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Trans-Textual Dialogue in the Jesuit Missionary Intra-Lingual Translation of the Yijing

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Trans-Textual Dialogue in the Jesuit Missionary Intra-Lingual Translation of the Yijing

Abstract

In Early Qing Dynasty, the Jesuit Figurists found the Yijing as their precious treasure and treated it as the bridge linking the gap between Christianity and Chinese civilization. The Yijing was viewed as preserving relics of this pure true religion. They tried to find Prisca theologia (ancient theology) in the Chinese classics, especially in the Yijing 易经 (the Book of Changes). This group of Jesuit Figurists viewed the Yijing as a prophetic book, which contained some of the mysteries of Christianity and so started their trans-textual dialogue with the ancient texts and the auxiliary commentaries of the Yijing. What distinguishes this dissertation from other academic research about the Jesuit Figurists is its focus on the Jesuit Figurists' Chinese works on the Yijing. Between 1710 and 1712, Bouvet wrote eight works about the Yijing in Chinese. This dissertation aims to discover the missing piece in the puzzle and make the whole research on the Jesuit Figurists' works of the Yijing more complete.

Though their endeavors on the re-interpretation of the Yijing and their proselytization failed to promote Catholicism as a national religion in China because the Kangxi Emperor and Chinese literati all had their own agenda, their dialogue with the Yijing to build the esoteric connection and parallels with Christianity reveals more and more valuable findings. The same mystical elements, such as numbers, images, characters in both the Western tradition of biblical hermeneutics, and the charts and hexagrams of Yijing, become tokens of exchange and disclose evidence of their deliberate interpretation. Each page of their Chinese handwritten manuscript should not be left unnoticed because they invite us to embark on a new journey to uncover their embedded mystic theological interpretation in their trans-textual dialogue in the intra-lingual translation of the Book of Changes.

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**TRAN-TEXTUAL DIALOGUE IN THE JESUIT
MISSIONARY INTRA-LINGUAL TRANSLATION
OF THE *YIJING***

Sophie Ling-chia Wei

A DISSERTATION

in

East Asian Languages and Civilizations

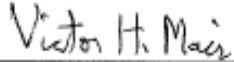
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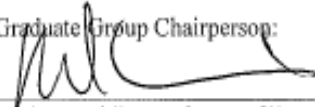
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TRANS-TEXTUAL DIALOGUE IN THE JESUIT MISSIONARY
INTRA-LINGUAL TRANSLATION OF THE *YIJING*

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Sophie Ling-chia Wei

Acknowledgements

Though I know I'll never lose affection,
For people and things that went before,
I know I'll often stop and think about them.
In my life, I love you more.

—For the Professors, friends and
people that I receive help from for the
research and writing my dissertation—

Upon hearing the cheering and clapping for passing my oral defense, suddenly I realized that it is the final stop of this self-quest research journey. It is a journey of finding answers to many questions; it is a journey of composing a full image from different perspectives; it is a journey of complementing the other side of the story with the stored manuscripts; it is also a journey along which I received much help from many sides.

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dreams.

This journey is not yet finished. There is a voice in my mind telling me that I should move on and continue this research. This is the Higher voice of my religious belief which supports me all along the way and helps me to have come so far. I will continue to travel upon this path and discover what has not been revealed, bringing more to the next generation of the world.

ABSTRACT
TRANS-TEXTUAL DIALOGUE IN THE JESUIT
MISSIONARY INTRA-LINGUAL TRANSLATION OF THE
YIJING

Sophie Ling-chia Wei

Victor H. Mair

In Early Qing Dynasty, the Jesuit Figurists found the *Yijing* as their precious treasure and treated it as the bridge linking the gap between Christianity and Chinese civilization. The *Yijing* was viewed as preserving relics of this pure true religion. They tried to find *Prisca theologia* (ancient theology) in the Chinese classics, especially in the *Yijing* 易經 (the Book of Changes). This group of Jesuit Figurists viewed the *Yijing* as a prophetic book, which contained some of the mysteries of Christianity and so started their trans-textual dialogue with the ancient texts and the auxiliary commentaries of the *Yijing*. What distinguishes this dissertation from other academic research about the Jesuit Figurists is its focus on the Jesuit Figurists' Chinese works on the *Yijing*. Between 1710 and 1712, Bouvet wrote eight works about the *Yijing* in Chinese. This dissertation aims to discover the missing piece in the puzzle and make the whole research on the Jesuit Figurists' works of the *Yijing* more complete.

Though their endeavors on the re-interpretation of the *Yijing* and their proselytization failed to promote Catholicism as a national religion in China because the Kangxi Emperor and Chinese literati all had their own agenda, their dialogue with the *Yijing* to build the esoteric connection and parallels with Christianity reveals more and more valuable findings. The same mystical elements, such as numbers, images, characters in both the Western tradition of biblical hermeneutics, and the charts and hexagrams of *Yijing*, become tokens of exchange and disclose evidence of their deliberate interpretation. Each page of their Chinese handwritten manuscript should not be left unnoticed because they invite us to embark on a new journey to uncover their embedded mystic theological interpretation in their trans-textual dialogue in the intra-lingual translation of *the Book of Changes*.

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Chapter One

Introduction

I. Background

When the Jesuit missionaries came across the ocean to China to spread Christianity, it was necessary for them to be careful in their proselytization not to condemn the long worshipped tradition of Chinese classics. They needed to let Christianity prevail but also to co-exist with the revered Confucianism, which was especially honored by the highest classes of society, the emperors and the literati. Facing the extreme arrogance that the Chinese elite harbored toward their own philosophy and tradition, the only approach that these Jesuit missionaries could follow was to adapt themselves. The degree of their accommodation determined how much their efforts could be recognized and how successful their proselytization among the Chinese subjects would be.

Therefore, when the Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci came to China in the Late Ming Dynasty. He started to adopt an accommodationist approach. Not only did he study the Chinese classics, but also he aligned himself with the Confucianists and called himself *Xiru* 西儒 (A Western Confucianist). In addition, he learned the Chinese language and translated some of the Gospels into Chinese. Ricci thought that monotheism was hidden in the ancient Chinese classics. After reading the Confucian Classics and making an in-depth analysis of them, Ricci further identified the European *Deus* with *Shangdi* 上帝 (the Lord above) in the classics. He also included *the Book of Changes* among them. He indicated that the original Confucianism had a monotheistic concept in the name they used for God, *Shangdi*, before the contamination of heterodoxy like Buddhism and *Daoism*. In *Tianzhu Shi Yi* 天主實義 (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven), many

passages were cited from Chinese Classics to demonstrate the compatibility between the original Confucianism and Christian monotheism.

In late 17th and early 18th century China, however, the Jesuits discovered that accommodating themselves to fit the image of Confucianists was not enough to satisfy the needs for proselytization. In order to spread Christianity more widely and also more firmly, these missionaries had to refute the accusation that Christianity was heresy and also make the Chinese more familiar with this foreign religion. The true dilemma for the Jesuit missionaries was that if they did not accept essential elements of the classics, they might be considered exotic or foreign; however, if they accepted some principle or philosophy that contradicted Christian faith, the accommodation would become theologically invalid. Hence, in Early Qing Dynasty, the group of Jesuit Figurists tried to find *Prisca theologia* (ancient theology) in the Chinese classics, especially in the *Yijing* 易經 (the Book of Changes).

This group of Jesuit Figurists viewed the *Yijing* as a prophetic book, which contained some of the mysteries of Christianity and so started their trans-textual dialogue with the ancient texts and the auxiliary commentaries of the *Yijing*. They tried to link the *Yijing* with an “ancient”(priscus), “original” and “pure” teaching of the divine origin of Christianity. Despite their different interpretations of and interests in the Chinese classics, these Jesuit Figurists, including Joachim Bouvet, Jean-François Foucquet, and Joseph de Prémare, focused on their so-called “misdated texts.” Their obsession toward one ancient true religion led to their relentless investigation on and research of the *Yijing*. They associated it with details of the chronology in the Old Testament and the concepts of Christianity such as the Trinity. Bouvet especially employed his expertise in mathematics and astronomy in respect to tracing the true identity of Fuxi 伏羲, paralleling the

religious history with the ancient Chinese history, which was full of sages and heroes, and locating the terms of God in the ancient Chinese classics, such as *Dao* 道 and *Shangtian* 上天. This bold and audacious interpretation partially caused the ensuing Rite Controversy among the missionaries and even led to internal conflicts among the French Jesuits.

Though at the end, both the Roman Catholic Church and the Chinese emperors and literati dismissed the Jesuit Figurists' association of *Prisca theologia* with the *Yijing*, it does not mean, however, that there is no value in studying their interaction with *the Yijing* and its commentaries. During his stay in China, Bouvet wrote more works re-interpreting the *Yijing* in Chinese than in Latin or any European language. Claudia von Collani, John W. Witek, S.J., Knud Lundbaek and other major scholars in the field of Jesuit Figurists have concentrated their study on the correspondence among these Jesuit Figurists and their Latin and European language manuscripts written for other missionaries or the Roman Catholic Church. Seldom did they thoroughly or comprehensively analyze the Chinese manuscripts written by the Figurists at a critical moment for their proselytization. These scholars' research just reveals the mindset of the Western world, including the discontent and contempt from the Roman Catholic Church, and the interaction with the European scientist, Leibniz. What is more, in the past, the missologists also analyzed their strategies as mistranslation of the *Yijing*, but as a matter of fact, this dialogue needs to be reconstructed because they made daring and audacious effort to build such an innovative and interesting Jesuit Enterprise. It is really a pity that these precious preserved manuscripts written by the Jesuit Figurists in Chinese language were left shelved and unnoticed by the circle of Asian studies. This dissertation aims to focus on the Jesuit Figurists' trans-textual dialogue.

The reason why it was a dialogue is because it was a dialogue between the Jesuit Figurists and the texts and classics they have read, a dialogue between them and the Chinese literati and the Chinese assistants/ tutors, a dialogue between the texts and manuscripts, and also a dialogue between texts and numbers in the *Yijing*. This dissertation aims to focus on the relations between the original texts of the *Yijing* and the texts and manuscripts written by these Jesuit Figurists to re-explain the *Yijing* in Chinese. For these Jesuit Figurists, this is a journey of unearthing God's mystic messages in Chinese classics and paralleling these with Christian stories, by every mean that they could act like a Chinese literatus, for proselytization.

These Jesuit Figurists conducted exhaustive studies on Chinese classics, including the *Yijing* and other classics which might be related to Christianity, according to their theological interpretation. They did the intra-lingual translation of the *Yijing*, imitating the commentaries accomplished by the literati in the past dynasties. Therefore, new dimensions of these classics, including the *Yijing*, emerged. For example, the concept of Trinity were associated with *Dao de jing* 道德經, *Huainan zi* 淮南子 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子 to prove that the Trinity has existed in the classics for thousands of years; the features of the first hexagram *Qian* 乾 (the Creative), *Yuan* 元 (Sublimity), *Heng* 亨 (Penetrating), *Li* 利 (Furthering), *Zhen* 貞 (Correct and Firm), were turned into the Holy Son's dispositions. In addition, they negotiated their identity via Chinese language, including classical and vernacular use, to win the trust from the Emperor and the literati; they also obtained their legitimate voice by composing the intra-lingual translation/commentaries and following the formats, writing/calligraphy, layout and grammatology of the past Chinese commentaries. Especially they made good use of numbers, charts and triangles in the *Yijing*, to arouse interests of the Kangxi Emperor.

This dissertation is going to reconstruct their dialogue between texts, between Chinese texts and Christian beliefs, and between high and low. Especially the focus of the attention should be turned from the attack on “mistranslation” in the past researches, to that how and why they “must” have a dialogue of the *Yijing*, across registers of languages, across ranks and between texts.

All the above trajectories are explored and explained in this dissertation and thus show how they master this trans-textual dialogue, and one of the keys they harbored might be Chinese language and characters, and they applied this language to their interpretation of the *Yijing*. Previous major scholars of missiology have concentrated on these Jesuit Figurists’ mathematical and astronomical knowledge. However, they did not focus much attention on the Chinese languages and characters in their analyses. Neither did these scholars, in a more comprehensive view, explore how these Jesuit Figurists crossed the language borders and even applied it in different formats and interpretation of numbers in the *Yijing*. It is necessary to explore how the Jesuit Figurists mastered and applied the Chinese languages, including Classical Chinese and vernacular Chinese, and characters to the re-presentations of the *Yijing*, and in what way this was affected by their interaction with the texts and the contemporary literati. Therefore, the central question of my dissertation is how and why, how well and how important did these French Jesuits employ the Chinese way as the *exterior*(my italics), such as the intra-lingual translation, the classical and vernacular use, the Chinese handwritten manuscripts as well as the numbers and charts in the *Yijing*, to proselytize the *interior*(my italics), Christian views and biblical interpretation.

To explain such an esoteric and mysterious ancient classic, the *Yijing*, even from a contemporary perspective, was a daunting task; especially when these Jesuit Figurists dug

through the mystic encoded words and tried to explain God's embedded message in different registers of Chinese. The Chinese language, for these Jesuit Figurists, was the pivotal medium to decipher the encoded messages in the ancient Chinese Classic, the *Yijing*. During the eight-month long voyage on the sea, Bouvet taught Joseph de Prémare and Jean-François Foucquet Chinese. Later when taking posts in the Qing court, they also established a small library full of Chinese classics, with the Chinese tutors to help them.¹

Joseph de Prémare made up his mind to persevere in the study of Chinese language and writing. His important work on Chinese language, *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, compiled important quotes and sentences from the Chinese classics not only for the missionaries' studies of Chinese language and characters but also for the categorization of (what he called) Modern Chinese and Ancient Chinese. What he called Modern Chinese was actually vernacular Chinese, and he quoted from *Yuan qu* 元曲 and popular novels with colloquial usages. In addition, according to Nicolas Standaert, Bouvet and Foucquet read and studied a great volume of Chinese classics.² These Jesuit Figurists digested the

¹ Claudia von. Collani, *P. Joachim Bouvet S.J. Sein Leben und sein Werk*. (Nettetal: Steyler, 1985) 57.

² The classics Bouvet read includes: *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, *Zhujing Kaoji* 諸經考異, *Tushu Bian* 圖書編, *Zhou Yi Zhuan* 周易傳, *Daxue Yan Yi Bu* 大學衍義補, *Xunzi* 荀子, *Shiji* 史記, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan* 春秋左傳, *Mozi* 墨子, *Huannanzi* 淮南子, *Chunqiu daquan* 春秋大全, *Liji* 李記, *Dongzi* 董子, *Laozi yi* 老子翼, *Laozi* 老子, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Yuzhi Zhou yi zhezhong* 御製周易折中, *Liezi* 列子, *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子, *Shuowen ziyuan* 說文文字源, *Yihuo* 易惑, *Shujing* 書經, *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, *Daodejing zhigui* 道德經指歸, *Xingli zhengmeng jishi* 性理正蒙集釋, *Peiwen yunfu* 佩文韻府, *Zhouyi tushuo* 周易圖說, *Liuqing tu* 六經圖, *Nanhua fu mo* 南華副墨, *Lushi* 路史, *Shuoyuan* 說苑, *Liushu Jingyun* 六書精蘊, *Tongjian gangmu yuanshi* 通鑑綱目原始, *Gangmu qianbian bianyi* 綱目前編辨疑, *Li Guangdi zouzhe* 李光地奏摺, *Zihui* 字彙, *Huainan Hunglie jie* 淮南鴻烈解, *Lushi houji* 路史後記, *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳, *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳, *Sishu kao* 四書考, *Jia Yi Xinshu* 賈誼新書, *Jinkui* 金匱, *Zhuzi* 朱子, *Tongzhi* 通志, *Shanhaijing* 山海經, *Zhongyong* 中庸, *Xiyuan yueyan* 西原約言, *Yi zhengyi* 易正義, *Yiwei Qianzaodu* 易緯乾鑿度, *Guiyanzi* 桂巖子, *Fengsu tong* 風俗通, *Daxue* 大學, *Zhouyi tushuo shu* 周易圖說述, *Xiangxiang* 象象=管見, *Yanzi* 晏子, *Qianque Lieshu* 潛確類書, *Baopuzhi* 抱朴子, *Shuowen* 說文, *Xuanzhong ji* 玄中記, *Chuci waiguo tu* 楚辭外國圖, *Lunyu* 論語, *Shaozi* 邵子, *Er cheng yishu* 二程遺書, *Yangzi zhu* 揚子註, *Guiguzi* 鬼谷子, *Mengzi* 孟子, *Xingli huitong* 性理會通, *Wang bi yijie* 王弼易解, *Baihu tong* 白虎通, *Taiping youlan* 太平御覽, *Shuofu* 說郛, *Lunheng* 論衡, *Laozi su zhu* 老子蘇註, *Budeyi bian* 不得已辯, *Kuai shu* 快書, *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, *Yitong zhi* 一統志, *Shiwen leiju* 事文類聚, *Zhouyi guben* 周易古本, *Dadaili naijing* 大戴禮內經, *Yi Lai Zhide zhu* 易來知德註, *Guanyinzi*

assorted sources about the *Yijing* and its commentaries, and they reproduced in their acquired languages, Chinese languages and characters, to link it with Christianity. The preciously archived manuscripts in the Vatican Library and Bibliothèque nationale de France (National Library of France), including *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present) by Bouvet, *Jing zhuan yi lun* 經傳議論 (The Discussion and Arguments of Classics and Commentaries) by Prémare, *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇 (the Inner Chapter of the Original Meaning of the Great Yi), *Yi yin* 易引 (Introduction to Yi), *Zhouyi yuan zhi tan* 周易原旨探 (The Exploration of the Original Essence of Zhouyi), *Yiyao* 易鑰 (The Key to the *Yijing*), *Yi jing zong shuo gao* 易經總說稿 (The Collection of all the Talks on *Yijing*), will be examined and surveyed to analyze the interactions and mutual influence among these ancient texts and the re-presentations of the *Yijing*.

What is more, Joachim Bouvet, in his *Tian xue ben yi* 天學本義 (The Essential Meaning of the Study of God) and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present), compiled a great series of entries about different registers of terms in Chinese. For example, 上天, the common people always used *Lao tian ye* 老天爺 (Old Father in Heaven) in referring to God, while

關尹子, *Hanshu yiwen zhixu* 漢書藝文志序, *Yupi guwen yuanjian* 御批古文淵鑑, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論, *Shiwu yuanshi* 事物原始, *Yueling guangyi* 月令廣義, *Ruiying tu* 瑞應圖, *Zhengzi tong* 正字通, *Chunqiu yundoushu* 春秋運斗樞, *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子, *Chunqiu ganjing fu* 春秋感精符, *Shiwu ganzhu* 事物紺珠, *Xingjing* 星經, *Piya* 埤雅, *Li han wen jia* 禮含文嘉, *Hanshu tianwen zhi* 漢書天文志, *Suishu tainwen zhi* 隋書天文志, *Erya yi* 爾雅翼, *Zhanshu* 占書, *Chunqiu Kong Yan tu* 春秋孔演圖, and *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書. The Chinese classics that Jean-François Foucquet worked one are *Yijie* 易解, *Yishuo* 易說, *Zhouyi Ko yi* 周易口義, *Yi xue* 易學, *Yi tushuo* 易圖說, *Yi xuanji* 易璇璣, *Gu Zhouyi* 古周易, *Yi fu lu* 易附錄, *Zhouyi qu yi* 周易去疑, *Yijing cun yi* 易經存疑, *Yijing Lai zhu* 易經來註, *Zhouyi quan shu* 周易全書, *Yi yuan* 易元, *Yi dang* 易盪, *Gu Yi huibian* 古易彙編, *Kun xue ji* 困學記, *Yijing jijie* 易經集解, *Du Yi shu* 讀易述, *Yijing bian yi* 易經辨疑. Nicolas Standaert, "Between Text and Commentaries: Europeans Reading Chinese Classics in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *The Contribution of Missionary Sinology to the Knowledge of China and Taiwan*, Jan 3-4, 2014, Fu Jen Catholic University. Xinzhuang: Monumenta Serica Sinological Research Center, Fu Jen Catholic University, Jan 3, 2014. Print. 8

the Chinese literati used *Lao tian* 老天 (Old Heaven) or *Huang tian* 皇天 (Supreme Heaven). In the Chinese Classics, God was referred to as *Huang tian shangdi* 皇天上帝 (Supreme Heaven and the Lord above). How these Jesuit Figurists compiled the entries about different usages of the religious terms, and how they employed these terms in their own works of the *Yijing* will also be a part of the analysis of this trans-textual dialogue. In the following sections of Chapter One, the first encounter of the Jesuit Figurists with the *Yijing* will be laid out; next, all issues and the stages of this trans-textual dialogue will be listed.

II. The Jesuit Figurists' Encounter with *the Book of Changes*

During his early period of stay in China, Bouvet first witnessed the prevailing influence of the *Yijing* on the literati and even on the royal class, such as the Crown Prince. Once when Claude de Visdelou 劉應, a Jesuit missionary and also one of the royal mathematicians sent by Louis XIV to the court of China, debated the *Five Classics* with the Crown Prince, Yin Reng 胤初, Bouvet listened attentively to their discussion. Yin Reng picked a few passages for Visdelou to discuss, and his brief and concise explanation impressed Yin Reng very much. The Prince dubbed him “the European who masters in Classical Chinese the most.”³ Next, Yin Reng asked him whether the religious doctrines of Christianity and Confucianism were compatible or not. Visdelou replied that the two were quite compatible and consistent; however, he added that the *Yijing* was an exception and dismissed it as a book for fortune-telling only. Yin Reng responded that it is totally the opposite; he said that the true meaning has not been revealed completely yet and praised the supreme status of the *Yijing*. After hearing this, Bouvet came up with the

³ Collani 29.

following conclusions.⁴ First, in order to facilitate the dialogue with the Chinese people, European commissioners needed to have a deep understanding of the ancient Chinese classics. Secondly, only when the missionaries verified that Christian religious doctrines were compatible with Confucianism would the Chinese resistance to this concept be reduced. Thirdly, the *Yijing*, a mystic and prophetic book, harbors a penetrating influence upon Chinese people; if this ancient Chinese classic could be interpreted in the light of Christianity, then more Chinese people might be converted.

Bouvet's interest in the *Yijing* is first indicated in his letter⁵ dated August 30 - October 15, 1697, at that time Bouvet was in France at Paris-Fontainebleau as legate of the Kangxi emperor. It could be the first time that he brought up the concepts of Figurism.⁶ Although many other missionaries viewed the *Yijing* as a book full of superstition, he believed that he had located the legitimate principles of Chinese philosophy in the *Yijing*, and he also thought that these principles were as good as those of Plato or Aristotle. Bouvet asserted that the greatness of the *Yijing* could be revealed; only through the theology of Christianity could the encrypted knowledge in *Yijing* be understood.

Figurism

Figurism originally meant looking for clues about Jesus Christ's presence and power in the Old Testament. The term later was borrowed by Jesuit missionaries, especially Bouvet, to signify the search for evidence about Jesus and the Bible in ancient Chinese classics,

⁴ John W., Witek, S.J. *Controversial Ideas in China and in Europe: a Biography of Jean-François Fouquet, S.J., 1665–1741.* (Bibliotheca Institutii Historici S.I., Vol. XLIII.) (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1982) 59–61.

⁵ Collani 30.

⁶ Witek 119.

particularly the *Yijing*. These Jesuit Figurists analyzed Chinese characters with a Christianized point of view, compared the figures in Chinese ancient documents to the figures in the Bible, combined the images in the *Yijing* with sacred revelations in the Bible, and also linked the *Yijing* with the chronology of the Bible in order to establish a coherence between Chinese classics and Christianity.

Figurism was established in the late 17th and early 18th century in Europe, and it originally aimed to resolve the differences with Judaism, and pagan religions and philosophies. In order to prove that the Old Testament is the prefiguration of the New Testament, the European Figurists tried to locate corresponding figures in the Bible and the *Yijing*. According to Claudia von Collani and other scholars, the Figurist approach to the Bible was based on three interpretive traditions within European theology:⁷ (1) typological exegesis, designed to reveal hidden meanings in the Old Testament that unlocked the mysteries of the New Testament; (2) “Ancient Theology” (*Prisca theologica*), predicated upon the idea of a divine revelation by pagan saints (including Melchizedek, the Queen of Sheba, the Three Wise Men from the East, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Orpheus, Zoroaster and others); and (3) the Jewish mystical tradition of the Kabbala, which, during the Renaissance, had produced, among its various permutations, a Judaeo-Christian version that drew upon Ancient Theology and neo-Platonism.

The Jesuit Figurists in China were a group of missionaries, led by Joachim Bouvet, and after coming to China, they centered on locating the events and figures from the Old Testament in the ancient Chinese Classics. Most of them were French Jesuits. On one

⁷ Claudia von Collani, “Figurism” in Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China: 635-1800*. (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 668-679.

hand, Bouvet's original narrative was inherited from a specific European context. It was the tradition of Platonic Christianity derived from what D. P. Walker calls "ancient theology,"⁸ which is a tradition of Christian apologetic theology applied by early Fathers, such as Lactantius, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius. These corpora, including Hermetica, Orphica, Sibylline Prophecies, Pythagorean *Carmina Aurea*, etc., were written by the Ancient Theologians, and were shown to contain vestiges of the true religion: monotheism, the Trinity, the creation of the world out of nothing through the Word, and so forth.⁹ The same tradition of misdated texts was employed by this group of Jesuit Figurists in China. Their basic premise was founded on the history stated in the Bible that all people on Earth are the descendents of Noah after the Flood. The flood in Chinese history was associated with "the Flood" in the Bible; Chinese people were thought to be the descendants of Shem, the eldest son of Noah. In the Figurists' interpretation, the images of sages and heroes, such as Yao 堯, were compared with salvation through Jesus Christ. They even believed that the prototype of Adam could be found in ancient Chinese mythology. At that moment, the *Yijing* was treated as a fragment of the Apocalypse of Enoch.

On the other hand, Figurism in China also could be traced back to Matteo Ricci's accommodation approach. In *Tianzhu shi yi* 天主實義(The True Meaning of God), Ricci pointed out the association between the doctrines of Christianity and principles in Chinese classics. He especially focused on the discussion about the existence of God, God being the creator and the protector of everything on Earth, immortality of soul, and the rewards and punishments from God toward the good and evil deeds of human beings.

⁸ Urs App, *The Birth of Orientalism*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) 8.

⁹ *Ibid.* 254; D.P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century*. (London: Duckworth, 1972) 1.

Ricci stated that the Neo-Confucianists in the Song Dynasty misunderstood the Chinese classics and only through tracing the original classics, such as *the Five Classics*, could Confucianism be correctly understood. He believed that Confucianism harbored the same monotheism as Christianity. The Jesuit Figurists, including Joachim Bouvet, Joseph de Prémare and Jean-François Foucquet, took a further step and considered that the history, the classics and the characters of China are all connected with Christianity, and all the above were following Judaeo-Christian interpretive tradition.

Figurism and the *Yijing*

Collani and other major scholars analyzed and examined the Jesuit Figurists' manuscripts and documents written in European languages. Their research led to three major areas to be considered: the Chronology in *the Yijing*, the Apocalypse in *the Yijing*, and the language and characters in both Christian and Chinese classics. These documents and manuscripts included, *Observata de vocibus Sinicis Tien et Chang-ti*,¹⁰ *Essai sur le mystere de la Trinite tire des plus anciens livres chinois*,¹¹ *De Cultu Celesti Sinarum Veterum et Modernorum*,¹² *Specimen Sapientiae Hieroglyphicae*,¹³ *Idea generalis doctrinae libri ye kim*.¹⁴ The following sections of this dissertation will elaborate what was covered by these scholars' studies and what was left unexplored. Because these

¹⁰ The original was written in Chinese and named *Tian xue ben yi* 天學本義 (The Essential Meaning of the Study of God). It was later revised by Bouvet into *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present). The translation from Latin into English is the "Observation about how Chinese people viewed these two words, Heaven and *Shangdi*."

¹¹ It was written in 1707, and the title's translation from French to English is "Essay on the mystery of the Trinity draws oldest Chinese books."

¹² *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 was translated into Latin by Prémare and Julien-Placide Herieu 赫蒼壁.

¹³ The title's translation from Latin to English is "Some Examples of the Wisdom of Hieroglyphs."

¹⁴ It was written in Latin in 1712 and stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. The title's translation from Latin to English is "The Idea of general doctrines of *Yijing*." "

major scholars centered their research on these documents and manuscripts in European languages, and also quoted from contemporary European scholars;¹⁵ it seems that only one side of the story was featured and only the interaction with the Western texts was shown.

In terms of the Chronology in the *Yijing*, Collani in her book, *P. Joachim Bouvet S.J. Sein Leben und sein Werk*, discusses in detail that the conflicts between different versions of Bible, including Rahlfs-Hanhart Septuaginta and Biblia Sacra Vulgata, gave rise to the different interpretations of missionaries thesis that the inception of Chinese history can be identified with the Flood in the Bible.¹⁶ In 1698, Charles Le Gobien (SJ, 1653-1708) 郭弼恩, a French Jesuit, in his *Histoire de l'édit de l'Empereur de la Chine*, and Louis-Daniel Le Comte (SJ, 1655-1728) 李明 in his *Nouveaux mémoire sur l'état présent de la Chine*, both proposed that the religion in China is the same as Christianity because Chinese people believed in the same *Shangzhu* 上主 (the Supreme Master). While Europe and other parts of the world were still trapped in errors and corruption, the Chinese had started to believe in this pure truth. Because of the invasion of other foreign pagan religions, such as Buddhism, the Chinese went through the stages of idolatry and atheism, but the people did not forget this one true religion. These two fathers believed that the right method for converting the Chinese was to make them realize that their ancient religion was actually compatible with Christianity. Then the Chinese would recognize that Christianity and their religions and tradition were actually compatible. The history of

¹⁵ Claudia von Collani quoted a few comments from Virgile Pinot. Pinot maintains in his classic study of the effect of the Jesuit mission in China on French society that Jesuits in the China mission as well as their European editors intentionally altered, revised, and added their own interpretations of Chinese religion and society to further mission goals and make the process of evangelization easier to undertake. Especially see Virgile Pinot, "Les écrits des les Jésuits sur la China. In *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France 1640-1740*. (1932 ; reprint, Genève : Slatkine Reprints, 1971) 144–188.

¹⁶ Collani 107.

Christianity paralleled that of ancient China.¹⁷ Such a controversial theory, however, stimulated heated debates among the Jesuit missionaries. The most discussed and debated points were:

- (1) Chinese already had knowledge of *Shangzhu* more than two thousand years prior to the birth of Jesus Christ.
- (2) The way that Chinese worship of one true God could be the model for the followers of Christianity.
- (3) The philosophies and theories of the Chinese were as good and perfect as the religious doctrines of Christianity.
- (4) Chinese had the basic essence of Christianity: true belief, modesty, inner and external worship, sacrifice, sacredness, the spirit of the Lord God and pure love.
- (5) Chinese are the race that received the most providence from God.

All the above points were a heavy blow to the Roman Catholic Church because believing in them meant that the suffering and the death of Jesus were unnecessary, and that the Jews were not the only people whom God chose and takes special care of. In addition, if Chinese have been saved, then the mission of proselytization assigned by the Church was unnecessary.

In order to solve this dilemma, Bouvet chose to follow the version of the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* and studied a great volume of Chinese classics. He stated that the flood documented in Chinese classics was the same one as in the Bible; the Chinese classics are the same as the books written by Enoch and preserved in the Ark of Noah; the rulers and sages in the Chinese ancient legends were not real historical figures but manifested the

¹⁷ Pinot 91–92.

imminent coming of the Savior.¹⁸ Based on this theory of the spread of Christianity after the flood, Bouvet further indicated that the Chinese, like the Jews, used to recognize this one true God and monotheism was imbedded in the ancient classics. Therefore, the Chinese enjoyed the same status as the Jews. It was because the Chinese later forgot the Providence and went astray, that they then became the last race, which received the gospels of Christianity.

According to Bouvet's interpretation, the fall of the Chinese people, derived from five reasons: the spread of Buddhism from India after the 1st century; Qin Shi Huang's 秦始皇 (The First Emperor of Qin Dynasty) burning books and burying the Confucianists; recurring wars in China; the corruption of Daoism; and the errors made by the historian, Sima Qian 司馬遷. Bouvet especially blamed Sima Qian for employing the wrong method for the chronology, so that an incorrect history was maintained since that time.¹⁹

In addition, Bouvet pointed out that Fuxi, who was actually Enoch, studied astronomy and then wrote the *Yijing*. He thought that because Fuxi used figures and symbols to document the apocalypse, the *Yijing* was mistaken as a book of fortune telling. Only through the mathematics in a Christianized way can the mystery be solved and can the new chronology be rebuilt. Therefore, Bouvet used *Hetu* 河圖 (Yellow River Chart) and *Luoshu* 洛書 (The Inscription of Luo River) of the *Yijing* to re-edit the chronological history of China, which is the seven thousand years from Genesis to the birth of Jesus Christ.²⁰

¹⁸ Collani 118.

¹⁹ The French manuscript is kept in Bibliothèque nationale de France, no. 17240, ff.30f. See Collani 126.

²⁰ Claudia von Collani, "The First Encounter of the West with the *Yijing*". *Monumenta Serica* 55 (2007): 254.

Collani also indicated that in these Latin manuscripts, Bouvet explained that some Chinese scholars had the same opinions about the errors made by Sima Qian and the chronology. She did not further explore how Bouvet and other Jesuit Figurists had access to these opinions, or what Chinese texts Bouvet and other Figurists interpreted and had interaction with. Nor did Collani specify Bouvet's interaction with which specific classics.

Secondly, as for Apocalypse in the *Yijing*, the Jesuits Figurists associated the images of the hexagrams with the Apocalypse and viewed them as the realization of the true doctrines of Christianity. The Yang line implies the existence, the benevolence, perfection, etc., while the Yin line implies the void, the evil, the imperfection, etc.. The hieroglyphs²¹ or Chinese characters, these Jesuit Figurists believed, were the preserved evidence of this one true pure religion, and some characters were also the bridge between the *Yijing* and Christianity.²² For example, the character *Wang* 王 (the Lord) might be the result of connecting the lines from *Qian* 乾 or *Kun* 坤. Foucquet also indicated that every line in each hexagram could represent one number, which symbolized one virtue or one mystery of the Savior. What is more, the three straight lines in *Qian* 乾 also were treated as the direct representation of Trinity in Christianity, which will be further elaborated later in Chapter Two and Chapter Five of this dissertation. While the Jesuit Figurists elaborated on the connection between the Trinity and the *Yijing* in seven chapters of *Yi yin* 易引 (Introduction to *Yi*), it is necessary here in this dissertation to connect the dots from what Collani and other major scholars have left behind.

Thirdly, with regard to the language and characters in both Christianity and Chinese

²¹ This term was used by the Jesuit Figurists to describe Chinese characters.

²² Collani 181.

classics, the Figurism approach could be thought of as the extension of Matteo Ricci's accommodationist approach. Ricci quoted from the Confucian texts and classics to explain that *Tian* 天 and *Shangdi* 上帝 in the Chinese classics and worshiped by Chinese people for thousands of years were the same as *God* in Christianity. Not only did Christianity not conflict with Confucianism, but it could be complementary to the ancient, uncontaminated Confucianism. The Jesuit Figurists expanded on the foundation laid by Ricci and further centered on the linkage between Chinese characters and Christianity. They used this word "hieroglyphs," which was derived from Latin to name the Chinese characters, because they interpreted them as relics of Holy Images. For example, according to Collani's reading of the Latin manuscripts written by Bouvet, the stop “、” means God; 人 mean Jesus Christ; + means the cross; □ means universe; ⊥ means Paradise or Heaven.²³ The Chinese characters also were associated with the events described in the Bible. The character 船, can be divided into three parts, 几, □, and 舟. Bouvet stated in the French manuscripts stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France,²⁴ that 几 means eight; □ means people, and 舟 means the boat/ ark. Therefore, this character recorded how Noah took his wife, sons and daughter-in-laws and escaped from the flood. Although in different parts of her book Collani included details of the Jesuit Figurists' association of the Chinese characters with events in the Bible, the references in Chinese texts or classics, such as *Liushu Jingyun* 六書精蘊, *Shuowen ziyuan* 說文字源, *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字, *Zhengzi tong* 正字通, that Bouvet and other Jesuit Figurists might have employed, were not indicated or discussed.

²³ Collani 117.

²⁴ The French manuscripts are stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France, no. 17240, ff. 21, 322. See Collani 117.

III. The Topolects and Classical Chinese that they learned and used in their documents and classics

As far as the Chinese language and the characters that these Jesuit figurists employed, the previous discussion conducted by Western scholars might not be sufficient. The Chinese language and the characters they learned and acquired did not only include the written forms of characters, but the sound/pronunciation of the language as well as different registers, including Classical Chinese and vernacular Chinese. While they were exploiting the external forms of the characters, the sounds of the characters also were associated with this pure and true religion in their interpretation. In a letter written by Joseph de Prémare to another father in 1724,²⁵ he stated that *Dios* comes from *Deus*, which derived from *Théos*, and there is no corresponding word in Chinese. Later, these missionaries found that the pronunciation of *Dao* 道 is quite similar to *Théos*. In addition to the sound, part of the character, *Shou* 首 (the head, the leader) also indicated that it represents the head/the leader or the leading energy in Christianity, which is *God*. This is why these Jesuit figurists, instead of being opposed to the *Dao* and Neo-Confucianism like Matteo Ricci, were very fond of *Dao* and viewed it as another manifestation of the pure virtue in Christianity.

Furthermore, one of the Jesuit Figurists' French manuscripts stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France, states the following,²⁶

. . .le 1^{er} jeroglyphe *fo* est composé de deux autres caracteres
scavoir *gin* (homo) et *kivén* (canis) comme qui diroit
homo-canis, sive canina sagacitate in venandis et
perquirendis rerum omnium causis et principiis aussi bein
que Mercure Trimegiste que les auteurs des jeroglyphes
emblematicques one representé avec une teste de chien sur un

²⁵ *Yesuhui shi zhongguo shu jian ji* 耶穌會士中國書簡集 286–.287.

²⁶ The French manuscripts are stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France, no. 17240, f. 80f

corps humain.

The translation of this paragraph is as follows:

It means the hieroglyph, *fo* 伏 is composed by two parts, *gin* 人 and *kiven* (it could be *kiuen*) 犬. Or it means a dog with a soul could hunt for the origin of everything. For example, Mercury also appears as an image of a dog-headed human being.²⁷

From the above record, one could find that *fo* 伏, *gin* 人, and *kiven* (or *kiuen*) 犬 were not the current pronunciations in Mandarin now, but it is very easy to relate each of the transcription to the local topolects.²⁸ Therefore, it also deserves research in depth and in breadth to explore how the Jesuit figurists employed the sound and the form of characters respectively to connect the *Yijing* with the Bible and Christianity, and what other texts or books about Chinese language and characters inspired them.

In addition to the sounds and the forms of characters, the Jesuit Figurists also considered the usage of Chinese language by different groups of Chinese people. At the end of *Tian xue ben yi* 天學本義 (The Essential Meaning of the Study of God) and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present), there was a section called, *Ji jing wen su yu zhu ju yin fu xiang dui faming tian xue ben yi* 集經文俗語諸句印符相對發明天學本義 (The collection of words and phrases from classics and folk sayings, after corresponding and comparing with each other, the essential meaning of the study of God was thus established). The collection of entries included the specific religious terms, phrases, and sentences that might be used for proselytization.

According to my own interpretation and analysis, this collection of entries could be

²⁷ It is the author's translation.

²⁸ These transcriptions are very similar to the pronunciation of Minnan topolect.

divided into four categories. First are the terms or sentences that might be used to describe *God*, or called *Tian Ye* 天爺 or *Shangtian* 上天 in Chinese. For example, one phrase, *wu suo bu zhi* 無所不知, is used to describe *God* as omniscient. Under this entry, there are three different ways to say it in Chinese, *Minsu* 民俗 (folk people's sayings), *Shisu* 士俗 (Literati's sayings) and *Jingwen* 經文 (quotations from the classics).

Minsu 民俗: What you have done secretly will be known by *Tian Ye* 天爺 (Father in Heaven).²⁹

Shisu 士俗: As soon as one thought appears, *Shangtian* 上天 knows.³⁰

Jingwen 經文: There is *Tian* 天 - that knows me!³¹ (From *Confucian Analects*)

The collection does not only include the assorted descriptions for the Holy God, but also the rituals and worship toward God, phrases for folk activities, and warning words for educating Chinese people. As for the rituals and worship of God, one of the entries is *Jing zhu li yi* 敬主禮儀, which also was divided into three registers of Chinese sayings.

Minsu 民俗: Burn the incense; kowtow and worship *Lao tian ye* 老天爺 (Old Father in Heaven).³²

Shisu 士俗: Burn the incense and worship *Tian* 天.³³

Jingwen 經文: to sacrifice to *Di* 帝 in the suburb of their metropolis.³⁴ (From *the Book of Rites*)

As far as phrases for folk activities are concerned, here is one of the entries, *wu gu bu sheng, qiu zhi fang de* 五穀不生, 求之方得,

Minsu 民俗: (We) rely on *Lao tian ye* 老天爺 to give us rice.³⁵

²⁹ In Chinese, it is 你在暗地裡做的事天爺都知道。

³⁰ In Chinese, it is 你舉念上天便知。

³¹ This is the English translation of James Legge. In Chinese, it is 知我者其天乎。

³² In Chinese, it is 燒香叩拜老天爺。

³³ In Chinese, it is 焚香拜天。

³⁴ In Chinese, it is 祀帝于郊。

³⁵ In Chinese, it is 靠老天爺要飯喫。

Shisu 士俗: To have rice, (we) need to beg *Tian* 天.³⁶

Jingwen 經文: Son of Heaven thus, on the very first day of the month, prays for (the harvest of) the crops toward *Shangdi* 上帝.³⁷ (From *the Book of Rites*)

The last category, warning words for educating Chinese people, also has a few entries.

Next is one example of three ways in Chinese to express *Hao qian wu ao* 好謙惡傲,

Minsu 民俗: (Don't you) be afraid of *Tian ye* 天爺 pressing your head down?³⁸

Shisu 士俗: (If one) bullies *Tian* and suppresses the minority, it will not be tolerated by *Tian*.³⁹

Jingwen 經文: The way of *Tian* loathes surplus and favors modesty.⁴⁰ (From *the Book of Changes*)

From the above examples, it clearly can be seen that folk people tend to use *Tian ye* 天爺 (Father in Heaven) or *Lao tian ye* 老天爺 (Old Father in Heaven) to describe the super being above or *God*, while the literati employed *Tian* 天 or *Shangtian* 上天 (Heaven above); in Chinese classics, *Tian* 天 or *Di* 帝 was used. It will be interesting to explore in this trans-textual dialogue how the Jesuit Figurists obtained these entries of these folk sayings and literati sayings and how they defined Classical Chinese and vernacular Chinese.

In addition to Joachim Bouvet, Joseph de Prémare was another prominent Jesuit Figurist. Prémare's efforts mainly focused on two areas: Figurism applied to Chinese classics and research on Chinese language. His work, *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* 漢語札記, is the harbinger to the next generation of Chinese grammar, *Ma shi wentong* 馬氏文通.⁴¹

³⁶ In Chinese, it is 要喫飯需求天.

³⁷ Translation by the author. In Chinese, it is 天子乃以元日祈穀于上帝.

³⁸ In Chinese, it is 不怕天爺按你的腦袋麼.

³⁹ In Chinese, it is 欺天壓小天也不容.

⁴⁰ In Chinese, it is 天道惡盈而好謙.

⁴¹ Zhang xiping 張西平. *Ouzhou zao qi hanxue shi : zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu yu xi fang hanxue de xingqi* 歐洲早期漢學史-中西文化交流與西方漢學的興起(*The Early History of Sinology in Europe: the*

Though *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* was written in 1728, it was not published until 1831 by Robert Morrison (1782-1834) in Malacca. The specialty of his work was to abandon the Latin grammar and to focus on the vernacular factors and elements in the Chinese texts. Prémare might be the first Westerner to make a distinction between Classical and vernacular Chinese. His contemporary sinologists in the Western world might still have based their studies of the Chinese language on Latin grammar, but Prémare collected phrases and sentences from Chinese classics, such as *the Four Books*. He also assembled a great volume of lines and folk sayings in the play scripts of *Yuanqu* 元曲 and popular novels, such as *Yu jiao li* 玉嬌梨 (The Two Fair Cousins), *Haoqiu zhuan* 好逑傳 (The Fortunate Union), *Shui hu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Water Margins).⁴² His detailed research on Classical and vernacular Chinese was demonstrated in *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* as well as *Ru jiao xin* 儒交信, which might be the first attempt at mimicking traditional Chinese novels with each chapter headed by a couplet giving the gist of its content. While Prémare formed a trans-textual dialogue between Chinese texts and his works about Classical and vernacular Chinese, it is also very likely that he influenced other Jesuit Figurists' works of re-presentations of the *Yijing*.

These French Jesuits paid particular attention to vernacular Chinese. The influence of vernacular Chinese on their re-presentations of the *Book of Changes* needs to be explored, especially since the *Book of Changes* is such a mysterious and esoteric classic in the eyes of Chinese literati and the common people. Based on the comparison with the vernacular Chinese used in *Ru jiao xin* 儒交信, and entries in *Tian xue ben yi* 天學本義

Cultural Exchange between China and the West and the Emergence of the Western Sinology). (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company 中華書局, 2009) 560.

