traditional Processions of the Dead were re-endorsed by the Spanish authority as it 'served

²⁴⁴ Johann Herczog, *Orfeo nelle Indie: i Gesuiti e la musica in Paraguay (1609–1767)* (Lecce: M. Congedo, 2001), 165–87.

²⁴⁵ In political terms, the penalty of violating any of these rules was harsh. King D. Sebastião II of Portugal banned all display of idols, and set severe limits upon temple festivities and ritual, marriage and cremation ceremonies; these rules also applied to the use of music in such occasions. See: Michael Naylor Pearson, *The Portuguese in India* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1987), 117.

²⁴⁶ For a full account of the suppression of Hindu practices, see: Anant Kakba Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition* (Bombay: Bombay University Press, 1961), 114-149.

a pedagogical purpose because they provided a moment when the new ‘journey’ of Christianity could be solidified in the new converts’ minds’.²⁴⁷ In a similar fashion, the native dances and music in Corpus Christi processions from colonial Cuzco were purposely programmed by the Spanish colonizers as a way for Andeans ‘to “perform” their indigeneity and thereby act out the role of the defeated Other in the triumph of Christianity over native religion’.²⁴⁸

More cases are available to further demonstrate how indigenous practices involving music were wiped out and comprehensively replaced by ready-made European music with colonial values. Thus the success of evangelical missions to the New World was centred to a large degree on an associated musical colonization deriving from the transplanting of traditional and representational ceremonies such as those of the Mass and Office, as well as of processions and feast-days.

However, music functioned not only as a form of political strength to help to colonize the New World. Music instruments, in particular, served a great diplomatic function. Not only did musical instruments make up a crucial part of studying and evaluate the relationships among colonial cultures, they also indicated trans-cultural influence. Musicologists are long interested in the interrelations between instrumental families, the instruments themselves also bear witness to a long history of multicultural appropriation, and instruments serve also as a symbol of status and class, and, to use Bourdieu’s term, part of ‘cultural capital’.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Grayson Wagstaff, “Processions for the Dead, the Senses, and Ritual Identity in Colonial Mexico,” In *Music, Sensation, and Sensuality*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 167-80.

²⁴⁸ Geoffrey Baker, “Music at Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco,” *Early Music* 32.3 (2004): 364.

²⁴⁹ For a broader perspective on the cross-cultural encounterings, see Victor Anand Coelho, “Picking through cultures: a guitarist’s music history” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Guitar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-12.

Of the diplomatic function of music, musical instruments, similar to art works and machines, are often pressed into service as symbols of local identity.²⁵⁰ During early contact between different cultures, musical instruments often served as paver makers and also as a gesture of kindness. Keyboard instruments, in particular, were highly valued by Jesuits. An Italian missionary in Japan wrote to Rome, it would take only a year to convert the populations of Kyoto and Sakai.²⁵¹ By 1601 special school of organ manufacturing was built in order to make instruments with bamboo pipes, initiating a decade during which Japan's cultural sympathies were officially bound to the West.²⁵² Exactly the same year, Matteo Ricci introduced the first keyboard instrument to the Ming Chinese court.²⁵³ Along with the Jesuits, Portuguese traders of the 16th century routinely exchange portable organs with tribal leaders, presenting such instruments as wonders of European technology. The first organ probably arrived in India in 150, and both organs and harpsichords were carried as gifts on Portuguese expeditions from Goa to Ethiopia.²⁵⁴

The gift-giving of musical instruments, although with its diplomatic purpose, laid the foundation for unexpected musical developments. Similarly to the learning of clavichord by Chinese musicians, the use of the harmonium in India, for instance, was an outgrowth of the introduction of organs from this period and its fixed-pitch keyboard remaining a peculiarly Western element at odds with Indian variable-scale instruments and singing techniques. In 1550, Francis Xavier brought musical instruments as gifts to Japan, which has been

²⁵⁰ On the use and function of music in forming national identity during 16th-17th century, see: Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

²⁵¹ See: David Waterhouse, "The Earliest Japanese Contacts with Western Music," *Review of Culture* 26 (1996): 38.

Four samurai musicians were arranged by Valignano to perform in Portugal, Venice and Rome between 1582 and 1586 on keyboard and string instruments; the performances were painted by Tintoretto.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁵³ The diplomatic success with the use of musical expertise was also observed after Ricci's death, this is briefly described in the Epilogue of this book.

²⁵⁴ Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (Maesteg: Pendragon Press, 1995), 96.

variously described as a ‘monacordio’, ‘vihuelas de arco’ and a ‘clavicordio’.²⁵⁵ By early 17th century, instruments mentioned in the Psalms (trumpets, harp) or associated with angels (lutes, viols, vihuelas) were drawn in Japanese paintings as part of the Jesuit-influenced education on knowing the West.²⁵⁶

3.9. Towards a Functionalist’s Perspective on Jesuit’s Musicking in Missions

The use and function of music were previously discussed, followed by the precise description of how musicking could be applicable in understanding music beyond an object, but as a form of human activity. The purpose of adopting Small’s Musicking theory in this research is therefore to contextualize, and possibly also to reconstruct the use of music under the Jesuit Order, especially in the Chinese mission, where Matteo Ricci played a vital role. It is, therefore, necessary to compare different kinds of musicking under Jesuit mission around the world during Ricci’s time.

Parallel to Small’s notion of identifying ‘our’ music, it is necessary to examine the Jesuit music education. Since the early establishment of Jesuit colleges, music was taught in Jesuit colleges so that church music performances would be better able to demonstrate the distinction and solemnity of the Christianity. Among the children in every mission, the most gifted ones were chosen and sent to school. The teaching of music consisted of daily instructions in the singing of plainsong and figured music, playing instruments, and learning

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 183-4.

²⁵⁶ See: the reproduction of a nanban screen showing a Japanese female musician playing a vihuela in Michael Cooper et al., *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International in cooperation with Sophia University, 1971), 166. On the representation of Western instruments in Japan, See: Hiroyuki Minamino, “European Musical Instruments in Sixteenth-Century Japanese Paintings,” *Music in Art* 24 1/2 (1999): 41-50. On viols in Japan, and the activities of some young Goan musicians in chant and polyphony, see: Yukimi Kambe, “Viols in Japan in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 37 (2000): 31-67.

music theory. After the formalization of Jesuit Order in 1540, Jesuit convents became a leader in developing and reshaping of Catholic sacred music, in less than 50 years, Jesuits colleges such as in Rome, Graz, Prague, and Florence became crucial musical centres in Europe. To name one of the most outstanding Jesuit colleges was Collegium Germanicum, where exceptional musicians as Tomas Luis de Victoria (also known as the Spanish Palestrina 1548-1611) and Giacomo Carissimi (1605-1674) worked as *maestro di cappella*. Of the numerous first-class musicians who studied at Gennanicum, Stefano Landi (1586-1639) and Francesco Foggia (1604-1688) rank among the best known.

At the same time where Matteo Ricci engaged in the Chinese Mission, Jesuits in South America, Africa, and Asia also adopted music extensively in its missionary works in the New World. Since the beginning of 16th century, European music began its way to reach the New World through Spanish, English and Portuguese missionaries. Musical infrastructure was quickly established not only to support the missionary work in foreign lands but to also serve for diplomatic missions and even military operations. There was a need for bringing musical instruments, scores, books, and musicians alongside with the missionaries.

Yet Jesuits were not always the first to bring musical knowledge to New Worlds. Eight Franciscans missionaries travelling to India led by Portuguese navigator Pedro Álvares Cabral, for instance, first arrived on 13 September 1500. Among them, was one musician Frei Matteu, who was an organist and said to have been able to play organ on one of the ships.²⁵⁷ Musicologist Antonio Alexandre Bispo further gives examples on the use of musical instruments on certain rituals, such as the arriving of Lopo Soares in Cannanor, which was

²⁵⁷ Christian Storch, "How the Pagans became 'convinced' about Christianity: Four Conclusions on the Relationship between Music and The Missions in Early Colonialism," *Música Discurso Poder*, ed. Maria do Rosário Girão Santos and Elisa Maria Lessa (Ribeirão: Húmus, 2012), 224.

accompanied by six trumpets and an organ in 1504 or 1505.²⁵⁸ The inauguration of the first Archbishop of Goa, Gaspar de Leão Pereira, was also celebrated with a ceremonial procession with music.²⁵⁹ Villancicos, chacotas, and cantigas from the Convento das M'ônicas were seen in Jesuit publications in Goa between 1609 and 1627. Some of the texts, including a play, were to be sung to formulas, while others, intended for celebrating the St Michael's day, to which a villancico in Guatemala and a mass in Bolivia are also dedicated,²⁶⁰ are scored polyphonically with parts for harp and viola.²⁶¹

In Jesuit's Goa mission, the institutionalization of musical exercises and ceremonial use could be observed in an early stage of Jesuits' settlement in the new land. By 1545, all boys studying in local church schools were obliged to attend. Local instruments were seen playing together with western instruments. This model of musicking could be seen comparable to Ricci's Chinese mission as a part of an accommodation strategy. Francesco Pasio, one key person in charge of the Japanese mission, writes from Goa in 1578 that in the Colégio de São Paulo:

“the Divine Office is celebrated in this church with as much solemnity and perfection as there can be, because to make the gentiles dismiss their own ceremonies and to make them seize the important meaning and affection of our Christianity and divine cult, the Fathers celebrate the Offices very solemnly, singing the Mass of the principal feasts with a deacon and sub deacon, and Vespers with five Fathers with copes,

²⁵⁸ Antonio Alexandre Bispo, *Grundlagen christlicher Musikkultur in der außereuropäischen Welt der Neuzeit. Der Raum des früheren portugiesischen Patronatsrechts* (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1988), 553.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 561.

²⁶⁰ Robert Stevenson, “European Music in 16th Century Guatemala,” *Musical Quarterly*, 50 (1964): 347.

²⁶¹ See: Maria Carmen D'Assa Castel-Branco, “The Presence of Portuguese Baroque in the Poetic Works of the Sisters of Santa Monica in Goa,” in *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, ed. Charles J. Borges, Oscar G. Pereira and Hannes Stubbe (New Delhi: Concept, 2000), 248–257.

employing very good music [performed by] orphans and new converts, who, numbering a little less than 100, remain in one part of the College, playing the organ and other instruments of the land.”²⁶²

Not only seen in Jesuit schools, to foster the general accommodation strategy, Jesuit missionaries in Goa and also in Mexico were told to use chant, then polyphony in singing to assist conversion. Polyphony was in fact introduced in Goa explicitly as a means for the musical seeding of villages and to increase the number of ‘heathen’ baptisms. The pedagogical success of the enterprise, in musical training if not necessarily in conversion, was borne out by the testimony of Joseph di Santa Maria from the last quarter of the 17th century, reporting on his visit to Goa:

“In that city (of Goa) I enjoyed many times listening to very beautiful music for feast days, especially that of St. Ignatius Loyola, which was celebrated with seven choirs and the sweetest sinfonia (instrumental pieces or sections) in the Professed House of the Fathers of the Society, where lies the body of St. Francis Xavier; and when I said that it was like being in Rome, I was that I was not mistaken, because the composition was that of the famous Carissimi that was brought to that place. I cannot believe how musically proficient are the Canarini (Goans and Konkans), and with what ease they perform.

²⁶² Original Text: “Et si celebra l'oficio divino in questa chiesa con tanta solennità e perfetione quanta possa essere ; impercioché per fare scordare alli gentili le cerimonie loro et fare che piglino grande concetto et afetione alla nostra religione Christiana et al culto di vino fanno li Padri l'oficio molto solennemente, cantando messa nelle feste principali con diácono e subdiacono, et véspero com cinque Padri com piviali, et tengono molto buona música de orfanelli e catechumini, quali se mantengo no in una parte di questo collegio e saranno poco meno di cento, e sonano órgano e altri instrumenti della terra.” In Josef Wicki, “Documenta indica: 1540-1549,” *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu XI (1577-1580)* (Rome: Apud “Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu,” 1948): 358-9. The translation is adopted from Victor Anand Coelho, “Music in new worlds,” *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter, John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 96.

There is no town or village of the Christians which does not have in its church an organ, harp, and a viola, and a good choir of musicians who sing for festivities, and for holy days, Vespers, masses and litanies, and with much cooperation and devotion.”²⁶³

In South America, the Guatemala and Puebla manuscripts from the 1580s to 1800s studied by Paul W. Borg contains a large and noteworthy collection of polyphonic Mass, motet, Magnificat, and hymns by Spanish and Portuguese composers. Works by Isaac, Mouton and Josquin reflected the musical fashion of Europe during the time of Counter Reformation in the New World.²⁶⁴ In Paraguay, in each parish there was a choir and orchestra of thirty or forty members, including trebles, tenors, altos and contraltos, four or six violins, six or eight bassoons and flageolets, two or three bass-viols, three or four harps, one or two organs, two or three bugles or horns; while some parishes boasted of a larger number of instruments. Manuscripts of the best composers of Spain and of Rome were sought for. Every day the Mass was accompanied by singing and playing. At the start, wood-wind or stringed instruments or both continued up to the Gospel.²⁶⁵ Within a few years’ time, polyphonic choral was seen in Masses with the use of western instruments, such as organs and harps. These instruments are also manufactured locally.²⁶⁶ In Guatemala, permanent

²⁶³ Original text: “Godei più volte in quella città con occasione di feste assai belle musiche, particolarmente in quella di S. Ignazio, che si celebrò a sette cori con suavissime sinfonie nella Casa Professa dei Padri della Compagnia, ove si trova il corpo di San Francesco Saverio; e dicendo, che mi pareva di stare in Roma, mi fu risposto che non m’ingannava, perché la composizione era del famoso Carissimi portata in quelle parti. Non può credersi quanto rieschino nella musica quei Canarini, come ci si esercitano, e con quanta facilità.” In Joseph di Santa Maria (Giuseppe Sebastiani), *Seconda spedizione all’Indie Orientali* (Venice, 1683, iii): 105. The translation and interpretations were adopted from Victor Anand Coelho, “Kapsberger’s Apotheosis... of Francis Xavier (1622) and the Conquering of India,” in *The Work of Opera: Genre, Nationhood, and Sexual Difference*, ed. Richard Dellamora and Daniel Fischlin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997): 43.

²⁶⁴ See: Paul W. Borg, *The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1985).

²⁶⁵ George O’Neill, *Golden Years on the Paraguay* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1934), 50.

²⁶⁶ For details of Jesuits’ local manufacturing of musical instruments, see: Luis Szarán and Jesús Ruiz Nestosa, *Música en las Reducciones Jesuíticas. Colección de Instrumentos de Chiquitos, Colección de Instrumentos de Chiquitos* (Asunción: Fundación Paracuaria, 1999).

Organist with a chantre was introduced in the new-built cathedral, 'who must always be expert enough to sing and conduct chant at the choir book stand.'²⁶⁷ Meanwhile, Amerindian choirs in Mexico had also become highly accomplished in singing polyphony and as copyists of European music.²⁶⁸

To come back to Jesuit's Mission in East Asia, Japan, which was another crucial Jesuit base in the East Asia. Matteo Ricci's friend and colleague, Francesco Pasio, the Vice Provincial of the Japanese missions of the Society of Jesus, writes from Goa in 1578 that in the city's Colégio de São Paulo, the Divine Office is celebrated in this church with as much solemnity and perfection as there can be, the Fathers celebrate the Offices very solemnly, singing the Mass of the principal feasts with a deacon and sub deacon, and Vespers with five Fathers with copes, employing very good music (performed by) orphans and new converts, who, numbering a little less than 100, remain in one part of the College, playing the organ and other instruments of the land.²⁶⁹

3.10. Towards Musicking - Functionalist's Interpretation of Musicking

To sum up the previous discussion on the use and the function of music, Merriam's principal functions of music have long been regarded as standard ethnomusicology research and his thinking about use and function of music was often cited. Merriam's list of functions ranges from emotional expression via aesthetic enjoyment and physical response to contribution to the integration of society.²⁷⁰ This leads to the further discussion by Bruno Nettl of whether music has not only one principal function in a society, "an expression

²⁶⁷ Robert Stevenson, "European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala," *Musical Quarterly*, 50 (1964): 343.

²⁶⁸ Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), xvi: 543 (s.v. 'Mexico').

²⁶⁹ Josef Wicki, "Documenta indica: 1540-1549," *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu XI (1577-1580)* (Rome: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu," 1948): 358-9.

²⁷⁰ See: Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Illinois: Northwestern University, 1964), 218-227. The complete list of ten functions: emotional expression, aesthetic enjoyment, entertainment, communication, symbolic representation, physical response, enforcing conformity to social norms, validation of social institutions and religious rituals, contribution to the continuity and stability of culture, contribution to the integrity of society.

or reflection or direct result of a central cultural core”.²⁷¹ Lastly, the turning from ethnomusicological perspective to cultural musicological perspective, as Lawrence Kramer described: to bring ‘a transition to the arena of hermeneutic practice via an element of language not traditionally reckoned’.²⁷²

Alongside with Merriam, Nettl, and Kramer, Martin Clayton formulates four central and universal functions of music: regulation of an individual’s emotional, cognitive or physiological state; mediation between self and other; symbolic representation; and coordination of action. Clayton explains the functions, “largely concerned with relations between the personal and the social”, the reason why music “can be described as a flexible tool for managing relationships between self and other”.²⁷³ Clayton’s theory may be from the perspective of music psychology, yet it also touches the very notion of whether there is one or a specific set of functions where music manages in specific contexts, to “articulate the experiences of their lives with the processes of their society.”²⁷⁴

The need for a more critical discussion over the functionalist approach of Jesuit musical activities brings the application of Small’s musicking theory. Christopher Small provides a thoughtful analysis of the social context of Western art music. Small takes a social construction stance in clarifying that music is a form of communal ritual through which social relations or meanings are enacted, sustained and contested, thus, musical meaning is both

²⁷¹ Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 251.

²⁷² Lawrence Kramer, “Signs Taken for Wonders Words - Music, and Performativity,” in *Word and Music Studies: Essays in Honor of Steven Paul Scher and on Cultural Identity and the Musical Stage*, ed. Scher, Steven P., Suzanne M. Lodato, Suzanne Aspden, and Walter Bernhart (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 37.

²⁷³ Martin Clayton, “The Social and Personal Functions of Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology*, ed. Susan Hallam, Ian Cross, and Michael Thaut (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 42.

²⁷⁴ Anthony Seeger, *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 128.

metaphorical representing and bears a resemblance to social relations and mythical. "Music is not a thing at all but an activity; something that people do. The apparent thing 'music' is a figment, an abstraction of the action, whose reality vanishes as soon as we examine it at it all closely."²⁷⁵ Small's musicking theory thus precipitated further discussions on music as a form of human behaviour.

Music, as a form of human behaviour, is, therefore, a gestural language or sign of ritualized story or myth telling through which groups of people express their understandings of the world and their places in it. Hence, music, and how music is used, is closely connected with issues of politics and identity. Small regards the social order within the Western art music as dysfunctional. The aim of proposing the term 'musicking' is, hence, to raise the awareness of the relativistic nature of their musical theories so that they can be better positioned to exert personal control over their musical lives. Small reminds us of the critical composition of 'music', which is not instruments or notations, but people. Music cannot exist without the involvement of human beings, just like any other performances and forms of art. Therefore, what we mean in 'music' or 'musicking' is eventually a chain reaction of different movements and involvements.

On a deeper level, it is easy to generalize Small's musicking theory into random and unconscious actions; yet, Small in his book pointed that, people were cultivated from their childhood in schools or in lessons to build up the belongings to 'our' music, which may refer to the 'real' music, and further use it as a benchmark of judging 'musical' or 'nonmusical'. Small further explains that if music is to explore, affirm and celebrate one's link with the great pattern, which connects the whole living world, then all musicking is serious

²⁷⁵ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 2.

musicking.’ Small also points out the importance of shaping ‘musicking’ through education, which laid the ground of identifying ‘our’ music from other music and eventually leads to the development of further musicking.²⁷⁶

Small’s musicking theory, in this regard, laid the foreground for further discussion on how music could be considered as a form of human behaviour:

“To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composition), or by dancing.”²⁷⁷

Small thus turned the far-flung discussion of ‘what music means to people’ into one single aspect of human musical behaviour. Although Small himself states that it is possible with his definition to “extend its meaning to what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else is gone”²⁷⁸, the concept of ‘musicking’ remains centred on music as a performance, and not to be broadened, as indicated by Small’s later remark that “[t]hey, too, are all

²⁷⁶ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 212. Small further explained in p.48:

‘This leads us to an idea that I later: that the way people relate to one another as they music is linked not only with the sound relationships that are created by the performers, not only with the participants’ relation to one another, but also with the participants’ relationships to the world outside the performance space, in a complex spiral of relationships, and it is those relationships, and the relationships between relationships, that are the meaning of performances.’

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁷⁸ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 9.

contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance.”²⁷⁹ Thus, performance could be regarded as the centre of musical behaviour.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 9.

4. *Xiqin Quyi* – the first Jesuit composition in China

4.1. Contextualizing *Xiqin Quyi*

Xiqin Quyi is a set of songs with Ricci's lyrics which has great literature value. From a comparative literature's perspective, Li Sher-shiueh (李爽學) in his book *Transwriting: Translated Literature and Late-Ming Jesuits* (譯述: 明末耶穌會翻譯文學論) contextualizes Ricci's lyrics. Li argues that *Xiqin Quyi* should be understood as a work of literature with the basis of transwriting. The term transwriting was developed from Walter Benjamin's *The Task of the Translator*, where the author considers translation as a form of art. Therefore, the primary objective of translation is not about communication, translation as a form of art is not to inform, to instruct or to delight readers; the art of translation is hence a futile procedure whose best possible outcome is the "inaccurate transmission of an inessential content". The work of translation should not seek to communicate the meaning of the original as the communication of original content is not in the least essential to reader's appreciation of it.²⁸⁰ Translation passes "from one language into another through a continuum of transformations,"²⁸¹ therefore, no translator needs to concern himself or herself very much with what the original means, or so Benjamin claims; rather, the translator's work should "ultimately serve the purpose of expressing the innermost relationship of languages to one another".²⁸²

To bring the understanding of transwriting to the lyrics of *Xiqin Quyi*, in its preface, Li notices some very ambassadorial use of Chinese writings: "they (the clock, the map, and the clavichord) are nothing precious, yet since they are from the Far West, they are different (from local products) (不足為珍: 然出自極西 ... 差覺異耳 ...)." Both clock and map were in fact significant

²⁸⁰ Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in *Selected Writings Volume 1 1913-1926*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press, 1996), 253-4.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 255.

representations of the highest European scientific achievements and craftmanships; therefore they are definitely precious, even in Europe. Unlike the clock and map, the clavichord was already seen common in Europe - but not in China. Ricci's preface of the eight songs underlined Wanli emperor's 'curious reaction' (皇上奇之), the emperor was interested as the clavichord 'sounded differently after touching' (撫之, 有異音), and later ordered his court musicians to learn how to play it.

Ricci gave two slightly different accounts of the composition of *Xiqin Quy*. One was in his Journal, where he stated that the court musicians have requested the lyrics so that they could explain the songs to their superior.²⁸³ The other version is the introduction to the eight songs, where the musicians have asked: 'the songs must have been played with lyrics of your country, we would like to know' (其奏必有本國之曲, 願聞之), Ricci answers:

“As for other songs/melodies, this visitor (i.e., I) do not know about this; I am only accustomed to some songs/melodies with philosophical texts. As of now I have translated their general meaning using literary Chinese, as follows. But although I have translated according to the meaning (of the words), in places I have not been able to make (the words) follow the original rhymes, since the sounds of the each place's language are different. (夫他曲, 旅人罔知, 惟習道語數曲, 今譯其大意, 以大朝文字, 敬陳於左。)”²⁸⁴

Li regards *Xiqin Quy* Ricci's second attempt in establishing his own Chinese literature after his *On Friendship* (交友論, 1595). When compared to *On*

²⁸³ FR, 134-135 (NN. 601).

²⁸⁴ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

Friendship, the trace of literality in *Xiqin Quyi* is even more obvious. The text of the songs can be considered as *canto*, also known as *canzone* (songs) – lyrical texts often accompanied by instruments.²⁸⁵ Therefore, by understanding the lyrical context of *Xiqin Quyi*, one shall not overlook the melodic function underlined in the writings.

Li took several notable samples from Ricci's eight songs. From the first song *My wish above* (吾願在上):

“when god shines the moon and the sun, it shines not to the private place,

(當使日月照，而照無私方矣！)

when god rains and snows, it falls not to the private field.

(常使雨雪降，而降無私田兮！)”²⁸⁶

Li notices the resemblance of these two lines to the lines from the *New Testament, Matthew 5:45*: “That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.” Li considers Ricci's paraphrasing and transwriting of ‘evil’ and ‘good’ into ‘private place’ and ‘private field’ due to the possible lack of original text, as well as for the need of paralleling the lyrical text in a neat and tidy Chinese lyrical format.

Ricci may have cited *topos* from the *Old Testament* as well. In Song number 6, *Inner balance* (胸中庸平):

“our physical bodies come (into the world),

²⁸⁵ FR, 134-135 (NN. 601).

²⁸⁶ Own translation. Based on John Thompson's translation, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017.

<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

(「吾赤身且來，)

then leave it;

(赤身且去，)

it is only virtue that can be buried with the remnants of our bodies,

(惟德殉我身之後也，)

as for the rest, who could take that with them?

(他物誰可之共歟！)」²⁸⁷

On the possible origin of Ricci's *Inner balance*, Li agrees with Pasquale D'Elia's hypothesis that these four lines correlate with the *Book of Job*, where in *Job* 1:21:

“And said, Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the LORD gave, and the LORD hath taken away; blessed be the name of the LORD.”²⁸⁸

Li further points the resemblance between these four lines and Ricci's earlier work *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (天主實義, Peking, 1603):

“Whether people be superior or inferior, they all enter this world naked and depart from it naked. Although we may have a thousand cases of gold stored away in a treasury when we are at the point of death, we can take nothing of it with us. Why, then, should we concern ourselves with it?”

²⁸⁷ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinguyi.htm>.

²⁸⁸ Pasquale D'Elia, "Musica e canti italiani a Pechino," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 30 (1955): 142.

(不論君子小人，咸赤身空出，赤身空返。臨終而去，雖遺金千笈，積在庫內，不帶一毫，奚必以是為留意哉？)”²⁸⁹

Further examples are given in the seventh song, *Shouldering two sacks* (肩負雙囊):

“Everyone on their shoulders carries two sacks.

(凡人肩負雙囊，)

They use the sack on their chest to carry others' faults,

(以胸囊囊人非，)

but use the sack on their back to carry their own evil deeds.

(以背囊囊己慝兮。)

They look down and it is easy to see other's evils,

(目俯下易見他惡，)

But they must turn their head to look at the sack on their back,

(回首顧後囊，)

and so they think their own shameful acts are insignificant!

(而覺自醜者希兮！)”²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ Text and translation from: Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (天主實義) ed. Thierry Meynard, trans. Douglas Lancashire, Peter Hu Kuo-chen (Chestnut Hill, MA : Institute of Jesuit Sources, Boston College, 2016), 254-255.

²⁹⁰ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

Li considers these lines as transcribed *exemplum* from *Vitae Patrum (De Vitis Patrum)*:

“Once there was a meeting in Scete when the fathers were discussing many things, including the way many of them were living their lives. Abba Pior, however, said nothing. After a while, he went out and filled up a bag with sand, which he dragged behind him, and put some more sand in a small basket, which he carried in front of him.

‘What is that supposed to mean?’ asked the other brothers when they saw what he was doing.

‘This bag which contains a great quantity of sand represents my sins, and see, I have pushed them away behind my back because I don't want to look at them or grieve or weep for them. And see, these few sins of my brother I put in front of my eyes and I go to a great deal of trouble to condemn him. But this way of judgment is not right. I should put the greater quantity of sins before my eyes, and think about them, and ask God to have mercy.’

When the fathers heard this, they said, ‘Truly this is the way of salvation.’”²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Original text: “Peracta congregatione semel in Scithi, dum patres de multorum vita & de rebus plurimis loquerentur, abbas Pior tacebat. Postea vero egressus tollens saccum impleuit eum arena, & portabat in dorso suo, & iterum in alio paruo panno misit alteram arenam, & portabat ante se. Videntes autem ceteri fratres, requisierunt ab eo, quod esset hoc exemplum ; & respondit, dicens : Iste saccus, qui habet multam arenam, mea peccata sunt, quoniam plurimae sunt iniquitates meae, & ecce dimisi ea post dorsum meum, nolens illa videre, vt pro illis doleam vel plangam. Et ecce pauca haec delicta fratris mei ante oculos meos posui, & crucior in ipsis condemnans fratrem. Sed non oportet sic iudicare, sed magis ante me adducere, & de ipsis cogitare, & rogare Deum, vt indulgeat mihi. Quod audientes, patres, dixerunt: In veritate haec est salutis.” From Heribert Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum. De vita et verbis seniorum sive historiae eremiticae* (Antwerp: ex officina Plantiniana, 1628), 520. English translation adopted from John E. Keller, L. Clark Keating, and Eric M. Furr, trans., *The Book of Tales by A.B.C. (El Libro de los exemplos por a.b.c)* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 17. The same story can be also found in other medieval *exemplum* collection, see also: Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Akademia scientiarum Fennica, 1969), 220: 4413.

Further in the same song:

To look at other's shortcomings one uses dragon (sharp) eyes;

(觀他短乃龍睛，)

to see one's own failings one has blind eyes.

(視己失即瞽目兮。)²⁹²

Li cites D'Elia's study on the use of 'dragon eyes', where D'Elia points that the translation may originally be adapted from *occhi di lince*²⁹³ or 'eyes of the lynx'. Ricci may have transformed (or transwritten) the European lynx into the Oriental dragon for the sake of cultural accommodation. In a similar fashion, *Shouldering two sacks* was written with metaphorical *paradeigmata*, which is not a direct translation of the exemplum, but paraphrased writing of the story. Further, in the same song, Ricci gives the example of *Mani* (默尼氏, *Mo Ni Shi*):

"The prophet Mani one day was excessively lashing out, reviling people.

(默泥氏一日濫刺毀人，)

Someone said, 'Are you really without sin ('defect')? Or thinking of muffling us?'

(或曰「汝獨無咎乎？抑思昧吾儕歟？」)

He said, 'There they are! Perhaps they are also important, only now I also myself forgive.'

²⁹² Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinguyi.htm>.

²⁹³ Pasquale D'Elia, "Musica e canti italiani a Pechino," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 30 (1955): 143.

(曰「有哉？或又重兮，惟今吾且自宥兮！」)²⁹⁴

In the art of transwriting, the story of ‘Mani’ is here used as a negative example. D’Elia suggests that ‘Mani’ shall be the Greek Philosopher Parmenides.²⁹⁵ However, it could refer to the founder of Manichaeism as well.²⁹⁶ Despite the ambiguity of the name, the story coincides with the Greek exempla. D’Elia spots a possible typo of Ricci’s - *reviling people* (濫刺毀人); ‘刺’ could mean stab in Chinese, but here it shall mean merely as a verbal form of insult and has nothing to do with bloodshed.²⁹⁷

Li regards the topic of ‘time and death’ the most outstanding theme among the eight songs. Three out of eight songs dealt with this topic directly: the second song - *A young shepherd wandering over the hills* (牧童遊山), the fifth song - *Regretting of an old age without virtue* (悔老無德) and the eighth song - *Destiny reaches in all directions* (定命四達). In addition to D’Elia’s analysis, Spence compares Ricci’s eighth song with Horace’s poems.²⁹⁸ Here Li notes Ricci’s line in *Destiny reaches in all directions*:

“But the rosy softness of spring flowers withers from morning to evening!

(春花紅潤，暮不若旦矣。)²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ John Thompson translated ‘默尼’ into ‘Mani’, see footnote no. 20: "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard," Music from the Time of Matteo Ricci, accessed November 18, 2016, <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

²⁹⁷ Pasquale D’Elia, “Musica e canti italiani a Pechino,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 30 (1955): 143.

²⁹⁸ Jonathan D. Spence, ‘Matteo Ricci and the Ascent to Peking,’ in his *Chinese Roundabout Essays in History and Culture* (New York: Norton, 1992), 49.

²⁹⁹ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

Shows significant similarity to Horace's Ode X from Book IV:

“nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae mutates, Ligurine, in
faciem verterit hispidam:”

“...the bloom that now outvies the blossom of the crimson rose has faded,
Ligurinus, and changed to a shaggy visage.”³⁰⁰

In the lyrics of *Destiny reaches in all directions*, Ricci further opened the question in response to the crudity of time:

“What is the use in making so many efforts to avoid the heat of summer?”

(何用勞勞，而避夏猛炎？)

Why take so many pains to avoid the inconveniences of the autumn wind?

(奚用勤勤，而防秋風不祥乎？)³⁰¹

Ricci answered this rhetorical question later with:

*“If you have a beautiful house, decorated with precious things, maybe
someone else will come and live in it.*

(縱有深室，青金明朗，外客或將居之。)

Is there anything you do not love about it?

³⁰⁰ Original Text and translation from Charles Edwin Bennett, *Horace: The Odes and Epodes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 324-325.

³⁰¹ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

(豈無所愛?)

However, none of the numerous trees in your garden, except for the pine and the catalpa, will survive after the funeral of the master.

(苑囿百樹，非松即楸，皆不殉主喪也。)³⁰²

Li notices the great resemblance of these three lines of lyrics to *The Odes* of Horace, Book II, ODE III, *Enjoy the Fleeting Hour* (Translation below):

“AEQVAM memento rebus in arduis s

Servare mentem, non secus in bonis

ab insolenti temperatam

laetitia, moriture Delli,

seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,

seu te in remoto gramine per dies

festos reclinatum bearis

interiore nota Falerni.

quo pinus ingens albaque populus

umbram hospitem consociare amant

ramis? quid obliquo laborat

³⁰² Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

lympa fugax trepidare rivo?

huc vina et unguenta et nimium breves

flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,

dum res et aetas et sororum

fila trium patiuntur atra.

cedes coëmptis saltibus et domo

villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,

cedes, et exstructis in altum

divitiis potietur heres.”

“REMEMBER, when life’s path is steep, to keep an even mind, and likewise, in prosperity, a spirit restrained from over-weening joy, Dellius, seeing thou art doomed to die, whether thou live always sad, or reclining in grassy nook take delight on holidays in some choice vintage of Falernian wine. Why do the tall pine and poplar white love to interlace their branches in inviting shade? Why does the hurrying water strive to press onward in the winding stream? Hither bid slaves bring wines and perfumes and the too brief blossoms of the lovely rose, while Fortune and youth allow, and the dark threads of the Sisters three. Thou shalt leave thy purchased pastures, thy house, and thy estate that the yellow Tiber washes: yea, thou shalt leave them, and an heir shall become master of the wealth thou hast heaped up high.”³⁰³

³⁰³ Original Text and translation from Charles Edwin Bennett, *Horace: The Odes and Epodes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 112-113.

From the phrase “Of the numerous trees in your garden, neither pine nor catalpa will die together with their master” (苑囿百樹，非松即楸，皆不殉主喪也), Li considers the writing to be outstanding among the eight songs. It was so well written that he suspects Ricci’s inspiration came actually from Horace’s poem. One good reason for this argument is that Horace’s works are often found in the curriculum of humanities in Jesuit colleges during Ricci’s student time, and Horace’s works are often used together with music.³⁰⁴

The following line, also the ending of the eighth song:

“All the riches you have accumulated with so much effort day after day will be enjoyed by your descendants, and squandered at once.”³⁰⁵

(幾聚後人樂侈奢一番，即散兮！)

Was again found similar to Horace’s poem, in *The Ode*, Book III, ODE XXIV, *The Curse of Mammon* (Translation below):

“ ... nescit equo rudis
haerere ingenuus puer
venarique timet, ludere doctior,

³⁰⁴ See: Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and learning 1300–1600* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) 204-205, and Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 8-9.

³⁰⁵ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

seu Gracco iubeas trocho,
seu malis vetita legibus alea,
cum periura patris fides
consortem socium fallat et hospites
indignoque pecuniam
heredi properet. scilicet improbae
crescunt divitiae; tamen
curtae nescio quid semper abest rei.”

“The freeborn lad, unpractised, knows not how to ride his steed; he fears to hunt, more skilled in games, whether you bid him try with Grecian hoop or rather with the dice the law forbids; while his perjured father defrauds his partner and his friends, and hastens to lay up store of money for his unworthy heir. His grains, ill-gotten, grow apace, ‘tis true, yet something is ever lacking to the fortune incomplete.”³⁰⁶

Li found a further resemblance to *The Ode* in Ricci’s fifth song, *Regretting of an old age without virtue* (悔老無德):

“Fortunately I am be given this day, today, shall it be made best use of and not wasted.

(幸獲今日一日，即亟用之勿失。)

³⁰⁶ Original Text and translation from Charles Edwin Bennett, *Horace: The Odes and Epodes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 256-257.

Alas! Rely not on tomorrow, for tomorrow is no guarantee; is it not a scam for the fools, to look at what tomorrow will be?"

(吁！毋許明日，明日難保；來日之望，止欺愚乎？)³⁰⁷

When compared to the last two lines in *The Ode*, Book I, ODE XI, *Enjoy the Passing Hour*:

“carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.”

“Reap the harvest of to-day, putting as little trust as may be in the morrow!”³⁰⁸

Li noticed the verb Ricci used is ‘獲’, meaning ‘harvest’, which is almost identical to the Latin verb used in Horace’s original – *carpo*. Ricci used the Chinese verb ‘許’ in the second line, meaning ‘promise’, again echoes with Horace’s *crēdē*, meaning ‘trust’.³⁰⁹

Although Li agrees with Spence’s comparison of *Xiqin Quyin* with *The Ode*,³¹⁰ Li disagrees Spence’s interpretation of ‘利’ and ‘內’ of the second song *A young shepherd wandering over the hills* (牧童遊山):

³⁰⁷ Own translation. Based on John Thompson’s translation, “Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard.” Accessed 20 March, 2017.

<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

³⁰⁸ Original Text and translation from Charles Edwin Bennett, *Horace: The Odes and Epodes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 32-22.

³⁰⁹ Li Sher-shiueh (李爽學), *Transwriting: Translated Literature and Late-Ming Jesuits* (譯述: 明末耶穌會翻譯文學論) (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2012), 55.

Charles Edwin Bennett, *Horace: The Odes and Epodes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 32.

³¹⁰ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin, 1985), 200.

“Wise words from the past and so is from the present points to the same thing, that wandering around helps not, yet settling down helps most.”

(遊外無益，居內有利矣！)³¹¹

Spence regarded ‘利’ as ‘利瑪竇’, Ricci’s Chinese name, and ‘內’ as ‘內宮’, the ‘interior palace’.³¹² Li refers this line to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola, where ‘利’ shall refer to the ‘achievement in virtue’. Li explains his understanding of the main foci of eight songs in three parts:

- 1) The importance of Heart (心).
- 2) Calmly endure fate with heart (安心受命).
- 3) Make good use of time in this life in order to prepare for the afterlife.³¹³

Last but not least, is Ricci’s attempt in introducing the catholic god to the Wanli emperor. This is further emphasized by the repeated use of the Chinese suffix ‘乎’ in the fourth song, *The Valiant Art of Virtue* (德之勇巧):

“The sound of Qin and Se, although elegant,

(琴瑟之音雖雅，)

may only fill a big hall,

(止能盈廣寓，)

³¹¹ Own translation. Based on John Thompson’s translation, “Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard.” Accessed 20 March, 2017.

<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

³¹² Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin, 1985), 200.

³¹³ Li Sher-shiueh (李爽學), *Transwriting: Translated Literature and Late-Ming Jesuits* (譯述：明末耶穌會翻譯文學論) (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2012), 56.

and bring harmony to friends;

和友朋，

further, it may go through the wall,

(徑迄牆壁之外，)

and brings pleasure to neighbours;

(而樂及鄰人，)

unlike the splendor sound of good virtue,

(不如德行之聲之洋洋，)

may it be limited by the borders of Four Seas?

(其以四海爲界乎?)

Even the whole world could not hold it,

(寰宇莫載，)

and it infiltrates like nine clouds of heaven,

(則猶通天之九重，)

floats it on top of stars, moon, and sun,

(浮日月星辰之上，)

which pleasures the god of heaven and favoured by the lord!"

(悅天神而致天主之寵乎?)³¹⁴

³¹⁴ Own translation. Based on John Thompson's translation, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017.
<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

Li regards this style of writing as a form of *erotesis* – the use of repeated rhetorical question as a way to reinforce the concept of ‘天主’ – Lord of the Heaven.³¹⁵

Li, D’Elia, and Spence examined the possible sources of *Xiqin Quyi* lyrics. From the given illustrations, Ricci’s lyrics have shown not only the stories from the catholic tradition; they have also shown Ricci’s ability in transforming (or transwriting) foreign images into comprehensible metaphors for the Chinese readership – a remarkable accomplishment under the model of an expert mediator under Eric Ash’s proposition. One may consider this as part of Matteo Ricci’s expert musicking in the context of Jesuit’s accommodation strategy in Ming China.

4.2. Reconstructing *Xiqin Quyi* – Overview

A detailed analysis on *Xiqin Quyi* pronunciations is conducted during this research as an attempt to reconstruct *Xiqin Quyi*. The first part of this attempt focuses on the textual-phonological correspondences, and is comprised in three steps:

1. Convert all pronunciations underlying the lyrics of the *Xiqin Quyi* into LMGH with reference to the XREMZ. The conversions of pronunciations are written in Romanized characters with tonal markings – as provided in XREMZ.
2. Make audio recordings of all eight songs of the *Xiqin Quyi*, with pronunciations of LMGH, in a steady tempo.

³¹⁵ Li Sher-shiueh (李爽學), *Transwriting: Translated Literature and Late-Ming Jesuits* (譯述: 明末耶穌會翻譯文學論) (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2012), 57.

3. Analyse the audio recordings of *Xiqin Quyí* with the linguistic program PRAAT, special focus given to the tonal values of the spoken sounds.

The second layer of the analysis is an eclectic research on a phonological-musical dimension. All the texts of *Xiqin Quyí* are transcript into their equivalent musical notations, as stated in de Ursis's letter; therefore, every LMGH pronunciation has its equivalent Chinese character and musical notations. The transcription refers to the drawing of these musical notations, character by character, they are then compared with the tonal patterns in graphical form generalized from PRAAT. For a clearer understanding, the five phonetic tones in XREMZ are compared with their four corresponding prosodic tones.

The objectives of this two-layered analysis are:

1. To reconstruct the sounds of LMGH in *Xiqin Quyí*, special attention given to the tonal values.
2. From various sources, early Jesuits had prior musical knowledge in learning LMGH, but from the Chinese text of *Xiqin Quyí*, one cannot tell if they were pronounced in the standard of LMGH. This research shall provide the most detailed and accurate examination.
3. Last but not least; the eclectic research of comparing the musical notation system with tonal pattern could give clear insights of LMGH tonal values, as well as possible connotations between tonal values and melodic pattern.

As a reminder, this process of reconstruction is mainly adopted as a means to investigate the 'expert musicking' of Matteo Ricci before undergoing further

discussions on his role as an expert mediator in relation to his communicative and mediating competence that may have attributed also by his musicking.

4.3. Romanizing the Pronunciation

Not only Matteo Ricci, but later Jesuit missionaries too, often experienced huge difficulties in speaking Chinese. In a letter dated October 1769, Jesuit Francois Bourgeois mentioned the enormous frustration of mastering the Chinese language pronunciation:

“...Ce qui sera surtout et éternellement un écueil pour tout Européen, c’est la prononciation. Elle est d’une difficulté insurmontable. D’abord, chaque mot peut se prononcer sur cinq tons différents, et il ne faut pas croire que chaque ton soit si marqué, que l’oreille le distingue aisément. Ces monosyllabes passent d’une vitesse étonnante, et de peur qu’il ne soit trop aisé de les saisir à la volée, les Chinois font encore je ne sais combien d’élisions qui ne laissent presque rien de deux monosyllabes. D’un ton aspiré, il faut passer de suite à un ton uni; d’un sifflement, à un ton rentrant; tantôt il faut parler du gosier, tantôt du palais, presque toujours du nez. J’ai récité au moins cinquante fois mon sermon devant mon domestique, avant que de le dire en public.”³¹⁶

The first breakthrough of Jesuit's quest of Chinese learning came in 1594. Together with Ricci, Lazzaro Cattaneo applied his musical knowledge in giving individual Chinese character translations and romanizations.³¹⁷ Cattaneo was

³¹⁶ François Bourgeois, Letter to Madam ?, 15 October 1769, in Isabelle Vissiere and Jean-Louis Vissiere, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine par des missionnaires jésuites 1702-1776* (Paris : Garnier-Flammarion, 1979) 468-470.

³¹⁷ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 249.

the first Jesuit to understand the standardized system of tones used in LMGH; he thus invented a new system of romanization using a series of accents written over each syllable.³¹⁸ Jesuit Gabriel de Magalhães noted in his eulogy:

“... above all he opened the way for the newly arrived Padres with a vocabulary in which he not only taught a great number of phrases, but the tones since he was the first to discover this secret of the language, that which had until then given the Padres many errors which they did not realize, something very easy since the same word, varying only the accents on the syllables, and giving it this or that tone, had four and five and sometimes more meanings.”³¹⁹

With the Romanized pronunciations, Jesuits' progress in LMGH learning is greatly facilitated. On the actual use of Cattaneo's system, Sabatino de Ursis writes that: 'with one syllable, for example, 'Pa', we can say more than two hundred different letters that mean different things... because of all of the difficult consists in the variety of tones, each syllable having nine varieties of *voce*.'³²⁰ Cattaneo's Romanization of LMGH was soon accepted and later Jesuit superiors even suggested that new recruits arriving China shall have 'some

³¹⁸ Matteo Ricci wrote that Sebastião Fernandes, Lazzaro Cattaneo and Ricci himself tried to discover the 'secret' of mastering Chinese language. Ricci wrote that Cattaneo was able to decipher the tones 'with the music he knew' (Original text: Cattaneo che, con la musica che sapeva). See FR, 32-33 (NN. 526).

³¹⁹ Translation and summary adopted from Liam Matthew Brockey, "The Harvest of the Vine: The Jesuit missionary Enterprise in China, 1579-1710" (PhD diss., Brown University, 2002), 320. Original document see: Gabriel de Magalhães, Partial Annual Letter entitled *1640 Residencia de Hamcheu*, Hangzhou, 30 August 1641, JAA 49-V-12: fol. 479r.

³²⁰ Summary adopted from Liam Matthew Brockey, "The Harvest of the Vine: The Jesuit missionary Enterprise in China, 1579-1710" (PhD diss., Brown University, 2002), 321. Original document see: Sabatino de Ursis to the (Italian Assistant?), Peking (or 'Citta di Cambalu nel Cataio'), 23 August 1608, ARSI Jap-Sin 14-II: fol. 316v. It is important to note that the nine tones Ricci mentioned indicates that Ricci was learning not Mandarin, but Cantonese or another dialect which has more than four tones in Mandarin Chinese. The official speech used in Peking shall be Guanhua.

fundamentals of music for perfectly learning the Chinese tones, where the force of this language lies.³²¹

4.4. Xi Ru Er Mu Zi

Three other Chinese dictionaries were already made before Trigault's XREMZ, namely Ruggieri and Ricci's *Português-Chinês* (葡漢辭典, 1585-1586), Ricci and Cattaneo's *Xiwen Pinyin Hanyu Zidian* (西文拼音漢語字典, 1598), and Ricci's *Xi Zi Qi Ji* (西字奇蹟, 1606). *Xiwen Pinyin Hanyu Zidian* is long lost, and the other two are not comprehensive enough to cover the complexity of LMGH pronunciation. From Jesuits' Chinese learning path, it is obvious that XREMZ was not a solo work of Trigault, but the summary of all earlier Jesuits' Chinese understandings and scholarship, including Ricci's. In the preface of XREMZ, Trigault writes: 'Yet I am here merely to recite previous scholarly works; the real pioneers are indeed Matteo Ricci, Lazzaro Cattaneo, and Diego Pantoja.'³²² XREMZ is therefore already an inherited collection of long evolved Jesuits' Chinese knowledge.

To give a short overview of the previous academic efforts in researching the Jesuit's Chinese knowledge in late Ming China, Chinese linguist Zhang Meilan (張美蘭) has provided an inclusive discussion on LMGH tones based on the historical readings outside China in 19th century.³²³ Linguist Weldon South Coblin presents a concise comparison of different Jesuit Romanization of LMGH pronunciation.³²⁴ Since the 1980s, Chinese linguistic scholars in the field of LMGH phonological studies have been dealing with the possible origin of

³²¹ Ibid. Original document see: Nicolò Longobardo, *Appontamentos a cerca da Ida do nosso Pe. Procurador a Roma*. Nanxiong, 8 May 1613, ARSI Jap-Sin 113: fol. 303r.

³²² Original text: "然亦述而不作，敝會利西泰、郭仰鳳、龐順陽實始之。" Own translation.

³²³ See: Zhang Meilan (張美蘭), *Ming Qing Guanhua Studies Based On Foreign Documentations* (明清域外官話文獻語言研究) (Changchun: Northeast Normal University Press, 2011).

³²⁴ Weldon South Coblin, "Notes On the Sound System of Late Ming Guanhua," *Monumenta Serica* 45 (1997): 261-307.

LMGH koine; early scholars believe that the LMGH refers to a language of the area near the early Ming Capital city Nanking (南京) and it remains to be the standard language from 15th century onwards after the Capital is moved to Beijing (北京).³²⁵ Similar proposals suggest a language form, which is associated with the speech of the upper Central Plains or Zhongzhou (中州) area, centred in the Yellow River watershed around Luoyang (洛陽).³²⁶

To bring the LMGH discourse into the understanding of early Jesuit's Chinese language understanding, XREMZ came into the spotlight of Chinese linguistic research in the 1930s, where Luo Changpei (羅常培) suggested that the Romanization of XREMZ was mainly based on Pekingese.³²⁷ However, this suggestion was countered by later linguists, where Lu Zhiwei (陸志韋) suggested a possible origin of Shanxi (山西) dialect for two main reasons: XREMZ was published in Shanxi province, and if LMGH was indeed a Nankingese-based koine, then the XREMZ must reflect a southern-tone rather than a northern tone.³²⁸ Yang Fu-mien (楊福綿), who specializes in Chinese dialectology, suggests in "The Ming *Guanhua* as presented in the Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci (羅明堅、利瑪竇《葡漢辭典》所記錄的明代官話)" that, two Italian authors have developed a basic Romanization system to help the Jesuits to learn to speak Mandarin (LMGH); yet, Yeung also notes that, early Jesuits have noticed the difference between Northern and Southern dialects in the Chinese speaking world, "By comparing the phonological and lexical features of the dialect, as described by Ruggieri, with those of the Northern dialect, the official speech of the late Ming dynasty

³²⁵ Endo Mitsuaki (遠藤光曉), "翻譯老乞大・朴通事裡的漢語聲調 (Translating the Tones of Chinese Language in *Nogeoldae* and *Bak Tongsa*)", *Essays on linguistics (語言學論叢)* 13 (1984): 181-182.

³²⁶ Li Xinkui (李新魁), "On the Standard Tone of Cotemporary Common Language of Chinese (論近代漢語共同語的標準音)" in *Collection of Li Xinkui's Works in Linguistics (李新魁語言學論集)* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1994), 152-156. (Total 146-162).

³²⁷ Luo Changpei (羅常培), "The Contribution of the Jesuits on Phonetics (耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻)", *國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology)* 1 (1930): 297.

³²⁸ See: Lu Zhiwei (陸志韋), "The Sound presented in Nicolas Trigault's *Xi Ru Er Mu Zi* (金尼閣西儒耳目資所記的音)", *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies (燕京學報)* 33 (1947): 115-128.

is proved to be not based on the Northern Beijing dialect, but, most probably based on a commonly accepted Southern dialect of Chinese language, more specifically the dialect of Nanking and its nearby environs".³²⁹ On the term *Guanhua*, Matteo Ricci explicitly denoted the source by the term "Quonhoa" (= *Guanhua*) in his journals, which suggests a great possibility that the language Ricci and his fellows learnt was indeed LMGH.³³⁰

Therefore, not only could this prove that the Chinese language which the Jesuits learned was indeed LMGH, its root could be traced back to a Southern koine of Chinese spoken language. The Southern-based *Guanhua* could be later confirmed in the Jesuits' narrative by the development of "a completely different dictionary, namely, a Chinese-Portuguese dictionary" during the winter of 1598.³³¹ With Jesuit companion Lazzaro Cattaneo (郭居靜, 1560-1640), a practiced musician, who was able to note the tonal variations, Cattaneo and Ricci compiled an alphabetically ordered vocabulary, which included Romanization with diacritical marks for the five tones.³³² The use of music is thus utilized to create a system of accentuation for transcribing Chinese terms, which have noticeably improved the missionaries' Chinese learning curve.³³³

In the introduction of the first chapter of the *Pu* (譜, or diagram) in XREMZ, Trigault writes: 'My friend Matteo Ricci, first came to this land, have had a hard time learning Chinese; fortunately Lazzaro Cattaneo is good at the theory of

³²⁹ Yang Fu-mien (楊福綿), "The Ming *Guanhua* as presented in the Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci (羅明堅、利瑪竇《葡漢辭典》所記錄的明代官話)," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* (中國語言學報) 5 (1995): 71.

³³⁰ Lu Guoyao (魯國堯), "Ming *Guanhua* and the Problem of its Fundamental Dialect (明代官話及其基礎方言問題)" in *A Personal Anthology of Lu Guoyao* (魯國堯自選集) (Henan: Henan Science Technology Publishing House, 1994), 294-295.

³³¹ Mentioned by Ricci himself in his memoirs, these marks borrowed by Ricci are reported to have been invented by ancient Greek scholars of Alexandria. See: Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, *Dizionario Portoghese-Cinese* (葡漢詞典) ed. John W. Witek (魏若望) (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, 2001), 178.

³³² These marks borrowed by Ricci are reported to have been invented by ancient Greek scholars of Alexandria. *Ibid.*, 185.

³³³ FR 2, 32-33.

music, and is quite good at hearing, and thus have enlightened me.³³⁴ Although no musical notations are found in XREMZ, in a letter dated 23rd August 1608, Ricci's colleague Sabatino de Ursis (熊三拔, 1575-1620) provided in his correspondent an example of the variety of characters and meanings for the syllable "Pa," which was put together with a diagram of musical notes for pronouncing each variation of the syllable:



Figure N1³³⁵

From de Ursis's letter, it is evident that the musical notations were marked in the mode of D Dorian scale, namely, D E F G A B C D, and different pitches of notations are linked in the style of *Ligature*, giving conceivable relative rhythmic values and tonalities. Two linked half notes C are used to represent the 'ˊ' (清, *Qing*) tone, ligatured half note D with eighth notes C and B to represent 'ˋ' (一上, *Yishang*), ligatured half note C with eighth notes D and E to represent 'ˊ' (母去, *Muqu*), half notes C and D with ligature to represent 'ˋ' (入, *Ru*), half note A with eighth notes G and A with ligature for 'ˋ' (第濁, *Dizhuo*).

³³⁴ Original text: “問答云：“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。” in “Introduction to translation, First Volume (譯引首譜)”, XREMZ.

³³⁵ ARSI Jap-Sin 14-II:316v.

The tones and *ligature* presented in de Ursis's letter shed light on a simulation of LMGH pronunciations. This is further discussed in chapter 4.5. As linguist Takata has previously examined, Jesuits after Ricci also adopted musical notations in learning Chinese. Similar to the musical notations found in de Ursis's letter, The Vatican Library procures an early manuscript of Chinese-Latin dictionary, *Borgia Cinese* 475, it was the possession of Italian sinologist Antonio Montucci (1762-1829) and is later procured by Cardinal Antonelli and Sir George Leonard Staunton (1737-1801). In the *Operis ratio et usus*, the five tone values of *Guanhua* are demonstrated clearly with illustrated musical notations. The example used in the dictionary is 'ia', and under *musica possit aliquoliter describere hos tonas sic*, in the key of C major, a whole note B is used to represent 'ˊ' (清, *Qing*) whole note E for 'ˆ' (第濁, *Dizhuo*), eighth notes D-C-B-A for 'ˋ' (一上, *Yishang*), eighth notes G-A-B-C for 'ˊ' (母去, *Muqu*), eighth notes F-G for 'ˋ' (入, *Ru*):³³⁶



Figure N2³³⁷

The two figures share extraordinary similarities in tonal markings (except for 'ˆ' 第濁, *Dizhuo*), therefore one can argue that even though the musical notation system was not exactly the same, a musical notation system had definitely been developed by the Jesuits in China since late Ming time and the practice carries on throughout the Jesuit's residency in China.

³³⁶ Takata Tokio (高田時雄) "A Brief Study of Tones in Late Ming *Guanhua* (明末官話調值小考)", *Essays on linguistics* (語言學論叢) 29 (2004): 147-148.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

In a manuscript 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 to their accents), Ricci requested that these “accents” or marks (of Chinese pronunciation) be used by his fellow Jesuits for better clarity in written communication.³³⁸ Up to now, this work has not been rediscovered, nevertheless, it was apparently mentioned later by Daniello Bartoli (1608-1685), who calls it *Vocabulario Sinicoeuropeo* (Chinese-European Vocabulary) and is also named as *Dictionarium Sinicum*.³³⁹

Nicolas Trigault arrived in Macao in 1610, the same year Ricci died in Beijing. Trigault compiled the XREMZ - literally translated as “An Aid for the Ears and Eyes of Western Scholars” (an audio-visual aid). It was first published in Hangzhou in 1626. Trigault also adopted some modification on the Romanization system devised by Ruggieri and Ricci in the new dictionary. Given the fact that the target audience of *Xiqin Quyī* was the Chinese Emperor or other members of the Imperials, and later the Chinese scholars, it is highly likely that the basis of the Chinese pronunciation in XREMZ is LMGH. XREMZ could be considered as the assortment of several Jesuits’ Chinese knowledge and scholarship, including Ricci’s, and thus shall be the best dictionary available to reconstruct Jesuit’s understanding of Chinese pronunciations (LMGH) in Late-Ming China.

³³⁸ Yves Camus, “Exchange of learning yet failed encounter: Behind challenges, the Acta Pekinensia, an unpublished manuscript” (paper presented at the 4th World Conference on Sinology 2014 - “The Exchange of Learning between ‘East’ and ‘West’: 400 Years in Retrospect”, Beijing, September 6–7, 2014).

³³⁹ Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, *Dizionario Portoghese-Cinese (葡漢詞典)* ed. John W. Witek (魏若望) (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, 2001), 185.

4.5. On Tones and Ligature

To bring the XREMZ and Ursis's diagram of musical notes to the understanding of LMGH Tones, and the further development of tone-articulations, a brief introduction on the art of arranging tones in the Chinese literature, especially in classic poems, would be helpful in understanding the Jesuits' learning strategy.

Long since the Northern and Southern dynasties (南北朝, 420-589 AD), Chinese literati such as Zhou Yong (周顥) and Shen Yue (沈約) proposed the concept of integrating the Four Tones (四聲), namely *Ping* (平), *Shan* (上), *Qu* (去), and *Ru* (入) into Chinese artistic writings. Shen later summarized his proposition with the concept of *Babing* (八病), namely the Eight Defects – eight case studies of prosodic violations that undermine the aesthetics and harmony of Chinese poems. These rules are later known as *Sisheng babing* (四聲八病, Four tones and eight defects) - A set of prosodic rules that governs perfection of poetic writings typically in pentasyllabic poems. The Eight Defects are:³⁴⁰

1. *Ping tou* (平頭, Level head), when the first and second, second and seventh syllables are in the same tone.
2. *Shang wei* (上尾, Raised tail), when the fifth and tenth syllables are in the same tone.
3. *Feng yao* (蜂腰, Wasp waist), when the second and fifth syllables within a single line of poem share the same tone.
4. *He xi* (鶴膝, Crane's knee), within a poem, the fifth and fifteenth syllables are in the same tone.

³⁴⁰ David R. Knechtges, Taiping Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature (vol. 2)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 993-994.

5. *Da yun* (大韻, Major rhyme), when the final syllable of a poem rhymes with the main rhyme of the poem.
6. *Xiao yun* (小韻, Minor rhyme), when the final syllable of a poem rhymes with another syllable in the preceding line.
7. *Pang niu* (旁紐, Lateral ligature), when the same syllable initials are repeated in a couplet.
8. *Zheng niu* (正紐, Direct ligature), when the initial and final (of a syllable) are repeated in a couplet with different tones.

