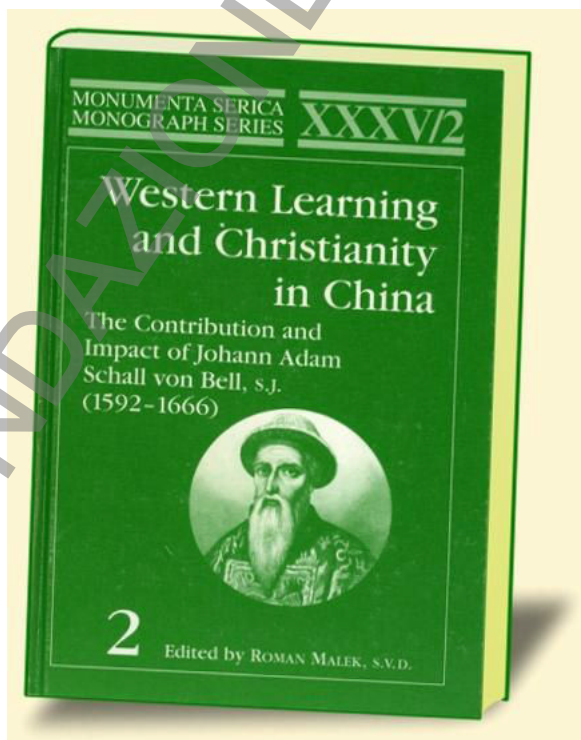


## PROSPERO INTORCETTA

Su questo illustre gesuita missionario siciliano, grazie alla generosità del suo autore **Dr. Noël Golvers** della Università Cattolica di Louvain, che ringraziamo, alleghiamo il seguente articolo:

Noël Golvers, 'The Development of the "Confucius Sinarum Philosophus" reconsidered in the light of new material', in *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, ed. by Roman Malek S.V.D. (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1998), II, pp. 1141 – 1164.

Dello stesso sarà - a breve - pubblicata una versione italiana.



THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE *CONFUCIUS SINARUM PHILOSOPHUS*  
RECONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF NEW MATERIAL

NOEL GOLVERS

1.

Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, the founding fathers of the Jesuit Mission in China, translated the Confucian *Four Books* at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. They thus initiated a tradition well-documented among the later novices in the mission of learning Chinese through both the study and the personal translation of the Confucian text.<sup>1</sup> Although Ricci's manuscripts have never been published, it is a widely accepted belief that they circulated in many copies, and were used by later generations of missionaries, and that all their intellectual investments in understanding these texts eventually resulted in the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (*CSP*).

In the present paper I do not intend to deal with the question which part Ricci's (and Ruggieri's?) translations played on the background of this Confucius edition; I will confine myself, after an overview of the basic work in Canton in the 1660s, to investigate in greater detail the arrival of the texts in Europe in the 1670s, and the growth-process of the *CSP* edition in the 1680s. I will do so by integrating the results of former research,<sup>2</sup> by adducing new information from some unexploited sources, mainly contemporary correspondence, and by reporting on my study of the manuscript of the *CSP*, which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the evidence in D.E. Mungello, "The Jesuits' use of Chang Chü-cheng's Commentary in their translation of the Confucian Four Books (1687)," in: *CMSB* 3 (1981), pp. 21-22, n. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See V. Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740)* (Paris 1932), pp. 151-158; A. Brou, "Les Jésuites sinologiques de Pékin et leurs éditeurs de Paris," in: *Revue d'histoire des missions* 11 (1934), pp. 553-555; K. Lundbaek, *The Traditional History of the Chinese Script* (Aarhus 1988), pp. 42-45.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ms. Lat., 6277/1 and 2; for a description, see 3.2.

1.1. The start of what about 30 years later was to become the *CSP* was given when, around 1660, Ignacio da Costa, S.J., with the support of his fellow father Pr. Intorcetta, drafted a translation of the entire text of the Confucian *Four Books* in just one year. His intention, as explained in a cancelled note by Intorcetta in the manuscript of the *Declaratio Proëmialis* (vol. I, f°3 III v.) – the introduction to the *CSP* – was to have the text afterwards gradually polished, partly by himself, partly by Intorcetta and others.<sup>4</sup> The first result of this initiative was the publication in 1662 of the translation of both the *Ta Hio* (*Ta-hsüeh*) and of the first five parts of the *Analects* (*Lun-yü*) under the overall title: *Sapientia Sinica*. This has been characterized as a *litteralis expositio* (*ibid.*, *Ad lectorem*), i.e., a literal exposition, viz. a literal translation of the original text, with additional comments extracted from about 20 Chinese commentators.<sup>5</sup>

Shortly thereafter, in 1664, the persecution caused by the zealotries of Yang Kuang-hsien broke out, which led to the temporary banishment of the China Jesuits – with the exception of the four in Peking, namely, J.A. Schall, F. Verbiest, G. de Magalhães, and L. Buglio – to Canton from 1665 until September 1671.<sup>6</sup> Intorcetta, in the same introduction (I, f°6 IV) emphasizes how this imprisonment in fact provided an unexpected opportunity for further revision of the preliminary draft translations, e.g., by a more extensive and more systematic incorporation of the text of the Commentators.<sup>7</sup> Although he was the main author, he relied on the cooperation of Ph. Couplet, Fr. de Rougemont and Chr. Herdrich, to whom he was

<sup>4</sup> "... anni unius spatio totius operis rudimenta, tametsi curis gravioribus identidem interpellatus, iam confecerat, ea tum per se, tum nostra aliorumque opera paulatim expoliturus."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Beonio-Brocchieri, *Confucio e il cristianesimo*, t. 1 (Torino 1972), p. 13: "Habes, amice lector, hic litteralem expositionem textus Sinici Su Xu nuncupatum iuxta mentem interpretum Sinensium fere viginti ac praecipue Cham Colai ..."

<sup>6</sup> The material conditions inside their Canton residence, and in which the fathers had to live and to work, are well described by some of them, albeit with different personal accents and appreciations: cf. F. de Rougemont, *Historia Tartaro-Sinica Nova* (Lovanii 1673), pp. 300-304; G. Gabiani, *Incrementa Sinicae Ecclesiae Tartaris opugnatae* (Viennae 1673), p. 579; "D. De Navarrete," in: J.S. Cummins (ed.), *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1618-1686* (Cambridge 1962), pp. 230-234; Ph. Couplet, in a letter of late 1668, published by J. Barten, "Hollandse kooplieden op bezoek bij Concilievaarders," in: *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland* 12 (1970), pp. 108-116, esp. p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> "Complures me hortati sunt ad proseguendum adeoque perficiendum coeptae nuper explanationis opus; ... multo quam ante copiosius interpretum sententias à Sinico in Latinam posse converti."

much indebted.<sup>8</sup> The first result of this second period of intensive study was the *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis*, published partly in Canton in 1667 and partly in Goa in 1669. In the introduction (*Ad lectorem*), we find a first reference to an *explanatio* of the same work, which was to be published separately, and of a full, annotated edition of all the other Confucian books.<sup>9</sup>

1.2. So far, we have seen how the entire initiative of the Confucius translation was in the hands of Pr. Intorcetta, especially after the decease of I. da Costa in 1665. But what happened to the text of these translations after the former had left Canton in 1668? From letters of F. de Rougemont and J.-B. Maldonado published by Father H. Bosmans,<sup>10</sup> dated 5 November 1670, 11 March 1671, and 15 April 1672, respectively, we get a clear idea of how the work of polishing and transcribing/copying was progressing: The three Jesuits, already mentioned by Intorcetta as his most reliable helpers, viz. Couplet, de Rougemont and Chr. Herdtrich – who had stayed in Canton – continued the work in various ways, and it gradually came to an end between 1670 and 1672 (except for the Mencius translation, to which we will return later). De Rougemont's letter of 1670 contains much information on the last – and hardest – part of the work, both of translation and transcription, and on the revision by six *censores*, who confronted the *versio nostra literalis cum textu sinico* and the *paraphrasis nostra latina*

<sup>8</sup> Ms., vol. I, f°6 IV: "Parui sane, et alacri quoque animo manus operi admovi; in quo quidem opere quanto mihi adiumento fuerit non modo consilium et voluntas, sed etiam opera et constans indefessumque studium trium maxime patrum, P. Philippi Couplet, Francisci Rougemont et Christiani Herdtrich, pluribus hic ego declararem, si non ipsimet pro religiosâ modestiâ suâ serio vetuissent. Quapropter unum hoc dico, vereque dico, multum illis a me deberi." Both Couplet and de Rougemont were mentioned as collaborators in the preface of the *Sinarum scientia* ... as well (P. Beonio-Brocchieri, *Confucio*, p. 13). As this note in the manuscript was cancelled by the editor, and this description of the co-authorship well fits into the situation reflected on the title page of the CSP, there is, in my opinion, no reason to suspect Couplet of any intention to over-estimate his own part of the work.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. P. Beonio-Brocchieri, *Confucio e il cristianesimo*, t. 2 (Torino 1973), p. 91: "Haec itaque omnia (praeter ea quae in Explanazione Scientiae Sinarum politico-moralis paulo fusius declarantur) ..."; p. 93: "... Rogo tamen, lector benevole, ut si forte quis velit de Confucij doctrina tecum disserere, vel eum cum Europaeis philosophis comparare, tuam non prius sententiam feras quam alibi accurate perlegas, cum huius opusculi, tum reliquorum Confucij operum explanationem."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. H. Bosmans, "Lettres inédites de François de Rougemont," in: *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* (ASEB) 39 (1913), p. 43ff., and *idem*, "Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado," in: ASEB 36 (1910), p. 81.