⁴² Zhang 557.

and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, one chapter in this dissertation aims to illuminate how the complex concepts of *Tian* 天 and *Dao* 道 were explained in Classical and vernacular Chinese in these Chinese manuscripts, and how this strategy was utilized to proselytize the Chinese literati and the common people.

IV. Different Versions of Manuscripts

Owing to the in-depth survey on the Jesuit Figurists' manuscripts in both libraries, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library) and Bibliothèque nationale de France, the trans-textual dialogue of this dissertation also will explore the comparison between different versions of manuscripts hand written by these Jesuit Figurists. *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 is one of the examples. There are four versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 stored in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, numbered Chinois 7160-7163. There are another three versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 shelved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, numbered as Borgia Cinese 316 (14), 317 (15) and 357(9). Aside from these seven manuscripts, according to David Mungello,⁴³ there are a total of twelve different versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒. The Latin translation, *De cultu coelesti Sinarum veterim et modernorum*, was stored in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Another Latin version is shelved in Biblioteca Fariana in Pistoia, Italy. One Chinese version called *Beitang cang ben* 北堂藏本, is stored in National Library of China, Beijing. Another Chinese version called *Gu jin jing tian jian Tian xue ben yi* 古今敬天鑒 天學本義 is stored in the Bibliotheca Zi-ka-wei (the Xujiahui Library) 徐家匯藏書樓. The last one version, Skackov collection [MS 562(42)]

⁴³ David E. Mungello, "Unearthing the Manuscripts of Bouvet's Gujin after nearly three Centuries," *China Mission Studies Bulletin* X (1988) 34–61.

is stored in Rumyantsev Museum.

These different versions all were roughly divided into three sections—the Preface, the first half of the volume and the second half of the volume. The first half of the volume is composed of the core concepts about God or *Tian* first proposed by Bouvet, and then several quotations from the Chinese classics were added as references. The second half of the volume consists of the entries of three registers of Chinese sayings. There are several distinctions among these versions. Of the volumes in the Bibliothèque nationale de France : Chinois 7160 has no Preface and no second half of the volume, Chinois 7161 and 7162, both approximately the same, but the second half of the volume in Chinois 7161 is composed of 51 sets of entries while that in Chinois 7162 has 41 sets; Chinois 7163 has 50 sets. As for the manuscript, Borgia Cinese 316, stored in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, there is a Preface and a postscript, in addition to 41 sets of entries in the second half of the volume. Aside from the difference in numbers of sets, one can notice the traces of additions and replacements in the content of the entries in the second half of the volume. For example, in Borgia Cinese 316 (see above, p.17-18), the wording of the phrase is changed.

Minsu 民俗: Burn the incense and worship *Lao tian ye*
老天爺 in our house.⁴⁴

Shisu 士俗: Burn the incense for *Tian* 天 and *Di* 地 in
our family.⁴⁵

Jingwen 經文: Burn the woods to worship *Shangdi* 上
帝 in the suburb of their metropolis.⁴⁶

Based on its degree of completion or modification, Mungello extrapolated that the order of the completion should be Chinois 7160, then Borg. Cin 316 (14), Chinois 7162,

⁴⁴ In Chinese, it is 屋裡燒老天爺的香.

⁴⁵ In Chinese, it is 家庭上天地的香.

⁴⁶ In Chinese, it is 燔柴祭上帝于郊.

and then Chinois 7161.⁴⁷ Mungello, however, did not specify the reason why he ordered them in this way. One chapter of this dissertation aims to compare and contrast these different versions, especially the second half of the volume. These additions and replacements might come from Bouvet's deeper and larger amount of reading on Chinese classics, including the *Yijing*. Via the comparison and survey on the additions and replacements, it might be evident what intentional choices Bouvet had made to link the interpretation of some phrases and sentences, especially from the *Yijing*, with the major concepts of God or *Tian* or *Shangdi*. In addition, the second half of the volume in different versions also contained different compositions of entries with different registers of Chinese sayings. What was changed or deleted or added must be based on his interaction with the Chinese classics and folk sayings at that time. This part of trans-textual dialogue between different versions can be riveting.

V. Grammatology

Another issue which derived from the different versions is the written medium and format of these manuscripts of *Yijing* by the Jesuit Figurists. The Jesuit Figurists inherited Mattel Ricci's accommodationist approach, which was inclined to employ the same form and resources that local population was accustomed to. Mimicking Confucianists and Chinese literati, Jesuit missionaries also relied on the writing and borrowed the form of the printing to propagate Christianity. Gospels, interpretation or transformation of Christianity to match the Confucian way of worshipping Heaven were written down or printed in Chinese. It became a powerful medium to influence more literati and the emperors.

⁴⁷ Mungello, 38–39

These printed books of Christianity had two main purposes. First, they were a direct means of proselytization. With the publication of the Commandments and the Gospels, Chinese people would read these printed books directly and pay respect to the missionaries and Christianity; then after they learned from the missionaries, they might be converted and baptized. Secondly, it might be an indirect way of promotion. Via the printing of sophisticated books and pamphlets, Chinese people might be curious and become interested in Western culture and Christianity. According to Matteo Ricci, “There are so many places that the missionaries cannot reach, but books can. With the simple and powerful touch in the expression, the true virtue of beliefs can clearly penetrate into the minds of the readers by the means of writing. It is more effective than speaking.”⁴⁸

When it came to the Early Qing, some of these gospels were submitted to the Kangxi Emperor to win his trust; some were published to be sent back to the French King, Louis XIV, to show him the glory of China; others were sent to the Roman Catholic Church to prove that Chinese culture also was imbedded with the monotheistic origin of Christianity and the Chinese were ready to be converted. These precious primary sources were stored among literati, and the ones in France and Rome were stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library), the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, respectively.

After the personal and detailed examination of these manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library), the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, however, it is evident that they were mostly hand written by the Jesuit Figurists. Surprisingly, not only were these lines and

⁴⁸ H. Bernard 裴化行. *Tianzhu jiao shiliu shiji zai hui chuan jiao zi* 天主教十六世紀在華傳教誌 (Records of Proselytization in China in the Sixteenth Century). (Beijing, Commercial Press:1937) 261.

characters written neatly and vertically as Chinese texts traditionally are manifested, but also the Jesuit Figurists' commentaries and re-presentations were laid out as the format of the traditional commentaries of the *Yijing*. With the prosperous printing business in the Jiangnan area in the Late Ming and the Early Qing Dynasties, it is important to explore why these Jesuit Figurists chose to copy their works in hand-written form.

In addition, in terms of grammatology, the distinctive features of textual units in two manuscripts, *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇 (the Inner Chapter of the Original Meaning of the Great Yi) and *Yi gao* 易稿 (The Draft of the *Yijing*) must be examined to see the parallel with contemporary works and the commentaries of the *Yijing* in the previous dynasties. For example, the Jesuits' re-presentations of the *Yijing* are divided into a tri-level framework. The first level is the classic text of each hexagram 卦, which imitates the textual tradition of the *Yijing* starting with hexagram lines 卦辭 and followed by *Tuan zhuan* 彖傳 (the commentary on the hexagram text) and *Xiang zhuan* 象傳 (the commentary on the image). The second level is the Main Point 內意綱, which is typically a short paragraph explaining the association between this line and God or the Holy Son. The third level is the List of Details 內意目, which usually is extended from the Main Point 內意綱. It is not only explained in more detail, but also supplemented with stories from the Old Testament to prove the pure origin of monotheism in the *Yijing*. Furthermore, from time to time, supplemental sources from other Chinese classics will be written in between. For example,

Jin Xing 景星 is *De Xing* 德星 (the star of virtue). Its shape is unpredictable; it usually appears in a virtuous country. (景星者，德星也，其狀无常，出于有道之國。)

The quotation from *Hanshu tian wen zi* 漢書天文志 (The Astronomical Records in the History of Han) aims to complement the yin line in the fourth place 六四 of the

Hexagram *Kun* 坤 and the story about the birth of Jesus Christ in the Bible. Imitating the format of the commentaries from Chinese classics, including the *Yijing*, might have drawn attention and respect from the literati. In the meantime, it also increased the authority for their version of interpretation and re-presentations. This format of layout also might have influenced the layout of James Legge's and Richard Wilhelm's translation of the *Yijing*. Therefore, it is also meaningful to discuss its grammatological influence in this trans-textual dialogue.

VI. The Interaction with the Chinese Literati and Assistants

In addition to the interaction between the *Yijing* and other Chinese texts, and the influence of language and grammatology on their works, Chinese assistants were also a very important factor in this trans-textual dialogue. In the same period in the Early Qing Dynasty, there were a few works about the *Yijing*. In 1706, Hu Wei's 胡渭 (1633-1714) book, *Yitu mingbian* 易圖明辨 (A Clarification of the Diagrams in the Changes) was published. In 1715, Li Guangdi's 李光地 book, *Zhouyi zhezong* 周易折中 (Cutting to the Core of the Zhouyi) appeared. Li had worked on this book for many years, and there had been discussions at the imperial court about the *Yijing*.⁴⁹ While in 1710 or 1711, Bouvet was assigned by the Kangxi Emperor to "investigate the hidden principles of the *Yijing*;"⁵⁰ it is very probable that Bouvet had been asked to contribute comments by the Emperor or by Chinese scholars to Li's official edition of the *Yijing*'s. According to Collani, in one of Bouvet's French manuscripts, he indicated that the Kangxi Emperor discussed his work with many of his ministers; one of them was Li Guangdi. Bouvet

⁴⁹ Witek 1982, 172.

⁵⁰ Letter by Bouvet, dated November 25, 1716, ARSJ, JS 177, fols. 219r-222v; Collani 1985, p. 62.

recorded that Li thought Bouvet's methodology might be significant to reveal the true principles hidden in the ancient mythology in China. It is meaningful to compare and analyze the mutual influence between *Zhouyi zhezong* 周易折中 and these Jesuits Figurists' re-presentations of the *Yijing*, which has not been examined in depth before.

VII. Numbers and Charts in the *Yijing*

In 1712, Li Guangdi took the post as Minister of Personnel 吏部尚書 and Scholar of Wenyan ge 文淵閣大學士, and he had plenty of opportunities to discuss the *Yijing* with the Kangxi Emperor, perhaps also with Bouvet. In one letter written by Bouvet, he quoted from Li's comments⁵¹ to refute an objection from the Roman Catholic Church. Li himself also asserted that through the studies of the numbers in the Chinese classics, including the *Yijing*, the encrypted secret might be disclosed. Due to the Jesuit Figurists' teaching of the Western mathematics, as well as drawings of charts and images in the *Yijing*, being linked with the Trinity, the Kangxi Emperor was so convinced that the Western mathematics originated from China. Therefore, another trajectory of this dissertation will also focus on the Jesuit Figurists' frequent use of triangles and numbers in the *Yijing*, and how they connected with biblical interpretation.

VIII. Prelude to the Trans-textual Dialogue

The above are the issues that this dissertation will encompass and examine. Though the term "trans-textual" is applied to analyze and examine these Jesuit figurists' Chinese manuscripts on the *Yijing*, no major theories will be applied, because they did not intend to cope with these Chinese texts under any theoretical framework. Their sole focus was to

⁵¹ Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, JS 177, ff 247 f., 258.

work strenuously to locate *Prisca theologia* (ancient theology) in the *Yijing*. Any deliberate application of theories to their works might become a kind of manipulation of their choices. Therefore, based on text studies, this dissertation will look back to the paths they have trodden upon and focus on the in-depth research of the texts they have studied, including the *Yijing* and Chinese classics, popular novels, other contemporary works and commentaries of *Yijing*, contemporary literati's work on Chinese language and characters, and mutual influence on the re-presentations of the *Yijing*.

At that critical moment, facing the questioning from the Kangxi Emperor and the refutation from the Roman Catholic Church, these Jesuit Figurists found the *Yijing* as their precious treasure and treated it as the bridge linking the gap between Christianity and Chinese civilization. Or to be more precise, the *Yijing* was viewed as preserving relics of this pure true religion. Hence, they opened the dialogue between these Chinese texts and their understanding of the *Yijing*. Though their end products were the re-presentations of the *Yijing* in Chinese, what is more significant was the process in between, the interaction and the mutual influence between the Chinese texts and their works of the *Yijing*. Four aspects of the trans-textual dialogue will be revealed: their interaction with other Chinese classics and texts, language, characters and different registers of Chinese applied to their works of the *Yijing*, different versions of manuscripts as well as the numbers of the *Yijing*.

What is more, what distinguishes this dissertation from other academic research about the Jesuit Figurists is its focus on the Jesuit Figurists' Chinese works on the *Yijing*. Between 1710 and 1712, Bouvet wrote eight works about the *Yijing* in Chinese, but *Idea generalis doctrinae libri ye kim seu brevis expositio totius systematis philosophiae Ieroglyphicae in antiquissimis Sinarum libris contentae, facta Reverendo Joanni Paulo*

Gozani Visitatori hanc exigenti (The idea of the general doctrine of ye Kim⁵² is a brief introduction of the whole system of philosophy in ancient Chinese books enabled content, such requests have been made, Reverend John Paul Gozan Visitor) 易經釋義 was the only work of the *Yijing* written in a European language during that period. This dissertation aims to discover the missing piece in the puzzle and make the whole research on the Jesuit Figurists' works of the *Yijing* more complete.

⁵² *Ye Kim* is the Jesuits' romanization of *the Yijing* at that time.

Chapter Two

In Other Words

—Jesuit Figurists' Intralingual Translation in their Chinese Manuscripts of the *Yijing*—

I. Redefining Translation

What is translation? Translation is an activity which assists different groups of people to communicate with each other. In the thousand years of Western civilization, it has been defined as the best means for cross-lingual exchanges. The word “translation” comes from the Latin word *translatio*, which means to carry over to the other side. In different European languages, there are also other words for translation. Etymologically, *metapherein* in Greek, *transferre* in Latin, translate in English imply that the meaning of a text is conveyed to the target culture/language by an agent/messenger. In still other European languages, *übersetzen* in German, *översätta* in Swedish and *překladat* in Czech signify that the agent on one side prompts the transferred meaning to be conveyed into another language on the other side; *traduire* in French, *tradurre* in Italian, *traducer* in Spanish, and *perevesti* in Russian indicate that the agents lead the way to transfer the meaning across a border.

Arguments and theories about translation have developed against the backdrop of Western civilizations. Translations of the Bible and of Greek literature, politics and philosophy inspired the translation theories of Cicero, Horace, Quintilian, St. Jerome, Augustine, and so on. As each state grew and developed, the translation from Latin, the *lingua franca* at that time, into their own language, such as English, German, or French, reinforced the state consciousness and further enriched the vocabulary, turning the

topolects into different languages of the individual countries in Europe.

Was *translation* in Chinese culture and civilization, however, always conducted between languages? In Chinese historical documents and literature, there were also records of translation activities across languages. In *Cefu yuangui* 冊封元龜 (Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau),⁵³ it describes how “King Zhou took office as the Regent for six years, formulating the rites and composing music, while the world was at peace. In the south of Jiaozhi lies a country called Yuezhang, there were three *Xiangxu* 象胥 (interpreters) dispatched to do the relay translation and a white pheasant was presented to pay tribute (to the king).”⁵⁴ Based on this record, as early as the 11th century B.C.E., translation activities already took place in some parts of China. Compared to the cross-lingual translation in Western civilization, however, the translation activities in China included more diversified forms. Indeed, there may be a different framework when speaking of translation conducted in China.

Translation in China encompassed activities between topolects, which could be dated back to the Warring States period. In *Shuo yuan* 說苑 (Garden of Persuasions) written by Liu Xiang 劉向, he recorded a song of the Yue People, which was translated into the Chu topolect. In this translation, part of the original Yue song was transcribed into Chinese characters.⁵⁵ In addition, transcription with translation was practiced in the translation of Buddhist Scriptures in the early stages. Because Sanskrit and Eastern Han Chinese belong to two different language families and are quite different in terms of sounds and scripts, in the inception stage of transmission of Buddhist Scriptures,

⁵³ A Song dynasty historical encyclopedia of political essays, autobiographies, memorials and decrees, compiled 1005–1013 under Wang Qinruo 王欽若.

⁵⁴ 「周公居攝六年，制禮作樂，天下和平。交趾之南有越裳國以三象胥重譯而贈獻白雉。」

⁵⁵ 「濫兮拊草濫，予昌柎澤予昌州，州(食 甚)州州焉乎秦胥胥，纒予乎昭澶秦逾，滲提隨河湖。」 This is the transcription of this part of the Yue song.

Buddhist monks mostly followed the principle of transcription to render special terms in sutras and dhāraṇīs.⁵⁶ Especially when the Buddhist text first had to be translated into the Chinese language, there were some words with concepts that did not exist in Chinese culture, and then the Buddhist monks tended to transcribe the sounds first.

Aside from the transcription, in thousands of years of Chinese history and literature, swarms of Chinese literati wrote more of intra-lingual translation works in the form of commentaries and rewritten histories. This will be more elaborated further in the next section of this chapter. In the Early Qing Dynasty, another group of Jesuit translators/Figurists imitated the form of commentaries of Chinese literati; they transformed the Trinity and hexagrams of the *Yijing* in their rewriting of this mystic Chinese classic into the Chinese language. This chapter will discuss how these Jesuit translators crossed inter-lingual and intra-lingual borders to choose partially from the heritage of Christianity, such as the Trinity, and partially from Chinese classics for the assimilation of the Trinity of Christianity into a Chinese cultural context.

II. Intralingual Translation in China

In the context of Chinese literature and civilization, there are possibilities for other types of translation. According to Roman Jakobson's article, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation,"⁵⁷ he indicated that there could be three types of translations if we would like to differentiate the verbal signs. First, *intralingual translation* or rewording is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of the same language. Secondly, *interlingual*

⁵⁶ The exact transcription is important especially for dhāraṇīs because dhāraṇīs are considered to protect the one who chants them from malign influences and calamities.

⁵⁷ Roman Jakobson. "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation." Ed. Lawrence Venuti. *The Translation Studies Reader*. (London: Routledge, 2004) 127.

translation is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language. Thirdly, *intersemiotic translation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems. Aside from the inter-lingual translation and the translation of Buddhist Scriptures, in the past five thousand years, Chinese literati reworded and rephrased the gist of the lines in Chinese Classics and added their own interpretation in the commentaries, which could fall in the category of intralingual translation.

Examples of intralingual translation in Chinese literature and commentaries appeared in the earliest interpretation of the *Yijing*. Purportedly, Confucius wrote the *Xici* 繫辭, which is the commentary for the *Yijing*, and infused a philosophical perspective into the divinatory function of this mysterious canon.

It is said in the *Yi*, ‘Help is given to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune; advantage in every respect.’ The Master said: - ‘Blessing is the symbol of assisting. He whom Heaven assists is observant (of what is right); he whom men assist is sincere. The individual here indicated treads the path of sincerity and desires to be observant (of what is right), and studies to exalt the worthy. Hence “Help is given to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune, advantage in every respect.”’

(易曰:「自天佑之,吉無不利。」子曰:「佑者助也。天之所助者,順也;人之所助者,信也。履信思乎順,又以尚賢也。是以自天佑之,吉無不利也。」)⁵⁸

Confucius added the principles of being a *Jungzi* 君子 (the Superior Man) with virtue and sincerity into the original lines of the *Yi*. The later followers and Confucianists ensued and embarked on their own version of commentaries of Chinese Classics. Zhu Xi’s commentaries on *the Four Books*, *Sishu zhangju ji zhu* 四書章句集註 (Exegesis of the Collections of Texts from the Four Books) also were praised as another great

⁵⁸ Translation by James Legge.

representation of Chinese classics. The Confucianist in the Late Song Dynasty, Zhao Shunsun 趙順孫 (1215–1276 C.E.) extolled that, “. . . the commentaries of Zhuzi (Zhu Xi) has the delicate meaning and compact interpretation; his commentary is completely as another Confucian Classic.”⁵⁹ The modern scholar of Chinese philosophy, Wing-tsit Chan 陳榮捷 (1901–1994), also stated that, “. . . the completion of *Sishu zhangju ji zhu* values so much that the intellectuals in the East Asia can raise themselves above the previous authoritative interpretation and penetrate into the basic meaning and principles of the Confucius’ and Mencius’ teaching. He (Zhu Xi) also introduced the rational methods of research.” Therefore, the re-interpretation, as a reincarnation and a new invention of the ancient canon, can be highly praised and recognized as another masterpiece of Chinese canon among the intellectuals of the later periods in China.

In addition to the commentaries on the classics, novels and histories also could gain a new life by being paraphrased and rewritten into a different register of the same language, Chinese. Obvious examples can be located in *Yanyi* 演義 (Romance, Historical Novel) and several novels from the Ming Dynasty. Based on the historical facts and some adaptations, Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 reinterpreted and extended the scenarios in *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (Records of Three Kingdoms) into *Sangui yanyi* 三國演義 (Romance of Three Kingdoms), a chapter-based novel with beguiling details and witty conversations. Exceptional narration, panoramic descriptions of wars, the extinctive characters of each figure, and simple and easy use of Classical Chinese gave a vivid and impressive profile to the new version and infused more energy into the history of the Three Kingdoms. *Lie nu chuan* 列女傳 (The Biographies of Exemplary Women) written

⁵⁹宋末儒者趙順孫（和仲，1215–1276）在《四書纂疏·序》中說：「朱子《四書》注釋，其意精密，其語簡嚴，渾然猶經也。」

by Liu Xiang 劉向 (77 B.C.E – 6 B.C.E) in the Han Dynasty was also re-written into a vernacular novel, *Gu jin lie nu chuan yanyi* 古今列女傳演義 (Romance of the Eminent Women in the Past and at Present). There were other examples in the Late Ming novels, such as Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍 *Sanyan* 三言 (Three Volumes of Words, including *Yu shi mingyan* 喻世明言 (Stories Old and New), *Jingshi tong yan* 警世通言 (Stories to caution the World), and *Xing shi heng yan* 醒世恒言 (Stories to Awaken the World)). The ninth volume of *Jingshi tong yan* 警世通言 (Stories to caution the World), "Li Po was drunk and translated the (Emperor's) Letter to the Savage People 李謫仙醉草嚇蠻書) was elaborated by Feng Menglong based on the historical facts in *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of Tang Dynasty). The portrayal of Li Po in *Jingshi tong yan*, combined with legends and imaginative descriptions, was quite different from the compact and rigid image defined in *Xin Tangshu*.

Rewriting could be a form of translation, especially when these Jesuit Figurists crossed the interlingual border to do this intralingual translation of the *Yijing*. Jesuit Figurists followed the format of commentaries written by earlier Confucianists and Chinese literati. These Jesuits re-interpreted the mystic Classic canon, the *Yijing*. Not only did they try to locate the traces of the Trinity in the Chinese Classics, but they also transformed the meaning of hexagrams, such as *Qian* and *Kun*.

According to John Dryden's classification for translation, there are three kinds of divisions. In the Preface to Ovid's *Epistles*,⁶⁰ the poet proposed three categories of translation, *metaphrase*, which means translating an author word for word and line by line from one language into another; *paraphrase*, which means translation with latitude,

⁶⁰ John Dryden. *Ovid's Epistles*. London: Jacob Tonson, 1681. In Mona Baker, Kirsten Malmkjær, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998)153.

where the author is kept in view by the translator so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense, and that, too, is admitted to be amplified but not altered. Thirdly, it is *imitation*, which means the translator—if he has not lost that name—assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion, taking only some general hints from the original to alter the ground-work as he pleases.

Jesuit Figurists made a great elaborated literal creation of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present), *Yi yin* 易引 (Introduction to *Yi*), *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇 (the Inner Chapter of the Original Meaning of the Great *Yi*), and *Yi Gao* 易稿 (Drafts of *Yi*). In this type of intralingual translation, these Jesuit Figurists took the liberty and did more *imitation*, according to Dryden’s definition, and more transmutation of the original concepts in Christianity and in the Chinese classics for the religious purpose of proselytization.

III. Mirror and *Jian*

How the Jesuit Figurists absorbed a few main concepts, both from the West and the East, and transformed them into their new version will be elaborated in the following sections. First, as for Mirror, it is a common metaphor used in the Western philosophy for self-improvement, and moral and virtue development.⁶¹ In addition, in Christian culture, the auspicious meanings associated with mirrors were known to the Christian world. Mirrors were emblems of “reflection” and “speculation,” from the Latin root *speculum*, which means a looking-glass. The mirror is a metaphor of the human soul.

⁶¹ Shadi Bartsch. *The Mirror of the Self: Sexuality, Self-knowledge, and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006) 19–21.

In the Early Qing Dynasty, the Jesuit missionaries carried Western science and knowledge, and employed them as a means for proselytization. They not only mastered rhetoric and philosophy, but also mathematical sciences such as optics, geometry and linear perspective. In order to attract the attention of the Kangxi Emperor and his ministers, the Jesuit missionaries made use of all the optical devices available to them, including dioptrics (the science of the eye and the sense of sight) and catoptrics (the science of projection of images through mirrors).⁶² Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674–1743), the reputed Jesuit historian, narrates how Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1639–1712) entertained them in the gardens of the summer residence, using convex lenses, camera obscura, and cylindrical and pyramidal mirrors to cast shadows and project images from the outside world.⁶³

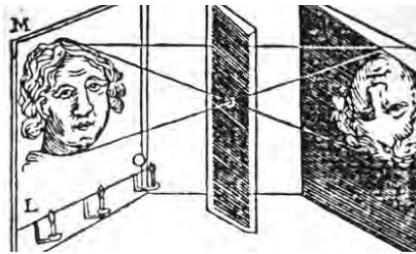


Fig. 2.1 Engraving from *Ars magna lucis et umbræ*, Rome, 1646.

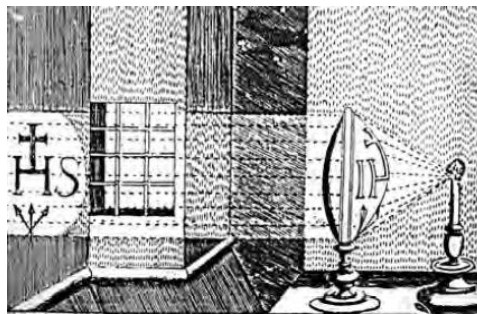


Fig. 2.2 Engraving from *Apiaria universæ philosophiæ mathematicæ in quibus paradoxæ*, Bologna, 1642, by Mario Bettini, S.J. (1582–1657).

⁶² Elisabetta Corsi. “‘Agreeable yet useful’: Notes on Jesuitical Visual Culture during the Seventeenth Century.” *Pacific Rim Report*: “Of the Mind and the Eye: Jesuit Artists in the Forbidden City in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”. 27 (April 2003): 14.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Through the device of a mirror, a man could also see the designs of God toward mankind. It is what St. Paul indicated in his first Epistle to the Corinthians.⁶⁴ The theme of light, emanation, and embodiment always has been prevalent in the proselytization of the Jesuits. Athanasius Kircher, S. J. (1602–1680) used it in the frontispiece of his treatise, *Ars magna lucis et umbræ*, to reflect the ray of divine light.

The Jesuit Figurists also were influenced by Kircher's theory about spectatorship and the embodiment of God in scientific devices. According to Collani, Bouvet had studied Hermetism and the so-called *Prisca Theologia*, influenced by the German Jesuit and polyhistorian Athanasius Kircher.⁶⁵ Kircher was noted for his theory of the metaphysics of light, the theory of universal harmony, the magnetic theology or his hieroglyphic theology. According to Kircher, "God is the source of all meaning. This meaning was diversified, radiated and emanated into the world, and all meaning has—in the end—to be referred back to God."⁶⁶ Following this theory, his metaphysics employed mirrors and lenses, which reflected or refract the divine light downwards to the Earth. Among his scientific devices, Kircher's mirror spectacles are not only entertaining but can also be viewed as moral tests, and the perception of layers of different realities hidden behind the veil of everyday phenomena created vertigo in the religious beholder.⁶⁷

In addition, a mirror also has another important theological implication. In Jesuit devotional books, the mirrors could provide a perspective toward the divine forces behind the visible world. On one of the images in Jan David's *Duodecim Specula*, for instance,

⁶⁴ Joseph George Tolley. *A Paraphrase of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, with Explanatory Notes*. (London : Hatchard and son, 1825) 96.

⁶⁵ Claudia von Collani. "The First Encounter of the West with the Yijing Introduction to and Edition of Letters and Latin Translations by French Jesuits from the 18th Century." *Monumenta Serica* 55 (2007): 240.

⁶⁶ Koen Vermeir. "Athanasius Kircher's Magical Instruments: An Essay on Science, Religion and Applied Metaphysics (1602–1680)." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 38 (2007): 365.

⁶⁷ Athanasius Kircher. *Ars magna lucis et umbræ*. (Amsterdam: Janssonius van Waesberge, 1671) 775–788.

two devout people contemplate “the invisible through the visible” and see God through a mirror (Fig. 2.3).⁶⁸ Kircher also gave a commentary on this picture, “In these things themselves, as if they were a kind of mirrors (or lenses), you will see God.”⁶⁹ These examples suggest Kircher attached great importance to mirrors, which reflect or visualize the true image and the divine emanation of God.



Fig. 2.3 A narrative image from a Jesuit devotional book, making clear that we can see God in natural phenomena as well as in a mirror. At the center, two people see God through a mirror.

Therefore, with the influence from Kircher and the Jesuits’ concentration on the use of mirror and the comprehensive study of astronomy, in *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present), Bouvet straight-forwardly explained the reason why he imitated the method of the mirror image to assemble and integrate the whole image of God.

However, it is because the wonder of the master of Heaven was scattered in the classics and commentaries. They are embedded in the mysterious writings and esoteric language. When a foreigner would like to read it, if there is no order, it is hard to comprehend. Nevertheless, in our dynasty, such a big country, it is still easy to comprehend for those Confucianists, who exhausted themselves in classics and understand the principles. Moreover, here the dogmas (of Christianity) are listed, for easy understanding upon reading. Then the divine appearance of *Shangzhu* (the

⁶⁸ Jan David S. J. *Duodecim Specula*. (Antwerp: Plantin Moretus, 1610) 96

⁶⁹ Athanasius Kircher. *Magnes sive de arte magnetica*. (Rome: Blasio Deversini & ZanobioMasotti, 1654) 617.

Lord Above) can be discerned and the origin meaning of the Studies of God can be revealed again. For example, we follow the method of *Muxue* (Vision Science) and ears, eyes, hands, feet and (different parts of) body are drawn; the upper and the lower parts, the left and the right parts strew and are not likely to be pieced up to a discernable appearance. Therefore, several mirrors are utilized to reflect, and then the appearance of a whole person is shown. Hence, the writing of the classics can clearly emanate the essence of *Shangzhu's* ability and virtue.

(但因天之主宰萬德之妙，分見於經傳，而藏於奧文微言之內，自外人外觀之，若無次序，難以明達。然在我朝大邦，窮經明理之儒，猶易察識。況茲分列其條目，如一明鑒然，則上主之神容可識，而天學之本義可以複明矣。譬如依目學之法，畫其耳目手足身體形，上下左右，錯綜分散，不成像貌之狀。乃用數面之鏡照之，方見全人之容貌。故經典之文，有明發上主能德之蘊。) ⁷⁰

To explain the book's format when presenting it to the emperor, Bouvet borrowed a metaphor from optics (*mu xue*): the true and omnipotent Lord was not revealed whole by any single Chinese text, as each of them merely revealed fragments. Therefore, in *Gu jin jing tian jian*, Bouvet, one of the leading Jesuit Figurists, adopted this method of vision science and mirrors, and collected a great amount of entries of phrases and paragraphs related to *Tian* 天 and *Di* 帝. On the other hand, however, these Jesuit Figurists also emulated forms from Chinese history and literature, *jian* 鑑.

Jian 鑑 or a mirror is also a metaphor used in Chinese philosophy and history. The *Zhuangzi* and the *Xunzi* both make use of the metaphor of the *xin* 心 (heart-mind) as a mirror. For *Zhuangzi*, a heart-mind like a mirror constitutes the ideal state of unity with the Way: “The sage’s heart-mind in stillness is the mirror of Heaven and earth, the glass of the ten thousand things.”⁷¹ What is more, *Jian* is also a form of rewriting history.

⁷⁰ Author’s translation. *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑑 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present). Manuscripts stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. Shelf Mark No.Chinois 7162. p5.

⁷¹ Author’s translation. Chen Guying 陳鼓應. “Outer Chapter: the Way of Heaven.” *Shungzi jin zhu jin shi*

Published in 1084 in the form of a chronicle, the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑; (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government) is a pioneering reference work in Chinese historiography. In 1065 C.E., Emperor Yingzong of Song ordered the great historian Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) with help from other scholars and to compile a universal history of China. In the preface of *Zizhi Tongjian*, Emperor Shengzong stated that, “The Book of Poetry says, the lesson/mirror learned from the Shang Dynasty is still near, in the dynasties after Xia.” Not only was the *jian* 鑑 (mirror) employed as a metaphor to illustrate the past lesson learned in the history, but also the style and the format in the *jian* 鑑 (mirror) in *Guwen yuanjian* 古文淵鑑 (A Profound Mirror of Ancient-Style Texts) was imitated by the Jesuit Figurists. According to the preface in *Gu jin jing tian jian*,

The Kangxi Emperor selected articles for A Profound Mirror of Ancient-Style Texts and started to reveal the original meaning of respecting God in the classics. Most of these collections could correct the errors in the commentaries and explanations of the previous dynasties, such as *Rijing* of the *Book of Documents*. . . Joys and sorrows of people’s lives cannot escape the scrutiny of God. (It is like) in the dark room or amidst the seams of houses, or at the places that are not seen or heard, everything could still be shown and inspected without omission. How smart God it is. Another explanation is that simple is God’s heart. It is said that good and evil are all exemplified in the heart of God. High as God is, he could listen to the voice of the low and the compensation of the good or the revenge of the evil is absolute enforced without doubt.⁷²

(皇上文復批選古文淵鑑，始復明典籍敬天之原意，多正前代傳解之謬，如日講書經解， . . . 民生之休戚，舉不能逃天之鑑，即暗室

莊子今註今釋 (Zhuangzi with Contemporary Commentaries and Explanations). (Taipei: The Commercial Press, 2011) 353. (莊子，“聖人之心靜乎！天地之鑑也，萬物之鏡也。”)

⁷² Author’s translation. See Bouvet. *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑑 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present). Manuscripts stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. Shelf Mark No.Chinois 7161, p3.

屋漏之中，不睹不聞之地，亦皆照察無遺焉。天之聰明如此，又解惟簡在上帝之心，云善與罪一一簡在上帝之心，天雖高，而聽而則卑，或善或惡報應，昭然斷無或爽。）

Guwen yuanjian 古文淵鑑 was a collection of prose of the past dynasties. The Kangxi Emperor summoned the great Qing Scholars, such as Xu Qianxue 徐乾學, to select and edit articles dated between the Spring and Autumn Period, and the late Song Dynasty. Not only does it collect different genres of articles and imitate the collection of *Wen Xuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature) by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531 C.E.) and *Wen Jian* 文鑑 (Mirror of Refined Literature) by Lü zu qian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181 C.E.), but it also was commented upon rigorously by the Kangxi Emperor and the editors.

By using a set of mirrors to decode them, Bouvet collected the messages carried in the Chinese classics and projected them as a complete image. Bouvet had access to *Jinyen rijiang* 經筵日講 (the daily lectures on the Five Classics) given to the Emperor by outstanding scholars. He also emulated *Guwen yuanjian*, from which he retrieved interpretations of Mengzi (Mencius) and Zhuangzi, as well as the *Yijing*. While distancing himself from orthodox Confucian scholarship at court by arguing for the Creation, Bouvet mined these sources and also used evidence-based scholarship in search of classical references to a transcendental and omnipotent Lord.

IV. Transformation of the Trinity

In another Chinese manuscript, the *Yi yin* 易引| (Introduction to *Yi*), written by the Jesuit Figurists, they at first conducted the inter-lingual translation and elaborated on the Trinity, and then they did the intralingual translation and re-interpreted the Chinese Classics.

Among the manuscripts stored in the Vatican Library, there are two versions of the *Yi yin* 易引|, with two different styles of handwriting of Chinese characters. They might have

hired a Chinese scribe to transcribe it. The obvious difference, however, is that the more beautiful and neat manuscript of *Yi yin* is the one hand-written with more details. More investigation about different versions and grammatology of these transcripts will be further elaborated in Chapter Four.

The *Yi yin* is composed of seven sections. In the four main sections, the Jesuit Figurists mainly explain the importance of *Yi san* 一三 (Triune),⁷³ which is another term coined by the Jesuit Figurists to explain the Trinity. The term is so prevalent that it is always presented together with the terms such as, *Yi san zhu* 一三主 (the Triune Creator) or *Yi san zaowuzhu* 一三造物主 (the Triune Creator). The Jesuit Figurists spared no details and explained the association between *Yi san zhu* 一三主 (the Triune Creator) and the *Yijing*, with the evidence collected from other classics as well. These Figurists viewed lines in the *Yijing* and in other classics as their firmest support of the hidden *Prisca Theologia* (the ancient theology). Without criticizing the previous Confucianists' commentaries, they assumed the unprecedented role that other foreign missionaries seldom had taken, as the commentators of these classic canons, including the *Yijing*.

In each section, the format begins with always a blending of the history of Christianity with Chinese history or with the interpretation in the *Yijing*. The Jesuit Figurists located parallels in the stories on both sides, and missing pieces in the history of Christianity or in the West can be pieced together from the Chinese classics, as retold by the Jesuit Figurists. Then the original wording and phrases in the *Yijing* and other classics were listed as the most persistent evidence from God. What follows next is that, in smaller fonts, these Figurists added explanations about why these quotations could be

⁷³ According to *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, the word *triune* was first used in 1605. It might be possible that these Jesuit Figurists followed this term and then translated it into *Yi san* 一三 in Chinese.

used as unrelenting proof. For example, in these commentaries, the line in the *Yijing* is quoted: *Yi* says, first, there are Heaven and Earth and then derived myriads of things; after the birth of myriads of things, here come a man and a woman.⁷⁴ Then in smaller fonts, the Jesuit Figurists wrote as follows,

Though myriads of things all were generated by Heaven and Earth, one *Yin* and one *Yang* combined, and tens of thousands of people were derived accordingly from one man and one woman, which were our prime ancestors, the merits of the birth of mankind as well as myriads of things was actually based on *Yi san zhu* 一三主 (The Triune Creator). Only the number One can control the authority of the creation and the birth.⁷⁵

(萬物雖皆由天地一陰一陽相結所造，萬民雖皆由元祖一男一女配合所生，然人與物所以造生之功，寔皆本于一三主，惟一握造化生生之權。)

In these small-font commentary-like statements, they re-interpreted text to further vindicate that *Yi san* 一三 (Triune), which means Trinity, already could have existed and been connected with the *Yijing* and other classics, such as the *Laozi*.

Among all the Chinese manuscripts, *Yi yin* 易引, is the one to which the Jesuit Figurists dedicated the most effort while explaining and linking the Trinity with the Chinese classics. The first section is the framework of *Xian tian* 先天 (Pre-Heaven) and *Hou tian* 後天 (Latter Heaven) of *Yi*. It first elaborated that the charts and writings of the *Yijing* preserve the ancient and pure principles of God. Although the West could not be compared to *Zhonghua* 中華 (China; Central State of the World), *Da qin* 大秦 (the Roman Empire) and *Erriduo* 厄日多 (Egypt) fortunately preserved ancient sayings and charts, which matched the gist of *Yi*. In the second section, before they showed the

⁷⁴ 易云。有天地然後有萬物。有萬物然後有男女。 See Bouvet. The Fifth Section of *Yi yin* 易引五節. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 19. Author's translation.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Author's translation.

quotations from the other ancient classics, the Jesuit Figurists explained the Holy Son, like *Gen* 艮 (Keeping Still, Mountain),⁷⁶ had the personality as a divine person, smart and with the pure goodness, which are all the ultimate disposition in the *Yi*. He progressed only until the ultimate goodness. In addition, it also described one arrogant rebel, who is defiant against God and thus named this rebel *Kang long* 亢龍.⁷⁷ *Kang long* 亢龍 in the canon of the *Yijing* always is used to describe the top yang line in the first hexagram, *Qian* 乾 (the Persevering). Originally *Kang long* 亢龍 meant the superior man at the top place might have more desires exceeding his capacity and then lose contact with the rest of the ministers; thus, a precipitous fall might follow.⁷⁸ Here under the Jesuit Figurists' deliberate reading, they compared *Kang long* 亢龍 as the rebel in Heaven, neither respectful nor fearful toward God, and thus isolating himself from God.⁷⁹

In the following four sections, these Jesuit Figurists managed to conduct a more delicate fusion between their transformed Trinity and *Taiji* and *Dao* in the *Yijing*. Most of the quotations are from the *Yijing* as well as other classics, which might have some association with *Dao*. In Section Three of the *Yi yin*, the Jesuit Figurists first stated what is in *Yi zhuan* 易傳 (Commentaries to the *Yi*) that *Yi* has *Taiji*, which generates two poles and *Li* 禮 (the Rites) is based on the Great One, which is divided into Heaven and Earth. Then they pointed out that there was a great sage/teacher called Meise 每瑟 (Matthew), who had an esoteric principle and teaching about the way of God. He explained that the following chart (Fig. 2.4) starts from one and ended at the number three. It is called the

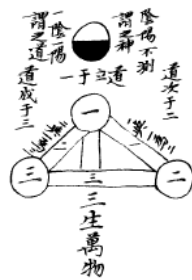
⁷⁶ 恆如山艮。(His personality is as persistent as *Gen* 艮, the mountain.) *Gen* 艮 is the fiftieth hexagram of the *Yijing*. See Bouvet. The Second Section of *Yi yin* 易引|二節. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 5. Author's translation.

⁷⁷ Bouvet. The Second Section of *Yi yin* 易引|二節. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 5. Author's translation.

⁷⁸ Wilhelm, Richard. *The I Ching or Book of Changes: The Richard Wilhelm Translation*. Trans. Cary F. Baynes. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977) 10.

⁷⁹ 不敬不畏，自絕于天。(Author's translation.) See *Gujin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑑, 6.

chart of Three Poles and Three Elements (三極三才之圖). What is different from the original Trinity chart (Fig. 2.5) in the Christian culture is that there is one more circle above, which is composed of two parts, yin and yang. It is an obvious influence from *Taiji* and the *Yijing*.



此圖三圈之一二三乃三極也。
 其間之一二三乃三才也。

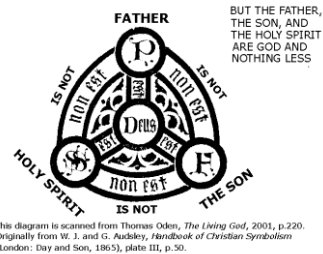


Fig. 2.4 the chart of Three Poles and Three Elements (三極三才之圖) (Left)

Fig. 2.5 The Original Chart of Trinity (Right)

What follows is their interpretation of the Trinity, but with the incorporation of the concept, *Taiji*.

Trinity starts from no beginning, with the same essence and with the same existence. There is no difference in order or ranking. However, because there are three different persons, the first is the Father who generates; the second is the Son who is begotten, and the third is the Holy Spirit who is derived from the interaction and the mutual love between the Father and the Son. This is the delicacy of Three Divine Persons in one God. The Three Persons

are actually One Being. One body derives Three Divine Persons. However, the Three (Persons) are not divided in this One (Being) while One God is not separated into Three Persons. Three is divine, mysterious and hard to predict. The first, the second and the third are combined into One. The way of growth and development comes from no beginning to the existence; then from the beginning derives nine. The way of spirit and non-spirit, the way of shapes and non-shape, the three-pole and three-element *Taiji* of *Wuji* is ready.

(三位既從無始同體同有，無先後大小之殊，然因有三位之異，則第一生第二者為父，第二受生者為子，父子相愛神感而發第三位者為神，其體一位三之精微，真三為一，一為三，三非一，一非三，三神妙難測，一二三合一，生發之道，既從無始自有，則有始之外發生九，有靈無靈，有形無形之道，三極三才無極之太極已備矣。)⁸⁰

In the first place, the Jesuit Figurists explained the concept of the Trinity in detail, and how the co-existence of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is actually the God. The ingenious and exquisite association of *Yi san* 一三 (Triune) in Trinity with the term, *San yi* 三一 (Three One) in ancient classics about *Dao*, and the connection with *Wuji* and *Taiji* used by these Jesuit Figurists, cannot be ignored, however, and further investigation of their tactics is needed.

In the following sections, these Jesuit Figurists started to quote from several important Chinese classics, such as the *Yijing*, *Dao de jing* 道德經, *Huainan zi* 淮南子, and *Zhuangzi* 莊子, to prove that *Yi san* 一三 (Triune) and the Trinity already had existed in the classics for thousands of years. For example, in Laozi's *Dao de jing*, "Dao generates One, which derives Two and then Two leads to Three, which gives birth to myriads of things."⁸¹ The principle of creation in *Dao* was utilized to identify with God's

⁸⁰ Bouvet. The Third Section of *Yi yin* 易引三節. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 10. Author's translation.

⁸¹ 道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物。 Author's translation.

creation of the world. What is more in their own commentaries they further linked the generation of One, Two and Three with the three divine persons in the Trinity.

According to *Dao de jing*, *Dao* is void/empty and thus it is used. It is said that we do not know whose son it is. (We could) clearly say it is the second of *Yi san* 一三 (Triune); it is the son of the first (the Holy Father). The first two sections discuss about *Dao*. It starts from the first place of *Yi san* 一三 (Triune), which is the heart of *Dao* and it is the foundation of *Dao*. The second place is the center of *Dao*. The third place is the accomplishment of *Dao*. These are the two Primes of *Dao*. Though *Yi san* 一三 (Triune) achieves in the same way, because the crowds discuss about *Dao*, they might all attribute it to the center. Therefore, according to (the principles) preserved in *Da qin*, the second in *Yi san* 一三 (Triune) is placed in between the first and the third. It is especially called *Dao*.

