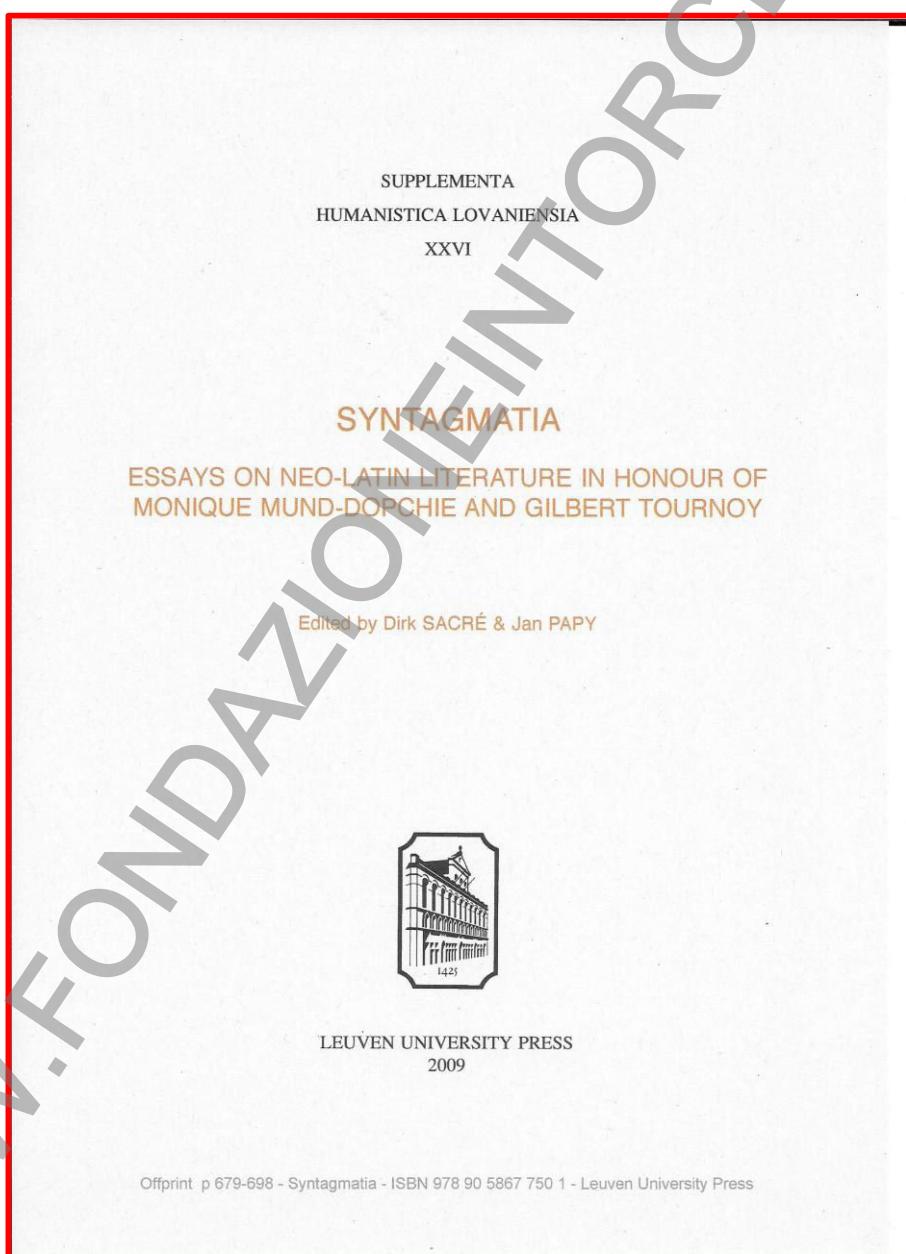


## PROSPERO INTORCETTA

*Su questo illustre gesuita missionario siciliano, grazie alla generosità del suo autore **Dr. Nöel Golvers** della Università Cattolica di Louvain, che ringraziamo, alleghiamo un articolo apparso nella rivista qui sotto indicata.*

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XXVI

SYNTAGMATIA

ESSAYS ON NEO-LATIN LITERATURE IN HONOUR OF  
MONIQUE MUND-DOPCHIE AND GILBERT TOURNOY

Edited by Dirk SACRÉ & Jan PAPY



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2009

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# AN UNOBSERVED LETTER OF PROSPERO INTORCETTA, S.J. TO GODEFRIDUS HENSCHENS, S.J. AND THE PRINTING OF THE JESUIT TRANSLATIONS OF THE CONFUCIAN CLASSICS (ROME-ANTWERP, 2 JUNE 1672)

Noël GOLVERS

The first European confrontation with Chinese philosophy, and more precisely with the so-called ‘(Neo-)Confucian Classics’ or ‘Four Books’ occurred within the context of the Jesuit Mission in China in the late-16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This contact was intensified, after these texts — in the version of *Cham Colao*, i.e. Zhang Juzheng (1525-1582) — were chosen for the instruction of Jesuit novices in Chinese language and philosophy, a.o. in the Jesuit College of Macao, *Madre de Deus*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, a revolutionary blueprint for a Jesuit college system in China, in a Chinese version of their European college system, with the Chinese classics as a substitute for the Western classics, was never realized.<sup>2</sup> In addition, in the early 1660s the same Jesuits also developed an ambitious project of publishing the Chinese text (in characters, and transcription), with Latin (literal) translation, paraphrase and commentaries, to be used in Europe for the long-distance preparation of future generations of Jesuit missionaries. This translation project was started by Inacio da Costa, S.J. (1603-1666) in the early 1660s, and a first, partial result was published in 1662, as *Sapientia Sinica*. It was revived by Prospero Intorcetta, SJ (Piazza Armerina [Sicily] 1625-1696) and further elaborated by his ‘Flemish’ colleagues Philippe Couplet (Mechelen 1622-1693) and François de Rougemont (Maastricht 1624- 1676), and the Austrian Christian Herdtrich (Graz? 1625-1684). This occurred during the so-called ‘Canton banishment’ (1665-1671), when for about six years some twenty Jesuits, with some Dominicans and Franciscans, lived under house arrest in the Jesuit residence of Canton, and spent their time with conferences, studying and

<sup>1</sup> See the contributions by Knud Lundbaek and David E. Mungello, *China Mission Studies (1550-1800) Bulletin*, 3 (1981), 1-24.

<sup>2</sup> For this blueprint of a Chinese Jesuit college system, see Ferdinand Verbiest (letter of 15 Aug. 1678), in Henri Josson & Leon Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest, Directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin* (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1938), pp. 246-247.

