

Inhalt / Contents / Sommaire

Aufsätze / Articles

Karsten Rinas:
Import mit Datenverlust? Zur Rezeption der antiken Periodenlehre
in der älteren deutschen Interpunktionslehre 1

Hedwig Gwosdek:
The study of elementary Latin grammar and the category 'case' in the
English grammatical manuscripts and printed grammars from c. 1400–1542..... 23

Carlos Assunção, Silvio Neto, Gonçalo Fernandes:
The first Portuguese–Chinese dictionary. Contributions to the discussion
of the context of production and authorship 49

Rogelio Ponce de León Romeo:
Los verbos impersonales en la gramaticografía portuguesa
de los siglos XVI y XVII (a la luz de la gramaticografía latino-ibérica) 71

María José Corvo Sanchez:
Estudio de los diálogos españoles y alemanes de Juan Ángel de Zumaran.
Diálogo tercero: en torno a la mesa mientras se come 97

Karen Janssens, Pierre Swiggers, Toon Van Hal:
La lexicologie et la lexicographie
de Pierre-Roland-François Butet (de la Sarthe). 117

Vincent Balnat:
Zum Begriff der semantischen Pejoration in der deutschen und französischen
Sprachwissenschaft des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts 151

Diskussion / Discussion / Débat

Vladimir Pericliev:
On the characteristic features of linguistic discovery 173

Rezensionen / Reviews / Comptes rendus

Klaas-Hinrich Ehlers: „Im Winter fliegen die trockenen Blätter in der Luft herum“.
Von der Quellenkritik zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der dialektgeographischen
Fragebogenerhebungen nach Georg Wenker 191

Joschka Briese: *Denkstile in der deutschen Sprachwissenschaft* 197

ISSN 0939–2815

Beiträge
zur Geschichte
der Sprachwissenschaft



29.1 (2019)

Specimen

Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft

Begründet von
Klaus D. Dutz & Peter Schmitter

Herausgegeben von
Gerda Haßler (Potsdam)
Angelika Rüter (Münster)

in Verbindung mit

David Cram (Oxford), Miguel Ángel Esparza Torres (Madrid),
Stefano Gensini (Rom), Ludger Kaczmarek (Borgholzhausen),
Masataka Miyawaki (Kawasaki), Jan Noordegraaf (Amsterdam),
Jacques-Philippe Saint-Gérand (Clermont-Ferrand)

Die *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* sind zugleich Organ der Gesellschaften “Studienkreis ‘Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft’” und “Werkverband ‘Geschiedenis van de Taalkunde’”.

Veröffentlicht werden nur Originalbeiträge. Für unverlangt eingesandte Manuskripte wird keine Haftung übernommen. Die Verfasser tragen für ihre Beiträge die Verantwortung.

© 2019 Nodus Publikationen. — Die in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlichten Artikel sind urheberrechtlich geschützt. Nachdruck oder Vervielfältigung, auch auszugsweise, verboten.

Gedruckt auf chlor- und säurefreiem, alterungsbeständigem Papier.
Printed in Germany.

ISSN 0939–2815

Specimen

Carlos Assunção, Silvio Neto, Gonçalo Fernandes

The first Portuguese–Chinese dictionary

Contributions to the discussion of the context of production and authorship

ABSTRACT

The work considered to be the first Portuguese–Chinese dictionary, having been published in a facsimile version in the last decade, represents a milestone in the Oriental Portuguese missionary historiography. It is, to date, the first work known to undertake a bridge between the Portuguese and the Chinese language, also offering a strong contribution to the history of culture and the relationship between East and West. The authorship of the work, usually assigned to the Jesuit missionaries Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607), and the indication of the place of origin as Zhaoqing, near Guangzhou, between the years 1583 and 1588, have been called into question, even if there is no doubt about the connection between the work and the Jesuit mission in China. The questioning of the context in which the work was created and of its authorship is the main focus of this paper.

The first Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary is framed by the overseas expansion of the Society of Jesus in the East and is one of the contributions to the policy pursued by this religious order, enabling the successful evangelisation of China, which included a policy of *cultural accommodation*, in the approach to Chinese culture, particularly to literate people and, closely related to it, a linguistic policy, since this cultural approach is not possible without one’s knowledge of the language.

This work has already been the object of several studies. Scholars such as D’Elia (1939, 1949), Yang (1984, 1989), Messner (1995, 1998), Barreto (1997, 2002), Levi (1998, 2014), James (1994, 2004), Witek (2001), Masini (2005), Pina (2008, 2011), Castellazzi (2011), among others, have offered a set of reflections on the authorship as well as a historiographic and linguistic analysis of this dictionary.

In the last above-mentioned study, Castellazzi, who has hitherto conducted the most in-depth analysis of the Romanization System of the dictionary (2011: 194–202), ends his article with the following conclusion: “if the Portuguese Lexicon was written by an amanuensis, the Romanization by someone who knew Portuguese Orthography very well, the Chinese characters by a Chinese hand, and the Italian part of the lexicon is minimal, what was the role of Ruggieri and Ricci in all this? I do not have a definitive answer” (2011: 210). As a result of these queries, which have been ongoing for almost a century, we will present some contributions to answer this question: can we say that Matteo Ricci or Ricci together with Michele Ruggieri were the authors of the dictionary or was this the result of a collective production?

Even if some scholars maintain that Ricci or Ricci/Ruggieri were the authors of this pioneering lexicographical work, others argue for a collective authorship, as we will discuss later in more detail. Our contribution will be to try to offer a better understanding of its context of production by means of cross-referencing several conflicting bibliographical sources and providing evidence that it is of collective authorship, although there are no absolute certainties, as some scholars have already pointed out. To do so, the context of production of the dictionary will be revisited and its linguistic analysis as well as a paleographic analysis will be carried out, proving its collective authorship, thus contributing to the exegesis of the authorship of this work.

Context of production

The first Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary was written within the context of the process of evangelisation carried out by the Society of Jesus in the East, and in particular in China, and which cannot be dissociated from the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Jesuit Chinese mission. Such an association is referred to by Jesuit historiography itself, which appeals to the figure of Matteo Ricci rather than to that of Michele Ruggieri, indicating him at the same time as producer of the dictionary and founder of the mission in mainland China. This identification may highlight the figure of Ricci as a pioneering missionary in China, both at the level of evangelisation and at the level of cultural and linguistic exchange.