The Eight Defects could therefore be further divided into two main groups: the first four defects challenge the combination of tones, and the latter four deals with the combination of the Initial Consonants (聲母) and the Final Consonants (韻母). The eight rules represent the highest achievement of the Chinese literature aesthetic and are celebrated by numerous Chinese literati.

To better integrate the understanding of tones and *ligature*, the combination of four tones creates one set of *ligature*. This is known as *Sisheng yinui* (四聲一紐, Four tones as one *ligature*), first proposed by Shen Yue:

‘The general understanding of *Ping*, *Shan*, *Qu*, and *Ru*, are the collective terms of the four tones, for instance the syllable 'Zheng' could be pronounced in four different tones; Chinese characters are assigned to tones, and tones are assigned to characters, it is a natural norm to have pronunciations based on the combination of tones and characters. Consequently the tones need different characters to form words, and the arrangement of tones produce *ligature*. Thousands of tones and

thousands of *ligatures* flow freely in our conversations, but the four tones are like the tracks of wheels, how can we not follow the tracks?’³⁴¹

Shen’s metaphorical use of the term ‘tracks’ may seem ambiguous, but his idea was clear; annotated by linguist Siu Chun Ho (蕭振豪), Shen referred ‘tone’ as the four tones (*Ping, Shan, Qu, and Ru*), and the arrangement of tones produce *ligature*. Shen’s understanding of tones and *ligature* based on individual syllables is unprecedented – rather than referring the four tones to different characters, Shen referred the four tones to syllables instead, and since all Chinese syllables, regardless of their written form, could be pronounced in at least four different tones, the ‘track’ of the four tones is indeed the *ligature*.³⁴² The concept of *ligature*, alongside notions of prosodic attentions in artistic writings, should not be considered exclusive to the European musical tradition, their importance in the Chinese lyrical aesthetics is equally, if not more, evident.

On tones, this research reconstructs Ricci’s eight songs based on XREZM tones, where five tones, instead of four are observed. To avoid confusion and to clarify the distinctions, it should be reminded that the five tones in Jesuit’s XREZM are phonetic tones based on romanized phonetics in assimilating LMGH pronunciations, while the four tones in Chinese poems and prose are undeniably prosodic tones with the aim of proficiency in Chinese literature. Pointedly, to associate the four prosodic tones with the five XREZM tones, linguist Tokio Takata (高田時雄) identifies *Qing* (清) and *Zhuo* (濁) tones in

³⁴¹ Original Text: “且天平上去入者，四聲之總名也，征整政只者，四聲之實稱也。然則名不離實，實不遠名，名實相憑，理自然矣。故聲者逐物以立名，紐者因聲以轉注。萬聲萬紐，縱如來言：但四聲者，譬之軌轍，誰能行不由軌乎？” From Kukai (空海), *Wenjing mifu lun huijiao huikao* (文鏡秘府論彙校彙考), ed. Lu Shengjiang (盧盛江). (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2006), vol. 1, 286. Own translation.

³⁴² Siu Chun Ho (蕭振豪), "The Origins of Theories of Versification in Early Medieval China from the Perspective of Chinese Historical Phonology (從音韻學窺探六朝隋唐詩律理論之起源)" (PhD diss., Kyoto University, 2015), 97-98.

XREMZ as the higher and lower variations of the prosodic *Ping* (平) tone retrospectively.³⁴³

Previously mentioned, the concept of *ligature* is evident in Chinese artistic writings. Similarly, the musically connected descriptions of tones created by Matteo Ricci and his fellows shed light on Jesuits' learning strategy. At the same time, the concept of *ligature* provides a conceivable approximation on LMGH pronunciation. Although without the actual musical notations this research has examined, Takata made his assumption, that the symbols used to label the five tones, namely *Qing* (清, ˊ), *Zhuo* (濁, ˋ), *Shang* (上, ˊ), *Qu* (去, ˋ) and *Ru* (入, ˋ) in XREMZ are indeed simulations of the actual tones based on their corresponding set of musical notations. Takata also acknowledges if the musical notations could be found and studied, it will be vital in simulating the actual tones of LMGH.³⁴⁴

This research is consequently part of an effort to make such simulation possible. However, *Xiqin Quyi* lyrics were written not according to the rules of 'Four tones and eight defects', as mentioned in chapter 4.1, the lyrics are in fact the transwritings of early catholic teachings. Therefore if prosodic rules are to be applied to the examination of Riccis' artistic writing, cases of prosodic violations are guaranteed.

Nevertheless, as *ligature* is present both in the Jesuits' writings and Chinese literature, they resembled similar, but different functions. For Matteo Ricci and his fellows, the use of *ligature* in the style of musical notations gave the Europeans an upper hand in mastering the Chinese tones - crucial in learning

³⁴³ Takata, Tokio (高田時雄) "A Brief Study of Tones in Late Ming Guanhua (明末官話調值小考)", *Essays on linguistics (語言學論叢)* 29 (2004): 146.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

the Chinese language (LMGH). As for the Ming Chinese literati, *ligature*, in the style of different combinations of the tones (*Ping, Shan, Qu, and Ru*) according to prosodic rules symbolized the highest achievement in Chinese poetry and prose writings. Despite the different functions, their references to tones are remarkably similar.

A full phonetic simulation of Ricci's *Xiqin Quy* based on the five phonetic tones given in XREMZ, together with a full classification of their corresponding four prosodic tones after Takata's model is presented in Appendix II for the analysis. As explained in the following chapter, the reconstruction is conducted by transcribing *Xiqin Quy* with XREMZ, as well as the musical notations presented in de Ursis's letter.

4.6. Reconstructing *Xiqin Quy* with Xi Ru Er Mu Zi

Although XREMZ has provided conceivable indications in labelling the LMGH pronunciations, it means no equivance to the actual LMGH speaking. The attempt to achieve the 'perfect' reconstruction in 'standard' LMGH is accordingly impossible, what this research wishes to achieve is the proximity; based on the phonetic reconstruction, this thesis aims to make the closest possible picture of how the music of *Xiqin Quy* looks like, if not sounds like.

By realizing the nature of this reconstruction, the scope of this process could be further narrowed down into the 'phonetics', 'tone' and 'tonal pattern' – 'phonetics' as provided in XREMZ, 'tone' as indicated in de Ursis's letter, and 'tonal pattern' as the combined analysis of the 'phonetics' and 'tone'.

This process thus turns individual tone values into a tonal pattern, which could be considered a large step closer towards the proximity of the reading and singing of Matteo Ricci's *Xiqin Quyi* – crucial parts of examining the expert musicking this thesis wishes to attest. The reconstruction of *Xiqin Quyi* could hence be seen as the latest addendum of academic research in understanding the Jesuits' first musical work composed, played, sung and recited in the Chinese language.

To understand the importance of this reconstruction, or reaching proximity of understanding *Xiqin Quyi*, I argue the musicking of Ricci and his fellow Jesuits was not random musicking, but expert musicking – the reconstruction allows the closer examination of the 'doings' of Ricci and his colleagues in terms of expert mediator – one cannot assume the expert mediator status before understanding the nature of the 'doings', one may eventually reconsider Ricci's role as an expert mediator in terms of his expert musicking: musicking for diplomatic function, musicking in preaching the emperor, and most of all, musicking in mastering the Chinese language.

Thankfully, the Jesuit dictionary XREMZ exhibited rather sensible indications of Chinese tonalities with five tones (五聲/五音), with comprehensive Romanization of pronunciations. They are also comparable to the Chinese pentatonic registers in music, namely *Shang* (商, = sol), *Jue* (角, = la), *Zhi* (徵, = do), *Yu* (羽, = re), *Gong* (宮, = mi). I notice the notations found in de Ursis's letter in the scale of G-A(B)-C-D-E (in the mode of D Dorian scale), which is very close to the Chinese pentatonic scale. As previously mentioned, the five tones of XREMZ could be distributed into the four prosodic tones *Ping*, *Shan*, *Qu*, and *Ru* under Takata's model; this research has identified all the syllables in the four tones and labelled them as P, S, Q, R retrospectively, the full result is presented in Appendix II. Through understanding this resemblance, one may

draw a much clearer picture of the Jesuits' understanding of Chinese tonalities not only in notations but also in sound.

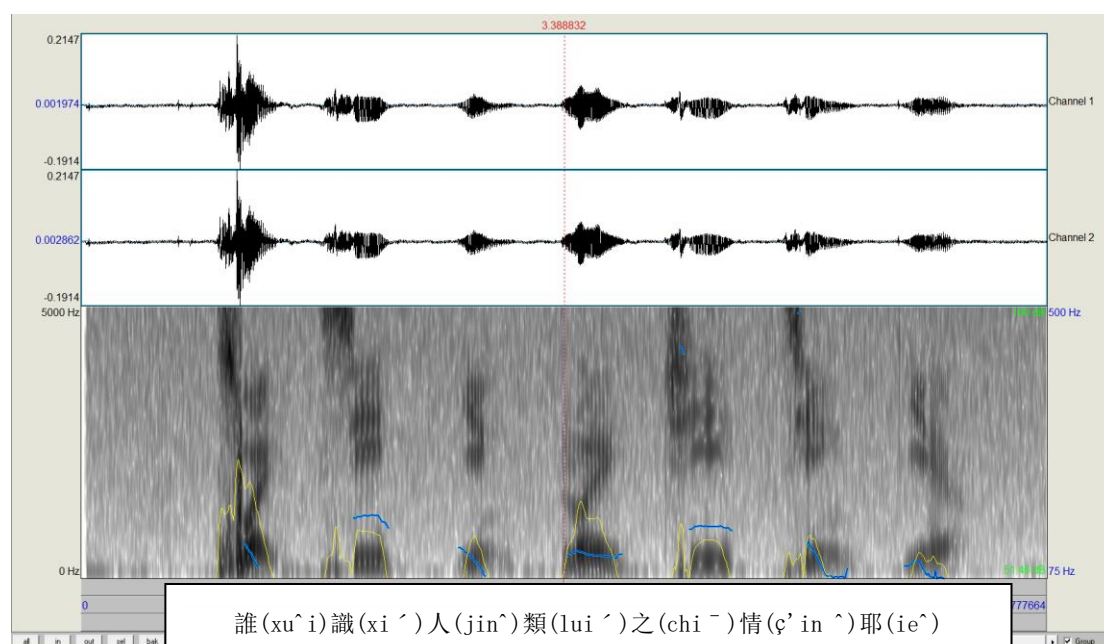
On the sound of *Xiqin Quyi*, the transcription of 'Pa' is used in de Ursis's letter, its various tones are identical to the pronunciations and intonations provided in XREMZ (except '肥' with the pronunciation 'Pa-', which does not exist in the dictionary). The dictionary may therefore provide the abreast most accurate Chinese phonetics and tones in accordance with Jesuits' Chinese understanding.³⁴⁵ Consequently, even the reconstruction of *Xiqin Quyi* may achieve merely 'proximity', the process provides a breakthrough in researching the use of *Xiqin Quyi*, and reconsidering Ricci's role as an expert mediator in correlation with expert musicking.

To recap the process of this reconstruction, the lyrics of *Xiqin Quyi* are first recorded and then analysed with PRAAT. The recordings are made not upon their equivalent musical notations, but purely from XREMZ's given phonetics; this gave neither the room for examining the noises when pronouncing the phonetics, nor the accent of the pronunciations. Just like a read-out of the International Phonetic Alphabets (IPA) of a language without any audial assistance. As a reminder, this process means no equivalence to the actual spoken language (LMGH) by the Jesuits more than 400 years ago, but a means to understand Ricci's expert musicking.

³⁴⁵ Huang Tsufang (黃資芳), "Comparison of Tonal Marks and Descriptions of Xizi Qiji and Arte de la Lengua Mandarina ('西字奇蹟' 與 '華語官話語法' 的聲調記錄之比較)" (MA diss., National Taiwan Normal University, 2013), 81-82.

4.6 Collaboration with PRAAT

By using the linguistic software PRAAT, a clear tonal diagram of all *Xiqin Quyi*'s lyrics may be demonstrated (based on the phonetics of XREMZ). The figure below gives a brief outlook how this reconstruction looks like, the text used is from the first line of the first song 'My Promises are Above' (吾願在上), with Pitch Value Parameter set at 75 – this is a value which covers the range of most human voices:



The blue lines indicate the pitch and yellow the intensity of speech. Since the musical notations in de Ursis's letter relate only the tones of the LMGH, therefore only the pitch value (blue line) from PRAAT is used in evaluating the LMGH tones. By doing so, one can at least 'see' the lyrics through a phonetic perspective which may lead to the further investigation of possible expert musicking in *Xiqin Quyi*.

I shall reify that the reconstructed *Xiqin Quyi* shall not be considered as 'music' or 'music reconstruction', but as a parallel attempt in realizing the expert musicking this thesis suggests – musicking to examine musicking, by regarding

this reconstruction as musicking itself. This thesis aims not at defining what ‘music’ is, but to investigate how the use of music could be understood as musicking – musicking as a form of human behaviour. The PRAAT reconstruction is hence mainly a phonetic reconstruction with the assumption that musical knowledge is applied by the Jesuits when learning and mastering LMGH. Nonetheless, the PRAAT reconstruction shall not be based on the notational system, but on XREMZ only; otherwise I will not be able to proof the connection between musical notations and XREMZ in a fair way.

As the sole person conducting this reconstruction process, or musicking, I am very much aware of the fact that the reconstruction of *Xiqin Quyi* is predominantly a phonetic analysis, and I have no intention of claiming that this reconstruction is the equivalent of *Xiqin Quyi* pronounced in LMGH over four centuries ago. Yet, as previously explained, the lyrics in *Xiqin Quyi*, similar to their Chinese counterpart *Ci Pai* (詞牌), could be understood ‘musickingly’. In the sense of musical notations, the lyrics of *Xiqin Quyi* are definitely part of musicking. How Ricci’s composition could be understood as part of the Jesuit’s accommodation strategy may well be summarized after the investigation of his ‘expert musicking’.

4.7. Research Findings

To better understand the correlation between the pitch tones of LMGH pronunciation based on XREMZ and the musical notations designed to differentiate different tones in LMGH, several notable examples are selected and categorized in the five different tones of LMGH. Full translations and transcriptions of the eight songs are available in Appendix I and Appendix II retrospectively.

The tones are numbered as follows:

4.7.1 First Tone ‘ˊ’ (清, *Qing*)

4.7.2 Second Tone ‘ˋ’ (第濁, *Dizhuo*)

4.7.3 Third Tone ‘ˇ’ (一上, *Yishang*)

4.7.4 Fourth Tone ‘ˊ’ (母去, *Muqu*)

4.7.5 Fifth Tone ‘ˋ’ (入, *Ru*)³⁴⁶

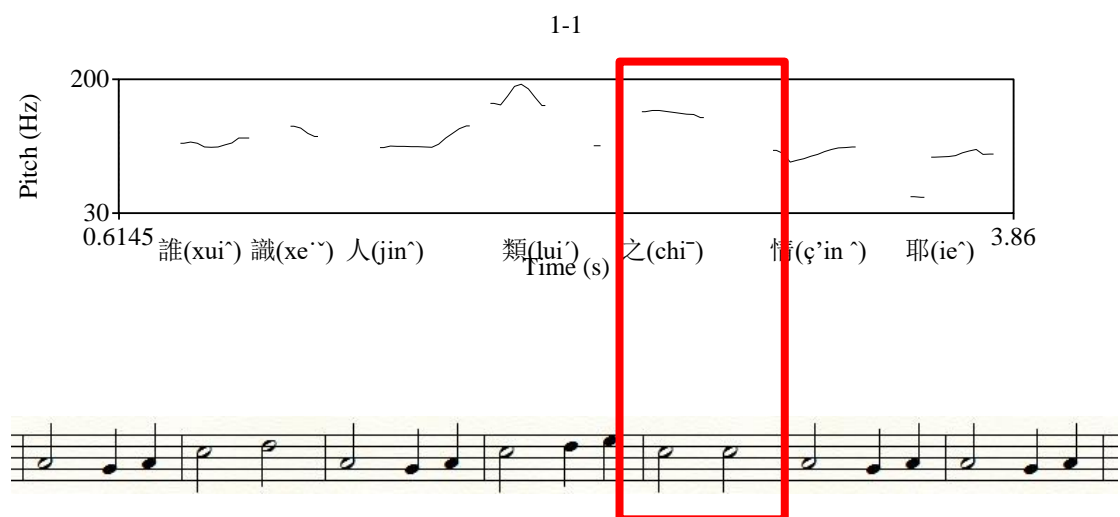
Xiqin Quyin, the eight songs, are numbered as follow:

- 1) 吾願在上 (My Wish Above)
- 2) 牧童遊山 (A young shepherd wandering over the hills)
- 3) 善計壽修 (Better plan for a longer life)
- 4) 德之勇巧 (The Valiant Art of Virtue)
- 5) 悔老無德 (Regretting of an old age without virtue)
- 6) 胸中庸平 (Inner balance)
- 7) 肩負雙囊 (Shouldering two sacks)
- 8) 定命四達 (Destiny reaches in all directions)

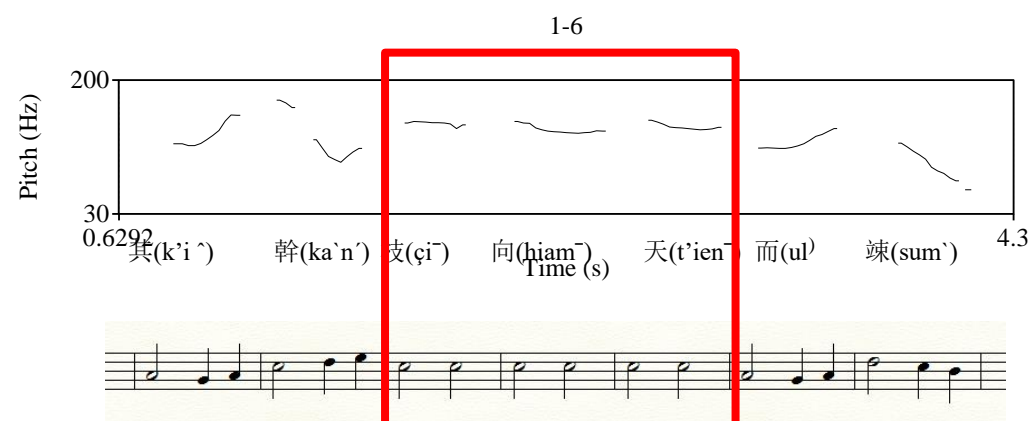
³⁴⁶ Please note that the numberings of First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Tones in this thesis shall not be mistaken with the modern Chinese Pinyin system.

4.7.1. First Tone ‘ˊ’ (清, *Qing*)

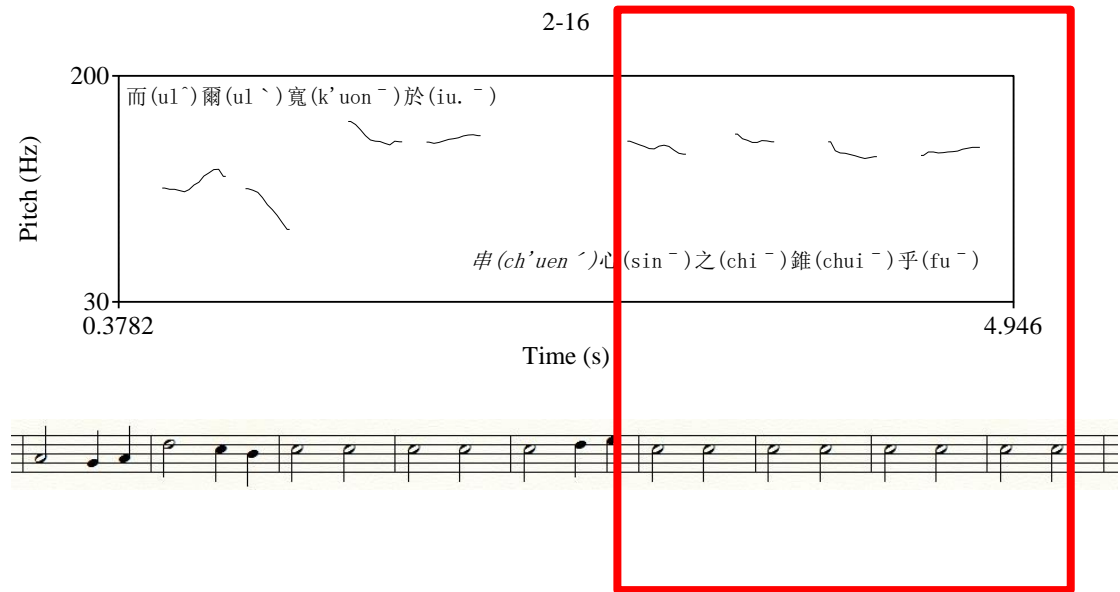
From 1) 吾願在上(My Wish Above), line 1:



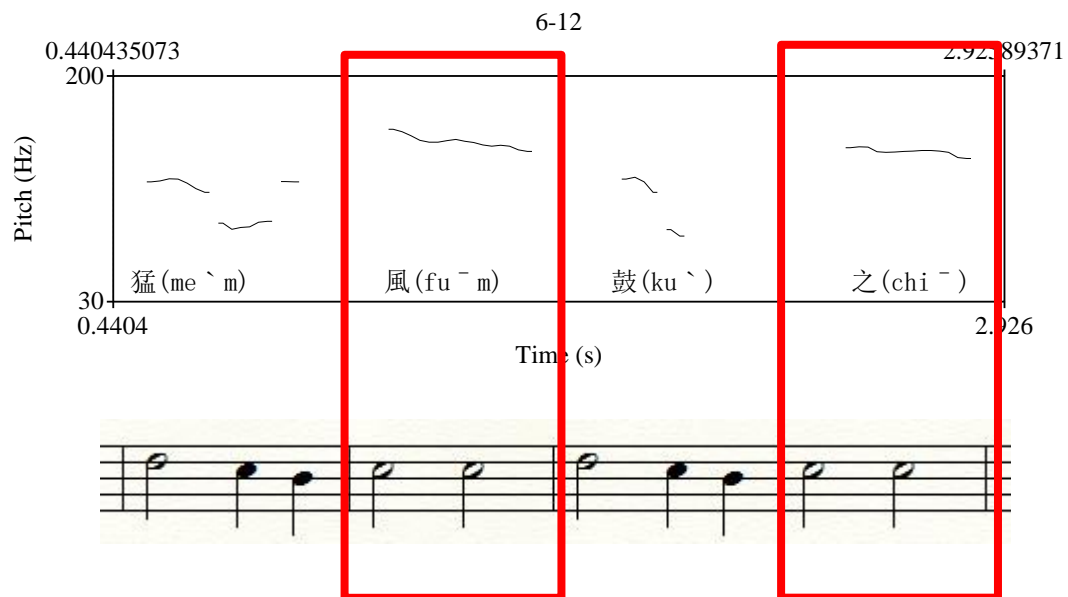
From 1) 吾願在上(My Wish Above), line 6:



From 2) 牧童遊山 (A young shepherd wandering over the hills), line 16:

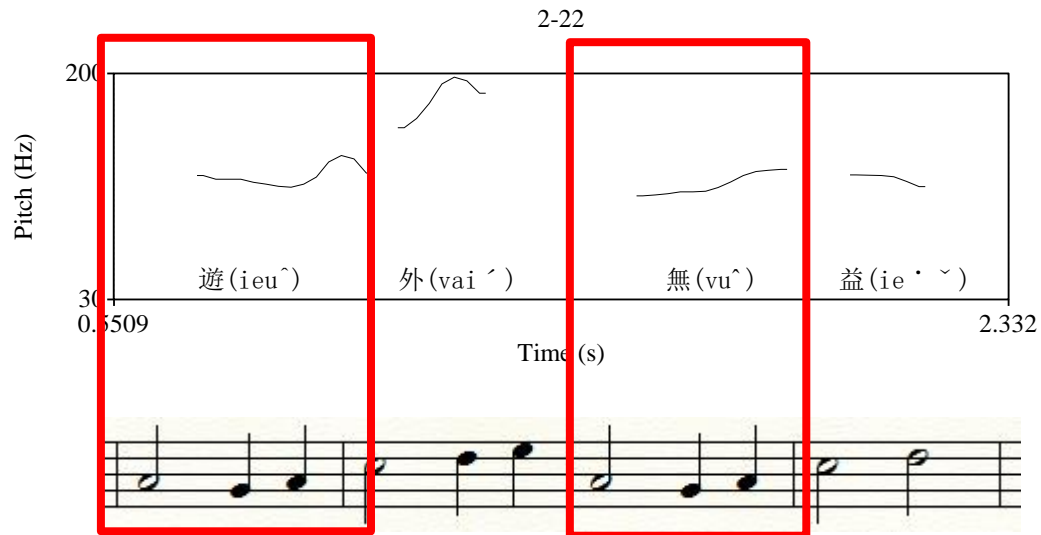


From 6) 胸中庸平 (Inner balance), line 12:

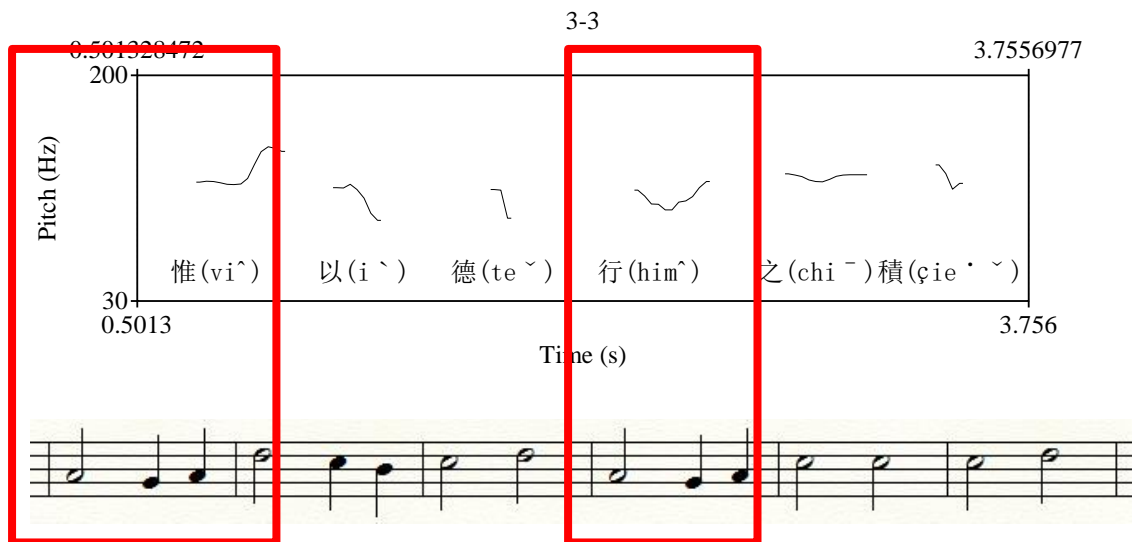


4.7.2. Second Tone ‘^’ (第濁, *Dizhuo*)

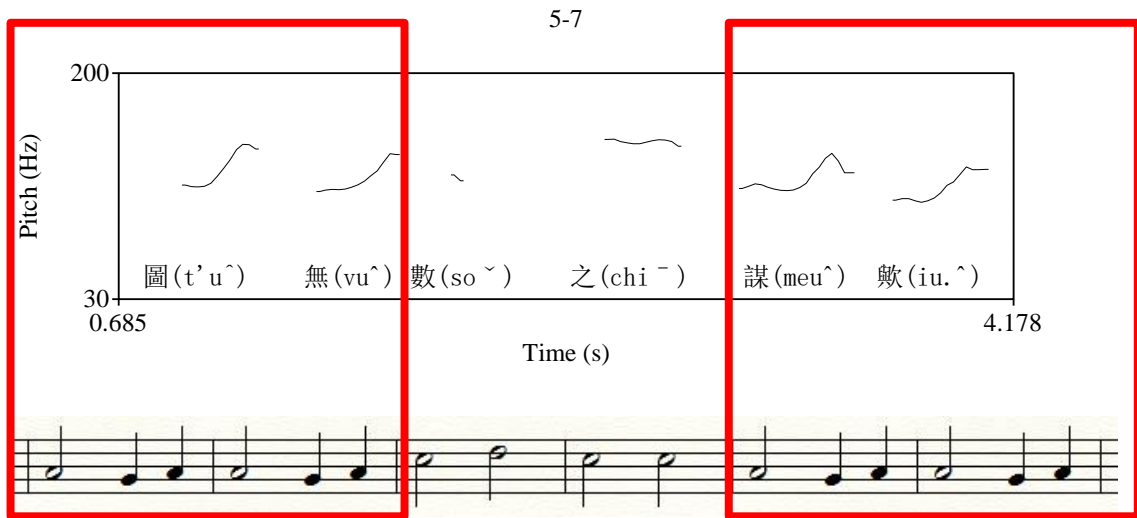
From 2) 牧童遊山 (A young shepherd wandering over the hills), line 22:



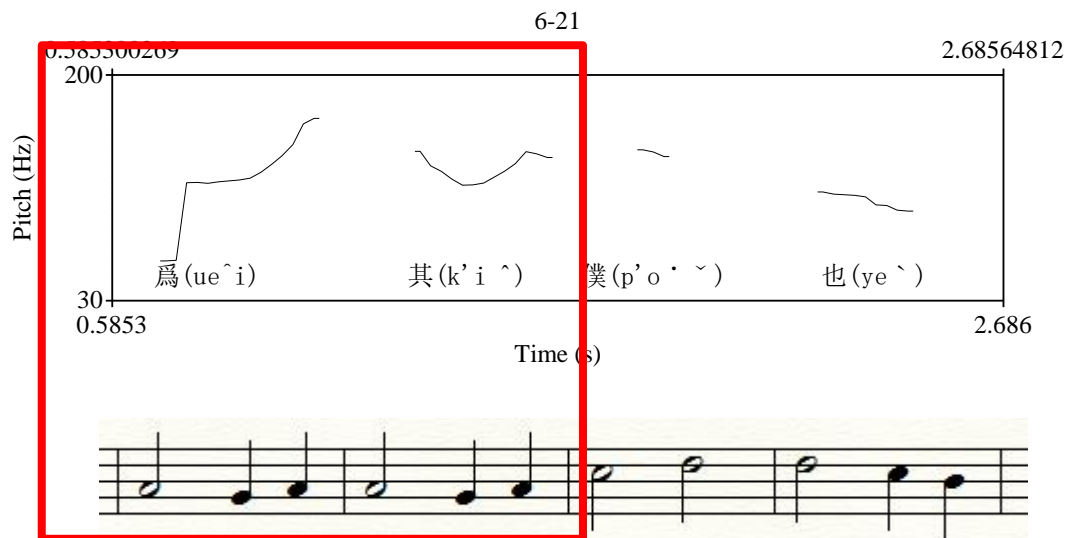
From 3) 善計壽修 (Better plan for a longer life), line 3:



From 5) 悔老無德 (Regretting of an old age without virtue), line 7:

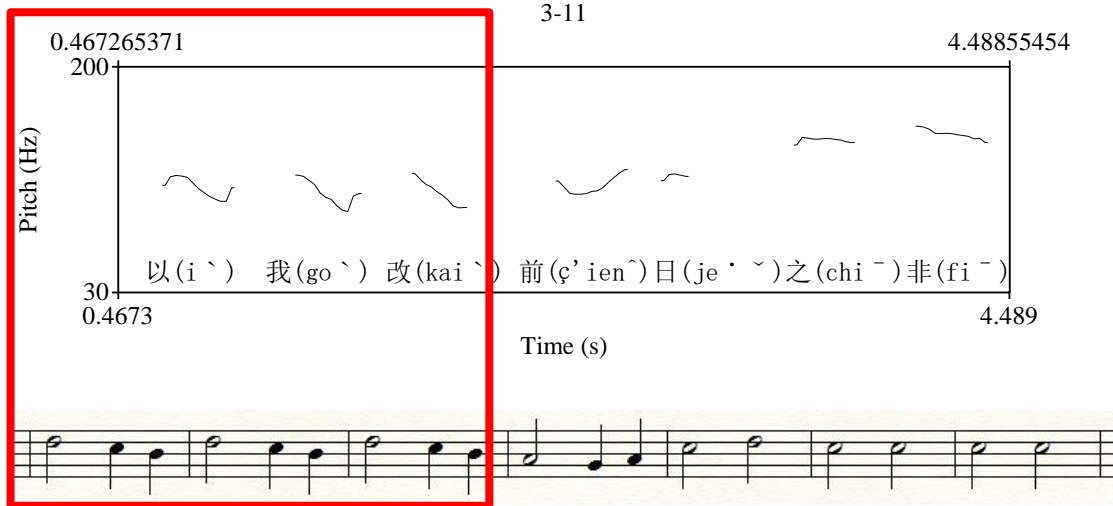


From 6) 胸中庸平 (Inner balance), line 21:

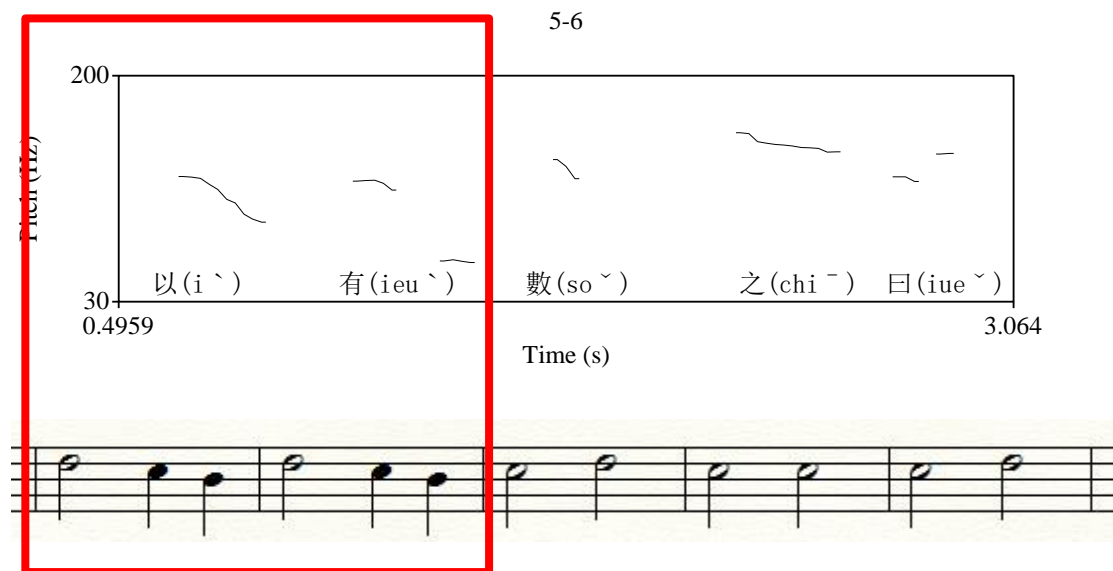


4.7.3. Third Tone ‘\` (一上; *Yishang*)

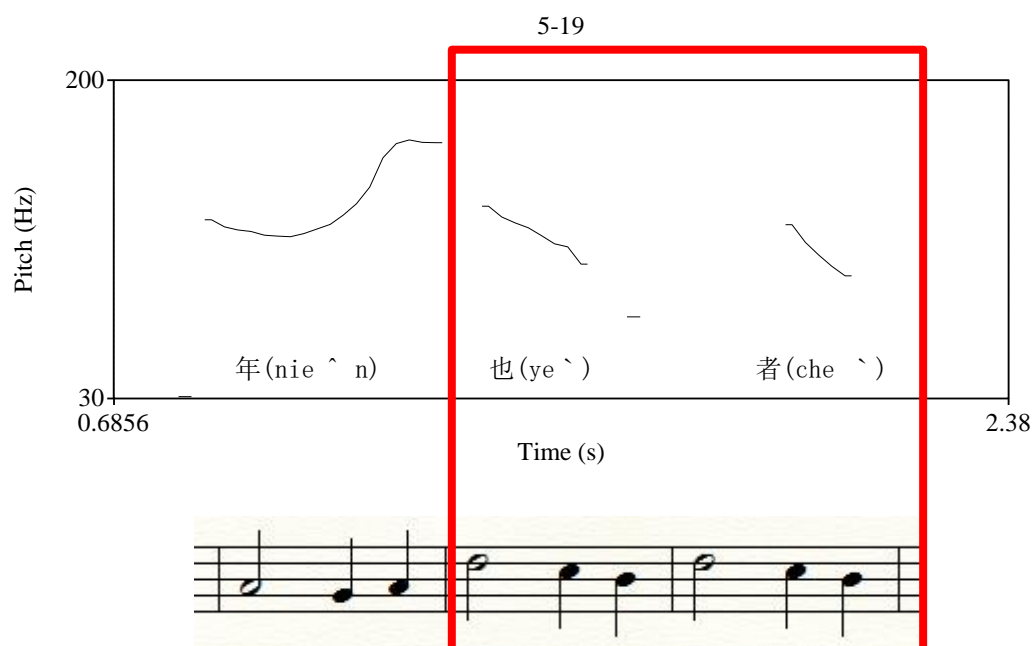
From 3) 善計壽修 (Better plan for a longer life), line 11:



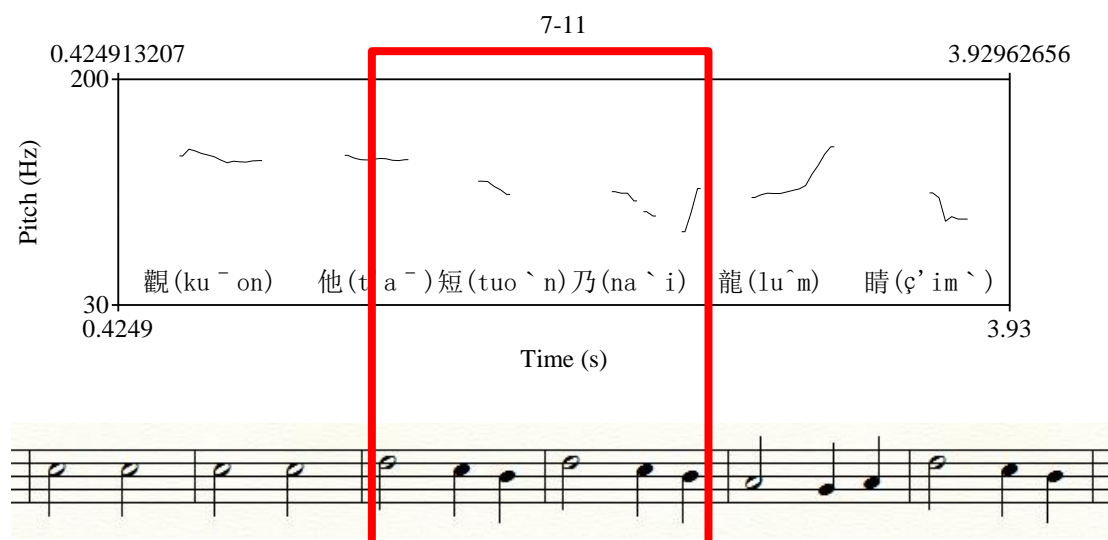
From 5) 悔老無德 (Regretting of an old age without virtue), line 6:



From 5) 悔老無德 (Regretting of an old age without virtue), line 19:

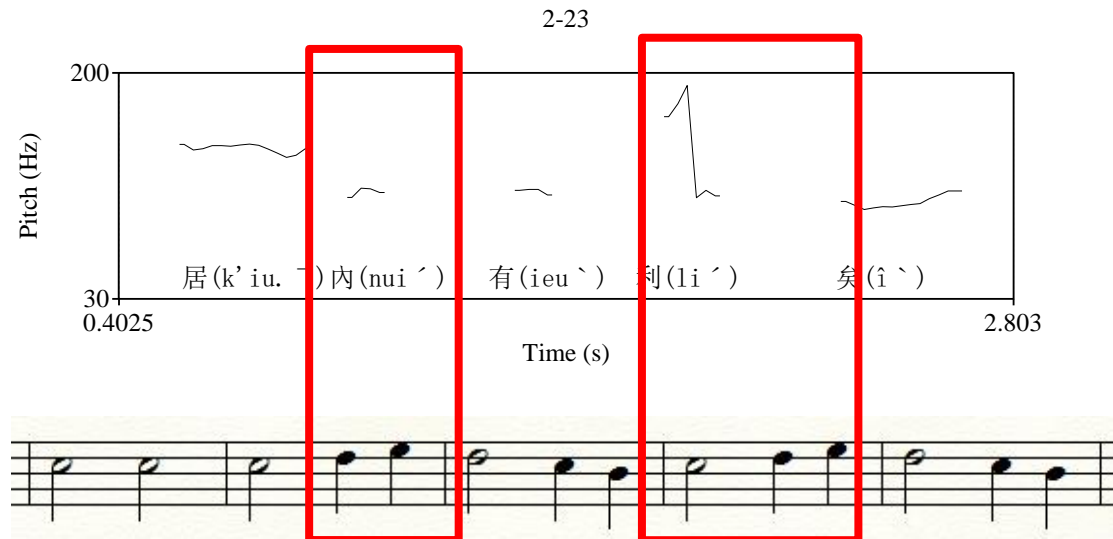


From 7) 肩負雙囊 (Shouldering two sacks), line 11:

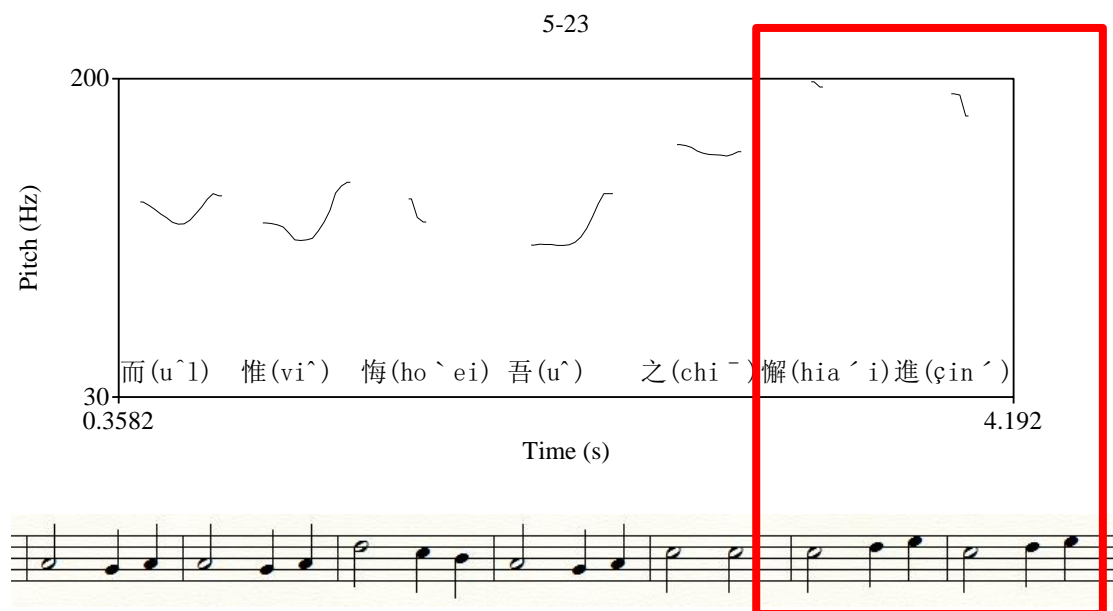


4.7.4. Fourth Tone ' / ' (母去; *Muqu*)

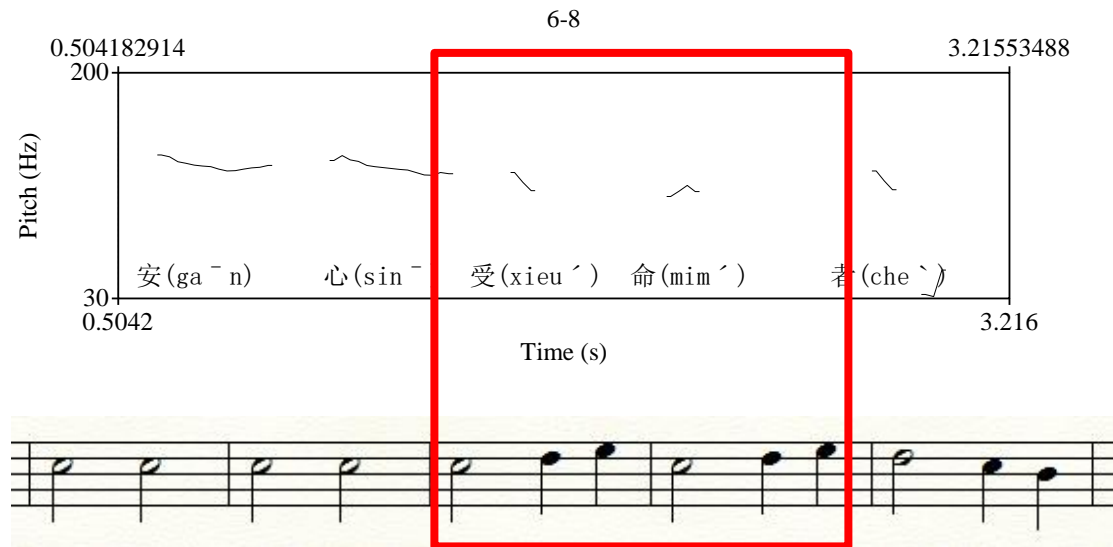
From 2) 牧童遊山 (A young shepherd wandering over the hills), line 23.



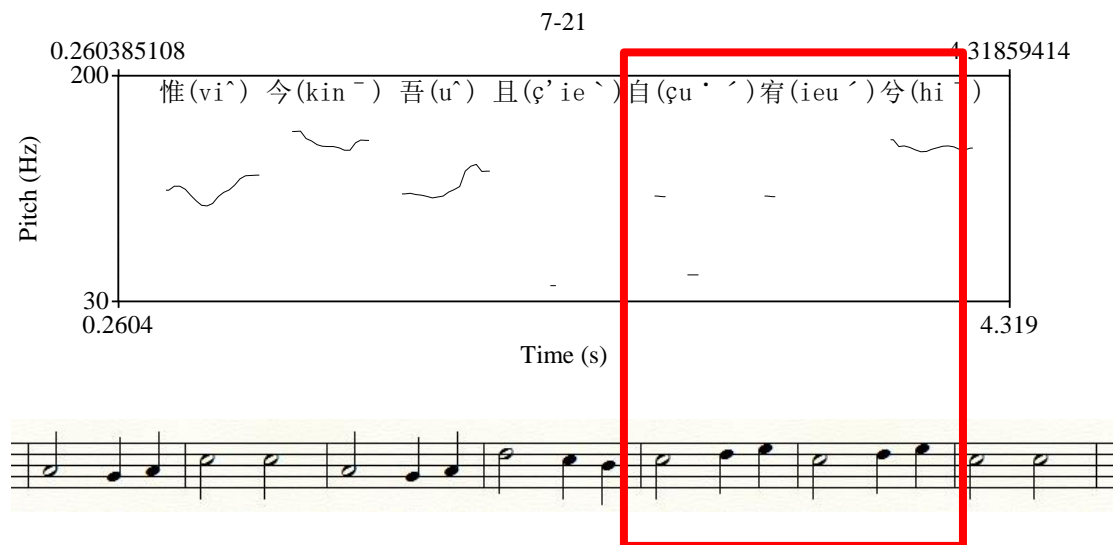
From 5) 悔老無德 (Regretting of an old age without virtue), line 23:



From 6) 胸中庸平 (Inner balance), line 8:

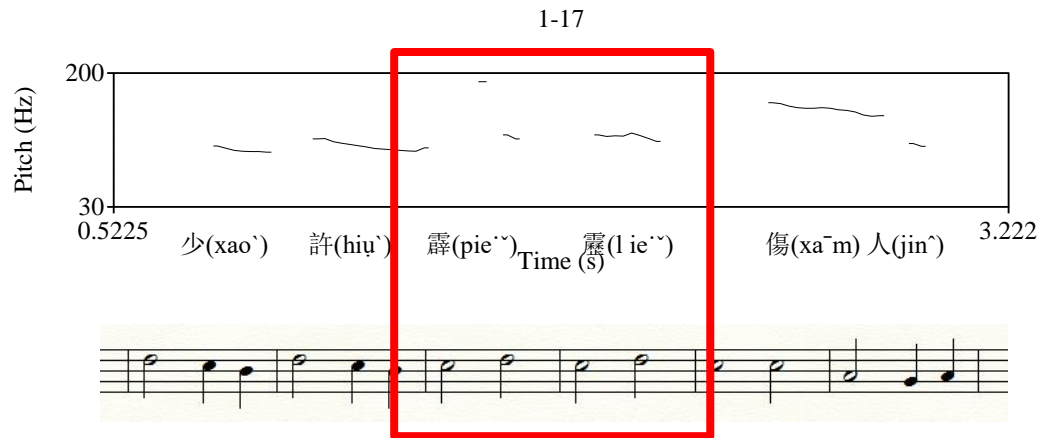


From 7) 肩負雙囊 (Shouldering two sacks), line 21:

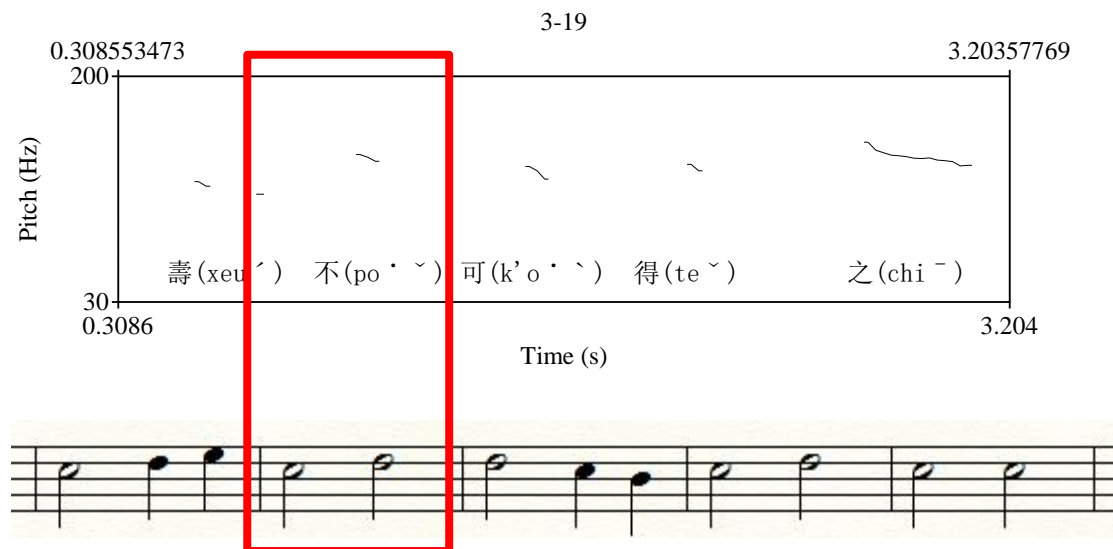


4.7.5. Fifth Tone ‘v’ (入, Ru)

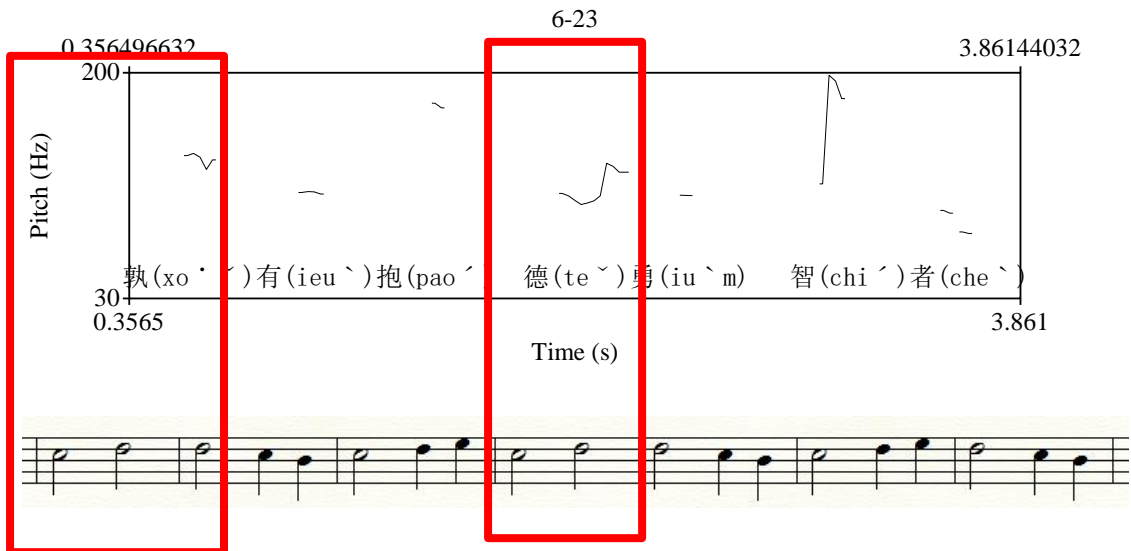
From 1) 吾願在上(My Wish Above), line 21:



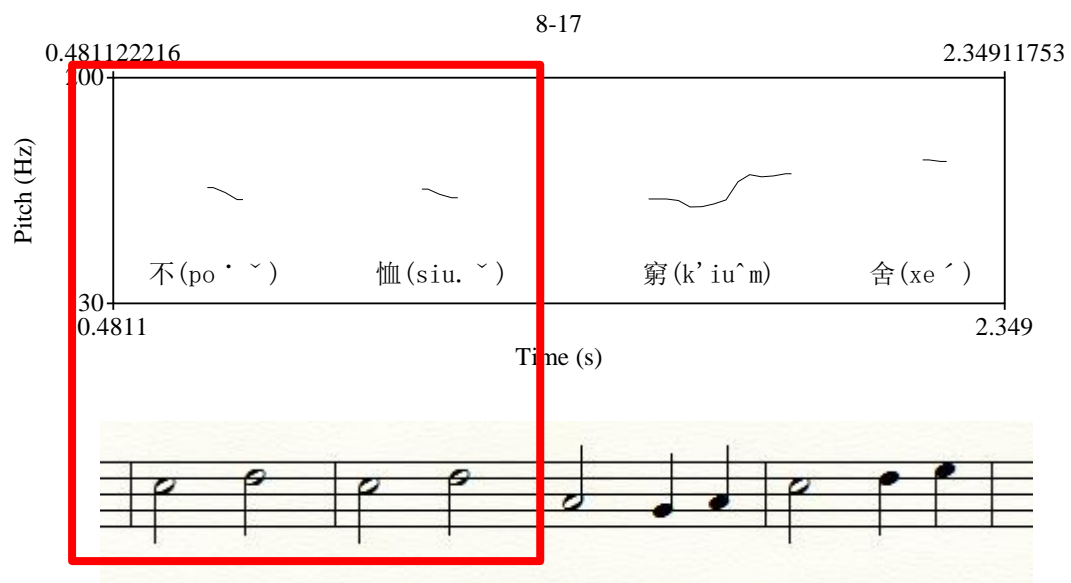
From 3) 善計壽修 (Better plan for a longer life), line 19:



From 6) 胸中庸平 (Inner balance), line 23:



From 8) 定命四達 (Destiny reaches in all directions), line 17:



4.8 Short Summary of Research Findings

The given examples from the eight songs serve reference to the further readings of the interrelation between LMGH and musical notations (as presented in de Ursis's letter). The full analysis is available in Appendix II of this thesis.

As an overview, the PRAAT pitch graphs demonstrate an absolute majority of matches between the tone-pitch graph and musical notations in First 'ˊ' (清), Second 'ˋ' (第濁) and Third 'ˇ' (一上) Tones. Ambiguities are observed mostly in Fourth 'ˊ' (母去) and Fifth Tone 'ˋ' (入) Tones. The PRAAT graph often demonstrates little resemblance to the musical notations, especially the light-pronounced Fifth Tone. The relatively short pronunciations sometimes made it difficult to identify the pitches, which produced a considerable amount of ambiguities.

This is due to how different tones are pronounced – according to XREMZ, the pronunciations of the First tone is a stable flat tone, Second a smooth downwards then upwards tone, Third a steady drop tone. Therefore, the First, Second and Third tones are rather long when compared to Fourth and Fifth Tones, where the Fourth is a sharp accent with impulsive outbreath, the Fifth, on the contrary, is pronounced lightly with weak outbreath - very similar to the *qingsheng* (輕聲) in modern spoken Chinese.

PRAAT positively recorded all First, Second and Third Tones, but it sometimes failed to capture the Fourth and Fifth Tones, especially the light-pronounced Fifth Tone. The relatively short pronunciations have sometimes made it difficult to identify their pitches, which have resulted in the considerable

amount of ambiguous results, as demonstrated in the previous examples and as well as in Appendix II.

The tonal analysis is reinforced by comparing the *ligatures*, namely the five phonetic tones in XREMZ, and the four prosodic tones in Chinese literature. As exhibited in chapter 4.5, and in Appendix II, the Jesuits may have adopted *ligature* as graphical symbols to imitate LMGH speech according to their musical notations, while Chinese literati upheld *ligature* as benchmark of superior artistic Chinese writings; their references to the ‘tones’ are nevertheless parallel and thus comparable. In addition to the relativity of tones correlated to de Ursis’s graph as mentioned in chapter 4.4, the tonal analysis based on the five phonetic tones in XREMZ is further reinforced by a full scale classification of their four equivalent prosodic tones.

When all the pictorial pitches in PRAAT are connected into one curve, put together the musical notations in *ligature*, the two graphs are largely analogous, whereas the ‘curves’ may seem imperceptible in the prosodic classification, they certainly do exist in the Chinese prosodies, as explained in chapter 4.5. It is true that Ricci did not compose *Xiqin Quyǐ* according to the set of Chinese prosodic rules, it means not that he was uninformed of such rules. As the name tells, what comes before the songs was the ‘western instrument’. ‘I have not been able to make (the words) follow the original rhymes, since the sounds of the each place’s language are different,’ said Ricci in his introduction to the eight songs. The accomplishment of successfully delivering the songs with the new instrument, writings and teaching, is nothing less than remarkable.

This research, with its findings, is important in understanding the use and the functions of music by the Jesuits in Late Ming China. This thesis brings us one step closer to the possible relative tone values of LMGH from the Jesuit's perspective, and hence may be compared with other LMGH researches, especially researches from the field of historical linguistics. Although empirical in nature, the analysis attempts to understand Matteo Ricci's music and his role as Musicking Expert from a functional perspective. As the researcher, and also the voice of the recordings, it is important to notice the difference between reconstructing and inventing. Despite the various expectations to this new discovery, the main task of this research is still to examine the expert musicking of Matteo Ricci, which is now reasonably clear after the present detailed analysis of *Xiqin Quyi*. Modern definitions of 'musician' and 'composer' have proven not suitable for the early Jesuits who have practiced music as the function of music in modern time differs greatly from Ricci's in late Ming China. While historical-musicological research gave little attention to Matteo Ricci's *Xiqin Quyi*, the scope of 'expert mediator' may serve as an innovative perspective in rediscovering this early musical dialogue, which started from practical needs (diplomacy and Chinese learning), and eventually became part of the scholar-construction of Ricci himself in demonstrating prominence in cultivation together with his other works on mathematics, theology and cartography.

Expert musicking is the look-back of Ricci's musical achievement, aimed not to deify Matteo Ricci as a man of immense cultural and academic capacity, nor to garble a statement that Ricci was an expert musician. Although based on very limited primary sources and empirical reconstruction, my research serves as a candid review and reconstruction to the best of my knowledge in quest of finding the musicking of Ricci. I may then argue that Ricci's musicking carries the function of expert mediator for bridging two different languages, if not cultures, and Ricci's *Xiqin Quyi* could be regarded as a crucial part of his expert musicking.