*cum paraphrasi sinica ipsius Colai*. In addition, it contains many practical proposals for the final edition, for which he (and his colleagues) strongly recommends the famous Blaeu printing house in Amsterdam.<sup>11</sup>

These Confucian translations were undoubtedly copied several times, and the copies sent through different ways (1â ..., 2â ..., 3â ... viâ); this is not merely an inference from the usual Jesuit practice but can also be proved for at least some parts of these texts:

- (a) first concerning a copy of the *Lun-yü* translation which, in a letter of F. de Rougemont of March 11, 1671, is distinguished from another one, sent *via* Manila;<sup>12</sup>
- (b) another clear statement concerns the last six *capita* of the *Declaratio Proëmialis*, which J.-B. Maldonado on April 15, 1672, promises to accomplish and to send from Macao through three different ways.<sup>13</sup>

Although it is not mentioned explicitly in this context, one of these alternative *viae* might have been the *Via Batavica*, frequently mentioned in those years as particularly appropriate for sending letters to Europe. What is more, on April 12, 1672, J. de Haynin reports that several treatises (*Lucubrationes*) had left Nova Batavia in January 1671, addressed – through J. Blaeu in Amsterdam and G. Henschenius in Antwerp – to Father Intorcetta, somewhere on his European tour.<sup>14</sup> One wonders if this packet of treatises did not contain one or more parts of the Confucian translations.

<sup>11</sup> Apart from an undeniable patriotism, a reason of a more private nature may have been that at all probability both Ph. Couplet and F. de Rougemont, during their stay in Amsterdam in the winter of 1654/1655, had become acquainted with J. Blaeu; see H.J. Allard, "Een groet uit China voor Vondel en de Amsterdamsche 'vrunden' (1662)," in: *Het jaarboekje van Albertingh Thijm, Almanak voor Nederlandsche Katholijken* 1897, pp. 150-180. On Blaeu's printing for Catholics both in Flanders and in Holland, see: I.H. Van Eeghen, "De *Acta Sanctorum* en het drukken van katholieke boeken te Antwerpen en Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw," in: *De Gulden Passer* 31, pp. 49-53.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. H. Bosmans, "F. de Rougemont," *op. cit.*, p. 52: "... Vereor alioqui ne perturbate imprimantur omnia, sicut experti sumus in secundo exemplari libri *Lun-yu*, a variis descripto, quod iam mittimus hâc ipsâ viâ Manilanâ."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. H. Bosmans, "Maldonado," *op. cit.*, p. 81: "Ob temporis brevitatem sex ultima capita describi non potuere; sed statim mittam per alteram viam, plenam; et illa sex capita per tertiam viam, ut V. R. [sc. Pr. Intorcetta] quoquo modo declarationem integram habeat."

<sup>14</sup> Cf. H. Bosmans, *La correspondance inédite du P. Jean de Haynin d'Ath* (Louvain 1908), p. 20: "Mense Januarii 1671 ex Novâ Bataviâ abiere variae elucubrationes ad V. Ram; destinabantur ad D(ominu)m Blau, qui postea ad patrem Henschenium mitteret et ille ad R. Vam."

## 2.

2.1. In the meantime, at the other end of the world, Intorcetta – who had at all probability taken with him some copies of his printed translations, and who had worked on them during the long sea voyage – landed in Lisbon at the end of 1670, from where he arrived in Rome shortly before 14 April 1671.<sup>15</sup> Doubtlessly housed in the famous *Collegium Romanum*, he must have met Athanasius Kircher, that giant of 17th-century learning, with an old inclination to China and an insatiable inquisitiveness as to its curiosities. Two months later, in a letter to Lucas Schröckius, jr., of 10 June 1671, we can read of Kircher's enthusiastic reactions to Intorcetta's Roman visit and to the rare books he had brought with him from China; among these, he mentions a *Scientia moralis magni illius Philosophi Confutii*<sup>16</sup> and, another month later, in a letter of 11 July 1671 to the same addressee, a book concerning the *philosophia physico(!)-moralis*.<sup>17</sup> It is not difficult to recognise in these indications the first European echo of the *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis*, published in Canton/Goa in 1667/1669, of which Kircher apparently received a copy from the author. From these letters, we also learn that in the short time between April and June 1671, Kircher wrote to the publisher Janssonius in Amsterdam, proposing that he would publish these and the other parts of the Confucius translations, which were expected to arrive soon, either from Portugal or Holland, and that he had already received a positive response. Finally, it also becomes clear why it was Janssonius and not Blaeu who was chosen to print these Confucian texts, in spite of de Rougemont's strong recommendations: not because of

<sup>15</sup> On these dates, see F. Bontinck, *La lutte autour de la liturgie chinoise aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Louvain 1962), p. 130.

<sup>16</sup> Both this and the following letter are published in: *Fasciculus Epistolarum Adm. R.P. Athanasii Kircheri Soc. Jesu viri in mathematicis et variorum idiomatum scientiis celebratissimi, complectentium materias philosophico-, mathematico-, medicas. ... Nunc primo in publicam lucem prodire accurante A.R.D Hieronymo Ambrosio Langenmantelio, Augustae Vindelicorum*, MDCLXXXIV, pp. 16-17, and pp. 18-19. The fragment in the letter of 1671 runs as follows: "P. Prosper Intorcetta ... rarissima et numquam alibi visa opera a PP.NN. ex Sinico idiomate in Latinum polyto stylo translata, et continent Scientiam Moralem magni illius philosophi Confutii ...; alterum opus est de variis Sinensium veterum studiis et disciplinis; chronologiam regum Sinensium parallellam chronologiae nostrae et incipit à CCLXXV anno post diluvium."

<sup>17</sup> "... qui secum attulit 3 tomos rerum Sinicarum, quos Janssonius jam ad meam sollicitationem imprimendos suscepit. Opera sunt rarissima, et res continent Europae prorsus incognitas, sive chronologiam, sive philosophiam physico-moralem, sive religionis negotium spectes."

the fire of Amsterdam, which only occurred the next winter, but because Janssonius had for many years been the preferred publisher of the works of Kircher and because Intorcetta had some aversion to Blaeu, probably due to the latter's protestant background.<sup>18</sup>

2.2. In any event, during his stay in Rome (and in Sicily, his native country, which he visited from June [?] until the end of November 1671), Intorcetta promoted the interests of the Chinese mission in Rome.<sup>19</sup> From there, and as a part of his diplomatic duty, he sent copies of his Confucian translations to European scholars and libraries. We know of at least two such despatches, both related to the circle of an important European prince, with good connections to the Chinese mission.

One shipment was destined to Petrus Lambecius and the *Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea* in Vienna which, according to an addendum in the catalogue of 1672, received from Intorcetta – apart from several other sinological items – a copy of the *Scientia politico-moralis*;<sup>20</sup> despite a sour remark by P. Beonio-Brocchieri about the loss of this copy during the (last?) war,<sup>21</sup> it is apparently still available in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Hss.-S, Sin. 54).<sup>22</sup>

A second copy found its way into the *Bibliotheca regia* in Paris; this is unmistakably proved by some editions of the *Scientia* ... issued in Paris in 1672: one is incorporated in the second volume of M. Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages*; two others are separate editions and have a French title page, *La science des Chinois, traduite mot par mot de la langue Chinoise*

<sup>18</sup> Cf. APUG, Misc. Epist. Kircher, 560, f°79r.: "Mi dissero i Padri fiamenghi che stanno nella Cina, rivedendo e concertando l'opere che mancano, che se p(er) via d'Olanda se gl' offerisse occasione, subito le manderiano e le raccomandariano al Blaeu stampatore p(er) lui inviarle a Roma; non vorria io che il Blaeu le trattenesse etc." (Palermo, July 28, 1671).