However, the production of the Dictionary is part of a larger strategy carried out by the Society of Jesus that aimed to succeed in the process of evangelisation (Zwartjes 2011). This strategy is based on the Jesuits’ perception of the cultural and linguistic differences between the West and the East and the understanding that evangelisation would only be possible through a process of *cultural accommodation*, that is, of the Jesuits’ adaptation to Eastern culture. This process of *cultural accommodation* is based, among other aspects, on a “linguistic policy”, that is, on the need to learn and master the language of the

people that they intended to evangelise. From an early age, the missionaries used interpreters in the East, also known as the *língua* [translated mainly as *language*], to bridge the gap between the Jesuits and the authorities, but, in the Chinese case, they also realised from an early stage that it was not a good approach, whether it was because interpreters were often considered suspicious, since they often would misrepresent the messages, or, sometimes, because of the latter’s linguistic inability, or, also, because the interpreters were viewed with great distrust by the Chinese authorities, which put the missionaries in a position of great vulnerability and dependence. Thus, language knowledge was of utmost importance to the Jesuits, but not less vital was their knowledge of the Chinese people’s culture, so that they could accommodate to it. It is, therefore, with the purpose of guaranteeing this “cultural accommodation” and the development of a “linguistic policy” that the Jesuits started to gather information about China. From early on, even before the actual inception of this policy, whose mentor was Alessandro Valignano, regarded as the great figure of *cultural accommodation*, together with Matteo Ricci, there was this gathering of information and the certainty of this need, as Loureiro (1992: 13) points out:

Desde o estabelecimento das missões da Companhia de Jesus no Oriente, com a chegada a Goa, 1542, do primeiro grupo de missionários liderados pelo padre Francisco Xavier, que os Jesuítas, face à novidade física e humana dos novos mundos ultramarinos, procuravam recolher o maior número possível de notícias sobre os hábitos e costumes dos povos orientais com que entravam em contacto, e sobre a geografia das regiões asiáticas onde pretendiam exercer o seu ministério. A sua estratégia de missão da *gentilidade* oriental exigia um conhecimento rigoroso das realidades locais e, se possível, uma relativa fluência nas línguas indígenas.

[From the time when the missions of the Society of Jesus in the East were set up, with the arrival in Goa, in 1542, of the first group of missionaries led by Father Francisco Xavier, the Jesuits, given their unfamiliarity with the physical and human characteristics of the new overseas worlds, tried to collect as much information as possible about the habits and customs of the Eastern peoples with whom they came into contact, as well as about the geography of Asian regions where they intended to exercise their ministry. Their missionary strategy for the conversion of Eastern *gentility* required thorough knowledge of local realities and, if possible, a relative fluency in indigenous languages.]

After having gathered information, Francisco Xavier, in 1547, received the anonymous publication entitled “Enformação da China, mandada por hum homem a mestre Francisquo” [‘Information about China, sent by a man to master Francis’]. According to Pina (2011: 35), in this text, “muito provavelmente da autoria de Fernão Mendes Pinto, eram abordados os tópicos da língua e da escrita chinesa, denotando-se o seu papel basilar na viabilização de qualquer projecto missionário naquele país” [‘whose author was, most probably, Fernão Mendes Pinto, there was information on the Chinese language and

writing, which proves its key role in the feasibility of any missionary project in that country’].

In line with the information received, Xavier, in January 1552, before departing to China, expressed his intention to learn the Chinese language, as well as to prepare a catechism in Chinese. After Xavier's death, the Vice-Provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto, following his predecessor's ideology, also perceived the importance of knowing the language, as well as the problem of interpreters and “procurou pôr em prática o projecto de aprendizagem do Chinês por parte de europeus” [‘tried to put into practice a project for European peoples to learn Chinese’] (Pina 2011: 38). In March 1554, he arrived in Malacca from Japan, where he spent about 11 months, during which he devoted himself to the search for information about China and prepared the document “Enformação de algumas cousas acerca dos Custumes e Leis do Reyno da China” [‘Information of some things about the Customs and Laws of the Kingdom of China’] (Pina 2011: 38), which he sent to Rome in December 1554. It is important to state that “Nesse período de Malaca, o domínio das línguas locais assumira já para Barreto um lugar central na estratégia missionária” [‘In this period in Malacca, the ability to master the local languages was already playing a vital role in the missionary strategy, from Barreto’s point of view’] (Pina 2011: 38). This led António Nunes Barreto to develop a plan that aimed to put his intentions into action and that consisted in leaving the brother Luís Fróis in Canton to learn Chinese. This first attempt of Barreto was made infeasible due to the need of permanent staff at the religious school in Malacca. Two years later, he resumed his plan and, in order to achieve it, he left the brother Estêvão de Góis, in Canton, in the first months of 1556. However, this attempt did not prove successful, because Estêvão de Góis could not learn the language and his effort may even have driven him to insanity. Thus, Melchior Nuno Barreto’s project of language learning, which was of great interest for both the missionaries and the merchants, was postponed, and reliance on interpreters was still a reality. We should note that the project to bring the missionaries closer to the people they had come to evangelise also aimed at reaching the Chinese literate elite (and they even wanted to be identified as part of them), in order to be granted official authorisation for evangelisation. However, their lack of knowledge of the language did not allow them to get close to the literate population, because face-to-face communication with them was not possible, and this was also one of the criteria for the non-granting of such a desired official authorisation. The language issue had become increasingly determinant for the mission in China to be successful. Therefore, in September 1578, a new era begins with Valignano, a visitor from the East Indies, in a strategic action that aimed at the effective inception of the Jesuit mission in China. During the ten months that he spent in Macao, before going to Japan, and based on his knowledge of the Chinese reality anchored in the

experience of European and half-breed merchants and missionaries developed over several decades, he took steps to create the conditions for the mission’s inception in China:

O primeiro passo da estratégia de Valignano consistiu em dar início à aprendizagem sistemática do chinês, falado e escrito, medida em perfeita sintonia com os seus antecessores e integrada na política linguística praticada pela Companhia nos seus vários palcos missionários. (Pina 2008: 22)

[The first step in Valignano’s strategy was to set in motion the systematic learning of Chinese, spoken and written, a measure that was in perfect harmony with his predecessors and that was included in the linguistic policy practised by the Society in its several missionary stations.]