5. Matteo Ricci and Expert Musicking

5.1 From Performance to Competence

“Music... can name the unnameable and communicate the unknowable”

-Leonard Bernstein

Leonard Bernstein’s quote, as he described in his Harvard Norton Lectures *The Unanswered Question* (1976), could be an insight, if not key, to help to understand the meaning of expert musicking in the context of Ricci’s *Xiqin Quyi*, happened in late Ming China. While Matteo Ricci, the protagonist in this research, was mostly remembered and celebrated as one of the most remarkable Jesuit missionaries of 16th-17th century, and Leonard Bernstein, as one of the most renowned musicians of the 20th century, they both have composed musical works. Their musical compositions, despite the vast difference in style, technique and reception, were indeed eclecticism incarnate. As Bernstein announces his musical credo:

“I believe that a great new era of eclecticism is at hand, eclecticism in the highest sense. And I believe it has been made possible by the rediscovery, the reacceptance of tonality, that universal earth out of which such diversity can spring. And no matter how serial, or stochastic, or otherwise intellectualized music may be, it can always qualify as poetry as long as it is rooted in earth.”³⁴⁷

At the time, the eclecticism he celebrated, a universality that may include all human music styles and techniques within the context of tonality, was criticized as self-justifying, and rather more an idealistic proclamation than a

³⁴⁷ Leonard Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question: Six Talks at Harvard* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 418.

substantial theory.³⁴⁸ Bernstein's vision sheds light on the very matter how closely human speech and musicking are connected, in Bernstein's first lecture, he introduced his realm of a musical phonology:

“Now you can see why I became so excited when I began reading the new linguistics, which postulated the notion of innate grammatical competence. Because suddenly my old undergraduate notion of a universal musical grammar was reanimated. It had lain dormant for years, paralyzed, I suppose, by that deadly cliché: Music is the Universal Language of Mankind. ... But then, when I began reading the new linguistics, I thought: here is a fresh way to pursue my intuitive idea, which had grown stale and had deteriorated into a platitude. In other words, by building analogies between musical and linguistic procedures, couldn't that cliché about the Universal Language be debunked or confirmed, or at least clarified?”³⁴⁹

While the Jesuits' musical notation system emphasizes the intervallic difference in order to master the *Guanhua* tones, Bernstein's proposition of a musical phonology was heavily based on his deduction of a scale, partially pentatonic or *slendro*, composed of chromatic overtones, which Bernstein implies a universality of all human music, also language. Yet, the inter-relationship between Bernstein's overtone series and scale shows little intervallic content, which makes the adaptation of Bernstein's overtone series unfeasible onto Jesuit's musical notation system. For instance, the different stresses in Chinese pronunciation – the fifth tone (v), also known as the checked tone, or entering tone (入聲), although was also assigned to a designated set of musical

³⁴⁹ Leonard Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question: Six Talks at Harvard* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 10.

notations, which are comparably the lowest in tone, it could hardly be pronounced loud enough to even capture its overtone.

Bernstein's lectures, as reviewed by Allan Keiler, acknowledged the fact that music and language are among the most characteristic and universal aspects human behaviour, to identify musical performance and competence will be the key to the study of music and of language.³⁵⁰ Much is discussed in the previous chapters about the performance of music and language, which I narrowly describe as expert musicking. To define musical and linguistic competence, is however beyond the capacity of this research. Keiler explains the limitation:

“Theories of musical competence are concerned with formalizing the internalized knowledge that listeners bring to music which allows them to organize musical sounds into coherent patterns. This internalized musical knowledge underlies the most diverse musical activities. It is reflected, for example, in the ability of a listener to identify examples as belonging to a certain style, to make judgments about appropriateness, and, in general, to superimpose a structure on the input stimulus that corresponds in some way to his understanding of how a given musical system works.”³⁵¹

Equally problematic in Bernstein's vision is the language competence. Bernstein believes ‘the best way to know a thing is in the context of another discipline,’³⁵² he attempted to narrate musical competence the same way in understanding linguistics: phonology, syntax, and semantics. The three as components of a theory of language competence, where Bernstein relates to Chomsky's formal

³⁵⁰ Adam Keiler, "Bernstein's 'The Unanswered Question' and the Problem of Musical Competence," in *The Musical Quarterly* 64/2 (1978): 203.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² Leonard Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question: Six Talks at Harvard* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 3.

universe and substantive universe, interrelates with the three components. This however causes serious confusion, Keiler cites Chomsky: 'the problem of extending concepts of linguistic structure to other cognitive systems seems to me, for the moment, in not too promising a state.'³⁵³ Keiler denotes the dilemma in concise words:

“The most basic distinction that underlies linguistic research is that of competence and performance, the distinction between what is known and how it is used. Linguistic competence refers to that internalized system of rules that can be thought of as a characterization of the linguistic knowledge shared by the members of a speech community. Actual linguistic performance, on the other hand, or the directly observed use of language, is only an indirect reflection of linguistic knowledge. Performance is constrained not only by what one knows, but by limitations of memory, systems of belief other than those related to language, and even such transient phenomena as lack of attention and excitability. Thus the hesitations, false starts, and unintentional errors of normal language use cannot be taken to reflect properties of linguistic knowledge, or the grammar of some language, but only particular manifestations of it. Competence, in other words, is only one of many factors that interact to determine performance.”³⁵⁴

The eclectic methodology of reconstructing the *Xiqin Quy* may, at least partially, reflect a glance of how Ricci's composition looked like, if not sounded like, and may reflect the performance in regard to the phonological reconstruction of the Jesuits' knowledge of late Ming Guanhua. To fully understand *that* musical and lingual competence, one has to understand the

³⁵³ Adam Keiler, "Bernstein's 'The Unanswered Question' and the Problem of Musical Competence," in *The Musical Quarterly* 64/2 (1978): 198.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

‘internalized musical knowledge’ from the context, yet, to reconstruct that cultural historical context of Ricci’s Ming court, if not the Jesuits’ stage in late Ming China, is simply impossible. As Keiler describes:

“The problem of defining musical competence reflected in dead musical repertoires entails many of the same difficulties that affect the description of extinct languages. What is absent in both cases is, of course, native intuitions about whether proposed grammars make the right generalizations about given examples. Since in both cases the corpus of available examples is in many instances only a highly selective and constrained one, and often for the most accidental of reasons, a choice between alternatively proposed abstract accounts of the data may not even be possible.”³⁵⁵

On a closer study of the language competence in relation with musical competence, Murray Schellenberg carefully studied the case of several tone languages and their potential ‘connection between the function of the genre and the degree of correspondence.’³⁵⁶ Schellenberg further describes with the example of the Chinese vendors’ cries – a form of street cries featuring merchants hawking their goods in the street, which are often composed in short lyrical phrases, Schellenberg considers that the vendors’ cries must be heard over other street noises, and their “musicality”, featured with their lyrical phrases, may well aid in their projection and endurance, and therefore bear extra-musical function. ‘As the function becomes more focused on the music (whatever the function of music may be for these cultures), the primacy of the language seems to decrease and that of music takes precedence.’³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 206.

³⁵⁶ Murray Schellenberg, "Does Language Determine Music in Tone Languages?" *Ethnomusicology* 56/2 (2012): 272.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Unlike the various drum and whistle languages also mentioned in Schellenberg's narrative, the tone language often has a different mode of transmission, subject to its lexical and tonal complexity. Schellenberg cites Geissler, that in the case of Chinese language, the way drum and whistle languages transmit would be completely unsuitable due to the overwhelmingly monosyllabic nature of Chinese pronunciation.³⁵⁸ While trying to connect the linguistic features and singing melodies in the sample languages, especially in the case of Chinese, Schellenberg cites Wee Lian Hee, that the speech melodies and sung melodies in Mandarin Chinese, have demonstrated the stress of syllables on the most prominent beats of a bar, which are linguistically salient syllables, and 'the melodies will match at those points'.³⁵⁹

To understand what 'the melodies' and 'those points' are, Wee explains with the notion *head*, which in music or in a spoken language, is a special position where the features of the residing element are prominent.³⁶⁰ In phonetics, a prosodic *head* represents the syllable with primary stress.³⁶¹ Wee further defines the headedness that 'a syllable is the head of the measure if it is associated to the note that has the primary accent in the musical melody.'³⁶² Through identifying the headedness, over the position of prominence and contrasts in spoken Mandarin Chinese, and the music, as demonstrated in Wee's selection of several well-known Chinese folk songs, the research findings show a general conformity between tonal heads and melodies which satisfies the conditions of

³⁵⁸ Murray Schellenberg, "Does Language Determine Music in Tone Languages?" *Ethnomusicology* 56/2 (2012): 272.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 274.

³⁶⁰ Wee Lian Hee, "Unraveling the Relation between Mandarin Tones and Musical Melody," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 35/1 (2007): 128.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 134. On the term *head*, Wee also cites: Bruce Hayes, *Metrical Stress Theory: Principles and Case Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), René Kager, "The metrical theory of word stress," in *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*, ed. John Goldsmith (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995), 367-402, and Joe Pater, "Nonuniformity in English Stress: the role of ranked and lexically specific constraints," *Phonology* 17/2 (2002): 237-274.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 136.

preservation of tonal integrity. In the case of tonal integrity in non-head syllables, the conformity is less adhering.³⁶³

Wee's research on tonal-musical accordance in Chinese language feature a small number of samples. Perhaps most insightful to the discussion of this research was his concluding remarks, which the author asks:

“Given that the music is constrained by its need to preserve linguistic information, can musical analysis be done independently of linguistics, especially generative linguistics? In return, can music be used as a handle in understanding linguistic issues of tonal structures? Also, given that music is lateralized to the right hemisphere of the brain and that language is lateralized to the left hemisphere, does this interface tell us something about how the two hemispheres interact? It has often been argued that while being acoustically similar, pitch in language and pitch in music are processed separately in the brain. From the perspective of anthropology, the theory proposed here implies that a cultural phenomenon such as song may be constrained by the phonology of a language. Might this not be a potential window to understanding variance across cultures?”³⁶⁴

Schellenberg partially responded these questions in the conclusion of his article:

“It is apparent from the levels of correspondence between speech melody and sung melody... that song melodies in cultures with tone languages

³⁶³ Wee Lian Hee, “Unraveling the Relation between Mandarin Tones and Musical Melody,” *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 35/1 (2007): 143.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 143-144.

reflect, in a general way, the speech melodies of their languages. While occasional divergence from the speech melody does not significantly impair comprehension, a general free-for-all is not the best choice for a tone language, either. Matching melodies will certainly enhance comprehension, so, all else being equal, it is in a culture's best interests to match. ... The assumption that song melodies in tone languages are determined by the speech melodies does not seem to get much support from the actual data. It does not appear that the (undeniably important) melody of speech in a tone language imposes itself on the music of the culture; rather, as Herzog puts it: 'the melodic element which is strong in tone languages, intrudes upon the music of the peoples speaking such languages.'³⁶⁵

While Schellenberg's linguistic deduction of tone languages and melodies featured the analysis of spoken Mandarin Chinese and several Chinese folk songs – it was definitely not the same Chinese language and Chinese songs in Ming China, as corroborated in this dissertation. Ming *Guanhua* featured the fifth tone (v), also known as the checked tone, or entering tone (入聲), where modern Mandarin Chinese not. It is likewise problematic to assume that the Chinese speakers 400 years ago learnt to sing the same way as contemporary, if not modern, Chinese speakers, regardless if Chinese is their mother tongue. Herzog's remark 'the melodic element which is strong in tone languages, intrudes upon the music of the peoples speaking such languages'³⁶⁶ touches the very issue of the importance in understanding the expert musicking – for the use of language and its usage in relation with music, is in fact musicking already.

³⁶⁵ Murray Schellenberg, "Does Language Determine Music in Tone Languages?" *Ethnomusicology* 56/2 (2012): 275-276. Schellenberg's citation of Herzog: George Herzog, "Speech-Melody and Primitive Music," *Musical Quarterly* 20 (1934): 466.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Among the different kinds of musicking, how Chinese native *Guanhua* speakers learnt to speak and chant would be a different kind of musicking from how Matteo Ricci learnt to speak and chant in Chinese *Guanhua*. Different from how language as a mother tongue was taught and learnt by the native Chinese, Ricci and the Jesuits had to strive for language proficiency against all odds through every accessible source, including the help from their Chinese companions, the application of European musical notation scales in labelling *Guanhua* tones, the systemized teaching of *Guanhua* in St. Paul's College, and the publication of XREMZ - a Chinese dictionary to demonstrate the Jesuits' endeavour in learning the Chinese language to the Chinese literati.

The actual musical scores of Ricci's *Xiqin Quyǐ* are unfortunately not discovered, they, if available, would be crucial help to identifying the content of the musicking. As Keiler pointed out, the limitations in source material may immensely undermine the credibility of the partial accounts derived from the interpretation of the limited data. And indeed, Keiler, Herzog and Schellenberg would be right if the sole purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the relation between *Guanhua* speaking and its resemblance to Chinese folk melodies; that the research would be merely based on partial evidence and only self-justifying. This thesis focuses on Matteo Ricci's expert musicking, which could be seen as part of the general musicking much discussed earlier, and to explain Ricci's expert musicking it could only be done through a musicking approach, which is backbone of this research's methodology.

5.2. Understanding Matteo Ricci's Expert Musicking

“We need music, I believe, as much as we need each other”

- Yehudi Menuhin

The core of ‘musicking’ is the study of performance and listening – To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance.³⁶⁷ Music may exist without a listener but not without a performer. Small highlights the descriptive nature of his musicking theory – descriptive but not prescriptive, and the value judgement shall not be the predominating factor in understanding the action of musicking. ‘What does it mean when this performance takes place at this time, in this place, with these people taking part?’³⁶⁸ Here hint the possible complex of engaging in a set of relationships where different acts of musicking lie, and by recognizing the complex, there can be no completely objective knowledge on music or musicking.³⁶⁹ Performance is thus regarded as ritual, where relations are mirrored, exposed, affirmed and celebrated.³⁷⁰ Despite the complexity, performance may be judged on its efficacy in empowering those taking part to affirm, explore and celebrate their concepts of ideal relationships, relationships that may be best understood by the participants of musicking, and not to forget the different ways of musicking as well.³⁷¹ By realizing the interrelation between spatial, time and participants, all musickings are thus serious musicking.³⁷²

‘Expert mediator’ was previously defined as an actor who processes the requisite technical knowledge to design and supervise practical activities, which

³⁶⁷ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 9.

³⁶⁸ Christopher Small, "Musicking — the meanings of performing and listening. A lecture," *Music Education Research* 1 (1999): 13.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 20.

also requires the communication skills and social status to be able to liaise between those carrying out the work and those who commission and pay for it. 'Expert mediator' is thus defined as the actor who, may best undergo the task he was commissioned, and is able to fully understand what was going on in regard to a given project or task, based on his expertise, and the best information available, an expert mediator make reasoned decisions to make things happen, and is able to evaluate those decisions upon the implementations, in case of necessity, make improvements. 'In placing his knowledge at the disposal of those who relied upon him, the expert thereby gave his patrons effective control over his own field of expertise.'³⁷³

The way I understand Ash's 'expert mediator', is that 'expert mediator' could be examined through a poly-dimensional scale system, and in the parameters of the scales, it is often not the kind of examination we use to test a certain person's particular competence, but of how this person could, in his own way, make things happen. In Ash's book, two case-studies are given to analyse the mediation process of an expert mediator. While the Dover Harbour project led by Thomas Digges was regarded a success story,³⁷⁴ the Privy Council's attempt to set up a copper mine in Cumberland was a negative example.

In 1564, the Company of Mines Royal was organized to mine and smelt copper throughout northern and southern England, particularly, in the north-western county of Cumberland (now Cumbria). Under the Council's commission, the Company had engaged a group of German miners to exploit the rich natural resources. The mining industry in Middle Age Germany has provided Europe wealth and technical expertise, and the veteran miners sent to Cumberland were acknowledged technical experts in mining. Appointed by the Company,

³⁷³ Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 215.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 55-86.

this 'Dream Team' was under the command by the English manager Thomas Thurland of the Keswick mines.

Thurland, although was the manager of the Keswick mine, had no prior knowledge of mining, therefore he could neither monitor nor evaluate the German miners' performance. While the German miners could hardly speak any English, Thurland also could not speak German. The failure of communication ensures the failure in mediation; suspicions soon grew among the stakeholders, whom had invested a huge amount of money. The investors saw no hope in the completion of the project and demanded returns. Accusations of ignorance, distrust, incompetence, together with failures of communication and mediation, all contributed to the pandemonium of the project.³⁷⁵

The case of the Privy Council's attempt to set up a copper mine in Cumberland is used as a reminder that the substance of an 'expert mediator' lies not entirely on whether the project under his supervision was successful, but if he was able to mitigate between different parties, especially upon crisis. Unlike Digges, Thurland's lack of language skill and mediating skill has reflected the importance of 'expert mediator' as a key factor to managerial success, and expert mediator as an actor of equal importance when compared to other technical experts.

The multilingual competence, especially the fluency in Chinese of Ricci may have made him an ideal figure as an expert mediator, but the discussion of Ricci being an expert mediator does not explain how Ricci has achieved that multilingual competence. Rather than seeing this multilingual competence as a free-for-all phenomenon, the author of this research wishes to point out that

³⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 19-54.

the Jesuit's success in mastering the Chinese language (LMGH), to achieve diplomatic goal, and to be able to missionize in China were all made possible by finely-tuned musicking – 'expert musicking.'

To come back to the discussion of Matteo Ricci and his expert musicking, instead of examining Ricci as a bridge between different cultures or different knowledge, this research goes right after the 'bridge', i.e. 'expert musicking'. Christopher Small, in the chapter 'Interlude I – The Language of Gesture' of his book provides justification to this approach:

"I would ask the question *What is musicking that human beings should like to practice it?* I need also to ask the complementary question *What are human beings that they should like to practice musicking?* It is in order to propose an answer to the later that I need to make what appears like a long detour before I can propose an answer to the former; and in the course of my doing so, the discussion of musicking itself will necessarily recede into the background."³⁷⁶

The term 'expert musicking' is coined from 'expert mediator' and 'musicking' to make that discussion possible. Nevertheless, although all musickings can be regarded as serious musicking, not all musickings could be regarded as expert musicking. Therefore, 'musicking' alone may not be enough to explain the 'expert' role of Ricci. Likewise, the discussion of 'expert mediator' would not be enough for justifying the 'musicking' of Ricci. Through combining the two concepts together, I may avoid the dispersed discussions of expert mediator and musicking, but rather, in a clear way point out 'who' is doing 'what', and 'how' it was eventually done.

³⁷⁶ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 51.

To understand expert musicking, this research's methodology is itself musicking too, which contains a large amount of phonological reconstruction; and without the support of cultural historical context, which is beyond reconstructible, all phonological reconstruction could only be hypothetical. Although all phonological reconstruction is hypothetical, also claimed the right to be wrong, according to the Jesuits sources, I find myself in a suitable position to achieve an approximation of the way the language (LMGH) was actually pronounced. Tonal reconstruction is one of the most difficult areas in Chinese historical phonology. Generally speaking, historical phonologists tend to work with tonal categories rather than actual sound values; this research is the first of its kind to incorporate the musical notations in quest of LMGH tones. But where there are contemporary descriptions, and those descriptions are susceptible to cogent interpretation, there is hope that this research may shed valuable light on the question – why Ricci's expert musicking matters.

The reconstruction of *Xiqin Quyì*, based on some educated guesses upon the materials available serve only to understand Ricci's expert musicking. Therefore, although this dissertation has demonstrated resemblance between lyrics pitch contour and musical notations based on educated guesses, the reconstruction of *Xiqin Quyì*, as well as of Chinese *Guanhua* can never be an 'accurate' one, what one aims for is an approximation. The purpose of achieving this approximation, in short, is to try to achieve the similar performativity as of the Jesuits in learning and speaking Chinese *Guanhua*. The reconstruction provides a much closer proximity in researching the possible sound of *Xiqin Quyì*, and vice versa, the performativity of Jesuits' *Guanhua* learning/ speaking. The reconstruction also allows the visualization, if not imagination of Ricci's *Xiqin Quyì* – how the tones of LMGH tangled with Ricci's composition.

To bring this reconstruction back to my hypothesis, which I argue the musicking of Ricci and Jesuits was not random musicking, but ‘expert musicking’, we may eventually rethink Ricci’s role as an expert mediator through his ‘expert musicking’: musicking for diplomatic function, musicking in preaching the Ming emperor, and above all, musicking in learning the Chinese language. From these functions, this research examines and discusses Ricci and his Jesuit colleagues’ expert musicking. Through putting myself into Ricci’s shoes, which is through a musicking approach to understand Matteo Ricci’s musicking, brings the promise of change, the possibility of change, and the ability of change; using the language of musicking to learn a new language, and the platform musicking provides to overcome challenges.

Modern definitions of ‘musician’ and ‘composer’ have proven not suitable for the early Jesuits whom have practiced music as the function of music in modern time differs greatly from Ricci’s in late Ming China. While historical-musicological research gave little attention to Matteo Ricci’s *Xiqin Quyi*, the scope of expert mediator may serve as an innovative perspective in rediscovering this early musical dialogue, which started from practical needs (diplomacy and Chinese learning), and eventually became part of the scholar-construction of Ricci himself in demonstrating prominence in cultivation (the publication of XREMZ) together with his other works on mathematics, theology and cartography. In his lifetime, Matteo Ricci demonstrated multiple talents to establish a personal network, which opened the many different doors of Chinese scholarly society and Ming court in order to achieve missionary aim.³⁷⁷ Expert musicking is the look-back of Ricci’s musical accomplishment from one of these doors, intended neither to deify Matteo Ricci as a ‘renaissance man’ of

³⁷⁷ Matteo Ricci’s scientific knowledge is not the focus of this thesis. Ricci’s scientific contribution is further discussed in: Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Qiong Zhang, *Making the New World Their Own - Chinese Encounters with Jesuit Science in the Age of Discovery* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

immense cultural and academic competence, nor to garble a statement that Ricci was an expert musician or technical expert of any art. Although based on the very limited sources available, this research serves as a candid review and understanding through reconstruction based on the best information available in the quest of finding Ricci's expert musicking.

Like a historical cold case, left with the names of the people involved, and only partial evidences were available; its crime scene is beyond re-constructible and only fractional testimonials of witnesses were recorded. Before making any accusations or charges, one has to understand what actually happened. This research, reconstructed this cold case based on some educated guesses, in order to understand 'what happened'. As an attempt to lay this step stone to understand Matteo Ricci's expert musicking, as well as to revive the Jesuits' learning and speaking of Chinese language (LMGH) and how this expert musicking molded Ricci to become an expert mediator, the possible failure of this research paled into insignificance alongside the actual failure of Ricci's musicking not being understood at all. On behalf of those whom contributed dearly in trying to make a positive difference through expert musicking centuries before, the botch of not doing anything to understand their effort would be appalling.

This research was 'groping for stones to cross the river (摸著石頭過河)', as part of the latest extension in Riccian research, as well as part of the historical musicological and historical phonological research on the musical encountering between the Jesuits and the Ming court. Further researches are unquestionably needed for a broader academic discussion on early Jesuit music in China and shall be supplemented with additional primary sources when they are available.

6. Epilogue

Matteo Ricci died on 11 May 1610 at the age of 58. His fellows, led by Pantoja, strived to gain the imperial approval of burying Ricci in China with a tombstone – under the Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty (大明會典), only foreign diplomats representing their own countries who died during their journey may have been granted a graveyard in China. Ricci and other Jesuits apparently were not qualified. Previously deceased missionaries were shipped back to Macau and buried there. With the help of Li Zhizao (李之藻), a formal request was presented to the Ming emperor Wanli:

“As your humble servants whom came from the distant barbarian land, we deeply admire the great virtue of heaven. Our journey to here took already three years, after travelling some 80 thousand miles on the ocean. We have endured difficulties and hardships, and finally in 1601, together with Matteo Ricci and five fellows, we were received by the imperial palace. After presenting gifts from our homeland, we were granted ration by the court; we are mostly grateful, so grateful that we are not able to repay this gratitude even with the sacrifice of our own lives. In February 1601, we were granted positions, as appeasements for foreign countries; we are obliged to the continuous ration granted to us during our time waiting for the imperial order.

Unfortunately, on 11th May 1610, Matteo Ricci passed away after years of disease. He, a lone servant from a strange land, was indeed pitiful. The journey back to home is far and full of danger, and the sailors are reluctant to sail with dead bodies, therefore Ricci’s body may not be sent back home.

For the sake of the long cultivation upon your greatness, we, the humble servants, learn the piety of kindness here in China; in his living time Ricci was raised from humbleness; the ancient emperor Wen of Zhou graced upon homeless bones; Ricci hoped to be treated the same way and to be buried in a grave here.

Moreover, since servant Ricci entered the great palace, he progressively learns the culture of Xi Ming (熙明), reads and understands rationality; from dawn to dusk was he sincere and dedicated, he burnt incenses and prayed to the heaven, upon the holiness, he had no wish but to repay the gratitude of this land; his faithful heart is known to all scholars and residents in the capital city, that I dare not to exaggerate. Ricci was diligent in study during his lifetime and was quite able to write, first in his homeland across the ocean, he was already an established scholar, after coming to this great land he was well acknowledged by local scholars and officials, his accomplishment was worthy to the clear stream of waterfalls in the deep mountains; may your highness show once again mercy, your mercy will be commemorated.

We humble servants of foreign land, dare not to wish for what we do not deserve, it is lamentable that Ricci died and has nowhere to be buried, we beg with blood and tears for your great kindness, to grant us empty land of several Mu (畝)³⁷⁸, or some empty temples, so that a body from foreign land may finally rest in peace, and we, the remaining four humble servants, may stay together until our death, following our order, to serve the holy father and the heavenly god, and pray for your highness and the emperor's mother good and long lives. So that we may enjoy the

³⁷⁸ 1 Mu = 607.7440 meter square. 20 Mu = 12154.88 meter square.

fortune of peace of this great land of the great empire, and we humble servants may endeavour in serving the empire; we are much obliged and await your decision.”³⁷⁹

Without stating the missionary work of the Jesuits, the writing focuses on how much Matteo Ricci was fascinated and inspired by the great culture of China - this is of course due to the possible concern from the Ming court towards the Catholic missioning in China - oppositions to the Catholic belief were not uncommon during late Ming Dynasty. Although Ricci was not a diplomat, what Ricci had done was highly diplomatic. By granting graveyard to Ricci may, on the one hand, demonstrate the great kindness of the Ming Empire, and on the other hand, earn the Jesuit official recognitions of their residency in China.³⁸⁰

Ming emperor Wanli thus ordered Shuntian Fu (順天府, equivalent to municipal authority of the capital) ‘to find a piece of land for building a temple, so that the body (of Ricci) may be decently buried; besides to demonstrate the

³⁷⁹ Original text: “臣本遠夷，向慕天德化，跋涉三載，道經海上八萬餘里，艱苦備嘗。至於萬曆二十八年十二月，偕臣利瑪竇及兼伴五人，始得到京朝見，貢獻方物，蒙恩給賜廩餼，臣等感激不勝，捐軀莫報。萬曆二十九年正月內，奏允天恩，照例安插，以將柔遠等情，候旨多年，叨蒙廩給不闕。

不意，於萬曆三十八年閏三月十九日，利瑪竇以年老患病身故。異域孤臣，情實可憐，道途險遠，海人多所忌諱，必不能將屍返國。

伏念臣等久霑聖化，即系輩殼臣民，堯仁德被於華夷。生既蒙養於升斗，西伯澤及於枯骨，死猶望掩覆於泉壤。

況臣利瑪竇自入聖朝，漸習熙明之化，讀書通理，朝夕虔恭，焚香祝天，頭聖一念，犬馬報恩忠赤之心，都城士民共知，非敢飾說。生前頗稱好學，頗能著述，先在海邦，原系知名之士，及來上國亦為縉紳所嘉，似無愧於山澤隱逸之流，或蒙聖慈再賜體訪，不無可矜可錄。

臣等外國微臣，豈敢希冀分外，所悲死無葬地，泣血祈懇天恩，查賜閑地畝餘，或廢寺閑房數間，俾異域遺骸得以埋癰，而臣等見在四人，亦得生死相依，恪守教規。以朝夕瞻休天主上帝，仰祝聖母聖躬萬萬歲壽。既享天朝樂土太平之福，亦畢螻蟻外臣報效之力，臣等不勝感激，屏營候命之至。” From: Matteo Ricci, Nicolas Trigault, *China in the 16th Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610* (利瑪竇中國札記), ed. He Zhao Wu (何兆武), trans. He Gao Ji (何高濟), Wang Zun Zhong (王遵仲), Li Shen (李申) (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1983), 620. Own translation.

³⁸⁰ Henri Barnard (裴化行), *Le père Matthieu Ricci et la société chinoise de son temps (1552-1610)* (利瑪竇評傳), trans. Guan Zhenhu (管震湖) (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1993), 623.

gentle and far flung kindness of my empire.³⁸¹ With everything provided and planned, Ricci's funeral was held on the 1 November 1611, the catholic All Saint's Day, at Zhanlan (柵欄) - literally means the 'wooden gate'. Ricci's funeral was 'celebrated in the highest possible style, with organ and other musical instruments (*Missa qua potuit pompa celebrate est, organo aliisque musicis instrumentis*).³⁸² The same day opened the renovated compound of the Chapel, which was built on the confiscated land and villas of the disgraced palace eunuch named Yang – a total of 20 Mu (畝) land and 38 villas, where Yang had abducted from a local Buddhist temple.³⁸³ The original Buddhist temple was later reconstructed into a Catholic chapel - not just for Ricci's final resting place, but it also became the latest gathering place for the Jesuit fellows and the converts.

As described in the plea to the emperor, Ricci's virtue was acknowledged and appreciated by many; and many had attended Ricci's funeral, including Xu Guanqi and Li Zhizao, some good friends of Ricci, also some local officials and non-Catholics, had all paid tribute to Ricci before he was buried outside the west gate of Beijing.³⁸⁴ Ricci was the first non-diplomat foreigner to be granted such honour, after his 28 years of residency in China.

By the time Ricci arrived in China, the Ming empire was still at its finest, but after the death of the main reformist, the Senior Grand Secretary (首輔) Zhang Juzheng (張居正) in 1582, Ming empire gradually declined upon unceasing internal political conflicts between the emperor's senior advisors. Wanli

³⁸¹ Original text: 查給地廟，收葬妻插，昭我聖朝柔遠之仁， see: Xiao Ma (曉馬), "The change of Zhalan Catholic Missionary Cemetery (滕公柵欄天主教士墓地的變遷)," *Party School Teaching and Learning (黨校教學)* 6 (1987): 27. Own translation.

³⁸² FR, 626, N. 998. Note the separation of the "organo" from "musicis instrumentis".

³⁸³ Xiao Ma (曉馬), "The change of Zhalan Catholic Missionary Cemetery (滕公柵欄天主教士墓地的變遷)," *Party School Teaching and Learning (黨校教學)* 6 (1987): 27.

³⁸⁴ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), xii.

emperor was prominently discouraged by the political deadlocks and began neglecting his duty as the leader of the nation, Zhang's reformed cabinet failed to operate ordinarily. Wanli was frequently absent from court for more than 20 years and additionally the political struggles plus the incompetence of the emperor led to the outflow of political elites. In other words, Ming government failed to seize support from the intellectuals and the literati, which were conventionally bounded with the Imperial Examination (科舉)³⁸⁵ system – the selected will eventually become government officials.

By 1602, 30 years after Wanli emperor's reign, the shortage of key governmental positions was serious, including: 3 Imperial Secretaries (尚書) for Nanking and Peking (Beijing), 10 Vice Minister (侍郎), 3 Grand Coordinators (巡撫) around the country, 66 Provincial Administration Commissioners (布政使) and Surveillance Commissioners (按察使), as well as 25 Prefects (知府).³⁸⁶ This loophole gave eunuchs unprecedented power and influence over the politics, the eunuch's administration Directorate of Ceremonial (司禮監) became the main gateway to receive the imperial approval for getting things done and the Directorate's power even predominated the cabinet.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁵ For a detailed description of Ming Civil Examination system, see: Wang Kaixuan (王凱旋), *On the Civil Examination System of the Ming (明代科舉制度考論)* (Shenyang: Shenyang Press, 2005).

³⁸⁶ Original text: '今吏部尚書缺已三年，左都御史亦缺一年，刑、工二部僅以一侍郎兼理，大司馬（指兵部尚書）既久在告，而左、右司馬（指兵部左、右侍郎）亦未有代匱者，禮部止一侍郎李廷機，今亦在告，戶部止有一尚書。蓋總計部院堂上官共三十一員，見缺二十四員，其久注門籍者尚不在數內。此猶可為國乎？'

"Now the post of Imperial Secretary of the Ministry of Personnel has been absent for three years, the Left Censor-in-Chief one year, Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Works are substituted by their Vice Ministers. For Ministry of War, the Imperial Secretary is on leave. The positions of the Left and Right Vice Ministers are not filled. Ministry of Rites has only one Vice Minister Li Ting Ji (李廷機), who is also on leave. The Ministry of Revenue has just one Imperial Secretary. There shall be a total of 31 senior officials in all governing bodies, now 24 are absent; this figure is not even including the number of officials absent in Court. What kind of a country is this?" from "an appeal in 1606 (萬曆三十四) by Grand Secretariat (大學士) Shen Li (沈鯉) et al.", *Transcript of Veritable Records of Ming (鈔本明實錄)*, Book 21, Chap. 419 (卷四百一十九) (Beijing: Thread-Binding Books Publishing House, 2005), 262. Own translation.

³⁸⁷ All translations of official titles are based on Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China (中國古代官名辭典)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

Ricci managed to establish a remarkable personal network in his lifetime, which included the powerful eunuchs in the imperial palace. To succeed Ricci's mediating work, Nicolas Trigault had to take up the task of networking. Trigault arrived in Macau in 1607, and eventually in Mainland China three years later. He was later appointed by the new Superior of China's Mission, Niccolo Longobardi, as the procurator of the China Mission. In order to procure new funding and recruits, Trigault travelled back to Europe and in 1613, Trigault brought with him Ricci's journal manuscripts. During the long voyage, he translated Ricci's writings into Latin for later publication. Eight months later, on 11 October 1614, Trigault arrived in Rome. His proposal to the Papal of using Chinese instead of Latin as the language of Catholic masses was later accepted, gaining Chinese language unprecedented status in the Catholic Church. Financially, Trigault gained support from Philip III of Spain. Like his father Philip II, who sponsored the founding of St. Paul's College in Macau, Philip III was a major supporter of Jesuit's mission around the world. Trigault's proposal to the Superior General Acquaviva to set up an independent Vice-Province of China was also accepted.³⁸⁸

Ricci's journal, after being translated and edited by Trigault, was first published under the title '*De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu*' (On the Christian Expedition in China) in 1615 by Christopher Mangius in Augsburg, Germany.³⁸⁹ Trigault not only translated Ricci's journals, he co-authored the book with supplemented information to Ricci's account. The book became a huge propaganda success and attracted further support to Jesuits' China mission.

³⁸⁸ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 288.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Leaving Rome in May 1616, Trigault travelled around the Jesuit colleges in Europe through Lyons, Munich, Cologne and Antwerp in order to recruit new blood for the China mission. He finally began his journey back to China in April 1618, four years after he left China. Travelling with him were also Johann Schreck (鄧玉函, 1570-1630) – who introduced the telescope to China and he was also a friend of Galileo Galilei; Giacomo Rho (羅雅谷, 1593-1638), and Adam Schall von Bell (湯若望, 1592-1666) – who was also a musician and had later repaired Ricci's clavichord to Wanli emperor. Schall von Bell became an important figure in Jesuit China mission until early Qing Dynasty in the Forbidden City.³⁹⁰ Despite one major setback due to domestic opposition in 1616, later known as the Nanking Incident (南京教案)³⁹¹, the segregation of Jesuits in China gave the new recruits enough time to learn the Chinese language (LMGH), by 1619, Trigault and the new recruits arrived in Macau, where a Chinese *Ratio Studiorum* was already implemented (See chapter 2). Jesuits' old friend Xu Guangqi relentlessly petitioned to the emperor and sought every possible way to regain the emperor's trust.

The chance finally came one year after the young new emperor Chongzhen (思宗), the last emperor of Ming, reigned. After the Imperial Astronomical Bureau failed to predict an eclipse, emperor Chongzhen accepted Xu's proposal of a calendar reform. A new Calendar Office was thus established under the Imperial Astronomical Bureau and the Jesuits – Giacomo Rho and Johann Adam Schall von Bell, were called up again for the job.³⁹² Jesuit's service in calendar making continued in Qing Dynasty. In 1655, the Shunzhi emperor (順治)

³⁹⁰ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 290.

³⁹¹ In 1616, Shen Que (沈淮, 1565–1624), the Vice-Minister of Rites in Nanjing, petitioned the emperor against the Jesuits. Shen objected to the calendrical reform to be undertaken by Pantoja and de Ursis; Shen also excoriated Vagnone and Semedo for prohibiting certain Confucius rites of worshipping ancestors. Guangqi and Yang Tingyun tried countering the petition but failed. An imperial edict dated 3 February 1617 exiled the four Jesuits to Macao, where Pantoja and de Ursis died in 1618 and 1620 respectively. Other Jesuits in China went underground. See: Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 290-291.

³⁹² Liang Jiamian (梁家勉), *Xu Guangqi nianpu* (徐光啓年譜) (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Works Publishing House, 1981), 345-346.

“granted silver taels, rice, and houses” to Ludovico Buglio (利類思, 1606–1682) and Gabriel de Magalhães (安文思, 1610–1677) after they helped Schall to reform the Chinese calendar.³⁹³

More Jesuits arrived in China and eventually served under the Qing reign. They included Schreck, Johann Terrenz Schreck (鄧玉函, 1576-1630), Rho, Giacomo Rho (羅雅谷, 1593-1638), Johann Adam Schall von Bell (湯若望, 1591-1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (南懷仁, 1623-1688), Philippus Maria Grimaldi (閔明我, 1639-1712), and Sancho Pereira (徐日升, 1645-1708). Most of them had decent mathematical knowledge.

Other than the knowledge of calendar making, the Ming emperor was much more interested in the European firearms due to the constant conflicts with Manchu. Although the Jesuits did not provide such knowledge directly, they demonstrated again their mediating skills and arranged four Portuguese guns together with a small party of gunners from Macau to reach Guangzhou in 1620, and eventually China’s northern border in 1621 (the gunners arrived two to three years later). Despite one accident, which killed one gunner and three Chinese soldiers, the second group of gunners was sent again in 1630 from Macau to fight the Manchurians. The fine performance of Portuguese guns earned Jesuits reputation in Ming court, and once again it earned them the residence permit in the Forbidden City.³⁹⁴

Since Zhang Juzheng’s Single Whip Method (一條鞭法), silver became the only taxpaying unit. However, Ming economy was most reliant upon silver import mainly from Japan and Spain. After the Anglo-Spanish War, and later the devastating Thirty Year’s War, trade drastically dropped and due to the

³⁹³ Pedro Huang (黃伯祿), *In Praise of the Orthodox Church (正教奉褒)* (Shanghai: Tz'umu t'ang (慈母堂), 1894), 487.

³⁹⁴ For an overview of the Portuguese role in late Ming’s war with Manchu, see: Charles Ralph Boxer, "Portuguese Military Expeditions in Aid of the Mings against the Manchus," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 7 (天下月刊) (1938): 24-36.

mounting military expenditures, the silver price soared as well.³⁹⁵ Eventually, silver export to China was scarce. The abandoned coin-monetary system made levelling between silver and coins impossible, the consequence: heavy inflation, which triggered numerous home-grown rebellions. The most prominent rebellion leader was Li Zicheng (李自成, 1606-1645)³⁹⁶. The Ming military, poorly paid and supplied, was caught in between domestic rebellions and Manchurian invasion. Manchurian leader Nurhaci (努爾哈赤, 1559-1626)³⁹⁷ unified Jurchen tribes and frequently attacked Ming borders. His successor Hong Taiji (皇太極, 1592-1643)³⁹⁸, founded the Qing Dynasty in 1636 and seized large areas of land formerly under Ming control. In 1644, major Ming general Wu Sangui (吳三桂, 1612-1678)³⁹⁹ defected Ming and pledged loyalty to Qing by opening the gate of Shanhai Pass (山海關) of the Great Wall. Hong Taiji's brother Dorgon (多爾袞, 1612-1650)⁴⁰⁰, the Prince Regent (攝政王) of the young new emperor of Qing, then marched towards the capital. The emperor Chongzhen later hanged himself when Li's army raided the imperial palace; Li was later defeated by Wu and Dorgon's joint forces. Ming dynasty fell.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁵ Edwin. E. Rich and Charles. H. Wilson, "The Economy of Expanding Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Volume IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 406-407.

³⁹⁶ For the historical description of Li's rebellion, see: Gu Cheng (顧誠), *History of Peasant War in the Late Ming Dynasty (明末農民戰爭史)* (Beijing: Guangming Daily Publishing House (光明日報出版社), 1984).

³⁹⁷ For a biography of Nurhaci, see: Teng Shaozhen (滕紹箴), *A Critical Biography of Nurhaci (努爾哈赤評傳)* (Shenyang: Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1985).

³⁹⁸ For a biography of Hon Taiji, see: Chen Jiexian (陳捷先), *A Portrait of Hon Taiji (皇太極寫真)* (Taipei: Yuan-Liou (遠流), 2004).

³⁹⁹ For a biography of Wu Sangui, see: Hu Kecheng (胡克誠), Zhang Li (張利) and Jin Kaicheng (金開誠), *The Change of Chinese Dynasties in History: Wu Sangui's Surrender to Qing (中國歷史朝代更迭: 吳三桂降清)* (Changchun: Jilin Literature and History Press (吉林文史出版社), 2011).

⁴⁰⁰ Zhou Yuanlian (周遠廉) and Zhao Shiyu (趙世瑜), *Imperial Uncle Prince Regent Dorgon (皇父攝政王多爾袞)* (Changchun: Jilin Literature and History Press (吉林文史出版社), 1993).

⁴⁰¹ For a concise overview of the transition between Ming and Qing dynasties, see: Yan Chongnian (閻崇年), *Sixty Years of the Fall of Ming and the Rise of Qing (明亡清興六十年)* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008).

The imperial interest of western knowledge continued in Qing dynasty under Kangxi's (康熙, 1654-1722)⁴⁰² reign. With great respect to the Chinese civilization, the new emperor was determined to learn the Chinese literature, history, and culture. The Manchu emperor also noticed the astronomical work of Verbiest; his successful prediction of solar and lunar eclipses earned him the trust of Kangxi. Verbiest was later appointed as the Vice-Director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. Other than scientific knowledge, Kangxi was keen in commissioning the edition of works of arts and literature. They include *Kangxi Zidian* (康熙字典 Kangxi Dictionary, 1716), *Qinding Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (坐欽定古今圖書集成 Imperially Approved Synthesis of Books and Illustrations Past and Present, 1728), *Zhuzi Quanshu* (朱子全書 The Complete Works of Zhu Zi, 1714), *Xingli Jingyi* (性理精義 A Synthesis of the Doctrine of Neo-Confucianism, 1715) and *Yuzhi Lüli Yuanyuan* (御製律曆淵源 Origins of Pitch-Pipes and the Calendar, by Imperial Authority, 1723).

Like late Ming emperors, Kangxi had a great interest in European music. Verbiest noticed this and at one occasion, he demonstrated one organ, together with a water fountain showcase with ornaments of beast and figures, where water moved according to the beat and melody of the organ. Kangxi was very impressed and honoured him with a copper plate with his image and the fountain on it.⁴⁰³ The most prominent Jesuit figure, after Ricci in terms of Chinese's encountering with European music was, Tomás Pereira (徐日升, 1645-1708). The Portuguese Jesuit arrived in Macau in 1672 and studied in Macau's St. Paul's College. Knowing Pereira's talent in music, Verbiest introduced him to Kangxi. The emperor then sent a small embassy to accompany Pereira to the Forbidden City. He was warmly received by the emperor on January 6, 1673.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² For a biography of Kangxi, see: Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-Hsi*, (New York: Random House, 1988).

⁴⁰³ John E. Wills, "Some Dutch Sources on the Jesuit China Mission, 1662-1687," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 54 (1985): 291.

⁴⁰⁴ A biography of Tomás Pereira could be found in: Francisco Rodrigues, *Jesuitas portugueses astrónomos na China, 1583-1805* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1990), 15-81; and, Joel

Pereira served 35 years in the Forbidden City as scholar and musician; he was appointed as the emperor's music tutor to teach the emperor about European music theory and how to play a keyboard instrument.⁴⁰⁵ In Chinese perspective, the tutoring or teaching of the emperor was not only considered a great reputation but lifelong bond or friendship.⁴⁰⁶ Pereira also helped to install an organ in Nantang (南堂)⁴⁰⁷ by 1681. He too helped to build more organs for Kangxi.⁴⁰⁸ Pereira and other Jesuits, including Filippo Grimaldi (1638-1712), were often invited to play music in front of the emperor; the instruments they played include organ and harpsichord.⁴⁰⁹

Pereira passed away in Beijing in 1708. The success of Pereira led to the publication of *Lülü Zhengyi* (律呂正義) which was commissioned by the emperor Kangxi in 1713. The *Lülü Zhengyi* incorporates four volumes of music theories and musical works of the Jesuits, including works from Ricci, Pereira and the later Lazarist Teodorico Pedrini (德理格, 1671-1746), who was also a court musician under the emperor's commission. The last volume of *Lülü Zhengyi* was completed in 1746, 11 years after the reign of Qianlong (乾隆, 1711-1799).

Canhao, "Father Tomás Pereira: A XVIIIth-Century Portuguese Musician in the Beijing Court," *Review of Culture* 4 (1988): 21-33 and Antonucci Davor, "Tomás Pereira: Music and Diplomacy for the Emperor" in *The Generation of Giants - Jesuit missionaries and scientists in China on the footsteps of Matteo Ricci*, ed. Luisa M. Paternicò (Trento: Martino Martini Research Centre, 2011), 77-84.

⁴⁰⁵ John E. Wills, "Some Dutch Sources on the Jesuit China Mission, 1662-1687," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 54 (1985): 277.

⁴⁰⁶ Paul Rule, "Tomás Pereira and the Jesuits of the Court of the Kangxi Emperor", in *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*, ed. Artur K. Wardega (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 41.

⁴⁰⁷ Formerly known as Xitang (西堂), see: Paul Rule, "Tomás Pereira and the Jesuits of the Court of the Kangxi Emperor", in *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*, ed. Artur K. Wardega (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 43.

⁴⁰⁸ Joel Canhao, "Father Tomás Pereira: A XVIIIth-Century Portuguese Musician in the Beijing Court," *Review of Culture* 4 (1988): 22-23.

⁴⁰⁹ See: João Paulo Janeiro, "The Organist and Organ Builder Tomás Pereira: Some New Data on His Activity" in *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*, ed. Artur K. Wardega (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 546-567.

However the 'honeymoon' between the Qing court and the Jesuits did not last long. The trigger of conflict was the Confucius rituals, featuring the rituals to honour the deceased and to the 'Tian' (天), which were commonly seen in Chinese customs. The rituals and the use of terms like 'Tian' and 'Changdi' (上帝) were later forbidden under the decree *Cum Deus optimus* issued on November 20, 1704, by Pope Clement XI.⁴¹⁰ Following the decree, which defied Confucius culture and rituals by the Pope, the then-allowed Christian participation in Confucius rituals was entirely prohibited.⁴¹¹

Pope Clement XI issued the official condemnation on 19 March 1715 in *Papal bull Ex illa die*:

I. The West calls *Deus* [God] the creator of Heaven, Earth, and everything in the universe. Since the word *Deus* does not sound right in the Chinese language, the Westerners in China and Chinese converts to Catholicism have used the term "Heavenly Lord" for many years. From now on such terms as "Heaven" and "*Shang-ti*" should not be used: *Deus* should be addressed as the Lord of Heaven, Earth, and everything in the universe. The tablet that bears the Chinese words "Reverence for Heaven" should not be allowed to hang inside a Catholic church and should be immediately taken down if already there.

II. The spring and autumn worship of Confucius, together with the worship of ancestors, is not allowed among Catholic converts. It is not allowed even though the converts appear in the ritual as bystanders

⁴¹⁰ See: Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett, *Cambridge History of Christianity: vol. 7, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 463; and

Jocelyn M. N. Marinescu, "Defending Christianity in China: The Jesuit Defense of Christianity in the *Lettres Edifiantes Et Curieuses & Ruijianlu* in Relation to the Yongzheng Proscription of 1724" (PhD diss., Kansas State University, 2008).

⁴¹¹ George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy from Its Beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985), 43-50. Further details on the Chinese Rites Controversy, see: David E. Mungello, *The Chinese Rites Controversy - Its History and Meaning* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1994).

because to be a bystander in this ritual is as pagan as to participate in it actively.

III. Chinese officials and successful candidates in the metropolitan, provincial, or prefectural examinations, if they have been converted to Roman Catholicism, are not allowed to worship in Confucian temples on the first and fifteenth days of each month. The same prohibition is applicable to all the Chinese Catholics who, as officials, have recently arrived at their posts or who, as students, have recently passed the metropolitan, provincial, or prefectural examinations.

IV. No Chinese Catholics are allowed to worship ancestors in their familial temples.

V. Whether at home, in the cemetery, or during the time of a funeral, a Chinese Catholic is not allowed to perform the ritual of ancestor worship. He is not allowed to do so even if he is in company with non-Christians. Such a ritual is heathen in nature regardless of the circumstances.

Despite the above decisions, I have made it clear that other Chinese customs and traditions that can in no way be interpreted as heathen in nature should be allowed to continue among Chinese converts. The way the Chinese manage their households or govern their country should by no means be interfered with. As to exactly what customs should or should not be allowed to continue, the papal legate in China will make the necessary decisions. In the absence of the papal legate, the responsibility of making such decisions should rest with the head of the

China mission and the Bishop of China. In short, customs and traditions that are not contradictory to Roman Catholicism will be allowed, while those that are clearly contradictory to it will not be tolerated under any circumstances.”⁴¹²

⁴¹² Original text: “Ad Sinenses quod attinet, ritus indicamus Apostolicae Sedis decretis pluries damnatos, quorumque proscriptionem Clemens XI. Const. quae incipit Ex illa die, & Benedictus XIV. Const. cujus initium est Ex quo singulari, comprobaverunt. Primo itaque statuitur. Cum Deus optimus Maximus congrue apud Sinas vocabulis Europaeis Exprimi nequeat, ad eundem verum Deum significandum, vocabulum Tien Chu, hoc est cali Dominus, quod à Sinensibus missionariis, & fidelibus longo, ac probato usu receptum esse dignoscitur, admittendum esse : nomina vero Tien (Caelum), & Xang Ti (Supremus Imperator) penitus rejicienda.

Secundo. Idcirco Tabellas cum inscriptione Sinica King Tien, Caelum colito, in Ecclesiis Christianorum appendi, seu jam appensas inibi retineri permittendum non esse.

Tertio. Nulla de causa permittendum esse Christifidelibus, quod praesint, ministrent, aut intersint solemnibus sacrificiis, seu oblationibus, quae à Sinensibus in utroque aequinoctio cujuscumque anni Confucio, & progenitoribus defunctis fieri solent, tamquam superstitione imbutis. Similiter nec esse permittendum in Aedibus Confucii, quae Sinico nomine Miao appellantur, idem Christifideles exercent, ac peragant caeremonias, ritus, & oblationes, quae in honorem ejusdem Confucii fiunt, tum singulis mensibus in Novilunio, & Plenilunio à Mandarinis, seu primariis Magistratibus, antequam dignitatem adeant, seu saltem post ejus possessionem adeptam, qui postquam ad gradus sunt admissi, è vestigio ad Templum, seu aedem Confucii se conferunt.

Quarto. Non esse permittendum Christianis in Templis, seu Aedibus progenitoribus dicatis, oblationes minus solemnes eisdem facere, nec in illis ministrare, aut quomodolibet inservire, vel alios ritus, & caeremonias coram progenitorum tabellis, in privatis domibus, sive in eorumdem progenitorum sepulcris, sive antequam defuncti sepulturae tradantur, in eorum honorem fieri consuetos, una cum Gentilibus, vel seorsim ab illis peragere, eisque ministrare aut interesse. Imo cum, omnibus hinc inde perpensis, praedicta omnia peragi comperta sint, ut à superstitione separari nequeant, Christianae religionis cultoribus nequidem permitti possunt, praemissa publica, aut politico tantum cultu erga defunctos illa praestare, nec ab eis quidpiam petere, aut sperare.

Quinto. Permittendum non esse Christifidelibus, tabellas defunctorum Progenitorum in suis privatis domibus retinere, juxta illarum partium morem hoc est cum inscriptione Sinica, qua thronus seu sedes spiritus, vel Anime N. significetur; imo nec cum alia, qua sedes, seu thronus, adeoque idem ac priori, licet magis contracta, inscriptione designari videatur. Quo vero ad tabellas solo defuncti nomine inscriptas, tolerari posse illarum usum, dummodo in eis conficiendis omittantur omnia, quae superstitionem redolent, & secluso scandalo, hoc est dummodo qui Christiani non sunt, arbitrari non possint, tabellas hujusmodi à Christianis retineri ea mente, qua ipsi illas retinent, nec non adjecta insuper declaratione ad latus ipsarum tabellarum apponenda, qua, & quae sit Christianorum de defunctis fides, & qualis filiorum, ac nepotum erga progenitores pietas esse debeat enuntietur.” In Paul Gabriel Antoine, Philippus de Carboneanus, Bonaventura Staidel, *Theologia moralis universa*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Apud Benedictum Cano, 1790), 166.

The translation of this decree by Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba in Chinese: “一、西洋地方稱呼天地萬物之主用「斗斯」(Deus) 二字, 此二字在中國用不成話, 所以在中國之西洋人, 併入天主教之人方用「天主」二字, 已經日久。從今以後, 總不許用「天」字, 亦不許用「上帝」字眼稱呼天地萬物之主。如「敬天」二字之匾, 若未懸掛, 即不必懸掛, 若已曾懸掛在天主堂內, 即當取下, 不許懸掛。

It came as no surprise that Kangxi was very much upset with the Vatican's decision and the effort of mediating and negotiation failed and Kangxi responded in heavy words. As a consequence, he overturned his previous *Edict to Tolerance* (容教令) in 1692 which allowed Christian preaching in China. He also ordered restrictions to missionary activities, only the missionaries following the Rules of Matteo Ricci (利瑪竇的規矩) were allowed to stay, and all missionaries had to register themselves at Imperial Household (內務府) for a sealed certificate (票, *Piao*). Those who were not able to comply with the new order were to be sent back to Macau.⁴¹³

Kangxi issues a Decree in 1721, which responded strongly against Clement XI:

“Reading this proclamation (the 1715 *Papal bull*), I have concluded that the Westerners are petty indeed. It is impossible to reason with them because they do not understand larger issues as we understand them in

二、春秋二季，祭孔子並祭祖宗之大禮，凡入教之人，不許作主祭、助祭之事，連入教之人，並不許在此處站立，因為此與異端相同。

三、凡入天主教之官員或進士、舉人、生員等，於每月初一日、十五日，不許入孔子廟行禮。或有新上任之官，並新得進士，新得舉人生員者，亦俱不許入孔廟行禮。

四、凡入天主教之人，不許入祠堂行一切之禮。

五、凡入天主教之人，或在家裡，或在墳上，或逢弔喪之事，俱不許行禮。或本教與別教之人，若相會時，亦不許行此禮。因為還是異端之事。凡入天主教之人，或說我並不曾行異端之事，我不過要報本的意思，我不求福，亦不求免禍，雖有如此說話者亦不可。

六、凡遇別教之人行此禮之時，入天主教之人，若要講究，恐生是非，只好在旁邊站立，還使得。

七、凡入天主教之人，不許依中國規矩留牌位在家，因有「靈位神主」等字眼，又指牌位上有靈魂。要立牌位，只許寫亡人名字。再者，牌位作法，若無異端之事，如此留在家裏可也，但牌位旁邊應寫天主教孝敬父母之道理。

以上我雖如此定奪，中國餘外還有別樣之理，毫無異端，或與異端亦毫不相似者，如齊家治國之道，俱可遵行。今有可行與不可行之禮，俱有教王之使臣定奪。有與天主教不相反者，許行，相反者，拒決斷不許行。” in Kangxi (康熙), *Diplomatic Correspondence between Kangxi and Rome* (康熙與羅馬使節關係文書), ed. Chen Yuan (陳垣) (Taipei: Wenhai Press, 1974), 89-93. English translation is adopted from: Dun. Jen Li, *China in Translation, 1517-1911* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1969), 224.

⁴¹³ For a detailed description on Kangxi's decision, see: Liu Xiaomeng (劉小萌), "The Western Missionaries and Macau in Kangxi's Era (康熙年間的西洋傳教士與澳門)," *Review of Culture* 41/42 (2000): 139-145.

China. There is not a single Westerner versed in Chinese works, and their remarks are often incredible and ridiculous. To judge from this proclamation, their religion is no different from other small, bigoted sects of Buddhism or Taoism. I have never seen a document which contains so much nonsense. From now on, Westerners should not be allowed to preach in China, to avoid further trouble.”⁴¹⁴

Although the Decree did not expel all Jesuits, the Christian preaching in China was forced to terminate. Later Jesuits were however allowed to stay in the Forbidden City as scholars or specialists. Meanwhile, in Europe, the Society of Jesus was crumpled in 1759 when a drastic edict was issued after an accused Jesuit involvement of an attempt in assassinating King Joseph I of Portugal (1714-1777), also known as the Távora affair⁴¹⁵. Thousands of Jesuits were deported, some were arrested and later executed, and all Jesuit properties were confiscated. The edict later applied to Macau in 1762, which led to the closure of all Jesuit schools, the St. Paul’s College, and the expulsion of all Jesuits. The College itself, although having survived from several major fires, did not survive the devastating fire in 1835 – the buildings were burnt down to ruins and left only one giant Facade of the St. Paul’s Church, now known as *Da San Ba* (大三巴), where *Da* refers to the magnificent structure and *San Ba* resembles the name of St. Paul. It remains to be the landmark of Macau nowadays.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ Original Text: “覽此條約，只可說得西洋等小人如何言得中國之大理。況西洋等人無一通漢書者，說言議論，令人可笑者多。今見來臣條約，竟與和尚道士異端小教相同。彼此亂言者，莫過如此。以後不必西洋人在中國行教，禁止可也，免得多事。欽此。” See: Kangxi (康熙), *Diplomatic Correspondence between Kangxi and Rome (康熙與羅馬使節關係文書)*, ed. Chen Yuan (陳垣) (Taipei: Wenhai Press, 1974), 96. Translation adopted from: Dun. Jen Li, *China in Translation, 1517-1911* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1969), 22.

⁴¹⁵ For a comprehensive analysis of the Távora affair, see: Patrícia Woolley Cardoso Lins Alves, "D. João de Almeida Portugal e a Revisão do Processo dos Távoras: conflitos, intrigas e linguagens políticas em Portugal nos finais do Antigo Regime (c.1777-1802)" (PhD diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2011), 150-160.

⁴¹⁶ Although some Chinese sources claim the official closure of St. Paul’s College as 1835 after the fire, Lee Heong lok confirms that the decrees were put into effect in Macau in 1762 when, all the possessions of the Order were confiscated by the Crown, and all its members were arrested. See: Lei Heong lok (李向玉), “Verifying the date of closure of the College of St. Paul (澳門聖保祿學院關閉時間之辨析),” *Administração* 49 (2000): 789-797.

Appendix I

Translations

萬曆二十八年，歲次庚子，竇具贄物赴京師，獻上，間有西洋樂器雅琴一具，視中州異形，撫之有異音。皇上奇之，因樂師問曰：「其奏必有本國之曲，願聞之。」竇對曰：「夫他曲，旅人罔知，惟習道語數曲，今譯其大意，以大朝文字，敬陳於左。第譯其意，而不能隨其本韻者，方音異也。」

During the 28th year of the Wanli reign, a gengzi year (1601 C.E.), I (or "Matteo Ricci") prepared gifts and went to the capital (Beijing) to offer them up (to the emperor). Among (the gifts) was the Western musical instrument yaqin ("elegant" qin) - one of them, regarded in China as having a strange form, and when played as making exotic sounds. The emperor marveled at it, and so his music master made a statement, saying, "Its performance should have melodies (qu: songs?) of (its or our) own country, then we would be willing to listen to it." I (or "Matteo") responded, saying, "As for other songs/melodies, this visitor (i.e., I) do not know about this; I am only accustomed to some songs/melodies with philosophical texts. As of now I have translated their general meaning using literary Chinese, as follows. But although I have translated according to the meaning (of the words), in places I have not been able to make (the words) follow the original rhymes, since the sounds of the each place's language are different.⁴¹⁷

For a concise history of Macau, see: Huang Qichen (黃啟臣) *General History of Macau (澳門通史)* (Guangzhou: Guangdong Educational Press, 1999), 121.