Reverende in Christo Paer

A. 25<sup>6</sup>

Pax Christi

In Sina, post aliquot menses reversus, cum iam sit mihi Roma discendendum intra annos dies, lebes prius  
Rev. Venerabile dicere, eamque enixa regare ut dignetur est omnes chartas Sinenses, quas anno proscito acce-  
pit, misere Amsterdalmum ac dirigere via secura ad aliquem i nostri ibi degenerem, et huc commendare ut  
statim ac accepterit eadem chartas per litteras moneat R. P. Achanaqum Kircherium de iam acceptis eiusmodi  
Sinenses chartis spectantibus ad Opus typis dandum, cui titulus, Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis. Nam  
Dominus Iansorius Amsterdalmi egregius Typographus promisit Patri Kirchenio se typis suis propnisque  
expansis daturum mea opera omnin. Et id sane debet deinde mihi Operis Author dare seu mettere in Sinos  
per Fidei nostrae Missionarios impedit. Opus Sexaginta Volumina, aut forte plura pro sua humanitate, cum  
sit opus Orbis iam nouum, nec infiduciosum, et nouis evolucionibus resplendum. Sciat R. P. V. me hic Roma consignasse  
maribus Patri Kircheri meas omnes chartas Sinenses spectantes ad complementum Opus, quod quidem adjuncte illis  
quas habet R. P. confidemt ac efficiente integrum Opus Confici, seu primum tomum Sinarum Scientia politico-moralis  
index expalto ex Sini chartas 2. Tomi pro perficendo Ope reterius Philosophia Sinensis, nempe Memorijs, quae char-  
tas, europeis foris incunditoris quam p. tom, expoliebant Patri Christiano Henrico Arpinacu, P. Couplet, et P. Rouge-  
more Belge. hisce duobus tomis complectior totam Sinarum Scientiam politico-moralem.  
Nunc quod spedat ad Opus impressionem, rego R. P. ut illi e nostis Paribus, cui Amsterdalmi commendabili ac  
diligent chartas sinenses, dignatur etiam commendare serum examen connexionis facienda meorum Chartarum  
Roma missoriarum cum illis chartis ex Sini recenter missis. Cuvet uidelect, ut mea charta Sinensis Roma missa  
habentes eundem rite cum illis quod ad manus R. P. V. pervenerent iam corredita et emendata et agentes de eadem ma-  
teria (uti sunt lib. 1. ea-hic magna Scientia, et illud opusculu in Sini excusum quod incipit f. 1. p. 2. §. 1. A calo  
quod in dictum ducitur natura; insuper lib. 3. Lin-yu par. 1.) imprimentur iuxta correctionem notatam in  
illis chartis sinensibus. Et Sini recente missis, et quod ad manus R. P. V. pervenerint.  
Item cunet ut in impressione exprimantur omnes accentus et puncta a me posita supra singulas pronunciations  
textus sini, vel sententiorum marginalium; quoniam in isto textu vel in ipsis marginalibus non descripti carabelles si-  
ni, sed columnas descendentes multa pronunciations caraberrimi: nam tota uis recte pronunciations Sinensis, qua  
inuentum Missionariis in Sini, maxime pendet ab eiusmodi accentibus et punctis. Accentus autem Sinenses, qui  
ab initio missoris semper usi fuerunt europeis degentibus in Sini hi sunt: U, O, A, /, /, /, /, /, /, /, /, /, /, /,  
CA, C/A, C/, C/, C\, C\, CV, C/V, C-, C+, Segnus vero accentus A sini sit aperte superiori acutus  
Sine hoc modo circularis parum refert: nec ullum factus est oxyderium circa puncta si aliquando in meis scriptis  
punctum innervatur possum directe infra accentum ut in his !, !, !, vel ab uno aliore latere ut in his '!, '!,  
vel supra aut infra ut in his -, ., quia eandem uim habent; attamen in impressione a typographo servari debet  
semper uniformitas.  
Circa libellum in Sini excusum, qui incipit, fol. 1. p. 2. §. 1. A Calo quod in dictum ducitur natura etc. comando Typographo  
ut seruet etiam uniformitatem circa numeros caraberrum Sinensem, ut scilicet numeri ponantur omnes vel supra carab-  
res Sinenses, vel infra; nam in medietate prima eiusdem libelli in Sini excusum numeros inueniet positos supra caraberes,  
et in alia medietate typis europeis data loca, inuenies infra caraberes: quod est sane dissimum.  
Comando item Typographo ut in marginalibus sententijs a me citatis, et in ipsis Philosophi Conficij textu positivis mediis  
ac depositis per modum columnarum (ut uidelicet et in lib. 1. Ea-hic libro, et in lib. 3. par. 1. Lin-yu libro) inter  
annam et aliam pronunciationem Simcam suis numeris signaram, vel non signatam numeris, ut sunt pronunciations

Intorcetta to Henschens (Rome, *BVE*, A.25.68)

translating. The main evidence on this translation project are, apart from the aforementioned *Sapientia Sinica*: (a) another volume titled *Scientia Sinica Politico-Moralis*, partly edited in Canton, partly in Goa (1668/9?); (b) the manuscript of the later *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (hereafter: CSpH) in the BnF (Section Ms Occidentaux: Ms. Lat. 6277 / 1 and 2); (c) the final publication in Paris (D. Horthemels, 1688), realized under the auspices (“iussu”) of the French King Louis XIV, and (d) a series of fragmentary references in Jesuit letters from China, with regard to the progress of this project, more precisely the translation, the transcription (refining) and the progressive dispatch of the various parts. I presented a first overview of this entire evidence in 1998.<sup>3</sup> In the present contribution, I would like to draw attention to a new, first-hand document, which informs us on Prospero Intorcetta’s involvement in a later phase of the same project, viz. the *printing* of these translations in Amsterdam (1672). This goal was never realized, but it was afterwards resumed by Ph. Couplet, SJ, when he in turn arrived, about 12-13 years later, in Europe. The Intorcetta letter, published here for the first time is important as the illustration of a ‘missing link’ in the complex genesis of *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, and for its unusually precise and practical information on a major (and difficult) editorial undertaking of the ‘China Jesuits’, with regard to the introduction of native Chinese traditions in the West.

The manuscript of this letter is part of a little-known group of letters in the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II* in Rome (henceforth BVE), called *Autografi*. Within this collection, the letter of Intorcetta (call number: A[utografo].25.68) displays indeed the author’s well-known, careful handwriting; some indications prove he had also re-read the text afterwards. There are a series of diacritical signs in the manuscript, and — as in many of his autograph letters — the consecutive paragraphs are numbered (from 1-10). The document itself consists of one double folio (measurements: 278 x 206 mm.), written on f° 1r./v., and on f° 2r. *In fine*, the letter is dated, and signed by its author, in Rome, on 2 June 1672. On f° 2v. it is addressed to *Reverendo in Chr(ist)o Patri P. Godefrido / Henschenio Societatis Jesu/ Antuerpiae*. The original red seal of the Jesuit Society is preserved. All this requires some further comment.

<sup>3</sup> Noël Golvers, ‘The Development of the “Confucius Sinarum Philosophus” reconsidered in the light of new material’, in Roman Malek S.V.D. (ed.), *Western Learning and Christianity in China. The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, XXXV/1 and 2 (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1998), II, 1141-1164.

marginalis, relinquuntur tantum intercalpedo, sed tantum vacui, quoniam sufficiens sit ad hoc ut in eodem nacno posse  
reinde ad usum Missionariorum deponi in Sinis caratere Sinitus per quam Scriptorem. Sit igitur vacuu inter una  
et aliam pronunciationem hoc signatu et conclusum istiusmodi Lineis | Hac aduertentia praelestum spectat ad  
pronunciationes marginales, et alias qua in decursu explanationis offenduntur; non autem ad textum positum  
in medio ex dispositione per modum columnarum, quia sufficientissimum spatum datur in medio et inter unam  
et aliam columnam ad hoc ut caratates Siniti possint deponi ad latum ipsius pronunciationis.

5. In toto Opere, et praesertim in explanatione libri 2<sup>i</sup> chum-yum diti, a me citantur Thaddei Sinerium sententias,  
adeoque aduersitatem Typographus nullam eam sententiarum relinquere ac neglegere, sive ea sint marginales, sine  
in medio explanationis citantur: curer queque imprimere diverso caratere ea omnia verba qua in meis  
chartis sinensis aut sunt linea — aliqua subtilitate, aut a me scripta queque sunt manu-  
lo caratere; quia pertinent ad literalem versionem ipsius textus, vel ipsius sententia marginalis. Curer  
item ut correspondentia sententiarum marginalium cum assertionibus eisdem explanationis dignoscatur per  
easdem litteras Alphabeti inuenientur correspondentes: et propositus modo, quem manifestat mea ipsa explanationis  
lib. 2<sup>i</sup> chum-yum. Vbiunque vero in meis chartis Sineribus inueniet Typographus pronunciatio-  
nes sinenses ipsius Textus, vel aliquas sententias marginalis habere numeros, meminisse posse est  
deum numeros supra ipsa verba literalia correspondencia pronunciationibus, ut facile labor possit dyno-  
scere quid latine significetur per hanc vel illam pronunciationem Sinicam.