Thus, Michele Ruggieri was transferred from India to Macao in July 1579. Valignano had already gone on a trip to Japan, but he might have left instructions for Ruggieri to devote himself exclusively to the study of Mandarin and to Chinese writing, assisted by Chinese youth. Ruggieri’s exclusive dedication to language learning led to some criticism from his peers, who did not always welcome this privileged status, or did not agree with Valignano’s strategy, especially because this exclusive commitment to language learning made Ruggieri put aside the religious tasks. It is well-known (Witek 2001: 16–17) that Ruggieri had some difficulties in the process of selection of a teacher who could help him, because, for the learning process to be successful, the assistance of someone who mastered both Portuguese and Chinese was indispensable. These difficulties may have been overcome due to the original learning process undertaken by Ruggieri. This may have resorted to the assistance of a painter who, through his pictures, was able to convey their meaning in Chinese.

In August 1582, Matteo Ricci joined Ruggieri, which means that Ricci was not the first to devote himself to the study of Chinese. Others had already tried it before, without success, but Ruggieri was the one who achieved it successfully and on an exclusive basis. It is a bit odd, then, that he does not appear as the prime mover of the learning of Chinese, which seems as if he had been intentionally ‘erased’ by the Society of Jesus in the context of the Jesuit mission in China.

As Pina remarks, “A partir de 1579–1580, Michele Ruggieri, e pouco depois Ricci, encetaram em Macau o estudo da língua e da cultura chinesas e, consequentemente, iniciaram as primeiras traduções sistemáticas de e para chinês” [‘From 1579–1580 onwards, Michele Ruggieri and, shortly afterwards, Ricci, began the study of the Chinese language and culture in Macao and, as a result, they started their first systematic translations from and to Chinese’] (Pina 2008: 24). In November 1581, Ruggieri mentioned a book that he translated into Latin and, in 1582, Valignano referred to “os bons intérpretes”

['the good interpreters'] who, in Macao, had translated some Chinese books for him. The first productions, in Chinese, were of a religious nature, an example of which is a catechism that was already being prepared in Latin, by Ruggieri, in September 1580, with Pedro Gómez's assistance one year later, in 1581, and that "sendo de seguida traduzida por chineses, circulou em forma manuscrita até que, em 1584, foi totalmente revista por um *xiucaí* fujianense, mais tarde baptizado Paulo. Foi impressa nos últimos dias de Novembro do mesmo ano, sob o título *Tianzhu Shilu / Verdadeiro Tratado do Senhor do Céu*" ['being subsequently translated by Chinese people, circulated in manuscript form until, in 1584, it was totally revised by a Fujian *xiucaí*, later baptised as Paulo. It was printed in the last days of November of the same year, under the title *Tianzhu Shilu / True Treaty of the Lord of Heaven*'] (Pina 2008: 25 and Witek 2001:17). Thus, the process of Chinese Language learning, which began in Macao with Ruggieri and to whom Ricci then joined, continued in Zhaoqing, the place where the missionaries were in 1582/83. This is, in fact, the place and the date pointed out by D'Elia (Pina 2008: 25) for the beginning of the production of the Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary. However, as already mentioned, the place, date and authorship of the Dictionary have been called into question and the continuity of the process of language learning and of writing instruction, which began in Macao and continued in China, and of which the above-mentioned catechism is an example, is an argument used to call into question the peremptory setting of a date, place and authorship of the Dictionary. From Pina's point of view (2008: 25):

Toda esta actividade de composição e tradução que se iniciou em Macau neste período, de forma regular, levou concomitantemente à constituição do primeiro dicionário português-chinês, trabalho de autoria colectiva, que foi sendo compilado, acrescentado, aperfeiçoado, e do qual apenas sobreviveu o exemplar levado por Ruggieri para Roma, em 1588.

[All this activity governing the production and translation that began in Macao in this period, on a regular basis, led to the creation of the first Portuguese–Chinese dictionary, a work of collective authorship that was compiled, extended and revised, and of which only one copy survived, the one taken to Rome, by Ruggieri, in 1588.]

This observation of the author is based on Luís Filipe Barreto's studies (Barreto 1997, 2000, 2002), who argues in favour of this same collective authorship of the Dictionary, placing its production in Macao, which is quintessentially a centre of cultural and linguistic exchange between the West and the East. In the course of this theory, Luís Filipe Barreto presented his arguments that were rejected by Witek, who published a facsimile version of the Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary in 2001, integrating the study of Yang (2001), a linguist who shares the view of Jesuit historiography and of D'Elia. Witek himself, in this edition, compares Barreto's perspective and Yang's traditionalist

perspective (the latter claims that the authorship of the Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary is ascribed to Ricci and Ruggieri and determines Zhaoqing as its place of origin, in between 1582–1588) and clearly agrees with this last one, a version that is rejected by Barreto (2002).

Since we intend to contextualise the production of the first Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary, we believe that an analysis of the controversy around the issue of authorship, place and date of production of the work may be relevant. Thus, we depart from the analysis of the introductory part of Witek's facsimile edition (2001), aiming to understand the arguments that support each of the perspectives and to attempt to move closer towards its context of production. Witek emphasises its undeniable linguistic and cultural importance. He refers to the Dictionary as one of the components of the Jesuit missionaries' efforts to penetrate the Chinese empire, relating it to the policy of evangelisation advocated by Alessandro Valignano and of which Matteo Ricci is the great precursor. With regard to the cultural and linguistic importance of the Dictionary, it is never called into question by any author, as there is a consensus in its defence and in its evangelisation strategy put into action by Valignano, but we should not underestimate the statement that the need to develop a linguistic policy as well as a policy of "cultural accommodation" predated by Valignano, as we have already mentioned. Concerning the fact that Witek named Matteo Ricci as the precursor of this policy, it is only a matter of following the idea conveyed by Jesuit historiography, as we have already had occasion to mention and which proves that Ruggieri was the pioneer of this strategy and, because of that, we consider that Ruggieri's erasure from this whole process is intentional and aims at praising Ricci. At this level, the authorship of the dictionary itself is attributed to Ricci, in the work of Joseph Abraham Levi, whose title transmits this idea, *O Dicionário Português–Chinês de Padre Matteo Ricci [The Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary by Matteo Ricci], S.J.*, (Levi 1998, 2014), even if, within the work, there is a brief biographical reference to Michele Ruggieri and a note on the fact that the dictionary was a "collective" work (Levi 1998: 31).