(按道德經云。道冲而用之者。其云吾不知其誰之子者。明論一三之第二。為一三第一之子也。⁸²... 先前二節論道。始于一三之第一。為道之心。道之本也。第二為道之中。第三為道之成。道之二元也。雖一三同成一道。因眾論道。必歸于中。故據大秦以一三之第二。居第一第三之中。特謂之道。)⁸³

Jesuit Figurists detected the commonality of *Yi san* 一三 (Triune) in the Trinity with *San yi* 三一 (Three One) in the Chinese classics and thus started to call God, *Yi san zaowuzhu* 一三造物主 (The Triune Creator) in their following interpretation of the Trinity. In addition, another implications about *San yi* 三一 (Three One) in other Chinese classics about *Dao* also might have led the Jesuit Figurists to identify *San yi* 三一 (Three One) with *Yi san* 一三 (Triune) in the Trinity. In the third volume of *Yunji qi qian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds),⁸⁴ *San yi* 三一 (Three One) also was

⁸² It implies the Holy Son.

⁸³ This part is the smaller-font commentary done by the Jesuit Figurists, to explain “道冲而用之。或不盈。” See Bouvet. The Fourth Section of *Yi yin* 易引四節. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 22.

⁸⁴ The *Yunji qi qian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds) (c. 1029) is an anthology of the Daoist Canon, which the scholar-official Zhang Junfang 張君房 compiled for Emperor Zhenzong of

indicated to represent the three purenesses 三清, which are the three transcendental beings and reincarnations of *Yuan shi tian zun* 元始天尊 (the Primeval Lord of Heaven).⁸⁵ The three reincarnations of one God in *Daoism* might have attracted the attention of the Jesuits, and they thus associated it with the three substantial people to define God. With this association with this special term in the classics, *San yi* 三一 (Three One), in their own intralingual translation, it might have led to or imposed a great influence on the later modern translation of the Trinity into Chinese as *Sheng san yi* 聖三一. This connection needs more research, and it will be the next focus of the author's study.

Furthermore, Jesuit Figurists quoted from *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Great Historian) that, "In the ancient times, Son of Heaven prepared *Tailao*⁸⁶ to worship *San yi*."⁸⁷ *San yi* 三一 (Three One) stands for *Tian yi* 天一 (Heaven One), *Di yi* 地一 (Earth One) and *Tai yi* 泰一 (the Harmonious One). Another sentence was quoted from *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Great Historian) that, "*Tai yi* 泰一 was another appellation for God."⁸⁸ Here the quotation was employed so that these Jesuit Figurists could prove again that *San yi* 三一 (Three One) in ancient classics can be identified with three divine persons in God, the Trinity. Comprehensive research, extensive reading as well as quotations from the classics were utilized by these Jesuit Figurists. They also followed

Song.

⁸⁵ They are *Tianbao jun* 天寶君 (Lord of Celestial Treasure), *Lingbao jun* 靈寶君 (Lord of Numinous Treasure), and *Shenbao jun* 神寶君 (Lord of Divine Treasure) are the *Sanyuan* 三元 (Three Primes) or the *Sanqing* 三清 (Three Pureness).

⁸⁶ *Tailao* 太牢 means the whole set of sacrifice, which includes a whole cow, a whole lamb and a whole pig. The whole set of sacrifice was only used by the Emperor for worship.

⁸⁷ 史記云：古者天子三年。一用太牢。具祠神三一。 See Bouvet. The Third Section of *Yi yin* 易引三節. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 14.

⁸⁸ See Bouvet. The Fifth Section of *Yi yin* 易引五節. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 33.

the format of the previous *jian* 鑑, with the thorough collection and their own commentaries aside, in order to persuade the Chinese literati that *San yi* 三一 (Three One) in Chinese classics is parallel with the Trinity in Christianity.



Aside from the extant literature, the Jesuits also took good advantage of their knowledge of mathematics and hieroglyphics to re-interpret and link the Trinity with *Taiji*. In another Chinese manuscript, *Taiji lue shuo* 太極略說 (The Rough Explanation of *Taiji*), by using algorithms, the Jesuit Figurists elaborated that *Taiji* contains Three and then becomes One.⁸⁹ With their hand drawings, *Taiji* is no longer divided into two poles, *yin* and *yang*, nor related to the non-material *Qi* 氣; instead, three circles were used to describe the essence of *Taiji*, *San yi* 三一 (Three One).

The one called *Three One Taiji* was documented in the ancient classics and quoted by the Confucianists. While Diagram of Heaven's Exaltedness and Earth's Lowliness is viewed, Heaven is one and Earth is two, which compose three small circles. When these (three circles) are combined, the pattern is displayed as such. Numbers and geometry both start from the number One and then accomplish at the number Three. Therefore, One is Three and Three is One.⁹⁰ One is the foundation of numbers; only when the number One optimizes its ability, can it extend its talent. It accomplishes its virtue exhaustively and generates itself, the number One. Laozi said one generated two; Zhuangzi also said the so-called number One is the one that generates two. The number Two is the origin of the *Yin* numbers. Two and one generate Three, which is the origin of the *Yang* numbers. Hence, the numbers of Heaven and myriads of images, one root and two origins, as well as the principles of three elements integrating into one, can be ready here.

(三一太極者，古傳載之，儒者引之。...觀天尊地卑圖，天一地

⁸⁹ 太極含三為一。

⁹⁰ This is the place where they link *Taiji* with Trinity.

二，自成三微圓。  合而一之，其式如此。  ...數與幾何，並始於一，而成於三。...故一即三，三即一，一者數之本也，惟一至能，始伸其才。窮就其德，自生如己之一，老子所謂一生二，莊子所謂一與言生二者是也。二者陰數之元也。二與一生三。三者陽數之元也。是故天數萬象，一本二元，三才合一之理，盡備乎此。) ⁹¹

These Jesuit Figurists were outspoken advocates of *Taiji* and *Dao*. Instead of standing on the same side as their predecessor, Matteo Ricci, and opposing *Taiji* and *Dao*, Bouvet and his protégés did not hesitate in using the linkage with *Taiji* and *Dao*, which were also two important concepts in the *Yijing*.

What is more, the Jesuit Figurists' study of hieroglyphs also turned their attention to the Trinity, to the dots “、” in Chinese characters or hieroglyphs in China. In one appendix called *Fu guzhuang yiji lun* 附古傳遺跡論 (The Appendix of the Discussion on the Remaining Traces in the Ancient Commentaries), *Tai yi* 太一 was re-interpreted and the character, *Tai* 太, was deciphered to explain the Trinity.

In the ancient times, Son of Heaven worshipped *Tai yi* 太一 (the Great One) at the Southern suburbs. According to the original meaning of (Chinese) characters, 太 can be divided to 大 and 、. 、 means Lord. One means Three (in) One. Therefore, it is clear that *Tai yi* 太一 (the Great One) is Trinity, the great *God*. When it came to the later generations, there was the chaos caused by evil ways and the real heresy arose. People had forgotten *Tianzhu* 天主 (Lord of Heaven).

(古者天子祭太一于南郊。據文字本義，太從大從、。、者主也，而一者三一也，則夫太一為聖三一大主明矣，故古者天子又祭三一于南郊，及于後世則邪道亂，真異端蠱起，人忘天主。) ⁹²

⁹¹ Bouvet. *Taiji lue shuo* 太極略說 (The Rough Explanation of Taiji). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 5, p. 3-4. Author's translation.

⁹² Bouvet. *Fu gu zhuang yiji lun* 附古傳遺跡論 (The Appendix of the Discussion on the Remaining Traces in the Ancient Commentaries). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No.7, p. 49. Author's translation.

Based on their intralingual translation of the *Yijing* and other classics related to *Dao*, these Jesuit Figurists connected the Trinity with traces of *San yi* 三一 (Three One) from the ancient classics. The Jesuit Figurists treated them as messages of *Prisca Theologia* left by God that could be paralleled with what had been preserved in *Da qin* 大秦. With their well-researched entries and evidence-based scholarship, the Trinity had been transformed with the implications about *Taiji* and *Dao*. It was because *Taiji* contained Three and then becomes One 太極含三為一 and “Dao generates One, which derives Two and then Two leads to Three, which gives birth to myriads of things.” Added with the perspectives from mathematics and hieroglyphics, the linkage with *San yi* 三一 (Three One) in Chinese classics showed that these Jesuit Figurists not only tried to convince the Chinese literati that this pure and ancient religion had existed in ancient China, but also might have helped to derive the later translation of the word “Trinity” into *San yi* 三一 in Chinese.

V. Transmutation of Hexagrams

In *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇 (the Inner Chapter of the Original Meaning of the Great *Yi*) and *Yi Gao* 易稿 (Drafts of *Yi*), these Jesuit Figurists re-interpreted the hexagrams in the *Yijing* but also incorporated the messages of Christianity and the Trinity in this intralingual translation for proselytization. The Jesuits’ re-presentations of the *Yijing* in these two manuscripts are divided into a tri-level framework. The first level is the classic text of each hexagram 卦, which imitated the textual tradition of the *Yijing* starting with hexagram lines 卦辭 and followed by *Tuan zhuan* 彖傳 (the commentary on the hexagram text) and *Xiang zhuan* 象傳 (the commentary on the image). The second level is the Main Point 內意綱, which was typically a short paragraph explaining

the association between this line and *God* or the Holy Son . The third level is the List of Details 內意目, which usually was extended from the Main Point 內意綱. It is not only explained in more detail, but also supplemented with stories from the Old Testament to prove the pure origin of monotheism in the *Yijing*. Furthermore, from time to time, supplemental sources from other Chinese classics were written in between.

In these two manuscripts, *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇 (the Inner Chapter of the Original Meaning of the Great *Yi*) and *Yi Gao* 易稿 (Drafts of *Yi*), the Jesuit Figurists re-interpreted the first twelve hexagrams from *Qian* 乾 (the Creation/ the Persevering), *Kun* 坤 (the Receptive), *Tun* 屯 (Difficulty at the Beginning), *Meng* 蒙 (Youthful Folly), *Xu* 需 (Waiting), *Song* 訟 (Conflict), *Shih* 師 (the Army), *Bi* 比 (Holding Together), *Xiao Xu* 小畜 (The Taming Power of the Small), *Lǚ* 履 (Treading), *Tai* 泰 (Peace), to *Pi* 否 (Standstill). As *Qian* 乾 (the Creation/ the Persevering) and *Kun* 坤 (the Receptive) are the first two hexagrams of the *Yijing*, these two hexagrams occupied the greatest space of the re-interpretation and formed the manuscript, *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇. The other ten hexagrams composed *Yi Gao* 易稿. Following the arrangement of thirty-two complementary pairs in the *Yijing*, these Jesuit Figurists retold the stories of Christianity, and depicted *God* and the Holy Son with the description and personality of the Superior Man in the *Yijing*.

The first conspicuous example of retelling the *Yijing* lies in the first pair, *Qian* and *Kun*. In the commentaries of the six lines in the first hexagram, *Qian*, the six places and lines were transformed into each of the six thousand years before the sacrifice of the *Jiushi zhizhu* 救世之主⁹³ (the Savior). According to the Jesuit Figurists' commentaries

⁹³ In this hand-written manuscript, the Jesuit Figurists wrote “救” instead of “救.” It might be an archaic usage.

for “Because the holy man is clear as to the end and the beginning, as to the way in which each of the six stages completes itself in its own time, he mounts on them toward heaven as though on six dragons,”⁹⁴

When *Shangzhu* 上主 (the Lord above) first created Heaven, Earth and divine mankind, the merits of Pre-Heaven were accomplished after six days. Since this beginning till the period of saving the world was rebuilt, the merits of Latter Heaven were also accomplished after six days. This is based on the *Tianzhu Bible* 天主聖經; for Latter Heaven, it took one thousand years to be one day (in heaven). The course of *Qian* is run by six dragons, for six thousand years based on the course of heaven. It took six cycles and then each of the six stages completes itself in its own time. (上主初造天地神人，先天之功，六日而成。自厥初至于再造球世之期，後天之功，亦六日而成。蓋據天主聖經，後天以一千年為一日，乾道六龍運行，乃天運六千年，始終六周，六位時成。)⁹⁵

Originally, the six lines/places of *Qian* in the ancient canon of the *Yijing* were interpreted by the Confucianists and Chinese literati as the superior man or the ruler of the men will obtain success if he follows this path of the universe, and acts and responds according to the right timing of each of the six places. In this quoted example, however, six thousand years before the Savior sacrificed himself was divided into six stages in accordance with the stories in Christianity.

For example, the yang line in the first place of the first Hexagram, *Qian* 乾 (the Creation/the Persevering), originally means hidden dragon and admonished the superior man/Jungzi not to act. In the next level of their own commentaries, the Jesuit Figurists further applied stories of Christianity to this part of the commentaries.

The Holy Son was committed to take the divine order from the

⁹⁴ The translation of this line is from Richard Wilhelm. See Wilhelm 371. “易象傳，乾：大明終始，六位時成，時乘六龍以御天。”

⁹⁵ Bouvet. *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 9, p. 5. Author’s translation.

Father and was born to fulfill the great mission to save the world. With the boundless holy heart/mind, the commitment is ceaseless for six thousand years. However, he is situated at the beginning of *Zhen* 震, so he hid and restrained himself from using the virtue of pure yang and whole goodness. He dared not to use it urgently. He only waited respectfully and submissively for the timing arranged by the Holy Father.

(天主聖子，自立志甘願聖父之命，降生成抹世之大功，厥洪仁無際之聖心，六千年始終無間，然當出乎震之初，隱藏收斂，厥純陽全善之德，不敢急于用，唯安俟敬順聖父所定之期。) ⁹⁶

In the part of the List of Details 內意目, the Jesuit Figurists further explained that the Holy Son was like the Dragon depicted here. Because he was born at a time when people lived in the winter of the universe, he should keep the virtue of Dragon and keep a low profile temporarily. It is not due to the lack of his virtue, but because the way of God must await the right timing to be fulfilled.

At the end of the List of Details 內意目, they added one more section called More Details 又內意. In this part, the Trinity is incorporated in the re-interpretation of the yang line in the first place of *Qian*.

The Holy Son born to the *Tianzhu* Holy Father at no beginning has the same being with the Holy Father. There is no difference between them in terms of priority or ranking. He listened to no other's orders. ...He showed filial obedience to the Holy Father above and follow the order of the Holy Mother on Earth. Saving the world (at this timing) cannot be accomplished as the merit of the superior man. What he would like to do still cannot be accomplished now, so the fame has not been earned.

(天主聖父无始所生之天子，與聖父无始同體，无先後上下之別，无所聽命。...至順聽上在天聖父、在地聖母之命，抹世極難成君子之功，能最所樂行，尚未行而成，故未成其名。) ⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Bouvet. *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 9, p. 7-8. Author's translation.

⁹⁷ Bouvet. *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Originally, the yang line in the first place of *Qian* 乾 means that the superior man should maintain a low profile and await the right timing to extend his great potentials. The timing indicated here, in the past commentaries of Chinese literati and Confucianists, has its own philosophical perspective and function of divination. In the re-interpretation of Jesuit Figurists, however, they did the intralingual translation and wrote the commentaries in Chinese, but also crossed the interlingual and cultural border, and transferred the message of Christianity from the other side. The so-called timing was transmuted to the time in the genesis of the world, so the Holy Son should wait until the right timing comes. Then he could fulfill the mission bestowed by the Holy Father.

What ensues in their commentaries of the following lines of *Qian*, is what the Savior/the Holy Son had weathered through different stages. The yang line in the second place 九二, “Dragon appearing in the field”:⁹⁸ the Holy Son was born in the field of God; at that time, the world was still permeated with evil and sins, so he still did not have the position to pardon the crimes of four quarters. For the yang line in the third place 九三, originally it is that, “All day long the superior man is creatively active. At nightfall his mind is still beset with cares. Danger. No blame.”:⁹⁹ Their commentaries indicated that at this time it is the end of the course of heaven, and the Holy Son has to endure humiliation from all sides and be cautious at this most dangerous moment. He is neither in heaven nor in the field, so all he can do, at this critical moment, is to shoulder this virtue of double strength of *Qian* over *Qian*.¹⁰⁰ The yang line in the fourth place 九四, “Wavering flight

Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 9, p. 8. Author’s translation.

⁹⁸ 九二，見龍在田。Translation by Richard Wilhelm. Wilhelm 8.

⁹⁹ 九三，君子終日乾乾。夕惕若。厲无咎。Translation by Richard Wilhelm. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ 乾乾重剛之德. Bouvet. *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 9, p. 10. Author’s translation.

over the depths; no blame.”¹⁰¹ is re-interpreted: At the end of the four thousand years, the sage, Meise 每瑟 (Matthew), shepherded people under heaven; however, the Holy Son had not gained the field to extend his potentials and only has to be very cautious, wavering above the abyss, like the Dragon. On the other hand, the shepherded people were too pampered and infatuated by the way of *Qian*; the Holy Son was willing to lower himself and be close to people, being patient and enduring, like *Qian*, to eradicate the faults of people. Furthermore, the Jesuit Figurists pointed out that the yang line in the fifth place 九五, “Flying dragon in the heavens; it furthers to see the great man.” means the Savior (the Holy Son) had the virtue of *Qian*, to appease the anger of God and to pardon the crimes of people below. On the other hand, the yang line in the top place 上九, “Arrogant Dragon will have caused to repent,” in their commentaries, they indicated that *Kang long* 亢龍 was the rebel in heaven, too proud and too arrogant. At this final moment of the six thousand years, the Holy Son was willing to sacrifice his life to save the lives of people permanently. This line also connects with the next hexagram, *Kun* 坤 (the Receptive). It explains that after the sacrifice of the Holy Son, God acquitted all people of all crimes and started the period of *Kun*’s pure benevolence.

What is above is only a brief summary of dozens of pages of Jesuit Figurists’ intralingual translation and commentaries on the first hexagram, *Qian*. The six lines in the six places of *Qian* were transmuted into retelling the story, about how the Holy Son, the second place of the Trinity, saved the world in six stages. In the second hexagram, the Jesuit Figurists continued to re-interpret and transmute *Kun* 坤 (the Receptive) into a new one with the story of how the ancestors of mankind, Adam and Eve, betrayed God and ate the forbidden fruit. In the commentaries of these first two hexagrams written by

¹⁰¹九四，或躍在淵，无咎。 Translation by Richard Wilhelm. Wilhelm 9.

earlier Chinese literati, especially from the perspective of Neo-Confucianism, *Qian* and *Kun* are complementary, and *Qian*'s disposition of persevering 健 and *Kun*'s disposition of being receptive 順 are the two complementary forces and energies that keep the universe running. With the Jesuit Figurists' religious interpretation compared to the yang disposition embedded in the Holy Son as *Qian*, however, the ancestors of mankind were imposed with the same form of human beings and the ying virtue of receptiveness. Being tempted by the rebel, *Kang Long* 亢龍,¹⁰² the ancestors of mankind did not follow the order of God nor obey his submissiveness, and thus committed crimes and cut themselves off from God.

This act of intralingual translation/re-interpretation seems not to be categorized as exegesis, though many earlier scholars of Jesuit missiology might have promulgated the Jesuit Figurists' Chinese manuscripts of the *Yijing* as such. While biblical exegesis is often used to draw out meanings from biblical texts, mostly the *Bible*, these stories of Christianity were “not” drawn out from the *Yijing* by these Jesuit Figurists. Instead, these Figurists brought up linkages and drew the texts of the *Yijing* closer to the stories in the *Bible*. In the meantime, it might not be appropriate to term their approach as eisegesis, which means the process of interpreting a text or portion of text in such a way that the process introduces one's own presuppositions, agendas, or biases into and onto the text.¹⁰³ Since they truly believed that *Prisca Theologia* (the Ancient Theology)¹⁰⁴ exists in the *Yijing*, it is improper to press such a charge on these Jesuit Figurists and to accuse them of imposing their religious ideology into the re-interpretation of the *Yijing*. Instead of

¹⁰² Jesuit Figurists associated *Kang Long* 亢龍 with the serpent in the *Bible*. Interestingly, they both have the same shape. The implication of using this related image and metaphor might deserve more in-depth research.

¹⁰³ Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, G. & C. Merriam Co. (8th ed. 1976) p. 364.

¹⁰⁴ Please see Chapter One.

choosing either term in this bipolar opposition, I would rather select another word, *intergesis*. According to Aichele and Philip, “Meaning does not ‘lie’ inside texts, but rather in the space ‘between’ texts, arising from the subjective, or ideological, juxtaposition of text with text on behalf of specific readers, in specific historical and material situations, in order to produce new constellations of texts/readers/readings.”¹⁰⁵ In such a case as the Jesuit Figurists’ intralingual translation, they tried to fill in the gap between the stories of Christianity and the *Yijing*. It is especially reasonable to interpret such a mystic canon, *the Yijing*, by means of intergesis. Meaning was derived from their own interpretation of the distance between texts, not only to bridge the gap between the Christian world in the West and the circle of Chinese literati in China but also to help their re-interpretation and commentaries be more accepted by their Chinese readers.

Their dedicated efforts of intergesis were also manifested in the following hexagrams. For example, waiting for meat and drink implied by the yang line in the fifth place for *Xu* 需 (Waiting) originally meant preparing feasts for the coming guests. In the Jesuit Figurists’ commentaries, however, they extend the meaning to parallel it with the Holy Communion. In addition, while *Tai* 泰 (Peace) originally indicates a time of social harmony when those in high places show favor to the lowly, and the lowly and inferior in turn are well disposed toward the highly placed.¹⁰⁶ Their intralingual translation of *Tai* means the Savior/the Holy Son had the virtue of *Qian* inside; he expressed himself and followed God’s orders submissively, like *Tai* 泰 was composed by the outer trigram, *Qian*, and the inner trigram, *Kun*. The intergesis in their intralingual translation did not just retell the stories in the *Bible*, but also in order to be more convincing, they imitated

¹⁰⁵ George Aichele & Gary A. Philips. "Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis." *Semeia* 69/70 (1995):14–15.

¹⁰⁶ Translation by Richard Wilhelm. See Wilhelm 48.

the wording and the style of Chinese literati.

In addition to this ingenious connection with the stories in Christianity, they also elaborated it in well-written Classical-style Chinese with special terms that only appear in the *Yijing*, such as “emerging from the beginning of *Zhen* (出於震之初).” In the very beginning of the Chinese manuscript of *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇, these Jesuit Figurists specified that besides the primary content of the Main Point 內意綱 and the List of Details 內意目, if the characters are marked with circles, they are from *Rijiang* 日講 (Daily Lectures on Five Classics); if the characters are marked with triangles, they are from ancient sayings or the words of ancient literati.¹⁰⁷ (See Fig. 2.6)

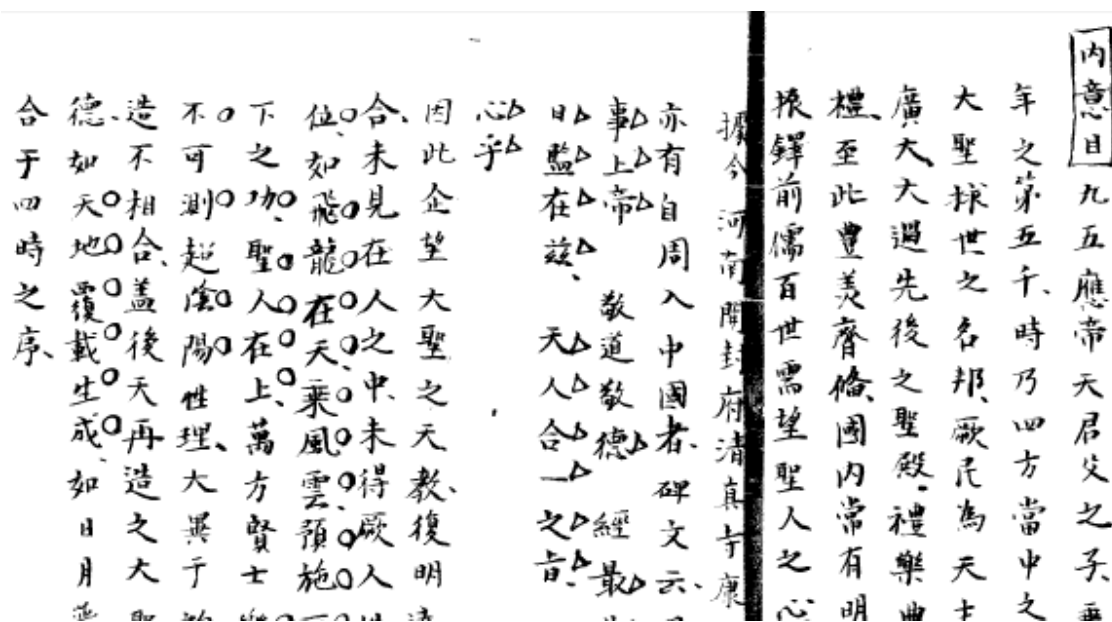


Fig. 2.6 Part of the commentaries in *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇

For example, in these Jesuit Figurists’ intralingual translation, they employed the frequently used terms in the *Yijing*, *Yuan* 元 (Sublimity), *Heng* 亨 (Penetrating), *Li* 利 (Furthering) and *Zhen* 貞 (Correct and Firm), to describe the Holy Son’s disposition.

The sublime Son was born with no shape in no beginning, with the

¹⁰⁷ Bouvet. *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 9, p. 4. Author’s translation.

essence of *Qian*, which is pure *yang* and ultimate perseverance. (He has) the talent of four virtues, sublimity, penetrating, furthering, correct and firm. He used his pure heart/mind to administer the civil affairs purely. He opens up (the knowledge of the issues of) things and then creates people before and after tens of thousands of generations. He returned to accomplish the merits of four virtues and God's conversion. (无形无始元子降生，體乾純陽至健，元亨利貞四德之才，以純心行純政，開物再造萬世前後之民，復成四德神化之功。)¹⁰⁸

The words and phrases imitated were like plotted dots planted by these Jesuit Figurists in the commentaries. Then in between, they filled in the stories from the *Bible* to connect the dots and form a new interpretation of the *Yijing*. This kind of fusion and combination aimed to proselytize the Kangxi Emperor and his ministers in court, to facilitate the top-down approach and to convert more Chinese people.

VI. Conclusion

Jesuit Figurists harbored another identity, commentators of the *Yijing*, in addition to Catholic missionaries. With religious purpose they crossed the interlingual and cultural border to carry over the messages of Christianity to the other side, China. One of the approaches they adopted was to use an intralingual translation that followed the format of commentaries as the earlier Chinese literati had written. The difference lies in the content and interpretation in which they incorporated the concepts such as the Holy Father, the Holy Son, the stories in Christianity and the Trinity. The Trinity, after crossing the interlingual and cultural border, was transformed and had a new face in the interpretation of Chinese classics, including the *Yijing*. The hexagrams, such as *Qian* and *Kun*, also were transmuted into what they were never perceived of in the eyes of Chinese literati,

¹⁰⁸ Bouvet. *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 9, p. 4. Author's translation.

especially by means of intergenesis. Indeed, intralingual translation is a form that has existed for thousands of years in China, and it should not be ignored and left unexplored. Jesuit Figurists, with their identity from another culture or civilization, did the intralingual translation of the *Yijing* and infused it with new meaning. It is interesting to investigate why they made such a choice under the religious context. Their emulation of Classical and vernacular styles of Chinese will be further investigated in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three

The Classical and Vernacular Use of Chinese Language in the Jesuit Figurists' Reinterpretation of *the Book of Changes*

Today our knowledge of the Chinese language is based on many concepts of language that are associated with the work and interest of missionaries in China. The origin of the missionaries' studies of Chinese language is based largely on an esoteric tradition of language and thinking. Because Chinese characters, unlike the Romanized words in European languages, cannot be pronounced according to spelling or shape, the missionaries' esoteric interpretation of Chinese language could be divided into oral and written traditions respectively. These Jesuit Figurists were influenced about Chinese language from Matteo Ricci; in order to locate *Prisca Theologia*, they focused on Chinese characters, sounds/pronunciations as well as words from vernacular speech and popular novels. They especially further investigated the *Yijing* to find the presence of God, Jesus Christ and the Trinity in the characters, words and phrases in the *Yijing*. Not only did they honor the *Yijing* as the epitome of Chinese philology, they also digested what they had learned from the Chinese language and transformed them into their Chinese works, including the reinterpretation of the *Yijing*. Their trans-textual dialogue between the original, the *Yijing* and their reinterpretation reflects that their prime focus and effort in studying the Chinese language transformed the *Yijing* into a work of hidden messages and revelation from God, and as gospels that they could use for proselytization.

I. Western Missionaries' Interests and Efforts on Chinese Languages and Topolects

In the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties, learning Chinese, composing Chinese and European languages dictionaries and then translating Western science, culture and knowledge into Chinese language was the main task for the missionaries. In the eyes of the Western missionaries, the total number of Chinese characters was intimidating for them to learn. They spent a great deal of time on research and the collection of sounds, words, phrases as well as the vernacular use of the Chinese language. In order to convert the Chinese subjects in the lower class, knowing the topolects in different places was the key for proselytization. For the upper class, officials and literati, not only did the missionaries need to compile and compose works in Chinese, but also to speak *koine* was a necessity.

The diversity of topolects and the major difference between topolects and *koine* forced these Western missionaries to put more effort into learning the sounds. Between 1584 and 1588, Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci first attempted at to learn the sounds and characters; they probably compiled and co-edited the first Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, *Dizionario portoghese-cinese*. In the autumn of 1583, these two missionaries went to Zhaoqing 肇慶 and started to learn Chinese for proselytization. Therefore, they both felt the pressing need for a Chinese dictionary. Portuguese was used as the main European language for this dictionary because those who traveled between Europe and European colonies and Asia were mostly the merchants and missionaries who spoke Portuguese. Professor Yang Fu-mian pointed out that the system used by Michele Ruggieri is based on the spelling of 16th century Italian and Portuguese.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Yang Fu-main 楊福綿, “Ruo Mingjian, Li madou, pu han ci dian suo ji lu de ming dai guan hua 羅明堅、利瑪竇《葡漢辭典》所紀錄的明代官話”(The Ming Mandarin recorded in Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci), in *Jin dai xi fang han yu yan jiu lun ji* 近代西方漢語研究論集 (The Collection of Articles about the Western Research on Chinese Languages in Modern Times). Ed. Zhang Xiping 張西平 and Yang Huiling 楊慧玲. (Beijing: Commercial Press 商務印書館,

It is worth noting that the transcription of words in this dictionary obviously was influenced by the Southern topolects. For example, the character 花 (flower) has two pronunciations, cua [xua] and fa [fa]. For the character 還, there were three spellings documented in this dictionary, cuan, guan [xuan], fau [fau]. Cua and cuan, guan are the pronunciations of Mandarin, while [fa], [xuan] and [fau] were more similar to the pronunciations of topolects of Guangdong. This dictionary not only showed that the linguistic features that were *koine* at that time were Nanking based, which was used as a *lingua franca* by Chinese officials, merchants, and also foreign missionaries in China from at least 16th-18th centuries, but also reflected the features of the Southern topolects.

In addition to the sounds, this dictionary also documented the words and phrases of vernacular use. For example, 主人娘 ciu gin niã [tʃu ʒin nia ŋ] (the hostess), which is similar to the topolect spoken in Amoy 廈門. 龜背 Quei poi [kuei pui] (the hunchback) is similar to the linguistic features of the topolect in Meixian 梅縣, Guangdong. 鬧熱 Nau geʔ [nau ʒəʔ] is related to the topolects in Nanking, Yangzhou, Meixian and Amoy. In one part of *Complete Works of Fr. Matteo Ricci, S. J.*¹¹⁰ which was related to *Dizionario portoghese-cinese*, it was stated that these missionaries decided to employ five intonation marks as well as an aspiration mark for the Romanization of Chinese characters. Matteo Ricci even ordered that all missionaries should follow these rules of Romanization; otherwise, chaos might arise. This dictionary preserves the precious linguistic data about the *koine* in the Late Ming Dynasty.

Nicolas Tirgault (1577–1629) passed on Matteo Ricci’s enthusiasm about the Chinese language and wrote *Xiru ermuzi* 西儒耳目資 (A Help for Western Scholars’

2013) 96–98.

¹¹⁰ Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci. *Dizionario portoghese-cinese*. (San Francisco: Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, 2001, Reprint) 110–111.

publication, *Tongya* 通雅 (Inference Meanings from Sounds) and *Qieyun shengyuan* 切韻聲原 (Tracing the Origin of the Sound and Understanding Its Variations) by Fang Yizhi 方以智, *Shengyun tongran ji* 聲韻同然集 (Writings on the Combinations of Initials and Rhymes) by Yang Xuanqi 楊選杞 and *Xinyun pu* 新韻譜 (New Rhyme Table) also were influenced by the new system.¹¹³ Furthermore, *Yuyan zhier ji* 語言自邇集 (A Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese) by Thomas Wade in 1867 and *Mandarin Lessons* by C.W. Mateer in 1906 probably also were influenced by this system of Romanization of Chinese characters.¹¹⁴

In addition to the interest in the sounds of the Chinese language, Western missionaries also put much emphasis on Chinese grammar. Francisco Varo, a Dominican missionary, composed the first Chinese grammar book, *Arte de la lengua madarina*; it was published in Guangzhou in 1703 by the means of woodblock printing. What was noteworthy was that it was written in Spanish, without any Chinese characters. Unlike the later work of Chinese grammar, *Notitiae Linguae Sinicae* written by Joseph de Prémare, Varo proposed some rules for the colloquial use of the Chinese language, but without the analysis of the structure of Classical Chinese or ancient Chinese and only a careful annotation of late 16th to early 18th century pronunciation of Mandarin or the language of the officials, *koine* or *guanhua*. In addition to the detailed description of the pronunciation of Chinese and the customs of Chinese culture, there are less than 30 pages of grammatical analysis. The grammatical analysis of *Arte de la lengua madarina* imitated the pattern of *Introductiones Latinae*, written by Elio Antonio Nebrija and published in 1481, and tried to incorporate the Chinese language into the system of

¹¹³ Luo 298–307.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

European languages. Varo employed the Greco-Latin linguistic tradition, in which he followed the model of Nebrija's Latin grammar and pointed out declension and conjugation in the Chinese language. While listing the colloquial usages by means of Romanization, Varo mostly collected and categorized the phrases and sentences related to religious terms and connotations. For example,

Wei shen me yuan gu bu nian jing 為甚麼緣故不念經¹¹⁵

Porq[u]e causa no rezas

("For what reason do you not pray?")¹¹⁶

Furthermore, Varo also follow the Dominican order and chose to use *Tianzhu* 天主 (The Ruler of Heaven) to reconstruct God. For example,

Tian zhu sheng tian di wan wu 天主生天地萬物¹¹⁷

Dios crio el cielo, la tierra y todas las cosas.

("God creates myriads of things under Heaven and on Earth.")¹¹⁸

After *Arte de la lengua mandarina*, there are a few more important works about Chinese grammar: Joseph de Prémare's (1728) *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, Joshua Marshman's (1814) *Clavis Sinica*, Robert Morrison's (1815) *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, Abel Rémusat's (1822) *Elémens de la grammaire chinoise*, Georg von der Gabelentz's (1881) *Chinesische Grammatik*. The later works in the Late Qing Dynasty are not the main focus of this dissertation, except for Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* in the early Qing Dynasty. The Jesuit Figurists not only read the Chinese classics thoroughly and comprehensively but also employed the sentences in the ancient books, especially the *Yijing*, to analyze and to reinterpret the words, phrases, and the Classical

¹¹⁵ I have inserted Chinese characters to facilitate understanding.

¹¹⁶ Varo, Francisco, *Arte de la Lengua Mandarina*. Tr. & ed. Coblin, W. South and Joseph A. Levi. *Francisco Varo's Grammar of the Mandarin Language: An English translation of "Arte de la Lengua Mandarina."* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000) 47

¹¹⁷ I have inserted Chinese characters to facilitate understanding.

¹¹⁸ Varo 21.

and vernacular use of Chinese language.

II. The Jesuit Figurists' Use of the *Yijing* for Exegetical Decipherment of Chinese Characters

The Jesuit Figurists, especially Bouvet and Prémare, were enthusiastic about deciphering words and characters, and categorizing phrases in the Chinese language. The *Yijing* became their most convincing evidence to prove that Chinese characters have a hidden message of monotheism and linkage with Christianity. For Chinese words and characters, Bouvet composed *Specimen Sapientiae Hieroglyphicae* and co-edited *Draft of a Hieroglyphic Dictionary* with Prémare, while Prémare wrote *Liu shu shi yi* 六書實義 (The True Meaning of Six Methods) in Chinese. For Chinese grammar, Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* made an unprecedented breakthrough and structured the framework of Chinese grammar via hundreds of phrases and sentences in Chinese classics and popular novels. In addition, not only did Prémare base his list of the colloquial use in Chinese language from novels, but also Bouvet collected different registers of usages for describing God and folk activities in *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 (The Essential Meaning of the Study of God) and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present).

These Jesuit Figurists exegetically extracted Christian revelation from Chinese characters and early Chinese texts prefigurations. Howard L. Goodman and Anthony Grafton have shown that many of the Jesuits' approaches to Chinese texts derived from their humanistic education and were typical of one sort of apologetic reading of

non-Christian texts.¹¹⁹ The importance of each work and its relationship with the *Yijing* will be elaborated below.

Bouvet never hesitated to express his conviction that the *Yijing* was the inspiration of Chinese characters. In the preface of *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys to the *Yijing*), he indicated that,

The great *Yi* is truly the predecessor of the characters, not only the pioneer of hieroglyphs and patterns, but also the forerunner of hidden and esoteric meaning. The commentary of the *Yi* states that, (*Yi*) exhausts the principles and completes the disposition and then life is created. It is also indicated that Bao xi (Fuxi) was the king to all under Heaven. He looked up to observe the symbols (of stars) in Heaven and look down to the rules on Earth. He also observed the patterns of birds and animals to fit the appropriateness of the Earth. He found patterns/examples close at hand, or he found things for consideration at a distance. Therefore, he started to devise the eight trigrams, to show fully the attributes of the spirit-like and intelligent super-beings, and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things.

(大易乃真為文字之祖，非惟畫字式樣之祖，乃隱藏曲奧文義之祖也。易傳云，窮理盡性，以至於命，又云包羲式之王天下也，仰則觀象于天，俯則觀法于地，觀鳥獸之文，與地之宜，近取諸身，遠取諸物，于是始作八卦，以通神明之德，以類萬物之情。)¹²⁰

In the early work of Jesuit Figurism, *Draft of a Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, two thirds of which was composed by Bouvet while the rest was written by Prémare, Bouvet introduced Chinese characters as hieroglyphs in the format of a dictionary. Each entry

¹¹⁹ Howard L. Goodman and Anthony Grafton, “Ricci, the Chinese, and the Toolkits of Textualists,” *Asia Major*, third series, 3.2 (1990): 95–148.

¹²⁰ This is Manuscript No. Borg. Cin. 317, stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (The Vatican Library). Author’s translation.

was endowed with a sacred meaning and explanation. Bouvet also coupled them with “astrology, numerology, Greek and Egyptian fables and fables found in the ‘old Chinese chronicle.’”¹²¹ Each character was deciphered into smaller parts and radicals to associate with the divinity in the stories of Bible. For example, the character *Guang* 光 (the light) is divided into three parts: 丩 means Heaven; 勹 means the second person of the Trinity; 儿 means man, which is the incarnation of God.¹²² In addition, *Gua* 卦 (trigram or hexagram) in the *Yijing* could be deciphered into three parts: “丶,” “丨,” and “圭” to reinforce his exegesis. Bouvet employed the principles from *Zheng zi tong* 正字通 (Mastery in Correct Character) and explained that this character symbolizes the round Heaven above and the square Earth underneath. It also indicated the circular and square patterns in the *Yijing*. In the second part written by Prémare, he supplemented his theories with theological interpretation inherited from Bouvet, too. For example, “丶” means God; 人 means Jesus Christ; 十 means the cross; 卩 means the hand of God; 口 means the universe; 丩 means Heaven. He further combined this apologetic reading of Chinese characters with the Six Methods proposed by Xu Shen in his next Chinese work, *Liu shu shi yi* 六書實義.

In *Liu shu shi yi* 六書實義, not only were *Dao* 道 and Trinity compared and paralleled, but also the *Yijing* still played a pivotal role for Prémare to vindicate their *eisegetis*¹²³ reading of Chinese characters and language. In its preface, Prémare used a pseudonym, *Zhezhong weng* 折中翁 (The Man who Mediates in between) and explained that Christianity is as ancient as the birth of the world; the composer of the hieroglyphs of

¹²¹ Knud Lundbaek, *Joseph de Prémare(1666–1736) S.J.: Chinese Philology and Figurism.*(Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1991) 128.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ The eisegetic reading of ancient Chinese Classics, especially the *Yijing*, is further elaborated in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

Chinese language and Chinese ancient classics must have known the existence of God.

There may be the theory of Trinity, which has shown some traces left in the remaining classics of the ancient people. If someone says that Trinity is a (recent) creation, then no match (like it) could be compared.

(蓋三一之說，古人遺傳略存端倪。若云三位一體乃創聞，則無倫可擬焉。)¹²⁴

Then taking another pseudonym, *Wen gu zi* 溫古子 (The Man who Reviews the Ancient Texts) in the main text of *Liu shu shi yi* 六書實義, in the form of a dialogue between an old man and a young scholar, Prémare employed one significant line from *Xici* 繫辭傳 (The Great Commentary/ the Great Appendix) of the *Yijing*,

(The young scholar) asked: In the ancient times, the use of knotted cords was applied (to preserve the memory of things).

Next the sages substituted for these written characters and bonds. This might come from the hexagram called *Guai* 夬 (Break-through)¹²⁵. Why is it? It is said that the reason why *Guai* 夬 as a hexagram is because the lower trigram is *Qian* 乾 and the upper trigram is *Dui* 兌. *Qian* 乾 represents Heaven while *Dui* 兌 represents mouth and tongue/language.

The (Chinese) script system substitutes for the words of God. (問易大傳云，上古結繩而治後世，聖人易之以書契，蓋取諸夬，何謂也，曰夬之為卦也，內三乾而外☱兌，乾為天兌為口舌，書契其代天之言乎。)¹²⁶

The hexagram *Guai* 夬 (Break-through) was employed to explain that Chinese characters are the representation of God's words. Aside from *Guai* 夬, *Tai* 泰 (Peace) and *Pi* 否 (Stalemate) also are applied to explain that ☰ and ☷ are both following the principle of *Zhi shi* 指事 (Self-indicative) to represent *Tian* 天 (Heaven) and *Di* 地

¹²⁴ This is Manuscript no. Chinois 906 (p.2), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France.

¹²⁵ *Guai* 夬 (Break-through) is the forty-third hexagram in the total sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing*.

¹²⁶ This is Manuscript no. Chinois 906 (p.4), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France.

(Earth).¹²⁷ In the next part, he further indicated that the images of hexagrams were parallel to the principle of *Zhishi* 指事 of Chinese characters. For example, *Xu* 需 (Waiting) is composed of the upper trigram, *Kan* 坎 and the lower trigram, *Qian* 乾, which is always symbolized by the image of clouds over the sky. The image of *Xu* 需 is parallel with waiting for the coming of the sage.

What the Great *Yi* might indicate is (the appearance) of the ultimate sage only. Therefore, ☵ ☰ was employed, which refers to that the sage can be shaped. If (a sage) is described with shapes, it means self-indication, which is with no harm. The *Hetu* 河圖 (Yellow River Chart) and the *Luoshu* 洛書 (Inscription of the River Luo), the Chinese characters and the great *Yi* were all the remaining treasures left from the ancient times. In the remote antiquity, the clouds were above the sky and it was about to rain but not yet. The four quarters need (the sage) and await him. It is seen with no shape and is heard with no sound. When he is expected and we said, “We have waited for our sage; our sage comes, and we revive.” It refreshes our heart and then it returns to and is hidden in the esoteric interpretation. Hence, ☵ ☰ is employed to indicate the events. Isn't it appropriate?

(蓋大易之所指，至聖一人而已矣，曰取 ☵ ☰，以指聖人安非形乎，苟入於形焉，為指事，曰無傷也。河洛書契大易，皆上古之遺寶，聖人之妙象耳。太古之時，雲上於天，將雨而未雨，四方需之、俟之、視之於無形，聽之於無聲，企望而云，俟予后，后來其蘓，以其洗心，而退藏於密，故取 ☵ ☰ 以指其事不亦善乎。)¹²⁸

Through the whole text of *Liu shu shi yi* 六書實義, Prémare took good advantage of the esoteric essence of the *Yijing* to explain the Six Methods for Chinese characters. Whether it is a sound, a character, or an image from the *Yijing*, or passages quoted from

¹²⁷ This is Manuscript no. Chinois 906 (p.14), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France.

¹²⁸ This is Manuscript no. Chinois 906 (p.16), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. Author's translation.

the Bible, it might seem to be absurd and unfounded to have inter-connections, but these Jesuit Figurists not only explained the characters and compounds with the principles of Xu Shen, but also supplied an eisegetic reading of these hieroglyphs. Unlike the sound-based European languages, radicals or parts of Chinese character often imply the meaning, while other parts of the characters denote the pronunciation. Hence, led by the mission of proselytization and stories of Christianity, the Jesuit Figurists often derive meaning from the hieroglyphs to be associated with evangelical concepts, such as Trinity and the birth of Jesus Christ.