6. Si, in explanatione lib. 2<sup>i</sup> chum-yum, videatur ad maiorem distinctionem pertinere materias di-  
videre in plura capita quam à me sint linea; si indicetur quoque additum verbum hoc Textus per  
modum rieuli in medio, quiescunque incipit Textus Philosophi et eiusdem explanationis literalis, fine  
quod melius indicabatur; Nam explanatione libri lib. 2<sup>i</sup> est repleta multis et prolixis digressionibus,  
quamvis Missioni Sineri necessariis, nec labori Europae inueniendis usitate multis editionibus referitis; at-  
tamen quia illas saepe interrupitur Textus explanationis, commode fore sectione puto ad inueniendum ha-  
bitum ipsum textum Philosophi, si addatur f modum rieuli verbum Textus modo dicto. Quod etiam  
ob uniformitatem servari debet in primo lib. ta-ho, et 3<sup>o</sup> Sun-yu, quovadis locorum textus  
sunt pronunciationes sinica Textus deponit scilicet per modum columnarum. Nec uideri debet difforme  
si explanationem 2<sup>i</sup> lib. chum-yum digressionibus referam non item disposuimus proposito textu  
per modum columnarum; quia ideo in fine totius explanationis subiecto integrum textum ipsius  
2<sup>i</sup> libri cum Sinicu cum Latinum, et quidem mere literalem sineulla explanatione Authorum aut alia  
interrupzione, et propositus modo quo typis Siniis dedi; in quo ut distingueretur unus paragraphus ab aliis  
in ipsis columnis caratervum Sinerium possum quoddam circulos hoc modo (f. 2. qui modus distinguenda para-  
graphos ex circulo servans fuit quidem à Scultore Sineri in prima medietate p. 2. libelli ibidem excusa; sed  
non à Typographo Ecano in altera medietate; ut nec ab hoc servata fuit diversitas caratervis in ipsi verbis quia non  
perturbante ad ipsam versionem literalem, sed à me fuerant additi ad maiorem claritatem et connexionem; non enim habebat  
typographus diversitatem caratervi, adeo: intra parentheses clausit omnia illa verba non spectantia ad lite-  
ralem versionem. Hunc autem in noua impressione suppleamus, et eiusmodi designat caratervum, et collenda omnis  
diformitas cum quoddam circulo, cum quo ad parentheses et caratervos.

7. Opere ex Literis Patris Philippi Cupleti polvem, missam ad me fuisse quoddam directionem circa dispositionem  
textus Siniti in hoc meo Opere facientiam; sed talis directio ad mea manus nondum pervenit; si ea ad ma-  
nus R. V. perveniat, eam quaque conservat cum hac mea, et uideat ultra facilior sit et clarior, et eligat quae fisi melior  
visa fuerit, et eam ad typographum dirigat.

8. Aliud

Intorcetta to Henschens (Rome, BVE, A.25.68)

Of the two *dramatis personae* of this letter, the sender, i.e. the author, the already mentioned Prospero Intorcetta, S.J. had left Italy for China with the group conducted by Martino Martini, S.J. (Trento 1614-1661) in February 1656 from Genova to Lisbon, and afterwards, in 1657-1658 from Lisbon to Macao; Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), a.o., was part of the same group. In 1668, Intorcetta was elected *Procurator* of the China Mission, at that time in agony, with 4 members under house arrest in Peking, and 21 others in Canton. Leaving Macao on 3 Sept. 1668, he arrived in Rome in the Spring of 1671.<sup>4</sup> During this European stay, he basically remained in the *Collegio Romano*, but made long excursions, a.o. to Palermo;<sup>5</sup> he visited, however, neither Vienna (Austria),<sup>6</sup> nor ‘Belgium’ (the Southern Netherlands), the latter because of the political turmoils.<sup>7</sup> Yet he had special reasons to visit the Low Countries, as his ‘Flemish’ fellow-fathers, whom he had left in Canton (mainly Ph. Couplet and F. de Rougemont), had insisted he bring the Latin manuscripts of the Confucius-project to Amsterdam, to Dutch printers, by preference Johan Blaeu (ca. 1599-1673).<sup>8</sup> Inspired by some distrust towards this ‘Calvinist’ printer, Intorcetta preferred Jansonius / Weyerstraet, certainly advised by Athanasius Kircher, SJ (1602-1680), that famous *coryphe* of Jesuit learning, with whom Intorcetta temporarily — i.e. during his stay in the *Collegio*

<sup>4</sup> The best description of his European journey so far is in Carmelo Capizzi, ‘Per una biografia scientifica di Prospero Intorcetta’, in Alcide Luini (ed.), *Scienziati siciliani gesuiti in Cina nel secolo XVII. Atti del Convegno* (Palermo – Piazza Armerina – Caltagirone – Mineo: Istituto italo-cinese per gli Scambi Economici e Culturali, 1983 [1985]), pp. 197-217.

<sup>5</sup> Chinese books, a.o. copies of *Sapientia Sinica* and *Sinarum Scientia*, now in the *Biblioteca Centrale della regione siciliana* [the former Jesuit *Collegio Massimo*] in Palermo, (Rari, 1007 and 1008) and *Biblioteca Comunale* (call number: XVI H 47) were almost surely imported by him during this short visit.

<sup>6</sup> At least four Chinese items in the *Hofburg* Library, now the *Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna, are reported to have been sent in 1672 by Pr. Intorcetta: see *Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis (...) Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi Liber Quintus* (Vindobonae: Typis Matthaei Cosmerovii, 1672), pp. 418-419.

<sup>7</sup> This we know thanks to a letter of 24 April 1675 of Jean-Baptiste de Maldonado to his brother Nicaise in Mons, published by Henri Bosmans, ‘A propos de l’état politique de la Chine au temps du Père Verbiest’, *Annales de la Société d’Emulation de Bruges*, 67 (1924), 181-199 (p. 187): “J’ay fort ressenty que ce P. Procureur n’a pas pu passer jusques en Flandre comme il m’avoit promis, à cause des guerres et des périls des chemins”.

<sup>8</sup> Earlier negative responses of Balthasar II Moretus, especially with regard to M. Martini and his *Novus Atlas Sinensis* in 1654 had proven that, for budgetary reasons combined with the general economic decay of Antwerp and the Southern Low Countries, the Moretus Company was no longer a realistic option. Quite unexpectedly the Plantin Press returned to the Jesuits’ attention with Ph. Couplet.

8. Hinc quod est examinandum, et speditum ad initium corris Operis, nempte ad Proemiale declarationem. Scit R. V. proemiale declarationem (est ea in meis hinc chartis sinensis quas confignaci manibus Patri Kirchenij) non esse omnino absoluam; desideraverunt enim aliquae charta quas explicandas perificandasque reliqui in Sinis, et P. Franciscus Rougemont promiserat ea eas ad me mittendum prima data opportunitate namcum una cum chartis alijs sinensibus spectantibus ad Opus chronologicum Patri Philippi Couplet, cui ritebus, Synopsis Chronologica Sinarum (Protogomena ad Annales Sinicos, et dimidium eiusdem Synopsis chronologica Patri Couplet habet hic Roma R. P. Assistent Germania qui in dies expectat ex Sinis complementum Operis sive profectionem Synopsis chronologica usque ad annum 1686) Nunc dubium nihil est, an illa prefatio Patri Francisci Rougemont, de qua R. V. ad me scripserat esse scripturam minus elegantem, in 4<sup>to</sup>, signata g. Novemb[ri] 1670, et ad singula fidelia cum habeat signaturam usque ad NN. Attingamus eiusmodi Prefatio sit complementum mea proemiales declarationes, vel alia quidam nullo modo speditum ad meum Proemiale declarationem: id sine facile posse dignoscere ac distinguere qui legeret et conferret meas chartas Proemiales cum illis quas R. V. habet et vocat Profectionem Patri Rougemont ad me recente missam.
9. Sciae item R. V. me consignasse manibus Patri Kirchenij figuram Philosophi Confucii colobus depilata in uno folio pagini finis; item in alio magno folio excusam in Sinis Mappam ceterum literarum sinensium seu carcerum duorum, quos Sinenses uocant mappam certe felicitatum; item aliam mappam seu arborum vel tabulam genealogicam trium primarum familiarium Imperialium Monarchia Sinensis, in qua continetur antiquissima nobilitas ipsius met Philosophi Confucii. ista mappa, et figura Confucii spectant ad meum Opus, seu, primum tomum Scientia Sinarum politico-moralis. Sed sciae quod R. V. ultimam mappam, nempte Arborum genealogicam trium familiarium imperialium pervinere eram ad Opus Patri Philippi Couplet, seu ad Synopsis chronologiam Sinarum: alioquin quando Dominus Tassonius Typographus impriisset dictam Synopsis, hinc debet inservere dictam arborum genealogicam.
10. Deniq[ue] si diligens ac curiosus aliquis Lector uelit Amsterdami disponere indicem capitulorum, eruditiorum, vel rerum memorabilium quae continentur scriptum in toto Opere, is sane bene merabitur de Litteraria Republica. Hac sunt R. V. de Littera quae significanda adserenda censui circa impressionem Opus Confucianum. catervu rogo R. V. ne parcat mihi mensa litteris tam importunis, et Deo me commendat in suis gloriosis annis. Rome 2. Junij 1672.