<sup>19</sup> On his mission in Rome, see F. Bontinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-144.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. P. Lambecius, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi libri*, vol. V (Vindobonae 1672), Add. XIII, pp. 418-419, 4° ("IVto. Confucij, Principis Philosophiae Sinensis, Scientia Politico-Moralis, Sinicis impressa characteribus, cum adjunctâ latinâ pronuntiatione singulorum characterum et versione singulorum verborum literali, à supra memorato R.P. Prospero Intorcetta Siculo, Procuratore Sinicae Missionis Soc<sup>tis</sup> Jesu, in lucem edita Goae A. 1669 in folio"); these manuscripts have been seen by Abel-Remusat and by S. Cusa in 1872 (cf. *Archivio storico siciliano*, I, 1873, p. 43, n. 1, and p. 48).

<sup>21</sup> See P. Beonio-Brocchieri, *op. cit.*, I, p. XXXII, and n. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Confirmed by Mag. Ch. Bader, by a letter of February 7, 1992 (Hss.-S., Sin. 54).

par le R. Pere Intorcetta Iesuite, first published jointly by G. Clousier and A. Cramoisy in 1672, and again by Cramoisy alone in 1673.<sup>23</sup> These Paris editions, then, are the first European publications of a Confucian text, anticipating the CSP by 15 years.

2.3. While these references to Confucian texts in Europe in 1671–1672 (Rome; Vienna; Paris) have all proved to apply to the *Sinarum scientia*, the *Explanationes* (explanations or amplified paraphrases) already promised in the introduction to the *Sinarum scientia* were not yet available: the European reader was asked to remain patient, both in Intorcetta's own *Compendiosa narratio* on 12 January 1672<sup>24</sup> and in an anonymous note, probably by M. Thevenot, to the Paris edition of 1673.<sup>25</sup> This was due, of course, to the difficult communications between South China and Europe, and to the fact that, as we have seen, the translation and transcription process of the *versio literalis* and the *paraphrasis* was still in progress in the years 1670–1672. It is hard to say whether Intorcetta, before he left Rome for Portugal in mid-1672, ever saw any of the additional texts sent by his fellow fathers in Canton/Macao. The main point is that, as early as January 1672, Kircher was designated as the person henceforth responsible for the definitive edition of the Confucius and Mencius (!) commentaries; this presupposes that all the manuscripts concerned were expected to be concentrated in Rome.

2.4. Indeed, several testimonia attest to their existence during the 1670s in the *Collegium Romanum* (*Museum Kircherianum*), under the protection of Athanasius Kircher, and partly also thanks to his personal efforts. All the testimonia mentioned derive either from Kircher himself, or from some people from his immediate circle. These testimonia can be listed as follows:

<sup>23</sup> Cf. H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. 2 (Paris 1905–1906; repr. Taipei 1966), coll. 1388–1392.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Pr. Intorcetta, *Compendiosa narratio* ... (Roma 1672), pp. 75–76: "Chi poi desidera sapere dalle sue radici e fondamenti tutto il politico e morale, e tutte le scienze de' Cinesi, aspetti con pazienza i Commenti sopra i Filosofi Confucio e Mencio, tradotti in latino dal P. Prospero Intorcetta, de' quali sollecita adesso la stampa il Padre Athanasio Chirker" [*sic*].

<sup>25</sup> Cf. M. Thevenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux* ..., vol. 3, pars 4, p. 23: "Il n'est pas assez d'avoir traduit du chinois ces fragmens de pensées de Confucius, il les falloît encore commenter pour les faire entendre, en attendant que le Père Intorcetta ait donné les commentaires qu'il nous promets."



On 15 November 1672, Intorcetta sends, from Lisbon, a copy of the 'literal translation' of the *Chum yum* (*Chung-yung*), just arrived from China; this would become the definite model for the future edition.<sup>26</sup>

In a letter of 28 December 1674, Kircher refers to Intorcetta's stay in Rome: "... [the man] from whom I learned most things concerning this secret language; you will find these things one day, inserted in my 'Prodromos', and extracted from his [i.e., Intorcetta's] major work entitled *Universalis Sinarum Physico-Moralis-Politica Chronologica Historia*."<sup>27</sup> This impressive title can only be correctly interpreted from Kircher's earlier references in 1671: its first part, then, turns out to be a new, incorrect contamination of his former references (see above): *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis* x *Scientia physico-moralis* (1671) result in the new hybrid *Sinarum physico-moralis-politica ... historia*. The attribute *chronographica* refers to the *Chronologia Regum Sinensium*, also brought by Intorcetta to Rome in 1671 (cf. 4.2.b).

According to a handwritten note on the last folio side of the manuscript of the *CSP* (volume I, f°369v. and quoted in n. 45), the last nine parts of the *Lun-yü* translation had for a while been in the hands of Father G. Henschenius, S.J. – the famous Bollandist – in Antwerp; the anonymous note suggests to ask for their return, in order to bring the Confucian manuscripts together again. This remark presupposes that Father Henschenius was still alive then, making 1681 the *terminus ante quem* for the redaction of the note itself. The presence of this (part of the) manuscript in Antwerp at that time, then, could have two different historical explanations, both of which could find corroboration in some statements in contemporary Jesuit correspondence. First, it is possible that this part of the Confucian manuscripts arrived in Antwerp as a result of its despatch from Macao to Rome

<sup>26</sup> APUG 566, f°202r.: "Mando qui inclusa è V.R. la versione letterale di quel libretto stampato olim nella Cina, venutomi dalla med(esim)a Cina gia corretto, conforme al quale si deve emendare non solo il libretto medesimo che va incluso nella mia espositione del 2<sup>do</sup> libro Chum-yum, ma ancora la medesima espositione e paraphrasis, perche in detta mia espositione va pure intermixto a suoi luoghi proprij il testo medesimo del Philosopho Confucio". A copy of the *Chung-yung* with manuscript corrections ("anno 1670, 17 Sept. coeptum emendari") is now in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 3 III (cf. Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 130); I wonder if it might have been the copy sent by Intorcetta?

<sup>27</sup> "Proponam hic verba P. Prosperi Intorcetta qui anno 1671 e China Romam negotiorum causa appulit, quocum veluti iam domestico, magno animi mei sensu conversatus, pleraque istius linguae arcana didici, quae ex magno illo opere suo, quod *Universalis Sinarum Physico-Moralis Politica chronographica historia* inscribitur extracta in opere meo ... suo tempore inserta videbis."

via Batavia and Holland. Pr. Intorcetta had explicitly reckoned with this eventuality in his letter of 28 July 1671,<sup>28</sup> and there is evidence for at least one such sending of manuscript *lucubrationes* to Intorcetta via Batavia.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, it was Kircher's intention from the outset to have the Latin translation of the 'Confucian classics' published by Janssonius in Amsterdam,<sup>30</sup> and in Intorcetta's letter of 15 November 1672 we see D. Papebrochius, Henschenius' close collaborator in Antwerp, toiling at the promotion of the edition in Amsterdam, for which he apparently had the manuscripts in question in his own hands.<sup>31</sup> In any event, whatever the facts of the matter may have been, by letter of 20 July 1675, to G. Henschenius, Kircher inquires after that second volume and proposes to send it to him, so that it could be joined to the volume already given to him by Intorcetta.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. APUG, Misc. Epist. Kircher, 560 f°79r.: "Spero che l'opere presso verranno da Portugallo ... o da Olanda."

<sup>29</sup> See *supra* and n. 14. Other letters from Canton (1669–1671) – some of them accompanying specimina of printed books – sent by Couplet and de Rougemont to the Antwerp Jesuit house, are still preserved in the local archives (see my "The XVIIth-Century Jesuit Mission in China and its 'Antwerp Connections'," in: M. De Schep- per [ed.], *Studies over het drukkersgeslacht Moretus. De Gulden Passer*, vol. 74 [1996], pp. 157–188). The *via Batavica* was chosen for convenience ("... compendium viae": "Ph. Couplet," in: P. Visschers, *Onuitgegeven brieven van eenige paters der Societeyt van Jesus, missionarissen in China, van de XVIIde en XVIIIde eeuw, met aanteekeningen* [Arnhem 1857], pp. 6–8, esp. p. 7), but also because of the personal acquaintance of both writers with the Antwerp Jesuits, dating back to their years of formation.