When they needed to take a further step to use the Chinese language and Chinese ancient texts to locate *Prisca Theologia*, the *Shujing* 書經 (the Book of Documents), which documented the ancient Chinese history; the *Shijing* 詩經 (the Book of Poetry), which collects the ancient folk songs, and especially the *Yijing* 易經 (the Book of Changes), became the preserved proof of God's message. With their Figurist interpretation, phrases and sentences in these Classics were further used to compare with the folk sayings in the popular novels. When these Jesuits employed the strategy of accommodationists and Figurists in these Chinese reinterpretations, the *Yijing* was no longer subordinate to the Bible, but instead, it emerged and stood out with an equally important status to interpret the message from God.

III. The Jesuit Figurists' Efforts on Classical and Vernacular Use of Chinese Language

3.1 *Tian, Di, Shangdi* in *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒

Based on the solid foundation of the research on the sounds and characters of the Chinese language, the Jesuit Figurists put great emphasis on the usage of Chinese by different

groups of Chinese people. Phrases and sentences in the *Yijing* and other ancient classics were listed in the first half of the *Tian xue ben yi* 天學本義 (The Essential Meaning of the Study of God) and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present), to verify that the existence of *Shangdi* 上帝 is the equivalent of God in the Bible. At the end of the second volume, there was a section called, *Ji jing wen su yu zhu ju yin fu xiang dui faming tian xue ben yi* 集經文俗語諸句印符相對發明天學本義 (The Collection of Words and Phrases from Classics and Folk Sayings, After Corresponding and Comparing with Each Other, the Essential Meaning of the Study of God Was Thus Established). The collection of entries included the specific religious terms, phrases, and sentences that might be used for proselytization.

In the preface of Chinese manuscript No. 7162,¹²⁹ Bouvet listed the reason why he collected these three registers of entries and why he mainly focused on the *Yijing*.

There is not merely one place in the classics which can explain the meaning of the spiritual disposition and virtue of *Shangzhu* 上主 (The Supreme Master). During the time when the Confucianists/scholar-literati composed the commentaries, some of lines need to be clarified. Those that were clearly illuminated will be chosen and added here, in order to illustrate the essential meaning of the studies of God. However, since Confucius concealed what has been documented in the *Yijing* (in his commentaries), the essential meaning of the studies of God was veiled like in the darkness of a long night for more than two thousand years. The *Yijing* is the base of *the Five Classics*; it is really rare if it had been veiled and not revealed. Therefore, the Bible of *Tianzhu* 天主 (Lord of Heaven) is examined. The documentation since the Genesis was lost and then spread to other countries. Its esoteric and mysterious meaning corresponds

¹²⁹ Different versions/editions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 will be discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation. Here the author picks Manuscript no. Chinois 7162, stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France.

with many lines in the Chinese classics. Hence, in the first half of this volume, for every category, one sentence from the Bible was added to prove these lines (quoted from the classics) have the same context and meaning. In addition to the lines in the classics that have been passed down for thousands of years, there are sayings from the literati and the folk people. They use different words but with the same meaning. For every entry of the core of the studies of God (in the second half of the volume), three sayings of each of the three registers form one set and each saying in one set has the same context and meaning. They are arranged in such an order for the convenience of reading. Each entry in the first half and the second half of the volume corresponds with each Catholic doctrine. One reason (of listing this) is to show all that is under Heaven that, the lines proposed by these Confucianists/scholar-literati in the ancient times were not different from the building blocks in the doctrines of Christianity. Secondly, the listing aims to explain to the scholar-literati who wrote commentaries and clarified the classics. If they would like to unveil all hidden essential meaning of the studies of God in the classics, why don't they examine together with the missionaries from the West with the same ambition and goal? Thus, they could scrupulously pursue the true meaning of the esoteric lines in the Bible of *Tianzhu*.

(經典之文非獨一處，明發上主靈性能德之意，中古之儒註解之際，不得不發明之故，有明解較著者，亦擇其略錄於此，以助天學本義之明。但自孔子沒周易所載之，天學本義之大旨絕亡而歸于長夜者二千餘年。夫易為五經之本，既暗而未能明焉，益亦鮮矣。由是考之天主之聖經，自開闢所紀，常不斷失而流傳各國者，其高文奧意，多有與六經印符之處，故上卷最要目內每特加聖經一句，以證同文同意之一端，終因天學千世傳文之外，另有自古至今人口諺語所傳者，即於士民二等之間，亦擇語異意同關係，天學之要旨者，配於同文同意之每句，以為各對三等云，總成一列，自然之序，以便觀覽焉。凡茲上下二卷諸條皆對歸于天主諸端道理之故，一以明顯于天下使知上古真儒，與天主聖教之大本，原惟一無二，一以示務解經典之儒，若欲復全發明經典高文所藏天

學本義，末如與西士同志同心細考，而謹求之於天主聖經奧文之意爾。)

From the preface, it is clear that Bouvet collected these entries to prove that Christianity and Confucianism were compatible and also to earn the due respect from the literati and the folk people in China. In the first half of the volume, the classical usages of *Tian* 天 and *Di* 帝 were collected from Chinese classics, such as the *Shijing* 詩經 (the Book of Poetry), *Zhongyong* 中庸 (the Doctrine of the Mean), the *Liji* 禮記 (the Book of Rites), the *Shujing* 書經 (the Book of Documents), *Mengzi* 孟子, the *Analects of Confucius*, and the *Yijing*. In every entry, one sentence from the Bible, translated by these Jesuit missionaries into Chinese,¹³⁰ is listed at the beginning. The Jesuit Figurists followed the format of the commentarial traditions of Chinese classics, and listed the translation of the sentences from the Bible first, then the quotations from the classics, and next the commentaries from *Rijiang yijing jieyi* 日講易經解義 (Notes of Daily Explanations of the *Yijing*), or *Gu wen yuan jian* 古文淵鑒 (Profound Mirror on Ancient Writing), or *Pin zi jian jie* 品字箋解 (Explanation of Letters Evaluating Characters), and finally their own commentaries and interpretations.

Interestingly, however, if compared to the layout of *Rijiang*, one easily noticed that the original of the *Yijing* in *Rijiang* is listed at the top right of the page or the top at the beginning of the entry and then is followed by the commentary. (See Fig. 3.2) In *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, however, the translation of sentences in the Bible, though listed in the beginning of the entry, was laid out with an indentation while the following sentences in the *Yijing* and other classics were laid out at the top of the page (see Fig. 3.3). The further and detailed investigation of the layout will be completed in Chapter Four

¹³⁰ These lines were only some examples these Jesuit translated for their purpose of proselytization and not for the purpose of printing.

below; however, this layout manifests that the *Yijing* and other classics were revered and thus raised to the top. The *Yijing* and other classics, in the eyes of these Jesuit Figurists, might have enjoyed the same sublimity as the Bible, which might have led to suspicion and doubts from the Roman Catholic Church.

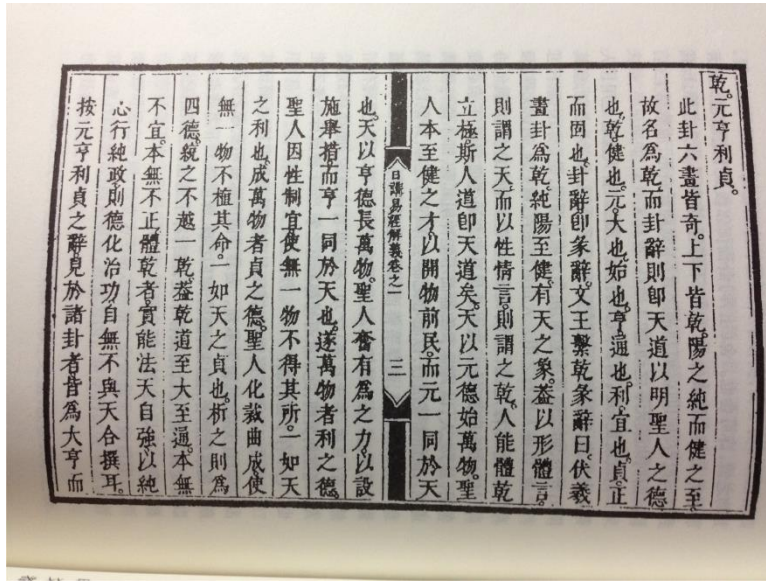


Fig 3.2 The commentary in *Rijiang Yijing Jiayi* 日講易經解義 (Notes of Daily Explanations of the *Yijing*)

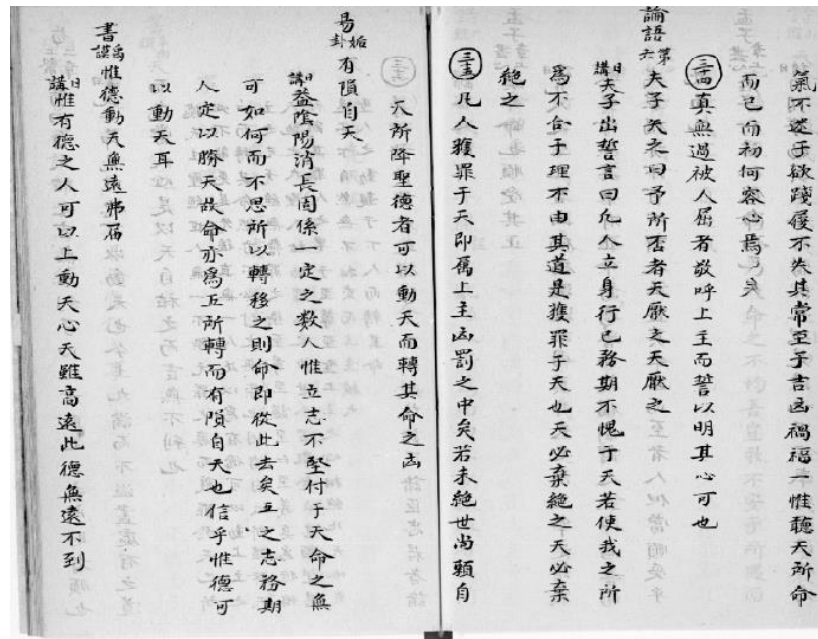


Fig. 3.3 The format and layout of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒¹³¹

In the main text of the first half volume, not all of the 64 hexagrams of the *Yijing* are applied to prove the existence of God in the antiquity of China; only the hexagrams related to the usage of *Tian* and *Di* were chosen to demonstrate this. Here the Jesuit Figurists, including Bouvet, followed Matteo Ricci's accommodationist approach and his choice of identifying *Tian* and *Di* with God. In Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 (*The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*), many passages were cited from Chinese Classics to promote the compatibility between the original Confucianism and Christian monotheism. He used supportive evidence from the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*. Ricci asserts his discovery of the term *Shangdi*, "which has a similar semantic component as the Christian divine name, in the Chinese Classics."¹³² From the *Yijing* 易經 (*the Book of Changes*), "*Di* emerges from *Zhen*, 震 in the East"¹³³ He continued to indicate that "*Di* 帝 is not Heaven. The blue-green Heaven is that which harbors eight quarters (of the earth) and how can God come only from one (quarter)?"¹³⁴ Ricci cited the above examples in *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 and identified that *Shangdi* was used in ancient Chinese classics as the equivalent of the European *Deus*.

In the first entry, Bouvet also made the same choice as Matteo Ricci's and focused on *Di chu yu zhen* 帝出于震 (Lord comes from *Zhen*). The first entry of the sentence quoted from the Bible goes, ". . . in the universe, there must be a Lord of no shape or image, which created myriads of things, and it is an order by which the way of Heaven

¹³¹ This is Manuscript no. Chinois 7162 (p.60), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France.

¹³² Sangkeun Kim. *Strange Names of God: The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's Shangti in Late Ming China, 1583-1644*. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2004) 164

¹³³ Kim 165 帝出於震.

¹³⁴ 夫帝也者，非天之謂，蒼天者抱八方，何能出於一乎？Yang Hongsheng, "Theories on Yi by the Jesuit missionaries in China at the turn of the Ming and Qing dynasties." *Studies of Zhouyi* 周易研究 6 (2003): 42.

follows ceaselessly, and an order of omnipotence.”¹³⁵ Bouvet first listed the explanation from *Rijiang*. “*Di* is the Lord of birth and development. The Lord is invisible, unlike the appearance and disappearance of things in the universe that can be seen. When it (*Di*) comes and rises, all creatures are then prompted to move and *Qi* 氣 (life force; physical energy) is then motivated. All of the changes and development come from *Zhen* 震 (the Arousing).”¹³⁶ Furthermore, following the format of the commentarial tradition in Chinese classics and in the format of an indented paragraph, Bouvet elaborated on his own association between *Di* 帝, *Shangzhu* 上主, *Zaowuzhu* 造物主 (the Creator) and *Tianzhu* 天主:

According to the Bible of *Tianzhu*, *Zaowuzhu* 造物主 (the Creator) is the ultimate invisible spirit and soul; its beauty of all virtues is manifested in all myriads of creatures, which he created, with shapes. The subtleness of creatures is thus seen. It is all established according to the order of his omnipotence. This is the order of *Shangzhu* 上主. This is also the grand opportunity for every creature to develop and nurture. At the time of the first creation by *Shangzhu*, the scholars who understand the Bible generally attributed this to *Zhen*.

(據天主聖經，造物主至神至靈無可見，諸德之美因顯見于所造有形之物，可見萬物之妙，皆依已全能之命令而造成之。此上主之命，為生生造化發育之大機，上主初造之之時，明聖經之士繫歸之於震。) ¹³⁷

Di in the *Yijing* is parallel with God in the Bible. In addition to *Zhen*, *Tian* 天 in *Zhongfu* 中孚 (Inner Truth)¹³⁸ and *Gou* 姤 (Coming to Meet),¹³⁹ *Di* 帝 in *Huan* 渙

¹³⁵ The Chinese is “宇宙之內必自有一無形無像天地萬物之主天道運行不息所屬全能之命。” This is Manuscript no. Chinois 7162 (p.10), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. Author’s translation.

¹³⁶ The Chinese is “帝為生成之宰，其出入不可見，即物之出入以可見者，明其不可見也。當其出而生，物令方行，而氣方動，化育發端則出乎震焉。” This is Manuscript no. Chinois 7162 (p.10–11), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. Author’s translation.

¹³⁷ This is Manuscript no. Chinois 7162 (p.11), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. Author’s translation.

¹³⁸ It is the sixty-first hexagram of the *Yijing*. 中孚以利貞乃應乎天也。◦

(Dispersion)¹⁴⁰ and *Yi* 益 (Increase),¹⁴¹ *Shangdi* 上帝 in *Ding* 鼎 (the Caldron)¹⁴², and *Yu* 豫 (Enthusiasm)¹⁴³ are employed in the first half of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒. Not only are *Tian* 天, *Di* 帝, *Shangdi* 上帝 in the *Yijing* pointed out as evidence of monotheism in Chinese classics, but the Jesuit Figurists further applied them in their own re-interpretation of the *Yijing*, which will be further explained below in this chapter.

What is different from Ricci's approach is the Jesuit Figurists' interpretation of *Taiji* 太極. Not only did Ricci sneer at the voidness and nothingness in Buddhism and Daoism in Neo-Confucianism respectively, but he also lashed out at *Taiji* and Daoism and then indirectly separated the *Yijing* from the natural law and the coordination of Yin and Yang in *Taiji* and in the Neo-Confucianism. In a letter Ricci stated, "But we were told that the superior man of the antiquity worshipped respectfully *Shangdi* of Heaven and Earth but we did not hear anyone worshipped *Taiji*."¹⁴⁴ Ricci could not accept that the universe might be composed of symbols like Yin and Yang or *Taiji*, so he claimed that the theory of Neo-Confucianism about the entire universe competed with Christian conceptions of God and Creation. In the first entry of the first half of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, after *Di chu yu zhen* 帝出于震, however, Bouvet also identify *Taiji* with God. After the original line in the *Yijing*, "*Yi* has *Taiji*, which derives from two poles,"¹⁴⁵ and the commentary from *Rijiang*, Bouvet explained as follows,

According to what was documented in *Rijiang*, myriads of things originated from *Taiji*, which is *Li* (principle). The

¹³⁹ It is the forty-fourth hexagram of the *Yijing*. 有損自天。◦

¹⁴⁰ It is the fifty-ninth hexagram of the *Yijing*. 先王以享於帝。◦

¹⁴¹ It is the forty-second hexagram of the *Yijing*. 王用享于帝吉。◦

¹⁴² It is the fiftieth hexagram of the *Yijing*. 聖人烹以享上帝。◦

¹⁴³ It is the sixteenth hexagram of the *Yijing*. 先王以作樂崇德殷薦之上帝。◦

¹⁴⁴ 但聞古先君子敬恭于天地之上帝未聞有尊奉太極者。Kim 164, as in *Tianzhu Shi Yi* 98-99.

¹⁴⁵ 易上傳十一章 易有太極是生兩儀。◦ This is Manuscript no. Chinois 7162 (p.12), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. Author's translation.

principle, *Taiji*, could be the real Creator. When one verifies it with the Bible of *Tianzhu*, the groups of creatures that the Creator makes are countless. However, whether all of them has the spirit or not, and can understand the principle or not, myriads of things and spirits are classified into two categories. The ingenuity of myriads things and shapes corresponds with the principle that the Creator harbors, which is the ultimate spiritual and perfect unity, undoubtedly unchangeable.

(據此日講，萬物本於太極，於理而已。其理其太極，可為造物真主乎，考天主聖經，造物主所化之類無數。然盡於有靈無靈，能明理不能明理，乃萬物萬靈二等而已。萬物萬形之妙，一一皆合于造物主所懷，至靈至一不變當然之理。) ¹⁴⁶

Here the Jesuit Figurists held a different interpretation toward *Taiji* and, unlike Ricci's argument against *Taiji* in Neo-Confucianism, they embraced *Taiji* as another representation of the Creator, God. Aside from their proactive inclusion of *Taiji* into their classical use of describing God, they also enthusiastically incorporated concepts and sentences from Daoism. From the above passage, it is clear that Bouvet imitation of the classical usage and the term, *Zhiyi* 至一 was also from *Zhuangzi*, ¹⁴⁷ to describe *Taiji* and the Creator. Their audacious inclusion of *Taiji* and Daoism might be owing to their reverence toward the *Yijing* and other classics. The classical usages of *Tian*, *Di*, *Shangdi*, quoted from the *Yijing* and other important Chinese classics and the usage of *Shangzhu* 上主 and *Tianzhu* 天主 in entries from the Bible might prove the Figurists' statement of the monotheistic God. They are the different names but mean the same God. Because these

¹⁴⁶ This is Manuscript no. Chinois 7162 (p.12), stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France. Author's translation.

¹⁴⁷ At that time, the Yin and Yang were harmonious and still; their resting and movement proceeded without any disturbance; the four seasons had their definite times; not a single thing received any injury, and no living being came to a premature end. Men might be possessed of (the faculty of) knowledge, but they had no occasion for its use. This was what is called the state of Perfect Unity. At this time, there was no action on the part of any one, but a constant manifestation of spontaneity. From "Correcting the Nature," *Zhuangzi*. (《莊子·繕性》：“當是時也，陰陽和靜，鬼神不擾，四時得節，萬物不傷，羣生不夭，人雖有知，無所用之，此之謂至一。當是時也，莫之為而常自然。”) It is James Legge's translation.

Jesuit Figurists applied multiple appellations for God in Chinese in their own commentaries and many passages they quoted from Chinese classics were mostly about worshipping and rites, which was also part of the causes to the Rite Controversy, suspicion and controversy thus arose among different orders of the Roman Catholic Church.

In order to avoid the controversy in the Roman Catholic Church, they also employed the acceptable terms. For example, at the sub-level of the texts in the first half of the volume, which were the commentaries written by these Jesuit missionaries, they mainly used *Shangzhu* 上主 (The Supreme Master) or *Tianzhu* 天主(Lord of Heaven). In addition to the use of *Tian* 天 and *Di* 帝, *Zaowuzhu* 造物主 (the Creator) also were used. After the detailed examination of the previous literature, the first appearance of *Zaowuzhu* 造物主 (the Creator) was in Ferdinand Verbiest's 南懷仁 *Kunyu tushuo* 坤輿圖說 (Illustrated Explanation of the Entire World, 1674). For example,

The Creator was dissolved into Heaven and Earth and was wrapped up by the four elements. Gradually it turned to be solid. Fire was at the top; then Fire covered Air, which covered Water; Earth was underneath. (造物主化成天地，四行包裹，以漸而堅凝，火最居上，火包氣，氣包水，土則居於下。)

The use of *Shangzhu* 上主 (The Supreme Master) or *Tianzhu* 天主(Lord of Heaven) or *Zaowuzhu* 造物主 was intended to ease the suspicion and anxiety of the Roman Catholic Church.

As stated in Chapter One, in the second half of the volume is a collection of sayings describing God and folk activities related to God or Heaven. The Jesuit Figurists also paid attention to the folk usages of describing God; they tried to vindicate that in the folk sayings were references to the same God. In the second volume, there is always one

phrase on the top, which explains the original meaning of the studies of God. Under this entry, there are three different registers repeating it in Chinese, *Minsu* 民俗 (folk people's sayings), *Shisu* 士俗 (Literati's sayings) and *Jingwen* 經文 (quotations from the classics).

According to my own interpretation and analysis, this collection of entries could be divided into four categories. First are the terms or sentences that might be used to describe *God*, or called *Tian Ye* 天爺 or *Shangtian* 上天 in Chinese. For example, the very first entry of the manuscript of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒¹⁴⁸ explains the different ways of calling God.

Minsu 民俗: *Tianye* 天爺(God Father). *Ye* 爺 means Lord/Master, while the Lord of a nation is called *Wansui ye* 萬歲爺 (The Lord of Tens of Thousands of Years). Or *Tianye* 天爺. Here *Ye* 爺 might mean Father. Or *Lao Tianye* 老天爺.¹⁴⁹

Shisu 士俗: *Tiandi* 天帝. *Di* 帝 means the master of Heaven. Or *Tianzu* 天父 (God's father). Or *Laotian* 老天.¹⁵⁰

Jinwen 經文: *Huang tian shangdi* 皇天上帝, which is from *Li ji* 禮記 (the Book of Rites). Or *Hao tian* 昊天 (Great Heaven), which is from *Shi jing* 詩經 (the Book of Poetry).¹⁵¹

The usages of *Tianye* 天爺 were thus prevalent in this register of folk sayings recorded in the second volume of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒. Compared to *Ming Qing su yu ci shu ji cheng* 明清俗語辭書集成 (Complementary Correction of Topolects in Dictionary Series of Proverbs of Ming and Qing Dynasties), *Tianye* 天爺 was also common usage in popular novels and among common people. In *Tong su chang yan shu cheng* 通俗常言疏證 (Mistakes and Corrections in Topolects and Proverbs), one

¹⁴⁸ It is Manuscript No. Chinois 7162. Author's translation.

¹⁴⁹ In Chinese, it is 天爺：爺主也；國主為萬歲爺。天爺：爺，父也。老天爺。

¹⁵⁰ In Chinese, it is 天帝：帝者天之主宰。天父。老天。

¹⁵¹ In Chinese, it is 皇天上帝（禮）；昊天（詩）；古帝（詩）。

dictionary of topolectic words and phrases included in *Ming Qing su yu ci shu ji cheng*, “The foolish (common) people in the South do not know the manners. They always call Heaven/God *Tian laoye* 天老爺. Whichever deity it is under Heaven or on Earth, (this deity) will be called *Liaoye* 老爺.”¹⁵² In addition, the same use of *Liao tianye* 老天爺 or *Tian laoye* 天老爺 commonly was used in popular novels of the same time period. Some examples include *Ji gong quan zhuan* 濟公全傳 (the Complete Biography of the Monk Ji), *Xing shi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳 (Fables of Love and Marriages to Awaken the World) and *Nishang xu pu* 霓裳續譜 (Scores of Rainbow Melodies—Continued). In the text of *Xing shi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳, there are more than 24 examples of using *Tian laoye* 天老爺.¹⁵³ Due to the prosperous printing business in the Jiangnan area in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasty, the prevalence of popular novels and the common use of folk sayings, such as *Tian laoye* 天老爺, might have attracted the attention of the Jesuit Figurists and then collected them in their works. Not only was the term, *Tianye* 天爺, one that these Jesuit Figurists might have borrowed from different parts of popular novels, their use of *Tianye* 天爺 also might have been because they landed in the Southern part of China when they first came,¹⁵⁴ and the collection of folk sayings might thus include the usages of folk people from the Southern region of China.

If the first half of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, which is a compilation of the quotes from different classics, including *the Yijing*, is compared with the second half, it is found that the lines in these classics were quoted to use the terms, such as *Tian* 天 or *Di* 帝, to describe God. The same classical usage of calling God also could be found in *Ru*

¹⁵² *Ming Qing su yu ci shu ji cheng* 明清俗語辭書集成 p. 1042. In Chinese, it is 南方愚民不識大體，往往呼天為天老爺，天地神祇，無不老爺。

¹⁵³ It is according to the search result of *Guoxue biao dian* 國學寶典。

¹⁵⁴ When Bouvet first came to China, he landed in Ningbo; Premaré had stayed in Guangzhou, and Nanchang, Jiangxi before he was sent to Beijing.

Jiao Xin by Prémare. It could be classified as classical use or ancient use of Chinese. The use of Classical Chinese was aimed to attract the attention of the literati, and then the proselytization could start from the class of the Emperor and the literati.

3.2 Different Names for God in Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* and *Ru jiao xin* 儒交信

Interestingly, the folk sayings might have come from their use in popular novels; Prémare, had also collected folk sayings in another book. Not only did he differentiate various uses of Classical and vernacular use of the Chinese language in *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* 漢語札記, but he incorporate sentences from the classics, including the *Yijing*, to help distinguish different functions of particles in the Classical use. In his letter to Fourmont on November 1st, 1730, he stated that, “I do not have to stress the usefulness of my *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* for yourself personally. . .most missionaries, especially nowadays, know next to nothing about these philological subtleties. That is why their translations and the things they write about China in Europe are trivial, not to use a stronger word.”¹⁵⁵ His main purpose in writing this book was to make other Western missionaries understand that the study of Chinese was easy and “make everybody know that the Christian religion is as old as the world, and that the God-Man was certainly known to him or those who invented the hieroglyphs and composed the *Jing*...”¹⁵⁶

The significance of the *Yijing* also is emphasized in the beginning of *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*. In Prefactory Notes, Prémare took the role of a tireless learner and teacher of Chinese learning for future missionaries. He first classified all Chinese books; only three

¹⁵⁵ Lundbaek 48. It is Lundbaek's translation.

¹⁵⁶ Lundbaek 61. It is Lundbaek's translation.

were categorized as *King (Jing)*,¹⁵⁷ the *Yijing* 易經, the *Shijing* 詩經 and the *Shujing* 書經. The classification is based in respect to age, the degree of confidence and the style in which they were written, which is quite different from Chinese scholars' classification, *Jing* 經, *Shi* 史 (historical records), *Zi* 子 (philosophical writings), *Ji* 集 (miscellaneous works). Next he explained in what the order the books should be read and also the importance of following the order of writing every stroke of one Chinese character. Next he introduced various dictionaries in Chinese.¹⁵⁸ Then he presented Chinese characters, which were divided into two parts—as written and as pronounced. The section of Chinese characters as pronounced was further divided into two parts—one of the Chinese tones and the other of the sounds. With his detailed introductory note, it was an innovative perspective to interpret Chinese language. He employed Chinese characters and sentences to analyze Chinese grammar, started to use alphabetical indexes appended to each of the books listed, and also transliterated the Chinese sounds with French pronunciation.¹⁵⁹

The linkage with popular novels might have influenced the Jesuit Figurists' vernacular use of naming God. Bouvet audaciously incorporated different terms, *Liao tianye* or *Tian liaoye* for vernacular use and *Tian*, *Di*, *Shangtian*, *Huangtian shangdi* for classical use in *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒. *Tianshang* 天上 and *Shangtian* 上天, however, were documented as Heaven in *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, instead of God, and it might have been because Prémare wanted to avoid any objection from the Roman Catholic Church.

In the main text, Part One of *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* aimed to help the missionaries

¹⁵⁷ *King* is Prémare's Romanization for *Jing* 經 (classics).

¹⁵⁸ 正字通、康熙字典、品字箋 and 說文 are included.

¹⁵⁹ Prémare says that when he came to China he learnt the French transliteration and he has become used to it and he employs it all through *Notitia linguae sinicae*. Therefore, he needs to inform his Spanish and Portuguese readers that their "x" is written with "ch", that his "u" is not the "u" of their languages. See Lundbaek 72.

to speak better and to understand what people said to them. In Part One, Prémare introduced not only the grammar and syntax of popular Chinese, but also the Chinese ideas of empty and full words as well as the use of articles in vernacular Chinese.¹⁶⁰ Here he quoted from the play scripts of *Yuanqu* 元曲 and popular novels, such as *Yu jiao li* 玉嬌梨 (The Two Fair Cousins), *Haoqiu zhuan* 好逑傳 (The Fortunate Union), *Shui hu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Water Margins).¹⁶¹ Although in *Haoqiu zhuan* 好逑傳, there are several places that the leading male role or the leading female role called out for God's help and then used *Liao tian* 老天, only *Tianzhu* 天主, documented in *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, is translated into *God*. Other usages of *Tian* 天, such as *Tianshang* 天上 or *Shangtian* 上天, are referred to as Heaven.¹⁶² Partly it might have been that Prémare mailed the manuscripts to Fourmont and entrusted him to publish it, and he was so afraid that the manuscripts would be confiscated by the Roman Catholic Church, due to the heretic usages of describing God. On the other hand, at the later age of his life, the deeper understanding and high acceptance of Daoism might have been the probable reason that Prémare employed *Heaven* instead of *God* to explain *Tian*.

In Part Two, the *Yijing* also became the convincing evidence for future missionaries to learn classical use of Chinese language. Prémare quoted from the ancient classics, such as the *Book of Documents*, the *Book of Songs*, the *Four Books*, *Zhuangzi*, *Yangzi* 揚子, *Sunzi*, the *Book of Changes* and various literary works in the Song Dynasty. In addition, he also introduced various styles and devices in Chinese, such as rhetoric, antithesis, repetition and playing on words, gradation, confutation or teaching by questions. While he was quoting phrases and sentences from the classics, those with *Tian* or *Di*, different

¹⁶⁰ Lundbaek 76.

¹⁶¹ *Passim*.

¹⁶² This is Elijah Coleman Bridgman's translation, from Latin into English. See the Manuscript p. 37–38.

from Bouvet’s approach in *Gu jin jing tian jian*, was translated as Heaven and Lord respectively and also reflected Prémare’s being conservative in this book. For example, *Bù gǎn níng yú shàngdì mìng* 不敢寧於上帝命 was translated as “I dare not slight the High Sovereign’s order.”¹⁶³ *Tiān zhī míng mìng* 天之明命 was translated as “Heaven’s manifest decree.”¹⁶⁴

In addition, there are several examples and sentences borrowed from the *Yijing*. Especially in Part Two, in order to emphasize the importance of the structure and the rhyme of the text, Prémare provided a Latin translation of the hexagram, *Yi* 益, and the English translation from the Latin version as follows.

The High One sacrifices to those below
the peoples rejoice endlessly.
He comes down from above and submits himself below
therefore his way is exceedingly brilliant.
It is good that he proceeds
central and correct, he shall bring back the only true felicity.
It is good that he passes the great river.
for thus the law of wood/tree (*ligni lex*) is spread to everybody
The Symbol *Yi*, strong and obedient, excites and submits (itself)
it rises ever and ever.
Heaven rises, Earth produces.
This advantage of (*Yi*) has no place and no bounds.
All things that include advantage (*Yi*) in its principle
develop gradually and occur at their time.¹⁶⁵

Though he admitted that the poverty of Latin language might be sufficient to express the Chinese text of the *Yijing*, “the law of wood/tree (*ligni lex*) is spread to everybody” easily might have implied that Christ was crucified. “Great river” was associated with “the

¹⁶³ Manuscript p. 178. It is E.C. Bridgeman’s translation of *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* from Latin to English.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ 損上益下，民說無疆。自上而下，其道大光。利有攸往，中正有慶。利涉大川，木道乃行。益重而巽，日進無疆。天施地方，其益無方。凡益之道，與時皆行。Lundbaek 87. It is Lundbaek’s translation.

garden of Gethsemane and the other side of the brook Cedron, where Jesus let himself be caught by the soldiers of the chief priests.”¹⁶⁶ The *Yijing* not only helped define the Classical use of Chinese language, but also reinforced Prémare’s approach as a Figurist and linked it with Jesus Christ and Christianity.

Compared to his being conservative in his Latin version of *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, which might have been limited to his European audience, in his other work, *Ru jiao xin* 儒交信 (Letters about Making Friends with Confucianists), the first chapter-styled Chinese missionary novel, Prémare also employed the same audacious appellations, as Bouvet’s, for the name of God and it might be because it is a Chinese work. In this novel, he applied his proselytization to a dialogue between two scholars, one believes in Christianity while the other believes in Confucianism. In their discussions,

Catholicism speaks about *Tianzhu* while our Confucianists talk about *Shangdi*. According to the Western Confucianists, *Tianzhu* has no beginning or an end; he is self-contained and self-sufficient; he is omnipotent, omniscient and ultimate good; he is ultimate supreme with no comparison; he is ultimate fair and selfless.....However, in the six Confucianist classics, *Shangtian*, *Shentian*, *Shangdi* and *Huangtian shangdi* are no different from *Tianshu* indicated by the Western Confucianists. (天教言天主，吾儒言上帝，據西儒說，天主就是無始無終，自有自足，全能全知全善，至尊無對，至公無私。...然據儒教的六經，然上天、神天、上帝、皇天上帝，其與西儒言天主，一些也不差。)

Though this book was composed in the form of a dialogue-based novel and used the vernacular form of the Chinese language. While describing God, Prémare still employed *Shangtian* 上天, *Shangdi* 上帝, *Huangtian shangdi* 皇天上帝 in the dialogues of these literati. In this light-toned vernacular novel, these classical uses of naming God were

¹⁶⁶ Lundbaek 88.

learned from Chinese Classics and were employed again in the dialogues to convince these literati that the same monotheistic God existed in the Chinese classics for thousands of years already and it is also the same with *Tian* or *Di*, which the literati referred to in their daily dialogues. These Jesuit Figurists further applied these appellations of God in their own reinterpretations of the *Yijing*.

IV. The Classical Use of *Tian* in the Reinterpretations of the *Yijing*

While inheriting the Classical use of describing God in the *Yijing* and other classics, these Jesuit Figurists also employed the terms of *Tian*, *Di*, *Shangtian* 上天, *Shangdi* 上帝, *Huangtian shangdi* 皇天上帝 in their re-interpretations of the *Yijing*. In the meantime, multiple appellations, including *Shangzhu* 上主, *Tianzhu* 天主, and *Zaowuzhu* 造物主 (the Creator) were also prevalent in the texts of *Da yi yuan yi ne pian* 大易原義內篇 (Inner Chapter of the Great *Yi*'s Original Meaning), *Yi gao* 易稿 (Drafts of *Yi*), *Yi yao* 易鑰 (the Keys to the *Yijing*) and *Zhouyi yuan zhi tan* 周易原旨探(Investigation of Zhouyi's Original Aim). While *Tian* 天 and *Di* 帝 were employed to attract more attention and due respect from the literati class, in *Da yi yuan yi ne pian* 大易原義內篇 and *Yi gao* 易稿, the Chinese re-interpretations of *the Book of Changes*, the Jesuit Figurists also used another term to describe God, *Di tian jun fu* 帝天君父 (Lord, Heaven, Ruler and Holy Father). This expression had not been employed by earlier Jesuits. It seemed to be invented by these Jesuit Figurists, not only to depict the supremacy of God, but also to follow the tradition of Classical Chinese.

One of the examples goes as follows,

The yang line in the fifth place (in the first Hexagram, *Qian* 乾) corresponds with the Son of *Di tian jun fu* 帝天君父 (Lord, Heaven, Ruler and Holy Father). He rides six dragons and

emerges from the position of *Zhen* (which is from the East). As the process was divided into six stages and now the time has gone to the fifth, which the five thousandth hour of the six thousand years after the world was created, the middle kingdom, named *Da Qin* 大秦 (China), has the people whom *Tianzhu* (the Lord of Heaven) would like to nurture and cherish. They worshipped the real Lord and wished the Lord could bestow the Great Saint (to them).)

(九五應帝天君父之子，乘六龍出乎震，運時六位，第五之終，即後天六千年之第五千時，乃四方當中之國，名大秦，天主降生所故(欲)親之民，成拜真主，望天降大聖...)

The yang line in the fifth place 九五 of the first Hexagram, *Qian* 乾, is a position which usually depicts the Emperor, or the Superior man who has the versatile ability and virtue to be the Ruler. Here, the Jesuit Figurists combined this line with the explanation of *God* and Jesus Christ; with *Di tian jun fu* 帝天君父 (Lord, Heaven, Ruler and Holy Father), these four words correspond with the ultimate superiority enjoyed by God. For this term, these Jesuit Figurists followed the Classical Chinese in the commentaries of *the Book of Changes*. For example, in *Zhouyi ji jie* 周易集解 (Collected Annotations of *Zhouyi*), it states, “*Shangdi* 上帝 is the Heaven Lord 天帝.”¹⁶⁷ *Di tian* 帝天 also appeared in *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* and means “to rule Heaven.”¹⁶⁸ As for *Jun fu* 君父, this usage appears in the ancient classics, such as the commentaries to the Image of Hexagrams of *the Book of Changes*. “*Qian* is parallel with being strong and unyielding. It is the supreme of Heaven and Earth, and thus (*Qian*) means *Jun fu* 君父 (the Ruler and the Father).”¹⁶⁹ Not only did they follow the classical tradition of *the Book of Changes*, there are also some examples of *Jun fu* 君父 (the Ruler and the Father) used in the

¹⁶⁷ It was compiled and edited by Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 in the Tang Dynasty.

¹⁶⁸ Manuscript p. 176. It is E.C. Bridgeman’s translation of *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* from Latin to English.

¹⁶⁹ 乾象堅剛，天地之尊，故為君父。In *Jishi yi zhuan* 京氏易傳 (The Commentaries of *Yi* by Jing Fang). (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1922)

popular novels,¹⁷⁰ and the Jesuit Figurists also might have adopted the usage. They tried to proselytize to the Chinese subjects with terms familiar to the Chinese, and persuaded them that the God in Christianity and in *Shangdi, Tian, Di, Di tian jun fu* are not different.

V. The Vernacular Description of the *Yijing* in *Ru jiao xin*

While *Shangdi, Tian, Di, Di tian jun fu* were used as the imitation of Classical use in their re-interpretations of the *Yijing*, in the dialogue-based vernacular novel written by Prémare there was also alternation in using *Tianzhu* and *Shangdi* to persuade the literati and common people, who might be the readers of *Ru jiao xin*.

There are sixty-four hexagrams with three hundred and eighty-four lines in the great *Yi*. However, what is the image? Those who learn *Yi* talk about their similarity with the image of the sage. Xu hanquan in the former dynasty made (the commentaries) of the *Yi* and might clarify the meaning in it. *Yi* is the intangible sage while the sage is the tangible form of the *Yi*. Every Confucianist says nothing but *Qian* and *Kun* represent *Yi*; *Qian* and *Kun* represent the sage. If this sage is not the born *Tianzhu*, then the spectacular text of the *Yijing* will not be able to be decoded. If this sage is a man, the *Tianzhu*, and also the future savior promised by the *Shangdi* of Trinity, it must be him, undoubtedly.

(大易中六十四卦，三百八十四爻，卻象個甚麼，凡學易者，就滿口說都是象聖人。前朝徐寒泉作易，或其中明云，易者無形之聖人，聖人者，有形之易，諸儒也無不說，乾坤就是易，乾坤就是聖人，若這個聖人還不是降生的天主，易經的妙文，總不可解矣。若這個聖人，又是人，又是天主，聖三上帝所許將來的救世者，一定是他，無疑了。)

Through the words of a literatus in Prémare's novel, he did not totally conform to the

¹⁷⁰ Some examples of *Juan fu* 君父 could be located from *Guo bao lu : Xiu ge pao quan zhuan* 果報錄(又名繡戈袍全傳) (The Record of Rewards and Revenge of Doings and Evil-doings) composed by Yuan Mei 袁枚, and *Zai sheng yuan* 再生緣 (Love in the next life) by Chen Duansheng.

restriction imposed by the Roman Catholic Church and did not just use *Tianzhu*. Words are expressed in a vernacular style while with classical usages quoted from the *Yijing* to show that *Shangdi* in the *Yijing* was the same as *Tianzhu* in the Bible.

VI. Conclusion

There is one thing that cannot be denied: at the time when we showed respect for their *Jing* and showed them that their ancestors knew and adored the same God we are telling them about, the Christian religion flourished. From this fact I have always concluded that if we had made the next step, showing them the Saviour in the same *Jing*, more than half of China would now have been Christians...¹⁷¹

The *Yijing* has played a pivotal part in these Jesuit Figurists' research on Chinese sounds, characters and grammar, and esoteric interpretation. In the meantime, phrases and sentences in the *Yijing* also helped further define the Classical use of Chinese language. Especially the use of *Tian*, *Di*, *Shangtian*, *Huangtian shangdi*, as well as their own creation, *Di tian jun fu* 帝天君父, proved that the multiple appellations used by the Jesuit Figurists, either in their individual works or in their re-interpretations of the *Yijing*, paralleled the monotheistic God in the Bible. The above analysis is only a short survey about the usages applied by the Jesuit Figurists. Their efforts to master Classical Chinese and vernacular Chinese should be recognized in their strategy of adaptation. Not only did they follow the tradition of Classical Chinese, but also, in order to persuade the Emperor and the literati, they also invented one new term, *Di tian jun fu* 帝天君父 and used it in *Da yi yuan yi ne pian* 大易原義內篇 and *Yi gao* 易稿. In addition, so as to attract more common people for conversion, Bouvet also collected more than 40 sets of entries,

¹⁷¹ In the letter of November 10th, 1731. Lundbaek 160.

including the lines in the classics, the sayings of literati and the sayings of folk people. In spite of being conservative in *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* and refraining from using *Tian* as a term for God directly, Prémare, the protégé of Bouvet, still inherited Bouvet's approach of using different names for God in his Chinese works. He also blended the classical phrases of the *Yijing* in *Ru jiao xin* to convince the literati of the same God. In spite of the failure of Figurism in China, the usages to describe God, such as *Shangdi*, might well have influenced the next generation of missionary-translators in China, such as James Legge.

Chapter Four

Chinese Manuscripts as a Visual Medium

—Jesuit Figurists' Imitation of Chinese literati—

As the Jesuit Figurists journeyed through the sea of commentaries of the *Yijing* and the trans-textual dialogue, not only did they play the role of translator and commentator by doing the intralingual translation, but their handwritten Chinese manuscripts also mimicked the format and grammatology of Chinese commentaries, in order to gain attention from the Kangxi Emperor and the circle of highly respected literati. Aside from the commentarial tradition, and the Classical and vernacular language they employed, their formats, writing/calligraphy, layout and other visual features of their Chinese manuscripts had a life and history of their own. They served as a visual medium that helped these Jesuit Figurists to communicate and proselytize via a shared identity with the Chinese literati. They made great efforts to formulate the same format of commentaries as the earlier or contemporary literati of the *Yijing*. Thus their Chinese manuscripts demonstrated the interaction among forms of the books, their content, and their imagined readers. They also faced mixed feelings and fluctuating support from their target audience.

This chapter goes beyond semantic interpretation and language features of their intralingual translation of the *Yijing* and then delves further into the material format of texts. While the Jesuit Figurists focused on the interpretation of symbols and figures in their proselytization, their handwritten manuscripts of the *Yijing* used as a visual medium remains a critical element in an analysis of how the intralingual translation of the *Yijing* was read.

I. Teaching the Eye to Read Christianity

Because of the prosperous printing business in the Ming and Qing Dynasty, the ability of writing, editing, printing, publishing and circulating became pivotal in forming the identity of a Chinese literatus who could join the shared community of knowledge reproduction. In the late Ming and the Early Qing Dynasty, the printing of Chinese works for proselytization by the missionaries increased exponentially. Their Christian texts started to don the garments of Chinese language and literary style, just like Matteo Ricci donned the Confucian outfit as a Chinese literatus. Translation of prayers, liturgical texts (missals, breviary), works of theology, hagiographies, catechisms, rules of confraternities, and devotional texts were employed as a means for local penetration and conversion. According to Ronnie Po-chia Hsia,¹⁷² “The impressive Jesuit Chinese corpus was in fact produced by only 59 European fathers (18 Italian, 17 Portuguese, 14 French, 4 Belgian, 3 German, 1 Spain, 1 Poland and 1 Austrian), with 18 engaged in translation.” The French Jesuits made a modest but respectable contribution to the output of the Jesuits works in Chinese.

These works of Christianity written in Chinese were used either as a direct or an indirect tool for proselytization. Direct proselytization means that the Chinese converts and literati could directly read the stories and messages from the printed books or manuscripts. On the other hand, the indirect approach of offering the delicately printed books or well-written manuscripts to Chinese literati improved the chances greatly that they would be impressed not only by the Jesuits’ efforts in Chinese but also the message of Christianity. Just as they earned respect from the circle of Chinese literati, the shared

¹⁷² Ronnie Po-chia Hsia. “The Catholic mission and translations in China, 1583–1700.” Eds. Peter Burke & Ronnie Po-chia Hsia. *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 39–51.

identity also was easy to accomplish. This might explain the reason why many Jesuit missionaries in the Late Ming Dynasty left a great number of works in Chinese. For example, the printing and circulation of Matteo Ricci's first Chinese work, *Jiaoyou lun* 交友論 (Discussion on Friendship), won the high approval and reputation among the Chinese literati in the Late Ming Dynasty. In addition, the later Jesuits, including Giulio Aleni (1582–1649), Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), and even Nicholas Longobardi (1559–1654), who bore grudges against Matteo Ricci, all left Chinese works for proselytization.