⁴¹⁷ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

1) 吾願在上

誰識人類之情耶？人也者，乃反樹耳。樹之根本在地，而從土受養，其幹枝向天而竦。人之根本向乎天，而自天承育，其幹枝垂下。君子之知，知上帝者，君子之學，學上帝者，因以擇誨下眾也。上帝之心，惟多憐恤蒼生，少許霹靂傷人，當使日月照，而照無私方矣！常使雨雪降，而降無私田兮！

1) My Wish Above

Who understand the nature of man? Man, so to say, is indifferent from trees. For trees root in earth, and fertilized from earth; it points its branches upwards to heaven, yet man roots from heaven, and nurtured by heaven. The heaven stretches its branches downwards (to man). What accomplished man knows, knows god; what accomplished man learns, learns from god; as god choose to nurture man below. God's heart, has great sympathy to people, has seldom thunder to harm, when god shines the moon and the sun, it shines not to the private place, when god rains and snows, it falls not to the private field.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸ Own translation. Based on John Thompson's translation, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017.
<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

2) 牧童遊山

牧童忽有憂，即厭此山，而遠望彼山之如美，可雪憂焉。至彼山，近彼山，近不若遠矣。牧童、牧童，易居者寧易己乎？汝何往而能離己乎？憂樂由心萌，心平隨處樂，心幻隨處憂，微埃入目，人速疾之，而爾寬於串心之錐乎？己外尊己，固不及自得矣，奚不治本心，而永安於故山也？古今論皆指一耳。遊外無益，居內有利矣！

2) A young shepherd wandering over the hills

A young shepherd suddenly feels sad, he hates the mountain where he is standing; and when he looks across the other mountain far way, the beauty of that mountain may melt his sadness. He seeks that mountain, when he is there, the mountains seems better when it is far away. Shepherd, Shepherd, how can you expect to transform yourself, by changing your dwelling place? Can you leave yourself behind by moving away? Sorrow and joy sprout in the heart. Happy you are always when your heart is in peace; sad you are always when your heart is in turmoil. When a grain of dust was blown into your eyes, it immediately brings discomfort. So can you allow the pain that is caused by the awl which stabbed through your heart? Things that you gain from outside yourself, is no better than what you may gain from inside yourself. Shall you not cure your own heart, and settle in eternal peace in your previous mountain? Wise words from the past and so is from the present points to the same thing, that wandering around helps not, yet settling down helps most.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁹ Own translation. Based on John Thompson's translation, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017.
<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

3) 善計壽修

善知計壽修否？不徒數年月多寡，惟以德行之積，盛量己之長也。不肖百紀，孰及賢者一日之長哉！有爲者，其身雖未久經世，而足稱耆耄矣。上帝加我一日，以我改前日之非，而進於德域一步。設令我空費寸尺之寶，因歲之集，集己之咎，夫誠負上主之慈旨矣。嗚呼！恐再復禱壽，壽不可得之，雖得之，非我福也。

3) Better plan for a longer life

Do you know the better plan for a longer life? It counts not merely the months and years; it counts the accumulation of good deeds, as it is the best benchmark for oneself. An indecent age of a century, worth less than a descendant man's day! Accomplished man, though has not much experience in life, may be equivalent to the 60 or 70 years old. God gave me one more day, so that I could amend my faults I did the day before, so that I may enter the state of virtue. If I waste my time, little by little, accumulates by years, accumulates my faults; against lord's will it is indeed. Alas! I'm afraid that it is no use for one to keep praying for a longer life, even if a longer life is given, it is no fortune.⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ Own translation. Based on John Thompson's translation, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017.
<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

4) 德之勇巧

琴瑟之音雖雅，止能盈廣寓，和友朋，徑迄牆壁之外，而樂及鄰人，不如德行之聲之洋洋，其以四海爲界乎？寰宇莫載，則猶通天之九重，浮日月星辰之上，悅天神而致天主之寵乎？勇哉，大德之成，能攻蒼天之金剛石城，而息至威之怒矣！巧哉，德之大成，有聞於天，能感無形之神明矣！

4) The Valiant Art of Virtue

The sound of Qin and Se, although elegant, may only fill a big hall, and bring harmony to friends; further it may goes through wall, and brings pleasure to neighbours; unlike the splendor sound of good virtue, may it be limited by the borders of Four Seas? Even the whole world could not hold it, and it infiltrates like nine clouds of heaven, floats it on top of stars, moon and sun, which pleasures the god of heaven and favored by the lord! Valor it is, the accomplishment of virtue, may it breach the diamond city of heaven, and pacify the fury of the majestic! Art it is, the virtue of accomplishment, it is heard in heaven, thus may inspire the invisible holy spirits.⁴²¹

⁴²¹ Own translation. Based on John Thompson's translation, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017.
<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

5) 悔老無德

余春年漸退，有往無復，蹙老暗侵，莫我恕也。何爲乎窄地而營廣廈，以有數之曰，圖無數之謀歟？幸獲今日一日，即亟用之勿失。吁！毋許明日，明日難保；來日之望，止欺愚乎？愚者罄曰立於江涯，埃其涸，而江水汲汲流於海，終弗竭也。年也者，具有輻翼，莫怪其急飛也。吾不怪年之急飛，而惟悔吾之懈進。已夫！老將臻而德未成矣。

5) Regretting of an old age without virtue

My youth is gradually gone, no coming back; clumsy retardation furtively invades, and I may not forgive myself. Why should I bother building big houses on small piece of land, and attempt to earn unlimited profit from my limited days? Fortunately I am be given this day, today, shall it be made best use of and not wasted. Alas! Rely not on tomorrow, for tomorrow is no guarantee; is it not a scam for the fools, to look at what tomorrow will be? The fool stands all day nearby the river and awaits it dry out, yet the river flows endlessly to the sea, never to its exhaustion. Years: they all have light wings, do not wonder at their speedy flight. I do not wonder at the years' speedy flight, just regret my own procrastination. Alas! As old age reaches its extreme, virtues can no longer be perfected.⁴²²

⁴²² Own translation. Based on John Thompson's translation, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017.
<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

6) 胸中庸平

胸中有備者，常衡乎靖隱，不以榮自揚揚，不以窮自抑抑矣。榮時則含懼，而窮際有所望，乃知世之勢無常耶？安心受命者，改命為義也。海嶽巍巍，樹於海角，猛風鼓之，波浪伐之，不動也。異於我浮梗蕩漾，競無內主，第外之飄流是從耳。造物者造我乎宇內，為萬物尊，而我屈己於林總，為其僕也。慘兮慘兮！孰有抱德勇智者，能不待物棄己，而已先棄之，斯拔於其上乎？曰：「吾赤身且來，赤身且去，惟德殉我身之後也，他物誰可之共歟！」

6) Inner balance

Those who in the heart have completeness are usually at ease with quiet solitude; not using prosperity for self-flattery, or poverty for self-limitation. When successful they still have fear, and when poor they still have hope, thus they realize that world conditions are never constant! Those who calmly endure their fate can change their fate properly. As for sea cliffs so lofty, and trees along sea headlands: Fierce winds batter them, waves chop at them, but they do not move. How different from my floating on a log in vast waves, really having no inner compass, And so in the external drifting currents I just follow along. The Creator created me in the world, of all creatures the most honorable, but I submit myself to the great collection of all, becoming its servant. Alas! Alas! Who of those who embrace the strength and knowledge of virtue, can avoid dependence on things and forget themselves, And having first forgotten themselves, then promote others above themselves? It is said, "our physical bodies come (into the world), then leave it; it is only virtue that can be buried with the remnants of our bodies, as for the rest, who could take that with them?"⁴²³

⁴²³ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinguyi.htm>.

7) 肩負雙囊

夫人也，識己也難乎？欺己也易乎？昔有言，凡人肩負雙囊，以胸囊囊人非，以背囊囊己慝兮。目俯下易見他惡，回首顧後囊，而覺自醜者希兮！觀他短乃龍睛，視己失即瞽目兮。默泥氏一日濫刺毀人，或曰「汝獨無咎乎？抑思昧吾儕歟？」曰「有哉？或又重兮，惟今吾且自宥兮！」嗟嗟！待己如是寬也，誠闇矣！汝宥己，人則盍宥之？余制虐法，人亦以此繩我矣。世寡無過者，過者纖乃賢耳。汝望人怨汝大癰，而可不怨彼小疵乎？

7) Shouldering two sacks

For anyone, isn't understanding yourself difficult? Isn't deceiving yourself easy? Formerly it was said, everyone on their shoulders carries two sacks. They use the sack on their chest to carry others' faults, but use the sack on their back to carry their own evil deeds. They look down and it is is easy to see other's evils, But they must turn their head to look at the sack on their back, and so they think their own shameful acts are insignificant! To look at other's shortcomings one uses dragon (sharp) eyes; to see one's own failings one has blind eyes. The prophet Mani one day was excessively lashing out, reviling people. Someone said, "Are you really without sin ('defect')? Or thinking of muffling us?" He said, "There they are! Perhaps they are also important, only now I also myself forgive." Alas! Treating oneself thus so leniently, it is certainly short-sighted. If you forgive yourself, then should others forgive you? If I decide on harsh rules, others also use these to restrain me. Society rarely has no transgressors, transgressors clever as your goodself. Do you expect them to forgive your big warts, while (you) can avoid forgiving their minor blemishes?⁴²⁴

⁴²⁴ Translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017. <http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

8) 定命四達

嗚呼！世之芒芒，流年速逝，逼生人也。月面日易，月易銀容，春花紅潤，暮不若旦矣。若雖才，而才不免膚皺，弗禁鬢白。衰老既詣，迅招乎凶，夜來瞑目也。定命四達，不畏王宮，不恤窮舍，貧富愚賢，概馳幽道，土中之坎三尺，候我與王子同坳兮！何用勞勞，而避夏猛炎？奚用勤勤，而防秋風不祥乎？不日而須汝長別妻女親友，縱有深室，青金明朗，外客或將居之。豈無所愛？苑囿百樹，非松即楸，皆不殉主喪也。日漸苦，萃財賄，幾聚後人樂侈奢一番，即散兮！

8) Destiny reaches in all directions

Alas! In the bustle of the world, years go by and quickly reach an end, pressuring on the living. The silver face of the moon changes every month. But the rosy softness of spring flowers withers from morning to evening! No matter what your beauty, you cannot avoid wrinkles, nor stop hair from becoming white. When old age and decrepitude arrive, they rapidly summon the lethal night upon you, and you close your eyes in death. Death reaches everywhere, does not fear royal palaces, does not shirk the houses of the poor. Poor and rich, ignorant and cultured, all are conducted along the tenebrous way. Burial under three feet of dirt, that awaits me as well as the royal prince! What is the use in making so many efforts to avoid the heat of summer? Why take so many pains to avoid the inconveniences of the autumn wind? Soon you will have to separate yourself forever from your wife, your relatives, your friends. If you have a beautiful house, decorated with precious things, maybe someone else will come and live in it. Is there anything you do not love about it? However, none of the numerous trees in your garden, except for the pine and the catalpa, will survive after the funeral of the master. All the riches you have accumulated with so much effort day after day will be enjoyed by your descendants, and squandered at once.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ Own translation of the title. Text translated by John Thompson, "Matteo Ricci: Eight Songs for Western Keyboard." Accessed 20 March, 2017.
<http://www.silkqin.com/01mywk/themes/programs/mrxiqinquyi.htm>.

Appendix II

Full Analysis of *Xiqin Quy*

- 1) 吾願在上 (My Wish Above)
- 2) 牧童遊山 (A young shepherd wandering over the hills)
- 3) 善計壽修 (Better plan for a longer life)
- 4) 德之勇巧 (The Valiant Art of Virtue)
- 5) 悔老無德 (Regretting of an old age without virtue)
- 6) 胸中庸平 (Inner balance)
- 7) 肩負雙囊 (Shouldering two sacks)
- 8) 定命四達 (Destiny reaches in all directions)

Recordings of *Xiqin Quy* used in the full analysis are available at:

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=oB7nHLxW5Xl-NiFXamowZihMMEE>

and

<https://www.idrive.com/idrive/sh/sh?k=v9zit7t9q2>

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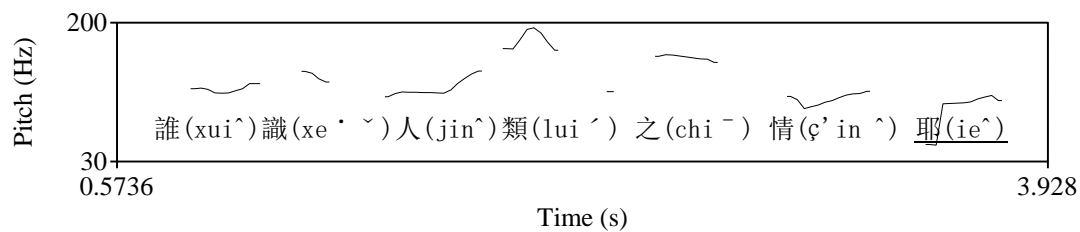
1) 吾願在上

1.1 誰(xui^ˆ)識(xe[˙])人(jin^ˆ)類(lui[˙])之(chi⁻)情(ç'in^ˆ)耶(ie^ˆ)?

平入平去平平平

PRPQPP (7)

1-1

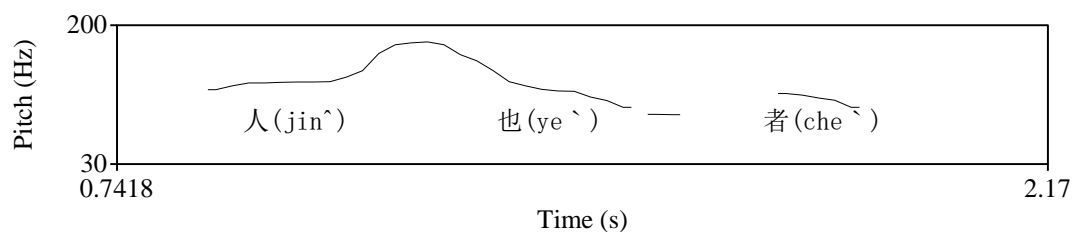


1.2 人(jin^ˆ)也(ye[˙])者(che⁻),

平上上

PSS (3)

1-2

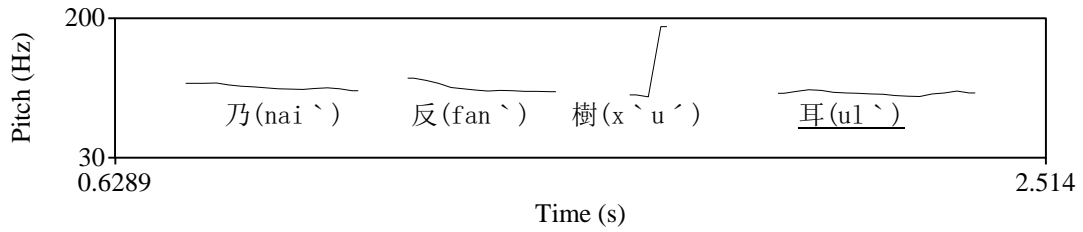


1.3 乃(nai^ˊ)反(fan^ˋ)樹(x^ˋu^ˊ)耳(ul^ˋ)。

上上去上

SSQS (4)

1-3

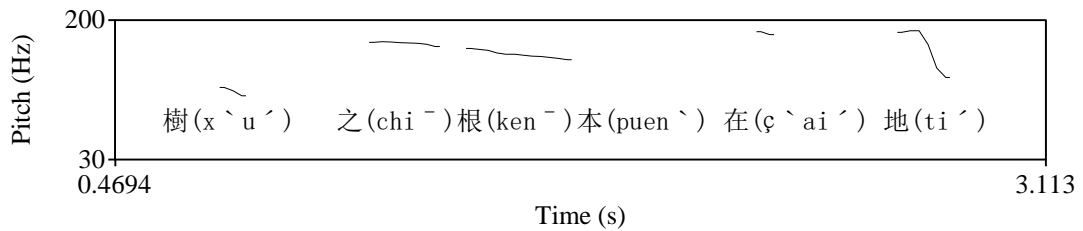


1.4 樹(x^ˋu^ˊ)之(chi^ˋ)根(ken^ˋ)本(puen^ˋ)在(ç^ˋai^ˊ)地(ti^ˊ),

去平平上去去

QPPSQQ (6)

1-4

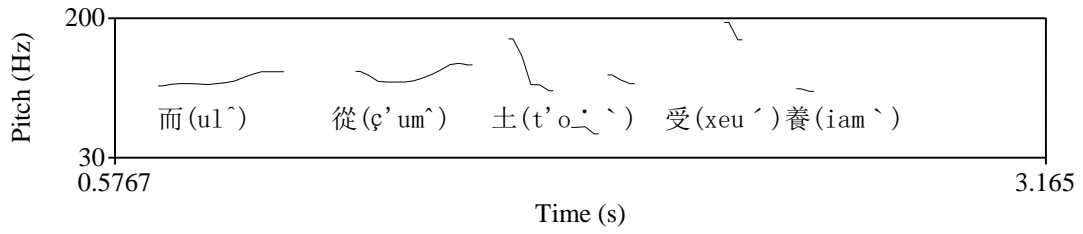


1.5 而(ul^ˆ)從(ç'um^ˆ)土(t'o^ˋ)受(xeu^ˊ)養(iam^ˋ),

平平上去上

PPSQS (5)

1-5

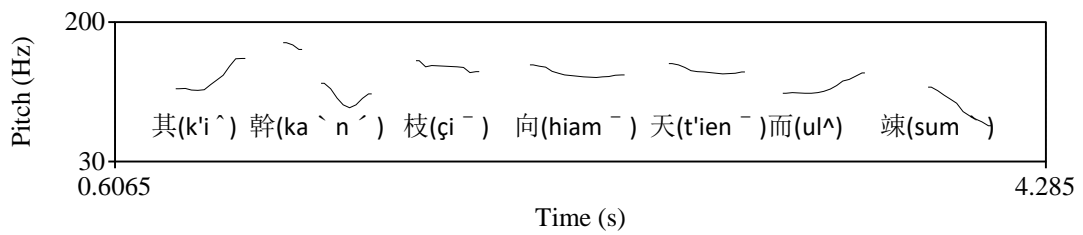


1.6 其(k'i^ˆ)幹(ka^ˋn^ˊ)枝(çi^ˋ)向(hiam^ˋ)天(t'ien^ˋ)而(ul^ˆ)竦(sum^ˋ)。

平去平平平上

PQPPPS (7)

1-6

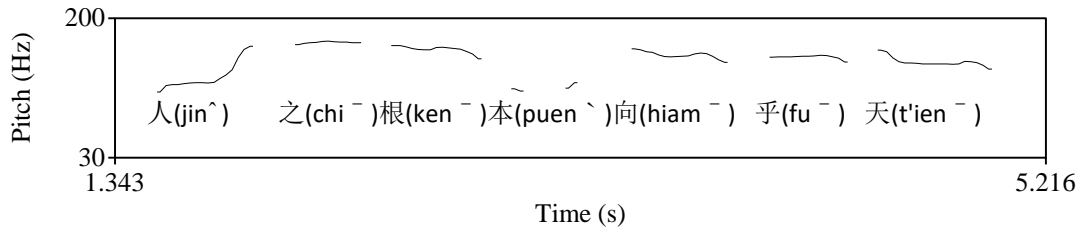


1.7 人(jin^ˆ)之(chi⁻)根(ken⁻)本(puen[`])向(hiam⁻)乎(fu⁻)天(t'ien⁻),

平平平上平平平

PPPSPPP (7)

1-7

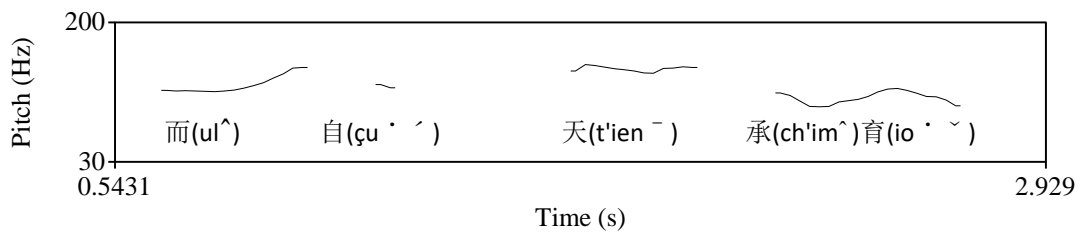


1.8 而(ul^ˆ)自(çu^{·´})天(t'ien⁻)承(ch'im^ˆ)育(io^{·˘}),

平去平平入

PQPPR (5)

1-8

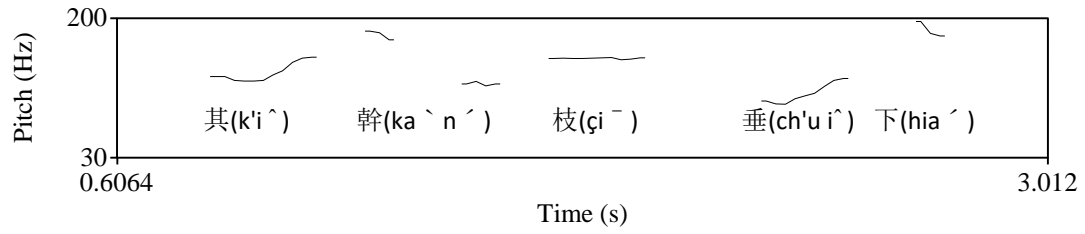


1.9 其(k'i ^) 幹(ka `n ^) 枝(çi -) 垂(ch'u i ^) 下(hia ´)。

平去平平去

PQPPQ (5)

1-9

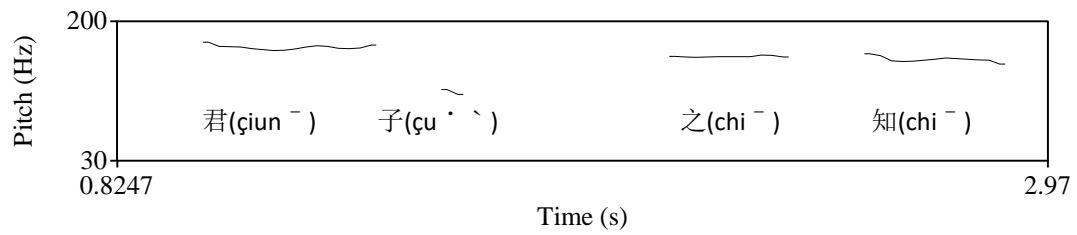


1.10 君(çiun -) 子(çu `) 之(chi -) 知(chi -),

平上平平

PSPP (4)

1-10

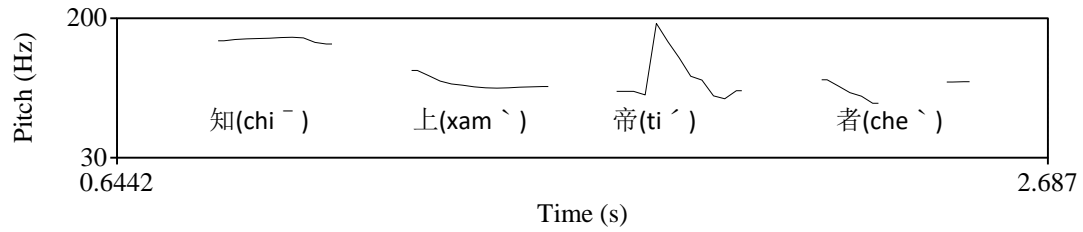


1.11 知(chi⁻)上(xam[`])帝(ti['])者(che[`]),

平上去上

PSQS (4)

1-11

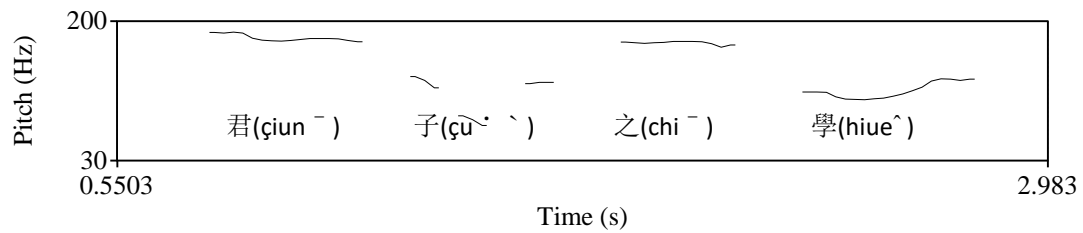


1.12 君(çiu⁻)子(çu[`])之(chi⁻)學(hiue[^]),

平上平平

PSPP (4)

1-12

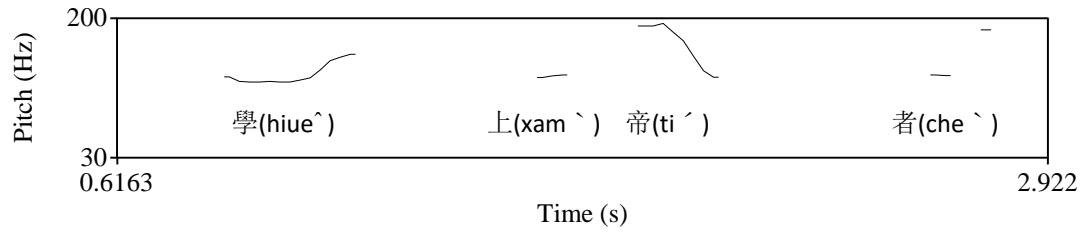


1.13 學(hiue^ˆ)上(xam[`])帝(ti^ˊ)者(che[`]),

平上去上

PSQS (4)

1-13

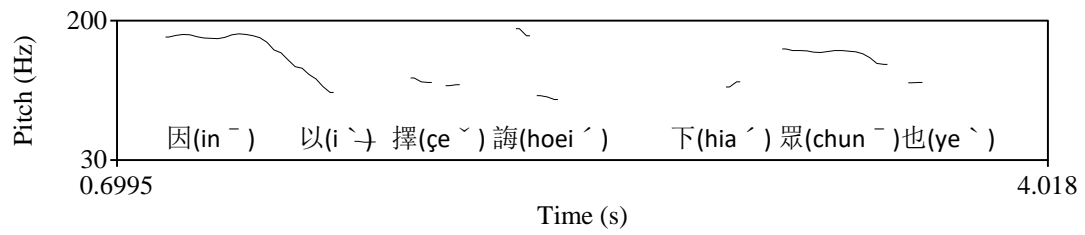


1.14 因(in⁻)以(i[`])擇(çe[˘])誨(hoei^ˊ)下(hia^ˊ)眾(chun⁻)也(ye[`])。

平上入去去平上

PSRQQPS (7)

1-14

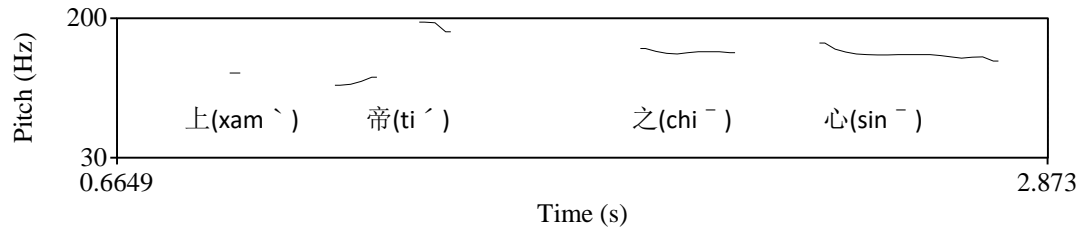


1.15 上(xam[`])帝(ti['])之(chi⁻)心(sin⁻),

上去平平

PSRQQPS (4)

1-15

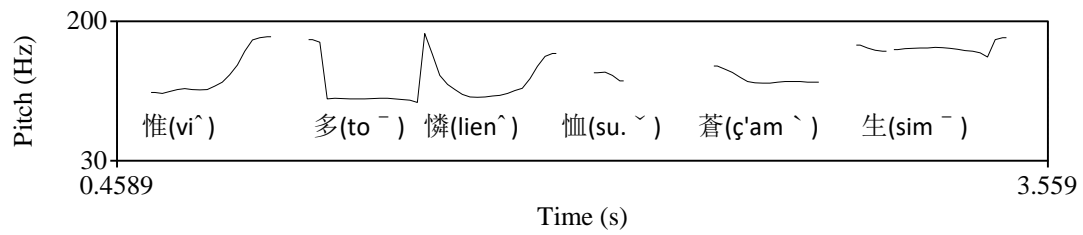


1.16 惟(vi[^])多(to⁻)憐(lien[^])恤(su.^ˇ)蒼(ç'am[`])生(sim⁻),

平平平入上平

PPPRSP (6)

1-16

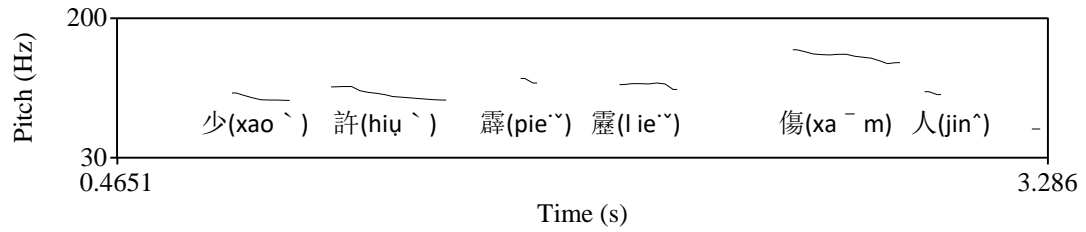


1.17 少(xao[`])許(hi^u[`])霹(pie^ˇ)靈(lie^ˇ)傷(xa⁻m)人(jin[^]),

上上入入平平

SSRRPP (6)

1-17

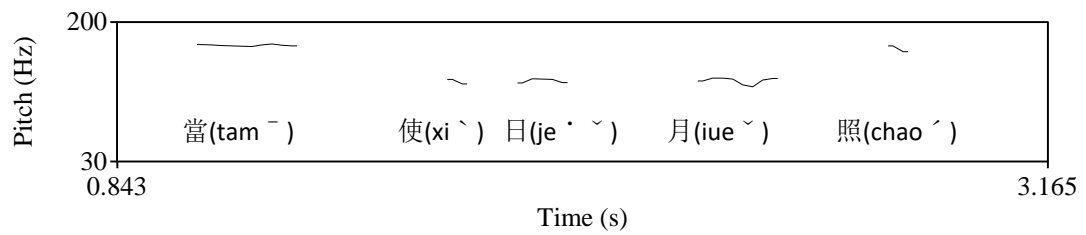


1.18 當(tam⁻)使(xi[`])日(je^ˇ)月(iue^ˇ)照(chao[´]),

平上入入去

PSRRQ (5)

1-18

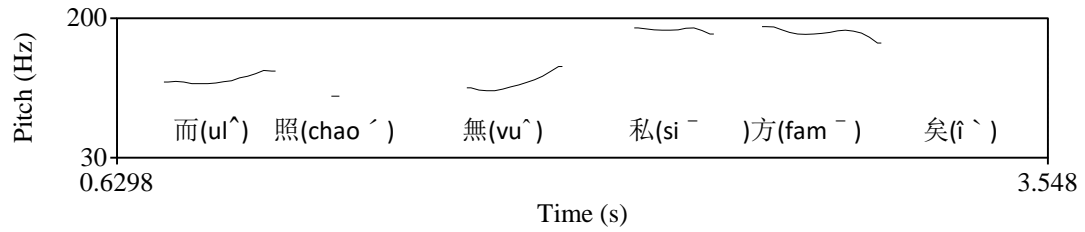


1.19 而(u1^')照(chao´)無(vu^')私(si^-)方(fam^-)矣(i^-)!

平去平平平上

PQPPPS (5)

1-19

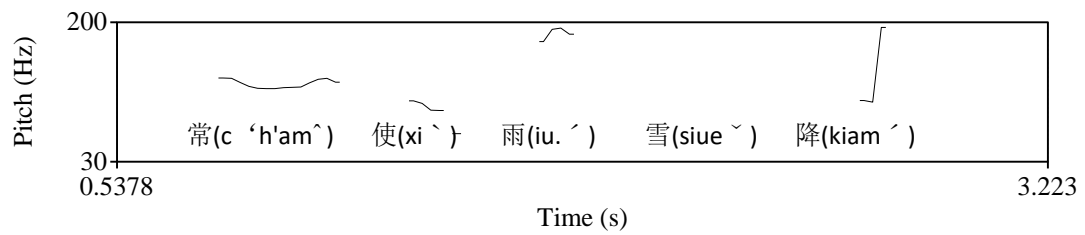


1.20 常(c'h'am^')使(xi^-)雨(iu.´)雪(siuẽ~)降(kiam´),

平上去入去

PSQRQ (5)

1-20

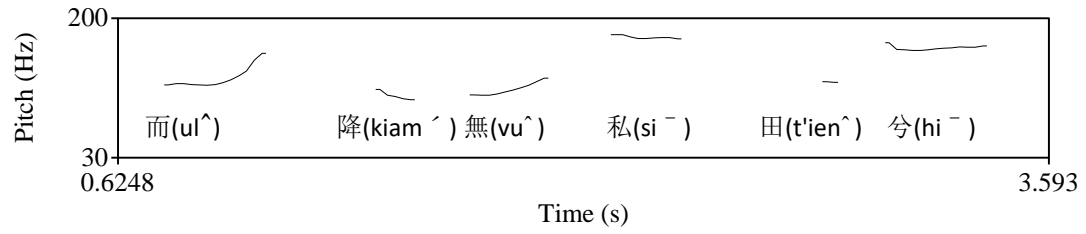


1.21 而(ul^ˆ)降(kiam^ˊ)無(vu^ˆ)私(si⁻)田(t'ien^ˆ)兮(hi⁻)!

平去平平平平

PQPPPP (6)

1-21



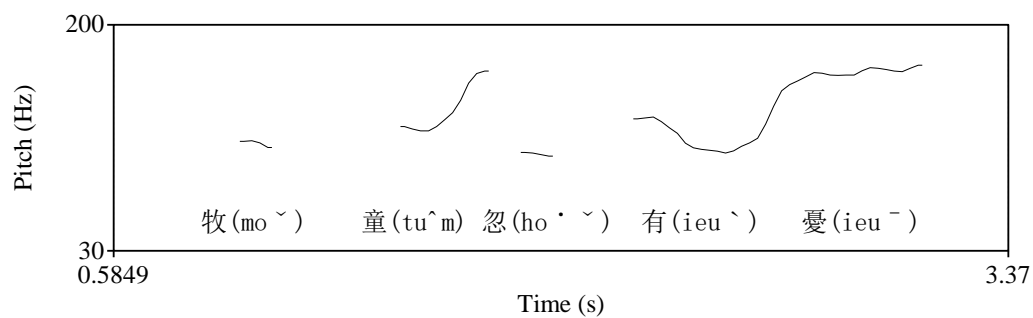
2) 牧童遊山

2.1 牧(moˇ)童(tu^m)忽(ho·ˇ)有(ieu`)憂(ieu-),

入平入上平

RPRSP (5)

2-1

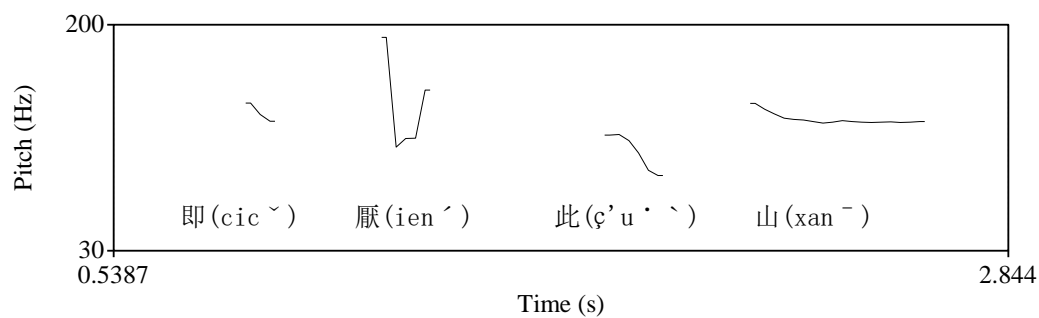


2.2 即(cicˇ)厭(ien´)此(ç'u·`´)山(xan-),

入去上平

RQSP (4)

2-2

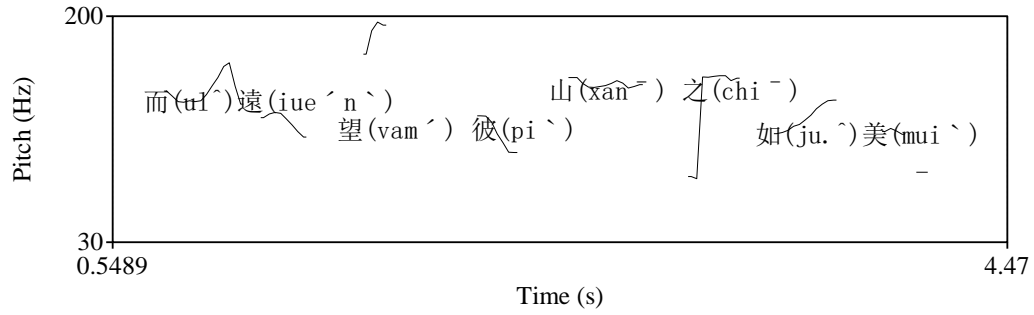


2.3 而(ul^ˊ)遠(iue^ˊn^ˋ)望(vam^ˊ)彼(pi^ˋ)山(xan^ˋ)之(chi^ˋ)如(ju.^ˊ)美(mui^ˋ),

平上去上平平平上

PSQSPPPS (8)

2-3

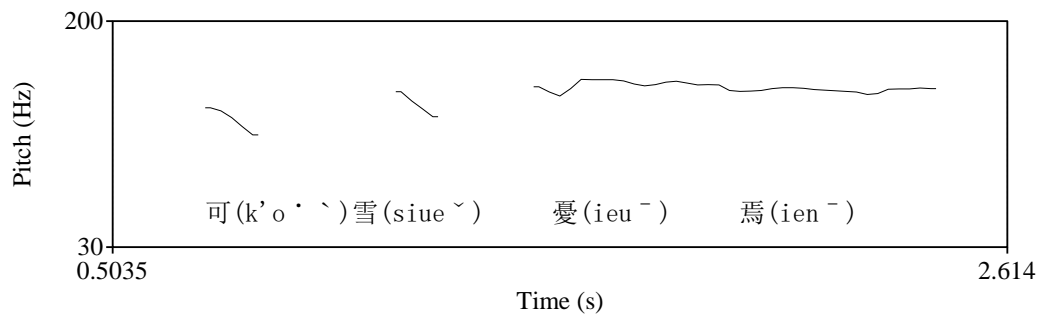


2.4 可(k'o^ˋ)雪(siuē^ˋ)憂(ieu^ˋ)焉(ien^ˋ)。

上入平平

SRPP (4)

2-4

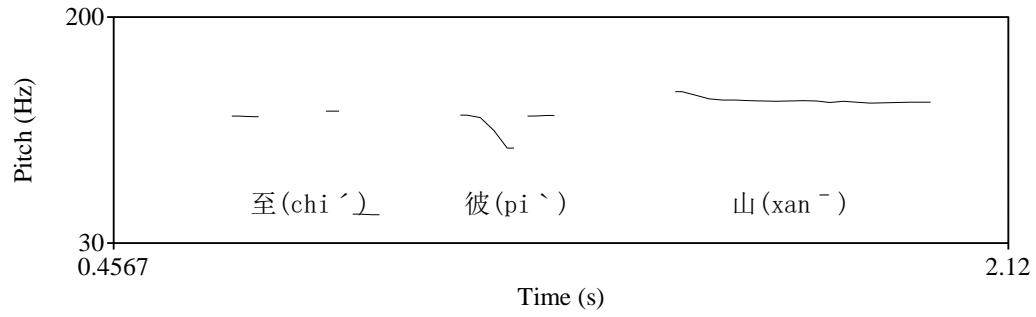


2.5 至(chi')彼(pi`)山(xan`),

去上平

QSP (3)

2-5

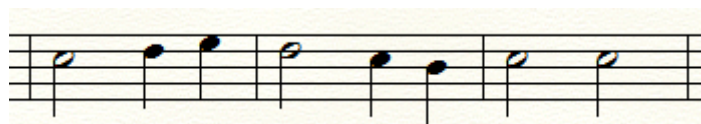
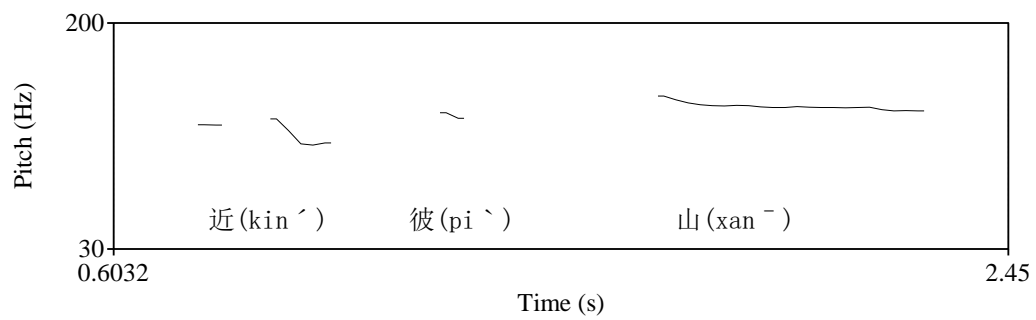


2.6 近(kin')彼(pi`)山(xan`),

去上平

QSP (3)

2-6

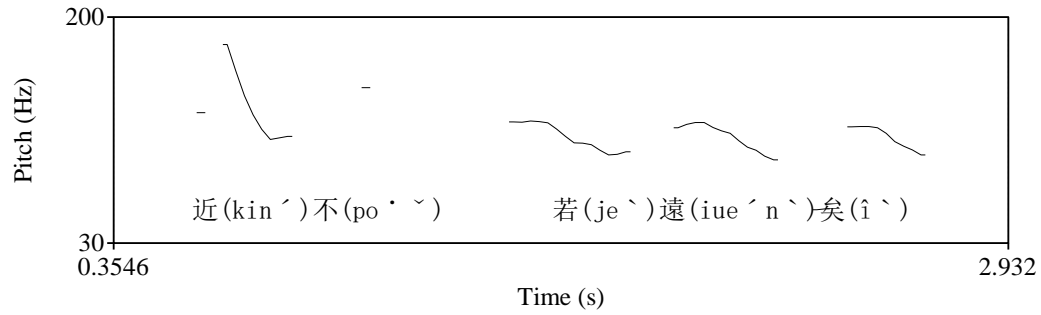


2.7 近(kin^ˊ)不(po^ˋ)若(je^ˋ)遠(iue^ˊn^ˋ)矣(i^ˋ)。

去入上上上

QRSSS (5)

2-7

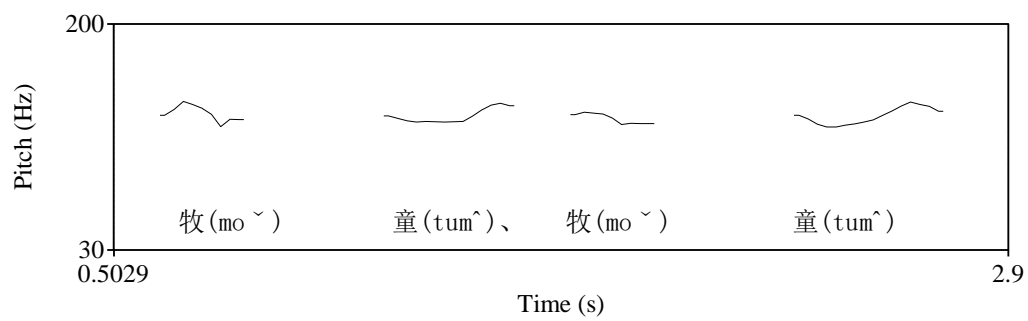


2.8 牧(mo^ˋ)童(tum^ˆ)、牧(mo^ˋ)童(tum^ˆ)，

入平入平

RPRP (4)

2-8

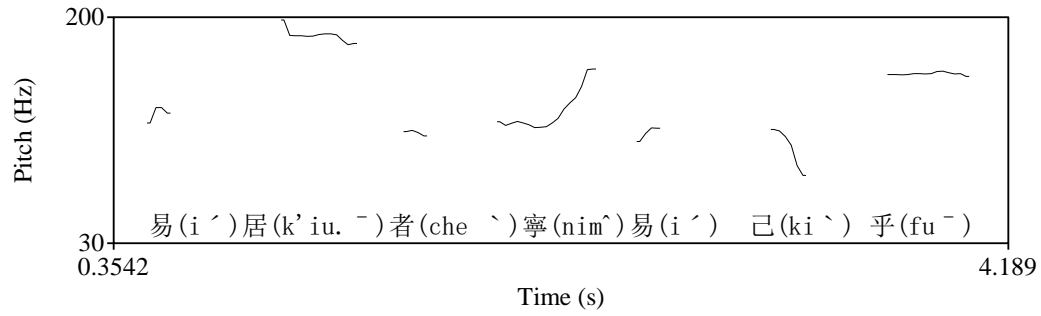


2.9 易(i')居(k'iu.ˊ)者(che ˋ)寧(nim^ˋ)易(i')己(kiˋ)乎(fuˋ)?

去平上平去上平

QPSPQSP (7)

2-9

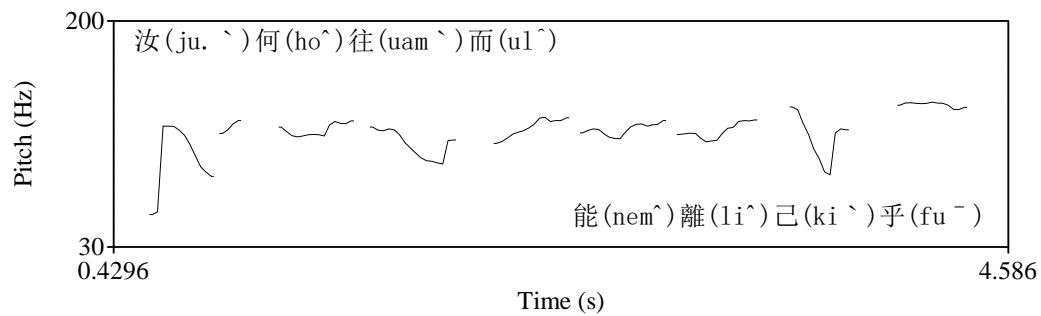


2.10 汝(ju.ˋ)何(ho^ˋ)往(uam ˋ)而(u1^ˋ)能(nem^ˋ)離(li^ˋ)己(kiˋ)乎(fuˋ)?

上平上平平平上平

SPSPPPSP(8)

2-10

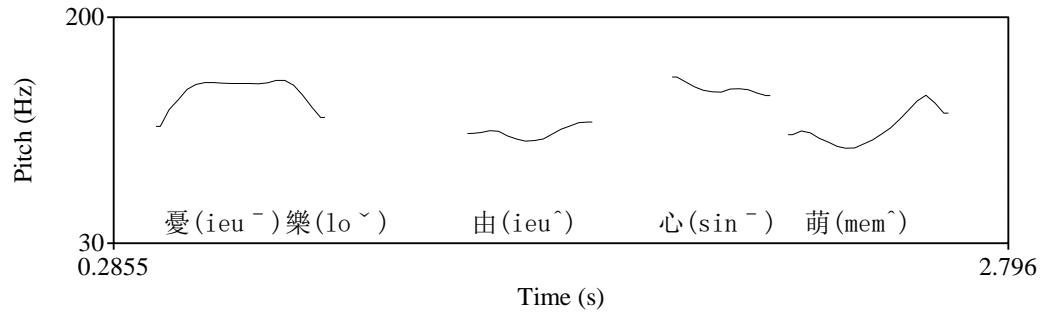


2.11 憂(ieu⁻)樂(lo^ˇ)由(ieu[^])心(sin⁻)萌(mem[^]),

平入平平平

PRPPP(5)

2-11

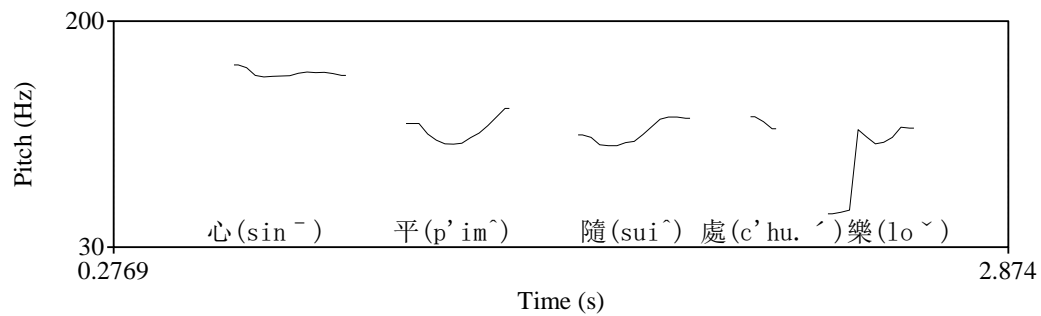


2.12 心(sin⁻)平(p'im[^])隨(sui[^])處(c'hu.ˇ)樂(lo^ˇ),

平平平去入

PPPQR(5)

2-12

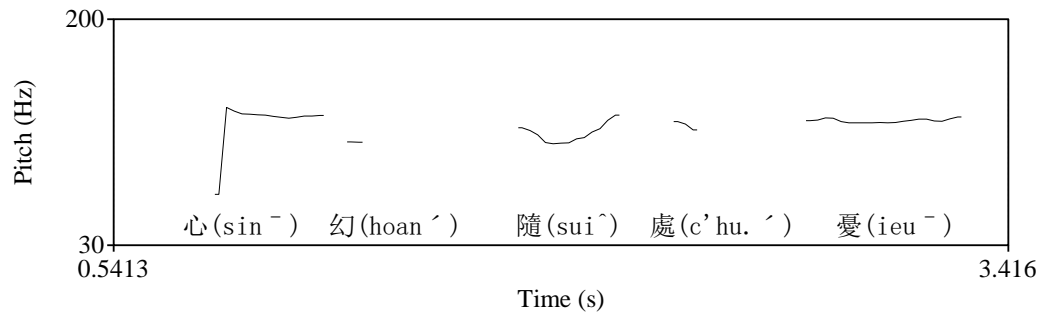


2.13 心(sin⁻)幻(hoan^ˊ)隨(sui^ˆ)處(c'hu.^ˊ)憂(ieu⁻),

平去平去平

PQPQP(5)

2-13

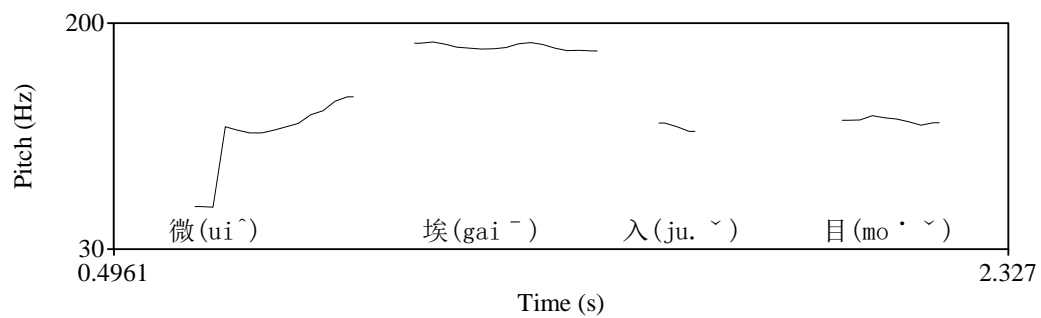


2.14 微(ui^ˆ)埃(gai⁻)入(ju.^ˇ)目(mo^{˙ˇ}),

平平入入

PPRR(4)

2-14

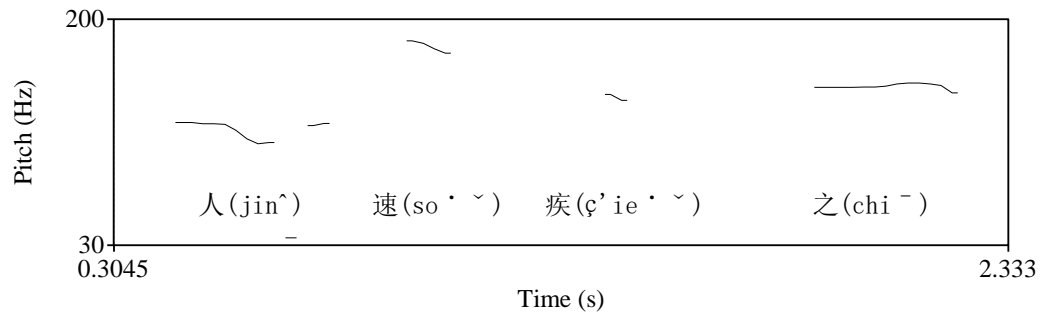


2.15 人(jin^ˆ)速(so[˙]ˇ)疾(ç'ie[˙]ˇ)之(chi⁻),

平入入平

PRRP(4)

2-15

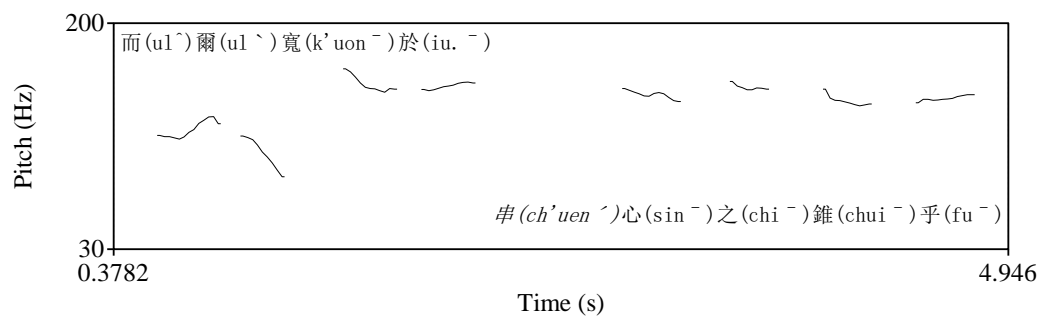


2.16 而(ul^ˆ)爾(ul^ˋ)寬(k'uon⁻)於(iu.⁻)串(ch'uen^ˊ)心(sin⁻)之(chi⁻)錐(chui⁻)乎(fu⁻)?

平上平平去平平平平

PSPPQPPPP(9)

2-16

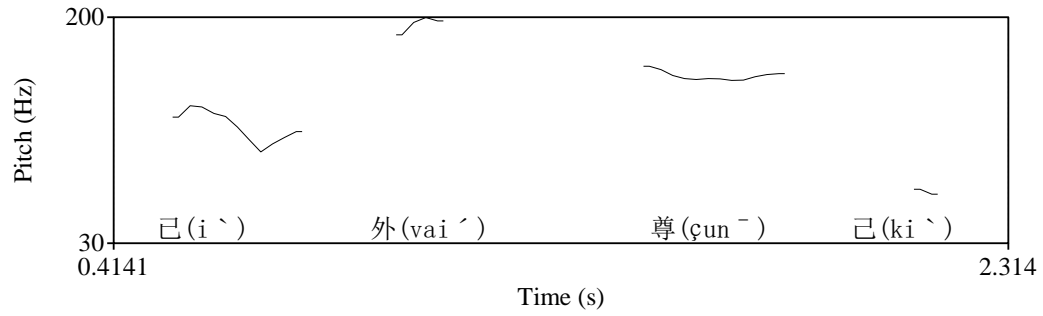


2.17 己(i^ˊ)外(vai^ˊ)尊(ɕun^ˊ)己(ki^ˊ),

上去平上

SQPS(4)

2-17

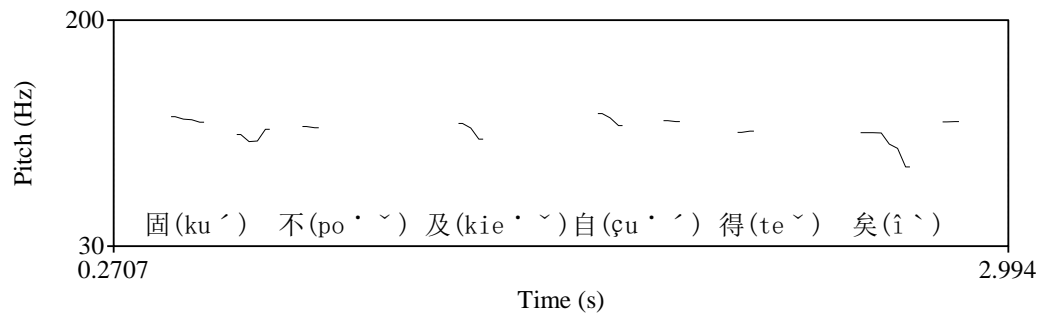


2.18 固(ku^ˊ)不(po^ˊ)及(kie^ˊ)自(ɕu^ˊ)得(te^ˊ)矣(i^ˊ),

去入去入上

QRRQRS(6)

2-18

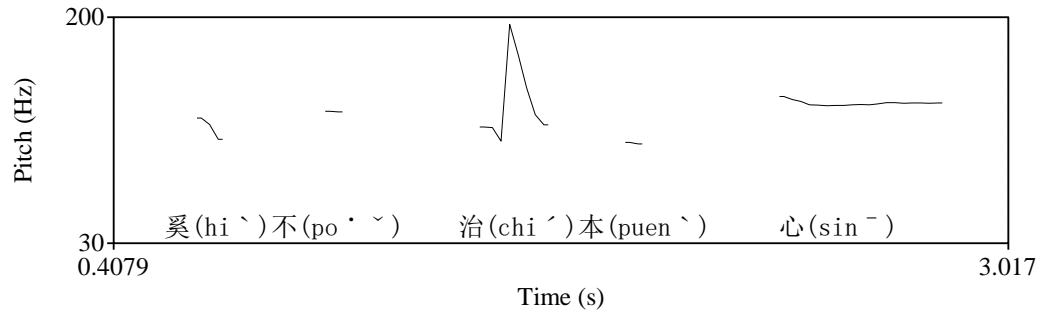


2.19 奚(hi`)不(po· `)治(chi´)本(puen`)心(sin¯),

上入去上平

SRQSP(5)

2-19

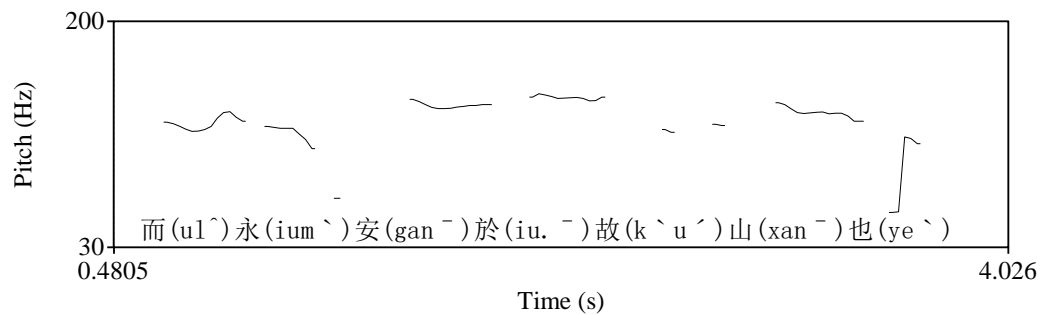


2.20 而(ul˘)永(ium`)安(gan¯)於(iu.¯)故(k`u´)山(xan¯)也(ye`)?