<sup>30</sup> See his letter of 10 June 1671 (cf. n. 17): "Scripsi ea de causa ad Jansonium, qui nil magis in votis habet quam ut praelo suo supposita orbem literarium, novo Sinensium curiositatum foetu, ditare possint"; this intention was confirmed on 11 July 1671, without further practical results, however. On the printer Janssonius and his relations with Kircher, see: I.H. Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680–1725*, vol. IV [Amsterdam 1967], pp. 157–163, esp. p. 160.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. APUG, Misc. Epist. Kircher, 566, f°202r: "Poiche mi scrive da Antverpia il P. Daniele Papebrochio queste parole: interim Amstelodami curavi quaerere ex Domino Jansonio perstaret ne in proposito impressionis promissae. Respondit se perstare. Cuius rei quamvis nullam adhuc apparentiam videam, tamen omnes chartas ad Philosophiam Sinicam spectantes misi data occasione bona Amsteledamum ad Clementem Verschoor nostrae Societatis ibidem coadjutorem et procuratorem Missionis laicum: cum mandato ut significaret D<sup>no</sup>. Jansonio se scripta habere, statimque ac volet incipere impressionem, ea traditurum ..."

<sup>32</sup> This letter is preserved in Brussels, Mus. Bolland., Ms 64, f°141: "Significat mihi Possinus Ram<sup>m</sup> Yam<sup>m</sup> transmittere mihi Romam alterum tomum rerum Sinensium per PP. NN. compositum, eo fine ut ei conjugatur tomo quem iam dudum P. Intorceta

Nathanael Southwell recalls in his bibliography of the Jesuit Society, published in 1676 (*sub* Intorcetta) that: "... during his stay in Rome, he left the entire paraphrase of the whole Confucius to be published."<sup>33</sup>

A last indication is preserved in the inventory of the curiosities kept in the *Museum Kircherianum* at the *Collegium Romanum*, published by G. de Sepibus in 1678. It refers to a manuscript composed "... by Father Intorcetta of Sicily, with the collaboration of some learned fathers of our Society, well-versed in Chinese matters, viz. F. Rugimont [*sic*], P. de [*sic*] Couplet - both from Belgium - and Andr. [*sic*] Herdrich from Austria."

All these references prove the presence in Rome, at least from 1676 on, of: 1) the (literal) translation of the Confucian books, and 2) their expanded version, called *paraphrasis* (de Rougemont; Southwell), *Explanatio* (Intorcetta), *Commentarii* (Intorcetta; Thévenot) and even *lucubratio(nes)*.<sup>34</sup> When Kircher died in 1680, these manuscripts were still slumbering in the *Collegium Romanum*, and there was a real danger that they would have remained there forever.

### 3.

But things decisively took another turn when Father Couplet was elected procurator in 1679 to protect the mission's interests in Rome and Europe. Before explaining how he succeeded in transforming the various manuscripts in Rome into the beautiful edition the Confucius eventually became, I would like to mention two preliminary points:

Sic(ul)us in Chinam redux apud me deposuerat, quem se ad edendum opportuniore tempore refero." This letter has been published by Dom Pitra, *Etudes sur la collection des Actes Saints par les RR. PP. Jésuites bollandistes* (Paris 1850), pp. 202-203. The fact that these Confucian texts had temporarily been kept in the Antwerp Jesuit Residence may explain why Ph. Couplet, as late as 1686, during the printing of the CSP in Paris, informs in Antwerp if there possibly were still preserved any Intorcetta texts (see n. 64).

<sup>33</sup> See *Bibliotheca scriptorium Societatis Jesu ... recognitum & productum ad annum Jubilaei MDCLXXV a Nathanaele Sotuello* (Roma 1676), p. 715: "... Romae cum esset, reliquit totam paraphrasim integri textus Confucii typis dandam."

<sup>34</sup> This term is found in relation to the whole Confucius translation project, both in the manuscripts of the translations (e.g., vol. I, f°5 IX; f°6v) and in other accounts, such as de Rougemont's letter of 11 March 1671 (H. Bosmans, *F. de Rougemont*, p. 52); moreover, it reappears, according to Sommervogel, vol. 4, col. 643, in the title of an unspecified manuscript of G. Gabiani, called *Lucubratio de Tetrabiblio Confucii*, on which I have no further information. Remember the *variae lucubrationes*, mentioned in Nova Batavia (see n. 14).

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First, Couplet – who during the Canton period (1665–1671) had been intensively engaged in the Confucius translation project – was now eager to bring this work to a conclusion, for the benefit of the future missionaries. Always attracted to his native country, he now – informed about the disaster of the Blaeu printing house? – had Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp in mind.<sup>35</sup> Second, when he left Macao, he did have an impressive collection of manuscripts with him, both of an apologetic and a sinological nature, but, in my opinion, not the Confucian manuscripts, which – as we have seen – had already been in Rome for several years, waiting to be published. It is, in my opinion, the *explanationes* announced and expected by Intorcetta and, after their arrival, noticed in the 1670s by Southwell and de Sepibus in Rome, which would constitute the bulk of the CSP edition. Cf. such indications as: “Scientiae Sinicae Liber primus, versio literalis una cum explanatione” (manuscript); “Finis explanationis Libri Chum Yum” (manuscript, vol. I, f°263; edition, p. 108); “Scientiae Sinicae Liber tertius ... Versio literalis una cum explanatione.”

3.1. Indeed, it is after his arrival in Rome on 7 December 1684 that we receive a new echo – the first since many years – of the Confucian text in Europe. It appears in the correspondence of Emmanuel Schelstraete, a Flemish priest from Antwerp who was from 1683 to 1692 the respected librarian of the Bibliotheca Vaticana,<sup>36</sup> and who was apparently on good terms with Couplet in Rome. In his letter of 24 March 1685 to Christoff Arnold in Nürnberg, Schelstraete refers to a copy of the *Confucius* which Couplet had showed to him. It contained twelve “tomi” of which the first was entitled *De Magna Scientia*, i.e., *Ta-hsüe*, and the rest *Apo<ph>-thegmata*, i.e., *Lun-yü*.<sup>37</sup> Although both titles can easily be identified, it is

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the letter of F. Filippucci of 29 March 1682, preserved in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 163, f°180r.-182r.; Couplet's “... grande appetito di dar' alle stampe molte cose siniche nella sua Fiandra” echoes in a short postscript of a letter by J.B. Maldonado, dated November 6, 1680 (cf. H. Bosmans, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84): “Spero brevi appulsurum in Flandriam P. Philippum Couplet Mechliniensem, qui multa secum deferet Plantinianis typis imprimenda.”

<sup>36</sup> Edited by L. Ceyssens, O.F.M., *La correspondance d'Emmanuel Schelstraete, préfet de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (1683–1692)* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge, fasc. 1) (Bruxelles – Roma 1949). Concerning his personality, see: V. Fris, in: *Biographie nationale*, vol. 21 (Bruxelles 1911–1913), coll. 673-679.

<sup>37</sup> L. Ceyssens, *op. cit.*, p. 162: “[Couplet] communicavit interea opus Confusii, auctoris Sinensis antiquissimi, qui sexcentis annis ante Christum floruisse putatur et tam mire in moralibus excelluit, ut praestantissimis philosophis, quorum nomen ad aures nostras pervenit, aequiparandus videatur.”



difficult to determine what exactly Schelstraete had seen, and especially the number of twelve volumes causes problems. Clearer is his statement in a letter of 20 October 1685 to Christian Mentzel in Berlin, in which Schelstraete reports that: "Father Couplet has sent to Paris, to the illustrious Mr. Tavenot [*sic*], keeper of the Royal Library, all the works of the same Confucius, translated into Latin, which are now in the press."<sup>38</sup> Besides, Schelstraete refers to the presence in Rome of a Chinese copy of the *Four Books*.<sup>39</sup>

This is the very first reference to the publication process of the CSP in Europe, but as it dates from 20 October 1685, it was obviously premature, as we will immediately see. The main question is: Why would Couplet have sent these manuscripts of the translation from Rome to Paris? We do not know the answer, but some indications may help to explain his decision: first, the French king put some pressure on him to return to France before he departed for China,<sup>40</sup> and Couplet finally left Rome for Paris on 12 December 1685. We also must not forget that the China Mission – or part of it – expected a great deal of Louis XIV! A possible intermediary in these communications between Paris and Couplet could have been Cardinal César d'Estrées,<sup>41</sup> a French diplomat in Rome, who had already succeeded in obtaining Couplet's permission for a French translation of the manuscript of G. de Magalhães' *Doze Excellencias da China*. Finally, M. Thevenot – now the Royal Librarian – had already won his spurs in the Confucian field by publishing the above-mentioned *Sinarum scientia* ... in his *Relations* in 1672.

Couplet stayed in Paris from Spring 1686 until early December 1687; during this period, he displayed an impressive editorial activity on behalf of the China Mission: still in 1686, there appeared the first edition of Ver-

<sup>38</sup> L. Ceyssens, *op. cit.*, p. 183: "At Pater Coupletus misit Lutetiam Parisiorum ad Clarissimum Dominum Tavenot, bibliothecae regiae custodem, omnia opera eiusdem Confusii, latinitate donata, quae modo sub praelo sudant." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>39</sup> See a description in a letter of 20 October 1685 (L. Ceyssens, *op. cit.*, p. 183): "Exstat characteribus sinicis in hac Urbe Tetrabiblion Sinicon sive Confusii et Mencii philosophorum doctrina moralis quatuor voluminibus comprehensum."