In the Early Qing Dynasty, Jesuit Figurists followed Jesuits' path of Chinese writing to translate the *Yijing*. Different from the Jesuits' previous translation from European languages to Chinese, they did an intra-lingual translation of the *Yijing*, because this might be the fastest way to enter the circle of Chinese literati and to have an audience with the Emperor. In addition, their Chinese manuscripts were tailor-made to cater to the needs and interests of the Kangxi Emperor. With the submission of these Chinese manuscripts to the Emperor, like the donning of the Chinese literati's garments, these Jesuit Figurists embraced a powerful and convincing way into the imperial court. These texts also provided a disguise for their embedded messages of Christianity.

Most of these Chinese manuscripts about the *Yijing* were handwritten. Some manuscripts with the same title were copied into different versions. For example, there are three version of *Yi yin* 易引 in the many hundreds of pages of manuscripts preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Two versions clearly were complemented with handwritten deletions and additions while the third one had been neatly written with beautiful calligraphy. While the Chinese manuscripts were in the process of being written, these texts embarked on their own life journey and genealogy.

The neatly written one was ready for further printing and circulation, and the two revised versions reflected the interaction and crosscurrents of exchanges in the process, as these Jesuit Figurists did the reinterpretation of the *Yijing* and fused it with messages of proselytization. The Chinese brush, handwriting, patterns, margins and special set phrases in the Chinese manuscripts of the *Yijing* were the special designs on these *Chinese literary garments* (my italics) made by the Jesuit Figurists, and each feature will be elaborated as follows.

II. Chinese Brush and Handwriting—Written Form as Visual Performance

Concerning Jesuits' proselytization, the dissemination of visual objects and pictures, *Dalla vista delle immagini* (the sight picture),¹⁷³ commonly were employed. Seeing is believing. Under the umbrella of visual materials that denote the meaning and embodiment of Christianity, the missionaries created an arena where the givers and takers could see, experience and feel the religious atmosphere and messages themselves. These visual materials could be divided into three categories: The first was religious paintings and effigies, including those of the Holy Father and Holy Son; the second was maps, printed books and manuscripts; the third was scientific and astronomical instruments, watches, glassware, mirrors and clothing.

Jesuit Figurists' love and passion for using images and Chinese characters could be traced back to Matteo Ricci's mnemonic device. The Jesuits made good use of the visual materials to help store the enormous amount of information and knowledge, including the Chinese characters, which they regarded as hieroglyphs. According to Jonathan Spence's *Matteo Ricci's Memory Palace*, a memory palace is common mnemonic strategy

¹⁷³ *Dalla vista delle immagini* is an Italian term that means sight pictures.

employed by the Jesuits.¹⁷⁴ The memory was to be thought of as a palace that existed in the imagination. In the rooms and passageways of that palace, one placed images, each image representing a different set of concepts. One need only remember its location in the palace; once that location was reached, the concepts associated with the image would flood back into consciousness.

This technique intrigued the Chinese elite for whom a good training in memory was half the battle in achieving success in the bureaucratic system. Ricci won a certain amount of attention for himself by introducing the basic methods in a short essay in Chinese, *Xizi qiji* 西字奇迹 (Wonder of Western Writing). To communicate the Christian idea in this essay to the Chinese, he created a memory palace for them with a reception hall that contained four images derived from Chinese characters that represented stories and individuals in the Bible. Each image had a caption, and three had his commentaries. Matteo Ricci chose four Chinese characters — *Wu* 武 (Martial), *Yao* 要 (need, demand), *Li* 利 (Benefits), and *Hao* 好 (Good)—and associated four biblical pictures with these characters in order to summarize Christian ideas for the Chinese. Though Spence associated these four Chinese characters with another four biblical pictures in order to depict events from Ricci's life, the connection between images and Chinese characters in Jesuits' learning and engagement in the circle of Chinese literati cannot be overstated. It is especially pivotal later for the Jesuit Figurists, who attached more importance to figures, images and hieroglyphs. On the other hand, Matteo Ricci's combination of Chinese characters, handwriting and images might in part have followed the manner and customs of Chinese literati. While small visual objects, such as paintings and effigies, were given as gifts for proselytization, text or inscriptions in Chinese also

¹⁷⁴ Jonathan Spence. *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. (London: Penguin Books, 1985)

were used by the missionaries with visual effect to shorten the distance between the missionaries and the circle of Chinese literati and the Emperor. Beautiful handwriting in the style of calligraphy had been popular as a gift bestowed between literati. Matteo Ricci had learned this custom and combined calligraphy with biblical pictures on gifts or manuscripts to make his way rapidly into the high circles of Chinese literati.

In the society of literati, gifts bestowed as a token of friendship included *bianmian*



Fig. 4.1 A golden folding fan with the written calligraphy by Xuelang hongen

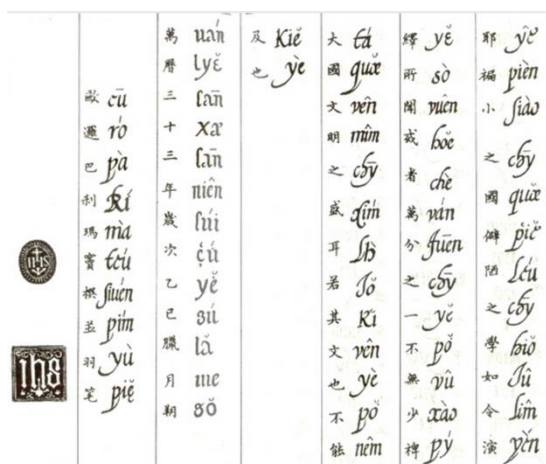


Fig. 4.2 Matteo Ricci's calligraphic handwriting on *Xizi qiji* 西字奇迹.

便面(Fans), *Chidui* 尺牘 (Letters), and pamphlets or scrolls. Writing calligraphy on fans had been passed down from the Song Dynasty; during the Chenghua 成化 period (1465–1487) in the Ming Dynasty, however, folding fans were used most commonly. In the Late Ming Dynasty, the monks and the literati whom Matteo Ricci would have encountered, such as Xuelang hongen¹⁷⁵ 雪浪洪恩 (1545–1608) and Gu qiyuan 顧起元 (1565–1628), preferred to use folding fans with a golden surface and calligraphy (Fig. 4.1). Giving a gift with beautiful

calligraphy was not only a gesture of high luxury but also convincing proof of one's status and literary taste. In 1599, Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602) presented two fans with calligraphy of two poems, one of which was titled “Gift to Li xitai 贈利西泰,”¹⁷⁶ to

¹⁷⁵ Xuelang hongen 雪浪洪恩 was a famous poet and Buddhist monk in the Late Ming Dynasty. In *Regni Chinensis descriptio. Ex varijs authoribus* 利瑪竇中國札記, consisting chiefly of a reprint of Bk. 1 of the compilation by Nicolas Trigault from the commentaries of Matteo Ricci entitled, *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, Matteo Ricci had a heated debate with Xuelang hongen about whether the images of Sun and Moon were fabricated by Ricci as an astronomer.

¹⁷⁶ One poem titled “Gift to Li xitai 贈利西泰” was recorded in Scroll Six of *Fen shu* 焚書 (A Book Fit for Burning) written by Li Zhi 李贄. Li xitai is Matteo Ricci. The poem is as follows, “Ramble freely to the most northerly sea of the world, and meander to conquest in the south. Temples were marked with his name while the transcendent mountains recorded his journey on waters. When he looked back on his trip of ten

Matteo Ricci. Influenced by this literati tradition of Chinese writing, Matteo Ricci also wrote calligraphy on fans and instructed his students, Manuel Diaz 李瑪諾 (1559–1639) and João da Rocha 羅儒望 (1566–1623), to do the same.¹⁷⁷ Matteo Ricci also wrote calligraphy on the manuscripts of his Portuguese-Chinese dictionary as well as the postscript for the last of his four images in *Xizi qiji* 西字奇迹 (Wonder of Western Writing).¹⁷⁸ He juxtaposed the Chinese characters with their Romanization (Fig. 4.2). It can be translated as follows, “Matteo Ricci wrote and used a feather-styled pen.”¹⁷⁹ The Romanization of Chinese characters were in the style of handwriting and might have been a harbinger for the next generation of Jesuits, the Figurists.

In addition to following Matteo Ricci, Jesuit Figurists’ preference for calligraphy and Chinese characters partially derived from the Hermetism tradition, which descended from *Prisca Theologia* (the ancient theology), in favor of images. Athanasius Kircher,

thousand *lis* and raised his eyes toward the nine-fold palace walls, did he not see the great light of a country? (This country) is hung right in the middle of heaven and radiates great light. 「逍遙下北溟，迤邐向南征，剎利標名姓，仙山紀水程。回頭十萬里，舉目九重城，觀國之光未？中天日正明。」 This story is from *Zhuangzi*, and it is about a fabulous bird of enormous size. The giant bird was used here to describe Matteo Ricci, who travelled from afar to this country, and the light in this poem implies the Ming Dynasty.

¹⁷⁷ Wu Guohao 吳國豪. “Li ma dou renji wangluo zhong suojian wan ming shufa huodong 利瑪竇人際網絡中所見晚明書法活動 (The activities about calligraphy seen in the social network of Matteo Ricci in the Late Ming Dynasty), *Chinese Painting and Calligraphy Association*. Web Chinese Culture and Fine Arts Association. 07 Feb. 2012. Web. 12 Oct. 2014. http://www.tshlyh.com/index.php?action=exchange_info&id=70.

¹⁷⁸ The last article to describe the image is called “Shu wen zeng you bo chengzi 述文贈幼博程子 (Article written to gift Youbo chengzi).” In 1605, the thirty-third year of the reign of Wanli, Matteo Ricci marked Romanization for Chinese characters in four articles he wrote. These four articles are “Feeling trustful and walking into the sea; feeling doubtful and then you will sink 信而步海疑而即沉,” “Two gentlemen heard the truth (from Jesus) and immediately discarded the vain thoughts. 二徒聞實即舍空虛,” “Being licentious and filthy only summon the fire from Heaven 淫色穢氣自速天火,” and “Articles written and gifted to Youbo chengzi 述文贈幼博程子。” These four articles with images were sent to Cheng Junfang 程君房, who was a master of making Chinese inks. He copied them into his book, *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑. The copies of this book were stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

¹⁷⁹ At the end of the last image and article, Shu wen zeng youbo chengzi 述文贈幼博程子 (Articles written and gifted to Youbo chengzi) of *Xizi qiji* 西字奇迹 (Wonder of Western Writing), Matteo Ricci’s handwriting reads as follows, “At the beginning of the twelfth month of the lunar calendar in the thirty-third year of the reign of Wanli, Matteo Ricci, who is from Europe, wrote and used a feather-styled pen. (萬曆三十三年歲次乙巳臘月朔，歐邏巴厘瑪竇撰並羽筆)

another Jesuit, was a predecessor of the Jesuit Figurists who employed this for theological interpretation. Hermetism was thought to develop in parallel with early Christianity, Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, the Chaldaean Oracles, and late Orphic and Pythagorean literature. Hermeticists believed in *Prisca Theologia*, the doctrine that a single, true theology exists, that it exists in all religions, and even exists in pagan writings. These doctrines were given by God to man in antiquity; these mysterious messages from God were embedded in symbols, images, and hieroglyphs used by the ancient Egyptians. To manifest the truth of the doctrine of *Prisca Theologia*, Christians appropriated the Hermetic teachings for their own interpretation. According to these Christian writers, Hermes Trismegistus was either a contemporary of Moses or the third in a line of men named Hermes—Enoch, Noah, and the Egyptian priest-king who is known to us as Hermes Trismegistus. The Hermetism tradition was popular in the 16th and 17th century,



Fig. 4.3 An illustration of the Chinese method of writing, from Athanasius Kircher, *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1667), 233. Courtesy of the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Hannover.

not only because it satisfied the desire for the information about ancient Egypt mysticism, but also because it synchronized pagan thoughts with the stories and teachings of Christianity.

Jesuit Figurists were attracted to Chinese characters because they associated the creation of Chinese characters with things and objects instead of the sounds, similar to the principles of the Egyptian

hieroglyphs. Therefore, Chinese characters were regarded with high esteem for they might be encoded with mysterious messages from God. Athanasius Kircher also attached

great importance to Chinese characters and handwriting in his work, *China Illustrata*. In one of the illustrations, Kircher introduced Chinese handwriting and described the use of Chinese brush and ink.¹⁸⁰ The illustration shows a Chinese literatus writing in front of a table with a standard posture, holding a Chinese brush in his hand. The attire and scene are so realistic, except that there is a monkey reading a piece of paper with words on it. A monkey served as a symbol of a demon and devil in the Middle Ages; by the Renaissance, however, it had come to symbolize skills and imitation. By showing this monkey mimicking the human being (Chinese literatus), Kircher might have wanted to imply that

it showed Chinese writing was a foreign fashion and a mimetic form of natural objects.

With his enthusiasm about mysticism and Chinese characters, Athanasius Kircher categorized them into sixteen types. In *China Illustrata* (See Fig. 4.4), the first type, according to his explanation,

originated from Dragon and Snake, and is also related to the 64 hexagrams. The second type is associated with agriculture, especially with the images of stems, leaves, fruits and roots of crops.

The third type came from the birds, while the other types derived from shell-fish and small worm forms, and so on.¹⁸¹ These forms of Chinese characters and writing also were written on the margins of



Fig. 4.4 Six types of characters from Athanasius Kircher's illustrations of how Chinese characters were derived from things of the world, found in *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam 1667), 229.

¹⁸⁰ David E. Mungello. *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*. (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1989) 152.

¹⁸¹ Mungello 147–149.

Confucius Sinarum Philosophus, the first translation of the *Four Books*, edited by Philippe Couplet 柏應理, a Belgian Jesuit, with the translation by Prospero Intorcetta, Christian Wolfgang Herdtrich, and François de Rougemont. This proves that Chinese writing on these Jesuits' works was not uncommon. Though some of them were based on Kircher's extrapolation and wide association, when the Jesuit Figurists utilized Chinese characters, it was not clueless manipulation but their strategy and focus on Chinese writing and characters that originated from the earlier tradition descended from late antiquity, Hermetism and *Prisca Theologia*.

While Kircher already had noticed that the customary format of Chinese writing is from top to bottom and from right to left, the Jesuit Figurists, including Bouvet and Prémare, further expanded these features and wrote Chinese characters in the elegant style of calligraphy in their Chinese manuscripts. They not only mimicked the path of Matteo Ricci's socializing with Chinese literati, but also understood the importance of Chinese writing as Kircher had. Before further elaborating on the codicology/grammatology¹⁸² of their Chinese manuscripts, it is necessary to explore the ambiguous, sometimes conflicting and sometimes cooperative, relationship between the Jesuit Figurists and the Emperor and the literati, in the process of their transformation into Chinese literati and donning their *Chinese literary garments*.

III. Crosscurrents of Exchanges: Competition and Cooperation

¹⁸² Grammatology means a study of the distinctive published features of texts and monographs. It might include the prefaces, the postscripts, the tri-level presentation in their intra-lingual translation/commentaries, inter-textual cross-referencing. Codicology (from Latin *cōdex*, genitive *cōdicis*, "notebook, book"; and Greek *-λογία*, *-logia*) is the study of books as physical objects, especially manuscripts written on parchment (or paper) in codex form. It is often referred to as 'the archaeology of the book', concerning itself with the materials and techniques used to make books, including their binding.

One of the early evidence of Jesuits' handwriting and inscriptions in Chinese included a monument erected by Johann Adam Schall von Bell that records the completion of a

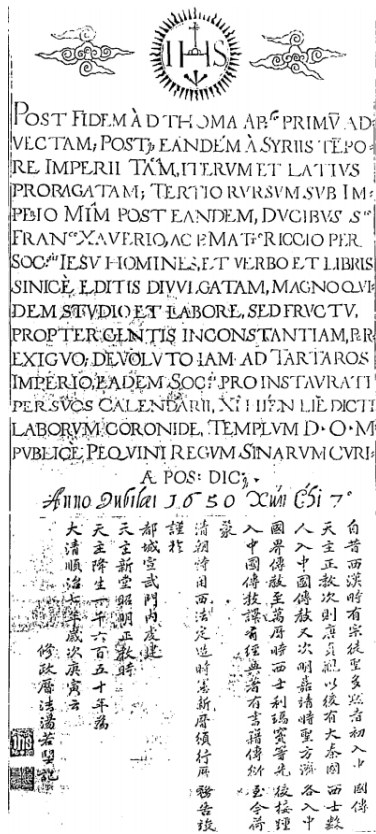


Fig. 4.5 Beijing xuanwumennei xinjian tianzhu tang beiji 北京玄武門內新建天主堂碑記, rubbing of monument. Courtesy Jesuit Archives in Rome.

church in Peking in 1650 (fig.4.5). At the top was the emblem of the Society of Jesus, and below was a Latin inscription and its translation in Chinese.¹⁸³ The Chinese translation was carved on the style of calligraphy and read from right to left and from top to bottom, just like as if the monument had been written by a Chinese literatus. Possibly because it was erected before the church, the monument, with the Chinese inscription attracted only a limited audience, including Chinese converts and the Jesuit missionaries who understood Chinese. It not only commemorated the special event of building and renovating the first church in Peking, but also served as a marker of a special field for rituals and followers of the Catholic religion.

Another stele was authorized by the Emperor Shunzhi and was inscribed with the his *Shunzhi Tianzhu Tang Bei*

Ji 順治天主堂碑記 (Shunzhi's Inscription for the Catholic Church). In the inscription on the stele, Shunzhi expressed his appreciation to Adam Schall for his contributions in setting up the calendar for the Qing Empire. At the same time, however, he demonstrated

¹⁸³ Xuanwumen tianzhu tang 宣武門天主堂, also called Nantang 南堂, was the first Catholic Church built in Beijing. It was first established by Matteo Ricci in 1605. It used to be a small-scale traditional Chinese structure with a small cross standing in front of it. In 1650, the seventh year of the Emperor Shunzhi's reign, this Catholic Church started to be renovated under the leadership of Johann Adam Schall von Bell.

an apathetic attitude toward Christianity. Receiving the stele as a gift to the Nan-t'ang church, Schall and the Christians believed that Shunzhi was a patron of their religion. By separating the studies of the calendar and Christianity, the Manchu emperor, however, accepted the legitimacy that both the Confucian literati and Christian astronomers had provided.¹⁸⁴ With the two stele erected on both sides of the front gate of this church, it seemed that the Emperor Shunzhi conversed with these Jesuits. When it came to proselytization in the imperial court, however, a more immediate and direct means might be needed, manuscripts.

Compared to the inscriptions on the monument, Chinese manuscripts also demarcate the scope of readers and audience. Manuscripts, with restrained accessibility, can only be circulated among certain groups of people. Manuscripts assisted the author not only to set the stage to interpret the known texts, but also to transform his identity and position himself, while prints are employed to claim the authorship. Jesuit Figurists' Chinese manuscripts were turned into a stage of their visual performance to demonstrate their re-interpretation of the *Yijing* to the Kangxi Emperor. On the manuscripts, not only were the message and intralingual translation of the *Yijing* shown, but also elegant and graceful calligraphy were used to appeal to the connoisseurship of the Kangxi Emperor.

While these manuscripts of Jesuit Figurists were hand-written with Chinese calligraphy, it was not only a symbol of amicability toward the Chinese readers, but also a sign of visual performance and respect toward the Kangxi Emperor, who especially was fond of the elegance of Chinese calligraphy. According to *Shengzhu ren huangdi tingxun*

¹⁸⁴ The Jesuits reasoned that the emperor stood by their side because of the gift of stele. To anti-Christian literati like Yang Guangxian 楊光先, however, the emperor had declared himself a descendant of the Confucian sage tradition and showed no sympathy to Christianity. On the other hand, Schall emphasized the materiality and the symbolic meaning of the stele as an imperial gift. For more details of the Calendar Case, please see n. 17, below.

geyan 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言 (Aphorisms from the Familiar Instructions of Shengzu, the Emperor Ren),¹⁸⁵

I, the sovereign, took the throne at the age of eight and I already knew that I should be dedicated to studying. At that time, those who taught me pausing for reading articles are two tutors,¹⁸⁶ whose surnames are Zhang and Lin. They both studied classics in the Ming Dynasty. They mainly put priority on the learning of classics and poetry and proses were put as the second. . . . I, the sovereign, was fond of learning since my childhood and especially was affectionate for writing in calligraphy. The Hanlin scholar, Shen quan, normally learned and imitated the calligraphy fonts of Dong qichang 董其昌 in the Ming Dynasty. He used to teach me how to write in calligraphy. The two tutors, Zhang and Lin, also learned calligraphy in the Ming Dynasty and they also often instructed me. Therefore, my writing in calligraphy is more exceptional than others.

(朕八歲登基，即知黽勉學問，彼時教我句讀者，有張、林二內侍，俱係明時多讀書人，其教書惟以經書為要，至於詩文則在所後。 . . . 朕少年好學如此，更耽好筆墨。有翰林沈荃，素學明時董其昌字體，曾教我書法。張、林二內侍俱及明時善於書法之人，亦常指示。故朕之書法有異尋常人者以此。)

Among the Emperors in the Qing Dynasty, Kangxi was the most diligent one; he studied classics, and practiced and mimicked the calligraphy of the maestros. He was also a master of mathematics and the *Book of Changes*. According to *Donghualu* 東華錄 (Records from within the Eastern Gate),

¹⁸⁵ Author's translation. "Shengzhu ren huangdi tingxun geyan 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言 (Aphorisms from the Familiar Instructions of Shengzu, the Emperor Ren)," in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (the Complete Library in Four Sections), Ed. Ji Yun 紀昀. Vol. 717. (Taipei, Taiwan: The Commercial Press, 1986) 616–717.

¹⁸⁶ In the Chinese original, it indicated that Zhang and Lin were *Neishi* 內侍, which might be regarded as an equivalent of *Huanguan* 宦官 (Eunuchs). If compared with the version of *Shengzhu ren huangdi tingxun geyan* 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言 written in Manchu language, however, the Kangxi Emperor called Zhang and Lin as *Jang sefu* and *lin sefu*, which means *Teacher/Tutor Zhang* and *Teacher/Tutor Lin*. Kangxi did not specify that these two were eunuchs. See *Shengzhu ren huangdi tingxun geyan : man wen ben* 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言: 滿文本 (Aphorisms from the Familiar Instructions of Shengzu, the Emperor Ren: The Version of Manchu Language), in *Gugong zhenben congkan*. Vol. 726 (Haikou: Hainan Publishing House, 2001) 185–186.

On the day of Jisi 己巳, the sixth day in the sixty combinations of heavenly stems and earthly branches, the Emperor said, “since (the reign of) Yao, Shun, Yu and Tang, the methods of (harnessing) the heart and ruling all lie in the *Book of Documents*; you all shall explicate them (to me) wholeheartedly every day. I am dedicated to the classics and studies; though I dare not to compare myself as the ancient great kings, my heart/mind is committed to the studies day and night.”

Kulena¹⁸⁷ said, “The explication of the *Book of Documents* is completed. Since tomorrow, (we could) start to explicate the *Book of Changes* to the Emperor.

The Emperor said, “I, the sovereign, regard classics and histories are all about ruling and governance and they are appropriate to be explicated. You all shall start to explicate the *Book of Changes*.

((康熙二十五年 己巳....上曰：堯舜禹湯以來，心法治法，俱在尚書，爾等每日悉心講解，朕孜孜典學，雖不能媲古帝王，而此心朝夕懋勉未嘗稍懈也。

庫勒納奏曰：書經應講者已畢。自明日始當以易經進講。

上曰：朕思經史俱關治理，自宜進講，爾等可進講易經。)

Rijiang yijing jie yi 日講易經解義 was later edited by Niu Niu 牛紐 and Sun Zaifeng 孫在豐, who were assigned by the Kangxi Emperor in the 22nd year of the reign of Kangxi. The Kangxi Emperor’s thorough studies of classics and preference for calligraphy might have lured these Jesuit Figurists to present him with their intralingual translation of the *Yijing* in their handwritten Chinese manuscripts with delicate calligraphy.

While Matteo Ricci had mainly socialized with and built rapport with the Chinese literati, the Jesuit Figurists, however, mainly concentrated on the Kangxi Emperor. There was interaction and exchange between the Emperor and the Jesuit Figurists, and between

¹⁸⁷ Kulena 庫勒納 (1677–1700), as the Head of Hanlin Academicians and Deputy Minister of Rites 翰林院掌院學士兼禮部侍郎, was assigned by the Kangxi Emperor to edit *Rijiang shujing jieyi* 日講書經解義 in the 19th year of the reign of Kangxi.

the literati and the Jesuit Figurists, which was not merely a unidirectional flow from the Jesuits to the Chinese Emperor or literati. The Jesuit Figurists focused their interest on the study and the re-interpretation of the mystic embedded messages of Christianity in the *Yijing*; on the other hand, the Kangxi Emperor imposed demanding pressure and restrictions on the Jesuit Figurists' re-interpretation of the *Yijing*. The Chinese literati did not have a totally supportive view of their intra-lingual translation/commentaries on the *Yijing*, either. The pressure from the Emperor and the competitive-cooperative relationship with the literati also might have impacted how the Jesuit Figurists utilized the handwritten manuscripts as a visual medium. The crosscurrents of exchanges, especially the views from the Kangxi Emperor and the Chinese literati, will be further investigated in the following section.

Jesuit Figurists shouldered the pressure from the Kangxi Emperor, who was an assiduous student of mathematics, science and Chinese classics, including the *Yijing*. On November 28th, 1688, the 27th year of the reign of Kangxi, six French Scientists/Jesuits, including Joachim Bouvet, held an audience with the Kangxi Emperor in the Palace of Qianqing 乾清宮. They presented about 30 scientific instruments and artefacts to the Emperor. Thereafter, until the death of the Kangxi Emperor in the sixtieth year of his reign, these Jesuit Figurists remained in the imperial court and had a very close relationship with the Emperor. In Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, Jesuit Figurists' passion and enthusiasm for the *Yijing*, including the hieroglyphs, the Classical and vernacular use of Chinese language, and the transformed Trinity and hexagrams, have been elaborated. On the other hand, the Kangxi Emperor might also have had his own reasons to direct the Jesuit Figurists' attention to the *Yijing*. Facing the Rites Controversy, a struggle for power and authority with the Holy See, and the internal tug-of-war between Chinese literati and

the Jesuits, the Kangxi Emperor might have guided the Jesuit Figurists' studies on the *Yijing* for his own benefit and agenda, using the *Yijing* as a leverage.

The Kangxi Emperor always had been a domineering ruler, even in his interaction with the Jesuits and Chinese literati, especially after the clash and accusation made by Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597–1669) about Johann Adam Schall von Bell's (1591–1666) Western astronomy¹⁸⁸ in the beginning of the Emperor's reign. In *Shengzhu ren huangdi tingxun geyan* 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言 (Aphorisms from the Familiar Instructions of Shengzu, the Emperor Ren), he explains,

During my, the Sovereign's, childhood, Chinese imperial astronomer did not get along with the Westerners (Jesuits) and they examined and verified (what they reported) with each other; (they fought several times) even until one side was sentence to death. Yang Guangxian and Tang Ruowang (Johann Adam Schall von Bell) stood in front of nine ministers out of the Wu Gate and bet on measuring the shadow cast by the sun. However, none among the nine ministers knew the (calendrical) laws. I, the Sovereign, thought, that if I myself do not understand (the calendrical laws), how could I make the right judgment? Therefore, I prodded myself to learn it.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Yang Gaungxian 楊光先 was a Chinese Muslim Confucian writer and astronomer who was the head of the Bureau of Astronomy 欽天監 from 1665 to 1669. He launched the Calendar Case in Early Kangxi Reign 康熙曆獄. During the reign of Shunzhi, Johann Adam Schall von Bell had been respected by the Emperor Shunzhi and his mother, Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang 孝莊皇太后, surnamed Borjigit 博爾濟吉特氏. They respected Schall von Bell as their "Adoptive Father" (義父). Chinese astronomy had been involved with astrology since antiquity, and the Chinese astronomers regarded it as an exclusive right and authority which belonged to them. Since 1659, the later years of the reign of Shunzhi, he wrote *Zhaimiu Lun* 摘謬論 (On Collecting Errors), a criticism of the Western calendar, and *Bixie Lun* 辟邪論 (On Exposing Heterodoxy) and so on. These articles claimed that the Jesuits wanted to westernize the Chinese calendar. It was rejected by the Board of Rites. In 1664, another article he wrote, *Qing zhu xiejiao zhuang* 請誅邪教狀 (A Complaint Requesting Punishment for the Evil Religion) was accepted by the Board of Rites. He reported that Schall was responsible for the death of Consort Donggo in 1660 by choosing an inauspicious day for the burial of her son in 1658. In 1665, Johann Adam Schall von Bell and seven of his Chinese assistants were sentenced to death. Johann Adam Schall von Bell died in 1666 and did not have the chance to see that his ban was lifted in 1671. Though Yang later became the head of the Bureau of Astronomy, but he was removed and replaced by Ferdinand Verbiest. The previous case was reinvestigated according to the imperial order of the Kangxi Emperor and the case was reversed. Yang was sentenced to death and died the next year on his way home.

¹⁸⁹ Author's translation. "Shengzhu ren huangdi tingxun geyan 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言 (Aphorisms from

(朕幼時，欽天監漢官和西洋人不睦，相互參劾，幾至大辟。楊光先、湯若望於午門外九卿前，當面賭測日影，奈九卿中無一人知法者。朕思，己不知，焉能斷人之是非？因自憤而學焉。)

Therefore, the Kangxi Emperor would rather thoroughly understand the laws of mathematics and astronomy by himself. In addition, between the two schools of the *Yi* studies, *Xianshu* 象數 (Images and Numerology), and *Yili* 義理 (Meaning and Principles), the Kangxi Emperor preferred the school of *Xianshu* 象數 and combined the studies of mathematics with the *Yijing*. In *Donghua lu* 東華錄 (Eastern China Records), he also elaborated that, “The laws of arithmetic were all originated from the *Yijing*. The Western arithmetic were also brilliant and it originally derived from Chinese arithmetic, which was also dubbed *Aer Zhuba Er* 阿爾朱巴爾 (algebra). It comes from the East.”¹⁹⁰ Therefore, Jesuit Figurists came to China at a perfect time when the Chinese Emperor honored the *Yijing* and also focused his curiosity on how these Western missionaries could connect Western astronomy and mathematics with the *Yijing*.

These Chinese manuscripts of the *Yijing* were employed as a visual medium to communicate with their limited, or simply put, “the only” target audience, the Kangxi Emperor. The Kangxi Emperor was still doubtful, from time to time, however, about their research and interpretation of the *Yijing*. Jonathan Spence’s documentation about the interaction between the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuits shows the Emperor’s trust and respect for Bouvet’s research and command of Chinese in the initial stage of their interaction but casts doubts on other Jesuits and missionaries. “After all, they (the Jesuits)

the Familiar Instructions of Shengzu, the Emperor Ren,” in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (the Complete Library in Four Sections), Ed. Ji yun 紀昀. Vol. 717 (Taipei, Taiwan: The Commercial Press, 1986) 616–717.

¹⁹⁰ Author’s translation. See “Shengzhu ren huangdi tingxun geyan 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言 (Aphorisms from the Familiar Instructions of Shengzu, the Emperor Ren),” in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (the Complete Library in Four Sections), Ed. Ji yun 紀昀. Vol. 719. (Taipei, Taiwan: The Commercial Press, 1986) 406-407.

only know a fraction of what I know, and none of the Westerners is really conversant with Chinese literature—except perhaps for the Jesuit Bouvet, who has read a great deal, and developed the ability to undertake serious study of the *Book of Changes*.”¹⁹¹ Such high praise from the Emperor increased the pressure on these Jesuit Figurists’ study of the *Yijing*.

In 1703, the 42nd year of the reign of Kangxi, Bouvet just had completed *Tianxue banyi* 天學本義 (The Original Meaning of the Studies of God), the precursor of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑑 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present). At that time, he collected all the entries related to *Tian* and *Di* in Chinese classics, including the *Yijing*, but he was not fully committed to the studies of the *Yijing* as yet. After Jean-François Foucquet (1665–1741) was summoned to Beijing, Bouvet started explore studies of the *Yijing* with Foucquet. The Kangxi Emperor expressed his concerns several times to Wang Daohua 王道化,¹⁹² who had been mentioned several times in the decrees of the Kangxi Emperor as a messenger between the Emperor and the Jesuits. The Emperor especially asked Wang Daohua to advise Bouvet that, “Bai Jin (Bouvet) would like to interpret the *Yijing*, and then he should read through the ancient classics, in order to scrutinize them all. . . . You could tell Bai Jin (Bouvet) that he must

¹⁹¹ Jonathan D. Spence. *Emperor of China: Self-portrait of K’ang-hsi*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989)145–146.

¹⁹² Wang Daohua took the post of Supervisor-in-Chief of Yangxin Hall and Secretary of Bureau of Imperial Horses 養心殿總監造上駟苑主事 during the later period of the Kangxi Emperor’s reign. See Zhang Yushu 張玉書 & Chen Tingjing 陳廷敬, *Yu ding peiwen yunfu* 御定佩文韻府 (The Imperial Edition of the Treasury of Rhymes and Phrases), Vol. 1011 (Taipei: The Commercial Press, 1983) 6. More information about Wang Daohua could be seen in Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiaoshi Renwu Zhuan* 中國天主教史人物傳 (Biographies of Significant Figures in the Christianity History of China), (Beijing: Religious Culture Publishing House, 2007) 417–423; Han Qi 韓琦, *Kangxi Shidai De Lisuan Huodong Jiyu Dangan Ziliao De Xinyanjiu* 康熙時代的曆算活動: 基於檔案資料的新研究 (The Calendrical Activities during the Reign of the Kangxi Emperor: New Research Based on the Materials in the Archives), in *Shiliao yu Shijie* 史料與視界 (Historical Materials and Vision), Ed. Zhang Xianqing. (Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Publishing House, 2007) 40–60.

scrupulously read through all the ancient classics. He could not avoid reading them only due to different ways (of religions). If not, when could he finish the interpretation? If he would like to start on this, he must finish it all. By the Emperor himself.”¹⁹³

This not only explains the Emperor’s high demands on the Jesuit Figurists’ understanding of the *Yijing*, but also shows that he understood that it might be overwhelmingly challenging for the Jesuit Figurists to interpret it. Bouvet expressed the difficulties he might have had about the re-interpretation and also hoped for the Kangxi Emperor’s guidance and patience. When the Emperor several times asked to see his writings, Bouvet felt embarrassed. He had to excuse himself by saying that he needed more time for research before he could start to write.¹⁹⁴ It shows the increasing pressure on him not only to do the writing in Chinese but also for the presentation of his re-interpretation of the *Yijing*.

Because of his diligence in studies and his enthusiasm for the Jesuit Figurists’ study of the *Book of Changes*, The Kangxi Emperor concentrated his whole attention on tracking the progress of the Figurists’ studies. In a letter addressed to Julien-Placide Hervieu, Bouvet mentioned that the Kangxi Emperor greatly appreciated his assiduous study of the ancient Chinese writings.¹⁹⁵ At the three audiences given by the Kangxi Emperor to the Papal Legate Maillard de Tournon, the Emperor cited and praised Bouvet’s book, *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑑 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present), three Jesuit superiors of the three churches in

¹⁹³ Author’s translation. 白晉釋《易經》，必將諸書俱看，方可以考驗。…爾可對白晉說：必將古書細心校閱，不可因其不同道則不看，所釋之書，何時能完？必當完了才是。欽此。」 See the Manuscript No. Borg. Cin. 439 (1), shelved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

¹⁹⁴ It is a letter from Joachim Bouvet to the French Jesuits who resided in China, written in French, Chinese ink on Chinese paper (p 6–11). This document is stored in the Jesuit Archives in Rome.

¹⁹⁵ It is a letter from Joachim Bouvet to Julien-Placide Hervieu (1671–1736), Peking, 10 August, 1721. Written in French; Chinese ink on Chinese paper. Fourteen pages in Bouvet’s handwriting.

Peking also were in attendance. Bouvet asked if the emperor would find some learned men to go through the text of his book and make suitable corrections. The Emperor said that he would read and correct *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑑 himself.¹⁹⁶ In his letter, Bouvet also stated that since the Kangxi Emperor always had been favorable to the missionaries and their work, “. . .the missionaries have an obligation to obey his orders. The fact that the emperor encouraged him (Bouvet) to study the ancient Chinese writings is a great help to missionary work and to the salvation of souls.”¹⁹⁷

In addition, among the Chinese manuscripts in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, are four to five folios handwritten by Bouvet containing the Kangxi Emperor’s praise and enthusiasm for the Jesuits’ studies of the *Yijing* in the style of calligraphy. One such paragraphs reads,

The Emperor said, “Wang Daohua 王道化 and Bai Jin (Bouvet’s Chinese name 白晉) make a great interpretation on the numbers (of the *Yijing*). It is quite clear. It is quite a rare achievement he accomplished. Leave your newly-finished Diagram of Heaven's Exaltedness and Earth's Lowliness, with all the laws beginning and ending the unchanged Pre-Heaven. Leave them with the charts. Tomorrow explain the *Yijing* to me. By the Emperor himself. (上諭：「王道化、白晉作的數，甚是明白，難為他，將新作的釋天尊地卑圖，得先天未變始終之全數法，並圖，留下，易經明日伺候，欽此。」)¹⁹⁸

The Kangxi Emperor issued imperial decrees highly expressing his demands and power. Attracted by the embedded mystic messages in the *Yijing* as well as the dedication of the Kangxi Emperor to the *Yijing*, Bouvet immersed himself in the re-interpretation of

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 12–13.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 12–13.

¹⁹⁸ Author’s translation. See Bouvet. *Decrees and Memorials between the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Figurists*. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 4, p. 23.

this vast body of material. His manuscripts were handwritten and submitted to the Kangxi Emperor as a gesture of loyalty. In the meantime, Emperor Kangxi also formed a relationship as the protector-of the Jesuit Figurists and guarded them from the refutation of the Catholic Church. Winning support from the Kangxi Emperor was the initial proof that demonstrated to the Catholic Church the success of proselytization in China. Therefore, the Jesuit Figurists imitated the literati's format as much as they possibly could. More details about how they mimicked the format of Chinese literati's commentaries and constructed their *Chinese literary garments* will be discussed later in this chapter.

In his replies to the Emperor's inquiry about two hexagrams, *Kun* 坤 (The Receptive) and *Fu* 復 (Return), Bouvet incorporated phrases and hexagrams from the *Yijing* to give a new meaning to the hexagrams:

The Lord above is fond of benevolence and love. He could not bear to see the end of human beings, so he opened the way after the creation of Heaven, and a great saint with benevolence and righteousness was especially born. He has ceaseless pureness and his virtue is parallel with Heaven and Earth. Whether he takes actions or stands still, he does no err. He follows Heaven and takes the supreme (status); he is sublime but also modest. He lowers and humbles himself. Therefore, the yang in the way of Heaven returns from below, like thunder trembling in the ground and shaking the heart/mind of people. They are inspired by and then understand (his teaching); they regret for the mistakes they make and then the heart of Heaven and Earth is revealed again. (The heart of Heaven and Earth) returned to the original good and permanently perseveres ceaselessly. This is I, ^{your minister}, who state my foolish comments, which might

not be suitable for
the gist of your brilliant understanding, Your Majesty.
(上天好生仁愛，不忍絕其人也，開後天之道，故特降一仁義兼
全大聖，純亦不已，德配天地，動靜無愆，繼天立極，至
尊而好謙，下下自卑，由是天道之陽，復生於下，如雷在
地中，震動人心，感化體悟，悔其性愆，復見天地之心，
返於元善，恆亨不息，^臣 愚見如此，恐未必有合於
聖明之旨。) ¹⁹⁹

In Bouvet's presentation, he himself knew that there might be some disagreements with the Kangxi Emperor about the re-interpretation of the *Yijing*. He still tried, however, to persuade the Emperor with the submissive status of a Chinese literatus. In this part of manuscript, it is obvious that Bouvet followed the habitual format to indent and begin another new line to show due respect for *Shangtian* 上天 (Lord above) and the Emperor, just like as the ministers and literati in court would have done in their imperial orders, too. When he described himself, in the manuscripts, he also used a smaller font and a lower case, your minister ^臣, to demonstrate his submissive position to the Emperor. The Kangxi Emperor was in charge of permitting future proselytization by the Jesuits, and the humble use of indentation and beginning of a new line seemed to be a necessary constituent in the whole manuscript. On the other hand, maneuvering his disagreements over the Jesuit Figurists' reinterpretation of the *Yijing* could also help the Kangxi Emperor himself gain control and show his dominance over the Catholic Church.

While shouldering the pressure from the Kangxi Emperor, the Jesuit Figurists also faced the tepidness of some Chinese literati in the imperial court, although other literati offered editorial support. In the literati circle in the Ming and Qing Dynasty, inviting an

¹⁹⁹ Bouvet. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 4, p. 22–25. Author's translation. It is listed as such to imitate the original layout on the manuscripts.

important figure in court to write the preface or the postscript for one's works was a recommendation of high quality and means to pass into the high circles of literati. According to Xiao Qingho 肖清和, the number of literati who participated in the editorial activities for Christian manuscripts, including proofreading, collation and printing, alignment, transcription, and polishing, was about 404, and 89 of them were *Jinshi* 進士 (A successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations).²⁰⁰ Some of them held posts of high rank in the imperial court, such as Ye Xianggao 葉向高 (1559–1627).²⁰¹ In the Late Ming Dynasty, the Chinese literati, such as Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao, were converted to Catholicism and cooperated with the Jesuits, such as Matteo Ricci. These literati provided proofreading and editing for the Jesuits' Chinese manuscripts on Christianity and turned them into works of refined elegance. In *Ming Shi* 明史 (History of Ming Dynasty), it is stated that “the group (of literati) like Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao especially were fond of the philosophy (of this religion). They polished the articles and words (of their Chinese works), so Christianity prevailed abruptly.”²⁰²

After the Calendar Case in the Early Qing Dynasty (see n. 17 above), however, the balance of cooperation between the Jesuits and Chinese ministers had been tipped and not many could express their support openly. Though in the Early Qing Dynasty, *Tianxue jijie* 天學集解 (The Collected Annotations for the Studies of God) was a compilation of prefaces and postscripts from at least 57 *Jinshi* 進士. It was edited by a Chinese Catholic,

²⁰⁰ Xiao Qingho 肖清和. “Kan shu chuanjiao: Ming mo qing chu tianzhujiao zhongwen bianji yu chuban huodong chutan 刊書傳教：明末清初天主教中文編輯與出版活動初探 (Printing from Proselytization: Chinese Editing and Publication Activities for Christianity in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasty).” *Tianzhujiao Yanjiu Lun Ji* 天主教研究論輯 (Journal of Catholic Studies). 8 (2011) 365.

²⁰¹ Ye Xianggao 葉向高 (1559–1627) was a scholar and politician in the Late Ming Dynasty.

²⁰² Author's translation. The Chinese goes as follows, 「而士大夫如徐光啟、李之藻輩，首好其說；且為潤色其文詞，故其教驟興。」 See Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉. ed. “Lei zhuan di 214: Wai guo qi 列傳第 214: 外國七.” In *Mingshi* 明史 (History of the Ming Dynasty). Vol. 326. *Wiki Source*. Web. 12 Dec. 2014. <http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%98%8E%E5%8F%B2/%E5%8D%B7326>.

also a scholar-literatus, Liu Ning 劉凝, and the authors were mostly local converts in the Jiangnan area in the southern part of China, not the main figures/ministers in the imperial court.

During the reign of Kangxi, even in the imperial court the circle of Chinese literati was permeated with an air of uncertainty and doubt. The writings of contemporary literati, including Li Guangdi 李光地 (1642–1718), a noted scholar of the *Yijing* in the Early Qing, did not mention these Jesuit Figurists' names in the documented record.²⁰³ Most of these Chinese touched only lightly on the Jesuit Figurists' research on the *Yijing*. For example, in *Donghua lu* 東華錄 (East China Records) and *Rongcun ji* 榕村集 (Collection of Rongcun), whenever the interaction between Li Guangdi and the Jesuit Figurists, or the inquiry from the Emperor to Li Guangdi about the Jesuit Figurists' charts was depicted, it showed Li Guangdi was rather lukewarm toward the Jesuits' mathematics and charts in the *Yijing*, though they were facing the passion and enthusiasm of the Kangxi Emperor toward the Jesuit Figurists' Western mathematics and re-interpretation of the *Yijing*.

Today I followed
Your Majesty's correction. As for the charts drawn by the
Westerners, their operation was suitable and was nothing but the
principles of nature. They extrapolated up to this point and are not
like the contemporaries who discussed about the images. (These
contemporaries' charts) are redundant and superfluous, with no
meaning and interests. ^{Your minister}, I, only preserve the gist, and barely
anything else, so it seems that (I) don't need to delete more (about
the Jesuits' charts).

(今遵

旨改正，至於西人諸圖，其算恰合處，無非自然之理，推原到此，

²⁰³ The author searched several important databases, including *Guoxue bao dian* 國學寶典, *Zhongguo jiben guji ku* 中國基本古籍庫, and others, and they all did not show Li Guangdi or other important literati in court directly talked about their names, only referring to them as *Xiyang ren* 西洋人 or *Xiren* 西人.