Witek also mentions some aspects that are relevant to the understanding of the edited work: he jots down the background information related to the Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary, he tells us about the discovery of the manuscript by D'Elia and presents it as a historical document, drawing our attention to some previously published studies on this Dictionary, with special attention being paid to Yang's study (2001), which is compared to that of Barreto, as we mentioned. Yang's study is incorporated in this edition and, in 2002, Barreto published a new article about the Dictionary, aiming at clarifying the issues raised by Witek.

Departing from the content analysis of the dictionary, Yang reaches the same conclusions as those of D'Elia regarding its authorship, date and place of

origin. Witek (2001) provides us with the following information about the dictionary: it consists of four columns, the first of which includes the entries in Portuguese; the second showing the romanisations; the third consisting of the Chinese characters and the fourth and last column, which is not available in all folio pages, showing the Italian equivalents (Witek 2001: 18).

As for the entries in Portuguese, all of them written in Chinese ink, they reflect two different handwriting systems, according to Witek (2001). The first one comprises the entries from D to Z. The first system probably resulted from a stranger's writing. Based on the comparison of some of Ruggieri's letters and works, the authorship of the second handwriting system was attributed to Ruggieri (Witek 2001: 18–19). With regard to the second column, which includes romanisations, once again departing from comparisons with other writings by Ruggieri, it seems that “foi Ruggieri e não Ricci, quem escreveu as romanizações neste dicionário” [‘Ruggieri, not Ricci, wrote the romanisations in this dictionary’] (Witek 2001: 18–19). The Chinese characters drawn in the second column may have been of a Chinese hand, because “é improvável que tanto Ruggieri como Ricci, em 1583–1588, fossem capazes de escrever os caracteres de forma tão consistente” [‘it is quite unlikely that either Ruggieri or Ricci, in 1583–1588, had achieved the capacity of writing characters so consistently’] (Witek 2001: 19). As to the last column, in Italian, Witek concludes that the entries “não são da mão de Ruggieri nem Ricci” [‘are not handwritten by Ruggieri or Ricci’] (Witek 2001: 19), a different opinion from the one already set forth by Yang who claims that “pela caligrafia, conclui-se que foi escrita por Ricci” [‘judging the handwriting, it was written by Ricci’] (Yang 2001: 43).

These are some of the aspects that contributed to the ascription of the dictionary's authorship to Ruggieri and Ricci as well as to its date, which falls between 1583 and 1588, and its place of origin as Zhaoqing, the place where the missionaries remained during this period. But the notes that precede and follow the dictionary were also used as sources to prove its authorship, dating and its place of origin, a fact that Barreto (2002) objects, stating that “qualquer inexperiente estudante de história sabe que não se pode datar um documento usando datas indicativas de outros documentos” [‘any novice history student knows that one cannot date a document using date indications from other documents’] (Barreto 2002: 118).

The historian puts forward different aspects regarding the authorship, dating and place of origin of the dictionary (Barreto 1997), claiming that it is a collective work, as we will analyse in the following section, a work that was produced in the 80s in Macao and then extended and improved in Zhaoqing. Macao was, in the 16th and 17th centuries, a commercial port city and consequently characterised by its cultural diversity, but mainly by a cultural exchange between the West and the East. It was also the only centre of linguistic

exchange (Barreto 1997) where such a great work as the Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary would possibly have been produced. Therefore, Barreto disagrees with D’Elia and Yang’s assumptions, claiming that both Ricci and Ruggieri’s knowledge of Portuguese and Chinese would not enable them to produce such a bold work in the 80s (Barreto 1997) and he states that “No que respeita ao português, a ausência de material conhecido produzido nesta língua pelos jesuítas em questão dá-nos um conhecimento das suas limitações. [...] Nos anos oitenta, ambos, Ruggieri e Ricci, tinham, no máximo, os limitados auto conhecimentos rudimentares de português que não lhes permitiam sequer escrever uma carta em português, muito menos um dicionário” [‘With regard to Portuguese, the absence of known material produced in this language by the Jesuits in question gives us an understanding of their limitations. [...] In the eighties, both Ruggieri and Ricci had, at most, the limited self-taught rudiments of Portuguese which did not even allow them to write a letter in Portuguese, much less a dictionary’] (Barreto 2002: 119–120). As previously noted, Witek (2001) also considers the Chinese language skills of these two missionaries to be insufficient, but he only refers to the Chinese language and to the issue of the Chinese character writing, not taking this insufficiency into account with regard to the Portuguese language, and, thus, not considering it an impeding factor in the production of the dictionary as a whole. A synopsis of Ruggieri and Ricci’s length of stay in Portugal and in China will suffice to assess their proficiency, or not, to write a dictionary.

Ruggieri was born in Spinazzola (Italy) in 1543 and he arrived in Portugal in 1577. He departed to Goa in March 1578 and, afterwards, to Macao in July 1579, starting his learning process of the Chinese language when Valignano had already left for Japan. In 1580, he also began to go with the Macao merchants to the Canton fair with the aim of getting closer to the Guangdong officials. He arrived in Zhaoqing for the first time in the beginning of 1582 in company with Matias Penela. He then returned to Zhaoqing on December 27, this time in company with Francesco Pasio, and he remained in the city till March 1583. Matteo Ricci was born in 1552. In May 1577, together with a group of Jesuits, he departed from Rome towards Lisbon, an obligatory stop-off point, in order to head towards the East. “Aguardando a melhor altura para prosseguir a viagem, Ricci permanece em Portugal cerca de um ano, entre maio de 1577 e março de 1578, período durante o qual estudou português e teologia em Coimbra” [‘Waiting for the best time to continue his journey, Ricci remained in Portugal for about a year, between May 1577 and March 1578, during which he studied Portuguese and theology in Coimbra’] (Levi 1998: 5). In 1582, he moved from Goa to Macao, where Ruggieri had been since 1578. In Macao, Matteo Ricci had his first contact with the Chinese population and culture. The task of learning the language proved to be arduous

given the existing complexity and variants. He was in Zhaoqing between 1583 and 1588.