<sup>40</sup> See J. de Fontaney in a letter of 15 August 1687 to F. Verbiest, preserved in Ajuda, JA 49-IV-63, nr. 126, f°102v.: "Le P. Couplet ... fut appelle l'an passe a Paris sur la fin de May par ordre de Sa Majesté apres avoir passe plus (de) 15 mois inutilement a Rome."

<sup>41</sup> See P. Levot, in: *Nouvelle biographie générale*, vol. 16 (Paris 1858), coll. 578-579; P. Ritzler and P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, t. 5 (Padua 1952), p. 7.

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biest's *Elementa linguae Tartaricae* (print run: 1,000 copies); a second version of the *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu*, updated to 1685; the first edition of his own *Tabula genealogica*, and his revised *Tabula chronologica*, now entitled *Tabula genealogica*. It is in this particular context that the final revision of the Confucius manuscripts was done, now deposited in the Royal Library of Paris.

3.2. A thorough analysis of this manuscript (BN, Ms Latin 6277/1 and 2) reveals interesting details on its formation process, and on the working method of the corrector/editor who can be identified as Ph. Couplet himself.

3.2.1. The manuscript consists of two parts, of 369 and 281 folios, respectively, a total of 650 folios, mostly described on both sides.<sup>42</sup> This partition into 2 volumes dates back to the early days of the manuscript, for it is already mentioned in some descriptions of the manuscript by one J. Aymon at the beginning of the 18th century (1706 and 1713).<sup>43</sup>

However, originally there may have existed even three parts: a first

<sup>42</sup> The first volume (Ms. Lat. 6277/1) consists of European paper, and is entirely written by one and the same hand; it contains: (1) the *Proemialis Declaratio* (up to § 97), with pagination in Roman numerals from Ib to XXXVII; (2) *Ta Hio* or *Scientiae Sinicae liber primus* (pp. 1-64); (3) *Chum yum* or *Scientiae Sinicae liber secundus* (pp. 65-263) and (4) the first part of *Lun-yü* or *Scientiae Sinicae liber tertius* (pp. 335-369r.); separate items, the letter of Pr. Intorcetta, addressed just before his departure to the "Sinicae et aliarum Extremi Orientis Missionum candidatis" on ff. VIIIr.-IXr., and the letter of D.-M. Sarpetri (Canton, 4 August 1668), on f°112; ff°265-334, are lost. The second volume (Ms. Lat. 6277/2) consists of several originally distinct parts, with different kinds of paper, and is written by distinct copyists. F°1-23v. has the *Proemialis declarationis pars altera* (§§ 114-176); f°24r.-243v. contain pars 2 up to 9 including *Lun-yü*, copied entirely by the same person, using the same vertical distribution of the page with the Latin translation on the left side opposite its romanized Chinese model; f°244r.-258v. gives the last part of the *Proemialis declaratio* (§§ 181-end), in its material aspects (paper, format, writing) completely identic to f°1-23v., from which it is certainly separated only by accident; f°259v., with the last paragraphs of *Lun-yü*, pars IX; f°260r.-281v., with pars X of the same.

<sup>43</sup> First, in a personal note of 5 October 1706 in the very manuscript, vol. I, p. 369v. ("... in duobus praedictis codicibus manuscriptis"); afterwards in an *observatio*, published in the *Acta Eruditorum*, 1713, p. 46 ("Observatio circa scientiam universalem Sinensium, in libro Confucii, in charta Sinensi duobus spissis maioris formae voluminibus scripto exhibitam"). The total of 950 folios, mentioned here by J. Aymon, are certainly an error for 650, as the number of pages in the manuscript actually is.

one, consisting of the totality of the present first volume, all written by the same hand (which we will call A) and without any break in its composition; a second one, containing the rest of the *Declaratio Proëmialis*, copied by B and bearing on its first folio page – at the same time the first page of the present second volume – a separate apostrophe addressed to Pr. Intorcetta, proving it was originally the ‘frontispiece’ of a new despatch;<sup>44</sup> finally, a third one, consisting of the 9 sections (2 to 10) of the *Lun-yü* translation, written in its entirety in the same hand (C), and announced as a separate item on the very last folio side of volume I (vol. I, f°369v).<sup>45</sup> A, B, and C all use the same kind of black Chinese ink; a fourth hand (D), clearly distinct from A, B, and C, and using brown ink, is responsible for the interlinear and marginal corrections and additions, and for the typographical indications; he, therefore, could be called ‘corrector’ and/or ‘editor’.

As for the identity of the copyists, we must concede that A, B, and C remain completely anonymous. On the other hand – as already reported (cf. 1.2.) through external sources we know the name of at least two or three Jesuits who were intensively engaged in the copying work: F. de Rougemont and Christian Herdtrich,<sup>46</sup> and J.-B. Maldonado,<sup>47</sup> but so far I have not been able to link any of them with a particular hand in the preserved manuscript.

**3.2.2.** I will consider now more in particular the interventions in the manuscript made by D. A preliminary observation concerns the fact that, in spite of the bi- or even tripartition of the manuscript, he had all the volumes

<sup>44</sup> See vol. II, f° 2r. (within a frame, characterizing it as a real ‘address’): “R.P. Prosper Intorcetta. En alteram partem proaemialis declarationis quam desiderabat (...). Si V.R. iudicaverit praefigendam esse operi nostro Confuciano vel totam vel summam ipsius in modum compendii, tum eam ante omnia exhibeat Adm. R. P.N. Generali, ne videamur alioquin immutare quidquam velle.” Afterwards, this text was signed, in brown ink, by Ph. Couplet, but finally both this address and the signature were deleted.

<sup>45</sup> “Secunda pars huius 3<sup>ii</sup> libri [sc. *Lun-yü*], cum reliquis partibus usque ad 10<sup>am</sup> inclusive, pervenit ad manus Patris Godefridi Henschenii Soc<sup>tis</sup> Jesu Antverpiae. Ab hoc petendi quaterniones, quibus perficitur totum opus Confucii.”

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the letter of F. de Rougemont of 5 November 1670 (H. Bosmans, “F. de Rougemont,” *op. cit.*, p. 44-45): “P. Christianus dictas 9 partes atque adeo 5 circiter et 30 quaterniones (usque eo namque opus excrevit) descripsit unus, solita cum elegantia et varietate characterum.”

<sup>47</sup> See his letter of 15 April 1672 (H. Bosmans, “Maldonado,” *op. cit.*, p. 81).

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simultaneously at his disposal. This is proven by the transposition of part of the manuscript in volume II, f°3v. to volume I, f°19 v., and the printed version shows that this was actually done. Moreover, as concerns the distribution of the corrections throughout the two (actual) volumes, it appears, after investigation, that volume II was corrected in its entirety, although the density of the interventions in the different parts is unequal. On the contrary, in volume I the text of the first book *Ta-hsüeh* (ff°1-64) is practically untouched, except for f°1r. to 3v. and a marginal addition on the last folio page, f°64r. For the moment I do not see any reason for that difference.

**3.2.2.1.** As for the nature of these interventions, I can make, after having read through the whole of the manuscript, the following distinction:

Deletions are very frequent, mostly by crossing out of the original text entire paragraphs or pages, even whole digressions such as the small essay *De litteris Sinicis* (vol. I, ff°186-202); in many places, the deletion proves to have been posterior to former corrections, and sometimes we see the corrector hesitating, an intended deletion being afterwards cancelled and the original text ultimately maintained in the edition. All in all, a good deal of the manuscript text was deleted in this way, and it gave J. Aymon, in his review of the *CSP* in the *Acta Eruditorum* (1713), the impression that only one-third of the original had been published.<sup>48</sup> The reasons for this may have been varied, but it must be recalled that de Rougemont, in his letter of 5 November 1670, had already then referred to "some of us, who judged that some parts [of the manuscript] are very worthless and very vulgar, or absolutely useless for Europeans, if we want indeed this work to be read by a European readership without any disgust or nausea."<sup>49</sup> Alleged worthlessness or vulgarity could have been the reason for having the part deleted in which the Chinese hexagrams were described; the deletion of the di-

<sup>48</sup> P. 46: "Habebit vero nova editio haec praecipua: I. Patebit inde Jesuitas vix tertiam m(anu)s(crip)ti partem publicasse in editione Paris(ina). 1687 folio vulgata, Regique Galliae dedicata [i.e., *CSP*]." J. Aymon's impression has been suggested, I think, not by a thorough comparison of the manuscript with the printed version, nor by some positive information about other, not published parts of the manuscript, but by a simple comparison of the number of pages (276) in the print with the 950 – in fact 650 – in the manuscript.