非如近代譚(談)象者，附贅懸疣全無理致也，^臣又只存其綱要，寥寥無多，似不用多加刪削。) ²⁰⁴

Li Guangdi did not seem very enthusiastic about the charts drawn from the Westerners. Therefore, he did not want to get more involved with their charts or their interpretation of the *Yijing*. Instead, in his book, *Zhouyi zhezhong* 周易折中 (Compromise on the *Yijing*), most of the charts were derived from the writings of the Kangxi Emperor. The Kangxi Emperor's interests in charts and mathematics partly came from the Western knowledge conferred by the Jesuits.

This book (*Zhouyi zhezhong* 周易折中) was not originally derived from me, the Sovereign; most (of the charts) were from the ancient books of the Westerners. If (we) would like to discuss which aspect of numbers could be recommendable, recently it is difficult (for me) to decide, but whichever (book) associated with the *Yijing* will be sent to my minister, you, for your evaluation.

(此書原非朕本意，多是問西洋人之舊書察來，若論數有可取者。近日也就為難，但各處有關易數者，總發到卿處酌量。) ²⁰⁵

Respecting the Kangxi Emperor's interests in Western mathematics and the *Yijing*, Li Guangdi incorporated the Emperor's charts into his work, *Zhouyi zhezhong* 周易折中 and included the principles of mathematics in the interpretation of the *Yijing*. On the other hand, the Kangxi Emperor also honored him as a master of interpreting the *Yijing* and asked for his opinion of the Figurists' charts. It seemed, however, that in the presence of the Kangxi Emperor, Li Guangdi did not praise the Jesuit Figurists' works strongly. It is very possible that as a Chinese literatus and astronomer, he could not choose to cooperate with the Westerners, the Jesuit Figurists. Instead, he supported Mei Wending 梅文鼎 (1633–1721), who found the middle way between Chinese astrology and Western

²⁰⁴ Author's translation. See Li Guangdi 李光地. *Rongcun ji* 榕村集 (Collection of Rongcun). Volume 29, p.7. Chinese Text Project. Web. 20 Nov. 2014. <<http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=54938&page=7>>.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 6.

astronomy. He helped present Mei Wending's work, *Lixue yiwen* 曆學疑問 (Questions about the Calendrical Studies) to the Kangxi Emperor. Due to Mei's work combining Western and Chinese studies on astronomy and mathematics, the Kangxi Emperor made satisfactory remarks on Mei and regained his confidence in the Chinese astronomer's efforts. He indicated this to Li Guangdi, "Calendrical studies and arithmetic are what I care about the most, but this study is rarely known to anyone and Wending is really the only one that I could see. He is also an elegant scholar; it is a pity that he is already old!"²⁰⁶ This interaction still shows the distrust of powerful figures in the imperial court, and which side they chose to support. Though in the face of Li Guangdi's half-heartedness, in a letter addressed to the French Jesuits who resided in China, Bouvet still advocated that, ". . .even Chinese scholars of high standing, such as Li Guangdi, would agree with him in his interpretations."²⁰⁷ This statement was meant to strengthen the confidence and affirmation of French Jesuits in China while warding off disagreements with the Catholic Church and the dissident voices from other Orders among the foreign missionaries.

There was also solid support from other Chinese literati and tutors for these Jesuit Figurists. According to Witek, every time the Jesuit Figurists presented their re-interpretation of the *Yijing*, the Kangxi Emperor asked Wang Daohua 王道化 to assist them as much as possible, helping with drafting the charts and translating.²⁰⁸ One

²⁰⁶ Author's translation. The Chinese goes as follows, 「歷象算法，朕最關心，此學今鮮知者，如文鼎真僅見也。其人亦雅士，惜乎老矣！」 See Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽, et al. eds. "Chou ren yi, Mei Wending 疇人一，梅文鼎," in *Qing Shi Gao* 清史稿 (Drafts of the History of Qing), Volume 506, Biographies 293. Web. 13 Dec. 2014. <

<http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%B8%85%E5%8F%B2%E7%A8%BF/%E5%8D%B7506>>.

²⁰⁷ See the Archive of Japonica-Sinica IV, 5E 11. P2-3, shelved in the Jesuit Archives in Rome.

²⁰⁸ John W., S.J. Witek. *Controversial ideas in China and in Europe: a biography of Jean-François Foucquet, S.J., 1665–1741. (Bibliotheca Institutii Historici S.I., Vol. XLIII.)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1982) 169–170. Paul A. Rule. *K'ung-tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucianism.* (Canberra, 1972, Diss.) 441.

manuscript shelved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library, with the shelf mark, Document No.6, Borg. Cin. 439) documented the friendly and supportive interaction between Bouvet and Wang Duohua.

My words to Old Master Wang: Your younger brother, I, have finished twenty sections of Solar Equation/ Solar Motion. The first seventeen sections have been viewed by you, and the rest of the three ones are still preserved by you, my Master; I plead for your clear examination. With regard to the efforts on the Solar Equation, it should be finished within a few months, but the progress is delayed until one year later. I touch my own heart and reflect upon myself, feeling so regretful. However, this is the intention of Your Majesty, and Old Master dealt with this issue (with the Emperor) on my behalf. Your younger brother, I, feel so moved from inside. Endless affection (for you).

(字奉王老爺：弟所作日躔共二十節，前十七節已經台覽，尚有三節存在相公處，還求昭鑑。論日躔之功，不過數月當完，因弟多病，竟遲至一年，撫心甚愧！...但此係旨意，老爺代為周旋，弟自銘感五內耳，餘情不悉。) ²⁰⁹

Bouvet had a strong rapport with Wang Daohua, and the conversation showed that Wang Daohua already had shouldered the responsibility to review Bouvet's works before they were submitted to the Kangxi Emperor. In Wang Daohua's reply, it further shows their deep friendship.

Receiving your letter, I started to realize that you were afflicted with headaches. Originally I would like to attend you in person, but now I am bridled by official affairs, so my wish (of taking care of you) could not be realized. What I could only have (for you) is regrets and apologies... Sir, you came from afar, no less than 90,000 *lis*, and originally would like to extend what you have studied to illuminate the meaning of your religion. Fortunately now Your Majesty asked about your studies and then you could have a way to offer your advice.

²⁰⁹ Author's translation. See the Manuscript shelf marked, Borg. Cin. 439, in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Sir, you should employ the mystic gist of your studies and try your best to submit it (to the Emperor), so then what you have expected will not fall short...I have finished reading the three sections of the Solar Equation. It is fine to command someone to transcribe it. I will also give those books that you have not read to Mr. Bai (Bouvet) for your collection. I am afraid that Your Majesty will ask about (these books), then you could present them. Most of them are not documented.

(接來示，始知先生患頭痛，本欲親來奉候，因公務所羈，不能如願，徒懷悵歉耳！...先生不遠九萬里而來，原欲發明素學以彰教義，今幸上問及所學，則獻策有門，先生當將素蘊之秘旨，竭力以獻，方不負素所欲也。...日躔三節俱已看完，令人抄可也。將未覽過之書，可俱交白先生處貯。恐上問及，以便呈覽，多不有錄。) ²¹⁰

In his reply, Wang Daohua not only expressed his concerns for Bouvet's health and also for the pressure Bouvet might shoulder while the Kangxi Emperor inquired about his studies and the books he read, so he voluntarily offered copies of books Bouvet had not touched upon. Furthermore, Wang Daohua, as the Supervisor-in-Chief of Yangxin Hall and Secretary of Bureau of Imperial Horses 養心殿總監造上駟苑主事 during the later period of the Kangxi Emperor's reign, ²¹¹ might have been in charge of the writing and editing of the imperial publications. It is especially meaningful that he indicated that "...it is fine to command someone to transcribe these manuscripts." It is very probable that he suggested that these manuscripts could be transcribed so they might be printed.

In addition, Hesu 和素 (1652–1718) ²¹² also was commanded by the Emperor to

²¹⁰ Author's translation. *Ibid.*

²¹¹ See n. 21.

²¹² Hesu 和素 (1652–1718) was surnamed Wanyan 完顏 and a descendent from the Jin People 金人. He was a famous translator of Manchu language during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor. He was also the teacher of the Emperor's sons and the director-in-chief of Wuying Dian Palace. His Manchu translation of *Xingshi Yaoyan* 醒世要言 (The Gist to Awaken the World) was published in 1704. He was also the editor-in-chief of the Manchu translation of all the classics and *Zi Zhi Tongjian Gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目 (Essentials of the Mirror to Guide the Government), published in 1691. In addition, he edited *Qing Wenjian* 清文鑑 (Dictionary of Manchu Language), which compiled entries of all the Manchu usages and their

review each draft of the Jesuit Figurists and to translate their manuscripts into the Manchu language. Hesu was not only a very excellent translator, but he taught the Emperor's sons Chinese and Manchu. He was also the director-in-chief of Wuying Dian Palace 武英殿總監造, which was the imperial publishing house.²¹³ It proves that the Kangxi Emperor attached much importance to the manuscripts of the Jesuit Figurists, and he was curious about their studies and re-interpretation of the *Yijing*. Hesu's directorship of the imperial publishing house might also suggest that the Emperor and Hesu played a pivotal role in deciding whether these handwritten manuscripts would be published or not.

Furthermore, Chinese tutors also served as a bridge between the Figurists and the Emperor. According to Witek, Prémare had a highly respected Chinese tutor, who helped Prémare establish a small library with a rich collection of Chinese classics. There a group of Chinese literati would gather for further discussion.²¹⁴ In addition, Foucquet also had a loyal Chinese tutor, who helped him with the studies of the *Yijing*, but later was expelled by another French Jesuit, Pierre-Vincent de Tartre (1669–1724).²¹⁵ These accounts provide proof of reliable and sound assistance from Chinese tutors. Though they remain anonymous in most of the extant records, these tutors proffered a counterforce against the indifference and perfunctoriness shown by many other Chinese literati.

Some of the Chinese literati in the imperial court also provided editorial support. In the first lunar month of the 42nd year of the reign of Kangxi, the Lecturer in the Classics Colloquium and Minister of Rites 經筵講官禮部尚書, Han Tan 韓莢(琰) (1637–1704)

explanations in Manchu language. It was published in 1708. He was dubbed as one of the Manchus who were well versed in both Chinese and Manchu language.

²¹³ Witek 169–170. Rule 441.

²¹⁴ Witek 152–153.

²¹⁵ Witek 236.

wrote the preface for *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 (The Original Meaning of the Study of God).

I viewed *Tianxue benyi* collected by the Western scholars, seeing the blossoming of

Our Great Royal Court's prestige and guidance gradually known to the people overseas. Being influenced by the customs and following the ancient teachings is commendable. The sayings about *Tian* in the classics are listed in detail and honored. ..This book collected the gist of classics and commentaries and also included topolectal and folk sayings. However, the core (of this book), based on the reverence toward *Tian*, also bestows great teachings to people afar and makes them not fearful day and night. They shoulder the manifest force from *Shangtian* and then cultivate their own virtues to attend (*Tian*). They believe in the Middle Kingdom more, and (they believe in) one saint with no different virtues. It is sacred to have greatly harmonious manners.

(予觀西洋諸君所輯天學本義一書見
聖朝聲教之隆，漸被海外遠人亦知慕義，嚮風服膺古訓為可嘉也。經之言天者，詳以尊之，...此書薈萃經傳，下及方言俗語，然其旨一本於敬天，亦可以垂教遠裔，使夙夜祇畏，承上天之明威而修身以事之，亦愈以信中國之，有聖人一德無外，而風俗大同之聖也。) ²¹⁶

Following the contemporary fashion of Chinese literati, it was meaningful to have support from such an important figure, a lecturer in the Classics Colloquium, as a stamp of guarantee and recognition from the imperial court. Just as Han Tan started a new line every time when he referred to “Your Majesty” or the Great Royal Court was indicated, it is not hard to extrapolate the reason why the Jesuit Figurists also wrote in hand in the same manner on their manuscripts to submit to the Emperor. Though Han Tan offered solid support in his preface, agreeing that the Jesuit Figurists adopted terminology about

²¹⁶ Author's translation. See Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317, No. 15, 1-2. It is listed as such to imitate the original layout on the manuscripts.

Tian and *Shangtian* in Chinese classics and shared the same interpretation, he still employed a condescending language as a representative of a suzerain. He praised the missionaries for appreciating the influence of classics and commentaries, thus sharing a common belief in *Tian*.

Trying to strike a balance in the imperial court even though faced with a domineering emperor and a group of ministers harboring their own schemes and agendas, these Jesuit Figurists managed to compose their manuscripts as *Chinese literary garments* (my italics), to reach out to their potential target audience—the Kangxi Emperor, and the ministers to whom the Emperor gave these manuscripts.

IV. Manuscripts—Chinese Literary Garments

Based on the close examination on the Jesuit Figurists' manuscripts in both libraries, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library) and Bibliothèque nationale de France, the trans-textual dialogue of this dissertation also will explore the grammatological and codicological features in these handwritten manuscripts. There are four versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 stored in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, numbered Chinois 7160–7163. There are another three versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 shelved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, numbered as Borgia Cinese 316 (14), 317 (15) and 357(9). Aside from these seven manuscripts, according to David Mungello,²¹⁷ there are a total of twelve different versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒. The Latin translation, *De cultu coelesti Sinarum veterim et modernorum*, was stored in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Another Latin version is shelved in

²¹⁷ David E. Mungello, "Unearthing the Manuscripts of Bouvet's Gujin after nearly Three Centuries," *China Mission Studies Bulletin* X (1988) 34–61.

the Biblioteca Fariana in Pistoia, Italy. One Chinese version, *Beitang cang ben* 北堂藏本, is stored in the National Library of China, Beijing. Another Chinese version, *Gu jin jing tian jian Tian xue ben yi* 古今敬天鑒 天學本義, is stored in the Bibliotheca Zi-ka-wei (the Xujiahui Library) 徐家匯藏書樓. The last version, the Skackov collection [MS 562(42)] is stored in the Rumyantsev Museum. Due to the limits of length of this dissertation, the author mainly will focus on the seven manuscripts housed in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library) and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The author's future research will extend to examine the other five copies.

Different versions of manuscripts, including *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, with deletions and additions and different prefaces and postscripts, often give clues to the chronological order of the extant copies. In addition, a clean and neatly written version also might imply that it is a later version, ready to be printed. Each different version roughly can be divided into three sections—the Preface, the first half of the volume and the second half of the volume. The first half of the volume is composed of core concepts about God or *Tian* first proposed by Bouvet, and several quotations from the Chinese classics were added as references. The second half of the volume consists of the entries of three registers of Chinese sayings.

There are several distinctions among these versions. Of the volumes in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Chinois 7160 has no Preface and no second half of the volume; Chinois 7161 and 7162 are both approximately the same, except that the second half of Chinois 7161 is composed of 51 sets of entries while Chinois 7162 only has 41 sets. Chinois 7163 has 50 sets in the second half of the volume. As for the manuscript, Borgia Cinese 316, stored in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, it has a preface, 41 sets of entries in the second half of the volume and a postscript.

Bouvet's editing and rewriting of *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 demonstrated not only the order of these versions but also the process of his expansive learning and evidential research on these Chinese classics. Based on the analysis of the two versions of *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義, one manuscript marked Borg. Cin. 317 stored in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the other marked Chinois 7160 stored in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the version of Chinois 7160 was completed earlier than the version of Borg. Cin. 317.

First, there is no preface in Chinois 7160; Borg. Cin. 317 has approximately 7 folios of preface, stating how the commentaries of later literati twisted the original meaning and studies of God imbedded in the classics. Differences between the two are also apparent in the first half of the volume 上卷. There are only 18 entries of descriptions about God in Chinois 7160, as compared to 19 entries in Borg. Cin. 317. Except that the last entry in Chinois 7160 is not included in Borg. Cin. 317, Chinois 7160 is much simpler with fewer sayings from the classics. Chinois 7160 of *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義, however, is expanded with more examples of sayings, supplemented with two extra entries.²¹⁸ Even some of its titles are lengthened. For example, in Chinois 7160, one entry reads, "Respecting and honoring the order of *Shangtian* is what the saint with virtue can do."²¹⁹ In Borg. Cin. 317, the title is lengthened into, "Respecting and honoring the order of *Shangtian*, every time in every case, he acts as one, no other replacement, shouldering people's sins and make *Tian* moved; this is only the saint with virtue can do."²²⁰ Furthermore, the

²¹⁸ One is *Shangtian wuxing qi shiting wen yan zhi shen wusuobuzai* 上天無形其視聽聞言之神無所不在 (Heaven above is invisible; if you see, hear, smell and talk about him, he is everywhere.) The other is *Shangtian ben airen bu wuren er youxi jin ren shan nu yan ren wu zhi qing* 上天本愛人不惡人而有喜矜人善怒厭人惡之情 (Heaven above originally loves people and does not abhor people; he loves to sympathize with people, tends to be angry, but also repels at people who are evil.)

²¹⁹ Author's translation. Bouvet wrote in Chinese with Chinese brush, "欽敬上天之命惟聖德能之。"

²²⁰ Author's translation. Bouvet wrote in Chinese with Chinese brush, "欽敬上天之命時時事事向一無二"

collection of sayings describing God in Borg. Cin. 317 are more resourceful. For example, in the first entry of listing the terminology used for Gods in these classics, in Chinois 7160, the list includes, *Di* 帝 (The Ruler), *Huangtian shangdi* 皇天上帝 (The Supreme Heaven and Ruler from above), *Haotian shangdi* 昊天上帝 (The Immense Heaven and Ruler from above), *Huanghuang shangdi* 皇皇上帝 (The Supreme Ruler from above), *Huanghuang houdi* 皇皇后帝 (Greater than the Supreme Ruler above),²²¹ *Shangtian* 上天 (Heaven above), *Shangtian shenhou* 上天神后 (Heaven above and Great Ruler), *Haotian* 昊天 (the Immense Heaven), *Cangtian* 蒼天 (Cerulean Heaven), *Tian* 天 (Heaven), *Taiyi* 太一 (the Great One), *Dangdang* 蕩蕩 (the Vast), *Haohao* 浩浩 (the Immense), *Youyou* 悠悠 (the Remote in Time and Space), *Mingming* 明明 (the Clear/Omniscient), *Huanghuang* 皇皇 (the Supreme), *Gaogao* 高高 (the High). On the other hand, Borg. Cin. 317 contains many more appellations of God—including *Gudi* 古帝 (the Ancient Ruler), *Haotian mintian* 昊天旻天 (the Great and Blue), *Hehe* 赫赫 (the Prominent). It is because Bouvet included more details after more comprehensive research on the Chinese classics. The sources of these sayings, such as *Shujing* 書經 (The Book of Documents) and *Shijing* 詩經 (The Book of Poetry), were written in half-sized fonts, following the handwritten format of other Chinese literati's commentaries.

身帶眾罪洞天惟聖德能之。”

²²¹ With the half-sized fonts, Bouvet explained as follows, “*Huanghuang houdi* 皇皇后帝 means it is greater than a great supreme ruler, with no other as supreme as he is.”

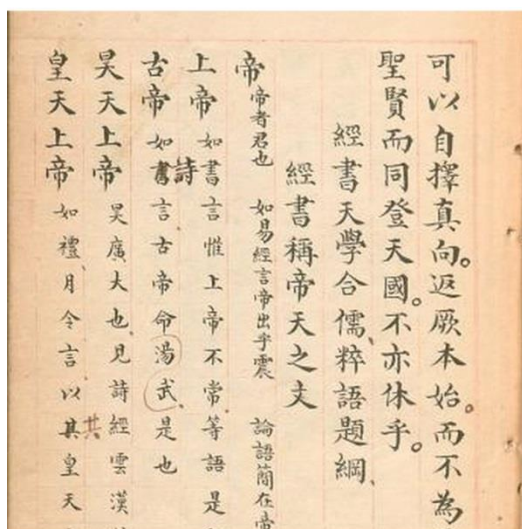


Fig. 4.6 Zhang Xingyao's *Tian jiao heru* 天教合儒, p9.

With the close examination of these two manuscripts, it is surprising to find that Zhang Xingyao's 張星曜 (1633–1715+) work, *Tian jiao heru* 天教合儒 (Heavenly Religion Combined with Confucianism), is similar to Bouvet's *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義. It is clear that the collection of terminology for God is identical to ones listed in the two versions of *Tianxue benyi* discussed above (see Fig. 4.6). In the preface to *Tian jiao*

heru 天教合儒 Zhang Xingyao wrote,

Several scholars from the Western states only know to wait upon *Tian*, which corresponds to the principles of our scholar-literati and they (the Jesuits) know what they are based upon. During their leisure time, (they) quoted from the Chinese classics and collected the sayings which correspond with their studies of God into one volume. They named it *Tian jiao heru* 天教合儒. It is really a good method to correct mankind's hearts/minds and save the way of the world...I wish people in the world read this book and develop this foundation jointly, and then they will not fall into the net of the evil, which is thus fortunate.

(西國諸儒，惟知事天，與吾儒之理合，知所本也。暇時，取中國經書同符天學者為一卷，而以《天教合儒》名之，此誠正人心救世道之良方也。...願世之人讀是書而共敦其本，不至陷於邪魔之羅網則幸矣。)²²²

In addition, in the preface, there is also one sentence, indicating it might have been a

²²² Zhang Xingyao 張星曜. "Tian jiao heru zi xu 天教合儒自序 (Author's Preface of Catholic accords with Confucianism)." in *Dai yi xu pian juan xia* 代疑續篇卷下 (The Second Volume of Sequel to the Treatise to Supplant Doubts). Chinese Text Project. Web. 13 Dec. 2014. <<http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=132988>>.

concerted effort between Zhang Xingyao and a missionary.

I was born in the very West and came from 90,000 *lis* afar. I myself felt sad about it and moved to live in the Central Kingdom. The Classics documented the studies of honoring *Tian*. Those which corresponds with our religion in the very West will be picked out respectively.

(余生泰西，九萬里來，心竊傷之，爰居中國，經書所載敬天之學，與吾泰西之教，有同符者，一一揀出。)²²³

From the above statement, “being born in the very West,” and “with our religion in the very West,” it could be extrapolated that this part of preface was written by a missionary. In addition to the great amount of overlapping entries in the collection of describing God, it could suggest that this missionary might be Joachim Bouvet.

Whether Zhang Xingyao, a devoted Chinese Catholic living in Hung Zhou, had a personal discussion or contact with Bouvet is not known. These handwritten manuscripts might have been circulated among the Chinese Catholic community in the Jiangnan area, where the printing business was well-developed and prosperous. Based on this cross-textual comparison, then Bouvet’s work, including *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義, might extend its influence beyond its original scope and designated target audience—from the Kangxi Emperor to the converted Chinese in the Jiangnan area.

Comparing the three versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 with two versions of *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義, one can differentiate that *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 was a more refined, polished and lengthened version of *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義. At the end of the preface of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (Chinois 7161), Bouvet stated that, “. . .this work was collected at the forty-sixth year of the reign of the Kangxi Emperor; when the Grand Academician, Han Tan, viewed this work, the explanations

²²³ Zhang Xingyao 張星曜. *Tian jiao heru zi xu* 天教合儒自序(Author’s Preface of Catholic accords with Confucianism) 8.

from *Rijiang* 日講 (the Daily Lectures of Classics) and others have not been incorporated into this work.”²²⁴ In addition, the collection in *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 has smaller number of entries, and the quotations from the classics were rather scant as compared to *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒. For example, one of the entries in *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 is “*Shangtian* 上天 (Heaven above) is extremely immense and clear and is omniscient and omnipresent.”²²⁵ Comparatively, not only is the title of this entry in *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 longer, but it also contains more quotations from the classics; *Shijing* 詩經 (the Book of Poetry), *Shujing* 書經 (the Book of Documents) and the *Analects* were listed as supportive evidence.

Among the manuscripts the author studied from the Bibliothèque nationale de France, there are three versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (Chinoise 7161), *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (Chinois 7162) and *Zaowuzhu zhen lun gu jin jing tian jian shang juan* 造物主真論 古今敬天鑒上卷 (The First Volume of the True Discussion on the Creator: The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present) (Chinois 7163). Each of these three versions has some slight differences. In *Zaowuzhu zhen lun gu jin jing tian jian shang juan* 造物主真論 古今敬天鑒上卷, there are only 30 entries of doctrines in the first volume, but for each entry, more quotations from the classics are listed. Between the other two versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, Chinois 6171 seemed to be a draft of Chinois 7162. Chinois 7162 is complete with every necessary element—a preface, the first volume of entries describing God in the classics, the second volume of sayings of three registers, and a postscript. On the other hand, Chinois 7161 only has a preface and

²²⁴ Author’s translation. Its Chinese is as follows, 「康熙四十六年輯。韓大學士觀此書時尚未輯入日講等諸解。」Manuscript shelf-marked Chinois 7161. p.8, stored in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

²²⁵ Author’s translation. Its Chinese is as follows, 「上天極大極明而無所不知無所不在。」

no postscript. Also, the listings and the format of these two versions are quite different. Both versions have 40 entries of doctrines describing God in the first volume, but in Chinois 7161, entries 21, 22 and 23 are handwritten and located between entries 10 and 11. It shows that the scribe, or perhaps Bouvet, must have put them in the wrong order. Among the manuscripts of Chinois 7161, there are two folios of the same entry 28 with different styles of handwriting. It might be because there were different scribes assigned to write down the same pages, or Bouvet used different pages to jot down the quotations

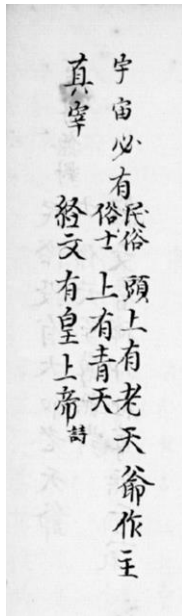


Fig. 4.7 One entry from the second volume of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (Chinois 7161), with three registers below.

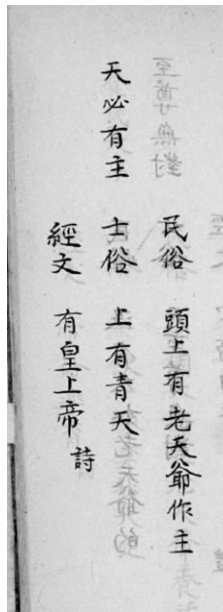


Fig. 4.8 One entry from the second volume of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (Chinois 7162), with three registers below.

he needed. Furthermore, in the version of Chinois 7161, entries 29 and 30 are missing.

This kind of randomness and untidiness was not seen in the version of Chinois 7162. Not only was it neatly handwritten in an organized way, but also the wording showed signs of being polished by the Chinese scribe (perhaps?). The titles might have been added with a few words or shortened to be more compact. For example, entry 37 in Chinois 7161 reads, “The Emperor of mankind sympathizes with *Shangzhu*’s 上主 (Lord Above) benevolent and loving heart to rule its people; his merits are not small, but when his

manpower reached the world, the blessing of (men’s) fortune is not sufficient.”²²⁶ The

²²⁶ Author’s translation. Its Chinese is as follows, 「人君體上主仁愛之心治民，其功不小，人力及世，祿之福不足。」

title of the same entry 37 in Chinois 7162 goes as follows, “To the superior man, with the ultimate benevolence and magnificent virtue, the blessing of (people) in world is so little that they cannot pay back in return.”²²⁷ Another example of employing different words, also might have led to a different meaning. The title of the entry 42 of Chinois 7161, read as follows, “the way *Shangzhu* 上主 (Lord above) heard 上主所聞之道...,” but then it was changed to, “the way *Shangzhu* 上主 (Lord above) opened 上主所開之道” in Chinois 7162. It could either be a typo in Chinois 7161 that was then corrected in Chinois 7162, or the Chinese scribe chose to rectify it for this manuscript. In addition to the expansion or refurbishment of the titles of the entries, the second volume of entries

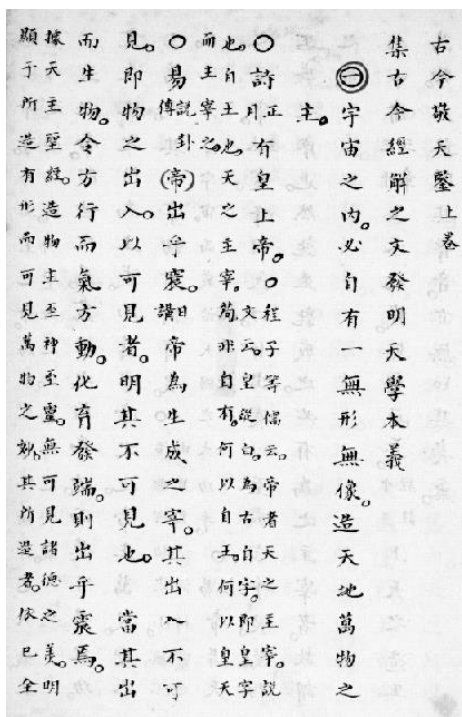


Fig. 4.9 The layout of the first volume of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑑 (Chinois 7161)

describing God with three different registers also showed signs of refinement. For example, above each set of the three registers was one entry describing God. Besides the better handwriting in Chinois 7162, the entries there were all composed as four-word phrases. As seen from the example listed in Figs. 4.7 and 4.8, the entries in Chinois 7161 were always phrased as a sentence, such as “the Universe must have a master. 宇宙必有主宰,” but in Chinois 7162, the sentence was transformed into a four-word phrase, “*Tian* must have a master 天必有主.” It is not the only exception, but the principle of the four-word phrase was applied to

every entry in the second volume of Chinois 7162. It might demonstrate that the Jesuit

²²⁷ Author’s translation. Its Chinese is as follows, 「至仁盛德之君世福之微不足以報之。」

Figurists devoted great effort to refining the wording to present an elegant style of the Chinese language, in order to better express their messages to the emperor and Chinese literati.

Chinois 7162 demonstrated the better rendition of a tri-level framework. Comparing these two versions, Chinois 7161 and Chinois 7162, it is recognizable that both have tri-level explanations in the first volume of entries describing God. The first level was

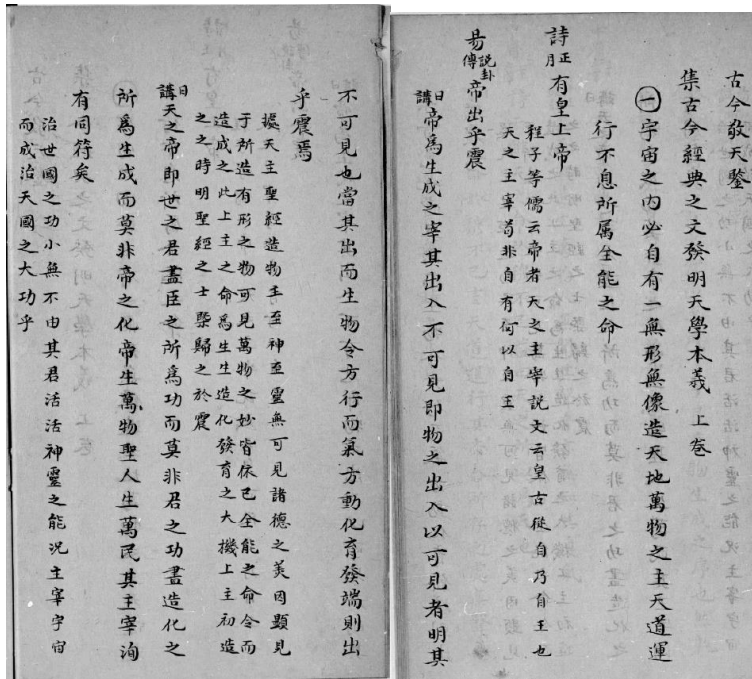


Fig. 4.10 The layout of the first volume of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (Chinois 7162)

always the Christian doctrines describing God's characters and deeds; the second level was the listing of phrases and sentences from Chinese classics, such as the *Yijing*, the *Shijing* and the *Shujing*; the third level contained the explanation of quotations from *Rijiang*

日講 and other sources, including *Zhouyi daquan* 周易大全 and *Zhouyi benyi* 周易本義. Chinois 7161, despite the tri-level layout, the three levels were not separated and stratified clearly. After the entry listed in the front, then the second level of sentences from the classics was immediately handwritten and followed by the third level. (See Fig. 4.9)

Each level of the tri-level in the version of Chinois 7162, however, was laid out and

aligned distinctively. (See Fig. 4.10) The first level was listed with an indentation; the second level, phrases and sentences from the Chinese classics, including the *Yijing*, was listed at the very top of the page. This layout revered the significance of these classics while the explanation of the *Rijiang* and other sources were set with an indentation in smaller fonts next to the second level. From time to time, the Jesuit Figurists also centered on the *Tianzhu shengjing* 天主聖經 (the Holy Bible of the Heavenly Lord), in half-sized fonts, to further elaborate on and to associate with the listings of *Rijiang*. With a clear stratification of three to four levels of commentaries in Chinois 7162, the format was well organized like Chinese literati's commentaries and was a well prepared visual medium to communicate with the emperor and Chinese literati about the messages of Christianity that were imbedded in these classics, including the *Yijing*. Chinois 7162 is a better developed and a later version than Chinois 7161. Though Mungello concluded that the order of the versions should be Chinois 7160, Borg. Cin 316 (14), Chinois 7162, and then Chinois 7161,²²⁸ he did not specify, however, the reason why he ordered them in this way. After my detailed examination of the version of Chinois 7162, it is clear that it was completed after Chinois 7161, which is to the opposite of Mungello's hypothesis.

The tri-level framework also was extended to later works of the Jesuit Figurists' intra-lingual translation of the *Yijing*. In *Dayi yuanyi neipian* 大易原義內篇 (The Inner Chapter of the Original Meaning of the Great Yi) and *Yi gao* 易稿 (Drafts of Yi). Compared to *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, which are Bouvet's initial studies of the classics, including the *Yijing*, these two manuscripts are the Jesuit Figurists' re-interpretations, not just quotations from the classics. At the first level, following the format of Chinese literati's commentaries on *Yijing*, the original of each

²²⁸ Mungello, *Curious Land*. 38–39.

hexagram and line in the canon of the *Yijing* was listed. For the second level is called *Nei yi gang* 內意綱 (The Main Points), explaining the association between the lines and Holy Father or Holy Son, in the third level, *Nei yi mu* 內意目 (the List of Details), linking the stories in the Holy Bible with these lines, the same fonts of handwriting was employed for these two manuscripts. Furthermore, phrases and sentences quoted from the *Rijiang* and ancient sayings from earlier scholars were incorporated into these three levels of re-interpretation. Circles were marked beside the phrases or sentences from the *Rijiang*, while triangles were marked next to those from ancient sayings of earlier scholars. These marks on the manuscripts also served as a decoration on these *Chinese literary garments*, to remind their target audience that these Jesuit Figurists had done thorough research on the classics and had imitated the style of commentaries as true scholar-literati.

If *Dayi yuanyi neipian* 大易原義內篇 and *Yi gao* 易稿 are combined, only 12 hexagrams, from *Qian* 乾 (the Creative, the Persevering) to *Pi* 否 (the Standstill), were re-interpreted and elaborated, not all of the 64 hexagrams. Based on the same fonts of writing in these two manuscripts, untidy handwriting, some deletion and addition in handwriting, and the unfinished re-interpretation of these 64 hexagrams, it is reasonable to extrapolate that these two manuscripts might only have been drafts in progress. The Jesuit Figurists might still have been working on these manuscripts, or they might have shown the manuscripts to the emperor but still waited for his comments before they asked the Chinese scribe to write them down by hand in a neat manner.

Although imitating the format of Chinese literati's commentaries, Bouvet has one difference in his works, *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒. When presenting it to the emperor, Bouvet borrowed a metaphor from optics (*mu xue* 目學): the true and omnipotent Lord was not revealed whole by any single Chinese text, as

each of them merely revealed fragments (see Chapter 2). Therefore, in *Gu jin jing tian jian*, Bouvet adopted this method of optics and mirrors, and collected a large number of entries of phrases and paragraphs related to *Tian* 天 and *Di* 帝. This format is quite different from the formats of other Chinese literati's commentaries. With the compiled entries and exhaustive research on the classics, these Jesuit Figurists presented evidence and proof of pure religion in the ancient classics. In addition, the method of *mu xue* 目學 is also applied to the second volume of *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 and *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒. As discussed in Chapter 3, there was a collection of entries describing God in three different registers, Classics 經文, Literati's Sayings 士俗, and Folk Sayings 民俗. Not wanting to miss any evidence of God's existence in ancient China, in the preface of *Tianxue benyi* 天學本義 (Borg. Cin. 317) Bouvet stated,

The classics are the proofs for the original meaning of the studies of God. The truth in words still passed down from mouth to mouth, and (these words) exist in the sayings of literati and folk people, which are more evident than the classics and commentaries. The sayings in the public sphere or in the circle of folk people are all from the original heart/mind. Literati and folk people are born by *Tian*, and their hearts are the same. The folk sayings are no different; folk people are illiterate and might speak vulgarly, without referring to any text. They call the intangible master of Heaven as *Tian laoye* 天老爺 (Old Master of Heaven) and call the tangible Heaven as *Tian*. Literati are devoted to reading classics and texts, so they employ more literary terms.

(經書係天學之本義之憑據，口傳之真尚存于士民公同之俗語，較書傳更為顯明，公俗之語皆本心出，士與民乃天所生之心原同，而俗語異者無他，民不讀書，直俗無文本，稱無形之天主宰為天老爺，以有形之天為天而已，士以讀經文為務，故士之語多文。)²²⁹

Folk sayings are also one of the important perspectives to illustrate the whole picture

²²⁹ Author's translation.

of what God is. These Jesuit Figurists, who were also assisting the Kangxi Emperor with drawing maps of the territory of his reign, understood that the Kangxi Emperor also had an interest in understanding the terms in regional topolects. In Volume 289 of *Kangxi chao shilu* 康熙朝實錄 (The True Records of the Reign of the Kangxi Emperor), it is documented that, “The Sovereign, I, pays attention to geography and dedicated myself to its studies since childhood. Those names or respectful names belonging to mountains and rivers in the past or at present, whether they lie in the regional areas or far away in the wild, are scrupulously studied. I also extensively ask for their names in the topolects, in order to verify their correctness.”²³⁰ Therefore, the Jesuit Figurists not only incorporated the folk sayings to reveal the full image of God but also to cater to the interests of the Kangxi Emperor in the topolects.

V. The Last Stitch to Make the Chinese Literary Garments

In addition to different versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒, there are also several different versions of *Yixue wai pian* 易學外篇 (The Outer Chapters of the Studies of Yi) and *Yi yin* 易引 (The Introduction to Yi) in the manuscripts shelf-marked Borg. Cin. 317. Among these versions, there is always one final version with the most refined additions and modifications, and an elegant style of handwriting, which seemed to be different from the untidy one written by the Jesuit Figurists. The neatly written manuscripts might have been the first copy for the wood block printing for greater circulation and deeper influence. The technique of xylography (wood block printing),

²³⁰ Author’s translation. The Chinese is as follows, 「朕於地理，自幼留心。凡古今山川名號，無論邊徼遐荒，必詳考圖籍，廣詢方言，務得其正。」 See *Kangxi chao shilu* 康熙朝實錄 (The True Records of the Reign of the Kangxi Emperor), Chinese Text Project, 07 Dec. 2014. Web. <<http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=283895>>.

which had been used widely in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasty, helped to spread the production and circulation of Chinese works of Christianity. According to Matteo Ricci's detailed description about xylography in *China in the Sixteenth Century: the Journals of Mathew Ricci, 1595–1610*,

The text is written in ink, with a brush made of very fine hair, on a sheet of paper which is inverted and pasted on the wooden tablet. When the paper has become thoroughly dry, the surface is scraped off quickly and with great skill, until nothing but a fine tissue bearing the characters remains on the wooden tablet. Then with a steel graver, the workman cuts away the surface following the outlines of the characters until these alone stand out in low relief. From such a block, a skilled printer can make copies with incredible speed, turning out as many as fifteen hundred copies in a single day.²³¹

Though the technique of xylography was quite different from the movable-type printing widely used in Europe, Ricci's statement shows that the fast and well-developed technique of xylography assisted the great volume of production and the spread of Chinese works of Christianity.

Moreover, the fashion of printing a “carve-as-written” copy 寫刻本 had been very popular since the Song Dynasty; it peaked in the reign of the Kangxi Emperor in the Qing Dynasty. In order to facilitate the spread of Confucian classics, books were printed with the calligraphy-type scripts recognized by the imperial court. Therefore, “carve-as-written” copies were used as a token of the imperial court's endorsement, not only of reading Confucian classics but also of promoting the art of calligraphy. During this period, whether the copy was made by private publishing agencies, such as Yangzhou Poetry Bureau 揚州詩局, or by *Wu ying dian* 武英殿, which was the royal printing house in

²³¹ Louis J. Gallagher. *China in the Sixteenth Century: the Journals of Mathew Ricci, 1595–1610*. (New York: Random House, 1953) 20–21.

the Qing Dynasty, most of the copies used the method of “carve-as-written” copy. Most of the original authors wrote calligraphy themselves or hired a maestro of calligraphy to write it down on paper first, waiting to be carved later. Good examples in the Early Qing Dynasty are Xu Qianxue’s 徐乾學 *Tong zhi tang ji* (Collected Writings of Tongzhi Hall) produced during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor. The delicate “carve as written” copies take care of both the artistic value and due respect of the literati. It is very likely that the Jesuit Figurists sought assistance from Chinese assistants or scribes to handwrite the final version of manuscripts in the elegant style of calligraphy for the future possibility of printing. It might also explain the reason the Jesuit Figurists had a friendly relationship with and had support from Wang Daohua, the Supervisor-in-Chief of Yangxin Hall and Secretary of Bureau of Imperial Horses 養心殿總監造上駟苑主事, and Hesu 和素, the director-in-chief of Wuying Dian Palace 武英殿總監造.

VI. Conclusion

Although these manuscripts never went to the final stage of printing, and the Kangxi Emperor finally lost interest in the Jesuit Figurists’ re-interpretation of the *Yijing*, their efforts on handwriting and formatting as a visual medium for their proselytization of Christianity should not be ignored. Previous scholars, such as Claudia von Collani, John W. Witek, S.J., and Knud Lundbaek, only focused on the manuscripts in European languages, such as Latin and French, but ignored most of the Chinese manuscripts. This chapter linked their Chinese handwritten manuscripts with the Chinese literati’s gifting tradition and the Kangxi Emperor’s connoisseurship of calligraphy. It explored the cooperation-competition relationship between the Chinese literati and the Jesuit Figurists. In addition, the detailed examination of the different versions of manuscripts

demonstrated these Jesuit Figurists' progress on their re-interpretation of *the Yijing* and the research of descriptions about God in the classics.

These Jesuit Figurists' work on these manuscripts was not in vain. In the initial stage, their well-drafted manuscripts helped attract the attention of the Kangxi Emperor and build rapport with some Chinese literati, who were willing to learn Western mathematics and astronomy. Their handwriting in the style of calligraphy and the format mimicking literati's commentaries assisted them in opening a gate to step into the important circle of the imperial court. Later, these manuscripts did not just remain in the Chinese imperial court; Foucquet took these unpublished manuscripts back to France. The influence on later manuscripts in Europe is beyond the scope of this research, but it would be an interesting trajectory to follow.

Due to the limit of length, this chapter could only analyze and examine the manuscripts stored in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library) and Bibliothèque nationale de France, including several versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑿. After more materials are obtained, further and more thorough research on the other versions of *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑿 stored in the other libraries needs to be continued. In addition to their intra-lingual translation, their Classical and vernacular use of Chinese language, and their use of manuscripts as a visual medium, their new interpretation of astronomy and mathematics in the *Yijing* became another tool for the Jesuit Figurists' proselytization in the imperial court, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter Five

Divine Language to Decipher God's Encoded Messages —Jesuit Figurists' Theological Interpretation of the *Yijing*'s Numbers—

In comparison with the religious perspective in the history of Western mathematics, Chinese mathematics always are more secular, while Chinese mathematicians seldom coined or incorporated the origin of *Tian* in their works of explicating Chinese mathematics. Dating to the Han Dynasty, *Jiu zhang suanshu* 九章算術 (The Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Arts) is one of the earliest Chinese works on mathematics. It included 246 problems and their solutions, which fall into nine categories that are based on practical needs, such as land measurement, construction, agriculture, commerce, and taxation. Until the Western missionaries introduced Western mathematics to China, it occupied a significant place in the history of Chinese mathematics.

In addition to the practical uses of mathematics, however, the mystic use of numbers in astrology and numerology, such as charts and numbers in *Hetu* 河圖 (Chart of the [Yellow] River and *Luoshu* 洛書 (Inscription of the River Luo) and in the interpretation of the *Yijing*, can be traced back to antiquity for thousands of years, and it was recorded in the commentaries of Chinese literati. Eventually this evolved into one of two important schools of *Yijing*'s interpretation, *Xiangshu* 象數 (images and numbers). The Jesuit Figurists were emphatic about the use of figures and numbers in their theological interpretations. When they focused on the studies of the *Yijing* and its association with God's gospels and messages, the numbers in the *Yijing* became their divine language to decipher God's encoded messages. Besides their intra-lingual translation, and classical and vernacular use of Chinese language, in such a dialogue and interaction with the *Yijing*,

numbers became a useful means to help proselytize Christianity, especially catering to the Kangxi Emperor's interest in mathematics.