R. V.

Minimus in Chro Servus  
Proper Intorcetta Procl Sinensis Soc. Jesu:

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*Romano* — collaborated for his Sinological studies; Jansonius, on the other hand, had indeed published some years before, in 1667, Kircher's *China Monumentis Illustrata*, and was the favourite publisher of his monumental publications anyhow. It was to the same A. Kircher that Intorcetta left a series of mss. he had brought (or received) from China, which formed part of the same complex of translations: viz. (a) the 1<sup>st</sup> part of the 1<sup>st</sup> volume of the Confucian translations; (b) part of the *Proēmialis Declaratio* (i.e. the 'methodological introduction'); (c) 'varia', all kept in the *Collegio Romano* (and, more precisely, in its *Musaeum Kircherianum*), as we will see infra.

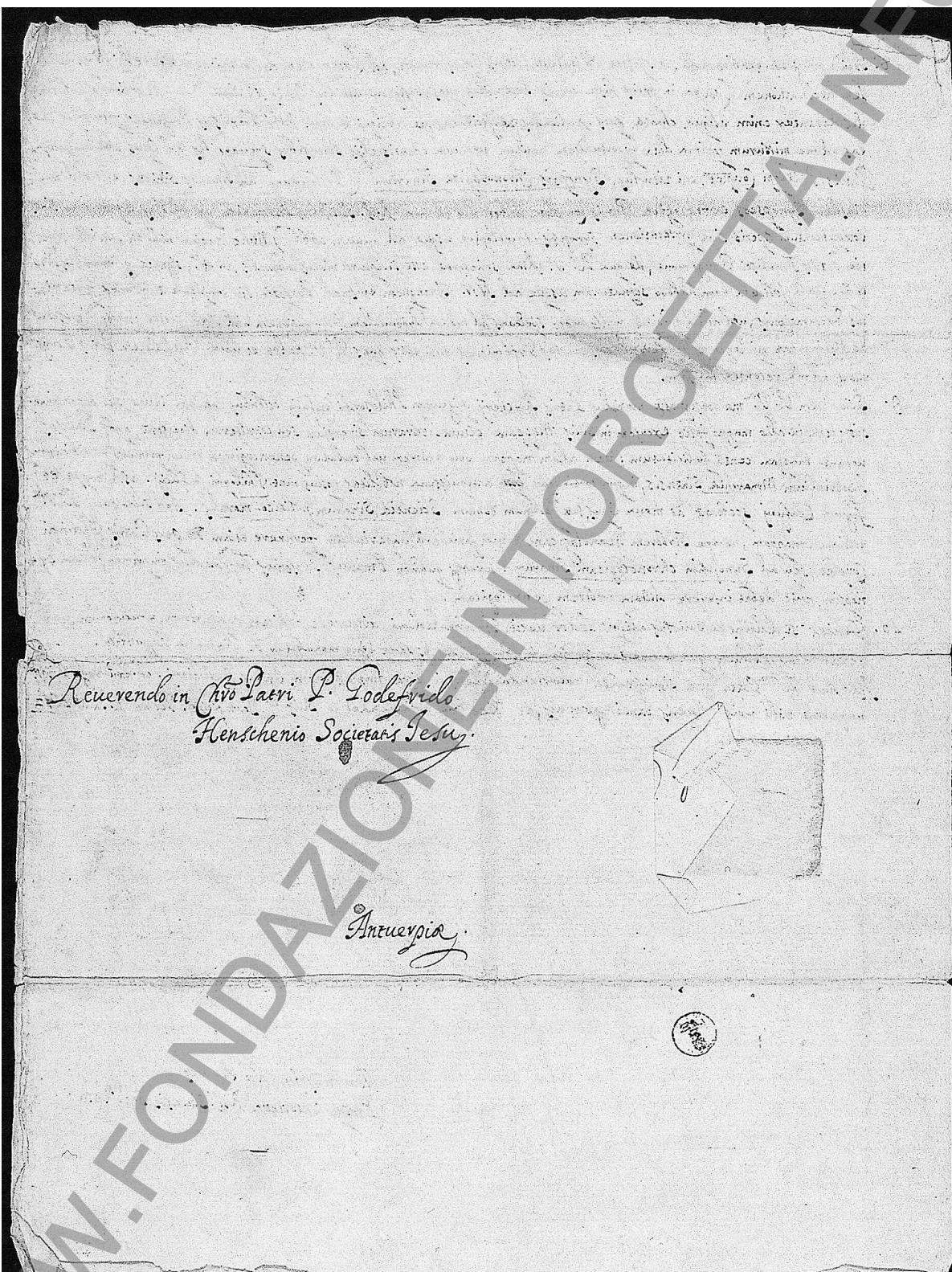
Just a few days before he was to leave Rome again for Lisbon and China, Intorcetta wrote this letter to the Bollandist God(e)fridus Henschen(iu)s (1601-1681), the addressee, living in the SJ *Domus Professa* in Antwerp. The reasons behind this letter were various. Of the more remote ones, there was certainly Henschenius's generally known attitude towards mission procurators, as related, a.o. by Daniël Papebrochius, SJ., in his biography of his predecessor:

Similiter largus erat erga Indicarum Missionum procuratores, huc [i.e. Antwerp] forte appellentes (...): unde factum ut Henschenii caritas apud Indos quoque et Brasilos celebraretur, indeque ad eum scriberetur a variis, grataanter commemorantibus beneficia ab ipso in se suosque profecta, et nova obsequia postulantibus, etc.<sup>9</sup>

A more direct reason was, that Henschenius had received, one year earlier, from Canton other parts of the Confucius-translations, which he had temporarily withheld in Antwerp. These included: (a) the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the 1<sup>st</sup> vol. of the translation project; (b) a "Praefatio" to the same texts, dated 9 Nov. 1670, and signed by F. de Rougemont, and (c) some parts of the *Lunyu*.<sup>10</sup> The last part of these ms. was expected to arrive soon from Canton, viz. the rest of the *Proēmialis Declaratio*, and the complementary Vol. 2; this 2<sup>nd</sup> vol. would offer the whole 'Mencius'-translation. These

<sup>9</sup> *Acta Sanctorum, T. VII Mensis Maii*, p. XII. Cf. Antwerp, Museum Plantin Moretus (henceforth: MPM), Ms. 200, nr. 2 and 4 (F. de Marinis, once visitor in Antwerp [January 1665], who refers nominatim to him), and *ibid.*, nr. 1 (François de Rougemont, who left Belgium for China precisely from Antwerp, and refers to: "onzen ouden vriendt" / "our old friend"), which echoes some affective reminiscences.

<sup>10</sup> The latter according to an undated hand-written annotation on the ms. of CPh (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6277 /1, f° 369v.): "Secunda pars huius 3ii libri cum reliquis partibus usque ad 10am inclusive pervenit ad manus Patris Godefridi He[n]schenii Soc(ieta)tis Jesu Antverpiae. Ab hoc petendi (sunt) quinteriones, quibus perficitur totum opus Confucii".



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three complementary groups of ms. (viz. those left in Rome, those kept in Antwerp and those under way) would together constitute a complete translation of the Confucian Classics, in 2 volumes, with the general title *Scientia Sinica Politico-Moralis* (hereafter: SSPM): vol. 1 with the *Proemialis Declaratio* — the Introduction — and the text of *Ta-hio*, i.e. *Daxue*: “Great Learning” (Book 1), *Chum-yum*, i.e. (*Zhongyong*): “The Doctrine of the Mean” — both its *Textus Litteralis* and the *Explanatio* (Bk. 2) —, and finally *Lunyu* or ‘Analects’ (Bk. 3), whereas Volume 2 would completely consist of the translation of “Mencius”. All these dispersed parts — sent from Canton at different moments, and probably also by different ways, depending on the consecutive moments of completion and the various opportunities of shipping at the appropriate moment — were, according to Intorcetta’s plans, to be collected in Antwerp in Henschenius’s hands, who would pass them to a reliable fellow father in Amsterdam, who in turn would make a collation of the different series of mss. (“connoxio”) and transmit them to the printer Jansonius. The communication of this ‘strategy’, and also of a series of precise editorial instructions (cf. infra) constitute precisely the contents of this letter of Intorcetta.