<sup>49</sup> See H. Bosmans, "F. de Rougemont," *op. cit.*, p. 45: "Caeterum non desunt ex nostris qui sic iudicent omittenda quaedam (not: quidam) esse quae admodum frivola sint admodumque vulgaria, vel nulli prorsus usui Europaeis, si quidem velimus ut hoc opus ab Europaeis sine ullo fastidio vel nausea legatur. De hoc ibi R.V. [sc. P. Intorcetta] secum ipse et cum aliis consultabit. Hoc certum est, eo futurum utilius missionariis, quo minus mutilatum."



gression on the ancient script, however, is justified by the corrector by a reference to its overlapping with part of Kircher's *China ... illustrata* (vol. I, f°190).<sup>50</sup> Apart from these genuine deletions, there are also numerous corrections and substitutions of words or sentences by alternate formulations. On the other hand, there are many additions, too, either interlinear, marginal, or even on a separate sheet of paper, affixed with glue.

Some parts were moved from their original location into a new context; the most striking example is the shift of a passage from vol. I, f°19 etc. to vol. II, §§119-120 etc.; another one from vol. II, f°3 to vol. I, f°19v. has been already mentioned before.

An important intervention concerns the subdivision of the text of the *Declaratio Proëmialis*, replacing the original arrangement in 231 numbered paragraphs and 27 *capita* with 12 *paragraphi* and one *Conclusio*, with partly new headings. A *terminus post quem* for this substitution is 1672, when the *capita* are still mentioned in Maldonado's letter of 15 April of that year.<sup>51</sup>

Last but not least, there are the very frequent, but mostly stereotype, typographical instructions, very often in French, sometimes in Latin, but always accompanying the former types of interventions. We will return to these later.

**3.2.2.2.** Apart from this typology of the corrections, there is the problem of the identity of the corrector (D). During my research on the manuscript, I have looked for indications which could provide an answer to such questions as: was D the only corrector, or was he assisted by one or more collaborators? Are there arguments in favour of the identification of D with Ph. Couplet, or are there arguments against it? When and where were these corrections made?

A first indication – though the less reliable one – in favour of Couplet as corrector is the presence of his signature in vol. II, f°2v., marked *a posteriori* in brown ink beneath the address to Pr. Intorcetta at the very beginning of the second volume.<sup>52</sup> A second testimony was said by Father

<sup>50</sup> "Nota. Quae sequuntur litterarum figurae variae, cum eae in Sina [sic] Illustrata P. Kircheri reperiantur, nisi fallor, videntur posse omitti, siquidem aliis ita videatur." It was originally intended to be appended to the *Declaratio Proëmialis* (cf. f°283v.): "Hic immediate post Proemiale Declarationem inseratur Sum(m)arium aliquot [sic] litterarum Sinicarum, quo diversitas accentuum iuxta diversitatem significationum declaretur ..."

<sup>51</sup> See the quotation in n. 13.

<sup>52</sup> See the text in n. 44.

A. Brou<sup>53</sup> to have been in vol. I, f°6, i.e., at the end of the *Operis origo et scopus* of the *Declaratio*; this is, actually, a complex and useless piece of evidence, and I have the firm impression that the original signature was that of Pr. Intorcetta, afterwards overwritten by Ph. Couplet, and finally erased.

An argument, which provides a better footing for the identification sought after, is the handwriting of both the addenda and corrigenda, especially of the longer ones. Comparing them with the handwriting in the autograph letters of Ph. Couplet, which I have collected over the past years on behalf of the Verbiest Foundation, and devoting special attention to particular letter forms and ligatures in Couplet's handwriting, I am strongly inclined to conclude that the two hands are identical.

Even more reliable, in my opinion, are the internal arguments extracted from the contents of both the addenda and corrigenda, as well as from the typographical instructions.

I already had the opportunity, after comparison with a passage in Maldonado's letter of 15 April 1672, to show that 1672 was the *terminus post quem* for the modifications to the original division of the text in the manuscript – when *paraphrasi* replaced the original *capita* – and for the newly introduced titles (cf. 3.2.2.1, *in fine*).

In vol. II, f°257r., we find, in addition to the original text, a reference to the famous visit of the K'ang-hsi Emperor to the Hsi-t'ang in Peking on 12 July 1675.<sup>54</sup>

Again, in the same vol. II, f°14r., another marginal addition refers to "a Chinese book, printed in Japan ... which now is preserved in the Royal Library."<sup>55</sup> Although I have not yet been able to identify the book in question – it dealt with the Japanese kings from 660 B.C. to A.D. 1603 – the 'Royal Library' in this quotation is most probably that in Paris.

<sup>53</sup> A. Brou, *op. cit.*, p. 554, n. 1.

<sup>54</sup> The addition runs as follows: "... quando anno 1675 12 Julii ipsemet imperator in templum nostrorum et aedes digrediens manu et penicillo regio ..." (cf. edition, p. CXII). This important moment has been described in a report by G. de Magalhães dated 9 September 1675, of which the autograph is preserved in Rome, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 124, f°100r.-100v., all originating from a limited Jesuit circuit and apparently without an echo among the general public. That Ph. Couplet in Paris knew about this visit, is certain, as he mentions it in 1686 in the updated version of his *Tabula chronologica*, p. 104.

<sup>55</sup> "... uti constat ex libro Sinico in Japonia impresso qui in Bibliotheca Regia assertur" (cf. p. LXXI).

Another indication is implied in the updating of some chronological references in the first volume of the manuscript: twice, i.e., on f°1 I and f°5 IXr. the distance between the redaction of the *Declaratio Proëmialis* and the beginning of the Chinese mission has been calculated as *octoginta et amplius annos*, afterwards changed to *centum et amplius annos*; as we know the starting year of the Chinese mission was situated by the Jesuits in 1581,<sup>56</sup> this correction or updating was produced at some moment after 1681.<sup>57</sup>

At last, the identity of the corrector and the editor can be inferred from a handwritten note in vol. II, f°18, put in the first person pluralis, and referring to a forthcoming Confucius and Mencius 'explanation':<sup>58</sup> "We will omit to deal here with these questions, because they are often discussed in the books of Confucius and Mencius, which we explain."

Finally, these addenda (and corrigenda), taken in their entirety, appear to have been added after 1681, by a man who clearly had inside information from the Peking Mission, only circulating in limited Jesuit milieus, and whose interventions in the text were actually accepted in the printed edition. Since we know the manuscripts were sent from Rome to Paris in 1685 by Ph. Couplet, that he himself went there shortly afterwards, and that he was responsible for the final phase of the publication, there is no longer any reason to doubt his responsibility for the addenda and corrigenda found in the manuscript.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Ph. Couplet, *Tabula chronologica* (Paris 1686), p. 104: "Hic quoque annus 1681 centesimus est propagatae a Soc. Jesu in Sinâ Religionis Christianae," and *idem*, *Brevis relatio de statu et qualitate missionis Sinicae* ..., Ms. in Madrid, Arch. Hist. Nac., Jes., Leg. 272, 43, f°1r.: "[Macao] solvi anno 1681, die 5 decembris. Annus hic fuit centesimus fundatae missionis Sinicae a minimae Societatis nostrae patribus Italis Michaeli Rogerio, Matthaeo Riccio, <et> Francisco Pasio. Iubilei huius memoria per totam Sinam Christianam solemniter celebrata a nostris fuit 8a Septembris eiusdem anni auspiciatissima scilicet Virginis Deiparae nascentis die, etc. ... ." The period 1581-1681 is also the chronological space covered by the *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu*, (partly) composed and published by Ph. Couplet in Paris in 1686.

<sup>57</sup> This implies also that the original version of the *Declaratio* was already finished sometime after 1661, and, by consequence, before Intorcetta had left Canton. In fact, he is the original author, as can be proven from an interesting letter, inserted in the manuscript version of the *Declaratio* (vol. I, f°VIII r.-IXv.), and at its end apparently signed by P. Intorcetta; it was afterwards almost entirely deleted by the editor.

<sup>58</sup> "... de quibus agere hic supersedemus, quod in libris Confucij et Memcij (quos explanamus) crebra ipsorum mentio occurrit"; this note is inserted in the printed edition on p. LXXVIII.

But what about the typographical instructions? As by far the major part of them was in French,<sup>59</sup> they must have been inserted only after the manuscript had been brought to Paris, i.e., in 1686–1687. Some indications allow us to identify the author, on reasonable grounds, not as a French speaking printer or publisher, but as Ph. Couplet. As most of the instructions are brief, stereotype and hastily written, the paleographic evidence is not very helpful either.