平上平平去平上

PSPPQPS(7)

2-20

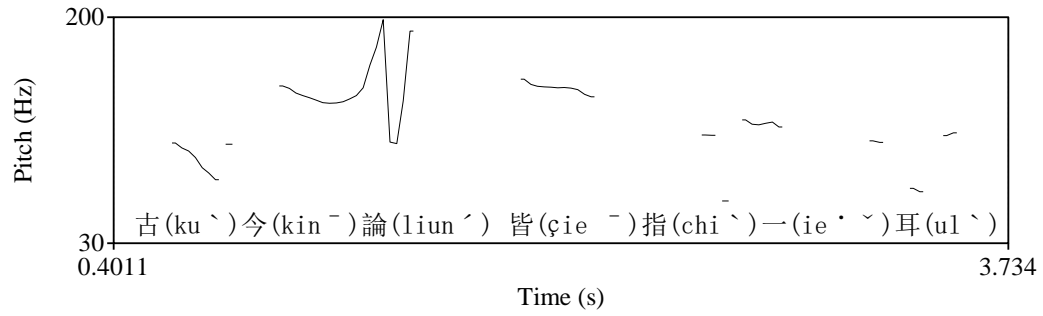


2.21 古(ku[`])今(kin⁻)論(liun[´])皆(ɕie⁻)指(chi[`])一(ie^{·ˇ})耳(ul[`])。

上平去平上入上

SPQPSRS(7)

2-21

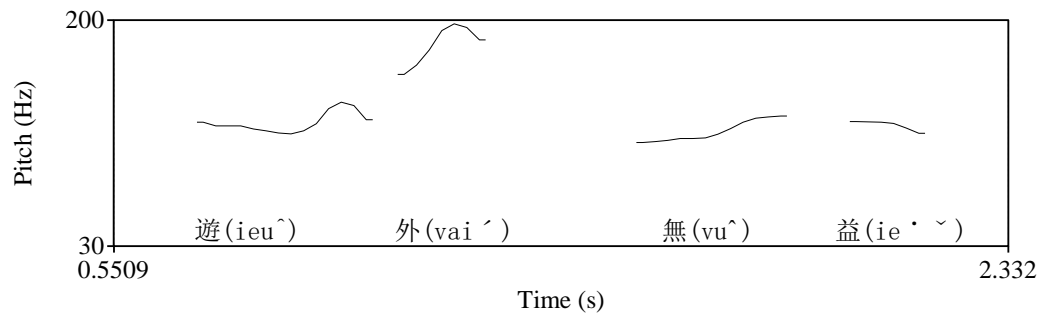


2.22 遊(ieu^ˆ)外(vai[´])無(vu^ˆ)益(ie^{·ˇ}),

平去平入

PQPR(4)

2-22

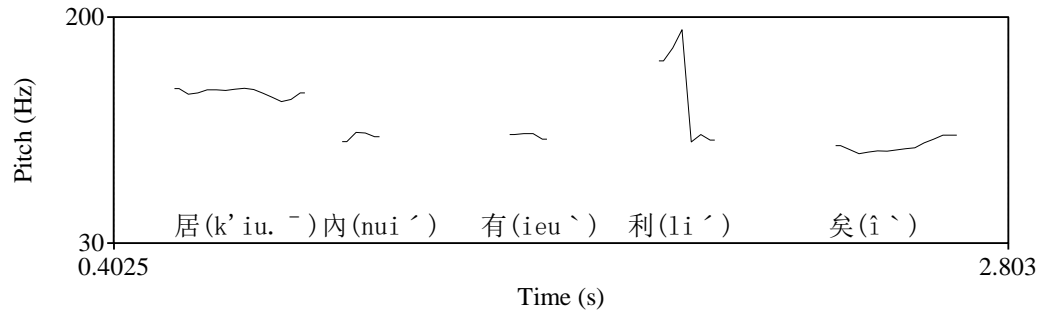


2.23 居(k'iu.ˊ)內(nuiˊ)有(ieuˋ)利(liˊ)矣(iˋ)!

平去上去上

PQSQS(5)

2-23

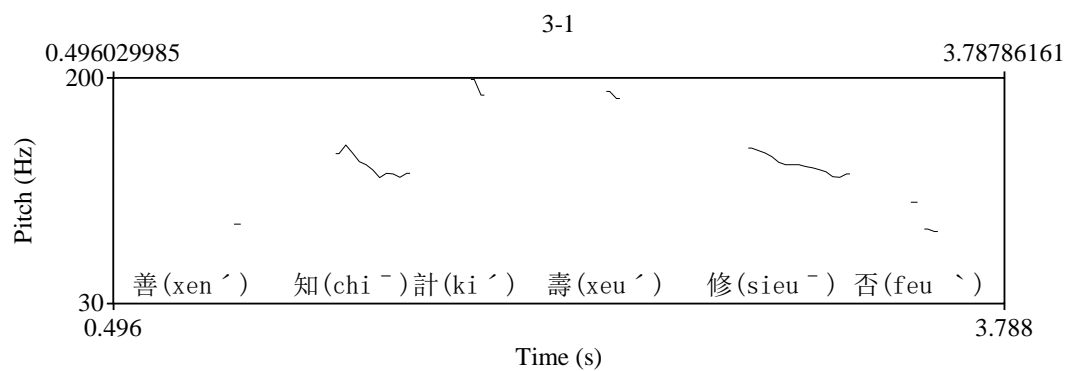


3) 善計壽修

3.1 善(xen´)知(chi¯)計(ki´)壽(xeu´)修(sieu¯)否(feux)`)?

去平去去平上

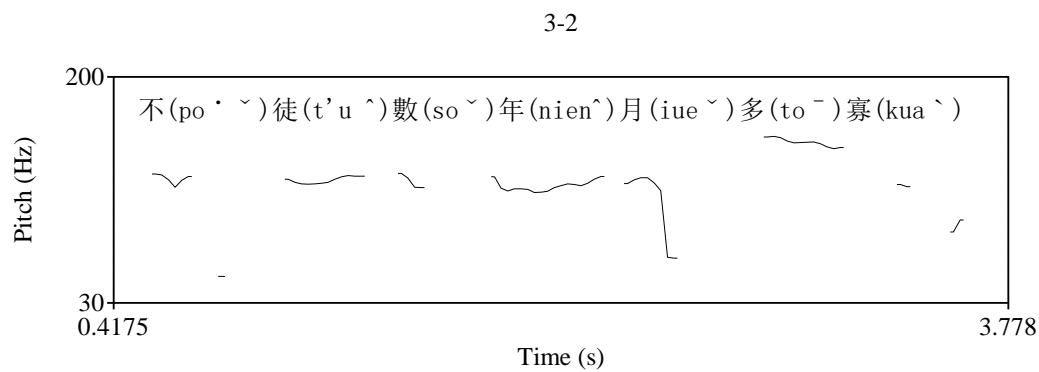
QPQQPS(6)



3.2 不(po·˘)徒(t'u^˘)數(so˘)年(nien^˘)月(iue˘)多(to¯)寡(kua˘),

入平入平入平上

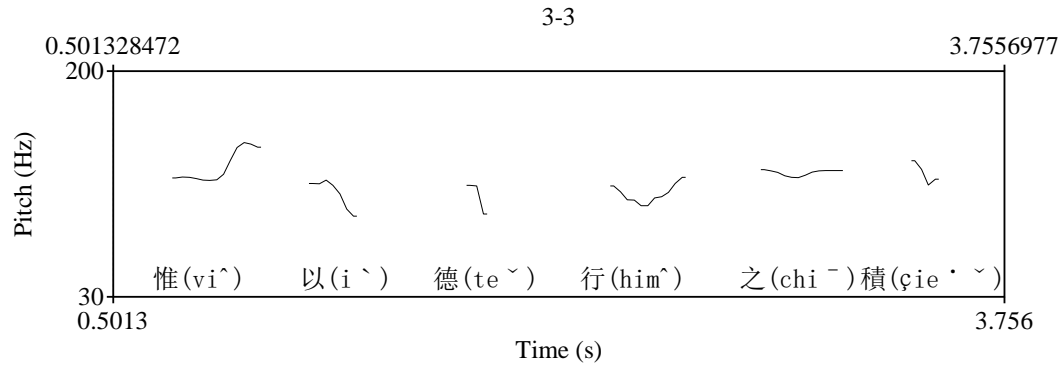
RPRPRPS(7)



3.3 惟(vi^ˆ)以(i^ˋ)德(te^ˋ)行(him^ˆ)之(chi^ˋ)積(çie^ˋˋ),

平上入平平入

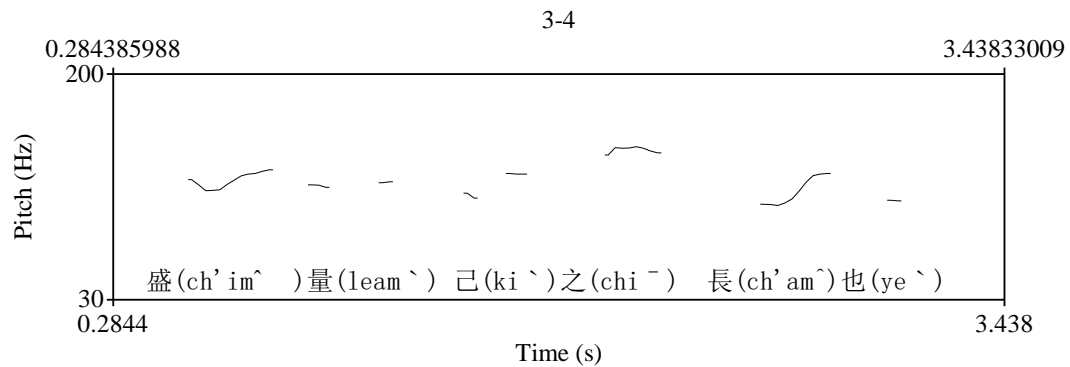
PSRPPR(6)



3.4 盛(ch'im^ˆ)量(leam^ˋ)己(ki^ˋ)之(chi^ˋ)長(ch'am^ˆ)也(ye^ˋ)。

平上上平平上

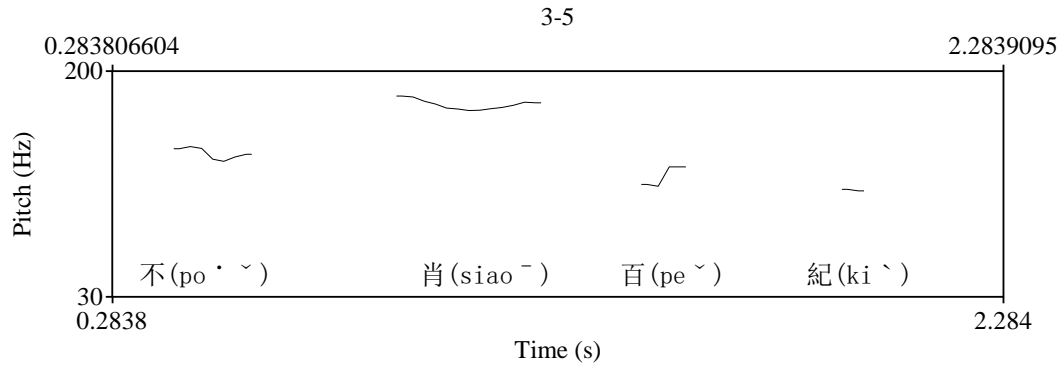
PSSPPS (6)



3.5 不(poˊˇ)肖(siaoˊ)百(peˇ)紀(kiˊ),

入平入上

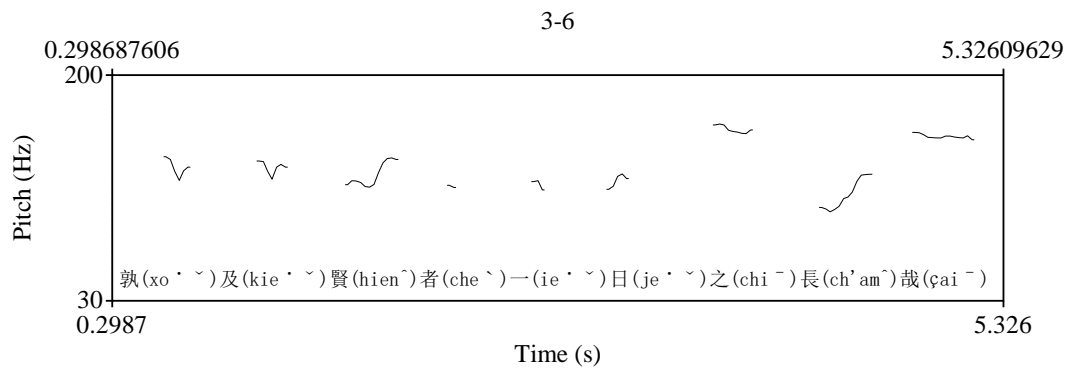
RPRS (4)



3.6 孰(xoˊˇ)及(kieˊˇ)賢(hienˊ)者(cheˊ)一(ieˊˇ)日(jeˊˇ)之(chiˊ)長(ch'amˊ)哉(çaiˊ)!

入入平上入入平平平

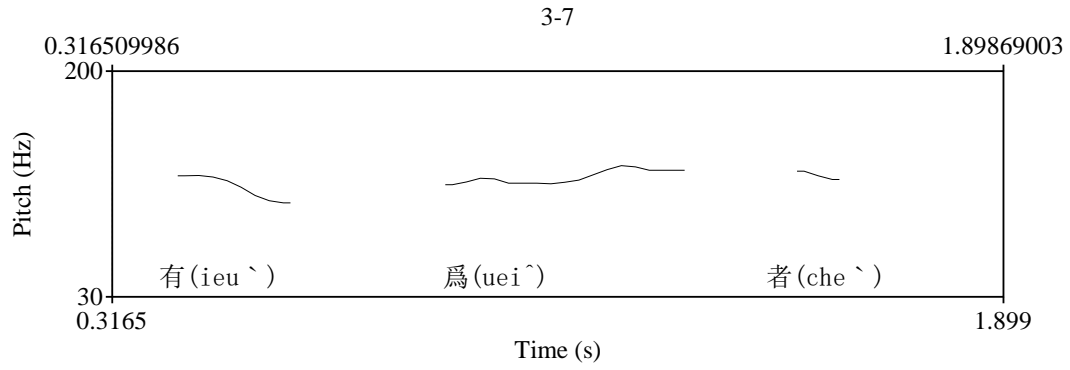
RRPSRRPPP (9)



3.7 有(ieu`)
為(uei^)
者(che`),

上平上

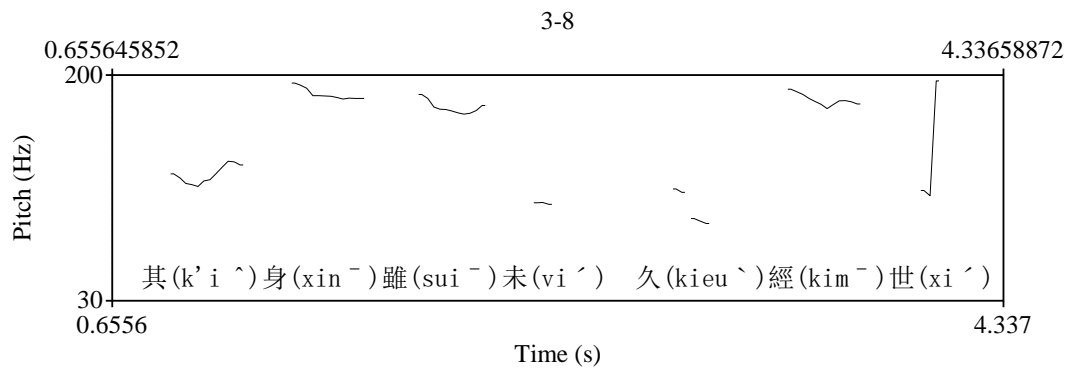
SPS (3)



3.8 其(k'i^)
身(xin^-)
雖(sui^-)
未(vi^')
久(kieu`)
經(kim^-)
世(xi^'),

平平平去上平去

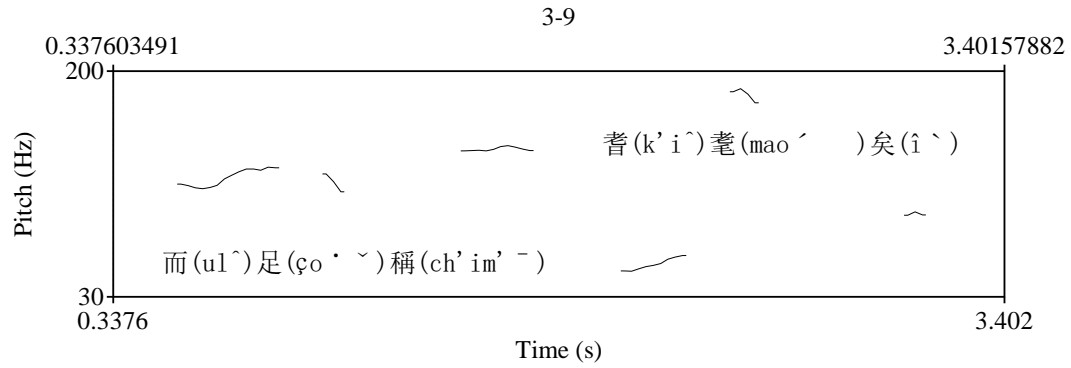
PPPQSPQ (7)



3.9 而(ul^ˆ)足(ɕo[˙]˘)稱(ch'im^ˊ-)耆(k'i^ˆ)耄(mao^ˊ)矣(i^ˋ)。

平入平平去上

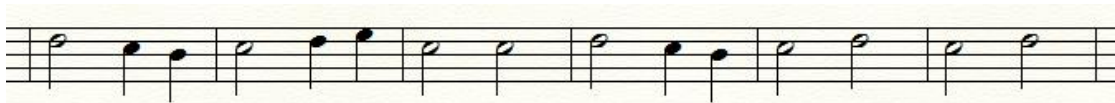
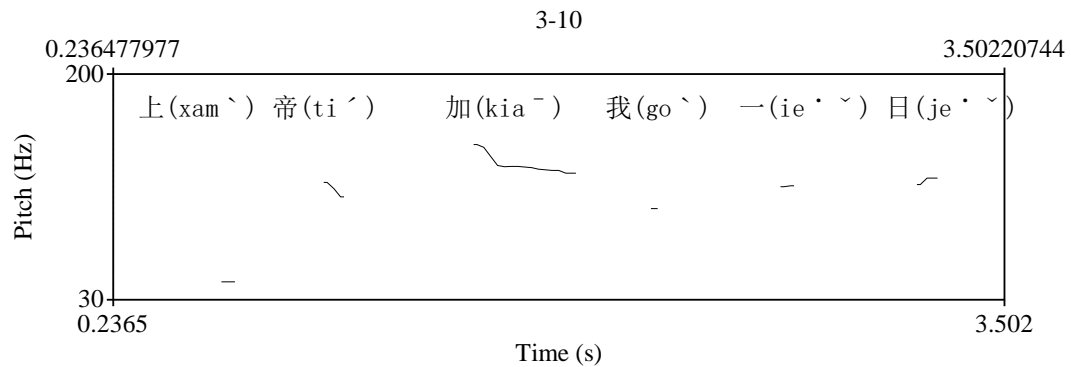
PRPPQS (6)



3.10 上(xam^ˋ)帝(ti^ˊ)加(kia⁻)我(go^ˋ)一(ie[˙]˘)日(je[˙]˘),

上去平上入入

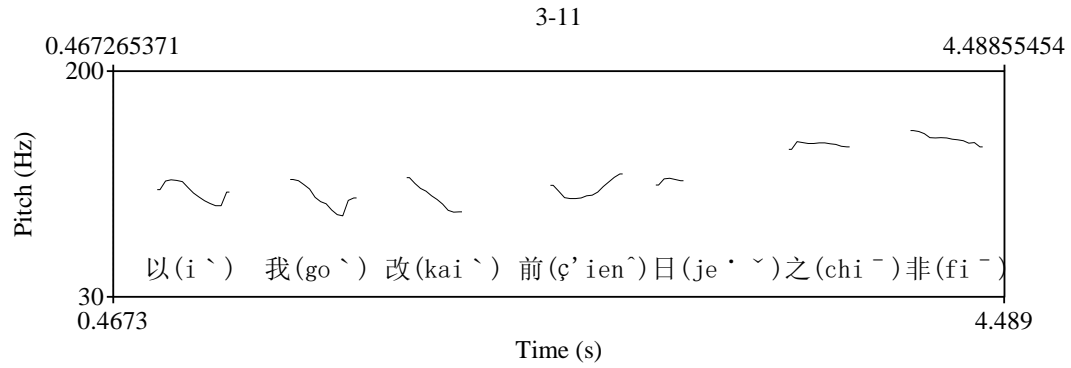
SQPSRR (6)



3.11 以(i^ˋ)我(go^ˋ)改(kai^ˋ)前(ç'ien^ˆ)日(je[˙]ˋ)之(chi^ˋ)非(fi^ˋ),

上去平上入入

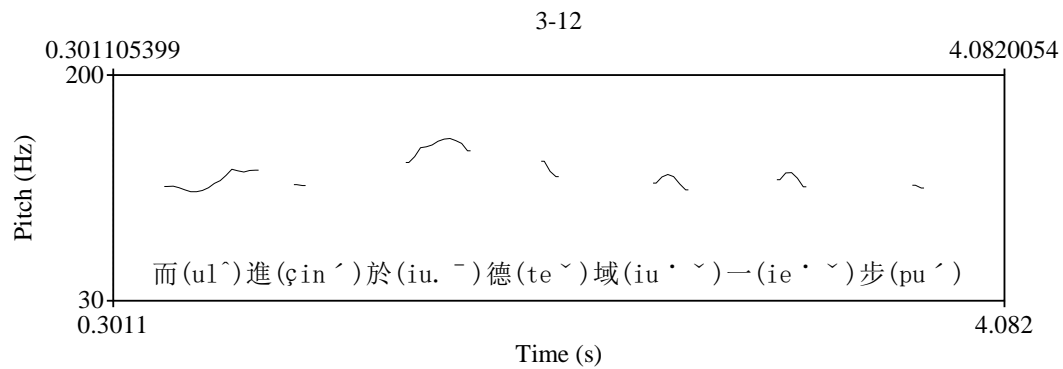
SQPSRR (7)



3.12 而(ul^ˆ)進(çin^ˊ)於(iu.ˋ)德(te[˙]ˋ)域(iu[˙]ˋ)一(ie[˙]ˋ)步(pu^ˊ).

平去平入入入去

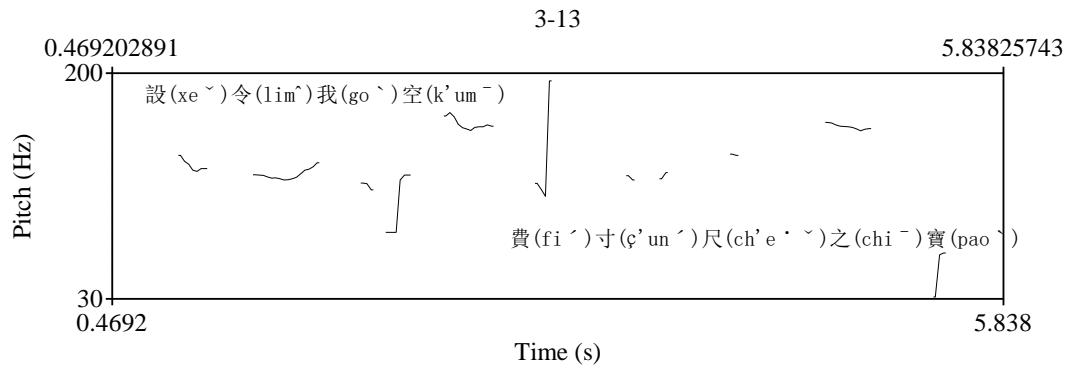
PQPRRRQ (7)



3.13 設(xe˘)令(limˆ)我(go˘)空(k'umˉ)費(fi˘)寸(ç'un˘)尺(ch'e˘)之(chiˉ)寶(pao˘),

入平上平去去入平上

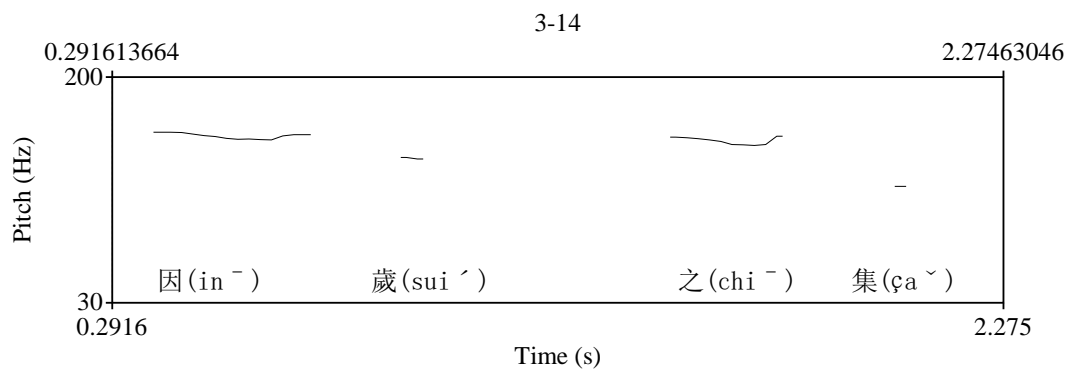
RPSPQQRPS (9)



3.14 因(inˉ)歲(sui˘)之(chiˉ)集(ça˘),

平去平入

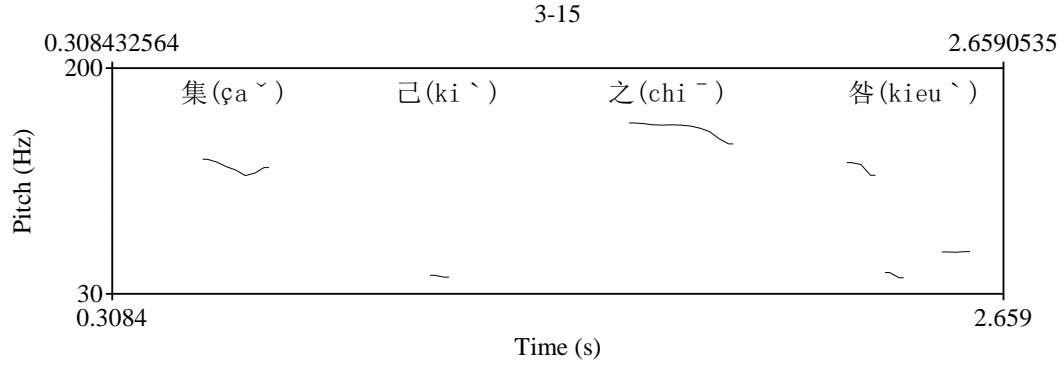
PQPR (4)



3.15 集(çaˇ)己(ki`)之(chi-)咎(kieu`),

入上平上

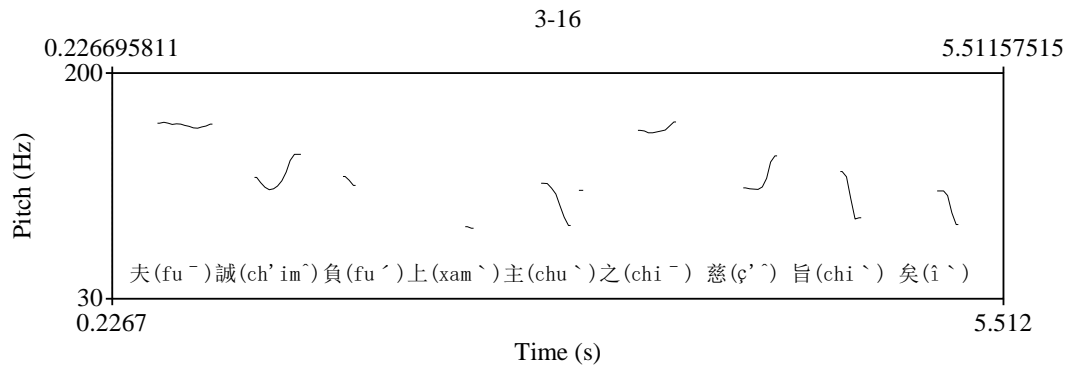
RSPS (4)



3.16 夫(fu-)誠(ch'im^)^負(fu')上(xam`)主(chu-)之(chi-)慈(ç'`)旨(chi`)矣(i`)

平平去上上平平上上

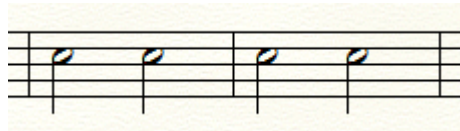
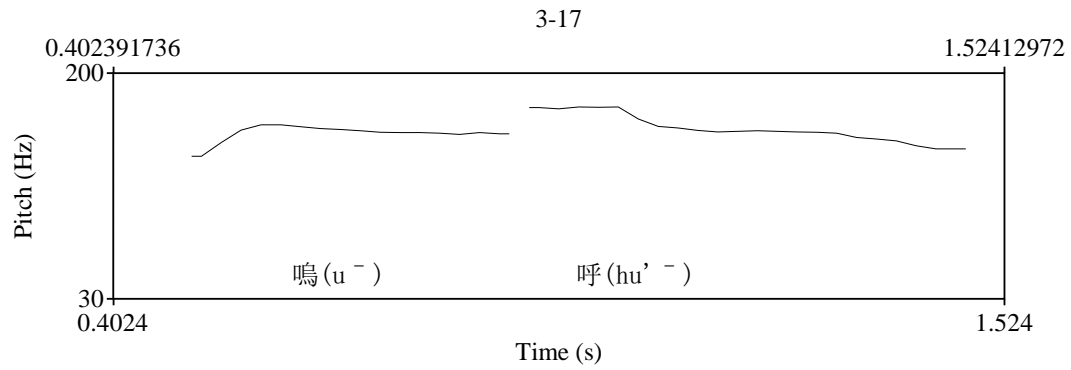
PPQSSPPSS (9)



3.17 鳴(u⁻)呼(hu'⁻)!

平平

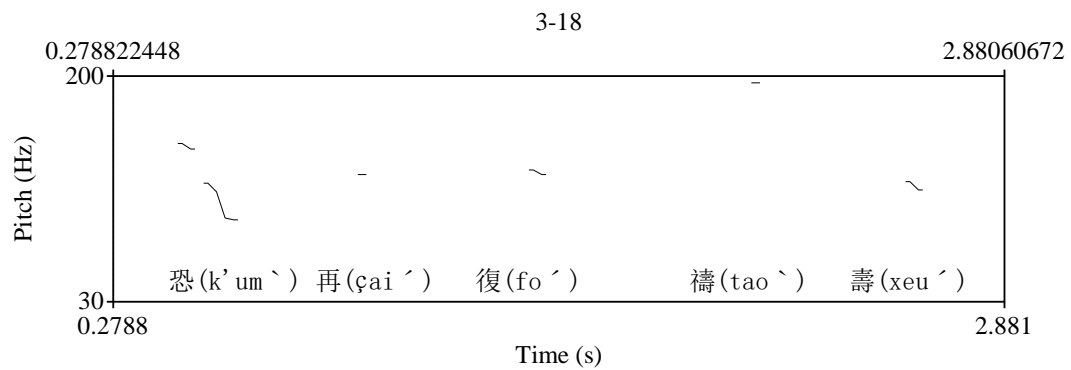
PP (2)



3.18 恐(k'um[`])再(çai'[`])復(fo'[`])禱(tao[`])壽(xeu'[`]),

上去去上去

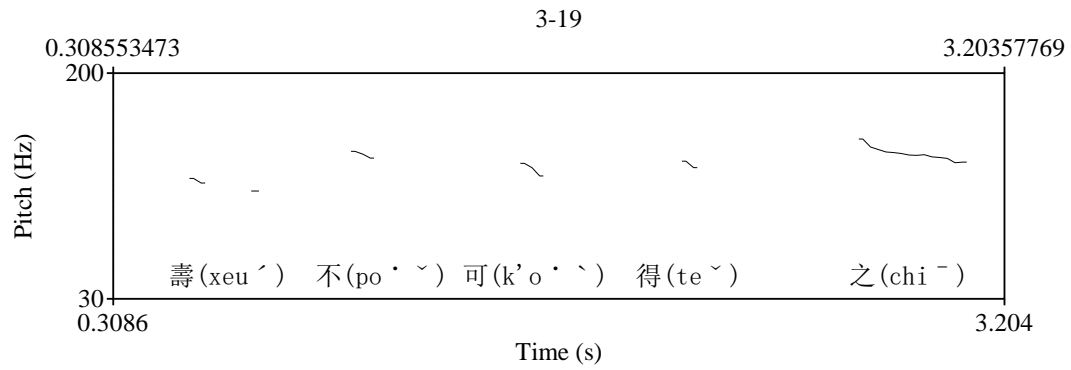
SQQSQ (5)



3.19 壽(xeu´)不(po·ˇ)可(k'o·̀)得(teˇ)之(chi¯),

去入上入平

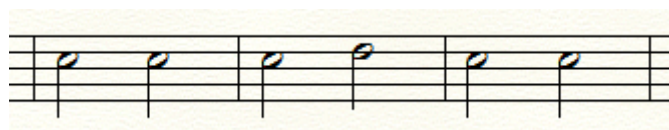
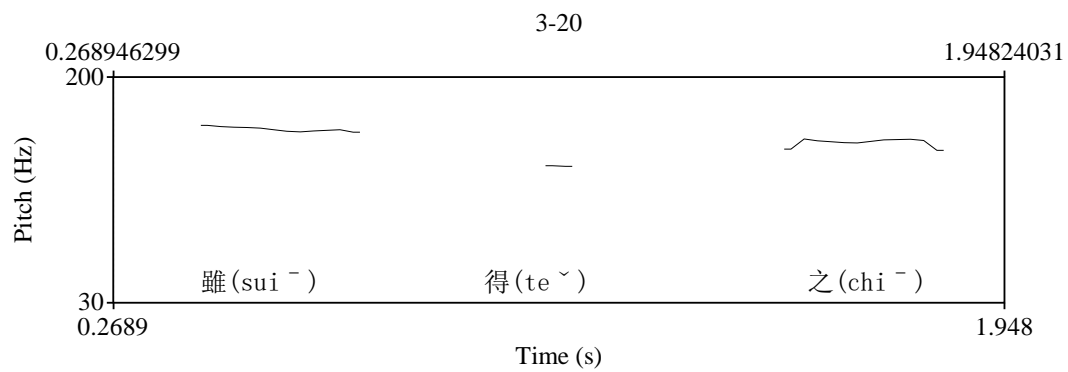
QRSRP (5)



3.20 雖(sui¯)得(teˇ)之(chi¯),

平入平

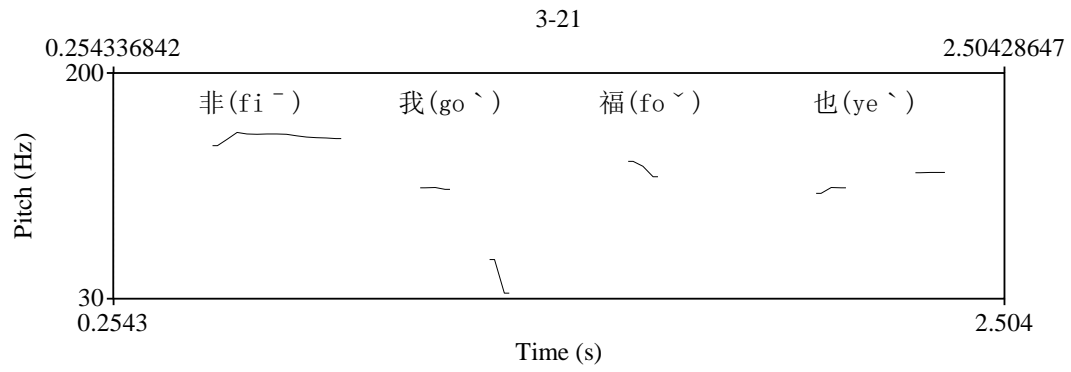
PRP (3)



3.21 非(fiˊ)我(goˋ)福(foˊ)也(yeˋ)。

平上入上

PSRS (4)



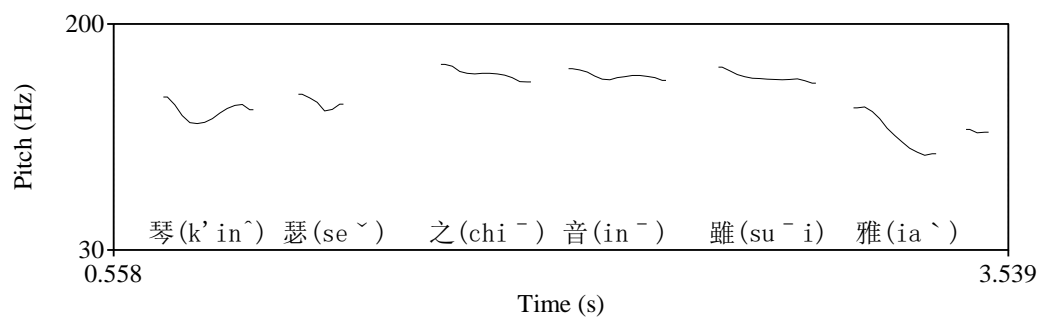
4) 德之勇巧

4.1 琴(k'in^ˆ)瑟(se^ˇ)之(chi^ˉ)音(in^ˉ)雖(su^ˉi)雅(ia^ˋ),

平入平平平上

PRPPPS (6)

4-1

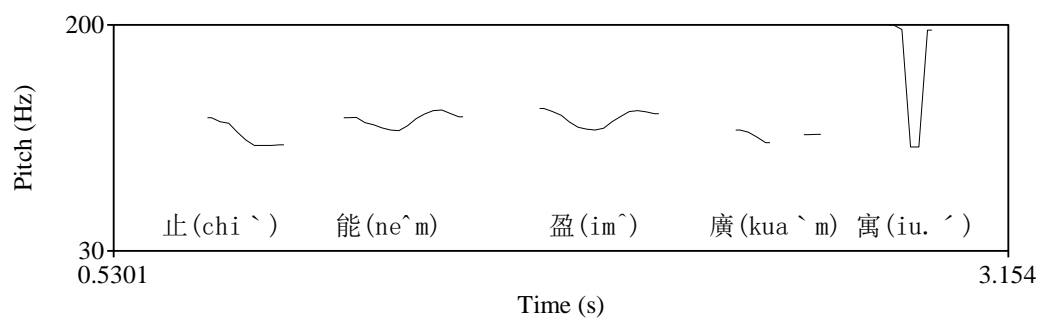


4.2 止(chi^ˋ)能(ne^ˆm)盈(im^ˆ)廣(kua^ˋm)寓(iu.^ˊ),

上平平上去

SPPSQ (5)

4-2

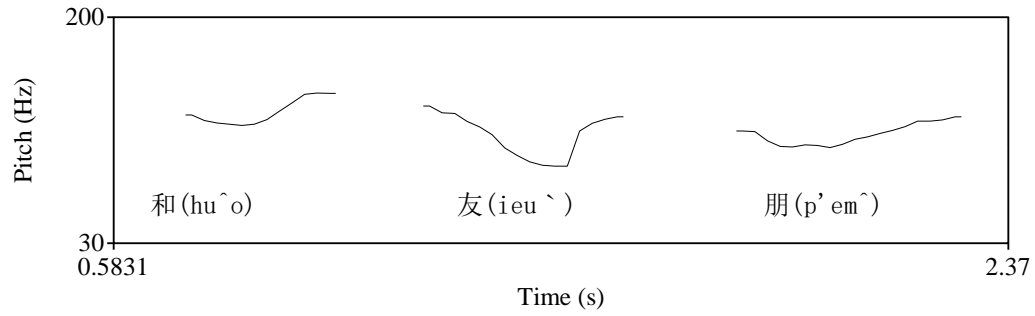


4.3 和(hu^ˆo)友(ieu^ˋ)朋(p'em^ˆ),

平上平

PSP (3)

4-3

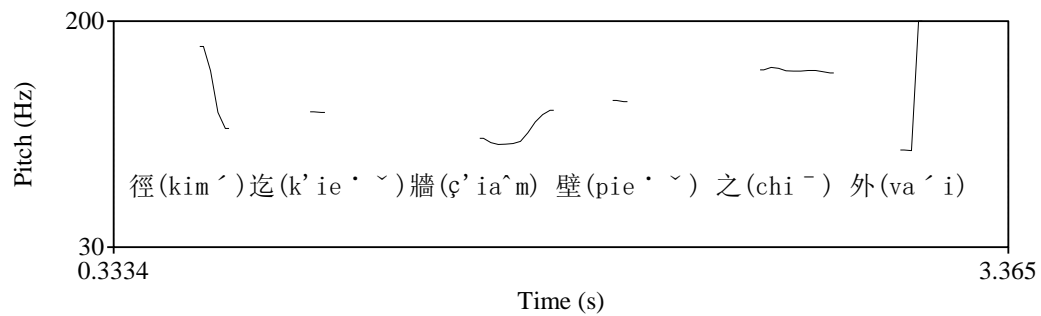


4.4 徑(kim^ˊ)迄(k'ie^ˋ)牆(ç'ia^ˆm)壁(pie^ˋ)之(chi^ˋ)外(va^ˊi),

去入平入平去

QRPRPQ (6)

4-4

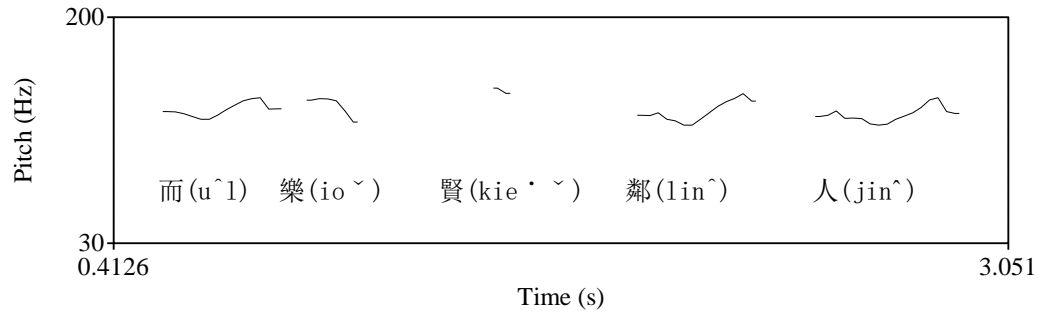


4.5 而(u^1)樂(io^ˇ)賢(kie^ˇ)鄰(lin^ˆ)人(jin^ˆ),

平入入平平

PRRPP (5)

4-5

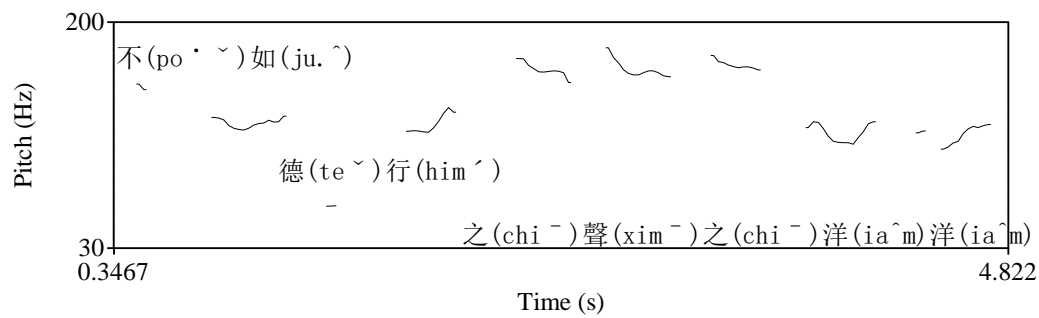


4.6 不(po^ˇ)如(ju.^ˆ)德(te^ˇ)行(him^ˆ)之(chi^-)聲(xim^-)之(chi^-)洋(ia^m)洋(ia^m),

入平入去平平平平

RPRQPPPPP (9)

4-6

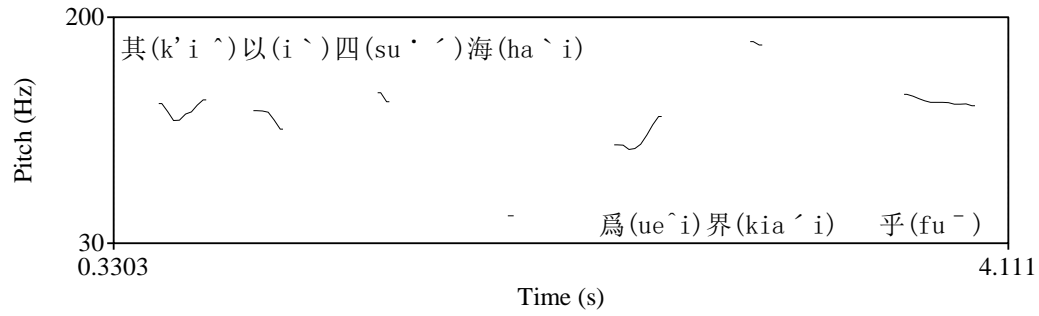


4.7 其(k'i ^)以(i`)四(su´´)海(ha`i)爲(ue^i)界(kia´i)乎(fu¯)?

平上去上平去平

PSQSPQP (7)

4-7

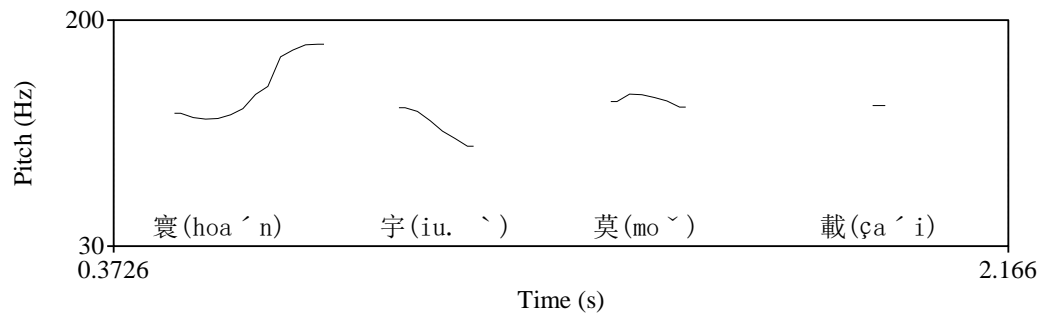


4.8 寰(hoa´n)宇(iu. `)莫(moˇ)載(ça´i),

去上入去

QSRQ (4)

4-8

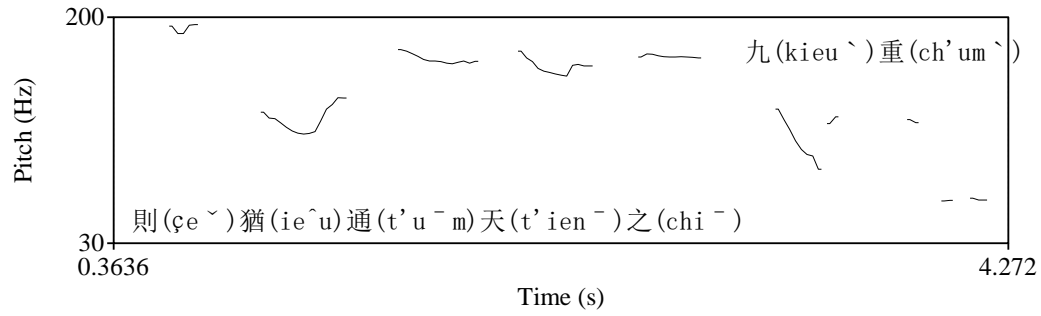


4.9 則(ㄗㄝˇ)猶(ieˊu)通(t'uˊm)天(t'ienˊ)之(chiˊ)九(kieuˊ)重(ch'umˊ),

入平平平上上

RPPPPSS (7)

4-9

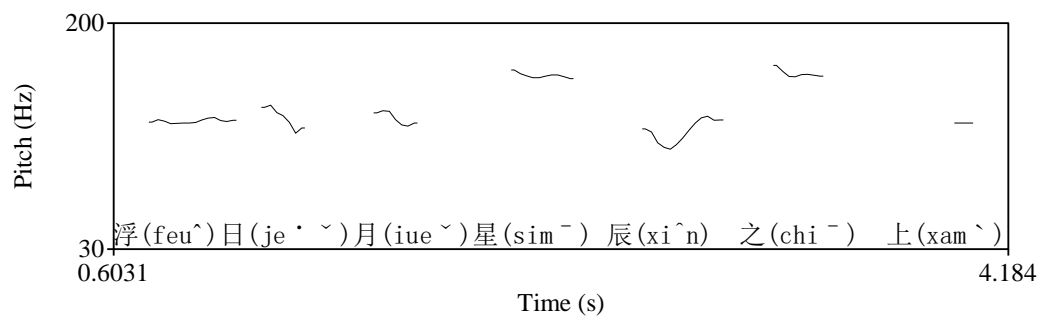


4.10 浮(feüˊ)日(jeˊ)月(iueˊ)星(simˊ)辰(xiˊn)之(chiˊ)上(xamˊ),

平入入平平平上

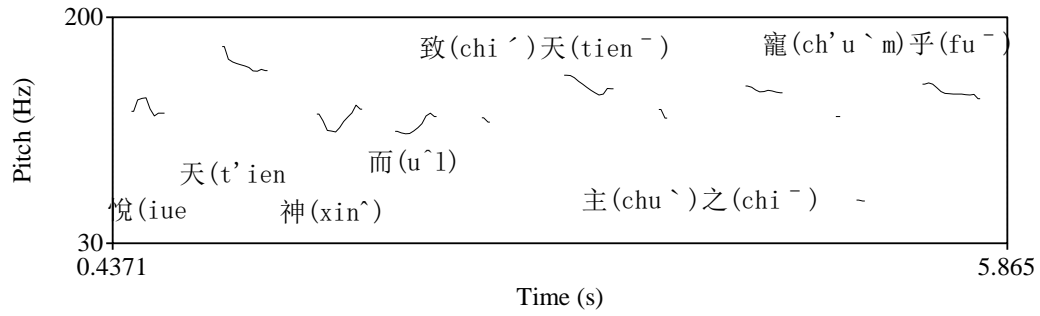
PRRPPPS (7)

4-10



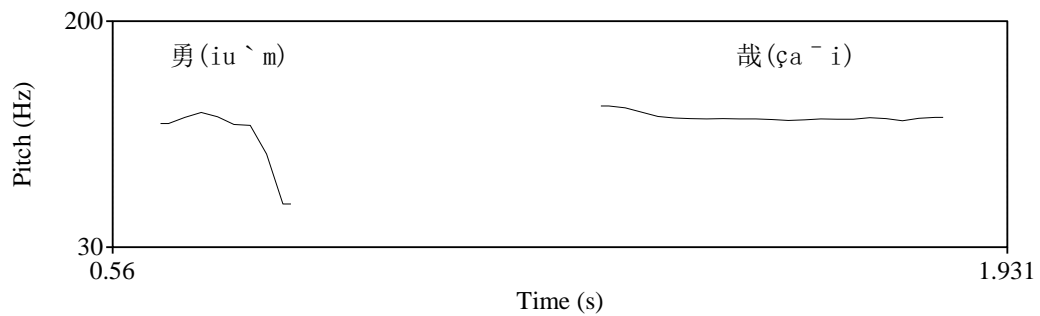
4.11 悅(iue [˘])天(t'ien ⁻)神(xin ^ˆ)而(u ^ˆ l)致(chi ^ˊ)天(tien ⁻)主(chu ^ˋ)之(chi ⁻)寵(ch'u ^ˋ m)乎(fu ⁻)?	
入平平平去平上平上平	RPPPQPSPSP (10)

4-11



4.12 勇(iu ^ˋ m)哉(ça ⁻ i),	
上平	SP (2)

4-12

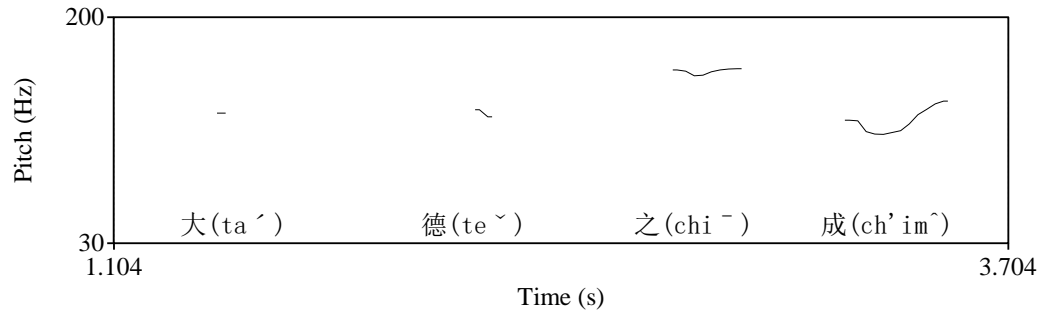


4.13 大(ta')德(te~)之(chi-)成(ch'im^),

去入平平

QRPP (4)

4-13

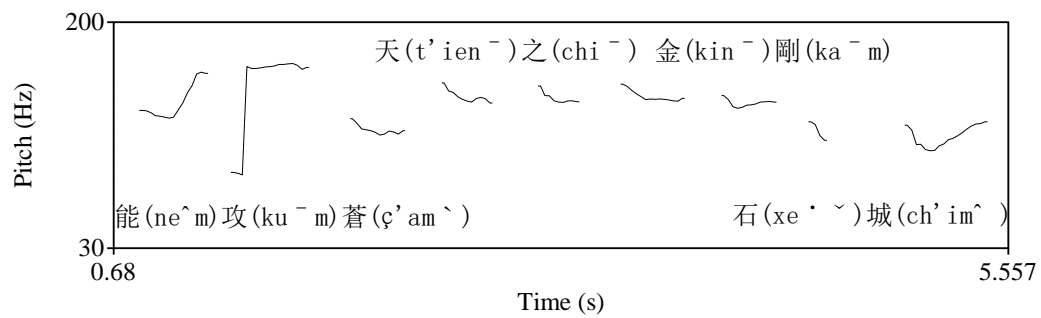


4.14 能(ne^m)攻(ku-m)蒼(ç'am`)天(t'ien-)之(chi-)金(kin-)剛(ka-m)石(xe~)城(ch'im^),

平平上平平平平入平

PPSPPPRP (9)

4-14

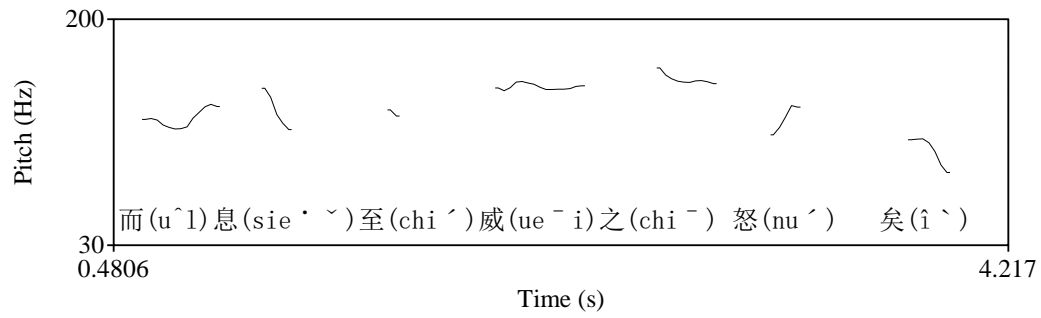


4.15 而(u^ˊl)息(sie^ˊˇ)至(chi^ˊ)威(ue⁻i)之(chi⁻)怒(nu^ˊ)矣(i^ˊ)!