We believe that this brief biographical digression is more than sufficient to prove that Ruggieri and Ricci did not have enough time to learn the Portuguese and Chinese languages to compile a dictionary, because learning a language, such as Chinese, with a writing system and phonetics that are very different from the Romance languages, takes much time to be mastered. The production of a dictionary requires thorough knowledge of the languages being used and, thus, Ricci and Ruggieri's lack of proficiency in these languages does not conflict with Masini's findings (2005: 185) when he claims that "within a few years Ricci was able to prepare Latin translations of Chinese texts. With the assistance of Chinese converts, he was also able to start publishing Chinese translations of Western texts on different subjects and edited original works in Chinese. Ricci also began to prepare the first specific tools for learning the Chinese language", nor with Castelazzi's (2011: 187) when he points out that "Valignani maintained that Ruggieri knew little Chinese, while Ricci was advancing well".

Father António Vieira, S.J., regarding the learning of the indigenous languages of Brazil, in *O Sermão do Espírito Santo* (1690) [*Sermon of the Holy Spirit*], refers to this learning process, corroborating what we have stated:

Se é trabalho ouvir uma língua que não ouvis? O primeiro trabalho é ouvi-la, o segundo percebê-la, o terceiro reduzi-la a gramática e preceitos, o quarto estudá-la, o quinto pronúciá-la. E depois de todos estes trabalhos ainda não começaste a trabalhar, porque são disposições somente para o trabalho. (Vieira 1993: 888)

[If hearing a language that you do not hear is work? The first work is to listen to it, the second to understand it, the third to reduce it to grammar and precepts, the fourth to study it, the fifth to pronounce it. And after all these tasks, we have not yet begun to work, because they are merely guidelines for work.]

And he continues:

Mas haver de arrostar com uma língua bruta e de brutos, sem livro, sem mestre, sem guia e no meio daquela obscuridade e dissonância haver de cavar os primeiros alicerces e descobrir os primeiros rudimentos dela: distinguir o nome, o verbo, o advérbio, a preposição, o número, o caso, o tempo, o modo, e modos nunca vistos nem imaginados, como homens tão diferentes dos outros tanto nas línguas como nos costumes, não há dúvida que a empresa é muito árdua, à vontade que não estiver muito sacrificada e unida a Deus. (Vieira 1993: 888–889)

[But to face a brute language and one of brutes, without a book, without a master, without a guide, and, in the midst of that obscurity and dissonance, to dig the first foundations and discover its first rudiments: to distinguish the noun, the verb, the adverb, the preposition, the number, the case, the tense, the mode, and never seen or imagined modes, as men that are so different from the others in both languages

and in customs, there is no doubt that it is a very arduous undertaking for someone whose will does not stand much sacrifice and is not very united to God.]

When Ruggieri and Ricci arrived in Macao, Tomé Pires had already written *Suma oriental*, Duarte Barbosa had written *O livro das cousas da Índia* [The book of things from India], and the Jesuit missionaries, mainly Portuguese, had sent many letters to Lisbon. In all these writings, there is a common denominator: the Chinese language. In Father Manuel Teixeira's letter, sent to Portugal in 1565, we can see that all of them communicate using the language of the government officials, Mandarin; also, that they write like the Japanese from top to bottom and "que usam por letras uns caracteres significativos das coisas" ['that they use as letters some significant characters of things'] (f. 212). Other records about the Chinese language come to Portugal through chroniclers and Fernão Mendes Pinto, in his work *A Peregrinação* [*Pilgrimage*] (cf. Oliveira 2003: 659).

This already-acquired knowledge was certainly made available for Valignano to put his strategy for learning the Chinese language into practice, and to which he called Ruggieri and, later, Ricci. The Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary results from this confluence of knowledge, a dictionary written by several hands and with different sensitivities from both the aesthetic point of view and content. It is the argument of semantics mainly related to navigation, commerce and administration that leads us to the practical usefulness of this dictionary: it was used as a conversation aid in political meetings and mainly as a learning manual by the Jesuits, among them Ricci and Ruggieri (Barreto 1997). This may also explain the existence of the last column in some folio pages: this column in Italian could be an aid to a better understanding of the meaning of terms by the Italian Jesuits, because the Portuguese–Chinese dictionary addresses precisely these two languages, and even if they knew Portuguese, because they studied in Coimbra, they probably were not as fluent in it as in their native language. Still concerning the column in Italian, we should note that, if we regard it as an aid to the missionaries' understanding of both Portuguese and Chinese, then this approach contributes to the theory that the manuscript arrived in Europe brought by Ruggieri, since it was his own copy of the manuscript, and he himself might have written these entries in Italian (Barreto 1997). As we have previously stated, this theory is not widely accepted, because the authorship of the entries in Italian are either attributed to Ricci (Yang), or, as some conclude, they "não são da mão de Ruggieri nem Ricci" ['are not from Ruggieri or Ricci's hand'] (Witek 2001: 19), which means that the authorship is never ascribed to Ruggieri alone. The authors, however, are unanimous in their view of the way the manuscript arrived in Europe: it was brought by Ruggieri, whether, or not, it is his personal copy of the Dictionary. Concerning the entries in the Dictionary, we can find technical

terminology related to navigation, commerce and arts and crafts (Barreto 1997, 2002, James 2004, Castelazzi 2011), which, as we have seen, is an argument in favour of the Macanese origin of the Dictionary, but we can also find specific terms regarding the missionary activity and philosophical terms (Witek 2001). Something that intrigues some researchers, Witek and others, is the existence of terms in Portuguese slang, such as “cona” [‘pussy’] and “cabrão” [‘bastard’] (63r and 55r), which are certainly not of Ricci and Ruggieri’s authorship. In case they had been, the Priests would have been expelled from the Society of Jesus, as Castellazzi noted (2011: 194), pointing out that “something does not fit completely here”.

Analysis of the manuscript

In light of all these arguments, some more credible than others, it is in the manuscript itself that we shall find the answers to the problematics of authorial agency of the Dictionary.