Some instructions are in Latin, and there is no visible difference with those in French (e.g.: I, f°66; 162; 190; II, f°257);<sup>60</sup> besides, on the margin of f°190 in vol. I, there is a reference to (the content of) Kircher's *China ... illustrata*.<sup>61</sup> These indications, dispersed over the two volumes and paleographically not distinguishable from the French ones are, in my opinion, hardly attributable to the Paris typographer, but are pointing to Ph. Couplet as their author. This could also explain the numerous misspellings and the rather poor quality of the French in these instructions.<sup>62</sup>

To conclude this point: the addenda and corrigenda and the typographical instructions are all by Couplet, who inserted them during his second stay in Paris in 1686–1687. I have found no indication of a second hand and, although Couplet on the occasion of some deletions (e.g., I, f°190) refers to the opinion of others, all his proposals, as far as I could check them, were realized in the printed version.

#### 4.

After the Confucius manuscripts had thus been revised and prepared for publication, they were delivered to Daniël Horthemels, a printer and publisher of Dutch origin newly converted to Catholicism.<sup>63</sup> He had his shop

<sup>59</sup> Most of them represent types such as: "il faut omettre cecy"; "il faut imprimer cecy"; "il faut commence icy"; "il faut tout imprimer"; "il faut imprimer ce qui est rayé"; "il faut imprimer tout ce qui est rayé hormis les lignes qui sont rayé de mot en mot"; "l'italien" etc.

<sup>60</sup> Vol. I, p. 66: "Haec parenthesis potest omitti si ita videatur"; p. 162: "italicâ l(itte)râ"; II, p. 257: "ad lineam."

<sup>61</sup> See the text in n. 50.

<sup>62</sup> See for instance vol. I, f. XXVIv.: "S'il n'iat pas de place pour metre ce qui suit on metra la table de 64 figures et apres cela on pousuivra [*sic*] ce qui est mis soub ce signe en l'autre foeuille comencant de la facon qui suivie ... ." A specimen of Couplet's personal command of French can be seen in his autograph letter of 20 August 1686, in Brussels, Musaeum Bollandianum, Ms. 64, f°208.

<sup>63</sup> On Daniel Hort(h)emels, see, a.o.: G(authier) P(ierre), in: *Inventaire raisonné des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts* (...), vol. 20, p. 284; H.J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs*



(ad *Maecenatem*) in the Rue St. Jacques, in the immediate vicinity of the Jesuit College Louis-le-Grand, which was probably Couplet's practical reason to entrust the manuscript to him. Much stronger, however, will have been the psychological reason, for we find him, both in the Far East and in Europe, attracted to his Flemish-Dutch countrymen. From Couplet's letters to Daniël Papebrochius in Antwerp, it can be inferred that the despatch of the now revised manuscript took place shortly before 13 June 1686.<sup>64</sup> When the book finally appeared, it was mid-April 1687.<sup>65</sup>

**4.1.** Comparing the final result with Couplet's original intentions, as expressed *passim*, we can imagine that he was not entirely satisfied with it.

To begin with, it was not a bilingual edition, as he had had in mind, according to a note at the beginning of the *Ta-hsüeh* translation (I, f°1);<sup>66</sup> in a letter of 6 March 1687, Couplet still expresses his regret about that shortcoming: "... due to problems arisen from outside."<sup>67</sup> However, in

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*et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle (1598-1701)* (Genève 1969), II, pp. 702, 723-724; 726. On his family background, see F. Nagtglas, *Levensberichten van Zeeuwen [...]* (Middelburg 1889), pp. 422-423.

<sup>64</sup> Brussels, Mus. Bolland., Ms 64, f°203: "Audeo item petere an P. Intorceta non miserit ad P. Henschenium omnia opera Confucii manuscripta et an illa adhuc modo ibi sint? Nam ipsum originale penes me est, sed quia hoc imprimitur, nec sunt qui ea possunt transcribere, cogitavi an non possent huc simul mitti cum reliquis." Cf. *ibid.*, f°199: "Confucius aliquē (?) iam sub proelo sudant."

<sup>65</sup> On 1 April 1687, D. Papebrochius announced the imminent publication to G.W. Leibniz (*Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe [SSB]*, hrsg. von der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, I, 4, p. 622): "P. Philippus Couplet sub medium Aprilem absolvet Parisijs impressionem Confutianorum librorum; inde Romam perget cum patribus Francis ad nostrae Societis Comitia Generalia pro electione novi Praepositi Generalis ..."; compare the letter of Couplet to Chr. Mentzel of 26 April 1687 (Berlin, Bibl. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Ms Germ. 1479, f°31 = Univ. Libr. Glasgow, Hunt. Ms. 299 [U.6.17], p. 176: "Absolutus iam typis est liber cui titulus *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus sive Scientia Sinica*, cui adiecta Chronologica Synopsis ...").

<sup>66</sup> Vol. I, f°1: "Latinam huius operis versionem esse ad litteram, quaeque numeris suis distincta phrasi et textui Sinico necnon characteri (qui seorsim imprimetur) ordinique ad amussim respondet." This intention answered to a desideratum of the learned public, as expressed for instance by G.W. Leibniz in his letter to D. Papebrochius of February (?) 1687 (see *SSB* I, 4, p. 612): "Utinam autem nunc liceat R.P. Coupletio characteres Sinenses aeri vel potius ligno incisos Latinae versioni adicere, ut characteri cuilibet sua respondeat explicatio, quod fieri omnino Rei Publicae interest."

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Berlin, Bibl. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. 1479, f°28 = Univ. Libr. Glasgow, Huntarian Ms. 299 (U.6.17), p. 185: "Optandum erat ut Sinicus textus ad Confucium iungeretur, quod in animo habebam, sed difficultates exterius obortae consilium interruperunt."

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some parts of the edition, visible signs remain which recall the original intention, viz., the interlinear numerical references in Liber I (I, pp. 1-39) and the first part of Liber III (vol. I, pp. 1-21), referring to the Chinese text which was published separately. As these references are absent in Liber II and in the nine other parts of Liber III, we may perhaps deduce that Liber I and III (pars 1) were already in print before the decision to omit the Chinese text was taken, i.e., before March 1686; in this hypothesis, Liber II and the rest of Liber III should have been printed shortly after this date.

According to a short note by the copyist preserved in vol. I, f°264, one had also had in mind the insertion of the 'literal translation' ("versionem mere litteralem") of *Chung-yung*, which Intorcetta had published in his *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis*.<sup>68</sup> Apparently, this plan, too, was abandoned, I do not know why. There is, however, one striking fact in the manuscript that could have some relation to this omission: in the manuscript, the folios immediately following this note, i.e., ff°265-334 (in total 69 folios), are absent; they may have contained the Intorcetta text, afterwards removed for an unknown reason. On the other hand, the *Mencius* text was also not included, although it had been in both Intorcetta's and Couplet's conception.<sup>69</sup> From a marginal correction in vol. II, f°18,<sup>70</sup> and

<sup>68</sup> Ms, vol. I, p. 284: "Quoniam supra Philosophi textum tot nostris digressionibus identidem interrupimus, hic infra subnectendam esse censuimus huius eiusdem libri versionem mere litteralem et eo quidem ordine, quo pridem in Sinis ac Goae lucem vidit, quo facilius possent Missionis Sinicae tyrones ipsius Philosophi sententias in promptu habere et cum ipsomet textu confere." There may be some relation with the fact that Couplet on 13 June 1686 - i.e., when the *CSP* was in print - informs, in a letter to D. Papebrochius (Brussels, Mus. Bolland., Ms 64, f°203) after a specimen of this edition in Antwerp: "Optarem, si forte ibi [sc. Antverpiae] reperiretur, adiungeretur liber 2<sup>us</sup> *Confucii Philosophi Sinensis* de medio constanter tenendo qui fuit impressus Goae Latino et Sinico caractere ..."

<sup>69</sup> Still, in November 1670, one hesitated to start with this voluminous work, the letter of F. de Rougemont of 5 November 1670 (H. Bosmans, "F. de Rougemont," *op. cit.*, p. 44): "... de Mencianis (rebus) lenta spes, ipso P. V. Provli serio nobis interdicante ne versionem illius suscipiamus; veretur enim ne pessumdet valetudinem nostram labor tam improbus, qualem vidit." As shortly after the missionaries were released from their banishment in Canton (September 8, 1671) and left for their missions scattered all over China, the work probably had never been started. However, Intorcetta, who was not acquainted with the latest developments in the Chinese Mission, was waiting for *Mencius*' comments at least until January 1672 (see n. 24). On Couplet's expectations, see n. 58.