Transformed by the Figurists, the numbers in the *Yijing* were thus coated with another mysterious layer of galvanization of Christian stories. Among more than four hundred pages of handwritten manuscripts about the *Yijing* in Chinese stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library), half of them are about the charts and numbers the Jesuit Figurists designed and used for the *Yijing*, including *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖 (Diagram of Heaven's Exaltedness and Earth's Lowliness). This chapter will explore these rarely investigated charts and numbers in these manuscripts and thus demonstrate how the Jesuit Figurists divinized numbers in the *Yijing* and then managed to employ this divine language to support their theological interpretation.

I. Jesuit Figurists' Divinization of Numbers

“On the twenty-fourth day, submit the newly revised section of the original meaning of the unchanged *Xiantian* (Pre-Heaven) and also explain the charts of integration of *Hetu* 河圖 and *Luoshu* 洛書 as well as (Diagram of) Heaven's Exaltedness and Earth's Lowliness. As for the original one copy of the images and charts of Unchanged *Xiantian* (Pre-Heaven) numbers of the *Yijing*, as well as one copy of the true methods to regularize the calendars, *Lifa wenda* 曆法問答 (The Questions and Answers of Calendrical Laws), submit them to Li Sanhu to petition to the emperor. Under the imperial decree: Your majesty, I, have read them in details. Explain them to me tomorrow. By the emperor himself.”

(二十四日。進新改了的釋先天未變之原義一節，又釋河洛合一，天尊地卑圖，為先天未變易數象圖之原一本，並《曆法問答》定歲實法一本，交李三湖呈奏。奉旨：朕俱細細看過了，明日伺候。欽此。...) ²³²

²³² Bouvet. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark

The above passage, quoted from the hand-written manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, was shown to the Kangxi Emperor who already had had frequent interaction with the Jesuit Figurists, including Joachim Bouvet, and had requested detailed lectures and explanations about *Hetu*, *Luoshu* and numbers in the *Yijing*. Based on the belief that Christian and Chinese histories were connected in antiquity, Bouvet mined the Chinese classics, mainly the *Yijing*, searching for keys to unlock common ideas of God. An excellent French mathematician, Bouvet employed numbers and mathematics in the ancient texts of the *Yijing*, taking advantage of triangles, as common codes. One of the attention-getters is his *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖 (Diagram of Heaven's Exaltedness and Earth's Lowliness) (see Figs.5.1 and 5.2 at the end of the chapter). While investigating all the approaches these Jesuit Figurists explored for proselytization and re-interpreting the *Yijing*, it would be an error to leave their interpretation of numbers in the *Yijing* unstudied.

Earlier scholarship on the Jesuit Figurists' use of numbers in the *Yijing* has been neither comprehensive nor complete. Claudia von Collani, who centered her research on the discovery of the manuscripts in European languages, including Latin, only spent a few pages on this topic; she explained how Bouvet predicted when the savior would come, and the difference between *Xiantian* 先天 (Pre-Heaven) and *Houtian* 後天 (Latter Heaven).²³³ In addition, another scholar on the Jesuits and the *Yijing*, Richard Smith merely postulated that, “Bouvet’s mystical mathematical vision aptly described by David Mungello as a combination of Pythagorean-Platonic tendency toward mathematics and the Aristotelian-Thomistic tendency toward classification focused on three types of

Borg. Cin. 317. No. 4, p. 22. Author’s translation.

²³³ Claudia von. Collani. *P. Joachim Bouvet S.J. Sein Leben und sein Werk*. (Nettetal: Steyler, 1985) 168–171.

numerical progressions, together with the rules of proportion and geometry, and the laws of statistics.”²³⁴ Both scholars might tilt the scale of the Jesuit Figurists’ inclination a little bit more toward Western civilization. This chapter, however, will offer a more in-depth investigation and discussion of the Jesuit Figurists’ linkage to their predecessor, Athanasius Kircher, in regard to the mystical use of numbers as well as the association of divinizing numbers in Chinese civilization.

Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) was an enthusiastic German Jesuit scholar and Sinophile. In the previous chapters, Kircher’s passion for deciphering the hieroglyphic writing of the ancient Egyptian language and his categorization of Chinese scripts is described in detail. Kircher had versatile knowledge in different fields, such as philology, physics, mechanics, medicine, metaphysics, theology, geology, music, mathematics, arithmetic, etc. While his contemporaries might have regarded him as an eccentric scientist-missionary, his theories may have generated later research and left a long-lasting influence on the Jesuit Figurists.

Kircher’s concept of the world is that science is never separate from religion. In his prolific works, including *Ars Magnesia*, *Musurgia Universalis*, *Mundus Subterraneus*, science is embedded with the divine keys from God to create and design the world. Number is one of the divine keys. Number is God’s instrument and nature is the art of God. According to Kircher, “Number is a certain natural, exuberantly growing principle of rational construction (*rationalis fabrica*). Number is all that is attainable by reason. Unity is the principle of all numbers. This eternal unity is the essence of God, the

²³⁴ Richard Smith. *Mapping China and Mapping the World, Culture, Cartography, and Cosmology in Late Imperial Times*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2013) 198. Also see, David E. Mungello. *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*. (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1989) 312–328.

beginning and end of all. All beings of created things are nothing else but signs of that supreme unity.”²³⁵ In some of his works, including *Musurgia Universalis* (The Universal Art of Music, 1650) and *Mundus Subterraneus* (the Underground World, 1665), one should compare the common features, triangles and numbers, with those drawn or listed in the Jesuit Figurists’ later works. First, in the frontispiece of *Musurgia Universalis* (see Fig. 5.3), the triangle at the top is the symbol of the Holy Trinity and sheds its rays over the whole of the top of the picture. Kircher also incorporated the theological context into music; he asserted that music is a reflection of the essential mathematics and proportions inherent in all Creation, so the Trinity was not only a symbol but a real dogma. In this frontispiece, under the symbol of Trinity, the harmony is in heaven: There are nine sets of choirs with angels, singing a 36-part canon by Romano Micheli.²³⁶ The canon is described as "canoni sopra le vocali di piu parole" ("on the vowels of a few words"). The line of text reads: "Angelic choir of 36 voices" and "distributed in 9 (3x3) choirs," which were paying due respect to the holy Trinity.

The symbol of the Trinity and three triangles, which resonates with the 9 (3x3) choirs, is repeated once again in the frontispiece of *Arithmologia* (Science of Numbers or On the Hidden Mysteries of Numbers), Athanasius Kircher’s 1665 book on numbers and numerology (see Fig. 5.4). In the top section, the divine eye is in the middle and circled by three bigger triangles, which symbolize the nine orders of angels. What is interesting

²³⁵ Eberhard Knobloch. "Mathematics and the Divine: Athanasius Kircher." *Mathematics and the Divine: A Historical Study*. Eds. Teun Koetsier & Luc Bergmans. (Amsterdam: Elsevier B.V., 2005) 341.

²³⁶ There is more in the frontispiece. The middle section is dominated by a globe of the World, on which is seated Musica, holding the lyre of Apollo and the panpipes of Marsyas. The lowest part of the picture shows blacksmiths in a cave: the sound of blacksmiths hammering had led Pythagoras to important conclusions about the nature of pitch, and the blacksmiths are acknowledged in the picture by being pointed out by Pythagoras, who also holds an illustration of his theorem, also using triangles. The muse on the right may be Polymnia who appears in standard pose surrounded by musical instruments of various kinds. See Albert Clement. "Music as a liberal art and the invention of the telescope." *The Origins of the Telescope*, Albert Van Helden, Sven Dupré, Rob van Gent Eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011) 334.

is that the two cherubs allude to the biblical saying that God disposed everything, including measure, weight and number; the right cherub is holding a Magic Square, the sum of the numbers in each row, column and diagonal are equal to fifteen. The layout of the Magic Square is exactly the same in *Luoshu* 洛書, which shows that Nine is shouldered while One is trodden; left is Three while right is Seven; Two and Four are shoulders while Six and Eight are feet; Five is in the center.²³⁷ The surprising and intriguing connection might have led to the Jesuit Figurists' association of theological interpretation with the *Yijing*, and the numbers in *Hetu* and *Luoshu* after they had arrived in China.

In addition, in the second section of *Mundus Subterraneus*, while explicating the motion of the center of gravity of the universe (de motu gravium ad centrum Universi), there is a triangle,²³⁸ in which the numbers are listed like Pascal's Triangle²³⁹ (see Fig. 5.5). Comparing this with Bouvet's *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖, there is a high degree of similarity in the shapes and numbers listed. Kircher used Pascal's Triangle for *de accelerato motu naturali & violento gravium, ejusque proportione ad tempus* (Out of the accelerated movement of the nature & the movement of a violent heavy [thing], and its proportion to the time), but Bouvet redrew this triangle and related it to the first line in *Xici* 繫辭 (The Great Commentary or the Great Appendix), "Heaven is high, the earth is low; thus *Qian* 乾 (The Creative) and *Kun* 坤 (the Receptive) are determined."²⁴⁰

While further analysis and comparison between Kircher's triangle and Bouvet's

²³⁷ 載九履一，左三右七，二四為肩、六八為足、五居中央。

²³⁸ Athanasius Kircher. *Mundus subterraneus*, 24. Stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France.

²³⁹ Pascal's triangle is a triangular array of the binomial coefficients. In much of the Western world, it is named after French mathematician Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), although other mathematicians studied it centuries before him in India, Iran, China, Germany, and Italy.

²⁴⁰ 「天尊地卑，乾坤定位。」 Richard Wilhelm's translation. Richard Wilhelm. *The I Ching or Book of Changes: The Richard Wilhelm Translation*. Trans. Cary F. Baynes. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977) 280.

Tian zun di bei tu 天尊地卑圖 will be elaborated below, Kircher's triangles represent the Trinity in Christianity and are very prevalent in many of his charts. Though his versatile knowledge was manifested in different fields, mathematical symbols, such as the triangle as a representation of Trinity, were used to describe the structure of universe conceived of as God's Creation. He especially paid attention to the numbers, 3, 9, and 10, showing a connection to Pythagorean and Platonic tradition. It is no wonder that the Jesuit Figurists, who inherited the interpretation of mystical arithmetic from Kircher, also attached great importance to those numbers in the *Yijing*. In the last section of this chapter, the interpretation of numbers, such as 1, 3, 6, and 7, in the *Yijing*, will be further explicated.

Jesuit Figurists' divinization of numbers is not a reckless gesture to demonstrate the theories of Kircher. It was not just a manipulation or association with Pythagorean and Platonic tradition in the Western Europe; rather it also served to mimic the tradition of Chinese literati, interpreting the relationship between Heaven and Man with images and numbers. In addition to Kircher's theological interpretation of mystical numbers, the Jesuit Figurists understood both the importance of numbers in the *Yijing*, as well as the Chinese literati's tendency of divinizing numbers. While many modern scholars might be occupied with investigating and debating whether these Jesuit Figurists are Confucianists or Daoists, the Jesuit Figurists, seldom labeled themselves as Confucianists or Daoists, based on an exhaustive study of their Chinese manuscripts. Instead, following the Chinese literati's commentarial tradition, the Jesuit Figurists selected the traces in the Chinese classics which fit their hermeneutics to re-interpret the *Yijing* and finished their own intra-lingual translation. Numbers might be *the greatest common denominator* (my italics) where Christianity, Confucianism and Daoism can meet. While not deviating from

their predecessor Kircher's theory of mystical numbers and arithmetic, these Jesuit Figurists pinpointed the numbers in Daoism, together with the school of numbers and images proposed by the Confucian scholars, and then associated these numbers with messages in Christianity.

In *Yijing zong shuo* 易經總說 (The Comprehensive Discussion on the *Yijing*), Bouvet elaborated on the importance of numbers and images in the *Yijing* as follows,

The reason why *Yi* is a classic is because there are principles, numbers, images and charts in it. Charts cannot be separate from images; images cannot be separate from numbers; numbers cannot be separate from principles. Principles derive numbers, which generate images while images give rise to charts. When charts are ready, images are manifest; when images are established, numbers are prominent; while numbers are demonstrated, principles are clear. Therefore, for those who would like to know the principles, there is no other way better than understanding numbers; for those who would like to understand numbers, there is no other way better than observing images; for those who would like to observe images, there is no other way better than playing with charts. Among these four (elements), principles are the most important. The reason why *Yi* is interpreted as *Yi* is because of *Dao*. Its numbers, images and charts are like the bamboo fish traps and snares. Its *Dao* and principles are like the fish or the rabbit. If the rabbit is secured, then the snares could be forsaken; if the fish is caught, then the bamboo fish trap could be forsaken; if images are obtained, charts could be forgotten; if numbers are obtained, images could be forgotten; if *Dao* is obtained, numbers could be forgotten. It is ultimate.

(易之為經也，有理焉，有數焉，有象焉，有圖焉。圖不離象，象不離數，數不離理。理生數，數生象，象生圖，圖備而象顯，象立而數著，數出而理明，是故凡欲知理者，莫若明數，欲明數者，莫如觀象，欲觀象者，莫若玩圖，四者之中，為理為要。蓋易之所為易者，道也。其數象圖也，如筌如蹄，其道其理。如魚如兔，得兔而忘蹄，得魚而忘筌，得象而忘圖，得數而忘象，得道而忘

數。至矣。)²⁴¹

In the above passage, clearly Bouvet borrowed the same metaphor employed by Zhuangzi in *Waiwu* 外物 (External Things) in *Zhuangzi*. Bouvet seemed to incorporate the *Dao*, the natural course that Heaven, Earth and Man run, into his re-interpretation of the *Yijing*. Though charts, images and numbers could be forsaken after principles are obtained, they are still the keys to understanding the *Dao* and its principles. It also matches the theory proposed by Kircher that numbers are the divine keys to understand God. As discussed in Chapter Two, these Jesuit Figurists were outspoken advocates of *Taiji* and *Dao*. Bouvet and his protégés did not hesitate in using the linkage with *Taiji* and *Dao*, which were also two important concepts in the *Yijing*, and identified *Taiji* and *Dao* with God. While *Dao* is always linked with the numbers, 1 and 3, Bouvet repetitively quoted from *Laozi* 老子, “*Dao* derives One, which generated Two; then Two gives rise to Three, which gives birth to myriads of everything (「道」生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物。).²⁴² It is also, in the meantime, reminding the Chinese readers, including the emperor and Chinese literati, the natural course of *Dao* and the number 3, are thus parallel to God and the nature he creates. The messages and numbers already were implanted by God.



There are more examples in these Jesuit Figurists' Chinese manuscripts that they were trying to divinize numbers by linking them with the *Dao*. In another Chinese manuscript, *Taiji lue shuo* 太極略說 (The Rough Explanation of *Taiji*), the Jesuit Figurists elaborated that *Taiji* contains Three and then becomes One by using

²⁴¹ Bouvet. *Yi jing zong shuo gao* 易經總說稿 (The Collection of Manuscripts about the Discussion of the *Yijing*). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 3, p. 1-2. Author's translation.

²⁴² The forty-second chapter of *Laozi*. Author's translation.

algorithms.²⁴³

The one called *Three One Taiji* was documented in the ancient classics and quoted by the Confucianists. While Diagram of Heaven's Exaltedness and Earth's Lowliness is viewed, Heaven is one and Earth is two, which compose three small circles. When these (three circles) are combined, the pattern is displayed as such. Numbers and geometry both start from the number One and then accomplish at the number Three. Therefore, One is Three and Three is One.²⁴⁴ One is the foundation of numbers; only when the number One optimizes its ability, can it extend its talent. It accomplishes its virtue exhaustively and generates itself, the number One. Laozi said one generated two; Zhuangzi also said the so-called number One is the one that generates two. The number Two is the origin of the *Yin* numbers. Two and one generate Three, which is the origin of the *Yang* numbers. Hence, the numbers of Heaven and myriads of images, one root and two origins, as well as the principles of three elements integrating into one, can be ready here.

(三一太極者，古傳載之，儒者引之。...觀天尊地卑圖，天一地二，自成三微圓。  合而一之，其式如此。  ...數與幾何，並始於一，而成於三。...故一即三，三即一，一者數之本也，惟一至能，始伸其才。窮就其德，自生如己之一，老子所謂一生二，莊子所謂一與言生二者是也。二者陰數之元也。二與一生三。三者陽數之元也。是故天數萬象，一本二元，三才合一之理，盡備乎此。) ²⁴⁵

Numbers imbedded as keys also emerged in another manuscript, *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys to the *Yijing*). In *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys to the *Yijing*), Bouvet explains the relationship between the numbers in the *Yijing* and Christianity,

Based on the previous statements, The Grand One *Taiji* is the Creator. ..The Grand One is the basis of the odd and even numbers in

²⁴³ 太極含三為一。

²⁴⁴ This is the place where they link *Taiji* with Trinity.

²⁴⁵ Bouvet. *Taiji lue shuo* 太極略說 (The Rough Explanation of *Taiji*). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 5, p. 3-4. Author's translation.

the *Yijing*; *Taiji* is the base of the two polarities, square and circle and myriads of things. It is natural that if principles are studied, numbers are prior to images while images rely on numbers. If the number remains unknown, then it is impossible to understand the meaning of the image. Therefore, *Taiji* is based on the Grand One and then *Yi* engenders and changes. Myriads of numbers and images originally came under the Grand One.

(據前論太一太極乃造物主，...太一乃易奇偶諸數之本，太極乃易兩儀、方圓、萬象之本，本然考之于理，數先于象，象倚于數，非知數之多寡，則無以知象之幾何，故太極本於太一，則易之生生變化，萬數萬象，原從而畫歸于太一而已。) ²⁴⁶

The above examples show that the Jesuit Figurists divinized numbers, such as Three, in order to prove that these numbers, buried in the ancient classics, were the relics of God's messages. On the other hand, in this manuscript, *Yi yao* 易鑰 (the Keys to the *Yijing*), another approach of these Jesuit Figurists' divinization of numbers is manifested.

In *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys to the *Yijing*), the name might denote that the *Yijing* has the keys to the messages of God or the keys to read the essence of the *Yijing*. Similar to *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑑 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present), whose quotations from classics vindicated the descriptions about God and stories of Christianity, *Yi yao* 易鑰 also quotes ancient classics and commentaries, and most of the quotations and passages were legends or myths with mythological elements. For example, in the second volume of *Yi yao* 易鑰,

Our teacher (Fuxi) composed *Yi* and employed images and numbers to prognosticate for mankind, to expect the coming of the Grand Saint. He shouldered the mission from Heaven and took the throne, opening Latter Heaven. He is the *Dao* that four quarters are permanently predestined for and attached to. Therefore, the first volume of the *Xici* 繫辭 (The Great Commentary or the Great Appendix) states that

²⁴⁶ Bouvet, *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys of the *Yijing*). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 2, p. 17. Author's translation.

Heaven bestows images, which shows being auspicious or ominous. The second volume of the *Xici* indicates that, those which know what is coming can predict. Therefore, in the *Yi* we anticipate numbers. In the ancient legends, those auspicious patterns and images are the blissful sign of the coming Grand Saint. However, if *Chunqiu* 春秋 is quoted, in which it is pointed out that when the way of Heaven ends, it is expired by obtaining a *Qilin* 麒麟 (Often described as a Unicorn) as an auspicious animal. The signs of the star *Dajiao* 大角 and *Xuan yuan* 軒轅 and *Qilin* were actually Yellow Emperor, referred to as Xuan yuan and the Emperor rose from *Zhen*...

(先師作易以象以數預示人知，而望大聖之來，繼天立極，開後天，乃四方永命所係之道，故易上傳云，天垂象，見吉凶，下傳云，知來者逆，是故易逆數也。古傳凡吉文象暨為大聖來之吉兆，然上引春秋，其以天道終乎，故止于獲麒麟為信獸，大角軒轅麒麟之信等，真為軒轅黃帝，乃帝出乎震。...) ²⁴⁷

In this part of *Yi yao* 易鑰, several passages about *Qilin* in the ancient classics, such as *Huai nan zi* 淮南子, *Chun qiu gan jing fu* 春秋感精符 (The Annals of Spring and Autumn: Token of Bestirred Essences) etc., were quoted to describe *Qilin* having one horn and how it coordinates with the course of nature and Chinese astrology. It turned into a trustworthy animal, which shows the time of the coming of the Grand Saint (Jesus). In the description, the numbers used, such as Three and Five in *Wu xing* 五行 (Five Elements), *San huang wu di* 三皇五帝 (The Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors) was cloaked in a layer of mystery, especially when the Jesuit Figurists paralleled these myths in Chinese antiquity with the timing of the emergence of God in the history of Christianity. Numbers, such as Three and Five, are thus no longer simple numbers in arithmetic but were bestowed with divine meaning in their theological interpretation of the *Yijing*.

²⁴⁷ Bouvet, *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys to the *Yijing*). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 2, p. 23. Author's translation.

Aside from the divine linkage with *Dao* and the recorded mystical legends in the classics, the Jesuit Figurists also pursued another trajectory of divinizing numbers: mimicking the school of images and numbers proposed by Confucian scholars. The commentarial tradition of interpreting the *Yijing* is usually divided into two schools—*Yili* 義理 (meaning and principle) and *Xiangshu* 象數 (images and numbers). The school of *Yili* 義理, such as *the Ten Wings* 十翼 purportedly written by Confucius and Wang Bi's commentaries on *Zhou yi* 周易注, interpreted the *Yijing* from the metaphysical and philosophical perspective. On the other hand, the school of images and numbers might have been combined with and passed down from the long tradition of numerology and divination in China. The school of images and numbers first were accepted widely and used was in the Han Dynasty. Confucian scholars in the Han Dynasty mainly regarded the *Yijing* as a classic describing the course of Nature and containing every aspect of the universe. Objects from nature or the human world, such as Heaven, Earth, Thunder, Wind, and so on, denoted the repeated cycle of Nature and even predicted future events. The variety of codes embedded in Nature ranges from numbers, solar terms, objects, directions, colors, to yin and yang. The theory of numbers being one of the codes to interpret the course of Nature agreed with Kircher, Bouvet, and other Jesuit Figurists' assumption about the divine role of numbers in the *Yijing*.

When it came to the Song Dynasty, the Neo-Confucianists took a further step in interpreting the numbers in the *Yijing*. After being absorbed in Daoist thinking and interpretation of charts, Neo-Confucianist in the Song Dynasty not only employed charts, such as *Hetu* and *Luoshu*, but also derived new charts. One of the famous scholars among them was Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011–1077). Shao Yong originally stated in his book, *Huangji Jing Shi* 皇極經世 (Book of Supreme World Ordering Principles) that the

Xiantian 先天 (Pre-Heaven) eight trigrams and *Houtian* 後天 (Latter Heaven) eight trigrams acted as the parallel with the principles of the course of Heaven and Earth and also reflected the change in nature and man's life.

Bouvet further applied Shao Yong's theory about *Xiantian* 先天 (Pre-Heaven) and *Houtian* 後天 (Latter Heaven) to divide the time of the world into two stages. *Xiantian* 先天 era indicated the time between Creation and the first appearance of the Messiah, and the *Houtian* 後天 stage indicated the period from the death of Christ until the Second Coming. In *Yi shu xiang tu zong shuo* 易數象圖總說 (General Discussions on Numbers, Images and Charts in the *Yijing*) of *Yixue wai pian* 易學外篇 (The Outer Chapters of *Yi* Studies), Bouvet stated that, "We are based on the insightful comments of Shao zi (Shao Yong) and Zhu zi (Zhu xi); while speaking of the inner (methods), *Yi* studies are the inner methods of *Tian xue* 天學 (Studies of God)...."²⁴⁸

Bouvet then extended the theory of *Xiantian* 先天 and *Houtian* 後天 into three courses of *Yi*: *Xiantian wei bian* 先天未變 (Not Yet Changed in Pre-Heaven), *Xiantian yi bian* 先天已變 (Having Changed in Pre-Heaven), *Houtian bu bian* 後天不變 (Remaining Unchanged in Latter Heaven). Bouvet explained that during the time when *Xiantian wei bian* 先天未變, the course of *Tian* is smooth and the mind of *Tian* is pure and permeated; the simple *Yi* of *Lianshan yi* 連山易²⁴⁹ was operating. During the time of *Xiantian yi bian* 先天已變, however, the course of *Tian* was diminishing while the way of *Di* 地 (Earth) was growing. It was an era of all vice and *Shangtian* 上天 (Heaven

²⁴⁸ Bouvet. *Yi shu xiang tu zong shuo* 易數象圖總說 (General Discussions on Numbers, Images and Charts in the *Yijing*) of *Yixue wai pian* 易學外篇 (The Outer Chapters of *Yi* Studies). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 4, p. 16. Author's translation.

²⁴⁹ *Lianshan yi* 連山易 was an ancient classic which has been missing. According to the documentation of *Liji* 禮記, it might be composed by Fuxi 伏羲 or Shengnong 神農. It starts with *Gen* 艮 (Keeping Still). Together with *Quizang yi* 歸藏易 and *Zhou yi*, these three *Yis* are called the three methods of Chinese divination.

above) was outrageous. Then the changing *Yi* of *Quizang yi* 歸藏易²⁵⁰ was in action. Then the auspicious moment of *Houtian bu bian* 後天不變 came, and the virtue of the Sage, which denotes the Holy Son, paralleled with Heaven and Earth. The unchanging way of *Zhou Yi* was executed.²⁵¹

While incorporating Shao Yong's concepts of *Xiantian* 先天 and *Houtian* 後天, Bouvet developed his own formula to calculate the total of days the world runs: There are 100 cycles, and one cycle runs 40,320 days, so the world runs 40,320,000 days. *Xiantian* 先天 contains the first 55 cycles, marking the time between the Creation and the coming of Messiah, while *Houtian* 後天 encompasses 45 cycles, indicating the period between the coming of the Messiah and the Messiah's returns. Though quite different from Shao Yong's fixed cosmic world cycles, *Yuan* 元 (the Origin), *Hui* 會 (the Epoch), *Yun* 運 (the Revolution), *Shi* 世 (the Generation) in his work, *Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世 (Book of Supreme World Ordering Principles),²⁵² Bouvet's use of number 55 is related to the sum of numbers in *Hetu* (see Fig. 5.6), while the use of the number, 45, is related to the sum of numbers in *Luoshu* (see. Fig. 5.7). Here Bouvet's link with *Hetu* and *Luoshu* is only one of a hundred more among his Chinese manuscripts about the re-interpretation of

²⁵⁰ *Quizang yi* 歸藏易 was purportedly employed for divination in the Shang Dynasty. It starts with *Kun* 坤 (the Receptive). Together with *Lianshan yi* 連山易 and *Zhou yi*, these three *Yis* are called the three methods of Chinese divination.

²⁵¹ Bouvet. *Yi shu xiang tu zong shuo* 易數象圖總說 (General Discussions on Numbers, Images and Charts in the *Yijing*) of *Yixue wai pian* 易學外篇 (The Outer Chapters of *Yi* Studies). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 4, p. 17.

²⁵² In *Huangji jing shi* 皇極經世, Shao Yong used numbers to lay out his metaphysical order for the world. In his point of view, the cycle of human civilization is 129,600. 129,600 years compose one Origin 元, which consists of 12 epochs; each epoch encompasses 10,800 years. One epoch consists of 30 Revolution 運; each Revolution encompasses 360 years. One Revolution consists of twelve Generations; each Generation encompasses 30 years. He based on the Pre-Heaven 64 Hexagrams Round Diagram 先天六十四卦圓圖, and *Yuan* 元 (the Origin), *Hui* 會 (the Epoch), *Yun* 運 (the Revolution), *Shi* 世 (the Generation) is represented by one hexagram; each year is also represented by one hexagram. Therefore, the movement of the stars, geography and the change of dynasties could be followed according to the change of hexagrams.

the *Yijing*.

By connecting Christian stories with the Daoist perspective, the ancient legends and myths, as well as the school of images and numbers proposed by Confucian scholars, numbers were perpetuated by the Jesuit Figurists. After the Jesuit Figurists' theological interpretation, numbers in the *Yijing* are not just tools for fortune-telling designated by some Chinese literati. Instead, numbers are divinized and thus become the common divine language to bridge two sides, the East and the West.

II. Divinization of Numbers and the Kangxi Emperor

The Jesuit Figurists decoded the numbers in the *Yijing* as the divine language at the right time while the Kangxi Emperor was devoted to the study of Western science and mathematics. The Kangxi Emperor was intrigued not only by the mystical numbers embedded in the *Yijing*, but also was curious about the origin of the arithmetic. Tracing the source of the arithmetic, if it originated from China, helped the Kangxi Emperor to divinize his own throne and authority, and also to justify the superiority of China and its civilization. As the previous chapter has indicated, since the Calendrical Controversy between Yang Guangxian 楊光先 and Adam Schall von Bell 湯若望, the Kangxi Emperor determined that he himself should excel in Western calendrical studies, Western astronomy and mathematics, in order to have the knowledge and authority to judge by himself. He first learned mathematics from Adam Schall von Bell, and later Joachim Bouvet and Fr. Jean-François Gerbillon 張誠 taught him with the mathematic textbook which was based from Ignace-Gaston Pardies' *Elemens de Geometrie*.²⁵³ Bouvet and Gerbillon tried to persuade the Kangxi Emperor that Pardies' *Elemens de Geometrie* was

²⁵³ Paris, 1671.

a better version than Xu Guangqi and Matteo Ricci's translation in 1607 of Christopher Clavius *Euclidean Geometry*, *Jihe yuan ban* 幾何原本 (The Origin of Geometry).²⁵⁴ After adopting this substitution, the status of these French mathematician-missionaries was upgraded and consolidated in the Qing court. Their versatile knowledge in astronomy and mathematics nudged Bouvet and Gerbillon to become the Kangxi Emperor's exclusive tutors. Not only did he dedicate as many as three hundred hours to the study of the mathematics of triangles, but he ordered these French Jesuits to translate their astronomical and mathematical works into Manchu or Chinese, in order to be published by the imperial house. Though later the imperial mathematic work, *Shu li jing yun* 數理精蘊 (The Essence of Mathematical Principles, 1723) was composed by Chinese literati, not by these French Jesuits, the French Jesuits' translation did help the Kangxi Emperor choose a "clear and useful synopsis" that developed into *Shu li jing yun* 數理精蘊.²⁵⁵

While boasting about his knowledge of mathematics and astronomy to his ministers, the Kangxi Emperor assumed the authority and claimed that arithmetic originated in China, especially from the *Yijing*. In Volume 245 of *Daqing sheng zhu ren huangdi* (*Kangxi chao*) *shilu* 大清聖祖仁皇帝(康熙朝)實錄 (The Authentic Records of the Kangxi Emperor), in the fiftieth year of the Kangxi Emperor's reign (1711), the Kangxi Emperor exhorted Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燮, the incumbent magistrate of Zhili 直隸 that,

The principles of mathematical calculations all come from the *Yijing*.

Even the mathematical calculations in the West are also well-reasoned.

²⁵⁴ One of Matteo Ricci's contributions was a translation of the first six books of Christopher Clavius' *Euclidis Elementorum libri XV* (1574) into Chinese. Although a few Chinese scholars admired the organizational format of the *Elements*, the work had little impact on the Chinese use of geometry or their mathematical thinking. The remaining parts of Euclid did not appear in Chinese until 1851.

²⁵⁵ Li Di 李迪. *Zhongguo shuxue shi jianbian* 中國數學史簡編 (Abbreviated Compilation of the History of Chinese Mathematics). (Shenyang, China: Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1984) 253–277. Liu Dun "Shuli jing yun zhong jihe yuan ban de di ben wenti 數理精蘊中幾何原本的底本問題 (The issue about which was the original Euclid's *Elements* in *Shuli jing yun*)." *Zhongguo keji shi liao* 中國科技史料 (Historical Sources for Technology in China), xii (1991), 88–96.

They were originally from Chinese mathematical principles. They call it Aer zhu baer (Algebra). Aer zhu baer is the one which passed from the East.

(演算法之理、皆出自易經。即西洋演算法亦善。原系中國演算法。彼稱為阿爾朱巴爾。阿爾朱巴爾者、傳自東方之謂也。)²⁵⁶

In addition, the Kangxi Emperor also reminded Li Guangdi, “Have you discussed about the numbers in the *Yijing* with the crowd? The arithmetic corresponds with the numbers in the *Yijing*.”²⁵⁷ Not only did the Jesuit Figurists try every effort to connect the *Yijing* with the stories in Christianity by means of numbers in order to convert the Emperor, but also the Kangxi Emperor also received their influence and teaching of numbers, thus proposing the theory of *Suanxue zhong yuan shuo* 算學中源說 (The Theory that Arithmetic Originated from China). Another example of the Jesuit Figurists’ efforts to explain the numbers and charts in the *Yijing* is shown in the memorial submitted from Li Guangdi to the Kangxi Emperor, expressing how much he was impressed by the Jesuits’ works.

Your minister, Li Guangdi, cautiously reports affairs, ... Thanks to three scrolls of the Western charts and one scroll of the chart explanation, issued by Your Majesty, your minister was ordered to read them by the Emperor himself. Your minister, I, read through (these scrolls) for a few days and I roughly understand its main points, which approximately have the same origin with proportionate numbers. Using the method of multiplying *Xiantian* numbers is never heard. It is especially eccentric and wonderful while it corresponds

²⁵⁶ The Volume 245 of *Daqing sheng zhu ren huangdi (Kangxi chao) shilu* 大清聖祖仁皇帝(康熙朝)實錄 (The Authentic Records of the Kangxi Emperor). Wiki Source 維基文庫. 16 Jan. 2009. Web. 20 March. 2015.

<http://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hant/%E5%BA%B7%E7%86%99%E6%9C%9D%E5%AF%A6%E9%8C%84/%E5%8D%B7%E4%B9%8B245>. Author’s translation.

²⁵⁷ 「爾曾以易數與眾講論乎？算法與易數吻合。」 In the Volume 250 of *Daqing sheng zhu ren huangdi (Kangxi chao) shilu* 大清聖祖仁皇帝(康熙朝)實錄 (The Authentic Records of the Kangxi Emperor). Wiki Source 維基文庫. 16 Jan. 2009. Web. 20 March. 2015. <

<http://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hant/%E5%BA%B7%E7%86%99%E6%9C%9D%E5%AF%A6%E9%8C%84/%E5%8D%B7%E4%B9%8B250>>. Author’s translation.

with the eight trigrams and sixty-four hexagrams. They treated the void numbers as *Yin*, which corresponds with Zhu zi's (Zhu xi) theory that, the place where there is no yang is yin. On the other hand, the full emptiness is regarded as the second hexagram, *Kun* 坤, is no different from Shao zi's (Shao Yong) theory that, *Kun* is *Wuji* 無極 (Boundless; infinite).

(臣李光地謹奏：... 蒙皇上發出西洋圖樣三幅，圖說一幅，命臣觀看，欽此。臣反覆累日，粗得意指，大抵與比例數同根，而用先天加倍之法，則從前所未聞，其與八卦、六十四卦之位相應處，尤為奇巧，其以空數為陰，則與朱子無陽處便是陰之說相合，而以全空當坤卦，又與邵子坤為無極之說不異也。)²⁵⁸

Therefore, numbers and charts were employed by the Jesuit Figurists as a means of penetration into the circle of the emperor and literati. Their theological interpretation of the numbers and charts in the *Yijing* not only helped to foster the Kangxi Emperor's confidence in *Suanxue zhong yuan shuo* 算學中源說, but also left a longstanding impact on the development of Chinese arithmetic, such as the contribution in *Shu li jing yun* 數理精蘊.

III. Divine Numbers and Charts in Proselytization

Though the Jesuit Figurists' original agenda of proselytization was different from the Emperor's expectation, which was learning Western knowledge from the missionaries, they still worked hard at computing and explaining the numbers in the *Yijing*. Among the more than 400 pages of manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, half are about the re-interpretation of numbers and charts in the *Yijing*. In *Yi kao* 易考 (Research on the *Yi*), there are lists of the frequent correspondences and discussion between the

²⁵⁸ Han Qi 韓琦. "Zai lun Baijin de yijing yanjiu 再論白晉的易經研究 (More Discussion on Bouvet's Studies on the *Yijing*)". Eds. Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 et al. *Zhongwai guanxi shi-xin shiliao yu xin wenti* 中外關係史-新史料與新問題 (History on the Relation between China and Foreign Countries—New Historic Sources and New Issues). Beijing: Science Press, 321-322. Author's translation.

Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Figurists about the number and charts:

On the fourth day of July, (I) submitted the new version of *Yijing* revised by Your Majesty and obtained the fourth section of explaining *Tian zun di bei tu*, which are making images for all kinds of geography and all directions. It is similar to the origin of square chart of *Luoshu*. The explanation of all the above and one chart of *Dayan* 大衍 (the numbers of the Great Expansion) is not yet finished. The Emperor's edict: Combine all these four sections and make them ready (for the lectures) tomorrow. By the Emperor himself.

On the sixth day, (I) submitted the previous chapter and the newly-accomplished explanation of *Tian zun di bei tu*. I have two charts about all methods for the beginning and the end of the unchanged *Xiantian* (Pre-Heaven). (I) Proceed to explain it. The Emperor told Wang Daohua, "The numbers made by Baijin (Bouvet) were so clear. It is really a rare achievement to obtain. Save the newly-done *Tian zun di bei tu* and the methods for the beginning and the end of the unchanged *Xiantian* (Pre-Heaven). Make *the Yijing* Ready (for the lectures) tomorrow. By the Emperor himself.

On the seventh day, (I) submitted the chart of *Dayan* (the Numbers of the Great Expansion). The Emperor's Edict: Leave the chart of *Dayan* and be viewed by I, the Sovereign. You all draw another one (of the same chart) and place it in the book. By the Emperor himself.

(Another) Edict: You all later collected it and view it. By the Emperor himself.

七月初四日。呈御筆改過的《易經》，並新得第四節釋天尊地卑圖，為諸地形立方諸方象，類于洛書方圖之原，及大衍圖一張，進講未完。上諭：將四節合定一處，明日伺候。欽此。

初六日，呈前書並新作的釋天尊地卑圖，得先天未變始終之全數法圖二張，進講。上諭王道化，白晉作的數甚是明白，難為他，將新作的天尊地卑圖，得先天未變始終之全數法並圖留下，《易經》明日伺候。欽此。

初七日，進大衍圖。上諭：將大衍圖留下，朕覽，爾等另畫一張，安於書內，欽此。諭爾等俱領去收看，欽此。²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Bouvet. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 4, p. 22–23. Author's translation.

The above is only a part of their frequent discussion about the charts and numbers in the *Yijing*, and the Kangxi Emperor demonstrated his relentless dedication to exploring the mystic numbers. The last edict also indicated that the Kangxi Emperor considered publishing their charts in future works. While Li Guangdi extolled that their charts were “eccentric and wonderful,” the Jesuit Figurists actually expounded the numbers and drew these charts in a very “Sino-centric” way (my own quotation), linking them with the commentaries of the *Yijing*.

Shouldering the Christian tradition of honoring triangles as the Holy Trinity, the Jesuit Figurists also managed to show the association of triangles with the *Yijing* to the Kangxi Emperor and his ministers. Though the Jesuit Figurists did not clearly point out where they had borrowed the concept of *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖, in *Di yi xiang shu gou shen tu* 大易象數鉤深圖 (Charts of Searching the In-depth Meaning of the Great Yi’s Images and Numbers), there is also a chart called *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖 (see Fig. 5.8) by Zhang Li 張理 in the Yuan Dynasty. It explains that, “From one to ten, Heaven is honored above while Earth is humble below. The one who is superior is situated in the position of *Qian* 乾 (the Creative), so *Qian* represents the Emperor, father and husband; the one who is humble is situated in the position of *Kun* 坤 (The Receptive), so *Kun* represents the minister, mother, and wife. They all come from the meaning of honored Heaven and lowered Earth. Therefore it is said, ‘Heaven is high, the earth is low; thus the Creative and the Receptive are determined.’”²⁶⁰ In addition to the high degree of similarity between these two *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖 (Figs. 5.1 and 5.8), on the upper right side of Fig. 5.2, there is another triangle called, *Kai fang qiu lian lu tu* 開方

²⁶⁰ 「自一至十，天尊於上，地卑於下。尊者乾之位，故乾為君，為父，為夫。卑者坤之位，故坤為臣，為母，為婦。皆出於天尊地卑之義也。故曰：天尊地卑，乾坤定矣。」

求廉率圖 (Chart for Extraction of a Root and Asking for (*Shang*) *lian* (上)廉 (Upper Side-piece), which is exactly the same as Cheng Dawei's 程大位 (1533–1606) *Kai fang qiu lian lu tu* 開方求廉率圖 in *Suan fa tong zong* 算法統宗 (Unified Origin of Counting Methods), and could be traced back to *Jia xian sanjiaoxing* 賈憲三角形 in the 11th century. The same chart also was drawn in one of the manuscripts by Bouvet (see Fig. 5.9).²⁶¹ In their re-interpretation of the *Yijing*, the persistent association with Chinese arithmetic and mathematic is also a reminder that the numbers in the *Yijing* influence the later development of Chinese mathematical calculation and principles. There is also no doubt that the Kangxi Emperor was thus convinced and then postulated the theory that the arithmetic originated in China.

While linking numbers, triangles, and charts in the *Yijing* with the contemporary arithmetic and mathematical development, in order to vindicate the divine origin of these numbers and charts and to associate them with Christianity, on the side handwritten were the quotations from *Xici* 繫辭 and ancient myths and legends. For example, on Fig. 5.1, aside are listed with the quotations from the *Yi zhuan* 易傳 (Commentaries of the *Yi*) of different scholars, including Zhu xi. On Fig. 5.1, there are three triangles, each of which representing *Tian* 天 (Heaven), *Di* 地 (Earth), *Ren* 人 (Man). Bouvet first wrote down the first paragraph of *Xici* 繫辭 (The Great Appendix or the Great Commentaries),

Heaven is high, the earth is low; thus the Creative and the Receptive are determined. In correspondence with this difference between low and high, inferior and superior places are established. Movement and rest have their definite laws; according to these, firm and yielding lines are differentiated.

(天尊地卑，乾坤定矣。卑高以陳，貴賤位矣。動靜有常，剛柔斷

²⁶¹ Bouvet. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 3, p. 13.

矣。)²⁶²

On the right side is Zhu xi's commentaries on *Yixu qi meng* 易學啟蒙 (Enlightenment on the *Yi* studies) for another line of *Shuo qua zhuan* 說卦傳 (The Commentaries on the Trigrams).²⁶³ In addition, on Fig. 5.2, Bouvet used three charts to describe his *Xiantian wei bian* 先天未變 (Not Yet Changed in Pre-Heaven), *Xiantian yi bian* 先天已變 (Having Changed in Pre-Heaven), *Houtian bu bian* 後天不變 (Remaining Unchanged in Latter Heaven) and listed the passages from *Liji* 禮記 (the Book of Rites), *Zhouyi tu shuo shu* 周易圖說述 (Explanation and Discussion on the Charts of *Zhouyi*),²⁶⁴ *Huai nan zi* 淮南子, *Kang jian* 綱鑑 (Outline and Mirror), *Shujing* 書經 (the Book of Documents), *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 (Guliang Annals, Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), and so on. Some passages were used briefly for the purpose of describing each of the stages. For example, the triangle on the right of the top row depicts *Xiantian wei bian* 先天未變 (Not Yet Changed in Pre-Heaven), with a passage in *Liji*: “In Heaven are no two Suns; on Earth are no two Lords,” which is next to the Jesuit Figurists' own annotation, “the way of *Xiantian* 先天 is the symbol of original auspice.”²⁶⁵ It coincides with the time when the heart/mind of Heaven of all auspice permeates the world. When it comes to *Xiantian yi bian* 先天已變 (Having Changed in Pre-Heaven), the chart drawn on the left of the bottom row is called, *Heluo fen fang bai tu: xian tian yi bian di dao xiong xiang* 河洛分方百圖：先天以變地道凶象 (Chart about How *Hetu* and *Luoshu* Divide One Hundred: Pre-Heaven Has Changed with the Inauspicious Images in the Way of Earth). A few passages were specified to describe the chaotic world after Man betrayed God and was lured by Evil.

²⁶² Richard Wilhelm's translation. Wilhelm 280.

²⁶³ 朱子云凡數之始一陰一陽而已矣陽之象圓圓者徑一而圍三陰之象方方者徑一而圍四。

²⁶⁴ It was written by Wang Hong 王弘 in 1687.

²⁶⁵ 「先天之道，元吉之象。」

One of the examples includes, “Gun 鯀 disobeyed the orders and fought against people of his own tribe,” from *Shujing* 書經²⁶⁶ and “the tribe of *Shaohao* 少昊 fell and the tribe of *Jiuli* 九黎 disturbed the virtue (of the world); men under Heaven frightened each other with the power of God and mesmerized each other with strange magic,...” from *Gang jian* 綱鑑 (Outline and Mirror).²⁶⁷ The last stage of *Houtian bu bian* 後天不變 (Remaining Unchanged in Latter Heaven) was supported by another chart on the right of the bottom row called, *Heluo he sanjiaoxing tu* 河洛合三角形圖 (Chart that Combines *Hetu* and *Luoshu* with Triangle). The line explanation of Nine in the fifth place 九五²⁶⁸ of *Qian* 乾 (the Creative) from *Wenyan zhuan* 文言傳(Commentaries on the Words) was listed as a supplementation, that “ Clouds follow the dragon, wind follows the tiger. Thus the sage rises, and all creatures follow him with their eyes. What is born of heaven feels related to what is above. What is born of earth feels related to what is below.”²⁶⁹ It corresponds with the time after the Messiah comes and his virtue is compared with that of Heaven and God. After all the illustrated charts and triangles elaborated above, it should be noted that after the Jesuit Figurists connected the numbers and charts to Chinese arithmetic and mathematic, historical events or legends and commentaries were further raised in order to convince Chinese readers that these numbers and charts were still preserved as divine codes of Christian history and God’s information.