As such, the letter was the (preliminary) end of a long preparatory process, which we can partly follow through a small series of primary sources, which show the progress of the translation and the consecutive dispatching of fragments to Europe. It is worth presenting here these fragments in their chronological sequence.

1. Canton, 5.XI. 1670: F. de Rougemont to Intorcetta in Europe:<sup>11</sup> the ‘Flemish’ Jesuits were considering the possible dedicatees of the publication-in-project, lingering between the Republic of Venice, Queen Christina of Sweden, and the (old or new) King of Poland, and they were thinking about which Neo-Latin author could be asked to deliver introductory poems (either J. Wallius or G. Becanus) and emblematic frontispieces (G. Hesius). The original intention to complete Confucius with a translation of Mencius was apparently cancelled because of the weak health condition of the fathers in Canton (*ibid.*, p. 44):

Nam de Mencianis lenta spes (...), ipso R[everendo] V[ice-] Prov[incial]li serio nobis interdicente, ne versionem illius suspiciamus;<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Henri Bosmans, ‘Lettres inédites de François de Rougemont’, *Analectes pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique* (henceforth: ASEB), s. 3, 9 [= 39] (1913), p. 46.

<sup>12</sup> The Vice-Provincial was Antonio de Gouvea (1592 – 1677).

2. Canton, 11.III.1671: F. de Rougemont to the same: he reports to be occupied with writing the Chinese characters in copies of *Lunyu*, i.e. part 3 of the 1<sup>st</sup> volume;<sup>13</sup>
3. 28.VII.1671: Intorcetta (Palermo) to A. Kircher (Rome): Intorcetta is happy because of Jansonius' confirmation to publish the 'Confuciana'; he expects to receive soon new parts of the translation, either through Portugal or Amsterdam; he prefers Jansonius to Blaeu (despite the recommendation of the 'Flemish' fathers);<sup>14</sup>
4. Canton, 10.XII.1671: G.-B. de Maldonado (Macao) to Intorcetta: apparently the copying process of the Confucian texts was finished ("Iam opus Confucianum absolutum est");<sup>15</sup>
5. Roma, 25.I.1672: Pr. Intorcetta confirms the presence of some SSPM-manuscripts in Kircher's hands:  
aspetti con pazienza I Commenti sopra I filosofi Confucio e Mencio, tradotti in latino dal P. Intorcetta (!), de' quali sollecita adesso la stampa il Padre Athanasio Chirker;<sup>16</sup>
6. Canton, 15.IV.1672: De Maldonado (Macao) to Intorcetta: confirms the dispatch of part of the "Declaratio", and announces the imminent shipping of the last six parts.<sup>17</sup>

When, two months later, on 2 June 1672 Intorcetta wrote his letter from Rome to Henschenius, the decision to 'drop' Mencius — taken at least 1 1/2 year earlier — had not yet been received by Intorcetta, there is no reference to the discussions in Canton with regard to the preliminary pages, and the last parts of the translation were on their way to Europe.

#### **Edition of Intorcetta's letter<sup>18</sup>**

Pax Christi,

(0). In Sinas post aliquot menses reversurus, cum iam sit mihi Româ discedendum intra paucos dies, debeo prius Rev(erenti)ae Vestrae valedicere, eamque

<sup>13</sup> H. Bosmans, 'De Rougemont', p. 52.

<sup>14</sup> Archivio della Pontificia Università Gregoriana (henceforth: APUG), 560, f° 79r.

<sup>15</sup> Henri Bosmans, 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste de Maldonado de Mons', ASEB, s. 3, t. 6 [= 36] (1910), p. 79.

<sup>16</sup> Prospero Intorcetta, in *Compendiosa Narratione Dello Stato della Missione Cinese, cominciando dall' Anno 1581 fino al 1669* (Roma: Tizzoni, 1672), pp. 75-76.

<sup>17</sup> Henri Bosmans, 'G.-B. de Maldonado', p. 81.

<sup>18</sup> I have slightly classicized the spelling (-ij > ii); the underscores are original, the italics are mine.

enixe rogare ut dignetur eas omnes chartas Sinenses,<sup>19</sup> quas anno praeterito accepit, mittere Amsterledamum [sic] ac dirigere viâ securâ ad aliquem e nostris ibi degentem, et huic commendare ut, statim ac acceperit easdem chartas, per litteras moneat R(everendissimum) P(atrem) Athanasium Kircherium de iam acceptis eiusmodi Sinensibus chartis, spectantibus ad opus typis dandum, cui titulus *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis*. Nam Dominus Jansonius, Amsterledami [sic] egregius Typographus, promisit Patri Kircherio se typis suis propriis que impensis daturum mea opera omnia. Et is sane debet deinde mihi, operis Authori, dare seu mittere in Sinas per patres nostros missionarios impressi operis sexaginta volumina, aut forte plura pro sua humanitate, cum sit opus orbi iam novum nec infructuosum, et novis eruditionibus repletum. Sciat R(everenti)a V(estra) me hîc Romae consignasse manibus Patris Kircherii meas omnes chartas Sinenses, spectantes ad complementum operis, quae quidem, adjunctae illis quas habet R(everenti)a V(estra), conficent ac perficien integrum opus Confucii, seu *primum tomum Sinarum Scientiae Politico-Moralis*. In dies expecto ex Sinis chartas 2*i* Tomi pro perficiendo opere alterius philosophi Sinensis, nempe Memcii, quas chartas, Europaeis forte iucundiores quam p(rim)i tomi, expoliebant Pater Christianus Herdtrich Austriacus, P(ater) Couplet et P(ater) Rougemont Belgae. Hisce duobus tomis complector totam *Sinarum scientiam politico-moralem*.

1. Nunc, quod spectat *ad operis impressionem*, rogo R(everenti)am V(esr)am ut illi a nostris Patribus, cui Amsterledami commendabit ac diriget chartas Sinenses, dignetur etiam commendare serium examen connexionis faciendaearum chartarum Româ mittendarum cum illis chartis, ex Sinis recenter missis. Curet videlicet, ut meae chartae Sinenses Româ missae, habentes eundem titulum cum illis quae ad manus R(everenti)ae V(esr)ae pervenerunt, iam correctae et emendatae et agentes de eadem materia (uti sunt Lib(er) 1 Ta-hio *Magna Scientia*, et illud opusculum in Sinis excusum, quod incipit f(olio) 1 p(aginâ) 2 §1 'A caelo quod inditum dicitur natura',<sup>20</sup> insuper Lib(er) 3 Lun-yu par(agrapho) 1) imprimentur iuxta correctionem notatam in illis chartis Sinensibus, è Sinis recenter missis, et quae ad manus R(everenti)ae V(esr)ae pervenerunt.

2. Item curet, ut in impressione exprimantur omnes accentus et puncta à me posita supra singulas pronunciationes textū Sinici vel sententiarum marginalium, quamvis in ipso textu vel in ipsis marginibus non describantur caracteres Sinici, sed solummodo describantur nudae pronunciationes caracterum:<sup>21</sup> nam tota vis rectae pronunciationis Sinensis, quā indigent Missionarii in Sinis, maxime pendet ab eiusmodi accentibus et punctis. Accentus autem Sinenses, qui ab initio Missionis semper usui fuerunt Europaeis degentibus in Sinis hi sunt:

sequens vero accentus □ sive sit à parte superiori acutus sive hoc modo □ circulatis patrum refert: nec ullum fiat mysterium circa puncta si aliquando in meis

<sup>19</sup> The term “*Chartae Sinenses*” indicates in Jesuit sources from China Jesuit texts, in European languages, written on Chinese paper.

<sup>20</sup> These are the first words of *Scientia Sinica*, i.e. the Latin edition of *Chum-Yum* (*Zhongyong*), of which the first part was printed in China, the 2<sup>nd</sup> in Goa (Ms. 1, f. 65r.).

<sup>21</sup> I.e. transcriptions without diacritical signs for the different tones.

scriptis punctum inveniatur positum directe infra accentum ut in his ~~1.1.~~, vel ab uno aliove latere ut in his ~~2.2.~~, vel supra aut infra ut in his ~~3.3.~~, quia eandem vim habent; attamen in impressione a typographo servari debet semper uniformitas.