平入去平平去上

PRQPPQS (7)

4-15

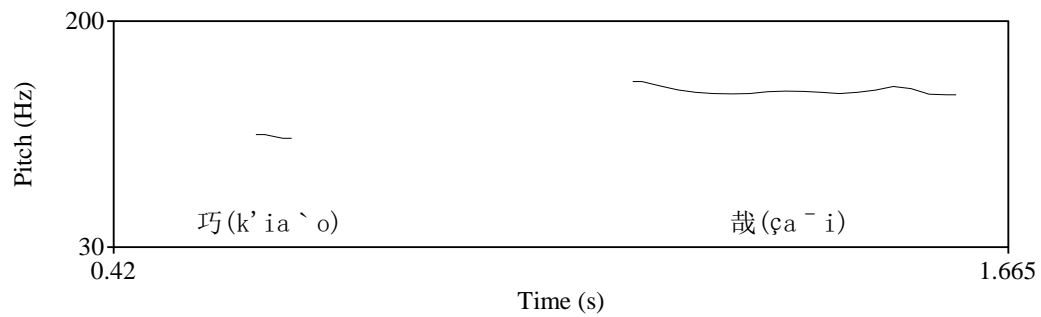


4.16 巧(k'ia^o)哉(ça⁻i),

上平

SP (2)

4-16

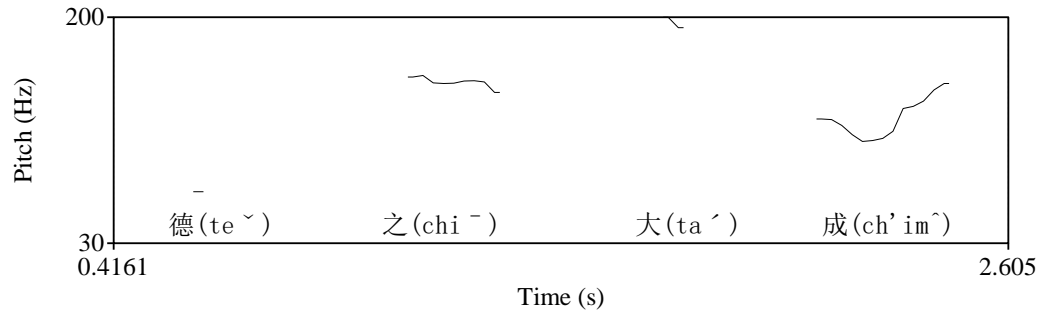


4.17 德(teˇ)之(chiˉ)大(taˊ)成(ch'im^),

入平去平

RPQP (4)

4-17

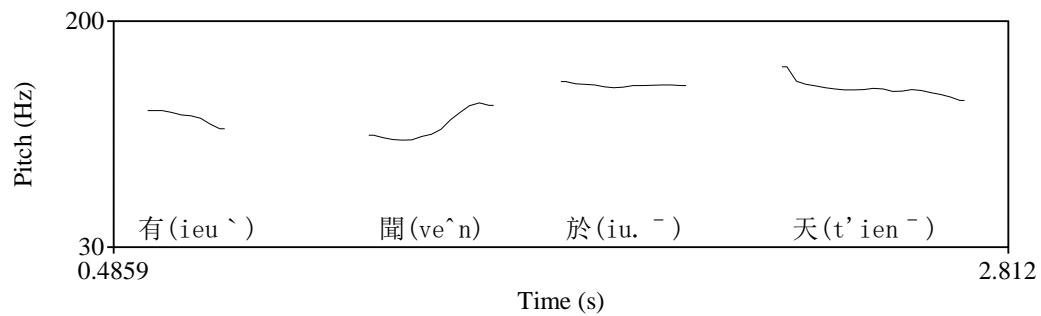


4.18 有(ieuˋ)聞(ve^ˊn)於(iu.ˉ)天(t'ienˉ),

上平平平

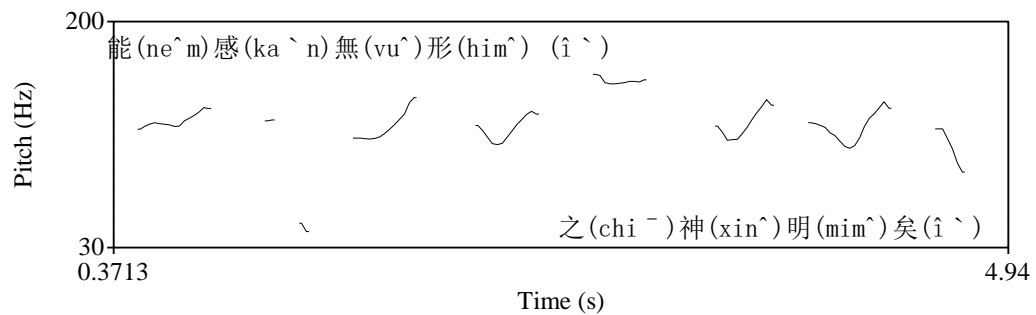
SPPP (4)

4-18



4.19 能(ne^m)感(ka`n)無(vu^ˊ)形(him^ˊ)之(chi^-)神(xin^ˊ)明(mim^ˊ)矣(i`)!	
平上平平平平平上	PSPPPPPS (8)

4-19



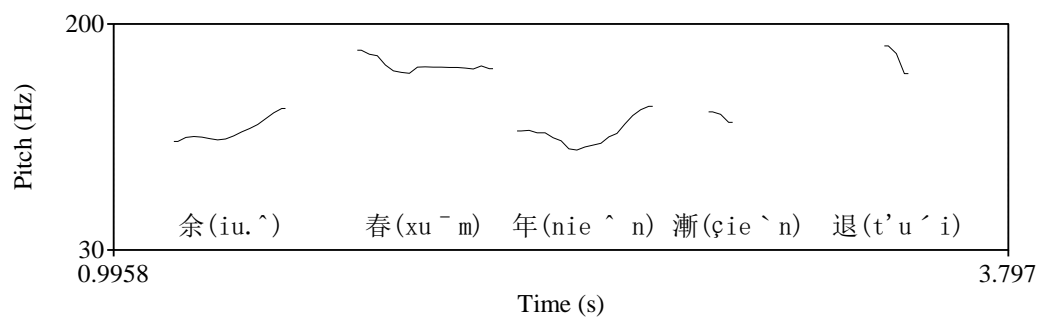
5) 悔老無德

5.1 余(iu.ˆ)春(xuˉm)年(nieˆn)漸(çie`n)退(t'u'ı),

平平平上去

PPPSQ (5)

5-1

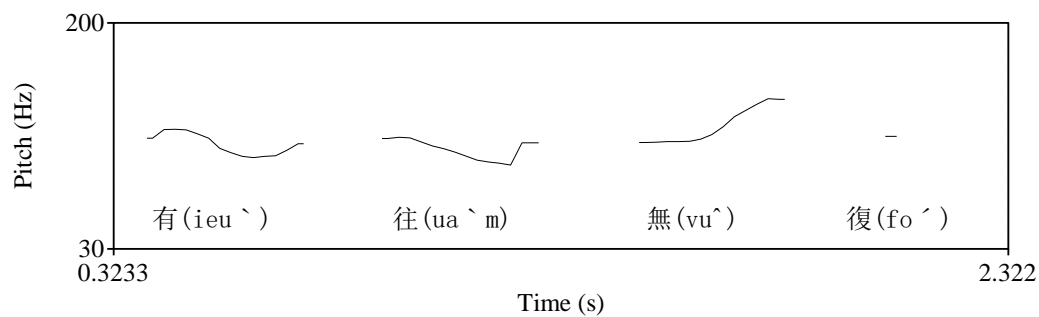


5.2 有(ieu`)往(ua`m)無(vuˆ)復(fo´),

上上平去

SSPQ (4)

5-2

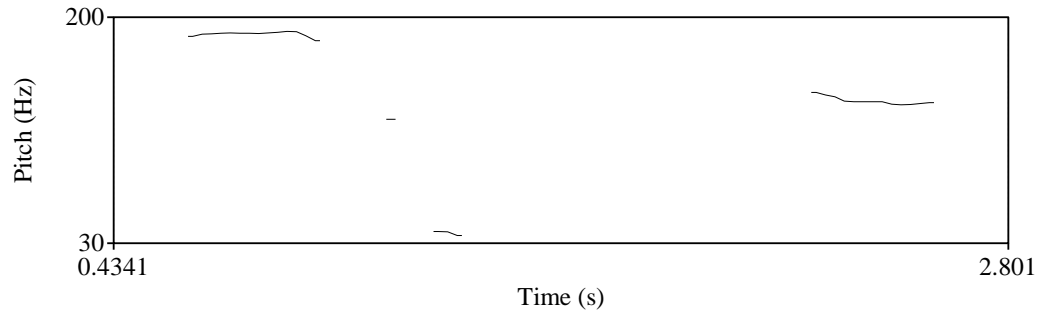


5.3 蹙(hiu. ˊ)老(lao`)暗(gan´)侵(ç'inˊ),

平上去平

PSQP (4)

5-3

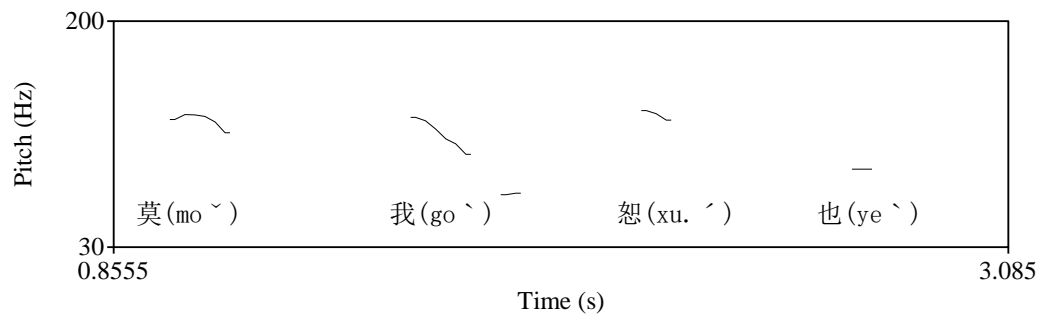


5.4 莫(moˊ)我(go`)恕(xu.´)也(ye`)。

入上去上

RSQS (4)

5-4

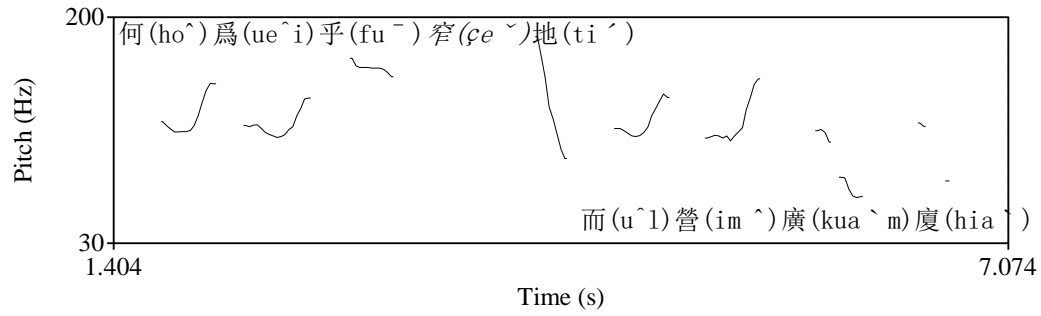


5.5 何(ho^ˆ)爲(ue^ˆi)乎(fu⁻)窄(ɕe^ˇ)地(ti^ˊ)而(u^ˊl)營(im^ˆ)廣(kua^ˋm)廈(hia^ˋ),

平平平入去平平上上

PPPRQPPSS (9)

5-5

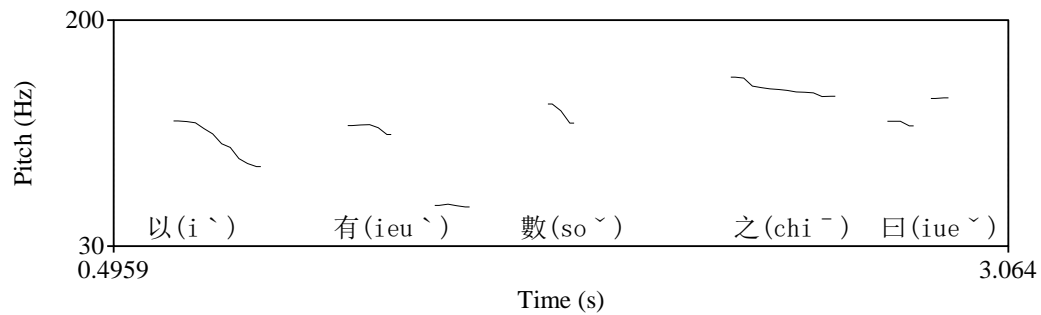


5.6 以(i^ˋ)有(ieu^ˋ)數(so^ˇ)之(chi⁻)曰(iue^ˇ),

上上入平入

SSRPR (5)

5-6

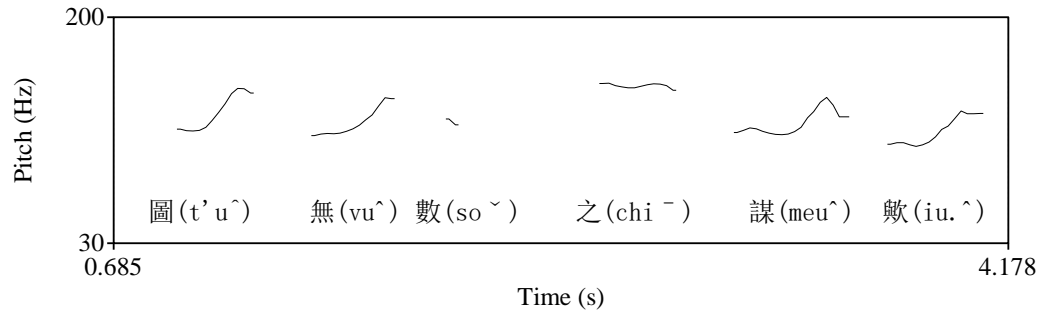


5.7 圖(t'u^ˊ)無(vu^ˊ)數(so^ˇ)之(chi⁻)謀(meu^ˊ)歟(iu.^ˊ)?

平平入平平平

PPRPPP (6)

5-7

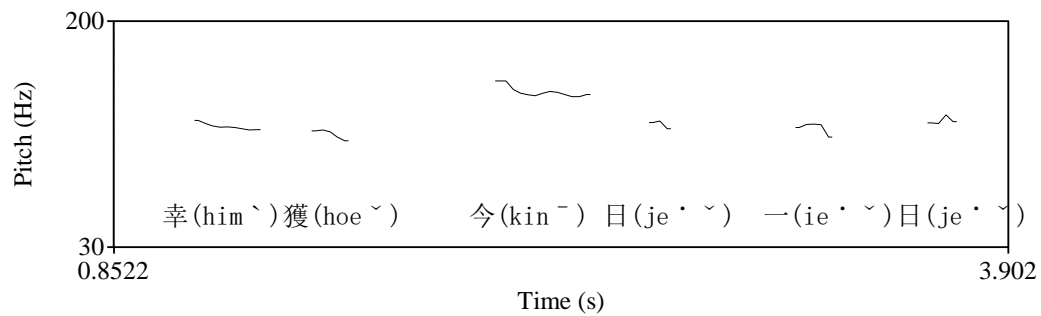


5.8 幸(him^ˋ)獲(hoe^ˇ)今(kin⁻)日(je^ˋˇ)一(ie^ˋˇ)日(je^ˋˇ),

上入平入入入

SRPRRR (6)

5-8

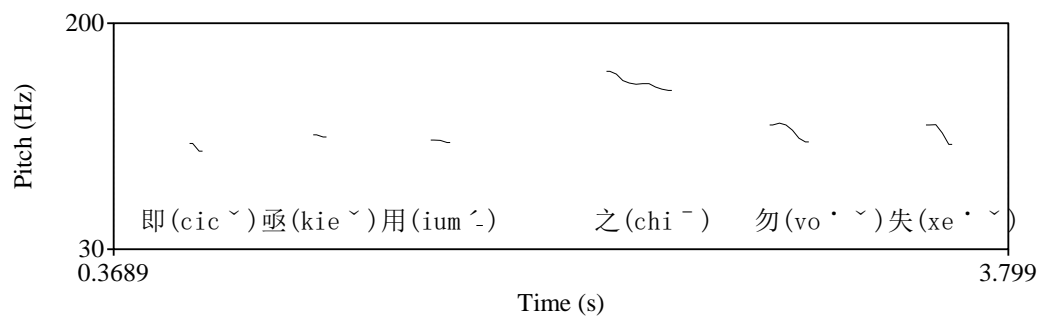


5.9 即(cic^ˇ)亟(kie^ˇ)用(ium^ˊ)之(chi⁻)勿(vo^{·ˇ})失(xe^{·ˇ})。

入入去平入入

RRQPRR (6)

5-9

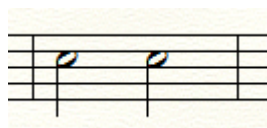
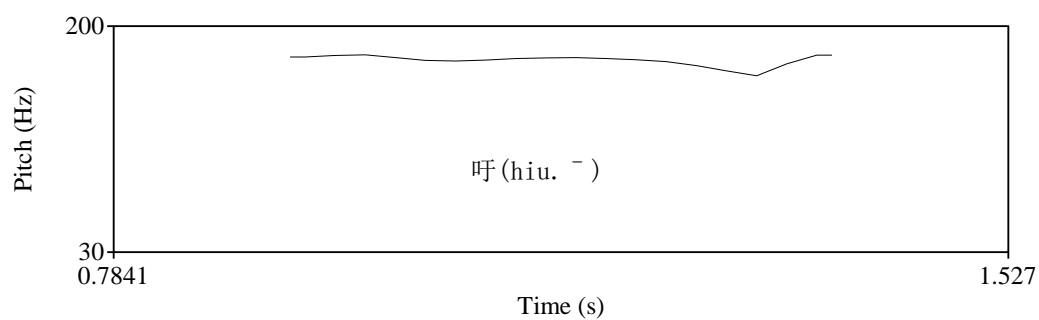


5.10 吁(hiu.⁻)!

平

P (1)

5-10

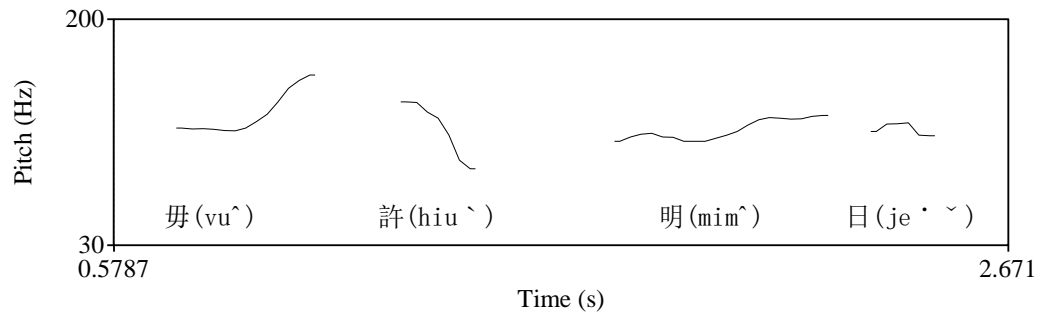


5.11 毋(vu^ˆ)許(hiu^ˋ)明(mim^ˆ)日(je^ˋˇ),

平上平入

PSPR (4)

5-11

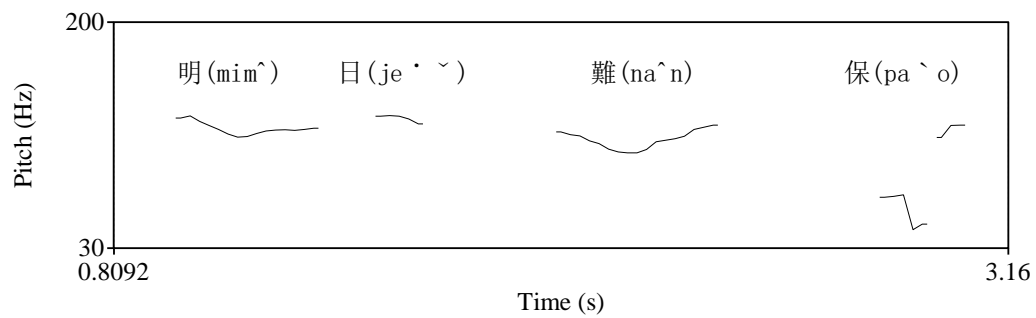


5.12 明(mim^ˆ)日(je^ˋˇ)難(na^ˆn)保(pa^ˋo);

平入平上

PRPS (4)

5-12

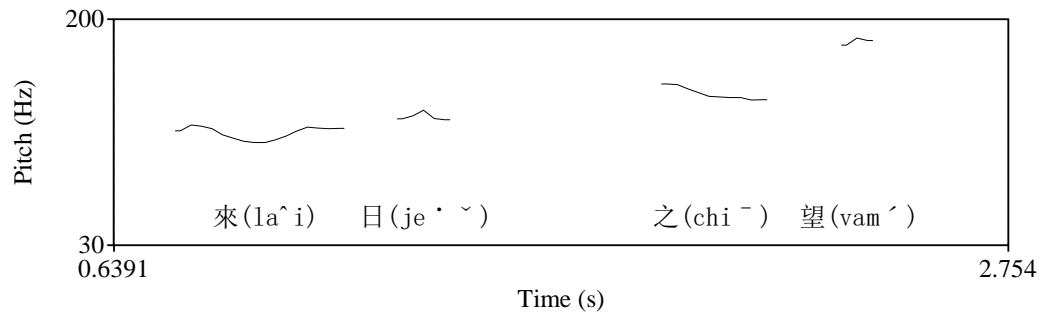


5.13 來(la^ˆi)日(je[˙]ˇ)之(chi⁻)望(vam^ˊ),

平入平去

PRPQ (4)

5-13

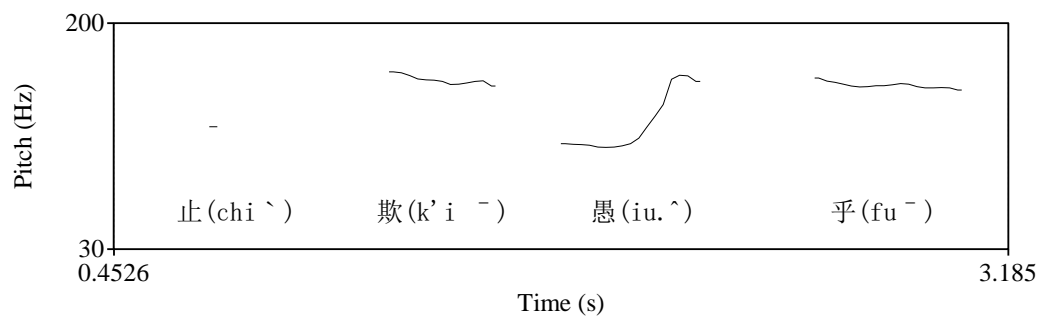


5.14 止(chi[`])欺(k'i⁻)愚(iu.^ˆ)乎(fu⁻)?

上平平平

SPPP (4)

5-14

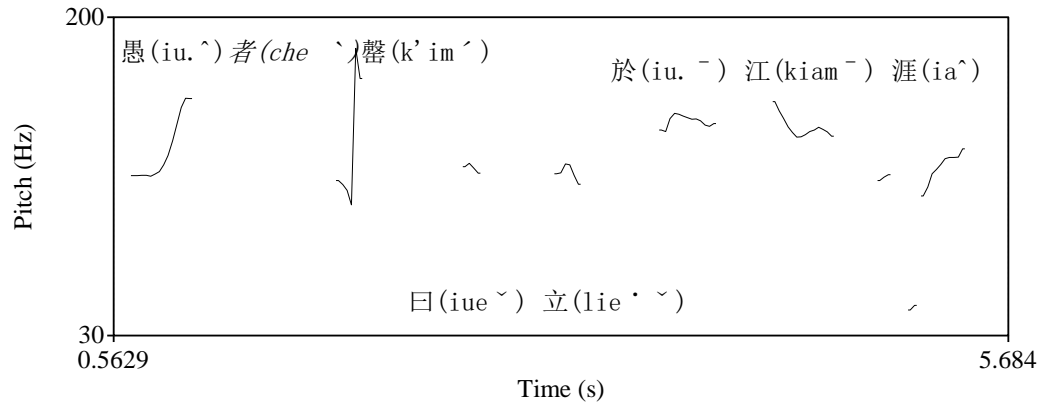


5.15 愚(iu.ˆ)者(che `)罄(k'im´)曰(iueˇ)立(lie·ˇ)於(iu.ˉ)江(kiamˉ)涯(iaˆ),

平上去入入平平平

PSQRRPPP (8)

5-15

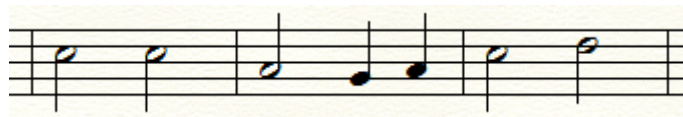
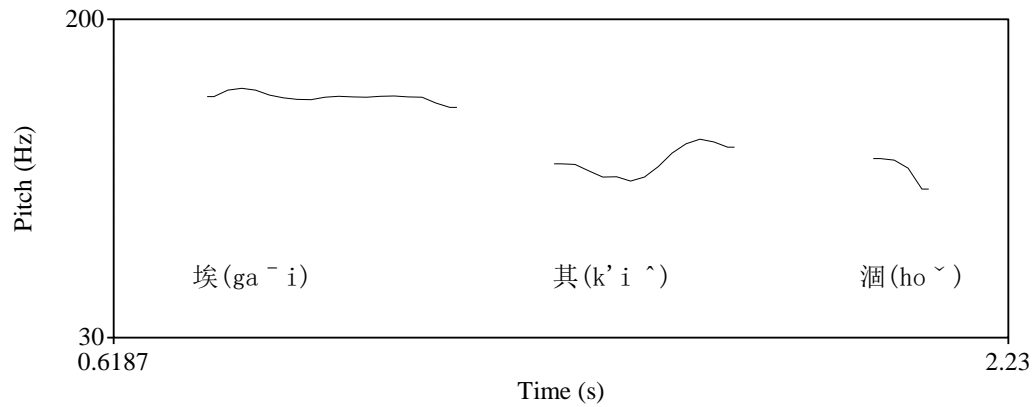


5.16 埃(gaˉi)其(k'iˆ)澗(hoˇ),

平平入

PPR (3)

5-16

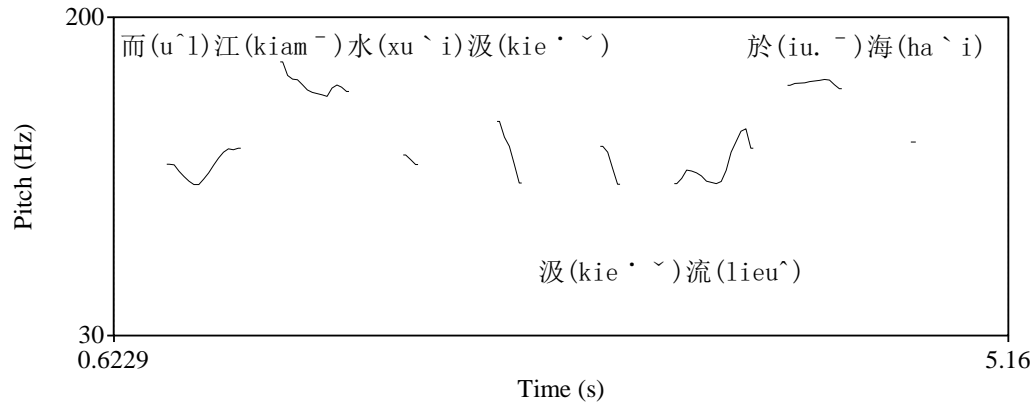


5.17 而(u¹)江(kiam⁻)水(xu[`]i)汲(kie[·]ˇ)汲(kie[·]ˇ)流(lieu[^])於(iu.⁻)海(ha[`]i),

平平上入入平平上

PPSRRPPS (8)

5-17

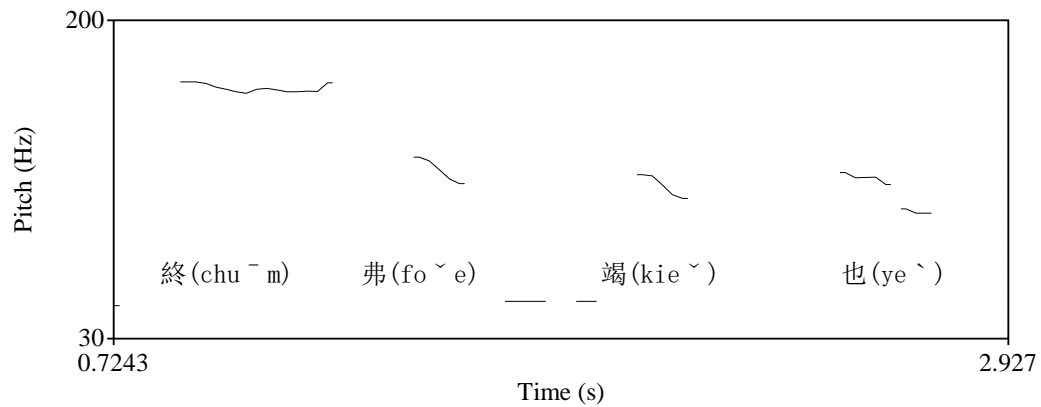


5.18 終(chu⁻m)弗(fo^ˇe)竭(kie^ˇ)也(ye[`])。

平入入上

PRRS (4)

5-18

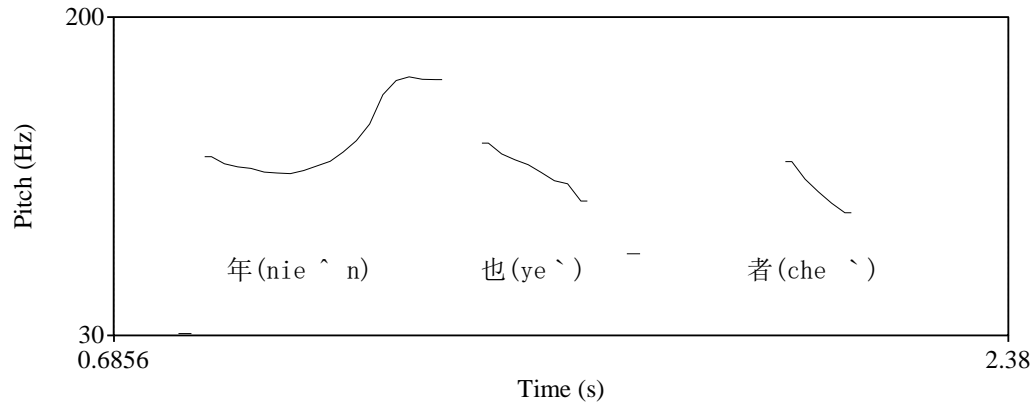


5.19 年(nie^ˆn)也(ye^ˋ)者(che^ˋ),

平上上

PSS (3)

5-19

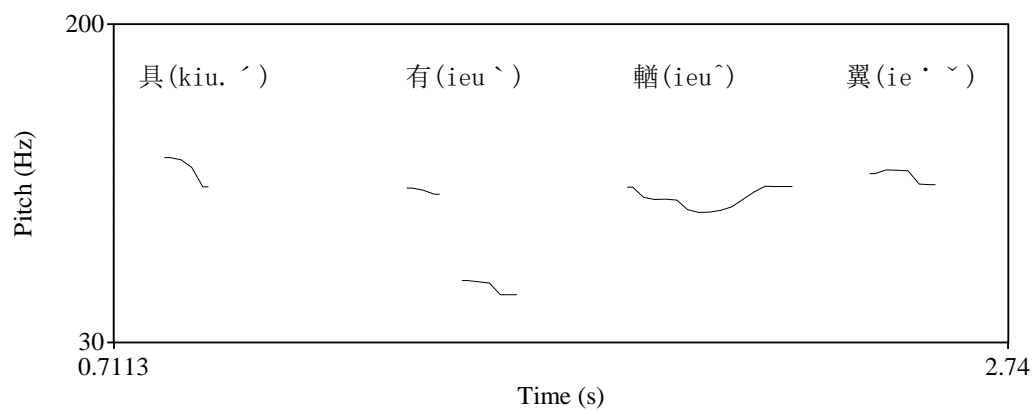


5.20 具(kiu.^ˋ)有(ieu^ˋ)輶(ieu^ˆ)翼(ie^ˋˋ),

去上平入

QSPR (4)

5-20

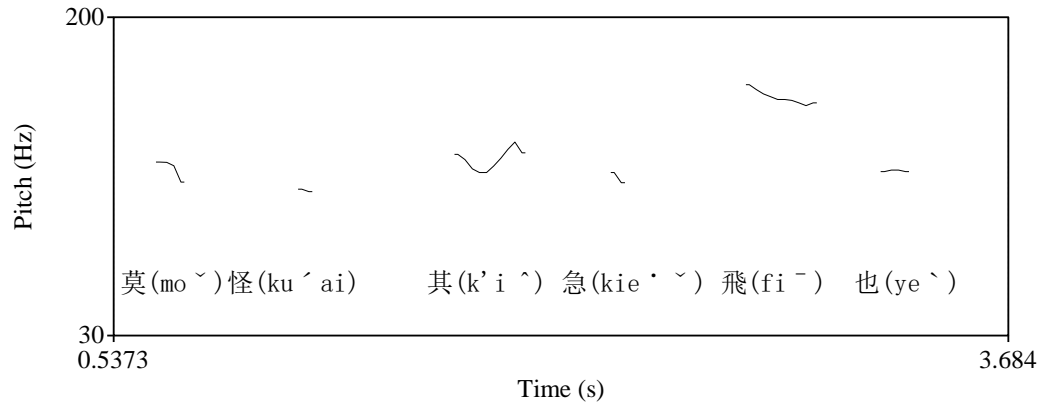


5.21 莫(moˇ)怪(ku'ai)其(k'i ^)急(kieˇ)飛(fi-)也(ye`)

入去平入平上

RQPRPS (6)

5-21

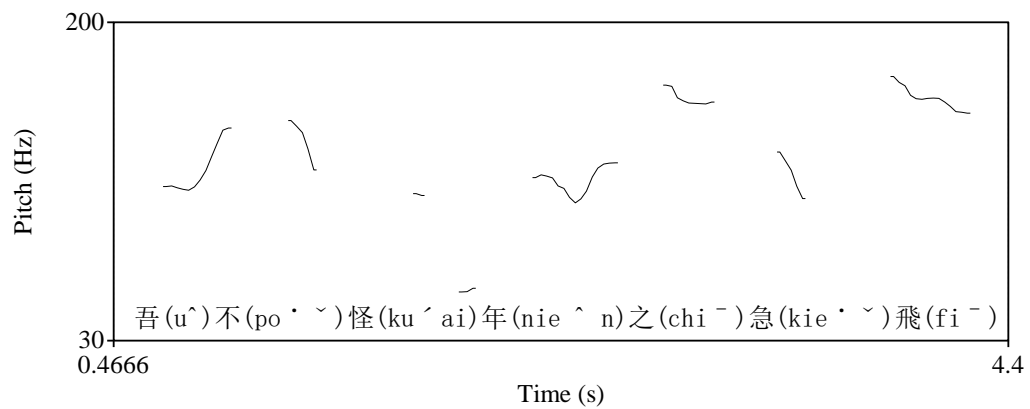


5.22 吾(u^)不(poˇ)怪(ku'ai)年(nie ^ n)之(chi-)急(kieˇ)飛(fi-),

平入去平平入平

PRQPPRP (7)

5-22

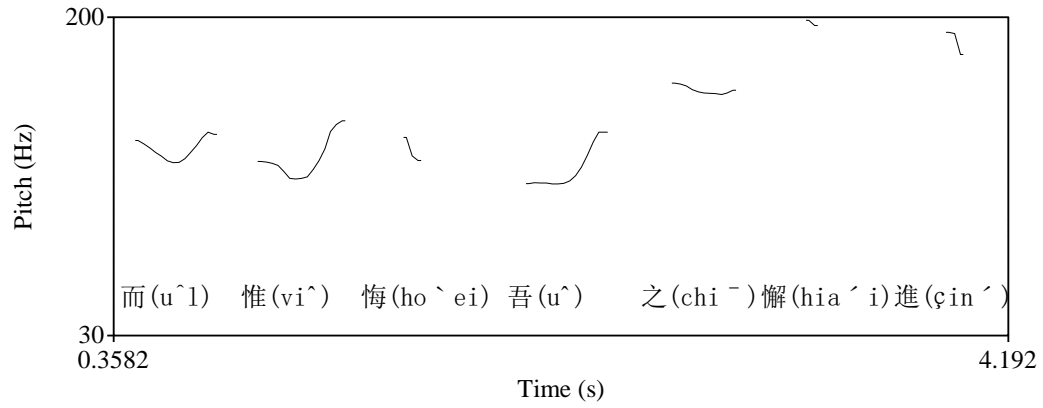


5.23 而(u¹)惟(vi[^])悔(ho`ei)吾(u[^])之(chi⁻)懈(hia`i)進(çin[´])。

平平上平平去去

PPSPPQQ (7)

5-23

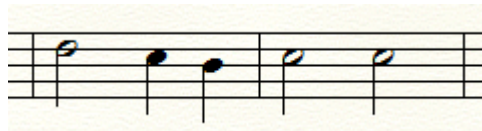
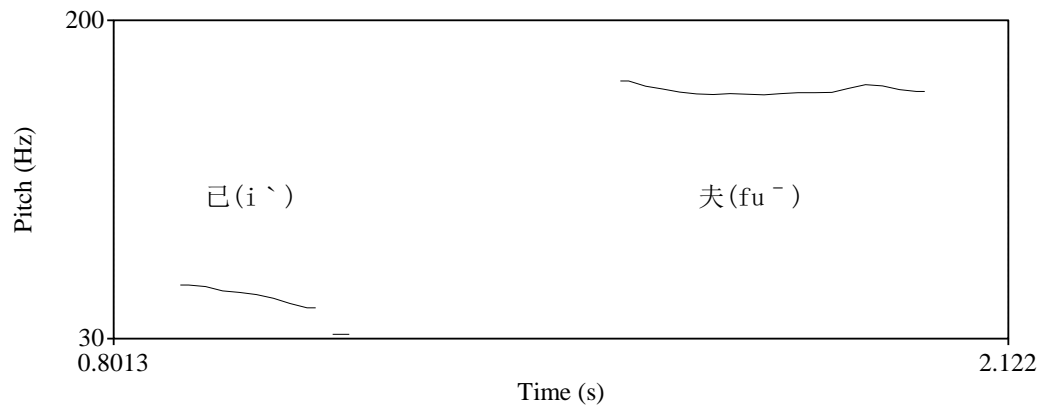


5.24 已(i[`])夫(fu⁻)!

上平

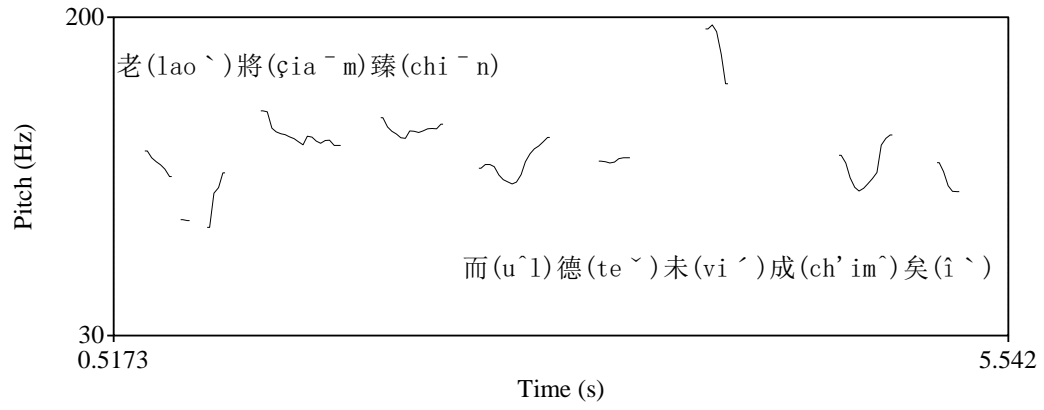
SP (2)

5-24



5.25 老(lao`)將(çia`m)臻(chi`n)而(u`l)德(te`)未(vi`)成(ch`im`)矣(i`)。	
上平平平入去平上	SPPPRQPS (8)

5-25

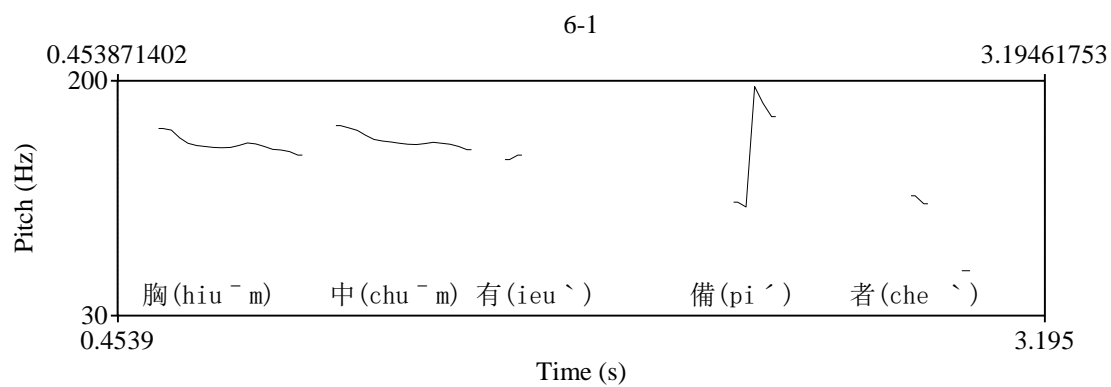


6) 胸中庸平

6.1 胸(hiu⁻m)中(chu⁻m)有(ieu[`])備(pi[´])者(che[`]),

平平上去上

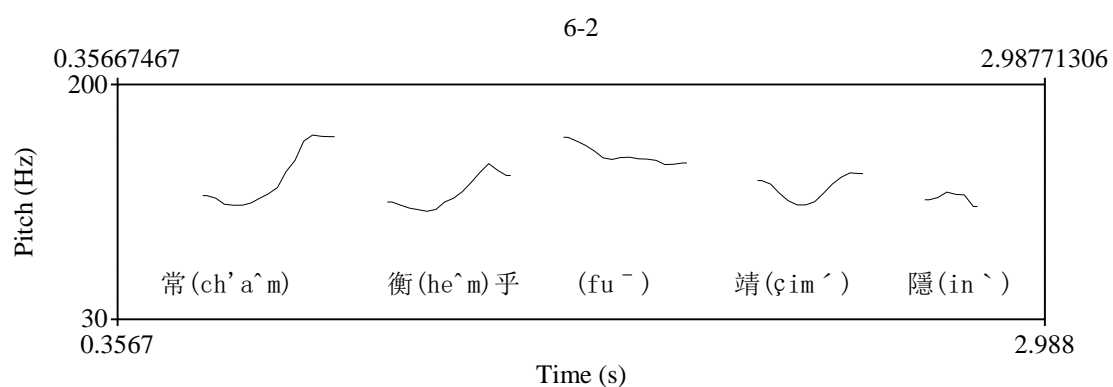
PPSQS (5)



6.2 常(ch'a[^]m)衡(he[^]m)乎(fu⁻)靖(çim[´])隱(in[`]),

平平平去上

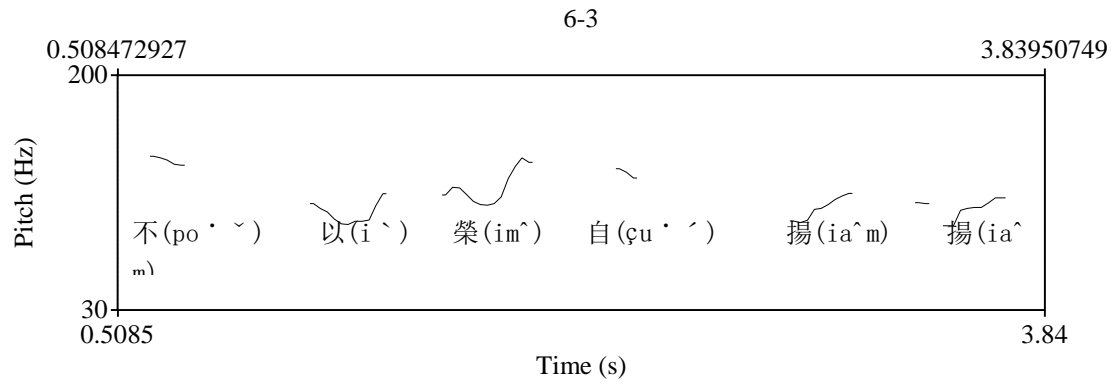
PPPQS (5)



6.3 不(poˊˇ)以(iˋ)榮(imˆ)自(çuˊˇ)揚(iaˆm)揚(iaˆm),

入上平去平平

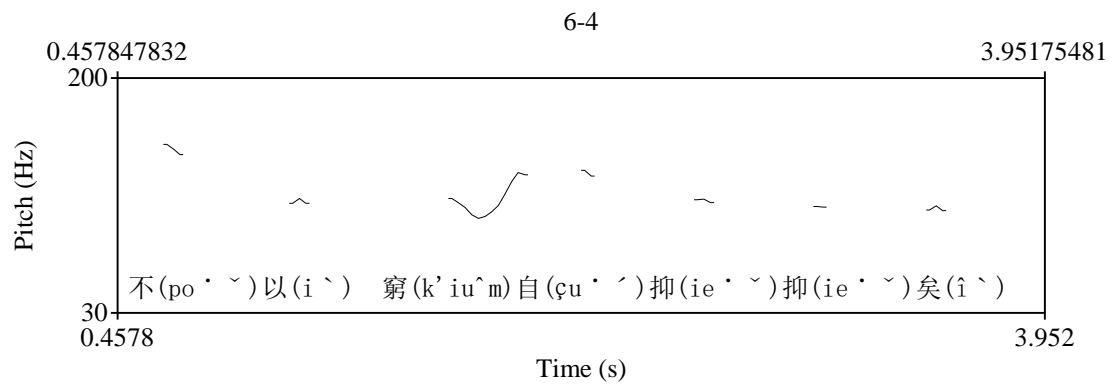
RSPQPP (6)



6.4 不(poˊˇ)以(iˋ)窮(k'iuˆm)自(çuˊˇ)抑(ieˊˇ)抑(ieˊˇ)矣(iˋ)。

入去平去入入上

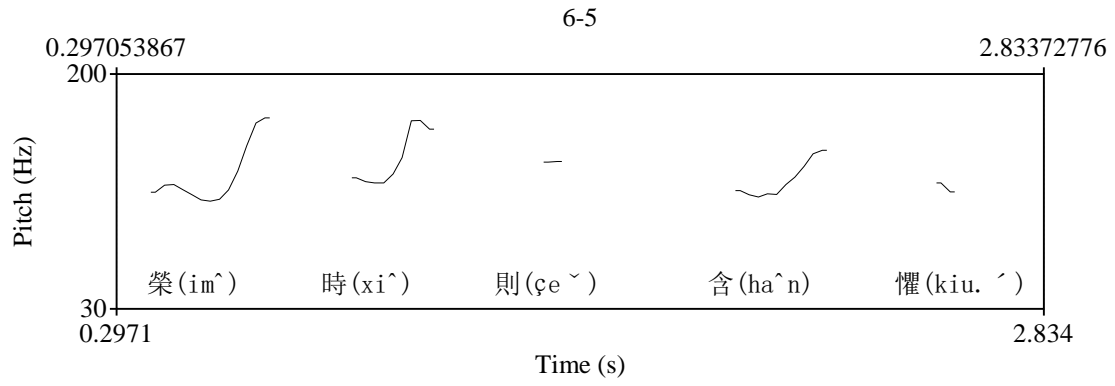
RQPQRRS (7)



6.5 榮(im^ˆ)時(xi^ˆ)則(çe^ˇ)含(ha^ˆn)懼(kiu.^ˊ),

平平入平去

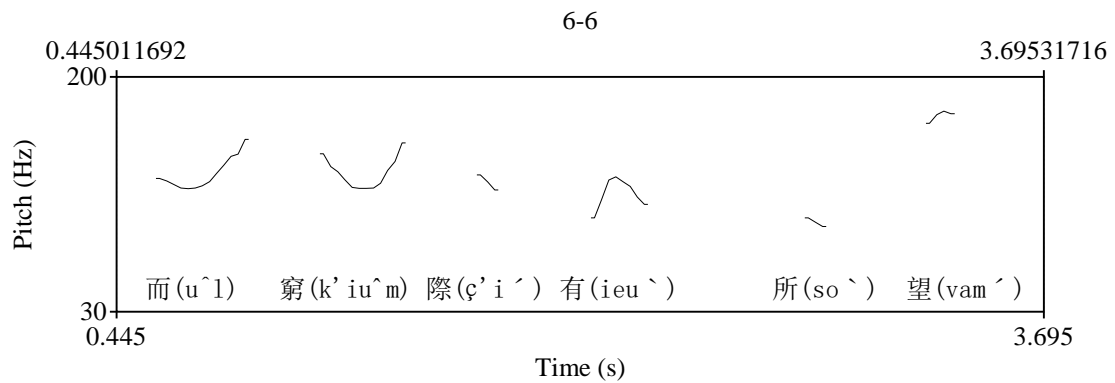
PPRPQ (5)



6.6 而(u^ˆl)窮(k'iu^ˆm)際(ç'i^ˊ)有(ieu^ˋ)所(so^ˋ)望(vam^ˊ),

平平去上上去

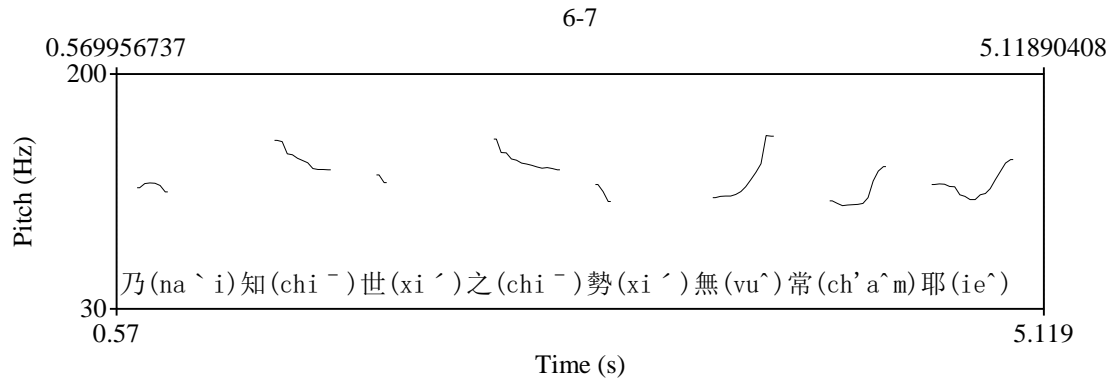
PPQSSQ (6)



6.7 乃(na`i)知(chi⁻)世(xi[´])之(chi⁻)勢(xi[´])無(vu[^])常(ch'a[^]m)耶(ie[^])?

上平去平去平平平

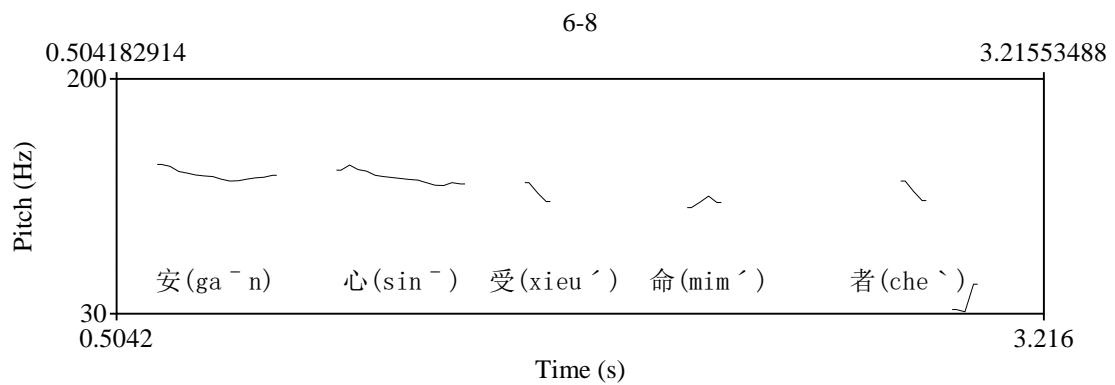
SPQPQPPP (8)



6.8 安(ga⁻n)心(sin⁻)受(xieu[´])命(mim[´])者(che[`]),

平平去去上

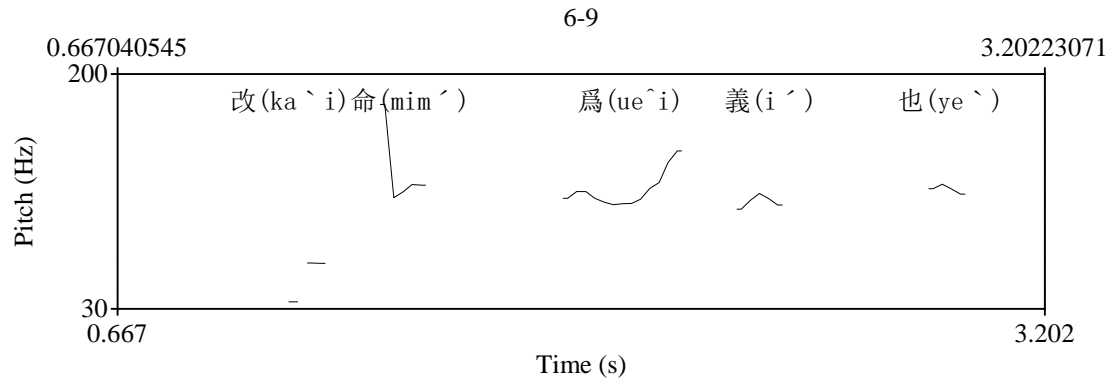
PPQQS (5)



6.9 改(ka`i)命(mim´)爲(ue`i)義(i´)也(ye`)

上去平去上

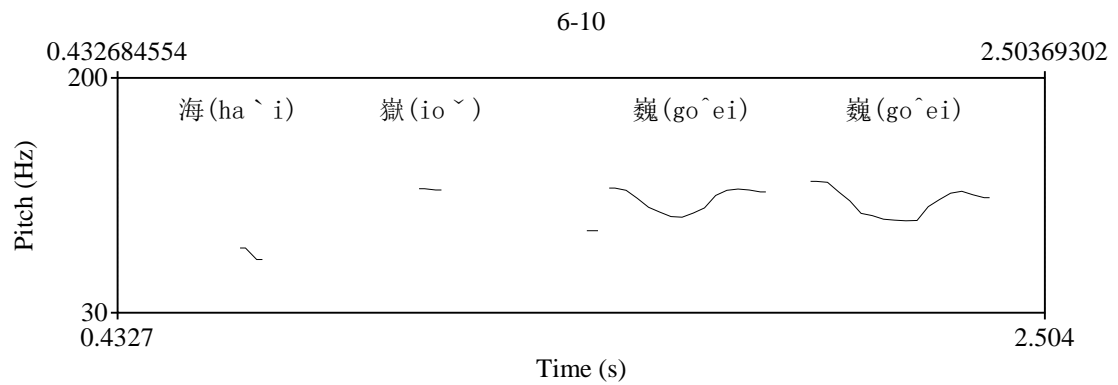
SQPQS (5)



6.10 海(ha`i)嶽(ioˇ)巍(go`ei)巍(go`ei),

上入平平

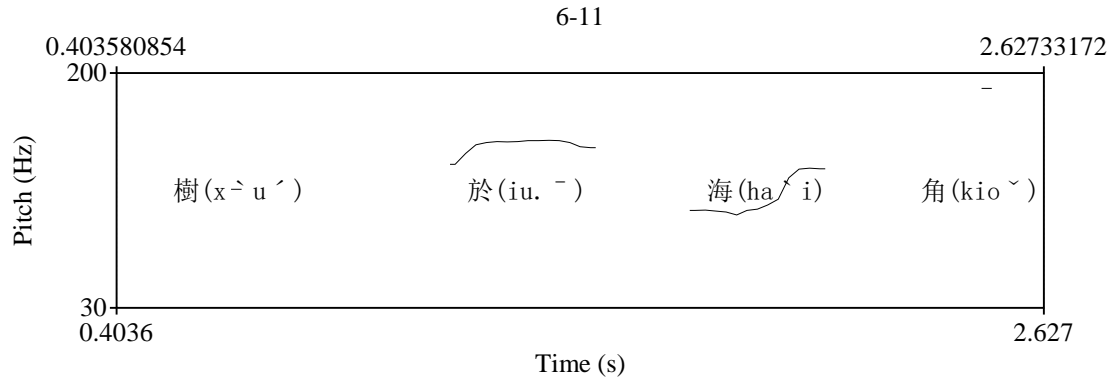
SRPP (4)



6.11 樹(x`u´)於(iu.´)海(ha`i)角(kioˇ),

去平上入

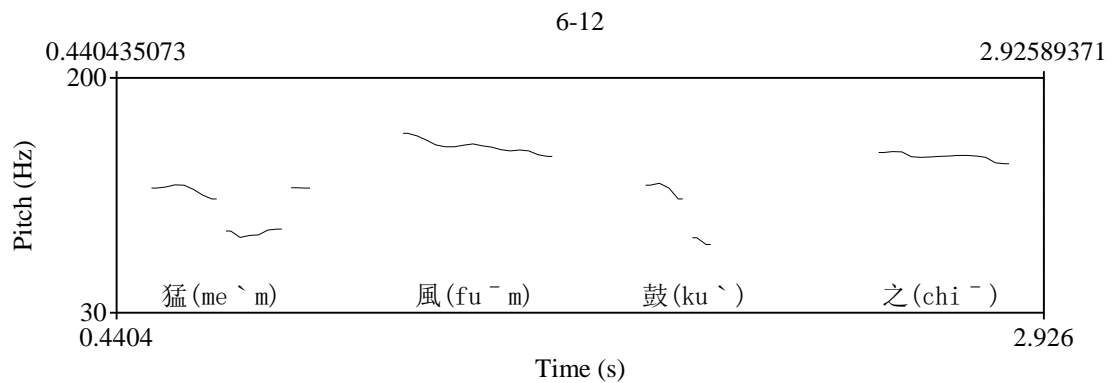
QPSR (4)



6.12 猛(me`m)風(fu´m)鼓(ku`´)之(chi´),

上平上平

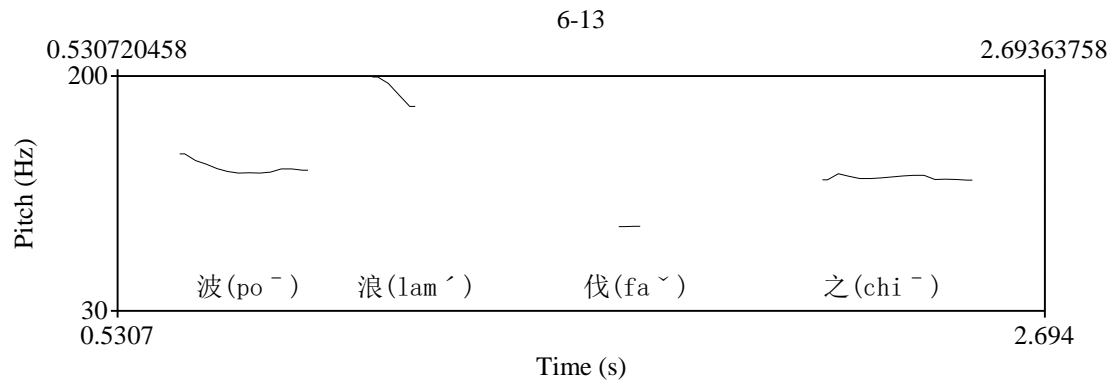
SPSP (4)



6.13 波(po⁻)浪(lam[´])伐(fa^ˇ)之(chi⁻),

平去入平

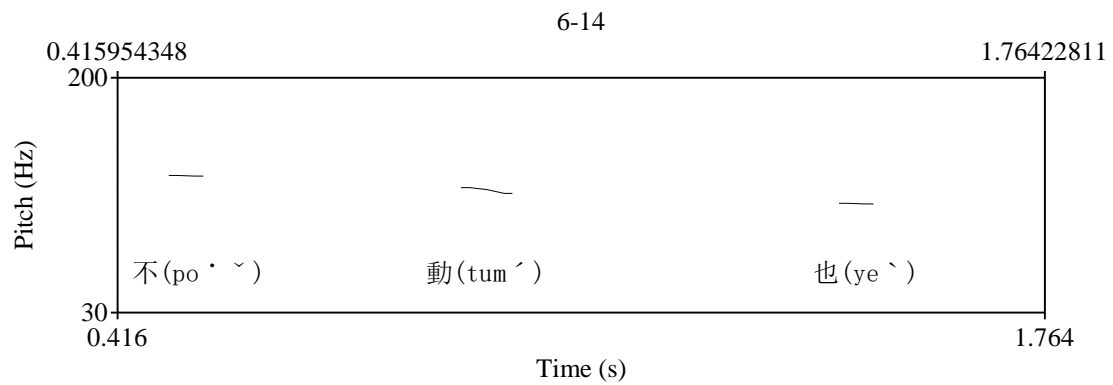
PQRP (4)



6.14 不(po^ˇ)動(tum[´])也(ye[`])。

入去上

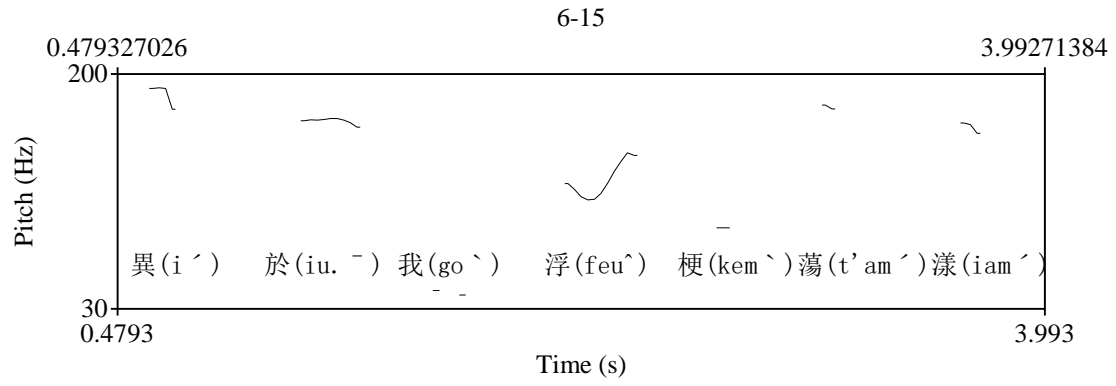
RQS (3)



6.15 異(i´)於(iu.´)我(go`)浮(feui´)梗(kem`)蕩(t'am´)漾(iam´),

去平上平上去去

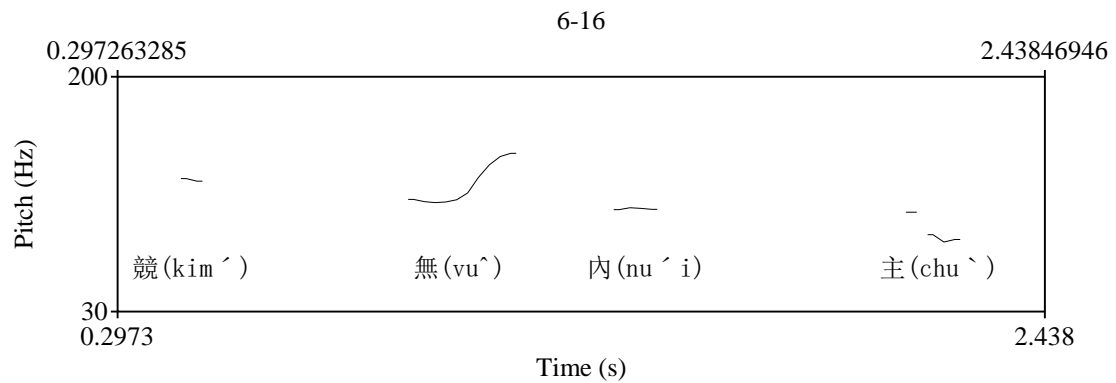
QPSPSQQ (7)



6.16 競(kim´)無(vu´)內(nu´i)主(chu`),

去平去上

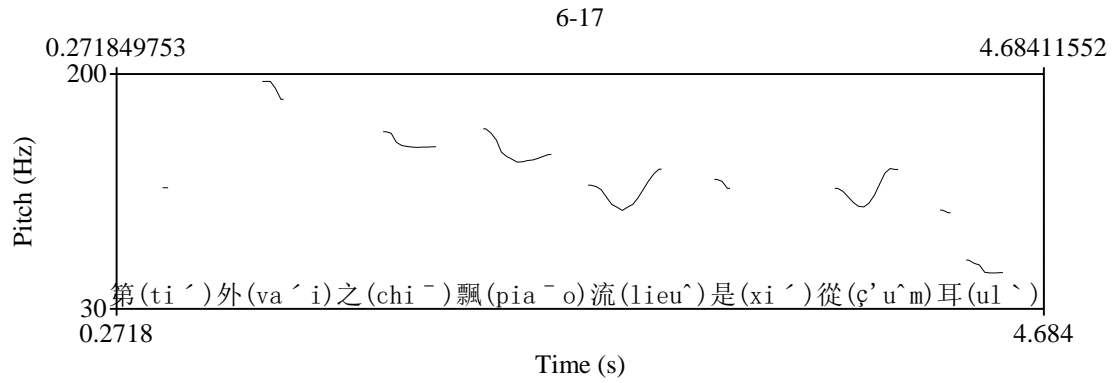
QPQS (4)



6.17 第(ti´)外(va´i)之(chiˉ)飄(piaˉo)流(lieuˆ)是(xi´)從(ç'uˆm)耳(ulˋ)。

去去平平平去平上

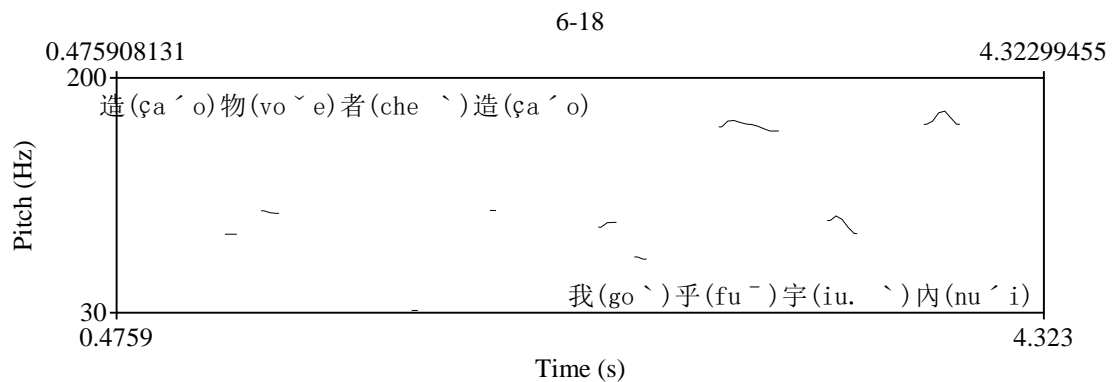
QQPPPQPS (8)



6.18 造(ça´o)物(voˇe)者(che ˋ)造(ça´o)我(goˋ)乎(fuˉ)字(iu. ˋ)內(nu´i),

去入上去上平上去

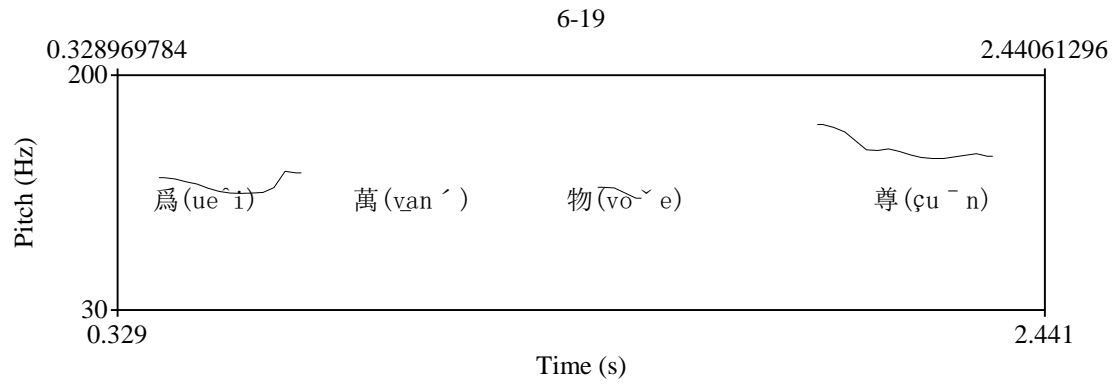
QRSQSPSQ (8)



6.19 爲(ue^ˊi)萬(van^ˊ)物(vo^ˇe)尊(ɕu⁻n),

平去入平

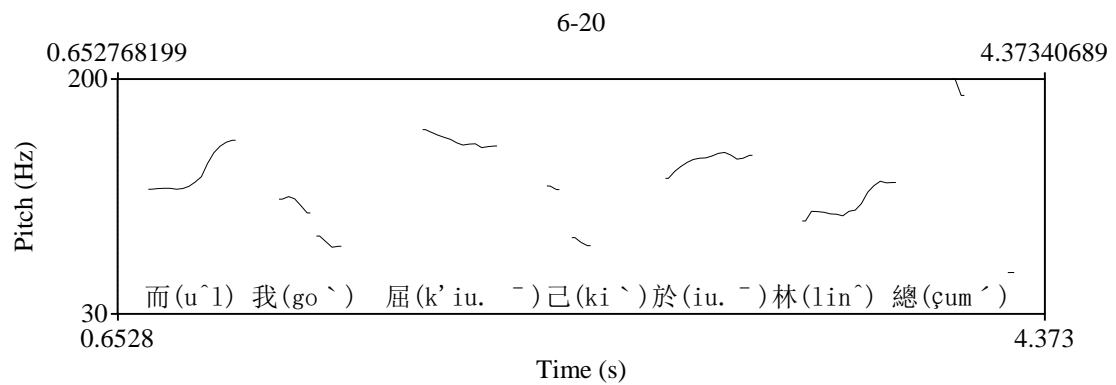
PQRP (4)



6.20 而(u^ˊl)我(go[`])屈(k'iu.⁻)己(ki[`])於(iu.⁻)林(lin^ˊ)總(ɕum^ˊ),

平上平上平平去

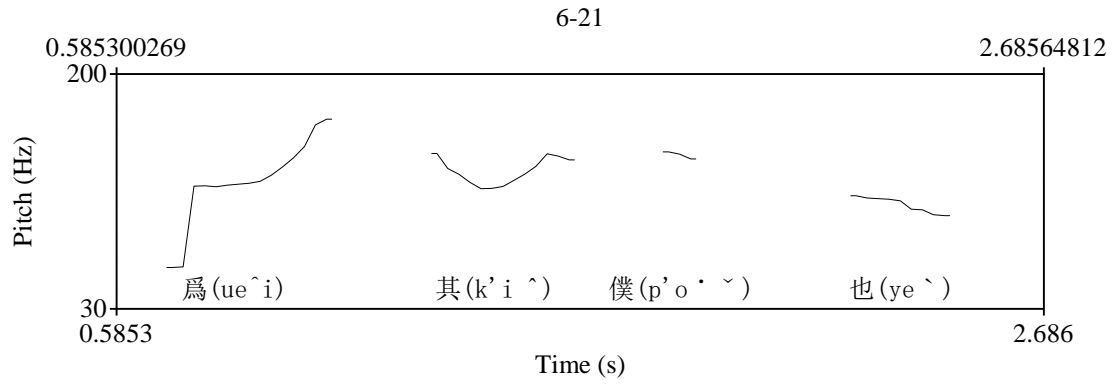
PSPSPQ (7)



6.21 爲(ue^ˆi)其(k'i^ˆ)僕(p'o[˙]ˇ)也(ye^ˋ)。

平平入上

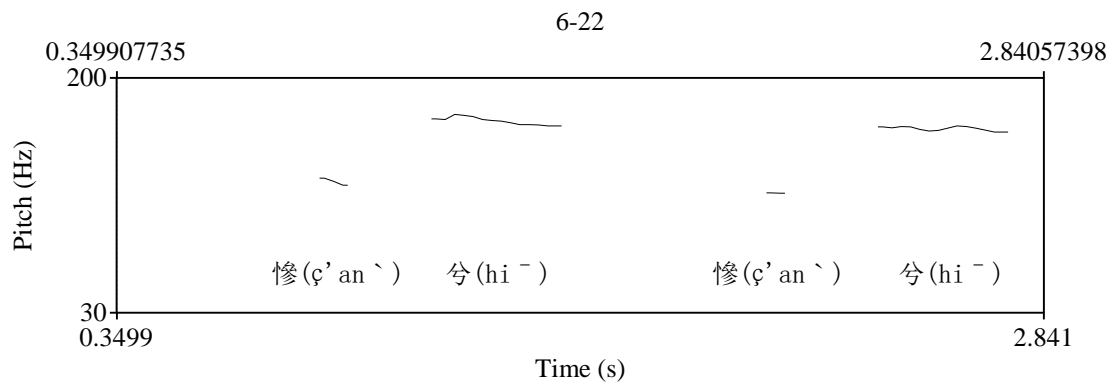
PPRS (4)



6.22 慘(ç'an^ˋ)兮(hi⁻)慘(ç'an^ˋ)兮(hi⁻)!