Studies already published (Messner 1995, 1998; James 1994, 2004) reveal that, similarly to other suchlike works, the entries in Portuguese in this dictionary are, in most cases, taken from the entries in *Dictionarium ex Lusitanico in Latinum Sermonem*, published, in 1569–70, by the humanist Jerónimo Cardoso. On the other hand, comparing the entries of Ricci with those of *Dicionário dos Primeiros Livros Impressos em Língua Portuguesa* [Dictionary of the First Printed Books in Portuguese Language] (Machado 2015), which would invent the Portuguese language in the late 15th century from works printed in that period: *Sumario das Gracias; Sacramental; Tratado de Confissom*; “*Vita Christi*”; “*Historia do Mui Nobre Vespasiano Imperador de Roma*”; “*Constituicoes de D. Diogo de Sousa*”; “*Evangelhos e Epistolas com suas Exposicoes em Romance*”; and “*Regimento Proveitoso Contra a Pestenenca*”, we find many correspondences, of which the following stand out:

- *gu* with *a* and *o* (Adegua, Afoguar, Aguastar, Aguora, Alaguar, Alarguar, Amigua);¹
- reduction of the digraph *ss* to *s* (Asar, Asegurar, Asento, Asinar);²
- reduction of the digraph *rr* to *r* (Acaretar, Aranharr, Arazoado, Arebatar, Arebentar);³
- use of *ç* before *e* and *i* (Açende, Açipreste, Amanhaçer, Aparencia);⁴
- use of *u* instead of *v* (As uezes);⁵

1) [Wine cellar, to drown, to annoy, now, to flood, to widen, friend, longing];
 2) [To roast, to ensure, seat, sign]
 3) [To entail, to scratch, reasoning, to rapture, to burst];
 4) [To light, archpriest, dawn, appearance];
 5) [Sometimes];

- use of *y* instead of *i* (Alý, Arayal);⁶
- diphthong reduction (Anotecer);⁷
- epenthesis of vowels (Alpendere, Alaguoa, Aguoa).⁸

There are, however, some characteristics in Ricci that are not in *Dicionário dos Primeiros Livros Impressos em Língua Portuguesa*, and, therefore, correspond to orthographic practices of those who transcribed the entries of Ricci’s dictionary, such as, for example:

- transcription of the reflexive personal pronoun *-se* in verbs as *-çe* (Amostrarçe, Amofinarçe, Apartarçe, Azedarçe);⁹
- transcription of *c* as *s* (Abastaser, Aboser, Aconteser, Adoeser).¹⁰

We should note that geminate vowels (aa, ee, ij) rarely appear in Ricci, hiatuses are rare, nasal endings are normalised and etymological or pseudo-etymological digraphs are absent (ll, tt, ff ...), among others.

From this comparison, we conclude that the Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary produces evidence of a more conservative spelling than the one of Jerónimo Cardoso and that the differences between one and the other are due to older orthographic practices of the one who wrote it, which explains such conservatism.

Let us now turn to the analysis of the writing style in the Dictionary. The calligraphic model that was regarded as highly prestigious in the last decades of the sixteenth century is clearly depicted in Giovanni Francesco Cresci’s work, *Essempiare di più sorti lettere*, published in Rome in 1560. According to Ruiz García (2000: 159), this writing model (known as “letra bastarda” [‘bastard handwriting’], because it was a sharper cursive font of a chancellor-esque type) is characterised by its flowing line and a slight slope to the right. The same scholar (Ruiz García 2000: 159) also emphasises other characteristics of this writing model: inter-character space reduction, tendency to have bodies of letters that show a more rounded shape, curvilinear treatment of ascending stems (ascenders), extension of adjacent tail-strokes. These features, which fully matched the baroque aesthetics, so popular at the time, turned this writing model into a hit, both in the public and private spheres. Based on the paleographic lines drawn by the different hands that worked on Ricci’s *Dictionary*, it seems that the writing styles are variants of this same model. The variation between one hand and the other is due to differences in individualisation, simplification and detachment from the then highly prestigious handwriting.

6) [There, popular festivity];
 7) [Dusk]
 8) [Porch, lagoon, water]
 9) [To show him/herself, to be in pain, to detach, to be outraged];
 10) [To supply, to annoy, to happen, to sicken].

ten calligraphic model. Figure 1 shows the alphabet of a canonical script according to the above-mentioned model.

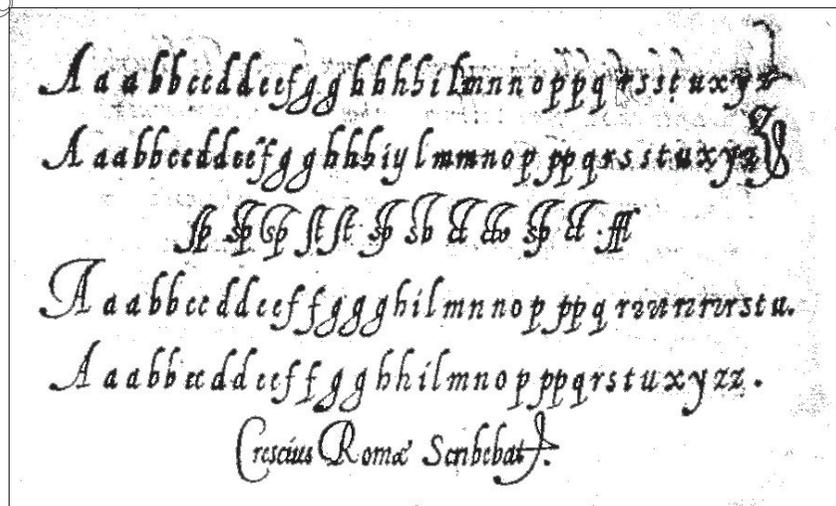


Figure 1: Alphabet reproduced from the XVIII board in *Esemplare di più sorti lettere* (1560: 36)

An examination of the handwriting in the *Dictionary* requires much caution regarding the number of hands that contributed to its creation. This caution is due to the fact that the handwriting is very thorough, very calligraphic, throughout nearly the entire work.

In fact, extra care in the production of the script, while bringing it closer to this calligraphic model, largely neutralises individual features. Consequently, we can see very clearly a broader division of the three parts of the text, showing similar calligraphic features. The first part, written by hand no. 1, consists of the columns on the left regarding letters A, B and C. The second part, produced by hand no. 2, comprises the largest parcel of the two columns in Roman letter and concerns all the other letters. And the third part, made by hand no. 3, is composed of the central columns of the letters A, B and C.¹¹ The ordering of the hands complies with a progressively higher level of simplification of writing than its calligraphic model. In order to better characterise each of the hands, we add to this general feature a set of specific characteristics regarding the shape of the letter, writing slope, greater or lesser modulus,

¹¹⁾ It is probably the same hand that writes in Italian on the right margin of the folio, in some pages of letter A (in different coloured ink). In this situation, however, there is greater variation as to the writing slope.

and the use of allographs, which also contribute to characterise the three hands. According to the structure we propose, the following two tables present examples of the upper and lowercase alphabet of each of the hands mentioned above.