3. Circa libellum in Sinis excusum, qui incipit f(olio) 1, p(aginâ) 2, §1 ‘A caelo quod inditum dicitur natura etc.’, commendo Typographo ut servet etiam uniformitatem circa numeros characterum Sinensium, ut scilicet numeri ponantur omnes vel supra characteres Sinenses vel infra; nam in medietate primâ eiusdem libelli in Sinis excusi numeros inveniet positos *supra* characteres, et in alia medietate, typis Europaeis datâ Goae inveniet *infra* characteres: quod est sane dissonum.

4. Com(m)endo item Typographo ut in marginalibus sententiis, a me citatis, et in ipso Philosophi Confucii textu, posito in medio ac disposito per modum columnarum (ut videre est in Lib(ro) 1 Ta-hio dicto, et in Lib(ro) 3 par(agrapho) 1 Lun-yu dicto) inter unam et aliam pronunciationem Sinicam<sup>22</sup>, suis numeris signatam vel non signatam numeris, uti sunt pronunciations // marginales, relinquitur tanta intercapedo seu tantum vacui, quantum sufficiens sit ad hoc, ut in eodem vacuo possit deinde ad usum missionariorum depingi in Sinis caracter Sinicus per optimum scriptorem. Sit igitur vacuum inter unam et aliam pronunciationem, hoc signatum et conclusum istis duabus lineis // Haec advertentia praesertim spectat ad pronunciationes marginales, et alias, quae in decursu explanationis offenduntur; non autem ad textum positum in medio et dispositum per modum columnarum, quia sufficientissimum spatium datur in medio et inter unam et aliam columnam ad hoc ut characteres Sinici possint depingi ad latus ipsius pronunciationis.

5. In toto opere, et praesertim in *Explanatione Libri 2i, Chum-yum* dicti, a me citantur Auctorum Sinensium sententiae, adeoque advertat Typographus nullam earum sententiarum relinquere ac negligere, sive eae sint marginales, sive in medio explanationis citentur: curet quoque imprimere diverso caractere ea omnia verba quae in meis chartis Sinensibus aut sunt lineolâ ~~—~~ aliquâ subducta, aut a me scripta quoque sunt maiusculo caractere, quia pertinent ad literalem versionem ipsius textûs, vel ipsius sententiae marginalis. Curet item ut correspondentia sententiarum marginalium cum assertionibus ipsius explanationis dignoscatur per easdem litteras Alphabetti invicem correspondentes, eo prorsus modo quem manifestat mea ipsa *Explanatio Lib(ri) 2i Chum-yum*. Ubiunque vero in meis chartis Sinensibus inveniet Typographus pronunciationes Sinenses ipsius textûs vel alicuius sententiae marginalis habere numeros, meminerit ponere eosdem numeros supra ipsa verba literalia correspondentia pronunciationibus, ut facile lector possit dignoscere quid Latine significetur per hanc vel illam pronunciationem Sinicam.

6. Si in *Explanatione Lib(ri) 2i Chum-Yûm* videatur ad maiorem distinctiōnem pertinere materias dividere in plura capita, quam a me sint divisa; si iudicetur quoque addendum verbum hoc ‘Textus’ per modum tituli in medio, quotiescunq̄ue incipit textus Philosophi et eiusdem explanatio literalis, fiat quod melius iudicabitur; nam *Explanatio dicti libri 2di* est repleta multis et prolixis digressionibus,

<sup>22</sup> I.e. Western transcription of Chinese terms.

quamvis Missioni Sinensi necessariis nec lectori Europaeo iniucundis, utpote multis eruditionibus refertis. Attamen, quia per illas saepius interrumpitur textūs explanatio, commodius fore lectori puto ad inveniendum statim ipsum textum Philosophi, si addatur per modum tituli verbum ‘Textus’, modo dicto. Quod etiam ob uniformitatem servari debet in *primo Lib(ro) Ta-hio et 3º (libro) Lun-yu*, quorum duorum librorum textus seu pronunciationes Sinicae textūs dispositae sunt per modum columnarum. Nec videri debet di<f>orme si *explanationem 2i lib(ri) Chum-yum* digressionibus refertam non item disposuerim praeposito textu per modum columnarum. Quia ideo in fine totius explanationis subnecto integrum textum ipsius 2i libri tum Sinicum tum Latinum, et quidem mere literalem sine ulla explanatione authorum aut aliā interruptione, eo prorsus modo quo typis Sinicis dedi, in quo ut distingueretur unus (*sic!*) paragraphus ab alio in ipsis

columnis caracterum Sinensium posui quosdam circulos, hoc modo 

Qui modus distinguendi paragraphos per circulos servatus fuit quidem a scul<p>tore Sinensi in prima medietate libelli ibidem excusa, sed non a Typographo Goano in altera medietate, uti nec ab hoc servata fuit diversitas caracteris in iis verbis quae non spectabant ad ipsam versionem literalem, sed a me fuerant addita ad maiorem claritatem et connexionem. Non enim habebat Goanus typographus diversitatem caracterum, adeoque intra parentheses clausit omnia illa verba, non spectantia ad literalem versionem. Nunc autem in nova impressione supplendus est eiusmodi defectus caracterum, et tollenda omnis dif<f>ormitas tum quoad circulos, tum quoad parentheses et characteres.

7. Conieci ex litteris Patris Philippi Couplet postremis, missam ad me fuisse quamdam directionem circa dispositionem textūs Sinici in hoc meo opere faciendum; sed talis directio ad meas manus nondum pervenit; si ea ad manus R(everenti)ae V(estra)e perveniat, eam quaeso conferat cum hac mea, et videat utra facilior sit et clarior, et seligat quae sibi melior visa fuerit, et eam ad Typographum dirigat. //

8. Aliud quoque est examinandum, et spectat ad initium totius operae, nempe ad **Proëmiale Declarationem**. Sciat R(everenti)ae V(estra)e Proëmiale Declarationem (est ea in meis hisce chartis Sinensibus, quas consignavi manibus Patris Kircherii) non esse omnino absolutam; desiderantur enim aliquae chartae, quas expoliendas perficiendasque reliqui in Sinis, et P. Franciscus Rougemont promiserat se eas ad me missurum primâ datâ opportunitate navium, unâ cum chartis aliis Sinensibus, spectantibus ad opus chronologicum Patris Philippi Couplet, cui titulus *Synopsis Chronologica Sinarum* (Prolegomena ad Annales Sinicos, et dimidium eiusdem Synopsis Chronologicae Patris Couplet habet hîc Romae R[everendus] P[ater] Assistens Germaniae,<sup>23</sup> qui in dies expectat ex Sinis complementum operis sive prosecutionem Synopsis Chronologicae usque ad annum 1666). Nunc dubium mihi est, an illa Praefatio Patris Francisci Rougemont, de qua R(everenti)ae V(estra)e ad me scripserat<sup>24</sup> esse scripturae minus elegantis, in 4to, signatae 9 Novembris 1670, et ad singula folicula (*sic pro foliola*) eam

<sup>23</sup> I.e. Charles de Noyelle (Brussels 1615-1686), actively engaged in the propagation of the work of the Flemish Jesuits in China.

<sup>24</sup> In a lost letter.

habere signaturam usque ad NN., an, inquam, eiusmodi Praefatio sit complementum meae Proëmialis Declarationis, vel aliud quidpiam, nullo modo spectans ad meam Proëmialem Declarationem. Id sane facile poterit dignoscere ac distinguere qui leget et conferet meas chartas Proëmiales cum illis, quas R(everenti)a V(estra) habet et vocat Praefationem Patris Rougemont ad me recenter missam.