上平平

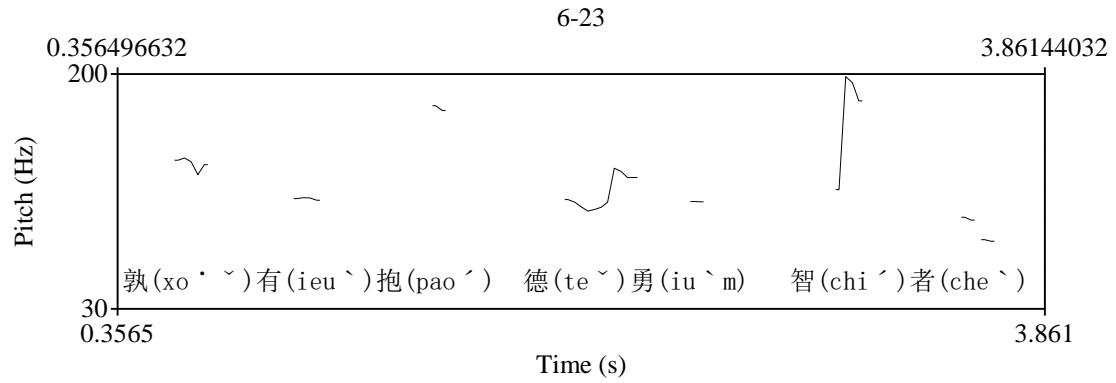
SPSP (4)



6.23 孰(xo`˘)有(ieu`˘)抱(pao´)德(te˘)勇(iu`m)智(chi´)者(che`),

入上去入上去上

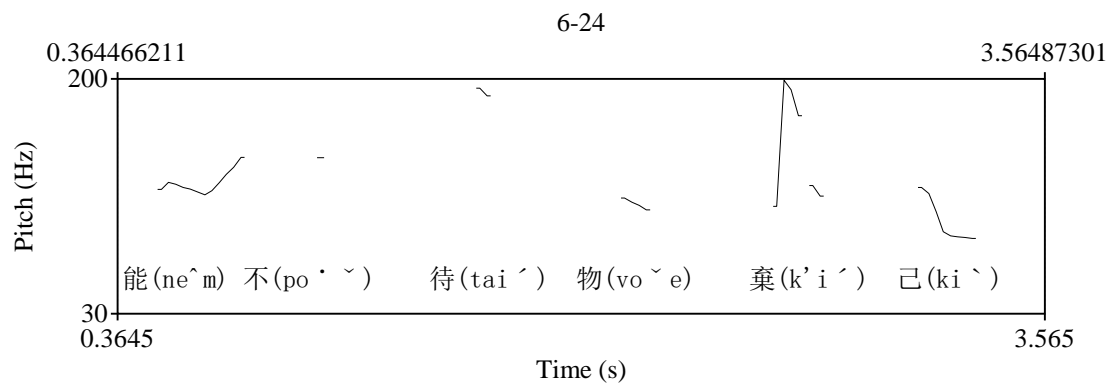
RSQRSQS (7)



6.24 能(ne^m)不(po`˘)待(tai´)物(vo`e)棄(k'i´)己(ki`),

平入去入去上

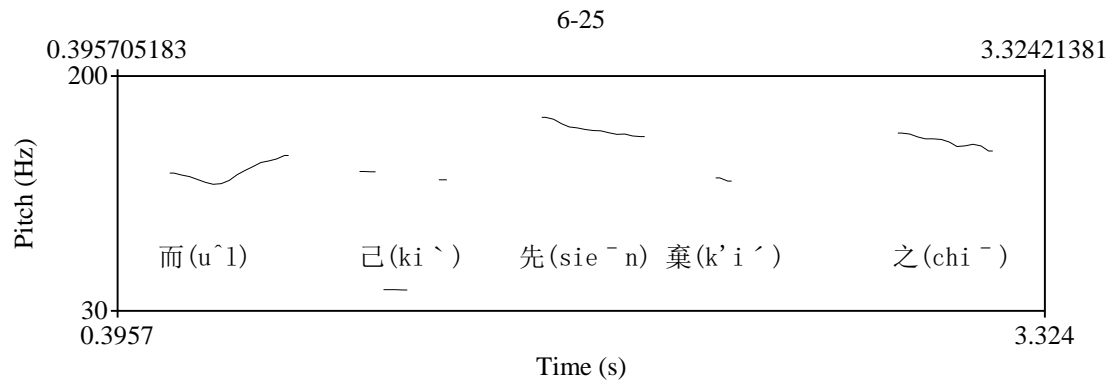
PRQRQS (6)



6.25 而(uˊ)己(kiˋ)先(sieˊn)棄(k' i ˊ)之(chiˊ),

平上平去平

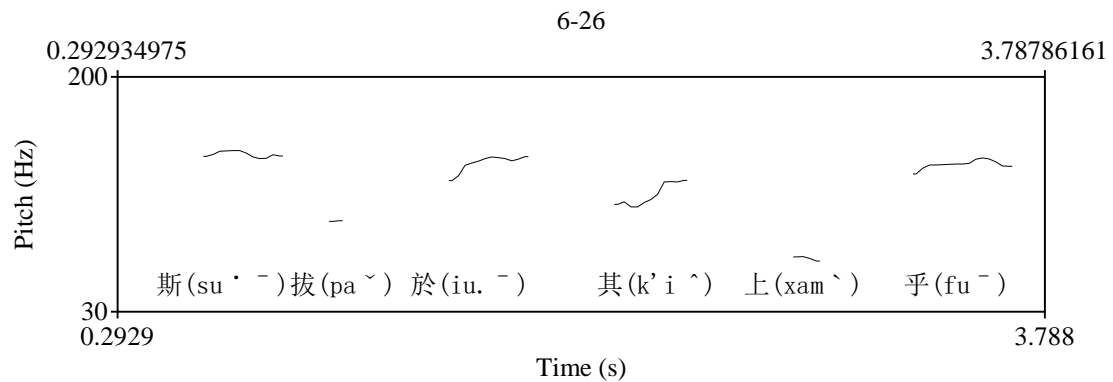
PSPQP (5)



6.26 斯(suˊ)拔(paˋ)於(iuˊ)其(k' i ˊ)上(xamˋ)乎(fuˊ)?

平入平平上平

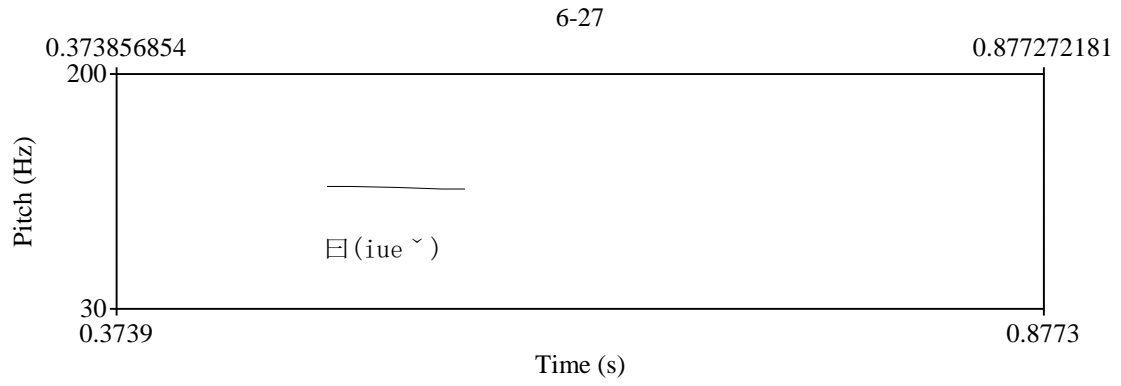
PRPPSP (6)



6.27 曰(iueˇ):

入

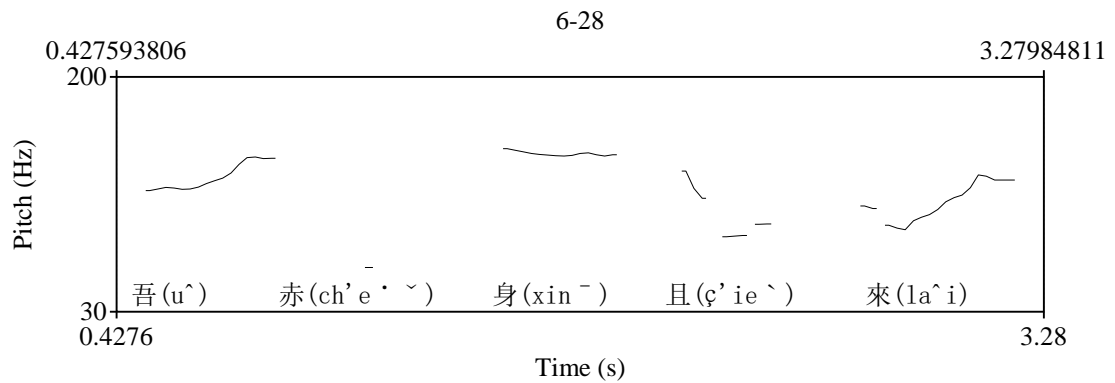
R (1)



6.28 「吾(uˆ)赤(ch'eˇ)身(xinˉ)且(ç'ieˋ)來(laˆi),

平入平上平

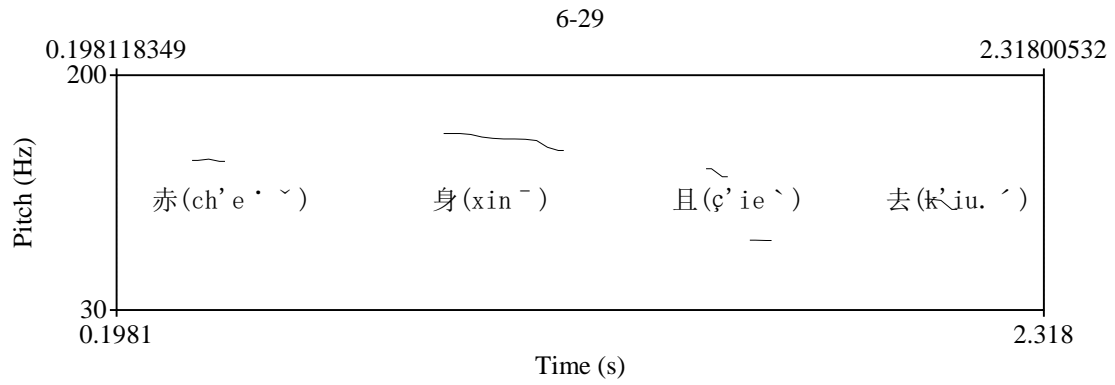
PRPSP (5)



6.29 赤(ch'eˇ)身(xinˉ)且(ç'ie˘)去(k'iu.´),

入平上去

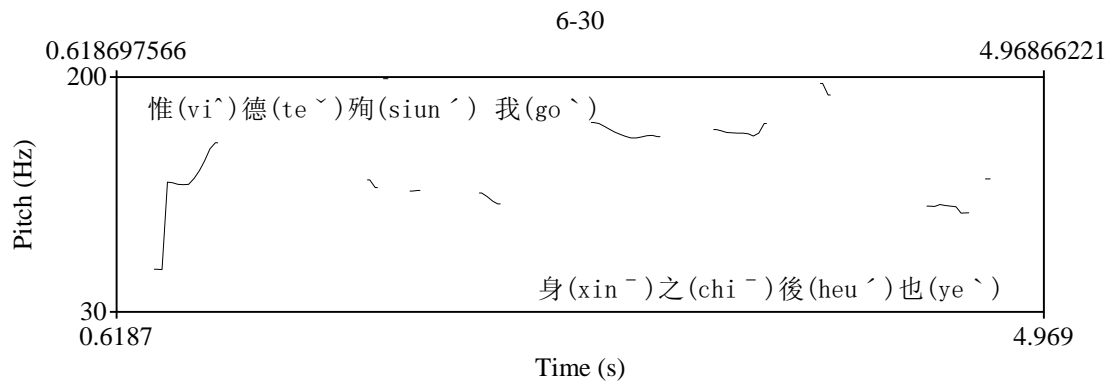
RPSQ (4)



6.30 惟(viˆ)德(te˘)殉(siuˊ)我(go˘)身(xinˉ)之(chiˉ)後(heu´)也(ye˘),

平入去上平平去上

PRQSPPQS (8)

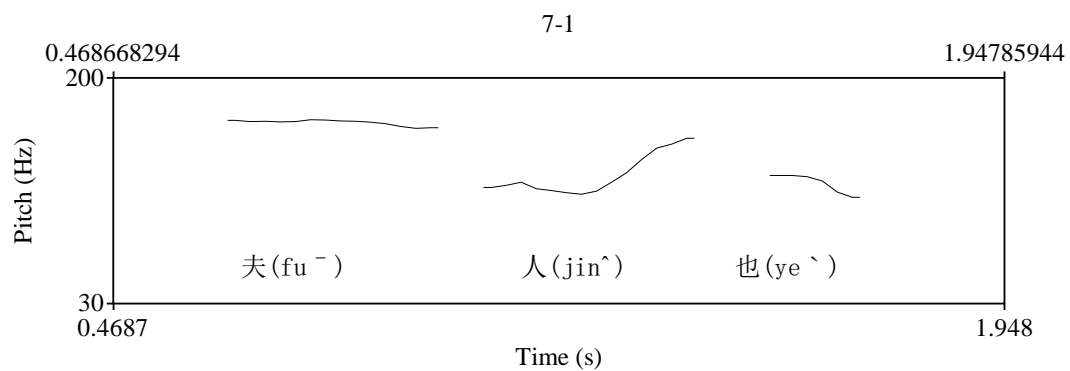


7) 肩負雙囊

7.1 夫(fu⁻)人(jin[^])也(ye[`]),

平平上

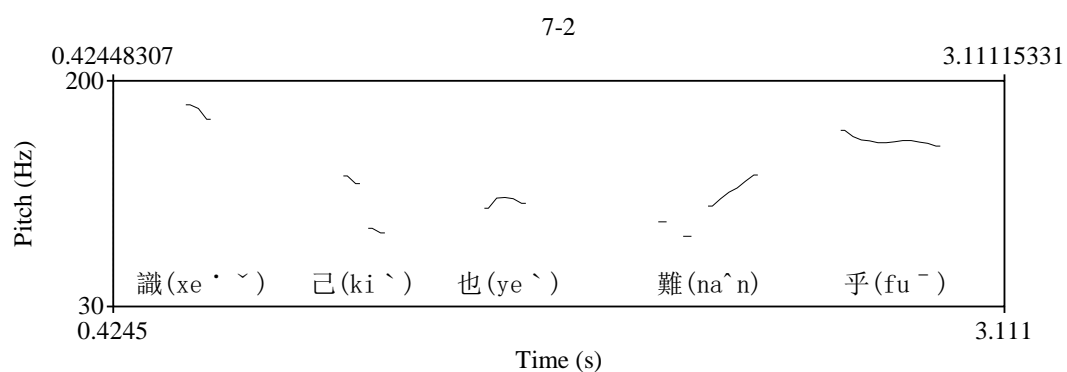
PPS (3)



7.2 識(xe[`])己(ki[`])也(ye[`])難(na[^]n)乎(fu⁻)?

入上上平平

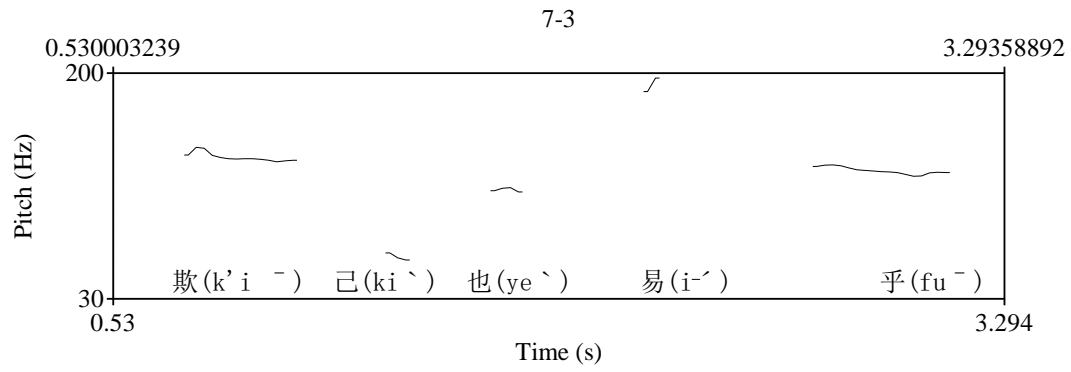
RSSPP (5)



7.3 欺(k'i⁻)己(ki[`])也(ye[`])易(i'⁻)乎(fu⁻)?

平上上去平

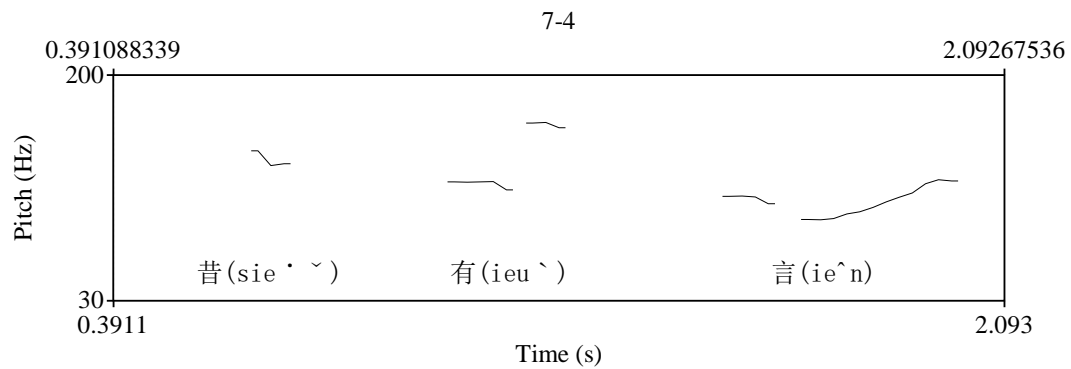
PSSQP (5)



7.4 昔(sie^{·`})有(ieu[`])言(ie^{^n}),

入上平

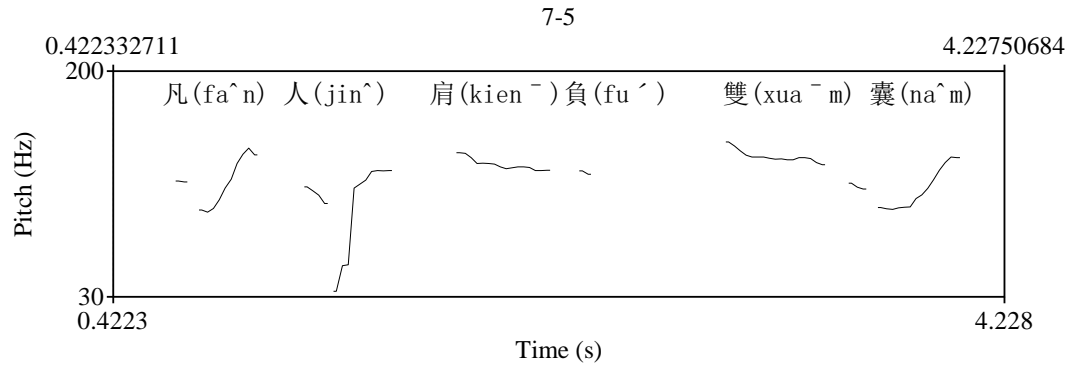
RSP (3)



7.5 凡(fa^ˆn)人(jin^ˆ)肩(kien⁻)負(fu^ˊ)雙(xua⁻m)囊(na^ˆm),

平平平去平平

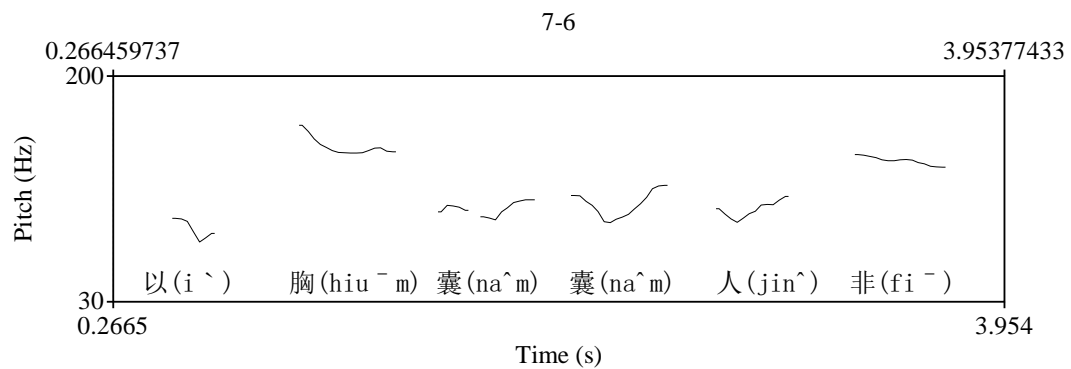
PPPQPP (6)



7.6 以(i^ˋ)胸(hiu⁻m)囊(na^ˆm)囊(na^ˆm)人(jin^ˆ)非(fi⁻),

上平平平平

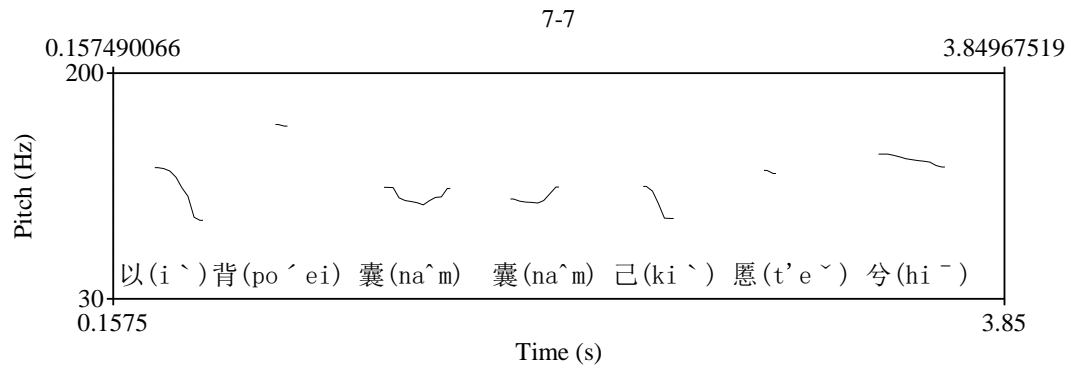
SPPPPP (6)



7.7 以(i^ˋ)背(po^ˊei)囊(na^ˆm)囊(na^ˆm)己(ki^ˋ)慝(t'e^ˋ)兮(hi^ˋ)。

上去平平上入平

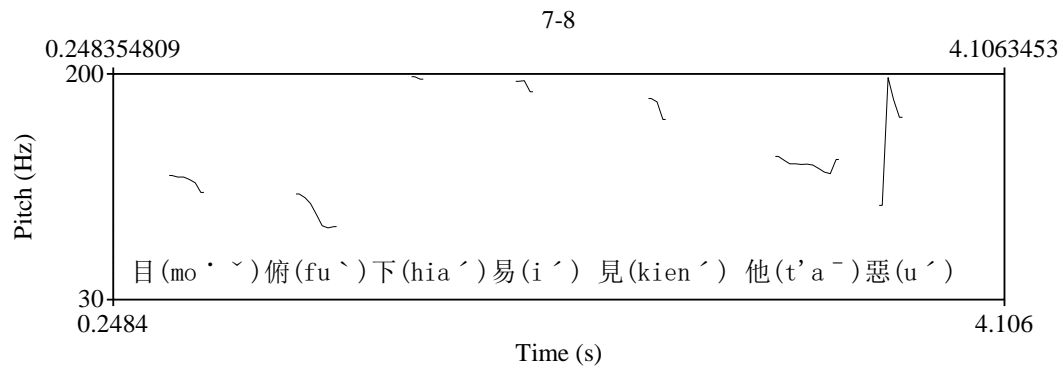
SQPPSRP (7)



7.8 目(mo^ˋ)俯(fu^ˋ)下(hia^ˊ)易(i^ˊ)見(kien^ˊ)他(t'a^ˋ)惡(u^ˊ),

入上去去去平去

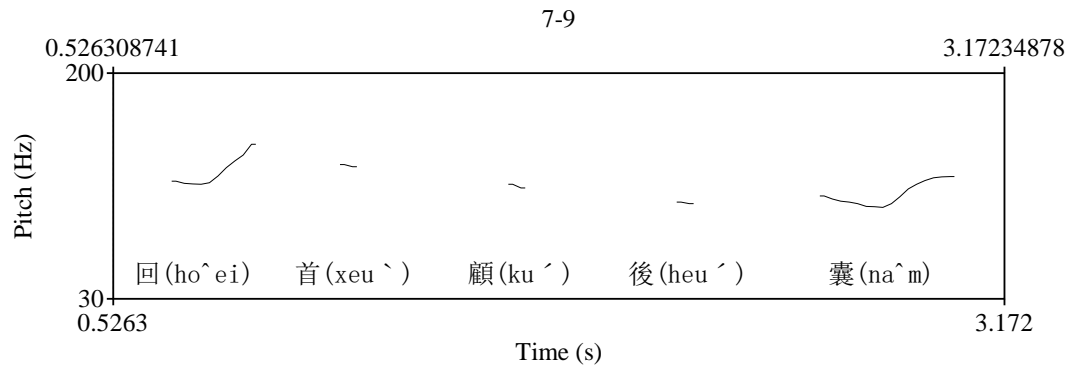
RSQQQPQ (7)



7.9 回(ho^ˆei)首(xeu^ˋ)顧(ku^ˊ)後(heu^ˊ)囊(na^ˆm),

平上去去平

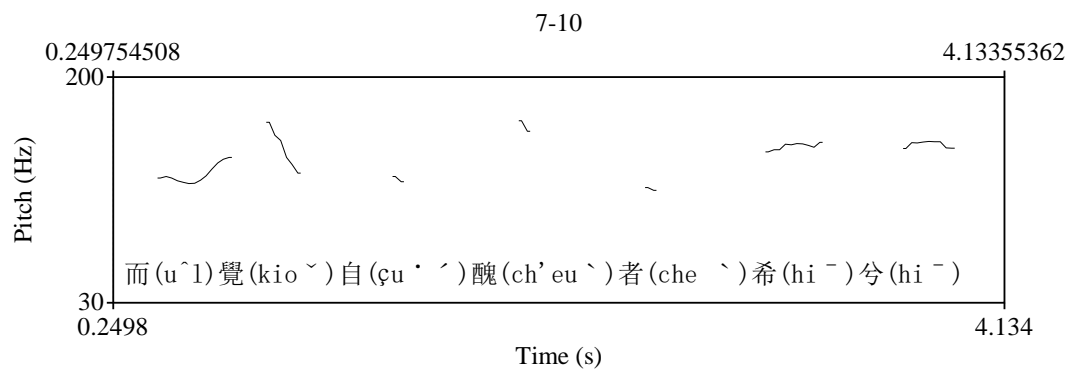
PSQQP (5)



7.10 而(u^ˆl)覺(kio^ˋ)自(çu^ˊ)醜(ch'eu^ˋ)者(che^ˋ)希(hi^ˋ)兮(hi^ˋ)!

平入去上上平平

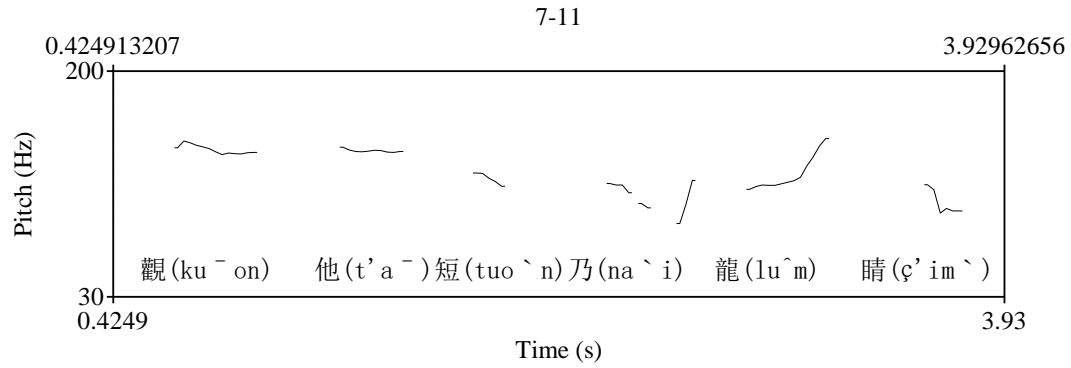
PRQSSPP (7)



7.11 觀(ku⁻on)他(t'a⁻)短(tuo[`]n)乃(na[`]i)龍(lu[^]m)睛(ç'im[`]),

平平上上平上

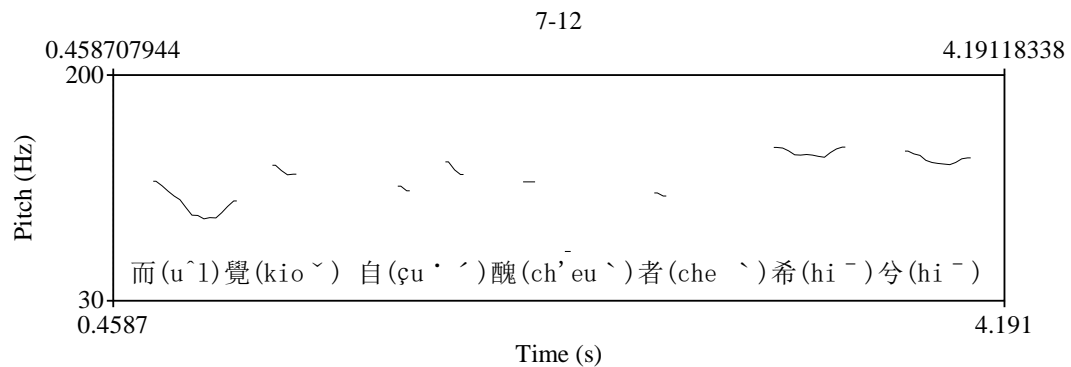
PPSSPS (6)



7.12 而(u[^]l)覺(kio^ˇ)自(çu[·]´)醜(ch'eu[`])者(che[`])希(hi⁻)兮(hi⁻)

平入去上上平平

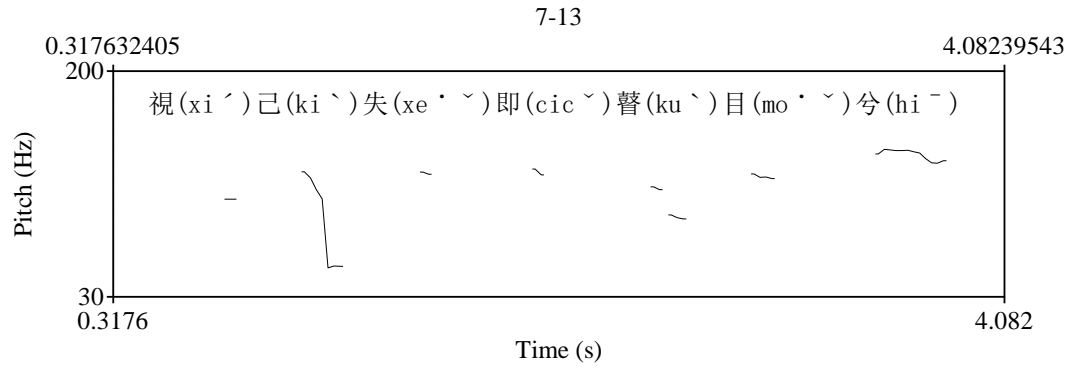
PRQSSPP (7)



7.13 視(xi´)己(ki`)失(xe´)即(cic´)瞽(ku`)目(mo´)兮(hi`)

去上入入上入平

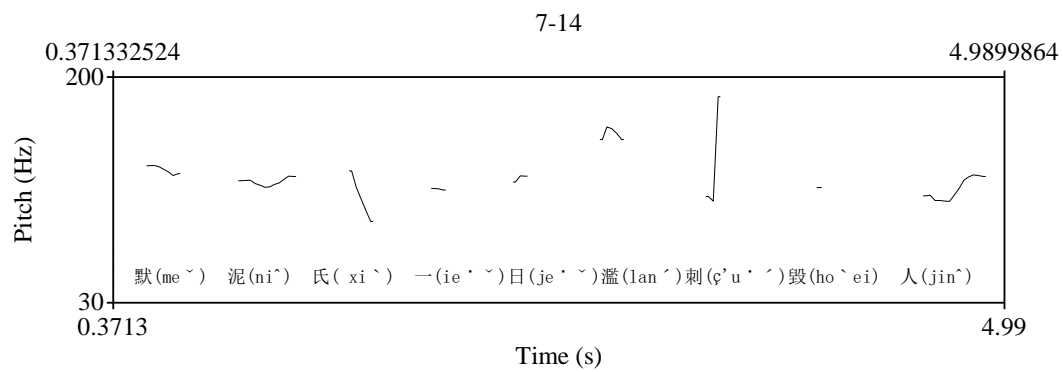
QSRRSRP (7)



7.14 默(me´)泥(ni´)氏(xi`)一(ie´)日(je´)濫(lan´)刺(ç'u´)毀(ho`ei)人(jin´),

入平上入入去去上平

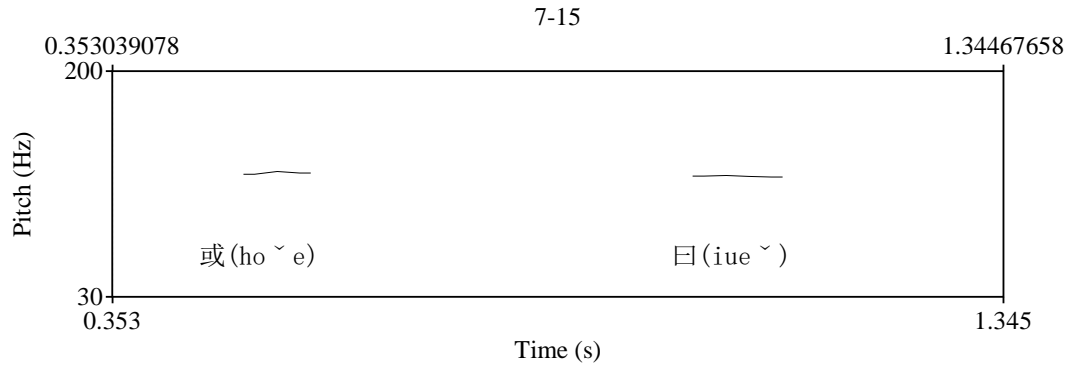
RPSRRQQSP (9)



7.15 或(hoˇe)曰(iueˇ)

入入

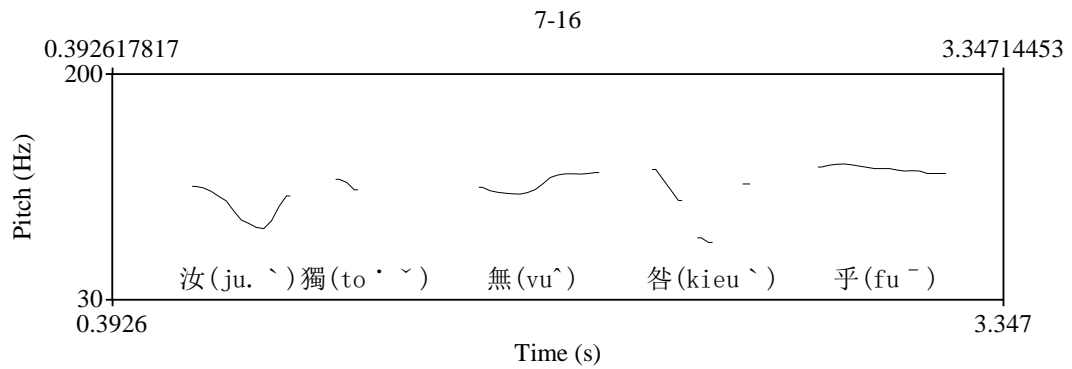
RR (2)



7.16 「汝(ju.ˇ)獨(toˇ)無(vu^ˆ)咎(kieuˇ)乎(fuˇ)?

上入平上平

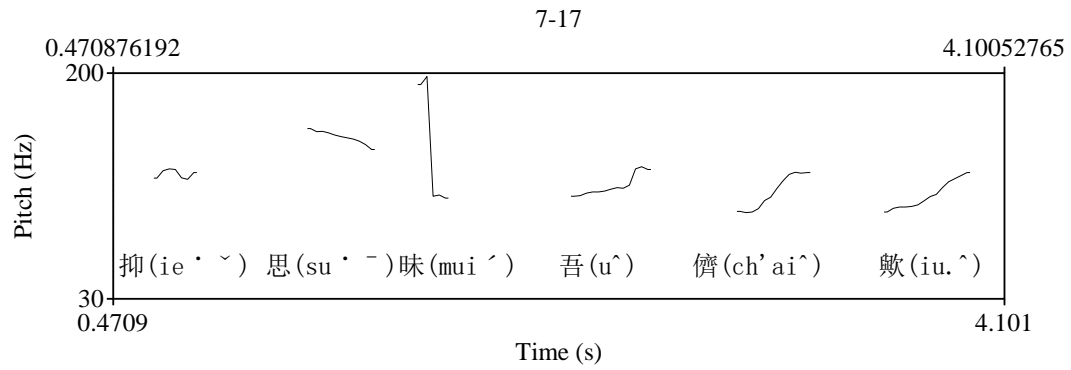
SRPSP (5)



7.17 抑(ieˇ)思(suˇ)昧(mui´)吾(uˆ)儕(ch'aiˆ)歟(iu.ˆ)? 」

入平去平平平

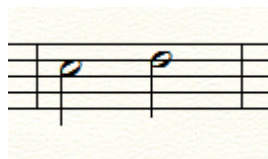
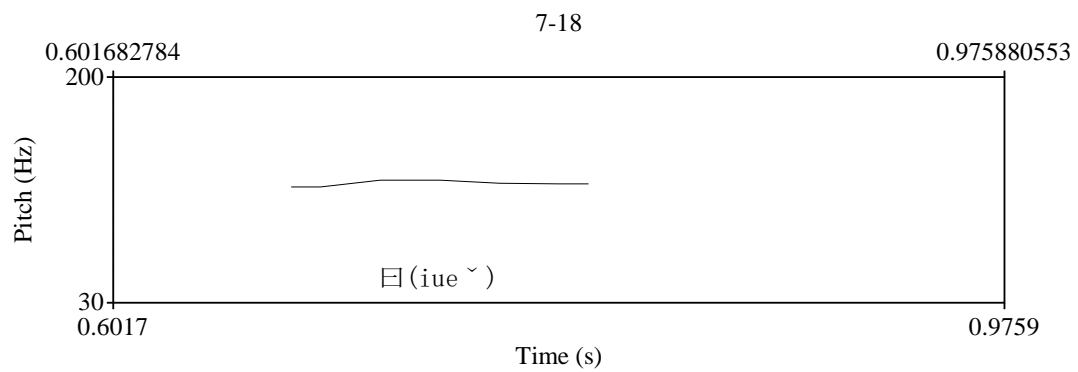
RPQPPP (6)



7.18 曰(ieˇ)

入

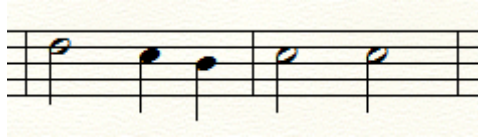
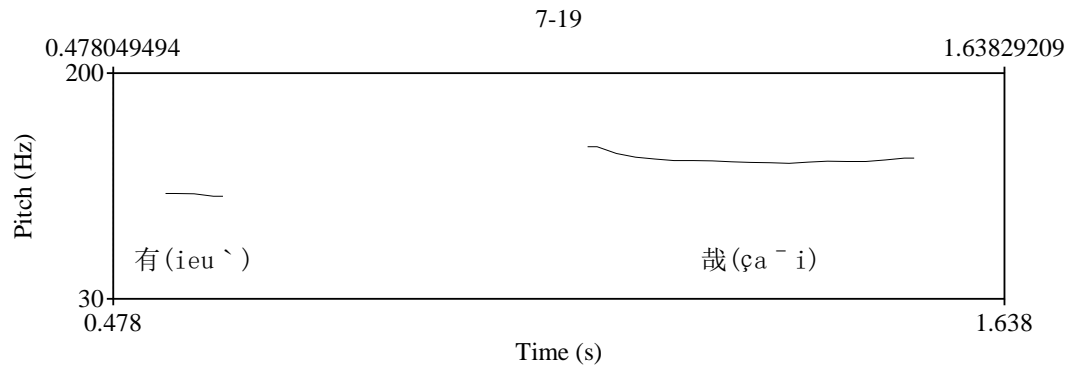
R (1)



7.19 「有(ieu`)哉(ça`i)?

上平

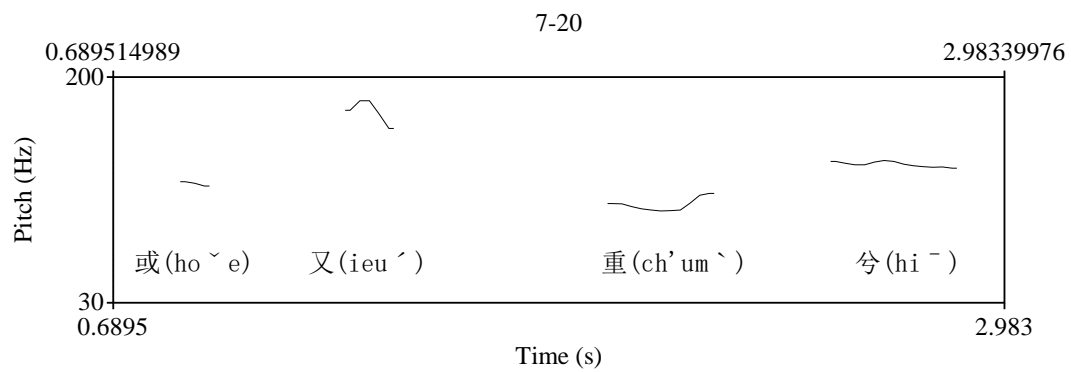
SP (2)



7.20 或(ho`e)又(ieu´)重(ch`um`)兮(hi`),

入去上平

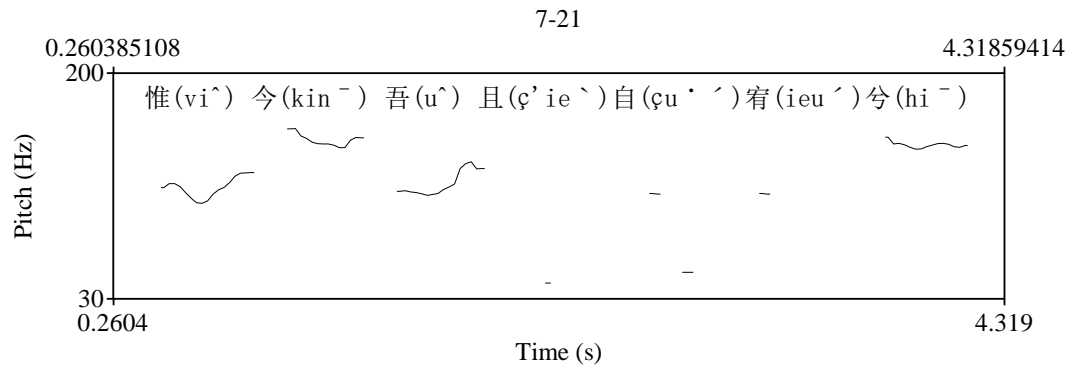
RQSP (4)



7.21 惟(vi^ˆ)今(kin⁻)吾(u^ˆ)且(ç'ie⁻)自(çu[·]'^ˆ)宥(ieu^ˆ)兮(hi⁻)! 」

平平平上去去平

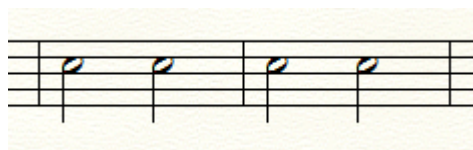
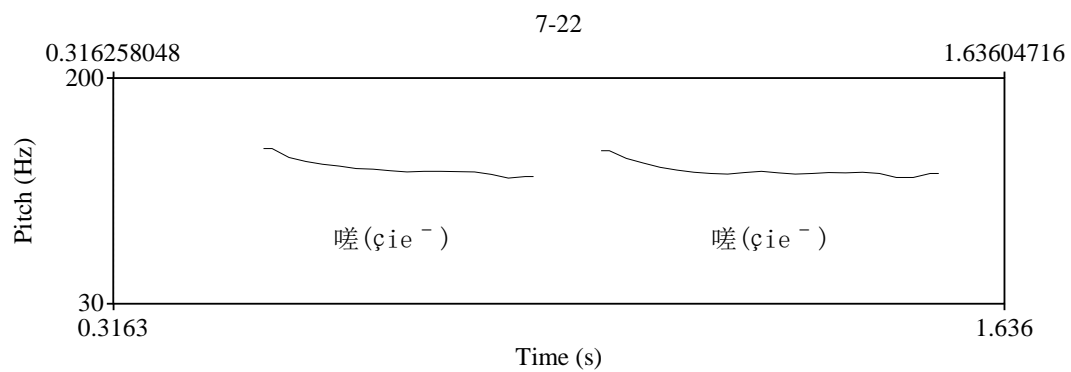
PPPSQQP (7)



7.22 嗟(çie⁻)嗟(çie⁻)!

平平

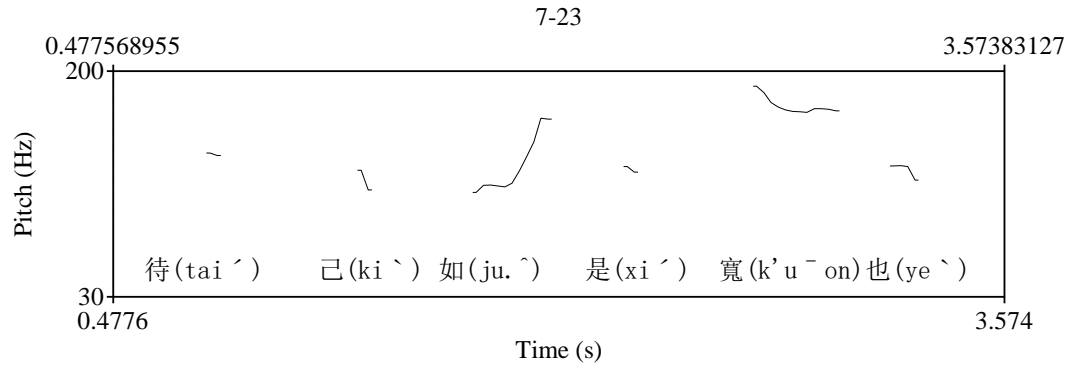
PP (2)



7.23 待(tai´)己(ki`)如(ju.ˆ)是(xi´)寬(k'u-on)也(ye`),

去上平去平上

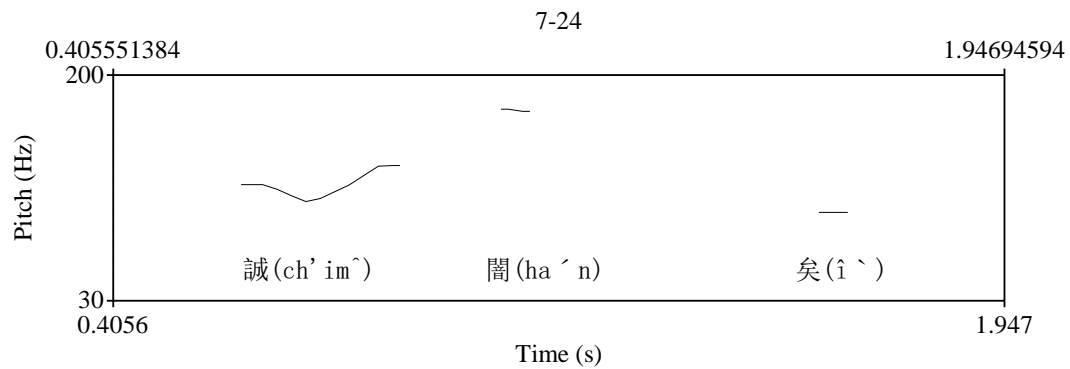
QSPQPS (6)



7.24 誠(ch'imˆ)闇(ha´n)矣(i`)!

平去上

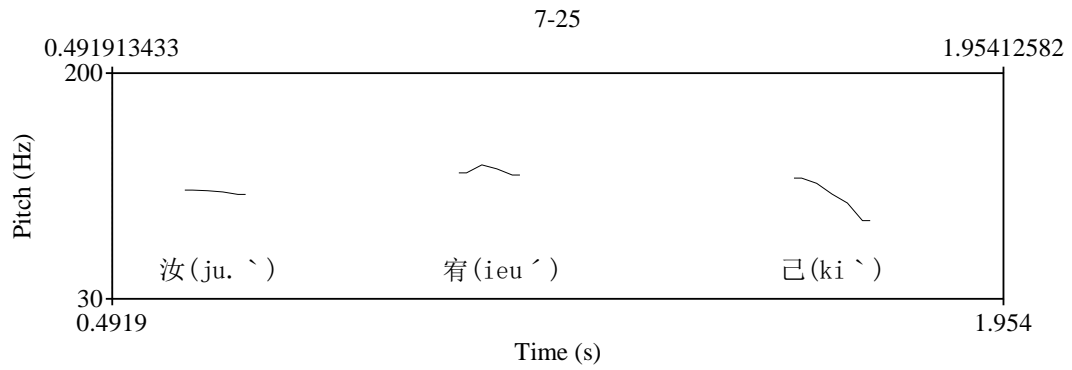
PQS (3)



7.25 汝(ju.ˊ)宥(ieuˊ)己(kiˊ),

上去上

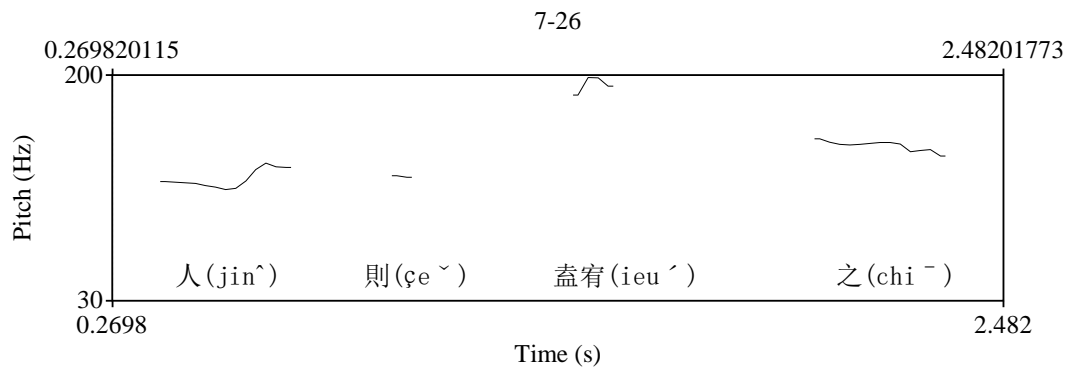
SQS (3)



7.26 人(jinˊ)則(ɕeˊ)盍宥(ieuˊ)之(chiˊ)?

平入去平

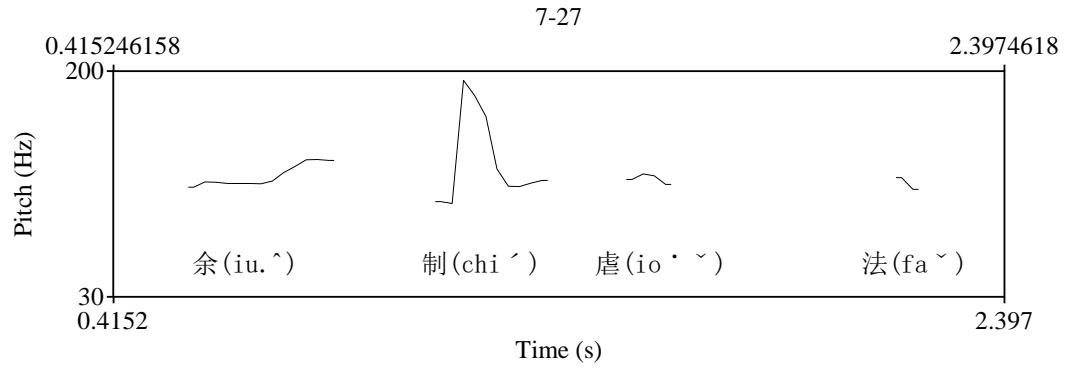
PRQP (4)



7.27 余(iu.ˆ)制(chi´)虐(io·˘)法(fa˘),

平去入入

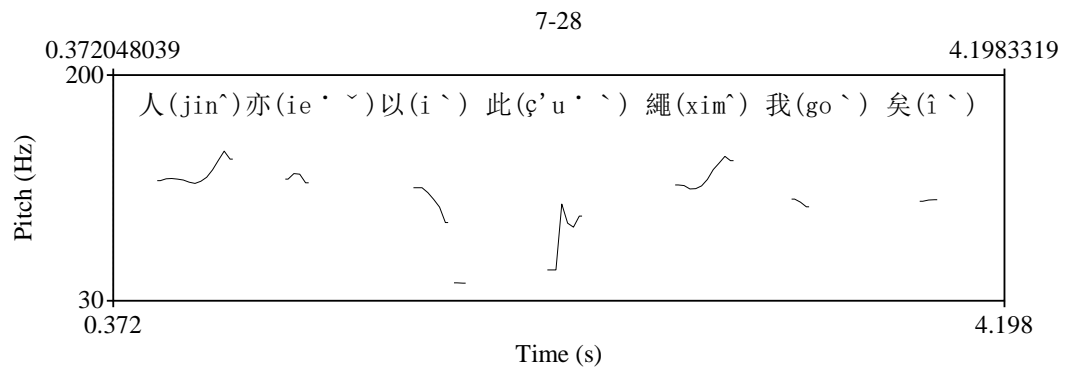
PQRR (4)



7.28 人(jinˆ)亦(ie·˘)以(i˘)此(ç'u·˘)繩(ximˆ)我(go˘)矣(i˘)。

平入上上平上上

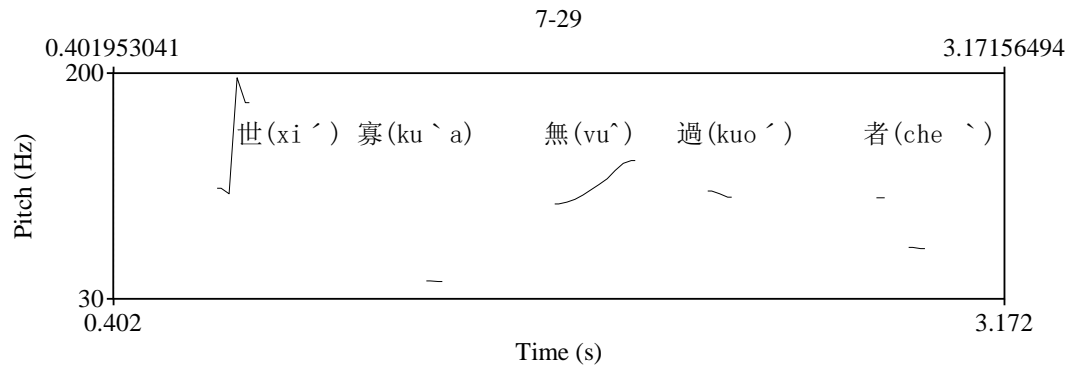
PRSSPSS (7)



7.29 世(xi´)寡(ku`a)無(vu^´)過(kuo´)者(che `),

去上平去上

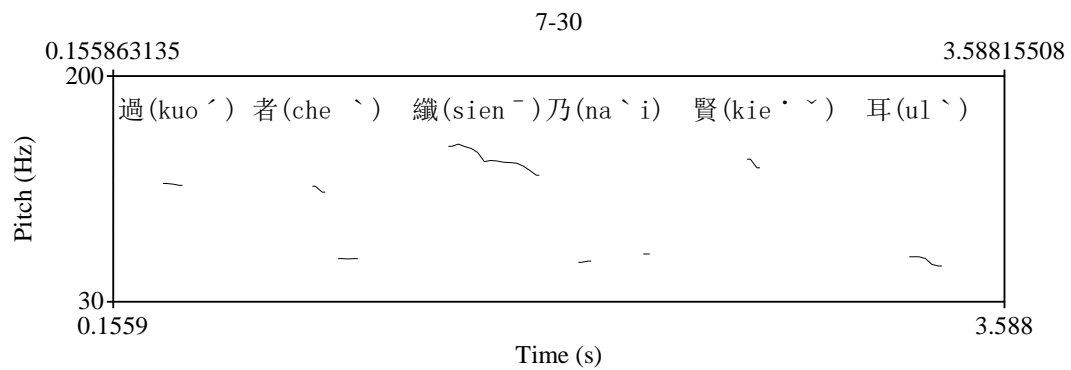
QSPQS (5)



7.30 過(kuo´)者(che `)織(sien¯)乃(na`i)賢(kie·ˇ)耳(ul`).