Table 1 — Uppercase letters

	Hand No. 1	Hand No. 2	Hand No. 3
A			
B			
C			
D			
E			
F			
G			
H			
I			
J			

	Hand No. 1	Hand No. 2	Hand No. 3
L			
M			
N			
O			
P			
Q			
R			
S			
T			
U			
V			
X			
Y			
Z			

Table 2 — Lowercase letters

	Hand No. 1	Hand No. 2	Hand No. 3
a			
b			
c			
d			
e			
f			
g			
h			
i			
j			
l			
m			
n			
o			

	Hand No. 1	Hand No. 2	Hand No. 3
p			
q			
r			
s			
t			
u			
v			
x			
y			
z			

Due to the fact that we can trace the same writing model throughout the work, calligraphy is not significantly different, except for more specific skill characteristics and diligence exercised in light of the model being followed. Hand no. 1 is the closest to the humanistic chancelloresque model, as proposed by manuals of calligraphy of the time. The other two hands simplify this same model at different levels. Besides the general simplification of the shape of writing, each hand brings specific variants, even if not always exclusive to that hand. These variants are especially distinctive among the lowercase, although there are also uppercase variations. Some of these variants are: a) specific variants of hand

no. 1: E2, J, f, g1, p3, s1 e t1; b) specific variants of hand no. 2: M2, N2, V2, b2, d2, z1, z2 e z4; and specific variants of hand no. 3: p2 e z3.

However, the structure we propose simplifies a much more complex reality of the writing process, from which the text of the dictionary may have been written. Handwriting examination, in this context, often hides more than it reveals. A very important aspect is that there must have been alternation of hands in the production of, at least, some of the letters that follow C.¹² There were also different correction campaigns¹³ and subsequent, occasional, contributions, which may be attributed to hand no. 2, or no. 3, or even to other hands that may have had more specific interventions than the three mentioned here. Therefore, we have at least three hands in the production of the dictionary, in columns 1, 2 and 4, to which at least one other is added, in column no. 3, the Chinese writing, totalling, at least, four hands. From this analysis, we may conclude that this work is of collective authorship.

Conclusion

Irrespective of these issues about the authorship of the Dictionary, Ricci and Ruggieri's role in the evangelisation of China, in the number of strands that it contains, will be forever marked as a memorable work of interculturality.

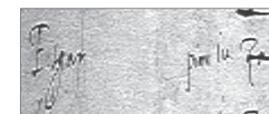
The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary is a very important landmark in East-West relations, both linguistically and culturally.

After analysing the calligraphic model of writing, we can say that the handwriting of the whole work is different, except for more specific skill characteristics and diligence exercised in light of the model being followed, as mentioned. There is the humanistic chancelloresque model, as proposed by manuals of calligraphy of the time, as shown in hand no. 1. The other two hands simplify this same model at different levels. Besides the general simplification of the shape of writing, each hand brings specific variants, even if not always exclusive to that hand. These variants are especially distinctive among the lowercase, although there are also uppercase variations.

In light of the above, and after having revisited the context of the origin of the work, the authorship cannot be ascribed to these two authors alone, and much less to Ricci, for the reasons we pointed out earlier and for the Italian

¹²⁾ Evidence of alternation of hands (2 gives way to 3) occurs in the copy of part of letter L and of part of letter M.

¹³⁾ In cases of correction, sometimes it seems that the hand of the reviewer differs from that of the corrected hand, as we can see, for example, in the excerpt on the right. However, this is a hypothesis that, to be proven, would need extensive testing.



priests' insufficient knowledge of Portuguese and Chinese languages. It results from the work developed by other missionaries and by the Chinese.

However, we cannot completely exclude Ricci and Ruggieri from the production process either. On the contrary, we believe that they probably supervised its handwriting and they were in charge of it by the Provincial Superior of the Jesuits. Thus, it is highly probable that, in spite of being a collective work, with at least three hands, as we have stated, Ricci and Ruggieri may have been the main "coordinators" of the first Portuguese–Chinese dictionary.

Carlos Assunao
Departamento de Letras, Arte e Comunicaao
Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro
Centro de Estudos em Letras
5001–801 Vila Real
Portugal
eMail: cassunca@utad.pt

Silvío Neto
Departamento de Letras Clássicas e Vernáculas
Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas
Universidade de São Paulo
Av. Prof. Luciano Gualberto, 403
CEP: 05508–010 – Cidade Universitária São Paulo – SP
Brasil
eMail: tolnets@gmail.com

Gonalo Fernandes
Departamento de Letras, Arte e Comunicaao
Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro
Centro de Estudos em Letras
5001–801 Vila Real
Portugal
eMail: gf@utad.pt

Funding Information:

This research was funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), under the Center for the Studies in Letters (CEL), with the reference No. UID/LIN/00707/2016.