9. Sciat item R(everenti)a V(estra) me consignasse manibus P(atris) Kircherii *figuram Philosophi Confucii, coloribus depictam* in uno folio papyri Sinensis; item in alio magno folio excusam in Sinis mappam centum literarum Sinensium seu caracterum diversorum, quos Sinenses vocant ‘*mappam centum felicitatum*’; item aliam mappam seu arborem vel *tabulam genealogicam trium primarum familiarum Imperialium Monarchiae Sinensis*, in qua continetur antiquissima nobilitas ipsiusmet Philosophi Confucii. Ista mappae et figura Confucii spectant ad meum opus, seu ad primum tomum *Scientiae Sinarum Politico-Moralis*. Sed sciat quoque R(everenti)a V(estra) ultimam mappam, nempe Arborem genealogicam (ms.: geanologicam) trium familiarum Imperialium pertinere etiam ad opus Patris Philippi Couplet, seu ad *Synopsim Chronologicam Sinarum*: adeoque quando Dominus Jansonius Typographus imprimet deinde dictam Synopsim, huic debet inserere dictam arborem genealogicam (ms.: geanologicam).

10. Denique, si diligens ac curiosus aliquis lector velit Amsterledami (sic) disponere *indicem capitulorum, eruditiorum vel rerum memorabilium*, quae continentur sparsim in toto opere, is sane bene merebitur de *Litteraria Republica*.

Haec sunt, R(everen)de Pater, quae significanda advertenda censui circa impressionem operis Confuciani. Caeterum rogo R(everenti)am V(estra)m ut parcat mihi meisque litteris tam importunis, et Deo me commendet in suis S(anc)tis sacrificiis.

Romae, 2 Junii 1672

R(everenti)ae V(estra)e minimus in Chr(ist)o servus  
Prosper Intorcetta Soc(ietatis)is Jesu

Reverendo in Chr(ist)o Patri P(atri) Godefrido  
Henschenio Societatis Jesu  
Antuerpiae

In addition to the general instructions with regard to the collation (“connexio”) of the various mss. (the ones already received, and the others expected to arrive soon), and their grouping and transmission to Amsterdam, the core of this letter (§§1-9) concerns the editorial aspects of the printing itself. These I want to overview here in some more detail.

First, the general layout: the pages should be subdivided vertically in columns (“columna”), with the Latin text (of the translation, paraphrases and/or commentaries) written horizontally on the one side, and the Chinese text on the other, written vertically, from right to left, printed in columns. Parallel to these columns “intercapedines”, i.e. ‘blank’ columns should be spared out, ready to be filled in afterwards with the corresponding

Chinese characters (“carakteres”). As no Chinese characters, or at least no complete set of them was available in Jansonius’s workshop, these were to be introduced afterwards, in China (“in Sinis”), either by Jesuits or native writers. The co-existence of Chinese characters, transcriptions and (literal) translated terms required a system of internal cross-references, through numbers put either underneath, or on top of the characters.

In addition, Intorcetta advises to introduce in the print, at the beginning of each new paragraph, small circles, with the reference to the folio-side (f°), the page (p.) and the paragraph (§) of the passage in the Chinese basic text. For a clear understanding of the commentaries and their structure, they may be subdivided into chapters (“capita”), and the basic text should by preference be distinguished from the accompanying commentaries by the term “Textus” (with underscore). This proved the author’s philological concern to clearly distinguish the original text (albeit in translation) from the *interpretamenta*.

The Western transcriptions of the Chinese text (“pronunciations Sini-cae”) follow the Portuguese-based system, which was developed in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century by Diogo de Pantoja (1571 – 1618); it rendered the so-called ‘5 tones’ — essential to distinguish homonymous Chinese terms from each other — by a system of composed diacritical signs generally in use in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Jesuit publications in Western languages;<sup>25</sup> these are the “accentus” and “puncta” of Intorcetta’s text.

Globally speaking, two things in these instructions are striking. First, the ‘continuity’ of the directions with the two earlier publications in the same field, viz. *Sapientia Sinica* (1662) and *Scientia Sinica* (1668); this concerns the general, column-based layout, the introduction of paragraphs, the use of characters, the internal cross reference system, etc. Second, some inconsistencies in the printed copies of *Scientia Sinica*, for instance in printing the Latin commentaries, set in the 1<sup>st</sup> part in lower case and in the 2<sup>nd</sup> part within brackets (“parentheses”) — due to its printing in two places, viz. Canton [1<sup>st</sup> part] and Goa [2<sup>nd</sup> part]) — inspires Intorcetta to emphasize the (typographical) “uniformitas” throughout the entire work as an important desideratum.

Some of these ‘instructions’ or counsels could probably be an overlap, or be in contradiction with Couplet’s concurrential instructions (“directio”),

<sup>25</sup> On this system, see especially Adrianus Dudink, ‘Western Transcriptions of Chinese,’ in Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 1: 635-1800 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 260-285.

which Intorcetta had not yet received nor seen; here, he leaves it to Henschenius to select the best way of operating.

Finally, the author expresses only one more expectation for the future edition: he expects that sixty, or even more ‘complimentary copies’ would be sent to him in China, and this for its complete ‘originality’ and general erudition (“eruditio[n]ibus plenum”).

In the margin of these instructions for what was in fact a major publication, this letter contains some information on some other — more or less related — manuscripts, documents or iconographic features, viz.: (a) Rougemont’s *Praefatio* to the Confucian-translations, dated 9 November 1670, in-4°, written in less elegant letters, and signed up to folio “NN”, which suggests a rather considerable volume;<sup>26</sup> (b) a simultaneous ms. monograph of Ph. Couplet on Chinese chronology, based on the Chinese Annals, titled: *Synopsis Chronologica Sinarum*, expected to arrive soon from China; (c) Couplet’s *Prolegomena ad Annales Sinicos*, and the (first?) half of his aforementioned *Synopsis*, in the possession of the German Assistant; (d) the 1-folio multicolour ‘portrait’ of Confucius; (e) the 1-folio *Mappa Centum Felicitatum*; (f) the ‘*Tabula Genealogica*’ of the first three Imperial dynasties of China. Here, I cannot deal in detail with each of them.

A last interesting aspect of this letter (and related documents) is the strong claim of Pr. Intorcetta to have been both ‘the’ translator of the texts and the author of the *Declaratio Proëmialis*, which contradicts some other claims.

A few days after writing this letter, Pr. Intorcetta left Rome, and the project had not come to its final realization. Strange is also the fact, that this letter, with the address and the seal, is preserved in Rome, where it was composed. It therefore looks like the letter was, for one reason or another, not despatched after Intorcetta left Rome.

Anyway, thanks to a series of references in various sources, all emanating from the Jesuit network between Rome and the Low Countries, we can follow how the achievement of Intorcetta’s project was indeed postponed, until it was resumed by Ph. Couplet, who found the mss. upon

<sup>26</sup> These characteristics (handwriting of F. de Rougemont, volume and type of page indications) could probably be recognized in one separate group of folios, which clearly constitute a separate physical ‘corpus’ within the mass of CSPh. mss. in BnF, Ms. Lat. 6277/1, numbered on their own from A to PP (not NN).

his arrival in Europe late in 1683. The intermediary phases of the project, between Intorcetta's departure and Couplet's arrival, covering roughly a period of 10 years, can be summarized as follows:

- (1) Lisbon, 15.XI.1672: letter of Intorcetta to A. Kircher (Rome).<sup>27</sup> The former sent an improved (corrected) copy of the 'literal' version (i.e. translation) of *Chum-Yum*, recently received (in Lisbon) from Canton to Kircher, in order to correct the copy he had left there, but also its *Esposizione (Explanatio)* and *Paraphrasis*; he refers to the receipt of a letter from D. Papebrochius, S.J. from Antwerp, who got (again) the confirmation from Jansonius, and had sent all the papers to Cl. Verschoor in the Jesuit 'station' in Amsterdam; in the meantime, Papebrochius had seen not the slightest 'action' from Jansonius;
- (2) Rome, 28.XII.1674: letter of A. Kircher to Andreas Müller (1630-1694), antiquarian and Sinologist in Berlin, on the recent presence of P. Intorcetta in the *Collegio Romano*, and the Sinological information he had received from him, which he hoped to insert soon in his *Prodromus* (...);<sup>28</sup>
- (3) Rome, 2.VII.1675: letter of A. Kircher to G. Henschenius (Antwerp):

Significat mihi P. Possinus R(everentia)m V(esta)m transmittere mihi Romam alterum tomum rerum Sinensium per P(atres) N(ostros) compositum, eo fine ut ei conjungatur tomo, quem iam dudum P. Intorcetta S(icu)lus in Chinam redux, apud me deposuerat, quem et ad edendum opportuniori tempore refero.<sup>29</sup>

In the last two sources, it becomes apparent that the original intention to publish all the papers in Amsterdam had changed since June 1672, and that it was now being attempted to collect the ms. in Rome, to be published by, or under the auspices of A. Kircher. It is unclear what the reason may have been: was it some 'inertion' of Jansonius, suggested 'inter lineas' in Intorcetta's quotation from Papebrochius's letter?<sup>30</sup> On the other hand,

<sup>27</sup> APUG 566, f° 202r.