去上平上入上

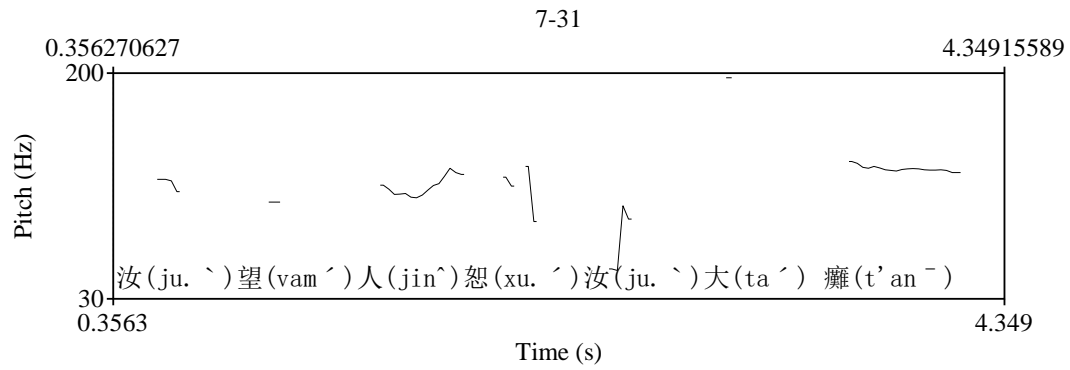
QSPSRS (6)



7.31 汝(ju.ˊ)望(vamˊ)人(jinˊ)恕(xu.ˊ)汝(ju.ˊ)大(taˊ)癡(t'anˊ),

上去平去上去平

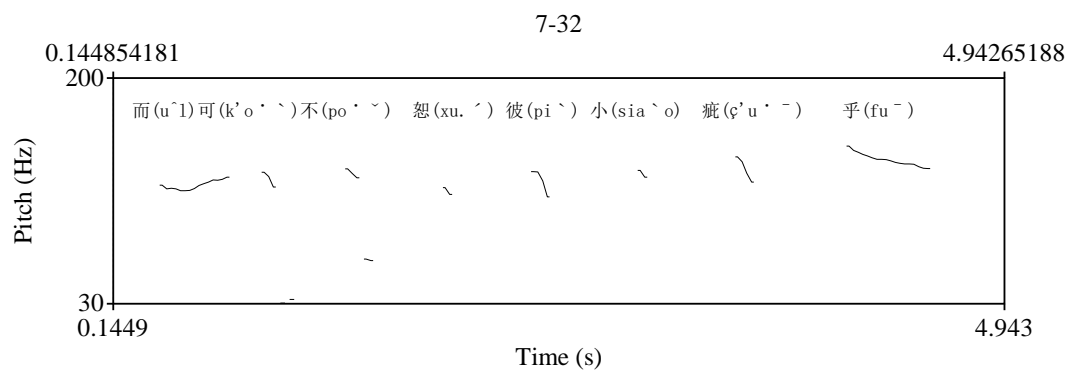
SQPQSQP (7)



7.32 而(uˊ)可(k'oˊ)不(poˊ)恕(xu.ˊ)彼(piˊ)小(siaˊ)疵(ç'uˊ)乎(fuˊ)?

平上去上上平平

PSRQSSPP (8)

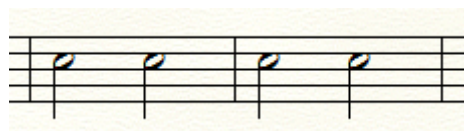
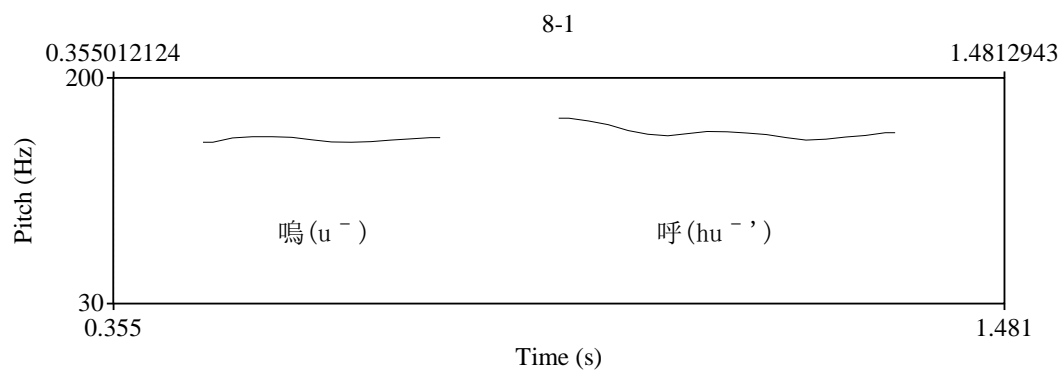


8)定命四達

8.1 鳴(u⁻)呼(hu^{-'})!

平平

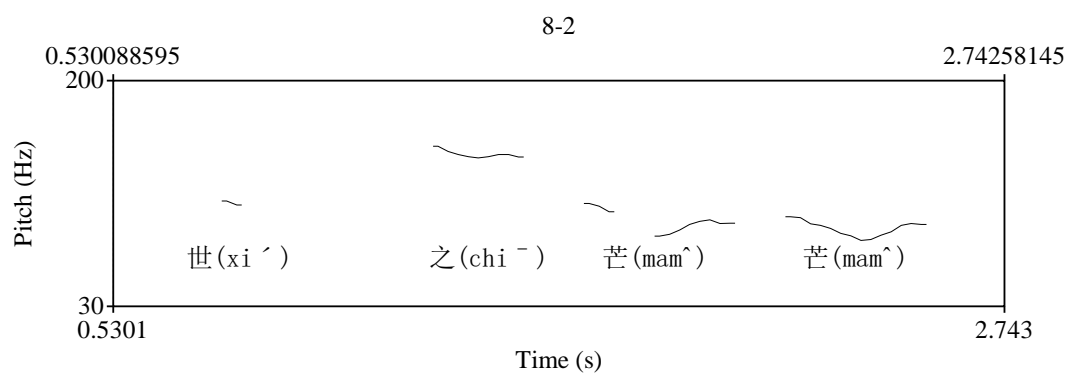
PP (2)



8.2 世(xi['])之(chi⁻)芒(mam[^])芒(mam[^]),

去平平平

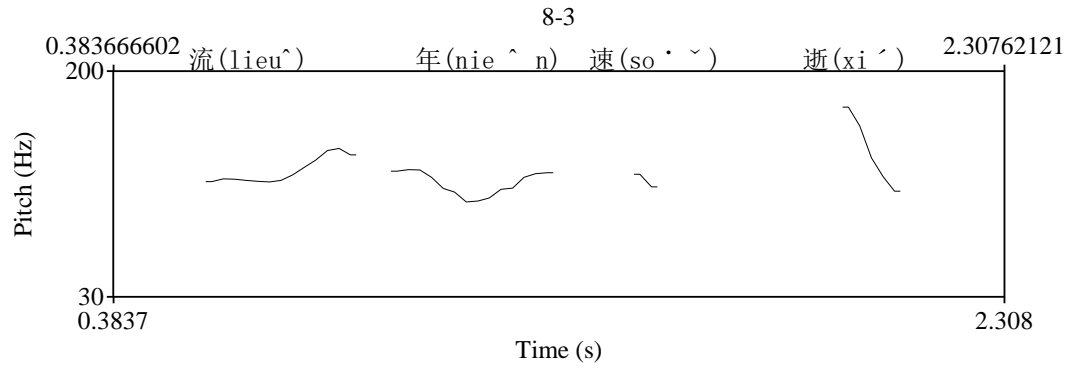
QPPP (4)



8.3 流(lieu^ˆ)年(nien^ˆ)速(so^{˙˘})逝(xi^ˊ),

平平入去

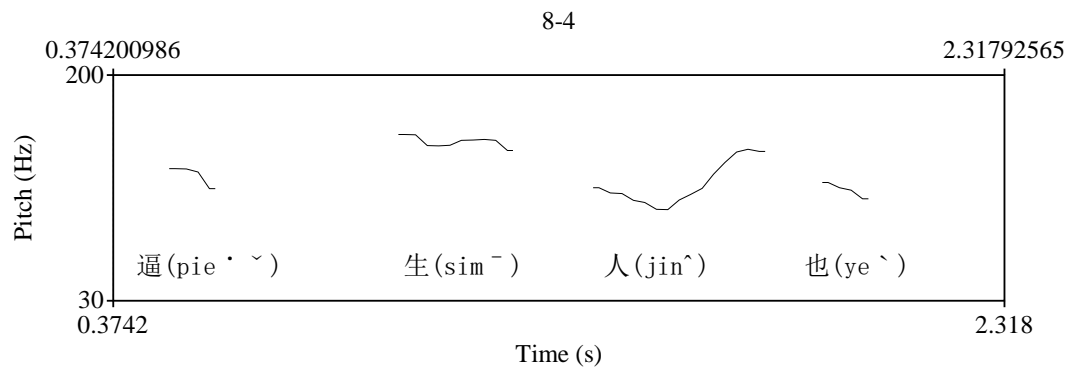
PPRQ (4)



8.4 逼(pie^{˙˘})生(sim^ˊ)人(jin^ˆ)也(ye^ˊ)。

入平平上

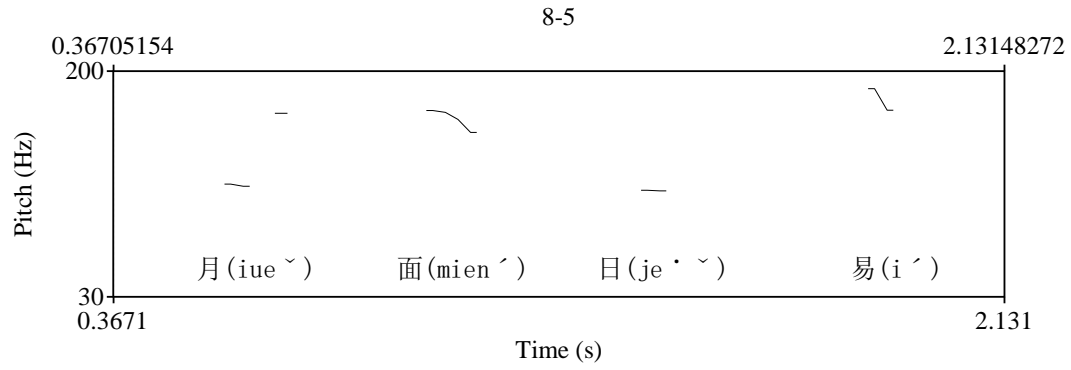
RPPS (4)



8.5 月(iue˘)面(mien˘)日(je˘)易(i˘),

入去入去

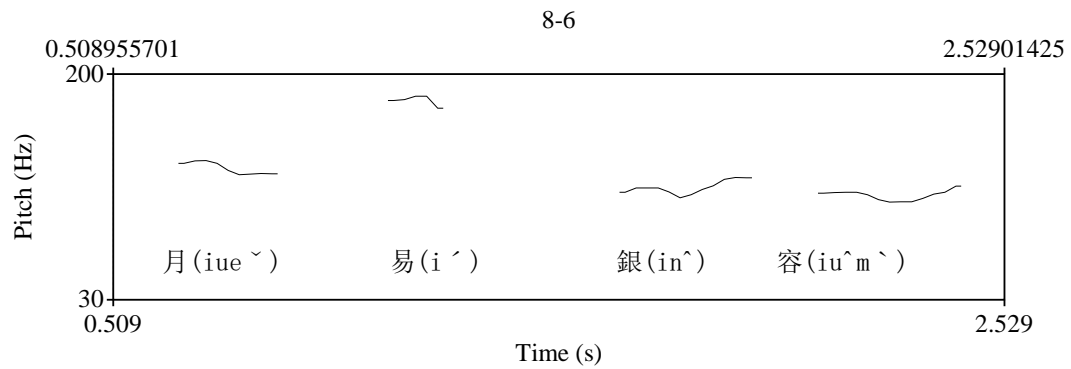
RQRQ (4)



8.6 月(iue˘)易(i˘)銀(in˘)容(iu˘m˘)

入去平平

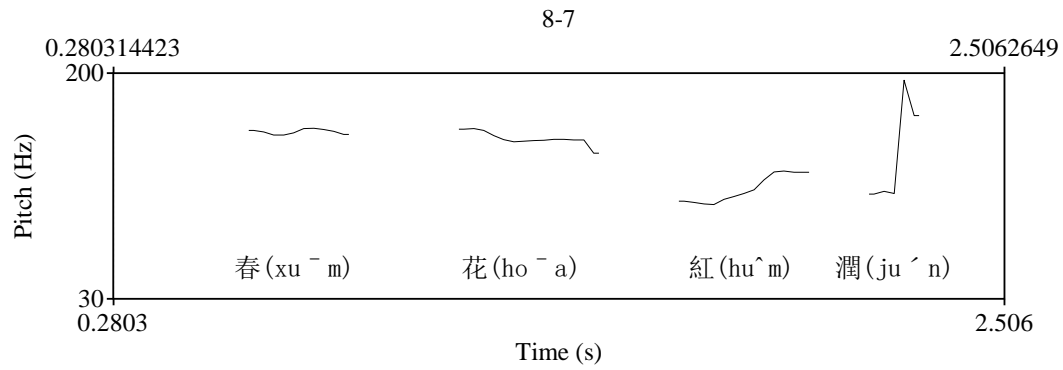
RQPP (4)



8.7 春(xu⁻)花(hoa⁻)紅(hu[^])潤(ju[´]),

平平平去

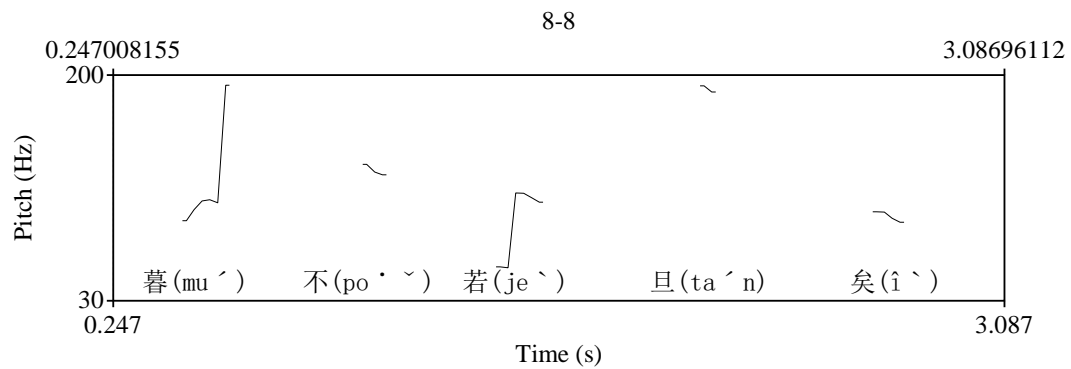
PPPQ (4)



8.8 暮(mu[´])不(po^{·`})若(je[`])且(ta[´]n)矣(i[`])。

去入上去上

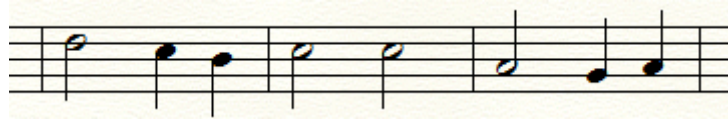
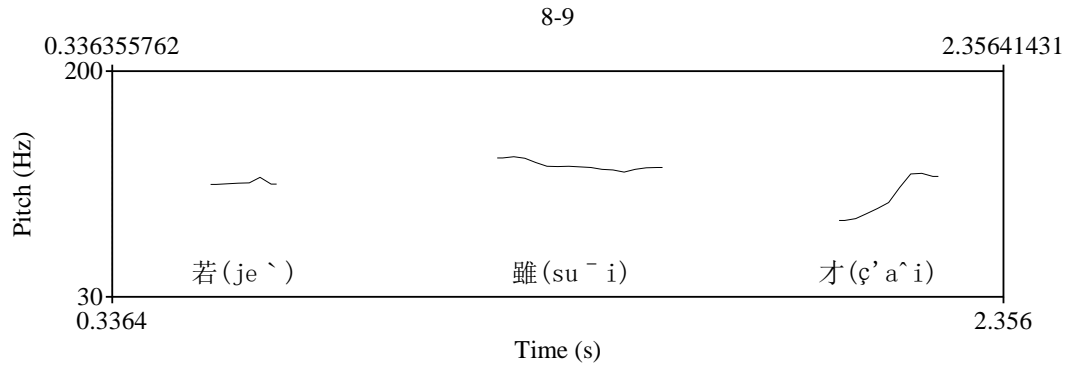
QRSQS (5)



8.9 若(je`)雖(sui⁻)才(ç'ai[^]),

上平平

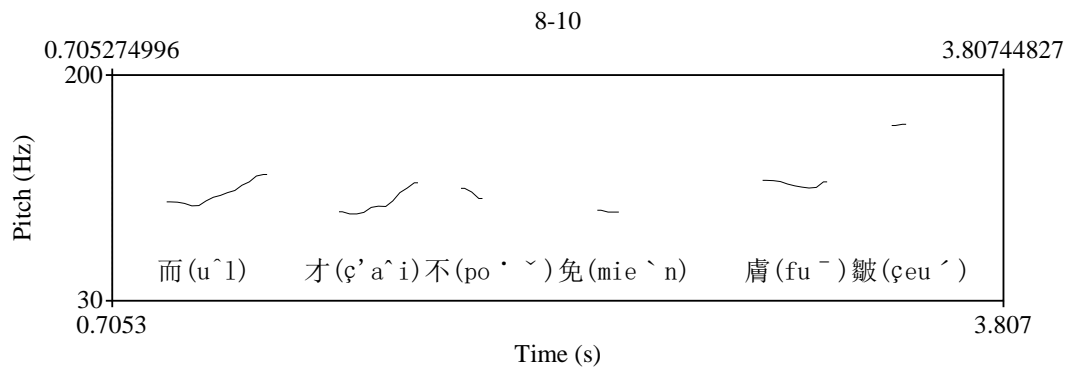
SPP (3)



8.10 而(u[^]l)才(ç'a[^]i)不(po[·]~)免(mie[`]n)膚(fu⁻)皺(çeu[´]),

平平入上平去

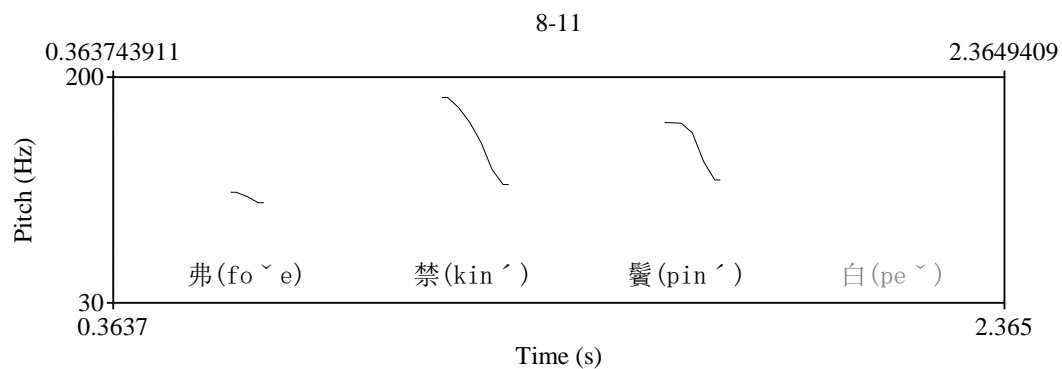
PPRSPQ (6)



8.11 弗(foˇe)禁(kin´)鬢(pin´)白(peˇ)。

入去去入

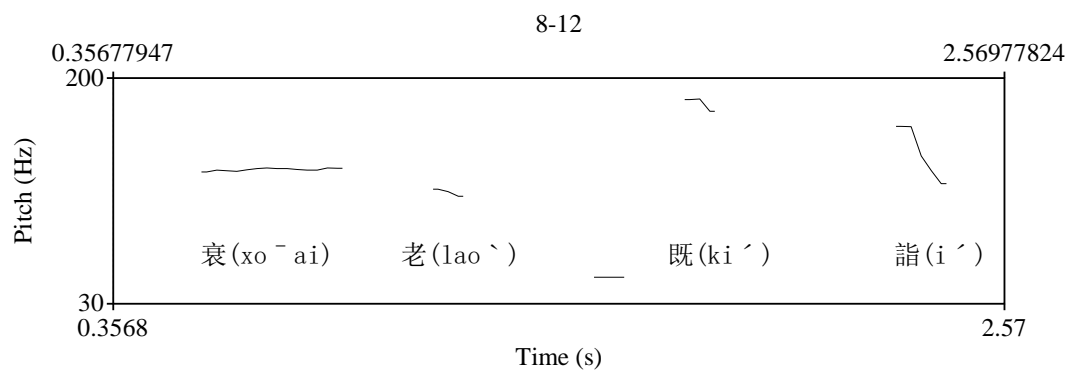
RQQR (4)



8.12 衰(xo⁻ai)老(lao[`])既(ki´)詣(i´),

平上去去

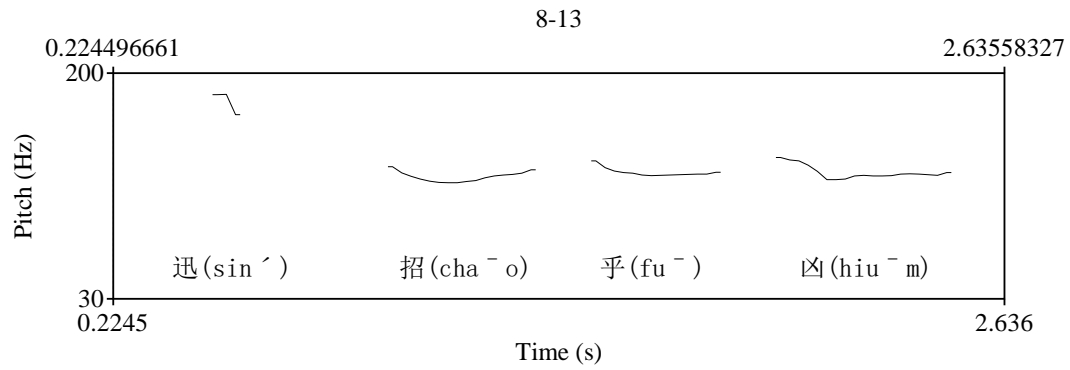
PSQQ (4)



8.13 迅(sin´)招(cha`o)乎(fu`)凶(hiu`m),

去平平平

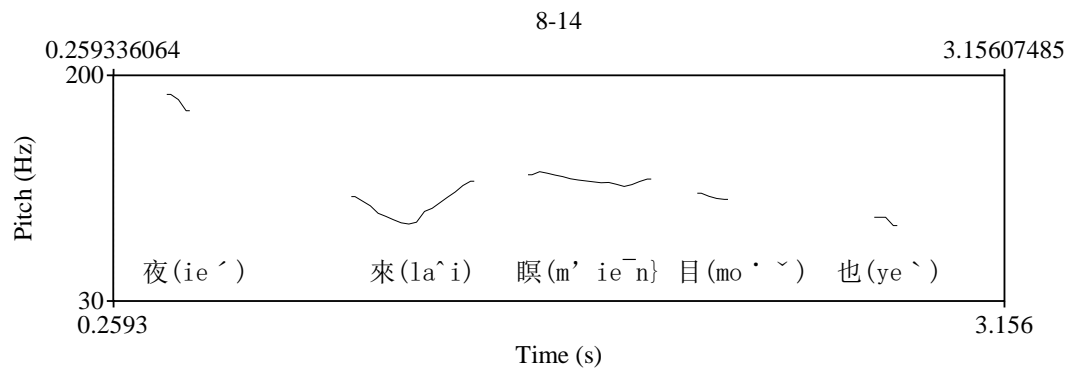
QPPP (4)



8.14 夜(ie´)來(la^i)暝(m´ie`n}目(mo´~)也(ye`~)。

去平平入上

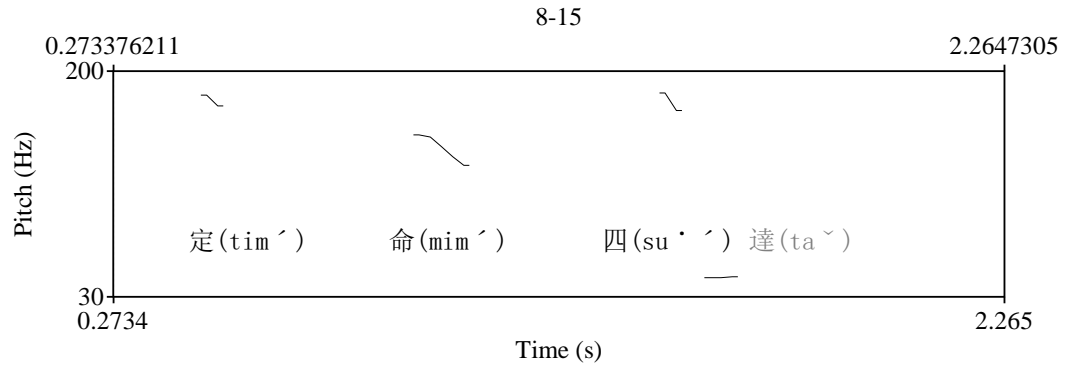
QPPRS (5)



8.15 定(tim´)命(mim´)四(su´)達(taˇ),

去去去入

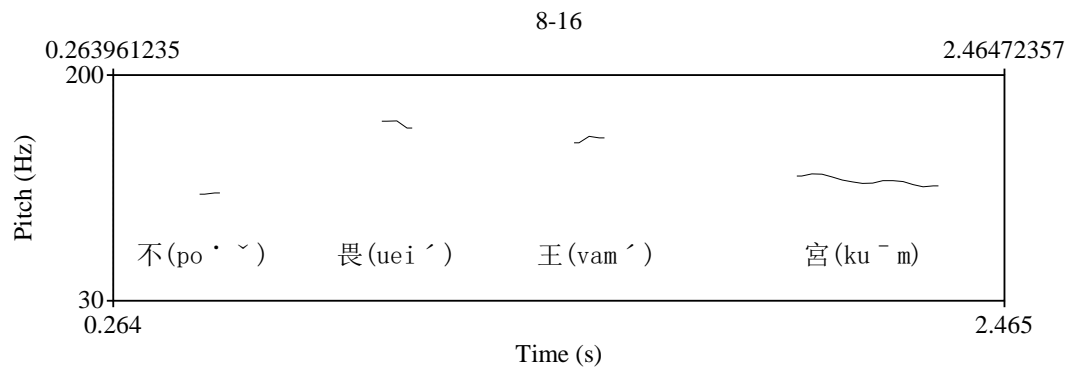
QQQR (4)



8.16 不(poˇ)畏(uei´)王(vam´)宮(ku¯m),

入去去平

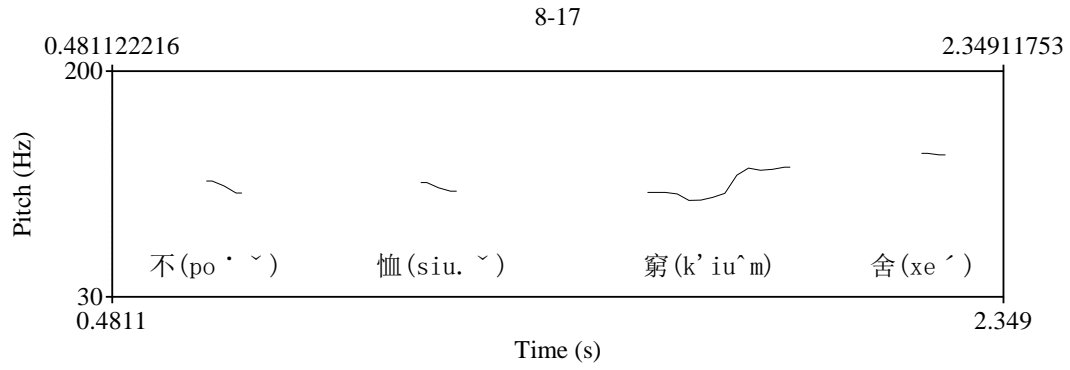
RQQP (4)



8.17 不(poˊˇ)恤(siu.ˇ)窮(k'iu^m)舍(xeˊ),

入入平去

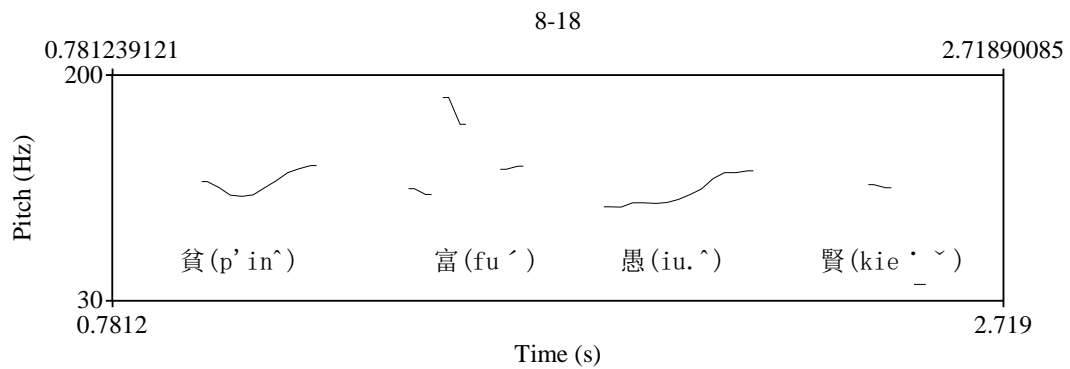
RRPQ (4)



8.18 貧(p'in^ˊ)富(fuˊ)愚(iu.^ˊ)賢(kieˊˇ),

平去平入

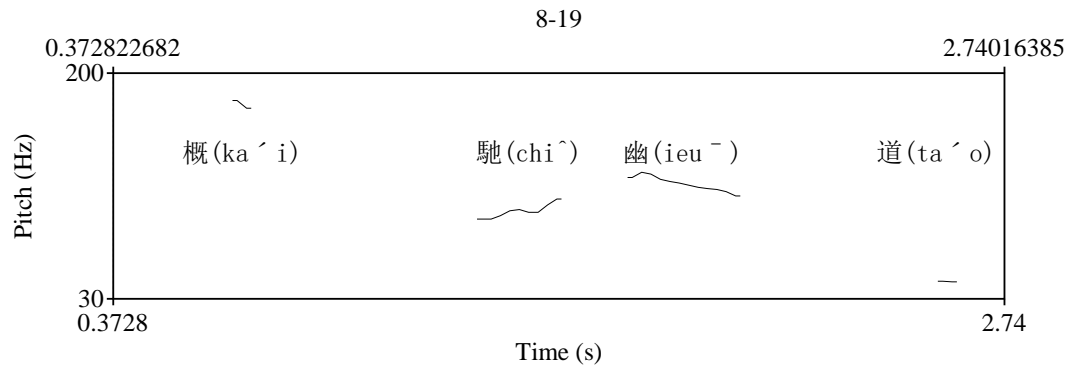
PQPR (4)



8.19 概(kā' i)馳(chí)幽(yōu)道(dào),

去平平去

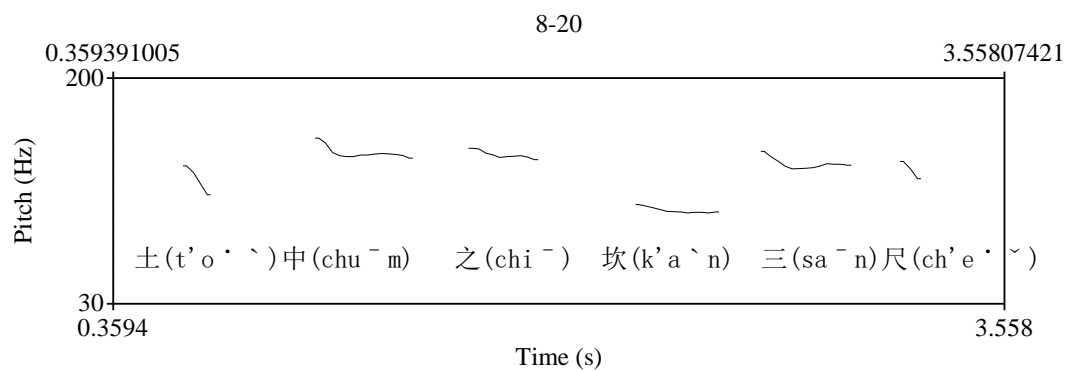
QPPQ (4)



8.20 土(tǔ)中(chōng)之(zhī)坎(kǎn)三(sān)尺(chǐ),

上平平上平入

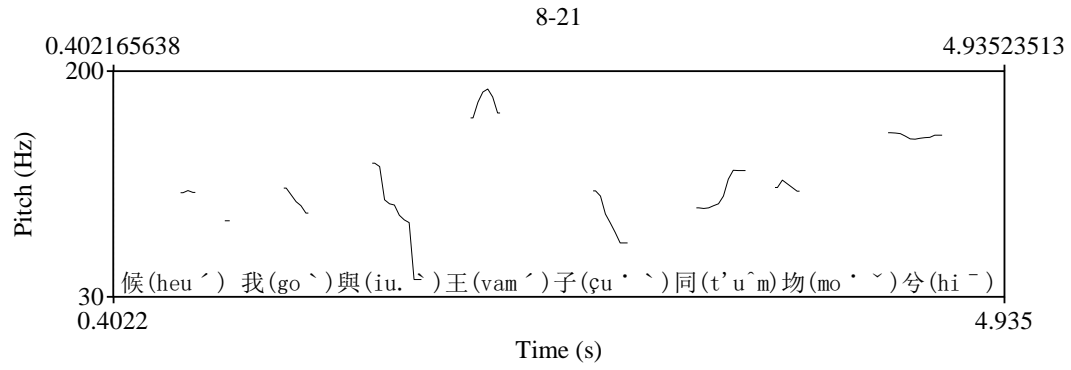
SPPSPR (6)



8.21 候(heu´)我(go`)與(iu.`)王(vam´)子(çu``)同(t'u^m)坳(mo·`´)兮(hi¯)!

去上上去上平入平

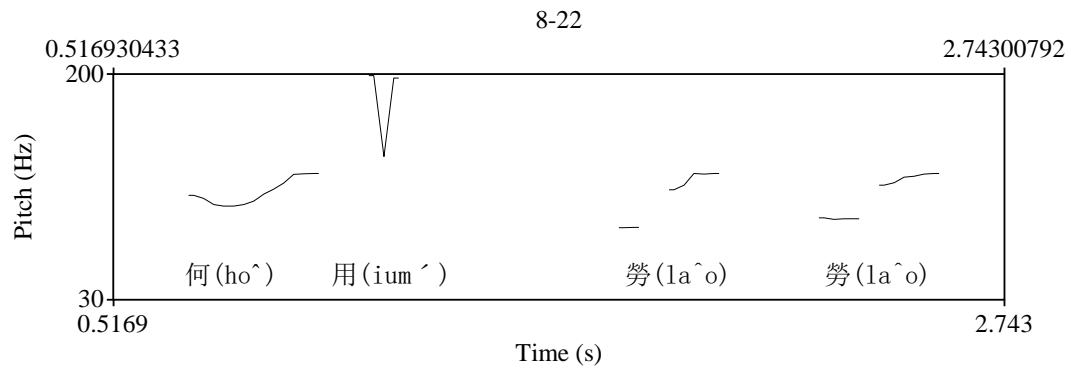
QSSQSPRP (8)



8.22 何(ho^ˆ)用(ium´)勞(la^o)勞(la^o),

平去平平

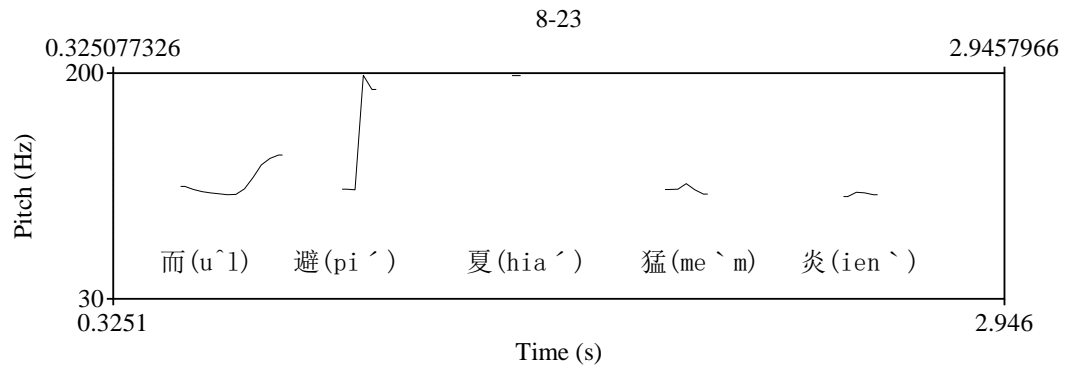
PQPP (4)



8.23 而(u¹)避(pi^ˊ)夏(hia^ˊ)猛(me[`]m)炎(ien[`])?

平去去上上

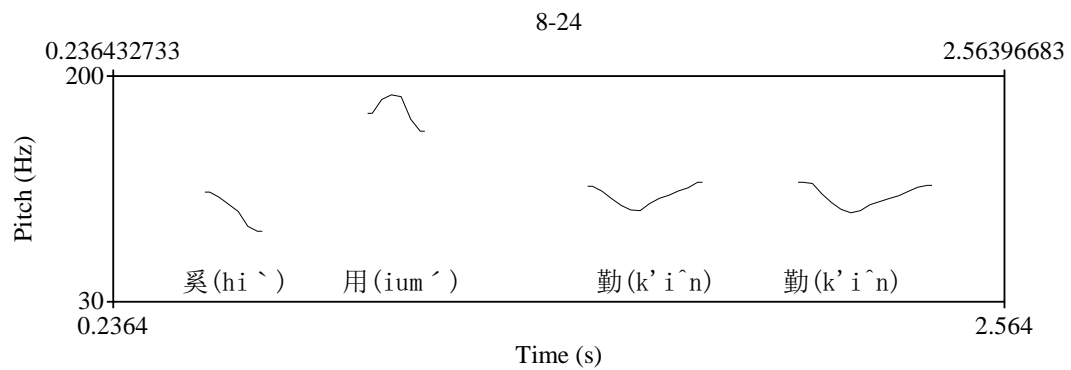
PQQSS (5)



8.24 奚(hi[`])用(ium^ˊ)勤(k'i^ˆn)勤(k'i^ˆn),

上去平平

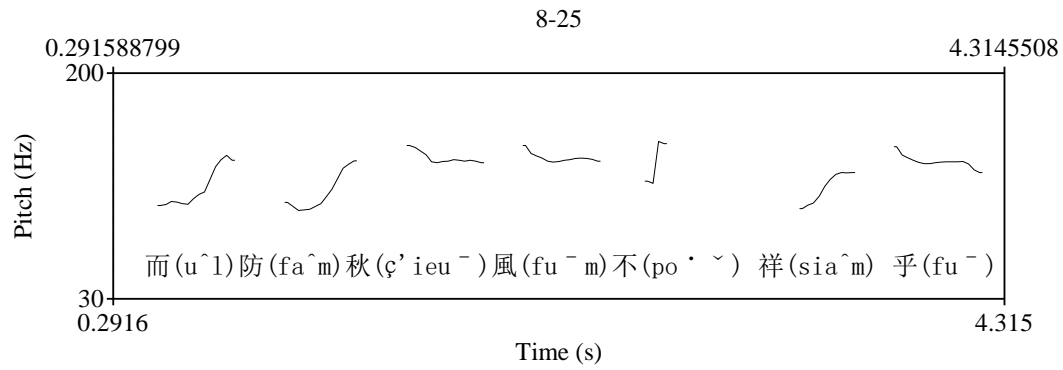
SQPP (4)



8.25 而(uˊl)防(faˊm)秋(ç'ieuˊ)風(fuˊm)不(poˊˊ)祥(siaˊm)乎(fuˊ)?

平平平平入平平

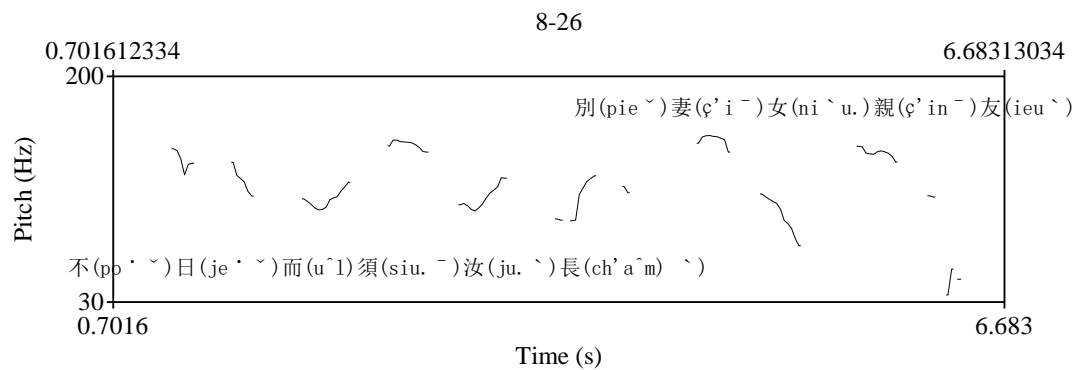
PPPPRPP (7)



8.26 不(poˊˊ)日(jeˊˊ)而(uˊl)須(siuˊˊ)汝(juˊˊ)長(ch'aˊm)別(pieˊˊ)妻(ç'iˊˊ)女(niˊˊu.)
親(ç'inˊˊ)友(ieuˊˊ),

入入平平上平入平上平上

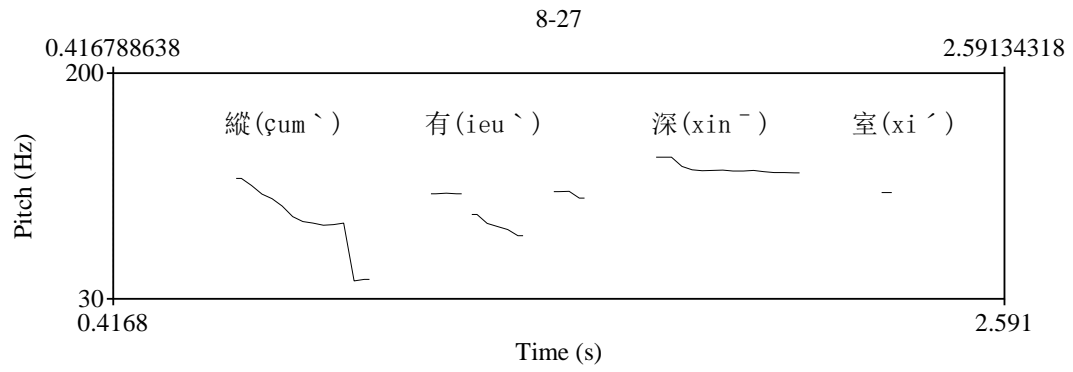
RRPPSPRSPS (11)



8.27 縱(çum[`])有(ieu[`])深(xin⁻)室(xi[']),

上上平去

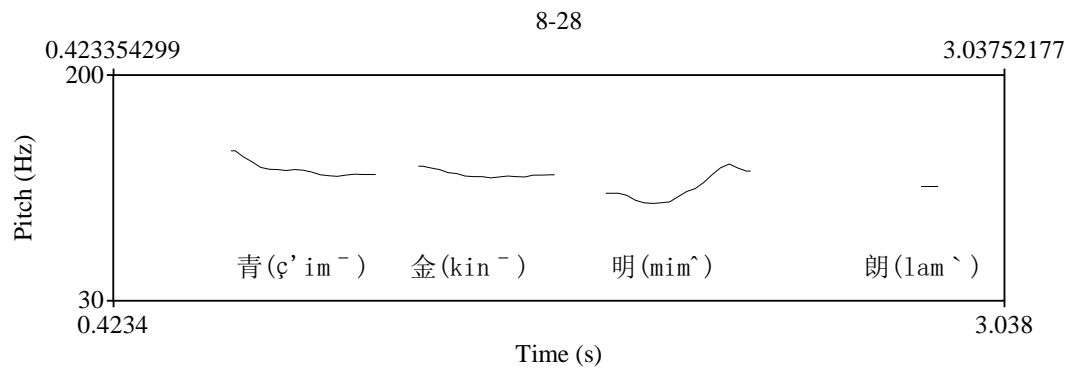
SSPQ (4)



8.28 青(ç'im⁻)金(kin⁻)明(mim[^])朗(lam[`]),

平平平上

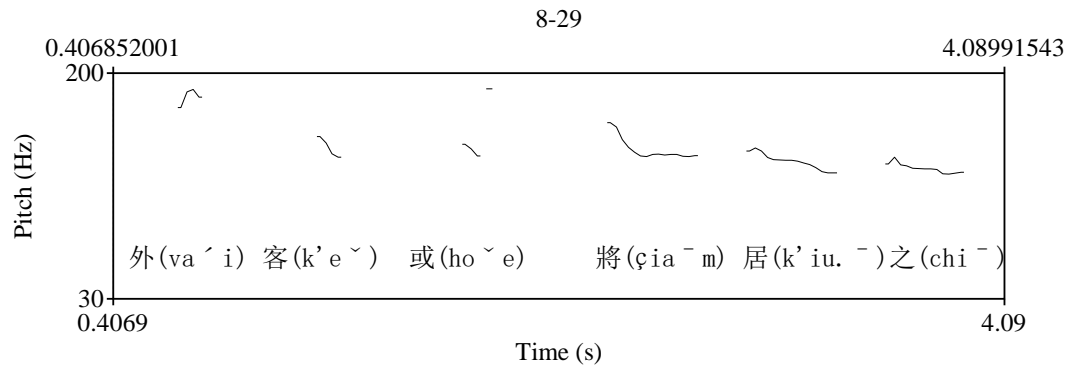
PPPS (4)



8.29 外(va'i)客(k'eˇ)或(hoˇe)將(çia-m)居(k'iu.ˊ)之(chiˊ)。

去入入平平平

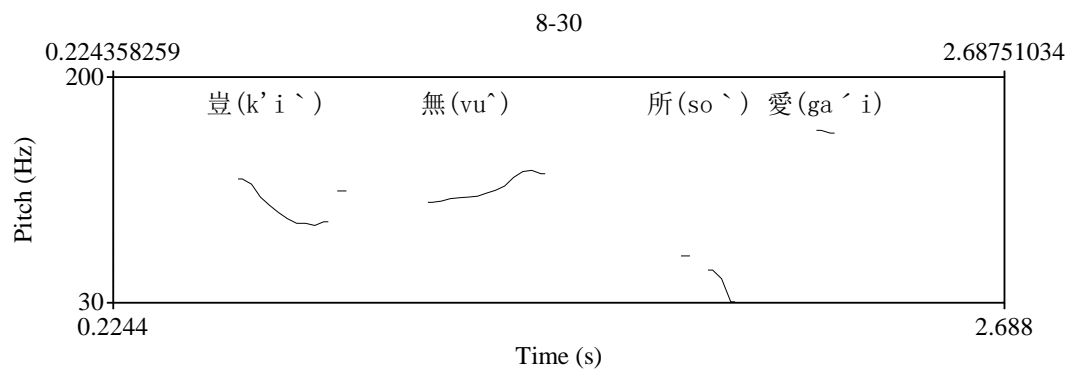
QRRPPP (6)



8.30 豈(k'i)無(vu^ˊ)所(soˊ)愛(ga'i)?

上平上去

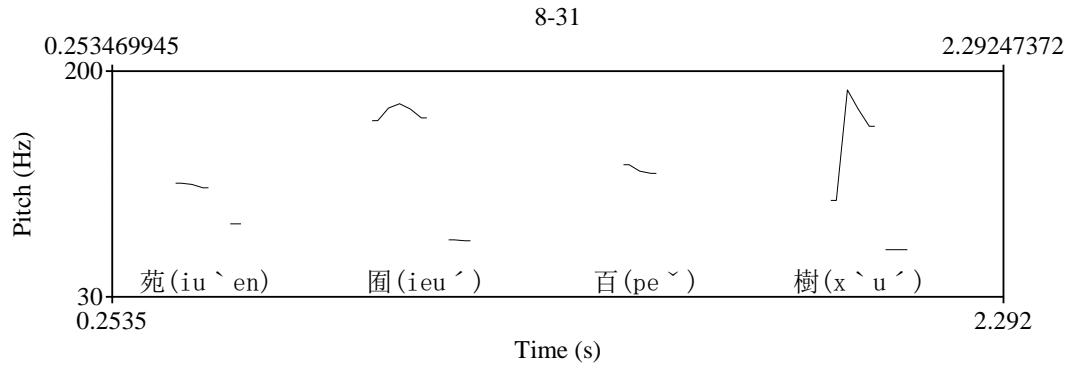
SPSQ (4)



8.31 苑(iu`en) 囿(ieu´) 百(peˇ) 樹(x`u´),

上去入去

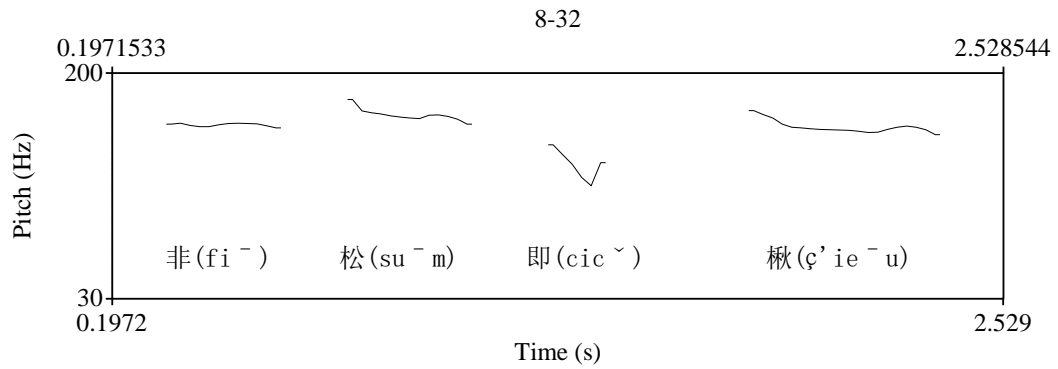
SQRQ (4)



8.32 非(fi¯) 松(su¯m) 即(cicˇ) 楸(ç'ie¯u),

平平入平

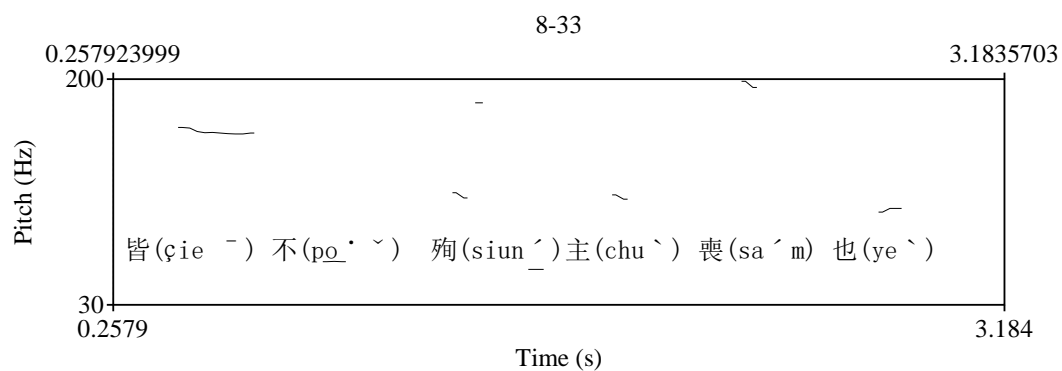
PPRP (4)



8.33 皆(çie ˊ)不(po ˊ ˊ)殉(siuŋ ˊ)主(chu ˋ)喪(sa ˊ m)也(ye ˋ)。

平入去上去上

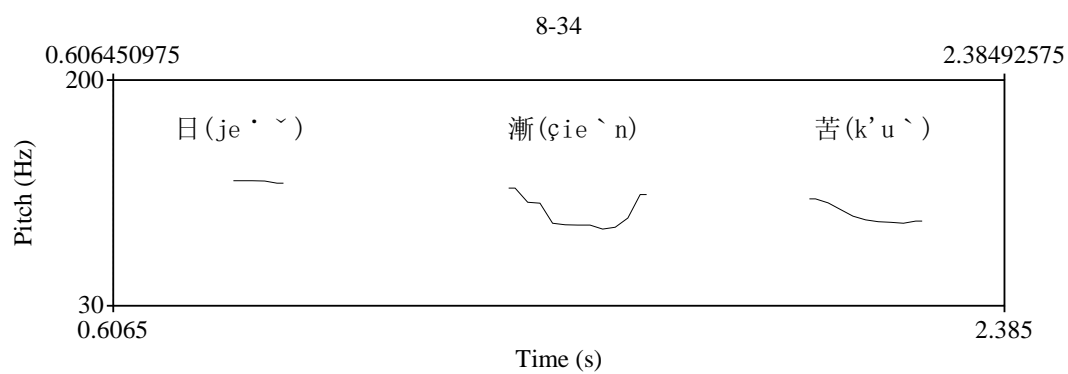
PRQSQS (6)



8.34 日(je ˊ ˊ)漸(çie ˋ n)苦(k'u ˋ),

入上上

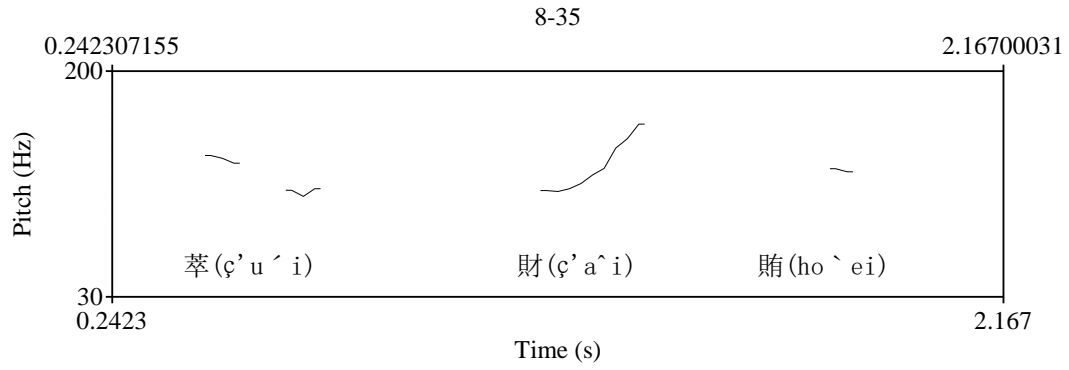
RSS (3)



8.35 萃(ç'u`i)財(ç'a`i)賄(ho`ei),

去平上

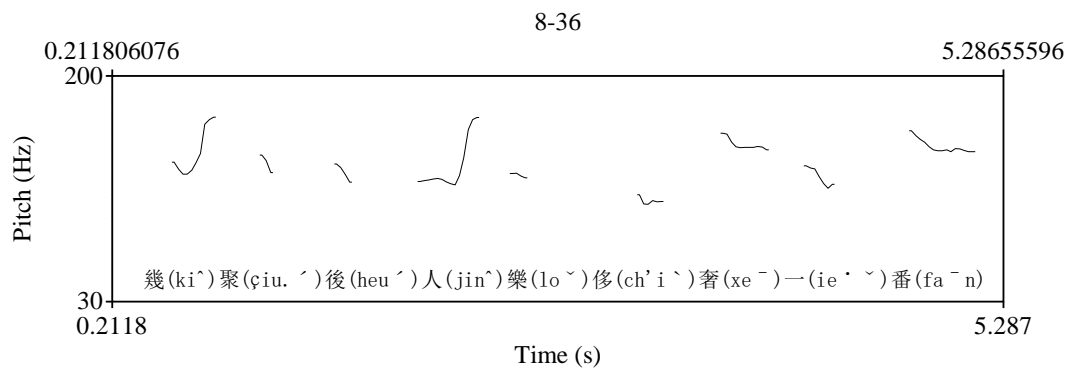
QPS (3)



8.36 幾(ki`)聚(çiu.`)後(heu`)人(jin`)樂(lo`)侈(ch`i`)奢(xe`)一(ie`)番(fa`n),

平去去平入上平入平

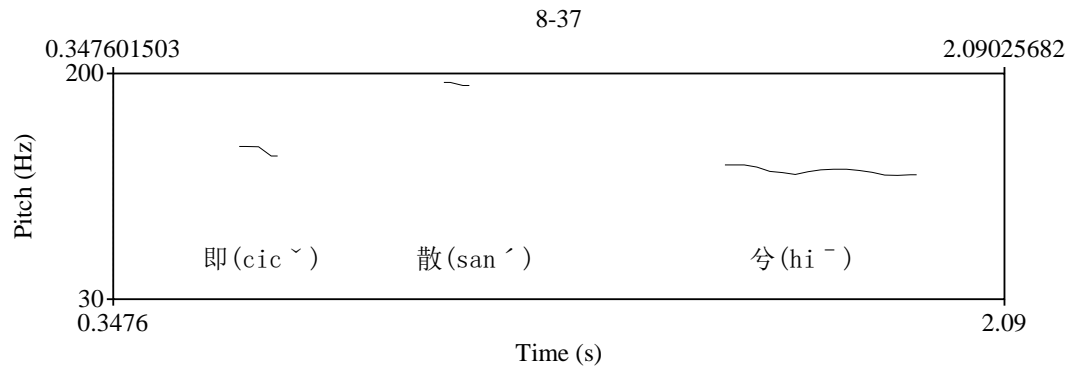
PQQPRSPRP (9)



8.37 即(cicˇ)散(san´)兮(hi¯)!

入去平

RQP (3)



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