<sup>70</sup> Vol. II, f°18 (see n. 58); *ibid.*, f°282: "Memcium igitur, Deo favente, in lucem Europaeam producemus, siquidem intelligamus suum qualemque locum et approba-

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another short note in vol. II, f°282v., we learn, however, that Couplet inclined to a later (separate?) publication – in case the *CSP* had a good reception! – and, in his letter of 20 April 1687, he reports that the translation is partially ready, but he still seems to need competent collaborators.<sup>71</sup>

4.2. Apart from these omissions, several other treatises are appended (not in the Confucius manuscript), dealing either with Confucian topics or with Chinese chronology and geography. Within the limits of the present contribution, it will suffice to offer just a brief listing of these.

- a. The *Vita Confucii*, adopted from Intorcetta's *Sinarum scientia* (1669);
- b. The *Tabula chronologica monarchiae Sinicae* in two parts, each containing a separate preface and 20 and 27 pages of text, respectively. The origin of these texts goes back to Couplet's own essay, entitled: *Prologomena ad Annales Sinicos necnon Synopsim chronologicam Monarchiae Sinicae*;<sup>72</sup> it was drafted in 1666, taken to Europe by Intorcetta in 1668,<sup>73</sup> and approved in Rome and in Paris in 1672–1673.<sup>74</sup>

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tionem in hoc eruditissimo saeculo et amplissimo omnium scientiarum theatro obtinuisse Confucium."

<sup>71</sup> Brussels, Mus. Bolland., Ms 64, f°211: "... si intelligo recudi Confucium, optarem addi primam partem 2<sup>di</sup> Sinarum philosophi, cui Mencius nomen est, quam mox mittendam. Quae supersunt sex partes si quis esset qui stylo formandas meliori eas vellet suscipere, brevi totum esset absolutum."

<sup>72</sup> There are, to my knowledge, three copies of this text: one in Rome, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* IV.6, f°1r.-80v.; one in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, F. Ges., n. 1314; one in Paris, BN, Ms Lat. 17.804. The text is situated "... in Quam cheu fu ... die 24 Dec. anno 1666" and the authorship is explicitly claimed by Ph. Couplet, who denies any dependence on Jesuit predecessors: see BN, Ms 17804 f°48v.: "Etenim tametsi non sit dubium quin alii ante me Societatis Patres et literarum Sinicarum me multo peritiores huiusmodi Synopsim aliquam confecerint, adhuc tamen nulla pervenit in manus meas, et si quae usquam exstiterit, timeo sane ne in hac communi librorum quoque nostrorum persecutione interierit. Atque ita multas donari mihi possunt, ut qui nullo fretus autore vel exemplo haec conatus sum." This seems to contradict the supposed dependence on lost Martini papers (cf. D.E. Mungello, in: J. Heyndrickx [ed.], p. 191).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the letter of Ph. Couplet of 24 January 1669, published by J. Barten, *Hollandse kooplieden*, p. 120: "Hierbij wort gevoecht de Chinoische chronologie van 't begin harer monarchie tot het jaer des Heeren 1666 ..."; a first European echo is found in some letters by A. Kircher of 1671, quoted in n. 16 and n. 17.

<sup>74</sup> The *iudicia* by A. Kircher and P. Possinus, made in Rome on 16 April and 17 May 1672, respectively, as well as the ones of G. Pardies and J. Gernerius, drafted in Paris on 10 September 1672 and 1 June 1673, respectively, are all preserved in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* IV.6, ff°87r.-96v.

After some updating, it was published first in Paris in 1686 by G. Garnier, the publisher of M. Thevenot's *Relations*; in 1686–1687, D. Horthemels purchased the publication rights<sup>75</sup> and incorporated it in the *CSP*; the last datable reference here is that of the first issue of Verbiest's *Elementa linguae Tartaricae* in Paris in the middle of 1686.<sup>76</sup> I will return to this Couplet treatise on another occasion.

- c. The *Tabula genealogica trium familiarum imperialium Monarchiae Sinicae ... e Sinico Latine exhibita à R.P. Couplet*, of which a first (separate) 'tirage' had apparently been distributed in Paris in 1686.
- d. The *Paradigma XV Provinciarum et CLV urbium capitalium Sinensis Imperij*, again by Couplet, and also distributed separately.<sup>77</sup>
- e. The *Imperii Sinarum et rerum in eo notabilium synopsis*, based on a Chinese source.

### 5.

In his first letter after the publication of the Confucius translation, dated 26 June 1687, Couplet wrote to D. Papebrochius about the many errors in the edition,<sup>78</sup> but also about the future: he had received a proposition for a French translation of the Confucius and, if this was realised, he wanted the *Mencius* translation to be incorporated.<sup>79</sup> However, there is no trace of such an edition.

In other letters, we find Couplet distributing one or more copies of the printed Confucius to his friends and relations: to D. Papebrochius, of cour-

<sup>75</sup> Cf. *CSP*, *Tabula Chronologica*, unnumbered page after p. 106.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. p. 106: "Ferdinandus Verbiest qui, quod isthic semina quaedam Religionis Christianae comperisset, Tartaricam grammaticam composuit, quae nunc e Regiâ Bibliothecâ in lucem prodit et, Deo aspirante, usui erit venturis in Tartariam Evangelii praeconibus." On the date of the (first issue of Verbiest's Manchu grammar, see my: "The *Elementa Linguae Tartaricae* (ELT) by F. Verbiest, S.J. (1623–1688): Some new Evidence," in: *Studies in Renaissance Linguistics* (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Preprints van het Departement Linguistiek, nr. 134) (Leuven 1991), pp. 37–40.

<sup>77</sup> A good self-evaluation of this small work is given by the author, Ph. Couplet, in his letter of 26 June 1687 to D. Papebrochius, preserved in Brussels, Mus. Bolland., Ms 64, f°211; a modern treatment is presented by B. Szczesniak, in: *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956), pp. 131–133.

<sup>78</sup> Brussels, Mus. Bolland., Ms 64, f°211: "Spero iam accepisse Confucium R. V. oblatum. Mendis scatit et erratis."

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*: "Cogitatur et de Confucio Gallice traducendo."

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se (see n. 78), to E. Renaudot,<sup>80</sup> G. Estrix,<sup>81</sup> Chr. Mentzel,<sup>82</sup> etc. However, the distribution would mainly have been done by the publisher Horthemels, who sent specimens of his new edition to colleagues in England, Holland etc.<sup>83</sup> Also to Germany, and in this case we even know the name of one of his addressees, Johann David Zunner in Frankfurt,<sup>84</sup> from whom the philosopher G.W. Leibniz had bought his personal copy, witness a letter of his hand to Landgraf Ernst von Hessen Rheinfels (19 December 1687).<sup>85</sup> And so, this long-expected book about Chinese 'antiquities' and philosophy started its journey through European intellectual circles.

### 关于《孔子—中国人的哲学家》的形成过程的再考虑

该文根据 K. Lundbaek 在(《中国文字的传统历史》, 1988) 所讨论的证据, 以及由殷铎泽、A. Kircher, E. Schelstraete、莱布尼兹的书信所提供的论据, 重新思考了《孔子—中国人的哲学家》的复杂的形成过程。

<sup>80</sup> Brussels, Mus. Boll., Ms 64, f°211.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, f°218.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. the letter of Ph. Couplet to Chr. Mentzel of 16 September 1687 (Berlin, Bibl. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. 1479, f°21 = Univ. Libr. Glasgow, Hunt. Ms 299 [U.6.17], p. 190): "Doctissimum Dominum Picques ... qui, uti spero, miserit iam aut proxime missurus Confucium."

<sup>83</sup> Ph. Couplet to Chr. Mentzel on 17 November 1687, preserved *ibid.*: "Doleo quod Confucius noster nondum ad manus venerit, cum tot exemplaria in Anglia, Hollandia et alibi demandata sunt."

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Ph. Couplet, in a letter of 26 April 1687 to Chr. Mentzel (Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. 1479, f°31 = Univ. Libr. Glasgow, Hunt. Ms 299 [U.6.17], p. 176): "Mittentur brevi exemplaria Francofurtum per typographum Danielelem Horthemel." On this famous printer, see F. Luebbeke, *Fünfhundert Jahre Buch und Druck in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt a.M. 1948), pp. 85, 87; A. Dietz, *Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Büchermesse 1462/1792* (Schriften des Messeamts, Heft 5) (Frankfurt 1921), p. 25.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. G.W. Leibniz, *SSB* I, 5, pp. 25-26: "Le libraire Zunner vient de recevoir de Paris un livre, que je desirais de voir depuis longtemps. C'est l'ouvrage de Confucius Prince des philosophes chinois qu'on a publié à Paris cette année."