<sup>28</sup> A(ndreas) Müllerus Greiffenagius, *De Invento Sinico Epistolae Nonnullae Amoe-baeae Inventoris & Quorundam Soc. Iesu Patrum Aliorumque Litteratorum*, s.l. (Berlin), s.a. (ca. 1676), pp. 2-8.

<sup>29</sup> Brussels, Museum Bollandianum, ms. 64, f° 141; edited by Dom Pitra, *Etudes sur la collection des Actes des Saints par les RR. PP. Jésuites Bollandistes* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1850), pp. 202-203.

<sup>30</sup> "Cuius rei [i.e. impressionis promissae] quamvis nullam adhuc apparentiam videam, tamen omnes chartas Philosophiam Sinicam spectantes misi": APUG, 566; f° 202r.

there had been a certain (but temporary) rupture in the commercial contacts between Kircher and Jansonius in about 1672, due to *magnis bellorum tumultibus*.<sup>31</sup>

(4) Finally, Georgius de Sepibus, S.J. (flor. 1678), author of an Inventory of the *Musaeum Kircherianum*, definitely confirms the presence of (all?) the manuscripts in Rome, more precisely within the same *Musaeum*, in an “occluso quodam reconditorio”, used to file:

rara quaedam opera manū scripta, ex China, India, & Regno Mogor ad eum tamquam depositarium transmissa.<sup>32</sup>

Under the subtitle “Librorum Summa haec est”, he indeed mentioned:

Opus Ingens Sinarum Politico-Moralem Scientiam continens, in quo de Ritibus & Moribus Sinarum, de varietate sectarum, de philosophia naturali (...).

It was accompanied in this repository by a copy of

De Chronographia Imperatorum Sinensium ab anno 275 post Diluvium usque ad annum Christi 1666 continuata

and a

Vita Confucii maximi Sinensium Philosophi ejusque discipuli Memcii, eorum moralis Doctrina (...). Quod opus primo contextum fuit ex priscis omnium Sinensium scriptorum monumentis, a P. Prospero Intorcetta Siculo, collaborantibus ex Soc(ietate) Nostra doctissimis a rerum Sinensium peritia excultissimis P. Rugimont (sic), & P. de Conplet (sic) Belgis, et P. Andrea (sic) Herdrick Austriaco”; “Dum in Sinis esset, scripsit interpretationem Latinam unius ex opusculis Confucii, principis philosophorum Sinensium, (...) Sinarum Scientia (...) primum librum eiusdem Confucii antea ediderat in Sinis, et Romae cum esset, reliquit totam paraphrasim (!) integri textus (!) Confucii (!) typis dandam.

When he arrived in Europe at the end of 1683, Philippe Couplet, once a fierce collaborator of the translation project in Canton, wanted to revive the initiative of publishing the manuscripts of the SSMP-project. He was apparently ‘stimulated’ to do so by the French King Louis XIV and his

<sup>31</sup> John Fletcher, ‘Athanasius Kircher and the Distribution of His Books’, *The Library*, 23 (1968), 116-117.

<sup>32</sup> Georgius de Sepibus, *Romani Collegii Societatis Jesu Musaeum Celeberrimum* (Amstelodami: ex Officina Janssonio-Waesbergiana, 1678), p. 65; for this “repositorio”, see the description by Filippo Buonanni, quoted in *Civiltà Cattolica*, s. X, vol. 12 (fasc. 708) (1879), p. 733.

librarian Melchisédech Thévenot (c. 1620-1692), who ‘invited’ him to Paris, through Cardinal César d’Estrées (1628-1714). Despite some reluctance, Couplet sent the papers from Rome to Paris, and travelled himself to France. Our main testimony here is the then librarian of the Vatican Library, Emanuel Schelstra(e)te (1649-1692), who had been very hospitable to his fellow-countryman during his one-year stay in Rome (1685). This also explains the echoes of what happened to the SSMP-papers in his correspondence, first in his letter to Christian Mentzel (1622-1701), physician-botanist and sinologist in Berlin, of 20.X.1685:

Habuimus (!) primam partem operum Confusii (sic), philosophi Sinensis antiquissimi, quae Latino sermone primum in Sina edita, postea Viennae a Lambecio in *Bibliotheca Caesarea* iterum typis descripta fuit.<sup>33</sup> At pater Coupletus misit Lutetiam Parisiorum ad Clarissimum Dominum Tavenot, bibliothecae regiae custodem<sup>34</sup> omnia opera eiusdem Confusii, Latinitate donata, quae modo sub proelo sudant. Exstatque characteribus Sinicis in hac Urbe [= Roma] *Tetrabiblion Sinicon* sive *Confusii et Memici philosophorum doctrina moralis* quatuor voluminibus comprehensum".<sup>35</sup>

This reference seems to refer to a second parallel copy, with the full Chinese text (in Chinese characters), which was left in Rome; I have not yet managed to retrace this copy.

(5) One year later, Schelstra(e)te repeats the same information, in a letter of December 1686 to Hiob Ludolph (1624-1704) in Frankfurt:

Habuimus (!) híc anno praeterito [i.e. in 1685] Sinensem natione et P. Coupletum, eiusdem regni missionarium, qui plures libros Sinicos Bibliothecae Vaticanae et Bibliothecae de Propaganda Fide dono dedit. Audio eumdem P. Coupletum post suum ex Urbe discessum Lutetiam petuisse, ibidemque iussū Regis<sup>36</sup> omnes Confusii libros in Latinum transtulisse, qui unā cum historia Sinensi eodem (?) auctore conscripti brevi typis edentur.<sup>37</sup>

From Paris, Ph. Couplet confirms this information on the start of the printing process in a letter of 13 June 1686 to Daniël Papebrochius, who

<sup>33</sup> On this edition of the Latin text, see Peter Lambecius, *Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis Liber Quintus*, vol. VII, Add. II, pp. 348-398, and later: Adam Francisci Kollarii *Analecta Monumentorum Omnis Aevi Vindobonensis* (Vindobonae: Typis et Sumptibus Joh. Thomae, 1761), Tomus 1, col. 1210-1256: *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis*.

<sup>34</sup> I.e. (Melchisédech) Thévenot.

<sup>35</sup> Lucien Ceyssens, *La Correspondance d'Emmanuel Schelstrate, Préfet de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (1683-1692)*, Bibliothèque de l’Institut historique belge de Rome, 1 (Bruxelles – Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1949), pp. 182-183.

<sup>36</sup> I.e. Louis XIV.

<sup>37</sup> Ceyssens, *Emmanuel Schelstraete*, p. 229.

— through his personal connections with Couplet — again came in contact with the Confucius-dossier. In this letter, Couplet informs whether there were still any SSPM-manuscripts, once sent by Intorcetta to Henschenius, left in the Antwerp Professed House:

Optarem, si forte ibi [i.e. Antverpiae] reperiretur, adiungeretur Liber 2us Confucii philosophi Sinensis ‘de Medio Constanter Tenendo’, qui fuit impressus Goae Latino et Sinico charactere. Audeo item petere, an P. Intorcetta non miserit ad P. Henschenium p(iae) m(emoriae) omnia opera Confucii manuscripta, et an illa adhuc modo ibi sint? Nam ipsum originale penes me est, sed quia h̄ic [i.e. Parisiis] imprimitur, nec sunt qui ea possunt transcribere, cogitavi an non possent hoc simul mitti cum reliquis. Certe magnum operae compendium foret.<sup>38</sup>

We don't know the answer, unless the manuscript remark quoted supra (n. 8) is to be related to this question. At any rate, this is the last reference we have in our evidence with regard to this kind of materials in Antwerp; in Paris, the printing process of the mss., which Couplet had selected and put in order, continued. But this we described in our previous contribution.

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<sup>38</sup> Brussels, Mus. Boll., Ms. 64, f° 203.