References

- Barreto, Luís Filipe
1997 "Macau, fronteira cultural 1560–1660". *Revista Macau* S2. 58: 42–56.
2000 *Lavrar o mar: Os portugueses e a Ásia*. Lisboa: CNCDP.
2002 "Resenha de "Dicionário Português–chinês" de John W. Witek (ed.)". *Bulletin of Portuguese – Japanese Studies*. 5: 117–126.
- Cardoso, H[ieronymus].
~ 1570 *Dictionarivm latinolvstitanicvm & vice versa lusitanico latinũ, cum adagiorum ferè omnium iuxta seriem alphabeticam perutili expositione: Ecclesiasticorum etiam vocabulorum interpretatione. Item de monetis, ponderibus, & mensuris, ad præsentem vsum accommodatis ... Recognita vero omnia per Sebast[ianum] Stokhamerum Germanum ...* Conimbricæ: Excussit Ioan. Barrerius.
- Castelazzi, Valentino
2011 "Some Discrepancies about the So-called Portuguese–Chinese Dictionary of Matteo Ricci and Antonio Ruggieri". *The Sixth Fu Jen University International Sino-logical Symposium: Early European (1552–1814) Acquisition and Research on Chinese Languages. Symposium Papers*. Ed. by Zbigniew Wesolowski. Taipei: Fu Jen Catholic University Press, 181–212.
- Cresci, Giovan Francesco
1560 *Essempolare di piú sorti lettere*. Roma: Antonio Blado.
- Girard, Pascale
1999 *Os religiosos Ocidentais na China Moderna — Ensaio de Análise textual Comparada*. Macau: CTMCDP, Fundação Macau, Instituto Politécnico de Macau.
- James, Gregory
1994 "Matteo Ricci's Lexicography". *The Hong Kong Linguist*. 13: 39–42.
2004 "Culture and the Dictionary: evidence from the first European Lexicographical Work in China". *Historical Dictionaries and Historical Dictionary Research: Papers from the International Conference on Historical Lexicography and Lexicology, at the University of Leicester, 2002*. Ed. by Julie Coleman, Anne McDermott. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 119–135.
- Levi, Joseph Abraham
1998 *O Dicionário Português–Chinês de Padre Matteo Ricci, S.J. (1552–1610) – Uma abordagem Histórico-linguística*. New Orleans: University Press of the South.
2014 "The Ricci-Ruggieri Dicionário Europeu–Chinês. Linguistic and Philological Notes on Some Portuguese and Italian Entries". *Studies in Chinese and Sino-Tibetan Linguistics: Dialect, Phonology*. Ed. by Richard VanNess Simmons, Newell Ann Van Auken. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 343–366.
- Loureiro, Rui Manuel
1992 *Um tratado sobre o reino da China – dos Padres Duarte de Sande e Alessandro Valignano (Macau, 1590)*. Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau.

- Machado, José Barbosa
2015 *Dicionário dos Primeiros Livros Impressos em Língua Portuguesa*. 4 vols. Braga: Edições Vercial.
- Masini, Federico
2005 "Chinese Dictionaries by Western Missionaries". *Encounters and Dialogues. Changing Perspectives on Chinese-Western Exchanges from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Ed. by Xiaoxin Wu. Nettetal: Sankt Augustin, 179–193.
- Messner, Dieter
1995 "O primeiro dicionário bilingue português que utiliza uma língua estrangeira moderna". *Verba Hispanica*. 5: 57–65.
1998 "The first Portuguese bilingual dictionary resorting to a foreign "modern" language – Chinese". *Review of Culture*. 2nd ser., 34–35, 281–291. [Revision of Messner (1995)].
- Oliveira, Francisco M. P. N. Roque de
2003 *A construção do conhecimento europeu sobre a China, c. 1550–c.1630; Impressos e manuscritos que revelaram o mundo chinês à Europa culta* (Carta do padre Manuel Teixeira, 1565). Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma.
- Pina, Isabel A. Murta
2008 *Os Jesuítas em Nanquim 1599–1633*. Lisboa: Centro Cultural e Científico de Macau.
2011 *Jesuítas Chineses e Mestiços da Missão da China (1589–1689)*. Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau.
- Ruiz García, Elisa
2000 "La escritura humanística y los tipos gráficos derivados". *Introducción a la paleografía y la diplomática general*. Ángel Riesco Terrero (org.). Madrid: Síntesis, 149–176.
- Vieira, António
1993 *Obras Completas: Sermão do Espírito Santo* [1690]. Porto: Lello.
- Witek, John W.
2001 "Introduction". *Dicionário português-chinês*. Ed. por John W. Witek. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional / Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente / San Francisco CA: Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, 151–167.
- Yang, P. F.
2001 "The Portuguese–Chinese dictionary of Matteo Ricci: A historical and linguistic introduction. Revised version of Yang (1989)". *Dicionário português-chinês*. Ed. por John W. Witek. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional / Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente / San Francisco CA: Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, 171–209.
- Zwartjes, Otto
2011 *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550–1800*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Manuskripte und Anfragen erbitten wir an die Redaktion:

Gerda Haßler
Institut für Romanistik
Am Neuen Palais 10 – Haus 19
D–14469 Potsdam
hassler@uni-potsdam.de

Angelika Rüter
c/o Nodus Publikationen
Lingener Straße 7
D–48155 Münster
dutz.nodus@t-online.de

Oder an:

- David Cram (Jesus College; Oxford, OX1 3DW; U.K.; david.cram@jesus.ox.ac.uk)
Miguel Ángel Esparza Torres (Universidad Rey Juan Carlos; Campus de Fuenlabrada; Camino del Molino s/n; E–28943 Fuenlabrada, Madrid; maesparza@cct.urjc.es)
Stefano Gensini (Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"; Facoltà di Filosofia; Dipartimento di Studi filosofici e epistemologici; Via Carlo Fea 2; I–00161 Roma; stef_gens@libero.it)
Ludger Kaczmarek (Freistraße 2, D–33829 Borgholzhausen; l.kaczmarek@t-online.de)
Masataka Miyawaki (Senshu University; Room #8412; Higashi-Mita 2–1–1; Tama-ku, Kawasaki 214–8580 Japan; miyawaki@isc.senshu-u.ac.jp)
Jan Noordegraaf (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam; De Boelelaan 1105; NL–1081 HV Amsterdam; info@jnoordegraaf.nl)
Jacques-Philippe Saint-Gérard (Université Blaise Pascal; Clermont-Ferrand II; UFR Lettres, Langues, Sciences Humaines; Laboratoire de Recherches sur le Langage 29, boulevard Gergovia; F–63037 Clermont-Ferrand Cédex 1; jacques-philippe.saint-gerard@univ-bpclermont.fr)

Die *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* erscheinen zweimal jährlich mit einem Gesamtumfang von etwa 360 Seiten. Der Abonnementspreis beträgt zur Zeit EUR 89,00; das Einzelheft kostet EUR 47,00 (Luftpostzustellung für Afrika, Amerika, Asien und Australien auf Anfrage).

Mitglieder des *SGdS*, der *Henry Sweet Society* und des *Werkverband* können die *Beiträge* zu einem ermäßigten Sonderpreis beziehen.

Nodus Publikationen — Wissenschaftlicher Verlag
Münster (Westf.) • Germany
<http://www.nodus-publikationen.de>