These Jesuit Figurists took a more advanced step to divinize these numbers and charts in the *Yijing*. Interestingly, if one takes a closer look at these triangles and charts, there is one sparkling sun with shining rays radiating on each of them. The shining sun is

²⁶⁶ 書經：「鯀方命圯族。」

²⁶⁷ 綱領：「少昊氏衰，九黎亂德，天下之人，相懼以神，相惑以怪。」

²⁶⁸ Among the lines, Nine means yang lines while Six mean yin lines.

²⁶⁹ 「水流濕，火就燥，雲從龍，風從虎。聖人作而萬物覩，本乎天者親上，本乎地者親下。」Richard Wilhelm’s translation. Wilhelm 382.

identical with the one in Fig. 5.3 or the shining triple triangles in Fig. 5.4. Beside the sparkling sun of the triangle of *Houtian bu bian* 後天不變 (see Fig. 5.2), Bouvet wrote, “the triangle symbolizes the emergence of the sage (Jesus).”²⁷⁰ What is more, in the middle of the top row, *Taiji tu* 太極圖 (Chart of *Taiji*) include one big circle, in which one triangle was surrounded by three circles, indicating *Tai ji han san* 太極函三. The Latin caption also reads, “Trinity is the greatest of all type. (Trinitate maximi rerum omnium principis typus.)” These triangles and charts are the symbols of the Trinity or the Sage and then are bestowed with the divine and invincible status.

Illustrating these numbers and charts in the *Yijing* might not be sufficient and convincing to the emperor and Chinese literati. Therefore, these Jesuit Figurists also assumed the role of divine agents of God, and deciphered numbers and re-interpreted by means of Chinese manuscripts. Among the manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana are more than one version of *Yixue wai pian* 易學外篇 (The Outer Chapter of the *Yi* Studies), and there are eight sections all together. From the first section to the eighth, the Jesuit Figurists took a step-by-step approach to clarify why the images and numbers of the *Yijing* originated from *Hetu* and *Luoshu*, and how *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖 gave rise to the eight trigrams and next the sixty-four hexagrams, and then concluded that all numbers and images could be derived from *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖. In the latter part of the manuscripts, *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊地卑圖 was also credited as being the origin of the astronomical calendar, geography, music, melody,²⁷¹ and even the number of lines in hexagrams.

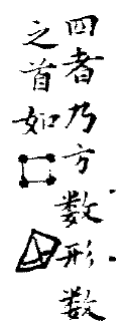
Not only did the Jesuit Figurists attach great importance to *Tian zun di bei tu* 天尊

²⁷⁰ 「三角形人象，首出庶物。」

²⁷¹ 律呂

地卑圖 and related it to the origin of everything, but they also pinpointed specific numbers in manuscripts in order to be associated with the history of Christianity. The term, *San yi* 三一 or *Yi san* 一三 (Triune) has been discussed in Chapter 2; its emphatic use denotes the Creator or the Holy Trinity. Furthermore, the number Four was explained as follows.

Our ancestor lived between Heaven and Earth and his heart originated from the same spirit with that of our *Shangzhu* 上主 (Lord above). The Sacred number, Three, is an odd number, which is superior, while he himself thought of himself as the even number and inferior. Down below (he is) an even number and a square, which are better than as servant. *Shijing* 詩經 (the Book of Poetry) said, “When *Shangdi* 上帝 (Lord above) faces you, (you) should not have two hearts/minds, and it is assured. However, our ancestor did not consider himself as inferior and lost the only direction of the Holy Trinity and *Shangzhu* 上主 (Lord above). He lowered himself and get involved with the things in four quarters and lost his spirit in the limited square of his heart/mind. If one has two hearts/minds, it is like a servant with two hearts. (The number, Four, is the beginning of numbers of squares and shapes.)


 (蓋元祖居天地間，其心與上主同靈，在聖三奇為大之下，而自為偶為小，在下一偶方形，為二小之上，詩云：上帝臨汝無貳爾心當然之理也，乃元祖不參己偶之二小²⁷²，失其聖三唯一上主之向，俯下交于四方之物，喪其靈於方寸之內心，貳其心乃兩其微心之二小，如成方形，四者乃方數、形數之首，如
 (See Fig. 5.10).²⁷³

The number, Four, was employed to describe how mankind’s ancestor had two hearts and thus betrayed God. In addition, the numbers, Six and Seven, were also intentionally

²⁷² *Er xiao* 二小 is a vernacular use, which means a servant to his master.

²⁷³ Bouvet. *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys of the *Yijing*). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 2, p. 19.

connected in the *Yijing* with the meaning and interpretation of major events in the Bible. In the fifth section of *Yi yin* 易引| (The Introduction to *Yi*), it explains the time, the reason and the order of Genesis that God created. During the first three days of the Creation, Yin and Yang, Day and Night, Heaven and Earth, and the four elements, including Fire, Air, Water, Land, were generated. During the next three days, Sun and Moon, Stars, Bright Days and Dark Nights were created. On the Sixth Day, not only were countless celestial beings born, but also, at the end of the Sixth Day, Adam and Eve, the ancestors of mankind, were born. The Seventh day was a day of rites.²⁷⁴ The Jesuit Figurists then stated from the commentaries of *Qian* 乾 from *Tuan zhuan* 象傳 (Commentary to the Judgments), “Because the holy man is clear as to the end and the beginning, as to the way in which each of the six stages completes itself in its own time.”²⁷⁵ In addition, “Return after seven days” in the hexagram, *Fu* 復 (Return) also symbolizes this is the day for rites and it is also the cycle for the universe to run.²⁷⁶ The above are only a few examples of divine numbers, which were designated by the Jesuit Figurists and served as perpetual proof of God’s existence in the *Yijing*.

IV. Conclusion

As excellent mathematician-missionaries, the Jesuit Figurists indeed took best advantage of *the greatest common denominator* in the *Yijing*, to link Christianity, *Dao*, and Confucianism. In addition to the use of classic and vernacular Chinese languages, and intra-lingual translation, *Prisca Theologia* (Pure Religion) also lies in the numbers of the

²⁷⁴ Bouvet. *Yi yin* 易引| (The Introduction to *Yi*). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 28–30.

²⁷⁵ 「大明終始，六位時成」。Richard Wilhelm’s translation. Wilhelm 371.

²⁷⁶ Bouvet. *Yi yin* 易引| (The Introduction to *Yi*). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 6, p. 28–33.

Yijing and the divine keys were discovered and located by these speakers of God, the Jesuit Figurists. By linking with the *Dao*, mystical legends, and the school of images and numbers, in their view, numbers were one of the important passageways to fully understand God's messages and the history of Christianity. The variety of charts, triangles and re-interpretation in the Chinese-written manuscripts indeed captured the attention of the Kangxi Emperor and Chinese literati. Eventually the Jesuit Figurists' divinization of numbers, however, still could not persuade the Kangxi Emperor to believe in Christianity and their charts might further stimulate the Emperor's secular ambition to claim that the arithmetic originated in China.

Figures for Chapter Five

Fig. 5.1

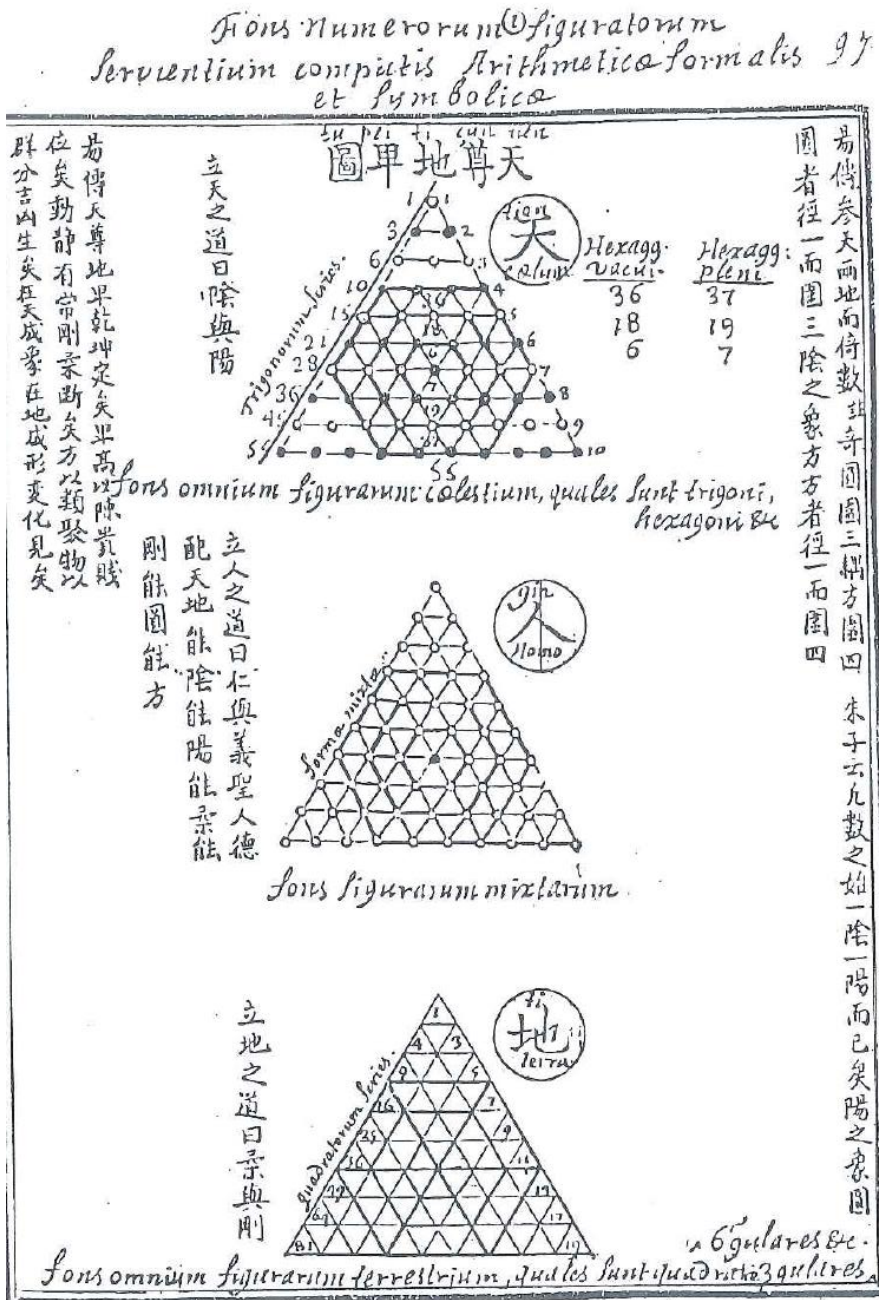


Fig 5.1 Bouvet's Tian zun di bei tu
(See Collani, Frontpage)

Fig. 5.2

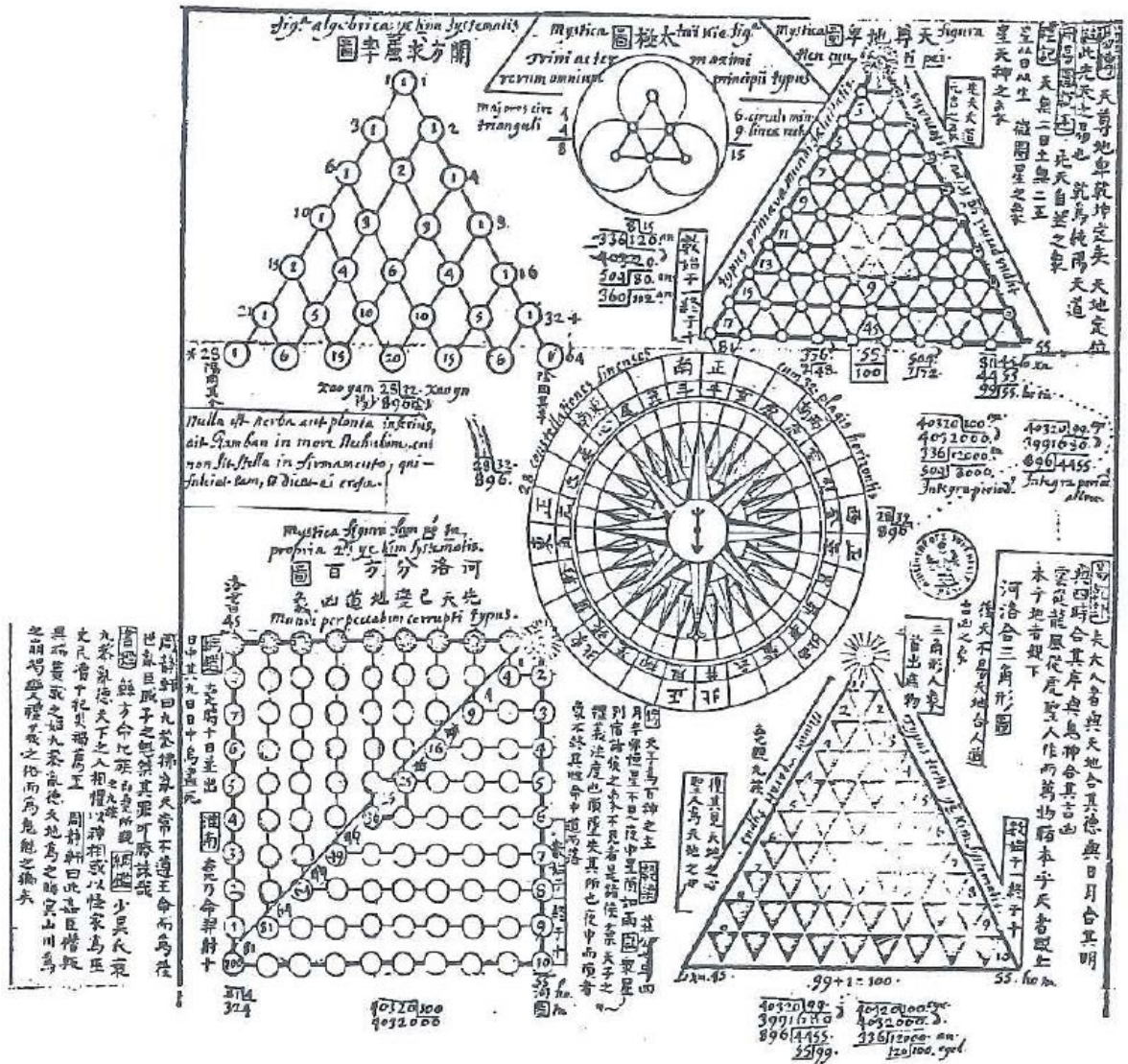


Fig. 5.2 Bouvet's *Tian zun di bei tu* (Cont'd.)
(See Collani, 169)

Fig. 5.3



Fig. 5.3 The frontispiece of *Musurgia Universalis* (1650)

Fig. 5.4

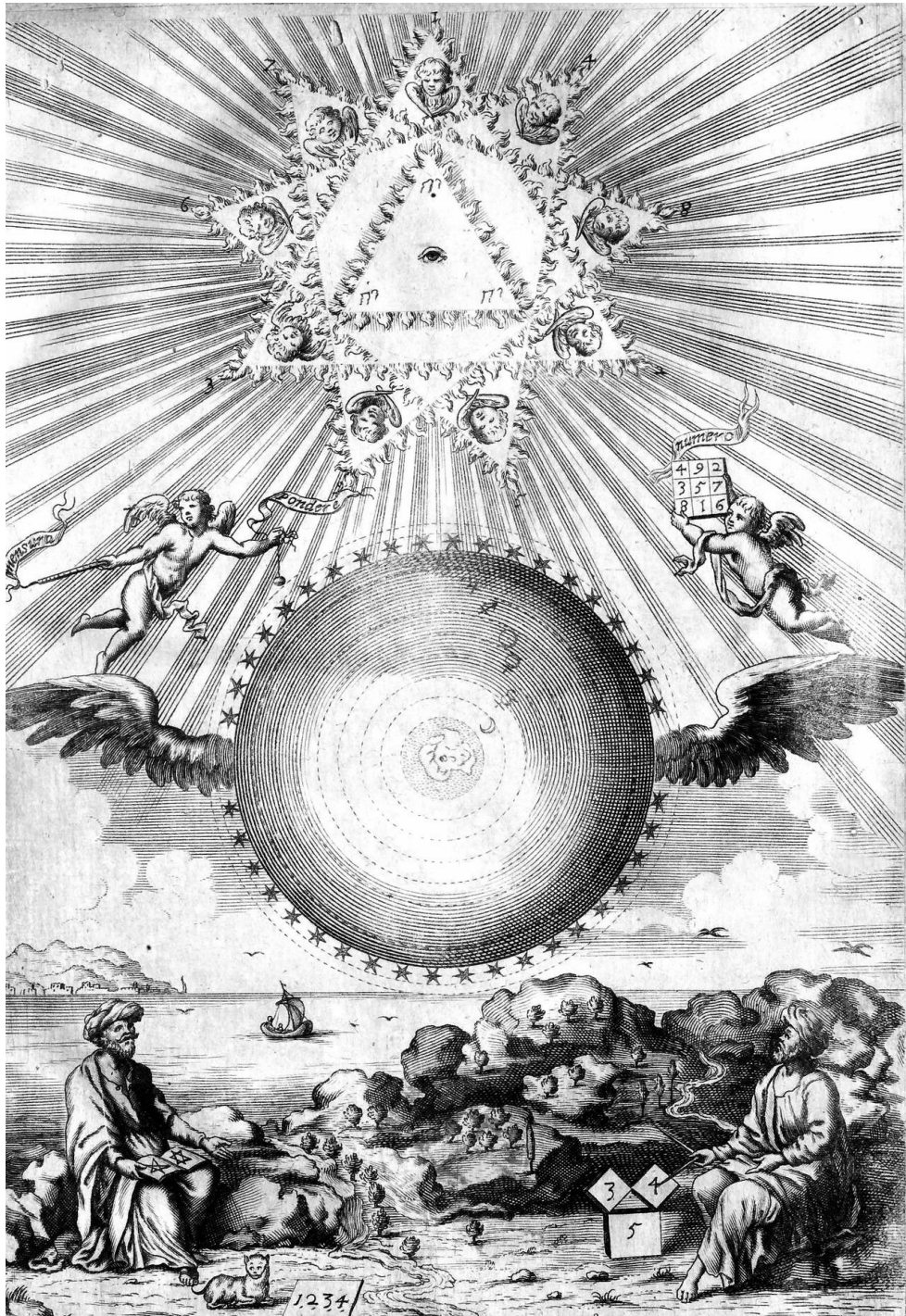


Fig. 5.4 The frontispiece of *Arithmologia* (1665)

Fig. 5.5

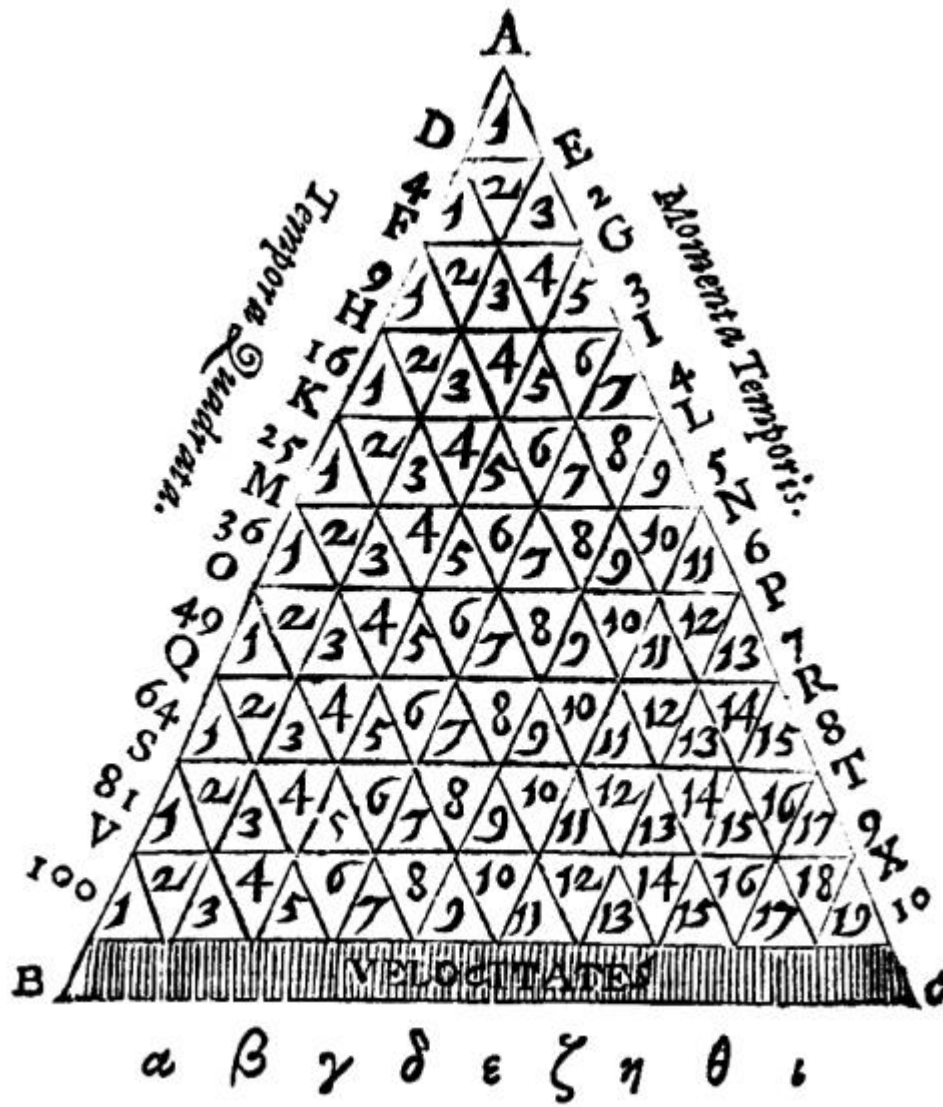
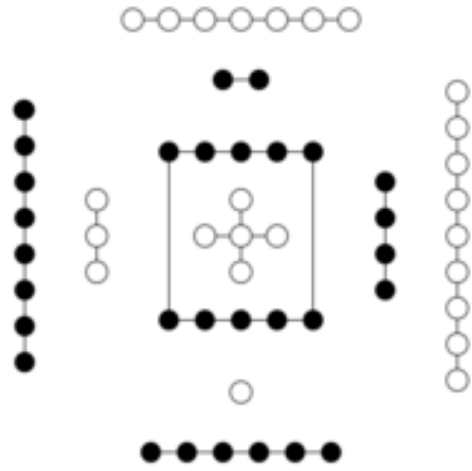


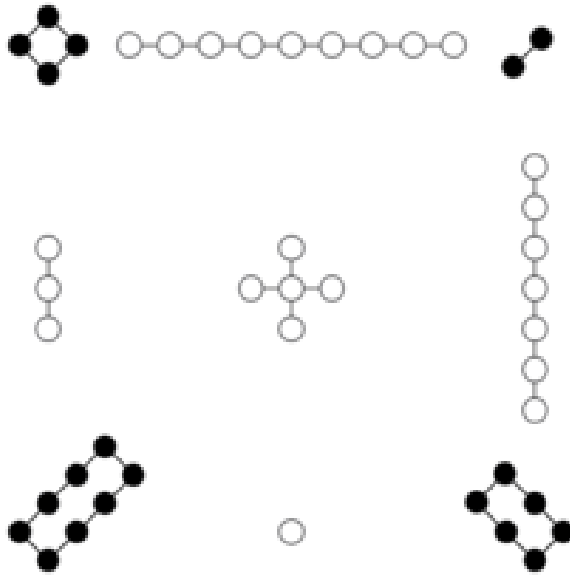
Fig. 5.5 Pascal's Triangle in Kircher's *Mundus subterraneus*

Fig. 5.6



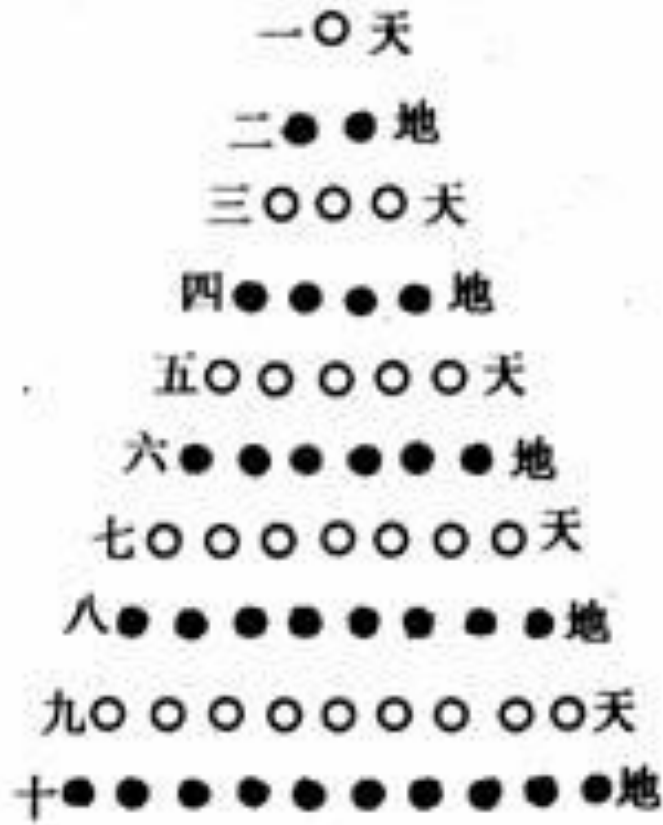
Hetu 河圖

Fig. 5.7.



Luoshu 洛書

Fig. 5.8

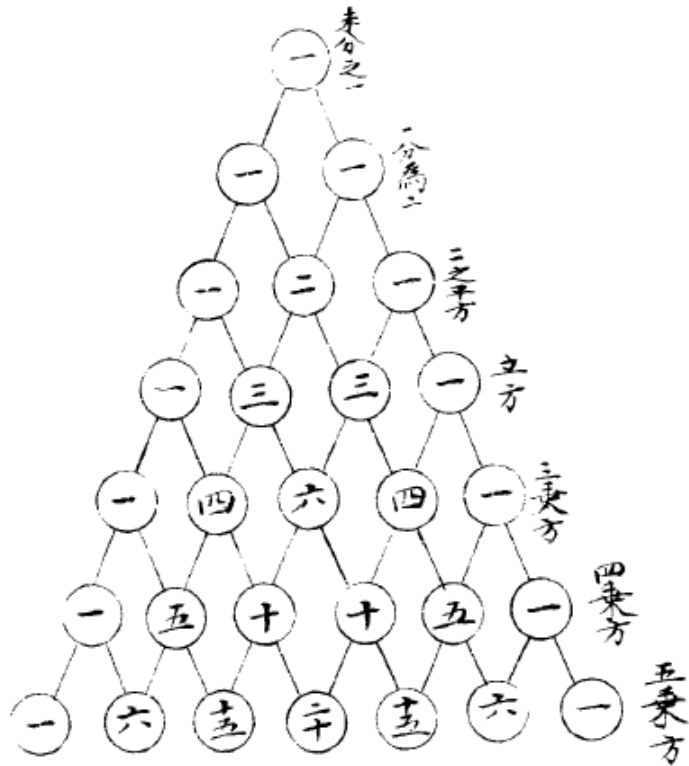


Tian zun di bei tu 天尊地卑圖 in *Di yi xiang shu gou shen tu* 大

易象數鉤深圖

Fig. 5.9

開方算法統宗原圖



Kai fang qiu lian lü tu 開方求廉率圖 (Chart for Extraction of a root and Asking for (*Shang*) *lian* (上)廉 (Upper) side-piece) in Bouvet's manuscript stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 3, p. 13.

Fig. 5.10

之四
首者
如乃
口方
數
形
數

See Bouvet. *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys to the *Yijing*). Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library). Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 2, p. 19.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

I. Finding *Prisca Theologia*

In addition, (different Yins and Yangs of) the six positions in the *Yi* could compose a composition. In antiquity, our great master picked the tangible forms between Heaven and Earth, which could be as small as our bodies and lives in the modern times, and followed each disposition, to compare them with the words embedded with deep and mysterious symbols. (The symbols were) regarded as characters and compositions, which are hidden items and leading people to exhaust the principles. (The symbols) detect the ancient relics and look for the hidden (messages), which reaches the ultimately spiritual and clear virtue of *Shangzhu* 上主 (Lord above) and probes into nature and imitates the delicacy of his virtue. The efforts stop at the ultimate goodness and then preserve the greatness of the permanent life after one's death. The classics such as *Shijing* and *Shujing*, together with other ancient classics, whose *Dao* and studies, are all based on the Great *Yi*. Their compositions, characters, and compounds are with hidden and mystic (messages). They must have the same principles with the *Yi* and they are no different.

(又云易六位而成章，蓋古之先師，取天地之間有形，係現代身命之小，隨各類之情，比擬蘊藏深奧印符之字，以為文為章，隱類率人窮理，探蹟索隱，鉤深致遠，通無窮上主至神至明之德，盡性效法其至德之精微，止于至善而保身後永命之大。詩書等經，並諸古典籍，其道其學，俱既本于大易，其章其文其字之隱藏深奧，與易亦必一揆而無不同。) ²⁷⁷

The Jesuit Figurists are called *Suoyin pai jiaoshi* 索隱派教士 in Chinese. The above passage, from the second page of the *Yi yao* 易鑰 (the Keys to the *Yijing*), might explain their approach to proselytizing in China, *Suoyin* 索隱—seeking the mystical and hidden

²⁷⁷ Bouvet. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317, No. 2, p. 2. Author's translation.

messages of God embedded in Chinese classics, especially the *Yijing*, which is the origin and the basis of all classics in their eyes. After detailed investigation of their Chinese handwritten manuscripts, the Jesuit Figurists' holistic investigation of the *Yijing* has been revealed more comprehensively in this dissertation.

As stated in Chapter One, the introduction of this dissertation, the Figurists' approach previously was categorized by Western scholars into three elements: (1) typological exegesis, designed to reveal hidden meanings in the Old Testament; (2) "Ancient Theology" (*Prisca theologia*), predicated upon the idea of a divine revelation by pagan saints; and (3) the Jewish mystical tradition of the Kabbala. It still falls into a dogmatic and wishful thinking, however, if one does not meticulously examine their Chinese manuscripts, via which they entered the imperial court and circle of literati, exchanged views with the Emperor and even tried to convince others that Christianity lies in the *Yijing*. To assert that these Jesuit Figurists were following only European theology is too simple an explanation. Figurism in China is actually a Chinese version of biblical hermeneutics, different means of reinterpreting the *Yijing*, as is elaborated in each chapter of this dissertation.

Compared to the Western version of finding *prisca theologia*, these Jesuit Figurists had a more in-depth understanding of the Chinese classics and commentaries related to the *Yijing*, as well as having an ongoing interaction with the emperor and literati, whether this elite group was whole-heartedly supportive or had their own secular purpose. In the West, the term *prisca theologia* appears to have been used first by Marsilio Ficino in the 15th century. Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola tried to reform the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church based on the writings of the *prisca theologia*, which they believed was reflected in Neoplatonism, Hermeticism, and the Chaldean Oracles, among

other sources. *Prisca theologia* is believed to have existed in pure form dating back to ancient times. Throughout modern times, it continuously has declined and been diluted, to the extent of being obscure and esoteric.

Traditions derived from *prisca theologia*, such as Hermeticism, attempted to locate traces of the purest perception of God as well as the universe and flourished during the Renaissance and Reformation in the West. In addition, pagan religious practices also were accepted, such as the veneration of images and the analysis of hieroglyphs of ancient Egyptian languages, in order to defy the dominance of pure rationality or doctrinal faith. Therefore, it is understandable that these Jesuit Figurists found parallels in the *Yijing*, the most mystical classic in China. The same mystical gist and elements, such as numbers and characters, as well as images of hexagrams, could thus be considered. It is undoubtedly when following these traditions and travelling to China to find *prisca theologia*, that the Jesuit Figurists needed to employ *Chinese packaging* to attract attention from Chinese readers in the imperial court.

II. Different Means to Straddle the East and the West

Figures could be represented by different symbols, including characters, numbers, images and so on. How did Figurism in China make best use of these figures and turn the Western version of theological interpretation into a Chinese approach? As discussed above in Chapter Two, not only did Jesuit Figurists shed a new light on the re-interpretation of the *Yijing* by means of typological exegesis in the intra-lingual translation then, but they also employed images. The mirror and *jian* 鑑 were the link with the Western tradition of displaying God's image and with the metaphor borrowed from the previous collection of Chinese prose respectively; the image of the Trinity was

connected with *Taiji* 太極, *Dao* in *Dao de jing*, as well as with the three purities in *Daoism*. The interconnection between Christian stories and these images was manifested in the *Yijing* and other classics, as translated by Jesuit Figurists; this showed how studious they were and what strenuous effort they made in studying ancient Chinese classics and commentaries.

The Jesuit Figurists also extended their approach of Figurism to deciphering the codes in Chinese language and characters. In Chapter Three, the smaller components of characters were dissected as the obvious relics of Christian stories and God's guidance. It also follows the principle of indicative 指事 among the six principles of Chinese writing 六書. While referring to the one God, the Jesuit Figurists also attached great importance to different names for God, both in the Classical and vernacular use of Chinese language. It is interesting that not only did they explore a large number of ancient classics, in which they learned which terms fit the description of God or were identical to God, such as *Tian*, *Di*, *Shangtian*, *Shangdi*, *Huangtian shangdi*, etc., but also compiled dozens of entries with three different registers. This demonstrates that their approach to Figurism was customized for China and aimed to use the specific usages of describing God for each of these target groups.

They also exerted their full influence on numbers and mathematics, especially the study of triangles, as indicated in Chapter Five. Numbers and images of triangles in the *Yijing* helped them to bridge the esoteric connection, linking the Trinity in Christianity with the images and charts of the *Yijing*, such as *Hetu* and *Luoshu*. Not only did the triangles they drew on the manuscripts divide into the three periods of *Xiantian bu bian* 先天未變 (Not Yet Changed in Pre-Heaven), *Xiantian yi bian* 先天已變 (Having Changed in Pre-Heaven), and *Houtian bu bian* 後天不變 (Remaining Unchanged in

Latter Heaven) as in Christian stories, but also demonstrated the linkage between the Trinity and these triangles, divinized the numbers and images in the *Yijing*. They proved that the *Yijing* preserved relics of God's instruction.

While different kinds of symbols and figures were employed, Chinese handwritten manuscripts were utilized as a visual medium. As explained in Chapter Four, while imitating Chinese literati, these Jesuit Figurists made a beautiful *Chinese literary garment*—the Chinese handwritten manuscripts, and composed the commentary-like intra-lingual translation of the *Yijing*. The delicate handwriting and the different editing, deleting, and adding as well as the format and grammatology all demonstrated their ambition to capture the attention of the emperor and also to allow for the possibility of future printing of their works by the imperial house.

All these means of proselytization were aimed at starting the conversion of the Emperor, and then eventually the whole of China, to Christianity. The Jesuit Figurists not only inherited mystic theological interpretation, such as Mirror, calligraphy, characters, numbers and triangles from Athanasius Kircher, but also made a careful and detailed re-interpretation of and research on the *Yijing*. Straddling both sides was a necessary evil for them; while donning Chinese literary garments outside, they still conveyed the Christianized views in content and hoped to stimulate the interests of the emperor. It would be biased if the Christianized views they would like to have spread were regarded as the only axis of the Jesuit Figurists' dialogue with the *Yijing*. The main thesis of this dissertation is to analyze and examine the different means and approaches of symbols and figures that these Jesuit Figurists employed in the Chinese manuscripts, in addition to the trajectory of European theological hermeneutics.

III. Treasure Left for Future Research

More than 400 pages of manuscripts are stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and Bibliothèque nationale de France, including *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 (The Mirror of Paying Homage to God in the Ancient Times and at Present) by Bouvet, *Jing zhuan yi lun* 經傳議論 (The Discussion and Arguments of Classics and Commentaries) by Prémare, as well as *Da yi yuan yi nei pian* 大易原義內篇 (the Inner Chapter of the Original Meaning of the Great Yi), *Yi yin* 易引 (Introduction to Yi), *Zhouyi yuan zhi tan* 周易原旨探 (The Exploration of the Original Essence of Zhouyi), *Yi yao* 易鑰 (The Keys to the Yijing), *Yi jing zong shuo gao* 易經總說稿 (The Collection of All the Talks on Yijing). In this dissertation, approximately half have been analyzed and examined. The remaining will be a precious treasure for the author's further research.

One of the interesting aspects worthy of further exploration is the use of the vernacular in these manuscripts. The Jesuit Figurists mimicked the tone, the layout, and the phrasing of Chinese literati to compose their re-interpretation of the *Yijing*. They did this in order to demonstrate their diligence and erudition in Chinese classics, so as to be considered another authoritative voice. From time to time, however, some vernacular terms were used, such as *Er xiao* 二小,²⁷⁸ which means a servant to his master. In the next stage, more vernacular terms used in these manuscripts should be collected and then compared to the contemporary vernacular used in novels or in the writings of contemporary literati. The origin of where and how they acquired and learned to use these colloquial terms will be the next mystery to solve.

In addition, limited by the scope of this dissertation, which mainly focuses on the investigation of these Jesuit Figurists' Chinese manuscripts, there are still hundreds and

²⁷⁸ Note. 41 in Chapter Five.

even thousands of their Latin and French manuscripts left unstudied. These precious writings may reveal what approach these Jesuit Figurists employed to translate theological terms, such as God, as well as other cultural terms, such as *Dao* and *Taiji*, into European languages. They also might demonstrate how they expected these cultural-meaning-ridden terms to be accepted in the West. For example, *Gu jin jing tian jian* 古今敬天鑒 was also translated into a Latin version by Joseph de Premaré (1666–1736) and Julien-Placide Hervieu 赫蒼璧 (1671–1746). It will be intriguing if the next stage of research could explore the translation of the second volume and the collection of entries describing God with three registers. It would also be important to understand how Western languages reflected the differences and delicacy of usages in three registers in the Chinese language. The vernacular tradition in the Western languages also might make an impact on and be associated with the Jesuit Figurists' focus on folk sayings about God.

As explained in Chapters Two and Five, though the Jesuit Figurists did not specify that they were *Daoists*, they were strong advocates of *Dao*. They also identified *Dao* with God; the number Three related with *Dao* was also associated repeatedly with the Holy Trinity. The manuscript with the shelf mark no. Chinois 9247 stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Notes Critiques pour Entrer dans L'intelligence de L'y* 易 King 經 (Critical Notes to Enter the Intelligence of the *Yijing*), written by Premaré, included a detailed explanation of several hexagrams. The manuscript with the shelf mark no. Borg. Cin. 371 stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana by Jean-François Foucquet 傅聖澤 (1663–1739), was about how the Jesuit Figurists used the concept of “*Dao*” to explain how to revere God. These two precious manuscripts might allow the author to dig into a more in-depth research about how the Jesuit Figurists interpreted their own *Dao* and differentiated it from the traditional school of *Daoism* in China. In this further research,

the author also might relate their interests in Three and *Dao* with Kircher's parallels between the Trinity and *Sanqing dao zu* 三清道祖 (Three Pure Ones, the three highest gods in *Daoism*) (see Fig. 6.1).

Based on the research in this dissertation, an additional trajectory that the author would like to further explore is another level of numbers and charts in the *Yijing*. While Collani determined that the Jesuit Figurists also were following the Jewish mystical tradition of the Kabbala, to the author's surprise, while comparing the Chart of Kabbala tradition (Fig. 6.2) with the *Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說 (Discussion on Chart of *Taiji*, Fig. 6.3), there was a high degree of similarity between these two charts. No in-depth investigation has been carried out as yet on these two charts. More research is needed on this topic in addition to Shao Yong's theory of *Xiantian* and *Houtian*, to understand how these Jesuit Figurists employed Zhou Dunyi's *Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說 and thus elaborated on its linkages with Christianized views. On the other hand, in addition to the discussion and explanation of numbers, such as 1, 3, 4, 6, and 7, and its theological interpretation in Chapter Five, the numbers, 5 and 10 in *Hetu* and *Luoshu*, also play a pivotal role in forming and developing Nature and the Universe. These numbers in the *Yijing* deserve more research.

IV. The Journey Is Not Yet Finished

All the above research paths need further investigation and could not be included in this dissertation because the core scope of the research pivots on the Jesuit Figurists' Chinese manuscripts, their different means of theological interpretation and for finding *Prisca theologia* in the *Yijing*. Searching for more mystic clues in their dialogue with the *Yijing* is far from complete. In these manuscripts, the Jesuit Figurists documented their plea for

support from the Kangxi Emperor.

Our Dynasty's Emperor has the great intelligence that Heaven dotes upon. He understands clearly about the great origin and learns from the past and the present, from the domestic and the foreign (neighbors). (We) emphasized the sacred heart of the ultimate kindness of *Shangzhu* 上主 (Lord above). For years the country has been peaceful and ruled by the emperor's kindness. The religious missionaries, far and near, held discussions in the thirty-first year of Kangxi's reign. We hope that the decree would be issued stating that, Catholicism is the main religion combining with government and spreading everywhere under Heaven. May it also be allowed that the Western missionaries could go to each province to proselytize. Based on this observation, the divine religion will once again permeate Great China. The change brought by God extends from the furthest West to the furthest East. The universal change is attributed to the ruling of one Catholic country. (This fortune) is even larger than the bliss of *Xiantian*. The (blissful) moment should never be far.

(我朝 皇上天縱聰明，洞澈大本，學貫古今內外，體上主至仁之聖心，以子臣民，年久太平恩治，遐邇宗懷傳教遠人，于康熙三十一年部議，奉 旨以天主教為政教，頒行天下，准西士各省傳教，由此觀定，聖教復大行于中華，神化自極西至極東，普世變化，劃歸一上主天國家之統，大過先天之幸，其時可望不遠矣。)²⁷⁹

Because the Kangxi Emperor and Chinese literati all had their own agenda, the Jesuit's endeavors on the re-interpretation of the *Yijing* and their proselytization failed to promote Catholicism as a national religion in China. Their dialogue on the *Yijing* to build an esoteric connection and parallels with Christianity reveals more and more valuable findings. The same mystical elements, such as numbers, images, characters in both the Western tradition of biblical hermeneutics, and the charts and hexagrams of *Yijing*, become tokens of exchange and disclose evidence of their deliberate interpretation. Each

²⁷⁹ Bouvet. Manuscripts stored in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Shelf Mark Borg. Cin. 317. No. 2, p. 15.

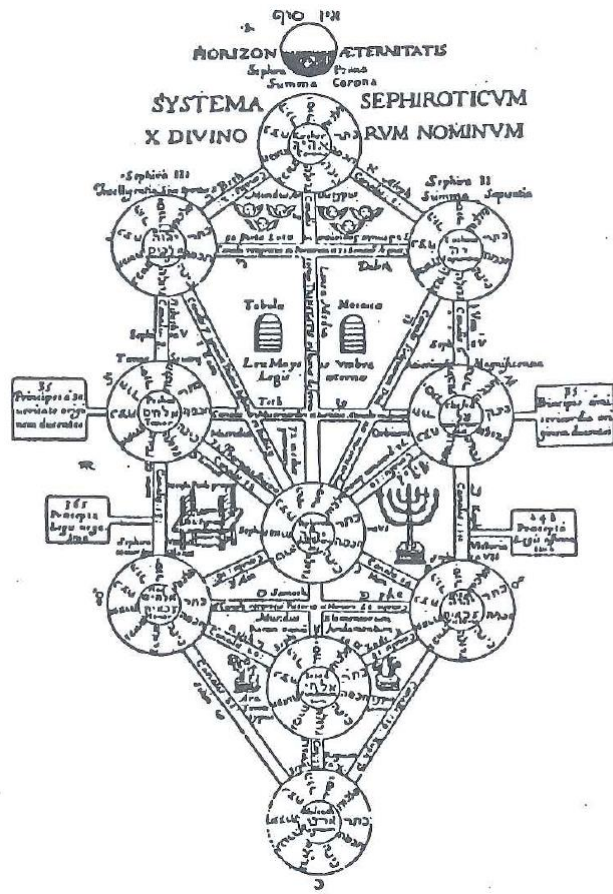
page of their Chinese handwritten manuscript must be closely examined because they invite us to embark on a new journey to uncover their embedded mystic theological interpretation in their trans-textual dialogue in the intra-lingual translation of the *Book of Changes*.

Fig. 6.1

Athanasius Kircher, *The principal deities of the Chinese*,
from *China Illustrata*, p. 137



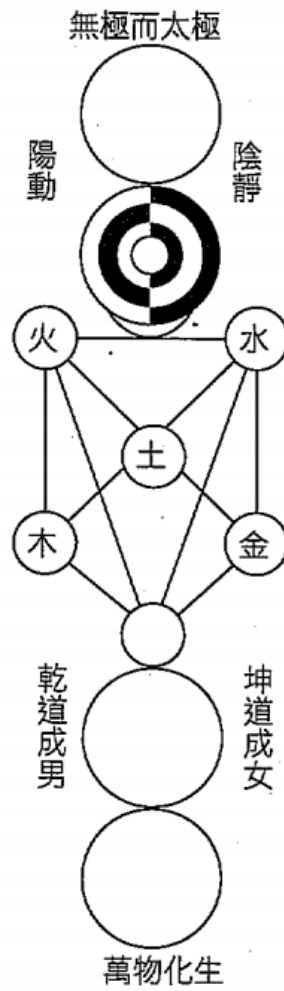
Fig. 6.2



Athanasius Kircher's Tree of Life

Fig. 6.3

Zhou Dunyi's 周敦頤 *Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說



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